



UPPSALA
UNIVERSITET

Department of Linguistics
and Philology

Hauls of Horses

An analysis of the quantities and geographical distribution of horses
taken as loot or tribute by Neo-Assyrian kings

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Abstract

This thesis explored the potential patterns and connections which could be uncovered through careful analysis of the royal inscriptions mentioning horses as a form of plunder or tribute, dedicated to the kings of the Neo-Assyrian empire. This was accomplished by analysing all royal inscriptions attributed to Neo-Assyrian kings found within the RINAP and RIAO projects for passages that meet said criterium. Once all the relevant texts had been tabulated, the results were sorted into larger categories and then compared to each other. This resulted in certain patterns emerging. It became clear that during the first half Neo-Assyrian period, before the great expansion of the empire started under Tiglath-Pileser III, the mountains to the north of Assyria, which for the purposes of this thesis have been designated ‘the Caucasus’, was a major source of horses through looting and extracting tribute. It was not the region which was attacked the most, that honour falls to the mountains to the east, designated as ‘Persia’ for the purposes of this thesis. Towards the end of the Neo-Assyrian period, the importance of the Caucasus as a source of horses was severely diminished, while the importance of Persia grew. Exact numbers of horses are very rarely given, making the few instances they are mentioned stand out. Because of this, no reliable numbers or estimates can be given.

Keywords: *Horse, Equus, Mesopotamia, Neo-Assyrian, Assyria, loot, tribute, booty*

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Front page: I am Ashurbanipal king of the world, king of Assyria, British Museum.

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<https://flickr.com/photos/41523983@N08/31033563287>

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1. Introduction

1.1. Purpose and objective

The purpose of this thesis is to quantify and analyze the habit of Neo-Assyrian kings to seize horses as loot from the cities they plundered or conquered. The first step in accomplishing this will be to establish from where and, if possible, in what quantities the individual kings from the two halves of the Neo-Assyrian period seized horses as booty and plunder, as well as tribute gained through less violent means. For the purposes of this thesis, tribute and plunder will be treated as the same thing, simply for the reason that they can often be hard to distinguish and the differences between them are inconsequential as to the purpose of this thesis. The second step will be to compare these results and seek to establish patterns and connections regarding the origin and quantity of these horses taken as war booty or given as tribute. The queries which this thesis will seek to answer can be summarized thusly; in what quantities were horses looted and how do the numbers differ between monarchs throughout the Neo-Assyrian period? From where were horses most often taken and did it differ from ruler to ruler?

1.2. Concept and method

This thesis will utilize a quantitative form of analysis to establish a database of the horses taken as war booty by Assyrian kings, with the parameters being their number and origin, with the latter being further divided into cities and regions. These results will then be compared in order to determine whether there are any noticeable patterns or points of interest. As to how this is to be accomplished, it will be done through analysing the various royal inscriptions which history has left us and looking for passages mentioning horses being given as tribute or taken as booty. The reason why royal inscriptions specifically were chosen as this thesis' main data points is twofold; firstly, because it establishes consistent boundaries for what this thesis covers, and secondly, it provides a pool of data of a very manageable size for a thesis of this scope. The sections of royal inscriptions which this thesis will utilize are texts that all follow a rather similar formula, consisting of lists of various valuables, sometimes including horses, followed by some variation of the following Akkadian phrases: “*ašlula šallasun*”¹ (I plundered their loot), “*maddatti amhur*”² (I received tribute) or “*šallatiš amnu*”³ (I counted as booty). Due to the failure of history to preserve all documents it is obviously impossible to know the full extent of the tribute and loot which was taken, especially since even if every single inscription had been perfectly preserved, there is no guarantee that every single instance of loot-taking would have been recorded.

In regard to the methodology of the analysis, quantity, location, region and source will all be organized into tables arranged into sub-chapters named after each Neo-Assyrian monarch. Any data which is missing will be marked with a capital ‘X’, as is often the case in regard to the quantity of horses. These locations will later be sorted into bigger categories in the discussion section in order to make the data within the analysis more easily comprehensible

¹ Sannacherib 4, 9 [via RINAP/RINAP3] <http://oracc.org/rinap/Q003478/>.

² Shalmaneser III 17, 56 [via RIAO] <http://oracc.org/riao/Q004622/>.

³ Sennacherib 23, i30 [via RINAP/RINAP3] <http://oracc.org/rinap/Q003497/>.

and more easily manageable. One potential issue with the methodology utilized by this thesis is the chance of duplicates wrongly being recorded as two separate events, as well as the reverse, two separate events incorrectly being assumed to be the same. In order to avoid this, care has been taken to ensure that the appropriate inscriptions are included, mainly by comparing the contents of texts to see if they refer to the same events. Since some locations are mentioned multiple times they will appear multiple times within the same table, since they are separate events.

The analysis will be split up into two chapters, with the first chapter covering the early half of the Neo-Assyrian empire and the second covering its latter half, during which the Neo-Assyrian empire saw a period of great expansion, or in the words of the great Assyriologist, Van de Mieroop: “The true empire stage in Assyrian history”.⁴ This seems like a rather sensible division since the seizing of horses as loot or tribute necessitates military actions, meaning that a comparison before and after the empire’s rapid expansion ought to give different results. Incidentally, this also results in a rather accurate chronological split of the period, as well as providing two equal large pools of monarchs which can be compared after the analysis. The latter being true because a lot of monarchs on both sides completely lack relevant data, meaning that while both chapters don’t include the same number of kings, the number of kings that can be analysed is fairly divided up.

One long considered, but scrapped idea for the thesis, was to have the tables be separated by the different campaigns undertaken by the monarchs. The issue with this and the reason as to why it was not implemented is related to the fact that campaign is not always stated, nor is other information such as dates.

1.2.1 Defining chronology and geography

This thesis will attempt to utilize a rather concise chronology, covering the whole Neo-Assyrian period. When exactly the Neo-Assyrian period started is subject of debate, but generally, it’s considered to have started sometime between the 11th and 10th centuries BCE, during either the rule of Ashur-dan II⁵, Adad-Narari II.⁶ For this thesis, the rule of Ashur-dan II will be treated as the beginning of the Neo-Assyrian period and thus the first data point for analysis within the thesis. The choice was made due to Ashur-dan II’s great efforts in reestablishing the Assyrian empire’s prominence in Mesopotamia.⁷ This choice will however have little impact on the analysis itself, which will be made clear in said chapter. Under perfect circumstances, the chronology of the thesis would have started with ascension of the first Neo-Assyrian king and ended with the death of the last, but due to the unpredictability of history, this was not meant to be. While the start of the Neo-Assyrian is far from set in stone, it can be debated using exact dates. The same cannot be said for its fall. The end of the Neo-Assyrian empire is generally considered to be the fall of Harran to Babylonian and Median forces and subsequent failed recapture by Egyptian and Assyrian forces.⁸ After this event, Assyria ceased to exist as an independent entity and its position was usurped by the Neo-Babylonian Empire. The last king of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, Ashur-uballit II is never mentioned to have died in any preserved texts, but simply disappears from the historical record after his empire’s fall in 609 BCE. For the purposes of this thesis, the uncertainties of the last king’s reign is of little consequence, since there are no preserved texts attributed to him that mention loot taking involving horses, which would have contributed towards the

⁴ Van de Mieroop 2007, p. 247

⁵ Frahm 2017, p. 166

⁶ Merrill, Rooker & Grisanti 2011, p. 31

⁷ Frahm 2017, p. 166

⁸ Frahm 2017, p. 192

analysis and stated purpose of this thesis.

This thesis revolves around the exploits of Neo-Assyrian royalty, regardless of where these exploits took place. With that said, no military campaigns undertaken by Neo-Assyrian kings ventured particularly far from the Mesopotamian heartland, being mostly constrained to the Empire's core regions, meaning that the targets of the campaigns tended to be the states just outside the empire's periphery. What constituted as outside of the empire would vary through time as the power and borders of the empire shifted, but never comprised of territory outside of what is traditionally thought of as the Middle East.

1.3. Presentation of source material

The source material which will be utilized most readily are the royal inscriptions attributed to the Neo-Assyrian kings found within RINAP: Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period⁹ and RIAo: Royal Inscriptions of Assyria online¹⁰, both hosted by Oracc: The Open Richly Annotated Cuneiform Corpus, an "international cooperative which provides facilities and support for the creation of free online editions of cuneiform texts and educational 'portal' websites about ancient cuneiform culture."¹¹ In other words, it is a database comprised of dozens of different projects within the subject of cuneiform texts. The reasoning behind the reliance upon these projects and this platform is twofold; They are corpuses of great size and accessibility, meaning that finding texts of relevance becomes a manageable endeavour, as opposed to scouring through every single royal inscription manually. The biggest flaw with this method is the constriction to texts which can be found within the RINAP and RIAo projects. This is not a major flaw though, as the material which is present is more than enough to make analysis possible. Both RINAP and RIAo serve as ways to make texts currently found in museums more easily accessible, providing both transliteration of the original cuneiform text, as well as translations into English. This transparency of showing where the texts come from, as well as providing transliterations, gives the projects credence.

⁹ <http://oracc.org/rinap/>

¹⁰ <http://oracc.org/riao/>

¹¹ Tinney and Robson 2019. <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/doc/about/>

2. Previous research

No study with the same goal to map the distribution of horses as loot by the Neo-Assyrian empire has previously been done, but the campaigns themselves during which the loot was taken are extremely well documented and discussed, such as in Healy 1991, Dalley 2017 and Dezső 2016. This thesis does not directly build upon the work of earlier studies, instead combining the studies relating to the geography of the military campaigns undertaken by the Neo-Assyrian monarchs, with the primary sources themselves.

