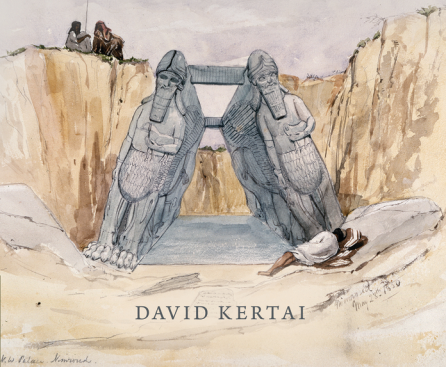


OXFORD

THE ARCHITECTURE OF LATE ASSYRIAN ROYAL PALACES



DAVID KERTAI

THE ARCHITECTURE OF LATE ASSYRIAN ROYAL PALACES

The Architecture of Late Assyrian Royal Palaces

DAVID KERTAI

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD

UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,
United Kingdom

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of
Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

© David Kertai 2015

The moral rights of the author have been asserted

First Edition published in 2015

Impression: 1

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in
a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the
prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted
by law, by licence or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics
rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the
above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the
address above

You must not circulate this work in any other form
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2014957914

ISBN 978-0-19-872318-9

Printed and bound by
CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CRO 4YY

Links to third party websites are provided by Oxford in good faith and
for information only. Oxford disclaims any responsibility for the materials
contained in any third party website referenced in this work.

To my parents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book represents a revised version of my doctoral dissertation, which was written at the University of Heidelberg between September 2008 and 2011. The thesis would not have been possible without the generous support from the Landesgraduiertenförderung (LGFG) of Baden-Württemberg and the Zentrum für Altertumswissenschaften of the University of Heidelberg. The thesis was written as part of the Promotionskolleg, 'Räume, Bilder, Lebensformen in antiken Kulturen'. I extend my greatest thanks to my supervisors Prof. Peter A. Miglus and Prof. Stefan Maul. Their support has been fundamental to this work.

My gratitude is also owed to my professors at Leiden University, Prof. John Bintliff and Prof. Peter Akkermans, for their support and guidance during my years in Leiden. The dissertation was revised during a stay at the Free University Amsterdam during the summer of 2012 and at University College London thereafter. I'm grateful to Prof. Bert van der Spek and the Free University Amsterdam for providing me with the opportunity to work at his institute during this period. The Institute of Archaeology (UCL) and Dr Mark Altaweel in particular have been great hosts. The Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research has generously supported my work.

Dr Frans Wiggermann, my former teacher at the Free University Amsterdam, has remained my mentor throughout this process. Our discussions and his critical comments have shaped my work. Dr Olivier Nieuwenhuyse, Irene Plantholt Sibbing, Dr Ulrike Steinert, Dr Kristine Kleber, Anke Marsh, and Dr Barbara Nevling Porter have been engaging and critical readers of parts of my thesis and subsequent revised versions.

The two external reviewers of Oxford University Press have done a superb job of going through my manuscript and suggesting corrections. The editors of Oxford University Press have been supportive throughout and greatly improved the book. The final book has greatly benefited from their work. Discussions with Dr Andreas Fuchs, Prof. Mirko Novák, Dr Hanspeter Schaudig, Prof. John Russell, and the late Dr. Eleanor Guralnick have been a pleasure.

I extend thanks to the British Museum, and Nigal Tallis in particular, for allowing me to look at the diaries of the Nimrud Expedition. I am grateful to Dr Jack Green and Monica Velez at the Museum of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Dr Carlo Lipollis of the Centro Scavi Torino, Prof. John Russell, and Richard Sobolewski for providing and/or allowing me to use illustrations that appear in this book.

My work has benefited enormously from the database designed by Laurens Groenewegen. Special thanks go to my fellow Promotionskolleg students Jesko

Fildhuth, Ute Güinkel-Maschek, Birthe Hemeier, Christoph Meiselbach, and Alexander Puk for their support and friendship. My grateful thanks go to all my colleagues at the institutes I have worked at, with special mention of Dr Simone Mühl and Manuela Heil.

This book comes out at a particularly troubled period for the region where the main Assyrian cities are located. I hope the book can contribute in highlighting their immense cultural heritage. The book is a tribute to those, especially our Iraqi colleagues, who have dedicated their lives to exploring and preserving this heritage. This book would have not been possible without the work of numerous generations of archaeologists who excavated and analysed Late Assyrian palaces. The work of Dr Julian Reade, Dr Geoffrey Turner, and Prof. John Russell has been essential in formulating my own ideas. Finally, my heartfelt thanks go to my parents for their continued support.

CONTENTS

List of Figures	xi
List of Plates	xiii
Plans	xv
List of Abbreviations	xvii
1. Introduction	I
1.1 Sources on Late Assyrian Palaces	3
1.2 Seclusion versus Access	5
1.3 The Late Assyrian Court Society	7
1.4 Reconstructing the Palaces	8
1.5 The Spaces of a Late Assyrian Palace	10
1.6 Two Architectural Hiatuses	13
2. Ashurnasirpal II (883–859)	17
2.1 Introduction	17
2.2 The Northwest Palace (Kalḫu)	18
2.3 The Old Palace (Assur)	48
3. Shalmaneser III (858–824)	55
3.1 Introduction	55
3.2 The Shalmaneser Building / Centre Bulls (Kalḫu)	56
3.3 The Military Complex and Palace (Kalḫu)	58
4. Adad-nerari III (810–783), Tiglath-pileser III (744–727)	
and the Intervening Decades	75
4.1 Introduction	75
4.2 Adad-nerari III (810–783)	76
4.3 The ‘Upper Chambers’ (Kalḫu)	77
4.4 Tiglath-pileser III (744–727)	79
4.5 The Southwest Palace (Kalḫu)	80
5. Sargon II (722–705)	83
5.1 Introduction	83
5.2 The Northwest Palace (Kalḫu)	84
5.3 The Royal Palace (Dur-Sharruken)	85
5.4 The Military Palace (Dur-Sharruken)	117

6. Sennacherib (704–681)	121
6.1 Introduction	121
6.2 The Southwest Palace (Nineveh)	122
6.3 The Military Palace (Nineveh)	147
7. Esarhaddon (681–669)	155
7.1 Introduction	155
7.2 The Southwest Palace (Kalḫu)	156
7.3 The Lower Town Palace (Nineveh)	158
7.4 The Military Palace (Kalḫu)	159
8. Ashurbanipal (668–631)	167
8.1 Introduction	167
8.2 The North Palace (Nineveh)	167
9. Palatial Spaces	185
9.1 Reception Room	185
9.2 Bathrooms	190
9.3 Storage Spaces	195
9.4 Courtyards and Corridors	197
10. The Palace and its Suites	205
10.1 Second Storeys	205
10.2 The Throneroom Suite	210
10.3 The Double-sided Reception Suite	219
10.4 Dual-Core Suites	222
10.5 Residential/Reception Suites	225
11. 250 Years of Late Assyrian Palaces	231
11.1 Architectural Multiplicities	231
11.2 Decorating the Palace	235
11.3 Visiting the Palace	237
11.4 Architectural Context of Late Assyrian Palaces	238
11.5 Changes Through Time	241
11.6 The Palace Community	245
11.7 Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Late Assyrian Palaces	248
Appendix: Room designations of the Northwest Palace not present on published plans	251
Bibliography	253
General Index	277
Index of Texts	283

LIST OF FIGURES

All figures and plates by the author unless otherwise noted.

1.1	Wall paintings as found in Residence K (after Loud 1938: pl. 88; © Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago)	9
2.1	Mallowan's plan of the Northwest Palace (© British Institute for the Study of Iraq)	21
2.2	Northern part of the Throneroom Courtyard	27
2.3	Plan showing possible entrances into the Throneroom Courtyard	29
2.4	Throneroom Suite	31
2.5	Central Courtyard	33
2.6	Double-sided Reception Suite	35
2.7	Eastern Suite	39
2.8	King's Suite	40
2.9	Royal Courtyard	42
2.10	Palace kitchen and service area	44
2.11	Royal graves in the southern area of the palace	47
2.12	Old Palace	51
3.1	Plan of Polish excavation in the centre of Kalḫu's citadel (Sobolewski 1982a: fig. 9 courtesy of Richard Sobolewski)	57
3.2	Plan of the Italian excavations in area SW (Fiorina 2001: fig. 1; © Centro Scavi Torino)	60
3.3	Throneroom Suite	65
3.4	Double-sided Reception Suite	66
3.5	Royal Courtyard	70
3.6	Photo of room S 5 (© British Institute for the Study of Iraq)	70
5.1	Place's floorplan of the Royal Palace (after Place 1867b: pl. 3)	86
5.2	Floorplan of the Royal Palace as excavated by Botta (after Botta 1849a: pl. 6)	88
5.3	Floorplan of the Royal Palace as excavated by the Oriental Institute (after Loud, Frankfort, and Jacobsen 1936: fig. 22; © Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago)	92
5.4	Palace divided into quadrants, including the main suites of the palace	93
5.5	The royal storage facility	99
5.6	Floorplan and section of the wine storage (after Botta 1849b: pl. 165)	100
5.7	The palace terraces	108
5.8	Floorplan of Monument X (after Botta 1849b: pl. 148)	111
5.9	Section of Monument X (after Botta 1849b: pl. 150)	112
5.10	The portico of room 15 (Khorsabad field negative D.S. 914_P. 27473_N. 18678; © Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago)	119
6.1	The main suites of the Southwest Palace	123
6.2	Layard's plan of the Southwest Palace (after Layard 1853b: pl. 71)	125

