Fundstellen

Gesammelte Schriften
zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altvorderasiens
ad honorem Hartmut Kühne

Herausgegeben von
Dominik Bonatz, Rainer M. Czichon
und F. Janoscha Kreppner

2008

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

ALESSANDRA GILIBERT

ON KĀR TUKULTĪ-NINURTA:
CHRONOLOGY AND POLITICS OF A MIDDLE ASSYRIAN VILLE NEUVE

The reign of Tukultī-Ninurta (1243-1207)[1] is perhaps the best documented time within the Middle Assyrian period (Eickhoff 1985: 48; Jakob 2003: 1-2). A wide range of written and archaeological sources are testimony to the ascent of Assyria to a peak of political and territorial supremacy (Postgate 1992: 247-249; Jakob 2003: 9-10, 565). The aggressive military policy pursued against competing neighbours went together with a series of prestigious building projects within the Assyrian homeland (Baffi 1997). Most important among these projects, and far-reaching in its ambitions, was the planning and foundation *ex nihilo* of Kār Tukultī-Ninurta, a large-scale urban centre just opposite Aššur, on the eastern bank of the river Tigris (Fig. 1). First identified with modern Tulūl al-'Aqar in 1911 (Sarre/Herzfeld 1911, 1:212; 4:2), the site was excavated by a German team led by Walter Bachmann from October 1913 to March 1914 (Andrae/Bachmann 1914; Eickhoff 1985). Fieldwork then resumed in 1986 and again in 1989 by a team of the Berlin Freie Universität under the direction of Reinhard Dittmann (Dittmann et al. 1988; Dittmann 1990). Drawing on the results of these excavations and on textual evidence, this paper calls into question two theses that, though rarely properly discussed, have become the *communis opinio* in scholarly literature. They concern the first decades of the history of the city, and can be summarised as follows:

1) Kār Tukultī-Ninurta was founded and completed in a relatively short period of time, following the military conquest of Babylon;
2) Kār Tukultī-Ninurta was conceived as a counterpart to Aššur.

This paper argues that both theses are based on misinterpretations and false assumptions, and hence that they should be revised.

ASPECTS OF CHRONOLOGY: A PROTRACTED ENTERPRISE

Kār Tukultī-Ninurta is mentioned in six royal inscriptions dating to the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta: A.0.78.22-25,[2] IM 57821 and IM 76787 (Deller/Fadhil/Ahmad 1994). Although only two were found *in situ*, internal textual evidence makes it beyond doubt that all of them come from

---

foundation deposits in Kār Tukultī-Ninurta. The texts are compositional variants of each other,[3] sometimes identical to the word. Among their common *topoi* is a relatively detailed account of the foundation of the city. This narrative is always preceded by the report of the military triumph over Kaštiliaš, king of the Kassites. This historical event, which sets a *terminus ante quem non* for the composition of the inscriptions, culminated in the sack of Babylon, to be dated to between the 13th and the 19th years of the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta, perhaps to 1225 BCE (Machinist 1978: 520-521, fn. 38; Harrak 1987: 256-257; Freydank 1991: 51). Following the pattern suggested by the inscriptions, the scholarly consensus tends to view the foundation of Kār Tukultī-Ninurta as a form of consummation of that military enterprise (Eickhoff 1985: 49; Liverani 1988:587), and allows for its building only a comparatively short period of time (until 1197 BCE, when the king dies). Thus, the new foundation is described as "a grandiose and fully executed act" (Dolce 1997: 254), "linked to the development in Assyrian royal ideology (Kuhrt 1995: 357), an "expression of a new cultural program", (Machinist 1978: 526) marking the military triumphs in Southern Mesopotamia.

Archaeological evidence and other classes of texts, however, point to a different scenario, in which the completion of Kār Tukultī-Ninurta is protracted in time, and which begins well before the conquest of Babylon.

As a survey of the site has shown (Dittmann 1997b: 269), settlement traces can be found over an area of 500 ha (!). At the core of the city was a characteristically double-walled representative district (Fig. 2). An extensive palace complex was partly located within this district, partly extending northwards (Dittmann et al. 1988: 115; Dittmann 1990: 168), rather in the manner of later Neo-Assyrian palaces. It included the excavated areas A ("Southern Palace"), M ("Northern Palace"), and the square A-F of the 1989 excavations, identified as palace wings by the short inscriptions on bricks and on pottery found there (Eickhoff 1985: 35, fn. 90; Dittmann 1990: 167). The uncovered remains bear traces of a complex building history. In particular, the architectural record at Mound A proves that not only renovation works but also important remodelling actions were still taking place during the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta. In this area, an originally lavishly decorated wing of the palace stood upon a tetragonal mud-brick terrace, overlooking a system of courts, passages, and rooms deployed at its feet (Fig. 3). In 1913, the terrace remains stood up to 12 m high. Of the lofty building atop it, however, only a collapsed wall with frescoes and a door socket could be recovered (Eickhoff 1985: 35, 38-39). Nonetheless, it is clear that the area was a prominent one, dominating over the "lower palace",[4] and certainly to be identified with the building described in a passage in two royal inscriptions:

> "I took possession of much terrain beside the Tigris, I erected (a terrace which was)
> 120 layers of bricks high, (and) on top of those layers of brick I constructed É.GAL.
> ME.ŠÁR.RA, "House of the Universe", my royal dwelling."
> (A.0.78.22:48-51[5])

---

3   For a discussion of this terminology, see Liverani 1981: 226-229.
4   The *ekallu šapūtu* mentioned in the administrative text VAT 18 007 (MARV 2 17), quoted in Freydank 1976-80: 455
5   IM 57821 includes a passage identical to the word.

The inscriptions, which date to after the victory over Kaštiliaš, provide thus a *terminus post quem* for the building of the terrace. As the architectural record demonstrates (Eickhoff 1985: 36-37, Pl. 4-5), the terrace was built upon pre-existing structures, partly encasing them and partly reusing them. On the basis of joint patterns and size-variation of the mud-bricks, W. Bachmann distinguished several building phases clearly antedating the terrace. A sketch from the original documentation (Dittmann 1997a: Fig. 6, here re-published as Fig. 4) makes it clear that these were not stages of a single building phase, since they involved structural changes in design and orientation. To the west of the terrace, for example, there was a building with a niched façade, which at first stood independently and was accessible from the north. Subsequently, its inner and outer structure underwent massive re-design and the previous northern access was walled up, following a radically different design project. None of the building phases can be dated with precision. Moreover, it is problematic to correlate them with one another or with the building phases in other areas of the palace complex. Nonetheless, it is unlikely, if not impossible, that all these activities took place within the interval of time stretching between the sack of Babylon and the composition of the royal inscriptions quoted above.

Mound A provides the probative clue in support of an earlier foundation date for Kār Tukultī-Ninurta. Yet as well evidence of a different kind corroborate the thesis of an earlier date. (A) The "Epic of Tukultī-Ninurta", a work of court literature praising the victory over Kaštiliaš, reports that the "abundant riches of the treasure of the king of the Kassites" ended up in Kār Tukultī-Ninurta (Machinist 1978: 130, VI B 12'; 20'). The poem, probably written as Tukultī-Ninurta was still alive, is imbued with royal ideology backing the sack of Babylon. Nonetheless, its only mention of the new foundation is the passage above, that speaks of the city as a matter of fact. This would seem to imply that Kār Tukultī-Ninurta already existed when Babylon was ravaged, equally undermining the thesis that the new foundation was some sort of ideological coronation of that event. (B) The administrative text VAT 17 999, found in the "lower palace" at Kār Tukultī-Ninurta (T 225), documents the presence of groups of Babylonian prisoners in the city (Freydank 1974: I 21'-22'; 32'; 40'-45'). At the same time, the text documents a military campaign of the king in Babylonia (IV 27-43). Thus, the tablet dates before the sack of Babylon, and to an earlier military engagement with the Kassites.[6] Here, too, the context makes it clear that at that point Kār Tukultī-Ninurta was an already established administrative centre (Freydank 1974: 76). (C) Finally, further supporting evidence may come from a fragmentary mention of the city in VAT 19 546, a text certainly dating to the first years of the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta, perhaps as early as the fourth year (Freydank 1991: 44-45, 50).

Can this line of argument dovetail with the evidence from the royal inscriptions? All the known royal inscriptions from Kār Tukultī-Ninurta dedicate a considerable part of their narrative to the victory over Kaštiliaš. Moreover, this narrative is immediately followed in the inscriptions by the *topos* of the foundation of Kār Tukultī-Ninurta, so that the impression conveyed is of a consequential and a temporal connection between the two events. Looking closer, however, it appears that the fictional dates of the narrative follow anachronistic patterns, distorting or

---

6   The Babylonian war involved several chains of military actions and comprised at least two military campaign (Weidner 1939-41: 121; Freydank 1974: 76; Galter 1988: 221).

omitting the duration of events and sometimes, perhaps, even their order.[7] For example, the inscriptions follow a narrative strategy which tends to project every past event on to an imaginary "first year of reign" (*ina šurru* [iš]*kussî šarrutija ina mahri palija…*), regardless of their actual dates. According to the logic of this one-dimensional, "telescoped" past, the events are sometimes organized chronologically, but at other times merely thematically, without any attempt to reconcile the concomitant discontinuities (Tadmor 1981: 17-18).

