

Tamás Dezső

# THE ASSYRIAN ARMY

I. THE STRUCTURE OF THE NEO-ASSYRIAN ARMY

2. CAVALRY AND CHARIOTRY



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To the Memory of my Father



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# THE ASSYRIAN ARMY

## I.

### THE STRUCTURE OF THE NEO-ASSYRIAN ARMY

as Reconstructed from the Assyrian Palace Reliefs  
and Cuneiform Sources

## 2. Cavalry and Chariotry



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*„Now the creature that I have envied most is, I think, the Centaur (if any such being ever existed), able to reason with a man’s intelligence and to manufacture with his hands what he needed, while he possessed the fleetness and strength of a horse so as to overtake whatever ran before him and to knock down whatever stood in his way. Well, all his advantages I combine in myself by becoming a horseman. At any rate, I shall be able to take forethought for everything with my human mind, I shall carry my weapons with my hands, I shall pursue with my horse and overthrow my opponent by the rush of my steed, but I shall not be bound fast to him in one growth, like the Centaurs.”*

Chrysantas in Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia*, IV. iii. 17-18  
(W. Miller, transl., Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*,  
The Loeb Classical Library, London, 1914)

## CAVALRY

One of the most important chapters in the military history of Assyria and the Near East is the development of the cavalry as an independent arm of the army.<sup>1</sup> Although the art of horse riding was known as early as the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C.<sup>2</sup> the cavalry as an independent, regular arm of an army can be identified for the first time in Assyria during the early 1<sup>st</sup> millennium B.C. In addition to the earlier Near Eastern use of horsemen as ‘mounted messengers,’ the first depictions of the cavalry as a fighting arm appear in the palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.). It is obvious that the first Assyrian (and Near Eastern) cavalry units were not established by Assurnasirpal II, and that other Near Eastern peoples had cavalry units at that time. The horse-breeding peoples of the Zagros and Armenian Mountains certainly used cavalry units among their troops. The earliest appearance of this foreign cavalry is in the palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II, as fleeing horsemen pursued by the Assyrian chariotry.<sup>3</sup> In this scene an Assyrian chariot (perhaps belonging to the king himself) is pressing six enemy horsemen equipped with bows and swords. It is not known exactly where horsemanship and the cavalry developed, but it probably happened somewhere in the triangle formed by the Armenian Mountains, the Zagros Mountains and Assyria. But it was in Assyria that, in the course of its development, the cavalry became an independent arm of the army.

The Assyrians developed the various uses of the cavalry on which the cavalry traditions of later ages were based. The cavalry was divided into lancers and mounted archers at the latest during the reign of Sennacherib, and the armoured cavalryman appeared in the Assyrian army as well. All the important ways of using the cavalry appear in the Assyrian palace reliefs. What is more, the same sculptures show how the cavalry overshadowed and finally replaced the chariotry, which gradually became an obsolete and redundant part of the Assyrian army. The role played by the Assyrian cavalry in the general development of the military use of horsemanship has not been fully recognised. Only a few articles on this topic – based on cuneiform sources<sup>4</sup> or on the depictions of cavalry in palace reliefs<sup>5</sup> – have been published. These studies are, however, highly specialized, and the general summaries of the military history of the Near East still do not lay proper stress on the cavalry developments mentioned above.

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<sup>1</sup> FALES 2010B, 126-130.

<sup>2</sup> RITTIG 1994, 156-160.

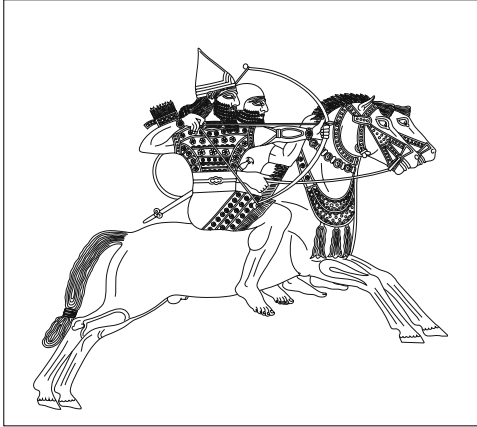
<sup>3</sup> MEUSZYŃSKI 1981, Taf. 3, B-27; Nimrud, Northwest Palace, London, British Museum, WA 124559.

<sup>4</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 27-47; DALLEY 1985, 31-48.

<sup>5</sup> NOBLE 1990, 61-68; DEZSÓ 2006A, 112-118.

# The Early History of the Assyrian Cavalry (883—745 B.C.)

## The representations (1—4)



The Assyrian cavalry is represented in the palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II in two contexts. In the first the cavalryman is hunting (escorting the king) (*Plate 1, 1*). It is interesting that there are two horses depicted side by side in this scene, and the cavalryman is riding the horse which is partially covered by the other one, and holding the reins of both. The riderless horse is probably the reserve horse of the royal chariot travelling in front of them. The horseman wears the well known pointed helmet. There is a rounded (bronze) shield fastened to his back. He is equipped with a bow, a quiver, a sword and a tasselled lance with which he is spearing a wild bull.<sup>6</sup>

In another bull-hunting scene he is escorting the royal chariot.<sup>7</sup> A similar horseman appears in a third sculpture, in which he is leading the reserve horse of the royal chariot (*Plate 1, 2*).<sup>8</sup>

The character of the second context is clearly military, and shows the ways in which the early Assyrian cavalry could be deployed. There are two cavalymen fighting in a pair in one of the palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II. One of them – an archer wearing a pointed helmet – is using his bow, while the other – equipped with rounded bronze shield, sword (and lance?) and wearing a hemispherical helmet with earflaps – holds the reins of both horses (*Plate 2, 3, 4*).<sup>9</sup> The garments of the archers are decorated, they have no armour, only a wide belt, probably made of bronze. In this sculpture two pairs of such cavalymen are chasing the fleeing enemy.

The similarity to chariot warfare is obvious: the chariot warrior (the archer) uses his weapon, while the chariot driver/'third man' (shield-bearer) holds the reins and/or protects him with his shield. At this point one of the most important reasons for the development of the cavalry can be detected. Assyrian chariots were pulled by two, three or even four horses, and ideally had a crew of three:<sup>10</sup> the chariot warrior, the chariot driver, and the 'third man' (shield-bearer). The warrior – horse ratio in this case was 1:2 or 1:3. The value of the shield-bearing 'third man' in battle is questionable. In close combat, and only then, he might have played an active part in the fighting. This 1:2 or 1:3 ratio of warriors to horses was uneconomical, because horses were very expensive (considering not only their acquisition and breeding, but breaking them in to the chariot, and

<sup>6</sup> LAYARD 1853B, pl. 32.

<sup>7</sup> LAYARD 1853B, pl. 11.

<sup>8</sup> LAYARD 1853B, pl. 21.

<sup>9</sup> LAYARD 1853B, pl. 26.

<sup>10</sup> For a detailed study see chapter Chariotry.

continuous exercise as well). Furthermore if a chariot horse was wounded in battle, the other horses and the chariot crew could easily become useless. Similarly, if the chariot warrior was wounded, the chariot (with its horses and the remaining members of the crew) could easily lose most of its fighting efficiency.<sup>11</sup> In contrast, in the case of cavalry the warrior – horse ratio was the ideal 1:1. This was the most economical way of using horses. Moreover there was no need for the expensive chariot itself, which was probably difficult to repair. In addition to this, the cavalry was a much more flexible arm: it could be deployed on difficult terrain (muddy ground, rivers, watercourses, hilly and mountainous country, forest, etc.), where the chariot was useless.

The palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II show a transitional phase in the evolution of the cavalry, the gradual abandonment of the chariotry, and the advent of the independent cavalry. There is still a shield-bearing horseman beside the mounted archer, but it is obvious that this shield-bearing lancer's fighting efficiency was of full value. They are effectively two cavalrymen, probably with the same fighting value and with the possibility of fighting independently of one another. Moreover, in close combat they ideally complement each other.

The same picture is revealed from the two Balawat Gates (palace and Mamu Temple) of Assurnasirpal II. Cavalrymen are shown fighting enemy infantry,<sup>12</sup> and marching behind chariots or escorting the royal chariot (leading spare horse).<sup>13</sup>

The Balawat Gates of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.) display several possible uses of the cavalry.<sup>14</sup> There are galloping cavalrymen riding in pairs, alternating with chariots represented in a battle scene, in the act of trampling the fleeing enemy infantry. Both cavalrymen wear pointed helmets. One of them is shooting with his bow, while the other is protecting him with his rounded (bronze) shield.<sup>15</sup> The same scene is repeated on another band, but the lancer riding side by side with the mounted archer is spearing an enemy infantryman with his lance.<sup>16</sup> Further cavalrymen are represented riding behind chariots. In this scene the cavalrymen are depicted in pairs and alone. Those who are riding alone (both archers and shield-bearing lancers) are leading reserve horses.<sup>17</sup> The next scene shows cavalrymen (equipped again with bows and lances) crossing a river. Each of them is taking a reserve horse with him.<sup>18</sup> One interesting scene shows a cavalryman equipped with spiked bronze shield, lance and bow, who is leading a reserve horse behind the royal chariot.<sup>19</sup> He is probably a high ranking officer or a member of the cavalry bodyguard unit.

<sup>11</sup> In this case the 'third man' could probably replace the chariot warrior to some extent.

<sup>12</sup> CURTIS – TALLIS 2008, Figs. 10 (Bīt-Adini, fighting behind Assyrian chariots against Aramean archers), 12 (Ḫatti, fighting behind Assyrian chariotry (1 pair of cavalrymen)), 60 (Mt. Urina, fighting against 'Urartian' infantry (7 pairs of cavalrymen)), 70 (unknown campaign, fighting against enemy infantry (1 pair + 1 cavalryman)), 86 (Bīt-Adini, attacking behind royal chariot (2 pairs), attacking the city Bīt-Adini (1 + 1)).

<sup>13</sup> CURTIS – TALLIS 2008, Figs. 8 (Town Sarugu, 1 cavalryman), 10 (Bīt-Adini, 1 cavalryman), 24 (Ḫatti, 1 cavalryman), 36 (Ḫatti, 1 cavalryman), 76 (Bīt-Adini, 1 cavalryman).

<sup>14</sup> For a detailed study of the cavalry shown on the Balawat Gates *see* SCHACHNER 2007, 159-160, Abbs. 92-95, Tab. 43 (6.3.4.2 Reiter).

<sup>15</sup> BARNETT 1960, 167.

<sup>16</sup> BARNETT 1960, 147, 167.

<sup>17</sup> BARNETT 1960, 143.

<sup>18</sup> BARNETT 1960, 161.

<sup>19</sup> BARNETT 1960, 161.

## Cuneiform sources

The first Assyrian cavalry units appear in the royal inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta II (890—884 B.C.).<sup>20</sup> Somewhat later, in 880 B.C. when Assurnasirpal II (883—859 B.C.) led a campaign to Zamua, he placed his cavalry (*pit-ḫal-lu*) and his *kallāpu* infantry (LÚ.kal-la-pu) in ambush next to the city of Parsindu and killed 50 soldiers of Ameka, king of the city of Zamru in the plain.<sup>21</sup> From Zamru he took with him the same cavalry and *kallāpu* infantry and marched to the cities of Ata, king of the city of Arzizu.<sup>22</sup> This campaign shows the cavalry being used in various ways: to lay an ambush and to move quickly. It is important to note that the cavalry became a regular part of the Assyrian army on campaign. Assurnasirpal II mentioned it in a standard context: “I took with me strong chariots, cavalry (and) crack troops.”<sup>23</sup> The reserves of horses were so important that the control of horse-breeding countries and territories became a strategic goal of campaigns. On one of his campaigns Assurnasirpal II – because horses were not constantly brought to him and he became angry – led his army to the cities of Marira and Ḫalḫalauš.<sup>24</sup> In 879 B.C. he led a campaign to Katmuḫi and Nairi and according to his royal inscriptions he crossed the Tigris with his strong chariots, cavalry, and infantry by means of a pontoon bridge. In 878 B.C. he besieged and captured Sūru, the fortified city of Kudurru, governor of the land of Sūhu. In the city he captured 50 cavalrymen, the troops of Nabû-apla-iddina, king of Karduniaš, and his brother Zabdānu with his 3,000 fighting men.<sup>25</sup> In 877 B.C., when he led a campaign to the West, to the Mountains of Lebanon, he took with him the cavalry (with chariotry and infantry) units of the North Syrian states which surrendered to him.<sup>26</sup> Bīt-Baḫiāni, Adad-’ime, king of Azallu, Aḫūnī, king of Bīt-Adini, Carchemish, Lubarna, king of Pattina. This is the first known occasion when foreign cavalry units were drafted into the Assyrian forces. Assurnasirpal II, however, probably did not incorporate them into the Assyrian army proper, but took them on as auxiliary units.

In spite of the fact that the descriptions of campaigns in the royal inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (858—824 B.C.) still began with the standard formula: “I mustered my chariots and troops”<sup>27</sup> the cavalry was becoming increasingly important in Assyrians warfare. In 856 B.C., when Shalmaneser III defeated Arame, king of Urartu, in a mountain battle, he brought back from the mountain Arame’s chariots, cavalry (*pit-ḫal-lu-šu*) and horses.<sup>28</sup> The inscriptions mention numerous cavalry, which shows that Urartu was a primary horse-breeding country and in the mountainous terrain they probably used far more cavalry than chariotry. In the next year, 855 B.C., the Assyrian king led a campaign against Aḫūnī, king of Bīt-Adini. In one of his reports the king mentioned that after the siege of Mount Šitamrat he brought down from the mountain

<sup>20</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.100.5, 37: *pit-ḫal-li*.

<sup>21</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1, II:70-71; A.0.101.17, III:84-85.

<sup>22</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1, II:72.

<sup>23</sup> Mount Simaki: GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1, II:52-54 (GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ KAL-tu *pit-ḫal-lu* SAG.KAL-su) and A.0.101.17, III:36-37; city Tušhan: GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1, II:103-104 and A.0.101.17, IV:61-62.

<sup>24</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.18, 3’-6’.

<sup>25</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1, III:19-20.

<sup>26</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1, III:58-77.

<sup>27</sup> GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ *ad-ki*. GRAYSON 1996, A.0.102.1, 15; A.0.102.2, I:15; A.0.102.6, I:29; A.0.102.11, 13’-18a’; A.0.102.14, 141; A.0.102.16, 7-8, 228’.

<sup>28</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.0.102.2, 51; A.0.102.28, 40-41; numerous cavalry (*pit-ḫal-lu* ḪI.A.MEŠ): A.0.102.5, III:2; A.0.102.6, I:65-68.

Aḫūnī with his troops, chariots and cavalry.<sup>29</sup> In 853 B.C. the Assyrians led the first campaign against the coalition of the twelve kings and fought a battle near Qarqar. Ḥadad-ezer (Adad-idri), king of Damascus, mustered 1,200 chariots, 1,200 cavalry and 20,000 troops, while Irḫuleni, king of Ḥamath, brought 700 chariots, 700 cavalry and 10,000 troops.<sup>30</sup> These numbers show that at that time the larger North Syrian states could deploy relatively large numbers of cavalry. After the battle the Assyrians captured the remnants of the coalition army, including the cavalry.<sup>31</sup> In 849 B.C. the Assyrian king fought the coalition army of the 12 kings again and captured their chariots and cavalry in battle.<sup>32</sup> In the next year, 848 B.C., the Assyrians fought for the third time against the coalition army of the 12 kings, defeated them, and captured their chariotry and cavalry.<sup>33</sup> In 845 B.C. the Assyrians defeated the coalition army of the 12 kings a fourth time, and again destroyed their chariotry and cavalry.<sup>34</sup> In 843 B.C. Marduk-mudammiq, king of Namri, sent his numerous cavalry (*pit-ḫal-lu-šu* H.A.MEŠ) against the Assyrian army in a battle.<sup>35</sup> Marduk-mudammiq drew up a battle line opposite the Assyrians at the River Namritu, but suffered defeat, and Shalmaneser III took his cavalry from him. In 841 B.C. the Assyrian king led a campaign to Damascus again. At that time Ḥazael was the king of Damascus; he fortified Mount Saniru, a mountain peak in front of Mount Lebanon. The Assyrians defeated them and put to the sword 16,000 Damascene fighting men, and took from Ḥazael 1,121 chariots and 470 cavalry.<sup>36</sup> In 832 B.C. the Assyrian king sent his Commander-in-Chief Daiiān-Aššur to Urartu. The Commander-in-Chief defeated Sēduru (Sarduri I), king of Urartu and took his numerous cavalry from him.<sup>37</sup> Once again Urartu appears to have been a horse-breeding country which used large numbers of cavalry, though it is not known exactly how many. Shalmaneser III, however, boasted that he had horses for 2,002 chariots and equipped a further 5,542 horsemen for the service of his country.<sup>38</sup> This number – if these 5,542 cavalymen were all under arms at the same time – is the largest known, and probably included the auxiliary cavalry units of the vassal kings as well.

His successor, Šamši-Adad V, (823–811 B.C.) mentions in his royal inscriptions that on his third campaign he captured 140 horsemen of the Median Ḥanasiruka as well,<sup>39</sup> and on his fourth campaign when he defeated Marduk-balāssu-iqbī, the king of Karduniaš, in the battle fought by the Daban River before the city of Dūr-Papsukkal, he captured 100 chariots and 200 horsemen from his enemy.<sup>40</sup> It is known from one of his fragmentary inscriptions that during his fourth campaign he pursued an unfortunately unknown army, massacred 650 soldiers, and captured 30 cavalry and one chariot from them.<sup>41</sup> On his fifth campaign he led his army to Karduniaš a second time, and in the battle fought at the gate of Nēmetti-šarri he captured the chariots and cavalry of Marduk-balāssu-iqbī.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>29</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.2, II:73-74.

<sup>30</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.2, II: 90-95.

<sup>31</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.2, II:101-102; A.O.102.6, II:30-32; A.O.102.8, 18'-19'; A.O.102.10, II:22-25; A.O.102.14, 54-66; A.O.102.16, 35-37; A.O.102.23, 21-27.

<sup>32</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.6, II:65-66; A.O.102.8, 34'-35'.

<sup>33</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.6, III:8-10; A.O.102.8, 38'-39'.

<sup>34</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.6, III:30-32; A.O.102.8, 44'-47'; A.O.102.10, III:15-16; A.O.102.16, 87'-95'; A.O.102.24, 14b-17.

<sup>35</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.6, IV:7-12.

<sup>36</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.8, 1''-13''; A.O.102.10, III:51-52; A.O.102.12, 21-24; A.O.102.14, 97-99; A.O.102.16, 122-137.

<sup>37</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.16, 228'-237'.

<sup>38</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.6, IV:47-48; A.O.102.10, left edge 2 (5242); A.O.102.11, left edge II:1-2; A.O.102.16, 348'.

<sup>39</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.O.103.1, III:27b-36.

<sup>40</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.O.103.1, IV:37-45.

<sup>41</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.O.103.2, III:11'-12'.

<sup>42</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.O.103.2, III:32'. The same events were repeated in a 'letter from a god': A.O.103.4, 1'-15'.



During the reign of Adad-nērārī III (810—783 B.C.) a Tell Halaf text lists 6 cavalrymen of the *turtānu*.<sup>43</sup> In a ‘letter to the god,’ written probably during the reign of Shalmaneser IV (782—773 B.C.),<sup>44</sup> the standard closing formula about Assyrian casualties appears: “[1 charioteer, two] cavalrymen, (and) [three *kallāpu* soldiers] were killed.”<sup>45</sup> The earliest known appearance of cavalrymen in the cuneiform records is also in the early 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C., in 788 B.C.<sup>46</sup>

As the written sources show, in the early 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C. the cavalry was used outside Assyria mainly in the mountainous regions to the North and East, and in North Syria. By the late 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C., however, it had become widespread throughout the Near East.

<sup>43</sup> FRIEDRICH ET AL. 1940, 25:7-8. See furthermore the 18 teams of cavalry of the governor (*18 ú-ra-a-ti pet-ḫal-lu ša LÚ.EN—NAM*) from the same archive (38:rev. 4-5). A further text also mentions 15 teams of horses to be collected to the Commander-in-Chief (3:3-7).

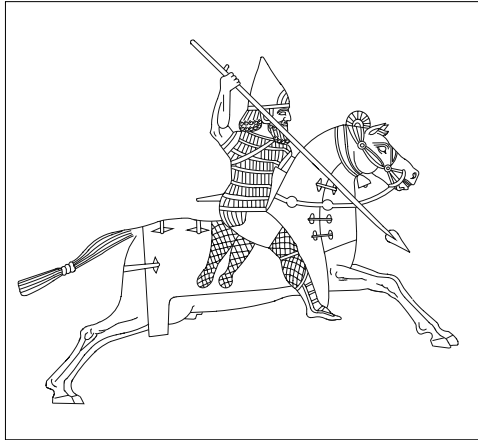
<sup>44</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.O.105, which can be dated probably to 780 B.C., to the eponym year of Šamši-ilu, the *turtānu*.

<sup>45</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.O.105, Rev. 1’-4’.

<sup>46</sup> Marduk-uballit *ša pet-ḫal-li*, POSTGATE 1973, 94 (ND 254), Rev. 8-9. This witness list shows that he was a professional cavalrymen.

# The Cavalry of the Imperial Period (745—612 B.C.)

## The evolution of the Assyrian cavalry (5—22)



The palace reliefs of Tiglath-Pileser III (745—727 B.C.) show both unarmoured and armoured cavalymen. The unarmoured<sup>47</sup> cavalymen (*Plate 3, 5*) are depicted as a pair, chasing an Arab tribesman who is fleeing on a camel. The depiction of cavalymen in pairs in this case, however, does not mean that they fought in pairs, but that in the iconographical concept of the sculptures the masses of cavalymen fighting a battle (in formation) were represented as pairs. They wear pointed helmets and tunics (with a loosely fitting kilt reaching to the knee). The horses are unarmoured, their trappings are decorated. The most important weapon of the cavalymen is the cavalry lance, which

they are using to spear the enemy from the overarm position – similarly to an infantry spear. Their auxiliary weapon is the sword. A fragmentary sculpture of Tiglath-Pileser III shows a cavalry battle. Two Assyrian cavalymen are spearing a wounded enemy horseman, whose crested helmet may indicate his Urartian origin.<sup>48</sup> It is known from the royal inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III that in his 3<sup>rd</sup> *palû* (743 B.C.) in the territory of Kummuh, between Kištan and Halpi, the Assyrian army defeated the coalition army of Mati'-ilu, king of Arpad, Sarduri II, king of Urartu, Sulumal, king of Meliddu, and Tarhularu, king of Gurgum. The Assyrian cavalry chased the fleeing Urartian king to his capital, Turušpâ, and defeated the Urartians before the gates.<sup>49</sup> It is possible that this scene depicts an episode of this campaign.

The first armoured lancers appeared in the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III (*Plate 3, 6*). Their equipment differs from the equipment of the unarmoured cavalymen in their scale armour, and their loosely fitting armoured kilt reaching to the knee. In the palace reliefs of Tiglath-Pileser III all the cavalymen are barefoot. They wear pointed helmets with earflaps. They are using their long cavalry lances to spear an enemy horseman from the overarm position. Unfortunately the front part of the figure of the enemy horseman is missing, so it is impossible to identify his nationality.

In the palace reliefs of Sargon II (721—705 B.C.) the number of depicted cavalymen rises significantly (9.4 % of the represented soldiers are cavalymen, *Chart 12*).<sup>50</sup> The large number of

<sup>47</sup> BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. XIII-XIV, Ser. A. Lower Reg. Slab 1b, *Or. Dr.* Central III. It must be mentioned that the original drawing by A.H. Layard shows unarmoured cavalymen, but in the photograph the outlines of the scales of a suit of scale armour can probably be seen.

<sup>48</sup> BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. LXIV-LXV.

<sup>49</sup> TADMOR 1994, Ann. 17, Stele IB: 21'-43', Summ. 1: 20-23.

<sup>50</sup> As *Chart 12* shows, the equivalent figure is 4.4 % in the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III, 13.3 % in the sculptures of Sennacherib, and 8.6 % in the sculptures of Assurbanipal.

cuneiform sources proves that this high percentage is not merely a distortion originating in the iconographical concept of the sculptures (*see below*).

The cavalry in the palace reliefs of Sargon II are usually depicted in pairs. The trappings of their unarmoured horses are decorated (*Plate 4, 8; Plate 5, 9, 10*). The cavalymen, too, are unarmoured: they wear pointed helmets and tunics ending in a loosely fitting kilt reaching to the knee. The saddle was unknown at that time, and the Assyrians used animal skins as a kind of 'saddle cloth.' Their main offensive weapon is the long cavalry lance, but they are equipped with bows, quivers and swords as well. An important development in the evolution of the cavalry was that the cavalymen wielded their lances not only from the upper hand position, but from the lower hand position as well (*Plate 5, 9, 10*). The long cavalry lance, which was designed for thrusting, was to emerge later from this use. Since the cavalymen are equipped with a lance and bow as well, they may have been a kind of 'regular cavalry' intended for universal purposes.

The Til-Barsip wall paintings show the same cavalry (*Plate 4, 7*). Their equipment is the same as the equipment of the cavalymen of Sargon II: it consists of a long cavalry lance, a bow and quiver, and a sword. They did not wear armour, only pointed helmets. It is interesting that all the horse riders represented in the wall paintings are equipped with whips as well. However, the most important thing is the appearance of the counterweight at the end of their long cavalry lances, which made the weapons easier to handle, and provided a possibility to distinguish the cavalry units from each other (by the colour of the tassel; for the other possibility, the shape and colour of the horses' crests *see below*).

The proportion of the cavalry in the sculptures of Sennacherib (704—681 B.C.) is also high. The 232 represented cavalymen make up 13.3 % of all the soldiers depicted on the sculptures (*Chart 12*). One of the reasons for this high ratio is that in the more than 800 known sculptures and sculpture fragments there is not a single chariot except for the royal chariot and a few ceremonial chariots (*see below*). This probably means that the chariotry was overshadowed by the cavalry, who were depicted in large numbers, and whose presence became permanent (*Plate 7, 13, 14; Plate 8, 15, 16*). The horses are unarmoured, the cavalymen always wear pointed helmets and scale armour. The kilt of their garment became tighter, and from that time on the Assyrian cavalymen wore the characteristic military boots. In the palace reliefs three types of Assyrian cavalymen can be distinguished. Their equipment differs only in their weaponry, but not in their armour or horse harness. The weaponry of the first type consisted of a sword, a lance, a bow, and a combined bow case and quiver, of the second type of a long cavalry lance,<sup>51</sup> and the third type of a bow. This probably indicates the separation of the well-equipped cavalry bodyguard, the regular cavalry lancer, and the regular mounted archer (*see later*). All these changes, and the standardization of the arms and armour of the heavy infantry and cavalry, can be linked to a possible army reform of Sennacherib.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Assyrian lancers of the 8<sup>th</sup>—7<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. never carried shields. However, — judging from the cavalry depictions of Urartian bronze helmets — their Urartian counterparts were equipped with an Assyrian-type pointed helmet, a rounded bronze shield, and two spears. For the depictions and a detailed bibliography *see* DEZSŐ 2001, nos. 91, 93, 94, 95 (all of the depictions from Karmir Blur), no. 98 (from unknown provenance).

<sup>52</sup> *See* for example the texts listing the 'new corps of Sennacherib:' FALES — POSTGATE 1992, 3 (ADD 853, obv. I:6'), 4 (ADD 854, obv. I:1'-rev. II:6'). The high-ranking officials (and their troops) listed in these documents were assigned to Sennacherib. These texts mention him without a royal title, which means that he was probably the crown prince at that time. From the reign of Sargon II or Sennacherib high ranking military officers at the royal court were assigned not only to the king and the Chief Eunuch (the commander of the *kišir šarrūti*), but to the crown prince and the queen mother as well. *See* for example FALES — POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), and Summary: The development of the Assyrian army.

The evolution of the Assyrian cavalry reached its highest point during the reign of Assurbanipal (668—631 B.C.). The most important result of this evolution was the appearance of horse armour. In the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal the horses are protected by thick leather armour. The armour covered the neck and body of the horse, and hung down to its hind legs. The sculptures show clearly that the armour was made of separate pieces, which were fastened together with hooks on the neck, breast, back and croup of the horse (*Plate 9, 17, 18; Plate 10, 19, 20; Plate 11, 21, 22*), thus only the forehead and the legs were left free. Two types of horse-armour can be reconstructed from the sculptures: the first type (*Plate 9, 18*) partly covers the breast of the horse and leaves more freedom of movement for its forelegs.<sup>53</sup> The second type (*Plate 9, 17*) covers the breast of the animal much more fully, hanging down like a pectoral. This type appears primarily on chariot horses<sup>54</sup> but was used on cavalry horses as well.<sup>55</sup> The small areas left free by the horse armour offered much smaller and more difficult targets for the enemy's spears and arrows than the breast and side of an unarmoured horse. Furthermore, the horse's forehead could have been protected by a bronze plate. The use of horse armour greatly improved the efficiency of the cavalry as an arm as well, since it reduced losses in horses, increased the safety of the cavalry in battle, and improved the supply of horses during campaigns.

The cavalry lancers (*Plate 9, 17, 18*) and archers (*Plate 10, 19, 20*) are separated in the representational tradition of the sculptures of Assurbanipal as well. The armour of the cavalrymen is the same as in the palace reliefs of Sennacherib: they wore pointed helmets, which – since the reign of Sennacherib – could have been made of iron as well.<sup>56</sup> Their upper body was covered with scale armour, which could have been made of iron from the early 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. This scale armour covered part of the groin and waist as well. They wore Assyrian military boots.

It must be mentioned that the contemporary Urartian depictions of cavalrymen show the strong influence of Assyrian cavalry equipment (pointed helmets, scale armour, and lances). This type of galloping cavalryman is shown in two registers, for example on the side of an 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Urartian bronze helmet.<sup>57</sup> Further incised representations on Urartian bronze helmets, however, show cavalrymen wearing pointed helmets, equipped with lances, but with their upper body covered by a rounded bronze shield.<sup>58</sup> As has been mentioned 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Assyrian cavalry lancers depicted in the sculptures of Assurnasirpal II were also equipped with rounded bronze shields but the shield is completely missing from later depictions of Assyrian cavalrymen.

## Types of cavalry (regular cavalry – bodyguard cavalry)

As attested by the palace reliefs of the period, the Assyrian cavalry was relatively homogeneous. In the palace reliefs of Tiglath-Pileser III (745—727 B.C.) cavalrymen both of a kind of regular or light cavalry (*Plate 3, 5*) and of the heavy cavalry (*Plate 3, 6*) appear. These sculptures show that

<sup>53</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 278, 282, 313, 382 and 383 (the version with hooks), 384, 385, 388(?), 399(?).

<sup>54</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 384 (with hooks), 388.

<sup>55</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 392, 394.

<sup>56</sup> DEZSŐ – CURTIS 1991, 105-126, DEZSŐ 2001, 33-36.

<sup>57</sup> KELLNER 1980, pls. VII-IX; DEZSŐ 2001, Cat. no. 100, private collection, galvano copy: Munich, Archäologische Staatssammlung, PS 1971/1782a.

<sup>58</sup> DEZSŐ 2001, Cat. nos. 91-97 (Erevan), 98 (Karlsruhe), 99 (Gaziantep).

the separation of these two types of cavalrymen had taken place at the latest during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III. The reign of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) brought the standardization of cavalry equipment: only regular cavalrymen are shown (*Plate 4, 8; Plate 5, 9, 10*). They do not wear armour, but only the characteristic Assyrian pointed helmet. Their weaponry consists of a lance, a bow and quiver, and a sword.

The most important changes occurred, however, during the reigns of Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.) and Assurbanipal (668–631 B.C.). During the reign of Sennacherib only the horsemen of the armoured cavalry (*Plate 7, 13, 14*) are shown. It is possible that from his reign this kind of armoured cavalry became the standard, regular cavalry.<sup>59</sup> The sculptures of Assurbanipal show a similar picture: there is not a single unarmoured cavalryman depicted during the reign of this king (*Plate 9, 17, 18; Plate 10, 19, 20*). The Assyrian cavalry of the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. was heavy in terms of its equipment: the cavalrymen wore short-sleeved scale armour covering the upper body and the groin, pointed helmets and military boots. However, their weaponry differed characteristically. In the palace reliefs of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal the cavalry lancers and mounted archers are consistently distinguished from each other. This means that the two arms had probably been definitively separated in the Assyrian army. They form a kind of armoured regular cavalry. Furthermore it seems that the Assyrian king had an elite cavalry bodyguard equipped with long cavalry lances, bows and quivers in the form of a combined bow case, and swords. So from the reign of Sennacherib onwards three types of cavalrymen of the imperial army can be distinguished in the sculptures by their equipment: lancers, mounted archers, and bodyguard cavalry.

*Lancers (mounted spearmen) (Plate 3, 5, 6; Plate 7, 14; Plate 9, 17, 18)*

The palace reliefs of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal consistently distinguish lancers from mounted archers. In contrast to the unarmoured regular cavalry of Sargon II (*Plate 4, 8; Plate 5, 9, 10*), and to the armoured cavalry bodyguard of Sennacherib (*Plate 8, 15, 16*) and Assurbanipal (*Plate 11, 21*),<sup>60</sup> both of which were equipped with spears and bows as well, the lancers of Sennacherib (*Plate 7, 14*) and Assurbanipal (*Plate 9, 17, 18*) in the iconographical sculptural tradition of these two kings are never depicted with bows, bowcases or quivers. Furthermore the two types of cavalrymen are frequently depicted together, riding side by side in the same battle and even, in one of the sculptures of Sennacherib fighting in close combat with enemy infantry in a pair<sup>61</sup> – complementing each other's capacities like the fighting pairs of infantry spearmen and archers in the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal. The spearman fights hand to hand, while the archer protects him by shooting at the enemy archers aiming at the spearman, and vice versa. The lancer can be distinguished from the cavalry bodyguard as well, since the latter has the same equipment and differs from the lancer only in his bowcase and bow. There are several scenes in the sculptures of Sennacherib where they are portrayed together in different registers

<sup>59</sup> However, it must be admitted that in several cases the small figures of the cavalrymen depicted in the sculptures of Sennacherib and the drawings of these figures do not make the study of such details as the armour of the riders possible. But it seems that the depictions of the cavalry of Sennacherib show a homogeneous picture: the cavalrymen were equipped with short-sleeved scale armour jackets.

<sup>60</sup> See furthermore BARNETT 1976, pl. LXX (f).

<sup>61</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 110.

(which means different scenes); however, there is a single battle scene in which two cavalry bodyguards are riding together with two lancers – which makes the difference between these two types of cavalymen obvious.<sup>62</sup> 51+ lancers are portrayed in 13 sculpted scenes in the palace reliefs of Sennacherib.<sup>63</sup> The equipment of the lancers of Assurbanipal is the same as his grandfather's. The only difference is that the horses of Assurbanipal's cavalry are – at least in battle contexts – armoured. As has been discussed, this horse armour greatly improved the efficiency of the cavalry as an arm. 25 lancers are portrayed in 11 palace reliefs of Assurbanipal.<sup>64</sup>

### *Mounted archers (Plate 7, 13; Plate 10, 19, 20)*

The mounted archers were probably the primary offensive arm of the Assyrian cavalry. As has been discussed, they complemented the lancers in battle. Their equipment is the same as that of lancers, only their weaponry differs. Horse armour, which appeared during the reign of Assurbanipal, greatly improved the efficiency of the mounted archers in close combat – since the armour reduced the risk of the horse-wounds, the weakest point of the deployment of mounted archers in battle. Two palace reliefs of Assurbanipal<sup>65</sup> show the mounted archer, whose horse is armoured, together with a cavalry bodyguard (on an unarmoured horse). This again proves the thesis that these two types of cavalymen are different. The mounted archers are portrayed in the sculptures only in battle context. They are chasing enemy horsemen and infantry, or – in an interesting context – shooting from behind the Assyrian infantry at the wall of a city under siege.<sup>66</sup> These scenes prove that the Assyrians could use mounted archer units during sieges (*see later*). 36+ mounted archers are portrayed in 12+ scenes of the palace reliefs of Sennacherib<sup>67</sup> and 21 mounted archers are represented in 12+ sculpted scenes of the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal.<sup>68</sup>

### *Cavalry bodyguard (Plate 8, 15, 16; Plate 11, 21)*

Besides the regular cavalry, only a kind of cavalry bodyguard can be reconstructed from the representational evidence. The cavalry escorting the chariot of Sargon II on his 8<sup>th</sup> campaign in Urartu (*Plate 6, 11, 12*) might be a kind of noble cavalry escort or some high officials or officers escorting the king, obviously not in battle dress (*see later*). In the sculptures of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal, where the standardization of cavalry equipment reached the highest level in the Assyrian army, only their weaponry and the context of their use could distinguish the cavalry bodyguard from the regular cavalry (armoured lancers and archers) discussed above.

<sup>62</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 66.

<sup>63</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 19, 34, 66, 103, 104, 108, 110, 111, 121, 122, 129, 190, 193.

<sup>64</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 382-383, 388, 390, 394, 399; BARNETT 1976, pls. XXI, XXV, XXXII, XXXIII, LXVIII, LXX.

<sup>65</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 278, 282.

<sup>66</sup> Babylonian campaign: BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 278, 282; Elamite campaigns: BARNETT 1976, pls. XXXIV, LXVII (Dīn-[Šarri]), LXIX; Egyptian campaign: BARNETT 1976, pl. XXXVI (Memphis?).

<sup>67</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 34, 102, 103, 110, 111, 112, 121, 122, 129, 132, 193, 196, 611.

<sup>68</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 15, 278, 282, 382–384, 392; BARNETT 1976, pls. XVI, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXVI, LXVII, LXIX.

The weaponry of the cavalry bodyguard consisted of a lance, a combined bow case and quiver, a bow and a sword. They wore a short sleeved scale armour jacket covering the upper body and the groin, a pointed helmet and military boots. The horsemen of the regular cavalry did not use this combined weaponry, only the lance or the bow.

The equipment of the horses was the same: the only difference can be found in the use of the different types of 'saddle-cloth.' The saddle and stirrup were unknown and cavalrymen sat on the backs of horses on 'saddle-cloths.' There are four types of 'saddle-cloth' portrayed in the palace reliefs of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal. The first type is the shape of an animal skin with an extension (shaped like an animal leg) of the lower back corner of the cloth. The second type is a highly decorated rectangular saddle-cloth. The third and fourth types are variants of the second: the third type has two tassels at the lower corners, while the fourth has a single tassel at the back corner. The regular cavalry (lancers and archers) used exclusively the first type,<sup>69</sup> while the cavalry bodyguard used all four types.<sup>70</sup> The cavalry bodyguard used the first type probably in battle context, while the decorated types were used for ceremonial occasions.

A further interesting and probably important detail is that at least three types of crests decorating the heads of horses can be identified from the sculptures and their original drawings. However, it is not known whether the different crests marked different types or units of the cavalry bodyguard, or simply changed with time.

However, members of the cavalry bodyguard can be identified not only with the help of their equipment, but by the context in which they were portrayed. The most important common characteristic of the contexts in which they appear is that they are always escorting the king. In the sculptures of Sennacherib these contexts are as follows: 1) they are dismounted, standing guard behind and beside the royal chariot,<sup>71</sup> 2) they are standing dismounted outside the wall of the military camp beside their horses,<sup>72</sup> 3) they are galloping behind the royal chariot on campaign,<sup>73</sup> 4) they are leading their horses in a river valley on a campaign in the escort of the king,<sup>74</sup> 5) in another campaign scene they are leading their horses to a steep hillside in Phoenicia,<sup>75</sup> 6) in a siege scene (Alammu) they are dismounted, marching in an army column behind armoured spearmen,<sup>76</sup> 7) during the siege of Lachish they are dismounted, standing guard around the king,<sup>77</sup> 8) they are dismounted, standing guard around the royal chariot, receiving the booty of conquered cities (Alammu, Eastern campaign).<sup>78</sup> The only occasion when they were portrayed in a battle context is the scene where two cavalry bodyguards are riding together with two lancers in pursuit of fleeing

<sup>69</sup> Sennacherib: BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 66, 94, 101-104, 108, 110, 111, 121, 122, 129, 132, 190, 193, 518; Assurbanipal: BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 278, 282, 382, 383, 392, 399.

<sup>70</sup> Sennacherib: 1<sup>st</sup> type: BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 66, 87, 100, 101, 129, 193, 201, 221, 234, 252, 253, 264, 369, 370, 445, 456, 492, 507, 513, 514, 650; 2<sup>nd</sup> type: nos. 45, 80, 101, 193, 197, 651, 701; 3<sup>rd</sup> type: nos. 89, 245, 441; 4<sup>th</sup> type: nos. 68, 246. Assurbanipal: 1<sup>st</sup> type: nos. 271, 272, 319, 384; 2<sup>nd</sup> type: nos. 278, 309; 3<sup>rd</sup> type: nos. 282, 349-351, 483; 4<sup>th</sup> type: no. 272.

<sup>71</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 36, 45, 193, 220, 221, 252, 253, 264, 450, 492, 507, 513, 514, 551, 628, 637, 645, 646, 651, 700-703.

<sup>72</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 68, 80, 86-89, 100, 101, 129, 201, 205, 206.

<sup>73</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 94, 193, 650(?), 706(?).

<sup>74</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 442, 445, 446, 456, 518.

<sup>75</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 197.

<sup>76</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 243.

<sup>77</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 435-437.

<sup>78</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 245, 246, 369, 370, 483.

enemy horsemen.<sup>79</sup> In the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal the cavalry bodyguard appears in the following contexts: 1) They are riding in a row on campaign (probably hill country),<sup>80</sup> 2) they are drawn up in formation on armoured horses obviously on campaign, where auxiliary spearmen are escorting captives in the forest,<sup>81</sup> 3) they are dismounted, standing guard behind the royal chariot on a Babylonian campaign,<sup>82</sup> 4) they are dismounted, standing guard behind the royal chariot<sup>83</sup> or behind auxiliary spearmen, armoured spearmen and armoured archers around the royal chariot during the muster of booty on a Babylonian campaign,<sup>84</sup> 5) they are marching behind armoured spearmen (bodyguards) and in front of the royal chariot on a Babylonian campaign. The Assyrian army is probably preparing for a river crossing, since there are several unharnessed horses being led by grooms on the banks of the river and swimming soldiers and horses are also depicted in this palace relief.<sup>85</sup> 6) There is only a single scene where a cavalry bodyguard is marching behind two chariots: the submission scene following the Ulai River battle.<sup>86</sup>

Contemporary documents unfortunately do not discuss the equipment and weaponry of an Assyrian armoured cavalryman. However, a Neo-Babylonian document concerning military service drafted in the second year of Darius I (520 B.C.) in Nippur mentions a loan to acquire military equipment for an armoured Babylonian cavalryman serving in the Achaemenid army:<sup>87</sup> “(6) 1 horse with its harness and ‘saddles,’ 1 *suḫattu* cloth garment (7) 1 suit of iron scale armour and a *karballatu* cap which belongs to the armour (8) 1 neck protector which belongs to the *suḫattu* cloth, 1 *suḫattu* cap, 1 bow-and-arrow case made of bronze(?)” Unfortunately, there is no agreement between the interpreters over the other weapons of the cavalryman (lines 8-10). Ebeling<sup>88</sup> translated lines 8-10 as follows: “*einem Nackenschutz (bestehend aus) ein(em) Schweisstuch, einer Kappe, (bestehend aus) ein(em) Schweisstuch, einem Schild aus Bronze, 120 Pfeilen, auflegbar, 10 Pfeilen, gimirräische(?), einer Keule aus Eisen für den Schild, 2 Lanzen aus Eisen und einer Mine Silber ...*”.<sup>89</sup> The translation of *šaltu* as Schild seems wrong. The CAD<sup>90</sup> translates the same lines as follows: “one bow-and-arrow case with ..., 120 mounted arrows, ten unmounted(?) arrows,” “one *tēpu* weapon of iron with case, two lances [iron].” In that case *karballatu* would refer to a kind of helmet which belongs to the armour (or is made from the same metal, iron, as the scale-armour). Oppenheim interpreted this passage as one which illustrates a leather helmet covered with metal scales.<sup>91</sup> But this type of helmet (leather base covered with metal scales) seems to have been obsolete at least from the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C. Ebeling was probably right when he

<sup>79</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 66.

<sup>80</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 319; attribution to the reign of Sennacherib or even Esarhaddon is possible.

<sup>81</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 313, 315.

<sup>82</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 282.

<sup>83</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 278.

<sup>84</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 349-351.

<sup>85</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 271, 272.

<sup>86</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 384.

<sup>87</sup> LUTZ 1928, 275, pl. I; EBELING 1952, 203-213, ll. 6-10.

<sup>88</sup> EBELING 1952, 206-208, 210.

<sup>89</sup> (6) 1-en(ištēn) ANŠE.KUR.RA(šīšī) a-di ḫu-šu-ki-šu ù pu-gu-da-tu<sub>4</sub> 1-en(ištēn) TÚG.su-ḫat-tu<sub>4</sub> (7) 1-en(ištēn) šī-ir-‘a-an-nu AN.BAR(parzillu) 1-en(ištēn) kar-bal-la-tu<sub>4</sub> šà šī-ir-‘a-an-nu (8) 1-en(ištēn) ku-ú-ra-pa-nu šà su-ḫat-tu<sub>4</sub> 1-en(ištēn) kar-bal-la-tu<sub>4</sub> su-ḫat-tu<sub>4</sub> 1-en(ištēn) KUŠ.šal-tu e-ru-ú (9) 1 me 20 šī-il-ta-aḫ šu-uš-ku-bu 10 šī-il-ta-aḫ gi-ir-ri 1-en(ištēn) te-e-pu AN.BAR(parzillu) (10) šà KUŠ.šal-tu 2 GIŠ.az-ma-ru-ú AN.BAR(parzillu) ù 1 ma-na KÜ.BABBAR(kaspu).

<sup>90</sup> REINER *et al.*, 1989, s.v. *šaltu*, 271.

<sup>91</sup> OPPENHEIM 1950, 192-193, note 18.



assumed that the meaning of *karballatu* in that case (line 7) is an iron cap,<sup>92</sup> because in line 8 the text itself specifies another type of *karballatu* made probably of linen (or felt?) belonging to the *suḫattu* cloth (which was probably worn under the armour). The *karballatu* had a pointed top, as we know from the Naqš-i-Rustam inscription of Darius I (“Cimmerians [Sacaе] whose *karballatus* are pointed”).<sup>93</sup> This pointed headgear of the Scythians (Sacaе) is shown in the Behistun reliefs of Darius I<sup>94</sup> and in the reliefs of the Apadana at Persepolis<sup>95</sup> as well, and was mentioned by Herodotus (*Historiae*, VII:64).<sup>96</sup> Another document,<sup>97</sup> drafted in 513 B.C. during the reign of Darius I, contains a list of equipment for 12 soldiers (probably 12 horsemen)<sup>98</sup> of the royal army: 12 garments, 12 *šir’am* suits of armour,<sup>99</sup> 12 *karballatu* headgears, 12 leather bags and 24 pairs of shoes.<sup>100</sup> Summing up the evidence of these sources it can be assumed that at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (just a hundred years after the fall of Assyria and twenty years after the fall of Babylon) a Babylonian armoured cavalryman of the Persian royal army could wear iron scale armour<sup>101</sup> and probably a conical (iron or bronze) helmet as had the Assyrians and Babylonians a few decades earlier. His weaponry consisted of one bow-and-arrow case with 120 mounted arrows, and ten unmounted(?) arrows, one *ṭēpu* weapon of iron with case, and two lances of [iron] – just like the equipment of the cavalry bodyguard. This Babylonian horseman – whether a kind of cavalry bodyguard or a regular cavalryman – was a well-equipped armoured cavalryman. There is no reason to suppose that the Persian army forgot the Assyrian (and probably Babylonian) art of armoured heavy infantry and cavalry warfare.

Complicating the fairly coherent picture offered by the sculptures, written sources of the Sargonide period use no less than three terms to refer to the cavalry bodyguard. It is known from the royal inscriptions of Sargon II (8<sup>th</sup> campaign) that he was always escorted by the cavalry regiment (*kitullu perru*) of Šin-aḫu-ušur,<sup>102</sup> the brother of the king. This unit escorted the king under all circumstances, and never left his side, either in enemy or in friendly country.<sup>103</sup> Šin-aḫu-

<sup>92</sup> EBELING 1952, 206: “eine zum Panzer gehörig *karballatu*, also wohl aus Eisen, eine Eisenkappe,” while Oppenheim *et al.* 1971, s.v. *karballatu*, 215 suggested a cowl attached to the *šir’anu* coat of mail.

<sup>93</sup> WEISSBACH 1911, 89, 3, lines 14-15 (cf. WEISSBACH-MARKKLEBERG 1938, 163, lines 17-18; HERZFELD 1938, 48, line 15 (Artaxerxes II?)).

<sup>94</sup> LUSCHEY 1968, pls. 31, 32, 38, 41.

<sup>95</sup> HERZFELD 1941, pl. 79.

<sup>96</sup> DE SÉLINCOURT – BURN 1983, 467 (Herodotus VII:64): “The Sacaе (a Scythian people) wore trousers and tall pointed hats set upright on their heads....”

<sup>97</sup> STRASSMAIER 1893, no. 253.

<sup>98</sup> DANDAMAJEV 1989, 564.

<sup>99</sup> OPPENHEIM *et al.*, 1971, s.v. *karballatu*, 215: ‘*šir’am*-coats;’ DANDAMAJEV 1989, 564: ‘breast-plates.’

<sup>100</sup> STRASSMAIER 1893, no. 253, ll. 6-8.

<sup>101</sup> For the scale armour of the Achaemenid Period see the descriptions of Xerxes’ army by Herodotus (*Historiae* VII:61: the iron scale armour of the Persians; IX:22: the death of Masistius at Plataiai 479 B.C. Actual iron and bronze scales from Persian scale armour were found by F. Petrie at Memphis, Palace of Apries, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford under the museum numbers: 1966.1207, 1266.1209, 1933.1435, 1910.537, 1909.1084, 1909.1085, 1966.1208. Similar armour scales were found in Cyprus at Amathus, Tomb 2, Cat. no. 57 (Cypro-Geom. III – Cypro-Archaic I. Period: WESTHOLM 1935, 13-14, pls. V:57, CL; WESTHOLM 1938, 163-173, fig. 1-2; GJERSTAD 1948, 132, fig. 20) and at Idalion, Western Acropolis, Squares G-H:6-7 (Period 6A = Cypro-Archaic II, around 470 B.C.: GJERSTAD 1935, 538-539, fig. 247-249, pl. CLXXII; WESTHOLM 1938, 163-173, figs. 3-4; GJERSTAD 1948, 132, fig. 20). For Achaemenian iron scale armour found at Pasargadae (Tall-i Takht, Room 94, 63/102; now MMA 1978.93.15) and from Persepolis see MUSCARELLA 1988, 212, no. 321.

<sup>102</sup> NIEDERREITER 2005, 57-76.

<sup>103</sup> 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 Šin-aḫu-ušur” (*it-ti* GIŠ.GIGR GJR.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-ù ki-tul-lum per-ra Šin-aḫu-ušur). See also line 332: LÚ.qu-ra-di-ia a-di ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ

uṣur may have been the commander of the cavalry bodyguard. This cavalry bodyguard theory is supported by the description of the 8<sup>th</sup> campaign of Sargon II. The inscription mentions that at the battle of Wauš (*Ú-a-uš*) Sargon II himself led the charge of the Assyrian cavalry against the Urartian army of Rusa. The same inscription furthermore mentions that the king led an expeditionary force, consisting of 1,000 cavalry, archers and spearmen,<sup>104</sup> to capture the city of Mušašir. Sargon's annals also mention this cavalry bodyguard as 1,000 ANŠE.BAD.ḪAL(*pēḫal*) GĪR.II-ia(*šēpēia*).<sup>105</sup> This cavalry unit of 1,000 horsemen is obviously the regiment of Sîn-aḫu-uṣur mentioned above, the cavalry bodyguard (*pēḫal qurubte*), or at least one of its regiments. A fragmentary Nimrud Letter also refers to 1,000 cavalry, who arrived in the province of a governor (DN-bēli-uṣur), and wanted to collect *iškāru*-tax due on horses.<sup>106</sup> These 1,000 cavalymen might have been a standard unit size of the Assyrian royal cavalry bodyguard.<sup>107</sup> The events of the 8<sup>th</sup> campaign of Sargon II are depicted in the sculptures of Room XIII of the Khorsabad palace. In the sculptures there are three interesting cavalymen. One of them is escorting the king's chariot (*Plate 6, 12*), two others (*Plate 6, 11*) are trampling upon the defeated enemy. Their equipment differs completely from the equipment of other horsemen.<sup>108</sup> The trappings of their horses are similarly decorated, but they do not wear helmets. Their garments are the same kind: their tunics end in a loose-fitting kilt reaching to the knee. The trimming of their kilt is decorated with a rectangular border motif. Their weaponry consists of a lance, a sword, a bow, and a unique, decorated quiver as well. This gives us the impression of nobility. This type of horsemen is otherwise unknown in Assyrian sculptures. They are probably high officials of the royal entourage (who in other contexts were never represented on horseback), or distinguished members of the royal cavalry bodyguard, amongst them Sîn-aḫu-uṣur(?), the brother of the king – obviously not in battle dress.<sup>109</sup>

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*a-li-kut i-di-ia il-tén-nu-ú ú-qa-tin-ma* (My warriors and horses marching by my side marched in single file through the pass). Similar phrasing (*it-ti* GĪŠ.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 in his display inscription from Khorsabad (FUCHS 1994, Prunk, lines 85-86), describing the events of the 11<sup>th</sup> 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 Sargon II in the same year led a campaign against Ashdod.

<sup>104</sup> 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* GĪŠ.GIGIR GĪR.II-ia e-de-ni-ti ù 1 LIM *pet-ḫal-li-ia šit-mur-ti ša-ab* GĪŠ.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 crossed a mountain: "My warriors and cavalry, who are marching at my sides (LÚ.*qu-ra-di-ia a-di* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *a-li-kut i-di-ia*), let them march in a row."

<sup>105</sup> LIE 1929, 26:150; FUCHS 1994, Ann. 150: "With my single chariot, with my 1,000 bodyguard cavalry, and my battle-hardened foot soldiers" (*i-na 1* GĪŠ.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 epizode: LIE 1929, 40:256-257.

<sup>106</sup> ND 2401, SAGGS 2001, 251-252.

<sup>107</sup> An interesting story appears in Xenophon's, *Κόρον παιδεία* IV, 6, 2: Gobryas, an old Assyrian official, who used to be the most devoted friend of the Assyrian king, and who used to put 1,000 cavalymen at the disposal of the Assyrian king, surrendered to Cyrus, and became his most valuable general, who conquered Babylon. It seems to the present author that this story (with further interesting details!) is a *topos* which originated in Assyria, and was transplanted into a Babylonian context. Gobryas (an old Assyrian) might well have been the commander of the royal bodyguard (obviously the most devoted friend of the Assyrian king), who commanded 1,000 cavalymen, which might have been a standard unit size of the Assyrian royal cavalry bodyguard. For the role and background of Gobryas see PARPOLA 2003, 339-350, esp. 343-345. The tradition of a cavalry bodyguard of 1,000 horsemen is known even from the Persian times, from Xerxes's army: Herodotus VII:40. For unit sizes of 1,000 and 200 cavalymen see furthermore Xenophon's, *Παραρχικός*, IX:3.

<sup>108</sup> BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pls. 142-143.

<sup>109</sup> DEZSŐ 2006A, Fig. 6.97.

The units of the cavalry bodyguard were probably the elite units of the cavalry of the *kišir šarrūti* (royal corps of the Assyrian army). At least three types of the cavalry bodyguard are known: the *pēthalli šēpē* (cavalry of the ‘personal guard’), the *pēthalli ša—qurbūte* (cavalry of the *ša—qurbūte* bodyguard), and the *pēthal qurubte* (cavalry bodyguard). Unfortunately the difference between them is virtually unknown.

(1) *Pēthalli šēpē* (cavalry of the ‘personal guard’)

The first type, the *pēthalli šēpē* is known from the annals of Sargon II.<sup>110</sup> It is possible that the *pēthalli šēpē* was a unit,<sup>111</sup> possibly a regiment of the *pēthal qurubte* cavalry (see below). Several types of *ša—šēpē* appear in the cuneiform sources.<sup>112</sup> They were obviously not only foot soldiers, as the word would imply. And indeed, their appearance in the Nimrud Horse Lists proves the opposite. As can be deduced from other cuneiform texts, they could serve as cavalry<sup>113</sup> and chariotry<sup>114</sup> as well, and there were even *ša—qurbūte* officers, who served in the *ša—šēpē* guard.<sup>115</sup> Altogether five texts of the Nimrud Horse List corpus mention *ša—šēpē*. The beginning of CTN III, 101 lists 2 *ša—šēpē* officers in a headquarters staff section.<sup>116</sup> Another fragmentary context in CTN III, 102 also mentions [x] *ša—šēpē* officers,<sup>117</sup> while in CTN III, 111 the *ša—šēpē* have 26 horses.<sup>118</sup> On this tablet the *ša—šēpē* is listed under the heading of the Chief Eunuch’s (LÚ.GAL—SAG) contingents together with other members of the headquarters staff (*pattūte* charioteers and chariot owners, see later). CTN III, 107, however, probably lists a complete unit of 10+ *ša—šēpē* officers under the command of Mannu-kī-Ninua and Aššur-šarrāni.<sup>119</sup> His unit received 68 horses, but the summary section directly following his name states that 104 horses were assigned to the *ša—šēpē* guard, which means that this unit was at least the size of a squadron. CTN III, 108A listed 9+ *ša—šēpē* officers,<sup>120</sup> who were probably *rab urâte*. Since three of them were identical with three officers of CN III, 107, it can be assumed that this tablet listed the officers of the same unit. It is possible that both of them were under the command of Mannu-kī-Ninua. It seems that the officers of the *ša—šēpē* guard ordered to join this expeditionary army formed a substantial unit during these campaigns.

<sup>110</sup> LIE 1929, 26:150; see also the Ashdod epizode: 40:256-257.

<sup>111</sup> An administrative text (“List of Audience Gifts and a Memorandum,” FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 29 (ADD 1041)) mentions the prefects (LÚ.NU.GAR.MEŠ) of the royal guard (*ša—GİR.2.MEŠ*).

<sup>112</sup> There are at least 14 different types/contexts of *ša—šēpē* in the cuneiform texts of the Sargonide period. See vol. I. chapter *Ša—šēpē* (‘personal guard’) Chart 1.

<sup>113</sup> BAD.ĤAL(*pēthalli*) GİR.2(*šēpē*) (FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 36 (ADD 1036), R. I:5-6), where it appears together with *pēthalli ša LÚ.qur-bu-te*.

<sup>114</sup> LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *ša—šēpē* (GİR.2) (KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 164 (ADD 612), Rev. 13); [LÚ.GAL(*rab*) 50.MEŠ] *ša 3-šú ša—šēpē* (GİR.2) (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 148 (ADD 1083), Rev. II:6’); EN.GIŠ.GIGIR (*bēl mugerri*) *ša—GİR.2?*(ĪR.KUR), DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 136, Rev. 3-4’.

<sup>115</sup> *Qurbūtu* (*qur-ZAG*) *šēpē* (GİR.2) GIŠ.GIGIR (of the chariotry), (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 152 (ADD 971), Rev. I’:4’); *qurbūtu* (*qur-ZAG*) *šēpē* (GİR.2) DU<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ (of the open chariotry), (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 152 (ADD 971), Rev. I’:5’). For the different types of chariotry see POSTGATE 1990.

<sup>116</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 101, i:7-8a: Birtāia and Ibašši-ilu.

<sup>117</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 102, i:11.

<sup>118</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 111, 3’.

<sup>119</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 107, i:1’-15’.

<sup>120</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108A, Obv. i:6’, 7’-15’.

(2) *Pēṭhalli ša—qurbūte* (cavalry of the *ša—qurbūte* bodyguard)

The questions raised by the second type, the *pēṭhalli ša—qurbūte* are much more difficult, since we do not even know whether the term designates the cavalry units of *ša—qurbūte* bodyguards, or a cavalry unit formed from them. Another question is the difference between the *qurubtu* and the (*ša—*) *qurbūte* units. One of the texts of the Nimrud Horse Lists (CTN III, 108)<sup>121</sup> lists both *ša—qurbūte* (right and left wing)<sup>122</sup> and *pēṭhal qurubte* (*mušarkisāni ša pēṭhal qurubte*),<sup>123</sup> which makes a clear distinction between the two units. The *pēṭhal qurubte* was a regular cavalry bodyguard unit probably consisting of 1,000 cavalymen. In contrast to this, the *ša—qurbūte* bodyguards<sup>124</sup> as has been discussed above (*vol. I. chapter Qurbūtu / ša—qurbūte* (*qurbūtu* bodyguard)) were high ranking bodyguard officials of the royal entourage. There are several types of *qurbūtu* bodyguards mentioned in the cuneiform sources.<sup>125</sup> However, as can be deduced from this text – similarly to the *qurubtu* – they could form army units, which formed two wings: *qurbūtu imitti* (right wing bodyguard); *qurbūtu ša šumēli* (left wing bodyguard) on either side of the king probably on the march and in battle order as well. It is known that there were *ša—qurbūte* who served as cavalry<sup>126</sup> and others who served as chariotry.<sup>127</sup> As has already been discussed, it is known from the correspondence of Sargon II that the *qurbūtu* bodyguard was a confidential representative or a plenipotentiary of the king, who in certain cases could give orders even to governors and other officials.<sup>128</sup> In this capacity it is hardly credible that the *qurbūtu* or *ša—qurbūte* was a simple cavalry bodyguard. Therefore the *qurbūtu* is far more likely to have been a (distinguished?) member of the royal cavalry escort, similar for example to the *hetairoi*, the noble Macedonian cavalry escort of Alexander the Great. The *qurbūtu imitti* (right wing bodyguard) and *qurbūtu ša šumēli* (left wing bodyguard) appear only in CTN III, 108, in a broken context.<sup>129</sup> Since these senior officers appear in the introductory section of the text, it seems that – in accordance with the theory of their character discussed above – they formed a kind of headquarters staff, a royal entourage unit, and not regular units.

(3) *Pēṭhal qurubte* (cavalry bodyguard)

The third type, the *pēṭhal qurubte* – which had a chariotry counterpart (*narkabat qurubte*)<sup>130</sup> as well – appears in a quite different group of sources consists of inventory texts, which were made during reviews and musters<sup>131</sup> of cavalry and chariotry units of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*), the

<sup>121</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108.

<sup>122</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, Obv. i:7-8.

<sup>123</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, Obv. ii:27-47.

<sup>124</sup> POSTGATE 1974, 194, 225-226; MALBRAN-LABAT 1982, 52-53, 141-145, 269; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 33-34 (where there was no clear distinction made between *ša—qurbūte* and *pēṭhal/GIŠ.GIGIR qurubte*).

<sup>125</sup> More than 20 different types/contextes of *ša—qurbūte* appear in the cuneiform texts of the Sargonide period. See *vol. I. chapter Qurbūtu / ša—qurbūte* (*qurbūtu* bodyguard).

<sup>126</sup> [BAD].ḪAL(*pēṭhalli*) *ša* LÚ.*qur-bu-te* (FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 36 (ADD 1036), Rev. I:10).

<sup>127</sup> LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *qur-bu-[ti]* (KASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 112 (ADD 455), Rev. 7); LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *qur-bu-te* URU.Ši-šil-a-a (MATTILA 2002, 397 (Iraq 32, 7), 9\*); EN.GIŠ.GIGIR *qur-bu-ti* (KINNIER WILSON 1972, 19, 15). There are two other uncertain entries of chariotry which could belong to the *qurubtu* section as well: A.SIG *ša qur-rub* (DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 119, 10); LÚ.3-šú *q[ur-bu]* (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 9 (ADD 860), Rev. I:10).

<sup>128</sup> MALBRAN-LABAT 1982, 52-53, 141-145.

<sup>129</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, Obv. i:7-8.

<sup>130</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 103.

<sup>131</sup> For the question whether these texts were written on reviews made before or after the campaigns see DEZSÖ 2006B, 93-140.

home army of the Assyrian imperial forces.<sup>132</sup> There is a distinct group of texts, known as the Nimrud Horse Lists,<sup>133</sup> which were written about such huge reviews. These reviews, for which large numbers of horses were mustered, were held most probably in Babylonia<sup>134</sup> around 710–708 B.C. One of the texts lists 2,207 horses and 177 mules,<sup>135</sup> a Borsippa muster reviews 3,477 horses and mules,<sup>136</sup> a third text, however, mentions 1,523 horses and mules.<sup>137</sup> Nevertheless these texts list not only horses, but hundreds of cavalry and chariotry officers of the royal corps and their units as well. There are some cavalry units which can be reconstructed from the Nimrud Horse Lists. Five Nimrud texts,<sup>138</sup> for example, mention high ranking officials of the cavalry (bodyguard) (*mušarkisāni ša pēṭhal qurubte*), who were responsible for the replacement and provision of horses in the provinces.<sup>139</sup> The first section of one of these texts (CTN III, 99)<sup>140</sup> probably refers to the cavalry bodyguard (*pēṭhal qurubte*). The names of 16 high ranking officers or military officials and 16 of their subordinate officers are listed here. However, the line summing up this section<sup>141</sup> explicitly gives 14, which fact is of great importance. The subordinate officers were ‘team commanders’ (*rab urâte*).<sup>142</sup> Each of them served a single high ranking officer. The high ranking officers are ‘recruitment officers’ (*mušarkisāni*)<sup>143</sup> probably the ‘recruitment officers’ of the cavalry bodyguard (*mušarkisāni ša pēṭhal qurubte*)<sup>144</sup> who were, as far as we know, in charge of the supply of horses and the recruitment of soldiers for this unit. They served in the ‘home provinces’ of the Assyrian Empire, since the Assyrian army was organized on a territorial basis. Another important text (ND 2386+2730)<sup>145</sup> lists further names, and designates them as recruitment officers of the cavalry (LÚ.mu-šar-kis ša pēt-ḫal-li-e).<sup>146</sup> However, the similarity between these two texts lies not in the names but in the numbers. Both texts list 14 recruitment officers (ND 2386+2730 lists 7 pairs), which means that there were probably 14 supply regions in 7 provinces/territories. There were probably 2 recruitment officers designated to each province. Two of the names listed in this section of ND 2386+2730 appear in another Nimrud text (CTN III, 102) as well,<sup>147</sup> which identifies the 5+ officers of this section of CTN III, 102 with *mušarkisāni ša pēṭhal qurubte*. Another

<sup>132</sup> Such a muster appears in one of the sculptures of Sennacherib showing a captured western city and a muster outside the walls. Different types of Assyrian soldiers are shown marching in three registers (BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 19).

<sup>133</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A; DEZSŐ 2006B, 93–140.

<sup>134</sup> For example in Dūr-Ladini (DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 100, 179–181, pl. 27). This text mentions the town of Dūr-Ladini, which was captured by Sargon II in 710 B.C. It is possible that this text can be connected to a review held in this Babylonian town, after its capture, when the Assyrians used it as a military base. Another review was held in Borsippa (DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 103).

<sup>135</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 98.

<sup>136</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 103.

<sup>137</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108A.

<sup>138</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, nos. 99, 100, 101, 102, 108.

<sup>139</sup> PARKER 1961, ND 2836 + 2730.

<sup>140</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, §A, Obv. i:1–18, 168, 170–172, 176.

<sup>141</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, i:18.

<sup>142</sup> For *rab urâte* see DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 31–32.

<sup>143</sup> For *mušarkisāni* see DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 28–31 with a detailed list of all the *mušarkisāni* known from the reign of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.).

<sup>144</sup> The text (Obv. i:1) explicitly classified them as LÚ.GAL.GAL.MEŠ(*rabūti*), but DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 176 convincingly identified them with the *mušarkisāni ša pēṭhal qurubte* (‘recruitment officers of the cavalry bodyguard’). This identification is based on the similarity of this list and the names listed with two other lists, ND 2386+2730 (PARKER 1961, 22–24, pl. XI) and CTN III, 108 (DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108).

<sup>145</sup> PARKER 1961, 22–24, pl. XI.

<sup>146</sup> PARKER 1961, ND 2386+2730, Obv. II:1’–16’.

<sup>147</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 102, iii:30’–30a’: Nanusu; iii:31’–31a’: Ubru-Aššur.

text in this group of documents, a Nimrud text (CTN III, 100),<sup>148</sup> is a similar list of high ranking officers and their subordinates. Three *mušarkisāni* of this cavalry bodyguard unit<sup>149</sup> appear in this fragmentary text together with three *mušarkisāni* of the chariotry bodyguard unit.<sup>150</sup> All of them are listed with a single subordinate *rab urâte* officer and a few soldiers placed probably under their command. A further, very important text (CTN III, 108)<sup>151</sup> lists 11+2? *mušarkisāni* of this unit. The names of six of them<sup>152</sup> appear in the parallel section of CTN III, 99.

The units of the chariotry bodyguard (GIŠ.GIGIR *qurubte*)<sup>153</sup> and the cavalry bodyguard (*pēthāl qurubte*)<sup>154</sup> are also known from the reigns of later kings. One of the inscriptions of Esarhaddon (680—669 B.C.) mentions these two elite units,<sup>155</sup> and several members of the cavalry bodyguard are known from the administrative documents.<sup>156</sup> One of these texts is a long list which distributes booty amongst the palace personnel.<sup>157</sup> Here we find a cavalry officer (*rab mūgi ša pēthalli*), a cavalry bodyguard (*pēthalli ša LÚ.qurbūte*) and another type of cavalry bodyguard, the *pēthalli šēpē*, which appears in the royal inscriptions of Sargon II mentioned above. The dating of these texts, however, is uncertain. They could have been written at any time during the reigns of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal. Furthermore, it is known that probably after an army reform of Sennacherib<sup>158</sup> the crown prince (*mār šarri*) and the queen mother (*ummi šarri*) had their own units.<sup>159</sup> However, as far as can be judged from the written sources, they did not have cavalry units.<sup>160</sup>

Summing up this section three types of cavalry bodyguard can be reconstructed from the written evidence. The *pēthāl qurubte* (cavalry bodyguard) was most probably a regular unit composed of more regiments; the *pēthalli šēpē* (cavalry of the 'personal guard') was also a regular cavalry unit, probably one of the regiments of the *pēthāl qurubte* (cavalry bodyguard); and finally, the *pēthalli ša—qurbūte* (cavalry of the *ša—qurbūte* bodyguard) was most probably a royal cavalry entourage unit, distinguished members of which were similar for example to the *hetairoi*, the noble Macedonian cavalry escort of Alexander the Great.

<sup>148</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 100, 179-181, pl. 27. This text mentions the town of Dūr-Ladini, which was captured by Sargon II in 710 B.C. It is possible, that this text can be connected to a review held in this Babylonian town, after its capture, when the Assyrians used it as a military base.

<sup>149</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 100, Rev. iii:3'-4': Nergal-šarru-ušur, iii:8'-10': Šin-nā'id; iii:11'-13': Bēl-dūri.

<sup>150</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 100, Rev. ii:6'-13': Šamaš-ilā'i, ii:14'-17' Nabû-šumu-ušur, iii:5'-7': Bābilāia.

<sup>151</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, 205-213, pls. 31-32.

<sup>152</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, Obv. ii:27: Abi-lēšir, ii:28: Šin-aḥḥē, ii:29: [Nergal]-šarru-ušur, ii:38: Aḥi-uqur, ii:40: Bēl-Ḥarrān-šadūa, ii:43: Bēl-dūri.

<sup>153</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 103.

<sup>154</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, nos. 99-101.

<sup>155</sup> BORGER 1956, 106, §68, Gottesbrief, lines 16-17.

<sup>156</sup> See for example: FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 110, 2: Nabû-šarru-ušur (a person with this name appears in ten documents as a *rab kišir* (*mār šarri*) between 671—663 B.C., and another as a *qurbūtu* (LÚ.qur-ZAG) at the same time) received 175 horses for the cavalry of the bodyguard (BAD.ḪAL *qur-ub*).

<sup>157</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 36.

<sup>158</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 3 (ADD 853), 4 (ADD 854).

<sup>159</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857).

<sup>160</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857). Judging from this text, the crown prince (*mār šarri*, DUMU—MAN) had the following officers: *rab kišir* (LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*), *qurbūtu* (LÚ.qur-ZAG), 'third man' (chariot shield bearer, LÚ.3-*šu*(*tašlišu*)), chariot horse-trainer (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR), horse trainer, open chariotry (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR—DU<sub>g</sub>.MEŠ), and prefect (*šaknu*). The queen mother (*ummi šarri*, AMA—MAN) had the same officers, but this text mentions her chariot driver (*mukil appâte*, LÚ.DIB—PA.MEŠ) too. Other texts mention officers of the queen (MÍ.É.GAL, MÍ.KUR) as well. Later, in the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. both of them had much more officers, mainly of the bodyguard units. For detailed study see later.

*Home based units of the Assyrian cavalry (kišir šarrūti): the ‘city units’<sup>161</sup>*

In the Nimrud Horse Lists a well attested group of five equestrian units can be identified. These are the so-called ‘city units’ of the *kišir šarrūti*. The five city units were named after major provincial centres of the Assyrian heartland: *Aššurāia*<sup>162</sup> for Assur or the land of Assur, *Arraphāia*<sup>163</sup> for Arrapha, *Arzuḫināia*<sup>164</sup> for Arzuḫina, *Arbailāia*<sup>165</sup> for Arbela, with a single exception *Armāia*,<sup>166</sup> which hints at the possible Aramean origin of this unit. It also seems obvious that these units were based in these cities of the empire. However, it is not known whether these were cavalry or chariotry units – since both chariotry and cavalry officers were assigned to them.<sup>167</sup> Consequently it is quite reasonable to suppose that the city units were composed of cavalry and chariotry as well.<sup>168</sup> The Nimrud Horse Lists list the officers and horses assigned to them in relatively large numbers. In addition to the bodyguard units, especially the cavalry bodyguard discussed above, the city units were probably the elite troops, the ‘backbone’ of the Assyrian army. If the cavalry bodyguard was identified in the sculptures as cavalymen equipped with lances and bows as well, it is quite reasonable to suppose that the city units might have formed the regular cavalry units, horsemen of which were depicted in the sculptures as lancers and mounted archers.<sup>169</sup>

It can not be confidently decided whether the ‘city units’ and the ‘provincial units’ (see chapter Chariotry) of the Nimrud Horse Lists were cavalry or chariotry units. Since they were equestrian units, they are going to be discussed in both chapters with different emphases.

Fig 1. shows a tentative reconstruction of the cavalry units of the Sargonides. From this reconstruction it is clear that the cavalry (and other units as well) were divided between royal contingents (home based, province based, and foreign) with bodyguard cavalry and the provincial troops.

*Foreign units of the Assyrian cavalry*

It is known from other cuneiform sources that not only Assyrians but also foreign units served in the ranks of the regular cavalry of the *kišir šarrūti* (royal corps of the Assyrian army).<sup>170</sup> As has already been discussed, the 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Assyrian royal inscriptions frequently mention enemy cavalry defeated, captured and/or enlisted into the Assyrian army (see above, and Chart 4). However, it is impossible to reconstruct the role these foreign cavalry units played in the 9<sup>th</sup>

<sup>161</sup> DEZSÖ 2006B, 99-106.

<sup>162</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 102, ii:1’-7’; no. 111, Obv. 6’-21’.

<sup>163</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 102, ii:8’-19’; no. 108, Obv. ii:1-8; no. 111, Obv. 22’-34’.

<sup>164</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 102, iii:1’-12’; no. 111, Rev. 10-18.

<sup>165</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 102, iii:13’-21’; no. 108, ii:17-24; no. 111, Rev. 19-; no. 110, iii:7’-15’.

<sup>166</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 102, ii:20’-28’; no. 108, ii:9-16; no. 111, Rev. 1-9.

<sup>167</sup> At least the same names appear as *rab kišir* (cohort commander) or *rab urâte* (team commander) officers. The *rab urâte* (team commander) refers to teams of horses, so it could be a chariotry officer.

<sup>168</sup> For the detailed study of the city units see the chapter of chariotry.

<sup>169</sup> This hypothesis suppose that the city units of the *kišir šarrūti* (mentioned in the cuneiform sources exclusively during the reign of Sargon II, when lancers and mounted archers were not separated in the sculptures), existed during the reigns of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal, when the lancers and mounted archers were consistently distinguished from each other in the sculptures.

<sup>170</sup> For the earliest comprehensive study see DALLEY 1985.

century B.C. Assyrian army. The 8<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. royal inscriptions and administrative texts also mention foreign cavalry, from which – after they had been captured – the Assyrians organized cavalry units. Sargon II for example enlisted into the *kišir šarrūti* on his first campaign 200 chariots and 600 horsemen<sup>171</sup> from Qarqar, and on his 5<sup>th</sup> campaign 50 chariots and 200 horsemen<sup>172</sup> from Carchemish. On his 8<sup>th</sup> campaign, at the battle of Wauš, Sargon II captured the Urartian cavalry of Rusa.<sup>173</sup> The Nimrud Horse Lists mention several units (probably mainly chariotry) of foreign origin which can be reconstructed from the name of the unit or the names of its officers.<sup>174</sup> Such provincial units can be reconstructed, for example, from CTN III, 99,<sup>175</sup> where the unit of Marduk-šarru-ušur<sup>176</sup> judging by the West Semitic names of its officers, might have been a unit recruited from these North Syrian subjects of the Assyrian Empire (from Qarqar and Carchemish mentioned above?); the *Kaldāia* unit<sup>177</sup> was formed from Babylonian subjects who were loyal to Sargon II or after the capture of Dūr-Iakin in 709 B.C.; the unit of Nabû-bēlu-kaʾin<sup>178</sup> retained its origin in its name: this unit was the *Sāmerināia*, which was composed at least partly of Samaritan Jews. It is known from the royal inscriptions of Sargon II that in his first regnal year, after the fall of Samaria, he enlisted 50 Samaritan chariots into the *kišir šarrūti* of the Assyrian army.<sup>179</sup> Further fragmentary tablets of the Nimrud Horse Lists mention other provincial units of foreign origin. CTN III, 110 for example mentions a unit called Ḥamateans (LÚ.Ḥa-ma-ta-a-a),<sup>180</sup> which was probably of Syrian (Ḥamatean) origin. This unit might also have originated from those 200 chariotry and 600 cavalry whom Sargon II recruited in his 1<sup>st</sup> *palû* from the defeated coalition forces of Ilu-bi'di.<sup>181</sup>

Another administrative document lists North Syrian and Babylonian cavalymen, chariot drivers and 'third men' (shield-bearers) according to their provinces. This list is probably a register of the soldiers of the Assyrian royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) who were deployed in the provinces, plus a unit of the *sukkallu*. The list includes 1,669 cavalymen, 577+ chariot drivers and 1,164 'third men' (shield-bearers) from Bīt-Adini, Bīt-Dakkuri, Dūr-Ellatia, Larak, Sabḥānu, Našibina, and Til-Barsip.<sup>182</sup> In a fragmentary letter an Assyrian official asked Sargon II to send orders (to Ḥarrān?) to return the missing cavalymen to the royal corps.<sup>183</sup>

The Assyrians, however, not only enlisted complete foreign cavalry units into the *kišir šarrūti*, but deported single soldiers as well, who were probably employed in the Assyrian army. An administrative text (probably a list for a 'selective' deportation) for example lists Babylonian deportees, among them Lā-abāši, a Babylonian cavalryman with his 2 relatives and 2 slaves.<sup>184</sup> Another administrative text mentions a contingent of 198 soldiers, 195 equids and 120 dromedaries, which was sent by one Assyrian official to another. In the ranks of this unit there

<sup>171</sup> FUCHS 1994, Display Inscription, lines 35-6.

<sup>172</sup> FUCHS 1994, Annales, line 75.

<sup>173</sup> FUCHS 1994, Annales, line 134.

<sup>174</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, nos. 99-115; DEZSÓ 2006B, 93-140.

<sup>175</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99.

<sup>176</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Obv. ii:7-11, 173, 177.

<sup>177</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Obv. ii:12-15, 168, 173, 177.

<sup>178</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, ii:16-23.

<sup>179</sup> FUCHS 1994, Annales 15.

<sup>180</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 110, iii:1'-13'.

<sup>181</sup> FUCHS 1994, Display 35-6.

<sup>182</sup> PARKER 1961, ND 2619.

<sup>183</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 194 (ABL 1073), 7'-8': LÚ.ša—BAD.ḤAL.[MEŠ ...] ina ŠÀ ki-iš-ri ša [LUGAL ...].

<sup>184</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 174 (ADD 882).



were foreign, non-Assyrian groups, for example Lidæans, Itu'eans, and Ḫamaranaeans as well.<sup>185</sup> These were probably auxiliary light cavalry units. However, in the palace reliefs no foreign cavalymen (either light, or heavy armoured) can be identified in the ranks of the Assyrian cavalry, since the equipment of the Assyrian cavalry – especially during the reigns of the Sargonides – shows a highly uniform character. In contrast to the Gurraean and Itu'ean auxiliary units of the Assyrian infantry, not a single ethnic characteristic can be detected in the ranks of the Assyrian cavalry of the palace reliefs, such as could distinguish the foreign people or units from the Assyrian cavalymen of the Assyrian imperial army. Therefore it seems obvious that the members of the Assyrian cavalry – independently of their ethnic origin – served in the same Assyrian uniform and equipment, which became the uniform of the imperial army.<sup>186</sup>

As has already been shown the Assyrians encountered enemy horsemen as early as the advent of cavalry. Such battles are depicted in the palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.),<sup>187</sup> and Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.).<sup>188</sup> The sculptures of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal show several battle scenes where the Assyrian cavalry encounters enemy horsemen. One of these scenes in Room I (slab 20) in the Southwest Palace of Sennacherib depicts large numbers of enemy cavalry (5+) lined up with enemy chariots (6+).<sup>189</sup> The horsemen are unarmoured, without helmets, and their only weapon is a long lance. The upper, unfortunately fragmentary registers show their battle with the Assyrian cavalry in forested hill country. Other relief slabs from this room show Phoenician scenes, so it is possible that this substantial cavalry and chariotry army (the depiction of which is a rare example in the Assyrian palace relief tradition) was part of a Phoenician coalition army.<sup>190</sup> A series of slabs in Court VI forms a long battle scene. The Assyrian cavalry is engaged in close combat and chasing large numbers of enemy archers in unidentified forested hill country. In the ranks of the enemy infantry appears an unarmoured enemy lancer chased by an Assyrian cavalryman.<sup>191</sup> Similar enemy cavalymen can be seen in a battle context in unidentified hill country in Room VII (slab 12)<sup>192</sup> and in Court VI (slab 19)<sup>193</sup> as well. On his 2<sup>nd</sup> campaign (702 B.C.) Sennacherib led his army to the Zagros mountains and captured the city of Aranziaš. One of the scenes of this campaign shows four Assyrian cavalymen (2 cavalry bodyguards and 2 lancers) chasing three galloping enemy horsemen equipped with lances and wearing a characteristic garment: a cloak(?) half of which was probably made of animal skin.<sup>194</sup> Enemy horsemen appear in the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal as well. These enemy horsemen are,

<sup>185</sup> SAGGS 2001, 290-292, ND 2366 (NL 60): (8') 19 soldiers, 19 ...-equids; (9') 13 of his soldiers, 60 dromedaries; (10') 3 (soldiers), 3 (mounts): the Lidæans; (11') 81 (soldiers), 81 (mounts): Bēl-Iēšir; (12') 18 (soldiers), 18 (mounts): the Itu'eans; (13') 15 (soldiers), 15 (mounts): the Ḫamaranaeans; (14') 59 (soldiers), 59 (mounts): 60 dromedaries (15') by the hands of Šamaš-ibnī.