6.3	Campbell Thompson's trenches (after Campbell Thompson and Mallowan 1933: pl. CVI)	126
6.4	The King's Suite (variants a–d)	133
6.5	Suite 6	136
6.6	Suite 5 (variant a: by the author; b–c: after Turner 1998: fig. 6)	138
6.7	Suite 7	139
6.8	Plan of Campbell Thompson's excavations in the Southwest Palace (after Campbell Thompson 1929: plan 4)	144
6.9	Schematic plan of reliefs and colossi from the throneroom façade	152
7.1	Layard's floorplan of the Southwest Palace (after Layard 1851: pl. 1)	157
7.2	Southern Suite	157
7.3	Plan of the Military Palace (Kalḫu) showing the later phase, roughly contemporary with the end of Esarhaddon's reign	160
8.1	Comparison between the North Palace and the Southwest Palace	171
8.2	Throneroom Suite (variants a–b)	174
8.3	Plan of Campbell Thompson's excavations in the North Palace (after Campbell Thompson and Hutchinson 1929: plan 6)	178
8.4	Rooms below the palace	179
9.1	Different types of recess	187
9.2	Schematic view of a bathroom with niche, drain, and stone slab	191
10.1	Throne being carried by two Assyrian courtiers (after Botta 1849a: pl. 17)	211
11.1	Comparison between Assyrian palaces	234

LIST OF PLATES

- 1a Legend
- 1b Kalḫu
- 2 Map of Assyria
- 3 Kalḫu citadel
- 4 Northwest Palace (Kalḫu): floorplan
- 5 Northwest Palace (Kalḫu): central part showing the life-sized representations of humans
- 6a Northwest Palace (Kalḫu): the expected direction of movement as indicated by the direction in which the protective figures face in the respective doors. The green area indicates the zone in which movement is guided by apotropaic figures from the throneroom.
- 6b Northwest Palace (Kalḫu): internal route surrounding the Central Courtyard
- 6c Northwest Palace (Kalḫu): architectural features that can be related to the king: the depiction of the king (K) on a short wall, an axis leading towards it, and the presence of a nearby backdoor
- 7a Northwest Palace (Kalḫu): the different types of apotropaic figures (B: bull colossus; L: lion colossus; A: apotropaic figure) in the respective doorways
- 7b Northwest Palace (Kalḫu): the service and residential areas and their relation to the State Apartments
- 7c Military Palace (Kalḫu): the service and residential areas and their relation to the State Apartments
- 8a Old Palace (Assur): floorplan.
- 8b Northwest Palace (Kalḫu): different types of decoration and their attested locations
- 8c Military Palace (Kalḫu): different types of decoration and their attested locations
- 9 Military Palace (Kalḫu): floorplan, end of Shalmaneser III's reign
- 10a Dur-Sharruken
- 10b Military Palace (Dur-Sharruken): floorplan.
- 11 Royal Palace (Dur-Sharruken): floorplan
- 12a Royal Palace (Dur-Sharruken): known thresholds indicating whether the text is written in the first person, third person, or a combination of both
- 12b Royal Palace (Dur-Sharruken): the location of the king and crown prince on the known reliefs of the palace, indicating the direction in which they faced
- 13a Citadel (Dur-Sharruken)
- 13b Residence M (Dur-Sharruken): floorplan
- 14 Residence L (Dur-Sharruken): floorplan
- 15a Residence K (Dur-Sharruken): floorplan
- 15b Residence J (Dur-Sharruken): floorplan
- 15c *Rotes Haus* (Assur): floorplan
- 15d Residence Z (Dur-Sharruken): floorplan

- 15c *Großes Haus* (Assur): floorplan
- 16a The citadel of Kujunjik (Nineveh)
- 16b Nineveh
- 17 Southwest Palace (Nineveh): floorplan
- 18 Boucher's plan of the North Palace (after Rassam 1897: facing p. 36)
- 19 North Palace (Nineveh): floorplan. The rooms on the lower level (basement) are shown detached.
- 20a Typology of apotropaic figures
- 20b North Palace (Nineveh): reconstruction of the different types of apotropaic figures in their respective doorways
- 21 Southwest Palace (Nineveh): reconstruction of the different types of apotropaic figures in their respective doorways
- 22a Northwest Palace (Kalḫu)
- 22b Royal Palace (Dur-Sharruken)
- 22c Southwest Palace (Nineveh)
- 23a Palace (Til-Barsip): floorplan
- 23b Palace (Tarbiṣu): floorplan
- 23c Bit-Hilani/Lower-Town Palace (Nineveh): floorplan; scale by approximation
- 24a Palace (Ḫadattu): floorplan
- 24b Palace F/W (Dur-Katlimmu): floorplan
- 24c Town Wall Palace (Kalḫu): floorplan
- 24d *Bâtiment aux ivoires* (Ḫadattu): floorplan
- 24c *Rotes Haus* (Dur-Katlimmu): floorplan

PLANS

Plans are based on sources as shown.




























	Plates	Figures
Map of Assyria (Parpola and Porter 2001)	2	
Palace name:		
Assur— <i>Großes Haus</i> (Heinrich 1984: fig. 103)	15c	
Assur—Old Palace (Pedde and Lundström 2008: Tf. 8)	8a	2.12
Assur— <i>Rotes Haus</i> (Heinrich 1984: fig. 105)	15c	
Dur-Katlimmu—Palace F/W (Kühne 1993–4: fig. 90)	24b	
Dur-Katlimmu— <i>Rotes Haus</i> (Kreppner 2006: figs. 5, 8)	24c	
Dur-Sharruken—Citadel (Loud and Altman 1938: pls. 70–3)	13a	
Dur-Sharruken—City (Loud and Altman 1938: pls. 69, 75)	10a	
Dur-Sharruken—Military Palace (Loud and Altman 1938: pl. 68)	10b	
Dur-Sharruken—Residence J (Loud and Altman 1938: pl. 71)	15b	
Dur-Sharruken—Residence K (Loud and Altman 1938: pl. 71)	15a	
Dur-Sharruken—Residence L (Loud and Altman 1938: pl. 72)	14	
Dur-Sharruken—Residence M (Loud and Altman 1938: pl. 73)	13b	
Dur-Sharruken—Residence Z (Loud and Altman 1938: pl. 74)	15d	
Dur-Sharruken—Royal Palace (Botta 1849a: pl. 6; Loud, Frankfurt, and Jacobsen 1936: fig. 22; Margueron 1995: fig. 4; Place 1867b: pl. 3)	11, 12a–b, 22b	5.4–5, 5.7
Ḫadattu—Palace (Thureau-Dangin and Dunand 1931: Fouilles d’Arslan-Tash, 1928)	24a	
Ḫadattu— <i>Bâtiment aux ivoires</i> (Thureau-Dangin and Dunand 1931: Fouilles d’Arslan-Tash, 1928)	24d	
Kalḫu—Citadel (Paley and Sobolewski 1987: plan 2; Reade 2002: fig. 2)	3	
Kalḫu—City (Google Maps; Fiorina 2001: fig. 1; Paley and Sobolewski 1987: plan 2; Reade 2002: fig. 2)	1b	
Kalḫu—Military Palace (Mallowan 1966: plan viii; Fiorina 2001: fig. 2)	7c, 8c, 9	3.3–5
Kalḫu—Northwest Palace (Curtis et al. 2008: pls. 4–5; Mallowan 1966: fig. 42; Paley and Sobolewski 1987: plan 2; Reade 2002: fig. 2)	3–7b, 8b, 22a	2.2–11
Kalḫu—Town Wall Palace (Mallowan 1957: pl. 10)	24c	
Nineveh—Citadel (Reade 2000b: fig. 2)	16a	8.1

(continued)

