

Tamás Dezső

THE ASSYRIAN ARMY

II. RECRUITMENT AND LOGISTICS



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To the memory of
Sargon II
King of Assyria
Who was killed on campaign
2721 years ago

„a man who claims to be a good general
should not observe the enemy by means of messengers“
Euripides, *Children of Heracles*, 390–392
(transl. David Kovacs, Loeb 484)



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INTRODUCTION

Following the first two volumes of this project,¹ the aim of this study is to discern the logic behind the social and economic background of the military service.

This volume is going to raise a greater number of important questions – concerning the economic and social history,² and the history of the imperial administration³ of the Assyrian Empire, a comprehensive study of which has never been written – than it can hope to answer. Such aspects, as the economic and social structure of the Empire and their changes over the centuries of the Neo-Assyrian period need much more research than the military historical aspect discussed in this volume allows for.

Further important questions, as the musters and weapon supply, the marching and battle order, the military intelligence and the actual military history of the Assyrian Empire (including the reconstruction of certain battles and the campaigns themselves) will be discussed in a separate volume of this project.

The areas to be explored in this volume are (1) the recruitment system of the imperial army, including the social background of the individual soldiers and the service itself; (2) the supply and logistics of the army at home bases and during the campaigns, including the economic background of the individual soldiers and the service itself.

Fig. 1 shows the main areas of investigation and the main questions to be answered. This framework is based on the structure of the army reconstructed in the first two volumes, and refers to the different military statuses, and the social, economic, and ethnic background of the service types, troops, and individual soldiers.

The typology outlined in *Fig. 1* only shows the main characteristics of the different service types. However, the boundaries between these categories were not necessarily well-defined, as we have not delineated distinct dividing lines between various ethnic and social groups of the Assyrian Empire, either, which means that these borders were most probably (easily?) permeable. This remains one of the most important question of the social and economic history of the Assyrian Empire, awaiting extensive study, in order to reconstruct the social and economic structure of the Empire. Without these wide-range reconstructions the present study can focus only on some of the (minor) details of the structure of the military establishment, and the hope/goal of the present writer is to shed light on certain important details of the topic which in turn could contribute to the understanding of the (social and economic) logic behind the military service.

1) Military status. If we would like to describe or outline the different aspects of the military service, we come upon a few areas which may be of help in the differentiation or classification of the different types of services and troops. These areas are as follows: (1) military status, (2) duration of service, (3) quality of troops, and (4) unit types.

¹ DEZSÖ 2012A; DEZSÖ 2012B.

² From the military point of view only a single preliminary study has been published by A. Fuchs (FUCHS 2005, 35-60), which discussed the economic profile of the Assyrian Empire.

³ For preliminary studies see POSTGATE 2007, 331-360; PONCHIA 2007, 123-143; PONCHIA 2012, 213-224.

If we examine the military status of the soldiers of the different types of services/troops, we can reconstruct at least three different statuses.

(1) Professional soldiers. The core of the Assyrian army (the home based 'city units'⁴ and bodyguard units)⁵ most probably consisted of professional soldiers. Even the provincial units of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) might have been composed of professional soldiers enlisted from the defeated troops of the foreign rulers.⁶ Those units which the (defeated) vassals had to offer to the Assyrian army were most probably made up of professional soldiers who earlier provided the core of their own national armies. Furthermore, the equestrian soldiers likely belonged to the professional or semi-professional category, since their special relationship with their horses (who needed an all year round care) could not rive the animals from the men.

(2) Semi-professional soldiers. The composition of the mainly province based 'king's men' category⁷ was, however, not so homogenous. It consisted of semi- or nonprofessional soldiers (who might have been used as workers, as well). The units of the governors' provincial troops were partly semi-professional or professional (e.g. the military entourage of the governor). At this point it has to be mentioned that for example the shepherds, especially the Aramean tribesmen (e.g. the Itu'eans),⁸ who were drafted or even hired(!) as auxiliary troops, were the masters of archery, which means that their private status was initially semi-professional (they were well-versed in the technique of archery, but unaware of the tactics of the Assyrian army). The same can be applied to the auxiliary spearmen (Gurreans), professionals even to a greater extent, since their civilian occupation is entirely unknown. They most probably owned service fields.⁹

(3) Nonprofessional soldiers. The bulk of the local troops, however, was drafted from captives/deportees and from the ranks of the local population. These groups were mostly nonprofessional soldiers, although it is possible that after repeated campaigns they may have advanced to semi-professional status.

According to this approach the status of the individuals and the duration of service ranged between full-time and part-time soldiers, who could be drafted from among all segments of society, excluding the exempted groups/individuals.

One of the most important concerns of the royal court was to minimize the cost of the maintenance of the army. For that reason only the most important troops of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) were kept in arms all year round, and some of the troops of the provincial administration (entourage of the governors, soldiers performing guard duties along the borders or in the garrisons) in relays. But the conscripted bulk of the Assyrian army served on a seasonal base – sustained by the local administration only for their period of service – and was sent to home as soon as possible.

(1) Full-time soldiers. The full-time soldiers were those recruited professionals who served all year round in exchange for service fields and allotments.

(2) Part-time soldiers. The part time soldiers were those (a) semi-professional soldiers drafted from the king's men, deportees, captives, etc. whose allotments and even their fields could be fixed to a certain period (campaign season) of service; or were (b) nonprofessional

⁴ DEZSÓ 2012B, 78-81.

⁵ DEZSÓ 2012A, 115-142.

⁶ DEZSÓ 2012B, 81-87, esp. 82-84.

⁷ DEZSÓ 2012A, 75-78.

⁸ DEZSÓ 2012A, 25-38. See for example the bow field (A.ŠÀ GIŠ.BAN) of the Itu'eans. LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 16 (ABL 201), DEZSÓ 2012A, 33.

⁹ DEZSÓ 2012A, 38-51. For the estates of the Gurreans see FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 228 (ADD 918), DEZSÓ 2012A, 50.

soldiers enlisted from the ranks of the local population and supplied with grain rations only for the period of their service.

The Assyrians secured the economic basis of the military service via the use of (a) military land holdings fixed to the service (larger estates for the officers, and service fields for the soldiers), (b) a daily ration system for both the full-time, professional soldiers and for the semi- or nonprofessional part-time soldiers for the duration of their service period (*e.g.* for the campaigns).

The quality of the troops obviously depended on their military status. The expertise of the troops with full-time professional soldiers represented the highest level not only in the Assyrian army, but in the contemporary Near East as well. As has been mentioned, some of the auxiliary troops, for example the auxiliary archer Itu'eans and the auxiliary spearmen Gurreans could also be counted among the premium quality forces of the army. Well trained medium quality troops were the part-time semi-professional units, who provided a decisive part of the imperial army. If the army or the military situation demanded, large numbers of nonprofessional, lower quality troops could be enlisted from the ranks of the local population.

The arms of the Assyrian army (equestrian and infantry) are known from several segments of the army. Equestrian units were formed in the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*), the troops of high officials and governors and in the enlisted troops of the vassals. As has been mentioned, the equestrian troops were professionals or semi professionals, since they needed special, professional skills to care for their animals (at home bases or on campaigns) and to fight on them. The semi- or nonprofessional bulk of the infantrymen drafted from the local population probably represented the lowest level within the Assyrian army.

2) Social status. This aspect of the topic refers to the social status and background of the military service. The first two volumes of this project examined this question in connection with each military arm and troop type separately. The soldier versus civilian (peasants, shepherds *etc.*) study is a well-explored analytic perspective. However, the other two possible juxtapositions, the independent (if such a category existed at all in the Assyrian Empire) *versus* dependent, or the recruited *versus* drafted/conscripted categories are in need of further study. The main question in the latter case is to what extent the Assyrian army was composed of voluntary recruits, and what percentage and which types of the soldiers were drafted on a compulsory basis. According to the present writer's view there might have been services and units with recruited members who had joined the service voluntarily. These might have been troops of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*), especially the 'city units,' and the members of the *ša—qurbūte* and *ša—šēpē* bodyguard units, but some other services in the provinces might also have belonged to this category. The economic background of this service was an estate (at least in the case of the officers) and a service field system. From the economic point of view they depended on their estates and fields, but from the social point of view we are aware only of a military dependance.

As *Fig. 1* shows, there were, however, large numbers of soldiers who were drafted according to a compulsory quota. Several units were composed of 'king's men', captives or deportees, who were consequently in a dependent position. However, it is unfortunately unknown whether this applied to all of the drafted auxiliary units.

A further aspect of differentiation is the soldier versus civilian juxtaposition. Those soldiers who were drafted from among the local population for special purposes (for a campaign, for guard duties or a building project) might easily have been civilians. They served for a certain period and were let home as soon as possible, to spare the local Assyrian administration the burden of having to supply their daily rations.

3) Economic status. The economic basis of the military service was an estate system for officers, a service-field system for the semi-professional soldiers and a daily ration system for all members of the army. The daily ration system for the professional soldiers was in effect during the home service and the campaign season as well. The professional soldiers were probably not directly involved in the daily work related to their fields or other businesses, but the semi-professional soldiers – who served on a seasonal basis – might have partaken in daily agricultural activities. In addition to their sustenance, the main concern of the equestrian soldiers was to care for their animals. Those nonprofessional soldiers who were enlisted for various campaigns or errands depended on their regular agricultural jobs and businesses for their subsistence. They were supplied with daily rations only during their (seasonal) service.

The booty (*see* chapter II.3 Booty and tribute) may have played an important role in the economic background of the professional and semi-professional soldiers, and could provide daily rations and supplies in the operational zones, the enemy territory beyond the borders of the Empire.

4) Ethnic background. As has been discussed in detail in the previous two volumes of this project, the ethnic background of the Assyrian army was diverse.¹⁰ According to the cuneiform texts and the pictorial evidence the ethnic background of the 9th century B.C. Assyrian military forces was mainly Assyrian, with relatively few foreign ethnic groups, for example Arameans. During the imperial period (745–612 B.C.), however, the ‘new model Assyrian army’ transformed into a multiethnic military force. The new conquests and the control of vast areas and long borders needed large numbers of soldiers (campaign and garrison troops), much more than the ethnic Assyrian population could provide. To solve the problem, the Assyrians enlisted relatively large numbers of reliable/trusted local troops into the army and ‘made them interested’ in serving their new overlords.¹¹

Since the aim of this volume is to reconstruct the social and economic background of the service, the ethnic background of those professional and semi-professional troops of the standing army who owned estates and fields, will have to be discussed in detail. According to our reconstruction these were mainly Assyrians and Arameans.

The above outlined aspects of the military service are going to be explored and analyzed in different chapters of the present volume, and we hope that – as far as the nature of the sources permits – most of the questions posed in the introduction are going to be answered.

¹⁰ *See* the following chapters: Auxiliary archers (DEZSÓ 2012A, 25-38), Auxiliary spearmen (DEZSÓ 2012A, 38-51), Auxiliary slingers (DEZSÓ 2012A, 51), Auxiliary troops of vassals (DEZSÓ 2012A, 51-52), Regular archers, (2) Ethnic and social background (DEZSÓ 2012A, 85-88), Regular spearmen, (3) Ethnic and social background (DEZSÓ 2012A, 97-99), for the foreign units (including Judean/Israelite) of the bodyguard *see* (DEZSÓ 2012A, 117-119), Provincial and foreign units (king’s men) of the *kišir šarrūti* stationed in the provinces, (c) Vassal units of the provinces (DEZSÓ 2012A, 191-194), Foreign units of the Assyrian cavalry (DEZSÓ 2012B, 32-35), Chariotry units reconstructed from cuneiform sources, Deportee unit (DEZSÓ 2012B, 72), The ‘provincial units’, (2) Unit 2 (West Semitic), (3) Unit 3 (Kaldāia), (4) Unit 4 (Sāmerināia) (DEZSÓ 2012B, 82-84), Foreign chariotry (DEZSÓ 2012B, 92-93), Recruitment officer of the deportees (*mušarkisu ša šaglūte*) (DEZSÓ 2012B, 128).

¹¹ For the ideological background of the Assyrian expansion *see* LIVERANI 1979, 297–317.

	ROYAL		PROVINCIAL			VASSAL TROOPS	
	HOME BASED	PROVINCE BASED	PROVINCE BASED		Local population		
	'City units', bodyguard units	'King's men'	Entourage of the governor	Captives/Deportees			
MILITARY	Military status	professional	semi-professional? / nonprofessional	semi-professional	nonprofessional / semi-professional	professional / semi-professional	
	Duration of service	full-time (all year round)	full-time (all year round) part-time (seasonal)	full-time (all year round) part-time (seasonal)	part-time (seasonal)	full-time (all year round) / part-time (seasonal)	
	Quality of troops	high / élite	medium	medium	low	medium	
	Unit types	cavalry / chariotry / infantry / bodyguards	cavalry / chariotry / infantry	cavalry / chariotry / infantry	regular/line infantry	cavalry / chariotry / infantry	
SOCIAL	Social status	independent	dependent	independent / dependent	dependent	independent / dependent	
		soldier	soldier / civilian	soldier	soldier / civilian	peasant, shepherd, craftsman, etc.	soldier
		recruited	levied / drafted	recruited	levied / drafted	levied / drafted	recruited
ECONOMIC	Economic background	estate, service field, daily ration	daily ration	service field, daily ration	daily ration	daily ration	
		independent of labor duties	semi-dependent of labor duties	independent of labor duties	dependent of labor duties	dependent of labor duties	independent of labor duties
ETHNIC	Ethnic background	mainly Assyrian (and Aramean)	diverse	mainly Assyrian / diverse	diverse	diverse	

Fig. 1. The social and economic structure of the soldiers of different types of army units.

I. RECRUITMENT

Only a few studies have been written on the recruitment system and logistics of the Assyrian army,¹² which may be accounted for the absence of a coherent picture concerning the topic: The portfolio of Assyrian sources completely lacks the descriptive genres present in the classical literature, for example, which describe the structure, supply and logistics of Greek and Roman armies in detail, sometimes with a kind of over-nicety almost in their every aspects. While the huge corpus of Assyrian royal inscriptions with its often detailed campaign descriptions provides superficial answers to a few questions, the numerous administrative texts only shed light on minute details, from which the reconstruction of the complete picture is hardly possible. Despite these difficulties, with the survey and the systematization of the different types of sources, we are going to attempt as coherent a reconstruction of the everyday practices of recruitment and logistics of the Assyrian army as possible.

Since during the Neo-Assyrian expansion several people of the Near East became subjects of the Assyrian Empire, they would have had to contribute to the army in the form of providing units and supplies. Furthermore, since the Assyrian army was organized on a territorial basis, different units had different social backgrounds (units were drafted/conscripted/enlisted¹³ or recruited¹⁴ from the Assyrian homeland, from the ranks of the urban populations of the Empire, from the village-dwellers of the rural regions, from the semi-nomadic tribesmen of the Zagros, or Babylonia, from Arab nomadic tribesmen, from the ranks of the different (defeated) armies of vassals, or from captives/deportees, who most probably lost their original social background and acquired a new status as deportees). Different regions provided different unit types, not only with their distinct social and ethnic background mentioned above, but with different technical conditions (different types of weapons which provided a diverse tactical portfolio), a circumstance which has to be taken into account.

Consequently there was not a single unified and coherent system of recruiting or enlisting/drafting soldiers but an array of different local practices. On a general level, the Assyrians imposed quotas of soldiers and supplies onto the various territories of the Empire, which might have taken local traditions into account (in a social and a tactical sense as well). Therefore a general approach to the 'recruitment/enlisting system of the Assyrian army' seems impossible, but has to be studied according to the different unit types, soldiers of which were recruited or enlisted on different grounds.

To understand the logic behind the recruitment system, we have to reconstruct the ethnic and social background, as well as the provenance of the soldiers involved.

¹² FALES 1990; FALES 2000; RICHARDSON 2011.

¹³ Conscripting or drafting is a process which involves the compulsory or obligatory drafting of a certain number of soldiers from a given population (village, town, city, tribe or people) for a certain period of military service. For further details *see* below.

¹⁴ Recruiting, however, involves a more voluntary process, where potential soldiers willingly enlist for a service for a certain reward, such as the offer of subsistence or a career opportunity. For further details *see* below.

I.1. Royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*)

The royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) were composed of units under the command of the king, who controlled and commanded them through a complex system of officers.¹⁵ Beginning during the reign of the Sargonids at the latest, the *kišir šarrūti* or at least one of its divisions was commanded by the Chief Eunuch (*rab ša—rēšē*).¹⁶ This corps – forming a central standing army – was composed of an intricate arrangement of units.¹⁷

Since the following chapters are based partly on the study of prosopographical evidence, a few preliminary remarks have to be interposed.

1) It is known that the administrative texts used for the analysis came from the central regions, mainly from the home provinces of the Assyrian Empire, where the Assyrian element was obviously strong and thus might have been overrepresented.

2) The other question is whether the ‘Assyrian names’ mean an Assyrian ethnic affiliation, as well.¹⁸ There are several examples¹⁹ which show that foreign residents of the home provinces gave Assyrian names to their children.

There are other types of sources which prove that for example an Aramean name hides another ethnic identity. A letter of Nabû-rā'im-nišēšu and Salamānu for example reported the names of the deserters to Esarhaddon whom the governor of Dēr had caught and sent to them. The list of deserters included the names of two ‘third men’ of the crown prince: Būr-Silā and Kudurru, noting that – in spite of the fact that they bore good Aramean names – both of them were Elamites.²⁰ Elamites or Elamite names can otherwise hardly be reconstructed in the ranks of the Assyrian army, and in this case it is obvious that these Elamites most probably served the crown prince of Babylon as allies or mercenaries, since the Elamite chariotry – as far as can be reconstructed from the pictorial evidence – did not use the Assyrian form of chariot warfare and there were no shield-bearing ‘third men’ serving in their ranks. They might have deserted from Babylon – where they might have obtained their Aramean names – and had been caught in Dēr on their way back to Elam.

¹⁵ DEZSÖ 2012A: officers of the infantry: 143-228; DEZSÖ 2012B: officers of the cavalry: 39-44; officers of the chariotry: 120-136.

¹⁶ DEZSÖ 2012A, 222-228.

¹⁷ DEZSÖ 2012A, *Fig. 1*; DEZSÖ 2012B, *Fig. 10, Chart 1*.

¹⁸ The reconstruction of the ethnic diversity behind the picture provided by the cuneiform evidence and other sources is a problem which has long attracted the interest the Assyriologists. Since an in-depth analysis of the problem unfortunately by far exceeds the possibilities of this study, for a brief introduction into the topic see the following studies POSTGATE 1989, 1-10; FALES 1991B, 99-117; TADMOR 1982, 449-470; LIPÍŃSKI 2000; PARPOLA 2004, 5-22; RADNER 2005; FALES 2007, 95-122; MILLARD 2009, 203-214; FALES 2010C, 189-204; ZADOK 2010, 411-439. On the complexity of material culture and the prosopographic evidence see the case studies of Parpola (PARPOLA 2008, 1-137), Matney (MATNEY 2010, 129-147), and MacGinnis (MACGINNIS 2012, 131-153) on Ziyaret Tepe (Tušhan). The difference between an ethnic and a supposed imperial identity, and a possible shift towards the latter is another question which also has to be answered.

¹⁹ A group of legal documents from Aššur for example shows that during and following the reign of Assurbanipal a small Egyptian community lived in the city and provided chariot drivers from among themselves: 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.). Pizešburdaia *mu-kil a-(pa.MEŠ)* (DONBAZ – PARPOLA 2001, 207 (A 1841), Rev. 26, 618 B.C.), DEZSÖ 2012B, 99, note 775. It seems that in this community the Assyrian and Egyptian names were almost interchangeable. Another important study which deals with the ‘Neo-Assyrian ruling class’ sheds some light on the Assyrian—Aramaic and Aramaic—Assyrian bilingual patronymicon, the variation or rotation of Assyrian and Aramaic names within the same families (PARPOLA 2007, esp. 268-274).

²⁰ Būr-Silā (LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 136 (ABL 140), 12-13: ¹*Bur-si-la-a* LÚ.3-šú ša DUMU—MAN), and Kudurru (LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 136 (ABL 140), 12-13: ¹*Ku-dur-ru* LÚ.3-šú ša DUMU—MAN), reign of Esarhaddon.

It is apparent from this story, as well, that to choose or give a name was not a negligible detail and could carry a message in an multiethnic Empire, where ethnic identity was gradually, spontaneously or aggressively giving way to a ‘cosmic’ imperial identity.

There are several units, however, the ranks of which were filled in with native soldiers of the country where the unit was recruited from. The soldiers of such equestrian units as the ‘West Semitic,’ Chaldean, Samarian or Hamatean units (*Fig. 10*) for example bore good West Semitic or Aramean names, without anyone questioning their underlying ethnic background.

Nevertheless, these motifs do not challenge the unquestionable fact that the ethnic composition of the Assyrian army, or at least the officers’ corps was dominated by ethnic Assyrians,²¹ who had a long history and tradition of warfare. This fact most probably refers mainly or only(?) to the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*), since the ethnic composition of the provincial and vassal troops – as pointed out above – was somewhat different: it was dominated by the local people.

3) Using the prosopographical evidence an important note has to be made. *Charts 2–16* hopefully list all the known names of the soldiers and officers of the Assyrian army during the Neo-Assyrian period. An important and obvious question emerges: can this database be considered as a representative pool of information/data for a serious statistical examination, or not? Could any serious/reliable conclusions be drawn from it, or not?

Since there is no other pool of data available for us we can use only this database to draw some conclusions.

I.1.1 Bodyguard units

I.1.1.1 *Qurubtu* cavalry (*pēṭhal qurubte*)²²

The *qurubtu* cavalry was most probably the standard 1,000 horse cavalry bodyguard unit which is known at the latest from the reign of Sargon II. As known from the royal inscriptions of Sargon II (8th campaign, 714 B.C.), he was always escorted by the cavalry regiment (*kitullu perru*) of Sîn-aḫu-ušur, the king’s brother.²³ This unit accompanied the king under all circumstances, and never left his side, either in enemy or in friendly territory.²⁴ This unit was garrisoned and accommodated including men, horses and supplies somewhere in or near the Assyrian capital (Kalḫu or Nineveh), with its provisions (food rations for men and horses), and ordnance supplies (weapons

²¹ All of the multiethnic and colonial armies of the world were very keen on keeping/securing the key positions – at least in the officers’ corps – for the members of the ruling nation.

²² DEZSŐ 2012B, 29-32.

²³ NIEDERREITER 2005, 57-76.

²⁴ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, lines 132-133: “With my single chariot and my cavalry, which never left my side, either in enemy or in friendly country, the regiment of Sîn-aḫu-ušur” (*it-ti GIŠ.GIGIR GÌR.II-ia e-de-ni-ti u ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ a-li-kut i-di-ia ša ašar nak-ri u sa-al-mi la ip-pa-rak-ku-u ki-tul-lum per-ra mSîn-aḫu-ušur*). See also line 332: LÚ.qu-ra-di-ia a-di ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ a-li-kut i-di-ia il-ten-nu-u u-qa-tin-ma (My warriors and horses marching by my side marched in single file through the pass). Similar phrasing (*it-ti GIŠ.GIGIR GÌR.II-ia u ANŠE.pet-ḫal-li-ia ša a-šar sa-al-me A.II-a-a la ip-par-ku-u*, “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 11th regnal year (711 B.C.) when the Assyrian king attacked Muttallu of Gurgum, and in the same inscription describing the attack led against Muttallu of Kummuh during the same campaign (FUCHS 1994, Prunk, lines 113-114), and in the annals (FUCHS 1994, lines 248-249), when Sargon II in the same year led a campaign against Ashdod.

and equipment) provided by the Palace (the state). The recruitment region of cavalrymen is, however, unknown: were they enlisted from the ethnic Assyrians of the home provinces (similarly to the *hetairoi*, the cavalry escort of Alexander the Great, composed of Macedonian noblemen), or were they also conscripted from the (foreign) people of the Empire?

1) *Ethnic background*: Unfortunately not a single cavalryman of these units is known by name. However, several of the officers appear in certain administrative texts (*Chart 1*), and the prosopographical evidence shows a fairly coherent picture (*Fig. 2*): regarding the units' officers, 56.25 % of the team commanders (*rab urâte*) bore Assyrian, 25 % Aramaic, 12.5 % West Semitic names, and only a single person was foreigner (Uratian, 6.25 %), while 62.5 % of their magnates (*rabûti*, LÚ.GAL.GAL.MEŠ) were Assyrians, 25 % of them were Arameans, and 12.5 % of them bore West Semitic names. Consequently the servicemen of these units were most probably mostly also Assyrians. This Assyrian dominance is not surprising, if we consider these units as the most confidential units of the Assyrian army.

BRANCHES	ASSYRIANS		ARAMEANS		WEST SEMITES		FOREIGNERS	
<i>rab urâte – pēṭhal qurubte</i>	9	56.25 %	4	25.0 %	2	12.5 %	1	6.25 %
<i>rabûti / mušarkisāni ša pēṭhal qurubte</i>	15	62.5 %	6	25.0 %	3	12.5 %	—	—

Fig. 2. The ethnic composition of the officers of the *qurubtu* cavalry bodyguards.

2) *The social and geographical background* of these units is unknown. Their officers – especially the magnates, who supervised them – belonged to the Assyrian military élite, and enjoyed a relatively high social status with all of its benefits. For the detailed discussion of the social and economic background of the officers of the Assyrian army and especially of the royal corps (*kišir šarrûti*) see below.

I.1.2.2 Ša—šēpē bodyguards ('personal guard')²⁵

1) *Ethnic background*: The prosopographical evidence derived from the administrative texts, private archives, and royal correspondence of the Sargonides shows a clear and convincing picture concerning the ethnic background of the *ša—šēpē* bodyguards: as *Chart 2* shows, out of the 56 *ša—šēpē* bodyguards known by name 36 bore Assyrian names (64.28 %), 15 of them bore other Semitic (Aramaic and West Semitic) names (26.78 %) and 6 of them were most probably foreigners (10.71 %). The extension of the investigation to other branches of the *ša—šēpē* bodyguards does not show a significant change in the overall situation (*Fig. 3*): 60—75 % of the *ša—šēpē* bodyguards were most probably ethnic Assyrians, a further 33—40 % might have come from other Mesopotamian, especially Aramean groups, while only a few West Semites or foreigners appear in the ranks of this branch of service..

BRANCHES	ASSYRIANS		ARAMEANS		WEST SEMITES		FOREIGNERS	
<i>ša—šēpē</i>	36	64.28 %	8	14.28 %	7	12.5 %	6	10.71 %
<i>ša—šēpē mār šarri</i>	3	75.0 %	—	—	—	—	1	25.0 %
<i>rab kišir ša—šēpē</i>	9	60.0 %	6	40.0 %	—	—	—	—
LÚ.GIGIR <i>ša—šēpē</i>	6	60.0 %	4	40.0 %	—	—	—	—
<i>qurbūtu ša—šēpē</i>	1	33.3 %	1	33.3 %	1	33.3 %	—	—

Fig. 3. The ethnic composition of the *ša—šēpē* bodyguards.

²⁵ *Ša—šēpē* ('personal guard'): DEZSÓ 2012A, 120-123; *pēṭhalli šēpē* (cavalry of the 'personal guard'): DEZSÓ 2012B, 28-29.

2) *Social background*: It seems that the *ša—šēpē* bodyguards were most probably recruited and not conscripted servicemen, to whom the bodyguard status and service not only offered subsistence in the form of daily rations during their service, but a career opportunity, as well, the possibility to make a living, and secure a stable economic background in the form of a possible field donation(?). An estate assignment shows that the *ša—šēpē* bodyguards could obtain estates for their services. The *ša—šēpē* guardsman Kalhāiu, for example, received 40 hectares of land in the town of Šela, together with other soldiers.²⁶ It seems that these 40 hectares of land might have been a standard estate size assigned to soldiers for their services(?).²⁷ Šalmu-aḥḥē, another *ša—šēpē* guard, bought an estate, probably also in the countryside.²⁸ One of the texts of the Kakkullānu archive lists two *ša—šēpē* witnesses who were affiliated with the town of Ḫubaba (URU.Ḫu-baba-a).²⁹

3) *Geographical background*: These texts raise the question whether these *ša—šēpē* bodyguards lived in the countryside or simply owned estates there. From the previous text it seems that they resided in the countryside, or in different towns and provinces, and not in the capital, in the vicinity of the king. Is it possible that different *ša—šēpē* units stationed in different parts of the Assyrian home provinces(?) probably served as guards in the capital or around the king in a rotational system, and relieved each other monthly or yearly (see for example the story of Sardanapallos)?³⁰ A possibly very important, but unfortunately very fragmentary letter of Sargon II also mentions a *ša—šēpē* guardsman in a remote territory context as a trusted person of the king(?).³¹

In his letter written to Esarhaddon, reporting the plot of Sasî, Nabû-rēḫtu-uṣur asked the king to send an order to the *ša—šēpē* bodyguards who had brought the slave-girl (probably a prophetess who allegedly prophesied against the family and seed of Sennacherib), to take her to him for questioning.³² It is quite obvious from this letter, that a unit of *ša—šēpē* guards were stationed in Ḫarrān, where these events took place.³³

There is a very interesting text, a short note of probably some items dedicated to *ša—šēpē* guards. This text lists 3 *ša—šēpē* guards under the command of a certain Ḫarrānāiu. The names of the 3 *ša—šēpē* guards are Zaliāiu, Quili, and Sarsâ,³⁴ obviously non-Assyrian names. The text identifies them most probably as Ḫallataeans (*Hal-ta-a-a*), and the name of a further *ša—šēpē* guard, a certain Ninuāiu is also listed. All of them were assigned to a palace scribe, Nabû-bēlšunu, and consequently served the Palace. These 3 foreigners were most probably members of a *ša—šēpē* guard unit recruited from the Ḫallataeans. Two further officers of the Ḫallataeans are known from 7th century B.C. administrative texts: Ḫaršešu and Tarḫundapî, the prefects of the Ḫallataeans (*šaknu Ḫaltāia*).³⁵ The name Tarḫundapî identifies them in all likelihood as Anatolians. If these

²⁶ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 228 (ADD 918), 4'-6': LÚ.ša—GÎR.2(*šēpē*). The same text mentions that a similar plot of 40 hectares was assigned to Barbiri, the Gurrean in the town of Apiani.

²⁷ See for further examples FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 219 (ADB 5), II:22'; 222 (ADD 806), 7', Rev. 5.

²⁸ MATTILA 2002, 114 (ADD 373), 634 B.C. See furthermore 115 (ADD 217).

²⁹ MATTILA 2002, 36 (ADD 446) Rev. 15: Ḫaldi-ṭaiā *ša—šēpē* (LÚ.ša—GÎR.2), Rev. 24: Issar-nādin-aḥḥē *ša—šēpē* (*ša—GÎR.2*).

³⁰ OLDFATHER 1933, *Diodorus Siculus*, Book II. 24:6.: "When the year's time of their service in the king's army had passed and, another force having arrived to replace them, the relieved men had been dismissed as usual to their homes ..."

³¹ PARPOLA 1987, 8 (CT 53, 229), 12: LÚ.GÎR.2.

³² LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 59 (ABL 1217+), Rev. 6'-8'.

³³ RADNER 2003, 165-184.

³⁴ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 140 (ADD 872), 1) ¹*Za-li-a-a*, 2) ¹*Qu-i-li*, 3) ¹*Sa-ar-sa-a*.

³⁵ ¹*Ḫar-se-šu* LÚ.GAR-nu *Hal-ta-a-a* (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 9 (ADD 860), Rev. II:1); ¹*Tar-ḫu-un-da-pi-i* LÚ.GAR-nu *Hal-ta-a-a* (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), II:38; 11 (ADD 841), Rev. 2); see furthermore FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 9 (ADD 860), I:19'; KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 117 (ADD 144), 2 (700 B.C.); 169 (ADD 443), 12 (686 B.C.).

assumptions are true, we can suppose, that *ša—šēpē* bodyguard units could be recruited from the ranks of the foreign population – subjugated by the Assyrians.

I.1.2.3 *Qurbūtu* / *ša—qurbūte* bodyguards³⁶

As has already been discussed in detail in the first two volumes of this project, this bodyguard category was identified positively by earlier research as bodyguards serving as confidential agents of the king.³⁷

1) *Ethnic background*. As the statistics (Fig. 4) of the names of the different *qurbūtu* bodyguard types (Chart 3) indicates, the ethnic composition of these units shows a fairly coherent picture: 60–80 % of this bodyguard category bore Assyrian names, the remaining were in all certainty mostly Arameans, with only a few coming from a foreign background.³⁸ Only the ethnic composition of the Dūr-Katlimmu *qurbūtu* bodyguards shows a different trend: the predominance of the West Semitic and Aramean element.

Some entries make it clear that – at least in the earliest period – *qurbūtu* bodyguards were recruited from among the Assyrian population. A possibly very early text, an edict appointing Nergal-apil-kūmū'a,³⁹ states that from among the Assyrian craftsmen who were listed in the preceding section of the text, Nergal-apil-kūmū'a should provide some for chariot fighters, some for *qurbūtu* bodyguards.⁴⁰ The same text in a fragmentary passage mentions the patrimony of the *qurbūtu* bodyguards (É—AD *ša LÚ.qur-bu-ti*) which together with clothing should also be apportioned by Nergal-apil-kūmū'a.⁴¹ This entry suggests that – at least at this early period – the *qurbūtu* bodyguards were recruited from the Assyrian citizens. This initial situation changed during the imperial period (post 745 B.C.), when large numbers of West Semitic people joined the imperial service (Chart 3). It seems that – similarly to other branches of the bodyguard units – the overwhelming majority of the servicemen and their officers bore Assyrian names and were in all likelihood ethnic Assyrians, to keep the confidential nature of the bodyguard service intact.

Unfortunately only a few names of the officers of the *qurbūtu* bodyguards are known. All of the cohort commanders (*rab kišir*) bore Assyrian names and were Assyrians, which – in case of the most confidential service of the royal court and army – is not surprising at all: the Assyrians wanted to keep the key positions of at least the bodyguard units for themselves.

³⁶ *Ša—qurbūte* (*qurbūtu* bodyguard): DEZSÖ 2012A, 123-143; *pēṭhalli ša—qurbūte* (cavalry of the *ša—qurbūte* bodyguard): DEZSÖ 2012B, 29.

³⁷ The most detailed and comprehensive study of the topic was written by F. Malbran-Labat (MALBRAN-LABAT 1982), who identified them as 'garde-royal'. Volumes of the State Archives of Assyria project use the term 'bodyguard' or 'royal bodyguard'. K. Radner (RADNER 2002, 13-14) emphasized the confidential agent of the king aspect and used the 'Vertrauter des Königs' form. DEZSÖ 2012A, 123-126.

³⁸ Imaṛi: POSTGATE 1973, 9, 15: *ša qur-bu-ti*; Madāiu: FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 182 (ABL 638), 6', 15': 'Mad-a-a LÚ.qur-bu-te; Tabalāiu: FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 9 (ADD 860), II:7': 'Ta-bal-a-a LÚ.qur-ZAG (see furthermore: 6 (ADD 840+858), II:9') and he himself or another Tabalāiu appears as LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *qur-bu-te* URU.Ši-šil-a-a ('chariot man of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard from the town Šišil') in: MATTILA 2002, 397 (Iraq 32, 7), 9'.

³⁹ Some reconstructions identify him with the *limmu* of 873 B.C. (DELLER – MILLARD 1993, 217-242, esp. 218-219. For other fragments see GRAYSON – POSTGATE 1983, 12-14), but this date would precede the earliest dated appearance of the title of *qurbūtu* bodyguard by almost eighty years. However, there is no reason to exclude the possibility of such an early appearance of the title, since the sculptures of Assurnasirpal II depict several soldiers, who can be identified as personal bodyguards (DEZSÖ 2012A, Plate 37, 120–122; Plate 38, 125, 126). DEZSÖ 2012A, 125, note 794.

⁴⁰ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 83 (BaM 24, 239), Rev. 24: LÚ.qur-bu-ti. DEZSÖ 2012A, 125, note 795.

⁴¹ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 84 (CTN 4, 256), 15': LÚ.qur-bu-ti; 83 (BaM 24, 239), 14': [LÚ.qur-bu-ti]. DEZSÖ 2012A, 125, note 796.

BRANCHES	ASSYRIANS		ARAMEANS		WEST SEMITES		FOREIGNERS	
<i>ša—qurbūte</i>	83	65.87 %	33	26.19 %	7	5.55 %	3	2.38 %
<i>ša—qurbūte</i> (Dūr-Katlimmu)	6	40.0 %	4	26.66 %	4	26.66 %	1	6.66 %
<i>ša—qurbūte mār šarri</i>	4	50.0 %	3	37.5 %	1	12.5 %	—	—
<i>ša—qurbūte ummi šarri</i>	3	75.0 %	—	—	—	—	1	25.0 %
<i>rab kišir ša—qurbūte</i>	5	100.0 %	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>rab kišir ša—qurbūte ša mār šarri</i>	1	50.0 %	1	50.0 %	—	—	—	—

Fig. 4. The ethnic composition of the *ša—qurbūte* bodyguards.

2) *Social status and economic background.* Relatively few entries shed any light on the social and economic background of the *qurbūtu* bodyguards. The edict appointing Nergal-apil-kūmū'a discussed above suggests that the *qurbūtu* bodyguards were recruited from among the Assyrian citizens who presumably had some independent livelihood/income, and did not represent the lowest stratum of Assyrian society. A much later text, a Sargonide letter gives further information on the status of *qurbūtu* bodyguards: Bēl-iqīša complains to Esarhaddon that Atamar-Marduk, whom the king promoted to the rank of *qurbūtu* bodyguard⁴² is a drunkard. The interesting thing is not the fact that he was a drunkard, but the way he became *qurbūtu* bodyguard: he was promoted by the king.

The economic background of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard status is relatively unknown. There are only a few sources which make an attempt to reconstruct this financial basis possible. One of them is an administrative tablet (a schedule of land assigned to officials) from the reign of Sîn-šar-iškun (626—612 B.C.), which lists estates transferred to new owners. The original land holders included high officials (*sartennu*, *sukkallu*, Chief Eunuch) and military personnel (4 cohort commanders and 2 *qurbūtu* bodyguards). The estates in the first section of the text were transferred to relatives.⁴³ It is possible that these estates came with the service, and the relatives inherited them. The other group of land holdings was not transferred to relatives, but to other owners. The estates of three cohort commanders (*rab kišir*) and a *qurbūtu* bodyguard were given to the princess of the New Palace. It seems that these estates may have been confiscated and assigned to a new owner.⁴⁴ It is important to note that the list does not follow a geographical logic (the location of the estates inherited and/or confiscated ranges from Carchemish to Barḥalzi), but an administrative logic, which points to a possible connection with a previous case at court. Most of the officers concerned bore Aramean names.

A letter from the reign of Esarhaddon⁴⁵ mentions the recruitment officer (*mušarkisu*) Aramiš-šar-ilāni, who died in enemy territory (on campaign). He had 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 vicinity 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. It is not known whether the son of the recruitment officer inherited the service (and the fields?) of his father, or whether it was his private ambition to care about the service and the subordinates of his late father.

⁴² LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 115 (ABL 85), Rev. 2: LÚ.*qur*-ZAG.MEŠ.

⁴³ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 221 (ADD 675), Rev. 4'-5': Bār-Šarūri (Būr-Šarūru) LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* assigned to Ki[qi]lānu, his son; 9'-10': Barbarāni LÚ.*qur*-ZAG; assigned to Mannu-kī-nīše, his brother; 11'-12': Zabdānu, chariot driver; assigned to Sa'ilā, his son.

⁴⁴ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 221 (ADD 675), Rev. 14'-18': Nabū-tāriš, LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*, Aḫi-rāmu, ditto, Balasī (Balāssu), ditto; Aḫiḫu LÚ.*qur*-ZAG. Nabū-tāriš and Balasī are known from the Kakkullānu archive as well.

⁴⁵ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 105 (ABL 186).

LINE	OWNER OF ESTATE	SIZE OF THE ESTATE	LOCATION	NEW OWNER
O. 1	Adad-dān, <i>sartennu</i>	8 people, 20 hectares of land, 150 sheep	town of the daughter of the king	
5	Nūrānu, vizier	a house, people, field, and sheep	Region of Barḫalzi	
8	Issaran-mušallim, Chief Eunuch	a house		Šumma-šēzib, doorman
10		40 hectares of land		Marduk-ēṭir (<i>rab kišir</i>) ⁴⁶
11	Nabû-bēlu-ušur, deputy treasurer	an estate		Sîn- [...]
13	Nabû-šallim	[...]	[...]	[...]
1'	[...]	[...]	Šabi[rēšu]	[...]
4'	Nabû-aḫu- [...]	[...]	[...]	Aššur-rē[šūwa]
R.1	Aḫu-dūr[i]	[...] 8 people	Town of Ba[...]	[...]
4	Aplu- [...]	house	[...]	[...]
4'	Bār-Šarūri, cohort commander	estate		Ki[qil]ānu, his son
6'	Kubabu-šallimanni, scribe	people, land, sheep, orchards	Carchemish	
9'	Barbarāni, <i>qurbūtu</i> bodyguard	estate		Mannu-kī-nīšê, his brother
11'	Zabdānu, chariot driver	estate		Sa'ilā, his son
13'	Total 13 estates			
14'	Nabû-tāriš, cohort commander	estate		princess of the New Palace
15'	Aḫi-rāmu, cohort commander	estate		princess of the New Palace
16'	Balāssu, cohort commander	estate		princess of the New Palace
17'	Ariḫu, <i>qurbūtu</i> bodyguard	estate		princess of the New Palace

Fig. 5. Schedule of estates assigned to officials (FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 221 (ADD 675)).

A letter from Sargon II to an unknown official, probably a governor, gives the following orders: “[...] your [...], [enqui]re and investigate, [and write down] and dispatch to me [the names] of the [sol]diers killed and their [sons and d]aughters. Perhaps there is a man who has subjugated a widow as his slave girl, or has subjugated a son or a daughter to servitude. Enquire and investigate, and bring (him/them) forth. Perhaps there is a son who has gone into conscription in lieu of his father; this alone do not write down. But be sure to enquire and find out all the widows, write them down, define (their status) and send them to me.”⁴⁷ This letter does not make it clear whether the military service could be passed on (“a son has gone into conscription in lieu of his father”) from father to son, the son also inheriting the title, but it seems that the king had concerns not only for the well-being of the orphans and widows of the fallen soldiers, but for the loss replacement of the troops. The inheritance of the service makes sense if some of the service fields were attached to the service.

Šarru-ēmuranni, the deputy (governor) of Isana, wrote a letter to Sargon II, which mentions that the corn tax (ŠE.nu-sa-ḫi) of Barruqu and Nergal-ašarēd had been extracted, but Bēl-apla-iddina had driven away the legate. Šarru-ēmuranni supposed that the king might say: “‘Is a bodyguard not exempt?’ He who (owns a field) by the king’s sealed order must prove the exemption of the field. Those who were bought are (subject to) our corn taxes, but he refuses to pay them.”⁴⁸ Šarru-ēmuranni needed the barley from these fields to feed the pack animals constantly coming to him. It can be concluded that the fields of the *qurbūtu* bodyguards were not automatically exempt from taxation, but only if specifically listed in a royal decree. Those fields which were donated by the king to *qurbūtu* bodyguards were exempt, but the extra fields purchased by them were not.

⁴⁶ He is known as a cohort commander from 625 B.C.: MATTILA 2002, 40 (ADD 325), R. 22: ^{1d}ŠÚ.KAR-ir.

⁴⁷ PARPOLA 1987, 21 (CT 53, 128).

⁴⁸ SAGGS 2001, 132-134, ND 2648 (NL 74); LUUKKO 2012, 39 (NL 74 (ND 2648)), 9-13.

Concluding these texts the following conclusions can be drawn: 1) The king could give service fields with the promotion for the service, which could be inherited and confiscated as well. 2) These fields were most probably feudatory, but royal decrees could exempt them from taxes. 3) These fields could not only be inherited (with the service as well?), but were marketable, could be sold, and other ‘service fields’ could be bought. 4) Those fields which were bought by the *qurbūtu* bodyguards were not exempted and were subject to at least the corn taxes. For a detailed discussion see II.2.2 Service-fields/estates of officers.

The deputy of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard is mentioned in a single text from Dūr-Katlimmu (Tall Šēh Ḥamad)⁴⁹ dated to 661 B.C. Unfortunately no further information is available concerning his duties. He most probably helped the *qurbūtu* bodyguard with his work and might “eventually” have been promoted to the rank of *qurbūtu* bodyguard, but probably never acted as his substitute.

3) *Geographical background.* It is known that the *qurbūtu* bodyguards served the king and the Empire almost in every remote part of the Empire. They not only stationed there, but lived, and owned fields there, as well. There are a few entries which affiliate some of them with different towns or regions of the Empire. The earliest known example is dated to 740 B.C., when a Nimrud administrative text from the Governor’s Palace archive mentions Nergal-nā’id, who was a *qurbūtu* bodyguard from the town of Parḥa.⁵⁰ Aššur-šarru-ušur served the town of Ballaṭu,⁵¹ while Nabû-qāti-šabat served the city of Ḥarrān.⁵² There is a Chaldean *qurbūtu* bodyguard (Abi-ul-idi) known from a Sargonide letter.⁵³

Much more informative is the letter of Mār-Issar from Uruk, which reports to Esarhaddon that the prelate and the officials of Dēr have been pushing the building work of the temple onto each other, and nobody has set about it. Mār-Issar asks the king to send a *qurbūtu* bodyguard and an Assyrian master builder to live there.⁵⁴ This information is very useful for understanding the system of the *qurbūtu* bodyguards: the king appointed *qurbūtu* bodyguards to different cities, towns or regions of the Empire, where – within the (geographical, administrative and ideological) sphere of their authority – they represented certain aspects of royal authority and carried out the commands of the ruler. Ideally, the king delegated *qurbūtu* bodyguards to all important territories, cities, and towns of the Empire to live and serve there, and invested them with part of his royal power.

The most important source group – a sample of a local community – comes from Dūr-Katlimmu, a provincial center in an Aramean region along the Ḥābur, where several *qurbūtu* bodyguards, members of the local élite are known by their name (*Chart 3*). One of them, Ḥam-il, furthermore, was a *qurbūtu* bodyguard from Nineveh!⁵⁵ The title/rank here probably survived even the fall of the Assyrian Empire.⁵⁶ The ethnic composition of the local *qurbūtu* bodyguards differs only in an insignificant proportion from the ethnic composition of the *qurbūtu* bodyguards of the whole sample: 60 % of the *qurbūtu* bodyguards of Dūr-Katlimmu bore Assyrian and 33.3 % Aramean names.

⁴⁹ RADNER 2002, 109 (SH 98/6949 I 247 / 943), Rev. 2: Šin-šarru-ušur LÚ.2-u ša LÚ.qur-bu-u-te.

⁵⁰ POSTGATE 1973, 95, 5: ¹dMAŠ.MAŠ.I LÚ.qur-bu-te URU.Par-ḥa-a-a.

⁵¹ MATTILA 2002, 23 (ADD 152), Rev. 1: ¹Aš-šur-MAN.PAP LÚ.qur-<< ša>>-ZAG URU.Bal-laṭ-a-a (658 B.C.).

⁵² MATTILA 2002, 169 (ADD 50), 11: ¹dPA.ŠU.2.DIB LÚ.qur-ZAG KASKAL-a-a (619 B.C.).

⁵³ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 59 (ABL 742), 5: ¹AD-ul-i-di LÚ.qur-bu-te KUR.Kal-dā-a-a.

⁵⁴ PARPOLA 1993, 349 (ABL 476), Rev. 23: LÚ.qur-bu-tu.

⁵⁵ RADNER 2002, TSH 47, Rd. 8-9: ¹Ḥa-am—DINGIR LÚ.[qur-ZA]G ša NINA.KI (649 B.C.).

⁵⁶ RADNER 2002, TSH 199, Rd. 1: Šarru-nūri (¹MAN—ZĀLAG LÚ.qur-bu-u-te).

Reviewing the evidence it can be assumed that the Assyrian administration was keen on retaining the key positions of the army, the majority of the royal *qurbūtu* bodyguards in Assyrian hands.

I.1.2 'City units'

Five 'city units' of the Sargonide army (*Aššurāia*, *Arraphāia*, *Armāia*, *Arzuḫināia*, and *Arbailāia*) were the most important divisions of the Assyrian army.⁵⁷ These units are only known from the Nimrud Horse Lists, yet it seems that this arrangement of units was not an *ad hoc* phenomenon, but reflected a conscious organizing principle, which fits into the general theory of the recruitment system of the Assyrian army: organization on a territorial base.

u.

BRANCHES	ASSYRIANS		ARAMEANS		WEST SEMITES		FOREIGNERS	
<i>Aššurāia</i>	3	60.0 %	2	40.0 %	—	—	—	—
<i>Arraphāia</i>	17	51.5 %	13	39.4 %	3	9.0 %	—	—
<i>Armāia</i>	8	57.1 %	4	28.6 %	2	14.3 %	—	—
<i>Arzuḫināia</i>	6	50.0 %	2	16.7 %	3	25.0 %	1	8.3 %
<i>Arbailāia</i>	10	71.4 %	3	21.4 %	1	7.2 %	—	—

Fig. 6. The ethnic composition of the cohort commanders (*rab kišir*) of the 'city units' and the cohort commanders of other units as a whole.

1) *Ethnic background.* In spite of the fact that the majority of the cohort commanders of these units bore Assyrian names (*Chart 4*), it is not surprising that two units, the *Aššurāia* and the *Arbailāia* – the two traditional and most important cult centres of the Assyrian Empire from a military point of view – show a significantly higher proportion of Assyrian names (60 % and 71 % respectively). The three units – the *Arraphāia*, the *Armāia*, and the *Arzuḫināia* – with their recruitment and military bases located somewhat to the south, adjacent to the Aramean territories, show a much more varied picture (*Fig. 6*), which might easily reflect the ethnic composition of these territories and cities, as well.

If we examine the corps of cohorts commanders as a whole, the following inferences can be drawn. As *Fig. 6* shows, out of the 153 known names (*Chart 5*) 100 were Assyrian names (65.3 %) and 41 of them bore Aramean names (26.8 %). The remaining were West Semites and a foreigner. If we suppose, that the majority of the cohort commanders with Assyrian names were indeed ethnic Assyrians, it becomes quite clear that the Assyrians invested considerable energy into maintaining their ethnic dominance in the officers' corps to ensure the reliability of the troops.

Only a single source, the witness section of a *kudurru* (land grant) of Aššur-nādin-šumi (699–694 B.C.) from Babylon discloses an interesting and important detail: all three cohort commanders (and other military personnel) listed in the witness section bear Aramean names.⁵⁸ The

⁵⁷ DEZSÓ 2006B, 117-121, Fig. 5; DEZSÓ 2012B, 78-81.

⁵⁸ BRINKMAN – DALLEY 1988, 76-98, (Ashmolean 1933.1101), III: 6': [...]-nāšir LÚ.GAL—KA.KEŠ, 10': Bissunu LÚ.taš-li-šu, 10': Kandar LÚ.GAL—KA.KEŠ, 11': Abi-ram LÚ.GAL—KA.KEŠ, 13': [...] LÚ.mu-kil ap-pa-a-ti.

explanation for this is obvious and relatively simple: the Assyro-Babylonian troops of Aššur-nādin-šumi, or at least their officers might well have been (local, Babylonian?) Arameans.

Otherwise, as Fig. 7 shows, other, intact and closed groups of sources – as for example the witness sections of the legal texts of private archives (which would be more appropriate bases for a statistical analysis) – show the same picture as the overall sample: the overwhelming majority (65 % – 85 %) of the officers had Assyrian names. It has to be noted that in these 7th century B.C. archives the ratio of the Assyrian names (especially in the Post-Canonical times(!)) is somewhat higher than the average, known for example from the texts of Sargon II, under whose reign the ratio of West Semites and Arameans seems to be significantly higher than in the last decades of the Empire.

ARCHIVE	ASSYRIANS		ARAMEANS		WEST SEMITES		FOREIGNERS	
Kakkullānu, <i>rab kišir</i> (630–617 B.C.) ⁵⁹	41	74.5 %	9	16.4 %	4	7.3 %	1	1.8 %
Kiṣir-Aššur, <i>rab kišir</i> (637–618 B.C.) ⁶⁰	16	84.2 %	3	15.8 %	—	—	—	—
Mannu-kī-Arba'il <i>rab kišir</i> (680–673 B.C.) ⁶¹	12	66.6 %	4	22.2 %	2	11.1 %	—	—
Rēmanni-Adad, <i>mukil appāte dannu</i> (671–660 B.C.) ⁶²	51	76.1 %	8	11.9 %	5	7.5 %	3	4.5 %
Šumma-ilāni, <i>mukil appāte</i> (709–680 B.C.) ⁶³	21	62.1 %	5	17.2 %	4	13.8 %	2	6.9 %

Fig. 7. The ethnic composition of the cohort commanders and other officers of the witnesses listed in legal texts of private archives.

2) *Social and economic background.* Since the officers of these units are known exclusively from administrative texts (which are simple lists and do not provide any additional information concerning the officers' status), it is impossible to reconstruct their social background. Other sources, however, may grant some insight into the social status and economic background of officers at this level.

At that point it seems appropriate to widen the scope of our study, and examine the social and economic background of other officers (including cohort commanders) of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*). Mapping the financial background of the service would constitute a fascinating chapter in the exploration of Assyrian military history. As has already partly been discussed,⁶⁴ one of the most important issues regarding not only cohort commanders but the entire army, and especially the officers' corps is the question of their economic background. The relatively high social status of cohort commanders indicates a fairly secure economic background. The main concern here is the identification of estates and privileges connected to the service, and their separation from private land holdings.

Neo-Assyrian sources do not explicitly identify estates given in exchange for service. It is known, however, that Aššur-etelli-ilāni (630–627 B.C.) donated estates⁶⁵ to the cohort commanders⁶⁶ of the Chief Eunuch, Sîn-šumu-lēšir who helped him seize the throne. These texts

⁵⁹ DEZSÓ 2012A, *Charts 4A-B*.

⁶⁰ MATTILA 2002, 28-33.

⁶¹ DEZSÓ 2012A, *Chart 5*.

⁶² DEZSÓ 2012B, *Charts 2A-I*.

⁶³ DEZSÓ 2012B, *Chart 3*.

⁶⁴ DEZSÓ 2012A, 163-164.

⁶⁵ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 35 (ADD 650), Rev. 14-18: "All these fields, orchards, buildings and people Aššur-etelli-ilāni king of Assyria exempted (from taxes) and sealed with his royal seal, which is not to be altered, and gave it to Tāb-šar-Papāhi, cohort commander of the Chief Eunuch, the son of Lā-qēpu."

⁶⁶ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 35 (ADD 650), Rev. 16: Tāb-šar-Papāhi LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* LÚ.GAL—SAG; 36 (ADD 692 + 807), Rev. 24': [... LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* [LÚ.GAL—SAG ...]; 39 (ADD 1250), Rev. 2': [... LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* LÚ.GAL—S]AG.

make it clear that the Chief Eunuch supported the succession of Aššur-etelli-ilāni with troops from his own house/estate (*bit ramānišu*).⁶⁷ This entry unfortunately does not make it clear whether the Chief Eunuch armed the men from the income of his own (*ad hominem*) estates or the estates connected to his office (*ex officio*, provided this type of estate of the Chief Eunuch existed at all). An administrative text dating from the reign of Sîn-šar-iškun (schedule of estates assigned to officials) lists estates which include the land holdings of some military personnel (including cohort commanders,⁶⁸ *qurbūtu* bodyguards and the estates of high officials as well!). These were assigned to other personnel: to sons, brothers or the state in the form of a palace. It is not known whether the property was confiscated from the officers, or whether they died and the estates were inherited by their relatives or passed on to the state. Nor is it known whether these properties were estates connected to their office, and the relatives (sons and brothers) inherited a kind of service as well, or were private estates. Some texts in the private archives, however, hint at the practice of donating service fields which could later have been sold.

Such examples are known from private archives of officers, including cohort commanders. Some of the texts of the Kakkullānu archive⁶⁹ provide valuable information about the economic background of the Assyrian officers. Kakkullānu, the cohort commander bought several houses and estates, which shows a strong financial background. The most important feature of these texts is, however, that they enable the reconstruction of the geographical distribution of the estates held by military personnel. The texts show that members of the army lived in certain (dedicated?) districts of the cities or regions in the countryside. Kakkullānu bought his neighbour's house in Nineveh.⁷⁰ His neighbour was Šarru-lū-dārī whose father, Aḫū'a-erība was the chariot man of the Chief Eunuch of the crown prince (LÚ.GIGIR ša LÚ.GAL—SAG ša A—MAN), while his neighbours were Sîn-šarru-ušur – probably a *qurbūtu* bodyguard – and Kanūnāiu, a cohort commander (LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*). When Kakkullānu leased 20 hectares of land in Qurubi,⁷¹ among a certain Nabû-balāssu-iqbî and a certain Urdu appear among his neighbours, and two cohort commanders by these names are known from other texts of the archive (*Chart 5*). A similar picture can be drawn from another text: Kakkullānu bought 20 hectares of land in several pieces in Abi-ilā'ī⁷² and his new fields became adjacent to his own estates and several estates of two other cohort commanders, Kišir-Aššur and Ubru-Nabû, also familiar from several texts of the archive (*Chart 5*), a commander-of-50 named Baḫāia, and with the field of Aššur-mātu-taqqin, the *limmu* of 623 B.C. The same neighbours appear when Kakkullānu leases more land in Abi-ilā'ī.⁷³ These texts reinforce our view concerning the territorial organization of the Assyrian army and probably hint at the conscious practice of donating 'service fields' to Assyrian officers, estates which could be increased by them, and could consequently be put on the market.

The career of Mannu-kī-Arbail as a cohort commander started in 680 B.C., when he purchased two vineyards during the year in Kipšuna,⁷⁴ which might be connected to his family estate. During the next year, however, he bought a garden in Nineveh,⁷⁵ which may indicate his links to the

⁶⁷ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 35 (ADD 650), 23-24; 36 (ADD 692 + 807), 15-16.

⁶⁸ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 221 (ADD 675), Rev. 4': Bār-Šarūri (Būr-Šarūru) LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*, 14': Nabû-tāriš LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*, 15': Aḫi-rāmu LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*, 16': Balasî LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*. Two of them, Nabû-tāriš and Balasî, are known from the Kakkullānu archive.

⁶⁹ MATTILA 2002, 33-57; KWASMAN 1988, 118-135.

⁷⁰ MATTILA 2002, 40 (ADD 325).

⁷¹ MATTILA 2002, 41 (ADD 623).

⁷² MATTILA 2002, 42 (ADD 414).

⁷³ MATTILA 2002, 45 (ADD 621).

⁷⁴ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 201 (ADD 360), 202 (ADD 359).

⁷⁵ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 204 (ADD 364).

capital and to the royal court. However, no text proves that he owned a house there, instead, he bought a residence in the town of Zidada.⁷⁶ Mannu-kī-Arbail acquired several estates during the years 678–676 B.C.,⁷⁷ including two larger ones (32 and 20 hectares respectively).⁷⁸

A further text reveals a different aspect of donating fields to the military: Rēmanni-Adad, the chief chariot driver of Assurbanipal bought an entire village in 663 B.C., which was owned collectively by several members of the local military establishment, who are as follows: the deputy of the town Dannāia, the scribe of the queen mother, a chariot driver (*mukil appāte*), a third man (*tašlīšu*), three chariot warriors (*māru damqu*),⁷⁹ and three cohort commanders.⁸⁰ It is, however, not known whether they obtained the village as a kind of payment, or land grant (in a conquered region?) for their military service or whether they owned estates because they were well-to-do noblemen of the Assyrian élite. It seems unlikely that any spontaneous market mechanism could have resulted in such a concentration of military personnel in the body of owners of a village; more probably, they had received the village as a donation from the king, or as a share of booty. Regardless of its origin, this estate, similarly to the above mentioned cases, was also put on the market. A further question needs to be answered: is there a discernible connection between this kind of land ownership and the territorial recruiting system of the army (which seems to have been organized on a territorial basis) or not?

Further mediate inferences can be drawn from the examination of the witness lists found in the legal documents of private archives. Almost half of the Assyrian cohort commanders are known from the witness lists of 7th century B.C. legal documents, which come mainly from private archives; only a few of them were issued by the king.⁸¹ The most informative archives obviously belonged to Assyrian military personnel, where large numbers of officers and soldiers – the colleagues or subordinates of the archive's owner – served as witnesses.

An important aspect in the analysis of these legal documents is the geographical distribution of the transactions. The question which has to be answered is whether the witnesses – including military personnel – served at the location where the subject of the legal transaction (regarding fields or houses) was situated, or whether they were stationed in the capital or larger cities of the Empire, where the legal transaction took place. The witness section of a legal document of the governess of the Kilizi harem, for example, contains the names of at least 5 cohort commanders.⁸² It is not known, however, whether the governess of the Kilizi harem lived or stayed in Nineveh, or whether the cohort commanders served in Kilizi. A group of legal documents found at

⁷⁶ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 210 (ADD 330), (676 B.C.).

⁷⁷ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 207 (ADD 1240), (678 B.C.), 211 (ADD 460), (679 B.C.)?

⁷⁸ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 217 (ADD 378), 218 (ADD 375).

⁷⁹ 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; and three chariot warriors Mannu-kī-Arbail, Zēru-ukīn, and Dādī-ibnī.

⁸⁰ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 325 (ADD 470), 5: Nabū-rēmanni LÚ.GAL—*ki-š[ir]*, 6: Issar-ilā'ī LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*, Milki-idri [LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*].

⁸¹ See for example the *kudurru* inscription (land grant) of Aššur-nādin-šumi (699–694 B.C.) from Babylon discussed above. The witness section lists several military personnel, including 3 cohort commanders: BRINKMAN – DALLEY 1988, 76-98, (Ashmolean 1933. 1101), III: 6': [...]nāšir LÚ.GAL—KA.KEŠ, 10': Bissunu LÚ.taš-li-šu, 10': Kandar LÚ.GAL—KA.KEŠ, 11': Abi-ram LÚ.GAL—KA.KEŠ, 13': [...] LÚ.mu-kil ap-pa-a-ti.

⁸² KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 247 (ADD 1188), 7: Mannu-kī-Arbail, Rev. 2: Mamī, 3: Qurdi-Issar LÚ.GAL—KA.KEŠ, 5: Arzēzu, 6: Nabū'a LÚ.GAL—KA.KEŠ (679 B.C.). The same cohort commanders appear in the witness section of another document: KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 249 (ADD 602), Rev. 1': Mannu-kī-Arbail [...], 5': Nabū'a [...], 6': Qurdi-Issar [...], 7 Mamī LÚ.GAL—KA.K[ÉŠ].

Balawat lists four cohort commanders as witnesses.⁸³ Balawat (Imgur-Enlil) was probably the first road station to the north, but it is unknown whether these cohort commanders were stationed there or owned estates in the neighbourhood. The high concentration of military personnel in witness lists shows that an important agent in the contract (the buyer or the seller) was an important official of the court (e.g. the governess of the Kilizi harem, or a eunuch), or himself an officer. One such example comes from a fragmentary witness list containing the names of 4 cohort commanders and 3 *ša—šēpē* guardsmen.⁸⁴ A similar, very fragmentary witness list probably includes at least 6 cohort commanders.⁸⁵

3) *Geographical background*. According to their names, these units were recruited from the home provinces of the Assyrian Empire, from those important cities (Aššur, Arrapha, Arzuḫina, and Arbela) and territories (Arameans), which were situated along the most important Eastern, Southeastern and Southern strategic directions. It seems plausible to say that these units were based in the provinces which might have provided the recruitment and logistical background, and garrisons for them. However, except their names, no other data supports this theory, if not the names of the officers of the *Arbailāia* unit, where out of the 14 known names of its officers 3 carried the Ištar theophor element, the name of the city's patron deity.⁸⁶ This prosopographical attribution may corroborate our theory that these units, including that of Arbela, were most probably based in these cities and provinces, and used the (human and material) resources of these territories indeed.

I.1.3 Chariotry units of the royal corps

I.1.3.1 Palace chariotry (*mugerri ekalli* (GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL))⁸⁷

Large contingents of various types of chariotry units served in the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) of the Assyrian army.⁸⁸ Out of these (regular) units, the palace chariotry and the different types of bodyguard chariotry units⁸⁹ were the most important. The palace chariotry is one of the well-documented units of the Assyrian army, familiar from some administrative texts, including the

⁸³ PARKER 1963, BT.101, Rev. 13: Bēl-dān LÚ.GAL—KA.KEŠDA; BT 118, 12: Nabû-nādin-aḫi LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*, 13: Urad-Issar LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*; BT 124, 14: Issar-šumu-lēšir LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*.

⁸⁴ MATTILA 2002, 319 (ADD 608), 1': [... LÚ.GAL]—*ki-šir*, Rev. 1: Aššur-šarru-ušur LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* (he can be connected to the Kakkullānu archive), 3: [... LÚ].GAL—*ki-šir*, 7: [... LÚ].GAL—*ki-šir*.

⁸⁵ MATTILA 2002, 351 (ADD 1184+), R. 3': [...]bēlu-ušur GA[L]—[*ki-šir*], 4': Ikkaru GA[L ...], 5': Šagim GAL—[...], 6': Marduk-tēr GAL—[*ki-šir*], 7': Inurti GA[L—...] (he is also known from the Kakkullānu archive), 8': Barru[qu GAL—...].

⁸⁶ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, no. 108, ii, 20: Qurdi-Issar-lāmur; 22: Pān-Issar-lēšir; 23: Issar-tuklatūa, DEZSÓ 2006B, 120-121, note 189.

⁸⁷ DEZSÓ 2012B, 74-76.

⁸⁸ DEZSÓ 2012B, 69-78: Headquarters staff: chariotry element: (1) *Ša—šēpē* chariotry; (2) *Taḫlīpu* chariotry; (3) *Pattūte* chariotry; Deportee unit; Chariot owners; Palace chariotry; Chariotry bodyguard; Chariotry of the *ša—šēpē* guard; Chariotry of the bodyguard of the *ša—šēpē* guard; Open chariotry of the bodyguard of the *ša—šēpē* guard.

⁸⁹ Chariotry bodyguard (GIŠ.GIGIR(*mugerri*) *qurubte*); chariotry of the *ša—šēpē* guard (GIŠ.GIGIR *ša—šēpē*); chariotry of the bodyguard of the *ša—šēpē* guard (*qurbūtu šēpē* GIŠ.GIGIR); open chariotry of the bodyguard of the *ša—šēpē* guard (*qurbūtu šēpē* DU₈.MEŠ); DEZSÓ 2012B, 74-78.

Nimrud Horse Lists,⁹⁰ ND 2386+2730,⁹¹ and ADD 855.⁹² Names of two types of palace chariotry officers are known from the sources (*Chart 12A-B*).

BRANCHES	ASSYRIANS		ARAMEANS		WEST SEMITES		FOREIGNERS	
recruitment officers (<i>mušarkisāni</i>)	40	64.5 %	21	33.9 %	1	1.6 %	—	—
team commanders (<i>rab urâte</i>)	15	53.6 %	6	21.4 %	7	25 %	—	—

Fig. 8. Officers of palace chariotry.

As Fig. 8 shows, a similarly high ratio of Assyrian names in the prosopographic evidence of the high ranking officers (recruitment officers, *mušarkisāni* or *rabûti*, LÚ.GAL.GAL.MEŠ) of the palace chariotry can be observed. According to these texts, 40 officers (64.5 %) bore Assyrian names, 21 officers (33.9 %) bore Aramean names and a single officer bore West Semitic name. The subordinate officers were team commanders (*rab urâte*). If their ethnic composition can be reconstructed from the prosopographic evidence, the Assyrian component was still dominant, although only 15 officers bore Assyrian names (53.6 %) and 6 of them (21.4 %) bore Aramean names, and a surprisingly high ratio, 25 % (7 officers) bore West Semitic names! It is unknown, whether this shift in the ratio of the Assyrian and Aramean names between the two levels of the officers of palace chariotry means that on the lower levels more Arameans served in the army, or not.

The names of the regular equestrian soldiers in this unit are virtually unknown. Those few chariot crew members who are known by their names or are mentioned without their names are as follows: a single palace chariot fighter (*māru damqu*) is mentioned in one of the letters of Zēru-ibnî, written to Sargon II,⁹³ two chariot drivers (*mukil appâte*) are known from two legal documents,⁹⁴ and three ‘third men’ (*tašlišu*) appear in administrative and legal documents.⁹⁵ Most of these soldiers had Assyrian names, but the scarcity of their textual occurrence makes a prosopographic examination impossible.

The number of their high ranking officers (recruitment officers, *mušarkisāni*) shows a high number and a relatively constant picture: their number was between 22 and 28 officers,⁹⁶ and CTN 103 shows, 22 recruitment officers of the palace chariotry provided/brought altogether 373 horses.⁹⁷ The recruitment officers served the Assyrian army on a territorial base – they were responsible for the recruitment of horses and equestrian personnel from different provinces (*see below*).

⁹⁰ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99 (ND 10002), Rev. iii:7-iv:8; no. 103 (ND 10001), Rev. i:1-ii:6; no. 108 (ND 9910+9911+), v:12-37.

⁹¹ PARKER 1961, ND 2386+2730.

⁹² DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 43-45, Obv. 11'-Rev. 31'; FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 126.

⁹³ PARPOLA 1987, 205 (ABL 154), 12: LÚ.A—SIG ša É.GAL.

⁹⁴ Šamaš-ilāṭ: KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 37 (ADD 427), Rev. 12: ^{1d}UTU.DINGIR-*a-a* LÚ.mu-kil PA.MEŠ ša É.GAL (694 B.C.), Šamaš-šallim: KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 309 (ADD 200) Rev. 7: ^{1d}Ša-maš-šal-lim LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ ša É.GAL (667 B.C.), 331 (ADD 362), Rev. 4: ¹UTU-šal-lim L[Ú.DIB PA.MEŠ ša É.GAL] (660 B.C.).

⁹⁵ Bēl-šarru-ibnî: KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 46 (ADD 127), Rev. 1: ¹EN.MAN.DÙ LÚ.3-šú É.GAL (681 B.C.); Rapi': KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 287 (ADD 625), Rev. 9: ¹Ra-pi-i' LÚ.3-šú ša É.GAL (670 B.C.); FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 36 (ADD 1036), III:11-13: LÚ.3.U₅ É.GAL.

⁹⁶ DEZSÓ 2012B, *Chart 9*.

⁹⁷ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 103 (ND 10001), Rev. i:1-ii:6.

I.1.3.2 Chariot owners (*bēl mugerri* (LÚ.EN—GIŠ.GIGIR))⁹⁸

This soldier type is very interesting because it seems that the chariot owners were a distinct social ‘class’, members of which were required to provide some military service for the royal corps of the Assyrian army. The chariot owners (LÚ.EN—GIŠ.GIGIR (*bēl mugerri*)) are a category with uncertain attributes and an indeterminate social background. The meaning of the word, ‘lord of the chariot’ or ‘chariot owner’ does not allow us to draw any further conclusions, and translations of the word have ranged from the simple ‘chariot fighter,’ through ‘noble’ to ‘chariot owner.’

They appear in the cuneiform records as early as 791 B.C. These are the Nimrud Wine Lists, which enumerate court personnel, including military officials, who receive 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),⁹⁹ (2) bearded chariot owner (EN—GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ša* SU₆(*ziqni*)),¹⁰⁰ (3) chariot owner, servant of the Land/Palace (EN—GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ÌR.KUR / EN—GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ÌR.É.GAL),¹⁰¹ (4) chariot owner of the bodyguard (EN—GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *qur-bu-ti*).¹⁰² During the later part of the 8th century B.C., however, this diversity disappeared and only a single type of chariot owner remained. As CTN III, 108¹⁰³ and 111 show,¹⁰⁴ the chariot owners were assigned to the Chief Eunuch’s (*rab ša—rēšē*) contingent, which was one of the divisions of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*). The fact that they were listed together with such important members of the court as cohort commanders, prefects, bodyguards, *etc.* emphasizes their significance. This importance may have originated from the original concept that they were recruited from distinguished members of the Assyrian élite.

An important letter reporting certain political crimes against Esarhaddon in Guzana suggests that they were prominent 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.¹⁰⁵ The ‘noble’ and ‘chariot owner’ could mean that they were ‘nobles’ who fought in their own chariots (chariot owners). In this case they were well-to-do members of the local societies, who equipped themselves with the chariot, the horses and most probably the chariot crew as well. It is unknown, however, that this status was a continuous tradition going back to the 15–14th centuries B.C. Mitannian *mariannu* tradition¹⁰⁶ or not. It seems that such strategic weapons and equipment as the chariot could be put in circulation on the market, and a text from Dūr-Katlimmu proves that even armoured chariots could be sold in private transactions.¹⁰⁷

According to *Fig. 9* and *Chart 6*, the ethnic background of the chariot owners shows a mixed picture: 13 chariot owners bore Assyrian names (56.5 %) and a relatively high number, 7 chariot owners (30.4 %) bore Aramean and 3 (13.1 %) bore West Semitic names. The reason behind this might be the Assyrian practice of drafting complete chariot crews and units from the ranks of

⁹⁸ For the detailed discussion of chariot owners see DEZSÖ 2012B, 72–74.

⁹⁹ KINNIERWILSON 1972, 10, 14; 8 Rev. 1-(2?), 791 B.C.; 9, Rev. 3-(4?), 786 B.C.; 20, Rev. 4; 31, 3; 35, 7.

¹⁰⁰ Bearded, i.e. non eunuch. KINNIERWILSON 1972, 3, I:27 (784 B.C.); 10, Rev. 10; 13, 18; 14, 26 (789 B.C.).

¹⁰¹ KINNIERWILSON 1972, 3, I:25 (784 B.C.); 6, 13; 10, Rev. 3; 13, Rev. 6; 19, 14; 31, 4; 33, I:6.

¹⁰² KINNIERWILSON 1972, 6, 12 (*qur-bu-ti*); 34, 8 (*qur-ru-ub-tu*); 19, 15 (*qur-bu-ti*).

¹⁰³ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108, Obv. ii:25.; DEZSÖ 2012B, *Chart 9*.

¹⁰⁴ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 111, Obv. 5'; DEZSÖ 2012B, *Chart 9*.

¹⁰⁵ LUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 63 (CT 53, 46), 34.

¹⁰⁶ ALBRIGHT 1930–1931, 217–221; REVIV 1972, 218–228.

¹⁰⁷ Chariots could be sold in private transactions.

conquered or allied nations, a procedure followed not only in the case of regular chariot units,¹⁰⁸ but also in the case of chariot owners, as well. Such an example is known from a letter of Naḏi-ilu, the Chief Cupbearer (*rab šāqê*) replying to Sargon II, who ordered him to „Enquire and investigate, and if they (the chariot owners from Que) [have no] food and seed, write me.”¹⁰⁹ Chariot owners are known from the Dūr-Katlimmu archives (for example from the Raḥimi-il archive), as members of the local community as well.¹¹⁰ This may be explained by the fact that the conquered nations could much easier provide ‘semi-professional’ chariot owners from their élite than professional and regular chariot troops which they did not necessarily possess.

BRANCHES	ASSYRIANS		ARAMEANS		WEST SEMITES		FOREIGNERS	
chariot owners (<i>bēl mugerri</i> (LÚ.EN.GIŠ.GIGIR))	13	56.5 %	7	30.4 %	3	13.1 %	—	—
chariot men (<i>susānu</i> (<i>susānu</i> (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR))	52	61.9 %	25	29.8 %	5	5.9 %	2	2.4 %
chariot men (<i>susānu</i> (<i>susānu</i> LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR)) – provincial unit	6	18.7 %	15	46.9 %	9	28.1 %	2	6.3 %
chariot drivers (<i>mukil appāte</i>)	60	63.8 %	23	24.5 %	9	9.6 %	2	2.1 %
chariot warriors (<i>māru damqu</i>)	11	57.9 %	3	15.8 %	3	15.8 %	2	10.5 %
‘third men’ (<i>tašlišu</i>)	64	59.2 %	27	25.0 %	11	10.2 %	6	5.5 %

Fig. 9. The ethnic composition of the different types of chariotry personnel of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*).

I.1.3.3 Chariot men (*susānu* (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR))¹¹¹

There are two distinct groups amongst the known names of the chariot men: both groups represent Aramean and foreign chariot men, who – as the toponyms connected with them show (*Charts 7–8*) – served the provincial troops of the Assyrian army. If our prosopographical identification is correct (*Fig. 9*), the majority of them bore Assyrian names. However, in the ranks of their provincial units the ratio of Aramean and West Semitic names was overwhelmingly higher than the Assyrian names: only 6 names were Assyrian, which represent only 18.7 % of the whole sample, while 15 names (46.9 %) were most probably Aramean, 9 names (28.1 %) were reconstructed as West Semitic and 2 were foreigners (one Tabalean and one Urartean). The first text group¹¹² came from Aššur, the other is a conveyance text¹¹³ with four witnesses who were chariot men from a town named Šišil. The Tabalean and the Urartian names place the town Šišil, where they served, somewhere to Eastern Anatolia.

¹⁰⁸ For foreign chariotry units of the Assyrian army see DALLEY 1985; DEZSŐ 2012B, 92-93. Foreign chariotry units enlisted into the Assyrian army: Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.): from Rezin, king of Damascus (732 B.C., TADMOR 1994, Ann. 23, 5'-8'); Sargon II: 50 chariots from Samaria (722 B.C., FUCHS 1994, Annales, 10-11 – probably the same as known from Nimrud Horse Lists: DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, ii, 16-23), 200 chariots and 600 horsemen from Qarqar (721 B.C., FUCHS 1994, Display Inscription, 35-6.), 30 chariots from Šinuhtu (718 B.C., FUCHS 1994, Display Inscription, 24.), 50 chariots and 200 horsemen from Carchemish (717 B.C., FUCHS 1994, Annales, 75), and 100 chariots from Bīt-Puritiš (713 B.C., FUCHS 1994, Annales, 201-202).

¹⁰⁹ LÚ.EN—GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ KUR.*Qu-u-a-a* (LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 68 (CT 53, 40), 4-5): ‘chariot owners from Que.’

¹¹⁰ RADNER 2002, 107-110: Raḥimi-il, 110, Rd. 1; Nabû-nā'id, 122, 7; [...], 125 Rev. 10; Adi', 127, Rev. 2.

¹¹¹ DEZSŐ 2012B, 109-117.

¹¹² SCHROEDER 1920, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 131, 132.

¹¹³ MATTILA 2002, 397 (Iraq 32, 7).

I.1.3.4 Chariot crew members

The crew members of the different types of chariotry units were most probably also recruited and not simply drafted from the population of the Empire. The reason for this is that the chariot crew members were well-trained soldiers and not ordinary infantrymen. Not only the chariot driver (*mukil appāte*), but the ‘archer’ (chariot warrior, *māru damqu*), and the ‘shield bearer’ (third man, *tašlišu*) also needed special skills to serve in chariotry units. There were known and unknown local and regional training centres (the arsenal palaces and other centres),¹¹⁴ where basic skills were acquired. It seems plausible to suppose, that the crew members of the Assyrian chariotry units were semi-professional or professional soldiers and not ordinary soldiers drafted randomly from the population of the Empire. The Assyrians, however, drafted equestrian soldiers from the defeated armies and the ranks of the vassal armies (*see below*), where they recruited them from the skilled professionals.

According to *Charts 9–11* and *Fig. 9* the majority of the crew members of the chariotry of the royal corps bore Assyrian names. In the case of chariot drivers (*Chart 9*) 60 (63.8 %) had Assyrian names and more than 34 % came from other ethnic groups. The same picture emerges in case of the chariot warriors (*Chart 10*), 11 of whom (57.9 %) bore Assyrian, while the remaining 8 persons were West Semites, Arameans and foreigners (Arab and Eastern Anatolian?). Almost the same ratio can be observed in the group of ‘third men’ (*Chart 11*): 64 known ‘third men’ (59.2 %) had probably Assyrian names, 27 of the ‘third men’ were Arameans (25 %), and 11 of them were West Semites (10.2 %). There are 6 foreign names (5.5 %), which were probably Anatolians and Elamites.¹¹⁵

I.1.4 Province based units of the royal corps

The royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) consisted not only of units recruited from and garrisoned in the home provinces of the Assyrian Empire. As has been discussed in detail,¹¹⁶ even the ranks of royal corps were filled in with units of foreign origin. It is well known, that the Assyrian kings drafted equestrian units from the defeated armies of their enemies to the royal corps.¹¹⁷ From these contingents, however, only a few can be identified in the Assyrian administrative records of the later periods. The following units (*Chart 13, Fig. 10*) were identified as provincial units of partly foreign origin,¹¹⁸ since the names of some of their officers show a characteristic profile. These

¹¹⁴ A detailed discussion is going to be provided by the next volume of this project.

¹¹⁵ Tabalāiu (¹*Tab-URU-a-a LÚ.3-šú šá A—MAN*): Kwasman – Parpola 1991, 283 (ADD 425), R. 18’ (672 B.C.); Uarbisi (¹*Ú-bar-bi-si LÚ.3-šú*): Kwasman – Parpola 1991, 306 (ADD 187), R. 6’ (669 B.C.), *see furthermore* Kwasman – Parpola 1991, 310, 325, 326, 335, 339, 342, 350; Uarmeri (¹*Ú-a-ár-me-ri LÚ.3-si-šú*): Kwasman – Parpola 1991, 323 (ADD 115), R. 3 (664 B.C.). One ‘third man’ arrived probably from the Zagros: Atuehu (Kwasman – Parpola 1991, 127 (ADD 179), 5-6: ¹*A-tu-e-ḫu LÚ.3.U.*), 697 B.C.; while two other were Elamites: Būr-Silā (Luukko – Van Buylaere 2002, 136 (ABL 140), 12-13: ¹*Bur-si-la-a LÚ.3-šú ša DUMU—MAN*), and Kudurru (Luukko – Van Buylaere 2002, 136 (ABL 140), 12-13: ¹*Ku-dúr-ru LÚ.3-šú ša DUMU—MAN*), reign of Esarhaddon.

¹¹⁶ DEZSÓ 2012B, 81-87.

¹¹⁷ Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.): from Rezin, king of Damascus (732 B.C., Tadmor 1994, Ann. 23, 5’-8’); Sargon II: 50 chariots from Samaria (722 B.C., Fuchs 1994, Annales, 10-11 – probably the same as known from Nimrud Horse Lists: Dalley – Postgate 1984A, no. 99, ii, 16-23), 200 chariots and 600 horsemen from Qarqar (721 B.C., Fuchs 1994, Display Inscription, 35-6.), 30 chariots from Šinuhtu (718 B.C., Fuchs 1994, Display Inscription, 24.), 50 chariots and 200 horsemen from Carchemish (717 B.C., Fuchs 1994, Annales, 75), and 100 chariots from Bīt-Puritiš (713 B.C., Fuchs 1994, Annales, 201-202).

¹¹⁸ Dalley 1985, 31-48; DEZSÓ 2006B, 93-140, esp. 99-106, Fig. 1; DEZSÓ 2012B, 81-87, *Chart 10*.

regular equestrian units in the above mentioned texts were embedded between two other units: the recruitment officers of the bodyguard cavalry (*mušarkisāni ša pēṭḫal qurubte*) and the recruitment officers of the palace chariotry (*mušarkisāni ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL*)¹¹⁹ as a distinct group of 7 units mustering exactly 50 officers (team commanders). It is obvious from the number of officers listed in CTN III, 99, that the king ordered 7 of his generals to select a division of 50 officers, which formed the core of a 120 officer strong equestrian division.¹²⁰

BRANCHES	COMMANDER	ASSYRIANS		ARAMEANS		WEST SEMITES	
Provincial unit 1	<i>Šarru-ēmuranni</i>	6	60.0 %	2	20.0 %	2	20.0 %
Provincial unit 2 – West Semitic	<i>Marduk-šarru-ušur</i>	1?	10.0 %	1	10.0 %	8	80.0 %
Provincial unit 3 – Chaldeans		1?	14.3 %	6	85.7 %	—	—
Provincial unit 4 – Samaritans	<i>Nabû-bēlu-ka''in</i>	—	—	2	15.4 %	11	84.6 %
Provincial unit 5	<i>Taklāk-ana-Bēli</i>	3	60.0 %	2	40.0 %	—	—
Provincial unit 6	<i>Adallal</i>	4	100.0 %	—	—	—	—
Provincial unit 7	<i>Nergal-šarrāni</i>	2	100.0 %	—	—	—	—
Ḥamatāia – Ḥamateans		1	16.7 %	—	—	5	83.3 %

Fig. 10. The ethnic composition of the team commanders (*rab urâte*) of the provincial units of the royal corps.

These units were commanded by well-known members of the Assyrian élite (Fig. 10). Some of them were governors (Šarru-ēmuranni in Māzama and *limmu* of 712 B.C.; Nabû-bēlu-ka''in in Kār-Šarrukēn (Harḥar); Taklāk-ana-Bēli. in Našibina and *limmu* of 715 B.C.),¹²¹ yet here they appear in another capacity. The governor was the administrative and military leader in his own province. When, following the local muster, he left the province with his troops to join the troops of other governors (regional muster) or the royal troops (royal muster), his status and identity underwent a profound change. Leaving his province with his troops, the administrative character of his office diminished or ceased entirely, and the military aspect of his portfolio came to the foreground. His office transformed and he became one of the generals of the Assyrian army, commanding the troops of his province.¹²²

The prosopographical evidence and the ethnic composition of the different units show an interesting picture. The examination of the names of the officers (team commanders, *rab urâte*) of Unit 1 and Unit 5 shows the well-known pattern: 60 % had Assyrian, and 40 % had Aramean and West Semitic names. Furthermore, those few names (Chart 13) which are known from Units 6 and 7 were exclusively Assyrians!

The ranks of the remaining units, however, were filled mostly with foreign soldiers. In Unit 2 ('West Semitic') 80 % of the officers bore West Semitic names, while the remaining 20 % was divided between Assyrians (1) and Arameans (1). It is quite possible that Unit 2 is based on those 200 chariots and 600 cavalymen who were drafted from the defeated army of Ilu-bī'di, king of Qarqar (1st regnal year of Sargon II, 721 B.C.)¹²³ or on those 50 chariots and 200 cavalymen of the king of Carchemish, who were enlisted into the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) in the 5th regnal year of Sargon II (717 B.C.).¹²⁴

¹¹⁹ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Obv. i:19-iii:6; no. 108, ii:48-iv:20; DEZSÖ 2012B, Chart 9.

¹²⁰ For the reconstruction of the strength of the divisions of the Assyrian army of the Sargonides, and the importance of the number of officers in the Nimrud Horse Lists, see DEZSÖ 2006B, 93-140.

¹²¹ For the detailed discussion of the career of these unit commanders see DEZSÖ 2012B, 81-87.

¹²² A detailed discussion of this change of identity is going to be provided in the next volume of this project.

¹²³ FUCHS 1994, Display 35-6.

¹²⁴ FUCHS 1994, Annales 75.

In Unit 3, 85.7 % of the names were Aramean, and the text itself denotes this unit as ‘Chaldeans’.¹²⁵ Unit 4 still bore the name *Sāmerināia*, which means that this was definitely the same unit which was drafted from the defeated army of Samaria. Sargon II in his first regnal year (721 B.C.) enlisted 50 chariots into the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*).¹²⁶ Some 12 years later (in 709 B.C.), 84.6 % of the officers of the *Sāmerināia* still bore West Semitic, mainly Jewish names, and there were only 2 team commanders in the unit who bore Aramean names.

The *Ḥamataia* – which was not part of the 50 officer-strong division discussed above, but can be identified as one of the province-based units of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) – was almost homogenous from the ethnic point of view: out of the 6 known names 5 were West Semitic (83.3 %) and only a single name was Assyrian (16.7 %), which means that this unit – drafted from the army of Hamath into the royal corps most probably during one of the Western campaigns of Sargon II – still kept its almost clear ethnic character, and continuously enlisted equestrian soldiers from Hamath.

Summing up this section of the army, it can be said that the commanders of these units were probably excellent military leaders, and 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 commanders of the provincial units of an expeditionary force of the *kišir šarrūti*. 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 Samaritan Unit 4 of Nabû-bēlu-ka’‘in). It is unfortunately unknown 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.

BRANCHES	ASSYRIANS		ARAMEANS		WEST SEMITES	
of the stable officers (<i>šaknūte ša ma’assi</i>)	30	71.4 %	10	23.8 %	2	4.8 %
of other units	46	59.7 %	22	28.6 %	9	11.7 %

Fig. 11. The ethnic composition of the team commanders (*rab urâte*) of other units of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*).

Out of the four units of the stable officers (see below and *Chart 15*), there are, however, several unidentified units mustered during the Babylonian campaign of 710 B.C. and listed in the Nimrud Horse Lists. They formed similar units as the provincial units or the palace chariotry and most probably also mustered team commanders (*rab urâte*)¹²⁷ (see *Chart 16A*). The ethnic distribution of the 115 team commanders – who were mustered during the same campaign ergo provide a fairly coherent base for a statistical record of the team commanders of the royal corps – shows the well-known pattern: 30 team commanders of the stable officers (71.4 %) bore Assyrian/Akkadian names, while 10 of them (23.3 %) bore Aramean names, and 2 of them were West Semites. Out of the 77 team commanders known by their names from the other units (*Chart 16A*) 46 officers (59.7 %) had Assyrian, 22 officers (28.6 %) had Aramean names, and 9 officers (11.7 %) bore West Semitic names (*Fig. 11*). Unfortunately only a few records of later texts mention team commanders by their names (*Chart 16B*). These few names, however, do not change the overall picture of the ethnic character of the royal corps officers.

¹²⁵ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Obv. ii:15: KUR.Kal-da-a-a.

¹²⁶ FUCHS 1994, Annales 15.

¹²⁷ For a detailed study of the team commanders (*rab urâte*) see DEZSŐ 2012B, 130-132.

I.1.5 Officers of the recruitment and supply system

We can almost certainly reconstruct who were those officers who ran the recruitment and supply systems in the center of the Empire and in the provinces. On the basic level – similarly to the present-day practice – all of the commanding officers of the different units were responsible for the loss replacement, recruitment and supply of their units, for the condition of the soldiers, horses and their equipment. However, there were special officers who were in charge of the recruitment and supply of larger units, whole provinces or whole armies.

In the central administration the major domo (*rab bēti*) of different officials or territories,¹²⁸ the palace manager (*rab ekalli*), the recruitment officer (*mušarkisu*), and the stable officer (*šaknu ša ma'assi*) were in charge of the recruitment of soldiers and animals.

In the provinces the governor, his deputy and his major-domo (*rab bēti*) were the officials who organized the province-wide system of recruitment, supply and logistics.

I.1.5.1 Major-domo (*rab bēti*)¹²⁹

It is known from the Babylonian Chronicle that the major-domo of Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.) conscripted troops in Akkad in 679,¹³⁰ 677¹³¹ and 676 B.C.¹³² The major-domo of Assurbanipal (668–631 B.C.) did the same in 652 B.C.¹³³ These entries indicate that this official played a key role in the conscription and mobilisation of the provincial troops. Not only the major-domo of the king – if the above mentioned passages refer to such an official and not a major-domo of a governor – but also the major-domos of different governors played a similar role: they mobilised and summoned the troops of the different provinces and led them to the collection points and musters. Such cases are known from the Sargonide royal correspondence, when governors and other officials, such as Adad-issīa,¹³⁴ Aššur-bēlu-ušur,¹³⁵ Dūr-Aššur,¹³⁶ Aššur-bēlu-uda'an,¹³⁷ Aššur-lē'i,¹³⁸ and other unknown officials¹³⁹ reported the troop-summoning activity of their major-domos.

One of the Nimrud Horse Lists also proves that the major-domo would have been part of the military command structure of the Assyrian army. He appears at the end of the 'city units' section together with the *rab šaglūte* (commander of deportees) under the command of the Chief Eunuch. This section summarizes a command structure in which the major-domo (of the Chief Eunuch) commanded 10 officers.¹⁴⁰ Two other texts present evidence that the major-domo

¹²⁸ DEZSÖ 2012A, 187.

¹²⁹ DEZSÖ 2012A, 187-189.

¹³⁰ GRAYSON 1975, Chronicle 14 (Esarhaddon Chronicle), 6-9.

¹³¹ GRAYSON 1975, Chronicle 14 (Esarhaddon Chronicle), 12.

¹³² GRAYSON 1975, Chronicle 1 (745–668), iv:3-4.

¹³³ GRAYSON 1975, Chronicle 16 (Akītu Chronicle), 9-10: in the 16th year, from the month Iyyar until the month Tebet, the major-domo made a conscription (*bi-ḥir-ti ib-te-ḥir*) in Akkad.

¹³⁴ SAGGS 1966, NL 89 (ND 2631); LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 215; SAGGS 2001, ND 2631.

¹³⁵ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 60 (ABL 242).

¹³⁶ SAGGS 2001, 148-149, NL 28 (ND 2799). Dūr-Aššur, as a governor of Tušḫan was the *limmu* of 728 B.C.

¹³⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 126 (ABL 243).

¹³⁸ SAGGS 2001, 115-116, NL 75 (ND 2448).

¹³⁹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 67 (CT 53, 85), 9ff.; SAGGS 2001, 281, NL 92 (ND 2642), LUUKKO 2012, 210 (ND 2642).

¹⁴⁰ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 102 (ND 10019) iii:22'.

commanded military units, with both mentioning the recruit of the major-domo.¹⁴¹ Summarizing the evidence we can say that a well-defined military aspect of the major-domo of provincial governors and the Chief Eunuch can be identified from written sources. They led and commanded units both in the provincial section and the royal section (*kišir šarrūti*) of the Assyrian army.

Concluding the evidence, it seems obvious, that the officers' sections of the Nimrud Horse Lists enumerate officers who were in charge of the recruitment and supply of the units they summoned for this review.

I.1.5.2 Recruitment officer (*mušarkisu*)¹⁴²

The *mušarkisu* was a high-ranking officer, who was probably in charge of the supply and provision of horses¹⁴³ and soldiers. The first known *mušarkisu* officers appear in early 8th century B.C. administrative texts.¹⁴⁴ This points at an existing concept of the recruitment system as early as the 8th century B.C. The latest known recruitment officer was Abu-lāmur – mentioned in an Aššur text dated as late as 612 B.C.! – who borrowed silver.¹⁴⁵ Their task was to collect horses and men for campaigns and other works, such as building projects.

When Sargon II ordered Šamaš-taklāk to give an assessment of the horses and men of his territory, the resulting fragmentary report 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-šu-nu ša LÚ.mu-šar-kis.MEŠ) and the scribes.¹⁴⁶ 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 central management system for the supply of men and horses.

The recruitment officers served different units (bodyguard cavalry, bodyguard chariotry, palace chariotry *etc.*, see for example *Figs. 2, 8, 10*)¹⁴⁷ in different territories of the Empire. Their system, similarly to the recruitment and supply organization of the Empire was built on a territorial basis, as *Fig. 13* (ND 2386+2730) shows in the case of their recruitment network: they were attached to provinces.¹⁴⁸ The governors of the different provinces had to provide the necessary means for them, including even houses to live in.¹⁴⁹ The witness lists of legal texts list recruitment officers probably as members of the local establishment or colleagues of the owner of the archive.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴¹ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 35 (ADD 923), 1: Mannu-kī-šābē, recruit of the major-domo of the Chief Eunuch (LÚ.rak-su ša GAL—É ša GAL—SAG); HARPER 1892, 1009, Rev. 17 mentions 209 men, whom the recruit of the major-domo has brought.

¹⁴² DEZSÓ 2012B, 43–44, 122–128.

¹⁴³ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 27–47; PARPOLA 1987, 162 (ABL 1036); LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 83 (ABL 1012), 119 (ABL 122).

¹⁴⁴ 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.).

¹⁴⁵ Abu-lāmur *mu-šar-kis* (FAIST 2007, 115 (VAT 20711), 1).

¹⁴⁶ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 294 (ABL 153+).

¹⁴⁷ For a detailed discussion of the 8 types of recruitment officers see DEZSÓ 2012B, 127–128, and *Fig. 4*.

¹⁴⁸ PARKER 1961, ND 2386+2730.

¹⁴⁹ PARPOLA 1987, 124 (ABL 190): Kišir-Aššur from Dūr-Šarrukēn assured Sargon II, that he had already built the houses of the recruitment officers.

¹⁵⁰ A *mušarkisu* is mentioned in the witness list of a document from the archive of Nabū-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*). DELLER – FADHILL 1993, no. 20, R. 4, 6. 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.

There is only a single known example of a recruitment officer serving a governor, which might easily refer to a change in the concept.¹⁵¹ The king sent orders to governors to let the recruitment officers enter the villages to conscript the men.¹⁵² 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. As the report of Kišir-Aššur from Dūr-Šarrukēn shows, the governors even had to build houses for them.¹⁵³

BRANCH	ASSYRIANS		ARAMEANS		WEST SEMITES		FOREIGNERS	
recruitment officers (<i>mušarkisu</i>)	78	63.9 %	37	30.4 %	6	4.9 %	1	0.8 %

Fig. 12. The ethnic composition of recruitment officers.

If we examine the prosopographic evidence (*Chart 14*), a similar picture emerges as in other branches of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) of the Assyrian army (*Fig. 12*): out of the 122 known names of recruitment officers 78 had Assyrian (63.8 %), while 37 Aramean (24.8 %) and 6 (4.9 %) West Semitic names, and a single officer was of foreign origin (0.8 %). This trend fits into the general model of the royal corps: three quarters of the personnel were most probably Assyrians or at least bore Assyrian (Akkadian) names. Whether it was intentional (to keep the Assyrian (ethnic) dominance and the key positions in the army) or a mere coincidence – cannot be confidently decided. However, according to the present writer's view this phenomenon reflects to a conscious organizing principle to keep the Assyrian dominance in the officers' corps of the Assyrian army.

I.1.5.3 Prefect of stables (*šaknu ša ma'assi*)¹⁵⁴

As discussed in the earlier volume of this project, according to the Nimrud Horse Lists the 'stable officers' (*šaknūte ša ma'assi*), together 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 the horses. It seems that there were usually four of them, and they were never attached to particular units. It appears that they served the royal army as a whole. An administrative text (ND 2386+2730)¹⁵⁵ discussed above and (*Fig. 13*) is the only source which makes it clear that the stable officers were delegated or attached to different regions/provinces of the Assyrian Empire: Barḫalzi, Rašappa, Zamua, and Ḫabrūri. Together with the recruitment officers (*mušarkisāni*) they played a key role in the 'central horse management' of the Assyrian Empire. It is quite plausible to suppose, that the recruitment officers (*mušarkisāni*) were in charge much more of the equestrian personnel, while the stable officers (*šaknūte ša ma'assi*) were responsible for the horse management of the Assyrian army (for further details on the horse management see Chapter III. Horse breeding and supply).

¹⁵¹ *mPi-ša-ar-mu LÚ.mu-šar-kis ša LÚ.GAR.<KUR>*, KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 36 (ADD 34), Rev. 2-3.

¹⁵² SAGGS 2001, 197-199 (NL 56, ND 2462) 22-23.

¹⁵³ PARPOLA 1987, 124 (ABL 190).

¹⁵⁴ DEZSŐ 2012B, 87-88, 122.

¹⁵⁵ 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*.

LINES	NAME	TERRITORY	NUMBER	TYPE OF (RECRUITMENT) OFFICER
O. I:1'-2'		[...]		
3'		<i>lim-mu</i> ⁴ MAŠ-[DU.ŠI] (Ninurta-[ālik-pāni]) 711 B.C.		
4'	^{1d} [...]-ēreš	<i>ina</i> Ē(<i>bīt</i>) LÚ. <i>tur-tan</i> [...]		
5'-6'	Zazaku, Kabbi-[...]	<i>ina</i> KUR.Si'immê	2	
7'-8'	Adad-iqbî, Šumu-lēšir	<i>ina</i> KUR.Til-Barsip	2	
9'-11'	Kināte, Kalbu LÚ.URU. <i>Nin-mu-a</i>	<i>ina</i> KUR.Ḫalziatbar	2	
12'-13'	[...]-Adad, Urkat-ili	<i>ina</i> URU.Kurbail	2	
14'-15'	[...], [...]	[<i>ina</i> KUR.Ḫabrū]ri	2	
16'-17'	[Adad]-iqbî, Nabû-dūru-ušur	[<i>ina</i> KUR(<i>māt</i>)] <i>rab šāqê</i>	2	
18'-19'	[...], Adad-abua	[...]- <i>na</i>	2	
20'-21'	[Aḫīa], Urdî	[URU.Isa]- <i>na</i>	2	
22'-23'	[...]- <i>a</i>	[...]	[2]	
24'-25'		[...]	[2]	
26'-27'		[...]	[2]	
O. II:1''-2''	[...], [...]	[...]	[2]	
3''-4''	[...], [...]	[...]	[2]	
5''-6''	[...], [...]	[...]	[2]	
		[<i>naphar</i>]	[28?]	[LÚ.mu-šar-kis ša GIŠ.GIGIR Ē.GAL?]
1'-2'	Ḫal-[...], [...]	<i>ina</i> KUR.[...]	2	
3'-4'	Marduk-[...], [...]	<i>ina</i> URU.[...]	2	
5'-6'	Ki-[...] Libbāli-[...]?	<i>ina</i> KUR.Ḫalziatbar	2	
7'-8'	Ubru-Libbāli, Nanusu	<i>ina</i> URU.Arzuḫina	2	
9'-10'	Nergal-iqbî, Niḫdā'ī	<i>ina</i> URU.Laḫiri	2	
11'-12'	Bēl-aḫu-ušur, Ḫaldû	<i>ina</i> URU.Arrapha	2	
13'-14'	Bēl-Ḫarrān-šadûa, Adad-[...]	<i>ina</i> URU.Kulnia	2	Adad-[...]
15'-16'		<i>naphar</i>	14	LÚ.mu-šar-kis ša pēt-ḫal-li-e
17'-18'	Nergal-šarru-ušur	<i>ina</i> KUR.Barḫalzi	1	
19'-20'	Ilāni-bēlu-ušur	<i>ina</i> KUR.Rašapa	1	
R. I:1-3	^{1d} [...]-iddina [...]	<i>ina</i> KUR.Zamua	1	
4-5	Bēl-dūri	<i>ina</i> KUR.Ḫabrūri	1	
6-7		<i>naphar</i>	4	LÚ.šak-nu-te ša LÚ.ma-'a-si
8	[...]- <i>ba</i> [...] (or <i>ina</i> UR[U ...])			
9	[...]-iddina [...] (or <i>ina</i> [...])			
10	[...]			
11	[...]-Aššur [...]			
12	[...]			
13	[...]			
14-15		<i>naphar</i>	4	LÚ.mu-šar-kis.MEŠ ša LÚ.šag-lu-te
16-17	Adad-iqbî, Šumu-lēšir	<i>ša</i> URU.Kurbail	2	
18-19	<i>ku-um</i> Šamaš-[...]	<i>ina</i> URU.Til-Barsip		
	(from Kurbail, in place of Šamaš-[...] to Til-Barsip)			
20-21	Aḫīa, Urk[at-ili]	<i>ištu libbi</i> (from) URU.Isa[na]	2	
22-23	<i>ku-um</i> Adad-iqbî	<i>ina</i> URU.Kurbail		
	(from Isana, in place of Adad-iqbî to Kurbail)			
24-25	loss/compensation [...] of [...]			
R. II:1-4	[...] ša URU.[...]			

Fig. 13. Recruitment officers (*mušarkisāni*) and stable officers (*šaknūte ša ma'assi*) of various provinces according to ND 2386+2730.

I.2. Provincial troops

The study of the recruitment system including the ethnic and social background of the soldiers of the provincial troops needs a quite different approach than the study of the units of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*). Not a single substantial list of soldiers, officers or other military personnel exists in the case of the provincial troops, consequently no source provides details which could yield similar results as in the case of the royal corps. Different types of materials need a somewhat different approach which in turn leads to somewhat different results.

According to our reconstruction, the provincial troops, the troops of the governors,¹⁵⁶ magnates,¹⁵⁷ and high officials¹⁵⁸ were composed of a smaller, semi-professional or professional element recruited (voluntarily) similarly to the soldiers of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*), and a larger semi-professional or nonprofessional part, soldiers of which were conscripted and drafted (by force), most probably within the framework of a taxation system (*ilku* or similar).

- 1) The smaller professional or semi-professional part of the provincial troops formed the military entourage of the governors and high officials and was composed of equestrian and infantry units.
- 2) These units were complemented by the professional or semi-professional units of the local vassal rulers.
- 3) The larger part of the provincial troops was composed of the conscripted local soldiers. These drafted infantrymen provided the bulk of the Assyrian army, the line infantry of the battles.
- 4) A further element of the (provincial) armies was provided by the vassals and conquered people, from the ranks of whom large numbers of soldiers were drafted into the Assyrian army (e.g. Fig. 13). These troops were dispersed in different parts of the Empire – often far away from their home – to serve the imperial interests in a foreign milieu, where they were required to be loyal to the king and true allies of the Assyrian army.

I.2.1 Drafting troops into the Assyrian army from the conquered armies of enemies

The Assyrian kings as early as the 9th century B.C. drafted and took with them auxiliary troops from the armies of their vassals, allies and/or the defeated people.¹⁵⁹ The royal inscription of Assurnasirpal II lists the troops, chariots, cavalry and infantry (GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *pit-ḫal-lu* LÚ.zu-ku) of Bīt-Baḫiāni, Adad-ime of Azallu, Aḫūni of Bīt-Adini, Carchemish, and Lubarna of Patinu, which were taken by the Assyrian king on his campaign to Lebanon.¹⁶⁰ This picture remains a characteristic for the first phase in the history of the Neo-Assyrian Empire (911–745 B.C.).

¹⁵⁶ For a detailed study of the troops of governors see DEZSÓ 2012A, 189-202, esp. 190.

¹⁵⁷ For a detailed study of the troops of magnates see DEZSÓ 2012A, 202-210.

¹⁵⁸ For a detailed study of the troops of high officials see DEZSÓ 2012A, 210-222.

¹⁵⁹ For the representations of the foreign soldiers in the ranks of the Assyrian army see NADALI 2005A, 222-244; DEZSÓ 2012A, *passim*.

¹⁶⁰ GRAYSON 1991, Assurnasirpal II, A.0.101.1, iii:58, 60, 63, 68-69, 77.

However, while in the first phase of the development of the Empire the army was composed mainly of ethnic Assyrians, it changed significantly in the second half of the 8th century B.C., following the extensive conquests of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.). Several new ethnic groups became Assyrian subjects, and the army in its earlier form was no longer sufficient for the defence of the new territories, let alone for further conquests. From that period onwards large numbers of soldiers were conscripted from the conquered territories, and were drafted into the ‘new-model’ Assyrian army. When Tiglath-Pileser III in his 13th–14th *palû* (732 B.C.) defeated Peqah, the king of Israel, he took a number of Israeli soldiers with him to Assyria.¹⁶¹ Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) enlisted foreign contingents into the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) of his army as follows: in the year of his coronation (721 B.C.) 50 Samarian chariots,¹⁶² on his 1st campaign, at the North Syrian town Qarqar 200 chariots and 600 cavalry,¹⁶³ on his 5th campaign at Carchemish 50 chariots, 200 cavalry and 3,000 infantry,¹⁶⁴ on his 9th campaign at Tabal 100 chariots,¹⁶⁵ and on his 13th campaign 20,000 archers and 10,000 shield-bearing spearmen¹⁶⁶ from Bīt-Iakīn.

Part of these troops were enlisted in the royal corps (*see* the chapter: I.1.4 Province based units of the royal corps, above), but the bulk of these soldiers remained in the provinces under the command of the provincial governors and high officials. The annals of Sargon II mention, for example, that during his 13th campaign, after defeating Muttallu, king of Kummuh, in addition to 150 chariots and 1,500 horsemen he also drafted 20,000 archers (ERIM.MEŠ(*šābē*) GIŠ.BAN(*qašti*)) and 10,000 shield-bearer spearmen (*na-aš* GIŠ.*ka-ba-bi* u GIŠ.*az-ma-re-e*)¹⁶⁷ into the Assyrian army from the defeated forces, and gave these troops to the newly established office of the *turtānu* of the left (*turtānu ša bīt šumēli*). These 20,000 archers and 10,000 shield-bearer spearmen were probably local Anatolians or North-Syrian Arameans.

Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.) also added 10,000 bowmen (GIŠ.BAN) and 10,000 shield bearers (GIŠ.*a-ri-tu*) to the royal corps during his Western campaign in 701 B.C.,¹⁶⁸ 30,000 bowmen (GIŠ.B[AN]) and [10,000] shield bearers ([GIŠ].*a-ri-tu*) during his Western campaign in 695 B.C.,¹⁶⁹ and 30,500 bowmen (GIŠ.BAN) and 30,500 shield bearers (GIŠ.*a-ri-tu*) during his Elamite campaign.¹⁷⁰

A fragmentary letter from Babylonia written by an unknown official refers to a royal order asking him to send 1,000 archers (to the royal camp?). This royal order refers furthermore to Aššur-bēlu-taqqin who got [x] horses and 20,000 archers in a cloister.¹⁷¹

These troops, which were drafted during the reign of Sennacherib, were probably added to the Assyrian army as auxiliary forces to serve on a seasonal base during a single campaign, and – contrary to the above mentioned examples – these units were not enlisted into the Assyrian army (royal corps or provincial troops) as regular units. These units served the Assyrian expeditionary army as frontline units and/or provided military force for the occupation of the conquered territory and guard duties, which – in case of large territorial conquests – required substantial manpower. These troops were obviously not supplied and fed in the home provinces of the Empire, but in the conquered territories.

¹⁶¹ TADMOR 1994, Summ. 4: 16’.

¹⁶² FUCHS 1994, Annales, line 15.

¹⁶³ FUCHS 1994, Display Inscription, lines 35-6.

¹⁶⁴ FUCHS 1994, Annales, line 75.

¹⁶⁵ FUCHS 1994, Annales, line 200.

¹⁶⁶ FUCHS 1994, Annales, lines 409-10.

¹⁶⁷ FUCHS 1994, Annales, lines 409-410, (13th *palû*, 709 B.C.), cf. Prunk 116-117.

¹⁶⁸ LUCKENBILL 1924, 60:59 (3rd campaign).

¹⁶⁹ LUCKENBILL 1924, 63 v 15-18 (695 B.C., in the *limmu* of Aššur-bēlu-ušur, against Til-Garimmu, Tabal).

¹⁷⁰ LUCKENBILL 1924, 76:103 (6th campaign, Nagītu, Elam).

¹⁷¹ DIETRICH 2003, 70 (CT 54, 64), 4’-11’. *See* furthermore 109 (ABL 1319), Rev. 7’-11’.

I.2.2 Drafting troops into the Assyrian army from within the Empire

As has been discussed above, the Assyrian kings conscripted relatively large numbers of troops from the conquered and/or allied nations of the Empire. Such a case is known from the Babylonian Chronicle, when the major-domo of Esarhaddon (680—669 B.C.) conscripted troops in Akkad in 679,¹⁷² 677¹⁷³ and 676 B.C.¹⁷⁴

A Nimrud administrative text (ND 2619)¹⁷⁵ provides the total number of equestrian troops conscripted from different parts of the Empire (Fig. 14).¹⁷⁶ This text altogether lists 1,669 cavalrymen, 577+ chariot drivers, and 1,164 ‘third men’ – a remarkable force under the command of the *sukkallu* and other officers. Sargon II sent an order to Šarru-ēmuranni to Babylonia to mobilize and bring the conscripts (*raksu*)¹⁷⁷ of Dūr-Ladini, Dūr-Baliḫāia and Larak.¹⁷⁸ Such a case is known from a letter, in which an unknown Assyrian official reports to the king at the beginning of the muster season (5th of Nisan (I)) that the Larakeans have not provided their king’s men yet. They only gave 200 men, the rest are missing. The fragmentary letter in all probability also refers to the Babylonians in a similar context. It seems that the Assyrians imposed a quota of providing king’s men (*šāb šarri*) and their reserves¹⁷⁹ onto the conquered tribes.¹⁸⁰ Tāb-šil-Ēšarra (governor of Aššur) got an order from Sargon II to mobilize the reserves of the king’s men of the Ruqaḫu and Hallatu tribes.¹⁸¹ A letter from Na’di-ilu, the Chief Cupbearer (*rab šāqê*) written to Sargon II records a similar case: he asked the king to send the following order to Nāšib-il: “Assemble the whole Bīt-Amukāni, stay with the Chief Cupbearer, and do whatever he commands you!”¹⁸² Other sources also corroborate that large units of Aramean and Chaldean troops were enlisted (by force) into the Assyrian army: one of the letters written to Assurbanipal(?) mentions the archers of the Puqūdu (GIŠ.PAN.MEŠ ša LÚ.Puqūdu).¹⁸³ A fragmentary Assyrian letter from the reign of Sargon II or Sennacherib mentions a relatively large number (20,000) of Chaldean archers (from Bīt-Dakkuri?).¹⁸⁴ Not only men of Chaldean or Aramean tribes, but the people of conquered cities or towns also provided drafted troops.¹⁸⁵ An unfortunately fragmentary letter refers to 3,000 or 4,000 men of probably Ellipi in a campaign context, where the Assyrians probably wanted to draft reinforcements and asked Daltâ, king of Ellipi to provide it.¹⁸⁶ The royal correspondence of the Sargonides frequently mentions the troops

¹⁷² GRAYSON 1975, Chronicle 14 (Esarhaddon Chronicle), 6-9.

¹⁷³ GRAYSON 1975, Chronicle 14 (Esarhaddon Chronicle), 12.

¹⁷⁴ GRAYSON 1975, Chronicle 1 (745—668 B.C.), iv:3-4.

¹⁷⁵ PARKER 1961, 38, ND 2619.

¹⁷⁶ For a detailed discussion see KAPLAN 2008, 135-152. He dated the text to the Mukin-zēri rebellion (731 B.C.). For the whole topic see KAPLAN 2006.

¹⁷⁷ For a detailed study see DEZSŐ 2012B, 118-120.

¹⁷⁸ PARPOLA 1987, 18 (ABL 1292).

¹⁷⁹ For the commander of reserves (LÚ.GAL—*rak-si*) see PARPOLA 1987, 177 (ABL 414), 6.

¹⁸⁰ LUUKKO 2012, 151 (ND 2493).

¹⁸¹ PARPOLA 1987, 91 (ABL 94). For Ruqaḫu see furthermore 92 (ABL 1086).

¹⁸² LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 63 (ABL 194), Rev. 1-6.

¹⁸³ HARPER 1892, 1028, Rev. 4.

¹⁸⁴ DIETRICH 2003, 70 (CT 54, 64), 4-11. See furthermore 109 (ABL 1319), Rev. 7'-11'.

¹⁸⁵ An unknown official refers for example to the troops of the conquered Mušasir (LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 139 (ABL 448)).

¹⁸⁶ SAGGS 2001, 134-136, NL 42 (ND 2655); FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 84 (NL 42, ND 2655). A fragmentary letter of Issar-dūri refers to a cavalry unit of Nibê (of Ellipi), which must have joined to the Assyrian expeditionary army in Media (FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 3 (ABL 159)).

of conquered nations who became vassals of the Assyrian king, including for example units from Philistia,¹⁸⁷ Kummuhu,¹⁸⁸ Šadikanni,¹⁸⁹ Kumme,¹⁹⁰ and Mušašir.¹⁹¹

LINES	NUMBER OF SOLDIERS	UNIT TYPE	PLACE OF ORIGIN	SUMMARY	
				unit type	number of soldiers
O.1	[x]	cavalry			
2	[x]	[...]	<i>Bīt-Adini</i>		
3	134	ditto	<i>Bīt-Ukani</i>		
4	27	ditto	<i>Dūr-Ellatia</i>		
5	12	...	estate of <i>Bazi</i>		
6	53	ditto	<i>ša Zakir</i>		
7	56	ditto	<i>ša Dammu?-Nergal</i>		
8	38		<i>ša Nabû-ēmuranni, mār Nadini</i>		
9	271	cavalry	<i>Larak</i>		
10	11	chariot drivers	<i>Bīt-Adini</i>	[cavalry]	[658]
11	505		<i>e-lat?</i> (in addition to?) <i>Bīt-Ukani</i>	cavalry	591
12	37	ditto		chariot drivers	553
13	in all: 1,802		LÜ.SUKKAL	in all:	1,802
14	143	cavalry	<i>Bīt-Adini</i>		
15	59?		<i>Sabḫānu</i>		
16	[x]	chariot drivers	<i>ša Nabû-[...]</i>		
17	7	‘third men’	<i>Bīt-Adini</i>	cavalry	202
18	584?		<i>Sabḫānu</i>	chariot drivers	[x]
19	566		<i>Bīt-Adini</i>	‘third men’	1,157
20	in all: 1[x]20		<i>Šumu-[...]</i>	in all:	1,359+[x]
21	117?	people	<i>Ha-[...]-ni</i>		
22			in <i>Našibina</i>	people	117?
23	6	‘third men’	<i>Larak</i>		
24	172	cavalry	<i>Larak</i>	‘third men’	6
25	46	cavalry	<i>Bīt-Dakkuri</i>	cavalry	218
26	in all: 224		from <i>Til-Barsip</i>	in all:	224
27	24	chariot drivers	<i>Ru’a</i>		
28	[x]	from the people of	<i>ša Sabḫānu</i>		
29	[x]		<i>ištu</i> (from the country of) <i>Zaban</i>		
30			and from <i>Zamua</i>		
31	13	young men/sons	(of) <i>Šamšani</i>		
32			(from/at) <i>Guzana</i>	chariot drivers	24
	1,669	cavalry			
	577+[x]	chariot drivers			
	1,164?	‘third men’			

Fig. 14. The structure of text ND 2619 (PARKER 1961, 38).

¹⁸⁷ PARPOLA 1987, 155 (ABL 218).

¹⁸⁸ PARPOLA 1987, 172 (NL 88), Rev. 22-29.

¹⁸⁹ PARPOLA 1987, 223 (CT 53, 87), 4-Rev. 13.

¹⁹⁰ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 97 (ABL 147), 4-15.

¹⁹¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 139 (ABL 448).

The Assyrians drafted auxiliary forces from the conquered people of Babylonia as early as the Mukin-zēri rebellion in 731 B.C. One of the letters written to Tiglath-Pileser III reports the negotiations between Assyrian officials and the leaders of the Litāmu tribe: “The people of the Litāmu tribe have sent a message, saying: ‘We are servants of the king. On the thirtieth day we shall come (and) have discussions with you, and *a strong force of soldiers* (L[Ú]?.x.DAN.MEŠ) will come with us to the king.’”¹⁹² Later it became a standard position for the vassals or subjugated communities that they promised to move out from their quarters with their troops, (only) when the king came or Assyrian troops showed up.¹⁹³ Such a case is known from the letter of Nabû-balāssu-iqbī: “In the matter of the soldiers of the tribe of Dūr-ša-Baliḫāia about which the king my lord sent a message, [the officials] of the king my lord indeed reveal that they know their guilt. They are hearing the evidence about it. They will come (when) you come.”¹⁹⁴

There is an obscure text, an administrative report, which has to be revisited, and which lists (military) personnel (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ) and their equids (ANŠE.NITÁ.MEŠ) in two columns made up of various (ethnic) groups (Lidiaens, Itu’eans, Ḫamaraneans) assigned to different persons (Fig. 15). The official who gathered these personnel and equids sent altogether 198 soldiers, 195 equids, and 2 camels to the king. The Itu’eans provided 18 soldiers and 18 donkeys.¹⁹⁵ Unfortunately no further details are known. The text does not mention cavalrymen, so this contingent might well have been a (military) caravan with escort and pack animals

lines					
3'	... I reviewed them				
4'	did [n]ot g[o] (away) and				
5'	a[ssigned] th[e men] and donkeys				
6'	brought them out on the 12 th				
7'	and they left for me.				
8'	19	soldiers (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ)	19	donkeys (ANŠE.NITÁ.MEŠ)	
9'	13	his soldiers	10	donkeys + 1 camel (ANŠE.A.AB.BA)	
10'	3	soldiers	3	donkeys	KUR.Li-di-a-a
11'	81	soldiers	81	donkeys	Bēl-lēšir
12'	18	soldiers	18	donkeys	KUR.Ú-tu-u-a-a
13'	15	soldiers	15	donkeys	KUR.Ḫa-mar-[an-a-a]
14'-15'	59	soldiers	59	donkeys + 1 camel	under the command of Šamaš-bunā [ia]
16'	198	soldiers			
17'	195	donkeys			
18'	2	camels			
19'-21'	I am (now) send[ing them to the king, my lord], in the custody of Apladad[...], my messenger.				

Fig. 15. The structure of text ND 2366 (SAGGS 1959, NL 60, SAGGS 2001, 241-242).

A quite different, but traditional way of drafting local auxiliary forces was used in Babylonia: the Assyrians integrated the Babylonian military and civilian administration into the Assyrian system. The key persons were the commandants (*šandabakku*-s) of the Babylonian cities. The

¹⁹² SAGGS 2001, 19-21, NL 1 (ND 2632), Rev. 39-42.

¹⁹³ Another letter from the time of the Mukin-zēri rebellion (731 B.C.) gives further details of probably similar negotiations between an Assyrian official and the leaders of an Aranmean/Chaldean tribe. SAGGS 2001, 22-25, NL 2 (ND 2717) ; LUUKKO 2012, 125 (ND 2717).

¹⁹⁴ SAGGS 2001, 51-52 (ND 2689), 6-13.

¹⁹⁵ SAGGS 1959, NL 60 (ND 2366), 12', SAGGS 2001, 241-242; LUUKKO 2012, 177 (ND 2366).

Assyrians ordered the *šandabakku*-s to mobilize the forces of their cities, and join the Assyrian army or perform local duties, like the borderguard duty along the border of their cities which were in several cases the imperial borders (for example along the Euphrates on the Arab front). The Assyrian philosophy of this tradition, since it was a tradition, is very well reflected in a letter of most probably Esarhaddon to the *šandabakku* of presumably Nippur: “The former *šandabakku*-s (governors of Nippur) who were there before you, whether they were at ease with their lords or not, were, like you, courtiers of their lords, and their lords’ favour obliged them, as it obliges you. Each *šandabakku* duly mobilised his forces and went with Šallāia to where(ver) my grandfather sent him in the whole land of Akkad up to the Sealand. Now you, too, mobilise your forces and go and j[o]in Nabû-ētir, the governor of the northern Sealand! Do your work, ..., (and) make your names good in my eyes!”¹⁹⁶ Similar letters of the royal correspondence of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal frequently mention the commandants (*šandabakku*-s) of Nippur,¹⁹⁷ Babylon,¹⁹⁸ Uruk,¹⁹⁹ Kish,²⁰⁰ Cutha,²⁰¹ Dilbat,²⁰² and Marad.²⁰³ The troops they provided for the Assyrians were mainly archers. A letter from the time of the Mukin-zēri rebellion (731 B.C.) reports for example that the *šandabakku* (LÚ.GÚ.EN.NA) presumably of Nippur, joined the Assyrian forces with 3 chariots, [...] cavalrymen, and 500 archers.²⁰⁴ Illil-bāni, governor of Nippur, and Aššur-bēlu-taqin, prefect and the ‘people of Nippur’ wrote several letters to Esarhaddon asking for troops, since they had to keep watch along a long stretch of border along the Euphrates without cavalry, supported only by archers.²⁰⁵ Two letters from the reign of Assurbanipal mention the archers of Uruk²⁰⁶ while another letter written to Esarhaddon deals with two officials (Bēl-īpuš and Bēl-uballit) who had to mobilise archers (ERIM.MEŠ ša GIŠ.BAN) in Dilbat.²⁰⁷ One of the letters to Esarhaddon concerns a certain Hīnnumu, the ‘commander of Uruk,’ who was accused by some fellow Urukians of having sided with the Elamite king. A fragmentary part of this letter mentions him in the context of [X] hundred spearmen and 300 archers.²⁰⁸ The latter were probably Babylonian city archers, possibly Urukians (this theory is supported by the appearance of spearmen, which suggests that these were regular units).

¹⁹⁶ REYNOLDS 2003, 3 (ABL 540), 4-Rev. 10.

¹⁹⁷ REYNOLDS 2003, 70 (ABL 327), 1-2;

¹⁹⁸ REYNOLDS 2003, 70 (ABL 327), Rev. 10-11.

¹⁹⁹ REYNOLDS 2003, 125 (ABL 965), 3-8. This text in an unfortunately broken context mentions [...] hundred] spearmen and 300 archers (Rev. 25).

²⁰⁰ REYNOLDS 2003, 54 (ABL 1255), 10-12.

²⁰¹ REYNOLDS 2003, 131 (CT 54, 37), 4-9; 156 (ABL 1394), Rev. 2-4.

²⁰² REYNOLDS 2003, 183 (ABL 326), 8-9: Šulā, the commandant of Dilbat appointed by Šamaš-šumu-ukīn.

²⁰³ REYNOLDS 2003, 192 (ABL 238), 9-10: Šuma-iddin, commandant of Marad.

²⁰⁴ SAGGS 2001, 22-25, NL 2 (ND 2717), 54'-57'; LUUKKO 2012, 125 (ND 2717), Rev. 23-25.

²⁰⁵ REYNOLDS 2003, 196 (CT 54 141), 5'-12': “From there is a half a shekel of territory (ca. 1 km) until the magnates. The second watch is from Dume-il to Šadirtu, a league (and) half a shekel of territory (ca. 11 km), pasture-land of the Euphrates. I keep telling Bēlšunu, ‘Give me troops and assign them to my watch’”; 197 (ABL 617+), 6-Rev. 4: “The territory before us is extensive, five stages of territory square. It is a watch for cavalry and archers. We have several times written to the house of our lords about the horses. Now we are keeping watch with archers (ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.BAN) (only) and praying to the gods of the king, our lord.”; 198 (CT 54 454), 6'-12': “Now then I have stationed [...]s upon [...]. We are praying to the gods of the king our lord. [However], this territory where we are keeping watch, its [...] is very extensive indeed. [The king], my lord, knows it.”; 200 (ABL 797), 14-20: Illil-bāni, the king’s servant, and all the archers of Nippur with him are on watch where the king assigned him. And to his rear I keep guard for the king, my lord, in the city and open country.”

²⁰⁶ HARPER 1892, 754, 10: UNUG.KI-a-a ĪR.MEŠ ša LUGAL be-li-ia LÚ.GIŠ.PAN 5 ME 6 ME ina ŠU.II-ia LÚ ki-i aš-ba-tu („when I seized the people of Uruk, servants of the king, five or six hundred archers”); HARPER 1892, 267, 14: [...] GIŠ.PAN.MEŠ ša UNUG.KI, Rev. 13: Bēl-ibnī ... LÚ.GIŠ.PAN.M[ĒŠ ... it]-ti-šu ul-tu KUR.ELAM.MA.KI [il-li-ik]-u-ni.

²⁰⁷ REYNOLDS 2003, 54 (ABL 1255), 22-Rev. 10.

²⁰⁸ REYNOLDS 2003, 125 (ABL 965), Rev. 25.

I.2.3 Drafting or levying troops into the provincial contingents of the Assyrian army

The royal correspondence of the Sargonides sheds some light on the everyday practice of enlisting local people into the units of the governors and high officials. They had to raise troops for local purposes, regional and royal campaigns. These fall into the category of the local provincial troops and into the ‘king’s men’ category,²⁰⁹ which consisted of local troops drafted from various groups of the population: local people, captives,²¹⁰ deportees²¹¹ who were going to be settled in the province, and even the ‘sons of bought slaves’.²¹² Some sources make it clear that the king himself could form cohorts from these men.²¹³ As has already been discussed, the king’s men fall into a category of able bodied men who – from the IIIrd millennium B.C. onwards – could be called up not only for performing military duties, but as a form of corvée labor for public works as well.²¹⁴

The troops of governors and high officials included equestrian units as well, which were composed of semi-professional cavalrymen²¹⁵ and chariotry. An early text from Guzana (Tell Halaf) mentions 6 cavalrymen of the household of the *turtānu* (Commander-in-Chief).²¹⁶ These troops – arising from their specialized duty – were most probably semi-professional or professional soldiers, and their maintenance was very expensive – that is presumably the reason why Zēru-ibnī, an Assyrian official had to dissolve his cavalry during the reign of Sargon II.²¹⁷ Aššur-ālik-pāni reported to Sargon II, that „I shall assign my king’s men ([LÚ].ERIM.MEŠ—

²⁰⁹ DEZSŐ 2012A, 75-78. For the king’s men contingents of the governors *see* for example a letter mentioning that Našur-Bēl, governor of Amidi received an order from Sargon II to bring 100 king’s men from Bīt-Zamāni (LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 14 (ABL 1193)), and Aššur-ālik-pāni also had a contingent of king’s men with him with whom he had to appear at a muster in Arbela (LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 152 (ABL 784)).

²¹⁰ A fragmentary Sargonide letter refers to a unit drafted from captives: “[These] c[ap]tives in Arrapha [...] are 4,100 in number. I asked [NN] and L[ansī] (who said): ‘[There are] 1,000 k[ing’s] men among them.’ Their watch is v[er]y strict. And right now the chief eu[nuch] will go [wi]th them to Urz[uḫina]. He is reviewing [them].” (FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 18 (CT 53, 217), 1’-Rev. 5). It is unknown whether the Chief Eunuch, the commander of at least one of the divisions of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) recruited them for the royal corps or not.

²¹¹ Nabū-pāšir for example received a royal order to review the people whom the Commander-in-Chief brought forth and select men from their midst (PARPOLA 1987, 195 (ABL 701), 6-9).

²¹² Tāb-šil-Ēšarra reported to Sargon II, that “I have just made a list of the ‘sons of bought (slaves)’ and the ‘sons of palace maids’ on a writing-board and am sending it herewith to the king, my lord. They are 370 men: 90 are king’s men, 90 are reserves, 190 should do the king’s work.” PARPOLA 1987, 99 (ABL 99), Rev 12-16.

²¹³ Such a case is known from a letter to Sargon II by the Palace Herald (*nāgīr ekalli*), Gabbu-ana-Aššur, who got a cohort of men formed by the king (LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 121 (ABL 121+)).

²¹⁴ For the earlier periods *see*: RICHARDSON 2011, 19.

²¹⁵ PARPOLA 1987, 90 (ABL 98), 107 (ABL 97). *See* furthermore LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 182 (CT 53, 891), Rev. 5; The Philistines whom the king my lord formed into a cohort (PARPOLA 1987, 155 (ABL 218), 4-10); REYNOLDS 2003, 108 (CT 54, 277), Rev. 2.

²¹⁶ DORNAUER 2014, 25 (TH 9), 1-8: Ša-Aia servant of Idri-Adda, Natēnu of Inurta-iqbī, Sūrānu, Kēnu-rība servant(s) of Rašī’, Aḫulē’i, Šamaš-idri; total 6 cavalrymen for the muster of the household of the Commander-in-Chief. Guzana, as a provincial capital provided further evidence for the recruitment and supply of local provincial troops of the governor and the Commander-in-Chief: 38 (TH 52) for example lists 18 teams of the governor: Rev. 4) PAB 18 *ú-ra-a-ti* 5) *pet-ḫal-lu ša* LÚ.EN—NAM), but the composition of this group of soldiers(?) is not clear; 48 (TH 30+81) lists the equipment of a unit of 10 men (1 chariot, 4 horses, 2 donkeys, 10 bows, 10 swords, 10 spears, 10 helmets, 10 quivers, 10 shields, 10 coats, 10 belts, 10 tunics, 1 ox, 10 sheep); 49 (TH 13) is a short receipt of further pieces of military equipment (2 helmets of iron, 1 helmet of copper, 10 swords, 700 arrow-heads, 5 good bows, 1 quiver; Ḫabīnu). 50 (TH 42) is a similar list: [x] helmets, [x] quivers, [x]+2 quivers, 28 bows, 500 iron arrow-heads, 5 iron swords; 51 (TH 11) is another receipt of shields of the local troops (the shields of Šilli-Issar from the *rab kallāpāni*: 3 Šalmu, 2 Ḫaiānu, 1 Ḫiri-aḫḫe).

