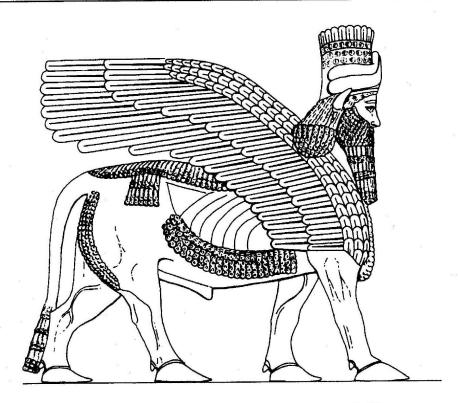
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# Dur-Sharrukin, the Royal City of Sargon II, King of Assyria\*

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L'ancien site de Dur-Sharrukin (« la forteresse de Sargon ») était la nouvelle cité royale du roi assyrien Sargon II (721-705) au huitième siècle av. J.-C. À cet endroit, sur un tertre élevé, s'élevaient le complexe résidentiel royal et les temples. Sur le monticule adjacent inférieur, se trouvaient les résidences d'importants officiers assyriens. Un mur élevé encerclait l'enceinte de la ville sur quatre côtés et sur chaque côté du mur s'ouvrait des portes conduisant à l'intérieur de la cité. Après la mort prématurée de Sargon II, les rois assyriens successifs ne résidèrent pas à Dur-Sharrukin.

Au début de 1843, Paul Émile Botta, le consul français de Mossoul, commença à explorer le tertre surélevé occupé par le village de Khorsabad. Il déblaya une partie d'un mur de pierres décoré de reliefs sculptés et d'inscriptions. Le gouvernement français autorisa les fouilles de Botta à Khorsabad. En 1844, il mit au jour le palais de Sargon II. L'artiste Eugène-Napoléon Flandin dressa les plans architecturaux et les dessins qui furent publiés plus tard. Quelques-unes des trouvailles furent envoyés en France et sont présentement au Musée du Louvre. En 1853, Victor Place étendit les fouilles de Botta et en entreprit de nouvelles. Gabriel Tranchand consigna les activités et les découvertes des fouilles par un procédé photographique appelé calotypes. Une équipe américaine d'archéologues de l'Oriental Institute de l'Université de Chicago explora l'ancien site en 1927. Les fouilles actuelles commencèrent en 1929 et se poursuivirent jusqu'en 1935.

L'ancien site restitue les styles artistiques des différentes formes d'art qui embellissaient les structures du complexe royal et de la ville principale. Parmi les sculptures de pierre qui furent envoyées en France se trouvent deux figures humaines de héros, chacune agrippant un petit lion rugissant. Originalement, un taureau androcéphale ailé se tenait de chaque côté de ces figures héroïques. D'autres sculptures de pierre monumentales qui arrivèrent à Paris étaient constitués de taureaux androcéphales ailés qui ornaient originalement l'entrée et l'extérieur des portes de la ville. L'équipe américaine découvrit la base du trône en pierre dont les deux côtés étaient gravés de scènes de bataille. L'une des dalles de pierre fut amenée à l'Oriental Institute tandis que l'autre fut installée au Musée iraqien. L'équipe américaine mit aussi au jour des seuils de pierre décorés et des peintures murales ornementales toujours en place. Les reliefs qui ornent les murs des appartements royaux présentent des campagnes militaires, des processions et des banquets. Une vaste et inhabituelle composition décrit le transport du bois par terre et par mer. Les encadrements de portes étaient décorés par des figures gardiennes incluant des génies sans aile ou avec deux ou quatre ailes.

En somme, Dur-Sharrukin, la cité royale de Sargon II, reflète un haut standard de réalisation de par son architecture et son art. Comme l'ont démontré les archives archéologiques, la force artistique qui s'y constate reposait sur une unité de conception et de production.