Thus, if the mention of the conquest of Babylon delivers a fixed point in time for the dating of the text, the inner chronology suggested by the narrative remains primarily a fictional construct and should not be given the same weight as that provided by independent evidence. The six royal inscriptions from Kār Tukultī-Ninurta come from ritual foundation deposits, built into the walls of particular buildings, which therefore date after the subjugation of Babylonia. Amongst these buildings were the new wing of the royal palace named É.GAL.ME.ŠÁR.RA and the ziqqurrat complex in its proximity, whose ceremonial name was É.KUR.ME.ŠÁR.RA. Both were expressions of a well-planned resumption of building activities at Kār Tukultī-Ninurta, which followed on from the Babylonian campaigns. These building projects were certainly linked ideologically to the campaigns, and may perhaps even reflect southern influences in their architecture (Machinist 1978: 526). The history of the building of the city, however, begins and develops at first independently of Assyria's Babylonian ventures.

The relations with Aššur: competition or cooperation?

It has been maintained that the foundation of Kār Tukultī-Ninurta was (in part) based on a search for freedom from vested interests, "out of fear of conservative elements" (Joffe 1998: 557). In this view, the *ville neuve* represents an attempt to put physical and political distance between an emergent and self-asserting "new monarchy" and the traditional Assyrian pressure groups: the clergy, the aristocracy, and the rich merchant families (Weidner 1939-41: 109-110; Grayson 1975: 318; Machinist 1978: 529; Eickhoff 1985: 49; Liverani 1988: 587-588; Dolce 1997: 254; Novák 1999: 121). Thus, Kār Tukultī-Ninurta is, for these scholars, the first "disembedded capital" of Assyria, that is, a new urban site "designed to supplant existing patterns of authority and administration" (Joffe 1998: 549, 557).

A tendency to free the royal seat from its attachments with Aššur may indeed be detected in the later history of the Assyrian monarchy (Joffe 1998: 558-563), yet geographical, architectural and textual evidence makes it difficult to posit the same as the basis for the emergence of Kār Tukultī-Ninurta.

Let us first consider Kār Tukultī-Ninurta in a wider geographical and historical context. We are aware of two new Middle Assyrian foundations in the Assyrian heartland. One is Kalhu (modern Nimrud), whose foundation, according to a later text,[8] dates back to Šulmānu-ašarēd, the father of Tukultī-Ninurta. The second is Apku, modern Tell Abu Maryam (Postgate 1973: 237), where the king Aššur-rēša-iši (1132-1115 BCE) apparently founded a royal

---

7   A narratological analysis of the six royal inscriptions in question lies beyond the scope of this paper. For a discussion in this sense, see Gilibert 2001: 26-29.
8   Royal inscriptions of Ašur-nāsir-pal II: A.0.89.7, 34-35.

centre.[9] Both cities were located well beyond the immediate reach of Aššur, much as it is the case for the later Neo-Assyrian capital foundations. Seen in the light of these cognate enterprises, the location selected for Kār Tukultī-Ninurta suggests rather a choice which stresses a vicinity to Aššur, rather than a move away from it. In fact, the city is the only example of an Assyrian city planned and erected in patent proximity to Aššur. The same impression is clearly conveyed in the text of the inscriptions reporting on the foundation of Kār Tukultī-Ninurta. In them there is no trace of a desire to redefine the role of the capital. On the contrary, the I-narrator, that is, the fictive voice of Tukultī-Ninurta, repeatedly calls Aššur *alija*, "my city", and URU *ba-it ilāni*, "'desired object' of the gods".

Turning to the architectonic evidence, the existence of public and cultic buildings in Kār Tukultī-Ninurta is alone not enough to imply a consistent transfer of political and religious affairs from Aššur to the new foundation. The vast palace complex in Kār Tukultī-Ninurta is labeled "palace of Tukultī-Ninurta" in a number of inscribed mud-bricks.[10] In addition, the royal inscriptions explicitly call the palace *šubat šarrutija*, "my royal dwelling" (A.0.78.22, 48-51; IM 5781). At the same time, however, the king had a palace in Aššur as well, the so-called "New Palace". Tukultī-Ninurta had it built at the beginning of his reign on a 29.000 m^2 terrace (Andrae 1977: 162-163). Subsequently, the "New Palace" underwent numerous modifications and was kept in use continuously until after the victory over Kaštiliaš (Eickhoff 1985:48). The same is the case for the palace of Šulmānu-ašarēd in Aššur, which continued to be restored and used on a regular basis (A.0.78.6). This proliferation of royal palaces, perhaps an index of an administrative boom, does not seem to suggest in any way a seclusion of royal affairs within the walls of Kār Tukultī-Ninurta's inner district.

