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### Yeniden Bařlarken

Anadolu Arařtırmaları Dergisi kimi kesintiler olmakla birlikte 1955 yılından bu yana İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakóltesi tarafından yayınlanmaktadır. Amacı; 1915 yılından beri Eskiçağ derslerinin verildiđi İstanbul Üniversitesi'nde Eskiçağ Dönemi kültürleri üzerine çalışan bilim insanlarının Anadolu ve yakın çevresinde oluşan uygarlıklara ait taşınır ve taşınmaz kültür varlıkları ve bölgelerarası kültürel ilişkiler üzerinde yaptıkları yorumların bilim dünyasının deđerlendirmesine aktarılmasıydı. Kronolojik olarak da Eski Önasya kültürlerini inceleyen disiplinlerin dikkate aldığı milattan önceki yüzyıllardan Klasik Eskiçağ kültürlerinin ilgi alanına giren dönemleri ve Geç Antik Çağ'ın ve dolayısıyla Eskiçağ'ın bitimi olarak tanımlanan MS 6. yüzyılın sonuna kadar uzanan süreci kapsamaktadır. Dergi'de bu kriterleri taşıyan arkeoloji, filoloji, epigrafi ve nümizmatik alanlarındaki çalışmalarla bu dönemlerin tarihi coğrafyasını konu alan yazılara da yer verilmektedir.

Anadolu Arařtırmaları Dergisi bazı sayılarını "Armağan Kitabı" niteliğinde yayınlamıştır. 1965 yılında yayınlanan 2. sayısı 1961 yılında hayatını kaybeden ve Dergi'nin kurucusu olan Eski Önasya Dilleri ve Kültürleri alanında çalışan dilbilimci, tarihçi Helmut Theodor Bossert'e ithaf edilmiştir. Yine 1996 yılında yayımlanan XVI. sayısı Prof. Dr. Afif Erzen'e sunulan yazılardan oluşmaktadır.

Dergi'nin 1976 ile 2006 yılları arasında yayınlanan sayılarında başta Hitit ve Urartu dönemleri olmak üzere Anadolu yerel halklarına ait kültür varlıkları ile Anadolu'da başta İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakóltesi ve diđer üniversitelerin öğretim üyeleri tarafından yapılan kazı ve arařtırmaların buluntularının deđerlendirilerek bilim dünyasına tanıtıldığı görülmektedir.

Bossert'ten sonra Dergi'nin yayın kurulunu oluřturan ve yayına hazırlayan Edebiyat Fakóltesi'nin tüm öğretim üyelerine deđerli hizmetleri ve verdikleri büyük emek için burada bir kez daha teřekkür ederken Anadolu Eskiçağ Tarihi arařtırmalarının farklı disiplinlerde geliřerek ilerlemesinde

büyük katkısı bulunan ve artık maalesef aramızda olmayan değerli Eskiçağ arařtırmacıları, yol gösterici bilim insanları Prof. Dr. Uluę Bahadır Alkım'ı, Prof. Dr. Afif Erzen'i, Prof. Dr. Mustafa Kalaç'ı, Prof. Dr. Oktay Akřit'i ve otuz yıla yakın bir süre Dergi'nin redaksiyon çalıřmalarını üstlenen değerli bilim insanı, Önyasya dilleri uzmanı, dilbilimci, tarihçi ve her yönden çok kıymetli bir önder olan Prof. Dr. Ali M. Dinçol'u bir kez daha rahmetle anarken değerli hatıraları önünde saygıyla eğiliyoruz. Halen hayatta olan ve yayın kuruluna önceki yıllarda büyük katkılarda bulunmuş olan tüm öğretim üyelerimize de saęlıkla uzun bir ömür dilerken değerli katkıları ve emekleri için tekrar çok teřekkür ediyoruz.

Dergi'nin bu yıldan başlayarak yayınlanacak olan yeni sayılarına Anadolu ve çevre kültürlerinin Eskiçağ dönemleriyle ilgilenen tüm yerli ve yabancı meslektaşlarımızı değerli çalıřmalarının sonuçlarını ve yorumlarını içeren makaleleriyle bu sayıda belirtilen yayın ilkeleri çizgisinde katkıda bulunmaya saygılarımızla davet ediyoruz.

Anadolu Arařtırmaları Dergisi Yayın Kurulu

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## THE EARLY NEO-ASSYRIAN PROVINCIAL ARMY OF GŪZĀNA\*

Miklós KEREKES\*\*

**Keywords:** Gūzāna, Tell Halaf, Assyrian Army, Weapons, Composite Bow, Aramean, Mannu-kī-Aššūr

*The Neo-Assyrian army is generally known from sources discovered in the core of the empire, i.e., palace reliefs, correspondence from the royal archives and royal inscriptions. Most of these sources date back to the Sargonid period. The archaeological and textual records from the ancient city of Gūzāna provide an opportunity to balance the picture drawn from these sources. Based on its relatively peaceful transition from an independent Aramean kingdom to an Assyrian province at the turn of the 9<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century BC, it can be supposed that the Aramean-type army had a significant influence on the troops stationed in the province during the early Neo-Assyrian period.*

*The subjects of the present reconstruction are, on one hand, the bas-reliefs from the Temple Palace of Kapara, that serve as the main source of our knowledge on the Aramean armies. On the other hand, the archive of Mannu-kī-Aššūr from the early 8<sup>th</sup> century BC provides information about the Assyrian provincial army of the same period. By means of a detailed analysis, the texts from this archive give a more detailed and complex insight to the less-known provincial army in the early Neo-Assyrian period. This paper also provides arguments for the existence of a workshop manufacturing composite bows.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Gūzāna, Tell Halaf, Asur Ordusu, Silahlar, Bileşik Yay, Arami, Mannu-kī-Aššūr

*Yeni Asur ordusu genel olarak imparatorluğun merkezinden gelen saray kabartmaları, başkentlerde bulunan mektuplaşmalar ve krali yazıtlar gibi kaynaklar aracılığıyla bilinmekte olup bu kaynakların büyük bölümü Sargon dönemine kadar gitmektedir. Eski Gūzāna'dan gelen çok çeşitli kaynaklar eyaletleri de kapsayan daha bütüncül bir imaj oluşturmaya imkan vermektedir. Arami krallığının eyaletleştirilme sürecinin nispeten daha barışçıl oluşu ile Arami tipi ordu sisteminin Yeni Asur döneminde eyalette konuşlu askeri birlikler üzerinde yoğun etkisi olduğu düşünülebilir.*

---

\* I would like to thank Lutz Martin for kindly receiving me to Berlin for two weeks in 2013, and offering his invaluable assistance during my stay. Without his assistance this article would never be written. My further thanks go to Aron Dornauer, Mirko Novák, Ádám Vér and Zsombor Földi for helpful discussions and critiques of the article; an anonymous reviewer offered important comments and references on a previous draft. Any errors are my own responsibility.

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*Rekonstrüksiyonda Arami ordusu için temel bilgilerimizi Kapara'nın Tapınak Sarayı'nın kabartmaları sağlamaktayken erken 8. yüzyıldan Güzāna valisi Mannu-kī-Aššūr'un arşivi ise dönemin Asur eyalet ordusuyla ilgili bilgi vermektedir. Detaylı analiz için arşivdeki metinler, daha az bilinen eyalet birlikleri ve erken Yeni Asur dönemi ordusu için de daha kompleks bir bakış sağlamaktadır. Makalede ayrıca eyalette bir bileşik yay atölyesi bulunduğu da iddia edilmektedir.*

## INTRODUCTION

The cuneiform texts from the tablet archive of Mannu-kī-Aššūr have been known to Neo-Assyrian studies for three generations and were published and republished several times (Friedrich *et al.* 1940, Fales 1983, Dornauer 2014) and utilized in numerous articles on various topics. These studies were either text editions or the texts were discussed as sources on individual subjects. The aim of this article is to put these cuneiform documents into their own context. This article focuses on the information related to the military. The key for this paper is the peaceful transition of Güzāna from an independent Aramean kingdom to an Assyrian province. Based on this, the Aramean bas-reliefs from the site can be used as additional evidence.

In the first part of this paper the pre-Assyrian sources are introduced: the history of Güzāna, the Aramean army, the bas-reliefs from the Temple Palace of Kapara and finally the soldiers depicted on the bas-reliefs. In the second part, the military-related expressions in the archive of Mannu-kī-Aššūr are analysed in detail. After a brief introduction to the early Neo-Assyrian military there follows a discussion of the units mentioned in the archive; these are categorized by arms and based on their weaponry as well. In the third part, the provincial army of Güzāna is examined in relation to the previous effects of the Aramean domination, the possible Hurrian influence, the special transition to an Assyrian province and the role of horse breeding. Finally, there will be an attempt to trace the production of composite bows and the different types of military units stationed in the province.