#### Introduction

This paper surveys the history of the ancient Assyrian site of Dur-Sharrukin ("the fortress of Sargon"). It was the new royal city of the 8th century BCE king of Assyria, Sargon II (721-705), which was built at a location about 18 km northeast of the city of Nineveh. In that place Sargon II had his residential complex and temples constructed upon a high mound (fig. 1). On the adjacent lower mound were residences for Assyrian officials of high rank (fig. 2), and the remainder of the city was planned for the inhabitants of the new city. A high wall enclosed the entire city area on four sides, each side

containing gateways leading into the city. The construction of a city in a location where there had been none previously was a most unusual event in the Neo-Assyrian period. It is therefore of interest to mention that, after the untimely death of Sargon II, later Assyrian kings did not occupy Dur-Sharrukin as their royal residence. Instead, they chose for the site of their new palace one of the two traditional Assyrian cities, Nineveh and Nimrud.

The modern discovery of Dur-Sharrukin is another topic that is surveyed. The exploration of the ancient site marks the beginning of European excavation in Mesopotamia. Several

<sup>\*</sup> This article is an expanded version of a paper read in Toronto on September 28, 2002, at the symposium of The Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies. The photographs of the extant wall reliefs used in the present article are reproduced by permission of the Musée du Louvre, Paris.

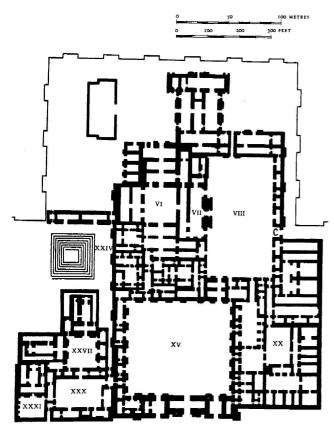


Fig. 1.

Plan of the palace at Dur-Sharrukin (Khorsabad). After Albenda,
1986, map 3 (French section, p. 196).

independent excavations were undertaken during the 19th and 20th centuries by French and American teams. The exploration and excavation of Dur-Sharrukin is recorded in several publications, which contain descriptions, drawings, architectural plans, and photographs of the variety of objects that were unearthed. Among the more notable discoveries of the material remains are the stone reliefs that lined the walls of the many rooms of the royal residence. Many of the reliefs were discovered in the 19th century in fragile condition and, therefore, were not removed except for a number of the better-preserved examples that were sent to France. Since the first European discovery of the ancient site occurred before the invention of photography, the subject matter on all the exposed reliefs were carefully recorded in line drawings. These drawings furnish the pictorial record showing the find spots of the many wall reliefs and the arrangement of the compositions that were carved on the stone slabs. The themes displayed on the reliefs vary and include narrative scenes, processions, religious figure-types, and mythological beings.

#### **Dur-Sharrukin**

In 717 BCE, during his fifth year of reign, the Assyrian king Sargon II decided to build a new city at the command of the gods and the prompting of his heart. He named the city, Dur-Sharrukin. In the year 706, Sargon II entered the city and took up abode in his new palace. At that time, he made offerings to the gods and instituted a feast with music for the invited foreign guests and officials of Assyria. In his prayers to the gods, Sargon II hopes that he will have an abundance of pleasure and joy, well being of body and soul, and attain old age. It is

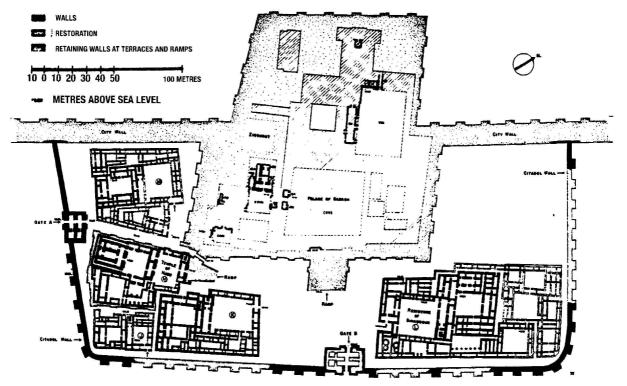


Fig. 2.
Plan of the citadel showing the palace and private residences. From Wilson, 1995, fig. 11.