<sup>186</sup> NADALI 2005A, 224-225, quoting Reade (READE 1972, 103-104) and Postgate (POSTGATE 2000, 99) supposed that the cavalry and chariotry "were the preserve by right of Assyrian soldiers," and the "soldiers newly called up to arms were not admitted to these two units." However, unlike the homogenous pictorial evidence, the written record makes it clear that large numbers of foreigners served in the ranks of the Assyrian cavalry and chariotry.

<sup>187</sup> MEUSZYŃSKI 1981, Taf. 3, B-27; Nimrud, Northwest Palace, London, British Museum, WA 124559.

<sup>188</sup> BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. LXIV-LXV.

<sup>189</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 34.

<sup>190</sup> For such a Western encounter three possible dates can be reconstructed. The date is most probably the 3<sup>rd</sup> campaign (701 B.C.) of Sennacherib, but the *limmu* of Šulmu-bēli (698 B.C.: the campaign to Que and Ḫilakku) and the *limmu* of Aššur-bēlu-ušur (695 B.C.: to Taba) are also possible.

<sup>191</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 108.

<sup>192</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 192, 193.

<sup>193</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 110.

<sup>194</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 66, 68.

however, Aramean<sup>195</sup> and Elamite. The Elamite horseman appear in the famous sculptures (Southwest Palace, Room XXXIII, slabs 1-3) depicting the battle of Til-Tuba, where the Assyrian cavalry fought what was probably a cavalry battle with the Elamites.<sup>196</sup>

### *Cavalry of the high officials and governors*

It is clear that cavalymen served not only in the royal forces, but in the armies of provincial governors<sup>197</sup> and high officials as well.<sup>198</sup> It is very hard to distinguish the cavalry units which were equipped by the governor and formed his cavalry from those royal cavalry units (king's men) which only stationed in his province. Unfortunately the royal inscriptions do not provide any information concerning the armies of the governors or magnates.<sup>199</sup> The only exception is the inscription of Sargon II, in which he mentions that the king, when he established the office of the *turtānu* of the left,<sup>200</sup> placed in his charge "150 chariots, 1,500 cavalymen, 20,000 bowmen and 10,000 shield-bearers and lancers",<sup>201</sup> which was a substantial force. In some cases the foreign, probably provincial units caused problems in Assyrian cities. A fragmentary Sargonide letter written probably by the governor of Calah mentions arriving troops who are loitering in the centre of the city with their riding horses like common criminals.<sup>202</sup> These troops were probably not regular units of the Assyrian cavalry, but foreign elements of the troops of high officials or governors who had arrived for a muster preceding a campaign.

The main sources for the reconstruction of these cavalry units are the royal correspondence and administrative texts, the review lists. One feature of the Assyrian central administration was that the Assyrian officials entered the stock of horses coming in from the different sources in an inventory and reviewed them regularly. A large number of administrative texts (review lists) were written during the different reviews and musters which can be connected to military campaigns. During these reviews not only the quantity but often the quality of the horses too was

<sup>195</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 184. An Assyrian armoured spearman forcing an Aramean horseman into the marshes.

<sup>196</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 383. See furthermore no. 13 in forecourt H, Southwest Palace.

<sup>197</sup> See for example the following letters: PARPOLA 1987, 241 (ABL 563); LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 215 (NL 89); POSTGATE 2000; FALES 2000, 40-43; SAGGS 2001, 128-130; SAGGS 2001, 241-242, ND 2366 (NL 60).

<sup>198</sup> See for example the letters: CT 53, 47+ (ABL 1290); PARPOLA 1979, 47; LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 250; FALES 2000, 48-49; and the letter of Marduk-šarru-ušur to Sargon II from 710 B.C., which mentions the cavalry commander of the *šandabakku*: FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 184 (ABL 438) or ND 2435 (SAGGS 2001, 80-82), which mentions the cavalry (one hundred) of the *rab šāqê* (Chief Cupbearer).

<sup>199</sup> For the best summary of the military activity of the Assyrian high officials see MATTILA 2000, 149-157. It is possible furthermore, that – as CTN III, 105 shows – there were reviews of the units of the high officials in this group as well or this tablet was not a horse list at all and belonged to a different type/group of tablets (CTN III, 86).

<sup>200</sup> Mattila has argued that "The division of the office of the *turtānu* into two in the reign of Sargon II has in turn been taken as a sign of the decline in the importance of his office" (MATTILA 2000, 153). However, with the growth of the Assyrian Empire it became indispensable to adjust the territorially based military organization of the empire to meet new needs: a single *turtānu* probably could not lead all the provincial armies and could not organize the recruitment, supply, and logistics of the vast territory of the empire. It has to be admitted, however, as Mattila has mentioned, that it is impossible to establish differences in the duties of the left and right *turtānus*. Mattila supposed that this was the reason for the obvious growing importance of the Chief Eunuch. However, in a certain letter (ABL 568, PARPOLA 1987, 34), which deals with the distribution of tribute and audience gifts between the members of the royal family and high officials of the empire, the king, the queen and the crown prince (Sennacherib himself, the author of the letter) are followed by the *sukkallu dannu* (Grand Vizier, probably Šin-aḫu-ušur, the brother of the king), the *turtānu* (Commander-in-Chief), the *sartennu*, the *sukkallu šanū* (Second Vizier), and then the *rab ša—rēšê* (Chief Eunuch). The amount of the tribute distributed is interesting as well: the *sukkallu dannu* and the *turtānu* in this case received larger amounts than the Chief Eunuch, even more than the crown prince himself. It is possible that this letter was written before the division of the office of the *turtānu* into two.

<sup>201</sup> FUCHS 1994, Annales, lines 409-410; Prunk, lines 116-117; 13<sup>th</sup> *pali*, 709 B.C.

<sup>202</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 154 (CT 53, 829).

reviewed. The sources concerned with reviews and musters can be divided into three major groups: 1. Local Assyrian officials and commanders reviewing the horses/troops and reporting the results to the king. 2. The Assyrian king ordering the high officials, governors, military commanders, etc. to gather their troops, review them and march to the gathering place of a campaign to appear before the king. 3. Large royal musters where all the units gathered for a campaign are reviewed (*see* above the Nimrud Horse Lists).

1. Preparing for a military campaign, before the concentration of forces the Assyrian king could regularly order reviews of provincial units and reports on the condition of the troops. An unknown letter writer reported to the king that his troops are very scarce. He wrote to the king, but “only got [2]60 horses and [13] small boys. [2]67 horses and 28 men — I have 527 horses and 28 men, all told. I have been writing to wherever there are king's men, but they have not come.”<sup>203</sup> It is not known whether the whole unit – which judging by the large number of horses (527) at his disposal might have been a substantial one, – was his own cavalry or a cavalry unit (consisting of two or three squadrons of 200 horses (*see* below)) of the royal army stationed there and preparing for a campaign. The governor sent his prefects to fetch the missing men, who were most probably king's men. A royal order sent by Sargon II to a certain Rēmānni[...] ordered him to get his prefects and the horses of his cavalry to collection points immediately! Whoever was late would be impaled in the middle of his house.<sup>204</sup> This order does not specify the cavalry as a royal contingent, consequently it can be considered as a provincial cavalry unit. The most famous of these reports is a letter<sup>205</sup> written to Sargon II by Adad-issīa, governor of Māzāmua. The governor listed the strength and composition of the troops which were at his disposal. He received horses for 20 or 30 chariots and 97 cavalry horses. He received 106 chariot crew (11 chariot drivers, 12 ‘third men,’ 30 chariot fighters, and 53 more grooms of the teams) and 161 cavalymen and a further 182 grooms (130 grooms and 52 *zunzurālu* personnel). Together with other domestic and military personnel there were altogether 630 Assyrians at his disposal. Together with two types of auxiliary infantry (360 Gurrean spearmen and 440 Itu'ean archers) there were altogether 1,430 royal troops in the province. A similar provincial muster shows that an unfortunately unknown provincial governor had 198 cavalymen, 195 cavalry horses and 120 camels at his disposal.<sup>206</sup> In one of his letters Sargon II asked one of his governors, Mannu-kī-Adad why he turned the exempts of the Palace (1,119 able-bodied men) to recruits, others to chariot-men, and others again to cavalymen, into his own troops?<sup>207</sup>

The governors paid attention to the breeding of the horses of their equestrian units. When Sargon II asked Tāb-šil-Ēšarra, governor of Assur, how he fed his horses, the governor reported to the king that half of his horses “are fed in Barḫalzi province, the other half eat at the [...] of the ci]ty of Issete in the domestic quarters of [...]; my cavalry [and ... are sta]tioned in the tax-collection centre of the province of [...].”<sup>208</sup> It is interesting that the horses of the governor of Assur were fed in other provinces, where the grazing conditions were probably better. The letter from an unknown writer mentioned above reports to the king that the horses of the king had grown weak, so the governor let them go up the mountain and graze there.<sup>209</sup>

<sup>203</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 241 (ABL 563), Rev. 2-8.

<sup>204</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 22 (CT 53, 136). *See* furthermore POSTGATE 1973, 186 (ND 454).

<sup>205</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 215 (NL 89); POSTGATE 2000; FALES 2000, 40-43; SAGGS 2001, 128-130.

<sup>206</sup> SAGGS 2001, 241-242, ND 2366 (NL 60).

<sup>207</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 11 (ABL 304).

<sup>208</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 107 (ABL 97), 9-14.

<sup>209</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 241 (ABL 563), 11-13.

2. There are several letters in which the king orders his magnates, governors, military commanders, etc. to dispatch their forces during the concentration of corps to the gathering places, because troops have to be reviewed before the campaign. Sargon II sent a letter to Mannu-kī-Adad, who sent his men to the south and to the north on various errands. Sargon II orders him to summon them wherever they are, they must be there before his eunuch arrives. He wishes to send his eunuch to review them.<sup>210</sup> Sargon II sent an order with a *qurbūtu* bodyguard called Nabû-aḥu-ušur to Šarru-ēmuranni, one of his governors, that not one of his horses and men may be missing if they are to pass before the king.<sup>211</sup> Nergal-ētir wrote two letters to Sargon II in 708 B.C., in which he informs the king that his horses set out on the 7<sup>th</sup> of Iyyar (II)<sup>212</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> of Adar.<sup>213</sup> Unfortunately it is not known whether the horses were sent to the king as tribute/tax or – most probably – to a muster. Aššur-ālik-pāni, an Assyrian governor, wrote to Sargon II that – following royal orders – he would march to Arbela, to the king's presence with his king's men ([LÚ].ERIM.MEŠ—LUGAL-ia), chariotry (GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ), and cavalry (BAD.ḪAL-lum).<sup>214</sup> He promised furthermore that he would be there with his king's men and army by the deadline set by the king. Some governors, however, had problems with deadlines. Nabû-bēlu-ka'in, the governor of Kār-Šarrukēn (former Ḫarḫar), for example, received orders from the king to be in Calah on the 1<sup>st</sup> of Nisan (I).<sup>215</sup> He replied that they were clearing the roads, but it was snowing and the roads were impassable. He mentions that two years earlier, when there was as much snow, his men and horses died in the snow. He promised that he would be in the king's presence on the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> of Nisan. Sometimes the governors could disband their cavalry, which means that not all of them had to keep cavalry units permanently under arms.<sup>216</sup> The king sent much more unambiguous orders as well: "Get together your prefects plus the horses of your cavalry collection points immediately! Whoever is late will be impaled in the middle of his house ... Don't delay; leave your business and come straight away!"<sup>217</sup> He sent the following decree to Šadāia: "On the first of the month Tammuz you, together with 30 cavalry horses, shall indeed come into my presence."<sup>218</sup> In another case, however, the Assyrian king (Sargon II) sent an order to one of his governors who was ready to set up for the review but Išmê-ilu, the cohort commander, who carried the king's golden seal and hold them up, saying: "bring barley rations to Māzamua!"<sup>219</sup> There is an important letter<sup>220</sup> which lists army units arriving to Kār-Aššur and joining the assembling Assyrian army. The letter makes a distinction between the following three types of troops: 1. troops of the high officials: the troops of the *turtānu*, [...], and the *rab šāqê*; 2. 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. troops of four governors: Si'immê, Tillê, Guzana, and Isana, who are on the other hand identified by their governmental position (governor) and not by name. This letter does not mention the type of the arriving troops,

<sup>210</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 11 (ABL 304).

<sup>211</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 226 (ABL 884).

<sup>212</sup> FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 65 (ABL 226).

<sup>213</sup> FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 68 (ABL 983+).

<sup>214</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 152 (ABL 784).

<sup>215</sup> FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 83 (NL 61 (ND 2359) + NL 63 (ND.2777)).

<sup>216</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 205 (ABL 154).

<sup>217</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 22 (CT 53, 136).

<sup>218</sup> SAGGS 2001, 252-253, ND 2404.

<sup>219</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 234 (ABL 582).

<sup>220</sup> CT 53, 47+ ABL 1290; PARPOLA 1979, 47; LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 250; FALES 2000, 48-49.

but there were obviously cavalry units as well among them. A fragmentary letter,<sup>221</sup> which was written to Sargon II by an official whose name is missing, mentions Šarru-ēmuranni as an official/officer in charge of the mobilization of the conscripts of Dūr-Ladini, Dūr-Bilihai, Larak, and Bīt-Amukāni, summoned for an operation in Babylonia. A letter written to Tiglath-Pileser III from Babylonia during the Mukin-zēr rebellion (731 B.C.) mentions an army unit of the *šandabakku* official, which consisted of three chariot(s), [a stated number of] cavalry (and) 500 archers.<sup>222</sup> Another Nimrud Letter mentions a military detachment (*gudūdu*) of Aššur-ētir, the *rab šāqê* (Chief Cupbearer): one hundred horses, two chariots, three hundred [infantry].<sup>223</sup> A muster list of equestrian personnel mentioned above probably lists royal troops deployed in the provinces along with the units of the *sukkallu*. He received a substantial cavalry force of 1,802 cavalrymen from Bīt-Adini, Bīt-Ukani, Dūr-Ellatia, and Larak.<sup>224</sup>

3. Two types of inventory texts listing horses and cavalry units are known. The first group consists of short texts, which list a certain number of horses belonging to or brought by Assyrian officers: Nabû-šarru-ušur received 175,<sup>225</sup> Edāiu 204,<sup>226</sup> Šulmu-bēli-lāmur 239,<sup>227</sup> and Sîn-ašarēd received 88 horses and 6 mules.<sup>228</sup> There are some tablets which take stock of the horses of more officers as well.<sup>229</sup> It is unfortunately not known whether these officers belonged to the cavalry units of the *kišir šarrūti* or the provincial troops of high officials or governors. The second group consists of the tablets of large royal musters, for example the Nimrud Horse Lists discussed above.

Royal ( <i>kišir šarrūti</i> )			Provincial		
Regular cavalry			Bodyguard	High officials	Governors
Home based	Province based	Foreign			
<i>Aššurāia</i>	Šarru-ēmuranni	Carchemish	<i>pēthāl qurubte</i>	ND 2717	NL 89
<i>Arraphāia</i>	Marduk-šarru-ušur	Qarqar	<i>pēthalli šēpē</i>	ND 2435	NL 60
<i>Armāia</i>	<i>Kaldāia</i>	Ḥamath	<i>pēthalli ša—qurbūte</i>	ND 2619	ABL 563
<i>Arzuḫināia</i>	Nabû-bēlu-ka'in				ABL 884
<i>Arbailāia</i>	Taklāk-ana-Bēli			CT 53, 47+	CT 53, 47+
	Adallal				
	Nergal-šarrāni				
	ABL 304				

Fig. 1. Reconstruction of the Assyrian cavalry of the Sargonides.

<sup>221</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 18 (ABL 1292).

<sup>222</sup> SAGGS 2001, 22-25, NL 2 (ND 2717), Obv. 54'-57'.

<sup>223</sup> SAGGS 2001, 80-82 (ND 2435), 11-17.

<sup>224</sup> PARKER 1961, ND 2619, Obv. 1-9.

<sup>225</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 110 (ADD 700).

<sup>226</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 108 (ADD 991).

<sup>227</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 109 (ADD 708).

<sup>228</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 111 (ADD 701) 677 B.C.

<sup>229</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 113 (ADD 988); 114 (ADD 1103); 115 (ADD 1140); 116 (ADD 989); 117 (Assur 1/3, 5 (Rm.949)); 118 (K 15276), 119 (ADD 678); 120 (ADD 1120); 122 (ADD 696).

## Cavalry officers and other cavalry personnel

### *Cavalry officers*

As has already been discussed, large numbers of soldiers are depicted in the palace reliefs of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal who can be identified as officers. Cavalry officers were represented in three contexts: 1. on horseback, 2. standing dismounted next to horses and 3. an independent context without horses.

1. The palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II show cavalrymen escorting the king in hunting scenes (*Plate 1, 1*) and procession scenes (*Plate 1, 2*). In both cases the well equipped (shield, lance, bow, and sword) cavalryman leads the reserve horse of the royal chariot. Unfortunately it is not known whether these cavalrymen were high-ranking officers of the royal entourage or members of the royal cavalry bodyguard. In the palace reliefs of Tiglath-Pileser III not a single cavalry officer can be identified. However, an interesting question emerges: could unbearded cavalrymen, who are traditionally identified as eunuchs (Assurnasirpal II: *Plate 2, 4*; Tiglath-Pileser III: *Plate 3, 5*; Sargon II: *Plate 6, 10*; Assurbanipal: *Plate 10, 19*), have served in the Assyrian cavalry as regular cavalrymen, or were they cavalry officers at all? The question cannot be answered, but it must be admitted that the eunuch cavalrymen are portrayed in a prominent position in front of their partners. In the sculptures of Sargon II the events of the 8<sup>th</sup> campaign show three cavalrymen (*Plate 6, 11, 12*) – unique figures (such horsemen do not appear anywhere else in the sculptures) – who have already been discussed in detail. They are obviously not depicted in battle dress (they do not wear helmets), and their decorated garments and rich equipment give an impression of nobility. In this case the obvious question – whether they are cavalry officers or high officials of the royal entourage (who in other contexts were never represented on horseback), or distinguished members of the royal cavalry bodyguard – can partly be answered. These cavalrymen – trampling on fallen enemy soldiers – were distinguished members of the cavalry bodyguard or high ranking military officials, the generals of Sargon II on horseback – as it was probably the norm for all the officials and officers of the Assyrian army – similarly to modern times – to ride on horseback. Similar horsemen, equipped with lances as well, appear in the relief slabs of Sargon II depicting his Median campaign (2<sup>nd</sup> *palû*).<sup>230</sup> Similarly to the 8<sup>th</sup> campaign they escort the royal chariot, too. One of the most interesting depictions of the sculptures of Assurbanipal is a siege-scene in which a cavalry officer is shouting orders or calling upon the enemy to surrender (*Plate 11, 22*). His equipment is similar to that of cavalrymen, but the border of his horse armour is decorated, and he also has a lance and a bow. This combined weaponry – as has already been discussed – might be the attribute of the cavalry bodyguards, but in this case the context makes it clear that a cavalry officer (or an infantry officer on horseback?) is shown in action.<sup>231</sup>

<sup>230</sup> Room 2, slabs 1 (door B), 2-3, 4 (door B), 15, 16 (ALBENDA 1986, pls. 111, 119-120, 130). It is possible that the same officers are portrayed in other sculptures of Sargon II unmounted.

<sup>231</sup> In a few scenes cavalrymen with this combination of weaponry are portrayed in such large numbers (Sennacherib's Southwest Palace, Room XLVIII, slab 1 shows no less than 8 of them: BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 518), which makes it clear that for example in this case there are not 8 cavalry officers, but 8 horsemen of the cavalry bodyguard depicted.

2. The second context in which cavalry officers can be identified is when the officer is portrayed dismounted, standing next to his stallion or among cavalymen. In these cases two other attributes of officers could help us with the identification: the mace<sup>232</sup> – a primary attribute of officers – and the lance, a weapon with which infantry officers were probably never depicted. As has already been discussed, the mace was the primary attribute of the higher ranking Assyrian officers. Cavalry officers in a dismounted context can be identified in the sculptures of Sennacherib. These officers belong exclusively to the cavalry bodyguard. In the Lachish reliefs of Sennacherib, there are several cavalry bodyguards depicted (*Plate 8, 15, 16*). Between two cavalymen there is an officer (*vol. I, Plate 47, 164*) in battle dress, equipped with bow and bowcase, a lance and a mace. He is obviously the commander of the cavalry bodyguard unit (6 cavalymen of which are depicted in the reliefs of Room XXXVI, Southwest Palace, Nineveh) guarding the king during the siege of Lachish. Similar scenes – taking into account the large number of officers depicted in Assyrian sculptures – are very rare, and can be exclusively connected to the cavalry bodyguard. In a Room V relief slab of the Southwest Palace of Sennacherib cavalry bodyguards are depicted standing dismounted outside the wall of the camp.<sup>233</sup> Behind them there is an officer equipped with a spear. Unfortunately the slab is fragmentary, consequently it is not known whether he holds a mace or not. There is another campaign scene, which depicts unmounted cavalry bodyguards (or lancers) escorting the royal chariot in a riverbed. They are marching in two files. The lower file is led by an officer holding a mace, while the upper file is led by two officers equipped with lances.<sup>234</sup>

3. Judging from the depictions mentioned above, the cavalry officers depicted in an independent context – without their horses – can be identified by their lances. It seems that infantry officers were never depicted with spears. Such an officer – equipped with a lance, a combined bowcase, and a mace, an attribute of his title (*vol. I, Plate 46, 158*) – is shown escorting prisoners in the Lachish reliefs of Sennacherib. He is one of the most interesting officers, since his scale armour differs from the armour of the other officers. It is shorter, and its lower end forms a zigzag shape. This unique armour would be suitable for a cavalymen, but not a single such case is known. Nevertheless, taking his weaponry into consideration, he could well have been a cavalry officer. An officer with similar equipment but wearing the traditional armour is shown in a fragmentary, unattributed sculpture of Sennacherib.<sup>235</sup> In one of the sculptures of Assurbanipal an officer is shown escorting prisoners in Babylonia. He is equipped with a lance and a quiver.<sup>236</sup> Representations of officers similarly equipped with lances and quivers/bows appear in the Southwest Palace<sup>237</sup> and the North Palace<sup>238</sup> as well. A series of sculptures show Assyrian soldiers, probably officers, who are armed

<sup>232</sup> NIEDERREITER 2005, 57-76.

<sup>233</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 68, 2<sup>nd</sup> campaign, Aranziaš.

<sup>234</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 518.

<sup>235</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 752.

<sup>236</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 277.

<sup>237</sup> Room XXXIII, slab 5: Introducing an Elamite to the surrendering Elamites after the Ulai River battle (BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 385), Room XXXIII, slab 1: bringing heads to a tent (BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 381).

<sup>238</sup> Elamite campaign: receiving the surrender of the enemy (BARNETT 1976, pl. XXV), drinking in a tent in the Assyrian camp (BARNETT 1976, pl. LXVI), escorting prisoners (BARNETT 1976, pls. LX-LXI); siege of Hamanu in Elam: escorting prisoners (BARNETT 1976, pls. XVIII-XIX); siege of Dīn-šarri in Elam: leading horses and escorting prisoners (BARNETT 1976, pl. LXVII); Babylonian campaign, surrender of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn(?) and Ummanaldaš(?): leading horses (2) and escorting booty (1) (BARNETT 1976, pl. XXXV); unknown context (Vatican 14986): executing with a spear (BARNETT 1976, pl. LXXI).

only with lances.<sup>239</sup> Taking all these cases into account, it seems quite plausible that the officers who are equipped with lances are cavalry, and not infantry officers.

It is not known furthermore whether the officers depicted with a combined bow-case on their backs (which might have been used in the ranks of the Assyrian cavalry) were cavalry officers, or the officers of the armoured archers. The Lachish reliefs of Sennacherib for example show a higher ranking officer or military official (*vol. I, Plate 48, 165*) in front of the throne of the king. He is the sixth in a row behind the crown prince (Aššur-nādin-šumi), and four officers, the first three of whom (*vol. I, Plate 48, 167*) do not wear scale armour, only pointed helmets (they are probably the high officials escorting the king),<sup>240</sup> and a high ranking officer (*vol. I, Plate 48, 166*), who wears scale armour and a pointed helmet as well. This officer holds a combined bowcase similar to the bowcases of the cavalry bodyguard and a mace, the attribute of his position. It is interesting that he does not wear the characteristic Assyrian military boots, a fact which distinguishes him from the other officers in the same scene. Two similarly high-ranking officers are guarding the king near the throne (*vol. I, Plate 46, 160*), and further officers equipped similarly are shown executing rebels (*vol. I, Plate 46, 159*), and escorting captives (*vol. I, Plate 46, 157*). The same scene shows Assyrian soldiers equipped with combined bowcases flaying rebels<sup>241</sup> – whether they are cavalymen, cavalry officers or armoured archers is not known. It is possible that cavalry units and their officers – who were probably not involved in the siege – played an active role during the events following the capture of the city. Similar officers with the same equipment appear in several other palace reliefs of Sennacherib. The context is always the same: they are escorting captives.<sup>242</sup> In the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal similar officers appear in the same context.<sup>243</sup> In the sculpture depicting the Til-Tuba (Ulai River) battle the same officer is executing an Elamite soldier on the battlefield with his mace.<sup>244</sup> This is a rare example of the mace being shown in action as a real weapon and not simply a symbol of authority, but the context – as shown in other episodes of the same scene as well – is always the same: execution. In the sculptures of Assurbanipal another, similar type of officer appears: he carries a special quiver on his back, holds a bow and not a mace but probably a staff in his hands.<sup>245</sup>

If the equipment of officers gives no other clues, the trappings of horses can be examined as well. There is a single case where differences in the trappings of horses can be detected in the sculptures of Sennacherib. This sculpture shows five cavalry bodyguards holding the reins of their

<sup>239</sup> Sennacherib: leading a group of officials or envoys to a royal audience in a camp (BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 385); unknown hill country, muster outside the walls: at least five officers are marching in front of cavalry (BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 19); Assurbanipal: Babylonian campaign, escorting the royal chariot (BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 282), Elamite campaign: receiving the surrender of the enemy (5 officers) (BARNETT 1976, pl. XXV) and escorting prisoners (BARNETT 1976, pl. XXVIII), and escorting prisoners after the sack of Dīn-šarri (BARNETT 1976, pl. LXVII).

<sup>240</sup> The *rab šāqē*, and the *turtānu* known from the Bible? The third Assyrian high official mentioned in the Bible (2Kings 18:17), the *rab ša—rēšē* (Chief Eunuch) is not depicted. Instead of him a third bearded high official appears in front of the king.

<sup>241</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 432.

<sup>242</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> campaign, Media: escorting captives (3) and killing a prisoner (1) (BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 493), 2<sup>nd</sup> campaign, Aranziaš (BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 70); Eastern campaign (BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 366, 368, 369, 372); unknown hill country (BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 83); unknown hill country (BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 487); Babylonian campaign (BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 608); unknown hill country: escorting musicians (BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 20).

<sup>243</sup> Siege of Dīn-šarri in Elam: escorting prisoners (BARNETT 1976, pl. LXVII), siege of Ḥamanu in Elam: escorting prisoners (BARNETT 1976, pl. XVII).

<sup>244</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 383.

<sup>245</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 341.



horses.<sup>246</sup> The horses have a wide, decorated band, a kind of pectoral on their breasts (probably holding the ‘saddle cloth’ as well). Two horses, however, have another wide strap on their necks, which would have marked the higher status of their rider as an officer or a soldier rewarded with a medal.

Unfortunately no direct connection between the representations of officers in the sculptures and the various types of officers can be reconstructed from the cuneiform sources. As has already been discussed, a great many of the terms describing various types of officers have no parallels in the sculptures. Even though the number of terms describing cavalry officers is relatively small, not a single cavalry officer known from the cuneiform sources can be identified in the sculptures. Only a few terms describing officers of the cavalry are known.

#### (1) *Šaknu* (prefect)

It is known that almost every Assyrian military unit had its own prefect (*šaknu*)<sup>248</sup> or foreman (*ša pa-an* ANŠE.BAD.ĤAL-lu).<sup>249</sup> One of the administrative texts makes a distinction between the Assyrian and non-Assyrian prefects of the cavalry, since the text mentions the Assyrian prefects of the cavalry (KUR.AŠ(Assyrian) GAR-nu.MEŠ BAD.ĤAL(*pēthalli*)),<sup>250</sup> but does not make it clear whether the ‘Assyrian’ attribute denoted the origin of the prefects or the origin of their unit. The prefect of the cavalry is mentioned in an omen enquiring about the possibility of a rebellion against the crown prince Assurbanipal. This text lists the prefects of the cavalry (LÚ.GAR.MEŠ BAD.ĤAL)<sup>251</sup> together with the prefects of the *zakkû* soldiers (exempt military?). A fragmentary letter written to Sargon II dealing with a review of cavalry and chariotry troops reports to the king that 106 cavalymen were reviewed because a further 94 were missing under the command of the prefect.<sup>252</sup> This was most probably a cavalry prefect. A royal order sent to an unknown Assyrian official made it clear that he had to assemble his prefects and the horses of his cavalry.<sup>253</sup> In this case, however, it is not certain whether the prefects were the prefects of the cavalry or of the infantry of the provincial troops.

#### (2) *Rab mūgi ša pēthalli* (cavalry commander)

It seems that the *rab mūgi* (*rab mūgi ša pēthalli*)<sup>254</sup> may have been a kind of cavalry commander. One of the Sargonide letters mentions the deputy of the *rab mūgi* (*šanû ša rab mūgi*)<sup>255</sup> and a few texts refer to the ‘horse trainer of the *rab mūgi*’ (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR LÚ.GAL—*mu-gi*).<sup>256</sup> A letter written to

<sup>246</sup> Southwest Palace, Room XXXII, slabs 7-8 (BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 432).

<sup>247</sup> For a discussion of the topic see POSTGATE 1980, 70-71. The present writer, however, translates *pēthallu* as a cavalryman and not only a cavalry horse. For an opposite suggestion see POSTGATE 1980, 70.

<sup>248</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 150 (ADD 834+), II:15’: GAR-nu.MEŠ *ša* BAD.ĤAL(*pēthalli*); 157 (ADD 838+), Rev. II:3: LÚ.GAR-nu.MEŠ BAD.[ĤAL](*pēthalli*). FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 29 (ADD 1041) mentions the prefects (LÚ.NU.GAR.MEŠ) of the royal guard (*ša*—GIŠ.2.MEŠ).

<sup>249</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 95 (CT 53, 172+), 12. The foreman of cavalry was the superior of a group of people in Kummē.

<sup>250</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 149 (ADD 1125), Rev. II’:4’.

<sup>251</sup> STARR 1990, 142 (PRT 44), 6.

<sup>252</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 251 (ABL 567), 12: LÚ.šak-ni.

<sup>253</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 22 (CT 53, 136), 6-8: LÚ.GAR-nu-ku-nu a-du KUR.RA.MEŠ *ša* pi-ri BAD.ĤAL-ku-nu.

<sup>254</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 36 (ADD 1036), III:16-17. The same text knows the *rab mūgi* officer of the chariotry (*rab mūgi ša* GIŠ.GIGIR) as well: III:14-15.

<sup>255</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 205 (ABL 154).

<sup>256</sup> Zabinu (MATTILA 2002, 94-95 (ADD 24-25, 4-5, 1-2), 646 B.C.); Nusku-šarru-iddina LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR GAL—*mu-gi* (RADNER 2002, 68, Rev. 5-6, 630 B.C.); Man-kī-šarri (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 118 (ADD 993), 663—661 B.C.).

Esarhaddon shows that a (cavalry) squadron stationed in Ḫarrān and its commander – similarly to other military officials, like the *rab kišir* or the *ša—qurbūte* – could serve in a police capacity and could arrest and question people.<sup>257</sup>

(3) *Rab kišir ša pēṭhalli* (cohort commander of the cavalry)

The only title which helps us to reconstruct the structure of the Assyrian cavalry is the ‘cohort commander of cavalry’ (*rab kišir ša pēṭhalli*).<sup>258</sup> This title shows that the cavalry was organized in cohorts, the size of which is unfortunately unknown (*see later*). It seems furthermore, judging by the evidence of the Nimrud Horse Lists, that the *rab urâte* officer (‘team commander’) was equivalent or similar to the *rab kišir*. The title suggests a kind of chariotry officer, but in the Nimrud Horse Lists and other administrative texts the same names appear as *rab kišir* or *rab urâte* officers. Another administrative text mentions cavalry teams (*urât pēṭhalli*), which means that even the cavalry horses were sometimes counted in teams.<sup>259</sup>

(4) *Rab pēṭhalli* (cavalry commander)

A letter from Marduk-šarru-ušur to Sargon II in 710 B.C. mentions another type of cavalry officer, a ‘cavalry commander,’ a *rab pēṭhalli* (LÚ.GAL—BAD.ḪAL) of the *šandabakku* official without any further information about his role in the Assyrian cavalry organization.<sup>260</sup> This rank appears in the witness list of another fragmentary legal text.<sup>261</sup> This officer was most probably the cavalry officer of the governor of Laqê. It is interesting that a similar officer, Aššur-rēmāni, the cavalry commander (*rab pēṭhalli* (LÚ.GAL—BAD.[ḪAL])) of the deputy governor of an unknown province had both cavalry and chariotry in his service.<sup>262</sup> From these three documents it seems quite possible that the *rab pēṭhalli* was the cavalry officer of the provincial military organization of the high officials and governors, and was unknown in the organization of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*), where the cohort commander (*rab kišir*) could play the same role.

(5) *Mušarkisu* (recruitment officer)

As has already been discussed the ‘recruitment officers’ (*mušarkisāni*) were responsible for the replacement and provision of horses in the provinces. It seems that *mušarkisāni* served the regular cavalry of the *kišir šarrūti*, the bodyguard units, the provincial governors and high officials as well, but, as is known from other cuneiform documents, these recruitment officers and their prefects (*šaknu*) detached in the provinces served under the direct command of the king. Šamaš-taklāk, for example, asked the king to send a decree to the recruitment officers and their prefects (LÚ šak-ni-šú-nu ša LÚ.mu-šár-kis.MEŠ) serving his province to bring the men and the horses to him quickly.<sup>263</sup> As has already been mentioned, they were, as far as we know, in charge of the supply of horses and the recruitment of soldiers. Gabbu-ana-Aššur, the Palace Herald (*nāgir*

<sup>257</sup> LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 59 (ABL 1217+, Rev. 5', 19).

<sup>258</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 217 (ABL 342), 4-5.

<sup>259</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 29 (ADD 1041).

<sup>260</sup> FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 184 (ABL 438).

<sup>261</sup> RADNER 2002, 127, Rev. 7-8: [...] GAL *pēt-(ḫal)-li ša* [...] (691. I. 15). It seems that this witness list (Rev. 2-11) contains the whole military elite of the province of Laqê, including a chariot owner, two *kallāpu* officers, a chariot driver, a ‘third man,’ a recruitment officer and two cohort commanders.

<sup>262</sup> FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 184 (CT 53, 110+++++).

<sup>263</sup> FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 294 (ABL 153).

*ekalli*) in one of his letters to Sargon II mentions that all the straw of his country is reserved for Dūr-Šarrukēn, and his recruitment officers (LÚ.mu-šar-kis.MEŠ-ni) are now running after him because there is no straw for the pack animals.<sup>264</sup>

Type		Unit		Officer
royal corps ( <i>kišir šarrūti</i> )	regular	Assyrian		<i>šanû ša rab mûgi</i>
				<i>rab mûgi ša pēthalli</i>
				<i>rab kišir ša pēthalli</i>
				<i>mušarkisu ša pēthalli</i>
				<i>šaknu ša pēthalli</i>
				<i>Assyrian šaknu ša pēthalli</i>
	bodyguard	foreign	Qarqar Carchemish	
		<i>pēthal qurubte</i>		<i>mušarkisu ša pēthal qurubte</i>
				<i>rab urâte ša pēthal qurubte</i>
		<i>pēthalli šēpē</i>		<i>šaknūte ša —šēpē</i>
		<i>pēthalli ša —qurbūte</i>		
provincial	high officials			<i>mušarkisu ša pēthalli</i> <i>rab pēthalli of the šandabakku</i>
	governors			<i>mušarkisu ša pētalli</i> <i>rab pēthalli</i>

Fig. 2. Officers of the Assyrian cavalry.

### Grooms

The palace reliefs show that other military personnel can be connected with the cavalry: they can be identified as grooms. Grooms are portrayed both in campaign contexts (in action and in camp) and at musters. In a long campaign scene decorating Court VI of the Southwest Palace of Sennacherib there are 9 bearded grooms (or recruits?) galloping in a row behind Assyrian cavalry who are attacking enemy archers on forest-covered hills.<sup>265</sup> Their equipment consists of pointed helmets, swords, and whips. They wear no armour and carry no other weapons. Furthermore it is not known whether they are going to fight, or just bringing the reserve horses of the cavalry into the battle, which is plausible considering the large number of enemy archers. A similarly equipped groom is portrayed in a Babylonian campaign scene riding on horseback between cavalymen (cavalry bodyguard).<sup>266</sup> It is quite obvious that the different cavalry units had their own grooms, so these could have belonged to the cavalry bodyguard. Three grooms wearing pointed helmets are shown in a muster scene, probably outside the military camp on the seashore(?)

<sup>264</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 119 (ABL 122), 3.

<sup>265</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 101-102.

<sup>266</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 650.

during a Phoenician campaign (701 B.C.?). They are standing beside their horses between cavalry bodyguards. Their garment differs from that of the cavalrymen and they are equipped only with whips.<sup>267</sup> Another characteristic campaign scene is of grooms performing their everyday task of feeding or taking care of horses in the military camp.<sup>268</sup> In this context they do not wear helmets. Grooms are frequently depicted standing behind the royal chariot with members of the cavalry bodyguard.<sup>269</sup> The classic scene is, however, the row of grooms leading horses under the supervision of their officer on the walls of the sloping passage of Room LI of the Southwest Palace.<sup>270</sup> In the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal there is an interesting scene in which grooms are leading pairs of horses in front of the royal chariot on a riverbank somewhere in Babylonia.<sup>271</sup> As shown in this fragmentary scene there are horses already swimming in the river, so it might well have depicted the Assyrian army crossing a river, or simply the horses being watered. Another sculpture of Assurbanipal shows ships carrying horses (2 vessels with 4 horses and a groom on each).<sup>272</sup> There is only a single known scene in which grooms holding pairs of unharnessed horses of the cavalry bodyguard wear scale armour and pointed helmets.<sup>273</sup> It is possible, however, that this scene depicts cavalrymen and not grooms. The most important scene depicting grooms is, however, a sculpture of Assurbanipal showing a walled court, probably in Nineveh. In this court grooms are holding horses on reins. The building was probably an arsenal, in the court of which horses were mustered.<sup>274</sup>

Written sources include several Akkadian terms denoting equestrian personnel who can be identified as some kind of groom. However, there is no agreement as to their exact meaning. The *ma'assu* (LÚ.ma-'a-as-su) probably means 'corral man',<sup>275</sup> but the translation of *raksu* for example is somewhat ambiguous: some scholars translate it as 'groom',<sup>276</sup> while others translate it as 'recruit'.<sup>277</sup> Further Akkadian terms, such as the *susānu* (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR) or the *zunzurāhu* can be connected to the chariotry and are discussed in the chapter on chariotry.

## The use of cavalry

Unfortunately there is no correspondence between the information that can be extracted from the campaign scenes in the sculptures and the information available in the written sources. A great deal of information concerning the cavalry – which helps to understand how it was used – can be reconstructed only from the cuneiform sources.

A fragmentary sculpture of Tiglath-Pileser III shows a cavalry battle. Two Assyrian cavalrymen are spearing a wounded enemy horseman, whose crested helmet may indicate his Urartian

<sup>267</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 201.

<sup>268</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 34, 514-515, 529.

<sup>269</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 221, 628.

<sup>270</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 575-584.

<sup>271</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 272-273.

<sup>272</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 307.

<sup>273</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 350-351.

<sup>274</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 309.

<sup>275</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 30 (ADD 815), 15.

<sup>276</sup> SAGGS 2001, 317-318, NL 58 (ND 2780), 4-11: LÚ.rak-su ša LÚ.GAL—u-rat.

<sup>277</sup> FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 60 (ABL 242), 12; PARPOLA 1987, 11 (ABL 304), 9.

origin.<sup>278</sup> The Assyrian cavalymen are always depicted in pairs and the fleeing enemy horsemen or camel riders – as shown in another battle scene of Tiglath-Pileser III<sup>279</sup> – are always depicted alone, dispersed on the battlefield. The reason for this is that the artist probably wanted to suggest that the Assyrian cavalry was fighting in close order, while the panic-stricken enemy – after their battle line had been broken – were fleeing from the battlefield.

The Til-Barsip wall paintings show horsemen escorting the king<sup>280</sup> (he himself is riding a horse in a hunting scene).<sup>281</sup> However, there is another fragmentary scene in which at least six Assyrian cavalymen are depicted riding in at least two rows. Their equipment is the same as the equipment of the cavalymen of Sargon II: it consists of a long cavalry lance, a bow and quiver, and a sword. They do not wear armour, only a pointed helmet.<sup>282</sup> It is interesting that all the riders represented in the wall paintings are equipped with whips as well.

In the palace reliefs of Sargon II three battle scenes show cavalry in action. Two battle scenes are depicted in the palace reliefs of Room V showing episodes of the 2<sup>nd</sup> *palû*: in the first the Assyrian cavalry is attacking Nubian infantry at Gabbutunu,<sup>283</sup> while the other battle scene shows Assyrian cavalry and chariotry fighting a battle with the infantry of the Ḥamath coalition(?).<sup>284</sup> Room II reliefs of the palace of Sargon II depict the events of the 6<sup>th</sup> *palû* (Median campaign). In the scene the royal chariot and cavalry (bodyguard?) pursuing the enemy infantry in front of the city (Tikrakka).<sup>285</sup>

The palace reliefs of Sennacherib show the Assyrian cavalry in several contexts. The cavalry is depicted lined up outside the walls of a conquered city for a muster,<sup>286</sup> standing on the alert and watching a siege,<sup>287</sup> standing guard dismounted in the escort of the king,<sup>288</sup> galloping beside the royal chariot in the mountains in single file,<sup>289</sup> and marching across a plain among palm trees in single file.<sup>290</sup> These scenes are almost exclusively connected to the cavalry bodyguard. Another interesting context is when the Assyrian army is marching on a campaign in hill country, and the cavalymen are leading their horses dismounted in the bed of a mountain brook.<sup>291</sup> In these scenes the king is always escorted by the cavalry bodyguard (*pēthāl qurubte*).

The most important scenes are, however, the battle scenes. The Assyrian cavalry is depicted fighting a cavalry battle in the mountains,<sup>292</sup> fighting a battle against enemy chariotry, cavalry and

<sup>278</sup> BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. LXIV-LXV and LXVI-LXVII.

<sup>279</sup> BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pl. XIII.

<sup>280</sup> THUREAU-DANGIN – DUNAND 1936, fig. XVI.

<sup>281</sup> THUREAU-DANGIN – DUNAND 1936, fig. XVI.

<sup>282</sup> PARROT 1961, 339.

<sup>283</sup> ALBENDA 1986, pls. 94-95.

<sup>284</sup> ALBENDA 1986, pls. 99, 101, 102.

<sup>285</sup> ALBENDA 1986, pls. 120-122.

<sup>286</sup> Cavalymen are shown lined up in three registers behind infantrymen and officers. BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 19.

<sup>287</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 234-236, 245, 246, 369-370, 628.

<sup>288</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 68, 86, 87.

<sup>289</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 94.

<sup>290</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 650.

<sup>291</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 456, 518.

<sup>292</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 66, 68: two cavalry bodyguards and two lancers are chasing three enemy lancers on an Eastern campaign. This scene probably represent a cavalry skirmish, which might be a standard feature of mountain warfare, as known for example from a letter of Marduk-šarru-ušur (FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 69 (ABL 174)) written to Sargon II in 707 B.C., which mentions 100 horsemen of Eastern (Median and Ellipean) warlords (Kibabiše, Dasukku, Ašpa-bari, and Lutû) constantly running about opposite him. See furthermore BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 193, where the Assyrian cavalry is chasing 3 enemy horsemen.

infantry,<sup>293</sup> and fighting a battle against enemy infantry in a mountainous region. Court VI sculptures of the Southwest Palace<sup>294</sup> show the events of an Assyrian campaign in a mountainous region. The sculptures show the Assyrian expeditionary force outside the camp (13+ auxiliary archers (Itu'eans), 7 auxiliary spearmen (Gurreans), 5+ unidentified spearmen) marching in a long column behind the Assyrian cavalry. The Assyrian cavalry, 9 grooms and large numbers of lancers and archers are fighting a battle with enemy infantry and some cavalry in a mountainous region in forests and riverbanks. Sennacherib is standing on his chariot escorted by the cavalry bodyguard and receives the booty brought by the Assyrian infantry. The battle is fought exclusively by the Assyrian cavalry (only three auxiliary spearmen are depicted together with dozens of cavalry), which is attacking the enemy without infantry cover. The cavalry attacks masses of enemy archers (slab 19) and encircles groups of enemy infantry (slab 20). The whole scene shows not a formal set-piece battle, but the Assyrian cavalry launching an attack against enemy forces and overrunning their broken lines on unfavourable terrain. It is interesting that in the representational tradition of battle scenes in the sculptures of Sennacherib the cavalry played the most important role, while the infantry is represented mainly in the siege-scenes. Is it possible that in set-piece battles the cavalry became the decisive element of the Assyrian army and the focus of the battle shifts to the charge of the Assyrian armoured cavalry? The underlying reason might be that the cavalry – in contrast to the chariotry, which is virtually absent from the sculptures of Sennacherib – can be used to charge across almost any kind of terrain. One of the sculptures depicts them dismounted, clambering up a steep hillside and leading their horses.<sup>295</sup>

Assurbanipal. In the depiction of the battle of Til-Tuba (653 B.C.) the lancers (*Plate 9, 17*) and mounted archers (*Plate 10, 19*) are shown in close combat with the fleeing Elamite infantry and horsemen. With the help of the Assyrian infantry they are pushing the enemy into the river.<sup>296</sup> Another Assyrian mounted archer is shown in an interesting context: he is shooting an arrow at a besieged city wall from horseback (*Plate 10, 20*).<sup>297</sup> These scenes prove that the Assyrians could use mounted archer units during sieges – especially during the reign of Assurbanipal, when the mounted archers with their armoured horses could easily approach within bowshot of the walls. Other lancers are shown lined up during a celebration.<sup>298</sup>

These depictions cover the main fields of the employment of cavalry on the whole. They also show us the use of cavalry on various types of terrain, their capacity for rapid deployment and for fighting battles with cavalry and infantry as well.

The written sources emphasize this versatility and how effective it was in practice. As we know from the famous description of his 8<sup>th</sup> campaign, Sargon II standing on his chariot personally led the charge of his cavalry bodyguard against the ranks of the Urartian army, and brought about the defeat of Rusa, king of Urartu.<sup>299</sup> An important aspect of the use of cavalry known from the sculptures was the pursuit of the fleeing enemy. It is known from the annals of Tiglath-

<sup>293</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 34. Western campaign. The Assyrian cavalry (without infantry!) fought a battle in the Western mountains against a large army consisting of chariotry (6+), cavalry (5+) depicted in three registers and infantry.

<sup>294</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 100-104, 108, 110-111, 121-122, 129.

<sup>295</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 190.

<sup>296</sup> Nineveh, Southwest Palace. LAYARD 1853b, pls. 45-46; BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 383.

<sup>297</sup> Babylonian campaign: BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 278, 282; Elamite campaigns: BARNETT 1976, pls. XXXIV, LXVII (Dīn-[šarri]), LXIX; Egyptian campaign: BARNETT 1976, pl. XXXVI (Memphis?).

<sup>298</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 313.

<sup>299</sup> THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, lines 132-133.

Pileser III<sup>300</sup> that the Assyrian cavalry after the battle fought between Kištan and Ḫalpi in 743 B.C. chased the fleeing Urartian king Sarduri II to his capital Turušpa and fought a battle in front of the gates. This aspect appears only in a single text of the royal correspondence. Adda-ḫāti reported to Sargon II that Ammili'ti, son of Amiri, ambushed with 300 camels the booty column which was travelling from Damascus to Assyria. The Assyrians fought with them, but did not catch up with them, because the terrain was too difficult for horses or for chariots.<sup>301</sup> It is obvious that the cavalry was a much more versatile arm than the chariotry and only a few kinds of terrain were unsuitable for the horses (marshland, rocky terrain, and as probably in this case, desert sands).

Other ways in which the cavalry were used can be reconstructed from cuneiform sources. One of the most important of these was guard duty. The Assyrians used cavalry units in the border regions not only for reconnaissance<sup>302</sup> but for guard duties as well. Il-iada' wrote to Sargon II in 710 B.C. that the troops and horses were arrayed together to stand guard in the district of the king.<sup>303</sup> Ša-Aššur-dubbu, governor of Tušḫan, asked Sargon II to send him Taziru and Itu'ean troops (light infantry) to stand guard because he had only cavalymen at his disposal.<sup>304</sup> Another letter from the reign of Esarhaddon<sup>305</sup> mentions a recruitment officer, Aramiš-šar-ilāni, who died in enemy territory (on campaign). He commanded 50 men, who – after the death of their commander, probably at the end of the campaign – came back with 12 horses and were still in the surroundings of Nineveh. Šumma-ilu, the son of the recruitment officer, asked them why they had left the royal guard (EN.NUN ša LUGAL) after the death of their commander. Several conclusions can be drawn, but in this context the most important is that this equestrian unit served as a border guard unit along the border of enemy territory and probably suffered heavy losses (including their officer) in combat. An interesting intelligence report about the situation along the Urartian border,<sup>306</sup> written probably by Sennacherib for Sargon II, mentions that the cavalymen under the command of Šarru-lū-dārī have disappeared and are on the run in Urartu.<sup>307</sup> Further details, however, are unknown, so we do not know whether they defected or were cavalry scouts on a mission. Aššur-bēlu-taqqin received a royal order to gather all the scribes of the palace in his province and appoint cavalry (and) Itu'ean troops to escort them, because the time of imposing the *iškaru* tax was approaching.<sup>308</sup> Other Nimrud Letters mention cavalry units standing guard and arresting people in Babylonia.<sup>309</sup> Illil-bānī (governor of Nippur) and Aššur-bēlu-taqqin (prefect in Nippur), in a letter to Esarhaddon were complaining that the territory before them was extensive. This territory is a watch for cavalry and archers. However, they were short of horses, so they were keeping watch only with archers and praying to the

<sup>300</sup> TADMOR 1994, Annal 17:10'-11'; Summ. 1:22-24; Summ. 3: 19'-23'.

<sup>301</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 175 (NL 19), 32-37; SAGGS 2001, 167-169.

<sup>302</sup> The cavalymen of Šamaš-bēlu-ušur who were sent on the 14<sup>th</sup> of Kislev (IX) 710 B.C. to Malaku, for example, reported to their master that the Elamites took the town. FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 118 (ABL 1063).

<sup>303</sup> FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 156 (ABL 503+).

<sup>304</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 32 (ABL 138+), 11-18. Another letter of Ša-Aššur-dubbu mentions the same problem: he has only cavalry, who are guarding the men who are cutting timber in the mountains of the Urartian border (LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 34 (CT 53, 95).

<sup>305</sup> LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 105 (ABL 186).

<sup>306</sup> DEZSŐ 2004B (and the lecture delivered at Münster, 19. 07. 2006, at the 52<sup>th</sup> Rencontre: Assyriologique "Krieg und Frieden im Alten Vorderasien:" "Neo-Assyrian Military Intelligence," forthcoming).

<sup>307</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 30 (ABL 1079).

<sup>308</sup> SAGGS 2001, 239-240, NL 86 (ND 2356), 13-14.

<sup>309</sup> SAGGS 2001, 97-99 (ND 2795), 5'-8'; and the letter of Aššur-šallimanni (governor of Arrapha and eponym of 735 B.C.) during the Mukin-zēr rebellion (731 B.C.): SAGGS 2001, 43-45, NL 10 (ND 2602).

gods.<sup>310</sup> It is unfortunately not known what the role of those horsemen were, who were – as far as can be judged from an administrative text – attached to various types of estates.<sup>311</sup>

In the border regions cavalry officers could serve as officials as well. In the Urartian border region the inhabitants of Kumme, for example, responded to Argišti, king of Urartu that they were subjects of Assyria, and their superior was an Assyrian cavalry officer (foreman of cavalry: *ša pa-an ANŠE.BAD.ĦAL-lu*).<sup>312</sup> In the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century Ninurta-kudurri-ušur, the governor of the land of Sūḫu, after he defeated 2,000 Ḫatallean tribesmen who plundered the territory of Laqû (see above) built a town (Dūr-Ninurta-kudurri-ušur) and stationed a garrison of mounted soldiers in it. This town was “the open eyes of the land of Sūḫu for the sake of the security of the land of Sūḫu.”<sup>313</sup> He mentioned in his inscription that one of his mounted officers (LÚ.U<sub>5</sub> *ša pīt-ḫal-lu*), who was stationed there on guard seized 20 Aramean marauders.<sup>314</sup>

Two opposing views concerning the importance and use of Assyrian cavalry emerge from the literature. Some scholars have argued that the Assyrian cavalry (and chariotry) remained in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century and 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. a prestige arm of the Assyrian army and functioned more as a symbol of power, with limited military importance.<sup>315</sup> According to this view the most important part of the Assyrian army was the infantry, and the cavalry (and chariotry) only supported them. The importance of the chariotry will be discussed in the next chapter, but – in view of the information from the palace reliefs and written sources – the importance of the Assyrian cavalry deserves to be reevaluated. A drilled armoured cavalry unit (the size of which in the Assyrian army could reach more than 5,000 cavalymen) could easily become the decisive element in certain set-piece battles. This view does not diminish the importance of the Assyrian infantry, but – in the present writers’ view – the evolution of a new way of using the cavalry started during the Neo-Assyrian period. Judging by the sculptures and the written sources discussed above, in the 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C., the formative period of the evolution of cavalry warfare, and in the first two thirds of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. the Assyrian cavalry, like the cavalry of the neighbouring states, functioned as an arm which could be used for reconnaissance, for standing guard and for patrol duties in mountainous regions, for skirmishing, for cavalry battles, to hold and cover the wings of the battle line, and for pursuing the fleeing enemy. Some signs of a new development, however, can be identified both from the sculptures and written sources. Sargon II, for example, standing on his chariot personally led the charge of his bodyguard cavalry at the battle of Wauš (714 B.C.), and did not follow the Assyrian tradition by which the king stayed on the top of a hill, coordinating the troop movements, and the battle was fought by his magnates.<sup>316</sup> Instead he led the charge of his cavalry bodyguard, the cavalry regiment (*kitullu perru*) of Sîn-aḫu-ušur, the brother of the king. This cavalry charge struck the centre of the Urartian battle line “like a furious arrow,”<sup>317</sup> and caused a terrible massacre in the midst of the enemy infantry. Furthermore, the Assyrian cavalry of the sculptures of Assurbanipal (archers, spearmen and bodyguard *Plates 9 – 11, 17 – 22*) –

<sup>310</sup> REYNOLDS 2003, 197 (ABL 617+).

<sup>311</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 30 (ADD 815+), III: 11’-12’ [x] cavalymen, [at the disposal of ...]ḫanzalulu, [...], 24’-25’ 2 cavalymen, at the disposal of Ša-lā-mašê, of the estate of the Chief Eunuch.

<sup>312</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 95 (CT 53, 172+).

<sup>313</sup> FRAME 1995, S.O.1002.2, III:16’-18’; S.O.1002.1:24-33.

<sup>314</sup> FRAME 1995, S.O.1002.2, III:15’.

<sup>315</sup> NOBLE 1990, 67; POSTGATE 2000, 95; NADALI 2005, 224-225.

<sup>316</sup> LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 77 (CT 53, 958).

<sup>317</sup> THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, lines 132-133: *ki-i GiŠ.šil-ta-ḫe ez-zi i-na lib-bi-šu am-qut-ma*.



with its horses clad in heavy leather armour – was no longer the fast regular cavalry of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C., but a heavy battle cavalry. This heavy horse armour was fighting armour (obviously not the everyday equipment of the horses), which made this cavalry ineffective in pursuit, and in other functions usually connected with the regular and light cavalry, but probably made it very effective in close combat against other cavalry and infantry as well. Consequently this was heavy battle cavalry which could easily be a decisive element in battles. The sculptures showing the Ulai River battle depict the Assyrian cavalry charging on one flank (actually the right flank) of the battle order. The aim of this manoeuvre was probably to cut the escape route and push the Elamite army into the river.

There are several well-known scenarios of ancient battle tactics, where the role of the well-equipped, trained, and disciplined (heavy) infantry was to hold the centre of the battle line, until the charge of the heavy cavalry decided the outcome.

(1) There are several examples in ancient warfare (after the Neo-Assyrian period) where a well-timed charge by the armoured cavalry through a gap in the battle line of the enemy infantry could easily decide the outcome of the battle. Alexander the Great and the *diadokhoi* for example show a preference for such tactics (Granicus (334 B.C.); Issus (333 B.C.); Gaugamela (331 B.C.); Raphia (217 B.C.)). In these battles the decisive blow was delivered by a furious charge of the heavy cavalry wheeling onto the rear of the line of the enemy infantry, while the Macedonian phalanx engaged frontally. In these battles the phalanx became one of the many interdependent elements of the armies.

(2) Hannibal, a general probably trained in the oriental military tradition, used his cavalry as a decisive element of the battle, for example at Cannae (216 B.C.), where the infantry phalanx held the line and bore the weight of the Roman legions, while the cavalry on the wings (mainly the heavy cavalry on the left wing) encircled the enemy.

The evolution of the armoured cavalry, which culminated in its decisive role in the battles of the Hellenistic period, started in the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Assyrian army.

## Size of cavalry units

Besides the standard unit size of the cavalry bodyguard regiment (*kitullu perru*) of probably 1,000 horsemen discussed above, virtually nothing is known about the strength of the Assyrian cavalry units. The unit of 1,000 cavalymen appears in other sources as well. A fragmentary Nimrud Letter mentioned above also refers to 1,000 cavalry.<sup>318</sup> These 1,000 cavalymen appear in the classical tradition as well: Gobryas, the old Assyrian governor mentioned above who surrendered to Cyrus, was a former devoted friend of the Assyrian king, and used to put 1,000 cavalry at his disposal. Obviously he was the commander of the cavalry bodyguard.<sup>319</sup> The unit of 1,000 cavalry is known from the Persian tradition as well.<sup>320</sup>

It seems that the basic unit of the cavalry was the squadron, the *kišru* ('cohort'). Its commander was the 'cohort commander' (*rab kišir ša pēthalli*).<sup>321</sup> Its size is unfortunately unknown, but the strength

<sup>318</sup> ND 2401, SAGGS 2001, 251-252.

<sup>319</sup> Xenophon's, *Κύρου παιδεία* IV, 6, 2.

<sup>320</sup> Herodotus VII:40.

<sup>321</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 217 (ABL 342), 4-5.

of the squadron was most probably 200 horses. An interesting Sargonide letter mentions a review of cavalry and chariotry troops.<sup>322</sup> There were only 106 cavalymen (LÚ.ša—BAD.ĤAL.MEŠ) reviewed in a town, because 94 were missing under the command of the prefect (LÚ.šak-ni). A letter written by Assurbanipal to Nabû-ušabši mentions two cohort commanders who brought 200 horses.<sup>323</sup> In a letter dated probably to the reign of Sargon II, Nabû-taklāk asked his brother Gadia to send him 200 horses and 1,000 soldiers.<sup>324</sup> These two numbers probably refer to two complete units, a cavalry squadron and a regiment of infantry. 200 horses can be found in a letter written to Esarhaddon (owing to the bad condition of the tablet without a direct reference to the cavalry or chariotry).<sup>325</sup> Furthermore, as has already been mentioned, Sargon II enlisted 600 horsemen<sup>326</sup> from Qarqar in the *kišir šarrūti* on his first campaign, and 200 horsemen<sup>327</sup> from Carchemish on his 5<sup>th</sup> campaign. It seems that the Assyrian king drafted complete squadrons of enemy cavalry into his home army: three squadrons from Qarqar and one from Carchemish.

A smaller unit size of 50 men is well attested in the cuneiform sources. The commander-of-50 is known mainly in chariot units,<sup>328</sup> but this officer is attested in the ranks of the infantry as well.<sup>329</sup> This type of officer is unfortunately unknown in the context of the cavalry, but a cavalry unit of fifty horsemen is attested in the cuneiform sources. One of the Sargonide letters from 717 B.C. mentions that the governor of Parsua borrowed 50 cavalymen – obviously a complete unit.<sup>330</sup> As known from a report of Nabû-aḥu-ušur (who was probably a *qurbūtu*) Sargon II sent an order to him concerning the horses of the magnates: “They may each keep 50 riding horses at their disposal, the rest of their horses should come to me!”<sup>331</sup> One of the horse reports of Nabû-šumu-iddina, ‘inspector’ of the Nabû Temple of Calah also mentions a shipment of 50 (households of) cavalymen.<sup>332</sup> This means that a unit of 50 cavalymen was probably one of the smallest units (a platoon?) in the Assyrian cavalry and army. Further letters mention 250 cavalymen<sup>333</sup> and 500 horses,<sup>334</sup> but these letters do not refer to these numbers as if they designated unit sizes (if not five or ten platoons). Relatively few sources provide details about the size of the cavalry units used in action. A letter to Tiglath-Pileser III from Babylonia during the Mukin-zēr rebellion (731 B.C.) mentions an army unit of the *šandabakku* official, which consisted of three chariot(s), [a stated

<sup>322</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 251 (ABL 567+).

<sup>323</sup> HARPER 1892, 273, Rev. 1-4: <sup>md</sup>EN(Bēl)-KAR(ētir)-ir <sup>m</sup>Ar-ba-iā LÚ.GAL(rab) KA.KÉŠ(kišir) 200 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ(sīsē) ina ŠU.II(qāti)-šū-nu; 543, Rev. 14-16: <sup>md</sup>EN(Bēl)-KAR(ētir)-ir <sup>m</sup>Ar-ba-a-a LÚ.GAL(rab) ki-šir ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ(sīsē) ina ŠU.II(qāti)-šū-nu na-aš-šu-u-ni; 1108, Rev. 15-17: <sup>md</sup>EN(Bēl)-SUR(ētir) u <sup>m</sup>Ar-ba-a-a LÚ.GAL(rab) ki-šir ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ(sīsē) ina ŠU.II(qāti)-šū-nu na-aš-šu-u-ni; 1244, Rev. 7-9: <sup>md</sup>EN(Bēl)-SUR(ētir) <sup>m</sup>Ar-ba-a-a [LÚ.GAL(rab)] ki-šir KUR.MEŠ(sīsē) ina ŠU.II(qāti)-šū-nu [na-aš-š]u-ni.

<sup>324</sup> DIETRICH 2003, 63 (ABL 897), Rev. 7-8: 2-me ANŠE.KUR.[RA.MEŠ x x] 1-lim ERIM.MEŠ [x x].

<sup>325</sup> REYNOLDS 2003, 112 (CT 54, 142), 7<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>326</sup> FUCHS 1994, Display Inscription, lines 35-6.

<sup>327</sup> FUCHS 1994, Annales, line 75.

<sup>328</sup> *Rab 50 3-šū(tašlišu)*: commander-of-50 of the ‘third men’ (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 150, ADD 834+, II:19’); *rab 50 ša 3-šū(tašlišu) ša—šēpē*: commander-of-50 of the ‘third men’ of the *ša—šēpē* (personal) guard (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 148, ADD 1083, Rev. II:15’); Assyrian commander-of-50 of the ‘third men’ (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 149, ADD 1125, Rev. II’:8’) *rab 50 GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ(mugeri)*: commander-of-50 of the chariotry (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 150, ADD 834+, II:10’).

<sup>329</sup> Commander-of-50 of the Gurrean troops (LÚ.gur-ra-a-a), LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 53 (ABL 252).

<sup>330</sup> KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 25 (ADD 695).

<sup>331</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 226 (ABL 884), 12-16.

<sup>332</sup> COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 82 (ABL 546).

<sup>333</sup> SAGGS 2001, 36-38 (ND 2729). This Nimrud Letter is dated to 731 B.C., to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (745—727 B.C.) and mentions an enemy contingent of 250 horsemen and [...] infantry, gathered to attack Assyrian forces. See later.

<sup>334</sup> SAGGS 2001, 63-64 (NL 83, ND 2681). The letter of Nabû-mudammiq to the king.

number of] cavalry (and) 500 archers.<sup>335</sup> Another Nimrud Letter mentions a military detachment (*gudūdu*) of Aššur-ētir, the *rab šāqê* (chief cupbearer): one hundred horses, two chariots, three hundred [infantry].<sup>336</sup>

A short Nimrud administrative text discussed in the chapter on Infantry lists on its reverse most probably an army 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.<sup>337</sup> It seems that this text describes a complete army detachment of 3 chariots (for officers?) 20 cavalrymen and 200 infantrymen.

Somewhat earlier, around the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C., Ninurta-kudurri-ušur, the governor of the land of Sūḫu defeated 2,000 Ḫatallu tribesmen who plundered the territory of Laqû. Adad-daʿānu, the governor of Laqû, who received 4 chariots and 200 soldiers, asked for his help, and Ninurta-kudurri-ušur went to the steppe against the Ḫatallu tribesmen with a substantial force of 105 chariots, 220 experienced mounted soldiers (*pīt-ḫal-lu [ē(?)li-tu]*), choice horses (ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *na-as-qu-tu<sub>4</sub> ba-nu-ti*), 3,000 foot soldiers and the palace guard.<sup>338</sup> It is obvious that the smaller, local armies of high officials or governors could deploy one or two squadrons of cavalry, which was in this context a substantial force.

We know even less about the size of the cavalry units of the enemies or allies of Assyria. When Sargon II marched against Merodach-Baladan in his 11<sup>th</sup> regnal year (711 B.C.), he encountered an advance guard of 600 horsemen and 4000 soldiers of the Chaldean army.<sup>339</sup> One letter,<sup>340</sup> which was written by Marduk-šarru-ušur to Sargon II in 707 B.C., mentions a force of 100 cavalrymen of four local Median and Ellipean chiefs: Kibabiše, Dasukku, Lutû, and Ašpa-bari. In a similar letter (708–707 B.C.) Sargon II asked Issar-dûri, an Assyrian governor(?) about the cavalry of Nibê, but he could not answer, because they were already in Media when the king's letter reached him.<sup>341</sup> Consequently, it can be assumed that, as has already been shown, a squadron of cavalry or a hundred cavalrymen was a unit large enough to be kept under observation and to be reported to the king. Another letter mentions an enemy contingent of 250 horsemen and [...] infantry, gathered to attack Assyrian forces<sup>342</sup> in Babylonia during the Mukin-zêr rebellion in 731 B.C. However, there is a single letter which mentions an enemy(?) force much larger than this. This Nimrud Letter<sup>343</sup> was written from Babylonia, where an Assyrian official monitored the movements of what was probably a group of Aramean tribesmen, who had 2,000 horses and 90 chariots with them and encamped in their land allocation, on the other side of Bāb-bitqi.

In this chapter the history of the Assyrian cavalry has been traced from the gradual replacement of the (redundant) chariot by the cavalry to the separation of lancers and mounted archers and the evolution of the armoured cavalry. The history of effective mounted soldiery probably started some time in the early 1<sup>st</sup> millennium B.C., but the earliest known army of which the cavalry became a regular part, where the first regular cavalry units were formed, was the

<sup>335</sup> SAGGS 2001, 22-25, NL 2 (ND 2717), Obv. 54'-57'.

<sup>336</sup> SAGGS 2001, 80-82 (ND 2435), 11-17.

<sup>337</sup> 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*.

<sup>338</sup> FRAME 1995, S.O.1002.4:8'-10'; S.O.1002.1:24-33.

<sup>339</sup> FUCHS 1994, *Annales* 268-269.

<sup>340</sup> FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 69 (ABL 174).

<sup>341</sup> FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 3 (ABL 159).

<sup>342</sup> SAGGS 2001, 36-38 (ND 2729).

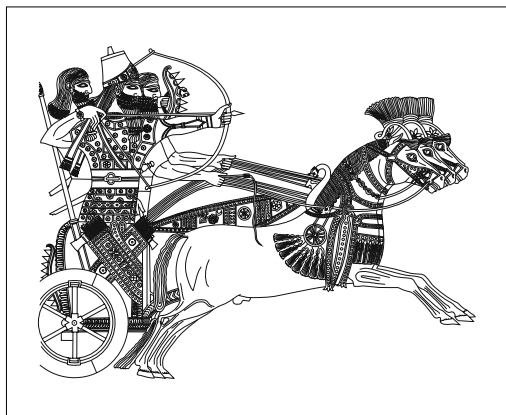
<sup>343</sup> SAGGS 2001, 85-86 (ND 2484), 6'-14'.

Assyrian. The Assyrian armoured cavalry – the first cavalry in military history where both the cavalryman and his horse were armoured – was the archetypal armoured cavalry, and exerted an influence on the armoured cavalries of the later periods: the earliest Scythian armoured cavalry of the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. wore the so-called 'Kuban' type of bronze or iron helmet derived from the Assyrian and Assyro-Urartian helmet traditions<sup>344</sup> and were clad in bronze or iron scale armour adopted from the Assyrian and/or Urartian armies. The Scythian, Median and Persian cavalry was unquestionably descendants of the Assyrian armoured cavalry tradition.

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<sup>344</sup> DEZSÓ 2001, 105-106

## CHARIOTRY



Archaeologists have carefully traced the development of the light, horse-drawn chariot from its appearance in the second third of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C. onwards. In addition to comprehensive monographs and studies,<sup>345</sup> many articles have been written on questions of detail, such as the issues surrounding the harness,<sup>346</sup> the crew,<sup>347</sup> and the territorial development of chariots.<sup>348</sup> The history of Assyrian chariotry has received particular attention.<sup>349</sup> One very interesting issue is the question of the Hittite/Mitannian and Middle-Assyrian tractates on horse-breeding.<sup>350</sup>

<sup>345</sup> CHILDE 1951, 177-194; FARBER – LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1976—80, 336-351; FITZGERALD 1954, 95-96; HORN 1995; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1979A; MOOREY 1986, 196 ff.; NAGEL 1966; PIGGOTT 1968, 266-318; PIGGOTT 1979, 3-17; PIGGOTT 1983; POTRATZ 1941-1944, 1-39; VITA 2010, 87-94.

<sup>346</sup> DE SCHAUENSEE – DYSON 1983, 59-77; GROPP 1981, 95-123; KELLNER 1987, Taf. 15-18, 20-21; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1977A, 1-8; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1977B, 95-105; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1979B, 107-120; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1984, 41-51; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1988, 169-171; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1989, 111-161; MAASS 1987, 65-92; MAASS 1990, 7-23; ORCHARD 1967; ÖZGÜÇ 1989, 409-419; SEIDL 1986, 229-236; SEIDL-CALMEYER 1985, 309-314; WESTERN 1973, 91-94; WINTER 1980; YILDIRIM 1987, 469-496.

<sup>347</sup> ALBRIGHT 1930—1931, 217-221; REVIV 1972, 218-228; MASTIN 1979, 125-154.

<sup>348</sup> CROUWEL 1987, 101-118; DEL OLMO LETE 1978, 47-51; HROUDA 1994, 53-57; ÖZGEN 1983, 111-131; ÖZGEN 1984, 91-154; SCHULMAN 1963, 75-98; SCHULMAN 1980, 105-153; STUDNICZKA 1907, 147-196; ZACCAGNINI 1977, 21-28.

<sup>349</sup> DALLEY 1985, 31-48; HROUDA 1963, 155-158; LITTAUER 1976, 217-226; MACGINNIS 1989, 184-192; MAYER 1979B, 175-186; NOBLE 1990, 61-68; PONGRATZ-LEISTEN – DELLER – BLEIBTREU 1992, 291-356; POSTGATE 1990, 35-38; WOLFF 1936—1937, 231-235.

<sup>350</sup> KAMMENHUBER 1988, 35-51; STARKE 1995.

# The Early History of the Assyrian Chariotry (1317–745 B.C.)

## The representations (23–25)



The earliest known depiction of an Assyrian chariot is in a cylinder seal impression of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur (c. 1133 B.C.),<sup>351</sup> where we can see two figures standing on a light, open-sided chariot with six-spoked wheels. The next depiction, on the White Obelisk<sup>352</sup> (which can be dated probably to the reign of Assurnasirpal I (1050–1032 B.C.)), shows a similar picture. The next is a fresco fragment from the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta II (888–884 B.C.), but systematic research into Assyrian chariots becomes possible only with the study of the palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.).

In the sculptures of Assurnasirpal II the light, open-sided chariot has been replaced by the heavier chariot with panelled sides. The relatively small and low chariots were always drawn by three horses harnessed with ornamented trappings.<sup>353</sup> One of the horses was probably a spare horse, but the eight reins handled by the chariot driver would suggest a fourth animal, in which case the extra horses were attached only by traces. This provided the necessary manoeuvrability needed for the chariotry, which was still a light arm used for swift pursuit.<sup>354</sup> The wheels were six-spoked, and the two quivers fastened onto the side of the chariot box were filled with arrows, and also carried two axes. The open back of the chariot was closed by a characteristic spiked bronze shield which was decorated with an animal-headed protome. An auxiliary weapon, a tasselled spear, was fastened to the back of the vehicle.

Chariots appear in the palace-reliefs of Assurnasirpal II in five contexts. 1. Hunting scenes: the king is hunting lion<sup>355</sup> or wild bull<sup>356</sup> with bow and arrow. A third scene shows the crown prince also hunting lion with bow and arrow.<sup>357</sup> 2. The king is shooting with his bow at a besieged city-wall, while his chariot with its driver waits in the background.<sup>358</sup> 3. Crossing a river (the Euphrates). Three chariots (one of them is the royal chariot) are shown in this scene embarked on boats or rafts. The horses are swimming with their bridles attached to the stern of the boat.<sup>359</sup>

<sup>351</sup> NAGEL 1966, Abb. 40; MADHLOOM 1970, V, 2a.

<sup>352</sup> BÖRKER-KLÄHN 1982, 179–180, no. 132, pls. 132a–d.

<sup>353</sup> DE SCHAUENSEE – DYSON 1983, 59–77.

<sup>354</sup> LITTAUER 1976, 224.

<sup>355</sup> LAYARD 1853B, pl. 10.

<sup>356</sup> LAYARD 1853B, pl. 11.

<sup>357</sup> LAYARD 1853B, pl. 31.

<sup>358</sup> LAYARD 1853B, pl. 18.

<sup>359</sup> LAYARD 1853B, pls. 15–16.

4. Battle scenes. In the first battle scene the royal chariot and two other Assyrian chariots are pursuing the enemy, who are fleeing towards a besieged city.<sup>360</sup> The royal chariot (*Plate 12, 23*) is engaged in the pursuit of an enemy chariot. The latter chariot is drawn by two horses, its 8-spoked wheels are smaller than the wheels of its Assyrian counterpart, and its two-man crew have been struck by arrows and are falling out of the vehicle. In the royal chariot we can observe the third crew member, the shield-bearer (Akkadian *tašlišu* = 'third man'), equipped with the characteristic rounded, spiked bronze shield decorated with an animal-head protome.<sup>361</sup> Behind the royal chariot there are two more Assyrian chariots (*Plate 13, 24*), which are trampling on an enemy chariot. The crew of the Assyrian chariots consists of a driver and a chariot warrior. The most interesting features of the scene and these two chariots are the two standards (rounded emblems attached to long staffs) fastened to the chariots. The first shows the symbol of Adad, the second probably displays the symbol of Nergal. These two standards probably designated the chariots which led the two wings of the Assyrian battle order. The same scene appears on another relief slab, which shows the two chariots trampling down the fleeing enemy infantry.<sup>362</sup> A third battle scene also shows two Assyrian chariots trampling down fleeing enemy infantry.<sup>363</sup> Both chariots are drawn by three heavily armoured horses; the armour, which is strengthened with metal roundels, covers the back and the neck of the horse (*Plate 14, 25*). There is a three-member crew in each chariot: the driver, the warrior and the shield-bearer. All of them wear pointed helmets, and two of them, the driver and the warrior, scale armour as well. A kind of scale armour hood – leaving only the eyes and nose free – is attached to the rim of the helmet. The short sleeved suit of scale armour probably reached down to the knee. The shield-bearer is unarmoured; he only wears the pointed helmet. The third Assyrian chariot, the royal chariot, is travelling in front of them; its three armoured horses are trampling down an enemy chariot. The enemy chariot warrior and his two horses – hit by arrows – are collapsing. The most interesting feature of the scene is that the enemy chariot has 12-spoked wheels. Neither the king nor the crew of his chariot wear scale armour. Another battle scene shows an Assyrian (probably royal) chariot which is pursuing six fleeing enemy horsemen on a riverbank.<sup>364</sup> The horsemen (Medes?) are equipped with bows and swords. 5. Procession after a victory, receiving the surrender. One of the scenes shows the king standing in his chariot with a driver and a baldachin-bearer. Behind the chariot there is a cavalryman with two horses (*Plate 1, 2*), and behind him come the two standard-bearing chariots.<sup>365</sup>

The same picture is revealed from the two Balawat Gates (palace and Mamu Temple) of Assurnasirpal II. Chariots are shown fighting enemy infantry,<sup>366</sup> or attending the royal chariot during ceremonies.<sup>367</sup>

<sup>360</sup> LAYARD 1853B, pls. 13-14.

<sup>361</sup> Shields decorated with animal headed protomes are depicted on the walls of Urtian temples (Muşafir: BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pl. 141) and are known from Crete. See KUNZE 1931.

<sup>362</sup> LAYARD 1853B, pl. 27.

<sup>363</sup> LAYARD 1853B, pl. 28; BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. CXVI-CXVII.

<sup>364</sup> MEUSZYŃSKI 1981, Taf. 3, B-27; Nimrud, Northwest Palace. London, British Museum, WA124559.

<sup>365</sup> LAYARD 1853B, pls. 21-22.

<sup>366</sup> CURTIS – TALLIS 2008, Figs. 10 (Bīt-Adini, one chariot fighting against Aramean archers), 12 (Ḫatti, 2 chariots fighting enemy), 20 (Bīt-Adini, 3 chariots fighting against Aramean archers), 26 (Bīt-Adini, 2 chariots fighting against Aramean archers), 28 (Bīt-Iakīn, 2 chariots fighting against Aramean archers), 60 (Mt. Urina, 3 chariots fighting against 'Urtian' infantry), 70 (unknown campaign, 3 chariots fighting against enemy infantry), 76 (Bīt-Adini, 4 chariots attacking enemy).

<sup>367</sup> CURTIS – TALLIS 2008, Figs. 38 (Ḫatti, one chariot escorting the royal chariot), 58 (Carchemish, tribute of Carchemish, 1 royal and 2 wing-leader chariots).

On the bronze bands of the Balawat Gates of Shalmaneser III (858—824 B.C.) the chariots appear as middle-weight vehicles with six-spoked wheels drawn by two horses.<sup>368</sup> Three functions can be distinguished: the royal chariot, the standard-bearing chariots and the regular chariots of the army. All three types of chariots are similar. The royal chariot is shown waiting behind the king<sup>369</sup> or attacking a besieged city.<sup>370</sup> In this siege scene the king is shooting an arrow. He is escorted by the 'third man' who is protecting him with a rounded, spiked bronze shield. The most complete scenes show all three types of chariot together: the royal chariot heads the line; followed by the two standard-bearing chariots<sup>371</sup> and the regular chariots of the army. The crew of the regular chariots consists of a driver and a chariot warrior who is usually equipped with a pointed helmet and a bow.<sup>372</sup> In one case both the driver and the warrior wear pointed helmets.<sup>373</sup> The regular chariots appear in battle scenes independently as well. The chariot representations of the bronze bands of the Balawat Gates emphasize the versatility of the chariot arm: the vehicles are being driven uphill<sup>374</sup> or crossing a river<sup>375</sup> on a pontoon bridge(?).

The depictions always show chariots pursuing a fleeing enemy. The key question concerning the employment of the chariot (and partly the cavalry) is whether the chariot horses will charge into the enemy infantry drawn up in close order or not. A single horse would probably turn away. However, the chariot or cavalry horses, galloping close together in a single mass, cannot swerve sideways, only stop short. The question then is whether the enemy infantry drawn up in close order, and waiting for a chariotry or cavalry charge will stand fast to the bitter end, in which case the cavalry charge will break against their battle line, or the infantry line will break under the pressure of the impending cavalry charge and flee. If disciplined infantry hold their battle line the chariot or cavalry charge will probably break: the leading horses will stop short, but the horses pushing forwards from the rear will push the first rows of horses into the battle line of the enemy.

There is a further important question which has to be addressed. It is known from both the pictorial evidence and written sources that some of the chariot horses were armoured. As has been discussed above, one of the battle scenes of Assurnasirpal II shows a chariot with a heavily armoured crew and horses (*Plate 14, 25*). The horse armour, which is strengthened with metal roundels, covers the back and the neck of the horse. Similar depictions of horse armour appear in the bronze reliefs of the chariot body of Thutmose IV (1401—1391 B.C.),<sup>376</sup> where the armour covers the back of the chariot horses of the pharaoh and some of the horses of his North Syrian (Mitannian?) enemies. It is interesting to see that on the panels of this chariot all of the fleeing enemy horses have been wounded in the flanks by arrows. Even the armoured Mitannian horse has been struck by an arrow under the edge of its armour. This probably means that a horse's flanks were its most vulnerable points in battle. Similar contemporary depictions of horse armour appear in the hunting scene of an Enkomi ivory game-box.<sup>377</sup>

<sup>368</sup> For a detailed study of the chariots shown on the Balawat Gates see SCHACHNER 2007, 153-159, Abbs. 88-91, Tab. 42 (6.3.4.1 Die Streiwagen).

<sup>369</sup> BARNETT 1960, 142.

<sup>370</sup> BARNETT 1960, 142, 148, 149, 169.

<sup>371</sup> SCHACHNER 2007, 156-159.

<sup>372</sup> BARNETT 1960, 157, 167.

<sup>373</sup> BARNETT 1960, 147.

<sup>374</sup> BARNETT 1960, 171.

<sup>375</sup> BARNETT 1960, 162.

<sup>376</sup> CARTER — NEWBERRY 1904, *passim*; YADIN 1963, 192-193.

<sup>377</sup> DE MERTZENFELD 1954, pl. LXIX, no. 788b.