Less than one hundred metres southeast of the palace complex in Kār Tukultī-Ninurta, a temple complex of elegant architecture but relatively modest size has been found (Fig. 5). It was surrounded by a precinct and characterized by the presence of a "miniature ziqqurrat" (Lloyd 1978: 183). At the ziqqurrat's base, a series of rooms was arranged around a central court. The main cult room was placed on the line of conjunction with the ziqqurrat, and had an elaborated *sancta sanctorum* built in part into the mud-brick massive. A singular drainage installation and various niches with plinths were recovered in other rooms as well, suggesting that religious practices also went on outside the main cult room. A tablet found within the ziqqurrat declares that the temple had been built *ana šubat ^{d}aššur*, "for the dwelling of Aššur" (A.0.78.23, 113) and that the ziqqurrat should serve *ana nemēd ^{d}aššur*, "as a cult basis for Aššur" (A.0.78.23, 116). Along the same scheme, a recurring passage in the royal inscriptions[11] states that Kār Tukultī-Ninurta was built as a "cult centre" (*mahaza*) for Aššur, in fulfilment of a direct request of the god. Based on this choice of vocabulary, it has been argued that the temple in Kār Tukultī-Ninurta attempted to supplant the traditional pivotal religious role of the temple of Aššur (Klengel 1961: 74; Eickhoff 1985: 49, fn. 144; Mayer 1988: 156). Yet relevant facts speak against this view. First of all, Tukultī-Ninurta had important renovation works done at the temple of Aššur in Aššur (A.0.78.1003), installing goods looted from Babylonia there (Lambert 1957-58: 45, l. 12-19). Furthermore, the architecture of the temple

---

9   A.0.89.10; White Obelisk: A.0.89.7, 34-35.
10   The inscribed mud-bricks excavated by Bachmann are catalogued in Eickhoff 1955 as finds T 158, T 204, T 304, T 383, T 384, T 390, T 393.
11   A.0.78.22, 39-40; A.0.78.23, 88-90; A.0.78.24, 41-42; A.0.78.25, 9-10.

in Kār Tukultī-Ninurta does not fit with the role of a great institution. The perimeter of the ziqqurrat measures virtually exactly half that of the Aššur temple in Aššur,[12] the outline of which would have been visible on the horizon. Economic infrastructures such as storerooms and workrooms are not documented (Miglus 1993: 204). The compact layout of the temple is characterized by many doorways, a low-level seclusion of the cult places, and the cult niches in open view. The main cult room had a three-fold "multiple direct access", (Sanders 1990) recalling later throne rooms, designed to allow and control a flow of visitors. A close assessment of these aspects suggests that the temple cannot have been but a branch of the main Aššur temple, probably used in festivals and processions (Miglus 1993: 199-204).

Finally, textual evidence demonstrates that Kār Tukultī-Ninurta was administered by a bureaucratic cadre partially coterminous with that of Aššur, thus speaking against a political fracture. Kār Tukultī-Ninurta had the status of *pāḫutu*, or "administrative district" (Postgate 1995: 5; Jakob 2003: 14-15, 111-131). During the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta, the appointed "district governor" (*bēl pāḫēte)* was Uṣur-namkūr-šarre,[13] who is known to have kept personal belongings in the royal palace in Aššur[14] and to have managed relevant bureaucratic tasks in Aššur throughout this period, including his bearing of the title of *līmu* (year-eponimy) at some point in the latter quarter of the king's tenure (Freydank 1991: 42-45, 52). This was a political office connected with the major aristocratic families and with the city of Aššur as a governmental body, perhaps even with the function of counterbalancing the king's power (Larsen 1976: 217). Libūr-zānin-Aššur, Šulmānu-šuma-uṣur, and Aššur-kāšid are three further examples of individuals in charge of relevant administrative positions in Kār Tukultī-Ninurta (Freydank 1974: 56; 1991: 171; Fischer 1999: 134) who were also appointed *līmu* in Aššur (Freydank 1991: 42-45). There is written evidence proving that Libūr-zānin-Aššur was in charge of administrative posts in Kār Tukultī-Ninurta and in Aššur at the same time (Freydank 1991: 52-53, 56). The same is true for other individuals as well, e.g. for a certain Aššur-šuma-iddina (Freydank 1974: 59, l. 16'; 1991: 56). Furthermore, administrative documents on grain provisions coming in and out Kār Tukultī-Ninurta (Freydank 1974: 75; Jakob 2003: 91), and tablets registering building works in Kār Tukultī-Ninurta (MARV II 17 quoted in Jakob 2003: 33, 120, 226, 524) are known to have been compiled and stored in Aššur.

All in all, the written evidence gives the impression that the major kinship and political pressure groups of the old capital city were involved in the administration of the new foundation, and did so according to a system of political cooperation with the royal house. This fits well with the archaeological evidence, which, as argued above, does not seem to provide any evidence of institutional "disembeddment".

12   31 x 31 m vs 60.6 x 62.2 m.
13   More on this very important person in Jakob 2003: 88, 120.
14   See the potsherd Ass. 12674, grave 175, incised with his name and the *Fundkomplex* Ass. 13058, perhaps his personal archive.