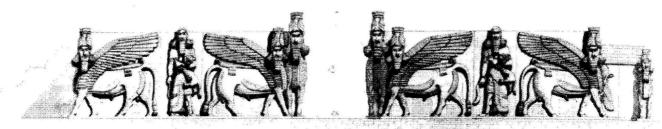


Fig. 3.
Original Drawing. Façade n, north-west wall A-B (section). From Albenda, 1986, pl. 16.

recorded that one year later, in 705, Sargon II was killed during a military campaign.2 Shortly thereafter, the newly constructed palace in the still unfinished city of Dur-Sharrukin was abandoned and the Assyrian king's son and successor, Sennacherib, chose Nineveh as the site for his new palace. Later Assyrian kings avoided using Sargon II's palace at Dur-Sharrukin. Consequently, the royal residence was not altered or modified in the later periods of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. This unusual circumstance has provided the modern historian with an exceptional example of late eighth century palace architecture, to which are added the various temples, adjacent residential buildings and gateways that were uncovered in the city of Dur-Sharrukin. The ancient site also furnishes the artistic styles of the different kinds of media designed to embellish those structures that comprised the royal complex and capital city. In this regard, it may be noted that the architectural and artistic achievements of Sargon II are aptly described in his royal inscriptions. The Assyrian king states in part,

"Palaces of ivory, maple, boxwood, mušukkaniwood, cedar, cypress, juniper, pine and pistachio, the 'Palace Without a Rival' I built. I built their brick work, with great beams of cedars I roofed them. Door-leaves of cypress and maple I bound with a sheathing of shining bronze and set them up in their gates. Mighty mountain sheep as mighty protecting deities, I constructed out of great blocks of mountain stone. Great slabs of limestone I sculpted thereon and had them set up around their interior walls; I made them objects of astonishment. Reliefs of the towns and of the enemy lands, which I had captured through the might of Ashur, I used as adornments in those palaces, thanks to the sculptor's art".3

The modern discovery of the ancient site of Dur-Sharrukin begins in 1843. Early in that year Paul Emile Botta, the French consul to Mosul, began to explore the site of Kouyunjik, ancient Nineveh, situated on the eastern side of the Tigris River, opposite Mosul. Except for his finds of small, insignificant bricks and stones, Botta had little success in discovering evidence of an ancient site. Sometime later, a native brought to Botta several stones with cuneiform inscriptions that came from the village of Khorsabad. Botta proceeded to Khorsabad and during his preliminary explorations there, uncovered portions of a wall lined with carved stone reliefs and inscriptions.

The success of his explorations is illustrated by several of the sketches that he made, which were sent to France.4 These sketches illustrate a scene of battle, the Assyrian king in his chariot, portions of human figures, and plans of sections of walls with sculptured reliefs. Subsequently, the French government authorised Botta's excavation at Khorsabad. The modern village, which was built on the high mound, was soon dismantled and relocated elsewhere. Thereafter, Botta excavated the high mound and exposed the palace of Sargon II. At the start of 1844 the artist Eugene-Napoleon Flandin<sup>5</sup> was sent by the French government to make the architectural plans and the final drawings of the sculptures exposed by Botta. His drawings furnish the visual record of Botta's discoveries. They include the architectural plan of the palace on the high mound, the compositions of the wall reliefs showing their actual condition and restoration, and a variety of small objects. Flandin's drawings include several panoramic views of the sculpted facades of the walls, both as uncovered in situ and restored elevations. Among the most impressive of those drawings is one that shows the stone reliefs along the 135 m length of the north-east side of walls restored to their places, which extends across facade n, room 10, and facade N.6 The cuneiform inscriptions that were carved on the slabs of the wall reliefs and on the threshold slabs were also carefully recorded. After Botta completed his excavations later that year, the ancient site was abandoned and exposed to the elements.

