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Appendix 1

The following table provides the chronology of the Assyrian empire, its different phases used in this study, and a list of Assyrian kings. The table uses information from: Bedford 2009; Frahm 2017b, 162-165; 2017c; Jakob 2017; Liverani 1988 and additions by the author. Dates from Tiglath-Pileser I onwards are determined with certainty (Frahm 2017c, 614). The ending of Assurbanipal’s reign is unclear, but probably lies between 631 and 625 BCE.

APPENDIX I

Phase	Dates	Assyrian Kings
Middle Assyrian Period		
Independence	1353-1296 BCE	Aššur-Uballit (ca. 1353-1318) Enlil-Nirari (ca. 1317-1308) Adik-dēn-ili (ca. 1307-1296)
From state to empire	1295-1197 BCE	Adad-nirari I (ca. 1295-1264) Shalmaneser I (ca. 1263-1234) Tukultī-Ninurta I (ca. 1233-1197)
Recession and brief expansion	1197-935 BCE	Aššur-nādin-apli I (ca. 1196-1193) Aššur-nirari III (ca. 1192-1187) Enlil-kudurri-ušur (ca. 1186-1182) Ninurta-apil-Ekur (ca. 1181-1169) Aššur-dan I (ca. 1168-1133) Ninurta-Tukultī-Aššur (ca. 1133?) Mutakkil-Nusku (ca. 1133?) Aššur-rēša-isi I (ca. 1132-1115) Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076) Ašared-apil-Ekur (1075-1074) Aššur-bēl-kala (1073-1056) Eriba-Adad II (1055-1054) Šamši-Adad IV (1053-1050) Aššurnāširpal I (1049-1031) Shalmaneser II (1030-1019) Aššur-nirari IV (1018-1013) Aššur-rabi II (1012-972) Aššur-reša-iši II (971-967) Tiglath-Pileser II (966-935)
Neo Assyrian Period		
From territorial state to empire	934-824 BCE	Aššur-dan II (934-912) Adad-nirari II (911-891) Tukultī-Ninurta II (890-884) Aššurnāširpal II (883-859) Shalmaneser III (858-824)
Internal problems and brief territorial recession	823-745 BCE	Šamši-Adad V (823-811) Adad-nirari III (810-783) Shalmaneser IV (782-773) Aššur-dan III (772-755) Aššur-nirari V (754-745)
Imperial expansion and consolidation	744-630 BCE	Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727) Shalmaneser V (726-722) Sargon II (721-705) Sennacherib (704-681) Esarhaddon (680-669) Assurbanipal (668-631)
Fall of Assyria	630-609 BCE	Aššur-etel-ilani (630-627) (uncertain) Sīn-šumu-lišir (627) (uncertain) Sīn-šarru-iškun (626-612) Aššur-Uballit II (611-609)

Appendix 2

The estimations for the wall heights referred in section 7.3.2 are calculated in the following way:

Kalḫu's wall was ca. 8 km long and its height is unknown. Mallowan (1966, 76) estimated it was higher than 17 m, while Oates and Oates suggest a height of 15 m (Oates and Oates 2001, 149). As there is no textual evidence referring to the number of brick layers, and given that Mallowan's estimation was done on the basis of a comparison between city-wall finds and citadel wall finds, I assume a height of 17 m excluding mortar and ca. 20 m including mortar. This is higher than both suggestions but fits better with the height of the citadel mound. In terms of width, the wall was ca. 14 m wide (Mallowan 1966, 76).

In order to achieve a 14 m thickness with the aforementioned mudbrick dimensions, one would need a total of ca. 38 bricks in a row ($14/0.37=37.83$). Regarding height, 17 m would require a total of ca. 142 bricks ($17/0.12=141.6$). In a single line, to cover 8 km of wall, one would need ca. 21,622 bricks. As such, in its total length the wall would require ca. 116,672,312 bricks ($21622 \times 38 \times 142$). The total volume of the wall, excluding mortar, can be calculated at $1,904,000 \text{ m}^3$ ($8000 \times 17 \times 14$). That fits the approximate calculation of 61 bricks/ m^3 with a small margin of error due to rounding the number of bricks per line/row up.

The wall of Dur-Šarrukēn was slightly smaller (7 km long) than the one in Kalḫu but we know relatively more about its height and width (see section 4.5.1). With a similar width (14 m=ca. 38 bricks in a row) it had a height of 12 m, translating into 100 bricks ($12/0.12=100$). The latter figure assumes that the entire height of the wall was made of mudbricks. The wall had a foundation of stones measuring roughly 1.5 m wide and height. In addition, the calculation of a height of 12 m probably should include mortar. Given that the wall probably had the same foundation width as at Kalḫu, a height of 12 m, which includes

the stone foundation and the mortar, is probably a conservative estimation. As such, I will assume a height of 12 m in mudbrick only, excluding mortar. For the total extent of the wall, there should be ca. 18,919 bricks in a single line ($7000/0.37=18918.9189\dots$). In total, the wall comprised of 71,892,200 bricks, with a total volume of $1,176,000 \text{ m}^3$, excluding mortar. The same margin of error applies as in the preceding calculation.

For Nineveh things are much simpler, since the royal inscriptions give us the exact number of bricks per row for the solid mudbrick wall: 40 bricks wide (ca. 15 m) and 180 bricks high (ca. 21.6 m). Again, these numbers exclude mortar. Thus, 12 km of wall would have ca. 32,432 bricks in a single line ($12000/0.37=32432.432\dots$) and a total number of 233,510,400 bricks, which is double the number used for the wall at Kalḫu. The total volume of the wall can be calculated at $3,888,000 \text{ m}^3$, excluding mortar.

