

FIGHTING FOR THE KING
AND THE GODS

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FIGHTING FOR THE KING
AND THE GODS

A Survey of Warfare in the Ancient Near East

Charlie Trimm

SBL Press



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Atlanta

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In memory of my father

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Abbreviations and Sigla

[]	Single brackets enclose restorations.
⌈ ⌋	Raised brackets indicate partial restorations.
[...]	Single brackets and ellipsis indicate missing and unrestorable text.
A	tablets in the collections at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
AAASH	<i>Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
AANEA	Archaeopress Ancient Near Eastern Archaeology
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
AB	Anchor Bible
AbB	<i>Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung</i> . Leiden: Brill, 1964–.
ABL	Harper, Robert Francis, ed. <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the Kouyunjik Collections of the British Museum</i> . 14 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1892–1914.
ABoT	Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri
ABS	Archaeology and Biblical Studies
AEL	Lichtheim, Miriam, ed. <i>Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings</i> . 3 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973–1980.
AeL	<i>Ägypten und Levante/Egypt and the Levant</i>
Afo	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AfOB	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft</i>
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
AhT	Ahhiyawa Text

AIL	Ancient Israel and Its Literature
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
ALASP	Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens
<i>Anab.</i>	Xenophon, <i>Anabasis</i>
ANEHST	Chavalas, Mark W., ed. <i>The Ancient Near East: Historical Sources in Translation</i> . BSAH. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006.
ANEM	Ancient Near East Monographs
ANEMS	Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean Studies
ANEP	<i>The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament</i> . Edited by James B. Pritchard. 2nd ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
ANES	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Studies</i>
ANESSup	Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement
ANET	Pritchard, James B., ed. <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> . 3rd ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
AnSt	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
AO	Collection of Antiquités Orientales of the Musée du Louvre, Paris
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOAT 43	Heeßel, Nils P. <i>Babylonisch-assyrische Diagnostik</i> . AOAT 43. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000.
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
AOS	American Oriental Series
ARE	Breasted, James Henry. <i>Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents</i> . 5 vols. New York: Russell & Russell, 1906–1907. Repr. New York: Russell & Russell, 1962.
ARM	Archives Royales de Mari
AS	Assyriological Studies
ASAESup	Supplément aux annales du service des Antiquités de L'Égypte
ASJ	<i>Acta Sumerologica</i>
AuOrSup	Aula Orientalis Supplementa

AUSTR	American University Studies, Series 7: Theology and Religion
AVO	Altertumskunde des Vorderen Orients
AWCH	Ancient World: Comparative Histories
BabAr	Babylonische Archive
BaF	Baghdader Forschungen
BAL	Blackwell Ancient Lives
<i>BaM</i>	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i>
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BARIS	British Archaeological Reports International Series
BBRSup	Bulletin for Biblical Research, Supplements
BCAW	Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World
BCT 2	Watson, P. J., and W. B. Horowitz. <i>Neo-Sumerian Texts from Umma and Other Sites</i> . Vol. 2 of <i>Catalogue of Cuneiform Tablets in Birmingham City Museum</i> . Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1993.
BDS	BIBAL Dissertation Series
BEL	Biblical Encyclopedia Library
BESud	Brown Egyptological Studies
BHAW	Blackwell History of the Ancient World
BIAAOP	Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BibOr	Biblica et orientalia
BISNELC	Bar-Ilan Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Culture
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BJSUCSD	Biblical and Judaic Studies from the University of California, San Diego
BK	<i>Bibel und Kirche</i>
BM	tablets in the collections of the British Museum
BM	<i>Beit Mikra: Journal for the Study of the Bible and Its World</i>
BMes	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BO	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BRS	Biblical Resource Series
BSAH	Blackwell Sourcebooks in Ancient History
BSEG	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève</i>

<i>BT</i>	<i>The Bible Translator</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
<i>CANE</i>	Sasson, Jack M, ed. <i>Civilizations of the Ancient Near East</i> . 4 vols. New York: 1995. Repr. in 2 vols. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2006.
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
CBS	Catalogue of the Babylonian Section, University Museum University of Pennsylvania
CCS	Cambridge Classical Studies
CDOG	Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CHLI	Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions
chron.	chronicle
CHSC	Center for Hellenic Studies Colloquia
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum
<i>CIRPL</i>	Sollberger, Edmond, ed. <i>Corpus des inscriptions royales présargoniques de Lagash</i> . Geneva: Droz, 1956.
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Classical Journal</i>
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
<i>CMAO</i>	<i>Contributi e Materiali di Archeologia Orientale</i>
col(s).	column(s)
ConBOT	Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series
COS	Hallo, William W., and K. Lawson Younger Jr., eds. <i>The Context of Scripture</i> . 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1997–2016.
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CTH</i>	Laroche, Emmanuel. <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> . Paris: Klincksieck, 1971.
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
CTN	Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud
CUSAS	Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology
<i>Cyr.</i>	Xenophon, <i>Cyropaedia</i>
DB	Inscription of Darius at Bisitun (with possible additions a–k)