Examples of the wall reliefs and small finds were later shipped to Paris, and eventually placed on view in the Louvre Museum. Among the monumental stone reliefs that were sent to France are two hero-type human figures, each of which formed part of a heraldic composition (fig. 3). Originally, a winged human-headed bull stood on either side of the respective human figure. One heraldic figure was discovered on the wall adjacent to the main entrance leading to the royal complex (fig. 4), and the other heraldic figure was discovered on the wall adjacent to the entrance leading to the throne room (fig. 5). Each of the two figures is about 4 meters in height. Of interest, the two heroes are not entirely identical in appearance or dress. One hero has large curls reaching to the level of his shoulders, and the other hero has the common hairstyle associated with the Assyrians. Each figure grips a snarling lion, which is drawn on a small scale. The presence of these lions adds symbolic significance to the heroic character of the human figures. The animals represent the enemies and vassals



Fig. 4. Colossal human figure holding a lion. Façade A. Musée du Louvre AO 19861.



Fig. 5.
Colossal human figure
holding a lion. Façade n,
north-west wall A-B.
Musée du Louvre AO 19862.

of Assyria who are held in constant control by the more powerful Assyrian ruler in the person of the respective heroes. In 1853 renewed excavations at Khorsabad were undertaken by Victor Place, then French consul to Mosul. He expanded Botta's excavations and prepared a plan of the palace with its many courts and surrounding rooms. His main efforts seem to have been centred on the architectural aspects of the royal city. However the architect Felix Thomas,8 who worked for about two months at Khorsabad, drew the final plans and made several precise drawings of portions of the architecture before he departed to Europe. Place also uncovered several city gates along the outer walls leading into the city. Some of his excavation activities and discoveries are recorded in photographs made by Gabriel Tranchand, a civil engineer who assisted Place.9 These photographs, called calotypes, furnish images of the discoveries that were made at the time, and they represent the first use of photography at a Near Eastern archaeological excavation. Among Tranchand's photographs that illustrate how some of the excavations were conducted, one remarkable group of photographs shows the gradual uncovering of one of the outer gates to the city, labelled gate 3.10 The exposed entranceway was decorated with a pair of huge winged human-headed bulls on the lateral walls, and above the gateway was a frieze of decorated glazed bricks that framed the archway. The sculptured bulls must be the socalled "mountain-sheep" described in the text of Sargon II. Victor Place notes that as many as twenty-four pairs of winged bulls were discovered, each of which was carved from

a single block of stone from 3.50 to 5.80 meters in height and about 1.30 meters wide. It may be observed that in keeping with earlier Assyrian tradition, there are two distinct views of the winged human-headed bull. Viewed from the side the animal is drawn in profile and moves at a slow gait. Viewed from the front the bovine animal stands at rest. In this instance two legs are displayed. Consequently, the winged human-headed bull is actually carved with five legs (fig. 6).

It is a tragedy of Assyrian archaeological discoveries to learn that, after Place's departure from Mosul, most of the monumental works of art and smaller objects that were placed on rafts to be transported to Basra and eventually to Paris were sunk in the Tigris River. This unfortunate event occurred during an attack against the French convoy by rebellious local tribesmen.11 Thus the year 1855 marks the end of French involvement in the excavations at Khorsabad. An American team of archaeologists from the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, undertook exploratory investigation of the ancient site in 1927. This decision was prompted by the discovery of several large fragmentary stones carved with cuneiform inscriptions and subject matter. They included the head of an Assyrian official, which at the time was being used as a chopping block for cutting wood. This slab was purchased and sent to the Oriental Institute Museum. The inhabitants of the village nearby were burning other slabs for lime. These occurrences prompted the archaeologists to organize the Khorsabad

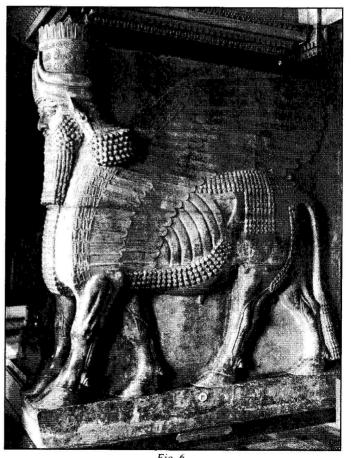


Fig. 6. Colossal Human-headed winged bull. Musée du Louvre AO 19857.