## GŪZĀNA AT THE TURN OF THE 9<sup>TH</sup>–8<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY BC

Around the early 11<sup>th</sup> century BC, after having faced Tiglath-Pileser I in several battles, the Aramean tribes occupied the Khabur Triangle, and founded here a new city, Gūzāna. This region was under permanent Aramean control before their encounter with the Assyrians. One of the most important Aramean rulers was Kapara, son of Hadiānu, who built several monumental buildings and in his inscriptions designated himself as king of Palê. He reigned in the late 10<sup>th</sup> to early 9<sup>th</sup> century BC (Martin 2016: 269). Prior to the state formation of the Aramaeans, immigrants from southeastern Anatolia founded a settlement in Tell Halaf (Novák 2013a: 294). Just 2.5 km to the east of Tell Halaf lies Waššukanni / Sikāni, modern Tell Fekheriye, with which Tell Halaf formed a twin site. The regional urban centre always changed between these two sites. In the late 12<sup>th</sup> century the Assyrians defeated groups of raiding Muškus, Kaškus and Urumus. Their survivors were deported, and could have been settled by the Assyrians in Tell Halaf. At this time it was an empty site near Aššukanni, a provincial capital in the Middle Assyrian period (Novák 2013b: 264). Before the arrival of the Arameans the archaeological material indicates the existence of a new local elite, competing with the inhabitants of Aššukanni (Novák 2013a: 297).

Gūzāna – as capital of the Aramean state of Bīt-Bahiāni – appears in 894 BC for the first time in Neo-Assyrian sources (Fig.1). In this year, during his 5<sup>th</sup> campaign, Adad-nērārī II marched against Gūzāna and received there the tribute (chariots, horses, silver, and gold) of Abī-Salāmu, king of Bīt-Bahiāni (Grayson 1996, A.0.99.2). Later, probably under the reign of Ashurnasirpal II, Bīt-Bahiāni was incorporated to Assyria as a province. From the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC there is a statue from Tell Fekheriye (Abou-Assaf *et al.* 1982) that bears a bilingual (i.e., Assyrian–Aramaic) votive inscription of Adda-it’ī. He is designated as governor in the Assyrian version (*šaknu*) and as king (*mlk*) of Gūzāna in the Aramaic one. According to this inscription, Adda-it’ī was the son of Šamaš-nūrī who was also the governor – and maybe king – of Gūzāna. The latter is mentioned by name in the Assyrian eponym list as the *limmu* of

the year 866 BC, without mention his title. Adda-it'ī could have been known in another name in the Assyrian sources. According to Finkel and Reade, Adad-rēmāni, the eponym of 841 BC, was either the governor of Gūzāna or of Tamnūna (Finkel – Reade 1998: 249) Dornauer suggests that Adad-rēmāni was either the successor of Adda-it'ī or the two were one and the same man, and prefers the latter interpretation (Dornauer 2010: 57). If Šamaš-nūrī and Adda-it'ī were both rulers of the city and father and sons, in this period the title governor or king should have been hereditary. The duality in the names and titles can be a sign for a non-violent transition from an independent state to a province. To sum up, Gūzāna was peacefully incorporated into the Assyrian Empire under Ashurnasirpal II. The city is next mentioned under Adad-nērārī III in 808 BC when the king went to Gūzāna, possibly to repress a revolt. Afterwards Mannu-kī-Aššūr is mentioned as the eponym of 793 BC as governor of Gūzāna (Millard 1994: 35). It was the first time when the Assyrian province of Gūzāna was mentioned in the eponym list. From that time on it would have been part of the empire.

## THE ARAMEAN ARMY

The Aramean military system is not well documented. As there are only a few surviving written sources from the Arameans themselves, apart from some royal inscriptions, foreign (i.e., generally Assyrian) sources must be used for its reconstruction. Iconography can be another way to use. Composite bow was the preferred weapon of the Arameans (A 3,2, A 3,7, A 3,10<sup>1</sup>). Alongside the archers warriors equipped with sword or dagger made up the bulk of the Aramean army up to the 8<sup>th</sup> century (Dion 1997: 304). At the 8<sup>th</sup> century, military armament was updated. Spearheads and arrowheads, maces, helmets, scale armours and chariot harness, found in Zincirli, give a good overview of the bronze and iron weapons of the Arameans' army (*idem*: 306). Nonetheless, bow and glaive (A 3,48) were the most important and widespread weapons (*idem*: 307). Generally, weapons would have been kept in well-planned places;

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<sup>1</sup> The bas-reliefs from Gūzāna are quoted in the article according to their original publication, Moortgat *et al.* 1955.

they were not scattered throughout the cities. For example, in the citadel of Hamath a lot of spearheads and arrowheads – more than 600 pieces – were found in Bâtiment V (*idem*: 308).

In the 9<sup>th</sup> century chariotry was a decisive instrument of the Aramean armies. It was present among the Aramean forces; in the battle of Qarqar, Damascus had 1,200 chariots in its ranks (Grayson 1996, A.0.102.2, col. II: 90). Chariots were also incorporated in large numbers to the Assyrian army, either from states like Bīt-Bahiāni and Bīt-Adīni or from the smaller statelets of the Middle-Euphrates (Dion 1997: 312). The chariots were lighter and more manoeuvrable than their Sargonid counterparts (*idem*: 310). Cavalry is mentioned with similar numbers in the same sources (*idem*: 314). For the depictions of Aramean soldiers, previous researches were mostly based on the bas-reliefs from Gūzāna. The investigation of these bas-reliefs from the so-called Temple Palace of Kapara can be helpful both in relation to Aramean warfare and in order to identify the types of troops stationed in the city before the Assyrian occupation.

### BAS-RELIEFS OF GŪZĀNA

The Temple-Palace and its vicinity were amply decorated with relief orthostats. There were two series of them: the so-called “small orthostats” which were built into the south façade of the Temple-Palace, and the reliefs of the north façade. The former was a series of alternating basalt and limestone orthostat reliefs. They consisted of original and later reused bas-reliefs. The originals were from a previous period, from different places where they had a meaningful composition. In the Kapara period, they were put in order only according to their colour: each dark (basalt) orthostat was followed by a white one (limestone) (Moortgat *et al.* 1955: 16). There were two types of reuse: 1) secondary use of orthostats, which already had reliefs on them, or 2) recarved orthostats, i.e., formerly blank stelae, old relief orthostats, or other cut blocks were carved with a new relief. This implies that the orthostats of the first group will have earlier reliefs (Özyar 1991: 182).

The dating of the bas-reliefs is important as the soldiers depicted on them can be related to a given period. Moortgat originally proposed a date around 900 BC based on iconographic comparisons (Moortgat *et al.* 1955: 31). The imported ivory carvings, which served as a model for the locally produced bas-reliefs, can be dated to the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC, a period before Assyrian influence (Winter 1989). So it is reasonable to assume that the original bas-reliefs are from a period when Gūzāna was not under Assyrian rule, a date before the occupation of Ashurnasirpal II. This date can be even earlier if we accept the analysis of Özyar, according to which there are two groups, based on the original use of the bas-reliefs. Group I is entirely carved out of limestone. The imagery of these reliefs is strongly related to Middle Assyrian and Mittanian glyptic themes. Therefore, the reliefs of this group were probably not produced before the 14<sup>th</sup> century BC and not after the 12<sup>th</sup> century BC (Özyar 1991: 215). The later discussed A 3,8, depicts an archer and a camel rider (A 3,34) and belongs to this group. The reliefs of Group II are carved out of basalt blocks. Their depictions are based on partly Mittanian themes and partly those of the prevalent cosmopolitan Iron Age *koiné*. They would still be pre-Aramean, produced in the 12<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> century BC (*idem*: 218). A chariot in a battle (A 3,59) and a cavalry horseman (A 3,33) belong to this group. However, one should bear in mind that the site Tell Fekheriye – just near Tell Halaf –, according to the latest interpretation, could have been identical with Waššukanni, the capital of Mittani (Bonatz 2013). In this case, evidence of long-lasting Mittanian influence could be used as one of the factors while considering the redating of Group II, and placing it within the period of the Aramean occupation of Gūzāna and before the arrival of the Assyrians.