However, there is a group of cuneiform tablets which describe some horse and even chariot armour in detail. There are *ca.* 80 tablets (out of the total four thousand) found in the Nuzi archive (15<sup>th</sup>—14<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.) which are inventory lists dealing with the question of issuing members of the local militia with armour and weapons from the central arsenal of the town. These tablets describe the weapons, armour (at least 16 types), horse-harness, and chariot equipment of the Nuzi militia.<sup>378</sup> Several types of armour for horses and chariots can be reconstructed from these tablets:<sup>379</sup>

1. 2 *tapālu sariam ša sīsī ištēnnūtu paraššannu ša aḫišu* (2 sets of horse armour and 1 set of *paraššannu* armour for the side)<sup>380</sup>
2. *sariam ša awēli u narkabti* (armour for the man and chariot)<sup>381</sup>
3. *paraššannu ša narkabtišu* (*paraššannu* armour for the chariot)<sup>382</sup>

From these administrative texts both the horse armour (*sariam ša sīsī, paraššannu ša sīsī*) and a kind of chariot armour (*sariam ša narkabti, paraššannu ša narkabti*) can be reconstructed. Furthermore, there are at least 5 types of ‘horse-helmets’ that can be reconstructed from the Nuzi inventory lists. In several cases the word ‘helmet’ (*gurpīsu*) occurs without attributes<sup>383</sup> or with a neutral attribute (*gurpīsu ša qaqqadi*, ‘helmet of the head’).<sup>384</sup> The five types of helmets are as follows:

1. Crested leather helmet for a horse (*gurpīsu maški šuppuru ša sīsī*)<sup>385</sup>
2. (Leather) helmet for a horse with bronze on the sides ([*gurpi*]su *ašar* [šērišu si]parri)<sup>386</sup>
3. Bronze helmet for a horse (*gurpīsu ša sīsī siparri*,<sup>387</sup> *gurpīsu ša siparri*,<sup>388</sup> *gurpīsu siparri*<sup>389</sup>)
4. Crested bronze helmet for a horse (*gurpīsu siparri šuppuru ša sīsī*)<sup>390</sup>
5. Bronze scale armour helmet for a horse (*gurpīsu ša siparri 242 kuršimētūšunu kaqaniašwana ša siparri tegipu*)<sup>391</sup>

Unfortunately not a single depiction of a horse-helmet has come down from the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C. The horse-helmet might have covered the forehead or even the whole head and neck of the horse, as can be seen on the horse of the chariot from the palace relief of Assurnasirpal II discussed above (*Plate 14, 25*). From the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium B.C., however, there are several depictions of horse head-dresses with crests (*gurpīsu siparri šuppuru ša sīsī*) similar to the crests on soldiers’ helmets. Unfortunately further reconstruction of the Nuzi horse-helmets is impossible.

The use of horse armour remained widespread in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C. as well, since one of the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III mentions that he fastened iron armour upon the horses.<sup>392</sup> Furthermore Mallowan identified at Nimrud some large rectangular armour scales

<sup>378</sup> KENDALL 1975; NEGRI SCAFA 1995.

<sup>379</sup> DEZSÓ 2002, 195-216.

<sup>380</sup> LACHEMAN 1955, 16:20.

<sup>381</sup> LACHEMAN 1955, 15:19-20.

<sup>382</sup> LACHEMAN 1955, 15:45. For further types *see*: LACHEMAN 1955, 15:12, 26, 43, 48, 52, 54.

<sup>383</sup> PREIFFER—LACHEMAN 1942, 195:19; LACHEMAN 1950, 616:2, 6, 10; LACHEMAN 1955, 4:2, 22 (*gurpīsu iānu* = “there is no helmet”), 28, 30, 50, 55, 60; 7:8, 12, 22, 27, 33; 12:9; 23:1, 4, Rs. 4, 5.

<sup>384</sup> LACHEMAN 1955, 9b:2, 3; 208:9-10.

<sup>385</sup> CHIERA 1934, 527:25.

<sup>386</sup> LACHEMAN 1955, 4:46, 52.

<sup>387</sup> LACHEMAN 1955, 4:56.

<sup>388</sup> LACHEMAN 1955, 4:8, 18, 36, 40.

<sup>389</sup> LACHEMAN 1955, 4:36.

<sup>390</sup> CHIERA 1934, 527:24.

<sup>391</sup> LACHEMAN 1955, 3:23-24: “(22) leather armours for his horse (he) received. 23) Their helmets (made) of 242 24) *kaqaniašwana* (-type?) polished? bronze armour scales.”

<sup>392</sup> LIVINGSTONE 1989, 17; GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.17, 22: (*ši-ri AN.BAR ina UGU ANŠE.KUR.RA lul* [...]).

as part of a suit of horse armour.<sup>393</sup> Later, probably 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. representations of horse armour feature in hunting scenes in a Sakçegözü basalt-relief,<sup>394</sup> on a Nimrud bronze bowl,<sup>395</sup> and on Neo-Assyrian ivories found at Nimrud.<sup>396</sup> It is interesting to note that notwithstanding the hunting context, the charioteers wear scale armour. This type of horse armour appears in the palace reliefs of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.) as well.<sup>397</sup> These 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. depictions follow a tradition of horse armour that originated in the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C. and was still in use in the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. However – judging from the palace reliefs of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) – during the last quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. horse armour disappeared from the armament of the Assyrian army. The leather armour protecting the cavalry and chariot horses of Assurbanipal (668–631 B.C.) was a new development in the history of the Assyrian cavalry and chariotry.

## Cuneiform sources

It is known from the Chronicle of Arik-dēn-ili (1317–1306 B.C.) that during his campaign against Esini, the king of the land of Nigimḫi, the Assyrian king captured 33 chariots in a battle,<sup>398</sup> and seized further chariots during the siege of one of the fortresses of Esini, Arnuna.<sup>399</sup> On another campaign Arik-dēn-ili crossed the ‘lower [rivers?]' with 90 chariots and killed 600 men of the city of Ḫi[...] in a battle.<sup>400</sup> The 90 chariots seems quite a realistic number<sup>401</sup> and shows that in this early period squadron-size chariotry units would have been decisive elements in smaller expeditionary armies.

Shalmaneser I (1273–1244 B.C.) mentions in his royal inscription that he took one third of his best chariotry<sup>402</sup> and threw them into battle against the Qutu (from Uruatri to Katmuḫu).

The Synchronistic Chronicle mentions that when Nebuchadnezzar I (1125–1104 B.C.), king of Babylon, attacked the Assyrian fortress of Zanqi with siege engines. Aššur-rēš-iši I (1132–1115 B.C.), king of Assyria, mobilized his chariots and marched against the Babylonian king. When Nebuchadnezzar I retreated, and started to besiege another Assyrian fortress, Īdu, with siege engines, the Assyrian king sent his chariots and infantry against him, and inflicted a total defeat on him. The Assyrians captured 40 equipped Babylonian chariots in the battle.<sup>403</sup> It seems that 40 chariots was a number worth mentioning.

In his royal inscriptions Tiglath-Pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.) mentions the mobilization of his chariotry and army several times.<sup>404</sup> On his campaign against the land of Katmuḫu he deployed

<sup>393</sup> STRONACH 1958, 172-181; MALLOWAN 1966, 409, fig. 336a-e; DEZSÖ 2004, 322. MUSCARELLA 1988, nos. 102-104 identified three pieces of bronze plaques with concave edges from Hasanlu as horse armour plates (or dangles).

<sup>394</sup> MADHLOOM 1970, pl. XIII:2.

<sup>395</sup> MADHLOOM 1970, pl. V:4.

<sup>396</sup> MADHLOOM 1970, pl. XIII:1; 2. ND 10316, BM 132939; HERRMANN 1986, vol. I, 156, no. 657, vol. II, pl. 161; 3. DE MERTZENFELD 1954, pl. CXVII, no. 1115.

<sup>397</sup> BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. IX, XV-XVI, LXXXI.

<sup>398</sup> GRAYSON 1987, 126, A.0.75.8, 10'; GLASSNER 2004, 184.

<sup>399</sup> GRAYSON 1987, 126, A.0.75.8, 12'-13'; GLASSNER 2004, 186.

<sup>400</sup> GRAYSON 1987, 126, A.0.75.8, 23'-24'; GLASSNER 2004, 186.

<sup>401</sup> See later and *Chart 4*.

<sup>402</sup> GRAYSON 1987, A.0.77.1, 95: *ni-siq* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ia šu-lu-ul-ta.

<sup>403</sup> GLASSNER 2004, 178-181, Synchronistic Chronicle, (ii), (A), 1"-13".

<sup>404</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.87.1, i:71 (Phrygia), ii:6-7, 42-43 (Katmuḫu), iii:93 (Murattāš), v:44-45 (Aḫlamû Aramaeans), vi:22-23 (Qumānu).

30 chariots escorting him and carrying soldiers “trained for successful combat.”<sup>405</sup> This might have been an elite chariot unit, probably a kind of chariotry bodyguard, which escorted the king on campaigns, and/or a kind of ‘shock troops’ or ‘special forces’ unit. During the same campaign it happened that he had to abandon his chariots, because they could not get over the passes of Mount Aruma.<sup>406</sup> During his campaign against Subartu, the Assyrian army defeated 4,000 Kasku and Urumu from Hatti and captured 120 chariots and harnessed horses.<sup>407</sup> When he led his army to the land of Nairi, he cut *urumu*-trees and built bridges over the Euphrates for the passage of his chariots and army.<sup>408</sup> During this campaign he fought a battle with 23 kings of Nairi who combined their chariotry and army, and defeated them. He seized 120 equipped chariots in the battle. Furthermore, the Assyrian king imposed a huge tribute of 1,200 horses upon the kings of Nairi.<sup>409</sup> In the concluding passage of one of his royal inscriptions he states that he had in harness for the forces of his land more chariots and teams of horses than ever before.<sup>410</sup> It is known from the Synchronistic Chronicle and from one of his royal inscriptions<sup>411</sup> that Tiglath-Pileser I twice (in the eponymy of Aššur-šumu-ēriš and Ninuāiu) drew up a battle line of his chariots (as many as there were) on the Lower Zab facing Arzuḫina against Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē (1099–1082 B.C.), king of Babylon. On the second occasion the Assyrian king defeated the Babylonian army at Gurmarritu and conquered parts of Babylonia.<sup>412</sup>

Aššur-bēl-kala (1073–1056 B.C.) mentioned his chariotry in a few fragmentary texts, mainly in connection with his campaign against Uruatri.<sup>413</sup> However this is the first occasion when the Assyrian sources mention that Aššur went before the king, Ninurta went at his right and Adad went at his left hand.<sup>414</sup> It seems that this order of gods means a kind of battle order (with Aššur in the centre, Ninurta on the right and Adad on the left wing), since the emblems of Ninurta (or Nergal?) and Adad appear on the ‘wing-leader’ chariots in the palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) (*Plate 13, 24*). Aššur-bēl-kala is the first king who mentions the light hunting chariot (*mugerru/narkabtu pattūte*) in his royal inscription.<sup>415</sup>

Aššur-dān II (934–912 B.C.) mentions his chariotry only in a fragmentary inscription,<sup>416</sup> but Adad-nērārī II (911–891 B.C.) lists several occasions when he mustered his chariotry and army.<sup>417</sup> On his campaign against Hanigalbat between Pauza and Našibina he defeated Nūr-Adad the Temānu and destroyed his numerous chariots.<sup>418</sup> In the *limmu* of Likberu (898 B.C.) he marched against Hanigalbat for the fourth time, and captured a large number of horses and chariots.<sup>419</sup> Adad-nērārī II defeated the army of Šamaš-mudammiq, king of Babylon, at the foot of Mount Ialman, and captured his chariots and his teams of draft horses.<sup>420</sup> During his

<sup>405</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.87.1, ii:65-68.

<sup>406</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.87.1, ii:73-77.

<sup>407</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.87.1, iii:3-5.

<sup>408</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.87.1, iv:68-71.

<sup>409</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.87.1, iv:83-95 and v:19.

<sup>410</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.87.1, vii:28-30.

<sup>411</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.87.4, 50-51.

<sup>412</sup> GLASSNER 2004, 180-181, Synchronistic Chronicle, (ii), (A), 14”-24”.

<sup>413</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.89.2, 9’-11’, 16’-17’; A.0.89.5, 3’-5’, 9’-10’; A.0.89.7, iii:4-5, iv:35-36.

<sup>414</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.89.2, 9’-11’; A.0.89.5, 3’-5’.

<sup>415</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.89.7, IV:10 GIGIR-šu *pa-at-tu-te* (‘open chariot’).

<sup>416</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.98.2, 9’.

<sup>417</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.99.1, 10; A.0.99.2, 51, 81.

<sup>418</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.99.2, 41.

<sup>419</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.99.2, 49-60.

<sup>420</sup> GLASSNER 2004, 180-181, Synchronistic Chronicle, (iii), (A), 1-7.

campaign along the Hābur, he received chariots and teams of horses as tribute from Abi-salāmu (of Bīt-Baḥiāni), from Šadikanni, and from Amīl-Adad (king of Qatnu).<sup>421</sup> He also boasted in his inscription that he had in harness for the forces of his land more chariots and teams of horses than ever before.<sup>422</sup>

The annals of Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884 B.C.) mention that the king captured horses in Nairi,<sup>423</sup> and from Amme-ba’lī, king of Bīt-Zamāni in Patiškun. In this case the fragmentary line mentions horses and mules before the king’s officers(?).<sup>424</sup> Amme-ba’lī, the king of Bīt-Zamāni, swore an oath that he would never give horses to the enemies of the Assyrian king.<sup>425</sup> In one of his campaigns across the mountains of Kurruri, he mentions for the first time Assyrian cavalry together with chariotry.<sup>426</sup> During his long march he received horses as tribute only in Dūr-Katlimmu.<sup>427</sup> He gives an exact number: he had 2,702 horses in teams [and chariots] in harness for the forces of his land, more than ever before.<sup>428</sup>

Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) left a huge number of royal inscriptions in which he frequently mentioned his chariotry. The contexts are stereotyped and can be grouped as follows:

1. The description of almost every campaign starts with the same sentence: “I mustered my chariotry and troops.”<sup>429</sup> The chariots were part of special military detachments. On one occasion the king took with him strong chariots,<sup>430</sup> cavalry, and ‘crack troops’ for a mountain campaign. During his campaigns the Assyrian army fought battles with foreign chariotry.<sup>431</sup> However, the Assyrians not only fought with foreign chariotry but also used them as auxiliary units side-by-side with their own chariotry. During his western campaign of 877 B.C. as far as the Lebanon Mountains and the Mediterranean Sea, the king took with him the armies (chariotry, cavalry, and infantry)<sup>432</sup> of the North-Syrian kings who submitted to him: Bīt-Baḥiāni, Adad-ime of Azallu, Aḥūnī of Bīt-Adini, Sangara of Carchemish, and Lubarna of Pattina.<sup>433</sup>
2. The second context in which chariots are mentioned is when he passed through difficult paths and rugged mountains which were unsuitable for chariotry and troops.<sup>434</sup> In some cases he cut through the mountains with iron axes and opened paths with copper picks so that he was able to move forward with his chariotry and troops.<sup>435</sup> The Assyrian army crossed the rivers by means of pontoon bridges.<sup>436</sup>
3. It can be deduced from the royal inscriptions of this king that the supply of horses was a strategic question in Assyria. The Assyrians received large numbers of horses as tribute. Both booty and tribute horses came almost exclusively from the horse breeding countries east and

<sup>421</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.99.2, 103, 107, 110.

<sup>422</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.99.2, 121.

<sup>423</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.100.5, 3.

<sup>424</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.100.5, 22.

<sup>425</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.100.5, 25.

<sup>426</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.100.5, 37: (GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ and *pit-ḫal-li*).

<sup>427</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.100.5, 105.

<sup>428</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.100.5, 130-131.

<sup>429</sup> GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-*a ad-ki* (GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1, I:45, 77, 104; A.0.101.17, I:64, III:139’).

<sup>430</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1, II:53-54: GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ KAL-*tu*, II:103-104; A.0.101.17, III:36-37, IV:61-62.

<sup>431</sup> Against Sūḫu, Laqū, and Ḫindānu coalition (GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1, III:34-35); at Kipinu in Laqū (III:39-40); against Ilā, the sheikh of Laqū (III:43-45).

<sup>432</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1, III:58: GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *pit-ḫal-lu LÚ.zu-ku*.

<sup>433</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1, III:58-78.

<sup>434</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1, I:46, II:60-61; A.0.101.17, I:66, III:57-58.

<sup>435</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1, II:76-78, II:95-96; A.0.101.17, III:98-101, IV:31-33.

<sup>436</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1, II:103-104.

north of Assyria, and sometimes from the west.<sup>437</sup> During these campaigns the Assyrians captured harnessed chariots and trappings as well.<sup>438</sup> The king obtained the largest known number of chariots (40 harnessed chariots)<sup>439</sup> and tribute horses (460 harness-trained horses)<sup>440</sup> in the *limmu* of Ša-ilima-damqa (879 B.C.) from the nobles of Bīt-Zamāni who rebelled against him.

Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.) built a so-called ‘review palace’ (Fort Shalmaneser), which was designed to host smaller reviews. The Assyrians – as attested in the royal inscriptions – usually started their campaigns with a muster of chariotry and troops.<sup>441</sup> His reign shows the largest known number of chariots. In 853 B.C., when the Assyrians went on the first campaign against the coalition of the twelve Syrian kings and fought a battle near Qarqar, Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the king of Damascus lined up 1,200 chariots, 1,200 cavalry and 20,000 troops, Irhuleni, the king of Ḥamath brought 700 chariots, 700 cavalry and 10,000 troops, Ahab, the king of Israel deployed 2,000 chariots and 10,000 troops, 10 chariots came from Irqanata, and 30 chariots arrived from the land of Šiānu.<sup>442</sup> These numbers show that at that time the larger North Syrian states could deploy relatively large numbers of chariots. After the battle the Assyrians captured the remnants of the coalition army, including chariotry, cavalry, and teams of horses.<sup>443</sup> The huge number of coalition chariots (3,940) reportedly deployed in this battle is probably exaggerated, but it shows the importance of the chariot arm in the 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C. armies of the Near East. The numbers of the Assyrian chariotry and cavalry in this battle is unknown, but Shalmaneser III regularly crossed the Euphrates with 120,000 soldiers. In 849 and 848 B.C. the Assyrian army met the coalition forces again, defeated them in both years and captured their chariots and cavalry.<sup>444</sup> In their next battle in 845 B.C. the Assyrians destroyed the chariotry and the cavalry of the coalition forces on the battlefield.<sup>445</sup> It is known that in 841 B.C., when Shalmaneser III defeated Ḥazael, king of Damascus, who was then the head of the Syrian coalition, the Assyrians captured 1,121 chariots and 470 horsemen in the enemy’s camp.<sup>446</sup> An inscription of Shalmaneser III mentioned above tells us that he had horses for 2,002 chariots, and equipped 5,542 more horsemen for the service of his country.<sup>447</sup> It is known from one of his inscriptions that the king captured altogether 9,920 horses and mules during his first twenty campaigns.<sup>448</sup> These huge

<sup>437</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.O.101.1, I:57 (Gilzānu, Ḥubuškia), II:10 (Nirbu, Nairi), II:12-14 (in Tušḫa from the neighbouring regions: Bīt-Zamāni, Šubria, Nirdun, Urumu, Nairi), II:23 (Bīt-Iahiri, Bīt-Baḫiāni, Ḥatti, Ḥanigalbat), II:36 (booty of Musasina, ruler of Bunāsi), II:68 (booty from Ameka, king of Zamru), II:79 (Zamua), II: 80-81 (Ḥubuškia, Gilzānu).

<sup>438</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.O.101.1, I:86: the king captured the harnessed chariot (GIŠ.GIGIR-šú *ra-ki-su*), teams of horses (ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ GIŠ.LAL GIŠ.*ni-ri-šú*), the equipment of the horses (*ḥal-lu-up-ti* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ), and equipment of the troops (*ḥal-lu-up-ti* ERIM.MEŠ); II:62 (Ameka, king of Zamru); II:120, III:22.

<sup>439</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.O.101.19, 87: 40 GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ra-ki-su ḥal-lup-tu* ... 460 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ LAL-*at* GIŠ.*ni-ri-šú*.

<sup>440</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.O.101.1, II:120 (ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ LAL-*at* GIŠ.*ni-ri-šú*); A.O.101.17, IV:113-114; A.O.101.19, 87.

<sup>441</sup> GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ *ad-ki*. For example in 859 B.C. (GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.1, 15; A.O.102.2, I:15; A.O.102.6, I:29) or in 832 B.C., when in the 27<sup>th</sup> *palū* Daiiān-Aššur, the Commander-in-Chief (*turtānu*) led the Assyrian army against Urartu (GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.14, 141-146; A.O.102.16, 228’-237’).

<sup>442</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.2, II:90-95. Furthermore: GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.6, II:30-32; A.O.102.8, 18’-19’; A.O.102.10, II:22-25; A.O.102.14, 54-66; A.O.102.16, 35-37.

<sup>443</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.2, II:101-102; A.O.102.6, II:30-32; A.O.102.8, 18’-19’; A.O.102.10, II:22-25; A.O.102.14, 54-66; A.O.102.16, 35-37; A.O.102.23, 21-27.

<sup>444</sup> 849 B.C.: GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.6, II:65-66; A.O.102.8, 34’-35’; 848 B.C.: GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.6, III:8-10; A.O.102.8, 38’-39’.

<sup>445</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.6, III:30-32; A.O.102.8, 44’-47’; A.O.102.10, III:23-24.

<sup>446</sup> GRAYSON 1996, 48, A.O.102.8, 1’-27’; A.O.102.12, 21-24; A.O.102.14, 97-99; A.O.102.16, 122-137.

<sup>447</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.6, IV:47-48; A.O.102.10, left edge 2; A.O.102.11, left edge II:1-2a; A.O.102.16, 348’.

<sup>448</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.10, IV:36.

numbers show that in addition to the manufacture of chariots and the breeding of horses, other important sources of supply were booty and tribute. The inscriptions of Shalmaneser III list several campaigns, ending with a tribute list of teams of horses (ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ LAL-at GIŠ.ni-ri) and chariots,<sup>449</sup> or a list of booty including numerous chariots and teams of horses.<sup>450</sup> Furthermore, the Assyrians captured large numbers of chariots and teams of horses during their campaigns.<sup>451</sup> At this time the chariotry was still an important prestige arm of the Assyrian army. Like his predecessors, Shalmaneser III used copper picks to cut rough paths across mighty mountains in order to move his chariots over the mountains.<sup>452</sup>

His successor, Šamši-Adad V (823–811 B.C.) captured 100 chariots and 200 horsemen when he defeated Marduk-balāssu-iqbī at the Daban River battle.<sup>453</sup> Unfortunately it is not known whether the Assyrians in the 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C. only needed the chariots and horses, or drafted whole units including crews into the Assyrian army as well. Šamši-Adad V – similarly to his predecessors – received large numbers of teams of horses as tribute or booty.<sup>454</sup> It can be assumed, however, that the 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C. importance of the chariot arm survived in the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. as well – whether as a prestige arm or as fighting troops.

As has been discussed in the chapter on cavalry, Ninurta-kudurri-ušur, the governor of the land of Sūḫu around the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. easily defeated on the steppe 2,000 Ḫatallu tribesmen who plundered the territory of Laqû with 105 chariots, 220 experienced mounted soldiers (*pīt-ḫal-lu* [t]e(?)*-li-tu*), choice horses (ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *na-as-qu-tu*<sub>4</sub> *ba-nu-ti*), 3,000 foot soldiers and the palace guard.<sup>455</sup> These 105 chariots could at that time have been considered as a substantial force. This unit was probably a chariotry squadron of 100 chariots (5 platoons of 20 chariots each) with 5 chariots for the officers.

<sup>449</sup> For example in 859 B.C. from Asû, king of Gilzānu (GRAYSON 1996, A.0.102.1, 38-39; A.0.102.2, I:28), and from Ḫarqu, Ḫarmasa, Simesi, Simerra, Sirišu, and Ulmanu (GRAYSON 1996, A.0.102.2, I:18); in 856 B.C. from Zanzinua (between Nairi and Urartu) (GRAYSON 1996, A.0.102.2, II:51), and from Asû, king of Gilzānu (GRAYSON 1996, A.0.102.2, II:61-62); in 844 B.C. from Asia, king of Daiēnu (GRAYSON 1996, A.0.102.6, III:43-44; A.0.102.8, 51'); in 829 B.C. from Šulusunu of the land of Ḫarna (GRAYSON 1996, A.0.102.14, 168); in 828 B.C. from Upû, king of Gilzānu, Mannea, and Andia (GRAYSON 1996, A.0.102.14, 180-183); and in 827 B.C. from Tikku, king of Ḫubuškia (GRAYSON 1996, A.0.102.17, 56).

<sup>450</sup> For example in 858 B.C. from Ḫaiiānu of Sam'al, Sapalulme of Patinu, Aḫūni of Bīt-Adini, Sangara of Carchemish, Katea of Que, Piḫirim of Ḫiluku, Būr-Anate of Iasbugu, Adānu of Iaḫānu (GRAYSON 1996, A.0.102.1, 61'; A.0.102.1, 70'; A.0.102.2, I:47-48; A.0.102.2, I:51-II:3); in 856 B.C. from Arame, king of Urartu (GRAYSON 1996, A.0.102.2, II:51; A.0.102.28, 40-41), and Kāki, king of Ḫubuškia (GRAYSON 1996, A.0.102.2, II:65).

<sup>451</sup> For example in 859 B.C. from Ḫubuškia (after the defeat of Kakia, king of Nairi) (GRAYSON 1996, A.0.102.2, 21-22); in 855 B.C. (eponymy of Daiiān-Aššur) from Aḫūni (after the capture of Mount Šitamrat) (GRAYSON 1996, A.0.102.2, 73-74; A.0.102.6, II:7-9; A.0.102.5, III:2; A.0.102.10, II:2-6; A.0.102.14, 45-49; A.0.102.16, 20-24; A.0.102.28, 27-28).

<sup>452</sup> For example in 859 B.C. in Ḫubuškia (GRAYSON 1996, A.0.102.1, 19-22; A.0.102.2, I:18-20); or in 856 B.C. in Enzite and Išua (Bīt-Zamāni) (GRAYSON 1996, A.0.102.2, II:39-42).

<sup>453</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.0.103.1, IV:37-45; A.0.103.2, III:17'-37'a; A.0.103.4, I'-5'.

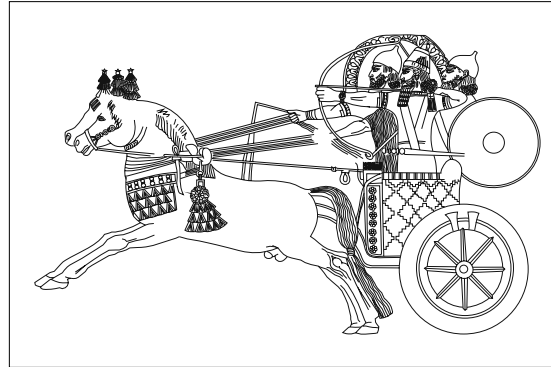
<sup>454</sup> ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ LAL-at *ni-ri*: 1<sup>st</sup> campaign: kings of Nairi (GRAYSON 1996, A.0.103.1, I:53b-II:4); 2<sup>nd</sup> campaign: kings of Nairi (GRAYSON 1996, A.0.103.1, II:32-34a); 3<sup>rd</sup> campaign: from Dādi, king of Ḫubuškia, Šarsina, son of Megdiara, and the people of Sunbu, Mannea, Parsua and Tauria (A.0.103.1, II:34b-40), from the people of Mēsu (A.0.103.1, II:41-42), from Titamaška, king of Sassiašu, and Kiara, king of Karsibuta (A.0.103.1, II:59b-III:6), from Pirišāti, king of Gizilbunda (A.0.103.1, III:16), from the kings of Nairi (A.0.103.1, III:44b-66).

<sup>455</sup> FRAME 1995, S.0.1002.4:8'-10'; S.0.1002.1:24-33.

## The Chariotry of the Imperial Period (745—612 B.C.)

### The representations (26—32)

In the palace reliefs of Tiglath-Pileser III (745—727 B.C.) there are altogether eight chariots depicted. Only the royal chariot can be identified on these reliefs. It is shown standing empty in a siege-scene. This heavy chariot with eight-spoked wheels is drawn by two armoured horses, whose armour is made of small metal plates. A bronze shield<sup>456</sup> hangs on the back of the chariot box together with the king's spear. The chariot driver wears an elaborate garment.<sup>457</sup>



The same empty chariot is shown in another scene. The horses are unarmoured, but the chariot panels are covered with rectangular metal plates. The spear is shown at the back of the chariot behind the driver.<sup>458</sup> The same, or a very similar chariot can be seen in another sculpture.<sup>459</sup> More than one chariots appear only in two sculptures. One of these two fragmentary sculptures shows the eight-spoked wheels of two chariots, one of them drawn by armoured horses.<sup>460</sup> The second scene depicts a procession with the king in his chariot with the driver and a 'baldachin-bearer.' In front of this chariot there is another one with eight-spoked wheels. Unfortunately on this broken slab only the wheels, the back of the chariot, and a single figure can be seen, who is definitely not the chariot driver.<sup>461</sup>

The only scene where the king appears in a military context is a sculpture depicting a battle against the Arabs. The king is standing in his chariot (which has six-spoked wheels) in the company of his driver and 'third man.' Both of them wear pointed helmets. The king is shooting with his bow at an Arab warrior, who is riding on the back of a collapsing camel. A bronze shield hangs on the back of the chariot. The body and neck of each horse is covered with armour probably made of leather and reinforced with rectangular metal plates.<sup>462</sup>

In the Til-Barsip wall paintings the Assyrian chariot appears only in royal context. The royal chariot with large, 8-spoked wheels is shown in a hunting-scene. The king as archer is hunting lion from his chariot, while a horseman brings the spare horses, and two more chariots transport

<sup>456</sup> Two texts of the Nimrud Horse Lists mention relatively large numbers of bronze shields belonging to chariots as standard parts (DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 96, 4, 9, 21; no. 97, 6). These shields were probably the shields hanging on the backs of the chariots (as doors?) depicted on the sculptures and were used by the 'third men' of the chariots to defend the other members of the crew on campaigns. One of these texts mentions bow-cases as standard equipment belonging to the chariot (DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 96, 24).

<sup>457</sup> Nimrud, Central Palace. BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pl. IX.

<sup>458</sup> Nimrud, Central Palace. BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pl. XLIII.

<sup>459</sup> Nimrud, Southwest Palace. BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pl. LXXXII, LXXXIII.

<sup>460</sup> Nimrud, Southwest Palace. BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pl. LXXXI.

<sup>461</sup> Nimrud, Southwest Palace. BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pl. LXVIII.

<sup>462</sup> Nimrud, Central Palace. BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pl. XV.

the lions brought down by the king.<sup>463</sup> The other scene is a procession, which shows the king on his chariot with his chariot driver. The chariot is followed by a bodyguard and a soldier leading the spare horses.<sup>464</sup>

In the palace reliefs of Sargon II (721—705 B.C.) chariots appear in much larger numbers and in several different contexts.

The royal chariot is shown in procession scenes. The chariot has 8-spoked wheels, and is drawn by two horses (and a spare horse). In addition to the king and the driver a baldachin-bearer can also be seen in the vehicle. The five procession scenes<sup>465</sup> show interesting similarities. The royal chariot is escorted in all cases by ‘noble horsemen,’ who in the chapter on cavalry were identified as members of the cavalry bodyguard (*pēthalli ša—qurbūte*), or high ranking officials of the court. Furthermore, Sargon II was always escorted by the cavalry regiment (*kitullu perru*) of Sîn-aḫu-ušur, the brother of the king. This regiment always escorted the king, and never left his side, either in enemy or in friendly country,<sup>466</sup> but might be more regular in character (*pēthal qurubte*) than these ‘noble horsemen.’ One of these scenes (a procession to a park sanctuary?) shows at least three such horsemen behind the royal chariot. The first two riders are eunuchs, while the third wears the characteristic diadem (with two tassels) of the crown prince. It is an interesting question whether the third rider is the crown prince (Sennacherib) or the brother of the king, Sîn-aḫu-ušur himself.<sup>467</sup>

The royal chariot is depicted in battle contexts as well. The royal chariot is the same, but the king is accompanied by a driver and two ‘third men’ (shield bearers). They are unarmoured and all of them wear pointed helmets. The rim of the rounded bronze shield of the ‘third men’ is decorated with geometric motifs. Behind the royal chariot there are two Assyrian chariots (*Plate 16, 28*) pursuing enemy cavalry.<sup>468</sup> The other battle scene shows the royal chariot trampling down the fleeing enemy infantry (*Plate 15, 26*). The crew of the chariot consists of the king, the driver and the ‘third man.’ The driver and the ‘third man’ wear pointed helmets. It is interesting that the ‘third man’ holds two decorated rounded bronze shields. Behind the royal chariot there are three Assyrian horsemen and an Assyrian chariot. The crew of this chariot consists of the chariot warrior, the driver and the ‘third man.’ All of them are unarmoured and wear pointed helmets. The ‘third man’ holds two decorated rounded bronze shields.<sup>469</sup>

The other six battle scenes show the same chariots with 8-spoked wheels, manned by a crew of three: the driver, the chariot warrior and the ‘third man.’ The crew are unarmoured and wear pointed helmets, and most of the scenes can be connected to the Western campaigns (721—720 B.C.) of Sargon II.<sup>470</sup> The chariots are accompanied by cavalry chasing the fleeing enemy.<sup>471</sup> Another battle scene shows an Assyrian chariot pursuing the enemy. The crew are unarmoured and wear pointed helmets. Again the ‘third man’ holds two decorated rounded bronze shields in his hands.<sup>472</sup>

<sup>463</sup> THUREAU-DANGIN – DUNAND 1936, pl. LIII.

<sup>464</sup> THUREAU-DANGIN – DUNAND 1936, pl. XLIX.

<sup>465</sup> Procession to sanctuary/pavillon in a park (BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, vol. II, pls. 112-114); submission scene (BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, vol. I, pls. 53-54); siege scene (BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, vol. I, pls. 61-64); procession scene (BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, vol. I, pls. 71-73); Urartian campaign (BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, vol. II, pls. 142-143).

<sup>466</sup> THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, lines 132-133.

<sup>467</sup> BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, vol. II, pls. 112-114.

<sup>468</sup> BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, vol. I, pls. 58-59.

<sup>469</sup> BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, vol. I, pls. 65-67.

<sup>470</sup> FRANKLIN 1994, 255-275.

<sup>471</sup> BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, vol. II, pls. 92, 93, 94, 95-96, 97-98, 100.

<sup>472</sup> BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, vol. I, pl. 59 bis.



An interesting chariot scene depicts two Assyrian chariots trampling the enemy down in a battle.<sup>473</sup> The first chariot is unfortunately fragmentary: the crew are missing. Only the 8-spoked wheel and part of the chariot can be detected. A unique feature, however, is that there is a figure of a god (probably Aššur) shooting with his bow on the side-panel of the chariot (*Plate 17, 30*). The figure was probably a protome applied onto the chariot panels. This figure designated the status of the chariot as the leader of a unit or the leader of one wing of the battle order. Since the chariot behind this one is a wing-leader chariot with a divine standard (known from the 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C. chariots of Assurnasirpal II mentioned above) and with a crew of two (unarmoured driver and chariot warrior) (*Plate 17, 29*), this first chariot might be the other wing leader, or most probably the royal chariot leading the centre of the battle order. The protome figure of a god (probably of Aššur) on the chariot panel does not appear in other depictions of regular or wing-leader chariots, and never appears in other depictions of the royal chariot either. If the figure represents Aššur, the chariot must be the royal chariot leading the charge, as known from the inscriptions of Sargon II. A further interesting feature is that the pole of both chariots is decorated with a crescent-shaped bronze panel featuring divine symbols. This crescent-shaped bronze panel of the 'royal' chariot is decorated with the figure of an eagle-headed genius holding cross-shaped symbols in both hands (*Plate 17, 30B*). The crescent-shaped bronze panel of the wing-leader chariot is unfortunately too broken to reconstruct the decoration (*Plate 17, 29*). Two similar crescent-shaped bronze panels are known from Zinçirli<sup>474</sup> (together with two bronze and a fragmentary iron helmets<sup>475</sup> connected probably to the Assyrian conquest of 720 B.C.). The Zinçirli bronze panel depicts Ištar with three lions (*Plate 17, 30A*). Ištar is also known as one of the patron deities of the Assyrian battle order.<sup>476</sup>

In the palace reliefs of Sennacherib there is not a single regular chariot, only the royal chariot appearing in various contexts, but always in marches or processions. There is an interesting scene which shows the two 'wing-leader' chariots with standards in the siege-camp of Sennacherib at Lachish.<sup>477</sup> Two priests are performing a sacrifice in front of the two empty chariots for the success of the Assyrian arms. One of the sculptures of Sennacherib shows empty chariots<sup>478</sup> – which would have had some importance since his sculptures do not depict any other chariots (identified as military chariots of the army) besides the royal chariot and these empty ones. Two other scenes show similar empty chariots equipped with large rounded shields. The contexts are similar: both scenes show musters outside the camp.<sup>479</sup> Unfortunately the function of these chariots, which are manned only by a single chariot driver, is unknown – they must have had some cultic function connected to the campaign.<sup>480</sup>

The absence of chariot depictions does not mean the total disappearance of the chariotry, but probably hints at a shift of emphasis from the chariotry to the cavalry. The crew and officers of the chariotry mentioned above appeared in the cuneiform sources further on.

<sup>473</sup> BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, vol. I, pls. 56-57.

<sup>474</sup> VON LUSCHAN – ANDRAE 1943, 143, S 3779 (Taf. 40:c), S 2314 (Taf. 40:d).

<sup>475</sup> DEZSÓ 2001, nos. 32, 33, 38.

<sup>476</sup> The problem of the marching and battle order will be discussed in the second volume of this project.

<sup>477</sup> LAYARD 1853B, pl. 25.

<sup>478</sup> Four empty chariots moving in a row on campaign – with chariot driver Southwest Palace, Room VII, slab 5 (BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 187).

<sup>479</sup> Southwest Palace, Room XLVII (BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 513-514), Room LXX, slabs 10-11 (BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 648-649).

<sup>480</sup> For the later representational tradition of the empty chariot see CALMEYER 1974.

Following this representational hiatus, the chariots of the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal (668—631 B.C.) show a quite different character. The body of the chariot had become bigger to house a crew of four. The 8-spoked wheels had become larger too. Their height almost reached that of an adult man. The horses were armoured, and wore similar leather armour to cavalry horses. The crew of the chariot consisted of four members: the driver, the warrior and two ‘third men’ (shield-bearers). Both shield-bearers used rounded bronze shields decorated (or reinforced) with concentric ribs. All members of the crew wore pointed helmets and scale armour. This heavy equipment, the horse armour and the armoured crew increased the reliability and efficiency of the chariot in battle (especially in close combat), but the armour increased its weight too, and decreased its manoeuvrability, mobility and speed.

The representational evidence shows these heavy chariots in three contexts. The standing, empty chariot is shown during the submission of the Elamites. Only the driver is on board, the two ‘third men’ are standing behind the chariot.<sup>481</sup> Chariots are shown chasing Arab warriors who are fleeing on camels in a palm grove<sup>482</sup> and in the desert,<sup>483</sup> and fighting close combat with a fleeing Elamite chariot in the battle of Til-Tuba (653 B.C.) (*Plate 18, 32*). The relief fragment shows no Assyrian infantry only a cavalry lancer.<sup>484</sup> The third context of chariot depictions is, rather surprisingly, the siege-scene. The chariots are stationary, and are escorted by cavalymen. The chariot warrior is usually shooting at the besieged city wall with his bow (*Plate 18, 31*), as are the cavalry archers.<sup>485</sup> There is another siege-scene (the siege of Hamanu) which shows the chariot with its crew, but the chariot warrior is not shooting, and there are two cavalry lancers in front of the vehicle.<sup>486</sup>

As these representations show, the Assyrian chariot became slower, and was used probably for different purposes than in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. By the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. it was no longer suitable for long-range chases, and was not the same light and fast pursuit vehicle that it had been in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.

## Cuneiform sources

Far more, and more detailed, information can be obtained from the royal inscriptions and administrative texts concerning the different types of Assyrian chariotry units. Several units of the *kišir šarrūti* can be reconstructed from the Nimrud Horse Lists (chariotry of the headquarters staff, palace chariotry, chariotry bodyguard, ‘city units,’ chariotry of the stable officers), and other units are mentioned in the royal correspondence of the Sargonides (chariotry of the high officials and governors). Furthermore Assyrian royal inscriptions mention foreign chariotry of the vassal kings, which units could serve in the Assyrian army as auxiliaries. It must be admitted, however, that these different chariotry units reconstructed from cuneiform evidence cannot be identified or recognized in the palace reliefs at all.

<sup>481</sup> BARNETT 1976, pl. XXV.

<sup>482</sup> BARNETT 1976, pl. XXXII (Room I, slabs 3-7).

<sup>483</sup> BARNETT 1976, pl. XXXII (Room I, slab 13).

<sup>484</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 388.

<sup>485</sup> BARNETT 1976, pls. XVI (Room I, slab 1, Elamite campaign), LXVII (Room V<sup>1</sup>/T<sup>1</sup>, slab A), LXIX (Room V<sup>1</sup>/T<sup>1</sup>, slab A), pl. LXX.

<sup>486</sup> BARNETT 1976, pl. B.

*Chariotry units reconstructed from cuneiform sources (Charts 1, 9, 10)*

Headquarters staff: chariotry element

The first equestrian units of the expeditionary army of 710–709 B.C. that can be reconstructed from the Nimrud Horse Lists are headquarters staff units of some kind.<sup>487</sup> The headquarters staff section of the Nimrud Horse Lists consists of two elements: a bodyguard element discussed in the chapter on cavalry and a chariotry element. This chariotry element is composed of the following officers and/or officers of different chariot types: *tašlišu dannu* (chief ‘third man’); *tašlišu šaniu* (deputy ‘third man’); *ša—šēpē* (GÌR.2) chariotry; GÌŠ.tahlīp (‘*tahlīpu* charioteers’); DU<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ (‘*pattūte* charioteers’). CTN III, 111 lists the group of LÚ.EN(*bēl*) GÌŠ.GIGIR (*mugerrī*) (‘chariot owner’) as if it belonged to this headquarters staff section,<sup>488</sup> but CTN III, 108 listed the chariot owners following the ‘city units.’<sup>489</sup> Consequently this unit will be discussed as an independent unit.

It is interesting that of the chariot crew only the ‘third men’ (*tašlišu dannu* (chief ‘third man’); *tašlišu šaniu* (deputy ‘third man’)) appear in the Nimrud Horse Lists. The two other members, the *mukil appāte* (‘chariot driver’)<sup>490</sup> and the *māru damqu* (‘chariot warrior’)<sup>491</sup> are missing. It is possible that the chief ‘third man’ and the deputy ‘third man’ were the third men of the royal entourage, the royal chariot, and/or were the commanders of the third men hierarchy. CTN III, 108 and 110 mention them in the same order,<sup>492</sup> preceding the ‘*tahlīpu* charioteer.’ They do not have subordinate officers, only an unknown number of horses.

This headquarters staff section of the Nimrud Horse Lists, however, contains three groups which must have designated chariot troops: (1) *ša—šēpē* chariotry (GÌR.2), (2) *tahlīpu* chariotry (GÌŠ.tah-*līp*), (3) *pattūte* chariotry (DU<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ).

It used to be thought that the first three groups (*ša—šēpē*, *tahlīpu*, and *pattūte*) were simply types of chariots,<sup>493</sup> but later it became clear that these terms designate chariot troops<sup>494</sup> as well. Unfortunately the chariot representations in the palace reliefs of Sargon II and other kings support neither the idea of three different chariot types, nor the different troop types of the chariotry. Though the royal inscriptions of Assurnasirpal II mention strong chariots,<sup>495</sup> this type unfortunately cannot be identified in his palace reliefs. Only two wheel sizes can be seen<sup>496</sup> and there is a characteristic difference between the large six-spoked wheels of the Assyrian chariots and the small eight-spoked wheels of their enemies’.<sup>497</sup> The chariots shown in the palace reliefs of Tiglath-Pileser III are of the standard size, with eight-spoked wheels. However, a few

<sup>487</sup> DEZSÓ 2006B, 112-117, Figs. 3-4.

<sup>488</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 111, Obv. 5’.

<sup>489</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, Obv. II: 25.

<sup>490</sup> LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ or LÚ.mu-kil—KUŠ.PA.MEŠ (*mukil appāte*): there are more than 20 different types of *mukil appāte* mentioned in the cuneiform texts, since almost all the high officials had their own chariot driver. See Chart 5.

<sup>491</sup> LÚ.A/DUMU.SIG/SIG<sub>5</sub> (*māru damqu*): there are at least 13 different types of *māru damqu* mentioned in the cuneiform texts. However, sometimes the LÚ.EN—GÌŠ.GIGIR (*bēl mugerrī*, ‘chariot owner’) and LÚ.GÌŠ.GIGIR (‘horse trainer,’ ‘groom,’ ‘charioteer’) expressions are translated as ‘chariot fighter’ as well. See Chart 8.

<sup>492</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, i:10-12; 110, i:4-6.

<sup>493</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 34-35.

<sup>494</sup> POSTGATE 1990.

<sup>495</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1, II:53-54; GÌŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ KAL-tu, II:103-104; A.0.101.17, III:36-37, IV:61-62.

<sup>496</sup> A smaller size wheel is shown in a hunting scene (LAYARD 1853B, pl. 10), while the other scenes show the standard six-spoked wheel size.

<sup>497</sup> LAYARD 1853B, pls. 13, 14.

sculptures show chariot panels covered with rectangular armour plates.<sup>498</sup> These chariots are the only examples of a possible heavy chariot, the armoured *tahlīpu* chariot. The chariots of the army of Sargon II (*Plate 15, 26; Plate 16, 27, 28; Plate 17, 29, 30*) with their 8-spoked wheels and a crew of three (or sometimes four)<sup>499</sup> are uniform. The sculptures of Sennacherib show only the royal chariot and a few empty chariots, probably of cultic importance.<sup>500</sup> The palace reliefs of Assurbanipal, however, show the new, large, eight-spoked wheeled chariot manned by a crew of four (*Plate 18, 31, 32*). So the different (*ša—šēpē*, *tahlīpu*, and *pattūte*) types of chariots cannot be identified confidently in Assyrian sculptures, and besides some armoured chariots only a single characteristic difference can be identified between the regular Assyrian chariots and the large battle chariots of Assurbanipal.

(1) *Ša—šēpē* chariotry ('chariot type or chariotry unit of the *ša—šēpē* guard?')<sup>501</sup>

The identification of such a chariot type is impossible. This term probably denotes the chariot troops of the *ša—šēpē* guard, and not a special type of chariot. The very complex *qurbūtu šēpē* DU<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ (*qurbūtu* of the *ša—šēpē* guard of the open chariotry)<sup>502</sup> and the LÚ.GIS.GIGIR *ša—šēpē* (chariot man / chariot horse trainer of the *ša—šēpē* guard) terms show that in this case a troop type or a title is a more credible identification.

(2) *Tahlīpu* chariotry (GIŠ.*taḥ-líp*, 'armoured chariot')<sup>503</sup>

As has been mentioned, only a few depictions of chariots show signs of any type of chariot armour.<sup>504</sup> But the depictions in the palace reliefs do not prove the existence of a separate chariot contingent made of armoured chariots. It is possible, however, that the side panels of some chariots were made of metal plates, and this made the chariot 'armoured.' Furthermore the horse armour<sup>505</sup> would indicate a kind of 'armoured chariot' as well. As has already been discussed, some depictions of chariots show heavily armoured horses (*Plate 14, 25; Plate 18, 31, 32*) and the cuneiform sources mention horse armour,<sup>506</sup> and even chariot armour as well.<sup>507</sup> These chariots, however, cannot be identified as *tahlīpu* chariots with confidence. This type of chariot appeared in the written record (Nimrud Wine Lists of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C.)<sup>508</sup> together with the other type, the 'open chariot' (*pattūte*). The Nimrud Horse Lists show that in the equestrian army of Sargon II, the unit of *tahlīpu* chariots (together with the 'open chariotry') belonged to the headquarters staff

<sup>498</sup> BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. XLIII, LXVIII, LXXXII.

<sup>499</sup> BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pl. 58 – royal chariot with two 'third men' (the chief 'third man' and the deputy 'third man').

<sup>500</sup> The camp scene of Lachish (LAYARD 1853B, pl. 25). Four empty chariots moving in a row on campaign – with chariot driver Southwest Palace, Room VII, slab 5 (BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 187). Southwest Palace, Room XLVII (BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 513-514), Room LXX, slabs 10-11 (BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 648-649).

<sup>501</sup> *Ša—GIR.2*, KINNIER WILSON 1972, 6, R. 34, 19: 19; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 102, I:11; 111, O. 3'; MATTILA 2002, 29, 1-2, R. 15, 16, 17, 19.

<sup>502</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 150, II:4'; 152, R. I':5'

<sup>503</sup> KINNIER WILSON 1972, 6 R. 36; 7: 5; 11: 6; 16: 19; 18: 20; 19: 20; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, O. I:12; 110, I:6.

<sup>504</sup> Reign of Tiglath-Pileser III: BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. XLIII, LXVIII, LXXXII.

<sup>505</sup> LAYARD 1853B, pl. 28; BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. CXVI-CXVII.

<sup>506</sup> LACHEMAN 1955, 16:20: 2 *tapālu sariam ša sīsi ištēnnūtu paraššannu ša aḫišu* (2 sets of horse armour and 1 set of *paraššannu* armour for the side).

<sup>507</sup> LACHEMAN 1955, 15:19-20: *sariam ša awēli u narkabti* (armour for the man and chariot); LACHEMAN 1955, 15:45: *paraššannu ša narkabtišu* (*paraššannu* armour for the chariot). For further types see: LACHEMAN 1955, 15:12, 26, 43, 48, 52, 54. See furthermore DEZSŐ 2002, 195-216.

<sup>508</sup> KINNIER WILSON 1972, 6, Rev. 36; 7: 5; 11: 6; 16: 19; 18: 20; 19: 20.

section,<sup>509</sup> which shows that these two types of chariot units were not part of the regular chariotry, and did not constitute substantial chariotry units. The size of these two contingents, however, could easily reach a few squadrons, since a higher ranking officer, the ‘prefect of the *taḥlīpu* charioteers’ (*šaknu* LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *taḥlīp*) – who was usually a superior officer of the squadron leader cohort commanders (*rab kišir*) – appears in the Nimrud Horse Lists.<sup>510</sup> This text, however, lists the units which were summoned for a campaign. Consequently the Assyrian expeditionary army had a contingent of *taḥlīpu* chariotry larger in size than a squadron. The armoured *taḥlīpu* chariot is mentioned, however, in private documents as well, which means that this type of chariot was also ordered and used by private owners.<sup>511</sup>

(3) *Pattūte* chariotry (*ša* DU<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ, *pattūte*, ‘open chariot’)<sup>512</sup>

This type of chariot might be the light open-sided hunting chariot mentioned above. This term is used in the royal inscriptions of Assyrian kings as early as Tiglath-Pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.),<sup>513</sup> Aššur-bēl-kala (1073–1056 B.C.),<sup>514</sup> Aššur-dān II (934–912 B.C.),<sup>515</sup> Adad-nērārī II (911–891 B.C.),<sup>516</sup> Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884 B.C.),<sup>517</sup> Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.),<sup>518</sup> and Shalmaneser III (858–824)<sup>519</sup> in hunting contexts.<sup>520</sup> Another explanation is that the back of the chariot is open, while other 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C. chariots have a rounded bronze shield hanging at the back, and it is possible that this shield was in fact a kind of a door. The Nimrud Wine Lists (dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C.) list it together with the other type of chariot,<sup>521</sup> the *taḥlīpu* chariot. Furthermore, a single early entry mentions the chariot man or horse trainer of the ‘open chariotry.’<sup>522</sup> Somewhat later, in a more explicit military and not hunting context, this type of chariot appears in the Nimrud Horse Lists<sup>523</sup> dated to the reign of Sargon II, where it must have already represented a unit, since the text lists 17 horses ‘of land’ and 11 horses ‘of campaign,’ a total of 28 horses attached to this unit. Apart from the single early entry mentioned above, no chariot crew of the ‘open chariotry’ appears in the cuneiform record till the reign of Assurbanipal (668–631 B.C.). Since this type of chariot man is known exclusively from the reign of this king, a chariot type would have been found in his palace reliefs. However, only the standard battle chariot and not a single *taḥlīpu* or *pattūte* chariot can be found in the palace reliefs of Sargon II, while the sculptures of Assurbanipal show only the large battle chariot with a crew of four, and not a single light, ‘open chariot,’ the military importance of which cannot otherwise be reconstructed. If this was a light chariot, as indicated

<sup>509</sup> DEZSÓ 2006B, Figs. 6-7; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, I:12; 110, I:6.

<sup>510</sup> Aššur-rēmāni GAR-*nu* LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *taḥ-līp*, DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 101, I:18-19.

<sup>511</sup> RADNER 2002, TSH 35, 6 [GIŠ.GIGIR] *taḥ-līp-a-ni*.

<sup>512</sup> KINNIE WILSON 1972, 6, Rev. 34; 7:3; 11, Rev. 4; 14: 22; 16: 17; 18: 6; 19: 19; 33, II:8; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no.102, I:10; 111, O:2’; FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 R. I:24-27; 5 R. II:2.

<sup>513</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.87.1, VI:80-81.

<sup>514</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.89.7, IV:10: GIŠ.GIGIR-*šu pa-at-tu-te* (‘open chariot’).

<sup>515</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.98.1, 70: GIŠ.GIGIR-*ia pa-tu-te* (‘open chariot’).

<sup>516</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.99.2, 123: GIŠ.GIGIR-*ia pa-at-tu-te* (‘open chariot’).

<sup>517</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.100.5, 135: GIŠ.GIGIR-*ia pa-at-tu-ti* (‘open chariot’).

<sup>518</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.30, 87.

<sup>519</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.0.102.6, IV:42-43.

<sup>520</sup> POSTGATE 1990, 37.

<sup>521</sup> KINNIE WILSON 1972, 6, Rev. 34; 7, 3; 11, Rev. 4; 14, 22; 16, 17; 18, 6; 19, 19; 33, II:8.

<sup>522</sup> KINNIE WILSON 1972, 13, 19: L[Ú].GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ša* D[U<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ] or *ta[h-līp]*. Unfortunately it cannot be decided whether this chariot man belonged to a *pattūte* chariot or a *taḥlīpu* chariot.

<sup>523</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no.111, Obv. 2’.

by the early hunting context, its military importance would have been limited to its use for reconnaissance purposes.

As will be discussed later, large numbers of chariot men / chariot horse trainers of the open chariotry<sup>524</sup> are known from the reign of Assurbanipal, and from this time the chariot men / chariot horse trainers of the crown prince<sup>525</sup> are also attested in the cuneiform texts. This means that such a chariotry unit appeared in the army contingent of the crown prince as well. It must be admitted that these chariotry personnel are the only source of the reconstruction of this type of chariotry, since other members of such a unit are unknown.

#### Deportee unit (officer of deportees, *rab šaglūte*)

An administrative list, ND 2386+2730 (*Chart 10*), lists a third section of *mušarkisāni*, the recruitment officers of the deportees (LÚ.mu-šar-kis.MEŠ ša LÚ.šag-lu-te).<sup>526</sup> It is interesting that this unit has 4 (or 5?) officers, similarly to the previous section of ND 2386+2730, the section of stable officers (*šaknūte ša ma'assi*). A deportee unit appears in the Nimrud Horse Lists as well. CTN III, 101 and 102 (*Chart 9*), for example, mention a *rab šaglūte* (officer of deportees),<sup>527</sup> which means that at least one deportee unit was integrated into the royal army. There were no officers, but only a certain number of horses assigned to them. The section in which they appear was a kind of headquarters staff. The royal correspondence sheds light on the different aspects of the life of deportees. A few of the administrative documents refer to the question of their military service. A Sargonide letter<sup>528</sup> mentions 4,100 deportees stationed in Arrapha, with 1,000 king's men among them. It seems the Assyrians organized a 'regiment' of these deportees, which served probably under the command of the Chief Eunuch, since he went to review them. Another administrative text<sup>529</sup> probably lists deported soldiers with their families and animals, which indicates a kind of selective deportation.

#### Chariot owners (LÚ.EN—GIŠ.GIGIR (*bēl mugerri*))

The chariot owners (LÚ.EN—GIŠ.GIGIR (*bēl mugerri*)) are a category the nature of which is uncertain. The meaning of the word, 'lord of the chariot' or 'chariot owner' does not allow us to draw any further conclusions. Translations of the word have ranged from the simple 'chariot fighter,' through 'noble' to 'chariot owner.' An important letter reporting some political crimes against Esarhaddon in Guzana suggests that they were important members of their local communities, since this report mentions Adda-sakâ, a chariot owner as one of the elders of the city, who (as a leader of the elders?) negotiated with the governor.<sup>530</sup> The 'noble' and 'chariot owner' could mean that they were 'nobles' who fought in their own chariots (chariot owners). In this case they were not regular

<sup>524</sup> LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ (*susānu pattūte*?): in administrative texts: FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), I:24-27, II:2; 9 (ADD 860), II:13'-17'; in legal documents: KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 310 (ADD 185), 315 (ADD 420), 316 (ADD 421), 317 (ADD 60), 325 (ADD 470).

<sup>525</sup> GIGIR A—MAN DU<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ A—MAN: FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 150 (ADD 834+++), II:8'; 152 (ADD 971), Rev. I':12'.

<sup>526</sup> PARKER 1961, ND 2386+2730, Rev. 8-15.

<sup>527</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 101, i:6; no. 102, iii:23'.

<sup>528</sup> FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 18 (CT 53, 217), 5'-6'.

<sup>529</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 174 (ADD 882): Rēmūtu, 'third man' on the chariot (LÚ.3-šū), Lā-baši, cavalry(man) (*ša*—BAD.ĪHAL).

<sup>530</sup> LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 63 (CT 53, 46), 34.

soldiers forming regular units. However, cuneiform documents refer to units organized from their ranks. These units were either summoned occasionally for campaigns, or had to keep certain units under arms permanently. A report written to Sargon II reviewing cavalry and chariot troops lists 200 cavalymen, 10 chariot owners (LÚ.EN—GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ), 21 of their king's men (LÚ.ERIM.MAN-šu-nu), in all 31 chariot owners seen, while 69 were missing under the command of the recruitment officer (LÚ.mu-šar-kis) Tutî.<sup>531</sup> This means that 10 chariot owners had 21 king's men attached to them, who were counted together as 31 chariot owners. It is unfortunately not known whether those 21 king's men were their chariot drivers and 'third men' or not.<sup>532</sup> It is possible that they were regarded as chariot owners, because the report considered the whole crew of the chariots as belonging to the chariotry unit of the chariot owners. The missing 69 chariot owners show that this unit was the size of a chariotry squadron. As other examples also prove, they were associated with recruitment officers (*mušarkisāni*) as well,<sup>533</sup> who were probably in charge of the mobilization of these units. The units of chariot owners may well have been organized on a territorial basis.<sup>534</sup>

The chariot owners appear in the cuneiform record as early as 791 B.C. These are the Nimrud Wine Lists, which list court personnel, including military officials, who received rations during their (military) service at the royal court. However, the Nimrud Wine Lists mention no less than four types of chariot owners: (1) chariot owner (LÚ.EN—GIŠ.GIGIR),<sup>535</sup> (2) bearded chariot owner (EN—GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ša* SU<sub>6</sub>(*ziqni*)),<sup>536</sup> (3) chariot owner, servant of the land/palace (EN—GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ÌR.KUR / EN—GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ÌR É.GAL),<sup>537</sup> (4) chariot owner of the bodyguard (EN—GIŠ.GIGIR MEŠ *qur-bu-ti*).<sup>538</sup>

The Nimrud Horse Lists dated mainly to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (745—727 B.C.) and Sargon II (721—705 B.C.) mention only the chariot owner,<sup>539</sup> the chariot owner, servant of the land/palace,<sup>540</sup> and the chariot owner of the bodyguard.<sup>541</sup> A fragmentary text makes the appearance of the fourth type, the bearded chariot owner, possible as well. A single, obscure entry, dating probably from the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III, mentions a chariot owner of the *ša—šēpē* guard, servants of the land/palace (EN—GIŠ.GIGIR *ša* GÌR.2? ÌR.KUR).<sup>542</sup> This entry would refer to the early, late 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. use of two types of chariot owner units for both types of bodyguard service (*qurbūtu* and *ša—šēpē*) at the royal court.

As CTN III, 108<sup>543</sup> and 111<sup>544</sup> show (*Chart 9*), the chariot owners were assigned to the Chief Eunuch's (*rab ša—rēšē*) contingent. In CTN III, 108 they do not have subordinate officers, but only

<sup>531</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 251 (ABL 567+), 13.

<sup>532</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 141 (CT 53, 131), 4 mentions a chariot owner who will summon a 'third man' (who was probably his companion).

<sup>533</sup> [LÚ.mu-šar-k]i-su EN GIŠ.GIGIR (KINNIER WILSON 1972, 10, 13).

<sup>534</sup> LÚ.EN—GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ KUR.*Qu-ú-a-a* (LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 68 (CT 53, 40), 4-5): 'chariot owners from Que.' The Tall Šēh Ḥamad / Dūr-Katlimmu archive shows more chariot owners as members of the local community (for example the Raḥimi-il archive, RADNER 2002, 107-110; Nabū-nā'id, 122, 7; [...], 125 Rev. 10; Adī', 127, Rev. 2).

<sup>535</sup> KINNIER WILSON 1972, 10, 14; 8 Rev. 1-(2?), 791 B.C.; 9, Rev. 3-(4?), 786 B.C.; 20, Rev. 4; 31, 3; 35, 7.

<sup>536</sup> Bearded, i.e. non eunuch. KINNIER WILSON 1972, 3, I:27 (784 B.C.); 10, Rev. 10; 13, 18; 14, 26 (789 B.C.?).

<sup>537</sup> KINNIER WILSON 1972, 3, I:25 (784 B.C.); 6, 13; 10, Rev. 3; 13, Rev. 6; 19, 14; 31, 4; 33, I:6.

<sup>538</sup> KINNIER WILSON 1972, 6, 12 (*qur-bu-ti*); 34, 8 (*qur-ru-ub-tū*); 19, 15 (*qur-bu-ti*).

<sup>539</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, II:25 (Sargon II); 111, 5' (Sargon II); 134, 11'; 138, A 3'.

<sup>540</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 121, 5.

<sup>541</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 134, 10'.

<sup>542</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 136, R. 3'-4'.

<sup>543</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, Obv. ii:25.

<sup>544</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 111, Obv. 5'.

an unknown number of horses, while in CTN III, 111 they command 24 horses, 14 of which stayed at home while 10 went on the campaign(?).

An important feature of the texts of both the Nimrud Wine and Horse Lists is that these four or five types of chariot owners appear together. This means that the different units of chariot owners served together at court. The most important characteristic of this service might be that these four or five unit types were recruited probably not from the ranks of regular chariotry troops, but from the ranks of the distinguished chariot owners of the Empire (or at this early stage from ethnic Assyrians) ordered to perform palace/court service. These groups were bearded (non eunuch) courtiers, chariot owners serving the palace (later palace chariotry?, *see* below), and bodyguard chariot troops. This 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. system seems to have changed by the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C., when – judging from the administrative texts – only a single type of chariot owner remained in service. So the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. system based on private chariot owners was replaced and what was probably a more professional group of chariot owners served these purposes (palace and bodyguard service). This change might be connected to a possible army reform of Sennacherib or Esarhaddon. Administrative texts (lists of officials at court) from the reign of Esarhaddon or more probably Assurbanipal list groups of chariot owners. In these groups relatively large numbers of chariot owners are named,<sup>545</sup> but all of them belong to a single type: a simple chariot owner without any further distinction. It seems that there were 8 of them listed in a text, which suggests a conscious organizing principle (they represented one or two units?). The fact that they were listed together with such important members of the court as cohort commanders, prefects, bodyguards, etc. emphasizes their importance. This importance may have originated from the old, 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. tradition that they were still recruited from distinguished members of the Assyrian élite, even if they served in a more professional army than the armies of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Assyrian kings.

### Palace chariotry

Another chariotry unit can be identified from the same tablet of the Nimrud Horse Lists (CTN III, 99, *Charts* 9, 10): the recruitment officers of the palace chariotry (*mušarkisāni ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL(muggerri ekalli)*). There are the names of 28 high ranking officers or military officials, and of their 28 subordinate officers (*rab urâte*) listed in this part.<sup>546</sup> Their number is exactly twice as many as the recruitment officers of the cavalry bodyguard listed on the same tablet. It is interesting to see that the recruitment officers had to provide a chariotry unit.

It is quite possible that the parallel, but unfortunately fragmentary, text ND 2386+2730 mentioned above (*Chart* 10)<sup>547</sup> also lists 28 recruitment officers of the palace chariotry.<sup>548</sup> They were listed in pairs, which means that they arrived from 14 provinces. Unfortunately this part of the text is too fragmentary for reconstruction. The recruitment officers of the palace chariotry were, as far as we know, in charge of the supply of horses, and of the recruitment of soldiers for their unit: in

<sup>545</sup> Bēl-nāšir-[...] (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), I:27); Rēmanni-Issar (II:12); Ḥam-[...] -su (II:23); [...] -Adad (Rev. I:37); Šarru-nūrī (Rev. I:40); Aḥ-abū (Rev. I:41); Marduk[āiu] (Rev. I:43); [...] (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 9 (ADD 860), I:11'); Šer-nūrī (I:22'); Dilil-Issar (I:23'); Aḥi-lēšir (I:27'); Aššur-nādin-aḥḥē (II:8'); Ambattu (II:21'); Rēmanni-Issar (Rev. I:9); Nergal-mukin-aḥi (Rev. I:20).

<sup>546</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, iii:7-iv:8.

<sup>547</sup> DEZSÓ 2006B, Fig. 2.

<sup>548</sup> PARKER 1961, ND 2386+2730, Obv.



charge of the logistics.<sup>549</sup> It is consequently quite possible – as indicated by the recruitment officers of this text – that the units of the palace chariotry were based in these home provinces of the empire, or at least their horses came from these regions.

CTN III, 100 lists three *mušarkisāni*,<sup>550</sup> who appear in CTN III, 99 as well. In CTN III, 101 there is a section which lists four *mušarkisāni*, three of whom<sup>551</sup> also appear in Section III of CTN III, 99, and also in the parallel sections of CTN III, 103 and 108 (see later, and Chart 9).

CTN III, 103 and 108 – two very important texts – contain a long section of *mušarkisāni* (Chart 9). However, there are two types of recruitment officers which appear in the parallel sections of these texts. CTN III, 103 lists 22 recruitment officers of the palace chariotry,<sup>552</sup> 18 of whom are listed in CTN III, 99 as well, so the unit is virtually the same. The text tells us explicitly that they are recruitment officers of the palace chariotry (*mušarkisāni ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL*). They obtained 373 horses, more than 20 each. CTN III, 108 also has a long list of *mušarkisāni ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL*.<sup>553</sup> This list contains approximately 25 names. These 25 *mušarkisāni* have 200 horses altogether. The tablet is unfortunately very fragmentary, but the last 7 names (even their order) are identical to the last names of the parallel section of CTN III, 99, so these three units are virtually the same.

There is another, very interesting, text: ADD 855, which lists 19 *mušarkisāni*.<sup>554</sup> Six of these 19 recruitment officers (the 2<sup>nd</sup>–6<sup>th</sup>, and the 8<sup>th</sup> in the list)<sup>555</sup> appear in the *mušarkisāni ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL* section of CTN III, 99 in a group (not in the same order, but obviously together). Furthermore two other names (the 10<sup>th</sup> and the 11<sup>th</sup> names<sup>556</sup> of the ADD 855 list) appear in another administrative text, ND 2788,<sup>557</sup> which lists horses assigned to officers and/or collected by them as *iškāru* and *nāmurtu* tax. It seems that these recruitment officers served in certain (neighbouring?) territories and were summoned for service.<sup>558</sup> These coincidences emphasize the territorial character of the logistics and reserves of the Assyrian army.

It seems to the present author that the *mušarkisāni ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL* were the recruitment officers of the regular chariotry unit of the royal contingent (*kišir šarrūti*) of the Assyrian army. It is not clear, however, whether they were the recruitment officers of all the chariotry units of the *kišir šarrūti* (the provincial units of Section II and the so called ‘city units’ as well) or whether they were the recruitment officers of a third chariotry unit of the *kišir šarrūti*, the palace chariotry.

The palace chariotry is known from other cuneiform sources as well. One letter written by Zēru-ibnī to Sargon II for example mentions a palace chariot fighter (LÚ.A–SIG *ša* É.GAL).<sup>559</sup>

<sup>549</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 28-32.

<sup>550</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 100, ii:6'-13': Šamaš- ilā'i; ii:14'-17': Nabû-šumu-ušur; iii:5'-7': Bābilāiu.

<sup>551</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 101, iv:2': Šalam-aḥḥē, 3': Ubru-Ḥarrān, 4': Aššur-nāšir.

<sup>552</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 103, Rev. i-ii:6.

<sup>553</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, Rev. v:12-37.

<sup>554</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 43-45, Obv. 11'-Rev. 31'; FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 126.

<sup>555</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 44, ADD 855, Obv. 12': Bābilāiu, 13': Aššur-rēmāni, 14': Bisuni, 15': Šalam-aḥḥē, 16': Bābilāiu, Rev. 19': Bēl-apkal-ilāni.

<sup>556</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 44, ADD 855, Obv. 21': Ḥandasānu, 22': Marduk-erība.

<sup>557</sup> PARKER 1961, ND 2788, 4, 13.

<sup>558</sup> See for example the Aramaic tablets discussed by Dalley and Postgate (DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 46).

<sup>559</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 205 (ABL 154), 12.

Chariotry bodyguard (GIŠ.GIGIR(*muggeri*) *qurubte*)

A third type of chariotry unit can be reconstructed from the Nimrud Horse Lists as well (*Chart 9*). This unit can be connected to another type of recruitment officer, the recruitment officer of the chariotry bodyguard (*mušarkisāni ša GIŠ.GIGIR qurubte*). This unit can be attested from CTN III, 103 and 108 and is completely missing from CTN III, 99. Unfortunately the unit itself cannot be reconstructed at all, because the obverse of tablet CTN III, 103 is completely absent, and only a single, but very important line, partly written round on to the right edge of the tablet, can be deciphered: LÚ.mu-šar-kis.MEŠ GIŠ.GIGIR *qur-ub-te*.<sup>560</sup> The identification of this section of CTN III, 108<sup>561</sup> with the *mušarkisāni ša GIŠ.GIGIR qurubte* is questionable. However, this section of the very fragmentary text ends with the line [x] *qur-ub-tú* (from *mušarkisāni ša GIŠ.GIGIR qurubte?*), and is followed by the section of *mušarkisāni ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL*. This section leaves room for 23-25 names as the next section of the same text did for the *mušarkisāni ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL* mentioned above. Furthermore not a single name remained intact on the list, so it is impossible to identify similarities between the lists of the two types of *mušarkisāni*. It seems to the present author that this unit differed totally in its composition from the other unit of *mušarkisāni*.

The units of the chariotry bodyguard (GIŠ.GIGIR *qurubte*) and the cavalry bodyguard (*pēthgal qurubte*) are also known from the reign of Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.).<sup>562</sup>

Chariotry of the *ša—šēpē* guard (GIŠ.GIGIR *ša—šēpē*)

The second type of chariotry bodyguard, the chariotry of the *ša—šēpē* guard, can only be reconstructed from the appearance of its officers or crew members in administrative/legal texts of the late 8<sup>th</sup> century and the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. onwards. As will be discussed later, the ‘commander-of-50 of the ‘third men’ of the *ša—šēpē* guard’ (*rab ḥanšē ša tašlīšu ša—šēpē*),<sup>563</sup> and a few examples of the chariot man / horse trainer of the *ša—šēpē* guard (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ša—šēpē*), (*see below*) prove the existence of such a unit at least from the reign of Sargon II. *Ša—šēpē* guards appear in five tablets of the Nimrud Horse Lists. The first tablet (CTN III, 101) lists two *ša—šēpē* guardsmen<sup>564</sup> in the first section of the tablet, which was identified with a headquarters staff section of the expeditionary army of Sargon II.<sup>565</sup> The sign for *ša—šēpē* appears in a similar, headquarters staff position in another tablet (CTN III, 102) of the corpus, but in consequence of the fragmentary state of the tablet it is unfortunately impossible to decide whether this entry denoted an unknown *ša—šēpē* guard or simply a chariot type.<sup>566</sup> The third horse list (CTN III, 107) lists 10 officers under the command of Mannu-kī-Ninua and an unknown number of officers under the command of Aššur-šarrāni.<sup>567</sup> It is tempting to identify them as commanders-of-10, but the officers and the number of horses listed under their command show that the two officers might well have been

<sup>560</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 103, Obv. iii end.

<sup>561</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, Rev. iv:24-v:11, 213.

<sup>562</sup> BORGER 1956, 106, §68, Gottesbrief, lines 16-17.

<sup>563</sup> GAL—50.MEŠ *ša tašlīšu* GİR.2 (*ša—šēpē*), FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 148 (ADD 1083), Rev. II:5'; [...]MEŠ *ša 3-šú*.MEŠ *šēpē*(GİR.2), FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 149 (ADD 834+++), III:3'.

<sup>564</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 101, I:7-8: Birtāia GİR.2, Ibašši-ilu GİR.2.

<sup>565</sup> DEZSÓ 2006B, 112, 121, Fig. 6.

<sup>566</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 102, I:11': [...] GİR.2.

<sup>567</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 107, I:1'-15': [...], UD-ki-a-a, Ḥambāru, Nabû-šēzib, Abdā, Dādī-sūri, Ilu-nādin-aḫi, Aḫi-dūri, Zabāia, Bābilāiau, Mannu-kī-Ninua, Aššur-šarrāni.

cohort commanders. Three officers of this unit appear in the same order in a group of 9+ officers<sup>568</sup> in another horse list tablet (CTN III, 108A) after a line which summarizes the previous caption: 24 horses *ša—šēpē*. This section of the tablet probably also listed the officers (*rab urâte?*) of the chariotry of the *ša—šēpē* guard. A further text of the corpus (CTN III, 111) mentions a *ša—šēpē* unit but in this case without the names of its officers, but with only a summary line which totals 26 horses (*Chart 9*).<sup>569</sup>

In a letter written by Sennacherib to Sargon II, the unit and the ‘chariot grooms of the *ša—šēpē* guard’ were under the command of the crown prince.<sup>570</sup> Furthermore, the royal inscriptions of Sargon II show that other equestrian units, such as the *pēthalli šēpē* (cavalry of the ‘personal guard’),<sup>571</sup> already existed in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. It is important to mention that the different units of the bodyguard might well have been under the command of the different members of the royal family. As has been shown, the (twin) brother of Sargon II, Sîn-aḫu-ušur commanded the cavalry bodyguard of the king, which cavalry regiment (*kitullu perru*) escorted the king under all circumstances, and never left his side, either in enemy or in friendly country.<sup>572</sup> It seems quite possible, judging from the above mentioned letter, that Sennacherib commanded the chariotry bodyguard, or at least some chariotry units of the *ša—šēpē* guard. A further letter refers to the possible involvement of royal princes in bodyguard duties. Šamaš-mētu-uballiṭ, the son of Esarhaddon wrote a letter to his father, mentioning that “when I was coming after the king, I entered the centre of Nineveh. There were bricks at the king’s guard. The wheel of the chariot hit them (and) broke instantly.”<sup>573</sup> Whether the prince was a member of the bodyguard or was simply a member of the royal entourage in this case is, however, unfortunately not known.

Since even the connection of the two large types of chariotry bodyguard (*qurubtu* and *ša—šēpē*) is not clear, the reconstruction of the relationship between the chariotry of the *ša—šēpē* guard and the two other ‘subtypes’ of its chariotry bodyguard (*qurbūtu šēpē* GIŠ.GIGIR and *qurbūtu šēpē* DU<sub>g</sub>.MEŠ) discussed below is hardly possible. These two types of chariotry units indicate a kind of merging of the *ša—qurbūte* and *ša—šēpē* chariotry units. These two subtypes must have been 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. subdivisions of the *ša—šēpē* units.

#### Chariotry of the bodyguard of the *ša—šēpē* guard (*qurbūtu šēpē* GIŠ.GIGIR)

This chariotry unit appears in an administrative text<sup>574</sup> dated to the reign of Assurbanipal, and shows the differentiation of the chariotry bodyguard of Sargon II discussed above. Unfortunately no further details of this differentiation are known, but the mingling and combination of the two types of bodyguards (*ša—qurbūte* and *ša—šēpē*) and their units (infantry and chariotry) have already been detected.

<sup>568</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108A, I:7’-15’: Šamaš-ilā’i, Iddin-aḫu, Adad-ibnī, Issar-[...], Ḫabḫāia, Ḫambaru, Nabū-šēzib, Abdā.

<sup>569</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 111, 3’.

<sup>570</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 37 (CT 53, 307).

<sup>571</sup> LIE 1929, 26:150; see also the Ashdod epizode: 40:256-257.

<sup>572</sup> THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, lines 132-133: 8<sup>th</sup> campaign. See furthermore the events of the 11<sup>th</sup> regnal year (711 B.C.) described in his annals (FUCHS 1994, lines 248-249), and in his display inscription from Khorsabad (FUCHS 1994, lines 85-86).

<sup>573</sup> LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 25 (ABL 766), 6-11.

<sup>574</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 152 (ADD 971), Rev. I’4’: *qurbūtu (qur-ZAG) šēpē* (GİR.2) GIŠ.GIGIR (of the chariotry).

### Open chariotry of the bodyguard of the *ša—šēpē* guard (*qurbūtu šēpē* DU<sub>g</sub>.MEŠ)

This chariotry unit appeared together, in the same group of administrative texts<sup>575</sup> (dated to the reign of Assurbanipal) as the above-mentioned type of the bodyguard chariotry. The reconstruction of the function of this type – since neither the chariot type ('open chariot,' *muggerri pattūte*) nor the other crew members of this unit are known – is more obscure than its above-mentioned counterpart.

### The 'city units'

As has already been discussed in the chapter on cavalry, several equestrian units can be reconstructed from the Nimrud Horse Lists. Since both chariotry and cavalry officers were assigned to them,<sup>576</sup> it is quite reasonable to suppose that the city units were composed of cavalry and chariotry as well. A distinct group of these equestrian units is the group of five city units (*Charts 1, 9*). These were named after major provincial centres of the Assyrian heartland with a single exception *Armāia*, which hints at the possible Aramean origin of this unit. It seems obvious too that these units were based in these cities of the empire.

#### (1) *Aššurāia*

The first city unit is the *Aššurāia*. As *Chart 9* shows, this was the largest of the city units: it appears in two texts with 5+[10]<sup>577</sup> and 13<sup>578</sup> officers. Unfortunately the third text which lists the city units (CTN III, 108) is fragmentary and this section of the text is missing. The main problem with these units is that they do not appear in any other Assyrian sources. When NL 89 mentions *Aššurāia*<sup>579</sup> it probably means 'Assyrians' and not the *Aššurāia* unit of the *kišir šarrūti*. As CTN III, 111 shows, the strength of the unit can be expressed in terms of horses. In this text the *Aššurāia* has altogether 162 horses, from which they took out 137. This means some 10+ horses per officer, and a strength of more than a squadron for the unit.

#### (2) *Arraphāia*

The second city unit is the *Arraphāia*, which appears in the Nimrud Horse Lists with 10,<sup>580</sup> 7+[2-3],<sup>581</sup> and 10<sup>582</sup> officers (*Chart 9*). There are other fragmentary texts which list the officers of this unit. CTN III, 101 lists three officers, two of whom would have been identical with the officers listed in the *Arraphāia* unit of CTN III, 108.<sup>583</sup> CTN III, 112 mentions a unit of 10 officers, two of

<sup>575</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 150 (ADD 834+++), II:4'; 152 (ADD 971), Rev. I':5'; 154 (ADD 970+), Rev. II':21': *qurbūtu* ([*qur*]-ZAG) *ša—šēpē* (GİR.2) LÚ.GIGIR DU<sub>g</sub>.MEŠ: "chariot horse trainers of the bodyguard of the *ša—šēpē* guard of the open chariotry."

<sup>576</sup> At least the same names appear as *rab kišir* (cohort commander) or *rab urâte* (team commander) officers. The *rab urâte* (team commander) refers to teams of horses, so it could be a chariotry officer.

<sup>577</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 102, ii:1'-7'.

<sup>578</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 111, Obv. 6'-21'.

<sup>579</sup> NL 89, 21 (LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 215; POSTGATE 2000; FALES 2000, 40-43; SAGGS 2001, 128-130). 21. 630 Assyrians in contrast with the 360 Gurreans and 440 Itu'eans.

<sup>580</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 102, ii:8'-19'.

<sup>581</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, Obv. ii:1-8.

<sup>582</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 111, Obv. 22'-34'.

<sup>583</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 101, iv:7'-10': Aḫua-erība and Tabnī-[...].

whom are identical with the officers listed in the *Arraphāia* unit of CTN III, 108.<sup>584</sup> The reverse of CTN III, 113 lists 10(+1?) officers, one of whom is identical with an officer of the *Arraphāia* units of CTN III, 102 and 108.<sup>585</sup> The same officer appears in CTN III, 114,<sup>586</sup> in a unit consisting of 4+ officers. The units of CTN III, 112–114 are practically the same. These three texts are small tablets, listing two units: presumably the *Arraphāia* on the obverse and the *kallāpāni* on the reverse. It seems that this was a kind of ‘auxiliary tablet’ listing only separate units and not the whole army or larger divisions. These tablets might have referred to local musters of one or two units. Another text mentions an officer<sup>587</sup> who probably appears in CTN III, 102.<sup>588</sup> However, this officer is not a *rab kišir*, as usual in the case of the city units, but a LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR ša URU.Til-Ú-li-na (‘chariot man’/‘horse trainer’ of the town of Til-Ulina) which with several other pieces of evidence proves the territorial basis of the Assyrian army. It seems that the relative strength of the *Arraphāia* unit was 10 officers, or this unit usually sent a contingent of 10 officers to the army.

The *Arraphāia* unit received 53 (CTN III, 102, ii:8’-19’), 19 (CTN III, 108, ii:1-8), 62 (CTN III, 111, Rev. 22’-34’), and 53+ (CTN III, 113, Rev. 1’-11’) horses. It seems that 10 officers received 50-60 horses, less than a cavalry squadron or around 25–30 chariots. It must be emphasized, however, that there is no proof that these numbers represented the real strength of these units.

### (3) *Armāia*

The third unit, the *Armāia*, was probably of Aramean origin. Dalley and Postgate tentatively suggested that Laḥiru – conquered by Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.) – might have been the base of this unit. As has been mentioned, Dalley and Postgate supposed that *Daissu*, the *šaknu ša ma’assi* of CTN III, 103 (see above) was identical with *Daissānu*, the Aramean sheikh of Laḥiru,<sup>589</sup> who submitted to Sargon II on his twelfth campaign in 710 B.C.<sup>590</sup> Furthermore they supposed that this Assyrian city unit, the *Armāia*, was organized from those Aramean people who were loyal to the Assyrians, and this unit was based in Laḥiru. It seems that this unit had a standard size of 7 officers, since the Nimrud Horse Lists always feature 7 of them.<sup>591</sup> For the remaining units of this section this size became the standard strength. CTN III, 101 lists 13 officers (*rab urâte*) of the Chief Eunuch (GAL–SAG), of which three officers are known as *rab kišir* officers of the *Armāia* unit,<sup>592</sup> and three more officers are known as *rab kišir* officers of the *Arbailāia* unit<sup>593</sup> (see later).

### (4) *Arzuḥināia*

The fourth unit is the *Arzuḥināia*, which appears twice in the Nimrud Horse Lists. In CTN III, 102 it has 10+(1) officers,<sup>594</sup> nevertheless in CTN III, 111 it has 7.<sup>595</sup> It is interesting that this unit is

<sup>584</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 112, Obv. 2 and 5: Adad-kāšir and Mannu-kī-[Adad].

<sup>585</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 113, Rev. 5’: Mannu-kī-Adad.

<sup>586</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 114, Obv. 1’: [Mannu]-kī-A[dad].

<sup>587</sup> SCHROEDER 1920, 31, Rev. 17-19: Ili-kabar.