²¹⁷ PARPOLA 1987, 205 (ABL 154), Rev. 11.

LUGAL-ia), chariotry (GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ) and cavalry (BAD.ḪAL-lum) as the king wrote me, and I shall be in the [ki]ng my lord's presence in Arbela with my king's men and army by the [dea]dline set by the king, my lord."²¹⁸ This letter contains important information not only regarding the composition of the troops of which the provincial official was in charge, but makes a difference between the king's men and the (provincial) army. Another fragmentary letter also lists a few members of a governor's troops: "[who ...] without the king, my lord's permission, [about whom the king, my lord], said: 'Who are the[y?]' — they are ...s] of the governor, 'third men,' [...s], recruits, a chariot fighter, [...], the horse trainer of the governor."²¹⁹ A description of the troops under the command of the governor of Aššur is known from a letter describing the dramatic situation following the death of the Assyrian king (Sennacherib): "(As) we left for the (king's) corpse to weep (over it), we saw the governor with his troops dressed in armour and wearing iron swords. We got scared (and) said to the vizier and to Ḫambî: 'Why are we weeping?' The governor and his men are wearing iron swords and taking care of us."²²⁰

The most comprehensive overview of the provincial troops is known from a report from Adad-issîa to Sargon II,²²¹ which offers an insight into the structure and composition of a presumably atypical Assyrian provincial army contingent. Aside from minor differences in interpretation (Fig. 16) this text gives an account of the king's men element within the provincial troops available to a governor. The report lists the king's men who were stationed in the province of Māzāmua – including (1) 'the previous ones, which have been here,' (2) 'plus the ones whom the royal bodyguard (*qurbūtu*) brought,' and those whom the (3) 'major-domo is delayed but will later bring the rest of the troops.'²²² These three sources for units – those who were there, those whom the *qurbūtu* bodyguard brought, and those who were going to be brought by the major-domo – show the recruitment system of the provincial troops – king's men and local forces. Those who were there originally, and those whom the *qurbūtu* bodyguard brought were king's men, but those who were being brought by the major-domo (of the governor) might well have been local provincial troops. This report shows the role the *qurbūtu* bodyguard and the major-domo (see above) played in the recruitment and mobilization system of the (provincial) army.

As Fig. 16 shows, the chariotry contingent consisted of 10 chariots, 20 large-wheeled chariots (10 horse-drawn, 10 mule-drawn), and 30 teams of horses; 11 chariot drivers, 12 'third men,' 30 chariot fighters, 53 grooms, altogether 106 men and 30 chariots. The cavalry of Adad-issîa consisted of 97 cavalry horses, 161 cavalymen, 130 grooms, 52 *zunzurāḫi*, altogether 343 grooms. The regular infantry consisted almost exclusively of supply staff: 8 lackeys, 12 tailors, 20 cupbearers, 12 confectioners, 7 bakers, 10 cooks: altogether 69 domestics. Furthermore: 8 scholars, 23 donkey drivers, 1 information officer. A relatively large number of 80 *kallāpu* soldiers forms the only possible fighting unit of the regular infantry. The summary section distinguishes these units (chariotry, cavalry, and infantry) identified as 630 Assyrians from the auxiliary units formed of 360 Gurreans and 440 Itu'eans. This army consisted of a platoon of chariotry, a squadron of cavalry, 100 domestics, 1 information officer, 80 *kallāpu* soldiers and 800 auxiliary infantrymen. It is unfortunately unknown what role the supply staff played – their number (100), however,

²¹⁸ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 152 (ABL 784), 21-Rev. 1.

²¹⁹ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 68 (CT 53, 80), 15-19.

²²⁰ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 95 (ABL 473), Rev. 6-15.

²²¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 215 (NL 89); SAGGS 1966, no. 89 (ND 2631); FALES 1990, 31-34; FALES 2000, 40-43; POSTGATE 2000, 89-108; SAGGS 2001, 128-130; FALES – RIGO 2010, 14; DEZSÓ 2012A, 36, 50, 72, 77, 140, 187, 188, 192; DEZSÓ 2012B, 35, 36, 78, 88, 96, 107, 108, 135, 143.

²²² LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 215 (NL 89), 23-Rev. 6.

seems to be too large for the size of the fighting contingent (449 equestrians, 1 information officer, 80 *kallāpu* soldiers (a cohort?) and 800 auxiliary infantrymen). These round numbers (449 equestrians + 1 information officer (= 450); 100 domestics; 80 *kallāpu* soldiers; and 800 auxiliaries) refer to much more a conscious organizing principle than simply to an *ad hoc* result of a call of the troops available.

Consequently, this report listed only the semi-professional and professional elements of the provincial army, while the missing bulk of the local troops, the regular infantry composed of semi- or nonprofessional infantrymen drafted from the local population were those troops, who – according to this letter – were going to be brought by the major-domo to join the assembling army. The grand total of the text, 1,430 king's men, makes it clear that these contingents belonged to the provincial contingents of the royal army (*kišir šarrūti*). A similar large-scale muster – including chariot troops, Gurreans, Itu'eans, the (exempt?) infantry (LÚ.zu-ku), *kallāpu* troops – is known from a fragmentary letter. It is, however, not known whether these troops were royal troops garrisoned in a province or the troops of the local governors.²²³ A similar provincial muster shows that an unfortunately unknown provincial governor had 198 soldiers, 195 donkeys, and 2 camels at his disposal.²²⁴ 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) into recruits, others into chariot-men (LÚ.A.SIG.MEŠ), and others again into cavalrymen (ANŠE.ša – BAD.ḪAL-la-ti), into his own troops (*ki-iš-ri ša ra-mi-ni-ka*)?²²⁵

The governors, magnates, and high officials were required to provide replacements for the dead and invalid soldiers to fill the ranks to their full strength. An unknown official reported a case to Sargon II as follows: "As to the replacement for the dead concerning which the king told the magnates: 'Provide the replacement!' – nobody has given us anything. The deficit of our dead [and] invalid soldiers who did not go to the campaign with us is [1],200; the magnates won't give it to us, [nor] have they given their straw, [nor] have they worked with us."²²⁶ To provide the necessary number of conscripted troops for the campaigns was obviously a burden on the provincial administration. The local officials often remonstrated with each other upon the control of the quality troops. Šarru-ēmuranni, governor of Māzamua, for example complained to Sargon II as follows: "last year the son of Bēl-iddina did not go with me on the expedition but kept the best men at home and sent with me young boys only."²²⁷ Aššur-šarru-ibnî reported to Sargon II the following things: „The governor of Arbela has [120] king's men who did not go to the campaign with the king but he will not agree to give them to me. I fear the king, my lord, and shall not take hold of his men (without his permission). 30 (men from) Tillê, 60 (from) the land of Ḫamudu of the governor of Calah, 30 from the city of [...]ba. They have neither rations nor work."²²⁸

The philosophy and essence of this phenomenon was conceived clearly by Samnuḫa-bēlu-ušur, who wrote to Sargon II as follows: "May [the king my lord] not give [such] a command! Otherwise, let the king my lord command that each should go to his government department – the army must not be weakened, not a single man [should be missing] from the campaign, they should all together come t[o the king, my lord]!"²²⁹

²²³ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 277 (CT 53, 305).

²²⁴ SAGGS 2001, 241-242, ND 2366 (NL 60) ; LUUKKO 2012, 177 (ND 2366). See Fig. 15.

²²⁵ PARPOLA 1987, 11 (ABL 304).

²²⁶ PARPOLA 1987, 143 (ABL 1180), Rev. 1-15.

²²⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 200 (ABL 312).

²²⁸ PARPOLA 1987, 149 (CT 53, 108), 4-Rev. 6.

²²⁹ PARPOLA 1987, 223 (CT 53, 87), Rev. 7-14.

LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990	POSTGATE 2000	SAGGS 2001
1.		
10 chariots	10 chariots	20 chariots
20 large-wheeled chariots	2 wagons	2 wagons
10 horse-drawn	10 (teams) of horses	10 (teams of) horses
10 mule-drawn	10 (teams) of mules	10 (teams of) mules
30 teams of horses	20 teams	total 20 teams
97 riding horses	97 cavalry horses	97 cavalry horses
11 chariot drivers	11 chariot drivers	11 chariot drivers
12 ‘third men’	12 ‘third-riders’	12 (chariot) ‘third riders’
30 chariot fighters	10 nobles	10 messengers
53 grooms of the teams	53 grooms	53 grooms
[20] team commanders		
20 team-commanders		
in all 106 men and 30 chariots	total: 106 chariot troops	total: 106 chariot personnel
2.		
161 cavalrymen	161 cavalrymen	161 cavalrymen
130 grooms	130 grooms	130 grooms
52 LÜ.zu-un-zu-ra-ḫi	52 zunzurāḫu	52 zunzurāḫi
in all 343 grooms	total: 343 grooms	total: 343 chariot personnel
3.		
8 lackeys	8 lackeys	8 palace servants
12 tailors	12 tailors	12 tailors
20 cupbearers	20 butlers	20 stewards
12 confectioners	12 victuallers	12 pastry-cooks
7 bakers	7 bakers	7 bakers
10 cooks	10 cooks	10 cooks
in all 69 domestics	total: 69 domestic servants	total: 69 household staff
4.		
8 scholars	8 scribes	8 craftsmen
23 donkey drivers	23 donkey-drivers	23 ass-drivers
1 information officer (LÜ.mu-tir ṭe-me)	1 reporter	1 information officer
80 dispatch riders	80 kallāpu	80 axe-men
in all 630 Assyrians	total: 630 Assyrians	total: 630 Assyrians
5.		
360 Gurreans	360 Gurreans	360 Gurreans
440 Itu’eans	440 Itu’eans	440 Itu’eans
in all 1.430 king’s men	grand total: 1.430 ‘king’s troops’	total: 1430 royal personnel

Fig. 16. The structure of text ND 2631 (SAGGS 1966, NL 89; LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1991, 215; POSTGATE 2000, 89-108; SAGGS 2001, 128-130).

Only a few texts refer to the forced character of drafting soldiers from the conquered nations. A fragmentary text most probably deals with such a case. Nabû-rā'im-nišēšu and Salamānu sent a report to Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.) quoting the messenger of Nippur, who brought the following report: “The messenger of Pa’e, the legate of the land Araši, has come to Nippur (saying): ‘The kings have made peace with one another, so why have you taken plunder/captives?’ The recruitment officers told him: ‘[...]’.”²³⁰ The end of the story is unfortunately missing, but the context seems clear: the Assyrians, notably their recruitment officers – following the ‘peace

²³⁰ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 137 (ABL 1115), 9-15.

between the kings' – took captives, in other words, drafted soldiers by force from the conquered population of Araši.

The troops drafted from the armies of the vassals were also difficult to handle. Assyrian officials wrote several letters to Sargon II and to the crown prince Sennacherib, reporting the problems which the undisciplined vassal troops from Sidon,²³¹ Philistea²³² and other places²³³ caused. In one of his letters, Samnuḥa-bēlu-ušur reminded the king that "the king, my lord, knows that the Šadikanneans are hirelings; they work for hire all over the king's lands. They are no runaways; they perform the *ilku* duty and supply king's men from their midst."²³⁴ The Assyrians obviously knew which people were unreliable; in a letter of an unknown Assyrian official two Assyrians debated whether the Urartian captives in Til-Barsip were reliable or unreliable soldiers: would they stay or set off and run away?²³⁵

An administrative text²³⁶ probably dating from the reign of Esarhaddon sheds some light on another aspect of the recruitment system of the Assyrian army. This text lists military personnel at the disposal of various officials, including 17 bow(men), at the disposal of Nabû-erība, prefect of the crown prince; 17 cavalry, 1 bow(man) from the village of Ḥanê, at the disposal of Silim-Aššur, Vizier (*sukkallu*); 6 bowmen from the town of Til-Raḥawa, at the disposal of Aia-iababa, the prefect of the staff-bearers. It is not known whether these archers were auxiliary archers or the archers of the regular infantry. Nor, unfortunately, is it known whether the villages mentioned above – as has been shown in the case of the Itu'eans – were special archers' villages, or simply denoted that the Assyrian army was organized in a territorial system and recruited archers from several (or all?) villages. This text shows that in the Neo-Assyrian period not only the cities, but also the estates, villages, and towns had to provide archers for the army of various Assyrian (military) officials. This aspect of the recruitment/enlisting system of the Neo-Assyrian army needs further research and more sources.

Two further administrative texts list archers and spearmen. One of them is a note which states that a total of 350 shield(-bearers) and 240 archers had not arrived for some event, probably a muster or a campaign.²³⁷ The other text is a much more detailed list, which records groups of archers (in a strength of hundreds) under the command of six Assyrian officials.²³⁸ The appearance of military officials (for example a bodyguard) at the beginning of the text may refer to the establishment of an infantry detachment consisting of 208 shield-bearers (spearmen) and [x hundred] archers. These two texts in all likelihood recorded regular units, which were – similarly to the text discussed above – enlisted from various Assyrian villages and towns to perform military service.

²³¹ PARPOLA 1987, 153 (ABL 175), Nabû-rība-aḥḥē reported to the crown prince (Sennacherib) the following things: „The Sidonites and the(ir) heads did not go to Calah with the crown prince, my lord, nor are they serving in the garrison of Nineveh. They loiter in the centre of the town, each in his lodging place.”

²³² Nergal-ballit reported to Sargon II as follows: „The Philistines whom the king my lord formed into a cohort and gave me refuse to stay with me; [they ... in the village of Luqaše [near] Arbela [...]]” (PARPOLA 1987, 155 (ABL 218), 4-10).

²³³ PARPOLA 1987, 154 (CT 53, 829), 2-Rev. 4: „The [troops] who arrived [...] and have been resid[ent] in [...] are loitering in the centre of Calah with their riding horses like [...] common criminals and drunkards. What does my lord say? [Let my lord quickly send an answer] to my letter!”

²³⁴ PARPOLA 1987, 223 (CT 53, 87), 4-13.

²³⁵ SAGGS 2001, 180, NL 22 (ND 2680); LUUKKO 2012, 40 (ND 2680).

²³⁶ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 30 (ADD 815+).

²³⁷ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 127 (ADD 856).

²³⁸ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 128 (ADD 947), Rev. 6'-12': Tarditu-Aššur, Ṭāb-aḥḥē, Na'di-ilu, Dādī-ibnī, Zēru-ukīn, Ḥudada.

I.2.4 Auxiliary troops

The Itu'eans (serving as auxiliary archers)²³⁹ and the Gurreans (serving as auxiliary spearmen)²⁴⁰ – two important ethnic groups, regarded as reliable allies of the Assyrians – enjoyed a relative independence within the system, which meant that they were under the direct control of the king. Consequently they sometimes refused to follow the orders of the local authorities.²⁴¹ Since they were allies and loyal companions-at-arms of the Assyrians, they were recruited and called up for campaigns, and were not pressed. It seems that they were (semi-)professional soldiers, probably serving all year round. Another important characteristic of their employment was that they were direct subordinates of the king, who could delegate their command to various military officials, including governors, magnates, and high officials. Their independent status apparent not only from their privileged status in the Assyrian army command structure, but from the economic background of their service, as well (*see below*)

The importance of their role is indicated by the letters in which Assyrian governors almost begged the king to send them Itu'ean troops. These letters make it clear that the Itu'ean troops came under the direct control (and possibly the direct command) of the Assyrian king, and it was he who dispatched them to the various provinces of the Empire. Ašipâ, governor of Tîdu, wrote to Sargon II as follows: "Of the Itu'eans in my country, there is a surplus of 500 men who should have kept watch with me. Why [did they g]o [to] Guzana? Let the men be released to me."²⁴²

The Itu'eans and Gurreans were so reliable that they could be employed and were definitely used for various purposes, including reconnaissance, and combing operations on campaigns, as siege-forces during sieges, skirmishers in battles, furthermore garrisoning, escorting, borderguard and police force duties in peace-time in the provinces.²⁴³

The Assyrian palace reliefs represented foreign soldiers (distinguished by their characteristic equipment and garment) serving in the Assyrian army. These troops included the two largest auxiliary arms of the Assyrian army: the Gurreans (auxiliary spearmen)²⁴⁴ and Itu'eans (auxiliary archers).²⁴⁵ Archers of several other Aramean/Chaldean tribes (Ruqāḥu, Ḫallatu, lādaqu, Riḫiqu, Rubu'ū, and Litāmu)²⁴⁶ might have been depicted in the ranks of the Assyrian army, but some reliefs show archers from the Zagros region, most probably from Ellipi,²⁴⁷ and from Elam²⁴⁸ as well, who also served the Assyrians. However, not only auxiliary archers of several Aramean/Chaldean tribes served the Assyrian army and might be represented on the Assyrian palace reliefs, but for example Judaeans/Israeli spearmen also appear in the ranks of the Assyrian regular infantry and on the palace reliefs.²⁴⁹

²³⁹ DEZSÖ 2012A, 25-37. For further tribes playing a similar role and enjoying a similar status *see* DEZSÖ 2012A, 37-38.

²⁴⁰ DEZSÖ 2012A, 38-50.

²⁴¹ SAGGS 2001, 130-132, NL 43 (ND 2635), 4-14; LUUKKO 2012, 195 (ND 2635), 7-14 refers to 40 Gurreans, who were disobedient, and when the governor sent an order to them they did not go out from their own territory. Another letter (of Bēl-lēšir) mentions the villages of the Itu'eans in his province (Kurbail?) who are negligent (SAGGS 2001, 227-229, NL 87 (ND 2625)); LUUKKO 2012, 176 (ND 2625), 4-12).

²⁴² LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 21 (ABL 506).

²⁴³ For the detailed study of these profiles of their use *see* DEZSÖ 2012A, 32-37.

²⁴⁴ DEZSÖ 2012A, 38-50, *Plate 10*, 32 – *Plate 17*, 60.

²⁴⁵ DEZSÖ 2012A, 25-38, *Plate 1*, 1 – *Plate 9*, 31.

²⁴⁶ DEZSÖ 2012A, 37-38.

²⁴⁷ DEZSÖ 2012A, 26-27, *Plate 4*, 14, 15.

²⁴⁸ DEZSÖ 2012A, 30-31, 52, 84, *Plate 7*, 25.

²⁴⁹ DEZSÖ 2012A, 51-52, 62, 91, 99, 117-119, *Plate 39*, 129; *Plate 40*, 130, 132.

I.2.5 Deserting the service

Characteristically, the Assyrian sources do not provide many details of the recruiting and levying system itself, but – resulting from the character of the royal correspondence and administrative texts – lay an emphasis on the deficiencies of the system: Assyrian officials reported (almost) everything which decreased the efficiency of the system, which operated the Assyrian army.

The military service was burdensome and dangerous for those who were drafted by force, so king's men sometimes deserted from labour duty and military service. To fetch the men who tried to evade the king's service was a constant problem. An unfortunately unknown official complained to Sargon II, that "[...] my [troops] are scarce. [My prefects] went to (fetch) the men at their command; I have been waiting for them ever since I came back from the king my lord's presence, but they have not come. I wrote to the king, my lord, 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."²⁵⁰ Mannu-kī-Ninua also asked Sargon II that "a *qurbūtu* bodyguard should be appointed in the service of the scribe and the recruitment officers, to fetch and give them their men."²⁵¹

It seems that the provincial officials had to write an annual report on the losses and deserters. Šamaš-taklāk sent a report to Sargon II as follows: "Concerning what the king, my lord, wrote to me: 'Write down the number of your horses by [...] and by deserters, and [sen]d it to me' – [I have (already) given] over to the king, my lord, the horse(s) of the deserters [of las]t year. [This] year seven horses [have deserted to m]e."²⁵² A more detailed report shows that some officials sent a complete nominal list of the deserters to the king recording not only their names but other elements of their affiliation, as well. Nabû-rā'im-nīšēšu and Salamānu sent the following report to Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.): "As to the deserters whom the governor of Dēr sent to me (and) about whom the king, my lord, wrote to me: 'Interrogate them!' – we have interrogated them. Būr-Silā, 'third man' of the crown prince; Kudurru, servant of Mannaipite, likewise a 'third man' of the crown prince. Total two Elamites. Rama-il, a man from Arrapha, chariot fighter of the governor, Addiqritušu, (and) servants of Iairu, the Gambulean: Fifteen deserters whom the governor of Dēr sent to me."²⁵³ Another letter, sent by an unknown official to Assurbanipal also reports a similar case: a Babylonian citizen "has quit serving the [king's] magnates [in the c]a[m]p, and has come to Akkad. I am herewith sending him [to the king]. The king, my lord, should question him."²⁵⁴ The importance of the question is corroborated by a short letter of Qurdi-Aššur(-lāmur), governor of Šimirra to Tiglath-Pileser III, a report directly to the king giving the names of those four persons who deserted the service of the king somewhere in Phoenicia.²⁵⁵

Sometimes even the Assyrian officials contested with each other over renegade soldiers and other personnel: "As for the renegade scholars, eunuchs, and soldiers of Šamaš-ibnî, who are with Nabû-ušallim, about whom the king, my lord, wrote to me – when I spoke to him, he refused

²⁵⁰ PARPOLA 1987, 241 (ABL 563), 2-Rev. 10.

²⁵¹ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 105 (ABL 127), 4-8.

²⁵² FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 294 (ABL 153+), 4-11.

²⁵³ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 136 (ABL 140), 6-Rev. 6.

²⁵⁴ REYNOLDS 2003, 8 (ABL 1123), 4-7.

²⁵⁵ LUUKKO 2012, 31 (ND 2477), 5-11: "Šallāia, Burua-[...], Babê-šumki, Waru; in all four deserters (whom) [I am herewith sen]ding [t]o the king, [my lord. Let the king, my lord, question th]e[m]."

to give them up to me, saying: 'I will not give them up to you without a sealed document from the king and without a bodyguard.'"²⁵⁶

One of the most popular countries which provided asylum to refugees was Šubria, a Northern neighbour of Assyria, which enjoyed a relative independence between Urarṭu and Assyria as a buffer state during the 8th – early 7th centuries B.C. It is possible that Šubria – presumably according to a rule originating from some cultic tradition²⁵⁷ – was a refuge state, which had to provide sanctuary to those refugees who asked for asylum in the country.

Ša-Aššur-dubbu, governor of Tušhan reported to Sargon II, that "When I was visiting the king my lord [in] Kanun (X), 10 soldiers, (all) cavalrymen, deserted there; [recently], 40 soldiers from [...]ri took their people with them, pulled out their grinding slabs, and went there. I heard that he (the king of Šubria) had been very ill, so I asked him about those soldiers. He sent me a letter, saying: '*Tebal ada* – I shall send you yo[ur] men.'"²⁵⁸ The Šubrian king, however, supposedly (concluding from other pieces of evidence) did not send the Assyrian soldiers (probably local cavalrymen since they took with them their households as well) to Assyria.

A characteristic case comes to light from another report of Ša-Aššur-dubbu. He sent two eunuchs, two cohort commanders and six soldiers to Šubria, to bring back the Assyrian deserters who had fled to the fortress Penzâ. They had the men brought down, dined together with the brother of the Šubrian king, but when they set out and were on their way home, the Šubrians attacked them from an ambush, captured two eunuchs and the six soldiers, and only the two cohort commanders escaped. The governor set out on their trail in person, but the Šubrians had already taken them up to the fort.²⁵⁹ It is fortunate that a further letter of the governor quotes the king's order "to capture his (the Šubrian king's) men in equal number to your men, until he releases them."²⁶⁰

A very similar story is known from the report of Aššur-dūr-pānīa (governor of the Assyrian province of Šabirēšu, next to the Šubrian border). A commander-of-50 (*rab ḥanšê*) of the Gurrean troops of Meturna killed the mayor of Meturna, took 15 Gurrean soldiers with him and fled to Šubria, to the fort of Marḥuḥa. Aššur-dūr-pānīa sent Il-dalâ in pursuit of them. Il-dalâ met the commander-of-50 and they reached a sworn agreement, but the commander-of-50, with the help of 100 Marḥuḥean hoplites, went after the Assyrians and attacked them. The Assyrians, however, were on their guard, so none of them were killed and they wounded the commander-of-50.²⁶¹ The Assyrians, however, turned back empty-handed, because the Šubrians – as in several other cases – provided asylum for the commander-of-50.

There were, however, negotiations between the two parties. Aššur-dūr-pānīa reported to Sargon II that: "The Šubrian emissaries came to Šabirēšu on the 23rd of Adar (XII). Perhaps the king, my lord, will say: 'Who are they?' (They are) Iata', his man in charge of the towns near the Urarṭian border, and with him Abi-iaqâ, a local inhabitant. ... They have written down on clay tablets the king's men and the people of the country who last year, the year before and three years ago ran away from labour duty and military service, ending up there, and have set them as their bargain; they are going to bring (the tablets) and read them to the king, my lord. Yet the prime men who now escape the king's work and go there – he (Ḫu-Tešub, the Šubrian king) gives them

²⁵⁶ REYNOLDS 2003, 56 (ABL 336), 8-13.

²⁵⁷ DEZSÓ 2006C, 33-38; RADNER 2012, 243-264.

²⁵⁸ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 35 (CT 53, 160), 35-Rev. 11.

²⁵⁹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 32 (ABL 138), 7-Rev. 11.

²⁶⁰ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 33 (ABL 705), 6-12.

²⁶¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 53 (ABL 251).

fields, gardens and houses, settles them in his country, and there they stay.”²⁶² Other fragmentary letters also refer to similar cases, when Assyrian subjects – to avoid military and civilian service – escaped to Šubria.²⁶³ It still has not been convincingly proven why the Šubrians followed this practice, and granted asylum to the refugees, gave them fields, gardens and houses, and settled them in Šubria even though the Assyrians (and most probably the Urartians as well) threatened them. In spite of their military predominance, however, the Assyrians do not seem to have launched serious military campaigns against them.

Moreover, Ša-Aššur-dubbu had a quarrel with the king of Šubria, when he realized, that the Šubrian king stopped those Urartian deserters who wanted to desert from Urartu to Assyria: “I a[sk]ed the [Šubria]n: ‘Why do you seize deserters [f]rom the Urartian (king) fleeing to Assyria, and [settle them in] the city? Why do you [protect dese]rters and not give them to us?’ His reply: ‘I fear the gods.’ A s[cout] commander of the Urartian [enter]ed [the town ...] with 50 mules. They took the mules from him, put iron shackles to his arms and feet and returned him to the [Urartian]. I wrote [him]: ‘Why are you not afraid of the gods, (you) *abati*, calf of the Urart[ian]!’ Emissaries of the [Ur]artian keep coming and going to him.”²⁶⁴

This relative freedom and asylum status of Šubria ended abruptly and dramatically, when in 673 B.C. Esarhaddon – in search of his brothers who murdered their father, Sennacherib – destroyed the country and its capital Uppumu. The king of Šubria delivered a dramatic speech on the walls of his (burning) city, the words of which reveal the Šubrian attitude: “For each runaway Assyrian fugitive, let me replace him one hundred-fold. Let me live so that I may proclaim the fame of the god Aššur (and) praise your heroism. May the one who is neglectful of the god Aššur, king of the gods, the one who does not listen to the word of Esarhaddon, king of the world, his lord, (and) the one who does not return runaway Assyrian fugitives to his owner, learn from my example. (I said) thus: ‘The nobles, my advisors, spoke unwholesome lies to me. (Consequently) I committed a great sin against the god Aššur and (thus) I did not listen to the word of the king, my lord, did not return to you the citizens of Assyria, your servants, nor did I do myself (any) good. (Now) the oath of the great gods, which I transgressed, (and) the word of your kingship, which I despised, have caught up with me. May the anger of your heart be appeased. Have mercy on me and remove my punishment!’”²⁶⁵

I.3. Legal background of the recruitment system

With his study ‘Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire,’ Postgate marked a new era in the understanding of the Assyrian taxation and conscription system, including the recruitment of soldiers (and other personnel) into the army and to perform other duties for the state. He reconstructed the system by mapping the inventory/set of the words, which were used to describe the different aspects of the phenomenon. The identification of these *termini technici* helps us understand the texts and sheds some light on the logic of system as a whole.

²⁶² LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 52 (ABL 252), 4-Rev. 6.

²⁶³ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 54 (ABL 1176).

²⁶⁴ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 35 (CT 53, 160), 17-34.

²⁶⁵ LEICHTY 2011, 33, i:16-24.

I.3.1. Levy (BE-*qu*, *bitqu*, *batqu*)

As delineated by Postgate, this category is applied to men, horses and other materials as well.²⁶⁶ This study deals mainly with the first two categories, the levy of men and equids.

As has already been discussed in this chapter and the previous volumes of this project, the military service of the Assyrian Empire was based on a levy system, when ‘king’s men’ were levied from those communities of the Empire, which were not exempted from this obligation. The levied soldiers served for a certain period, most probably for a year, or for a campaign season only, since the supply of large numbers of conscripted soldiers was a burden on the central and local authorities. To avoid having to maintain them when inactive their service only lasted for a period, during which they could perform real duties, and they were discharged and let to go home, when there was no need to keep them in arms.

A few early examples show that this type of conscription already existed in the 9th century B.C., during the reign of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.), when a few Tell Billa texts refer to the existence of such a system.²⁶⁷ From the Sargonide letters already discussed in separate chapters of this book there are a few which fall into this category.

The first of them is a letter of an unfortunately unknown writer, who refers to a royal order in which the king (Sargon II) commanded this official to summon and send the horses to an unknown place (according to a strict schedule)²⁶⁸ by the 20th of Adar (XII). This letter mentions those “team-commanders (LÚ.GAL *ú-ra-te*), be it the prefects (LÚ.GAR-*n[u.MEŠ]*) or the recruitment officers (LÚ.*mu-šar-ki-sa-ni*) who are leaving for their levy (*bat-qi-šú-nu*).”²⁶⁹ It seems that in this case the word *batqu* refers to levied men.

The term was used to denote ‘replacement.’ Such a case is known from a letter of an unknown official, who reported to the king that the magnates – in spite of a royal order – had not provided replacements (*bat-qi*) for those 1,200 dead or invalid soldiers who had not gone on the campaign with the writer. The magnates had neither given them straw nor worked with them.²⁷⁰

A similar meaning is known from a letter of Šarru-ēmuranni, who obtained royal permission to take the troops of the son of Bēl-iddina with him and start his expedition. He asked the king as follows: “Since the king, my lord, said: ‘The son of Bēl-iddina should go with you,’ let him go with the troops, and let Nabû-ḥamātū’a stay here to do the work of the king, my lord, and *repair* the forts of the king, my lord.”²⁷¹ In this case a translation for the sentence of *bat-qu ša URU.ḪAL.ŠU.MEŠ ša LUGAL EN-ía lik-šu-ru* as “to collect the replacements for the forts of the king, my lord” seems more appropriate.

The fourth is the letter of Tāb-šil-Ēšarra to Sargon II, in which he reports that, in earlier times “I did not have to supply the deficits (*bat-qu*) of [the palace] of Ekallāte, but now that the king, my lord, has exempted the Inner City and the *ilku* duty of the Inner City has been imposed on me, I have to supply (even) the deficits (*bat-qu*) of the palace of Ekallāte!”²⁷² Consequently he levied king’s men even among the “sons of bought slaves.” According to this letter they provided 370

²⁶⁶ POSTGATE 1974, 59-62.

²⁶⁷ POSTGATE 1974, 41-42, 1.1.

²⁶⁸ PARPOLA 1987, 48 (ABL 630), 9’-12’: „The king my lord knows that the day I arrive in the king my lord’s presence, I (must) come back here post-haste!”

²⁶⁹ PARPOLA 1987, 48 (ABL 630), 13’-Rev. 6.

²⁷⁰ PARPOLA 1987, 143 (ABL 1180), Rev. 1-9.

²⁷¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 199 (ABL 311), Rev. 8’-15’.

²⁷² PARPOLA 1987, 99 (ABL 99), Rev. 4-9.

men, 90 of whom were king's men, 90 were (their) reserves (*ša ku-tal*), and 190 did the king's work.²⁷³ In this case the term refers to the supply of the deficit of king's men.

A similar meaning can be reconstructed in a well-known and often quoted letter of Aššur-bēlu-ušur. When he received a royal order from Sargon II to set out with his troops (and tribute), and join the army, Aššur-bēlu-ušur responded that he would do his best with his troops (recruit, chariot fighters, king's men, and 30 tribute horses), but he would be late, because – as the king knew – there was very much snow around Bīt-Ḫamban. This letter refers to an unknown official and his people, who were to supply their deficit (*bat-qu-šú*) by buying mules.²⁷⁴

Almost the same meaning is known from a letter of Nabû-rēmanni, which refers to the Zalipaeans, who “have come forth with 100 ho[rs]es in their hands. Four men from among them ran away to the desert and came to Nikkur, (where) they said: ‘We have brought horses from our country, but the Mannean has detained (them) inside his country.’ I am now writing to the king, my lord: Let the king, my lord, send a bodyguard to listen to what the Zal[ipaeans] have to say. Perhaps they will bring [the horses] out. I shall supply the [de]ficit of the king, [my] l[ord] (*bat-qu ša LUGAL be-[lī-ia] a-ka-šar*).”²⁷⁵

I.3.2. *Ilku* (‘corvée,’ ‘labour service’)²⁷⁶

Postgate suggested that *ilku* was “a system of personal service in return for land held directly from the king.”²⁷⁷ The system had military applications, as Postgate put it: “*ilku* was either the performance of military or civilian service for the state, or the payment of contributions as a commuted version of that service.”²⁷⁸ Following his logic it is obvious that the original rural concept changed immensely when the Assyrian Empire grew beyond the limits of the original system, its administrative structure became very complex, some officials could not be spared to perform the *ilku* service, and in the case of large towns and the “capital cities of Assyria, any call-up based on land-holders alone would be very incomplete. Therefore we must assume that people who did not own or till land were assessed for *ilku* in other ways. ... the system of payment in kind in place of *ilku* service must have grown up.”²⁷⁹ A further reason behind this change might be that since “*ilku* seems to have been the only major obligation to which the subjects of the crown were liable, and it is therefore possible that *ilku* despite its rather special antecedents, came to be the poll-tax par excellence of the nA empire.”²⁸⁰

The problem was realized by Richardson as well, but he refrained from such an explicit assertion when he stated that “The meaning of the term *ilku* was also as protean as it was durable: in different contexts *ilku* could refer to the service-land itself, the work done on that land, the delivery of the yield of that land, the service obligations attached to it, the tenure-holder

²⁷³ PARPOLA 1987, 99 (ABL 99).

²⁷⁴ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 60 (ABL 242), Rev. 5'-6'; 710/709 B.C., Babylonian campaign.

²⁷⁵ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 53 (ABL 165), 4-5.

²⁷⁶ POSTGATE 1974, 63-93.

²⁷⁷ POSTGATE 1974, 83, 86.

²⁷⁸ POSTGATE 1974, 83, 91.

²⁷⁹ POSTGATE 1974, 91.

²⁸⁰ POSTGATE 1974, 91-92.

himself, or goods, animals, and services used to support *ilku*-service. In all periods it is difficult to assess the degree to which *ilku*-tenancy in practice obligated actual military service instead of payments by the tenant to support the hire of troops by central authorities or provide substitutes (prohibited by the Code of Hammurabi, but well honoured by the breach).²⁸¹ He referred to Postgate's study, saying: "Postgate concluded that *ilku* intersected with a system of lots and shares in common land funds of the community: 'it would not have entailed large-scale of land-ownership, merely the acknowledgement ... of a status quo'²⁸² If that was the case, then the Assyrian military was deeply integrated, if not identical to, the village community, and quite different from a two sector economy of village and palace lands prevailing in Babylonia."²⁸³

When we are looking for the legal background of the military service, and a connection between service and *ilku* duty (which connection is hardly indicated in a direct form in the cuneiform corpus (for the few examples *see below*)), we should acknowledge that every duty in the service of the state can be perceived as a kind of *ilku*. This view supposes – as has been referred to by both Postgate and Richardson, as quoted above – that *ilku* was a general type of duty applied to several aspects of the state service.

According to the present writer's view, as a general phenomenon behind the military service, there is a much more direct connection between the military service obligation and the *ilku* of the nonprofessional or semi-professional soldiers owning their own fields or service-fields, than in the case of the professional soldiers, where the donation of estates would fall in a somewhat different category than a simple *ilku* obligation.

An example of the military connotations of the *ilku* duty is known from one of the letters of Aššur-dūr-pānīa discussed above, who reported to Sargon II that the Šubrian emissaries "have written down on clay tablets the king's men and the people of the country who last year, the year before and three years ago ran away from labour duty and military service (*il-ki TA IGI ERIM.MEŠ MAN-te*), ending up there, and have set them as their bargain; they are going to bring (the tablets) and read them to the king, my lord. Yet the prime men who now escape the king's work and go there – he (Ḫu-Tešub, the Šubrian king) gives them fields, gardens and houses, settles them in his country, and there they stay."²⁸⁴ These sentences make it clear that the labour duty/military service was a substantial burden and dangerous enough to make some people flee from the country.²⁸⁵

A further example is discussed in detail above: the letter of Tāb-šil-Ēšarra to Sargon II on the exemption of the Inner City, and the imposition of the *ilku* duty of the Inner City on him and the palace of Ekallāte refers to "370 men, 90 of whom were king's men, 90 were (their) reserves (*ša ku-tal*), and 190 did the king's work."²⁸⁶ In this case Tāb-šil-Ēšarra supplied the deficit of king's men who would serve in the army, or do the king's work on the base of their *ilku* duty.

The letter of Aššur-bēlu-da''in written to Sargon II shows that not only the Assyrians, but the conquered people, as for example the Ušḫu and Qudu also had to provide king's men for labour duty (*ilku*) and military service („Those obliged to provide labour have provided it, and those obliged to provide king's men (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ—MAN) have provided them").²⁸⁷ Similarly

²⁸¹ RICHARDSON 2011, 22.

²⁸² POSTGATE 1982, 304-313.

²⁸³ RICHARDSON 2011, 23.

²⁸⁴ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 52 (ABL 252), 4-Rev. 6.

²⁸⁵ Similar reports are known from other regions of the Empire: Carchemish (PARPOLA 1987, 183 (ABL 1287), 12) and even the blacksmiths have complained to the king that the *ilku* duty (they produced a great number of weapons for the Palace) became such a burden on them that they had gone away and entered the palaces (LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 40 (CT 53, 13), Rev. 12-17).

²⁸⁶ PARPOLA 1987, 99 (ABL 99).

²⁸⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 78 (ABL 246), 16.

Samnuḥa-bēlu-ušur also reminded the ruler that “the king, my lord, knows that the Šadikanneans are hirelings; they work for hire all over the king’s lands. They are no runaways; they perform the *ilku* duty and supply king’s men from their midst.”²⁸⁸

Some of the sources make it clear that this type of personal labour service would be replaced by payment in kind. There are a few examples which show a military context. Such an example is a list of provisions (ND 3467)²⁸⁹ (discussed in detail in chapter II.1.1.1.2 Central allotment of rations during a ‘home service’), which were – in the form of or deriving from of *ilku* duty – allotted to some chariot troops (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ) or more probably to their superior by the major-domo of the Palace (LÚ.GAL – É.GAL(*rab ekalli*)).

Another administrative text (ND 453)²⁹⁰ lists various *ilku* items divided into three categories (and discussed in chapter II.1.1.2.3 Raising barley rations for troops during campaign preparations):

(1) Daily campaign supplies (lines 1-5): “[x] bowl(s) of wine, 2 homers 1 *sūtu* of bread, 2 homers of beer, 5 *sūtu* of fodder – per day.”

(2) Non-recurrent campaign expenditure (lines 6-8): “2 minas of copper for oil for the lamp(s). All this for his expedition.”

(3) Yearly payments (lines 9-12): “90 minas of copper for 30 reserves of the king’s men, [x ho]mers of corn, 5 homers of ...corn, he shall receive in the year [...]”

From these examples it seems obvious that certain units were equipped and supplied by the *ilku* payments of various offices, communities or personnel.

It seems that some people could pay *ilku* in animals as well. A long list detailing the debts of the Qappatean people ends with these lines: “1,600 [...] is our *ilku*-service, which we give year after year. [We] have already giv[en] 150 sheep, 20 oxen and 2 horses, as audience gift of the town D[ūr-Šarrukēn].”²⁹¹ In a fragmentary letter Nergal-ēṭir also refers to the *ilku* dues the king imposed upon him: these dues included 30 oxen and [x] sheep from Parsua.²⁹² These payments would easily contributed to the supply of the units of the Assyrian army.

From our military point of view it seems quite reasonable to say that the *ilku*-based conscription was the general system on which the recruitment of the regular units of the Assyrian army was founded. Only the auxiliaries and the élite units of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) might have served on a different basis. Auxiliaries might have worked for service fields, ‘bow-fields,’ rights to pasture *etc.* (see below), while some units of the royal corps (bodyguard units of the cavalry and chariotry) possessed such special skills which went far beyond the possibilities of a recruitment based on an *ad hoc* yearly rota of peasants or other men, and suppose a professional status.

²⁸⁸ PARPOLA 1987, 223 (CT 53, 87), 4-13.

²⁸⁹ WISEMAN 1953, 146, ND 3467; POSTGATE 1974, 399-401.

²⁹⁰ POSTGATE 1973, 141 (ND 453).

²⁹¹ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 45 (ADD 1139+), 14-Rev. 6.

²⁹² FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 67 (ABL 230).

II. SUPPLY AND LOGISTICS

(Economic background of the army and the service)

According to the cuneiform evidence (to be discussed below in detail) the ethnic, social and economic background of the different troop types of the army was diverse,²⁹³ but by the 7th century this multi-faceted and varied system acquired a much more unified shape.²⁹⁴ During the second half of the 8th century B.C. this system, which we call the Assyrian army, conquered vast territories of the Near East, and during the 7th century B.C. consolidated the conquests, integrated the new territories into the Assyrian imperial administration and started to standardize the sub-systems of the Empire, including the economy, resulting in the ‘first world-market’ of history.²⁹⁵

The expanding army, the size of which – including the garrison and campaign troops as well – for the early 7th century B.C. could easily reach 100,000 soldiers, needed the resources (fields, grain crop, domestic animals, horses, other types of revenues, and manpower) of this new imperial economy. On the other side, however, as phrased by Richardson: “Recourse to all these incentives – land, rations, pay, promotion, and loot – reflected the fact that Mesopotamian militaries drew on manpower reserves from different sectors of society, and the military economy and the social order of the army was diversified accordingly. Can we then speak of a first-millennium ‘military economy’ when endemic warfare and military land-holding had long been central features of the political landscape. The answer, I think, is yes insofar as military elites had increased influence on state policy and ideology, state economies were reorganized around tributary modes of production and economic rationalization, and where the performance of war became an indispensable function of kingship. ‘Militarism’ denotes the point at which war was no longer the instrument of policy, but the policy goal itself, and a ‘military economy’ where the mode of production pertained not just for soldiers, in one economic sector, but at the level of the state as a whole. By these standards, the Neo-Assyrian Empire following 745 (under Tiglath-Pileser III) qualifies, for instance, since it was no longer possible for the state to do without the

²⁹³ DEZSŐ 2012B, 147-164. From the cuneiform evidence point of view “The Assyrian army was in reality many armies, each with its own command structure; its composite character can be seen as the intentional product of a royal strategy which aimed to neutralize the military’s otherwise unbridled power vis-à-vis the king in order to protect his sovereignty – a useful and successful approach that significantly contributed to Assyria’s internal stability and the longevity of its royal dynasty. The different contingents which constituted the Assyrian army were allowed and encouraged to preserve and develop their own customs and idiosyncrasies: rather than being forged into a unified army, its individual components found themselves in intense competition with each other for royal recognition and favour.” (RADNER 2010).

²⁹⁴ DEZSŐ 2012B, 147-164. According to the representational evidence, which admittedly reflects only on the élite troops represented on the palace reliefs, the Assyrian army became a unified army with a logical system of arms. This phenomenon is also reflected in the work of A.E. Barron, who described the Assyrian army as a “more mundane, utilitarian, and conservative military force which shows both a basic homogeneity throughout the empire, and the myriad tiny variables of an army on the move drawing weapons and troops from many regions.” (BARRON 2010, iii).

²⁹⁵ GITIN 1997, 77-104.

financial and ideological income produced by the execution of warfare – an ‘addictions model’ of imperialism.”²⁹⁶ The topic of ‘Assyria as a military state,’²⁹⁷ however, needs further research and is going to be discussed later.

The economic/financial background of the military service and the army as a whole is one of the most important questions in understanding the general logic behind the Assyrian military, a topic that has been central to the attention of Assyriologists for a long time.²⁹⁸ Examining the sources it became clear that the most important means for the maintenance and operation of the system were the ration system (daily, monthly etc.), the service-field (service-fields for soldiers and estates for officers) system, an exemption system, the booty and other types of *ad hoc* allotments and different types of taxes.

Following this largely theoretical contemplation, this chapter is going to present a detailed analysis of the different sources of income mentioned above.

II.1 RATIONS

All of the soldiers of the Assyrian army – irrespectively of being a recruited professionals or drafted nonprofessional (*see Fig. 1*) – were supplied with daily rations while in active service. These daily rations²⁹⁹ were provided by the Assyrian state through a complex system of logistical organization – including personnel in charge, infrastructure (*e.g.* granaries, and the necessary delivering/transporting capacity), and a solid legal background for the taxation system – within the borders of the Empire. The picture changed when the army operated on enemy territory, when the supplies contributed by the allies or the confiscated goods and booty provided the necessary supplies for the army (*see chapter II.3 Booty and tribute*). The Assyrian Empire had at its disposal vast capacities and resources to run the system and maintain the largest army so far.

II.1.1 Central allotment of rations during a ‘home service’

II.1.1.1 Central management – administrative texts

According to the nature of our textual evidence, two aspects of the daily/monthly rations can be reconstructed and examined: (1) central allotment of *ex officio* daily rations during a court service or at home for different members of the Assyrian military élite; (2) daily rations piled up or collected for the garrison service and for troops mobilized for a campaign.

²⁹⁶ RICHARDSON 2011, 32-33. Referring to FUCHS 2005.

²⁹⁷ *See* FUCHS 2005, 35-60.

²⁹⁸ FALES 1990, 23-34; FALES 2000, 35-62; FALES 2010B, *passim*; FUCHS 2005, 35-60; MALBRAN-LABAT 1982, *passim*; MAYER 1979A, 571-595; MAYER 1995, *passim*; POSTGATE 1974, *passim*; POSTGATE 2000, 89-108; RADNER 2011, 37-58; RICHARDSON 2011, 11-51.

²⁹⁹ Assyrian ration lists refer almost exclusively to grain and wine to be distributed, with meat hardly appearing in ‘classical’ ration lists. The sources of meat and the distribution of livestock are going to be reconstructed in a separate chapter (II.1.2.3 Sources of meat) and from the booty and tribute lists (II.3.1.5 Livestock, *Fig. 41*). However, in the Mesopotamian tradition not only barley/

II.1.1.1.1 Central allotment of ex officio daily rations during a court service

Administrative texts from Nimrud³⁰⁰ dated to the 8th century B.C. (some of them as early as the reign of Adad-nērārī III (810–783 B.C.) grant insight into the central supply management of the royal court. These long and detailed lists record the amount of food and wine rations allotted to court personnel (including military) and fodder for animals (characteristically for horses). For our convenience we used the conventional relation of 1 *qa* (= 1/10 of a *sūtu* = 1/100 *emāru*) to 1 litre.³⁰¹

As has been discussed in detail in a previous volume of this project³⁰² these ration lists contain valuable information not only about the amounts of bread and wine distributed among court personnel and officers (a detailed reconstruction following later) but also on the group of officials who received (daily) rations at court. ND 2803, for example, is an administrative tablet, a long ration list detailing different amounts of bread and fodder issued to different personnel (Fig. 17). It seems from this text that the given amounts of grain (bread and fodder) had to be provided by different towns (provinces) of the Empire (*see below*). In the section starting with Col. II:17' the text lists (travel) provisions for several *qurbūtu* bodyguards sent on various official missions.³⁰³ As is generally known, the *qurbūtu* bodyguards were sent by the king to perform their duties throughout the Empire. This text probably lists the travel provisions assigned to them from the royal granaries. A separate passage of the same text enumerates the provisions of the *qurbūtu* bodyguards who had brought horses from different parts of the Empire.³⁰⁴ In this case the rations are probably fodder for the animals, and not bread rations for *qurbūtu* bodyguards. Two further bread lists are known from the Nimrud archives. ND 2489 lists court personnel (including the *qurbūtu* bodyguard) and staff who received daily rations from the court.³⁰⁵ The list includes the king himself, with the queen and the Chief Eunuch as well. Another bread list (ND 2371) lists high officials and military personnel (including 'third men,' and 'chariot owners of the bodyguard'). This list allocates a similar amount of (daily) bread to the *qurbūtu* bodyguard as the previous text did.³⁰⁶ This amount is much larger than a person's daily needs and can probably be attributed to the importance of his office. The ration list tablets enumerate individuals (or

wheat played the role of staple food. It is known that throughout the Mesopotamian history dates played a key role in the supply of the people. In the Neo-Assyrian royal correspondence, however, this item does not appear as part of the daily ration of the troops, but dates should have played a similarly important role in the Neo-Assyrian period as well.

³⁰⁰ PARKER 1961; KINNIER WILSON 1972. For a study of a possible reconstruction of the size of the royal household *see* KINNIER WILSON 1972, 115-120, esp. 118-119. and GROSS 2014.

³⁰¹ For the other 'substandard' *sūtus* (of 9 or 8 *qas*, or smaller amounts) *see* FALES 1990, 27, notes 14 and 15 with further references. For the *sūtu* of 9 *qa* *see* DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, no. 12 (ND 7010), 1; for the *sūtu* of 8 *qa* *see* DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, no. 13 (ND 7054), 3; and for the *sūtu* of 10 *qa* *see* DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, no. 11 (ND 7058), 3 (by the Assyrian *qa*!).

³⁰² DEZSŐ 2012A, 127-128.

³⁰³ PARKER 1961, ND 2803, Col. II:17'-18': [x] homers and 7 *sūtu* (70 litres) bread were issued to Sapunu, the *qurbūtu* bodyguard, for cow's milk in the town of Qumbuna ...; 26'-27': [x] homers and x *sūtu* bread was issued to] Ibnia, the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince, who went to Samaria (and)? the town of Si[don?]; 28': 1 homer (100 litres) to Issar-Bābilā'i, *qurbūtu* bodyguard [...]; Rev. Col. 1-3: 20 homers, 4 *sūtu* (240 litres) to the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince for a man [...] who from the town of [...] travelled to the country of Ḥarḥar; 4-5: 4 homers (400 litres) to Issar-dūri the *qurbūtu* bodyguard going to the country of Marbanai, who was given it in Nineveh; 8-9: [...] the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince who came from across the river (i.e. Euphrates); 11-12: 6 homers, 1 *sūtu* (610 litres) [to ...] *qurbūtu* bodyguard for cows' milk for the house in the lower country; 33: [...] -ili- [...] the *qurbūtu* bodyguard [...]; 35-36: [...] Šulmu-ēreš the *qurbūtu* bodyguard [...] from Laḥiru.

³⁰⁴ PARKER 1961, ND 2803, Rev. Col. II:14-15: [x] homers, 1 *sūtu* (10 litres) to Gaiā, the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince for horses from Bit-Daltā; 17-19: 1 homer, 4 *sūtu* (140 litres) to Kanūnāiu, *qurbūtu* bodyguard for horses which he brought from Arzuḫina.

³⁰⁵ KINNIER WILSON 1972, 35 (ND 2489), 8'; PARKER 1961, ND 2489, Col. I:7': the *qurbūtu* bodyguard (*qur-ub-tu*) got 1 *sūtu* 3 *qa* (13 litres) grain.

³⁰⁶ KINNIER WILSON 1972, 34 (ND 2371), 7'; PARKER 1961, ND 2371, 7': the *qurbūtu* bodyguard (*ša qur-ru-ub-tu*) got 1 *sūtu* 5 *qa* (15 litres) grain.

categories, as the *qurbūtu* bodyguard) and groups (for example ‘third men,’ and ‘chariot owners of the bodyguard’) as well, hence the impossibility of comparing the amounts with each other, and it is difficult to determine the prestige of the offices on the basis of the amounts they obtained.

The other type of ration list is the wine list. 33 such lists are known enumerating the court officials who obtained daily wine rations from the court.³⁰⁷ It seems that some of them received rations *ex officio*, some of them *ad hominem* (their office is unknown). The wine lists raise the same question as the bread lists: it is unclear whether *qurbūtu* bodyguard denotes a single soldier on duty at the court who received rations, or a complete unit or collective body. The amount of wine exceeds one person’s needs by far, and probably relates to the office of the *qurbūtu*.³⁰⁸

A further standard item on these lists is the ‘cohort of Šamaš,’ member(s) of which got a standard ration of wine between 2.5 and 3 *qa* (2.5–3 litres) daily.³⁰⁹ This amount was enough for one or two people, so the possibility of rationing a whole unit can be excluded. This unit might have been a contingent of soldiers or workers attached to the god or an army contingent bearing the name of the god, a practice known from the cuneiform evidence (for a detailed study see the next volume of this project).

Summing up the information collected from ration lists, it is important to note that high officials and large numbers of military personnel received daily rations from the court. These ration lists probably allocated supplies only to people who actually stayed at court. A further question remains whether these lists designated the amounts of daily rations in terms of general categories (daily rations for each of several *qurbūtu* officers), or whether it is possible that there was always one single *qurbūtu* officer on duty at the court who received this amount. Since at least three of the lists are dated to the same day (11th of Nisan)³¹⁰ it is possible that they fixed the amount of rations for a certain period of time (a month or year).

The other question is: is it possible to reconstruct the daily rations (bread for soldiers and fodder for horses) from these administrative texts? Figs. 17–18. list all the amounts of bread and fodder which are relevant from our point of view and can be reconstructed from these tablets.

ND 2803.³¹¹ The most important difficulty with the interpretation of ND 2803 is that the periods for which the given amounts of grain rations were issued, can hardly be established. Our tentative reconstruction is based on periods of 1, 3, 6, and 9 months of service, for which these personnel and their equids might have obtained rations from the central logistical organization of the Palace. For this reason, with the help of Fig. 17, we tried to reconstruct the most likely time spans (1, 3, 6, and 9 months), for which the given amounts of grain (bread and fodder) could serve as the minimum or even the main sources of subsistence for personnel and equids as well.

Several important inferences can, however, be drawn from the examination of ND 2803. At least two categories (determined by the amount of grain rations) of military personnel can be reconstructed from the list. It has to be emphasized that the slaves (77 palace slaves) – who are not at the centre of the present study – seem to be plied with a very low daily ration: if our

³⁰⁷ For a discussion on the purpose of these wine lists – whether these were ration lists (Parpola) or served a single festive occasion (Fales) – see PARPOLA 1976, 165–174; FALES 1994, 361–380, esp. 370.

³⁰⁸ KINNIER WILSON 1972, 3 (ND 6218), I:14: 4 *sūtu* (40 litres); 8 (ND 10047), 8: 3 *sūtu* 4 *qa* (34 litres); 13 (ND 10027+), 2: 3 *sūtu* 5 *qa* (35 litres); 22 (ND 10061), 11: 3 *sūtu* (30 litres); 33 (ND 6213+), I:4: 1 *sūtu* (10 litres).

³⁰⁹ KINNIER WILSON 1972, 3 (ND 6218), I:26: *ša ki-iš-ri ša* ^dUTU (2.5 *qa*), 784 B.C.; 6 (ND 6219), 14: *ki-šir ša* ^dUTU (3? *qa*); 8 (ND 10047), 19: *ki-šir* ^dUTU, (791 B.C.); 10 (ND 10057), Rev. 8: *ki-šir ša* ^dUTU (2.5/3 *qa*); 13 (ND.10027+), 13: *ki-šir ša* ^dUTU (3 *qa*); 19 (ND 10051), 16: *ki-šir ša* ^dUTU; 35 (ND 2489), 8: *ki-šir* [*ša* ^dUTU] (6 *qa* of wine).

³¹⁰ KINNIER WILSON 1972, 2 (ND 6230), 5 (ND 6214), 6 (ND 6219)?; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, 119 (ND 10036).

³¹¹ PARKER 1961, 55–61, ND 2803.

reconstruction is correct they received 0.62 litre of grain *per diem*. A similarly meagre ration (0.66 litre) went to the ‘man who fed the birds’; the women listed in ND 2803 – probably due to their social status – got rations between 0.5 litre and 1.21 litres. The governess (*šakintu*) received a very large ration, 4 litres of grain daily.

According to the list, (1) the first category of military personnel comprised 201 chariot men (LÚ.GIGIR), who got 18,720 litres of grain. If they obtained this amount for three months, their daily ration was still a very low, and amounts to 1 litre each.³¹² (2) The second category included different types of *qurbūtu* bodyguards (Rev. I:1-12). They received different sized rations, but if we reconstruct the different periods of service, for which they might have obtained them, we get a very coherent result: each of the *qurbūtu* bodyguards got about 2.2–2.3 litres as a daily ration, which befitted their social status. It has to be admitted that it is not known, whether these amounts were the only sources of their daily subsistence or supplemented an income from other sources.

A similarly coherent picture emerges from the rations of the equids. If we reconstruct the different time periods in ND 2803, for which the equids might have gotten fodder rations, it seems that the horses to be sent or to be brought received a daily ration between 7.5 and 9.5 litres each (7.5, 8.5, 8.5, 9.0, 9.5). This amount seems much more than the modern standard (of the 3 kg fodder and 6 kg hay daily) and was abundantly sufficient for the daily sustenance of a (war)horse.

³¹² Fales argued correctly that 1 *qa* = 1 litre = 0.8 kg of grain was a „minimum survival” daily grain ration, which could have yielded 600–650 grams of bread (FALES 1990, 29).

TEXT	HORSES / MEN	FODDER / BREAD	1 month	3 months	6 months	9 months	RATION / DAY
ND 2803							
O. i:10-11	114 women	38,580 litres (for 9.3 months)	4,140 litres				1.21 litres / woman
23-24	77 palace slaves	10,760 litres (for 7.5 months)	1,422.5 litres				0.62 litre / slave
26	1 man who feeds the birds	20 litres	20 litres				0.66 litre / man
29-30	7 women	15 litres daily (for 6.5 months)					0.5 litre / woman
32	1 <i>šakintu</i> woman	1,450 litres (for 12 months)	120 litres				4 litres / <i>šakintu</i>
O. ii:4'	120 <i>pit</i> -[<i>ba</i>]	184,000 litres / 6 months (from Elul (VI) to the end of the year?)			30,666.6 litres		8.5 litres / horse
5'	or 250 LU <i>pit</i> -[<i>hal</i>]	184,000 litres / year / 250 cavalry?	736 litres			5,120 litres	2.04 litres / cavalry
6'-7'	2 <i>pit</i> -[<i>hal</i>] ša LU.SAG.MEŠ	5,120 litres (for 9 months)	570 litres			64,800 litres	9.5 litres / horse
8'-9'	20 <i>ur-ri-e</i>	64,800 litres	7,200				6 litres / horse
10'-11'	94 SAL ANŠE.KUR.MEŠ	24,100 litres	24,100 litres				8.5 litres / horse
13'-14'	201 LU.GIGIR	18,720 litres		6,240 litres			1 litre / man
17'	Sapunu LU. <i>qur-bu</i> -[<i>tu</i>]	X+70? litres					
26'	Ibnia LU. <i>qur-bu</i> -[<i>tu</i>] ša DUMU.MAN						
28'	Issar-Babilāia LU. <i>qur-bu</i> -[<i>te</i>]	100? litres					
R. i:1	LU. <i>qur-bu</i> -[<i>tu</i>] ša DUMU.MAN	204 litres		68 litres			2.26 litres / man
4	Issar-Dūri LU. <i>qur-bu</i> -[<i>tu</i>]	400 litres			66.6 litres		2.22 litres / man
8	[...] LU. <i>qur-bu</i> -[<i>te</i>] ša DUMU.MAN						
11	[...] <i>a-a</i> LU. <i>qur-bu</i> -[<i>te</i>]	601 litres				66.7 litres	2.22 litres / man
33	[...] <i>ir-s</i> [...] LU. <i>qur-bu</i> -[<i>te</i>] DUMU.MAN						
35	DI- <i>mu</i> -APIN- <i>eš</i> LU. <i>qur-bu</i> -[<i>te</i>]						
R. ii:10-11	ANŠE.KUR.MEŠ KUR. <i>Man-na-a-a</i>	200 litres					
13	ANŠE.KUR.MEŠ KUR. <i>Elam</i> -[<i>ma</i> ?]- <i>a</i>						
14-15	ANŠE.KUR.MEŠ ša É Daltâ (Gaîâ LU. <i>qur-bu</i> -[<i>ti</i>] ša DUMU.MAN)						
17-18	ANŠE.KUR.MEŠ <i>a-na</i> Urzuḫina <i>û-bi-lu-ur-ni</i> (Kanūnāiu LU. <i>qur-bu</i> -[<i>te</i>])	104 litres					
22	220 ANŠE.KUR.MEŠ? <i>qa-ni</i>	15 litres for 2 days each?					7.5 litres / horse
ND 10013							
9'	22 MÍ.ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ	2,240? litres	101 litres / mare				3.3 litres / mare
10'	175 ANŠE.NĪTA.MEŠ ša <i>ma</i> -' <i>a-si</i>	17,500 litres	100 litres / donkey				3.3 litres / donkey

Fig. 17. Grain rations reconstructed from Nimrud bread and wine lists (ND 2803 and ND 10013).

ND 10013.³¹³ This text provides further details on the fodder rations of mares and donkeys, and it seems from this administrative list (Fig. 17) that the mares and donkeys of the (royal) stables got 6.3 litres and 3.3 litres fodder *per diem* respectively. These amounts are fractions (approximately 1/3) of the 8.5–9 litres of grain per horse daily known from ND 2803 discussed above.

TEXT	MILITARY TITLE	TOTAL RATION	DAILY RATION
ND 6218			
Col. i:7	‘foreman/commander of the teams’ (<i>ša pa-an ú-ra-a-te</i>)		2 litres of wine
Col. iii:1	recruits of the Chief Eunuch (L[Ú.ra]k-su-t[e GA]L LÚ.SAG)	20 litres of wine	
2	‘of the <i>mušēzibāte</i> ’ (<i>ša GIŠ.m[u-s]e-zib-a-te</i>)		5 litres of wine
3	‘of the teams’ (<i>ša ú-ra-a-te</i>)		3 litres of wine
4	‘of the <i>dunāni</i> ’ (<i>ša GIŠ.du-na-ni</i>)		1.5 litres of wine
5	<i>taḥlīpu</i> chariot man (LÚ.GIGIR <i>ša</i> GIŠ. <i>taḥ-līp</i>)		0.5 litre of wine
6	tracker (LÚ.UŠ <i>kib-si</i>)		2 litres of wine
7	commander-of-50 (LÚ.GAL 50.MEŠ- <i>nī</i>)		2 litres of wine
ND 2371			
6	‘third men’ (LÚ.3.UŠ.MEŠ)	119 litres	
7	bodyguards (<i>ša qur-ru-ub-tū</i>)	15 litres	
8	chariot owners of bodyguard (EN GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ <i>qur-ru-ub-tū</i>)	8 litres	
9	<i>kallāpu</i> soldiers (LÚ.kal-la-[<i>pa-ni</i>])	60 litres	
ND 2489			
Col. i:6	chariot driver (LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA)	[x] <i>qa</i> (litres)	
7	chariot owners (LÚ.EN GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ)	20 litres	
8	bodyguard (<i>qur-ru-ub-tū</i>)	13 litres	
14	‘of the <i>dunāni</i> ’ (<i>ša</i> GIŠ.du-na-ni)	4 litres	
15	<i>taḥlīpu</i> charioteer(s) (<i>ša</i> GIŠ. <i>taḥ-līp</i>)	[x] <i>qa</i> (litres)	
Col. ii:2	cohort of Šamaš (<i>ki-šir</i> [<i>ša</i> DINGIR.UTU])	6 litres	
8	recruits of <i>kallāpu</i> soldiers (LÚ.rak-su-uti.MEŠ <i>ša</i> kal-lap)	1[x] litres	
Col. iii:4-5	chariot men of the eunuchs (LÚ.GIGIR.MEŠ <i>ša</i> SAG.MEŠ)	50 litres	
ND 2442			
Col. i:1’-2’	2 <i>ú-rat</i> .MEŠ	20 litres / 2/4 horses	10/5 litres / horse
3’-4’	2 <i>ú-rat pīt-ḫal-lim</i> ?	16 litres / 2/4 horses	8/4 litres / horse
5’-6’	2 <i>ú-rat</i> .MEŠ <i>pīt-ḫal-lum</i> 6 <i>gam-mal</i>	50 litres / 2/4 horses + 6 camels	5 litres / animal?

Fig 18. Grain rations reconstructed from Nimrud wine (ND 6218) bread and wine lists (ND 2371, ND 2489, and ND 2442).

ND 6218.³¹⁴ ND 6218 (Fig. 18), the only wine list included into this study, is a list which most probably contains daily rations of different personnel performed a service in the royal court, the daily ration of different members of military ranged from 0.5 litre to 2–3 litres of wine *per diem*. The lowest ration went to the chariot men/grooms of the *taḥlīpu* chariotry (LÚ.GIGIR *ša* GIŠ.*taḥ-līp*).³¹⁵ We do not know whether the personnel of the three enigmatic categories (*ša* GIŠ.*mušēzibāte*,

³¹³ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, 150-152, no. 89 (ND 10013).

³¹⁴ KINNIER WILSON 1972, 3 (ND 6218), pls. 9-10: cols. i-ii; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, 145 (ND 6218), pl. 44: cols. iii-iv.784 B.C.

³¹⁵ For the *taḥlīpu* chariotry see DEZSŐ 2012B, 70-71; for the chariot men/grooms of the *taḥlīpu* chariotry (LÚ.GIGIR *ša* GIŠ.*taḥ-līp*) see DEZSŐ 2012B, 115.

and *ša GIŠ.dunāni*) with their 5 and 1.5 litres of wine were a collective body or whether they provisioned a single person. 20 litres of wine for the ‘recruits’ of the Chief Eunuch (LÚ.rak-su-te GAL LÚ.SAG)³¹⁶ provided rations probably for 20 ‘recruits’ *per diem*. The category ‘of the teams’ (*ša urâte*, obviously referring to personnel and not to horses) with their 3 litres of wine (for 2 or 3 personnel) differs from their official, the ‘foremen/commander of the teams’ (*ša pān urâte*), who got 2 litres of wine daily. It seems that an average of 2 litres of wine were provided for the military daily: this amount was allotted to the scout (*rādi kibsi*) and to the commander-of-50 (*rab ḥanšē*). It is important to note that further entries of the texts listing the daily rations of civilian personnel show a fairly consistent picture: most of the individuals were supplied with 1 or 2 litres of wine per day.³¹⁷

ND 2371.³¹⁸ ND 2371 is another bread list, which provides information for the reconstruction of the overall amounts of the grain rations, but unfortunately the number of personnel behind the general categories is unknown. ‘Third men’ obtained 119 litres of grain, which was sufficient for approximately 60 ‘third men’ (with an average of 2 litres *per diem* reconstructed from the previous lists and implied by the importance of the ‘third men’).³¹⁹ Following this logic and the average rations calculated from ND 2803, 15 litres of grain was the daily ration of 6 *qurbūtu* bodyguards, 8 litres of grain was the daily allocation for about 4 chariot owners of the bodyguard, 60 litres of grain was the daily allotment of 30 *kallāpu* soldiers.

ND 2489.³²⁰ ND 2489 is a similar bread list with only the overall amounts of the rations. These data are of no help in the reconstruction of the daily rations for the different types of military personnel, consequently we have to use the data deduced from the previous lists. This list most probably issued daily provisions for 10 chariot owners (2 litres each), 5–6 *qurubtu/qurbūtu* bodyguards (2.2 litres each), and 100 chariot men (0.5 litres each).

ND 2442.³²¹ After analysing ND 2442, the most important question remains whether the term *urū* means teams of horses, i.e. 2 horses, or whether it is used as a synonym to ‘horse.’ This results in obvious differences between the different ration calculations, with the daily rations varying between 4–5 and 8–10 litres daily, the latter correlating to a greater extent to the overall conclusion drawn from ND 2803 discussed above.

II.1.1.1.2 Central allotment of rations during a ‘home service’

These bread, fodder, and wine rations, however, were probably not the only types of provision allotted to military personnel or troops and probably not the only sources of income. Furthermore, some of the troops and military personnel were provisioned during not only of their court service, or during the campaign they went to, but the military supply organization of the Empire provisioned them all the year round. Some of the supplies of military personnel were fixed to certain duties. A letter written to Sargon II by an unknown official, mentions in reference to a recruitment officer (*mušarkisu*) that: “the guard duty, (which) is mutually fixed for our bread and water.”³²² An interesting administrative text/letter, gives a much more coherent and detailed picture of the military provision system.

³¹⁶ DEZSŐ 2012B, 119.

³¹⁷ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, 145 (ND 6218), col. iii:12-28.

³¹⁸ KINNIER WILSON 1972, 34 (ND 2371).

³¹⁹ DEZSŐ 2012B, 102-109.

³²⁰ KINNIER WILSON 1972, 35 (ND 2489).

³²¹ PARKER 1961, 26-27, ND 2442.

³²² DIETRICH 2003, 69 (CT 54, 19), 16-18.

ND 3467³²³ is a list of provisions, which were – in the form or from the source of *ilku* duty – allotted to some chariot troops (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ) or more probably to their superior by the major-domo of the Palace (LÚ.GAL—Ē.GAL^m*Pa-ni-i* (*rab ekalli*)).

ND 3467 ³²⁴		
1	<i>il-ku ša</i> LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ	The <i>ilku</i> of the chariot men
2	<i>ša ina lib-bi</i> LÚ.GAL—Ē.GAL ^m <i>Pa-ni-i</i>	which is for/from the <i>rab ekalli</i> , Panî:
1.		
3	3 ANŠE(<i>imēr</i>) ŠE. <i>ki-su-u-tú</i>	30 litres of fodder
4	<i>ša</i> ITI-šú	per month
5	7 ŠE. <i>ma-qa-ra-te</i>	7 bales of ...
6	9½ ŠE.IN.NU	9½ bales of straw
2.		
7	9 BÂN(<i>sūtu</i>) ZID.DA.MEŠ 1 SĪLA(<i>qā</i>) GEŠTIN.MEŠ	90 litres of flour, 1 litre of wine
8	½ SĪLA(<i>qā</i>) Ī.MEŠ(<i>šamnē</i>) 1 BÂN(<i>sūtu</i>) <i>ku-dim-me</i>	0.5 litre oil, 1 litre of <i>kuddimmu</i> (salt from the <i>kuddimmu</i> plant)
9	½ SĪLA(<i>qā</i>) MUN.MEŠ(<i>ṭābtu</i>)	0.5 litre of salt
10	1 ANŠE(<i>imēr</i>) 2 BÂN(<i>sūtu</i>) ŠE. <i>ki-ši-in-ni</i>	120 litres of <i>kišinnu</i> plant (a leguminous plant)
3.		
11	<i>ú-ma-a ina lib-bi</i> U ₄ .MEŠ(<i>ūmē</i>)- <i>ia</i>	Now, during my days
12	10 ŠE. <i>ma-qa-ra-te</i> ŠE.IN.NU	10 bales of straw
13	1 SĪLA(<i>qā</i>) Ī.MEŠ(<i>šamnē</i>) <i>ša</i> ITU(<i>arah</i>)-šú	1 litre of oil, monthly
14	<i>i-ma-ḥar-ra-an-ni</i>	he receives from me.
4.		
Rev. 15	24 GIN.MEŠ(<i>šiqlī</i>) KÙ.BABBAR(<i>kaspi</i>)	24 sheqels of silver
16	<i>ša</i> Ū.MEŠ-šú	for his plants
17	<i>i-ma-ḥa-ra-ni</i>	he receives from me.
5.		
18	1 ANŠE(<i>imēr</i>) 8 BÂN(<i>sūtu</i>) ZID.DA.MEŠ	180 litres of flour
19	2 TUG. <i>sa-ga-a-te</i>	2 <i>sagātu</i> clothes
20	2 KUŠ. <i>ma-za-'a</i>	2 leather <i>maza'u</i> -s
21	3 <i>ma-na</i> SIG.ÜZ(<i>šārtu</i>)	3 minas (1.5 kg) of goat-hair
22	3 SĪLA(<i>qā</i>) Ī.MEŠ(<i>šamnē</i>)	3 litres of oil
23	PAP(<i>napḥar</i>) <i>an-nu-u</i>	all of this
24	<i>ša ina</i> KASKAL(<i>ḥarrān</i>)-šú	for his campaign.
6.		
25	KÙ.BABBAR(<i>kaspu</i>) <i>ša</i> Ū.MEŠ	From the silver for the plants
26	<i>be-lí li-ri-ma-a-ni</i>	may my lord excuse me.
27	<i>ina lib-bi</i> GU ₄ .NITA	For an ox
28	<i>la a-di-in-ni</i>	may I use
29	<i>ina</i> GIŠ.APIN(<i>epinni</i>)	for the plough.

Fig. 19. ND 3467 – a letter of an unknown official listing provisions.

As Fig. 19 shows, this administrative report can be divided into at least 6 separate sections:

- (1) The first section (lines 3—6) lists fodder and straw allotted to this official (the officer of the chariot men?). It is quite clear that the given amounts are hardly sufficient to provision a single horse (not to say the horses of a whole unit!), since our reconstruction based on ND 2803 and related texts shows that during court service a horse was supplied with 7.5—9.5 litres of fodder *per diem*. The report, however, does not state that these (monthly) rations were the only source of income for the supply of the officer's household.

³²³ WISEMAN 1953, 146, ND 3467; POSTGATE 1974, 399-401.

³²⁴ This chart follows the interpretation of POSTGATE 1974, 399-401.

- (2) The second section (lines 7–10) lists foodstuff for a household. The 90 litres of flour might serve as a monthly ration (3 litres daily) and might be sufficient for a whole family. 0.5 litres of oil seems too little for a monthly ration (but as has been stated above, the report makes no mention of this being the exclusive source for the household's sustenance). The amounts of salt, the 1 litre of *kudimmu* salt, and 0.5 litre of salt seems sufficient for a month. The last item – 120 litres of *kišinnu* plant (a leguminous plant?) – due to its large quantity (4 litres daily) may have served as a kind of staple food.
- (3) In the third section (lines 11–14) the author of the text emphasizes that unlike his predecessor or departing from the instructions, he provided a somewhat higher quota during his office, 10 bales of straw (instead of 9 ½) and 1 litre of oil (instead of 0.5 litre).
- (4) The fourth section (lines Rev. 15–17) contains surprising data: according to the orders the author of the letter should provide 24 sheqels of silver for plants. The sum seems very high and the plant to be purchased for such a high amount of silver is unknown. Is it possible that the author refers to (a huge amount of) seed-corn to be bought?
- (5) The fifth section (lines 18–24) is somewhat different, since – contrary to the previous sections describing the 'home allowance' of the household of the 'commander' – gives the details of the campaign allotment of a man (most probably the officer of the unit). The 180 litres of flour is enough for 60 or even 90 days, and so are the 3 litres of oil. The other clothes might serve as different types garments, while the goat-hair might serve as lining (under the armour or within the helmet). The campaign flour is a well-known phenomenon (*see below*). The most important question is, however, whether this 'commander' obtained the 180 litres of flour for himself (to cover his subsistence for 2 or 3 months) or whether these rations belonged to his unit (for 1 or 2 months). If he himself got the 180 litres of flour, it is simply unrealistic to assume that he carried such a huge amount of flour with himself from home on the campaign (it would have needed 2 or 3 asses, which have also needed sustenance). It would have been a very expensive endeavour. A much more plausible assumption would be to suppose that this amount was a theoretical campaign ration, from which he could draw a few days' amount (to be carried) at different royal granaries and military depositories of the Assyrian military logistical network within the Empire along the way to the operational zone of the campaign (for a detailed discussion of this topic *see below* in chapter II.1.2 Central allotment of rations during a campaign).
- (6) In the last, sixth section (lines 25–29) the author of the report excuses himself for not having bought plants for the 24 sheqels of silver, but an ox for the plough instead. It means that the central allowance of the 'commander' might even include an ox (instead of the plants or seed-corn). This makes sense if we suppose that the 'commander' owned private fields or got service fields befitting his position (*see the chapter II.2.2 Service-fields/estates of officers*).

Judging from the evidence it can be concluded that this text does not list the rations of a unit of chariot men (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ), but most probably of their superior. This enigmatic letter, however, is still in the process of decryption as Postgate wrote: "The author of the text is not identified, while his superior (*be-lí*, l. 26) is probably the *rab ekalli* himself. The text starts as a list and ends up with an appeal as though it were a letter. There remains the identity of the person referred to in the 3rd person in ll. 14, 16-17, 24; this is either the officer commanding the contingent, or, if 'my lord' and the palace overseer Panî are not the same man, this 'he' would be Panî."³²⁵

³²⁵ POSTGATE 1974, 401.

It further appears that this text falls into the *ilku* category, which Postgate phrased as follows: “these payments are to be made by persons liable to *ilku*, who are however allowed to fulfill their obligations by fitting out others instead of serving in person.”³²⁶

The division of the rations between a campaign allotment and the allocations for the family staying home is known from other contemporary texts as well. Sargon II sent an order to Šarru-dūri, governor of Kalḫu, for example, to provide all the king’s men serving under him with 1 homer (*emāru*, 100 litres) of corn each. He had to divide this amount between the king’s man and his family as follows: 3 seahs (*sūtu*, 30 litres) were given to the soldier as his ‘campaign-flour’ (ZÍD.KASKAL.MEŠ), 7 seahs (70 litres) were left with his family.³²⁷ Aššur-ilāṭ reported to Tiglath-Pileser III that he had given 1 seah (*sūtu*, 10 litres) stored grain per man of the exempts at his disposal. He referred to the wives and even to the deputies as follows: “(Should) one have wife [...], she comes out (with) three seahs (3 litres). To deputies [*they give*] four seahs (4 litres) each.”³²⁸ The period for which these amounts of grain were issued is unfortunately unknown.

In an unfortunately fragmentary letter probably a governor reported to the Assyrian king that he had given “to 150 persons 5 seahs (50 litres) each of *his* seed, their stored grain and seed in full.”³²⁹ The letter does not specify the timespan for which this amount was issued, and it seems that the above mentioned quantity served as, and was divided into daily food rations (ŠE.*tab-ku*) and seed-corn (ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ).

Further cuneiform evidence corroborates the view that certain units/military personnel obtained rations from central sources all the year round. A Sargonide letter for example mentions the barley rations of the team commander’s household, which was – the accusation ran – squandered by the governor Aššur-bēlu-ušur,³³⁰ and even an official of the the team commander’s household is known,³³¹ but the fragmentary condition of this text makes the reconstruction of his office impossible. There is a further text dated to the Post Canonical period mentioning a barley transaction of the Chief Eunuch’s team commander (LÚ.GAL—*u-rat ša* GAL—.SAG). According to this loan document,³³² Nabû-danninanni, the team commander obtained 2 homers(*emāru*) of barley according to the seah (*sūtu*) measure of 9 *qa* (180 litres) from Isseme-ili, the palace manager of the Review Palace of Calah. This amount would be deducted from the feed-stuff of Rēmūtu, who was most probably another officer of the Chief Eunuch.³³³ The witness list includes two chariot men (Sukkāia and Erība-Adad), who were probably subordinates of the team commander. It is, however, not clear, whether this loan³³⁴ was a private affair, which covered the sustenance of the team commander’s household or an official loan needed for the provisioning of his troops.

³²⁶ POSTGATE 1974, 222.

³²⁷ POSTGATE 1973, 185 (ND 437), 1-13.

³²⁸ LUUKKO 2012, 48 (ND 2669), 26-Rev. 4.

³²⁹ SAGGS 2001, 280-281 (ND 2639), 12-14; LUUKKO 2012, 225 (ND 2639), 12-14.

³³⁰ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 62 (CT 53, 55), 12-14: “Concerning the sto[red] barley of the house of the master of teams (É LÚ.GAL *ú-ra-te*) [about which the king, my lord, wrote to me, saying: ‘You have squandered it’ – [as soon as the ...] has come up, [...] in the king’s presence.” (707–706 B.C.)

³³¹ Nabû-bēlu-ušur, [...] É(*bī*) LÚ.GAL—*u-rat* (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 31 (ADD 816), I:4’-5’).

³³² DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, no. 12:5 (PC, *limmu* of Aššur-mātu-takkin).

³³³ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, 64.

³³⁴ For an introductory study of the corn loans see PONCHIA 1990, 39-60, esp. 57: „provisions for administrative sectors and the army considerably depended upon the private management of land tenure and of trade, whose incomes augmented the fixed fiscal revenues.”

Sargon II wrote an order to one of his officials concerning a certain Qurdi-Issar, a *māḥiṣu* (LÚ.ma-ḥi-ši): “Encou[rage him, and give him a house], a plough, and a field [...].”³³⁵ It is interesting to note that a governor for a royal order gave a house, a plough and a field to a *māḥiṣu*.

Although the extant sources are not sufficient to reconstruct a coherent picture of the central Assyrian allotment system of the different military personnel (and their families) during their ‘home service,’ some conclusions can nevertheless be drawn. One of these could be that the Assyrian Empire operated a very sophisticated rationing system to supply certain troops and officers during their ‘home stay’ or garrison service. This system was based not only on the central authorities, but on the local administration as well, officials of which – following central orders – solved the problems on a local level and raised the rations and other goods to supply the troops and their officers with their necessary supplies ‘fixed on their tablets.’

II.1.1.2 Local, provincial management – royal correspondence

Apart from the recruitment of soldiers the provisioning of local troops (the troops of the governor and the king’s men) was obviously the largest burden on the provincial administration. They had to raise and supervise the home provisions and the ‘campaign-flour’ of the troops, and prepare them for campaigns. The importance of the problem is emphasized by the fact that the king himself often investigated the well-being of the troops garrisoned in the provinces, and had their provisions checked.³³⁶ Na’di-ilu (the *rab šāqê*) for example had to report to Sargon II on the conditions of the chariot troops from Que, stationing in his *mātu*.³³⁷

Studying the local, provincial ‘ration management’ several key issues and characteristics of the system can be identified: (1) the seasonal character of the service, (2) supplying garrisons and forts, (3) raising barley rations for troops preparing for a campaign, (4) arguments of the governors over the resources, (5) feeding the deportees, (6) feeding the horses and pack-animals, and (7) transporting barley rations. The next chapters of our study will concentrate on these topics.

II.1.1.2.1 The seasonal character of the service

The provincial troops (the troops of the governors and the king’s men as well) were employed on a seasonal basis, and were released (or were relieved by other troops) after a certain period of service, or at the end of the campaign season. In case there was not enough food in the storehouses, the commanders had to discharge the troops to go home and feed themselves, to avoid the danger of deserting the service in fear of starving in the garrisons.

Such a case is known from a letter of Aššur-bēlu-uda’an (governor of Halziatbar) to Sargon II, in which the governor reports that when, on the 22nd day he departed to see the king, he met Kakkullānu, the royal bodyguard, (who) turned him back from the town Alite, saying: „G[o] and release your troops: I[f] they do not go, [the] men will die of hunger!” Aššur-bēlu-uda’an, however, reported, that he gave them “5 months worth of stored grain; I also gave them 1 litre of oil, 1 litre of [bread, and 1 li]tre of cress [...],”³³⁸ which means that he provided sufficient rations for them. The situation was serious, since the troops – if our reconstruction is correct – were staying in the vicinity of the city and were about to enter it, as they could not depart because of the snow.

³³⁵ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 263 (ABL 1206), 10-12.

³³⁶ Šarru-ilā’i obtained a similar royal order from Sargon II to check the stored grain and crops in the territories under his command. LUUKKO 2012, 204 (ND 2688).

³³⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 68 (CT 53, 40).

³³⁸ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 126 (ABL 243), 5-17.

In another case an Assyrian official received a royal order to keep watch in Meturna with his troops. However, when he was in Dūr-Anunīti, between Meturna and Dūr-Bēl-ilā'ī, in the foothills, he wrote a letter to Sargon II complaining that he could not release his king's men to collect their provisions.³³⁹ The provisions of the troops were normally issued from local and royal granaries of their supply region if the troops stayed at their garrisons. However, when they were ordered to move to another post, they would be released to collect their own provisions from the nearby royal(?) and local storehouses or – as this letter makes it clear – they would even have been allowed to confiscate foodstuff from the nearby villages.

An unknown writer reported to Sargon II (from somewhere along the border of Tabal) that “the soldiers previously on duty [had] plundered the [country of ...]riuni.”³⁴⁰ It is impossible to reconstruct the reaction of the Assyrian official from the fragmentary text, but this reference makes it clear that (1) soldiers served in *rota* or were released at the end of their service, (2) after leaving the service, but before reaching their homes they remained without allowances and consequently plundered the countryside.

A somewhat different scenario appears in the letter sent to Sennacherib(?) by Abi-iaqīa, Abi-iađi', Zērūtu, Šulluma and Aḫi-bigaiānu, five tribal leaders from Eastern Babylonia – in the vicinity of the Elamite front – who were begging for the intervention of the Assyrian army on their behalf, because “As of now, Fort Šama'unu is abandoned. There is nobody there except 200 scratch soldiers, and there is no food there except for the travel provisions which they carry with them. Moreover, they have cut off the water between us and the land of Rašu. Nobo[dy] from Rašu has (been able to) c[ome] to you.”³⁴¹ There are no rations in the abandoned Fort Šama'unu, only the “travel provisions of 200 scratch soldiers,”³⁴² whose origin is unknown. In these circumstances – lacking provisions and military forces – this very sensitive front (between Elam and other Chaldean tribes, including the Puqūdu mentioned in this letter) and the loyalty of the neighbouring tribes could only be secured with the help of an Assyrian intervention.

When the Chief Eunuch sent Šamaš-aḫu-iddina to Riblah and impressed upon him the watch over the town, he faced the problem of supplying troops without enough stores. The letter contains further valuable information on the supply system run by the provincial administration. Šamaš-aḫu-iddina let the king know that there was water and oil for only half the men. He asks the king: “If the king, my lord, c[ommands]: ‘Let them buy and eat thei[r] own food,’ then let them buy and eat, (but) the king, my lord, should know (how things are).”³⁴³ This sentence raises an important question. Was the system flexible: if there were no sufficient rations for the men, could they be sent out to buy food for themselves?

II.1.1.2.2 Supplying garrisons and forts

The governors provided provisions not only for the royal campaigns, or their own military excursions, but for the garrisons they stationed in newly built forts. Several letters reported to the Assyrian king that the official who wrote the report had transported rations to the garrisons serving in different forts.³⁴⁴

³³⁹ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 30 (ABL 455), Rev. 14.

³⁴⁰ PARPOLA 1987, 250 (ABL 1203), Rev. 6-7.

³⁴¹ DIETRICH 2003, 152 (ABL 774), 5-12.

³⁴² DIETRICH 2003, 152 (ABL 774), 7-9: 2 ME ERIM.MEŠ *su-ub-bu-su-tu ù PAD.ḪI.A ina ŠÀ-bi-ia-a-nu al-la ši-di-is-su-nu šá it-ti-šú-nu i-na-áš-šú-ú-ma*.

³⁴³ SAGGS 1963, NL 70 (ND 2766), Rev. 5-9; LUUKKO 2012, 37 (ND 2766).

³⁴⁴ An unknown official reported to the king that they (the magnates?) built a fort, placed guardsmen into it and let the pack animals to go up there. LUUKKO 2012, 198 (ND 2351), 7-9; SAGGS 2001, 237-238 (ND 2351), 7-9.

When the magnates built a fort in Minu' and raised 1,000 homers of barley, the governor Il-Iada' supplied "10 homers of salt, 16 [...] of *kudimmu* salt, 30 jugs of oil, 18 jugs of naphtha, 30 bows, 20,000 [...] arrows, 10,000 arrow-shafts, 100 [...], 2 talents of [...], 3 talents of ..." After they had placed 100 Itu'eans and the Gurreans of the Palace as a garrison inside the fort, they marched to the mouth of the Patti-Illil canal and erected another fort there, and garrisoned it with 10 Gurreans and 20 Itu'eans of Il-Iada'.³⁴⁵ A fragmentary letter of Šarru-ēmuranni, the governor of Babylon at that time, also refers to equipping a fort with [x] thousand [x] hundred arrows.³⁴⁶ A report from Šarru-ēmuranni mentions a royal order to set aside 200 homers (20,000 litres) of wine for the garrison, which was carried out by the governor.³⁴⁷

A letter from an unknown writer sheds some light on the system of troop supply, based on two well-founded grounds: providing 1) central allotment and 2) service fields (*see below*). The official, however, reveals a discrepancy of the system: "For (any *cohort commander*) who has a bre[ad ration] entered on his tablet and who has men, I [take] from the corn tax and provide it to him in his garrison. Even where there is no entry, they come and tell me, and I give it, so they can cultivate their fields. If I did not allot it, they would take [the corn] they have harvested [prev]iously and eat it, and would not cultivate the fields but turn to me [with]out a superior, saying: 'Bread [is being with]held from us!'"³⁴⁸

A fragmentary letter (mentioning Aššur-rēšūwa, a *qēpu* of Sargon II) from the Northern, Urañian front mentions the fields and threshing floors of unknown people (supposedly the soldiers of the garrison) and states that the official, who sent the report had transported 20 homers (*emāru*) (2,000 litres) of seed corn 'to the fort in the tower' for the troops.³⁴⁹

A letter from a certain Nabû-taklāk makes it clear that there were certain differences between the garrison and other troops. In the letter to his lord, the governor (of Marad?) states that he would never send garrison troops (L[Ú.š]*u-lu-tu*) to Bīt-Dakkuri, but/and he had distributed the food rations to the soldiers of Nabû-ēreš who were guarding the fort (instead of his garrison troops?).³⁵⁰

Šamaš-bēlu-ušur, governor of Dēr most probably authored the letter to Sargon II in which he replies to the royal order, and reports that he brought barley rations and all the straw into the fort (of Dēr), and not a single litre was left outside. The situation was presumably serious, since the end of the fragmentary letter states that "Nobody has gone out of Dēr and nobody has cultivated even one litre of seed."³⁵¹

The forts were used not only to host garrisons who kept watch along the borders, but served as operational bases for local or even regional wars. A fragmentary letter most probably addressed to Sargon II from the Eastern border region (Māzamu?) reports to the king that: "I wen[t d]own, razed the towns and burnt them, lifted the ba[rl]ey and [p]iled it up in the fort."³⁵² In this case the Assyrians took the barley from the destroyed neighbourhood and transported it into the fort to supply the garrison, to provision the approaching Assyrian troops, and at the same time deprived the enemy of strategic resources in the region.

³⁴⁵ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 166 (ABL 883).

³⁴⁶ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 220 (ABL 762).

³⁴⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 203 (ABL 387), 4-9.

³⁴⁸ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 289 (CT 53, 323), 2-Rev. 3.

³⁴⁹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 60 (CT 53, 389), 2-6.

³⁵⁰ DIETRICH 2003, 62 (ABL 898), Rev. 2'-S. 1.

³⁵¹ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 119 (CT 53, 77 + ABL 1314), e. 1.

³⁵² SAGGS 2001, 114-115 (ND 2445), 2-4; LUUKKO 2012, 196 (ND 2445), 2-4.

The most important text which discusses the building and supplying of a garrison is obviously NL 67.³⁵³ The letter was written by Dūr-Aššur to Tiglath-Pileser III, who sent a detailed report on the construction of a garrison(fort), located in all likelihood in Tušhan, on the banks of the Tigris. The most important passages relating to our study deal with the building of a storehouse, and informing the king that the governor would bring the cattle into the garrison. This is one of the few explicit references concerning the supply of the (garrison)troops with meat from livestock.³⁵⁴ Since the walls and the buildings of the garrison had been completed, Dūr-Aššur asks the king to let the garrison troops (LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ *ša* URU.*bir-te*) enter into the fort, and finally requests an order from the ruler: “Who will raise [the bar]ley?”³⁵⁵ to supply the troops.

An unknown governor reported to the king that he had put several watchtowers/forts in Babylonia on alert, supplied them with troops and equipment, and had barley rations transported and amassed there.³⁵⁶ The watchtowers/forts were in the towns of Rapiša, [...]*li* and Menaga – these were under the authority of Aššur-bē[lu-taqq]in– and further forts under the command of Bēl-aplu-iddina.

Transporting rations to the forts was a very important and dangerous duty. Garrisons could easily be cut off from their hinterland if the enemy blocked the roads leading to the forts – the weakest links in the system – or attacked the troops carrying the supplies. Such a case is known from the Urařian border, when most probably Gabbu-ana-Aššur, the Palace Herald (*nāgir ekalli*) reported to Sargon II that the Urařians had “captured six [of our] soldier[s] who were moving provisions up to the forts.”³⁵⁷ The Assyrians, however, did not react aggressively: “I wrote to the major-domo: ‘Don’t try to take them by force. (Instead) write to Abilē: ‘Why have you seized our men?’ and quickly write me what he replies.”³⁵⁸

It is overtly clear from these sources that raising the necessary supplies – especially the grain and fodder rations – was not the only difficulty the provincial supply system had to master; they were also taxed with the logistics, and the responsibility of arranging the transport, feeding the pack animals, and delivering the provisions to the forts and garrisons presented another burden on their administration (for the detailed study of transportation *see* below).

II.1.1.2.3 Raising barley rations for troops during campaign preparations

This aspect of the supply system had obviously the greatest importance from a military point of view, as it was impossible to plan and execute a campaign without the necessary provisions for the troops. It was for this reason that the foremost concern of governors, magnates and other officials was the collection of the necessary supplies, and the process was closely monitored by the king himself.³⁵⁹

The most detailed report on the provisions for the assembling army – preparing for a regional campaign – comes from a letter (CT 53, 47 + ABL 1290) written to Sargon II by an unfortunately unidentified author, which lists stored grain for soldiers and fodder for horses – complying to the

³⁵³ SAGGS 1963, NL 67 (ND 2666); SAGGS 2001, 114-115 (ND 2666); LUUKKO 2012, 60 (ND 2666). For a detailed discussion *see* PARKER 1997, 77-87.

³⁵⁴ LUUKKO 2012, 60 (ND 2666), Rev. 9-11.

³⁵⁵ LUUKKO 2012, 60 (ND 2666), Rev. 14.

³⁵⁶ SAGGS 2001, 268-269 (ND 2467); LUUKKO 2012, 200 (ND 2467).

³⁵⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 115 (ABL 579) 3-8.

³⁵⁸ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 115 (ABL 579) 9-Rev. 4.

³⁵⁹ In one of his letters, Na’di-ilu, the Chief Cupbearer (*rab šāqē*) himself referred to an order of Sargon II: “As to the chariot troops from Que about whom the king, my lord, wrote to me: ‘Enquire and investigate, and if they [have no] food and seed, write me.’” (LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 68 (CT 53, 40), 4-8).

king's inquiry – detailed by calendar months.³⁶⁰ The military base where the troops were summoned was Kār-Aššur (Baqr-awa?), most probably one of the important military centres and collection points of the Eastern border region.

During the muster held here the Assyrians reviewed the following troops already having arrived to the town: the troops of the Commander-in-Chief (*turtānu*) and the Chief Cupbearer (*rab šāqê*); the troops of Taklāk-ana-Bēli and Išmanni-Aššur; the troops of the governors of Sī'immê, Tillê, Guzana, and Isana. The text unfortunately makes no mention of the arrival of the king, but reports that the royal entourage and the magnates' troops have not arrived yet completely to Kār-Aššur. They are readying the first contingent of Nergal-ēṭir. The letter writer asks the king whether they should draw the battle array (more probably the marching order!) as the king had ordered or not.

The report makes a distinction between the provincial units of the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*), and the provincial troops of the high officials and governors (the magnates). The grain was collected and stored partly around Kār-Aššur and arrived partly from Laḫiru province and other territories of the magnates(?). It is clear from this report that the local military authorities (high officials and governors) were supposed to store large amounts of provisions in preparation for military campaigns.

The most important part of the text, however, is the report of the supplies and reserves, including the amount of stored grain available. Fales in his seminal study³⁶¹ reconstructed not only the logic of the text, but the logic of the supply system the Assyrian (military) authorities used in the provinces. The total amount of provisions amounted to 38,490 homers (3,849,000 litres) of fodder and stored grain per month for the king's men plus the amount the magnates [brought?]. The account summarizes the following amounts: „[In all 57]8 homers of [fodder daily], making [17,3]40 homers of grain rations per month; [in all 705 homers] of stored grain for soldiers (daily, (making) [21,150 ho]mers of grain rations per month; [all told 38,4]90 homers of fodder and stored grain [per month for the k]ing's [men], plus what the magnates [...].”³⁶²

Planning a campaign the king and the Assyrian military had to know, (1) what amount of grain (daily rations) and fodder had been amassed for the troops mobilized locally, and (2) what amount of grain (daily rations) and fodder had been brought by the expeditionary troops provided by the magnates and gathering at that military base.

³⁶⁰ CT 53, 47+ ABL 1290; PARPOLA 1979, 47; LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 250 (CT 53, 47+); FALES 1990, 23-34; FALES 2000, 48-49.

³⁶¹ FALES 1990, 23-34. See also FALES 2000, 48-49 and FALES – RIGO 2010, 13.

³⁶² LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 250 (CT 53, 47+), Rev. 15-20.

DAILY RATIONS				
Section	Amount (<i>emāru</i>)	Amount (litre) ³⁶³	Amount (kg) ³⁶⁴	
1a	470.0	47,000	37,600	fodder for pack animals (<i>kissutu ša ašappi</i>) daily
1b	549.4	54,940	43,952	stored grain for the men (<i>še'u tabku ša šābē</i>) daily
1 (1a + 1b)	1,019.4	101,940	81,552	royal granaries in Kār-Aššur daily
2a	108.0	10,800	8,640	fodder daily
2b	155.6	15,560	12,448	stored grain for the men daily
2 (2a + 2b)	263.6	26,360	21,088	magnates brought and Laḫiru province daily
TOTALS				
a (1a + 2a)	470 + 108 = 578	57,800	46,240	of fodder, daily
A (a x 30)	578 x 30 = 17,340	1,734,000	1,387,200	of barley per month
b (1b + 2b)	549.4 + 155.4 = 705	70,500	56,400	of stored grain for the men, daily
B (b x 30)	705 x 30 = 21,150	2,115,000	1,692,000	of barley per month
C (A + B)	17,340 + 21,150 = 38,490	3,849,000	3,079,200	fodder and stored grain for king's men, per month

Fig. 20. The structure of CT 53, 47 + ABL 1290 based on FALES 1990, 26.

It is obvious that from the military planning point of view the king's main concern was to know what quantity of stored grain the city/province could provide for an impending campaign. In trying to answer the question of the king, we can follow the reply of the Assyrian official (Fig. 20): the text states that there are 578 homers (57,800 litres) of fodder daily, which amounts to 17,340 homers (1,734,000 litres) per month. For the soldiers there are 705 homers (70,500 litres) of stored grain daily, amounting to 21,150 homers (2,115,000 litres) per month. The number of soldiers and animals can (easily) be calculated: supposing that a soldier obtained about 2 litres of grain daily (see above and Figs. 17–18), the above mentioned amount should be enough for 35,000 soldiers and about 1,000 animals.³⁶⁵ The text mentions only pack-animals (for pack-animals as a means of transport see below), which means that the assembling army consisted of infantry units(?) only.

The size of the royal troops (king's men) stationing in Kār-Aššur was – as is apparent from the well-known and oft-quoted letter of Adad-issīa³⁶⁶ – however, considerably smaller. The 1,430 king's men (although this number seems to be (intentionally) rounded), consumed a much smaller overall quantity of rations: 85,800 litres³⁶⁷ (858 *emāru*) per month (against the monthly 16,482 *emāru*, 1,648,200 litres of grain³⁶⁸ stored in the granaries of the city according to CT 53, 47 + ABL 1290, see above, Fig. 20). So the grain storage capacity could have supported a much larger local force (up to 27,470 men) than the letter of Adad-issīa indicates (1,430 men).

At this point a further question demands an answer. The question of the king referred not (only) to the military, but probably the whole city to be fed. This passage is, however, fragmentary ("['Send me (data on) the sto]red grain (consumed) by your [ci]ty in a calendar month!'")³⁶⁹

³⁶³ Based on: 1 *emāru* = 100 litres.

³⁶⁴ Based on: 1 litre grain = 0.8 kg.

³⁶⁵ As has been reconstructed above and especially in Fig. 17, the daily average fodder ration of pack-animals and cavalry horses ranged between 3.3 and 9 litres. Since the text mentions pack-animals (*ašappu*) we used an average of 5–6 litres of fodder daily.

³⁶⁶ LANFRANCHI - PARPOLA 1990, 215 (NL 89); SAGGS 1966, no. 89 (ND 2631); FALES 1990, 31-34; FALES 2000, 40-43; POSTGATE 2000, 89-108; SAGGS 2001, 128-130; FALES – RIGO 2010, 14; DEZSÓ 2012A, 36, 50, 72, 77, 140, 187, 188, 192; DEZSÓ 2012B, 35, 36, 78, 88, 96, 107, 108, 135, 143; LUUKKO 2012, 189 (ND 2631).

³⁶⁷ 1,430 x 2 x 30 = 85,800.

³⁶⁸ 549.4 x 30 = 16,482.

³⁶⁹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 250 (CT 53, 47+), Rev. 3'-5'.

The ‘whole city’ was probably not sustained from the local royal/city granaries, but the king’s men (performing military and other services) were eligible for such provisions, which means that the calculated ‘feeding capacity’ of the city had to be divided between the military and the civilian sector.

Concluding the evidence, one question still remains open: for how many days or months could the granaries of Kār-Aššur, Laḥiru and the magnates feed the troops and pack-animals?

Another letter (NL 88, ND 2495)³⁷⁰ to Sargon II provides further details for the grain production and storage capacity of the provinces. The letter of Bēl-dūri (governor of Damascus?) refers to a royal order as follows:]: “[All] gover[nors] may raise food and fodder *from* [Šamaš]-a[ḥu-idd]ina with you, and Adad-issia and Bēl-lēšir are to support Abi-lēšir!”³⁷¹ The governors argued with each other over the resources, but at this point the most interesting part of the letter is a list of the monthly grain rations available to these governors:

DAILY RATIONS					
Line	Amount (<i>emāru</i>)	Amount (litres) ³⁷²	Amount (kg) ³⁷³		
Rev. 4	105	10,500	8,400	fodder	Šamaš-aḥu-iddina
5	123	12,300	9,840	bread	
5	228	22,800	18,240	in all	
6	75	7,500	6,000	fodder	Abi-lēšir
7	15	1,500	1,200	bread	
7	90	9,000	7,200	in all	
8-9	600	60,000	48,000	bread	2,000 <i>zakku</i> soldiers from Kummūḫi
10	918	91,800	73,440	grand total	per month

Fig. 21. The structure of NL 88 (ND 2495).

As Fig. 21 shows, the ‘feeding capacity’ or the actual amount of grain rations in stock in the province or territory under the control of Šamaš-aḥu-iddina was sufficient to feed 6,150 men and 1,750–2,100 equids, while the province or territory of Abi-lēšir could support 750 men and 1,250–1,500 equids per calendar month. This capacity was complemented or expanded by the amount of bread stored for the 2,000 *zakku* soldiers from Kummūḫi, which means that they obtained a very low amount, 1 litre (0.8 kg) bread *per diem* for their service!

The importance of Māzamua is emphasized by other letters, as well. An unknown official, most probably a governor, received an order to set out for the review. Išmê-ilu, a cohort commander carrying the king’s golden seal, however, intercepted and ordered him to bring barley rations to Māzamua.³⁷⁴ This fragmentary letter refers to an earlier order to march to a review and another, later order to bring barley rations to Māzamua – the rendezvous point of the expeditionary armies – which needed supplies.

Another administrative text (ND 453)³⁷⁵ lists various *ilku* items – intended to supply some men during their campaign service – which can be divided into three categories:

³⁷⁰ PARPOLA 1990, 172 (ND 2495); SAGGS 2001, 173-175 (ND 2495); LUUKKO 2012, 170 (ND 2495).

³⁷¹ LUUKKO 2012, 170 (ND 2495), 3-8.

³⁷² Based on: 1 *emāru* = 100 litres.

³⁷³ Based on: 1 litre grain = 0.8 kg.

³⁷⁴ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 234 (ABL 582).

³⁷⁵ POSTGATE 1973, 141 (ND 453).

- (1) Daily campaign supplies (lines 1-5): “[x] bowl(s) of wine, 2 homers 1 *sūtu* of bread, 2 homers of beer, 5 *sūtu* of fodder – per day”
- (2) Non-recurrent campaign expenditures (lines 6-8): “2 minas of copper for oil for the lamp(s). All this for his expedition.”
- (3) Yearly payments (lines 9-12): “90 minas of copper for 30 reserves of the king’s men, [x ho]mers of corn, 5 homers of ...corn, he shall receive in the year [...]”

Based on this text, it is reasonable to assume that the complete supply of a unit or personnel during the campaign was much more complex affair, and included several items in addition to the corn rations. These items were the wine and beer, the fodder, the oil for the lamps, and a yearly salary of 90 minas of copper for 30 reserves (staying at home?) and [x] homers of corn. From these examples it seems obvious that certain units were equipped and supplied by the *ilku* payments of various offices, communities or personnel.³⁷⁶

II.1.1.2.4 Quarrels of the governors over the resources

The constraint of provisioning the troops stationed in their provinces kept the governors and other military officials under constant pressure. These officials had to do their best to measure up to the king’s expectations. They frequently exceeded their powers, and went far beyond their sphere of authority.

To feed the chariot troops and horses was a large burden on the local government. An unknown Assyrian official wrote a letter to Sargon II complaining that he and another party had reaped their sown fields together and stored the yield in villages. However, when the time arrived to feed the chariot troops the other party did not want to feed the chariot troops and horses, only he was willing to feed the king’s horses.³⁷⁷ Another (unknown) governor reported to Sargon II that some other (also unknown) officials took fodder and grain from the stores: “He took once when I was in the king my lord’s presence in Arbela, and now he has done it again and taken it for the second time!”³⁷⁸

One of the letters of Aššur-rēšūwa (a *qēpu*, who served as chief of intelligence of Sargon II in Kumme, on the Northern, Urartian border of the Empire)³⁷⁹ for example accused someone, probably Arie, the vassal king of Kumme of giving foodstuff to someone, and asked the king to ask him as follows: „To whomever did you give 6 homers of barley, 4 homers of wine and 20 sheep?”³⁸⁰

Aššur-šarru-ibnî reported to the king that 120 king’s men of the governor of Arbela (30 [men from] Tillê, 60 [from] the land of Ḫamudu of the governor of Calah, 30 from the city of [...]ba) had not gone on the campaign with the king. The governor of Arbela would not agree to give them to Aššur-šarru-ibnî, so he asks permission of the king, because these men have neither rations nor work.³⁸¹

An unfortunately unknown governor in his letter to the king complained of the treacherous acts of a royal cook, who conspired against the Kingdom. This cook “They [*have broken*] into the *p[lough]* store, and he has robbed 200 Dilbateans of my (barley) rations for a (whole) ye[ar, fro]m

³⁷⁶ One of the letters of Išmanni-Aššur to Sargon II might refer to a similar case: “Let him give to [the] king’s men (LÚ.ERIM—MAN.[MEŠ]) [...] 30 persons [...] one mina and ten [shekels of ...] ...” (PARPOLA 1987, 218 (CT 53, 848), Rev. 2’-6’).

³⁷⁷ PARPOLA 1987, 182 (CT 53, 888).

³⁷⁸ SAGGS 1959, NL 56 (ND 2462), Rev. 1-7; SAGGS 2001, 197-199 (ND 2462), Rev. 1-7; LUUKKO 2012, 166 (ND 2462), Rev. 1-7.

³⁷⁹ DEZSŐ 2014, 221-235, *passim*.

³⁸⁰ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 98 (CT 53, 42), Rev. 2-6.

³⁸¹ PARPOLA 1987, 149 (CT 53, 108), 4-Rev. 6.

their harvest, plus one mina of [silver]. Right now I cann[ot *continue*] cultivation and go out to the open country. He has taken the bread [of] this [ye]ar and does not let me go to [...], so I [cannot] cultivate [the cornfields].”³⁸² This letter, relating to a treason, provides information about the ration storage system and the storehouses of the provincial government. There were storehouses all around the provinces in which the local authorities could store large amounts of rations and seed corn enough even for a year.

II.1.1.2.5 Feeding the deportees

The governors, however, not only had to take care of their king’s men and horses, but the deportees as well. An important letter written by three Assyrian officials (Aplāī, Šarru-lū-dārī, and Išmanni-Aššur) to Sargon II reveals that the harvest of the deportees – who had arrived to unfortunately unknown towns of the three officials on the 10th of Tammuz (IV) – “had come out well; they brought along all the food they had. The deportees and the pack animals are eating stored grain [...] like the king’s servants.”³⁸³ It seems reasonable to suppose that the deportees harvested their fields at their place of origin, and took the food (as much as they could) with themselves to live on. When they ran out of supplies, they obtained stored grain from the Assyrian granaries – until the harvest of their new fields in Assyria could support them.

On the other hand, another letter refers to a “cornfield that is under cultivation is for the deportees who are coming,”³⁸⁴ which means that there were fields dedicated to different purposes, for example to supply deportees. In this case the Assyrian provincial government set aside 100 (homers of) wheat and 20 (homers of) barley for the deportees arriving from Damascus.

Qurdi-Aššur-lāmur,³⁸⁵ governor of Šimirra in one of his letters sent to Tiglath-Pileser III also refers to the fields which should supply the captives: “Let the captives who are coming to Immiḥa set out and come. Their seed is cultivated; they should come to their sickles.”³⁸⁶

A further letter lets us know that 160 healthy persons, deportees, had arrived to an unknown official from the city of Sī’imme. The king (Sargon II) sent him an order: “You are to settle them in Marqasa, they will eat bread there” – the king my lord knows that in Guzana they ate stored grain, 3 seahs per person ... – now, just as the king my lord orders, is one really to give them oil as well? Just as the king my lord orders.”³⁸⁷ This text discloses the important information that the deportees ate 3 seahs (*sūtu*, 30 litres) per person in Guzana, which means that the deportees obtained 1 litre of grain per person *per diem*.

To supply the deportees – who sometimes arrived in large numbers to the provinces – was often beyond the power of the governors who had to accommodate them. In these cases they argued with each other over the resources, including grain rations.³⁸⁸

The following passages from the letter of Aššur-šallimanni (governor of Arrapha and eponym of 735 B.C.) will shed light on the weight of the problem. He appealed to the king as follows: “As to what the king, my l[o]rd, wrote to me: ‘Feed the 6,000 captives in your presence.’ For how long? (They are) 6,000! Can I cut out one-third with all the magnates? Did I not write to the king, my lord, last year: ‘There is no barley.’”³⁸⁹ The king answered as follows “The king, my l[o]r[d], told

³⁸² LUUKKO 2012, 147 (ND 2368+), Rev. 12-18.

³⁸³ PARPOLA 1987, 219 (ABL 325).

³⁸⁴ SAGGS 1955, NL 23 (ND 2644), E.1-3; SAGGS 2001, 175-177 (ND 2644); LUUKKO 2012, 3 (ND 2644).

³⁸⁵ YAMADA 2008, 296-311.

³⁸⁶ LUUKKO 2012, 23 (ND 2686), Rev. 6-11.

³⁸⁷ PARPOLA 1987, 257 (ABL 966 + CT 53, 211).

³⁸⁸ PARPOLA 1987, 260 (CT 53, 96+).

³⁸⁹ SAGGS 1974, NL 96 (ND 2634), 16-Rev. 1; SAGGS 2001, 49-51 (ND 2634), 16-Rev. 1; LUUKKO 2012, 81 (ND 2634), 16-Rev. 1.

me: 'If you had appealed to me, I would have given you 40,000 (homers) of barley.'³⁹⁰ Aššur-šallimanni asked the king to split the people and the rations between him (3.000) and Šamaš-bunāia (3.000), but the king answered "I am giving them (= the other magnates) the later captives." However, Aššur-šallimanni insisted, saying "Let them share these (6,000 captives) with me, and I will (then) share the later (captives) with them."³⁹¹ With a last effort Aššur-šallimanni let the king know that "There are 150 walled towns of Šamaš-bunāia in Arrapha. Let them be brought in there."³⁹² To feed additional 6.000 people (captives brought to a province as a surplus) was a real burden. If each of them got a ration of only a single litre of barley per day, the governor would have had to raise a daily amount of 9.8 tons.

Governors not only had to provide rations for the captives, but actually full sustenance, which – according to a royal order sent to Aššur-rēmani and the scribe Nabû-bēl-aḥḥēšu – meant to provide them with oxen and sheep,³⁹³ and even medical care.³⁹⁴ The phrasing of this royal order ("(As for) the captives (to be) provisioned, don't be negligent over and over again (or) you will die because of it."³⁹⁵) makes the importance of the captives clear.

II.1.1.2.6 Feeding the horses and pack-animals

Since in most of the territories of the Empire the period during which the horses and pack animals could graze in the pastures was relatively short, the animals had to be supplied with huge quantities of fodder. Consequently a further concern of governors was to supply the horses and pack-animals stationed in their provinces.³⁹⁶ Governors and other officials often reported to the king that other governors and officials did "not give any straw and fodder to the horses."³⁹⁷

The seriousness of the problem is well reflected in one of the letters of Bēl-liqbî to Sargon II, where he lodges a complaint concerning other officers, who broke open the royal granaries under his supervision: "The king my lord ordered [me to] give bread to the chariot troops. Now, (when) [PN] came, I told him [...] but he said: 'The king has given orders to me and I will take two [month's worth] of each (provision).' I did not agree to give it to him, so he went and opened a silo in one of my villages, brought in his measurers and poured out [x] sound men's worth of (grain). I went and remonstrated him, saying: 'Why did you selfwilledly, [with]out the permission of the deputy (governor) open the king's granaries?' He would not look me in the eye [but said]: 'My (supply of) grass diminished in Nisan, and horses keep coming to me; I c[an]not [cope].' [...] poured out the [...] of the entire month of Nisan; [Ašš]ur-dalāl poured out 70 [days'] worth, [...] 20 days' worth and (now) he poured out that of Sivan. For his newly arrived horses, he deducted one half of the fodder, but he did not deduct the other half. The king, my lord, did give the horses; [.....] op[ened] silos [.....] I speak wit[h] them ...'"³⁹⁸ This letter adequately reflects the extent of

³⁹⁰ SAGGS 1974, NL 96 (ND 2634), Rev. 1-4; SAGGS 2001, 49-51 (ND 2634), Rev. 1-4; LUUKKO 2012, 81 (ND 2634), Rev. 1-4.

³⁹¹ SAGGS 1974, NL 96 (ND 2634), Rev. 5-16; SAGGS 2001, 49-51 (ND 2634), Rev. 5-16; LUUKKO 2012, 81 (ND 2634), Rev. 5-16.

³⁹² SAGGS 1974, NL 96 (ND 2634), Rev. 17-25; SAGGS 2001, 49-51 (ND 2634), Rev. 17-25; LUUKKO 2012, 81 (ND 2634), Rev. 17-25.

³⁹³ SAGGS 2001, 304-306 (ND 2735), 4-10; LUUKKO 2012, 6 (ND 2735), 4-10: "All the captives that I gave to you and whom you provisioned are people at your responsibility. Your [ox]en and sheep are at your disposal; [you] have received your provisions, having [requ]ested it from the Palace."

³⁹⁴ LUUKKO 2012, 6 (ND 2735), Rev. 9-13; SAGGS 2001, 304-306 (ND 2735), Rev. 9-13: "If there is a sick person among the captives whom I send you from the empty-handed up to the needy, he is to be lifted up and placed in your care as long as he lives."

³⁹⁵ SAGGS 2001, 304-306 (ND 2735), Rev. 6-8; LUUKKO 2012, 6 (ND 2735), Rev. 6-8.

³⁹⁶ Adad-ētir for example let his lord, the governor, know that: "We are located in the territory of Da'unāni and we will consume much straw and fodder. The pack-animals of my lord are well." WISEMAN – KINNIE WILSON 1951, 110 (ND 462), 4-11; POSTGATE 1973, 193-194, no. 195.

³⁹⁷ PARPOLA 1987, 108 (ABL 995).

³⁹⁸ PARPOLA 1987, 181 (ABL 1070).

the burden the supply of complete units and horses stationing in a province meant, what arduous duty it was to arrange the necessary amount of corn and fodder for soldiers and horses, and what troubles were taken when the different officers – in charge of the provisioning of their units – ran out of their supplies and going far beyond their sphere of authority, took corn and fodder from the granaries of other officers/officials.

II.1.1.2.7 Transporting barley rations

The transport of large amounts of barley was one of the most crucial points of the Empire's logistical system. Shorter distances (from the fields and threshing floors to the granaries) could be covered with pack animals (donkeys, mules and even camels) or carts pulled by oxen. The troops most probably marched from granary/depot to granary/depot.³⁹⁹ Soldiers could carry travel provisions sufficient for a few days with them, but on a campaign the train had to transport larger amounts of food and fodder, a manoeuvre which required a great number of pack animals. The main source of these animals was most probably the booty and tribute. As is shown in *Fig. 41* (Booty lists – livestock) the Assyrians captured a multitude of pack animals (including donkeys, mules and camels as well).

A letter written by a certain Mušēzib-ilu to the king most probably involves grain rations, which were to be stored until the arrival of the royal caravan, and to be sent to the king, supposedly from Babylonia.⁴⁰⁰ It is unknown, however, whether these rations served the provisioning of the royal court or the king's troops. A fragmentary sentence in the text may refer to the Itu'eans, who guarded the barley.

a) Pack animals – overland transport

Overland transport required an operational network manned by the local, provincial authorities and large numbers of pack animals. These animals were part of the imperial supply system, which – far from the waterways – provided the only means of conveying goods, including barley (*see below*).

In addition to the cavalry and chariotry horses the pack animals – equally important for the supply system and the military campaigns as the cavalry and chariotry horses – had to be rationed, as well. Gabbu-ana-Aššur, the palace herald (*nāgir ekalli*) for example complained about the lack of straw to Sargon II, reporting that: "All the straw in my country is reserved for Dūr-Šarrukēn, and my recruitment officers (LÚ.mu-šar-kis.MEŠ-ni) are now running after me (because) there is no straw for the pack animals."⁴⁰¹ A similar case is known from a letter of Aššur-šittu-ušur sent to Tiglath-Pileser III, in which he replies to the king's order: "Surely [the k]ing, my lord, (is planning) to send me pack animals but I am not able to take care of the pack animals. [A]l the available food and corn is (for) the [pe]ople the king gave me; [h]e who lies to the king will die."⁴⁰²

When the Chief Eunuch sent Šamaš-aḫu-iddina to Riblah (and impressed on him the watch over the town), Šamaš-aḫu-iddina reported to the king that: "Half of the pack animals should enter Riblah whereas the other half should enter Qadeš"⁴⁰³ – most probably to divide the burden of feeding them between the two towns.

³⁹⁹ An Assyrian official assured the king, that – according to the royal order – plenty of barley had been brought into the grain store and cached therein. SAGGS 2001, 233, NL 93 (ND 2742); LUUKKO 2012, 211 (ND 2742).

⁴⁰⁰ SAGGS 2001, 68-69, NL 73 (ND 2357); LUUKKO 2012, 120 (ND 2357).

⁴⁰¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 119 (ABL 122), 3-8.

⁴⁰² SAGGS 1965, NL 71 (ND 2711); LUUKKO 2012, 51 (ND 2771).

⁴⁰³ SAGGS 1963, NL 70 (ND 2766), 3-11; LUUKKO 2012, 37 (ND 2766).

A further fragmentary letter reflects the same problem. The desperate official (whose name is missing) reported to the king that: “[The king, my lord], gave pa[ck animals] into my care but I am not able to take care of them; they will die o[f hu]nger. I have used up the gr[ain ratio]ns that the king, my lord, gave me, having giv[en] them [to] the local people, the specialists in the service of the treasurer and the quartermaster corps of the *P[alace]*. I can give out one homer of barley, but the king, my lord, knows what the governor of Arbela can [affo]rd.”⁴⁰⁴

Only a few texts provide details about the contingents of pack animals. Nabû-išmanni reports to the king that he has reviewed the pack animals of the Suḥeans: “6 chariots, one wooden implement, 11 teams of horses, 3 teams of mules, 120 donkeys and 60 camels.”⁴⁰⁵ While the specific purpose for collecting this transporting capacity is unclear, it may have involved conveying grain from one location to another. In any way soever, this transport capacity was capable of carrying up to 10–12 tons of grain over shorter distances (a few days’ march) – since the transport of larger amounts of grain was economical only via waterways (*see below*). This reconstructed amount of 10–12 tons of grain was enough to feed 1,000 soldiers for almost a week. The letter continues as follows: “I have not counted the men but there are some 400 men opposite me. I have completely crossed over (the river).”⁴⁰⁶ For 400 men the rations this train carried would last for at least two weeks.

Another administrative report⁴⁰⁷ gives a detailed list of a concentration of pack animals and their drivers(?). As *Fig. 22* shows this concentration of pack animals and drivers similar in size to the concentration discussed above, and it seems probable that this presented the standard size of a train the governors summoned for local/regional purposes (regional campaigns) or contributed to larger royal campaigns. In this case the governor sent this force by the hands of his messenger, Apladad-[...] to the king.

LINE	SOLDIERS/DRIVERS	DONKEYS	CAMELS	IN CHARGE
8'	19 (LÜ.ERIM.MEŠ)	19		[...eans]
9'	13 (ERIM.MEŠ-šú)	10	1	[...eans]
10'	3	3		Lidiaeans (KUR.Li-di-a-a)
11'	81	81		Bēl-lēšir
12'	18	18		Itu'eans (KUR.Ú-tu-u-a-a)
13'	15	15		Ḥamaraneans (KUR.Ḥa-mar-[an-a-a])
Rev. 1-2	59	59	1	Šamaš-bunā[ia]
3-5	198	195	2	in all

Fig. 22. The structure of ND 2366.

A Nimrud administrative text also recorded large numbers of pack animals,⁴⁰⁸ mules and asses in corrals (476 asses in 2 corrals, 412 asses),⁴⁰⁹ and arriving from different sources (*madattu* (tribute) and *šibtu* (a kind of ‘increase’)⁴¹⁰ *see below*) from various parts of the Empire in a calendar month

⁴⁰⁴ SAGGS 2001, 224-225 (ND 2616), 1-5; LUUKKO 2012, 167 (ND 2616), 1-5.

⁴⁰⁵ SAGGS 1955, NL 17 (ND 2647), 5-Rev. 5; SAGGS 2001, 283-284 (ND 2647), 5-Rev. 5; LUUKKO 2012, 175 (ND 2647), 5-Rev. 5.

⁴⁰⁶ SAGGS 1955, NL 17 (ND 2647), Rev. 6-11; SAGGS 2001, 283-284 (ND 2647), Rev. 6-11; LUUKKO 2012, 175 (ND 2647), Rev. 6-11.

⁴⁰⁷ SAGGS 1959, NL 60 (ND 2366); SAGGS 2001, 241-242 (ND 2366); LUUKKO 2012, 177 (ND 2366).

⁴⁰⁸ PARKER 1961, 28-31 (ND 2451); POSTGATE 1974, 376-379.

⁴⁰⁹ PARKER 1961, 28-31 (ND 2451), 6, 12.

⁴¹⁰ For the detailed discussion of *šibtu* *see* POSTGATE 1974, 167-173.

(unknown year, intercalary Ulūlu (VI+I)). The text registers the dead animals (72 and 202)⁴¹¹ and animals of the ‘reserves’ (151 of *nakkamtū*, 412 asses together with ‘reserves’ (*na-kam-ti*))⁴¹² as well, and altogether shows the order of magnitude the (local) management of pack animals administered by an unfortunately unknown office.

Summing up the evidence it can be established that such trains of pack animals could play a significant role in the (limited range) overland transport of rations and equipment to supply local or regional troop concentrations, forts and garrisons.

b) River barge/boat transport – waterway transport

But when huge amounts of rations had to be piled up in military or muster camps, military bases, and assembly points next to the operational zones of a forthcoming campaign, much larger scale of supply operations were needed. Such muster camps are going to be reconstructed in the next volume of this project. Important military bases in the form of military camps are known both from the palace reliefs (for example at Lachish) and from the cuneiform evidence (for example Dūr-Ladini in Babylonia).

It is widely known that the riverine transport of large amounts of grain by ships and boats was much cheaper than the overland transport of the same amounts using pack animals.⁴¹³ The overland transport of goods, especially of grain was more expensive than the riverine transport, because it required large numbers of pack animals (with a relatively small transport capacity each) in need of provisions themselves.

Several letters of the Neo-Assyrian royal correspondence reflect the importance of the riverine transport. Šamaš-bēlu-ušur (governor of Arzuḫina) reminded the king that: “we transport fodder from here to Ampīḫabi. There is an old boat we use for shipping straw, fodder and all sorts of things.”⁴¹⁴

Ašipā, for example, in one of his letters written to Tiglath-Pileser III during the Mukin-zēri rebellion lists the amounts of barley piled up by different local officials: 6,000 (homers (600,000 litres) of) barley of the village manager Šil-Bēl, 2,000 (homers of) Nergal-ētir, and 3,000 (homers of) barley in Sippar. He emphasizes, however, that these barley depots are far from the river.⁴¹⁵ Another of his letters, however, let the king know, that he didn’t have the barley of Šil-Bēl, but had towed the boats and gone a day’s march below Cutha. On the 23rd he planned to set out and put the barley of Cutha in place.⁴¹⁶ Cutha had always been a very important city and military base in the Babylon politics of the Assyrians.

Subsequent letters of Ašipā disclose further details of the endeavour. He reports to the king that they “set into motion [the boat]s and water-skin rafts [which] were launched [into water]r [in] Dūr-Ladini, and proceeded to Bāb-bitqi. If [the kin]g commands: ‘Let the first-come (boats) proceed to take (the barley)’, (then) either Balāssu or Nādinu should *man* the bo[at]s and water-skin rafts and set out until I have fetched the later ones from Dūr-Baliḫāia.”⁴¹⁷

His next letter reports that the Borsippian troops had come out from their city and had attacked the men of Balāssu who manned the boats having arrived from as far as Sūru upstream.

⁴¹¹ PARKER 1961, 28-31 (ND 2451), 14, 23.

⁴¹² PARKER 1961, 28-31 (ND 2451), 7, 12.

⁴¹³ According to our reconstruction the pack animals consumed 3—6 litres of fodder daily.

⁴¹⁴ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 233 (ABL 802), 4-10.

⁴¹⁵ SAGGS 1956, NL 35 (ND 2452), 1-Rev. 5; SAGGS 2001, 33-34 (ND 2452), 1-Rev. 5; LUUKKO 2012, 109 (ND 2452), 1-Rev. 5.

⁴¹⁶ SAGGS 1956, NL 36 (ND 2623), 4-Rev. 12; SAGGS 2001, 34-35 (ND 2623), 4-Rev. 12; LUUKKO 2012, 108 (ND 2623), 4-Rev. 12.

⁴¹⁷ LUUKKO 2012, 110 (ND 2363), 4-Rev. 5.

Ašipâ reports that “seven men were wo[un]ded and five were killed. Also one chariot fighter of [mi]ne was killed with them. But the boats and water-skin rafts are well.”⁴¹⁸

The magnitude of the project is well reflected in a further letter of Ašipâ, which mentions 400 boats and water-skin rafts. He asks the king: “After the boats have been unloaded, should I let them go, or shall we detain them?”⁴¹⁹

Not only Ašipâ, but Aššur-šallimanni, governor of Arrapha was also active during the Mukin-zêri rebellion in Babylonia between 731 – 729 B.C. In one of his letters written to Tiglath-Pileser III he refers to similar cases: “[Concern]ing the barley of Bêl-aplu-iddina [about which the k]ing, my lord, [wro]te to me, Mušallim-Marduk, [who] went [wi]th the boats, [has retu]rned. On the 9th, the boats arrived [in the town of ...]editi. (16) I asked [Mušal]lim-Marduk: ‘[How m]any boats are there?’ [...] He said: ‘The barley [...]’”⁴²⁰

An early letter of Merodach-baladan (Marduk-apla-iddina), sent to Tiglath-Pileser III also refers to barley transported on boats: “If it is [agreeable] to the king, [my lord], please return (to me) al[l] the boats [...] and (their) crews, and I shall bring it (= the barley) to the king.”⁴²¹

It is quite clear from the royal correspondence, that – especially in Babylonia – a network of river harbours was needed to supply the troops (and people) with provisions. These river harbours were of foremost military importance during the Babylonian campaigns. A few important Babylonian harbour settlements (Dūr-Ladini, Bāb-bitqī, and Dūr-Baliḥāia) – their military importance known from other sources as well – are mentioned in this letter. It seems that the organisation manned this network was a local one: a letter, probably also of Ašipâ mentions that Nabû-šarru-ušur, the eunuch of the governor, was the official in charge of the boats.⁴²² With the help of this water-route and river-harbour network the Assyrians could easily amass huge amounts of barley to supply the troops with provisions relatively smoothly. The security of the network, the harbours and the military bases was the key question of the military success.

II.1.2 Central allotment of rations during a campaign

To collect supplies and especially the travel provisions during the time of war was a continuous strain the governors had to cope with.⁴²³ Without these supplies the campaign could fail, and the Assyrians would not achieve their strategic goals. As has been reconstructed above, if a soldier got an average ration of 2 litres of barley or its equivalent *per diem*, an army of 10,000 strong needed a daily 20,000 litres (16,000 kg, 16 tons) of barley. To raise such an amount and transport it to the troops moving between operational zones was a real challenge and required a very well organized staff department with a large staff and numerous officers. It also needed a well-defined line of communications, and a system of logistics (with operational bases, barley and supply depots, and again a large staff and officers in charge of supplies) doing its best to provision the troops from day by day.

⁴¹⁸ LUUKKO 2012, 111 (ND 2365), Rev. 2-13.

⁴¹⁹ LUUKKO 2012, 112 (ND 2418), 4-Rev. 8.

⁴²⁰ SAGGS 2001, 47 (ND 2350), 11-18; LUUKKO 2012, 83 (ND 2350), 11-18.

⁴²¹ LUUKKO 2012, 122 (ND 2389), Rev. 5-7.

⁴²² LUUKKO 2012, 116 (ND 2369), 1-7.

⁴²³ See for example the fragmentary letter referring to some troops who had not yet collected their travel provisions: FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 31 (CT 53, 596), 2-3.

Unfortunately there is no text describing the complete set of provisions the troops had to be supplied with during the campaign.⁴²⁴ Although a very fragmentary text refers to different items of provision (sheep for consumption, horses, chariot(s)), it shows only, that this type of 'inventory text' might have existed.