CONCLUSIONS

The foundation of Kār Tukultī-Ninurta was a project with a long building history. It began in the first half of the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta, perhaps as early as the fourth of his 37 years of regency, and it ended with the king's death in 1207 BCE. After that, the city continued to be inhabited, but lost its representative role as a royal residence. Since the building works stretched over decades, the project as a whole cannot be seen as ephemeral, or as the consequence of a single political event or situation. The political history, however, left its traces on the city-plan: as inscriptions show, particularly the aftermath of the sack of Babylon around 1225 BCE inaugurated a new building phase there, including the expansion of the royal palace and the erection of a temple. Conversely, the city-plan left its traces on political-historical writing: the "Chronicle P", a Babylonian text dating to the beginning of the 7th century BCE, transfigures Kār Tukultī-Ninurta into a death trap for the king after whom it was named:[15]

> "[after the conquest and sack of Babylon] Ashur-nasir-apli, son of Tukultī-Ninurta
> […] and the officers of Assyria rebelled against him, removed him from his throne,
> shut him up in Kār Tukultī-Ninurta in a room and killed him."
> (Grayson 1975: 176, IV 10-11)

In spite of the ominous role that the city plays in the passage, Kār Tukultī-Ninurta was not a "disembedded capital" conceived in opposition to Aššur. Rather, it was built on political synergies involving high officials and bureaucrats who were active in both cities at the same time.

The foundation of Kār Tukultī-Ninurta required the mobilization of large human and material resources on a long-term basis. The reasons behind this enterprise cannot but be manifold (Novák 1999: 121-122), but what was the real *causa movens*? The project offered advantages in terms of increasing royal prestige and legitimizing the king's rule, as well as in terms of economic investment. Tukultī-Ninurta praised himself as "the one who shepherded his land in green pastures" (A.0.78.23, 6-7), and "the one who, during his period of sovereignty, made plenteous produce abundant" (A.0.78.23, 18-19). Kār Tukultī-Ninurta was clearly an expression of this program for the increase of agricultural production in the Assyrian homeland. The city was built on a plain previously lying waste. The king "transformed the plain into irrigated fields" (e.g., A.0.78.23, 105-106) diverting the waters of the Tigris into an imposing irrigation system, a milestone in Assyrian engineering (Bagg 2000: 36-44). Thank to these hydraulic works, hundreds of hectares of wasteland were "reclaimed" for agricultural exploitation, thus averting some of the problems caused by a growth in the population (Novák 1999: 122). The key to understanding Kār Tukultī-Ninurta is probably better sought in this direction rather than in positing a role involving a political opposition to Aššur.

---

15   The chronicle is a work of literature and should not be taken as a reliable account of facts: see in particular Röllig 1967 and Mayer 1988: 156.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Andrae, W.
1977   Das wiedererstandene Assur. 2ⁿᵈ edition revised and completed by B. Hrouda,
          München.
Andrae, W./W. Bachmann
1914   Aus den Berichten über die Grabungen in Tulul Akir (Kar Tukulti-Ninib): Oktober
          1913 bis März 1914, Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 53, 41-57.
Baffi, F.
1997   Tukulti-Ninurta I, re costruttore, Contributi e Materiali di Archeologia Orientale 6, 7-26.
Bagg, A.
2000   Assyrische Wasserbauten: Landwirtschaftliche Wasserbauten in Kernland Assyriens
          zwischen der 2. und der 1. Hälfte des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr., Mainz am Rhein.
Boese, J./G. Wilhelm
1979   Aššur-dān I., Ninurta-apil-ekur und die mittelassyrische Chronologie, Wiener
          Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 71, 19-38.
Deller, K./A. Fadhil/K.M. Ahmad
1994   Two new inscriptions dealing with construction work in Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta,
          Baghdader Mitteilungen 25, 459-472.
Dittmann, R.
1990   Ausgrabungen der Freien Universität Berlin in Assur und Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta in
          den Jahren 1986-89, Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 122, 157-
          171.
1997a   Die inneren und äusseren Grenzen der mittelassyrischen Residenzstadt Kar-
          Tukulti-Ninurta/Nord-Iraq. In: M. Jansen/P. Johanek (eds.), Grenzen und Stadt,
          Veröffentlichungen der Interdisziplinären Arbeitsgruppe Stadtkulturforschung,
          vol. 2. Aachen, 101-115.
1997b   Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta. In: E.M. Meyers (ed.), Oxford encyclopedia of archaeology
          in the Near East, New York/Oxford, 269-271.
Dittmann, R./T. Eickhoff/R. Schmitt/R. Stengele/S. Thürwächter
1988   Untersuchungen in Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta (Tulūl al-ʿAqar) 1986, Mitteilungen der
          Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 120, 97-138.
Dolce, R.
1997   The city of Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta: cosmic characteristics and topographical aspects.
          In: H. Waetzoldt/H. Hauptmann (eds.), Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten. XXXIXᵉ
          Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Heidelberg, 6.-10. Juli 1992. Heidelberger
          Studien zum Alten Orient, Heidelberg, 251-258.
Eickhoff, T.
1985   Kār Tukulti Ninurta: eine mittelassyrische Kult- und Residenzstadt, Berlin.
Fischer, C.
1999   Elitezugehörigkeit und Harmonieverständnis. Zu den mittelassyrischen
          Siegelabrollungen aus Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta, Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-
          Gesellschaft 131, 115-154.
Freydank, H.
1974   Zwei Verpflegungstexte aus Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta, Altorientalische Forschungen 1,
          55-90.