## SOLDIERS

A series of bas-reliefs depicts twelve archers (A 3,2 – A 3,12, A 3,37) (Fig.2). A 3,8 seems to be half of a well-prepared bas-relief. All the other archers are crude and seem to be mass-produced copies of various models, one of which may have been A 3,8 (Özyar 1991: 201). These archers are only equipped with bow and arrow, without defensive weapons or daggers. Spearmen are always equipped with spears but the other equipment is varied. Some do not have anything

in addition (A 3,14), some have a helmet (A 3,15) others have a small round shield and helmet (A 3,16, A 3,17) (Fig.5.). Several figures can be identified as slingers (A 3,18, A 3,19, A 21 – 3,26) (Fig.3). Generally they have a sling in one hand and a stone in the other. As an exception, in A 3,23, the figure seems to have a sling in one hand and another weapon in the other, maybe a dagger. In A 3,24 there is a sling in one hand, and in the other there is something like a wooden stick. However, the interpretation of slingers can be ambiguous. According to Özyar, some of these figures (A 3,21 – A 3,26) could be alternatively related to other activities such as games (*idem*: 203). Two cavalrymen are also identifiable (A 3,32, A 3,33), equipped with a helmet, sword and round shield. Some of the soldiers are hardly identifiable due to the bad condition of the bas-reliefs (A 3,27 – A 3,31). There are also chariot depictions, although, they could be alternatively interpreted as hunting scenes (A 3,56 – A 3,59). The chariots have a driver and an archer, in one depiction, the latter is equipped with a helmet (A 3,57), and a quiver is attached to the chariot.

The major question arises concerning these depictions is how generalized and stylized were they. As it was previously noted, some of them are evidently copies. The case of A 3,33 and A 3,32 can serve as good examples for analysing the differences between the originals and the copies. Both of them are basalt blocks depicting a horseman. Even if the differences seem minor at first sight, the horseman of A 3,33 (Fig.4) has good posture, i.e., he secures himself on the back of the horse by pressing his knees against the animal. Both his feet point upwards, which again is considered a good posture. The rider also seems to have a better grip on his shield. In A 3,32 these motives are copied, but without the understanding of these small details (*idem*: 186). As a summary, the original bas-reliefs were carved precisely, and the copies tried to follow only their main lines. We can nonetheless suppose that the depicted soldiers and their weapons represented components of an army, which existed in the Gūzāna region before the Assyrian occupation.

## THE ARCHIVE OF MANNU-KĪ-AŠŠŪR<sup>2</sup>

Tell Halaf was first explored by Max Freiherr von Oppenheim who made soundings in 1899 and conducted excavations in 1911–1913 and 1927–29. An archive of cuneiform tablets was discovered on December 18–19, 1912 (Friedrich *et al.* 1940: 8), in the debris just south of the terrace of the Northern Palace. It contained eighty-five pieces of clay tablets in a secondary context, probably as a fill in a later rebuilding. Possibly the tablets had originally been kept inside the Northern Palace, which was not excavated extensively, but a basic plan of a portion of the building identified as the governor's residence was cleared. The tablets were part of the archive of Mannu-kī-Aššūr,<sup>3</sup> eponym of 793 BC as governor of Gūzāna, who probably also used this palace. The tablets were all small notes in relation to the governor's office and were not written in order to be kept for a long time. In several cases, only due to the find-spot of the tablets we have the rare opportunity to match administrative texts otherwise unrelated to each other and the governor's office. The present article tries to examine them as one corpus, and to give a coherent reconstruction of what information can be related to the army stationed in Gūzāna at the turn of 9<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. The governor's archive from Gūzāna provides valuable information on the military organization, composition and the equipment of troops stationed in the provinces.

## THE EARLY NEO-ASSYRIAN ARMY

The origins of the Neo-Assyrian army can be traced back to the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, the rule of Adad-nērārī III. There are different reasons to start an investigation at this point. The provincial system of the empire was reorganised under Adad-nērārī III after

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<sup>2</sup> The texts were originally published in Friedrich *et al.* 1940: 9–46 and re-published in Dornauer 2014. The present author has preferred to refer to the texts according to their original publication in Friedrich *et al.* 1940, i.e., AfoB 6 (=Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 6). This is done with the purpose of avoiding confusion between the TH number (order in the original publication) and the TH excavation number, as it is in several previous publications. References to further texts follow the pattern “Author Year, Text Number”. The Nimrud Letters are referred to as “Author Year, Page Number (ND Number)”.

<sup>3</sup> Dornauer 2014: 32 argues in favour of a name form Mannu-kī-Aššūr against the previously accepted Mannu-kī-māt-Aššūr (Baker 2001: 693 based on Fales 1979: 58).

new conquests and the revolt against Shalmaneser III (Postgate 1995: 5; Siddal 2013: 84–86). The structural basis for expansion in later periods was then established. As several Assyrian military ranks are first attested in the bread and wine lists from Nimrud (Kinnier Wilson 1972), a military reform might have been made during this period. The archive of Mannu-kī-Aššūr – which is also from this period – contains several new military related expressions. It is reasonable to suppose that its texts can be dated to a time at least during, or more likely after the reform.

### THE UNITS IN GŪZĀNA

Our corpus presents clues concerning the levels of military organisation. The word *eširtu* does not appear in the texts, but AfOB 6, 48, is a list of a unit of ten men, which is in effect an *eširtu*. We have some information about the structure of the Assyrian army, which gives us a chance to make reconstructions. Although the army was transformed and organised in several musters (Dezső 2011: 127–32), these sources start at the level of a squadron; we have little information about the lower levels. The title *rab ešerti* (commander-of-10) appears in the Neo-Assyrian sources but it is never referred to as a military officer – only in the Middle Assyrian times –, he is someone in the ‘civil sector’ (Dezső 2012a: 154). An example is found among the scribes, which Donbaz and Parpola translate as ‘decurio’ (Donbaz-Parpola 2001, 14: 3). In the case of the above-mentioned text, and the parallel Ismail 1989, 1 from Tell Baqqaq (see below), it is clear from the numbers that they were a group of ten or twenty people, which can be one or two *eširtu*. Postgate notes that the other text from Tell Baqqaq (Ismail 1989: 62) records an issue of the Itu’as,<sup>4</sup> so this text might have listed them as well (Postgate 2000: 101). It looks like these decurios were the first level of an organized army, and these texts may be indirect references for this. Weidner suggests that Habīnu was a *rab ešerti* and the list is an addition to his unit in AfOB 6, 49 (Friedrich *et al.* 1940: 35).

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<sup>4</sup> For the Itu’as see Dezső 2012a: 32–37.

## INFANTRY

The identification of the terms of the Assyrian infantry is very problematic. Fales argues that *kallāpu* could have been the regular infantry (Fales 2009). Different type of *kallāpus* can be identified in our texts. *Rab kallāpāni* appears in AfOB 6, 16:4; 36:2; 51:3. Once a *kallāp šipirte* is also mentioned (AfOB 6, 2:3). To understand the title *rab kallāpāni* first, we must examine the *kallāpus*. The word *kallāpu* was originally a pickaxe used at least from the Middle Assyrian period onwards (Llop 2016: 210).<sup>5</sup> They were some kind of infantrymen who, according to AfOB 6, 51, were equipped with shields. Therefore, in the 9<sup>th</sup> century they were probably the regular infantry in the Assyrian army, and under the Sargonids they became the heavy infantry. They were not ‘messengers’ or ‘mounted messengers’ or ‘outriders’, because there were too many of them and they were evidently fighting units. They might have lands on the countryside; they were Assyrians, and evidently not equestrians (Dezsó 2012a: 69–72). The *rab kallāpāni* were connected with the horses, so they might be mounted as officers, although we do not know a lot about them, they usually appear as witnesses in contrast (*idem*: 74). The *kallāp šipirtes*, dispatch riders, were authorised or even plenipotentiary officials: they were messengers and soldiers at the same time. They were the only military personnel whose duty concerned the dispatch of messages (*idem*: 74). According to Scurlock, *kallāpāni* were the inactive partners of the bow cavalry who later developed into a corps of lancer cavalry (Scurlock 2014).

There are several texts mentioning different weapons of archers in the corpus, but no term denotes archers themselves. The sole exception can be the Habīnus (AfOB 6, 49 r. 3), who were probably Aramean mercenary archers in the army. Slingers are ill-documented in written sources. It is not a surprise as the only term that denotes them is from our corpus, *sādi’u* (AfOB 6, 17 r. 5), is a *hapax legomenon* (Schrakamp 2009b: 223). It is an Aramaic loanword (Dornauer 2014: 50). Slingers are represented on the sculptures of the Temple Palace of Kapara (A 3,18 and A 3,19), and on the sculptures

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<sup>5</sup> For different other possible etymologies see: Dornauer 2014: 72.



of the North Palace of Assurbanipal at Nineveh as auxiliary slingers (Barnett 1976, pls. XVI, XXI, XXXVI, LXVII) and as armoured slingers in the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III, Sennacherib and Assurbanipal.<sup>6</sup> It is hard to directly identify close combat units in the archive. There are several items that might belong to them, which could be also used by other troops (helmets, shields). Daggers and lances were probably one of their main weapons, but these could also be used in close combat by range units or cavalries.