<sup>588</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 102, ii:9’: [Ili]-kabar.

<sup>589</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 36.

<sup>590</sup> FUCHS 1994, Annales 298.

<sup>591</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 102, ii:20’-28’; no. 108, ii:9-16; no. 111, Rev. 1-9.

<sup>592</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 101, ii:13: Qurdi-ilāni; ii:17: Akkadāia; ii:19: Aplāia.

<sup>593</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 101, ii:24: Ubru-aḥḥē; ii:25: Qurdi-Issar-lāmur; ii:26: [Nan]nī.

<sup>594</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 102, iii:1’-12’.

<sup>595</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 111, Rev. 10-18.

missing from the list of city units in CTN III, 108.<sup>596</sup> In CTN III, 110 there is an unidentified unit which precedes the *Arbailāia* in the order, so it is possible that the 4+ officers listed here are the officers of the *Arzuḥināia* unit.<sup>597</sup> These 4+ officers had 72 horses, while the 10+(1) officers of CTN III, 102 received 45 horses (quarter of a squadron or 20 chariots) and the 7 officers of CTN III, 111 received 42+ horses. There is only a single letter, however, which mentions the chariots or chariot troops of Arzuḥina or stationed in Arzuḥina.<sup>598</sup>

#### (5) *Arbailāia*

The fifth unit is the *Arbailāia*, which appears four times in the Nimrud Horse Lists and always has 7 officers.<sup>599</sup> It seems that 7 officers were a standard unit size. As has been mentioned, CTN III, 101 lists 13 officers of the Chief Eunuch (GAL—SAG), three of whom appear as officers of the *Armāia* unit, while three other officers appear as members of the *Arbailāia* unit. A high proportion of the names of the officers of this unit was compounded with the name of Ištar (Issar), the city's patron goddess (3 of the 7 names),<sup>600</sup> which is not surprising in the case of a unit which was based in Arba'il (Arbela), and was formed probably from local people. Presumably Ištar (of Arbela) was the patron deity of this unit as well as of the individual soldiers. A fragment from the front of an iron helmet shows the goddess standing on the back of her lion.<sup>601</sup> It is possible that this helmet belonged to one of the soldiers of the *Arbailāia* unit.

In addition to the bodyguard units, especially the cavalry bodyguard mentioned above, the city units were probably the elite troops, the 'backbone' of the Assyrian army. These city units were commanded by the Chief Eunuch (*rab ša—rēšē*), who may have been the commander of one of the divisions of the Assyrian home army, the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*). Their officers were 'cohort commanders' (*rab kišir*). Their number changes from unit to unit: as can be seen, the strongest of them was perhaps the *Aššurāia* with 13 cohort commanders. The second largest was the *Arraphāia* with its 10 and 7 cohort commanders. The *Armāia*, the *Arzuḥināia*, and the *Arbailāia* provided 7 cohort commanders each, with the single exception of the *Arzuḥināia*, which – as text no. 102 shows – once sent 10+ cohort commanders to the assembling army. Unfortunately we do not have a complete list of their officers, but it is possible that the five city units deployed between 40 and 50 cohort commanders. This strength might be similar to the 50 officer-strong provincial units (see below). So these two divisions – the city units and the provincial units – were the two main equestrian fighting divisions of the *kišir šarrūti* (Charts 1, 9).

As can be judged from administrative texts, the toponyms used as epithets of chariot crew members offer further possibilities of reconstruction. Such titles as 'third man of *Libbi āli*' (Assur) (*tašlišu libbi ālāia*),<sup>602</sup> 'Ninevite third man' (*tašlišu ninuāia*),<sup>603</sup> and 'Ninevite chariot driver' (*mukil appāte ninuāia*)<sup>604</sup> might refer to other units of the cities of the Assyrian homeland. It is unfortunately not known whether the 'third man of *Libbi āli*' belonged to the *Aššurāia* unit or not, and it cannot be decided whether they belonged to real fighting units or not.

<sup>596</sup> At least did not listed in its place between *Armāia* and *Arbailāia*.

<sup>597</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 110, iii:1'-6'.

<sup>598</sup> FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 292 (CT 53, 71).

<sup>599</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 102, iii:13'-21'; no. 108, ii:17-24; no. 111, Rev. 19-; no. 110, iii:7'-15'.

<sup>600</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, ii:20: Qurdi-Issar-lāmur; 22: Pāni-Issar-lēšir; 23: Issar-tuklatūa.

<sup>601</sup> DEZSÓ – CURTIS 1991, 105-122, no. 1, figs. 1, 16, 18. DEZSÓ 2001, 47-49, Cat. no. 16, pls. 25, 39, 41.

<sup>602</sup> Lā-tega-ana-Issar LÚ.3.U, URU.ŠĀ.URU-a-a(*libbi ālāia*), MATTILA 2002, 169 (ADD 50), 6. 619 B.C.?

<sup>603</sup> LÚ.3-šū.MEŠ URU.NINA(Ninevite), FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 149 (ADD 1125), III':9'.

<sup>604</sup> LÚ.3-šū.MEŠ URU.NINA(Ninevite), FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 149 (ADD 1125), III':8'.

Foreign (province based) units of the Assyrian chariotry of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*):  
the ‘provincial units’

Another well attested group in the Nimrud Horse Lists is the group of seven provincial units.<sup>606</sup> It must be emphasized that these units were probably not the units of provincial governors, but the province-based units of the Assyrian royal corps, the *kišir šarrūti*. Soldiers of these units were probably recruited in the provinces. Most probably these were the soldiers who are mentioned in the cuneiform sources as the king’s men (*šāb šarri*). The seven provincial units are identified in the Nimrud Horse Lists with the name of their commanders: unit 1: Šarru-ēmuranni,<sup>607</sup> unit 2: Marduk-šarru-ušur,<sup>608</sup> unit 3: the *Kaldāia*,<sup>609</sup> unit 4: Nabû-bēlu-ka’ in<sup>610</sup> (*Sāmerināia*), unit 5: Taklāk-ana-Bēli,<sup>611</sup> unit 6: Adallal,<sup>612</sup> and unit 7: Nergal-šarrāni<sup>613</sup>. Two of them, however, can be identified with an ethnonym as well: unit 3: the *Kaldāia*, and unit 4: the *Sāmerināia*, and the names of the officers of unit 2 show a distinct West-Semitic character.

(1) *Unit 1*<sup>614</sup>

The commander of Unit 1 Šarru-ēmuranni appears in the Assyrian royal correspondence. He was the governor of Māzāmua and the eponym of year 712 B.C.,<sup>615</sup> 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 Māzāmua.<sup>616</sup> From Māzāmua, which was a military assembly and departure region for Assyrian military operations on the Eastern border of the Empire, he launched campaigns together with other Assyrian governors.<sup>617</sup> Nabû-aḫu-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.”<sup>618</sup> This letter probably mentions Šarru-ēmuranni in his unit commander (Unit 1) capacity, which was evidently in connection with the governorship of what was – from the strategic point of view – one of the most important Assyrian provinces, Māzāmua. Later he wrote a series of letters from Babylonia as well (710–707 B.C.).<sup>619</sup> There are several letters

<sup>605</sup> DEZSÓ 2006B, 99-106.

<sup>606</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, §§B–H, Obv. i:19–iii:5, 168-169, 172-174, 177.

<sup>607</sup> Several officials with this name are known from the reign of Sargon II. 1. The governor of Māzāmua, later Babylon (probably our unit commander), 2. the ‘stable officer’ (*šaknu ša ma’assi*) of Section IV (*see later*), 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 (LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, NL 74, 132-134). It is possible however that these are the stages of the careers of two or three officials by the same name.

<sup>608</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Obv. ii:7-11, 173, 177.

<sup>609</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Obv. ii:12-15, 168, 173, 177.

<sup>610</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, ii:16-23.

<sup>611</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, ii:24-26.

<sup>612</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Rev. iii:1-3.

<sup>613</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Rev. iii:4-5.

<sup>614</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Obv. i:19–ii:6, 172-173, 177.

<sup>615</sup> MILLARD 1994, 47, 120: Šarru-ēmuranni – governor of KUR.za-mu-...; *šā-kīn KUR.lul-lu-mi-e*.

<sup>616</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 199-209.

<sup>617</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 199-200.

<sup>618</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 226 (ABL 884), obv. 18-rev. 4.

<sup>619</sup> FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 217-239.

which mention him in this capacity.<sup>620</sup> A fragmentary letter,<sup>621</sup> which was written to Sargon II by an official whose name is missing, mentions Šarru-ēmuranni as an official/officer in charge of the mobilization of the conscripts of Dūr-Ladini, Dūr-Biliḫai, Larak, and Bīt-Amukāni. These conscripts were ‘king’s men’ (ERIM.MEŠ LUGAL (*šābē šarri*)), summoned for service in Babylonia. Unfortunately it is not known whether they were actually the soldiers of Unit 1 discussed here, or not. However, it is known from another letter<sup>622</sup> that Šarru-ēmuranni (as the governor of Babylonia or the commander of Unit 1?) was a superior of recruitment officers (*mušarkisāni*). There is a further letter which was probably written under campaign conditions, by Šarru-ēmuranni and another official to Sargon II, and mentions the building and equipping of a fort.<sup>623</sup> There is a further administrative text (a list of officials at court) probably from the reign of Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.), which mentions a certain Šarru-ēmuranni who is the ‘third man’ of the crown prince (LÚ.3-šu DUMU—MAN),<sup>624</sup> and a certain Adallal, who is ‘adjutant’ (LÚ.DUMU—ŠU.2).<sup>625</sup> This text is interesting because both names appear in CTN III, 99 as unit commanders of Provincial Units 1 and 6. Is it possible that they later became members of the elite unit of Sennacherib?

This part of the text follows the system of the previous section and lists 10 high ranking officers or military officials, magnates (LÚ.GAL.GAL.MEŠ, *rabûti*) with their 10 subordinate officers (team commanders, *rab urâte*). Other texts of the Nimrud Horse Lists mention this unit or list its officers. CTN III, 101<sup>626</sup> mentions four magnates (LÚ.GAL.GAL.MEŠ (*rabûti*)) of this unit<sup>627</sup> listed in CTN III, 99 plus a fifth name. Another text, CTN III, 104,<sup>628</sup> lists only the magnates of this unit. Five of the eight surviving names are the same as in the list of CTN III, 99,<sup>629</sup> but three names are different.<sup>630</sup> This text is not a list of officers, but of horses. We know from the fragmentary list that 43 horses were assigned to Guāia, 50 to Abi-dikir(i), 40 to Nergal-bēlu-ušur, and 35 to GIN-abua. The purpose of the list is unknown, but if these horses were reserves, the units of these magnates (*rabûti*) must have been the size of a squadron. CTN III, 108<sup>631</sup> (see later) lists the same provincial units. Šarru-ēmuranni here commands 7+[X] (probably 10) magnates. Their names are the same and follow each other in the same order as in CTN III, 99. 35 of their 65 horses stayed at home, and 30 went on the campaign(?).<sup>632</sup>

## (2) Unit 2<sup>633</sup>

The commander of Unit 2 is Marduk-šarru-ušur. The names of his 10 officers are mainly West Semitic, which might indicate the West Semitic origin of the unit.<sup>634</sup> It is known from the royal inscriptions of Sargon II that in his first regnal year, after the defeat of the king of Qarqar (Ilu-

<sup>620</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 63.

<sup>621</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 18 (ABL 1292).

<sup>622</sup> FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 223 (ABL 315).

<sup>623</sup> FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 220 (ABL 762).

<sup>624</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 6 (ADD 840 + 858), II:8.

<sup>625</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 6 (ADD 840 + 858), I:4.

<sup>626</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 101, 182–188, pl. 28.

<sup>627</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 101, Obv. iv:13’–17’: Guāia, Aššur-šumu-taqqin, Šamaš-nā’id, Ḫuziri.

<sup>628</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 104, 200, pl. 30.

<sup>629</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 104, Face A, ii’:2–4, 8–9: Bēl-dān, Guāia, Abi-dikir, Šamaš-nā’id, Nanī.

<sup>630</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 104, Face A, ii’:5–7: Nergal-bēlu-ušur, GIN-abua, Kabti-ilāni.

<sup>631</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, 205–213, pls. 31–32.

<sup>632</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, ii:48—iii:13.

<sup>633</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Obv. ii:7–11, 173, 177.

<sup>634</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, §C, 173.



bi'di) Sargon II enlisted 200 chariots and 600 cavalymen into the royal corps of the Assyrian army (*kišir šarrūti*),<sup>635</sup> while in his 5<sup>th</sup> regnal year, after the defeat of the king of Carchemish, he enlisted 50 chariots and 200 cavalymen.<sup>636</sup> Accordingly it is possible that the soldiers of our Unit 2 were recruited among these North Syrian subjects of the Assyrian Empire.

It is interesting, that the text lists only 9 names, but the summary line explicitly states 10. In CTN III, 108<sup>637</sup> (see later) Marduk-šarru-ušur commands the same unit and the same men. In CTN III, 108, however, there are 10 soldiers listed. There were 102 horses assigned to the unit. The text says that all the horses went on the campaign.

Four officers of the unit appear in the so-called 'Assur Protocol'.<sup>638</sup> In the Protocol, however, these officers are charioteers (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR), who are assigned to different (but unfortunately unidentified) towns or villages. Consequently it can be assumed that these provincial units are chariot units, which were organized on a territorial basis. It is possible that their officers were in charge of more than one village.

### (3) Unit 3<sup>639</sup>

As its name (KUR.Kal-da-a-a) shows, this unit was probably of Chaldean origin. Dalley and Postgate supposed that it was formed after the capture of Dūr-Iakin in 709 B.C., however, the royal inscriptions of Sargon II do not mention that he added a contingent of chariotry from the defeated Chaldeans to his army.<sup>640</sup> The other possibility is that members of this unit were recruited earlier, probably from those Chaldean tribes who were loyal to the Assyrian king. This is the only unit where the name of the commander is unknown. One of the officers of this unit appears in the Assur Protocol<sup>641</sup> together with two officers of the Unit 2 mentioned above. It seems that this Assur text lists a unit of 10 soldiers/officers (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR) under the command of Ame-atar, a commander-of-50 (LÚ.GAL—50).<sup>642</sup> The unit is 7 officers strong. The parallel section of CTN III, 108<sup>643</sup> lists the same seven names.

### (4) Unit 4<sup>644</sup>

The commander of Unit 4 is Nabû-bēlu-ka'in. This unit, as its name, *Sāmerināia* makes clear, was composed at least partly of Samarian Jews. It is known from the royal inscriptions of Sargon II that in his first regnal year, after the fall of Samaria, the capital of Israel, he enlisted 50 Samarian chariots into the royal contingents, the so-called *kišir šarrūti* of the Assyrian army.<sup>645</sup> This unit was probably composed of these Samarian chariots or horsemen, and remained a regular unit of

<sup>635</sup> FUCHS 1994, Display 35-6.

<sup>636</sup> FUCHS 1994, Annales 75.

<sup>637</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, iii:14-24.

<sup>638</sup> <sup>m</sup>DINGIR(*Ili*)-ka-bar: DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, iii:19 (*rab urâte*); no. 102, ii:10' (*rab kišir*); SCHROEDER 1920, 31:17; 34, Obv. 1' (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR); <sup>m</sup>Ka-pi-ru: DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Obv. ii:9 (*rab urâte*); no. 108, iii:21 (*rab urâte*); SCHROEDER 1920, 31:29; 132 Obv. 3 (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR); <sup>md</sup>IM(*Adad*)-im-me: DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Obv. ii:9 (*rab urâte*); no. 108, iii:15 (*rab urâte*); SCHROEDER 1920, 32 Rev. 3' (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR); <sup>m</sup>A-tar-bi-'i-di: DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Obv. ii:10 (*rab urâte*); no. 108, iii:23 (*rab urâte*); SCHROEDER 1920, 32 Rev. 6' (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR).

<sup>639</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Obv. ii:12-15, 168, 173, 177.

<sup>640</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 177.

<sup>641</sup> <sup>m</sup>Me-ni-DINGIR(*Ili*): DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, ii:12; no. 108, iii:26 (*rab urâte*); SCHROEDER 1920, 31:11 (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR).

<sup>642</sup> SCHROEDER 1920, 31.

<sup>643</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, iii:25-32.

<sup>644</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, ii:16-23.

<sup>645</sup> FUCHS 1994, Annales 15.

the home army.<sup>646</sup> Its 13 officers show that this unit was the strongest at this review. As far as it can be reconstructed, CTN III, 108 lists the same names in its parallel section.<sup>647</sup> The number of the officers here is 9+x (2-3).

The commander of the unit, Nabû-bēlu-kaʿin appears in the Assyrian royal correspondence. He was a high ranking Assyrian official operating in the Diyala region, and was the governor of Kār-Šarrukēn (Ḫarḫar),<sup>648</sup> where he was replaced by Mannu-kī-Ninua.<sup>649</sup> Later he became governor of Arrapha.<sup>650</sup> He wrote a series of letters to Sargon II,<sup>651</sup> and was mentioned in several other letters written by other officials from the region.<sup>652</sup> It was suggested that he was the vizier (*sukkallu*),<sup>653</sup> but it seems that this title was held by the king's brother, Sîn-aḫu-ušur.<sup>654</sup> In one of his letters<sup>655</sup> he mentions that he is keeping watch in Lubda and will not release the king's men (LÚ.ERIM—MAN.MEŠ) until he has heard news of the expedition/caravans, so he had king's men at his disposal even before he became the governor of Kār-Šarrukēn.

#### (5) Unit 5<sup>656</sup>

The commander of Unit 5 is Taklāk-ana-Bēli. He was the governor of Našibina and the eponym of 715 B.C.<sup>657</sup> He wrote a series of letters to Sargon II.<sup>658</sup>

The unit consists of four officers (team commanders, *rab urâte*). Two officers of this unit appear in CTN III, 100,<sup>659</sup> in a unit of a similar strength commanded by a certain Nergal-[iddina?]. Unit 5 appears in the parallel section of CTN III, 108 as well.<sup>660</sup> However, the strength of the unit here is 7+[2] officers. The number of their horses in the extant and legible five lines is as follows: 10, 9, 8, 9, 15 (total 51+X). Their number hardly reaches the size of a cavalry or chariotry squadron. It is possible that these horses are the reserve horses of the unit.

There is an important letter<sup>661</sup> which lists army units arriving at Kār-Aššur to join the assembling Assyrian army. The letter makes a distinction between the following three types of troops: 1. the troops of the high officials: the troops of the *turtānu*, [...], and the *rab šāqê*; 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

<sup>646</sup> Of the 13 names of the unit at least 3 are of Hebrew origin: lāu-gā, Abdi-milku, and Aḫi-lāu; and two of them are Arameans: Aḫi-idri and his namesake, Aḫi-idri.

<sup>647</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, iii:33-41.

<sup>648</sup> 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.

<sup>649</sup> 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.

<sup>650</sup> POSTGATE – MATTILA 2004, 251, note 50.

<sup>651</sup> 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).

<sup>652</sup> MATTILA 2001, 816-817.

<sup>653</sup> PARPOLA 1981, Chart 3; MATTILA 2000, 91, 98, 103-104; POSTGATE – MATTILA 2004, 251-253.

<sup>654</sup> SUKKAL GAL-*u*. Inscription of a mace head (AO 21368). See NIEDERREITER 2005, 57-76.

<sup>655</sup> ABL 810 (FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 27).

<sup>656</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, ii:24-26.

<sup>657</sup> MILLARD 1994, 47, 123: Taklāk-ana-Bēli – LÚ.šá-kīn URU.na-ši-bi-na.

<sup>658</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 235-236, 238-239, 244, 249.

<sup>659</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 100, Rev. iv:1'-5'. iv:2': Erība-ili; iv:3': Zizī.

<sup>660</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, Rev. iv:1-7.

<sup>661</sup> CT 53, 47+ ABL 1290; PARPOLA 1979, 47; LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 250; FALES 2000, 48-49.

governors: Si'immê, Tillê, Guzana, and Isana, who are on the other hand identified by their governmental 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 troops, the Assyrian royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*), as in the Nimrud Horse Lists, and not simply as provincial governors (if Taklāk-ana-Bēli was still the governor of Našibina around 710 B.C.).

There is a palace relief from Room XIV, Khorsabad,<sup>662</sup> palace of Sargon II, which could reinforce this view. This relief shows a walled military camp with an inscription inside it: *uš-man-nu šá 'Tāk- [...]*. The inscription probably identifies the place as the camp of Taklāk-ana-Bēli.<sup>663</sup> 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 abroad during campaigns. It seems that Taklāk-ana-Bēli led an expeditionary force into Mannaea and/or Media during the 716 or 715 B.C. campaigns (in his *limmu*?). This scene emphasizes the importance of Taklāk-ana-Bēli, since there are only a few cases of Assyrian officials being named in the royal inscriptions or palace reliefs of Sargon II. It is known from the royal inscriptions, for example, that in 708 B.C. (13<sup>th</sup> *palû*), the governor of Que (Aššur-šarru-ušur) defeated Mita of Mušku<sup>664</sup> and of course, that the brother of the king, Sîn-aḫu-ušur led the cavalry bodyguard of the king in 714 B.C. (8<sup>th</sup> *palû*).<sup>665</sup> The mention or depiction of an Assyrian official in the royal inscriptions or in palace reliefs was obviously a kind of reward for his military success.

#### (6) Unit 6<sup>666</sup>

The commander of Unit 6 is Adallal. He does not appear in the royal correspondence. His unit consists of four officers (team commanders, *rab urâte*). In CTN III, 100,<sup>667</sup> however, there are 9 names listed in his unit. These names differ completely from the four names listed in CTN III, 99. Unit 6, with 5 officers, appears in the parallel section of CTN III, 108 as well.<sup>668</sup> The number of their horses is as follows: [X], 10, 10, 10, 6?, altogether 59. It seems that in the case of Unit 6 each platoon(?) got 10 horses.

#### (7) Unit 7<sup>669</sup>

The commander of Unit 7 is Nergal-šarrāni. A certain Nergal-šarrāni appears in the royal correspondence of Sargon II. He wrote letters from the north-eastern frontier of the empire together with Aššur-ālik-pāni.<sup>670</sup> His unit consists of two officers. CTN III, 108 in its parallel section lists two officers with altogether 14 horses.<sup>671</sup>

The fragmentary tablets of the Nimrud Horse Lists list a few other unidentified units, which could be similarly provincial. CTN III, 110 for example mentions a unit called Ḫamateans (LÚ.Ḫa-ma-ta-a-a),<sup>672</sup> which was probably of Syrian (Ḫamatean) origin. This unit might have also originated

<sup>662</sup> BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pl. 146: Room XIV, slab 10.

<sup>663</sup> The inscription was identified by the name of Taklāk-ana-Bēli by READE 1976, 98-99; ALBENDA 1986, 111; RUSSEL 1999, 116.

<sup>664</sup> FUCHS 1994, Annales 385.

<sup>665</sup> THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, lines 132-133.

<sup>666</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Rev. iii:1-3.

<sup>667</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 100, Rev. iv:6'-15'.

<sup>668</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, Rev. iv:10-16.

<sup>669</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Rev. iii:4-5.

<sup>670</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 157-159.

<sup>671</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, Rev. iv:17-20.

<sup>672</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 110, iii:1'-13'.

from the 200 chariotry and 600 cavalry whom Sargon II recruited into his 1<sup>st</sup> *palû* from the defeated coalition forces of Ilu-bi'di.<sup>673</sup> This unit must have been a large one because it counted 9+ officers, and more than a hundred horses.

Another very important element is the appearance of a deportee unit: in CTN III, 101 there are four officers (team commanders, *rab urâte*) under the command of Iddin-Aššur, and specified as deportees (*šaglûte*), who may also have been of provincial origin.

CTN III, 102 lists three unidentified units<sup>674</sup> with the following numbers of officers and horses: 9 officers with 148 horses, 10 officers with 156 horses, and 7(?) officers with 102+ horses. So the officer – horse ratio is 1:15. CTN III, 107 mentions three unidentified but relatively substantial units, with 11+, 17+ and 6+ officers. The 6 officers of the last unit had 14, 21, 23, 17, and 19 horses.<sup>675</sup> In CTN III, 100, following the section of Adallal, Inurta-nāšir commands 4 officers (*rab urâte?*).<sup>676</sup>

Summing up this section of the army, it can be said that the commanders of these units (*Šarru-ēmuranni*, *Nabû-bēlu-ka''in*, *Taklāk-ana-Bēli*, etc.) were probably excellent military leaders, trusted generals of Sargon II. This is why they were appointed to the governorship of the strategically crucial eastern and north-eastern provinces of the empire. They had already proven their military talents in their provinces, and this might have been the reason why they could hold two offices simultaneously: they were both governors and the commanders of the provincial units of an expeditionary force of the *kišir šarrûti*. Their units were not necessarily recruited in their own eastern provinces (see for example the 'West Semitic' Unit 2 of Marduk-šarru-ušur, or the Samarian Unit 4 of *Nabû-bēlu-ka''in*). It is unfortunately not known whether these provincial units were permanently garrisoned in the eastern provinces of these governors/generals, or were placed under their command for certain military expeditions, like these Babylonian campaigns. These units were identified by the names of their commanders (*Taklāk-ana-Bēli*, *Išmanni-Aššur*), and not as the unit of a provincial governor (see the letter discussed at Unit 5).

CTN III, 99 lists altogether 50 officers of these seven provincial units. However, it is uncertain whether the 50 officers commanded 500 chariots or 500 cavalrymen, or even 5,000 cavalrymen. 5,000 cavalrymen for a royal division is probably not an exaggerated number, since it is known that the *turtānu* of the left received 150 chariots and 1,500 cavalrymen when Sargon II established his office,<sup>677</sup> and Merodach-Baladan deployed 600 cavalrymen as an advanced guard of his army against the Assyrians in 710 B.C., when the Assyrians sent an expeditionary force to Babylonia to fight against Merodach-Baladan. The fragmentary condition of the Nimrud Horse Lists unfortunately makes it impossible to judge the size of the mustered provincial units, but the grand totals<sup>678</sup> show the muster of large equestrian armies. As was discussed above, one of these texts (CTN III, 104),<sup>679</sup> gives the numbers of horses attached to 8 commanders (magnates, *rabûti*) of Unit 1 (commanded by *Šarru-ēmuranni*): 43 horses were assigned to *Guāia*, 50 to *Abi-dikir(i)*, 40 to *Nergal-bēlu-ušur*, and 35 to *GIN-abua*, which means that these *rabûti* might have commanded equestrian units the size of a squadron. CTN III, 108 assigns 337+[x] horses<sup>680</sup> to the

<sup>673</sup> FUCHS 1994, Display 35-6.

<sup>674</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 102, iv:1'-25'.

<sup>675</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 107, i:16'-ii:24'.

<sup>676</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 100, iv:18'-22'.

<sup>677</sup> FUCHS 1994, Annales, lines 409-410; Prunk, lines 116-117; 13<sup>th</sup> *palû*, 709 B.C.

<sup>678</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 98: 2,382 equids; no. 103: 3,477 equids (muster of Borsippa); no. 108A: 1,523 equids.

<sup>679</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 104, pl. 30.

<sup>680</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, II:48-IV:23.

commanders of the provincial units, which also indicates a number of about 500 horses. If these horses were only the ones which were sent to the muster, then the real strength of the provincial units of the *kišir šarrūti* might well have exceeded 1,000 horses.

The subordinate officers were *rab urâte*, which means ‘commander of teams of horses,’ or simply ‘team commander.’ Therefore it is clear that they were officers in charge of chariotry or cavalry units. The etymology is clear, but the function is unfortunately not. However, some of these team commanders in the other texts of the Nimrud Horse Lists and related texts also appear in another rank, as *rab kišir*, which means ‘cohort commander.’ If these two ranks were similar in terms of the strength of the units they commanded, it can be supposed that subordinate officers of this text commanded units of the strength of a cohort.

It is very important to emphasize, however, that these units might have also contained cavalry elements as well, since both chariotry and cavalry officers were assigned to them, so it is quite reasonable to suppose that – similarly to the ‘city units’ – these foreign units of the *kišir šarrūti* were composed of cavalry and chariotry as well.

#### Unit of stable officers

Judging from the Nimrud Horse Lists the ‘stable officers’ (*šaknūte ša ma’assi*) with their subordinate officers formed a separate equestrian unit (probably chariotry). Much to our regret their exact task is unknown. Their title, ‘stable officers’ and their appearance in the horse lists means that they may have been responsible for the supply and provision of horses. It seems that there were usually four of them, and they were never attached to particular units. It seems that they served the royal army as a whole.

Five tablets<sup>681</sup> of the Nimrud Horse Lists and another administrative text<sup>682</sup> list the unit of the stable officers. A very important feature of the *šaknūte ša ma’assi* units is that there were always four of them and the number of officers under their command – who were probably team commanders (*rab urâte*) – is 14 or 28. This feature of the Nimrud Horse Lists is also reinforced by ND 2386+2730,<sup>683</sup> which gives not only the names of the *šaknūte ša ma’assi*, but lists four territories for which they were responsible, or where their horses were recruited: Barḫalzi, Rašappa, Zamua, and Ḫabrūri.

From the Nimrud Horse Lists it became obvious that in the ‘central horse management’ of the Assyrian army the recruitment officers (*mušarkisu*), their prefects (*šaknu ša mušarkisāni*) and the stable officers (*šaknu ša ma’assi*) played a key role.

The stable officers (LÚ.GAR-*nu-te ma-’a-si*) appear in the royal inscription of Esarhaddon listing his chariotry bodyguard (GIŠ.GIGIR *qurubte*) and cavalry bodyguard (*pēthāl qurubte*) during the muster of the army of Aššur and the home army (*kišir šarrūti*) of the king’s forefathers.<sup>684</sup> There is another administrative text which mentions stable officers and refers to them – similarly to other military officials, for example the recruitment officers – as a body or unit of the ‘prefects of the royal corral.’<sup>685</sup>

<sup>681</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Rev. iv:9-26; 101, iii:1-14; 103, Rev. ii:7-13; 108, v:38; 108A, Rev. i:2’-12’.

<sup>682</sup> PARKER 1961, ND 2386+2730, Obv. II:17-Rev. I:1-7.

<sup>683</sup> PARKER 1961, ND 2386+2730, Obv. II:17’-20’-Rev. I:1-7. Rev. I:6-7: *naphar 4 LÚ.šak-nu-te ša ma-’a-as-si*

<sup>684</sup> BORGER 1956, 106, §68, Gottesbrief, line 19: *e-mu-qi DINGIR.Aš-šur gap-šá-a-te u ki-šir MAN.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-iá maḥ-ru-te*.

<sup>685</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 21 (ADD 835), 1’: LÚ.GAR-*nu.MEŠ(šaknūte) ma-’a-si*.

### Chariotry of the crown prince

It is known from other cuneiform sources that certain units of the Assyrian army were divided among the leading members of the royal family.<sup>686</sup> As has been discussed, ADD 857 is a list of officials and officers at court<sup>687</sup> (probably from the reign of Esarhaddon). Judging from this text, the crown prince had a substantial army: 8 cohort commanders, 5 *qurbūtu* bodyguards, 4 ‘third men,’ and 1 chariot horse-trainer or chariot man (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DUMU—MAN). His role – as ADD 853 and 854 have proved – had been increased in the military administration at the latest during the reign of Sennacherib.<sup>688</sup> It is clear, however, that the real military power henceforward still belonged to the royal units. A further army reform known from the cuneiform sources referred almost exclusively to the bodyguard units. As far as we know, the crown prince did not have *ša—šēpē* guard during the reign of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon. The first appearance of the ‘*ša—šēpē* guard of the crown prince’ (*ša—šēpē ša mār šarri*) comes in 663 B.C.<sup>689</sup> However, there is a fragmentary text, which – as Parpola reconstructed – was written by the crown prince Sennacherib to his father Sargon II. In this letter he mentions ‘the chariot grooms of the *ša—šēpē* guard [...] under my command.’<sup>690</sup> However, this *ša—šēpē* guard was probably the royal bodyguard unit, and not the *ša—šēpē* guard of the crown prince himself. As will be discussed later, the crown prince had his own chariot crew members – not only for his personal use, but for bodyguard purposes and probably for real fighting as well.

Open chariotry of the crown prince (GIGIR A—MAN DU<sub>g</sub>.MEŠ, *muggerri mār šarri pattūte*)

This type of chariotry unit appears only in a single text dated to the reign of Assurbanipal, which lists chariotry personnel, including a “chariot man or chariot horse trainer of the open chariotry of the crown prince” (GIGIR A—MAN DU<sub>g</sub>.MEŠ ditto (A—MAN?)).<sup>691</sup> Unfortunately neither the chariot type nor the unit can be reconstructed (*see below*).

### Chariotry of the high officials and governors

There are several Neo-Assyrian letters which prove that provincial governors kept chariotry units under arms. This chariotry, as the following letters show, could be of at least three types: 1. royal troops stationed in the provinces; 2. the local troops of the governors; 3. the troops of the high officials.

1. The famous report from Adad-issīa, governor of Māzāmua, to Sargon II,<sup>692</sup> which was discussed above, lists the Assyrian royal troops stationed in his province. It is important to know that the text distinguishes between chariotry personnel (11 chariot drivers, 12 ‘third men,’ 10 (or 30)

<sup>686</sup> The present writer prefers the view that *mār šarri* denotes the crown prince, and only the designated crown prince commanded substantial army units on his own right, while the other sons of the king could command army units if they served as military officials. Consequently, the several military and bodyguard personnel mentioned in administrative texts served the crown prince.

<sup>687</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857). There are other fragmentary texts of this type: FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 6-9.

<sup>688</sup> It must be mentioned that – as is known from the royal correspondence of Sargon II – as the crown prince Sennacherib himself had already played an important role in the royal court.

<sup>689</sup> ADD 470, R. 20’ (KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 325): Nabû-šarru-ušur *rab kišir ša—šēpē*(GIR.2) *ša mār šarri*.

<sup>690</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 37 (CT 53, 307), 7.

<sup>691</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 150 (ADD 834+++), II:8’; 152 (ADD 971), Rev. I’:12’.

<sup>692</sup> 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.

chariot fighters, and 53 more grooms of the teams, altogether 106 chariot troops) and cavalry personnel (161 cavalymen and another 130 grooms and 52 *zunzurāḫū* personnel, altogether 343 grooms). It is unfortunately not known what role the other personnel played – their number, however, is at least as high as the fighting contingent, or even larger. It seems that Adad-issia received 10 chariots with crews and approximately a squadron of cavalry. He received horses for probably 20 chariots (10 teams of horses and 10 teams of mules) and 97 cavalry horses. A similar large-scale muster – including chariot troops, Gurrians, Itu'eans, the exempt infantry (LÚ.zu-ku), *kallāpu* troops – is known from a fragmentary letter.<sup>693</sup> It is, however, not known whether these were royal troops garrisoned in a province or the troops of the local governors. Another letter is a report sent to Sargon II, which reviews the cavalry and chariotry troops in a province. The character of the letter shows that these were probably royal troops garrisoned in this province. There were 106 cavalymen reviewed in a town and 94 were missing under the command of their prefect.<sup>694</sup> Among the chariotry there were 10 chariot owners (LÚ.EN–GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ), 21 of their king's men (in all 31 chariot owners), and 69 others were missing under the command of the recruitment officer (*mušarkisu*) Tutī. More interesting is the fact that the king's men (LÚ.ERIM.MAN-šu-nu) were counted as chariot owners, too. These chariot troops were under the command of a recruitment officer (*mušarkisu*) – which reinforces our view that this was a royal unit. During the review, the reviewing officer assigned 150 horses. The 200 cavalymen and the 100 chariot owners with these 150 horses give the impression of a complete royal contingent. It is unfortunately not known where the remaining parts of the chariot crews were? Whether these 100 chariot owners formed complete chariot crews (10 chariot owners with their 21 king's men), or were simply chariot fighters – since it is known that the different members of the chariot crew were organized into separate units (*see later*), and the other members of the chariot crew, the drivers and the 'third men' (shield bearers) are missing from the list. Another text also reviews the chariot crew separately: ND 2619 lists 1669 cavalymen, 577+ chariot drivers and 1164 'third men' from Bīt-Adini, Bīt-Ukani, Dūr-Ellatia, Sabhānu, Bīt-Dakkuri, and Til-Barsip.<sup>695</sup> These members of the chariot crew were probably royal troops (king's men) who were garrisoned in different provinces of the empire. A fragmentary letter probably written by a governor to Sargon II mentions that a chariotry commander(?) demanded food for the chariot troops (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ) stationed or arriving in the province. The governor complains that he wants to feed the king's horses from his granaries, but he cannot give grain to these chariot troops and fodder to their horses.<sup>696</sup> The most explicit sources are, however, the short notes in which a governor (or the king himself?) ordered local officials to mobilize their chariot troops: "The royal soldiers (king's men) of your chariot(ry) together with their substitutes, let your messenger quickly bring them (to me)."<sup>697</sup> Five copies of this document are extant in the Nimrud archives. It is not clear whether these short documents were duplicates of a single order or

<sup>693</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 277 (CT 53, 305).

<sup>694</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 251 (ABL 567+).

<sup>695</sup> PARKER 1961, ND 2619.

<sup>696</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 182 (CT 53, 888).

<sup>697</sup> PARKER 1961, 24-25 (ND 2431): (1) ERIM.MEŠ.MAN (2) *ša* GIŠ.GIGIR-ka (3) *a-di ša ku-tal-šu-nu* (4) LÚ.A.KIN-ka (5) *ár-ḫiš* (6) *lu-bi-la-šu-nu*. For duplicates *see*: PARKER 1961, 41 (ND 2652), 42 (ND 2659), and WISEMAN 1953A, 147 (ND 3470). A somewhat different document contained the order: PARKER 1961, 42 (ND 2657): (1) ERIM.MEŠ.MAN *ša* GIŠ.GIGIR-ka (2) *a-di ša ku-tal-šu-nu* (3) *ki-i* LÚ.GAL.I-tu-u'-a-a (4) *at-ta-ni* LÚ.II-u-ka (5) *iš-šab-bi-it-šu-nu-ni* (6) *ár-ḫiš* (7) *lu-bi-la-šu-nu* (8) *"Ki-rib-tu-Mar-duk*. (1) The royal soldiers of your chariot, (2) together with their substitutes, (3) when the *rab* *Ilu'aia* (4) ... your deputy (5) arrests them (6) quickly (7) bring them (to me) (8) (addressed to) Kiribtu-Marduk.

– more probably – the same note was sent to different officials ordering them to summon the chariotry units for a muster.

2. Some Tell Halaf texts dated to the reign of Adad-nērārī III (810–783 B.C.) shed some light on the recruitment system of chariot troops and other units of the provinces and the *mātu* of the *turtānu*.<sup>698</sup> These texts show the territorial recruitment system of the Assyrian army. In one of his letters Sargon II accused one of his governors, Mannu-kī-Adad, of turning those men who were entrusted into his care into recruits, others into chariot-men (LÚ.A – SIG.MEŠ),<sup>699</sup> and others again into cavalrymen, into his own troops. Aššur-ālik-pāni (Assyrian governor?) promised Sargon II that he would be in the king's presence by the deadline set by the king with his king's men, chariotry and cavalry.<sup>700</sup> Nabû-dūru-ušur, the deputy governor of Dēr offered his lord, the governor (of Dēr?) the cavalry and chariotry that had been in the service of Aššur-rēmāni.<sup>701</sup> An interesting letter lists 300 horses and 12 “magnificent chariots befitting his (the governor's) social standing.”<sup>702</sup> This contingent matches in size the units listed in the above-mentioned letter of Adad-issā. However, it is possible that at least the 12 chariots were for the personal use of the governor. In an interesting letter written by Mannu-kī-Libbāli, a local official in the last decade of the Assyrian Empire in Tušhan (Ziyaret Tepe) reported to his superior that – lacking horses – he was unable to do his job, to raise a chariotry unit.<sup>703</sup> It is important to note that the provincial system of recruitment still worked during the last days of the empire and this chariotry unit would serve as a local, provincial contribution to the Assyrian army.

3. It is known from the royal inscriptions of Sargon II that the king, when he established the office of the *turtānu* of the left (*turtānu ša bīt šumēli*),<sup>704</sup> placed in his charge “150 chariots, 1,500 cavalrymen, 20,000 bowmen and 10,000 shield-bearers and lancers,”<sup>705</sup> which was a substantial force. These army contingents, which were not part of the *kišir šarrūti*, are known from the above

<sup>698</sup> Ilumma-lē'i (governor of Našibina, *limmu* of 782 B.C.) for example got a royal order to raise 6 teams town by town before the king arrives on the 11<sup>th</sup> of Ajjaru (for a muster?). (FRIEDRICH ET AL 1940, no. 1 (TH 3+31+59)); another governor, Mannu-kī-māt-Aššur (governor of Guzana, *limmu* of 793 B.C.) also got a royal order to raise 5 teams (*ū-ra*.MEŠ) from Ariawati, 5 teams from Guzana, and 5 teams from Ramu and to deliver them to the *turtānu*, who will collect and take them (to the campaign?): (FRIEDRICH ET AL 1940, no. 3 (TH 10)). He got a much more explicit order from the king, when Adad-nērārī III ordered him to be with his troops in the town of Sarê on the 20<sup>th</sup> of Du'ūzu for a royal campaign (FRIEDRICH ET AL 1940, no. 6 (TH 14)).

<sup>699</sup> Usually translated as chariot warrior (*māru damqu*). PARPOLA 1987, 11 (ABL 304), 10.

<sup>700</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 152 (ABL 784).

<sup>701</sup> At that time he was the cavalry commander of the deputy (governor) of Dēr(?). Assyrian officers of this name, however, are mentioned in the Nimrud Horse Lists: GAR-*nu* (*šaknu*) LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *taḥ-lip* (CTN III, 101, I:18-19); *mušarkisu ša* GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL (CTN III, 99, Rev. IV:1); *rab urâte*(?) (CTN III, 101, III:5). If he was the *mušarkisu ša* GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL of CTN III, 99, Rev. IV:1, it is possible that he was replaced in his position by Nabû-dūru-ušur and he became the cavalry commander of the deputy (of the governor of Dēr?).

<sup>702</sup> DIETRICH 2003, 48 (ABL 925), 3'-6'.

<sup>703</sup> PARPOLA 2008, 86-90, 22 (ZT 13284 + 13285 + 13286 + 13287).

<sup>704</sup> Mattila has argued that “the division of the office of the *turtānu* into two in the reign of Sargon II has in turn been taken as a sign of the decline in the importance of his office” (MATTILA 2000, 153). However, with the growth of the Assyrian Empire it became indispensable to adjust the territorially based military organization of the empire to the new needs: a single *turtānu* probably could not lead all the provincial armies and could not organize the recruitment, supply, and logistics of the vast territory of the empire. It has to be admitted, however, as Mattila has mentioned, that it is impossible to establish differences in the duties of the left and right *turtānu*. Mattila supposed that this was the reason for the obvious growing importance of the Chief Eunuch. However, in a certain letter (PARPOLA 1987, 34 (ABL 568)), which deals with the distribution of tribute and audience gifts between the members of the royal family and high officials of the empire, the king, the queen and the crown prince (Sennacherib himself, the author of the letter) are followed by the *sukkallu dannu* (Grand Vizier, probably Sin-aḫu-ušur, the brother of the king), the *turtānu* (Commander-in-Chief), the *sartennu* (Chief Judge), the *sukkallu šanū* (Second Vizier), and then the *rab ša—rēšē* (Chief Eunuch). The amount of tribute distributed is interesting as well: the *sukkallu dannu* and the *turtānu* in this case received larger amounts than the Chief Eunuch, even more than the crown prince himself. It is possible that this letter was written before the division of the office of the *turtānu* into two.

<sup>705</sup> LIE 1929, 72:9-12; FUCHS 1994, Annales, lines 409-410; Prunk, lines 116-117; 13<sup>th</sup> *palū*, 709 B.C.



mentioned letter<sup>706</sup> describing a muster of the army units arriving to Kār-Aššur to join the assembling Assyrian army. The letter makes a distinction between the following three troop types: 1. the troops of the high officials (*turtānu*, *rab šāqê*); 2. the troops of two generals, Taklāk-ana-Bēli and Išmanni-Aššur, who were probably the commanders of two provincial units of the *kišir šarrūti*; 3. the troops of four governors (Si'immê, Tillê, Guzana, and Isana). They were waiting for the whole royal entourage and for some of the magnates, when the scribe wrote the letter. However, the two other letters mentioning the chariotry of the army unit of the *šandabakku* official,<sup>707</sup> and the military detachment (*gudūdu*) of Aššur-ētir, the *rab šāqê* (Chief Cupbearer)<sup>708</sup> list only those few chariots which belonged to the officers of these contingents. Another letter, from Tāb-šar-Aššur to Sargon II, mentions the chariots of the high officials – the *turtānu* (Commander-in-Chief), the *sartennu*, the *sukkallu* (Vizier), the *nāgir ekalli* (Palace Herald), the *rab šāqê* and the Treasurer – however, it is not known whether these chariots were war chariots or carts used for construction work.<sup>709</sup> There is an administrative text, probably a muster list,<sup>710</sup> which lists cavalry and chariotry personnel from the provinces (*see below*). Along with other, unidentified units probably belonging to the royal corps, the text lists 1,802 equestrian personnel (1,249 cavalymen, and 553 chariot drivers) of the *sukkallu*. Another administrative text, ND 2386 + 2730, lists pairs of officers (*mušarkisāni*) serving provinces including the *mātu* of the *rab šāqê* (Chief Cupbearer).<sup>711</sup> A third administrative text, a small fragmentary tablet<sup>712</sup> of the Nimrud Horse Lists, mentions (equestrian) units which cannot be identified with a single unit of the *kišir šarrūti* mustered in the Nimrud Horse Lists discussed above. This tablet in three of its fragmentary lines probably mentions the horses of the governor of Rašappa and of the *rab šāqê*.

4. Royal chariot troops (ERIM.MEŠ.MAN *ša* GIŠ.GIGIR-*ka*, 'royal troops of your chariotry') appear in a set of short Sargonide letters together with their reserves (*ku-tal-šú-nu*).<sup>713</sup> These short orders were sent to different officials with military duties. These royal troops of someone's chariotry might have been king's men serving in the chariotry of a governor or a magnate, and were summoned for a muster. They were garrisoned in different parts of the empire, probably not only for the sake of better provisioning, but for military purposes as well (to strengthen the local forces), but their status (king's men) differed from that of soldiers who belonged to the units of a governor, another magnate, or a high official.

<sup>706</sup> CT 53, 47+ ABL 1290; PARPOLA 1979, 47; LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 250; FALES 2000, 48-49.

<sup>707</sup> SAGGS 2001, 22-25, NL 2 (ND 2717), Obv. 54'-57': three chariot(s), [a stated number of] cavalry (and) 500 archers.

<sup>708</sup> SAGGS 2001, 80-82 (ND 2435), 11-17: one hundred horses, two chariots, three hundred [infantry].

<sup>709</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 49 (CT 53, 112), 6, 11: GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ.

<sup>710</sup> PARKER 1961, ND 2619.

<sup>711</sup> PARKER 1961, ND 2386+, 16'-17'.

<sup>712</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 105.

<sup>713</sup> PARKER 1961, 24, ND 2431, (1) ERIM.MEŠ.MAN (2) *ša* GIŠ.GIGIR-*ka* (3) *a-di ša ku-tal-šú-nu* (4) LÚ.A.KIN-*ka* (5) *ár-ḫiš* (6) *lu-bi-la-šú-nu*. (1) The king's men (2) of your chariot(ry), (3) together with their substitutes, (4) let your messenger (5) quickly (6) bring them (to me). For duplicates *see*: 41, ND 2652; 42, ND 2659; WISEMAN 1953A, 147, ND 3470. *See furthermore*, PARKER 1961, 42, ND 2657 with a somewhat different text: (1) ERIM.MEŠ.MAN *ša* GIŠ.GIGIR-*ka* (2) *a-di ša ku-tal-šú-nu* (3) *ki-i LÚ.GAL.I-ti-u'-a-a* (4) *at-ta-ni LÚ.II-u-ka* (5) *iš-šab-bi-it-šu-nu-ni* (6) *ár-ḫiš* (7) *lu-bi-la-šú-nu* (8) *'Ki-rib-tu-Mar-duk*. (1) The king's men of your chariot(ry), (2) together with their substitutes, (3) when the *rab* *Itu'aia* (4) ... your deputy (5) arrest them (6) quickly (7) bring them (to me) (8) (addressed to Kiribtu-Marduk. However, OPPENHEIM *et al.*, 1971 (CAD K), 606, s.v. *kutallu*, 5, translates this expression as "the king's soldiers of the chariotry of the city," reading the last sign URU instead of KA. In this case these soldiers might well have belonged to a city unit.

Foreign chariotry<sup>714</sup>

While the royal inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.) mention captured enemy chariots on a single occasion,<sup>715</sup> Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) enlisted large numbers of enemy chariots – probably complete chariotry units – into his royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) several times (Fig. 6; Chart 4): 50 chariots from Samaria (722 B.C.),<sup>716</sup> 200 chariots and 600 horsemen from Qarqar (721 B.C.),<sup>717</sup> 30 chariots from Šinuḫtu (718 B.C.),<sup>718</sup> 50 chariots and 200 horsemen from Carchemish (717 B.C.),<sup>719</sup> and 100 chariots from Bīt-Puritiš (713 B.C.).<sup>720</sup> These round figures probably represent complete chariotry platoons (30, 50) and squadrons (100, 200) and are large enough to be counted as the chariotry section of a whole provincial army: as has been discussed above, when Sargon II established the office of the *turtānu* of the left he allocated 150 chariots, 1,500 cavalry and large numbers of infantry to it, which was altogether a substantial army. So it can be established that the Assyrians often enlisted army-sized chariotry units into the royal army or the army of the high officials.

It is virtually unknown whether the Assyrians ‘imported’ these chariots complete with their crews, or took only the chariots and horses and provided Assyrian crews for them. Furthermore, the Assyrians probably did not bring all of the captured chariots from these far flung territories to Assyria (to serve in the *kišir šarrūti*); they probably drafted some of them into the armies of the high officials and governors of the neighbouring border provinces.

There are some examples, however, which show that the Assyrian kings used the chariotry of their vassal kings as auxiliary units. As has been mentioned, on his western campaign of 877 B.C. Assurnasirpal II took with him the armies (including the chariotry) of those North-Syrian kings, who submitted to him: Bīt-Baḫiāni, Adad-’ime of Azallu, Aḫūnī of Bīt-Adini, Sangara of Carchemish, and Lubarna of Patinu.<sup>721</sup> Furthermore, the treaty of Aššur-nērārī V (754–745 B.C.) and Matī’-ilu, king of Arpad obliged Matī’-ilu to send his troops and chariotry as an auxiliary unit to the aid of the Assyrians.<sup>722</sup> Foreign chariotry units are mentioned in the royal correspondence of the Sargonides as well. Na’di-ilu, the Chief Cupbearer (*rab šāqê*), for example, received orders from Sargon II to give food and seed to the chariot troops from Que (stationed in his *mātu*?).<sup>723</sup> Whether these troops were part of the *kišir šarrūti* (like the Samaritans) or were auxiliaries garrisoning the provinces, remains unknown.

Large numbers of chariotry personnel garrisoning the provinces of the empire are listed in an administrative document.<sup>724</sup> The 577+ chariot drivers and 1,164 third men were registered in Bīt-Adini, Bīt-Ukani, Dūr-Ellatia, Larak, Sabḫānu, Našibina, Bīt-Dakkuri, Til-Barsip, and there were some Ru’a tribesmen (24) among them. These units might be provincial units of the local governors, or the high officials (e.g. the *sukkallu*)<sup>725</sup> but part of them were most probably king’s

<sup>714</sup> For an earlier summary see DALLEY 1985.

<sup>715</sup> The king captured chariots and horses from Rezin, king of Damascus in 732 B.C. (TADMOR 1994, Ann. 23, 5’-8’).

<sup>716</sup> FUCHS 1994, Annales 10-11. Probably the same Samarian equestrian unit appears in the Nimrud Horse Lists as well: DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, ii, 16-23; for detailed discussion see DEZSŐ 2006B, 102-103 (the name of the unit was Sāmerināia, commanded by Nabū-bēlu-ka’in).

<sup>717</sup> FUCHS 1994, Display Inscription, lines 35-6.

<sup>718</sup> FUCHS 1994, Display 24.

<sup>719</sup> FUCHS 1994, Annales, line 75.

<sup>720</sup> FUCHS 1994, Ann. 201-202.

<sup>721</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.O.101.1, III:58-78.

<sup>722</sup> PARPOLA – WATANABE 1988, no. 2, Rev. iv:1-3.

<sup>723</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 68 (CT 53, 40).

<sup>724</sup> PARKER 1961, ND 2619.

<sup>725</sup> PARKER 1961, ND 2619, Obv. 1-13 mentions the *sukkallu*, who received altogether 1,802 men: 1,249 cavalymen, and 553 chariot drivers.

men, recruited from the ranks of local people fit for military service. In this case they served in the *kišir šarrūti*, the royal corps of the Assyrian army. Unfortunately, it is not known whether these contingents were mustered for administrative purposes, for a possible campaign, or for other reasons. At that time (probably the reign of Sargon II), however, these units cannot be counted as foreign units, at least not from outside the borders of the empire. At the latest from the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.) the ranks of the Assyrian army were filled with large numbers of conquered and allied people.

An interesting feature appears in one of the sculptures of Forecourt H of the Southwest Palace of Nineveh: a large Assyrian chariot (of the type of the reign of Assurbanipal) is manned by four Elamites: a driver, an archer and two spearmen.<sup>726</sup> These Elamites were probably vassal troops serving in the Assyrian army not in their own cart-like chariots, but in the large Assyrian battle chariot. However, they retained the characteristics of their own chariot warfare: they did not use shield bearers, but instead carried two additional spearmen, probably skilled in close combat.

### *The chariot crew and other chariotry personnel*

#### *Mukil appāte (chariot driver)*

There are altogether 86 chariot drivers of the Neo-Assyrian period who are known by name from administrative texts, and a further 38 fragmentary entries bring the total to around 120. The earliest known chariot drivers appear in the late 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>727</sup> As *Chart 5* shows, altogether at least 28 types and variants of drivers can be reconstructed. These types form at least eight groups. These eight groups include chariot drivers with real fighting capacity in the personal service of high officials or even deities.

#### (1) Chariot driver of the king (*mukil appāte ša šarri*)

Large numbers of chariot drivers of the king are represented in the Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs,<sup>728</sup> but the cuneiform sources could differentiate between their various ranks as well, referring for example both to the *mukil appāte ša šarri* (chariot driver of the king) and to the *mukil appāte ša šar Aššur* (chariot driver of the king of Assyria), which means simply the chariot driver of the king. However, there is an example where the name of the king is mentioned as well: *mukil appāte ša Sîn-aḫḫē-eriba* (chariot driver of Sennacherib).<sup>729</sup> Cuneiform sources mention the *mukil appāte dannu* (chief chariot driver) as well.<sup>730</sup> Similarly to the chariot driver, the chief chariot driver of

<sup>726</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 16a.

<sup>727</sup> Raši-ilu LÚ.mu-kil—KUŠ.PA.MEŠ, POSTGATE 1973, 2 (ND 492), Rev. 15, (817/802 B.C.); Šamaš-šallim LÚ.mu-kil ap-pa-te, POSTGATE 1973, 14 (ND 401+402), Rev. 22-23, (802 B.C.).

<sup>728</sup> Palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II, Tiglath-Pileser III, Sargon II, Sennacherib, Assurbanipal, and the Balawat Gates of Assurnasirpal II, and Shalmaneser III.

<sup>729</sup> Nabû-šumu-iškun chariot driver of Sennacherib ([LÚ.DIB.KUŠ].PA.MEŠ šá<sup>md</sup>30.PAP.MEŠ.SU), KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 57 (ADD 253), 6'-7'.

<sup>730</sup> The rank of chief chariot driver (*mukil appāte dannu*) and the deputy of the chariot driver (*mukil appāte šanû*) appeared probably as early as the chariotry itself, but the earliest attested date is an 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. administrative document, which lists them together (ND 10057, 3, 4, KINNIER WILSON 1972, 10). The identification of the chief chariot driver as an officer of the chariot drivers or more probably designating a higher ranking chariot driver is plausible. However, the *mukil appāte šanû* assignment needs further discussion. It is not known whether he was the deputy of the chief chariot driver (as ND 10057 suggests), or a deputy of a chariot driver (which is hard to understand) or his substitute.

the king can be identified in two ways: *mukil appâte dannu ša šarri* (chief chariot driver of the king) and *mukil appâte dannu ša Aššur-bān-apli šar Aššur* (chief chariot driver of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria).<sup>731</sup> In these cases it has to be decided whether the phrase ‘chariot driver of the king’ denoted the personal chariot driver of the Assyrian king (who was represented frequently on the royal chariots of the sculptures) or simply meant that he was a chariot driver of the royal corps. Following the army reform of Sennacherib – when the officers of the king, the crown prince, and the king’s mother appeared – the ‘officer of the king’ did not necessarily mean that this individual was a personal officer of the king, but probably that he belonged to the royal corps.<sup>732</sup> The ‘chariot driver of the palace’ (*mukil appâte ša ekalli*), mentioned in only a few texts,<sup>733</sup> belongs to this group, since the É.GAL (*ekalli*) expression undoubtedly refers to the royal palace. It is unfortunately not known whether the *ša ekalli* term was a synonym of the *ša šarri* or not. The *ša ekalli* seems to belong unambiguously to the royal corps and less to the king personally, since the Nimrud Horse Lists have made the reconstruction of a palace chariotry unit possible (*see above*).

## (2) Chariot driver of the crown prince (*mukil appâte ša mār šarri*)

This title appeared during an army reform of Sennacherib mentioned above. There are altogether 18 chariot drivers of crown princes known by name from the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>734</sup> They served in the chariotry unit(s) of the crown prince. However, it is not clear whether this unit was a real army contingent or formed a kind of personal escort or entourage of the crown prince. Chariot drivers were assigned not only to the Assyrian crown princes, but in a single case the chariot driver of the crown prince of Babylon is mentioned in an administrative document.<sup>735</sup> This text is dated to 671–669 B.C., so this crown prince was probably Šamaš-šumu-ukīn. A further

<sup>731</sup> Rēmanni-Adad, the chief chariot driver of Assurbanipal (*Chart 2*) is known from 55 administrative texts dated between 671–660 B.C. (ADD 35, 4; 60, 4-5; 65, 3; 115, 3; 116, 8-9; 121, 3; 172, 6-7; 174, 6-7; 183+188, 6-7; 185, [...]; 187, 3'-4'; 200, 5-6; 202, 7; 203, 1'-2'; 237, 5; 247, 5'; 258, 7-8; 266, 10; 270, 9-10; 271, 6'-7'; 297, 9'; 322, 7-8; 331, 7-8; 362, [...]; 366, [...]; 372, 7'; 377, [...]; 408, 4'; 418, 11'-12'; 419, 8'-9'; 420, 9'-10'; 421, 10; 424, R. 2'; 429a-b-c, R. 2-3; 433 + 599, [...]; 439, [...]; 444, 13; 445, [...]; 448, 15-16; 451, BE. 3'-4'; 470, R. 2'; 471, 15'-16', R. 4'-5'; 477, 9'; 503, 9'; 515, 5'-6'; 571, [...]; 596, R. 2'; 611, [...]; 801, [...]; 857, 1:21; 1153, 10'; 1155, BE 1'; 1189, R. 4'; 1254, 3'-4'; K.16094, 8'). In 670 B.C. he started his career as a chariot driver of the king (Esarhaddon), (LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ *ša* MAN; ADD 172, 6-7); in 669 B.C. he became a chief chariot driver (LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ *dan-nu*; ADD 187, 3'-4'); in 667 B.C. he was already the chief chariot driver of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria (LÚ.mu-kil—KUŠ.PA.MEŠ *dan-nu ša* Aššur-DÛ-A—MAN KUR.Aššur; ADD 200, 5-6). He appears as the chariot driver of the king of Assyria (LÚ.mu-kil—KUŠ.PA.MEŠ *ša* MAN KUR.Aššur; ADD 424, R. 2'). In 666 B.C. he was chief chariot driver of the king (LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ *dan-nu ša* LUGAL; ADD 60, 4-5). He is probably the man who appears in 665 and 664 B.C. as chariot driver (ADD 237, 5; ADD 115, 3) and in 665 B.C. as chief chariot driver (ADD 35, 4), but in 664 B.C. he was still the chief chariot driver of Assurbanipal (ADD 116, 8-9). His career can be followed till 660 B.C. Most probably he is the driver of the royal chariot on one of the Southwest Palace sculptures of Assurbanipal (Room XXXIII, slab 6, BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 386).

<sup>732</sup> And indeed, we can find Šumma-ilāni as chariot driver of the royal corps (*mukil appâte ša kišir šarri* or *Kišir-šarri*): KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 34 (ADD 234), 5-7 (709 B.C.). However, as his archive shows, in 693 B.C. he was *mukil appâte* KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 40 (ADD 238), 7-8, and in 692 B.C. he became the chariot driver of the chamberlain (*mukil appâte ša muḫḫi bētāni*) KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 42 (ADD 326), 8-9.

<sup>733</sup> Šamaš-ilāni LÚ.mu-kil—PA.MEŠ *ša* É.GAL, KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 37 (ADD 427), R. 12 (694 B.C.) from the Šumma-ilāni archive; Šamaš-šallim LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ *ša* É.GAL, KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 309 (ADD 200), R. 7' (667 B.C.). He appears in further four texts of the Rēmanni-Adad archive without his title.

<sup>734</sup> Barruquq, Bēl-Ḥarrān-dūri, Bir-iamā, Iltadāiu, Mannu-kī-Aššur, Nabū-šallim, Nabū-šēzib, Nabū-zēru-iddina, Sakkannu, Šamaš-šarru-ušur, Šumma-ilāni, Zabāba-erība, Zārūtī (Zēru-uti), and Zēru-ukīn were active during the reigns of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal (in the canonical period), while Aššur-natkil, Nabū-kušuranni, Šarru-ēmuranni, Šarru-šumu-ukīn served in the post canonical period.

<sup>735</sup> Nabū-šallim, chariot driver of the crown prince of Babylon (LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ *ša* A—MAN KÁ.DINGIR.KI), KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 299 (ADD 477), R. 4'.

interesting example is an account from a ceremonial banquet, which mentions a “chariot driver, and a third man of the crown prince, Danî.”<sup>736</sup> Assyrian sculptures do not portray a single crown prince on board his chariot, so there is no representational evidence of their chariot crews either.

Chariot drivers of the crown prince appear in larger groups in the witness lists of legal documents of the Rēmanni-Adad archive (*Chart* 2).<sup>737</sup> It seems that they were comrades and served in the same unit.

(3) Chariot driver of the queen mother (*mukil appāte ummi šarri*) and other ladies of the royal court. The title ‘chariot driver of the queen mother’ appears only twice in the same administrative document.<sup>738</sup> This text (ADD 857) is one of the most important sources for the army reform of Sennacherib mentioned above. The chariot driver of the queen (*mukil appāte ša MĪ.É.GAL*) appears only in a single document (660 B.C.) from the Rēmanni-Adad archive.<sup>739</sup> From this single entry it seems that the Assyrian queens of the Sargonides did not have military units, but only personal staff. Chariot driver of the [house/palace] of the lady of the house (*mukil appāte ša É.GAŠAN – [É]*).<sup>740</sup> This assignment belongs to the same category: this is the only known example and its background is unknown.

#### (4) Chariot drivers of the high officials

It is obvious that the high officials of the Assyrian Empire had their own personal chariot drivers and their own units as well. Written sources mention the chariot driver of the Chief Eunuch (*mukil appāte ša rab ša—rēšē*),<sup>741</sup> chariot driver of the Commander-in-Chief (*mukil appāte ša turtāni*),<sup>742</sup> and the chariot driver of the cupbearer (*mukil appāte ša šāqē*).<sup>743</sup> It is not clear if the ‘chariot driver of the cupbearer’ means the chariot driver of the Chief Cupbearer or not. As known from the cuneiform evidence, the *turtānu* – similarly to other high officials – had his own military units, so an identification of this duty of the chariot driver of the Commander-in-Chief (*turtānu*) with a driver of his unit and not with his personal driver is quite possible. It is known from the Nimrud Horse Lists that the Chief Eunuch was the commander of one of the divisions of the *kišir šarrūti* (see above).<sup>744</sup> Other documents (ADD 857) show that the Chief Eunuch retained his military importance even after the army reform of Sennacherib, and his officers appear – as in this case – in the post-canonical period as well. Consequently it is possible that the chariot driver of the Chief Eunuch was not necessarily his private chariot driver, but a chariot driver of his units.

<sup>736</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 152 (ADD 971), R. 1’-7’.

<sup>737</sup> Of the 18 chariot drivers of the crown prince who are known by name 10 appear in the Rēmanni-Adad archive (Nabû-zēru-iddina, Šamaš-šarru-ušur, Zabāba-erība, Barruqu, Sakkannu, Šumma-ilāni, Nabû-šēzib, Mannu-kī-Aššur, Zēru-ukīn, Zārūtī (Zēru-utī)).

<sup>738</sup> Bir-iamā and Iltadāiu (LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ AMA—MAN): FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), R. II:5, 10.

<sup>739</sup> KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 329 (ADD 444), R. 13-14 (660 B.C.): Marduk-šarru-ušur appears in the archive five other times but unfortunately without a title or in a broken context: KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 327 (ADD 611), R. 5’; 330 (ADD 445), R. 8’; 332 (ADD 433 + 599), R. 5’; 335 (ADD 418), R. 15’; 347 (ADD 203), 1.

<sup>740</sup> KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 339 (ADD 408), R. 9’.

<sup>741</sup> Aššur-šallim-aḥḥē [LÚ.mu]-kil—KUŠ.PA.MEŠ (*ša* LÚ.GAL—SAG), KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 1 (ADD 75), Rev. 10-11, (742 B.C.); Mušallim-Marduk LÚ.3.U<sub>5</sub> *ša* LÚ.GAL—SAG, POSTGATE 1973, 17 (ND 496), 50 (683 B.C.); Ša[maš-...] mu-DIB.PA GAL—SAG, FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 141 (ADD 1118), 5’-6’; Aššur-šarru-ušur LÚ.mu-kil—KUŠ.PA *ša* LÚ.GAL—SAG; KWASMAN 1988, 426 (ADD 642), R. 12’.

<sup>742</sup> KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 338 (ADD 1189), R. 8’-9’.

<sup>743</sup> Zazī LÚ.mu-k[il PA.MEŠ] *ša* LÚ.KAŠ.LU[L]; KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 41 (ADD 240), R. 7-8; 40 (ADD 238), R. 15-16; 39 (ADD 239), R. 7’-8’. 694—693 B.C.

<sup>744</sup> DEZSÓ 2006B, 127.

(5) Chariot drivers of governors

It is obvious that all the high ranking Assyrian officials, including governors, employed chariot drivers for their personal service. Maḥdê, governor of Nineveh, for example, complained to Sargon II, that Nabû'a, the *qurbûtu* bodyguard (LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*) took his chariot, teams of horses and chariot driver as far as Šabirêšu, so he had to go to the king on foot!<sup>745</sup> However, as has been reconstructed and is known from the cuneiform evidence, the Assyrian governors had military units including chariotry at their disposal. The post of the chariot driver of the governor of Lahiru (*mukil appâte ša* LÚ.EN.NAM *ša* KUR.*La-ḫi-ri*)<sup>746</sup> or the chariot driver of the governor of Māzamia (*mukil appâte [ša* LÚ.E]N.NAM *ša mat-za-[mu-a]*),<sup>747</sup> or the chariot driver of the deputy of Maganuba (*mukil appâte šanû* URU.*Maganuba*)<sup>748</sup> could be understood as that of personal chariot driver, but in the case of the governor of Māzamia an earlier letter<sup>749</sup> lists his troops, including 11 chariot drivers.

(6) Chariot drivers of other officials

Three known examples fall into this category. In these cases it can be confidently assumed that the chariot driver of the palace scribe (*mukil appâte ša* LÚ.A.BA—É.GAL),<sup>750</sup> the chariot driver of the palace scribe (*mukil appâte ša* LÚ.A.BA—KUR),<sup>751</sup> the chariot driver of the chief cook (*mukil appâte ša* LÚ.GAL—MU),<sup>752</sup> the chariot driver of the cup bearer (*mukil appâte ša šāqê*),<sup>753</sup> and the chariot driver of the chamberlain (*mukil appâte ša muḫḫi bētāni*)<sup>754</sup> were personal chariot drivers of these officials, since, as far as can be reconstructed, there were no military units assigned to these officials. Only the chariot driver of the chamberlain could serve in a military unit (*see* below, the third man of the chamberlain). Two texts of the Nimrud Horse Lists<sup>755</sup> deal with the storage and repair of old chariots (platforms, bronze fittings, shields, and bow-cases). These texts show a kind of central management (storage and repair) of chariots, or at least of the chariots of royal contingents. These texts do not mention any chariot makers, otherwise known from other documents,<sup>756</sup> only an official, the chamberlain, who seems to have been in charge in some way of these chariots, stored in Kalḫu and Arbela, in centres of royal chariotry units.

<sup>745</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 74 (NL 62); SAGGS 2001, 103-104.

<sup>746</sup> Zabinu LÚ.*mu-kil*—PA.MEŠ *ša* LÚ.EN.NAM *ša* KUR.*La-ḫi-ri*; KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 287 (ADD 625), 5 (670 B.C.).

<sup>747</sup> Aššur-nādin-aḫḫē LÚ.*mu-[kil]*—PA.MEŠ [*ša* LÚ.E]N.NAM *ša mat-za-[mu-a]*; RADNER 2002 90, Vs. 1-3.

<sup>748</sup> [...] *-qa-mu* [LÚ.*mu-kil*]—PA.MEŠ ditto (URU *Ma-ga-nu-ba*), KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 50 (ADD 422), Rev. 13.

<sup>749</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 74 (NL 89); POSTGATE 2000; FALES 2000, 40-43, SAGGS 2001, 128-130.

<sup>750</sup> PARKER 1963, 95, BT.117, 12-13: Abdâ LÚ.*mu-kil*—PA.MEŠ *ša* LÚ.ABA É.GAL, (686 B.C.).

<sup>751</sup> LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 78 (ABL 211), 4; *See* furthermore the *tašlišu* and *mukil appâte ša* LÚ.A.BA—KUR (LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 78 (ABL 211), 4).

<sup>752</sup> Zārūtī *mukil appâte ša* LÚ.GAL—MU, KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 36 (ADD 34), 5-6 (695 B.C.).

<sup>753</sup> Zazī LÚ.*mu-k[il]*—PA.MEŠ *ša* LÚ.KAŠ.LU[L], KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 39 (ADD 239), Rev. 7'-8'; 40 (ADD 238), Rev. 15-16; 41 (ADD 240), Rev. 7-8 (694—693 B.C.).

<sup>754</sup> Šumma-ilāni *mukil appâte ša* LÚ.*ša* UGU É-*a-ni*, KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 42 (ADD 326), 8-9 (692 B.C.). He is probably the same Šumma-ilāni mentioned above, who in 709 B.C. appears as chariot driver of the royal corps (*mukil appâte ša kišir šarri* or *Kišir-šarri*): KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 34 (ADD 234), 5-7.

<sup>755</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, nos. 96-97.

<sup>756</sup> POSTGATE 1973, 91 (ND 261), L.E. 37: Kittī(?)—ili LÚ.NAGAR GİŠ.*mu-ger-ri* (797 B.C.); PARPOLA 1987, 179 (CT 53, 10), mentions a certain Abattu, a chariot-maker ([LÚ.NAGAR]—*mu-gir*), who served an Assyrian official, Bēl-liqbī. Further details of chariot making will be discussed in the third volume of this project (*see* Introduction).

(7) Chariot driver of the treasury/storehouse or more plausibly reserve horses (*mukil appāni sīsē nakamte*)<sup>757</sup>

It is not known whether this chariot driver was a member of a chariotry unit of the reserve horses, or more likely was in charge of the training of reserve horses.

(8) Other types of chariot drivers

There are other types of chariot drivers – primarily of fighting character – mentioned in cuneiform sources. One of the administrative texts, an account of a ceremonial banquet, lists two Ninevite chariot drivers (*mukil appāte* URU.NINA) and two Ninevite ‘third men.’<sup>758</sup> It is not known, however, whether they were members of a chariotry unit based in Nineveh or were recruited there, or were officers of the royal court.

The chariot driver of the left (*mukil appāte* KAB(šumēli) SAG.UŠ.MEŠ (permanent))<sup>759</sup> raises an important question: was the Assyrian army divided into left and right wings only in its marching and battle orders, or was this division valid for the recruiting system as well? The chariot driver of the cohort commander (*mukil appāte ša rab kišir*)<sup>760</sup> might obviously have been a soldier who drove the chariot on campaign and in battles as well.

There are three other types of chariot drivers mentioned in cuneiform documents. It seems that the term *mukil appāte ša mugirrāte* (‘chariot driver of the chariots’) which appears only in Nimrud Wine Lists<sup>761</sup> denotes simply the chariot driver. However, the identification of the *mukil appāte labašūte* (‘chariot driver fitted out’)<sup>762</sup> – which appears together with the former – is more obscure. The third type, the chariot driver of the *dunanāte* (*mukil appāte ša dunanāte*)<sup>763</sup> is known from the post canonical period, but the ‘*ša dunān*’<sup>764</sup> – who can probably be connected with another type of chariot crew member – appears in the Nimrud Wine Lists as well. The primary meaning of *dunānu* (‘substitute’) does not offer any plausible solutions, this type of chariotry personnel can be connected in some way with the chariots of deities. As has been discussed, some sculptures of Sennacherib show empty chariots – which would have had some importance since the sculptures of Sennacherib did not show any other chariots: only the royal chariot and these empty ones. Two other scenes show similar empty chariots equipped with large rounded shields. Unfortunately the function of these chariots, which are manned only by the single chariot driver, is unknown – they must have had some cultic function be connected with the campaign, or were possibly ‘substitute’ chariots for the royal chariot(?). Several letters from priests to Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal mention chariot drivers of deities. In these cases the chariot driver of Šamaš<sup>765</sup> or the chariot driver of the gods (LÚ.mu-kil—KUŠ.PA.MEŠ *ša*

<sup>757</sup> LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 63 (CT 53, 46), 21.

<sup>758</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 149 (ADD 1125), III:8’-9’.

<sup>759</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 150 (ADD 834+), II:2’.

<sup>760</sup> Bēl-ahhēšu LÚ.[mu-DIB—PA.MEŠ] *ša* LÚ.GAL—KA.[KEŠDA] KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 39 (ADD 239), R. 4’-5’; 40 (ADD 238), R. 13-14; 41 (ADD 240), R. 10-11 (694–693 B.C.).

<sup>761</sup> KINNIE WILSON 1972, 8:22 (791 B.C.), 16:15.

<sup>762</sup> KINNIE WILSON 1972, 8:23 (791 B.C.), 10: 7, 16:14.

<sup>763</sup> Rēmanni-Adad LÚ.mu-kil—KUŠ.PA.MEŠ *ša du-na-na-te*, MATTILA 2002, 21 (ADD 260), R. 10’. This Rēmanni-Adad probably not the same as the chief chariot driver of Assurbanipal discussed below, carrier of whom can be reconstructed between 671–660 B.C.

<sup>764</sup> *Ša dunāni* (*ša GIŠ.du-na-ni*): KINNIE WILSON 1972, 5, R. 7 (779 B.C.); 6, 16; 7, 4; 8, 18 (791 B.C.); 13, 16; 15, 6; 16, 16; 18, 6a; 19, 13; 20, 8’; 21, 7; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no.124, R. 6; 127, 3’; 134, 8’; 145, III:4 (784 B.C.). *Ša dunāni* cannot be connected directly with a chariot type, only the fact that it was listed together with *ša ilāni*, and *ša mušezibāte* connects it to this context.

<sup>765</sup> COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 44 (ABL 611).

DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni*)<sup>766</sup> appear in a clear cultic context. These examples show that the two functions (military and cultic) should be separated.

In contrast with these chariot drivers the ‘chariot driver of the palace scribe’ (*mukil appāte ša LÚ.ABA—É.GAL*)<sup>767</sup> was obviously a personal chariot driver without any military role.

In the audience gift lists, the chariot driver and other members of the chariot crew (the ‘third man’ and chariot fighter) are listed together.<sup>768</sup> The same phenomenon appears in omen texts from the reign of Esarhaddon, which also list the members of the chariot crew together.<sup>769</sup> An interesting legal document from the reign of Sîn-šar-iškun lists Assyrian high officials and military personnel, whose estates were handed over to other persons. Unfortunately it is not known whether these estates were confiscated or not, but the estate of the chariot driver Zabdānu was assigned to his son, Sa’ilā.<sup>770</sup>

Large numbers of military personnel, including chariot drivers of different types, appear in the legal documents of the Rēmanni-Adad archive (671—660 B.C.). The archive of Rēmanni-Adad (Chart 2), the chief chariot driver of Assurbanipal, consists of 55 legal documents.<sup>771</sup> There are at least 65 military personnel mentioned in the witness lists of these documents. It is obvious that these 65 were his fellow-soldiers of different types.<sup>772</sup> At least 12 types of chariot drivers appear in the archive: chariot driver (*mukil appāte*), chariot driver of the king (*mukil appāte ša šarri*), chief chariot driver (*mukil appāte dannu*), chief chariot driver of the king (*mukil appāte dannu ša šarri*), chariot driver of the crown prince (*mukil appāte ša mār šarri*), chariot driver of the crown prince of Babylon (*mukil appāte ša mār šarri Bābili*), chariot driver of the palace (*mukil appāte ša ekalli*), chariot driver of the *turtānu* (*mukil appāte ša LÚ.turtan*), chariot driver of the queen (*mukil appāte ša MÍ.É.GAL*), and chariot driver of the house of the Lady of the house/palace (*mukil appāte ša É.GAŠAN—É*). As Chart 2 shows, several chariot drivers appear within this timespan as chariot driver or chariot driver of the crown prince. Nabû-zēru-iddina, Šamaš-šarru-ušur and Zabāba-erība, obviously serving in the same unit, changed title even within the same year (666/665 B.C.). Another group of drivers (Nabû-šēzib, Barruqu, Sakkannu, and Šumma-ilāni), probably of the same unit, show similar characteristics: they appear alternatively as chariot drivers or chariot drivers of the crown prince. There were altogether twelve drivers who can primarily be connected with Rēmanni-Adad, chief chariot driver of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria. They were probably his colleagues, and later his subordinates. It is interesting that one of them, Zabāba-erība, who was a chariot driver of the crown prince between 671—669 B.C.,<sup>773</sup> later (664—663 B.C.) changed duty and was assigned to the post of ‘third man’ (*tašlīšu*).<sup>774</sup>

The reason why the whole unit, and not the individual soldiers, switched between the duties of chariot drivers and chariot drivers of the crown prince might have been either that the scribe

<sup>766</sup> COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 78 (ABL 65).

<sup>767</sup> PARKER 1963, BT 117, 12-13: Abdā LÚ.mu-kil—KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ša LÚ.ABA—É.GAL.

<sup>768</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 34 (ABL 568), R. 21’.

<sup>769</sup> STARR 1990, 142, 5; 144, 5.

<sup>770</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 221 (ADD 675), 11’.

<sup>771</sup> KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 297-350.

<sup>772</sup> The phenomenon of fellow-soldiers standing witness for their comrade or commander is known from several other administrative texts. See for example the witness lists of MATTILA 2002, 67 (ADD 184), 69 (ADD 27), 315 (ADD 604).

<sup>773</sup> KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 299 (ADD 477), R. 2; 300 (ADD 202), R. 2; 301 (ADD 172), R. 2.

<sup>774</sup> KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 320 (ADD 377), R. 6; 321 (ADD 439), R. 9(?); 325 (ADD 470), R. 15; 326 (ADD 471), R. 21 (?); 327 (ADD 611), R. 6 (?).



used a short form (chariot driver) instead of the full title (chariot driver of the crown prince) or that the whole unit changed its function and was ordered to serve the crown prince.

A group of legal documents from Assur shows that during the reign of Assurbanipal and later a small Egyptian community lived in the city and provided chariot drivers from among themselves.<sup>775</sup> It is not known, however, whether they were members of a military unit or the personal chariot drivers of their lords.

### *Māru damqu* (chariot warrior)

As *Chart 6* shows, altogether at least 14 types and variants of the chariot warrior appear in the cuneiform sources.<sup>776</sup> These types form at least six groups, which include chariot warriors with a real fighting role and those performing personal, bodyguard or escort services for high officials or even deities.

#### (1) Chariot warrior of the king (*māru damqu šarri*)

The only text which defines this category with the sign MAN (*šarru*) is the reverse of a Nimrud Wine List tablet listing court officials and other personnel.<sup>777</sup> It can, however, be admitted that most of the chariot warriors without any further specification would have been identified as the chariot warriors of the king, the chariot warriors of the Assyrian army. As *Chart 6* shows, the *māru damqu* appears in the cuneiform sources throughout the period. A similar category, the chariot warrior of the palace (*māru damqu ša ekalli*), also belongs to this group, since the palace chariotry – see above, the GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL (*muggerri ekalli*) – was a royal contingent. This letter from Zēru-ibnî to Sargon II, which mentions the ‘chariot warrior of the palace’<sup>778</sup> tells us that the brother of Marduk-erība served as a palace chariot fighter. Zēru-ibnî sent both of them to the king, asking: “Let the one who pleases the king my lord serve with the king my lord, and let them give the second-best to me.” So it is obvious from this passage that the chariot warrior of the palace served the king. A fascinating chapter of Assyrian military history or the reconstruction of the structure of the army would be the reconstruction of the financial background of the service. An interesting legal document of the Rēmāni-Adad archive shows that the chariot driver of the king (Rēmāni-Adad) bought an entire village which belonged collectively to several owners from the local military establishment, including three chariot warriors.<sup>779</sup> It is, however, not known whether they owned the village as a kind of payment, or land grant (in a conquered region?) for their military service or they possessed estates because of they were well-to-do noblemen of the Assyrian elite. A further question needs to be answered: can this kind of land ownership be connected with the territorial recruiting system of the army (which seems to have been organized on a territorial basis) or not? This topic needs further research.<sup>780</sup>

<sup>775</sup> Uznānu *mu-[kil]*—PA.MEŠ (DONBAZ – PARPOLA 2001, 237 (A 2506), Rev. 8’, 633 B.C.), LÚ.*mu-kil*—KUŠ.PA.MEŠ (MATTILA 2002, 17 (ADD 214), Rev. 10’, 633 B.C.). Pizešhurdaia *mu-kil a-(pa)*.MEŠ (DONBAZ – PARPOLA 2001, 207 (A 1841), Rev. 26, 618 B.C.)

<sup>776</sup> Altogether at least 17 chariot warriors are known by name, and in 4 other cases the name has been broken off.

<sup>777</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 122, Rev. 20’.

<sup>778</sup> LÚ.A—SIG *ša* É.GAL: PARPOLA 1987, 205 (ABL 154), 12.

<sup>779</sup> KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 325 (ADD 470). The owners of the village are as follows: Inurta-ilā’ī, deputy of the town of Dannāia; Asqudu, scribe of the queen mother; Hiri-aḥḥē, chariot driver; Adad-uballit, ‘third man;’ three cohort commanders: Nabû-rēmāni, Issar-ilā’ī, Milki-idri; and three chariot warriors Mannu-kī-Arbail, Zēru-ukīn, and Dādī-ibnī.

<sup>780</sup> And will be discussed in the second volume of this project.

(2) Chariot warrior of the [...] unit (*māru damqu piri* [...])