Freydank, H.
1976-80 Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta: (A) philologisch. In: E. Ebeling/B. Meissner/D.O. Edzard (eds.),
         Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie 5, Berlin, 455-456.
1991   Beiträge zur mittelassyrischen Chronologie und Geschichte, Berlin.
Galter, H.D.
1988   28.800 Hethiter. Journal of Cuneiform Studies 40, 217-235.
Gilibert, A.
2001   Kār Tukultī-Ninurta: The building program and early history of an Assyrian ville
         neuve, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg: Unpublished MA thesis.
Grayson, A.K.
1971   The early development of Assyrian monarchy, Ugarit Forschungen 3, 311-319.
1975   Assyrian and Babylonian chronicles, New York.
1987   Assyrian rulers of the third and second millennia BC (to 1115 BC), Toronto.
Harrak, A.
1987   Assyria and Hanigalbat: a historical reconstruction of bilateral relations from the middle
         of the fourteenth to the end of the twelfth centuries B.C., Hildesheim/New York.
Jakob, S.
2003   Mittelassyrische Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur: Untersuchungen, Leiden.
Joffe, A.H.
1998   Disembedded Capitals in Western Asian Perspective, Comparative Studies in
         Society and History 40 (3), 549-580.
Klengel, H.
1961   Tukulti-Ninurta I., König von Assyrien. Das Altertum 7, 67-77.
Kühne, C.
1982   Politische Szenerie und internationale Beziehungen Vorderasiens um die Mitte des
         2. Jahrtausends vor Chr. (zugleich ein Konzept der Kurzchronologie). Mit einer
         Zeittafel. In: H.-J. Nissen/J. Renger (eds.), Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn.
         Politische und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen im Alten Orient vom 4. bis 1.
         Jahrtausend v. Chr., Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 1. Berlin, 203-264.
Kuhrt, A.
1995   The ancient Near East, London/New York.
Lambert, W.G.
1957-58 Three unpublished fragments of the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic, Archiv für Orient-
         forschung 18, 38-51.
Larsen, M.T.
1976   The Old Assyrian city-state and its colonies, Copenhagen.
Liverani, M.
1981   Critique of variants and the titulary of Sennacherib. In: F.M. Fales (ed.), Assyrian
         Royal Inscriptions: new horizons in literary, ideological, and historical analysis.
         Papers of a symposium held in Cetone (Siena), June 26-28, 1980, 225-257. Orientis
         Antiqui Collection 17, Rome.
1988   Antico Oriente: storia, società, economia, Rome.
Lloyd, S.
1978   The archaeology of Mesopotamia: from the Old Stone Age to the Persian conquest,
         London.

Machinist, P.B.
1978   The Epic of Tukulti-Ninurta I: a study in Middle Assyrian literature, Yale University: unpublished PhD Dissertation.

Matthiae, P.
1997   La storia dell'arte dell'Oriente Antico: I primi imperi e i principati del Ferro 1600-700 a.C., Milano.

Mayer, W.
1988   Der babylonische Feldzug Tukultī-Ninurtas I. von Assyrien, Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico 5 (Festschrift für Oswald Loretz zum 60. Geburtstag), Rom, 143-161.

Miglus, P.A
1993   Architektur der Festhäuser in Assur und Uruk sowie des Aššur-tempels in Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta, Baghdader Mitteilungen 24, 195-215.

Novák, M.
1999   Herrschaftsform und Stadtbaukunst: Programmatik im mesopotamischen Residenz-stadtbau von Agade bis Surra-man-ra, Saarbrücken.

Postgate, J.N.
1973   Some remarks on conditions in the Assyrian countryside, Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient 17 (3), 223-241.
1992   The Land of Assur and the Yoke of Assur, World Archaeology 23 (3 Archaeology of Empires), 247-263.
1995   Assyria: the Home Provinces. In: M. Liverani (ed.), Neo-Assyrian Geography, Rome, 1-17.

Röllig, W.
1967   Die Glaubwürdigkeit der Chronik P. Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient 1 (Festschrift Falkenstein), 173-184.