## CAVALRY

There are several terms in relation with horses: *raksu* (AFOB 6, 26:2, 4, recruit), *narkabtu / mugirru* (AFOB 6, 16:7; 48:1, chariot), *pēthallu* (AFOB 6, 38 r. 2, 5; cavalry), *susānu* (AFOB 6, 13:5, groom), *ša pēthalli* (AFOB 6, 25 e. 7, cavalryman), *uru* (AFOB 6, 1:3; 3:3; 16:3; 36:4 and 38:1, 4, r. 1, 5; team [of horses]). Fales argues that the *raksus* were horse trainers (Fales 2009: 80 n. 14). On the contrary, according to Dezső, they were recruits usually connected to equestrian units, either to cavalry or chariotry. They could have been full time professionals. The term appears first under Adad-nērāri III in the Nimrud Horse Lists. Our text is contemporary, but it cannot be dated to a certain year. We can only say that this is one of the first appearances (Dezső 2012b: 118–120).

In our texts the chariots were not the main part of the local military units. Based on AFOB 6, 48, Postgate argues for their alternative usage, where a single chariot is listed in a weapon list of a *decurio*. He says “*A single chariot was less than effective in the front line, and using it as a mobile headquarters may well have made good sense. [...] this was doubtless intended for their commanding officer. [...] Thus it seems likely that at this time (in the late ninth/early eighth century) the commanding officer might, like the king be distinguished by his chariot*” (Postgate 2000: 98) Grooms were also needed for the horses of the chariots. They were the *susānus*. They are usually written as LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR, and it is better to translate the latter term as ‘chariot troops’ because sometimes the term can refer

<sup>6</sup> For all the examples see Dezső 2012a: 112.

to other subcategories. They were organized possibly on a territorial basis around the empire, as a part of the campaign troops. Different kinds of chariots, at least three, might have had their own special *susānus*. After the chariots lost their importance in the army, these ‘chariot troops’ were responsible for the horses of the cavalry (Dezső 2012b: 109–117).

The most important arm of the Neo-Assyrian army was the cavalry. In the late second millennium, chariots were the elite and decisive forces, but Assyrians developed cavalry as an independent arm (*pēthallu*). Horses first appeared in the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II, in hunting scenes and in chasing the enemy in pairs. Under Shalmaneser III, they were again shown in pairs but sometimes also alone. In some cases, they led a substitute horse (Dezső 2012b: 15). This is important, because the *uru* is a team (of horses), but it cannot be decided with certainty whether it consists of two (a pair for a chariot) or three horses (a pair plus a substitute). Postgate writes that 9<sup>th</sup> century chariots had two horses under yoke and a third unyoked on the side. So for the chariotry in the 9<sup>th</sup> century the *urus* had to be at least three horses (Postgate 2000: 93). As we can see from our texts, there were different *urus*: of the *rab kallapāni* (AfOB 6, 16:3), of horses, of mules, of she-ass cavalries and of cavalries (AfOB 6, 38:1, 4, r. 1, 5). We can state that cavalry itself contained animals other than horses.

## WEAPONS

If we want to analyse the military equipment appearing in our corpus, we must start with AfOB 6, 48. As a parallel, there is a small list (Ismail 1989, 1) from Tell Baqqaq (from the Assyrian province of Tamūnu), which has a similar structure, and moreover it is nearly contemporary.

AfOB 6, 48 (TH 30+81)

- |   |               |
|---|---------------|
| 1 | 1 GIŠ.GIGIR   |
|   | 4 ANŠE.KUR.RA |
|   | 2 ANŠE.MEŠ    |

	10 GIŠ.BAN.MEŠ
5	10 GÍR.MEŠ
	10 <i>ku-ta-ha-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>r</sup></i>
	10 <i>gur-pis-[si]</i>
	10 <i>a-za-na-[te]</i>
	10 <i>a-ri-tú</i>
10	10 TÚG.gul-l[i-ni]
	10 KUŠ.me-[za-'u (?)]
e. 12	10 <i>sa-ga-<sup>r</sup>te<sup>r</sup></i>
r. 1	1 GUD
	10 UDU.MEŠ

*1 chariot, 4 horses, 2 donkeys, 10 bows, 10 daggers, 10 lances, 10 helmets, 10 quivers, 10 shields, 10 tunics, 10 corselets(?), 10 kilts, 1 ox, 10 sheep.*

Ismail 1989, 1 (IM 121891)

	20 <i>gur-pis</i> URUDU
	5 GIR.ME <i>ša</i> UGU
	GIŠ. <i>bu-uṭ-ni</i>
	<sup>r</sup> 20 <sup>r</sup> GIŠ.BAN.MEŠ
5	<sup>r</sup> 20 <sup>r</sup> KUŠ. <i>a-za-nu</i>
	[(x+)]4 <i>me</i> GIŠ.KAK.TI.MEŠ
	URU.E-10-SU
	<i>hu-[ra]-du</i>
	<i>ina ŠA GIŠ<sup>!</sup>.MÁ<sup>!</sup>.MEŠ</i>
10	<i>ša še-ru-[dīl</i>
	ITI.APIN UD-27-KAM
	<i>lim-mu</i>
	<sup>m</sup> <i>ia-ha-lu</i>

*20 copper helmets; 5 daggers with an upper (part hilt) of terebinth wood; 20 bows; 20 quivers; 400(+) arrows. Disbursed in Bīt-Adad-erība, (for 20) soldiers, which should be brought down-stream in the ships. 27<sup>th</sup> of month Arahsamna, eponym (was) Aia-hālu.*

As we can see from both lists, the troops were equipped for multiple functions; they have close combat, defensive, and archery weapons. These will be investigated below in detail.

## SHIELD

One of the most common defensive weapons in our corpus is the shield (*arītu*). There are ten in AfOB 6, 49, six in AfOB 6, 51, and nineteen in AfOB 6, 53; the latter two texts are only about shields. In AfOB 6, 53, a variety of types appear: GIŠ.A.ŠÚ, *ša* GIŠ.PA.MEŠ and *ariāte kabuttāte*.

AfOB 6, 53 (TH 74+82+119)

- |        |   |  |
|--------|---|--|
| 1      |   | [GIŠ.A.ŠÚ <i>ša</i> ] GIŠ.PA [...]   |
|        | 1 | <sup>m</sup> r <sup>d</sup> [...]  |
|        | 1 | 2 <sup>m</sup> 10– <i>ha-ti</i>  |
|        | 2 | 1 <sup>m</sup> <i>a-ti-nu</i>  |
| 5      | 1 | 2 <sup>m</sup> <i>ha-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>r</sup>-nu-nu</i>  |
|        | 1 | 1 <sup>m</sup> <i>hi-ra-hi</i>   |
|        | 2 | 1 <sup>m</sup> PAB–DINGIR– <i>a-a</i>  |
|        | 2 | 1 <sup>m</sup> <i>hi-ma-re-e</i>   |
| e. 9   |   | 1 <sup>r</sup> m <sup>d</sup> 30–BARAG   |
| r. 1   |   | PAB 9 GIŠ.A.ŠÚ.MEŠ   |
|        |   | 10 <i>ša</i> GIŠ.PA.MEŠ  |
|        |   | PAB 19 <i>a-ri-a-tú</i>  |
|        |   | [ <i>ka</i> ]b– <i>bu-ta-<sup>r</sup>te<sup>r</sup></i>  |
| l.e. 5 |   | [...]- <i>me-šu</i> <sup>m</sup> <i>a-ti-nu</i> <sup>m</sup> 30– <sup>r</sup> BARAG <sup>r</sup> |
|        |   | [...] x <sup>m</sup> 10– <i>ha-ti</i>  |
|        |   | [...] x <sup>m</sup> <i>ia-di-du</i>   |

[‘...-type shield’ – ‘from] woodstick’ [...], 0+1 [...], 1+2 *Adda-hāti*, 2+1 *Atinnu*, 1+2 *Hanūnu*, 1+1 *Hīri-ahhē*, 2+1 *Ahu-ilā’i*, 2+1 *Himārī*, 0+1 *Sīn-parakku*; total 9 ...-type, 10 from woodsticks; total 19 heavy shields. [...] *mešu*, *Atinnu*, *Sīn-parakku* [...] *Adda-hāti*, *Iadīdu*.