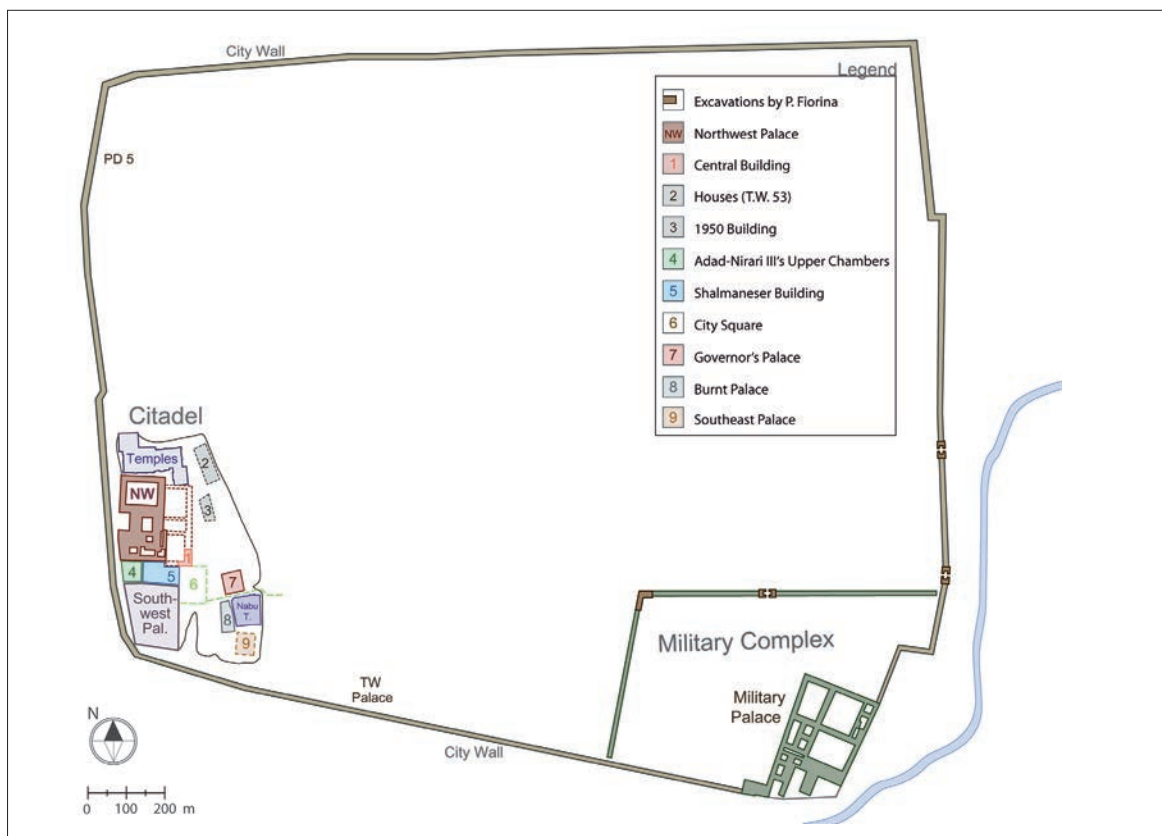
	Plates	Figures
Nineveh—City (Google Maps; Scott and MacGinnis 1990: fig. 4)	16b	
Nineveh—Lower Town Palace/ <i>Bit-hilani</i> (Jabr 1997–8; Postgate 1975)	23c	
Nineveh—North Palace (Barnett 1976: text-plate 8; Reade 2000b: fig. 12)	19, 20b	8.2, 8.4
Nineveh—Southwest Palace (Campbell Thompson and Hutchinson 1929: plan 4; Layard 1853b: pl. 71; Reade 2000b: fig. 11; Russell 1998a: fig. 4)	17, 21, 22c	6.1, 6.4–7
Tarbiṣu—Palace (Miglus 2012)	23b	
Til-Barsip—Palace (Thureau-Dangin and Dunand 1936: plan B)	23a	

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

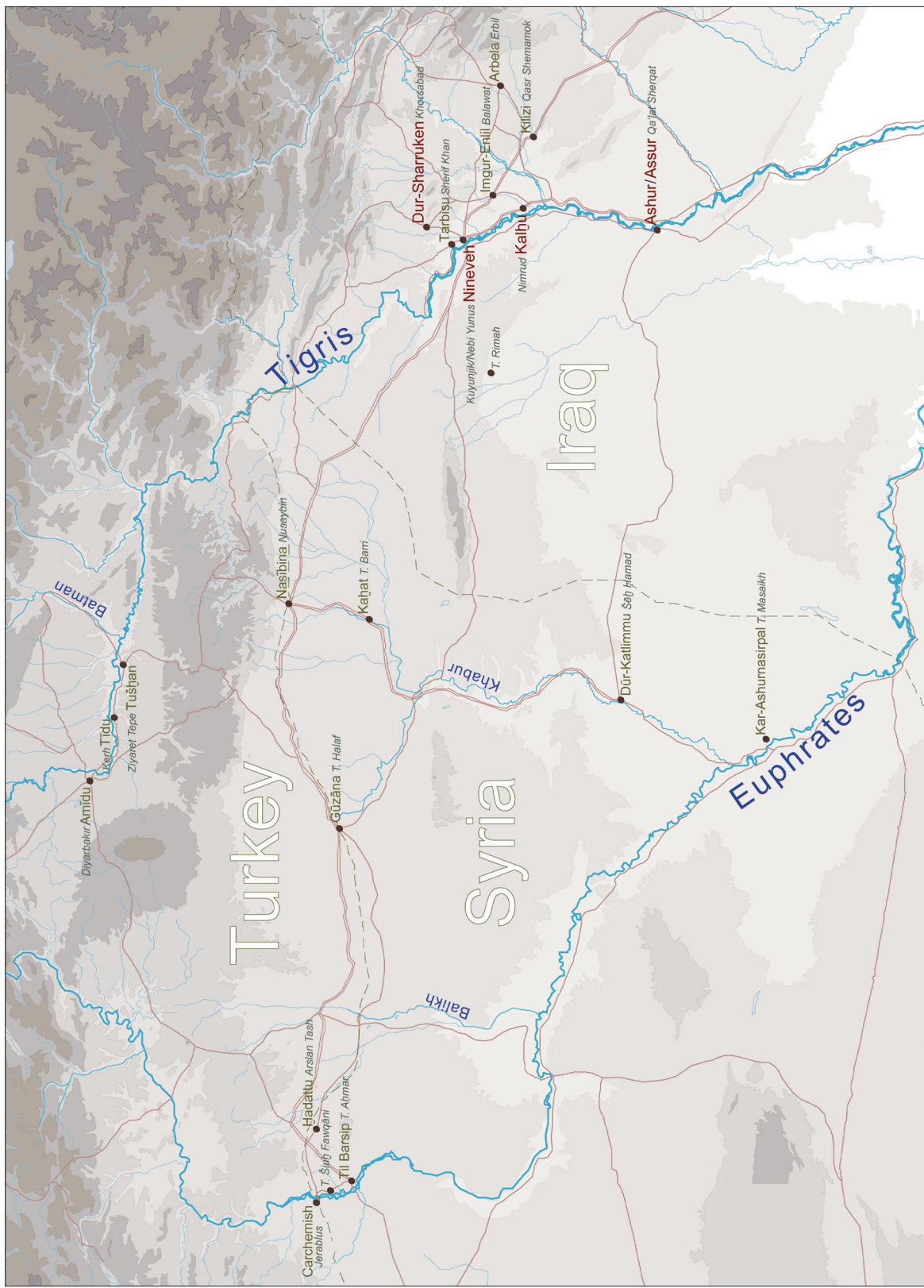
AHw	von Soden and Meissner 1965
BIWA	Borger 1996
CAD	<i>Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> (Chicago, 1956–2010)
CTN 3	Dalley and Postgate 1984
RIMA 1	Grayson 1987
RIMA 2	Grayson 1991d
RIMA 3	Grayson 1996
RINAP 1	Tadmor and Yamada 2011
RINAP 3	Grayson and Novotny 2012
RINAP 4	Leichty 2011
SAA 1	Parpola 1987a
SAA 3	Livingstone 1989
SAA 4	Starr 1990
SAA 5	Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990
SAA 6	Kwasman and Parpola 1991
SAA 7	Fales and Postgate 1992
SAA 10	Parpola 1993
SAA 11	Fales and Postgate 1995
SAA 12	Kataja and Whiting 1995
SAA 13	Cole and Machinist 1998
SAA 14	Mattila 2002
SAA 15	Fuchs and Parpola 2001
SAA 16	Luukko and Van Buylaere 2002
SAA 19	Luukko 2013

