IVORIES FROM NIMRUD
(1949-1963)
Fascicule III

FURNITURE FROM SW.7
FORT SHALMANESER

by
MAX MALLOWAN
and
GEORGINA HERRMANN

Published by
THE BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN IRAQ (LONDON)
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COMMENTARY, CATALOGUE and PLATES

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PREFACE

This fascicule, the third in the series concerned with ivories from Nimrud (1949–63) has taken three years to prepare, for the authors have been busy with other tasks, and the difficulties of collating information in many countries have been prolonged. But any measure of success that we have achieved in resolving a variety of detailed questions is due to unstinted help and time generously given by officials, friends and colleagues at many institutions. It is a pleasure to record in the first place the response made in answer to our enquiries, by officials in the following Museums, especially in the tedious task of verifying catalogue numbers on the ivories: The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; The British Museum, London; The Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels; The Iraq Antiquities Department, The Iraq Museum, Baghdad, in addition to the Museum in Copenhagen, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto and the Museums in Philadelphia and Sydney.

We also wish in particular to thank a number of scholars and learned colleagues who have guided us with their advice and help in verifying details, notably: Dr. R. D. Barnett, Mr. Terence Mitchell, Dr. Vaughn Crawford, Mrs. Fletcher M. Harper, Dr. Roger Moorey, Miss Barbara Parker, Dr. Edith Porada, Dr. J. P. Wilde for technical information about spinning, and Dr. Irene Winter and Dr. Oscar Muscarella for helpful discussion concerned with workshops and artisans. Thanks are also due to Mr. John Hopkins, Librarian of the Society of Antiquaries, London, for his constant help in making books available to us.

We are much indebted to Mrs. Patricia Herrmann for help in arranging the plates, and for great care in the production of photographs to Mr. L. H. Bell, formerly of the British Museum Research Laboratories; many others have helped with the photographs, especially Mr. Peter Dorrell in addition to Mr. Jeffery Orchard and other persons named in the previous Fascicule II. The drawings are by Mrs. Pat Clarke. Miss Theodora Newbould, the secretary of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq and Mr. Nicholas Postgate, the Assistant Director, exercised long suffering patience in the verification of measurements. It was singularly fortunate that Mr. Carroll Wales was a member of our expedition at the time when the finest of the SW.7 panels were emerging from the soil and was able to apply his high expertise to their cleaning and conservation in the field.

We must repeat our profound thanks to the Director General of Antiquities in Iraq and to all his colleagues in Baghdad and Mosul, who have given us so much of their goodwill, and of their time, in order to enable us to complete the record.

Reiterated thanks are due to the British Academy, to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and to an anonymous donor who together provided the financial impetus which has launched this series of publications.

The plan of the volume can be ascertained from the list of contents. It will be seen that in discussing the sets of SW.7 ivories from Fort Shalmaneser, we have often gone beyond our brief and have compared them with others from elsewhere, not always closely related. It is fortunate that the examination of the SW.7 ivories has involved a reconsideration of the very different and older collection from the Burnt Palace, with its Iranian relationships. The latter ivories will be the subject of the next volume but one, Fascicule V, a task which may well take another three or four years of our joint time. The next volume, Fascicule IV on the remaining ivories from the akropolis, notably those found in the well N.N. of the N.W. Palace, and in the domestic wing, a less arduous and complex undertaking will, it is hoped, be ready for publication after an interval of not more than two years, allowing for the thousand natural shocks that flesh is heir to.

Finally we believe that while this account is as complete as we have been able to make it, more will doubtless be added, with advantage, in the course of time; but it would be folly to strive at perfection when so many remarkable and beautiful objects are available for publication. The authors are only too conscious of the imperfection of this work and hope to be forgiven for its defects.

Oxford
1 October 1973

Max Mallowan
Georgina Herrmann
The archaeological attack on Fort Shalmaneser began on March 21, 1957, after a series of probing operations in the course of which we examined the ground and studied the contours in the southern sector of the outer town. The appearance of the surface in this area, before we began our excavations, shown on an air photograph, left us in no doubt that at the extreme S.E. corner of the town a powerfully fortified building lay buried. Indeed our determination to dig there came as a result of a walk round the outer town with Professor J. Laessoe early in 1957, when we noticed on the surface an inscribed brick of Shalmaneser III, and the building was dubbed ‘Fort Shalmaneser’ in anticipation of the discovery, long before we had applied a spade to the ground.

It may seem strange that seven years elapsed since the beginning of the excavations in 1949 before we attained this objective. But other pressing tasks had claimed our attention within the high-lying ground of the akropolis itself: moreover the land within the town was privately owned. We had to obtain the confidence of the landowners and to come to an understanding with them before we were in a position to touch this promising site.

Soon after setting to work we revealed the outlines of Chamber SW.7 which eventually yielded a large and homogeneous group of ivories of a class hitherto unknown, and therefore of exceptional interest. This treasure consisted of sumptuously carved panels, in many cases not torn away from their original context but still set in identifiable pieces of furniture—namely chairs or couches. The task of completing the excavation of these fragile remains was prolonged, for the work had to be conducted slowly and with circumspection, often under tent as a protection against the rain.

It took about half of the 1957 season and the whole of the next one, 1958, to clear the chamber in its entirety: the layout of SW.7 was that of a normal magazine measuring internally about 14.5 x 4 m. Up to the end of 1957 Professor Mallowan was director of the operations in the field and in 1958 the office of field director was handed over to Mr. David Oates, now Professor, who from then on was in charge in the field at Nimrud. During the last fortnight of 1958 he was joined by Mallowan who completed the field register. The operations within SW.7 lasted about one hundred days in all and Professor Oates has written about these two campaigns in detail in the journal *Iraq*, the relevant passages of which are quoted below.

First we may observe from a glance at the plan that the spacious apartments or halls in the eastern wing of Fort Shalmaneser bore every appearance of having served as magazines and had access to courtyards of vast dimensions—convenient reception centres for the admission and dispersal of goods contained within their flanking chambers. But it is also clear that these chambers supported an upper storey, although the staircases had for the most part disappeared.

Chamber SW.6, for example, still contained great storage jars for wine and beer although the ivory chair leg found in the same room had probably fallen from an upper floor.

We may now refer to David Oates’ account in *Iraq* XXI:

‘A passage, one of two which gave access to the magazines from the SE courtyard, separated SW 6 from SW 7. The layout of this room was in no way remarkable, the only features being a ventilation shaft in the east wall, and a pair of shattered storage jars in the corners at the north end; signs of seepage in the mud-brick around the bases of the jars suggested that their contents were liquid, probably olive oil. The whole north end of the room including the doorway was covered by a rusty mass of scale armour, lying in layers up to 35 cm. thick interspersed with broken brickwork. The forms of individual garments could not be distinguished, but large fragments were preserved in which the arrangement of the iron, and more rarely of bronze, scales could be observed. The armour was found at intervals from a height of 1.40 metres down to the level of the plastered floor, and it is difficult to conceive how it could have fallen in this position unless it was stored on the floor above, or else suspended from the

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1. Mallowan, N & R, II, fig. 302.
4. Mallowan, N & R, folding map volume, fig. VIII.
5. Some staircases were probably wooden and left no trace.
walls or roof of this chamber. The oil jars are not entirely inconsistent with the use of this room as an armoury, since oil forms an important part of the armourer’s equipment. The south end of the room, however, served for the storage of objects of an entirely different nature. From the surface of the ground to the floor, a depth of over two metres, fragments and plaques of ivory carved in relief were tightly packed among the debris of the fallen walls and roof, and their removal and treatment occupied us for a period of more than two months. The plaques depicted standing and seated figures, male and female, in Syrian and Assyrian dress, often grasping the stem or flowers of the symbolic tree of life; some pieces bore the winged disc of Assur above the heads of the figures.

Detailed discussion of the artistic aspects and iconography of these ivories lies outside the scope of this account, which is principally concerned with the circumstances of their discovery, and any light that may be shed on their use. During the 1957 season we succeeded in removing only the upper layers of this rich deposit, but in the lower part of the room in 1958 we uncovered many more pieces in position, as they had been left at the abandonment of the building, and were able to reconstruct their original arrangement. The plaques had been attached in rows of four or five to the concave surface of a curved screen, between two side posts which projected some distance above and below the screen and were also veneered with sheets of ivory, some carved with the same figure motifs. The top and bottom of each screen were similarly masked with ivory strips framing the row of plaques; the upper strip sometimes bore a large winged disc, the lower was usually plain but was in one case adorned with a frieze depicting a bull hunt from a chariot. The average measurement of the whole composite panel was 80–90 cm. long by 60 cm. high. Fragments of at least fifteen of these screens were found, though not all included decorated plaques, and one example had, in place of the usual reliefs, vertical stems bearing very finely carved openwork volutes. The upper edge of this screen was finished with a semi-elliptical moulding of alternate segments of ivory and some other vanished material, probably wood; the underside of the ivory segments bore Aramaic or Phoenician signs as fitters' marks, as do many of the carved pieces found elsewhere. The screens were set upright in four rows 80 cm. to 100 m. apart across the width of the room. Only the southernmost row, which stood directly against the south wall facing north, was right side up; the other three rows, which faced south away from the door, were inverted. The ivories were fastened to their backing with dowels, some of which remain in position, but no trace survives of the material to which they were attached. It was almost certainly wood, and must have been of very solid construction to survive the collapse of the building. We have, however, one piece of evidence of its original form. The screens against the south wall were found at a height of 50 cm. above the floor, indicating that they were each attached to some sort of pedestal at least 50 cm. high. The pedestal may have extended almost the full distance of 80 cm. intervening between this and the second row of screens, since the latter were reversed and the two rows appear to have been stacked like chairs. Concerning the identity of these objects we can only hazard a guess that they were the more valuable portions of larger pieces of furniture, perhaps the heads of beds or couches, which were dismantled and stored when, for some reason impossible to determine, they went out of use or out of fashion. Some parts of the ivory decoration had originally been covered with gold leaf, of which minute traces remain, but the orderly arrangement of the panels indicates that the gold had been removed before they were stacked in the positions in which we found them. Indeed access to the pieces at the south end of the room would have been virtually impossible without disarranging the rows nearer the door, and we may safely conclude that this room at least was not ransacked in 612 B.C. by looters, for whom ivories in general seem to have had no appeal.12

Since writing the preliminary account of this discovery it has become apparent that Calah-Nimrud was twice sacked at close intervals, and that between the two destructions there was a brief period, most probably amounting to no more

(1) The further examination of these fitters' marks, which consisted for the most part of single alphabetic or quasi-alphabetic signs should become a subject for research. These abbreviated markings were occasionally applied in the workshops, probably in order either to identify component parts which had to be conjoined to a larger setting, or to identify the hand that carved them. On the famous chryselephantine plaques of the lioness killing a negro (Mallowan, N & R, I, pp. 139-44, figs. 81-4) an aleph sign was engraved. Perhaps this was the nearest approach to the artist's signature in a world where, except for the name of an unmanu, anonymity was the rule. At the time of discovery of the panels in SW.7 its impossible to examine these markings because it was necessary to mask the backs of the panels with protective bandages: these are still in place on many panels.

(2) Quoted from Iraq, XXI (1959), pp. 104-6. Detailed plans from SW.7 showing the position of the ivories illustrated in Mallowan, N & R, II, pp. 412-13, figs. 337-41. See also the account of SW.7 in op. cit. pp. 409-15.
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than one year, during which there was an attempt to reconstitute the city and to reorganize the government. Since it is known that Assur and Tarbisj were destroyed in 614 B.C. it seems not improbable that Nimrud suffered a first attack in that same year, and that the second and final destruction coincided with that of Nineveh, known to have occurred in 612 B.C. The interval, during which there was an attempted reoccupation of Nimrud must, on the basis of this historical reasoning, have occurred in 613 B.C., and to this year we may attribute the stacking of the ivory furniture found in SW.7. The argument has been fully developed in Mallowan, N & R, II, pp. 387 ff.

FUNCTION: BEDS OR CHAIRS?

As already noted above, many of the panels were found conjoined in their original setting as component parts of stacked furniture. Sufficient evidence had fortunately remained in the soil to enable us to suggest, though not to prove, to what form of furniture these panels once belonged. In the preliminary report in Iraq David Oates proposed that they were 'the more valuable portions of larger pieces of furniture, perhaps the heads of beds or couches'. This suggestion was followed by Mallowan in Nimrud & Its Remains with the possible exception of ND.7910, Catalogue No. 95, which he considered to be the back of a chair. This conclusion, that the majority of the pieces were the heads of beds or couches, needs further discussion for there are grounds for arguing that they may all have been chairs.

Before we evaluate the archaeological evidence from SW.7 itself, and that of furniture either depicted on contemporary relief sculpture or found elsewhere, it is necessary to examine the measurements of the various pieces: the relatively generous widths of some of the larger sets were one of the reasons leading Oates and Mallowan to the conclusion that the ivories were bed-heads or couch-backs.

Most of the complete pieces consisted of a curved central section supported between tall side posts. These side posts were finished at the top in a distinctive ogival curve. The central sections were made up of different numbers of panels, four, five or six. Some of these central panels were set tightly side by side, while others were separated from each other by narrow strips of plain veneer.

The central sections of Nos. 3, 46 and 51 were each formed of only four panels. No. 3 was one of the three pieces found the right way up against the southern wall of SW.7—No. 16 on the plan, see figs. 1 and 2. Opposite it, some 80 cm. away, inverted and presumably stacked on top of it, was the scroll chair No. 95, ND.7910, No. 10 on the plan. The four panels of the central section of No. 3 measured 8.2, 9.9, 9.5 and 9.0 cm. wide respectively. They were separated from each other by five narrow strips of plain veneer, so the total width of the curving central section, the part of the back which would have been leant against, probably measured c. 45-48 cm. The plans, figs. 1 and 2, show that this central section was supported by the usual pair of plain side posts. The plain side posts of No. 22 measure 8.5 and 9.0 cm. in width and those of No. 3 doubtless measured much the same. The overall width of No. 3 would thus have been only c. 65 cm., a size consistent with the piece being the back of a chair but somewhat narrow for a bed or couch.

No. 3 was found some 45 cm. off the floor, see figs. 1 and 2. This height from the ground is probably fairly accurate, for the piece was well protected from falling debris by the south wall and is therefore unlikely to have slipped far. It would be a reasonable height for the seat of a chair, especially if the chair was equipped with a low footstool, a practice regularly illustrated both on contemporary sculptures and on the panels from SW.7 showing seated figures, Nos. 46-52.

Let us now consider the probable construction of this chair, if it was indeed a chair. Most of the seated figures on the SW.7 panels, Nos. 46-52, sit on backless chairs or stools. However, on No. 51 the men of Panels 1 and 4 do sit on chairs, the backs of which are set at a sharp slope. Furthermore the back of No. 51, Panel 1, is clearly finished at the top with a curve: a similar curve can be seen on the side posts from SW.7, Nos. 1, 2, 14 and 22. This sloping back and distinctive curving top also occur on the chair of a sculpture from Zinjirli, showing a lady at table. The seat, trellis fringes and straight legs with stretcher of the Zinjirli chair are almost identical with the stools and chairs illustrated on the SW.7 panels, Nos. 46-52.

(1) Iraq, XXI, p. 106.
(2) II, p. 411.
(4) Nos. 1-3, 22, 51, 66 and 95.
(5) Nos. 1, 2, 14 and 22.
(6) Unfortunately not clear on the photograph but easily recognized on the original.
(7) AIS, IV, pl. 54.
Fig. 1: Plan of the southern part of Room SW.7, showing the relative positions of the ivory furniture.
Fig. 2: Elevations of the rows of furniture shown in Fig. 1. Rows 1 to 3 seen from the north, Row 4 seen from the south. (A plan of each piece of furniture is to be seen above or below its elevation.)
Two other significant parallels are the small bronze model of a chair from Enkomi and the ivory chair from Salamis. In the Enkomi model we see in the round the probable construction of our chairs: the sloping back with side posts terminating in the distinctive curved top, the curving centre of the back and the straight legs strengthened by stretchers. In front of the chair is the usual footstool. The Salamis chair also has a sloping back with a curving centre and straight legs strengthened by stretchers. Unfortunately the tops of the side posts were not preserved: had they been they too might have terminated in a curve. The large Salamis chair is also important as it proves that ivory chairs were made not only on the relatively small scale of No. 3, with its total width of c. 65 cm., but up to about 80 cm. wide. The significance of these measurements will be understood when we come to consider some of the larger Nimrud pieces composed of five and six panels in the centre. These parallels, the chairs on No. 51 and the Zinjirli, Enkomi and Salamis chairs, suggest that the ivory back of No. 3 probably once belonged to a chair of similar construction.

Upside-down and opposite No. 3, some 80 cm. away, was No. 95. As already noted, Mallowan suggested that this scroll piece was the back of a chair rather than a bed-head. The suggestion was made partially on account of the radius of the curve, c. 10-1 cm., which is considerably deeper than any of the other pieces, and also because this one is relatively small. The centre measures 33.1 cm. in height and 54.5 cm. in width. Like No. 3, this central section was supported by two plain side posts, see figs. 1 and 2, so that the overall width would have been some 70 cm., about 5 cm. wider than No. 3. From the measurements and the shape, therefore, the suggestion that this piece was a chairback seems reasonable. However, associated with No. 95 were the two strips later restored to form the theriomachy, No. 105.

The length of these strips, when restored as one, measured some 107 cm., and this length was one of the strongest reasons leading Mallowan in *Nimrud & Its Remains* to suggest that the sets of panels from SW. 7 were bed-heads, for he rightly noted that such a height would have been excessive for the seat of a chair. And it is these strips, too, which make Kyrieleis say that it is not possible to decide whether the Nimrud pieces were bed-heads or chairbacks. They are therefore of considerable importance.

However, they were found in two pieces and the ‘join’ in the centre is mostly restored in wax: at no point does the ivory of the two pieces touch. If, instead of forming one long strip, both pieces terminated in a rosette, fragments of which motif remain on both panels, they would each have measured c. 55 cm. in length. Such strips might well have run from the back of the scroll chair to the front, perhaps reaching as far as the footstool, in agreement with a passage in Homer’s *Odyssey* which approximates to a description of this very chair. ‘... and by the fire where she was wont to sit they placed a chair inlaid with spirals of ivory and silver, which of old the craftsman Ikmalios had made, and beneath it a footstool that was part of the chair, and upon it a great fleece was laid.’

If on the other hand the two pieces formed one long strip, then we must indeed consider that the scroll piece, No. 95, may have been a type of couch, though not one of a form for which we have evidence on contemporary sculpture. However, since the distance between Nos. 3 and 95 in the two rows was only 80 cm., there would have been little room for a strip 107 cm. long, unless it was already broken or tilted over the top of No. 3. Thus our suggestion, that the scene illustrating a theriomachy consisted originally of two separate pieces is congruent with the evidence.

The distance between the two chairs, if chairs we may call them, Nos. 3 and 95, seemed too great to David Oates to allow them to have been stacked chairs, although this interval would also have allowed insufficient room for the orderly stacking of entire couches. This led to the conclusion that it was ‘only the more valuable portions of larger pieces of furniture, perhaps the heads of beds’ which were stored in SW. 7.

Let us now investigate the hypothesis that they were indeed chairs stacked one on top of the other. The depth of a cm. long, which have been restored as one and measure 107 cm. in length as restored.

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(2) Salamis, pls. VI, 45, pp. 92-3.


(4) Mallowan, *N & R*, II, p. 411. The suggestion made in *op. cit.* p. 513 that there was a pair of strips, each 110 cm. long, should be amended. There are two strips, each c. 55 cm. long, which have been restored as one and measure 107 cm. in length as restored.


(6) These two pieces were carved by different hands, see p. 113. The slow process of ivory carving frequently made it necessary to employ more than one craftsman on a single piece of furniture, see pp. 35-6, and this fact does not therefore help us to decide whether No. 105 was originally a single strip or a pair of strips.

modern upright chair from the sloping back to the front varies between c. 45 and 52 cm. The seat of the large Salamis chair measures 50 cm.,

'to which should be added another c. 10 cm. for the depth of the sloping back. We can assume that the ivory chairs from Nimrud with their sloping curved backs were much the same in size. A distance of 80 cm. between the stacked chairs Nos. 3 and 95 is thus easily explained, see fig. 3, some 50-60 cm. for No. 3, the chair the correct way up, with the seat of the reversed chair overlapping about 30 cm.

![Fig. 3: Sketch showing possible arrangement of stacked chairs.](image)

To return to the furniture from SW.7, the second set found against the southern wall in Row 1 was No. 51, which also consisted of only four small panels between side posts. Plain strips separated the panels, as on No. 3, so the width of the centre might have been c. 62 cm. (each panel measured c. 17.5 x 13 cm.). This is only a little wider than No. 95.

The frame of the third piece composed of four decorated panels, No. 46, is different in shape, see pl. LII. Instead of a central curved section supported by side posts, the frame is rectangular with the long strip of plain veneer at the top protruding at both ends and finishing in curves. It measures 42.6 x 72.7 cm., again dimensions compatible with those of a chair-back. It seems probable, therefore, that the pieces composed of only four panels, Nos. 3, 51 and 46, as well as No. 95, formed the backs of chairs rather than the heads of beds or couches. We have now to consider whether similar arguments apply to sets with five or six panels in the centre, the panels of which are all larger in size.

Only two sets were found with five panels in the centre, Nos. 1 and 66. No. 1, the most elaborately ornamented of all, was found upside-down in the third row, 20 cm. above the floor: it is No. 4 on the plan (figs. 1 and 2). Only three of the central five panels have survived but we can assume that Panels 4 and 5 measured much the same as Panels 7 and 8, that is c. 10.5 cm. wide. The total width of the centre would thus have been c. 55 cm., much the same as No. 95. The side posts of No. 1 measure c. 60 x 10.5 cm., so the total width would have been c. 76 cm., similar to the ivory chair from Salamis. Of No. 66, only the five central panels have survived: each measures c. 25 x 10.5 cm. and we can again expect a total width of c. 76 cm. consisting of c. 55 cm. for the curving central section and c. 21 cm. for the side posts.