DCLY	<i>Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook</i>
DPd	Darius I Persepolis terrace inscription
DMA	Documenta Mundi Aegyptiaca
DNa	Darius I Naqsh-I Rostam inscription a
<i>DoArch</i>	<i>Les Dossiers D'archéologie</i>
DPS	Diagnostic-Prognostic Series
DSe	Darius I Susa inscription e
EA	El-Amarna letter
EAH	Entretiens d'archéologie et d'histoire
<i>EarlySciMed</i>	<i>Early Science and Medicine</i>
EESOP	Egypt Exploration Society Occasional Publications
<i>ErIsr</i>	<i>Eretz Israel</i>
ETCSL	The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature. http://tinyurl.com/SBL0394b .
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
f.	feminine
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
<i>FHL</i>	Durand, J.-M., and E. Laroche. <i>Fragments hittites du Louvre</i> . Paris: Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1982.
FM	Texts published in <i>Florilegium marianum</i>
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
<i>FuB</i>	<i>Forschungen und Berichte</i>
GDBS	Gorgias Dissertations, Biblical Studies
GDNE	Gorgias Dissertations: Near Eastern Studies
GMTR	Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record
GUS	Gorgias Ugaritic Studies
HÄB	Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge
HACL	History, Archaeology, and Culture of the Levant
HANE/M	History of the Ancient Near East/Monographs
HANE/S	History of the Ancient Near East/Studies
<i>HBAl</i>	<i>Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel</i>
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HEO	Hautes études orientales
<i>HiMA</i>	<i>Revue Internationale d'Histoire Militaire Ancienne</i>
<i>Hist.</i>	Herodotus, <i>Historiae</i>
HistFilosSkr	Historisk-filosofiske skrifter/Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab

HKM	Maşat cuneiform tablets in Sedat Alp, <i>Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat-Höyük</i> . Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991.
HSAO	Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HSS V	Chiera, Edward. <i>Texts of Varied Contents: Selected and Copied by Edward Chiera</i> . HSS 5. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929.
HSS XIV	Lacheman, Ernest R. <i>The Palace and Temple Archives</i> . Part 2 of <i>Miscellaneous Texts from Nuzi</i> . Vol. 5 of <i>Excavations at Nuzi</i> . HSS 14. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950.
HSS XV	Lacheman, Ernest R. <i>The Administrative Archives: Selected and Copied by Ernest R. Lacheman</i> . Vol. 6 of <i>Excavations at Nuzi</i> . HSS 15. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955.
HW	History of Warfare
IBMH	<i>International Bibliography of Military History</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
IOS	Israel Oriental Studies
IrAnt	<i>Iranica Antiqua</i>
ISBL	Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature
ITT	Inventaire des Tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée Impérial Ottoman
JAAS	<i>Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies</i>
JACiv	<i>Journal of Ancient Civilizations</i>
JANEH	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern History</i>
JANER	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions</i>
JANESCU	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JCSSup	Journal of Cuneiform Studies Supplement Series
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JEN	Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi

JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JKF	<i>Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung</i>
JMH	<i>Journal of Military History</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSSEA	<i>Toronto Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities Journal/Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
KAI	Donner, Herbert, and Wolfgang Röllig. <i>Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften</i> . 2nd ed. 3 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966–1969.
KAJ	Ebeling, Erich. <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts</i> . WVDOG 50. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1927.
KBo	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi</i> . Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1916–1923; Berlin: Mann, 1954.
km	kilometer(s)
KTU	Dietrich, Manfred, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín, eds. <i>Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit</i> . Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013. 3rd enl. ed. of <i>KTU: The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani, and Other Places</i> . Edited by Manfred Dietrich, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995.
KUB	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi</i> . Berlin: Akademie, 1921–.
LAOS	Leipziger Altorientalistische Studien
LAPO	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient
LAS	Parpola, Simo. <i>Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal</i> . 2 vols. AOAT 5. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1970–1983.
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LHP	Life, health, prosperity, placed after mention of Pharaoh
LingAegSM	Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographica

MARV 4	Freydank, H., and C. Fischer. <i>Tafeln aus Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta</i> . Vol. 4 of <i>Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte</i> . Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Assur. E, Inschriften 7. Keilschrifttexte aus mittelassyrischer Zeit 2. WVDOG 99. Berlin: Saarbrücker, 2001.
MÄS	Münchner Ägyptologische Studien
MC	Mesopotamian Civilizations
MDAI	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
MDP	Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse
Mesopotamia	Mesopotamia Copenhagen Studies in Assyriology
mi.	mile(s)
NABU	<i>Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires</i>
ND	field numbers of tablets excavated at Nimrud (Kalḫu)
NEAEHL	Stern, Ephraim, ed. <i>The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i> . 5 vols. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993–2008.
NIN	<i>NIN: Journal of Gender Studies in Antiquity</i>
OAC	Oriens Antiqui Collectio
OBTR	Lau, Robert J. <i>Old Babylonian Temple Records</i> . Columbia University Oriental Studies. New York: Columbia University Press, 1906.
OEAE	Redford, Donald B. <i>The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt</i> . 3 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
OIC	Oriental Institute Communications
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OIS	Oriental Institute Seminars
OJA	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
Or	<i>Orientalia</i> NS
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike
Or.Dr.	British Museum original drawings collection
OrSP	Orientalia Series Prior
OSCC	Oklahoma Series in Classical Culture
OTS	Old Testament Studies

- P.Anast. 1 Papyrus Anastasi 1. In H.-W. Fischer-Elfert. *Die Satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986.
- P.Anast. 2–6 Papyrus Anastasi 2–6. Pages 12–78 in *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*. Edited by Alan Henderson Gardiner. London: Oxford University Press, 1954.
- P.Beatty 4 Kenyon, F. G., ed. *Genesis*. Vol. 4 of *Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*. London: Walker, 1935–1936.
- P.Beatty 5 Kenyon, F. G., ed. *Numbers and Deuteronomy*. Vol. 5 of *Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*. London: Walker, 1935.
- P.Bologna 1094 Papyrus Bologna 1094. Pages 1–12 in *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*. Edited by Alan Henderson Gardiner. London: Oxford University Press, 1954.
- P.BM 10752 Papyrus Ramesseum C. Pages 8, 11 in *The Ramesseum Papyri*. Edited by Alan Henderson Gardiner. Oxford: Oxford University Press 1955.
- P.BM EA 10274 Parkinson, R. B. “The Discourse of the Fowler; Papyrus Butler verso (P BM EA 10274).” *JEA* 90 (2004): 81–112.
- P.Cairo Golénischchev, V. *Papyrus Hiératiques*. CGC 83. Cairo: n.p., 1927.
- P.Harr. Powell, J. E., et al., eds. *The Rendel Harris Papyri of Woodbrooke College, Birmingham*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936; Zutphen: Terra, 1985.
- P.Koller Papyrus Koller. Pages 116–20 in *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*. Edited by Alan Henderson Gardiner. London: Oxford University Press, 1954.
- P.Lansing Papyrus Lansing. Ages 100–16 in *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*. Edited by Alan Henderson Gardiner. London: Oxford University Press, 1954.
- P.Leiden 1.350 Zandee, J. “De Hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 350.” *OMRO* 28 (1947): pls. 1–30.
- P.Sallier 1 Sallier Papyri. Pages 79–88 in *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*. Edited by Alan Henderson Gardiner. London: Oxford University Press, 1954.
- P.Turin B Turin B Papyrus. Pages 465–75 in Ricardo A. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*. Brown Egypt-

	ological Studies 1. London: Oxford University Press, 1954.
P.Wilbour	Papyrus Wilbour. Brooklyn Musuem 34.5596.4. Gardiner, Alan H. <i>The Wilbour Papyrus</i> . 4 vols. Oxford University Press, 1948.
PAAH	Publications of the Association of Ancient Historians
PAe	Probleme der Ägyptologie
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul
pl(s).	plate(s)
PMAULS	Publications de la Massion archéologique de l'Université de Liège en Syrie
PMMA	Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition
P-S	Pfeiffer, Robert H., and Ephraim A. Speiser. <i>One Hundred New Selected Nuzi Texts</i> . AASOR 16. New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1936.
PTSD	Posttraumatic Stress Disorder
QGS	Quaderni di Geografia Storica
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i>
RAI	Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale
RC	<i>Religion Compass</i>
RES	<i>Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique</i>
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
RHAW	Routledge History of the Ancient World
RIH	Ras Ibn Hanī Ugaritic tablet
RIMA	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods
RIMA 1	Grayson, A. Kirk. <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC)</i> . RIMA 1. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.
RIMA 2	Grayson, A. Kirk. <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114–859 BC)</i> . RIMA 2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