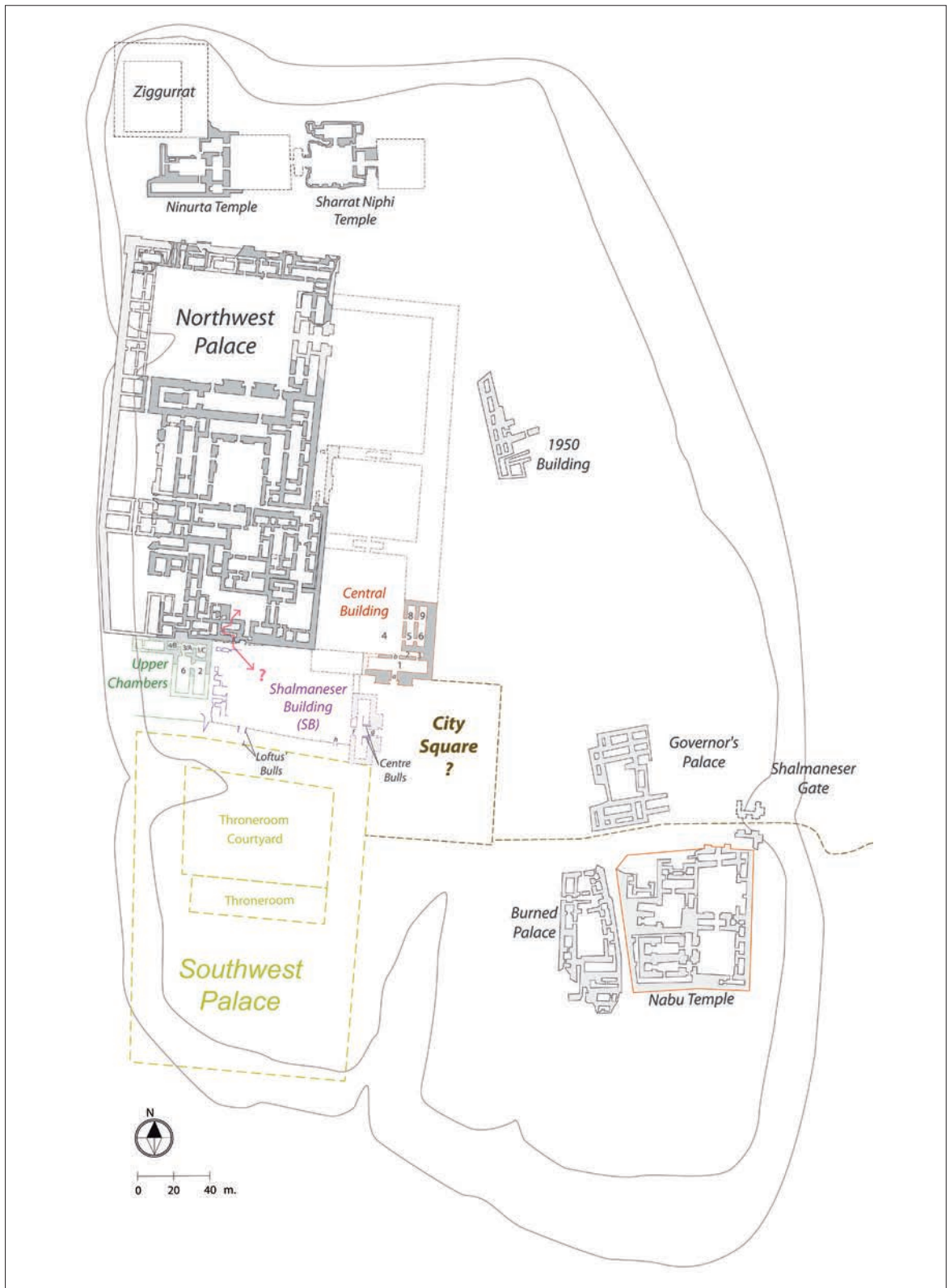
	Excavated wall		Pavement of burned mudbrick / stone plates
	Reconstructed wall		Threshold
	Throneroom Suite		Trone dais
	Ramp / staircase		Tram-rails
	Double-Sided Reception Suite		Ablution slab
	Residential/Reception Suite		Well
	"Eastern Suite"		Well
	Dual-Core Suite		Wall painting
	Corridor / gate		Glazed brick
	Service functions / office / residential space		Decorative corbel
	Storage space (e.g. wine store) / treasury		(Wall) peg
	Bathroom-like space		Wall reliefs
	Workshop / office / storage space		Wall reliefs reconstructed
	Stable / storage space		