II.1.2.1 Domestic staff – supply system

It has to be emphasized, that – as usual – all the governors, prefects, and company/regimental officers bore the responsibility of supplying their units. Specialized staff and officers in charge of supplies can, however, partly be reconstructed from the sources. A comprehensive study of this aspect of military *sofar* was published by D. Nadali and L. Verderame, who reconstructed important members of the supply system of the army, 'the masters behind the ranks.'⁴²⁵ In the previous volumes of this project certain officers of such a (military) supply system have already been identified. They were the major-domo (*rab bēti*, who served both on the imperial and the provincial level),⁴²⁶ the recruitment officer (*mušarkisu*, who most probably not only worked for the equestrian units),⁴²⁷ and the stable officer (*šaknu ša ma'assi*, in which case the name indicates that he was in charge of the supply of horses).⁴²⁸ Minor assignments connected to the provisioning of troops could also be reconstructed. It is possible, that the LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR (*susānu/šušānu*, 'chariot man,' 'chariot troop,' 'chariot horse trainer,'), and the *murabbānu* ('horse raiser')⁴²⁹ for example played specialized roles in the supply system of the equestrian units.

A much more detailed picture of the 'domestic staff' serving on the lower levels in the army can be constructed from the well-known letter of Adad-issīa already discussed in detail.⁴³⁰ As shown in *Fig. 16* the 8 lackeys, 12 tailors, 20 cupbearers/butlers, 12 confectioners/victuallers/pastry-cooks, 7 bakers, 10 cooks, 8 scholars, and 23 donkey drivers provided 100 domestics, who served the 1,330 fighting personnel. This insight shows that 7.5 % (or around one tenth) of the army consisted of non-fighting personnel charged with provisioning the combatants.

In absence of further detailed descriptions of the non-combatant personnel we can turn to their representations on Assyrian palace reliefs, where dozens of images show domestic scenes in Assyrian military camps. F.M. Fales and M. Rigo in their important study⁴³¹ have already collected the material and discussed all the aspects of the topic,⁴³² which are as follows:

- 1) study of the camps themselves,
- 2) study of the tents and other structures in the camp,
- 3) study of non-combatant personnel, the domestic staff,
- 4) study of the different types of activities they perform (including food processing, butchering, cooking, drinking, and feeding pack-animals).

⁴²⁴ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 120 (ADD 1120).

⁴²⁵ NADALI – VERDERAME 2014, 553-566.

⁴²⁶ DEZSÓ 2012A, 187-189.

⁴²⁷ DEZSÓ 2012B, 122-128.

⁴²⁸ DEZSÓ 2012B, 122.

⁴²⁹ DEZSÓ 2012B, 117-118.

⁴³⁰ LANFRANCHI - PARPOLA 1990, 215 (NL 89); SAGGS 1966, no. 89 (ND 2631) ; FALES 1990, 31-34; FALES 2000, 40-43; POSTGATE 2000, 89-108; SAGGS 2001, 128-130; FALES – RIGO 2010, 14; DEZSÓ 2012A, 36, 50, 72, 77, 140, 187, 188, 192; DEZSÓ 2012B, 35, 36, 78, 88, 96, 107, 108, 135, 143; LUUKKO 2012, 189 (ND 2631).

⁴³¹ FALES – RIGO 2010, 1-30. See furthermore BLEIBTREU 1993, 27-33 and MICALE – NADALI 2004, 163-174.

⁴³² For the study of the military camp see the next volume of this project.

A much larger scale insight is provided by one of the royal inscriptions of Esarhaddon listing the troops who were enlisted into the Assyrian army from the conquered people of Šubria. As has already been discussed in detail,⁴³³ the inscription lists bodyguard chariotry, bodyguard cavalry, stable officers, eunuch officials, service engineers, craftsmen, *kallāpu* troops, shield-bearers, scouts, farmers, shepherds, and gardeners who were added to the huge Assyrian army (*e-mu-qi* ^dAš-šur *gap-ša-a-te*).⁴³⁴ This list is obviously not limited to units of the royal army (*kišir šarrūti*), nor does it offer a complete list of all the units in the army. It seems that it lists (1) a bodyguard section (chariotry and cavalry), (2) a section of officials (stable officers and eunuch officials), (3) technical staff (service engineers and craftsmen), (3) an infantry section (*kallāpu* troops and shield-bearers), (4) an intelligence section (scouts), (5) and the provision or supply section (farmers, shepherds, and gardeners). There are two possibilities which have to be considered. (1) This entry probably recorded the units which the king added to the army (not to the royal contingent, *kišir šarrūti*) for a campaign. This would explain the appearance of ‘semi-fighting’ units such as military engineers and craftsmen, who could repair the equipment. (2) The second possibility is that the king provided the basic provisions for the units staying at home or going on campaign. This in turn would serve as an explanation for the appearance of non-fighting units, such as farmers, shepherds, and gardeners who might have been added to the army to provision the units at home and during campaigns as well.

II.1.2.2 Feeding the troops during campaigns

Troops could carry with them ‘travel provisions’ sufficient only for a few days, so the system needed baggage trains and caravans to carry the foodstuff and equipment. This gives rise certain questions, whether the Assyrians

- 1) built supply bases within a few days’ march of the operational zone of the campaign (in case of a siege it was an obvious possibility), or
- 2) organized and sent caravans and baggage trains after the troops, or
- 3) looted the neighbourhood and seized as much food as they could.

From the military planning point of view the obvious goals of a campaign (siege of cities, defeat of enemy armies) had to be harmonized with the realities of provisioning the troops in enemy land. For that reason the (Assyrian) armies probably often resorted to reaping the harvest and looting the countryside before they turn on the enemy. The ‘scorched earth’ tactic was a well-known phenomenon and military tactic, which could profoundly affect the strategy and the tactics. In this case, when the army had to march through ‘scorched earth’ territories, the importance of the supply columns and the travel provisions carried by the soldiers became vital.

II.1.2.2.1 Royal inscriptions

The Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions hardly mention the food supply of troops during campaigns. It seems that these standard and clichéd inscriptions refrained from emphasizing this question, a trend duplicated in other texts, as well: the annals which mention some kind of food supply in their booty lists or other sections, also discuss them only tangentially.

⁴³³ DEZSŐ 2012A, 70-71.

⁴³⁴ LEICHTY 2011, 33, iii:16-18: L[Ú.....] L[Ú].GIŠ.GIGIR *qur-ub-te* L[Ú].pet-ḫal *qur-ub-te* L[Ú].GAR-nu-te *ša ma-’a-si* L[Ú].SAG.MEŠ L[Ú].kit-kit-tu-u L[Ú].um-ma-ni L[Ú].kal-la-pu L[Ú].a-ri-ti L[Ú].da-a-a-lu L[Ú].APIN L[Ú].SIPA L[Ú].NU.GIŠ.SAR.

Here we have to emphasize that there is a crucial difference between the corn (rations) confiscated during a campaign on enemy territory and the huge quantities of livestock captured (*Chart 17, Fig. 41*). The livestock – mainly sheep, oxen, and cattle according to the royal inscriptions – would have played an important part of the daily food supply of the troops, but a considerable part of the animals would have been driven home to various Assyrian centres. Therefore, the question of the livestock is also going to be discussed in chapters II.3 (Booty and tribute), and II.3.1.5 (Livestock).

Those few royal inscriptions which mention various items of food supply – mainly corn and wine – can be divided into two groups.

1) One of these groups is the formulaic list of food rations captured or confiscated during the campaign. The royal inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) for example mainly mention the wine tribute the army got during the campaigns of the king (*Chart 17, Fig. 40*) and the booty of barley and straw appears only in one case, in 881 B.C., when all the kings of Zamua ‘provided’ barley and straw for the army.⁴³⁵ Two times, however, the king mentions that the army had reaped the harvest of the enemy or conquered lands, a possibility which was a very important consideration when planning the campaigns. The first case is known from 879 B.C., when Assurnasirpal II conquered large parts of the land Nairi, reaped the harvest and stored the barley and straw in the newly conquered and rebuilt city of Tušḫa.⁴³⁶ A similar case is known from 875 B.C.(?), when the king conquered Aribua, the fortified city of Lubarna the Patinu, reaped the harvest of the Luḫutu and stored it inside.⁴³⁷ These grain stores played a similar role in the newly conquered territories as the grain store network of Assyria: they provided food rations for the army and the local administration as well. The royal inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.) only refer to the wine, and only once to the normal tribute of livestock (sheep and oxen), which was complemented with ducks (*išṣūrū rabūtu*),⁴³⁸ most probably not a staple food of the Assyrian army on campaign. The next king whose annals refer to food rations is Sargon II (721–707 B.C.), whose texts remark that in 710 B.C. 6 sheikhs of the Gambulu ‘provided’ 2,000 homers (200,000 litres) of barley,⁴³⁹ which was a few days’ rations for a larger army (with a 2 litres *per diem* ration for soldiers). The last entry in royal annals referring in any way to a booty or tribute of grain rations is an inscriptions of Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.) which mentions that in 671 B.C., following his defeat, Tirḫaqa presented *sattukku* and *ginū* offerings to Aššur and the great gods from the tribute of Memphis, including 19,323 homers, (measured by) 1 seah, of malt.⁴⁴⁰

2) Only two royal inscriptions shed some light on the real nature of capturing or receiving food supplies in enemy territory. The royal inscription of Tukultī-Ninurta II (890–884 B.C.), a description of his long march along the Wadi Tharthar, the Euphrates and the Ḫābur rivers,⁴⁴¹ contains valuable information concerning the daily routine of providing food supplies for the Assyrian army. During this long trek the army marched from town to town, from food store to food store⁴⁴² – whether the food rations came as voluntary tribute offerings or were confiscated

⁴³⁵ GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1, ii:47.

⁴³⁶ GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1, ii:118.

⁴³⁷ GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1, iii:82-83.

⁴³⁸ GRAYSON 1991, A.0.102, 1, 92'-95' (in 857 B.C. from the rulers of Unqi, Gurgum, Sam'al, and Bit-Agūsi).

⁴³⁹ FUCHS 1994, *Annalen* 272-275.

⁴⁴⁰ LEICHTY 2011, 9, ii':12'-21'.

⁴⁴¹ GRAYSON 1991, A.0.100.5. For the logic of this campaign see LIVERANI 1988, 81-97.

⁴⁴² GRAYSON 1991, A.0.100.5, 69-125.

by force is unknown. The other text is Sargon II's 'Letter to God,' which describes the details of Sargon II's campaign (8th campaign, 714 B.C.) against Urartu.⁴⁴³ He started from Calah, reviewed his army most probably in Māzama province and embarked on the campaign.⁴⁴⁴ The army marched through further Northeastern territories of the Empire and received rations from the local grain depots. The supply lines of the army would help for a while after entering 'enemy territory' and the 'travel provisions' of the army would last for another few days. However, the army needed large amounts of supplies. Similarly to other royal inscriptions this text also lists the livestock the army received during its march, but the first mention of receiving grain provisions comes only after their return to the territory of the friendly ruler of Mannai, Ullusunū, who – like the Assyrian eunuchs and governors – amassed flour and wine in the fortress of Sirdakka to supply the Assyrian army.⁴⁴⁵ It seems that the Mannaeian ruler provisioned the army until the battle of Wauš, following which the Assyrian army started its march through newly conquered enemy territories, where they would provision themselves by capturing and looting the food stores and depots of the nearby towns along their march.⁴⁴⁶ It is quite possible that they led the campaign along a route of towns, food stores and depots known from intelligence reports. The pace of the campaign must have been fast, or at least detachments were sent out to capture and guard the food stores and grain depots to prevent their looting or destruction by Assyria's local or Urartian enemies, to stop or at least slow down the advance of the Assyrians by emptying the depots and using the 'scorched earth' tactic against them. The Assyrian army at first recaptured the towns of Mount Wišdiš, which Rusa occupied and took from Mannai, where he opened the granaries and let the troops consume the grain.⁴⁴⁷ Here – because it was the recaptured territory of Mannai – the army did not destroy the rest of the harvest, but their next stop witnessed a complete devastation of the local resources. Anistania, a city of the land Sangibūti, together with 17 towns in its neighbourhood was completely destroyed by the Assyrians: they opened the granaries and let the troops consume the grain. In addition to wreaking havoc in the settlements, they also scorched the harvest and let the flocks of the army's camp pasture in the cultivated fields.⁴⁴⁸ This passage emphasizes not only the fact that the Assyrian army had large numbers of livestock with them in their camp (also depicted in several representations of the Assyrian military camps)⁴⁴⁹ to feed the troops, but also underscores the practice of destroying all surviving resources to render any resistance or counter-move impossible behind their lines. The next victim of this procedure was the land Dalaia, where the cities Tarui and Tarmakisa – situated on a plain providing the grain for the country – were destroyed, their granaries opened for the Assyrian troops, and the rest of the harvest scorched.⁴⁵⁰ The people of Ulhu and the neighbouring fort of Sarduri-ḫurda – a territory which their

⁴⁴³ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 119-151; LEHMAN-HAUPT 1917, 119-151; WEIDNER 1926, 1-6; RIGG 1942, 130-138; WRIGHT 1943, 173-186; LEVINE 1977, 135-151; MAYER 1979, 571-595; MAYER 1980, 13-33; ZACCAGNINI 1981, 259-294; MAYER 1983, 65-132; MUSCARELLA 1986, 465-475; LANFRANCHI 1990, 79-118; ZIMANSKY 1990, 1-21; FALES 1991A, 129-147; VERA CHAMAZA 1992, 109-128; VERA CHAMAZA 1994, 91-118; MAYER 1995; SALVINI 1995, 133-158; VERA CHAMAZA 1995–1996, 235-267; LIEBIG 1996, 207-210; MEDVEDSKAYA 1997, 197-206; SALVINI 1997, 109-114; SALVINI 2001, 343-356; KRAWITZ 2003, 81-95; DUBOVSKÝ 2006A, 141-146; DUBOVSKÝ 2006B; HUROWITZ 2008, 104-120; ROAF 2012A, 187-216; ROAF 2012B, 771-780; MAYER 2013; DEZSÓ 2014, 221-235; MARRIOTT – RADNER 2015, 127-143. For the destruction of Hasanlu *see*: READE 1979, 175-181; MEDVEDSKAYA 1988, 1-15; DYSON – MUSCARELLA 1989, 1-27; MEDVEDSKAYA 1991, 149-161; MUSCARELLA 2012, 265-279.

⁴⁴⁴ For the detailed reconstruction of the route and the campaign itself *see* the following volume of this project. For a recent comprehensive study of the topic *see* MARRIOTT – RADNER 2015, 127-143.

⁴⁴⁵ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 52-55.

⁴⁴⁶ *See* MARRIOTT – RADNER 2015, 127-143.

⁴⁴⁷ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 163-166.

⁴⁴⁸ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 184-187.

⁴⁴⁹ *See* chapter II.1.2.3 Sources of meat and FALES – RIGO 2010, 1-30, esp. 28.

⁴⁵⁰ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 189-198.

ruler had transformed into an extremely rich and fertile ‘earthly Paradise’ – escaped during the night into the ravines of the nearby mountains and let the Assyrian king enter the city and the local palace of Rusa, king of Urartu. Here, the Assyrians opened the granaries again for their troops, which also broached the admiral and drank the wine they found.⁴⁵¹ They additionally destroyed the irrigation canals, cut and set fire to all trees they found, and with marching the infantry, cavalry and chariotry through the fields they completely destroyed the (arable) land.⁴⁵² The next stops were Arzabia and Irtia, where the Assyrians built a military camp, and following the complete destruction of these cities and 146 other settlements in their neighbourhood opened the granaries and let the troops, horses, mules, dromedaries carry the corn into their camp, where they consumed all the loot. The Assyrians destroyed the gardens and again cut down the trees.⁴⁵³ The region of Mount Armarili followed. The fortress of Bubuzi, and the fortified cities of 𐎶undur, Aialê, 𐎶inišpalâ, 𐎶iniunak, Arna, and Sarnî, altogether 7 cities with 30 towns at the foot of Mount Ubianda were conquered and destroyed. The Assyrian soldiers again opened the granaries, scorched the rest of the harvest and felled the trees.⁴⁵⁴ The next targets were 30 strong cities with 87 towns in their neighbourhood, which were situated next to Mount Aiadi. These cities and towns were also destroyed, the Assyrian soldiers opened their granaries, consumed the amassed grain, and destroyed the gardens.⁴⁵⁵ Later parts of the text mainly concentrate on the conquest and sack of Mušašir and the Temple of 𐎶aldi.⁴⁵⁶

Both royal inscriptions shed light on the key question of campaign preparations: the soldiers would be fed with corn and/or meat rations, for which the expeditionary army needed careful planning and readiness, to prevent the enemy from scorching the earth in front of them. It is quite clear that all the Assyrian campaigns – even if the relevant inscriptions lack detail – followed the same practice: in enemy territory, far from their supply lines, the Assyrians would capture all the sources of food (food stores, grain depots, sheep and cattle) and if needed reap the harvest. The project needed a careful planning of military operations based on informations provided by a reliable intelligence system,⁴⁵⁷ quick reaction time, and special detachments.

II.1.2.2.2 Royal correspondence

Only few Neo-Assyrian cuneiform letters refer to the supply of Assyrian troops campaigning in foreign territory. The most comprehensive text is a short letter to Tiglath-Pileser III from Aššur-mātka-tēra, commenting on the equipment and provisioning of Aramean troops: “As to the Aramean troops about whom the king, my lord, wrote to me: ‘Equip them! They are going on a campaign.’ I will give them their (travel) provisions, sackcloth, leather bags, sandals and oil. I have no donkey stallions available, but if I did have donkey stallions available, I would offer my carts too for the campaign.”⁴⁵⁸

Sargon II wrote a letter to an unknown Assyrian official (to Šamaš-bēlu-ušur?), which refers to magnates campaigning in Ellipi, probably in the vicinity of Bīt-Barrūa. This text mentions 600 homers of barley, likely stock-piled by this official as rations for this campaign.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵¹ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 200-220.

⁴⁵² THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 221-230.

⁴⁵³ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 254-268.

⁴⁵⁴ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 269-279.

⁴⁵⁵ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 280-296.

⁴⁵⁶ For a recent archaeological project of the site see MARF 2014, 13-30.

⁴⁵⁷ DUBOVSKÝ 2006B; DEZSÓ 2014, 221-235.

⁴⁵⁸ LUUKKO 2012, 17 (ND 2643).

Šarru-ēmuranni (governor of Māzamua) reported to Sargon II, that – contrary to the royal order – he had not waited for the governor of Arrapha, because “the road in question is very slow. He sets out from Zaban, and it takes him three days to get there, while I can make a round-trip to Parsua going this way.”⁴⁶⁰ From our point of view, however, the second part of the letter is more interesting: Šarru-ēmuranni asks the king, whether he should take the horses and free men from the forts with him, go down to Māzamua and reap the harvest (before they launch the campaign).⁴⁶¹ This text not only emphasizes the importance of the province of Māzamua as a military base and collection point, but also sheds some light on the logic of planning supplies: before the governors of Māzamua and Arrapha start the regional campaign they should bring in the harvest to feed the troops.

A similar case is known from the letter of Aššur-rēšūwa,⁴⁶² the Assyrian resident (*qēpu*) in Kumme on the Urartian border, who reported to the Treasurer that, according to the order he had already moved some of the troops up, but the others had not yet got underway. He additionally reviewed the equipment of Arie and Arisâ (the local rulers), but they had not departed, either. He further ensured the Treasurer of the harvest, which he had already reaped, and asked his lord to send an order to the Itu'eian troops stationing in Dūr-Šamaš and Barzaništa to move up there and relieve the units serving there. It seems that during the planning of the campaigns the date of the (first) harvest was a crucial point, influencing the starting date of the muster and the campaign.

While the magnates campaigned in Media, Marduk-šarru-ušur, appointed to Singibutu by Sargon II, reported to the king⁴⁶³ that he was keeping watch along the border, where the former rulers of the territory, Kibabiše and Dasukku were constantly running about opposite him with a hundred cavalymen. The governor, however, assured the king of the barley rations: he had put aside 1,000 homers of barley and deposited it in the town of Saba[...], meanwhile he had taken out more of the harvest.

Adad-issīa, the well-known Assyrian official who reported from Kār-Aššur the size of the Assyrian contingent stationing in Māzamua province (*see above*) let the king know,⁴⁶⁴ that he had sent two cavalry cohort commanders (LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*.MEŠ ša BAD.ĤAL-li)⁴⁶⁵ to muster the equipment and barley rations of Sanḫa and Ulušia and to warn their guard to be very strong. This letter (as is indicated) was probably sent from the Mannaeian border and reflects the arrangements Adad-issīa made during a local or regional campaign, including the review of the equipment and barley rations of the garrisons and people of Sanḫa and Ulušia in the border region of the Empire.

Another similar case has been mentioned above: an Assyrian official received a royal order to keep watch with his troops in Meturna. However, when he was in Dūr-Anunīti between Meturna and Dūr-Bēl-ilā'i, in the foothills, he wrote a letter to Sargon II complaining as follows: “[Concerning what] the king, my lord, w[rote to me]: “Be in Meturna and keep watch!” – right now I am in Dūr-Anunīti between Meturna and Dūr-Bēl-ilā'i, in the piedmont. My troops are with me, but the son of Iakīn is in Babylon. It is an impasse: I cannot go and start my journey, nor can

⁴⁵⁹ PARPOLA 1987, 14 (CT 53, 823).

⁴⁶⁰ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 199 (ABL 311), 8-13.

⁴⁶¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 199 (ABL 311), Rev. 1-7.

⁴⁶² LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 97 (ABL 147).

⁴⁶³ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 69 (ABL 174).

⁴⁶⁴ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 217 (ABL 342).

⁴⁶⁵ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 217 (ABL 342), 4-5.

I release my king's men to collect their provisions. Let the king, my lord, write me what (his) orders are." Its is quite clear that the governor could not release his king's men to collect their provisions before the start of their 'journey.'⁴⁶⁶

In an interesting but fragmentary letter the unknown sender advises the Assyrian king: if the king enters Babylon quickly, he will set foot in the centre of the land and will achieve his objectives. The author also lets the king know that "All the people of Bīt-Dakkuri have left the cities and gone into the marshes. Countless barley and dates have been left back. Horses should go and stay (there) because of this."⁴⁶⁷ The practical advice that horses could be stationed in Bīt-Dakkuri to consume the countless barley and dates the people had left behind, makes use of a standard motif – reappearing in the Assyrian royal inscriptions as well – that the Assyrian army could live on the foodstuff the escaped people of the conquered territories left behind.

The letter of Aššur-šallimanni to Tiglath-Pileser III was written during a regional campaign in Babylonia. This report mentions all the key elements the Assyrians would have considered during a campaign. The royal orders determined not only the tactical goals of the campaign (the direction of the march, whom they should meet, which troops/people should be assembled), but gave exact orders concerning the supply of the troops as well: "Exact the dried corn [from the houses of Bī]t-Amukāni!"⁴⁶⁸

Two letters from the Governor's Palace Archive refer to provisioning the troops, most probably during (a regional) campaign. The first letter, written by Aššur-taklāk, mentions the order of the governor of Arzuḫina, who commanded Nani to "[l]evy the corn-taxes of the governor of Kalḫu."⁴⁶⁹ The troops were going around the villages on a daily basis, but the farmers asked for the reason behind levying the corn-taxes this year. The other letter of an unknown official quotes the definite order of the governor: "... [let them take charge of(?)] their equipment, and see that their 'campaign-floor' is good. Appoint your eunuch over them."⁴⁷⁰ The order makes it clear that following the review of these troops the units should join to the troops of Šarru-dūri. In these cases the sources point to the practice of the military to collect rations by levying corn-taxes before the campaign, to complement their provisions.

Unfortunately there is no extant Assyrian description of the train (marching column including the non-combatant host). Aside from Herodotus's description of the Persian army, the best description of a marching army column including the baggage train is known from Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*. Xenophon himself, as a cavalry commander, counted as an expert on the topic and – apart from *Cyropaedia* and *Anabasis* – he wrote two treatises on military matters.⁴⁷¹

Xenophon disclosed some details of the marching order, including the place of the baggage train.⁴⁷² When the Persian coalition army went to help Gadatas (an 'Assyrian' official, most probably the Chief Eunuch),⁴⁷³ who had revolted against the new 'Assyrian' king, Cyrus divided his marching column into two: 1) the baggage train with the beasts of draught and the wagons as a slow column marched under the command of Gobryas, while 2) the combatant units with travel provision for 3 days marched in a *quasi* battle order at a much faster pace, to reach the battlefield in time.

⁴⁶⁶ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 30 (ABL 455), Rev. 4-18.

⁴⁶⁷ DIETRICH 2003, 84 (ABL 588), Rev. 3-9.

⁴⁶⁸ SAGGS 1955, NL 10 (ND 2602), 8; SAGGS 2001, 43-45 (ND 2602), 8; LUUKKO 2012, 86 (ND 2602), 8.

⁴⁶⁹ POSTGATE 1973, 194-196, no. 196 (ND 413), 4-11.

⁴⁷⁰ POSTGATE 1973, 201-202, no. 203 (ND 439), 1-5.

⁴⁷¹ *On the Art of Horsemanship, The Cavalry Commander*.

⁴⁷² *Cyropaedia*, Book V, Chapter 3.

⁴⁷³ On the Assyrian references of *Cyropaedia* see PARPOLA 2003, 339-350.

In another passage,⁴⁷⁴ when the army of Cyrus marched against Croesus, the Persian king in a long monologue dwelt upon the details of the provisions they needed for the 15-day march: since the territories they would march through would be cleared of food – by the army of Croesus and the Persians themselves – the Persians had to collect travel provisions for at least 20 days. Upon finding ‘untouched’ territories, they had to reap the harvest and grind the grain. The long description emphasizes the importance of adequate supplies: without enough food the army could not stay alive and could not fight. Later on, when they started the march, Xenophon gives another detailed description of the baggage train.⁴⁷⁵

II.1.2.3 Sources of meat

An important note has to be made at this point: no ration list contains such an item as meat, which – as known from the booty lists of the campaign descriptions (*see* below chapter II.3.1.5 Livestock) was part of the allotment of the troops. Only a few texts show such a context, which implies some connection with the food supply of troops. A fragmentary letter from Mannu-kī-Adad to Sargon II⁴⁷⁶ refers to ungelded bulls, which had to be bought from the Itu'eans (who were cowherds?) for silver. The purpose of this transaction (whether these bulls served as food or some other (cultic) purposes) is, however, unknown.

Further texts mention large numbers of oxen and sheep to be delivered (unfortunately with their purpose and destination unknown). An anonymous official reported to Sargon II that a governor asked him for 100 oxen, and the governor of Si'immê asked for 200 oxen and 2,000 sheep.⁴⁷⁷ Another unknown official assured Sargon II he was sending the 1,000 rams which the king had ordered.⁴⁷⁸

During the rebellion of Mukin-zēri (730 B.C.) the troops of Tiglath-Pileser III marched to Babylonia and tried to mobilize their local vassals. During such a manoeuvre they wanted to persuade a local tribe or town to join their forces against the troops of Mukin-zēri, who encamped between the Assyrians and the territory of this vassal tribe or town. The vassals sent a message to the Assyrians saying they would emerge from their territory to join the forces when they saw the Assyrian troops. During these negotiations the troops of Mukin-zēri plundered the sheep of Larak: “All the Arameans who were in Sapia c[am]e with Mukin-zēri, and when Mukin-zēri [cam]e out of Sapi[a], he plundered the shee[p] of Lara[k] alo[ng] his route. (But when) the sheep of Mukin-zēri were grazing in Buḥarru the Larakeans went and plundered about 10,000 sheep of Mukin-zēri.”⁴⁷⁹ This also sheds some light on a very important question: were meat rations part of the daily allotment of the troops or not? Did the Assyrians plan to shepherd flocks of sheep along the route of their campaigns (at least on friendly territories) or instead try to plunder flocks in enemy territory to feed the troops? As has been mentioned, independent of the fact that the above discussed ration lists do not refer to meat-rations at all, the meat must have been an important part of the daily nutrition of the troops. This fact is corroborated not only by the booty lists of the Assyrian royal inscriptions, which enumerate huge numbers of plundered animals (*see*

⁴⁷⁴ *Cyropaedia*, Book VI, Chapter 2.

⁴⁷⁵ *Cyropaedia*, Book VI, Chapter 3.

⁴⁷⁶ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 238 (ABL 903).

⁴⁷⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 258 (CT 53, 517).

⁴⁷⁸ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 263 (ABL 1206).

⁴⁷⁹ SAGGS 1955, NL 2 (ND 2717), Rev. 11-17; SAGGS 2001, 22-25 (ND 2717), Rev. 11-17; LUUKKO 2012, 125 (ND 2717), Rev. 11-17.

the chapter II.3.1.5 Livestock, and *Chart 17, Fig. 41*), but the food processing representations of the Assyrian military camps (*see above*), as well.⁴⁸⁰

Other texts corroborate the view that similarly to the grain and fodder rations, the Assyrian court ran a central livestock management.⁴⁸¹ One of the letters of Inurta-bēlu-ušur refers to the problem caused by the supply of oxen in the provinces. This letter quotes the royal order: “Take care of the oxen of the Palace in your charge!”⁴⁸² The governor, however, complains that he has so many oxen to care for, and no fodder stores, since Bēl-Ḫarrān-šarru-ušur took from him two towns, Gilgimê and Kunanê, where Inurta-bēlu-ušur’s fodder stores were located. Inurta-bēlu-ušur asks the king to write to Bēl-Ḫarrān-šarru-ušur and Atar-idri and order them to take care of the king’s oxen.

Since not a single document referring to a specific central livestock management of the troops is known,⁴⁸³ it can be assumed that this profile was part of the portfolio of the local authorities, for example the well documented provincial livestock management of the governors.

II.1.3 The overall magnitude of rations

Following the examination of the rations *per capita* issued by the central and local authorities to the soldiers serving in the court, at home, or on campaigns, the next step is to reconstruct the overall amount of corn(rations) the Assyrian supply system could raise. Another aspect of the same problem – the working hours the production of the rations needed – was discussed by Richardson.⁴⁸⁴ We are going to reconstruct the volume of grain(rations) the Assyrian agriculture could produce and the size of the arable land it needed. In this study we are going to follow a simple logic:

On the one hand, we have to reconstruct the number of soldiers and animals to be fed. Just to judge/calculate the overall volume of rations the Assyrian army needed on different fronts (during the campaigns) and military bases (outside the campaign season and for those, who did not go to campaign but had to be supplied and were not let home to supply themselves) recall those unfortunately very few cases where the cuneiform sources give the strength of the different units. When Tiglath-Pileser III in his 13th–14th *palû* (732 B.C.) defeated Peqah, the king of Israel, he took a number of Israeli soldiers with him to Assyria.⁴⁸⁵ Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) enlisted the following foreign contingents into the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) of his army: in the year of his coronation (721 B.C.) 50 Samarian chariots,⁴⁸⁶ on his 1st campaign, at the North Syrian Qarqar 200

⁴⁸⁰ FALES – RIGO 2010, 13-26, esp. 18.

⁴⁸¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 257 (ABL 867): the sheep of the scholars from Dūr-Iakīn.

⁴⁸² LUUKKO 2012, 34 (ND 2769), 4-6.

⁴⁸³ Only such short and fragmentary texts, which refer to assignment of pickled meat in storehouses (COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 22 (CT 53, 281)).

⁴⁸⁴ RICHARDSON 2011, 38: “I estimate that the cost of basic subsistence provisioning for the army – i.e., its grain rations alone – would have required an input of 20.5 million labor-days per annum – more than five times the annual labor invested in building Assurnasirpal’s Kalḫu palace (maximum 4.7 million labor-days per annum). The investment in standing forces across a wide geographical area would de facto have redistributed imperial resources of all kinds away from imperial centers and out towards peripheries.”

⁴⁸⁵ TADMOR 1994, Summ. 4: 16’; TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 42:17’.

⁴⁸⁶ FUCHS 1994, Annales, line 15.

chariots and 600 cavalry,⁴⁸⁷ on his 5th campaign at Carchemish 50 chariots, 200 cavalry and 3,000 infantry,⁴⁸⁸ on his 9th campaign at Tabal 100 chariots,⁴⁸⁹ and on his 13th campaign, after defeating Muttallu, king of Kummuh, in addition to 150 chariots and 1,500 horsemen he drafted into the Assyrian army 20,000 archers (ERIM.MEŠ(šābē) GIŠ.BAN(*qašti*)) and 10,000 shield-bearer spearmen (*na-aš GIŠ.ka-ba-bi u GIŠ.az-ma-re-e*) from the defeated forces, and gave these troops to the newly established office of the *turtānu* of the left (*turtānu ša bīt šumēli*).⁴⁹⁰ Sennacherib also added large numbers of foreign soldiers to his forces. 10,000 bowmen (GIŠ.BAN) and 10,000 shield bearers (GIŠ.*a-ri-tu*) were for example enlisted into the royal corps during his Western campaign in 701 B.C.,⁴⁹¹ 20,000 archers and 15,000 shield-bearers from Bīt-Iakīn,⁴⁹² 30,000 bowmen (GIŠ.B[AN]) and [10,000] shield bearers ([GIŠ].*a-ri-tu*) during his Western campaign in 695 B.C.,⁴⁹³ and 30,500 bowmen (GIŠ.BAN) and 30,500 shield bearers (GIŠ.*a-ri-tu*) during his Elamite campaign.⁴⁹⁴ Some of the muster texts of the Nimrud Horse Lists show large numbers of horses (3,477⁴⁹⁵ and 1,523⁴⁹⁶ horses and mules) reviewed during these musters, and these animals had to be fed during the campaigns or at the home bases. These data show the immense amount of daily grain rations the royal contingent, the provincial troops needed during the campaigns or during the home service for men and horses.

On the other hand further, and quite different data retrieved from several letters of the royal correspondence (and not from the administrative texts of the central court administration) shed some light on the volume of grain the provinces could provide for the supply of the military.

To supply the necessary amount of grain was a burden on governors and other members of the Assyrian administration, who laid an emphasis on meeting the quota. The stress of this type of 'grain management' resulted in explicit orders: "Right [now] (men) of the deputy governor Nergal-uballiṣ are here. Let th[em] be told that their oxen should come and that they should thre[sh] their harvest, fetch it and bring it into the ci[ty]. Their guards are standing before the ha[rvest]. They have no oxen."⁴⁹⁷ In this case the deputy governor should have provided the guard, some oxen to thresh the harvest, and some transporting capacity to transport the grain to the city.

II.1.3.1 Administrative texts

As Fig. 23 shows, these administrative texts most likely summarized the quotas of the *nakkamtu* tax levied on different towns within the administrative districts of different cities or provinces. The amounts listed range between 1 and 2 million litres of grain. Unfortunately the ratio of the tax is unknown, but it is clear that the subsistence capacity of the home provinces was quite large.

⁴⁸⁷ FUCHS 1994, Display Inscription, lines 35-6.

⁴⁸⁸ FUCHS 1994, Annales, line 75.

⁴⁸⁹ FUCHS 1994, Annales, line 200.

⁴⁹⁰ FUCHS 1994, Annales, lines 409-410.

⁴⁹¹ GRAYSON – NOVOTNY 2012, 4:59 (3rd campaign).

⁴⁹² GRAYSON – NOVOTNY 2012, 15:11-14.

⁴⁹³ GRAYSON – NOVOTNY 2012, 17 v 16-18 (695 B.C., in the *limmu* of Aššur-bēlu-ušur, against Til-Garimmu, Tabal).

⁴⁹⁴ LUCKENBILL 1924, 76:103 (6th campaign, Nagītu, Elam).

⁴⁹⁵ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, no. 103, iii:7-9.

⁴⁹⁶ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, no. 108A, ii:1'-3'.

⁴⁹⁷ SAGGS 1956, NL 34 (ND 2460), Rev. 5-14; SAGGS 2001, 266-267 (ND 2460), Rev. 5-14; LUUKKO 2012, 53 (ND 2460), Rev. 5-14.

TEXT	AMOUNT (LITRES)	CITY/TOWN/VILLAGE	TYPE OF TAX
ND 2465 ⁴⁹⁸			
1	1,740,000	URU. <i>Arba</i> -DINGIR	(464 hectares)
2	150,000	URU. <i>Ḫa-laḫ</i> -KUR?- <i>bi</i>	(40 hectares)
3	150,000	URU.ŠE <i>ša</i> UGU ĪD	(40 hectares)
4	70,000	BAD.GAŠAN- <i>ia</i>	(18.6 hectares)
5	50,000	URU. <i>Bar-ka</i> -ŠID- <i>a-a</i>	(13.3 hectares)
6	20,000	URU. <i>Ḫi-in-ḫi-ni-a</i>	(5.3 hectares)
7	10,000	URU.ERIN	(2.6 hectares)
8	50,000	URU. <i>Til</i> -GÚ	(5.3 hectares)
9	131,400	URU.ŠE KAŠ.LUL	(35 hectares)
10	2,253,140	total	
11-12			ŠE.PAD.MEŠ <i>na-kam-ti ša</i> LÚ.GAL <i>da-ni-na-te</i>
ND 2791 ⁴⁹⁹			
1'	100,000	URU. <i>Tar-ni-nu</i>	(26 hectares)
2'	200,000	URU. <i>Ḫi-ri-ti</i> ?	(53 hectares)
3'	100,000	URU. <i>Du-gar-</i> ?	(26 hectares)
4'	110,000	URU. <i>Gu?-pa-a-ra</i>	(29 hectares)
5'	36,800	URU. <i>Da?-ri-a</i>	(9.8 hectares)
6'	30,000	URU.DIŠ.UD LÚ.NAGAR.MEŠ	(8 hectares)
7'	7,000	Arba-il	(1.8 hectares)
8'	23,000	URU...	(6.1 hectares)
9'	6?,600	... URU...	(1.7 hectares)
10'	120,000	URU. <i>Kin-da-a</i>	(32 hectares)
11'	12,000	URU...	(3.2 hectares)
12'	12,400	URU. <i>Kin-tú</i>	(3.3 hectares)
13'	6,000	[URU...]- <i>nu</i>	(1.6 hectares)
14'	6,000	URU. <i>Nak?-ba?</i>	(1.6 hectares)
15'	1,260,000	total	
16'-18'			ŠE.PAD.MEŠ <i>na-kam-tú</i> LÚ.GAL <i>kar-me</i> KUR. <i>Ḫal-šu</i>
ND 3469 ⁵⁰⁰			
1	30,000	URU. <i>Gul-gul/kir</i>	(8 hectares)
2	40,000	URU. <i>Kur-ba</i> -DINGIR	(10.6 hectares)
3	30,000	URU. <i>Ši-ba-ni-ba</i>	(8 hectares)
4	40,000	URU. <i>Mu-še-zib-Tam-meš-Apsî?</i>	(10.6 hectares)
5	40,000	URU. <i>Il-qi-a-mat</i>	(10.6 hectares)
6	5,000	URU. <i>Ri-mu-su</i>	(1.3 hectares)
7	50,000	URU.GIBIL(<i>Ālu-eššu</i>)	(13.3 hectares)
8	10,000	URU.UGU(<i>Muḫḫi</i>)- <i>na-aḫ-li</i>	(2.6 hectares)
9	40,000	URU. <i>Ka-par-di-qa-rat</i>	(10.6 hectares)
10	10,000	URU.BAD(<i>Dūr</i>)- <i>Ḫat/ri-ki</i>	(2.6 hectares)
11	10,000	URU.ŠE- ¹ <i>Ū-ta-ni</i>	(2.6 hectares)
12	305,000	total	URU.NINA
13	200,000		LÚ.GAL ŠE <i>ki-si-te</i>
14-15	400,000		¹ E-sag-gil-šarru-ušur LÚ.GAL <i>kar-ma-ni</i>
16	700,000		¹ EN(Bēl)-TI-i(ballatāni?)
17	100,000		LÚ.GAL <i>ša</i> Ī.SUMUN(<i>lušē</i>) <i>ni-be</i>

Fig. 23. Administrative texts listing *nakkamtu* tax quotas (ND 2465, ND 2791, ND 3469) of different regions of the Assyrian heartland.

⁴⁹⁸ PARKER 1961, 30 (ND 2465).

⁴⁹⁹ PARKER 1961, 54 (ND 2791), pl. XXVIII: 15') total 12,600 (homers), 16') grain (in) the storehouse 17') (of) the foreman of warehouses 18') in the district of Ḫalšu.

⁵⁰⁰ WISEMAN 1953, 146 (ND 3469).

ND 2465 lists *nakkamtu* payments from the region of Arbela. The largest amount (1,740,000 litres of grain) obviously came from the city itself, while the 8 smaller settlements in its neighbourhood paid only fractions of this quantity. The region altogether provided 2,253,140 litres of grain to the office of the Chief of Granaries (*rab danināte*, LÚ.GAL *da-ni-na-te*). According to our calculations this amount was enough for provisioning 3–4,000 men for a year – officials, workers or soldiers.⁵⁰¹ The office of the *rab danināte* – who collected or got these grain rations – is otherwise unknown, but should be connected to grain storage and administration.

ND 2791 is a similar administrative tablet enumerating *nakkamtu* payments from the region of Ḫaṣu (KUR.Ḫal-ṣú). The 14 settlements listed on the tablet paid 1,260,000 litres of grain to the office of the Chief of Warehouses (*rab karme*, LÚ.GAL *kar-me*). The difference between the offices of the Chief of Granaries(?) and the Chief of Warehouses is unfortunately unknown, but both of them were eligible to collect *nakkamtu* taxes at least from the home provinces.⁵⁰² This amount was enough to provide rations for 1,700–1,800 men for a year.

The third administrative text (ND 3469) lists 11 settlements in the administrative district of Nineveh. These settlements provided 305,000 litres of grain, which was most probably also *nakkamtu* tax. The text, however, lists further officials, who collected/paid various amounts of grain as follows: 200,000 litres from the *rab kisite/kissati* (LÚ.GAL ŠE *ki-si-te*, Chief of Fodder), 400,000 litres from Ēsaggil-šarru-ušur Chief of Warehouses (*rab karmel/karmāni*, LÚ.GAL *kar-ma-ni*), 700,000 litres from Bēl-ballaṭāni, and 100,000 litres from the Chief of The total amount of grain collected is 1,705,000 litres, which was enough to provide rations for 2,300–2,400 men for a year.

A tablet of similar size, but unfortunately very fragmentary, follows a similar logic and lists similar amounts (homers) of grain extracted from different towns in the environs or administrative district of Dūr-Šarrukēn and the province of Kurbail.⁵⁰³

These administrative texts represent the **first, local level** of collecting barley (rations) within the framework of the Assyrian taxation system (in this case *nakkamtu* tax): different officials (Chief of Granaries (*rab danināte*), Chief of Warehouses (*rab karmel/karmāni*)),⁵⁰⁴ and the Chief of Fodder (*rab kisite/kissati*)⁵⁰⁵ collected barley tax levied on different towns within the administrative districts of Assyrian cities like Arbela, Nineveh, and Dūr-Šarrukēn.

However, a higher, **second, regional level** of collecting the barley is represented by a further text (Fig. 24),⁵⁰⁶ which deals with the provinces of the same territory: an unfortunately unknown official delivered the barley collected and stockpiled in the same provinces and territories under the control of governors and different officials: Arbela, Arzuḫina, and Kilizi, the territories of the Palace Herald, and of the Chief of Warehouses (*rab karmāni*). This unknown official collected and delivered most probably similar barley stocks to different towns of the region, which stocks have been collected as shown in the administrative texts of the first level discussed above (ND 2465, ND 2791, ND 3469). Those towns which have listed in this text as destinations of the barley rations were in all likelihood imperial collection points with different purposes (for example to feed the troops or other groups of people).

⁵⁰¹ 2 litres of grain *per diem* per man for 365 days.

⁵⁰² It is unknown whether their authority covered the other provinces or not.

⁵⁰³ PARKER 1961, 31 (ND 2476): 6 settlements in the *qani* of Dūr-Šarrukēn provided 1,308,000 litre of grain; while 4 settlements (including the city of Kurbail) of the province of Kurbail paid an unknown amount. The fragmentary tablet lists further 23 settlements with various amounts of grain.

⁵⁰⁴ For a detailed discussion of the *karmu* system see FAIST – LLOP 2012, 19–35, esp. 27–35 (B. Faist). For the royal household, the food management and the whole organization see GROSS 2014. For *rab karme/karmāni* see GROSS 2014, 375–376.

⁵⁰⁵ For a study of these officials in charge of supply of various foodstuffs see KINNIE WILSON 1972, 72–74. For the *rab kisite/kissati* (Chief of Fodder) having rations at the court see KINNIE WILSON 1972, 13 (ND 10027 + 10028), 21; and 19 (ND 10051), Rev. 7.

⁵⁰⁶ PARPOLA 1987, 170 (CT 53, 333).

LINE	DATE	GOVERNOR	CITY/TOWN
1'-2'	12 th —13 th	[...]	Issete
3'-5'	14 th —16 th	of Arbela	[...]-Adad
6'-8'	17 th —18 th	Palace Herald	[...]-appi on this side of the city of Baqar
9'-11'	19 th —20 th	of Arzuḫina	Šamaš-bēlu-(uṣur)
Rev. 2-3	[21 th —22 th]	Chief of Granaries (LÚ.GAL— <i>kar-ma-ni</i>)	[...]-ab
4-5	[23 rd]	of Kilizi	[...]
6-7		Arbela	[...]
8-9		Palace Herald	[...]-ispi

Fig. 24. The structure of CT 53, 333.

There are two letters written to Sargon II, in which Tariba-Issar, a local Assyrian official reports his barley collecting activity in the same region, the city of Kilizi. The first letter mentions that he has already collected 500 homers of barley in Kilizi and he is ready to deliver it (to the collection point mentioned in CT 53, 333 (Fig. 24)). He furthermore asks the king as follows: "If the king my lord commands: 'Collect barley for three palaces,' I will collect it in Adian and Arbela as well."⁵⁰⁷ In another fragmentary letter Tariba-Issar asks the king about his orders concerning the piling up of the barley.⁵⁰⁸

These texts make a very rough, I must emphasize very rough, calculation possible. If we suppose that the average yield of crops per hectare was around 3 tons of grain, the following short table can summarize the size of arable land which could provide the above discussed amounts.

TEXT	LITRES	KILOGRAM ⁵⁰⁹	TONS	HECTARES (100 %)	HECTARES (10 %)	REGION	RATIONS ⁵¹⁰
ND 2465	2,253,140	1,802,512	1,802.5	600.8	6,008	Arbela	3,086
ND 2791	1,260,000	1,008,000	1,008.0	336.0	3,360	Ḫalṣu	1,726
ND 3469	1,705,000	1,364,000	1,364.0	454.6	4,546	Nineveh	2,335
ND 2476	1,308,000	1,046,400	1,046.0	348.6	3,486	Dūr-Šarrukēn	1,791
ND 2734	71,250,000	57,000,000	57,000.0	19,000.0		Arzuḫina	97,602
Calculations based on a 3 tons of grain per hectar							
TEXT	LITRES	KILOGRAM	TONS	HECTARES (100 %)	HECTARES (10 %)	REGION	RATIONS
ND 2465	2,253,140	1,802,512	1,802.5	901.1	9,011	Arbela	3,086
ND 2791	1,260,000	1,008,000	1,008.0	504.0	5,040	Ḫalṣu	1,726
ND 3469	1,705,000	1,364,000	1,364.0	682.0	6,820	Nineveh	2,335
ND 2476	1,308,000	1,046,400	1,046.0	523.0	5,230	Dūr-Šarrukēn	1,791
ND 2734	47,500,000	38,000,000	38,000.0	19,000.0		Arzuḫina	65,068
Calculations based on a 2 tons of grain per hectar							

Fig. 25. Reconstruction of the size of land provided the *nakkamtu* tax quotas of different regions of the Assyrian homeland.

⁵⁰⁷ PARPOLA 1987, 160 (ABL 843), Rev. 8-14.

⁵⁰⁸ PARPOLA 1987, 161 (CT 53, 461), Rev. 1'-4'.

⁵⁰⁹ 1 litre grain = 0.8 kg.

⁵¹⁰ These amounts of grain provided rations (with 2 litres of grain *per diem*) for these numbers of men per year.

From the calculations of Fig. 25 it is clear, that 600.8; 336; 454.6; and 348.6 hectares (or 901.1; 504.0; 682.0; 523.0 hectares) of land were needed to provide the above mentioned amounts of grain. It is unfortunately not known whether this *nakkamtu* tax covered the whole yield of the *nakkamtu* ('reserve') fields or whether only a portion (for example 10 %) of the total amount yielded by a hectare of arable land had to be paid to the central authorities. If for example the *nakkamtu* tax covered only 10 % of the total yield, the size of the total arable land under cultivation was 10 times larger and could reach 6,008; 3,360; 4,546; and 3,486 hectares in these regions respectively (for example 10 x 6 km, 10 x 3.3 km, and 10 x 4.5 km stretches of land). However, some issues concerning these calculations have to be raised:

1) It is unknown, whether these calculated sizes of fields cover all of the *nakkamtu* ('reserve') fields of the provinces (or tax collecting regions) in question, or just a part of it. According to ND 2734 (Fig. 25) the size of the *nakkamtu* fields of Arzuḫina was 19,000 hectares (for a detailed discussion see below). Consequently it seems probable that the size of the *nakkamtu* fields of Arbela, Ḫaṣu, Nineveh, and Dūr-Šarrukēn might well have been much larger than calculated from the yields listed in Figs. 23 and 25.

2) It is furthermore also unknown, what types of fields were obliged to pay this tax, what portion of the fields of these regions was exempted, etc. Were these fields special state-owned fields dedicated exclusively to provide the *nakkamtu* tax, cultivated by peasants/deportees/etc. in an *ilku* system,⁵¹¹ or was it a type of tax due on several types of private or service fields? In the Neo-Assyrian corpus there is only a single text (a letter of the royal correspondence) which sheds light onto the nature of these *nakkamtu* fields and gives an answer to the question raised above. This very important letter (written by Nergal-uballit) refers to the *nakkamtu* fields of the home province of Arzuḫina as follows: "Isn't it so that – 19,000 (*hectares* of) arable land [in the provin]ce of Urzuḫina – [abo]ut which the king, my lord, [sa]id: 'It is a reserve. [K]eep it (as it is) until I take it into use.'"⁵¹² The letter makes it clear that these 'reserve fields' were cultivated only in case a royal order instructed the governor to cultivate the whole or a part of it. The 'reserve fields' of Arzuḫina, as much as 19,000 hectares(!) could have yielded 57,000 tons of grain, which was enough to supply 97,602 men for a whole year! It is unfortunately not known whether this passage, the 19,000 hectares of arable land refers to all of the state owned fields of the province or specifically to those fields which could be used for this express ('reserve') purpose. If these fields were really 'reserves,' their yields would have complemented the yields of the 'regular fields' of the province!

Anyhow, the *nakkamtu* fields provided enough barley rations for the following number of men per harvest for a year: Arbela for 3,086 men, Ḫaṣu for 1,726 men, Nineveh for 2,335 men, Dūr-Šarrukēn for 1,791 men, and Arzuḫina, for as many as 97,602 (or 65,068) men. If we give a map a closer look, it can easily be understood that the size of the *nakkamtu* fields was only a small portion of the fields under cultivation in these provinces. It should be noted that T.J. Wilkinson and D.J. Tucker – using archaeological and scientific methods – have already tried to reconstruct the carrying capacities of arable land in the North Jazira region in Iraq.⁵¹³

These texts make a further very rough calculation possible. If we suppose that the Assyrian Empire in the late 8th and the 7th centuries onwards consisted of about 85 provinces,⁵¹⁴ and we further assume, that the above mentioned administrative lists represent the 'reserve fields' of

⁵¹¹ For the institution of the *nakkamtu* with its different profiles see REINER *et al.*, 1980, 182-184, esp. 2c Describing fields.

⁵¹² SAGGS 2001, 208 (ND 2734+); LUUKKO 2012, 89 (ND 2734+), Rev. 28-31.

⁵¹³ WILKINSON – TUCKER 1995, 82-85, Table 13, Figs. 55-56.

⁵¹⁴ RADNER 2006–2008, 42-68.

a whole province only in the case of Arzuḫina, and in case of the other provinces only a part of them (for example certain tax collecting districts within the provinces), it can be presumed that the *nakkamtu* tax system in itself could provide enough rations for as much as around 5–6 million men for a year per harvest(!).⁵¹⁵

The next question is how these amounts of grain rations were allocated to the people who were eligible to take part in the system and receive rations from the central reserves. The ration lists discussed in detail in the previous chapters (II.1.1.1 Central management – administrative texts) shed some light on the central allocation system, where different, eligible members of the administration got daily rations from the central authorities (who are actually unknown). Another type of source might help us in the reconstruction of this aspect. There are some short assignment notes or releases, which could assign as large amounts of grain as for example 315 homers (31,500 litres of grain (ŠE.PAD.MEŠ) and white corn (*kibatu*)), which was issued to Issar-šumu-ibnî,⁵¹⁶ and which seems to be too large a quantity for private purposes. A similar short note is known from the Governor's Palace Archive: "The king's command to Qāt-ili-gabbu of Kalḫu: They will measure out 3,000 (homers) of corn inside the Palace (KUR), under your authority(?) ... [Let them] write it on your master's account."⁵¹⁷ This note refers to the central allotment organisation ('they'), which measured out 3,000 homers (300,000 litres) of grain to Qāt-ili-gabbu. This amount was going to be written on the account of his master. Unfortunately the central body which measured out, the office and the master of Qāt-ili-gabbu are unknown. In this case the size of the allotment (300,000 litres) is also too high to be used for private purposes. It might out and away be used for rationing groups of people, for example a military unit (more than 400 men for a year).

The size of the armies which had to be supplied ranged from a few hundred soldiers to tens of thousands. Just to show a few examples, a fragmentary letter from Babylonia written by an unknown official refers to a royal order asking him to send 1,000 archers (to the royal camp?). This royal order refers furthermore to Aššur-bēlu-taqqin who got [x] horses and 20,000 archers in a cloister.⁵¹⁸ These numbers show substantial military forces under the command of Assyrian governors. To feed the troops the governor had to pile up a considerable amount of grain: 20,000 archers needed 1–2 litres of barley per man daily, which means that their daily consumption ranged between 16,000 kg (16 tons with 1 liter ration *per diem*) and 32,000 kg (32 tons with 2 litres ration *per diem*) daily. To pile up and provide this amount was an ample burden on the local authorities, but it seemingly was not an expectation impossible to fulfill.

These texts – both the longer lists most likely summarizing the quotas of the *nakkamtu* tax levied on different towns within the administrative districts of different cities or provinces (e.g. Nineveh, Dūr-Šarrukēn, or Kurbail), and the shorter notes as well – attest to the existence of a well organized central ration allotment system and an organization which run it.

To stockpile such huge amounts of grain needed extensive storage capacities. Granaries are frequently mentioned in the Assyrian administrative texts and royal correspondence. The officials in charge of collecting the grain are also known (see above). However, actual granaries are hardly known from the territory of the Empire. Such an example is the granary of Megiddo (11 m in diameter and 7 m deep stone paved conical structure sunk into the ground), which could accommodate about 60 m³ of grain. These 60 m³ of grain weighed 46,380 kg (57,975 litres) for

⁵¹⁵ With an average of people deducted from Fig. 25.

⁵¹⁶ WISEMAN – KINNIER WILSON 1951, 117 (ND 800).

⁵¹⁷ POSTGATE 1973, 182 (ND 435).

⁵¹⁸ DIETRICH 2003, 70 (CT 54, 64), 4'-11'.

wheat or 37,200 kg (46,500 litres) for barley.⁵¹⁹ In comparison with the amounts known from Assyrian sources (*Fig. 25*) this granary provided a medium-sized capacity and could feed only 79/158 people for a year.⁵²⁰ In comparison, the well-known and above discussed letter of an unknown official in charge of Māzāmua province⁵²¹ summarized 38,490 homers (3,849,000 litres, 3,079,200 kg) of stored grain per calendar month (*Fig. 20*). If really a whole month worth of grain was stockpiled in the granaries of Kār-Aššur it needed 3,983 m³ storing capacity in case of wheat, and 4,966 m³ of storing capacity in case of barley – 66/83 times more than the ‘huge’ granary of Megiddo. The nature of the Assyrian storing facilities (granaries sunk into the ground or built above the ground) is unfortunately unknown.

II.1.3.2 Royal correspondence

The royal correspondence of Tiglath-Pileser III and the Sargonides refers to a very strict central land management in the Assyrian Empire. It is clear that not only the local authorities (governors, *etc.*) were interested in the good or even maximal exploitation of the arable lands in their territories (to support the institutions, the population, the deportees, the king’s men, other army units, *etc.*), but often the king himself sent direct orders as ‘guidelines’ for maximizing the harvest the fields yielded, or solve ‘subsistence problems’ emerging in different parts of the Empire. The following letters shed some light on the different aspects of this type of central land management.

Governors sent letters to the king informing him about the state of affairs, about the state of the agricultural works. Nabû-ēṭiranni for example let the king know, that he had sown 300 hectares of land in Ḫubana, and the remainder would also be planted. This information he sent “in connection of the corn(land) of Ḫubana, about which the king my lord spoke to me.”⁵²² Another governor also assured the king that in Turmuna, where the king had appointed him to, the land had been subjugated and the grain had been planted.⁵²³

Aššur-šimanni was an Assyrian official who also inspected the fields and yields of farmers (LÚ.ENGAR.MEŠ). He reported to the king that “As to the farmers of the town of Aššur-nirka-ušur who appealed to the king, saying: ‘Our sown field has been flooded’ – now their harvest has come out exceedingly well.”⁵²⁴ His letter lists smaller estates and yields, but unfortunately no average yield per hectare can be reconstructed. Aššur-šimanni reminded the king that he should watch the farmers more strictly. This letter, however, contains further pieces of important information. Aššur-šimanni let the king know: “I will now place harvesters in the sustenance field. If (*the harvest*) falls short, I shall indemnify it fully.”⁵²⁵ The ‘sustenance field’ (A.ŠÀ *ma-‘u-ut-te*) was consequently a field, which had to provide a quota. If the harvest fell short of this quota, it should be fully indemnified. This type of field was most probably a royal ‘sustenance field’ and Aššur-šimanni himself brought harvesters to reap the crop, because there were no tenants who rented or owned these fields – only seasonal labourers, who ploughed the earth within the framework of a kind of *corvée*. A similar letter of Aššur-mātka-tēra to Tiglath-Pileser III also refers to the royal ‘sustenance fields’ (*ma-‘u-ta-a-ti ša* LUGAL), which had been harvested.⁵²⁶ If we are looking for

⁵¹⁹ The weight of 1 m³ of wheat is about 773 kg, while the weight of 1 m³ of barley is 620 kg.

⁵²⁰ 57,975 litres of wheat / 2 litres / 365 days = 79 or 57,975 litres of wheat / 1 litre / 365 days = 158.

⁵²¹ CT 53, 47+ ABL 1290; PARPOLA 1979, 47; LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 250 (CT 53, 47+); FALES 1990, 23-34; FALES 2000, 48-49.

⁵²² SAGGS 2001, 244-245 (ND 2373); LUUKKO 2012, 67 (ND 2373), Rev. 3'-7'.

⁵²³ SAGGS 2001, 257-258 (ND 2423); LUUKKO 2012, 21 (ND 2423), 3-5.

⁵²⁴ LUUKKO 2012, 15 (ND 2449), 3-10.

⁵²⁵ LUUKKO 2012, 15 (ND 2449), Rev. 9-13.

⁵²⁶ LUUKKO 2012, 19 (ND 2355).

fields which, within a royal management framework served the central supply of rations, the *ma'uttu/mu'untu* fields are a good candidate – but a detailed study of this question exceeds the possibilities of this book.

Another letter, which reports the advance of agricultural works was sent by an unknown governor to Tiglath-Pileser III. The letter refers to the royal order: “Break the [f]allow [g]round and [c]ut the hay.” The governor reported that the “[f]allow ground has been broke[n] and two cubits high hay has been cut. All the corn and rice *has been harv[ested].*”⁵²⁷

A fragmentary Sargonide letter shows that the local governors were very keen on providing seed corn to the farmers. An unknown governor reported to the king that he had issued [x]20 homers of seed corn to 32 farmers. He altogether distributed 1,100 homers of seed corn to farmers. The free status of farmers is questionable, since they got seed corn from the local authority. It can be assumed, however, that in this case they did not work on their own fields, but as a kind of labour service (*ilku* or *nakkamtu*?) ploughed the fields of the king (sustenance fields?, *ma'uttu/mu'untu*, see above). The fragmentary letter refers to a royal question which would be asked frequently: “Perhaps the king, my lord, will say: ‘Why (then) have you cultivated so few [arable field]s?’”⁵²⁸ These references also emphasize the overall importance of Assyrian central field management.

The letter of Bēl-dūri refers to a case when he distributed 10,000 homers of barley to two Assyrian officials: he gave 6,666 homers 46 litres of barley to Inurta-šarru-ušur, and 3,333 homers and 3 seahs of barley to Aššur-rēmanni.⁵²⁹ It is unknown, however, whether these amounts served as barley rations for people, including soldiers, or were distributed to these two officials as seed corn. The distribution of seed corn for royal sustenance fields was similarly one of the tasks of the imperial central land management.

One of the most important letters of this topic is the report of Nergal-uballiṭ sent to Tiglath-Pileser III mentioned above.⁵³⁰ This letter raises some questions which have to be discussed in detail.

- 1) (Obv. 4-15) Nergal-uballiṭ was accused by the king that: “All the fields of the province of Urzuḫina are abandoned. You are taking the fields of Bēl-aplu-iddina away (from him).” Nergal-uballiṭ responded that the king had appointed him to the governorship of Arzuḫina and during these ten years Bēl-aplu-iddina had not put his feet in that field one single time.
- 2) (16-20) Nergal-uballiṭ reminded the king that the “lands of the Vizier’s (É LÚ.SUKKAL) and the Chief Judge’s households (É LÚ.sar-ti-ni) do not cross the Radānu river. The royal road which goes to Azari is their border.” When the king transferred him (Nergal-uballiṭ) they removed the local people. That is why their fields were abandoned.
- 3) (21-29) Further important information is that “The servants of Bēl-aplu-iddina, their guarantor, are not obliged to perform state or military service. They [*disobeyed*] our orders, crossed the border and seized a village there.”
- 4) (Rev. 1-17) When the king sent him (Nergal-uballiṭ) to investigate the matter, the elders of the village (local people, servants of the king) said to him as follows: “They removed our brothers (and) their field was abandoned. Down came the (men) of Bēl-aplu-iddina and seized the village there by force.”

⁵²⁷ LUUKKO 2012, 20 (ND 2675), 3-9.

⁵²⁸ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 317 (ABL 1019), Rev. 4-6.

⁵²⁹ LUUKKO 2012, 172 (ND 2749).

⁵³⁰ SAGGS 1958, NL 41 (ND 2734+); LUUKKO 2012, 89 (ND 2734+).

- 5) (18-24) When the men of Bēl-aplu-iddina made unsubstantiated allegations in the king's presence against Nergal-uballiṭ, he responded with the following extremely important sentences: "If a field in the province of Urzuḫina is abandoned is it without an owner? Can anyone who desires a field parcel it out?"
- 6) (25-27) According to the reconstruction Nergal-uballiṭ supposed that Bēl-aplu-iddina would ask the king: "[Should I se]ll my fields for money?"
- 7) (28-31) And the last, equally significant motif is stated by Nergal-uballiṭ: "Isn't it so that – 19,000 (*hectares* of) arable land [in the provin]ce of Urzuḫina – [abo]ut which the king, my lord, [sa]id: 'It is a reserve. [K]eep it (as it is) until I take it into use.'"

From our point of view the most important pieces of information in this letter are as follows:

- 1) Large stretches of (arable) land were abandoned in the province of Arzuḫina. The king accused Nergal-uballiṭ that he had appropriated the fields of the men of Bēl-aplu-iddina, but Nergal-uballiṭ proved the opposite. Furthermore, he reminded the king that when he had served as the governor of the province, the king had ordered him to leave 19,000 hectares of land fallow, and 'reserve' it as long as the king would take it into use. Fallow land would have been 'reserved' to be available for a time when an emergency demanded substantial extra resources (*see* below, how often the king ordered his officials to cultivate an extra 1,000 hectares of land). Fallow land could have easily been used to settle new people (deportees) in the region. 19,000 hectares, however, seems quite a large 'reserve,' since such a piece of arable land would easily support 97,602 men for a whole year!⁵³¹
- 2) It is important to note that the southern border of Arzuḫina was the Radānu river, where the border of the province was adjacent to the lands of the Vizier's and the Chief Judge's households. The royal road going to Azari was their border.
- 3) A very important detail is that the servants of Bēl-aplu-iddina were not obliged to perform state or military service. As will be discussed in chapter II.2.3 Exemption, only the fields granted by the king were exempted from state service (*e.g.* following a military campaign). The fields bought by the same owner were not exempted.⁵³² Bēl-aplu-iddina's question to the king: "[Should I se]ll my fields for money?" is very interesting, as it seems this act would transfer the exempted fields to the non-exempted category.

Whatever the status of the fields of Bēl-aplu-iddina was, another letter probably also refers to him, and his fields in a similar context. The unfortunately unknown author ensured the king that due to heavy rainfall the harvest would be excellent. This official refers to a royal order: "(Concerning) Aššur-nāšir, Ammi-[hā]tī (and) Bēl-apkal-ilāni, total three recruitment officers (LÚ.mu-šar-ki-sa-ni), about whom the king, my lord, wrote to me that they [sho]uld enter the towns of Bēl-aplu-iddina. They have (now) entered them."⁵³³ If this Bēl-aplu-iddina is the same one mentioned above, this letter refers to his fields as subjects of some type of taxes – since the recruitment officers were in charge of recruiting and supplying equestrian soldiers and horses.⁵³⁴ The three recruitment officers went to these towns to extract certain kinds of taxes due most probably on

⁵³¹ If the yield of one hectare of arable land reached 3 tons of grain, and the ration of one person was 2 litres (1.6 kg) of grain *per diem*.

⁵³² SAGGS 2001, 132-134, NL 74 (ND 2648+); LUUKKO 2012, 39 (ND 2648+).

⁵³³ SAGGS 2001, 197-199, NL 56 (ND 2462), Rev. 8-12; LUUKKO 2012, 166 (ND 2462), Rev. 8-12.

⁵³⁴ DEZSÓ 2012B, 122-128.

grain and fodder. This letter, however, does not exclude the possibility that Bēl-aplu-iddina owned exempted and non-exempted fields as well, and it is possible that the fields subject to taxes were his *ex officio* fields, while – as has been discussed above – his *ad hominem* fields, originating from royal donation(s) and not purchases, were exempted.

When Sargon II sent an order to one of his governors (his name is broken out) to provide barley to Kišir-Aššur, the official responded that he only had 7,000 homers measured by a seah of 6 litres.⁵³⁵ This amount was enough to feed 57 persons for a year.

The last letter to be discussed in this chapter was sent by Inurta-bēlu-ušur to Tiglath-Pileser III. This letter refers explicitly to the system of imposing quotas of barley rations on governors and other officials of the Assyrian Empire. In his letter Inurta-bēlu-ušur quotes the royal order sent to him: “20,000 [homers of barley] have been imposed on you – [wh]en will you raise them?”⁵³⁶ Inurta-bēlu-ušur reported that he had already raised 966 homers of barley. These 20,000 homers of barley (in this case the text might refer to homers and not hectares, since the scribe wrote most probably [ANŠE.ŠE.PAD.]MEŠ and not ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ, which the present writer understands as referring to hectares and not homers, *see* below) were the yields of more than 500 hectares of corn land.⁵³⁷

II.1.3.3 1,000 hectares of land

An interesting feature of the royal correspondence and the central field management appears in several letters. The king or a magnate often sent orders to the governors or other officials to cultivate more lands than before. An extra 1,000 hectares of land to be sown, cultivated or harvested appears in several letters.

The interpretation of the same or similar passages, however, differs in an important aspect: 1,000 homers of seedcorn or 1,000 hectares of sown fields have to be cultivated. The translations of the same term: ‘1 lim ŠE.NUMUN-MEŠ’ are divided between the two interpretations: ‘1,000 homers of seedcorn’⁵³⁸ or ‘1,000 hectares of sown fields’⁵³⁹ are mentioned.

If the average yield of a hectare of sown land was about 3 tons of wheat/corn, which means that – according to the ‘1,000 homers of seed corn’ view – the size of the arable land mentioned (1,000 homers = 80 tons) in these texts is about 26 hectares (about 500 x 500 meters stretch of land), it was surely large enough to attract the attention of the king, however, it is not so likely. Consequently – according to the present writers view – it is much more likely that these texts refer to ‘1,000 hectares of land’ and not ‘1,000 homers of seed corn.’

Furthermore, if we take into consideration the size of arable land obliged to pay *nakkamtu* tax (or which were subject to this type of tax) reconstructed above (Fig. 25) and the amount of corn collected as *nakkamtu* tax discussed above (Fig. 25), the extra 1,000 hectares of land to cultivate

⁵³⁵ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 269 (CT 53, 324).

⁵³⁶ LUUKKO 2012, 36 (ND 2604), 4-7.

⁵³⁷ 20,000 *emāru* (homer) = 2,000,000 *qā* (litre) = 1,600,000 kg = 1,600 t = 533 ha (with an average of 3 t / hectare yield).

⁵³⁸ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 225 (CT 53, 79), 5: 1 *lim* ŠE.NUMUN (“1,000 (homers) of seed”); LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 35 (ABL 948), 5: 1 *lim* ŠE.PAD.MEŠ *ša* LUGAL (“1,000 (homers) of barley from the king”); LUUKKO 2012, 47 (ND 2775), Rev. 14: 1 *lim* ŠE.NUMUN (“1,000 (homers of) cornfiel[d th]ere”); LUUKKO 2012, 57 (NL 79 (ND 2671)), 5, 7: 1 *lim* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ (“Cultivate 1,000 (homers of) seed!”).

⁵³⁹ PARPOLA 1987, 176 = LUUKKO 2012, 173 (NL 20 (ND 2437)), Rev. 26: 1 *lim* ŠE.NUMUN.[MEŠ] (“1,000 (hectares of) the sown fields of the city of Laba’u”); LUUKKO 2012, 39 (NL 74 (ND 2648)), Rev. 11: 1 *lim* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ-*i-ni* (“1,000 (hectares) of our cornfields that are cultivated (in the) province of Isana”).

– as a real burden on the local authorities – makes much more sense. As shown in ND 2791 (Fig. 23) 1,000 homers was the *nakkamtū* quota – and not the whole yield of crops – of only a small town and not of an entire province.

Consequently it seems much more appropriate to reconstruct these passages as orders to cultivate an extra 1,000 hectares of arable land and provide a further 3,000 tons (37,500 homers, 3,750,000 litres, a whole year's ration for 5,100 men)⁵⁴⁰ of corn for the state. Following this logic these fields were the fields of the state (the king) and not private estates which were subject to different types of taxes. It seems, that this 1,000 hectares of land was a kind of a quota or unit, in which the central government measured the capacities of the provinces.

There is a set of letters referred to above, which show that to cultivate an extra 1,000 hectares of land was a real burden on governors and other local officials.

Adad-issīa, governor of Māzāmua for example wrote to Sargon II that – according the royal order – “‘Nabû-[...] must cultivate 1,000 (homers of) seed, Mannu-kī-Adad must cultivate [1],000, and you too must cultivate [1],000 (homers of) seed corn’ – [wh]ere? I cannot do it! [I] cultivate in the face of harsh [...]. They, by contrast, having planted their seed, [e]at from it, feed [their] horses [fr]om it, and (even) cultiva[te s]eed fro[m it].”⁵⁴¹ It seems that Nabû-[...] and Mannu-kī-Adad could easily execute the order, but Adad-issīa, who cultivated his fields under harsh conditions, could not fulfill the (extra) quota. His answer makes much more sense if the interpretation of ‘1 *lim* ŠE.NUMUN’ is 1,000 hectares of land and not 1,000 homers of corn (which means 26 hectares, a stretch of about 500 x 500 meters of land).

Adda-ḥāti, governor of Hamath, organizing the life, the building projects and the defense of Argite and Šupat, wrote to the king that he should send Assyrians and Itu’eans to these towns on the desert border, because there were no Assyrian city-overseers and gateguards in Šupat. Most probably to accomodate the new people he harvested “the sown fields of the city Hi[...], and (in addition) to them I harvest an extra 1,000 (hectares of) the sown fields of the city of Laba’u.”⁵⁴²

The letter of Šarru-ēmuranni the deputy governor of Isana (*šanû ša Isana*) contains important information on the exemption system of corn taxes (see chapter II.2.3 Exemption), but also refers to the quota of cultivating 1,000 hectares of arable land: “Out of the 1,000 (hectares) of our cornfields that are cultivated (in the) province of Isana, (only) 200 enjoy irrigation water. (Should) pack animals come to me, what shall I give them? Let a messenger of the king come and take any corn taxes that we have!”⁵⁴³ This passage clarifies that the provinces which could run irrigation systems could cultivate more fields more easily than others, which did not have access to watering networks.

The next letter was sent by the Commander-in-Chief (*turtānu*), most probably to Inurta-ilāī.⁵⁴⁴ The Commander-in-Chief ordered the governor to cultivate (an extra?) 1,000 homers or hectares of sown fields (1 *lim* ŠE.NUMUN-MEŠ). Inurta-ilāī responded that he was going to cultivate the extra land when the ploughs and oxen – which he had ordered – arrive from Barḥalza. The interpretation of the passage (1,000 homers or hectares) depends on the logic which we followed: was the cultivation of 1,000 homers of grain (to cultivate 26 hectares) such a burden on the local

⁵⁴⁰ With 2 litres grain *per diem* per man.

⁵⁴¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 225 (CT 53, 79), 4-16.

⁵⁴² PARPOLA 1987, 176 (NL 20 (ND 2437)), Rev. 24-27; SAGGS 2001, 169-171 (NL 20 (ND 2437)), Rev. 24-27; LUUKKO 2012, 173 (NL 20 (ND 2437)), Rev. 24-27.

⁵⁴³ SAGGS 2001, 132-134, NL 74, (ND 2648), Rev. 11-18; LUUKKO 2012, 39 (ND 2648), Rev. 11-18.

⁵⁴⁴ SAGGS 2001, 178-179, NL 79 (ND 2671); LUUKKO 2012, 57 (ND 2671).

authorities that they had to order ploughs and oxen from another province? It seems much more plausible to suppose that to cultivate 26 hectares of arable land was not such a huge burden to necessitate the importing of additional equipment. But the cultivation of 1,000 hectares of arable land was large enough a task on the local authorities to ask for help from another province.

Sulāia wrote a letter to Tiglath-Pileser III, in which he commented on a debate between him and another Assyrian official, Šamaš-nāšir, the deputy of Aššur-rēmanni. Šamaš-nāšir brought him the king's order: "The king has given me the towns of Taku, Lulubani and Mila. Bring out your people so that I can bring my people in."⁵⁴⁵ Sulāia, however, refused to give up the towns, and wrote to the king as follows: "If he takes the [town]s and I have cultivated 1,000 (homers of) cornfiel[d th]ere (), should he harvest it? Moreover, should he enjoy my y[ok]e horse(s)? Where should I bring the *unit of* (*ki-šir*) horses in my command?"⁵⁴⁶ In this case the reason is clear: Sulāia had to feed the horses of an equestrian unit. If we consider that the average ration of a horse might be 7.5 litre *per diem* (Fig. 17), a possible 1,000 homers of grain was sufficient to feed 36 horses – serving a smaller unit – for a year. Furthermore, 26 hectares for three towns seems also not so much.

The only text, which definitely refers to 1,000 homers of barley and not 1,000 hectares of land is a letter of Šumāia, which he sent to the crown prince. "1,000 (homers) of barley from the king were at my father's disposal (1 *lim* ŠE.PAD-MEŠ *ša* LUGAL). Now I have given 400 (homers) of barley from it, 600 (homers) of barley remain at my disposal."⁵⁴⁷ In this case, however, the text uses a somewhat different term (ŠE.PAD⁵⁴⁸ instead of ŠE.NUMUN) which might be responsible for the difference.

Concluding the evidence it seems plausible to suppose that the term 1 *lim* ŠE.NUMUN meant 1,000 hectares of arable land.

⁵⁴⁵ LUUKKO 2012., 47 (ND 2775), 6-11; SAGGS 2001, 312-315 (ND 2775), 6-11.

⁵⁴⁶ LUUKKO 2012., 47 (ND 2775), 13-19.

⁵⁴⁷ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 35 (ABL 948), 5-8.

⁵⁴⁸ PAD = *kurummatu* (ration), *kusāpu* (bread).

II.2 Service-fields

The (military) service-field system was a well-known phenomenon within the 2nd millennium B.C. Mesopotamian empires, and underwent changes during the period. As Richardson put it: “But in the generations after Hammurabi, service-lands often treated as heritable and salable in practice, and the obligations as transferable by hire. The alienation of service-lands to non-military holders, through inheritance, marriage, adoption, sale, and leasing created secondary markets for service substitutes, and further diversified the military’s economic benefits well beyond the ranks of soldiery.”⁵⁴⁹ The death of a tenure-holder in wartime, however, could spell economic disaster for his family.”⁵⁵⁰

Although the phenomenon is well-known, no similarly clear picture of a Neo-Assyrian service-field system has emerged so far. For this reason now we are going to collect those Neo-Assyrian texts which explicitly or implicitly refer to the existence of a service-field system for soldiers (both infantry and cavalry). With the help of these sources we will try to reconstruct the economic background of the military service, which was complemented by the ration system outlined above, the other important element of the frame. The reconstruction will show us similarities in development to the Old-Babylonian period.

II.2.1 Service-fields of soldiers

II.2.1.1 Service-fields of infantry units

As has been discussed above (II.1 Rations), the regular provisioning of soldiers or troops during the court service or campaigns in the form of rations provided sustenance mainly for the period of service. It is unknown, however, whether these provisions offered real career objectives, and the soldier reached with them his high-water mark, or not. Most probably not. Whatever the case, there were a few assignments (for officers) with all year round rations,⁵⁵¹ and some known cases show that the family also received rations for the period the soldier went on campaign.⁵⁵² A further

⁵⁴⁹ RICHARDSON 2011, 22. He quotes CHARPIN 2004, 371, however, implies that the increasing tendency to pay *ilku* in silver as the time progressed also deteriorated political-economic relations between the Crown and its clientele.

⁵⁵⁰ RICHARDSON 2011, 22.

⁵⁵¹ A Sargonide letter for example mentions the barley rations of the team commander’s household, which was – according to an accusation – squandered by the governor Aššur-bēlu-ušur (FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 62 (CT 53, 55), 12-14: “Concerning the sto[red] barley of the house of the master of teams (É LÚ.GAL *ú-ra-te*) [about which the king, my lord, wrote to me, saying: ‘You have squandered it’ – [as soon as the ...] has come up, [...] in the king’s presence.” (707—706 B.C.)). For a detailed discussion see chapter II.1.1.1.2 Central allotment of rations during a ‘home’ service.

⁵⁵² Sargon II for example sent an order to Šarru-dūri, governor of Kalḫu, to give each of the king’s men serving under him 1 homer (*emāru*, 100 litres) of corn. He had to divide this amount between the king’s man and his family as follows: 3 seahs (*sūtu*, 30 litres) were given to the soldier as his ‘campaign-flour’ (ZĪD.KASKAL.MEŠ), 7 seahs (70 litres) were left with his family (POSTGATE 1973, 185 (ND 437), 1-13.). Aššur-ilā’i reported to Tiglath-Pileser III that he gave 1 seah (*sūtu*, 10 litres) stored grain per man of the exempts at his disposal. To the wives and even to the deputies he referred to as follows: “(Should) one have wife [...], she comes out (with) three seahs (3 litres). To deputies [*they give*] four seahs (4 litres) each.” (LUUKKO 2012, 48 (ND 2669), 26-Rev. 4.). For detailed discussion see chapter II.1.1.1.2 Central allotment of rations during a ‘home service.’

question presents itself: was the rationing system an income stable enough to build an existence on it or not? It seems that the daily/monthly and even the yearly rations provided by the central authorities did not offer a solid base to live on. This is the reason why it is important to examine the possibility of an existing service-field system in the Assyrian Empire.

Several documents mention the daily rations and the possible service-fields together (*see above, II.1 Rations*). A fragmentary letter⁵⁵³ for example refers to the fields of a fort, which means that the garrison troops might have owned fields in the neighbourhood of the stronghold or that these lands – cultivated by the local population – were intended to maintain the garrison troops.

Another fragmentary letter (mentioning Aššur-rēšūwa, a *qēpu* of Sargon II) from the Northern, Uraṭian front mentions the fields and threshing floors of unknown people (supposingly the soldiers of the garrison) and states, and that the official who sent the report, had transported 20 homers (*emāru*) (2,000 litres) of seed corn ‘to the fort in the tower’ for the troops.⁵⁵⁴

The practice that the garrison troops got fields for their service is known in the conquered territories with foreign people as well. Nabû-ḥamātū’a (deputy governor of Māzama) reported to Sargon II that he had brought out the subjects of Bēl-iddina, the ruler of Allabria from six Allabrian forts and told them: “Go! Each one of you should build (a house) in the field and stay there!”⁵⁵⁵

Another letter makes it clear, that – as the writer phrases – “the guard duty, ... is mutually fixed for our bread and water.”⁵⁵⁶ It seems that certain groups of soldiers along the border of Bit-Dakkuri got bread and water (fields or rations and access to the water-sources), as a kind a sustenance for their military service, in this case for borderguard duties.

An important text, a further report to Sargon II describes the system more explicitly: “For (any *cohort commander*) who has a bre[ad ration] entered on his tablet and who has men, I [take] from the corn tax and provide it to him in his garrison. Even where there is no entry, they come and tell me, and I give it, so they can cultivate their fields. If I did not allot it, they would take [the corn] they have harvested [prev]iously and eat it, and would not cultivate the fields but turn to me [with]out a superior, saying: ‘Bread [is being with]held from us!’”⁵⁵⁷

Sargon II sent an order to one of his officials concerning a certain Qurdi-Issar, a *māḥiṣu* (LÚ.ma-ḥi-ṣi): “Encou[rage him, and give him a house], a plough, and a field [...]”⁵⁵⁸ It is interesting to see, that a governor for a royal order gave a house, a plough and a field to a *māḥiṣu*.

An important administrative text from Nimrud (ND 2440)⁵⁵⁹ lists 56 military personnel, ‘guardians of the wall’ (EN.NUN BÀD), and their families. They were garrison troops defending a town or a (border)fort.⁵⁶⁰ According to the summary section of the text (*Fig. 26*) each of the 56 guards got 1 donkey, 1 ox, and 10 sheep. These animals served as a kind of ‘service allotment’ to support the soldier’s family. This kind of ‘service allotment’ makes only sense, if it belongs to a service-field and a house.

⁵⁵³ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 109 (CT 53, 394).

⁵⁵⁴ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 60 (CT 53, 389), 2-6.

⁵⁵⁵ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 210 (ABL 208).

⁵⁵⁶ DIETRICH 2003, 69 (CT 54, 19), 16-18.

⁵⁵⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 289 (CT 53, 323), 2-Rev. 4.

⁵⁵⁸ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 263 (ABL 1206), 10-12.

⁵⁵⁹ PARKER 1961, 25-26 (ND 2440).

⁵⁶⁰ Such a case is known from a letter of Adda-ḥāti, governor of Ḥamath, who – as mentioned above – organized the life, the building projects and defense of Argite and Šupat; he wrote to the king that he should send Assyrians and Itu’eans to these towns on the desert border, because there were no Assyrian city-overseers and gateguards in Šupat. The governor most likely asked for Assyrian and Itu’eans settlers to serve these towns and the desert border as guards. (PARPOLA 1987, 176 (NL 20 (ND 2437)), Rev. 24-27; SAGGS 2001, 169-171 (NL 20 (ND 2437)), Rev. 24-27; LUUKKO 2012, 173 (NL 20 (ND 2437)), Rev. 24-27.)

ND 2440		GUARDS OF THE WALL	FAMILY	DONKEY	OX	SHEEP
Obv. i:1-3	<i>Tar-ḫu-là-ri</i>	EN.NUN BÂD	1 woman, 2 daughters	1	1	10
4	<i>Li-su-...</i>		[ditto]	[...]	[...]	[...]
5-6	<i>Ku-ub-be-e-...</i>		2 women,		2	20
7	<i>Ku-ri</i>		ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
8-10	<i>Ki-da-a-ku-ri</i>		2 [...], 1 woman	1	1	10
11	<i>Ku-ki-lu-u</i>		ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
12-14	<i>Il-lu-u</i>		1 woman, 1 'working man'	1	1	10
15	<i>Su-sa-pi</i>		ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
16-18	<i>Ḫar-ḫar-ri-i-ma-ri</i>		1 baby, 1 woman	1	1	10
19	<i>Aḫ-...-du</i>		ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
20	<i>Pu-li-PAP</i>					
	<i>Ku-tal?</i>					
21	<i>Ia-gu-u-tu</i>		[...]	[...]	[...]	10
[...]						
ii:1-2	<i>Aššur-ib-...</i>		[...]	1	1	[...]
3	<i>Nādin-ili(?)</i>					
4	<i>[...]-ili</i>					
5-6	<i>[...]-ti</i>			1	1	10
7	<i>Ki-na-ma</i>					
8-10	<i>[...]-da-...</i>		2 women, 1 'working man'	1	1	[...]
11-14	<i>Ki-ru-...</i>					
	<i>Pi-sa-...</i>		3 women, [...]	1	1	[...]
15-17	<i>Iš-...</i>		1 woman, [...]	1	[...]	[...]
[...]						
Rev. i:1'	<i>Tar-ḫu-en-...</i>					
2'-3'	<i>Ilu-nādin-...</i>			1	1	[...]
4'	<i>Ki-in-na-...</i>					
5'-6'	<i>Ḫu-za-lu-...</i>		1 woman, [...]	1	[...]	[...]
7'-ii:3'	Total	56 EN.NUN BÂD	[...]	56	56	55?0
	Lacking				5	50

Fig. 26. The structure of ND 2440.

If there was a standard size for the service-field, an estate of 40 hectares of land or a part of it (e.g. 20 hectares) would be a good candidate. There are a few cuneiform documents which mention this estate size allocated to soldiers of different services. An administrative cuneiform text for example lists the name of Barbiri, a Gurrean soldier, who received 40 hectares of land in the town of Apiani.⁵⁶¹ The same estate assignment mentions, that the *ša—šēpē* guardsman Kalhāiu also received 40 hectares of land in the town Šela.⁵⁶² According to a census tablet the *rab mūgi* – together with such high ranking officials as the treasurer of the Aššur Temple or the governor of Tamnuna – obtained a substantial estate of 40 hectares.⁵⁶³ Another administrative text dealing with a survey of a large estate being sold mentions a *kallāpu* soldier, Bēl-aḫḫēšu, who bought 40 hectares of land, which seems to be a standard size of a military estate or service-field.⁵⁶⁴

Another possible source referring to the existence of a military service-land system may be the group of texts mentioning a relatively large number of soldiers arriving from a certain place, for example the same village. It is possible, that the soldiers of the regular infantry (and cavalry)

⁵⁶¹ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 228 (ADD 918).

⁵⁶² FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 228 (ADD 918), 4'-6'. For further examples of a land of 40 and 20 hectares see the census tablet. FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 219 (ADB 5).

⁵⁶³ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 219 (ADB 5), II:22'.

⁵⁶⁴ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 222 (ADD 806), 7'.

were recruited from the villages and towns where these soldiers owned their service-fields. An administrative text⁵⁶⁵ dating probably to the reign of Esarhaddon lists military personnel at the disposal of various officials. The text lists 17 bow(men), at the disposal of Nabû-erība, prefect of the crown prince; 17 cavalry, 1 bow(man) from the village of Ḫanê, at the disposal of Silim-Aššur, Vizier (*sukkallu*); 6 bowmen from the town of Til-Rahawa, at the disposal of Aia-iababa, the prefect of the staff-bearers. It is not clear whether these archers were auxiliary archers or the archers of the regular infantry. Nor, unfortunately, is it known whether the villages mentioned above – as going to be shown further on, in the case of the Itu'eans – were special archers' villages, or simply denoted that the Assyrian army was organized on a territorial basis and recruited archers from several (or all?) villages.⁵⁶⁶ This text shows that in the Neo-Assyrian period not only the cities, but also the estates, villages, and towns had to provide archers for the army of various Assyrian (military) officials. Two further administrative texts list archers and spearmen. One of them is a note which summarizes that 350 shield(-bearers) and 240 archers had not arrived for some event, probably a muster or a campaign.⁵⁶⁷ The other text is a much more detailed list, which records groups of archers (in a strength of hundreds) under the command of six Assyrian officials.⁵⁶⁸ The appearance of military officials (for example a bodyguard) at the beginning of the text may refer to the establishment of an infantry detachment consisting of 208 shield-bearers (spearmen) and [x hundred] archers. They arrived from various locations in smaller or larger groups (49, 6, 61, 10 spearmen, and an unknown (fragmentary) number of archers from 6 locations) most probably under the command of their (local) leaders/officers (their title is unknown). These two texts likely recorded regular units, which were – similarly to the text discussed above – recruited from various Assyrian villages and towns to perform military service.⁵⁶⁹

Judging from these pieces of evidence, it seems to the present author that this service-field system provided the human resource supply of large numbers of regular archers and spearmen, who formed the bulk of the Assyrian army.

II.2.1.2 Service-fields of equestrian units

Another, implicit type of argument provides further proof for the existence of service-fields. As discussed in chapter III. Supply of horses, some texts refer to the soldiers of equestrian units who took home their horses to care for them during the winter period when their units were disbanded. Such a case is known from the texts of the so called 'Aššur Protocol',⁵⁷⁰ which lists chariot men (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR),⁵⁷¹ their towns and villages,⁵⁷² and the number and state of horses they were in

⁵⁶⁵ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 30 (ADD 815+).

⁵⁶⁶ See furthermore the letters from the Babylonian cities loyal to the Assyrians, who also provided large numbers of archers for the Assyrian army: DEZSÓ 2012A, 86, 187, 200.

⁵⁶⁷ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 127 (ADD 856).

⁵⁶⁸ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 128 (ADD 947).

⁵⁶⁹ DEZSÓ 2012A, 87.

⁵⁷⁰ SCHROEDER 1920, 31, 32, 34-37, 131, 132; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, 41-43.

⁵⁷¹ DEZSÓ 2012B, 109-117.

⁵⁷² These towns and villages are as follows: There were 10 chariot men with 13 horses under the command of Ame-atar commander-of-50 (LÚ.GAL 50) from the following settlements: (SCHROEDER 1920, 31), 3: URU.*Qa-ma-ni*, 6: URU.*Ab-ba-ni*; 9: URU.*Ra-da-ni*; 12: URU.*Sa-re-e*; 15: URU.ŠE *I-li-ti*; 18: URU.*Til-Ú-li-na*; 21: URU.ŠE ^{1d}MAŠ.MAŠ(Nergal); 24, 27: URU.ŠE *I-li-ti*; 30: URU.*Ma-li-ku*; under the command of [...]SILIM(*šulmi*?)–GIN(*ukin*) cohort commander (LÚ.GAL *k[i-šir]*): (SCHROEDER 1920, 32), 3:URU.*Ar-ra-[ap-ḫa]*; Rev. 4': URU.*Su-ti-[...]*; 7': URU.*Su-ti-a-[...]*; under the command of an unknown cohort commander ([LÚ].GAL *ki-šir*): (SCHROEDER 1920, 34), 2': URU.*Qa-ma-ni*, 5': URU.*Ra-at-me*; under an unknown commander: (SCHROEDER 1920, 35), 5: URU.*Qa-ma-ni*; 8: URU.ŠE ^dMAŠ.MAŠ(Nergal)–[...]; under the command of ¹*Kak-ku-[us]-su* cohort commander (LÚ.GAL *ki-šir*): (SCHROEDER 1920, 36), 4, 7: URU.*Kil-pa-ḫa*; under an unknown commander: (SCHROEDER 1920, 37), 5':

charge. The lists classify the horses as ‘good’ and ‘not good.’ It seems that the chariot men took care of their own horses during the winter period, when their unit was disbanded. It also transpires that soldiers of special services, as for example the chariot men, were recruited from certain regions (since they needed special skills to look after the horses), where they lived in villages and towns. These soldiers (who are known from other texts as well) most probably owned some service-fields, on the basis of which or for exchange of which they took care of their horses all year round (during the campaign season in the camp, during the winter season at home).

A further document lists 34 horses along with other equids (3 mules and 8 asses) and 2 oxen subdivided according to their owners,⁵⁷³ which seems as if they belonged to similar households, where the horse breeder/trainer got other animals which he used for domestic activities.

However, some documents refer much more explicitly to the service-fields of equestrian troops. One of the letters of Nabû-šumu-iddina⁵⁷⁴ for example mentions a shipment of horses, for 50 cavalrymen (a platoon), who (and their households as well) were equipped by Nabû-šumu-iddina with millstones, household utensils, and pigs. It can consequently be supposed that these cavalrymen obtained service-fields provided by the state, together with household utensils and domestic animals.

Sennacherib, as crown prince, wrote a letter to his farther, Sargon II, reminding him that: “The chariot grooms of the *ša-šēpē* guard [...] under my command are asking for plants [...] and one] full talent of bronze [...] per one team of hor[ses ...] in accordance with what the k[ing ...]. What exactly does the king my lord, order?”⁵⁷⁵ These chariot grooms asked for some *ad hoc* allotment in bronze and another allotment in kind: some plants, the appearance of which in this text makes more sense if these plants are associated with agricultural activity on their fields.

There is an important *iškāru* text,⁵⁷⁶ which lists quantities of silver and their horse equivalents (Fig. 45). A passage of this letter reveals that the unfortunately unknown writer: “ha[s] imposed *iškāru* dues on them and given them 10 (minas) each from the chariot-horse trainers and the stable[men that] they keep. Those w[ho] go up to the trade colony I have provided with [...] fields, orchards and peo[ple].”⁵⁷⁷ It seems as if some chariot-horse trainers (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ) and the stablemen (LÚ.ma-a-a-su) were sent up to a trade colony (obviously a center of the Zagros horse trade), were settled there and were provided with fields, orchards and people.

It seems from these texts that the local Assyrian officials were in charge of distributing service-fields (from the (conquered) fields owned by the state), household utensils, and domestic animals to soldiers living in or settled in their sphere of jurisdiction.

Some sources, however, make explicit statements in reference to the existence of service-fields. The administrative text dated to the reign of Esarhaddon,⁵⁷⁸ discussed above, lists military personnel at the disposal of various officials, including 17 cavalry, and 1 bow(man) from the village of Ḫanê, at the disposal of Silim-Aššur, Vizier (*sukkallu*). In this case, the 17 cavalrymen from the same village – according to the present writer’s view – refers explicitly to a local equestrian military community based on a service-field system, the income of which is needed

URU.Ra-[*da-ni?*]; under an unknown commander: (SCHROEDER 1920, 131), 2: [URU.]*Tu-ḫu-na*; 5: URU.[...]du-[...]di; 8: URU.*Ḫi-la-wi*; 11: URU.*Ḫul-la-ri*; Rev. 5: URU.*Pi-iq-da-ni*; 8: URU.*Ḫu-du-pa*; 11: [URU.R]*a-pi-ḫi*; under the command of ¹*A-me-a-tar* cohort commander (LÚ.GAL *ki-šir*): (SCHROEDER 1920, 132), 4: URU.[...]li-ki.

⁵⁷³ WISEMAN – KINNIER WILSON 1951, 112 (ND 452): *Iakud(?)*di, Mār-Issar, Sina’an and Baṭṭi-nūri.

⁵⁷⁴ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 82 (ABL 546).

⁵⁷⁵ PARPOLA 1987, 37 (CT 53, 307), Rev. 7-13.

⁵⁷⁶ SAGGS 2001, 278-280 (ND 2627); LUUKKO 2012, 168 (ND 2627).

⁵⁷⁷ LUUKKO 2012, 168 (ND 2627), Rev. 5-9.

⁵⁷⁸ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 30 (ADD 815+).

to care for the horses. Such (equestrian) military communities are known from other sources as well. The ‘town of chariot horse trainers’ (URU.LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ, Susānu town) is for example mentioned in a cuneiform document.⁵⁷⁹ The same kind of settlement appears in another form (URU.*Su-sa-nu*), as well.⁵⁸⁰ This means that the chariot men or horse trainers could live in separate towns or villages as military or quasi-military communities. Another example, a legal text, shows that a chariot owner (LÚ.EN—GIŠ.GIGIR) and a chariot warrior owned neighbouring vegetable gardens in Nineveh,⁵⁸¹ which hints in the direction of their living in a community, where their fields/estates were next to each other.

An obvious question has to be answered at this point: is there any connection between the associations (*ḫaṭru*) of military personnel (for example of ‘third men’ (LÚ.*ḫaṭri* ša LÚ.*tašlišāni*), of horse trainers (LÚ.*ḫaṭri* ša LÚ.*šusāni*), and of *māḫiṣu* (*ḫaṭri* ša LÚ.*māḫiṣi*) 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,⁵⁸² and the link between the Assyrian and Achaemenid systems is missing.⁵⁸³

II.2.1.3 Service-fields of auxiliaries

As far as the economic background of the auxiliary archers is concerned, they were mainly Aramean/Chaldean shepherds living in a tribal society. Huge numbers of independent or semi-independent shepherds pastured flocks all over the Near East, and they needed pasture-fields. The cuneiform evidence discussed in detail in the previous volume of this project⁵⁸⁴ makes it clear that the king exercised direct authority over their semi-nomadic or semi-sedentary groups, and that they lived in villages and occupied towns. The Itu’eans had military commanders (prefect, *šaknu*),⁵⁸⁵ village inspectors and tribal leaders, or sheikhs.⁵⁸⁶ A single letter mentions a *rab Ituā’ia* (GAL *I-tu-u’-a-a*) in a context which corroborates the police role of the Itu’eans.⁵⁸⁷ The prefect (*šaknu*) might have been an Assyrian military official.

It seems that they were semi-professional soldiers, probably serving all year round (see Introduction and Fig. 1). They are likely to have received cultivable land and pasture-fields from the ruler in return for their services: a fragmentary letter of Bēl-lēšir reports to the king that: “After my departure, the Itu’eans who hold (*land*) in the province committed a theft in the district. Instead of the fine (imposed on them), they plundered the sheep which were being grazed in the district and are holding [them].”⁵⁸⁸ Furthermore: “[The king], my lord, kn[ows that] the Itu’eans hold

⁵⁷⁹ MATTILA 2002, 258 (ADD 396).

⁵⁸⁰ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 163 (ADD 904+).

⁵⁸¹ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 204 (ADD 364), Mannu-kī-Arbail cohort commander (*rab kišir*) bought the garden of Bibī chariot owner (EN—GIŠ.GIGIR) adjoining the garden of Nabū-kēnu-dugul chariot fighter (LÚ.A—SIG), 679. VII. 13.

⁵⁸² 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—*ur-ra-a-tu*), CLAY 1912A, 198:4, or the ‘association of the horse trainers of the house of the team commander’ (*ḫaṭri* ša LÚ.*šusāni*.MEŠ ša bīt *rab urātu*), KRÜCKMANN 1933, 183:6, 190:12, 191:13, 124:4; CLAY 1912A, 114:18.

⁵⁸³ DEZSÖ 2012B, 111.

⁵⁸⁴ DEZSÖ 2012A, 25-38.

⁵⁸⁵ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), I:30: [...] LÚ.GAR-*nu I-tu’u*; II:11: [m] *Gu-lu-su* LÚ.GAR-*nu I-tu’u*.

⁵⁸⁶ See furthermore an administrative text from Nimrud, which lists them together with prefects of other territories. DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 143 (ND 10030), ii:9’-10’: LÚ.*na-si-ka-a-ni* ša KUR.*i-tu’-a* (the sheikhs of Itu’a).

⁵⁸⁷ 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) *atta-ni* LÚ.II-*u-ka* (5) *iš-šab-bi-it-šu-nu-ti* (6) *ar-ḫiṣ* (7) *lu-bi-la-šu-nu* (8) m*Ki-rib-tu-Mar-duk*. (1) The royal soldiers of your chariot, (2) together with their substitutes, (3) when the *rab Itu’aia* (4) ... your deputy (5) arrests them (6) quickly (7) bring them (to me) (8) (addressed to) Kiribtu-Marduk.

⁵⁸⁸ SAGGS 2001, 225-227, NL 87 (ND 2625), 5-12; LUUKKO 2012, 176 (ND 2625), 5-12.

[a who]le [di]istrict in the province of Kurb[ai]l. The sheikhs are now coming to the Palace. Let the king, my lord, question them. I wrote immediately [a]fter I had subjugated the people and stamped out the [mora]le of the land. All the [t]owns of the Itu'eans have violated the sheep of the queen, the governor and the magnates, which are being grazed in the province, and their [...] is being shed."⁵⁸⁹ Bēl-lēšir seems to have had some difficulty keeping them under control, since he complained that the Itu'ean villages were negligent, and suggested the king question their tribal leaders (sheikhs) when they arrive at the Palace.

At the Western end of the Empire Adda-hāti, a governor, asked Sargon II for Assyrian or Itu'ean settlers or soldiers that he could settle in his province on the steppe⁵⁹⁰ – probably to guard the desert frontier around the town of Šupat, since “there is no Assyrian city-overseer nor any Assyrian gate-guards in Šupat.”⁵⁹¹ This letter makes it clear that the Assyrian policy was to settle reliable soldiers – both Assyrians and Itu'eans – in different parts of the Empire. For this reason the local Assyrian authority would have had to provide service-fields and other goods for them to live on (*see above*, ND 2440, *Fig. 26*).

Ša-Aššur-dubbu, the governor of Tušhan petitioned Sargon II (721 – 705 B.C.) as follows: “The king, my lord, should send word that the prefects of the royal *Taziru* and *Itu'u* (troops) holding (fields) here should come and stand guard with me, ...”⁵⁹² The *Taziru* and Itu'eans could hold fields in Tušhan province, on the Northwestern border of the Empire, far from the original home territories of these semi-nomadic tribes, if the king gave them territories in exchange for their services.

It seems, that according to the sources the ‘bow field’ appeared as a phenomenon in the context of the auxiliary archers, especially in the context of the Itu'eans. Another governor, Nashur-Bēl, the governor of Amidi (another Assyrian border province in Eastern Anatolia), wrote to Sargon II that, as the king had ordered, the ‘bow field’ (A.ŠÀ GIŠ.BAN) of the Itu'ean prefect was exempt from straw and barley tax.⁵⁹³ Otherwise the bow-fief was a well-known and well-documented phenomenon during the Neo-Babylonian period.⁵⁹⁴

Another letter of Nashur-Bēl mentions that he sent a contingent of Itu'eans with the village inspector for logs to the mountains, to Eziat. The village inspector had to fight for the logs: his deputy and nine of his soldiers were struck down by arrows; two of them died. They wounded three enemy soldiers. Furthermore: “The Itu'eans of the Palace at my disposal have returned from the Euphrates; they did not go with the Vizier. I have sent for them, but (men) of one or two houses only have come out of the town. Let the king, my lord, write to the sheikhs; they should bring the king's men out jointly, to keep watch with me in Laruba, until we have collected the harvest.”⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁸⁹ SAGGS 2001, 225-227, NL 87 (ND 2625), Rev. 4-19; LUUKKO 2012, 176 (ND 2625), Rev. 4-19.

⁵⁹⁰ PARPOLA 1987, 176, NL 20 (ND 2437); SAGGS 2001, 169-171, NL 20 (ND 2437).

⁵⁹¹ PARPOLA 1987, 176, NL 20 (ND 2437), 31-33; SAGGS 2001, 169-171, NL 20 (ND 2437), 31-33.

⁵⁹² LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 32 (ABL 138+), 11-16.

⁵⁹³ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 16 (ABL 201), 4-7; POSTGATE 1974, 263.

⁵⁹⁴ DEZSŐ 2012A, 87-88 (Ethnic and social background of regular archers). For similar Neo/Late-Babylonian characteristics *see the* commentary of Dalley and Postgate on ND 9906 mentioning the ‘chair land’ (DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, 126-127, 66 (ND 9906), 3: 2 GIŠ.GU.ZA.MEŠ-te): “The plot of land known as GIŠ.GU.ZA ‘chair land’ may be part of a continuous tradition from Old Babylonian into the late Babylonian period, possibly as a military holding, for É—GIŠ.GU.ZA ‘chair land’ occurs with É—ANŠE.KUR.RA ‘horse land’ and É—GIŠ.GIGIR ‘chariot land’ as plots of land for fiefs in the late Bab. Text PBS 2/1, 65. ... F. Joannès, *Textes économiques de la Babylonie récente*, Paris 1982, 28.”

⁵⁹⁵ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 3 (ABL 424).

A fragmentary letter proves that they were stock-breeders: Mannu-kī-Adad, a governor of Sargon II mentioned that in accordance with the king's orders, he had bought ungelded oxen from the Itu'eans with silver.⁵⁹⁶

These letters refer to four key questions of our topic: (1) the Itu'eans lived in (separate) villages and towns; (2) they lived there under the direct command and authority of the king and their own leaders: village inspectors, deputy village inspectors, sheikhs and prefects; (3) they owned fields, bow-fields which were donated to them in exchange for their military services; (4) their fields were exempted from certain taxes (straw and barley tax), which means that their economy was not only pasture-based, but relied on other forms of agriculture as well.

We have much less information about the social and economic background of the Gurreans, the auxiliary spearmen of the Assyrian army.⁵⁹⁷ According to their weaponry (shield, helmet, spear and sword) they were sedentary rather than nomadic (whose weaponry consisted of the bow). It seems that the Gurreans were similarly settled in different provinces of the Empire. Between two campaign seasons they were probably quartered in their own garrisons and/or in villages/towns. One of the letters written by a provincial governor to Sargon II mentions that a local lord, Attua, had duly set out to join the campaign led by the Assyrian king, but had turned back. 40 Gurreans, who a year before served the king and went to Ḫardu, disobeyed orders and did not come out from their own territory. Attua said to them: "You are not going. You are my servants."⁵⁹⁸

II.2.2 Service-fields/estates of officers

A very important type of land-holding was the military estate, a variety of service-field which was given to the officers of different ranks of the army in recognition for their faithful services. These (larger) estates provided the economic and social background of the most important body and backbone of the army, the officers' corps. These lands, and the income from them formed the base, which was supplemented by the daily and monthly rations in kind and in other goods provided by the state in the campaign season and during home service as well (*see above*, II.1.1.1.2 Central allotment of rations during a 'home service').

The origin of the donated field with villages or even towns, vineyards and people goes back to different sources: (1) to donations from the lands of the state, (2) to the conquests of new territories (donation as part of the booty), (3) or even to confiscation and redistribution of existing estates, (4) and the inheritance of the estates and service(?). A further (5) possibility was that the officers themselves bought further lands, which were, however, in contrast with the donated fields, subject to taxation (*see below*, II.2.3 Exemption).

⁵⁹⁶ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 238 (ABL 903), Rev. 1-2. For the sheep and oxen of the Taziru tribe *see* LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 37 (CT 53, 101), 16-17.

⁵⁹⁷ DEZSŐ 2012A, 38-51.

⁵⁹⁸ SAGGS 2001, 130-132, NL 43 (ND 2635), 13-14; LUUKKO 2012, 195 (ND 2635), 13-14.

II.2.2.1 Land grant from the state-owned estates

A possibly very early text, an edict appointing Nergal-apil-kūmū'a,⁵⁹⁹ discussed above, refers to his duty to provide chariot fighters – some for *qurbūtu* bodyguards⁶⁰⁰ – from among the Assyrian craftsmen who were listed in a preceding section of the text. It is unknown, however, whether it was an ex officio duty connected to his new appointment, or a kind of land grant also associated with his new office.

Only a few documents (royal decrees) of donating estates to various personnel most probably from the estates owned by the state/court⁶⁰¹ are known from the Neo-Assyrian period. Assurbanipal donated estates to military related personnel, as for example to Baṭṭāia, chief of the fodder supplies (LÚ.GAL—ŠE.ki-si-[ti]),⁶⁰² to Nabû-šarru-ušur, chief eunuch (LÚ.GAL—SAG).⁶⁰³ Aššur-etelli-ilāni (631—627 B.C.) also donated estates to officers, as Ṭāb-šar-Bēt-papāḥi, cohort commander of the Chief Eunuch Sîn-šumu-lēšir (LÚ.GAL—ki-šir LÚ.GAL—SAG), and exempted it from taxes,⁶⁰⁴ and two further cohort commanders of the Chief Eunuch.⁶⁰⁵ Unfortunately these royal decree (land grant) tablets of Assurbanipal and Aššur-etelli-ilāni are very incomplete. Only the fragments of two tablets of Aššur-etelli-ilāni contain broken passages of the list of the actual lands, vineyards and people granted to the new owner. It can be supposed that the king donated substantial estates to these officers, since the very fragmentary land grant section of one of the tablets lists not less than 710+ hectares of land, 4 vineyards of unknown size in different towns and villages, and 18+ inspectors with their people.⁶⁰⁶ It seems probable that the 18+ names to whom an unspecified number of people belonged were not simply paterfamilias (in this case only 18+ families would have belonged to 15 estates and 4 vineyards), but rather inspectors, with several families under their authority. The families, who lived on these fields in the 15 villages and towns listed in the grant, and who were donated to the new owner together with the fields, most probably were not the owners of the lands but belonged to them as 'serfs.' It can be concluded that – whether these Aššur-etelli-ilāni land grants were exceptional cases or not – the officers of the military corps would have owned substantial estates as befitting their position.

II.2.2.2 Land grant from the captured territories as part of the booty

There is no explicit evidence recording such a case. Only some implicit cases are known which hint in the direction of a possible 'booty land distribution' source, and only a few instances where we can assume that the origin of the estate goes back to a booty distribution grant.

A legal document of the Rēmanni-Adad archive shows a different aspect of donating fields to the military. Rēmanni-Adad, the chief chariot driver of Assurbanipal bought an entire village in 663 B.C. The owners of the village were as follows: the deputy of the town Dannāia, the scribe

⁵⁹⁹ Some reconstructions identify him with the *limmu* of 873 B.C. (DELLER – MILLARD 1993, 217-242, esp. 218-219).

⁶⁰⁰ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 83 (BaM 24, 239), Rev. 24: LÚ.qur-bu-ti. DEZSÖ 2012A, 125, note 795.

⁶⁰¹ For further discussion of the logic behind the grants and the exemption accompanied with it see POSTGATE 1974, 238-239. As he puts it, "it is possible that in many cases there was no real grant of land, merely the exemption from taxes."

⁶⁰² KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 25 (NARGD 9).

⁶⁰³ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 26 (NARGD 10).

⁶⁰⁴ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 35 (NARGD 13+).

⁶⁰⁵ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 36 (NARGD 14), Rev. 24': cohort commander [of the Chief Eunuch] (LÚ.GAL—ki-šir [LÚ.GAL—SAG ...]); 37 (Or 42, 442); 38 (NARGD 16); 39 (NARGD 20), Rev. 2': [...] cohort commander of the Chief Eunuch, the son of Bābilāiu ([LÚ.GAL—ki-šir ša LÚ.GAL]—SAG DUMU ^mKÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI-a-a).

⁶⁰⁶ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 37 (Or 42, 442).

of the queen mother, one chariot driver (*mukil appāte*), one ‘third man’ (*tašlīšu*), three chariot warriors (*māru damqu*), and three cohort commanders (*rab kišir*).⁶⁰⁷ It seems unbelievable that any spontaneous market mechanism should have resulted in such a concentration of military personnel in the body of owners of a village; more probably they had received the village as a donation from the king, or as a share of booty. This estate, whatsoever its origin may have been, similarly to the above mentioned cases, was also put on the market.

A similar combination of owners appears in another legal document. Nergal-ilā’i the governor of Laḫiru, Sîn-šarru-ušur, his deputy, Murasû, his ‘third man,’ and Zabinu, his chariot driver were the owners of a village which the eunuch of the crown prince of Babylon, Atar-ili had bought from them on 1st of Iyyar (II), 670 B.C. The characteristic of this village was that its fields were exempted from the corn and straw tax.⁶⁰⁸ As in the case above, it seems just as unbelievable that any spontaneous market mechanism should have led to such a concentration of military personnel in the body of owners of a village; in this case it is also more probable that the village had been a donation from the king, or a share of booty. The fact that according to the document the fields of the village were exempted from taxes, also implies a royal land grant as the origin of the estate. It is quite possible that the governor, his deputy and the crew of his chariot (his followers/confidants) got the estate for their military merits as part of the distribution of booty. Similarly to the above mentioned cases, and regardless of its origin this estate was also put on the market.

When the team commander (LÚ.GAL—*u-rat*) Atar-ili sold a complete village named Baḫāia, 7 of his witnesses were soldiers: 2 cohort commanders (*rab kišir*), 3 ‘third men’ (*tašlīšu*), and 2 *qurbūtu* bodyguards.⁶⁰⁹ These soldiers were probably comrades of the seller or members of the local military. The origin of the village is unknown, but it seems possible that it had been a royal donation for the service or military virtue of Atar-ili.

According to a census tablet the *rab mūgi* – together with such high ranking officials as the treasurer of the Aššur Temple or the governor of Tamnuna – obtained a substantial estate of 40 hectares,⁶¹⁰ which – judging from other sources – might easily have been a standard estate size for military personnel and officials (*see above*). 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. If the estates were situated in the territory of Gambulu, they would originally have been part of a newly captured territory, which was partially distributed between officers and court personnel (including the Chief Cupbearer, the Chief Judge, the Palace Herald and several governors) as a land grant of the booty lands.

II.2.2.3 Redistribution of confiscated estates

The redistribution of confiscated estates might be an important source of service estates – even if we do not know the explicit cases. There were some turbulent periods in Neo-Assyrian history, when such an act of proscription and confiscation might have affected the Assyrian élite (around

⁶⁰⁷ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 325 (ADD 470). The owners of the village are as follows: Inurta-ilā’i, deputy of the town of Dannāia; Asqudu, scribe of the queen mother; Ḫiri-aḫḫē, chariot driver; Adad-uballiṭ, ‘third man;’ three cohort commanders: Nabû-rēmanni, Issar-ilā’i, Milki-idri; and three chariot warriors Mannu-kī-Arbail, Zēru-ukīn, and Dādi-ibnī.

⁶⁰⁸ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 287 (ADD 625), Rev. 5.

⁶⁰⁹ MATTILA 2002, 2 (ADD 627).

⁶¹⁰ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 219 (ADB 5), II:22’.

745, 721–720, 680–679, 671–670,⁶¹¹ 648, 631–626 B.C.). However, there is only one single administrative document which may fall into this source category. It is not known, whether the legal document from the reign of Sîn-šar-iškun (627–612 B.C.) which lists Assyrian high officials (including the Chief Judge, the Vizier, and the Chief Eunuch), officers, and other military personnel, part of whose estates were handed over to other persons, was a real proscription text or not. It is furthermore unclear, whether these estates had been confiscated or not, as in some cases the sons and brothers ‘inherited’ the lands,⁶¹² in other cases, however, it seems that the estate was a stray, and was given to the princess of the New Palace.⁶¹³ It makes only sense if these estates were strays, originally having been donated as ‘service-estates.’

II.2.2.4 Inheritance of the estate and the military service(?)

A quite different matter might be the inheritance possibility of some fields(?) which had probably been donated for a kind of military service, and the service itself. It is not clear whether this case can be applied to forcibly conscripted soldiers or only to the freely recruited ones, who picked up a living with these fields. As detailed above, a letter from Sargon II to an unknown official, probably a governor, gives the following orders: “[...] your [...], [enqui]re and investigate, [and write down] and dispatch to me [the names] of the [sol]diers killed and their [sons and d]aughters. Perhaps there is a man who has subjugated a widow as his slave girl, or has subjugated a son or a daughter to servitude. Enquire and investigate, and bring (him/them) forth. Perhaps there is a son who has gone into conscription in lieu of his father; this alone do not write down. But be sure to enquire and find out all the widows, write them down, define (their status) and send them to me.”⁶¹⁴ This letter leaves it unclear whether the military service could be passed on from father to son (“a son has gone into conscription in lieu of his father”), so the son could fall into title, but it seems that the king had concerns not only for the well-being of the orphans and widows of the fallen soldiers, but also for failing to replace the troops. The inheritance of the service makes sense, if some service fields belonged to the service.

There is a further interesting case from the reign of Esarhaddon. A letter written by Šumma-ilu, the son of Aramiš-šar-ilāni, a *mušarkisu* (recruitment officer), let the king know that the recruitment officer had died in enemy territory (on campaign). He had commanded 50 men, who – after the death of their commander, probably at the end of the campaign – had come back with only 12 horses and encamped in the surroundings of Nineveh.⁶¹⁵ Šumma-ilu, the son of the recruitment officer asked them why they had left their royal guard (EN.NUN ša LUGAL) after the death of their commander. Several issues are raised by this text, but the most intriguing is the question whether the son inherited the title/post/service of his father or not.

An interesting legal text from the reign of Sîn-šar-iškun (627–612 B.C.), which lists Assyrian high officials, officers, and other military personnel, whose estates were handed over to other persons, has

⁶¹¹ RADNER 2003, 165-184.

⁶¹² FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 221 (ADD 675), Rev. 4’-5’: Bār-Šarūri (Būr-Šarūru) LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*, Kiqilānu, his son; 9’-10’ Barbarāni LÚ.*qur*-ZAG, Mannu-kī-nīšê, his brother; 11’-12’ Zabdānu, chariot driver(LÚ.*mukil*—PA.MEŠ); Sa’ilā, his son.

⁶¹³ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 221 (ADD 675), Rev. 14’: Nabū-tāriš LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*, 15’: Aḫi-rāmu LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*, 16’: Balasi LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*, Ariḫu LÚ.*qur*-ZAG.

⁶¹⁴ PARPOLA 1987, 21 (CT 53, 128).

already been mentioned above. It seems from this text, that in some cases the sons and brothers could ‘inherit’ the lands from their relatives.⁶¹⁶

It would be very important to study the inheritance practices and family histories of the Assyrian Empire to know whether there were important families (including the linear descendants of former Assyrian kings!) ruling the offices and passing them on to their descendants within the framework of a linear or clan inheritance, or whether this was not the case. A few ‘faint hints’ imply that there may have been such a logic behind the decisions – even if this paternalistic logic caused problems in the court and the country during the first half of the 8th century B.C., when the influence of some high officials grew too large. It seems, that later Assyrian kings (from the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III), as a countermeasure to the strengthening of this paternalistic system laid much more emphasis on the appointment of eunuchs into key positions. The paternalistic phenomenon and the influence of certain families and clans, however, did not disappear.⁶¹⁷ It would furthermore be very important to study the advent of the large estate concentrations of the late 9th–early 8th century B.C. high officials, and to distinguish between the *ad hominem* and *ex officio* estates regarding the genesis of the *mātu* system, but such a study exceeds the limits of this project.

II.2.2.5 Purchasing estates

The largest thesaurus of information, the highest number of documents belongs to this aspect of the economic/financial background of the officers of the military service. Several 7th century B.C. private archives of Assyrian officers shed some light on their financial conditions. These archives are as follows: the archive of Šumma-ilāni, chariot driver (*mukil appāte*) (709–680 B.C.)⁶¹⁸ (Fig. 29); Rēmāni-Adad chief chariot driver of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria (*mukil appāte dannu ša Aššur-bān-apli šar māt Aššur*) archive (671–660 B.C.)⁶¹⁹ (Fig. 27); Mannu-kī-Arbail cohort commander (*rab kišir*) archive (680–673 B.C.)⁶²⁰ (Fig. 28); Luqu cohort commander of the crown prince (*rab kišir ša mār šarri*) archive (659–648 B.C.)⁶²¹ (Fig. 30); Kišir-Aššur cohort commander (of the *qurbūtu* bodyguard) (*rab kišir (ša–qurbūte)*) archive (637–618 B.C.)⁶²² (Fig. 31); Asalluḫi-šumu-iddina cohort commander of the *ša–šēpē* bodyguards (*rab kišir ša–šēpē*) archive (638–630 B.C.)⁶²³ (Fig. 32); Aššur-šumu-ka’in cohort commander of the king (*rab kišir ša šarri*)⁶²⁴ (Fig. 33); Kakkullānu cohort commander (of the crown prince) (*rab kišir (ša mār šarri)*) archive (630–617 B.C.)⁶²⁵ (Fig. 34); and Šulmu-šarri *qurbūtu* bodyguard (*ša–qurbūte* bodyguard) archive Dūr-Katlimmu (Tall Šeh Hamad) (661–611 B.C.)⁶²⁶

⁶¹⁵ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 105 (ABL 186).

⁶¹⁶ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 221 (ADD 675), Rev. 4’-5’: Bār-Šarūri (Būr-Šarūru) LÚ.GAL—*ki-sir*, Kiqilānu, his son; 9’-10’ Barbarāni LÚ.qur-ZAG, Mannu-kī-niše, his brother; 11’-12’ Zabdānu, chariot driver (LÚ.mukil—PA.MEŠ); Sa’ilā, his son.

⁶¹⁷ It is known for example that Asalluḫi-šumu-iddina, a cohort commander of the *ša–šēpē* guard of the palace (*rab kišir ša–šēpē ša ekalli*), (whose archive dated between 638–630 B.C. was discussed in the previous volume of this project (DEZSÓ 2012A, 168)), was the son of Asalluḫi-aḫḫē-iddina, the Chief Judge (*sartennu*).

⁶¹⁸ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 34-56; DEZSÓ 2012B, Chart 3.

⁶¹⁹ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 296-350; DEZSÓ 2012A, 169-170; DEZSÓ 2012B, 98-99, 104, Chart 2.

⁶²⁰ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 201-220; DEZSÓ 2012A, 132, 164, 168-169, Chart 5.

⁶²¹ MATTILA 2002, 24-26; DEZSÓ 2012A, 168.

⁶²² MATTILA 2002, 28-33; DEZSÓ 2012A, 167-168,

⁶²³ MATTILA 2002, 424-425; DEZSÓ 2012A, 168.

⁶²⁴ MATTILA 2002, 56 (ADD 252); DEZSÓ 2012A, 168.

⁶²⁵ MATTILA 2002, 34-55; DEZSÓ 2012A, 163-168, Chart 4.

⁶²⁶ RADNER 2002, nos. 41-106; DEZSÓ 2012A, 130.

Several aspects of this topic have already been discussed in detail in the previous volumes of this project,⁶²⁷ and we drew the conclusion that the economic/financial background of these officers was quite strong.⁶²⁸ They bought estates, vineyards, houses, slaves, and loaned silver, yet interestingly the purchase of animals is almost completely missing from the corpus. The texts of these corpora do not answer key questions, however; as they are not census tablets, we do not know how many houses, slaves, and what size estates they possessed, and what the ratio of the service-fields and the purchased lands was within their portfolio. It is possible that they were well-to-do members of the Assyrian élite anyway,⁶²⁹ without needing further sources of income in addition to their private/family businesses, but they were members of the military élite as well, which means that they certainly benefited from the system (rations, land grants, booty shares *etc.*).

A possible sign of a service-field background, however, is shown by the fact that some of their (already owned and newly purchased) estates were situated in certain neighbourhoods, where almost all of the neighbours of the buyer were soldiers or officers. It can be stated with certainty that the genesis of these neighbourhoods lay not in spontaneous market mechanisms, but in a conscious principle of donating service-fields to soldiers and officers in certain regions of the Empire, most probably in the vicinity of their military bases.

Kakkullānu, the cohort commander for example bought several houses and estates. As his texts show, military personnel lived in certain (dedicated?) city districts or regions of the countryside. Kakkullānu bought his neighbour's house in Nineveh(!).⁶³⁰ His neighbour was Šarru-lū-dārī whose father, Aḫū'a-erība was the chariot man of the Chief Eunuch of the crown prince (LÚ.GIGIR *ša* LÚ.GAL—SAG *ša* A—MAN), while his other neighbours were Sîn-šarru-ušur, probably a *qurbūtu* bodyguard and Kanūnāiu, a cohort commander (LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir*).⁶³¹ When Kakkullānu leased 20 hectares of land in Qurubi,⁶³² among his neighbours appear a certain Nabû-balāssu-iqbī and a certain Urdu. Two cohort commanders by these names are known from other texts of the archive. A similar picture can be drawn from another text of the archive: Kakkullānu bought 20 hectares of land in several pieces in Abi-ilā'ī⁶³³ and his new fields became adjacent to his own property and several estates of two other cohort commanders: Kišir-Aššur and Ubru-Nabû, known from several texts of the archive,⁶³⁴ a commander-of-50 named Baṭṭāia, and with the field of Aššur-mātu-taqqin, the *limmu* of 623 B.C. The same neighbours appear when Kakkullānu leased more land in Abi-ilā'ī.⁶³⁵ These texts reinforce our view concerning the territorial organization of the Assyrian army and probably hint at a conscious practice of donating service-fields to Assyrian officers, estates which could be increased by them, and could consequently be put on the market.

⁶²⁷ DEZSŐ 2012A, 163-170.

⁶²⁸ See for example Šulmu-šarri, who owned several estates and houses, including his huge house (the 'Red House') in Dūr-Katlimmu (Tell Šēh Hamad) (RADNER 2002, 13-14, 70-146, RADNER 2015, 55-57).

⁶²⁹ As has been mentioned, Asalluḫi-šumu-iddina, a cohort commander of the *ša—šēpē* guard of the palace (*rab kišir ša—šēpē ša ekalli*), was for example the son of Asalluḫi-aḫḫē-iddina, the Chief Judge (*sartennu*). Atta-qāmū'a, cohort commander and his brothers including a 'third man,' owners of the people being sold, are identified as gentlemen (LÚ.MEŠ) in a legal document known from the Šumma-ilāni archive (KWASMAN—PARPOLA 1991, 52 (ADD 246). These examples show that the cohort commanders of the royal court might have been recruited from the ranks of the Assyrian élite.

⁶³⁰ MATTILA 2002, 40 (ADD 325).

⁶³¹ It seems that a military neighbourhood existed in the capital as well.

⁶³² MATTILA 2002, 41 (ADD 623).

⁶³³ MATTILA 2002, 42 (ADD 414).

⁶³⁴ DEZSŐ 2012A, *Chart 4*.

⁶³⁵ MATTILA 2002, 45 (ADD 621).

RĒMANNI-ADAD (chief chariot driver)					
SAA 6	LAND	PEOPLE	LOAN	PRICE	DATE
296			500 rams, 26 oxen, 50 donkey stallions		671-I-1
297		5 persons		[...]	671-XII-1
299				[x] minas	671—669
300		1 driver		[x] minas	670-I-28
301		1 weaver		1½ minas	670-VI-20
302	1 house			[...]	670?
304	[x] gardens			[...]	669-I
305		1 baker		1 mina	669
307			3 minas		668-II-10
309		1 eunuch		[x] minas	667-I
310		[1 person]			667-XII-16
311	1 house			4 minas	666-XI-1
313		5 persons		3 minas	666-IV-20
314	2 houses, 2 vineyards (3,000 vines)	7 persons		[x] minas	666-XI-10
315	60 hectares, a barnyard, 2 decares	5 persons			666-XII-1
317			1½ minas		666
318			10 minas		665-X-22
319		2 persons		1 mina	665-XI-10
320	15 hectares, 5 hectares, 1 house	[x] persons		[x] minas	664-X-17
322	[fields]			[x] minas	
323			10 minas, 75 rams, 1 heifer		664-X-25
325	entire village			[x] minas	663-X-25
326	entire town, 1 vineyard (1,500 vines)	6 persons		17½ minas	
328	1 house			5 minas	663
329	1 vineyard (1,000 vines), 2 hectares, 6 hectares including a meadow, an oak grove, garden, pool, seed-corn house, a house	1 gardener		4 minas	660-IV-26
331	1 vineyard (2,600 vines)	[...]		[...]	660-V-3
332	10 hectares, 4+ vineyards	[...]		[...]	
333	[x] hectares, a vineyard, a house, a grove, threshing-floor	8 persons		[...]	
334	several fields, including 6 and 22 hectares	8 persons		[...]	
335	50 hectares, a house, threshing-floor, 2 gardens			10 minas	
336	580 hectares, 10 vineyards, 6 irrigated gardens, houses			[...]	
337	[x] hectares, a house, 3 hectares			[...]	
338	10 hectares			[...]	
341		30 persons		30 minas	
342		10 persons		[x] minas	
343		5 persons		5 minas	
345		3 persons		[x] sheqels	
346		1 person		1 mina	
347		1 person		1 mina	

Fig. 27. Financial activities of Rēmānni-Adad (chief chariot driver).

MANNU-KĪ-ARBAIL (cohort commander)					
SAA 6	LAND	PEOPLE	LOAN	PRICE	DATE
201	1 vineyard			31 sheqels	680-II-28
202	1 vineyard			4 minas	680-IV-18
204	1 vegetable garden in Nineveh			[x] minas	679-VII-13
206			1 good mule		679-XI-15
208			12½ minas, 5 sheqels		678-VI-6
209	1 house, field, a threshing-floor				
210	1 house, field, half of a threshing-floor			[x] minas	676-I-24
211	40 hectares (including a garden)			[...]	676?
213	1 garden			[x] minas	676?
214			2 talents of copper		676-III-11
215			pledging Gabbu-Adad to Mannu-kī-Arbail		676-XI-10
216			20 sheqels		673-II-1
217	30 hectares, 2 hectares			11 sheqels	
218	20 hectares in Nineveh			[...]	
219		1 person		1½ minas	

Fig. 28. Financial activities of Mannu-kī-Arbail (cohort commander).

ŠUMMA-ILĀNI (chariot driver)						
SAA 6	LAND	PEOPLE	LOAN	OTHER	PRICE	DATE
34		3 persons			3 minas	709-V-20
35				13 minas of silver from thieves		700
36			loans 30 sheqels			695-I-12
37	buys 2 vineyards, 3 hectares	7 persons			25 minas	694-VII-1
38		[x] persons			½ mina	694?
39		[x] persons			18 minas	694-I
40		15 persons			[x] minas	693-I
41		7 persons			[x] minas	693-I
42	a complete house				3 minas	692-II-10
43			loans 3 minas 10 sheqels			684-I-10
45		1 person			1 mina	682
46			loans 6 homers of oil			681-V-21
47			[...]			681-VII-4
48		1 person			[x] minas	680
50	50 hectares, 10,000 vines, a house	9 persons			6 minas	
52		13 persons			6½ minas	
53		2 persons			1 mina	
54		5 persons			[x] minas	
55		1 person			1½ minas	
56		1 person			30 minas of copper	
57		20 persons			10 minas	
58		[x] persons			13 minas	
59		[x] persons			1 talent of copper	

Fig. 29. Financial activities of Šumma-ilāni (chariot driver).

LUQU (cohort commander of the crown prince)					
SAA 14	LAND	PEOPLE	LOAN	PRICE	DATE
24		2 persons		1 mina 8 sheqels	659-II
25			[x] minas		648

Fig. 30. Financial activities of Luqu (cohort commander of the crown prince).

KIŠIR-AŠŠUR (cohort commander)					
SAA 14	LAND	PEOPLE	LOAN	PRICE	DATE
28			[x] minas		637
29		1 person		1½ minas	636-XI-3
30			16 sheqels		635-I-11
31			8 sheqels		623-VII-21
32			10 sheqels for 100 bales of straw		618-I-15
33			1 mina 30 sheqels		

Fig. 31. Financial activities of Kišir-Aššur (cohort commander).

ASALLUḪI-ŠUMU-IDDINA (cohort commander of the ša—šēpē bodyguards)					
SAA 14	LAND	PEOPLE	LOAN	PRICE	DATE
424		12 persons		10 minas	638-X-12
425	20 hectares, 10 [hectares], 1 decare, threshing-floor, 1 decare, 1 house			1½ minas	630-VIII-28

Fig. 32. Financial activities of Asalluḫi-šumu-iddina (cohort commander of the ša—šēpē bodyguards).