The centres of four of the SW.7 sets, Nos. 2, 21, 22 and 65, were formed of six decorated panels. Despite their additional panel, two of these, Nos. 2 and 21, again measure approximately 55 cm. across the centre while a third, No. 65 is only some 45 cm. wide, for the panels of which it was composed are smaller than usual, c. 21.2 x 7.4 cm. No. 22, the largest piece found in SW.7, measures 64.5 cm. across the centre because the six decorated panels are separated from each other by narrow strips of plain veneer. Even then the overall measurement of No. 22, including the side posts, does not exceed 82.5 cm.

(1) Salamis, p. 92.
IVORIES FROM NIMRUD—3

Compared with the Salamis chair these relatively small dimensions are compatible with the suggestion that all these sets were the backs of chairs rather than the heads of beds. That these larger sets of panels were found inverted in rows about 80-100 cm. apart can be accounted for if we assume that the furniture was stacked as in Rows 1 and 2 but that many of the opposing chairs of Rows 3 and 4 were made only of wood, which did not survive the crushing weight of the compacted earth fill.

Another set of panels of a distinctive character has also to be considered as a possible component of a chair-back, the 'vase-hat' or helmeted men of Nos. 38-45. We have suggested in the catalogue that these panels were the component parts of one piece of furniture, see p. 86. If this hypothesis is correct we would expect the long panels with two men standing side by side, Nos. 43 and 44, to have formed the side posts, and the narrow panels with the single men, Nos. 38 to 42, to have occupied the centre. The complete side post, No. 43, measures 51.2 x 10.2 cm., only a little shorter than the side posts of Nos. 1 and 22, while the tall central panels are c. 29 x 6.7 cm. The centre would probably have been formed of six of these panels, for we have the remains of three panels showing men facing left and fragments of one showing a man facing right. The symmetrical decoration of the other chairs indicates that if there were three panels with men facing one way, then there would also be three with men facing in the opposite direction. The width of this six-panel centre would only have been some 40 cm.: additional width was probably obtained either by the insertion of plain strips or by additional decorated panels, such as voluted palmette trees as in Nos. 2, 21 and 22.

We have seen that on the available evidence there is a reasonable case for the proposition that the furniture from SW.7 served as chairs. To recapitulate: we have an extant ivory chair of similar size and form from Salamis, a bronze model of a chair of the same type from Enkomai and an illustration of a chair with the distinctive side post curved at the top from Zinjirli. The evidence of position and measurement is also congruent. We may now consider the alternative suggestion that these ivory backs could have formed the heads of beds or couches and with this in mind we must first examine the appearance and construction of beds and couches.

Beds: as has been recently shown by Kyrieleis, the ninth-century bed both in Assyria and North Syria (Hamath) had a slightly raised head without head-board and foot-board.6 Ivory beds found at Arslan-Tash, which measure c. 195 x 96 cm., appear to have been of this type, while an earlier one found at Ras Shamra4 is comparable with XVIII Dynasty beds from Egypt, that is with a simple raised head and an ornately decorated foot-board.5 An ivory bed found in a poor state of repair at Salamis unfortunately adds little to our knowledge. It measured c. 189 x 111 cm. and may have been 31 cm. high.6 Associated with the bed and found close to it was a rectangular frame together with numerous decorated ivory panels.

According to Kyrieleis the eighth-century Assyrian bed had an S-shaped head-board which, by the time of Ashurbanipal, had curved over into a C-shaped head-board, stacked with cushions.7 Another type of bed or couch frequently used for the sick had a head-rest rising from the horizontal frame at an oblique angle: the head-rest was covered by a thick mattress.5 There may well have been many other types of beds not illustrated on the sculptures: both Barnett and Kyrieleis draw our attention to a stone pyxis in the British Museum9 which shows two persons uncomfortably accommodated between two uprights. They suggest that the two are shown on a bed with head and foot-boards. On the same pyxis the chair in the upper register has a sloping back-rest which terminates in a distinctive curve similar to that of the SW.7 side posts. Kyrieleis also draws attention to a pottery model of a bed from Lachish,10 which has a raised head-board and foot-board.

Before coming to a decision on the function of the furniture from SW.7 we must remember that much of it may have

(2) Kyrieleis, *op. cit.* pp. 15 ff.
(3) Arslan-Tash, pp. 85-90, pl. XVIII: Barnett, *CNI*, p. 126. Barnett considers that the decorated ivory panels found nearby probably belonged to a head-board—*op. cit.* p. 127. They may, however, equally well have belonged to a foot-board as on the XVIII Dynasty Egyptian beds, see note 5 below. See also p. 56, note 6.
(4) C. F. A. Schaeffer, 'Les Fouilles de Ras Shamgra-Ugarit', *Syria*, XXXI, p. 31 f.
(6) *Salamis*, pp. 94-5.
(8) See, for instance, the limestone plaque found in the N.W. Palace, *Mallowan, N & R*, i, fig. 60.
been broken before it was salvaged and deposited in this chamber. The wooden framework may already have been smashed by the vandals who sacked Calah, for in no case was it possible to establish the precise length of a chair or couch. What probably mattered to those who were engaged in the salvage operations was the ivory veneer which constituted the head or back of the furniture. It is therefore possible that what had once been long pieces of furniture were reduced in size at the time of their deposit.

However that may be, there is at present no strong archaeological and little iconographic evidence to support the theory that the ivory furniture from SW.7 formed the heads of beds or couches. The extant beds found at Salamis and Arslan-Tash are somewhat larger, usually over a metre wide instead of between 65 and 80 cm. However this comparison is not decisive, for a relatively narrow back would have served adequately for a *triclinium* or couch of the kind used by Ashurnasirpal II in the Phoenician style of furniture represented on Palmyrene tesserae of the first century A.D.1 Furthermore a wooden bed recently found on Thera was surprisingly small, only 160 x 0.68 m.2 While we have not yet detected the distinctive shape of our furniture on the beds or couches illustrated on stone reliefs, we must remember that little is known of the form of furniture from southern Syria or Palestine. It may be that further discoveries will illustrate that there were indeed narrow beds with curved head-boards of the Nimrud type. In the meantime we incline to the view that these sets of panels from SW.7 were the backs of chairs.

**ICONOGRAPHY**

*The Subjects and their Interpretation*

Viewed as a collection these panels reveal consistent evidence of an iconography informed with an underlying purpose. Almost all the figures, male and female, are prophylactic, guardians of the persons who once occupied the chairs or lay on the couches which the ivories adorned. The men represented on the panels are engaged in the performance of ritual acts in conjunction with a magical tree or plant. They are frequently under the protection of the sun to which they sometimes offer the fruit of the tree. This subject is for the most part unique to Assyria, although as we shall demonstrate there is behind some of it a background of North Syrian imagery, notably at Arslan-Tash, Carchemish, Zinjirli and Sakcha Gözi. There is also a synchronism with some of the ivories and bronzes from Salamis in Cyprus. Most striking at Nimrud is the representation of females, who in Assyria normally figure only as queens or captives.

The scene most frequently represented is a boldly carved male figure saluting the sacred tree, Nos. 1–42, 46, 51–65, 68, 69, and 77–86. It may be that these men represent warriors, both because of the martial, military appearance of their dress, Nos. 1–21, and because a group of them wear helmets, Nos. 38–44. Some of these warriors go barefoot, others are elaborately shod. On the unique Nos. 43 and 44 we see two pairs of figures side by side holding each other by the wrist and engaged in some ritual ceremonial appropriate to an act of alliance: they are accompanied by a royal lion, symbolic of kingship, and are under the protection of the sun-goddess. The costume of Nos. 1–21 and 38–44 appears to simulate scale or plate armour3 and perhaps represents a ceremonial ‘mess kit’. In style and in appearance these figures resemble the helmeted eighth-century warriors represented on the royal hunting scene at Sakcha Gözi,4 similarly equipped in scale armour while spearing a lion. We therefore appear to be on safe ground in identifying them as warriors, whose function would appropriately be protective. Such powers are further defined by the close association with magical trees or plants which they grasp in their hands; sometimes they hold the fruit of the tree. A few of these men, Nos. 22–26, carry the bucket or situla in the one hand while grasping the fruit of the tree in the other. In this guise they are the domestic counterparts of the good *šédi* or *lammassu* which so frequently adorn the portals and corridors of the N.W. Palace.

The trees, obviously stylized, are not naturalistic nor representative in the sense of reproducing a natural growth. They are formal and symbolic carvings which can be interpreted as translating the appearance of lotus or 'lily', papyrus

(1) H. Seyrig, ‘Deux Inscriptions grecques de Palmyre’, *Syria*, XVIII, 1937, pp. 366 ff. fig. 2 on p. 377. See also H. Ingholt, H. Seyrig, et al., *Recueil des tessères de Palmyre*, Geuthner, 1955. Such couches are said to have possessed a ledge doubtless used to carry bowls and drinking cups.


(3) Scale armour was found at the north end of SW.7; for a discussion of the material see pp. 23–4 below.

and palmette: No. 5 is a good example, while No. 7 illustrates what may be described as palmette fronds in association with the 'lily' tree. These men are, therefore, inseparable from the mythology of vegetation, the revival and renewal of life which had figured so prominently in Sumerian mythology and later in Canaanite legends concerned with Tammuz. It is probable that the divine presence was made manifest in the lotus and in the trees with which all these figures are so closely associated. The late R. Dussaud aptly drew attention to a Phoenician capital from Cyprus depicting Hathor rising from the lotus flower and carrying on her head an Egyptian-style naos imbricated in a palmette. These powerful warriors grasping trees are companions of the god immanent in them: they are equally protectors of the realm and guardians of its fertility, the masculine counterparts of the females with whom they are sometimes associated. Two of these men, Nos. 66, Panels 1 and 5, are represented as carrying gazelles or cervids on their shoulders—animals appropriate for sacrifice, dedicated in the temple to the appeasement of the gods. All these figures are subject to the sun-god, as is no doubt the winged, griffin-headed figure holding the fruit of the tree in one hand while carrying a bucket in the other, No. 66, Panels 2 and 4.

The themes are consistently concerned with the magic of vegetation, for example the small panels Nos. 77-86 on which we see both enthroned and standing men holding and saluting a huge lotus which is flowering on the top of a trunk. Sometimes this plant motif is elaborately stylized, as it is on the branched volutes rising in tiers on either side of a trunk and decorated with delicate palmette fronds, No. 2, Panels 4 and 9, Nos. 21 and 22, Panels 1 and 6, and Nos. 89-94: the like only occur on the ivories, never on bas-reliefs which carry their own forms of stylization. They have obvious affinities with the tiered trees on some of the ivory panels from Arslan-Tash and may well be of approximately the same date, and with an ivory panel from Salamis in Cyprus.

The chair-back No. 95, which has been discussed in detail in Mallowan, *N & R* and on p. 110 below, carries a different form of voluted tree related to the type referred to above but without the palmette. This piece of furniture resembles a chair discovered at Salamis and there securely dated to the end of the eighth century B.C.

A few ivories fall outside the categories discussed above: they include the theriomachy No. 105 depicting lions grappling with bulls; the procession of bearded males wearing kilts and grasping clubs, accompanied by elaborately attired females, each figure holding a great lotus plant or tree and standing on a peculiar form of winged disc decorated with palmette fronds, No. 65; and the Phoenician style youth who probably represents an attendant of the god Baal, carrying a palmette-papyrus in a jug in one hand and the *khnum* sceptre in the other—No. 87, fully discussed in *Mallowan, N & R* and see p. 106 below. Here we have a figure originally probably taking part in a procession and directly borrowed from the iconography of Phoenicia, as was no doubt the *champ-levèé* or *cloisonné* 'Astarte', No. 88.

This cumulative evidence of a prophylactic character underlines the significance of the fact that on all these panels there is no central motif to which any part is subservient. No scene illustrates any dominant person. Everyone plays an equal part, always in the presence either of a tree or of magical life-giving flowers held by the ladies.

One unique scene, the chariot hunt of No. 1, Panel 9, was part of the most richly decorated chair or couch, perhaps made for one of the eighth-century monarchs of Assyria, who in the pursuit of the wild bull was indulging in an activity regarded as a royal prerogative. But even in this scene the monarch himself is not illustrated, although his shadow must lie behind it. The scene of the chase is truly at home in Assyria from the ninth century onwards: we find it illustrated in Ashurnasirpal's throne-room in the N.W. Palace, and it is a familiar feature of ivories from Arslan-Tash, fig. 70, similar but not identical with our voluted palmette tree panels Nos. 89-94. See also p. 18 below.

(2) R. Dussaud, *L'Art Phénicien du IIe Millénaire*, 1949, fig. 69, p. 107. Dussaud considers that stylized trees with their voluted branches are motifs characteristic of Phoenician art, an art derived from Egypt, as is abundantly proved by the frequent representation of lotus plants, p. 106. He comments: 'La valeur religieuse que les Phéniciens attachent au motif floral que nous venons d’examiner et d’où dérivent tant d’aspects différents de “l’arbre sacré” tient, nous l’avons dit, à ce qu’il incorpore la divinité et en manifeste la présence.' In support of his case he illustrates a lotus tree from Mycenae, *op. cit*. fig. 67, and another from Arslan-Tash, fig. 70, similar but not identical with our voluted palmette tree panels Nos. 89-94. See also p. 18 below.
(3) At Chagar Bazar stags and probably gazelles were kept in the 'Diviner's House', C. J. Gadd, 'Tablets from Chagar Bazar and Tall Brak 1937-38', *Iraq*, VII, 1940, p. 32.
(4) *Arslan-Tash*, pl. XLV.
(5) *Salamis*, pl. IV.
(7) *Salamis*, pl. IV.
(8) *II*, p. 506.
Assyrian art, especially on the reliefs. Even here we may trace antecedents as far west as the Mediterranean, in particular on the famous twelfth- to eleventh-century ivory box from Enkomi in Cyprus, where the scene is clearly a prototype of ours.\(^1\)

The feminine content of the ivories from SW.7 is evident in the representation of seated females engaged in banquets at tables laden with food and drink, Nos. 47–51: they also hold aloft discs, No. 46, Panels 2 and probably 3; and in one instance a lady is shown spinning, No. 51, Panel 2. There are also examples of standing winged ladies holding life-giving plants, Nos. 1, 3 and 67. Such female figures never occur on the masculine reliefs of the royal apartments in the N.W. Palace, nor on the doorways where they could have served prophylactically, had the feminine figure been admissible in such a context. We have therefore concluded below that these ladies were protective spirits deriving their power from the sun. The remarkable form of winged disc surmounted by the bust of a female cherub, Nos. 38–45, reinforces the suggestion that this figure is identifiable with the sun-goddess Shepesh. This feminine imagery is moreover readily understood when we recall that the karem apartments were situated at no great distance, in the southern wing of Fort Shalmaneser, where this furniture may originally have been situated. However that may be, let us turn to an examination of the ladies at table.

**Banquet Scenes**

The first comparison is a stela from Zinjirli which illustrates an enthroned lady seated at a table laden with offerings which include flaps of bread, eggs (?) or fruit, fish, a cup of wine and a honey (?) pot.\(^2\) The lady holds a cup in her right hand and a lotus in her left; her feet rest on a stool. She is fanned by a young attendant: the winged sun-disc surmounts the scene. The chair, as noted above, resembles the thrones and chairs on the Nimrud panels, Nos. 46–51, particularly the tasselled draperies hanging from the stretcher. Felix von Luschan believed that this was a funerary stela: it was found lying face downwards adjacent to a robbed stone cist grave against the east wall of Hilani I. He interpreted this scene as representing the totenmahl or queen’s funerary repast, a ritual meal. It was probably carved in the eighth century as we may conclude both on grounds of style and because the plugs on the base of the monument and its podium were reused in the setting up of the early seventh-century victory stela by Esarhaddon.\(^3\) The lady could have been the queen of Panammu II or his successor.\(^4\)

Other comparable funerary stelae include one found in the woods about 5 km. north of Zinjirli: on the left a seated female, on the right a bearded, seated male, each of them resting on a high backed chair and holding a long staff in one hand, a cup in the other. This stela originally included a neo-Hittite inscription which is mostly obliterated.\(^5\) Another funerary stela illustrated by von Luschan is said to have come from Ordek Burunu, east of Karas, 12 km. south of Zinjirli.\(^6\) The stone had been used by Kurds in the district as a mattress under their felt blankets and in consequence the ancient delineation has lost its sharpness: an inscription below the scene consisted of nine lines of Aramaic. Of the two figures, the one on the right is a bearded male sitting on a high-backed chair; the one on the left, possibly a female, is standing. Each holds a cup in the raised hand: between the two figures we see a table laden with flaps of bread. It is interesting that so much evidence for the ritual meal comes from the border lands of South East Asia Minor and North West Syria in the eighth century B.C. and that both neo-Hittite and Aramaic legends were used to accompany the figured representation of the scenes.\(^7\) Such scenes remind us also of Egyptian festivities concerning the dead and of texts in which the living remind the deceased of the good food they

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(1) AAIo, p. 154, fig. 70.
(2) AIS, IV, taf. LIV, p. 325 f. Von Luschan interprets the two oval objects on top of the bread as eggs, which were on the menu of Ashurnasirpal’s banquet—D. J. Wiseman, ‘A new stela of Aššur-nasir-pal II’, Iraq, XIV, 1952, pp. 32 and 33; but fruit is also possible.
(3) AIS, II, p. 140; AIS, IV, abb. 236, p. 325, shows that the lady was wearing at her shoulder a bow-shaped fibula of eighth-century type.
(4) Chronology of these monarchs has been carefully examined by E. Sachau in AIS, 1, pp. 64–5. See also M. E. L. Mallowan, ‘Carchemish’, AS, XXII, 1972, pp. 83–4.
(5) AIS, IV, abb. 237, p. 328. The stela is said to have been found in the woods above ‘Karaburdschlu’: it was 1.09 metres high; W. Orthmann, Spähethitischen Kunst, p. 487, taf. 14d.
(6) AIS, IV, abb. 239, p. 329. Von Luschan casts doubt on the reading of the inscription by F. E. Peiser in Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, I, 1898, p. 6. See also Orthmann, op. cit. p. 529, taf. 48g.
(7) Banquet scenes are not uncommon in the iconography of the period elsewhere in Western Asia, see p. 14 and note 5 on that page.
once enjoyed together. We find in Egyptian texts more evidence concerning the ritual meal than is at our disposal in Mesopotamia.

From the site of Zinjirli itself another banquet scene carved on a stone orthostat depicts a lady seated on a stool opposite a seated, bearded male figure on a high-backed chair. Between them is a table with crossed legs terminating in bulls' hooves and laden with flaps of bread which are surmounted by what may be intended to represent a fish. The lady raises food to her lips with her right hand, in her left she holds two blooms, the plant of life. This apparently funerary scene was found on the west side of the outer city gate but it may originally have stood elsewhere, for in the context of its discovery it was associated with a procession of armed warriors. The date of this stela is about the early ninth century B.C.

The theory that the above-mentioned monuments were all funerary is strengthened by the existence of two imposing stone stelae discovered in 1891 at Neirab, a suburb of Aleppo. Both the Neirab monuments were erected to commemorate priests of the Moon god, Sahar: they are inscribed in Aramaic and are archaic creations of the neo-Babylonian period, probably to be dated about 550 B.C. One of the priests, Agbar, records that no vessels of silver or bronze accompanied his burial and that he was laid only in his shroud in order that no one thereafter would be tempted to plunder his couch. He alleged that on the day of his death his mouth was not closed for words and that he knew himself to be mourned by children of the fourth generation.

In front of him there is a table, a cup of wine, flaps of bread and a calf's (?) head. A small attendant is fanning him. Here the inscription provides positive proof that this was a funerary scene and illustrated the ritual meal, the totenmahl, which accompanied it. Whatever may be the proper interpretation of the meal of which the ladies on the SW.7 ivories partake, we cannot dissociate from them this particular aspect of an iconography that must have been familiar to the courts of Syria and Assyria in the eighth century B.C. and for a long time thereafter. But whether or not the banquet scenes on our ivories are capable of interpretation in this way we shall have to consider later on in the light of further evidence.

Some further enlightenment on ancient beliefs concerning the communion of the living with the dead comes from a remarkable inscription, once again in the district of Zinjirli, written in Aramaic, on a statue erected in honour of Panammu I, c. 790 B.C., to the god Hadad and discovered at Gerjin. Thereon it is written that if sacrifices are maintained for the tutelary god, 'may the soul of Panammu eat with thee, and may the soul of Panammu drink with thee'. Inevitably also we turn to Babylonia where there was a strongly held belief that it behoved men to remember the dead by making appropriate offerings of food and drink to prevent the ūfēmme from returning to earth and haunting the living. The ritual for that purpose was carefully prescribed and regular offerings of food and drink were ordained.

In parallel with these concepts we may recall the myth of the Babylonian goddess Ereshkigal, who was persuaded to ascend from the Underworld where she reigned, by the offer of a place at a feast in which a banquet table was spread out before her. On that occasion the god Nergal was obliged to make amends for his ill manners by being compelled to descend to the Underworld where he was destined to reign with her. Closely related to Ereshkigal was another goddess, wife of Nergal named La-az or La-as, for whom ritual feasts were ordained, as also for a mother goddess appropriately named Mama.