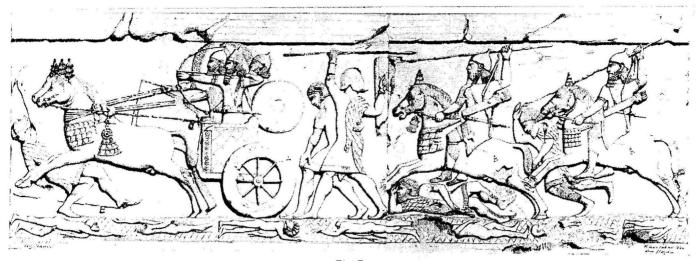


Fig. 7.
Original drawing of slabs 18-19, room 2. After Albenda 1986, pl. 121.

expedition of the Oriental Institute.12 Actual excavations began in 1929 and continued until 1935. The expedition reopened a few of the rooms in the royal palace, and excavated the throne room (labelled court VII). There, the stone throne base was discovered. It had several steps at the front and on each of its two sides was a carved scene. The compositions on both sides illustrate scenes of battle. 13 One scene depicts a battle in a mountainous region. In the other scene Sargon II stands in his chariot, and advancing toward him are Assyrian soldiers. On the ground in front of the horses is a pile of severed heads. The former carved slab was brought to the Oriental Institute, and the latter one was placed in the Iraq Museum. Scattered on the floor of the throne room and also in one bathroom were plaster fragments of wall and ceiling paintings. Many of the painted fragments show repeats of decorative motifs and evidence of human figures. The American team also uncovered a complex of temples built around a large central court and several private residences, in which were found decorated stone thresholds and ornamental paintings still adhering to the walls. One fine restored example of a wall painting from residence K was prepared and published in color.14 Architectural plans, photographs, and drawings of their findings were made by members of the American expedition and published, subsequently. Wall reliefs and other examples of art in stone, metal, and brick were divided between the Iraqi government and the Oriental Institute. However, with much difficulty the expedition did manage to recover, transport and restore one of the heraldic winged human-headed bulls that had fallen to the ground and broken in several large fragments. It is especially notable that this huge bull is carved with its head turned towards the viewer, as are the hero-type figures discussed previously.15 This aspect of the frontally turned head tends to intensify the confrontation between the viewer and those figures comprising the heraldic group. Except for a brief investigation of the site by the Iraqi government in 1938, no further extensive, systematic archaeological excavation has taken place at Khorsabad.

#### Wall Reliefs

The works of art designed for the embellishment of Sargon II's royal residence and other areas in the city of Dur-Sharrukin belong to different categories of production. They include wall reliefs, wall paintings, decorated glazed bricks, and large and small objects made from various materials that include bronze, clay, and stone. Not to be overlooked are the numerous examples of cuneiform inscriptions that were carved on threshold slabs, wall reliefs, and the winged humanheaded bulls. These inscriptions give a detailed account of the various military campaigns undertaken by Sargon II, the construction of temples dedicated to various deities, and the founding of his new royal city at Dur-Sharrukin. Turning to the first European discovery of the wall reliefs, Paul Emil Botta observed that, upon exposing the various chambers in the royal residence, the wall reliefs were generally in fragile condition. This condition was due to the extensive fire that destroyed the palace sometime in antiquity. The event most probably occurred when the Assyrian Empire ended in military defeat shortly before the end of the 7th century BCE. Botta realised the need for a permanent record of the discoveries, and it was therefore necessary to make drawings of the subject matter depicted on the reliefs, soon after they were exposed.

Eugene Flandin's drawings show that in several rooms of the palace the narrative scenes on the stone slabs are arranged in two registers, separated by a band of cuneiform inscriptions. The three registers total about three meters in width, and they extend around the four walls of the chamber, interrupted by one or more entranceways. For example, the drawings of the reliefs in a number of rooms illustrate battle scenes against enemy towns, several of which are identified by cuneiform captions. When one compares the captions with the royal inscriptions, it is evident that the Assyrian military campaigns in eastern territories are represented in room 2 (fig. 7), and the military campaigns in western territories are represented in room 5 (fig. 8). <sup>16</sup> These scenes occur in the lower register, and