In regard to the phenomenon of Neo-Assyrian looting and campaigning in general, which lies at the very basis of this thesis, the chapter on Assyrian warfare written by Stephanie Dalley in the book *A Companion to Assyria* edited by Eckart Frahm, has been very helpful in contextualizing the very thing which this thesis seeks to quantify. While Dalley covers the basics of looting and taking tribute, with quite a bit of focus on the capture of prisoners and their economic role within the empire, she also covers the capture of chariots and how it, in addition to the previously mentioned prisoners served to weaken defeated foes by limiting their capacity for warfare.¹²

A similar sentiment holds true for the book *The Assyrian Army II. Recruitment and Logistics* Written by Tamás Dezső, which goes into great detail about the same phenomena. The book explains the scope and purpose behind general loot taking within the Neo-Assyrian army. Additionally, Desző provides a greater focus on the economic drive and impact behind the phenomenon. His work also includes tables listing tribute and plunder taken during the rule of different Neo-Assyrian monarchs. The main difference between this thesis and the work of Desző is the scope and purpose. Desző includes all sorts of plunder the kings report to have taken, such as gold, silver, sheep and utensils, to name a few. While Desző does list the reported origin of the horses, he does not provide any sort of analysis or commentary regarding the origin or number of horses specifically.¹³

¹² Dalley 2017, p. 523-525

¹³ Dezső 2016, p. 125-127

3. Background

3.1. Defining horse

It is important to not leave room for any ambiguity, since ‘Horse’ can occasionally be used to refer to the whole *Equus* genus, in a manner similar to how the word ‘cat’ can be used to refer to the whole genus *Felidae*. The domestic horse belongs to the *Equus* genus, the only living branch of the *Equidae* family. Fellow extant members of *Equus* include the zebra (*Equus Hippotigris*) and the donkey (*Equus Africanus*). Due to the donkey’s prevalence in Mesopotamian culture this is something necessary to clarify.

The main focus and subject of this essay is the domesticated horse, also known by its binominal name, *Equus Caballus*. Therefore, anytime the word ‘horse’ is used it is this specific animal which is being referred to. One important aspect to highlight is the fact that the horse, as it existed in Mesopotamia during the last millennium BCE was not identical to the horse of today. The horse in use at the time was much smaller than the average modern horse. It is however still the same species.¹⁴

3.2. Mesopotamian nomenclature

In Sumerian, the liturgical language and early lingua franca of Mesopotamia, the word for horse was **sisi**, most commonly written as **anše-kur-ra** or **anše-si2-si2**. The former is written logographically, consisting of the logogram for donkey ‘anše’ followed by the logogram ‘kur’ which can carry multiple meanings, including land, country, mountain and east, and lastly followed by a genitive suffix in the form of ‘ra’. The logographic spelling can thus be translated along the lines of ‘donkey of the east’ or ‘mountain donkey’¹⁵, which is possibly due to the horse’s origins, ultimately having arrived in Mesopotamia by way of the mountains which lie to the north and east.¹⁶ The latter of the previously mentioned spellings, **anše-si2-si2**, is simply a phonetic spelling with anše acting as a determinative for donkey or more broadly equines.¹⁷

The Sumerian word for horse, **sisi**, is in turn most likely a loanword from Akkadian, a Semitic language which with time came to replace Sumerian as the lingua franca of Mesopotamia. In Akkadian, horses are most commonly known as *sīšū*, which itself descends from Old Akkadian *sīšā’um* and ultimately the Proto-Semitic root sVwsVw-. Although not a view of universal acceptance, it has been suggested that the Semitic root is in some way derived from the Proto-Indo-European word for horse *ek^[h]wo-, likely through an Indo-European language of the satem-branch, such as Luvian with its *azzuwa-*, which bears a resemblance to the Semitic root.¹⁸

¹⁴ Zarins 2014, p. 23

¹⁵ Sjöberg 1984, p. 50

¹⁶ Zarins 2014, p. 23

¹⁷ Sjöberg 1984, p. 50

¹⁸ Militarev, Kogan and Arakelova 2005, p. 83

3.3. History of the Assyrian Empire

What follows here is a brief and condensed exploration of the Neo-Assyrian empire's history, providing much needed context for the empire within which this study has its focus. The Neo-Assyrian empire was the fourth and final stage of Assyria, a geographical and political entity centered on the city of Assur from which it gets its modern name. The city existed as far back as the third millennium BCE, but this was long before Assyria had become anything more than just a city state.¹⁹ The history of Assyria is generally divided into four stages, the Early, Old, Middle and Late Assyrian periods, with corresponding Old, Middle and Neo-Assyrian empires.²⁰ During the Early Assyrian period, the city state of Assur, was one of the many cities that became incorporated into the Akkadian empire and, after its fall, the Third Dynasty of Ur. Following the fall of the Third Dynasty of Ur, Assur became an independent city state whose importance would grow as it established trade colonies in Anatolia.²¹ As Assyria rose in prominence, it eventually came to conquer much of Upper Mesopotamia, under the rule of the Assyrian king, Shamshi-Adad. This kingdom did however not last and quickly fell after Shamshi-Adad's death.²² What succeeded it was the Old Babylonian Empire which dominated Mesopotamia for three hundred years before the Old Babylonian Empire was destroyed by the Hittites. The power vacuum which was left lead to a new entity ruling over Assyria and northern Mesopotamia, the Kingdom of Mitanni, thus ending the Old Assyrian Period. The Middle Assyrian Period is noteworthy for being the first time Assyria truly became an empire, starting with achieving independence from the Mitanni and eventually conquering most of Northern Mesopotamia. Assyria became the dominant power of the region, eventually conquering its former master Babylon. The Middle Assyrian Empire would last for 300 years, although would undergo a steady state of decline following the Late Bronze Age collapse. At the end of the tenth century, the Assyrian empire would recover and reconquer their lost territory, ushering in the Neo-Assyrian Empire. At this stage, the Assyrian Empire grew larger than it ever had before, controlling all of Mesopotamia, the Levant and even Egypt. This empire would not last forever though, as it would eventually fall to a coalition of Medes and Babylonians, after which Assyria would never rise again.²³

3.3. Neo-Assyrian loot and tribute

The Neo-Assyrian Empire was not a centralized state, such as those we have in the modern age. The Neo-Assyrian empire was comprised of dozens of city states and client kingdoms all loyal and obligated to serve the ruling monarch. They had a great deal of autonomy but were expected to pay tribute in the form of material goods, soldiers, and of interest to this thesis, horses. Due to this autonomy, rebellions were frequent, especially during times when the empire appeared weak. As part of Assyrian culture and religion, Assyrian monarchs were expected to conduct annual campaigns during which foreign nations were raided for valuables and unruly vassals were put in their place. The success of these campaigns varied from king to king, but its general success was greatly increased during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III, due to his military reforms which shifted the nation from a levy-based system where regular citizens were conscripted during times of war, to having a standing army with professional

¹⁹ Radner 2015, p. 1–4

²⁰ Healy 1991, p. 6

²¹ Van de Mieroop 2007, p. 86

²² Healy 1991, p. 3–6

²³ Van de Mieroop 2007, p. 266–272

soldiers. The backbone of the Neo-Assyrian army lay in its horse-pulled chariots though, which is part of the reason why the Neo-Assyrian empire was so militarily successful. This is the reason why horses were such a valuable commodity and why they were frequently seized from enemies, both as a way to bolster the Assyrian army, while also weakening the defeated enemy's military capabilities.²⁴

The military campaigns of the Assyrians were more than just military ventures, but integral parts of the Assyrian economy. Through the goods Assyria were able to collect through its constant wars Assyria sustained itself as well as its military, creating what was essentially a feedback loop where the army needed to wage war to sustain itself, while at the same time making itself into a great expenditure for the Assyrian state. Beyond the economic aspect, the campaigns also served a religious purpose of asserting the power of Assur's patron god, who bore the same name as the city. These campaigns were something celebrated with extraction of tribute specifically being considered of utmost importance and something praiseworthy to the point of decorating palace walls with depictions of soldiers carrying off loot.²⁵

²⁴ Dalley 2017, p. 523–525

²⁵ Dezső 2016, p. 125–127

4. Analysis

4.1 Early Neo-Assyrian monarchs

The first section of the analysis within this thesis will cover the first half of the Neo-Assyrian empire, starting with Ashur-dan II and ending with Ashur-Narari V, a period spanning 189 years. The Neo-Assyrian period began following years of instability towards the end of the Middle Assyrian Period. The first half of the Neo-Assyrian period is characterized by the “Reconquista”, during which large portions of Assyria’s previously lost core territory was reconquered.²⁶ Following this initial success the empire would eventually, once again, enter a state of decline, the reversal of which serves as the dividing line for the next chapter.

4.1.1 Ashur-Dan II

Ashur-Dan II (Akkadian: *Aššur-dān*) 934–912 BCE. The son of the previous Assyrian king, Tiglath-Pileser II. Ashur-dan II is best known for his campaigns during the Reconquista, re-establishing Assyria’s natural borders and reversing the internal decline which had ended the previous period.²⁷

Despite being a ruler who left numerous inscriptions, none fall within the requirements needed to contribute to this thesis.

4.1.2 Adad-Narari II

Adad-Narari II (Akkadian: *Adad-nārārī*) 911–891 BCE. The son of Ashur-dan II and sometimes regarded as the first ruler of the Neo-Assyrian empire. He re-established full control over the Assyrian heartland, as well as expanding the empire’s control to the north and west. In addition to his exploits up the Tigris and Euphrates, Adad-Narari II defeated the rulers of Babylon on multiple occasions. Following Adad-Narari’s death in 891 BCE, he was succeeded by his son Tukulti-Ninurta.²⁸

²⁶ Van de Mieroop 2007, p. 247

²⁷ Frahm 2017, p. 165

²⁸ Healy 1991, p. 6

Quantity	Location	Region	Source	Project
X	Našibina	Land of Ḫanigalbat	Adad-Narari II 2, 62	RIAo
X	Satkuru	Land of Ḫabḫu	Adad-Narari II 2, 94	RIAo
X	Iasaddu	Land of Ḫabḫu	Adad-Narari II 2, 94	RIAo
X	Kunnu	Land of Ḫabḫu	Adad-Narari II 2, 94	RIAo
X	Tabsia	Land of Ḫabḫu	Adad-Narari II 2, 94	RIAo
X	Sikānu	Land of Ḫanigalbat	Adad-Narari II 2, 97	RIAo
X	Qatna	Land of Ḫanigalbat	Adad-Narari II 2,105	RIAo