- RIMA 3 Grayson, A. Kirk. *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC II (858–745 BC)*. RIMA 3. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- RIMB The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Babylonian Periods
- RIMB 2 Frame, Grant. *Rulers of Babylonia From the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination (1157–612 BC)*. RIMB 2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.
- RIME The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods
- RIME 1 Frayne, Douglas. *Presargonic Period (2700–2350 BC)*. RIME 1. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.
- RIME 2 Frayne, Douglas. *Sargonic and Gutian Periods (2334–2113 BC)*. RIME 2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.
- RIME 3.1 Edzard, Dietz Otto. *Gudea and His Dynasty*. RIME 3.1. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- RIME 3.2 Frayne, Douglas. *Ur III Period (2112–2004 BC)*. RIME 3.2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- RIME 4 Frayne, Douglas. *Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC)*. RIME 4. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.
- RINAP The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia of the Neo-Assyrian Period
- RINAP 1 Tadmor, Hayim, and Shigeo Yamada. *The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726–722 BC), Kings of Assyria*. RINAP 1. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011.
- RINAP 3.1 Grayson, A. Kirk, and Jamie Novotny. *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681 BC)*. Part 1. RINAP 3.1. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012.
- RINAP 3.2 Grayson, A. Kirk, and Jamie Novotny. *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681 BC)*. Part 2. RINAP 3.2. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014.

- RINAP 4 Leichty, Erle. *The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680–669 BC)*. RINAP 4. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011.
- RITA Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Translations*. 7 vols. Oxford: Blackwell; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 1993–2014.
- RS Ras Shamra Ugaritic Tablet
- RSL Ras Shamra Letter
- s. singular
- SAAB *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin*
- SAA State Archives of Assyria
- SAA 1 Parpola, Simo. *Letters from Assyria and the West*. Part 1 of *The Correspondence of Sargon II*. SAA 1. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1987.
- SAA 2 Parpola, Simo, and Kazuko Watanabe. *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths*. SAA 2. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1988.
- SAA 3 Livingstone, Alasdair. *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea*. SAA 3. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1989.
- SAA 4 Starr, Ivan. *Queries to the Sungod: Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria*. SAA 4. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1990.
- SAA 5 Lanfranchi, Giovanni B., and Simo Parpola. *Letters from the Northern and Northeastern Provinces*. Part 2 of *The Correspondence of Sargon II*. SAA 5. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1990.
- SAA 6 Kwasman, Theodore, and Simo Parpola. *Tiglath-Pileser III through Esarhaddon*. Part 1 of *Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh*. SAA 6. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1991.
- SAA 7 Fales, Frederick Mario, and J. N. Postgate. *Palace and Temple Administration*. Part 1 of *Imperial Administrative Records*. SAA 7. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1992.
- SAA 8 Hunger, Hermann. *Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings*. SAA 8. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1992.

- SAA 9 Parpola, Simo. *Assyrian Prophecies*. SAA 9. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1997.
- SAA 10 Parpola, Simo. *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*. SAA 10. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1993.
- SAA 11 Fales, Frederick Mario, and J. N. Postgate. *Provincial and Military Administration*. Part 2 of *Imperial Administrative Records*. SAA 11. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1995.
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- SAA 19 Luukko, Mikko. *The Correspondence of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II from Calah/Nimrud*. SAA 19. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2012.
- SAACT State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts
- SAAS State Archives of Assyria Studies

SAGA	Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens
SAHL	Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant
SAMD	Studies in Ancient Magic and Divination
SANER	Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental civilization
Sasson	Sasson, Jack M. <i>From the Mari Archives: An Anthology of Old Babylonian Letters</i> . Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2017.
SAT	Sumerian Archival Texts
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SHAR	Studies in the History and Anthropology of Religion
SLA	Pfeiffer, Robert H. <i>State Letters of Assyria: A Transliteration and Translation of 355 Official Letters Dating from the Sargonid Period (722–625 B.C.)</i> . AOS 6. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1935.
SMA	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
SMEA	<i>Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici</i>
SSI	Gibson, John C. L. <i>Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions</i> . 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1971–1982.
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten
StMed	Studia Mediterranea
StOr	<i>Studia Orientalia</i>
StPohl	Studia Pohl
StPohlSM	Studia Pohl Series Maior
SymS	Symposium Series
TA	<i>Tel Aviv</i>
THeth	Texte der Hethiter
TLC	Kitchen, Kenneth A., and Paul J. N. Lawrence. <i>Treaty, Law and Covenant in the Ancient Near East</i> . 3 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012.
UCP	University of California Publications in Semitic Philology
UET	Ur Excavations Texts
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
var.	variant

VAT	Tablets at the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to <i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WA	<i>World Archaeology</i>
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World
WO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
XPh	Xerxes Persepolis “Daiva” inscription
YBC	tablet from the Yale Babylonian Collection
YES	Yale Egyptological Studies
YNER	Yale Near Eastern Researches
YOS	Yale Oriental Series, Texts
ZABR	<i>Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechengeschichte</i>
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>

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Introduction

War is a matter of vital importance to the State; the province of life or death;
the road to survival or ruin. It is mandatory that it be thoroughly studied.