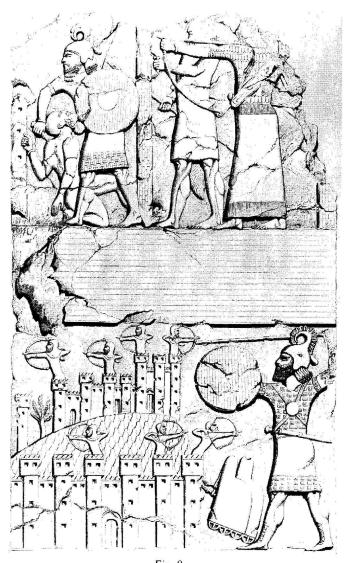
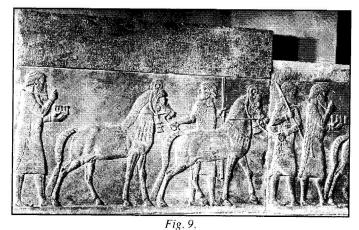


Fig. 8.
Published version of original drawing of slab 7, room 5.
After Albenda, 1986, pl. 96.

generally in the upper register as well. However, in room 2 a scene of banqueting is represented in the upper register of one wall. This scene may represent a military feast after a successful campaign. In room 7, a small room with a single entrance, a similar scene of banqueting occurs in the upper register of the reliefs that extended across all four walls. In the lower register is represented a peaceful and somewhat idyllic scene. Assyrian soldiers on horseback and on foot move through a tree-lined forest, and several individuals hunt small animals.17 At the start of the general clockwise movement of the composition is the Assyrian king in his chariot, followed by three officials on horseback, and leading the chariot are several royal guards on foot. The idyllic activity is completed by an unusual landscape that consists of a building by a lake and an altar on a high mound. Room 7 was re-excavated by the Oriental Institute expedition, which found the wall reliefs carved with the landscape scene mostly in situ but in damaged condition. Several reliefs were salvaged and soon after divided between the Oriental Institute Museum and the Iraq Museum. Another room that was re-excavated by the Oriental Institute expedition is that labelled room 10, actually a long corridor that connected two courts. It showed two parallel processions on the upper and lower registers, separated by a wide band of inscriptions. The subjects in the processions consist of foreign peoples from the west (upper register) and the east (lower register). The carved reliefs on the upper register were mostly destroyed when first discovered by Botta in 1844; however, he found that many of the reliefs in the lower register were better preserved, and one section in exceptionally fine condition was sent to France and placed in the Louvre Museum (fig. 9).

The wall reliefs lining several other rooms of the palace, entranceways, and the large open courts show figures in one register, reaching nearly to the top of the 3 m high stone slab, either singly or in processional groupings. One category of figures is the benevolent, protective genie. Among the religious-type guardian figures include genies with four or two wings. Their divine aspect is shown by the horned headdress, which is worn only by deities. The genies hold in their right and left hands, respectively, a cone and bucket. A characteristic feature of the wings is that the upper one is smaller and curves upward, while the lower, larger wing curves downward. An unusual guardian figure is the bird-headed genie with two wings. The bird of prey probably represents the eagle. Large-size bird-headed genies lined the walls of several entrances, and they were also depicted on small slabs adjacent to other entrances of the palace (fig. 10).20 There are also wingless persons whose bent right arm is raised and the palm is open. In the lowered left hand is a plant that has been identified as opium poppies or pomegranates. These personages are thought to be genies of lesser rank, although it has also been suggested that they are priests. Characteristic of this figure-type is the broad headband decorated with rosette disks. Another similar figure clasps a small goat or ibex to his chest. In his left hand is a flowering branch that consists of an open lotus between closed buds. Other wall reliefs presently in sev-



Wall relief. Foreigners leading two horses. Room 10, slabs 6-7. Musée du Louvre AO 19887.