A single legal text dated to 618 B.C. mentions in its unfortunately fragmentary witness section a chariot warrior who belonged to a unit whose name is missing.<sup>781</sup> This is the only known example which might have directly named a (probably fighting) chariotry unit which the chariot warrior belonged to. An interesting additional feature of this Assur text is that the chariot warrior named Iglâ was probably himself an Egyptian and belonged to an Egyptian community which can be identified in the Assur archives. It is, however, not known whether he served in an Egyptian (mercenary) or an Assyrian unit.

(3) Chariot warrior of the bodyguard (*māru damqu ša qurub*)<sup>782</sup>

This chariot warrior could belong to the chariotry bodyguard (GIŠ.GIGIR *qurubte*), which unit – similarly to the palace chariotry discussed above – can be identified from the Nimrud Horse Lists. The date of this text (around 784 B.C.) shows that a chariotry bodyguard unit already existed at such an early date.

(4) Chariot warrior of the crown prince (*māru damqu ša mār šarri*)

The ‘chariot warrior of the crown prince’ appears in only a few texts.<sup>783</sup> A more interesting text (dated 694 B.C.) mentions a certain Tudûte, who was the chariot warrior of Nergal-ašarēd (*māru damqu ša* <sup>md</sup>U.GUR.MAŠ).<sup>784</sup> The question is obvious: who was Nergal-ašarēd? If a chariot warrior was assigned to a person known only by his name without a title, this person must have been well known to his contemporaries. Is it possible that Nergal-ašarēd was a son of Sennacherib? In these cases a further question emerges: whether the chariot warrior belonged to a fighting unit or served his lord personally. In making a difference between chariot crews of fighting units and chariot crews for personal use, it should be emphasized that in contrast to the chariot driver and the ‘third man’ (shield bearer), a chariot warrior probably never stood side by side with his lord in the chariot, since the lord himself was the chariot warrior.

(5) Chariot warrior of the lady of the house (*māru damqu ša bēlet bēti*) and other ladies of the royal court

The ‘chariot warrior of the lady of the house’ appears in a relatively late text dated to the reign of Sîn-šar-iškun,<sup>785</sup> but chariot warriors of other royal ladies are mentioned much earlier. The ‘chariot warrior of the lady of the house of the crown prince’ (*māru damqu ša bēlet bēti ša mār šarri*),<sup>786</sup> for example, appears as early as the reign of Sennacherib. In these cases the chariot warrior could well have served to escort these royal ladies. A quite different question emerges at the latest during the reign of Assurbanipal, but probably as early as the army reform of Sennacherib, with the ‘cohort commander of the chariot warriors of the queen’ (*rab kišir ša māru damqu ša bēlet ekalli*).<sup>787</sup> This shows that the queen had a chariotry unit at least the strength of a cohort, which reinforces

<sup>781</sup> Iglâ LÚ.A—SIG *pī-ri* [...] (DONBAZ – PARPOLA 2001, 207 (A 1841), Rev. 15).

<sup>782</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 119, 10.

<sup>783</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 132 (ADD 862), 1', 2': [...] LÚ.A—SIG *ša* DUMU—MAN; RADNER 2002, 47, Rev. 12-13 (649 B.C.): Adda-taḡan LÚ.A—SIG *ša* DUMU—LUGAL, DONBAZ – PARPOLA 2001, 181 (A 314), Rev. 17: Sunâ, A—SIG DUMU—MAN (629 B.C.).

<sup>784</sup> KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 37 (ADD 427), R. 13-14.

<sup>785</sup> Bēl-Ḥarrān-issīa LÚ.A—SIG *ša* GAŠAN É; MATTILA 2002, 169 (ADD 50), Rev. 1; 619 B.C.

<sup>786</sup> LÚ.A—SIG *ša* GAŠAN É *ša* DUMU—MAN; KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 200 (ADD 337), Rev. 7'.

<sup>787</sup> Lit-il *rab kišir ša* LÚ.A—SIG *ša* MÍ.É.GAL; KWASMAN 1988, 178 (ADD 494), Rev. 7-8.

the view that the queen – probably in consequence of an army reform of Sennacherib – had her own military units, more than she needed for her personal use as an escort. These units were probably regular bodyguard troops of the strength of at least a chariotry squadron.

It is obvious that the interpretation of the chariot warrior of the queen is much easier than the chariot warrior of the crown prince or other officials, since the royal ladies were probably not served as chariot warriors in their own chariots.

#### (6) Chariot warriors of Assyrian officials

As has been discussed, almost all of the Assyrian high officials and governors had their own chariotry units. However, written sources mention only the ‘chariot warrior of the Chief Eunuch’ (*māru damqu ša rab ša—rēšē*),<sup>788</sup> ‘chariot warrior of governor’ (*māru damqu ša bēl pīḥati*),<sup>789</sup> and the ‘chariot warrior of the governor of Kalḫu’ (*māru damqu ša bēl pīḥati ša Kalḫa*).<sup>790</sup> A letter written to Esarhaddon mentions the chariot warrior of the governor of Dēr,<sup>791</sup> who deserted but was caught by the governor together with other deserters. One Assyrian official (probably a governor) made a complaint to Sargon II about one of his chariot fighters, who for the second year had not gone on a campaign with him.<sup>792</sup>

#### (7) Chariot warriors of the gods

Similarly to the chariot drivers, a well identified group of chariot warriors can be connected to the service of gods. This group of chariot warriors includes the ‘chariot warrior of the gods’ (*māru damqu ša ilāni*),<sup>793</sup> the ‘chariot warrior of the *mušeziḫāte*’ (*māru damqu ša mušeziḫāte*),<sup>794</sup> and ‘*ša dunāni*’.<sup>795</sup> These three often occur together in the same text.<sup>796</sup> The *ša dunāni* (without an indication that he was a chariot warrior) can be connected to the above mentioned chariot driver of the *dunanāte* (*mukil appāte ša dunānāte*),<sup>797</sup> and in some way to gods, since one of the epithets of the goddess Ishtar was *bēlet dunāni* (lady of the *dunānu*).<sup>798</sup> An explicitly cultic function can be identified in the case of the chariot warrior of Aššur (LÚ.DUMU—SIG<sub>5</sub> *ša Aš-šur*) mentioned in a clear temple context.<sup>799</sup>

<sup>788</sup> Eridāiu LÚ.A—SIG<sub>5</sub> *ša GAL*—LÚ.SAG.MEŠ; POSTGATE 1973, 15 (ND 203), 46 (791 B.C.).

<sup>789</sup> Ilu-šumu-ka”in, LÚ.A—SIG *ša* LÚ.EN.NAM; MATTILA 2002, 60-61 (ADD 48-49), 5-6, 4-5; 658 B.C.

<sup>790</sup> Duduwa, LÚ.A—S[IG] *ša* LÚ.EN.NAM *ša* URU.Kal-*[ha]*; KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 151 (ADD 225), Rev. 6’-7’; 687 B.C.

<sup>791</sup> Rama-il LÚ.A—SIG *ša* LÚ.EN.NAM (LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 136 (ABL 140), 15-Rev. 1).

<sup>792</sup> FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 369 (CT 53, 453), 5’.

<sup>793</sup> LÚ.DUMU—SIG.MEŠ *ša* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni*; KINNIER WILSON 1972, 3:28 (784 B.C.); 6:17; 8:15 (791 B.C.); 12:7’; 13:8; 14:14; 16:13; 18:5; 33, I:9; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, nos. 123:13’; 137:4’.

<sup>794</sup> (LÚ.A—SIG) *ša* GIŠ.mu-še-zib-a-te; KINNIER WILSON 1972, 6:15; 8:21; 13:9; 15:2; 16:12; 18:4; 19:12; 20:7; 24:1; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, nos. 123:14’; 145, III:2 (784 B.C.). The meaning of *ša mušeziḫāte* (“archers protected by a wooden shield”) in this context is obscure. This context obviously favours a meaning which can be connected with the ‘protector’ or ‘cover’ meaning of a standard.

<sup>795</sup> *Ša dunāni* (*ša* GIŠ.du-na-ni); KINNIER WILSON 1972, 5, R. 7 (779 B.C.); 6:16; 7:4; 8:18 (791 B.C.); 13:16; 15:6; 16:16; 18:6a; 19:13; 20:8’; 21:7; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, nos. 124, R. 6; 127:3’; 134:8’; 145, III:4 (784 B.C.). *Ša dunāni* cannot be connected directly with a chariot type; only the fact that it was listed together with *ša ilāni*, and *ša mušeziḫāte* connects it to this context.

<sup>796</sup> See for example KINNIER WILSON 1972, 13 which lists at least four personnel, the identity of the third of which is unfortunately unknown: (8) LÚ.A—S[IG.M]EŠ *ša* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni*, (9) (LÚ.A—SIG) *ša* GIŠ.mu-še-zib.MEŠ, (15) LÚ.A—SIG.MEŠ *š[a ...]*, (16) (LÚ.A—SIG) *ša* GIŠ.du-na-*[n]*i.

<sup>797</sup> Rēmāni-Adad LÚ.mu-kil—KUŠ.PA.MEŠ *ša* du-na-na-te, MATTILA 2002, 21 (ADD 260), R. 10’. This Rēmāni-Adad was probably not the same as the chief chariot driver of Assurbanipal discussed below, whose career can be reconstructed between 671—660 B.C., and even earlier: REYNOLDS 2003, 92 (CT 54, 462), 7 (reign of Esarhaddon).

<sup>798</sup> EBELING 1919, 215, Rev. ii:13.

<sup>799</sup> COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 45 (ABL 555).

The hierarchy of the different types can be partly reconstructed from the ratios between the amounts listed in Nimrud Wine Lists.<sup>800</sup>

Chariot warriors are always shown as archers, but this characteristic is not directly supported by the cuneiform sources. There is only a single administrative text, an account of flax and wool, which lists chariot-fighters and archers together.<sup>801</sup> The chariot warriors used the chariots as moving firing platforms, which could easily shift the centre of gravity of a battle from one wing to the other. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C. they were clad in shorter or longer suits of scale armour, which had been replaced by the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. with uniform, short scale armour jackets<sup>802</sup> covering the upper body.

### *Tašlišu* ('third man,' shield bearer)

Altogether 90 'third men' of the Neo-Assyrian period are known by name from administrative texts and a further 42 fragmentary entries make a total of around 130. The earliest known 'third men' appear in the early 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>803</sup> As Chart 7 shows, at least 30 types and variants of the 'third men' appear in the cuneiform sources.

It is known from the cuneiform sources that the *tašlišu*,<sup>804</sup> who was originally the 'shield-bearing third man' on the chariot,<sup>805</sup> was a confidant of his lord. He escorted envoys and important men,<sup>806</sup> and brought news to his lord.<sup>807</sup> Several entries are known which specified the 'third man' with different epithets: 'third man of the chariot' (*tašlišu mugirrâte*),<sup>808</sup> 'third man of the reins' (*tašlišu ša appâte*),<sup>809</sup> 'third man of the shield' (*tašlišu ša arit*)<sup>810</sup> or 'regular third men' (*tašlišāni* S[AG.U]Š.MEŠ/*kaia mānū*),<sup>811</sup> or even the 'personal 'third man'' (*tašlišu qurbu*),<sup>812</sup> which would refer to the difference between those 'third men' who were members of military units and those who were personal attendants of different officials. These variants were probably simple attributes of the 'third men.' However, a few letters make it clear that a kind of promotion by the king would change the status of the 'third men' and other soldiers. A letter written to Esarhaddon mentions that the king promoted Nabû-sākip to the rank of permanent 'third man' (LÚ.3.U<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ *ka-a-ma-nu-te*),<sup>813</sup> while another letter asks the king to promote two 'third men' and two chariot drivers.<sup>814</sup> It is unfortunately

<sup>800</sup> KINNIER WILSON 1972, 118-120: 1 *qa, ša taḥ-lip*; 1.5 *qa, ša dunāni*; 3 *qa, mukil appāti ša mugirrâte*; 3 *qa, ša pattūte*; 4 *qa, bēl mugirrâte arad ekalli*; 6 *qa, mārē dammaqūte ša ilāni*; 6 *qa, ša mušezibāte*; 9 *qa, mārē dammaqūte ša [...]*; 9 *qa, tašlišāni*; 10 *qa, bēl mugirrâte*.

<sup>801</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 115 (ADD 953), 19-20.

<sup>802</sup> DEZSÓ 2002, DEZSÓ 2004A.

<sup>803</sup> Mušallim-Marduk LÚ.3.U<sub>5</sub> ša LÚ.GAL—SAG ('third man' of the Chief Eunuch), POSTGATE 1973, 17 (ND 496), L.E. 50, (783 B.C.).

<sup>804</sup> Assyrian scribes used several variants: LÚ.*taš-li-šu* (KINNIER WILSON 1972, 22:3); LÚ.*šal-ši-U<sub>5</sub>-šu* (MATTILA 2002, 311 (ADD 592), Rev. 6'); 3-*šu* (MATTILA 2002, 81 (ADD 618), Rev. 13); LÚ.3-*si* (MATTILA 2002, 157 (ADD 352), Rev. 7'); LÚ.3-*si-šu* (KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 323 (ADD 115), 6); most commonly: LÚ.3.U<sub>5</sub>; LÚ.3-*šu*.

<sup>805</sup> LÚ.3-*šu ša GIŠ.a-rit* (FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 390 (K.19520), Rev. 1).

<sup>806</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 235; LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 217.

<sup>807</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 47 (ABL 100).

<sup>808</sup> Zārūtī and Šamaš-nāšir, LÚ.3.U<sub>5</sub> GIGIR.MEŠ, FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 124 (ADD 912), I:4-7.

<sup>809</sup> [L]Ú.3-*šu ša a-pa*.MEŠ, KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 285 (ADD 632), R. 8', 9', 10'.

<sup>810</sup> LÚ.3-*šu ša GIŠ.a-rit*, FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 390 (K.19520), Rev. 1 (Sargon II); Bēl-dūri, LÚ.3-*šu ša a-rit*, KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 142 (ADD 324), 4 (692 B.C.).

<sup>811</sup> 3-*šu*.MEŠ S[AG.U]Š.MEŠ *ša KI-šu-nu (issišunu)* ("regular third men with their colleagues"), FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 154 (ADD 970+), Rev. II':19'.

<sup>812</sup> Urad-ahḫēšu, LÚ.3-*šu q[ur-bu]*, FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 9 (ADD 860), Rev. I:10.

<sup>813</sup> LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 115 (ABL 85), 11-12.

<sup>814</sup> LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 207 (CT 53, 249), 7'-11'.

not known whether ‘permanent’ status differed significantly from ‘non-permanent’ status or not, or whether it means that the ‘permanent third men’ became professionals (of the *kišir šarrūti*) or not.

Several ‘third men’ are identified in cuneiform sources with toponyms, which means that the chariotry units – similarly to other units of the army – were based and probably recruited on a territorial basis (see the ‘city units’ above). Such ‘third men’ are the ‘third man of *Libbi āli*’ (Assur) (*tašlišu libbi ālāia*),<sup>815</sup> ‘third man of Nineveh’ (*tašlišu ninuāiā*),<sup>816</sup> and the ‘Elamite third man’ (*tašlišu elammāiā*).<sup>817</sup> This text, which lists together the Ninevite ‘third men,’ the Ninevite chariot drivers, the Elamite ‘third men’ and Assyrian commanders-of-50 of the ‘third men’ together is a fragmentary account of a ceremonial banquet. The Elamite ‘third men’ were probably vassals serving in the Assyrian army, not necessarily using their cart-like chariots but Assyrian-type chariots as well: one of the sculptures of Forecourt H of the Southwest Palace of Nineveh shows a large Assyrian chariot (of the reign of Assurbanipal) with a crew of four Elamites: a driver, an archer and two spearmen.<sup>818</sup>

It is important to know that the crew members of the Assyrian chariots were organized into units separately, and not as chariot crews. Some texts (for example Nimrud Letter 89)<sup>819</sup> list them separately, as groups of chariot drivers (11), ‘third men’ (12), and chariot fighters/nobles (30/10). Another Nimrud Letter<sup>820</sup> lists large numbers of chariot crew members: 553 chariot drivers from Bīt-Adini and Bīt-Ukani; [x] chariot drivers and 1,157 ‘third men’ from Bīt-Adini and Sabhānu; 7 ‘third men’ from Larak; and 24 chariot drivers from the Ru’a tribe.

Types of ‘third men’ listed in *Chart 7* can be arranged in at least eight groups, as follows:

(1) ‘Third man’ of the king (*tašlišu ša šarri*)

Cuneiform sources use at least three terms denoting ‘third man of the king.’ Two of them, the ‘third man of the king’ (*tašlišu ša šarri*)<sup>821</sup> and the ‘third man of the palace’ (*tašlišu ekalli*)<sup>822</sup> could be understood as general categories connecting these ‘third men’ to the person of the king or his palace. A cultic commentary explains the role of the personal third man of the king during a religious ceremony.<sup>823</sup> The third type, however, the ‘third man of the royal cohort’ (*tašlišu kišir šarri*)<sup>824</sup> makes it clear that all these types might well have belonged to the *kišir šarrūti* (royal corps). ‘Third men of the royal corps’ could have served as confidant envoys of the king. Sargon II, for example, sent one of the ‘third men of the royal corps’ to Ašipâ (governor of Tīdu) with an order concerning the guard of the Urartian border.<sup>825</sup> Nabû-šumu-iddina, the inspector of the Nabû

<sup>815</sup> Lā-tega-ana-Issar LÚ.3.U<sub>5</sub> URU.ŠĀ.URU-a-a(*libbi ālāia*), MATTILA 2002, 169 (ADD 50), 6. 619 B.C.?

<sup>816</sup> LÚ.3-šú.MEŠ URU.NINA(Ninevite), FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 149 (ADD 1125), III’:9’.

<sup>817</sup> 3-šú.MEŠ NIM.MA-a-a(Elamite), FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 149 (ADD 1125), III’:9’; 152 (ADD 971), Rev. I’:1’.

<sup>818</sup> BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 16a.

<sup>819</sup> Nimrud Letter 89 (ND 2631), 6-12, SAGGS 1966, 177-191, no. 89; LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, no. 215; POSTGATE 2000, 89-108; FALES 2000, 40-43; SAGGS 2001, 128-130.

<sup>820</sup> ND 2619. PARKER 1961, 15-66.

<sup>821</sup> LÚ.3.U<sub>5</sub> ša LUGAL, LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 21 (ABL 506), 7 (Sargon II); 2 LÚ.taš-li-šá-nu ša LUGAL, REYNOLDS 2003, 72 (ABL 1090), 12’-17’ (Esarhaddon).

<sup>822</sup> Bēl-šarru-ibnī, LÚ.3-šú É.GAL, KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 46 (ADD 127), Rev. 1 (681 B.C.); Rapi’, LÚ.3-šú ša É.GAL, KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 287 (ADD 625), Rev. 9 (670 B.C.); LÚ.3.U<sub>5</sub> É.GAL, FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 36 (ADD 1036), III:13; [...]Bēlti, LÚ.3.U<sub>5</sub> KUR, MATTILA 2002, 319 (ADD 608), 3’.

<sup>823</sup> LIVINGSTONE 1989, 37 (CT 15, 43), 24’: ... the ‘third man’ who [puts] the whip in [the king’s] hand, takes him by the hand, leads him into the presence of the god and shows the whip to the god and the king is Nabu ...”

<sup>824</sup> Marduk-šarru-ušur, LÚ.3-šú KA.KEŠDA LUGAL, MATTILA 2002, 40 (ADD 325), Rev. 12 (625 B.C.).

<sup>825</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 21 (ABL 506), 7-10.

Temple of Calah, also asked Esarhaddon to send him orders concerning the cavalry mounts destined to cross over to Nineveh via ‘third men.’<sup>826</sup>

(2) ‘Third man’ of the crown prince (*tašlišu mār šarri*)

Similarly to other chariot personnel, the crown prince had his own ‘third men.’ As has been mentioned, in a few cases the text gives only the name of whoever the chariot personnel belonged to, and does not specify his title. The case of Danî, a crown prince(?) who had a chariot driver and a ‘third man’ as well,<sup>827</sup> is known. Another legal document, however, mentions in its witness list the ‘third man’ of a certain Sîn-šar-ilāni. The text does not specify the title of Sîn-šar-ilāni, but in the next line lists the ‘third man of the Commander-in-Chief,’<sup>828</sup> which means that Sîn-šar-ilāni was a well known and important member of the Assyrian establishment, probably a crown prince.

As can be judged from cuneiform evidence, the crown prince was not only in command of ‘third men’ for his personal service, but commanded whole chariotry units (with bodyguard or real fighting duties). A silver loan document of the Rēmanni-Adad archive for example lists five chariot drivers of the crown prince (*mukil appâte ša mār šarri*), a ‘third man of the crown prince’ (*tašlišu mār šarri*), and a ‘chief third man of the crown prince’ (*tašlišu dannu mār šarri*) as witnesses.<sup>829</sup> It is obvious that Rēmanni-Adad, the chief chariot driver of the king, was closely associated with the members of a chariotry unit of the crown prince. Sîn-ašarēd, the ‘chief third man of the crown prince’ (*tašlišu dannu mār šarri*) listed in the above mentioned document, dated to 666 B.C., changed position later, since in 664–663 B.C. he is mentioned in the other documents of the same archive as ‘third man of the crown prince’ (*tašlišu mār šarri*).<sup>830</sup> In one of these texts 23 military personnel are listed as witnesses: 1 chariot driver (*mukil appâte*), 4 chariot drivers of the crown prince (*mukil appâte ša mār šarri*), 1 ‘third man of the crown prince’ (*tašlišu mār šarri*), 6 ‘third men’ (*tašlišu*), 2 chariot men of the open chariotry (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ), 1 cohort commander of the *ša—šēpē* guard of the crown prince (*rab kišir ša—šēpē ša mār šarri*), 1 cohort commander of the *ša—qurbūte* guard of the crown prince (*rab kišir ša—qurbūte ša mār šarri*), 3 cohort commanders (*rab kišir*), 3 chariot warriors (*māru damqu*), 1 vice commander-of-the-teams (*šanû ša rab urâte*).<sup>831</sup> The witness lists of the Rēmanni-Adad archive show almost the whole range of the military officials of the crown prince, including his ‘third men.’

An interesting text listing deserters mentions two ‘third men of the crown prince,’ who were Elamites, which means that foreign units could serve in the contingent of the crown prince.<sup>832</sup>

<sup>826</sup> COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 83 (ABL 683).

<sup>827</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 152 (ADD 971), R. I’7’.

<sup>828</sup> KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 86 (ADD 261), Rev. 15’ [...] -aḥu-ušur LÚ.3-[šú] ša<sup>md</sup>30.LUGAL.DINGIR.MEŠ, 16’ [...] LÚ.[3-šú] ša LÚ.tur-ta-ni.

<sup>829</sup> KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 317 (ADD 60). Chariot driver of the crown prince: Nabû-zēru-iddina, Šamaš-šarru-ušur, Barruquq, Sakkannu, Šumma-ilāni; ‘third man of the crown prince’: Aḥu-lā-amašši; ‘chief third man of the crown prince’: Sîn-ašarēd; and a three more ‘chariot men of the open chariotry’ (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ): Nabû-zēru-iddina, Na’di-Adad, and [...] -iddina.

<sup>830</sup> KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991 KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 320 (ADD 377), Rev. 1’; 321 (ADD 439), Rev. 4’; 325 (ADD 470), Rev. 25’.

<sup>831</sup> KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 325 (ADD 470).

<sup>832</sup> Būr-Silā and Kudurru LÚ.3.-šú ša DUMU—MAN, LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 136 (ABL 140), 11-14.

(3) ‘Third man’ of the queen mother (*tašlišu ummi šarri*)<sup>833</sup> and the queen (*tašlišu ša MÍ.É.GAL*)<sup>834</sup> There is no evidence that the ‘third men’ of the royal ladies served in military units with real fighting duties. It seems that they served these ladies as members of their personal entourage or bodyguard.

(4) ‘Third men’ of high officials

As has been discussed, the Assyrian magnates commanded their own military units including cavalry and chariotry. Šulmu-bēli, deputy of palace herald (*šanû ša nāgir ekalli*), for example, received orders from Sargon II to summon chariot men, including a ‘third man’ (for a campaign?). He answered that the chariot owner (EN.GIŠ.GIGIR) would summon him.<sup>835</sup> In a letter from Tāb-šar-Aššur to Sargon II, the treasurer (*masennu*) reported to the king that a ‘third man’ called Arbailāiu showed him a place where the Assyrian army could cross a river in flood and could pitch camp.<sup>836</sup> In this case Arbailāiu acted primarily not in his ‘third man’ capacity, but probably as an officer in charge of reconnaissance. It is easily conceivable that the larger, independently operating Assyrian military units had their own reconnaissance officers – and the best candidates for this role were obviously the cavalry and chariotry. Administrative documents list some ‘third men’ of high officials in their witness lists: the ‘third man’ of the Commander-in-Chief (*tašlišu ša turtāni*)<sup>837</sup> who appears together with the ‘third man’ of Šin-šar-ilāni mentioned above. The ‘third man’ of another prominent Assyrian high official, Ša-Nabû-šû, is mentioned in a witness list.<sup>838</sup> If he is the Chief Eunuch (*rab ša — rēšē*) of Esarhaddon/Assurbanipal – which would explain why he appears without a title in this context – his ‘third man’ was probably for his personal service. The first ‘third man’ who is known by name was also a ‘third man of the Chief Eunuch’ (*tašlišu ša rab ša — rēšē*), as early as 783 B.C.<sup>839</sup> Since – at the latest from the reign of Sargon II – the Chief Eunuch commanded the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*), his subordinates with real fighting duties, the officers of the royal corps, including the ‘third man of the Chief Eunuch’ (*tašlišu ša rab ša — rēšē*)<sup>840</sup> are usually mentioned as the officers of the Chief Eunuch. As has been discussed, foreign chariotry units also belonged to the *kišir šarrūti*. The ‘Ašqelonian third man of the Chief Eunuch’ could also have belonged to one of these (deportee) units.<sup>841</sup> Administrative texts mention the ‘third man of the chief cupbearer’ (*tašlišu ša rab šāqê*) as well.<sup>842</sup>

(5) ‘Third men’ of governors and other officials

The governors commanded military units, including chariotry. Legal texts list ‘third men’ of Assyrian governors and other officials in their witness lists, while the royal correspondence shows them in action. The ‘third men’ of the witness lists, for example the ‘third man of the

<sup>833</sup> Bēl-ahhēšu LÚ.3-šû AMA—MAN, FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), Rev. 1:7; [...] LÚ.3-šû ša MÍ.É.GAL, KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 253 (ADD 428), Rev. 8’.

<sup>834</sup> Nabû-šarru-ušur LÚ.3-šû ša MÍ.É.GAL, KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 164 (ADD 612), Rev. 11-12 (686 B.C.).

<sup>835</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 141 (CT 53, 131).

<sup>836</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 47 (ABL 100).

<sup>837</sup> KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 86 (ADD 261), Rev. 16’.

<sup>838</sup> Marduk-bēlu-ušur [LÚ.3].U<sub>5</sub> ša <sup>m</sup>šā-<sup>a</sup>PA-su-u(Ša-Nabû-šû), KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 295 (ADD 71), 4’-5’.

<sup>839</sup> Mušallim-Marduk LÚ.3.U<sub>5</sub> ša LÚ.GAL—SAG (‘third man’ of the Chief Eunuch), POSTGATE 1973, 17 (ND 496), L.E. 50, (783 B.C.).

<sup>840</sup> Šin-iddina LÚ.3.U<sub>5</sub> (Ša LÚ.GAL—SAG), KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 1 (ADD 75), Rev. 11 (742 B.C.); Aḫu-lā-amašši [LÚ.3-šû] LÚ.GAL—SAG, KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 334 (ADD 429a-b-c), Rev. 24’, 671—660 B.C. He appears in the Rēmāni-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).

<sup>841</sup> Abdi-Ēl LÚ.3-šû KUR.Īš-qa-lu-na-a-a GAL—SAG, PARKER 1961, 28-29, ND 2451, 20.

<sup>842</sup> Kišir-Issar LÚ.3.U<sub>5</sub> ša LÚ.GAL KAŠ.LUL, KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 210 (ADD 330), Rev. 7-8, 676 B.C.

governor of Laḫiru' (*tašlišu ša bēl pīḫati ša Laḫiri*),<sup>843</sup> the 'third man of the deputy' (governor) (*tašlišu ša šanū*),<sup>844</sup> the 'third man (and chariot driver) of the palace scribe' (*tašlišu ša LÚ.A.BA—KUR*),<sup>845</sup> or the 'third man of the prefect' (*tašlišu ša šaknu*)<sup>846</sup> are probably at the personal service of their lords. A few witness lists mention 'third men' designated by the name and not the title of their lord,<sup>847</sup> which makes identification impossible. If these texts use only the name of the lord of the 'third man,' he must have been a well-known member of the community. Moreover, the 'third man' of the governor of Laḫiru appears together with his lord, Nergal-ilā'ī the governor, his deputy, and his chariot driver: they are the owners of the village which the eunuch of the crown prince of Babylon bought from them in 670 B.C. – so this was not only the personal 'third man' of the governor but his confidant as well, and would have played an important role in the administration of the province of Laḫiru. The 'third man of the chamberlain' (*tašlišu ša muḫḫi bētāni*), however, appears in larger numbers. A post canonical legal text lists two 'third men of the chamberlain' in its witness list<sup>848</sup> together with other chariotry personnel, which means that the chamberlain probably commanded a military chariotry unit. Another 'third man of the chamberlain' appears in another legal text<sup>849</sup> dated to 633 B.C. One of the texts of the Nimrud Horse Lists (probably from the reign of Sargon II) mentions the chamberlain, who replaced three chariots and stored their copper fittings and shields in a box.<sup>850</sup> The other group of cuneiform sources, the royal correspondence, shows the 'third men' in action. Sargon II sent the following order to Aššur-šarru-ušur, the governor of Que: "As to Ba[lāssu concerning whom you wrote] ... let one of your 'third men' pick him up post-haste and let him come here. I will speak kindly with him and encourage him, and in due course I will send word and have his people (being kept) here returned, and he too can go and re-enter his house."<sup>851</sup> A similar important 'quasi-diplomatic' role can be reconstructed from a fragmentary letter concerning the mission of a *rab mūgi* officer and probably a 'third man' (of a governor?) in the court of the king of Arpad.<sup>852</sup> The 'third man' of Ša-Aššur-dubbu (governor of Tušhan) for example was sent by his lord to select 500 roof beams along the Urtian border mountains, but as soon as he finished the selection and had felled and piled up the beams, he would set out and assemble the troops.<sup>853</sup> In this case the 'third man' was not only the confidant of his lord, but a trusted officer of the governor able to organize a tree-felling operation and to conduct the assembly of troops. Another governor, probably Taklāk-ana-Bēli, sent two persons with the escort of his 'third man' to the king to settle a dispute.<sup>854</sup> In one of his several reports to Sargon II, Adad-issā (governor of Māzamua) gave an account of events that had taken place on the Mannaeian border.<sup>855</sup> When he received orders

<sup>843</sup> Murašû LÚ.3-šú ša LÚ.EN.NAM ša KUR.La-ḫi-ri, KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 287 (ADD 625), 4, 670 B.C.

<sup>844</sup> [...] LÚ.3-šú ša LÚ.2-u(šanū), KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 57 (ADD 253), Rev. 8'.

<sup>845</sup> LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 78 (ABL 211), 4.

<sup>846</sup> Šin-aḫū'a-ušur LÚ.3.U<sub>5</sub> ša LÚ.GAR-nu (FAIST 2007, 15 (VAT 9838), 2-3, 715 B.C.), Assur.

<sup>847</sup> Nabû'a LÚ.3-šú ša Šēpē-Issar ša ina IGI Šumma-eššu ('third man' of Šēpē-Issar in the service of Šumma-eššu), DONBAZ – PARPOLA 2001, 37 (A 2621), 1-3, 5-6 (666 B.C.), Assur.

<sup>848</sup> Bēl-dān and Šar-Issar LÚ.3-šú ša LÚ.šá UGU É-a-ni, MATTILA 2002, 21 (ADD 260), Rev. 5-6.

<sup>849</sup> Bēl-liḫsur LÚ.3-šú ša LÚ.šá UGU É-a-ni, MATTILA 2002, 17 (ADD 214), Rev. 9'. He appears in the same year in an Assur private legal text as a witness: Bēl-liḫsur 3-šú (RADNER 1991, 34 (VAT 15461), Rev. 18).

<sup>850</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 96, 7-9, 19-21.

<sup>851</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 1 (NL 39).

<sup>852</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 2 (CT 53, 502).

<sup>853</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 32 (ABL 705).

<sup>854</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 235 (ABL 639).

<sup>855</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 217 (ABL 342), Rev. 6-22.



from the king to depart, the troops of Adad-issīa entered the Mannaeen territory and he sent his ‘third man’ to mobilize the troops of the ‘widow’ encamped opposite the Assyrians on his side of the border. She replied that she was sick, and her son was sick too, but she offered to send her brother with the troops. The governor sent his ‘third man’ to the brother who had not yet showed up. The ‘third man’ of the governor – as a confidant of his lord – was a kind of emissary, who had to collect the auxiliary troops of Assyrian vassals for the campaign. The most important text is, however, another letter from Adad-issīa, in which he reported to Sargon II on the troops of Māzamua, including 11 chariot drivers, 12 third men, and 30 chariot fighters with 53 grooms, altogether 106 chariot troops.<sup>856</sup> This text shows the ‘third men’ of a provincial chariotry unit, who have to be distinguished from the personal ‘third men’ of the governors who, as has been discussed above, played an important role as emissaries and representatives of their lord.

(6) ‘Third man’ of the left and right

Another phrase, the ‘third man of the left,’ regular or permanent (*tašlišu šumēli* SAG.UŠ.MEŠ),<sup>857</sup> however, denotes a ‘third man’ of the left wing of the army – the battle or marching order (or recruiting district?). As will be discussed in a separate volume, the Assyrian army – or at least its battle order – was divided into left, centre and right. It is possible that the ‘third man of the left’ refers to this division. Much later, during the reign of Darius I (521–486 B.C.), appears the title of the ‘(prefect) of the ‘third men’ of the left’ (LÚ.šak-nu šá LÚ.da-šá-li-šá-nu šá 2,30)<sup>858</sup> and ‘third men of the right’ (LÚ.šak-nu šá LÚ.da-šá-li-šá-nu šá XV).<sup>859</sup> This continuity shows that the Babylonian chariotry troops of the Achaemenid army were still divided (probably not only on an administrative level) into two parts.

(7) Officers of ‘third men’

The ‘third men,’ similarly to other members of the chariot crew, had their own hierarchy and officers.

(a) ‘Chief third man’ (*tašlišu dannu*)

The rank of the ‘chief third man’ appears first in the cuneiform sources in Nimrud Wine Lists (first half of 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C.).<sup>860</sup> Similarly to this Nimrud Wine List two texts of the Nimrud Horse Lists mention the ‘chief third man’ together with the ‘deputy third man.’<sup>861</sup> Reconstructing the position of the ‘chief third man’ in the military hierarchy of the chariotry two possibilities have to be taken into account: the ‘chief third man’ was at the top of the military hierarchy of the ‘third men’ of an army contingent, or he was the officer of a certain number of ‘third men’ (for example of a squadron). The Nimrud Horse Lists support the first idea. As *Chart 9* shows both the ‘chief third man’ and his deputy appear in the headquarters staff section of the army, which means that they were high ranking military officials and served on the headquarters staff. The administrative documents of the Rēmanni-Adad archive, however, mention three ‘chief third

<sup>856</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 215 (NL 89); POSTGATE 2000; FALES 2000, 40-43; SAGGS 2001, 128-130.

<sup>857</sup> 3-šú.MEŠ KAB(*šumēli*) SAG.UŠ.MEŠ (permanent), FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 150 (ADD 834+), II:2’.

<sup>858</sup> CLAY 1904, 130, 31; 131, 28; 26, 4-5.

<sup>859</sup> CLAY 1904, 36, 3-4; 117, 16; 127, 13; 128, 17.

<sup>860</sup> KINNIER WILSON 1972, 10, 5: [LÚ.3.]U<sub>3</sub> KAL(*dannu*), 6: [LÚ.3.U<sub>3</sub>] 2-ú(*šanû*).

<sup>861</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, I:10: LÚ.3.U<sub>3</sub> *dan-nu*, 11: LÚ.3.U<sub>3</sub> 2-*u(šanû)*; 110, I:4’: LÚ.3.U<sub>3</sub> *dan-nu*; 5’: LÚ.3.U<sub>3</sub> 2-*u(šanû)*.

men' (*tašlišu dannu*)<sup>862</sup> and a 'chief third man of the crown prince' (*tašlišu dannu ša mār šarri*)<sup>863</sup> – which appeared probably following an army reform of Sennacherib. It has to be mentioned that all of these four 'chief third men' during their careers – as *Chart 2* shows – served as 'third men' or 'third man of the crown prince' as well. It is not known whether the position of the 'chief third man' was a military rank or an assignment or post.

(b) 'Deputy third man' (*tašlišu šanû*)<sup>864</sup>

It seems that the Akkadian phrase can be understood as 'deputy third man' and not 'second third man' as indicated by Scurlock<sup>865</sup> since the second 'third man' appears sporadically in the palace reliefs of Sargon II (*see above*) and regularly in the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal, and 'deputy third men' – as has been discussed above – appear in the cuneiform evidence much earlier. The Nimrud Horse Lists have shown that the 'chief third man' and the 'deputy third man' could belong to the headquarters staff of an expeditionary army. The 'deputy third man of the crown prince' (*tašlišu šanû mār šarri*)<sup>866</sup> could play a similar role, since from the reign of Sennacherib the crown princes could command an effective army force.

(c) 'Commander-of-50 of the third men' (*rab ḥanšē ša tašlišāni*)

It seems that there were separate hierarchies within the troops of chariot crews: the *tašlišāni* for example (only?) had *rab ḥanšē* (LÚ.GAL—50) officers, who commanded 50 of them.<sup>867</sup> The fact that the crew members of the chariot were organized into separate units by their function and not by chariots is reinforced by the appearance of officers such as the 'commander-of-50 of the third men of the ša—šēpē guard' (*rab ḥanšē ša tašlišāni ša—šēpē*),<sup>868</sup> or the 'Assyrian commander-of-50 of the third men' (*Aššurāia rab ḥanšē ša tašlišāni*).<sup>869</sup> It is important to mention that these 'commanders-of-50 of third men' all appear in the same group of texts, in accounts of ceremonial banquets in the royal court – these officers ranked high enough in the Assyrian military establishment to participate in such a banquet. The 'Assyrian commander-of-50 of the third men' makes a distinction between Assyrian and non-Assyrian chariot troops. As has been discussed above, the letter of Adad-issīa,<sup>870</sup> governor of Māzāmua, made a similar distinction between the Assyrian members and the non-Assyrian (Itu'ean and Gurrean) infantrymen of his provincial troops.

<sup>862</sup> Nergal-šarru-ušur I, LÚ.3-šú *dan-nu*, Kwasman – Parpola 1991, 334 (ADD 429a-b-c), Rev. 20'; 339 (ADD 408), Rev. 2'; Nergal-šarru-ušur II, LÚ.3-šú [*dan-nu*], Kwasman – Parpola 1991, 314 (ADD 448), Rev. 9 (666 B.C.); 342 (ADD 247), Rev. 3'; Uarbisi, LÚ.3-si-šú *dan-nu*, Kwasman – Parpola 1991, 335 (ADD 418), Rev. 14'; [...] LÚ.3-šú *dan-nu*, Kwasman – Parpola 1991, 340 (ADD 372), Rev. 7'.

<sup>863</sup> Šin-ašarēd, LÚ.3-šú *dan-nu ša* DUMU.MAN, Kwasman – Parpola 1991, 317 (ADD 60), Rev. 1 (666 B.C.). Later on he appears as third man of the crown prince: Kwasman – Parpola 1991, 320 (ADD 377), Rev. 1' (664 B.C.); 321 (ADD 439), Rev. 4' (664 B.C.); 325 (ADD 470), Rev. 25' (663 B.C.).

<sup>864</sup> Abdu-Aguni, LÚ.3.U<sub>5</sub> 2-*i(šani)*, Kwasman – Parpola 1991, 127 (ADD 179), Rev. 5' (697 B.C.).

<sup>865</sup> Scurlock 1997, 492.

<sup>866</sup> Aššur-rēmāni, LÚ.3-šú 2-u A—MAN, Mattila 2002, 53 (ADD 345), Rev. 6' (PC).

<sup>867</sup> GAL—50.MEŠ 3-šú.MEŠ [...], Fales – Postgate 1992, 157 (ADD 838+), Rev. II:6.

<sup>868</sup> GAL—50.MEŠ *ša tašlišāni* ĠR.2(*šēpē*), Fales – Postgate 1992, 148 (ADD 1083), Rev. II:5'; [...] MEŠ *ša* 3-šú.MEŠ ĠR.2(*šēpē*), Fales – Postgate 1992, 149 (ADD 834+++), III:3'.

<sup>869</sup> KUR.AŠ(Assyrian) GAL—50.MEŠ *ša tašlišāni*, Fales – Postgate 1992, 149 (ADD 1125), Rev. II:8.

<sup>870</sup> Lanfranchi – Parpola 1990, 215 (NL 89); Postgate 2000; Fales 2000, 40-43; Saggs 2001, 128-130.

LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR (*susānu/šušānu*, ‘chariot man,’ ‘chariot groom,’ ‘chariot troop,’  
‘chariot horse trainer,’ ‘Pferdeknecht’)

As the translations show, the most controversial identification belongs to LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR. A single Neo-Assyrian administrative text<sup>871</sup> lists LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR and *susānu* together. This fragmentary text probably lists more than 25 horse trainers in the following order: [...] 4 horse trainers (LÚ.*su-sa-ni*) of the *zun(zurāḫu)*, altogether 8 in the charge of Aḫu’a-lāmur of the city of Ḫalzu; 2 horse trainers (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR), 4 horse trainers (*su*), [...], altogether 23 (horse trainers), [...], horse trainer of the teams (LÚ.*su-sa-nu ú-re-e*). It seems that the horse trainers were organized on a territorial basis. Although, following Parpola’s reconstruction,<sup>872</sup> the present study accepts the LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR = *susānu* identification, subsequent distinctions between the two terms (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR and *susānu*) in this text shows that some difference might have existed at that time.

The *susānu* title appears in Middle Assyrian texts, especially those concerned with horse breeding.<sup>873</sup> The word originates from Indo-Iranian *aśva-śani* (‘looking after horses’).<sup>874</sup> Furthermore, the Neo-Babylonian use of the term (*šušānu*) differs characteristically from that of the Neo-Assyrian, and as illustrated in CAD, designates a handler of animals in general, not only of horses.<sup>875</sup> Consequently the present study will omit an excursus on the Neo-Babylonian use of the term – even if it would have had military importance.<sup>876</sup>

Other Akkadian words designate grooms. The *kartappu*, for example, appears in a characteristically Babylonian (OB, MB, and NB) and Hittite contexts,<sup>877</sup> and is almost unknown in the Assyrian records. A single letter written to Esarhaddon from Babylonia mentions a *kartappu* (LÚ.KIR<sub>4</sub>.DAB.ANŠE, translated as chariot driver), who was a higher ranking official, before whom the commandant of Kutha would have to be tried.<sup>878</sup>

As has been discussed in the chapter on cavalry (Grooms), Assyrian palace reliefs offer a wide range of contexts in which the grooms – dressed in a garment which differs from the clothes of the cavalymen – were depicted.

As Chart 8 shows at least 20 types and variants of the word ‘chariot man’ (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR) with a further 21 variants designated by toponyms, and three types of their officers are known from written sources. The different types of the term appear characteristically in three different types of cuneiform documents: royal correspondence, administrative texts, and legal documents (witness lists of private archives).

(1) Chariot man / chariot horse trainer (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR)

The title means literally ‘chariot man,’ and only two entries connect it directly to horses.<sup>879</sup> The royal correspondence does not offer any clue for the reconstruction of this title/profession/post.

<sup>871</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 123 (ADD 852).

<sup>872</sup> PARPOLA 1976, 172.

<sup>873</sup> EBELING 1951, 11 A Rev. 5; 16 Ac Rev. 3.

<sup>874</sup> REINER *et al.*, 1992B, 379.

<sup>875</sup> REINER *et al.*, 1992B, 378-380, s.v. *šušānu*.

<sup>876</sup> It is interesting that in the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid period – similarly to other professions – the *šušānu*-s were organized into ‘associations’ (*ḫatru*, which could mean a kind of dependence?), for example: CLAY 1904, 64:7, 79:3, 112:5, 9, 11.

<sup>877</sup> OPPENHEIM *et al.*, 1971, s.v. *kartappu*.

<sup>878</sup> REYNOLDS 2003, 131 (CT 54, 37), 13.

<sup>879</sup> Royal inscription of Esarhaddon: LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *ú-rat*; BORGER 1956, § 80:7; Nergal-šarru-ušur LÚ.GIGIR *ša u-rat* (chariot man of teams (of horses)), KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 239 (ADD 256), Rev. 6’ (676 B.C.).

The translations of LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR range without any contextual relevance from ‘chariot groom’<sup>880</sup> to ‘trainer of horses.’<sup>881</sup> The translations of three letters written by different officials to Sargon II, however, use the more general term ‘chariot troops,’ which is – in the opinion of the present writer – the best possible solution. Bēl-liqbî wrote to Sargon II about a debate between him and probably a chariotry commander, who opened up the silos of the governor referring to a royal order, but without the permission of the deputy governor, for the horses of his ‘chariot troops.’<sup>882</sup> Another letter of an unknown official refers to a similar argument concerning the provisions of ‘chariot troops.’<sup>883</sup> The third letter lists the contingents of a provincial army, including the chariot troops,<sup>884</sup> Gurreans, Itu’eans, etc. In this case the Akkadian uses the ERIM.MEŠ ša GIŠ.GI[GIR] formula, which means literally ‘chariot troops.’ The most important text, however, the letter of Adad-issīa,<sup>885</sup> uses the term LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR three times. In line 11, at the end of the second section, the term appears as 53 LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ which was translated by everyone as ‘53 grooms’ (of the teams). However, in line 13 the 106 ERIM.MEŠ was translated by Postgate as ‘106 chariot troops’ and by Saggs as ‘106 chariot personnel.’ Lanfranchi and Parpola understood this line as summarizing 106 men and 30 chariots. This summary line is a section break which summarizes 11 chariot drivers, 12 third men, 30 chariot fighters, and 53 grooms (or as Postgate reconstructed: 11 chariot drivers, 12 third men, 10 nobles, 53 grooms and 20 team commanders, or as Saggs reconstructed: 11 chariot drivers, 12 third men, 10 messengers, 53 grooms, and 20 team commanders). The term was used for the second time in the next section, in line 13 as 130 LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ, where it was translated by Lanfranchi – Parpola, Postgate, and Saggs as 130 grooms. It appears again in lines 14-15 as 343 grooms (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ), which is another section break summarizing the following groups: 161 cavalymen (LÚ.šá—*pēthallāte*), 130 grooms (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ), and 52 *zunzurāḫi* men. So it means that Adad-issīa, or his scribe, counted all these personnel (including cavalymen, chariot grooms, and *zunzurāḫi*) as LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ, which must have been used as a general term for chariot troops. Furthermore, a Nimrud ration list (ND 2803) mentions a large group (201) of chariot men (LÚ.GIGIR). They received 187 homers and 2 *sūtu* (18.720 litres) of bread for the men and fodder for the horses for three months.<sup>886</sup> These 201 chariot men might well have formed one or two chariotry squadrons. These numbers are too large for a non-fighting group, since one groom could provision and take care of up to five horses at a time.

As will be discussed later, there were at least three chariot types to which chariot men or chariot horse trainers belonged. Besides the normal (war) chariot two other types of chariot can be reconstructed from the title of a military personnel attached to this chariot type: ‘chariot man of the open chariotry’ (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ, *susānu pattūte*?) and ‘chariot man of the *taḫlīpu* chariotry’ (LÚ.GIGIR ša GIŠ.*taḫ-līp*). If the LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR means ‘chariot horse trainer,’ the question arises of whether the chariot horse trainers were attached to different units (of normal chariotry, open, and *taḫlīpu* chariotry), or the horses of these three chariot types needed different training.

<sup>880</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 37 (CT 53, 307), Rev. 7: LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ GÌR.2(*šēpē*) (chariot grooms of the *ša—šēpē* guard).

<sup>881</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 215 (ABL 933), 5: [LÚ].GIŠ.GIGIR.

<sup>882</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 181 (ABL 1070), 7: LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ.

<sup>883</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 182 (CT 53, 888), 5’, Rev. 7: LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR[.MEŠ].

<sup>884</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 277 (CT 53, 305), 9’: ERIM.MEŠ ša GIŠ.GI[GIR].

<sup>885</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 215; POSTGATE 2000; FALES 2000, 40-43; SAGGS 2001, 128-130.

<sup>886</sup> PARKER 1961, 55-61, ND 2803, Obv. II:13’-15’.

The term appears for the first time in an Alalakh tablet, mentioning a ‘charioteer,’ who is equipped with a bow.<sup>887</sup> This means that the LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR in the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C. was a fighting member of the crew, and not a simple groom. In the Assyrian cuneiform corpus the term appears first in 749 B.C. in a legal document from Nimrud, which lists two ‘charioteers’ as witnesses.<sup>888</sup> One of the legal documents of the Kišir-Aššur archive in its witness section lists no less than 13 chariot men, 7 of whom were LÚ.GIGIR, and 6 of whom served as chariot men of the *ša—šēpē* guard (LÚ.GIGIR *ša—šēpē*).<sup>888</sup> Kišir-Aššur, a *qurbūtu* officer of the crown prince (*qurbūtu ša mār šarri*) bought a woman from Bēl-aḥḥēšu, a chariot man of the *ša—šēpē* guard (LÚ.GIGIR *ša—šēpē*). It is obvious that the large number of chariot men listed as witnesses were comrades of the seller. The fact that the two types of chariot men appear together suggests that they were closely connected. A further reason for the fact that military personnel with the same duties appear in large numbers in the witness lists of legal documents might be that they lived or were stationed together in units in a certain region (village, town) of the empire, since the army was organized on a territorial basis. The ‘town of chariot horse trainers’ (URU.LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ, Susānu town) is for example mentioned in a cuneiform document.<sup>890</sup> The same kind of settlement appears in another form (URU.*su-sa-nu*) as well.<sup>891</sup> This means that the chariot men or horse trainers could live in separate towns or villages as military or quasi-military communities (*see* above, the villages of the Itu’eans in the chapter on light infantry). Another example, a legal text, shows that a chariot owner (LÚ.EN—GIŠ.GIGIR) and a chariot warrior were neighbours.<sup>892</sup> A further example comes from the archive of Kakkullānu, a cohort commander, where one of his neighbours was a chariot man (LÚ.GIGIR).<sup>893</sup> As has been discussed, the Kakkullānu archive provides further examples of this phenomenon.<sup>894</sup> It is not known whether they lived in the same village, town or city, in the same neighbourhood designed to accommodate members of military units. The question is obvious: what was the settlement pattern (if it existed at all) of an army organized on a territorial basis? Were there settlements inhabited by professional or semi-professional soldiers or military personnel with specific duties? It is necessary to distinguish between these professional settlements and the ‘military bases’ where Assyrian military units were temporarily stationed and reviewed.<sup>895</sup> The third possibility is a kind of neighbourhood

<sup>887</sup> WISEMAN 1953B, 206:1 (1 GIŠ.BAN *a-na Ak-ka-di* LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR).

<sup>888</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 68, Rev. 6-7: Mušallim-Issar and [...] -risa, LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR [...]. A fragmentary passage dated to around 784 B.C. may refer to a chariot man: [LÚ.]GIŠ.GIGIR[X X GA]L *u-ra*[t ...] (DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 119, Rev. 1).

<sup>889</sup> MATTILA 2002, 29 (ADD 207), Rev. 8-14: Qurdi-Adad, Šulmu-aḥḥē, Šalam-aḥḥē, Kusāia, Bēl-šarru-ušur, Aššur-šumu-ka’ in, Ubru-Ekurri, LÚ.GIGIR; Obv. 1-2: Bēl-aḥḥēšu, and Rev. 15-19: Šumu-ukīn, Bēl-Ḥarrān-šarru-ušur, Arbailāiu, Ḥambagu, Mannu-kī-Arbail, LÚ.GIGIR *ša—šēpē*. 636 B.C.?

<sup>890</sup> MATTILA 2002, 258 (ADD 396).

<sup>891</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 163 (ADD 904+).

<sup>892</sup> KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 204 (ADD 364), 5: Bibī chariot owner (EN.GIŠ.GIGIR) and Nabū-kēnu-dugul chariot fighter (LÚ.A—SIG), 679. VII. 13.

<sup>893</sup> MATTILA 2002, 35 (ADD 349), Rev. 10: <sup>md</sup>PA(Nabū)-ba-ni LÚ.GIGIR.

<sup>894</sup> Kakkullānu, a cohort commander (*rab kišir*) in 625 B.C.(?) bought a house in Nineveh from Šarru-lū-dārī LÚ.GIGIR *ša* LÚ.GAL—SAG *ša* A—MAN. His neighbours included: Kanūnāiu, *rab kišir* (MATTILA 2002, 40 (ADD 325), Rev. 8), his witnesses included 7 cohort commanders and 3 *ša—qurbūte*; in the same year he leased 20 hectares of fields in Qurubi. His neighbours included: Urdu, *rab kišir* and Nabū-balāssu-iqbī *rab kišir* (MATTILA 2002, 41 (ADD 623), 7, 8). His witnesses included 2 cohort commanders of the crown prince (*rab kišir ša mār šarri*); in the same year he bought 20 hectares of land in Abi-ilā’i. His neighbours included: Baṭṭāia *rab* 50, Kišir-Aššur *rab kišir*, Ubru-Nabū *rab kišir* (MATTILA 2002, 42 (ADD 414), 12, 18, and *passim*). They had more neighbouring fields. His witnesses included 5 cohort commanders and 3 *ša—qurbūte*. In 623 B.C.(?) he leased more land in Bīt-Abi-ilā’i. His neighbours included Kišir-Aššur *rab kišir ša mār šarri*, and Ubru-Nabū *rab kišir ša mār šarri* (MATTILA 2002, 45 (ADD 621), 13, Rev. 12, 14).

<sup>895</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 251 (ABL 567+).

pattern in larger towns or cities. As has been discussed, Assyrian military units were stationed or recruited from different villages, towns or cities of the empire. Administrative texts from Assur list, for example, large numbers of chariot men attached to or recruited from different towns of the empire.<sup>896</sup> These personnel probably served in the units which were recruited from these towns.

An obvious question has to be answered at this point: is there any connection between the associations (*ḥaṭru*) of military personnel (for example of ‘third men’ (LÚ.ḥaṭri ša LÚ.tašlišāni), of horse trainers (LÚ.ḥaṭri ša LÚ.šušāni), and of *māḥiṣu* (*ḥaṭri ša LÚ.māḥiṣi*) of the Achaemenid Babylonia and the villages or neighbourhoods of the Assyrian soldiers, which are being reconstructed here? The nature of these associations is unknown, there is no information on their possible territorial character,<sup>897</sup> and the link between the Assyrian and Achaemenid systems is missing.

Sometimes the term appears in an attributive construction as ‘chariot man of the king’ (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR MAN/LUGAL(šarri)<sup>898</sup>). An administrative text, for example, lists five of them<sup>899</sup> – obviously members of the same unit. They received (travelling) provisions from the Palace (from the palace chamberlain, *rab ekalli*).<sup>900</sup> As two texts from the Tall Šēh Hamad archive show,<sup>901</sup> during the reign of Assurbanipal royal chariot men (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR MAN) lived or were stationed in provincial centres of the empire as well. *Šušānu*-s of the king are well known from the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods as well.<sup>902</sup> Two texts of the post-canonical Kakkullānu archive show interesting careers. Nabû-tāriš (if he was the same person) served as *ša—šēpē*, as ‘chariot man of the crown prince’ (GIŠ.GIGIR ša mār šarri), and as chariot man of the king (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MAN).<sup>903</sup> The other officer is Aššur-killāni, who during a certain period of his career served as *ša—qurbūte*: one text mentions him as ‘chariot man of the king’ (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR MAN), and later on he became a cohort commander (*rab kišir*) and cohort commander of the crown prince (*rab kišir ša mār šarri*). The most important thing is that (if he was the same person) he changed service twice within a year (during the *limmu* of Šalam-šarri-iqbī, 630 B.C.), which was not necessarily a promotion.<sup>904</sup> Unfortunately the chronological sequence of the post-

<sup>896</sup> SCHROEDER 1920, 31, 2-3: ša URU.Qa-ma-ni; 5-6: ša URU.Ab-ba-ni; 8-9: ša URU.Ra-da-ni; 11-12: ša URU.Sa-re-e; 17-18: ša URU.Til-Ū-li-na; 26-27: ša URU.ŠE I-li-ti; 29-30: ša URU.Ma-li-ku; 32, 2-3: ša URU.Ar-ra-[ap-ḥa]; Rev. 6’-7’: ša URU.Su-ti- [...]; 34, 4-5: ša URU.Ra-at-me; 35, 4-5: ša URU.ŠE “MAŠ.MAŠ; 36:3-4: ša URU.Kil-pa-ḥa; 37, 4’-5’: ša URU.Ra- [...]; 131, 1-2: LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR [ša URU.]Tū-ḥu-na; 4-5: ša URU.[...]du- [...]di; 7-8: ša URU.Ḥi-la-wi; 10-11: ša URU.Ḥul-la-ri; Rev. 4-5: ša URU.Pi-iq-da-ni; 7-8: ša URU.Ḥu-du-pa; 10-11: [ša URU.R]a-pi-ḥi.

<sup>897</sup> Only a few cases are known when these associations were attached to ‘houses,’ for example to the ‘house of the team commander’ (ša LÚ.GAL—úr-ra-a-tū), CLAY 1912A, 198:4, or the ‘association of the horse trainers of the house of the team commander’ (*ḥaṭri ša LÚ.šušāni*.MEŠ ša bīt rab urātu), KRÜCKMANN 1933, 183:6, 190:12, 191:13, 124:4; CLAY 1912A, 114:18.

<sup>898</sup> Abdunu and Aḥu-erība, LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR LUGAL (KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 235 (ADD 41), Rev. 1-2), 671 B.C.

<sup>899</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 18 (ADD 832), 6’-10’: [...]erība, Budā, Aššur-ilā’i, Sukkāia, Aššur-aḥḥē-ballit.

<sup>900</sup> WISEMAN 1953A, 146, ND 3467.

<sup>901</sup> RADNER 2002, 69, Rev. 9: Babu-šaddū’a (PC, after 634 B.C.), and RADNER 2002, 95, Rs. 7: Dādī-ilā’i (around 661 B.C.).

<sup>902</sup> TREMAYNE 1925, 106:2, 111:19, 114:14; CONTENAU 1929, 147:17, including the *šušānu* of the king, prefect of the horse-feeders (*šaknu ša aspastūa*), CLAY 1912A, 189:11.

<sup>903</sup> MATTILA 2002, 43 (ADD 400), 12’: ša—šēpē; 48 (ADD 211), TE. 2 and 50 (ADD 312), Rev 10: LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR mār šarri(A—MAN); In the *limmu* of Šalam-šarri-iqbī (630 B.C.): 34 (ADD 308), Rev. 10 and 37 (ADD 309), Rev. 5’: LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR šarri(MAN).

<sup>904</sup> He was *ša—qurbūte* in MATTILA 2002, 37, 40, 42, 43, 46; At some point during the eponym year of Šalam-šarri-iqbī (630 B.C.?) he was a *ša—qurbūte* (MATTILA 2002, 37 (ADD 309), Rev. 4’), in the same year, on II. 20, he was a chariot man of the king (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR MAN(šarri), MATTILA 2002, 34 (ADD 308), 6, Rev. 12), but later in the same year, on V. 22, he became cohort commander (*rab kišir*, MATTILA 2002, 35 (ADD 349), Rev. 10), which position he held in the eponym year of Šin-šarru-ušur (625

canonical eponyms is uncertain,<sup>905</sup> so it is impossible to reconstruct their personal careers and their changes of service. However, if the reconstruction is correct, the LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR MAN must have been a service (probably more important than a simple groom), from which it was easy to change to the rank/service of cohort commander (*rab kišir*), cohort commander of the crown prince (*rab kišir ša mār šarri*), or *ša—qurbūte*. A similar change of duty appears between the different types of the LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR as well. One of the legal documents of the Rēmanni-Adad archive, for example, lists three witnesses who were chariot men (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR), while other texts of the same archive mention them as ‘chariot men of the open chariotry’ (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU<sub>g</sub>.MEŠ, *šušānu pattūte?*).<sup>906</sup>

A further question that has to be discussed is the connection between the buyer (or seller) mentioned in a legal text and the witnesses listed. In ADD 308 of the Kakkullānu archive mentioned above there is, for example, a legal text documenting that Kakkullānu, a cohort commander of the crown prince (*rab kišir ša mār šarri*) bought a woman in 630 B.C. The witness list consisted of the Commander-in-Chief of the left (*turtānu šumēli*), two cohort commanders (*rab kišir*), a deputy cohort commander (*šanē ša rab kišir*), and two chariot men of the king (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR MAN). It is not known whether the cohort commanders were the comrades of Kakkullānu, and the two chariot men of the king and the deputy of the cohort commander were his subordinates, or not. As a further legal document (dated to 665 B.C.) shows, Kanūnāiu, a ‘horse trainer’ (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR) served under the command of Unzarhi-Issar, a cohort commander.<sup>907</sup> If the witnesses were the subordinates of the officer to whom the archive belonged the structure of army units (the type of troops and officers) placed under his command can partly be reconstructed from these witness lists.

Only three types of officers of chariot men are mentioned in cuneiform sources. The ‘commander of chariot men / chariot horse trainers’ (LÚ.GAL—*mu-gi ša* GIŠ.GIGIR) is obviously an equestrian officer, an officer who appears almost exclusively in an equestrian context. Three legal texts from the reign of Assurbanipal mention ‘chariot men / chariot horse trainers of the *rab mūgi* officer’ (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR LÚ.GAL—*mu-gi*).<sup>908</sup> These chariot men – without any further definition in the texts – were probably ordinary chariot men serving their officer. The other type of officer, the ‘prefect of the chariot men of the *tah-līpu* chariotry’ (GAR-*nu* (*šaknu*) LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *tah-līp*) will be discussed later. The third type appears only in a text dated to the Achaemenid period. This text mentions the prefect of the horse trainers (*šaknu ša* LÚ.*šušānu*.MEŠ).<sup>909</sup> However, the ‘horse trainer’ (*šušānu*) of this late text probably does not mean the same as the ‘horse trainer’ (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR) of the Neo-Assyrian period.

B.C.?, MATTILA 2002, 39 (ADD 318), Rev. 6). Following the reconstruction of Mattila, in the eponym year of Sîn-šarru-ušur (625 B.C.?) on II. 20. he was *rab kišir* (MATTILA 2002, 39 (ADD 318), Rev. 6), on III. 17. he was *ša—qurbūte* (MATTILA 2002, 40 (ADD 325), Rev. 9), but on X. 3. he became a cohort commander of the crown prince (*rab kišir ša mār šarri*, MATTILA 2002, 41 (ADD 623), Rev. 18'). It seems plausible that there was some parallelism between these services.

<sup>905</sup> The present writer uses the chronology reconstructed by Parpola and Radner (RADNER 1998, xviii-xx). See furthermore READE 1998, 255-265.

<sup>906</sup> Nabû-zēru-iddina, Šamšanni-ilu, Aḫu-āmūr served as LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR in 667 B.C. (KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 309 (ADD 200), Rev. 11-13), but Nabû-zēru-iddina in 666 B.C. (KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 317 (ADD 60), Rev. 4), and Aḫu-āmūr in 663 B.C. (KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 325 (ADD 470), Rev. 22') appear as LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU<sub>g</sub>.MEŠ.

<sup>907</sup> MATTILA 2002, 72 (ADD 128), 4-8.

<sup>908</sup> Mannu-ki-šarri GIGIR GAL—*mu-gi*, FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 118 (ADD 993), Rev. II:6 (663–661 B.C.); Zabinu LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR LÚ.GAL—*mu-gi*, MATTILA 2002, 94-5 (ADD 24-25), 4-5, 1-2 (646 B.C.); Nusku-šarru-iddina LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR GAL—*mu-gi*, RADNER 2002, TSH 68, Rev. 5-6 (630 B.C.).

<sup>909</sup> KRÜCKMANN 1933, 186:14.

(2) Chariot man / chariot horse trainer of the crown prince (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR A—MAN, *susānu mār šarri*)

The chariot man or chariot horse trainer of the crown prince appeared during the reign of Assurbanipal, which would imply a kind of army reform, at least of the chariotry, during the reign of this king. Only a few of these personnel are known by name<sup>910</sup> – which would also imply that the number of these units or personnel was limited. An administrative text (an account of a ceremonial banquet) which lists different types of chariot men of the king (chariot man or horse trainer, bodyguard of the *ša—šēpē* guard of the chariotry, and bodyguard of the *ša—šēpē* guard of the open chariotry); mentions the chariot personnel of the crown prince (Danî) as well, including a chariot driver, a ‘third man,’ chariot horse trainers, chariot horse trainers of the open chariotry, and other chariot drivers.<sup>911</sup> This text gives a fairly complex picture of the chariotry of the king and crown prince. Another detail emerges from a legal text of the Kakkullānu archive, which mentions the ‘chariot man or chariot horse trainer of the Chief Eunuch of the crown prince,’<sup>912</sup> who owned a house in Nineveh. It seems that the Chief Eunuch of the crown prince had his own chariotry contingent too, since nothing indicates that his chariot man or chariot horse trainer was at his personal service.

(3) Chariot man / chariot horse trainer of the open chariotry (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ, *susānu pattūte?*)

As discussed earlier in the section on chariot units, Postgate reconstructed this vehicle as a light, ‘open’ (*pattūte*) chariot. This type of vehicle, ‘the open chariot,’ however, cannot be reconstructed from the palace reliefs of the Assyrian kings. It appears for the first time in the historical record in the inscriptions of Assyrian kings of the 10<sup>th</sup>—9<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. in hunting contexts. However, the Nimrud Wine Lists (dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C.) list it together with the other, *tahlīpu* type of chariot.<sup>913</sup> Furthermore, a single early entry mentions the chariot man or horse trainer of the ‘open chariotry.’<sup>914</sup> Somewhat later, in a more explicit military and not hunting context, this type of chariot appears in Nimrud Horse Lists<sup>915</sup> dated to the reign of Sargon II. Apart from the early entries, no chariot crew of the ‘open chariotry’ is known until the reign of Assurbanipal (668—631 B.C.), when this type of chariot man appears in the cuneiform record. In spite of the fact that this type of chariot is missing from the representational record of this king, the chariot men or chariot horse trainers of this chariotry appear in large numbers in the administrative texts of the reign of Assurbanipal. A well defined group of texts (‘lists of lodgings for officials’) list ‘horse trainers of the open chariotry’ in groups of four or five, but unfortunately without any indication of their origin.<sup>916</sup> Their fixed number (5) in these texts would imply some organizing principle hidden from us. As discussed above, several fellow soldiers (or subordinates) of Rēmanni-Adad appear in 667 B.C. as ‘chariot horse trainer’ (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR) while later, between 666 B.C. and 663 B.C. they are

<sup>910</sup> Aššur-šarru-ušur (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), II:31?); Nabû-tāriš (MATTILA 2002, 48 (ADD 211), TE. 2; 50 (ADD 312), Rev. 10; Ubru-Nabû (MATTILA 2002, 50 (ADD 312), Rev. 9); [...] (MATTILA 2002, 287 (ADD 548), Rev. 6’); [...] (MATTILA 2002, 349 (ADD 1182), R. 11’).

<sup>911</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 152 (ADD 971), Rev. I’:7’-13’.

<sup>912</sup> MATTILA 2002, 40 (ADD 325): Šarru-lū-dārī, LÚ.GIGIR šá LÚ.GAL—SAG šá A—MAN.

<sup>913</sup> KINNIER WILSON 1972, 6, Rev. 34; 7, 3; 11, Rev. 4; 14, 22; 16, 17; 18, 6; 19, 19; 33, II:8.

<sup>914</sup> KINNIER WILSON 1972, 13, 19: L[Ú].GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ša D[U<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ] or *ta[h-lip]*. Unfortunately it can not be decided whether this chariot man belonged to a *pattūte* chariot or a *tahlīpu* chariot.

<sup>915</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 111, Obv. 2’.

<sup>916</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), I:24-27, II:2; 9 (ADD 860), II:13’-17’.



listed as ‘chariot horse trainers of the open chariotry’ (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ), and later on the archive does not mention any ‘chariot horse trainers,’ but only ‘chariot horse trainers of the open chariotry.’ 8 ‘chariot horse trainers of the open chariotry’ are mentioned in the archive,<sup>917</sup> and a further 10 are known by name from other administrative texts.

(4) Chariot man / horse trainer of the open chariotry of the crown prince (GIGIR A—MAN DU<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ (A—MAN?))

The ‘chariot man or horse trainer of the open chariotry of the crown prince’ (GIGIR A—MAN DU<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ (A—MAN?))<sup>918</sup> appeared during the reign of Assurbanipal in the written record. In these texts they appear together with the other type of chariot man or horse trainer of the crown prince. This proves their coexistence, and the parallel use of these two types of chariots and units connected with them in the army contingents of the crown prince of Assurbanipal.

(5) Chariot man / horse trainer of the *taḥlīpu* chariotry (LÚ.GIGIR ša GIŠ.taḥ-līp)

This type of chariot man appeared first in an administrative text as early as 784 B.C.<sup>919</sup> As has been discussed, this type of chariot (and chariot man) appeared in the written record (Nimrud Wine Lists of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C.)<sup>920</sup> together with the other, ‘open chariot’ type of chariot (and chariot man). The Nimrud Horse Lists show that in the equestrian army of Sargon II, the unit of *taḥlīpu* chariots (together with the ‘open chariotry’) belonged to the headquarters staff section (*Charts 1, 9*).<sup>921</sup> Only a single entry mentions an officer of the *taḥlīpu* charioteers, who was a higher ranking officer, the ‘prefect of the *taḥlīpu* charioteers’ (*šaknu* LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *taḥlīp*)<sup>922</sup> – who was most probably a superior officer of the squadron leader cohort commanders (*rab kišir*). Unfortunately the chariot men / chariot horse trainers of the *taḥlīpu* chariotry appear only in administrative texts, which do not allow us to draw further conclusions concerning their duties or daily activities.

(6) Chariot man / horse trainer of the reserve horses (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *na-kām-ti*)

This type of chariot man appears in only two texts dated to 681<sup>923</sup> and 644 B.C.<sup>924</sup> These administrative texts unfortunately do not allow us to draw any further conclusions. It seems, however, that this chariot man was not a member of a unit, but only the chariot man of the reserve horses of some chariotry unit of the Assyrian army. A type of horse trainer of the storehouse

<sup>917</sup> They appear together in groups of two to four: Dārī-šarru, Ilu-mušēzib, Mannu-kī-Ḥarrān, Sē’-dalā appear in KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 310 (ADD 185); Mannu-kī-Ḥarrān, Sē’-dalā, Na’di-Adad are listed together in KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 315 (ADD 420) and 316 (ADD 421); Nabū-zēru-iddina, Na’di-Adad, [...]iddina appear in KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 317 (ADD 60); while Aḥu-āmūr and Mannu-kī-Ḥarrān are listed in the witness section of KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 325 (ADD 470).

<sup>918</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 150 (ADD 834+++), II:8’; 152 (ADD 971), Rev. I’:12’. According to ADD 971, Rev. 7’-13’ Danī was probably a son of Assurbanipal. He had a chariot driver, a ‘third man,’ regular troops (SAG.UŠ.MEŠ), cohort commanders, chariot horse trainers of the crown prince, of open-chariotry of the crown prince, and [ch]ariot driver[s].

<sup>919</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 145, III:5: Erība-Adad, LÚ.GIGIR ša GIŠ.taḥ-līp. (See furthermore: 124, R. 7 [LÚ.GIGIR? ša GIŠ.taḥ-līp, around 780 B.C.).

<sup>920</sup> KINNIE WILSON 1972, 6, Rev. 36; 7, 5; 11, Rev. 6; 16, 19; 18, 20; 19, 20; 33.

<sup>921</sup> DEZSÓ 2006B, Figs. 6-7; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, I:12; 110, I:6.

<sup>922</sup> Aššur-rēmāni GAR-nu LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *taḥ-līp*, DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 101, I:18-19. This entry shows that during the reign of Sargon II the meaning of the term was probably charioteer, but the possibility that the chariot horse trainers were commanded by a prefect cannot be excluded.

<sup>923</sup> KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 193 (ADD 277), Rev. 6’: Bēl-aḥu-iddina LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *na-[kām-ti]*.

<sup>924</sup> MATTILA 2002, 100 (ADD 177), R. 17’: Tardīa LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *na-kām-ti*.

(very plausibly of the reserves) (*šušāni ša bīt nakkandu*) is known from Babylonia in the Achaemenid period as well.<sup>925</sup> If this title is the same as the Assyrian, it shows – similarly to other examples – the strong continuity of the Assyrian system.

(7) Chariot man / horse trainer of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *qur-bu-[ti]*)

As has already been discussed, the chariotry bodyguard (GIŠ.GIGIR *qurubte*) reconstructed from the Nimrud Horse Lists and the royal inscriptions of Esarhaddon was one of the most important chariotry units of the Sargonides. However, a question has to be answered: were these chariot men attached to the chariotry bodyguard (GIŠ.GIGIR *qurubte*) or were they chariot men in a unit attached to the *ša—qurbūte* bodyguards? These texts consistently mention *qurbūte* and not *qurubte*. There are two texts mentioning chariot man / horse trainer of the *qurbūte* bodyguard. The first known example dates from the reign of Sennacherib.<sup>926</sup> It is more interesting that an administrative text lists four chariot men, who are the chariot men of the *qurbūte* bodyguard of the town of Šišil (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *qur-bu-te URU.Ši-šil-a-a*).<sup>927</sup> As has already been discussed in the chapter on the *ša—qurbūte* bodyguards (The allocation of *qurbūtu* bodyguards to the cities of the empire) this kind of territorial system is characteristic of these officials. Such a territorial deployment cannot be reconstructed in the case of the chariotry bodyguard (GIŠ.GIGIR *qurubte*), which was part of the immediate entourage of the king. So the chariot men / horse trainers of the *qurbūte* bodyguard of the town of Šišilāia can most probably be connected to the *ša—qurbūte* bodyguards of this town. Whether they formed a unit or were the personal chariot men / horse trainers of these *ša—qurbūte* bodyguards living in this town is unfortunately not known.

(8) Chariot man / horse trainer of the *ša—šēpē* guard (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ša—šēpē*(GÌR.2))

As has already been discussed, the existence of the chariotry of the *ša—šēpē* guard was reconstructed mainly with the help of the appearance of its members in 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. administrative / legal documents (see the ‘commander-of-50 of the ‘third men’ of the *ša—šēpē* guard’).<sup>928</sup> This type of chariot man appears first in a letter written by Sennacherib the crown prince to his father Sargon II,<sup>929</sup> in which he mentions the ‘chariot grooms of the *ša—šēpē* guard’ (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ša—šēpē*(GÌR.2)) under his command, who asked for various items. In the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. this type of chariot man, the chariot man of the *ša—šēpē* guard, appears exclusively in the witness lists of legal documents. Two documents dated to the reign of Sennacherib mention chariot horse trainers (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *šēpē*).<sup>930</sup> A very important text concerning the chariot men of the *ša—šēpē* guard is a legal document of the Kišir-Aššur archive. The witness list of one of these texts lists 7 chariot men / horse trainers (LÚ.GIGIR) and 6 chariot men / horse trainers of the *ša—šēpē* guard.<sup>931</sup> Kišir-Aššur was a cohort commander of the *ša—qurbūte* (*rab kišir ša—qurbūte*) in this text, but the 13 chariot men of the witness list must show some connection between the cohort commander and the chariot

<sup>925</sup> HILPRECHT – CLAY 1898, 83:8, R.E. 4.

<sup>926</sup> KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 112 (ADD 455), Rev. 7: Bēl-mu-[...] LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *qur-bu-[ti]*.

<sup>927</sup> MATTILA 2002, 397 (Iraq 32, 7), 9’-10’: Tabalāiu, [...] -za, Am-suri, Išmē?-dūri.

<sup>928</sup> GAL—50.MEŠ *ša tašlīšu* GÌR.2 (*ša—šēpē*), FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 148 (ADD 1083), Rev. II:5’; [...] .MEŠ *ša 3-šū*.MEŠ *šēpē* (GÌR.2), FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 149 (ADD 834+++), III:3’.

<sup>929</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 37 (CT 53, 307), 7.

<sup>930</sup> Marduk-šumu-iddina LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR GÌR.2 (KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 53 (ADD 236), Rev. 8, Šumma-ilāni archive); Nabû’aia LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR GÌR.2 (KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 164 (ADD 612), Rev. 13, 686 B.C.).

<sup>931</sup> MATTILA 2002, 29 (ADD 207), Obv. 1-2: Bēl-aḥḥēšu, and Rev. 15-19: Šumu-ukīn, Bēl-Ḥarrān-šarru-ušur, Arbailāiu, Ḥambaqu, Mannu-kī-Arbail. The text is dated to the *limmu* of Šin-šarru-ušur (probably 636 B.C.).

men. The relatively large number of the two types of chariot men listed shows that they must have represented substantial chariotry units.

(9) Chariot man / chariot horse trainer of the team commander (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ša GAL urât)  
An early fragmentary text of the Nimrud Horse Lists probably mentions the ‘chariot man / chariot horse trainer of the team commander.’<sup>932</sup> If the reconstruction of this passage is correct, the team commander (*rab urâte*) – who was a chariotry officer – commanded chariot men / chariot horse trainers as well. An administrative text dated to the Achaemenid period corroborates this evidence, mentioning the ‘association of the horse trainers of the house of the team commander’ (*ḫaṭri ša LÚ.šušāni.MEŠ ša bīt rab urātu*).<sup>933</sup>

(10) Chariot man / horse trainer of eunuchs (LÚ.GIGIR.MEŠ ša SAG.MEŠ)<sup>934</sup>  
This single early entry raises questions. It seems that chariot men were attached to eunuchs as well. The question is whether these chariot men served certain eunuchs personally, or a chariotry unit formed from eunuchs existed in the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Though – as pictorial and written evidence shows – eunuchs served in the ranks of the Assyrian army in relatively large numbers, no data confirms the existence of a (chariotry) unit formed exclusively from them.

(11) Chariot man / chariot horse trainer of the god Aššur (LÚ.GIGIR ša Aššur)  
This title, which appears only in a single text of the Assur archive, which lists four witnesses serving as chariot men or horse trainers of the god Aššur.<sup>935</sup> They most probably served the god and the temple and not in a chariotry unit formed in Assur.

### *Murabbānu* (‘horse raiser’)

Only a few legal texts mention the post of ‘horse raiser.’ The horse raiser was not necessarily military personnel, but was obviously connected to the army and to equestrian units. Those few texts, however, distinguish between the ‘horse raiser’ (*murabbānu*)<sup>936</sup> and the ‘horse raiser of the crown prince’ (*murabbānu mār šarri*).<sup>937</sup> This division shows that together with other units and military personnel the horse raisers were also divided between the royal troops and the troops (or personal entourage) of the crown prince.

<sup>932</sup> [LÚ.]GIŠ.GIGIR X X GA]L u-ra[...], DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 119, Rev. 1 (784 B.C.).

<sup>933</sup> KRÜCKMANN 1933, 183:6, 190:12, 191:13, 124:4; CLAY 1912A, 114:18.

<sup>934</sup> KINNIER WILSON 1972, 35, III:5 (8<sup>th</sup> century B.C.).

<sup>935</sup> DONBAZ – PARPOLA 2001, 244 (A 956+), Rev. 18-19: Tarditu-Aššur, Bēssu’a, Bēl-rukubi-šarru-ušur, Nabû-šārik-apli, LÚ.GIGIR.MEŠ ša Aš-šur. See furthermore RADNER 1991, 22.

<sup>936</sup> Nabû-dūru-ušur LÚ.mu-ri-ba-nu, KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 142 (ADD 324), Rev. 14 (692 B.C.).

<sup>937</sup> Sama’a appears in three legal documents of the Šumma-ilāni archive as horse raiser of the crown prince (LÚ.mu-ra-ba-nu ša A—MAN): KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 37 (ADD 427), Rev. 7 (694 B.C.); 39 (ADD 239), 16’ (694 B.C.); 40 (ADD 238), Rev. 4 (693 B.C.). A fourth text of the same archive (KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 41 (ADD 240), Rev. 5-6), however, mention Sama’a as the ‘horse raiser of Nergal-šumu-ibnī’ (LÚ.mu-r[a-ba-nu] ša m<sup>d</sup>U.GUR.MU.[DŪ]). It seems possible that Nergal-šumu-ibnī was a crown prince at least in 694–693 B.C., when (after?) the Elamites carried off the designated crown prince, Aššur-nādin-šumi. However, no other source proves that Nergal-šumu-ibnī would have been a designated heir of the crown.

### *Raksu* ('recruit')

The meaning of the term is controversial. Its translations range from 'mercenary' to 'recruit.' The CAD considers it a "skilled professional, exempted from taxes and other civilian obligations, and serving full time in cavalry and chariotry units held in constant readiness, particularly those of the *rab ša—rēšē*. It is likely that the meaning of the term was '(soldier) hired with a contract (*riksu*).'"<sup>938</sup> However, most current translations use the 'recruit' meaning. There is only a single letter in which the 'mercenary' translation would fit the context better.<sup>939</sup> Recently, however, Fales proposed a 'horse trainer' identification.<sup>940</sup> It has to be admitted that both 'mercenary' and 'recruit' would satisfy the need to identify important categories, which are well known from the later armies of military history. Consequently both 'mercenary' and 'recruit' refer to a general category which would have been applied not only to equestrian units, but to the infantry as well. The term *raksu* appears at least in four contexts: (1) without any attribute, (2) as recruit of the Chief Eunuch, (3) recruit of the *kallāpu* troops, (4) recruit of the chariotry.

#### (1) Recruit (*raksu*)

The *raksu* appeared first in cuneiform sources in the Governor's Palace Archive and the Nimrud Wine Lists as early as the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>941</sup> There is only a single text known which mentions them as troops (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ *ra-ki-su-te*).<sup>942</sup> Two of the horse reports of Nabû-šumu-iddina list horses which were sent to Calah by recruits.<sup>943</sup> It remains unknown why only the recruits sent horses to Calah, since no other units (only high officials) were involved in this practice. It must mean that they were recruits of chariotry units since they sent 'horses trained to the yoke.' Another horse report lists much larger number of horses assigned to or sent by the 'recruits of Talmeš' (LÚ.*raksu ša* Talmeš).<sup>944</sup> These 477 horses show that the recruits of Talmeš were a unit large enough to provide such a huge number of horses. In the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. the recruits appear only in witness lists of legal texts.<sup>945</sup> The latest known example of the recruit comes from the witness list of a legal document dated to the post canonical period (probably 619 B.C.). However, the meaning of the attribute attached to the term *raksu* (LÚ.*rak-su da-la-a-ni*) is unknown.<sup>946</sup>

<sup>938</sup> REINER *et al.*, 1999, 110, s.v. *raksu*.

<sup>939</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 85 (ABL 396). In this letter Tāb-šil-Ēšarra mentions Ḫaldi-ušur, the 'mercenary,' who took a letter to Birāte. He was obviously an Urartean, who might have been a fugitive mercenary rather than a recruit.