4.1.3 Tukulti-Ninurta II

Tukulti-Ninurta II (Akkadian: *Tukultī-Ninurta*) 890-884 BCE. Tukulti-Ninurta II had a short reign, ruling only a little over half a decade. Despite his brief rule, he consolidated the gains of his father, while also successfully campaigning in the Zagros mountains to the east. Following Tukulti-Ninurta's death in 898 BCE, he was succeeded by his son Ashurnasirpal.²⁹

Quantity	Location	Region	Source	Project
X	X	Land of Nairi	Tukutli-Ninurta II 05, 1	RIAo
X	Patiškun	Aram	Tukutli-Ninurta II 05, 11	RIAo
X	Dūr-Katlimmu	Aram	Tukutli-Ninurta II 05, 104	RIAo
X	X	Land of Šubarū	Tukutli-Ninurta II 05, 128	RIAo
X	X	Land of Gilzānu	Tukutli-Ninurta II 05, 128	RIAo
X	X	Land of Nairi	Tukutli-Ninurta II 05, 128	RIAo

4.1.4 Ashurnasirpal II

Ashurnasirpal II (Akkadian: *Aššur-nāšir-apli*) 883-859 BCE. Ashurnasirpal ascended the throne after the death of his father, Tukulti-Ninurta II. The empire expanded greatly during his reign, and he went on multiple campaigns in all directions, as far as western Anatolia. He is known to have been a particularly ruthless ruler.³⁰

Quantity	Location	Region	Source	Project
X	X	Land of Simerra	Ashurnasirpal II 001, i 54b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Ulmania	Ashurnasirpal II 001, i 54b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Adauš	Ashurnasirpal II 001, i 54b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Ḫaragaia	Ashurnasirpal II 001, i 54b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Ḫaramasaia	Ashurnasirpal II 001, i 54b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Gilzānu	Ashurnasirpal II 001, i 54b	RIAo

²⁹ Frahm 2017, p. 167

³⁰ Healy 1991, p. 6-7

X	X	Land of Ḫubušku	Ashurnasirpal II 001, i 54b	RIAo
X	Sūru	X	Ashurnasirpal II 001, i 85	RIAo
X	X	Land of Nirbu	Ashurnasirpal II 001, ii 10	RIAo
X	X	Land of Nairi	Ashurnasirpal II 001, ii 12b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Urumu	Ashurnasirpal II 001, ii 12b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Ḫanigalbat	Ashurnasirpal II. 001, ii 19b	RIAo
X	Bunāsi	X	Ashurnasirpal II 001, ii 35	RIAo
X	X	Land of Zamua	Ashurnasirpal II 001, ii 44	RIAo
X	Mount Elaniu	X	Ashurnasirpal II 001, ii 65b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Zamua	Ashurnasirpal II 001, ii 76b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Nidrun	Ashurnasirpal II 001, ii 100b	RIAo
X + 460	X	Land of Bīt-Zamāni	Ashurnasirpal II 001, ii 118b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Sūḫu	Ashurnasirpal II 001, iii 20	RIAo
X	Bīt-Baḫiāni	X	Ashurnasirpal II 001, iii 60	RIAo
X	X	Land of Ḫatti	Ashurnasirpal II 001, iii 60	RIAo
X	X	Land of Ḫanigalbat	Ashurnasirpal II 001, iii 60	RIAo
X	Larbusu	Land of Zamua	Ashurnasirpal II 017, iii 15	RIAo
X	Dūr-Lullumu	Land of Zamua	Ashurnasirpal II 017, iii 15	RIAo
X	Bunisu	Land of Zamua	Ashurnasirpal II 017, iii 15	RIAo
X	Bāra	Land of Zamua	Ashurnasirpal II 017, iii 15	RIAo
X	Zamru	Land of Namri	Ashurnasirpal II 017, iii 70b	RIAo
X	Arasidku	Land of Namri	Ashurnasirpal II 017, iii 70b	RIAo
X	Ammaru	Land of Namri	Ashurnasirpal II 017, iii 70b	RIAo
X	Parsindu	Land of Namri	Ashurnasirpal II 017, iii 70b	RIAo
X	Iritu	Land of Namri	Ashurnasirpal II 017, iii 70b	RIAo
X	Suritu	Land of Namri	Ashurnasirpal II 017, iii 70b	RIAo
X	Ḫudun	X	Ashurnasirpal II 017, ii 98b	RIAo
X	Ḫartišu	X	Ashurnasirpal II 017, ii 98b	RIAo
X	Ḫubušku	X	Ashurnasirpal II 017, ii 98b	RIAo
X	Iritu	X	Ashurnasirpal II 017, iii 70b	RIAo
X	Suritu	X	Ashurnasirpal II 017, iii 70b	RIAo
X	Ḫudun	X	Ashurnasirpal II 017, ii 98b	RIAo
X	Ḫartišu	X	Ashurnasirpal II 017, ii 98b	RIAo
X	Ḫubušku	X	Ashurnasirpal II 017, ii 98b	RIAo

X	X	Land of Nidrun	Ashurnasirpal II 017, iv 51	RIAo
X	X	Land of Gilzānu	Ashurnasirpal II 018, 1'	RIAo
X	Ḫarira	X	Ashurnasirpal II 018, 5'	RIAo
X	Ḫalḫalauš	X	Ashurnasirpal II 018, 5'	RIAo
X	Mount Kašiiari	X	Ashurnasirpal II 018, 18'b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Šubrû	Ashurnasirpal II 019, 100	RIAo
X	X	Land of Nairi	Ashurnasirpal II 022, 1'	RIAo

4.1.5 Shalmaneser III

Shalmaneser III (Akkadian: *Salmānu-ašarēd*) 859-824 BCE. Shalmaneser III inherited the throne from his father, Ashurnasirpal, upon the latter's death in 859 BCE. Shalmaneser III's rule was a long one, containing many military campaigns, especially against the peoples to Assyria's north.³¹

Quantity	Location	Region	Source	Project
X	X	Land of Gilzānu	Shalmaneser III 001, 33b	RIAo
X	Lutibu	X	Shalmaneser III 001, 53'	RIAo
X	Ališir (or Alimuš)	X	Shalmaneser III 001, 64'b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Ḫargu	Shalmaneser III 002, i 14b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Ḫarmasa	Shalmaneser III 002, i 14b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Simesi	Shalmaneser III 002, i 14b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Simerra	Shalmaneser III 002, i 14b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Sirišu	Shalmaneser III 002, i 14b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Ulmānu	Shalmaneser III 002, i 14b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Nairi	Shalmaneser III 002, i 18b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Gilzānu	Shalmaneser III 002, i 25b	RIAo
X	Lutibu	X	Shalmaneser III 002, i 41b	RIAo
X	Aršašku	X	Shalmaneser III 002, ii 47b	RIAo
X	Zanziuna	X	Shalmaneser III 002, ii 56b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Gilzānu	Shalmaneser III 002, i 60b	RIAo
X	Šilaia	Land of Ḫubuškia	Shalmaneser III 002, ii 63b	RIAo
X	Qarqar	Land of Gilzānu	Shalmaneser III 002, ii 89b	RIAo
X	Šitamrat	X	Shalmaneser III 005, iii 3b	RIAo
X	Aparāzu	X	Shalmaneser III 006, ii 68	RIAo
X	X	Land of Daiēnu	Shalmaneser III 006, iii 34	RIAo

³¹ Healy 1991, p. 11-12

X	Šumurza	Land of Tugliaš	Shalmaneser III 006, iv 7	RIAo
X	Bīt-Nergal	Land of Tugliaš	Shalmaneser III 006, iv 7	RIAo
X	Niqqu	Land of Tugliaš	Shalmaneser III 006, iv 7	RIAo
9,920 ³²	X	X	Shalmaneser III 010, iv 34b	RIAo
X	Masašuru	X	Shalmaneser III 014, 159b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Ḫarrānia	Shalmaneser III 014, 174b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Šašgānu	Shalmaneser III 014, 174b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Andia	Shalmaneser III 014, 174b	RIAo

4.1.6 Shamshi-Adad V

Shamshi-Adad V (Akkadian: *Šamši-Adad*) 824–811 BCE. The transfer of power upon the death of Shalmaneser III was not a smooth one but brought on a civil war between two of his sons that would last years. Shamshi-Adad V would end up defeating his brother and ruled the realm until his death. His reign was not particularly remarkable, but he maintained the empire's borders and went on successful military campaigns in Babylonia.³³

Quantity	Location	Region	Source	Project
X	X	Land of Nairi	Šamši-Adad V 1, i 39	RIAo
X	X	Land of Nairi	Šamši-Adad V 1, ii 16b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Nairi	Šamši-Adad V 1, ii 16b	RIAo
X	Sassiašu	Land of Gizilbunda	Šamši-Adad V 1, ii 16b	RIAo
X	Karsibuta	Land of Gizilbunda	Šamši-Adad V 1, ii 16b	RIAo
X	Uraš	X	Šamši-Adad V 1, ii 16b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Nairi	Šamši-Adad V 1, iii 44b	RIAo

4.1.7 Adad-Narari III

Adad-Narari III (Akkadian: *Adad-nārārī*) 811–783 BCE. Upon the death of his father, Shamshi-Adad V, Adad-Narari III became the legal ruler of the empire, but it seems like the real power resided with his mother during the first years of his reign, suggesting the king was young and the throne under a regency. Adad-Narari III campaigned widely against all of Assyria's neighbours. He was arguably the last great king of the early Neo-Assyrian period, since following his death, the empire would see decline until the reforms and expansion started by Tiglath-Pileser III.³⁴

No texts mentioning horses with the context of either loot or tribute can be attributed to this Adad-Narari III.

³² This number is given as the total number of horses and mules seized during his first 20 years as king.

³³ Van de Mieroop 2007, p. 243–245

³⁴ Frahm 2017, p. 163

4.1.8 Shalmaneser IV

Shalmaneser IV (Akkadian: *Salmānu-ašarēd*) 783–773 BCE. After inheriting the throne from his father, Adad-Narari III, Shalmaneser IV's reign is generally seen as the start of a period of decline for the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Not a lot is known of his reign, but he is known to have waged war with the Kingdom of Urartu in the highlands north of Assyria.³⁵

Unfortunately, no texts mentioning horses within the context of either loot or tribute can be attributed to him.