—Sun Tzu, *The Art of War* 1.1

As throughout most of the world, warfare was common throughout the ancient Near East.¹ Most people would have seen warfare firsthand at some point in their life and virtually all major aspects of life in the ancient Near East were affected in some way by violent conflict. Since the study of warfare is essential to understanding many areas of life, a never-ending stream of work has addressed the topic. However, due to the linguistic diversity, geographical spread, and long time frame of the ancient Near East, these studies on warfare tend to be limited to specific cultures, time periods, or topics.² In addition, much of the specialized work on warfare has been known only to scholars in that particular field. Although sourcebooks have been published on warfare in later periods (such as warfare among the Greeks and Romans), fewer scholars have compiled

1. For two scholars' opinion of the eighty major battles of the period, see Nigel Stillman and Nigel Tallis, *Armies of the Ancient Near East: 3,000 BC to 539 BC; Organization, Tactics, Dress and Equipment* (Cambridge: Wargames Research Group, 1984), 69–90.

2. Cultures: Jack M. Sasson, *The Military Establishment at Mari*, StPohl 3 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969); Richard H. Beal, *The Organization of the Hittite Military*, THeth 20 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1992); Anthony J. Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt: The New Kingdom*, Ancient World at War (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005). Time periods: William J. Hamblin, *Warfare in the Ancient Near East to 1600 BC: Holy Warriors at the Dawn of History*, Warfare and History (London: Routledge, 2006). Topics: Robert Drews, *Early Riders: The Beginnings of Mounted Warfare in Asia and Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Israel Eph'al, *The City Besieged: Siege and Its Manifestations in the Ancient Near East*, CHANE 36 (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

the material in the ancient Near East.³ Yigael Yadin's *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands* is the best in the genre for the ancient Near East, but it is now over fifty years old (1963), making it difficult for readers to track down sources, and it organizes the data in terms of the Old Testament.⁴

This book seeks to fill that void by gathering and summarizing a wide variety of texts and images concerning many aspects of warfare in the ancient Near East to provide an introduction to the topic. (In personal terms, this is the book I wish existed when I was writing my dissertation!) The information gathered here (from the earliest texts of the ancient Near East to the early Persian period) illustrates various viewpoints on war and shows how warfare was an integral part of life. We will pay attention not only to the victors and the famous battles, but also to the suffering that war brought to innumerable nameless victims, as well as the many more mundane aspects of warfare. Although several of these texts are well known (such as Ramesses II's battle against the Hittites at Qadesh), many of them are less well known (especially the more "realistic" texts about warfare like letters). One of the main goals of the book is to make it easier for readers to track down both these sources. References to representative secondary literature in each specific aspect of warfare are also included to allow for further study. Preference will be given to English translations of texts and secondary sources, but a selection of secondary sources in other languages will also be cited throughout the work to help those seeking to do further research.

Although the focus is on texts, we will also address visual images (and include representative examples of these images throughout the book). Many of these images, especially those from the British Museum and the Louvre, are freely available for viewing online. In general, an Internet search for the image with the name of the museum and its museum number leads to a picture of the relief. For example, searching for "British Museum 118904" yields a picture of a relief from Tiglath-pileser III depicting Assyrian archers attacking an enemy city (see the top right corner of

3. William K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War*, 5 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971); Brian Campbell, *The Roman Army, 31 BC–AD 337: A Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1994); Michael Sage, *Warfare in Ancient Greece: A Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1996); Adrian Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War: 100 BC–AD 200*, OCM (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).

4. Yigael Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands: In the Light of Archaeological Study*, trans. M. Pearlman, 2 vols. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963).

fig. 1.1⁵). Many drawings from the 1800s of now-lost reliefs are also found on the British Museum website, referred to as the Original Drawings volumes. They are abbreviated in the form Or.Dr.IV.78 (a drawing of a relief of Sennacherib showing his troops in boats), which is picture 78 from vol. 4. When relevant, we will also cite a few archaeological sources throughout the book, especially when it comes to fortifications, weapons, and armor. This book is intended for a variety of audiences. Ancient Near Eastern scholars will benefit from the book, as it provides a collection of warfare texts from a variety of cultures as well as recent research in the field. Biblical scholars will find it helpful as a reference for comparing biblical texts about warfare with a broader ancient Near Eastern background. Finally, military historians and others interested in warfare in general will find this book an easy pathway to investigating ancient warfare. Most works on ancient military history spend little time in the ancient Near East, and a survey of the various aspects of warfare for the era will go some distance to alleviating the problem of finding sources and alerting these scholars to the importance of the time period for their research.⁶

1.1. Old and New Military History

Before looking at warfare in the ancient Near East specifically, it will be helpful to survey briefly the state of the field of military history. The academic field of military history began in the nineteenth century as a way to systematize the study of warfare and fight battles more effectively.⁷ Now called old military history, it tended to focus on the tactics and strategies of battles and campaigns, the generals leading the troops, and the weapons and armor employed in warfare. Many books on warfare in the ancient

5. A detailed photograph of BM 118904 may be found at §7.2.4, of BM 118882 at §6.3.4, and of BM 118902 at §4.5.4.

6. For more on the Eurocentric focus of many military historians, see Jeremy Black, *Rethinking Military History* (London: Routledge, 2004), 66–103.