The only known parallel to this text is from the weapon list of Dalley-Postgate 1984, 74 lines 7–9, where ‘5 GIŠ.*a-ri-a-te ša* GIŠ.PA.MEŠ *kab-bu-ta-a-te*’ is written, and it is translated as “5 shields (made) of heavy sticks”. According to Dalley and Postgate “sticks” may mean wickerwork (Dalley – Postgate 1984: 134 n. 8, 9).

Schrakamp treats GIŠ.A.ŠU as ‘heavy shield’ (*ariāte kabuttāte*) and ša GIŠ.PA.MEŠ as ‘from sticks’, so it can be a standing shield from wickerwork or branches, both of which are depicted in Assyrian reliefs (Schrakamp 2009a: 178). The problem is that the structure is different in the two texts. In AfOB 6, 53 GIŠ.A.ŠU and ša GIŠ.PA.MEŠ are counted and totalled up separately and they are subtypes of *ariāte kabuttāte*. In Dalley-Postgate 1984, 74 ša GIŠ.PA.MEŠ is an attribute of *arītu*, and *kab-bu-ta-a-te* is an attribute of ša GIŠ.PA.MEŠ or of *arītu*. Certainly, we cannot decide whether they are five shields from wood sticks or five heavy shields. It is problematic also how GIŠ.A.ŠU could mean heavy shield, if nine from them and ten from the ‘from wood sticks’ are nineteen heavy shields in total.

Comparing the textual and pictorial sources, on the one hand, it is probable that simple shields without any attributes were round shields – probably in both cases wooden as GIŠ indicates in AfOB 6, 51 –, used by various arms. On the other hand, the shield types mentioned in AfOB 6, 53 were probably siege-shields, both wooden. They might be identical to standing siege-shields made from wicker or wood and large rectangular wicker shields, as it was already suggested (Dornauer 2014: 79).

The depictions from Ashurnasirpal II’s palace depict regular infantry equipped with rectangular wicker or rounded bronze shields (Dezsó 2012a: 54), while spearmen used round wooden or bronze shields. Archers are protected by shield-bearers in Assyrian siege scenes. The sculptures of Sargon II present the following shield types used to protect archers: standing siege-shields made from wicker or wood; large rectangular wicker shields; rounded bronze shields; rounded wicker shields; a combination of standing siege-shields and rounded bronze shields or rounded wicker shields. The shield-bearers who carried round bronze shields were probably armoured spearmen (Dezsó 2012a: 103). In Gūzāna, from the Kapara period, spearmen (A 3,16 and A 3,17) and cavalry (A 3,32 and A 3,33) were depicted using – usually round – shields in the orthostats.

**HELMET**

The identification of *gurpisu* with helmet is not obvious.<sup>7</sup> The word means ‘leather hauberk covered with metal scales (as part of the armour for soldiers and horses)’ in CAD G (1956): 139. For helmet the RIA indicates that it was only written as SAGŠU = *kubšu* (Wilcke 1975: 312). Kendal made a thorough investigation of the Nuzi helmets. He compared the written documentation with the contemporary illustrations of Asiatic armour from Egypt. He found that since every soldier wore it, it could not be ‘hauberk’ or ‘coat of mail’, and it could not be anything other than the helmet itself, otherwise no word is left for the helmet itself, hence the argument that it must be the helmet (Kendal 1981: 205). In our corpus there are ten in AfOB 6, 48, two iron and one copper *gurpisu* in AfOB 6, 49, some in AfOB 6, 50, and it is also the only defensive weapon in Ismail 1989, 1.

AfOB 6, 49 (TH 13)

- 1        2 *gur-pis-si ša* AN.BAR  
           1 *gur-pis-si ša* URUDU.MEŠ  
           10 GÍR.MEŠ  
           7 *me* GIŠ.KAK.MEŠ  
 r. 1     4<sup>l</sup> GIŠ.BAN.MEŠ SIG<sub>5</sub>  
           *a-za-a-nu*  
           <sup>m</sup>*ha-bi-i-nu*

*2 iron helmets, 1 copper helmet, 10 daggers, 700 arrows, 4 good bows, quiver; Habīnu.*

AfOB 6, 50 (TH 42)

- e. 1<sup>7</sup>    [n] *gur-pis-[si]*  
 r. 1     [n] KUŠ.*a-za-[na-te]*  
           5<sup>7</sup> KUŠ.*a-za-na-[te]*  
           28 GIŠ.BAN.M[EŠ]  
           5 *me* GIŠ.KAK A[N.BAR]  
 r. 5     5 GÍR AN.B[AR]

<sup>7</sup> Dornauer 2014: 74 identifies as “Halsbergen”. Barron 2010: 193, following Kendal 1981, has “helmet”.

[n] helmets, [n] quivers, 5 quivers, 28 bows, 500 iron arrow-head, (and) 5 iron daggers.

As we can see, they can be made from two materials: iron or the so-called “copper” (URUDU) that would actually be bronze (Deller 1990: 50). Both bronze and iron helmets have been found in Assyria. Iron could have been considered as better material for helmets, as they afforded better protection (Curtis 2013: 44).

### LIGHT BODY ARMOUR

In his above-mentioned article, Kendal writes that “*the standard body defence, by the illustrations, would seem to have been the corselet, the helmet, and the shield*” (Kendal 1981: 206). Proceeding from this idea, that the *gurpisu* was not the corselet but the helmet, the following interpretation may follow: AfOB 6, 48 provides a detailed list for a regular infantrymen *eširtu* unit; we have all the typical weapons for basic equipment, that is bow, sword, lance, helmet, quiver, shield, tunic, skirt and *mazā’u*. There can be two solutions for the piece of basic equipment missing from the list, based on the existing depictions: wide belt or corselet.

The only item that cannot be surely identified in the text is in line 11. The CAD M/1 (1977): 438 offers the reconstruction of KUŠ.me-[za-’u] under the word *mazā’u*, with a meaning of ‘a leather object’. Dornauer also mentions this possibility in his commentary on the text, but it is rejected in favour of *miserru* “belt, gridle”. In his argument *mazā’u* is always written consequently with /a/ as first vowel instead of /e/ (Dornauer 2014: 75). Postgate reconstructs only KUŠ.me-[x-x], and he posits that “*this is also a (new) word for ‘water skin’. It is perhaps literally a ‘squeezer’*” (Postgate 2001: 384 n. 22). In our corpus, there are two words for water skin: *maškuru* and *himtu*. In general, water skins were used for river crossing,<sup>8</sup> or for wine storage. Neither usage suggests that water skins should be primary personal equipment for an average regular infantry unit mentioned in texts based generally on weapons and clothes.

<sup>8</sup> For the iconographical identification and its usage see Favaro 2007: 86–91.

However, *mazā'u* appears in several other texts. Some of them are letters while others are administrative records. If we start with the latter, Wiseman 1953, 146 (ND 3467) is about the *ilku*-service of a chariot man, who receives flour, kilt, *mazā'u*, goat-hair and oil for his campaign. Another text is Parker 1961, 24 (ND 2424), where kilts are listed for different purposes, and one of them is also *mazā'u*. Postgate, when he analyses the following text, writes that “*they are part of a soldier’s equipment, it is possible that mazā'u means a ‘water-bottle’, and should in fact be normalized as mazzā'u ‘a squeezer’*” (Postgate 1974: 68–69).

Parpola 1970, 37 (ABL 75) l. 6–10:

*ina* UGU LÚ.AGRIG LUGAL *be-li*  
*liš-pu-ra sa-ga-a-te*  
 KUŠ.*ma-za-’u il-ku*  
 [ša] LÚ.SIPA.MEŠ

10 [li]-*ih-hur*

*May the king, my lord write to the treasurer: He should receive the kilts and the mazā'u, ilku-service of the shepherds.*

Parpola writes on Parpola 1970, 37 that “*the articles sāgu and mazā'u appear together in several texts referring to the basic equipment of Assyrian soldiers*” and notes that one time *mazā'u*, in Luukko 2012, 17 is replaced with *himtu* (see immediately below), because of this it is also likely to be a kind of water skin (Parpola 1983: 43).