AŠŠUR-ŠUMU-KA'IN (cohort commander of the king)					
SAA 14	LAND	PEOPLE	LOAN	PRICE	DATE
56		3 persons		1 good horse	

Fig. 33. Financial activity of Aššur-šumu-ka'in (cohort commander of the king).

KAKKULLĀNU (cohort commander)					
SAA 14	LAND	PEOPLE	LOAN	PRICE	DATE
34		1 person		½ mina	630-II-20
35	outbuilding in Nineveh (the neighbouring lot)			3 minas 30 sheqels	630-V-22
36	1 vineyard	2 persons		3 minas	630-XI-17
37		1 person		½ mina	630
38		1 person		½ mina	629-I-19
39		1 person exchange			625-II-20
40	1 house in Nineveh			2 minas	625-III-17
41	lease of 20 hectares of fields in Qurubi				625-X-3
42	20 hectares			3 minas	625-XI-13
43	[...]			½ mina	624-II-15
44	2 hectares 5 decars			16 sheqels	623-V-18
45	lease of 3 hectares			12 sheqels	623-X-7
46	1 vineyard			1½ minas 5 sheqels	623-XI-6
47	1 house in the best part of Nineveh			½ mina	617-II-10
48		1 person		½ mina	
49		3 persons		1 mina	
50		1 person		½ mina 4 sheqels	
53	1 house			[...]	
54	1 house			[...]	

Fig. 34. Financial activity of Kakkullānu (cohort commander).

II.2.3 Exemption

The exemption from taxes, dues and state services was one of the means by which the royal court assured the supply of troops for the army. The phenomenon had existed in Mesopotamia since much earlier. As Richardson points out: “The Neo-Assyrian state later used similar practices, granting tax exemptions not only to the lands of military officers (many as absentee landlords), but often to dozens of client families holding smaller estates.”⁶³⁶ If we would like to reconstruct the meaning and background of this phenomenon,⁶³⁷ first we should make a distinction between at least two types of exemptions known in military context: 1) the exemption of the service-field/estate itself, or 2) the exemption of the soldiers themselves.

II.2.3.1 Exemption of fields

Relatively many documents deal with the question of the actual exemption of different fields. The most important texts from our point of view are those land grant documents in which Aššur-etelli-ilāni (631–627 B.C.) donated exempted fields to officers like Tāb-šar-Bēt-papāhi⁶³⁸ and other cohort commanders of the Chief Eunuch Sîn-šumu-lēšir (LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* LÚ.GAL—SAG) and exempted it from taxes.⁶³⁹ These royal decrees – together with the land grant decrees of Assurbanipal – list the most important types of exemptions attached to the granted land, detailed as follows:

“[The corn taxes of those fields and or]chards shall not be collected, [the straw taxes] shall not be gathered, [the tax on their herds] and flocks shall not be collected. [The personnel of those field]s and orchard[s shall not be called up for labour and corvée service] or for the levy [of the land; they are free from qu]ay and c[rossing dues; they shall not pay ... or leather taxes ...; his *clients* are exempt like he] himself; [..... permanent su]ste[nance] be[fore him] *you will divide, they will go out.*”⁶⁴⁰

“The corn taxes of these fields and orchards shall not be collected, the straw taxes shall not be gathered. These people shall not be called up for labour and corvée service or for the levy of the land (); [they are free] from quay, crossing and gate dues *on land or [water]*; in all the temples ... sa[crifices]; [they are free from ‘boat] and crossbar’; [the tax on] his [oxe]n, sheep and [goats shall not be collected]; *[at the conclusion a business vent]ure he shall [not] have to turn over an[anything] of his earnings.*⁶⁴¹

The main problem with these passages is that most of the taxes referred to are unknown, and our understanding of the Neo-Assyrian taxation system is still far from complete. It is clear that a kind of tax was levied on the agricultural products, the most important of which was the corn.

⁶³⁶ RICHARDSON 2011, 24–25, and note 64: “passim in SAA XII, but SAA V, 109: fields for garrison troops, SAA XI, 36: exemption of taxes of a cohort commander and his clientele.”

⁶³⁷ For a comprehensive survey of the different types of exemptions see POSTGATE 1974, 238–244.

⁶³⁸ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 35 (NARGD 13+).

⁶³⁹ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 36 (NARGD 14), Rev. 24’: cohort commander [of the Chief Eunuch] (LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* [LÚ.GAL—SAG ...]); 37 (Or 42, 442); 38 (NARGD 16); 39 (NARGD 20), Rev. 2’: [...] cohort commander of the Chief Eunuch, the son of Bābilāiu ([LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* ša LÚ.GAL]—SAG DUMU ^mKÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI-a-a).

⁶⁴⁰ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 25 (NARGD 9), 30-Rev. 8; see furthermore KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 26 (NARGD 10), 30-Rev. 8 – both from the reign of Assurbanipal.

⁶⁴¹ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 35 (NARGD 13+), Rev. 19–28; see furthermore KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 36 (NARGD 14), Rev. 25–30 – both from the reign of Aššur-etelli-ilāni.

A legal (land sale) document of the 7th century B.C. let us know, that the rate of the corn tax of this field was 1/10 [and the rate of the straw tax was 1/4].⁶⁴² From this text it seems probable that this type of corn-tax was the basic tax of the Assyrian taxation system. The land sale documents of the private archives usually indicate if the land was exempted from corn and straw taxes.⁶⁴³

Consequently this type of corn-tax was a direct source for feeding the troops and providing them with seed corn. The letter of an unknown official, discussed above, mentions, that “For (any *cohort commander*) who has a bre[ad ration] entered on his tablet and who has men, I [take] from the corn tax and provide it to him in his garrison. Even where there is no entry, they come and tell me, and I give it, so they can cultivate their fields.”⁶⁴⁴ Ariḫū, a local official in the Ḫabur region asked his lord, Nabû-dūru-uṣur whether the corn tax of the (resettled?) Samaritans (ŠE.nu-sa-ḫi ša KUR.Sa-mir-na-a-a) existed or not.⁶⁴⁵

A fragmentary pledge document implies that the corn tax was a source which could provide the information missing from other sources: “In lieu of the silver due to him, they have *suspended* the corn and straw taxes. ... In lieu of the straw tax which [...] *suspended*, a field of the owner’s household (*shall be taxed*).”⁶⁴⁶

The *qurbūtu* bodyguards appear in the corn-tax context on both sides: as extracting the tax⁶⁴⁷ or as subjects paying the tax. This context, however, sheds some light on the general logic of the exemption of fields. The letter from Šarru-ēmuranni, the deputy (governor) of Isana, to Sargon II mentions that Barruqu, Bēl-apla-iddin, and Nergal-ašarēd, who formerly used to pay the barley tax, had driven away the administrator. For a possible question of the king: “Is a bodyguard not exempt?”⁶⁴⁸ Šarru-ēmuranni answered as follows: “He who (owns a field) by the king’s sealed order must prove the exemption of the field. Those who were bought are (subject to) our corn taxes, but he refuses to pay them.”⁶⁴⁹ This letter provides further details of the corn tax in the province of Isana, but from our (military) point of view the most important conclusion to be drawn is that the fields of the *qurbūtu* bodyguards were not automatically exempt from taxation, but only if specifically listed in a royal decree.

In the sphere of Assyrian military not only the fields of officers (e.g. cohort commanders (*rab kišir*)) and *qurbūtu* bodyguards were exempted from barley and straw tax, but – as is apparent from a letter of Naṣḫur-Bēl, governor of Amidi written to Sargon II – the fields of the prefect of the Itu’eans as well. As has been discussed above, these exempted fields were service-fields, since the letter denotes them as ‘bow field’ (A.ŠĀ GIŠ.BAN-šu).⁶⁵⁰

⁶⁴² KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 176 (ADD 376), E. 1.

⁶⁴³ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 191 (ADD 370), Rev. 4-6; 226 (ADD 629), 10; 252 (ADD 70), Rev. 4; 287 (ADD 625), Rev. 5-7; 326 (ADD 471), 3’-4’; MATTILA 2002, 2 (ADD 627), E. 1; 425 (TIM 11, 1), Rev. 13; 434 (TIM 11, 8), Rev. 5.

⁶⁴⁴ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 289 (CT 53, 323), 2-Rev. 3.

⁶⁴⁵ PARPOLA 1987, 220 (ABL 1201), 4-6.

⁶⁴⁶ KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 95 (ADD 62), 5-Rev. 2.

⁶⁴⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 82 (ABL 1012), 9-10: Mannu-kī-aḫḫē [LÚ.qu]r-bu-te. See furthermore DEZSŐ 2012A, 136-137.

⁶⁴⁸ SAGGS 2001, 132-134, NL 74 (ND 2648), 9-10; LUUKKO 2012, 39 (ND 2648), 9-10.

⁶⁴⁹ LUUKKO 2012, 39 (ND 2648), 10-13.

⁶⁵⁰ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 16 (ABL 201), 6.

II.2.3.2 Exemption of soldiers

The other type of exemption was the exemption of the soldiers themselves, and we know about two cases, or types of soldiers, who were not subject of different taxes or dues.

The first category is the *raksu* ('recruit').⁶⁵¹ In one of his letters to Sargon II Issar-dūri quotes a royal order concerning the recruits (LÚ.*rak-su-te*) of the Chief Eunuch: "They are to be exempt; [no]body may litigate [against them] (and) [no]body may exact [corn taxes from them]!"⁶⁵² When Issar-dūri was accused by some exempts of taking out their brothers to Dūr-Šarrukēn as brickmasons, he replied: "which [recru]it's brother, or (even) cousin, [has been tak]en out?"⁶⁵³ One letter written by Taklāk-ana-Bēli to the Vizier testifies that the exempts were not the poorest segment of society but could provide oxen, "for Bēl-lū-balāṭ has received oxen from them, one from each," after which "the whole local population has become a one-legged man."⁶⁵⁴ These three texts may indicate that the exempt status of some people and communities formed the basis of royal recruitment (probably of the king's men), and these people were not liable to provide manpower for the troops of the local governors; they served the royal contingents, since the exempted status could be given only by the king himself.⁶⁵⁵

The second category is the *zakkû* ('exempt').⁶⁵⁶ This type of soldier appears in several parts of the Empire. We have already contemplated the question to what extent the financial background of the military settlers included exemption from certain taxes, or the partaking of a service-field distribution system. Mentions of exempt soldiers appear in Samaria,⁶⁵⁷ and in another Western province, where, between Hamath and Damascus, Assyrian officials issued some 600 homers of bread for 2,000 exempts of the (king) of Commagene (Kummuh).⁶⁵⁸ The data implies again that they might have been settlers serving as a border-guarding military colony along the desert border in an Assyrian province. Unfortunately not a single *zakkû* is known by name, so we cannot reconstruct their ethnic background.

A royal letter of Sargon II sent to Mannu-kī-Adad accuses the governor as follows: "1,119 able-bodied men – all together they were 5,000 persons, those of them who have died have died, and those who are alive are alive – were given to the exempts of the Palace (LÚ.*zu-ku* ša É.GAL) and entrusted as charges to your care. So why are you appropriating them, turning some to recruits (LÚ.*rak-su-ti*), others to chariot-men, and others again to cavalrymen, into your own regular troops?"⁶⁵⁹ This letter refers to 1,119 able bodied men who were given to the 'exempts of the Palace' as a supply to them(?) or to refill their lines(?), but the governor appropriated them and turned them into recruits and other arms of the provincial troops. This letter, however, does not clarify the exact meaning of the 'exempt' status in this context.

Another (fragmentary) letter also mentions exempt troops in a provincial context, listing those units which should be mobilised and mustered: „[be ready] wi[th your army and wi]th your ch[ariot] troops, assemble the Gurreans, the It[u'eans, the ...], the exempt infantry ([LÚ].*zu-ku*),

⁶⁵¹ DEZSŐ 2012B, 118-120.

⁶⁵² FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 15 (ABL 709), 3-7.

⁶⁵³ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 15 (ABL 709), Rev. 5-6.

⁶⁵⁴ PARPOLA 1987, 244 (ABL 1263).

⁶⁵⁵ DEZSŐ 2012A, 68.

⁶⁵⁶ DEZSŐ 2012A, 67-69.

⁶⁵⁷ PARPOLA 1987, 255 (CT 53, 458).

⁶⁵⁸ PARPOLA 1990, 172, NL 88 (ND 2495); SAGGS 2001, 173-175, NL 88 (ND 2495); LUUKKO 2012, 170 (ND 2495); PARPOLA 1987, 172; see furthermore POSTGATE 1974, 242-243; FALES 2010A, 84-85.

⁶⁵⁹ PARPOLA 1987, 11 (ABL 304), 2-12.

the *kal[lāpu* troops and ...].”⁶⁶⁰ When Nabû-šumu-iddina wrote a letter to Sargon II from Lahiru(?) he let his lord know that “The fort, the exempts, and the servants of the king my lord are well.”⁶⁶¹

It seems from these texts that a category of soldiers, exempted by the king from different taxes, dues and state services, played an important role in the local contingents stationed in the provinces. Their importance is further emphasized by a query to the Sungod (inquiring about the possibility of a rebellion against Assurbanipal), which lists the *zakkû* in a clear military context as follows: “[or the recruitment officers, or] the prefects of the exempt military, or the prefects of the cavalry, or the royal bodyguard, or his personal guard.”⁶⁶² The context emphasizes the importance of the prefect of the exempt military but does not allow for a better understanding of the background of the phenomenon.

Their relatively high status is corroborated by a letter of Aššur-ilāī (discussed above in detail) in which he reports to Tiglath-Pileser III that he has given 1 seah (*sūtu*, 10 litres) stored grain per man of the exempts at his disposal. For the wives and even for the deputies he referred to as follows: “(Should) one have wife [...], she comes out (with) three seahs (3 litres). To deputies [*they give*] four seahs (4 litres) each.”⁶⁶³

It seems to the present writer that both soldier categories were exempted from taxes and state services in exchange for providing military service to the king, requiring the *zakku* to be at least a semi-professional soldier. These entries corroborate Fales’ view that *zakku* as a term oscillates between a socio-economic and military perspective, but “basically point[s] to the employment in the military sphere, to full-time and/or professional commitment in this context, and to activities pertaining to the infantry unit.”⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁶⁰ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 277 (CT 53, 305). 8-Rev. 2; see furthermore LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 279 (CT 53, 403).

⁶⁶¹ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 136 (ABL 685), 4-5.

⁶⁶² STARR 1990, 142 (PRT 44), 6: [*lu-ú LÚ.mu-šar-kiš-MEŠ lu-ú*] LÚ.GAR-MEŠ *zak-ke-e lu-ú* LÚ.GAR-MEŠ BAD-ḪAL *lu-ú LÚ.qur-bu-ti lu-ú LÚ.šá*—GİR.2.

⁶⁶³ LUUKKO 2012, 48 (ND 2669), 26-Rev. 4.

⁶⁶⁴ FALES 2010A, 87.

II.3 Booty and tribute⁶⁶⁵

II.3.1 The royal inscriptions

Emphasizing its importance (both on a technical and ideological level) the Assyrian palace reliefs frequently feature tribute bearers⁶⁶⁶ and soldiers dragging booty or tribute,⁶⁶⁷ or escorting the prisoner and booty column (including animals).⁶⁶⁸ From an economic standpoint the representations show that the booty and tribute were a vital source of state (including the military) income (at home and on campaign as well), while on the ideological level the representations visualize that the Assyrian king rules all the nations of the known cosmos (who should serve the gods of the universe).

As has already been mentioned in chapter II.1.2.2 Feeding the troops during campaigns (and especially chapter II.1.2.2.1 Royal inscriptions), the booty and tribute ‘collected’ during the campaigns consisted of two main components: 1) the items used (horses, mules, donkeys, camels) or consumed (grain, wine, sheep, cattle/oxen) during the campaign; and 2) the items taken home (partly the horses), and consumed (livestock), or used as raw material (metals), as well as other valuables hoarded up as treasures (in palaces and temples).

Chart 17 shows the main categories of booty and tribute which were collected during the campaigns of the Assyrian rulers from Tiglath-Pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.) to Assurbanipal (668–631 B.C.). The contents and volume of booty and tribute shows that this type of income was not only vital for sustaining the troops during campaigns, but it seems to have constituted an

⁶⁶⁵ For a detailed study of the topic see BÄR 1996. For the different types of tribute and other types of ‘Abgabe’ see RADNER 2007A, 213–230.

⁶⁶⁶ Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.): LAYARD 1853A, pls. 23–24, 40–41, BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. CXIX, CXXI, CXXIV–CXXV; Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.): LAYARD 1853A, pls. 53–55, SCHACHNER 2007, Taf. 3 (upper register), 5 (lower and upper registers), 6 (lower and upper registers), 7 (lower register), 9 lower register, 11 (upper register), 14 (lower register); Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.): BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pl. XLVII (Western territories); Sargon II (721–705 B.C.): BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pls. 38–40, 67–69, 103–104, 106, 116, 123–136.

⁶⁶⁷ Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.): SCHACHNER 2007, Taf. 2 (upper register), 14 (upper register); Sargon II (721–705 B.C.): BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pls. 88(?), 140–141 (Muṣaṣir); Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.): BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 45, 431–432, 453, 523–525; Assurbanipal (668–631 B.C.): BARNETT 1976, pl. LXVI; BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 346–347. Only a few texts mention soldiers dragging the booty or tribute. Such a letter, written by Aššur-bēlu-ušur to Sargon II, discusses the problems of delivering tribute via Bit-Ḫamban to Babylon. The letter quotes the royal order “‘Set out with your troops and tribute, and come’ – I shall do my best to set out with the troops and tribute, but because of the snow I had to leave one chariot that came with me in Bit-Ḫamban. The king knows that there is very much snow. Moreover, the *recruits*, chariot fighters, and all their king’s men who were dragging the tribute, [are ...].” (FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 60 (ABL 242), 4–15). The letter is unfortunately very fragmentary, but it is clear that transporting the tribute from the border provinces to different centers of Assyria was a burden for the governors and needed careful planning and a good logistics. See below.

⁶⁶⁸ Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.): LAYARD 1853A, pls. 20, 30, BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. CXXII–CXXIII; Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.): SCHACHNER 2007, Taf. 1 (upper and lower registers), 2 (lower register), 3 (lower register), 4 (lower register), 8 (lower register), 12 (lower register), 13 (lower register); Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.): BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. V–VI (Babylonia), XXIII–XXX (Arab campaign), LXVIII–LXX (Western campaign); Sargon II (721–705 B.C.): BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pls. 50, 81–83, 92, 94, 100, 116, 119, 146; Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.): BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 56, 70–72, 83–84, 102–104, 129, 193, 214, 227, 229, 243–244, 260, 263, 365–366, 368–372, 431–434, 448, 450, 473–475, 483, 487–488, 493, 496–498, 509–511, 553–554, 606–608, 613, 645, 691; Assurbanipal (668–631 B.C.): BARNETT 1976, pls. XVII–XXII, XXVIII–XXX, XXXV–XXXVI, LX–LXI, LXVI–LXIX; BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 277, 283–284, 341–347, 383.

important part of the Assyrian economy, as well.⁶⁶⁹ It contained several items, the trade and especially the export of which was forbidden.⁶⁷⁰

Several articles or categories – which bear no direct military relevance – such as clothing, furniture, semi-precious stones etc., are excluded from *Chart 17*. Further – ideologically significant – items of booty were the statues of gods⁶⁷¹ which 1) would simply be trophies of the Assyrian victory, 2) would be taken to the Aššur Temple to submit/yield to his heavenly kingdom, or 3) were used as leverage against the conquered people: the Assyrians would return the statues of the deities to their original temples if their people submitted to Assyria and proved to be good vassals. The Assyrians consequently took the statues of deities readily.⁶⁷² This category is also excluded.

The role and number of deportees – who were also excluded from this chart – have already been discussed in several studies.⁶⁷³ The captured soldiers – who were enlisted into the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) of the Assyrian army – falling in this category have also already been examined in the first two volumes of this project.⁶⁷⁴

The most important booty types which would help maintain the Assyrian military both on an organizational (the army itself) and individual level (the soldier himself) – both in the domestic and campaign contexts – are as follows.

⁶⁶⁹ For a discussion of the topic see FUCHS 2005, 35-60; RICHARDSON 2011, 32-33.

⁶⁷⁰ DEZSŐ – VÉR 2013, 325-359.

⁶⁷¹ Shalmaneser III (858—824 B.C.): SCHACHNER 2007, Taf. 2 (upper register); Tiglath-Pileser III (745—727 B.C.): BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pl. VII (Babylonia), LXXXVIII, XCII-XCIII (Western campaign); Sennacherib (704—681 B.C.): BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 214, 487-488, 606-608. See furthermore UEHLINGER 1998, 739-776.

⁶⁷² Tiglath-Pileser I (1114—1076 B.C.) from Kili-Tešub in Katmuḫu (GRAYSON 1991, A.0.87.1, ii:16-35: “their gods”), from Ḥabḫu and Paphū (GRAYSON 1991, A.0.87.1, iv:23: “25 of their gods”), from Lullumu (GRAYSON 1991, A.0.87.2, 23-24: “25 of their gods”); Aššur-dān II (934—912 B.C.) from Mount Kirriuru, Suḫu, [...], Simerra, land Lu[...] (GRAYSON 1991, A.0.98.1, 58: “I gave [their gods] as gifts to Aššur, my lord.”); Adad-nērārī II (911—891 B.C.) from Qumānu (GRAYSON 1991, A.0.99.1, 15-17: “I gave their gods as gifts to Aššur, my lord.”), Tigris, 40 cities (GRAYSON 1991, A.0.99.1, Rev. 3’-5’: “I brought forth their gods”), from Ḥanigalbat, Temannu, Našibina (GRAYSON 1991, A.0.99.2, 68-73: his gods); Tukultī-Ninurta II (890—884 B.C.) from Nairi?, Balasī (GRAYSON 1991, A.0.100.5, 5-8: “his gods”); Ashumasirpal II (883—859 B.C.) from Sūru, which belongs to Bīt-Ḫalupē, Aḫi-iababa (883 B.C., GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1, i:83-88: “his gods together with their property”), from Azi-ili, the Laqū, at the city Kipinu (877 B.C., GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1, iii:40: “brought away his gods”); Shalmaneser III (858—824 B.C.) from Aḫūni of Bīt-Adini (855 B.C., GRAYSON 1991, A.0.102, 2, ii:73-74: “gods”), from Marduk-mudammīq, king of the land Namri, Šumurza, Bīt-Nergal, Niqqu of the land Tugliaš (843 B.C., GRAYSON 1991, A.0.102, 6, iv:19-20: “his gods”), from Ianzū, the man of Bīt-Ḫa(m)ban (835 B.C., GRAYSON 1991, A.0.102, 14, 125-126: “his gods”); Šamši-Adad V (823—811 B.C.) from Sarsina, son of Meqdiara, and Ušpina (822 B.C., GRAYSON 1991, A.0.103, 1, ii:24-30: “their gods”), from Mē-turnat (820 B.C., GRAYSON 1991, A.0.103, 1, iv:6-7: “gods”), from Datēbir (and) Izduia (820 B.C., GRAYSON 1991, A.0.103, 1, iv:15-17: “gods”), from Qērebtī-ālāni (820 B.C., GRAYSON 1991, A.0.103, 1, iv:19-22: “gods”), from Dūr-Papsukkal (820 B.C., GRAYSON 1991, A.0.103, 1, iv:31-34: “gods”), from Dēr (819 B.C., GRAYSON 1991, A.0.103, 2, iii 37’b-48’, 4, 10’-12’: “[I carried off] the deities Anu-rabū, Nannai, Šarrat-Dēr, Mār-bīti-ša-pān-bīti, Mār-bīti-ša-birīt-nāri, Burruqu, Guḫa, Urkītu, Šukāniia, Nēr-e-tagmil, Sakkud of the city Bubē — the gods who dwell in Dēr — together with their property.”); Tiglath-Pileser III (745—727 B.C.) from Ḫanunu of Gaza (734 B.C., TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 48, 14’-16’: “gods”), from Samsi, queen of the Arabs (733 B.C., TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 42, 19’-22’, 48, 24’-25’: “thrones of her gods, staffs of her goddesses”), from Samsi, queen of the Arabs (732 B.C.? TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 49, Rev. 21-22: “gods”), Sargon II (721—705 B.C.) from Mušašir, Urzana (714 B.C., FUCHS 1994, Annalen, 158-159: “the statues of Ḫaldia and Bagbartu were taken to the Temple of Aššur,” THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, MAYER 1983, 437); Sennacherib (704—681 B.C.), from Sidqa, king of Ashkelon (701 B.C., GRAYSON – NOVOTNY 2012, 4, 39: “the gods of his father’s house”); Esarhaddon (680—669 B.C.), from Memphis, Tirḫaqa/Taharqa (671 B.C., LEICHTY 2011, 98, 43-45: “his gods”, 103, 11-29: “the gods (and) goddesses of Taharqa, king of Kush, together with their possessions”); Assurbanipal (668—631 B.C.) from Susa, Elam (10th campaign, BORGER 1996, Prisma A §57, v:126-vi:76, Prisma F §32, iv:66-v:54: Šušinak, Šumudu, Lagamaru, Partikira, Ammankasibar, Uduḫan, and Sapak; Ragiba, SunGAMSarā, Karsa, Kirsamas, Šudānu, Aiapaksina, Bilala, Panintimri, Silagarā, Napsā, Nabirtu, Kindakarpu – “these gods and goddesses with their jewelry and possessions ... I took to Assyria.”

⁶⁷³ ODED 1979; NA’AMAN 1988, 36-46; NA’AMAN 1993, 104-124.

⁶⁷⁴ DEZSŐ 2012A-B.

II.3.1.1 Precious metals (gold and silver)

A thorough examination of the centralized precious metal (especially the gold) management of the Empire goes well beyond the possibilities and aims of this study. It is quite obvious that these problems are going to be key issues in the understanding of the imperial economic system and its dynamics. No explicit data refers to the most relevant question: what was the role (if any) of this huge amount of precious metal – deposited in the temples and royal treasuries – in the financing of the military?⁶⁷⁵ How this wealth, these immense resources were ploughed back into the Assyrian economy or into the military, is also hardly known.⁶⁷⁶ If this type of ‘state’ income appeared in some way directly in the military sphere at all, the mechanism of this has not been confidently identified.

While silver was a kind of general measure of value, gold seemingly did not play such a direct role in the market economy of the Assyrian Empire. Gold objects were much more the items for thesaurisation.

As *Chart 17* shows, precious metals frequently appear in the booty and tribute lists in different quantities. Most of the entries do not indicate the amount of precious metal taken, but in a few cases the royal inscription refers to huge amounts of gold and silver the Assyrians looted. The following table (*Fig. 35*) shows these examples. The amounts of gold listed range from a few kilograms to 4.5 tons (154 talents 26 minas 10 sheqels of red gold, 710 B.C., Babylon, Borsippa, offers for the Akītu festival), while the amount of silver vary between a few kilograms and 48 tons (1,604 talents 20 minas of shining silver, 710 B.C., Babylon, Borsippa, offers for the Akītu festival).

According to the sources and our reconstruction these looted treasures were distributed among at least three groups of people:

II.3.1.1.1 Distributed among the soldiers

The Assyrian soldiers could receive items of precious metal during the campaign, sometimes on the battlefield as decorations for bravery.⁶⁷⁷ As an *ad hoc*, but desired allotment it would easily form an important part of the economic background of the service. There is a single Assyrian palace relief, showing an otherwise probably common scene: an Assyrian officer pulls a (precious metal) bracelet onto the wrist of an auxiliary spearman as acknowledgment of his bravery.⁶⁷⁸

A share of the booty, however, was not only the privilege of the soldiers and officials who partook in the campaign, but probably the whole royal administration. An astrological report by Nabû-iqbî for example refers to the Egyptian campaign of Assurbanipal and states that: “When Aššur, Šamaš, Nabû, and Marduk gave Kush and Egypt into the hands of the king [my lord], they plundered them [...] with the troops of the king my lord. [*Gold and silver from*] their treasury, as much as there was, they brought [into] your royal abode [Ni]neveh [*and distributed*] booty from them to his servants.”⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁵ The set of administrative texts edited in FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 57-92 would refer to precious items including precious metals which would quite easily originated from booty or tribute.

⁶⁷⁶ A few texts refer to the silver, as being distributed to soldiers to buy the necessary equipment (FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 27 (ZA 73, 2), 1-8.), or plants (WISEMAN 1953, 146, ND 3467, Rev. 15-17; POSTGATE 1974, 399-401).

⁶⁷⁷ The act accompanied was the counting of the heads of the decapitated enemy soldiers. *See* for example: Assurnasirpal II (883—859 B.C.): LAYARD 1853A, pls. 22; Tiglath-Pileser III (745—727 B.C.): BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. XLVIII-XLIX, LIX, LXXVIII; Sennacherib (704—681 B.C.): BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 54, 102, 193, 244, 368-370, 450, 487, 496, 628, 645; Assurbanipal (668—631 B.C.): BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 277, 284-285, 287, 292-294, 346.

⁶⁷⁸ Assurbanipal (668—631 B.C.): BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, no. 346.

⁶⁷⁹ HUNGER 1992, 418 (RMA 22), 4-9.

II.3.1.1.2 Distributed among high officials

It is usually hardly possible to differentiate between the *ex officio* and *ad hominem* allotments of high officials. Huge amounts of silver objects were for example listed as stored in ‘wooden chests’ belonging to the Chief Cupbearer,⁶⁸⁰ but it is unknown whether this wealth belonged to him personally or to his office and formed part of the ‘state treasure.’

II.3.1.1.3 Distributed among the temples and the royal treasury

The Assyrian kings amassed immense treasures, mainly from the booty and tribute brought by the army to the temples of the Empire. These treasures, chiefly gold and silver were used to ornament the temples, the divine statues and the statues of the king. One letter, probably addressed to Esarhaddon, reports the weight of gold and silver used for different purposes: 23 minas of gold in the *agate*-standard including the votive gifts were melted down to use for gilding. A further 1 talent and 19 minas of gold, 18 1/6 minas of gold and 21 minas of silver were deposited in the Sîn temple. The letter lists the items made of (this?) precious metals: “Two big royal images, 50 images of cherubs and winds, of silver, 3 silver doorjambs, 1 silver kettle. All this work is done. Their weight is each 5 talents of silver less 12 minas.”⁶⁸¹ A letter of Rašil, probably sent to Assurbanipal presents a similar picture: “The 12 minas of gold which came in to me as gifts for Bêl I have made into rosettes and ...-ornaments for Zarpanitu.’ I will now fashion the seals which the king, my lord, gave me. The gems going on the crown of Anu, and those gems of yours going on the sun disks are stored in the treasury of the temple of Aššur.”⁶⁸² The letter of Nabû-bânî-aḥḥê refers to a gold statue, which has been finished. “The gold for the copper statue has arrived. Let whomever the king, my lord, commands, come and weigh it out, so we can apply it. The ... with which they weigh(ed) the gold are in the treasury, a sealed building. When whomever the ki[ng, my lord], is going to send [comes], let him bring a seal(ed order) with him, and we[igh out] the gold [for the statue] with it.”⁶⁸³

There are a few, unfortunately fragmentary letters, which refer to the collection of silver – as a kind of tribute or a regular silver due(?) – from various subjects of the Empire. A fragmentary letter reports to Sargon II that the emissaries of Ekron have brought 7 talents and 34 minas of silver to an Assyrian official (*šarru*-[...]) who was on his way with other emissaries (from Gaza) to the Palace.⁶⁸⁴

When Adda-ḥātī reported to Sargon II that the silver dues which had been imposed upon the local population by prefects and village managers (altogether 18 minas of silver) had been handed over to him,⁶⁸⁵ he referred most probably to a kind of tribute paid by the local population (of the Damascus region) as a redemption of the *ilku*.⁶⁸⁶

⁶⁸⁰ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 78 (ADD 932), 1)¹ [x] *hundred* 10 talents in one wooden ch[est], 2) 525 talents in one wooden chest, 3) 7,000 silver bowls in one wooden chest, 4) 108 silver bricks, 5) 720 silver bowls, 6) 69 *bolts* of silve[r], 7) 8 shields of silver, 8) 4 yoke *finials* of silver, 9) the scraps of silver are together (with it): 10) all, in one wooden chest. 11) 450 vessels of si[lver], 12) be[longing to] the [*chie*]f cupbearer, Rev. 1) in one wooden ches[t], 2) [... of go]ld therein; 3) [... ca]pital therein.

⁶⁸¹ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 28 (ABL 1194), 13-16.

⁶⁸² COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 174 (ABL 498), 9-19.

⁶⁸³ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 127 (ABL 531), 5-Rev. 2.

⁶⁸⁴ SAGGS 2001, 150 (ND 2064); LUUKKO 2012, 178 (ND 2064).

⁶⁸⁵ PARPOLA 1987, 176 (NL 20, ND 2437); LUUKKO 2012, 173 (ND 2437).

⁶⁸⁶ See RICHARDSON 2011, 22.

Sennacherib, the crown prince let his father, Sargon II know that he had already collected the silver and – according to the royal order: “Withhold the silver!” – had withheld it and was going to send it to the king.⁶⁸⁷ Mannu-kī-Nergal informed the king, that “On the 22nd of Marchesvan (VIII) I brought the money into the New Palace and put it into a cedar (box). The (royal) signet ring and the land are well.”⁶⁸⁸ This official collected the silver dues or tribute, brought it into the treasury of the New Palace and sealed it with the royal signet ring. Another official also reported to the king that he had collected the silver (and the barley?), and after Šil-Bēl had sealed them, he was sending it to the king.⁶⁸⁹

The keys of the treasuries were in the hands of the priests. The same letter refers to the priest of the temple as follows: “No one can open (it) without the authority of the priest and Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti. I have now written to the king, my lord, that the king send me anyone whom the king, my lord, pleases to open (the treasury), so that I can finish (the work) and give it to the king, my lord.”⁶⁹⁰ Another letter to Assurbanipal refers to Pūlu, the lamentation priest of the temple of Nabû. “[...(and)] all the [tr]easuries are under his supervision: he is the one to open and seal them. He enters the ritual bath house of Bēl and Nabû. (There) twice a year the loins of Marduk are ungirded. All the precious stones and jewelry are under his custody; he does not show them to anybody with him.”⁶⁹¹

The treasures of the temples sometimes attracted the interest of desperate Assyrian officials, who badly needed resources to maintain their offices. One of the letters of Mār-Issar, a royal delegate of Esarhaddon to Babylonia describes a case when “the governor of Dūr-Šarruku has already previously opened my seals, taken 10 minas of si[lv]er, 1,400 sheep and 15 oxen [belonging to the gods Š]imalu’a and [H]umḥu[m] and [distributed them] to [...] his retinue. ... The governor[s] who were before h[im] did not take anything from the tem[ples] – now he has recklessly opened a treasury of the god and the king, my lord, and taken silver from it. If the Prefect of the land and the governors of Nineveh and Arbela took silver from temples, then he too might take it. It is treasure of the god and the king, my lord; why is it being squandered? Let the king, my lord, send a trusty bodyguard to investigate (the matter); the man who put the governor up to this should be punished. [Let] (the others) [kn]ow and be frightened off, [or el]se [the govern]ors will dissip[ate] a[ll the treasures o]f the temples. The king, my lord, should know this.”⁶⁹² This letter quite adequately shows the tension between the frozen riches in the temple treasuries and the military (and the civilian) administration who wanted to use these resources to maintain their troops (and offices).

⁶⁸⁷ SAGGS 2001, 200 (ND 2719); LUUKKO 2012, 158 (ND 2719), 8-15.

⁶⁸⁸ SAGGS 2001, 227 (ND 2637); LUUKKO 2012, 163 (ND 2637), 3-Rev. 2.

⁶⁸⁹ SAGGS 2001, 306 (ND 2743); LUUKKO 2012, 227 (ND 2743), 4-9.

⁶⁹⁰ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 174 (ABL 498), 20-25.

⁶⁹¹ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 134 (ABL 951), 30-Rev. 3.

⁶⁹² PARPOLA 1993, 369 (ABL 339), 7-Rev. 18.

Tukulti-Ninurta II (890—884 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.O.100.5			
69-73	884	Suḫu, Ili-ibnī governor of the land Suḫu	3 talents of silver, 20 minas of gold
76-79	884	Ḫindānu, Amme-alaba	10 minas of <i>liqtu</i> -gold, 10 minas of silver
90-92	884	Mudadda of the city Sirqu	3 minas of gold, 7 minas of refined silver
93-94	884	Sirqu, Ḫarānu, the Laqū	3 minas of gold, 10 minas of silver
98-101	884	Sūru of Bīt-Ḫalupē, Ḫamatāiia, (the) Laqū	20 minas of gold, 20 minas of silver
104-108		Dūr-Katlimmu, ... of the land Laqū	refined silver, 10 talents of silver, 14 minas of [...]
113-114	884	Šadikannu	3 minas [of ...], one tub of silver
Ashurnasirpal II (883—859 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.O.101.1			
ii:119-125	879	Bīt-Zamāni	2 talents of silver, 2 talents of gold
iii:64	875	Ḫatti, Ḫabinu of Tīl-abni	4 minas of silver, annual tribute 10 minas of silver
iii:65-69	875	Carchemish, Sangara, king of the land Ḫatti	20 talents of silver, a gold ring, bracelet, gold daggers
iii:72-77	875	Kunulua, royal city of Lubarna, the Patinu	20 talents of silver, 1 talent of gold,
Shalmaneser III (858—824 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.O.102			
2, ii:21-24	857	Patinu	3 talents of gold, 100 talents of silver, ann. tribute: 1 talent of silver
2, ii 24b-27a	857	Bīt-Gabbari	[N] talents of silver, tribute: 10 minas of silver
2, ii:27b-28	857	Bīt-Agūsi	10 minas of gold, 6 talents of silver
2, ii:28-29	857	Carchemish	2 talents of gold, 70 talents of silver, tribute: 1 mina of gold, 1 talent of silver.
2, ii:30	857	Kummuḫi	annually 20 minas of silver
14, 155	831	city Kinalua, land Patinu	silver, gold, without measure
Adad-nērārī III (810—783 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.O.104			
6, 19-20	806	Damascus	100 talents of gold, 1,000 talents of silver
8, 17-20	806	Damascus	2,300 talents of silver, 20 talents of gold
7, 5-8	?	Amurrū, Ḫatti, Damascus, Samaria, Tyre, Sidon	2,000 talents of silver
Tiglath-Pileser III (745—727 B.C.) – TADMOR – YAMADA 2011			
49, 24'-25'	741	Bīt-Agūsi, Arpad	30 talents of gold, 2,000 talents of silver,
11, 4'-7'	738	Damascus	3 talents of gold, 300 talents of silver,
12, 6'-11'	738	Unqi	300 talents of silver
48, 14'-16'	734	Gaza	[...] talents of gold, 800 talents of silver
48, 19'	734	Gaza	100 talents of silver
49, R. 6-8	734	Tyre	20 talents of gold, [...]
42, 17'-19'	733	Israel	10 talents of gold, [...] talents of silver
47, R. 16' 49, R. 26	730	Tyre	150 / 50 talents of gold, 2,000 talents of silver
47, R. 14'-15'; 49, R. 27-29	730	Tabal	10 talents of gold, 1,000 talents of silver
Sargon II (721—705 B.C.) – FUCHS 1994, Annalen			
72a	717	Carchemish	11 talents of <i>sagru</i> -gold, 2,100 talents of silver
155-156	714	Mušašir, Urzana	34 talents 18 minas gold, 160 talents 2 ½ minas silver
158-159	714	Mušašir, Urzana	[+] ³ talents 3 minas gold, 162 talents [20] minas silver
272-275	710	Ḫaza'il, Ḫamdānu, Zabida, Amma-[...], Aḫḫī-iddina, Aiasammu, 6 sheikhs of Gambulu	1 talent 30 minas silver
321-325	710	Babylon, Borsippa, offers for the Akītu festival	154 talents 26 minas 10 sheqels of red gold; 1,604 talents 20 minas of shining silver
THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, MAYER 1983			
347-367	714	palace of Urzana, Mušašir	2,058 minas (1,029 kg) gold, 10,022.5 minas (5,011 kg) silver
368	714	tempel of Ḫaldi, Mušašir	[x]+183 minas ([x]+91,5 kg) gold, 9,740 minas and 6 sheqels (4,870 kg) silver

Sennacherib (704—681 B.C.) – GRAYSON – NOVOTNY 2012			
4, 55-80	701	Hezekiah of Judah	30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver
Esarhaddon (680—669 B.C.) – LEICHTY 2011			
1, iv:17-24	680	Adumutu, Arabs	10 minas gold
9, ii':12'-21'	671	Memphis, Tirḥaqa/Taharqa?	6 talents, 19 minas of gold, 300 [...]
1019, 18-42	671	Memphis, Tirḥaqa/Taharqa?	8,000 talents of silver ore ... [... ta]lents of red gold
Assurbanipal (668—631 B.C.) – BORGER 1996			
Prisma A §57, v:126-vi:76; Prisma F §32, iv:66-v:54	10 th campaign, 64..	Elam, treasury of the palace and the temple	silver, gold, treasures which the kings of Elam from the distant past have collected; gold and silver, wealth and properties, which the former kings of Elam on seven occasions captured in Sumer, Akkad, and Karduniaš; red gold, shining silver, ... which the former kings of Akkad and Samaš-šum-ukīn sent to Elam as tokens of their alliance

Fig. 35. Amounts of precious metal captured.

II.3.1.2 Bronze and iron

Both metals are of primary military significance, for although iron gradually replaced bronze in several areas, for example the weaponry,⁶⁹³ bronze kept its importance throughout the Neo-Assyrian period.

II.3.1.2.1 Bronze

As *Chart 17* shows, the early sources (11th—9th century B.C.) register large numbers of bronze items in the booty lists, such as bronze utensils, kettles, casseroles *etc.* This reflects the fact that the early rulers laid an emphasis (both in royal inscriptions both on the palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II) on seizing large numbers of bronze utensils, which – if these pieces were not melted down to reuse the metal as raw material for the weapon industry – obviously does not have a direct military relevance.

Fig. 36 shows, however, only the entries which refer to large amounts of bronze, which could come from bronze vessels as well, but in some cases the sources may refer to the bronze simply as raw material, vital for the arms industry. These entries may refer to a direct military importance, since the army needed huge amounts of bronze to manufacture pieces of defensive armament: thousands of helmets, shields, and tens of thousands of armour scales for the scale armours yearly. It is interesting to note that the royal inscriptions frequently mention tin (the primary alloy component of bronze) alongside with the bronze – often in large quantities. It seems that due to their shortage the alloy components were as important as the copper itself.

These entries in *Fig. 36* show quantities of bronze (and tin) which reached the critical level, and thus may be relevant in the context of the weapon industry. The amounts range from hundreds of talents to thousands of talents in weight. Shalmaneser III during his Western campaign of 857 B.C. received 300 talents of bronze, 1,000 bronze casseroles from Patinu, 90 talents of bronze from Bīt-Gabbari, and 30 talents of bronze from Carchemish. Adad-nērārī III, during his campaign of 806 B.C., took a heavy tribute from Mari, king of Damascus, including 2,300 talents of silver, 20 talents of gold, 3,000 talents (approx. 90 tons) of bronze and 5,000 talents (approx. 150 tons) of iron. On another western campaign he also obtained 1,000 talents of copper

⁶⁹³ The weaponry of the Assyrian army and the accompanying metal management of the Empire is going to be discussed in a separate volume of this project. For the helmet industry *see* DEZSŐ 2001, for the armour *see* DEZSŐ 2002, DEZSŐ 2004A; for an overview *see* BARRON 2010. For further references *see* DEZSŐ 2012A, 15-16, notes 24-38.

from Amurrû, Ḫatti, Damascus, Samaria, Tyre, and Sidon. The largest amount recorded is known from the ‘Letter to God’ of Sargon II, describing the events of the 8th campaign (714 B.C.) of the king, during which the Assyrian army looted huge quantities of copper and tin from the Palace of Urzana, king of Muṣaṣir, and 3,600 talents (108 tons) of bronze from the temple of Ḫaldi, also in Muṣaṣir. With all these data an important question is emerging regards the use of the metal: were these quantities of bronze transported to Assyria, or were utensils and weapons manufactured on the spot to supply the troops with the necessary reinforcements? The written sources and pictorial evidence seem to imply that the finished products/goods were taken home to be redistributed between various actors of the Assyrian administration, the palaces and temples, while some part of the bronze would be melted down to produce equipment on the spot. The palace reliefs of Sargon II record all the phases of the sack of the city: one of the slabs shows Assyrian soldiers sacking the temple of Ḫaldi,⁶⁹⁴ while the other slab⁶⁹⁵ shows three characteristic scenes of the looting: 1) Assyrian soldiers are carrying the spoil on their shoulders (shields, a cauldron);⁶⁹⁶ 2) Assyrian officials are scaling the booty; 3) Assyrian soldiers are ‘recycling’ (cutting into pieces) the bronze statues of Urartian kings – which obviously only have value as raw material to be carried to Assyria or to be reused on the spot.

It is important to note that the bronze transported home played an important role in the financing of the military, including the individual soldiers, as well. In one of his letters written to his father, Sargon II, Sennacherib let the king know that: “The chariot grooms of the *ša—šēpē* guard [...] under my command are asking for plants [...] and one] full talent of bronze [...] per one team of hor[ses ...] in accordance with what the ki[ng ...]. What exactly does the king, my lord, order?”⁶⁹⁷ It is unfortunately not known whether the one talent of bronze per team of horses was an *ad hoc* allotment or part of a regular allowance for the service (in this case to supply the horses with fodder?). In this case the bronze served as a general measure of value,⁶⁹⁸ and not raw material to manufacture equipment or chariot fittings for the troops.

The bronze carried home ended up in two ways: 1) the utensils and weapons (*see* below II.3.1.3 Military equipment) were distributed and used, while 2) the bronze brought home as raw material was deposited in different storehouses and treasuries.⁶⁹⁹ In one of his letters sent to Sargon II, Šarru-ēmuranni reported to the king that “On the 27th day, at dawn, we opened the treasury of metal scraps at the entrance to the house in the palace upon the terrace. [We] weighed 420 talents of bronze scraps and plac[ed] it in the storehouse [of] the cupbearer. We also weighed [x talen]ts of bronze objects [...]”⁷⁰⁰ The letter let the king know that “alternatively, we can do the (*inventory*) of the Review Palace on the 29th and go in the remaining days to Dūr-Šarrukēn, to seal those tunics.”⁷⁰¹ The schedule of Šarru-ēmuranni was as follows: on the 27th he surveyed the storehouse, on the 29th he made the inventory of the Review Palace and on the remaining days he went to Dūr-

⁶⁹⁴ BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pl. 141.

⁶⁹⁵ BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pl. 140.

⁶⁹⁶ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, MAYER 1983, 405-409.

⁶⁹⁷ PARPOLA 1987, 37 (CT 53, 307), Rev. 7-13.

⁶⁹⁸ When Bēl-dūri, the major-domo for example acquired an orchard in the Land of the Palace Herald, he bought it [for x t]alents of bronze (MATTILA 2002, 465 (ADD 467)). The same was true for the copper. Hundreds of purchase and loan documents give the price, the interest, or the fine in copper. One of the letters of Aššur-mātka-tēra for example let the king know that “The exchange rate is extremely favourable in the land: one homer of barley goes for one mina of copper in Nineveh, one homer and 5 seahs (go for one mina of copper) in Ḫalaḫḫu, two homers (go for one mina of copper) in the steppe. 40 minas of wool (go for) one mina of *co[pper]* [...]” (LUUKKO 2012, 19 (ND2355), 5-15). For a comprehensive study *see* RADNER 1999, 127-157.

⁶⁹⁹ A fragmentary letter would refer to copper objects to be deposited in a storehouse (FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 362 (CT 53, 534).

⁷⁰⁰ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 206 (ABL 319+), 4-12.

⁷⁰¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 206 (ABL 319+), Rev. 3’-8’.

Šarrukēn to make an inventory there as well. Between the 27th and 29th he most probably stayed and worked in Calah, in the “treasury of metal scraps at the entrance to the house in the palace upon the terrace,” in the “storehouse [of] the cupbearer,” and in the Review Palace (Fort Shalmaneser), where workshops and military installations were built and which later was used as a storehouse (for example for furniture/ivories). Later he went to Dūr-Šarrukēn, where another Review Palace (Palace F) was built most probably to store military equipment and raw materials needed to equip the troops and to accommodate workshops and offices as well. These storehouses and review palaces⁷⁰² shed some light on the infrastructure of the central metal (and other resources) management of the Empire, vital for the functioning of the military establishment.⁷⁰³

Tiglath-Pileser I (1114—1076 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.87.1			
ii:16-35		Katmuḫu, Kili-Tešub	180 copper kettles, 5 bronze bath-tubs
ii:36-57		Urratinaš, Šadi-Tešub	60 copper kettles, bronze vats, and large bronze bath-tubs
iii:103-iv:1		Murattaš, Saradauš, Lower Zab	120 copper kettles, 30 talents of copper bars
Tukulti-Ninurta II (890—884 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.100.5			
76-79	884	Ḫindānu, Amme-alaba	2 talents of tin, 60 bronze ..., 10 minas of antimony preparation, 8 minas of antimony mineral
90-92	884	Mudadda of the city Sirqu	[N] talents of tin, 40 bronze casseroles
93-94	884	Sirqu, Ḫarānu, the Laqū	30 bronze casseroles, 6 talents of tin
98-101	884	Sūru of Bīt-Ḫalupē, Ḫamatāiia, (the) Laqū	32 talents of tin, 130 talents of bronze, 100 bronze utensils, 1 tub, 1(?) talent of ..., 4 minas of antimony preparation
104-108		Dūr-Katlimmu, ... of the land Laqū	[N] talents of antimony [preparation]
109-111	884	Qatnu	11 talents of tin, 50 bronze utensils
Ashurnasirpal II (883—859 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1			
ii:119-125	879	Bīt-Zamāni	100 talents of tin, 100 talents of bronze, 100 bronze casseroles, 3,000 bronze receptacles, bowls, bronze containers
iii:65-69	875	Carchemish, Sangara, king of the land Ḫatti	100 talents of bronze, bronze (tubs), bronze pails, bronze bath-tubs, a bronze oven
iii:72-77	875	Kunulua, the royal city of Lubarna, the Patinu	100 talents of tin
Shalmaneser III (858—824 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.102			
2, ii:21-24	857	Patinu	300 talents of bronze, 1,000 bronze casseroles
2, ii 24b-27a	857	Bīt-Gabbari	90 talents of bronze
2, ii:28-29	857	Carchemish	30 talents of bronze
Adad-nērārī III (810—783 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.104			
8, 17-20	806	Damascus	3,000 talents of bronze
7, 5-8	?	Amurrū, Ḫatti, Damascus, Samaria, Tyre, Sidon	1,000 talents of copper
Sargon II (721—705 B.C.) – THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, MAYER 1983			
347-367	714	palace of Urzana, Mušašir	huge quantities of copper, tin
368	714	temple of Ḫaldi, Mušašir	3,600 talents of bronze

Fig. 36. Amounts of bronze captured.

⁷⁰² For a detailed description of the review palaces and other review centers *see* the next volume of this project (in the chapter describing the musters).

⁷⁰³ Such an example is known for example from the Royal Palace of Dūr-Šarrukēn, where 160 tons of scrap iron was found during the French excavations (PLACE 1867, vol. I, 84-88). It is clear that some of the rooms of the Palace were used as storerooms during the last decades of the Empire.

Anyhow, it is quite clear from these booty lists and the other sources discussed above that the amount of bronze listed was not enough for the needs of the state, let alone for the weapon industry, so the Assyrians had to find and exploit copper and tin mines (and iron ore mines). One of the most important goals of the Assyrian Empire was to control the trade of metals, to conquer the territories rich in ore, and the metal-working centres of the Near East to exploit their resources.⁷⁰⁴

II.3.1.2.2 Iron

From the 2nd half of the 8th century and from the 7th century B.C. onwards, iron gradually started to replace bronze in the case of defensive armament⁷⁰⁵ as well – a shift that had already happened in the field of offensive weaponry much earlier.

Iron was considered as strategic material to a greater extent, with trade limitations imposed even within the borders of the Assyrian Empire, and the transborder iron trade was explicitly forbidden. For the same reason, the Assyrians tried to gain control over the ironworking centres of the Near East.⁷⁰⁶ Similarly to the bronze, the iron looted during the campaigns (*Chart 17, Fig. 37*) by far did not cover the needs of the Empire, so substantial energy was devoted to acquiring control over the ironworking regions of the Near East, and deprive their rivals of these resources. Not only from a commercial, but from military point of view it was quite clear that the Assyrian interest was to confine the trade of iron and iron artifacts and control the iron industry, if not to keep a kind of monopoly over the large scale iron industries of the Empire.⁷⁰⁷ A letter from the state archive of Sargon II illuminates certain aspects of this policy: “As to what the king, my lord, wrote to me: ‘You have made Ḫuzaza into a merchant town! The people have been selling iron for money to the Arabs!’ – who are the merchants that have been selling there? Three men, elders of the ‘Ateans, [are ...] there; they stock grapes, 20 or [30 homers] (ca. 2,000–3,000 kgs), as much as we bring in, and sell them to the Arabs. I sell iron to the deportees [only], copper to the Arabs. By the gods of the king my lord (I swear) I am staying in Šupat! In Ḫuzaza I have only sold 30 homers of grapes for silver. The king my lord should (only) hold me accountable for this!’”⁷⁰⁸ This letter is the answer of Bēl-liqbī, governor of the province of Šupat, to a royal letter written by Sargon II, in which the king had accused him of turning Ḫuzaza into a merchant town, where traders sold iron to the Arabs. The governor did not confute the first accusation, but he categorically rejected the claim that he sold the strategically so important iron to the Arabs, who were a hardly controllable people, and generally did not serve as allies of the Assyrians. The monopoly of the iron weapons industry (or at least preventing imperial enemies, but even allies from large scale or mass-production of iron weapons) was a strategic military and not so much a commercial interest of the Empire. For this reason, the Assyrians exerted strict control over the iron trade.⁷⁰⁹

⁷⁰⁴ See for example MAXWELL-HYSLOP 1974, 139-154.

⁷⁰⁵ A piece of epic poetry describing the Urartian campaign of Shalmaneser III even mentions the iron armour of horses (LIVINGSTONE 1989, 17 (STT 43), 22. There is a glazed brick fragment from Aššur with a representation of a helmeted Assyrian soldier on it (ANDRAE 1925, pl. 9, no. 9e (Ass. 10756)). The bronze helmet (painted yellow), the iron scale armour (painted blue) attached to the rim of the helmet and the characteristic spiked shield dates the scene to the reign of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) or Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.).

⁷⁰⁶ MAXWELL-HYSLOP 1974, 139-154.

⁷⁰⁷ DEZSŐ – VÉR 2013, 325-359, esp. chapter 4. The Assyrian foreign trade and the *kāru*, 2) Iron.

⁷⁰⁸ PARPOLA 1987, 179 (CT 53, 10), 20-Rev. 3.

⁷⁰⁹ In a letter from Nippur, when one of the officials of the governor of Nippur managed to buy 20 *biltu*-s (ca. 600 kgs) of iron in Calah, the governor instructed his official not to give anyone from the shipment, because he needed the whole amount (COLE 1996, 41).

There is, however, a letter, in which Assyrian blacksmiths were accused of selling (royal) iron to merchants from Calah – without permission.⁷¹⁰ Even the ‘legal’ transactions of iron merchants were registered.⁷¹¹ It is known from this document that the price of 1 talent of iron was 4.16 minas (somewhat more than 2 kg of silver for approximately 30 kg of iron).

Tukulti-Ninurta II (890—884 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.100.5			
16-18, 20-22	885	Nairi, Subnat, M. Kašiiari, P[a]tiškun, Bīt-Zamāni	iron
98-101	884	Sūru of Bīt-Ḫalupê, Ḫamatāiia, (the) Laqû	2 talents of iron
104-108	884	Dūr-Katlimmu, ... of the land Laqû	N] talents of <i>iron</i>
Ashurnasirpal II (883—859 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1			
i:83-88	883	Sūru, which belongs to Bīt-Ḫalupê, Aḫi-iababa	iron
ii:119-125	879	Bīt-Zamāni	300 talents of iron
iii:65-69	875	Carchemish, Sangara, king of the land Ḫatti	250 talents of iron
iii:72-77	875	Kunulua, the royal city of Lubarna, the Patinu	100 talents of iron
iii:78	875	Gūsu of the land Iaḫānu	[iron]
Shalmaneser III (858—824 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.102			
1, 92'-95'	857	Unqi, Gurgum, Sam'al, Bīt-Agūsi	iron
2, ii:21-24	857	Patinu	300 talents of iron
2, ii 24b-27a	857	Bīt-Gabbari	90 talents of iron
2, ii:28-29	857	Carchemish	100 talents of iron
2, ii:39-40	856	kings of the seashore and kings on the banks of the Euphrates	iron casseroles
5, vi:6-7	850	Ḫurādu, a royal city of Bīt-Dakkuri	iron
5, vi:7	850	Bīt-Iakin, Bīt-Amukkāni	iron
14, 135	833	Que, Tullu	iron
14, 155	831	city Kinalua, land Patinu	iron
Šamši-Adad V (823—811 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.103			
2, iv:15'-29'		Nibu, Baba-aḫa-iddina	iron, [...] of iron
Adad-nērārī III (810—783 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.104			
8, 17-20	806	Damascus	5,000 talents of iron
7, 5-8	?	Amurrū, Ḫatti, Damascus, Samaria, Tyre, Sidon	2,000 talents of iron
Tiglath-Pileser III (745—727 B.C.) – TADMOR – YAMADA 2011			
8, 8-12	744	Insubmissive city rulers of the campaign	500 talents of [...]
11, 7'-12, 3'	738	Kummuḫi, Tyre, Que, Carchemish, Gurgum	iron
14, 10 – 15, 5	738	From Damascus to Meliddu	iron
Sargon II (721—705 B.C.) – FUCHS 1994, Annalen			
72a	717	Carchemish	iron
158-159	714	Muṣaṣir, Urzana	iron utensils in large numbers
THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, MAYER 1983			
406	714	Muṣaṣir	iron
Sennacherib (704—681 B.C.) – GRAYSON – NOVOTNY 2012			
4, 55-80	701	Hezekiah of Judah	iron

Fig. 37. Amounts of iron captured.

⁷¹⁰ REYNOLDS 2003, 115 (ABL 1317), 2'-8'.

⁷¹¹ 1) [x] talents (of iron) [purchased] from Am[ur-... ..], 2) for 5 minas of silver, inside the city [of]. 3) 4 talents purchased from an ironsmith of the city of Assur 4) — he says: 'I don't know his name' — for 1 mina of silver, 5) inside the city of Ḫarrān. 6) Total: 75 talents of iron [purch]ased for 18 minas [of silver]. FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 26 (ADD 812).

The work of the ironsmiths – who used a strategic raw material – was controlled very strictly. According to a report sent by 17 blacksmiths, they “have made and delivered 200 swords of iron, 100 *purṭû*-weapons of iron, 25 nails of iron for ...s, (and) 200 *pakkus* of iron, but we cannot make another 200 *pakkus* of iron.”⁷¹² They complained because the (*ilku*) works of the palaces had become a burden, and they did not have fields and seed corn to live on.

Similarly to the silver and bronze, the iron could also serve as a general measure of value. Lū-balāt, [*deputy*] of Silim-Inurta, governor of [...] had contracted [and bought] land and people for 1 talent of iron.⁷¹³

As *Chart 17* and *Fig. 37* show, iron as an item of booty appears quite late in the Assyrian royal inscriptions. The first such an entry is known from the royal inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884 B.C.), who mentions that in 885 B.C., during his campaign to Nairi, Subnat, Mount Kašiiari, P[a]tiškun, and Bit-Zamāni he received iron as tribute.⁷¹⁴ Larger amounts of iron appear in the royal inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) and Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.) where we can find tributes with quantities ranging between 90 and 300 talents (approx. 9 tons). The largest amount looted is mentioned in the royal inscriptions of Adad-nērārī III (810–783 B.C.), who, during his Western campaign of 806 B.C., looted 5,000 talents (approx. 150 tons) of iron from Damascus, and another 2,000 talents (approx. 60 tons) from Amurrû, Ḫatti, Damascus, Samaria, Tyre, and Sidon. For the 7th century B.C. the iron might have become so common in the Empire that the metal is completely missing from the booty and tribute lists of Sennacherib,⁷¹⁵ Esarhaddon, and Assurbanipal.

These relatively large quantities of iron are reflected in the archaeological records, as well. Similarly to bronze and other metals, the (scrap) iron was also deposited and piled up in storehouses. Place, for example mentioned in his work⁷¹⁶ the discovery of a hoard of very well-preserved ironwork: grappling irons and chains, ploughshares, hammers, pick-axes and several hundred iron ingots, the total weight of which was estimated by Place in the region of 160,000 kg (160 tons). It seems that certain rooms of the palace at Khorsabad – during the last decades of the Assyrian Empire – also served as storerooms for metals.

II.3.1.3 Military equipment

Although one of the most obvious goals of the military campaigns was to destroy the enemy forces which did not submit or capitulate, and to capture their armaments, the royal inscriptions do not provide detailed information about the weapons looted. As *Chart 17* shows, most of the entries refer to chariots, cavalry and chariot horses, and the troops captured and enlisted into the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) of the Assyrian army with their equipment.⁷¹⁷ *Fig. 38* shows captured equipment, excluding equestrian equipment, while *Fig. 39* shows equestrian equipment, without the troops enlisted into the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) of the Assyrian army, a topic which has been discussed in detail in the previous volumes of this project.

⁷¹² LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 40 (CT 53, 13), 1-8.

⁷¹³ MATTILA 2002, 198 (ADD 426), 7-9.

⁷¹⁴ GRAYSON 1991, A.O.100.5, 16-18, 20-22.

⁷¹⁵ Only the account of the 3rd campaign (701 B.C.) of Sennacherib mentions that the king received iron as a tribute from Hezekiah, king of Judah. GRAYSON – NOVOTNY 2012, 4, 55-80.

⁷¹⁶ PLACE 1867, vol. I, 84-88.

⁷¹⁷ For the detailed list and discussion of these troops and the captured chariots see DEZSŐ 2012A, *passim* and *Fig. 4*, DEZSŐ 2012B, 32-34, 92-93, and *passim*, *Fig. 6*, *Chart 4*.

Adad-nērārī II (911—891 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.99.2			
68-73	896	Ḫanigalbat, Temannu, Našibina	a staff, his battle-gear, weapons, ... arrows
Tukultī-Ninurta II (890—884 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.100.5			
104-108	884	Dūr-Katlimmu, ... of the land Laqû	100 iron daggers
Ashurnasirpal II (883—859 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1			
i:83-88	883	Sūru, which belongs to Bīt-Ḫalupê, Aḫi-iababa	equipment of the troops
ii:92	879	Zazabuḫa, Ḫabḫu	bronze armour
ii:96-97	879	Mount Kašīari	bronze armour
ii:101-102	879	land Nirdun	bronze armour
ii:119-125	879	Bīt-Zamāni	equipment for troops (and) horses
iii:21-22	878	Sūru, land Suḫu	equipment for troops, equipment for horses
Shalmaneser III (858—824 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.102			
2, ii:52-53 5, iii:2	856	Urartu	his camp, military equipment
2, ii:102; 6, ii:32-33; 8, 18'-19'; 10, ii:24-25; 14, 65-66; 16, 36-38	853	12 kings of the seashore	military equipment
6, iii:8-11	848	Damascus, Ḫamath, 12 kings of the sea	military equipment
10, 10"-14"	841	Damascus	military camp
A.0.102.88	841	house of Omri (Ḫumrī) (Israel), Jehu	spears
A.0.102.90	841	Suḫu, Marduk-apla-ušur	spears
16, 236'-238'	832	Urartu	fighting equipment
Šamši-Adad V (823—811 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.103			
2, iv:15'-29'		Nibu, Baba-aḫa-iddina	divine standard which goes before him
Adad-nērārī III (810—783 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.104			
4, 7'-10'	811-806?	Arpad, battle of Paqaraḫubuni	his camp
Tiglath-Pileser III (745—727 B.C.) – TADMOR – YAMADA 2011			
11, 7'-12, 3'	738	Kummuḫi, Tyre, Que, Carchemish, Gurgum	military equipment
12, 6'-11'	738	Unqi	battle equipment
42, 19'-22', 48, 24'-25'	733	Samsi, queen of the Arabs	military equipment
Sargon II (721—705 B.C.) – FUCHS 1994, Annalen			
72a	717	Carchemish	military equipment
363-372	709	Marduk-apla-iddina, Dūr-lakīn	implements and equipments
THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, MAYER 1983			
368-385		temple of Ḫaldi, Mušašir	33 silver chariots, bows, quivers, maces, shields, helmets, spears and military standards; 25,212 bronze shields; helmets and armours; 1,514 different types of bronze spears; 305,412 bronze swords, bows, quivers and arrows
Sennacherib (704—681 B.C.) – GRAYSON – NOVOTNY 2012			
4, 55-80	701	Hezekiah of Judah	shields, lances, armor, iron belt-daggers, bows, uššu-arrows, equipment, implements of war
Assurbanipal (668—631 B.C.) – BORGER 1996			
Pr. B iii:78; Pr. C iv:87:		Mannai: Birrūa, Šarru-iqbī, Gusunē	military equipment, weapons
Pr. B §35, v:77-vi:16; Pr. C §45, vi:79-vii:9	653	Elam, Til-Tuba	military equipment
Pr. A §57, v:126-vi:76; Pr. F §32, iv:66-v:54	10 th (64..)	Elam, treasury of the palace and the temple	arrows of the battles and other military equipment, chariots, parade chariots, carts decorated with gold

Fig. 38. Military equipment captured.

Fig. 38 shows that the actual equipment captured consisted mainly of weapons and pieces of the defensive armament. The offensive weapons (arrows, bows, spears and swords) could be distributed among the soldiers of the Assyrian troops, and could easily be used by them. However, pieces of the defensive armament would have been distributed among the proper units: scale armours most probably went to the heavy infantry. Different types of units used different kinds of shields: the auxiliary spearmen (Gurreans) used the rounded wicker shield, the heavy infantry favoured the rounded bronze shield, the large battle shield appeared during the reign of Assurbanipal, but the regular, 'line' infantry (hardly represented during the last century of the Assyrian Empire) could probably use any type of shield. Scale armour was worn by the heavy troops, but it is conceivable that regular infantrymen could also equip themselves with different pieces of defensive armament. According to our reconstruction the sternest rules concerned the use of helmets. Crested helmets, for example, were never used in the ranks of the cavalry or chariotry – only in the ranks of the auxiliary spearmen (Gurreans).⁷¹⁸

Most of the booty lists use general categories as 'military equipment,' 'implements of war,' or 'battle/fighting equipment.' The entries referencing actual items are going to be discussed below. Surprisingly, representations of the booty scenes almost never show Assyrian soldiers carrying weapons. The most famous of those that do are, on the one hand the sack of the temple of Ḫaldi in Muṣaṣir (714 B.C.), which shows Assyrian auxiliary spearmen looting the temple, while regular infantrymen carry the booty (including decorated shields) on their shoulders,⁷¹⁹ and on the other hand the booty column of Lachish (701 B.C.), where Assyrian armoured soldiers are depicted as carrying shields, bunches of spears and swords on their shoulders.⁷²⁰

To understand the nature and importance of the booty arms and armour, and to understand the role they could have played in the Assyrian army, we should review the few sources which could shed some light on the weapon management of the Assyrian army.

II.3.1.3.1 Bows⁷²¹, arrows⁷²², and quivers⁷²³

The administrative corpus of the Assyrian state archives unfortunately does not help us too much to clear the picture. Two early texts of the archive of Mannu-kī-Aššur, governor of Guzana, dated to the first decades of the 8th century B.C. illuminates certain aspects of the provincial arms and armour management of the local regular troops of the Assyrian army. Both texts list military equipment, including bows and arrows issued to two military personnel. According to the first text Ḫabinu obtained "2 iron helmets (*gurpisu*), 1 bronze helmet (*gurpisu*), 10 daggers, 700 arrows, 3 bows, and 1 quiver."⁷²⁴ The three helmets and the three bows point at the possibility that this list refers to the equipment of more than one person, but the real nature of the list is still

⁷¹⁸ For a detailed description *see* below.

⁷¹⁹ BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pls. 140-141.

⁷²⁰ LAYARD 1853B, pl. 22.

⁷²¹ Bows – except for a few items found in Egyptian tombs – can only be reconstructed from the pictorial evidence. McLEOD 1970; HAAS 1989, 27-41; WILKINSON 1991, 83-99; ZUTTERMAN 2003, 119-165; COLLON 2008, 93-112; FINDLING – MUHLE 2012, 397-410.

⁷²² For a comprehensive study of the Assyrian arrowheads *see* CURTIS 2013, 39-43. A large number of articles have discussed the arrowheads found in different regions of the Near East (PALADŽIAN 1955, 65-66; MILIK 1956, 3-6; TUBB 1977, 191-196; TUBB 1980, 1-6; MILLER 1983, 187-190; CURTIS 1987, 119-120; SASS 1989, 349-356; GICHON – VITALE 1991, 242-257; CROSS 1992, 57-62; DEUTSCH – HELTZER 1997, 111-112; KROLL 2000, 379-384; WRIGHT 2002, 373-378; FINDLING – MUHLE 2012, 397-410).

⁷²³ For a comprehensive study of the Assyrian quivers *see* CURTIS 2013, 43. Fragments of bronze sheets, decorating quivers are known mainly from Urartu and Transcaucasia: VANDEN BERGHE 1982, 245-257; POGREBOVA – RAEVSKY 1997; CASTELLUCIA – DAN 2011, 13-55.

⁷²⁴ DORNAUER 2014, 49 (Tell Halaf 13).

unknown. The other, similar but unfortunately fragmentary list refers to “[x] helmets, [x] quivers, [x]+2 quivers, 28 bows, 500 iron arrow-heads, and 5 iron daggers.”⁷²⁵ The recipient and purpose of this shipment of military gear are also unknown. The list most probably contains arms and armour supplies allocated to a unit of archers.

Another fragmentary letter – a list of valuables from Kumme on the Urařian border – mentions hundreds of quivers (cover of which was) made of bronze,⁷²⁶ which could easily refer to some booty from Urařtu, where metalworking – as seen in the list of booty taken from the temple of Ȧaldi, Muřařir in 714 B.C. – had reached a high level. This booty list also contains quivers.⁷²⁷

A scarce amount of later, sporadic data refers to the vast industry of imperial bow and arrow production. The size of this industry can be assessed from a letter if Il-iada’ written to Sargon II, in which he refers to the building activities of the magnates, who had built the fort of Minu’, and equipped it with provisions, “30 bows, 20,000 [...] arrows, 10,000 *arrow-shafts*.”⁷²⁸ The fort was garrisoned with 100 Itu’eans (auxiliary archers) and the Gurreans of the Palace. It seems that the local Assyrian authorities could (easily) provide tens of thousands of arrows and arrow-shafts for 100 archers. Another letter to Sargon II by two officials with the same name (řarru-ēmuranni) refers to another fort which was similarly equipped with [x] thousand and [x] hundred arrows.⁷²⁹

Hereupon it is no surprise when we are faced with the immense numbers mentioned in the booty list of Sargon II’s 8th campaign (714 B.C.). The Assyrian soldiers took 305,412 bronze swords, bows, quivers and arrows from the temple of Ȧaldi in Muřařir.⁷³⁰

The bow-makers were important artisans of the armaments industry. The Assyrian army (before the appearance of the Cimmerians and Scythians) used two basic bow type: the Assyrian and the Elamite. These two types are referred to in an early (784 B.C.) Nimrud Wine List text, which allocates provisions to the bow-maker of Assyrian bows (LÚ.ZADIM GIŠ.BAN.MEŠ KUR.Aššurāia),⁷³¹ and to the bow-maker of Elamite bows ([LÚ.ZADIM] GIŠ.BAN.MEŠ KUR.Elam-ma-a-a).⁷³² Bow-makers are known by name from several administrative and legal documents,⁷³³ two of them from the same town (Donkey-Driver Town).⁷³⁴ The largest number of bow-makers appears in a land grant document of Tiglath-Pileser III, which mentions 9 of them.⁷³⁵ Similarly to other artisans they were organized into smaller units (whether it was a unit of 10 or more is unclear) with a leader (GAL—ZADIM).⁷³⁶ The number of bows they manufactured is unknown. Only a single administrative text refers to bows they produced, but these pieces were for the king’s personal use.⁷³⁷ “For 22 bows for the king’s own use, the sinews for the bowstrings — Sasî. For

⁷²⁵ DORNAUER 2014, 50 (Tell Halaf 42).

⁷²⁶ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 101 (K 17736), Rev. 4.

⁷²⁷ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, MAYER 1983, 382.

⁷²⁸ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 166 (ABL 883), 14-16.

⁷²⁹ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 220 (ABL 762), Rev. 3-6.

⁷³⁰ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 394.

⁷³¹ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, 145 (ND 6218), iii:12.

⁷³² DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, 145 (ND 6218), iv:13.

⁷³³ Tuqun-Issar, b[ow] maker of Aššur (Z[A]DIM-ni Aš-řur), MATTILA 2002, 97 (ADD 68), 4-5; Makamê, bow maker (LÚ.ZADIM BAN.ME), KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 97 (ADD 66), Rev. 13.

⁷³⁴ Ululāiu, bow-maker from Donkey Driver Town (LÚ.ZADIM URU.UŠ—ANŠE-a-a), MATTILA 2002, 140 (ADD 379), 2; Aššur-řarru-uřur, bow-maker from Donkey Driver Town (LÚ.sa-si-nu TA URU.UŠ—ANŠE), MATTILA 2002, 271 (ADD 513), Rev. 11.

⁷³⁵ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 15 (ADD 885+), 5. See furthermore KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 83 (BAM 24, 239+), Rev. 7: LÚ.ZADIM—GIŠ.BAN.TAG.GA.MEŠ.

⁷³⁶ Issar-řarru-ibni GAL—ZADIM (MATTILA 2002, 459 (TIM 11, 32), 1).

⁷³⁷ See the representations of Assurbanipal testing Elamite bows. BARNETT 1976, pl. LI.

12 bows for the king's own use — Bazazānu. 15 minas (*silver from*) the house of the crown prince, for quivers (and) trappings."⁷³⁸ Another administrative text makes it clear that most of the arrows were made within the framework of the imperial taxation system: "100 good *uṣṣu*-arrows, 400 of *iškārus*, total 500 *uṣṣu*-arrows; 200 bow-strings; ... Šin-bēlu-uṣur authorized in the town Karunuri."⁷³⁹

Some administrative texts refer to large numbers of bows: one of them mentions 700 bows,⁷⁴⁰ while another short note refers to 784 bows of the city Arpad from 683 B.C.⁷⁴¹ These bows were probably part of the tribute paid this North-Syrian city from a period (the last years of Sennacherib) which is hardly known from other sources. The largest known number of bows is also mentioned in a short note: 36,242 bows, inspected.⁷⁴² This unbelievably high number could only come from a booty, from a campaign which might have been led against Elamites or Arameans, whose armies depended upon their large number of archers, and the captured bows would naturally have been inspected. Such a booty of bows is represented on the palace reliefs of Sennacherib, displaying the booty column of a Babylonian campaign.⁷⁴³

The picture of other hand arms emerging from the written sources is much more vague, but fortunately their history can be reconstructed from the pictorial evidence.⁷⁴⁴ Concerning the arms and armour the most important and useful sources would be those texts which – similarly to the Nuzi texts – allot different types of arms and armour to different personnel. From these lists, however, only a few have survived.

II.3.1.3.2 Swords⁷⁴⁵ and daggers⁷⁴⁶

The swords and daggers of the Neo-Assyrian period were almost exclusively made of iron. This made ironworking a strategic field of the (military) economy and – as has been discussed above – the raw materials, the products and the technologies were strictly controlled by the state. That is why the sources dealing with or mentioning iron swords and daggers – apart from those references which refer to iron swords in literary context – are very few. The first is an administrative text listing a "total of 280 daggers includes 97 of iron (GĪR.AN.BAR) of which 37 are described as having knobs

⁷³⁸ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 27 (ZA 73, 2), 1-8.

⁷³⁹ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, 74 (ND 11305).

⁷⁴⁰ PARKER 1961, 37, ND 2612.

⁷⁴¹ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, 76 (ND 7008).

⁷⁴² DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, 117 (ND 10082).

⁷⁴³ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 346-347.

⁷⁴⁴ See the plates of volumes DEZSŐ 2012A, DEZSŐ 2012B, and BARRON 2010.

⁷⁴⁵ Only a few fragments of Assyrian swords are known from excavations. See for example two Assyrian iron sword fragments from Nimrud in the British Museum (CURTIS 2013, 37, Plate VIII, 95-96). For comprehensive studies of the Assyrian swords see BARRON 2010, 46-78 and CURTIS 2013, 37. However, large numbers of articles have been written on ancient Near Eastern swords. The main topics are the Bronze age Canaanite swords (MAXWELL-HYSLOP 1946, 1-65; SHALEV 1986; PHILIP 1989), the Hittite swords (GRÄSLUND 1967, 77-90; GEIGER 1993, 213-217; ÜNAL 1992A; ÜNAL 1992, 256-257; SALVINI – VAGNETTI 1994, 215-236; ÜNAL 1999, 207-226), the sickle swords and two inscribed Mesopotamian pieces (GÜTERBOCK 1965, 197-198; MÜLLER 1987; MAUL 1995, 63-64; MAXWELL-HYSLOP 2002, 210-217), the Luristan (iron) swords (SPEELERS 1933, 111; MARYON 1961, 173-184; MAXWELL-HYSLOP 1962, 126-131; BIRMINGHAM – KENNON – MALIN 1964, 44-49; LEFFERTS 1964, 59-62; TERNBACH 1964, 46-51; BIRD 1966, 175-176; MAXWELL-HYSLOP – HODGES 1966, 164-176; BIRD 1968, 215-223; PLEINER 1969, 41-47; HUMMEL 1971, 125-127; MUSCARELLA 1989, 349-366; REHDER 1991, 13-19; RIEDERER 1992, 5-12), and the Urartian swords (POGREBOVA 1967, 137-145; POGREBOVA – YESAÏAN 1982, 85-96; METDEPENNINGHEN 1997, 109-136).

⁷⁴⁶ Similarly to the swords, for comprehensive studies of the Assyrian daggers see BARRON 2010, 46-78 and CURTIS 2013, 36-37. Other corpora consist of the studies of daggers of earlier periods. See GADD 1938, 36-38; MAXWELL-HYSLOP 1946, 1-65; NAGEL 1959-1960, 95-104; MAXWELL-HYSLOP – HODGES 1964, 50-53; POGREBOVA 1966, 49-57; REINISCH 1967, 3-7; DIETZ 1971, 1-22; SEYRIG 1974, 229-230; MAXWELL-HYSLOP 1978, 112-115; LOMBARD 1981, 87-94; BOEHMER 1983, 101-108; PHILIP 1989; SIEVERSTEIN 1992, 1-76; MÜLLER-KARPE 1993, 227-234.

(surmounting the hilt) of *ušu*-wood (*karri* GIŠ.KAL) worked with silver and one as with a knob of terebinth/pistachio-wood (*karri* GIŠ.buṭni) worked with gold).⁷⁴⁷ The other text – the letter of 17 blacksmiths – has already been quoted above, and reveals that 17 blacksmiths made 200 iron swords (from the raw material issued by the state within the framework of the Assyrian taxation system (*ilku*)).⁷⁴⁸ During the early 9th century B.C. iron daggers were important enough to be mentioned separately in a booty list. Tukultī-Ninurta II (890–884 B.C.) during his long march in 884 B.C. received 100 iron daggers from Dūr-Katlimmu.⁷⁴⁹

These numbers are high enough in themselves, but if we take into consideration again the number of iron swords and daggers the (well over 100,000) soldiers of the Assyrian army needed, and the immense number of swords and daggers of the later (late 8th century B.C.) booty lists,⁷⁵⁰ we can hardly imagine the real capacity of the weapon industry of the Assyrian Empire.

II.3.1.3.3 Spears⁷⁵¹

Spears, as well as bronze and iron spearheads were among the military gear of the ancient Near Eastern armies which were manufactured in the largest numbers – during the Neo-Assyrian period probably tens of thousands on a yearly basis. In contrast to their significance only a few Neo-Assyrian texts mention the spears of the army, one of them being an administrative text which refers to an iron case for spears – probably a case attached to the side of the chariot.⁷⁵² One of the reasons for this could be that the spear and the spearhead were pieces of equipment which the soldiers – alongside the state – could also provide for themselves.

That the state played a decisive role in this process (in the equipment of the troops from central arsenals) is corroborated by those few records of booty and/or tribute, which – among other items of weaponry – list spears as well. According to the epigraphs of the Black Obelisk Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.) received a tribute of spears in 841 B.C. from Jehu (Iaua), king of Israel (House of Omri)⁷⁵³ and from Marduk-apla-ušur, the ruler of the Suḫu.⁷⁵⁴ The largest number of spears captured is known from the sack of the temple of Ḫaldi in Mušašir (714 B.C.), when the troops of Sargon II looted 1,514 bronze spears of different types.⁷⁵⁵ Without a number, but presumably a lot of spears arrived to Assyria from the tribute of Hezekiah of Judah in 701 B.C.⁷⁵⁶

II.3.1.3.4 Shields⁷⁵⁷

The only comprehensive corpus which clarifies certain aspects of the local arms and armour management of the Assyrian military is the archive of Mannu-kī-Aššur, governor of Guzana, dated to the first decades of the 8th century B.C. Some texts in the archive mention shields and

⁷⁴⁷ WISEMAN 1953, 147, ND 3480.

⁷⁴⁸ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 40 (CT 53, 013), 1-8.

⁷⁴⁹ GRAYSON 1991, A.0.100.5, 104-108.

⁷⁵⁰ See again THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 394 for Sargon II (714 B.C.) and GRAYSON – NOVOTNY 2012, 4, 57 for Sennacherb (701 B.C.).

⁷⁵¹ For comprehensive studies of the Assyrian spearheads and spearbutts see BARRON 2010, 79-112 and CURTIS 2013, 38-39. A few articles have been published on spearheads of other periods: WATKINS 1974, 188-192; DE MAIGRET 1976A, 31-41; DE MAIGRET 1976B; DE MAIGRET 1976C, 226-232; BILGI – DİNÇOL 1989, 29-31.

⁷⁵² FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 89 (ADD 1051+), 11.

⁷⁵³ GRAYSON 1991, A.0.102, 88.

⁷⁵⁴ GRAYSON 1991, A.0.102, 90.

⁷⁵⁵ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 393.

⁷⁵⁶ GRAYSON – NOVOTNY 2012, 4, 55-80.

⁷⁵⁷ For comprehensive studies of the Assyrian shields see BARRON 2010, 113-146 and CURTIS 2013, 45-46. This piece of the defensive armament has a relatively rich archaeological documentation with the evidence consisting of a large 9th century B.C. bronze shield and several shield fragments (similar to the much later Greek *hoplon* shields (BOL 1989)) from Nimrud, now in the British Museum

other arms and armour as part of the soldiers' equipment. One of these texts lists the complete equipment of a unit of 10 (*eširtu*),⁷⁵⁸ another mentions the shields of Šilli-Issar which were brought to him from the *rab kallapāni*.⁷⁵⁹ The largest number of heavy shields are mentioned in another text from the archive, which lists 9 A.ŠU-type and 10 wooden shields (made of woodsticks).⁷⁶⁰ While the first text deals with shields belonging to their owners (the 10 soldiers of the regular infantry),⁷⁶¹ the shields of the other two texts more probably were the property of officers (*rab kallapāni*)⁷⁶² who had more than one shield (obviously not for their personal use). The different types of shields need further study.⁷⁶³

In addition to the local, provincial management of arms and armour discussed above, some data refer to the central management of weapons, as well. While the 8 silver shields⁷⁶⁴ mentioned in an inventory text among a huge number of silver objects 'belonging to' the Chief Cupbearer would rather have been part of a treasure than the military equipment of the troops, two other inventory texts really comment on the central arms management. One of these – a long, eight-column tablet grouping objects according to their material – lists "4 shields of the replacement of the 'storehouse of the fort.'"⁷⁶⁵ The other text (discussed in the previous chapter) also mentions shields: "A leather shield with rivets(?) ... 5 shields (made) of heavy sticks."⁷⁶⁶ These texts were

(WA 22484 (diam.: 89 cm), WA 22486, WA 22490.). These Assyrian shields are the earliest known examples of this type. Similar bronze shields are known from 8th and 7th centuries B.C. Urartu (Eastern Turkey, Armenia, Northwest Iran): PIOTROVSKY 1950, 62; PIOTROVSKY 1952, 51-53; PIOTROVSKY 1955, 26-30; on further Urartian and Northwest Iranian shields: BARNETT – GÖKÇE 1953, 121-129; BOYSAL 1967; BORN 1988, 159-172; DİNÇOL – DİNÇOL 1995, 23-55; KREBERNIK – SEIDL 1997, 101-111. For the Cretan and Cypriote/Phoenician shields see KUNZE 1931; BARNETT 1977, 157-169; SHAW 1989, 165-183.

⁷⁵⁸ DORNAUER 2014, 48 (Tell Halaf 30 + 81): 1 chariot, 4 horses, 2 donkeys, 10 bows, 10 daggers, 10 spears, 10 helmets, 10 quivers, 10 shields, 10 tunics, 10 belts (?), 10 kilts, 1 ox, 10 sheep.

⁷⁵⁹ DORNAUER 2014, 51 (Tell Halaf 11): "Shields of Šilli-Issār which were brought to him from the *rab kallapāni*: 3 Šalmu, 2 Ḫaiānu, 1 Ḫiri-aḫḫē."

⁷⁶⁰ DORNAUER 2014, 53+58 (Tell Halaf 74+82): "[A.ŠU-type shields, wicker] shields (of woodsticks), 1 [...] -al- [...], 1+2 Adda-ḫāti, 2+1 Atinnu, 1+2 Ḫanūnu, 1+1 Ḫiri-aḫḫē, 2+1 Aḫū-ilā'i, 2+1 Ḫimārī, 0+1 Sē'-barakka; total 9 A.ŠU-type shields, 10 wicker shields (from woodsticks); total 19 heavy shields. [...] mešu, Atinnu, Sē'-barakka [...] Adda-ḫāti, [...] Iadīdu.

⁷⁶¹ This type of weaponry fits to the equipment of the regular infantry known from the representations of the 9th—8th centuries B.C. DEZSŐ 2012A nos. 79, 94, 123-124.

⁷⁶² For a discussion see DORNAUER 2014, 26-29, 77-78; for (*rab*) *kallapāni* see DEZSŐ 2012A, 60, 69-75.

⁷⁶³ A preliminary investigation of the wooden shields of the Assyrian army reveals certain basic categories. There are several types of wooden shields known from the representations of the Assyrian soldiers. 1) The lightest known type is the rounded *wicker shield* made of osiers woven and fastened together with metal bands and sometimes strengthened by a metal rim and a boss (this type would fit mainly to the auxiliary infantry (Gurreans) of the later periods, DEZSŐ 2012A, nos. 36-38, 40-44, 46-50, 51-53, 55-56, for regular infantrymen: nos. 77, 94). Unfortunately the artistic conventions of representing shields makes a distinction between the wickerwork and the wooden structure difficult. 2) A somewhat heavier rectangular shield was probably the *wooden shield* made of wooden sticks fastened together with metal bands. This rectangular type of shield fits more to the regular infantrymen of the 9th—8th centuries B.C. (DEZSŐ 2012A, nos. 62, 65-66, 70, 78-79, 83, 88, 100, 101, 121). However, in this case it is also very hard to make a proper distinction between the wickerwork and the wooden structure. 3) The heaviest shields were the standing siege-shields which have got at least two types, the a) wickerwork and b) the wooden. These shields are known mainly from siege contexts (for both types see DEZSŐ 2012A, nos. 71-72, 76, 93, 94-97, 102-103). If the Guzana shields were really heavy wicker/wooden shields (as indicated by Dornauer (DORNAUER 2014, 79, Abb. 2)), perhaps heavy siege shields – these were not part of the equipment of the everyday service of the regular infantry, but was made and issued for a campaign and/or a siege. Consequently it is much more probable that these shields fall into the 2nd category and were the shields of the regular infantry of the Assyrian provinces, which units formed the bulk of the Assyrian infantry. It has to be emphasized again that the artistic convention of the Assyrian palace reliefs makes it not so easy to make a distinction between the *wicker shields* and the *shields made of heavy wooden sticks*, since almost all of the representations indicate a woven pattern on the shields. The detailed discussion of the arms and armour of the Assyrian army is going to be part of a further volume of this project.

⁷⁶⁴ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 78 (ADD 932), 7.

⁷⁶⁵ POSTGATE 1973, 155 (ND 459+450), II: 11-12: 4 GIŠ.a-ri-a-te ša ku-tal É KIKAL.

⁷⁶⁶ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, 74 (ND 11305), 1: KUŠ.a-ri-tū ša kam-me-te; 7-9: 5 GIŠ.a-ri-a-te ša GIŠ.PA.MEŠ kab-bu-ta-a-te.

found in Calah and belonged to the archives (Governor's Palace Archive, and the Archive of Fort Shalmaneser) of the central management of various goods and resources.

These sources, however, do not reflect the incredible wealth of the Assyrian Empire, which can be glimpsed in the booty lists. Sargon II looted large numbers of shields⁷⁶⁷ and other equipment from the temple of Ḫaldi in Muṣaṣir in 714 B.C., and Sennacherib received a vast amount of military implement including shields from Hezekiah of Judah in 701 B.C..⁷⁶⁸

II.3.1.3.5 Helmets⁷⁶⁹

In contrast to most of the other pieces of arms and armour, the use of helmets presumably followed strict rules: different arms of the Assyrian army used different types of helmets, which characterized the arm itself. According to the representational evidence of the palace reliefs different types of crested helmets were used exclusively by the auxiliary spearmen (Gurreans).⁷⁷⁰ Conical/ pointed helmets (made of bronze and/or iron) were used during the 9th – early 8th centuries B.C. in every arm of the Assyrian army by the ethnic Assyrians, and later on by the regular infantry, the bodyguard units, the heavy infantry, the cavalry, and the chariotry. The archaeological record of Assyrian helmets consists of 30 helmets and fragments (8 pointed bronze helmets and fragments, 2 pointed iron helmets, 4 crested bronze helmets, and 16 fragments of crested iron helmets).⁷⁷¹ In opposition to this relatively rich archaeological evidence and the abundant representations,⁷⁷² we can hardly find a Neo-Assyrian text mentioning helmets or any other aspect of the very developed helmet industry.

Furthermore, the use of helmets followed strict rules not only according to their shapes, but according to their decorations as well. Figures or symbols of different deities appear frequently in the iconographical repertoire of helmet decorations, which further restricted the use of helmets. Various people – for example the Urartians, who adopted the Assyrian pointed/conical type of bronze helmet during the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. ⁷⁷³ – started to develop the basic type into different directions.⁷⁷⁴ The most popular adoption technique was to change the Assyrian decorative system and adapt it to the local needs: symbols and insignia of the local deities appeared, and this probably made wearing a looted helmet with the symbol of a foreign deity (the enemy of Assyria) impossible for an Assyrian soldier.⁷⁷⁵ This might have been the case during the Urartian campaign of Sargon II (8th campaign, 714 B.C.), where – according to his 'Letter to God' – Sargon II captured 25,212 bronze shields; helmets and armours from the temple of Ḫaldi, Muṣaṣir,⁷⁷⁶ most of which

⁷⁶⁷ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 370: 6 golden shields hanging on the left and right walls of the inner chamber of the sanctuary; 379: 12 large silver shields edge of which are decorated with the heads of deluge monsters, lions and bulls; 382: silver shield; 392: 25,212 small and large copper shields, helmets and hemispherical helmets.

⁷⁶⁸ GRAYSON – NOVOTNY 2012, 4, 57: "shields, lances, armor, iron belt-daggers, bows, *uṣṣu*-arrows, equipment, implements of war."

⁷⁶⁹ For comprehensive studies of helmets *see* DEZSÓ 2001, BARRON 2010, 179-201 and CURTIS 2013, 43-45.

⁷⁷⁰ DEZSÓ 2012A, 38-51, nos. 32-60. For a detailed discussion *see* DEZSÓ 2001.

⁷⁷¹ DEZSÓ – CURTIS 1991, 105-126; DEZSÓ 2001, 18-55. At least 142 further pieces of Near Eastern (North Syrian, Urartian, Northwest Iranian, Iranian, Caucasian, Hasanlu and Persian) helmets are known. For a detailed study of the helmets of the other regions *see* DEZSÓ 2001. For additional pieces of the armament *see*: BORN – SEIDL 1995.

⁷⁷² DEZSÓ 2001, Charts 2-4; DEZSÓ 2012A, Plates 10-49; DEZSÓ 2012B, Plates 1-18.

⁷⁷³ For the interaction between the Assyrian and Urartian metalwork and the Assyrian influence exerted on the Urartian art *see* CURTIS 2012, 427-443.

⁷⁷⁴ DEZSÓ 1998; DEZSÓ 2001.

⁷⁷⁵ The North Syrian winged sun-disk was probably an acceptable or adoptable symbol on the front conical bronze helmets (DEZSÓ 1998; DEZSÓ 2001, 56-69), but the Urartian helmets, probably decorated with symbols of the god Ḫaldi and the elements of the Urartian royal ideology (DEZSÓ 2001, 79-96) might easily have fallen outside the limits of the acceptable category.

⁷⁷⁶ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, MAYER 1983, 368-385.

were votive pieces with dedicatory inscriptions to the god Ḫaldi.⁷⁷⁷ Most of the Uraṭian metalwork, especially rounded bronze shields and helmets were decorated with the symbols of the Uraṭian deities (Ḫaldi) and with the symbols of the Uraṭian royal ideology. According to imperial doctrine it was simply unimaginable for an Assyrian soldier to march into the field wearing a helmet declaring the glory of foreign deity, a foreign ruler or a foreign ideology. The fate of the vast numbers of captured votive shields and helmets – whether the foreign symbols were erased or not – is unfortunately unclear. Consequently it can confidently be stated that only the originally undecorated helmets could have been put to immediate use by the Assyrians.

II.3.1.3.6 Armours⁷⁷⁸

Neo-Assyrian cuneiform evidence hardly sheds any light on the Assyrian armour industry. The information available for the reconstruction of the Assyrian scale armour comes mainly from the archaeological evidence.⁷⁷⁹ Considerable numbers of bronze and iron armour scales are known from the 1st millennium B.C. Near East, and from the Assyrian capitals. The representational evidence shows that scale armour was only used by the heavy troops (heavy infantry, bodyguard units, cavalry, and chariotry),⁷⁸⁰ and never worn by the light and regular troops of the Assyrian army.

In contrast to the shields and helmets, scale armour was an easily convertible piece of the defensive armament, and heavy troops – or anyone who could afford it? – could use both the bronze and iron scale armours. As far as we know, iron scale armour was already used during the 9th century B.C.⁷⁸¹ and started to replace the bronze, which nevertheless remained in use throughout the history of the Assyrian Empire. According to the royal inscriptions of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.), his troops received bronze armours from several regions Northwest of Assyria during his campaign of 879 B.C.⁷⁸² The largest number of bronze scale armours was looted from the temple of Ḫaldi, Muṣaṣir in 714 B.C. during the 8th campaign of Sargon II, when, according to his royal inscription he captured 25,212 bronze shields, helmets and armours.⁷⁸³ A similarly vast amount of equipment, including armours, were sent to Sennacherib as tribute by Hezekiah of Judah in 701 B.C.,⁷⁸⁴ when the Assyrian army attacked his country. We only know of one single administrative text, from the 7th century B.C., which mentions a light copper armour in a storeroom, in need of polishing.⁷⁸⁵

Similarly to the 2nd millennium B.C. (when the cuneiform evidence of the Nuzi archive allowed us to reconstruct different types of bronze scale armours),⁷⁸⁶ there is some evidence which

⁷⁷⁷ For Uraṭian helmets and their decorative systems see DEZSÓ 2001, 79-96, Cat. nos. 57-114, Pls. 80-111.

⁷⁷⁸ For comprehensive studies of the Assyrian armours see BARRON 2010, 147-178 and CURTIS 2013, 46-49. Much more data is available from the written sources of the 2nd millennium B.C. See DEZSÓ 2002, 195-216; DEZSÓ 2004, 319-323. For the peripheries of the Assyrian Empire see WESTHOLM 1938, 163-173; DE BACKER 2008–2012, 1-38.

⁷⁷⁹ DEZSÓ 2004, 319-323.

⁷⁸⁰ See the plates in DEZSÓ 2012A and DEZSÓ 2012B.

⁷⁸¹ See the above mentioned example of a glazed brick from Aššur with a representation of a helmeted Assyrian soldier on it (ANDRAE 1925, pl. 9, no. 9e (Ass. 10756)). The bronze helmet (painted yellow), the iron scale armour (painted blue) attached to the rim of the helmet and the characteristic spiked shield dates the scene to the reigns of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) or Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.). See furthermore the ‘Epic of Shalmaneser III,’ which mentions the iron armour of the horses (LIVINGSTONE 1989, 17 (STT 43), 22).

⁷⁸² GRAYSON 1991, A.O.101.1, ii:92: Zazabuḫa, Ḫabḫu; ii:96-97: Mount Kašiiari; ii:101-102: land Nirdun.

⁷⁸³ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 392.

⁷⁸⁴ GRAYSON – NOVOTNY 2012, 4, 55-80.

⁷⁸⁵ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 89 (ADD 1051+), Rev. 8.

⁷⁸⁶ For the Ḫanigalbat and Arrapha types of bronze scale armours see DEZSÓ 2002, 195-216.

allows us to favour the assumption that there were different types of scale armours during the 1st millennium B.C. as well, with an administrative text from Nimrud mentioning an iron scale armour of/from Damascus.⁷⁸⁷

In conclusion we can say that the cuneiform evidence does not provide extensive and solid information about the importance of the booty in supplying the army with arms and armour, nor help us to conceptualize the industrial background of the Assyrian weapon industry. The cuneiform sources hardly refer to the scope of the weapon industry of the Assyrian Empire. If we take into consideration that the Assyrian imperial industry was several times larger than the Urartian – a small portion of the products of which was represented in the palace of Urzana and in the temple of Ḫaldi in Muṣaṣir – then we can assume that the Assyrian weapon industry was the largest in the ancient Near East, and could equip an army of 100,000 soldiers or more at a time. We can also confidently state that archaeological evidence sheds more light on the imperial weapon industry's level of development than the cuneiform evidence. This industry reached the highest standards – both in the technique, and in the volumen during the 7th century B.C..

II.3.1.3.7 Chariots and horse trappings

The archaeological evidence consists of representations and archaeological finds, as a relatively large number of chariot fittings and horse trappings have been discovered in different parts of the ancient Near East.⁷⁸⁸ Both the archaeological evidence and the cuneiform sources reveal the chariotry arm as the most sophisticated, complex, prestigious, and the most expensive arm of the Assyrian armies of the 9th–8th centuries B.C.⁷⁸⁹ It was an intricate system including two or three harnessed – sometimes armoured – horses trained to the yoke, one chariot driver, one shield bearer 'third man' equipped with rounded bronze shield(s), and one archer equipped with a bow, a quiver, and arrows – all three members of the crew were generally clad in iron scale armours and pointed helmets. One or two grooms could also be part of the team. The crew consisted of skilled and experienced personnel with specialized knowledge, and these factors made capturing (equipped) chariots obviously the main focus of the Assyrian campaigns (*Fig. 39*).⁷⁹⁰ This arm was not only the most complex but the most expensive as well, which resulted in the gradual decrease of its importance during the 7th century B.C., and its replacement by the much more 'cost effective,' 'flexible,' and versatile arm of the cavalry.

⁷⁸⁷ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, 135, 75 (ND 7060), 1) *sa-ri-a-a-nu* AN.BAR, 2) *ša URU.Di-maš-qa*.

⁷⁸⁸ STUDNICZKA 1907, 147-196; MOORTGAT 1930, 841-861; WOLF 1936–1937, 231-235; POTRATZ 1941–1944, 1-39; POTRATZ 1942, 169-234; BOTTI 1951, 192-198; CHILDE 1951, 177-194; FITZGERALD 1954, 95-96; ESAIAN 1962, 77-86; PIOTROVSKY 1962, 340-343; HROUDA 1963, 155-158; SCHULMAN 1963, 75-96; GHIRSHMAN 1964, 49-60; NAGEL 1966; POTRATZ 1966; ORCHARD 1967; PIGGOTT 1968, 266-318; KLENGEL 1970, 33-36; WEISNER 1970, 191-194; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1973, 102-126; WESTERN 1973, 91-94; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1974, 20-36; PIGGOTT 1974, 16-27; PIGGOTT 1975, 289-290; TARHAN – SEVIN 1975, 45-56; COLLON – CROUWEL – LITTAUER 1976, 71-81; LITTAUER 1976, 217-226; BELLI 1976–1977, 177-226; FARBER – LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1976–1980, 336-351; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1976–1980, 336-351; PINI 1976, 107-114; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1977A, 1-8; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1977B, 95-105; ZACCAGNINI 1977, 21-38; DEL OLMO LETE 1978, 47-51; SEVIN 1978, 111-132; BALKAN 1979, 49-58; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1979A; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1979B, 107-120; PIGGOTT 1979, 3-17; WINTER 1979, 101-102; PECORELLA 1980, 191-199; SCHULMAN 1980, 105-153; WINTER 1980; GROPP 1981, 95-123; BELLI 1983A, 361-371; BELLI 1983B, 373-386; DE SCHAUENSEE – DYSON 1983, 59-77; ÖZGEN 1983, 111-131; PIGGOTT 1983; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1984, 41-51; ÖZGEN 1984, 91-154; NAGEL 1984–1985, 143-151; SEIDL-CALMEYER 1985, 309-314; MOOREY 1986, 196; SEIDL 1986, 229-236; CROUWEL 1987, 101-118; MAASS 1987, 65-92; YILDIRIM 1987, 469-496; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1988, 169-171; DE SCHAUENSEE 1989, 37-52; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 1989, 111-161; MACGINNIS 1989, 184-192; ÖZGÜÇ 1989, 409-419; MAASS 1990, 7-23; HROUDA 1994, 5-57; CURTIS 1997, 26-31; WILCKE 1999, 803-852; LITTAUER – CROUWEL 2002; CASTELLUCIA – DAN 2014, 36-47.

⁷⁸⁹ For a detailed study of the Assyrian chariotry see DEZSŐ 2012B, 55-146, pls. 12-18, nos. 23-32. For earlier studies of the topic see MAYER 1979B, 175-186; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, 27-47; DALLEY 1985, 31-48; NOBLE 1990, 61-68; DE BACKER 2009, 29-46.

⁷⁹⁰ DEZSŐ 2012B, Charts 4A-C.

Fig. 39 shows the large numbers of chariots and harnesses intended as supplies for the equestrian arm, which always played an important role in the Assyrian army. Since these issues have already been discussed in detail in the previous volumes of the project,⁷⁹¹ here we would like to emphasize the importance of the supply of the chariots and chariot fittings for the Assyrian chariotry units, the significance of the horse harness and the horses themselves, whose acquisition and supply consumed a lot of energy and immense resources. It was also one of the fundamental aims of the Assyrian campaigns to destroy the equestrian capacities of their rivals. Evaluating the booty lists – from the strategic point of view – it seems obvious that these items ranked among the most valuable and most important pieces of the booty.

Tribute chariots and horses (for horse management *see* chapter III. Supply of horses) are mentioned not only in the royal inscriptions but also in the royal correspondence, and the administrative texts. These documents register items connected to the campaigns, which were brought to Assyria afterwards, or those which arrived within the framework of the taxation system, and included a kind of yearly tribute. Such a shipment of chariots is known from an administrative text, a list of tribute probably from Tabal, which mentions 38 chariots.⁷⁹²

Tiglath-Pileser I (1114—1076 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.87.1			
iii:103-iv:1		Murattaš, Saradauš, Lower Zab	120 chariots, harnessed horses
iv:94-95, v:5-6, v:19		23 kings of the lands Nairi	120 of their chariots with equipment
Adad-nērārī II (911—891 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.99.2			
58-59	898	Ḫanigalbat, Temannu, Arameans, Gidara Raqammatu	chariots
68-73	896	Ḫanigalbat, Temannu, Našibina	chariots with teams of [horses]
103-104	894	Ḫanigalbat, Ḫābur, Guzānu, Bīt-Baḫīāni, Sīkānu	numerous chariots
107	894	Šadikannu	chariots
110	894	Qatnu, Amīl-Adad	chariots, wagons
Ashurnasirpal II (883—859 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1			
i:83-88	883	Sūru, which belongs to Bīt-Ḫalupê, Aḫi-iababa	harnessed chariot, the equipment of the horses
ii:14-15	882	Tušḫa (from Bīt-Zamāni, Šubrū, Nirdun, lands Nairi)	chariots
ii:119-125	879	Bīt-Zamāni	harnessed chariots, equipment for troops (and) horses,
iii:21-22	878	Sūru, land Suḫu	chariots, equipment for horses
iii:45-46	877	Ilā, sheikh of the land Laqû	his chariots with teams
iii:57-58	875	Ḫatti, Bīt-Baḫīāni	harnessed chariots, chariots, cavalry, (and) infantry
iii:59-60	875	Ḫatti, Adad-'ime, the (A)zallu	harnessed chariots, chariots, cavalry, (and) infantry
Shalmaneser III (858—824 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.102			
2, ii:52-53 5, iii:2	856	Uratu	chariots, cavalry, numerous cavalry
2, ii:102 6, ii:32-33 8, 18'-19' 10, ii:24-25 14, 65-66 16, 36-38	853	12 kings of the seashore	chariots, cavalry
6, iii:8-11	848	Damascus, Ḫamath, 12 kings on the shore of the sea	chariotry, cavalry
10, 10"-14"	841	Damascus	1,121 of his chariots (and) 470 of his cavalry
16, 236'-238'	832	Uratu	numerous cavalry

⁷⁹¹ DEZSÖ 2012B.

⁷⁹² PARKER 1961, 37, ND 2607, 5') ... 38 GIŠ.GIGIR.

Šamši-Adad V (823—811 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.O.103			
1, iii:33-36	821?	Ḫanasiruka the Mede	140 of his cavalry
1, iv:31-45	820?	Daban river battle in front of the city Dūr-Papsukkal	100 chariots, 200 cavalry.
2, iii:15'-16'		?	30 of their cavalry, one chariot
Tiglath-Pileser III (745—727 B.C.) – TADMOR – YAMADA 2011			
42, 15'-17'	733	Bit-Ḫumria (Israel)	„auxiliary army”
Sargon II (721—705 B.C.) – FUCHS 1994, Annalen			
15	722	Samaria	50 chariots into the royal corps
75	717	Carchemish	50 chariots, 200 cavalry, 3,000 foot soldiers (royal corps)
THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, MAYER 1983			
368-385		temple of Ḫaldi, Mušašir	33 silver chariots
Sennacherib (704—681 B.C.) – GRAYSON – NOVOTNY 2012			
1, 27-29	704	battle of Kish	chariots, wagons
4, 55-80	701	Hezekiah of Judah	chariots
23, vi:15-19	691/690	battle of Ḫalulê	chariots
Esarhaddon (680—669 B.C.) – LEICHTY 2011			
33, iii:14-20	673	Uppume, Šubria	soldiers, skilled in battle and combat, from [...] and I attached (them) to my royal guard. With regard to ... [...], a group of charioteers, a group of cavalry, commanders of ..., officials, [engin]eers, troops, light troops, shield bearers, scouts, ...
9, i':1'-17'	671	Memphis, Tirḫaqa	third-men, charioteers, ..., [... re]in-[holders], archers, shield bearers
Assurbanipal (668—631 B.C.) – BORGER 1996			
Pr. B §35, v:77-vi:16 Pr. C §45, vi:79-vii:9	653	Elam, Til-Tuba	chariots, carts
Pr. C §64, ix:29-44	652-648	Babylon, Šamaš-šum-ukīn	chariots
Pr. A §40, iv:53-76	652-648	Babylon, Šamaš-šum-ukīn	chariots
Pr. A §57, v:126-vi:76; Pr. F §32, iv:66-v:54	10 th campaign, 64..	Elam, treasury of the palace and the temple	chariots, parade chariots, carts decorated with gold

Fig. 39. Equestrian equipment and units captured.

Although the literature discussing the representational and archaeological evidence of the chariotry and the cavalry is very rich, administrative texts hardly shed any light on the management of the equipment. Two administrative texts from the Governor's Palace archive record pieces of horse trappings, most probably disks or rivets which served as decorative elements.⁷⁹³ A somewhat different administrative profile emerges from two administrative texts of the Fort Shalmaneser archive. It is well-known that the palace of Shalmaneser III, itself a review palace, provided room not only for the archives of the local (military) administration but also for the installations, such as yards/workshops for repairing military equipment like example chariots, store-rooms for storing equipment, and a drill/parade ground. One of these texts is an inventory of 2+1+3 chariots and 1 new and 3+1+4 old driving platforms, with inventory notes on their state and the condition of their fittings (including existing or missing copper fittings, bow cases, and

⁷⁹³ POSTGATE 1973, 141 (ND 453), 1) 1 ME *kam-ma-t[e]*, ... 5) ANŠE.KUR.[R]A; POSTGATE 1973, 151 (ND 225), 1) 37 *ka-ma-te*, 2) GUŠKIN, 3) *ša* SAG.DU ANŠE.KUR, (37 discs of gold for the head of a horse).

5+2+[x]+20 shields).⁷⁹⁴ The other administrative text records 8 chariots with covers and shields of copper, a further chariot and an old chariot, 1+3 poles and other chariot parts.⁷⁹⁵ These texts shed some light on the military – storing and repairing – infrastructure of the Fort Shalmaneser.

II.3.1.4 Foodstuff

From the perspective of military planning one of the most important if not the most important item of the booty were the different types of foodstuff, which only rarely appear in the booty lists of the Assyrian royal inscriptions. The foodstuff seized during the campaigns in enemy territory played, however, a crucial role in maintaining the troops on campaign. As *Fig. 40* shows, foodstuff transported to the Assyrian troops or looted during the campaigns appears mainly in the royal inscriptions of Tukultī-Ninurta II (890–884 B.C.) and Sargon II (721–705 B.C.). The royal inscription of Tukultī-Ninurta II about his long march gives some details of sustaining the troops during the campaign in 884 B.C. The categories are usually general in nature and contain staple-food items for men and horses (bread, beer, grain, and straw) with only a few specific articles (ducks and other birds) mentioned. Other 9th century B.C. royal inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III list almost exclusively the wine, with a few entries referring only to grain and the harvest of grain to be stored in the newly conquered cities converted into Assyrian centers. The most informative entries are found in the royal inscriptions of Sargon II. One of them refers to 2,000 homers of corn seized in Gambulu in 710 B.C., while the key text, which sheds some light onto the logic of feeding the troops in enemy country is his ‘Letter to God’ commemorating his 8th campaign (714 B.C.). As has been discussed in detail earlier (chapter II.1.2.2 Feeding the troops during campaigns), when the Assyrians started their march through newly conquered enemy territories the army had to provision itself by capturing and looting the food stores and depots of the nearby towns along their march. They led the campaign via the towns, food stores and depots known from the intelligence reports. The pace of the campaign would have been quick, or at least detachments were sent out to seize and guard the food stores and grain depots to prevent their looting or destruction by local or Urartian enemies of Assyria, which would have stopped or at least slowed down the march of the imperial army by emptying the depots and using the ‘scorched earth’ tactic against them. The same tactic was used by the Assyrians as well: they consumed everything they could and destroyed the remaining resources: they scorched the harvest and let the flocks of the Assyrian camp pasture the crop.⁷⁹⁶ This tactic needed careful planning and a very quick pace and a very short reaction time. However, to feed the troops during the campaign in enemy territory was the most risky element in planning and needed a very strong and careful control during the campaign.

Later royal inscriptions are not reactive to this problem and only the inscription of Esarhaddon refers to a larger amount of foodstuff: 19,323 homers, (measured by) 1 seah, of malt. In spite of this a few administrative texts provide further details of the foodstuff management of the Assyrian army on campaign.

An administrative list⁷⁹⁷ reviews horses, livestock and wheat due from various locations. These items might have originated from local taxes, but the amounts listed refer presumably to

⁷⁹⁴ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, 163-165, no. 96 (ND 10015).

⁷⁹⁵ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, 165-166, no. 97 (ND 10014).

⁷⁹⁶ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 184-187.

⁷⁹⁷ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 104 (K.8683 + K.20329).

a kind of tribute due from various locations. This text gives the following amounts of wheat: “[x +1,0]00 (homers) wheat in Birtu [...], [x +1,0]00 (homers) wheat ..., [x +1,0]00 (homers) wheat ... N[N]. [Total:] 12,000 (homers) wheat in Ḥarbān[i ...]. 4,000 (homers) wheat in ...[...], [x +]100 (homers) wheat in Zagānu ... due from [...]...”⁷⁹⁸ These quantities are large enough to feed large numbers of for example soldiers,⁷⁹⁹ and show the immense capacities of resources controlled by the Empire.

Tukultī-Ninurta II (890—884 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.100.5			
16-18, 20-22	885	Nairi, Subnat, M. Kašiiari, P[a]tiškun, Bīt-Zamāni	grain (and) straw of his land,
69-73	884	Suḥu, Ili-ibnī governor of the land Suḥu	bread, (and) beer
76-79	884	Ḥindānu, Amme-alaba	14 ducks, bread, beer, straw, (and) fodder
85-86	884	Aqarbānu, Mudadda, the Laqû	bread, beer, grain, straw
86-87	884	Supru, Ḥamatāia, the Laqû	bread, beer, grain, straw
88	884	Arbatu, Ḥarānu, the Laqû	bread, beer, grain, straw
90-92	884	Mudadda of the city Sirqu	20 birds, bread, beer, grain, straw, (and) fodder
98-101	884	Sūru of Bīt-Ḥalupê, Ḥamatāia, (the) Laqû	[N] ducks
102-103		Usalâ	bread, beer, grain, (and) straw
109-111	884	Qatnu	100 ducks (and) geese, bread, beer, grain, straw
123-125	884	Mušku, Pīru	[I cut down] the harvest of [their] gardens
Ashurnasirpal II (883—859 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1			
i:55-56	883	Tummu	wine
i:74	883	Katmuḥu, Mušku	wine
i:106	882	Izalla	wine
ii:11-12	882	Tušḥa (land Nirbu)	wine
ii:14-15	882	Tušḥa (from Bīt-Zamāni, Šubrû, Nirdun, lands Nairi)	wine
ii:47	881	all of the kings of Zamua	barley, straw
ii:52-53	880	Zamua, land Dagara	wine
ii:78-80	880	Zamua	wine
ii:80-81	880	Ḥudun, Ḥartišu, Ḥubušku, Gilzānu	wine
ii:88	879	Katmuḥu, city Kibaku	wine
ii:92	879	Zazabuḥa, Ḥabḥu	wine
ii:93	879	Sūru, Mount Kašiiari	wine
ii:96-97	879	Mount Kašiiari	wine
ii:101-102	879	land Nirdun	wine
ii:118	879	Nairi	I reaped the harvest of their land (and) stored the barley and straw in the city Tušḥa.
iii:59-60	875	Ḥatti, Adad-’ime, the (A)zallu	wine
iii:61-63	875	Ḥatti, Aḥūni of Bīt-Adini	wine
iii:82-83	875	city Aribua, the fortified city of Lubarna, the Patinu	I reaped the barley and straw of the land Luḥutu (and) stored (it) inside.

⁷⁹⁸ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 104 (K.8683 + K.20329), 15-20.

⁷⁹⁹ 12,000 homers = 1,200,000 litres = 960,000 kg = 480,000 portions of wheat ration (2 kg *per capita per diem*) = ration for 16,000 soldiers for 30 days.

Shalmaneser III (858—824 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.O.102			
1, 18-19; 2, 16-18	859	Ḫargu, Ḫarmasa, Sirišu, Ulmānu, Simerra	wine
1, 38-39 2, i:28-29	859	Asû (Asua), the Gilzānean	wine
1, 43-45' 2, i:35-36	858	Til-Abni, Sarugu, Immerinu	wine
2, i:36-37	858	Kummuḫi	wine
2, i:40-41	858	Gurgum	wine
1, 81'-82' 2, 12'-13'	858	Bīt-Agūsi	wine
1, 92'-95'	857	Unqi, Gurgum, Sam'al, Bīt-Agūsi	wine, ducks (<i>iššūrū rabūtu</i>)
2, ii:61-62	856	Gilzānu	wine
Sargon II (721—705 B.C.) – FUCHS 1994, Annalen			
272-275	710	Ba-[...], Ḫaza'il, Ḫamdānu, Zabida, Amma-[...], Aḫḫī-iddina, Aiasammu, 6 sheikhs of Gambulu	2,000 homers of corn
THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, MAYER 1983			
52-55	714	Ullusunu in fort Sirdakka	flour, wine
166		Wišdiš	Opened the granaries and let the troops eat up the grain.
186-187		Sangibūti: Anistania	Opened the granaries and let the troops eat up the grain.
197		Land Dalaia: cities Tarui, Tarmakisa	Opened the granaries and let the troops eat up the grain.
218-220, 228		Ulḫu	Opened the granaries and let the troops eat up the grain. The troops broached the admiral and drank the wine.
262-263		Arzabia, Irtia	Opened the granaries and let the troops, horses, mules, dromedaries carry the corn into my camp.
274		Mount Armarili	Opened the granaries and let the troops eat up the grain.
292, 295		Mount Aiadi	Opened the granaries and let the troops eat up the grain.
Esarhaddon (680—669 B.C.) – LEICHTY 2011			
9, ii:12'-21'	671	Memphis, Tirḫaqa	19,323 homers, (measured by) 1 seah, of malt

Fig. 40. Foodstuff looted.

II.3.1.5 Livestock

It has to be pointed out, that from the military point of view one of the most important categories of the booty and tribute were the horses and mules.⁸⁰⁰ This category – according to its eminence in the horse supply of the equestrian units – is going to be discussed in a separate chapter of this volume (III.1 Horses from tribute, booty, and audience gift).

For the feeding of the troops during the campaigns livestock was as important, if not more important than grain. Livestock had one great advantage: as opposed to the difficulties of transporting grain, moving livestock with the troops was relatively easy. As discussed earlier, a few days worth of grain or wheat could be carried by the soldiers (as 'campaign flour'), but to transport tons of grain with the troops was almost impossible on mountaineous terrain (or at least it required a huge number of pack animals). This was the reason why the Assyrians planned their campaigns following a route along the known grain depots in the enemy land, in order to use the

⁸⁰⁰ The topic is frequently represented in Assyrian art, first of all on the palace reliefs: Shalmaneser III (858—824 B.C.): SCHACHNER 2007, Taf. 3 (upper register), 5 (lower and upper registers), 6 (lower and upper registers), 7 (lower register); Sargon II (721—705 B.C.): BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pls. 39, 123-136; Sennacherib (704—681 B.C.): BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 487-488, 577-584.

captured grain stores to feed the troops. Livestock could be managed much easier, and the Assyrian cavalry could easily capture flocks and herds which had not been ‘evacuated’ in time. Livestock was consequently one of the most important parts of the booty – it was easier to manage and provided food and milk for large numbers of soldiers.

Assyrian palace reliefs depict several scenes of Assyrian soldiers escorting a booty column including animals,⁸⁰¹ and camp scenes showing grazing animals within or outside the Assyrian camp.⁸⁰² These flocks are mentioned in Sargon II’s ‘Letter to God’ describing the 8th campaign of the king, where he relates that his troops opened the granaries and consumed the grain, then scorched the rest of the harvest and let the flocks of the Assyrian camp graze on the crop.⁸⁰³

It is known from the Assyrian sources that part of the livestock was consumed during the campaign, while the remainder of the animals were driven home.⁸⁰⁴ The chances of driving flocks and herds home successfully was much higher from nearby areas than from the faraway territories in the mountainous regions. Most of the flocks and herds were not necessarily driven to the royal centers of the homeland to supply the palaces and temples, but ended up in the neighbouring provinces to complement the food supply of the troops and the population of Assyria (*see below*).

As *Fig. 41* shows, the Assyrian kings were very keen on listing the sheep and oxen, the herds and flocks in the booty lists of their royal inscriptions. Some of the inscriptions used general categories (as sheep, oxen, herds, and flocks), but some of them indicated the ‘exact’ number of the animals captured. These numbers range from a few dozens or hundreds of animals to thousands of sheep and oxen. The largest known figures come from the reign of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.): 5,000 sheep and 2,000 oxen with 460 harness-trained horses were captured in Bīt-Zamāni (879 B.C.),⁸⁰⁵ 10,000 sheep and 1,000 oxen from Kunulua, capital of Lubarna, the Patinu (875 B.C.),⁸⁰⁶ from the reign of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.): 5,000 sheep and 500 oxen from Patinu, from Bīt-Agūsi, and from Carchemish respectively during his campaign of 857 B.C.⁸⁰⁷ One of the inscriptions of the king summarizes the results of the registered booty and tribute of his first 20 regnal years as follows: 184,755 sheep, 35,565 oxen, 9,920 horses, mules, and 19,690 donkeys.⁸⁰⁸ During the second, imperial period (745–612 B.C.) of Assyria with the widening horizon of the Assyrian expansion these figures became larger than ever. Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.) captured 19,000 sheep, 1,350 oxen, [x] horses, 300 mules, and 660 asses in Nairi (Hista, Harabisinna, Barbaz, and Tasa) in 735 B.C.,⁸⁰⁹ and not less, than 20,000 oxen and 30,000

⁸⁰¹ Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.): LAYARD 1853A, pls. 20, 30, BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. CXXII–CXXIII; Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.): SCHACHNER 2007, Taf. 1 (upper and lower registers), 2 (lower register), 3 (lower register), 4 (lower register), 8 (lower register), 12 (lower register), 13 (lower register); Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.): BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pls. V–VI (Babylonia), XXIII–XXX (Arab campaign), LXVIII–LXX (Western campaign); Sargon II (721–705 B.C.): BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pls. 50, 81–83, 92, 94, 100, 116, 119, 146; Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.): BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 56, 70–72, 83–84, 102–104, 129, 193, 214, 227, 229, 243–244, 260, 263, 365–366, 368–372, 431–434, 448, 450, 473–475, 483, 487–488, 493, 496–498, 509–511, 553–554, 606–608, 613, 645, 691; Assurbanipal (668–631 B.C.): BARNETT 1976, pls. XVII–XXII, XXVIII–XXX, XXXV–XXXVI, LX–LXI, LXVI–LXIX; BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 277, 283–284, 341–347, 383.

⁸⁰² Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.): LAYARD 1853A, pl. 30; Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.): BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, pl. LXIII; Sargon II (721–705 B.C.): BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pl. 146; Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.): BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 34 (enemy’s camp?), 76, 190, 200, 438–439, 515, 529, 694; Assurbanipal (668–631 B.C.): BARNETT 1976, pl. LXVI.

⁸⁰³ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 184–187.

⁸⁰⁴ Tiglath-Pileser III established a yearly offering of 240 sheep to the Aššur temple from the tribute of the Babylonian tribes in 745 B.C. (TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 5:8b–11a).

⁸⁰⁵ GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1, ii:119–125.

⁸⁰⁶ GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1, iii:72–77.

⁸⁰⁷ GRAYSON 1991, A.0.102, 2, ii:21–29 with 3,000 sheep and 300 oxen from Bīt-Gabbari.

⁸⁰⁸ GRAYSON 1991, A.0.102, 10, iv:34–40.

⁸⁰⁹ TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 18, 1–4.

camels from Samsi, queen of the Arabs in 733 B.C.⁸¹⁰ Sargon II looted 100,225 sheep, 9,20[x] cattles and 692 mules and donkeys when his troops captured Muṣaṣir in 714 B.C.,⁸¹¹ sheep without number and 4,609 horses, mules and oxen from Mannaea, Ellipi, Allabria, 45 city lords of the mighty Medes in 713 B.C.⁸¹² A quite different approach is known from 710 B.C., when Sargon II extracted tribute from 6 sheikhs of Gambulu: 1 sheep from every 20 sheep and 1 ox from every 20 oxen.⁸¹³ The largest numbers of livestock seized are known from the 7th century B.C. Assyrian royal inscriptions. Sennacherib in 704–703 B.C. captured an immense number of animals in Babylonia: 800,100 sheep and goats, 80,500 oxen, 7,200 horses and mules, 11,073 donkeys, and 5,230 camels were looted by the Assyrians.⁸¹⁴ The largest loot of livestock during the reign of Esarhaddon is known from the conquest of Lower Egypt in 671 B.C., when the Assyrian army captured 30,418 sheep, 24[x] oxen(?), and [x]+40 stallions as *sattukku* and *ginû* offerings to Aššur and the great gods;⁸¹⁵ and took countless [...], sheep with tails of oxen, 60,000 fattened choice oxen, 50,000 strong horses, broken [to the yoke, ...].⁸¹⁶ These numbers seem to be slightly exaggerated and it is hardly believable that such a mass of animals departed from Egypt and ever reached Assyria. Only the horses (or part of them) got the chance to be incorporated into the Assyrian equestrian units. If we suppose that these 50,000 horses were really chariot and not cavalry horses, as indicated by the text,⁸¹⁷ the Assyrians could have equipped at least 15,000 chariots with them, a number of chariots most probably never deployed in the ranks of the Assyrian army. Administrative texts show much smaller numbers as yearly tribute from these regions of the Near East (*see below*). The royal inscriptions of Assurbanipal do not give exact numbers of livestock captured at all. The king refers only to ‘sheep without number’ and ‘cattle without number’ during the destruction of Elam (10th campaign)⁸¹⁸ and the defeat of the Arabs (11th campaign).⁸¹⁹

⁸¹⁰ TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 42, 19’-22’, 48, 24’-25’. Probably the same lady Samsi is mentioned in a letter, which refers to Arabs, fugitives and camels collected by Assyrian cohort commander: 1) “[... Ia]-rapâ, 2) [cohort co]mmander, 3-5) will bring the [fugitives] of the Arabs [up t]o the lady Samsi; 6-8) (and) he will bring those [o]f the lady Samsi up to the Arabs. 9) Ia-rapâ, cohort commander, 10) Ḥašilānu, cohort commander, 11) Gannabu, 12) Tamrānu: 13) in all, four people Rev. 1) for the fugitives. 2) 62, Ḥašilānu, 3) 63, Ia-rapâ, 4-5) in all, 125 stray camels 6) [They have been c]ollected.” (FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 162 (ABL 631).

⁸¹¹ FUCHS 1994, *Annalen*, 153-155.

⁸¹² FUCHS 1994, *Annalen*, 191-194.

⁸¹³ FUCHS 1994, *Annalen*, 272-275.

⁸¹⁴ GRAYSON – NOVOTNY 2012, 1, 60-61.

⁸¹⁵ LEICHTY 2011, 9, ii’:12’-21’.

⁸¹⁶ LEICHTY 2011, 1019, 18-42. For the Egyptian booty *see* LAMBERT 1982, 61-70. For the Egyptian campaigns of Assyrian kings *see* ONASCH 1994; KAHN 2006, 251-267; RADNER 2007B, 353-365; RADNER 2008, 305-314.

⁸¹⁷ The term ‘broken to the yoke’ might easily denote cavalry horses (nowadays ‘broken to the saddle’) as well.

⁸¹⁸ BORGER 1996, *Prisma A* §58, vi:77-106; *Prisma F* §33, v:55-71.

⁸¹⁹ BORGER 1996, *Prisma B* §53, viii:12-22; *Prisma C* §78, x:17-28.