7. For various studies of the history and current state of military history, see John Whiteclay Chambers II, “The New Military History: Myth and Reality,” *JMH* 55 (1991): 395–406; Black, *Rethinking Military History*, 26–63; Robert M. Citino, “Military Histories Old and New: A Reintroduction,” *AHR* 112 (2007): 1070–90; Lee L. Brice and Jennifer T. Robert, “Introduction,” in *Recent Directions in the Military History of the Ancient World*, ed. Lee L. Brice and Jennifer T. Roberts, PAAH 10 (Claremont: Regina, 2011), 1–10.



Fig. 1.1. Assyrian reliefs from Tiglath-pileser III; BM 118904 (top right), BM 118882 (bottom), and BM 118902 (top left). Photo courtesy of Hannah and Faith Grady.

Near East continue this focus, especially those written at a popular level.⁸ This book will be covering much of this ground, especially in the chapters on battles and weapons and armor.

In the twentieth century the field of military history has developed a negative reputation in scholarly circles, and both the number of military history faculty positions and the field's range of influence among academics have declined. The reasons for this include the backlash against warfare as a result of the Vietnam War, the immense popularity of the topic at the popular level (and the substandard value of much of the material produced for that audience), and the restricted focus of old military history. Military historians have been actively fighting this trend, as demonstrated by the recent publication of a "White Paper" by the Society for Military

8. Stillman and Tallis, *Armies of the Ancient Near East*; Nic Fields, *Bronze Age War Chariots*, New Vanguard 119 (Oxford: Osprey, 2006); Trevor Bryce, *Hittite Warrior*, Warrior 120 (Oxford: Osprey, 2007).

History, which argued for the necessity of military history as part of the broader field of history.⁹

Military history has expanded in recent decades by paying greater attention to the common soldiers in warfare (rather than focusing solely on the “great men” in charge of armies), as exemplified most famously by John Keegan’s *The Face of Battle*.¹⁰ This book will address that question (especially in the chapter on officers and soldiers), though unfortunately the data available for study in this area in the ancient Near East is minimal.

One major argument for the continued relevance of military history has been the expansion of its focus to what is often called new military history, which studies how warfare relates to other areas (such as the connection between warfare and society). Jeremy Black summarizes new military history in the following way.

War and society pursues the relationship between war and social class, gender, etc. at one level and at another asks how far war mirrors society: in what way the military and the exercise of military might reflect social constructs and images. There is now an extensive literature on such varied subjects as conscription, memorializing war, the appearance of the military, not least the purpose of uniform, the military and health, the environmental consequences of war, the gender aspects of military history, and war as a form of disciplining bodies and applying violence to the body.¹¹

Scholars looking at the ancient Near East have many books that fit within this genre.¹² This book will look at many of these aspects, especially in the chapters on preparation for war, the results of war, and officers and soldiers. While much more could be said about war and society, it is to be hoped that the portions covered in this book will allow others to develop them in more depth. The popularity of new military history among military historians is

9. Tami Davis Biddle and Robert M. Citino, “The Role of Military History in the Contemporary Academy: A Society for Military History White Paper,” 2014, <http://tinyurl.com/SBL0394a>.

10. John Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (New York: Viking, 1976); for more on this trend in research and publication, see Black, *Rethinking Military History*, 35–37.

11. Black, *Rethinking Military History*, 50.

12. E.g., Andrea M. Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft: Ein Beitrag zur Socialgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, SAGA 17 (Heidelberg: Heidelberg Orientverlag, 1996); Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*.

now such that one scholar says this about it, “Once controversial, and still the occasional subject of grumbling from a traditionalist old guard, the new military history is today an integral, even dominant, part of the parent field from which it emerged. It has been around so long, in fact, and has established itself so firmly, that it seems silly to keep calling it ‘new.’”¹³

Finally, military history has expanded by discussing to a greater extent the role of memory and warfare. Popular culture often provides us with views of wars and battles that do not reflect how contemporaries of the wars viewed them. How wars are remembered often create controversy, such as the acrimonious discussion in Germany about the role of the German army in the Holocaust or the dispute about displaying the *Enola Gay* (the plane that dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima) in the Smithsonian Institute. This branch of military history has many parallels in scholarly circles, such as the recent focus on reception history in biblical studies. This new focus of military history could reap great dividends in the ancient Near East, where memory of past battles played such an important role.