Luukko 2012, 17 (ND 2643) l. 12–16:

*e-ši-di-su-nu*  
 TÚG.*sa-a-gu*  
 KUŠ.*hi-in-tú*  
 15 KUŠ.E.SIR  
 Ì.MEŠ *a-da-na-šú-nu*

*(Concerning the Aramean people) I have delivered them their provisions, kilts, himtus, shoes (and) oil.*

In Fales – Postgate 1995, 28 (ADD 1095) the two words appear again in close proximity, between the mentions of different clothes and possibly some leather object, such as sandals. The text is a list of *ilku*-



contributions, from unknown people. According to Parpola “*it seems probable that the articles mentioned in it were items regularly delivered to the palace by state-employed shepherds in compensation for the military service (ilku) of which they were relieved, to be later distributed as standard military equipment to Assyrian troops*” (Parpola 1983: 43).

After following the method of Postgate for the identification of *gulēnu* and *sāgu*, we can suppose that *mazā’u* was acquired from shepherds, or Arameans who could have been shepherds, as compensation of their *ilku*-service. This might be a simple object which they could have made from their own resources (animals) and by themselves. An average soldier used it; it is always in pair with the *sāgu*, which was identified by Postgate as ‘kilt’ (Postgate 2001: 384–5). Thus, it could have been some kind of upper body cloth; a leather upper body cloth, which was so simple that it could have been prepared even by shepherds. Such an object can be identified as corselet, as the commonest and most simple armour for the auxiliary infantry. As corselets, identified in more occasions, as armour plates, shown on reliefs of Ashurbanipal, appear to be of metal, it is conceivable that they could be of leather (Curtis 2013: 31). Another solution for *mazā’u* with a similar usage might be a type of wide belt worn by regular infantrymen, in this case not made from bronze but from skin (Dezső 2012a: 54).

## CLOSE COMBAT WEAPONS

The most common close combat weapon in our corpus is dagger (*patru*). There are ten daggers in AfOB 6, 48; 49, five iron daggers in AfOB 6, 50, and two polished iron daggers in AfOB 6, 54+84+86. Additionally, four axes (*ulmu*) in AfOB 6, 55 and ten lances (*kutāhu*) in AfOB 6, 48 are mentioned.

## DAGGER

As we can see, daggers were the most common close combat weapons. Most of them were made of iron and under special conditions they could be precious items. Assyrian iron daggers can be divided into two subcategories as archaeological material: one is

consisting of daggers with flat rectangular tangs (Curtis 2013: 36) which has a parallel piece from Gūzāna (Hrouda 1962: pl. 36/210). It may be reasonable to assume that iron daggers in our texts and the iron dagger from the excavation represent the same type.

### AXE

In AfOB 6, 55 four *ulmu*-axes are mentioned. The *ulmu*, a Hurrian loanword (CAD U and W 2010: 86) is only one of the expressions used by the Assyrians for axe (*haššinnu*, *kalappu*, *pāšu* etc.) (Llop 2016: 209). *Ulmu*-axes were used for military purposes in the Middle Assyrian army (*idem*: 210). It is not a common military weapon; it does not have an abundance of written evidence. Axemen are not documented as an independent arm, but axes were used in various ways in the Assyrian army. Officers of regular infantry are depicted as archers with an axe in their quiver from the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards (Layard 1853: pls. 13, 14, via Dezső 2012a: 55) (Fig.6). This representation would fit well to AfOB 6, 55, as other materials in the text could also be related to archers. Chariots in the reign of Ashurnasirpal were also usually equipped with axes in their quivers as part of their standard equipment (Layard 1853: pls. 13, 14, and 28; Layard 1849: pls. 10, 22, 27 via Curtis 2013: 32) (Fig.8). Soldiers could have been using axes not as a primary weapon, but as a tool during the campaigns. An extremely well preserved bronze axe was found by Mallowan in the North-West Palace at Nimrud. Soldiers use axes of this type to cut down trees (Layard 1849: pl. 73).

### LANCE

There were more than twenty words for spear and lance in Akkadian (Schrakamp 2011: 631); one of them, though far from being the most common was *kutāhu*. Apart from AfOB 6, 48: 6 the other known instances for it is Thureau-Dangin 1912, 393, a list of booty from Urartu, where it is made from bronze and mentioned among other lance types, and in Fales – Postgate 1992, 89: o. 11 where E<sub>2</sub> *ku-ta-hu* AN.BAR is written, these lances are made of iron. It is interesting that *kutāhu* is a Neo-Assyrian word for a type of lance (CAD K 1971: 603), but it is rare in our written sources, on the

contrary, spears and lances are well documented in archaeological material from Near Eastern excavations (Philip 1989: 69–101). Salonen suggests that *kutāhu* was a heavy lance (Salonen 1966: 88, 157). It is highly probable that AfOB 6, 48: 6 lists a full equipment of regular infantrymen, who are depicted several times. This *kutāhu*-lance might be identical to the lance which is depicted being used by regular infantrymen.

## BOW

Composite bows appear first around 4500 BC in Mesopotamia, coincidentally shown in a vase from the Halaf period (Collon 2008: 94). As bows were made from perishable material, no bows were found in excavations in Mesopotamia. The main archery weapons are the same in both AfOB 6, 48 and Ismail 1989, 1: the bow and the quiver. The first appears also in AfOB 6, 49 as four good bows, twenty-eight in AfOB 6, 50, and the latter also in AfOB 6, 49, at least five in AfOB 6, 50. Two hundred arrows are mentioned in AfOB 6, 8, seven hundred in AfOB 6, 49, five hundred from iron in AfOB 6, 50 and there are four hundred plus in Ismail 1989, 1.

## COMPOSITE BOW WORKSHOP

For a bow, the Assyrians needed the following parts: sinew (not only for the bowstring, but also for the composition of the bow itself), horn (of ibex), glue, items in sets or pairs, wood and sometimes leather (Postgate 2004: 457). There are two Assyrian texts on bow manufacturing.

Fales 1983, 2 (K. 1275) l. 1–8:

*ša* 22 GIŠ.BAN.MEŠ *ša* ŠU.2 MAN

UZU.SA.SAL *a-na mat-na-a-te*

<sup>m</sup>*sa-si-i*

*ša* 12 GIŠ.BAN.MEŠ *ša* ŠU.2 MAN

5 <sup>m</sup>*na-za-za-nu*

15 MA.NA E<sub>2</sub> DUMU–MAN

*a-na KUŠ.sa-al-ṭa-ni*

*a-na tal-lul-te*

*For 22 bows at the disposal of the king, the neck tendon to (make their) bowstrings: Sasî (is responsible). For 12 bows at the disposal of the king: Nazazānu (is responsible). Fifteen minas of the household of the crown prince for leather quivers and trappings.* (Fales 1983: 234).

In Fales 1983, 2 sinews are used for bowstrings. If in line 6 the fifteen minas mentioned without a material also assume the sinew, it may indicate that leatherworkers used sinews to make quivers and trapping as well.

Frahm 2002, 75 (Ass.2001.D-2218)<sup>9</sup>

n MA.NA *gi-du* n MA.NA ŠE.ŠEN  
 n GIŠ.PA.MEŠ *ša kiš-ka-na-e*  
 n *qar-na-tu ša tu-ra-hi* 1 TA.AM *a-na mu-nu-te*  
*a-na* n BAN.MEŠ *ša ŠU LUGAL*  
 n BAN.MEŠ *ša il-ki*

N *mina sinew*, n *mina glue*, n *stick of kiškanu-wood*, n *horn of mountain goat*, all one for counting, for n bows at the disposal of the king, n bows for ilku-service.

In this text, we can have an insight into the Assyrian composite bow manufacturing. To understand the process and the method Frahm quotes an article with an experimental approach: “*The design of a composite bow takes full advantage of the mechanical properties of the materials used in its construction. Sinew has great tensile strength while horn has compressive strength. These materials are bonded on opposite faces of a wooden core which is too thin to contribute significantly to the power of the bow but provides a surface to glue the horn and sinew to, and is essential to keep the sinew and horn accurately aligned for maximum energy storage and release.*” (Miller *et al.* 1986: 183). According to the text a bow is equivalent to ½ mina sinews, ½ mina glues, 8 *kiškanu*-woods and 1½ mountain goat horns (Frahm 2002: 78).

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<sup>9</sup> The text is broken, but the same formula appears several times with different numbers and some other small alterations, so I quote the formula without the numbers and marking of the breaks.

There is a text from the archive of Mannu-kī-Aššūr that might seem like a useless administrative note, but actually it can be the most valuable addition to our investigation.

AfOB 6, 55 (TH 38)<sup>10</sup>

1 7 GIŠ.P[A<sup>?</sup>.MEŠ<sup>?</sup>]

ša GIŠ [x ...]