(1) Concerning Egyptian petitions to the dead reminding them of the honourable burial and provision of food and drink intended for them, see J. Cerny, Ancient Egyptian Religion, 1952, pp. 95-96.
(2) AIS, III, taf. XXXIV. Discussed by G. Contenau in MAO, II, p. 988, fig. 682. See also Orthmann, op. cit. taf. 57c.
(3) R. Dussaud, P. Deschamps, H. Seyrig, La Syrie Antique et Médiévale Illustre, Paris, 1931, pl. 25. Contenau, MAO, III, fig. 852, p. 1367—it is doubtful if he is correct in distinguishing a fowl on the table in addition to the animal's head. It is interesting to recall that the site of Neirab yielded numerous terracotta figurines of Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenian type and a collection of 27 cuneiform tablets which ranged from Year I of Nebuchadrezzar II (604 B.C.) to Cambyses (529-521 B.C.). The majority of these accountancy texts were dated in the reign of Nabonidus. In addition to the Neo-Babylonian cuneiform there was often a summary of contents in Aramaic: P. Dhorme, 'Les tablettes babyloniennes de Neirab', RA, XXV, 1928, p. 53 f. The city was called Niribu in antiquity.
(4) G. A. Cooke, North Semitic Inscriptions, 1903, Nos. 64 and 65 on pp. 186-91.
(5) AIS, I, p. 44 f., abb. 19 on p. 84 and taf. VI. The inscription recorded and translated in G. A. Cooke, op. cit. pp. 159 ff., No. 61. See also Orthmann, op. cit. taf. 7d.
(6) E. Dhorme, Les Religions de Babylone et d'Assyrie, p. 38 f., discusses Nergal, the ūfēmme, Ereshkigal and a second wife, the goddess Laaz or Laas whose cult was practised in the Assyrian city of Tarbiṣu near Nineveh. See also p. 224 for maq-me, the libation of water, a necessary part of the ministration if the dead were not to suffer tortures of thirst, p. 231, feasts for the dead and the appearance of the ūfēmme. References to the texts are given in the appendices to the chapters.
The representations of feasting ladies on our SW.7 panels inevitably remind us of Old Babylonian accounts concerning the feasting of the gods: 'You, who are seated on golden chairs, eating from plates of lapis lazuli, will descend here and eat...I here have for you seven and seven unleavened loaves.' This iconographic picture gleaned from an Old Babylonian text is associated with the sun god Shamash and with the goddess Ishtar, the 'lady of battle,' as well as with a number of others. Our ladies may well be related to such ideas, for the notion of permanent sustenance and eternal life symbolized by the lotus is associated with them. It would appear that these figures are no ordinary mortals for their tables rest on magical trees and they are accompanied by 'familiars,' usually winged sphinxes, crouching below their chairs.

Had our scenes been capable of a secular interpretation we should have expected to find on ancient Asiatic reliefs frequent examples of banquet scenes which are purely festive and not of a funerary or propitiatory character, but such representations are rare and have no relation to the Nimrud ivories which we are considering. The reliefs from the N.W. Palace of Ashurnasirpal II come readily to mind; they illustrate the king seated on an ornate backless chair balancing a cup of wine on the tips of his fingers. This appears to be a ritual scene concerned with propitiatory libations to the gods. More relevant is the well-known relief from Nineveh illustrating Ashurbanipal in his garden, accompanied by his enthroned queen, celebrating his victory over the Elamites. An elaborately ornamented table is laden with bread and wine cups. The king reclines on his couch which has an incurving back. The queen sits on an elaborate throne with curving armrests and straight back. This scene of a queen participating in a banquet with the king is unique in Assyrian reliefs and brings to mind the possibility that our Nimrud ladies may be queens: however a victory banquet of the courtiers of Sargon II discovered at Khorsabad includes no one of the female sex.

It is surprising that for an illustration of a female, perhaps the queen, taking part in a banquet, we have to turn back from the first to the third millennium B.C. at which period, Early Dynastic III, we have an illustration on a lapis lazuli cylinder seal from the tomb of Subad (Pu-abu), illustrating a lady taking part in what Woolley reckoned to be a victory banquet: others interpret this as the banquet scene which may have been held at the close of the Sacred Marriage. Yet a third interpretation is also possible: this seal may once again represent a funeral feast.

Enlightening is another lapis lazuli cylinder seal from Ur of the same period, E.D. III, which is believed originally to have formed part of the contents of the Royal Cemetery grave PG 580. Once again we see a banquet scene in which an enthroned male and female take part and on the seal the legend refers to the 'Lady of the god Pabilsag' that is to say the enutu priestess. Neither of the enthroned figures bear any of the marks of divinity, but if we follow the legend one must be a priestess while the other may be divine. In spite of the long lapse of time which separates this and other similar seals from the Nimrud ivories we cannot altogether dissociate such ideas from the later iconography.

Miss Barbara Parker whom we have consulted on the interpretation of banquet scenes comments that in Syrian art there are two iconographical traditions:

(i) the funeral banquet where humans are partaking in the feast, although the wife is rarely represented as feasting with her defunct husband. Examples of the two feasting together may however occur on the stelae from Zinjirlili and neighbourhood discussed above.

(ii) the ritual banquet, where humans and sometimes gods partake, as on Assyrian seals.

It is not always possible to distinguish in the iconography which type of scene is represented.

(2) E. Strommenger, *The Art of Mesopotamia*, pls. 194-5.
(3) Strommenger, *op. cit.* pl. 241.
(4) Botta, I, pls. 64 and 76, which may be conveniently consulted in J. V. Kinner-Wilson, *The Nimrud Wine Lists*, 1972, pl. 2. Note that the chairs are backless. See also Mallowan and Davies, *Ivories from Nimrud*, II, 1970, pl. V, no. 7—incised ivorv panel of the ninth century B.C. illustrating the king seated on a high backed throne feasting with his courtiers. This is a wine-drinking scene, discussed on p. 18, No. 7, ND. 7576. Similar scene on the bronze gates of Shalmaneser III from Balawat.
(5) U.10871 illustrated in C. L. Woolley, *Ur Excavations*, II, No. 17, pl. 193. Perhaps by reference to U.9315 discussed below may best be interpreted as the god and his wife enjoying wine and food at a banquet. See also H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, 1939, pl. XVc-c; note that in list of plates the reference to pl. XVc should read Ur 98, instead of Ur 23.
(6) U.9315, Woolley, *op. cit.*, pl. 200, No. 98. Inscription on pl. 191. How closely the legend has a bearing on the actual scene is a matter for debate, but in view of the sacred character of the 'Royal Graves' our interpretation deserves serious consideration.
(7) For instance, Woolley, *op. cit.* pls. 193-4, on which the furniture, apparatus and especially the musical instruments conform with discoveries in the graves themselves.
Scenes illustrating figures, probably male and female enthroned and engaged in the act of ritual drinking, also occur occasionally on seals and seal impressions executed for Hurrians living under the government of the king of Mitanni at Nuzi, c. 1450 B.C. These festivities were associated with divinities but they have little direct bearing on our problem and the figures so engaged appear to concentrate on drink rather than food.¹

Chronologically related to the Nimrud ivory plaques are certain Assyrian and Syrian seals of the ninth to seventh centuries, but those with an iconography relevant to our discussion are rare. A number of Assyrian seals of the ninth and eighth centuries in the Berlin Museum have been illustrated by A. Moortgat, some of them from Assur itself.² Each of them illustrates a seated divinity; there are three examples where a great wine jar has been set on a table near at hand. The thrones have a high back and in some cases a stylized plant is represented. A retainer with a fan is in attendance.

We may note an Assur seal, Moortgat No. 654, whereon we see the enthroned goddess Ishtar, whose chair is adorned with five stars; she holds a spiked circlet and confronts a bull-footed table overlaid with a table-cloth (?) upon which there sits a bird, perhaps a dove: a worshipper is in attendance; star, crescent moon and the sibitti are in the field. The association of a divinity and table of offerings is again apparent. The same goddess, Ishtar of battle, enthroned on the back of a lion and facing a tall incense burner is seen on Moortgat No. 655, but there is no banquet table here. Drink offerings are set before a king on No. 660, a god or a king on No. 662 and perhaps a goddess (?) on No. 664.³ Moortgat No. 663 illustrates a bearded, seated king with cup raised in the right hand, enthroned in front of an elaborate table over which there is a fish, as on some of the funerary stelae which we have been considering above, and perhaps a chalice for wine. A standing figure, fan in hand, is in attendance. On No. 660 from Assur the enthroned king is clearly engaged in some kind of libation ceremony, but whether concerned with the dead or not, we do not know. A stylized tree or plant of life stands behind the throne.

A series of Elamite seals of the thirteenth century B.C. which represent enthroned figures, possibly including some females, has been found by R. Ghirshman at Chogha Zanbil. In these scenes the ruler is accompanied by standing attendants, trees, plants, vegetation and various beasts, mostly cervids. In front of each enthroned figure there is a table of offerings, mostly set with wine vessels, but in some cases there are fish and cervids. These cylinders are made of faience and have been discussed by Edith Porada who, following R. Frankena, has made the interesting suggestion that the king and his attendants are hereon engaged, as they would have been in Assyria, in performing the ritual ceremony named Tākultu whereby the king himself offers a Tākultu banquet to the gods and solicits a blessing on the land.⁴

Banquet scenes are also represented on bronze situlae from Luristan of which a notable example is one in the collection of Yolanda Maléki representing a male sharing a feast with a female, between them a well-laden table, to the strains of music. Although not found in an excavation this object appears to have been generally accepted as genuine and to have been executed in the tenth–ninth centuries B.C.⁵ Many illustrations on reliefs and seals have been selected for comparison with the ladies on the ivories from S.W.⁶ We conclude by considering the iconography of a north Syrian seal of the eighth to seventh centuries B.C. under strong Assyrian influence. (7) CCO, II, Acquisitions, Musée du Louvre, 1923, pl. 98, 5, A.938, catalogued on p. 198. This was a carnelian seal mounted with a gold holder and caps and is said to have been a component of a necklace found in a Neo-Babylonian grave at Neirab. From the style of engraving there can be little doubt that this is a Syrian seal of the eighth to seventh centuries B.C. under strong Assyrian influence.

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¹ AASOR, XXIV, 1947, pl. 1, nos. 18, 19 and p. 208: seated figures sucking wine through tubes; the winged eagle of the sun is overhead. Miss Porada detects Syro-Cappadocian or Syrian influence behind these scenes.
³ Moortgat, op. cit. p. 145, taf. 78, no. 664—said to be a god.
⁴ E. Porada, Tekka Zanbil (Dnr-Untash), IV, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique en Iran XLII, 1970, especially Groupe VII, p. 57 f., concerned with banquet.
⁶ CCO, II, Acquisitions, Musée du Louvre, 1923, pl. 98, 5, A.938, catalogued on p. 198. This was a carnelian seal mounted with a gold holder and caps and is said to have been a component of a necklace found in a Neo-Babylonian grave at Neirab. From the style of engraving there can be little doubt that this is a Syrian seal of the eighth to seventh centuries B.C. under strong Assyrian influence.
over the top of the spiked nimbus: she is probably the goddess Ishtar. Before her is a bull-footed table laden with offerings; an attendant stands opposite the goddess and raises her hands in supplication; in the sky a winged disc and behind the throne a palm in fruit with fillet-like branches projecting from it. Mounted in gold at one end of the seal is an ibex, perhaps represented on a mountain. It is possible that this expensive sumptuary work was specifically made as a funerary ornament for, as we have seen above, Neirab was possessed of funerary stelae and their guardians must have been concerned with tending the dead. The fact that one of the deceased specifically disclaimed expensive funerary offerings (p. 12 above) implies that others required them. Perhaps we have grounds here for contending that the standing figure, who may or may not have been the deceased, sets a banquet before the goddess Ishtar and prays in return for the conferment of her blessing. As at Nimrud, the tutelary winged sun disc is figured overhead.

This study of comparative evidence for the iconography of banquet scenes has suggested a variety of associated notions concerned with the appeasement of the gods, with funerary rites, even with simple celebrations of victory. Sometimes we have seen enthroned a king, a queen, a god or a goddess, a priest or a priestess. There are, however, no exact parallels to our enthroned ladies and not one of the SW.7 banqueting ladies is directly associated with the winged sun-disc, although the ladies of No. 46 are not only seated below the winged disc but also hold up to it a beaded circlet, which is identical with the circlet of the sun itself as rendered on Nos. 1, 2, 8, 9, etc. This association with the disc may imply that the ladies derived their authority from the sun: they are equally closely associated with the plant of life and their tables rest in the branches of the trees. They therefore seem to be no ordinary mortals even though they carry none of the appurtenances of the gods on their heads and persons. Therefore one hypothesis which has to be considered is that they are persons with queenly authority; but if so they must be Syrian rather than Assyrian, for the turreted crown appropriate to Assyrian queens is never represented. Nevertheless it is possible that these ivories were executed for the adornment of the queens' thrones and were intended for use in their apartments.

However that may be, we are inclined to follow the suggestion first made in Mallowan, N & R, that these enthroned ladies are protective, guardian spirits deriving their power and authority from the sun. We should notice that the hair-style and dress of these enthroned females is identical with that of the winged ladies, No. 1, Panel 6, No. 3, Panels 2 and 3 and No. 67, and with the hairstyles of the little winged female sphinxes Nos. 21, 38 and 42, although the hair on the male sphinx familiaris on the sides of the thrones, Nos. 47-8 and 50-1 differs, consisting of simple bunches of curls. It is significant that one of the winged ladies plays a protective part in association with the warriors under the winged disc, No. 1. These ladies are possibly mythological beings, perhaps derived from Syrian sources, but not yet known from any literary reference. We may have a faint echo in the account of Ashurbanipal's dream concerning Ishtar of Arbela, who directed the king to make war: 'Where thou goest I will go with thee, O lady of ladies'... 'Thou shalt remain here, where the abode of Nabu is. Eat food, drink wine, provide music, honour my divinity, until I go and carry out this work and cause thee to attain unto thy heart's desire.'

The festival ordained for Ishtar of Arbela was one of the most important in Assyria and where the feminine aspect of authority was so strongly asserted it is likely that the queen also played her part, though it was one obscured in a literature which was the product of a court that insisted on rigid exclusion for the harem. Nonetheless we know of the powerful authority wielded by Simurratum, wife of Shamshi-Adad V for many years regent during the minority of her son Adad-nêrâri III. Her inscribed funerary stela was discovered at Assur but there was no figured representation of the queen thereon.

We have already noticed that there is a representation of Ashurbanipal's queen Assur-Sarrat in the garden scene from Nineveh. This same queen is also clearly delineated on a funerary stela at Assur where she is again seen wearing the turreted crown, seated on a throne with high turned back and holding a lotus bud and flower. The only other

(1) No. 46 was probably the product of another workshop, not that which produced Nos. 47-51, see pp. 36-7 below. The ladies on this set are not feasting.
(2) The lady holding a lotus in each hand and peering over the sun disc on Nos. 38-45 has been tentatively identified as Shepesh, the lady of the sun, see p. 17.
(4) LAR, II, 1927, p. 332, para. 861. For Ishtar of Arbela see R. Labat, Le Caractère Religieux de la Royauté Assyro-

Babylonienne, Paris, 1939, p. 157 f. Banquets were ordained throughout the country by the king at the end of the abûtu festival, p. 160.
(6) W. Andrae, op. cit. pp. 6-8 and abb. 3. Her title is Simului Ekkal', 'Lady of the Palace'.

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queen who figures in Assyrian iconography is named as Naqi’a-Zakûtû, probably an Aramaean lady, who was the mother of Esarhaddon. This queen figures in relief on a bronze plaque, following the king submissively while engaged in a purification ceremony, named as the cleansing and opening of the mouth. She carries a mirror in one hand and in the other an object which resembles a short stump of a stick which is pressed against the nose. The king is similarly represented and both figures appear as if sniffing the fragrance of a flower. We are, however, unable to detect any similarity with the SW.7 ladies: she is dressed in Assyrian fashion with a long mantle.

Although women in Assyria, as in other Semitic societies, were kept in seclusion, there is evidence of the high standing and authority exercised by the queens of Shamshi-Adad V, Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal. We may be sure that these royal ladies were the projection of powers in the feminine world both from above, since Ishtar was one of the most feared divinities in the pantheon, and from below, since the harem has always been a driving force in society. From the harem stemmed the social pressure which enabled women to exercise offices of state and magistracy and to have well established social rights sustained by the Assyrian laws of inheritance. It is understandable that such power was reflected in feminine magic through the representation of semi-divine figures on the ivories, for here are subjects not concerned with war and the direct authority of the king, unlike the official bas-reliefs. The subjects and style of iconography which we have been considering are a reminder that the kings of Assyria must often have married foreign wives: the Aramaean (?) Naqi’a-Zakûtû is a notable example. Behind our Nimrud scenes we may discern both Syrian and Phoenician influence.

The Winged Sun-Disc and Shepesh in the Sun-Disc

Some of our panels display winged discs either hovering above the warriors, for instance as on Nos. 1, 2, 8, 9, 11 and 12, or running along the top of the central section of a chair or couch, as on No. 1 and Nos. 97–102. There are many general parallels to these discs at Sakcha Gözi, Carchemish and Zinjirli, although there are no close comparisons. Other ivories from Nimrud carry related designs of the winged disc. Two illustrated by Barnett in the Catalogue of Nimrud Ivories deserve our attention: they were discovered by Layard, one of them possibly in the N.W. Palace. Two beardless male figures stand on either side of a tree and touch or pluck the fruit which depends from a winged disc with voluted or scroll terminals. Another fragment, which originally belonged to this or to a similar panel, depicts a stippled sun circle at the top of the wings, similar to the form of disc illustrated on some of the SW.7 ivories, for instance No. 1. Barnett considered this work as comparable with the sculpture of Sakcha Gözi and ‘doubtless ... of the same date, viz. eighth century B.C. executed by Syrian rather than Assyrian craftsmen’. P. Calmeyer, while agreeing with Barnett’s remarks on the un-Assyrian style of these carvings, is inclined to ascribe them to the art of Urartu on grounds of hairstyle and iconography. However, he admits that Urartian iconography is eclectic and and indeed may owe as much to Assyria as to Anatolia.

It is relevant to note that one ivory winged sun-disc illustrated by Barnett? and alleged to have come from Toprak analysed by Charles Virolleaud makes clear, there is also evidence of festivities in homage of the gods in Syrian mythology. The text described festivities in honour of Ba’al and also mentions the good companions of Kashir, an Aegean god adopted by the people of Ugarit. The goddess Anat, sister and lover of Ba’al, queen of heaven and earth, is represented by a falcon protecting the world with its wings. CRAI, April-June 1966, p. 226: analysis of the text in CRAI, 1962, p. 109.

(1) Perhaps originating from Harran, according to Nougayrol, on account of the mirror held in her hand, more readily associated with Harran than Assur, see note 2 below. She was of exalted rank, daughter-in-law of Sargon, wife of Sennacherib, mother of Esarhaddon.
(2) A. Parrot et J. Nougayrol, ‘Asarhaddon et Naqi’a sur un bronze du Louvre (AO 20.185)’, Syria, XXXIII, 1956, p. 147 f. and pl. VI. Nougayrol interprets this scene as an act of expiation by Esarhaddon for the desecration of Babylon by his father Sennacherib. The flattening of the nose could be an act of obeisance performed by persons of rank so exalted that they were above prostration. Perhaps also the king and queen are hereby represented inhaling the breath of life through some instrument with magical potency.
(3) As a fragment of a mythological text from Ras Shamra
(5) Barnett, CNI, p. 183. The style of carving appears to be Assyrian.
(7) Barnett, CNI, pl. CXXXV, V.12. For the uncertainty of this attribution, see p. 128.
Kale, Tushpa-Rusahinli, is almost identical to the renderings of the winged discs both on Barnett’s D.10 and F.2, discussed above. Since its provenance was not recorded, we are inclined to conjecture that this piece might have been excavated by or brought to Layard during his brief soundings at Tulul el ‘Azar, the site of Fort Shalmaneser. It does not seem legitimate to attribute this art to Urartu, as Calmeyer does, on such inadequate evidence. Other examples of Urartian work cited by him may well have been derivatives of Assyrian art. Since neither the hairstyle nor the dress of the figures is strictly Assyrian, although not altogether different from the Assyrian mode, it may be that these ivories were carved by a Syrian artist working for the Assyrian court.

Most remarkable is the scene illustrating a chariot hunt on the Sakcha Gözüi reliefs wherein the winged disc bears a close resemblance to examples from SW.7, particularly Nos. 1–12, 22–4 and 30–5, although it is not identical with them. The association here of the solar disc with armed warriors who wear plate or scale armour is of special relevance. This North Syrian relief from Sakcha Gözüi, so similar to our No. 1, Panel 9, is probably approximately contemporary with the set of Nimrud ivories under discussion, that is the latter half of the eighth century B.C., see pp. 45–8 below.

One of the most interesting and significant of the figures in the iconography of the ivory plaques from SW.7 is the winged sun-disc capped by a female holding a great lotus flower in either hand, Nos. 38–45. This lady presides over helmeted warriors, who are associated either with the lotus tree and papyrus plant, Nos. 38–40, or with the voluted palmette column, Nos. 43 and 44: they stand either over a winged sphinx, Nos. 38 and 42, or over a lion, Nos. 39, 43 and 44. There is no need to elaborate on this figure which has been described in detail in the catalogue below, and discussed in extenso in Mallowan, N & R.6

We have long ago concluded that there is a reasonable case for identifying the headpiece as ‘Shepesh’, the ‘Lady of the Sun’, who in the Ugaritic texts intercedes with the god El on behalf of a son of Athtar, and is described as ‘the luminary of the gods’ burning the furrows in the fields. If we accept this connection we may trace this winged lady who rises above the beaded circle of the sun (?) to the Ugaritic legends of western Syria, doubtless of Canaanite origin. This myth was foreign to Assyria, as to Babylonia, where the sun, Shamash, was always male although he had his female consort. This figure thus emphasizes the solar aspect of the winged discs which, on many other of these plaques, Nos. 1, 2, 8, 9, 11, etc., are represented without the female and might be considered as the sun in his masculine aspect or possibly simply as the sky illuminated by the orb of the sun. Written proof is lacking but this interpretation is plausible.

However that may be, the distant parallels to the concept of Shepesh are of much interest for they extend as far afield as Cyprus and Etruria as well as to Lindos, Rhodes and Assur in tridachna shells. Of particular interest is the Etruscan parallel on the Bernadini silver bowl6 which illustrates a chariot drawn up into the sky and inevitably reminds us of the Old Testament story of Elijah drawn up to heaven in his chariot, most probably to be connected with some ancient Canaanite myth connected with the solar Ba’al.

These comparisons with the iconography and mythology of countries west of Assyria are also of interest because they are relevant to the chronology. It is clear that none of the comparable illustrations are earlier; for the most part they are later than the Assyrian. The earliest parallel is the Etruscan Bernadini bowl which some authorities are prepared to date as early as 725 B.C., but the remainder are probably not earlier than the seventh century. In this process of diffusion the priority of imagery is likely to belong to Assyria, but the priority of mythology is likely to be Canaanite.