1.2. Historicity

Before beginning a study of warfare in the ancient Near East, it is important to express a cautionary word about the historicity of many of the sources of our information. Concerns about the accuracy of sources are not restricted to ancient times, but are present in modern times as well. Black cites a modern officer who says, “I am apt to turn a rather jaundiced eye on strength returns—perhaps because of vague memories of conjuring rabbits out of hats, as an adjutant a long time ago!”¹⁴

The most famous source of information about warfare from the ancient Near East comes from the royal annals, which clearly reflect the perspective of the king.¹⁵ Designed to glorify the king, these texts always magnify

13. Citino, “Military Histories Old and New,” 1071.

14. Letter from C. J. C. Molony to Liddell Hart, October 7, 1958; quoted in Black, *Rethinking Military History*, 31; Black also presents many other similar examples there about the difficulty of trusting sources in modern times.

15. For an entry point into the genre of the annals in the ancient Near East (and especially the Assyrian annals), see A. Kirk Grayson, “Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: Literary Characteristics,” in *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: New Horizons in Literary, Ideological, and Historical Analysis: Papers of a Symposium Held in Cetona (Siena) June 26–28, 1980*, ed. F. M. Fales, OAC 17 (Rome: Istituto Per L’Oriente, 1981), 35–48; Hayim Tadmor, “History and Ideology in the Assyrian Royal Inscriptions,” in Fales,

the victories of the king and his superiority over the enemy. Although the annals exhibit broad similarities between cultures, each nation wrote their annals in distinctive styles. Even within the same culture, various ways of writing military accounts are attested; for example, the Egyptians wrote several different kinds of military accounts, depending on such factors as whether the pharaoh was present in the battle.¹⁶ As will be discussed below, it appears that scribes accompanied the army on at least some campaigns for the major powers and wrote war diaries recording the events of the campaign. Due to the propagandistic nature of the annals and reliefs, caution must be exercised in depending upon these accounts for gaining historical knowledge. However, it appears that as much as they might stretch the truth, they did not often invent events wholesale.¹⁷

Alongside royal annals, the other major source of information about warfare in the ancient Near East comes from administrative documents, especially letters. Since these letters reflect more of the everyday practice of warfare, they are most likely closer to the reality of the situation and can be trusted to bring us closer to the reality of the situation. However, even letters were biased in particular directions; a letter to the king of Ur might have exaggerated the size of an army to sway the king.¹⁸

One of the most obvious examples of biased texts is the scribal texts from Egypt in the Ramesside Period (Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties in the New Kingdom) that were designed to persuade the reader that the

Assyrian Royal Inscriptions, 13–34; Mario Liverani, *Prestige and Interest: International Relations in the Near East ca. 1600–1100 B.C.*, HANE/S 1 (Padova: Sargon, 1990); Tadmor, “Propaganda, Literature, Historiography: Cracking the Code of the Assyrian Royal Inscriptions,” in *Assyria 1995: Proceedings of the Tenth Anniversary Symposium of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project Helsinki, September 7–11, 1995*, ed. Simo Parpola and Robert M. Whiting (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1997), 325–38; Frederick Mario Fales, “Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: Newer Horizons,” *SAAB* 13 (1999): 115–44.

16. For a survey of these genres, see Anthony J. Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians*, YNER 9 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).

17. Sarah C. Melville, *The Campaigns of Sargon II, King of Assyria, 721–705 B.C.*, Campaigns and Commanders (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 10; however, others have a more suspicious perspective; for example, see Mattias Karlsson, *Relations of Power in Early Neo-Assyrian State Ideology*, SANER 10 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016), 12–13.

18. Bertrand Lafont, “The Army of the Kings of Ur: The Textual Evidence,” *Cuneiform Digital Library Journal* 5 (2009): 20, <http://tinyurl.com/SBL0394c>.

position of a scribe was the best profession by highlighting the difficulties of the other professions that a young man might choose, including the army. Since the authors were prejudiced against the military and as a scribe they would have most likely also misunderstood warfare, the anti-military scribal texts must be used cautiously in reconstructing Egyptian warfare.¹⁹

Although myths are not cited extensively in this book, they should not be ignored in studying warfare, as they reveal to us in how people view the world.²⁰ Poetic texts speak of warfare on occasions, such as the laments. In a few cases, even mathematical texts refer to warfare. However, while all these kinds of texts can be mined for information about warfare, their focus is not on providing an accurate picture of warfare, and great restraint should be employed. Ritual texts provide us a glimpse into how the military perceived the connection between the gods and warfare; many rituals were conducted before and after battles to gain the favor of the gods. The ritual texts can most likely be trusted to provide an accurate description of the rituals performed, though the meaning and significance of these rituals is often not clear.