<sup>940</sup> FALES 2010A, 80, note 14.

<sup>941</sup> Mīnu-īpuš-ilī LÚ.*rak-su*, POSTGATE 1973, 51 (ND 263), 11 (797 B.C.); LÚ.*rak-su-ti*, KINNIER WILSON 1972, 9, 8 (786 B.C.). See furthermore KINNIER WILSON 1972, 6, 33; 7, 6; 13, 4; 16, 7; 19:17.

<sup>942</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 93 (ABL 482), 10.

<sup>943</sup> COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 87 (ABL 376), 12-13: 10 Kushite horses; 122 (ABL 1159), E. 3'-Rev. 1': 24 horses.

<sup>944</sup> PARKER 1961, ND 2768.

<sup>945</sup> For example Issaran-mesi LÚ.*raka-su* (KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 100 (ADD 473), Rev. 8' and 101 (ADD 474), Rev. 11', 698 B.C.); Tābī LÚ.*rak-[su]* (KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 193 (ADD 277), Rev. 5', 681 B.C.); Ubru-Aššur LÚ.*raka-su* (KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 318 (ADD 35), Rev. 3, 665 B.C.); Nabû-šallim LÚ.*rak-sa* [...] (of NN) (MATTILA 2002, 477 (ADD 398), Rev. 5', 664 B.C.); Adallala LÚ.*rak-sa* (MATTILA 2002, 477 (ADD 398), Rev. 4', 664 B.C.).

<sup>946</sup> Nuḫšāia LÚ.*rak-su da-la-a-ni* (MATTILA 2002, 169 (ADD 50), Rev. 2).

(2) Recruit of the Chief Eunuch (*raksu ša rab ša—rēšē*)

The recruit of the Chief Eunuch appeared in the written record (Nimrud Horse Lists) as early as the *raksu* itself, or even earlier,<sup>947</sup> which means that this kind of recruitment or the hiring of mercenaries for the royal contingent (*kišir šarrūti*) commanded by the Chief Eunuch started or was already known under Adad-nērārī III. One of the most important pieces of information extracted from written sources is that the recruits of the Chief Eunuch were exempted. As an order of Sargon II said: “They are to be exempt; [no]body may litigate [against them] (and) [no]body may exact [corn taxes from them]!”<sup>948</sup> Furthermore, they (and their families) must have been exempted from labour duties as well, since they appealed to the king, accusing Issar-dūri of taking their brothers out for the construction works of Dūr-Šarrukēn as brick masons. But Issar-dūri replied that he took out neither the recruits’ brothers nor even their cousins. Consequently the recruits of the Chief Eunuch must have served as full time professionals (of the *kišir šarrūti*?). This exemption referred probably only to the recruits of the Chief Eunuch, since – as will be discussed later – the letter from Taklāk-ana-Bēli to Sargon II mentions the work assignment of other recruits during the construction of Dūr-Šarrukēn. The recruits of the Chief Eunuch (LÚ.*ra-ka-su ša* LÚ.GAL—SAG)<sup>949</sup> and the ‘recruit of the major domo of the Chief Eunuch’ (LÚ.*rak-su šá* GAL—É šá GAL—SAG)<sup>950</sup> are mentioned in the witness lists of legal documents dated to the reigns of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal as well. A variant of the term might have been the ‘recruit of the house of the Chief Eunuch’ (LÚ.*rak-su*.MEŠ šá É LÚ.GAL—SAG),<sup>951</sup> who – as attested in the horse reports of Nabû-šumu-iddina – also sent horses to the collection point of Calah (Nabû Temple or the Review Palace).

(3) Recruit of the chariotry (*raksu mugerri*)

The term *raksu* (‘recruit’) was used for the recruits of the chariotry as well. A relatively large group of sources identifies them directly or indirectly as recruits of chariotry. One of the indirect connections with chariotry units is that the recruits are listed together with chariot crew members. In one of his letters to Mannu-kī-Adad, Sargon II accuses him of turning the exempts of the palace (1,119 able-bodied men) into recruits (LÚ.*rak-su-ti*), to chariot warriors or cavalrymen into his own troops.<sup>952</sup> In another letter to Sargon II, Aššur-bēlu-ušur listed the recruits (LÚ.*rak-su*.MEŠ) together with chariot fighters.<sup>953</sup> Marduk-erība, a palace chariot fighter, earlier served as a recruit with Zēru-ibnī, who mentioned him in a letter written to Sargon II.<sup>954</sup> A letter listing disloyal officials from the reign of Esarhaddon included a governor, ‘third men,’ recruits (LÚ.*rak-su*.MEŠ), a chariot fighter, and the horse trainer of the governor.”<sup>955</sup>

<sup>947</sup> LÚ.*rak-su-ti* LÚ.GAL—SAG, KINNIER WILSON 1972, 8, 9 (791 B.C.). See furthermore KINNIER WILSON 1972, 1, II:7 (LÚ.*rak-su-tú ša* GAL—SAG); 4, 14 (LÚ.*rak-su-te* LÚ.GAL—SAG); 28, 2 (LÚ.*rak-su-[te* (LÚ.GAL—SAG)]); DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 145, III:1 (L[Ú.*ra*]k-su-t[e GA]L LÚ.SAG), (784 B.C.).

<sup>948</sup> FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 15 (ABL 709), 3-6.

<sup>949</sup> 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 šá* LÚ.GAL—SAG.MEŠ, MATTILA 2002, 64 (ADD 310), 7-8 (669 B.C.).

<sup>950</sup> Mannu-kī-šābē, FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 35 (ADD 923), I:1-2.

<sup>951</sup> COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 96 (ABL 64), 8: 3 Kushite horses.

<sup>952</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 11 (ABL 304).

<sup>953</sup> FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 60 (ABL 242), 12-13 (710—709 B.C.).

<sup>954</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 205 (ABL 154), 14.

<sup>955</sup> LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 68 (CT 53, 80).

The other indirect connection with equestrian units are the horse reports mentioned above, which list the horses sent by the recruits to Calah. There are, however, a few direct links which prove that recruits were organized into chariotry units as well. Issar-šumu-ēreš, for example, was a ‘recruit of the team commander’ (LÚ.rak-su ša LÚ.GAL—u-rat),<sup>956</sup> who was a chariotry officer. Issar-šumu-ēreš brought a team of Egyptian horses to an unknown official. The ‘cohort commander of the recruits of chariotry’ (*rab kišir ša LÚ.rak-su GIGIR*)<sup>957</sup> rank shows that they were organized into recruit units of the size of a cohort. This letter from Taklāk-ana-Bēli to Sargon II shows that this cohort had a work assignment during the construction work at Dūr-Šarrukēn. The cohort commander of the recruits (*rab kišir ša LÚ.rak-su-te*, no equestrian connection indicated) is mentioned in a few other texts as well including an early entry (781 B.C.),<sup>958</sup> which shows that – at least the bases of – the Neo-Assyrian recruiting system were established in the early 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Another officer of the recruits is known from the reign of Sargon II. In his letter to the king Bēl-liqbî mentions a commander of the recruits (LÚ.GAL—rak-si), who lives together with a postmaster in a road station.<sup>959</sup> The letter states that the road station is virtually empty, and Bēl-liqbî wants to settle 30 families there. Nothing indicates that this particular commander of recruits had a unit consisting of recruits under his command at the road station.

Horse keeper of a god (LÚ.DIB—ANŠE.KUR.RA ša <sup>d</sup>15 ša URU.Arba-il (of Ištār of Arbela))<sup>960</sup>  
This office is mentioned only in this single text found in Assur. The meaning of the title is fairly clear: Pabbau was probably in charge of the horses of the goddess, which cannot necessarily be connected to a military profile. Since this is a private legal text no further conclusions can be drawn.

Chariot supervisor (LÚ ša—IGI—GIŠ.GIGIR)

This title also appears in a single legal text found in Assur.<sup>961</sup> It cannot be decided whether he was a chariotry officer or an official in charge of chariot building.

### *Officers of the chariotry*<sup>962</sup>

The officers of the chariotry have partly been discussed with their units; however, there are a few officers who cannot be connected with special units but only with the chariotry arm in general. Such officers are for example the recruitment officer (*mušarkisu*) and team commander (*rab urâte*), who served at different levels of the hierarchy. Fig. 3 lists not only the officers of chariotry known from written sources, but attempts to reconstruct the approximate order of their hierarchy as well.

<sup>956</sup> SAGGS 2001, 317-318 (NL 58), 6-7.

<sup>957</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 235 (ABL 1432), E. 7.

<sup>958</sup> Salamānu LÚ.GAL—KA.KÉŠ ša LÚ.rak-su-te, POSTGATE 1973, 18 (ND 209), Rev. 24; DELLER – FADHIL 1993, 246 no. 1:6, 250 no. 6:21-23.

<sup>959</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 177 (ABL 414).

<sup>960</sup> DONBAZ – PARPOLA 2001, 164 (A 2527), 4-5: Pabbau LÚ.DIB—ANŠE.KUR.RA ša <sup>d</sup>15 ša URU.Arba-il (675 B.C.)

<sup>961</sup> DONBAZ – PARPOLA 2001, 37 (A 2621), 4: Epšanni-Issar LÚ ša—IGI—GIŠ.GIGIR (666 B.C.).

<sup>962</sup> This chapter deals only with the officers of the Assyrian chariotry, and omits the detailed discussion of for example the Mitannian chariotry officers, such as the *emantuhlu* = officer of 10 (*rab* 10) or the *atuhlu*, who, according to LACHEMAN 1955, 32:26-29 could command 60 *marianni* (*martianni*, chariot warriors?, see ALBRIGHT 1930-1931) of Ḫanigbalat.

prefect ( <i>šaknu</i> )	prefect of stables ( <i>šaknu ša ma'assi</i> )
	prefect of the chariot men of the <i>taḫlīpu</i> chariotry ( <i>šaknu LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR taḫlīp</i> )
	prefect of the horses of the chariotry of the left ( <i>šaknu šumēli sīsē mugerri</i> )
	prefect of the recruitment officers ( <i>šaknišunu ša mušarkisāni</i> )
	prefect of the horses of the new house ( <i>šaknu ša sīsē bīt ešši</i> )
	prefect of the horse trainers ( <i>šaknu ša susāni</i> )
recruitment officer ( <i>mušarkisu</i> )	recruitment officer of the <i>qurubtu</i> chariotry ( <i>mušarkisu mugerri qurubte</i> )
	recruitment officer of the palace chariotry ( <i>mušarkisu mugerri ekalli</i> )
	recruitment officer of the chariot owners ( <i>mušarkisu bēl mugerri</i> )
	recruitment officer of the deportees ( <i>mušarkisu ša šaḡlūte</i> )
cohort commander ( <i>rab kišir</i> )	cohort commander of chariot warriors of the queen ( <i>rab kišir ša mārū damqu ša bēlet ekalli</i> )
	cohort commander of the recruits of chariotry ( <i>rab kišir ša LÚ.raksu GIGIR</i> )
	cohort commander of the recruits ( <i>rab kišir ša LÚ.raksūte</i> )
team commander ( <i>rab urâte</i> )	team commander of the cavalry bodyguard ( <i>rab urâte ša pēṭḫal qurubte</i> )
	team commander of the provincial units
	team commander of the chariotry bodyguard ( <i>rab urâte ša mugerri qurubte</i> )
	team commander of the palace chariotry ( <i>rab urâte ša mugerri ekalli</i> )
	team commander of the stable officers ( <i>rab urâte ša šaknūte ša ma'assi</i> )
	team commander of the Chief Eunuch ( <i>rab urâte ša rab ša —reše</i> )
	team commander of the horse trainers
officer ( <i>rab mūgi</i> )	officer of chariotry ( <i>rab mūgi ša mugerri</i> )
commander-of-50 ( <i>rab ḫanšê</i> )	commander-of-50 of the chariotry ( <i>rab ḫanšê mugerri</i> )
	commander-of-50 of the third men of the <i>ša—šēpē</i> guard ( <i>rab ḫanšê ša tašlīšu ša —šēpē</i> )
	Assyrian commander-of-50 of the third men (KUR.AŠ <i>rab ḫanšê ša tašlīšu</i> )
commander ( <i>rabu</i> )	commander of the recruits ( <i>rab raksi</i> )
chief- ( <i>dannu</i> )	chief chariot driver ( <i>mukil appāte dannu</i> )
	chief third man ( <i>tašlīšu dannu</i> )
	chief third man of the crown prince ( <i>tašlīšu dannu ša mār šarri</i> )

Fig 3. Officers of the chariotry.

Prefect (*šaknu*)

Six types of prefects of chariotry are mentioned in the Nimrud Horse Lists and other sources: the ‘stable officer,’ the ‘prefect of the *tahlīpu* charioteers,’ the ‘prefect of the horses of the chariotry of the left,’ the ‘prefect of the recruitment officers,’ the ‘prefect of the horses of the new house,’ and the ‘prefect of the horse trainers.’ The prefect was probably the highest ranking officer who might be active on the field. It is important to emphasize that all these prefects might command their own units. Judging from their similar context (review of troops during a Babylonian campaign of Sargon II) it seems quite plausible that these officers were appointed to this special duty for campaigns. A letter to Sargon II from an unknown writer mentions prefects in a chariotry context, together with team commanders and recruitment officers.<sup>963</sup>

(1) Stable officer (lit. prefect of stables, *šaknu ša ma’assi*)

As has been discussed in detail, the stable officer was a leading officer of the equestrian army of Sargon II. The expeditionary army of Sargon II contained four units of stable officers (*see above* and *Charts 1, 9*).<sup>964</sup>

(2) Prefect of the *tahlīpu* charioteers (*šaknu LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR taḥ-līp*)<sup>965</sup>

He was a high ranking officer of a special type of chariotry, the ‘armoured chariots,’ a unit which belonged to the headquarters staff section (*see above*) of the expeditionary army of Sargon II. This example shows that Kišir-Aššur, a cohort commander (*rab kišir*), was a subordinate of Aššur-rēmāni, the prefect of the *tahlīpu* charioteers, which helps us to determine the place of the prefect and the cohort commander in the line of command.

(3) Prefect of the horses of the chariotry of the left (*šaknu šumēli sīsē mugerri*)

This title or rank also appears in the Nimrud Horse Lists.<sup>966</sup> He also belonged to the headquarters staff section of the expeditionary army of Sargon II. It has to be admitted that this is the only chariotry officer who can probably be connected with the wingleader chariots (left and right) bearing the standards of Adad and Nergal in the palace reliefs (Plate 13, 24; Plate 17, 29).<sup>967</sup>

(4) Prefect of the recruitment officers (*šaknišunu ša mušarkisāni*)

This officer, the prefect of the recruitment officers (*mušarkisāni*) who were in charge of the recruiting of soldiers and horses, is mentioned in a single letter,<sup>968</sup> in which Šamaš-taklāk asked Sargon II to send an order to all the recruitment officers to bring the men and horses to him. It seems obvious that the prefects of the recruitment officers coordinated the work of the recruitment officers, whose provincial recruitment network covered large territories of the empire.

<sup>963</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 48 (ABL 630), 13’: LÚ.GAR-*nu*.[MEŠ].

<sup>964</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Rev. iv:9-26; 101, iii:1-14; 103, Rev. ii:7-13; 108, v:38; 108A, Rev. i:2’-12’; PARKER 1961, ND 2386+2730, Obv. II:17-Rev. I:1-7. For a detailed study *see also* DEZSŐ 2006B.

<sup>965</sup> Aššur-rēmāni GAR-*nu* (*šaknu*) LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *taḥ-līp*, DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 101, I:18-19.

<sup>966</sup> Aššur-[...]ušur GAR-*nu* (*šaknu*) 150 A[NŠ]E GIŠ.GIGIR BE, DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 101, I:1-2.

<sup>967</sup> Assurnasirpal II: LAYARD 1853A, pls. 14, 22, 27. Standard bearing chariots appear on the Balawat Gates as well: KING 1915, pls. Ia, VIIIa, IXa, XXXVa, XXXVIa, XLIa, LIa, LIIa, LVIIIa, LXa, LXIa, LXIIa, LXIXa, LXXa, LXXIa, LXXIVa, Ib, IIb, XIXb, XXb, LXIb, LXIIb; Tiglath-Pileser III: BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pl. LX.; Sargon II: BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pls. 57, 158.

<sup>968</sup> FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 294 (ABL 153+), Rev. 1-2: [L]Ú *šak-ni-šú-nu ša LÚ.mu-šár-kis*.MEŠ.



(5) Prefect of the horses of the new house (*šaknu ša sīsê bīt ešši*)

Unfortunately this officer is also mentioned in a single document.<sup>969</sup> It seems possible that this officer was – similarly to the prefect of the horses of the chariotry of the left – in charge of a contingent of horses of unknown size.

(6) Prefect of the horse trainers (*šaknu ša susāni*)

This type of prefect is known only from a text dated to the Achaemenid period. This text mentions the prefect of the horse trainers (*šaknu ša LÚ.susānu.MEŠ*).<sup>970</sup> However, ‘horse trainer’ (*susānu*) in this late text probably does not mean the same as the ‘horse trainer’ (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR) of the Neo-Assyrian period. The link between Assyrian practice and the Achaemenid use of the associations of horse trainers is unfortunately missing.

Recruitment officer (*mušarkisu*)

The *mušarkisu* was a high ranking officer, who was probably in charge of the supply and provision of horses<sup>971</sup> and soldiers. The earliest known *mušarkisu* officers appear in early 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. administrative texts.<sup>972</sup> This early date shows that a concept of the recruiting system existed in the early 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. as well. The latest known recruitment officer was Abu-lāmur – mentioned in an Assur text dated as late as 612 B.C.! – who borrowed silver.<sup>973</sup>

They had to collect horses and men for campaigns and other work, such as building projects. Mannu-kī-Ninua, for example, asked Sargon II, to send a royal bodyguard (*ša—qurbūte*) to help the recruitment officers fetch them their men.<sup>974</sup> Furthermore, this letter informed the king that all the trainees who arrived with Mannu-kī-Ninua were appointed to the service of the recruitment officers. When Sargon II ordered Šamaš-taklāk to report on the horses and men of his territory, in his fragmentary report Šamaš-taklāk mentioned the recruitment officers of his country, the prefects of the recruitment officers in charge of horses – which means that the network of recruitment officers was supervised by their prefects ([L]Ú.šak-ni-šū-nu ša LÚ.mu-šar-kis.MEŠ) and the scribes.<sup>975</sup> In this letter Šamaš-taklāk asked the king to send an order to the recruitment officers to bring the men and horses directly to him. This means that the recruitment officers were under the command of the king in the system of the central management of supply of men and horses, as has already been reconstructed from administrative texts. There is only a single known example of a recruitment officer serving a governor, which might easily refer to a change in the concept.<sup>976</sup> The king sent orders to governors to let the recruitment officers enter the villages.<sup>977</sup> Furthermore, as the report of Kišir-Aššur from Dūr-Šarrukēn shows, the governors even had to build them houses.<sup>978</sup> The recruitment officers themselves sometimes left their work

<sup>969</sup> Mušēzib-Marduk LÚ.GAR-nu ša ANŠE.KUR.MEŠ ša É.GIBIL: KWASMAN 1988, 238 (ADD 172), 1-3, 670 B.C.

<sup>970</sup> KRÜCKMANN 1933, 186:14.

<sup>971</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 27-47. PARPOLA 1987, 162 (ABL 1036); LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 83 (ABL 1012), 119 (ABL 122).

<sup>972</sup> Šābu-damqu LÚ.mu-šar-ki-su, POSTGATE 1973, 51 (ND 263), 10 (797 B.C.); Aḫu-šamšī LÚ.mu-šar-ki-[su], POSTGATE 1973, 68 (ND 262), Rev. 6’ (779 B.C.).

<sup>973</sup> Abu-lāmur *mu-šar-kis* (FAIST 2007, 115 (VAT 20711), 1.

<sup>974</sup> FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 105 (ABL 127).

<sup>975</sup> FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 294 (ABL 153+).

<sup>976</sup> <sup>m</sup>Pi-ša-ar-mu LÚ.mu-šar-kis ša LÚ.GAR.<KUR>, KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 36 (ADD 34), Rev. 2-3.

<sup>977</sup> SAGGS 2001, 197-199 (NL 56, ND 2462) 22-23

<sup>978</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 124 (ABL 190).

and deserted. In one of his letters Šarru-ēmuranni promised the king that the recruitment officers would complete their work.<sup>979</sup>

A letter from Dilbat to Assurbanipal gives us interesting details concerning the fate of a *mušarkisu*, Rēmāni-ilu, who was killed by Zabāba-erība. The latter deserted to Šamaš-šumu-ukīn, and kept boasting in the enemy's camp that the headgear (TÚG.U.SAG) which on his head was that of Rēmāni-ilu, the recruitment officer.<sup>980</sup> No such headgear (characteristic of a recruitment officer), or other forms of headgear are known in the Assyrian army depicted in the sculptures; only the two types of helmets (pointed and crested) and the headband.

The recruitment officers served different units (*see later*). As ND 2386+2730 shows, their recruitment network was based on a territorial system: they were attached to provinces<sup>981</sup>. The witness lists of legal texts list recruitment officers probably as members of the local establishment or colleagues of the owner of the archive.<sup>982</sup>

The written record offers a conclusion that the recruitment officers served in groups. They wrote letters to Sargon II as a collective body. In one of these letters (written together with the *šandabakku*) they mention that the Sealanders have sent a letter to them, which they forward to the king for instructions.<sup>983</sup> Another Babylonian letter<sup>984</sup> adds further details to the concept that can be formed of the recruitment officers. In this letter an official (the *šandabakku*?) of Bīt-Dakkuri responds to the king's question. The king has asked him what is wrong with Aḫu-ilā'ī, the recruitment officer that the official separated from his brothers. The official answers that he separated the recruitment officer from his brothers because he is the most reliable man among them. He did not even seize him for guard duty, which is mutually fixed for the bread and water of the official's men. There are several conclusions that can be drawn from this letter. First of all, the recruitment officer Aḫu-ilā'ī was sent to Bīt-Dakkuri to serve the king with his brothers. In this case the brothers were probably not his relatives but his fellow recruitment officers. Furthermore, the king followed every change of his status, since the recruitment officers served probably under direct royal control.

The conclusion from administrative texts (reviews, horse lists) is that the recruitment officers formed larger units (*see Chart 9*) and provided large numbers of horses<sup>985</sup> during campaigns. There is an administrative text, however, the interpretation of which is controversial. This text (ADD 855, dated to around 710–708 B.C.) in one of its sections<sup>986</sup> lists at least 19 officers, who can be identified as recruitment officers of the palace chariotry (*mušarkisu ša mugerri ekalli*). The numbers (totalling 25,900) connected with them are too large and rounded to be soldiers or horses. As a result Dalley and Postgate assumed that these numbers designated probably not soldiers but bricks.<sup>987</sup> However, later on, Fales and Postgate interpreted the 4-column tablet as

<sup>979</sup> FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 223 (ABL 315).

<sup>980</sup> REYNOLDS 2003, 183 (ABL 326).

<sup>981</sup> PARKER 1961, ND 2386+2730.

<sup>982</sup> A *mušarkisu* is mentioned in the witness list of a document from the archive of Nabû-tuklātūa (reign of Adad-nērārī III), where he appears together with the members of the military establishment of the town Šabirēšu (2 *rab kallāpi*, 1 *qurbūtu*, 3 *rab* 50, 1 *rab šābē*). *See furthermore* Tall Šēh Hamad: RADNER 2002, 126 (SH 98/6949 I 941), Rev. 5, 665 or 662 B.C.; 127 (SH 98/6949 I 903), Rev. 6, 691 or 686 B.C.; Nineveh: KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 86 (ADD 261), 694–692 B.C.

<sup>983</sup> DIETRICH 2003, 89 (ABL 344).

<sup>984</sup> DIETRICH 2003, 69 (CT 54, 19).

<sup>985</sup> In DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, V:12-37 for example the *mušarkisu ša mugerri ekalli* provided 200 horses.

<sup>986</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 126 (ADD 855), 11'-31'. *See furthermore* the study in DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 43-45.

<sup>987</sup> *See* FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 126 and DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 43-45.

listing men and not bricks, since the first and second column might have represented soldiers who were ‘inspected’ or ‘missing.’<sup>988</sup> If this explanation is valid these recruitment officers commanded relatively large units. Supposing that a cohort consisted of 100 soldiers: 22 cohorts were commanded by Ululāiu; 19 and 18 cohorts by two recruitment officers whose names are missing; 15 cohorts by Bābilāiu, Marduk-erība, and two other recruitment officers whose names are missing; 14 cohorts by Bēssunu, Šalam-aḥḥē and a further unknown recruitment officer; 13 by an unknown recruitment officer; 12 by Bābilāiu, Biramma, Bēl-apkal-ilāni, Ḥandasānu; 11.5 by Aššur-aḥu-iddina and an unknown recruitment officer; 8 by Mār-larēm; and 6 by Aššur-rēmāni. If this assumption is correct this tablet summarized a much larger army (at least on the theoretical level, since only about half of the soldiers were ‘present’) than any of the Nimrud Horse Lists. The question is made much more difficult by the last line of the section, which summarizes the list as altogether 25,900, chariotry of [the palace or the bodyguard] (GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]). Since six of these *mušarkisāni* appear among the recruitment officers of the palace chariotry (*mušarkisāni ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL*) section of CTN III, 99,<sup>989</sup> these 260 cohorts were chariotry cohorts of the palace chariotry, which probably never reached such a size. If these cohorts were composed of 100 chariots each, this list summarized 25,900 chariots, which is hardly believable. If the text listed the members of the whole chariot crew (driver, ‘third man,’ and warrior) grouped in cohorts, one cohort numbered 33 chariots. In this case the text refers to the crews of 8,580 chariots, which makes a number still huge enough to be credible in an age when the cavalry gradually started to replace the chariotry. A number of 2,600 chariots for the whole Assyrian army (not only for the palace chariotry, or the chariotry bodyguard) is a much more plausible assumption. If this text lists horses, this theoretical review mustered eight times more horses than any of the Nimrud Horse Lists. The next possibility is that this text reviewed 25,900 cavalrymen. Such a number is probably still too large even for the whole cavalry of the Assyrian Empire (the size of which I would estimate at about 10–15,000 cavalrymen). The last possibility is that this tablet listed infantrymen. 25,900 infantrymen is a normal size for an army, but there is no explanation of why they were commanded by recruitment officers of the chariotry.

Other texts mention the recruitment officers in smaller groups of three or four *mušarkisu* officers.<sup>990</sup> They even wrote letters to Sargon II as a group.<sup>991</sup> Their only known officer is the prefect of the recruitment officers ([L]Ú *šak-ni-šú-nu ša LÚ.mu-šar-kis.MEŠ*) discussed above.

The texts discussed above highlight the administrative role the recruitment officers played in the military organization, above all in the military supply system of the Assyrian Empire. However, only a few texts discuss their other military capacity as officers or commanders on the field. A very important text<sup>992</sup> tells the story of a recruitment officer, Aramiš-šar-ilāni, who died in enemy country (on a campaign). As his son, Šumma-ilu (who appealed to the king for royal intervention) explained the case: his father as a recruitment officer commanded 50 men, who – after the death of their commander, probably at the end of the campaign – came back with 12 horses and are staying in the surroundings of Nineveh. Šumma-ilu asked them why they left the royal guard (EN.NUN *ša LUGAL*) after the death of their commander? The case is very

<sup>988</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1995, XXVII.

<sup>989</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, iii:7-iv:8.

<sup>990</sup> 4 LÚ.mu-šar-kis.MEŠ-ni, KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 125 (ADD 1179+1233), 3 LÚ.mu-šar-ki-sa-ni, SAGGS 2001, 197-199, NL 56, 23'-24'.

<sup>991</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 162 (ABL 1036).

<sup>992</sup> LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 105 (ABL 186).

interesting. There are several conclusions can be drawn. The first is that the recruitment officers could command certain units (in this case a unit of 50) during campaigns. The second is that this unit was probably composed of cavalymen or chariotry, since they brought back 12 horses. It would be possible that this unit was a unit organizing the logistics of the army, but the son of the deceased officer accused them of leaving the royal guard, which means that this was a fighting unit. If it was a fighting unit of 50 and the rest of the soldiers (it is unknown how many of them survived and returned to Assyria) came back only with 12 horses, the unit must have suffered heavy losses in combat, including their officer. The fact that they were stationed in the surroundings of Nineveh could easily mean that their unit belonged to the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*).

TEXT	TYPE OF <i>MUŠARKISU</i>	NUMBER
DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, no. 99, Obv. I:1-18	<i>mušarkisu ša pēṭḫal qurubte</i> (bodyguard cavalry)	14
DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, no. 108, II:27-47		14?
DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, no. 102, III:25'-31'		5
PARKER 1961 (ND 2386 + 2730), Obv. II:1'-16'	<i>mušarkisu ša pēṭḫalli</i> (cavalry)	14
DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, no. 99, III:7-IV:8	<i>mušarkisu ša mugerri ekalli</i> (palace chariotry)	28
DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, no. 103, R. I-II:6		22
DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, no. 108, V:12-37		25
PARKER 1961 (ND 2386 + 2730), Obv. II:1'-16'		28?
FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 126 (ADD 855), 11'-31'		19?
DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, no. 103, Obv. III end	<i>mušarkisu ša mugerri qurubte</i> (chariotry bodyguard)	[x]
DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, no. 108, Obv. IV:24-V:11		25?
PARKER 1961 (ND 2386 + 2730), Rev. I:8-15	<i>mušarkisu ša šaglūte</i> (deportees)	4
KINNIER WILSON 1972, 10, 13; 18, 19	<i>mušarkisu bēl mugerri</i> (chariot owners)	
KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 36 (ADD 34), Rev. 2-3	<i>mušarkisu ša šakin māti</i> (of the governor)	
SAGGS 2001, 197-199 (NL 56, ND 2462) 22–23	<i>mušarkisāni</i>	3
KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 125 (ADD 1179+1233)	<i>mušarkisāni</i>	4

Fig. 4. Number of recruitment officers mentioned in cuneiform sources.

At least eight types of recruitment officers are mentioned in the written record. One of these terms, the 'recruitment officer of horses' (*mušarkisu ša sīsē*)<sup>993</sup> expresses its direct connection with the recruitment of horses: they were responsible for the replacement and provision of horses in the provinces. Two types of recruitment officers, the 'recruitment officer of cavalry' (*mušarkisu ša pēthalli*)<sup>994</sup> and the 'recruitment officer of cavalry bodyguard' (*mušarkisu ša pēthal qurubte*)<sup>995</sup> were in charge of the recruitment of cavalry units: regular cavalry and cavalry bodyguard. Four types of recruitment officer can be connected to chariotry units as follows.

(1) Recruitment officer of the chariot owners (*mušarkisu bēl mugerri*)

The recruitment officer appears in the cuneiform record as early as the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. His first dated appearance is 797 B.C.<sup>996</sup> The earliest entries in the Nimrud Wine Lists mention not only recruitment officers<sup>997</sup> but recruitment officers of the chariot owners (*mušarkisu bēl mugerri*) as well.<sup>998</sup> A letter to Sargon II dealing with a local review of what was probably a chariotry squadron lists 10 chariot owners (*bēl mugerri*) and their 21 king's men (LÚ.ERIM.MAN-šu-nu) – altogether 31 chariot owners, while a further 69 are missing under the command of the recruitment officer Tutī.<sup>998</sup> It is obvious that the recruitment officers were in charge of units formed from chariot owners as well.

(2) Recruitment officers of the palace chariotry (*mušarkisāni ša mugerri ekalli*)

As has been discussed in the chapter on the Palace chariotry and is shown in *Chart 9*, these officers are known exclusively from the Nimrud Horse Lists of Sargon II (CTN III, 99, 103, 108) and two other administrative texts (ND 2386+2730, and ADD 855).<sup>1000</sup> Two other Nimrud Horse Lists mention recruitment officers known from CTN III, 99.<sup>1001</sup> From these texts it can easily be concluded that the recruitment officers in charge of the recruitment, supply and logistics of horses and soldiers for the palace chariotry during the campaigns formed larger units of 22 to 28 officers. These units were 200 to 373 horses strong. ND 2386+2730 proves that the recruitment officers were based in provinces. They were listed in pairs, and they served the home provinces of the empire. This type of centralized recruiting system emphasizes the territorial character of the logistics and reserves of the Assyrian army.

(3) Recruitment officer of the chariotry bodyguard (*mušarkisu ša mugerri qurubte*)

As has already been discussed in the section on the chariotry bodyguard, these officers served the chariotry bodyguard of Sargon II. They are known from the Nimrud Horse Lists – review lists of the Assyrian army preparing for a Babylonian campaign. This type of recruitment officer can be attested in CTN III, 103 and 108 (*see Chart 9*). Unfortunately not a single recruitment officer of

<sup>993</sup> LÚ.mu-šar-ki-sa-a-ni [ša ANŠE.KUR.RA].MEŠ, PARPOLA 1987, 162 (ABL 1036), 2-3.

<sup>994</sup> PARKER 1961, ND 2836 + 2730, Obv. II:1'-16'.

<sup>995</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, nos. 99, 100, 101, 102, 108, *passim*.

<sup>996</sup> POSTGATE 1973, 51, Rev. 10: Šābu-damqu, LÚ.mu-šar-ki-su. For a 788 B.C. date *see*: DELLER – FADHIL 1993, No. 19, Rev. 6; *see* furthermore KINNIER WILSON 1972, 9, Rev. 15, for a 786 B.C. date.

<sup>997</sup> KINNIER WILSON 1972, 6, Rev. 30; 21, Rev. 15; 32, 4.

<sup>998</sup> KINNIER WILSON 1972, 9, Rev. 15; 10, 13; 18, 19; 31, 2.

<sup>999</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 251 (ABL 567+).

<sup>1000</sup> For the reconstruction of the unit *see* DEZSŐ 2006B, 93-140.

<sup>1001</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 100, ii:6'-13': Šamaš-ilā'i; ii:14'-17': Nabû-šumu-ušur; iii:5'-7': Bābilāia; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 101, iv:2': Šalam-ahhē, 3': Ubru-Harrān, 4': Aššur-nāšir.

this unit can be reconstructed, because the obverse of tablet CTN III, 103 is completely missing, and only a single, but very important line, partly written round on to the right-hand edge of the tablet, can be deciphered: LÚ.mu-šar-kis.MEŠ GIŠ.GIGIR qur-ub-te.<sup>1002</sup> The identification of this section of CTN III, 108<sup>1003</sup> with the *mušarkisāni ša GIŠ.GIGIR qurubte* is questionable. However, this section of the very fragmentary text ends with the line [x] qur-ub-tú (from *mušarkisāni ša GIŠ.GIGIR qurubte?*), and is followed by the section of *mušarkisāni ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL*. This section makes room for 23-25 names as the next section of the same text did for the *mušarkisāni ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL* mentioned above. Furthermore not a single name on the list remained intact, so it is impossible to identify similarities between the lists of the two types of *mušarkisāni*. It seems to the present author that this unit differed in its composition totally from the other unit of *mušarkisāni*.

(4) Recruitment officer of the deportees (*mušarkisu ša šaglūte*)

One of these four types is the recruitment officer of the deportees, who appears in a document<sup>1004</sup> listing *mušarkisāni* of the chariotry and cavalry in a territorial order. Nimrud Horse Lists, however, does not mention a recruitment officer of the deportees, in a chariotry or cavalry context.

(5) Recruitment officer of the governor (*mušarkisu ša šakin māti*)

This fifth type is represented by a single entry (the witness list of a private legal document), which mentions the recruitment officer of the governor.<sup>1005</sup> This title implies that alongside the network of recruitment officers serving the central administration, the local, provincial military administration also used recruitment officers, who might be in charge of the recruitment of the units of the provincial governors.

Cohort commander (*rab kišir*)

Only three types of cohort commanders appear in the cuneiform evidence in chariotry contexts: the 'cohort commander of chariot warriors of the queen' (*rab kišir ša māru damqu ša bēlet ekalli*), the 'cohort commander of the recruits of chariotry' (*rab kišir ša LÚ.raksu GIGIR*), and the 'cohort commander of the recruits' (*rab kišir ša LÚ.raksūte*). These three types obviously do not represent the whole spectrum of cohort commanders serving in the chariotry. A group of texts found at Assur list chariot men (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR) assigned to or arriving from different towns of the empire (see above). These lists contain the names not only of chariot men, but of cohort commanders as well. It is not clear, however, whether these cohort commanders<sup>1006</sup> were the commanders of the chariot men or not.

However, another type of cohort commander of the chariotry appears in the Nimrud Horse Lists. This type of officer was a cohort commander of regular chariotry units of the royal corps

<sup>1002</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 103, Obv. iii end.

<sup>1003</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, Rev. iv:24-v:11, 213.

<sup>1004</sup> PARKER 1961, ND 2836 + 2730, Rev. I:8-15, LÚ.mu-šar-kis.MEŠ ša LÚ.šag-lu-te.

<sup>1005</sup> KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 36 (ADD 34), Rev. 2-3: <sup>m</sup>Pi-ša-ar-mu LÚ.mu-šar-kis ša LÚ.GAR.<KUR> (695 B.C.)

<sup>1006</sup> SCHROEDER 1920, 34 (VAT.11194), 7': [LÚ.]GAL—ki-šir, Rev. 2': [... LÚ.GAL]—ki-šir; 36 (VAT.11196), 1-2: Kakkussu LÚ.GAL—ki-šir; 131 (VAT 10473), Rev. 3: Šulmu-aḥḥē LÚ.GAL—ki-š[ir], 132 (VAT 10469), 1-2: Ame-atar LÚ.GAL—ki-šir, Sē'-qatar LÚ.GAL—ki-šir.

(*kišir šarrūti*), the so-called city units (*Aššurāia*, *Arraphāia*, *Armāia*, *Arzuḫināia*, *Arbailāia*)<sup>1007</sup> under the command of the Chief Eunuch (*Chart 9*). Judging from the evidence of the Nimrud Horse Lists it seems possible that the officers of the city units of the royal corps under the command of the Chief Eunuch were cohort commanders (*rab kišir*), while the officers of the provincial troops with probably similar duties were team commanders (*rab urâte*). Examining the Nimrud Horse Lists a very important observation can be made. Some texts of this corpus prove the assumption that in chariotry contexts the team commander (*rab urâte*) might have been the equivalent of the cohort commander (*rab kišir*). One of the sections of CTN III, 101 lists 13 team commanders,<sup>1008</sup> who were, as the last line of the section makes clear, cohort commanders of the Chief Eunuch. Three of them are known as *rab kišir* officers of the *Armāia* unit,<sup>1009</sup> and three other officers are known as *rab kišir* officers of the *Arbailāia* unit.<sup>1010</sup> In this particular case the cohort commanders of the Chief Eunuch's city units were assigned to another unit as team commanders, which suggests the possibility of a certain degree of compatibility between the two ranks. Further evidence proves that the officers of the division of the Chief Eunuch were cohort commanders. The same text mentions *Kišir-Aššur*, cohort commander of *Aššur-rēmāni*, prefect of '*taḫlīpu*' charioteers.<sup>1011</sup> The prefect of '*taḫlīpu*' charioteers belonged to the headquarters staff section of the division of the Chief Eunuch. The cohort commanders of the Chief Eunuch who probably belonged to the other arm of the *kišir šarrūti*, the infantry, are mentioned in several texts.<sup>1012</sup>

As has been discussed in the chapter on infantry officers, the cohort commanders (*rab kišir*) seem to have belonged mainly or exclusively to units which were attached to the royal family: cohort commanders of the king, the Chief Eunuch, the crown prince and the queen mother. Only a few cases are known where the cohort commander cannot be connected to the *kišir šarrūti* (see *vol. 1, Chart 3*).

It has to be examined whether the three cohort commanders of the chariotry who appear in the cuneiform record were the cohort commanders of the royal family or the Chief Eunuch or not. The 'cohort commander of the chariot warriors of the queen' (*rab kišir ša māru damqu ša bēlet ekalli*)<sup>1013</sup> was obviously an officer of the *kišir šarrūti*. The two other cohort commanders, the 'cohort commander of the recruits of chariotry' (*rab kišir ša LÚ.rak-su GIGIR*)<sup>1014</sup> and the 'cohort commander of the recruits' (*rab kišir ša LÚ.rak-su-te*)<sup>1015</sup> are connected to the recruits of the chariotry (even if in one case no equestrian connection is indicated). These cases – in spite of the fact that several entries from the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. mention the recruits of the Chief Eunuch – cannot be connected directly to the *kišir šarrūti*.

<sup>1007</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 102, II:1'-III:22; no. 108, II:1-24; no. 111, 6'-Rev. 19; no. 112, Obv. 1-Rev. 1; no. 113, Rev. 1'-11'. For detailed study see The 'city units.'

<sup>1008</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 101, ii:13-28:

<sup>1009</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 101, ii:13: *Qurdi-ilāni*; ii:17: *Akkadāia*; ii:19: *Aplāia*.

<sup>1010</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 101, ii:24: *Ubru-aḫḫē*; ii:25: *Qurdi-Issar-lāmur*; ii:26: [Nan]nī.

<sup>1011</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 101, I:17-19.

<sup>1012</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), I:48, II:7, II:10, Rev. I:1, II:11.

<sup>1013</sup> Lit-il *rab kišir ša LÚ.A*—SIG *ša MÍ.É.GAL*; KWASMAN 1988, 178 (ADD 494), Rev. 7-8.

<sup>1014</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 235 (ABL 1432), E. 7.

<sup>1015</sup> POSTGATE 1973, 18:24-25: *Ṣa-la-[m]a-nu LÚ.GAL—ka-šir ša LÚ.rak-su-te*; DELLER – FADHIL 1993, 1 (ND 666), 6, 6 (ND 678), 23.

Team commander (*rab urâte*)

This officer appeared as early as 784 B.C. in the form of *ša urâte* ('of the teams')<sup>1016</sup> and in an even more explicit version: *ša pān urâte* ('of the front of the teams').<sup>1017</sup> As the meaning of the phrase ('commander of teams of horses') clearly shows, this title refers to an officer of chariotry, who was in charge of teams of horses. The etymology is clear, but the function is unfortunately not. Thanks to the detailed lists of the Nimrud Horse Lists and other administrative texts, more than 230 team commanders are known by name, and dozens more names have been broken off. At least 5 types of team commanders can be reconstructed from the Nimrud Horse Lists and other Sargonide administrative documents with regard to their duties or the units in which they served. These were the units of the 2<sup>nd</sup> division of the royal corps, which was probably not under the direct control of the Chief Eunuch (see *Charts 1, 9*).<sup>1018</sup> As has been reconstructed in the previous chapter, it seems possible that the team commanders had a similar capacity to the cohort commanders. Judging from the Nimrud Horse Lists, the cohort commanders served in the units of the 1<sup>st</sup> division of the royal corps under the direct command of the Chief Eunuch, while the team commanders served in the units of the 2<sup>nd</sup> division of the royal corps listed below. It must be emphasized that like the cohort commanders (*rab kišir*) of the 1<sup>st</sup> division, large groups of team commanders formed the main bulk of the fighting units of the 2<sup>nd</sup> division of the expeditionary army of Sargon II. Judging from CTN III, 99, the strength of the 2<sup>nd</sup> division was no less than 120 team commanders with their units (see *Charts 1, 9*).

(1) Team commander of the cavalry bodyguard (*rab urâte ša pēthāl qurubte*)

One of the Nimrud Horse Lists (CTN III, 99) lists 16 *rab urâte* officers of the chief officers (magnates, LÚ.GAL.GAL.MEŠ).<sup>1019</sup> This passage does not imply any connection between these team commanders and the cavalry. However, another text of the Nimrud Horse Lists (CTN III, 108) in a fragmentary passage<sup>1020</sup> lists probably the same group of officers (6 of them can be identified) and summarizes the caption explicitly as "altogether 128 horses, cavalry bodyguard (*pēthāl qurubte*)."<sup>1021</sup> If this connection and the theory based on it are valid, this is the only information about chariotry officers commanding a cavalry unit. Perhaps the fact that – as we know from an administrative text<sup>1021</sup> – the cavalry horses were also organized in teams helps us to better understand this office. Furthermore, it is known that Aššur-rēmāni, the cavalry commander (*rab pēthalli* (LÚ.GAL—BAD.[HAL])) of the deputy (governor) of Dēr(?) in 707 B.C. commanded not only cavalry but chariotry units as well.<sup>1022</sup> It must be admitted, however, that the nature and exact sphere of authority of this office needs further study.

<sup>1016</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 145, iii:3: *ša ú-ra-a-te*.

<sup>1017</sup> KINNIER WILSON 1972, 3, I:7: *ša pa-an ú-ra-a-te*.

<sup>1018</sup> DEZSÓ 2006B, figs. 6, 7.

<sup>1019</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, I:1-18: LÚ.GAL—*ú-rat*.MEŠ *ša* LÚ.GAL.GAL.MEŠ: Issar-dūri, Adad-abu-ušur, Izbu, Šelubu, Ḫaldi-ilā'i, Šēpē-Šamaš, Balāssu, Aḫu-šina, Šamaš-rēmāni, Nabû-apla-iddina, Rēmūtu, Aššur-šumu-ušur, Šamaš-ilā'i, Šamaš-ḫiti, Salamu-imme, and Sisi.

<sup>1020</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, II:27-47.

<sup>1021</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 29 (ADD 1041). This text deals with the the cavalry teams (*ú-rat* BAD.HAL) which are to be given to the prefects (LÚ.NU.GAR.MEŠ) of the royal guard (*ša*—GIR.2.MEŠ).

<sup>1022</sup> FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 129 (CT 53, 110+++++).



(2) Team commander of the provincial units

The main bulk of one of the two divisions of the expeditionary army of Sargon II reconstructed from the Nimrud Horse Lists<sup>1023</sup> is the 50 chief officers (magnates) of the 7 provincial units.<sup>1024</sup> These three texts (CTN III, 99, 102, 108) list the chief officers of these units (*Chart 9*) and only a single entry makes it clear that subordinate officers (probably team commanders) served under them.<sup>1025</sup> These units might have comprised both chariotry and cavalry, so we have discussed in the chapter of cavalry as well.

(3) Team commander of the chariotry bodyguard (*rab urâte ša mugerri* (GIŠ.GIGIR) *qurubte*)

Two of the Nimrud Horse Lists (CTN III, 103 and 108) contain fragmentary information about the chariotry bodyguard unit. In CTN III, 103 only a fragmentary summary line, the last line of the third column of the obverse, remains intelligible.<sup>1026</sup> This line summarizes the recruitment officers of the chariotry bodyguard who, as has been reconstructed from other texts, commanded team commanders. The other text (CTN III, 108) in a fragmentary section lists approximately 25 names who – as the last fragmentary line suggests<sup>1027</sup> – were the team commanders of the chariotry bodyguard (GIŠ.GIGIR *qurubte*).

(4) Team commander of the palace chariotry (*rab urâte ša mugerri ekalli* (GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL))

This unit and its officers appear in three of the Nimrud Horse Lists (CTN III, 99, 103, 108).<sup>1028</sup> These fragmentary passages listed respectively 28 recruitment officers and their 28 team commanders, 22 recruitment officers (and their team commanders?), and 25 recruitment officers (and their team commanders?).

(5) Team commander of the stable officers (*rab urâte ša šaknūte ša ma'assi*)

Three texts of the Nimrud Horse Lists (CTN III, 99, 103, 108) mention larger sections of stable officers, two of which include team commanders assigned to the stable officers. CTN III, 99 lists four stable officers with their 28 team commanders.<sup>1029</sup> The fragmentary CTN III, 108 lists at least 6 of them (the other team commanders of the stable officers' section have been broken off).

(6) Team commander of the Chief Eunuch (*rab urâte ša rab ša — rēšē*)<sup>1030</sup>

This officer, the sixth type of team commander, appears in only a single entry dated to the Post Canonical period, when the Assyrian army underwent some important changes. The text is a corn loan document from the Review Palace of Calah. Nabû-danninanni, the team commander of the Chief Eunuch, received 2 homers of barley from the manager of the Review Palace. The witness list includes two chariot men (Sukkāia and Erība-Adad), who were probably subordinates of the

<sup>1023</sup> DEZSÓ 2006B, 93-140.

<sup>1024</sup> Unit 1: Šarru-ēmuranni (DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Obv. i:19-ii:6) unit, 2: Marduk-šarru-ušur (Obv. ii:7-11, 173, 177), unit 3: the *Kaldāia* (Obv. ii:12-15, 168, 173, 177) unit 4: Nabû-bēlu-ka”in (*Sāmerināia*, Obv. ii:16-23.), unit 5: Taklāk-ana-Bēli (Obv. ii:24-26), unit 6: Adallal (Rev. iii:1-3.), and unit 7: Nergal-šarrāni (Rev. iii:4-5.).

<sup>1025</sup> Unit 1: Šarru-ēmuranni (DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Obv. i:19-ii:6) lists the names of the 10 subordinate officers.

<sup>1026</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 103, Obv. Col iii: LÚ.mu-šar-kis.MEŠ GIŠ.GIGIR *qur-ub-te*.

<sup>1027</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, Rev. iv:21-v:11. The last line of the section is: [...] *ša qur-ub-tū*.

<sup>1028</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Rev. iii:7-iv:8; no. 103, Rev. i-ii:6; no. 108, Rev. v:12-37.

<sup>1029</sup> Šamaš-taklāk commanded 6 (DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Rev. iv:9-12), Šarru-ēmuranni commanded 7 (Rev. iv:13-16), Šēpē-Aššur commanded 10 (Rev. iv:17-22), Aššur-šarru-ušur commanded 5 of them (Rev. iv:23-26).

<sup>1030</sup> Nabû-danninanni, LÚ.GAL—*u-rat ša* GAL—.SAG; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 12:5 (PC, *limmu* of Aššur-mātu-takkin).

team commander. Unfortunately, there are no further details, so it remains unknown whether the Chief Eunuch was, unusually, in charge of chariot units which were commanded not by *rab kišir*, but *rab urâte* officers.

#### (7) Team commander of the horse trainers

Only a rather late (Achaemenid) corpus suggests that at times the team commander commanded horse trainers as well. Some texts mention the ‘association of horse trainers of the house of the team commander’ (*ḥaṭṭi ša šušāni ša bīt rab urātu*).<sup>1031</sup> As has been mentioned already, *šušānu* did not necessarily mean ‘horse trainer’ at that period, but rather a handler of animals. However, the *šušānu* of the team commander’s house/estate might well have trained horses. It is unfortunately not known whether these horse trainers served the team commander as a unit or were simply the servants of his house/estate. This group of texts shows that the rank of the team commander was known at least in the army of the Babylonian satrapy of the Achaemenid Empire, and shows a strong continuity with the chariotry and cavalry tradition of the Neo-Assyrian period.

A whole range of subordinates and other personnel of the team commander appear in the written sources. The ‘chariot man of the team commander’ ([LÚ.]GIŠ.GIGI[R X X GA]L *u-ra[t ...]*) is known from a reconstructed passage as early as 784 B.C.<sup>1032</sup> As has already been discussed, the team commander commanded not only chariot men, but recruits as well (LÚ.*rak-su ša* LÚ.GAL—*u-rat*).<sup>1033</sup> If we accept the ‘compatibility’ between the official duties of the team commander and the cohort commander, the team commander commanded chariotry units (chariot men and recruits) of the strength of a cohort.

The team commander had a deputy (LÚ.2-*u(šanû) rab urâte*),<sup>1034</sup> whose office is otherwise unknown. A Sargonide letter mentions the barley rations of the team commander’s household,<sup>1035</sup> and even an official of the household of the team commander is known,<sup>1036</sup> but the fragmentary condition of this text makes the reconstruction of his office impossible. The ‘scribe of the team commander’ (LÚ.A.BA (*tupšarru*) *ša* LÚ.GAL—*u-rat*.MEŠ)<sup>1037</sup> also appears in the cuneiform sources. The scribe in this case probably belonged much more to his relatively high office, than to his person.

#### Chariotry or cavalry commander (*rab mūgi*)

The rank of *rab mūgi* or *rab mungi* is mentioned in the cuneiform sources of the Sargonide period. Its first known appearance in the cuneiform record is dated to the reign of Sargon II,<sup>1038</sup> but it appeared later during the reigns of Esarhaddon (679 B.C.),<sup>1039</sup> and Assurbanipal as well. This could mean that this rank/title appeared during the reign of Sargon II and may well have been

<sup>1031</sup> KRÜCKMANN 1933, 183:6, 190:12, 191:13, 124:4; CLAY 1912A, 114:18.

<sup>1032</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 119, Rev. 1.

<sup>1033</sup> SAGGS 2001, 317-318 (NL 58), 6-7.

<sup>1034</sup> Nabû-erība, LÚ.2-*u(šanû)* LÚ.GAL—*u-rat* appears in the Rēmanni-Adad archive (KWSMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 301, 308, 309, 310, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 320, 321, 325, 328, 329, 330, 332, 335, 338, 339, 342, 347) and other legal texts (; FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 10, 16; FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 130).

<sup>1035</sup> FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 62 (CT 53, 55), 12.

<sup>1036</sup> Nabû-bēlu-ušur, [...] É(*bīt*) LÚ.GAL—*u-rat* (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 31 (ADD 816), I:4’-5’).

<sup>1037</sup> Nādin, LÚ.A.BA *ša* LÚ.GAL—*u-rat*.MEŠ (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 30 (ADD 815+), II:3’-4’). Another scribe, probably of the team commander, is mentioned in an administrative text: FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 36 (ADD 1036), III:10.

<sup>1038</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 2 (CT 53, 502), 3’, 7’; 160 (ABL 843), 12.

<sup>1039</sup> Ina-šar-Aššur-allak LÚ.GAL—*mug-gi*, KWSMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 247 (ADD 1188), BE. 2.

connected to an army reform of this king. This reform placed the *rab mūgi* into the military hierarchy of the Assyrian army (chariotry and cavalry) in a position which can be identified somewhere on a similar level to or even above the team commander (*rab urâte*) and the cohort commander (*rab kišir*). The context shows that he was a cavalry and/or chariotry officer.

The *rab mūgi* ranked high enough to serve occasionally as a confidential envoy. Sargon II, for example, sent him to Sennacherib with orders concerning the king of Arpad.<sup>1040</sup> The *rab mūgi* appears in the same capacity in some queries of Assurbanipal, where the question is whether Assurbanipal should send a *rab mūgi* to Egypt as a special envoy.<sup>1041</sup> According to a census tablet the *rab mūgi* – similarly to such high ranking officials as the treasurer of the Aššur Temple or the governor of Tamnuna – obtained a substantial estate of 40 hectares,<sup>1042</sup> which – judging from other sources – might easily have been a standard estate size for military personnel and officials.<sup>1043</sup> It is interesting that the section listing these estates ends with a line summarizing 24 Gambuleans, which means either that the estates were situated in the territory of Gambulu, or that deported Gambuleans cultivated these fields somewhere else. A further question has to be answered. The census listed the high officials obviously without their names, but the *rab mūgi* was also listed without his name, which means that a certain *rab mūgi* probably served in this region. This notion may be corroborated by an undated letter from a *rab mūgi* to his lord, the governor,<sup>1044</sup> which seems to suggest that every province and provincial governor was served by a single *rab mūgi*. The relatively high military (and social) status of the *rab mūgi* can be reconstructed from other sources as well. An administrative text lists altogether four people (a chief singer, two men from Arbela, and an Aramean scribe) at the disposal of the *rab mūgi*.<sup>1045</sup> This high status is reinforced by the fact that even his deputy is mentioned in a Sargonide letter.<sup>1046</sup>

The exact status or rank of the *rab mūgi* is unknown. Translations range from ‘cavalry officer’ to ‘squadron leader.’<sup>1047</sup> Unfortunately there are no etymological clues to a better understanding of his role. The connection with horses (cavalry and chariotry) is obvious from several texts. The relation to the cohort commander (*rab kišir*) and team commander (*rab urâte*), who were probably of similar status, is unknown. There is only a single administrative text<sup>1048</sup> which lists all of them: a distribution list of tribute to palace personnel, probably of the queen’s household. The following table shows their possible hierarchy. This text listing equestrian officers also provides some information on the relative importance of different chariotry and cavalry personnel and officers (Fig. 5). The first section lists in order of importance the team commander, a ‘third man’ (most probably of the royal court), the commander of chariotry, the commander of cavalry, and a cohort commander of the palace. Their share of the tribute decreases probably according their

<sup>1040</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 2 (CT 53, 502), 3’, 7’.

<sup>1041</sup> KNUDTZON 1893, 66:2, 4, Rev. 6; 67:3, Rev. 6

<sup>1042</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 219 (ADB 5), II:22’.

<sup>1043</sup> Similar 40-hectare estates are mentioned in other census tablets: FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 222 (ADD 806), 7’ mentions Bēl-ahhēšu, the *kallāpu*, who bought 40 hectares of land; while FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 228 (ADD 918), 4’-6’ lists 40 hectares of land in the town of Šelā, which was assigned to Kalhāiu, the *ša—šēpē* guardsman, and 40 hectares of land in the town of Apiani, which was assigned to Barbiri, the Gurrean. Furthermore, as has already been discussed, groups of officers or military personnel owned estates next to each other or lived in groups (in military enclaves?).

<sup>1044</sup> POSTGATE 1973, 192 (ND 438).

<sup>1045</sup> LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 123 (ABL 1343), 6’-9’.

<sup>1046</sup> LÚ.2-u ša LÚ.GAL—*mu-gu*, PARPOLA 1987, 205 (ABL 154), 15.

<sup>1047</sup> LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 59 (ABL 1217+), Rev. 18’.

<sup>1048</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 36 (ADD 1036).

importance. The second section lists cavalrymen, who did not receive food rations but a large amount of copper, which exceeds the amount of copper given to the officers of the first section, thus emphasizing the importance of the cavalry bodyguard. A similar ‘list in order of importance’ appears in some omīna listing military personnel, probably also according to their importance (vol. 1, Fig. 6).

ADD 1036		copper	sheep	bowl of wine
III:5-10	team commander (LÚ.GAL—ú-rat)	7 minas	2	2
III:11-13	‘third man’ of the palace (LÚ.3.U <sub>5</sub> É.GAL)	3 minas	1	1
III:14-15	commander of the chariotry (LÚ.GAL—mu-gi ša GIŠ.GIGIR)		1	1
III:16-17	commander of the cavalry (LÚ.GAL—mu-gi ša BAD-ḫal-li)		1	
III:18-20	cohort commanders of the palace (LÚ.GAL—ki-šir.MEŠ ša É.GAL)		2	2
III:23-24	chariot driver (LÚ.mu-kil—PA.MEŠ)		1	1
R.I:5-6	2 cavalrymen of the personal guard (2 BADḫAL GÌR.2(ša—šēpē))	2 talents		
I:9-10	cavalryman of the bodyguard ([BAD].ḫAL ša LÚ-qur-bu-te)	[x] minas		
I:11-12	[...] the cavalryman ([...] BAD.ḫAL)	[x ...]		

Fig. 5. List of tribute distributed to equestrian officers at court (Fales – Postgate 1995, 36).

This list shows that – at that time – the team commander occupied the highest position in the military hierarchy. He was followed by the ‘third man of the palace,’ while the *rab mūgi* of the chariotry, the *rab mūgi* of the cavalry and the ‘cohort commanders of the palace’ (probably 2 of them) occupied approximately the same position. The chariot driver received the same share of the tribute: 1 sheep and 1 bowl of wine. Unfortunately no further evidence corroborates this order, which would have changed with time.

(1) *Rab mūgi* of the chariotry (LÚ.GAL—mu-gi ša GIŠ.GIGIR)<sup>1049</sup>

As discussed above ADD 1036 explicitly identifies the rank of *rab mūgi* of the chariotry and cavalry. Further texts reinforce its connection with the chariotry. Another administrative text mentions the *rab mūgi* officer of the chariotry,<sup>1050</sup> and there is a group of texts dated to the reign of Assurbanipal listing the chariot men / chariot horse trainers of the *rab mūgi* officer.<sup>1051</sup> A Sargonide letter sheds some light on the role of the *rab mūgi* and his deputy, showing that the deputy of the *rab mūgi* could transfer military personnel (for example Marduk-erība, the palace chariot warrior) from one garrison to another.<sup>1052</sup>

<sup>1049</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 36 (ADD 1036), III:15.

<sup>1050</sup> [...-ša]rru-ušur GAL—mu-gi GIGIR, FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 39 (K.18589), I:3’.

<sup>1051</sup> Man-ki-šarri GIGIR GAL—mu-gi (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 118 (ADD 993), Rev. II:6, 663—661 B.C.); Zabinu LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR LÚ.GAL—mu-gi (MATTILA 2002, 94-5 (ADD 24-25), 4-5, 1-2, 646 B.C.); Nusku-šarru-iddina LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR GAL—mu-gi (RADNER 2002, TSH 68, Rev. 5-6, 630 B.C.).

<sup>1052</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 205 (ABL 154).

(2) *Rab mūgi* of the cavalry (LÚ.GAL—*mu-gi ša* BAD-*ḫal-li*)

The *rab mūgi* officer of the cavalry is mentioned in a single administrative text, the list of distribution of tribute to palace personnel<sup>1053</sup> discussed above. It is obvious that the *rab mūgi* officers were connected to equestrian units and horses<sup>1054</sup> but the exact scope of their duties remains unknown.

Commander-of-50 (*rab ḫanšê*)

As will be discussed later (The size of chariotry units) and is shown especially in *Chart 4*, the earlier system of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium and 10<sup>th</sup>—9<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. with platoon sizes of 30, 33, and 40 chariots and squadron sizes of 90 and 120 chariots had already changed by the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C., and after an army reform of Tiglath-Pileser III (745—727 B.C.) or most plausibly of Sargon II (721—705 B.C.) the platoons of 50 chariots and squadrons of 100 chariots became the standard unit sizes for the Assyrian chariotry. This change affected all types of chariotry units. Concluding the evidence it seems probable that the commanders-of-50 were platoon commanders.

(1) Commander-of-50 of the chariotry (*rab 50 GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ*)<sup>1055</sup>

This rank shows that not only members of chariot crews but also chariotry units could have been organized in fifties. This single administrative text mentions this rank (using a plural form: ‘commanders-of-50 of the chariotry’) together with other commanders-of-50 of the ‘third men’ and probably with the [commander-of-50] of the ‘third men of the *ša—šēpē* guard.’

(2) Commander-of-50 of the ‘third men’ (*rab 50 tašlišāni*)<sup>1056</sup>

Two administrative texts (accounts from a ceremonial banquet) mention the ‘commander-of-50 of third men.’ It is obvious that not only the chariotry units but also the members of crews were organized in fifties (according to their platoons, or separately). *See later* (The size of chariot units).

(3) Assyrian commander-of-50 of ‘third men’ (*Aššurāia rab 50 ša tašlišāni*)<sup>1057</sup>

This rank appears in a single administrative text (the same account of a ceremonial banquet), together with two Assyrian prefects of the cavalry, and the Assyrian prefects of the crown prince. This kind of toponym is interesting. It would distinguish these officers from the Ninevite chariot drivers and Elamite ‘third men’ mentioned in the same text, but most plausibly it would distinguish Assyrian from non-Assyrian units. As has been discussed, NL 89 listing cavalry and chariotry units with other troops summarizes the above mentioned soldiers in line 21 as “630 Assyrians,” and distinguishes them in this way from other, non-Assyrian troops (including 360 Gurreans and 440 Itu’eans).<sup>1058</sup> It must be emphasized that these two officers were the officers of Assyrian units and were not the members of the *Aššurāia* unit of the city units of Sargon II’s army.

<sup>1053</sup> FALES — POSTGATE 1995, 36 (ADD 1036).

<sup>1054</sup> Bēl-išdāra-kīni, [LÚ.GAL—*mu-u*]n-*gi ša* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ [...], DIETRICH 2003, 146 (ABL 865) REV. 9-10.

<sup>1055</sup> GAL—50.MEŠ GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ, FALES — POSTGATE 1992, 150 (ADD 834+++), II:10’.

<sup>1056</sup> GAL—50 3-šū.MEŠ, FALES — POSTGATE 1992, 150 (ADD 834+++), II:19’; GAL—50.MEŠ 3-šū.MEŠ [...], FALES — POSTGATE 1992, 157 (ADD 838+), II:6’.

<sup>1057</sup> KUR.AŠ(Assyrian) GAL—50.MEŠ *ša* 3-šū.[MEŠ], FALES — POSTGATE 1992, 149 (ADD 1125), REV. II:8’.

<sup>1058</sup> LANFRANCHI — PARPOLA 1990, 251; POSTGATE 2000; FALES 2000, 40-43; SAGGS 2001, 128-130.

(4) Commander-of-50 of the ‘third men’ of the *ša—šēpē* guard (*rab 50 ša tašlišāni ša—šēpē*)<sup>1059</sup>

This type of officer appears exclusively in the same group of administrative texts, in one of them in a broken context, probably together with the ‘commander-of-50 of the chariotry’ and the ‘commander-of-50 of the third men.’ It is obvious that the new system of the platoons of 50 chariots and squadrons of two (or three platoons) was used throughout the Assyrian army (in the regular chariotry and the bodyguard units as well).

### *The size of chariotry units*

The size of chariotry units can only be reconstructed from the cuneiform sources, which offer four possible ways to reconstruct the size of such a unit or of a whole chariotry army, based on 1) the number of chariots, 2) the number of officers, or 3) the number of soldiers (chariot crews), and 4) the number of horses given.

(1) Reconstruction of the size of chariotry units using the number of chariots mentioned in the cuneiform sources.

The earliest known administrative texts listing chariots come from the Nuzi archive. Judging from the number of chariots (58 of the left and 36 of the right),<sup>1060</sup> there was at least a squadron of chariots stored in the Nuzi arsenal.

The Assyrian cuneiform sources list captured or destroyed enemy chariots and Assyrian chariots in round figures. The following table summarizes the key numbers mentioned in cuneiform sources. As *Fig. 6* shows, in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium and in the 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C. the Assyrians often captured or deployed smaller chariotry units of 30, 33, or 40 chariots. Consequently, it can be assumed that a chariotry unit of this size was a platoon. Somewhat larger numbers are the 100 or 120 chariots, which might be the size of a squadron. In the case of a squadron of 120 chariots, the squadron might have consisted of three platoons of 40 chariots or four platoons of 30 chariots each. The squadron of 100 chariots consisted probably of three platoons of 33 chariots each. When Arik-dēn-ili crossed the Lower-Zab with 90 chariots it was probably a squadron of three platoons of 30 chariots, unless these 90 chariots were three platoons of a squadron of 120 chariots. Texts of the Nuzi archive dated to the 15<sup>th</sup>—14<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. mention the ‘officer of 10’ (*emantuhlu* = *rab 10*) and the *atuhlu*, who, according to an administrative text<sup>1061</sup> could command 60 *marianni* of Hanigalbat. In this case the 60 chariot warriors could form two platoons of 30 chariots (it is not known whether this was half a squadron of 120 chariots or not). The rank of *emantuhlu* (officer of 10), however made the system flexible.

It is interesting to see that in the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C., during the reign of Sargon II, units of 50, 100, or 200 chariots became more widespread – at least in the ranks of the Assyrian army. It is quite possible that a platoon at that time consisted of 50 chariots, and the size of a squadron was 100 chariots (two platoons of 50 chariots) or 200 chariots (four platoons of 50

<sup>1059</sup> GAL—50.MEŠ *ša 3-šú* GİR.2(*šēpē*), FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 148 (ADD 1083), Rev. II:6’; see furthermore in a broken context: [...].MEŠ *ša 3-šú*.MEŠ GİR.2(*šēpē*), FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 150 (ADD 834+++), III:3’.

<sup>1060</sup> 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).

<sup>1061</sup> LACHEMAN 1955, 32:26-29.

RULER	ASSYRIAN	CAPTURED/TRIBUTE	LOCATION
Arik-dēn-ili (1317—1306 B.C.)		33	Nigimḫi (king Esini)
	90		Lower [Zab?]
Aššur-rēš-iši I (1132—1115 B.C.)		40	Īdu (king Nabû-kudurri-ušur I)
Tiglath-Pileser I (1114—1076 B.C.)	30		Katmuḫu
		120	Šubartu (Kasku and Urumu tribes)
		120	Nairi (23 kings of Nairi)
Tukulti-Ninurta II (890—884 B.C.)	(1,350?)		
Assurnasirpal II (883—859 B.C.)		40	Bīt-Zamāni (nobles)
Shalmaneser III (858—824 B.C.)		1,200	Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri, Damascus)
		700	Irḫuleni (Hamath)
		2,000	Ahab (Israel)
		10	Irqanata
		30	Adunu-Ba’ālu (Šiānu)
		1,121	Hazael of Damascus, Qarqar coalition
	2,002		
Šamši-Adad V (823—811 B.C.)		100	Daban River (Marduk-balāssu-iqbī)
Ninurta-kudurri-ušur	105		Governor of Sūḫu
Sargon II (721—705 B.C.)		50	Samaria
		200	Ḫamath (Qarqar)
		30	Šinuḫtu (Kiakki)
		50	Gargamiš
		100	Bīt-Puritiš (Ambaris)
	150		<i>turtānu ša bīt šumēli</i>

Fig. 6. Numbers of chariots mentioned in Assyrian royal inscriptions.

chariots). Judging from the above-mentioned fact, that when Sargon II 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,”<sup>1062</sup> one or two squadrons of chariotry was quite a substantial force. One or two squadrons of chariotry might be the chariotry component of a complete expeditionary army or the army of a high official.

The chariotry units garrisoned in the provinces are known from the administrative texts of the Sargonides as well. However, these units can only be reconstructed from other sources, for example from the number of officers or horses listed (*see below*). Only a few other fragmentary

<sup>1062</sup> LIE 1929, 72:9-12; FUCHS 1994, Annales, lines 409-410; Prunk, lines 116-117; 13<sup>th</sup> *palū*, 709 B.C.

administrative texts give us numbers of chariots. Two fragmentary reports written to Sargon II mention 100 chariots<sup>1063</sup> – one of them (the letter of Tāb-šar-Aššur) listing the chariots of the Commander-in-Chief, the Chief Judge, the Vizier, the Palace Herald, the Chief Cupbearer, the Treasurer, and the governor of Calah, altogether 100 chariots, but it is unfortunately not known whether these chariots were intended for military or other purposes.<sup>1064</sup> There is another Sargonide letter which mentions 90 enemy chariots and 2,000 horses of certain people living “on the other side of Bāb-bitqi.”<sup>1065</sup> These three letters seem to reinforce the notion of chariotry squadrons of 100 chariots (Assyrian) and/or chariotry squadrons of 120/90 chariots (non-Assyrian?).

Much larger figures appear in the Assyrian royal inscriptions mentioning the number of chariots in the Assyrian and enemy armies. Two Assyrian kings mention large numbers of chariots in their royal inscriptions: Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884 B.C.) boasts that he had in harness 2,702 horses in teams [for 1,351 chariots?] for the forces of his land,<sup>1066</sup> while Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.) harnessed teams of horses to 2,002 chariots for the forces of Assyria.<sup>1067</sup> At the battle of Qarqar (853 B.C.) Shalmaneser III encountered the huge chariot army of the Syrian coalition: Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri) of Damascus brought 1,200 chariots, Irhuleni of Ḥamath 700 and Ahab of Israel 2,000; 10 chariots arrived from Irqanata, and Adunu-Ba’ālu of Šiānu brought 30 more.<sup>1068</sup> This enormous figure (altogether 3,940 chariots) must be an exaggeration<sup>1069</sup> – it is hardly to be believed that all of these vehicles were war chariots, and the number probably includes baggage carts as well. Much more credible is the number of 1,121 chariots destroyed and captured by Shalmaneser III in 841 B.C., when he defeated the army of the same coalition led by Hazael, king of Damascus.<sup>1070</sup> These huge numbers may become more credible if we take into consideration the large number of horses which were mustered probably for the Babylonian campaign of 709 B.C. (*see below*).

(2) Reconstruction of the size of chariotry units using the number of officers mentioned in the cuneiform sources.

Several administrative texts – reviews of equestrian units – list numbers of officers by their units. A group of texts, the Nimrud Horse Lists, list large numbers of chief officers (unit commanders, recruitment officers (*mušarkisāni*), stable officers (*šaknūte ša ma’assi*)) with their subordinate officers (team commanders (*rab urâte*) and cohort commanders (*rab kišir*)). Most of these texts, however, are very fragmentary, but a few of them make the reconstruction of the size of these units possible.<sup>1071</sup>

As *Fig. 7* shows, text CTN III, 99 lists four sections of one of the two divisions<sup>1072</sup> of the assembling Assyrian army, which was mustered probably in Babylonia during the campaigns of 710–708 B.C. It is easy to calculate that the unit of the palace chariotry was twice as the size of the

<sup>1063</sup> FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 44 (CT 53, 554).

<sup>1064</sup> PARPOLA 1987, 49 (CT 53, 112).

<sup>1065</sup> SAGGS 2001, 85-86 (ND 2484).

<sup>1066</sup> GRAYSON 1991, A.O.100.5, 130-131.

<sup>1067</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.6, iv:47-48.

<sup>1068</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.2, 90-95.

<sup>1069</sup> A similar number appears only for the battle of Qadesh, where the Hittite king deployed 3,500 chariots against the army of Ramesses II.

<sup>1070</sup> GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.8, 1”-13”.

<sup>1071</sup> DEZSÓ 2006B, 94-95.

<sup>1072</sup> DEZSÓ 2006B, Fig. 1.



	QURUBTU CAVALRY	PALACE CHARIOTRY	STABLE OFFICERS	PROVINCIAL UN.
Commanders	—	—	4	7
Chief officers ( <i>mušarkisāni</i> )	14	28	—	—
Officers ( <i>rab urâte</i> )	14	28	28	50
Total number of <i>rab urâte</i> :	70			50
Total number of <i>rab urâte</i> :	120			

Fig. 7. Number of equestrian officers (cavalry and chariotry) listed in CTN III, 99.

unit of the cavalry bodyguard, which had 14 chief officers (*mušarkisāni ša pēṭḫal qurubte*, recruitment officers of the cavalry bodyguard) and 14 subordinate officers (*rab urâte*, team commanders), exactly half the strength of the palace chariotry, which had 28 chief officers (*mušarkisāni ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL*, recruitment officers of the palace chariotry) and 28 subordinate officers (*rab urâte*, team commanders). It makes the problem more interesting that the 4 stable officers (*šaknūte ša ma'assi*) of the fourth section also had 28 subordinate officers (*rab urâte*, team commanders). The regularity of the numbers 14, 28, and 28 is striking and indicates a deliberate organizing principle. Another text, ND 2386+2730 with its 14 recruitment officers of the cavalry (*mušarkisāni ša pēṭḫalli*), 4 stable officers (*šaknūte ša ma'assi*) and 4 recruitment officers of the deportees (*mušarkisāni ša šaglūte*), shows that this organizing principle was not an *ad hoc* idea.

The most interesting thing is, however, that the number of *rab urâte* officers of the 7 provincial units is exactly 50 (see Chart 9 as well). It is obvious that the king ordered 7 of his generals to select a division of 50 officers. Summing up the figures of the subordinate officers we obtain an interesting result: the number of officers of the 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, and 4<sup>th</sup> sections (14 + 28 + 28) totals exactly 70. With the 50 commanders of the 7 provincial units the total number of subordinate officers is 120. It seems obvious that the 120 *rab urâte* officers listed on this tablet formed an army division – chariotry and cavalry.

Fig. 8 shows the strength of the units listed in the Nimrud Horse Lists. Judging from the number of officers of the seven provincial units of the *kišir šarrūti* listed under the names of their commanders in CTN III, 99,<sup>1073</sup> it is obvious that these units were not represented at full strength. Units 1, 2, and 4, with their 10 and 13 officers, would nearly have reached full strength. Unit 3 might have reached half strength (7 officers), but units 5, 6, and 7 sent only a few of their officers: 4, 4, and 2 respectively. The rest of their officers and their troops probably remained at their home bases. In CTN III, 108<sup>1074</sup> these numbers are slightly different: provincial unit 1 brought 7+x of their officers, unit 2 brought similarly 10, unit 3 brought similarly 7, unit 4 brought 8+x, unit 5 brought 7, unit 6 brought 5, and unit 7 brought similarly 2. Their total number was 46+x which – following the logic of CTN III, 99 – was probably exactly 50. The weakest point of this reconstruction is that the strength of these units is unknown. We do not know whether the 50 officers of the seven provincial units of CTN III, 99, commanded 500 chariots or 500 cavalrymen, or even 5,000 cavalrymen. Following this logic the 120 subordinate officers might have commanded 12,000 men.

<sup>1073</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Obv. i:19-iii:5.

<sup>1074</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, Obv. ii:48-iv:23.

UNIT / TEXT (CTN III)	99	100	101	102	107	108	110	111	112	113
<i>Aššurāia</i>				5+		[x]		13		
<i>Arraphāia</i>				10		7		10	10?	10
<i>Armāia</i>				7		7		7		
<i>Arzuḫināia</i>				10+		—	4+	7		
<i>Arbailāia</i>				7		7	7	[13]		
Total:				39+		21+		37+		
Provincial 1 – Šarru-ēmuranni	10			9?		7+				
Provincial 2 – Marduk-šarru-ušur	10			10?		10				
Provincial 3 – <i>Kaldāia</i>	7			7?		7				
Provincial 4 – <i>Samirni</i> – Nabû-bêlu-ka’'in	13					9+				
Provincial 5 – Taklāk-ana-Bēli	4	7?				7+				
Provincial 6 – Adallal	4	9				5				
Provincial 7 – Nergal-šarrāni	2					2				
Total:	50					47+				
<i>mušarkisāni ša pēṭhal qurubte</i>	14					14				
<i>mušarkisāni ša GIŠ.GIGIR qurubte</i>						[25]				
<i>mušarkisāni ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	28					25				
<i>šaknūte ša ma’assi</i> (‘stable officers’)	28									
Total:	70					64?				
<i>Ḥamatāia</i>							9+			
LÚ.GAL – SAG ( <i>rab ša – rēšē</i> )			13							
GIR.2 ( <i>ša – šēpē</i> ) – Mannu-ki-Ninua					10					
Unidentified – 101/1			6							
Unidentified – 101/2 – prov. 3?			3+							
Unidentified – Aššur-šarru-ušur – 101/3			4							
Unidentified – Bēl-ēmuranni – 101/4			1							
Unidentified – Šarru-[...] – 101/5			3							
Unidentified – 101/7 – prov. 2			4+							
Unidentified – 107/1					11+					
Unidentified – 107/2					17+					
Unidentified – 107/3					6+					
Unidentified – 100/0		5+?								
Unidentified – 100/1		6								
Unidentified – Ninurta-nāšir – 100/12		4								

Fig. 8. Number of equestrian officers (cavalry and chariotry) listed in the Nimrud Horse Lists (CTN III).

As has already been discussed, the other large group of units were the so-called ‘city units.’ As *Charts 1, 9* show, this fighting section consisted of five units. It seems that these units were mobilized in standard sizes: 7, 10 and 13 officers belonging to them are listed in CTN III, 102, 108,

and 111. If we suppose that these five units – similarly to the seven provincial units of CTN III, 99, 102, and 108 – had to assemble 50 officers for the campaigns, the strength of their units must have been as follows: CTN III, 108 counted 21+ [x] officers – with the *Arzuḥināia* unit probably missing from the list and the number of the officers of *Aššurāia* unit also missing. CTN III, 102 lists 39 officers of the five units, though the lists of the *Aššurāia* and *Arzuḥināia* units are fragmentary. However, reconstructing and counting the missing lines, the number of officers easily reaches 50. CTN III, 111 lists 37 officers of the five units. Unfortunately the section of the *Arbailāia* is fragmentary, but if this unit counted 13 officers, the total number of officers also easily amounts to 50. However it may be, it can be supposed that the strength of the city units was approximately the same as that of the provincial units.

The subordinate officers were *rab urâte*, which means ‘commander of teams of horses,’ or simply ‘team commander.’ Therefore they must have been officers in charge of chariotry or cavalry units. The etymology is clear, but the function is unfortunately not. However, some of these team commanders in the other texts of the Nimrud Horse Lists<sup>1075</sup> and related texts also appear in another rank, as *rab kišir*, which means ‘cohort commander.’ If these two ranks were similar in terms of the strength of the units they commanded, it can be supposed that subordinate officers of this text commanded units of the strength of a cohort.

The largest known unit size is 13 officers. Units of this size appear several times in the Nimrud Horse Lists: as has been discussed, Nabû-bêlu-ka’ in commanded 13 officers of the Samarian unit (unit II/4 of CTN III, 99),<sup>1076</sup> the *Aššurāia* unit of CTN III, 111 consisted of 13 officers,<sup>1077</sup> too, and the contingent of the Chief Eunuch in CTN III, 101<sup>1078</sup> also numbered 13 *rab urâte*, who are otherwise known as *rab kišir* officers of the city units (*Armāia* and *Arbailāia*). It seems that there were two other standard unit sizes: units consisting of 10 and 7 officers. 10-officer units appear seven times, while 7-officer units appear eleven times in four discussed tablets (CTN III, 99, 102, 108, 111) of the Nimrud Horse Lists.

After the reconstruction of the cohort-sized units from the number of officers, let us consider the larger sections of the Assyrian army. As *Charts 1, 9* show two larger sections of the equestrian units of the *kišir šarrūti* can be reconstructed from Nimrud Horse Lists.<sup>1079</sup> These sections constitute two equestrian divisions.

**1<sup>st</sup> division** • The sections of the *kišir šarrūti* which were under the direct control of the Chief Eunuch (headquarters staff section with a chariotry element and a bodyguard element (*ša—šēpē* and *ša—qurbūte*), and the city units), are listed in the following texts: CTN III, 107, 111, 112, 113, 114. Of these texts, CTN III 107 is a four-column tablet which starts with the *ša—šēpē* bodyguard. This is followed by three unidentified units, which may well have been the ‘city units.’ Since the tablet had four columns, there was not enough room in the two columns on the missing reverse for the other sections of the army. CTN III, 111 (*Chart 9*) might have been a similar tablet which listed on one columned obverse the headquarters staff section and the first two city units. On the fragmentary reverse these are followed by the rest of the city units. CTN III, 112 is an interesting

<sup>1075</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 101, Obv. ii:13-28.

<sup>1076</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Obv. ii:16-23.

<sup>1077</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 111, Obv. 6’-21’.

<sup>1078</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 101, Obv. ii:13-28.

<sup>1079</sup> DEZSŐ 2006B, 127-128, Fig.7.

small tablet which listed on its obverse 11 *rab kišir* officers probably belonging to the *Arraphāia* unit, while the reverse was occupied by two other units of the LÚ.PA.MEŠ (mace bearers) and the LÚ.GAL(*rab*) *kallāpāni*<sup>1080</sup> for a total number of 210 horses. CTN III, 113 is a similar smaller muster tablet, which after a summary section of horses lists two unidentified units on the obverse, and probably the *Arraphāia* on the reverse. CTN III, 114 also contains a short list which gives an account probably of the *Arraphāia* on the obverse and the *kallāpāni* on the reverse.