3. Calmeyer, loc. cit. Other parallels offered by Calmeyer as indicative of Urartian influence are not cogent, e.g. the lid of a stone box from Karmir Blur. This illustrates a pair of winged griffins on either side of the magical tree, which stands beneath a winged disc—eighth century B.C. Note that the bowl to which it belongs is apparently supported on the tips of human fingers. This art is merely an Urartian stylization of a subject common to Assyria and North Syria and is evidence that the iconographers of the period adapted their styles to the milieu in which they worked. For the stone lid see B. Piotrovsky, op. cit. pls. 111–12. Origins of the tree may be sought in Canaanite art as illustrated by the ivories of Megiddo; G. Loud, The Megiddo Ivories, OIP, LII, 165–7 on pls. 34–5; also 14–15 on pl. 6–c. twelfth century B.C.; in the art of Middle Assyria illustrated on pottery and in mural painting, W. Andrae, Coloured Ceramics from Assur, 1925; and perhaps also as alleged by Calmeyer in Hittite art, e.g. at Yazilikaya, K. Bittel, WVDog, 61, 1941, p. 130 f.
4. E. Pottier, L’Art Hittite, fig. 117; J. Garstang, The Hittite Empire, pl. XLVI; W. Orthmann, Späthethitischen Kunst, taf. 51c.
5. II, p. 496 f. and notes 56–9 on pp. 652–3. See also pp. 26, 27 and 85 below.
The interpretation of analogous scenes on Cypriot silver vessels has been discussed by Clark Hopkins, who has described iconographic elaborations which go far beyond the simple imagery illustrated on our ivories, but he has nonetheless suggested that 'the closest parallel and a most interesting one is that of Shapash (sic) the sun, in the Phoenician ivories'. In this ivory the head full front and with Hathor curls rises above the winged god and tailed disc and the arms stretched along the upper part of the wings hold the lotus plant. In the Phoenician bowl the disc of the sun is conspicuous by its absence as the winged figure raises the chariot with its hands. Clark Hopkins believes that the scenes on the derivative Cypriot bowls have an esoteric significance which may be interpreted as connected with the twelve divisions of the ecliptic (and the Zodiac). The Phoenician-style Cypriot bowls, according to Hopkins, present the seventh-century interpretation of the 'annual phenomenon'—a period in which the signs of the Zodiac were in process of formation. In these later elaborations there are combat scenes connected with the struggles associated with solar mythology, in which Ba’al, the demon Humbaba and the serpent play a part.

Whatever the correct interpretation of these scenes may be, the first inspiration would appear to go back to the Ugaritic myths which the Etruscan and Cypriot bowls have carried a stage further than the simpler solar imagery of the Nimrud ivories. Whether or not to attribute any particular astrological significance to the Nimrud warrior plaques may be left as an unanswered question. We are on dangerous ground if we become involved in esoteric speculation on evidence so defective. But we can recognize on our plaques the guardian spirits of the king and his consort, displaying their authority in association with the protective trees, flowers and vegetation, often under the winged disc.

Identification of Trees and Flowers, the Lotus

The voluted trees on the SW.7 ivories, Nos. 89–94, have obvious affinities with the tiered trees on some of the panels from Arslan-Tash. As regards the rendering of trees in general it may be recalled that the naturalistic drawing of the palm did not gain ground in Assyria until the reign of Sargon II and it is pertinent to remember that such palms do not occur on our panels. For a proper understanding of ancient ingrained beliefs in the power in the tree, its blossom and fruit, nothing is more revealing than classical Greek beliefs in the nature of Dionysiac religion: some of them undoubtedly emanated from the Orient and, as expounded by Euripides, were associated with the dynasty of Cadmus at Thebes, which had originated in Phoenicia. The titles of Dionysus as mentioned by Plutarch, quoting Pindar, were Δεσπότης or Ἐφεδρός the power in the tree; he is Ἀνθίως blossom-bringer, Κάρπως the fruit bringer, Φλεός or Φλεός the abundance of life ... the sap thrusting in a young tree, the blood pounding in the veins of a young animal, all the mysterious and uncontrollable tides that ebb and flow in the life of nature. These facets of Greek religion thus appear to illuminate the iconography of the panels we have been discussing above.

In Egypt, particularly from the New Kingdom onwards the commonest of the lilies was the Nymphaea caerulea or blue lotus which was clearly the model for No. 107 with its bright blue incrustation, pointed leaves and sepals. The most striking, contemporary, Egyptian models would have been the beautiful lotiform chalices with their relief designs of the XXIInd Dynasty, 945–730 B.C., specifically associated with the cult of the Dead, in contrast with our ivories which were dedicated to the living.

To the figures of the warriors, usually associated with trees, the most striking parallels are to be found at Sakcha Gözü: the Zinjirli stela illustrating a lady holding a flower and seated at table is closely similar in subject and style to our banqueting ladies. No close parallel can be found, however, for the blooms and foliage of the trees and the flowers held by the ladies. They appear to illustrate 'lilies' and the palmette. Papyrus or pseudo-papyrus designs were relatively rare and the artists, it seems, were less familiar with them.

These Nimrud flowers are remote from any naturalistic prototype: the set from SW.7 is sui generis, as far as we know without parallel in Egypt, a travesty of Egyptian art forms, a transmutation which can also be matched in Samaria where the art of Phoenicia was dominant. One has only to glance at the simplest forms Nos. 4, 5, 7, 8 for example, to appreciate the peculiarity of the floral renderings which become altogether aberrant in the complicated elaborations seen on No. 51 Panel 4 with its stippling and scrolls, and on the lower register of No. 62 where the intention is clearly

(2) BMMA, April 1960, p. 261 and pl. XVIIA.
(3) Arslan-Tash, pl. XLV.
(5) JEA, 49 (Dec. 1963), p. 93 f. for a full discussion of the lotus and the application of its design.
(6) See also pp. 9–10.
to use the lotus as a formalized decorative design, regardless of any realistic setting. At the bottom of No. 65 the winged disc appears to be transformed to foliage. On the other hand, in the middle register of No. 38 in front of the 'lily tree' there is a rare form of exotic plant represented as growing on the mountains and here the artist may perhaps have had some particular species in mind, see p. 86.

These floral designs were remote from anything in nature, as we may see on Nos. 77-84, where males clutch at the trunks of lily trees capped by huge flowers. The youth carrying a scrolled palmette plant in a jug, No. 87, is proof that this particular design was a Phoenician travesty. Stylized fronds, of the variety represented at Nimrud appear also at Arslan-Tash in convolutions which are usually accepted as Phoenician in origin as noted above.

It is abundantly clear that the bearded warriors clutching the sinuous trunk of the tree with its branches variously capped by lotus and palmette, e.g. on Nos. 1, 2, were conceived as associated with a magical form of plant or tree which corresponded to nothing in nature, and indeed appears for the present to be unmatched elsewhere.

The search for origins thus appears to be fruitless, at present, but we may be content with accepting the fact that in Calah we have a number of unique iconographical representations of vegetation, usually thought to be Phoenician in conception, because some of the designs are a transmutation of Egyptian art forms, foreign to Egypt, but the work of artisans who had an awareness of the appeal of Egyptian art in the wealthiest courts of Western Asia.

Summary
When we consider this collection of ivories as a whole, the general impression is that the iconography and style is homogeneous and representative of North Syrian craftsmanship with elements, in so far as they are based on Egyptian art, which may be specifically ascribed to Phoenician workshops. While it seems possible that this furniture was made in Syrian and Phoenician workshops, we must also consider that it may have been designed by foreigners in Assyria itself, perhaps at Nimrud where we have evidence of tusks held in store and the knowledge that many foreign craftsmen were in residence. Such parallels as there are range from the last quarter of the ninth to the last quarter of the eighth century B.C., with a bias in favour of the latter part of this period—750-700 B.C. The symbolism on the iconography is consistent and would appear to belong to a comparatively restricted period.

Consideration of Detail
Having discussed the function and setting of the ivory panels and their possible significance we now turn to a detailed examination of the various groups of panels.

**Men wearing cut-away coats, Nos. 1-21 and 66**
This is the principal or 'classic' group of ivories found in SW.7: men attired in this distinctive coat worn over a short tunic are represented on no less than 36 panels, all of a more or less standard size. Apart from the unusual Nos. 21 and 66, they are all closely similar, the principal differences between the panels being the presence or absence of a winged disc and whether the men face to right or to left.

Winged discs occur on Nos. 1, 2, 8, 9, 11, 12, 19 and 21: all are almost identical (fig. 4a) except for those on Nos. 19 and 21. The disc itself is regularly beaded, a rare variation though one that is paralleled at Karatepe and on an unprovenanced ivory, possibly from Nimrud. There are from three to five feathers between the volutes, and the upper ends of the volutes are cross-hatched. Springing from them are two rows of delicately executed feathers. No. 19 is a more coarsely executed version of this 'classic' type of winged disc, without markings on the feathers and without cross-hatching.

The winged discs of No. 21, Panels 3 and 4 (fig. 4c), are different in many respects: the disc is not beaded, the feathers between the volute ends also rise above the disc, and there is no cross-hatching on the upper ends of the volutes, instead they terminate in a line of beading. Feathers both above and below the disc occur on Nos. 26 and 27

(1) The panels of No. 3 are c. 18.5 cm. high instead of the standard c. 25 cm.
(2) E. Akurgal, The Art of the Hittites, pl. 149; W. Orthmann, Späthethitische Kunst, taf. 15d.
(3) Barnett, CNI, pl. CXXV, and see pp. 16-17 above.
Fig. 4: Winged discs: a, from the classic panels, Nos. 1, 2, etc.; b, from Nos. 26 and 27; c, from No. 21; d, from Nos. 38-45; e, from No. 57; f, from No. 85.
(fig. 4b), where otherwise the disc is of the 'classic' type, and on the panels of the unique No. 65 (fig. 4f), which has in addition a rosette in the centre. Feathers above and below the disc, and the central rosette, occur on a Zinjirli stela showing a lady at table. The most unusual feature of the panels of No. 65, however, is that the winged disc is underfoot instead of above the head.

The men of Nos. 1–20 all stride out with characteristic vigour, usually over flat ground though sometimes over mountains, as on No. 1, Panels 1, 2, 10 and 11, Nos. 19 and 20. The men of No. 21 are exceptional, as they are shown climbing a tree which appears to be growing in the mountains. They grasp the convoluted trunk of the sacred tree with one hand while the other plucks a fruit or holds a ready-plucked fruit, frond or feather above the head. Occasionally the trunk of the tree is grasped by both hands, as in No. 2, Panels 2, 3, 11 and 12, where the men are differently dressed, and Nos. 19 and 21.

(1) *AIS*, IV, taf. LIV; Akurgal, *op. cit.* pl. 130.
The men's faces are almost identical: they are carved to a standard model with large eye and curving eyebrow, slightly hooked nose and tightly pursed mouth. Their shoulder-length hair and long beards are regularly arranged in the spiral curls typical of North Syria, and the bearded men also wear moustaches, a feature, according to Madhloom, which is diagnostic of a late eighth-century date. The form of the curls can be compared with those of King Katuwat from Carchemish and with those of the hunter attacking a lion from Sakheh Güzii, though the latter has an additional, smoothly curled lock, at the back.

The men wear a short skirt or, more probably, tunic underneath an ankle-length coat with short sleeves (fig. 5). The coat is wrapped over the chest and is held in position by a wide belt: it opens below the waist to reveal the knee-length tunic. The wrap-over of the bodice can be clearly seen on Nos. 12 and 66, Panels 1 and 5, where the men are shown partially from the front rather than in the more usual profile.

The material of the coat is carefully represented by rows of closely packed loops, arranged horizontally—hereafter called banded. The coat-sleeves are formed of rows of loops and dots arranged around the arm. The edge and hem of the coat are decorated with a deep border of dots and loops. The coat-lining, seen behind the exposed leading leg, is plain with a fringed or decorated hem. The coat is fastened by a plain wide belt. The fastening of this belt, shown on Nos. 13–15, can be compared with that of the belt of King Araras at Carchemish and less convincingly with buckled belts from Arslan-Tash and Zinjirli.

A short skirt, probably part of a tunic, can be seen under the coat: it ends above the knee and is usually made of a material decorated with a criss-cross or diamond design. This skirt sometimes appears to be wrapped over in the manner of the Scottish kilt: the fringed edge of the 'kilt' can be seen on No. 1, Panel 8 and Nos. 7, 11 and 12. The hem of the skirt is usually decorated either with fringes or beading or simply with three or four horizontal lines. A somewhat similar tunic with a fringed and kilted skirt made of a diamond-patterned material occurs at Zinjirli, but no overcoat is worn there.

The men are usually barefoot, but on three panels, Nos. 13, 14 and the crude No. 19, they wear sandals which have a long heelpiece, extending almost to the toes. According to Madhloom's analyses of the stylistic criteria of Assyria, this long heelpiece is diagnostic of a ninth-century date, but exceptions may occur and we cannot yet prove that the same canons apply to figures in the Syrian style.

Although of a different material, and probably also of a different construction, the standard costume of a long cut-away coat or mantle worn over a short tunic occurs relatively frequently in Assyrian sculpture from Asurnasirpal II to the time of Sargon II. This costume was worn by winged, divine or semi-divine human figures and occasionally by priestly attendants; but it was not worn by ordinary mortals and it therefore seems probable that it had some definite ritual significance.

Outside Assyria the Assyrian-style mantle with its distinctive sash over the shoulder occurs both on gold and ivory panels from Ziwiye and on a stela from Arslan-Tash where it is worn by the storm god bestriding a bull. A plain belted coat and undertunic, rather than the Assyrian mantle and tunic, is worn by men flanking trees on some ivory panels from the same site. The Arslan-Tash panels are apparently Phoenician in style—also Phoenician is a bowl from Cyprus, which again shows men saluting a voluted palmette tree dressed in a tunic and long open coat or skirt. Bowmen on the bowl are similarly attired, though they are shown wearing an open skirt rather than

(1) T. Madhloom, The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art, p. 87.
(3) Carchemish, II, pl. A.13d; Akurgal, op. cit. pl. 118; Orthmann, op. cit. taf. 35g.
(4) Akurgal, op. cit. pl. 133; Orthmann, op. cit. taf. 51d.
(5) Carchemish, I, pl. B.6; Orthmann, op. cit. taf. 31; M. E. L. Mallowan, 'Carchemish', AS, XXII, pp. 74, 75.
(6) Arslan-Tash, pl. XII.
(7) AIS, IV, pl. LXII; Orthmann, op. cit. taf. 63g.
(8) AIS, V, pl. 46f.
(9) Madhloom, op. cit. p. 60.
(10) For instance it is worn by the magical winged genii carrying cone and bucket while attending Ashurnasirpal—Layard, Mon., pl. 5; by the eagle-headed god, op. cit. pl. 36; by the gods with cone and bucket from the Akropolis at Khorsabad as well as by the attendants in the ritual procession there—Budge, ASBM, pls. XXVII–VIII; AAO, pls. 83, 97. We see the same type of open mantle again on some Assyrian-style ivories from Nimrud, Barnett, CNI, pls. CXIII–IV, and on Neo-Assyrian cylinder seals—AAAO, pl. 119. For a possible reconstruction of this shawled skirt see B. Hrouda, Die Kulturgeschichte des Assyrischen Flachbildes, Bonn, 1965, taf. 2.
(11) A. Godard, Le Trésor de Ziwiye, 1950, pls. 27 and 75.
(12) Arslan-Tash, pl. 2.
(14) E. Gjerstad, 'Decorated Metal Bowls from Cyprus', Opuscula Archaeologica, IV, 1948, pls. VI–VII.
a coat, for the skirt is decorated with a diamond pattern while the bodice is plain. Musicians from Karatepe wear a tunic and overcoat, although the skirts of their coats are only calf-length and are not strictly comparable. Finally, winged men flanking the sacred tree and a bowman shooting a bull at Tell Halaf wear long fringed coats over short tunics.

In a style related to the Arslan-Tash ivories is an ivory plaque from Fort Shalmaneser, Room S.10. Arranged in two registers the panel shows opposed youths or men grasping the branches of lotus-palmette trees. Both men and boys wear long cut-away coats over short tunics: but there the similarities with the panels from SW.7 end, for the material is diamond-patterned, the belts are loosely slung, and elaborate jewelled collars are worn around the shoulders. The carving of the faces and hair is, however, reminiscent of No. 87, ND.7579, with its triple atef crown. From the above, admittedly scanty evidence, it seems probable that both in North Syria and Phoenicia the use of this costume of a long open coat over a short tunic was mainly associated either with scenes where men or priests salute the sacred tree, or with hunting scenes, as on the Nimrud ivories where the carving is often in the Assyrian manner.

We see a related type of costume worn by the lion hunters at Sakcha Gözi. It consists of a coat and under-tunic, but the Sakcha Gözi coat is not a wrap-over, as on the SW.7 panels; instead it appears to be without an opening and has instead a panel cut from the front, more like the skirts of Nos. 22–8, see below, than the coats of Nos. 1–20: it closely resembles the coat of No. 64, Panel 3. Apart from this, it resembles the SW.7 coats of Nos. 1–20 in material, length and in the simple short sleeves. A coat similar to that worn by the Sakcha Gözi hunter, though made of a striped material, is worn by youths on an ivory fly-whisk handle from Nimrud.

The wearing of a long open coat or skirt over a tunic for hunting or for the apparel of divine beings is again noticeable in Mesopotamia in the second millennium B.C. For instance we see it worn by Ishtar on the wall painting showing the investiture of Zimrilim at Mari, where it is gaily striped; it is worn by a demon pursuing an ostrich on a Middle Assyrian seal; and by a god slaying a ‘Cyclops’ on a terracotta relief from the Diyala.

The banded material of the coat

The problem of what material the cut-away coat was made of was examined in Mallowan, N & R: was it scale armour or a type of elaborately embroidered or woven linen? First we must observe the types of garments on which banded material was represented: on the SW.7 ivories it appears on the cut-away coats of Nos. 1–20, on the long open skirts of Nos. 22–8, on the long coats of Nos. 38–44 and as a caparison on the chariot scene of No. 1, Panel 9. A similar banded material was used for three of the garments worn by the Sakcha Gözi hunters referred to above, for the long coat of the helmeted spearman, for the coats of the charioteers and again as a caparison. As a caparison it also occurs on an ivory pyxis from Nimrud. The charioteers on this pyxis appear to be wearing coats of a similar type to our cut-away coats but made of a different diamond-patterned material. The banded material is used, therefore, for coats, long open skirts and caparisons.

There is evidence to support the suggestion that the banded material on our coats represents scale armour. Not only were metal links found in SW.7 but scale armour is frequently represented on reliefs of Ashurnasirpal. On these reliefs soldiers are shown wearing an ankle-length or calf-length garment, open perhaps at the side, for the leading leg is exposed only when the soldier kneels. The sleeves are formed of rows of loops surrounding the arms as on the SW.7 coats. Armour curtains consisting of loops from helmet to shoulder complete the protection given by the garment: only the arms are bare. These head and neck curtains prove that the costume on the Ashurnasirpal II reliefs had a...
protective purpose and that armour was represented. Similar long garments, though without the neck curtains, also occur on the Balawat Gates, although by the reign of Tiglath-pileser III they had been replaced by hip-length or waist-length mail shirts.

There are two notable variations, however, between the long soldiers' garments of Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III and the SW.7 coats: one is that the loops of the soldiers' garments are relatively large, instead of being tightly packed, and have curves at the top rather than at the bottom as on the SW.7 coats. The other is that the Assyrian coat does not have the distinctive wrap-over front of the SW.7 coat. While the similarity between the two is close, we cannot prove that our coats were made of armour and there are indeed a number of reasons which may militate against this theory. Perhaps the most significant is the use of the banded material for the open skirts of Nos. 22-8: it would be manifestly absurd to use heavy armour for a garment not fashioned for bodily protection. Again the use of rows of loops for the decorative borders of the coats and skirts, and even on the tunic sleeves of No. 23, is suggestive of embroidery or weaving rather than metal plates. It may be significant that the cut-away coat appears to have been used only for ritual, ceremonial or hunting purposes and that it is worn by gods or priests. For this reason it has been suggested above, p. 9, that this garment was a ceremonial 'military' kit, reminiscent of the long armour coats of the ninth century.

As already noted, this banded material was used for caparisons: on the bull-hunt of No. 1, Panel 9, on two ivory pyxides from Nimrud illustrating lion hunts, and on the lion hunt from Sakcha Gözü. A related type of material is shown on the caparison of the openwork ivory chariot scene, ND.10316 from SW.7. The use of this material for caparisons has been cited as an additional argument favouring a protective purpose. It should, however, be noted that few horses are shown wearing caparisons—they are the exception rather than the rule, even on horses pulling royal chariots—and that the material illustrated on these caparisons shows many variations.

There is, however, one set of panels where the appearance of the material undoubtedly suggests armour rather than material, No. 21. Here we see rows of large loops separated from each other by rows of beading. It was these panels, and the equipment apparent in the bull hunt of No. 1, Panel 9, which led Mallowan in *Nimrud & Its Remains* to interpret the iconography in this way. However, No. 21 displays a number of features which are iconographically unique and it may have been carved in a different workshop, see p. 38 below.

**Men wearing tunics and overskirts, open at the front, Nos. 22–8**

Thirteen examples of men attired in this distinctive fashion of tunic and skirt have survived. Seven of these are of the standard size, but the other six vary considerably: the four panels of No. 25 are relatively small, only 14-2 cm. high, while Nos. 26 and 27 are exceptionally tall, about 33 cm. high. All the men, except for those of the small set No. 25, carry buckets in their left hands and hold cones aloft in their right.

The ritual nature of this scene wherein cone and bucket are closely associated with the sacred tree is reinforced by the presence of winged discs: these occur on all the panels of this group except for No. 25. The discs of Nos. 22–4 are almost identical to the 'classic' disc of Nos. 1, 2, 8, 11 and 12, see above pp. 19-21. The winged discs of the tall panels Nos. 26 and 27 are also similar except that they have in addition five feathers rising above the beaded disc, see p. 21 above for relevant comparisons.

The men in stance, face and hair-style are similar to those of Nos. 1–18 and, indeed, their costume would seem to be a variation of the cut-away coats, for we again see a tunic with a long open garment worn over it (fig. 6). This variation in dress may perhaps be accounted for by the special duty undertaken by the men of Nos. 22–4 and 26–7.