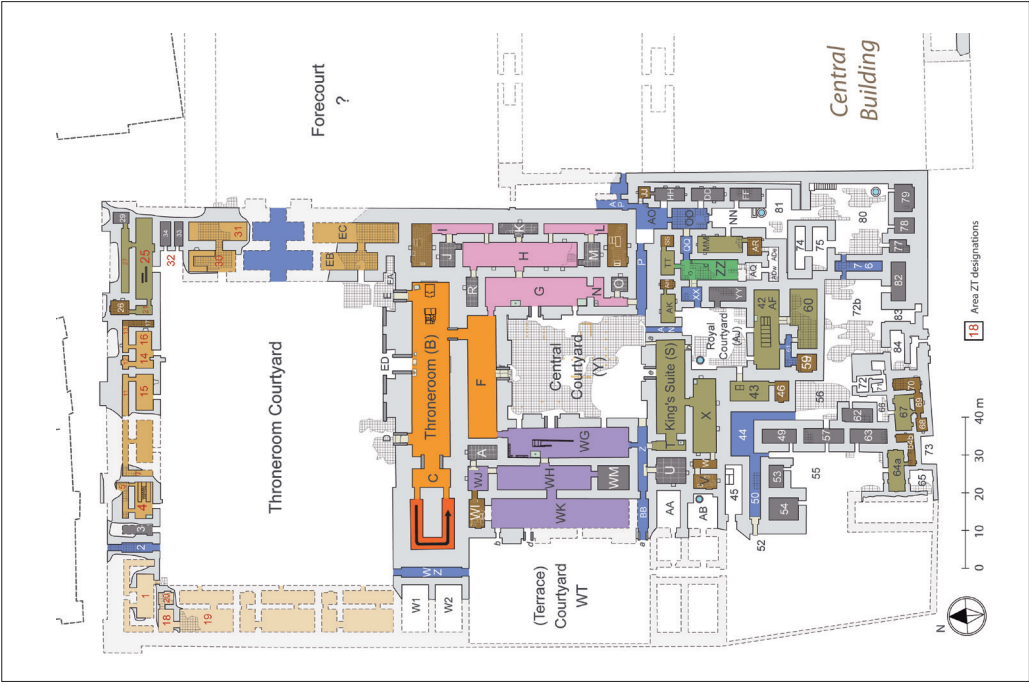
1A Legend



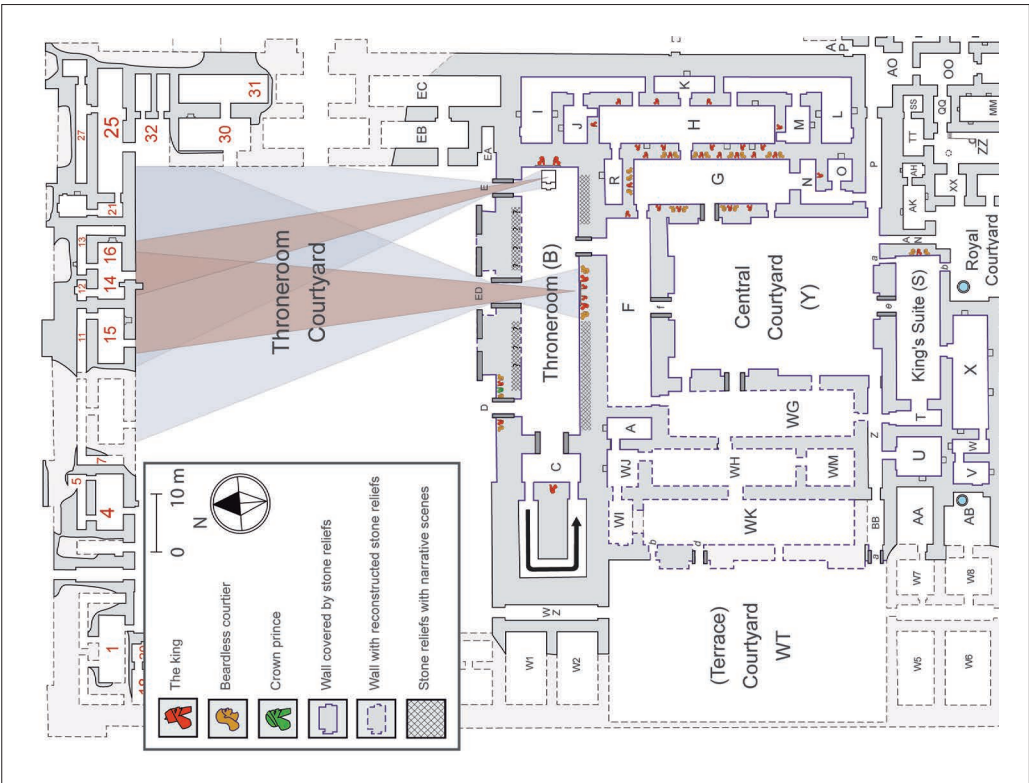
1B Kalhu



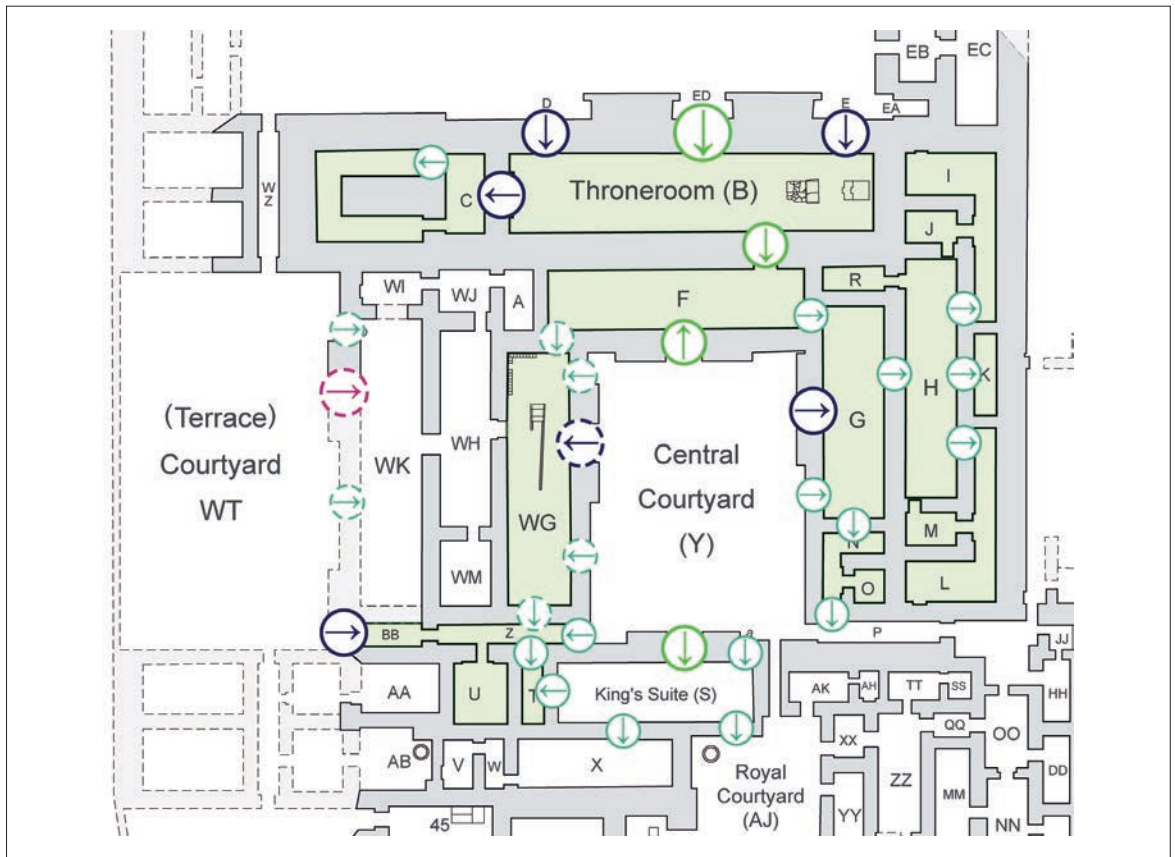




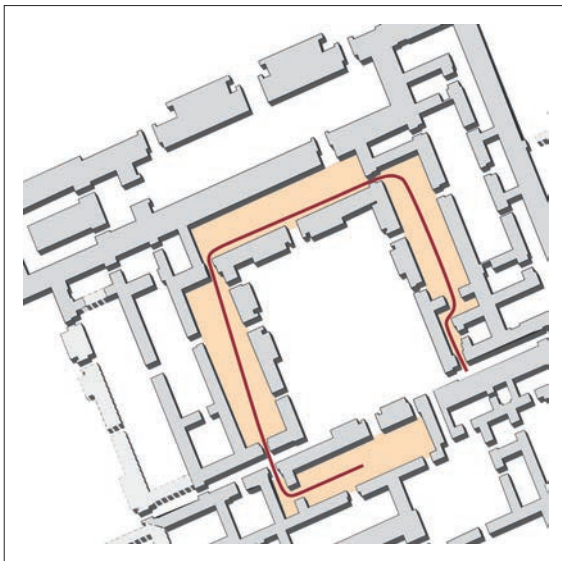
4 Northwest Palace (Kalhu): floorplan



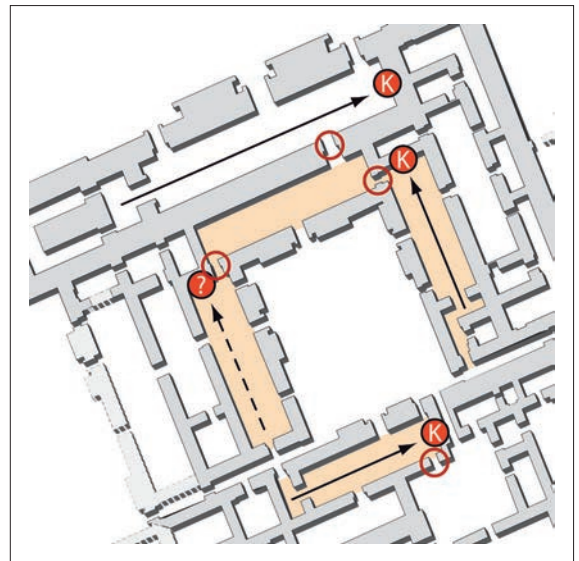
5 Northwest Palace (Kalhu): central part showing the life-sized representations of humans



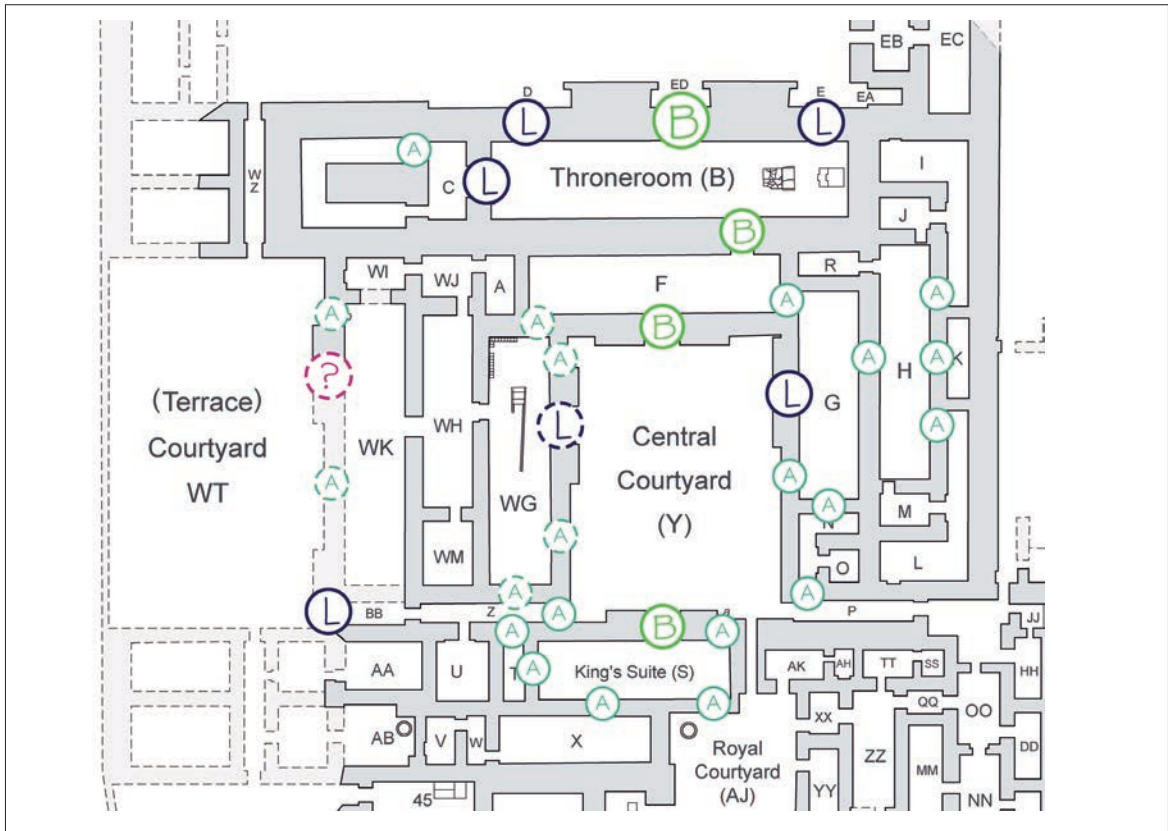
6A Northwest Palace (Kalḫu): the expected direction of movement as indicated by the direction in which the protective figures face in the respective doors. The green area indicates the zone in which movement is guided by apotropaic figures from the throneroom