**2<sup>nd</sup> division** • The texts which list only those sections which were not under the direct control of the Chief Eunuch are as follows: as has been discussed in detail, CTN III, 99 (Fig. 7, Chart 9) lists only the recruitment officers of the cavalry bodyguard (*mušarkisāni ša pēthāl qurubte*), the provincial units, the recruitment officers of the palace chariotry (*mušarkisāni ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL*), and the stable officers (*šaknūte ša ma'assi*). It is not clear whether the surviving face of CTN III, 100 is the obverse or the reverse of the tablet, which considering the large blank spaces must have been a 'rough compilation.' The tablet listed *mušarkisāni* of both types mentioned above with a single *rab urāte* officer attached to each of them and a few (1–5) soldiers of these *rab urāte* officers. The fourth column of the tablet mentions 4 units, which might well have been the provincial units, since one of their commanders, Adallal is identical with the commander of provincial unit 6 of CTN III, 99. CTN III, 103 (Chart 9) is a tablet of the muster of Borsippa. The obverse of the tablet is missing, the reverse lists the recruitment officers of the chariotry bodyguard (*mušarkisāni ša GIŠ.GIGIR qurubte*), the recruitment officers of the palace chariotry (*mušarkisāni ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL*), and the stable officers (*šaknūte ša ma'assi*). The obverse, similarly to CTN III, 99, might have contained the missing units of this part of the army: the recruitment officers of the cavalry bodyguard (*mušarkisāni ša pēthāl qurubte*), and the provincial units. So this tablet was a muster not of the local units or of the Assyrian garrison of the city,<sup>1081</sup> but of one of the two divisions of the Assyrian royal army: the division which was probably not under the direct control of the Chief Eunuch. In contrast to the 1<sup>st</sup> division of the Chief Eunuch, the 2<sup>nd</sup> division was characterized by the appearance of 'famous Assyrian leading generals' (see the commanders of the provincial units), who might have been provincial governors as well. CTN III, 104 is a small fragment of a tablet. The existing part lists the *rabūti* of provincial unit I of CTN III, 99.

It seems that these two cavalry/chariotry divisions of the Assyrian army sometimes operated independently, or at least might have been mustered separately. However, there are two texts in the corpus, CTN III, 102 and 108, which give a full account of the chariot and cavalry army that Sargon II reviewed for a campaign. These texts are the only ones which give us a combined muster of the two divisions. CTN III, 108 gives the full sequence of both army divisions with all the sections which have been discussed above. These two texts were made for a combined muster of the two divisions of the *kišir šarrūti*. Extrapolating from the strength of the provincial units, the combined strength of these two divisions could easily have reached 200-240 officers, and probably more than 20,000 mounted soldiers. Unfortunately it is impossible to reconstruct how many chariots or cavalry were present.

<sup>1080</sup> For the *kallāpu* see: MALBRAN-LABAT 1982, 53, 82-3; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 34, 229; POSTGATE 2000, 89-108; DEZSÓ 2006A, 108. The *kallāpu* was traditionally identified with 'dispatch-rider,' or on the contrary with 'sapper,' but Postgate proposed an identification with the Assyrian infantryman. This identification seems plausible, since *kallāpāni* were listed in such numbers as make 'dispatch-riders' simply unbelievable. However, CTN III, 112 undoubtedly lists them in connection with teams of horses.

<sup>1081</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 198.

(3) Reconstruction of the size of chariotry units using the number of soldiers (chariot crew) given in the cuneiform sources.

Relatively few sources mention numbers of chariotry personnel assigned to a particular unit. A Sargonide letter concerning the review of a provincial(?) equestrian unit lists 200 cavalrymen and 100 chariotry personnel.<sup>1082</sup> The reviewing officer found 10 chariot owners (LÚ.EN—GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ) and 21 of their king's men (LÚ.ERIM.MAN-šu-nu) – in all 31 chariot owners. A further 69 were missing under the command of the recruitment officer (LÚ.mu-šar-kis) Tutî. It must be emphasized, however, that these 100 men were only chariot warriors (if the chariot owner was a professional chariot warrior and their king's men were recruits under military training) and did not form complete chariot crews, since no chariot drivers or third men are listed. This unit was probably a squadron of chariot warriors. It is interesting that the Assyrians garrisoned and mustered units of different members of the chariot crew separately. As has been discussed, ND 2619 lists 1669 cavalrymen, 577+ chariot drivers and 1164 'third men' from Bīt-Adini, Bīt-Ukani, Dūr-Ellatia, Sabhānu, Bīt-Dakkuri, and Til-Barsip.<sup>1083</sup> These large numbers prove that the Assyrian army could mobilize thousands of chariotry troops from the provinces. This characteristic is reflected in some titles of chariotry officers: the 'third men' (*tašlīšāni*), for example, had *rab ḥanšê* (LÚ.GAL—50) officers, who commanded 50 of them.<sup>1084</sup> Beside the commander-of-50 of the 'third men,' the commander-of-50 of the chariotry<sup>1085</sup> ('commander of 50 chariots') explicitly shows that not only the members of the chariot crew, but – as has already been reconstructed from the royal inscriptions – the chariots themselves were organized into units of 50 chariots. NL 89 also lists chariot troops separately: 11 chariot drivers, 12 'third men,' and 30/10 chariot fighters,<sup>1086</sup> with 53 grooms – altogether 106 chariot troops. These Assyrian troops stationed in Māzamuā, however, formed complete chariot crews – at least 10 chariots were at the disposal of Adad-issīa, but the role of the 53 grooms and of the 20 team commanders is unknown. There is another text (ADD 855) listing relatively large numbers which has to be discussed. Dalley and Postgate<sup>1087</sup> assumed that the numbers which were listed in three columns (and totalling 25,900) under the names of *mušarkisāni*, denoted not horses or soldiers, but bricks. Fales and Postgate<sup>1088</sup> later identified this text as reviewing troops. The *mušarkisāni* section ends with a fragmentary line, the first three signs of which are PAB GIŠ.GI[GIR...]. If this reconstruction is correct, this section summarizes a huge number of soldiers who can be connected with the chariotry. However, these numbers rendered in two columns (and a third summary column totalling 25,900) are too large and rounded to be soldiers or crew members of the chariotry.

<sup>1082</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 251 (ABL 567+).

<sup>1083</sup> PARKER 1961, ND 2619.

<sup>1084</sup> GAL—50.MEŠ(*rab ḥanšê*) ša 3-šu(*tašlīšu*) GÌR.2 (*ša—šēpē*) ([commanders-of-50] of the 'third men' of the *ša—šēpē* guard): ADD 1083, Rev. II:6' (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 148); KUR.AŠ GAL—50.MEŠ ša 3-šu.[MEŠ] (Assyrian commanders-of-50 of the 'third men'): ADD 1125, Rev. II:8' (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 149); GAL—50 3-šu.MEŠ (commander-of-50 of the 'third men'): ADD 834+++ , II:19' (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 149); GAL—50.MEŠ 3-šu.ME[Š ...] (commanders-of-50 of the 'third men'): ADD 838+ , Rev. II:6 (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 157).

<sup>1085</sup> GAL—50.MEŠ GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ: FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 150 (ADD 834+++ , II:10'.

<sup>1086</sup> LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 251 (11 chariot drivers, 12 'third men,' 30 chariot fighters, 53 grooms of the teams); POSTGATE 2000 (11 chariot drivers, 12 'third-riders,' 10 nobles, 53 grooms, [20] team commanders); FALES 2000, 40-43; SAGGS 2001, 128-130 (11 chariot drivers, 12 (chariot) 'third riders,' 10 messengers, 53 grooms, 20 team commanders).

<sup>1087</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 43-45.

<sup>1088</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 126.

(4) Reconstruction of the size of chariotry units using the number of horses given in the cuneiform sources.<sup>1089</sup>

Numbers of horses might also be informative for the reconstruction of the strength of the army units. There are two texts, the summary section of which has remained intact. The first, CTN III, 98,<sup>1090</sup> summarizes 2,205 horses, and 177 mules (which totals 2,382), without listing the officers. The other text is CTN III, 103, which is the end of a complete list, the muster of Borsippa. This text, with some differences, probably listed the same division as CTN III, 99 with its officers and horses. The obverse of the text is unfortunately missing, and the three surviving columns of the reverse list the *mušarkisāni ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL* section (with 373 horses) and the *šaknūte ša ma'assi* section (with 237 horses). The obverse contained the *mušarkisāni ša GIŠ.GIGIR qurubte*, and probably the provincial units and the *mušarkisāni ša pēthāl qurubte*. Dalley and Postgate supposed that there might be a few additional units,<sup>1091</sup> which we called headquarters staff. Because of these similarities, the size of all the units listed on this tablet can be compared with the size of the division reconstructed from CTN III, 99. As has been reconstructed, CTN III, 99 is a list of 120 *rab urâte*. CTN III, 103 gives a total(?) 3,477 equids (of which 92 were mules) and of which 639 horses and 4 mules were a kind of completion during the muster of Borsippa in 709–708 B.C. It seems that this division, which – as deduced from CTN III, 99 – consisted of at least 120 *rab urâte*, had around 3,400 horses. 3,400 horses, if all of them were war horses, meant an army of considerable size (for example, 2,000 cavalry and 500–600 chariots with spare horses, or so). If our reconstruction is correct, these 3,477 equids<sup>1092</sup> belonged only to one of the two divisions (the 2<sup>nd</sup> division, *Charts 1, 9*) of the *kišir šarrūti*, reconstructed from CTN III, 99 and 103.

It is simply impossible to judge the strength of the smaller units from the number of horses assigned to them in the fragmentary horse lists, since there are at least three different categories which need to be understood: ‘of land’ (*ša KUR*), ‘of campaign’ (*ša KASKAL*), and ‘completion’ (*šalluntu*).<sup>1093</sup> As the term *šalluntu* of line 4' CTN III, 111 makes clear, the horses represented not the actual strength of these units, but were (only) ‘complete repayment,’ the meaning of which is not clear. CTN III, 111 listing the ‘city units’ gives, for example, the further numbers for the 13 officers of the *Aššurāia* unit:<sup>1094</sup> 94 horses ‘of land,’ 68 horses ‘of campaign’ for a total of 162, of which 26 fall into the complete category and 137 were taken out. So it is not clear whether these 162 horses represented the whole strength of the *Aššurāia* unit or only a detachment of it.

<sup>1089</sup> It should be mentioned that the earliest known administrative texts listing horses of military units date from the 14<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Nuzi archive. See for example LACHEMAN 1955, 114 listing 170 horses of the left. See furthermore ZACCAGNINI 1979.

<sup>1090</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 98, Rev. 16-18.

<sup>1091</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 199.

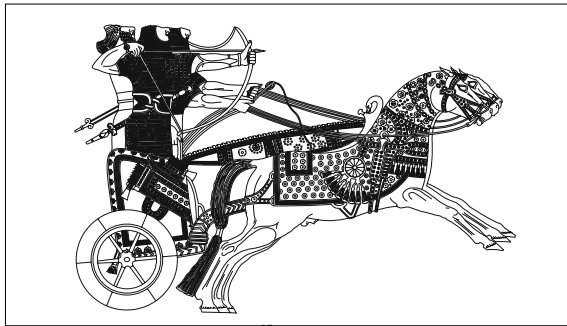
<sup>1092</sup> The supply of horses was a strategic question in Assyria. Large numbers of horses arrived from different sources (booty, audience gifts), but the most important sources were probably merchants, who imported substantial numbers. ND 2458 (PARKER 1961) lists 730 horses from this source. Further sources of horse supply were the different types of taxes: ND 2727 (PARKER 1961) for example counts more than five hundred horses from *iškāru* and *nāmurtu* taxes.

<sup>1093</sup> For the possible reconstruction of the meaning of the different categories see DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 204, 222-223, 226-227. Since in the present author's view these lists (the lists of officers unambiguously) were lists of a kind of theoretical plan of mobilization or actual lists of troops mobilized for a campaign, these two categories referred to horses left at home or ordered to go on the campaign. Furthermore, it seems possible, that these horses represented not the actual strength of these units, but were horses with which the ranks were filled. In this case the *ušallam*, *šalluntu*, and *ušessa* words might refer to future obligation of paying back the horses. It has to be admitted, however, that it needs further research to settle the problem.

<sup>1094</sup> DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 111, 6'-21'.

The categories, 'of land' or 'of campaign' would imply that some of the horses remained at their home bases and some went on campaign, or the contrary: some of the horses arrived from the home bases, while the other horses were captured during the campaign. The meaning of the 'complete' and 'take out' categories is more obscure.

## SUMMARY: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEO-ASSYRIAN ARMY



Following the detailed reconstruction of the different arms of the Assyrian army based on the representational and written evidence, an effort has to be made to reconstruct the story and chronology of the various developments that took place in the Assyrian army from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.

### Assurnasirpal II (883—859 B.C.)

The Assyrian army of the 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (during the reigns of Assurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III) shows a relatively homogeneous picture. With the appearance of the new arm of ancient Near Eastern armies, the cavalry, the Assyrian army became the very first that could boast all the basic arms which characterised the armies of ancient times: chariotry, cavalry, heavy and regular infantry. This reconstruction is based almost exclusively on the pictorial evidence, since the character of the cuneiform evidence does not help us to make the same kind of reconstruction as it does in the case of the armies of the Sargonids.

The army of Assurnasirpal II consisted of four arms: regular infantry, heavy infantry, cavalry and chariotry. The army was relatively homogeneous: no foreign ethnic groups and consequently no light, auxiliary infantry units appear in its ranks. The picture painted by the sculptures of this king is one of regular infantry recruited probably from the Assyrian peasantry, who might serve on a seasonal basis. They were ethnic Assyrians or assimilated Arameans from Northern Mesopotamia, whose Assyrianisation has been ongoing for centuries. The iconographical background of this ethnic affiliation is the Assyrian pointed helmet,<sup>1095</sup> which was worn during

<sup>1095</sup> DEZSŐ 2001, 18-36: Groups A.1-2: Assyrian conical bronze and iron helmets (Cat. nos. 1-11).



the 9<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. exclusively by Assyrian soldiers and remained in use until the fall of the Empire, and even later.<sup>1096</sup> The designs and patterns of the garments of some of the Assyrian regular infantrymen (*vol. I, Plate 18, 63; vol. I, Plate 19, 68; vol. I, Plate 42, 141*) show similarities to garments worn by Aramean tribesmen (*vol. I, Plate 1, 1*).

This regular infantry consisted of archers fighting together with (*vol. I, Plate 18, 62; vol. I, Plate 20, 70*) or without shield-bearers (*vol. I, Plate 18, 61*), and spearmen (*vol. I, Plate 19, 66, 67*). Several scenes show them in siege and close combat contexts, where they are represented as general infantrymen fighting with shields and swords (*vol. I, Plate 18, 64, 65*) or performing actions connected to different siege-techniques (*vol. I, Plate 19, 68, 69*).

The heavy infantry of this army follows a Bronze Age tradition: their heavy scale armour reached down to the ankle (*vol. I, Plate 28, 90, 92*) or the knee (*vol. I, Plate 37, 121; vol. I, Plate 38, 125, 126*), and the scale armour mask pieces attached to the rim of their helmets covered almost the whole face (*vol. I, Plate 28, 90–92, vol. I, Plate 37, 121; vol. I, Plate 38, 125, 126*). This extra heavy scale armour was used in the 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C. and disappeared from the Assyrian army at the latest in the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century B.C.

As *Fig. 10* shows, the heavy infantry served in the ranks of archers, spearmen and bodyguards. Armoured archers appear in siege-scenes with shield-bearers (*vol. I, Plate 28, 90, 91*), but armoured spearmen appear only as bodyguards using their shields to protect the king or other important personnel (*vol. I, Plate 37, 121*). The armoured soldiers who serve as shield-bearer guards for eunuchs (*vol. I, Plate 38, 126*) including the chief eunuch (*vol. I, Plate 38, 125*) were most probably also spearmen.

The cavalry of the army of Assurnasirpal II is the first regular cavalry ever known. As has been discussed in detail (chapter: The Early History of the Assyrian Cavalry (883–745 B.C.)) the Assyrians were probably not the only people who used horsemen in their armies, but most probably they were the first to organise regular cavalry units and use them as an independent arm. The role of the cavalry became more and more important, finally replacing the chariotry. The sculptures of Assurnasirpal II depict cavalymen in two contexts. These two contexts, however, imply a distinction between two types of cavalymen. The first context can be described as a kind of bodyguard role, where the cavalymen are escorting the royal chariot and even leading its spare horses (*Plate 1, 1, 2*). Their equipment consists of the standard equipment of the cavalry bodyguards of the Sargonids: they carry both bows and spears, while shields hanging on their backs. The other context is in battle, where units of the regular cavalry are shown. The cavalymen fought in pairs (*Plate 2, 3, 4*): an archer (wearing a pointed helmet) and aiming with his bow is escorted by a mounted spearman wearing a hemispherical helmet and equipped with a rounded bronze shield hanging on his back and probably with a spear. He holds the reins not only of his own horse but of the archer's as well. This pair of cavalymen is obviously a derivation from the chariot: archer (chariot warrior) and shield-bearing spearman (driver and 'third man' in one). This change (the "omission" of the vehicle) started the gradual decline of the chariotry arm and revolutionised warfare in the ancient Near East, changing the military history of the ancient world.

The chariotry of Assurnasirpal II followed Bronze Age traditions. The crew consisted of three men (chariot warrior, driver and 'third man'). Only the standard-bearing chariots were manned by a crew of two: warrior and driver (*Plate 13, 24*). The heavy chariot was still in use: the horses were

<sup>1096</sup> DEZSŐ 2001, 108-109; Group P.1: Persian conical bronze helmets (Cat. nos. 139-141).

armoured and at least two members of the crew (the warrior and the driver) wore heavy scale armour covering even a large part of the face and reaching at least to the knee (*Plate 14, 25*).

From the military historical point of view, Eph'al<sup>1097</sup> considered the first, formative period of the Neo-Assyrian Empire (911–745 B.C.) as the period of pitched battles. And indeed, royal inscriptions of the 10<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. describe several major battles, in which the number of soldiers or of casualties proves that the battle was a large one by contemporary standards. Tiglath-Pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.), for example, twice fought on foot at the head of his infantry: in Katmuḫu<sup>1098</sup> and in Ḫabḫu, where he defeated 6,000 warriors.<sup>1099</sup> At Mount Tala he defeated 20,000 Qumānu, broke up their mighty force (*ki-ṣir-šu-nu gap-ša*) and pursued them to Mount Ḫarusa.<sup>1100</sup> The largest army he fought against was 20,000 strong, since the army of the five kings of Mušku<sup>1101</sup> defeated by Tiglath-Pileser I was of the same size.

The largest army known from the inscriptions of Assurnasirpal II consisted of 50,000 soldiers.<sup>1102</sup> In comparison with the earlier references, this army was a quite substantial force. At that time this army must have been consisted of Assyrian peasants recruited for a campaign. They formed the great mass of regular infantry, the most numerous element of 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Assyrian armies. On the other hand, it is quite obvious that the core of this army (chariotry, cavalry and heavy infantry) was composed of professional or semi-professional soldiers. This army might have been completed with the armies of Assyrian vassals, or with the armies of foreign kings who surrendered to the Assyrian king, for example during the Western campaign, when the chariotry, cavalry, and infantry (GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *pit-ḫal-lu LÚ.zu-ku*) of Bīt-Baḫiāni, Adad-'ime of Azallu, Aḫūnī of Bīt-Adini, Carchemish, and Lubarna of Patinu joined the Assyrians on their way to the Lebanon.<sup>1103</sup> In comparison with this large army, the enemies of Assyria mustered much smaller forces. The Sūḫu, Laqū (and) Ḫindānu, "trusting in the massiveness of their chariotry, troops" for example mustered 6,000 of their troops (6 LIM ÉRIN.MEŠ-šú-nu) (and) attacked the Assyrians. Assurnasirpal II, however, inflicted a defeat upon them, destroyed their chariotry, and felled 6,500 of their men-at-arms with the sword (6 LIM 5 ME *muq-tab-li-šú-nu ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ ú-šam-qit*).<sup>1104</sup> The Assyrians met similar smaller armies of their other enemies as well. Assurnasirpal II for example defeated 3,000 soldiers of Nabû-aplaidina, king of Karduniaš (and Zabdānu, his brother),<sup>1105</sup> and in two battles in the territory of Laqū (Kipinu and Ilâ) they massacred 1,000 and 500 soldiers respectively.<sup>1106</sup>

<sup>1097</sup> EPH'AL 1983, 88-106.

<sup>1098</sup> GRAYSON 1991, Tiglath-Pileser I, A.0.87.1, ii:73-77.

<sup>1099</sup> GRAYSON 1991, Tiglath-Pileser I, A.0.87.1, iv:9-12.

<sup>1100</sup> GRAYSON 1991, Tiglath-Pileser I, A.0.87.1, v:87-92.

<sup>1101</sup> GRAYSON 1991, Tiglath-Pileser I, A.0.87.1, i:71-.

<sup>1102</sup> GRAYSON 1991, Assurnasirpal II, A.0.101.40, 28: 50 LIM *um-ma-ni*.

<sup>1103</sup> GRAYSON 1991, Assurnasirpal II, A.0.101.1, iii:58, 60, 63, 68-69, 77: GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *pit-ḫal-lu LÚ.zu-ku*.

<sup>1104</sup> GRAYSON 1991, Assurnasirpal II, A.0.101.1, iii:34-35.

<sup>1105</sup> GRAYSON 1991, Assurnasirpal II, A.0.101.1, iii:8.

<sup>1106</sup> GRAYSON 1991, Assurnasirpal II, A.0.101.1, iii:39-45.

## Shalmaneser III (858—824 B.C.)

The army of Shalmaneser III appears to have been similar to the army of Assurnasirpal II. The ethnic Assyrian character did not change – no foreign auxiliary units are represented on the bronze bands of the Balawat Gates and according to the royal inscriptions of this king only units of vassal kings temporarily joined the army on campaigns as foreign units.

The army of Shalmaneser III – as reconstructed from royal inscriptions and above all from the bronze bands of the Balawat Gates, and shown in *Fig. 10* – consisted of regular infantry (regular infantrymen, regular archers, and regular spearmen), heavy infantry (armoured archers), cavalry (cavalry archers, cavalry spearmen, and cavalry bodyguards), and chariotry (regular chariotry). Their weaponry and equipment do not differ from that of the army of Assurnasirpal II: they have pointed helmets, the heavy infantry wear the same long scale armour, they carry rounded (and spiked) bronze or rectangular wicker shields. It is interesting that while the full range of the regular infantry is shown (archers and spearmen, and infantrymen engaged in close combat with swords), the heavy infantry are represented only by armoured archers shown in large numbers deployed in formation in front of city walls. Virtually no armoured spearmen can be identified on the bronze bands of the Balawat Gates of Shalmaneser III. The use of chariotry does not differ from the chariot warfare shown in the sculptures of Assurnasirpal II, but the cavalry of Shalmaneser III is shown in all the roles of the cavalry: galloping cavalrymen appear in pairs, both wearing pointed helmets. One of them is shooting with his bow, while the other is protecting him with his rounded (bronze) shield.<sup>1107</sup> Another scene shows a lancer riding side by side with a mounted archer and spearing an enemy infantryman.<sup>1108</sup>

The bronze bands of the Balawat Gates – using the possibilities offered by the long bands – show large numbers of Assyrian soldiers deployed in formation (for detailed descriptions *see* the actual chapters). These are the first representations which – in addition to the sculptures of Assurnasirpal II – show details of the organized tactics of a regular army.

In comparison with the army sizes mentioned in the royal inscriptions of Assurnasirpal II, much larger numbers<sup>1109</sup> appear in the royal inscriptions of Shalmaneser III. Besides some Urartian campaigns,<sup>1110</sup> the most important arena of Shalmaneser III's campaigns was the West.<sup>1111</sup> During his five campaigns against the coalition of the 12 kings of the seashore, he met their armies four times. In his 6<sup>th</sup> *palû*, in 853 B.C., he met a huge coalition army,<sup>1112</sup> the size of which – at least in case of the 3,940 chariots – may have been exaggerated. The 51,900+ infantry, however, was probably the largest army the Assyrian king(s) had met. The size of the Assyrian army on this

<sup>1107</sup> BARNETT 1960, 167.

<sup>1108</sup> BARNETT 1960, 147, 167.

<sup>1109</sup> For the numbers used in the Assyrian royal inscriptions, *see* DE ODORICO 1995.

<sup>1110</sup> RUSSELL 1984, 171-201; READE 1989, 93-97.

<sup>1111</sup> ELAT 1975, 25-35; GREEN 1979, 35-39.

<sup>1112</sup> GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.O.102.2, ii:89-102: 1,200 chariots, 1,200 cavalry (and) 20,000 troops (ERIM.MEŠ) of Adad-idri the Damascene; 700 chariots, 700 cavalry (and) 10,000 troops of Irhuleni, the Ḥamatite; 2,000 chariots (and) 10,000 troops of Ahab (Aḥabbu), the Israelite (Sir'alāia); 500 troops of Byblos; 1,000 troops of Egypt; 10 chariots (and) 10,000 troops of the land of Irqanata; 200 troops of Matinu-Ba'ālu, Armadāia (Arwad); 200 troops of Usanātu; 30 chariots (and) [N],000 troops of Adunu-Ba'ālu of the land Šiānu; 1,000 camels of Gindibu of the Arabs; [N],000 troops of Ba'asa, the man of Bīt-Ruḥubi, the Ammonite.

campaign is unfortunately unknown, but must have matched the coalition forces. Since this was a huge pitched battle, the bulk of the Assyrian army consisted of regular infantrymen (archers and spearmen as well) depicted on the Balawat Gates. According to the royal inscription the Assyrians killed 25,000 enemy soldiers in the battle of Qarqar,<sup>1113</sup> which was a heavy loss (50 % of their infantry) for the Arameans. Following the 10<sup>th</sup> *palû* (849 B.C.) when the Assyrians fought against the coalition, in the 11<sup>th</sup> *palû* (848 B.C.) they attacked the coalition of the 12 kings again. The ensuing battle resulted in heavy losses for the coalition: the Assyrians killed 10,000 of their soldiers.<sup>1114</sup> In the 14<sup>th</sup> *palû* (845 B.C.) the coalition mustered a huge army<sup>1115</sup> against the Assyrians, and Shalmaneser III crossed the Euphrates with the largest Assyrian force ever known. This 120,000-strong army<sup>1116</sup> seems exaggerated, but if the number is correct it must have included not only Assyrian fighting units but most probably the units of some vassals and the army's train, including all the logistical staff. The fifth campaign against the coalition, in the 18<sup>th</sup> *palû* (841 B.C.), ended in another battle. Once again the coalition mustered a huge army,<sup>1117</sup> but suffered heavy losses: 16,000 of their soldiers fell in the battle.<sup>1118</sup> Besides the armies of the coalition of the 12 kings of the seashore, the Assyrians met the largest army in 856 B.C. on the campaign to Nairi mentioned above, where they 'uprooted' 44,000 troops with their officers.<sup>1119</sup> It has to be emphasized, however, that it is hard to distinguish between 'soldiers defeated' and 'people uprooted or deported.' This question arises in the case of the 4<sup>th</sup> *palû* (855 B.C.), when the army of Shalmaneser III besieged Ahûnî, the king of Bit-Adini, on the mountain peak of Šitamrat, the Assyrians uprooted 17,500 (var. 22,000) of his troops.<sup>1120</sup> A summary inscription makes a clearer statement: "I deported 87,500 troops (ERIM.ĤI.A.MEŠ) of the land Ĥatti (and) included them among the people of my land."<sup>1121</sup>

Šamši-Adad V (823—811 B.C.) met much smaller armies than his father<sup>1122</sup> had. However, on his 4<sup>th</sup> campaign at Dūr-Papsukkal he fought a substantial battle against the forces of Marduk-balāssu-iqbî. The Assyrian king besieged Dūr-Papsukkal, the royal city of Marduk-balāssu-iqbî, put 13,000 soldiers to the sword and captured 3,000 alive. He enlisted the captured warriors into

<sup>1113</sup> GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.6, ii:30; A.0.102.8, 18'-19': 25,000 ERIM.MEŠ *ti-du-ki-šû-nu ina* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *û-šam-qit* (I put to the sword); Variant: GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102, 14:66: 20,500 ERIM.MEŠ *ti-du-ki-šû-nu ina* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *û-šam-qit* ("I put to the sword 20,500 of their fighting men").

<sup>1114</sup> GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.6, iii:8-10; A.0.102.8, 38'-39': 10,000 ERIM.MEŠ *ti-du-ki-šû-nu ina* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *û-šam-qit* ("I put to the sword"); GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.10, iii:5: 10,000 ERIM.MEŠ *ti-du-ki-šû-nu ina* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *û-šam-qit* ("I put to the sword").

<sup>1115</sup> GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.10, iii:15-16: ERIM.ĤI.A.MEŠ-šû-nu ĤI.A.MEŠ *a-na la ma-ni* (extensive muster of his troops).

<sup>1116</sup> GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.10, iii:15-16: 1 ME 20 LIM ERIM.ĤI.A.MEŠ-*ia*.

<sup>1117</sup> GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.8, 3"-4": ERIM.ĤI.A.MEŠ-šû *a-na ma-a'-diš* (extensive muster of his troops); GRAYSON 1996, A.0.102.10, iii:47-48; A.0.102, 12:22.

<sup>1118</sup> GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.8, 9"-10": 16,000 ERIM.MEŠ *ti-du-ki-šû-nu ina* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *û-šam-qit* ("16,000 of his fighting men I put to the sword"); Variant: GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.10, iii:51-52: "16,020 of his fighting men."

<sup>1119</sup> GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.5, ii:2: 44,000 LÚ.ERIM GAL.ĤI.A.MEŠ-šû-nu.

<sup>1120</sup> GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.5, iii:5-6: 17 LIM 5 ME ERIM.ĤI.A.MEŠ-šû; A.0.102.6, ii:7-9; A.0.102.10, ii:4: 20 LIM 2 LIM ERIM.MEŠ-šû.

<sup>1121</sup> GRAYSON 1996, Shalmaneser III, A.0.102.28:25.

<sup>1122</sup> GRAYSON 1996, Šamši-Adad V, A.0.103.1, iii:32: 2,300 GAZ.MEŠ (massacred 2,300 soldiers of Hanasiruka the Mede); A.0.103.1, iii:39: 1,070 *mun-dah-ḥi-ši-šû-nu ina* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *û-šam-qit* (I put to the sword – Munirsuarta of Arzias); A.0.103.1, iv:16: 330 GAZ.MEŠ-šû-nu *a-duk* (massacred in Datēbir and Izduia); A.0.103.1, iv:20: 500 GAZ.MEŠ-šû-nu *a-duk* (massacred in Qērebtī-ālāni); A.0.103.1, iv:43: 5,000 *gu-ni-šû-nu ū-pel-liq* (I slaughtered 5,000 of his hordes (and) captured 2,000 alive); A.0.103.2, iii:11': 650 GAZ.MEŠ-šû-nu *a-duk* (I massacred 650 of them) – 4<sup>th</sup> campaign.

the Assyrian army.<sup>1123</sup> Marduk-balāssu-iqbī, however, gathered a large coalition army<sup>1124</sup> of Chaldaea, Elam, Namri and Aram, and opposite Dūr-Papsukkal, on the shore of the Daban River, he fought a major battle against the Assyrians. Šamši-Adad V “slaughtered 5,000 of his hordes (and) captured 2,000 alive,”<sup>1125</sup> and took away from him 100 chariots and 200 cavalry.

The armies of the first, formative period of the evolution of the Assyrian Empire were the armies of Assyrian expansion. Since at that time no substantial territories and no large numbers of foreign people were annexed to the empire, the army could easily have retained its ethnic Assyrian character.

### Tiglath-Pileser III (745—727 B.C.)

A profound change happened in the structure of the Assyrian army during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III. His sculptures show a new army. *Charts 11—13* provide a statistical analysis of all the soldiers depicted in Assyrian palace reliefs from the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III to the reign of Assurbanipal. This statistical approach is based on a simple principle: all the known soldiers represented in palace reliefs form the base (100 %). Independently of the fact that the relative numbers of different types of soldiers was probably the result not of a conscious organizing principle but an unconscious process of depicting characteristic scenes, it cannot be excluded that the palace reliefs for example of Sennacherib – at least at the level of independent scenes – to a certain extent might well reflect the real ratio between different troops on campaign (*see* for example the long marching and siege scenes discussed in the previous chapters).<sup>1126</sup> It can thus be supposed that these ratios probably do not reflect the real ratio of the different arms within the army,<sup>1127</sup> but rather the iconographical concept which laid emphasis on the depiction of the different arms, giving additional emphasis to the depiction of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*). This could easily reflect the real ratios, but might also indicate a desire to represent them with different emphasis.

The most important development was the appearance of a new arm of the army, the light (auxiliary) infantry, composed of archers and spearmen. The auxiliary archers and spearmen appeared in the ranks of the army after large groups of people of foreign origin entered the service of the Assyrians.

The auxiliary archers are convincingly identified by the cuneiform sources as Itu'eans, who were conquered together with other Aramean tribes along the Tigris River by the army of Tiglath-Pileser III.<sup>1128</sup> This type of archer appears in large numbers in the sculptures of that king (*vol. I*,

<sup>1123</sup> GRAYSON 1996, Šamši-Adad V, A.O.103.1, iv:27-28: 13,000 *mu-un-daḫ-ḫi-ši-šú ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ ú-šam-qit* (I put to the sword); A.O.103.1, iv:31: “I captured 3,000 (soldiers) alive”. “Its captured warriors (*qu-ra-di-šú*) were rounded up like locusts into the army of my land.”

<sup>1124</sup> GRAYSON 1996, Šamši-Adad V, A.O.103.1, iv:39: ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ-šú *ma-a'-di a-na la [ma-ni]* (“multitudinous troops,” “without number”).

<sup>1125</sup> GRAYSON 1996, Šamši-Adad V, A.O.103.1, iv:43: 5 LIM *gu-ni-šú ú-pel-liq*.

<sup>1126</sup> This aspect of the Assyrian army (marching and battle order, sieges, etc.) will be discussed in a separate volume of this project.

<sup>1127</sup> The reliefs depict mainly the units of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) and fail to depict the local troops of poorer quality which served the Empire in the provinces.

<sup>1128</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> regnal year Tiglath-Pileser III conquered 15 additional Aramean tribes.

*Plate 1, 2, 3*), showing that they played an important role in the ‘new model Assyrian army.’ The 10 auxiliary archers who are represented in the sculptures represent 8.2 % of the total of infantrymen. This type of archer had appeared as early as the 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C., in the palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II (*vol. I, Plate 1, 1*) in the ranks of the enemies of Assyria. From the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III onwards the auxiliary archers (Itu’eans) played an increasingly important role and provided large numbers of light archers for the Assyrian army.

The origin of the auxiliary spearmen, identified convincingly with the Gurreans of the cuneiform sources, is one of the most enigmatic questions of the military history of Assyria. They served as light spearmen in the army in relatively large numbers. The most important characteristics of their equipment were the crested helmet, the breast (and back?) plate, the rounded wicker shield and the stabbing spear (*vol. I, Plate 10, 32–34*). This equipment made them a very important component of the army: they were used in a very wide range of roles. The 18 auxiliary spearmen who are depicted in the sculptures form 14.7 % of the total number of infantrymen (*see Chart 11*), which shows that this new arm – together with the auxiliary archers – might have played an important role in the campaigns of the new expansion of the empire.

Both arms of the light (auxiliary) infantry recruited from foreign ethnic groups were under the control of the king. As has been discussed in previous chapters, the provincial authorities often asked the king to send them Itu’eans or Gurreans or asked permission to transfer them from one garrison to another territory of the empire. The light infantry and other auxiliary troops recruited from foreign countries were badly needed to help garrison a much larger empire than the ethnic Assyrians could control on their own. This new challenge resulted in the extensive enrolment of foreign troops into the Assyrian army. These troops included (1) the auxiliary archers (Itu’eans and other Aramean tribesmen) and spearmen (Gurreans) discussed above, (2) the king’s men who were recruited in the provinces among the local population. Further troops were the vassal contingents of foreign rulers who joined the Assyrian army on campaigns.

The traditional troops of the former Assyrian armies appear further on. Regular archers (*vol. I, Plate 21, 71, 72*) and regular spearmen (*vol. I, Plate 22, 73, 74*) were probably still recruited in large numbers from the Assyrian peasantry; the decline of these two arms (especially of the regular archers) started with the reign of Sennacherib. However, the subsequent importance of these soldiers during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III is proved by the high proportion of regular infantrymen: 38 regular infantrymen make up 31.1 % of the infantry represented, while 6 archers with 8 shield-bearers give 11.5 % of the total infantry represented in his sculptures.

The heavy infantry included armoured archers (*vol. I, Plate 29, 93*), armoured spearmen (*vol. I, Plate 34, 110*), and armoured slingers. Their armour consisted of a scale armour waistcoat. It seems that the extra heavy long scale armour reaching the ankles or the knees was already out of date by the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. and was replaced by the lighter and more convenient scale armour waistcoat. These short suits of scale armour were most probably made of iron – which could explain the disappearance of the long (bronze) scale armour and the advent of the short (iron) scale armour waistcoat used by all the arms of the heavy infantry and heavy cavalry.<sup>1129</sup> The extant sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III depict far more heavy archers (29 archers and shield-bearers make up 23.8 % of the total infantry depicted), while 3 armoured spearmen and 3 armoured slingers give 2.5 % each of the total infantrymen. However, it has to be emphasized again that the shield-bearers (in this case

<sup>1129</sup> DEZSŐ 2004A, 319-323.

15 soldiers) might well have been spearmen and the slingers could easily have served in another arm and used their slings only occasionally, for example during sieges.

The sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III show the first known armoured cavalymen. This change might well have happened earlier but no depictions provide evidence for an earlier date. It is interesting that only regular (*Plate 3, 5*) and armoured (*Plate 3, 6*) lancers are represented in the sculptures of this king. This might be due to the fact that only a few slabs of the original set are extant from the palace of Tiglath-Pileser III. These 6 cavalry spearmen form 4.4 % of the total soldiers represented in the sculptures of this king.

It is interesting to note that – with the exception of the royal chariot and some empty chariots<sup>1130</sup> – not a single chariot is represented in the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III. This is probably due to a representational tradition since no similar tendency for chariots to disappear from the reliefs, as they do during the reign of Sennacherib (*see below*), can be identified.

It seems (at least from the traditional Assyrian equipment) that the Assyrians still provided the manpower for the heavy infantry, the cavalry and the chariotry. These arms used the same equipment until the end of the empire: the characteristic pointed helmet worn only by Assyrians, and the scale armour waistcoat. Even when it is known from the cuneiform evidence that foreign equestrian units served in the Assyrian army, the sculptures of Sargon II, for example, do not show equestrian units equipped in anything but the Assyrian manner. Moreover, the cavalymen and chariot crew always and exclusively wore the Assyrian pointed helmet.

With the appearance of this ‘new model army’ the Assyrian army changed from an ethnically relatively homogeneous army (pre 745 B.C.) to a multinational army, in which the primary identity started to switch from the national Assyrian to the imperial Assyrian identity (where the identity meant being a subject of the Assyrian king and the god Aššur, without respect to ethnic background). This development was probably part of a wider project to integrate the conquered peoples and forge a homogeneous empire.

## Sargon II (721 – 705 B.C.)

The army of Sargon II follows the development which has been identified – and which most probably started – during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III. His army consisted of the same arms as that of Tiglath-Pileser III: light infantry (auxiliary archers and spearmen), regular infantry (infantrymen, archers and shield-bearers), heavy infantry (infantrymen/spearmen, archers and shield-bearers), cavalry, and chariotry. The large size of the sculptures makes it possible to make out further details of the soldiers’ equipment.

The sculptures of Sargon II emphasize the importance of the light infantry, the new arm of the Assyrian army, by depicting them in large numbers. Minor differences in the apparel and hair style of the auxiliary archers (*vol. I, Plate 2, 4–7*) show tribal or clan characteristics (besides the Itu’eans at least four other tribes can be confidently identified playing an auxiliary role: Ruqaḥu, Hallatu, Iādaqu, and Rubu’u). They constitute a very high proportion of the infantry: the 32 archers depicted make up 17.7 % of them. The cuneiform sources from the reign of Sargon II provide the most detailed information about them.

<sup>1130</sup> For the role of empty chariots in later times *see*: CALMEYER 1974, 49-77.

The auxiliary spearmen (*vol. I, Plate 11, 36–39*) are the largest group of soldiers depicted in the palace reliefs: 37 of them constitute 20.5 % of the total infantry in the sculptures. This high proportion – together with their frequent appearance in royal correspondence and administrative texts – indicates their growing importance within the Assyrian army. They were used in a wide range of roles (for detailed discussion *see vol. I, chapters Auxiliary spearmen, (1)–(9)*). They retained their characteristic weapons and equipment: they wore crested helmets and breast plates, and carried spears, swords and rounded wicker shields.

The regular Assyrian infantry was still important during the reign of this king. As has been discussed in detail in *vol. I*, a large number of letters from the royal correspondence refer to the king's men (Assyrians and local foreign people) who provided the bulk of the Assyrian army. They served as archers (with shield-bearers) (*vol. I, Plate 23, 76, 77*), and as general infantrymen (*vol. I, Plate 24, 78–80*). Thanks to the large number of regular infantrymen depicted in siege contexts as sappers, the regular infantry constitutes 25 % of the infantry depicted in the sculptures (31 sappers are 17.2 %, 3 infantrymen 1.6 % and 4 archers with 4 shield-bearers 4.4 %, while 5 officers make up 1.8 %) of the total infantry. Their military value obviously could not be compared with that of the élite, professional or semi-professional troops in the army (the auxiliary archers and spearmen, armoured infantry, cavalry and chariotry), since they were recruited from among the local population (shepherds and peasants, including Assyrians) and served on a seasonal basis in the provinces, in forts and garrisons, and were called to arms in case of enemy incursions or Assyrian campaigns. Sometimes deportees also served as king's men in the ranks of the regular infantry.

The heavy infantry also played an important role, since large numbers of armoured infantrymen and archers are depicted in the sculptures. These scenes provide the highest quality images of the Assyrian élite troops fighting side by side with the king and the Assyrian magnates. The finely carved figures of officials indicate an important role and an intimate relationship between the king and his 'nobles.' The officials in these scenes were counted among the heavy infantry. The range includes armoured infantrymen/spearmen (*vol. I, Plate 34, 111*), and armoured archers with different types of shield-bearers (*vol. I, Plate 29, 94, vol. I, Plate 30, 95–97, vol. I, Plate 31, 98–101, vol. I, Plate 33, 106*). Their high proportion (9 armoured infantrymen/spearmen form 5 %, while the archers depicted with or without different types of shield-bearers (altogether 57 soldiers) constitute 31.6 % of the total infantry depicted in the sculptures) may indicate not only the importance of the heavy infantry, but also the importance of the Assyrian officers and officials who were depicted in the ranks of the heavy infantry.

The proportions of the three arms of the infantry: light infantry (69 soldiers: 38.3 %), regular infantry (47 soldiers: 25 %), and heavy infantry (66 soldiers: 36.6 %), show a fairly balanced iconographical concept.

The most conspicuous change within the army is reflected by the sculptures: during the reign of Sargon II the importance of the equestrian units grew significantly. This is reflected by the very high percentage of equestrian units portrayed: the 14 cavalrymen and 9 officers make up 9.4 % of the depicted soldiers, while the 13 regular and 8 royal chariots make up 16 % of the total number of soldiers shown in the sculptures of Sargon II. This pictorial emphasis is corroborated by the cuneiform evidence: large numbers of administrative texts, letters of the royal correspondence and royal inscriptions have made it possible to reconstruct the structure of the equestrian forces of Sargon II.<sup>1131</sup> These consisted of at least two armies: the royal corps (*kišir*

<sup>1131</sup> DEZSŐ 2006B, 93-140.



*šarrūti*) and a provincial army. As *Chart 1* shows, the provincial army was commanded probably by the Commander-in-Chief (*turtānu*) and consisted of the units of the *mātus* of the high officials and the troops of the provincial governors. The royal corps consisted of two divisions, the first of which was commanded by the chief eunuch (*rab ša—rēšē*), and included a chariotry element, a bodyguard element (*ša—šēpē, pēthāl šēpē* (cavalry), *ša—qurbūte*), and the city units (*Aššurāia, Arraphāia, Armāia, Arzuḫināia, Arbailāia*). The other division consisted of bodyguard units (*qurubtu* cavalry, *qurubtu* chariotry and palace chariotry), 7 provincial units, and a recruitment and logistics section (recruitment officers and stable officers). Some Nimrud Horse Lists mustered more than 3,500 horses, which shows that the divisions of the *kišir šarrūti* were more than 3,000 horses strong.

The cavalry of Sargon II cannot be divided into two arms: archers and lancers. They were equipped with bows and stabbing lances as well. In the battle scenes, however, they were shown spearing the enemy with their lances (*Plate 4, 8; Plate 5, 9, 10*) from an over- or a under-arm position, the latter being a new feature of the cavalry of Sargon II. Furthermore they did not wear scale armour. Another type of cavalryman appears in the entourage of the king. These noble cavalrymen (*Plate 6, 11, 12*) were probably the bodyguard cavalry of the king or officials escorting him on campaign. The cavalry bodyguard consisted of 1,000 cavalrymen and was commanded probably by the king's brother, *Sîn-aḫu-ušur*.

In contrast with the reigns of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sennacherib, when chariots were almost completely absent from the sculptures, the chariotry probably played an important role in the warfare of Sargon II, because the crews of the 13+ chariots depicted in the sculptures make up 16 % of the total number of soldiers. The importance of this arm is emphasized by the fact that the whole range of chariots were represented: (1) the king himself was represented riding in his chariot 8 times (*Plate 15, 26*), (2) standard-bearing chariots – also represented in battle contexts (*Plate 17, 29, 30*), (3) and regular chariots (*Plate 16, 27, 28*). The royal chariot and the regular chariots were manned by a crew of three: the driver, the warrior/king, and the 'third man,' who was equipped with two large rounded bronze shields which were plain or were decorated by rosettes and geometric motifs arranged in concentric circles. The extent of this renaissance of chariot warfare is unknown. On the one hand this abundance of chariots in the sculptures of Sargon II can be considered as an overrepresentation guided by the heroic aspect clearly identified in his iconographical program. On the other hand several (large) chariot units are mentioned in the Nimrud Horse Lists (*see above*), which proves that there was a real rise in the importance of this arm.

## Sennacherib (704—681 B.C.)

A very important consideration in the examination of the Assyrian palace reliefs is the fact that the artistic style of the sculptures differs from palace to palace, from the reign of one king to the reign of another. Moreover, it is probably not only the artistic style, but – since the palace reliefs were a highly functional field of Assyrian art – also the ideology behind the style that differed considerably. The sculptures of Sennacherib show a profound change – at least in the artistic concept – but most probably in the Assyrian army as well. This change reveals three aspects of the evolution of the Assyrian army: (1) an ideological change in the concept of the army, (2) a large degree of standardisation, (3) the appearance and disappearance of branches of services.

(1) The artistic style of the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II – with their large, very finely carved figures emphasizing individual characteristics and representing symbolic

scenes – differs in essence from the artistic style and ideological background of the sculptures of later kings. The sculptures of Sargon II show an intimate relationship between the king and his ‘nobles,’ who were depicted in the sculptures with even their names indicated. Such an example is known from a relief which shows a walled military camp with an inscription inside it: *uš-man-nu šá mTāk*–[...]. The inscription probably identifies the camp as that of Taklāk-ana-Bēli.<sup>1132</sup> Outside the camp two scribes and a high ranking Assyrian official (probably Taklāk-ana-Bēli himself) receive the procession of captives and booty. On the contrary, in the sculptures of Sennacherib the number of uniformly depicted soldiers rises dramatically. While the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II show 137 and 244 soldiers respectively, the palace reliefs of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal depict 1,743 and 943 soldiers and officers respectively (*Charts 11–13*). These huge masses of uniformly rendered soldiers emphasize not the intimate nobility of the sculptures of the former kings, but the uniform or standardised nature of a mighty army. These large groups of uniformly rendered military officials and officers were depicted almost exclusively in small scale sculptures, where the identification of different faces was hardly possible. The importance of this huge professional military machine was personified by these large numbers of officers (149), who represent 9.8 % of the infantrymen depicted in the palace reliefs. Thus the artistic and ideological emphasis fell on these large groups, who represented not individuals, but the collective body of the empire. The intimate relationship between the king and his ‘nobles’ – if it existed before – disappeared from the artistic and ideological concept of the art of Sennacherib.

(2) The second aspect of the changes identifiable in the palace reliefs of Sennacherib is that the weapons and armour of the soldiers and officers became highly standardised. There are only minor details which differentiate for example between the armour, helmets and boots of the 1,743 soldiers and officers who were depicted in the palace reliefs (these details were discussed in detail in the previous chapters). The conical shape of the helmets (most probably made of iron), and the uniform scale armour waistcoats (also of iron) show a conscious principle of standardised equipment,<sup>1133</sup> which probably led to the disappearance of local variants of weapons and armour, and creates a picture of a highly regular army.

(3) The most important of these three aspects is the appearance and disappearance of whole branches of services. The auxiliary units (spearmen and archers) remained unchanged, but their number have grown significantly in the reliefs of this king. The auxiliary archers show some variety of apparel (*vol. I, Plate 3, 8 – Plate 6, 21*), which sheds some light on their various tribal or clan backgrounds. The different types of crested helmets of the auxiliary spearmen (Gurreans) show some variety at least at unit level (*vol. I, Plate 12, 40 – Plate 14, 50*).

No regular Assyrian archers (wearing pointed/conical helmets) are shown in the palace reliefs of Sennacherib, and they never reappeared in this form in the army. The regular spearmen (*vol. I, Plate 26, 83–85*) appear only in small numbers: the 35 who were depicted in the reliefs represent a mere 2.1 % of the total infantry. These were not elite units so their appearance in the palace reliefs was probably by chance. This fact, however, does not detract from their importance on the edges of the empire, where large numbers of forts and towns had to be garrisoned first of all with local king’s men, who probably provided the bulk of such regular units.

The changes, however, affected mainly the elite arms of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*). As has been discussed in detail, the chariotry as an arm of the army virtually disappeared from the

<sup>1132</sup> The inscription was identified by the name of *Taklāk-ana-Bēli* by READE 1976, 98-99; ALBENDA 1986, 111; RUSSELL 1999, 116.

<sup>1133</sup> DEZSŐ 2001, Chart 2.

palace reliefs (only royal and ceremonial chariots are depicted). Members of chariot crews, however, are mentioned in the cuneiform sources during the reign of Sennacherib. In the palace reliefs the cavalry replaced the chariotry. Large numbers of horsemen are depicted in uniform equipment (conical helmet, scale armour waistcoat, military boots). The 232 cavalymen who were depicted in the palace reliefs represent 13.3 % of the total number of soldiers, which is an extremely high proportion. The two branches of the cavalry: mounted archers (*Plate 7, 13*) and lancers (*Plate 7, 14*) were definitely separated in the Assyrian army: only the third arm of cavalry, the cavalry bodyguard, retained both the bow and the lance as regular items of equipment (*Plate 8, 15, 16*). They were depicted more frequently than the other two arms of the cavalry, the lancers and the archers.<sup>1134</sup>

The different arms of the heavy infantry: archers (*vol. I, Plate 32, 102–105*), spearmen (*vol. I, Plate 34, 112*) and slingers (*vol. I, Plate 36, 118*), were also definitively separated from each other during the reign of Sennacherib. The importance of the heavy infantry grew significantly: 775 heavy infantrymen (including 149 officers) represent more than half (51.4 %) of the total infantrymen depicted on the palace reliefs of Sennacherib. This large body of heavy infantrymen included 258 armoured spearmen (17.2 % of the total infantry), 202 armoured archers with 100 shield-bearers (19.8 % of the total infantry), and 66 armoured slingers (4.3 % of the total infantry). These changes can easily be linked to a possible army reform of Sennacherib.

Administrative texts probably from the reign of Sennacherib show other changes in the structure of the army, or at least in military administration. A set of administrative texts demonstrate the division of certain army units based on a territorial system between the leading members of the royal family (the king, the crown prince, and the queen). The units of the king are called ‘the new corps of Sennacherib’ (*ki-šir* <sup>md</sup>30—PAB.MEŠ—SU GIBIL).<sup>1135</sup> The ‘new corps’ obviously refers to an army reform. As far as the fragmentary report makes a reconstruction possible, these ‘new corps’ included 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-têre, the Treasurer (*masennu*, LÚ.IGI—DUB), and Nabû-šarru-ušur, the governor of the capital, Nineveh.<sup>1136</sup> There is no known reason for this division of military administration, which might have taken place during the last decade of the reign of Sennacherib.

These texts assigned to the crown prince several governors of the empire: Misu, governor of Arbela, Marduk-erība, governor of Upumu, Bēl-iddina, governor of Kulimmeri, 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 Hīndānu, Chief Treasurer (of the crown-prince?), Šamaš-šarru-ušur, chief eunuch of the crown prince, and a fragmentary list of 5/8 other officials.<sup>1137</sup> One of the section breaks summarizes the section of the crown-prince as “in all 49 higher-ranking magnates of the crown-prince” (LÚ.GAL.GAL.MEŠ DUMU—LUGAL). It seems that excluding the high officials and the governor of the capital, several (if not all) of the governors of the central and Eastern part of

<sup>1134</sup> The 145 cavalry bodyguards represent 62.5 % of the cavalry. The 36 cavalry archers represent 15.5 %, while the 51 cavalry spearmen represent 22 % of the cavalry.

<sup>1135</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 3 (ADD 853), I:6’; 4 (ADD 854), I:3’; 115 (ADD 953), 4; 148 (ADD 1083), II:15’.

<sup>1136</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 3 (ADD 853), I:1’-6’; 4 (ADD 854), I:1’-8’.

<sup>1137</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 3 (ADD 853), I:7’-Rev. II:2’; 4 (ADD 854), I:9’-Rev. II:6’.

the empire were assigned for unknown reasons and for an unknown extent to the crown-prince. The 49 magnates<sup>1138</sup> covered virtually half of the territory of the empire.

One of these texts, in its third section, assigns four officials (a eunuch of the crown-prince, a chief fuller, a major-domo, and a village manager) to the household of the queen (Lady of the House, É.GAŠAN—É). These posts, however, lacking important military connotations, did not affect the military administration of the empire.

Concluding the evidence, it can be stated, that – although a similar division of the military administration is known to have taken place during the reigns of later kings (*see below*) – the impact that it might have had on the military administration of the empire cannot be reconstructed, either from the sculptures or from cuneiform sources.

### Esarhaddon (680—669 B.C.)

From the reign of Esarhaddon no sculptures which can be interpreted from the military point of view have survived, so our reconstruction is based exclusively on cuneiform evidence. Administrative texts probably dating from his reign show a similar division of army officers between the leading members of the royal family. An administrative text ('List of officials at court') assigns military officers to four leading members of the royal court: the king, the crown-prince, the queen mother (*ummi šarri*), and the chief eunuch (*rab ša—rēšē*).<sup>1139</sup> As Fig. 9 shows, the king's forces were the most substantial. The cohort commanders served all of the four individuals. The Chief Eunuch has only cohort commanders (6) and an adjutant, since he was the commander of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*). The single cohort commander of the queen mother probably commanded a bodyguard unit, the other officers (4 *qurbūtu* bodyguards, 2 chariot drivers, and a third man), were probably in her personal service. It is important to note that at that time *qurbūtu* bodyguards served all the members of the royal family. The officers of the crown-prince, however, were members of units of real military value. His 8 cohort commanders and 3 *qurbūtu* bodyguards indicate a substantial military force. This importance of the military units of the crown-prince can be followed throughout the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. up to the fall of the empire. This division makes it clear that certain types of units remained under the command of the king: one of these is the group of 8 chariot owners, but much more important is the fact that the auxiliary units of the light infantry (Itu'eans, Hallateans, Gurreans), and the vassal units of Elamites all remained under the control of the king.

<sup>1138</sup> None of the texts list 49 magnates, only 13 or 15.

<sup>1139</sup> FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857). For further fragmentary lists *see* 6 (ADD 840 + 858), 7 (ADD 833), 9 (ADD 860).

TITLE	KING	CROWN PRINCE	QUEEN MOTHER	CHIEF EUNUCH
cohort commander ( <i>rab kišir</i> )	3	8	1	6
<i>qurbūtu</i> bodyguard	16	5	4	
<i>ša—šēpē</i> bodyguard	4			
chariot driver ( <i>mukil appāte</i> )	6		2	
‘third man’ ( <i>tašlišu</i> )	4	3	1	
chariot owner (LÚ.EN—GIŠ.GIGIR)	8			
chariot horse-trainer (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR)		1		
horse trainer of the open chariotry	5			
team commander ( <i>rab urâte</i> )				
prefect ( <i>šaknu</i> )	6	2		
prefect of the Itueans ( <i>Itu’u</i> )	2			
prefect of the Gurreans ( <i>Gurri</i> )	1			
prefect of the Hallateans ( <i>Ḫaltāia</i> )	1			
prefect of the Elamites ( <i>Elammāia</i> )	2			
personal <i>kallāpu</i> ( <i>kallāpu qurbu</i> )	1			
adjutant (LÚ.DUMU—ŠU.2)				1
gateguard (LÚ.I.DUš)	4			
governor (LÚ.EN.NAM)	1			

Fig. 9. The division of officers according to ADD 857.

## Assurbanipal (668—631 B.C.)

The profound changes observable during the reign of Sennacherib continued and completely transformed the Assyrian army. For the reign of Assurbanipal the Assyrian army acquired an even more regular character than it had had under his predecessor.

In the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal the light infantry became the most numerous arm. The 245 auxiliary spearmen, with 153 auxiliary archers and 4 auxiliary slingers, represent 49.8 % of the infantry depicted. This proportion is a consequence of the almost total absence of depictions of regular infantry (*see below*). The equipment of the auxiliary archers and spearmen has changed considerably. It seems that a high degree of standardisation affected the ranks of auxiliary archers. Only a few of them retained the original Itu’ean dress (*vol. I, Plate 8, 26, 27*). The other auxiliary archers wear somewhat different but seemingly uniform gear (*vol. I, Plate 7, 22—24*). At this time the Assyrians probably incorporated much larger bodies of Aramean and Chaldean tribesmen into the army, and their clothing made the appearance of auxiliary archers homogeneous. A new element in the history of the Assyrian army is that Elamite auxiliary archers (*vol. I, Plate 7, 25*) also appear in the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal together with Assyrian ‘court archers’ (hunters?) (*vol. I, Plate 8, 28*) who escorted the king in large numbers, and whose dress differs significantly from the dress of Aramean, Chaldean or Elamite auxiliary archers.

The standardisation that started during the reign of Sennacherib also affected the arm of auxiliary spearmen. First of all their crested helmets (*vol. I, Plate 15, 51–54, vol. I, Plate 16, 55, 56*) were standardized and all the variants which characterized the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. depictions (and might differentiate different units or groups) disappeared from the reliefs.<sup>1140</sup> This may indicate a new phenomenon: the original ethnic (Gurrean) weaponry and equipment lost its ethnic character and became simply the standard weaponry and equipment of one arm of the Assyrian army: the auxiliary spearmen, whose ethnic background might have been mixed during the reign of Assurbanipal. The standardisation affected other items of equipment as well. Three types of shields appear: the traditional rounded wicker shield with a metal boss (*vol. I, Plate 15, 51–53*), in a single case a rounded bronze shield also appears (*vol. I, Plate 15, 54*), and the most important change is the appearance of the large standing battle shield or pavise, which lent a new character to the auxiliary spearmen, whose battle shields were also made of wicker (*vol. I, Plate 16, 55, 56*).

Every known type of infantry existed during the reign of Assurbanipal except the regular infantry which almost completely disappeared from his palace reliefs. Regular archers (wearing Assyrian pointed helmets) had already disappeared during the reign of Sennacherib and had been replaced by large numbers of auxiliary archers. Regular spearmen (*vol. I, Plate 27, 86–89*) appear in very small numbers in the palace reliefs – almost exclusively in battle contexts. This is the only context in which the reliefs of Assurbanipal – side by side with auxiliary and armoured spearmen – show regular spearmen probably recruited from among the Assyrian and local populations in large numbers to serve on a seasonal basis. Their representational ratio (23 spearmen represent only 2.8 % of the total infantry depicted in the palace reliefs) probably does not reflect their real strength, but only their weight within the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*). The equipment of regular spearmen became mixed: they wore the Assyrian pointed helmet, but could wear the breast-plate of the auxiliary spearmen (*vol. I, Plate 27, 87, 88*). They could be equipped with large rounded bronze shields (*vol. I, Plate 27, 86*), but the most important change was the appearance of the large standing battle shield or pavise (metal plated: *vol. I, Plate 27, 87, 89*; wicker: *vol. I, Plate 27, 88*), which virtually standardised the whole of the fighting infantry (auxiliary, regular and heavy). It seems that the advent of this new type of battle shield changed the battle tactics of the Assyrian army, in which the different types of spearmen played a new role.<sup>1141</sup>

The heavy infantry flourished during the reign of Assurbanipal and – according to the palace reliefs – played an important role in the Assyrian army. The 323 heavy infantrymen (archers, spearmen, and slingers together with 134 officers!) represent 40 % of the total number of infantrymen depicted. As *Chart 11* shows, the proportion of heavy infantry in the sculptures rose steadily until the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C., when it reached a very high ratio: 51.4 % together with officers in the reliefs of Sennacherib and 40 % together with officers in the reliefs of Assurbanipal. This large share might not be due simply to the representational concept of the reliefs of these two kings, but might refer to a genuinely more important role in Assyrian warfare. These changes can probably be connected to a series of army reforms which started during the reign of Sennacherib and resulted in the growing importance of auxiliary and heavy troops, and the standardisation of the (equipment of the) army.

A new type of armoured archer appears in the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal: they do not wear the pointed helmet, but only a headband similar to that of the Aramean auxiliary archers (*vol. I, Plate 33, 108, 109*). In their overall appearance they resemble armoured Aramean archers,

<sup>1140</sup> DEZSŐ 2001, 37-55, Charts 3, 4.

<sup>1141</sup> The marching and battle order, and the battle tactics of the Assyrian army will be discussed in the second volume of this project.

but their ethnic background remains unknown. Their number (76 archers with 13 shield-bearers) constitutes almost 10.9 % of all the infantry depicted.

The armoured spearmen followed the tradition of the armoured spearmen of Sennacherib: they wore pointed helmets and scale armour waistcoats and were equipped with large rounded bronze shields (*vol. I, Plate 35, 113, 114*). The new type of battle shield made of both wicker (*vol. I, Plate 35, 115*) and bronze (*vol. I, Plate 35, 116, 117*), the importance of which has already been discussed above, however, also appeared in their ranks. The 78 armoured spearmen who appear in the reliefs of Assurbanipal make up 9.5 % of the infantry depicted.

The third arm of heavy infantry (if it was an independent arm), the heavy slingers (*vol. I, Plate 36, 119*), are represented by only 11 men, a very small proportion (1.2 %) of the infantry depicted in the reliefs.

It is not known whether the armoured sappers (11 sappers representing a proportion of 1.3 %) were an independent arm or a group of heavy infantrymen detailed to demolish the wall.

A new branch of service can be identified in the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal: the bodyguard infantry. Bodyguard infantry had obviously existed at earlier periods, but only the context in which they appeared (escorting the king) or some ethnic affiliation (Judæan spearmen) could reveal the function of the unit. Obviously, on occasion any infantry unit could serve as a bodyguard, but the reliefs of Assurbanipal show infantry bodyguard units with different equipment from that of the heavy infantry. Five types of bodyguard infantry unit can be identified in the reliefs of Assurbanipal: (1) spearmen wearing no armour or pointed helmets and equipped with a huge rounded bronze shield (which cannot be used for any other purpose besides standing guard) (*vol. I, Plate 41, 133*), (2) spearmen wearing no armour or pointed helmets and equipped with the large standing battle shield or pavise made of bronze (*vol. I, Plate 41, 134*), (3) spearmen wearing scale armour and pointed helmets and equipped with the huge rounded bronze shield (*vol. I, Plate 41, 135*), (4) spearmen wearing scale armour but not pointed helmets and equipped with normal-sized rounded bronze shield (*vol. I, Plate 41, 136*), and (5) spearmen wearing scale armour but not pointed helmets and equipped with large standing battle shields made of bronze (*vol. I, Plate 41, 137*). Since these spearmen sometimes appear together it is obvious that they represent different units of the infantry bodyguard.<sup>1142</sup> This variety of infantry bodyguards is corroborated by the written sources, which mention a whole range of different bodyguard units. As *Fig. 10* shows, during the reign of Assurbanipal the following types of bodyguard units appear in the cuneiform corpus: *ša—šēpē* (*ša—šēpē* guard, 'personal guard'), *ša—šēpē mār šarri* (*ša—šēpē* guard of the crown-prince), *qurbūtu / ša—qurbūte* (*qurbūtu* bodyguard), *qurbūtu / ša—qurbūte ša mār šarri* (*qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince), *qurbūtu / ša—qurbūte ummi šarri* (*qurbūtu* bodyguard of the queen mother), *qurbūtu / ša—qurbūte ša—šēpē* (*qurbūtu* bodyguard of the *ša—šēpē* guard). These types of bodyguards, however, cannot be identified as such in the palace reliefs, so it can only be supposed that the four types of bodyguards depicted in the reliefs might be (1) different units of the same type of bodyguard, or (2) depictions of the different types of bodyguard mentioned in the cuneiform sources.

The cavalry of Assurbanipal – following the development which started during the reign of Sennacherib – show a new feature of increased weight. Three types of cavalryman can be identified in the reliefs: mounted archers, lancers, and cavalry bodyguards. The equipment of the cavalry archers (*Plate 10, 19, 20*) and lancers (*Plate 9, 17, 18*) differs only in a single significant

<sup>1142</sup> LAYARD 1853B, pl. 47.

				Anp. II	Slm. III	Tglp. III	Sargon II	Senn.	Esarh.	Asb.
ROYAL	INFANTRY	Light	Archers			2—3	4—7	8—21	Itu'eans	22—28
			Spearmen			32—34	36—46	47—50	Gurreans	51—56
		Regular	Archers	61	+	72	76—77			
			Spearmen	66	+	74	77	83—85		86—89
		Heavy	Archers	90	+	93	94—101	102—105		108—109
			Spearmen	121		110	111	112		113—117
			Slingers					118		119
			Bodyguard	120—124		ša—šēpē, qurbūtu	96—97 ša—šēpē, qurbūtu, qurbūtu ša mār šarri	130—132 ša—šēpē, qurbūtu, qurbūtu ša mār šarri, qurbūtu ummi šarri, qurbūtu ša—šēpē	ša—šēpē, qurbūtu, qurbūtu ša mār šarri, qurbūtu ummi šarri, qurbūtu ša—šēpē	135—137 ša—šēpē, ša—šēpē mār šarri, qurbūtu, qurbūtu ša mār šarri, qurbūtu ummi šarri, qurbūtu ša—šēpē
		CAVALRY	Archers	3	+		8—10	13		19—20
			Spearmen	3	+	5—6	8—10	14		17—18
			Bodyguard	1—2	+		11—12 pēṭḫal qurubte, pēṭḫalli šēpē	15—16	pēṭḫal qurubte, pēṭḫalli šēpē, pēṭḫalli ša qurbūte	21
	CHARIOTRY	Regular		24	+		27—28 palace chariotry, city units, stable officers			31—32
		Bodyguard		25			qurubtu chariotry, ša—šēpē chariotry, qurbūtu šēpē, qurbūtu šēpē pattūte			
		Other					chariot owners, deportees, taḫlīpu, pattūte			
PROVINCIAL	INFANTRY	Light	Archers				Itu'eans			
			Spearmen				Gurreans			
		Regular	Archers				+			
			Spearmen				+			
	CAVALRY						+			
	CHARIOTRY	Regular					+			
		Other					chariot owners			

Fig. 10. Structure of the armies of Assyrian kings.



detail: the heavy leather horse armour. Sometimes the cavalry bodyguards (who were equipped with both bows and spears) also used this horse armour (*Plate 11, 21*). It made the equipment heavier and provided both extra defence and more weight for the (irresistible) charge of the cavalry in battle. The palace reliefs emphasize the importance of this armoured cavalry, which constitute a high proportion of the depicted soldiers: 81 cavalymen make up 8.6 % of the army. These troops were to be the first heavy cavalry in history.

The chariotry reappeared in the palace reliefs of Assurbanipal, but now in a quite different form: the normal chariot of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. was replaced by a huge war chariot drawn by (four?) horses covered with the same leather armour as cavalry mounts and manned by four armoured soldiers: a driver, a warrior and two shield-bearers (*Plate 18, 31, 32*). The possible uses of this huge battle chariot were limited: it could be deployed only in battles, where in close combat situations the armoured horses and the crew of four armoured soldiers could fight more effectively than the normal chariots of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. After undergoing several changes – in parallel with the standardisation of the whole army and the tendency for the troops to wear more armour – the Assyrian chariotry reached its apogee with this armoured battle chariot. It is most probable, however, that – in spite of the lack of representational evidence – other, lighter types of chariots still remained in use. The long history of Assyrian chariotry ended probably at the time of the fall of the empire, when some type of chariotry units were still in use, since a tablet found at Ziyaret Tepe tells us that a local official, lacking horses, was unable to do his job and raise a chariotry unit.<sup>1143</sup>

The Assyrian army is probably the earliest military force that can be reconstructed with such precision. During the expansion of the Neo-Assyrian Empire it was transformed from an ethnically relatively homogeneous army of the Assyrian Kingdom, based on a seasonal conscripted levy and some professional elements, into a multinational imperial army based on an increasing proportion of professional or semi-professional troops which formed a standing army during the second wave of expansion in the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The army of the first phase of the Empire (till 745 B.C.) was the army of the expansion, while in the second phase (after 745 B.C.) it reflected the expansion and integration of conquered peoples. The ethnic Assyrian identity of the first phase was most probably replaced by an integrating or assimilating profile during the second phase of the Empire.

The Assyrian army in its complexity, its size, its tendency to become more professional, increasingly well equipped, armoured, and drilled, and the high level of its strategic and tactical command reached standards which were previously unknown and which – for hundreds of years – would not be achieved by any other army of the ancient world.

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<sup>1143</sup> PARPOLA 2008, 86-90, 22 (ZT 13284 + 13285 + 13286 + 13287).

# CHARTS

[illegible]

## Officers and other military personnel of the Rēmanni-Adad archive (671–660 B.C.)

SAA 6 ADD date	297 266 671. XII. 11.	298 503 [671]	299 477 [671– 669]	300 202 670. I. 28.	301 172 670. VI. 20.	304 366 669. I. 20+	305 183+ 669. [x] 21.
Rēmanni-Adad	Mš	[M...]	[M...]	M[...]	Mš	[...]	Md
Nabû-ētir	[M]						
Nabû-zēru-iddina	M[mš]	M[mš]	Mmš	[M]			
Šamaš-šarru-ušur	Mmš	M[mš]	Mmš				[M]
Zabāba-erība			Mmš	[M]	M?		
Dannāia				[M]			
Mannu-kī-Aššur				[M]			
Mannu-kī-šarri				[M]			
Nabû-šēzib				[M]			[M]
Barruqu							
Sakkannu							
Šumma-ilāni			M?				
Šamaš-šallim							
Zārūtī (Zēru-utī)							
Īiri-aḫḫē							
Mannu-kī-Aššur							
Marduk-šarru-ušur							
Zēru-ukīn							
Nabû-šallim			MmšB				
Kiṣir-Aššur		M					
[...]-rēmanni							
Aššur-šarru-ušur							
[...]							
[...]							
[...]-a v. -iddina							
[...]							
Sin-rēmanni					M?		



## Officers and other military personnel of the Rēmāni-Adad archive (671–660 B.C.)

SAA 6 ADD date	297 266 671. XII. 11.	298 503 [671]	299 477 [671– 669]	300 202 670. I. 28.	301 172 670. VI. 20.	304 366 669. I. 20+	305 183+ 669. [x] 21.
Aḫu-lā-amašši							
Sin-ašarēd							
Nergal-šarru-ušur I							T
Uarbisi							T
Sairu							
Sē'-ḫari							
Aššur-lē'i							
Il-dalā							
Mašqaru							
Nergal-šarru-ušur II							
Uarmeri							
Adad-uballiṭ							
Tardītu-Aššur							
[...]							
[...]							
Aššur-kīn-aḫi?							
Nabû-ēmuranni							
[...]-ēreš							
[...]							
Aššur-ilā'i							
[...]							
[...]							
Nabû-zēru-iddina							
Aḫu-āmur							
Šamšanni-ilu							
Dārī-šarru							
Ilu-mušēzib							
Mannu-kī-Ḫarrān							
Sē'-dalā							
Na'di-Adad							
[...]-iddina							
[...]							
Gurdī							
Nabû-[...]-im							

Chart 2B

306 187 669.	307 65 668. II. 10.	308 1155 [668?]	309 200 667. I. [x]	310 185 667. XII. 16.	311 331 666. XI. 1.	312 801 666. IV. 20.	313 258 666. IV. 20.	314 448 666. XI. 10.	315 420 666. XII. 11.
									<b>T</b>
<b>T</b>								<b>T[dl]</b>	
<b>T</b>				<b>T</b>					
				<b>T</b>					
									<b>T</b>
								<b>T</b>	
						<b>T?</b>	<b>T?</b>		
			<b>G</b>						
			<b>G</b>						
			<b>G</b>						
				<b>GD</b>					
				<b>GD</b>					
				<b>GD</b>					<b>GD</b>
				<b>GD</b>					<b>GD</b>
									<b>GD</b>

## Officers and other military personnel of the Rēmanni-Adad archive (671–660 B.C.)

SAA 6	297	298	299	300	301	304	305
ADD	266	503	477	202	172	366	183+
date	671. XII. 11.	[671]	[671– 669]	670. I. 28.	670. VI. 20.	669. I. 20+	669. [x] 21.
Gallulu	RK						
Nabû-šarru-ušur	[RKmš	[RKmš	RKmš	[RK]			
Ṭāb-šar- [...]	RK						
Zārūtī (Zēru-utī)						[RK]	RK
Aššur-ilā'ī							
Šarru-ilā'ī							
Šumma-ilu							
Nabû-rēmanni							
Išsar-ilā'ī							
Milki-idri							
[...]							
Dādī-ibnī							
Mannu-kī-Arbail							
Zēru-ukin							
Nabû-erība					2RU		
Ubru-Aššur							

**MdAš** *mukil appâte dannu ša Aššur-bān-apli šar māt Aššur***MAš** *mukil appâte ša Aššur-bān-apli šar māt Aššur***Mšm** *mukil appâte ša šar māt Aššur***Mdš** *mukil appâte dannu ša šarri***Md** *mukil appâte dannu***Mš** *mukil appâte ša šarri***Mše** *mukil appâte ša ekalli***Mme** *mukil appâte ša MÍ.É.GAL***Meg** *mukil appâte ša É.GAŠAN – É***Mšt** *mukil appâte ša LÚ.turtan***Mmš** *mukil appâte ša mār šarri***MmšB** *mukil appâte ša mār šarri Bābili***M** *mukil appâte***Tmš** *tašlīšu mār šarri***Tdmš** *tašlīšu dannu mār šarri***Td** *tašlīšu dannu***Trš** *tašlīšu ša rab ša — rēšē***T** *tašlīšu***G** LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR**GD** LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ**RK** *rab kišir***RKmš** *rab kišir ša mār šarri***RKQ** *rab kišir ša — qurbūte***RQmš** *rab kišir ša — qurbūte ša mār šarri***RKŠmš** *rab kišir ša — šēpē ša mār šarri***MrDa** *māru damqu***2RU** *šanû ša rab urâte***2RUmš** *šanû ša rab urâte ša mār šarri***RA** *raksu*

Chart 2C

[illegible]



## Officers and other military personnel of the Rēmanni-Adad archive (671—660 B.C.)

SAA 6	316	317	318	319	320	321	323
ADD	421	60	35	237	377	439	115
date	666. XII. 1.	666. [...]	665. X. 22.	665. XI. 10.	664. X. 17.	[664. X. 17.]	664. X. 25.
Rēmanni-Adad	[...]	Mdš	Md	M	[...]	[...]	M
Nabû-ēṭir							
Nabû-zēru-iddina		Mmš	M				
Šamaš-šarru-ušur	M	Mmš					M
Zabāba-erība					T	[T]	
Dannāia							
Mannu-kī-Aššur							
Mannu-kī-šarri							
Nabû-šēzib	M						M
Barruququ	M	Mmš	M				M
Sakkannu	M	Mmš	M				M
Šumma-ilāni	M	Mmš					M
Šamaš-šallim							
Zārūtī (Zēru-utī)						M	Mmš
Ḫiri-aḫḫē							
Mannu-kī-Aššur							
Marduk-šarru-ušur							
Zēru-ukīn							
Nabû-šallim							
Kiṣir-Aššur							
[...]-rēmanni							
Aššur-šarru-ušur							
[...]							
[...]							
[...]-a v. -iddina							
[...]							
Sin-rēmanni							

Chart 2D

324 116 664. X. 25.	325 470 663. X. 25.	326 471 [...]	327 611 663. X. 28.	328 1153 [663?]	329 444 660. IV. 26.	330 445 660. IV. 26.	331 362 660. V. 3.	332 433+ [...]	333 451 [...]
<b>MAš</b>	[M...]	<b>MdAš</b>	[...]	<b>MAš</b>	<b>M[d]</b>	[Md]	[...]	[...]	<b>M</b>
					<b>M</b>	[M]			
<b>M</b>	<b>Mmš</b>	[M]						[M]	
	<b>T</b>	[T]	[T]						
<b>M</b>	<b>Mmš</b>							M?	
[M]	<b>Mmš</b>	[M]	[M]						
<b>M</b>	<b>Mmš</b>		[M]	[M]				<b>M</b>	
[M]									
							[M]	M?	
	<b>M</b>								
					<b>Mmš</b>	[Mmš]			
			M?		<b>Mme</b>	[Mme]		[Mme]	
					<b>M</b>	[M]			
				<b>M</b>					
				<b>M</b>					

## Officers and other military personnel of the Rēmanni-Adad archive (671—660 B.C.)

SAA 6 ADD date	316 421 666. XII. 1.	317 60 666. [...]	318 35 665. X. 22.	319 237 665. XI. 10.	320 377 664. X. 17.	321 439 [664. X. 17.]	323 115 664. X. 25.
Aḥu-lā-amašši	<b>T</b>	<b>Tmš</b>					
Sîn-ašarēd		<b>Tdmš</b>			<b>Tmš</b>	<b>Tmš</b>	
Nergal-šarru-ušur I							<b>T</b>
Uarbisi							
Sairu							
Sē'-ḥari	<b>T</b>						
Aššur-lē'i					<b>T</b>	[ <b>T</b> ]	
Il-dalā							<b>T</b>
Mašqaru							<b>T</b>
Nergal-šarru-ušur II					<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>
Uarmeri							<b>T</b>
Adad-uballiṭ							
Tarditu-Aššur							
[...]							
[...]							
Aššur-kīn-aḥi?							
Nabû-ēmuranni							
[...]-ēreš							
[...]							
Aššur-ilā'i							
[...]							
[...]							
Nabû-zēru-iddina		<b>GD</b>					
Aḥu-āmur							
Šamšanni-ilu							
Dārī-šarru							
Ilu-mušēzib							
Mannu-kī-Ḥarrān	<b>GD</b>						
Sē'-dalā	<b>GD</b>						
Na'di-Adad	<b>GD</b>	<b>GD</b>					
[...]-iddina		<b>GD</b>					
[...]							
Gurdi							
Nabû-[...]-im							

Chart 2E

[illegible]

## Officers and other military personnel of the Rēmanni-Adad archive (671—660 B.C.)

SAA 6 ADD date	316 421 666. XII. 1.	317 60 666. [...]	318 35 665. X. 22.	319 237 665. XI. 10.	320 377 664. X. 17.	321 439 [664. X. 17.]	323 115 664. X. 25.
Gallulu							
Nabû-šarru-ušur							
Tāb-šar-[...]							
Zārūtī (Zēru-utī)					RKmš	RKmš	RKmš
Aššur-ilā'ī							RKQ
Šarru-ilā'ī							
Šumma-ilu							
Nabû-rēmanni							
Issar-ilā'ī							
Milki-idri							
[...]							
Dādī-ibnī							
Mannu-kī-Arbail							
Zēru-ukīn							
Nabû-erība	2RU	2RU			2RU	2RU	
Ubru-Aššur			RA				

**MdAš** *mukil appāte dannu ša Aššur-bān-apli šar māt Aššur***MAš** *mukil appāte ša Aššur-bān-apli šar māt Aššur***Mšm** *mukil appāte ša šar māt Aššur***Mdš** *mukil appāte dannu ša šarri***Md** *mukil appāte dannu***Mš** *mukil appāte ša šarri***Mše** *mukil appāte ša ekalli***Mme** *mukil appāte ša MÍ.É.GAL***Meg** *mukil appāte ša É.GAŠAN – É***Mšt** *mukil appāte ša LÚ.turtan***Mmš** *mukil appāte ša mār šarri***MmšB** *mukil appāte ša mār šarri Bābili***M** *mukil appāte***Tmš** *tašlišu mār šarri***Tdmš** *tašlišu dannu mār šarri***Td** *tašlišu dannu***Trš** *tašlišu ša rab ša — rēšē***T** *tašlišu***G** LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR**GD** LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ**RK** *rab kišir***RKmš** *rab kišir ša mār šarri***RKQ** *rab kišir ša — qurbūte***RQmš** *rab kišir ša — qurbūte ša mār šarri***RKŠmš** *rab kišir ša — šēpē ša mār šarri***MrDa** *māru damqu***2RU** *šanû ša rab urâte***2RUmš** *šanû ša rab urâte ša mār šarri***RA** *raksu*

Chart 2F

324 116 664. X. 25.	325 470 663. X. 25.	326 471 [...]	327 611 663. X. 28.	328 1153 [663?]	329 444 660. IV. 26.	330 445 660. IV. 26.	331 362 660. V. 3.	332 433+ [...]	333 451 [...]
	RKŠmš							RK?	
RKmš	RQmš	RK							
RKQ		R[KQ]	RKQ						
					RKQ	[RKQ]			
	RK								
	RK								
	RK								
	MD								
	MD								
	MD								
	2RU			2RU	2RU	2RU		2RU	

## Officers and other military personnel of the Rēmanni-Adad archive (671—660 B.C.)

SAA 6 ADD date	334 429+ [...]	335 418 [...]	336 419 [...]	337 515 [...]	338 1189 [...]	339 408 [...]	340 372 [...]
Rēmanni-Adad	MdAš	MdAš	MdAš	M[d]	[M...]	MdAš	[M...]
Nabû-ēṭir					M		
Nabû-zēru-iddina							
Šamaš-šarru-ušur	M	Mmš			M	M	
Zabāba-erība							
Dannāia							
Mannu-kī-Aššur							
Mannu-kī-šarri							
Nabû-šēzib		[Mmš]				M	
Barruququ		Mmš			M	M	
Sakkannu					M	M	
Šumma-ilāni							
Šamaš-šallim	[M]						
Zārūtī (Zēru-utī)							
Ḫiri-aḫḫē							
Mannu-kī-Aššur		Mmš					
Marduk-šarru-ušur		M?					
Zēru-ukīn		Mmš					
Nabû-šallim							
Kiṣir-Aššur							
[...]-rēmanni							
Aššur-šarru-ušur							
[...]					Mšt		
[...]						M	
[...]-a v. -iddina						MeG	
[...]							M
Sin-rēmanni					M?		