The tunic falls to just above the knee and has short sleeves. The material is embellished with diamond patterns outlined with beading: it may be that it represents a thick quilted stuff such as is still worn by Syrian and Kurdish peasants. This diamond pattern, either emphasized with beading or left plain, occurs frequently not only on these

6. For decorative caparisons, see Barnett & Falkner, pls. CXVI-VII.
tunics but also on the tunics of Nos. 1–21, on the linings of some of the long overskirts (Nos. 22–4, 26 and 28), and on some calf-length dresses (No. 2, Panels 1–3 and 10–12 and No. 56). We also see it on many other ivories found at Nimrud, for instance ND.10344 from SW.3i and S.1 from the South East (Burnt) Palace.2

Fig. 6a and b: Nos. 25 and 23, men in short tunics and overskirts, open at the front.

The short sleeves of the tunic usually have an elaborate border consisting of two rows of dots or beading framing a row of loops, loops which are similar to those forming the banded material of the cut-away coat, see pp. 23-4 above. The hems of the tunics are decorated with a single row of dots, except for No. 28 which is fringed. The tunic skirt is sometimes plain and sometimes kilted and fringed. A similar kilted tunic, made of the same material, occurs at Zinjirli.3

(1) Mallowan, N & R, II, fig. 463.
(2) Barnett, CNI, pl. XVIII.
(3) AIS, V, pl. 46b.
A wide belt encircles the waist and secures the long skirt which is worn over the tunic. The skirt has a curved panel cut from the front, thus exposing part of the tunic skirt and the leading leg. This overskirt is made of a similar banded material to that of the cut-away coat. The hem and the curving edge of the skirt are decorated with a wide border of two rows of dots framing one of loops. Except for No. 25 which has a plain lining, the lining of the skirt is ornamented with a diamond-pattern, though not emphasized with beading as on the tunics: the hem is fringed.

A close parallel for this costume occurs elsewhere at Nimrud: an openwork plaque found in the N.W. Palace shows part of a figure dressed in much the same way—a plain instead of a patterned under-tunic and an open skirt of a banded material.1 The man is approaching a voluted palmette tree and is carrying an unidentified object in the right hand. Apart from this example, no exact parallels for this unusual type of overskirt have been found. Three different types of garment may, however, be related to it. The first of these is a long coat or dress with a panel excised from the front, showing a little of the under-tunic—this type of garment is worn by the spearman from Sakcha Gözi;2 a figure by a figure on the basalt stela found at Tell Ashara (Tirqa) on the Euphrates near Mari and now at Aleppo,3 allegedly erected by Tukulti-Ninurta II; and on some ivories from Nimrud.4 The second related costume consists of a tunic and overskirt as on our panels, but the latter is cut much higher at the front than are the SW.7 overskirts. We see this costume worn by some figures on the staircase at Carchemish:5 the overskirt is elaborately fringed and displays a modest length of fringe at the front. This Carchemish style of tunic and overskirt appears again at Sakcha Gözi,6 where two men pluck blossoms growing from a winged disc; at Toprak Kale, where it is made of feathers and worn by winged griffins;7 and on a crude plaque from Ziwiye where men approach the sacred tree with bucket and cone.8 The third related costume also consists of a long skirt over a tunic, but the skirt is open from the waist—it does not even have a fringe across the stomach. This type of garment is worn by a winged figure carrying a bucket from Carchemish,9 by a winged bird—demon from Karatepe,10 and by bowmen on some Phoenician bowls.11

Again with the exception of the unusually small set No. 25, all the men from SW.7 attired in this distinctive fashion of a diamond—patterned tunic and long open overskirt carry rectangular buckets with loop handles in their left hands and hold cones or fronds aloft in their right. The edge of the bucket is outlined with a row of dots: we see similar buckets carried by the griffins of No. 66 and at Tell Halaf.12

Men wearing 'vase-hat' helmets and long coats, Nos. 38–45

Only six examples of helmeted men in long coats have survived, four panels with a single figure grasping the trunk of a tree, Nos. 38–42, and two panels showing two men standing side by side holding hands, Nos. 43–4. While there is a basic similarity of subject and dress between Nos. 38–44 and the classic panels of Nos. 1–20, for most of the men grasp trees and their long coats are clearly based on the cut-away coat of Nos. 1–20, there are many unique features. First the panels are divided into registers, so that the winged disc occupies a separate register at the top, while the men fill the second; a sphinx or lion occupies the third, and on the large double panels, Nos. 43 and 44, there is an additional fourth register filled with a truncated version of a voluted palmette tree.

The winged disc itself (fig. 4d) has one very unusual feature, for surmounting the beaded disc are the head and arms of a cherubic female shown full-face.14 The hair is arranged in a fringe across the brow and in two Hathor-like curls on either side of the face.14 The arms rest along the top of the wings and the hands hold up large lily flowers. As already

(2) See note 4, p. 24.
(4) Mallovan, N & R, II, fig. 534; Barnett, CNI, pl. LXXXVIII.
(6) Pottier, L'Art Hittite, pl. VIII, fig. 112; Akurgal, The Art of the Hittites, pl. 134; Orthmann, op. cit. taf. 49a.
(8) A. Godard, Le Trésor de Ziwiye, fig. 92.
(9) Carchemish, III, pl. A.21a; Orthmann, op. cit. taf. 21e.
(10) Akurgal, op. cit. pl. 149; Orthmann, op. cit. taf. 15d.
(11) E. Gjerstad, Opuscula Archaeologica, IV, 1946, pls. VI, VII.
(12) Halaf, III, pls. 96 and 150.
(13) See p. 17 above.
(14) For a discussion of Hathor-like curls, see Barnett, CNI, pp. 81–3.
pointed out by Rachel Maxwell Hyslop and Mallowan in *Nimrud & Its Remains* interesting parallels to this unique form of winged disc are the 'sirens' which formed the handles of cauldrons often described as Urartian; there too female heads surmount a disc and their arms rest along the top of the wings, but they hold no flowers. These cauldrons have been found on sites ranging from Iran to Italy.

The men of the principal register are all dressed alike (fig. 7): they wear high hats, a long coat and sandals. The hats or helmets are in the form of an inverted pedestal bowl with lines marking the carination. They cannot be exactly paralleled elsewhere although such 'vase-like' hats enjoyed a wide vogue in the eighth century, and variant forms of them, probably as early as the ninth century, may be observed at Carchemish and Zinjirli. Yet another parallel to the hats of Nos. 38-45 is that worn by a tributary of Tiglath-pileser III, although this helmet is somewhat flatter and has ear-pieces.

The hairstyle is unique to these panels: a tight row of curls is pendent from the brim of the hat while the bulk of the hair falls in three thick twisted ringlets onto the shoulders. The beard is arranged in four more ringlets. Such ringlets were common in North Syria and can, for instance, be seen at Sakcha Gözi. The men all wear a long coat, open from the waist, which is clearly based on the cut-away coat of Nos. 1-20. The arrangement of the bodice would appear, however, to have been different: it does not wrap over like a double-breasted coat but is apparently made in one piece. Interpreting the lines of beading as seams, we may observe one seam running along the top of the shoulders (see frontal view, fig. 7a), which extends down the back to the belt at the waist (see profile view, fig. 7b). The short sleeves are edged with a simple, beaded border, while the hem and edge of the skirt have a border consisting of rows of beading and loops. The coat is made of a similar banded material to that of the cut-away coat, but it appears to be coarser for the loops are larger. The coat lining is plain and has a beaded and fringed border consisting of rows of beading and loops. The coat is made of a similar banded material to that of the cut-away coat, but it appears to be coarser for the loops are larger. The coat lining is plain and has a beaded and fringed hem.

The men all wear sandals with a short heelpiece, the loops or straps fastening them can be clearly seen. The heelpiece stretches about half-way along the foot and, according to Madhloom, this length of sandal in Assyria is diagnostic of female, as is shown by the hairstyle of a fringe and ringlets, held in place by an ear-piece. The sandal can be compared with the sandals on the lions forming the column bases of the temple at Tall Tayinat.

The third register, separated by a plain margin from the second, contains a sphinx or lion couchant. The sphinx is female, as is shown by the hairstyle of a fringe and ringlets, held in place by a hairlike band, *q.v.* below. For a discussion of female sphinxes see Barnett, *C.N.I.*, pp. 83-4. Unusual on these sphinxes are the V-markings on the upper hind-quarters. While the sphinxes are represented lying flat on the ground, the lions of Nos. 39, 43 and 44 are lying on two rows of loops which are of doubtful significance in this context though it is possible that they represent mountains. The lions are shown with a rounded gaping mouth, much stylization of the muscles of mouth and eye, a twisted collar, ear laid back, mane arranged in distinctive lozenge-shaped and triangular curls, a twisted rope marking under the belly and tail curled on the flank. Although comparison between ivory carvings and stone sculpture should be treated with reserve, many of these features are closely comparable with those on the lions forming the column bases of the temple at Tall Tayinat.

The fourth register, which occurs only on the tall double panels, Nos. 43 and 44, consists of an abbreviated version of the voluted palmette trees shown on Nos. 89-94. It is partially similar to S.293 and S.327 from Nimrud.

(2) II, p. 496 f., and especially notes 56-9 on pp. 652-3.
(3) These cauldrons may have been made in North Syria, see O. W. Muscarella, 'Near Eastern Bronzes in the West: The Question of Origin', *Art & Technology: A Symposium on Classical Bronzes*, 1979, pp. 110-11: for further bibliography see *op. cit.* p. 125, note 8.
(5) Barnett & Falkner, p. xxii, fig. 13.
(9) The sphinx in Egypt was associated with the sun as it probably is here.
(10) *AAAO*, pl. 156, Orthmann, *op. cit.* taf. 52d.
(11) Barnett, *C.N.I.*, pls. LXXXVIII and XCV.
Men wearing dresses, variously sashed, shawled and belted: No. 2, Panels 1-3 and 10-12, Nos. 46 and 51-64

The men saluting the sacred tree on most of these panels wear a simple fringed dress with short sleeves. Despite this basic similarity of dress and subject there are many differences of individual treatment. The dress is usually calf-length with a beaded and fringed hem, though it is ankle-length on No. 51. The short sleeves have beaded borders, except for Nos. 57 and 62 which have lined borders. The material is usually plain but is sometimes adorned with a diamond pattern, as in No. 2, Panels 1-3 and 10-12, and in the fragmentary No. 56 where the skirt is patterned while the bodice is plain. This type of simple dress with short sleeves and fringed hems of varying lengths was widely used in Assyria.
and elsewhere in the first millennium B.C. On the SW. 7 panels this dress is fastened in three different ways: with a girdle and 'sash', with an 'Assyrian-style' girdle and 'shawl', and with a simple belt.

*Dress with girdle and 'sash' (fig. 8)*

This sashed dress occurs thirteen times in all: six of these thirteen instances form the side posts of No. 2, Panels 1–3 and 10–12, and it was also worn by the spearman leaning out of the back of the chariot of No. 1, Panel 9. Since two of the charioteers wear cut-away coats similar to those of Nos. 1–20, we can assume that the sashed dress shown on these seven panels was not only contemporary with the cut-away coat but that these panels were carved in the same workshop as Nos. 1–18, see p. 37. The sashed dress also occurs on the more crudely carved sets of four panels, Nos. 46 and 51, where the men accompany seated ladies, and on Nos. 52 and 56.
The girdle and sash appear to be made of two separate parts: a wide and deeply fringed band which tightly encircles the waist, and a narrow fringed band which, having passed over the left shoulder, is secured under the right arm by the waist-band (see pls. VIII and IX). In one case, No. 46, Panel 4, the sash crosses the right rather than the left shoulder. The closest parallel to this unusual method of fastening occurs on an ivory statuette from Toprak Kale. It may also occur at Arslan-Tash, though the sash there appears to be closer to the 'Assyrian shawl', see below. Possibly similar in inspiration is a simple belt with a shoulder strap seen on some fragmentary ivories from Nimrud itself.

**Dress with an ‘Assyrian-style’ girdle and ‘shawl’ (fig. 9)**

The remains of three sets of panels, Nos. 57, 59-61 and 62, show men wearing an ‘Assyrian-style’ girdle and shawl. The girdle and shawl are both made of deeply fringed bands: these, like the girdle and sash discussed above, encircle

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Fig. 10: No. 64, man in belted dress.

(2) *Arslan-Tash*, pl. 1.
the waist and cross over the left shoulder. The difference between the sash and the shawl, however, is that the shawl is placed over the girdle, partially covering it both at the back as on No. 59, and at the front, see No. 60, instead of being secured under the girdle.

A variant form of this fastening is shown on No. 63, Panel 1, where the girdle is wrapped round the waist and carried on up over the left shoulder. It is possible that the girdle-shawls were worn in a similar manner and that the representations showing the girdle covering the skirt both at the front and the back were a sculptural convention. If, however, they are realistic, they suggest that the shawl was a separate piece of material. Parallels for this type of girdle and shawl are numerous in Assyrian art both on reliefs and ivories.\(^1\)

Winged discs occur only on the three panels of No. 57: the form is unique for the beaded disc is set high with a curving beaded line below from which the tail feathers depend (fig. 4e on p. 20). No. 57 has in addition at the bottom a secondary register filled with a scale pattern. No. 62 also has a secondary register occupied with an ornate lily and bud motif. The men of Nos. 57 and 59-60 are accompanied by ladies.

**Belted dresses (fig. 10)**

In five instances, No. 63, Panels 2 and 3 and No. 64, Panels 1, 2 and 4, the dress is fastened by a simple belt around the waist. On No. 63, Panel 2, the buckle is shown. Similar, simply belted dresses without buckles occur frequently at Tell Halaf.\(^2\) The four panels of No. 64 might be considered to be earlier than the rest of the series for the carving of the men is primitive in appearance and the beards leave the mouths free of hair. This, according to Madhloom, is a ninth-century convention.\(^3\) The primitive appearance of the iconography, however, need not necessarily imply priority in time: these panels may have been produced by inferior craftsmen. Three of the men of No. 64 wear belted dresses but the fourth on Panel 3 wears a garment closely similar to the coat of the Sakcha Gözü spearman.\(^4\) The form of the winged disc is unique: the tiny beaded circle is set high, resting on some lines, the tail feathers depend from a second pair of lines.

**The Ladies (figs. 11 and 12)**

The ladies are consistently represented as identically dressed, even though the men who accompany them are variously attired and though the carving was apparently executed in a number of different workshops, see p. 36 below. First we shall examine the ladies accompanied by men in cut-away coats, No. 1, Panel 6 and No. 3, Panels 2 and 3. These three ladies are represented as winged, walking and holding flowers in the hands (fig. 11). Closely comparable, particularly with No. 1, Panel 6, is the winged lady of No. 67, which was found loose in the soil: there can be little doubt that this panel was carved in the same workshop, see p. 36 below.

The ladies of these ‘classic’ panels wear a long dress which trails to the ground at the back and consists of material represented by close vertical parallel undulations. Possibly these wavy lines were intended to reproduce a coloured garment: a much earlier fresco from Mari shows the water-dispensing goddess in a secondary register filled with a scale pattern. No. 60, instead of having a secondary register occupied with an ornate lily and bud motif. The men of Nos. 57 and 59-60 are accompanied by ladies.

One unusual feature of this graceful dress with its trailing hem is an overskirt slung from the waist-girdle. The upper hem of the overskirt is represented by what appears as a curving band running obliquely down across the front of the skirt from the waist to the hip or thigh: the surface of the ivory is slightly raised below the curved band, perhaps indicating that the skirt was wrapped round below the knee and then tucked into the girdle. When the ladies face right, as on No. 1, Panel 6, No. 3, Panel 2 and No. 67, the bands run from the waist at the left to the right thigh; when facing left, as on No. 3, Panel 3, the band is reversed and is often decorated with a row of beading.

We can find variations of this distinctive type of dress at a number of North Syrian sites: for instance at Carchemish

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(2) **Halaf**, III, pls. 104, 14b, 16 and 31.


where the goddess Kubaba from the Citadel Mound wears a partially similar dress; at Zinjirli, where the dress has no girdle; and at Karatepe, where a woman suckling a child wears a long striped dress—the shoulders of this garment are outlined with beading as on the ladies of No. 65.

At Nimrud we see this dress on a number of ivory fragments in the South East (Burnt) Palace; they were carved in the ‘Syrian’ style. The two fragments S.26 and S.12a–e both illustrate women wearing long dresses with trailing hems, made of a striped material similar to that of the SW.7 dresses and also bound by a girdle at the waist. There are, however, no traces of overskirts on these two dresses but we do find overskirts on other fragments, clearly depicted on S.33m and also on S.3. On the fragment S.9a–d a lady beating a tambourine wears a dress somewhat similar to that of

Fig. 11: No. 3, Panel 3, winged lady.

Fig. 12: No. 47, enthroned lady.

(1) Carchemish, III, pl. B.62. Orthmann, op. cit. taf. 34e.
(2) AIS, V, pl. 66.
(3) E. Akurgal, The Art of the Hittites, pl. 150; Orthmann, op. cit. taf. 15e.
(4) Barnett, CNI, pls. XXIII, XXVII.
the S.12 fragment, but this dress consists of a striped skirt and a diamond-patterned bodice.\(^1\) Comparable with this S.9 dress, although the bodice is plain, is the garment worn by the lady on a stela from Zinjirli.\(^2\)

The above parallels suggest that the dress was Syrian in origin. The hair-style worn by the SW.7 ladies, although different from that worn by those of the South East (Burnt) Palace ivories discussed above, is also probably Syrian.\(^3\) Three or four rows of short curls are arranged over the forehead: the remainder of the ladies’ long hair falls behind the ear to the shoulders in three or four twisted ringlets. These ringlets are held back by a hairlike band which passes over the top of the head and ends in another ringlet falling in front of the ear. Ringlets are a common feature of Syrian hairstyles, both for men and women,\(^4\) though the ringlet falling in front of the ear is less common.\(^5\) It occurs on a number of Nimrud ivories\(^6\) and we also see the curly fringe on a Nimrud ivory, S.350.\(^7\) Perhaps the closest parallel to the SW.7 hairstyle can be seen on an ivory found at Toprak Kale, though not necessarily made there, on a naked maiden, although unfortunately the top of her head is hidden by the hat she is wearing.\(^8\)

Our winged ladies, No. 1, Panel 6, No. 3, Panels 2 and 3 and No. 67 are regularly shown holding flowers in both hands, one falling back towards a shoulder and one held aloft. Two of the seated ladies, Nos. 47 (fig. 12) and 48, panels which were found loose in the soil, are also shown holding a flower in one hand. Both ladies were probably shown at table—No. 48 is broken at the left so that the table is not preserved—as also are Nos. 49, 50 and 51, Panel 3. The lady of No. 51, Panel 2, is unique as she is shown spinning. The other seated ladies, No. 46, Panels 2 and 3, raise a beaded disc saluting the winged sun-disc above.

As we have already observed a stela showing a feasting lady from Zinjirli is closely comparable with Nos. 47–51.\(^9\) Here we shall comment on some details relating to the fittings and the furniture. Apart from the addition of arms and a backrest, the Zinjirli chair is almost identical to the Nimrud thrones:\(^10\) it has the same straight legs strengthened by a stretcher, and the same elaborate, possibly padded covering, finished in a trellis fringe. A recent article\(^11\) has described the manufacture of fringes, tassels and cords, or ‘gimps’ as they are professionally named, still hand-made in London in 1970, and we may assume that the method of manufacture was not very different from that of the first millennium B.C. The courts of that day must have required a prodigious quantity of such tassels and fringes, for they are not only used on furniture, but also on dress and sometimes on chariots.

There are three stages in the manufacture of these fringes: spinning, weaving and making the tassels. The spinner makes the ‘gimps’ (the hard cord) and the ‘bullion’ (the twisted silk or wool fringing); the weavers turn the bullion into fringe, or the gimps into a complete braid; and the tassel-maker makes the tassels, the blobs, the cut ruffs and the hanging ornaments of bundles and bows. The unique, but unfortunately worn Panel 2 of No. 51 shows a lady engaged in spinning, but in an unusual form of spinning. The upper left hand holds the standard type of ancient distaff loaded apparently with rovings (half-prepared yarn) rather than with untreated wool fibres or flax: a lady on a stela from Marash also holds up in her left hand a distaff similarly loaded with thick strands.\(^12\) The lower right hand of the Nimrud panel, however, holds a second, closely similar object bearing strands of a much finer yarn. The only parallels for this use of two distaffs rather than the usual one as shown at Marash and Susa\(^13\) occur in Egypt and even there they are not frequent.\(^14\) The state of preservation of the ivory makes it uncertain whether the lady is supporting the lower distaff while it rotates, as in the method described by Mrs. Crowfoot as 5, or whether she is actually grasping it in her right hand.\(^15\) By the former method she might have been preparing fine soft yarns or weft, perhaps for making gaasapa,\(^16\) a cloth which looked like a fleece but was actually woven: to make it, loose weft was probably combined with fine strong-spun warp and Jerome speaks of the supported spindle method for the preparation of the weft. By the second

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2. AJS, IV, taf. 54, p. 338.
9. AJS, IV, taf. 54.
10. The men of No. 51, Panels 1 and 4, are sitting on armless chairs, the backrest has a curved top.
13. Continent, MAO, III, p. 1231, fig. 798.
15. Loc. cit.
method, also noted by Mrs. Crowfoot, the spinner might have been preparing a very hard cord: this was the technique used by the ancient ropemakers.\(^1\) In either case it may not be too fanciful to suggest that the spinner might have been preparing yarns for the manufacture of trellis fringes.

The type of throne on the SW.7 panels with its padded top and trellis fringe finds parallels at Zinjirli, as we noted above: rare figures, however, are the ‘familiars’ which occupy the lower compartments of the thrones—male sphinxes on Nos. 47, 48, 50 and 51, birds on No. 51, and a miniature flowering tree on No. 49. Earlier, on Ahiram’s sarcophagus from Byblos we see a chair of which the entire side is formed by a standing sphinx;\(^2\) bull-men occur on the side of the throne of Shamash, on the stone tablet of Nabu-apli-iddin recording the endowment of the Sun Temple at Sippar;\(^3\) animals and mythical figures also occur in the lower registers of chairs at Maltai.\(^4\) Our sphinxes, birds and tree presumably belong to the same tradition.