Sanders, D.
1990   Behavioral conventions and archaeology: methods for the analysis of ancient architecture. In: S. Kent (ed.), Domestic architecture and the use of space: an interdisciplinary cross-cultural study, Cambridge, 43-72.

Sarre, F.P.Th./E.E. Herzfeld
1911   Archäologische reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-gebiet, Berlin.

Tadmor, H.
1981   History and ideology in the Assyrian royal inscriptions. In: F.M. Fales (ed.), Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: new horizons in literary, ideological, and historical analysis. Papers of a symposium held in Cetone (Siena), June 26-28, 1980, Rome, 13-33.

Weidner, E.
1939-41 Studien zur Zeitgeschichte Tukulti-Ninurtas I. und seiner Nachfolger, Archiv für Orientforschung 13, 109-124.
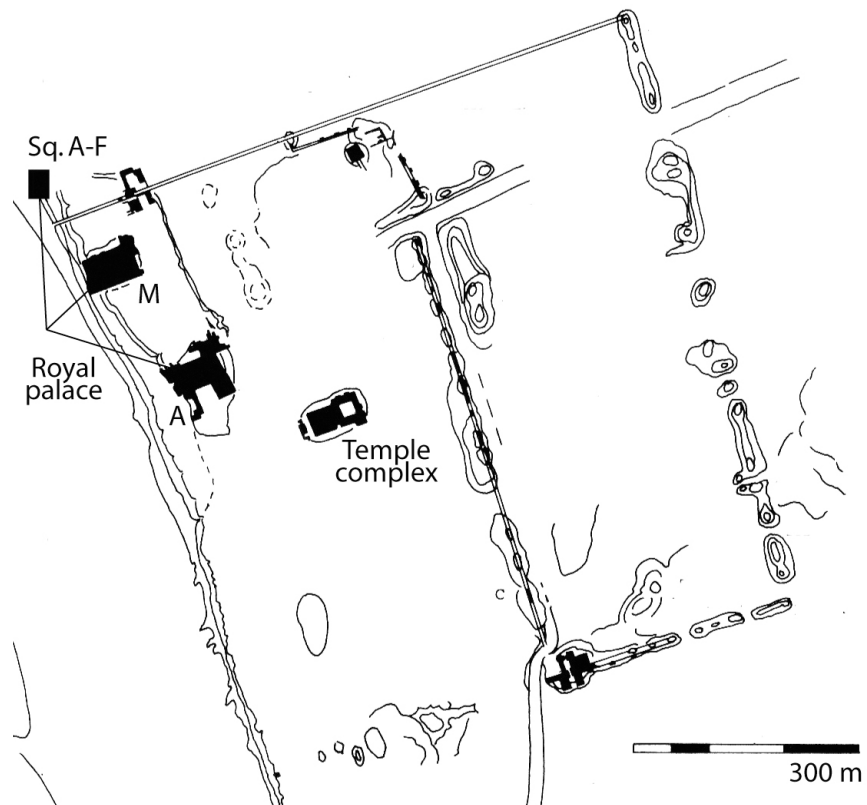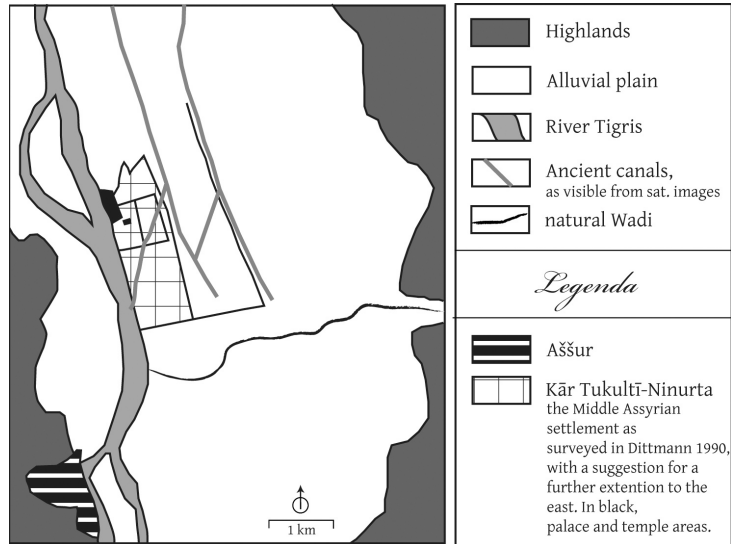
Fig. 1:   Aššur and Kār
            Tukultī-Ninurta

Highlands

Alluvial plain

River Tigris

Ancient canals,
as visible from sat. images

natural Wadi

Legenda

Aššur

Kār Tukultī-Ninurta
the Middle Assyrian
settlement as
surveyed in Dittmann 1990,
with a suggestion for a
further extention to the
east. In black,
palace and temple areas.