Tiglath-Pileser I (1114—1076 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.87.1					
ii:36-57		Urratinaš, Šadi-Tešub	sheep	cattle	
iv:94-95, v:5-6, v:19		23 kings of the lands Nairi		2,000 cattle	herds of horses, mules, donkeys; 1,200 horses
14-15		Nairi, Tummū, Daiēnu, Ḥimua, Paiteru			teams of horses in harness
Aššur-dān II (934—912 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.98					
1, 13-14		Ekal-pī-nāri	[... herds] (and) flocks without number.		
1, 21		Ruqaḥu, River Zab	herds, (and)] flocks		
2, 5'			herds, (and) flocks]		
Adad-nērārī II (911—891 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.99					
1, 15-17	911	Qumānu	herds (and) flocks		
1, Rev. 3'-5'	910	Tigris, 40 cities	herds (and) flocks		
2, 58-59	898	Ḥanigalbat, Temannu, Arameans, Gidara Raqammatu			horses
2, 87-88	896	Temannu, Sikkur, Sappānu,	herds, flocks		
2, 96	894	Kummu, Ḥabḥu			teams of horses
2, 103-104	894	Ḥanigalbat, Ḥābur, Guzānu, Bīt- Baḥiāni, Sikānu			teams of horses
2, 110	894	Qatnu, Amīl-Adad		oxen	horses
2, 117-118	894	Sirqu, Mudadda, the Laqû		oxen	agalu-donkeys
Tukultī-Ninurta II (890—884 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.100.5					
5-8		Nairi?, Balasī	his herds		
16-18, 20-22	885	Nairi, Subnat, M. Kašiiari, P[a]tiškun, Bīt-Zamāni			horses, mules
69-73	884	Suḥu, Ili-ibnī governor of the land Suḥu	sheep	oxen	
76-79	884	Ḥindānu, Amme-alaba	200 sheep,	50 oxen,	30 dromedaries, 30 asses
85-86	884	Aqarbānu, Mudadda, the Laqû	200 sheep	30 oxen	
86-87	884	Supru, Ḥamatāi-ia, the Laqû	200 sheep	50 oxen	
88	884	Arbatu, Ḥarānu, the Laqû	200 sheep,	30 oxen	
90-92	884	Mudadda of the city Sirqu	[x]00 sheep	[x]40 oxen	20 asses
93-94	884	Sirqu, Ḥarānu, the Laqû	500 sheep	100+ oxen	20 asses
98-101	884	Sūru of Bīt-Ḥalupê, Ḥamatāiia, (the) Laqû	1,200 sheep	100 oxen	
102-103	884	Usalâ	200 sheep	30 oxen	
104-108	884	Dūr-Katlimmu, ... of the land Laqû	sheep	oxen	horses
123-125	884	Mušku, Pīru	sheep	oxen	
Ashurnasirpal II (883—859 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1					
i:48	883	Tummu, Libê		oxen	
i:55-56	883	Tummu	sheep	oxen	horses, mules
i:57-58	883	Gilzānu, Ḥubušku			horses
i:74	883	Katmuḥu, Mušku	sheep	oxen	
i:83-88	883	Sūru, belonging to Bīt-Ḥalupê, Aḥi- iababa	sheep	oxen	teams of horses
i:95	883	Laqû	sheep	oxen	
i:96-97	883	Ḥaiiānu, of the city Ḥindānu			dromedaries
i:106	882	Izalla	sheep	oxen	
i:112	882	city Mariru, Nirbu	sheep	oxen	
i:115-116	882	Tēla		oxen, cattle	
ii:11-12	882	Tušḥa (land Nirbu)	sheep	oxen	horses, mules
ii:14-15	882	Tušḥa (Bīt-Zamāni, Šubrû, Nirdun, Nairi)	sheep	oxen	horses, mules
ii:22-23		Bīt-Iaḥiri, Bīt-Baḥiāni, Ḥanigalbat, Ḥatti	sheep	oxen	horses
ii:31-33	881	Bāra	sheep	oxen	

ii:36	881	Bunāsi (from Muṣašina)			horses
ii:38	881	Mount Nisir	sheep	oxen	
ii:42	881	Mount Nisir, Larbusa, of Kirteara	sheep	oxen	
ii:46	881	all of the kings of Zamua			horses
ii:47	881	all of the kings of Zamua			horses
ii:52-53	880	Zamua, land Dagara	sheep	oxen	
ii:57	880	Zamua, city Ḫudun	sheep	oxen	
ii:66-68	880	Zamru, Mount Elaniu, Ameka	sheep	oxen	horses
ii:78-80	880	Zamua	sheep	oxen	horses
ii:80-81	880	Ḫudun, Ḫartišu, Ḫubušku, Gilzānu	sheep	oxen	horses
ii:88	879	Katmuḫu, city Kibaku	sheep	oxen	
ii:92	879	Zazabuḫa, Ḫabḫu	sheep	oxen	
ii:93	879	Sūru, Mount Kašīari	sheep	oxen	
ii:96-97	879	Mount Kašīari	sheep	oxen	
ii:101-102	879	land Nirdun	sheep	oxen	horses, mules
ii:119-125	879	Bīt-Zamāni	5,000 sheep	2,000 oxen	460 harness-trained horses
iii:4	878	Šadikannu	sheep	oxen	
iii:6-8	878	Bīt-Ḫalupē	sheep	oxen	
iii:8-9	878	Sirqu	sheep	oxen	
iii:9-10	878	Šupru	sheep	oxen	
iii:11	878	Naqarabānu	sheep	oxen	
iii:13	878	Ḫindānu	sheep	oxen	
iii:21-22	878	Sūru, land Suḫu			teams of horses
iii:42-43	877	Azi-ili, the Laqū, at the cities Dummētu and Azmu	sheep without number	oxen	
iii:57-58	875	Ḫatti, Bīt-Baḫiāni			horses
iii:59-60	875	Ḫatti, Adad-ime, the (A)zallu	sheep	oxen	horses
iii:61-63	875	Ḫatti, Aḫūni of Bīt-Adini	sheep	oxen	
iii:64	875	Ḫatti, Ḫabinu of Til-abni	400 sheep		
iii:72-77	875	Kunulua, capital of Lubarna, the Patinu	10,000 sheep	1,000 oxen	
iii:78	875	Gūsu of the land Iaḫānu	sheep	oxen	
iii:94-95	866	Ḫuzirina, Itti of (A)zallu, Giridadi of Aššu	sheep	oxen	
Shalmaneser III (858—824 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.O.102					
1, 18-19; 2, 16-18	859	Ḫargu, Ḫarmasa, Sirišu, Ulmānu, Šimerra	sheep	oxen	teams of horses
1, 28	859	Ḫubuškia			teams of horses
1, 38-39 2, i:28-29	859	Asū (Asua), the Gilzānean	sheep	oxen	teams of horses, camels with two humps
1, 43-45' 2, i:35-36	858	Til-Abni, Sarugu, Immerinu	sheep	oxen	
2, i:36-37	858	Kummuḫi	sheep	oxen	
2, i:40-41	858	Gurgum	sheep	oxen	
1, 61', 2, i:47	858	Sam'al, Patinu, Bīt-Adini, Carchemish			teams of horses
1, 66'-70'	858	Patinu, Bīt-Adini, Carchemish, Sam'al, Que, Ḫiluku, Iasbuqu, Iaḫanu			teams of horses
1, 81'-82' 2, 12'-13'	858	Bīt-Agūsi	sheep	oxen	
1, 92'-95'	857	Unqi, Gurgum, Sam'al, Bīt-Agūsi	sheep	oxen	
2, ii:21-24	857	Patinu	5,000 sheep	500 oxen	
2, ii 24b-27a	857	Bīt-Gabbari	3,000 sheep	300 oxen	
2, ii:27b-28	857	Bīt-Agūsi	5,000 sheep	500 oxen	
2, ii:28-29	857	Carchemish	5,000 sheep	500 oxen	
2, ii:39-40	856	kings of the seashore and the Euphrates	sheep	oxen	

2, ii:52-53 5, iii:2	856	Urarṭu			horses, mules, beasts of burden
2, ii:57-58	856	[Za]nziuna	sheep	oxen	teams of horses
2, ii:61-62	856	Gilzānu	sheep	oxen	teams of horses, 7 camels with two humps
2, ii:64-65	856	Silāia, a fortified city of the land Ḫubuškia	sheep	oxen	horses, mules, donkeys
2, ii:102; 6, etc.	853	12 kings of the seashore			teams of horses
5, vi:6	850	Baqānu, a fortress of Bīt-Dakkuri.	sheep	oxen	
6, iii:12-15	848	Qalparunda the Patinean	sheep	oxen	horses, donkeys
6, iii:43-44	844	Daiēnu			tax and tribute of horses
6, iv:19-20	843	Namri, Šumurza, Bīt-Nergal, Tugliaš			harness-trained horses without number
10, iv:34-40	859-839	from the beginning of my sovereignty to my twentieth regnal year	184,755 sheep	35,565 oxen	9,920 horses, mules, 19,690 donkeys
14, 135	833	Que, Tullu	sheep	oxen	
14, 137	833	Que, Mount Lamena	sheep	oxen	
14, 167-168	829	Mannaea	sheep	oxen	
Šamši-Adad V (823—811 B.C.) – GRAYSON 1991, A.O.103					
1, ii:33-34	822?	the kings of the land Nairi			teams of horses
1, ii:36-40		Ḫubuškia, Sunbu, Mannaea, Parsua, Tauria			teams of horses
1, ii:54-56	821?	Mēsu	sheep	oxen	donkeys, teams of horses, camels with two humps
1, ii:59-iii:6	821?	Titamaška, Kiara			horses
1, iii:15-19	821?	Uraš	sheep	oxen	horses
1, iii:42-43	821?	Araziaš	sheep	oxen	
1, iv:19-22	820?	Qērebtī-ālāni	sheep	oxen	
2, iii:15'-16'		?	sheep	oxen	
2, iii 37'b-48' 4, 10'-12'	819?	Dēr	sheep	oxen	
Tiglath-Pileser III (745—727 B.C.) – TADMOR – YAMADA 2011					
5:8b-11a	745	Babylonian tribes	240 sheep to the Aššur temple		
6, 10b-12	744	Nīkur, Namri, Bīt-Abdadāni, Bīt-Sangibūti, Bīt-Zatti		oxen	horses, mules
7, 6b-8a	744	Bīt-Kapsi, Bīt-Sangi, Bīt-Urzakki	sheep, goats	oxen	Bactrian camels
35, i:11'-14'	744	Ellipi, Namri, Bīt-Sangibūti, Medes	sheep, goats	oxen	horses, mules broken to the yoke, camels
35, i:15'-20'	744	Iranzū, king of Mannai	fattened sheep	majestic bulls	white, piebald, Haršean, Har- [...] horses with their trappings
14, 10 – 15, 5	738	From Damascus to Meliddu	sheep [whose wool] is dyed red purple, sheep, goats	oxen	horses, mules, camels, she-camels
48, 1'-10'	738	Hiram of Tyre?			Egyptian horses
17, 9-10	737	Medes, Ellipi	sheep, goats	oxen	horses, mules, Bactrian camels
17, 10-102	737	Mannea	sheep, goats	cattle	horses, mules
35, ii:30'-44'	737	Medes			1,615 horses
41, 13-14	737	Medes	sheep, goats	oxen	5,000 horses
18, 1-4	735	Nairi (Hista, Ḫarabisinna, Barbaz, Tasa)	19,000 sheep	1,350 oxen	[x] horses, 300 mules, 660 asses
18, 4-6	735	Nairi (Daiqanša, Sakka, Ippa, Elizanšu, Luqadanša, Quda, Elugia, Dania, Danziun, Ulaia, Luqia, Abrania, Eusa)	1,000 sheep	150 oxen	horses, mules, asses
42, 12'-15'	734	Gaza			large horses

49, Rev. 6-8	734	Tyre			Egyptian horses
20, 1'-8'	733	Damascus			horses, mules
20, 14'-17'	733	Damascus, city [...]hādara	sheep, goats	oxen	
42, 19'-22', 48, 24'-25'	733	Samsi, queen of the Arabs		20,000 oxen	30,000 camels
48, 27'	732?	Samsi, queen of the Arabs			camels, she-camels
42, 27'-33'	732?	Mas'a, Tema, Saba tribes, Ḥaiappa, Badanu, Ḥatte, Idiba'ilu			camels, she-camels
49, Rev. 21-22	732?	Samsi, queen of the Arabs	livestock		
51, 18-19		Bīt-Dakkuri, Larak, Bīt-Iakīn, Sealand	sheep, goats	oxen	
47, Rev. 14'-15'; 49, Rev. 27-29	730	Tabal			2,000 horses [...] and] mules
Sargon II (721—705 B.C.) – FUCHS 1994, Annalen					
105-106	715	Urartu	sheep	cattle	
123-125	715	Egypt, Arabs, Saba'eans			horses, camels
147-148	714	Ianzū, king of Na'iri in Ḥubuškia	sheep	cattle	horses
153-155	714	Mušašir, Urzana	100,225 sheep	9,20[+] cattles	692 mules and donkeys
176-178	713	Ellipi, Ḥubaḥna	[x+] 1200 sheep		horses, mules, donkeys
191-194	713	Mannaea, Ellipi, Allabria, 45 city lords of the mighty Medes	sheep without number		4,609 horses, mules, and oxen
268-272	710	Dūr-Athara	sheep	oxen	horses, mules, donkeys, dromedaries
272-275	710	Ba[...], Ḥaza'il, Ḥamdānu, Zabida, Amma[...], Aḥḥi-iddina, Aiasammu, 6 sheikhs of Gambulu	1 sheep from every 20 sheep	1 ox from every 20 oxen	
283-286	710	Zāmē, Aburē, Nuḥāni, Ibūli, 5 sheikhs of the Puqūdu, Ru'ūa, Ḥindānu	sheep	oxen	horses
294-298	710	forts of Sam'ūna and Bāb-dūri in Iadburu	sheep	oxen	horses, mules, donkeys, camels
298-302	710	Laḥīru, Sulaia, 6 sheikhs of Iadburu	sheep	oxen	horses, mules
354-356	709	camp of Marduk-apla-iddina in front of Dūr-Iakīn	[...]+4sheep	[...]	2,080/2,500 horses, 700/710 mules, 6,054 camels
359a	709	Marduk-apla-iddina, Dūr-Iakīn			1,000 horses, 800 [mules]
363-372	709	Marduk-apla-iddina, Dūr-Iakīn	sheep	oxen	[horses, mules], donkeys
405-406	708	Muttallu, king of Kummūḫi, Meliddu	sheep	oxen	horses, mules, donkeys, camels
THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, MAYER 1983					
32-36	714	Ullusunu in Mannaea	sheep	cattle	yoke trained, harnessed horses
37-38		Allabria	sheep	cattle	horses
42-50		in Parsumaš: Daltā of Ellipi, 26 city lords	sheep	cattle	horses, mules, dromedaries
52-55		Ullusunu in fort Sirdakka	sheep	cattle	large harnessed horses
308		Ianzū, Ḥubuškia	sheep	cattle	harnessed horses
347-367		palace of Urzana, Mušašir	1,235	525	12 mules, 380 donkeys
Sennacherib (704—681 B.C.) – GRAYSON – NOVOTNY 2012					
1, 27-29	704-703	battle of Kish			horses, mules, donkeys, camels, Bactrian camels
1, 30-33	704-703	Babylon, treasury of Merodach-baladan	sheep, goats	oxen	donkeys, camels
1, 60-61	704-703	Babylonia	800,100 sheep and goats	80,500 oxen	7,200 horses and mules, 11,073 donkeys, 5,230 camels
2, 22-23	702	Iasubigalla	sheep and goats	oxen	horses, mules, donkeys
4, 49-51	701	46 cities of Judah	sheep, goats	oxen	horses, mules, donkeys, camels
15, v:29-32	699-697	Ukku	sheep, goats	oxen	donkeys

Esarhaddon (680—669 B.C.) – LEICHTY 2011					
1, iv:17-24	680	Adumutu, Arabs			65 camels, 10 donkeys, 50 camels
1, iv:32-45	678?	Partakka, Partukka, Urakazabarna, Media			large thoroughbreds
1, iv:46-52	678?	Patušarri, Medes, Mount Bikni, Šidir- parna, E-parna chieftains	sheep, goats	oxen	horses, Bactrian camels
98, 43-45	671	Memphis, Tirḫaqa	sheep and goats	oxen	horses
9, ii':12'-21'	671	Memphis, Tirḫaqa	30,418 sheep	24[x] oxen?	[x]+40 stallions
37, Rev. 7-11	671	Memphis, Tirḫaqa			horses whose ... [are ...] gold
1019, 18-42	671	Memphis, Tirḫaqa	countless [...], sheep with tails of oxen,	60,000 fattened choice oxen	50,000 strong horses, broken [to the yoke, ...]
Assurbanipal (668—631 B.C.) – BORGER 1996					
Prisma B §14, ii:30-39, <i>etc.</i>	664	Thebai, Egypt			large horses
Prisma H, H1, ii:7'-14'	664	Thebai, Egypt			large horses
Prisma B §22, iii:31- 51, <i>etc.</i>		Mannaea: Aiusiaš, fort of Aššašt (or Aššašdannasu), B/PusuUD, Ašdiaš, Urkiiamun, Uppiš, Siḫūa, Naziniri	sheep	cattle	horses, donkeys
Prisma B iii:78, <i>etc.</i>		Mannai: Birrūa, Šarru-iqbī, Gusunē			horses, harnessed horses
Prisma B §35, v:77- vi:16 Prisma C §45, vi:79- vii:9	653	Elam, Til-Tuba			horses, mules
Prisma B §36, vi:17-56 Prisma C §46, vii: 10-54	653	Gambulu, Ša-pī-Bēl, Dunānu	sheep	cattle	
Prisma C §64, ix:29-44	652- 648	Babylon, Šamaš-šum-ukīn			horses, workstocks
Prisma A §57, v:126- vi:76, <i>etc.</i>	10 th camp.	Elam, treasury of the palace and the temple			Horses and large mules with harness decorated with gold and silver
Prisma A §58, vi:77- 106, <i>etc.</i>	10 th camp.	Elam	sheep without number	cattle without number	horses, mules, donkeys
Prisma B §53, viii:12- 22, <i>etc.</i>	11 th camp.	Arabs	sheep without number	cattle without number	

Fig. 41. Livestock captured.

II.3.2 The administration of the booty and tribute

Following the study of the booty and tribute lists of the royal inscriptions we should examine the same phenomenon from the viewpoint of the provincial administration.

Booty and tribute arrived to Assyria not only with the royal campaigns, but the provincial governors also collected and transferred booty to the royal centres. The system of paying tribute as a type of yearly tax for the neighbouring vassal states was a well-developed and traditional mode of acquiring certain goods for the royal court and the whole imperial administrative system down to the troops stationing in different provinces of the Empire. The incoming booty and tribute was distributed on different levels: 1) royal court, 2) temples, and 3) provincial administration.

1) Booty/tribute distributed in the royal court.

The most clear-cut example of the distribution of booty in the royal court is known from a royal grant of Sennacherib, who himself gave precious gifts as a token of love from the booty of Bīt-Amukānni⁸²⁰ to his son Esarhaddon, who henceforth was called Aššur-etellu-mukīn-apli.

Letters of the royal correspondence and the provincial administration listing items which are missing from the royal inscriptions give a more detailed account of the booty. A fragmentary letter for example refers to such items as follows: “The king my lord’s booty (*consists of*): sheep, bird, bull, fish; [...] ..., corn, beer, 2,000 [...], [m]illet, garlic.”⁸²¹

One of the most explicit texts of the distribution of booty to different personnel in the royal court is an administrative list (ADD 1036)⁸²² discussed in the previous volume of this project.⁸²³ This text (*Fig. 42*) is a long administrative text allotting different items (food, animals, wine, and even metals) as rations to several court personnel, including military probably attending the court for a certain period. The source of the goods is, however, unknown. It is unfortunately not clear, whether this list is a simple ration list containing regular items of ration for a certain period,⁸²⁴ or a kind of unique, *ad hoc* allotment originating from a type of tribute or booty.⁸²⁵ The fact that this text in the military sphere lists almost exclusively equestrian officers and soldiers indicates that this text is not a simple ration list, but an inventory of special, *ad hoc* allotments.

⁸²⁰ KATAJA – WHITING 1995, 88 (ABL 1452), 3-6: “golden bracelets inlaid with ivory, a golden crown, a golden necklace, rings for the upper arm; all these pieces of jewellery, inlaid with *agate*, ..., and *chalcedony*, weighing 1 1/2 minas and 2 1/2 shekels.”

⁸²¹ LUUKKO 2012, 224 (ND 2613), 3-6.

⁸²² FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 36 (ADD 1036).

⁸²³ DEZSÓ 2012B, 133-134, *Fig. 5*.

⁸²⁴ Rev. i:28: “[...] a bowl (of wine per) month” implies this.

⁸²⁵ Obv. i:1 and i:9: “100 tribute (*ma-da-te*) sheep” however, explicitly refer to the source of the distributed goods.

LINES	OFFICERS	COPPER	SHEEP	BOWL OF WINE
III:5-10	team commander (LÚ.GAL— <i>ú-rat</i>)	7 minas	2	2
III:11-13	‘third man’ of the palace (LÚ.3.U ₅ É.GAL)	3 minas	1	1
III:14-15	commander of the chariotry (LÚ.GAL— <i>mu-gi ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR)		1	1
III:16-17	commander of the cavalry (LÚ.GAL— <i>mu-gi ša</i> BAD- <i>ḫal-lī</i>)		1	
III:18-20	cohort commanders of the palace (LÚ.GAL— <i>ki-šir</i> .MEŠ <i>ša</i> É.GAL)		2	2
III:23-24	chariot driver (LÚ. <i>mu-kil</i> —PA.MEŠ)		1	1
R.I:5-6	2 cavalymen of the personal guard (2 BAD.ḪAL GİR.2(<i>ša</i> — <i>šēpē</i>))	2 talents		
I:9-10	cavalryman of the bodyguard ([BAD].ḪAL <i>ša</i> LÚ. <i>qur-bu-te</i>)	[x] minas		
I:11-12	[...] the cavalryman ([...] BAD.ḪAL)	[x ...]		

Fig. 42. List of tribute distributed to equestrian officers at court (FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 36 (ADD 1036); DEZSŐ 2012B, Fig.5).

LINES	SILVER	OTHER	TYPE	PERSONNEL
8-10	2 talents, 20 minas in place of ivory	50 tunics, 10 togas, 3 potfuls of iced fish, 20 creels with 1,000 fish	tribute (<i>madattu</i>)	Palace
11-13		one mural crown of gold, 20 silver bowls, 4 togas of byssus, 15 Ḫasaean tents, 10 tunics, 10 large togas	audience gift (<i>nāmurtu</i>)	Palace
14	3 minas	2 tunics, 3 togas	tribute	Queen
15-16	10 minas	5 tunics, 5 togas	audience gift	Queen
17	3 minas	2 tunics, 3 togas	tribute	Crown Prince
18	10 minas	3 tunics, 3 togas	tribute	Grand Vizier
19-20	1 talent	10 tunics, 5 togas, 1 potful of iced fish, 2 creels with 200 fish	audience gift	Grand Vizier
21	10 minas	10 togas, 5 tunics	tribute	Commander-in-Chief
22	3 minas	3 togas, 3 tunics		Chief Judge
23	3 minas	3 togas, 3 tunics		Second Vizier
[...]				
R. 2-4	[x] talents, 40 minas in place of ivory	20 tunics, 20 togas, 3 potfuls of iced (fish), 10 creels with 1,000 fish	tribute	Palace
5-7		one mural crown of gold, 20 silver bowls, 10 tunics, 10 togas, 4 togas <i>made to measure</i> , one potful of iced fish	audience gift	Palace
8-9	5 minas	5 togas, 5 tunics, 1 potful of iced fish, 1 creel of 100 fish	tribute	Queen
10-11	10 minas	5 togas, 5 tunics, 1 potful of iced fish, 1 creel of 100 fish	tribute	Crown Prince
12	6 minas	3 togas, 2 tunics		Grand Vizier
13	10 minas	5 togas, 5 tunics		Commander-in-Chief
14	3 minas	3 togas		Chief Judge
15	3 minas	3 togas		Second Vizier
16	4 minas	3 togas, 3 tunics		Chief Eunuch
17	5 minas	3 togas, 2 tunics		Palace Superintendent
18	1 mina	1 toga		Overseer of the Domestic Quarters
19	1 mina	1 toga, 2 scrolls of papyrus		scribe of the Palace
20	1 mina	1 toga		chariot driver
21	1 mina	1 toga		‘third man’

Fig. 43. List of tribute distributed to court personnel (PARPOLA 1987, 34 (ABL 568)).

Another important example of the distribution of tribute in the royal court is known from one of the letters of Sennacherib to his father, Sargon II. Fig 43 shows the structure of the text and the items of tribute and audience gifts distributed between the court personnel, including high

officials. It seems from this text as well, that their usual income (originating from their *ad hominem* and/or *ex officio* estates and other offices) was regularly complemented with various items coming from audience gifts or tributes.

An unfortunately very fragmentary inventory lists the revenues of the Crown Prince from the eponym year of Sagab (651 B.C.) to the eponym year of Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu (646 B.C.), for 6 years stored in a treasury (*nakamti*). The list includes the following items: “11 talents, 20[+x minas of sil]ver, as work-materials; 29 silver tribute bowls, 25 minas in weight, 40 togas [...], 51 talents [...]”⁸²⁶ This text shows that the regular income of the household of the Crown Prince was periodically complemented with such precious items originating from mainly the tribute arriving to the capital of Assyria from various regions of the Empire.

2) Booty/tribute distributed to/between the temples of the Empire.

There is a whole set of shorter or longer notes and inventories listing precious items belonging to different gods and goddesses. Unfortunately there is no explicit indication that the precious items listed for example in ADD 936⁸²⁷ and belonging or distributed to different deities (including Aššur, Ištar of Bit-Kidmuri, Ištar of Bit-Eqi, Marduk, Ninurta, Bēlet-balāṭi, Mullissu, and Pārisat-palē), were not simply gifts to the gods, but gifts (or at least their raw material) originating from booty or tribute.

As has been discussed in detail (chapter II.3.1.1 Precious metals (gold and silver), II.3.1.1.3 Distributed among the temples and the royal treasury) large treasures were amassed in temple treasuries, the origin of which might partly be some form of booty or tribute.

3) Booty/tribute distributed by the provincial administration.

An unknown Assyrian official sent an order to Māzamua concerning the booty gathered there. The order was brought by the ‘mule house man,’ who said: “Let *me* divide the booty into portions in Māzamua.”⁸²⁸

When the Assyrian king (Tiglath-Pileser III) asked Inurta-bēlu-ušur about the animals brought from Tabal by Inurta-aplu-iddina, Inurta-bēlu-ušur answered as follows: “I have already written to my lord twice: 46 horses, 165 oxen, 4,635 sheep are in my charge (and) 33 horses, 135 oxen are in the charge of Aššur-nāšir.”⁸²⁹ This letter again indicates that part of the resources from the incoming tribute was divided or distributed between the officials of the provincial administration. This letter, however, leaves the intended use of the animals unclear: were they only shepherded by the local authorities until the arrival of the army, for example, or were they used freely for local purposes?

II.3.2.1 Foreign rulers bringing their tribute

It seems this type of income could be realized in other forms, for example in the shape of ‘audience gifts’ as well. When Urzana (the defeated king of Mušašir) went to Arbela with his audience gifts, presumably he was the one who brought Sargon II 56 horses, [x] oxen, 2,000 sheep, and 100 [...].⁸³⁰ One of his further letters reinforces our view and also refers to oxen and rams as part of his ‘audience gift.’ When the Assyrian king brought him to book for the missing rams and

⁸²⁶ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 59 (ADD 927), 7-11.

⁸²⁷ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 62 (ADD 936+).

⁸²⁸ SAGGS 2001, 114 (ND 2445); LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 196 (ND 2445), 6-7.

⁸²⁹ SAGGS 2001, 290-292 (NL, 64, ND 2683); LUUKKO 2012, 33 (ND 2683), 10-15.

⁸³⁰ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 136 (ABL 891), Rev.2-3.

oxen, Urzana tried to excuse himself of being late with the audience gifts as follows: “The king, my lord, knows my affair. Whe[re] are the oxen and the rams? Snow has blocked the roads. (As) I am looking out now, it is impossible: I cannot go empty-handed to the presence of the ki[ng].”⁸³¹

Not only Urzana, but other rulers also delivered the tribute to the Assyrian court personally. Ah-abi (or Babba?) reported to the Assyrian king that the king of Karalla “entered Kilizi on the 22nd and will enter Calah on the 23rd. He has his tribute with him.”⁸³² Another, unfortunately very fragmentary letter refers to royal orders concerning the tribute of Gambulu, Ellipi and Humbê of Bît-Zualza. The king informed the addressee that their tribute should probably be delivered by their sheikhs or rulers.⁸³³

Marduk-rēmanni sent a note to Sargon II that he had received 45 horses of the Palace, and reported that the emissaries from Egypt, Gaza, Judah, Moab and Ammon had brought their tribute on the 12th day to Calah, including 24 horses of the king of Gaza. The emissaries of Edom, Ashdod and Ekron probably had not arrived yet.⁸³⁴

An unknown official (Qurdi-Aššur-lāmur?) sent a report, probably to Tiglath-Pileser III, concerning the tribute of the Western vassals of Assyria: the king of Tyre, Matenni, the king of Danabu and the Sidonites. According to this letter there had been a debate over the payment method, or who was in charge of collecting and receiving the tribute. Matenni sent a letter to the ruler of Danabu saying: “Let us r[aise] the king’s money [and give it to him!]”⁸³⁵ The emissaries of these kings delivered the tribute to the Assyrian royal delegate and the governor.

A very important letter of Aššur-daʾinanni⁸³⁶ (for a detailed study see chapter III. Supply of horses, III.1.2 Royal correspondence and administrative texts) refers to horse management, including the management of tribute horses of the provinces, including the vassals of the Assyrian king. The horse collection in Kišesim, for example was divided between the local ruler and the Assyrian official, Aššur-daʾinanni. The Assyrian official got a royal order to receive the regular horses and the king’s horse. When the city-lord of Kišesim brought the tribute to him, the recruitment officers were in his presence, possibly waiting for the horses. However, the city-lord of Kišesim wrote a letter to Aššur-daʾinanni as follows: “(As for) you, receive the king’s tribute! I shall colle[ct] and receive regular (horses) for profit.”⁸³⁷ This letter illuminates the diverse background of sources from which the Assyrians got their tribute horses: “He brings the enemy horses to the king, my lord, but receives the [re]gular (ones) as well as the king’s (horses) [in the trade col]ony, and (only then) brings them to the king, my lord.”⁸³⁸ It is clear from this letter, that the local rulers and the Assyrian authorities were rivals in collecting the horses, which remained a vital resource for the Assyrian army.

Two letters of Sennacherib, sent to his father, Sargon II mentions that tribute bearers had arrived to Calah. The first letter reports that the Ashdodites had already arrived with their tribute to Calah. The Crown Prince received it, sealed it and deposited it in the *Nāmurtu* (audience

⁸³¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 146 (ABL 768), 4-10.

⁸³² SAGGS 2001, 139-140 (NL, 44, ND 2677); LUUKKO 2012, 169 (ND 2677), 4-11.

⁸³³ PARPOLA 1987, 15 (CT 53, 311).

⁸³⁴ PARPOLA 1987, 110 (NL 16, ND 2765); LUUKKO 2012, 159 (NL 16, ND 2765).

⁸³⁵ SAGGS 2001, 152 (ND 2430); LUUKKO 2012, 24 (ND 2430), 2-5.

⁸³⁶ SAGGS 2001, 297 (ND 2711); LUUKKO 2012, 91 (ND 2711).

⁸³⁷ SAGGS 2001, 297 (ND 2711); LUUKKO 2012, 91 (ND 2711), 18-22.

⁸³⁸ SAGGS 2001, 297 (ND 2711); LUUKKO 2012, 91 (ND 2711), Rev. 23-27.

gift) Palace.⁸³⁹ The other letter⁸⁴⁰ provides further important details of tribute management: the emissaries of Commagene (KUR.*Ku-mu-ḥa-a-a*) had arrived with their tribute and seven teams of mules. They stayed with the tribute in the Commagenean embassy (É¹ KUR.*Ku-mu-ḥa-a-a*), where they were eating their own bread. The Crown Prince asked his father: “Should they (the tribute and the mules) be picked up and brought to Babylon, or can they be received here?”⁸⁴¹ A further and very important detail of the whole tribute phenomenon is the following passage of the letter: “They also brought *red* wool. The merchants told me that they have selected seven talents from it but that the Commageneans did not agree but said: ‘Who do you think you are? You are not to make the selection. Let them take it over and let the king’s weavers make a selection over there.’ The king, my lord, should write me to whom they are supposed to give it.”⁸⁴² This passage can be understood as if the (contracted private or royal?) merchants could select items from the tribute to sell (on behalf of the king?). The Commageneans, however, insisted that they had brought the wool not to be sold, but to be delivered to the king’s weavers. It seems that there was no strict protocol to be followed: 1) it seems that somehow both parties (the merchants and the royal weavers) could have access to the wool; 2) Sennacherib himself could not decide what to do and asked to his father, the king, to whom the wool was supposed to be handed over.

These letters throw some light on the central management of the tribute (which increasingly became a yearly tax): the rulers or emissaries brought their tribute to the capital, where they and their tribute was received, sealed, and deposited in a storehouse (*Nāmurtu* (audience gift) Palace). The tribute was redistributed between various members of the royal court and other personnel from this storehouse.

II.3.2.2 Magnates collecting tribute

Not only the king, but the magnates themselves were eligible to take booty and extract tribute from the conquered territories. A whole set of reports deals, among others, with horses, which arrived to Assyria from various provinces and vassal states via the provincial administration. A letter from Nabû-aḥu-ušur (most probably the *qurbūtu* bodyguard) to Sargon II refers to magnates⁸⁴³ who collected the booty of horses from Bīt-Ḥamban. Since Nabû-ḥamātū’a could not come to receive the tribute from them, the magnates handed over the horses to his deputy, the deputy (governor) of Bīt-Ḥamban. According to the royal order “They may each keep 50 riding horses at their disposal, the rest of their horses should come to me!”, but the magnates disagreed, saying: “(If) they go, they will die along the way; they will come with us.”⁸⁴⁴ Other sources corroborate the practice of the magnates leading ‘booty and tribute collecting’ campaigns to collect the tribute of horses. Several queries to the Sungod⁸⁴⁵ for example directly refer to this activity, which shows the constant need of a supply of horses (see chapter III.1 Horses from tribute, booty, and audience gift.)

A report sent to Sargon II, probably by Mannu-kī-Ninua (in 707 B.C.), also refers to the tribute-collecting activity of the magnates. They met the son of Irtukkanu, the city-lord of Uriakka. The

⁸³⁹ PARPOLA 1987, 29 (ABL 198+).

⁸⁴⁰ PARPOLA 1987, 33 (ABL 196).

⁸⁴¹ PARPOLA 1987, 33 (ABL 196), 15-17.

⁸⁴² PARPOLA 1987, 33 (ABL 196), 19-Rev. 1.

⁸⁴³ DEZSŐ 2012A, 202-210.

⁸⁴⁴ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 226 (ABL 884), Rev. 12-21.

⁸⁴⁵ STARR 1990, 64 (PRT 21), 4: Salt Desert; 65 (PRT 22), 6, 10: Media; 66 (PRT 20), 3-4: Bīt-Kāri, Media; 67 (AGS 31), 6; 71 (AGS 30), 5-6: Saparda, Bīt-Kāri, Media;

report says that “after the magnates had moved on from his presence, he visited me, brought the rest of the tribute, and will take it to the magnates. The magnates of the king, my lord, are well. They have entered Ellipi.”⁸⁴⁶

Sargon II sent an order to Aššur-bēlu-ušur to deliver the tribute to Babylon via Bīt-Ḫamban as follows: “Set out with your troops and tribute, and come.”⁸⁴⁷ Aššur-bēlu-ušur replied and promised the king that he was going to do his best to set out with his troops and tribute but there was very much snow which delays his march. He mentions in his letter that Assyrian soldiers recruits, chariot fighters, and all their king’s men were dragging the tribute, including thirty tribute horses as well. This letter can be connected to the Babylonian campaign of 710–709 B.C. and the mention of the snow, which hindered the movement of the Assyrian troops from Bīt-Ḫamban to Babylon refers to an early date, preceeding even the muster season of Nisan (I). It is also clear from this letter that 1) the tribute (including horses) was needed for the campaign, and 2) was collected in an early date (during the winter) or 3) was stored by the troops of the province during the winter season.

II.3.2.3 Governors administering tribute

Since the tribute (*madattu*) changed its *ad hoc* nature and became a regular yearly tax, the vassal rulers had to send their envoys or emissaries to the Assyrian court (*see* above, chapter II.3.2.1 Foreign rulers bringing their tribute) or to the neighbouring Assyrian provincial authorities to deliver their tribute. There are some letters and administrative texts which like an inventory register the income of the items of tribute. Such a text⁸⁴⁸ lists those 9 kings of Tabal (Tuatti, Ḫanubuni, Ašḫitu, Kalu, Pulī, Ḫili, Uluanda, Urbala’a, and Pišelmū) who delivered their tribute within their year, including mules, horses, alabaster and other items, the reconstruction of which – because of the fragmentary state of the text – is impossible. It is furthermore unknown whether this inventory was put together by the central court administration or a local provincial administration registered the items.

If we say that the tribute became a regular yearly tax, another administrative text refers to the ‘tribute of the month of [...]’⁸⁴⁹ which implies that different types of tribute items would have been extracted monthly (or in a specified month of the year). This text lists various contributions, including *ilku* and tribute – and as far as the fragmentary state of the text makes a reconstruction possible – contained vessels and large numbers of sheep. The character of the text fits into a provincial administrative context.

An administrative list⁸⁵⁰ discussed above reviews horses, livestock and wheat due from various locations. These items might originally have come from local taxes, but the amounts listed presumably refer to a kind of tribute due from different places. This unfortunately very fragmentary text lists various animals in groups: altogether 250+ horses from different towns, 1,600 cattle collected from unknown locations; 16,000 sheep from unknown places; 595+ donkeys from several settlements. The figures are comparable to the numbers of tribute animals found in the royal inscriptions, and are large enough to denote tribute items. The 1,600 cattle and the 16,000 sheep could refer to a conscious concept – which fits to the levying tribute and local tax concept

⁸⁴⁶ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 95 (ABL 1046), Rev. 2-10.

⁸⁴⁷ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 60 (ABL 242), 5-6.

⁸⁴⁸ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 30 (SAAB 2, 40).

⁸⁴⁹ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 97 (K.06509).

⁸⁵⁰ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 104 (K.8683 + K.20329).

as well. In this case it is hard to draw the borderline between the two types of income. Without geographical names it seems clear that this list registers the income – not only animals but wheat as well (*see* above chapter II.3.1.4 Foodstuff) – of a confined geographical area (a few provinces) and not of the whole Empire. Anyhow, this list is a further contribution to the better understanding of the logic behind the Assyrian economy, and sheds some light onto the volume of this type of income, and onto the prominent part it could play in the imperial economy.

A letter of Dādî to Esarhaddon let us to get an insight into the administrative background of the tribute. Dādî complained that – in spite of Sennacherib having established a tribute of probably 10,000 sheep – in the last four years they would not give any. Furthermore, it was the second year that Rašappa and Arzuḫina refused to deliver the tribute sheep.⁸⁵¹ The most important point here is that Assyrian kings imposed tribute on different provinces of the Homeland, as well, who tried to evade paying the tribute of sheep. In a similar letter Nabû-dān blamed Nabû-šumu-iškun saying: “Why haven’t I seen you at the camp for the past two years? And since you haven’t seen my house either, by Bēl, the tribute of the past two years is incumbent on you.”⁸⁵²

An unknown official, presumably a governor of one of the Southeastern border provinces administered the collection of tribute. He reported to Sargon II that Daltâ, king of Ellipi was collecting the rest of his tribute, the Medes had brought 30 horses, and the land of Zakrûtu had sent 40 horses. They promised to deliver the rest of the tribute.⁸⁵³ This text is another example of the local tribute management.

Aḫu-lāmur reported to his lord, the Chief Eunuch that he had not obtained the tribute under way, and asked his lord to “send a royal order to Nergal-bēlu-uda”an that he takes on the rest of the tribute and bears the responsibility for the tribute.”⁸⁵⁴

An interesting letter of Nabû-bēlu-ka”in not only refers to emissaries bringing horses, but complained to the king that the state service of the towns situated in his territory has been lifted, but the obligation of providing horses has remained, so he has to provide the horses. Nabû-bēlu-ka”in asks the king to remove this obligation from him and let the towns buy the missing horses.⁸⁵⁵ It is unclear whether providing tribute horses was an obligation fixed to the state service of these towns or to the province.

These letters show that actually the whole Assyrian administration, provincial and central as well – as may be expected – too part in the collection and management of tribute. If we are looking for the most important or main source of income, the tribute should be one of them.

⁸⁵¹ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 21 (CT 53, 129).

⁸⁵² DIETRICH 2003, 133 (CT 54, 2).

⁸⁵³ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 84 (NL 042, ND 2655); LUUKKO 2012, 191 (ND 2655). *See* furthermore FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 102 (CT 53, 895) mentioning Daltâ and the tribute, and FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 109 (CT 53, 315).

⁸⁵⁴ SAGGS 2001, 295 (ND 2698+); LUUKKO 2012, 38 (ND 2698+), Rev. 8-13.

⁸⁵⁵ SAGGS 2001, 93 (ND 2783); LUUKKO 2012, 193 (ND 2783), Rev. 7-18.

II.3.2.4 The escort of the booty or tribute

The constant flow of booty and tribute needed special management, including feeding the deportees and animals, and providing escort for the booty column. The escort of the booty was one of the main concerns of the central and local authorities. One of the letters of Adda-ḥāti, governor of Ḥamath for example, reported to Sargon II that Ammili'ti, the son of Amiri, wanted to attack the booty column sent from Damascus to Assyria with 300 she-camels. The Assyrian governor, however, exposed the plan, and went with Bēl-iqbî to meet the booty (1,500 sheep from Ḥuzaza, 1,500 sheep from [...]). The Arabs ambushed the column from behind, but the Assyrians clashed with them and pursued them until the terrain became so difficult that it was not fit either for horses or for chariots.⁸⁵⁶ A similar case is reported by Nabû-šumu-lēšir to the king. Sargon II asked the governor "Send me any news about the Arabs that you hear." He reported as follows: "When that caravan had left (the territory of) the Nabaiateans, Aia-kabar, son of Ammi-iata', the Massa'ean, attacked them, killed men and took booty. One of them, having escaped, entered the city of the king."⁸⁵⁷

When an Assyrian official (whose name is missing) gave permission to another official to let the tribute sheep and oxen pass through, the animals left Dēr with a military escort. They had covered one league of ground when they were attacked by the enemy and turned back to Dēr to stay there for five days before they started the march again and let the animals pass through.⁸⁵⁸

Such important booty columns made of thousands of sheep and other valuables needed a strong military escort, especially in those border regions where the neighbouring enemies (Arabs, Elamites, or Zagros people) made every effort to loot the animals. One of the most important challenges for the local military administration was consequently the borderguard duty including the escort of booty/tribute columns.

Concluding the evidence provided by the royal inscriptions and the administrative texts (letters and inventories), it can confidently be stated that the booty and tribute played a vital role in the maintenance and supply of the army on campaign and at home bases, and contributed significantly to the imperial economy of the Assyrian Empire. These immense numbers show that in certain periods (under the rule of certain Neo-Assyrian kings) the booty and tribute of the metals and livestock were of primary importance, not only in the sustenance of the army during campaigns, but in the maintenance and supply of the state economy and the apparatus as well. This constant influx of booty and tribute provided such an amount of extra resources to the state economy⁸⁵⁹ and to the army, that without them the system could not have worked so effectively for such a long period of time (let us say for the last 100 years from 745 to about 631 B.C.). Yet such a level of exploitation of the neighbouring countries and such a level of dependence on this type

⁸⁵⁶ PARPOLA 1987, 175 (ND 2381); LUUKKO 2012, 174 (NL 19, ND 2381), 4-Rev. 18: "(Ammili'ti) the son of Amiri *readied himself* with 300 she-camels, intending to attack the booty being [tran]sferred from Damascus to Assyria. [I heard of this and] sent word to Bēl-i[qbî]; he came and we went together to meet the booty. He saw us, ambushed us from behind, and we had a fight. [I], 500 [booty] sheep from the city of Ḥuzaza, [I], 500 sheep [...] city of [...], [...] 2 men [...] men [...]. We returned and went in pursuit [after] him, getting as far as II[...]ani, but could not catch up with him; (the terrain) was too difficult, [it was not fit] either for horses or for chariots [...].

⁸⁵⁷ REYNOLDS 2003, 149 (ABL 260), 8-Rev. 8.

⁸⁵⁸ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 37 (CT 53, 92).

⁸⁵⁹ Following his last Arab campaign Assurbanipal boasted in his royal inscriptions, that so many captives and camels arrived from Arabia that the price of a camel was only one or one and half sheqel(s), the innkeeper's wife for a mug of beer, the gardener in exchange for a basket full of vegetables got a camel or a man. (BORGER 1996, *Prisma B* §53, viii:12-22; *Prisma C* §78, x:17-28).

of *ad hoc* (booty) and planned, regular (tribute) income were hardly sustainable in the long run. Consequently when the Empire reached the limits of its expansion⁸⁶⁰ and weakened or completely destroyed (e.g. Elam) those regions which could provide this type of income and influx of resources, this flow of state income started to diminish or ceased completely, and since the system could not cope with the new situation, and could not compensate for this deficiency with activating its inner, home resources, the structure collapsed.

At this point we can again join Richardson's view that, to quote again, "'Militarism' denotes the point at which war was no longer the instrument of policy, but the policy goal itself, and a 'military economy' where the mode of production pertained not just for soldiers, in one economic sector, but at the level of the state as a whole. By these standards, the Neo-Assyrian Empire following 745 (under Tiglath-Pileser III) qualifies, for instance, since it was no longer possible for the state to do without the financial and ideological income produced by the execution of warfare – an 'addictions model' of imperialism."⁸⁶¹

⁸⁶⁰ For the 'action radius' of the army and the 'Toynbee doctrine' as the factors designating the limits of an imperial expansion and consequently the size of the empires see the next volume of this project.

⁸⁶¹ RICHARDSON 2011, 32-33. Referring to FUCHS 2005.

III. SUPPLY OF HORSES

The assyriologists and archaeologists have long been interested in the history of the equestrian arms of the Near Eastern armies,⁸⁶² the advent of which (chariotry in the 2nd third of the 2nd millennium B.C., cavalry sometime during the late 2nd – early 1st millennium B.C.) revolutionized military theory and practice both on strategic and tactical levels. These developments in the Near Eastern empires – first of all the appearance of the cavalry arm in the Assyrian army of the early 9th century B.C. – altered the (military) history of the world profoundly, and by the 9th century B.C. horse management became one of the most important concerns of the Assyrian military and the state as well.

The cuneiform sources testify that huge numbers of horses were obtained from booty, tribute, taxes, audience gifts, and from (royal) merchants. The Assyrian royal inscriptions are the texts from this cuneiform corpus which mention a large influx of horses from booty and tribute. Summarizing the cuneiform evidence it is clear that the horses, as part of the economy, were at most used for transport functions; since they were not part of the normal farming community, horses only played a very small part in the private economy.⁸⁶³ Consequently the horses (looted, extracted or bred) were employed almost exclusively for the military. Horse management was an independent branch within the Assyrian (military) administration⁸⁶⁴ with special officers who were in charge of breeding and supply.⁸⁶⁵ We hardly have any information on the horse breeding and training activities⁸⁶⁶ of the Assyrians, which otherwise would play an important role in the supply of the animals.

III.1 Horses from tribute, booty, and audience gift

III.1.1 Royal inscriptions

One of the most important sources of horses were the booty and the tribute (*madattu*).⁸⁶⁷ As has been discussed in detail above (II.3 Booty and tribute), the tribute paid to the Assyrian king by the conquered cities, countries, and vassal rulers always had some military relevance, as this

⁸⁶² MAYER 1979B, 175-186; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984B, 27-47; DALLEY 1985, 31-48; NOBLE 1990, 61-68; DE BACKER 2009, 29-46; ARCHER 2010, 57-80; DEZSÖ 2012B.

⁸⁶³ POSTGATE 1974, 208-209. The penalty clauses of private contracts name items to be paid as penalty which could hardly or at least not so easily be provided: gold and horses.

⁸⁶⁴ See for example the chart in POSTGATE 1974, 212-213.

⁸⁶⁵ For example the prefect of stables (*šaknu ša ma'assi*) (DEZSÖ 2012B, 122); or the recruitment officer (*mušarkisu*) (DEZSÖ 2012B, 122-128).

⁸⁶⁶ For the Kikkuli texts see STARKE 1995, for the Middle Assyrian horse training 'handbook' see EBELING 1951. Furthermore see HORN 1995.

⁸⁶⁷ POSTGATE 1974, 111-130.

income would help finance the Assyrian state, and directly the Assyrian army on campaign. Certain items – eminently the horses – served the immediate needs of the military and played an important role in the supply of horses, especially during campaigns. The Assyrians, during their campaigns, or following victorious battles and sieges, captured not only prisoners of war, but large numbers of horses as well. In the wake of their victories the Assyrian kings immediately imposed a tribute on conquered or submissive countries, and one of the most important tribute items – especially in the horse breeding regions of the Near East – was the horse.

As *Chart 4* in volume 2,⁸⁶⁸ and *Chart 17* and especially *Figs. 39* and *41* in this volume show, Tiglath-Pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.) received a tribute of 1,200 horses from the 23 kings of Nairi.⁸⁶⁹ Adad-nērārī II (911–891 B.C.) captured horses and received tribute from Abi-salāmu, ruler of Bīt-Baḥiāni;⁸⁷⁰ from Amīl-Adad, ruler of Qatnu;⁸⁷¹ and from Šamaš-mudammiq, ruler of Karduniaš.⁸⁷² The royal inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884 B.C.) mention a single case: Dūr-Katlimmu,⁸⁷³ (however, he boasts that: “Altogether 2,702 horses in teams [*and chariots*], more than ever before, I had in harness for the forces of my land”),⁸⁷⁴ but the royal inscriptions of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) are full of such references. He captured horses or received them as tribute in Tūmmu,⁸⁷⁵ in Ḥubuškia and Gilzānu;⁸⁷⁶ in Nirbu;⁸⁷⁷ in Tušḥa (from Bīt-Zamāni, Šubria, Nirdun, and Nairi);⁸⁷⁸ in Ardupa (from Aḥi-rāmu, of Bīt-Iaḥiri, (A)zallu, a man of Bīt-Baḥiāni, kings of Ḥanigalbat, Ḥatti);⁸⁷⁹ in Bunāsi (from Mušašina);⁸⁸⁰ in Zamua;⁸⁸¹ in Zamru (from Ameka);⁸⁸² at Mount Lāra in Zamua;⁸⁸³ in Zamua (from Ḥudun, Ḥartišu, Ḥubušku, (and) Gilzānu);⁸⁸⁴ in Nirdun;⁸⁸⁵ in Bīt-Zamāni (460 horses from the nobles);⁸⁸⁶ in Suḥu (Sūru, city of Kudurru).⁸⁸⁷ Most probably in 875 B.C., on his Western campaign, the king took with him the cavalry and chariotry of the submissive kings of Bīt-Baḥiāni, Adad-’ime, the (A)zallu, Aḥūni of Bīt-Adini, Sangara of Gargamiš, Lubarna of Patinu.⁸⁸⁸

His son and successor, Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.) was also very successful in collecting horses from the conquered territories (*Fig. 41*): he captured or received them as tribute in Ḥargu, Ḥarmasa, Sirišu, Ulmānu, (and) Simerra;⁸⁸⁹ Ḥubuškia (from Kakia);⁸⁹⁰ in Gilzānu (from Asua);⁸⁹¹

⁸⁶⁸ DEZSŐ 2012B, *Chart 4*.

⁸⁶⁹ GRAYSON 1991, A.O.87.1, v:19.

⁸⁷⁰ GRAYSON 1991, A.O.99.2, 103.

⁸⁷¹ GRAYSON 1991, A.O.99.2, 110.

⁸⁷² GLASSNER 2004, *Synchronistic Chronicle (A)*, iii:1-7.

⁸⁷³ GRAYSON 1991, A.O.100.5, 105.

⁸⁷⁴ GRAYSON 1991, A.O.100.5, 131.

⁸⁷⁵ GRAYSON 1991, A.O.101.1, i:55-56 (883 B.C.).

⁸⁷⁶ GRAYSON 1991, A.O.101.1, i:57 (883 B.C.).

⁸⁷⁷ GRAYSON 1991, A.O.101.1, ii:10-11 (882 B.C.).

⁸⁷⁸ GRAYSON 1991, A.O.101.1, ii:12-14 (882 B.C.).

⁸⁷⁹ GRAYSON 1991, A.O.101.1, ii:22-23 (882 B.C.).

⁸⁸⁰ GRAYSON 1991, A.O.101.1, ii:36 (881 B.C.).

⁸⁸¹ GRAYSON 1991, A.O.101.1, ii:46-47 (881 B.C.).

⁸⁸² GRAYSON 1991, A.O.101.1, ii:68 (880 B.C.).

⁸⁸³ GRAYSON 1991, A.O.101.1, ii:79 (880 B.C.).

⁸⁸⁴ GRAYSON 1991, A.O.101.1, ii:80-81 (879 B.C.).

⁸⁸⁵ GRAYSON 1991, A.O.101.1, ii:101-102 (879 B.C.).

⁸⁸⁶ GRAYSON 1991, A.O.101.1, ii: 119-125; A.O.101.19, 87 (879 B.C.).

⁸⁸⁷ GRAYSON 1991, A.O.101.1, iii:22 (878 B.C.).

⁸⁸⁸ GRAYSON 1991, A.O.101.1, iii:57-77 (875 B.C.).

⁸⁸⁹ GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.1, 18-19 (859 B.C.).

⁸⁹⁰ GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.1, 28 (859 B.C.).

⁸⁹¹ GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.1, 38-39 (859 B.C.).

in Sam'al, Patinu, Bīt-Adini, and Gargamiš,⁸⁹² from Sam'al, Patinu, Bīt-Adini, Gargamiš, Que, Hīluku, Iasbuqu, and Iaḥānu;⁸⁹³ in Urarṭu, Arzaškun (from Aramu);⁸⁹⁴ from Zanzinua;⁸⁹⁵ in Gilzānu (from Asāu);⁸⁹⁶ in Bīt-Adini (from Aḥūni);⁸⁹⁷ from the 12 kings of the seashore;⁸⁹⁸ from Ḥadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) Irḥulēnu, the Ḥamatite, together with twelve kings on the shore of the sea;⁸⁹⁹ in Nairi and Urarṭu from Asia, king of the land Daiēnu;⁹⁰⁰ in Namri (from Marduk-mudammiq).⁹⁰¹ Following his final battle with the coalition of the 12 kings in 841 B.C., he captured 1,121 chariots (and) 470 cavalry of Hazael of Damascus.⁹⁰² After the defeat of Sēduru the Urarṭian in (832 B.C.) he took his numerous cavalry.⁹⁰³ In one of his inscriptions he boasts that during his first 20 regnal years (859–839 B.C.) he obtained a total of 9,920 horses and mules, and 19,690 donkeys.⁹⁰⁴

It seems, that during the reign of Šamši-Adad V (823–811 B.C.) the booty and tribute remained one of the most important sources of horses (*Fig. 41*). He captured and received horses as tribute in Nairi at least three times;⁹⁰⁵ from Ḥubuškia, Sunbu, Mannaea, Parsua, and Taurila;⁹⁰⁶ in the land Mēsu;⁹⁰⁷ in Sassiašu (from Titamaška) and Karsibuta (from Kiara);⁹⁰⁸ and in Gizilbunda (from Pirišāti);⁹⁰⁹ He captured in battle 140 cavalry of Ḥanasiruka, the Mede,⁹¹⁰ and 100 chariots and 200 cavalry of Marduk-balāṭsu-iqbî, in the battle by the River Daban in front of the city Dūr-Papsukkal.⁹¹¹

During the imperial period, large numbers of horses arrived from the conquered lands. Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.) got horses in 744 B.C. in Nikur, Namri, Bīt-Abdadāni, Bīt-Sangibūti, and Bīt-Zatti;⁹¹² in Ellipi and Namri;⁹¹³ and in Aranziaš (from Ramatēia).⁹¹⁴ He received white, piebald, Ḥaršeān, *ḥar*-[*bakannu*?] horses with their trappings from Iranzû, king of Mannai.⁹¹⁵ During his Western campaign in 738 B.C. he captured and received a lot of horses from Damascus to Meliddu.⁹¹⁶ It was most probably in the same year that Hiram of Tyre(?) sent Egyptian horses

⁸⁹² GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.1, 61' (858 B.C.).

⁸⁹³ GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.1, 66'-70' (858 B.C.).

⁸⁹⁴ GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.2, ii:52-53 (856 B.C.).

⁸⁹⁵ GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.2, 57-58 (856 B.C.).

⁸⁹⁶ GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.2, 61-62 (856 B.C.).

⁸⁹⁷ GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.2, ii:73-74 (855 B.C.).

⁸⁹⁸ GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.2, ii:102 (853 B.C.).

⁸⁹⁹ GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.6, iii:8-11 (848 B.C.).

⁹⁰⁰ GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.6, iii:43-44 (844 B.C.).

⁹⁰¹ GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.6, iv:20 (843 B.C.).

⁹⁰² GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.10, 10"-14".

⁹⁰³ GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.16, 236'-238'. One of the Urarṭian campaigns is recorded in the 'Epic of Shalmaneser.' This text refers to horses taken as plunder: "I took as plunder innumerable mules and horses, (as well as) riding donkeys." (LIVINGSTONE 1989, 17 (STT 43), Rev. 18-20); "I went down to ... as far as the ... of the Na'iri land. I received tribute horses from the cities of Tikki and Ḥubuškia; the rest of the tribute I received (in) Tūrušpā." (LIVINGSTONE 1989, 17 (STT 43), Rev. 23-25).

⁹⁰⁴ GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.10, iv:34-40.

⁹⁰⁵ GRAYSON 1996, A.O.103.1, i:53-ii:4; ii:32-34; iii:44-66.

⁹⁰⁶ GRAYSON 1996, A.O.103.1, ii:34-42 (822 B.C.?).

⁹⁰⁷ GRAYSON 1996, A.O.103.1, ii:54-56.

⁹⁰⁸ GRAYSON 1996, A.O.103.1, ii:59-iii:6.

⁹⁰⁹ GRAYSON 1996, A.O.103.1, iii:16.

⁹¹⁰ GRAYSON 1996, A.O.103.1, iii:33-36 (821 B.C.?).

⁹¹¹ GRAYSON 1996, A.O.103.1, iv:31-45 (820 B.C.?).

⁹¹² TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 6, 10b-12.

⁹¹³ TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 35, i:11'-14'.

⁹¹⁴ TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 8, 1-4.

⁹¹⁵ TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 35, i:15'-20'.

⁹¹⁶ TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 14, 10 – 15, 5.

to the king.⁹¹⁷ On his Median campaign (737 B.C.), for example, he got horses from the Medes in Ellipi,⁹¹⁸ from Iranzû, king of Mannai,⁹¹⁹ and altogether 1,615+[x] horses from the Medes.⁹²⁰ Fig. 44 shows the details of this tribute. In another inscription concerning the same year, Tiglath-Pileser III mentions that he sent his eunuch, Aššur-da'inanni against the mighty Medes of the East. The eunuch brought a huge tribute of 5,000 horses from Media to Assyria,⁹²¹ which would have been the largest booty of horses ever in Assyria. A large number of horses arrived to Assyria in 735 B.C. as well, when along 20,000 sheep and 1,500 oxen, hundreds of horses and mules were paid as a tribute to the Assyrians in Nairi (from Ḫista, Ḫarabisinna, Barbaz, Tasa; and Daiqanša, Sakka, Ippa, Elizanšu, Luqadanša, Quda, Elugia, Dania, Danzūn, Ulaia, Luqia, Abrania, and Eusa).⁹²² In the next year (734 B.C.) during his Western campaign Tiglath-Pileser III received 'large' and/or 'Egyptian' horses along with 'normal' horses from Ḫanunu of Gaza⁹²³ and Hiram of Tyre.⁹²⁴ In the next year (733 B.C.) Rezin of Damascus also sent tribute, which included horses and mules as well.⁹²⁵ When in 730 B.C. the king of Tabal, Uassurme rebelled against Tiglath-Pileser III, the Assyrian king sent his chief eunuch, who placed a commoner, Ḫulli on the throne of Tabal. Ḫulli then sent 2,000 horses to Assyria as tribute.⁹²⁶

It seems from his inscriptions that Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) also laid great emphasis on the supply of horses from the conquered and vassal countries in the form of booty and/or tribute (Figs. 39 and 41). At the beginning of his reign he captured and conscripted into the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) 600 cavalry at Ḫamath (Qarqar)⁹²⁷ and 200 at Carchemish in 717 B.C.⁹²⁸ Horses were brought from Šinuhtu in 718 B.C.,⁹²⁹ and from Egypt and the Sabaean Arabs in 715 B.C.⁹³⁰ The Urartian campaign of 714 B.C. most probably yielded huge numbers of equids for the Assyrians. It is known that Ianzû, king of Ḫubuškia⁹³¹ and Urzana, king of Mušašir⁹³² sent horses and other equids as a tribute to Sargon II campaigning in their countries. In the following year, in 713 B.C. the Assyrian vassals of the Zagros region sent large numbers of horses to the Assyrians: horses, mules, and donkeys came from Ellipi and Ḫubahna,⁹³³ while Ullusunū, king of Mannai, Daltā, king of Ellipi, Bēl-aplu-iddina, king of Allabria, and further 45 citylords of the mighty Medes sent 4,609 horses, mules and oxen to Sargon II.⁹³⁴ In 710 B.C. during the course of the Babylonian campaign the Assyrian army also captured and received horses.⁹³⁵ In the next year, in 709 B.C.

⁹¹⁷ TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 48, 1'-10'.

⁹¹⁸ TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 17, 9-10.

⁹¹⁹ TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 17, 10-102.

⁹²⁰ TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 35, ii:30'-44' (TADMOR 1994, Stele IIB:30'-44').

⁹²¹ TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 41:13'-14'. For Media see also TADMOR 1994, Ann. 16, 4, 10, 12; and TADMOR 1994, Stele IB, 13'-19'.

⁹²² TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 18, 1-6.

⁹²³ TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 42, 12'-15'.

⁹²⁴ TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 49, Rev. 6-8.

⁹²⁵ TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 20, 1'-8'.

⁹²⁶ TADMOR 1994, Summ. 7:14'-15'; Summ. 9:29.

⁹²⁷ FUCHS 1994, Display 35-36.

⁹²⁸ FUCHS 1994, Ann. 75.

⁹²⁹ FUCHS 1994, Ann. 70-71.

⁹³⁰ FUCHS 1994, Ann. 123-125.

⁹³¹ FUCHS 1994, Ann. 147-148.

⁹³² FUCHS 1994, Ann. 153-155 (692 mules and donkeys).

⁹³³ FUCHS 1994, Ann. 176-178.

⁹³⁴ FUCHS 1994, Ann. 191-194.

⁹³⁵ From Dūr-Aṭṭara (FUCHS 1994, Ann. 268-272); from Ianuqu, sheikh of Zāmē, Nabû-ušalla, sheikh of Aburē, Paššunu and Ḫaukānu from Nuḫāni and Sa'ilu; 5 sheikhs of Puqūdu; Abḫatā the Ru'ūcan, furthermore Ḫuninu, Same'u, Sapharru and Rāpi'u from the

the Assyrians captured huge numbers of horses (2,080/2,500 and 1,000 horses) and other equids (700/710 and 800 mules, and 6,054 camels) from Marduk-apla-iddina in Dūr-lakīn during their Babylonian campaign.⁹³⁶ The last influx of captured or tribute horses is known from 708 B.C., when Muttallu, king of Kummuhī paid tribute – including horses and mules – from his royal city of Meliddu.⁹³⁷

It seems that the royal inscriptions of Sennacherib laid not so much emphasis on listing booty and tribute, including horses (Figs. 39 and 41). It obviously does not mean that the constant flow of booty and tribute stopped, on the contrary: as has been pointed out, the palace reliefs of Sennacherib show an expansion of the cavalry arm and a kind of (temporary or final?) decline of the chariotry arm.⁹³⁸ This tendency at the least points to a shift of emphasis onto the cavalry arm.

Sennacherib's inscription mentions that following two battles (Kish, 704/703 B.C.⁹³⁹ and Ḫalulê, 691 B.C.)⁹⁴⁰ he captured a large number of horses and chariots from the defeated enemy. In 702 B.C. in Iasubigalla,⁹⁴¹ and in the next year, on his Judaeen campaign, in Judah the king also captured a large number of horses.⁹⁴² Following the battle of Kish, during his Babylonian campaign (704/703 B.C.), the king seized the largest known booty of horses and other equids of his reign: 7,200 horses and mules, 11,073 donkeys and 5,230 camels.⁹⁴³ Not only the number of horses (enough for a complete cavalry army), but the huge number of beasts of burden (providing more than sufficient transport capacity) meant a great success and a substantial income for the army and the Empire. For the military importance of the transport capacity see II.1.1.2.7 Transporting barley rations.

According to the royal inscriptions of Esarhaddon, there were two main 'registered' sources of the booty or tribute horses arriving to Assyria (Fig. 41). During his early years the chieftains of the distant Medes (Uppis, chieftain of the city Partakka, Zanasana, chieftain of the city Partukka, (and) Ramatēia, chieftain of the city Urakazabarna) brought him a tribute of large thoroughbreds (ANŠE.mur-ni-is-qī) and asked his help against other chieftains of the Medes.⁹⁴⁴ The king sent his army to Media and captured large numbers of horses in Patušarri.⁹⁴⁵ Beside Media, Egypt represented the other, new source of horses: at different stages of his 671 B.C. Egyptian campaign Esarhaddon's troops captured huge numbers of horses,⁹⁴⁶ including [...] +40 stallions (ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ NÍTA),⁹⁴⁷ and horses whose [trappings? are] gold.⁹⁴⁸ This campaign resulted in the largest number of horses ever captured by the Assyrians: the inscription boasts that not less than 50,000 strong horses (ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti*), broken to the yoke, were taken by the Assyrians. If this number is not an exaggeration, then the Assyrians probably took

tribe of Ḫindānu (FUCHS 1994, Ann. 283-286); from the fortresses of Sam'ūna és Bāb-dūri in Iadburu (FUCHS 1994, Ann. 294-298); and from Mušēzibu, Natnu, Aialunu and Daiššānu from the land of Laḫiru, furthermore Aiarimmu and Bēl-āli from the town Sulāia, altogether 6 sheikhs of the land Iadburu (FUCHS 1994, Ann. 298-302).

⁹³⁶ FUCHS 1994, Ann. 354-356, 359a, 363-372.

⁹³⁷ FUCHS 1994, Ann. 405-406.

⁹³⁸ DEZSŐ 2012B, 20.

⁹³⁹ GRAYSON – NOVOTNY 2012, 1, 27-29.

⁹⁴⁰ GRAYSON – NOVOTNY 2012, 23, vi:15-19.

⁹⁴¹ GRAYSON – NOVOTNY 2012, 2, 22-23.

⁹⁴² GRAYSON – NOVOTNY 2012, 4, 49-51.

⁹⁴³ GRAYSON – NOVOTNY 2012, 1, 60-61.

⁹⁴⁴ LEICHTY 2011, 1, iv:32-45.

⁹⁴⁵ LEICHTY 2011, 1, iv:46-52.

⁹⁴⁶ LEICHTY 2011, 98, 43-45.

⁹⁴⁷ LEICHTY 2011, 9, ii':12'-21'.

⁹⁴⁸ LEICHTY 2011, 37, Rev. 7-11.

almost all of the horses of Lower Egypt. It would have been impossible to drive this huge number of animals over thousands of kilometers to Assyria without great loss (for some examples see the following chapter), consequently part of them should have satisfied the local needs of the expeditionary army.

During the reign of Assurbanipal, the Assyrian army campaigned again in the regions famous for their horsebreeding traditions (*Fig. 41*). The description of his Egyptian campaign of 664 B.C. mentions that in Thebes and other parts of Egypt the Assyrians captured large horses,⁹⁴⁹ for whose breeding the Egyptians were famous for. His campaigns led to Mannai – also renowned for its horsebreeding traditions⁹⁵⁰ – also yielded large numbers of horses.⁹⁵¹ The next region from which the victorious Assyrian army brought large numbers of horses was Elam. Following the battle of Til-Tuba (653 B.C.) the Assyrians captured the Elamite horses and mules.⁹⁵² Following the Babylonian revolt of 652–648 B.C. the Assyrian army launched a series of campaigns to take vengeance on Elam, who had backed Šamaš-šumu-ukīn. During these campaigns, especially during the 10th campaign the Assyrian army looted Elam and again seized large number of horses.⁹⁵³ The stamping out of the Babylonian rebellion of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn (652–648 B.C.) most probably entailed a significant cost in human and animal resources for the Assyrians. It is unknown, whether the booty, including horses, mules, and other animals covered the expenses of the campaign or not. Anyhow, the Assyrians captured a large number of horses again.⁹⁵⁴

The importance of the tribute horses for the Assyrian system of horse supply for the army is underlined by the fact that the Assyrians launched campaigns in order to obtain animals. It is unknown whether it was the normal way to collect the (yearly) tribute from the previously conquered people, or whether these campaigns were intended to find new ('not yet contracted') sources of horses. Such campaigns, launched by the 'magnates'⁹⁵⁵ of the Empire, are referred to by the omen texts from the reign of Esarhaddon, which recorded or asked the most important question, "I ask [you, Šamaš, great lord], whether the governors and magnates with the men, hor[ses, and army at their disposal], who [are going to the district of Media] to collect a tribute of horses, [in] this expedition of theirs will escape or sa[ve themselves] from the troops of the Me[des, or from the troops of the Scythians or from a]ny [other enemy]?"⁹⁵⁶ The campaigns of the magnates were mostly intended to collect tribute, mainly horses, and the known examples of such operations target the same territory: the Zagros region of Media. Armies of magnates based in Bīt-Kāri,⁹⁵⁷ Saparda,⁹⁵⁸ and other local Assyrian bases entered different regions and towns of Media to collect a tribute of horses: to Sikriš, Kukkubâ, the land Tu[aiadi], UDpani, Ramadani, and the land Arrî,⁹⁵⁹ to the Salt

⁹⁴⁹ BORGER 1996, Prisma B §14, ii:30-39; Prisma C §24, iii:53-67; Prisma A §18, ii:39-48; Prisma H, H1, ii:7'-14'.

⁹⁵⁰ Already Sargon II himself emphasizes in a longer passage of his 'Letter to God' the outstanding horse-breeding tradition and practice of the Urartians, and especially the Mannaeans (in the province of Sūbi), who had extraordinary skills in matters of cavalry (THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 170-173; MAYER 1983, 84-85; DALLEY 1985, 42).

⁹⁵¹ From Aiusiaš, Aššašdannusu, B/PusuUD, Ašdiaš, Urkiiamun, Uppiš, Siḫūa, and Naziniri: BORGER 1996, Prisma B §22, iii:31-51; Prisma C §32, iv:40-64; Prisma A §27, ii:127-iii:3; Prisma F §11, ii:23-37; from Birrūa, Šarru-iqbî, and Gusunē: BORGER 1996, Prisma B iii:78; Prisma C iv:87.

⁹⁵² BORGER 1996, Prisma B §35, v:77-vi:16; Prisma C §45, vi:79-vii:9.

⁹⁵³ BORGER 1996, Prisma A §57, v:126-vi:76; Prisma F §32, iv:66-v:54; Prisma A §58, vi:77-106; Prisma F §33, v:55-71.

⁹⁵⁴ BORGER 1996, Prisma C §64, ix:29-44.

⁹⁵⁵ DEZSŐ 2012A, 202-210, esp. 208-209.

⁹⁵⁶ STARR 1990, 67 (AGS 31), Rev. 4-8.

⁹⁵⁷ STARR 1990, 66 (PRT 20), 3.

⁹⁵⁸ STARR 1990, 71 (AGS 30), 2-6.

⁹⁵⁹ STARR 1990, 65 (PRT 22), 1-5.

Desert region, go [from the city ...]paka to the city Andarpati[anu, ...], Karzitali, Bīt-Tatrî, and Eparna.⁹⁶⁰ It seems that Bīt-Kāri was a base for these tribute-collecting expeditions by the magnates' armies, as corroborated by a letter of Nabû-šumu-iddina which also refers to the horses from the magnates in Bīt-Kāri.⁹⁶¹

Some administrative texts (bread lists from Nimrud distributing bread and fodder rations) also refer to horses arriving from different regions of the Empire: animals from Mannaea, Elam, and Ellipi (Bīt-Daltâ), which were brought by *qurbûtu* bodyguards⁹⁶² to Arzuḫina(?),⁹⁶³ a well-known military center, where at least one of the equestrian units (*Arzuḫināia*)⁹⁶⁴ of the Sargonide royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) was stationed! For the horse transporting activity of the *qurbûtu* bodyguards see below.

To conduct a campaign and have the army march to far-flung territories and peripheral regions of the Assyrian Empire, consumed a huge amount of material, human, and animal resources. The losses during the marches – often hundreds of miles long – through deserts, mountain ranges, and swamps in frequently extreme weather conditions, the crossing the rivers, and the casualties suffered in skirmishes and battles decimated men, horses and mules alike. The Assyrians had to make good the losses in horses and mules as well. It is impossible to infer how many horses arrived back to Assyria from those, which started the campaign, and the percentage that had to be remounted is also unknown. It is clear, however, that the booty and tribute horses played a key role in refilling the ranks during the campaigns, as a certain number of horses was needed to keep the level of tactical flexibility of the Assyrian expeditionary army as high as possible.

On the other hand it is known that large numbers of booty and tribute horses reached Assyria in sufficiently good condition to provide chariot horses and mounts for the home troops and for the expeditionary forces of the next (year's) campaign. Without doubt, the bulk of the horses were bred at home, within the borders of the Empire, but this constant flow of booty and tribute, including horses (for fighting purposes) and other equids (for transportational uses) was needed to supplement the financing of the army, to supplement/remount the homegrown stable, and to help maintain the fighting capacity of the troops.

How many horses the Assyrian Empire and the army needed can not be confidently reconstructed. As has been discussed in the previous volume of this project,⁹⁶⁵ some sources offer clues to estimate a provisional order of magnitude of the horses and equestrian units. The largest known unit sizes are the regiments (the 1,000 cavalry bodyguard of Sargon II),⁹⁶⁶ and the largest known enemy contingent was the 1,200 + 700 cavalry, which the coalition of 12 kings deployed against the Assyrians in the battle of Qarqar (853 B.C.).⁹⁶⁷ Shalmaneser III boasts in his royal inscriptions that "I hitched up teams of horses to 2,002 chariots (and equipped) 5,542 cavalry for the forces of my land,"⁹⁶⁸ and "I recruited for the armed forces of my land 2,001 chariots (and) 5,242 cavalry."⁹⁶⁹ In the imperial period (745–612 B.C.) the largest concentration of horses

⁹⁶⁰ STARR 1990, 64 (PRT 21), 2-11.

⁹⁶¹ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 102 (ABL 67).

⁹⁶² DEZSŐ 2012A, 138-139.

⁹⁶³ PARKER 1961, 55-61, ND 2803, Rev II:10-22.

⁹⁶⁴ DEZSŐ 2012B, 32, 79-80.

⁹⁶⁵ DEZSŐ 2012B, 50-53 (Size of cavalry units), 144-145 (The size of the chariotry units).

⁹⁶⁶ DEZSŐ 2012B, 50-53.

⁹⁶⁷ GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.2, ii 89b-102.

⁹⁶⁸ GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.6, iv:47-48; A.O.102.16, 348'.

⁹⁶⁹ GRAYSON 1996, A.O.102.10, Left edge 2b; A.O.102.11, Left edge ii:1-2a.

appears in the Nimrud Horse List, some of which record reviews most probably held in Babylonia⁹⁷⁰ around 710–708 B.C. One of the texts lists 2,207 horses and 177 mules,⁹⁷¹ a Borsippa muster reviews 3,477 horses and mules,⁹⁷² a third text, however, mentions 1,523 horses and mules.⁹⁷³ To assess the overall imperial volume of the equestrian units and horses one only need remember the inscription of Sargon II, who establishing the office of the *turtānu* of the left provided 150 chariots and 1,500 cavalymen to serve the *turtānu* in the Northwestern borders, in the *mātu* of the *turtānu* of the left.⁹⁷⁴

Analizing the evidence listed above, it can be estimated that the Assyrian army in the imperial period could deploy at least 10,000–15,000 cavalymen or more, and thousands of chariots, which means that the order of magnitude of horses could be calculated in the tens of thousands – an estimate based on the most probably exaggerated 50,000 animals, which were captured in Lower Egypt by the troops of Assurbanipal (*see above*).

III.1.2 Royal correspondence and administrative texts

The royal correspondence could provide further information on acquiring horses for the Assyrian army from booty and tribute. Similarly to the royal inscriptions, the correspondence of the Sargonides also refers to horses captured during the campaigns several times.⁹⁷⁵ A Nimrud Letter⁹⁷⁶ for example mentions captured horses from Tabal, which were distributed among Assyrian officials: Inurta-bēlu-ušur obtained 46 horses, while Aššur-nāšir got 33.

Foreign rulers sent a tribute of horses and other items to Assyria. Šulmu-bēli (deputy of palace herald) sent an intelligence report to Sargon II in which he informed the ruler that Urzana, king of Mušašir was on his way to Assyria, bringing 56 horses and other animals.⁹⁷⁷ He even wrote a report on Ianzû, king of Hubuškia, who brought horses through Waisi to Rusa, king of Urartu.⁹⁷⁸ A letter of Marduk-rēmanni reports to the king that he received 45 horses of the Palace in Calah. The emissaries of the Western vassal kingdoms (Egypt, Gaza, Judah, Moab, and Ammon) had also arrived with the 25 horses of the king of Gaza.⁹⁷⁹

Around 710 B.C., when Sargon II ordered Aššur-bēlu-ušur to come to his presence from Bīt-Ḥamban with his contingents (including his cavalry), he replied that he would be late, because

⁹⁷⁰ 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).

⁹⁷¹ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 98.

⁹⁷² DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 103.

⁹⁷³ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 108A.

⁹⁷⁴ FUCHS 1994, *Annales*, lines 409-410; Prunk, lines 116-117; 13th *palû*, 709 B.C.

⁹⁷⁵ *See for example* FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 109 (CT 53, 315).

⁹⁷⁶ SAGGS 2001, 290-292, NL 64 (ND 2683); LUUKKO 2012, 33 (ND 2683).

⁹⁷⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 136 (ABL 891).

⁹⁷⁸ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 133 (ABL 890).

⁹⁷⁹ PARPOLA 1987, 110 (NL 16, ND 2765); LUUKKO 2012, 159 (ND 2765). Another letter, a royal decree to Alla-ušur orders him to check and receive all the horses (or camels?), as many as the *turtānu* delivers to him. SAGGS 2001, 175-177 (NL 23, ND 2644); LUUKKO 2012, 3 (ND 2644).

of the snow. In this fragmentary letter⁹⁸⁰ he listed in one instance 20, later on 30 horses, which were collected as local tribute (*madattu*) to the king. Most of the tribute horses characteristically came from the Eastern border region, from the Zagros Mountains,⁹⁸¹ for example from Mannai, and Andia (51).⁹⁸² The crown prince of Andia, Iala[...] for example brought with him “16 red horses; 13 *irginu* horses; 14 black horses; 1 Haršean horse; 1 *tuānu* horse; 6 mares; 5 mules; in all 51 horses.”⁹⁸³ Another letter of an unfortunately unknown writer refers to the construction works in Kār-Šarrukēn, a local Assyrian provincial capital in the Zagros Mountains, and mentions 30 horses having arrived from Media and 40 tribute (*madattu*) horses from the above mentioned Zakrūtu.⁹⁸⁴

One of the sculptures of Sennacherib shows tribute horses (6) led by local people wearing a half animal skin cloak from a besieged mountain town⁹⁸⁵ in the Zagros region. The same people are shown on the sculptures of the 2nd campaign, and the capture of Aranziaš. This region must have been one of the most important regions of the horse supply, since these people (depicted wearing the same garment) had already brought tribute horses to Sargon II as well.⁹⁸⁶

Assyrian governors also sent horses to the royal court. An important administrative text for example mentions a certain Ili-ukallanni, an Assyrian official, who in 651 B.C., during the reign of Assurbanipal (668–631 B.C.) brought 593 horses and 4 mules from Mugallu (Southeastern Anatolia) as booty or tribute.⁹⁸⁷ Ili-ukallanni brought the horses in two stages: 300 horses arrived on the 10th of Sivan (III), and 293 horses and 4 mules on the 8th of Tishri (VII).

Na’di-ilu, the Chief Cupbearer (*rab šaqê*) wrote to Sargon II that the first 120 horses of Nabû-rēmānī (governor of Nikkur?) had arrived in Arzuḫina on the 27th. He stated furthermore that he would bring them across the river during the next two days to the town of Sarê, and keep them there until the 30th, when further horses of Nabû-rēmānī would join them.⁹⁸⁸ Na’di-ilu emphasized in his letter, that the horses had been heavily pressed, so they should rest out. The transportation of horses from remote territories of the Empire to Assyria would have entailed heavy losses. In one instance, from 100 horses brought from Kullania, 26 died on the road.⁹⁸⁹

There is a very important and informative letter, written by Aššur-da’inanni (governor of Māzāmua and eponym of year 733/732 B.C.) to Tiglath-Pileser III from the Zagros region, most probably from Dūr-Aššur, capital of Māzāmua province. He was ordered to collect the tribute (*madattu*) of the neighbouring regions: “Receive regular (*ka-a-a-ma-nu-te*) horses and give them to Dādî! Also receive the king’s horse!”⁹⁹⁰ It seems that Dādî himself was in charge of the horses to be transported to the royal court.

The ‘partner’ of Aššur-da’inanni in this ‘horseraising’ project was the city lord of Kišesim, who was not only an Assyrian vassal – obliged to pay tribute to the king –, but it seems from this letter

⁹⁸⁰ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 60 (ABL 242).

⁹⁸¹ Loosing these strategic, horse-breeding territories at the latest during the second half of the 7th century B.C. might have affected the supply of horses and might have contributed to the decline of the Assyrian Empire, and helped the emergence of such powers as the Median or Persian states.

⁹⁸² LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 171 (ABL 466); LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 137 (CT 53, 414): 2 horses.

⁹⁸³ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 171 (ABL 466), 6-Rev. 2.

⁹⁸⁴ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 84 (NL 42, ND 2655), LUUKKO 2012, 191 (NL 42, ND 2655).

⁹⁸⁵ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, 487-488. They concluded (p. 114) that judging from the position of those three statues of deities who were carried by Assyrian soldiers on poles, the city represented on the sculptures was in a horse-breeding area.

⁹⁸⁶ BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849, pls. 123-129, 131-136, Room X:

⁹⁸⁷ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 112 (ADD 698).

⁹⁸⁸ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 64 (ABL 192).

⁹⁸⁹ SAGGS 2001, 171-172, (ND 2399); LUUKKO 2012, 96 (ND 2399).

⁹⁹⁰ SAGGS 2001, 297-300 (ND 2711); LUUKKO 2012, 91 (ND 2711), 9-11.

that he was interested in the ‘horseraising’ business as well: “The city-lord of Kišesim brought the tribute (*ma-da-a’-tú*) and the recruitment officers (*LÚ.mu-šar-ki-sa-a-ni*) were in my presence. (As) he was about to enter, I sent my ‘third man’ to him, saying: ‘Come, stay with me, and let’s go and receive the tribute!’ I (also) said: ‘(Tell me) if I should come to you and stay (there, so) we would receive the tribute (together).’ He wrote to me: ‘(As for) you, receive the king’s tribute! I shall colle[ct] and receive regular (horses) for profit.’”⁹⁹¹ The mention of the recruitment officers (who were in charge of the horse supply of the Assyrian army)⁹⁹² indicates the local utilization of at least some of the horses to satisfy the local needs of the occupying Assyrian units. There was some tension between the Assyrian official (*Aššur-da’-inanni*) and the city lord of Kišesim, whom – by the command of the king – the Assyrian governor had to respect. “Because of the excellent enemy horses that I receive, he has been hostile with me, like an enemy. Because of envy, he has been prompt to slander me. He brings the enemy horses to the king, my lord, but receives the [re]gular (ones) as well as the king’s (horses) [in the trade col]ony, and (only then) brings them to the king, my lord.”⁹⁹³

There are some important conclusions to be drawn. The first is that according to this letter horses of at least three categories were arriving to Dūr-Aššur from Kišesim: 1) the king’s (tribute) horses (*KUR.RA ša LUGAL*); 2) regular horses (*ka-a-a-ma-nu-te*); and 3) enemy horses (*ša KÚR*).

- 1) The king’s (tribute) horse(s) might be either a single horse selected for the king, or a category of horses which were sent to the royal court.
- 2) The regular horses might be a category which refers to the regular tribute horses.
- 3) The enemy horses were most probably horses from the spoil (might be a different type of horse?), which according to this letter were excellent.

The governor wanted to collect all the three types, but the city lord disagreed: he wanted to separate his independent procurement and trade network. Both of them collected enemy horses, and competed with each other for these animals. It makes sense, since following the Assyrian campaigns of 744 B.C. and 737 B.C., the Assyrian army penetrated deep into the Zagros Mountains to the East, reached and captured large parts of the Mede homeland. The city lord of Kišesim himself was most probably a Mede. It appears from the above quoted passages as if he transported the enemy horses (the best horses) directly to the king, while he collected the horses of the other two categories in a trade colony (*kāru*). These trade colonies were privileged settlements established (or at least granted) by the king along the borders of Assyria, and were the only places of the controlled trade between Assyrian and other (sometimes hostile) people living outside the borders of the Empire. What the profit/benefit of the city lord of Kišesim from this business was, is unfortunately unknown. However, since other letters also refer to the horsedealer activities of different vassal rulers, it is quite reasonable to suppose that they were not only tribute-paying vassals, but somehow also financially interested in this horsetrading business, with the possibility of becoming contracted partners of the Assyrians (*see below*).

The letter of complaint *Nabû-bēlu-ka’-in* sent to Sargon II sheds some light on the logic of the imperial horse raising and yearly horse tribute/tax system of the conquered lands. A yearly horse tribute/tax was imposed by the king on the mountain towns (most probably East of Bit-Ḫamban mentioned in this fragmentary letter). But one day they “have not come out [to perform] their state

⁹⁹¹ SAGGS 2001, 297-300 (ND 2711); LUUKKO 2012, 91 (ND 2711), 12-21.

⁹⁹² DEZSÖ 2012B, 122-128.

⁹⁹³ SAGGS 2001, 297-300 (ND 2711); LUUKKO 2012, 91 (ND 2711), Rev. 19-27.

service [*and have not brought*] horses from the towns of [the country].”⁹⁹⁴ Nabû-bēlu-ka”in was to perform the state service instead of them: “These towns in the mountains, all that are intact, these I have not seen. I a[lon]e am performing the state service.”⁹⁹⁵ The next fragmentary sentence refers to the burden it placed on him: “The whole tribute [...] they [du]mped the horses upon me.”⁹⁹⁶ The crisis escalated, when the king abolished the state service: “Now these towns have been lifted of the[ir] state service, and I have to buy the horses and m[u]l[e]s. If the state service of the towns has been [re]moved, (then) let them take the (obligation to provide) horses away from me and let them (= the towns) buy them.”⁹⁹⁷ This letter makes it clear that having to come up for the deficit of the mountain people, and having to buy the horses put considerable strain on the governor. The fragmentary end of the letter refers to the provincial apparatus, the prefects who managed the system. As evidenced by the information provided in this letter, a kind of planned imperial and provincial economy existed – at least in the military point of view important domains of the recruitment of soldiers, the provision of grain rations and supply of horses.

III.1.3 Driving/Escorting horses

Unfortunately the details of driving and escorting a large horse train are unknown. There is a single letter concerning the guard of a train of pack animals.⁹⁹⁸ It is obvious from the text that guarding and provisioning a large number of incoming animals was a difficult task. In this case Šamaš-aḫu-iddina, the commander of the train in charge of the guard of Rablê asked the king to give him soldiers to guard the town of Rablê (Riblah) and the pack animals, half of which he should – by the command of the Chief Eunuch – escort to Rablê and the other half to Qadeš.

As has been discussed in the 1st volume of this project,⁹⁹⁹ the *qurbūtu* bodyguards (as royal delegates) could play an important role in delivering horses from various locations. It seems that they only escorted the horses and did not play an active role in their purchase. A Nimrud horse list shows that *qurbūtu* bodyguards brought horses (to collection points, to the court or even to a muster?) from different officials. This text mentions that a royal *qurbūtu* bodyguard brought 16 horses from Aššur-ālik-pāni.¹⁰⁰⁰ The animals – together with other horses – went to the Palace. As has been mentioned in connection with ration lists, *qurbūtu* bodyguards obtained fodder for horses,¹⁰⁰¹ probably for those animals which they brought to the Palace. ND 2803¹⁰⁰² mentions Sapunu, the *qurbūtu* bodyguard, who has been mentioned above as getting provisions from the

⁹⁹⁴ LUUKKO 2012, 193 (ND 2783), Rev. 4-5.

⁹⁹⁵ LUUKKO 2012, 193 (ND 2783), Rev. 8-10.

⁹⁹⁶ LUUKKO 2012, 193 (ND 2783), Rev. 11-12.

⁹⁹⁷ LUUKKO 2012, 193 (ND 2783), Rev. 13-16.

⁹⁹⁸ SAGGS 1963, NL 70 (ND 2766); LUUKKO 2012, 37 (ND 2766).

⁹⁹⁹ DEZSÓ 2012A, 138-139.

¹⁰⁰⁰ PARKER 1961, ND 2482, 4-7.

¹⁰⁰¹ PARKER 1961, ND 2803, Rev. Col. II:14-15: [x] homers, 1 *sūtu* (10 litres) to Gaiâ, the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince for horses from Bīt-Daltâ; 17-19: 1 homer, 4 *sūtu* (140 litres) to Kanūnāiu, *qurbūtu* bodyguard for horses which he brought from Arzuḫina.

¹⁰⁰² PARKER 1961, ND 2803, Col. II:17'-18': [x] homers and 7 *sūtu* (70 litres) bread was issued to Sapunu, the *qurbūtu* bodyguard, for cow's milk in the town of Qumbuna ...

royal court, but he appears in another horse list without his title as bringing 5 horses.¹⁰⁰³ It is possible that this horse list (ND 2788) lists animal brought by *qurbūtu* bodyguards. Further shorter notes also mention *qurbūtu* bodyguards in charge of horses. One of these mentions 175 horses in charge of Nabû-šarru-ušur, and concludes in a somewhat enigmatic way: 3 cavalry bodyguard (3 BAD.ḪAL *qur-ub*).¹⁰⁰⁴ It is left unclear whether this means that horses were delivered to three cavalry bodyguards, or three of the horses were the horses of the cavalry bodyguard. Nabû-šarru-ušur might be the same man who is known from an administrative text as a *qurbūtu* bodyguard.¹⁰⁰⁵ A letter written by Nergal-ētir to Sargon II also mentions a *qurbūtu* bodyguard having arrived on the 6th of Iyyar (II), and setting out with the horses on the following day, the 7th of Iyyar.¹⁰⁰⁶ A *qurbūtu* bodyguard, Marduk-bānī-aḫḫē, appears in another short note listing horses (14) for their meat.¹⁰⁰⁷ It seems obvious from these entries that *qurbūtu* bodyguards – similarly to other aspects of their service – served as official and legitimate royal agents during different missions.

III.2 Horses from ‘tax’

In the Neo-Assyrian period certain types of taxes were frequently imposed in the form of horses. One of these was the *iškāru*, the other the *nāmurtu*, and the third was the *nakkamtu*. According to some administrative texts, these ‘taxes’ were levied at the same time, or at least these taxes due (in addition to many other things) in horses were administered in the same system, the imperial equestrian supply system (see below).

III.2.1 *Iškāru* tax¹⁰⁰⁸

The *iškāru* was a kind of tax, whose logic – since profound changes affected it during the course of Mesopotamian history, and even during the Neo-Assyrian period itself – is almost impossible to reconstruct. The general rules of this tax are less clear than for other types of taxes and services. The logic behind it can hardly be recreated since its main characteristics vary from group to group¹⁰⁰⁹ (e.g. from craftsmen¹⁰¹⁰ to shepherds).¹⁰¹¹

In one of his letters to Sargon II, Aššur-bēlu-taqqin refers to a royal letter which had ordered him to gather all the Assyrian and Aramaean scribes, and to detail cavalry and Itu’ean troops to

¹⁰⁰³ PARKER 1961, ND 2788, 10: 4 NÍTA, 1 SAL.KUR.

¹⁰⁰⁴ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 110 (ADD 700), 3: BAD.ḪAL *qur-ub*.

¹⁰⁰⁵ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 9 (ADD 860), Rev. I:8: Nabû-šarru-ušur LÚ.*qur*-ZAG.

¹⁰⁰⁶ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 65 (ABL 226), 9: LÚ.*qur-bu-tú*.

¹⁰⁰⁷ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 68 (Iraq 27, 16, no. 6), 1: LÚ.*qur-bu-tú* (717 B.C.).

¹⁰⁰⁸ POSTGATE 1974, 94-110.

¹⁰⁰⁹ POSTGATE 1974, 108.

¹⁰¹⁰ POSTGATE 1974, 103.

¹⁰¹¹ For *iškāru* of the shepherds see PAROLA 1987, 235 (ABL 1432); POSTGATE 1974, 101-102.

escort them to Dūr-Bēl-ilā'ī, since the time for imposing the *iškāru* tax was approaching.¹⁰¹² It seems that Dūr-Bēl-ilā'ī was a local tax collection or administrative centre, and the cavalry and Itu'eans would guarantee the safety of the scribes.

This tax could be paid in kind and in silver as well,¹⁰¹³ but from the military point of view the *iškāru* on horses is the most interesting aspect.

There are several administrative texts listing numbers of horses from different types of taxes, which were administered together. One of these texts (ND 2727, Fig. 46) enumerates a total of 464 horses from which there were 100 *nakkamtu* ('reserve') horses, 60 horses and 30 mules in the *iškāru* category, while 20 horses from *nāmurtu* tax.¹⁰¹⁴ Another inventory text (ND 2788, Fig. 47) lists 181 *iškāru* and 82 *nāmurtu* horses.¹⁰¹⁵ As demonstrated by these texts, horses as tax arrived from several parts of the Empire, beside the most important horse-breeding regions from other territories, as well.

Taking these numbers in account it becomes obvious that these taxes were among the primary sources of the Assyrian supply of horses. A third inventory (ND 2768, Fig. 48) mentions even larger numbers.¹⁰¹⁶ The tablet is unfortunately very fragmentary, but contains such large numbers as 175, 630, 470, and 477 on its extant parts.

There is an important *iškāru* text¹⁰¹⁷ which lists quantities of silver and their horse equivalents. As Fig. 45 shows, different amounts of silver were given to different personnel, most probably to buy horses for the supply of the troops. It appears that the price of a horse was 1 *manû* (approx. 0.5 kg) of silver. It seems furthermore to the present author that the different personnel who obtained 20 minas (*manû*) of silver each to buy horses (for 1 mina each) could not provide the necessary number of horses needed, and kept the official out of his money. As Fig. 45 shows Bēl-lēšir¹⁰¹⁸ got 1 talent (*biltu*) of silver, spent 30 minas (bought 30 horses) and owes 20 minas (for 20 horses?); Mannu-kī-Aššur-lē'ī got 20 minas, spent 11 minas (bought 11 horses?) and owes 9 minas (9 horses?); Riba-aḥḥē got 20 minas, spent 7 minas (bought 7 horses?) and owes 13 minas (13 horses?); Labasi also got 20 minas, spent [x] minas (bought [x] horses?) and owes [x] minas ([x] horses).

Further (fragmentary) passages of this letter make it clear that Riba-aḥḥē was somehow in charge of chariot troops.¹⁰¹⁹ Not only Riba-aḥḥē, but a chariot horse trainer (*susānu*)¹⁰²⁰ was also connected to the *iškāru* dues of the chariots. He got 4 talents (100 minas) for 90 horses [...]. The next line reads: "[Four] talents of silver in the [...] standard, one mina each, [Ḥar]bišaš[u] and his brothers;"¹⁰²¹ Ḥarbišaš[u] and their brothers got [4] talents of silver, 1 mina each: it means that either the number of his brothers was 199 so 200 of them got 1 mina silver each, or more probably they

¹⁰¹² SAGGS 2001, 239-240, NL 86 (ND 2356); LUUKKO 2012, 154 (ND 2356).

¹⁰¹³ Postgate argued that the expansion of the Neo-Assyrian Empire and the expansion of its borders were followed by the reforms of its economic structure. „The shift from contributions in kind to silver payments illustrate the same trend, since this too increases the flexibility of the economy, and channels the materials to where they are needed without their having to pass through an unnecessary stage of the administration". (POSTGATE 1974, 110.).

¹⁰¹⁴ PARKER 1961, ND 2727.

¹⁰¹⁵ PARKER 1961, ND 2788.

¹⁰¹⁶ PARKER 1961, ND 2768.

¹⁰¹⁷ SAGGS 2001, 278-280 (ND 2627); LUUKKO 2012, 168 (ND 2627).

¹⁰¹⁸ A certain Bēl-lēšir is mentioned in a Sargonide letter as an official who brought/reviewed 81 men and 81 equids ((SAGGS 1959, NL 60 (ND 2366), 11; SAGGS 2001, 241-242, NL 60 (ND 2366), 11'; LUUKKO 2012, 177 (ND 2366), 11').

¹⁰¹⁹ LUUKKO 2012, 168 (ND 2627), 12'-14'. A certain Riba-aḥḥē is known from the witness list of a sale document dated to 698 B.C. He appears as cohort commander (*rab kišri*(KĀD-ri)) together with 4 recruitment officers (*mušarkisāni*): KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 125 (ADD 1179+), Rev. 6-11.

¹⁰²⁰ DEZSÓ 2012B, 109-117.

¹⁰²¹ LUUKKO 2012, 168 (ND 2627), Rev. 1-3.

(Harbišaṣu and an unknown number of brothers) got 4 talents (200 minas) to buy horses for 1 mina silver each (as reconstructed in the earlier lines of the text). At that point the text summarizes 8 talents of silver (4+4 of the previous lines) for the pack animals, including 200 horses. If we suppose that the talent of the agate standard was less (for example 50 minas) than the normal standard (60 minas), 8 talents of silver was an equivalent of 400 horses. 4 talents for an unknown number of pack animals and another 4 talents for 200 horses.

Additional passages provide further information: “I have imposed *iškāru* dues on them and given them 10 (minas) each from the chariot-horse trainers and the stable[men that] they keep. Those w[ho] go up to the trade colony I have provided with [...] fields, orchards and peo[p]le.”¹⁰²² It seems that *iškāru* dues were imposed on them (on those who were mentioned above?), 10 minas of silver were given to them, which was extracted from the chariot-horse trainers (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ) and the stablemen (LÚ.ma-a-a-su).

The next sentence does not make the understanding of the phenomenon easier: those of them, who went up to the trade colony got fields, orchards and people. The connection between these personnel, the *iškāru* tax, the trade colony and the fields remains unclear.

The last motif of the extant text refers to the merchants (for their role in the imperial horse trade *see below*), from whom the king ordered 300 horses, but the writer of the letter asked the king for an order to send him horses from the conto of Kapar-[...]jāia or from the town of U[...]jāia.¹⁰²³

A further letter mentions a cavalry unit of 1,000 cavalry, and refers to the *iškāru* tax on the horses, which the writer of the letter imposed upon the merchants in the presence of the king, but has not yet extracted.¹⁰²⁴ A letter of Aššur-bānī written to Sargon II refers to a quarrel between merchants. One of the parties, the sons of Sadir petitioned the Palace, and mention in their petition that: “We have been authorized by the Palace to raise the *iškāru* dues from the troops.”¹⁰²⁵

Two further notes from the late 7th century B.C. show that horses were provided for the military in an *iškāru* tax system. These notes let us know that horses from the *iškāru* tax of the king, belonging to Urdu-Aššur, chief cook in Aššur were at the disposal of two (Egyptian born) cohort commanders.¹⁰²⁶

The most important question is whether the *iškāru* tax was laid on the equestrian troops and their officers mentioned in these texts, or whether the income of this tax was a source of horses for these units. It seems from these letters that the *iškāru* was much more a service obligation than a tax. A certain amount of silver – sometimes extracted from the equestrian units themselves – was given to Assyrian (military) officials or merchants to buy horses.

Postgate thought that the logic behind the *iškāru* was that “the horses being received by the administration had been looked after by some person under similar terms to those for sheep, and being returned on demand to the state.”¹⁰²⁷ This view tallies with the case of the horse lists of the Aššur Protocol¹⁰²⁸ (for detailed discussion *see below*), but does not provide a satisfactory answer to all the questions posed by the above mentioned texts.

¹⁰²² LUUKKO 2012, 168 (ND 2627), Rev. 5-9.

¹⁰²³ LUUKKO 2012, 168 (ND 2627), Rev. 10-15.

¹⁰²⁴ LUUKKO 2012, 35 (ND 2401); SAGGS 2001, 251-252 (ND 2401).

¹⁰²⁵ PARPOLA 1987, 118 (ABL 231), Rev. 3-6.

¹⁰²⁶ DONBAZ – PARPOLA 2001, 212 (A 1901): [x] horses, *iškāru*-tax of the king belonging to Urdu-Aššur, chief cook at the disposal of Paši, GAL—*ki-šir* and [...]; 213 (A 1851), 4: 3 horses, *iškāru*-tax of the king belonging to Urdu-Aššur, at the disposal of Huru, GAL—*ki-šir* and [...].

¹⁰²⁷ POSTGATE 1974, 102-103.

III.2.2 *Nāmurtu* gift¹⁰²⁹

Originally the *nāmurtu* was most probably a type of audience gift, and was not a compulsory tax, yet these presents included horses large enough in number to be considered of military importance.

Larger numbers of *nāmurtu* horses appear in the report of an unknown official (Sennacherib?) to Sargon II, which mentions that the crown prince of Andia, Iala[...] – accompanied by the emissary Nergal-bēlu-ušur – was coming to the court bringing “16 red horses; 13 *irginu* horses; 14 black horses; 1 Ḫaršeān horse; 1 *tuānu* horse; 6 mares; 5 mules; in all 51 horses.” The writer probably referred to another shipment of horses when asking the Mannaeen emissary: “Is the audience gift (*na-mur-tú*) with you?”¹⁰³⁰ Horses in a similar order of magnitude are known from a similar context. Šulmu-bēli reported to Sargon II, that Urzana, the king of Mušašir was on his way and would arrive to Arbela on the 14th. The fragmentary letter then recounts “We have se[nt ...] 56 horses, [x oxe]n, and 2,000 sh[ee]p; 100 [...], the audience gift (*na-mur-[tú]*), [...]”¹⁰³¹ It is possible that these animals were part of the audience gift of Urzana. Their large number points to a date following the 8th campaign (714 B.C.) of Sargon II and the sack of Mušašir, following which Urzana became an Assyrian vassal and should have given a tribute-sized audience gift.

The normal-sized audience gifts, however, were in the range of a few horses. Sennacherib as crown prince for example received a horse as audience gift (*na-mur-tú*) from the messenger of the Mannaeen king.¹⁰³² The king wrote an explicit letter to Aššur-bēlu-ušur concerning the contents of the audience gift (*na-mur-te*) of the month Kanun (X): “You are to bring me two horses, two bulls, 20 sheep, and 20 jugs (of wine).”¹⁰³³ A memorandum specifying the debts of the Qappateans also refers to audience gifts: “[We] have already giv[en] 150 sheep, 20 oxen and 2 horses, as audience gift (*na-mur-te*) of the town D[ūr-Šarrukēn].”¹⁰³⁴ This text, however – in a fragmentary passage – refers to 60 horses, which Bēl-kabti-aḫḫēšu owed to them. As has been mentioned above, horses never played a significant role in the everyday economics and agriculture, and consequently we can assume that these 60 horses were used in transport or for some military activity.

As has been alluded to earlier, the *nāmurtu* gift was administered together with other types of taxes, for example the *iškāru* (Fig. 47, especially ND 2788). ND 2788¹⁰³⁵ lists 16 horses as *nāmurtu* gift from Kalḫāiu. Another administrative tablet, a small note also lists 12 *nāmurtu* horses for example in Rašappa.¹⁰³⁶

¹⁰²⁸ SCHROEDER 1920, 31, 32, 34-37, 131, 132; DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, 41-43.

¹⁰²⁹ POSTGATE 1974, 140-162. The largest number of various items received as *nāmurtu* is known from the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta II (890–884 B.C.) during his long march of 884 B.C. (GRAYSON 1991, A.O.100.5, 69-131).

¹⁰³⁰ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 171 (ABL 466), 6-Rev. 10.

¹⁰³¹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 136 (ABL 891), Rev. 2-6.

¹⁰³² PARPOLA 1987, 29 (ABL 198+), Rev. 18-20.

¹⁰³³ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 61 (ABL 241), 3-6.

¹⁰³⁴ FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 45 (ADD 1139+), Rev. 1-6.

¹⁰³⁵ PARKER 1961, 52-53 (ND 2788).

¹⁰³⁶ PARKER 1961, ND 2393, 4-5.

III.2.3 Horses of/from *nakkamtu*

According to the sources the *nakkamtu* was a kind of income, but the animals designated as *nakkamtu* horses formed a group of animals which served as ‘reserves’ irrespectively of their origin. In this case it can hardly be decided whether the origin or the status of the horses is referred to.

Shipments of *nakkamtu* horses arrived from the tax collection centres of Calah, Nineveh, Dūr-Šarrukēn,¹⁰³⁷ which shows that a whole network of tax collection centres¹⁰³⁸ of the Assyrian homeland (royal cities and administrative centres) served the supply of horses. The above text, written by Nabû-šumu-iddina to Esarhaddon, mentions 25 teams, which had arrived from these cities, and would be arrayed on the next day to send them anywhere the king commands. As shown in the chapter of II.1.3 The overall volumen of rations (esp. Figs. 23–25) Nineveh, Arbela, and Dūr-Šarrukēn, the most important cities, and economic centers of the Assyrian Homeland had an important role to play in the collection of the *nakkamtu*-type income, which would constitute a part of ‘reserves’ – both in grain rations and animals. This phenomenon hints again at a conscious organizing principle.

Another Sargonide letter also refers to *nakkamtu* horses.¹⁰³⁹ An unknown official reports to another official (phrased as his brother) that there are 3–4 teams of horses in one house but there are no soldiers with them. Furthermore there are some ‘treasury horses’ (ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *ša na-kām-te*), which have to be taken from him. The translation ‘treasury horses’ refers to the phenomenon that horses from a certain source were kept in ‘reserve.’

Even the account of the 8th campaign (714 B.C.) of Sargon II refers to fortified towns in the territory of Mannai and Urartu, where ‘reserve’ (*na-kam-ti*) horses were kept in stables.¹⁰⁴⁰

It seems from the cuneiform evidence that not only horses were registered as ‘reserve’, but whole units were classified as *nakkamtu* (‘reserve’) units. Such an indirect evidence is known from two legal texts, in which the witness list included Tardīa, chariot man/trainer of reserve horses¹⁰⁴¹ and Bēl-aḥu-iddina, chariot man/trainer of reserve horses.¹⁰⁴² A further letter also mentions a ‘chariot driver of the reserve horses.’¹⁰⁴³

As has been mentioned above, one administrative text lists horses arriving from different types of taxes, which were administered together. This text (ND 2727, Fig. 46) enumerates a total of 464 horses, of which 100 were *nakkamtu* (‘reserve’) horses, 60 horses and 30 mules fell into the *iškāru* category, while 20 horses came from *nāmurtu* tax.¹⁰⁴⁴ It has to be noted, that not only horses, but mules and asses, the pack animals were also recorded in the *nakkamtu* category. A Nimrud administrative text¹⁰⁴⁵ lists mules and asses in corrals (476 asses in 2 corrals, 412 asses)¹⁰⁴⁶

¹⁰³⁷ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 95 (ABL 440), 7-12: 25 *ú-ra-a-te ša na-kan-te ša pi-ir-ra-ni ša URU.kal-ḥa ša URU.ni-nu-a ša URU.BĀD—MAN—GIN.*

¹⁰³⁸ The text uses the expression *pi-ir-ra-ni* (COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 95 (ABL 440), 9), which most probably means ‘contingent’ and not so much ‘tax collection centre’ and might easily refer to the equestrian units of these cities?

¹⁰³⁹ SAGGS 1959, NL 57 (ND 2690); SAGGS 2001, 294 (ND 2690); LUUKKO 2012, 208 (ND 2690).

¹⁰⁴⁰ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 191 (the towns of Tarui and Tarmakisa in the land Dalaia).

¹⁰⁴¹ MATTILA 2002, 100 (ADD 177), E. 3: [^mTa]r-di-ia LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *na-kām-ti*. 644 B.C.

¹⁰⁴² KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 193 (ADD 277), Rev. 6: [^l]EN.PAB.AŠ LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *na-[kam-ti]*. 681. II. 12. B.C.

¹⁰⁴³ LUUKKO – VAN BUYLAERE 2002, 63 (CT 53, 46), 3, 21: [^mQur]-di-i LÚ.mu-kil—KUŠ.a-pa-a-ni ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *na-kam-te*.

¹⁰⁴⁴ PARKER 1961, 45-46, ND 2727.

¹⁰⁴⁵ PARKER 1961, 28-31 (ND 2451); POSTGATE 1974, 376-379.

¹⁰⁴⁶ PARKER 1961, 28-31 (ND 2451), 6, 12.

arriving from different sources – *madattu* (tribute) and *šibtu* (a kind of ‘increase’)¹⁰⁴⁷. The text registers the dead animals (72 and 202)¹⁰⁴⁸ and animals of the ‘reserves’ (151 of *nakkamtu*, 412 asses together with ‘reserves’ (*na-kam-ti*))¹⁰⁴⁹ as well.

Concluding the evidence it can hardly be decided whether the *nakkamtu* category denoted the source of the horses and was a form of a tax or due, or simply indicated the status of the animals arriving from any source, classifying them as ‘reserves’.

III.2.4 Horses of unknown origin or type of tax

Most of the horse lists, however, do not give us any further information on the source of the horses (whether they are from different types of taxes and dues, were captured during campaign, or were paid as tribute to the Assyrians), only simply register their number and their type. This characteristic of the written evidence makes the reconstruction of the logic, the structure and the volumen of the horse supply for the army very complicated. Since, as has been discussed above, the horses (in such large numbers) were not part of the private economic sphere (only if merchants brought them to the royal court), it can be stated with some confidence that the following corpus belonged to the military.

A distinct group of horse reports consists of shorter or longer notes, mentioning the number of horses and probably the person who had brought them or received them.¹⁰⁵⁰ These can be divided into three categories:

1) The first group of tablets consists of short texts, which note a certain number of horses and a single name (*Fig. 49*). Since the number of horses is large enough to furnish a cavalry or even a chariotry squadron, it seems possible that these texts are not short notes registering the incoming horses and the person who brought or received them, but short muster texts, registering the number of horses of a unit (commander), or a report of the state of the unit, that is, how many horses they possess. Edāiu is unknown from the military corpus, but the other three personnel are well established in the military archives (*see Charts 1–16*) of the period the fourth tablet identifies. Šulmu-bēli-lāmur is known as a ‘third man’ from the witness list of a legal text dated to 684 B.C.¹⁰⁵¹ Several officers bearing the name Nabû-šarru-ušur and serving the army in different positions are known from the corpus.¹⁰⁵² There is, however, a certain Nabû-šarru-ušur, who served in the army

¹⁰⁴⁷ For the detailed discussion of *šibtu* see POSTGATE 1974, 167–173.

¹⁰⁴⁸ PARKER 1961, 28–31 (ND 2451), 14, 23.

¹⁰⁴⁹ PARKER 1961, 28–31 (ND 2451), 7, 12.

¹⁰⁵⁰ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 107–120. They argued (XXV–XXVI) that these lists are horse reports of incoming horses, brought by palace employees or professional horse traders.

¹⁰⁵¹ Šulmu-bēli-lāmur (¹DI-mu-EN-la-mur) *tašlīšu* (LÚ.3.U₅), KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 177 (ADD 230), Rev. 3.

¹⁰⁵² Two Nabû-šarru-ušurs are known from the same corpus of administrative texts: one of them is a *qurbūtu* (LÚ.qur-ZAG), (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 9 (ADD 860, Rev. I:8), while the other appears in the same list as a ‘cohort commander of the crown prince’ (*rab kišir mār šarri* (A—MAN)), (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 9 (ADD 860, Rev. I:21). The cohort commander Nabû-šarru-ušur appears in two other texts of the corpus as well: FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857, Rev. II:9: *rab kišir mār šarri* (A—MAN)); and FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 10 (ADD 850, I:8: *rab kišir*. A certain, if not the same Nabû-šarru-ušur appears in the Rēmāni-Adad archive (671—660 B.C.; DEZSŐ 2012A, *Chart 2*) also as a ‘cohort commander of the crown prince’ (*rab kišir mār šarri* (A—MAN)); KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 297 (ADD 266, Rev. 3), 298 (ADD 503, Rev. 9’), 299 (ADD 477, Rev. 5’), 300 (ADD 202, Rev. 8), 325 (ADD 470, Rev. 20’: *rab kišir ša—šēpē* (GİR.2) *ša mār šarri* (A—MAN)), 332 (ADD 433+599, Rev. 12’).

as a 'third man of the queen' (686 B.C.) and later as a simple 'third man' (666 B.C.).¹⁰⁵³ Sîn-ašarēd of the fourth text dated to 677 B.C. is also known as a 'chief third man of the crown prince' and a few years later as 'third man of the crown prince'.¹⁰⁵⁴ It cannot be declared explicitly that these texts belong to an archive of 'third men,' who were in charge of horses,¹⁰⁵⁵ but the military profile of the archive and the connection with officers is unquestionable.

2) The second group of tablets (Fig. 50) raised similar questions as above. The following possibilities of the interpretation emerge:

a) This group of texts was traditionally conceived as taking stock of horses from diverse shipments. In this case a relatively small number of horses were collected from different personnel as part of a taxation system. In this case the source of the animals is unknown – these persons were horse breeders and possibly paid a tax from the new growth.

b) The other possibility is that these equids arriving from an unknown source were allocated to them for an unknown reason. Were they unit commanders, and were these horses distributed among them to cover the losses is unknown.

c) However, it seems to the present writer that these texts could also be part of a muster series, in which the number of horses in care of different (military) personnel (similarly to the Aššur Protokol) under the command of an officer (Banâia) had to be reported or were reviewed. This idea would be corroborated by the fact that these texts list not only the number of equids, but their type, more characteristically their colour and breed. Furthermore it is interesting to note that a sequence of red, black and *irginu*-coloured horses appear at the hand of almost all of the (military) personnel. It has yet to be deciphered whether this is a coincidence or whether it demonstrates some conscious organizing principle.

There is a single text which provides further information. The caption of ADD 989¹⁰⁵⁶ refers to 200+ horses of the Palace.¹⁰⁵⁷ It is unknown whether these 200+ horses are detailed in the following lines of the tablet, which summarizes only 164 horses altogether in the care of Banâia, or whether this caption refers to another stock.

The most important person of the system was obviously Banâia. It seems that he played a key role, occupied a key position on the top of the local (military) hierarchy. He was in charge of a system which collected horses or allocated horses to various individuals to care for the animals.

This system is based on officials, each of whom got a different number of equids ranging from a few animals (6) to a few dozens of horses (26/34). These personnel were most probably horse-breeders, who provided horses for the army (Palace) as a kind of tax from their stud-farm, or took care of the animals outside the campaign season (and did not bring them from somewhere, an unknown place and unknown source).

¹⁰⁵³ Nabû-šarru-ušur (1dPA.MAN.PAP) *tašlišu* (LÚ.3-šú ša MÍ.É.GAL), KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 164 (ADD 612), Rev. 11-12 (686 B.C.); Nabû-šarru-ušur (1dPA.MAN.PAP) *tašlišu* (LÚ.3.U₅), MATTILA 2002, 2 (ADD 627, Rev. 10').

¹⁰⁵⁴ Sîn-ašarēd (1d30.MAŠ) chief 'third man' (*tašlišu*) of the crown prince (LÚ.3-šú *dan-nu šá* DUMU.MAN), KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 317 (ADD 60, Rev. 1, 666 B.C.), 'third man' (*tašlišu*) of the crown prince (LÚ.3-šú šá DUMU.MAN), KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 320 (ADD 377, Rev. 1', 664 B.C.), 321 (ADD 439, Rev. 4', 664 B.C.), 325 (ADD 470, R. 25', 663 B.C.).

¹⁰⁵⁵ For 'third men' see DEZSÓ 2012B, 102-108.

¹⁰⁵⁶ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 116 (ADD 989).

¹⁰⁵⁷ Other texts also refer to the Palace. PARKER 1961, 34 (ND 2491) is a very fragmentary administrative text, a list of horses, which enumerates a large number of horses in groups. The largest shipment consisted of 330 horses. One of the lines of the text (Rev. 4) refers to 34 horses most probably property of the Palace.

This group of texts differs characteristically from the previous group. Out of the 24/25 names of the people mentioned in this corpus only a few (4) appear in other military archives.¹⁰⁵⁸ These names are, however, so common that no serious conclusion can be drawn from them. There are only two names which are familiar from another military archive: a certain Bēl-ibnī and Ḥarmaku appear in the Nimrud Horse Lists as cohort commanders of the Arraphāia unit (*rab kišir Arraphāia*).¹⁰⁵⁹ Furthermore, contrary to the previous group of horse reports discussed above, the names of this group do not only show a predominantly Assyrian character, if not the opposite: the frequent appearance of the theophor element Bēl (4) and the predominance of the Aramaic names hints much more to the direction of Babylonia. If this reconstruction is correct, these texts would provide an insight into one of the aspects of the regional/provincial management system of equids.

3) The third group of administrative texts consists of the horse reports of Nabû-šumu-iddina and Nādinu, 'inspectors' of the Nabû Temple at Calah.¹⁰⁶⁰ As Fig. 51 shows, large numbers of daily horse shipments arrived to Calah. It is, however, unknown whether the horses arrived to the Nabû Temple, or most plausibly to a stable complex under the authority of the temple (or even to the Review Palace itself). Nabû-šumu-iddina inspected the horses,¹⁰⁶¹ entered them in a stock list, and after a review had been conducted, sent them on to various destinations (for example to the Palace in Nineveh¹⁰⁶² or to the Review Palace).¹⁰⁶³ The horses sometimes stayed overnight or for a longer period and were provisioned in the place of their review, but it seems that Nabû-šumu-iddina wanted to deliver them as soon as possible.

Several letters have asked the king: when should he array the horses? Should he array the horses in the evening to stay arrayed overnight, or should he array them in the morning? It seems that the horses were usually arrayed on the next morning.¹⁰⁶⁴ Sometimes, however, the horses were arrayed in the evening and they stood arrayed or hitched up overnight to be reviewed in the morning in front of the king. In one of his letters he asked the king as follows: "When are the horses trained to the yoke to come before the king, my lord? Let the king, my lord, send word so I can be alerted and I can have orders issued for the horses to stay overnight and

¹⁰⁵⁸ Mār-Issar (1DUMU. 415) *qurbūtu* (LÚ.*qur-bu-ti*) (LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 104 (ABL 206, 7, Rev. 9), *rab kišir* (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 126 (ADD 1040, 6-7); Bēl-ibnī (1EN.DU) *rab kišir Arraphāia* (DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 108 II:4); Nabû-šarru-ušur (1dPA.MAN.PAP) *rab kišir ša—šēpē* (GIR.2) *ša mār šarri* (KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 325 (ADD 470, Rev. 20'), 663 B.C.); *qurbūtu* (LÚ.*qur-ZAG*) (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 9 (ADD 860, Rev. I:8); BAD.ḤAL *qur-ub* (FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 110 (ADD 700, 2); *rab kišir mār šarri* (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857, Rev. II:9), 9 (ADD 860, Rev. I:21), 10 (ADD 850, I:8'); *rab kišir ša mār šarri* (A—MAN) (KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 297 (ADD 266, Rev. 3) 671 B.C.), 298 (ADD 503, Rev. 9'), 299 (ADD 477, Rev. 5'), 300 (ADD 202, Rev. 8), 325 (ADD 470, Rev. 20'), 332 (ADD 433+599, Rev. 12'); *rab kišir* (MATTILA 2002, 35 (ADD 349, Rev. 8), 630 B.C.), KWASMAN 1988, 129 (ADD 211, Rev. 18 – E. 1); *tašlīšu* (LÚ.3.U.) (KWASMAN – PARPOLA 1991, 164 (ADD 612, Rev. 11-12), 686 B.C.), MATTILA 2002, 2 (ADD 627, R. 10'), 666 B.C. Ubur-Issar (1SUḤUŠ-15) LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR (FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 123 (ADD 852, I:6'); Ḥarmaku *mušarkisu* (DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 99 (ND.10002), I:12); *rab kišir Arraphāia* (DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 102 (ND.10019), II:17'); *rab kišir ša raksūte* DELLER – FADHIL 1993, 1 Rev. 5.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Bēl-ibnī (1EN.DU) *rab kišir Arraphāia* (DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 108 II:4); Ḥarmaku *rab kišir Arraphāia* (DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, 102, II:17').

¹⁰⁶⁰ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 82-123.

¹⁰⁶¹ The reports actually do not contain any references to the state of the horses, but one of them mentions 5 wounded Egyptian horses (COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 119 (ABL 1427), 7.).

¹⁰⁶² COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 97 (ABL 373).

¹⁰⁶³ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 98 (ABL 375). It is unknown, whether the 'Palace' mentioned in COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 111 (ABL 575), Rev. 4-5 refers to the royal palace of Nineveh or to the Review Palace of Calah.

¹⁰⁶⁴ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 88 (ABL 71), 17-Rev. 11; 95 (ABL 440), 7-Rev. 4; 100 (ABL 545), Rev. 9-12.

be provisioned.”¹⁰⁶⁵ This technique, however, is easily prone to become counterproductive. Nabû-šumu-iddina sent a complaining letter to the king, blaming this practice: “I arrayed the horses yesterday. Why must I constantly harass the king’s horses? But if the king, my lord, commands it, I will array the horses (again). What are the written instructions of the king, my lord?”¹⁰⁶⁶

It seems furthermore, that the horses of some units were always on alert and were always hitched up. One of his letters might refer to such a case: “I will also array the hitched-up Mesean horses, which are kept hitched up at all times.”¹⁰⁶⁷

One of the letters shows, that Nabû-šumu-iddina was a much more important person than a simple ‘inspector.’ It seems that he had authority over other centres – not only over Calah – and he kept an eye on the horse shipments outside Calah as well. In this letter he wrote to the king that the horses (cavalry mounts) were in Adia, but, if the king commanded they would cross over to Nineveh.¹⁰⁶⁸

As Fig. 51 shows, horses arrived to Calah from various, often remote places of the empire. They came from cities and provinces (Manšūāte, Qarnê, Dâna, Kullania, Arpad, Isana, Damascus, Barḥalzi, Arrapḥa, Dūr-Šarukku, Tillê, Rašappa, Māzamua, Kilizi, Arbela, Meliddu, Si’immê, Dūr-Šarrukên, Guzana, Calah, Parsua, Aššur, Laḥiru, Ḥada’il, Šuḥupa, and Ebir-nāri), from the high officials and magnates of the empire (*turtānu*, *nāgir ekalli*, *rab šāqê*, *turtānu ša šumêli*, Treasurer of the Queen, Treasurer of the Queen Mother, governor of Calah, prefects, and the magnates of Bêt-kāri), and interestingly from recruits and chariot horse trainers of unknown territory or unit, and the recruits of the Chief Eunuch. It seems obvious that these territories and officials had yearly(?) horse quotas which had to be sent to the tax collection centres, since some of the texts made a reference of the complete or incomplete status of the shipment,¹⁰⁶⁹ or indicates that the shipment had not arrived.¹⁰⁷⁰

The horse collection centre of Calah is known from another text as well. This administrative text lists 2 stallions and 8 mares, altogether 10 horses, having arrived from Mannai on the 22th day of month Tašrītu (VII) to Calah.¹⁰⁷¹

It also has to be mentioned that other fragmentary texts dealing with horses are known,¹⁰⁷² but their state makes it impossible to use them in the reconstruction of the underlying logic of the imperial horse breeding and supply system.

These horses were probably sent to the royal centres to serve the equestrian units of the *kišir šarrūti*, the royal corps.¹⁰⁷³ One of the letters of Nabû-šumu-iddina mentions that “We will give the first shipment that arrives from the household of the magnates to the cavalry. We will then

¹⁰⁶⁵ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 97 (ABL 373), Rev. 5-12.

¹⁰⁶⁶ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 92 (ABL 371), Rev. 7-14.

¹⁰⁶⁷ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 88 (ABL 71), Rev. 8-11.

¹⁰⁶⁸ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 83 (ABL 683).

¹⁰⁶⁹ 31 horses were an incomplete shipment from Arpad (COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 86 (ABL 372), Rev. 13); 122 horses (COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 88 (ABL 71), 9-11) or in another case 60 horses (COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 108 (ABL 393), 7-9) from the Commander-in-Chief was also an incomplete shipment; A further incomplete shipment of 27 horses arrived from Calah (COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 109 (ABL 394), Rev. 1-3); On the other hand 79 horses from the Commander-in-Chief, the Palace Herald, and from Arrapḥa was a complete shipment (COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 103 (ABL 682), 8-Rev. 4).

¹⁰⁷⁰ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 102 (ABL 67), Rev. 6: the horses from Ebir-nāri have not yet arrived; 122 (ABL 1159), Rev. 3-4: 16 horses have not arrived.

¹⁰⁷¹ PARKER 1961, 44 (ND 2699): (1) 2 ANŠE.KUR.MEŠ NÍTA, (2) 8 SAL.ANŠE.KUR.MEŠ, (3) PAB 10 ANŠE.KUR.MEŠ, (4) KUR.Man-na-[a]-a, (5) ITU.DU₆ (tašrītu/VII) U₄ 22-kām, (6) ina URU.Kal-ḫi.

¹⁰⁷² WISEMAN – KINNIER WILSON 1951, 106 (ND 405).

¹⁰⁷³ DEZSŐ 2012B, *passim*.

wait for the rest of the shipment."¹⁰⁷⁴ This shipment provided horses for 50 cavalymen (a platoon), who (together with their households) were equipped by Nabû-šumu-iddina with millstones, household utensils, and pigs. This letter indicates that Nabû-šumu-iddina was not only an inspector of horses, but was in charge of the complete supply of (equestrian) units.¹⁰⁷⁵ There is another text, which lists 34 horses along with other equids (3 mules and 8 asses) and 2 oxen subdivided according to their owners,¹⁰⁷⁶ which seems as if they belonged to similar households, where the horse breeder/trainer got other animals used for domestic activities.

It was probably a heavy burden for the contributing magnates and governors, since they had to equip their own equestrian units as well. Furthermore, as has been mentioned above, such a long march – as for example from Kullania to Calah – could easily cause heavy losses in the ranks of the horses – which would have been one of the causes of the incomplete status of the shipment.

These letters list a huge number of incoming horses. Nabû-šumu-iddina reviewed at least 995 Kushite horses, 173 Mesean horses, 1,400 horses of the yoke (without a specification of their stock), 1,086 cavalry mounts, 151 mules, altogether more than 3,995 horses and mules. Unfortunately the period which they covered is unknown, but they probably fall within a year. The number of chariot horses is 2,568. It means that the chariotry existed in large numbers in this period as well – even if the palace reliefs of the Ninevite palaces do not support this idea. However, it is not known whether these horses "trained to the yoke" were used only military, or other purposes as well.

As Cole and Machinist have already raised the question, the possibility to postulate the existence of a unit of Nabû,¹⁰⁷⁷ or other deities¹⁰⁷⁸ is tempting, but the huge number of horses (enough for a complete equestrian division)¹⁰⁷⁹ does not make the impression that these horses were of cultic importance. Only a few entries refer to teams of deities, for example to the teams of Aššur.¹⁰⁸⁰ Another text mentions a team of black horses charged to the people of Calah,¹⁰⁸¹ which might easily have been a team designated to serve a deity.

III.2.5 Horses from merchants

It is obvious that the Assyrians would have exploited all possible sources from which they could guarantee the horse supply of the Assyrian army. Among these sources the royal¹⁰⁸² and independent merchants (*tamkār sīsê*)¹⁰⁸³ played an important role. The correspondence of the Sargonides reveals that the Assyrians bought large numbers of horses from merchants. An important letter (ND 2627, discussed above (in the chapter on *iškāru* dues) for example lists 300

¹⁰⁷⁴ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 82 (ABL 546), 5-9.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Only a single (other) Nabû-šumu-iddina is known from the military archives, and he served as a 'chariot man of the open chariotry' (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU₈.MEŠ) (FALES – POSTGATE 1992, 5 (ADD 857), Rev. II:2), 9 (ADD 860, II:17')).

¹⁰⁷⁶ WISEMAN – KINNIE WILSON 1951, 112 (ND 452): Iakud(?)di, Mār-Issar, Sina'an and Baṭṭi-nūri.

¹⁰⁷⁷ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, XVII-XVIII.

¹⁰⁷⁸ The reconstruction of different units marching under the *aegis* of different deities is going to be presented in the next volume of this project.

¹⁰⁷⁹ DEZSÖ 2006B, 93-140.

¹⁰⁸⁰ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 104 (ABL 61), 11-13. As Cole and Machinist quoted VAT 13596 – these teams might have been comprised of white horses.

¹⁰⁸¹ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 118 (ABL 1153), 8-11.

¹⁰⁸² For Assyrian royal merchants see the Book of Tobit I:13-14.

¹⁰⁸³ RADNER 2002, TSH 35, 1-2: Aḥ-abū [LÚ].DAM.QAR—AN[ŠE.K]UR.

animals, ordered from merchants by the king.¹⁰⁸⁴ The next letter¹⁰⁸⁵ also connects the merchants with the *iškāru* tax on horses, which the king imposed upon them, but the specific connotations of this connection are unclear. Did the king extract silver from different subjects within the framework of the *iškāru* tax system and order the merchants to buy horses for the sum? This view seems to be corroborated (at least partly) by a letter, which says that “[The son]s of Sadir petitioned the Palace claiming they had weakened (financially), and they say: ‘We have been authorized by the Palace to raise the *iškāru* dues from the troops.’”¹⁰⁸⁶ A Nimrud administrative text (ND 2458,¹⁰⁸⁷ Fig. 52) reports incoming horses with a caption: of/from merchants (*ša LÚ.DAM.GAR.MEŠ*). It seems that this fragmentary text recorded more than 700 horses which were brought to the Palace by merchants. It is unknown whether the three names (*Tāb* [...], *Marduk* [...], *Ḫašī*) indicated in the text referenced the merchants themselves, or the people the merchants bought the horses from.

As known from two Assyrian letters, these merchants might be foreign or vassal kings as well. Nabû-rēmānni for example wrote to Sargon II that a messenger from Parsua had told him: the king of the land Zalipu had despatched 100 horses to Assyria, but the Mannaeen king detained them inside his country.¹⁰⁸⁸ In another letter Issar-šumu-iqīša, an Assyrian official wrote to Sargon II that the king of Zikirtu (who was otherwise the vassal of the king of Urartu) wanted to sell horses to the Assyrians in the town Paššate.¹⁰⁸⁹ Issar-šumu-iqīša brought and deposited the silver for the horses in an Assyrian stronghold. The Assyrian officials purchased horses not only from foreign rulers but merchants as well. One of these was a certain Šarī from the town Kanna’, who brought 70 horses to Arzuḫina.¹⁰⁹⁰ When Adad-issīa, governor of Māzāmua asked him where the rest of his horses were, he said that he had bought 200 horses over there and would bring the rest later. The same letter mentions further merchants whose horses were on the way to Assyria. Another administrative text lists horses of different colour in the possession of a merchant (*LÚ.DAM.GAR*).¹⁰⁹¹ The Assyrians sometimes searched for certain (large-sized) types of horses. Šarru-ēmuranni, who was also governor of Māzāmua, for example ordered the Kumasaean merchants to review their stock, and if such size horse falls into their hands, to fetch it to him.¹⁰⁹² Further fragmentary letters prove that if needed, several Assyrian officials would buy horses for the army along the Eastern border of the Empire.¹⁰⁹³ One of these letters refers to the horse purchasing activity of the Assyrian official (a governor?) himself, as well.¹⁰⁹⁴ However, not only the letters of the local, provincial administration mentioned above refer to the horse trade of the Assyrians. There is an inventory text (ND 2458, Fig. 52), in which the administration of the royal court lists those horse contingents which they had acquired from merchants. This text altogether enumerates 730 horses – divided into groups according to the merchant who had brought them. And a further Assyrian letter to Esarhaddon reveals that not only merchants, but Assyrian vassal officials also purchased horses for silver.¹⁰⁹⁵

¹⁰⁸⁴ LUUKKO 2012, 168 (ND 2627), Rev. 10-13; SAGGS 2001, 278-280 (ND 2627), Rev. 10-13.

¹⁰⁸⁵ LUUKKO 2012, 35 (ND 2401), 4-8; SAGGS 2001, 251-252 (ND 2401), 4-8.

¹⁰⁸⁶ PARPOLA 1987, 118 (ABL 231), 3-6.

¹⁰⁸⁷ PARKER 1961, 30 (ND 2458).

¹⁰⁸⁸ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 53 (ABL 165).

¹⁰⁸⁹ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 169 (ABL 205).

¹⁰⁹⁰ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 224 (ABL 529).

¹⁰⁹¹ POSTGATE 1973, 126 (ND 446).

¹⁰⁹² LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 202 (ABL 310).

¹⁰⁹³ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 83 (NL 61 (ND 2359) + NL 63 (ND.2777)); LUUKKO 2012, 190 (ND 2359); SAGGS 2001, 141-142, NL 77 (ND 2701); LUUKKO 2012, 94 (ND 2701).

¹⁰⁹⁴ SAGGS 2001, 141-142, NL 77 (ND 2701); LUUKKO 2012, 94 (ND 2701).

¹⁰⁹⁵ REYNOLDS 2003, 56 (ABL 336), 3-7: the mayor domo and the information officer of Nabû-ušallim, Assyrian vassal leader (from 678 B.C.) of Bīt-Dakkuri.