4 ul-<sup>r</sup>mu<sup>r</sup>

7 qar-na-<sup>r</sup>te<sup>r</sup>

e. 5 ša UDU KUR-e

*7 sticks from ...-wood, four axes, seven horns of mountain sheep.*

This text contains the key components for composite bow manufacturing. The mountain sheep in this context should be understood as ibexes or wild goats. These animals were also documented in the orthostats of the Temple-Palace (A 3,145, A 3,146) (Özyar 1991: 194). The second line could mark the special wood for the bow. The remaining space in the second line's break does not seem to be enough for *kiškanu*. Therefore, in this case either some other wood was listed, or there is a simple adjective, not a professional term as it is only a simple daily account for the administration.

In sum, we can say that the sinews were made from the ungulates, and the leather workers used them for manufacturing bows, quivers and trappings at the minimum. The horns were acquired from the mountains, and they were a very important part of the composite bow. Arrows or rather arrowheads also appear in our texts, sometimes their materials are specified (e.g. iron), so we can say that from these few lists we can see how the Assyrians manufactured all the archery equipment in their provinces.

## THE PROVINCIAL TROOPS

Based on the booty lists mentioned in the Assyrian royal inscriptions, Bīt-Bahiāni was not as wealthy as the neighbouring Bīt-Adīni or Carchemish. As further evidence, even though elephants

<sup>10</sup> Lines 1–2 are partly reconstructed after Frahm 2002, 75 (Ass.2001.D-2218): GIŠ.PA.MEŠ ša *kiš-ka-na-e*.

were living in the Khabur area, Bīt-Bahiāni did not produce ivories, instead they exported it as raw material to Carchemish and received finished ivory carvings partly as payment (Winter 1989: 331). So we can expect that its army was also not the best equipped and this might explain its special situation. It was not conquered in a bloody war by the Assyrians, rather it was peacefully incorporated into the empire. The local army of Bīt-Bahiāni might have been incorporated into the Assyrian forces under Ashurnasirpal II as a vassal state and turned practically into an Assyrian province without any struggle documented in our sources (Lipiński 2000: 129). It can be interesting to note that in the Neo-Assyrian period Gūzāna was considered as one of the most important province and the office of governor as one of the most prestigious in the Assyrian empire. The province's importance stemmed from the fertile and well-watered country around it and also from the city's location on the royal road connecting the Assyrian heartland with northern Syria and the Mediterranean (Martin 2016: 270).

We can say that the province of Gūzāna was a totally independent state up to 894, later local rulers governed until a point under Ashurnasirpal II when it became *de facto* a province of the empire. Later it regained its independence, and after the Great Revolt which took place during the time of Shalmaneser III, Adad-nērāri III reformed the provincial system. Several new provinces first appeared during this time becoming regular members of the eponym list. The king's aim was to break the former governors' great baronial estates around the Empire. Only two of them survived: Šamšī-ilu and Nergal-ēreš – both are not too far from Gūzāna –, because in the case of the latter he remained loyal to the winning faction, and the former had probably too much power. Some of the governors of the new provinces were eunuchs, because they were traditionally loyal to the king (Postgate 1995: 5). Mannu-kī-Aššūr might have been one of them, possibly a *homo novus*.

Horse breeding was important in Gūzāna. The governor was not the only person commanding the equestrian elements. Teams of horses and cavalrymen were in some texts under the command of the Commander-in-Chief (AfOB 6, 3 r. 3; 25 e. 8). The great amount of

horses that were brought from Gūzāna to the capitals suggests that the province had great importance for the empire. Jankowska noted that regular tribute of horses were usually sent from the periphery of the Assyrian Empire, the exception is the former territory of Mittani, chiefly Bīt-Bahiāni together with Gūzāna and the Khabur provinces (Jankowska 1969: 266–267). She maps the regions of nomadic and semi-nomadic stock raising, the Upper Khabur region is the only place which contains stud farms apart from the Taurus and Zagros mountain ranges. In addition, we know that in the Sargonid period there are letters about horses from different parts of the empire to Kalhu. Gūzāna appears twice in these texts: 75 horses and mules (Cole – Machinist 1998, 100 r. 3) and 10–20 horses (Cole – Machinist 1998, 111:11) are related to the province.

The reason why the *ulmu*-axes and the *kutāhu*-lances were so ill-represented in the texts might be the fact that most of our sources come from the capitals of the empire, where the well-equipped elite troops were stationed and mustered, and there is not enough information from the provinces to balance this picture. Slingers can be also a good example of widely used group of soldiers without documentation in written sources. These provincial armies were provided only with average equipment and weapons. Only small groups of them were in charge at the fortresses and at the borders. They were only able to carry out local border guard and security tasks. The others were scattered around the provinces, most of them were sent home when their services were not required. Two kilograms of grain were needed daily to feed a single soldier. Therefore only a required minimum of them was kept in army (Dezső 2011: 124–126). I suggest that these provincial units, which were used generally as auxiliary troops in battles, were more usually equipped with the mentioned axes and lances than it would seem from the written sources. It might be interesting to note that several military-related terms have Hurrian origin. Also the depictions of the Group II bas-reliefs from Kapara's Temple-Palace bear Mittanian and cosmopolitan Iron Age *koiné* features. For both phenomena a strong Hurrian influence can be an answer. As a further step Hurrian influence on Aramean and Assyrian institutions can be investigated. Such an investigation would go beyond the scope of the present research.

There are several ill-represented expressions for military equipment in the texts from Gūzāna. It cannot be a coincidence that our sources about the Neo-Assyrian army are based on the Sargonid period and on sources from the capitals. When we try to reinvestigate our texts it should be borne in mind that they are from the early Neo-Assyrian period, which might be closer to the Middle Assyrian period in terms of equipment and organisation. They are from the period when Adad-nērāri III reorganised the army. It is hard to decide whether the governor's archive was written before or after this event. Maybe the most important fact is the location of the province. The fact that some expressions seem to be obscure does not weaken the identification; as we can see the evidently widely used spears that are also depicted several times in bas-reliefs are also barely documented in the written sources. This is also true if we investigate the previous Middle Assyrian period (Llop 2016: 211).

In sum, we can say that provincial troops were generally equipped with archery weapons (bow, quiver, and arrow) and with helmets and shields as defensive weapons and mostly with daggers for close combat. They were listed for small groups of the army, in the case of AfOB 6, 48 for an *eširtu* (unit of ten men), and in Ismail 1989, 1 for two of them. Until the reign of Sennacherib – who undertook a military reform –, it was typical that the Assyrian infantry were equipped for close combat and archery, as can be seen from the bas-reliefs of the former kings. They were the largest group of the Assyrian army on the battlefield. They were also used in the protection of the provinces.

The light infantry consisted of auxiliary archers, auxiliary spearman, auxiliary slingers and auxiliary troops of vassals (Fig.9). Regular infantrymen, regular archers and regular spearmen comprised the regular infantry whereas the heavy infantry was based on armoured archers, armoured spearmen and armoured slingers. In the Gūzāna texts we can find the following weapons: arrow, arrowhead, bow, quiver, helmet, sword, shield, spear, axe, chariot and possibly corselet or wide belt. The lack of scale armour cannot be a coincidence. The texts also mention several people belonging



to arms: cavalryman, recruit, palace slaves and probably slingers. Weapons in the texts from Gūzāna and the equipment of Assyrian arms can be compared. Auxiliary archers, auxiliary slingers, regular archers and regular spearmen are documented. If the identification of *mazā'u* as light armour is validated auxiliary spearman and regular infantrymen (Fig.7) can also be added to the list.

## CONCLUSION

The texts from the archive of Mannu-kī-Aššūr and the bas-reliefs from the Temple Palace of Kapara give a unique opportunity to study the early Neo-Assyrian provincial army of Gūzāna. Thus, in the case of Gūzāna, we have a distinct opportunity to see the transition from an independent state to an Assyrian province, not only in the Assyrian royal inscriptions, but also in the inscription of Adda-it'ī. This latter source is fitting a gap and shows an otherwise undocumented phase of transition: the Assyrian governor being a local king at the same time. As in addition, there are no signs of military struggles with Assyrians in the city, this points to a relatively peaceful transition. Thus, pre-Assyrian sources can also be used for our reconstruction. It can be supposed that only a few decades after the Assyrian governors were considered local kings, the Aramean soldiers still had a significant influence in the local forces. One of the biggest corpora of pre-Assyrian bas-reliefs depicting soldiers is also from Gūzāna, Temple Palace of Kapara. The depicted arms are similar to the type of soldiers and weapons in our archive. There are archers, slingers, spearmen, cavalry and also chariots in a non-military context. We can suppose that the type of soldiers mentioned in the written sources were like the depicted ones in the bas-reliefs, and certain weapons were belonging to the depicted type of soldiers.