Fig. 10. Wall relief. Winged bird-headed genie. Musée du Louvre AO 19867.

eral museums originally formed part of the long processions of Assyrian officials and attendants that lined the walls of several outer courtvards, including the long wall labelled Façade L.21 At the start of the procession is the Assyrian king who faces a bearded person of high rank. Behind the official are other members of the royal court. There are also attendants who hold or carry a variety of large and small objects. Among the large objects is a wheeled throne decorated at the side with the figure of a horse and human figures (fig. 11). Other personages carry large cauldrons and stands to hold them. One attendant holds in each hand a lion-headed situla (fig. 12). What makes this object especially noteworthy is that an actual bronze example was discovered in a tomb burial at

the Phrygian site of Gordion, located in central Turkey. Also discovered in the same tomb was a second bronze situla but with a ram's head.<sup>22</sup>

Two Assyrian soldiers represented on the wall reliefs stride forward as they carry over their shoulders a small chariot, followed by another attendant who leads four small horses. In an article dealing with the subject of horses in Assyrian art (in press), I suggest that the small horses may represent the ancestral breed to the modern Caspian.23 The first European identification of this miniature breed was in 1962, when it was found to exist near the southern end of the Caspian Sea in modernday Iran. Thus the horses



Fig. 12. Wall relief. Assyrian attendant carries a handled lion's head situla in each hand. Façade L, slab 26. Musée du Louvre AO 19881.

depicted on the Assyrian wall relief may be part of the tribute sent to Sargon II by a chieftain of the Medes, named after several tribes who resided in Iran during that same period.

Finally, we turn to an unusual narrative composition that originally extended across five or more stone blocks that lined one wall of an outer court. The expansive scene depicts the land and sea transport of lumber (fig. 13).<sup>24</sup> The height of the scene is 3 meters and the total length may have been about 14 meters. Four of the stone slabs have been restored and assembled together, and are on permanent display in the Louvre Museum. The main movement of the subject matter is from left to right, with workers on land transporting logs to the



Fig. 11. Wall relief. Assyrian attendants carry over their shoulders a wheeled chair. Façade L, slab 27. Musée du Louvre AO 19882.

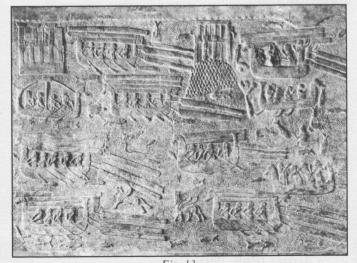


Fig. 13. Wall relief. One section of an extensive maritime scene. Façade n, south-east wall A-B, slabs 2-3. Musée du Louvre AO 19889-19890.

coast. The sea forms the textual backdrop patterned with clusters of striations, that interconnect in all directions. Oared ships are laden with lumber and traverse the large body of water, until land is reached. Other ships bearing a tall mast move counter to the main direction of the sea activities. Among the marine creatures of the sea appear turtles, semiaquatic lizards, crabs, sea snakes, and molluscs. There are also mythical beings. One mythical creature that appears twice in the waters of the sea is the man-fish, otherwise described as a merman. The other creatures are a winged bull that appears to be leaping forward, and the Assyrian-type winged bull in striding pose. Based upon textual data dealing with historical events related to the reign of Sargon II, I have concluded that the maritime scene describes the complex process of obtaining wood from distant places, which was sometimes accessible only by traversing the Mediterranean Sea.25

#### **Concluding Remarks**

In summation Dur-Sharrukin, the royal city of Sargon II, and especially his palace complex, reflects the high standard of achievement associated with its architecture and art. The technical skills displayed in the various artistic media, including sculpture, wall painting, glazed brick decoration, and small objects fashioned from various materials are readily apparent. We can only surmise and marvel at the talent and expertise that must have prevailed among the craftsmen employed in the royal workshops. Moreover, the visual displays of narrative scenes are oftentimes innovative. For example, the maritime scene marks the earliest known work in ancient Near Eastern art that depicts an historical event on a monumental scale. As evidenced by the archaeological record, we may conclude that, for the master architects and artists responsible for the planning and creation of Dur-Sharrukin, the overriding emphasis was upon a unity of concept and production.