III.3 Horse breeding

One of the main concerns of the Assyrian cavalry and chariotry was to keep their own horses and the new incoming horses in good condition. Horses needed stable complexes the archaeological reconstruction of which is hardly possible.¹⁰⁹⁶ Man and horse needed a large amount of stored grain and fodder daily, for which the Assyrians organized a provincial network of royal granaries and army reserves.¹⁰⁹⁷ A large administrative tablet (ND 2803, Fig. 17), a ration account deals with the distribution of provisions (bread and fodder) to various military personnel. Large quantities of fodder for example were issued to 201 charioteers (LÚ.GIGIR) and their horses: 187 homers and 2 *sūtu* (18,720 litres) for three months, and altogether a huge portion, 3,987 homers and 8 *sūtu* (398,780 litres) for an unknown number of horses and men for an unknown period.¹⁰⁹⁸ A daily fodder ration for horses was given for example to a 'third man,' Šamaš-šallim for Mannaean horses, to Dani-Bēl of Zamua for Elamite horses, to Gaiâ, the *qurbūtu* bodyguard of the crown prince for horses from Bīt-Daltâ, to Kanūnāiu, the *qurbūtu* bodyguard for horses which he brought from Arzuḫina, and to the governor of Šallat for 220 horses.¹⁰⁹⁹ It is, however, unknown whether they bought the horses or just brought them to Nimrud. One of the most important texts concerning the provision of horses is a letter written by an Assyrian official to Sargon II, which lists the troops of Assyrian magnates arriving at the meeting point in Kār-Aššur and preparing for a military campaign (to Media?). In the second part of the letter the writer provides a detailed inventory of grain supply (barley for human consumption and fodder for the animals) locally available in daily and monthly specification (Fig. 20).¹¹⁰⁰ When Sargon II asked Tāb-šil-Ēšarra: "Suppose you are staying at home, how do you feed our horses?", he replied: "Half of my horses are fed in the Barḫalza 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 [...]"¹¹⁰¹ A few short notes open the door to suppose, that the horses of governors and magnates were fed in different towns and villages and were in charge of local authorities, as the *rab ālāni* (LÚ.GAL URU.MEŠ)¹¹⁰² or the *ša māḫāzāni*.¹¹⁰³

The Assyrian magnates even sent their cavalry officers to collect barley rations. Adad-issīa, governor of Māzamua for example dispatched his two cavalry cohort commanders (LÚ.GAL(*rab*) *ki-šir*.MEŠ *ša pet-ḫal-li*) to Sanḫa and Ulušia, to the king's subjects, and received the equipment and the barley rations which were specified in their tablet.¹¹⁰⁴ Tariba-Issar wrote to Sargon II that he

¹⁰⁹⁶ For an introductory study see LIVERANI 2012, 443-458.

¹⁰⁹⁷ For the question see above, and the detailed studies of FALES 1990 and FALES 2000.

¹⁰⁹⁸ PARKER 1961, 55-61, ND 2803, Obv. II:13'-15'.

¹⁰⁹⁹ PARKER 1961, 55-61, ND 2803, Rev. II:3-22.

¹¹⁰⁰ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 250 (CT 53, 47+ ABL 1290); FALES 1990, 24-27; FALES 2000, 48-49. For a detailed study see Fig. 20.

¹¹⁰¹ PARPOLA 1987, 107 (ABL 97). That the king's suspicion was not ungrounded is reflected in another very fragmentary letter, in which somebody accused another Assyrian official as follows: "[...] for his eyes; he does not give any [str]aw or fodder [to] the horses." (PARPOLA 1987, 107 (ABL 97), 2-5).

¹¹⁰² 13 horses were registered in the hands of Marduk-aḫu-iddina, the *rab ālāni* ([LÚ.GAL] URU.MEŠ), (POSTGATE 1973, 125 (ND 445), 8); 11 horses of the governor of Ḫalšu and 8 horses of the governor of Tamanūni (Tamnuna) were fed by their *rab ālāni* (*rab ālānišunu*, LÚ.GAL URU.MEŠ-*ni-šu-nu*) Šulmu-aḫḫē (POSTGATE 1973, 128 (ND 427), Rev. 11); a further text refers to horses in connection with a *rab ālāni* (4) (*rab ālāni*, [LÚ.GA]L URU.MEŠ-*ni*), (POSTGATE 1973, 127 (ND 430), 4).

¹¹⁰³ POSTGATE 1973, 129 (ND 447), 5-6 mentions 32 horses in the hands of a *ša māḫāzāni* (*ša ma-ḫa-za-a-ni*, village inspector?) named Aššur-zēru-ušur.

¹¹⁰⁴ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 217 (ABL 342), 4-11.

had collected 500 homers (= 50,000 litres) of barley in the city of Kilizi, and would like to deliver it.¹¹⁰⁵ In a similar letter, Marduk-šarru-ušur assured the king (Sargon II) that he had stored 1,000 homers of barley in the town Saba[...], and was taking out more of the harvest.¹¹⁰⁶ Judging from a letter of Adad-issīa¹¹⁰⁷, governor of Māzamuā, it seems that the 1,000 homers of barley were a kind of quota which had to be cultivated and stored in the royal granaries of every province. This letter is a reply to a royal order, in which Sargon II commanded Nabû-[...], and Mannu-kī-Adad to cultivate 1,000 homers of seed corn. Other governors had similar problems with raising provisions. Nabû-dūru-ušur, for example, excused himself for not having raised provisions for the expedition, thinking: “‘I will send them to my lord.’ Surely, my lord, within 5 or 6 days my lord will go either to Assyria or to the enemy country, O my lord. Let my lord quickly give orders to Meturna, Zabban and Dūr-Bēl-ilā’ī, and let my messenger quickly fetch (provisions) from there posthaste to my lord!”¹¹⁰⁸ In another case an Assyrian official made excuses for not providing the provisions for the horses sent by the king in time, but as he states it was not his duty.¹¹⁰⁹ A letter of Bēl-liqbī¹¹¹⁰ written to Sargon II tells the story of an unknown chariotry officer, who without the permission of the deputy governor, but citing a royal order opened up a silo in a village of the governor, and took two months worth of provisions. When Bēl-liqbī protested, he said that his supply of grass had diminished in Nisan, yet horses keep coming to him, so he cannot cope. Another official, Aššur-dalāl confiscated half of the fodder for his newly arrived horses. It is obvious from the letter that the provincial governors stored grain and fodder in monthly rations in their silos. This letter also reveals that the governor stored a relatively large amount of grain and fodder in these silos (complete monthly rations, 70 day rations and a further 20 day rations for a certain, unfortunately unknown number of soldiers and horses). The Assyrians used every opportunity to feed their horses: a letter sent from Babylonia possibly to Sargon II mentions that the people of Bīt-Dakkuri have gone from their cities to the marshes.¹¹¹¹ They left behind huge quantities of barley and dates, so the horses should go and stay there. As the letter written by Gabbu-ana-Aššur to Sargon II shows, the officers in charge of the recruitment and supply of horses and fodder were the recruitment officers (*mušarkisāni*).¹¹¹² In spite of the fact that – as these examples show – there sometimes were disturbances in the system, it is obvious that one of the most important components of the Assyrian military success was their outstanding system of reserves and logistics.

There are some horse lists which give not only the number, but sometimes also the breed and colour of the animals.¹¹¹³ There are Ḫaršeān type, red, black, and *irginu*-coloured and *ḫarbakannu* type or coloured horses mentioned in these texts. One of the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.) lists tribute horses from Media with their trappings: there were white (*pešūti*), sorrel (*sāmūti*) Ḫaršeān (*Ḫar-šá-a-a*) and probably *ḫarbakannu* (*ḫar*-[...]) types amongst them.¹¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰⁵ PARPOLA 1987, 160 (ABL 843).

¹¹⁰⁶ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 69 (ABL 174).

¹¹⁰⁷ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 225 (CT 53, 79). As has been discussed above II.1.3.3 1,000 hectares of land, the present author interprets this passage as 1,000 hectares instead of 1,000 homers.

¹¹⁰⁸ FUCHS – PARPOLA 2001, 129 (CT 53, 110+++).

¹¹⁰⁹ SAGGS 1965, NL 71 (ND 2771); LUUKKO 2012, 51 (ND 2771).

¹¹¹⁰ PARPOLA 1987, 181 (ABL 1070).

¹¹¹¹ DIETRICH 2003, 84 (ABL 588), Rev. 3-9.

¹¹¹² LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 119 (ABL 122), 3. For a detailed study see DEZSŐ 2012B, 43-44, 122-128.

¹¹¹³ 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), XXV-XXVI. For a detailed study of the different breeds of horses reconstructed from the representational evidence see ALBENDA 2004.

¹¹¹⁴ TADMOR 1994, Stele IB: 18’-19’.

One Sargonide letter reports incoming horses as follows: “16 red horses; 13 *irginu* horses; 14 black horses; 1 *Ḥaršeān* horse; 1 *tuānu* horse; 6 mares; 5 mules; in all 51 horses from the crown prince of Andia.”¹¹¹⁵ Further administrative texts list roan horses (G_{UN}.MEŠ), bay horses (SA₅.MEŠ), gray horses (*irginu*), ‘banded’ bay horses (SA₅ *me-ši-ra-nu*), “banded” gray horses (*irginu me-ši-ra-nu*), black horses (GI₆.MEŠ), and probably *ḥarbakannu* horses (ḤAR.MEŠ).¹¹¹⁶ One of the administrative texts of the Nimrud Horse Lists inventories a smaller number of horses assigned to officers.¹¹¹⁷ This detailed list – in contrast to the large horse lists – indicates the (red, black, and *irginu*) colour of the animals, including a dappled(?) horse as well. It is interesting to note that such a piebald(?) or dappled horse appears on one of the wall paintings of Til-Barsip¹¹¹⁸ together with horses of other colours. Albenda – examining the colours of horses of Room XXII, XXIV, XXVII and XLVII wall paintings of the Til-Barsip palace – reconstructed almost the whole spectrum of horse colours¹¹¹⁹ known from written and representational evidence. Her solid colours are as follows: black, bay (dark brown), chestnut or sorrel (reddish brown), dun (light reddish brown), cream or palomino (pink), and white. The bicolored horses were skewald (brown and white), piebald (black and white), and pinto (white and other colour). She suggested that blue colour¹¹²⁰ on a bicoloured horse may represent a shade of gray, while the blue horse pulling the royal chariot was intentionally painted blue (using Tyrian purple or lapis lazuli), “in order to impart a visual richness.” It is known that mediaeval Ottoman armies showed a preference for painting horses with blue and green colours. She concluded that the cavalry favoured the bicolored horses. While Fales reconstructed the *irginu* as a solid colour, and the *ḥarbakannu* as a blend colour,¹¹²¹ Postgate¹¹²² and Albenda suggest a shade of gray for the *irginu* and bicoloured for *ḥarbakannu*. A further obscure term for the colour or breed of horse appears in a letter written Esarhaddon, in which the writer accuses Nabû-ušallim, Assyrian vassal leader of Bīt-Dakkuri with having stolen a chariot and a speckled horse (ANŠE.ra-gaš-ta-kaš)¹¹²³ from the king.

The horse reports of Nabû-šumu-iddina give further interesting details. As Fig. 51 shows, these horse reports consequently distinguish the cavalry mounts (ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ša BAD.ḤAL-li) and the horses ‘trained to the yoke’ (ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ša ni-i-ri). The category of the yoke horse falls into three different breeds, which are also consequently distinguished from each other. The first is the Kushite horse (ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ KUR.Ku-sa-a-a). Nabû-šumu-iddina reviewed not less than 995 horses (one fourth of the horses and 41 % of the yoke horses reviewed), which means that this stock was an important element of the horses of Assyrian army. As Albenda¹¹²⁴ has pointed out, the Kushite horses – which appeared in the art¹¹²⁵ and archaeological record¹¹²⁶ during the second half of the 8th century B.C. – were large animals by modern-day standards. Albenda

¹¹¹⁵ LANFRANCHI – PARPOLA 1990, 171 (ABL 466).

¹¹¹⁶ POSTGATE 1973, 125 (ND 445), 126 (ND 446).

¹¹¹⁷ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984, no. 116 (ND 10080).

¹¹¹⁸ THUREAU-DANGIN – DUNAND 1936, pl. LIII.

¹¹¹⁹ ALBENDA 2004, 327-328.

¹¹²⁰ Examining the weaponry of Assyrian soldiers of the Til-Barsip wall paintings, the present writer reconstructed the helmets painted light blue with yellow decoration as iron helmets with bronze inlay – as known from actual finds of Assyrian iron helmets decorated with bronze inlay. DEZSŐ – CURTIS 1991; DEZSŐ 2001, 24.

¹¹²¹ FALES 1974, 10-13; FALES – POSTGATE 1995, XXV-XXVI.

¹¹²² POSTGATE 1973, 125 (ND 445).

¹¹²³ REYNOLDS 2003, 57 (ABL 1154+), E. 26-27.

¹¹²⁴ ALBENDA 2004, 326.

¹¹²⁵ SPALINGER 1981, 47-51, figs. 3-5.

¹¹²⁶ BÖKÖNYI 1993, 305-309, see furthermore, HEIDORN 1997.

argues that this breed appears on the palace reliefs of Sennacherib¹¹²⁷ as well. It is interesting, that – as Fig. 51 shows – Kushite horses arrived in large numbers not only from the Western territories, but almost from every part of the Empire (even from Parsua). It is obvious that certain breeds of horses could have been raised all over the Empire, not only in their country of origin.

Furthermore three of the horse reports mention Egyptian horses (ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ KUR.*Mu-šur-a-a*).¹¹²⁸ If Tadmor's reconstruction is correct, this breed of horse was probably the same as was mentioned in a fragmentary royal inscription of Tiglath-Pileser III, who received Egyptian horses from Gaza.¹¹²⁹ The inscriptions of Sargon II mention large Egyptian horses on two occasions: in 716 B.C. from Silkanni, king of Egypt¹¹³⁰ and in 707 B.C. on the occasion of the inauguration of his palace at Dūr-Šarrukēn.¹¹³¹ A letter of Bēl-erība – dated most probably to the reign of Sargon II – and sent to 'his brother' the governor, let the governor know that the guard (LÚ.ša—EN.NUN) Nabû-ēṭiranni and Issar-šumu-ēreš, a recruit of the team commander (LÚ.*raḫ-su ša* LÚ.GAL—*u-rat*) had brought a team of Egyptian horses (*ú-ru-u ša* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ KUR.*Mu-šur-a-a*). The royal order was, that this team of horses should be sent to Bēl-erība.¹¹³² The sources do not offer any clues to make a distinction between the Kushite and Egyptian breeds of horses. It is possible that the Egyptian horse was a synonym for the Kushite horse, since these two breeds never appear together in the same text. Albenda proposed that the large Kushite or Egyptian horses were probably instrumental in the evolution of the bigger, large-wheeled chariot, which started during the reign of Sennacherib. Unfortunately, only the royal chariot is represented from his reign onwards, but the chariots on the sculptures of Assurbanipal show the result of this new development. The appearance of these large horses in the Assyrian army during the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. fits into the general tendency of using bigger animals.

The third breed appearing in the horse reports is the Mesean (ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ KUR.*Me-sa-a-a*). As Fig. 51 shows, this breed appears together with the Kushite horse. Unfortunately no further details are known, but it can be supposed that this type of horse was also a larger in size, since it appears exclusively as a chariot horse ('trained to the yoke'). Their number never reached the number of Kushite horses, but was quite substantial: the horse reports of Nabû-šumu-iddina list 173 Mesean horses altogether.

There is a further question which has to be dealt with. The Assyrians, as has been discussed in the previous pages, got large numbers of horses from different sources. Administrative texts often made a clear difference between male and female horses (mares).¹¹³³ The palace reliefs, however, depict stallions only in a battle context. The question arises whether the Assyrians really used stallions only as war-horses in the army, or whether depicting them on the palace reliefs was an iconographical convention. If only stallions and no mares were used, it decreased the number of animals which could be employed as war-horses considerably, and made the supply of horses more difficult. Written sources do not help us in solving the problem, however, it is known, that to escape alone on a mare was a shame.¹¹³⁴

¹¹²⁷ BARNETT – BLEIBTREU – TURNER 1998, nos. 575-584.

¹¹²⁸ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 115 (CT 53, 434), E.1: 18 Egyptian horses; 119 (ABL 959), 7-9: 5 wounded Egyptian horses from Adad-ēreš (ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ KUR.*mu-šur-a-[a] si-im-ma-ta-nu-te*); 120 (CT 53, 418).

¹¹²⁹ TADMOR 1994, Summary Inscription 9:8.

¹¹³⁰ TADMOR 1958, 77-78.

¹¹³¹ LUCKENBILL 1926—1927, 44, par. 87.

¹¹³² LUUKKO 2012, 160 (ND 2780).

¹¹³³ PARKER 1961, ND 2458, ND 2788, ND 2768.

¹¹³⁴ TADMOR 1994, Stele IB: 33'''Sarduri of Urarṭu rode off alone on a mare''; THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, 140: Rusa, king of Urarṭu left the battlefield on a mare.

The Assyrians were also keen on the good condition of their horses. The king wrote letters to his officials emphasizing the importance of the overall wellbeing of horses: „The horses of the Warden are not to be commandeered; set a safe route for them and send them to me in good condition.”¹¹³⁵ When Sargon II sent a message through Nabû-aḥu-ušur (*ša—qurbūte*) to the magnates on campaign, that they may each keep 50 riding horses and the rest they should send to him. The magnates, however, disagreed saying: “(If) they go, they will die along the way, they come with us.”¹¹³⁶ As known from an above mentioned letter, in a shipment of horses from Kullania 26 horses died of the 100 on the road.¹¹³⁷ The mountain roads to the north and east of Assyria were impassable during the winter and early spring, which was dangerous for horse and man. Nabû-bēlu-ka’in, the governor of Kār-Aššur, when he got an order from the king to be in Calah on the 1st of Nisan (I), replied that they are „clearing the roads, but it is snowing and the snow is filling them up. There is very much snow.”¹¹³⁸ He mentions that two years before, under similar weather conditions his men and horses died in the snow. The third important question of the horse breeding was the question of epidemics, and only a few sources mention diseases affecting the animals. Nebuchadnezzar I (1125—1104 B.C.) wrote in his royal inscription that the *kattillu*-demon killed his thoroughbred horses.¹¹³⁹ The importance of the problem is emphasized by those few texts edited by S. Maul,¹¹⁴⁰ which deal with the diseases of equids, and offer rituals and receipts to cure and to take care of them.

The texts of the so called ‘Aššur Protocol’¹¹⁴¹ list chariot men (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR),¹¹⁴² their towns and villages,¹¹⁴³ and the number and state of horses they were in charge of. The lists classify the horses as ‘good’ and ‘not good.’ It seems that the chariot men took care of their own horses (1, 2, or 3) during the winter period, when their unit was disbanded. Two important consequences can be drawn: 1) army units organized on a territorial base were deployed in different (home) towns and villages or their soldiers were recruited from these settlements and were let home (with their animals) during the winter season, when the army was disbanded; 2) it seems from this group of texts that some of the soldiers of the equestrian units, predominantly the ‘chariot men’ or ‘chariot horse trainers’ took their horses home to take care of them. As Postgate phrased: “By a system of this kind the state was relieved of some of the burden of feeding and caring for the horses, and also of course the bond between animals and masters would be strengthened.”¹¹⁴⁴

¹¹³⁵ SAGGS 2001, 80-82 (ND 2435), 25-29; LUUKKO 2012, 4 (ND 2435).

¹¹³⁶ LANFRANCHI — PARPOLA 1990, 226 (ABL 884), 12-18.

¹¹³⁷ SAGGS 2001, 171-172, (ND 2399); LUUKKO 2012, 96 (ND 2399).

¹¹³⁸ FUCHS — PARPOLA 2001, 83 (NL 61 (ND 2359) + NL 63 (ND.2777)).

¹¹³⁹ FRAME 1995, B.2.4.6, Rev. 13: *mu-ur-ni-is-qí-ia ina-ár kát-til-lu*.

¹¹⁴⁰ MAUL 2013, 16-37.

¹¹⁴¹ SCHROEDER 1920, 31, 32, 34-37, 131, 132; DALLEY — POSTGATE 1984, 41-43.

¹¹⁴² DEZSÓ 2012B, 109-117.

¹¹⁴³ These towns and villages are as follows: There were 10 chariot men with 13 horses under the command of Ame-atar commander-of-50 (LÚ.GAL 50) from the following settlements: (SCHROEDER 1920, 31), 3: URU.*Qa-ma-ni*, 6: URU.*Ab-ba-ni*; 9: URU.*Ra-da-ni*; 12: URU.*Sa-re-e*; 15: URU.ŠE *I-li-ti*; 18: URU.*Til-Ú-li-na*; 21: URU.ŠE ^{1d}MAŠ.MAŠ(*Nergal*); 24, 27: URU.ŠE *I-li-ti*; 30: URU.*Ma-li-ku*; under the command of [...]SILIM(*šulmi*?)—GIN(*ukin*) cohort commander (LÚ.GAL *k[i-šir]*): (SCHROEDER 1920, 32), 3: URU.*Ar-ra-[ap-ḥa]*; Rev. 4': URU.*Su-ti-[...]*; 7': URU.*Su-ti-a-[...]*; under the command of an unknown cohort commander (LÚ.GAL *ki-šir*): (SCHROEDER 1920, 34), 2': URU.*Qa-ma-ni*, 5': URU.*Ra-at-me*; under an unknown commander: (SCHROEDER 1920, 35), 5: URU.*Qa-ma-ni*; 8: URU.ŠE ^dMAŠ.MAŠ(*Nergal*)—[...]; under the command of ¹*Kak-ku-[us]-su* cohort commander (LÚ.GAL *ki-šir*): (SCHROEDER 1920, 36), 4, 7: URU.*Kil-pa-ḥa*; under an unknown commander: (SCHROEDER 1920, 37), 5': URU.*Ra-[da-ni?]*; under an unknown commander: (SCHROEDER 1920, 131), 2: [URU.]*Tu-ḥu-na*; 5: URU.[...]—*du-[...]-di*; 8: URU.*Ḥi-la-wi*; 11: URU.*Ḥul-la-ri*; Rev. 5: URU.*Pi-iq-da-ni*; 8: URU.*Ḥu-du-pa*; 11: [URU.*R*]—*pi-ḥi*; under the command of ¹*A-me-a-tar* cohort commander (LÚ.GAL *ki-šir*): (SCHROEDER 1920, 132), 4: URU.[...]—*li-ki*.

¹¹⁴⁴ POSTGATE 1974, 210.

It is important to note, that several chariot men listed in the texts of the ‘Aššur Protocol’ are known from other texts. They appear in the Nimrud Horse Lists as soldiers of the provincial units,¹¹⁴⁵ for example Unit 2,¹¹⁴⁶ which was commanded by Marduk-šarru-ušur, and the names of his 10 officers are mainly West Semitic, which might indicate the West Semitic origin of the unit.¹¹⁴⁷ Four officers of this unit appear in the ‘Aššur Protocol.’¹¹⁴⁸ In the Protocol, however, these officers are charioteers (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR), and not team commanders (*rab urâte*) or cohort commanders (*rab kišir*) as in the Nimrud Horse Lists.

If we are looking for horse-breeding or horse collecting centers outside the Assyrian capitals in Mesopotamia, Borsippa would be a good candidate.¹¹⁴⁹ Nimrud Letter 83 shows that Borsippa was most probably a military base with installations, prepared to accommodate larger numbers of horses. Nabû-dāmiq asked Tiglath-Pileser III as follows: “Now the king should quickly send the caravan of Nabû-bānî and 500 horses here, so that those who are around us can go to Borsippa.”¹¹⁵⁰ These 500 horses were a remarkable force, since another letter reports that “Mukîn-zē[ri] has entered Babylon from Bīt-Amukāni having 10 horses with him. He greeted the Babylonian[s], saying: ‘I have ...ed 600 horses *insi[de]* Assyria (and) ...ed (them) into *m[y]* country. Do[n]’t be afra[id]!’”¹¹⁵¹ It seems from this letter, that 600 horses were quite a promise, a sign of military power, which should have secured the support or alliance of the Babylonians. Another letter – most probably from the time of the Mukîn-zē[ri] rebellion – refers to a much more formidable force of 2,000 horses and 90 chariots of an unfortunately unknown Babylonian tribe. This force encamped on the other side of Bāb-bitqī and constructed reed huts.¹¹⁵² These examples raise the question of how these horses were fed, as the animals needed huge amounts of fodder, to be provided by the central and local authorities of the Empire.

¹¹⁴⁵ DEZSÓ 2012B, 81-87.

¹¹⁴⁶ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Obv. ii:7-11, 173, 177; DEZSÓ 2012B, 82-83.

¹¹⁴⁷ DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, §C, 173.

¹¹⁴⁸ ^mDINGIR(*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); ^m*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); ^mdIM(*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); ^m*A-tar-bi-’i-dī*: DALLEY – POSTGATE 1984A, no. 99, Obv. ii:10 (*rab urâte*); no. 108, iii:23 (*rab urâte*); SCHROEDER 1920, 32 Rev. 6’ (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR).

¹¹⁴⁹ See for example a letter from the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III, in which two Assyrian officials discuss the situation in Babylon, referring the horses of Borsippa (LUUKKO 2012, 133 (ND 2674); SAGGS 2001, 14-18, NL 6 (ND 2674)).

¹¹⁵⁰ LUUKKO 2012, 134 (ND 2681), 7-11; SAGGS 2001, 63-64, NL 83 (ND 2681), 7-11.

¹¹⁵¹ LUUKKO 2012, 138 (ND 2695), 10-Rev. 6; SAGGS 2001, 18-19, (ND 2695), 10-Rev. 6.

¹¹⁵² LUUKKO 2012, 146 (ND 2484); SAGGS 2001, 85-86, (ND 2484).

TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 35, ii:30'	130+	Bīt-Issar
TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 35, ii:31'	120	Ginizinānu, Sadbat, Sisad-[-]
TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 35, ii:32'	100	Upaš of Bīt-Kapsi
TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 35, ii:32'	100	Ušru of Nikiri
TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 35, ii:33'	100	Ugsatar of Qarkinšera
TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 35, ii:33'	100	Iaubitir of Amat
TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 35, ii:34'	300	Bardada of Sibar
TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 35, ii:34'	33	Amaku of Kitku-[-]
TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 35, ii:35'	32	Šataqupi of Uparia
TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 35, ii:36'	100	Ramatēia of Kazuginzani
TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 35, ii:37'	100	Metraku of Uparia
TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 35, ii:38'	200	Šatašpa of Šaparda
TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 35, ii:39'	100	Uitana of Mišita
TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 35, ii:40'	100	Ametana of Uizak
TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 35, ii:41'	[...]	Šataparna of Urba-[-]
TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 35, ii:42'	[...]	[...]bā of Sikrā
TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 35, ii:43'	[...]	[...]ia of Zakrūte
TADMOR – YAMADA 2011, 35, ii:44'	[...]	[...] of Aku-[-]

Fig. 44. Median rulers paying tribute in horses to Tiglath-Pileser III.

ND 2627	'AGENT'	AMOUNT GIVEN	HORSES (TO BE) BOUGHT	MISSING
Obv. 4'-7'	Bēl-lēšir	1 <i>biltu</i> (= 60/50 <i>manū</i>)	30 horses	20 <i>manū</i>
8'	Mannu-ki-Aššur-lē'i	20 minas	11	9
9'-10'	Riba-ahḫē	20 minas	7	13
11'	Labasi	20 minas	[x]	[x]
12'-14'	LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.GIGIR / Bēl-lēšir	[x]	[x]	[x]
17'-19'	[NN] LÚ.su-sa-nu	4 <i>biltu</i> (100 <i>manū</i>)	for 90 horses	
Rev. 1-3	Ḫarbišašu and his brothers	4 <i>biltu</i> (100 <i>manū</i>)		
4	in all:	8 <i>biltu</i> (200 <i>manū</i>)	for 200 horses + pack animals	

Fig. 45. The amounts of silver given to various officers to buy horses within the framework of iškāru.

ND 2727 ¹¹⁵³	NUMBER OF EQUIDS	TYPE OF EQUID	TO WHOM / FROM WHOM
1-2	50	<i>pīt-ḫal-lu</i> (cavalry horses)	in Aḫsana
3-4	184	ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ (horses)	in <i>Ebir nāri</i> (across the River)
5	20	<i>pīt-ḫal-lu</i>	in Ḫalman
6	100	ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ	
7			<i>nakkamtu</i> (<i>na-kām-tu</i>)
8	in all: 404/354	ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ	
9	60	ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ	
10	30	ANŠE. <i>ku-din</i> (mules)	
11			<i>iškāru</i> (EŠ.GAR.MEŠ)
12	in all: 464	KUR.MEŠ	
13	[30]	<i>ku-din</i>	
14	20	ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ	
15			<i>nāmurtu</i> (<i>na-mur-tu</i>) of Ḫalman

Fig 46. The structure of ND 2727.

¹¹⁵³ PARKER 1961, 45-46 (ND 2727).

ND 2788 ¹¹⁵⁴	NUMBER OF EQUIDS	TYPE OF EQUID	TO WHOM / FROM WHOM
Obv. 1	85	KUR.NITA (stallions)	
	6	[SAL.KUR] (mares)	
2	in all: 91		Nabû-šumu-iqīša
3	26	NITA	[...]-erība
4	25	NITA	
	[2]	[SAL.KUR]	
5	in all: 27		[...]
6	15	NITA	
	[3]	[SAL.KUR]	
7	in all: 18		[...]
8	14	NITA	
	[5]	[SAL.KUR]	
9	in all: 19		[...]
10	in all: 1[65]	NITA	
11	16	[SAL.KUR]	
12	in all: 181?	KUR	<i>iškāru</i>
13	8	NITA	
	2	SAL.KUR	Tur-[...]
[...]			
Rev. 1.	2	NITA	
	[2]	[SAL.KUR]	
2	in all: 4		[...]
3	2	NITA	
	[3]	[SAL.KUR]	
4	in all: 5		<i>Marduk-erība?</i>
5	3	NITA	
	2	SAL.KUR	
6	in all: 5		<i>Aḫua-erība</i>
7	12	NITA	
	10	SAL.KUR	
	1	SAL.MU (one year old female foal)	
8	in all: 23		<i>ut-ru-ti</i> (surplus)
9	6	NITA	<i>Issar-zēr-iqīša</i>
10	4	NITA	
	1	SAL.KUR	Sapunu
11	1	NITA	Aḫū'a-erība
12	1	[NITA]	Urdu
13	2	NITA	Ḫadasānu
14	in all: 14	NITA	
	1	SAL.KUR	
15	in all: 15		??? b/pu-...
16	9	KUR.NITA	
	7	SAL.KUR	
17	in all: 16		Kalḫāiu
18	<i>šá na-mur-tú</i>		<i>nāmurtu</i>

Fig 47. The structure of ND 2788.

¹¹⁵⁴ PARKER 1961, 52-53 (ND 2788).

TEXT	NUMBER OF EQUIDS	TYPE OF EQUID	TO WHOM / FROM WHOM
ND 2768 ¹¹⁵⁵			
[...]	[125]		
1'	in all: 175		
2'	308	KUR	of [...]
3'	10	KUR.NÍTA (stallions)	
	12	SAL.KUR (mares)	[...]
4'	in all: 630	KUR.MEŠ (horses)	Rašappa
5'	466	KUR.NÍTA	
	4	SAL.KUR	
6'	in all: 470		ša NAM
7'	6	KUR.NÍTA	
	1	SAL.KUR	
	in all: 7		ištu (from) URU.AŠ???
8'	in all: 477	KUR	LÚ.600 KUR.Tal-me (Talmeš)
9'	10		ša—šēpē (GIR.2)
10'	60		Aššur-iddina
11'	16		Aššur-bēlu-taqqin
12'	40	KAL	
	4	ḪAL (2 years old?)	
	in all: 44	NÍTA	
13'	13	SAL.KUR	
	5	TUR.MU (one year old)	
	in all: 62(?)		Aššur- [...]
14'	80	KAL	
	3	ḪAL	
	in all: 83	NÍTA	
15'	4	SAL.KUR KAL	
	1	TUR.MU	
	in all: 88		Nabû-tāriš
16'	52		LÚ.GAL- [...]
17'	54		Kiṣir-Aššur
E. 18'	[...]		Aššur- [...]
19'	[...]		¹ DINGIR.MAŠ- [...]
20'	[...]		¹ Mu-di/te- [...]
21'	[...] in all: 6		¹ Ka-nun-a-[a]
22'	94		DU / GIN
23'	[...]		
Rev. 24'	26		[URU.Da?]-e-nu
25'	18		Našibina
26'	35		Bīt-Zamāni
27'	18		Nergal-ibnī
28'	in all: 108	II-i	
29'	78	NAM	
30'	3	ŠUL?	
31'	97	NAM	
32'	3	NÍTA	

Fig 48. The structure of ND 2768.

¹¹⁵⁵ PARKER 1961, 49-50, ND 2768.

TEXT	NUMBER OF EQUIDS	TYPE OF EQUID/UNIT	OFFICIAL IN CHARGE
ADD 991 ¹¹⁵⁶	204	KUR.MEŠ	Edāiu
ADD 708 ¹¹⁵⁷	239	KUR.MEŠ	Šulmu-bēli-lāmur
ADD 700 ¹¹⁵⁸	175	BAD.ĦAL <i>qu-rub</i>	Nabû-šarru-ušur
ADD 701 ¹¹⁵⁹	88	KUR	
	6	GIR	
	94		Sîn-ašarēd, Iyyar (II) 9, 677

Fig 49. Number of horses allocated to/or commanded by different officials.

TEXT	NUMBER OF EQUIDS	TYPE OF EQUID/UNIT	OFFICIAL IN CHARGE
ADD 988 ¹¹⁶⁰			
1	[x]	black horses	
	5	red horses	
2	[x]	<i>irginu</i> -coloured horses	
3	total [x]+2		[NN]
4	[x]	black horses	
	4	<i>irginu</i> -coloured horses	
5	[x]	mares	
6	total 26	horses	Banāia
7	[x]	black horses	
	4	red horses	
8	[x]	<i>irginu</i> -coloured horses	
9	total 6	mares	[NN]
10	4	<i>irginu</i> -coloured horses	
	[x]	[...]	
11	9	black horses	
12	total 18		Padī-Bēl
13	5	red horses	
	6	black horses	
	5	[...] horses	
14	1	Ħaršeān horse	
	9	mares	
15	total 26	[...]	
16	6	black horses	
	[x]	<i>irginu</i> -coloured horses	
17	1	red horse	
	5	mares	
18	total 17	horses	[...-a]ḥu-iddina
19	3	[...]	
	[1]	[...]	
20	14	mares	
21	total 18	horses	A[...]i
Rev. 1	5	black horses	
	5	red horses	
2	2	<i>irginu</i> -coloured horses	
3	5	mares	
4-5	total 17	horses	Iaḥuṭu
6	5	black horses	

¹¹⁵⁶ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 108 (ADD 991).¹¹⁵⁷ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 109 (ADD 708).¹¹⁵⁸ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 110 (ADD 700).¹¹⁵⁹ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 111 (ADD 701).¹¹⁶⁰ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 113 (ADD 988).

TEXT	NUMBER OF EQUIDS	TYPE OF EQUID/UNIT	OFFICIAL IN CHARGE
	5	<i>irginu</i> -coloured horses	
7	2	red horses	
	4	mares	
8	total 18	horses	Mār-Issar
9	[x]	<i>irginu</i> -coloured horses	
10	[x]+1	red horses	
	6	black horses	
11	[x]	<i>ḥarbakannu</i> horses	
12	[x]	Ḥaršeān horse	
13	[x]	mares	
14	total 26	horses	Bēl-ibnī
15	[x]	red horses	
	2	<i>irginu</i> -coloured horses	
16	[x]	black horses	
	9	mares	
17	[x]+4	horses	Urda- [...]
E. 1-2	total [x]+102	horses	Banāia
ADD 1103 ¹¹⁶¹			
1	[x]	horses	
2	2	Ḥaršeān horses	
3	4	mares	
4-5	total 34	horses	Bēl-ēmuranni
6	[x]	red horses	
ADD 1140 ¹¹⁶²			
1'	[5]	horses	Nasī...
2'-3'	5	horses	Basasu
4'	5	horses	Izbute
5'	5	horses	Ilu-ḥaḥu
6'	total 20	horses for teams	
7'-8'	5	mules	Nergal-nādin-aḥi
[9'-11']			
12'	total 18	horses	[...]
13'	3	horses	Nabû-šarru-[uṣur]
14'	3	horses	In[nāia]
15'	3	horses	Ṭāb-šar- [...]
16'	total 9	horses	[...]
Rev. 1	[x]	mules	
2-3	2	horses	House of the [...]
4	1	horse	
	1	mule	[...]
5	1	equid	House of the [...]
6	1	mule	[...]
7	1	mule	House of the [...]
8	1	mule	[...]
9	1	of the horses	[...]
10	1	mule?	[...]
11	1	mule?	[...]

¹¹⁶¹ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 114 (ADD 1103).

¹¹⁶² FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 115 (ADD 1140).

TEXT	NUMBER OF EQUIDS	TYPE OF EQUID/UNIT	OFFICIAL IN CHARGE
ADD 989 ¹¹⁶³			
1	200+[x]	horses for the Palace	
2	[x]	[horses]	
	8	<i>irginu</i> -coloured horses	
3	[x]	horses	
	[x]	Ḫarṣean horses	
4	[x]+9	mares	
	[x]	red horses	
5			[NN]
6	[x]	<i>irginu</i> -coloured horses	
	1	[...] horse	
7-19	[...]	[...]	[...]
Rev. 1	1	red horse	
	3	<i>irginu</i> -coloured horses	
2	14	mares	
3	total 18	horses	Kurbānu
4	[1]	black horse	
	4	<i>irginu</i> -coloured horses	
5	[1]	red horse	
	15	mares	
6	total 21	horses	Ḫabasi
7	[1]	red horse	
	4	<i>irginu</i> -coloured horses	
8	[9]	mares	
9	total 22	horses	Me'su
10	[x]	black horses	
	1	red horse	
11	[x]	mares	
12	total 18	horses	Ubur-Issar
13-14	grand total 164	horses	care of Banāia
Assur 1/3 5 ¹¹⁶⁴			
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
1*	4	mares	
2*	total 6	horses	Bēl-isše'a
3*			care of Banāia
4*	1	<i>irginu</i> -coloured horse	
	2	mares	
5*	total 3	horses	Ḫarmaku
6*	1	red horse	
	2	black horses	
7*	1	mare	
8*	total 4	horses	Bēl-[...]
Rev. 1	2	red horse	
	2	<i>irginu</i> -coloured horses	
2	2	black horses	
3	2	mares	
4	total 8	horses	[...]
5	1	<i>irginu</i> -coloured horses	
6	[x]	horses	
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]

¹¹⁶³ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 116 (ADD 989).¹¹⁶⁴ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 117 (Assur 1/3 5).

TEXT	NUMBER OF EQUIDS	TYPE OF EQUID/UNIT	OFFICIAL IN CHARGE
K 15276 ¹¹⁶⁵			
1-2	100	she-donkeys	care of Banâia
3	[x]	black horses	
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
Rev. 2'	total 14	horses	[...]
3'	[x]	black horses	
	[x]	[...]?	
4'	2	<i>irginu</i> -coloured horses	
5'	1	red horse	
	1+[x]	[...]	
6'	total [x+] ⁴	horses	[...]
7'	1	[...]	
8'	1	[...]	
ADD 678 ¹¹⁶⁶			
1'	11	horses	
2'	[x]	mares	
3'	[x]+11	horses	Luqu
4'	[1]	red horse	
	1	<i>irginu</i> -coloured horse	
5'	[1]	mare	
6'	total 3	horses	Bêl-[...]
[...]			
Rev. 1'	[...]	mares	
2'-4'	[...]	[...]	care of Banâia
5'	[x]	horses	
6'	[x]	<i>irginu</i> -coloured horse	
7'	[x]	mares	
8'-9'	total [x]	horses	[NN]
10'			care of Banâia

Fig 50. Number of equids in the care of different officials.

¹¹⁶⁵ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 118 (K 15276).

¹¹⁶⁶ FALES – POSTGATE 1995, 119 (ADD 678).

TEXT	NUMBER OF EQUIDS	TYPE OF EQUIDS	PLACE OF ORIGIN	DATE
ABL 686 ¹¹⁶⁷				
Rev. 3'-4'	164	Kushite horses		
5'	35	cavalry mounts		
6'	6	mules		
7'-10'	total: 207	horses and mules	?	Nisan (I), 6 th day
CT 53, 11 ¹¹⁶⁸				
8	8	horses trained to the yoke		
9	15	cavalry mounts		
10	total 23	horses		
11	3	mules		
13	3	mules		
Rev. 2	total 6	mules		
3-7	total 29	horses and mules	Manṣuâte	Iyyar (II), 7 th day
ABL 372 ¹¹⁶⁹				
7	13	Kushite horses		
8-9	3	horses of Kushite stock		
10	total 16	horses trained to the yoke		
11	14	cavalry mounts		
12	total 30	horses		
13	9	mules		
14	total 39	(equids)	Qarnê	
Rev. 1	6	Kushite horses		
2-3	[3]	horses of Kushite stock		
4	total 9	trained to the yoke		
5	14	cavalry mounts		
6	total 23	horses		
7	5	mules		
8	total 28	(equids)	Dâna	
9	19	Kushite horses		
10	38	cavalry mounts		
11	total 57	(horses)	Kullania	
12	25	cavalry mounts		
	3	mules		
13-14	total 31!		Arpad	incomplete
15	13	cavalry mounts		
16	10	mules		
17	total 23	(equids)	Isana	
E. 1	45	Kushite horses		
	104	cavalry mounts		
2	total 148	horses		
	total 30	mules		
3	grand total 178	equids		Sivan (III), 2 nd day

¹¹⁶⁷ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 84 (ABL 686).

¹¹⁶⁸ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 85 (CT 53, 11).

¹¹⁶⁹ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 86 (ABL 372).

ABL 376 ¹¹⁷⁰				
7	[x]	Kushite horses		
8	[x]	horses of Kushite stock		
9	total [2]4	Kushite horses		
10	10	cavalry mounts		
	13	mules		
11	total 50	(equids)	Damascus	
12-13	10	Kushite horses	recruits (LÚ.rak-su.MEŠ)	
Rev. 1	total 34	Kushite horses		
2	total 10	cavalry mounts		
3	total 44	horses		
	total 16	mules		
4-6	grand total 60	(equids)		Sivan (III), 4 th day
ABL 71 ¹¹⁷¹				
7	121	cavalry mounts		
8	1	... cavalry mount	šul-lam	
9-11	total 122	cavalry mounts	Commander-in-Chief	incomplete
12-14	5	cavalry mounts	governor of Calah	incomplete
15-16	grand total 127	cavalry mounts		'today'
ABL 60 ¹¹⁷²				
7	12	Kushite horses	the governor (of Calah?)	11 th day
ABL 1379 ¹¹⁷³				
7-8	4	Kushite horses	Treasurer of the Queen	
9-11	7	Mesean horses trained to the yoke	Dūr-Šarrukku	
12	14	Mesean horses trained to the yoke		
13	34	cavalry mounts		
14	2	mules		
Rev. 1	total 50	(equids)	Tillê	
2	total 4	Kushite horses		
3-4	21	Mesean horses		
5	34	cavalry mounts		
6	3	mules		
7-9	grand total 53	horses and mules		15 th day
ABL 69 ¹¹⁷⁴				
8-Rev. 2	[x]	horses		16 th day
ABL 371 ¹¹⁷⁵				
19-Rev. 1	[x]	cavalry mounts	Rašappa	
2	[x]	cavalry mounts	Dūr-Šarrukēn	
4	[x]	horses		23 rd day

¹¹⁷⁰ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 87 (ABL 376).

¹¹⁷¹ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 88 (ABL 71).

¹¹⁷² COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 89 (ABL 60).

¹¹⁷³ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 90 (ABL 1379).

¹¹⁷⁴ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 91 (ABL 69).

¹¹⁷⁵ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 92 (ABL 371).

ABL 684 ¹¹⁷⁶				
Rev. 1	[x]	Kushite horses		
2-3	39	cavalry mounts	Commander-in-Chief	
4-5	47	cavalry mounts	Māzamua	
6-7	total 87	cavalry mounts		
8-11	total 103	horses		23 rd day
12	grand total 348	(horses)		
ABL 374 ¹¹⁷⁷				
7-8	14	Kushite horses	prefects	
9-10	4	Kushite horses	horse trainers of the ...s	
11-Rev. 1	total 18	Kushite horses		28 th day
ABL 440 ¹¹⁷⁸				
7-13	25	teams of horses	Calah, Nineveh, Dūr-Šarrukēn	
ABL 64 ¹¹⁷⁹				
8-10	3	Kushite horses	recruits of the Chief Eunuch	
11-12	[x]	mules	Kilizi	
13-14	[x]	mules	Arbela	
15-Rev. 2	3	Kushite horses		
	33	mules		
3	total 36	horses and mules		
ABL 373 ¹¹⁸⁰				
7-8	104	Kushite horses	Commander-in-Chief	
9-10	72	Kushite horses	Palace Herald	
11-12	69	Kushite horses	Chief Cupbearer	
13-Rev. 1	1	Kushite horses	deputy of [...]	
2	total [246]	Kushite horses		today
ABL 375 ¹¹⁸¹				
7	2	cavalry mounts		
8	4	mules		
9	total 6	(equids)	Arrapha	
ABL 538 ¹¹⁸²				
8-10	41	Kushite horses	[...]-na	
11	42	cavalry mounts		
12	5	mules		
13	total 47	(equids)	Si'immê	
Rev. 1-2	7	cavalry mounts	Dūr-Šarrukēn	
3-5	total 41	Kushite horses		
	49	cavalry mounts		
6	total 90	horses		
7	5	mules		
8-9	grand total 95	horses and mules		today

¹¹⁷⁶ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 93 (ABL 684).

¹¹⁷⁷ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 94 (ABL 374).

¹¹⁷⁸ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 95 (ABL 440).

¹¹⁷⁹ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 96 (ABL 64).

¹¹⁸⁰ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 97 (ABL 373).

¹¹⁸¹ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 98 (ABL 375).

¹¹⁸² COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 99 (ABL 538).

ABL 545 ¹¹⁸³				
13	3	horses		
14	[...]			
Rev. 1	[...]			
2	67	horses		
	8	mules		
3	total 75	(equids)	Guzana	
4	2	horses	Calah	
5	total 99	cavalry mounts		
6	8	mules		
7	grand total 107	(equids)	(7 th day (balancing account))	today
ABL 63 ¹¹⁸⁴				
7-8	4	Kushite horses	treasurer of the Queen Mother	
9	17	cavalry mounts		
10	9	mules		
11	total 26	(equids)	Isana	
12	total 30	horses and mules		
[...]				
ABL 682 ¹¹⁸⁵				
7-9	9	horses trained to the yoke	Commander-in-Chief	complete
10-12	8	horses trained to the yoke	Palace Herald	complete
13-Rev.1	—	not coming in	deputies	
2-4	62	horses trained to the yoke	Arrapha	complete
[...]				
ABL 61 ¹¹⁸⁶				
8-10	30	Kushite horses	Parsua	
11-13	5	horses	deficit of the teams of Aššur	
Rev. 1	16	Kushite horses		
2	47	Mesean horses		
3-4	total 88	horses	Laḫiru	
5	46	Kushite horses		
6	52	Mesean horses		
7	total 98	(horses)	land of [...]	
ABL 1122 ¹¹⁸⁷				
8-9	[x]	horses trained to the yoke	Dūr-Šarrukēn	
10-12	[x]	cavalry mounts of the [...] type	Commander-in-Chief	
13-14	[x]	cavalry mounts	Palace Herald	
15	[x]	horses trained to the yoke		
Rev. 1	[x]	cavalry mounts		
[...]				
E. 1	34	horses		

¹¹⁸³ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 100 (ABL 545).

¹¹⁸⁴ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 101 (ABL 63).

¹¹⁸⁵ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 103 (ABL 682).

¹¹⁸⁶ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 104 (ABL 61).

¹¹⁸⁷ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 105 (ABL 1122).

ABL 393 ¹¹⁸⁸				
8-11	8	Kushite horses	treasurer of the Queen	
Rev. 1-3	12	Kushite horses	treasurer of the Queen Mother	
4	11	Kushite horses		
5-6	49	cavalry mounts		
7-9	total 60	horses	Commander-in-Chief	incomplete
10	total 31	Kushite horses		
11-12	[49]	cavalry mounts		
13-E. 1	total 80	horses		today
ABL 394 ¹¹⁸⁹				
7	111	Kushite horses		
8	11	Mesean horses		
9-11	total 121	horses trained to the yoke	Barḫalzi	
12-13	11	Kushite horses	Arrapha	
14	17	Kushite horses		
15	10	Mesean horses		
Rev. 1-3	total 27	horses trained to the yoke	Calah	incomplete
4-5	total 139	Kushite and Mesean horses		
6-8	grand total 160	horses trained to the yoke		today
ABL 395 ¹¹⁹⁰				
7	40	horses trained to the yoke		
8	[6]9	cavalry mounts		
9	total 109	(horses)	Arpad	
10	[...]	[...]		
Rev. 1	61	horses	Ḫada'il	
2-5	total 170	horses		Nisan (I), 8 th day
ABL 575 ¹¹⁹¹				
7-8	[x]	Kushite horses	Si'immê	
9-10	[x]	Kushite horses	deputy of [...]	
11	total [x]	(horses)	Guzana	
Rev. 1	total 29	horses		today
ABL 649 ¹¹⁹²				
2-5	[x]	Kushite horses	Commander-in-Chief of the left	
6-10	5	he is handing over in installments the 5 teams of colts of the memorandum		
11-Rev. 1	[x]+5	Kushite horses		
2-3	33	cavalry mounts	Commander-in-Chief	
4-5	8	cavalry mounts	Šuḫupa	
6	total 41	cavalry mounts		
7	total 96	horses		today
ABL 973 ¹¹⁹³				
7-8	90	Kushite horses	Palace Herald	
9-10	4	Kushite horses	governor of Nineveh	
11-12	4	Kushite horses	Aššur-bēlu-taqqin, prefect	
13	total 98	Kushite horses trained to the yoke		today

¹¹⁸⁸ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 108 (ABL 393).¹¹⁸⁹ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 109 (ABL 394).¹¹⁹⁰ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 110 (ABL 395).¹¹⁹¹ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 111 (ABL 575).¹¹⁹² COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 112 (ABL 649).¹¹⁹³ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 113 (ABL 973).

ABL 1017 ¹¹⁹⁴				
5-6	122	horses trained to the yoke	Commander-in-Chief	
7	58	(horses)	Palace Herald	
8	89	(horses)	[...]	
9	28	(horses)	[...]	
10	12	(horses)	[...]	
11	130+	(horses)	[...]	
12	69	(horses)	[...]	
13	13	(horses)	[...]	
14	28	(horses)	[...]	
15	41	(horses)	Dūr-Šarrukēn	
16	total 5[90+]	horses trained to the yoke	Surroundings of GN	
CT 53, 434 ¹¹⁹⁵				
[...]				
B.E. 1	18	Egyptian horses		
Rev. 1-2	157	cavalry mounts		
3	total 175	horses		
4	13	mules		
5	grand total 188	horses and mules		today
ABL 601 ¹¹⁹⁶				
7	32	horses		
8-9	4	Kushite horses		
10-11	total 36	horses trained to the yoke		
12	12	cavalry mounts		
13	4	mules		
14	total 52	(equids)	Arpad	
15-16	32	Kushite horses		
17-18	7	...-horses of Kushite stock		
Rev. 1-2	total 39	horses	[...]	
3	40	[...]		
4	[x]	[...]		
5	total 60	[...]	[...]	
6	[x]	[...]		
7		hor[ses]		[today]
8	10	mules		
ABL 1159 ¹¹⁹⁷				
[...]				
3'-Rev. 2	24	horses	recruits	
3-4	16	horses	Have not arrived.	
5-7	58	Kushite horses	arrived	
CT 53, 949 ¹¹⁹⁸				
[...]				
Rev. 3	578	horses trained to the yoke		
4	[x]	cavalry mounts		
5	[6]06+	horses		[x]th day

Fig 51. Horse reports of Nabû-šumu-iddina and Nādinu.

¹¹⁹⁴ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 114 (ABL 1017).¹¹⁹⁵ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 115 (CT 53, 434).¹¹⁹⁶ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 116 (ABL 601).¹¹⁹⁷ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 122 (ABL 1159).¹¹⁹⁸ COLE – MACHINIST 1998, 123 (CT 53, 949).

TEXT	NUMBER OF EQUIDS	TYPE OF EQUID	TO WHOM / FROM WHOM
ND 2458 ¹¹⁹⁹			
Obv. 1	406	KUR.NÍTA (stallions)	
2	100	SAL.KUR.MEŠ (mares)	
3	in all: 506		Ṭāb- [...]
4	40	KUR.NÍTA	Marduk- [...]
5	44	KUR.NÍTA	
	10	SAL.KUR. [...]	
6	in all: 54		Ḫasî
7	in all: 580 (490?) (horses)		
8	110	SAL.[KUR]	
9	in all: 590 (690?)		
[...]			
Rev. 1	in all: 593	KUR.NÍTA	
2	137	SAL.KUR	
3-4	total: 730	KUR.MEŠ (horses)	of/from merchants (ša LÚ.DAM.GAR.MEŠ)

Fig 52. Horses from merchants.

¹¹⁹⁹ PARKER 1961, 30 (ND 2458).

CHARTS

Bodyguard cavalry (*pēṭhal qurubte*)

team commanders (*rab urâte*) and magnates (*rabûti*) / recruitment officers (*mušarkisāni*)

CHART 1

NAME	NAME	TITLE	DATE	TEXT
Adad-abu-ušur	(¹ U.AD.PAP)	<i>rab urâte – pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:3
Aḫu-šina	(¹ PAP-ši-na)	<i>rab urâte – pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:9
Aššur-šumu-ušur	(¹ Aš-šur-MU.PAP)	<i>rab urâte – pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:13
Balāsu	(¹ Ba-la-su)	<i>rab urâte – pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:8
Ḫaldi-ilāṭi	(¹ Ḫal-di-DINGIR-a-a)	<i>rab urâte – pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:6
Issar-dūri	(¹ [1]5-BĀD)	<i>rab urâte – pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:2
Izbu	(¹ Iz-bu)	<i>rab urâte – pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:4
Nabû-apla-iddina	(¹ PA.A.AŠ)	<i>rab urâte – pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:11
Remmūte	(¹ Ré[m-m]u-te)	<i>rab urâte – pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:12
Salamu-imme	(¹ NU-im-me)	<i>rab urâte – pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:16
Sisi	(¹ Si-si-i)	<i>rab urâte – pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:17
Šamaš-ḫiti	(¹ UTU-ḫi-ti)	<i>rab urâte – pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:15
Šamaš-ilāṭi	(¹ UTU-DINGIR-a-a)	<i>rab urâte – pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:14
Šamaš-rēmanni	(¹ UTU-rēm-a-ni)	<i>rab urâte – pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:10
Šelubu	(¹ Še-lu-bu)	<i>rab urâte – pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:5
Šēpē-Šamaš	(¹ GIR.2. ⁴ UTU)	<i>rab urâte – pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:7
[¹ X]-mur-ili	[¹ X]-mur-DINGIR	<i>pēṭhal qurubte (pēt-ḫal qur-ub)</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), O. I:4
[¹ X]-dadi	[¹ X]-da-di	<i>pēṭhal qurubte (pēt-ḫal qur-ub)</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), O. I:5
[...] -a-a	[...] -a-a	<i>pēt-ḫal qur-ub-tú – rabûti (LÚ.GAL.GAL)</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), O. II:30
[...] -a-a	[...] -a-a	<i>pēt-ḫal qur-ub-tú – rabûti (LÚ.GAL.GAL)</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), O. II:31
Abi-lešir	(¹ AD.GIŠ)	<i>LÚ.GAL.GAL – pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:4
	(¹ AD.SI.SÁ)	<i>pēt-ḫal qur-ub-tú – rabûti (LÚ.GAL.GAL)</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), O. II:27
Aḫi-ilāṭi	(¹ PAP.DINGIR-a-a)	<i>LÚ.GAL.GAL – pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:8
Aḫi-uqur	(¹ PAP-u-qur)	<i>LÚ.GAL.GAL – pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:15
	(¹ PAP-u-qur)	<i>pēt-ḫal qur-ub-tú – rabûti (LÚ.GAL.GAL)</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), O. II:38
Bēl-dūri	(¹ EN.BĀD)	<i>LÚ.GAL.GAL – pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:17
	(¹ EN.BĀD)	?	Sarg.	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003) (ND 10003), R. III:13'
	(¹ EN.BĀD)	<i>pēt-ḫal qur-ub-tú – rabûti (LÚ.GAL.GAL)</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), O. II:43
Bēl-Ḫarrān-šadûa	(¹ EN.KASKAL.KUR-u-a)	<i>LÚ.GAL.GAL – pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:16
	(¹ EN.KASKAL.KUR-u-a)	<i>pēt-ḫal qur-ub-tú – rabûti (LÚ.GAL.GAL)</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), O. II:40
Bibîa	(¹ Bi-bi-ia)	<i>LÚ.GAL.GAL – pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:11
Dadâ	(¹ Da-da-a)	<i>LÚ.GAL.GAL – pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:9
Ḫarmaku	(¹ Har-ma-ku)	<i>LÚ.GAL.GAL – pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:12
		<i>rab kišir – Arraphāia</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:17'
Ilu-issîa	(¹ DINGIR.KI-ia)	<i>mušarkisu ša GIŠ.GIGIR qur-ub-tú</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. IV:25
Ilu-rēmanni	(¹ DINGIR-rēm-a-ni)	<i>pēt-ḫal qur-ub-tú – rabûti (LÚ.GAL.GAL)</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), O. II:41

Kalḥāiu	(^{LURU} <i>Kal-ḥu-a-a</i>)	LÚ.GAL.GAL – <i>pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:7
	(^L <i>K</i> al-ḥa-a-a)	<i>pēṭhal qurubte (pēt-ḥal qur-ub)</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), O. I:3
Kanūnāiu	(^L ITI.AB-a-a)	LÚ.GAL.GAL – <i>pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:3
Nergal-šarru-ušur	(^L U.GUR.MAN.PAP)	LÚ.GAL.GAL – <i>pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:6
		?	Sarg.	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003) (ND 10003), R. III:4'
		<i>pēt-ḥal qur-ub-tú – rabūti</i> (LÚ.GAL.GAL)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), O. II:29
Paqīhi	(^L Pa-qi-ḥi)	LÚ.GAL.GAL – <i>pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:2
Sašī	(^L Sa-si-i)	LÚ.GAL.GAL – <i>pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:13
Sil-...]	<i>Sil-...]</i>	<i>pēt-ḥal qur-ub-tú – rabūti</i> (LÚ.GAL.GAL)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), O. II:36
Sin-aḥḥē	(^L 30.PAP.MEŠ)	LÚ.GAL.GAL – <i>pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:5
	(^L 30.PAP.MEŠ)	<i>pēt-ḥal qur-ub-tú – rabūti</i> (LÚ.GAL.GAL)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), O. II:28
Sin-nā'id	(^L 30.I)	LÚ.GAL.GAL – <i>pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:14
		?	Sarg.	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003) (ND 10003), R. III:10'
Šarru-lū-dāri	(^L MAN-lu-dà-ri)	LÚ.GAL.GAL – <i>pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:10
Šulmu-...]	<i>Šul-mu-...]</i>	<i>mušarkisu ša GIŠ.GIGIR qur-ub-tú</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. IV:27

Ša—šēpē bodyguards

CHART 2

NAME	NAME	TITLE	DATE	TEXT
[...]dia	[...]di-a	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	Esarh.	SAA 6, 205 (ADD 588), R. 1'
[...]šarri	[...]LUGAL	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)		SAA 7, 7 (ADD 833), R. II':4
UD-ki-a-a	(¹ UD-ki-a-a)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	Sarg.	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), I:2'
Abdā	(¹ Ab-da-a)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	Sarg.	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), I:5'
	(¹ Ab-da-a)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2) – 108A / 1 (9+)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108A (ND 9911), I:14'
Abi-ili	(¹ A-bi i-li)	ša—šēpē (LÚ.ša—GİR.2)	Esarh	SAA 16, 27 (ABL 1199), 9
Adad-ibnī	(¹ U.DÜ)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2) – 108A / 1 (9+)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108A (ND 9911), I:9'
Aḫi-dūri	(¹ PAP.BAD)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	Sarg.	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), I:8'
Aḫi-dūri	(¹ PAP.BAD)	ša—šēpē ([LÚ.ša]—GİR.2)	Asb.	SAA 14, 345 (ADD 1168+), R. 8'
Aḫi-ilā'ī	(¹ PAP.DINGIR-a-a)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	679	SAA 6, 204 (ADD 364), R. 9'
Arbailāia	(¹ urru4-il-a-a)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	624	SAA 14, 43 (ADD 400), 17'
	(¹ urru4-il-a-a)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2) mār šarri (A.MAN)	PC	SAA 14, 50 (ADD 312), R. 11'
Aššur-šarrāni	(¹ Aš-šur-MAN-a-ni)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	Sarg.	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), I:12'
Bābilāiu	(¹ KÁ.DINGIR-a-a)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	Sarg.	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), I:10'
Bēl-dūri	(¹ EN.BAD)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)		SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), II:23'
Bēl-šarru-ušur	(¹ EN.MAN.PAP)	ša—šēpē (ša LÚ.GİR.2)	641	SAA 14, 15 (ADD 105), R. 1
	(¹ EN.MAN.PAP)	?	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. II:17
Birtāia	(¹ Bir-ta-a-a)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), I:7
Biwasī	(¹ Bi-u-a-si-i)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	698	SAA 6, 121 (ADD 475+), R. 10'
Dādī-sūri	(¹ Da-di-su-ri)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	Sarg.	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), I:6'
Dannu-Nergal	(¹ Dan-nu-U.GUR)	ša—šēpē (LÚ.ša GİR.2)	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), I:21
Gadā	(¹ Ga-da-a)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)		SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), R. I:26
	(¹ Ga-da-a')	qurbūtu (LÚ.qur-ZAG)		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:33
	(¹ Ga-da-a')	[...]		SAA 7, 11 (ADD 841), R. 5
Gadia	(¹ Ga]-di-a)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)		SAA 7, 8 (ADD 839), 1
Ḥabḫāia	(¹ Hab-ha-a-a)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2) – 108A / 1 (9+)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108A (ND 9911), I:11'
Ḥaldi-taiā	(¹ Hal-di-ta-ia-a)	ša—šēpē (LÚ.ša GİR.2)	630	SAA 14, 36 (ADD 446), R. 15
Ḥanbaru	(¹ Ha-an-ba-ru)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	Sarg.	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), I:3'
	(¹ Ha-am-ba-ru)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2) – 108A / 1 (9+)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108A (ND 9911), I:12'
Ibašši-ili	(¹ I.GÁL.DINGIR.MEŠ)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), I:8
Iddin-aḫu	(¹ AŠ.PAP)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2) – 108A / 1 (9+)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108A (ND 9911), I:8'
Ilāša	(¹ I-la-a-ša)	ša—šēpē (LÚ GİR.2)	Senn	SAA 6, 52 (ADD 246), R. 9'
Il-gabbarī	(¹ DINGIR-gaba-ri)	ša—šēpē (LÚ.ša GİR.2)	625	SAA 14, 39 (ADD 318), R. 15
Ilu-nādin-aḫi	(¹ DINGIR.AŠ.PAP)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	Sarg.	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), I:7'
Inurti	(¹ idMAS-i)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	624	SAA 14, 43 (ADD 400), 16'
	(¹ idMAS-ti-i)	rab kišir	623	SAA 14, 46 (ADD 361), R. 15'
Iqqa-[...]a	(¹ Iqqa-[...]a)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2) – 108A / 1 (9+)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108A (ND 9911), I:15'
Issar-[...]	(¹ 15-[...])	ša—šēpē (GİR.2) – 108A / 1 (9+)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108A (ND 9911), I:10'
Issar-nādin-aḫḫē	(¹ 15.SUM.PAP.MEŠ)	ša—šēpē (ša GİR.2)	630	SAA 14, 36 (ADD 446), R. 24
Kalḫāiu	(¹ URU.Kal-ha-a-a)	LÚ. ša—šēpē (GİR.2)		SAA 11, 228 (ADD 918), II:5'-6'
Mannu-kī-Aššur	(¹ Man-nu-ki-Aš-šur)	ša—šēpē (ša GİR.2)	645	SAA 14, 26 (ADD 4), R. 1
Mannu-kī-Issar-lē'i	(¹ Man-nu-ki-15.ZU)	ša—šēpē (LÚ.ša GİR.2)	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. I:33
Mannu-kī-Nabû	(¹ Man-nu-ki- ⁴ PA)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	624	SAA 14, 43 (ADD 400), R. 15'
Mannu-kī-Ninua	(¹ Man-nu-ki- ^{urru} Ni-nu-a)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	Sarg.	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), I:11'
	(¹ Man-nu-GIM.NINA)	šaknu ša ma'assi	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), III:9

Nabû-šēzib	(¹ PA-še-zib)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	Sarg.	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), 1:4'
	(¹ PA-še-zib)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2) – 108A / 1 (9+)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108A (ND 9911), 1:13'
Nabû-tāriš	(¹ PA.LAL-is)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	624	SAA 14, 43 (ADD 400), 12'
	(¹ PA.LAL-is)	rab kišir	Ssi.?	SAA 11, 221 (ADD 675), R. 14'
	(¹ PA.LAL-is)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR šarri(MAN)	PC	SAA 14, 37 (ADD 309), R. 5'
		LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR šarri(MAN)	PC	SAA 14, 34 (ADD 308), r. 10
Ninuāiu	(¹ NINA-a-a)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)		SAA 11, 140 (ADD 872), 6
Qā	(¹ Qa-a)	ša—šēpē (LÚ GİR.2)	Senn.	SAA 6, 52 (ADD 246), R. 10'
Qarhā	(¹ Qar-ha-a)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	624	SAA 14, 43 (ADD 400), 19'
Quili	(¹ Qu-i-li)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)		SAA 11, 140 (ADD 872), 2
Sarsā	(¹ Sa-ar-sa-a)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)		SAA 11, 140 (ADD 872), 3
Šalmu-aḥḥē	(¹ NU.PAP.MEŠ)	ša—šēpē (LÚ.šá GİR.2)	634	SAA 14, 114 (ADD 373), 9-10
	(¹ Sal-mu-PAP.MEŠ)	?	[PC]	SAA 14, 115 (ADD 217), 13'
Šalmu-šarri-iqbī	(¹ NU.MAN-iq-bi)	ša—šēpē (ša GİR.2)	641	SAA 14, 15 (ADD 105), R. 6
	(¹ NU.MAN-iq-bi)	LÚ.GAL—ki-sir ša—šēpē(GİR.2)	630	SAA 14, 425 (TIM 11, 1), R. 15
	(¹ NU.MAN.E)	rab kišir	PC	SAA 14, 54 (ADD 344), R. 6'
Šamaš-[...]	(¹ UTU.[...])	ša—šēpē (ša LÚ.GİR.2)	641	SAA 14, 15 (ADD 105), LE. 1-2
Šamaš-ilā'ī	(¹ UTU.DINGIR-a-a)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2) – 108A / 1 (9+)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108A (ND 9911), 1:7'
Šamaš-nūri	(¹ Ša-maš-ZĀLAG-ri)	ša—šēpē (ša GİR.2)	641	SAA 14, 15 (ADD 105), R. 10
Šer-lutbē	(¹ Šér-lut-bé-e)	ša—šēpē (ša GİR.2)	641	SAA 14, 15 (ADD 105), R. 8
Šulmu-bēli	(¹ DI-mu-EN)	ša—šēpē (LÚ.šá GİR.2)	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. 1:32
Šumma-ili	(¹ Šum-ma-DINGIR)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	625	SAA 14, 40 (ADD 325), R. 24
Uqur-aḥḥē	(¹ U-qur-PAP.MEŠ)	ša—šēpē (ša GİR.2)	641	SAA 14, 15 (ADD 105), R. 7
	(¹ Uq-qur-PAP.MEŠ)	?	645	SAA 14, 26 (ADD 4), R. 5
Urdu-apli	(¹ IR.DUMU.UŠ)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	624	SAA 14, 43 (ADD 400), 18'
Zabāia	(¹ Za-ba-a-a)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	Sarg.	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), 1:9'
Zaliāiu	(¹ Za-li-a-a)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)		SAA 11, 140 (ADD 872), 1
ša—šēpē mār šarri				
NAME	NAME	TITLE	DATE	TEXT
Aḥi-ilā'ī	(¹ PAP.DINGIR-a-a)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	679	SAA 6, 204 (ADD 364), R. 9'
Arbailāia	(¹ unv 4-il-a-a)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	624	SAA 14, 43 (ADD 400), 17'
	(¹ unv 4-il-a-a)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2) mār šarri (A.MAN)	PC	SAA 14, 50 (ADD 312), R. 11'
Manzarnē	(¹ Man-NUMUN)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2) mār šarri(A—MAN)	627	SAA 14, 157 (ADD 352), R. 8'
Urdu-Bēlet	(¹ IR. dGAŠAN)	ša—šēpē (GİR.2) ša mār šarri(A.MAN)	PC	SAA 14, 50 (ADD 312), 12'
rab kišir ša—šēpē				
NAME	NAME	TITLE	DATE	TEXT
[...]	¹ [...]	rab kišir ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	PC	SAA 14, 49 (ADD 235), R. 17
[...]	[...]	[LÚ.GAL k]i-šir GİR.2	Asb.	SAA 14, 412 (K.18375), R. 7'
¹ d[...].PAP ¹ .PAP	¹ d[...].PAP ¹ .PAP	rab kišir ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	PC	SAA 14, 49 (ADD 235), R. 16
Aqru	(¹ Aq-ru)	rab kišir ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	PC	SAA 14, 49 (ADD 235), E. 1
Asalluḥi-šumu-iddina	(¹ AŠAR.LÚ.ḪI—MU—AŠ)	LÚ.GAL—ki-šir ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	638	SAA 14, 424 (TIM 11, 2), 14-15
Aššur-šimanni	(¹ Aš-šur-ḪAL-a-ni)	rab kišir ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	682	SAA 12, 86 (PKTA 27-30), R. 24
Balašī	(¹ Ba-la-si-i)	rab kišir ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	PC	SAA 14, 49 (ADD 235), R. 14
Ḫubasāte	(¹ Ḫu-ba-as-a-te)	rab kišir ša—šēpē (GİR.2)	PC	SAA 14, 49 (ADD 235), R. 15

Ilu-nā'id	(¹ DINGIR.1)	<i>rab kišir ša—šēpē</i> (GİR.2)	PC	SAA 14, 49 (ADD 235), R. 12
Kiqillānu	(¹ Ki-qi-la-nu)	LÜ.GAL— <i>ki-šir ša—šēpē</i> (GİR.2)	630	SAA 14, 425 (TIM 11, 1), R. 16
Lā-qēpu / Liqipu	(¹ Li-qi-pu)	<i>rab kišir ša—šēpē</i> (GİR.2)	PC	SAA 14, 49 (ADD 235), R. 11
	(¹ [La]-qē-pu)	<i>ša—šēpē</i> ([LÜ.š]a GİR.2)	Asb.	SAA 14, 315 (ADD 604), R. 1'
Mardû	(¹ Mar-du-u)	<i>rab kišir ša—šēpē</i> (GİR.2)	PC	SAA 14, 49 (ADD 235), R. 10
Mār-šarri-ilā'i	(¹ A.MAN.DINGIR-a-a)	<i>rab kišir ša—šēpē</i> (GİR.2)	PC	SAA 14, 49 (ADD 235), R. 13
Nabû-šarru-ušur	(¹ PA.MAN.PAP)	<i>rab kišir ša—šēpē</i> (GİR.2) <i>ša mār šarri</i>	663	SAA 6, 325 (ADD 470), R. 20'
	(¹ PA.MAN.PAP)	<i>ša—šēpē</i> (LÜ.ša GİR.2)	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:26
Nabû-tāriš	(¹ PA.LAL-is)	<i>ša—šēpē</i> (GİR.2)	624	SAA 14, 43 (ADD 400), 12'
	(¹ PA.LAL-is)	<i>rab kišir</i>	Sin-s.-i.	SAA 11, 221 (ADD 675), R. 14'
	(¹ PA.LAL-is)	LÜ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>šarri</i> (MAN)	PC	SAA 14, 37 (ADD 309), R. 5'
		LÜ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>šarri</i> (MAN)	PC	SAA 14, 34 (ADD 308), R. 10
Nabû-tukulti	(¹ PA-tukul-ti)	LÜ.GAL— <i>ki-šir ša—šēpē</i> (GİR.2)	630	SAA 14, 425 (TIM 11, 1), R. 14
Šalmu-šarri-iqbî	(¹ NU.MAN-iq-bi)	<i>ša—šēpē</i> (ša GİR.2)	641	SAA 14, 15 (ADD 105), R. 6
	(¹ NU.MAN-iq-bi)	LÜ.GAL— <i>ki-šir ša—šēpē</i> (GİR.2)	630	SAA 14, 425 (TIM 11, 1), R. 15
	(¹ NU.MAN.E)	<i>rab kišir</i>	PC	SAA 14, 54 (344), R. 6'ADD
LÜ.GIGIR ša—šēpē				
NAME	NAME	TITLE	DATE	TEXT
Arbailāia	(¹ Arba-il-a-a)	LÜ.GIGIR GİR.2(<i>šēpē</i>)	636	SAA 14, 29 (ADD 207), R. 16
	(¹ uru4-il-a-a)	<i>ša—šēpē</i> (GİR.2)	624	SAA 14, 43 (ADD 400), 17'
	(¹ uru4-il-a-a)	<i>ša—šēpē</i> (GİR.2) <i>mār šarri</i> (A.MAN)	PC	SAA 14, 50 (ADD 312), R. 11'
Bēl-Ḥarrān-šarru-ušur	(¹ EN.KASKAL.MAN.PAP)	LÜ.GIGIR GİR.2(<i>šēpē</i>)	PC	SAA 14, 29 (ADD 207), R. 15
	(¹ EN. ^{uru} KASKAL.MAN.PAP)	LÜ.[...]	671	SAA 6, 297 (ADD 266), R. 5'
Ešrāia	(¹ UD.20.KĀM-a-a)	LÜ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša—šēpē</i> (GİR.2)		SAA 14, 180 (ADD 354), R. 1'
Ḥambaqu	(¹ Ha-am-ba-qu)	LÜ.GIGIR GİR.2(<i>šēpē</i>)	636	SAA 14, 29 (ADD 207), R. 17
Mannu-ki-Arbail	(¹ Man-mu-ki-Arba-il)	LÜ.GIGIR GİR.2(<i>šēpē</i>)	636	SAA 14, 29 (ADD 207), R. 18
Marduk-šumu-iddina	(¹ MES.MU.AŠ)	LÜ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša—šēpē</i> (GİR.2)	Sae	SAA 6, 53 (ADD 236), R. 8
Nabû'āia	(¹ Na-bu-u-a-a)	LÜ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša—šēpē</i> (GİR.2)	686	SAA 6, 164 (ADD 612), R. 13
Šumu-ukīn	(¹ MU.DU)	LÜ.GIGIR GİR.2(<i>šēpē</i>)	PC	SAA 14, 29 (ADD 207), R. 14
UD.20.KĀM-ia	(¹ UD.20.KĀM-a-a)	GIŠ.GIGIR GİR.2		SAA 14, 180 (ADD 354), R. 1'
Urdu	(¹ Ur-du)	[LÜ.GIŠ].GIGIR GİR.2	699	SAA 6, 119 (ADD 1167), R. 11
qurbūtu ša—šēpē				
NAME	NAME	TITLE	DATE	TEXT
Gadā	(¹ Ga-da-a)	<i>ša—šēpē</i> (GİR.2)		SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), R. I:26
	(¹ Ga-da-a')	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-ZAG)		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:33
	(¹ Ga-da-a')	[...]		SAA 7, 11 (ADD 841), R. 5
Kabar-ili	(¹ Ka-bar-DINGIR)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-bu-u-ti) <i>ša—šēpē</i> (GİR.2)		SAA 14, 100 (ADD 177), 6-7
Nabû-qāti-šabat	(¹ PA.ŠU.2.DIB)	<i>qurbūtu</i> ša GİR.2(<i>šēpē</i>) !!! coll.		SAA 14, 169 (ADD 50), 11

Ša—qurbūte bodyguards

CHART 3

NAME	NAME	TITLE	DATE	TEXT
[...] -āia	[...] -a-a	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-bu-te</i>)	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 55 (ND 2803), R. I:11
[...] -balliṭ	[...] - <i>bal</i> -liṭ	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-bu-ti</i>)	Sarg.	SAA 5, 43 (CT 53, 283), 7
[...] -uṣur	[...] -PAP	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:5
[...] -šar]ru-uṣur	([...] -MA]N.PAP)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)		SAA 7, 7 (ADD 833), R. II':6
[...] -rusu	[...] - <i>r</i>]u-su	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. I:30
[...] -nāšir	[...] -PAB-ir	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-bu-te</i>)	Sarg.	SAA 5, 207 (ABL 761), 4
[...] -ru-[...]	[...] - <i>ru</i> -[...]	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-bu-ti</i>)		Parker 1961, 31 (ND 2482), 5
Abi-ul-idi	(¹ AD- <i>ul-i-dī</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-bu-te</i>) <i>Kaldāia</i>	Sarg.	SAA 5, 742 (ABL 742), 5
Adad-[...] -āni	(¹ IM.[...] - <i>a-ni</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)	668	SAA 14, 1 (ADD 472), R. 9
Adad-aplu-iddina	(¹ IM.A.AŠ)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-bu-ti</i>)	Sarg.	SAA 5, 98 (CT 53, 42), 4, 7
Adad-issīa	(¹ 10-KI- <i>ia</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)	686	SAA 6, 89 (ADD 232), 8
Adda-lādin	(¹ 10- <i>la-din</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (<i>qur-ZAG</i>)	666	SAA 14, 2 (ADD 627), R. 7
Aḥabū / Aḥ-abu	(¹ PAP.AD- <i>u</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ <<mu>> <i>qur-bu-te</i>)	667	SAA 14, 70-1 (ADD 1186-7), 3, 1
Aḥḥē-šallim	(¹ PAP.MEŠ- <i>šal-lim</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)		SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), II:4'
Aḥu-bānī	(¹ PAP- <i>ba-ni</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-bu-[te]</i>)	Sarg.	SAA 15, 232 (ABL 760), 4
Aḥu-illika	(¹ PAP.DU)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)	686	SAA 6, 89 (ADD 232), 6
Aḥu-lāmur	(¹ PAP- <i>la-mur</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)		SAA 7, 10 (ADD 850), II:6'-7'
Aqru	(¹ Aq- <i>ru</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)	640	SAA 14, 27 (ADD 358+), R. 8'
	(¹ Aq- <i>ru</i>)	<i>rab kišir ša—šēpē</i> (GİR.2)	PC	SAA 14, 49 (ADD 235), E. 1
Arbailāia	(¹ Arba- <i>il-a-a</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:41
Ariḥu	(¹ A- <i>ri-hu</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)	Sin-š.-i.	SAA 11, 221 (ADD 675), R. 17'
Aššur-aḥu-iddina	(¹ Aš-šur-PAP.AŠ)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (<i>qur-bu-ti</i>)???		Parker 1961, 46 (ND 2732), R. 8
Aššur-bēssunu	(¹ Aš-šur- <i>bi-sun</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)	PC (635)	SAAB 5, 35, 5
	(¹ Aš-šur- <i>bē-sun</i>)	[...] <i>ša mār šarri</i>	Asb.	SAA 14, 278 (ADD 527), R. 4'
	(¹ Aš-šur- <i>bē-su-nu</i>)	?	631	SAA 14, 118 (ADD 622), R. 3
Aššur-iddina	(¹ Aš-šur-AŠ)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)		SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), II:6'
Aššur-killāni	(¹ Aš-šur- <i>kil-la-an-ni</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)	630	SAA 14, 37 (ADD 309), R. 4'
	(¹ Aš-šur- <i>kil-la-an-ni</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)	625	SAA 14, 40 (ADD 325), R. 9
	(¹ Aš-šur- <i>kil-la-an-ni</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-bu-ti</i>)	625	SAA 14, 42 (ADD 414), R. 31
	(¹ Aš-šur- <i>kil-la-ni</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)	624	SAA 14, 43 (ADD 400), 13'
	(¹ Aš-šur- <i>kil-la-an-ni</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (<i>qur-ZAG</i>)	623	SAA 14, 46 (ADD 361), R. 16'
	(¹ Aš-šur- <i>kil-la-an-ni</i>)	?	PC	SAA 14, 48 (ADD 211), E. 3
Aššur-nādin-aḥḥē	(¹ Aš-šur-SUM.PAP.MEŠ)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.[<i>qur-bu-ti</i>])	Sarg.	SAA 1, 48 (ABL 630), 4'
Aššur-rēš-iši	(¹ Aš-šur-SAG- <i>i-ši</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-bu-ti</i>)	Sarg.	SAA 1, 14 (CT 53, 823), 10'
Aššur-šarru-uṣur	(¹ Aš-šur-MAN.PAP)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-<<ša>>-ZAG</i>) URU. <i>Bal-laṣa-a</i>	658	SAA 14, 23 (ADD 152), R.1
	(¹ Aš-šur-MAN.PAP)	LÚ. <i>mu-[kil PA.MEŠ]</i>	671-660	SAA 6, 328 (ADD 1153), R. 12'
Aššur-šumu-ukīn	(¹ Aš-šur-MU.GIN)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)	PC	SAA 14, 38 (ADD 711), R. 12
	(¹ Aš-šur-MU.GIN)	LÚ.GIGIR	PC	SAA 14, 29 (ADD 207), R. 13
Atamar-Marduk	(¹ IGI.LAL— ^d ŠÚ)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-ZAG.MEŠ</i>)	Esarh.	SAA 16, 115 (ABL 85), R. 1-2
Attā-idri	(¹ A- <i>ta-id-ri</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)	Asb.	SAA 14, 153 (ADD 193), R. 2'
Azar-la'u	(¹ A- <i>zar-ia-u</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (<i>qur-ZAG</i>)	663-61	SAA 7, 118 (ADD 993), R. II:3
Bābilāiu	(¹ KÁ.DINGIR- <i>a-a</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), I:37
Balasī	(¹ Ba- <i>la-si-i</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)	625	SAA 14, 40 (ADD 325), R. 13
	(¹ Ba- <i>la-si-i</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-bu-ti</i>)	625	SAA 14, 42 (ADD 414), R. 30
	(¹ Ba- <i>la-si-i</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)	624	SAA 14, 43 (ADD 400), 14'
Barbarāni	(¹ Bar- <i>bar-a-ni</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)	Sši.	SAA 11, 221 (ADD 675), R. 9'
Barruqu	(¹ Bar- <i>ru-qu</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-bu!-ti</i>)?	Sarg.	SAA 19, 39 (ND 2648), 5
Bēl-apla-iddina	(¹ EN.A.AŠ)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-bu!-ti</i>)?	Sarg.	SAA 19, 39 (ND 2648), 7
Bēl-lū-balāṭ	(¹ EN- <i>lu-TILA</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-bu-tu</i>)		SAA 11, 145 (CT 53, 173), 9'
Bēl-mu-[...]	(¹ EN- <i>mu</i> -[...])	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>qur-bu-[ti]</i>	Senn.	SAA 6, 112 (ADD 455), R. 7
Bēl-šarru-uṣur	(¹ EN.MAN.PAP)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ. <i>qur-bu-ti</i>)	Sarg.	SAA 15, 136 (ABL 685), R. 3

Būr-Šarūru	(¹ Bur-ša-ru-ru)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-bu-ti)	Sarg.	SAA 1, 258 (ABL 860), 9-10
Daru/Dāri-šarru	(¹ Da-(a)-ru-LUGAL)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-bu-tu)	Sarg.	M-L, n. 178, ABL 266, 20-21
Gadā	(¹ Ga-da-a')	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-ZAG)		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:33
	(¹ Ga-da-a')	[...]		SAA 7, 11 (ADD 841), R. 5
	(¹ Ga-da-a)	ša-šēpi (GIR.2)		SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), R. I:26
Guḥuru	(¹ Gu-hu-ru)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-bu-te)	Sarg.	SAA 15, 12 (ABL 552), 4-5, R. 4'
Ḥadidu	(¹ Ha-di-du)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-ZAG)		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:47
Ḥattušu-aldī	(¹ GIŠ.PA-šu-al-di-i)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-ZAG)	621	SAA 14, 166 (ADD 481), R. 7'
Ibnia	(¹ Ib-ni-a)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-bu-tū)	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 56 (ND 2803), II:26'
Il-qatar	(¹ DINGIR-qa-tar)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-bu-tū)	695	SAA 6, 36 (ADD 34), R. 4
Imarī	(¹ I-ma-ri-i)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (ša qur-bu-tū)	8 th c.	CTN II, 9 (ND 474), 15
Inurta-šākin-[...]	(¹ MAŠ.MAŠ.GAR.[...])	<i>qurbūtu</i> ([LÜ.qur-b]u-te)	Sarg.	SAA 15, 7 (ABL 708), 8-9
Issaran-zēru-ibnī	(¹ AN.GAL.NUMUN.DŪ)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (qur-ZAG)	694	SAA 6, 133 (Iraq 32, 2), 5
Issar-dūri	(¹ 15.BAD)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-bu-tū)	Sarg.	SAA 5, 105 (ABL 544), 6
		<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-bu-tū)	Sarg.	SAA 5, 105 (Iraq 23, 56), R. I:4
Issar-nā'id	(¹ 15.I)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (qur-ZAG)	694	SAA 6, 133 (Iraq 32, 2), 6
Issar-nā'id	(¹ 15.I)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-ZAG)		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. I:21
	(¹ 15.I)	[...]		SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), II:32'
Izbu-lēšir	(¹ Iz-bu-SI.SA)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ ša qur-bu-ti)	791	CTN II, 15 (ND 203), R. 21
Kakkullānu	(¹ Ku-ku-la-a-nu)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ ša qur-bu-te)	797	CTN II, 51 (ND 263), R. 4
Kakkullānu	(¹ Ka-ku-la-nu)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-bu-te)	Sarg.	SAA 5, 126 (ABL 243), 8
Kanūnāiu	(¹ Ka-nun-a-a)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-bu-te)	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 56 (ND 2803), R. II:17
Lā-qēpu	(¹ La-qe-pu)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-ZAG)		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:44
Liblūtu	(¹ Lib-lu-tu)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-ZAG)	630	SAA 14, 425 (TIM 11, 1), R. 21
Madāiu	(¹ Mad-a-a)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-bu-te)	Sarg.	SAA 15, 182 (ABL 638), 6'; 15'
Man[nu-kī-...]	(¹ Man-[nu-kī-i-...])	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-[bu-ti])	Sarg.	SAA 15, 296 (CT 53, 566), 2, 6
Mannu-kī-aḥḥē	(¹ Man-nu-GIM.PAP.MEŠ)	<i>qurbūtu</i> ([LÜ.qu]r-bu-te)	Sarg.	SAA 5, 82 (ABL 1012), 8-10
Mannu-kī-Aššur	(¹ Man-nu-kī-Aš-šur)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-ZAG)		SAA 7, 6 (ADD 840+858), II:10'
	(¹ Man-nu-kī-Aš-šur)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-bu-te)	Sarg.	SAA 1, 10 (ABL 306+), 3, 12
	(¹ Man-nu-kī-Aš-šur)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-bu-te)		SAA 11, 31 (ADD 865), 2
Marduk-bāni-aḥḥē	(¹ ŠU.DŪ.PAP.MEŠ)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-bu-tū)	717	SAA 11, 68 (Iraq 27, 16, 6), 1
Marduk-ēreš	(¹ ŠU.APIN-eš)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-ZAG)	630	SAA 14, 123 (ADD 165), R. 4'
Marduk-šallim	(¹ AMAR.UTU-šal-lim)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-ZAG)		SAA 7, 6 (ADD 840+858), II:7'
	(¹ AMAR.UTU.MAN.PAP)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-bu-tū)		SAA 10, 253 (ABL 956), R. 13
Mār-Issar	(¹ DUMU. 15)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-bu-ti)	Sarg.	SAA 5, 104 (ABL 206), 7, R. 9
	(¹ DUMU.15)	?	Sarg.	CTN III, 85 (ND 10020), II':8'
		ḥazannu of Kalḫu	709	ARU 113
Mu[...]	(¹ Mu-[...])	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-ZAG)		SAA 7, 6 (ADD 840+858), I:3'
Mušēzib-Aššur	(¹ Mu-še-zib-Aš-šur)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-ZAG)		SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), II:18'
Nabû'a	(¹ PA-u-a)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-bu-ti)	Sarg.	SAA 5, 74 (ND 2367), 5, R. 5
Nabû'a	(¹ Na-bu-u-a)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-ZAG)	686	SAA 6, 89 (ADD 232), 7
	(¹ Na-b]u-u-a)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-bu-tū)	Esarh.	SAA 6, 238 (ADD 168), R. 4
Nabû-aḥḥē-iddina	(¹ PA.PAB.MEŠ.AŠ)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-ZAG ša LUGAL)	Esarh.	SAA 16, 83 (ABL 714), 5-6
Nabû-aḫu-ušur	(¹ PA.PAP.PAP)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-bu-tū)	Sarg.	SAA 5, 204 (CT 53, 56), 7-8, 12
	(¹ PA.PAP.PAP)		Sarg.	SAA 5, 226 (ABL 884), 2
Nabû-aḫu-ušur	(¹ PA.PAP.PAP)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-bu-ti)	684	SAA 6, 43 (ADD 19), 6
	(¹ PA.PAP.PAP)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (qur-ZAG)	684	SAA 6, 44 (ADD 20), 5
Nabû-erība	(¹ PA.SU)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-bu-tū)	630	SAA 14, 36 (ADD 446), E. 3
Nabû-kēnu	(¹ PA.GIN)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (qur-bu-tū)		Parker 1961, 46 (ND 2732), R. 9
Nabû-lē'i	(¹ PA.ZU)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-bu-tū)	Esarh.	SAA 10, 348 (ABL 340), 13
Nabû-nā'id	(¹ PA.I)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-ZAG)	625	SAA 14, 40 (ADD 325), R. 10
	(¹ PA.I)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-bu-tū)	625	SAA 14, 42 (ADD 414), R. 32
	(¹ PA.I)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qu[r-ZAG])	PC	SAA 14, 55 (ADD 568), R. 6
Nabû-natkil	(¹ PA.nat-kil)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ.qur-bu-te)	676	SAA 6, 240 (ADD 11), R. 5

Nabû-qātî-šabat	(^{1d} PA.ŠU.2.DIB)	LÚ.qur-ZAG KASKAL- <i>a-a</i>	619	SAA 14, 169 (ADD 50), 11
Nabû-rēhtu-ušur	(^{1d} PA- <i>re-eh-tú</i> -PAP)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (qur-ZAG)	630	SAA 14, 35 (ADD 349), R. 14
	([^{1d} PA- <i>r</i>]- <i>eh-tú</i> -PAP)	?	666	SAA 6, 314 (ADD 448), R. 27
	(^{1d} PA- <i>re-eh-tú</i> -PAP)	L[Ú... AM]A.MAN	?	SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), II:11'
Nabû-sālim	(^{1d} PA. <i>sa-lim</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-ZAG)		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:29
Nabû-šarru-ušur	(^{1d} PA.MAN.PAP)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-ZAG)		SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), R. I:8
Nabû-šarru-ušur	(^{1d} PA.MAN.PAP)	BAD.ĪAL <i>qur-ub</i>		SAA 11, 110 (ADD 700), 2
Nabû-šumu-lēšir	(^{1d} PA.MU.GIŠ)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-bu-te)	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 24 (ND 2414), 3
Nabû-zēr-[...]	(^{1d} PA.NUMUN.[...])	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-ZAG)		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), I:19
Nabû-zēr-bāni	(^{1d} AG.NUMUN.DÚ)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-ru-ub)	652–648	Harper 1892, 462, R. 27-28
Nā'id-ilu	(¹ I.DINGIR)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-bu-ti)	Sarg.	SAA 19, 1 (ND 2438), 16, 32
Nergal-ašarēd	(^{1d} U.GUR.MAŠ)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-bu-ti?)	Sarg.	SAA 19, 39 (ND 2648), 6
Nergal-nā'id	(^{1d} MAŠ.MAŠ.I)	LÚ.qur-bu-te URU.Par- <i>ḥa-a-a</i>	740	CTN II, 95 (ND 219), 5
Nergal-šarru-ušur	(^{1d} U.GUR.MAN.PAP)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-bu-ti)	Esarh.	SAA 10, 364 (ABL 1214), R. 4-5
Nergal-zēru-ibni	(¹ U.GUR.NUMUN-DÚ)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-ZAG)		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:1
Nušku-ilā'ī	(¹ Nu-uš-ku.DINGIR- <i>a-a</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-bu-ti)	Esarh.	SAA 6, 238 (ADD 168), R. 5
	(¹ Nu-uš-ku.DINGIR- <i>a-a</i>)	?	680	SAA 6, 221 (ADD 113), R. 5
	(^{1d} NUSKU.DINGIR- <i>a-a</i>)	?	675	SAA 6, 232 (ADD 124), R. 1
	(^{1d} NUSKU.DINGIR-[<i>a-a</i>])	?	Esarh.	SAA 6, 230 (ADD 601), R. 1'
	(^{1d} PA.TÚG.DINGIR-[<i>a-a</i>])	?	Esarh.	SAA 6, 231 (ADD 798), 4'
Rēmāni-Adad	(¹ Rēm- <i>a-na</i> - ¹ IM)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-ZAG)		SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), II:25'
Rēmāni-Issar	([¹ Rēm- <i>a</i>]- <i>ni</i> -15)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qu[r-ZAG])		SAA 11, 130 (BM 99249), 5
Risāia	(¹ Ri- <i>sa-a-a</i>)	<i>qurbūtuša</i> [...] (LÚ.qur-bu-ti)	700	SAA 6, 116 (ADD 294), 6
Salamame	(¹ Sa- <i>la-ma-me</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-bu-ti)	680	SAA 6, 221 (ADD 113), R. 4
	(¹ Sa- <i>la</i> -[<i>ma-me</i>])	?	Esarh.	SAA 6, 231 (ADD 798), 3'
Sapunu	(¹ Sa- <i>pu-nu</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-bu-tu)	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 56 (ND 2803), II:17'
Sē' [...]	(¹ Se- <i>e</i> '[...])	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.šāqur-bu-ti)	717	SAA 6, 11 (ADD 394), R. 15'
Sē'[-qam]u	(¹ Se[- <i>e</i>]- <i>qa-m</i>]u)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-ZAG)		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:22
Sil- [...]	(¹ Sil-[...])	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-ZAG)		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:19
Sîn-kēnu-ušur	(¹ 30.GIN.PAP)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-bu-te)	Sarg.	SAA 15, 34 (ABL 598), 3'
Sîn-nā'id	(¹ 30.I)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (qur-bu-ti) ???		Parker 1961, 46 (ND 2732), R. 10
Sîn-šarru-ušur	(^{1d} 30.MAN.PAP)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-ZAG)	625	SAA 14, 39 (ADD 318), R. 16
Sîn-šarru-ušur	(¹ 30.MAN.PAP)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-ZAG)	663	SAA 14, 135 (ADD 56), R. 5
Sulumāiu	(¹ Su- <i>lu-ma-a-a</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-ZAG)	PC	Iraq 25, ND 3435
Šamaš-aḥu-ušur	(^{1d} UTU.PAP.PAP)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (ša LÚ <i>qur-ub-te</i>)	693	SAA 6, 97 (ADD 66), LE. 2-3
Šamaš-kēnu-uballiṭ	(^{1d} UTU.DU- <i>ú-bal-lit</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ <i>šāqur-bu-ti</i>)	III. A-n.	CTN II, 32 (ND 249+), 7'
Šamaš-nā'id	(^{1d} UTU.I)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (qur-ZAG)	667	SAA 14, 69 (ADD 27), TE. 1
Šamaš-rēmāni	(^{1d} Ša- <i>maš-rēm-a-ni</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (qur-ZAG)	630	SAA 14, 35 (ADD 349), R. 12
Šarru-ēmuranni	(¹ LUGAL.IGI.(LAL)- <i>a-ni</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-ZAG)	Senn.	SAA 6, 185 (ADD 506), R. 10
Šarru-ḥussanni	(¹ MAN— <i>ḥuš-an-ni</i>)	LÚ.qur-bu-ti	Esarh.	SAA 18, 8 (ABL 1123), 11'
	([¹ MAN— <i>ḥu-us-s</i>]a- <i>an-ni</i>)	LÚ.q[ur-bu-ti]	Esarh.	SAA 18, 9 (CT 54, 176), 14'
Šarru-lū-dārī	(¹ MAN-lu- <i>dā-rī</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (qur-ZAG)	630	SAA 14, 35 (ADD 349), R. 13
Šarru-rē'ū'a	(¹ MAN.SIPA- <i>u-a</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-ZAG)	686	SAA 6, 89 (ADD 232), 10
Šēpē- [...]	(¹ GİR.[2-...])	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-ZAG) <i>mār šarri</i>		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:18
Šēpē-Aššur	(¹ GİR.2- <i>Aš-šur</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-ZAG)	679	SAA 6, 265 (ADD 161), R. 9
Šēpē-Šamaš	(¹ GİR.2- ^{1d} UTU)	LÚ.qur-bu-ti	Adn III	Deller – Fadhlil 1993, no. 20, R. 6
Šulmu-aḥḥē	(^{1d} DI-mu.PAP.MEŠ)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (qur-ZAG)	630	SAA 14, 35 (ADD 349), R. 7
	(^{1d} DI-mu.PAP.MEŠ)	LÚ.GIGIR	636	SAA 14, 29 (ADD 207), R. 9
Šulmu-ēreš	(¹ DI-mu.APIN- <i>eš</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-bu-te)	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 56 (ND 2803), R. I:35
Šulmu-šarri	(¹ DI-mu-MAN)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (qur-ZAG)	671	SAA 14, 2 (ADD 627), R. 5
Tabalāiu	(¹ Ta- <i>bal-a-a</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-ZAG)		SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), II:7'
		<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-ZAG)		SAA 7, 6 (ADD 840+858), II:9'
	([¹ Ta]- <i>bal-a-a</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>qur-bu-te</i> URU.Ši- <i>šil-a-a</i>	Asb.	SAA 14, 397 (Iraq 32, 7), 9'
Ubru-Ḥarrān	(¹ SUHUŠ.KASKAL)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÚ.qur-bu-te)	Sarg.	SAA 5, 227 (ABL 408), 7

Ubru-Nergal	(^d SUHUŠ.U.GUR)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>qur-bu-ti</i>)	Sarg.	SAA 19, 9 (ND 2792), 12
Ululāiu	(^l TI.KIN- <i>a-a</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>qur-bu-ti</i>)	686	SAA 6, 164 (ADD 612), R. 6
	(^l TI.KIN- <i>a-a</i>)	?	684	SAA 6, 177 (ADD 230), R. 5
Urad-aḥḥēšu	(^l ARAD-PAP.MEŠ- <i>šú</i>)	LÜ.3- <i>šú q[ur-bu]</i>	?	SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), R. I:10
Urad-Nanā	(^l ARAD- ^d <i>Na-na-a</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:9
Zārūti	(^d NUMUN- <i>ú-tu</i>)	(LÜ. <i>qur-bu-tu</i>)	Esarh.	SAA 18, 114 (CT 54, 508), R. 7'-8'
Za[...]	(^l <i>Za-[...]</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)		SAA 7, 6 (ADD 840+858), I:2'
ša—qurbūte (Dūr-Katlimmu)				
NAME	NAME	TITLE	DATE	TEXT
Ḥam-il	(^l <i>Ha-am</i> —DINGIR)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>[qur-ZA]G</i>) <i>ša</i> NINA.KI	649	TSH 47, Rs. 8-9
[...]-ki	[X-X]- <i>ki</i>	LÜ. <i>qu[r-ZAG]</i>	643/624	TSH 141, li. Rd. 1
Adad-upaḥḥer	(^l 10—NI]GIN- <i>er</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (<i>qur-ZAG</i>)	?	TSH 115, Rs. 7
Amanī	(^l <i>A-ma-ni-i</i>)	LÜ. <i>qur-bu-u-te</i>	661	TSH 109, Rs. 3
Aššur-ušuranni	(^l <i>Aš-šur</i> —PAP- <i>a-ni</i>)	LÜ. <i>qur-bu-u-ti</i>	?	TSH 187, Rs. 6-7
Bēl-šarru-ušur	(^l EN—MAN—PAP)	LÜ. <i>qur-bu-u-te</i>	661	TSH 109, Rd. 1
Dādī	(^l U.U-i)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)	630	TSH 68, Rs. 1
Kiṣir-Aššur	^l <i>Ki-ṣir</i> — <i>Aš-šur</i>	LÜ. <i>qur-[ZAG]</i>	643/624	TSH 166, Rs. 2
Marduk-eṛība	(^l dŠU—SU)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>qur-[ZAG]</i>)	?	TSH 151, Vs. 1
Sagibi	(^l <i>Sa-gi-bi-i</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)	661	TSH 95, Rs. 5
	(^l <i>Sa-gi-bi-i</i>)	LÜ. <i>qur-bu-u-te</i>	661	TSH 109, Rs. 4
Salman-abu-ušur	(^l DI- <i>man</i> —AD—PAP)	<i>qur-bu-ti</i>	?	TSH 186, Rs. 3
Šarru-nūri	(^l MAN—ZALAG)	LÜ. <i>qur-bu-u-te</i>	post 612	TSH 199, Rd. 1
Šašin	(^l <i>Ša-ši-in</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)	650	TSH 45, Rs. 14
Šulmu-šarri	(^l DI- <i>mu</i> —MAN)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)	633	TSH 8, Rs. 5
	(^l DI- <i>mu</i> —LUGAL)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)	634	TSH 62, Vs. 4
	(^l DI- <i>mu</i> —LUGAL)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)	634	TSH 63, Vs. 6
	(^l DI- <i>mu</i> —LUGAL)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>qur-bu-ti</i>)	632	TSH 64, Vs. 6
	(^l DI- <i>mu</i> —LUGAL)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>qur-bu-ti</i>)	632	TSH 65, Vs. 5
	(^l DI- <i>mu</i> —LUGAL)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>qur-ru-bu-ti</i>)	632	TSH 66, Vs. 5
	(^l DI- <i>mu</i> —LUGAL)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)	post 634	TSH 69, Vs. 7
	(^l DI- <i>mu</i> —LUGAL)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>)	post 634	TSH 70, Vs. 11-12
	(^l DI- <i>mu</i> —MAN)	[LÜ.x x] . <i>ša</i> A—MAN	?	TSH 86, Vs. 6-7
Zārūti	(^d NUMUN- <i>u-ti-i</i>)	LÜ. <i>[qu]r-bu-u-ti[ú]</i>	?	TSH 90, li. Rd. 1
	(^d NUMUN- <i>[u-ti]</i>)	[LÜ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>]	661	TSH 95, Rs. 14
ša—qurbūte mār šarri				
NAME	NAME	TITLE	DATE	TEXT
[...]	[...]- <i>ir-^dX</i>	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>q[ur-bu-te]</i>) <i>ša</i> mār šarri	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 56 (ND 2803), R. I:33
Adad-...	(^l dIM.[...])	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>) <i>mār šarri</i>		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. I:2
Gaiā	(^l <i>Ga-ia-a</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>qur-bu-ti</i>) <i>ša</i> mār šarri	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 56 (ND 2803), R. II:14
Issar-Bābilāṭi	(^l 15.KÁ.DINGIR- <i>a-a</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>qur-bu-te</i>) <i>ša</i> [...]	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 56 (ND 2803), II:28'
Marduk-šarru-ušur	(^l dMES.MAN.PAP)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>qur-ZAG</i>) <i>mār šarri</i>		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:45
Nabū-aḥu-iddina	(^l dPA.PAP.AŠ)	<i>qurbūtu</i> ([LÜ. <i>qur-b</i>] <i>u-ti</i> <i>ša</i> DUMU—LUGAL)	Esarh.	SAA 16, 149 (CT 53, 190), 5'-6'
Risāia	(^l <i>Ri-sa-[a-a]</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>qur-bu-ti</i>) <i>ša</i> [...]	700	SAA 6, 116 (ADD 294), 6-7
Umadi	(^l <i>U-ma-a-di</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>qur-bu-tu</i>) <i>ša</i> mār šarri	Sarg.	SAA 15, 236 (ABL 600), 9-10

ša—qurbūte ummi šarri				
NAME	NAME	TITLE	DATE	TEXT
Inurta-ilā'ī	(^{1d} MAŠ.DINGIR- <i>a-a</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>qur</i> -ZAG) <i>ummi šarri</i>		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. I:42
Issar-nā'id	(^{1d} 15.I)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>qur</i> -ZAG) <i>ummi šarri</i>		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), I:43
Mutakkil-Aššur	(¹ <i>Mu-tak-kil- Aš-šur</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>qur</i> -ZAG) <i>ummi šarri</i>		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:32
Wazaru	(¹ <i>Ū-a-za-ru</i>)	<i>qurbūtu</i> (LÜ. <i>qur</i> -ZAG) <i>ummi šarri</i>		SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), R. I:22
rab kišir ša—qurbūte				
NAME	NAME	TITLE	DATE	TEXT
Aššur-ilā'ī	(¹ <i>Aš-šur</i> -DINGIR- <i>a-a</i>)	<i>rab kišir qurbūte</i> (<i>qur</i> —ZAG)	664	SAA 6, 323 (ADD 115), R. 7
		<i>rab kišir</i> (KA.KEŠ) <i>qurbūte</i>	664	SAA 6, 324 (ADD 116), R. 8
		<i>rab kišir ša—qurbūte</i> (LÜ. <i>qur</i> —ZAG)	663	SAA 6, 327 (ADD 611), R. 2'
Aššur-šarru-ušur	(¹ <i>Aš-šur</i> -MAN.PAP)	<i>rab kišir ša—qurbūte</i> (LÜ. <i>qur</i> —ZAG)	PC	SAA 14, 48 (ADD 211), R. 16
Ili-šulmišunu?	(¹ DINGIR-DI-šú- <i>nu</i>)	<i>rab kišir ša—qurbūte</i> (LÜ. <i>qur</i> —ZAG)	PC	SAA 14, 48 (ADD 211), R. 15
Kišir-Aššur	(¹ <i>Ki-šir-Aš-šur</i>)	<i>rab kišir ša—qurbūte</i> (LÜ. <i>qur</i> —ZAG)	PC	SAA 14, 48 (ADD 211), R. 11
Šarru-ilā'ī	(¹ LUGAL.DING[IR- <i>a-a</i>])	LÜ.[...]	668?	SAA 6, 307 (ADD 65), R. 1
	(¹ LUGAL.DINGIR- <i>a-a</i>)	<i>rab kišir ša—qurbūte</i> (<i>qur</i> —ZAG)	660	SAA 6, 329 (ADD 444), R. 9-10
	(¹ LUGAL.DINGIR- <i>a-a</i>)	<i>rab kišir ša—qurbūte</i> (<i>qur</i> —ZAG)	660	SAA 6, 330 (ADD 445), R. 9-10
rab kišir ša—qurbūte ša mār šarri				
NAME	NAME	TITLE	DATE	TEXT
Kišir-Aššur	(¹ <i>Ki-šir-Aš-šur</i>)	<i>rab kišir ša—qurbūte</i> (LÜ. <i>qur</i> -ZAG) <i>ša mār šarri</i>	PC	SAA 14, 49 (ADD 235), R. 9
		<i>rab kišir ša—qurbūte</i> (LÜ. <i>qur</i> -ZAG) <i>ša mār šarri</i>	PC	SAA 14, 29 (ADD 207), 6
Zārūtī	(¹ NUMUN- <i>u-te-i</i>)	<i>rab kišir ša—qurbūte</i> (LÜ. <i>qur</i> -ZAG) <i>ša mār šarri</i>	663	SAA 6, 325 (ADD 470), R. 19'

‘City units’ – Cohort commanders (*rab kišir*)

CHART 4

NAME	NAME	TITLE	UNIT	DATE	TEXT
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Aššurāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), O. 7’
[...]	¹ [...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Aššurāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), O. 8’
[...]	¹ [...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Aššurāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), O. 9’
[...]	¹ [...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Aššurāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), O. 10’
[...]	¹ [...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Aššurāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), O. 11’
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Aššurāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), O. 12’
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Aššurāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), O. 13’
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Aššurāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), O. 14’
[...]	¹ [...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Aššurāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), O. 15’
[...]	¹ [...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Aššurāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), O. 16’
[...]	¹ [...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Aššurāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), O. 17’
[...]	¹ [...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Aššurāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), O. 19’
[...]-šallim-aḥḥē	(X.DI.PAP.MEŠ)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Aššurāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:2’
Aḥi-lamašši	(¹ PAP-la-maš-ši)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Aššurāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102(ND 10019), II:5’
Nergal-šumu-iddin	(¹ U.GUR.MU.AŠ)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Aššurāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102(ND 10019), II:4’
		<i>rab urâte</i>		Sg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), IV:14
Lunate(?)	(¹ Lu-na-te-e)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Aššurāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102(ND 10019), II:3’
Marduk[...]	(¹ ŠU.[...])	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Aššurāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), O. 18’
[...]	¹ [...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), O. 30’
[...]	¹ [...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), O. 31’
[...]-bēl	([...].EN)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia?</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 112 (ND 10076), O. 10
[...]-itme?	([...]-it?-me?-e?)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia?</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 112 (ND 10076), O. 8
[...]-DINGIR		<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia?</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 112 (ND 10076), O. 10
Adad-bēlu-ušur	(¹ U.EN.PAP)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia?</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 112 (ND 10076), O. 4
Adad-kāšir	(¹ U-ka-šir)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102(ND 10019), II:8’
	(¹ IM-ka-šir)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia?</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 112 (ND 10076), O. 2
Aḥi-[...]	(¹ PAP.A.[x])	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:14’
Aḥu-eṛība	(¹ PAP.SU)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:3
	(¹ PAP.SU)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), O. 26’
	(¹ PAP-u-a-S[U?])	<i>rab urâte</i>	101 / 14 (3)	Sg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), IV:8’
[...]-eṛība	([xx].SU)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:13’
Aššur-šabtanni	(¹ Aš-šur-DIB-a-ni)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:2
Ba’di-ili	(¹ Ba-’a-di-DINGIR)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:9’
Banni	(¹ Ba-an-ni)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia?</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 112 (ND 10076), O. 7
Baiasa-[...]	(¹ Ba-a-a-sa-[...])	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:15’
Bēl-ibnī	(¹ EN.DU)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:4
Bēl-išmēanni	(¹ EN.HAL-ni)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia?</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 113 (ND 10073), R. 6’
Bēl-nā’id	(¹ EN.I)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia?</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 112 (ND 10076), O. 3
		<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia?</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 113 (ND 10073), R. 9’
		<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia?</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 114 (ND 10077), O. 2’
Dal[i...]	(¹ Da-[i...])	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), O. 27’
Ḥarmaku	(¹ ḤAR-ma-ku)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:17’
	(¹ ḤAR-ma-ku)		LÚ.GAL.GAL – pēṭhal qurubte	Sg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), O. I:12
Ili-kabar	(¹ DINGIR]-ka-bar)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:10’
	(¹ DINGIR-ka-bar)	<i>rab urâte?</i>		Sg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:19
Issar-aplu-[...]	(¹ 15.A.[x])	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), O. 24’
Mannu-kī-Adad?	(¹ Man-n]u-kī-U)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:11’
	(¹ Man-nu-kī- ¹ IM)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:1
	(¹ Man-nu-kī- ¹ IM?)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia?</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 112 (ND 10076), O. 5

		<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia?</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 113 (ND 10073), R. 5'
		<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia?</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 114 (ND 10077), O. 1'
Marduk-išmēanni	(^{1d} AMAR.UTU.ḪAL!-ni)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia?</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 112 (ND 10076), O. 6
		<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia?</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 113 (ND 10073), R. 4'
Mis-Bēl	(¹ Mi-is- ⁶ EN)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia?</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 113 (ND 10073), R. 10'
		<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia?</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 114 (ND 10077), O. 3'
Nabāia	(¹ Na-ba-a-a)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), O. 23'
Nabū-[-...]	(¹ P[A...])	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), O. 28'
Nabū-zēru-iqīša	(¹ PA.NUMUN.BA-šá)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:16'
	(^{1d} PA.N[UMUN...])	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:1
Nergal-aḫu-iddina	(^{1d} U.GUR.PAP.AŠ?)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), O. 25'
Nergal-rēmēni	(^{1d} MAŠ.MAŠ-rém-ni)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia?</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 112 (ND 10076), O. 9
		<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia?</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 113 (ND 10073), R. 8'
Sapiru	(¹ Sa-pi-ru)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), O. 22'
Sunbāia	(¹ [S]u-un-ba-a-a)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:12'
Šamaš-šallimanni	(^{1d} UTU-šal-lim.MEŠ)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia?</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 113 (ND 10073), R. 11'
		<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia?</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 114 (ND 10077), O. 4'
Tab-[-...]	(¹ Tab-[-...])	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:5
???	(¹ Tab-ni-[-...])	<i>rab urâte</i>	101 / 14 (3)	Sg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), IV:9'
Za-[-...]	(¹ Za-[-...])	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:6
Za-[-...]	(¹ Z[a?]-[-...])	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), O. 29'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Armāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), R. 1
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Armāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), R. 2
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Armāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), R. 3
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Armāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), R. 4
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Armāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), R. 5
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Armāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), R. 6
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Armāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), R. 7
Akkadāia	(¹ [U]RI-a-a)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Armāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:25'
	(¹ URI-a-a)	<i>rab urâte</i>	101 / 6 (13)	Sg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), II:17
	(¹ [U]RI-a-a)	<i>rab urâte?</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR Ē.GAL	Sg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:1
Aplā'ī	(¹ A-ia)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Armāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:9
	(¹ DUMU.UŠ-a-a)	<i>rab urâte</i>	101 / 6 (13)	Sg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), II:19
	(¹ A-ia)	<i>rab urâte</i>	107/ 1(11+)	Sg.	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), I:22
Aššur-aplu-iddin	(¹ Aš-šur-A.AŠ)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Armāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:21'
Aššur-iqbī	(¹ Aš-šur-iq-bī)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Armāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:14
Būr-Atar	(¹ Bur-a-tar)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Armāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:26'
Gīa	(¹ Gi-ia-a)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Armāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:12
Kabti	(¹ Kab-ti-i)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Armāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:23'
Kubaba-ilā'ī	(¹ Kū-ba-ba-DINGIR-a-a)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Armāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:15
Ma-[-...]	(¹ Ma-TAR.[-...])	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Armāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:22'
Mutakkil-Šamaš	(¹ Mu-ta-kil- ⁴ UTU)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Armāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:11
Pulī	(¹ Pu-li-i)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Armāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:10
Qurdi-ilāni	(¹ Qur-dī-DINGIR.MEŠ-ni)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Armāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:20'
		<i>rab urâte</i>	101 / 6 (13)	Sg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), II:14
Sin-ēreš	(^{1d} 30.KAM-eš)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Armāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:13
Šamaš-nāšir	(^{1d} UTU.PAP-ir)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Armāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:24'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arzuḫināia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), R. 10
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arzuḫināia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), R. 11
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arzuḫināia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), R. 12
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arzuḫināia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), R. 13

[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arzuḫināia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), R. 14
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arzuḫināia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), R. 15
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arzuḫināia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), R. 16
[...]	¹ [...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arzuḫināia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 110 (ND 10024), III:3'
[...]-bi	¹ [...]-bi	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arzuḫināia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 110 (ND 10024), III:4'
Adad-altu	(^{1d} U-al-tu)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arzuḫināia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), III:8'
Aššur-[...]	(¹ Aš-šur-[...])	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arzuḫināia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 110 (ND 10024), III:1'
Babī	(¹ Ba-bi-i)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arzuḫināia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), III:5'
Ḫamaqa	(¹ Ḫa-ma-qa)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arzuḫināia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), III:6'
Kubaba-sūri	(¹ Ku-baba(KÁ)-su-ri)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arzuḫināia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), III:3'
Nabû-nādin-aḫḫē	(^{1d} PA.SUM.Š[E]Š.MEŠ)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arzuḫināia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), III:10'
Nergal-aḫu-ušur	(^{1d} U.GUR.PAP.PAP)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arzuḫināia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), III:7'
Sē'-qatar	(¹ Si-i'-qa-tar)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arzuḫināia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), III:9'
	(¹ Si-i'-qa-tar)	<i>rab kišir</i>		Sg.	KAV 132, R. 1
Sē'-rāmu	(¹ Si-i'-ra-mu)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arzuḫināia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), III:2'
Šarru-[...]	(¹ MAN?-[...])	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arzuḫināia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 110 (ND 10024), III:1'
Uarkaza	(¹ U-ar-ka-za)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arzuḫināia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), III:4'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arbailāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 111 (ND 10079), R. 19
[...]	^{1d} [...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arbailāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 110 (ND 10024), III:11'
[...]-bēlu-ušur	(^{1d} [x].U.PAP)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arbailāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), III:14'
[...]-MU		<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arbailāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), III:15'
Aššur-bēlu-taqqin	(¹ Aš-šur-EN.LAL-in)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arbailāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), III:13'
Aššur-tuklassu?	(¹ Aš-šur-RI-la-su-[...])	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arbailāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 110 (ND 10024), III:7'
Dadusu	(¹ Da-du-su)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arbailāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:21
	(¹ Da-du-su)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arbailāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 110 (ND 10024), III:11'
Issar-tuklatūa	(¹ 15-tuk-lat-u-a)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arbailāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:23
Nabû-nāšir	(^{1d} PA.PAP-ir)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arbailāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:17
Nannī	(¹ Na-an-ni-i)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arbailāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 110 (ND 10024), III:13'
		<i>rab urâte</i>	101 / 6 (13)	Sg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), II:26
Pān-Issar-lēšir	(¹ IGI- ^d 15.SI.SA)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arbailāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:22
	(¹ IGI- ^d 15.GIŠ)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arbailāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 110 (ND 10024), III:12'
Qurdi-Issar-lāmur	(¹ Qur-di-15.IGI)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arbailāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), III:18'
	(¹ Qur-di-15.IGI)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arbailāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:20
	(¹ Qu)r-di-15-la-mu[r])	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arbailāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 110 (ND 10024), III:10'
	(¹ Qur-di- ^d 15.IGI)	<i>rab urâte</i>	101 / 6 (13)	Sg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), II:25
Sukumu	(¹ Su-ku-mu)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arbailāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), III:19'
Ubru-aḫḫē	(¹ SUḪUŠ.PAP.MEŠ)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arbailāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:18
	(¹ SUḪUŠ.PAP.MEŠ)	<i>rab urâte</i>	101 / 6 (13)	Sg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), II:24
Ubru-Issar	(¹ SUḪUŠ-15)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arbailāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), III:17'
Urdu	(¹ Ur-du)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arbailāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), III:16'
		<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arbailāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:19
	(¹ U)r-du)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arbailāia</i>	Sg.	CTN III, 110 (ND 10024), III:9'

Cohort commanders (*rab kišir*)

CHART 5

NAME	NAME	TITLE	DATE	TEXT
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir</i> [...] <i>ša—šēpē</i> (LÚ.šá GİR.2)	Asb.?	SAA 7, 33 (ADD 1123), I:1'-2'
[...]-a'	[...]-a'	<i>rab kišir</i> [...] LÚ.PA.MEŠ	Asb.	SAA 7, 30 (ADD 815+), R. III:29'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	Asb.	SAA 7, 30 (ADD 815+), R. IV:6'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir ummi šarri</i> (AMA.MAN)		SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), I:7'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir</i>		SAA 7, 7 (ADD 833), I':2'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir</i>		SAA 7, 7 (ADD 833), I':6'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir rab ša—rēšē</i>		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. I:1
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir</i>		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. I:23
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir</i>	671–660	SAA 6, 340 (ADD 372), 9'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir ša</i> MÍ.KUR	686?	SAA 6, 165 (ADD 594), R. 6
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir</i>		SAA 11, 95 (ADD 762), 1'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir ummi šarri</i> (AMA.MAN)	Esarh.	SAA 6, 253 (ADD 428), R. 9
[...]	[...]	LÚ.GAL— <i>ki-šir</i> [LÚ.GAL—SAG ...]		SAA 12, 36 (NARGD 14), Rev. 24'
[...]	[...]	[LÚ.GAL— <i>ki-šir ša</i> LÚ.GAL]—SAG		SAA 12, 39 (NARGD 20), Rev. 2'
[...]-ili-šallimšunu	([¹ X]-DINGIR-DI-šú-nu)	<i>rab kišir ša—qurbūte</i>	PC	SAA 14, 48 (ADD 211), R. 15
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir ša—qurbūte</i>	PC	SAA 14, 48 (ADD 211), R. 13
[...]	[...]	<i>rab kišir ša—qurbūte</i>	PC	SAA 14, 48 (ADD 211), R. 14
[...]	[¹ [...]	<i>rab kišir ša—šēpē</i> (GİR.2)	PC	SAA 14, 49 (ADD 235), R. 17
[...]	[...]	[LÚ.GAL <i>ki</i>]-šir (<i>ša</i> MÍ.É.GAL)	Asb.	SAA 14, 286 (ADD 547+), R. 6'
[...]	[...]	[LÚ.GAL <i>ki</i>]-šir	Asb.	SAA 14, 292 (ADD 557), R. 5'
[...]	[...]	[LÚ.GAL] <i>ki-šir</i>	Asb.	SAA 14, 319 (ADD 608), 1'
[...]	[...]	[LÚ].GAL <i>ki-šir</i>	Asb.	SAA 14, 319 (ADD 608), R. 3
[...]	[...]	[LÚ].GAL <i>ki-šir</i>	Asb.	SAA 14, 319 (ADD 608), R. 7
[...]-bēlu-ušur	(^{1d} [x]—U—PAB)	GA[L] <i>k[i-šir]</i>	Asb.	SAA 14, 351 (ADD 1184+), R. 3'
[...]	[...]	[LÚ.GAL <i>ki</i>]-šir	Asb.	SAA 14, 370 (ADD 1238), R. 2'
[...]	[...]	[LÚ.GAL <i>ki-šir</i>]	Asb.	SAA 14, 371 (ADD 1239), R. 2'
[...]	[...]	[LÚ.GAL <i>ki</i>]-šir [...]	Asb.	SAA 14, 412 (K.18375), R. 3'
[...]	[...]	[LÚ.GA]L <i>ki-šir</i> [...]	Asb.	SAA 14, 412 (K.18375), R. 4'
[...]	[...]	[LÚ.GA]L <i>ki-šir qu[r-ZAG]</i>	Asb.	SAA 14, 412 (K.18375), R. 5'
[...]	[...]	[LÚ.GAL <i>k[i-šir qur-ZAG]</i>	Asb.	SAA 14, 412 (K.18375), R. 6'
[...]	[...]	[LÚ.GAL <i>k[i-šir GİR.2]</i>	Asb.	SAA 14, 412 (K.18375), R. 7'
[...]	[...]	LÚ.GAL <i>ki-šir</i>	Asb.	SAA 14, 413 (K.20539), R. 4'
[...]-nāšir	([...]-ŠEŠ)	<i>rab kišir</i> (LÚ.GAL KA.KEŠDA)	699-694	ZA 78, 82, III:6'
[...]-Allatu	([...]- ^d <i>Al-la-tu</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	666	SAA 14, 2 (ADD 627), R. 3
[...]-damqu	[...].MEŠ.SIG ₅	<i>rab kišir ša</i> [...]	682	SAA 12, 86 (PKTA 27-30), 23
^{1d} [...].PAP ¹ .PAP	^{1d} [...].PAP ¹ .PAP	<i>rab kišir ša—šēpē</i> (GİR.2)	PC	SAA 14, 49 (ADD 235), R. 16
[...]-zēru-ibnī	[... NU]MUN.DÙ	LÚ.GAL <i>ki-šir ša</i> GÍŠ.ut-tar.MEŠ (of large wheeled chariotry)	694	SAA 6, 37 (ADD 427), 9-10
[...]-šulmi?-ukīn	([...].SILIM.GIN)	<i>rab kišir</i> ???	Sargon	KAV 32, 1
[...]-ilā'ī	[...].DINGIR-a-a	<i>rab kišir</i>	668	SAA 14, 65 (ADD 284), R. 4'
[...]	[...].DINGIR-a-a	<i>rab kišir</i>	668?	SAA 14, 66 (ADD 537), R. 3'
[...]-a	[...]-a	<i>rab kišir</i>	670	SAA 6, 289 (ADD 181), R. 12
[...]-ram-ma	[...]-ram-ma	<i>rab kišir</i> (LÚ.GAL <i>ki-šir</i>)	627	SAA 14, 157 (ADD 352), R. 6'
Abat-šarri-lā-teni	(¹ <i>A-bat-LUGAL-la-te-ni</i>)	GAL KA.KEŠDA <i>ša É 2-e</i>	788	Deller – Fadhiil 1993, No. 16, R. 18
Abdi-Limu	(¹ <i>Ab-di-li-mu</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), I:44
Abilu	(¹ <i>A-bi-lu</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	Senn.	SAA 6, 199 (ADD 273), R. 2'
Abi-ram		<i>rab kišir</i> (LÚ.GAL KA.K[EŠ])	699-694	ZA 78, 82, III:11'

Adad-nādin-šumi	(^{ld} IM.SUM.MU)	<i>rab kišir</i>	679	SAA 6, 204 (ADD 364), R. 7
Aḫi-nūri	(^l PAP.ZALĀG)	<i>rab kišir</i>	681	SAA 6, 46 (ADD 127), R. 3
Aḫi-pada	(^l PAP- <i>pad-da</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i> TUG.ME????		SAA 11, 24 (SAAB 6, 3), R. 6-7
Aḫi-rāmu	(^l PAP- <i>ra-mu</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	Sin-š.-i.	SAA 11, 221 (ADD 675), R. 15'
Aḫu-dūr-enši	(^l PAP.BĀD.SIG)	<i>rab kišir mār šarri</i> (ša A.MAN)	Esarh.	SAA 16, 148 (ABL 434), R. 14-15
Aḫu-dūri	(^l PAP.BĀD)	<i>rab kišir mār šarri</i>		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:51
Ame-atar	(^l <i>A-me-a-tar</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	Sargon	KAV 31, 1
	(^l <i>A-me-a-tar</i>)	LÚ.GAL 50	Sargon	KAV 132, 1
Apil-ēreš	(^l DUMU.US.APIN-eš)	LÚ.GAL KA.KEŠDA ša LÚ.rak-su-te	788	Deller – Fadhl 1993, No. 6, 22-23
Aqru	(^l <i>Aq-ru</i>)	<i>rab kišir ša—šēpē</i> (GIR.2)	PC	SAA 14, 49 (ADD 235), E. 1
	(^l <i>Aq-ru</i>)	ša— <i>qurbūte</i>	640	SAA 14, 27 (ADD 358+), R. 8'
Arbāia	(^l <i>Ar-ba-a-a</i>)	<i>rab kišir sīsē</i>	652–648	Harper 1892, 543, R. 14
	(^l <i>Ar-ba-iā</i>)	<i>rab kišir sīsē</i>	652–648	Harper 1892, 273, R. 2
	(^l <i>Ar-ba-a-a</i>)	<i>rab kišir sīsē</i>	652–648	Harper 1892, 1244, R. 7
		<i>rabkišir sīsē</i>	652–648	Harper 1892, 1108, R. 15
Arzēzu	(^l <i>Ar-ze-zu</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	679	SAA 6, 206 (ADD 150), R. 4
	(^l <i>A[r-z]e-zu</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	676	SAA 6, 211 (ADD 460), R. 6'
	(^l <i>Ar-ze-e-zu</i>)	?	679	SAA 6, 247 (ADD 1188), R. 5
Asalluḫi-šumu-iddina	(^l ASAR.LÚ.ḪI—MU—AŠ)	LÚ.GAL— <i>ki-sir ša—šēpē</i> (šā GIR.2)	638	SAA 14, 424 (TIM 11, 2), 14-15
	(^l ASAR.LÚ.ḪI—MU—AŠ)	LÚ.GAL— <i>ki-sir ša—šēpē</i> (šā GIR.2) šā <i>ekalli</i> (Ē.GAL)	630	SAA 14, 425 (TIM 11, 1), 19-20
Aššur-aḫu-iddina	(^l <i>Aš-šur-PAP.AŠ</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	695	SAA 6, 132 (ADD 616), 11
Aššur-ballit	(^l <i>Aš-šur-bal-liṭ</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	625	SAA 14, 40 (ADD 325), R. 6
Aššur-ilāṭ	(^l <i>Aš-šur-DINGIR-a-a</i>)	<i>rab kišir qurbūte</i>	664	SAA 6, 323 (ADD 115), R. 7
	(^l <i>Aš-šur-DINGIR-a-a</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i> (KA.KĒŠ) <i>qurbūte</i>	664	SAA 6, 324 (ADD 116), R. 8
	(^l <i>Aš-šur-DINGIR-a-a</i>)	<i>rab [kišir qurbūte]</i>	671–660	SAA 6, 326 (ADD 471), R. 18
	(^l <i>Aš-šur-DINGIR-a-a</i>)	[<i>rab kišir ša—qurbūte</i>]	663	SAA 6, 327 (ADD 611), R. 2'
	(^l <i>Aš-šur-DINGIR-a-a</i>)	?	679	SAA 6, 206 (ADD 150), R. 9
Aššur-kettu-iram	(^l <i>Aš-šur-ZI.ĀG</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	618	SAA 14, 32 (ADD 151), R. 7
Aššur-killāni	(^l <i>Aš-šur-ki-la-a-ni</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.MAN	630	SAA 14, 34 (ADD 308), 6, R. 12
	(^l <i>Aš-šur-ki-la-a-ni</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	630	SAA 14, 35 (ADD 349), R. 10
	(^l <i>Aš-šur-kil-la-an-ni</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	625	SAA 14, 39 (ADD 318), R. 6
		LÚ.qur-ZAG	625	SAA 14, 40 (ADD 325), R. 9
	(^l <i>Aš-šur-kil-la-an-ni</i>)	<i>qur-ZAG</i>	PC	SAA 14, 46 (ADD 361), R. 16'
	(^l <i>Aš-šur-kil-la-an-ni</i>)	LÚ.qur-bu-tú	PC	SAA 14, 42 (ADD 414), R. 31
	(^l <i>Aš-šur-kil-la-an-ni</i>)	<i>rab kišir mār šarri</i> (A.MAN)	PC	SAA 14, 41 (ADD 623), R. 18'
	(^l <i>Aš-šur-kil-la-an-ni</i>)	?	PC	SAA 14, 48 (ADD 211), E. 3
	(^l <i>Aš-šur-kil-la-ni</i>)	LÚ.qur-ZAG	PC	SAA 14, 43 (ADD 400), 13'
	(^l <i>Aš-šur-kil-la-an-ni</i>)	LÚ.qur-ZAG	PC	SAA 14, 37 (ADD 309), R. 4'
Aššur-natkil	(^{ld} <i>Aš-šur-na-at-ki-lī</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i> šā URU.Adinni		SAA 10, 167 (ABL 500), 5
Aššur-rā'im-šarri	(^l <i>Aš-šur-ĀG.MAN</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	Assurb.	SAA 7, 30 (ADD 815+), R. III:22'
Aššur-šallimanni	(^l <i>Aš-šur-DI-man</i>)	from the <i>kišru</i> of	?	SAA 7, 70 (ADD 967), I':6'
Aššur-šarru-ušur	(^l <i>Aš-šur-MAN.PAP</i>)	<i>rab kišir ša—qurbūte</i>	PC	SAA 14, 48 (ADD 211), R. 16
	(^l <i>Aš-šur-MAN.PAP</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i> , son of Aḫi-bašte	640	SAA 14, 27 (ADD 358+), R. 6'
	(^l <i>[A]š-šur-MAN.PAP</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	Asb.	SAA 14, 319 (ADD 608), R. 1
	(^l <i>Aš-šur-MAN.PAP</i>)	LÚ.mu-[<i>kil</i> PA.MEŠ]	671–660	SAA 6, 328 (ADD 1153), R. 12'
	(^l <i>Aš-šur-MAN.PAP</i>)	L[Ú.GIŠ.GIGI]R DUMU.MAN	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:31
Aššur-šimanni	(^l <i>Aš-šur-ḪAL-a-ni</i>)	<i>rab kišir ša—šēpē</i>	682	SAA 12, 86 (PKTA 27-30), R. 24
Aššur-šumu-iddina	(^l <i>Aš-šur-MU.AŠ</i>)	<i>rab kišir ša</i> LÚ.GAL SUM.NINDA	657	SAA 14, 81 (ADD 618), R. 11-12
Aššur-šumu-ka''in	(^l <i>Aš-šur-MU.GIN</i>)	<i>rab kišir ša šarri</i> (MAN)	PC?	SAA 14, 56 (ADD 252), 3'
Attā-qāmū'a	(^l <i>A-ta-a-qa-mu-ia</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	Senn.	SAA 6, 52 (ADD 246), 3
Balasī	(^l <i>Ba-la-si</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	630	SAA 14, 34 (ADD 308), R. 9
	(^l <i>Ba-la-si-i</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	625	SAA 14, 39 (ADD 318), R. 8