1 km

Sq. A-F

M

Royal
palace

A

Temple
complex

c

300 m

Fig. 2:   Kār Tukultī-Ninurta: inner district with buildings cited in text
            Source: Eickhoff 1985: Pl. 1

Fig. 3: Mound A: simplified sketch
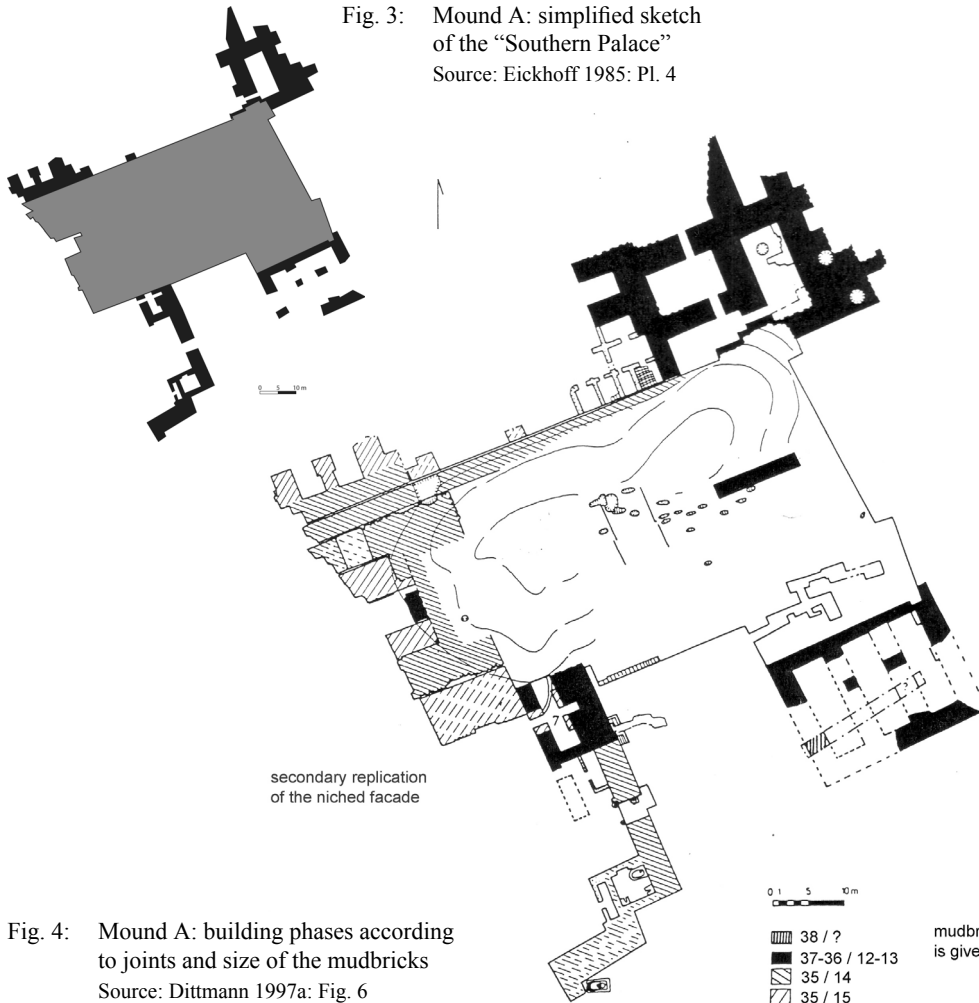of the "Southern Palace"
Source: Eickhoff 1985: Pl. 4

secondary replication
of the niched facade

Fig. 4: Mound A: building phases according
to joints and size of the mudbricks
Source: Dittmann 1997a: Fig. 6

38 / ?
37-36 / 12-13
35 / 14
35 / 15
mud-brick terrace
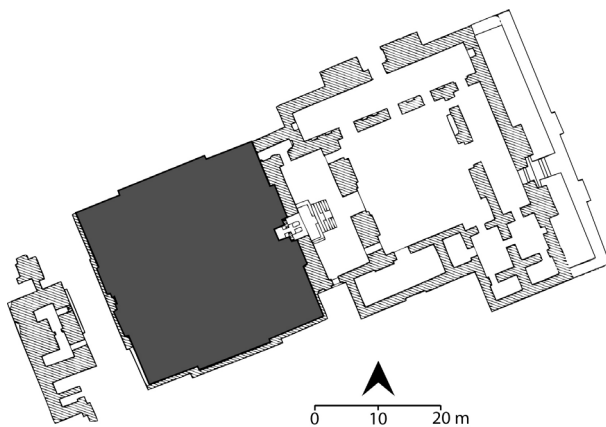later additions

mudbrick size
is given in cm

Fig. 5: Ziqqurrat and temple of Aššur
in Kār Tukultī-Ninurta
Source: Drawing by F. Nigro in
Matthiae 1997: 24

0 10 20 m