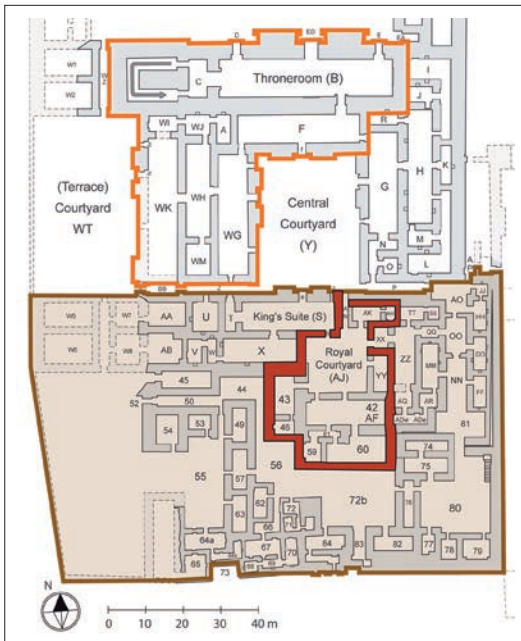
6B Northwest Palace (Kalḫu): internal route surrounding the Central Courtyard



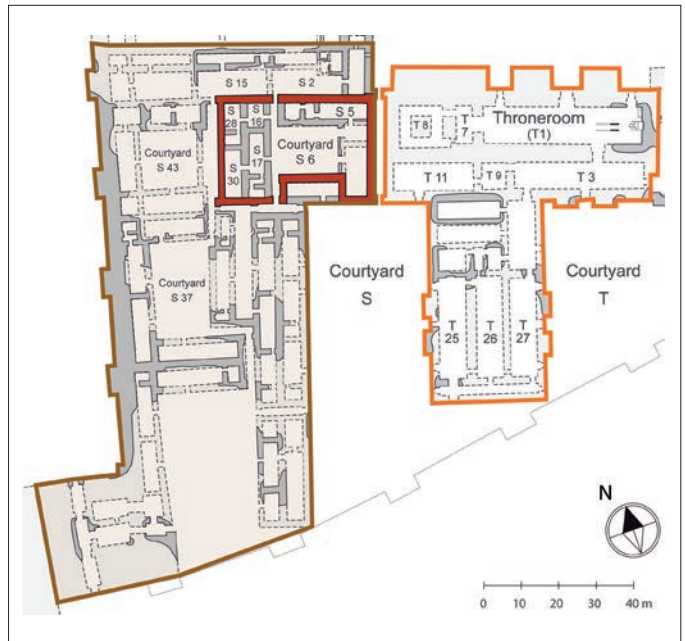
6C Northwest Palace (Kalhu): architectural features that can be related to the king: the depiction of the king (K) on a short wall, an axis leading towards it, and the presence of a nearby backdoor



7A Northwest Palace (Kalḫu): the different types of apotropaic figures (B: bull colossus; L: lion colossus; A: apotropaic figure) in the respective doorways



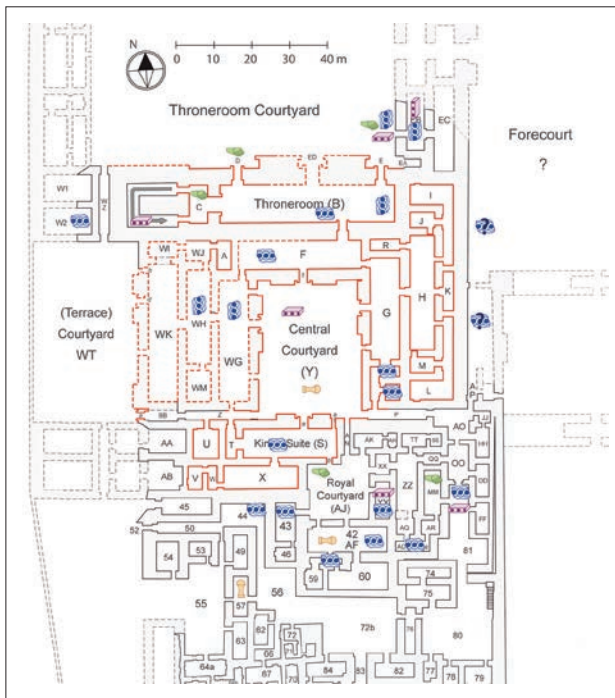
7B Northwest Palace (Kalḫu): the service and residential areas and their relation to the State Apartments



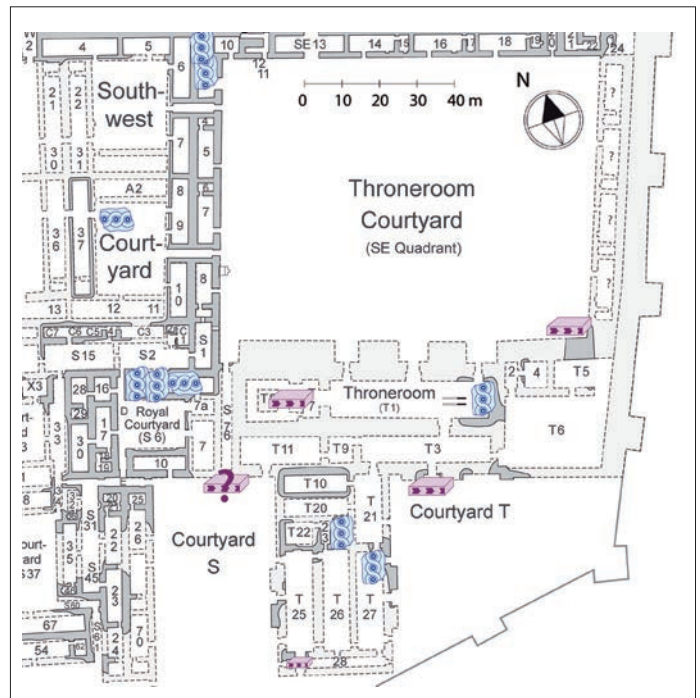
7C Military Palace (Kalḫu): the service and residential areas and their relation to the State Apartments