In front of the ladies of Nos. 47, 50 and 51, Panel 3, is set a table with two crossed legs terminating in bovine feet: from the crossing point of the legs a central strut in the form of a flower rises to support the flat table top.\(^5\) This type of table is widely distributed and bronze legs probably belonging to a similar table were found at the Urartian site of Kayalidere,\(^6\) but there the central strut was missing. The positioning of the table legs on the Nimrud panels is precarious, for one leg is balanced on the lady’s foot while the other rests on a flower growing from the tree. The table of No. 49 is even more precariously, we might say magically balanced: it consists simply of a board between the branches of a tree with a flower underneath to support it. This imagery whereby the tree itself constitutes the legs of the table may be of esoteric significance, for it is on No. 49 that the miniature tree is represented in full bloom under the throne and thus appears to emphasize its magical, semi-divine character.

The tables are laden with flaps of bread (\(?\) next to which is a distinctive pedestal cup, sometimes equipped with a ladle, No. 50. We see the same items on the more lavishly set table on the Zinjirli stela. The Zinjirli footstool, with a horseshoe excised, is also comparable to the footstool of No. 47—the other footstools rest on low voluted supports. One such support, probably the leg of a footstool, was found in earlier levels at Megiddo.\(^7\)

A number of important deviations from the ‘classic’ method of representing the ladies’ hair and dress, as well as in other features such as the winged disc, are obvious in No. 46 and we have assumed below, see p. 36, that these panels were carved in a different workshop. First there is the unique type of winged disc, not represented at all on Nos. 47–51; the centre of the disc is occupied by a tiny circle, the outer circumference is formed by four concentric circles without beading; there is no tail feathering between the volute ends. Similar concentric circles form the circumference of the disc on the Sakcha Gözü chariot-scene.\(^8\) The ladies of No. 46 appear at first sight to be identical with those of Nos. 47–51; they are seated on thrones, wear their hair in ringlets and wear long dresses, but there are many unique features. The fringes of the hair are in loose tresses, not rows of curls, the hairbands are wider than usual: the ladies are more richly jewelled, wearing ear-rings, ‘dog-collars’,\(^9\) and bracelets, as well as the usual anklets: the dresses have a herring-bone design around the neck, tight sleeves instead of loose, and a straight hem instead of a trailing one. The overskirt, illustrated only on Panel 3, is different from those of Nos. 47–50 and appears to consist of a strip of material finished with beading and a trellis fringe: the girdles too are tied in a novel fashion with twisted loops both above and below the girdle itself. And finally they are differently occupied: the lady of Panel 2 does not have a table set in front of her; instead she holds the trunk of a short flowering tree with her left hand while the right holds aloft a beaded disc, just such a disc as forms the centre of the ‘classic’ winged discs.

Panels with ladies, standing instead of seated, form a part of two sets of ivories, No. 57 and Nos. 59–61. These show many variations of detail from the ‘classic’ panels and probably were carved in provincial workshops. Finally we come

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(1) We are indebted to Dr. J. P. Wilde of Manchester University for much of the information about the spinning lady.
(2) J. B. Pritchard, The Ancient Near East in Pictures, fig. 458.
(3) Op. cit. fig. 529.
(5) This stru is frequently plain, see the table of the banquet­

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(8) E. Pottier, L’Art Hittite, fig. 117; J. Garstang, The Hittite Em­pe­re, pl. XLVI; W. Orthmann, Spähheithitischen Kunst, taf. 51c.
(9) The lady on the Zinjirli stela wears a somewhat similar 'dog-collars', AIS, IV, taf. 54. We are indebted to Mrs. Rachel Maxwell Hyslop for drawing our attention to this necklace.
to the pair of ladies represented on Panels 3 and 4 of No. 65. This set of six relatively small panels measuring only c. 21.2 x 7.4 cm. is unusual in that all the figures walk over the top of the winged disc, which is underfoot. This exceptional translation, some might say misconception of the winged disc (fig. 4f on p. 20) is corroborated by its design, for not only do numerous feathers or fronds sprout from the top and bottom of the disc but from the voluted ends also, and the tree growing up the panel seems to rise from it. In fact the winged disc seems to have become secondary to the vegetative. The disc itself is beaded and contains within it a daisy-like rosette, more amply petalled than the rosette in the winged disc on the Zinjirli stela1 but similar to that at Sakcha Gözü.2 A fragment of an ivory winged disc from Arslan-Tash also has an eight-petalled rosette in the centre as well as uraei springing from the disc.3 Apart from differences in the method of rendering the curls and the narrowness of the hair-band, the hairstyle of the ladies is much the same as that of the ‘classic’ panels, and the dress too is comparable, apart from the rich serpentine folds of the girdle-ties and the outlining of the sleeve with beading, a feature repeated at Karatepe.4 Unusual are the short voluted staffs held in the right hands and the strange flowers on undulating stalks which the ladies grasp with their left hands.

The men of No. 65, Panels 1, 2, 5 and 6 (the last is mostly made up of wax), grasp similar flowers on long stalks in their left hands: in their right they hold aloft short curved clubs; both the shape of the club and the stance are mirrored by a soldier from Tell Halaf.5 The men wear short kilts made of a diamond-patterned material. The hem is beaded and so is the diagonal edge of the fringed wrap-over skirt. A wide belt encircles the waist; pendant from it is a double tassel tied near the bottom. While tunics with kilted skirts were popular over a wide area in the second and first millennia, simple kilts leaving the torso bare were less common. Soldiers from Tell Halaf are similarly clad.6 Though not exactly similar, belts with tassels occur at Carchemish, at Pancarli Huyüik and Zinjirli.7 Tasselled belts are also worn by the winged men of Nos. 68 and 69 who wear a short tunic with a plain bodice and a diamond-patterned skirt.

The ‘Phoenician-style’ Ivories

A small group of ivories, consisting of panels not more than 11 cm. high, are carved in a distinctive style, Nos. 77-86. They illustrate men dressed in a long simple tunic—the tunic of No. 85 is only knee-length—belted at the waist. The hair is arranged in an Egyptian style with curls falling to the shoulder. The men, both standing and seated, pull at a large lily growing on a long stalk with their right hands: they salute the flower with their left. The men of Nos. 77-82 sit on chairs which are entirely Egyptian in style.8 Also illustrating many ‘Egyptianizing’ features such as the triple atef crown, the Khnum sceptre and the hairstyle is the unique panel No. 87. There are many general similarities of style between No. 87 and Nos. 77-86 and there is little doubt that all these panels were of Phoenician origin.9

CENTRES OF PRODUCTION, WORKSHOPS AND CRAFTSMEN

Hereunder we shall attempt to classify the ivories by reference to stylistic criteria. From a subdivision into groups we shall seek to determine whether all the ivory furniture found in SW.7 was made in a single centre of production or whether it was the output of a number of workshops located in different areas. We shall also attempt to see the work of individual craftsmen in a number of the panels, but first we must define our terms of reference.

Centre of Production: the majority of the ivory chairbacks or bed-heads found in SW.7 are homogeneous in style and clearly originated from a single ‘centre of production’: indeed they were probably made there in a relatively short space of time. This ‘centre’ or city almost certainly contained many individual workshops, for the panels have been carved by too many different craftsmen to be the output of a single unit.

Although the definition of the word ‘workshop’ in the Oxford English Dictionary is ‘a room, apartment or building in which manual or industrial work is carried on’, this term is used here in its art-historical sense to indicate a small group of men working under a master craftsman. Thus we need not expect that a set of panels forming a chairback

(1) AIS, IV, taf. 54.
(2) E. Pottier, L’Art Hitite, pl. VIII, fig. 112; E. Akurgal, The Art of the Hittites, pl. 134; W. Orthmann, op. cit. taf. 49a, 50c.
(3) Arslan-Tash, pl. XLVI.
(4) Akurgal, op. cit. pl. 150; W. Orthmann, op. cit. taf. 15e.
(5) Halaf; III, pl. 21b, A.3-25.
(7) Carchemish, II, pl. B50; Carchemish, III, pl. AC-A15c and pl. B490; Bossert, Almanzorien, pl. 199, fig. 818; Akurgal, op. cit. pl. 127; AIS, III, pl. XXXVII.
would have been carved by one man—rather it would have been carved by a group of craftsmen working in one workshop. Indeed, when we examine the panels making up a chairback or bed-head, for instance Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 22, we can see that, although in subject and general style the panels of one set frequently appear to be identical, a study of details, for instance the method of carving the hair and beard, tends to indicate that they were the work of different craftsmen.

A system of isolating an artist by a study of significant minor details was first successfully pursued by Dr. Giovanni Morelli in the late nineteenth century, having been made possible by the advent of photography. With the increasing availability of high quality photographs art historians have come to rely on this method: thus, having first taken into account broader considerations of style, colour and composition to locate a work in its general area, specific idiosyncrasies—such as the distinctive way in which Rubens paints an ear or the flaring outline of a nostril—are then taken into account. A similar method was used by Sir John Beazley in his monumental work on defining the artists of Greek vases.

Similarly we may attempt a general stylistic comparison and follow this with a more detailed analysis of the ivory panels from SW.7, in so far as their state of preservation allows. While, however, it is relatively easy to suggest that certain panels were carved by different men, it is harder to find a group obviously carved by the same craftsman. Notes on the individual artists will be found in the relevant catalogue entries. First, however, we must try to establish which ivories emanated from the principal ‘centre of production’. Here we are fortunate, because many ivories from SW.7 were found as sets of panels. While we have suggested above that the panels forming a chairback or bed-head were not necessarily the work of one hand, it is reasonable to assume that a single piece of furniture was carved in one workshop.

Beginning with the first chairback, No. 1, ND.7904, we can see that most of the panels show men dressed in cut-away coats holding the sacred tree and saluting the winged disc with a fruit. Most of the other panels showing men wearing cut-away coats and saluting trees, Nos. 2–20, are closely similar in style, technique and size, and it is reasonable to assume that they were all carved in workshops located in the same city. However, although the men of No. 21 are still wearing cut-away coats and saluting the sacred tree, many differences of detail suggest that this set may have been carved in some other centre—for a further discussion of No. 21 see below.

Panel 6 of No. 1 illustrates a winged lady wearing a long dress: the superb panel No. 67, found loose in the soil of SW.7, is so closely comparable to No. 1, Panel 6, apart from the absence of the winged disc, that they are both obviously the products of the same centre. The other pair of panels exhibiting winged ladies are Panels 2 and 3 of No. 3. These ladies, accompanied by winged men in cut-away coats, were also probably made in the same centre, although they are more coarsely carved and are smaller than the standard size of panel, only some 18.5 cm. high instead of the more usual c. 25 cm.

The general style, dress and hairstyle of the banqueting ladies of Nos. 47–50, all unfortunately found loose in the soil and not associated with other panels, are similar to the ladies of No. 1, Panel 6 and No. 67 and it seems probable that they were made in the principal centre of production. No. 51 presents a more difficult problem; it is a set of four panels showing two pairs of opposed seated men and ladies. The lady of Panel 3 is shown at table, while the lady of Panel 2 is spinning. Despite their worn condition we can see that the four panels are more crudely carved than the other products of the principal centre of production—compare, for instance, the flowers of No. 51 with those of Nos. 1–20—and the size of the panels is shorter than usual, only c. 17.5 cm. high. On the other hand the panels formed part of a chairback of identical shape to those of the principal centre, that is with a curving centre and two side posts, see p. 7 above: the subject of Panel 3 and Nos. 47–50 is the same: and finally the sphinx lying under the chair of Panel 1 comes so close in style to those of Nos. 47–50 that we can only assume that No. 51, despite its less sophisticated execution and smaller size, was made in a workshop located in the principal centre of production.

Panels 2 and 3 of No. 46 also illustrate seated ladies, but while the panels of No. 51 were probably the work of an inferior craftsman or group of craftsmen living in the principal centre, there is little doubt that No. 46 was made in a workshop in some other centre. First, the overall shape of the chairback is unique: instead of a central curved section supported between side posts, we have a simple back, either straight or curved, we cannot be sure which, with the top rail projecting a little at the sides. Moreover, the height of the panels is some 21.5 cm. instead of the standard c. 25 cm. And finally, there are many differences of detail; compare for instance the proportions of the heads, the method


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of carving the eyes and the pothook curls of the hair of the men of Panels 1 and 4 with No. 5; and the unique form of winged disc, the different activity of the lady of Panel 2, and the variant method of representing the hair and dress—see p. 34 above for a more detailed comparison with the ladies of No. 47-50. Taking all these considerations into account there is a case for assuming that No. 46 was not carved in the principal centre of production.

Returning to No. 1, we can see that Panel 3, a long curved strip above the central panels, was decorated with spread wings springing from a pair of volutes. No. 1 was the only piece of furniture to be found with a decorated strip in this position, the others were plain. However, a number of examples of similar strips were found loose in the soil. These strips were of two types: one, Nos. 99-102, was closely similar to No. 1, Panel 3, that is wings springing from a pair of volutes, while the second type, Nos. 97 and 98, showed wings springing from a central disc. There is a strong case for concluding that the wings of Type 1 were carved in a workshop in the principal centre of production, but we cannot as yet be sure whether the wings of Type 2 were carved there or elsewhere. The practice of placing outspread wings at the top of a chair was, of course, anticipated in XVIII Dynasty Egypt.

Turning to No. 1 once more we must draw attention to the long curved strip below the central panels, Panel 9, which was decorated with the scene of men hunting bulls from a chariot. Another long strip, No. 104, found loose in SW.7 illustrates a file of grazing bulls; the bulls of the two strips are comparable in style and were probably carved in the same centre of production. If we can accept that No. 104 was carved in the principal centre, then we can also assume that Nos. 68 and 69 were carved there, for it is likely that these three pieces once formed part of the same piece of furniture, see pp. 102-3 and 112-3 below. Furthermore the winged man of No. 68, although dressed only in a kilted tunic, is similar in general style and technique to the men of Nos. 1-20, as is the form of winged disc.

No. 2 was decorated with three types of panels, men in cut-away coats, men in sashed dresses and voluted palmette trees. As noted above, p. 29, the use of sashed dresses on the side posts of No. 2 (Panels 1-3 and 10-12) and on one of the men in the chariot of No. 1, Panel 9, indicates that the two types of garment, the sashed dress and the cut-away coat, were carved in the same centre of production at the same time: this reinforces our suggestion that the crudely carved No. 51 was made in this centre, for the men of Panels 1 and 4 wear just such a sashed garment. The fragmentary panel No. 52 may also have been carved there.

Nos. 2, 21 and 22 show the purpose of panels decorated with voluted palmette trees, a number of which were found loose in the soil, Nos. 89-94. These panels are always narrow, only c. 6.5 cm. wide instead of the more usual 10.5-11 cm.: they were used when the chairback or bed-head was made of six, rather than four or five panels, thus ensuring that the total width was not too great. Apart from the panels of No. 21 for a discussion of which see below, all the voluted palmette tree panels were probably made in the principal centre of production, for they are closely similar in style and execution.

Comparable in style to Nos. 1-18 are Nos. 22-8: note for instance the identical form of the winged discs, the stance and hairstyle of the men, and the sacred trees. There is, however, a variation in dress, for the men of Nos. 22-8 wear a tunic with an open overskirt rather than a tunic and a cut-away coat, see pp. 24-6 above. However, despite the difference in dress and in occupation—most of the men of Nos. 22-8 carry cone and bucket—the close stylistic affinity between Nos. 22-8 and Nos. 1-20 indicate that they were all carved in the principal centre of production. The fragments of panels catalogued as Nos. 29-37 are of the same style as Nos. 1-20 and 22-8 and we can assume that they were also carved in the principal centre.

This group, consisting of Nos. 1-20, 22-37, 47-52, 67-9, 89-94, 99-102 and 104, comprises the majority of the ivories found in SW.7. There are, however, several pieces which probably originated in workshops located in other centres. Some of these workshops were strongly under the influence of the principal centre of production, while others show many deviations both in iconographical detail and in craftsmanship. Despite these variations the subject regularly remains the same, that of men saluting sacred trees. Perhaps the most puzzling set, composed of five panels, is No. 66. The youths of Panel 1 and 5 wear cut-away coats closely similar to those worn by the men of Nos. 1-20, but altogether distinctive are their hair arranged in huge upward-curving spiral curls, and the animals borne on their shoulders: the enthroned male of Panel 3 is partly comparable with the men wearing sashed dresses of Nos. 46, 51 and 52, but his throne with its crossed legs terminating in bovine hooves, the leonine footstool and the bowl balanced on the fingertips do not occur on any other ivory from SW.7. Unique again are the griffins of Panels 2 and 4: their sashed dresses are similar to those of No. 2, Panels 1-3 and 10-12, Nos. 46, 51 and 52, and their cones and buckets to those carried by

(1) Hollis Baker, Furniture in the Ancient World, figs. 95 and 96.
the men of Nos. 22–8, while their gaping beaks are reminiscent of griffins on ivories found in Urartu, but not necessarily made there. These deviations suggest either that No. 66 was carved in a workshop located in a different centre or that it was carved at a different time, perhaps a little later than the other ivories.

Another set attests the influence of the principal centre of production while exhibiting many unusual features. The men of No. 21 are dressed in a garment closely based on the cut-away coat of Nos. 1–20 but made of a different material, one which has the appearance of scale armour rather than woven cloth, see p. 24 above. The men are not simply holding the trees as on Nos. 1–20, they are climbing them: winged discs hover above two of them, Panels 3 and 4, while above the other two, Panels 2 and 5, sphinxes are balanced in the branches of the trees and over their heads. Different again is the form of the voluted palmette trees, Panels 1 and 6, which bear lily flowers. Although a similar iconography may be observed on many other panels, the variations in presentation lead to the conclusion that these panels must have been carved in a workshop located in a different centre.

Also carved in a workshop located in some different centre of production are the panels representing the ‘vase-hat’ men, Nos. 38–45. Again there is a general similarity of subject, men saluting the sacred tree and dressed in a garment comparable to the cut-away coat, but there are many distinctive features. First the panels are divided into separate registers: the top register is regularly occupied with a winged disc surmounted by a female head, see p. 35 above; the middle register illustrates men of martial appearance grasping trees and, on Nos. 43 and 44, standing back to back. They wear helmets or ‘vase-hats’ and unusual sandals. The third register illustrates lions or sphinxes, while the bottom fourth register which occurs only on Nos. 43 and 44 has a truncated form of the voluted palmette tree.

The six panels of No. 65 illustrate men and ladies walking over winged discs, the discs themselves being almost submerged in vegetation, see p. 35 above. The men wear short kilts and carry clubs in their right hands: in their left they grasp the trunk of a large flower on a long stalk, as also do the ladies of the central panels. Once again this set, which is of an unusual size, was perhaps one carved in a workshop located in a different centre of production—one relatively far away from the principal centre as we may conclude from the unusual positioning of the winged disc.

Once again the men of Nos. 77–86 hold the sacred tree or a flowering plant: apart however from this similarity of subject they differ in style, dimensions, and also possibly in their location on pieces of furniture, from all other panels found in SW.7. They are partially similar to other panels from Nimrud, which Dr. Barnett styles Phoenician. Also Phoenician is No. 87, closely related to Nos. 77–86, and possibly the ‘cloisonné’ Astarte, No. 88.

The openwork scroll pattern chairback No. 95 and the similar fragmentary No. 96 are unique. Found with them was the long strip illustrating a theriomachy, No. 105, which, with the fingerlike rendering of some of the lions’ claws and the flame markings on the hindquarters, is comparable with a number of North Syrian reliefs of animals at Carchemish, Zinjirli and elsewhere.

We have succeeded in isolating a large group of ivory panels, see p. 37 above, and have suggested that these emanated from workshops located in a single centre of production: possibly most of the remainder were made in different cities. The objects found in SW.7 were but a fraction of the output of the ivory workers living in this principal centre of production and it is logical to assume that these craftsmen lived in a large and rich city. But where was this city? There are two alternative theories: one that the ivories were made in Calah itself by resident craftsmen, probably foreign; the other that they were made outside Assyria.

Examining first the hypothesis that they were made in Calah we know that tusks were held in store there and that many foreign artisans were accommodated and provided with rations, though we have no direct reference to ivory workers. It is therefore possible that the ivories were made at Nimrud to the order of the Assyrian court.

If we assume that the principal group was not made in Calah we have to admit that we cannot yet name the city of origin. Nevertheless we may suggest a centre or centres of location from an examination of separate sources of evidence: comparisons with relief sculpture; comparable finds; and references in contemporary Assyrian texts. The first two are fully discussed in the following section, see pp. 39–62 below. We shall see that at Zinjirli, Sakcha Gözi and Carchemish

(1) Barnett, CNI, pp. 137 ff., pl. III.  
(2) Mallowan, N & R, II, p. 433: Barbara Parker, Iraq, XXIII, pp. 38–9—nine tusks held in store. Remains of tusks have been found on the site. It is probable but not certain that the tablet ND.2620 referred to tusks at Calah itself.  
(3) J. V. Kinnier-Wilson, The Nimrud Wine Lists, 1972. No less than 26 groups of foreigners may be accounted for on the Calah ration lists. See also op. cit. pp. xi, xii.
much of the contemporary sculpture is closely comparable. This limited evidence indicates a North Syrian provenance but we may be well advised to recall that nothing comparable is known of the sculpture of other important Syrian cities, for example ancient Damascus. While ivories have been found on other sites, none comparable with the distinctive panels of men saluting trees, Nos. 1–20, have been found anywhere other than at Nimrud, although a number of panels, for instance those with floral designs and the Phoenician-style Nos. 77–87 can be matched elsewhere.

When we examine the texts, we find frequent references in the Annals of the Assyrian kings to furniture carried off as booty. Tukulti-Ninurta II carried off an ivory chair from the land of Subi, while Ashurnasirpal seized ivory tables, beds, couches and chairs from Bit Adini, Carchemish, Hattina, Tyre, Sidon, Arvad and Zamani. There are relatively few references to ivories during the reign of Shalmaneser III, although he acquired some from Hattina, Bit Adini and the Seelands. Adad-n之处 III acquired an ivory bed or couch, inlaid and bejewelled, from Aram of Damascus, while Tiglath-pileser III acquired elephant hides and ivory from the Levant, Syria and Arabia and from Urartu, Kummuhu, Tyre, Kue, Carchemish and Gurgum. Sargon received tribute including ivory from Pir'u, king of Egypt, Samsi, queen of Arabia, It'amra, the Sabeans, the kings of the seacoast and the desert; he received elephant hides and ivory from Mutallu of Kummuhu and took the booty to Calah; in his eighth campaign he took much treasure from the Temple of Halki in Mustar, including ivory furniture. Sennacherib acquired couches and house chairs of ivory as well as tusks from Hezekiah of Jerusalem, and Esarhaddon, who did not record lists of tribute in detail, seized elephant hides and ivory from Abdi-milkki of Sidon.