4.1.9 Ashur-dan III

Ashur-Dan III (Akkadian: *Aššur-dān*) 773–755 BCE Ashur-Dan III inherited the throne upon the death of his brother, Shalmaneser IV. His reign, despite being relatively long, is poorly understood, but it seems to have been quite troubled, by both great outbreaks of disease, as well as revolts.³⁶

Not surprisingly texts mentioning horses in the context of either loot or tribute cannot be attributed to Ashur-Dan III.

4.1.10 Ashur-Narari V

Ashur-Narari V (Akkadian: *Aššur-nārāri*) 755–745 BCE. Ashur-Narari V inherited the throne upon the death of his brother, Ashur-Dan III, making Ashur-Narari V the third son of Adad-Narari III to inherit the throne. Not much is known about his reign other than it seems to have been a low point in power for the Neo-Assyrian empire.³⁷

No texts mentioning horses within the context of either loot or tribute can be attributed to this ruler.

4.2 Late Neo-Assyrian monarchs

With the ascension of Tiglath-Pileser III to the Assyrian throne, the Neo-Assyrian empire would enter an unparalleled period of immense power. The internal weakening of the empire was reversed, Assyria's main rivals were defeated and the empire grew greatly in size, eventually even conquering Egypt. Despite the empire's newly achieved power and being essentially without any rivals, the empire would eventually enter a period of instability, from which the empire would never recover.³⁸ While this period saw the decline of Assyria's northern enemy, Urartu, new adversaries would start to appear by the Zagros mountains to Assyria's east. The Medes and the Mannaeans were the main group of new adversaries, with the former being one of the external contributing factors towards Assyria's downfall.³⁹

³⁵ Frahm 2017, p. 175

³⁶ Frahm 2017, p. 175

³⁷ Poebel 1943, p. 75–77

³⁸ Van de Mieroop 2007, p. 247–250

³⁹ Van de Mieroop 2007, p. 242

4.2.1 Tiglath-Pileser III

Tiglath-Pileser III (Akkadian: *Tukultī-apil-Ešarra*) 745–727 BCE. The true parentage of Tiglath-Pileser III is not fully understood, but he is generally thought to either be the son of Ashur-Narari V or Adad-Narari III, in case of the latter, that would make Tiglath-Pileser III the fourth son of Adad-Narari to sit on the Assyrian throne.⁴⁰ Whoever his father was, Tiglath-Pileser would go on to accomplish great things by greatly increasing the size of the empire by conquering both the Babylonia and the Levant, with the latter being mentioned in the Bible.⁴¹

Quantity	Location	Region	Source	Project
X	Nikkur	X	Tiglath-pileser III 6, 10b	RINAP
X	Kummuḫu	X	Tiglath-pileser III 14, 10b	RINAP
X	Damascus	X	Tiglath-pileser III 14, 10b	RINAP
X	Samaria	X	Tiglath-pileser III 14, 10b	RINAP
X	Tyre	X	Tiglath-pileser III 14, 10b	RINAP
X	Byblos	X	Tiglath-pileser III 14, 10b	RINAP
X	X	Cilicia	Tiglath-pileser III 14, 10b	RINAP
X	Carchemish	X	Tiglath-pileser III 14, 10b	RINAP
X	Hamath	X	Tiglath-pileser III 14, 10b	RINAP
X	Sam'al	X	Tiglath-pileser III 14, 10b	RINAP
X	X	Land of Gurgum	Tiglath-pileser III 14, 10b	RINAP
X	X	Land of Melid	Tiglath-pileser III 14, 10b	RINAP
X	Kasku	X	Tiglath-pileser III 15, 1	RINAP
X	X	Land of Tabal	Tiglath-pileser III 15, 1	RINAP
X	X	Land of Atuna	Tiglath-pileser III 15, 1	RINAP
X	X	Land of Tuḫana	Tiglath-pileser III 15, 1	RINAP
X	Ištunda	X	Tiglath-pileser III 15, 1	RINAP
X	Ḫubišna	X	Tiglath-pileser III 15, 1	RINAP
X	X	Land of Arabia	Tiglath-pileser III 15, 1	RINAP
X	X	Land of Uppuria	Tiglath-pileser III 17, 1	RINAP
X	X	Land of Bustus	Tiglath-pileser III 17, 1	RINAP
X	X	Land of Ariarma	Tiglath-pileser III 17, 1	RINAP
X	X	Land of Saksukni	Tiglath-pileser III 17, 1	RINAP
X	X	Land of Araquṭtu	Tiglath-pileser III 17, 1	RINAP
X	X	Land of Karzibra	Tiglath-pileser III 17, 1	RINAP

⁴⁰ Davenport 2016, p. 36

⁴¹ Frahm 2017, p 176-177

X	X	Land of Gukinnana	Tiglath-pileser III 17, 1	RINAP
X	X	Land of Bīt-Sagbat	Tiglath-pileser III 17, 1	RINAP
X	Mount Silḥazi	X	Tiglath-pileser III 17, 1	RINAP
X	X	Land of Ellipi	Tiglath-pileser III 17, 9b	RINAP
X	X	Land of Mannea	Tiglath-pileser III 17, 10b	RINAP
X	Ḥista	X	Tiglath-pileser III 18, 1	RINAP
X	Ḥarbisinna	X	Tiglath-pileser III 18, 1	RINAP
X	Barbaz	X	Tiglath-pileser III 18, 1	RINAP
X	Tasa	X	Tiglath-pileser III 18, 1	RINAP
77 ⁴²	Daiqanša	Land of Nairi	Tiglath-pileser III 18, 4b	RINAP
77	Sakka	Land of Nairi	Tiglath-pileser III 18, 4b	RINAP
77	Ippa	Land of Nairi	Tiglath-pileser III 18, 4b	RINAP
77	Elizanšu	Land of Nairi	Tiglath-pileser III 18, 4b	RINAP
77	Luqadanšu	Land of Nairi	Tiglath-pileser III 18, 4b	RINAP
77	Quda	Land of Nairi	Tiglath-pileser III 18, 4b	RINAP
77	Elugia	Land of Nairi	Tiglath-pileser III 18, 4b	RINAP
77	Dania	Land of Nairi	Tiglath-pileser III 18, 4b	RINAP
77	Danziun	Land of Nairi	Tiglath-pileser III 18, 4b	RINAP
77	Ulāya	Land of Nairi	Tiglath-pileser III 18, 4b	RINAP
77	Luqia	Land of Nairi	Tiglath-pileser III 18, 4b	RINAP
77	Abrania	Land of Nairi	Tiglath-pileser III 18, 4b	RINAP
77	Eusa	Land of Nairi	Tiglath-pileser III 18, 4b	RINAP
X	Ura	Land of Mušurni	Tiglath-pileser III 19, 1	RINAP
X	Damascus	X	Tiglath-pileser III 20, 1'	RINAP
X	X	Land of Ellipi	Tiglath-pileser III 35, i 11'b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Namri	Tiglath-pileser III 35, i 11'b	RIAo
X	Bīt-Sangibūti	X	Tiglath-pileser III 35, i 11'b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Media	Tiglath-pileser III 35, i 11'b	RIAo
X	Sumbi	X	Tiglath-pileser III 35, i 15'	RIAo
130	Bīt-Ištar	Land of Bīt-Kapsi	Tiglath-pileser III 35, ii 30'	RIAo
40 ⁴³	Ginizinanu	Land of Bīt-Kapsi	Tiglath-pileser III 35, ii 30'	RIAo

⁴² This number is an average since 1000 horses are said to have been taken from 13 cities without specifying how many from each, thus they have all been averaged to 77 (1000÷13).

⁴³ 120 horses taken from three different cities, without specifying how many from each. They have been averaged out (120÷3).

40	Sadbat	Land of Bīt-Kapsi	Tiglath-pileser III 35, ii 30'	RIAo
40	Sisad	Land of Bīt-Kapsi	Tiglath-pileser III 35, ii 30'	RIAo
100	Upaš	Land of Bīt-Kapsi	Tiglath-pileser III 35, ii 30'	RIAo
100	Ušrû	Land of Nikisi	Tiglath-pileser III 35, ii 30'	RIAo
100	Qarkinšera	X	Tiglath-pileser III 35, ii 30'	RIAo
100	Yaubittarru	Land of Amāte	Tiglath-pileser III 35, ii 30'	RIAo
300	Šibar	X	Tiglath-pileser III 35, ii 30'	RIAo
33	Kitku	X	Tiglath-pileser III 35, ii 30'	RIAo
232	Uppuria	X	Tiglath-pileser III 35, ii 30'	RIAo
100	Kazuqinzani	X	Tiglath-pileser III 35, ii 30'	RIAo
200	Šaparda	X	Tiglath-pileser III 35, ii 30'	RIAo
100	Mišita	X	Tiglath-pileser III 35, ii 30'	RIAo
100	Uizak	X	Tiglath-pileser III 35, ii 30'	RIAo
X	Urba	X	Tiglath-pileser III 35, ii 30'	RIAo
X	Sikrâ	X	Tiglath-pileser III 35, ii 30'	RIAo
X	Zakrute	X	Tiglath-pileser III 35, ii 30'	RIAo
X	Aku	X	Tiglath-pileser III 35, ii 30'	RIAo

4.2.2 Shalmaneser V

Shalmaneser V (Akkadian: *Salmānu-ašarēd*) 727-722 BCE. Shalmaneser V inherited the throne upon the death of his father, Tiglath-Pileser III. His reign would end up being much shorter than that of his father though, lasting only five years before being dethroned and replaced by the man who would take the regnal name Sargon II. Little is known about Shalmaneser V's reign, but he did successfully conquer the kingdom of Israel in the southern Levant.⁴⁴

No texts mentioning horses within the context of either loot or tribute can be attributed to him, however.