The archive of Mannu-kī-Aššūr is from the reign of Adad-nērārī III. Several related military expressions are first appearing in the Nimrud Wine Lists, also dated to his reign, and in our archive. In general, cavalry, archers, slingers and possibly close combat infantry are mentioned in the tablets. A broad scale of weaponry can also be observed: shield, helmet, light body armour, bow, dagger, axe

and lance. It is important to stress that *gurpisu* is not some kind of hauberk, as it has been conventionally translated, but the helmet. The *mazā'u* could have been a leather upper body cloth, maybe a corselet or the wide belt worn by regular infantrymen. One of the main findings of the article might be the reconstruction of a provincial composite bow workshop based on AfOB 6, 55. This can be a valuable addition to our knowledge on the Assyrian weapon production, i.e., to the question whether they were produced in some centres for the whole empire or they were made locally.

As the capital of Bīt-Bahiāni, Gūzāna was the centre of a relatively modest state. In the period of our corpus Gūzāna was a border province. After the provincial reform of Adad-nērārī III, it was bordered with the provinces of the most influential governors. As a border province, its military could have been very important, but even as an independent state it had limited resources the neighbouring governors might have had a bigger influence. We can suppose that inferior quality troops, generally Arameans, were stationed in the province. Gūzāna could have been important for the Assyrians for its role in horse breeding. Horses are regularly mentioned, and in several cases in relation to forces outside the province. In the sources from the Assyrian capitals several weapons are not so well documented. Provincial units were rather used as regular or line infantry during the campaigns, thus their weapons could have been less standardised and inferior quality. The limit of sources from the capitals is visible in the case of slingers, who were even depicted in the Assyrian bas-reliefs, but they are only mentioned in AfOB 6, 17. According to the reconstruction described in this article, the infantry stationed in the province consisted of auxiliary archers, auxiliary slingers, regular archers, regular spearmen, and possibly included auxiliary spearmen and regular infantrymen too.

As a further development of this research, other archives can be analysed with the same methodology. For example, Rouault mentions unpublished texts found in Tell Masaikh, ancient Kār-Ashurnasirpal.<sup>11</sup> They might have a similar type of findspot as the

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<sup>11</sup> “In this filling were found cuneiform tablets, fragments of seal impression and big pieces

archive of Mannu-kī-Aššūr. If so, such otherwise unrelated texts can serve as a good base for a similar research. The twin site of Tell Halaf, Tell Fekheriye, might be identical with Waššukanni, the capital of the Kingdom of Mittani. In a future study the Mittanian influence could be analysed for both the Aramean and the early Neo-Assyrian occupation of Gūzāna.

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*of wall paintings. One of the tablets gives a date which can be estimated as corresponding to the year 761 BC; but the tablet is not in situ and the archaeological context can be slightly more recent.” Rouault 2008: 403.*

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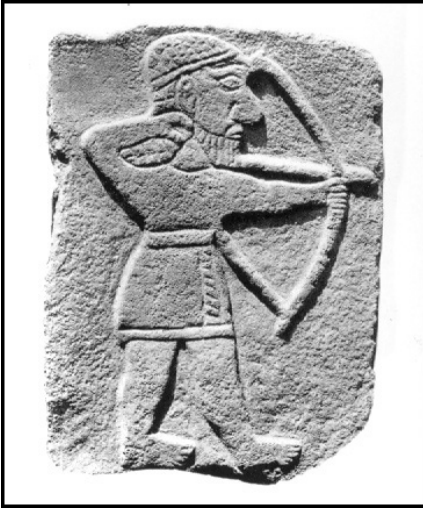
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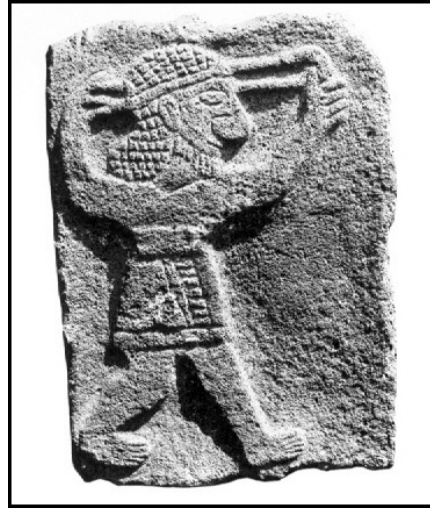
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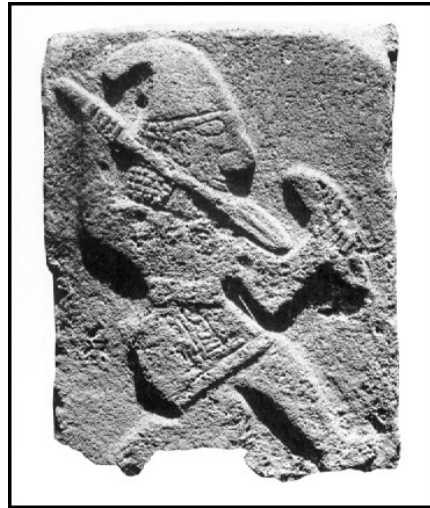
**Fig.2-** Aramean Archer (A 3,4 from Cholidis – Martin 2010: 165)



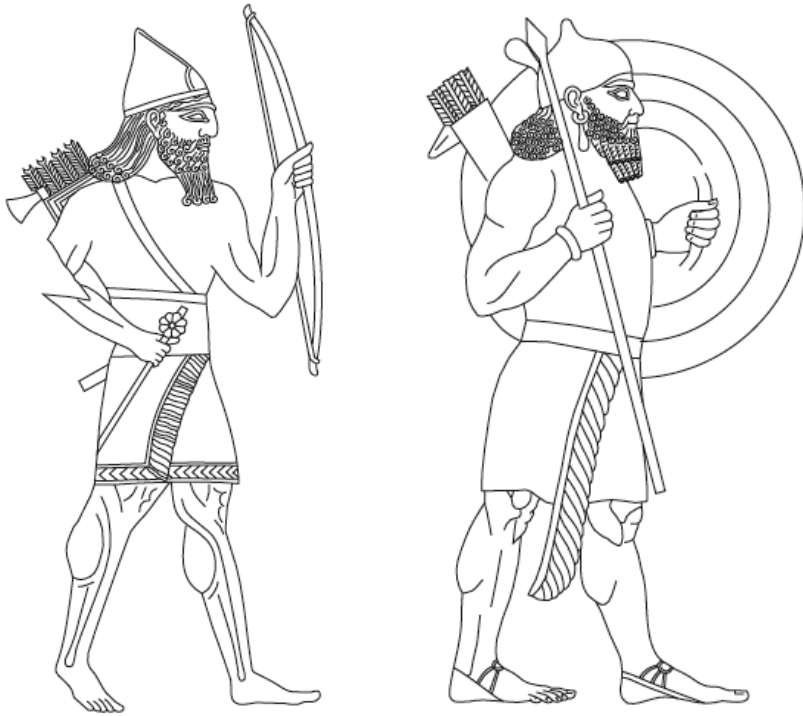
**Fig.3-** Aramean Slinger (A 3,18 from Cholidis – Martin 2010: 166)



**Fig.4-** Aramean Cavalry Horseman (A 3,33 from Cholidis – Martin 2010: 167)



**Fig.5-** Aramean Spearman (A 3,17 from Cholidis – Martin 2010: 166)



**Fig.6-** Assyrian Officer of Regular Infantry (Layard 1953: 14 from Dezső 2012a: 327, pl. 42/140)

**Fig.7-** Assyrian Regular Infantryman (Botta – Flandrin 1849, I, 63 from Dezső 2012a: 309, pl. 24/80)



**Fig.8-** Assyrian Chariot with Axe in the Quiver (Layard 1953:13 from Dezső 2012b: 265, pl. 12/23)

	Bow + Quiver	Sword	Helmet	Shield	Spear	Light armour	Sling	Scale armour
Auxiliary archers	x	x						
Auxiliary spearmen		x	x	x	x	x		
Auxiliary slingers							x	
Regular infantrymen	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Regular archers	x	x	x					
Regular spearmen		x	x	x	x			
Armoured archers	x	x	x					x
Armoured spearmen		x	x	x	x			x
Armoured slingers			x				x	x

**Fig.9-** Armament of the Neo-Assyrian infantry units