Chart 2G

341 424 [...]	342 247 [...] l. 21.	343 270 [...]	344 271 [...]	345 322 [...]	346 203 [...]	347 174 [...]	348 297 [...]	349 596 [...]	350 571 [...]
Mšm	[M...]	MdAš	MdAš	MdAš	MdAš	M	[M...]	[M...]	[...]
									[M]
	M					Mmš			[M]
	M					Mmš			
						Mmš?			[M]
						Mmš		M	[M]
						Mmš			
	M								
	M						Mmš		
						M?			
									[M]
								M	



## Officers and other military personnel of the Rēmanni-Adad archive (671—660 B.C.)

SAA 6 ADD date	334 429+ [...]	335 418 [...]	336 419 [...]	337 515 [...]	338 1189 [...]	339 408 [...]	340 372 [...]
Aḫu-lā-amašši	Trš						
Sîn-ašarēd							
Nergal-šarru-ušur I							
Uarbisi		Td				T	
Sairu							
Sē'-ḫari							
Aššur-lē'i							
Il-dalā							
Mašqaru							
Nergal-šarru-ušur II	Td					Td	
Uarmeri							
Adad-uballit							
Tarditu-Aššur							
[...]		T					
[...]		T					
Aššur-kēnu-ušur		T					
Nabû-ēmuranni							
[...]-ēreš							
[...]							
Aššur-ilā'i							
[...]							Td
[...]							T
Nabû-zēru-iddina							
Aḫu-āmur					[GD]		
Šamšanni-ilu							
Dārî-šarru							
Ilu-mušēzib							
Mannu-kî-Ḫarrân		[GD]			[GD]		
Sē'-dalā							
Na'di-Adad							
[...]-iddina							
Gurdî	[GD]						
Nabû-[...]-im	[GD]						
[...]	G						

Chart 2H

[illegible]

## Officers and other military personnel of the Rēmanni-Adad archive (671—660 B.C.)

SAA 6 ADD date	334 429+ [...]	335 418 [...]	336 419 [...]	337 515 [...]	338 1189 [...]	339 408 [...]	340 372 [...]
Gallulu							
Nabû-šarru-ušur							
Tāb-šar-[...]							
Zārūtī (Zēru-utī)							
Aššur-ilā'ī							
Šarru-ilā'ī							
Šumma-ilu							
Nabû-rēmanni							
Issar-ilā'ī							
Milki-idri							
[...]							<b>RK</b>
Dādī-ibnī							
Mannu-kī-Arbail							
Zēru-ukīn							
Nabû-erība		<b>2RU</b>			<b>2RU</b>	<b>2RUmš</b>	
Ubru-Aššur							

**MdAš** *mukil appâte dannu ša Aššur-bān-apli šar māt Aššur***MAš** *mukil appâte ša Aššur-bān-apli šar māt Aššur***Mšm** *mukil appâte ša šar māt Aššur***Mdš** *mukil appâte dannu ša šarri***Md** *mukil appâte dannu***Mš** *mukil appâte ša šarri***Mše** *mukil appâte ša ekalli***Mme** *mukil appâte ša MÍ.É.GAL***Meg** *mukil appâte ša É.GAŠAN – É***Mšt** *mukil appâte ša LÚ.turtan***Mmš** *mukil appâte ša mār šarri***MmšB** *mukil appâte ša mār šarri Bābili***M** *mukil appâte***Tmš** *tašlišu mār šarri***Tdmš** *tašlišu dannu mār šarri***Td** *tašlišu dannu***Trš** *tašlišu ša rab ša — rēšē***T** *tašlišu***G** LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR**GD** LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ**RK** *rab kišir***RKmš** *rab kišir ša mār šarri***RKQ** *rab kišir ša — qurbūte***RQmš** *rab kišir ša — qurbūte ša mār šarri***RKŠmš** *rab kišir ša — šēpē ša mār šarri***MrDa** *māru damqu***2RU** *šanû ša rab urâte***2RUmš** *šanû ša rab urâte ša mār šarri***RA** *raksu*

Chart 2I

[illegible]

## Officers and other military personnel of the Šumma-ilāni archive (709—680 B.C.)

SAA 6 ADD date	34 234 709. V. 20.	35 112 700	36 34 695 I. 12.	37 427 694. VII. 1.	38 508 694?	39 239 694. I.	40 238 693. I.	41 240 693. I.
Šumma-ilāni	Mkš						M	
Nadbi-lā'u	M							
Zārūti (Zēru-utī)			Mgm					
Arbailāiu			T					
Ḫašānu			MTš					
Pišarmu			Muš					
Il-qatar			Q					
Sama'a				Mrmš		Mrmš	Mrmš	MNŠ
Bēl-Ḫarrān-šarru-ušur				MT				
[...-zēr]u-ibnī				RKu				
Šamaš-ilā'i				Me				
Tudūte				MDN				
Nabû-ḫussanni						M	M	
Bēl-aḫḫēšu						MRK	MRK	MRK
Zazī						Mš	Mš	Mš
Šamaš-šēzib								T[...
Aššur-šēzibanni								
Ketti-ilāni								
Sîn-zēru-ibnī								
Nabû-lē'ani								
Nabû-aḫu-ušur								
Bēl-aḫu-ušur								
Aḫi-nūri								
Bēl-šarru-ibnī								
[...]-qam								
[...]								
Attâ-qāmū'a								
Nabû-rēši-išši								
Sîn-nā'id								
Marduk-šumu-iddina								

Chart 3

42 326 692. II. 10.	43 19 684. I. 10.	44 20 684. I. 10.	45 222 682.	46 127 681. V. 21.	50 422	51 423	52 246	53 236	54 725
<b>Mmb</b>									<b>M</b>
<b>M?</b>									
								<b>M</b>	
								<b>T</b>	
<b>M</b>									
<b>T</b>									
	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>							
	<b>T</b>	<b>T</b>							
	<b>Q</b>	<b>Q</b>							
				<b>RK</b>					
				<b>RK</b>					
				<b>Te</b>					
					<b>MM</b>				
							<b>T</b>		
							<b>RK</b>		
								<b>M</b>	
								<b>RK</b>	
								<b>GŠ</b>	

## Number of chariots and horses mentioned in the Assyrian royal inscriptions

TEXT		CHARIOTS	
		Assyrian	Captured/Tribute
Arik-dēn-ili (1317—1306 B.C.)	Arik-dēn-ili Chronicle, 10'		33
	Arik-dēn-ili Chronicle, 10'	90	
Aššur-rēš-iši I (1132—1115 B.C.)	Synchronistic Chronicle (A), 12"		40
Tiglath-Pileser I (1114—1076 B.C.)	Grayson 1991, A.0.87.1, ii:65	30	
	Grayson 1991, A.0.87.1, iii:3-4		120
	Grayson 1991, A.0.87.1, iv:83-95		120
	Grayson 1991, A.0.87.1, v:19		
	Synchronistic Chronicle (A), 14"	as many as were	
	Grayson 1991, A.0.87.1, vii:28-30	more than before	
Adad-nērārī II (911—891 B.C.)	Grayson 1991, A.0.99.2, 103		chariots
	Grayson 1991, A.0.99.2, 107		chariots
	Grayson 1991, A.0.99.2, 110		chariots
	Synchronistic Chronicle (A), iii:1		chariots
	Grayson 1991, A.0.99.2, 121	more than before	
Tukulti-Ninurta II (890—884 B.C.)	Grayson 1991, A.0.100.5, 105		
	Grayson 1991, A.0.100.5, 130-131	(1,350?)	
Assurnasirpal II (883—859 B.C.)	Grayson 1991, A.0.101.1, i:57		
	Grayson 1991, A.0.101.1, ii:10		
	Grayson 1991, A.0.101.1, ii:12-14		chariots
	Grayson 1991, A.0.101.1, ii:36		
	Grayson 1991, A.0.101.1, ii:46-47		
	Grayson 1991, A.0.101.1, ii:68		
	Grayson 1991, A.0.101.1, ii:79		
	Grayson 1991, A.0.101.1, ii:80-81		
	Grayson 1991, A.0.101.1, ii:80-81		
	Grayson 1991, A.0.101.19, 87		40
	Grayson 1991, A.0.101.1, iii:22		chariots
	Grayson 1991, A.0.101.1, iii:34-35		chariotry
	Grayson 1991, A.0.101.1, iii:39-40		chariotry
	Grayson 1991, A.0.101.1, iii:43-45		chariots
	Grayson 1991, A.0.101.1, iii:57		chariots
	Grayson 1991, A.0.101.1, iii:58	chariotry (auxiliary)	
	Grayson 1991, A.0.101.1, iii:59-60	chariotry (auxiliary)	
	Grayson 1991, A.0.101.1, iii:63	chariotry (auxiliary)	
	Grayson 1991, A.0.101.1, iii:68-69	chariotry (auxiliary)	
	Grayson 1991, A.0.101.1, iii:77	chariotry (auxiliary)	

Chart 4A

HORSES		LOCATION
Assyrian	Captured/Tribute	
		Nigimḫi (king Esini)
		Lower [Zab?]
		Īdu (king Nabû-kudurri-uṣur I)
		Katmuḫu
		Šubartu/Ḫatti (Kasku and Urumu tribes)
		Nairi (23 kings of Nairi)
	1,200	Nairi (23 kings of Nairi)
		Karduniaš (Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē)
more than before		
	teams of horses	Bit-Baḫiāni (Abi-salāmu)
		Šadikannu
	horses	Qatnu (Amīl-Adad)
	horses	Karduniaš (Šamaš-muḍammīq)
more than before		
	horses	Dūr-Katlimmu
2,702		
	horses	Ḫubuškia, Gilzānu
	horses	Nirbu
	horses	Tuṣḫa (Bit-Zamāni, Šubria, Nirdun, Nairi)
	horses	Bunāsi (Musasina)
	horses	Zamua
	horses	Zamru (Ameka)
	horses	Mount Lāra (Zamua)
	horses	Zamua (from Ḫubuškia, Gilzānu)
	horses	Nirdun
	460	Bit-Zamāni (nobles)
	horses	Sūḫu (Sūru, city of Kudurru)
		Sūḫu, Laqû, Ḫindānu coalition
		Kipinu (Laqû)
		Laqû (Ilā, sheikh of Laqû)
	horses	Bit-Baḫiāni
		Bit-Baḫiāni
		Azallu (Adad-'ime)
		Bit-Adini (Aḫūnī)
		Gargamiš (Sangara)
		Patinu (Lubarna)



## Number of chariots and horses mentioned in the Assyrian royal inscriptions

TEXT		CHARIOTS	
		Assyrian	Captured/Tribute
Shalmaneser III (858—824 B.C.)	Grayson 1996, A.0.102.2, 21-22		chariots
859 B.C.	Grayson 1996, A.0.102.1, 38-39		
858 B.C.	Grayson 1996, A.0.102.2, 47-48		chariots
	Grayson 1996, A.0.102.2, 51-ii:3		chariots
856 B.C.	Grayson 1996, A.0.102.2, ii:51		chariots
	Grayson 1996, A.0.102.2, 57-58		
	Grayson 1996, A.0.102.2, 61-62		chariots
855 B.C.	Grayson 1996, A.0.102.2, 73-74		chariots
853 B.C.	Grayson 1996, A.0.102.2, 90-95		1,200
	Grayson 1996, A.0.102.2, 90-95		700
	Grayson 1996, A.0.102.2, 90-95		2,000
	Grayson 1996, A.0.102.2, 90-95		10
	Grayson 1996, A.0.102.2, 90-95		30
	Grayson 1996, A.0.102.2, 101-102		chariots
849 B.C.	Grayson 1996, A.0.102.6, ii:65-66		chariots
848 B.C.	Grayson 1996, A.0.102.6, iii:8-10		chariots
845 B.C.	Grayson 1996, A.0.102.6, iii:30-32		chariots
844 B.C.	Grayson 1996, A.0.102.6, iii:43-44		
843 B.C.	Grayson 1996, A.0.102.6, iv:20		
841 B.C.	Grayson 1996, A.0.102.8, 1"-13"		1,121
	Grayson 1996, A.0.102.6, iv:47-48	2,002	
Šamši-Adad V (823—811 B.C.)	Grayson 1996, A.0.103.1, i:53-ii:4		
	Grayson 1996, A.0.103.1, ii:32-34		
	Grayson 1996, A.0.103.1, ii:34-42		
	Grayson 1996, A.0.103.1, ii:59-iii:6		
	Grayson 1996, A.0.103.1, iii:16		
	Grayson 1996, A.0.103.1, iii:44-66		
	Grayson 1996, A.0.103.1, iv:37-45		100
	Grayson 1996, A.0.103.2, iii:17-37		chariots
Tiglath-Pileser III (745—727 B.C.)	Tadmor 1994, Ann. 10, 10-11		
	Tadmor 1994, Ann. 12, 3		
	Tadmor 1994, Summ. 3, 13'-14'		
	Tadmor 1994, Ann. 14, 4		
	Tadmor 1994, Ann. 16, 4, 10, 12		
	Tadmor 1994, Ann. 5, 6		
	Tadmor 1994, Ann. 6, 4		
	Tadmor 1994, Stele IB, 13'-19'		

Chart 4B

HORSES		LOCATION
Assyrian	Captured/Tribute	
	horses	Hubuškia (Kakia)
	horses	Gilzānu (Asua)
	horses	Sam'al, Patinu, Bit-Adini, Gargamiš
	horses	Sam'al, Patinu, Bit-Adini, Gargamiš, Que, Hilakku, Iasbugu, Iaḥānu
	horses	Urtu, Arzaškun (Arame)
	horses	Zanzinua
	horses	Gilzānu (Asāu)
		Mount Šitamrat (Aḫūnī)
		Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri, Damascus)
		Irḫuleni (Hamath)
		Ahab (Israel)
		Irqanata
		Adunu-Ba'ālu (Šiānu)
		Qarqar coalition
		Qarqar coalition
		Qarqar coalition
		Qarqar coalition
	horses	Nairi, Urtu
	horses	Namri (Marduk-mudammīq)
		Hazael of Damascus, Qarqar coalition
5,542		
	horses	Nairi
	horses	Nairi
	horses	Hubuškia, Sunbu, Mannaea, Parsua, Tauria
	horses	Sassiašu (Titamaška) and Karsibuta (Kiara)
	horses	Gizilbunda (Pirišāti)
	horses	Nairi
		Daban River (Marduk-balāssu-iqbī)
		Nēmetti-šarri (Marduk-balāssu-iqbī)
	horses	Nikur
	horses	Aranziaš (Ramateia)
	5,000	Media
	horses	West
	horses	Media
	horses	Urtu
	horses	Urtu
	horses	Media

## Number of chariots and horses mentioned in the Assyrian royal inscriptions

TEXT		CHARIOTS	
		Assyrian	Captured/Tribute
Tiglath-Pileser III (745—727 B.C.)	Tadmor 1994, Stele IIIA, 28		
	Tadmor 1994, Summ. 9, 29		
	Tadmor 1994, Ann. 23, 5'-8'		chariots
	Tadmor 1994, Stele IIB, 30'		
	Tadmor 1994, Stele IIB, 31'		
	Tadmor 1994, Stele IIB, 32'		
	Tadmor 1994, Stele IIB, 32'		
	Tadmor 1994, Stele IIB, 33'		
	Tadmor 1994, Stele IIB, 33'		
	Tadmor 1994, Stele IIB, 34'		
	Tadmor 1994, Stele IIB, 34'		
	Tadmor 1994, Stele IIB, 35'		
	Tadmor 1994, Stele IIB, 36'		
	Tadmor 1994, Stele IIB, 37'		
	Tadmor 1994, Stele IIB, 38'		
	Tadmor 1994, Stele IIB, 39'		
	Tadmor 1994, Stele IIB, 40'		
Sargon II (721—705 B.C.)	Fuchs 1994, Ann. 10-11		50
	Fuchs 1994, Display 35-36		200
718 B.C.	Fuchs 1994, Ann. 70-71		
	Fuchs 1994, Display 24		30
717 B.C.	Fuchs 1994, Ann. 75		50
	Fuchs 1994, Ann. 147-148		
713 B.C.	Fuchs 1994, Ann. 191-194		
	Fuchs 1994, Ann. 201-202		100
709 B.C.	Fuchs 1994, Ann. 354-355		
	Fuchs 1994, Ann. 409-410	150	
Sennacherib (704—681 B.C.)	Luckenbill 1924, 55:60, 57:16		chariots

Chart 4C

HORSES		LOCATION
Assyrian	Captured/Tribute	
	horses	Mannai, Ellipi, Namri, Singibutu
	2,000	Tabal (Uassurme)
	horses	Damascus (Rezin)
	130+	Bit-Issar (Media)
	120	Ginizinānu, Sadbat (Media)
	100	Upaš of Bit-Kapsi (Media)
	100	Ušru of Nikiri (Media)
	100	Ugsatar of Qarkinšera (Media)
	100	Iaubitir of Amat (Media)
	300	Bardada of Sibar (Media)
	33	Amaku of Kitku-[...] (Media)
	32	Šataqupi of Uparia (Media)
	100	Ramateia of Kazuginzani (Media)
	100	Metraku of Uparia (Media)
	200	Šatašpa of Šaparda (Media)
	100	Uitana of Mišita (Media)
	100	Šataparna of Urba-[...] (Media)
		Samaria
	600	Ḫamath (Qarqar)
	horses	Šinuḫtu
		Šinuḫtu (Kiakki)
	200	Gargamiš
	horses	Ḫubuškia (Ianzû)
	4,609	Mannai, Ellipi, Allabria, Media
		Bit-Puritiš (Ambaris)
	2,080/2,500	Bit-Iakīn
1,500		<i>turtānu ša bīt šumēli</i>
	7,200	of Merodach-Baladan and Šutur-Naḫundu

Chariot drivers (*mukil appâte*)

	8 <sup>th</sup> CENTURY	SARGON II
<i>mukil appâte</i>	ADD 75, R. 10-11	ADD 480, R. 4'-5'
<i>mukil appâte ša</i> <sup>msd</sup> 30.PAP.MEŠ.SU		
<i>mukil appâte ša</i> MAN		
<i>mukil appâte ša</i> MAN KUR.Aš-šur		
<i>mukil appâte dannu</i>	CTN I, 10, 3	
<i>mukil appâte dannu ša</i> LUGAL		
<i>mukil appâte dannu ša</i> <sup>m</sup> Aš-šur-DÛ-A LUGAL KUR.Aššur.KI		
<i>mukil appâte ša</i> É.GAL		
<i>mukil appâte ša</i> A—MAN		
<i>mukil appâte ša</i> A—MAN KÁ.DINGIR.KI		
<i>mukil appâte ša</i> A—MAN <sup>m</sup> Da-ni-i		
<i>mukil appâte</i> AMA—MAN		
<i>mukil appâte ša</i> MÍ.É.GAL		
<i>mukil appâte ša</i> É.GAŠAN—É		
<i>mukil appâte ša</i> LÚ.GAL—SAG		
<i>mukil appâte ša</i> L[Ú.tur-ta]n?		
<i>mukil appâte ša</i> LÚ.KAŠ.LU[L]		
<i>mukil appâte</i> [ša LÚ.E]N.NAM ša mat-za-[mu-a]		
<i>mukil appâte ša</i> LÚ.EN.NAM ša KUR.La-ḫi-ri		
<i>mukil appâte ša</i> LÚ.ABA É.GAL		
<i>mukil appâte ša</i> LÚ.GAL MU (chief cook)		
<i>mukil appâte ša</i> LÚ ša UGU É-a-ni		
<i>mukil appâte</i> [š]a LÚ.G[AL KA].KEŠDA		
<i>mukil appâte</i> URU.NINA(Ninevite)		
<i>mukil appâte</i> KAB( <sup>šumēli</sup> ) SAG.UŠ.MEŠ (permanent)		
<i>mukil appāni sīsē nakamte</i>		
<i>mukil appâte ša</i> 'KA.KÉŠ LUGAL ( <i>kišir šarri</i> , royal corps?)		ADD 234, R. 9
<i>mukil appâte ša</i> rab <i>kišir</i>		
<i>mukil appâte ša</i> du-na-na-te		
<i>mukil appâte</i> la-ba-šú-te	CTN I, 16, 14	
<i>mukil appâte ša</i> mu-gir-a-te	CTN I, 16, 15	

Chart 5

SENNACHERIB	ESARHADDON	ASSURBANIPAL	PC
ADD 326, R. 16	ADD 630, R. 13	ADD 421, R. 3'	ADD 260, R. 7'
			ADD 675, R. 11'
ADD 253, 6'-7'			
	ADD 172, 6-7	ADD 258, 7-8	
		ADD 424, R. 2'	
		ADD 187, 3'-4'	
		ADD 60, 4-5	
		ADD 200, 5-6	
ADD 427, R. 12		ADD 200, R. 7'	
	ADD 266, R. 13'-14'	ADD 470, R. 15'	ADD 260, R. 9'
	ADD 477, R. 4'		
ADD 971, R. I':7' (?)			
ADD 857, R. II:5 (?)	ADD 857, R. II:5 (?)	ADD 857, R. II:5 (?)	
		ADD 444, R. 13-14	
		ADD 408, R. 9'	
			ADD 1118, 5'-6'
		ADD 1189, R. 8'-9'	
ADD 240, R. 7-8			
	TSH 90, Vs. 1-3 (?)	TSH 90, Vs. 1-3 (?)	TSH 90, Vs. 1-3 (?)
		ADD 625, 5	
Iraq 25, BT.117, 12-13			
ADD 34, 5-6			
ADD 326, 8-9			
ADD 238, R. 13-14			
ADD 1125, III':8' (?)	ADD 1125, III':8' (?)	ADD 1125, III':8' (?)	
ADD 834+, II:2' (?)	ADD 834+, II:2' (?)	ADD 834+, II:2' (?)	
	CT 53, 46		
694, 693			
			ADD 260, R. 10'

Chariot warriors (*māru damqu*)

	8 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY	SARGON II
<i>māru damqu</i>	CTN I, 2, I:6	ABL 242, 13
<i>māru damqu ša qur-rub</i>	CTN III, 119, 10	
<i>māru damqu MAN?</i>	CTN III, 122, R. 20'	
<i>māru damqu ša É.GAL</i>		ABL 154, 12
<i>māru damqu ša GAL – LÚ.SAG.MEŠ</i>	CTN II, 15	
<i>māru damqu ša DUMU – MAN</i>		
<i>māru damqu ša mōU.GUR.MAŠ</i>		
<i>māru damqu ša LÚ.EN.NAM ša URU.Kal-[ha]</i>		
<i>māru damqu ša LÚ.EN.NAM</i>		
<i>rab kišir ša māru damqu ša MÍ.É.GAL</i>		
<i>māru damqu ša GAŠAN É</i>		
<i>māru damqu ša GAŠAN É ša DUMU – MAN</i>		
<i>māru damqu ša DINGIR.MEŠ-ni</i>	CTN I, 6, 17	
<i>māru damqu ša GIŠ.mu-še-zib-a-te</i>	CTN I, 6, 15	
<i>māru damqu ša GIŠ.đu-na-ni</i>	CTN I, 6, 16	

Chart 6

SENNACHERIB	ESARHADDON	ASSURBANIPAL	PC
ADD 230, R. 5	ADD 83, R. 7	ADD 470, 8	TSH 37, Rs. 18
ADD 862, 1', 2'	ADD 862, 1', 2'	ADD 862, 1', 2'	
ADD 427, R. 13-14			
ADD 225, R. 6'-7'			
		ADD 48-49, 5-6, 4-5	
		ADD 494, R. 7-8	
			ADD 50, R. 1
ADD 337, R. 7'			



‘Third men’ (*tašlišu*)

	8 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY	SARGON II
<i>tašlišu</i>	CTN I, 8, 14	
<i>tašlišu ša</i> LUGAL		ABL 506, 7
<i>tašlišu ša</i> <sup>md</sup> 30.LUGAL.DINGIR.MEŠ		
<i>tašlišu</i> É.GAL / KUR / LUGAL		
<i>tašlišu</i> A—MAN		
<i>tašlišu ša</i> A—MAN <sup>m</sup> Da-ni-i		
<i>tašlišu</i> AMA—MAN		
<i>tašlišu ša</i> MÍ.É.GAL		
<i>tašlišu ša</i> <sup>m</sup> šá- <sup>a</sup> PA-šu-u ( <i>Ša-Nabû-šû</i> )		
<i>tašlišu ša</i> LÚ.GAL—SAG	ADD 75, R. 11	
<i>tašlišu</i> KUR.Iš-qa-lu-na-a-a GAL—SAG		Iraq 23, ND.2451, 20
<i>tašlišu ša</i> LÚ.tur-ta-ni		
<i>tašlišu ša</i> LÚ.GAL KAŠ.LUL		
<i>tašlišu ša</i> LÚ.EN.NAM <i>ša</i> KUR.La-ḫi-ri		
<i>tašlišu ša</i> LÚ.GAR-nu (of the prefect)		RADNER 1991, 15, 2-3
<i>tašlišu ša</i> LÚ.2-u( <i>šanû</i> ) (of deputy governor)		
<i>tašlišu ša</i> LÚ.šá UGU É-a-ni		
<i>tašlišu</i> URU.ŠÀ.URU-a-a( <i>libbi ālāia</i> )		
<i>tašlišu</i> KA.KEŠDA( <i>kišir</i> ) LUGAL( <i>šarri</i> )		
<i>tašlišu</i> URU.NINA(Ninevite)		
<i>tašlišu</i> NIM.MA-a-a(Elamite)		
<i>tašlišu</i> KAB( <i>šumēli</i> ) SAG.UŠ.MEŠ (permanent)		
<i>tašlišu</i> q[ur-bu]		
<i>tašlišu</i> GIGIR.MEŠ		
<i>tašlišu ša</i> a-pa.MEŠ		
<i>tašlišu ša</i> a-rit		K.19520, R. 1
<i>tašlišāni</i> S[AG.U]Š.MEŠ <i>ša</i> KI-šû-nu (‘regular third men with their colleagues’)		
<i>tašlišu dan-nu</i>	CTN I, 10, 5	CTN III, 108, I:10
<i>tašlišu dan-nu ša</i> DUMU—MAN		
<i>tašlišu</i> 2-i( <i>šanî</i> )	CTN I, 10, 6	CTN III, 108, I:11
<i>tašlišu</i> 2-u( <i>šanû</i> ) A—MAN		
GAL.50.MEŠ <i>ša tašlišu</i> ĠIR.2( <i>šēpē</i> )		
KUR.AŠ(Assyrian) GAL.50.MEŠ <i>ša tašlišu</i>		
GAL.50.MEŠ 3-šû.ME[Š ...]		
[...].MEŠ <i>ša</i> LÚ.3-šû <i>ša</i> <sup>m</sup> Hi-ri-[...]		

Chart 7

SENNACHERIB	ESARHADDON	ASSURBANIPAL	PC
ADD 230, R. 3	ADD 800, 3'	ADD 627, R. 5'	ADD 249, R. 11'
ADD 261, R. 15'	ADD 261, R. 15'		
ADD 127, R. 1	ADD 625, R. 9	ADD 1036, III:13	
ADD 860, R. II:10?	ADD 425, R. 15'	ADD 470, R. 25'	ADD 711, R. 3'
ADD 971, R. I':7'	ADD 971, R. I':7'	ADD 971, R. I':7'	
	ADD 428, R. 8'		
ADD 612, R. 11-12			
	ADD 71, 4'-5'		
CTN II, 17, 50			ADD 642, R. 12'
ADD 261, R. 16'	ADD 261, R. 16'		
		ADD 330, R. 7-8	
		ADD 625, 4	
ADD 253, R. 8'			
			ADD 260, R. 5
			ADD 50, 6
ADD 1125, III':9'	ADD 1125, III':9'	ADD 1125, III':9'	
ADD 1125, III':9'	ADD 1125, III':9'	ADD 1125, III':9'	
ADD 834+, II:2'	ADD 834+, II:2'	ADD 834+, II:2'	
ADD 860, R. I:10	ADD 860, R. I:10	ADD 860, R. I:10	
ADD 912, I:4-5	ADD 912, I:4-5	ADD 912, I:4-5	
	ADD 632, R. 8', 9'		
ADD 324, 4			
ADD 970+, R. II':19'	ADD 970+, R. II':19'	ADD 970+, R. II':19'	
		ADD 372, R. 7'	
		ADD 60, R. 1	
ADD 179, R. 5'			
			ADD 345, R. 6'
ADD 1083, R. II:6'	ADD 1083, R. II:6'	ADD 1083, R. II:6'	
ADD 1125, R. II':8'	ADD 1125, R. II':8'	ADD 1125, R. II':8'	
ADD 838+, R. II:6	ADD 838+, R. II:6	ADD 838+, R. II:6	
ADD 873, 3'	ADD 873, 3'	ADD 873, 3'	

Chariot men / chariot horse trainers (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR) and chariot owners (*bēl mugerri*)

	8 <sup>th</sup> CENTURY	SARGON II
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR	CTN III, R. 6'	CT 53, 765, 2'
ERIM.MEŠ( <i>šābē</i> ) GIŠ.GIGIR	Iraq 17, NL 2, R. 18'	
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR LUGAL		
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR MAN		
L[Ú.GIŠ.GIGIR]? DUMU – MAN		
GIGIR A – MAN DU <sub>s</sub> .MEŠ ditto (A – MAN?)		
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>qur-bu-[ti]</i>		
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>qurbūte URU.Ši-šil-a-a</i>		
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ <i>ša – šēpe</i> (GİR.2)		CT 53, 307, 7
LÚ.GIGIR <i>ša u-rat</i>		
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR GAL – <i>mu-gi</i>		
LÚ.GI[Š.GIGIR].GAL		
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU <sub>s</sub> .MEŠ		
LÚ.GIGIR <i>ša GIŠ.taḥ-lip</i>	CTN III, 145, III:5	
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>na-kām-ti</i> (reserve horses)		
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša m<sup>d</sup>PA(Nabû)-[...]</i>		
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR [ <i>ša URU.R</i> ] <i>a-pi-ḥi</i>		KAV 131, R. 10-11
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR [ <i>ša URU.</i> ] <i>Tu-ḥu-na</i>		KAV 131, 1-2
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.[...]-du-[...]-di</i>		KAV 131, 4-5
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Ra-at-me</i>		KAV 34, 4-5
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Kil-pa-ḥa</i>		KAV 36, 3-4
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.ŠE l-li-ti</i>		KAV 31, 26-27
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Ar-ra-[ap-ḥa]</i>		KAV 32, 2-3
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Su-ti-[...]</i>		KAV 32, R. 6'-7'
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.ŠE m<sup>d</sup>MAŠ.MAŠ</i>		KAV 35, 4-5
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Ḥi-la-wi</i>		KAV 131, 7-8
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Ra-[...]</i>		KAV 37, 4'-5'
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Ḥul-la-ri</i>		KAV 131, 10-11
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Qa-ma-ni</i>		KAV 31, 2-3
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Til-Ū-li-na</i>		KAV 31, 17-18

Chart 8A

[illegible]

Chariot men / chariot horse trainers (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR) and chariot owners (*bēl mugerri*)

	8 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY	SARGON II
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša</i> URU. <i>Pi-iq-da-ni</i>		KAV 131, R. 4-5
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša</i> URU. <i>Ma-li-ku</i>		KAV 31, 29-30
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša</i> URU. <i>Sa-re-e</i>		KAV 31, 11-12
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša</i> URU. <i>Ra-da-ni</i>		KAV 31, 8-9
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša</i> URU. <i>Hu-du-pa</i>		KAV 131, R. 7-8
LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša</i> URU. <i>Ab-ba-ni</i>		KAV 31, 5-6
[L]Ú.GIŠ <i>taḥ-líp</i>	CTN I, 18, 20	CTN III, 108, I:12
L[Ú].GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ <i>ša</i> GA[B.MEŠ] or <i>ta[h-líp]</i>	CTN I, 13, 19	
<i>ša</i> GAB.MEŠ	CTN I, 33, II:8	
LÚ.GIGIR.MEŠ <i>ša</i> SAG.MEŠ	Iraq 23, ND.2489, III:5	
[LÚ.]GIŠ.GIGI[R X X GA]L <i>u-ra[t ...]</i>	CTN III, 119, R. A:1	
<i>rab kišir ša</i> LÚ. <i>raḥ-su</i> .GIGIR		ABL 1432, E. 7
GAL.50.MEŠ GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ		
<i>qurbūtu šēpē</i> (GİR.2) DÚ <sub>s</sub> .MEŠ (open chariotry)		
<i>qurbūtu šēpē</i> (GİR.2) GIŠ.GIGIR		
LÚ. <i>mu-šar-kis</i> .MEŠ GIŠ.GIGIR <i>qur-ub-te</i>		CTN III, 103, Obv.
LÚ. <i>mu-šar-kis</i> .MEŠ <i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL		CTN III, 103, R. II:4
GAR- <i>nu</i> ( <i>šaknu</i> ) 150 A[NŠ]E GIŠ.GIGIR BE		CTN III, 101, I:1-2
GAR- <i>nu</i> ( <i>šaknu</i> ) LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>taḥ-líp</i>		CTN III, 101, I:18-19
LÚ.GAL — <i>mu-gi ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR		
LÚ.EN — GIŠ.GIGIR	CTN I, 31, 3	
LÚ.EN — GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ	CTN I, 8, R. 2	
EN — GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ LÚ.ÌR É.GAL	CTN I, 6, 13	
EN — GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ÌR.KUR	CTN I, 10, R. 3	
EN — GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša</i> GÌR.2? ÌR.KUR	CTN III, 136, R. 3'-4'	
EN — GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ <i>ša</i> <i>zi-iq-ni</i>	CTN I, 3, I:27	
EN — GIŠ.GIGIR MEŠ <i>qur-bu-ti</i>	CTN I, 6, 12	
LÚ.EN — GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ KUR. <i>Qu-ú-a-a</i>		CT 53, 40, 4-5
[LÚ. <i>mu-šar-k</i> ]i- <i>su</i> EN — GIŠ.GIGIR	CTN I, 10, 13	

Chart 8B

[illegible]

The structure of texts CTN III, 99, 102, 103, 108, 111 and the reconstruction of Assyrian army units

103	99	108 (+ 108A)	
		<i>qurbûte imitti</i> (ša <i>qurbûte</i> right)	
		<i>qurbûte ša šumēli</i> (ša <i>qurbûte</i> left)	
		GIR.2 (ša — šēpē)	
		<i>tašlišu dannu</i> (chief 'third man')	
		<i>tašlišu šaniur</i> (deputy 'third man')	
		GIŠ.tahlip (' <i>tahlipu</i> ' charioteers)	
		city units	
		[Aššurāia]	[x]
		Arraphāia	7
		Armāia	7
		Arbailāia	7
		<i>bēl mugerri</i> (chariot owners)	
		<i>rab ša — rēšē</i> (chief eunuch)	
		<i>mušarkisāni</i> (recruitment officers)	<i>mušarkisāni</i> (recruitment officers)
	<i>pēthal qurubte</i>	14	<i>pēthal qurubte</i> 14?
	provincial units		provincial units
	Šarru-ēmuranni	10	Šarru-ēmuranni 7+
	Marduk-šarru-ušur	10	Marduk-šarru-ušur 10
	Kaldāia	7	Kaldāia 7
	Nabû-bēlu-ka''in	13	[URU.Samirni] 8+x
	Taklāk-ana-Bēli	4	[Taklāk-ana-Bēli] 7
	Adallal	4	[Adallal] 5
[...]	Nergal-šarrāni	2	Nergal-šarrāni 2
<i>mušarkisāni</i> (recruitment officers)		<i>mušarkisāni</i> (recruitment officers)	<i>mušarkisāni</i> (recruitment officers)
ša GIŠ.GIGIR <i>qurubte</i>			[ša GIŠ.GIGIR] <i>qurubte</i> 25?
ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	22	ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	28 [ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL] 25
<i>šaknûte ša ma'assi</i> (stable officers)		<i>šaknûte ša ma'assi</i> (stable officers)	[šaknûte ša ma'assi (stable officers)]
Šamaš-taklāk		Šamaš-taklāk 6	[...] 7
Nergal-šarru-ušur		Šarru-ēmuranni 7	[...] 7
Daissu		Šēpē-Aššur 10	Šēpē-Aššur 7
Aššur-šarru-ušur		Aššur-šarru-ušur 5	Aššur-šarru-ušur 7

*Chart 9*

102		111	
rab bēti officers? (šaknu ša ma'assi)		chief eunuch's contingent?	
[DU <sub>s</sub> ].MEŠ (pattûte chariot?)		DU <sub>s</sub> .MEŠ (pattûte chariot?)	
GIR.2 (ša — šēpē)		GIR.2 (ša — šēpē)	
		bēl mugerri (chariot owners)	
city units		city units	
Aššurāia	5+(10?)	Aššurāia	13
Arraphāia	10	Arraphāia	10
Armāia	7	[Armāia]	7
Arzuḫināia	10+x	[Arzuḫināia?]	7
Arbailāia	7	[Arbailāia?]	[x]
rab bēti (major domo) officers			
rab šaglûte (officer of deportees)			
rab ša — rēšē (chief eunuch)			
mušarkisāni (recruitment officers)			
pēthai qurubte?	5+x		
unidentified (provincial?) units			
[...]	9		
[...]	10		
[...]	7?		
[...]			



## The reconstruction of equestrian units of two texts of Nimrud Horse Lists

CTN III, 99 (ND 10002, IM 64210)				
Line	Unit/title	Commanders	Chief	Officers
			<i>rabûti</i>	<i>rab urâte</i>
O. I:1-18	recruitment officers of the cavalry bodyguard		14	14
I:19-III:6	provincial units			
I:19-II:6	provincial unit 1	Šarru-ēmuranni	10	10
II:7-11	West-Semitic?	Marduk-šarru-ušur	10	
II:12-15	Chaldeans	<i>Kaldāia</i>	7	
II:16-23	Samarians	Nabû-bēlu-ka''in	13	
II:24-26	provincial unit 5	Taklāk-ana-Bēli	4	
R. III:1-3	provincial unit 6	Adallal	4	
III:4-5	provincial unit 7	Nergal-šarrāni	2	
III:6	[...]			
III:7-IV:8	recruitment officers of the palace chariotry <i>mušarkisāni ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>		28	28
IV:9-26	stable officers			
IV:9-12	<i>šaknu ša ma'assi</i>	Šamaš-taklāk		6
IV:13-16	<i>šaknu ša ma'assi</i>	Šarru-ēmuranni		7
IV:17-22	<i>šaknu ša ma'assi</i>	Šēpē-Aššur		10
IV:23-26	<i>šaknu ša ma'assi</i>	Aššur-šarru-ušur		5

Chart 10

ND 2386 + 2730			
	District	<i>mušarkisāni</i>	
I:1'-2'	[...]		
3'	<i>lim-mu</i> <sup>4</sup> MAŠ ( <i>Ninurta-</i> )[...]		
4'	<sup>md</sup> [...]-ēreš <i>ina</i> É( <i>bīt</i> ) LÚ.[...]		
5'-6'	KUR. <i>Si'immê</i>	2	
7'-8'	KUR. <i>Til-Barsip</i>	2	
9'-11'	KUR. <i>Ḫalziatbar</i>	2	
12'-13'	URU. <i>Kurbail</i>	2	
14'-15'	[ <i>Ḫabrū</i> ]ri	2	
16'-17'	[...] <i>rab šāqê</i> (province?)	2	
18'-19'	[...]- <i>na</i>	2	
20'-21'	[...]- <i>na</i>	2	
22'-23'	[...]	[2]	
24'-25'	[...]	[2]	
26'-27'	[...]	[2]	
II: 1''-2''	[...]	[2]	
3''-4''	[...]	[2]	
5''-6''	[...]	[2]	
	[ <i>napḫar</i> ]	[28?]	[LÚ. <i>mu-šar-kis</i> ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL]
1'-2'	KUR.[...]	2	
3'-4'	URU.[...]	2	
5'-6'	KUR. <i>Ḫalziatbar</i>	2	
7'-8'	URU. <i>Arzuḫina</i>	2	
9'-10'	URU. <i>Lahiri</i>	2	
11'-12'	URU. <i>Arrapḫa</i>	2	
13'-14'	URU. <i>Kulnia</i>	2	
15'-16'	<i>napḫar</i>	14	LÚ. <i>mu-šar-kis</i> ša pēt-ḫal-li-e
17'-18'	KUR. <i>Barḫalzi</i>	1	
19'-20'	KUR. <i>Rašapa</i>	1	
R.I.1-3	KUR. <i>Zamua</i>	1	
4-5	KUR. <i>Ḫabrūri</i>	1	
6-7	<i>napḫar</i>	4	LÚ. <i>šak-nu-te</i> ša ma-'a-as-si
8-13	[...]	[...]	
14-15	<i>napḫar</i>	4	LÚ. <i>mu-šar-kis</i> .MEŠ ša LÚ. <i>šag-lu-te</i>

Reconstruction of the Assyrian army – Infantry  
(ratio of the different arms represented on the palace reliefs)

ARM	TROOP TYPE		
Light infantry	Spearmen	auxiliary spearmen I	
		auxiliary spearmen II	
		auxiliary spearmen III	
	Archers	auxiliary archers	
	Slingers	auxiliary slingers	
Total			
Regular infantry	Infantrymen	regular infantrymen	
	Spearmen	regular Assyrian spearmen I	
		regular Assyrian spearmen II	
		regular Assyrian spearmen III	
		regular Assyrian spearmen IV	
		regular Assyrian archers + shield bearers I	
	regular Assyrian archers + shield bearers II		
	Sappers	regular sappers	
Officers	officers		
Total			
Heavy infantry	Infantrymen	armoured infantrymen	
	Spearmen	armoured Assyrian spearmen I	
		armoured Assyrian spearmen II	
		armoured Assyrian spearmen III	
		armoured Assyrian archers + shield bearers I	
	Archers	armoured Assyrian archers + shield bearers II	
		armoured Assyrian archers + shield bearers III	
		armoured Assyrian archers + shield bearers IV	
		armoured Assyrian archers I	
		armoured Assyrian archers II	
		Slingers	armoured Assyrian slingers I
			armoured Assyrian slingers II
	Sappers	armoured sappers	
	Officers	officers	
Total			
Guard	Spearmen	spearmen I	
		spearmen II	
		spearmen III	
		spearmen IV	
		spearmen V	
Total			
Total (infantry)			

Chart 11

TIGLATH-PILESER III		SARGON II		SENNACHERIB		ASSURBANIPAL	
18	14.7 %	37	20.6 %	352	23.2 %	57	7 %
						2	0.2 %
						138 (+ 48)	23 %
10	8.2 %	32	17.5 %	317 (+ 33)	23.1 %	153	19 %
						4	0.4 %
28	22.9 §	28	22.9 %	69	38.1 %	702	46.4 %
38	31.1 %	3	1.6 %				
				32	2.1 %	15	1.9 %
				3	0 %		
						4	0.5 %
						4	0.5 %
6 + 8	11.5 %	2 + 2	2.2 %				
		2 + 2	2.2 %				
2	1.6 %	31	17.0 %				
5	4.1 %	5	2.7 %				
59	48.3 §	59	48.3 %	47	25.7 %	35	2.2 %
3	2.5 %	9	4.95 %				
				157 (+ 101)	17.2 %	38 (+ 19)	7 %
						11	1.4 %
						10	1.2 %
14 + 15	23.8 %	15 + 20	19.2 %	90 + 90	11.9 %	13 + 13	3.2 %
		4 + 5	4.95 %	1 + 1	0 %		
		2 + 2	2.2 %				
		2 + 2	2.2 %	9 + 9	1.2 %		
		5	2.7 %	102	6.7 %	12 (+ 28)	5 %
						23	2.8 %
3	2.5 %			66	4.3 %	4	0.5 %
						7	0.9 %
						11	1.4 %
				149	9.8 %	134	16.5 %
35	28.8 §	35	28.8 %	66	36.3 %	775	51.4 %
				?		39	4.8 %
				?		4	0.4 %
				?		9	1.1 %
						4	0.4 %
						6	0.7%
						62	7.6 %
18	14.7 %	37	20.6 %	352	23.2 %	57	7 %

Reconstruction of the Assyrian army – Cavalry and Chariotry  
(ratio of the different arms represented on the palace reliefs)

ARM	TROOP TYPE	TROOP TYPE
Regular cavalry	<i>Cavalry</i>	cavalry
	<i>Officers</i>	
Heavy cavalry	<i>Cavalry</i>	cavalry bodyguards
	<i>Archers</i>	cavalry archers
	<i>Lancers</i>	cavalry spearmen
	<i>Officers</i>	
Total (cavalry)		
Chariotry		
Light infantry		
Regular infantry		
Heavy infantry		
Guard		
Total (infantry)		
Grand total		

Reconstruction of the Assyrian army (ratio of the different arms represented on the palace reliefs)

KING	LIGHT INFANTRY	REGULAR INFANTRY	HEAVY INFANTRY
Tiglath-Pileser III	22.9 %	48.3 %	28.8 %
Sargon II	38.3 %	25 %	36.6 %
Sennacherib	46.6 %	2.2 %	51.4 %
Assurbanipal	48.0 %	2.0 %	31.2 %

Chart 12

TIGLATH-PILESER III		SARGON II		SEANNACHERIB		ASSURBANIPAL	
2	1.46 %	14	5.7 %	15 ?	0.9 %		
		9	3.7 %				
				145	8.3 %	27	2.9 %
				36	2 %	21	2.2 %
4	2.92 %			51	2.9 %	25	2.7 %
						7 (+ 1)	0.08 %
6	4.4 %	23	9.4 %	232	13.3 %	81	8.6 %
3 (9) (+ 5 royal)	6.6 %	13 (39) (+ 8 royal)	16 %	–	–	13 (52)	5.5 %
28	22.9 %	69	38.1 %	702	46.4 %	402	49.6 %
59	48.3 %	47	25.7 %	35	2.2 %	23	2.9 %
35	28.8 %	66	36.3 %	775	51.4 %	323	39.9 %
						62	7.6 %
122	89 %	182	74.67 %	1512	86.7 %	810	85.9 %
137	100 %	244	100 %	1744	100 %	943	100 %

Chart 13

GUARD	INFANTRY TOTAL	CAVALRY	CHARIOTRY
-	89.0 %	4.4 %	6.6 %
-	74.6 %	9.4 %	16 %
-	86.7 %	13.3 %	-
5.7 %	85.9 %	8.6 %	5.5 %

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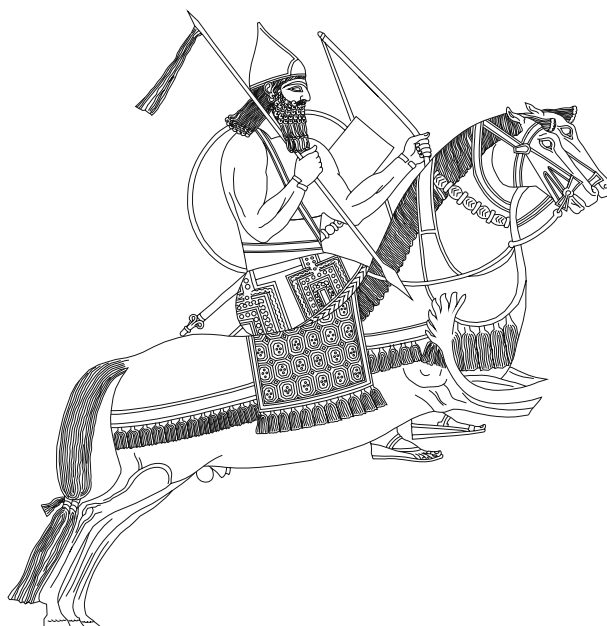
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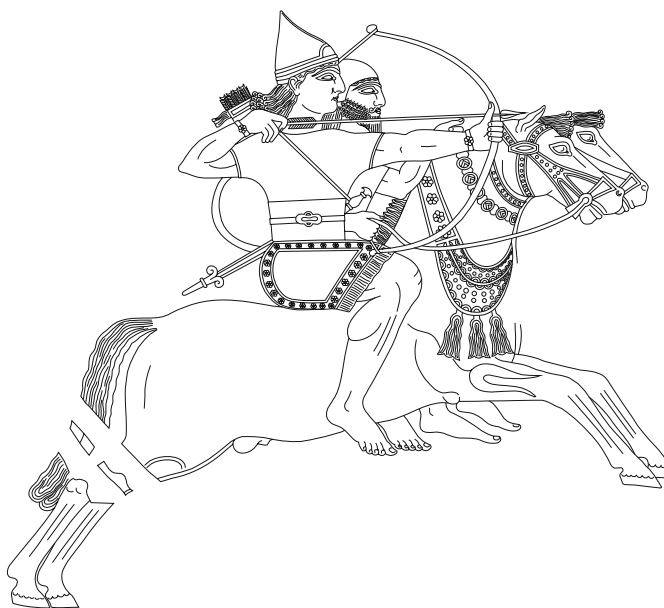
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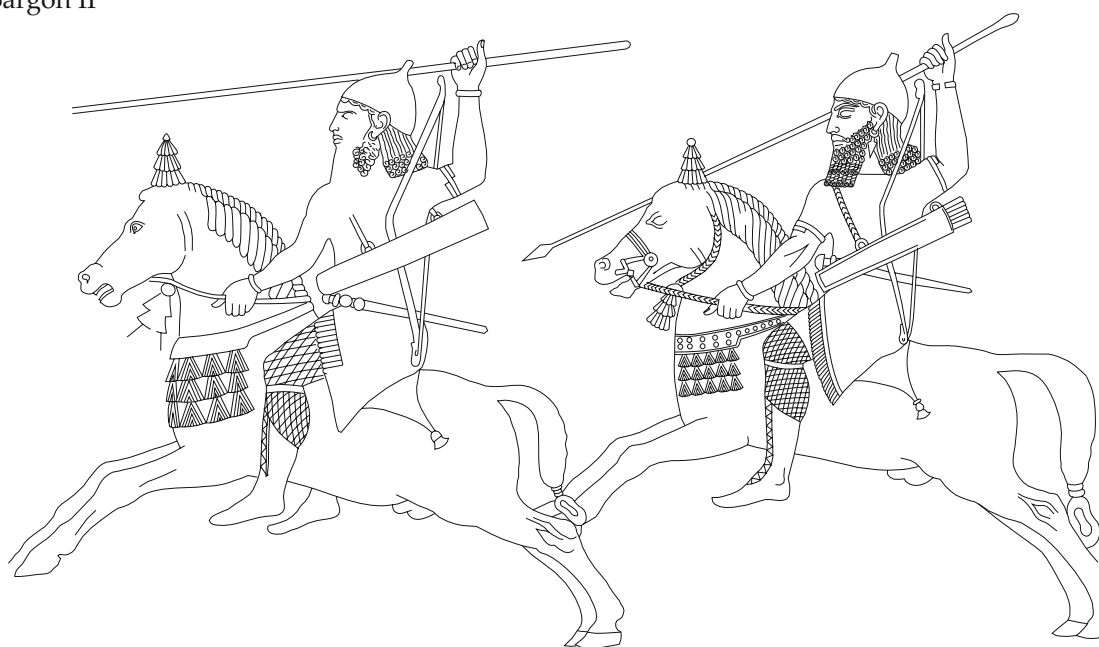


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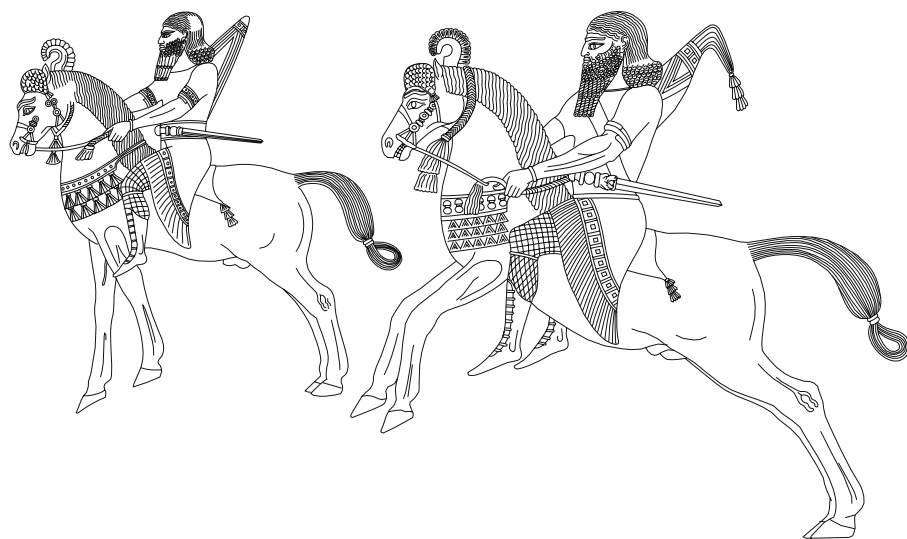
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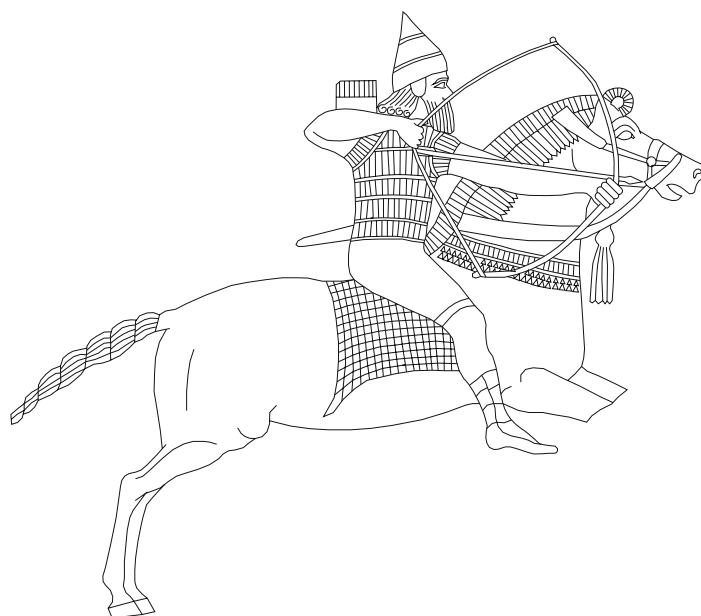
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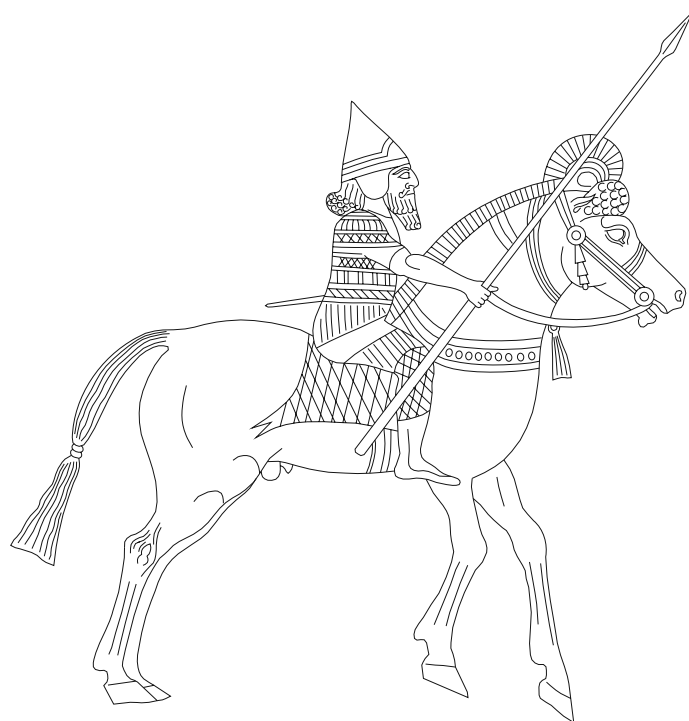
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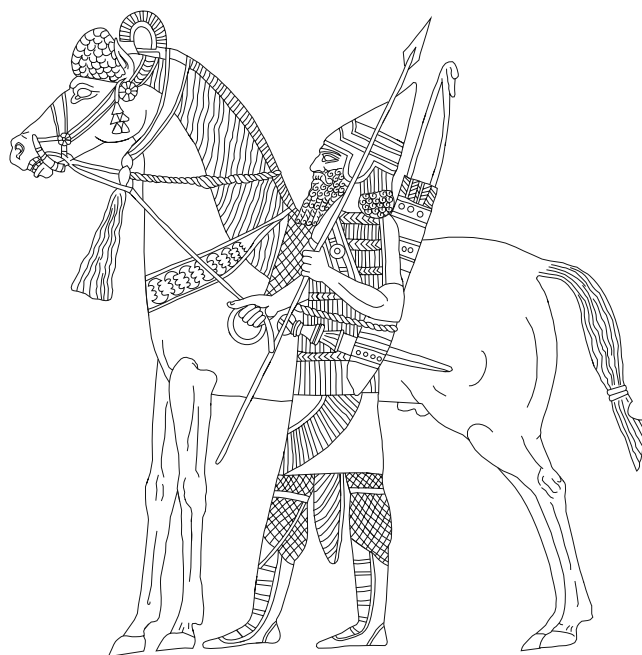
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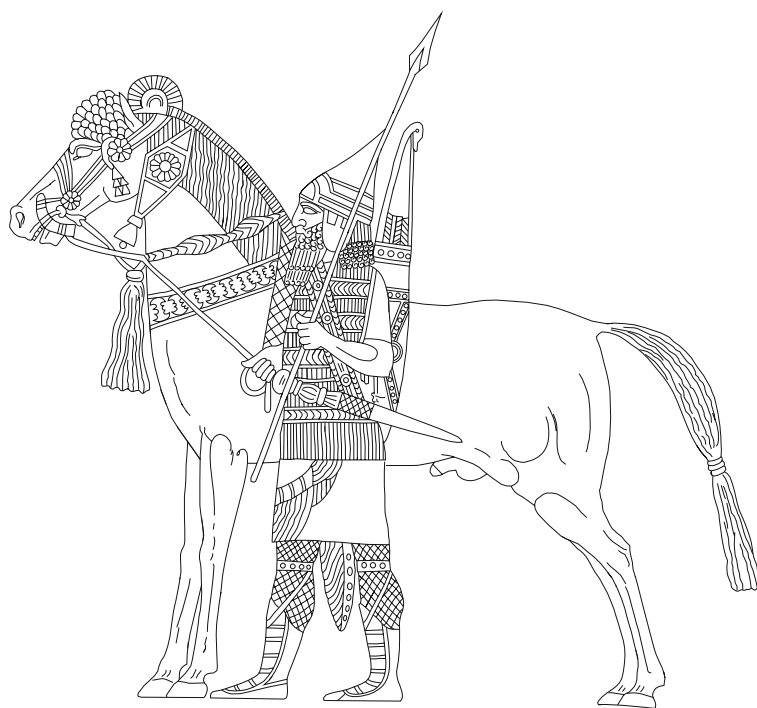
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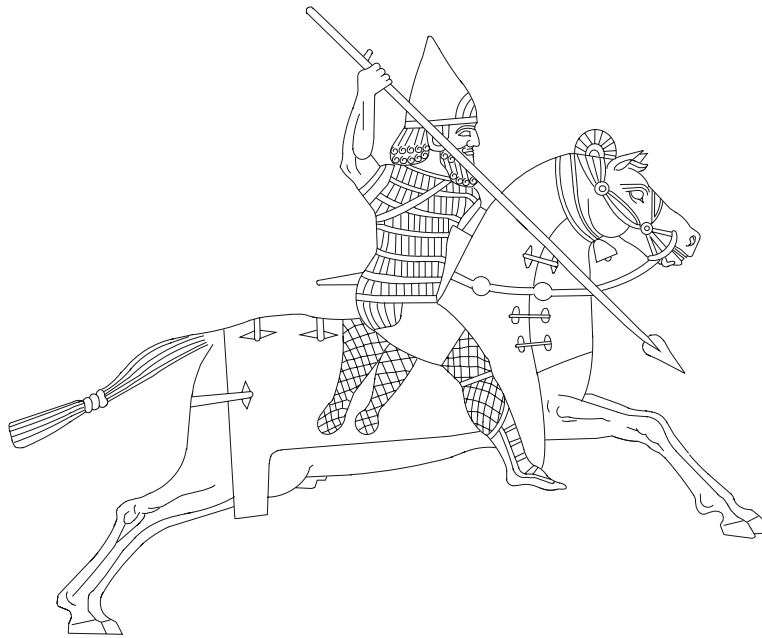


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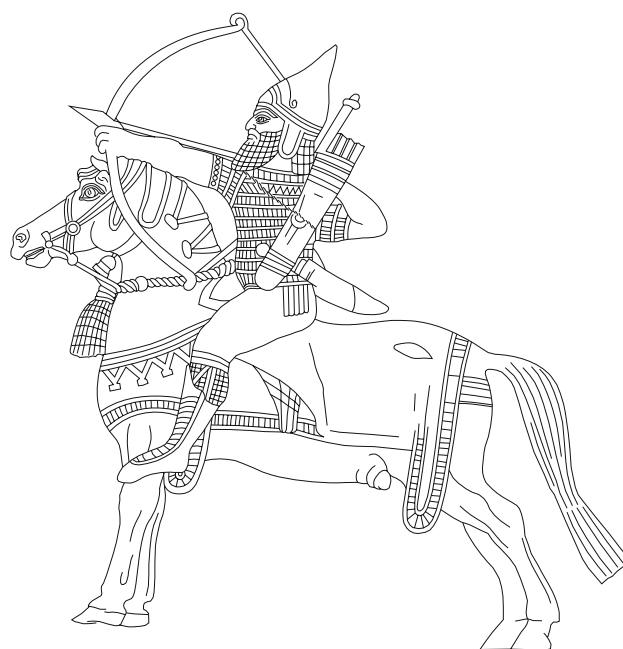
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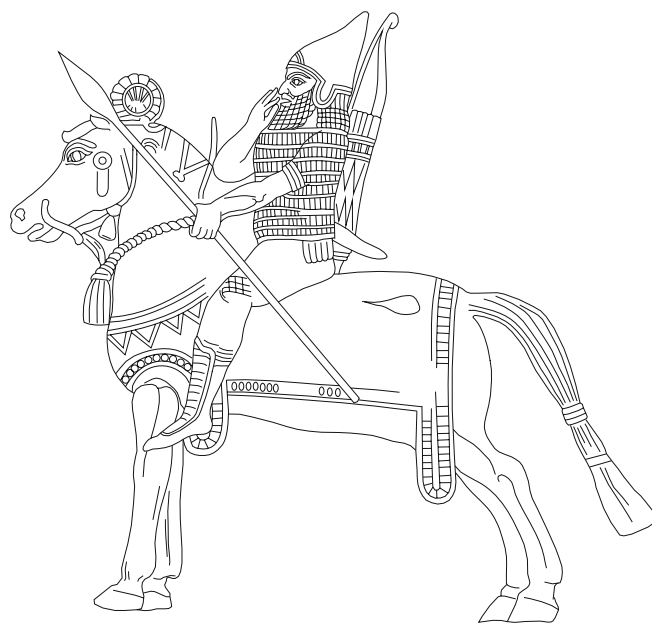
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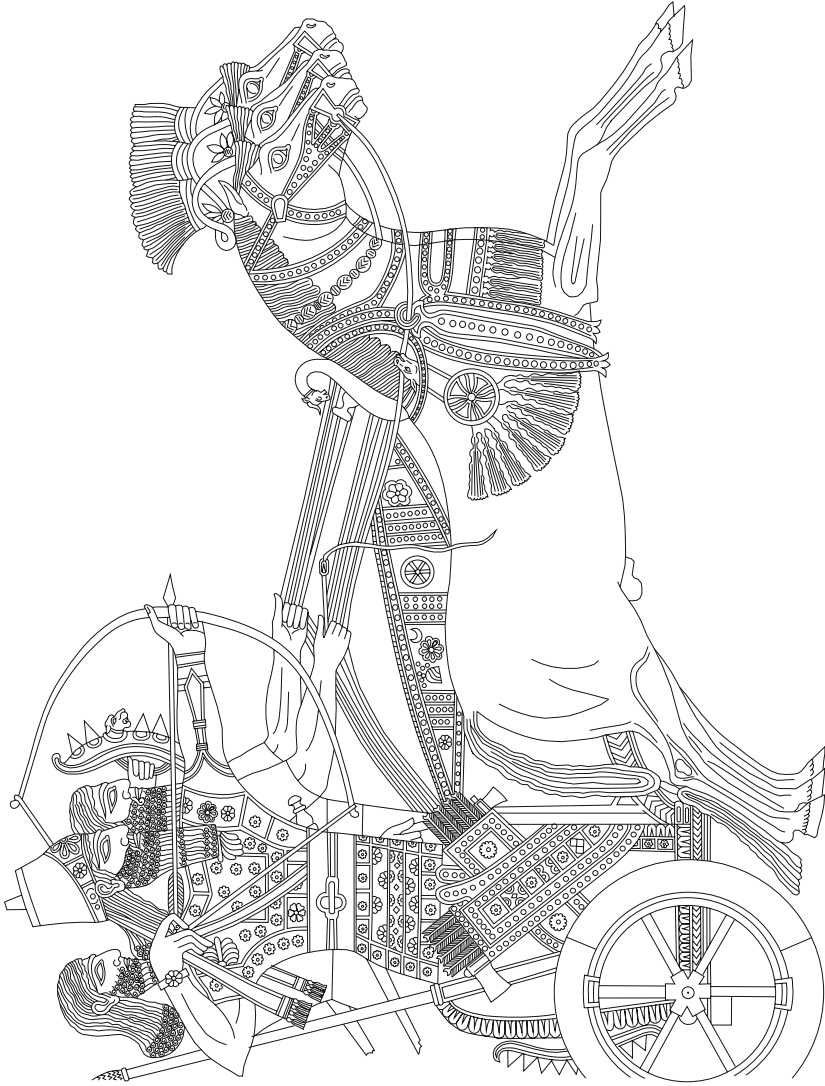
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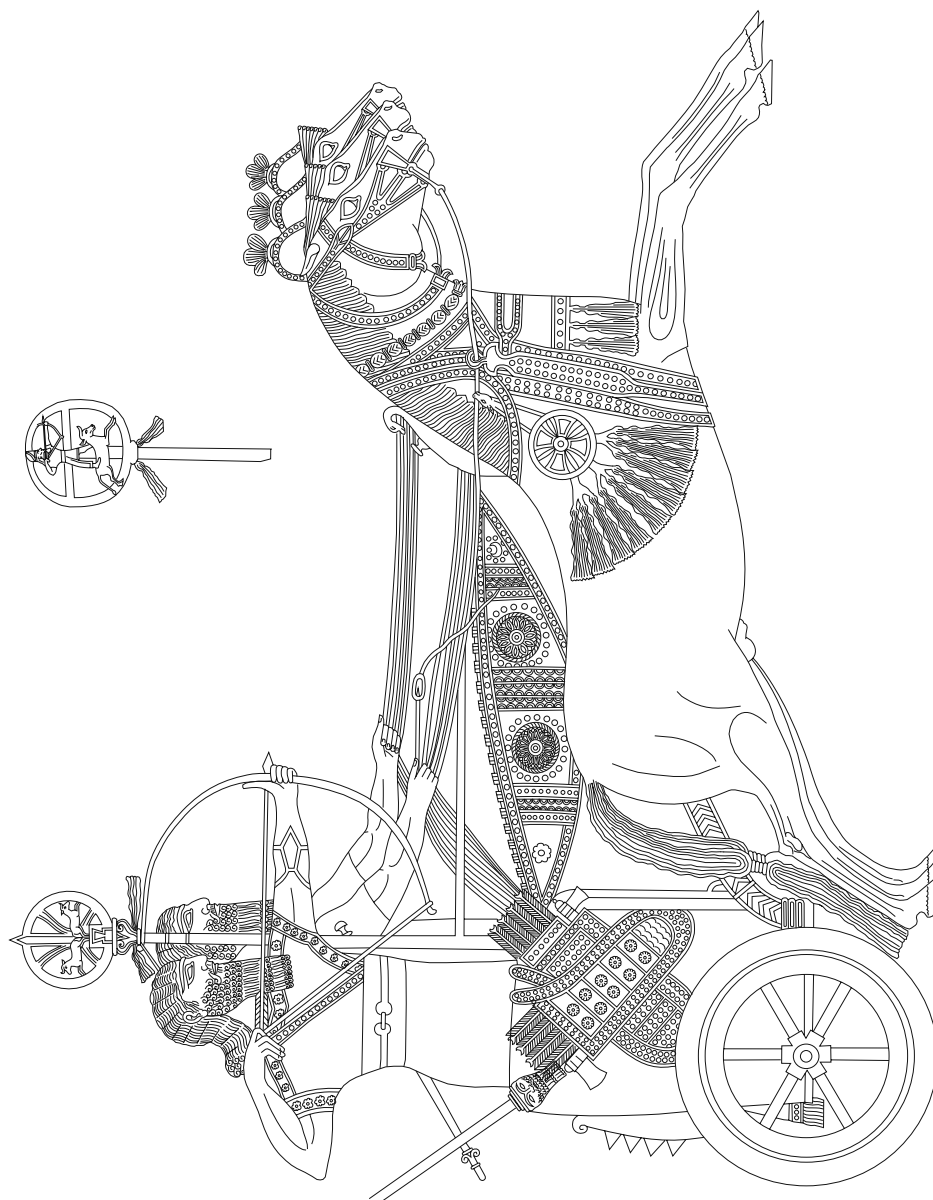
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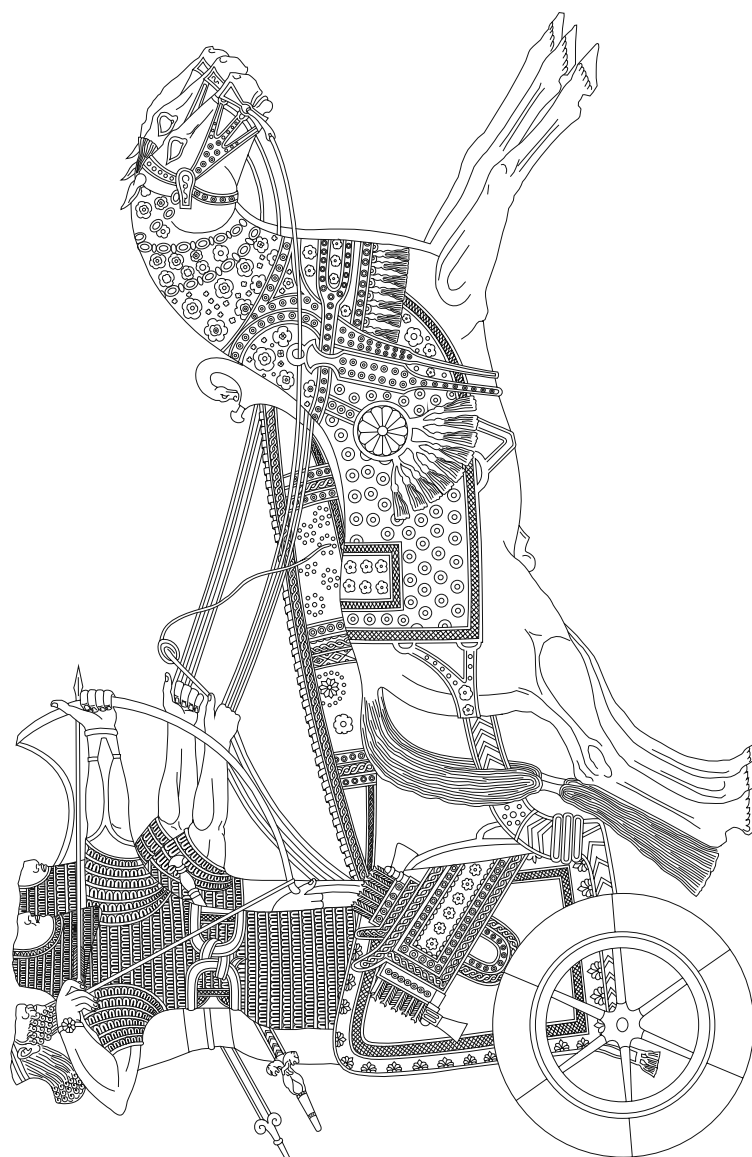
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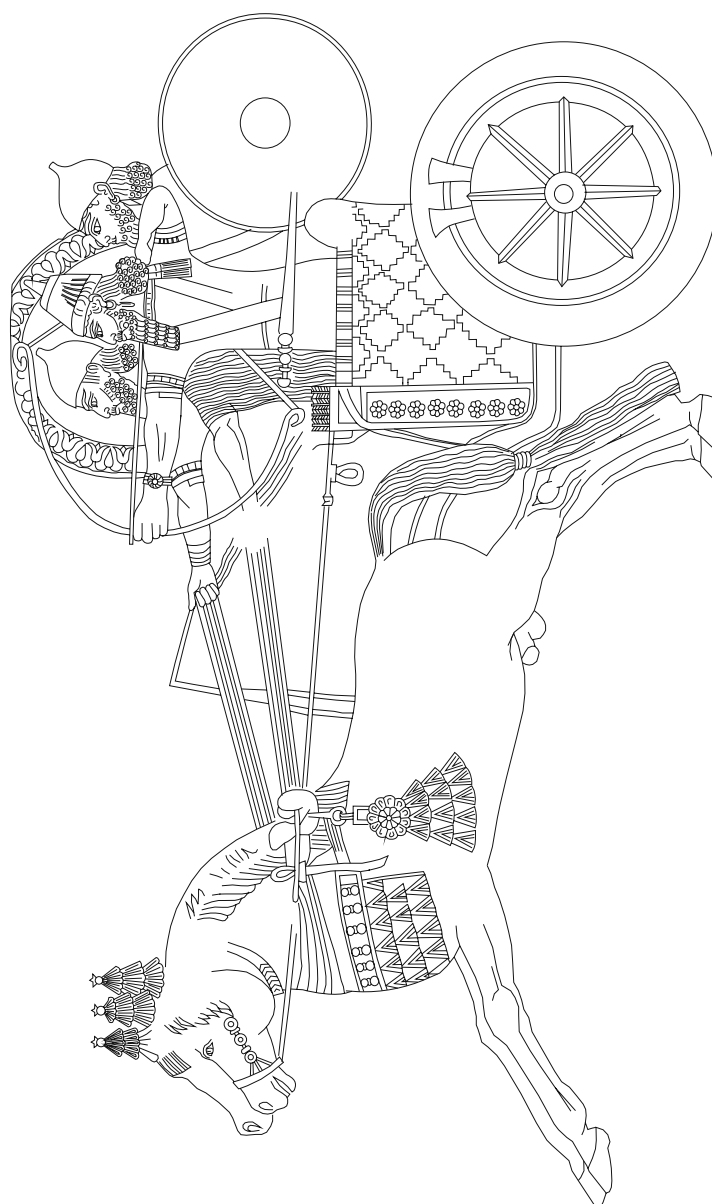
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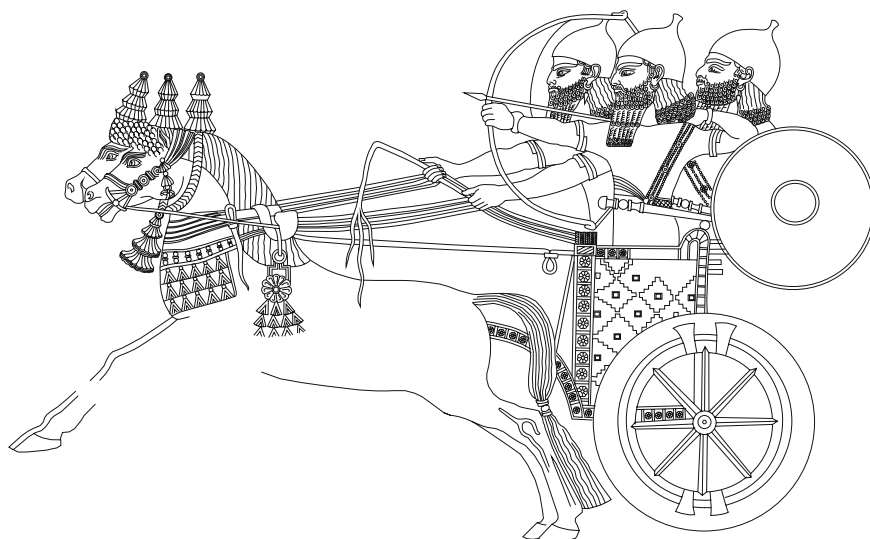
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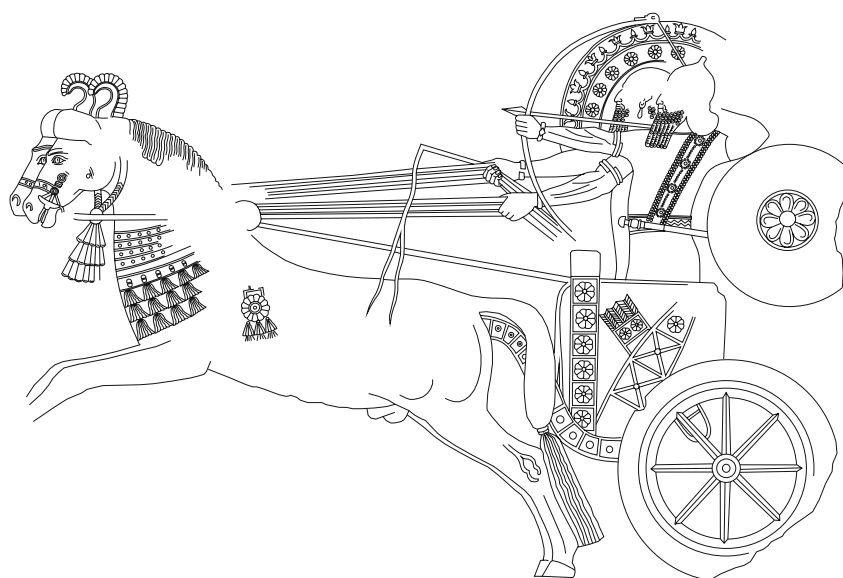
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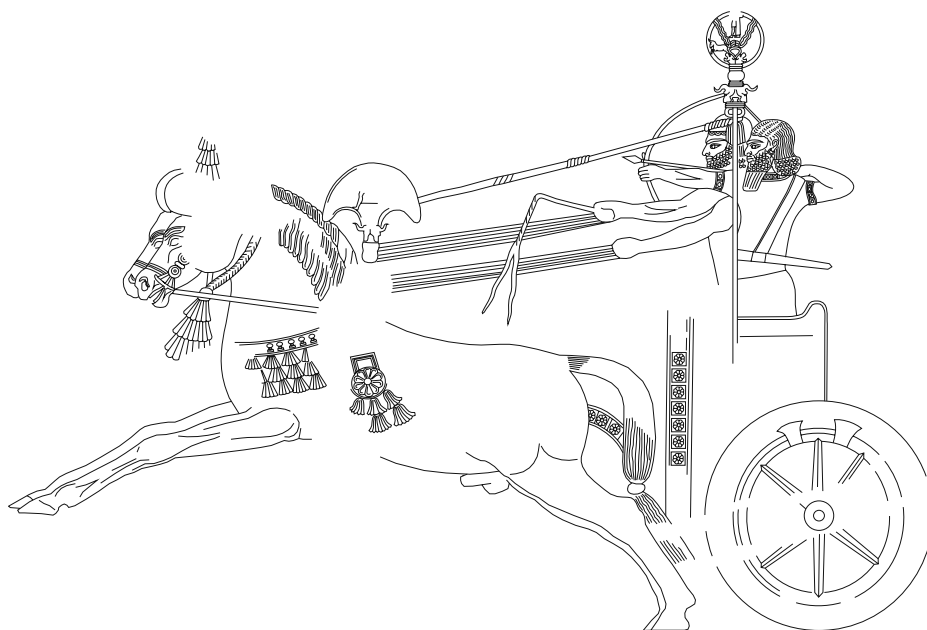


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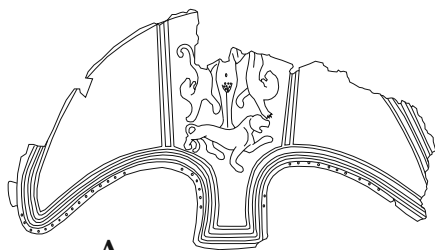


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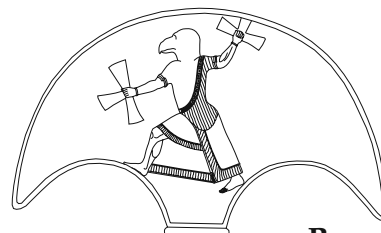




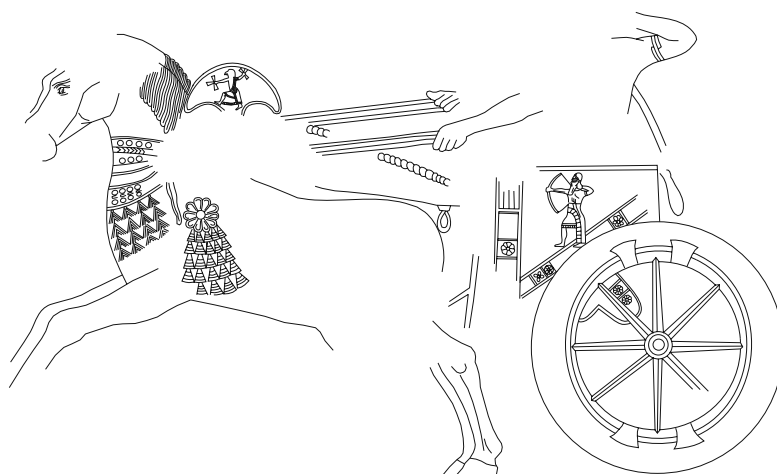
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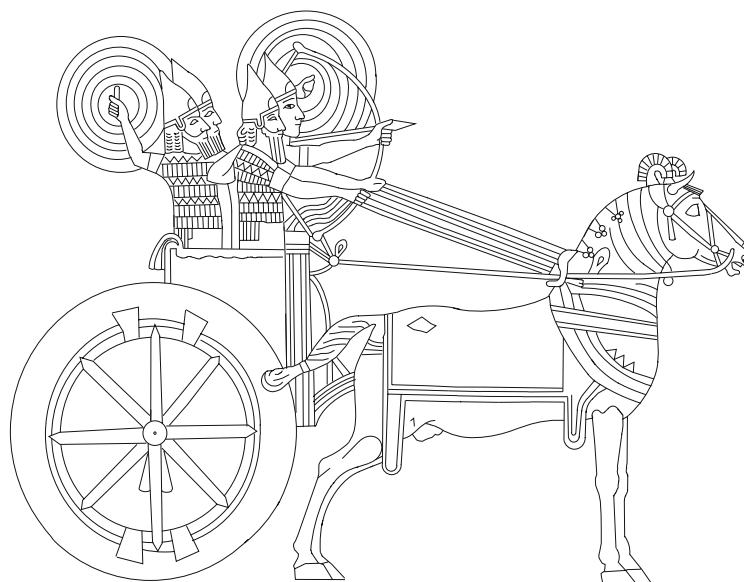
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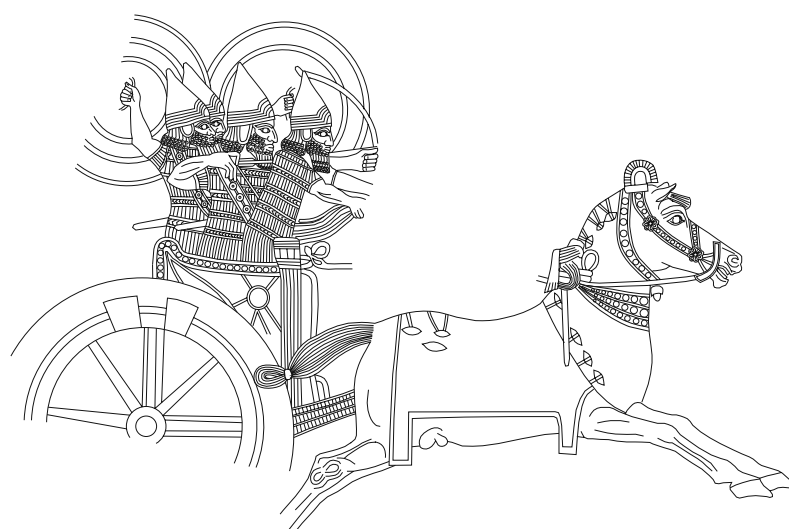
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31. Barnett 1976, LXIX



32. Barnett, et al. 1998, 388



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