4.2.3 Sargon II

Sargon II (Akkadian: *Šarru-kīn*) 722–705 BCE. Although possibly related to the rulers who came before, Sargon II's true parentage is disputed. The rulers from this point on are sometimes referred to as the Sargonid dynasty owing to Sargon II's uncertain origins. Exactly how Sargon came to power is not fully understood, but nonetheless his rule saw the Neo-Assyrian empire expand, asserting control over the Levant and conquering Babylonia. Sargon II's reign would end when he was killed in battle while on campaign in Anatolia.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Radner 2012

⁴⁵ Healy 1991, p. 28-33

Quantity	Location	Region	Source	Project
X	Šinuḫtu	Land of Tamal	Sargon II 1, 68b	RINAP
X	X	Egypt	Sargon II 1, 123b	RINAP
X	X	Arabia	Sargon II 1, 123b	RINAP
X	X	Saba	Sargon II 1, 123b	RINAP
1,152	Ḫubuškia	Land of Nairi	Sargon II 1, 147b	RINAP
1,152 ⁴⁶	X	Mannea	Sargon II 1, 191b	RINAP
1,152	X	Land of Ellipi	Sargon II 1, 191b	RINAP
1,152	X	Land of Allabria	Sargon II 1, 191b	RINAP
1,152	X	Media	Sargon II 1, 191b	RINAP
X	Dūr-Athara	Gambulu	Sargon II 1, 272	RINAP
X	Zāmê	X	Sargon II 2, 324b	RINAP
X	Abūrê	X	Sargon II 2, 324b	RINAP
X	Nuḫānu	X	Sargon II 2, 324b	RINAP
X	Ibūli	X	Sargon II 2, 324b	RINAP
X	Sam'ūna	Land of Yadburu	Sargon II 2, 338b	RINAP
X	Bāb-dūri	Land of Yadburu	Sargon II 2, 338b	RINAP
1,250 ⁴⁷	X	Arabia	Sargon II 2, 394b	RINAP
1,250	X	Media	Sargon II 2, 394b	RINAP
X	X	Cilicia	Sargon II 2, 428	RINAP
X	Malatya	X	Sargon II 2, 489b	RINAP
2,080	Babylon	Babylonia	Sargon II 6, 5'b	RINAP
X	X	Media	Sargon II 7, 65b	RINAP
X	X	Land of Ellipi	Sargon II 7, 70b	RINAP
X	X	“Every land”	Sargon II 7, 177b	RINAP
12	X	Egypt	Sargon II 63, ii' 8'	RIAo
X	Siniḫini	Mannea	Sargon II 65, 31	RIAo
X	Latašê	Allabria	Sargon II 65, 37	RIAo
X	X	Land of Ellipi	Sargon II 65, 42	RIAo
X	Ḫalḫubarra	X	Sargon II 65, 42	RIAo
X	Kilambāti	X	Sargon II 65, 42	RIAo
X	Māli	X	Sargon II 65, 42	RIAo

⁴⁶ 4,609 horses taken from four different lands without specifying how many from each. They are thus averaged out. (4,609÷4)

⁴⁷ 2,500 horses taken from multiple cities within Arabia and Media, without specification. They have thus been averaged out (2500÷2)

X	Nappi	X	Sargon II 65, 42	RIAo
X	Bīt-Sagbat	X	Sargon II 65, 42	RIAo
X	Uriangi	X	Sargon II 65, 42	RIAo
X	Kingaraku	X	Sargon II 65, 42	RIAo
X	Qantāu	X	Sargon II 65, 42	RIAo
X	Bīt-Kapsi	X	Sargon II 65, 42	RIAo
X	Bīt-Zualzaš	X	Sargon II 65, 42	RIAo
X	Kisilaḥa	X	Sargon II 65, 42	RIAo
X	Bīt-Ištar	X	Sargon II 65, 42	RIAo
X	Zakrute	X	Sargon II 65, 42	RIAo
X	X	Land of Šaparda	Sargon II 65, 42	RIAo
X	Kanzabakanu	X	Sargon II 65, 42	RIAo
X	Karzinû	X	Sargon II 65, 42	RIAo
X	Andirpattianu	X	Sargon II 65, 42	RIAo
X	Usigur	X	Sargon II 65, 42	RIAo
X	Šibur	X	Sargon II 65, 42	RIAo
X	Ḥarzianu	X	Sargon II 65, 42	RIAo
X	Aratista	X	Sargon II 65, 42	RIAo
X	Barikānu	X	Sargon II 65, 42	RIAo
X	X	Land of Uriakku	Sargon II 65, 42	RIAo
X	Sirdakka	Mannea	Sargon II 65, 51	RIAo
X	Appatar	Mannea	Sargon II 65, 64	RIAo
X	Kitpat	Mannea	Sargon II 65, 64	RIAo
8,609	X	Media	Sargon II 74, iii 54	RIAo
X	Kishsassu	X	Sargon II 82, iii 1'	RIAo
X	Šinuḥtu	Land of Tabal	Sargon II 117, ii 17	RIAo
X	Izirtu	Mannea	Sargon II 117, ii 26	RIAo
X	Paddira	Gutium	Sargon II 117, ii 33b	RIAo
X	Niqqar	Gutium	Sargon II 117, ii 33b	RIAo
X	Kinaḥri	Gutium	Sargon II 117, ii 33b	RIAo
X	Ḥundir	Media	Sargon II 117, ii 35b	RIAo
12	X	Land of Abrau	Sargon II 117, ii 47	RIAo
X	Kanzabakanu	Land of Datumbu	Sargon II 117, ii 59b	RIAo
X	Karzinû	X	Sargon II 117, ii 60b	RIAo
X	Barikānu	Land of Birnakan	Sargon II 117, ii 60b	RIAo

X	Harzianu	Land of Sakâ	Sargon II 117, ii 61b	RIAo
X	Kayatani	Land of Sakâ	Sargon II 117, ii 61b	RIAo
X	X	Land of Rāmānda	Sargon II 117, ii 64	RIAo
X	X	Land of Uratas	Sargon II 117, ii 68b	RIAo

4.2.4 Sennacherib

Sennacherib (Akkadian: *Sîn-aḫḫē-erība*) 705-681 BCE. Sennacherib inherited the imperial throne upon the unexpected death of his father, Sargon II. He is arguably the most famous Neo-Assyrian ruler due to being mentioned in the Bible, in which he is said to have laid siege to Jerusalem during the reign of king Hezekiah. This event is backed up by royal inscription attributed to Sennacherib, although the accounts conflict as to why the siege ended and who was the ultimate winner.⁴⁸ Aside from his conquests in the Levant, of which Jerusalem was but one of his targets, Sennacherib was in a long conflict with the Babylonian king Marduk-Apla-Iddina II for control over Babylon, a conflict which had started during the reign of Sargon II, but which Sennacherib decisively ended after Marduk Apla-Iddina II and his allies were defeated in battle outside of Kish, forcing him into permanent exile and re-establishing Assyrian dominion over Babylonia. Under Sennacherib's reign, the capital of the Neo-Assyrian empire was moved from its traditional capital and namesake, Assur, to the city of Nineveh. Sennacherib's rule came to an abrupt end at the hands of possibly his sons.⁴⁹

Quantity	Location	Region	Source	Project
X	Kutha	X	Sennacherib 1, 23	RIAo
7,200	X	Aram	Sennacherib 1, 60	RIAo
X	Bīt-Kilamzaḥ	X	Sennacherib 2, 14	RIAo
X	Šiṣṣirtu	Bīt-Barrû	Sennacherib 2, 30	RIAo
X	Kummaḥlum	Bīt-Barrû	Sennacherib 2, 30	RIAo
X	X	Kish ⁵⁰	Sennacherib 3, 5	RIAo
X	Bīt-Kilamzaḥ	Land of Kassites	Sennacherib 4, 18	RIAo
X	Ḥardiṣpu	Land of Kassites	Sennacherib 4, 18	RIAo
X	Bīt-Kubatti	Land of Kassites	Sennacherib 4, 18	RIAo
X	Jerusalem	Judah	Sennacherib 4, 49	RIAo
X	X	Aram	Sennacherib 8, 12	RIAo
X	X	Elam	Sennacherib 9, 5	RIAo
X	X	Babylon	Sennacherib 9, 5	RIAo
X	Ingirâ	Cilicia	Sennacherib 17, iv 69	RIAo
X	Tarsus	Cilicia	Sennacherib 17, iv 69	RIAo
X	X	Land of Guzummānu	Sennacherib 213, 34	RIAo

⁴⁸ Healy 1991, p. 45–46

⁴⁹ Frahm 2017, p. 183–187

⁵⁰ Seized in battle outside the city

4.2.5 Esarhaddon

Esarhaddon (Akkadian: *Aššur-aḫa-iddina*) 681–669 BCE. Despite not being the oldest of Sennacherib's sons, Esarhaddon had been appointed as Sennacherib's successor after Sennacherib's firstborn had been captured and killed in battle. Esarhaddon's older brother, Arda-Mulissu, had originally been the heir apparent, but after Sennacherib bestowed that honour onto Esarhaddon, Arda-Mulissu became furious and with the help of another brother murdered their father, plunging the empire into a civil war. Esarhaddon defeated his brothers in the end and ruled a stable realm and went on multiple military campaigns against his neighbours. Possibly fearing a repeat of what had happened to his father, Esarhaddon assigned two of his sons as heirs, one as an heir to Assyria and the other to Babylonia.⁵¹ It has also been proposed that Arda-Mulissu was framed for the murder.⁵²

Quantity	Location	Region	Source	Project
X	X	Media	Esarhaddon 1, iv 46	RINAP
X	X	Cyprus	Esarhaddon 60, 9b	RINAP
X	X	Ionia	Esarhaddon 60, 9b	RINAP
X	Tarsus	Cilicia	Esarhaddon 60, 9b	RINAP
50,000	Memphis	Egypt	Esarhaddon 1019, 26	RINAP

4.2.6 Ashurbanipal

Ashurbanipal (Akkadian: *Aššur-bāni-apli*) 669–631 BCE. Ashurbanipal inherited the throne to the Assyrian Empire upon the death of his father Esarhaddon. Despite being his father's primary and designated heir, Ashurbanipal had an older brother, Shamash-shum-ukin, who inherited the throne of Babylon. Although one would expect the brothers to rule over their respective realms as equals, Shamash-shum-ukin became little more than a vassal to his younger brother. This arrangement remained in place for many years until Shamash-Shum-ukin finally revolted and despite having formed a coalition with several of Assyria's enemies, the revolt failed and Shamash-Shum-ukin was slain.⁵³ Ashurbanipal went on many campaigns, mainly to the east while also unsuccessfully fighting off revolts in Egypt.⁵⁴