	(¹ <i>Ba-la-si-i</i>)		LÜ.qur-ZAG	625	SAA 14, 40 (ADD 325), R. 13
	(¹ <i>Ba-la-si-i</i>)	<i>rab kišir mār šarri</i> (A.MAN)		625	SAA 14, 41 (ADD 623), R. 17'
	(¹ <i>Ba-la-si-i</i>)		LÜ.qur-bu-tú	625	SAA 14, 42 (ADD 414), R. 30
	(¹ <i>Ba-la-si-i</i>)		LÜ.qur-ZAG	624	SAA 14, 43 (ADD 400), 14'
	(¹ <i>Ba-la-si-i</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>		623	SAA 14, 46 (ADD 361), R. 13'
	(¹ <i>Ba-la-si-i</i>)	<i>rab kišir ša—šēpē</i> (GIR.2)		PC	SAA 14, 49 (ADD 235), R. 14
Balāssu/Balasī	(¹ <i>Ba-la-su</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>		Sin.-š.-i.	SAA 11, 221 (ADD 675), R. 16'
Banunu	(¹ <i>Ba-nu-nu</i>)	<i>rab kišir ša MĪ.Ē.GAL</i>		686	SAA 6, 164 (ADD 612), R. 5
		<i>rab kišir ša MĪ.KUR</i>		686?	SAA 6, 165 (ADD 594), R. 8
Bār-Šarūri	(¹ <i>Bar-ša-ru-ri</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>		Sin.-š.-i.	SAA 11, 221 (ADD 675), R. 4'
Bēl-aḥu-ušur	(^{1d} EN.PAP.PAP)	<i>rab kišir</i>		681	SAA 6, 46 (ADD 127), R. 2
Bēl-dān	(^{1d} EN.KAL-an)	<i>rab kišir</i> (LÜ.GAL KA.KEŠDA)		710	Parker 1963, BT.101, R. 13
Bēl-ētir	(^{1d} EN.KAR-ir)	<i>rab kišir sīsē</i>		652–648	Harper 1892, 543, R. 14
		<i>rab kišir sīsē</i>		652–648	Harper 1892, 273, R. 1
	(^{1d} EN.SUR)	<i>rab kišir sīsē</i>		652–648	Harper 1892, 1244, R. 7
		<i>rab kišir sīsē</i>		652–648	Harper 1892, 1108, R. 15
	(^{1d} EN.ŠUR)	???		650	SAA 11, 134 (ADD 859+), R. 1
Bēl-Ḥarrān-aḥu-ušur	(¹ EN.KASKAL.PAB.PAB)	<i>rab kišir (a-na LU.GAL ki-šir-u-tú)</i>		Esarh.	SAA 16, 115 (ABL 85), 7-8
Gabrī	(¹ <i>Gab-ri-i</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>		Esarh.	SAA 6, 294 (ADD 268), R. 5
Gallulu	(¹ <i>Gal-lul</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>		671	SAA 6, 297 (ADD 266), R. 6'
Ḥanunu	(¹ <i>Ḥa-nu-nu</i>)	<i>rab kišir rab ša—rēšē</i>			SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:10
Ḥarmaku	(¹ <i>Ḥar-ma-ku</i>)	<i>rab kišir ša raksūte</i>		Adn. III	Deller – Fadhiil 1993, No. 1., Rev. 5
Ḥašilānu	(¹ <i>Ḥa-šil-a-nu</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>			SAA 11, 162 (ABL 631), 10, R. 2
Ḥubasāte	(¹ <i>Ḥu-ba-as-a-te</i>)	<i>rab kišir ša—šēpi</i> (GIR.2)		PC	SAA 14, 49 (ADD 235), R. 15
Ia-rapā	(¹ <i>Ia-ra-pa-a</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>			SAA 11, 162 (ABL 631), 1, 9, R. 3
Idri-aḥa'u	(¹ <i>Id-ri-a-ḥa-a-ū</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>		Sargon?	SAA 10, 354 (CT 53, 75), 11
Illumma-lē'i	(¹ DINGIR-ma-ZU)	<i>rab kišir</i>		666	SAA 14, 2 (ADD 627), R. 5
	(¹ DINGIR-ma-ZU)	<i>rab kišir</i> (LÜ.GAL-ki-sir)		Esarh.	SAA 16, 67 (ABL 1291), 9'
Ilu-bi'di	(¹ DINGIR-bi-i'-dī)	<i>rab kišir</i>		Sargon	SAA 1, 171 (ND 2645), 15-16
Il-iadīni	(¹ DINGIR-ia-di-nu)	<i>rab kišir</i>		623	SAA 14, 46 (ADD 361), R. 12'
Ilu-nā'id	(¹ DINGIR.I)	<i>rab kišir ša—šēpē</i> (GIR.2)		PC	SAA 14, 49 (ADD 235), R. 12
Ilu-pīa-ušur	(¹ DINGIR-pi-ia-PAP)	<i>rab kišir</i>		Sargon	SAA 1, 235 (ABL 1432), 4, 6, 11
	(¹ DINGIR-ia-di-nu)	<i>rab kišir mār šarri</i> (A—MAN)		PC	SAA 14, 53 (ADD 345), R. 7'
Inurti	(^{1d} MAŠ-ti-i)	<i>rab kišir</i>		623	SAA 14, 46 (ADD 361), R. 15'
	(^{1d} MAŠ-i)	<i>ša—šēpē</i> (GIR.2)		624	SAA 14, 43 (ADD 400), 16'
Išmē-ilu	(¹ <i>Iš-me-DINGIR</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>		Sargon	SAA 5, 234 (ABL 582), 4'
Issar-ilā'i	(¹ 15.DINGIR-a-a)	<i>rab kišir</i>		663	SAA 6, 325 (ADD 470), 6
Issar-šumu-lēšir	(^{1d} 15.MU.GIŠ)	<i>rab kišir</i> (LÜ.GAL ki-šir)		686	Parker 1963, BT.124, 14
Kakkullānu	(¹ <i>Ka-ku-la-nu</i>)	<i>rab kišir ša mār šarri</i> (A—MAN)		630	SAA 14, 34 (ADD 308), 6, R. 1
	(¹ <i>Kul-ku-la-nu</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>		630	SAA 14, 35 (ADD 349), 9, 12, E. 4
	(¹ <i>Kul-ku-la-a-nu</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>		630	SAA 14, 36 (ADD 446), 11, R. 2
	(¹ <i>Kak-kul-la-nu</i>)	?		630	SAA 14, 37 (ADD 309), 2'
	(¹ <i>Kak-kul-la-nu</i>)	?		629	SAA 14, 38 (ADD 711), 10
	(¹ <i>Kak-kul-la-nu</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>		625	SAA 14, 39 (ADD 318), 8, R. 1
	(¹ <i>Kak-kul-la-nu</i>)	?		625	SAA 14, 40 (ADD 325), 10, E. 4
	(¹ <i>Kak-kul-la-nu</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>		625	SAA 14, 41 (ADD 623), R. 10'
	(¹ <i>Kak-kul-la-nu</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>		625	SAA 14, 42 (ADD 414), 7, <i>passim</i>
	(¹ <i>Ku-ku-la-nu</i>)	?		624	SAA 14, 43 (ADD 400), 9'
	(¹ <i>Kak-kul-la-nu</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>		623	SAA 14, 44 (BM 139950), 11-12
	(¹ <i>Kak-kul-la-nu</i>)	<i>rab kišir ša mār šarri</i> (A—MAN)		623	SAA 14, 45 (ADD 621), R. 1-2
	(¹ <i>Ku-ku-la-nu</i>)	<i>rab kišir mār šarri</i> (A—MAN)		623	SAA 14, 46 (ADD 361), 4', 6', R. 3'
	(¹ <i>Ku-ku-la-a</i>)	?		617	SAA 14, 47 (ADD 327), 8', R. 5'
	(¹ <i>Kak-kul-la-nu</i>)	<i>rab kišir ša mār šarri</i> (A—MAN)		PC	SAA 14, 48 (ADD 211), 7-8
	(¹ <i>Kak-kul-la-nu</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>		PC	SAA 14, 49 (ADD 235), 6

	(¹ A-kul-la-nu)	<i>rab kišir ša mār šarri</i> (A—MAN)	PC	SAA 14, 50 (ADD 312), 4'
	(¹ K)a-ku-la-a[n-nu])	?	PC	SAA 14, 51 (ADD 348), 8'
	(¹ Kak-[kul-la-ni])	?	PC	SAA 14, 52 (ADD 401), 4'
	(¹ Kak-kul-la-nu)	?	PC	SAA 14, 155 (ADD 619), R. 10
	(¹ Kak-kul-la-nu)	?	PC	SAA 14, 57 (ADD 110), R. 6'
Kakkussu	(¹ Kak-ku-[us]-su)	<i>rab kišir</i>	Sarg.	KAV 36, 1-2
Kandar	(¹ Ka-an-da[r])	<i>rab kišir</i> ([LÜ.GAL K]A.KEŠDA)	699-694	ZA 78, 82, III:10'
Kanūnāiu	(¹ ITU.AB-a-a)	<i>rab kišir</i>	625	SAA 14, 40 (ADD 325), R. 8
	(¹ ITU.AB-a-a)	?	PC	SAA 14, 44 (BM 139950), R. 12
Kinanni-Issar	(¹ GIN-a-ni-15)	<i>rab kišir mār šarri</i>		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. I:38
Kiqillānu	(¹ Ki-qi-la-nu)	LÜ.GAL— <i>ki-sir ša—šēpē</i> (šá—GIR.2)	630	SAA 14, 425 (TIM 11, 1), R. 16
Kišir-Aššur	(¹ Ki-šir-Aš-šur)	<i>rab kišir</i> (of <i>šaknu</i> of <i>taḥlīpu</i> charioteers)	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), I:17
Kišir-Aššur	(¹ Ki-šir-Aš-šur)	?	637	SAA 14, 28 (ADD 46), 3, R. 1
	(¹ Ki-šir-Aš-šur)	<i>rab kišir qurbūte ša mār šarri</i>	636	SAA 14, 29 (ADD 207), 6-7
	(¹ Ki-šir-Aš-šur)	?	635	SAA 14, 30 (ADD 1), 2
	(¹ Ki-šir-Aš-šur)	<i>rab kišir</i>	625	SAA 14, 40 (ADD 325), R. 7
	(¹ Ki-šir-Aš-šur)	<i>rab kišir</i>	625	SAA 14, 42 (ADD 414), 12, passim
	(¹ Ki-šir-Aš-šur)	<i>rab kišir</i>	623	SAA 14, 46 (ADD 361), R. 9'
	(¹ Ki-šir-Aš-šur)	?	623	SAA 14, 31 (ADD 23), 1
	(¹ Ki-šir-Aš-šur)	<i>rab kišir</i>	618	SAA 14, 32 (ADD 151), 2, R. 6
	(¹ Ki-šir-Aš-šur)	<i>rab kišir ša—qurbūte</i>	PC	SAA 14, 48 (ADD 211), R. 11
	(¹ Ki-šir-Aš-šur)	<i>rab kišir ša—qurbūte ša mār šarri</i>	PC	SAA 14, 49 (ADD 235), R. 9
	(¹ Ki-šir-Aš-šur)	<i>rab kišir ša mār šarri</i> (A—MAN)	PC	SAA 14, 45 (ADD 621), 13, R. 12
	(¹ Ki-šir-Aš-šur)	?	PC	SAA 14, 33 (ADD 80), 2
	(¹ Ki-šir-Aš-šur)	?	PC	SAA 14, 155 (ADD 619), R. 9
	(¹ Ki-šir-Aš-šur)	?	PC	SAA 14, 57 (ADD 110), R. 5'
	(¹ Ki-šir-Aš-šur)	?	613	SAA 14, 171 (ADD 102), 6
Kišir-Issar	(¹ Ki-šir- ^d 15])	<i>rab kišir</i>	676	SAA 6, 211 (ADD 460), R. 8'
	(¹ Ki-š[ir- ^d 15])	?	676	SAA 6, 212 (ADD 502), 2'
	(¹ Ki-šir-15)	?	676	SAA 6, 213 (ADD 489), R. 2
Lā-qēpu / Liqipu	(¹ Li-qi-pu)	<i>rab kišir</i>	630	SAA 14, 34 (ADD 308), 6, R. 8
		? (LÜ.ditto)	630	SAA 14, 37 (ADD 309), R. 2'
		<i>rab kišir</i>	625	SAA 14, 39 (ADD 318), R. 7
		<i>rab kišir ša—šēpē</i> (GIR.2)	PC	SAA 14, 49 (ADD 235), R. 11
Lit-il	(¹ ZU.DINGIR)	<i>raḥ kišir ša</i> LÜ.A.SIG <i>ša</i> MÍ.Ē.GAL	Asb.	SAA 14, 7 (ADD 494), R. 7-8
Luqu	(¹ Lu-qu)	<i>rab kišir ša mār šarri</i> (A—MAN)	659	SAA 14, 24 (ADD 233), 7-8
	(¹ Lu-qu)	LÜ.[...]	Asb.	SAA 14, 12 (ADD 267), R. 12'
	(¹ Lu-u-qu)	?	645	SAA 14, 26 (ADD 4), 2
	(¹ Lu-qu)	?	PC	SAA 14, 154 (ADD 311), R. 18
	(¹ Lu-qi)	?	648	SAA 14, 25 (ADD 111), E. 2
Mamī	(¹ Ma-mi-i)	<i>rab kišir</i>	679	SAA 6, 206 (ADD 150), R. 5
	(¹ Ma-mi-i)	LÜ.GAL KA.K[ĒŠ]	Esarh.	SAA 6, 249 (ADD 602), R. 7'
	(¹ Ma-mi-i)	?	679	SAA 6, 247 (ADD 1188), R. 2
Mannu-kī-abi	(¹ Man-nu-ki-AD)	<i>rab kišir</i>		SAA 11, 29 (ADD 1041), R. 3-4
		<i>rab kišir</i>	625	SAA 14, 42 (ADD 414), R. 28
Mannu-kī-Arbail	(¹ Man-nu-ki-URU.Arba-il)	<i>rab kišir</i>	680	SAA 6, 201 (ADD 360), 7-8, passim
	(¹ Man-nu-ki-i-Arba-il)	?	680	SAA 6, 202 (ADD 359), 9
	(¹ Man-nu-ki-Arba-il)	?	679	SAA 6, 204 (ADD 364), 8
	(¹ Man-nu-GIM-URU.Arba-il)	?	679	SAA 6, 206 (ADD 150), 2
	(¹ Man-nu-ki-A[rba-il])	?	678	SAA 6, 207 (ADD 1240), R. 2
	(¹ Man-nu-ki-i-[Arba-il])	?	678	SAA 6, 208 (ADD 18), 2
	([IMan-n]u-ki-URU.Arba-il)	?	676	SAA 6, 210 (ADD 330), 8

	[...]	?	676	SAA 6, 211 (ADD 460), []
	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-Ar[ba-il]</i>)	?	676	SAA 6, 212 (ADD 502), 4'
	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-URU.Arba-il</i>)	?	676	SAA 6, 213 (ADD 489), R. 5
	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-Arba-il</i>)	?	676	SAA 6, 214 (ADD 480), 3
	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-Arba-il</i>)	?	676	SAA 6, 215 (ADD 167), 3
	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-URU.Arba-il</i>)	?	673	SAA 6, 216 (ADD 8), 3
	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-URU.Arba-il</i>)	?	Esarh.	SAA 6, 217 (ADD 378), 11
	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-URU.Arba-il</i>)	?	Esarh.	SAA 6, 218 (ADD 375), 7
	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-URU.Arba-il</i>)	?	Esarh.	SAA 6, 219 (ADD 1157), 2
	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-Arba-il</i>)	?	Esarh.	SAA 6, 220 (ADD 493), R. 3'
	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-i-URU.Arba-il</i>)	?	679	SAA 6, 247 (ADD 1188), 7
	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-Ar[ba-il]</i>)	?	Esarh.	SAA 6, 249 (ADD 602), R. 1'
	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-i-[Arba-il]</i>)	?	671-669	SAA 6, 299 (ADD 477), R. 7
Mannu-kī-Issar-lē'i	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-15.ZU</i>)	<i>rab kišir ša MÍ.Ē.GAL</i>	686	SAA 6, 164 (ADD 612), R. 3
	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-15.ZU</i>)	<i>rab kišir ša MÍ.KUR</i>	686?	SAA 6, 165 (ADD 594), R. 9
	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-15.ZU</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	684	SAA 6, 177 (ADD 230), R. 5
	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-15.ZU</i>)	<i>ša—šēpē</i>	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. I:33
Mannu-kī-Nabū	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-15.ZU</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	623	SAA 14, 46 (ADD 361), R. 14'
	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-15.ZU</i>)	<i>rab kišir ša mār šarri (A—MAN)</i>	PC	SAA 14, 50 (ADD 312), R. 8'
	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-15.ZU</i>)	<i>ša—šēpē</i>	PC	SAA 14, 43 (ADD 400), R. 15'
Mardī	(¹ <i>Mar-di-i</i>)	<i>rab kišir mār šarri</i>		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. II:13
Mardū	(¹ <i>Mar-du-u</i>)	<i>rab kišir ša—šēpē(GIR.2)</i>	PC	SAA 14, 49 (ADD 235), R. 10
	(¹ <i>Mar-du-u</i>)	[...]	PC	SAA 14, 33 (ADD 80), R. 4
Marduk-erība	(¹ <i>AMAR.UTU.SU</i>)	<i>rab kišir rab ša—rēšē</i>		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. II:11
	(¹ <i>AMAR.UTU.SU</i>)	<i>rab kišir rab ša—rēšē</i>		SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), R. I:6
Marduk-ētir	(¹ <i>ŠU.KAR-ir</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	625	SAA 14, 40 (ADD 325), R. 22
Marduk-šarru-ibnī	(¹ <i>ŠU.MAN.DU</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	PC	SAA 14, 54 (ADD 344), R. 5'
Marduk-tēr	(¹ <i>ŠU-te-er</i>)	<i>GAL [ki-šir]</i>	Asb.	SAA 14, 351 (ADD 1184+), R. 6'
Mār-Issar	(¹ <i>DUMU-15</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>		SAA 7, 126 (ADD 1040), 6-7
	(¹ <i>DUMU-15</i>)	?		SAA 11, 113 (ADD 988), R. 8
Mār-šarri-ilā'i	(¹ <i>A.MAN.DINGIR-a-a</i>)	<i>rab kišir ša—šēpē(GIR.2)</i>	PC	SAA 14, 49 (ADD 235), R. 13
Milki-idri	(¹ <i>Mil-ki-id-ri</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	663	SAA 6, 325 (ADD 470), 7
	(¹ <i>Mil-ki-id-ri</i>)	<i>LÜ.G[AL ...]?</i>		SAA 6, 254 (ADD 507), R. 3
Mušēzib-Aššur	(¹ <i>Mu-še-zib-Aš-šur</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	625	SAA 14, 40 (ADD 325), R. 20
Nabū-[...]	(¹ <i>PA.[...]</i>)	<i>rab kišir mār šarri</i>		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:21
Nabū'a	(¹ <i>PA-u-a</i>)	<i>rab kišir(KA.KĒŠ)</i>	679	SAA 6, 247 (ADD 1188), R. 6
	(¹ <i>PA-u-a</i>)	<i>[rab kišir(KA.KĒŠ)]</i>	Esarh.	SAA 6, 249 (ADD 602), R. 5'
Nabū-balāssu-iqbī	(¹ <i>PA.TI-su-iq-bi</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	630	SAA 14, 35 (ADD 349), R. 9
	(¹ <i>PA.TI.E</i>)	?	640	SAA 14, 27 (ADD 358+), R. 9
(-ballussu-)	(¹ <i>PA—TI-su—E</i>)	?	613	SAA 14, 171 (ADD 102), 5
Nabū-daiān	(¹ <i>PA.DI.KUD</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. II:4
Nabū-mār-šarri-ušur	(¹ <i>PA.A.MAN.PAP</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	625	SAA 14, 42 (ADD 414), R. 27
Nabū-nā'id	(¹ <i>PA.I</i>)	<i>rab kišir ša MÍ.KUR</i>	686?	SAA 6, 165 (ADD 594), R. 7
Nabū-nādin-aḥi	(¹ <i>PA.AŠ.PAP</i>)	<i>rab kišir (LÜ.GAL ki-šir)</i>	678	Parker 1963, BT.118, 12
Nabū-natkil	(¹ <i>PA-nat-kil</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	?	SAA 7, 6 (ADD 840+858), I:6'
	(¹ <i>PA-na-<at->kil</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	PC	SAA 14, 34 (ADD 308), R. 9
Nabū-rēmanni	(¹ <i>PA-rém-a-ni</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	663	SAA 6, 325 (ADD 470), 5
Nabū-šallim-aḥḥē	(¹ <i>PA.DI.PAP.MEŠ</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>	625	SAA 14, 40 (ADD 325), R. 21
	(¹ <i>PA.šal-lim.PAP.MEŠ</i>)	?	613	SAA 14, 171 (ADD 102), 1
Nabū-šarru-ušur	(¹ <i>PA.MAN.PAP</i>)	<i>rab kišir mār šarri</i>		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. II:9
	(¹ <i>PA.MAN.PAP</i>)	<i>rab kišir mār šarri</i>		SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), R. I:21
	(¹ <i>[...].MAN.PAP</i>)	<i>rab kišir</i>		SAA 7, 10 (ADD 850), I:8'
Nabū-šarru-ušur	(¹ <i>PA.MAN.PAP</i>)	<i>[rab kišir ša mār šarri]</i>	671	SAA 6, 297 (ADD 266), R. 3
	(¹ <i>PA.MAN.PAP</i>)	<i>[rab kišir ša mār šarri]</i>	671	SAA 6, 298 (ADD 503), R. 9'
	(¹ <i>PA.MAN.PAP</i>)	<i>rab kišir ša mār šarri (A—MAN)</i>	671-669	SAA 6, 299 (ADD 477), R. 5'

	(^{1d} PA.MAN.PAP)	[<i>rab kišir</i>]	670	SAA 6, 300 (ADD 202), R. 8
	(^{1d} PA.MAN.PAP)	<i>rab kišir ša—šēpē ša mār šarri</i>	663	SAA 6, 325 (ADD 470), R. 20'
	(^{1d} P[A.MAN.PAP])	?	671–660	SAA 6, 332 (ADD 433+), R. 12'
	(^{1d} AG.LUGAL.ÜRÜ/PAP)	<i>rab kišir</i>	652–648	Harper 1892, 462, 21, R. 27
Nabû-šarru-ušur	(^{1d} PA.MAN.PAP)	<i>rab kišir</i>	630	SAA 14, 35 (ADD 349), R. 8
	(^{1d} PA.MAN.PAP)	<i>rab kišir ša šarri</i> (MAN)	PC	SAA 14, 48 (ADD 211), R. 18 – E. 1
Nabû-tāriš	(^{1d} PA.LAL-is)	<i>rab kišir</i>	Sin-š.-i.	SAA 11, 221 (ADD 675), R. 14'
	(^{1d} PA.LAL-is)	<i>ša—šēpē</i> (GİR.2)	624	SAA 14, 43 (ADD 400), 12'
	(^{1d} PA.LAL-is)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>šarri</i> (MAN)	PC	SAA 14, 37 (ADD 309), R. 5'
Nabû-tukulti	(^{1d} PA-tukul-ti)	LÚ.GAL <i>ki-šir ša—šēpē</i> (GİR.2)	630	SAA 14, 425 (TIM 11, 1), R. 14
Nagâ	(¹ Na-ga-a)	<i>rab kišir</i>	Sargon	SAA 1, 236 (ABL 639), O. 3
Nergal-ašarēdu	(¹ U.GUR.MAŠ)	<i>rab kišir</i>	630	SAA 14, 35 (ADD 349), R. 11
Nergal-šarru-ušur	(^{1d} MAŠ.MAŠ.MAN.PAP)	<i>rab kišir</i>		SAA 7, 10 (ADD 850), I:5'
Nuhšāia	(¹ HĒ.NUN-a-a)	<i>rab kišir ša rab ša—rēšē</i>	685	SAA 6, 174 (ADD 1170+), R. 9
Nūrānu	(¹ ZALĀG-a-nu)	<i>rab kišir</i>	684	SAA 6, 177 (ADD 230), R. 4
Qurdi-Issar	(¹ Qur-di- ^a 15)	<i>rab kišir</i>	679	SAA 6, 204 (ADD 364), R. 4'
	(¹ Qur-di- ^a 15)	?	Esarh.	SAA 6, 220 (ADD 493), R. 9'
	(¹ Qur-di- ^a 15)	<i>rab kišir</i> (KA.KĒŠ)	679	SAA 6, 247 (ADD 1188), R. 3
	(¹ Qur-di- ^a 15)	?	Esarh.	SAA 6, 249 (ADD 602), R. 1'
Riba-aḥḥē	(¹ SU.PAP.MEŠ)	<i>rab kišir</i> (KĀD-ri)	698	SAA 6, 125 (ADD 1179+), R. 11
Saggil-šarru-ušur	(^{1d} Sag-gil.MAN.PAP)	<i>rab kišir</i>	625	SAA 14, 42 (ADD 414), R. 26
Sagiru	(¹ Sa-gi-ru)	<i>rab kišir</i>	640	SAA 14, 27 (ADD 358+), R. 5'
Salamānu	(¹ Sa-lam-a-nu)	<i>rab kišir ummi šarri</i>		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:30
Sē'-qatar	(¹ Si-i'-qa-tar)	<i>rab kišir</i>	Sargon	KAV 132, R. 1
Silim-ili	(¹ Si-lim-DINGIR)	<i>rab kišir mār šarri</i>		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), I:49
Sîn-aplu-ušur	(^{1d} 30.A.PAP)	<i>rab kišir</i>	653	SAA 14, 139 (ADD 387), R. 7'
Sîn-bēlu-ušur	(^{1d} 30.EN.PAP)	<i>rab kišir</i>	682	SAA 6, 192 (ADD 276), R. 4'
	(^{1d} 30.EN.PAP)	<i>rab kišir ša KUR</i> (palace)	670	SAA 6, 287 (ADD 625), R. 8
Sîn-nā'id	(^{1d} 30.I)	<i>rab kišir</i>	Senn.	SAA 6, 53 (ADD 236), R. 7
Sîn-šumu-...	(^{1d} 30—MU—[x])	[GAL— <i>ki-š</i>]ir	post 612	TSH 199, Vs. 4
Šalmu-šarri-iqbī	(¹ NU.MAN.E)	<i>rab kišir</i>	PC?	SAA 14, 54 (ADD 344), R. 6'
	(¹ NU.MAN-iq-bi)	<i>ša—šēpē</i>	641	SAA 14, 15 (ADD 105), R. 6
	(¹ NU.MAN-iq-bi)	LÚ.GAL— <i>ki-sir ša—šēpē</i> (šá—GİR.2)	630	SAA 14, 425 (TIM 11, 1), R. 15
Ša-lā-mašē	(¹ Šá-l)a-maš-e)	<i>rab kišir rab ša—rēšē</i>		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:7
	(¹ Šá-la-ma-še-e)	<i>ša É</i> LÚ.GAL.SAG	?	SAA 7, 30 (ADD 815+), R. III:24'-25'
Šamaš-nā'id	(^{1d} UTU—I)	<i>rab kišir</i>	Asb.	SAA 14, 325 (ADD 706), R. 1
Šarru-ilā'ī	(¹ LUGAL.DING[IR-a-a])	LÚ.[...]	668?	SAA 6, 307 (ADD 65), R. 1
	(¹ LUGAL.DINGIR-a-a)	<i>rab kišir ša—qurbūte</i>	660	SAA 6, 329 (ADD 444), R. 9-10
	(¹ LUGAL.DINGIR-a-a)	[<i>rab kišir ša—qurbūte</i>]	660	SAA 6, 330 (ADD 445), R. 5'
Šarru-lū-dāri	(¹ MAN-lu-dā-ri)	<i>rab kišir</i>		SAA 11, 185 (ADD 876), R. 2-3
Šulmu-aḥḥē	(¹ DI-mu-PAP.MEŠ)	<i>rab kišir</i>	Sargon	KAV 131, R. 3
Šumma-ili	(¹ Šum-ma-DINGIR)	<i>rab kišir</i>	?	SAA 7, 73 (ADD 931), 5
Šumma-ilu	(¹ BE-ma-DINGIR)	<i>rab kišir</i>	672	SAA 6, 283 (ADD 425), R. 13
(Šummu-ilu)	(¹ Šum-mu-DINGIR)	<i>rab kišir</i>	668?	SAA 6, 308 (ADD 1155), R. 6
	(¹ Šum-mu-DINGIR)	[<i>rab kišir</i>] (LÚ.[...])	668	SAA 6, 307 (ADD 65), R. 6
Šumu-ukīn	(¹ MU.GIN)	<i>rab kišir ša bīt MĪ.Ē.GAL</i>	627–612	SAA 12, 96 (Iraq 19, 135), s. 2
Tāb-šar-...	(¹ DÜG.IM.[...])	<i>rab kišir</i>	671	SAA 6, 297 (ADD 266), R. 8'
Tāb-šar-Papāḥi	(¹ DÜG.IM.Ē.pa-pa-ḥi)	<i>rab kišir rab ša—rēšē</i>	630–627	SAA 12, 35 (ADD 650), R. 16
Ubbuku	(¹ Ub-bu-ku)	<i>rab kišir mār šarri</i>		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. II:12
Ubru-aḥḥē	(¹ SU]HUŠ.PAP.MEŠ)	<i>rab kišir rab ša—rēšē</i>	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:27
	([...].PAP.MEŠ)	<i>rab kišir</i>	?	SAA 7, 12 (ADD 866), 2'
Ubru-Ḥarrān	(¹ SUHUŠ.KASKAL)	<i>rab kišir gi-mir-a-a</i>	679	SAA 6, 204 (ADD 364), R. 8'
Ubru-Nabû	(¹ SUHUŠ- ^a PA)	?	629	SAA 14, 38 (ADD 711), R. 9'
	(¹ SUHUŠ- ^a PA)	<i>rab kišir</i>	625	SAA 14, 40 (ADD 325), R. 19

	(¹ SUḪUŠ- ^a PA)	<i>rab kišir</i>	625	SAA 14, 42 (ADD 414), 18, <i>passim</i>
	(¹ SUḪUŠ- ^a PA)	<i>rab kišir ša mār šarri</i> (A.MAN)	PC	SAA 14, 45 (ADD 621), 13, R. 14
	(¹ SUḪUŠ- ^a AG)	<i>rab kišir</i>	623	SAA 14, 46 (ADD 361), R. 11'
	(¹ SUḪUŠ- ^a PA)	<i>rab kišir</i>	617	SAA 14, 47 (ADD 327), R. 9'
	(¹ SUḪUŠ- ^a PA)	?	PC	SAA 14, 49 (ADD 235), E. 1
	(¹ SUḪUŠ- ^a PA)	GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša mār šarri</i>	PC	SAA 14, 50 (ADD 312), R. 9'
Ubru-Nergal	(¹ SUḪUŠ.U.GUR)	<i>rab kišir rab ša—rēšē</i>		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), I:48
Ululāiu	(¹ ITU.KIN- <i>a</i> -[<i>a</i>])	[LÚ.GAL— <i>ki</i>]- <i>šir</i>	691/686	TSH 127, Rs. 10
Unzarḫi-Aššur	(¹ Un-zar ₄ -ḫu-Aš-šur)	<i>rab kišir ša mār šarri</i> (A—MAN)	PC	SAA 14, 45 (ADD 621), 13, R. 15
	(¹ Un-zar ₄ -ḫu-Aš-šur)	<i>rab kišir</i>	623	SAA 14, 46 (ADD 361), R. 10'
	(¹ Un-zar ₄ -ḫi-Aš-šur)	<i>rab kišir</i>	617	SAA 14, 47 (ADD 327), R. 10'
	(¹ Un-za-ḫu-Aš-šur)	<i>rab kišir ša mār šarri</i> (A—MAN)	PC	SAA 14, 50 (ADD 312), R. 7'
Unzarḫi-Issar	(¹ Un-za-ar-ḫi-15)	<i>rab kišir</i>	665	SAA 14, 72 (ADD 128), 7-8
Urad-Issar	(¹ ARAD-15)	<i>rab kišir</i> (LÚ.GAL <i>ki-šir</i>)	678	Parker 1963, BT.118, 13
Urad-Nabû	(¹ ARAD- ^a PA)	<i>rab kišir mār šarri</i>		SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. II:7
Urdu	(¹ Ur-du)	<i>rab kišir</i>	625	SAA 14, 40 (ADD 325), R. 18
Usi'	(¹ U-si-i)	<i>rab kišir</i>	686	SAA 6, 163 (ADD 453), R. 12
Zanzānu	(¹ Za-an-za-nu)	<i>rab kišir</i>	Esarh.	SAA 6, 294 (ADD 268), R. 4
Zārūtī	(¹ NUMUN-ti-i)	[...]	669	SAA 6, 304 (ADD 366), R. 4
(Zēru-utī)	(¹ NUMUN-u-ti-i)	<i>rab kišir</i>	669	SAA 6, 305 (ADD 183 +), R. 10
	(¹ NUMUN-ut-ti-i)	[<i>rab kišir</i>] <i>r</i>	669	SAA 6, 306 (ADD 187), R. 9'
	(¹ NUMUN-ut-ti-i)	[<i>rab kišir</i>] <i>r</i> <i>ša mār šarri</i>	666	SAA 6, 312 (ADD 801), R. 8
	(¹ NUMUN-ut-ti-i)	<i>rab kišir ša mār šarri</i>	664	SAA 6, 320 (ADD 377), R. 2
	(¹ NUMUN-u]-ti-i)	<i>rab kišir ša mār šarri</i>	664	SAA 6, 321 (ADD 439), R. 5
	(¹ NUMUN-u-ti-i)	<i>rab kišir ša mār šarri</i> (A—MAN)	664	SAA 6, 323 (ADD 115), R. 8
	(¹ NUMUN-u-ti-i]	<i>rab kišir</i> (KA.KES) <i>ša mār šarri</i>	664	SAA 6, 324 (ADD 116), R. 9
	(¹ NUMUN-u-te-i)	<i>rab kišir ša—qurbūte ša mār šarri</i>	663	SAA 6, 325 (ADD 470), R. 19'
	(¹ NUMUN-ut-ti-i)	<i>rab kišir</i>	671–660	SAA 6, 326 (ADD 471), R. 17
	(¹ NUMUN-u-ti)	<i>rab kišir</i>	?	SAA 7, 30 (ADD 815+), R. III:27'
	(¹ NUMUN-u-te)	(<i>rab kišir</i>)	?	SAA 7, 64 (ADD 938+), R. II':16'
Zēr-ibnī	(¹ NUMUN.DŪ)	<i>rab kišir ša GIŠut-tar</i> .MEŠ	694	SAA 6, 37 (ADD 427), R. 9-10
Zēr-Issar	(¹ NUMUN.15)	<i>rab kišir</i>	617	SAA 14, 47 (ADD 327), R. 11'
Zuarzuarza	(¹ Z]u-ar-zu-ar-za)	<i>rab kišir</i>		SAA 7, 10 (ADD 850), I:6'

Chariot owners (EN.GIŠ.GIGIR (*bēl mugerri*))

CHART 6

NAME	NAME	TITLE	DATE	TEXT
Aššur-[-...]-ušur	(¹ <i>Aš-šur</i> -[-...]-PAP)	GAR- <i>nu</i> (<i>šaknu</i>) 150 A[NŠ]E GIŠ.GIGIR BE	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004) , I:1-2
Aššur-rēmanni	(¹ <i>Aš-šur-rém-ni</i>)	GAR- <i>nu</i> (<i>šaknu</i>) LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>taḥ-líp</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), I:18-19
[...]	[...]	EN.GIŠ.GIGIR	Sarg.	SAA 5, 141 (CT 53, 131), R. 1
[...]	[...]	LÚ.EN.GI[Š].GIGIR	?	TSH 125, Rs. 10
[...]-pi	[...]- <i>pi</i>	EN GIŠ.GI[GIR]	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 10 (ND 10057), 14
[...]-āiu	[...]- <i>a-a</i>	LÚ.EN.GIŠ.GIGIR	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 31 (ND 10042/3), 3
[...]	[...]	[LÚ.EN.GI]Š.GIGIR	?	SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), I:11'
[...]	[...]	LÚ.EN.GIŠ.GIGIR	?	SAA 7, 8 (ADD 839), R. 1
[...]	[...]	LÚ.EN.GIŠ.GIGIR	?	SAA 7, 7 (ADD 833), R. II':9
[...]	[...]	LÚ.EN.GIŠ.GIGIR	668	SAA 14, 1 (ADD 472), 10
[...]-Adad	(¹ [-...]- ¹ IM)	LÚ.EN.GIŠ.GIGIR	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. I:37
Adda-sakâ	(¹ 10- <i>sa-ka-a</i>)	LÚ.EN.GIŠ.GI[GIR]	Esarh.	SAA 16, 63 (CT 53, 46), 34
Adi'	(¹ <i>A-di-i'</i>)	EN.GIŠ.GIGIR	691/86	TSH 127, Rs. 2
Aḥabû	(¹ PAP- <i>bu-u</i>)	LÚ.EN.GIŠ.GIGIR	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. I:41
Aḥi-lēšir	(¹ PAP.GIŠ)	LÚ.EN.GIŠ.GIGIR	?	SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), I:27'
Ambattu	(¹ <i>Am-bat-tû</i>)	LÚ.EN.GIŠ.GIGIR	?	SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), II:21'
Aššur-nādin-aḥḥē	(¹ <i>Aš-šur</i> -SUM.PAP.MEŠ)	LÚ.EN.GI[Š].GIGIR	?	SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), II:8'
Bēl-nāšir-[-...]	(^{1d} EN.PAP.[...])	LÚ.EN.GIŠ.GIGIR	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), I:27
Bibi	(¹ <i>Bi-bi-i</i>)	EN.GIŠ.GIGIR	679	SAA 6, 204 (ADD 364), 1
Dilil-Issar	(¹ <i>Di-lil</i> - ^{1d} 15)	LÚ.EN.GIŠ.GIGIR	?	SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), I:23'
	(¹ <i>Di-lil</i> -15)	?	PC	SAA 14, 21 (ADD 260), R. 12
Ḥam[...]-su	(¹ <i>Ḥa-am</i> -[-...]- <i>su</i>)	LÚ.EN.GIŠ.GIGIR	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:23
Išsar-nādin-aḥḥē	(¹ 15—SUM—PAB.MEŠ)	LÚ.EN.GIŠ.GIGIR	Asb.	SAA 14, 277 (ADD 525), R. 5'
Marduk[āiu]	(¹ <i>Mar-duk</i> -[-...])	LÚ.EN.GIŠ.GIGIR	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. I:43
Nabû-nā'id	(^{1d} PA—I)	EN.[GIŠ.GIGIR]	?	TSH 122, Vs. 7
Nergal-mukin-aḥi	(^{1d} MAŠ.MAŠ.GIN.PAP)	LÚ.EN.GIŠ.GIGIR	?	SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), R. I:20
Raḥimi-il	(¹ <i>Ra-ḥi-mi</i> —DINGIR)	LÚ.EN.GIŠ.GIGIR	656	TSH 110, Rd. 1
Rēmanni-Išsar	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni</i> -15)	LÚ.EN.GIŠ.GIGIR	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:12
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-na</i> -15)	LÚ.EN.GIŠ.GIGIR	?	SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), R. I:9
Šarru-nūrī	(¹ LUGAL- <i>nu-ri</i>)	LÚ.EN.GIŠ.GIGIR	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. I:40
	(¹ LUGAL- <i>nu-ri</i>)	[...]	,	SAA 7, 11 (ADD 841), 6'
Šer-nūrī	(¹ <i>Šér</i> -ZALÁG)	LÚ.EN.GIŠ.GIGIR	?	SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), I:22'

Chariot men (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR (*susānu*))

CHART 7

NAME	NAME	TITLE	DATE	TEXT
[...]-aḥu-ušur	[¹ X—P]AP—PAP	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR	666	TSH 135, Rs. 2'
[...]	[...]	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR ša ^{1d} PA(<i>Nabû</i>)-[...]		SAA 11, 131 (K.16475), 2'
[...]-risa	([...]- <i>ri-sa</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR	749	CTN III, 68 (ND 9908), R. 7'
[...]-erība	([¹ ...]-SU)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR MAN	?	SAA 7, 18 (ADD 832), 6'
[...]	[...]	[LÚ.GIŠ.GI]GIR	671/60	SAA 6, 334 (ADD 429a-c), R. 33'
[...]	[...]	GIŠ.GIGIR	Asb.	SAA 14, 262 (ADD 438), R. 2'
[...]	[...]	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR A—MAN	Asb.	SAA 14, 287 (ADD 548), R. 6'
[...]	[...]	LÚ.GIGIR MAN	Asb.	SAA 14, 310 (ADD 591), R. 4'
[...]	[...]	LÚ.GIŠ.[GIGIR] ša A?—[MAN]	Asb.	SAA 14, 349 (ADD 1182), R. 11'
[...]-iddina	[...].AŠ	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈ .MEŠ	666	SAA 6, 317 (ADD 60), R. 6
[...]-abu'a	([¹ X].AD- <i>u-a</i>)	[LÚ].GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈ .MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. I:25
Abdunu	(¹ Ab- <i>du-nu</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR LUGAL	671	SAA 6, 235 (ADD 41), R. 1
Adad-ilā'i	(¹ 10—DINGIR- <i>a-a</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR	667	TSH 41, Rs. 5
Aḥi-la-amašši	(¹ PAP- <i>la-maš-ši</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR		SAA 14, 474 (ADD 520), 4'
Aḥu-āmur	(¹ PAP- <i>u-a-mur</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR	667	SAA 6, 309 (ADD 200), R. 11'
	(¹ PAP- <i>u-a-mur</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈	663	SAA 6, 325 (ADD 470), R. 23'
	(¹ PAP- <i>u-a-mur</i>)	?	671/60	SAA 6, 332 (ADD 433+), R. 12'
	([¹ PAP- <i>u-a-mur</i>])	[LÚ].GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈	671/60	SAA 6, 338 (ADD 1189), R. 16'
	([¹ PAP- <i>u-a-m</i>] <i>ur</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.[GIGIR]	671/60	SAA 6, 347 (ADD 174), R. 13
Aḥū'a-erība	(¹ PAP- <i>u-a</i> -SU)	LÚ.GIGIR ša LÚ.GAL—SAG ša A—MAN	625	SAA 14, 40 (ADD 325), 1-2
Aḥu-erība	(¹ PAP-SU)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR LUGAL	671	SAA 6, 235 (ADD 41), R. 2
Arbailāia	(¹ Arba- <i>il-a-a</i>)	LÚ.GIGIR GİR.2(<i>šēpē</i>)	636	SAA 14, 29 (ADD 207), R. 16
Arik-bēl-lē'i?	(^{1d} BU.UMUN.ZU)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR	651	ADD 1269+, LE. 4' rossz olvasat
Aššur-aḥḥē-ballit	(¹ Aš- <i>šur</i> -PAP.MEŠ- <i>bal-liṭ</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR MAN	?	SAA 7, 18 (ADD 832), 10'
Aššur-aḥu-ušur	(¹ Aš- <i>šur</i> -PAP.PAP)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈ .MEŠ- <i>te</i>	?	SAA 11, 124 (ADD 912), I:1-2
Aššur-ilā'i	(¹ Aš- <i>šur</i> -DINGIR- <i>a-a</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR MAN	?	SAA 7, 18 (ADD 832), 8'
Aššur-killāni	(¹ Aš- <i>šur</i> -kil- <i>la-ni</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR MAN	630	SAA 14, 34 (ADD 308), 6, R. 12
Aššur-šarru-ušur	(¹ Aš- <i>šur</i> -MAN.PAP)	[LÚ].GIŠ.GIGIR? DUMU.MAN	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:31
Aššur-šumu-ka''in	(¹ Aš- <i>šur</i> -MU.GIN)	LÚ.GIGIR	636	SAA 14, 29 (ADD 207), R. 13
Babu-šaddū'a	(¹ BA.Ú—KUR- <i>u-a</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR MAN	p. 634	TSH 69, Rs. 9
Bebē	(¹ Bē- <i>bē-e</i>)	LÚ.GI[Š.GIG]IR.GAL	Senn.	SAA 6, 42 (ADD 326), R. 13
Bēl-aḥḥēšu	(¹ EN.PAP.MEŠ- <i>šu</i>)	LÚ.GIGIR—GİR.2	636	SAA 14, 29 (ADD 207), 1-2
Bēl-aḥu-iddina	(¹ EN.PAP.AŠ)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>na</i> -[<i>kam-ti</i>] (reserve horses)	681	SAA 6, 193 (ADD 277), R. 6'
Bēl-ēpuš	(¹ EN.DŪ- <i>uš</i>)	[LÚ].GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈ .MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. I:27
Bēl-Ḥarrān-šarru-ušur	(¹ EN.KASKAL.MAN.PAP)	LÚ.GIGIR GİR.2(<i>šēpē</i>)	636	SAA 14, 29 (ADD 207), R. 15
Bēl-mu-...	(¹ EN- <i>mu</i> -[...])	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>qur-bu</i> -[<i>ti</i>]	Senn.	SAA 6, 112 (ADD 455), R. 7
Bēl-šarru-ušur	(¹ EN.MAN.PAP)	LÚ.GIGIR	636	SAA 14, 29 (ADD 207), R. 12
Budā	(¹ B[<i>u-d</i>] <i>a-a</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR MAN	?	SAA 7, 18 (ADD 832), 7'
	(¹ Bu- <i>da</i> -[<i>a</i>])	?	?	SAA 7, 16 (ADD 845), II':2'
Dādī	(¹ U.U-i)	[LÚ].GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈ .MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. I:24
Dādī-ilā'i	(¹ U.U.DINGIR- <i>a-a</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR MAN	661	TSH 95, Rs. 7
Damqu-amāte-Issar?	(¹ SIG ₅ .INIM.MEŠ. ^d 15)	LÚ.GI[Š.GIG]IR.GAL	Senn.	SAA 6, 42 (ADD 326), R. 14
Dārī-šarru	(¹ Dā- <i>ri</i> -MAN)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈	667	SAA 6, 310 (ADD 185), R. 11'
	([¹ Dā]- <i>ri</i> -MAN)	LÚ.[GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈]	660	SAA 6, 331 (ADD 362), R. 3'
Ēreš-Aššur	(¹ KAM- <i>eš</i> -Aš- <i>šur</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR	662	TSH 43, Rs. 9
		LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR	636	TSH 58, Rs. 12'
Erība-Adad	(¹ SU.U)	LÚ.GIGIR ša GIŠ. <i>taḥ-lip</i>	784	CTN III, 145 (ND 6218), III:5
Erība-Adad	(¹ SU.U)	LÚ.GIGIR	623	CTN III, 12 (ND 7010), R. 5

Ešrāia	(¹ UD.20.KAM- <i>a-a</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR—GİR.2	Asb.	SAA 14, 178 (ADD 354), R. 1'
Gurđi	(¹ <i>Gúr-d[i-i]</i>)	[LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈ .ME]Š-te	671/60	SAA 6, 334 (ADD 429a-c), R. 31
Ḥambaqu	(¹ <i>Ḥa-am-ba-qu</i>)	LÚ.GIGIR GİR.2(<i>šēpē</i>)	636	SAA 14, 29 (ADD 207), R. 17
Il-dalā	([¹ D]NGIR- <i>da-la-a</i>)	[LÚ].GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈ .MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. I:26
	(¹ DINGIR- <i>dāl-a</i>)	LÚ.3- <i>ši-šú</i>	664	SAA 6, 323 (ADD 115), 7
	([¹ DINGIR- <i>dāl-a</i>])	LÚ.3.U ₅ / LÚ.3- <i>šú</i>	664	SAA 6, 324 (ADD 116), 4, BE. 2
Il-mananī	(¹ DINGIR- <i>ma-na-ni</i>)	LÚ.GIGIR	630	SAA 14, 35 (ADD 349), 10
Ilu-mušēzib	(¹ DINGIR- <i>mu-še-zib</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈	667	SAA 6, 310 (ADD 185), R. 10'
	(¹ DINGIR- <i>mu-še-zib</i>)	L[Ú].GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈	660	SAA 6, 331 (ADD 362), R. 5'
	(¹ DINGIR- <i>mu-še-zib</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR D[U ₈ .M]EŠ	?	SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), II:13'
Kanūnāiu	(¹ ITU.AB- <i>a-a</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR	665	SAA 14, 72 (ADD 128), 4-5
Kusāia	(¹ <i>Ku-sa-a-a</i>)	LÚ.GIGIR	636	SAA 14, 29 (ADD 207), R. 11
Mannu-kī-Arbail	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-i-Arba-i</i> ^{1a})	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR	672	SAA 6, 283 (ADD 425), 1'
Mannu-kī-Arbail	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-Arba-il</i>)	LÚ.GIGIR GİR.2(<i>šēpē</i>)	636	SAA 14, 29 (ADD 207), R. 19
Mannu-kī-Ḥarrān	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-URU.KASKAL</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈	667	SAA 6, 310 (ADD 185), R. 9'
	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-URU.KASKAL</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.G[IGIR DU ₈]	666	SAA 6, 315 (ADD 420), R. 5'
	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-URU.KASKAL</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈ .MEŠ	666	SAA 6, 316 (ADD 421), R. 11'
	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-KASKAL</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈	663	SAA 6, 325 (ADD 470), R. 26'
	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-URU.KASKAL</i>)	?	671/60	SAA 6, 332 (ADD 433+), R. 13'
	([¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-URU.KASKAL</i>])	[LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR] DU ₈ .MEŠ	671/60	SAA 6, 335 (ADD 418), R. 22'
	([¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-URU.KASKAL</i>])	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈	671/60	SAA 6, 338 (ADD 1189), R. 17'
	([¹ <i>Man-nu-ki</i>]-KASKAL)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR	671/60	SAA 6, 347 (ADD 174), R. 14
	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ki-KASKAL</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR	Asb.	SAA 14, 153 (ADD 193), R. 3'
Marduk-šumu-iddina	(^{1a} MES.MU.AŠ)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR GİR.2(<i>šēpē</i>)	Senn.	SAA 6, 53 (ADD 236), R. 8
Mīnu-ēpuš-ili	(¹ <i>Mi-nu-DÜ.DINGIR</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR	680	SAA 6, 257 (ADD 1194), 13
Mušallim-Ištar	([¹ <i>Mu-ša</i>]- <i>l-lim</i> - ^d 15)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR	749	CTN III, 68 (ND 9908), R. 6'
Mušēzib-ilu	(¹ <i>Mu-še-zib-DINGIR</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR		SAA 11, 123 (ADD 852), I:7'
Nabû-[...]im	(^{1a} PA-[...]im)	[LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈ .ME]Š-te	671/60	SAA 6, 334 (ADD 429a-c), R. 32
Nabû'aia	(¹ <i>Na-bu-u-a-a</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR GİR.2(<i>šēpē</i>)	686	SAA 6, 164 (ADD 612), R. 13
Nabû-salli	(^{1a} PA-sal-li)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR.DU ₈ .MEŠ	Asb.	SAA 14, 178 (ADD 354), BE. 2'
Nabû-šumu-iddina	(^{1a} PA.MU.AŠ)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈ .MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. II:2
	(^{1a} PA.MU.AŠ)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈ .MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), II:17'
Nabû-tāriš	(^{1a} PA.LAL-is)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>šarri</i> (MAN)	630	SAA 14, 34 (ADD 308), r. 10
	(^{1a} PA.LAL-is)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>šarri</i> (MAN)	630	SAA 14, 37 (ADD 309), R. 5'
	(^{1a} PA.LAL-is)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>mār šarri</i> (A.MAN)	PC	SAA 14, 48 (ADD 211), TE. 2
	(^{1a} PA.LAL-is)	<i>ša—šēpē</i> (GİR.2)	PC	SAA 14, 43 (ADD 400), 12'
	(^{1a} PA.LAL-is)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>mār šarri</i> (A.MAN)	PC	SAA 14, 50 (ADD 312), R. 10
	(^{1a} PA.LAL-is)	<i>rab kišir</i>	Sši.?	SAA 11, 221 (ADD 675), R. 14'
Nabû-zēru-iddina	(^{1a} PA.NUMUN.AŠ)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR	667	SAA 6, 309 (ADD 200), R. 13'
	(¹ PA.NUMUN.AŠ)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈ .MEŠ	666	SAA 6, 317 (ADD 60), R. 4
Na'di-Adad	(¹ I- ^d 10)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈	666	SAA 6, 315 (ADD 420), R. 7'
	(¹ I- ^d IM)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈ .MEŠ	666	SAA 6, 316 (ADD 421), R. 13'
	(¹ I- ^d IM)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈ .MEŠ	666	SAA 6, 317 (ADD 60), R. 5
Nergal-šarru-ušur	(¹ U.GUR.[MAN].PAP)	LÚ.GIGIR <i>ša u-rat</i>	676	SAA 6, 239 (ADD 256), R. 6'
Nusku-šarru-iddina	(^{1a} NUSKU.MAN.AŠ)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR GAL <i>mu-gi</i>	630	TSH 68, Rs. 5-6
Pūlu	(¹ <i>Pu-u-lu</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈ .MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), II:15'

Qalunzu	(¹ <i>Qa-lu-un-zu</i>)	LÚ.GI[Š.GIG]IR.GAL	Senn.	SAA 6, 42 (ADD 326), R. 15
Qurdi-Adad	(¹ <i>Qur-di-⁴IM</i>)	LÚ.GIGIR	636	SAA 14, 29 (ADD 207), R. 8
Sakkuku	(¹ <i>Sa-ku-ku</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈ .MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), II:14'
[Salam]ānu	(¹ <i>Sa-la-mi-a-nu</i>)	GIŠ.GIGIR	Asb.	SAA 14, 262 (ADD 438), R. 4'
Šalmu-aḥḥē	(¹ <i>Sal-mu-PAP.MEŠ</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR	680	SAA 6, 257 (ADD 1194), 8
Šalmu-aḥḥē	(¹ <i>NU.PAP.MEŠ</i>)	LÚ.GIGIR	636	SAA 14, 29 (ADD 207), R. 10
Sē'-dalā	(¹ <i>Se-e'-da-la-a</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈ .MEŠ	667	SAA 6, 310 (ADD 185), R. 16'
	(¹ <i>Se-e'-dāl-a-an</i>)?	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈	666	SAA 6, 315 (ADD 420), R. 6'
	(¹ <i>Se-e'-dāl-a-an</i>)?	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈ .MEŠ	666	SAA 6, 316 (ADD 421), R. 12'
Sē'-ḥutni	(¹ <i>Se-e'-hu-ut-ni</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR	681	SAA 6, 110 (ADD 231), R. 10
Silim-Aššur	(¹ <i>Si-lim-Aš-šur</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR	618	SAA 14, 32 (ADD 151), TE. 1
Sukkāia	(¹ <i>Suk-ka-a-a</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR MAN	?	SAA 7, 18 (ADD 832), 9'
Sukkāia	(¹ <i>TE-a-a</i>)	LÚ.GIGIR	623	CTN III, 12 (ND 7010), R. 4
	(¹ <i>TE-a-a</i>)	?	PC	SAA 14, 154 (ADD 311), R. 18
Šamaš-abu'a	(^{1a} <i>UTU.AD-u-a</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR	Asb.	SAA 14, 181 (ADD 78), 2
Šamšanni-ilu	(¹ <i>Šam-šá-ni-DINGIR</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR	667	SAA 6, 309 (ADD 200), R. 12'
Šulmu-aḥḥē	(¹ <i>DI-mu-PAP.MEŠ</i>)	LÚ.GIGIR	636	SAA 14, 29 (ADD 207), R. 9
Šumma-ussēzib	(¹ <i>Šum-ma-u-se-zib</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DU ₈ .MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), II:16'
Šumu-ukīn	(¹ <i>MU.GIN</i>)	LÚ.GIGIR GİR.2	636	SAA 14, 29 (ADD 207), R. 15
Tardīa	(¹ <i>Tar-di-ia</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>na-kām-ti</i>	644	SAA 14, 100 (ADD 177), R. 17'
Tarriki-ḥallu	(¹ <i>[T]ar-ri-ki-ḥal-[u]</i>)	[LÚ].GIŠ.GIGIR ANŠE.[...]	Sargon	SAA 1, 215 (ABL 933), 4
Ubru-Ekurri	(¹ <i>SUḪUŠ-Ē-kur-ri</i>)	LÚ.GIGIR	636	SAA 14, 29 (ADD 207), R. 14
Ubru-Nabû	(¹ <i>SUḪUŠ-⁴PA</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>mār šarri</i> (A.MAN)	PC	SAA 14, 50 (ADD 312), R. 9'
Ubur-Issar	(¹ <i>SUḪUŠ-15</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR		SAA 11, 123 (ADD 852), I:6'
UD.20.KĀM-ia	(¹ <i>UD.20.KĀM-a-a</i>)	GIŠ.GIGIR GİR.2(<i>šēpē</i>)		SAA 14, 178 vagy 180 (ADD 354), R. 1' egyikben sem
Urdu	(¹ <i>Ur-du</i>)	[LÚ.GIŠ].GIGIR GİR.2(<i>šēpē</i>)	699	SAA 6, 119 (ADD 1167), R. 11
Zabinu	(¹ <i>Za-bi-nu</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR LÚ.GAL <i>mu-gi</i>	646	SAA14, 94-5 (ADD 24-25), 4-5, 1-2

Chariot men (LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR (*susānu*)) – provincial units

CHART 8

NAME	NAME	TITLE	DATE	TEXT
[...]	[...]	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>[ša URU.R]a-pi-ḥi</i>	Sargon	KAV 131, R. 10-11
[...]	[...]	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>[ša URU.]Tu-ḥu-na</i>	Sargon	KAV 131, 1-2
[...]-erība	(¹ [...]-SU- <i>ba</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.[...]-du-[...]-di</i>	Sargon	KAV 131, 4-5
[...]-tar-idri	(¹ [...]- <i>tar-id-ri</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Ra-at-me</i>	Sargon	KAV 34, 4-5
Abda'a	(¹ <i>Ab-da-'a</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Kil-pa-ḥa</i>	Sargon	KAV 36, 3-4
Abdada	(¹ <i>Ab-da-da</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.ŠE I-li-ti</i>	Sargon	KAV 31, 26-27
Ada-atti	(¹ <i>Ad-da-at-ti</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Ar-ra-[ap-ḥa]</i>	Sargon	KAV 32, 2-3
Adad-imme	(¹ IM- <i>im-me</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Su-ti-[...]</i>	Sargon	KAV 32, R. 3'-4'
Adi-ili	(¹ <i>A-di-DINGIR</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.ŠE ⁴MAŠ.MAŠ</i>	Sargon	KAV 35, 4-5
Aḥi-iaqar	(¹ PAP- <i>ia-qar</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Ḥi-la-wi</i>	Sargon	KAV 131, 7-8
Akkadāia	(¹ URI- <i>a-a</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Ḥul-la-ri</i>	Sargon	KAV 131, 10-11
Ammua	(¹ <i>Am-mu-a</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Qa-ma-ni</i>	Sargon	KAV 31, 2-3
Aḥi-tābu?utib?	(¹ PAP-DÜG.GA)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Ra-[...]</i>	Sargon	KAV 37, 4'-5'
Atar-bi'di	(¹ <i>A-tar-bi-'i-di</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Su-ti-a-[...]</i>	Sargon	KAV 32, R. 6'-7'
Ili-kabar	(¹ DINGIR- <i>ka-bar</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Til-Ú-li-na</i>	Sargon	KAV 31, 17-18
	(¹ [DINGIR]- <i>ka-bar</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Qa-ma-ni</i>	Sargon	KAV 34, 1-2
Ilu-ap-[...]	(¹ DINGIR- <i>ap-[...]</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.ŠE I-li-ti</i>	Sargon	KAV 31, 23-24
Ilu-bi'di	(¹ DINGIR- <i>bi-'i-di</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.ŠE ¹⁰MAŠ.MAŠ</i>	Sargon	KAV 31, 20-21
Ilu-ēšir	(¹ DINGIR-SI)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Qa-ma-ni</i>	Sargon	KAV 35, 4-5
Issar-Bābilāiu	(¹ 15-KÁ.DINGIR- <i>a-a</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Pi-iq-da-ni</i>	Sargon	KAV 131, R. 4-5
Ittāda	(¹ <i>It-ta-a-da</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.ŠE I-li-ti</i>	Sargon	KAV 31, 14-15
Kapiru	(¹ <i>Ka-pi-ru</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Ma-li-ku</i>	Sargon	KAV 31, 29-30
	(¹ <i>Ka-pi-ru</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.[Ma]-li-ki</i>	Sargon	KAV 132, 3-4
Meni-ili	(¹ <i>Me-ni-DINGIR</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Sa-re-e</i>	Sargon	KAV 31, 11-12
Naqaḥa	(¹ <i>Na-qa-ḥa</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.[...]</i>	Sargon	KAV 37, 7'-8'
Rapi'	(¹ <i>Ra-pi-'i</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Ra-da-ni</i>	Sargon	KAV 31, 8-9
Sa-[...]	(¹ <i>Sa-[...]</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.[...]</i>	Sargon	KAV 36, R. 1'-3'
Saman	(¹ <i>Sa-ma-an</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Ḥu-du-pa</i>	Sargon	KAV 131, R. 7-8
Ukumu	(¹ <i>Ú-ku-mu</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Kil-pa-ḥa</i>	Sargon	KAV 36, 6-7
Urakí	(¹ <i>U-ra-ki-i</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.[...]</i>	Sargon	KAV 132, R. 3-4
Zabda-[...]	(¹ <i>Za-ab-d[a-...]</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša [...]</i>	Sargon	KAV 32, 5-6
Zannānu	(¹ <i>Za-an-na-nu</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>ša URU.Ab-ba-ni</i>	Sargon	KAV 31, 5-6
[...]-za	[...]- <i>za</i>	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>qur-bu-te URU.Ši-šil-a-a</i>	Asb.	SAA 14, 397 (Iraq 32, 7), 10'
Am-suri	(¹ <i>Am-su-ri</i>)	(LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>qur-bu-te URU.Ši-šil-a-a</i>)	Asb.	SAA 14, 397 (Iraq 32, 7), 10'
Ḥaldi-dūri	(¹ ḤAL.BĀD)	(LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>qur-bu-te URU.Ši-šil-a-a</i>)	Asb.	SAA 14, 397 (Iraq 32, 7), 10'
Tabalāiu	(¹ <i>Ta-bal-a-a</i>)	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR <i>qur-bu-te URU.Ši-šil-a-a</i>	Asb.	SAA 14, 397 (Iraq 32, 7), 9'

Chariot drivers (*mukil appâte*)

CHART 9

NAME	NAME	TITLE	DATE	TEXT
[...]		LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ		CTN II, 11 (ND 246), R. 2'
[...]		LÚ.mu-kil KU[Š.PA.MEŠ]		CTN II, 82 (ND 238), R. 18
[...]-nā'id	[¹ x]—I	LÚ.mu-kil—[PA.MEŠ]	?	TSH 122, Vs. 6
[...]	[...]	LÚ.mu-kil <i>ap-pa-a-ti</i>	699/694	ZA 78, 82, III:10'
[...]	[...]	[LÚ.DIB KU]Š.PA.MEŠ	Sarg.	SAA 1, 127 (CT 53, 818), 10
[...]-Aššur	[...]- <i>Aš-šur</i>	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 7 (ADD 833), R. II':5
[...]	[...]	[L]Ú.DIB PA.MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), I:9'
[...]-Adad	[...]- ^d IM	[LÚ].DIB PA.MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), I:2'
[...]-Adad	[...]- ^d IM	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 7 (ADD 833), I':1'
[...]-Adad	[...]- ^d IM	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 6 (ADD 840+), II:14'
[...]	[...]	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 6 (ADD 840+), II:15'
[...]-rēmanni	[...]- <i>r</i> ém-a-ni	LÚ.[DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	671/660	SAA 6, 349 (ADD 596), R. 8
[...]	[...]	[LÚ].DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	671/660	SAA 6, 340 (ADD 372), R. 10'
[...]	[...]	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	679	SAA 6, 271 (ADD 630), R. 13
[...]	[...]	[LÚ.mu-kil]KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	Esarh.	SAA 6, 209 (ADD 617), R. 1'
[...]	[...]	[LÚ].mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	Esarh.	SAA 6, 209 (ADD 617), R. 2'
[...]-Issar	[...]- ^d 15	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.[MEŠ]	682	SAA 6, 192 (ADD 276), R. 1'
[...]	[...]	[LÚ.m]u-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	682	SAA 6, 186 (ADD 363), R. 2'
[...]	[...]	LÚ.mu-kil KU[Š.PA.MEŠ]	686	SAA 6, 163 (ADD 453), R. 6'
[...]	[...]	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	668	SAA 14, 67 (ADD 184), 13
[...]	[...]	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	668	SAA 14, 67 (ADD 184), 14
[...]	[...]	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	668	SAA 14, 67 (ADD 184), 15
[...]	[...]	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	PC?	SAA 14, 56 (ADD 252), R. 8'
[...]	[...M]EŠ	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	644	SAA 14, 100 (ADD 177), R. 8'
[...]	[...]	[LÚ].mu-k[il PA.MEŠ]	663?	SAA 6, 328 (ADD 1153), R. 11'
[...]	[...]	[L]Ú.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ <i>ša</i> [LÚ.tur-ta]n?	671–660	SAA 6, 338 (ADD 1189), R. 8'-9'
[...]	[...]	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ	671–660	SAA 6, 339 (ADD 408), R. 5
[...]-a or -iddina	[...]-a	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ <i>ša</i> Ē.GAŠAN	671–660	SAA 6, 339 (ADD 408), R. 9'
[...]	[...]	[LÚ.m]u-kil KUŠ.[PA.MEŠ]		SAA 14, 261 (ADD 410), R. 4'
[...]-qamu	[...]- <i>qa-mu</i>	LÚ.mu-kil PA.MEŠ	Senn	SAA 6, 50 (ADD 422), 8
[...]-dī	[...]- <i>dī-i</i>	LÚ.mu-kil—KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	Asb.	SAA 14, 241 (ADD 219), R. 7
[...]	[...]	[LÚ.m]u-kil—PA.MEŠ	Asb.	SAA 14, 262 (ADD 438), 12e
[...]	[...]	[LÚ.DIB]—KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	Asb.	SAA 14, 307 (ADD 587), R. 2'
[...]	[...]	[LÚ.DI]B—PA.MEŠ	Asb.	SAA 14, 310 (ADD 591), R. 2'
[...]-rī	[...]- <i>rī</i>	LÚ.mu-kil PA.MEŠ	Asb.	SAA 14, 315 (ADD 604), R. 4'
[...]	[...]	[LÚ.mu-kil—a]- <i>pa-a-ti</i>	Asb.	SAA 14, 315 (ADD 604), R. 5'
[...]	[...]	[LÚ.mu-kil—a]- <i>pa-a-ti</i>	Asb.	SAA 14, 315 (ADD 604), R. 6'
[...]	[...]	[LÚ.mu-kil—a]- <i>pa-a-ti</i>	Asb.	SAA 14, 315 (ADD 604), R. 7'
Abdâ	(¹ <i>Ab-da-a</i>)	LÚ.mu-kil PA.MEŠ <i>ša</i> LÚ.ABA Ē.GAL	686	Parker 1963, BT.117, 12-13
Adad-aḥḥē-šallim	(^{1d} IM.PAP.MEŠ.SILIM)	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), II:12'
Addî	(¹ <i>A-di-i</i>)	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	PC	SAA 14, 21 (ADD 260), R. 7'
	(¹ <i>A-di-i</i>)	?	PC	SAA 14, 19 (ADD 249), R. 12'
Aḥi-rāmu	(¹ <i>A-ḥi-ra-mu</i>)	mu-kil <i>a-pa</i> .MEŠ	667	SAA 14, 69 (ADD 27), R. 3
Aḥū'a-eṛba	(¹ PAP-u-a-SU)	DIB PA.MEŠ	634	SAA 14, 441 (TIM 11, 16), R. 6
Aia-ammu	(^{1d} <i>A-a-a-mu</i>)	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA-te <i>ša</i> [...]	Asb.	SAA 14, 324 (ADD 694), 5
Arbailāia	(¹ URU.Arba-il-a-a)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	692	SAA 6, 42 (ADD 326), R. 19
Aššur-da''in-šarri	(¹ <i>Aš-šur</i> -KALAG-in-LUGAL)	mu-kila-pa.MEŠ	667	SAA 14, 69 (ADD 27), R. 4
Aššur-nādin-aḥḥē	(¹ <i>Aš-šur</i> -[S]UM.PAP.[MEŠ])	LÚ.mu-[kil—PA.MEŠ] [<i>ša</i> LÚ.E]N.NAM <i>ša mat-za-[mu-a]</i>	?	TSH 90, Vs. 1-3
Aššur-natkil	(¹ <i>Aš-šur-nat-kil</i>)	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ <i>ša</i> DUMU.MAN	PC	SAA 14, 21 (ADD 260), R. 9'

Aššur-šallim-aḥḥē	(¹ Aš-šur-DI.PAP.MEŠ)	[LÚ.mu]-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	742	SAA 6, 1 (ADD 75), R. 10-11
Aššur-šarru-ušur	(¹ Aš-šur-MAN.PAP)	LÚ.mu-[kil PA.MEŠ]	663?	SAA 6, 328 (ADD 1153), R. 12'
	(¹ Aš-šur-LUGAL.PAP)	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA šá LÚ.GAL SAG	PC	ADD 642, R. 12' Zababa-eriba
Aššur-šešibanni	(¹ Aš-šur-še-zib-an-ni)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	692	SAA 6, 42 (ADD 326), R. 16
Barruququ	(¹ Bar-ru-qu)	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ	666	SAA 6, 316 (ADD 421), R. 6'
	(¹ Bar-ruq-qu)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ [šá DUMU.MAN]	666	SAA 6, 317 (ADD 60), 10
	(¹ Bar-ru]-qu)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	665	SAA 6, 318 (ADD 35), BE. 1
	(¹ Bar-ruqu)	(LÚ.DIB a-pa-te)	664	SAA 6, 323 (ADD 115), R. 5
	(¹ Bar-ru-qu)]	[LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	664	SAA 6, 324 (ADD 116), R. 6
	(¹ Bar-ruqu)	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA A.MAN	663	SAA 6, 325 (ADD 470), R. 15'
	(¹ Bar-ruqu)	LÚ.[DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	671–660	SAA 6, 326 (ADD 471), R. 19'
	(¹ Bar-r]uq-q[u])	[LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	663	SAA 6, 327 (ADD 611), R. 1'
	(¹ Bar-ruqu)	[LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.a-pa-te š]a DUMU.LUGAL	671–660	SAA 6, 335 (ADD 418), R. 19'
	(¹ Bar-ruqu)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.<PA>.MEŠ	671–660	SAA 6, 338 (ADD 1189), R. 12'
	(¹ Bar-ruqu)	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ	671–660	SAA 6, 339 (ADD 408), R. 6'
	(¹ Bar-ruq-qu)	? LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ša DUMU.MAN] ?	671–660	SAA 6, 347 (ADD 174), R. 11
	(¹ Bar-ruqu)	[LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ]	671–660	SAA 6, 350 (ADD 571), R. 6'
Bēl-aḥḥēšu	(¹ EN.PAP.šú)]	LÚ.[mu-DIB PA.MEŠ] ša LÚ.GAL KA.[KEŠDA]	694	SAA 6, 39 (ADD 239), R. 4'-5'
	(¹ EN.PAP.[MEŠ-šú)]	LÚ.[mu]-DIB PA.MEŠ [š]a LÚ.G[AL KA].KEŠDA	693	SAA 6, 40 (ADD 238), R. 13-14
	(¹ EN.PAP.MEŠ-šú)	L[Ú.mu-kil PA.MEŠ] ša LÚ.GAL [KA.KEŠDA]	693	SAA 6, 41 (ADD 240), R. 10-11
Bēl-dūri		LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	756	CTN II, 22 (ND 495), Rev. 26
Bēl-Ḥarrān-dūri	(¹ EN.KASKAL.BĀD)	LÚ.mu-kil—KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	Asb.	SAA 14, 153 (ADD 193), 1
	(¹ EN.KASKAL.BĀD)	LÚ.mu-kil—KUŠ.PA.MEŠ šá D[UMU—MAN]	Asb.	SAA 14, 457 (TIM 11, 31), 10
Bir-iamā	(¹ Bir-ia-ma)	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ AMA.MAN	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. II:5
Dannāia	(¹ Dan-na-a-a)	LÚ.[DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	670	SAA 6, 300 (ADD 202), R. 6'
	(¹ Da]n-na-a-a)	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	668	SAA 14, 65 (ADD 284), R. 2'
	(¹ Dan-na-a-a)]	[LÚ.DIB KU]š.a-pa-te	668?	SAA 14, 66 (ADD 537), R. 1'
Ebisiniš	(¹ E-bi-si-ni[š])	LÚ.mu-k[il KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	Sargon	SAA 6, 8 (ADD 480), R. 4'-5'
Ḥamnānu	(¹ Ha-am-na-nu)	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.[PA.MEŠ]	Esarh.	SAA 6, 294 (ADD 268), R. 2'
Ḥara-Dadī	(¹ Ha-ra-U.U)	LÚ.mu-kil PA.MEŠ	672	SAA 6, 244 (ADD 178), R. 5'
	(¹ Ha-ra-MAN)	?	672	SAA 6, 245 (ADD 64), R. 9
Ḥiri-aḥḥē	(¹ Hi-ri-PAP.MEŠ)	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	663	SAA 6, 325 (ADD 470), 3
Iltadāiu	(¹ Il-ta-da-a-a)	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ AMA.MAN	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. II:10
Iti	(¹ I-ti-i)	LÚ.mu-kil [KUŠ].PA.MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 15 (ADD 867), 13'
Kalḥāiu	(¹ muKal-ha-a-a)	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	680	SAA 6, 258 (ADD 631), R. 5'
Kanūnāiu	(¹ ITU.AB-a-a)	LÚ.mu-kil ap.MEŠ	696	SAA 6, 130 (ADD 241), R. 6
Kišir-Aššur	(¹ Ki-sir-Aš-šur)	LÚ.mu-k[il KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	671	SAA 6, 298 (ADD 503), R. 6'
	(¹ Ki-si[r-Aš-šur])	[LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	671–660	SAA 6, 350 (ADD 571), R. 9'
Mannu-kī-Aššur	(¹ Man-nu-kī-Aš-šur)	LÚ.[DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	670	SAA 6, 300 (ADD 202), R. 4'
	(¹ Man-nu-kī-i-Aš-šur)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ šá DUMU.MAN	660	SAA 6, 329 (ADD 444), R. 15
	(¹ Man-nu-kī-i-Aš-šur)	L[Ú.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ šá DUMU.MAN]	660	SAA 6, 330 (ADD 445), R. 9'
	(¹ Man-nu-kī-Aš-šur)	[LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.a-pa-te š]a DUMU.LUGAL	671–660	SAA 6, 335 (ADD 418), R. 17'–18'
	(¹ Man-nu-kī-Aš-šur)	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. I:39
	(¹ Man-nu-kī-Aš-šur)	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), I:26'
Mannu-kī-šarri	(¹ Man-nu-kī-MAN)	LÚ.[DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	670	SAA 6, 300 (ADD 202), R. 5'
	(¹ Man-nu-kī-LUGAL)	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. II:1
Marduk-šarru-ušur	(¹ idŠÚ.M]AN.PAP)	?	663	SAA 6, 327 (ADD 611), R. 5'

	(^{1d} AMAR.UTU.MAN.PAP)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ <i>ša</i> MÍ.Ē.GAL	660	SAA 6, 329 (ADD 444), R. 13-14
	(^{1d} AMAR.UTU.MAN.PAP)	[LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ <i>ša</i> MÍ.Ē.GAL]	660	SAA 6, 330 (ADD 445), R. 8'
	([^{1d} MES].MAN.PAP)	L[Ú.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ <i>ša</i> MÍ.Ē.GAL]	671-660	SAA 6, 332 (ADD 433+), R. 5'
	(^{1d} ŠŪ.MAN.PAP)	?	671-660	SAA 6, 335 (ADD 418), R. 15'
	(^{1d} ŠŪ.MAN.PAP)	?	671-660	SAA 6, 347 (ADD 203), 1
Masa'aia	(¹ URU.ma-as- 'a-a-a)	LÚ.mu-kil—PA.MEŠ	633	TSH 8, Rs. 7
Mušēzib-Aššur	(¹ Mu-še-zib-Aš-šur)	[LÚ.DI]B PA.MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), I:20
Nabū-ētir	(^{1d} PA.KAR-ir)	LÚ.[DIB.KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	671	SAA 6, 297 (ADD 266), R. 2'
	(^{1d} PA.KAR)	(LÚ.DIB KUŠ.<PA>.MEŠ)	671-660	SAA 6, 338 (ADD 1189), R. 12'
Nabū-ḥusanni	(^{1d} PA-ḥu-sa-an-ni)	LÚ.mu-DIB PA.MEŠ	694	SAA 6, 39 (ADD 239), 17'
	(^{1d} PA-ḥu-sa-an-ni)	LÚ.mu-DIB PA.MEŠ	693	SAA 6, 40 (ADD 238), R. 5
	(^{1d} PA-ḥu-sa-a-ni)	?	688	SAA 6, 66 (ADD 491), R. 9'
Nabū-killanni	(^{1d} PA-kil-a-[ni])	[LÚ.DIB P]A.MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. I:19
	([^{1d} P]A-kil-a-ni)	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 6 (ADD 840+), II:11'
	([^{1d}]PA-kil-la-a-ni)	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), I:18'
	(^{1d} AG-ki-la-ni)	LÚ.[...]	Sargon?	SAA 19, 217 (ND 2413), B:9
Nabū-kušuranni	(^{1d} PA-KĀD-a-ni)	LÚ.DIB—KUŠ.MEŠA.MAN	PC	SAA 14, 53 (ADD 345), R. 8'
Nabū-nā'id	(^{1d} PA-I)	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	633	SAA 14, 17 (ADD 214), R. 8'
	(^{1d} PA-I)		PC	SAA 14, 19 (ADD 249), R. 13
Nabū-rēši-išši	(^{1d} PA.SAG-i-ši)	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	Senn.	SAA 6, 53 (ADD 236), R. 5
Nabū-šallim	(^{1d} PA-šal-lim)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ <i>ša</i> A.MAN KĀ.DINGIR ^{ki}	671-669	SAA 6, 299 (ADD 477), R. 4'
Nabū-šēzib	(^{1d} PA.še-zib)	LÚ.[DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	670	SAA 6, 300 (ADD 202), R. 3'
	([^{1d} PA-še-z]ib)	[LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	669	SAA 6, 305 (ADD 183+), R. 9
	([^{1d} PA-še-zib])	[LÚ.DIB] KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	669	SAA 6, 306 (ADD 187), R. 8'
	(^{1d} PA-še-zib)	LÚ.mu-DIB PA.MEŠ	667	SAA 6, 310 (ADD 185), R. 7'
	(^{1d} AG-še-zib)	mu-kil a-pa.MEŠ	667	SAA 14, 69 (ADD 27), R. 2
	(^{1d} PA-še-zib)	[LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	666	SAA 6, 314 (ADD 448), R. 17
	(^{1d} PA-še-zib)	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ	666	SAA 6, 316 (ADD 421), R. 4'
	(^{1d} PA-še-zib)	LÚ.DIB a-pa-te	664	SAA 6, 323 (ADD 115), R. 5
	(^{1d} PA-še-zib)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	664	SAA 6, 324 (ADD 116), R. 6
	(^{1d} PA-še-zib)	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA A.MAN	663	SAA 6, 325 (ADD 470), R. 14'
	(^{1d} PA-še-zib)	?	671-660	SAA 6, 332 (ADD 433+), R. 6'
	([^{1d} PA-še-zib])	[LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.a-pa-te š]a DUMU.LUGAL	671-660	SAA 6, 335 (ADD 418), R. 19'
	(^{1d} PA-še-zib)	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ	671-660	SAA 6, 339 (ADD 408), R. 5'
	([^{1d} PA-še]-zib)	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.[PA.MEŠ] (ditto?)	671-660	SAA 6, 342 (ADD 247), R. 8'
	(^{1d} PA-še-zib)	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ <i>ša</i> DUMU.MAN	671-660	SAA 6, 347 (ADD 174), R. 8
Nabū-šumu-iškun	(¹ PA.MU.GAR-um)	[LÚ.DIB.KUŠ].PA.MEŠ <i>ša</i> ^{1d} 30.PAP.MEŠ.SU	Senn.	SAA 6, 57 (ADD 253), 6'-7'
Nabū-šumu-iškun	(¹ PA.MU-iš-kun)	LÚ.mu-kil PA.MEŠ	633	SAA 14, 117 (ADD 628), R. 3-4
Nabū-zēru-iddina	(¹ PA.NUMUN.AŠ)	LÚ.[DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ <i>ša</i> A.MAN]	671	SAA 6, 297 (ADD 266), R. 3'
	(^{1d} PA.NUMUN.AŠ)	[LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ DUMU.MAN]	671	SAA 6, 298 (ADD 503), R. 8'
	(^{1d} PA.NUMUN.AŠ)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ <i>ša</i> A.MAN	671-669	SAA 6, 299 (ADD 477), R. 3'
	(¹ PA.NUMUN.AŠ)	LÚ.[DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	670	SAA 6, 300 (ADD 202), R. 7'
	(¹ PA.NUMUN.AŠ)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ <i>ša</i> DUMU.MAN	666	SAA 6, 317 (ADD 60), 12
	([¹ PA.NUMUN.SU]M-na)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	665	SAA 6, 318 (ADD 35), BE. 3
	(^{1d} PA.NUMUN.AŠ)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	660	SAA 6, 329 (ADD 444), R. 17
	(^{1d} PA.NUMUN.AŠ)	L[Ú.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	660	SAA 6, 330 (ADD 445), R. 11'
	(^{1d} PA.NUMUN.AŠ)]	[LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	671-660	SAA 6, 350 (ADD 571), R. 10'

Nadbi-lā'u	(¹ <i>Na-ad-bi-ia-a-iú</i>)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	709	SAA 6, 34 (ADD 234), R. 9
Naḫirānu	(¹ <i>Na-ḫi-ra-[nu]</i>)	[LÚ.m]u-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	686	SAA 6, 166 (ADD 285), 6
Nergal-šarru-ušur	([^{1d} MAŠ].MAŠ.MAN.PAP)	LÚ.DIB.[KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	671–660	SAA 6, 349 (ADD 596), R. 2'
Ner[gal-...]	(^{1d} U.G[UR-...])	LÚ.mu-kil—KUŠ[.PA.MEŠ]	668	SAA 14, 67 (ADD 184), 3
Pizešhurdaia		mu-kil a-(pa.MEŠ)	618	DONBAZ – PARPOLA 2001, 207, R. 26
Qurdi	(¹ <i>Qur-di-i</i>)	LÚ.m[u-kil—KUŠ.a-pa-a-ni]	Esarh.	SAA 16, 63 (CT 53, 46), 3
		LÚ.mu-kil—KUŠ.a-pa-a-ni ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ na-ka-am-te	Esarh.	SAA 16, 63 (CT 53, 46), 21
Raḫim-Dādi	(¹ <i>Ra-hi-mu-U.U</i>)	LÚ.mu-kil—KUŠ.PA.ME[Š ...]	627	SAA 14, 157 (ADD 352), R. 4'
Raši-ilu		LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	817/802	CTN II, 2 (ND 492), Rev. 15-16
Rēmāni-Adad	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni-^dIM</i>)	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ša du-na-na-te	PC	SAA 14, 21 (ADD 260), R. 10'
Rēmāni-Adad	(¹ <i>Rém-a-na-^dIM</i>)	qurbūtu (LÚ.qur-ZAG)		SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), II:25'
Rēmāni-Adad	([¹ Ré]m-a-ni-10)	?	671	SAA 6, 296 (ADD 121), 3
	(¹ <i>Rém-an-ni-^dIM</i>)	[LÚ.DIB KUŠ].PA.[MEŠ ša LUGAL]	671	SAA 6, 297 (ADD 266), 10
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni-^dIM</i>)	[LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ...]	671	SAA 6, 298 (ADD 503), 9'
	(¹ <i>Rém-an-[ni]-^d10</i>)	[LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ...]	671–669	SAA 6, 299 (ADD 477), 9'
	([¹ Rém-a-ni- ^d IM])	[LÚ.m]u-kil [KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ...]	670	SAA 6, 300 (ADD 202), 7
	(¹ <i>Rém-an-ni-^dIM</i>)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ša MAN	670	SAA 6, 301 (ADD 172), 6-7
	([¹ Rém-a-ni- ^d IM])	[LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ...]	669	SAA 6, 304 (ADD 366), ...
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni-10</i>)	LÚ.mu-kil PA.MEŠ dan-nu	669	SAA 6, 305 (ADD 183+), 6-7
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni-^d10</i>)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ dan-nu	669	SAA 6, 306 (ADD 187), 3'-4'
	(¹ <i>Rém-an-ni-^dIM</i>)	LÚ.[DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	668	SAA 6, 307 (ADD 65), 3
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni-^dIM</i>)	[LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ...]	668?	SAA 6, 308 (ADD 1155), BE 1'
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-na-^dIM</i>)	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ dan-nu ša ¹ Aš-šur-DÜ-A MAN ^{kur} Aš-šur	667	SAA 6, 309 (ADD 200), 5-6
	([¹ Rém-a-ni- ^d IM])	[LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ...]	667	SAA 6, 310 (ADD 185), [...]
	(¹ <i>Rém-an-ni-^dIM</i>)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ dan-nu ša ¹ Aš-šur-DÜ-A LUGAL ^{kur} Aš-šur ^{ki}	666	SAA 6, 311 (ADD 331), 7-8
	([¹ Rém-a-ni- ^d IM])	[LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ...]	666	SAA 6, 312 (ADD 801), [...]
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni-^dIM</i>)	[LÚ.mu-kil] KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ša MAN	666	SAA 6, 313 (ADD 258), 7-8
	(¹ <i>Rém-an-ni-^dIM</i>)	[LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ] dan-nu ša ¹ Aš-šur-DÜ-A MAN ^{kur} Aš-šur ^{ki}	666	SAA 6, 314 (ADD 448), 15-16
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni-^dIM</i>)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ. [PA.MEŠ dan-nu ša ¹ Aš]-šur-DÜ-A LUGAL ^{kur} Aš-šur ^{ki}	666	SAA 6, 315 (ADD 420), 9'-10'
	([¹ Rém-a-ni- ^d IM])	[LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ...]	666	SAA 6, 316 (ADD 421), 10
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni-^dIM</i>)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ dan-nu ša LUGAL	666	SAA 6, 317 (ADD 60), 4-5
	(¹ <i>Rém-an-ni-^dIM</i>)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ dan-nu	665	SAA 6, 318 (ADD 35), 4
	(¹ <i>Rém-an-ni-^dIM</i>)	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	665	SAA 6, 319 (ADD 237), 5
	([¹ Rém-a-ni- ^d IM])	[LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ...]	664	SAA 6, 320 (ADD 377), [...]
	([¹ Rém-a-ni- ^d IM])	[LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ...]	664	SAA 6, 321 (ADD 439), [...]
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-[ni]-^dIM</i>)	[LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ...]	671-660	SAA 6, 322 (K.16094), 8'
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni-^dIM</i>)	LÚ.DIB a-pa-te	664	SAA 6, 323 (ADD 115), 3
	([¹ Rém-a-ni- ^d IM])	[LÚ].DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ [ša ¹ Aš-šur-DÜ-A MAN] ^{kur} Aš-šur ^{ki}	664	SAA 6, 324 (ADD 116), 8-9
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni-^dIM</i>)	[LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ...]	663	SAA 6, 325 (ADD 470), R. 2'
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni-^dIM</i>)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ dan-nu ša ¹ Aš-šur-DÜ-A MAN KUR.Aš-šur.KI	671–660	SAA 6, 326 (ADD 471), 15'-16', R. 4'-5'
	([¹ Rém-a-ni- ^d IM])	[LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ...]	663	SAA 6, 327 (ADD 611), [...]
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni-^dIM</i>)	LÚ.mu-kil PA-a-te ša ¹ Aš-šur-DÜ-A MAN KUR.Aš-šur	663?	SAA 6, 328 (ADD 1153), 10'

	(¹ <i>Rém-an-ni</i> - ^d IM)	LÚ.DIB [KUŠ.PA.MEŠ <i>dan-nu</i>]	660	SAA 6, 329 (ADD 444), 13
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni</i> - ^d IM)	[LÚ.mu- <i>kil</i> KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ...]	660	SAA 6, 330 (ADD 445), [...]
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni</i> - ^d IM)	[LÚ.mu- <i>kil</i> KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ...]	660	SAA 6, 331 (ADD 362), [...]
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni</i> - ^d IM)	[LÚ.mu- <i>kil</i> KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ...]	671–660	SAA 6, 332 (ADD 433+), [...]
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni</i> - ^d IM)	[LÚ.mu]- <i>kil</i> PA.MEŠ	671–660	SAA 6, 333 (ADD 451), BE. 3'-4'
	(¹ <i>Rém-an-ni</i> - ^d IM)	[LÚ.m] <i>u-kil</i> [KUŠ.PA.MEŠ <i>dan-nu ša</i> ¹ <i>Aš-šur-DÜ-A</i> MAN KUR. <i>Aš-šur</i> .KI]	671–660	SAA 6, 334 (ADD 429a-c), R. 2-3
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni</i> - ^d IM)	LÚ.mu- <i>kil</i> KUŠ. <i>a-pa-te dan-nu ša</i> ¹ <i>Aš-šur-DÜ-A</i> MAN KUR. <i>Aš-šur</i> .KI	671–660	SAA 6, 335 (ADD 418), 11'-12'
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni</i> - ^d IM)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.[PA.MEŠ <i>dan-nu ša</i> ¹ <i>Aš-šur-DÜ-DUMU.UŠ</i> LUGAL KUR. <i>Aš-šur</i> .KI]	671–660	SAA 6, 336 (ADD 419), 8'-9'
	(¹ <i>Rém-an-ni</i> - ^d IM)	[LÚ.mu- <i>kil</i> KUŠ.PA].MEŠ [<i>dan-nu</i>]	671–660	SAA 6, 337 (ADD 515), 5'-6'
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni</i> - ^d IM)	[LÚ.mu- <i>kil</i> KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ...]	671–660	SAA 6, 338 (ADD 1189), R. 4'
	(¹ <i>Rém-an-ni</i> - ^d IM)	[LÚ.DIB PA].MEŠ <i>dan-nu ša</i> ¹ <i>Aš-šur-DÜ-[A.UŠ</i> LUGAL KUR. <i>Aš-šur</i> .KI]	671–660	SAA 6, 339 (ADD 408), 4'
	(¹ <i>Rém-an-ni</i> - ^d IM)	[LÚ.mu- <i>kil</i> KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ...]	671–660	SAA 6, 340 (ADD 372), 7'
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni</i> -10)	LÚ.mu- <i>kil</i> KUŠ.PA.MEŠ <i>ša</i> MAN KUR. <i>Aš-šur</i>	671–660	SAA 6, 341 (ADD 424), R. 2'
	(¹ <i>Rém-an-ni</i> - ^d IM)	[LÚ.mu- <i>kil</i> KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	671–660	SAA 6, 342 (ADD 247), 5'
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni</i> - ^d IM)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.[MEŠ <i>dan-nu ša</i> ¹ <i>Aš-šur-DÜ-A</i> MAN KUR. <i>Aš-šur</i> .KI]	671–660	SAA 6, 343 (ADD 270), 9-10
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni</i> - ^d IM)	LÚ.m[<i>u-kil</i> KUŠ.PA.MEŠ] <i>dan-nu ša</i> ¹ <i>Aš-šur-DÜ-A</i> MAN KUR.[<i>Aš-šur</i> .KI]	671–660	SAA 6, 344 (ADD 271), 6'-7'
	(¹ <i>Rém-an-ni</i> - ^d IM)	LÚ.mu- <i>kil</i> KUŠ.PA.MEŠ [<i>dan-nu ša</i> ¹ <i>Aš-šur</i>]-DÜ-A LUGAL	671–660	SAA 6, 345 (ADD 322), 7-8
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni</i> - ^d IM)	[LÚ.m] <i>u-kil</i> KUŠ.PA.MEŠ <i>d[an-nu ša]</i> ¹ <i>Aš-šur-DÜ-A</i> MAN KUR. <i>Aš-šur</i> .KI]	671–660	SAA 6, 346 (ADD 203), 1'-2'
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni</i> - ^d IM)	LÚ.mu- <i>kil</i> KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	671–660	SAA 6, 347 (ADD 174), 6-7
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni</i> - ^d IM)	[LÚ.mu- <i>kil</i> KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ...]	671–660	SAA 6, 348 (ADD 297), 9'
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni</i> - ^d IM)	[LÚ.mu- <i>kil</i> KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ...]	671–660	SAA 6, 349 (ADD 596), R. 2'
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni</i> - ^d IM)	[LÚ.mu- <i>kil</i> KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ...]	671–660	SAA 6, 350 (ADD 571), [...]
	(¹ <i>Rém-a-ni</i> -10)	[LÚ.DI]B PA.MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), I:21
	(¹ <i>Rém-an-ni</i> — ^d IM)	[LÚ.mu- <i>kil</i> —KUŠ.PA.MEŠ] <i>dan-nu</i>	?	SAA 14, 479 (ADD 1254), 3'-4'
Sakkannu	(¹ <i>Sa-kan</i>)	LÚ.mu-DIB PA.MEŠ	667	SAA 6, 310 (ADD 185), R. 6'
	(¹ <i>Sa-ka</i>]- <i>n-nu</i>)	LÚ.mu- <i>kil</i> PA.MEŠ]	666	SAA 6, 312 (ADD 801), R. 9'
	(¹ <i>Sa-ak-kan</i>)	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ	666	SAA 6, 316 (ADD 421), R. 7'
	(¹ <i>Sa-ak-kan</i>)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ <i>ša</i> DUMU.MAN	666	SAA 6, 317 (ADD 60), 11
	(¹ <i>Sa-ka</i>]- <i>n</i>)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	665	SAA 6, 318 (ADD 35), BE. 2
	(¹ <i>Sa-kan-nu</i>)	LÚ.DIB <i>a-pa-te</i>	664	SAA 6, 323 (ADD 115), R. 6
	(¹ <i>Sak-kan</i>)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	664	SAA 6, 324 (ADD 116), R. 7
	(¹ <i>Sa-kan-nu</i>)	LÚ.mu- <i>kil</i> KUŠ.PA A.MAN	663	SAA 6, 325 (ADD 470), R. 15'
	(¹ <i>Sa-a</i>]- <i>k-kan</i>)	[LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	663	SAA 6, 327 (ADD 611), R. 4'
	(¹ <i>Sa-kan</i>]- <i>nu</i>)	[LÚ.mu- <i>kil</i> PA.MEŠ]	663?	SAA 6, 328 (ADD 1153), R. 14
	(¹ <i>Sa-ka-nu</i>)	LÚ.mu- <i>kil</i> PA.MEŠ	671–660	SAA 6, 332 (ADD 433+), R. 7'
	(¹ <i>Sa-ak-kan</i>)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.<PA>.MEŠ	671–660	SAA 6, 338 (ADD 1189), R. 13'
	(¹ <i>Sa-ka-a</i>]- <i>n</i>)	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ	671–660	SAA 6, 339 (ADD 408), R. 6'
	(¹ <i>Sa</i>]-[<i>a</i>]- <i>k</i>]-[<i>an-n</i>]- <i>u</i>)	[LÚ.mu- <i>kil</i> KUŠ.PA.MEŠ <i>ša</i> DUMU.MAN]	671–660	SAA 6, 347 (ADD 174), R. 10
	(¹ <i>Sa-kan</i>]- <i>nu</i>)	LÚ. DIB [KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	671–660	SAA 6, 349 (ADD 596), R. 9'
	(¹ <i>Sa-kan</i>]-[<i>nu</i>])	[LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ]	671–660	SAA 6, 350 (ADD 571), R. 5'
Sîn-rēmanni	(^{1d} 30- <i>rém</i>]-[<i>an-ni</i>])	?	670	SAA 6, 301 (ADD 172), 7

	(^{ld} 30-rém-a-ni)	(LÚ.DIB KUŠ.<PA>.MEŠ)???	671–660	SAA 6, 338 (ADD 1189), R. 12'
Sîn-šarru-ušur	(^{ld} 30.MAN.PAP)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	671	SAA 6, 235 (ADD 41), BE. 1
Ša-ilu-gablu		LÚ.mu-kil PA.MEŠ	754	CTN II, 23 (ND 229), R. 24
Salti-ili	(¹ Ša-al-ti—DINGIR	LÚ.mu-kil—PA.MEŠ	633	TSH 8, Rs. 10
Ša[maš-...]	(^{ld} U[TU-...])	mu-DIB.PA GAL.SAG(rab ša—rēšē)		SAA 11, 141 (ADD 1118), 5'-6'
Šamaš-ilā'i	(^{ld} UTU.DINGIR-a-a)	LÚ.mu-kil PA.MEŠ ša Ē.GAL	694	SAA 6, 37 (ADD 427), R. 12
Šamaš-šallim		LÚ.mu-kil ap-pa-te	802	CTN II, 14, R. 22-23
Šamaš-šallim	(^{ld} Ša-maš-šal-lim)	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ ša Ē.GAL	667	SAA 6, 309 (ADD 200), R. 7'
	(¹ UTU-šal-lim)	L[Ú].DIB PA.MEŠ ša Ē.GAL	660	SAA 6, 331 (ADD 362), R. 4'
	(^{ld} UTU-šal-lim)	?	671–660	SAA 6, 332 (ADD 433+), R. 12'
	(¹ UTU]-šal-lim)	LÚ.[DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	671–660	SAA 6, 334 (ADD 429a-c), R. 22
	(¹ UTU-šal-lim)	LÚ.[DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	671–660	SAA 6, 342 (ADD 247), R. 15'
	(¹ UTU-šal-lim)	?	674	SAA 6, 278 (ADD 383), 7, 9
	(¹ UTU-šal-lim)	[...] ?	?	SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), R. I:14
Šamaš-šarru-ušur	(^{ld} Ša-maš-MAN.PAP)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ša A.MAN	671	SAA 6, 297 (ADD 266), R. 13'-14'
	(^{ld} Ša-maš-MAN.PAP)	[LÚ.mu-kil] KUŠ.PA.MEŠ DUMU.MAN]	671	SAA 6, 298 (ADD 503), R. 7'
	(^{ld} UTU.MAN.PAP)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ša A.MAN	671–669	SAA 6, 299 (ADD 477), R. 1'
	(^{ld} Ša-maš-MAN.PAP])	[LÚ.mu-ki] K[US.PA.MEŠ]	669	SAA 6, 305 (ADD 183+), R. 8
	(^{ld} Ša-maš-MAN.PAP])	[LÚ.DIB] KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	669	SAA 6, 306 (ADD 187), R. 7'
	(^{ld} UTU.MAN.PAP)	LÚ.mu-DIB PA.MEŠ	667	SAA 6, 310 (ADD 185), R. 5'
	(^{ld} Ša-maš]-MAN.PAP)	LÚ.mu-kil PA.MEŠ	666	SAA 6, 312 (ADD 801), R. 8'
	(^{ld} Ša-ma[š-MAN.PAP])	[LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	666	SAA 6, 314 (ADD 448), R. 16
	(^{ld} Ša-maš-MAN.PAP)	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ	666	SAA 6, 316 (ADD 421), R. 3'
	(^{ld} UTU.MAN.PAP)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.P[A.MEŠ ša DUMU.MAN]	666	SAA 6, 317 (ADD 60), 8
	(^{ld} Ša-maš-MAN.PAP)	LÚ.DIB a-pa-te	664	SAA 6, 323 (ADD 115), R. 4
	(^{ld} Ša-maš-MAN.PAP])	[LÚ].DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	664	SAA 6, 324 (ADD 116), R. 5
	(^{ld} Ša-maš-MAN.PAP)	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA A.MAN	663	SAA 6, 325 (ADD 470), R. 13'
	(^{ld} Ša-maš-MAN.PAP)	[LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	671–660	SAA 6, 326 (ADD 471), R. 16'
	(^{ld} Ša-maš-MAN.PAP)	LÚ.[DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	671–660	SAA 6, 332 (ADD 433+), R. 4'
	(^{ld} Ša-maš-MAN.PAP])	[LÚ.mu-kil] KUŠ.ap-pa-[te]	671–660	SAA 6, 334 (ADD 429a-c), R. 21
	(^{ld} Ša-maš-MAN.PAP])	[LÚ. mu-kil KUŠ.a-pa-te š]a DUMU.LUGAL	671–660	SAA 6, 335 (ADD 418), R. 19
	(^{ld} Ša-maš-MAN.PAP)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.<PA>.MEŠ	671–660	SAA 6, 338 (ADD 1189), R. 11'
	(^{ld} Ša-maš-MAN].PAP)	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ	671–660	SAA 6, 339 (ADD 408), R. 4'
	(^{ld} Ša-maš]-LUGAL.PAP)	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.[PA.MEŠ] (ditto?)	671–660	SAA 6, 342 (ADD 247), R. 7'
	(^{ld} Ša-maš-MAN.PAP)	LÚ.[m]u-k[il KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ša] DUMU.[MAN]	671–660	SAA 6, 347 (ADD 174), R. 6-7
	(^{ld} Ša-maš-MAN.PAP)	[LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ]	671–660	SAA 6, 350 (ADD 571), R. 4'
	(^{ld} UTU.MAN.PAP)	?	674	SAA 6, 278 (ADD 383), 6
Šarru-[...]	(¹ LUG[AL-...])	LÚ.mu-kil .PA.MEŠ	Asb.	SAA 14, 286 (ADD 547+), R. 15'
Šarru-ēmuranni	(¹ LUGAL.IGI.LAL-a-ni)	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ ša A.MAN	618	SAA 14, 32 (ADD 151), R. 6
Šarru-lū-dāri	(¹ LUGAL-lu-dā-ri)	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. II:3
Šarru-šumu-ukīn	(¹ MAN.MU.GIN)	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ ša A.MAN	618	SAA 14, 32 (ADD 151), R. 5
Šulmu-bēli-lašme	(¹ DI-mu]-EN-la-áš-me)	LÚ.mu-[kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	686	SAA 6, 163 (ADD 453), R. 9'
	(¹ DI-mu-EN-la-áš-me)	?	686	SAA 6, 167 (ADD 9), R. 2
Šumma-ilāni	(¹ BE-ma-DINGIR.MEŠ)	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ša KA.KEŠ LUGAL	709	SAA 6, 34 (ADD 234), 5-6
	(¹ Šum-ma-DINGIR.MEŠ)	?	700	SAA 6, 35 (ADD 112), 2
	(¹ Šum-ma-DINGIR.MEŠ-ni)	?	695	SAA 6, 36 (ADD 34), 2
	(¹ Šum-ma-DINGIR.MEŠ-ni)	?	694	SAA 6, 37 (ADD 427), 10
	(¹ Šum-ma-DINGIR.MEŠ-ni)	?	694?	SAA 6, 38 (ADD 508), 3', R. 5'
	(¹ BE-ma-DINGIR.MEŠ)	?	694	SAA 6, 39 (ADD 239), 2', 11'
	(¹ Šum-ma-DINGIR.MEŠ)	LÚ.mu-kil PA.MEŠ	693	SAA 6, 40 (ADD 238), 7-8

	(¹ Šum-ma-DINGIR.MEŠ)]	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	693	SAA 6, 41 (ADD 240), 8-9
	(¹ BE-ma-DINGIR.MEŠ-ni)	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ša LÚ.šá UGU É-a-ni	692	SAA 6, 42 (ADD 326), 8-9
	(¹ Šum-mu-DINGIR.MEŠ-ni)	?	684	SAA 6, 43 (ADD 19), 2
	(¹ Šum-mu-DINGIR.MEŠ-ni)	?	684	SAA 6, 44 (ADD 20), 2
	(¹ Šum-ma-DINGIR.MEŠ-ni)	?	682	SAA 6, 45 (ADD 222), 5
	(¹ Šum-ma-DINGIR.MEŠ-ni)	?	681	SAA 6, 46 (ADD 127), 4
	(¹ Šum-ma-DINGIR.MEŠ-ni)	?	681	SAA 6, 47 (ADD 30), 2
	(¹ Šum-ma]-DINGIR.ME[Š])	?	680	SAA 6, 48 (ADD 212), 5
	(¹ Šum-ma-DINGIR.MEŠ)	?	Senn.	SAA 6, 49 (ADD 226), 3'
	(¹ Šum-mu-DINGIR.MEŠ-ni)	?	Senn.	SAA 6, 50 (ADD 422), 8
	(¹ Šum-[mu-DINGIR.MEŠ-ni])	?	Senn.	SAA 6, 51 (ADD 423), 3', R. 2'
	(¹ Šum-mu-DINGIR.MEŠ)	?	Senn.	SAA 6, 52 (ADD 246), 9'
	(¹ Šum-mu-DINGIR.MEŠ-ni)	?	Senn.	SAA 6, 53 (ADD 236), 5
	(¹ BE-m[a-DINGIR.MEŠ-ni])	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.[MEŠ]	Senn.	SAA 6, 54 (ADD 725), 5'-6'
	(¹ Šum-ma-DINGIR.MEŠ)	?	Senn.	SAA 6, 55 (ADD 196), 4'
	(¹ Šum-ma-DINGIR.MEŠ-ni)	?	Senn.	SAA 6, 56 (ADD 319), 3', R. 4'
Šumma-ilāni	(¹ Šum-ma-[DINGIR.MEŠ])	?	671-669	SAA 6, 299 (ADD 477), R. 6'
	(¹ Šum-ma-DINGIR.MEŠ-ni)	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ	666	SAA 6, 316 (ADD 421), R. 5'
	(¹ BE-ma-DINGIR.MEŠ-ni)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.P[A.MEŠ šá DUMU.MAN]	666	SAA 6, 317 (ADD 60), 9
	(¹ Šum-ma-DINGIR.MEŠ)	LÚ.DIB a-pa-te	664	SAA 6, 323 (ADD 115), R. 6
	(¹ Šum-ma-DINGIR.MEŠ)]	[LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	664	SAA 6, 324 (ADD 116), R. 7
	(¹ Šum-ma-[DINGIR.MEŠ- ni])	[LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ša DUMU.MAN]	671-660	SAA 6, 347 (ADD 174), R. 9
Tāb-šar-Nabû	(¹ DÜG.IM. ^d PA)	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 6 (ADD 840+), 1:7'
Ubru-Nabû	(¹ SUHUŠ— ^d PA)	LÚ.mu-kil—KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	691/686	TSH 127, Rs. 4
Uznanu	(¹ Uz-na-nu)	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	633	SAA 14, 17 (ADD 214), R. 10'
	(¹ Uz-na-nu)	mu-[kil—PA.MEŠ]		SAA 14, 21 (ADD 260), R. 8'
Zabāba-erība	(^{1d} Za-ba ₄ -ba ₄ -SU)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ ša A.MAN	671-669	SAA 6, 299 (ADD 477), R. 2'
	(^{1d} Za-ba ₄ -ba ₄ -SU)	LÚ.[DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	670	SAA 6, 300 (ADD 202), R. 2'
	(¹ Za-ba ₄ -ba ₄ -SU)	?	670	SAA 6, 301 (ADD 172), 8
Zabdā	(¹ Za-ab-da-a)	LÚ.mu-kil PA.MEŠ	672	SAA 6, 244 (ADD 178), R. 4
Zabdī	(¹ Zab-dī-i)	LÚ.mu-kil PA.MEŠ	PC?	SAA 14, 96 (ADD 476), R. 4'
Zabdānu	(¹ Zab-da-a-nu)	LÚ.mu-kil PA.MEŠ	Sin-š.-i.	SAA 11, 221 (ADD 675), R. 11'
Zabinu	(¹ Za-bi-nu)	LÚ.mu-kil PA.MEŠ ša LÚ.EN.NAM ša ^{kuw} La-lī-ri	670	SAA 6, 287 (ADD 625), 5
Zārūtī	(¹ Za-ru-ti-i)	LÚ.mu-kil PA.MEŠ ša LÚ.GAL MU (chief cook)	695	SAA 6, 36 (ADD 34), 5-6
Zārūtī (Zēru-utī)	(¹ Zar ₄ -ut-i)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.[MEŠ šá A.MAN]	672	SAA 6, 283 (ADD 425), R.16'
	(¹ NUMUN-u-ti-i)	LÚ.DIB PA.MEŠ šá A.MAN	667	SAA 6, 309 (ADD 200), R. 6'
	(¹ NUMUN-u-ti-i])	[LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ šá DUMU.[MAN]	666	SAA 6, 312 (ADD 801), R. 6'
	(¹ NUMUN-u-t[i-i])	[LÚ.mu-kil [KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	664	SAA 6, 321 (ADD 439), R. 3'
	(¹ NUMUN-u-ti-i)	LÚ.DIB a-pa-te A.MAN	664	SAA 6, 323 (ADD 115), R. 8
	(¹ NUMUN-u-t[i-i])	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.[PA.MEŠ]	671-660	SAA 6, 342 (ADD 247), R. 6'
	(¹ NUMUN-<ut>-ti-i)	[LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ] ša DUMU.[MAN]	671-660	SAA 6, 348 (ADD 297), R. 3'-4'
Zazī	(¹ Za-a-zi-i)	LÚ.[mu-DIB PA.MEŠ] ša LÚ.[KAŠ.LUL]	694	SAA 6, 39 (ADD 239), R. 7'-8'
	(¹ Za-a-zi-i)	[LÚ.m]u-DIB P[A.MEŠ ša] LÚ.KA[Š.LUL]	693	SAA 6, 40 (ADD 238), R. 15-16
	(¹ Za-zi-i)	LÚ.mu-k[il PA.MEŠ] ša LÚ.KAŠ.LU[L]	693	SAA 6, 41 (ADD 240), R. 7-8
	(¹ Za-zi-i)	LÚ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	Senn.	SAA 6, 53 (ADD 236), R. 4
Zēru-ukīn	(¹ NUMUN.GIN)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	660	SAA 6, 329 (ADD 444), R. 18
	(¹ NUMUN.GIN)	[LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	660	SAA 6, 330 (ADD 445), R. 12'
	(¹ NUMUN.GIN)	[LÚ. mu-kil KUŠ.a-pa-te š]a DUMU.LUGAL	671-660	SAA 6, 335 (ADD 418), R. 20'

Chariot warriors (*māru damqu*)

CHART 10

NAME	NAME	TITLE	DATE	TEXT
		LÚ.DUMU.SIG	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 2 (ND 6230), I:6
		DU[MU].MEŠ.[SIG] <i>ša</i> [...]	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 2 (ND 6230), I:12
		LÚ.DUMU.SIG ₅ .MEŠ	784	CTN I, 3 (ND 6218), 16
		LÚ.DUMU.SIG.MEŠ <i>ša</i> DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ni</i>	784	CTN I, 3 (ND 6218), 28
		LÚ.DUMU.SIG ₅ .MEŠ	787/765	CTN I, 4 (ND 6212), 11
		(LÚ.A.SIG) <i>ša</i> GIŠ. <i>du-na-ni</i>	779	CTN I, 5 (ND 6214), R. 7
		LÚ.DUMU.SIG ₅	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 6 (ND 6219), 8
		DUMU.MEŠ SIG <i>ša</i> DINGIR.MEŠ	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 6 (ND 6219), 17
		(LÚ.A.SIG) <i>ša</i> GIŠ. <i>mu-še-zib-a-te</i>	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 6 (ND 6219), 15
		(LÚ.A.SIG) <i>ša</i> GIŠ. <i>du-na-ni</i>	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 6 (ND 6219), 16
		(LÚ.A.SIG) <i>ša</i> GIŠ. <i>du-n[a-ni]</i>	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 7 (ND 10046/1), 4
		LÚ.DUMU.SIG.[MEŠ]	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 7 (ND 10046/1), 7
		LÚ.A.SIG <i>ša</i> [DINGIR.ME]Š- <i>ni</i>	791	CTN I, 8 (ND 10047), 15
		LÚ.A.[SIG <i>ša</i> GIŠ. <i>mu-še</i>]- <i>zib-a[-te]</i>	791	CTN I, 8 (ND 10047), 21
		(LÚ.A.SIG) <i>ša</i> GIŠ. <i>du-na-ni</i>	791	CTN I, 8 (ND 10047), 18
		LÚ.DUMU.SI[G <i>ša</i> D]INGIR.MEŠ- <i>ni</i>	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 12 (ND 10055), 7'
		LÚ.A.S[IG.M]EŠ <i>ša</i> DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ni</i>	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 13 (ND 10027+), 8
		(LÚ.A.SIG) <i>ša</i> GIŠ. <i>mu-še-zib</i> .MEŠ	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 13 (ND 10027+), 9
		LÚ.A.SIG.MEŠ š[a ...]	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 13 (ND 10027+), 15
		(LÚ.A.SIG) <i>ša</i> GIŠ. <i>du-na-[n]i</i>	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 13 (ND 10027+), 16
		L[Ú.A.SIG.MEŠ <i>ša</i>] DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ni</i>	789?	CTN I, 14 (ND 10031), 14
		LÚ. <i>ša</i> GIŠ. <i>mu-še</i> [- <i>zib-a-te</i>]	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 15 (ND 10056), 2
		(LÚ.A.SIG) <i>ša</i> GIŠ. <i>d[u-na-ni]</i>	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 15 (ND 10056), 6
		LÚ.A.SIG.MEŠ <i>ša</i> [...]	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 16 (ND 10033+), 11
		LÚ.A.SIG.MEŠ <i>ša</i> GIŠ. <i>m[u-še</i>]- <i>zib-a-te</i>	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 16 (ND 10033+), 12
		LÚ.A.SIG.MEŠ <i>ša</i> DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ni</i>	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 16 (ND 10033+), 13
		(LÚ.A.SIG) <i>ša</i> GIŠ. <i>du-na-ni</i>	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 16 (ND 10033+), 16
		(LÚ.A.SIG) <i>ša</i> GIŠ. <i>mu-še-zib-a-ti</i>	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 18 (ND 10052), 4
		(LÚ.A.SIG) <i>ša</i> GIŠ. <i>du-na-ni</i>	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 18 (ND 10052), 6a
		LÚ.DUMU.MEŠ SIG ₅ <i>ša</i> DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ni</i>	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 18 (ND 10052), 5
		LÚ.DUMU.[SIG ₅]	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 19 (ND 10051), 8
		(LÚ.A.SIG) [<i>ša</i> GI]Š. <i>m[u-še-zib-a-ti]</i>	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 19 (ND 10051), 12
		(LÚ.A.SIG) [<i>ša</i> GI]Š. <i>[du-na-ni]</i>	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 19 (ND 10051), 13
		(LÚ.A.SIG) [<i>š</i>]a <i>mu-še-zib-a-[ti]</i>	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 20 (ND 10053), 7
		(LÚ.A.SIG) <i>ša</i> GIŠ. <i>du-na-[ni]</i>	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 20 (ND 10053), 8'
		(LÚ.A.SIG) <i>ša</i> GIŠ. <i>du-na-ni</i>	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 21 (ND 10054), 7
		(LÚ.A.SIG) <i>ša</i> GIŠ. <i>mu-še</i> [- <i>zib-a-ti</i>]	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 24 (ND 10042/4), 1
		DUMU.SIG <i>ša</i> DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ni</i>	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 33 (ND 6213+), I:9
		(LÚ.A.SIG) [<i>ša</i> GIŠ]. <i>du-na-ni</i>	8 th c. ?	Parker 1961, 32 (ND 2489), 14
		LÚ.A.SIG <i>ša</i> [...]	8 th c. ?	CTN III, 134 (ND 10060), 1', 3'
		A.SIG DINGIR.MEŠ	8 th c. ?	CTN III, 123 (ND 10039), 13'
		(LÚ.A.SIG) <i>ša</i> GI]Š. <i>mu-še-zib-te</i>	8 th c. ?	CTN III, 123 (ND 10039), 14'
		(LÚ.A.SIG) <i>ša</i> GI]Š. <i>m[u-š]e-zib-a-te</i>	784	CTN III, 145 (ND 6218), III:2
		[A.SIG] <i>ša</i> DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ni</i>	8 th c. ?	CTN III, 137 (ND 10069), 4'
		A.SIG <i>ša qur-rub</i>	784 k.	CTN III, 119 (ND 10036), 10
		LÚ.A.SIG ₅ MAN?	8 th c. ?	CTN III, 122 (ND 10033), R. 20'
		[<i>ša</i> GIŠ. <i>du</i>]- <i>na-ni</i>	780 k.	CTN III, 124 (ND 10031), R. 6
		<i>ša</i> GIŠ. <i>d[u-na-ni]</i>	8 th c. ?	CTN III, 127 (ND 10045/1), 3'
		<i>ša</i> GIŠ. <i>[d]u-n[a-ni]</i>	8 th c. ?	CTN III, 134 (ND 10060), 8'
		<i>ša</i> GIŠ. <i>du-na-ni</i>	784	CTN III, 145 (ND 6218), III:4
		LÚ.A.SIG ₅	?	SAA 7, 21 (ADD 835), 4'

		A.SIG	?	SAA 7, 115 (ADD 953), II:19
		LÚ.A.SIG.MEŠ	Sargon	SAA 1, 11 (ABL 304), 10
		LÚ.A.SIG ša Ē.GAL	Sargon	SAA 1, 205 (ABL 154), 12
		LÚ.A.SIG.MEŠ	Sargon	SAA 15, 60 (ABL 242), 13
		LÚ.A.SIG ₅	Sargon	SAA 5, 215 (ND 2631), 10
		LÚ.A.SIG	Esarh.	SAA 16, 68 (CT 53, 80), 18'
[...]	[...]	LÚ.A.SIG ša DUMU.MAN		SAA 11, 132 (ADD 862), 1'
[...]	[...]	LÚ.A.SIG ša DUMU.MAN		SAA 11, 132 (ADD 862), 2'
[...]	[...]	LÚ.A.SIG ša GAŠAN Ē ša DUMU.MAN	Senn.	SAA 6, 200 (ADD 337), R. 7'
[...]	[...]	LÚ.DUMU.SIG	PC?	SAA 14, 56 (ADD 252), R. 8'
Abu-[...]	(¹ AD-[...])	[LÚ].A—SIG-ia	Sargon	SAA 15, 369 (CT 53, 453), 5'
Adad-abu-ušur	(¹ 10—AD—PAB)	A—SIG ša [...]	Asb.	SAA 14, 314 (ADD 600), R. 6'
Adda-taqa	(¹ 10—ta-qa)	LÚ.A—SIG ša DUMU—LUGAL	649	TSH 47, Rs. 12-13
Aplu-šēzibanni	(¹ A-šē-zib-an-ni)	LÚ.A.SIG	684	SAA 6, 177 (ADD 230), R. 5
Arbāia	(¹ Ar-ba-a-a)	LÚ.A—SIG ₅	602	TSH 37, Rs. 18
Bēl-Ḥarrān-iššā	(¹ EN.KASKAL.KI-ia)	LÚ.A.SIG ša GAŠAN Ē	619	SAA 14, 169 (ADD 50), R. 1
Dādī-ibnī	(¹ U.U.DŪ)	LÚ.A.SIG	663	SAA 6, 325 (ADD 470), 10
Duduwa	(¹ Du-du-u-a)	LÚ.A.SI[G] ša LÚ.EN.NAM ša URU.Kal-[ḥa]	687	SAA 6, 151 (ADD 225), R. 6'-7'
Ilu-šumu-ka''in	(¹ DINGIR.MU-ki-in)	LÚ.A.SIG ša LÚ.EN.NAM	658	SAA 14, 60-61 (ADD 48-49), 5-6, 4-5
Lē'i-ili?	(¹ ZU.DINGIR)	rab kišir ša LÚ.A.SIG ša MĪ.Ē.GAL	Assurb.	SAA 14, 7 (ADD 494), R. 7-8
Mannu-kī-Arbail	(¹ Man-nu-a-ki-Arba-il)	?	680	SAA 6, 221 (ADD 113), R. 3
	(¹ Man-nu-ki-Arba-il)	LÚ.A.SIG	679	SAA 6, 223 (ADD 83), R. 7
	(¹ Man-nu-ki]-Arba-il)	[LÚ.A.SIG]	679	SAA 6, 224 (ADD 84), R. 3'-4'
	(¹ Man-nu-ki-URU.Arba-il)	LÚ.[A.SIG]	663	SAA 6, 325 (ADD 470), 8
Marduk-iddina	(¹ ŠU.AŠ)	LÚ.A.SIG	683	SAA 6, 90 (ADD 447), R. 12
Nabū'a	(¹ PA-u-a)	LÚ.A.SIG	688	SAA 6, 69 (ADD 1213+), 6
Nabū-kēnu-dugul	(¹ PA—GIN-du-gul)	LÚ.A.SIG	697	SAA 6, 204 (ADD 364), 5
Rama-il	(¹ Ra-me—DINGIR)	LÚ.A—SIG ša LÚ.EN.NAM	Esarh.	SAA 16, 136 (ABL 140), 15-Rev. 1
Sîn-balāssu-iqbī	(¹ 30.TI-su-E)	LÚ.A.SIG ₅	696	SAA 6, 130 (ADD 241), R. 12
Šumma-šarru	(¹ Šum-ma—MAN)	LÚ.A—SIG	Esarh.	SAA 16, 11 (CT 53, 397), 10'
Tudute	(¹ Tu-du-te)	LÚ.A.SIG ša ¹ U.GUR.MAŠ	694	SAA 6, 37 (ADD 427), R. 13-14
Zēru-ukīn	(¹ NUMUN.GIN)	LÚ.A.SIG	663	SAA 6, 325 (ADD 470), 9

‘Third men’ (*tašlišu*)

CHART 11

NAME	NAME	TITLE	DATE	TEXT
[...]		LÚ.3.U ₅	754	CTN II, 23 (ND 229), R. 25
[...]		LÚ.3-šúU ₅		CTN II, 82 (ND 238), R. 16
[...]	[...]	[LÚ].3-šú A.MAN	?	SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), R. II:10
[...]-manu	[...]- <i>ma-nu</i>	LÚ.3-šú A.MAN	?	SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), R. I:29
[...]-iata’	[...]- <i>iata-a’</i>	LÚ.3-šú	?	SAA 7, 8 (ADD 839), 2
[...]-ušur	[...].PAP	LÚ.3-šú DUMU.MAN	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:2
[...]	[...]	LÚ.3-šú <i>dan-nu</i>	671–660	SAA 6, 340 (ADD 372), R. 7’
[...]	[...]	LÚ.3-šú	671–660	SAA 6, 340 (ADD 372), R. 10’
[...]	[...]	LÚ.3-šú	666	SAA 6, 314 (ADD 448), R. 28
[...]	[...]	[LÚ].3-šú <i>ša a-pa</i> .MEŠ	Esarh.	SAA 6, 285 (ADD 632), R. 8’
[...]	[...]	[LÚ].3-šú <i>ša a-pa</i> .MEŠ	Esarh.	SAA 6, 285 (ADD 632), R. 9’
[...]	[...]	LÚ.3-š[ú] ...]	Esarh.	SAA 6, 285 (ADD 632), R. 10’
[...]-ta’	[...]- <i>ta-a’</i>	LÚ.3-šú	Esarh.	SAA 6, 205 (ADD 588), R. 2’
[...]	[...]	LÚ.3.U ₅ AMA.MAN	Esarh.	SAA 6, 253 (ADD 428), R. 8’
[...]	[...]	LÚ.3-šú <i>ša</i> LÚ.2- <i>u(šamû)</i> (of deputy governor)	Senn.	SAA 6, 57 (ADD 253), R. 8’
[...]-’ēi	[...]-’ <i>e-e-i</i>	LÚ.3.U ₅ -šúša [...]	Assurb.	SAA 14, 7 (ADD 494), R. 9
[...]	[...]	3- <i>si-šú</i>	671–660	SAA 6, 335 (ADD 418), R. 16
[...]	[...]	[3- <i>s</i>]i-šú	671–660	SAA 6, 335 (ADD 418), R. 17
[...]-ēreš	[...].KA]M- <i>eš</i>	LÚ. 3.[U ₅]	671–660	SAA 6, 342 (ADD 247), R. 4’
[...]-ili	[...].DINGIR	LÚ.3-šú	668	SAA 14, 65 (ADD 284), R. 3’
[...]	[...].DINGIR]	[LÚ].3- <i>si</i>	668?	SAA 14, 66 (ADD 537), R. 2’
[...]	[...]	LÚ.3-šú	Senn.	SAA 6, 52 (ADD 246), 1’
[...]-aḥu-ušur	[...].PAP.PAP	LÚ.3-[šú] <i>ša</i> ^{ld} 30.LUGAL.DINGIR.MEŠ	Sae–Ash	SAA 6, 86 (ADD 261), R. 15’
[...]	[...]	LÚ.[3-šú] <i>ša</i> LÚ. <i>tur-ta-ni</i>	Sae–Ash	SAA 6, 86 (ADD 261), R. 16’
[...]	[...]	LÚ.3- <i>si</i>	627	SAA 14, 157 (ADD 352), R. 7’
[...]-ilā’i	[...].DINGIR- <i>a-a</i>	LÚ.3-šú	Asb.	SAA 14, 229 (ADD 457), 4’
[...]-ānu-šarru	[...]- <i>a-nu</i> MAN		Asb.	SAA 14, 241 (ADD 219), R. 8
[...]	[...]	[LÚ].3.U ₅	Asb.	SAA 14, 262 (ADD 438), R. 10’
[...]	[...]	[LÚ.3].U ₅	Asb.	SAA 14, 286 (ADD 547+), R. 7’
[...]-u	[...]- <i>u</i>	LÚ-šal-š[ú]-U ₅ -šú	Asb.	SAA 14, 311 (ADD 592), R. 6’
[...]-Issar	[...]- ^d 15	LÚ.3.U ₅	Asb.	SAA 14, 315 (ADD 604), R. 3’
[...]	[...]	[LÚ].3-[šú]	Asb.	SAA 14, 318 (ADD 607), R. 1’
[...]	[...]	[LÚ].3-[šú] (LÚ.ditto)	Asb.	SAA 14, 318 (ADD 607), R. 2’
[...]	[...]	LÚ.3-šú	Asb.	SAA 14, 318 (ADD 607), R. 8’
[...]-ilā’i	[...].DINGIR- <i>a-a</i>	LÚ.3.U ₅ A—MAN	Asb.	SAA 14, 319 (ADD 608), 2’
[...]-Bēlti	[...]- ^d GAŠAN	LÚ.3.U ₅ KUR (of the Palace)	Asb.	SAA 14, 319 (ADD 608), 3’
[...]-šû	[...]-šú- <i>u</i>	LÚ.3-šú <i>ša</i> É.[...]	Asb.	SAA 14, 324 (ADD 694), 6
[...]-ēreš	[...].APIN- <i>eš</i>	LÚ.3-[šú]	Asb.	SAA 14, 324 (ADD 694), R. 5’
[...]-ušur	[...].PAB	LÚ.3-[šú]	Asb.	SAA 14, 324 (ADD 694), R. 6’
[...]-ibri	[...]- <i>ib-ri-e</i>	LÚ.3.U ₅ [...]	Asb.	SAA 14, 419 (Sm 972), R. 3’
[...]	[...]	LÚ.3.[U ₅]	Sargon	SAA 5, 141 (CT 53, 131), 5
Abi-ul-idi	(¹ AD- <i>ul-ZU</i>)	3-šú	657	SAA 14, 81 (ADD 618), R. 13
Adad-abu-ušur	(^{ld} 10.AD.PAP)	LÚ.3-šú A.MAN	629	SAA 14, 38 (ADD 711), R. 3’
Adad-apla-iddina	(¹ 10.A.AŠ)	LÚ.3.U ₅	674	SAA 6, 242 (ADD 800), 3’
	(¹ 10.A.AŠ)]	[LÚ.3.U ₅]	673	SAA 6, 243 (ADD 118), 7
Adad-raḥim	(¹ 10- <i>ra-hi-mu</i>)	LÚ.3.U ₅	Esarh.	SAA 6, 294 (ADD 268), R. 3’
Adad-sanāni	(¹ 10- <i>sa-na-ni</i>)	LÚ.3-šú	681	SAA 6, 110 (ADD 231), R. 9
Adad-ša’du-iddin		LÚ.3.U ₅		CTN II, 11 (ND 246), Rev. 3’
Adad-uballit	(^{ld} IM.TI.LA)	LÚ.3.U ₅	663	SAA 6, 325 (ADD 470), 4