This imperfect outline of references to ivory tribute clearly indicates that ivory was plentiful in Syria, the Levant, Palestine and Egypt, and that much booty, both in the form of furniture and of tusks was brought back to Assyria. The most frequent references are to the Phoenician coast and to North Syria. We have already suggested that some of our ivories originated in Phoenicia, Nos. 77–87 can be matched elsewhere. The most frequent references are to the Phoenician coast and to North Syria. We have already suggested that some of our ivories originated in Phoenicia, Nos. 77–87: and, combining the evidence of the texts and the sculpture, it is possible that the city producing the ‘classic’ panels was located in North Syria. However, as we have indicated above, a case may also be made for Calah itself as the main centre of production: this cosmopolitan city, no less wealthy than its neighbour Nineveh and at times the richest in all Assyria, possessed both the resources and the authority to attract to its royal court the finest craftsmen available and to provide for them a high standard of living in a mixed society wherein every ethnic group could find congenial companionship.

**COMPARATIVE MATERIAL FROM OTHER SITES**

**Samaria**

This city, founded by Omri (885–874 B.C.) as capital of the kingdom of Israel, flourished until its destruction in 722–721 B.C. by Sargon, king of Assyria, who may well have transferred some of the ivories acquired in the sack to Calah.

(1) LAR, I, 410.
(2) Beds, couches and chairs: consult W. von Soden, *Akadisches Handwörterbuch* (lieferung 9) under nämmu (root nèmedu—support) translated as couch, Ruhelager, of ivory, so described in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II, *AKA*, 123. Principal evidence for this translation depends on an inscription of Sargon II recorded in A. G. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria*, I (1929), p. 54, line 366, rendered as (t)ësšu (d)ëssu (e)ma-ni-tu i.e. bed, chair, couch. Von Soden, op. cit. also translates nämmu as Sühletche—Kussam[m]-n-tom-È-pit—that I made a chairback. Difficulties of translation are illustrated by the fact that *CAD*, 8, p. 589, 8’, quoting the same passage renders nimmatu as footstool with particular reference to the above-mentioned passage in Lie, op. cit. line 366. The inscriptions thus provide evidence for distinguishing between beds and couches. It should be recognized that Luckenbill’s translations of ēru and nèmedu are inconsistent. Finally refer also to von Soden, op. cit. under majjah(m), translated as (Schlaf)Lager, bed or couch as in the Chagar Bazar texts of Shamshi-Adad I, see C. J. Gadd, *Iraq*, VII (1940), p. 60, A.997.

(3) LAR, I, 443, 466, 475–7, 479, 501, 518.
(11) References to ivory tribute have been comprehensively examined by Dr. Irene Winter—Ph.D. thesis presented at Columbia University 1973, as yet unpublished.
(12) K. Kenyon, *Royal Cities of the Old Testament*, 1971, pp. 73–89, illustrates many parallels between the Samarian and Nimrud ivories, as well as differences. It may be noted that the rusticated and plain masonry in the Nahu Temple founded by Adad-n之处 III is clearly derived from Phoenician style masonry of Samaria I, op. cit. pls. 42–5.
The situation of Samaria on an easy line of access to Phoenicia and Syria enabled it to obtain objets d'art in the style of those areas. On the ivories the Phoenician or quasi-Egyptian style is dominant and agrees with the statement in 1 Kings 22–39 that the king built himself an ivory house (in Samaria). Ahab, the son of Omri, who ruled from c. 874–853 B.C., was married to a Phoenician lady, the notorious Jezebel, who was no doubt eager to acquire the finest products of her home country for the harem. Although the ivories from Samaria were found in débris, much of which was attributable to Sargon's destruction, some fragments also appeared in an earlier Israelite stratum attributable to the period of Ahab and are therefore both different in style and probably earlier in date than anything discovered in Fort Shalmaneser SW.7.

However that may be, we may observe at least one interesting parallel, namely the chair with its bolstered draped cushion hanging down in heavy folds over the back on Nos. 77 to 82. Here we have a relation to the finely carved ajoure panel from Samaria illustrating an enthroned figure with attendant standing behind. In each case a lotus flower, though differing in form, is associated with the throne, but the Nimrud panels are in comparison crudely carved and the sides of the throne consist of imbrications instead of vertical panels. As the specimens from Nimrud are likely to be at least a century and a quarter later than the Samaria ivory, it is clear that a long tradition of ceremonial carving illustrating this type of chair and its draperies persisted through the ninth and eighth centuries.

Samarian and Phoenician antecedents may lie behind a set of ajoure scenes perhaps executed shortly before the reign of Adad-nîrârî III c. 820 B.C., discovered in the N.E. entrance of Fort Shalmaneser. If that is the date when these panels were carved we can understand the iconicographic link between a Samarian ivory of c. 860 B.C. and others of c. 740 B.C. at Nimrud.

One more panel from SW.7 can be matched at Samaria, No. 107 illustrating a frieze of lotus flowers and buds similar to Samarian designs on ivories described as "inlaid patterns;" the flowers consisted of glass incrusted in a bed of frit.

The few comparisons for ivories in the Samarian style lead to the conclusion that elsewhere at Nimrud, but not in SW.7, certain classes of Phoenician style ivories may safely be attributed to the middle of the ninth century, perhaps earlier. These early styles no doubt persisted over a long period of time and ultimately derive from the art of the New Kingdom in Egypt. In view of other evidence we may conclude that the two parallels from SW.7 appear to reflect archaic traits on ivory in an eighth-century context.

(1) Op. cit. p. 23; Samaria-Sebaste II, p. 4—"The Harvard Expedition found four pieces of carved ivory and some plain pieces, all on the floor of the Ahab courtyard." Crowfoot, op. cit. p. 4, states that an alabaster vase of the Pharaoh Osorkon II (860–837 B.C.) was found in association with the ivories and thus confirms the correctness of their attribution to Ahab, who ruled at about the same time. Mallowan was unduly cautious in asserting in N & R, II, p. 474, that the evidence was tenuous.

(2) Crowfoot, op. cit. pl. XI, 1. The attribution of many of these ivories to Ahab must be accepted, allowing for the possibility that some of them may have been executed as late as 750–25. The late H. Frankfort, AAAO, p. 190, however, opined that the resemblance of the Nimrud, Khorsabad and Arslan-Tash ivories, mostly mid-eighth century, is so close to the Samarian style that acceptance of a difference of a century is not warranted without further proof. Nevertheless we must admit the long persistence of styles and we are now often in a position to distinguish between ninth and eighth century work, as has been demonstrated in Mallowan and Davies, Ivories in Assyrian Style, 1970. It is also important to recall that many traits on the ivory carvings from Phoenicia and Assyria derive ultimately from the art of the New Kingdom in Egypt, for example horse and chariot trappings, imbrications on the side of the throne and method of representing the cushion, see B. M. Catalogue, Treasures of Tutankhamun, 1972, illustrations of items 23 and 25.

(3) Compare also an ivory panel ND.11027 in Mallowan, N & R, II, fig. 491, from SW.12 illustrating an enthroned pharaoh-figure with cloth cushion hanging over the back of the throne; see also p. 35 note 8 and p. 104, No. 77, Comment.

(4) Mallowan, N & R, II, figs. 443–4 from NE.2 in Fort Shalmaneser and discussion of date on pp. 530, 534.

(5) Crowfoot, op. cit. pl. XV: the design has a long history, see discussion and references in op. cit. p. 33, and doubtless persisted throughout the ninth and eighth centuries. Compare also Khorsabad, OIP, XL, pl. 55, Nos. 58 and 59, attributable to the reign of Sargon II.

(6) Mallowan, N & R, II, fig. 528, ND.7585, illustrates a finely carved ivory showing the birth of Horus on a lotus flower. The iconography is close to Samaria-Sebaste II, pl. 1, though there are minor differences of detail, voluted lotus on the base of the Nimrud figure which does not carry the flabellum. But the Nimrud ivory nonetheless could well have been carved in the time of Ahab and might well have been imported by Shalmaneser III, who was in close contact with Phoenicia. ND.7585 was found in the corridor to the south end of the Residency, F.S.
Zinjirli

The bearing of the evidence from Zinjirli, ancient Sam'al, is of peculiar importance to a study of the small finds from Nimrud because at the former site much North Syrian sculpture and many small objects can be securely dated to fixed periods within the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. Especially relevant are the ivories and various other categories of the minor arts. Our examination of the ivory furniture from SW.7 must therefore be guided by a study of the small finds discovered in the North Palace, founded by an Aramaean king named Kilamu, whose date is historically well fixed within the limits of three decades c. 850-820 B.C. A successor, Bar-rakib, c. 740, added a spacious annexe.

The building in which these finds were made consists of two wings incorporating a series of chambers which have been labelled J.1-15 on the east side and K.1-5 on the west. The western wing K, which was addorsed against the older eastern wing, is a true Hilani building, 'neo-Hittite' or North Syrian in character. The sparsely planned southern façade which leads up to two great reception halls K.1 and K.2 consists of a great portico sustained by three columns and approached by a flight of eight stone steps. There can be little doubt that the foundation of this wing is to be attributed to Bar-rakib, a vassal of Tiglath-pileser III, whose orthostat representing a standing figure of the king accompanied by a twenty-line inscription in Aramaic, was found in burnt debris at the foot of the steps. F. von Luschan deduced that this orthostat had originally been erected at the top of the stepped entrance, on the left hand side of chamber K.1, in a position corresponding to that occupied by the older orthostat of Kilamu on the left hand side of the entrance to J.1. This western wing K had direct communication with the eastern wing J and one of its walls was built up against it. It is therefore not surprising that a part of the treasure originally housed in J found its way into the annexe K, although the bulk of it can safely be attributed to Kilamu, as we shall see below.

The building of the original Palace J represents the climax of a prosperous reign in the course of which Kilamu obtained the upper hand over his neighbours, especially the Danunians in Cilicia, as the result of an alliance made on advantageous terms with Shalmaneser III towards the end of his reign, when Assyria was in trouble with its enemies. Kilamu must have taken advantage of the situation in order to entrench himself against his neighbours, Bit-Agusi to the south, Khattin or the 'Amuq to the west, as well as Cilicia. It is therefore likely that the bulk of the treasure accumulated by Kilamu in the North Palace and found for the most part in his own wing was accumulated by the last decade of his reign, 830-820 B.C. Of what does this treasure consist and why can we attribute so much of it to this king—recognizing of course that there may be some earlier and some later pieces in the collection?

The evidence from two inscriptions is fortunately conclusive. First we have the great commemorative slab dedicated by Kilamu, to which we have already referred, on the west jamb of the entrance to J.1 upon which there is a carved relief decoration from Tell Tainat, where another set of three was apparently associated with a building of the eighth century contemporary with Tiglath-pileser III: see H. J. Kantor, 'A Bronze Plaque with Relief Decoration from Tell Tainat', Oriental Museum Notes, 13, and C. W. McEwan, 'The Syrian Expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago', AJA, XLI (1937), p. 8 f., plan of Palace.

(1) Zinjirli is situated at the S.E. end of Asia Minor in Turkish territory some miles north of the Syrian frontier, approximately 10 km. as the crow flies N.E. of Islahiye. The city was on a trade route which in ancient times kept it in direct touch with Neo-Hittite, Phoenician and Syrian influences; for a century between about 830 B.C. and 730 B.C. it was intermittently first an ally, then a protectorate of Assyria.

(2) AIS, IV, taf. II gives the plan of the Palace and its relation to the wall chambers L.1-8, where other relevant discoveries were made.

(3) These three elaborate column bases decorated with scrolls, guilloche, rosettes and other designs can be closely matched at Tell Tainat where another set of three was apparently associated with a building of the eighth century contemporary with Tiglath-pileser III: see H. J. Kantor, 'A Bronze Plaque with Relief Decoration from Tell Tainat', Oriental Museum Notes, 13, and C. W. McEwan, 'The Syrian Expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago', AJA, XLI (1937), p. 8 f., plan of Palace.


(5) A. Dupont-Sommer, Les Araméens, p. 43.

but significant inscription occurs on a golden 'pen-case', perhaps intended to hold styli for writing on wax; the writing is again in Aramaic and gives the name of Kilamu and his father Khaya. Beautifully reinforced with gold studs and wire-work this valuable object is part of a collection from the royal treasure which included gold and silver figured plaques and medallions, elaborate signet rings and other jewellery; it was found in an entrance to one of the rooms in J not far from the commemorative slab, in a stratum of burnt debris. Apart from its intrinsic value as a more or less precisely dated goldsmith's piece, it is significant because it enables us to deduce that many of the ivories, of which some had been overlaid with gold foil, e.g. the chryselephantine carvings found in J.z, K.2 and elsewhere in the same Palace, must also have been made for the same king, and we may thus with some confidence date the bulk of the treasure to c. 830 B.C., that is to a time when the royal house had reached the climax of its prosperity.  

Nonetheless it must be recognised, as has already been mentioned, that some ivories and metal work were also found in the later western wing K of Bar-rakib and that, while the majority of them agree with corresponding material of the earlier Kilamu foundation in the eastern wing J, a few may be contemporary with the latter monarch. Thus the ivories representing chariots, see p. 43, found in K.2 are clearly in the older style, archaic, and the metal pendants in gold and silver from the same wing agree in style with the sumptuary work ascribed to Kilamu in J. There is, however, a doubt about the date of another set of ivory panels found in K.2 (p. 44), notably an Astarte, Hathor-like figure which closely matches one found in the domestic wing of the N.W. Palace at Nimrud, associated with Sargon's treasure. The evidence in this case is not conclusive, but on the whole we are inclined to attribute this set to Kilamu rather than to Bar-rakib, while an ivory head from the magazines west of K, in building L, reminiscent of the Mona Lisa of Nimrud may on the other hand have been contemporary with the latter monarch.

In the same suites of rooms there were many other examples of sumptuary art including an abundance of gold and silver plaques and pendants, as well as elaborately worked signet rings and other forms of gold and silver jewellery. It is relevant to our study of the Nimrud ivories that on two of the pendants the iconography reproduces themes familiar to the Nimrud ivories. First we may notice an electrum plaque illustrating a lady clad in a long mantle seated on a high-backed chair with footstool in front of a cross-legged table laden with large flaps of bread: she holds lotus buds in her right hand. This figure recalls the banqueting ladies of SW.7, Nos. 47-51, although dress and hairstyle are by no means identical; and the throne with high back is in contrast to the backless chairs at Nimrud: the hollowed footstool in the Zinjirli plaque is, however, identical in form though not in proportion to that illustrated on No. 47. These differences may be accounted for as coming from different workshops, but it is also not improbable that they reflect the work of a different period and perhaps the lapse of half a century. The Zinjirli figure is simpler in conception. Much closer to the SW.7 banquetting ladies is a stela representing a lady seated at table of the period of Bar-rakib, fully discussed above. The similarity between this stela and our Nos. 47-51 suggests that these ivories were approximately contemporaneous, and not earlier than the second half of the eighth century B.C.

The figures illustrated on silver pendants, which are less closely related, are however relevant and we should note that one depicts a nude Astarte or Ishtar figure, full-face, holding a plant upright in each hand: she wears bangles round her ankles. Both the shape and motif of this plaque are reminiscent of the familiar, triangular horses' headpieces at Nimrud made of ivory and discovered in the Burnt Palace as well as in chamber SW.37, but not in SW.7, at Fort Shalmaneser. This silver pendant from Zinjirli is no doubt the same date as the remainder of the treasure, c. 830 B.C., but a corresponding example in ivory from Nimrud inscribed in Aramaic with the name 'La'ash', a kingdom which was
flourishing fifty years later, may be dated c. 775. The probability that these two similar figures are of a different date serves as a reminder that such familiar themes belonged to an ancient tradition.

From the same room J.2 a copper cheek-piece was engraved with the design of a winged sphinx, either passant or seated, which would appear to be an earlier edition of the splendid ivory cheek-piece found in the well NN at Nimrud. The Zinjirli cheek-piece is not, however, strictly relevant to the comparative material which we are considering in SW.7, where no equestrian equipment was found.

A unique set of ivory carvings at Zinjirli was discovered in the great reception hall K.2; these ivories consisted of fragments of a frieze representing elaborately harnessed horses drawing chariots with six-spoked wheels, facing right: there were probably two men in each cab, though only the stump of a second figure remains. The horses, which have long bushy tails, carry an elaborate caparison which includes double girth-straps and neck-pieces consisting of round studs. The chariot cab is delineated as an open basket-like box and carries a pair of crossed quivers at the side; there is no trace of any oval yoke-pole. This frieze illustrated a hunting-scene rather than a battle-scene. It seems reasonable to associate this remarkable ivory relief with Kilamu himself: we may date it to c. 830 B.C. The simplicity of the chariot cab and the crew of not more than two persons is in contrast with the more elaborate chariot scene from SW.7, No. 1, Panel 9 and may well have been executed at least half a century earlier. If that assumption is correct these Zinjirli chariot ivories illustrate a development in style about mid-way between the early stone orthostats which decorated the city gate and the Nimrud ivory, No. 1, Panel 9.

In Fort Shalmaneser, SW.37, there is a model of a chariot in ivory which closely resembles those from Zinjirli and may well be of the same date. A relevant comparison may also be made with the design on a pyxis discovered by Loftus in the Burnt or S.E. Palace at Nimrud, where the elaboration of the horse trappings is similar and the type of chariot cab relatively archaic—this also may be dated to about the time of Kilamu, the last quarter of the ninth century: but the iconography appears to be more elegant.

Next in importance to the chariot frieze at Zinjirli is another remarkable set of ivory panels from K.2. They are four-sided panels, carved on three faces, pegged, dowelled and slotted on the fourth face, no doubt for fixing to a wooden stud. Th e chariot cab is delineated as an open basket-like box and carries a pair of crossed quivers at the side; there is no trace of any oval yoke-pole. This frieze illustrated a hunting-scene rather than a battle-scene. It seems reasonable to associate this remarkable ivory relief with Kilamu himself: we may date it to c. 830 B.C. The simplicity of the chariot cab and the crew of not more than two persons is in contrast with the more elaborate chariot scene from SW.7, No. 1, Panel 9 and may well have been executed at least half a century earlier. If that assumption is correct these Zinjirli chariot ivories illustrate a development in style about midway between the early stone orthostats which decorated the city gate and the Nimrud ivory, No. 1, Panel 9.

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IVORIES FROM NIMRUD—3

palmette, papyrus, wadjet eye and other objects which are not easily identifiable. These bewigged figures in the Egyptian style are variously dressed; the women wear long, fringed mantles falling to the ankle and the men either a skirt trailing at the back or a short kilt leaving one knee exposed and hanging down behind, nearly to the ankle. All the figures are barefoot. In a general way the garments with their undulating parallel folds are reminiscent of the feminine dresses on the SW.7 panels at Nimrud, but the style is altogether different. There is however elsewhere at Nimrud one remarkably close parallel: a four-sided panel found in Chamber FF of the domestic wing of the N.W. Palace. This panel is most delicately carved with an Astarte or Hathor-like figure and the method of dowelling is closely comparable with that used at Zinjirli. We can have no doubt that these two ivories emanated from more or less contemporary workshops manned by Phoenician craftsmen.

The date of this set of ivories at Zinjirli, however, still remains a problem, for although they may originally have been part of the Kilamu treasure, their discovery in a wing of the building erected by Bar-rakib implies that they may possibly have been carved at that period, about eighty years later than Kilamu: the date of the similar ivories at Nimrud is still in doubt, although they formed a part of Sargon's treasure which itself may already have been an antiquity at the time of its acquisition.

We must now examine the sets of ivory figures, mostly heads and all fragmentary, discovered in rooms K.2 and J.2 of the North Palace. A number of them was found in K.2 not far from the corner made by the steps into K.3. Some of these little ivory heads are of particular interest to our study of the Nimrud ivories because they bear a close resemblance to those discovered in the building known as the Burnt Palace and are clearly of the same date. Thus one small head from J.2.3 is unmistakably similar; it appears to have been a Caryatid figure since there are traces of the stumps of thick legs, perhaps a Bes, on the top of the head and in this respect it resembles a Nimrud head which bore traces of stumps on the crown. This and other small pieces including an ivory lion provide decisive evidence that a part of the collection in the North Palace was contemporary with a part of the treasure in the Throne Room of the Burnt Palace at Nimrud.4 A date during the last quarter of the ninth century accords with the evidence from both these sites.

We should not, however, take leave of Zinjirli without noticing an ivory head also attributed to the North Palace but with no definite find-place, obviously related to the Mona Lisa at Nimrud: full mouth, prominent nose, incrusted eyes, now missing, perhaps ancestral to the Mona Lisa but more probably contemporary.5

Conclusion: our review of the evidence from the North Palace has led to the conclusion that the bulk of the collection of ivories, mostly discovered in the royal apartments of the North Palace, must be attributed to Kilamu (c. 850–820 B.C.), and probably to the last decade of his reign when Assyria was weakening and he had acquired great wealth at the expense of his neighbours. The objets d'art from Zinjirli have only an indirect bearing on the ivories from SW.7, none of which can be exactly matched there. The Zinjirli ivories belong not only to a different, Syrian milieu but also almost certainly to an earlier period which is well represented in other chambers of Fort Shalmaneser and in the Burnt Palace. Comparisons, however, yield clear evidence of traditional themes which spanned a considerable length of time: thus the ivory representations of chariot scenes at Zinjirli appear to be earlier editions of the chariot scene from SW.7, No. 1, Panel 9.

One important synchronism has, however, been established, namely the scene representing a feasting lady of the period of Bar-rakib, a contemporary of Tiglath-pileser III, with the feasting ladies from SW.7, Nos. 47–51. Not only is the subject the same but there is also a close resemblance in details such as the furniture.