Quantity	Location	Region	Source	Project
X	Thebes	Egypt	Ashurbanipal 3, ii 26	RIAo
X	Arwad	X	Ashurbanipal 3, ii 63	RIAo
X	Tabal	Cilicia	Ashurbanipal 3, ii 63	RIAo
X	X	Cilicia	Ashurbanipal 3, ii 63	RIAo
X	Ayusiaš	Mannea	Ashurbanipal 3, iii 31	RINAP
X	Aššaš	Mannea	Ashurbanipal 3, iii 31	RINAP

⁵¹ Van de Mieroop 2007, p. 255–260

⁵² Dalley and Siddall 2021, p. 45–56

⁵³ Ahmed 1968, p. 86–88

⁵⁴ Frahm 2017, p. 188–191

X	Busutu	Mannea	Ashurbanipal 3, iii 31	RINAP
X	Ašdiyaš	Mannea	Ashurbanipal 3, iii 31	RINAP
X	Urkiyamun	Mannea	Ashurbanipal 3, iii 31	RINAP
X	Uppiš	Mannea	Ashurbanipal 3, iii 31	RINAP
X	Siḫūa	Mannea	Ashurbanipal 3, iii 31	RINAP
X	Naziniri	Mannea	Ashurbanipal 3, iii 31	RINAP
X	Izirtu	Mannea	Ashurbanipal 3, iii 31	RINAP
X	Birrūa	Mannea	Ashurbanipal 3, iii 69b	RINAP
X	Šarru-iqbi	Mannea	Ashurbanipal 3, iii 69b	RINAP
X	Gusinê	Mannea	Ashurbanipal 3, iii 69b	RINAP
+30 ⁵⁵	X	Mannea	Ashurbanipal 3, iii 80	RINAP
X	X	Urartu	Ashurbanipal 6, vii 20'	RINAP
X	Gatudu	Elam	Ashurbanipal 7, ix 9'	RINAP
X	Daeba	Elam	Ashurbanipal 7, ix 9'	RINAP
X	Naṭi	Elam	Ashurbanipal 7, ix 9'	RINAP
X	Dūr-Amnani	Elam	Ashurbanipal 7, ix 9'	RINAP
X	Ḥamānu	Elam	Ashurbanipal 7, ix 9'	RINAP
X	Taraqu	Elam	Ashurbanipal 7, ix 9'	RINAP
X	Ḥayausi	Elam	Ashurbanipal 7, ix 9'	RINAP
X	Ḥara'	Elam	Ashurbanipal 7, ix 9'	RINAP
X	Bīt-Imbî	Elam	Ashurbanipal 7, ix 9'	RINAP
X	Madaktu	Elam	Ashurbanipal 7, ix 9'	RINAP
X	Susa	Elam	Ashurbanipal 7, ix 9'	RINAP
X	Bybê	Elam	Ashurbanipal 7, ix 9'	RINAP
X	Kapar-Marduk- šarrāni	Elam	Ashurbanipal 7, ix 9'	RINAP
X	Urdalika	Elam	Ashurbanipal 7, ix 9'	RINAP
X	Algariga	Elam	Ashurbanipal 7, ix 9'	RINAP
X	Tūbu	Elam	Ashurbanipal 7, ix 9'	RINAP
X	Bīt-Bunakku	Elam	Ashurbanipal 7, ix 9'	RINAP
X	Qabrīna	Elam	Ashurbanipal 7, ix 9'	RINAP
X	Ša-pī-Bēl	Gambulu	Ashurbanipal 11, iii 50	RINAP

⁵⁵ 30 horses added to a previous tribute of an unknown amount.

4.2.7 Ashur-Etil-Ilani

Ashur-etil-ilani (Akkadian: *Aššur-etil-ilāni*) 631–627 BCE. After the death of the great king Ashurbanipal, his son and heir Ashur-Etil-Ilani assumed the throne, but his reign would not be as long as his father. Not a lot is known about Ashur-Etil-Ilani, nor are many inscriptions in his name preserved, but he is generally regarded as having been a rather weak ruler.

Not surprisingly, there are no inscriptions mentioning horses within the context of either loot or tribute can be attributed to this king.⁵⁶

4.2.8 Sinsharishkun

Sinsharishkun (Akkadian: *Sîn-šar-iškun*) 627-612 BCE. Sinsharishkun was the final true king of Assyria, before it became a rump state, inheriting the throne from his brother and predecessor Ashur-Etil-Ilani, upon his death. Even if it would seem likely, there is no evidence of foul play in regard to Ashur-Etil-Ilani's death and Sinsharishkun's inheritance.

Sinsharishkun's reign was a turbulent time, beset with multiple revolts, which eventually culminated in a southern rebel seizing Babylon and proclaiming himself king of Babylonia.

This king, Nabopolassar, would lay the groundwork for the Neo-Babylonian empire.⁵⁷

Together with the young Median Empire in the east, the Babylonians invaded Assyria, capturing and sacking, first Assur and eventually Nineveh, the Neo-Assyrian capital.

Sinsharishkun's fate is not recorded, but he disappears from history after the siege of Nineveh and his presumed son, Ashur-Uballit would proclaim himself king thereafter, making it highly likely that Sinsharishkun was killed during the siege of Nineveh.⁵⁸

Perhaps due to his need to focus on internal conflicts more than external ones, there are no preserved inscriptions attributed to Sinsharishkun that mention horses as loot or tribute.

4.2.9 Ashur-uballit II

Ashur-uballit II (Akkadian: *Aššur-uballit*) 612-609 BCE. Following the fall of Nineveh and the death of his presumed father, Ashur-uballit II assumed the crown of the crumbling Neo-Assyrian Empire. Since the empire had lost its capital of Nineveh to the Babylonians and Medes, Ashur-uballit II moved his court and administration to the city of Harran. Ashur-uballit II's reign would not end up being a long one, since after only two years at Harran, the Babylonians and Medes would seek to destroy the Assyrian Empire, once and for all, by laying siege to the city. After the city's fall, the king fled with his troops and would later return to try to recapture Harran, with the support of Egypt.⁵⁹ Despite assistance from Egyptian forces, the Assyrians were unable to recapture Harran and after this point, Ashur-uballit disappears from history, just as the Neo-Assyrian Empire itself.⁶⁰

Considering the length and circumstances surrounding his reign, it is no surprise that there are no preserved inscriptions referencing horses as loot or tribute attributed to Ashur-uballit II.

⁵⁶ Frahm 2017, p. 191

⁵⁷ Frahm 2017, p. 192

⁵⁸ Healy 1991, p. 54–56

⁵⁹ Frahm 2017, p. 191–193

⁶⁰ Reade 1998, p. 260–264

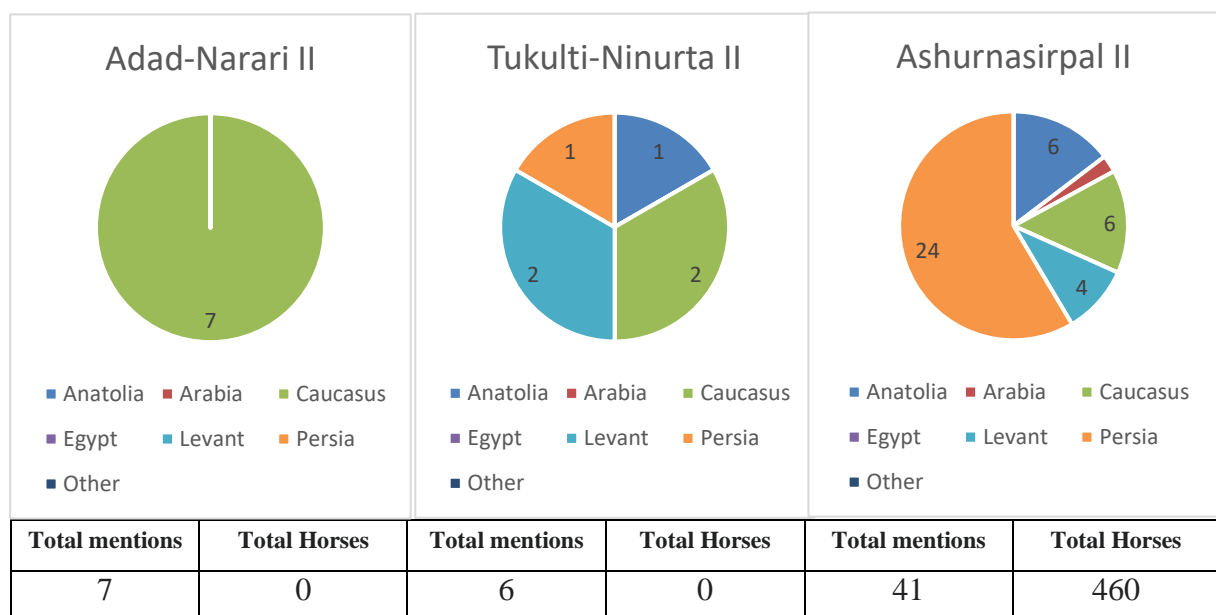
5. Discussion

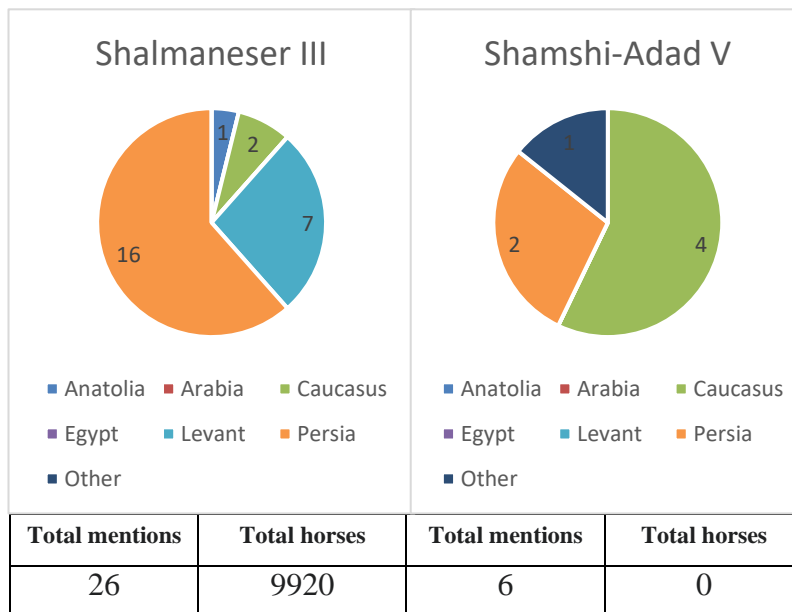
5.1. Establishing categories

Due to the sheer number of cities and regions that are mentioned within the texts some more narrow categories need to be constructed, in order for patterns to be more easily discernible and to make the data more manageable. The cities and regions as listed in the analysis will be divided into the following categories: Anatolia (Mostly representing minor Hittite and Cilician kingdoms), Arabia, Caucasus (Mostly representing Nairi and Urartu. Geographically covers the area between Anatolia and Persia, but north of Assyria proper), Egypt, Levant (Mostly representing the Aramean tribes inhabiting the Mediterranean coast and western Mesopotamia), Persia (Mostly represents the Medes, Elamites and Manneans), and lastly ‘other’ for the cities and regions that cannot be located. These regions are not rooted in history, but in ethno-geography and this is for the sake of consistency, since there are a lot of regions within the data and regions, especially those based on political entities shift through time, so establishing more general categories within which to sort the data ought to result in better results. Each row from the analysis will thus be assigned to one of these regions by looking at their real locations and assigning them accordingly. Following this, the number of horses and their geographical origin will be compared.