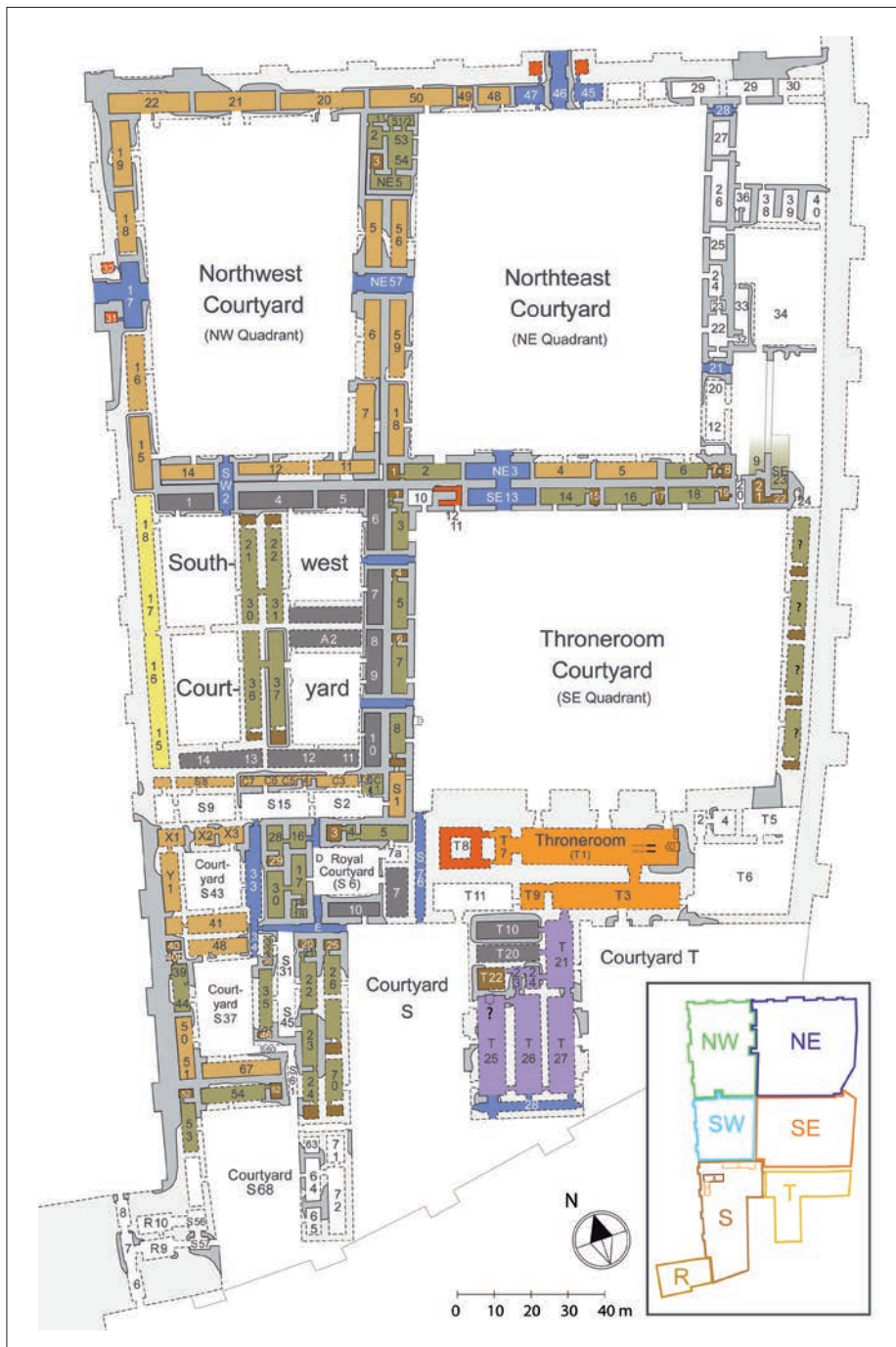
8A Old Palace (Assur): floorplan



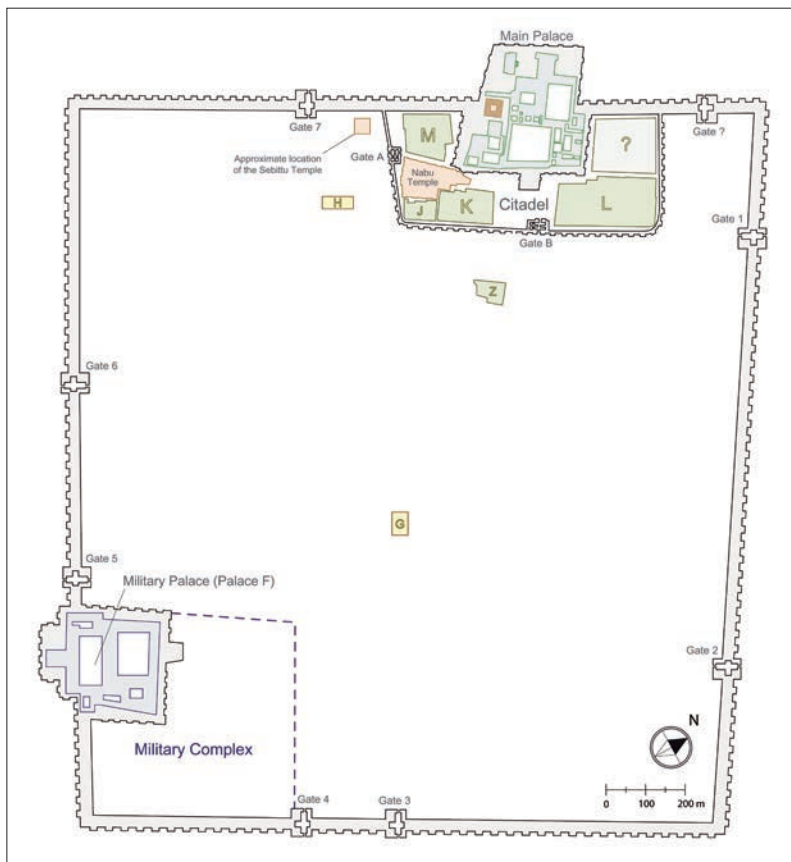
8B Northwest Palace (Kalhu): different types of decoration and their attested locations



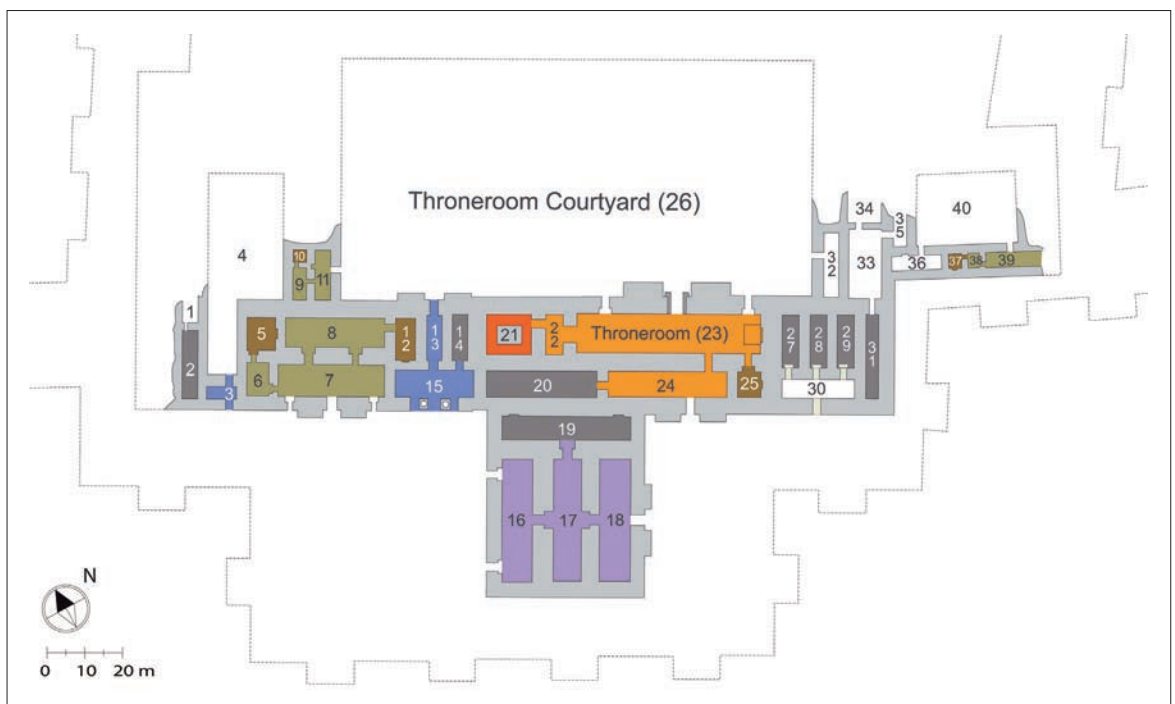
8C Military Palace (Kalhu): different types of decoration and their attested locations