Aḥu-lā-amašši	(¹ PAP- <i>la-maš-ši</i>)	L[Ü.3.U ₅]	666	SAA 6, 315 (ADD 420), R. 1'
	(¹ PAP- <i>la-maš-ši</i>)	LÜ.3.U ₅	666	SAA 6, 316 (ADD 421), R. 8'
	(¹ PAP- <i>la-maš-ši</i>)	LÜ.3- <i>šú</i> DUMU.MAN	666	SAA 6, 317 (ADD 60), R. 2
	(¹ PAP- <i>la-maš-ši</i>)	LÜ.3- <i>šú</i>	663	SAA 6, 325 (ADD 470), R. 16'
	(¹ PAP- <i>la-m[aš-ši]</i>)	[LÜ.3.U ₅]	671–660	SAA 6, 326 (ADD 471), R. 20'
	(¹ PAP- <i>la-maš-ši</i>)	LÜ.3- <i>šú</i>	671–660	SAA 6, 332 (ADD 433+), R. 8'
	(¹ PAP- <i>[a-maš-ši]</i>)	[LÜ.3- <i>šú</i>] LÜ.GAL.SAG	671–660	SAA 6, 334 (ADD 429a-c), R. 24'
Aqru	(¹ <i>Aq-ru</i>)	LÜ.3.U ₅	Asb.	SAA 14, 258 (ADD 396), R. 8'
Arbailāia	(¹ <i>Arba-il-a-a</i>)	LÜ.3- <i>šú</i>	711	SAA 6, 26 (ADD 5), R. 2
	(¹ <i>Arba-il-a-a</i>)	LÜ.3.U ₅	Sargon	SAA 1, 47 (ABL 100), 8-9, R. 9
	(¹ URU. <i>Arba-il-a-a</i>)	LÜ.3- <i>šú</i>	695	SAA 6, 36 (ADD 34), 7
Aššur-ilā'ī	(¹ AN.ŠAR-DINGIR]- <i>a-a</i>)	LÜ.3- <i>šú</i>	682	SAA 6, 192 (ADD 276), R. 2'
	(¹ <i>Aš-šur</i> -DINGIR- <i>a-a</i>)	?	673	SAA 6, 243 (ADD 118), R. 8
	(¹ <i>Aš-šur</i> -DINGIR- <i>a-a</i>)	?	666	SAA 6, 312 (ADD 801), R. 14
	(¹ <i>Aš-šur</i> -DINGIR- <i>a-a</i>)	?	666	SAA 6, 313 (ADD 258), R. 2'
	(¹ <i>Aš-šur</i> -DINGIR- <i>a-a</i>)	LÜ.GIŠ.GIGIR MAN	?	SAA 7, 18 (ADD 832), 8'
Aššur-kēnu-ušur	(¹ <i>Aš-šur</i> -GIN.PAP)	3- <i>si-šú</i>	671–660	SAA 6, 335 (ADD 418), R. 16
Aššur-lē'ī	(¹ <i>Aš-šur</i> -ZU)	LÜ.3- <i>[šú]</i>	664	SAA 6, 320 (ADD 377), R. 7'
	(¹ <i>Aš-šur</i> -ZU)]	[LÜ. 3- <i>šú</i>]	664	SAA 6, 321 (ADD 439), [...]
Atueḥu	(¹ <i>A-tu-e-hu</i>)	LÜ.3.U ₅	697	SAA 6, 127 (ADD 179), 5-6
Bābilāiu	(¹ KĀ.DINGIR- <i>a-a</i>)	[LÜ].3.U ₅	668	SAA 14, 1 (ADD 472), R. 6
Bēl-abu-ušur	(¹ EN.AD.PAP)	LÜ.3- <i>šú</i> [...]	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), I:45
Bēl-aḥḥēšu	(¹ E]N.PAP.MEŠ- <i>šú</i>)	LÜ.3- <i>šú</i> AMA.MAN	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. I:7
Bēl-dān	(¹ EN.KALAG- <i>an</i>)	LÜ.3.U ₅	PC	SAA 14, 19 (ADD 249), R. 11'
	(¹ EN- <i>da-an</i>)	LÜ.3- <i>šú</i> ša LÜ.šá UGU Ê- <i>a-ni</i>	PC	SAA 14, 21 (ADD 260), R. 5
Bēl-dūri	(¹ EN.BĀD)	LÜ.3- <i>šú</i> ša <i>a-rit</i>	692	SAA 6, 142 (ADD 324), 4
Bēl-likšur	(¹ EN]- <i>lik-sur</i>)	LÜ.3- <i>šú</i> ša LÜ.šá UGU Ê- <i>a-ni</i>	633	SAA 14, 17 (ADD 214), R. 9'
Bēl-šarru-ibnī	(¹ EN.MAN.DÜ)	LÜ.3- <i>šú</i> Ê.GAL	681	SAA 6, 46 (ADD 127), R. 1
Birammā	(¹ <i>Bir-am-ma-a</i>)	LÜ.3- <i>si</i>	PC?	SAA 14, 96 (ADD 476), R. 5'
Bissunu	(¹ [B]- <i>i-is-su-nu</i>)	LÜ.3- <i>šú</i> ša LÜ.šá UGU Ê- <i>a-ni</i>	699-694	ZA 78, 82, III:10'
Būr-Silā	(¹ <i>Bur-si-la-a</i>)	LÜ.3- <i>šú</i> ša DUMU—MAN (Elamite)	Esarh.	SAA 16, 136 (ABL 140), 11
Dādī-ibnī	(¹ U.U.DÜ)	LÜ.3.U ₅	684	SAA 6, 177 (ADD 230), R. 3
Dannāia	(¹ <i>Dan-na-a-a</i>)	LÜ.3.U ₅	670	SAA 6, 300 (ADD 202), R. 6'
	(¹ <i>Da</i>]n-na-a-a)	LÜ.mu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ	668	SAA 14, 65 (ADD 284), R. 2'
Dūri	(¹ BĀD- <i>i</i>)	LÜ.3.U ₅	666	SAA 14, 2 (ADD 627), R. 5'
Ēreš-ilu	(¹ KAM.DINGIR)	LÜ.3.U ₅ ša A.[MAN]	Senn.	SAA 6, 199 (ADD 273), R. 6'
Ḥarmasa	(¹ <i>Ḥar-ma-sa</i>)	LÜ.3- <i>šú</i>	692	SAA 6, 142 (ADD 324), R. 13
Ḥanisiku	(¹ <i>Ḥa-ni-si-ku</i>)	LÜ.3- <i>šú</i> DUMU.MAN	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. II:8
Il-dalā	(¹ DINGIR- <i>dāl-a</i>)	LÜ.3- <i>si-šú</i>	664	SAA 6, 323 (ADD 115), 7
	(¹ DINGIR- <i>dāl-a</i>)]	LÜ.3.U ₅ / LÜ.3- <i>šú</i>	664	SAA 6, 324 (ADD 116), 4, BE. 2
	(¹ [IDI]NGIR- <i>da-la-a</i>)	[LÜ].GIŠ.GIGIR DUŠ.MEŠ	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. I:26
Ilū-pūti?	(¹ DINGIR.SAG.KI)	3- <i>šú</i>	678	Parker 1963, BT.118, 14
Kabti-ili	(¹ <i>Kab-ti</i> -DINGIR)	LÜ.3- <i>šú</i>	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:14
Ketti-ilāni	(¹ <i>Kit-ti</i> -DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ni</i>)	LÜ.3- <i>šú</i>	692	SAA 6, 42 (ADD 326), R. 18
Kišir-Issar	(¹ <i>Ki-šir</i> -15)	LÜ.3.U ₅ ša LÜ.GAL KAŠ.LUL	676	SAA 6, 210 (ADD 330), R. 7-8
Kudurru	(¹ <i>Ku-dūr-ru</i>)	LÜ.3- <i>šú</i> ša DUMU—MAN (Elamite)	Esarh.	SAA 16, 136 (ABL 140), 12-13
Kurrilā'ī	(¹ <i>Kur-ri-la-a-a</i>)	LÜ.3- <i>šú</i>	711	SAA 6, 26 (ADD 5), R. 3
Lā-qēpu		LÜ.3.U ₅	754	CTN II, 23 (ND 229), Rev. 26
Lā-tega-ana-Issar	(¹ <i>La-te-ga-ana</i> - ^d 15)	LÜ.3.U ₅ URU.ŠĀ.URU- <i>a-a</i>	619?	SAA 14, 169 (ADD 50), 6
	(¹ <i>La-te-gi-ana</i> -15)	?	648	SAA 14, 25 (ADD 111), R. 5
	(¹ <i>La-ṭi</i> - <i>e-gi</i> -15)	?	647	SAA 14, 93 (ADD 63), R. 11

Mannu-kā-Adda	(¹ <i>Man-nu-ka-da</i>)	LÚ.3-šú šá A.[MAN]	672	SAA 6, 283 (ADD 425), R. 15'
Marduk-bēlu-ušur	(^{1d} AMAR.UTU.EN.PAP)	[LÚ.3].U ₅ ša ¹ šá- ^{4d} PA-su-u(<i>Ša-Nabû-šú</i>)	Esarh.	SAA 6, 295 (ADD 71), 4'-5'
Marduk-šarru-ušur	(^{1d} ŠŪ.MAN.PAP)	LÚ.3-šú KA.KEŠDA(<i>kisir</i>) LUGAL	625	SAA 14, 40 (ADD 325), R. 12
	(^{1d} ŠŪ.MAN.PAP)	?	PC?	SAA 14, 57 (ADD 110), R. 7e
Mašqaru	(¹ <i>Maš-qa-ru</i>)	LÚ.3-si-šú	664	SAA 6, 323 (ADD 115), 6
	(¹ <i>Maš-qa-ru</i>)	LÚ.3.U ₅ / LÚ.3-šú	664	SAA 6, 324 (ADD 116), 3, BE. 1
Mu-...	(¹ <i>Mu-...</i>)	LÚ.taš-li-šú	8 th c. ?	CTN I, 22 (ND 10061), 3
Murasû	(¹ <i>Mu-ra-su-û</i>)	LÚ.3-šú ša LÚ.EN.NAM ša KUR.La-ḫi-ri	670	SAA 6, 287 (ADD 625), 4
Mušallim-Aššur	(¹ <i>Mu-DI-Aššur</i>)	LÚ.3-šú (DUMU URU.NINA)		SAA 11, 222 (ADD 806), R. 5
Mušallim-Marduk		LÚ.3.U ₅ ša LÚ.GAL.SAG	783	CTN II, 17 (ND 496), L.E. 50
Nabû-aḫu-iddina	(^{1d} PA.PAP.AŠ)	LÚ.3-šú DUMU.MAN	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), 1:47
Nabû-da''inanni	(^{1d} PA.KALAG-in-a-ni)	LÚ.3.U ₅ ša [...]	637	TSH 56, li. Rd. 1
Nabû-ēmuranni	(^{1d} PA.IGI.LA L-an-<ni>)	LÚ.3.U ₅	671-660	SAA 6, 345 (ADD 322), R. 5'
Nabû-lē'āni	(^{1d} PA.ZU-a-ni)	3-šú	684	SAA 6, 43 (ADD 19), 9
	(^{1d} PA.ZU-a-ni)	?	684	SAA 6, 44 (ADD 20), 6
	(^{1d} AG.ZU-a-ni)	LÚ.3.U ₅	684	SAA 6, 177 (ADD 230), R. 1-2
Nabû-sākip	(^{1d} PA-sa-kib)	LÚ.3.U ₅ .MES k-a.(a)-ma-nu-te (permanent)	Esarh.	SAA 16, 115 (ABL 85), 11-12
Nabû-šarru-ušur	(^{1d} PA.MAN.PAP)	LÚ.3-šú ša MÍ.É.GAL	686	SAA 6 164 (ADD 612), R. 11-12
	(^{1d} PA.MAN.PAP)	LÚ.3.U ₅	666	SAA 14, 2 (ADD 627), R. 10'
Nabû-šēzib	(^{1d} PA-še-zib)	LÚ.3.U ₅ [...]	688	SAA 6, 41 (ADD 240), R. 9
Nergal-ibnī	(¹ U.GUR.DŪ)	LÚ.3-[šú]	681	SAA 6, 193 (ADD 277), R. 3'
Nergal-šarru-ušur	(¹ U.GUR.MAN.PAP)	LÚ.3-[šú]	664	SAA 6, 320 (ADD 377), R. 4'
	(¹ U.GUR.MAN.PAP)	LÚ.3-šú	664	SAA 6, 321 (ADD 439), R. 7'
	(¹ U.GUR.MAN.PAP)	LÚ.3-si-šú	664	SAA 6, 323 (ADD 115), LE. 1
	(¹ U.GUR.MAN.PAP)	[LÚ.3-šú]	664	SAA 6, 324 (ADD 116), LE. 1
	(¹ U.GUR.MAN.PAP)	LÚ.3-šú	663	SAA 6, 325 (ADD 470), R. 17'
	(¹ U.GUR].MAN.PAP)	LÚ.3-[šú]	663	SAA 6, 327 (ADD 611), R. 6'
	(¹ U.GUR.MAN.PAP)]	[LÚ.3]-šú dan-nu	671-660	SAA 6, 334 (ADD 429a-c), R. 20'
	(¹ U.GUR.MAN].PAP)	LÚ.3-šú dan-nu	671-660	SAA 6, 339 (ADD 408), R. 2'
Nergal-šarru-ušur	(^{1d} MAŠ.MAŠ].Š.M[AN.PAP])	[LÚ.3-šú]	669	SAA 6, 305 (ADD 183+), R. 6
	(^{1d} MAŠ.MAŠ.MAN.PAP)]	[L]Ú.3-šú	669	SAA 6, 306 (ADD 187), R. 5'
	(^{1d} MAŠ.MAŠ.MAN.PAP)	LÚ.3-šú[dan-nu]	666	SAA 6, 314 (ADD 448), R. 9
	(^{1d} MAŠ.MAŠ.MAN.PAP)	LÚ.3-si-šú	664	SAA 6, 323 (ADD 115), R. 2
	(^{1d} MAŠ.MAŠ.MAN.PAP)	LÚ.3-šú	664	SAA 6, 324 (ADD 116), R. 4
	(^{1d} MAŠ.MAŠ.MAN.PAP)	LÚ.3.U ₅	663	SAA 6, 325 (ADD 470), R. 11'
	(^{1d} MAŠ.MAŠ.MAN.P[AP])	[LÚ.3.U ₅]	671-660	SAA 6, 326 (ADD 471), R. 14'
	(^{1d} MAŠ.MAŠ.MAN.PAP)	LÚ.3-šú	671-660	SAA 6, 332 (ADD 433+), R. 3'
	(^{1d} MAŠ].MAŠ.MAN.PAP)	LÚ. 3.U ₅ [dan-nu]	671-660	SAA 6, 342 (ADD 247), R. 3'
	(^{1d} MAŠ].MAŠ.MAN.PAP)	LÚ.DIB.[KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]	671-660	SAA 6, 349 (ADD 596), R. 2'
	(^{1d} MAŠ.MAŠ.MAN.PAP)	[LÚ.3.U ₅]	671-660	SAA 6, 350 (ADD 571), R. 2'
Nergal-šarru-ušur	(¹ U.GUR.MAN.PAP)	3-šú	625	SAA 14, 40 (ADD 325), R. 25
Niḫramu	(¹ <i>Ni-ḫi-ra-mu</i>)	LÚ.3-[šúšá A.MAN]	672	SAA 6, 283 (ADD 425), R. 17'
Rēmuttu	(¹ <i>Ri-mu-tu</i>)	LÚ.3-šú		SAA 11, 174 (ADD 882), 1
Rapi'	(¹ <i>Ra-pi-i'</i>)	LÚ.3-šú šá É.GAL	670	SAA 6, 287 (ADD 625), R. 9
Riši-ili	(¹ <i>Ri-ši</i> —DINGIR)	LÚ.3.U ₅	Esarh.	SAA 16, 139 (ABL 425), 7-8
Sa'iru	(¹ <i>Sa-e-ru</i>)	LÚ.3.[U ₅]	Senn.	SAA 6, 199 (ADD 273), R. 3'

	(¹ <i>Sa-i-ru</i>)	LÚ.3.U ₅ -šú	667	SAA 6, 310 (ADD 185), R. 15'
	(¹ <i>Sa-i-ru</i>)	LÚ.3.U ₅	671–660	SAA 6, 345 (ADD 322), R. 4'
	(¹ <i>Sa-i-ru</i>)	LÚ.3-šú	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), I:40
Sagibi	(¹ <i>Sa-[gi]-bi</i>)	LÚ.3-šú	691/686	TSH 127, Rs. 5
	(¹ <i>Sa-gi-bi</i>)	LÚ.3-šú	?	TSH 159, Rs. 2'
Sē'-hari	(¹ <i>Se-'e-ha-ri</i>)	L[Ú.3.U ₅]	666	SAA 6, 315 (ADD 420), R. 2'
	(¹ <i>Se-'e-ha-ri</i>)	LÚ.3.U ₅	666	SAA 6, 316 (ADD 421), R. 9'
Silim-[...]	(¹ <i>Si-lim-[...]</i>)	LÚ.3-šú	?	SAA 7, 10 (ADD 850), II:4'
Sîn-ašarēd	(^{1d} 30.MAŠ)	LÚ.3-šú <i>dan-nu šá</i> DUMU.MAN	666	SAA 6, 317 (ADD 60), R. 1
	(^{1d} 30.MAŠ)	LÚ.3-šú <i>šá</i> DUMU.MAN	664	SAA 6, 320 (ADD 377), R. 1'
	(^{1d} 30.MAŠ)	LÚ.3-šú [<i>šá</i> DUMU.MAN]	664	SAA 6, 321 (ADD 439), R. 4'
	(^{1d} 30.MAŠ)	LÚ.3.U ₅ <i>ša</i> A.MAN	663	SAA 6, 325 (ADD 470), R. 25'
Sîn-iddina	(^{1d} 30.AŠ)	LÚ.3.U ₅	742	SAA 6, 1 (ADD 75), R. 11
Sîn-nā'id	(¹ 30—I)	3-[šú/U ₅]	622	TSH 2, Rd. 8
Sîn-zēru-ibnî	(^{1d} 30.NUMUN.DŪ)	3-šú	684	SAA 6, 43 (ADD 19), 5
	(^{1d} 30.NUMUN.DŪ)	LÚ.3.U ₅	684	SAA 6, 44 (ADD 20), 4
Šalam-šarri- iqbî	(¹ <i>Ša-lam-MAN-iq-bi</i>)	LÚ.3-šú	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:15
	(^{1d} NU.MAN- <i>iq-bi</i>)	?	670?	SAA 6, 302 (ADD 332), R. 8'
	(¹ NU.MAN- <i>iq-bi</i>)	? LÚ.[...]	668?	SAA 6, 308 (ADD 1155), R. 11'
	(¹ NU.MAN- <i>iq-bi</i>)	?	667	SAA 6, 309 (ADD 200), R. 14'
	(¹ NU.LUGAL- <i>iq-bi</i>)	?	666	SAA 6, 317 (ADD 60), 1, 3
Šamaš-nāšir	(^{1d} UTU.PAP-[<i>ir</i>])	LÚ.3.U ₅ [GIG]IR.MEŠ		SAA 11, 124 (ADD 912), I:6-7
Šamaš-šēzib	(^{1d} UTU-šē-zib)	LÚ.3.U ₅	693	SAA 6, 41 (ADD 240), R. 9
	(^{1d} UTU-šē-zib)	LÚ.3.U ₅	Senn.	SAA 6, 53 (ADD 236), R. 5
Šar-Issar	(¹ IM— ^d 15)	LÚ.3-šú <i>ša</i> LÚ.šá UGU Ē- <i>a-ni</i>	PC	SAA 14, 21 (ADD 260), R. 6
Šarru- ēmuranni	(¹ MAN.IGI.LAL- <i>a-ni</i>)	LÚ.3-šú A.MAN	?	SAA 7, 6 (ADD 840+), II:8'
	(¹ MAN.IGI.LAL- <i>a-ni</i>)	LÚ.3-šú	PC	SAA 14, 50 (ADD 312), 6'
	(¹ M[AN.IGI.L]AL- <i>a-ni</i>)	LÚ.3-šú	627	SAA 14, 157 (ADD 352), R. 5'
Šēp-Adad	(¹ GIR.2-10)	LÚ.3-šú	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), II:13
Šulmu-bēli- lāmur	(¹ DI- <i>mu</i> -EN- <i>la-mur</i>)	LÚ.3.U ₅	684	SAA 6, 177 (ADD 230), R. 3
	(¹ DI- <i>mu</i> -EN- <i>la-mur</i>)			SAA 11, 109 (ADD 708), R. 1
Šulmu-bēli- lašme	(¹ D]l- <i>mu</i> -EN- <i>la-āš-me</i>)	LÚ.3.[U ₅]	Senn.	SAA 6, 185 (ADD 506), R. 11
Tabalāiu	(¹ Tab-URU- <i>a-a</i>)	LÚ.3-šú <i>šá</i> A.MAN (ditto)	672	SAA 6, 283 (ADD 425), R. 18'
Tardītu-Aššur	(¹ Tar-di-tū-Aš-šur)	LÚ.3-šú <i>šá</i> DUMU.MAN	660	SAA 6, 329 (ADD 444), R. 16
	(¹ Tar-di-it-Aš-šur)	L[Ú.3-šú <i>šá</i> DUMU.MAN]	660	SAA 6, 330 (ADD 445), R. 10'
	(¹ Tar-di-tū-Aš-šur)	3-šú	657	SAA 14, 81 (ADD 618), R. 5
Uarbisi	(¹ Ū-ar-bi-si)	[LÚ.3-šú]	669	SAA 6, 305 (ADD 183+), R. 7
	(¹ Ū-bar-bi-si)	LÚ.3-šú	669	SAA 6, 306 (ADD 187), R. 6'
	(¹ Ū-a-ar-bi-is)	LÚ.3.U ₅	667	SAA 6, 310 (ADD 185), R. 4'
	(¹ Ū-bar-bi-si)	LÚ.3.U ₅	663	SAA 6, 325 (ADD 470), R. 12'
	(¹ Ū-ar-bi-is)	[LÚ.3.U ₅]	671–660	SAA 6, 326 (ADD 471), R. 15'
	(¹ Ū-bar-bi-si)	LÚ.3-si-šú <i>dan-nu</i>	671–660	SAA 6, 335 (ADD 418), R. 14'
	(¹ Ū-ar-bi-si)	LÚ. 3.U ₅	671–660	SAA 6, 339 (ADD 408), R. 3'
	(¹ Ū-a]r-bi-is)	LÚ. 3.[U ₅]	671–660	SAA 6, 342 (ADD 247), R. 5'
	(¹ Ū-ar-bi-is)	[LÚ.3.U ₅]	671–660	SAA 6, 350 (ADD 571), R. 3'
Uarmeri	(¹ Ū-a-ār-me-ri)	LÚ.3-si-šú	664	SAA 6, 323 (ADD 115), R. 3
Ubru-Ijarrān	(¹ SUHUS.KASKAL)	LÚ.3.U ₅	666	SAA 14, 2 (ADD 627), R. 9'
Urad-aḥḥēšu	(¹ ARAD-PAP.MEŠ-šú)	LÚ.3-šú <i>q[ur-bu]</i>	?	SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), R. I:10
Urad-Issar	(¹ ARAD-15)	3-šú	?	SAA 7, 40 (ZA 73, 238), 250, no. 6
Urdu-Mulissi	(¹ IR. ⁴ NIN.LIL)	3-šú	665	SAA 14, 72 (ADD 128), R. 6
Zabāba-erība	(¹ Za-ba ₄ -ba ₄ -SU)	LÚ.3-[šú]	664	SAA 6, 320 (ADD 377), R. 6'
	(¹ Za-ba ₄ -[ba ₄ -SU])	[LÚ. 3-šú]	664	SAA 6, 321 (ADD 439), R. 9'

	(¹ <i>Za-ba₄-ba₄-SU</i>)	LÚ.3-šú	663	SAA 6, 325 (ADD 470), R. 16'
	(¹ <i>Za-[ba₄-[ba₄-SU]]</i>)	[LÚ.3.U ₅]	671–660	SAA 6, 326 (ADD 471), R. 21'
	(^{1d} <i>Za-ba₄-ba₄-SU</i>)	[LÚ.3-šú]	663	SAA 6, 327 (ADD 611), R. 7'
	(^{1d} <i>Za-ba₄-ba₄-SU</i>)	LÚ.DIB KUŠ.PA.MEŠ šá A.MAN	671–660	SAA 6, 299 (ADD 477), R. 2'
Zārūtī	(¹ NUMUN- <i>u-ti</i>)	LÚ.3.U ₅ GIGIR.MEŠ		SAA 11, 124 (ADD 912), I:4-5
Abdu-Aguni	(¹ <i>Ab-du-^dA-gu-u-ni</i>)	LÚ.3.U ₅ 2- <i>i(šanī)</i>	697	SAA 6, 127 (ADD 179), R. 5'
Aššur-rēmāni	(¹ <i>Aš-šur-rēm-a-ni</i>)	LÚ.3-šú 2- <i>u A—MAN</i>	PC	SAA 14, 53 (ADD 345), R. 6'

Palace chariotry (GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL)recruitment officers (*mušarkisāni*)

CHART 12A

NAME	NAME	TITLE	UNIT	DATE	TEXT
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. II:3
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	108 / 2 – (25?)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. IV:31
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	108 / 2 – (25?)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. IV:32
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	108 / 2 – (25?)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. IV:33
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	108 / 2 – (25?)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. IV:34
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	108 / 2 – (25?)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. IV:35
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	108 / 2 – (25?)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:2
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	108 / 2 – (25?)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:4
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	108 / 2 – (25?)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:5
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	108 / 2 – (25?)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:6
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	108 / 2 – (25?)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:7
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	108 / 2 – (25?)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:8
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	108 / 2 – (25?)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:9
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	108 / 2 – (25?)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:10
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), R. 24'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), R. 25'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), R. 26'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), R. 27'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), R. 28'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:14'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:14'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:18'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:22'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:22'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:24'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:24'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:26'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:26'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:1''
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:1''
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:3''
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:3''
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:5''
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:5''
[...]-Adad	(l' [...] - ^d 10)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:12'
[...]- <i>hu</i>	[...]- <i>hu</i>	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:13
[...]- <i>mu-DI</i>	[...]- <i>mu-DI</i>	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:14
[...]- <i>ētir</i>	[...KA]R- <i>ir</i>	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:15
[...]- <i>MU</i>	[...]- <i>MU</i>	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:16
[...]- <i>a</i>	[...]- <i>a</i>	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:20
[...]- <i>uṣur</i>	[...]- <i>PAP</i>	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:21
[...]- <i>a</i>	[...]- <i>a</i>	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:22
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:23
[...]- <i>uṣur</i>	[...]- <i>PAP</i>	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:24
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:25
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:26
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:29
^{ld} [...]- <i>ēreš</i>	(^{ld} [...] - <i>APIN-eš</i>)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:4'
Adad-abua	(^l 10.AD- <i>u-a</i>)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:18'
Adad-aḫu-iddina	(^l U.PAP.AŠ)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:14
Adad-iqbī	(^l 10- <i>iq-bi</i>)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:7'

	(¹ 10- <i>īq-b</i>)	<i>mušarkisu</i>		Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, R.I:16
	(¹ 10- <i>iq-b</i> [<i>i</i>])	<i>mušarkisu</i>		Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, R.I:22
[Adad]-iqbī	(¹ 10]- <i>iq-bi</i>)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:16'
Aḫi-larame	(¹ PAP- <i>la-ra-me</i>)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:9
Aḫīa	(¹ A- <i>ḫi-ia</i>)	<i>mušarkisu</i>		Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, R.I:20
	(¹ A- <i>ḫi-ia</i>)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:20'
Aia-rāmu	(¹⁰ A<-a>- <i>ra-mu</i>)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:19
	(¹⁰ A-a- <i>ra-mu</i>)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:5
Am-[...]-i	(¹ Am-[...]- <i>i</i>)	3 LÜ.mu- <i>šar-ki-sa-ni</i>		Sarg.	SAA 19, 166 (ND 2462), 22
Aššur-...	(¹ Aš- <i>šur</i> -[...]-A)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:28
Aššur-aḫu-iddina	(¹ Aš- <i>šur</i> -PAP.AŠ)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), R. 20'
Aššur-nāšir	(¹ Aš- <i>šur</i> -PAP-ir)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:6
	(¹ Aš- <i>šur</i> -PAP-ir)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	101 / 13	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), IV:4'
	(¹ Aš- <i>šur</i> -PAP-ir)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:21
	(¹ Aš- <i>šur</i> -PAP-ir)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:34
	(¹ Aš- <i>šur</i> -PAP-ir)	3 LÜ.mu- <i>šar-ki-sa-ni</i>		Sarg.	SAA 19, 166 (ND 2462), 22
Aššur-rēmāni	(¹ Aš- <i>šur-rém-a-ni</i>)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:1
	(¹ Aš- <i>šur-rém-a</i> -[<i>nī</i>])	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:27
	(¹ Aš- <i>šur-rém-a-ni</i>)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), 13'
Bābilāiu	(¹ KÁ.DINGIR-a-a)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:21
	(¹ KÁ.DINGIR-a-a) / Tarninu	<i>mušarkisu</i>	100 / 7'	Sarg.	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. III:7'
	(¹ KÁ.DINGIR-a-a)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), 12'
	(¹ KÁ.DINGIR-a-a)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:8-9
Bābilāiu	(¹ KÁ.DINGIR-a-a) / Arrapha	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:26
	(¹ KÁ.DINGIR-a-a)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), 16'
	(¹ KÁ.DINGIR-a-a)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:14-15
Bēl-aḫḫē	(¹ EN.PAP.MEŠ)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:24
	(¹ EN.PAP.MEŠ)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:12
Bēl-apkal-ilāni	(¹ EN.NUN.ME.DINGIR.MEŠ)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:8
	(¹ EN.NUN.ME.DINGIR.MEŠ)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), R. 19'
	(¹ EN.NUN.ME.DINGIR.MEŠ)	3 LÜ.mu- <i>šar-ki-sa-ni</i>		Sarg.	SAA 19, 166 (ND 2462), 23
Biramma	(¹ Bir-am-ma-a)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), O. 14'
Bisunu	(¹ Bi-su-nu)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:18
	(¹ Bi-su-ni)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), O. 14'
	(¹ Bi-su-ni)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:1
Gabasi	(¹ Ga-ba-si)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:2
Gabbaru	(¹ Gab-ba-ru)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:10
Ḥandasānu	(¹ Ḥa-an-da-sa-nu)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), R. 21'
	(¹ [Ḥa]-an-du-su)	???	101 / 16 – (5+)	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), R. VII:2'
Išmē-ili	(¹ I-š-me-DINGIR)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:8
	(¹ [š-me]-DINGIR)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. II:2
	(¹ Iš-[me-DINGIR])	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:36
Kabbi-...	(¹ Kab-bi-[...])	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:5'
Kakku-ēreš	(¹⁰ TUKUL.APIN-eš)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:14-15
	(¹⁰ TUKUL.KAM-eš)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	102 / Arbela	Sarg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), III:25'
	(¹⁰ TUKUL.KAM-eš)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	102	Sarg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), III:28'
Kalbu	(¹ Kal-bu)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:9'
Kināte	(¹ Ki-na'-te)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:9'
Marduk-erība	(¹⁰ ŠÜ.SU)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), R. 22'
[Mār]-larēm	(¹ [...]-la-rem)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), R. 23'
Mušallim-Aššur	(¹ Mu-DI-Aš-šur)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:13

Nabû-bêl-šumâte	(^{ld} PA.EN.MU.MEŠ)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:2
	(^{ld} PA.EN.MU.MEŠ)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:17
	(^{ld} PA.EN.M[U.M]E)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:30
Nabû-dūru-ušur	(^{ld} PA.BÂD.PAP)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:16'
Nabû-erība	(^{ld} PA.SU)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:20
	(^{ld} PA.SU)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:19
Nabû-il	(^{ld} PA-il)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:18
Nabû-nāšir	(^{ld} PA.PAP)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:7
Nabû-šumu-ušur	(^{ld} PA.MU.PAP)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:25
	(^{ld} PA.MU.PAP)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	100 / 4	Sarg.	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. II:17'
Ninurta-abu-ušur	(^{ld} MAŠ.AD.PAP)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:4
	(^{ld} MAŠ.AD.PAP)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:19
	(^{ld} MAŠ].AD.[P]AP)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:32
Pāni-Aššur-lāmur	(^{ld} IGI-Aš-šur-la-mur)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:6
	(^{ld} IGI-Aš-šur-la-mur)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:17
Qāt-ili-gabbu	(^{ld} ŠU.2.DINGIR-gab-bu)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:17
	(^{ld} ŠU.2.DINGIR-gab-[b]u)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:4
Salti-ili	(^{ld} Sa-al-ti-DINGIR)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:12
	(^{ld} [Sa]-al-ti-DINGIR)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:13
Si-LAM.TAR	(^{ld} Si-LAM.TAR)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:10
Sîn-dūri-ušur	(^{ld} 30.BÂD.PAP)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:15
	(^{ld} 30.BÂ].D.PAP)	<i>mušarkisu</i>		Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:12
Sîn-kēnu-ušur	(^{ld} 30.GIN.PAP)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:22
Šalmu-aḥḥē	(^{ld} Šal-mu-PAP.MEŠ)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:7
	(^{ld} NU.PAP.MEŠ-t[i])	<i>mušarkisu</i>	101 / 13	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), IV:2'
	(^{ld} NU.PAP.MEŠ)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), 15'
Šamaš-aḥu-ušur	(^{ld} UTU.PAP.PAP)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:11
Šamaš-ilāṭi	(^{ld} UTU.DINGIR-a-a)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:23
	(^{ld} UTU.DINGIR-a-a)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	100 / 3'	Sarg.	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. II:13'
	(^{ld} UTU.DINGIR-a-a)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:11
Šamaš-iqīša	(^{ld} UTU.BA-šá)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:3
	(^{ld} UTU.BA-šá)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:18
	(^{ld} UTU.BA-šá)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:31
Šumu-lēšir	(^{ld} MU.GIŠ)	LÚ.mu-šar-ki-su		734	SAA 6, 19 (ADD 415), 7
	(^{ld} MU.GIŠ)	[...]		?	SAA 6, 20 (ADD 303), 2'
	(^{ld} MU.GIŠ)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:7'
	(^{ld} MU.GIŠ)	<i>mušarkisu</i>		Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, R.I:16
Tāb-šar-Aššur	(^{ld} DÜG.IM-Aš-šur)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:7
	(^{ld} DÜG.IM-Aš-šur)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. II:1
	(^{ld} DÜG.GA.IM-Aš-šur)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:35
Ubru-Harrān	(^{ld} SUḤUŠ.KASKAL)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:5
	(^{ld} SUḤUŠ.KASKAL)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	101 / 13	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), IV:3'
	(^{ld} SUḤUŠ.KASKAL)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:20
	(^{ld} SUḤUŠ.KASKAL)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:33
Ululāiu	(^{ld} TI.KIN-a-a)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), 11'
Urdi	(^{ld} Ur-di-i)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:20'
Urkāt-ili	(^{ld} Ur-kat-DINGIR)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:12'

	(¹ Ur-k[at-DINGIR])	<i>mušarkisu</i>		Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, R.I:20
Zazaku	(¹ Za-za-ku)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:16
	(¹ [Za]-za-ku)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:5'
	(¹ Za-[za-k]u)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:3

team commanders (*rab urâte*)

CHART 12B

NAME	NAME	TITLE	UNIT	DATE	TEXT
Abâ	(¹ A-ba-a)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:13
Adad-šalme	(^{1d} IM-šal-me)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:15
Adda-ḫatti	(¹ U-ḫat-ti)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:10
Akkadāia	(¹ URI-a-a)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:1
Aḫu-dāmiq	(¹ PAP.SIG)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:26
Aḫu-šu	(¹ PAP-šu)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:14
Aššur-iqbī-aḫḫē	(¹ Aš-šur-iq-bi-PAP.ME)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:20
Aššur-šēzibanni	(¹ Aš-šur-še-zib-an-ni)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:21
Atamru	(¹ A-tam-ru)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:4
Atar-raḫini	(¹ A-tar-ra-ḫi-ni)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:11
Balātu-lāmur	(¹ TI.LA.IGI.LÁ)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:18
Bāl-namḫe	(¹ Bal-nam-ḫe)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:8
Dērāia	(¹ URU.De-ra-a-a)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:16
Eriḫa-ilāni	(¹ SU.DINGIR.MEŠ)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:24
Kēn-ēpuš-ili	(¹ GIN-e-pu-uš-DINGIR)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:22
Lū-balāṭ	(¹ Lu-TI.LA)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:7
Maluṭu	(¹ Ma-lu-ṭu)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:7
Milki-iatā	(¹ Mil-ki-ia-ta-a)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:12
Mušallim-ili	(¹ Mu-DI.DINGIR)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:17
Naḫiru	(¹ Na-ḫi-ru)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:9
Nergal-ilāṭ	(¹ U.GUR.DINGIR-a-a)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:25
	(¹ U.GUR.DINGIR-a-a)	LÚ.GAL ú-rat	100 / 4 – (1)	Sarg.	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. II:14'
Nergal-lāmur	(^{1d} URI.GAL.IGI.LÁ)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:8
Sasī	(¹ Sa-si-i)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:2
Silim-Adad	(¹ Si-lim- ^d IM)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:6
Sîn-aḫu-iddina	(¹ 30.PAP.AŠ)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:23
	(¹ 30.PAP.AŠ)	LÚ.GAL ú-rat	100 / 3 – (1)	Sarg.	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. II:6'
Šamaš-bānī	(^{1d} UTU.DÙ)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:19
Šamaš-ilāṭ	(^{1d} UTU.DINGIR-a-a)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:3
Ṭābnāiu	(¹ DÜG.GA-na-a-a)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:5

Provincial units

team commanders (*rab urâte*)

CHART 13

NAME	NAME	TITLE	UNIT	DATE	TEXT
[...] -aḥḥē	(¹ [...] .PAP.MEŠ)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 1	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:3
[...] -dān	(¹ [...] -KA]L-an)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 1	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:2
Aššur-taqqianni	(¹ Aš-šur-LAL-a-ni)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 1	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), I:19
Atar-šu(m)ki	(¹ A-tar-šu-ki)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 1	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), I:22
Bēl-mātu-išbat	(¹ [E]N.KUR.DIB)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 1	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:1
KAxŠU?-ma	(¹ KAxŠU?-ma)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 1	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), I:20
Salti-ili	(¹ Sa-al-[i-DI]NGIR)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 1	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:4
Sū	(¹ Si-iu-u)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 1	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), I:21
Šilli-Bēl-Isana	(¹ Šil-EN-I-sa-na)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 1	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), I:23
Šamaš-bānī-aḥḥē	(^{1d} UTU.DÜ.P[AP.M]EŠ)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 1	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:5
	(^{1d} UTU.DÜ.PAP.MEŠ)	<i>rab urâte</i>	101 / 4 – (1)	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), II:7
Adad-imme	(¹ U-im-me)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 2 – West Sem.	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:9
	(¹ U-im-me)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 2 – West Sem.	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:15
Atar-ba'di	(¹ A-tar-ba-a-di)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 2 – West Sem.	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:10
	(¹ A-tar-ba-a'-di)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 2 – West Sem.	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:21
Ḥašana	(¹ Ha-šá-na)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 2 – West Sem.	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:8
	(¹ Ha-šá-na)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 2 – West Sem.	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:20
Iatara	(¹ Ia-ta-ra)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 2 – West Sem.	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:7
	(¹ Ia-ta-ru)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 2 – West Sem.	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:18
Ili-dalā	(¹ DINGIR-da-la-a)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 2 – West Sem.	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:11
	(¹ DINGIR-da-la-a)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 2 – West Sem.	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:16
Ili-kabar	(¹ DINGIR-ka-bar)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 2 – West Sem.	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:19
	(¹ DINGIR]-ka-bar)	<i>rab kišir</i>	Arraphāia	Sarg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:10'
Kalbu	(¹ Kal-bu)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 2 – West Sem.	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:8
	(¹ Kal-bi-i)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 2 – West Sem.	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:22
Kaparra	(¹ Ka-pár-ra)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 2 – West Sem.	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:9
	(¹ Ka-pa-ra)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 2 – West Sem.	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:21
Maḥdē	(¹ Maḥ-di-e)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 2 – West Sem.	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:7
	(¹ M]a-aḥ-di-e)	<i>rab urâte</i>	101 / 7 – (4+)	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), II:31
	(¹ Am-ḥa-ti-e)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 2 – West Sem.	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:14
Sidqāia	(¹ Si-id-qa-a-a)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 2 – West Sem.	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:10
	(¹ Si-id-qa-ia)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 2 – West Sem.	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:17
Aḥi-dikiri	(¹ PAP-di-ki-ri)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 3 – Kaldāia	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:13
	(¹ PAP-di-kir)	<i>rab urâte</i>	101 / 2 – (3+)	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), I:27
	(¹ PAP-di-ki-ir)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 3 – Kaldāia	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:28
Ameni-ili	(¹ A-me-ni-DINGIR)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 3 – Kaldāia	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:12
	(¹ Am-me-ni-DINGIR)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 3 – Kaldāia	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:26
Aia-turi	(^{1d} A-a-tu-ri)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 3 – Kaldāia	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:15
	(^{1d} A-a-tu-ri)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 3 – Kaldāia	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:31
Kabti-ili	(¹ Kab-ti-DINGIR)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 3 – Kaldāia	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:14
	(¹ Kab-ti-i)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 3 – Kaldāia	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:30
Nabû-aḥḥē-šallim	(^{1d} PA.PAP.MEŠ-šal-lim)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 3 – Kaldāia	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:13
	(^{1d} PA.PAP.MEŠ.DI)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 3 – Kaldāia	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:27
Nūri-iapā	(¹ ZÁLAG-ia-pa-a)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 3 – Kaldāia	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:14
	(¹ Nu-ri-ia-ba-a')	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 3 – Kaldāia	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:29
Salāia	(¹ Sa-la-a-a)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 3 – Kaldāia	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:12
	(¹ Sa-li-ia)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 3 – Kaldāia	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:25

[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 4 – Samirni	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:34
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 4 – Samirni	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:35
Abdi-milku	(¹ <i>Ab-di-mil-ku</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 4 – Samirni	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:18
	(¹ <i>Ab-di-m[il-ku]</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 4 – Samirni	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:38
Aḫi-idri	(¹ <i>PAP-id-ri</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 4 – Samirni	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:18
	(¹ <i>PAP-i[d-ri]</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 4 – Samirni	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:37
Aḫi-idri	(¹ <i>PAP-id-ri</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 4 – Samirni	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:21
Aḫi-l(a)u	(¹ <i>PAP-l-ú</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 4 – Samirni	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:22
Atamru	(¹ <i>A-tam-ru</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 4 – Samirni	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:17
	(¹ <i>A-[tam-ru]</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 4 – Samirni	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:36
Baḫē	(¹ <i>Ba-ḫi-e</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 4 – Samirni	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:21
Bēl-dūri	(¹ <i>EN.BAD</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 4 – Samirni	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:19
	(¹ <i>EN.B[AD]</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 4 – Samirni	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:39
Dala-aḫu	(¹ <i>Da-la-PAP</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 4 – Samirni	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:16
Gabbē	(¹ <i>Gab-bi-e</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 4 – Samirni	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:20
	(¹ <i>Gab-[bi-e]</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 4 – Samirni	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:41
Iau-gâ	(¹ <i>Ia-u-ga-a</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 4 – Samirni	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:17
Ibba-dalâ	(¹ <i>Ib-ba-da-la-a</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 4 – Samirni	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:16
	(¹ <i>Ib-ba-da-la-[a]</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 4 – Samirni	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:33
Narmenâ	(¹ <i>Na-ar-me-na-a</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 4 – Samirni	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:19
	(¹ <i>Ar-me-[na-a]</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 4 – Samirni	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), III:40
Samâ	(¹ <i>Sa-ma-a</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 4 – Samirni	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:20
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 5	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), IV:1
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 5	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), IV:2
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 5	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), IV:3
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 5	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), IV:6
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 5	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), IV:7
Bariki	(¹ <i>Ba-ri-ki</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 5	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:24
	(¹ <i>Ba-r[i-ki]</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 5	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), IV:4
Erība-ili	(¹ <i>S[U].DINGIR</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 5	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:25
	(¹ <i>[SU].DINGIR</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	100 / 10 – (3+)	Sarg.	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. IV:2'
Izbu-lēšir	(¹ <i>Iz-bu-GIŠ</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 5	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:24
	(¹ <i>Iz-[bu-GIŠ]</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 5	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), IV:5
Ubru-[...]	(¹ <i>[SU]HUŠ-^d[...]</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	100 / 10 – (3+)	Sarg.	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. IV:4'
Zizî	(¹ <i>Zi-zi-i</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 5	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:25
	(¹ <i>[Zi-zi-i]</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	100 / 10 – (3+)	Sarg.	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. IV:3'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 6	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), IV:10
[...]	^{ad} [...]	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 6	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), IV:11
[...]	ⁱ [...]	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 6	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), IV:14
Nabû-šarḫi-ilāni	(¹ <i>PA-šar-ḫi-DINGIR</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 6	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:1
Nergal-šarru-ušur	(¹ <i>U.GU[R.MAN.PAP]</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 6	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:1
	(¹ <i>U.GUR.MAN.PAP</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 6	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), IV:12
Sîn-nāšir	(¹ <i>30-PAP-ir</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 6	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:2
Šulmu-bēli-lašme	(¹ <i>Šul-mu-EN-la-áš-me</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 6	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:2
	(¹ <i>D[I-mu-EN-la-áš-me?]</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 6	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), IV:13
[...]	ⁱ [...]	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 7	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), IV:17
[...]	ⁱ [...]	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 7	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), IV:18
Aššur-bēlu-ukin	(¹ <i>Aš-šur-U.GIN</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 7	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:4
Nergal-ēreš	(¹ <i>IGI.DU.KAM</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	prov. 7	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:4

[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i>	LÚ. <i>Ħa-ma-ta-ia</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 110 (ND 10024), II:1'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i>	LÚ. <i>Ħa-ma-ta-ia</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 110 (ND 10024), II:2'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i>	LÚ. <i>Ħa-ma-ta-ia</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 110 (ND 10024), II:3'
Aššur-takkin	(¹ <i>Aš-šur-LAL</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	LÚ. <i>Ħa-ma-ta-ia</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 110 (ND 10024), II:7'
Isā'ī	(¹ <i>I-sa-a-a</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	LÚ. <i>Ħa-ma-ta-ia</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 110 (ND 10024), II:5'
Ki-[...]-AŠ	(¹ <i>Ki</i> -[...]-AŠ)	<i>rab urâte</i>	LÚ. <i>Ħa-ma-ta-ia</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 110 (ND 10024), II:9'
Kirpi	(¹ <i>Ki-ir-pi</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	LÚ. <i>Ħa-ma-ta-ia</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 110 (ND 10024), II:6'
Kurratāia	(¹ <i>KUR-ra-ta-a</i> -[...])	<i>rab urâte</i>	LÚ. <i>Ħa-ma-ta-ia</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 110 (ND 10024), II:4'
Sudusi	(¹ <i>Su-du-si</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	LÚ. <i>Ħa-ma-ta-ia</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 110 (ND 10024), II:8'

Recruitment officers (*mušarkisu*)

CHART 14

NAME	NAME	TITLE	UNIT	DATE	TEXT
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>mu-šar-ki-su</i>	788	Deller – Fadhil 1993, 19 (ND 711), Rev. 6
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. II:3
[...]	[...]	[LÚ.mu-š]ar-ki-su		784	CTN I, 3 (ND 6218), I:29
[...]	[...]	[LÚ].mu-šar-kis		?	SAA 7, 9 (ADD 860), I:8'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	108 / 2 – (23?)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. IV:31
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	108 / 2 – (23?)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. IV:32
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	108 / 2 – (23?)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. IV:33
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	108 / 2 – (23?)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. IV:34
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	108 / 2 – (23?)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. IV:35
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	108 / 2 – (23?)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:2
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	108 / 2 – (23?)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:4
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	108 / 2 – (23?)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:5
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	108 / 2 – (23?)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:6
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	108 / 2 – (23?)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:7
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	108 / 2 – (23?)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:8
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	108 / 2 – (23?)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:9
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	108 / 2 – (23?)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:10
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), R. 24'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), R. 25'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), R. 26'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), R. 27'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), R. 28'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:14'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:14'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:18'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:22'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:22'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:24'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:24'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:26'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:26'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:1''
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:1''
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:3''
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:3''
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:5''
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:5''
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhalli</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:1'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhalli</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:3'
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša LÚ.šag-lú-te</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, R. I:10
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša LÚ.šag-lú-te</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, R. I:12
[...]-a-a	[...]-a-a (Kalḫāiu?)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēt-ḫal qur-ub-tú</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:30
[...]-a-a	[...]-a-a (Aḫi-ilā'ī)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēt-ḫal qur-ub-tú</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:31
[...]-Adad	([¹ ...] - ^d 10)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:12'
[...]-mur-ili	([¹ ...] -mur-DINGIR)	<i>muš</i> or <i>ru?</i>	<i>pēt-ḫal qur-ub</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), I:4
[...]-Dādi	([¹ ...] -Da-dī)	<i>muš</i> or <i>ru?</i>	<i>pēt-ḫal qur-ub</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), I:5
[...]-ḫu	[...]-ḫu	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:13
[...]-mu-DI	[...]-mu-DI	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:14
[...]-ēṭir	[...KA]R-ir	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:15
[...]-MU	[...]-MU	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:16
[...]-a	[...]-a	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:20
[...]-uṣur	[...]-PAP	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:21

[...]-a	[...]-a	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:22
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:23
[...]-uṣur	[...]-PAP	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:24
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:25
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:26
[...]	[...]	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:29
[...]	[...]	[LÜ.mu-šar]-kis		PC?	SAA 14, 58 (Bu 91-5-9,154), R. 6'
¹⁰ [...]-ēreš	(¹⁰ [...].APIN-eš)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:4'
[...]-iddina	([...].AS)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> LÜ.šag-lu-te	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, R. I:9
[...]-Aššur	([...].Aš-šur)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> LÜ.šag-lu-te	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, R. I:11
Abi-lēšir	(¹ AD.GIŠ)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), I:4
	(¹ AD.SI.SA)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēt-ḫal qur-ub-tú</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:27
Abu-eṛība	(¹ AD.SU)	4 LÜ.mu-šar-kis.MEŠ-ni		698	SAA 6, 125 (ADD 1179+), R. 8
Abu-lāmūr	(¹ AD.....)	<i>mušarkisu</i>		612	Faist 2007, 115 (VAT 20711), 1
Adad-[...]	(¹ 10-[...])	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhalli</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:13'
Adad-abua	(¹ 10.AD-u-a)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:18'
Adad-aḫu-iddina	(¹ U.PAP.AŠ)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:14
Adad-iqbī	(¹ 10-iq-bī)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:7'
	(¹ 10-i[q-b]i)	<i>mušarkisu</i>		Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, R.I:16
	(¹ 10-iq-b[i])	<i>mušarkisu</i>		Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, R.I:22
[Adad]-iqbī	(¹ 10-iq-bī)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:16'
Aḫi-ilāṭ	(¹ PAP.DINGIR-a-a)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), I:8
	(¹ AD.SI.SA)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēt-ḫal qur-ub-tú</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:27
	(¹ ŠEŠ.DINGIR-a-a)	<i>mušarkisu</i>		Sarg.	SAA 17, 69 (CT 54, 19), 11', 16', 21'
Aḫi-larame	(¹ PAP-la-ra-me)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:9
Aḫi-uqur	(¹ PAP-u-qur)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), I:15
	(¹ PAP-u-qur)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēt-ḫal qur-ub-tú</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:38
Aḫīa	(¹ A-ḫi-ia)	<i>mušarkisu</i>		Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, R.I:20
	(¹ A-ḫi-ia)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:20'
Aḫu-šamšī	(¹ PAP-šam-ši)	<i>mušarkisu</i>		779	CTN II, 68 (ND 262), Rev. 6'
Ammi-ḫāti	(¹ Am-[ḫa]-ti-i)	3 LÜ.mu-šar-ki-sa-ni		Sarg.	SAA 19, 166 (ND 2462), Rev. 8
Ambati	(¹ Am-ba-ti-i)	<i>mušarkisu</i>		Sarg.?	SAA 19, 188 (ND 2410), 13'
Aššur-[...]	(¹ Aš-šur-[...]-A)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:28
Aššur-aḫu-iddina	(¹ Aš-šur-PAP.AŠ)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), R. 20'
Aššur-nāšir	(¹ Aš-šur-PAP-ir)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:6
	(¹ Aš-šur-PAP-ir)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	101 / 13	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), IV:4'
	(¹ Aš-šur-PAP-ir)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:21
	(¹ Aš-šur-PAP-ir)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:34
	(¹ Aš-šur-PAP-ir)	3LÜ.mu-šar-ki-sa-ni		Sarg.	
Aššur-rēmanni	(¹ Aš-šur-rēm-a-ni)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:1
	(¹ Aš-šur-rēm-a[-ni])	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:27
	(¹ Aš-šur-rēm-a-ni)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), 13'
Aia-rāmu	(^{1d} A<a>-ra-mu)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:19
	(^{1d} A-a-ra-mu)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:5
Bābilāiu	(¹ KÁ.DINGIR-a-a)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:21
	(¹ KÁ.DINGIR-a-a) / Tarninu	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	100 / 7'	Sarg.	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. III:7'
	(¹ KÁ.DINGIR-a-a)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), O. 12'
	(¹ KÁ.DINGIR-a-a)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:8-9
Bābilāiu	(¹ KÁ.DINGIR-a-a) / Arrapha	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:26
	(¹ KÁ.DINGIR-a-a)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), 16'
	(¹ KÁ.DINGIR-a-a)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:14-15
Bēl-abu-uṣur	(¹ EN.AD.PAP)	<i>mu</i> -KEŠDA		Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), I:14

Bēl-aḥḥē	(¹ EN.PAP.MEŠ)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:24
	(¹ EN.PAP.MEŠ)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:12
Bēl-aḥu-ušur	(¹ EN.PAP.PAP)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhalli</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:11'
Bēl-apkal-ilāni	(¹ EN.NUN.ME.DINGIR.MEŠ)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:8
	(¹ EN.NUN.ME.DINGIR.MEŠ)	<i>mušarkisu???</i>	<i>GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]</i>	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), R. 19'
	(¹ EN.NUN.ME.DINGIR.MEŠ)	3 LÜ.mu-šar-ki-sa-ni		Sarg.	SAA 19, 166, Rev. 9
Bēl-bāni	(¹ EN.DÜ)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	LÜ.mu-šar-ki-su	Adn III	Deller – Fadhil 1993, no. 20, Rev. 4
Bēl-dūri	(¹ EN.BĀD)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), I:17
	(¹ EN.BĀD)	<i>mušarkisu???</i>	100 / 9	Sarg.	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. III:13'
	(¹ EN.BĀD)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēt-ḥal qur-ub-tú</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:43
	(¹ EN.BĀD)	<i>šaknu ša ma'assi</i>		Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, R. I:4
Bēl-Ḥarrān-šadūa	(¹ EN.KASKAL.KUR-u-a)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), I:16
	(¹ EN.KASKAL.KUR-u-a)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēt-ḥal qur-ub-tú</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:40
	(¹ EN.KASKAL.KUR-u-a)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhalli</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:13'
Bibīa	(¹ Bi-bi-ia)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), I:11
Biramma	(¹ Bir-am-ma-a)	<i>mušarkisu???</i>	<i>GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]</i>	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), 14'
Bisunu	(¹ Bi-su-nu)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:18
	(¹ Bi-su-ni)	<i>mušarkisu???</i>	<i>GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]</i>	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), 14'
	(¹ Bi-su-ni)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:1
Dadā	(¹ Da-da-a)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), I:9
Ēreš-Issar	(¹ APIN-eš- ^d 15)	4 LÜ.mu-šar-kis.MEŠ-ni		698	SAA 6, 125 (ADD 1179+), R. 7
Gabasi	(¹ Ga-ba-si)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:2
Gabbaru	(¹ Gab-ba-ru)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:10
Ḥal-...	(¹ ḤAL-...)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhalli</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:1'
Ḥaldū	(¹ Ḥal-du-u)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhalli</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:11'
Ḥalmānu	(¹ Ḥal-ma-nu)	LÜ.mu-šar-kis		Sae-Ash	SAA 6, 86 (ADD 261), R. 4'
Ḥandasānu	(¹ Ḥa-an-da-sa-nu)	<i>mušarkisu???</i>	<i>GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]</i>	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), R. 21'
	(¹ Ḥa-an-du-su)	???	101 / 16 – (5+)	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), R. VII:2'
Ḥarmaku	(¹ Ḥar-ma-ku)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), I:12
		<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arraphāia</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:17'
Ilu-issā	(¹ DINGIR.KI-ia)	<i>mušarkisu ša</i>	<i>GIŠ.GIGIR qur-ub-tú</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. IV:25
Ilu-rēmāni	(¹ DINGIR-rēm-a-ni)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēt-ḥal qur-ub-tú</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:41
Išmē-ili	(¹ I-š-me-DINGIR)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:8
	(¹ I[š-me]-DINGIR)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. II:2
	(¹ Iš-[me-DINGIR])	<i>mušarkisu???</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:36
Kabbi-...	(¹ Kab-bi-...)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:5'
Kakku-ēreš	(^{1d} TUKUL.KAM-eš)	<i>mušarkisu???</i>	102 / Arbela	Sarg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:25'
	(^{1d} TUKUL.APIN-eš)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:14-15
Kakku-ēreš	(^{1d} TUKUL.KAM-eš)	<i>mušarkisu???</i>	102	Sarg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:28'
Kalbu	(¹ Kal-bu)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:9'
Kalḥāiu	(¹ URU.Kal-ḥu-a-a)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), I:7
	(¹ K[al-ḥa-a-a])	<i>muš vagy ru?</i>	<i>pēt-ḥal qur-ub</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), I:3
Kannunāiu	(¹ ITU.AB-a-a)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), I:3
Ki-...	(¹ Ki-...)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhalli</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:5'
Kināte	(¹ Ki-na'-te)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:9'
Libbāli-...?	(URU.ŠA.URU-...)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhalli</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:5'
Mannu-kī-aḥḥē	(¹ Man-n[ū-ki-PAP.MEŠ])	4 LÜ.mu-šar-kis.MEŠ-ni		698	SAA 6, 125 (ADD 1179+), R. 6
Mannu-kī-Arbail	(¹ Man-[nu-kī]—Arba-ih)	LÜ.mu-šar-ki-si		691/86	TSH 127, Rs. 6

Marduk-...	(^{1d} MES-...)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhalli</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:3'
Marduk-ēreš	(^{1d} AMAR.UTU.APIN- eš)	LÚ.mu-[ša]r-k[is]		Sae- Ash	SAA 6, 86 (ADD 261), R. 3'
Marduk-eṛība	(^{1d} ŠU.SU)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), R. 22'
[Mār]-larēm	(¹ [...] - <i>la-rem</i>)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), R. 23'
Mušallim-Aššur	(¹ Mu-DI-Aš-šur)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:13
Nabû-abu-ibnî	(^{1d} PA—AD—DÛ)	LÚ.mu-šár- kis!		665/62	TSH 126, Rs. 5
Nabû-bēl-šumâte	(^{1d} PA.EN.MU.MEŠ)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:2
	(^{1d} PA.EN.MU.MEŠ)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:17
	(^{1d} PA.EN.M[U.M]E)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:30
Nabû-dūru-ušur	(^{1d} PA.BAD.PAP)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, O.I:16'
Nabû-eṛība	(^{1d} PA.SU)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:20
	(^{1d} PA.SU)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:19
Nabû-il	(^{1d} PA-il)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:18
Nabû-nāšir	(^{1d} PA.PAP)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:7
Nabû-šumu-ušur	(^{1d} PA.MU.PAP)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:25
	(^{1d} PA.MU.PAP)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	100 / 4	Sarg.	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. II:17'
Nanusu	(¹ Na-nu-su)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhalli</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:7'
	(¹ Na-nu-su)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	102	Sarg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:30'
Nergal-iqbî	(^{1d} MAŠ.MAŠ.E)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhalli</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:9'
Nergal-nāšir	(^{1d} U.GUR.PAP-ir)	4 LÚ.mu-šar-kis.MEŠ-ni		698	SAA 6, 125 (ADD 1179+), R. 9
Nergal-šarru-ušur	(¹ U.GUR.MAN.PAP)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), I:6
	(¹ U.GUR.MAN.PAP)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	100 / 6	Sarg.	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. III:4'
	(¹ [U.GUR].MAN.PAP)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēt-ḫal qur-ub-tú</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:29
	(¹ U.GUR.MAN.PAP)	<i>šaknu ša ma'assi</i>			Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:16'
Niḫdā'ī	(¹ Ni-ih-da-a-a)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhalli</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:9'
Ninurta-abu-ušur	(^{1d} MAŠ.AD.PAP)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:4
	(^{1d} MAŠ.AD.PAP)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:19
	(¹ [MAŠ].AD.[P]AP)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:32
Ninurta-nā'id	(^{1d} MAŠ.I)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	101 / 13	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), IV:5'
Pāni-Aššur-lāmur	(¹ IGI-Aš-šur-la-mur)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:6
	(¹ IGI-Aš-šur-la-mur)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:17
Paqīḫi	(¹ Pa-qi-hi)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), I:2
Pišarmu	(¹ Pi-ša-ar-mu)	LÚ.mu-šar-kis	<i>ša</i> LÚ.GAR.<KUR>	695	SAA 6, 36 (ADD 34), R. 2-3
Qāt-ili-gabbu	(¹ ŠU.2.DINGIR-gab- bu)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:17
	(¹ ŠU.2.DINGIR-gab- [b]u)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:4
Rēmanni-Adad	(¹ Rém-ni-10)	LÚ.mu-šar-kis		Sarg.	SAA 1, 191 (ABL 132), R. 12-13
Salti-ili	(¹ Sa-al-ti-DINGIR)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:12
	(¹ [Sa]-al-ti-DINGIR)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:13
Sasî	(¹ Sa-si-i)	<i>mu-KEŠDA</i>		Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), I:15
	(¹ Sa-si-i)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), I:13
Sil-...	(¹ Sil-...)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēt-ḫal qur-ub-tú</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:36
Si-LAM.TAR	(¹ Si-LAM.TAR)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:10
Sîn-aḫḫē	(¹ 30.PAP.MEŠ)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēṭhal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), I:5
	(¹ 30.PAP.MEŠ)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēt-ḫal qur-ub-tú</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:28
Sîn-dūri-ušur	(¹ 30.BAD.PAP)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:15
	(¹ 30.BAD.PAP)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???		Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:12
Sîn-ilā'ī	(^{1d} 30.DINGIR-a-a)	LÚ.mu-šar-kis		641	SAA 14, 15 (ADD 105), R. 9

Sîn-kēnu-ušur	(¹ 30.GIN.PAP)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:22
Sîn-mutaqqin	(^{1d} 30.LAL- <i>in</i>)	LÜ.mu- <i>[...]</i>		Senn.	SAA 6, 199 (ADD 273), R. 9'
Sîn-nā'id	(¹ 30.I)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēthal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), I:14
	(¹ 30.I)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	100 / 8	Sarg.	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. III:10'
	(¹ 30.I)		<i>qurbūtu (qur-bu-tū) ?</i>		Iraq 23, 46, ND 2732, R. 10
Šalmu-aḥḥē	(¹ Šal-mu-PAP.MEŠ)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:7
	(¹ NU.PAP.MEŠ- <i>t[i]</i>)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	101 / 13	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), IV:2'
	(¹ NU.PAP.MEŠ)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), 15'
Šamaš- <i>[...]</i>	(^{1d} UTU- <i>[...]</i>)	<i>mušarkisu</i>		Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, R.I:18
Šamaš-aḥu-ušur	(^{1d} UTU.PAP.PAP)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:11
Šamaš-ilā'i	(^{1d} UTU.DINGIR- <i>a-a</i>)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:23
	(^{1d} UTU.DINGIR- <i>a-a</i>)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	100 / 3'	Sarg.	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. II:13'
	(^{1d} UTU.DINGIR- <i>a-a</i>)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:11
Šamaš-iqīša	(^{1d} UTU.BA- <i>šá</i>)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:3
	(^{1d} UTU.BA- <i>šá</i>)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:18
	(^{1d} UTU.BA- <i>šá</i>)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:31
Šarru-aḥu- <i>[...]</i>	(¹ MAN.PAP- <i>[...]</i>)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	100 / 5'	Sarg.	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. III:2'
Šarru-lū-dāri	(¹ MAN-lu-dā-ri)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēthal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), I:10
Šēpē-šarri	(¹ GIR.2.MAN)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	102	Sarg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:28'
Šulmu- <i>[...]</i>	(¹ Šul-mu- <i>[...]</i>)	<i>mušarkisu</i> <i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR qur-ub-tū		Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. IV:27
Šumma-ilu	(¹ Šum-mu—DINGIR)	LÜ.mu-šar-kis		Esarh.	SAA 16, 105 (ABL 186), 10
Šumu-lešir	(¹ MU.GIŠ)	LÜ.mu-šar-ki-su		734	SAA 6, 19 (ADD 415), 7
	(¹ MU.GIŠ)	<i>[...]</i>		?	SAA 6, 20 (ADD 303), 2'
	(¹ MU.GIŠ)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:7'
	(¹ MU.GIŠ)	<i>mušarkisu</i>		Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, R.I:16
Šābu-damqu	(¹ ERIN.MEŠ.SIG ₅)	<i>mušarkisu</i>		797	CTN II, 51 (ND 263), 10
Ṭāb-šar-Aššur	(¹ DÜG.IM-Aš-šur)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:7
	(¹ DÜG.IM-Aš-šur)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. II:1
	(¹ DÜG.GA.IM-Aš-šur)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:35
Tutī	(¹ Tu-t[i-i])	[LÜ.mu]-šar-kis		Sarg.	SAA 5, 251 (ABL 567+), R. 5
Ubru-Ḥarrān	(¹ SUḤUŠ.KASKAL)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:5
	(¹ SUḤUŠ.KASKAL)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	101 / 13	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), IV:3'
	(¹ SUḤUŠ.KASKAL)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:20
	(¹ SUḤUŠ.KASKAL)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:33
Ubru-Libbāli	(SUḤUŠ URU.ŠA.URU)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša pēthalli</i>	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, II:7'
	(SUḤUŠ URU.ŠA.URU)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	102	Sarg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:30'
Ululāiu	(¹ ITI.KIN- <i>a-a</i>)	<i>mušarkisu</i> ???	GIŠ.GI[GIR ...]	Sarg.	SAA 11, 126 (ADD 855), 11'
Urdi	(¹ Ur-di-i)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:20'
Urdu-Nanāia	(¹ ARAD- ^d Na-na-a)	LÜ.mu-šar-kis-ia		Esarh.	Grayson – Novotny 2012, 9 ii':9'
Urkāt-ili	(¹ Ur-kat-DINGIR)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:12'
	(¹ Ur-k[at-DINGIR])	<i>mušarkisu</i>		Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, R.I:20
Zazaku	(¹ Za-za-ku)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. III:16
	(¹ [Za]-za-ku)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	Parker 1961, 22, ND 2386+, I:5'
	(¹ Za-[za-k]u)	<i>mušarkisu</i>	<i>ša</i> GIŠ.GIGIR É.GAL	Sarg.	CTN III, 103 (ND 10001), R. I:3

Team commanders (*rab urâte*) of the stable officers

CHART 15

NAME	NAME	TITLE	UNIT	DATE	TEXT
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i>	108 / 3 – (6)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:38
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i>	108 / 3 – (6)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:39
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i>	108 / 3 – (6)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:40
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i>	108 / 3 – (6)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:41
[...]	¹ Gi[Š?...]]	<i>rab urâte</i>	108 / 3 – (6)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:42
[...]-a-ki-ibni	(¹ [...]-a-ki-DU)	<i>rab urâte</i>	108A / 3 – (8)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108A (ND 9911), R.I':3'
[...]	(¹ [...].MEŠ)	<i>rab urâte</i>	108A / 3 – (8)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108A (ND 9911), R.I':4'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i>	108A / 3 – (8)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108A (ND 9911), R.I':5'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i>	108A / 3 – (8)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108A (ND 9911), R.I':6'
[...]-iš-[...]	(¹ [...]-iš-[...])	<i>rab urâte</i>	108A / 3 – (8)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108A (ND 9911), R.I':9'
[...] .EN.KAL	[...] .EN.KAL	<i>rab urâte</i>	102 / 1 – (4)	Sarg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), I:2'
[...] .ME.MU.GIŠ.MEŠ	[...] .ME.MU.GIŠ.MEŠ	<i>rab urâte</i>	102 / 1 – (4)	Sarg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), I:3'
[...] -ālik-pāni	[...] -a-lik-pa-ni	<i>rab urâte</i>	102 / 1 – (4)	Sarg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), I:3'
Abu-erība	(¹ AD.SU)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:24
	(¹ AD.SU)	LŪ.GAL ū-rat	101 / 6 (13)	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), II:15
	(¹ AD.SU)	<i>rab urâte</i>	108A / 3 – (8)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108A (ND 9911), R.I':8'
Aḫi-ilā'ī	(¹ PAP.DINGIR-a-a)	LŪ.GAL.GAL	<i>pēthal qurubte</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), I:8
	(¹ PAP.DINGIR-a-a)	<i>rab urâte</i>	101 / 10 – (4)	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), III:11
Aḫu-lā-amašši	(¹ PAP-la-maš-ši)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:14
Aḫu-lāmur	(¹ PAP-la-mur)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:20
Aplu-ēreš	(¹ A.KAM)	<i>rab urâte</i>	101 / 9 – (5)	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), III:2
Aplu-ušur	(¹ A.PAP)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:24
Aššur-bāni-aḫḫē	(¹ Aš-šur-DU.PAP.MEŠ)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:10
Aššur-nā'id	(¹ Aš-šur-I)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:19
	(¹ [Aš-š]ur-I)	<i>rab urâte</i>	102 / 1 – (4)	Sarg.	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), I:3'
Aššur-nāšir	(¹ Aš-šur-PAP-ir)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:15
	(¹ Aš-šur-PAP-[ir])	<i>rab urâte</i>	108A / 3 – (8)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108A (ND 9911), R.I':7'
Aššur-rēmanni	(¹ Aš-šur-rēm-ni)	<i>rab urâte</i>	101 / 9 – (5)	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), III:5
Baḫi	(¹ Ba-ḫi-i)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:20
Bēl-iqbī	(¹ EN-iq-bi)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:15
	(¹ EN-iq-bi)	<i>rab urâte</i>	101 / 9 – (5)	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), III:6
Bēl-iqišāni	(¹ EN.BA-šā-a-ni)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:24
Dakuḫu-aḫḫē-erība	(¹ Da-ku-ḫu-PAP.MEŠ.SU)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:23
Ḫabusu	(¹ Ḫa-bu-su)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:18
Ḫidatānu	(¹ Ḫi-da-ta-a-nu)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:17
Iddin-aḫi	(¹ AŠ.PAP)	<i>rab urâte</i>	101 / 10 – (4)	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), III:10
Kakī	(¹ Ka-ki-i)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:19
Kakku-aplu-ušur	(¹ idTUKUL.A.PAP)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:13
Kaldāiu	(¹ Kal-da-a-a)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:17
Kēni	(¹ GIN-i)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:13
Kudāiu	(¹ Ku-da-a-a)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:9
Kur'e-ēreš	(¹ Kur-'e-e-APIN-eš)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:11
	(¹ Kur- [e-APIN-e]š?)	<i>rab urâte</i>	100 / 2 – (4)	Sarg.	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. II:2'
	(¹ Kur-'i-i-A[PIN])	<i>rab urâte</i>	101 / 8 – (5)	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), III:2
Mannu-iddina-aḫḫē	(¹ Man-nu-SUM-na-PAP.MEŠ)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:23
	(¹ Man-nu-SUM.PAP.MEŠ)	<i>rab urâte</i>	101 / 9 – (5)	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), III:7
Mannu-kī-aḫḫē	(¹ Man-nu-GIM-PAP.MEŠ)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:10

Mannu-kī-Aššur	(¹ <i>Man-nu-GIM-Aš-šur</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma 'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:10
Nergal-atkala	(¹ <i>U.GUR-at-ka-la</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma 'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:14
Pūlu	(¹ <i>Pu-u-lu</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma 'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:18
Sa-[...]-'i	(¹ <i>Sa-[...]-'i</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	101 / 10 – (4)	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), III:13
Šābu-damqu	(¹ <i>ÉRIN.MEŠ.SIG</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	101 / 9 – (5)	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), III:8
	(¹ <i>ÉRIN.MEŠ.SIG</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	108 / 3 – (6)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), R. V:43
Šilli-Bēl-Tue	(¹ <i>Šil-EN-^{ur}Tú-e</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma 'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:21
Šamaš-bānī	(¹ <i>UTU.DÜ</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma 'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:21
Šamaš-šabtanni	(¹ <i>UTU.DIB-ni</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	101 / 10 – (4)	Sarg.	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), III:12
Ubru-aḫḫē	(¹ <i>SUḪUŠ.[P]A[P.MEŠ]</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	108A / 3 – (8)	Sarg.	CTN III, 108A (ND 9911), R.I':10'
Ubru-Issar	(¹ <i>SUḪUŠ.15</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma 'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:11
Ubru-Nergal	(¹ <i>SUḪUŠ.U.GUR</i>)	<i>rab urâte</i>	<i>šaknūte ša ma 'assi</i>	Sarg.	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:9

Team commanders (*rab urâte*) of other, unidentified units

Nimrud Horse Lists

CHART 16A

NAME	NAME	TITLE	UNIT	DATE	TEXT
[...]	^l [...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	100 / 1 – (6)	Sargon	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R.I:4'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	100 / 1 – (6)	Sargon	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R.I:6'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	102 / 2 – (9)	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), IV:1'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	102 / 2 – (9)	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), IV:2'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	102 / 2 – (9)	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), IV:3'
[...]	^l [...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	102 / 2 – (9)	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), IV:4'
[...]	^{ld} [...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	102 / 2 – (9)	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), IV:6'
[...]	^{ld} [...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	102 / 2 – (9)	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), IV:7'
[...]	^l [...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	102 / 3 – (10)	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), IV:14'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	102 / 3 – (10)	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), IV:15'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	102 / 3 – (10)	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), IV:16'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	102 / 3 – (10)	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), IV:17'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	102 / 3 – (10)	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), IV:18'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	102 / 3 – (10)	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), IV:19'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	102 / 4 – (5+2?)	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), IV:24'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	102 / 4 – (5+2?)	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), IV:25'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	107 / 2 – (17)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), II:1'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	107 / 2 – (17)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), II:2'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	107 / 2 – (17)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), II:3'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	107 / 2 – (17)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), II:4'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	107 / 2 – (17)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), II:5'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	107 / 2 – (17)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), II:6'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	107 / 2 – (17)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), II:7'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	107 / 2 – (17)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), II:8'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	107 / 2 – (17)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), II:9'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	107 / 2 – (17)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), II:10'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	107 / 2 – (17)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), II:11'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	107 / 2 – (17)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), II:12'
[...]	^l [...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	107 / 2 – (17)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), II:13'
[...]	^l [...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	107 / 2 – (17)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), II:14'
[...]	^l [...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	107 / 2 – (17)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), II:15'
[...]	^l [...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	107 / 3 – (6+)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), II:19'
[...]	^l [...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	107 / 3 – (6+)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), II:20'
[...]	^l [...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	107 / 3 – (6+)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), II:21'
[...]	^l [...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	107 / 3 – (6+)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), II:22'
[...]	^l [...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	107 / 3 – (6+)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), II:23'
[...]	^l [...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	107 / 3 – (6+)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), II:24'
[...]	[...]	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	100 / 11 – (9)	Sargon	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. IV:8'
[...]	(^l [...] -A-BA?)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	100 / 11 – (9)	Sargon	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. IV:7'
[...]-erība	(^l [...] -MEŠ.SU)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	100 / 11 – (9)	Sargon	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. IV:12'
[...]-īr	(^l [...] -īr)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	100 / 11 – (9)	Sargon	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. IV:13'
[...]-lāmur	(^l [...] -la-mur)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	100 / 11 – (9)	Sargon	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. IV:9'
[...]-TAR	(^l [...] -TAR)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	100 / 11 – (9)	Sargon	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. IV:14'
[...]-bēl-ilāni	(^l [...] -E]N-DINGIR.MEŠ)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	100 / 12 – (4)	Sargon	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. IV:20'
[...]-kišru	(^l [...] -KAD-ru)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	100 / 12 – (4)	Sargon	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. IV:19'
[...]-raru	(^l [...] -ra-ru)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	100 / 12 – (4)	Sargon	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. IV:18'
[...]-upaqa	(^l [...] -ú-pa-qa)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	100 / 12 – (4)	Sargon	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. IV:21'
[...]-nāiu	(^l [...] -na-a-a)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	101 / 2 – (3+)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), O. I:28
[...]-naru	(^l [...] -n]a-ru)	<i>rab urâte</i> ?	101 / 2 – (3+)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), O. I:29
[...]-āiu	(^l [...] -a-a)	LÜ.GAL ú-rat	101 / 6 – (13)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), II:22
[...]-iqbī	(^{ld} [...] -i]q-bi)	LÜ.GAL ú-rat	101 / 6 – (13)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), II:23

[...]pānu	([¹ ...]pa-a-nu)	rab urâte ?	108 / 1 – (6+)	Sargon	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), I:15
[...]šu	([¹ ...]šú)	rab urâte ?	108 / 1 – (6+)	Sargon	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), I:17
[...]i	([¹ ...]i)	rab urâte ?	108 / 1 – (6+)	Sargon	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), I:18
Adad-[-...]	(¹ U.[-...])	rab urâte ?	102 / 2 – (9)	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), IV:5'
Adad-bēlu-ušur	(¹ U.U.PAP)	rab urâte ?	100 / 11 – (9)	Sargon	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. IV:11'
Aḫi-dūri	(¹ PAP.BAD)	rab urâte ?	101 / 1 – (6)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), O. I:20
Aḫi-dūri	(¹ PAP.BAD)	rab urâte ?	101 / 3 – (4)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), O. II:3
Aḫi-ēreš	([¹]PAP.KAM)	rab urâte ?	101 / 7 – (4+)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), II:30
Aḫi-šu	(¹ PAP-šú)	rab urâte ?	107 / 2 – (17)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), II:16'
Akkadāia	([¹ U]RI-a-a)	rab kišir	Armāia	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:25'
	(¹ URI-a-a)	LÚ.GAL ú-rat	101 / 6 – (13)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), II:17
	([¹ U]RI-a-a)	rab urâte ?	GIŠ.GIGIR Ē.GAL	Sargon	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), R. IV:1
	(¹ URI-a-a)		LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR	Sargon	KAV 131, 10
Alra-[-...]	(¹ Al-ra-[-...])	rab urâte ?	101 / 3 – (4)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), O. II:5
Aplā'ī	(¹ A-ia)	rab kišir	Armāia	Sargon	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:9
	(¹ DUMU.U[Š-]a-a)	LÚ.GAL ú-rat	101 / 6 – (13)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), II:19
	(¹ A[?]-ia)	rab urâte ?	107 / 1 – (11+)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), I:22'
Aššur-ašarēdu	(¹ Aš-šur-SAG.KAL)	rab urâte ?	107 / 1 – (11+)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), I:23'
Aššur-mātu-taqin	(¹ Aš-šur-KUR.LAL)	rab urâte ?	100 / 11 – (9)	Sargon	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. IV:6'
Aššur-šarru-[-...]	(¹ Aš-šur-MAN-[-...])	rab urâte ?	101 / 5 – (3)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), O. II:11
Aia-sidqi	(^{1d} A-a-si-id-qi)	rab urâte ?	101 / 1 – (6)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), O. I:22
Bēl-dūri	(¹ EN.BĀD)	rab urâte ?	100 / 11 – (9)	Sargon	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. IV:10'
Bēl-Ḥarrān-šarru-ušur	(¹ EN.KASKAL.MAN.PAP)	rab urâte ?	107 / 1 – (11+)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), I:24'
Bēl-lāmūr	(¹ EN-la-[mur?])	rab urâte ?	102 / 3 – (10)	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), IV:10'
Bēl-napišti-[-...]	(¹ EN.ZI?[-...])	rab urâte ?	102 / 3 – (10)	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), IV:11'
Bēl-šarru-ušur	(¹ EN.MAN.PAP)	rab urâte ?	107 / 1 – (11+)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), I:17'
Bēl-šumu-[-...]	(¹ EN.M[U?...])	rab urâte ?	102 / 2 – (9)	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), IV:8'
Bi-[-...]	(¹ Bi-[-...])	rab urâte ?	102 / 4 – (5+2?)	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), IV:23'
Ezī	([¹]E-zi-i)	rab urâte ?	108 / 1 – (6+)	Sargon	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), I:14
Ezī šanū	([¹]E-zi-i 2-u)	rab urâte ?	108 / 1 – (6+)	Sargon	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), I:16
Gu-[-...]	(¹ Gu-[-...])	rab urâte ?	102 / 3 – (10)	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), IV:12'
Ili-idri	(¹ DINGIR-id-ri)	rab urâte ?	101 / 3 – (4)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), O. II:4
Issar-aplu-iddina	(¹ 15.A.AŠ)	LÚ.GAL ú-rat	101 / 6 – (13)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), II:18
Issar-iqīša	(¹ 15[.B]A-šá)	rab urâte ?	100 / 8 – (1)	Sargon	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. III:5'
Kidinnu-Šamaš	([¹]Ki-din-nu- ^{1d} Šá-maš)	rab urâte ?	108 / 1 – (6+)	Sargon	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), I:13
Kišir-Aššur	(¹ KĀD-[Aš-š]ur)	rab urâte ?	107 / 2 – (17)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), II:17'
	(¹ Ki-šir-Aš-šur)	rab kišir	(of šaknu of tahlīpu charioteers)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), O. I:17
Kišir-Issar	(¹ Ki-šir-15)	rab urâte ?	107 / 1 – (11+)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), I:25'
Ku-[-...]	(¹ Ku-[-...])	rab urâte ?	102 / 4 – (5+2?)	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), IV:22'
Luti'i	(¹ Lu-ti-'i)	rab urâte ?	101 / 5 – (3)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), O. II:10
Mannī	(¹ Man-ni-i)	rab urâte ?	101 / 17 – (2+)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), R. VII:8'
Mu[šēzib]-Marduk?	(¹ Mu-[šē-zib- ^a]ŠÚ)	LÚ.GAL ú-rat	101 / 6 – (13)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), II:20
Mušēzib-Marduk	(¹ Mu-še-zib- ^a ŠÚ)	rab urâte ?	101 / 5 – (3)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), O. II:9
Nabī	(¹ Na-bi-e)	rab urâte ?	101 / 3 – (4)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), O. II:2
Nabū-šēzib	(^{1d} PA-še-zib)	LÚ.GAL ú-rat	101 / 6 – (13)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), II:16
Nabū-šumu-lešir	(^{1d} PA.MU.GIŠ)	rab urâte ?	107 / 1 – (11+)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), I:19'
Nabū-ubriā-kēni	(^{1d} PA.SUHUŠ-ia-GIN)	rab urâte ?	107 / 1 – (11+)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), I:21'
Nannī	(¹ Na-an-ni-i)	rab kišir	Arbailāia	Sargon	CTN III, 110 (ND 10024), III:13'
	([¹]Na-an-ni-i)	LÚ.GAL ú-rat	101 / 6 – (13)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), II:26

Nergal-[...]-uṣur	(¹ U.GUR.[...].PAP)	<i>rab urâte ?</i>	100 / 2 – (4)	Sargon	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. II:3'
Ninurta-[...]	(^{1d} MA[Š?...])	<i>rab urâte ?</i>	102 / 4 – (5+2?)	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), IV:21'
Ninurta-issīa	(^{1d} [MA]Š?-K[I]-a?)	<i>rab urâte ?</i>	100 / 1 – (6)	Sargon	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R.I:3'
Nuḥšāia	(¹ HÉ.NUN-a-a)	<i>rab urâte ?</i>	101 / 1 – (6)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), O. I:25
	(¹ HÉ.NUN-a-[a])	<i>rab urâte ?</i>	107 / 1 – (11+)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), I:16'
Qurdi-ilāni	(¹ Qur-di-DINGIR.MEŠ-ni)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Armāia</i>	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), II:20'
	(¹ Qur-di-DINGIR.[MEŠ-ni?])	<i>LÜ.GAL ú-rat</i>	101 / 6 – (13)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), II:14
Qurdi-Ištar-lāmur	(¹ Qur-di-15.IGI)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arbailāia</i>	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), III:18'
		<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arbailāia</i>	Sargon	CTN III, 110 (ND 10024), III:10'
	(¹ Qur-di- ⁴ 15.IGI)	<i>LÜ.GAL ú-rat</i>	101 / 6 – (13)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), II:25
Rēmtu	(¹ Rēm-tú)	<i>rab urâte ?</i>	100 / 7 – (1)	Sargon	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. III:5'
Saparšu	(¹ Sa-par-šú)	<i>rab urâte ?</i>	101 / 1 – (6)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), O. I:24
Šamaš-[...]	(^{1d} U[TU...])	<i>rab urâte ?</i>	102 / 3 – (10)	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), IV:13'
Šamaš-deni-āmur	(^{1d} UTU-de-ni-a-mur)	<i>rab urâte ?</i>	107 / 1 – (11+)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), I:20'
Šamaš-nā'id	(^{1d} UTU.I)	<i>rab urâte ?</i>	101 / 1 – (6)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), O. I:23
	(^{1d} UTU.I)	<i>LÜ.GAL.GAL ?</i>	provincial unit 1	Sargon	CTN III, 99 (ND 10002), II:3
	(^{1d} UTU.I)	<i>LÜ.GAL.GAL ?</i>	provincial unit 1	Sargon	CTN III, 104, A.II:8'
Šamaš-pīa-uṣur	(^{1d} UTU.KA.PAP)	<i>rab urâte ?</i>	107 / 1 – (11+)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), I:18'
Šarru-[...]	(¹ MAN-[...])	<i>LÜ.GAL ú-rat</i>	101 / 6 – (13)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), II:21
Šarru-Sin	(¹ LUGAL.30)	<i>rab urâte ?</i>	101 / 1 – (6)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), O. I:21
Tāb-[...]-Ezida	(¹ DÜG.GA.[...].É.ZI.DA)	<i>rab urâte ?</i>	107 / 1 – (11+)	Sargon	CTN III, 107 (ND 10016), I:26'
Ubru-ahḫē	(¹ SUḪUŠ.PAP.MEŠ)	<i>rab kišir</i>	<i>Arbailāia</i>	Sargon	CTN III, 108 (ND 9910+), II:18
	(¹ SUḪUŠ.PAP.MEŠ)	<i>LÜ.GAL ú-rat</i>	101 / 6 – (13)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), II:24
Ubru-Aššur	(¹ [SUḪUŠ-Aš-šur)	<i>rab urâte ?</i>	101 / 7 – (4+)	Sargon	CTN III, 101 (ND 10004), II:29
Ubru-Šamaš	(¹ [SU]ḪUŠ. ⁴ UTU?)	<i>rab urâte ?</i>	100 / 1 – (6)	Sargon	CTN III, 100 (ND 10003), R. I:5'
Urdu-[...]	(¹ IR.[...])	<i>rab urâte ?</i>	102 / 2 – (9)	Sargon	CTN III, 102 (ND 10019), IV:6a'

Other sources

CHART 16B

NAME	NAME	TITLE	DATE	TEXT
[...]	[...]	<i>LÜ.GAL ú-[rat]</i>	?	SAA 7, 5 (ADD 857), R. II:15
Atar-ili	(¹ A-tar-DINGIR)	<i>LÜ.GAL—ú-rat</i>	666	SAA 14, 2 (ADD 627), 1
Nabû-danninanni	(^{1d} PA.KAL-in-a-ni)	<i>LÜ.GAL u-rat šá GAL.SAG</i>	PC	CTN III, 12 (ND 7010), 5
Qurdi-Adad	(¹ [Qur-d]i- ⁴ IM)	<i>GAL ú-rat</i>	692	SAA 6, 65 (ADD 440), R. 8'
Qurdi-Adad	(¹ Qur-di-10)	<i>GAL ú-ra-te</i>	618	SAA 14, 32)ADD 151), R. 7

BOOTY AND TRIBUTE CAPTURED – ASSYRIAN ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS

Tiglath-Pileser I (1114—1076 B.C.)									
Year	Territory	Precious	Iron	Metals	Bronze	sheep	cattle	horses	Military equipment
GRAYSON 1991, A.0.87.1.									
ii:16-35	Katmuḫu Kili-Tešub	gold, silver		180 copper kettles, 5 bronze bath-tubs					
ii:36-57	Urratinaš, Šadi-Tešub			60 copper kettles, bronze vats, and large bronze bath-tubs,		sheep	cattle		
iii:103-iv:1	Murattāš, Saradauš, Lower Zab			120 copper kettles, 30 talents of copper <i>bars</i> ,					120 chariots, harnessed horses
iv:23	Ḫabḫu, Paḫḫū								
iv:94-95, v:5-6, v:19	23 kings of the lands Nairi								120 of their chariots with equipment
v:40-41	Milidia of the land Ḫanigalbat			one homer of lead ore					
23-24	Lullumu								
35-36	Qumānu								
14-15	Nairi, Tummū, Daiēnu, Ḫimua, Paiteru							teams of horses in harness	
24-30	Mount Lebanon, Amurru, Arvad, Byblos, Sidon, Ḫatti								
Aššur-dān II (934—912 B.C.)									
Year	Territory	Precious	Iron	Metals	Bronze	sheep	cattle	horses	Military equipment
GRAYSON 1991, A.0.98									
1, 13-14	Ekal-pī-nāri					[... herds] (and) flocks without number.			
1, 21	Ruqaḫu, River Zab					herds, (and) flocks			
1, 58	Mount Kirriuru, Suḫu, [...], Simerra, Lu[...],								
2, 5'						herds, (and) flocks]			

Adad-nērārī II (911—891 B.C.)									
Year	Territory	Precious	Metals	Animals			Military equipment	Other	
			Iron	Bronze	sheep	cattle	horses		
GRAYSON 1991, A.0.99									
1, 15-17	Qumānu					herds (and) flocks			booty, possessions, property
1, Rev. 3'-5'	Tigris, 40 cities					herds (and) flocks			booty, possessions, property
1, Rev. 9'	Ḥabḥu, Bāzu, Šarbalu, Dīdualu, River Rūru Meḥru								booty (and) possessions
2, 43-44	Ḥanigalbat, Nasipanu, Saraku								I reaped the harvest of his land
2, 58-59	Ḥanigalbat, Temannu, Arameans, Gidara Raqammatu						horses	chariots	precious stone of the mountain
2, 68-73	Ḥanigalbat, Temannu, Nasibina,	gold, a gold throne, polished gold dishes						chariots with teams of [horses], ..., a staff, his battle-gear, weapons, ... arrows,	extensive property of his palace.
2, 87-88	Temannu, Sikkur, Sappānu,					herds, flocks			possessions, property
2, 93	Kummu, Ḥabḥu								I reaped the harvest of his land
2, 96	Kummu, Ḥabḥu						teams of horses.		
2, 103-104	Ḥanigalbat, Ḥabur, Guzānu, Bīt-Baḥiāni, Sikānu	silver, gold, the property of his palace					teams of horses	numerous chariots	
2, 107	Sadikannu	gold						chariots	tribute, tax
2, 110	Qarnu, Amīl-Adad					oxen	horses	chariots, wagons	property of his palace
2, 117-118	Sirqu, Mudadda, the Laqū					oxen	oxen		tribute, tax, the property of his palace

Tukulti-Ninurta II (890—884 B.C.)										
Year	Territory	Metals			Food rations			Animals		
		Precious	Iron	Bronze				sheep	cattle	horses
GRAYSON 1991, A.0.100.5.										
5-8	Nairi?, Balasi							his herds		
9-10	?	silver, gold								property, possessions, booty, extensive [treasure of] his palace, property, [...] were brought to me.
16-18, 20-22	Nairi, Subnat, M. Kašīari, Pīlāiškun, Bīt-Zamāni		iron	bronze, tin	grain (and) straw of his land,				horses, mules	pots
69-73	Sūhu, Ili-ibni governor of the land Sūhu	3 talents of silver, 20 minas of gold		18 tin bars, a bronze bath-tub	bread, (and) beer		sheep	oxen		
76-79	Hindānu, Āmme-alaba	10 minas of <i>liqtu</i> -gold, 10 minas of silver		2 talents of tin, 60 bronze ... 10 minas of antimony preparation, 8 minas of antimony mineral,	14 ducks, bread, beer, straw, (and) fodder		200 sheep,	50 oxen,	30 dromedaries, 30 asses	one talent of myrrh
85-86	Aqarbānu, Mudadda, the Laqū				bread, beer, grain, straw		200 sheep	30 oxen		
86-87	Supru, Ĥamatāiia, the Laqū				bread, beer, grain, straw		200 sheep	50 oxen		
88	Arbatu, Ĥarānu, the Laqū				bread, beer, grain, straw		200 sheep,	30 oxen		
90-92	Mudadda of the city Sirqu	3 minas of gold, 7 minas of refined silver		[N] talents of tin, 40 bronze casseroles	20 birds, bread, beer, grain, straw, (and) fodder		[N] hundred sheep	[N] hundred and 40 oxen	20 asses	
93-94	Sirqu, Ĥarānu, the Laqū	3 minas of gold, 10 minas of silver		30 bronze casseroles, 6 talents of tin			500 sheep	100 and [N] oxen	20 asses	
98-101	Sūru of Bīt-Ĥalupē, Ĥamatāiia, (the) Laqū	20 minas of gold, 20 minas of silver	2 talents of iron	32 talents of tin, 130 talents of bronze, 100 bronze utensils, 1 tub, 1(?) talent of ... 4 minas of antimony preparation	[N] ducks		1,200 sheep	100 oxen		

	Year	Territory	Metals			Food rations	Animals			Military equipment	Other
			Precious	Iron	Bronze		sheep	cattle	horses		
102-103	884	Usalā				bread, beer, grain, (and) straw	200 sheep	30 oxen			
104-108	884	Dūr-Kaṭlimmu, ... of the land Laqû	refined silver, 10 talents of silver, 14 minas of [...]	N] talents of iron	[N] talents of antimony [preparation]		sheep	oxen	horses	100 iron daggers	
109-111	884	Qamu			11 talents of tin, 50 bronze utensils	100 ducks (and) geese, bread, beer, grain, straw					
113-114	884	Šadikamnu	3 minas [of ...], one tub of silver		bronze ...,						
123-125	884	Mušku, Pîru				[I cut down] the harvest of [their] gardens	sheep	oxen			their possessions

Ashurnasirpal II (883—859 B.C.)											
Year	Territory	Metals			Food rations		Animals			Military equipment	Other
		Precious	Iron	Bronze		sheep	cattle	horses			
GRAYSON 1991, A.0.101.1.											
i:48	Tummu, Libê						oxen			possessions	
i:55-56	Tummu	silver, gold		tin, bronze, (and) bronze casseroles	wine	sheep	oxen	horses, mules		I imposed upon them corvée.	
i:57-58	Gi-lānu, Ḫubušku	silver, gold		tin, bronze, (and) bronze casseroles				horses			
i:67	Mount Kirmuru										
i:74	Katmulḫu, Mušku			bronze casseroles	wine	sheep	oxen			tribute, tax, and corvée.	
i:78-79	Šadikannu, Qatnu	silver, gold		tin, bronze casseroles							
i:83-88	Sūru, which belongs to Bīt-Ḫalupê, Aḫi-ṭababa	silver, gold	iron	bronze, tin, bronze casseroles, bronze pans, bronze pails, much bronze property		sheep	oxen	teams of horses	harnessed chariot, the equipment of the horses, the equipment of the troops,	possessions, property, valuable tribute which, like the stars of heaven, had no number	
i:95	Laqū	silver, gold		tin, bronze, bronze casseroles		sheep	oxen				
i:96-97	Ḫaiānu, of the city Ḫindānu	silver, gold		tin, bronze				dromedaries			
i:100-101	Ḫi-ibnī, governor of Suḫu	silver (and) gold									
i:106	Izalla				wine	sheep	oxen				
i:112	city Maritu, Nirbu					sheep	oxen				
i:115-116	Tēla						oxen, cattle			possessions	
ii:11-12	Tuṣṣa (land Nirbu)			bronze casseroles	wine	sheep	oxen	horses, mules			
ii:14-15	Tuṣṣa (from Bīt-Zamāni, Subrū, Nirdun, lands Nairi)	silver, gold		bronze casseroles	wine	sheep	oxen	horses, mules	chariots		
ii:22-23	Bīt-laḫiri, Bīt-Bahāni, kings of Hamgalbat, Ḫatti	silver, gold		tin, bronze casseroles		sheep	oxen	horses			

	Year	Territory	Metals			Food rations		Animals			Military equipment	Other
			Precious	Iron	Bronze			sheep	cattle	horses		
ii:31-33	881	Bāra						sheep	oxen			
ii:36	881	Bunāsi (from Muṣašina)								horses		valuable booty
ii:38	881	Mount Nisir						sheep	oxen			possessions
ii:42	881	Mount Nisir, Larbusa, of Kirtara						sheep	oxen			possessions
ii:46	881	all of the kings of Zamua	silver, (and) gold							horses		
ii:47	881	all of the kings of Zamua	silver, gold			barley, straw				horses		
ii:52-53	880	Zamua, land Dagara				wine		sheep	oxen			
ii:57	880	Zamua, city Ḫudun						sheep	oxen			
ii:64	880	Zamru, Mount Etinu, Ameka			bronze utensils, bronze tubs, casserole(s), bowls, tureens							property, possessions, treasure of his palace, (and) his storehouse
ii:66-68	880	Zamru, Mount Elaniu, Ameka	dish decorated with gold		bronze tubs, casseroles, bowls, vats, bronze utensils			sheep	oxen	horses		property, possessions, valuable booty
ii:75-76	880	land Sipirmena			bronze, bronze ..., bronze rivets							
ii:78-80	880	Zamua	silver, gold		tin, bronze, bronze casseroles	wine		sheep	oxen	horses		corvée they performed in Calah
ii:80-81	880	Ḫudun, Ḫartišu, Ḫubusku, Gilzānu	silver, gold			wine		sheep	oxen	horses		
ii:88	879	Kamuhū, city Kibaku			bronze casserole(s)	wine		sheep	oxen			
ii:92	879	Zazabuḫa, Ḫabḫu			bronze casseroles, bronze tubs	wine		sheep	oxen		bronze armour	
ii:93	879	Sūru, Mount Kašīari			bronze casseroles	wine		sheep	oxen			
ii:96-97	879	Mount Kašīari			bronze casseroles	wine		sheep	oxen		bronze armour	
ii:101-102	879	land Nirdun			bronze casserole(s)	wine		sheep	oxen	horses, mules	bronze armour	

	Year	Territory	Metals			Food rations	Animals			Military equipment	Other
			Precious	Iron	Bronze		sheep	cattle	horses		
ii:118	879	Nairi				I reaped the harvest of their land (and) stored the barley and straw in the city Tušja.					
ii:119-125	879	Bīt-Zamāni	2 talents of silver, 2 talents of gold	300 talents of iron	100 talents of tin, 100 talents of bronze, 100 bronze casseroles, 3,000 bronze receptacles, bowls, bronze containers		5,000 sheep	2,000 oxen	460 harness-trained horses	harnessed chariots, equipment for troops (and) horses,	treasure of his palace
iii:4	878	Šadikannu	silver, gold		tin, bronze casseroles		sheep	oxen			
iii:6-8	878	Bīt-Ḫalupē	silver, gold		tin, bronze casseroles		sheep	oxen			linen garments with multi-coloured trim,
iii:8-9	878	Sirqu	silver, gold		tin, bronze casseroles		sheep	oxen			
iii:9-10	878	Šupru	silver, gold		tin, bronze casseroles		sheep	oxen			
iii:11	878	Naqarabānu	silver, gold		tin, bronze casseroles		sheep	oxen			
iii:13	878	Ḫindānu	silver, gold		tin, bronze casseroles		sheep	oxen			
iii:21-22	878	Sūru, land Suḫu	silver, gold		tin, bronze casseroles				teams of horses	chariots, equipment for troops, equipment for horses	property of his palace, his valuable booty from him
iii:40	877	Azi-ili, the Laqū, at the city Kipinu									
iii:42-43	877	Azi-ili, the Laqū, at the cities Dummētu and Azmu					sheep which, like the stars of heaven, had no number	oxen			valuable booty
iii:45-46	877	Ilā, sheikh of the land Laqū								his chariots with teams	his troops

	Year	Territory	Metals			Food rations	Animals			Military equipment	Other
			Precious	Iron	Bronze		sheep	cattle	horses		
iii:47-48	877	Ilā, sheikh of the land Laqū	silver, gold		tin, bronze, bronze casseroles						property of his palace, his valuable booty
iii:55-56	875	Aḥunu of Bit-Adini, Ḥabīnu of Tīl-abni	silver, gold		tin, bronze						treasure of his palace
iii:57-58	875	Ḥatti, Bit-Baḫiāni	silver, gold		tin, bronze, (and) bronze casseroles				horses	harnessed chariots, I took with me the chariots, cavalry, (and) infantry	
iii:59-60	875	Ḥatti, Adad-ime, the (A)zallu	silver, gold		tin, bronze, (and) bronze casseroles	wine	sheep	oxen	horses	harnessed chariots, I took with me the chariots, cavalry, (and) infantry	
iii:61-63	875	Ḥatti, Aḥunu of Bit-Adini	silver, gold, gold bracelets, rings, necklaces, a gold dagger		tin, bronze, bronze casseroles	wine	sheep	oxen		I took with me the chariots, cavalry, infantry	
iii:64	875	Ḥatti, Ḥabīnu of Tīl-abni	4 minas of silver, annual tribute 10 minas of silver				400 sheep				
iii:65-69	875	Carchemish, Sangara, king of the land Ḥatti	20 talents of silver, a gold ring, a gold bracelet, gold daggers, a chariot of polished (gold), a gold couch with trimming	250 talents of iron	100 talents of bronze, bronze (tubs), bronze pails, bronze bath-tubs, a bronze oven					I took with me the chariots, cavalry, infantry.	
iii:71	875	city Ḥazazu of Lubarna, the Patinu	gold								linen garments

	Year	Territory	Metals			Food rations	Animals			Military equipment	Other
			Precious	Iron	Bronze		sheep	cattle	horses		
iii:72-77	875	Kunulua, the royal city of Lubarna, the Patinu	20 talents of silver, 1 talent of gold,	100 talents of iron	100 talents of tin		10,000 sheep	1,000 oxen		I took with me the chariots, cavalry, infantry.	
iii:78	875	Gûsu of the land laġānu	silver, gold	[iron]	tin, [bronze]		sheep	oxen			linen garments with multi-coloured trim
iii:82-83	875	city Aribua, the fortified city of Lubarna, the Patinu				I reaped the barley and straw of the land Luḥutu (and stored (it) inside.					
iii:85-88	875	Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, Maġallānu, Maizu, Kaizu, Amurru, and the city Arvad	silver, gold		tin, bronze, a bronze casserole						
iii:89-92	875	Lebanon, Amanus?									
iii:94-95	866	Huzirina, Itti, the (A)zallu, Giridadi, the Aššu	silver, gold				sheep	oxen			
iii:95-96	866	Qatazili, the Kummuhu	silver, gold								cedar logs

Shalmaneser III (858—824 B.C.)											
	Year	Territory	Metals			Food rations		Animals			Other
			Precious	Iron	Bronze			sheep	cattle	horses	Military equipment
GRAYSON 1991, A.0.102											
1, 18-19; 2, 16-18	859	Hargu, Harma-sa, Sirišu, Ulmā-nu, Simerra				wine		sheep	oxen	teams of horses	
1, 28	859	Ḫubuskia								teams of horses	
1, 38-39 2, i:28-29	859	Asū (Asua), the Gilzānean				wine		sheep	oxen	teams of horses, camels with two humps	
1, 43-45; 2, i:35-36	858	Til-Abni, Saru- gu, Immerinu	silver, gold		tin, bronze	wine		sheep	oxen		
2, i:36-37	858	Kummuḫji	silver, gold			wine		sheep	oxen		
2, i:40-41	858	Gurgum	silver, gold			wine		sheep	oxen		
1, 61; 2, i:47	858	Sam'al, Patinu, Bīt-Adini, Car- chemish								teams of horses	chariots
1, 66'-70'	858	Patinu, Bīt- Adini, Carche- mish, Sam'al, Que, Ḫiluku, Iasbuqu, Iaḥanu								teams of horses	chariots
1, 81'-82' 2, 12'-13'	858	Bīt-Agūsi	silver, gold, a [gold (and) silver] bed			wine		sheep	oxen		
1, 92'-95'	857	Unqi, Gurgum, Sam'al, Bīt- Agūsi	silver, gold	iron	tin, bronze	wine, ducks (issūrū rabūtu)		sheep	oxen		
2, ii:21-24	857	Patinu	3 talents of gold, 100 talents of silver, annual tribute: one talent of silver	300 talents of iron	300 talents of bronze, 1,000 casseroles			5,000 sheep	500 oxen		
2, ii 24b-27a	857	Bīt-Gabbari	[N] talents of silver, tribute: 10 minas of silver	90 talents of iron	90 talents of bronze			3,000 sheep	300 oxen		
2, ii:27b-28	857	Bīt-Agūsi	10 minas of gold, 6 talents of silver					5,000 sheep	500 oxen		

	Year	Territory	Metals			Food rations	Animals			Military equipment	Other
			Precious	Iron	Bronze		sheep	cattle	horses		
2, ii:28-29	857	Carchemish	2 talents of gold, 70 talents of silver; tribute: 1 mina of gold, 1 talent of silver.	100 talents of iron	30 talents of bronze		5,000 sheep	500 oxen			
2, ii:30	857	Kummulji	annually 20 minas of silver								
2, ii:39-40	856	kings of the seashore and kings on the banks of the Euphrates	silver, gold	iron casseroles	tin, bronze, bronze casseroles		sheep	oxen			
2, ii:52-53 5, iii:2	856	Urartu							horses, mules, beasts of burden	his camp, his chariots, his cavalry; military equipment, numerous cavalry	rich possessions; his royal treasure
2, ii:57-58	856	[Za]nziuna					sheep	oxen	teams of horses		
2, ii:61-62	856	Gilzānu				wine	sheep	oxen	teams of horses, seven camels with two humps	[chariots]	
2, ii:64-65	856	Silaia, a fortified city of the land of Hubuškia					sheep	oxen	horses, mules, donkeys		
2, ii:73-74	855	Bit-Adini								troops, chariots, cavalry	rich palace property beyond measure
2, ii:84-86	853	Carchemish, Kummulji, Bit-Agāsi, Meliddu, Bit-Gabbari, Patinu, Gurgum	silver, gold		tin, bronze, (and) bronze casseroles						
2, ii:87	853	Halman (Aleppo)	silver, gold								
2, ii:102 6, ii:32-33 8, 18'-19' 10, ii:24-25 14, 65-66 16, 36-38	853	12 kings of the seashore							teams of horses	chariots, cavalry, military equipment	

	Year	Territory	Metals			Food rations	Animals			Military equipment	Other
			Precious	Iron	Bronze		sheep	cattle	horses		
5, vi:6	850	Baḡnu, a fortress of Bīt-Dakkuri.					sheep	oxen			valuable booty
5, vi:6-7	850	Hurādu, a royal city of Bīt-Dakkuri	silver, gold	iron	bronze, tin						
5, vi:7	850	Bīt-lakin, Bīt-Amukkāni	silver, gold	iron	bronze, tin						
6, iii:12-15	848	Qalparunda the Patinean	silver, gold		tin		sheep	oxen	horses, donkeys		
6, iii:8-11	848	Damascus, Hamat, 12 kings on the shore of the sea								chariotry, cavalry, military equipment	
6, iii:43-44	844	Daiēnu							tax and tribute of horses		
6, iii:55-56	844	Meliddu	silver, gold		tin, (and) bronze						
6, iv:1-3	843	Allabria	a door of gold								extensive property of his palace
6, iv:19-20	843	Namri, Šumurza, Bīt-Nergal, Tugliaš							his harness-trained horses without number		his possessions (and) property
10, 10''-14''	841	Damascus								1,121 of his chariots (and) 470 of his cavalry with his military camp	
A.0.102.88	841	house of Omri (Hūmrī) (Israel)	silver, gold, a gold bowl, a gold tureen, gold vessels, gold pails, tin, the staffs of the king's hand							spears	
A.0.102.90	841	Suḡu	silver, gold, gold pails							spear	
A.0.102.91	841	Patinu	silver, gold		tin, bronze, compound (lit. "fast bronze"), bronze casseroles						

	Year	Territory	Metals			Food rations	Animals				Military equipment	Other
			Precious	Iron	Bronze		sheep	cattle	horses			
10, iv:34-40	859-839	from the beginning of my sovereignty to my twentieth regnal year					184,755 sheep	35,565 oxen	9,920 horses, mules, 19,690 donkeys			
14, 125-126	835	Bīt-Ha(m)ban										his rich property
14, 135	833	Que, Tullu	silver, gold	iron			sheep	oxen				
14, 137	833	Que, Mount Lamena					sheep	oxen				
16, 236'-238'	832	Urtu								numerous cavalry, fighting equipment		
14, 155	831	city Kinalua, land Patinu	silver, gold, without measure	iron	tin, bronze							
14, 167-168	829	Mammaea					sheep	oxen				property without measure

Šamši-Adad V (823—811 B.C.)										
Year	Territory	Metals			Food rations			Animals		Other
		Precious	Iron	Bronze		sheep	cattle	horses	Military equipment	
GRAYSON 1991, A.0.103										
1, ii:24-30	822? Sarsina, son of Meqdiara, and Ušpina									property, possessions
1, ii:33-34	822? the kings of the land Nairi							teams of horses		
1, ii:36-40	Hubuškia, Sunbu, Mannaea, Parsua, Tauria							teams of horses		
1, ii:54-56	821? Mēsu					sheep	oxen	donkeys, teams of horses, camels with two humps		property, possessions
1, ii:59-iii:6	821? Titamaška, Kiara							horses		
1, iii:15-19	821? Uraš	utensils of silver (and) gold,		pieces of bronze		sheep	oxen	horses		
1, iii:33-36	821? Hanasiruka the Mede								140 of his cavalry	property and possessions in countless quantities
1, iii:42-43	821? Araziaš					sheep	oxen			property, possessions,
1, iv:6-7	820? Mē-turnat									
1, iv:12-14	820? city Di'bina									property, (and) possessions
1, iv:15-17	820? Datēbir (and) Izduia									property, possessions
1, iv:19-22	820? Qērebtī-ālāni					sheep	oxen			property, possessions
1, iv:31-34	820? Dūr-Papsukkal									treasure of its palace, property, possessions in countless quantities
1, iv:31-45	820? Daban river battle in front of the city Dūr-Papsukkal								100 chariots, 200 cavalry.	the pavilion, his royal tent, (and) his camp bed
2, iii:15'-16'	?					sheep	oxen		30 of their cavalry, one chariot	possessions, property
2, iii 37b-48' 4, 10'-12'	819? Dēr					sheep	oxen			great property, the property of the palace
2, iv:15'-29'	Nibu, Baba-aḫa-iddina	iron, [...] of iron		[...], tin, lead, strips of bronze					divine standard which goes before him	precious sword with silver (and) gold mountings, royal accoutrements

Adad-nērārī III (810—783 B.C.)										
	Year	Territory	Metals		Food rations		Animals			Other
			Precious	Iron	Bronze		sheep	cattle	horses	
GRAYSON 1991, A.0.104										
4, 7'-10'	811—806?	Arpad, battle of Paqarahubuni								his camp
6, 19-20	806	Damascus	100 talents of gold, 1,000 talents of silver							treasures of his palace
8, 17-20	806	Damascus	2,300 talents of silver, 20 talents of gold	5,000 talents of iron	3,000 talents of bronze					
7, 5-8	?	Anurrū, Ḫatti, Damascus, Samaria, Tyre, Sidon	2,000 talents of silver	2,000 talents of iron	1,000 talents of copper					

Tiglath-Pileser III (745—727 B.C.)										
	Territory	Metals			Food rations	Animals			Military equipment	Other
		Precious	Iron	Bronze		sheep	cattle	horses		
TADMOR – YAMADA 2011										
5:8b-11a	745	Babylonian tribes				240 sheep yearly to the Assur temple				
6, 10b-12	744	Nikur, Namri, Bīt-Abdadāni, Bīt-Sangibūti, Bīt-Zatti					oxen	horses, mules		
7, 6b-8a	744	Bīt-Kapsi, Bīt-Sangi, Bīt-Urzakki				sheep, goats	oxen	Bactrian camels		
8, 8-12	744	Insubmissive city rulers of the campaign		500 talents of [...]	bronze					300 talents of 'lapis lazuli'
35, i:11'-14'	744	Ellipi, Namri, Bīt-Sangibūti, Medes				sheep, goats	oxen	horses, mules broken to the yoke, camels		
35, i:15'-20'	744	Iranzū, king of Mannai				fattened sheep	majestic bulls	white, piebald, Harṣean, Har- [...] horses with their trappings		
49, 24'-25'	741/40	Bīt-Agūsi, Arpad	30 talents of gold, 2,000 talents of silver							
11, 4'-7'	738	Damascus	3 talents of gold, 300 talents of silver							
11, 7'-12, 3'	738	Kummubi, Tyre, Que, Carchemish, Gurgum		iron					military equipment	
12, 6'-11'	738	Unqi	300 talents of silver						battle equipment	
14, 10 – 15, 5	738	From Damascus to Meliddu	gold, silver	iron	tin	sheep [whose wool] is dyed red purple, sheeop, goats	oxen	horses, mules, camels, she-camels		
48, 1'-10'	738	Hiram of Tyre?						Egyptian horses		
17, 9-10	737	Medes, Ellipi				sheep, goats	oxen	horses, mules, Bactrian camels		
17, 10-102	737	Mannea				sheep, goats	cattle	horses, mules		
35, ii:30'-44'	737	Medes						1,615 horses		
41, 13-14	737	Medes				sheep, goats	oxen	5,000 horses		

	Year	Territory	Metals			Food rations	Animals			Military equipment	Other
			Precious	Iron	Bronze		sheep	cattle	horses		
18, 1-4	735	Nairi (Ḫiṣia, Ḫarabisiṇna, Barbaz, Tasa)					19,000 sheep	1,350 oxen	[...] horses, 300 mules, 660 asses		
18, 4-6	735	Nairi (Daiqanša, Sakka, Ippa, Elizanšu, Luqadanša, Quda, Elugia, Dania, Danziun, Ulaia, Luqia, Abramia, Eusa)					1,000 sheep	150 oxen	horses, mules, asses		
42, 12'-15'	734	Gaza	gold, silver						large horses		
48, 14'-16'	734	Gaza	[...] talents of gold, 800 talents of silver								
48, 19'	734	Gaza	100 talents of silver								
49, Rev. 6-8	734	Tyre	20 talents of gold, [...]						Egyptian horses		
20, 1'-8'	733	Damascus							horses, mules		
20, 14'-17'	733	Damascus, city [...], ḫāḏara					sheep, goats	oxen			
20, 14'-17'	733	Damascus, Kuruṣṣā, Samāia									
20, 14'-17'	733	Damascus, Metuna									
21, 1'-11'	733	Bit-Ḫumria (Israel)									
22, 1'-8'	733	Ḫinnatuna, Ku- [...], Yatbite, Sa[...], Israel									
42, 15'-17'	733	Bit-Ḫumria (Israel)								„auxiliary army”	
42, 17'-19'	733	Israel	10 talents of gold, [...] talents of silver								
42, 19'-22', 48, 24'-25'	733	Samsi, queen of the Arabs						20,000 oxen	30,000 camels	military equipment	
48, 27'	732 ???	Samsi, queen of the Arabs							camels, she-camels		
42, 27'-33'	732 ???	Mas'a, Tema, Saba tribes, Ḫaiappa, Badanu, Ḫatte, Idiba'lu	gold, silver						camels, she-camels		
49, Rev. 21-22	732 ???	Samsi, queen of the Arabs					livestock				

	Year	Territory	Metals			Food rations	Animals			Military equipment	Other
			Precious	Iron	Bronze		sheep	cattle	horses		
51, 11-15	731 ?	Babylonia, Bīt-Šilāni, Bīt-Ša'āli, Sarraḫanu, Tarbaṣu, Iaballu, Malilātu									
51, 18-19		Bīt-Dakkuri, Larak, Bīt-Iakin, Sealand	natural unrefined gold and silver				sheep, goats	oxen			
47, Rev. 16' 49, Rev. 26	730	Tyre	150 / 50 talents of gold, 2,000 talents of silver								
47, Rev. 14'-15' 49, Rev. 27-29	730	Tabal	10 talents of gold, 1,000 talents of silver						2,000 horses [... and] mules		

Sargon II (721—705 B.C.)											
	Year	Territory	Metals			Food rations	Animals			Military equipment	Other
			Precious	Iron	Bronze		sheep	cattle	horses		
FUCHS 1994, Annalen											
15	722	Samaria								50 chariots into the royal corps	
72a	717	Carchemish	11 talents of <i>sagru</i> -gold, 2,100 talents of silver	iron	[x] talent of <i>ar'hu</i> -bronze, tin					military equipment	
75	717	Carchemish								50 chariots, 200 cavalry, 3,000 foot soldiers into the royal corps	
105-106	715	Urtu					sheep	cattle			
106	715	Andia									
111-112	715	Lower- and Upper-Nartu									
115-116	715	Bit-Ḫamban, Kimirra									
123-125	715	Egypt, Arabs, Saba'eans	gold						horses, camels		
147-148	714	Ianzū, king of Na'iri in Ḫubuškta					sheep	cattle	horses		
153-155	714	Muṣaṣir, Urzana					100,225 sheep	920[+] catles	692 mules and donkeys		
155-156	714	Muṣaṣir, Urzana	34 talents 18 minas gold, 160 talents2 ½ minas silver		bronze, tin						
158-159	714	Muṣaṣir, Urzana	[+] ³ talents 3 minas gold, 162 talents [20] minas silver	iron utensils in large numbers						bronze utensils in large numbers, [bronze] statues of an ox, a cow, and a calf	
176-178	713	Ellipi, Ḫubaḥna					[x+] 1200 sheep		horses, mules, donkeys		
191-194	713	Mannaea, Ellipi, Allabria, 45 city lords of the mighty Medes					sheep without number		4,609 horses, mules, and oxen		
210-213	712	Til-Garimmu, Meliddu, Tarḫunazi									

	Year	Territory	Metals			Food rations	Animals			Military equipment	Other
			Precious	Iron	Bronze		sheep	cattle	horses		
268-272	710	Dūr-Aṭḫara					sheep	oxen	horses, mules, donkeys, dromedaries		
272-275	710	Ba-[...], Haza'il, Ḥamdānu, Zabīda, Amna-[...], Abḥī-iddina, Aiasammu, 6 sheikhs of Gambulu	1 talent 30 minas silver			2,000 homers of corn	1 sheep from every 20 sheep	1 ox from every 20 oxen			
283-286	710	Zamē, Aburē, Nuḥāni, Ibūli, 5 sheikhs of the Puqudu, Ru'ūa, Ḥindānu					sheep	oxen	horses		
294-298	710	forts of Sam'ūna and Bab-dūri in Iadburu					sheep	oxen	horses, mules, donkeys, camels		
298-302	710	Laḥīru, Sulaia, 6 sheikhs of Iadburu					sheep	oxen	horses, mules		
321-325	710	Babylon, Borsippa, offers for the Akitu festival	154 talents 26 minas 10 sheqels of red gold; 1,604 talents 20 minas of shining silver, semi-precious stones								
350-353	709	camp of Marduk-apla-iddina in front of Dūr-lakin	royal golden parasol, golden sceptre, bed, couch, golden and silver utensils, golden sword belt and weapons								
354-356	709	camp of Marduk-apla-iddina in front of Dūr-lakin					[...] +4sheep	[...]	2080/2500 horses, 700/710 mules, 6,054 camels		
359a	709	Marduk-apla-iddina, Dūr-lakin	gold, silver						1,000 horses, 800 [mules]		
360-362	709	Marduk-apla-iddina, Dūr-lakin	gold, silver		bronze						
363-372	709	Marduk-apla-iddina, Dūr-lakin	golden [...], silver throne, silver bowl, silver [...]				sheep	oxen	[horses, mules], donkeys	implements and equipments	
405-406	708	Muttallu, king of Kummūḫi, Meliddu	gold, silver				sheep	oxen	horses, mules, donkeys, camels		

	Year	Territory	Metals			Food rations	Animals			Military equipment	Other
			Precious	Iron	Bronze		sheep	cattle	horses		
THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, MAYER 1983											
32-36	714	Ullusunu in Mannaea					sheep	cattle	yoke trained, harnessed horses		
37-38		Allabria					sheep	cattle	horses		
39-41		Namri, Sangibūti, Bit-Abdadāni, Medes									<i>madattu</i>
42-50		in Parsumaš: Daltā of Ellipi and 26 city lords					sheep	cattle	horses, mules, dromedaries		
52-55		Ullusunu in fort Sirdakka				flour, wine	sheep	cattle	large harnessed horses		presents
70-71		in Sirdakka: Zizī of Appatar, Zalā of Kitpatā									
166		Wišdiš				Opened the granaries and let the troops eat up/consume the grain.					
178		Subi/Mannai: Ušqaiā									Heavy booty from the city/fort he took into his camp.
186-187		Sangibūti: Anīastania				Opened the granaries and let the troops eat up/consume the grain.					He scorched the harvest and let the flocks of his camp to pasture the crop.
197		Land Dalaia: cities Tarui, Tarmakisa				Opened the granaries and let the troops eat up/consume the grain.					He scorched the harvest.
218-220, 228		Ulḫu				Opened the granaries and let the troops eat up/consume the grain. The troops broached the admiral and drank the wine.					Beams of the roof of the palace of Rusa he took to Assyria. They destroyed the harvest.
256-257		Arzabāia, Irtia									Goods and possessions brought out from the warehouses.
262-263		Arzabāia, Irtia				Opened the granaries and let the troops, horses, mules, dromedaries carry the corn into my camp.					

	Year	Territory	Metals		Food rations	Animals			Military equipment	Other
			Precious	Iron		Bronze	sheep	cattle	horses	
274		Mount Armarili			Opened the granaries and let the troops eat up/consume the grain.					He scorched the harvest.
292-295		Mount Aiadi			Opened the granaries and let the troops eat up/consume the grain.					Goods and possessions brought out from the warehouses.
308		Ianzû, Ħubuškia					sheep	cattle	harnessed horses	
347-367		palace of Urzana. Mušašir	2,058 minas (1,029 kg) gold, 10,022.5 minas (5,011 kg) silver			huge quantities of copper, tin	1,235	525	12 mules, 380 donkeys	carneol, lapis lazuli, achat; a throne and several (15) objects made of ivory, ebony, box-wood and inlaid with gold and silver; 6 golden daggers; 11+34+54 silver plates; 13+24+120 bronze objects; and several objects
368-385		temple of Ħaldi, Mušašir	[x]+183 minas (ix)+91.5 kg) gold, 9,740 minas and 6 sheqels (4,870 kg) silver			3,600 talents of bronze			33 silver chariots, bows, quivers, maces, shields, helmets, spears and military standards; 25,212 bronze shields; helmets and armours; 1,514 different types of bronze spears; 305,412 bronze swords, bows, quivers and arrows;	6 golden shields (312 minas (156 kg) of red gold; locking bar of the gate made of 2 talents of gold; 1 golden bolt; 1 golden nail; 2 golden keys (2 talents and 12 minas (66 kg)) gold; 1 golden sword (23 minas, 3 sheqels (11.5 kg)); 96 silver spears, armours, bows and arrows; 12 silver shields; 67 silver cauldrons; 62 libation bowls, pomegranate and other objects; 393 silver vessels; 2 large horns of an oxen; 1 golden harp; ...607 bronze vessels of different types; 4 bronze statues of gods guarding the gates of the temple; 1 bronze praying statue of Sarduri; bronze statues of an ox and a cow offered by Sarduri; bronze statue of Argišti (60 talents); bronze statue of Rusa standing on his chariot with horses and a driver
406		Mušašir	gold, silver	iron		tin, bronze				

Sennacherib (704—681 B.C.)										
	Year	Territory	Metals		Food rations	Animals			Military equipment	Other
			Precious	Iron	Bronze		sheep	cattle	horses	
GRAYSON – NOVOTNY 2012										
1, 27-29	704-703	battle of Kish							horses, mules, donkeys, camels, Bactrian camels	chariots, wagons
1, 30-33	704-703	Babylon, treasury of Merodach-baladan	gold, silver, gold and silver utensils				sheep, goats	oxen	donkeys, camels	royal paraphernalia with gold and silver mountings, all kinds of possessions and property without number, a substantial treasure
1, 57	704-703	Hararātu	gold, silver							large <i>musukkannu</i> trees
1, 60-61	704-703	Babylonia					800,100 sheep and goats	80,500 oxen	7,200 horses and mules, 11,073 donkeys, 5,230 camels	
2, 22-23	702	Isabigalla					sheep and goats	oxen	horses, mules, donkeys	
4, 49-51	701	46 cities of Judah					sheep, goats	oxen	horses, mules, donkeys, camels	
4, 55-80	701	Hezekiah of Judah	30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver	iron	choice antimony, utensils of bronze, copper, tin				chariots, shields, lances, armor, iron belt-daggers, bows, <i>ussu</i> -arrows, equipment, implements of war	
4, 59-60	701	Judah, conquered lands during this campaign								10,000 archers, 10,000 shield-bearers into the royal corps
15, v:10-17	700	Chaldea								20,000 archers, 15,000 shield-bearers into the royal corps
15, v:29-32	699-697	Ukku					sheep, goats	oxen	donkeys	
16, v:33-36	699-697	Ukku								20,000 archers, 15,000 shield-bearers into the royal corps
17, v:15-22	695	Tilgarrimmu, Gurdī, king of Urdutu								30,000 archers, 20,000 shield-bearers into the royal corps
23, vi:10-12	691/690	battle of Ḫalulē	gold and shining silver sling straps, gold and silver decorated belt-daggers							
23, vi:15-19	691/690	battle of Ḫalulē							horses	chariots

Esarhaddon (680—669 B.C.)											
	Year	Territory	Metals			Food rations	Animals			Military equipment	Other
			Precious	Iron	Bronze		sheep	cattle	horses		
LEIGHTY 2011											
I, 1, iv:17-24	680	Adumutu, Arabs	10 minas gold						65 camels, 10 donkeys + 50 camels		
I, 1, iv:32-45	678?	Partakka, Partukka, Urakazabarna, Media							large thoroughbreds		
I, 1, iv:46-52	678?	Patušarri, Medes, Mount Bikni, Šidirparna (and) E-parna chieftains					sheep, goats	oxen	horses, Bactrian camels		
I, 1, ii:74-80	677	Abdi-milkutti, Sidon	gold, silver								
33, iii:14-20	673	Uppume, Šubria								soldiers, skilled in battle and combat, from [...] and I attached (them) to my royal guard. With regard to ... [...], a group of charioteers, a group of cavalry, commanders of ... officials, [engin]leers, troops, light troops, shield bearers, scouts, farmers, shepherds, (and) orchard keepers — [I ad]d[ed] (them) in great numbers to the massive folc[re]s of the god Aššur and to the guard of the former kings, my ancestors.	
98, 43-45	671	Memphis, Tiṛḥaqa/Taharqa					sheep and goats	oxen	horses		his possessions
103, 11-29	671	Memphis, Tiṛḥaqa/Taharqa	gold (and) silver utensils, 15 crowns of ...] 30 crowns of wives, ditto	gold, silver, anti[m]ony	copper, tin, lead						posse[sions], goods,
9, i':1'-17'	671	Memphis, Tiṛḥaqa Taharqa?								third-men, charioteers, ... [... re]n[-holders], archers, shield bearers	

	Year	Territory	Metals			Food rations	Animals			Military equipment	Other
			Precious	Iron	Bronze		sheep	cattle	horses		
9, ii':12'-21'	671	Memphis, Tirthaqa/Taharqa?	6 talents, 19 minas of gold, 300 [...]			19,323 homers, (measured by) 1 seah, of malt	30,418 sheep	24[x]	[x] +40 stallions		<i>sattukku</i> and <i>ginu</i> offerings to Assur and the great gods
37, Rev. 7-11	671	Memphis, Tirthaqa/Taharqa							horses whose ... [are ...] gold		
38, Rev. 16'-32'	671	Memphis, Tirthaqa/Taharqa	gold, silver								(precious) stones, property ...
1019, 18-42	671	Memphis, Tirthaqa/Taharqa?	8,000 talents of silver ore from [its] mound, ... talents of red gold, 120 large gold headdresses, from the heads of [...] on which [were set] golden vipers and golden serpents, utensils of silver, gold		utensils of bronze		[...] countless [...], sheep with tails of oxen,	60,000 fattened choice oxen	50,000 strong horses, broken [to the yoke, ...]		

Assurbanipal (668—631 B.C.)										
Year	Territory	Metals			Animals			Military equipment	Other	
		Precious	Iron	Bronze	Food rations	sheep	cattle	horses		
BORGER 1996										
Prisma B §14, ii:30-39 Prisma C §24, iii:53-67 Prisma A §18, ii:39-48	Thebai, Egypt	silver, gold						large horses		precious stones, treasures of his palace, 2 high obelisks made of shining stone whose weight was 2,500 talents
Prisma H, H1, ii:7'-14'	Thebai, Egypt	silver, gold						large horses		2 high obelisks made of <i>zahallia</i> metal whose weight was 2,500 talents
Prisma B §22, iii:31-51 Prisma C §32, iv:40-64 Prisma A §27, ii:127-iii:3 Prisma F §11, ii:23-37	Mannaea: Aiusiaš, fort of Aššašt (or Aššašdannasu), B/PusuUD, Ašdiaš, Urkiāmum, Uppiš, Šihūa, Naziniri					sheep	cattle	horses, donkeys		
Prisma B iii:78, Prisma C iv:87;	Mannai: Birrua, Šarru-iqbī, Gusunē							horses, harnessed horses	military equipment, weapons	
Prisma B §35, v:77-vii:16 Prisma C §45, vi:79-vii:9	Elam, Til-Tuba							horses, mules	chariots, carts, military equipment	
Prisma B §36, vi:17-56 Prisma C §46, vii:10-54	Gambulu, Ša-pi-Bēl, Dunānu	silver, gold				sheep	cattle			his goods, treasures of his palace
Prisma C §64, ix:29-44	Babylon, Šamaš-šum-ukīn	silver, gold						horses, workstocks	chariots	parade chariot, royal chariot, expensive jewellery, royal insignia, goods of his palace as much as he got
Prisma A §40, iv:53-76	Babylon, Šamaš-šum-ukīn								chariots	parade chariot with parasols

	Year	Territory	Metals			Food rations	Animals			Military equipment	Other
			Precious	Iron	Bronze		sheep	cattle	horses		
Prisma A §57, v:126-vi:76 Prisma F §32, iv:66-v:54	10 th campā ign, 64..	Elam, treasury of the palace and the temple	silver, gold, treasures which the kings of Elam from the distant past have collected; gold and silver, wealth and properties, which the former kings of Elam in seven times captured in Sumer, Akkad, and Karduniaš; red gold, shining silver, precious stones, valuable jewellery, royal insignia, which the former kings of Akkad and Šamaš-šum-ukīn sent to Elam as tokens of their alliance						arrows of the battles and other military equipment, chariots, parade chariots, carts decorated with gold and silver	royal garments and jewellery with all the furniture of his palace ³² royal statues made of gold, silver, bronze and marble from the cities of Susa, Madaktu ʿs Huradi, statues of the sons of Ummanigaš, Umbadarā, statues of Ištarmanḫundi, Ḫallusu and the later Tammariṭu, statues of the <i>šēdu</i> and <i>lamassu</i>	
Prisma A §58, vi:77-106 Prisma F §33, v:55-71	10 th campā ign, 64..	Elam				sheep without number	cattle without number	horses, mules, donkeys	commanders, commander of the archers, governors, chariot drivers, third men horsemen, archers,	eunuchs, blacksmiths, craftsmen and the whole population	
Prisma A §60, vi:125-vii:8 Prisma F §35, vi:12-21	10 th campā ign, 64..	Elam							archers, shield-bearers, craftsmen, blacksmiths were enlisted into the royal corps.		
Prisma A §63, vii:51-81	10 th campā ign, 64..	Elam							archers were enlisted into the royal corps.		
Prisma B §53, viii:12-22 Prisma C §78, x:17-28	11 th campā ign, 64..	Arabs				sheep without number	cattle without number				

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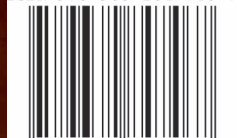
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