5.2. Comparing the loot of the early kings

What follows are pie charts showing the proportions of the mentioned regions, along with the total number of references to horses underneath, along with how many horses were said to have been taken throughout the rule of that particular monarch.



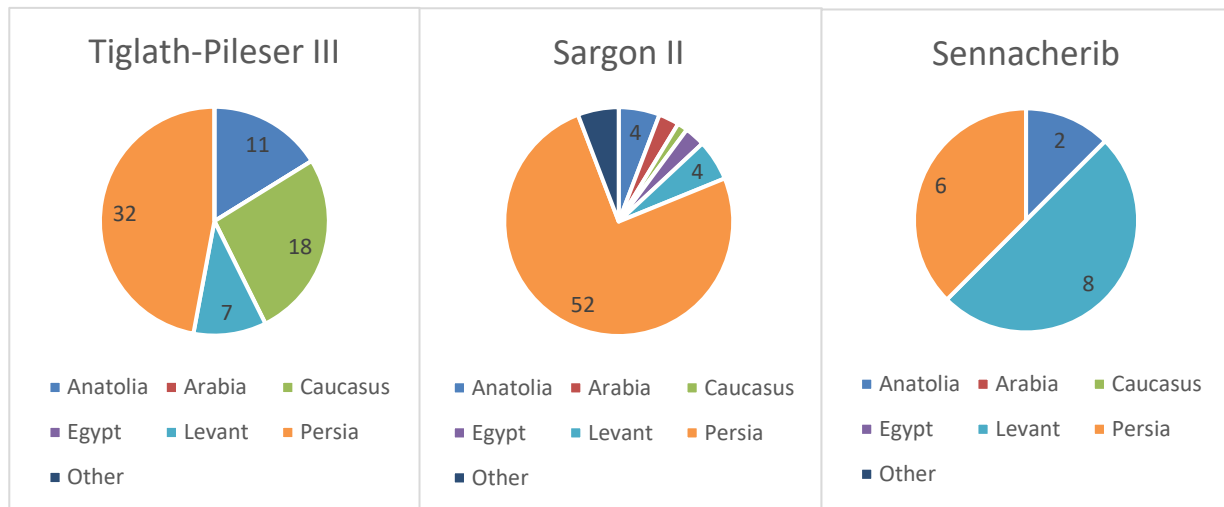


At just a glance of the results from the earlier rulers, some cursory observations can quite easily be made. Foremost noticeable is the fact that Persia is the most common target for two out of the five rulers with data attached to them, those being Ashurnasirpal II, Shalmaneser III. These kings are also the ones with the most preserved texts with a multitude more inscriptions that mention horses being given as tribute or taken as loot. These two kings are also the only kings within this category to have the numbers of horses they took mentioned. Shalmaneser III took by far the most horses during his reign, at 9920 documented horses, with Ashurnasirpal seizing the much smaller number, 460. Note however that these are the surviving numbers, meaning that there is no way of knowing how accurate they are. It is impossible to know how many horses were actually taken without perfect documentation, meaning that we are only able to analyse the numbers which were recorded and preserved. Since the other three rulers barely have any relevant inscriptions attached to their names, that are preserved at least, it would not be unreasonable to assume that the other three kings could have seized horses from the same regions and in the same proportions as the more well documented (when it comes to seizing horses) kings.

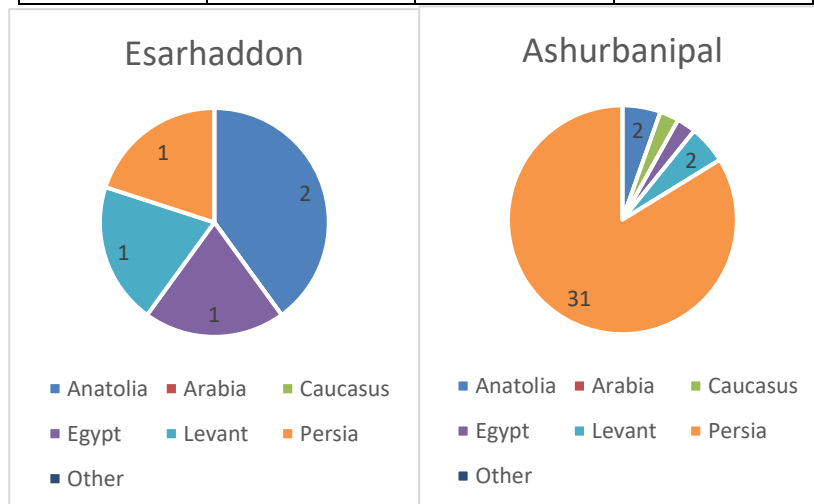
After Persia, the most common target for horses appears to be the Caucasus, followed closely by Anatolia. These are the most mountainous regions of the Near East which makes sense in light of the fact that horses were brought into Mesopotamia through the mountains to its north and east.

One pattern which is easily explained is the fact that the kings with a larger number of relevant texts attached to them were also the kings with the longer reigns. The longer reigns explain why the other kings would have more texts preserved since they would presumably have gone on more campaigns and thus have created more texts, resulting in a larger record which is more easily preserved.

5.3. Comparing the loot of the later kings



Total mentions	Total horses	Total mentions	Total Horses	Total mentions	Total horses
69	17822	16	7200	5	50000



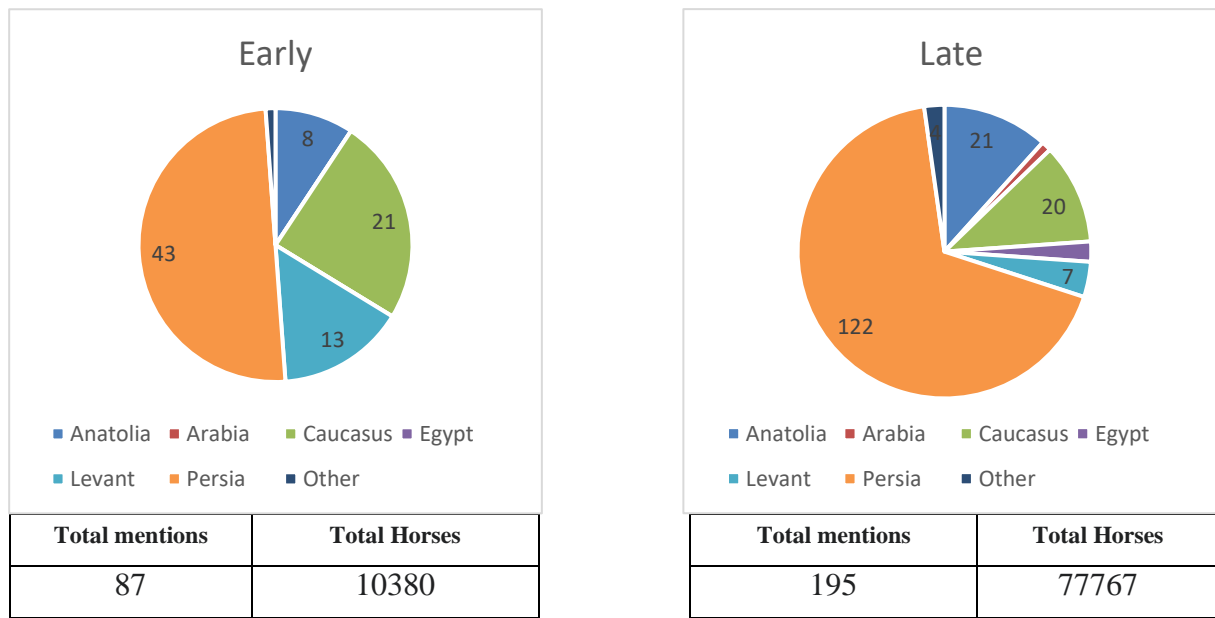
Total mentions	Total horses	Total mentions	Total horses
37	30	68	2715

Immediately noticeable as similar to the data collected for the early period ruler, Persia is quite significantly overrepresented by making up 122 out of the 195 total mentions to horses as loot. Persia is particularly overrepresented in the data gathered for Sargon II and Ashurbanipal, where it represents about three quarters of all instances. Also similar to the previous dataset, half of the rulers are rather lacking in data, with the proportions being quite evenly spread out. As mentioned during the last chapter, it is not unreasonable that the very different proportions are caused by the lack of applicable material for Sennacherib and Esarhaddon. It seems likely that the charts do not accurately reflect the most common loot and tribute targets for horses, instead being skewed due to a lack of data.

In this set, Esarhaddon was the monarch who by far seized the most horses, taking more than all the others combined. However, his entire number of horses comes from his conquest of

Egypt, meaning that it is more than fair to expect the real number to be much greater since he went on more campaigns than just into Egypt. The other rulers, despite having larger datasets, more often than not do not divulge the exact numbers of horses they are seizing in during their campaigns, leaving their numbers a lot lower than they would have been in reality.

