

Contents

Chapter 1: Creating Capitals – Approaches, Perspectives, and Methodology	9
1.1 Introduction	9
1.1.1 About this Book	11
1.2 Classifying Cities	12
1.3 Capital Creation as a Form of Statecraft	15
1.3.1 Disembedded Capitals	18
1.3.2 Reframing Capital Creation in Context	20
1.4 Capital Creation and the Study of Empires	23
1.5 Methodology	24
 Chapter 2: Assyria and Aššur	 28
2.1 Choosing Assyria	28
2.1.1 Historical Context of Assyria	30
2.1.2 Kings as Builders in Assyria	31
2.2 Aššur, the Traditional Capital of Assyria	33
2.2.1 Aššur the God	34
2.2.2 Aššur the City	35
2.2.3 The “Citadel” of Aššur	36
2.2.4 Concluding Remarks on Aššur	36
 Chapter 3: Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta – Capital Creation in the Middle Assyrian Empire	 37
3.1 Introduction	37
3.1.1 History of Research and Archaeological Evidence	37
3.2 Setting the Stage – Historical Overview of Middle Assyria	38
3.3 Why – Building a Capital, Building an Empire	42
3.3.1 Previous Interpretations – Regal-centric Approaches	42
3.3.2 From a Territorial State to Empire	45
3.4 How – The Realization of a New Capital	49
3.5 What – The Function and ‘Demise’ of Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta	52
3.5.1 The Plan and Urban Landscape of Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta	52
3.5.2 The Citadel	53
3.5.3 Irrigation System and Agricultural Production	55
3.5.4 The End of a Capital	56
 Chapter 4: Kalḫu – The First New Neo Assyrian Capital	 58
4.1 Introduction	58

4.1.1 History of Research and Archaeological Evidence	58
4.2 From Decline to Empire - Political History of the Early Neo Assyrian State	62
4.3 Why – The Case of a New(?) Foundation	63
4.3.1 Landscape Restructuring	65
4.3.2 Neo Assyrian Imperial Transformation	66
4.4 How – The Construction and Opening Festival of Kalḫu	69
4.4.1 Textual Sources for the Construction of the City and the Banquet Stele	69
4.4.2 Labor Investment	71
4.5 What – City Design and Function of Kalḫu	71
4.5.1 City Design, Walls and Gates	72
4.5.2 Urban Fabric and Residential Areas	72
4.5.3 The Citadel	76
4.5.4 Fort Shalmaneser	79
4.5.5 Gardens	80
4.5.6 Conclusions on the Function of Kalḫu	82
4.6 Concluding Remarks on the Creation of Kalḫu	82
Chapter 5: Dur-Šarrukēn – A Short-lived Capital	83
5.1 Introduction	83
5.1.1 History of Research and Archaeological Evidence	83
5.2 Paving the Way – from Decline to Tiglath-Pileser III	84
5.3 The History of the Sargonic Period	85
5.4 Why – An attempt of Imperial Consolidation	86
5.4.1 Geographical Location and Hinterland	87
5.5 How – Building Dur-Šarrukēn	89
5.6 What – Urban Design of Dur-Šarrukēn	93
5.6.1 The Design of the City	93
5.6.2 Walls	93
5.6.3 City Gates and Urban Fabric	94
5.7 What – The Citadels	96
5.7.1 The Lower Citadel	97
5.7.2 The Palace Terrace	99
5.7.3 The Secondary Citadel (Palace F)	101
5.8 What – Conclusions	103
Chapter 6: Nineveh – The Largest Capital of Assyria	104
6.1 Introduction	104
6.1.1 History of Research	104
6.2 Middle Assyrian Nineveh	106
6.3 Neo Assyrian Nineveh	107
6.4 Historical Context	109
6.5 Why – A capital waiting to happen?	110
6.6 How	112
6.7 What – Urban Layout	112
6.6.1 City-Wall – Function and Construction	112
6.6.2 City Gates – Function and Vulnerabilities	115
6.6.3 The Lower City	116
6.8 What – Citadels	117

6.8.1 Main Citadel	117
6.8.2 Nebi Yunus	121
6.9 What – Waters of Nineveh	122
6.10 What – Conclusions	125
Chapter 7: Creating Capitals – Comparative Analysis and Conclusions	126
7.1 Introduction	126
7.2 Why – The Reasons Behind Capital Creation in Assyria	126
7.2.1 Exploring Aspects of Capital Creation	126
7.2.2 Geographical Location	127
7.2.3 Historical Importance of Location	128
7.2.4 “Disembeddedness”, the Undermining of Elites, and Capitals as Monuments	130
7.2.5 Overarching Themes in Assyrian Capital Creation	131
7.2.6 Why Then? Why There?	132
7.2.7 Historical Conditions – From State to Empire	132
7.2.8 Historical Conditions – Imperial Transformation	133
7.2.9 Conclusions	134
7.3 How – The Construction Process of Assyrian Capitals	135
7.3.1 A Comparative Framework for the Assessment of Labor Investment in Assyrian Capitals	136
7.3.2 Building City Walls	137
7.3.3 Conclusions - Who Builds These Cities?	141
7.4 What - A Conceptual Challenge	141
7.4.1 What is Public and What is Private?	141
7.4.2 The Social Web of Assyrian Capitals and Their Urban Evolution	142
7.4.3 Defensive Aspects of Assyrian Capitals and Walls as Symbols	142
7.4.4 Assyrian Capital Cities as Empty Spaces	143
7.4.5 Conclusions – Function of Assyrian Capitals	147
8: Conclusions	148
8.1 A Model for Assyrian Capital Creation	148
8.2 Applicability of the Model through History	151
8.3 Recommendations	151
Acknowledgements	153
Bibliography	154
List of Figures	176
List of Tables	178
Appendix 1	180
Appendix 2	182