9 Military Palace (Kalhu): floorplan, end of the Shalmaneser III's reign



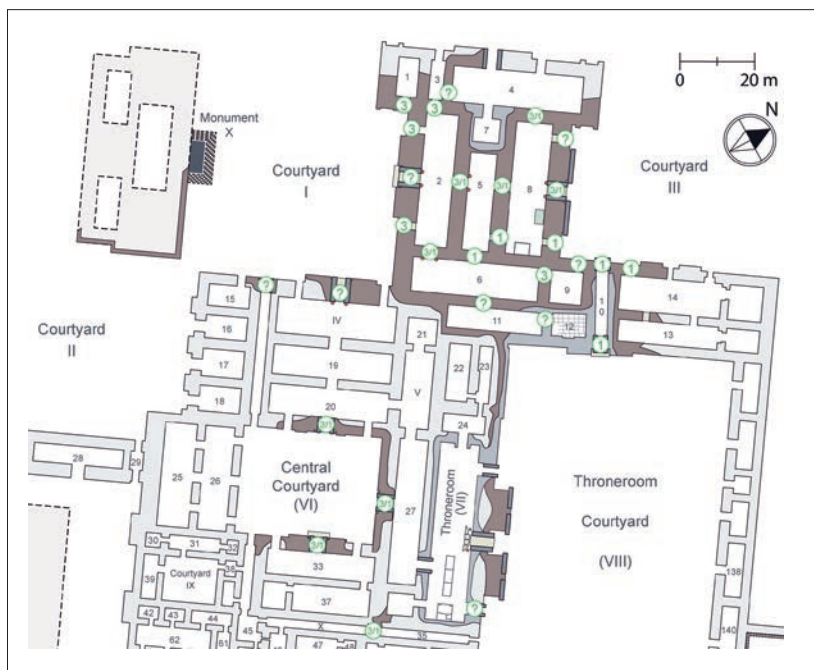
10A Dur-Sharruken



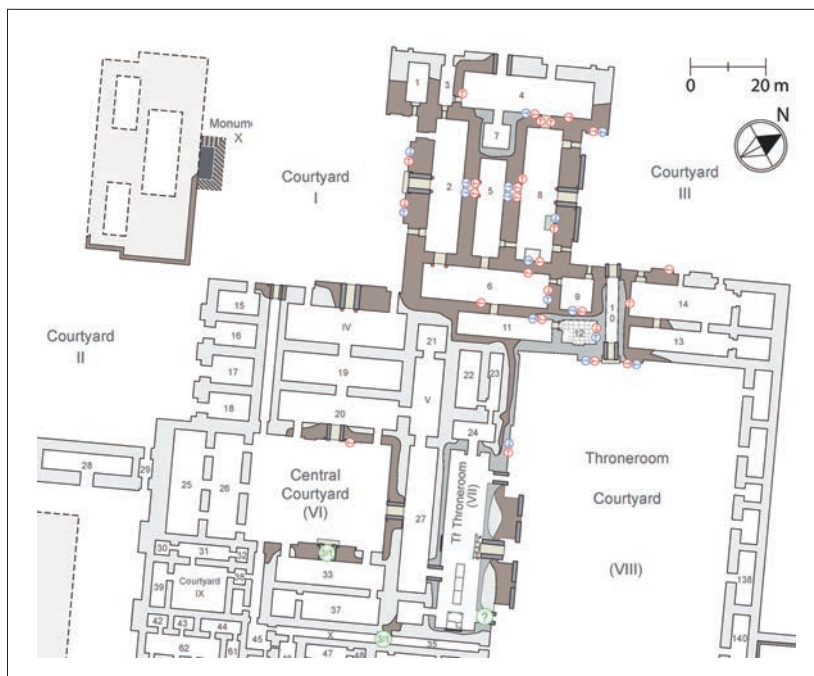
10B Military Palace (Dur-Sharruken): floorplan

11 Royal Palace
(Dur-Sharruken): floorplan





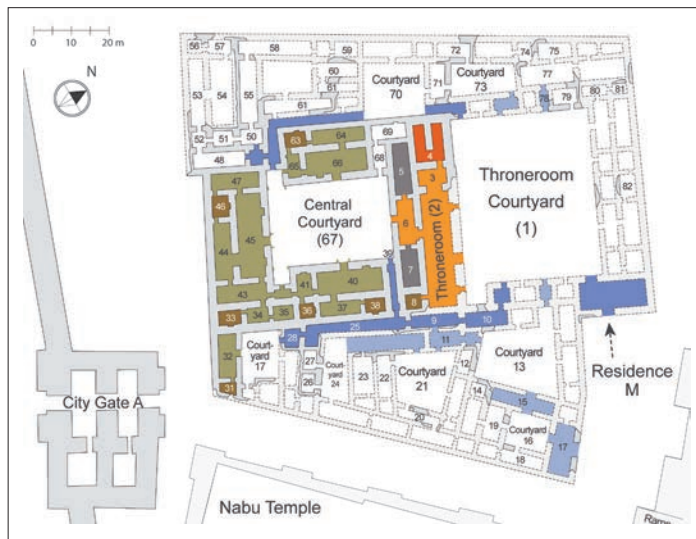
12A Royal Palace (Dur-Sharruken): known thresholds indicating whether the text is written in the first person, third person, or a combination of both



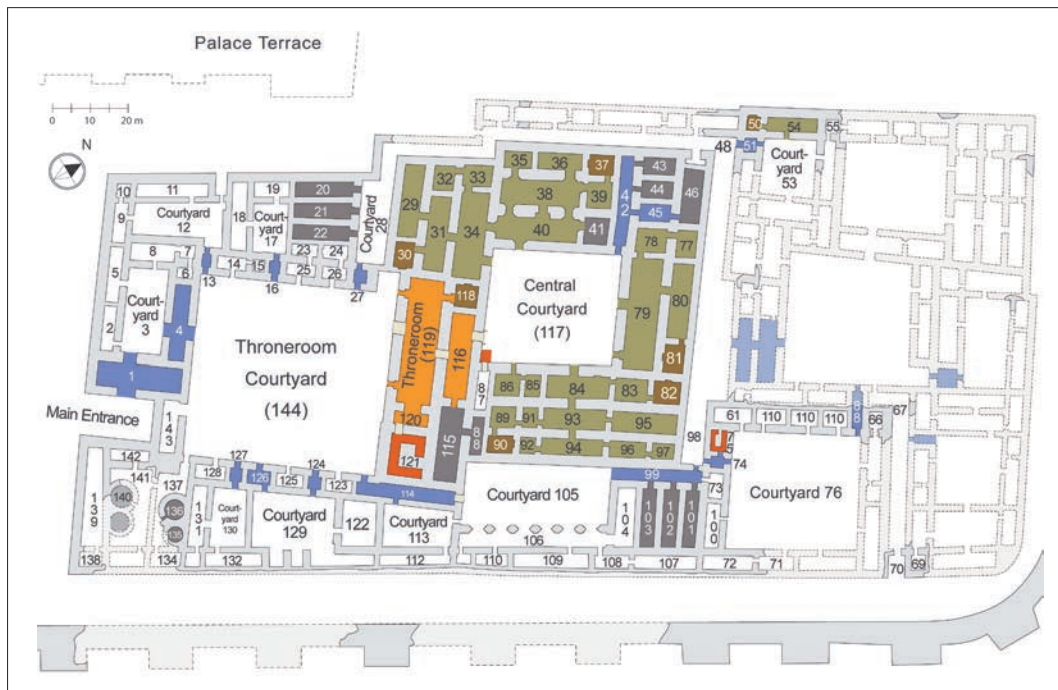
12B Royal Palace (Dur-Sharruken): the location of the king and crown prince on the known reliefs of the palace, indicating the direction in which they faced

13A Citadel (Dur-Sharruken)

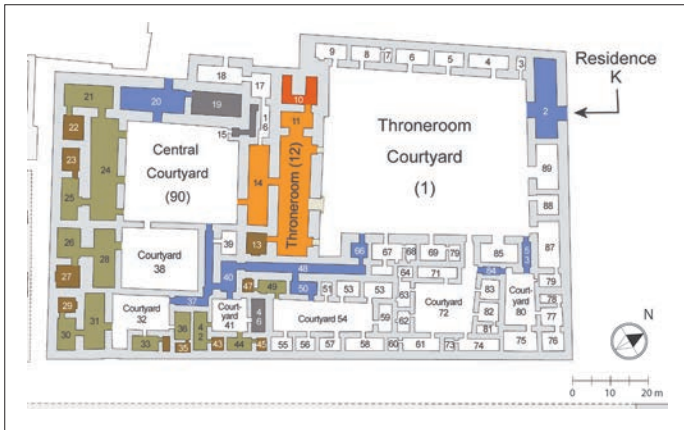




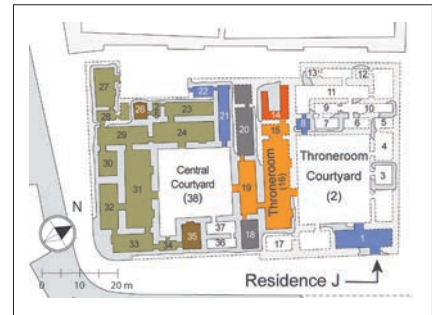
13B Residence M (Dur-Sharruken): floorplan



14 Residence L (Dur-Sharruken): floorplan



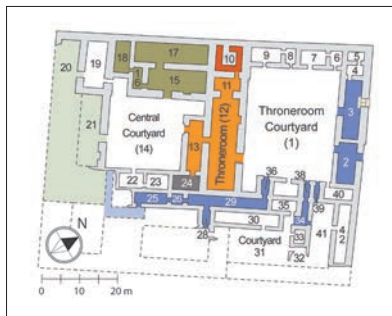
15A Residence K (Dur-Sharruken): floorplan



15B Residence J (Dur-Sharruken): floorplan



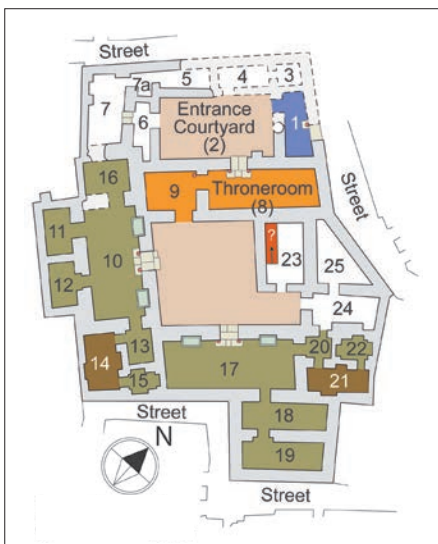
15C Rotes Haus (Assur): floorplan



15D Residence Z (Dur-Sharruken): floorplan



15E Großes Haus (Assur): floorplan



15C (Enlarged)



15E (Enlarged)