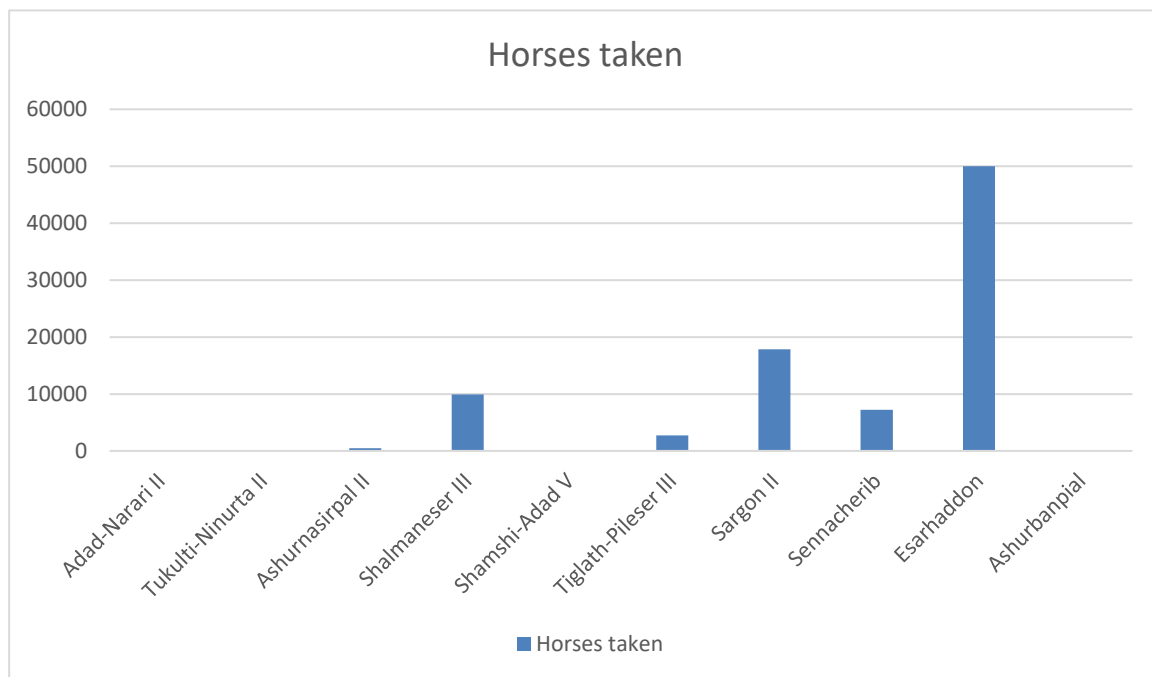
5.4. Comparing the early and late Neo-Assyrian period



Although quite different in the number of data points, 87 from the early Neo-Assyrian period and 195 from the later, there are some major differences in what can be gathered from them. As was noted during the individual analysis of both periods, Persia comprises by far the largest share of both charts, but the proportions are much more drastic in the case of the of the later rulers. In the data collected from the early rulers, Persia makes up almost exactly half of all cases in which horses are taken as loot or tribute, while in the case of the later rulers, it is about two-thirds. Aside from the great increase in mentions of Persia, is the proportional decline of references to the Caucasus. It is a rather major change, considering the fact that it made up a solid quarter in the dataset of the early rulers, while taking up a much smaller portion on the chart in the data collected from the later rulers. This is particularly remarkable seeing as references to the Levant and Anatolia, while proportionally smaller in the Sargonid data, is still represented in a similar manner to that of the previous period. This could suggest a greater focus campaigns in the east rather than the north, at least based on the available data. Another noteworthy difference between the two periods is the emergence of Egypt as a target. During the early period, there's no mention of any looting or demands of tribute from Egypt, at least not for horses. Although it is only in very limited quantities, three out of the five later rulers seized horses from Egypt at least once during their reign. This could quite easily be explained by the Neo-Assyrian Empire growing larger and thus more powerful militarily, as well as geographically closer to Egypt, making it a valid target.

The actual number of horses taken during both periods, at least on record, amounts to 88147 horses, although this is over the span of roughly 300 years. On average this would mean about 292 horses a year, a number which is exceedingly low, considering the numbers given for raids on single settlements tend to be in the hundreds, the few times they are mentioned

5.5. Change through time and averages



Unfortunately, there are too many missing pieces of information to be able to concretely say anything in regard to potential changes through time. As can be seen in the above chart, with the rulers who are confirmed to have seized horses ordered chronologically, there are no discernible patterns, especially since the massive amounts of horses taken by Esarhaddon after taking Thebes in Egypt skews the whole chart. Most of the plundered or granted horses appear towards the end of the scale, which corresponds to the early expansionist period, ca 722-631 BCE. The issue with this is the fact that the data for the later rulers is not preserved, thus making any conclusions very difficult to draw.

With that in mind and as has been discussed previously, there are a lot of gaps in the collected data. A good hint as to how many horses are ‘missing’ from the documentation in the royal inscriptions, can be found in one of the texts attributed to Shalmaneser III. Despite providing a lot of data for the thesis, none of the texts attributed to Shalmaneser III mention any quantities of horses, except for one. That passage, found in Shalmaneser III 010, iv 34b, mentions how Shalmaneser had received and taken 9920 horses and mules during the first 20 years of his reign. Since we have no way of knowing what percentage of these 9920 were mules and which were horses, they will all be treated as horses for the sake of argument. 9920 horses over 20 years would yield an average of 496 horses a year which is not terribly far off the 292 horses a year average calculated earlier, especially factoring in that some portion of the 496 horses are mules, bringing the counts even closer. If this rate of taking horses as tribute were to be applied to the whole Neo-Assyrian period, it would yield 149792 horses during the 302 years of the Neo-Assyrian Empire.

This obviously just hypothetical though, seeing as more than half of the total horses in this thesis came from Egypt, 50000 of them through a single event. Without these 50000, the total amount of horses would be 38147, which over a 302-year period would be the exceedingly low 126 horses a year.

5.7. Conclusion

Even though there were numerous holes in the data which this thesis collected, there is definitely enough present to draw a few conclusions and answer the queries which this thesis set out to answer in the first place. The first query was presented as such: “in what quantities were horses looted and how do the numbers differ between monarchs throughout the Neo-Assyrian period?” This turned out to be the more difficult question to answer, because of the aforementioned holes in the data. During the formation of this thesis, the quantity of horses was expected to be a more prevalent and larger focus than the geographical aspect, which will be touched upon later. In short, while numbers can be given for how many horses certain kings are confirmed to have taken, it is rather doubtful as to how closely these numbers mirror reality. The best clue to give even the semblance of a concrete answer to this first query came in the text attributed to Shalmaneser III in which the total number of horses and mules he had taken as loot over a 20-year span was given. The major issue with this passage and what makes it less than helpful in answering the first query, is the fact that it groups horses and mules together without even the slightest hint as to the proportions. Because of this, it’s impossible to know how what percentage of the given number is made up of horses and what percentage is mules. The rest of the monarchs don’t provide enough data to reliably answer the query, leading to the conclusion that the first query is impossible to answer in a consistent and scholarly sound manner, at least with the material currently available.

So, in short, to answer the question, the total quantities of horses were at least in the tens of thousands, but due to missing data, it’s not possible to give even an estimate. The numbers differ greatly between the monarchs but mostly due to some rulers lacking more material than others. The differences between the dynasties are enormous, but like the case with the individual rulers, there is too much material missing to be able to make any decisive conclusions.

As for the second query, the answer which this thesis has managed to arrive at is more interesting. The second reads as follows: “From where were horses most often taken and did it differ from ruler to ruler?” Despite having some holes in the data, just like with the first query, the holes are far smaller and less detrimental for the purposes of answering the second query properly. Through comparing available data gathered from the inscriptions of the early rulers it becomes clear that the geographical region of Persia is the most common target for extracting horses abroad. During this period, the Caucasus was still a major source of horses as tribute and loot, albeit not on the same level as Persia, it was still in a respectable second place. After the early period had passed and the later, more expansionist period had begun, Persia remained the region most horses were taken from as either loot or tribute. Not only had it remained the most horse abundant region proportionally, but its share in the plunder grew from roughly half to almost three quarters, making it the most common target by a huge margin. Another change that came after the transition from the early to late Neo-Assyrian period, was the great decrease in the use of the Caucasus region as a source for horses. The Caucasus went from being the target of raids a quarter of the time during the early period, to being just an occasional target. What the cause of this is cannot be discerned from the texts themselves, nor is it possible to tell if this evolution is in any way rooted in reality, or if it just a coincidence that none of the mentions of the Caucasus as a source of horses were preserved. After all this focus on Persia and the Caucasus, it is also worth noting that some rulers had some divergent statistics compared to their kinsmen. Adad-Narari II, for example exclusively took horses from the Caucasus, according to the data. What all of these rulers who divert from the trend have in common are the lack of relevant data to their names. It is therefore far more likely that the very limited data skews the result because more sources were not preserved. Of course, there is no guarantee of this, but given the data, it seems far more likely. A quite minor difference between the two halves of the Neo-Assyrian period, in regard to the origin of

the war booty, is the appearance of Egypt as a valid target. During the earlier half, there are no mentions of horses being taken from Egypt, but this changes after the Neo-Assyrian empire's period of great expansion, which coincides with the Assyrian conquest of Egypt. Although Egypt did not appear many times in the data, it provided by far the most horses from a single event, being the Assyrian capture of Memphis.

So, in short, horses were most often taken from the mountainous regions to the east of Mesopotamia, a region this thesis refers to as Persia and mostly inhabited by Elamites, Medes and Mannaeans. A significant proportion of them also came from the Caucasus during the first half the Neo-Assyrian period, but the Caucasus lost its prominent role as a source for horses towards the end of the Neo-Assyrian period, with it quite rarely being mentioned. The differences between the rulers were most noticeable with the rulers who lacked source material, making it likely that there was not that big of a difference between the rulers themselves, but with time focus shifted away from the Caucasus and the Neo-Assyrian monarchs became fixated on Persia.

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