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#### **ENDNOTES**

- <sup>1</sup> Albenda, 1986, pp. 34-37.
- <sup>2</sup> Millard, 1994, p. 60.
- <sup>3</sup> Luckenbill, 1927, para. 73.
- <sup>4</sup> Albenda, 1986, pp. 115-117, pls. 1-4.
- <sup>5</sup> For an account of the artist's participation in Near Eastern archaeology, see Demange, 1994.
- 6 Albenda, 1986, pp. 45-46, pl. 40.
- Jibid, p. 24, n. 20. For an account of Place's exploration activities, see Chevalier, 1994.
- For an account of the architect's participation in Near Eastern archaeology, see Fontan, 1994.
- For an account of the photographer's activities at Khorsabad, see Chevalier and Lavèdrine, 1994.
- 10 Ibid, figs. 2, 10-13.
- <sup>11</sup> Albenda, 1986, pp. 29-30. A list of the cargo that was transported on the rafts is given in Pillet, 1918, pp. 25-30, 52-55.
- Loud, 1936, pp. 12-15, fig. 11. For an account of the Oriental Institute excavations at Khorsabad, see Wilson, 1994.
- Loud, 1936, pp. 65-67, figs. 79-80. The two scenes have been interpreted as an articulation of the boundaries of the empire east and west; see Winter, 1983, p. 24. It should be noted, however, that the detail of the pile of heads set before the royal chariot, which is carved on one side of the throne base ("west"), also occurs on one wall relief in room 2 (Albenda, 1986, p. 89, pl.111). From the captions identifying several foreign cities in room 2, it is evident that all the besieged cities represented in that room are in eastern territories. Thus it seems more likely that the two narrative scenes on the throne base of Sargon II represent military campaigns in eastern territories only.
- Loud and Altman, 1938, pl. 89. Reproduced in Parrot, 1961, pl.108.
- <sup>15</sup> For the description of the transport of the winged bull from the site, see Loud, 1936, pp. 42-55, fig. 56.
- <sup>16</sup> See: Luckenbill, 1927, para.125; Walker, 1986, pp. 107-112.
- <sup>17</sup> For the original drawings and the extant reliefs discovered in room 7, see: Albenda, 1986, pls. 84-90; Loud 1936, pp. 71-77, figs. 84, 87-89.
- Guralnick, 1976 analyses the composition of the forest scene in the lower register, utilising both the drawings and the extant reliefs in the Oriental Institute Museum and the Iraq Museum.

- For the original drawings of the wall reliefs and the condition of the *in situ* extant wall reliefs after they were exposed by the Oriental Institute expedition, see: Albenda, 1986, pls. 25-34; Loud, 1936, pp. 40-42, figs. 48-55. For the comment that the double procession in room 10 (corridor) is a novel idea during this period, see Albenda, 1998, p. 8.
- For a description and discussion of the genie-types found on the wall reliefs at Khorsabad, see Albenda, 1986, pp. 49-57. Kolbe, 1981, provides a catalogue and discussion of all the protective genie-types found on the Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs from the 9th to 7th centuries.
- <sup>21</sup> For the original drawings of the wall reliefs on Façade L, see Albenda, 1986, pls. 43-50.
- <sup>22</sup> Young, 1981, pp. 121-123, colour plates III, IV, pls. 62, c-f, 63, a-e.
- The article, entitled, "Horses of Different Breeds: Observations in Assyrian Art", will appear in the publication of papers read at the annual conference of the Rencontre Assyriologie Internationale held in Paris, during July 2000.
- For the reconstruction and analysis of the composition, and the intended significance behind its overall design in relation to the reliefs on adjacent walls, see Albenda, 1983. Parpola, 1995, p. 60, n.78, disagrees with the interpretation that the scene represents a Mediterranean seascape. Instead, he maintains that the scene represents riverine traffic, probably on the Euphrates. For a response to Parpola, see Albenda, 1996, n° 18. On the discovery of a stele of Sargon II in Cyprus and the discussion of the inscription on the stone monument, see: Yon, 1995; Malbran-Labat, 1995.
- Albenda, 1986, p. 34, which states that the program of the several adjacent groups of wall reliefs, including the sea transport of lumber, "was planned to extol the vast geographic extent of Sargon's political dominance in the Near East."