One of the most contested texts relating to historicity in the ancient Near East is the Old Testament. Given the massive amount of scholarship on the topic, this is not the place to enter into the debate.²¹ Although it is important to recognize that many doubt the historicity of larger or smaller portions of the Old Testament, simply rejecting the Old Testament entirely as a source of warfare material does not seem to be the best way forward (especially since the historicity of many other texts throughout the ancient Near East is also doubted). This book will take a compromise approach by focusing mostly on the least controversial portion of the Old Testament, the time of the divided monarchy.

19. Anthony J. Spalinger, "The Paradise of Scribes and the Tartarus of Soldiers," in *Five Views on Egypt*, LingAegSM 6 (Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie, 2006), 5–50.

20. Bustenay Oded, *War, Peace, and Empire: Justifications for War in Assyrian Royal Inscriptions* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1992), 4.

21. For recent discussion, see Megan Bishop Moore and Brad E. Kelle, *Biblical History and Israel's Past: The Changing Study of the Bible and History* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011); Iain Provan, V. Philips Long, and Tremper Longman III, *A Biblical History of Israel*, 2nd ed. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2015).

Alongside texts, another major source of information about warfare is the reliefs depicting warfare. Since most of these reliefs are royal reliefs, they employ the same perspective as the royal annals and suffer from similar pitfalls in their employment to reconstruct historical events. Other reliefs have been found in tombs (especially in Egypt) or on seals. Although these might be somewhat more reliable than the royal reliefs, they are still produced by the elite who are trying to influence either the gods or the people around them for their own benefit and must also be used with caution. Finally, some information about warfare can be gleaned from archaeology, especially about fortifications, weapons, and armor. They might seem to be the more trustworthy pieces of evidence, but they still require a high level of interpretation at both a basic level (dating and function) and a higher level (what they actually tell us about warfare). Their use is further complicated by the question of unprovenanced artifacts.

1.3. Structure of the Book

Since the topic of warfare in the ancient Near East is so wide-ranging, structuring a book of this type is difficult. The typical path taken is to divide the material into larger sections based on geography and time period, within which a series of smaller sections describe various aspects of warfare.²² The strength of this approach is to ensure that warfare is clearly presented within its historical and geographical context, but the drawback is that it makes it difficult to find all the material on a certain topic. For example, if one wanted to read about sieges, then the reader must employ the index or the table of contents to find the appropriate section within each geographical unit and time period. This book will swap the normal pattern by making the larger sections based on various aspects of warfare, with smaller sections within each chapter based on geography and time period. Such a structure will allow the book to be more easily used as a reference book.

The first half of the book will roughly follow the temporal order of a stereotypical war. After this introduction, chapter 2 will address the various *casus belli* of nations in the ancient Near East, dividing them into categories of defense, protection against chaos, and acquisition. A final section in the chapter will examine why nations sometimes did not go to war. Chap-

22. E.g., Yadin, *Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands*; Hamblin, *Warfare in the Ancient Near East to 1600 BC*.

ter 3 will move on to examine how nations prepared for warfare, including studies of communication with the enemy, military intelligence, mustering troops, marching to war, the king's role before battle, and preparing defenses. Chapter 4 will focus on the battles themselves, including open-field battles, communication during battle, the role of chariots and cavalry, sieges, naval combat, single combat, deception in warfare, and the participation of the kings in battle. Chapter 5 will examine the results of battle, incorporating flight, the taking of prisoners and plunder, the humiliation of enemies, urbi-cide, extermination of enemies, the political and religious results of conquest, other responses to victory and defeat, and conflicted memories.

The second half of the book will look at selected topics related to warfare. A study of officers and soldiers will be the focus of chapter 6, exploring the command structure of ancient Near Eastern armies, the size of armies, the role of military scribes, the training of soldiers, the life of a soldier on campaign, the actions of problematic soldiers, and the fate of missing and killed soldiers. Weapons and armor are the topic in chapter 7, divided into short-range weapons, long-range weapons, and defensive equipment. Finally, chapter 8 considers the role of divine warriors, including divine combat, calls for divine help, messages from the divine warrior, divine abandonment, divine weapons and incorporation into myths, and the role of the divine warrior in battle.

1.4. Cultural and Geographical Groupings

Since the ancient Near East contains far too many diverse cultures to cover for every single topic, for the sake of presentation in this book they have been gathered into six different groups to illustrate some level of the diversity throughout the ancient Near East without inundating the reader with too much detail. The following section will describe these six groups, highlighting the main sources of information about warfare from each group.

Most broadly, four volumes contain texts and images that address warfare from a wide variety of cultures and will be frequently cited in this book by their abbreviations. Two prominent sources were edited by James B. Pritchard: *Ancient Near Eastern Texts (ANET)* and *Ancient Near Eastern Pictures (ANEP)*.²³ More recent sources include William W. Hallo and

23. James B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts: Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969); Pritchard, *The Ancient Near*