(1) Mallowan, N & R, I, fig. 54.
(2) Iraq, XIII, 1951, pl. VII, p. 17, illustrates and describes this panel in detail.
(3) AIS, IV, taf. II for plan of the rooms containing the ivories.
(4) AIS, V, taf. 70a and Mallowan, N & R, I, fig. 157: heads, hairstyle and rendering of the features not comparable. In J.2 of the North Palace at Zinjirli there was an ivory lion on which the treatment of the mane is identical with that of a lion from the Burnt Palace—compare AIS, V, taf. 64 and 65a, b, with Mallowan, N & R, I, fig. 178. Identical style of lion’s mane on a monument of the Kapara period, Halaf, III, taf. 120.
(5) AIS, V, taf. 69 f.; Mallowan, N & R, I, wrapper and coloured pl. II opposite p. 128, and pl. 71. Note also an ivory decorated bucket with twisted cord handle from K.2 of the North Palace—AIS, V, taf. 69c. Nothing exactly comparable at Nimrud but see Mallowan and Davies, Ivories from Nimrud, II, pl. XLIII, No. 189. We have to reckon with the possibility that some of the objects in the North Palace may be later than Kilamu as would be the case if we are to accept the statement that a seal impression with the name of Bar-rakib was found there, AIS, V, taf. 38b. If so there is no reason why the ivory head resembling the Mona Lisa should not be of the same date.
Sakcha Gözü

The mound of Sakcha Gözü is situated about 40 km. S.S.E. of Marash as the crow flies, at the foot of the Qurt Dagh mountain-range not far from Zinjirli; it has provided comparative artistic and archaeological evidence which is closely relevant to the Nimrud ivories from SW.7. This royal fortress, which has been partly excavated by J. Garstang and others, consists of a more or less rectangular enclosure measuring approximately $65 \times 50$ metres and containing within it, at the far end, an Hilani palace with portico supported by a single column.¹ There is only one external gate, in the short wall on the S.W. side, which forms the approach to a great forecourt with frontage to the Hilani. A number of figured stone orthostats, some long displaced from their original background, were found either here or in the neighbourhood, but several of them still remained in their original positions.

The stone carvings associated with the inner Hilani portico included: a lion; a column base encased between a pair of winged sphinxes; a winged leonine lamassu with bearded male head wearing a helmet; a winged, griffin-headed genius carrying a bucket; a panel depicting two bearded male deities wearing tunics open at the knee, standing on either side of a magical voluted palmette tree and holding up fruit to touch a 'lily' pendant from the talons of an elaborate winged disc.² Stylistically significant are two orthostats on the return wall of the portico representing two attendants in profile armed with a long sword, one carrying fly-whisk, the other a hawk on its perch.³ This pair can be closely matched in many respects with two other figures which adorned the Royal Buttress at Carchemish and were associated with the name of Kamanas, c. 740 B.C.⁴ The similarities consist in the posture, the length of the dress, hairstyle, short sandals and, in the hand of one of the figures, a unique form of staff (?) which appears to terminate in a barrel-like macehead.⁵ This concordance supports a date in the latter half of the eighth century for some of the portico sculptures.

The carving of this figure is executed in a distinctive style which at Zinjirli we associate with the period of Bar-rakib, vassal of Tiglath-pileser III, c. 740 B.C.—not earlier. There are, however, grounds for thinking that the portico sculptures are mainly to be associated with Sargon II, a generation later, for the treatment of the royal figure with the folded mantle is more elaborate than that of the corresponding Zinjirli figures and exactly matches the carving found at Arslan Tepe (Malatia), which Landsberger plausibly identified with Mutallu, king of Kummukh, a vassal and ally of Sargon.⁶ If that identification is correct, as it may well be, then some of the portico sculptures were erected in about 720. Furthermore the panel illustrating the winged genie carrying a bucket⁷ is also closely related to an ivory found elsewhere in Fort Shalmaneser of the same period.⁸ The two figures on the panel associated with the sacred tree are moreover clad in a type of mantle and undertunic leaving one leg exposed in the manner of the Nimrud ivories from SW.7.

Further indications that the portico sculptures at Sakcha Gözü belong to the later half of the eighth century are provided by the column base supported by models of human fingers and flanked by a pair of winged sphinxes. This is identical with a column base found at Zinjirli in a building known as Hilani III, probably period of Bar-rakib.⁹ The

¹ Most of the work was done at Coba-Hüyük, see J. Garstang in LAA oo, I, nos. 1–2, September 1908. In addition to the sculpture hereunder mentioned note also op. cit. pl. XXXV, fig. 1, a banquet relief rather roughly carved found at the foot of the mound. It illustrates a female seated on a high chair in front of a table, and a standing servant—period ninth to eighth century B.C. Second shorter report by J. Garstang in LAAA, V, 1913, describes the excavations conducted in 1911. Excavations, mostly in the prehistoric levels, were resumed for a single season at the same site in 1949 by J. du Plat Taylor, M. V. Seton Williams and J. Waechter, see Iraq, XII, 1950, pp. 53–138.

² Illustrations of the carvings in the portico which leads to the Hilani may be seen in H. Th. Bossert, Altanatolien, pls. 876–85; and W. Ortmann, Spätbabylonisch, Kunst, taf. 49–51.

³ Bossert, op. cit. pl. 888; J. Garstang, The Hititische Empire, pl. XLIX 2; Ortmann, op. cit. taf. 50a.

⁴ Carchemish, I, pl. B.7; for the date, Mallowan, ‘Carchemish’, AS, XXII, 1972, p. 75.

⁵ These two figures were apparently overlooked by Ussishkin, op. cit. in his discussion of Sakcha Gözü, although they support his general argument for an eighth-century date for the portico sculpture.


⁷ Bossert, op. cit. pl. 884; Ortmann, op. cit. taf. 49a and 50c.

⁸ Mallowan, N & R, II, fig. 575, p. 594: Mallowan and Davies, Ivories from Nimrud, II, pl. XLIII, no. 189.

⁹ Both Hilani II and III at Zinjirli were much denuded; the former was probably the older building. We may agree with Frankfort in AA40, p. 171, that Hilani III was ‘probably Bar-rakib’s palace.'
two columns must have been contemporarily erected. The lion is also in the developed style of the late eighth century.  

The variety of style exhibited by the various sculptors who executed, either contemporaneously or successively, commissions for the carvings in the portico was appreciated by D. M. Vaughan, ‘Some notes on the Dado-Sculptures of Sakjegeuzi’. This critic commented in particular on the ‘priest-king’ who follows the lion, and a helmeted male leonine winged sphinx or lamassu. The figure of the king wearing a shawl, which can be matched by others from Hilani III at Zinjirli of the time of Bar-rakib, is a remarkable advance on the normal flat relief in contemporary Assyria; for this, together with the man-headed sphinx, is not in the usual low relief, pure profile, but partly in the round, being turned outwards on the neck so as to show the whole mouth and nose and both eyes. It may be noted that while the lower limbs of the king are in pure profile and trunk and arms in full front, the sculptor has added a three-quarter face view and there is even a suggestion of foreshortening about the right forearm which carries a cup or libation vessel. D. M. Vaughan adds: ‘No similar treatment of the human figure appears to have been recorded in Hittite art, and it argues a degree of originality in the Sakjegeuzi sculptor for which he has not hitherto received credit.’ This critic has added that J. L. Myres agreed with her in absolving the sculptor—‘no mean artist’—from responsibility for the thoroughly commonplace Assyrian scenes including the winged genius and the panel of two figures on either side of the sacred tree beneath the sun-disc. It has thus been made clear that different hands were involved in the carving of the portico sculpture. These differences in style, however, should not obscure the fact that, as we have seen, the general development and detail of the modelling, as well as the parallelism with figures from other sites, lead to the conclusion that all of the portico sculptures were contemporaneously executed.

There is also other evidence to support the view that the portico was executed about the time of Sargon’s reign, for J. Garstang noted that two broad stone steps which obviously formed part of the same building were ‘decorated with an interesting pattern which includes rosettes, and seem to have given access to a series of upper chambers’. Such rosettes were favoured by Sargon whose reliefs at Khorsabad illustrate a procession in which one of the tribute bearers carries a tray with four of these ornaments, and there are rosettes on the ivory hunting relief from SW.7, No. 1, Panel 9. Rosettes, however, occur at many different periods and therefore are not in themselves decisive chronological criteria.

There is, furthermore, a remarkable stone relief which stood not in the Hilani portico but in the gate of the outer enclosure and may be a generation older than the portico carvings. This is of great importance because its theme and style can be closely related to our No. 1, Panel 9 and the two carvings belong to the same school of iconography. This Sakcha Gözü relief illustrates two men in a chariot, winged disc over their heads. The horses wear an elaborate horse-cloth and a number of trappings including a tasselled disc hanging down from their flanks; all of this paraphernalia is strikingly similar to the Nimrud ivory. The shape of the chariot cab, with its slightly humped back in the style of Tiglath-Pileser III, is much the same, but the Sakcha Gözü wheels have eight instead of six spokes: on the Nimrud ivory an inordinately large bull takes the place of the great Sakcha Gözü lion, which is being dispatched by a helmeted warrior dressed in a long coat of mail with short sleeves, open at one knee over a short tunic, a counterpart of the warriors illustrated on Nos. 1–20, whose winged discs also resemble those at Sakcha Gözü but are not identical. It must be clear that our ivory panels and the Sakcha Gözü relief are not far apart in time.

(1) Stone column base with upturned fingers in AIS, IV, taf. LV and AIS, II, taf. XXXIII, which incidentally illustrates an ivory replica of a column base, clearly a reflection of the architecture which served as a model for the minor arts, not vice versa as Ussishkin suggested in BASOR, 203 (1971). Cf. Sakcha Gözü, J. Garstang, The Hittite Empire, pl. L.
(2) LaAAA, XXI (1934).
(3) AIS, IV, taf. LVIII, LIX.
(4) Garstang, op. cit. p. 275.
(5) Botta, II, pl. 101.
(6) Garstang, op. cit. pl. XLVI; E. Pottier, L’Art Hittite, pl. IX, fig. 177; Bossert, Altnatolien, pl. 886; Orthmann, op. cit. taf. 51c.
(7) We interpret the subject of the Nimrud ivory as the straightforward rendering of a bull hunt in the Assyrian style and can see no grounds for understanding the four-crew chariot as portraying an episode ‘which was probably taken from Syro-Phoenician mythology’, as Ussishkin would have us believe in BASOR, 203, p. 26. This plaque on the contrary illustrates a realistic scene, familiar on Assyrian reliefs, which tend, for the glorification of the king, to exaggerate the size of the hunted beast. On the Nimrud ivory the fact that there is a crew of four mitigates the strength of any argument favouring a date before the latter half of the eighth century. No doubt this was the time at which larger crews were beginning to be introduced, but the Assyrians had not yet begun to standardize a correspondingly larger cab, as they began to do in the time of Sargon and fully achieved under Ashurbanipal. Our criticisms of the views expressed by Ussishkin have recently been supported by M. A. Littauer and J. Crouwel in an article entitled, ‘The Dating
The orthostat had been embedded in the wall of the house that was the Burnt House and its influence was paramount in the frontier fortress cities of North Syria. The minor art of the ivory carver reflects the major art of palace reliefs. Nor is the argument that the internal chambers of the chariot were not bonded with the perimeter of any importance, for it is known that the foundations had been bonded in the remote township on the Anatolian-Assyrian borderland would then have been subject to Assyrian influence. It has also to be admitted that the short-sleeved, belted tunic with divided skirt ending above the knee originates in the early ninth century as may be seen on the Herald's Wall at Carchemish. But this simple form of tunic worn by menials or soldiers was a fashion which doubtless persisted over the centuries.

Ussishkin recognizes that the Sakha Gūzī chariot is a hybrid of the types represented on monuments of the reigns of Ashurnasirpal II, Shalmaneser III and Tiglath-pileser III. But, as may be clearly seen, the chariot cab rises to a hump at the back, a feature which, as Madhloom has pointed out, does not appear until Tiglath-pileser III, that is not before about 740. Before that time the cab was squarer.

We must therefore recognize that the Sakha Gūzī relief has some archaic as well as some more recent features, and is reasonable to date it by reference to the later ones and not too far in time from the portico sculptures which are likely to have been a stage in the decoration of the city after the adornment of the outer gate. Ussishkin did well to recognize that the outer gate sculptures may have been executed earlier than those of the portico, but it is implausible to argue that they were more than a generation older. It is unconvincing to suggest any date between 780 and 750 when Assyria was hard-pressed from the north, more reasonable to propose the period of Tiglath-pileser III when Assyrian influence was paramount in the frontier fortress cities of North Syria, as we have seen to be the case at Zinjirli. We have recognized the archaisms and we need not be surprised that the huntsman wears a ninth-century kilt and that his hairstyle is spiral. The date proposed by Ussishkin for this Assyrian-style relief at Sakcha Gozii, first half of the eighth century, is in any case improbable, for that was a period of decline and depression in Assyria. It is unlikely that a remote township on the Anatolian-Assyrian borderland would then have been subject to Assyrian influence.

The theory that the stone relief is copied from a Nimrud ivory seems no less improbable. It is possible that the minor art of the ivory carver reflects the major art of palace reliefs. Nor is the argument that the internal chambers were not bonded with the perimeter of any importance, for it is known that the foundations had been bonded in the

of a Chariot Ivory from Nimrud Considered Once Again', BASOR, No. 209 (February 1973) p. 27 f. These critics agree in every respect with our views, to which their article gives substantial support, both to the dating, and to the interpretation of the scene as one realistically illustrating a hunt. There are no grounds for reading into this scene a mythological content.

(2) The orthostat had been embedded in the wall of the house of the Konak, the Turkish military governor, from which a German traveller removed it to the Museum in Berlin: for references see Pottier, op. cit, p. 95, note 1; Humann-Puchstein, Reisen in Kleinasien, p. 377, taf. 46.
(3) The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art, p. 88.
(4) Carchemish, I, pl. B.2-3.
(5) The back of the cab on No. 1, Panel 9, also rises but the hump is less pronounced.
(6) Madhloom, op. cit. p. 30. It should also be noted that Sargon's chariots differ from this one and from those of Tiglath-pileser III both in the shape of the cab and in the large size of the wheels, of which the axle is well to the back of the chariot, Botta, I, pl. 58. The stylish appearance of chariots and the elaborate equipage probably spans a long period of the ivories and is already manifest in the last quarter of the ninth century on more than one pyxis from the Burnt Palace, see Barnett, CNI, pls. XVIII, XXXIII. There are, however, differences of detail in these early chariot scenes when compared with our ivory from SW.7. That No. 1, Panel 9 is not likely to have been made before the time of Tiglath-pileser III depends much on the observation that on Assyrian reliefs four men in a cab do not appear before Sargon, Botta and Flandin, I, pl. 58.
(7) BASOR, 203, p. 24.
(8) See note 1, on p. 46.
lower levels and it is quite likely that an earlier building preceded this one. We seem therefore to have no firm grounds for altering our opinion that the Nimrud ivory belongs to the second, later half of the eighth century, c. 740 B.C. Oddly enough, however, the fact that the chariot has eight spokes, which is an inducement to Ussishkin to bring down the date of the Sakcha Gözü relief to the eighth century, is not a conclusive one: on the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II while the Assyrian chariots have six spokes, enemy chariots, no doubt North Syrian, have eight.4

Conclusion: there are sound reasons for concluding that the portico sculpture from this site is contemporary with the reign of Sargon and here also there are traits which bear a general resemblance to the iconography of the ivories in SW.7, e.g. the winged disc and the griffin carrying a situla, although there are many differences in detail. There are also similarities between the style of dress worn by the ‘priest-king’ and sculpture of the period of Bar-rakib at Zinjiri. Technical advances in presentation however warrant the belief that this figure was executed after 740 B.C., for there is a parallel in a carving found at Arslan Tepe (Malatia) attributable to Mutallu, king of Kummukh, vassal and ally of Sargon: these carvings are more elaborate than the comparable Zinjiri figures. However, the Assyrian-style chariot scene from the outer gate at Sakcha Gözü is somewhat earlier: it exhibits a number of archaisms but is not older than Tiglath-pileser III because of the humped back of the chariot cab which does not occur before his reign. This confirms our conclusion that the Nimrud ivory representing the bull hunt on No. 1, Panel 9, is of about that date, 740–730 B.C., not earlier.

Carchemish

The ancient city lies about 100 km. N.E. of Aleppo and 23 km. south of Birecik on the west bank of the Euphrates, less than a day’s march above Til Barsib (T. Almar), which stood below it on the opposite bank. In consequence Til Barsib tended to reflect influences from Assyria and Babylonia whereas Carchemish, for the most part, down to the time of its destruction by Sargon in 716, fell within the Syrian and neo-Hittite orbit.

Few ivories were discovered at Carchemish but that was doubtless only an accident, for we read in the Annals of the seizure of much booty, including ivory furniture, from that town, some of which was certainly taken to Calah.4 Seven ivory panels, ajouré work, cut in a tree design, were discovered in the temple of the Storm God near to a structure which Woolley described as an altar.5 This panel is carved in the form of a palmette with long sweeping fronds, a type familiar at Samaria and at Nimrud.6 But the little palmettes carved on the larger fronds at Carchemish are appendages apparently not exactly matched elsewhere and may perhaps be a North Syrian version of a Phoenician composition, a peculiar variant of the prototype.

The Carchemish temple of the Storm God from which these panels came was founded by Katuwas c. 880 B.C., a monarch whose reign probably overlapped both with Omri and Ahab of Samaria. It is therefore not improbable that these objets d’art were part of the original endowment and contemporary with the related Samarian palmette ivories, but definite proof is lacking. However that may be, this type of openwork palmette panel is not matched by anything from SW.7.9

Much of the sculpture at Carchemish can be dated to the early ninth century and some themes may be ancestral to the iconography illustrated in SW.7. In particular we may recall a powerfully carved Gilgamesh, ‘dompteur des animaux’, who grips a lion by the hindleg and a bull by the horns as he kneels between them.6 A part of this theme

References:
(1) Layard, Mon. pl. 14, illustrates Assyrian chariots with six-spoked wheels overcoming the enemy equipped with eight-spoked wheels on a relief in Throne Room B of Ashurnasirpal II. Similar scene on pl. 13. Exceptionally, in a hunting scene, there appears to be a light chariot used by the Assyrian king with eight-spoked wheels, pl. 48.
(2) Ashurnasirpal II, LAR, I, 476; Tiglath-pileser III, LAR, I, 774, 777; Sargon II, LAR, II, 138—from Pissiris king of Carchemish.
(3) Carchemish, III, p. 167, pl. 71 f.
(4) Samaria-Sebaste, II, pl. XIX; Mallowan, N & R, II, pp. 591 and 597, figs. 572 and 580.
(5) Mallowan, N & R, II, fig. 581. We notice A. R. Millard’s suggestion that the script on the back of ND.12049 from SW.11–12 was possibly Phoenician or Aramaic of the eighth century but the proposed date was tentative.
(6) Carchemish, I, pl. B.104, from the Herald’s Wall; see also Carchemish, III, pls. B.49b, B.57: best illustrated in Akurgal, The Art of the Hittities, pl. 113. See also Mallowan, Carchemish’, AS, XXII, pp. 71–3, especially note 29: the Carchemish orthostat may be dated c. 880–90. Date of No. 105 which was associated with No. 95 discussed in detail in Mallowan, N & R, II, pp. 513–14. This article of furniture may well be earlier than the remainder of the ivories in SW.7: there is evidence for dating it c. 820. Note also that No. 105 is comparable with scenes decorating the borders of some blinkers, from a dump of ivory fragments in SW.37—J. J. Orchard, IVORIES from Nimrud, I, Nos. 75–98. Many of these scenes
illustrating a theriomachy in which lions and bulls are engaged is reflected on the long ivory panels from SW.7, No. 105: the card-cutting of the bulls' shoulders both at Carchemish and Nimrud is identical in style but at Nimrud instead of beading on the underbelly as at Carchemish we observe hair. The markings of the Nimrud animals are much more detailed and lack the simplicity of the prototypes which may be as much as half a century earlier. If we are right in dating these Nimrud panels to c. 820 B.C. we have here a remarkable example of the strength of iconographic tradition. The article of furniture with which the Nimrud 'theriomachy' was associated in the soil was the scroll design chairback No. 95; it is probable but not certain that Nos. 95 and 105 belonged to the same piece of furniture. If so they, together with the fragmentary scroll piece No. 96, would appear to be older than the remainder of the collection in SW.7.

A consideration of other sculpture from Carchemish is, however, more directly relevant to the SW.7 ivories—comparisons relating to North Syrian carvings characteristic of the eighth rather than the seventh century. It is interesting that the elaborately decorated belts which look as if they were buckled, worn by the men of Nos. 13-15, can be related to some of the Carchemish figures. A series of basalt orthostats which adorned a feature known as the 'Royal Buttress' on the Herald's Wall at Carchemish exhibits warriors adorned with wide belts, more elaborately decorated than those on Nos. 13-15 but the style is as unusual at Carchemish as it is at Nimrud. Fortunately we have a date for the Carchemish series given by an inscription attributable to Araras, c. 760 B.C. and another mentions Kamanas, c. 740 B.C. Although the accoutrement at Nimrud and Carchemish is not identical, and there are differences in hairstyles, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that both sets of carvings reflect an elaboration of sartorial style that was a mark of the mid-eighth century.

Another comparison with the Carchemish sculpture which exhibits a certain similarity but not identity of style occurs on a basalt statue B.62a perhaps depicting the goddess Kubaba, who is dressed in a long mantle rendered in close parallel vertical folds: the name of Kamanas is mentioned, but perhaps incidentally, on an inscription on the back of this figure, A.32. The same method of rendering closely parallel folds on feminine dress recurs on the SW.7 panels, see p. 31 above. The mention of Kamanas on the Carchemish figure indicates that the monument cannot be earlier and is probably later than his reign, c. 740. Once more we have a suggestion of an eighth-century date, if we accept this parallel for our Nimrud panels.

Another Carchemish figure in basalt B.66b is relevant because it illustrates a striding male figure, barefoot and going left. This figure wears a tunic and overskirt, open at the front and thus exposing the right leg. This exposed leg is relevant because it is similar to that of the SW.7 panels, Nos. 1-28. The style of dress which displays a long open skirt leaving one knee exposed is also to be seen on other Carchemish monuments: on one of them a triply fringed skirt trails to the ground, the figure walks barefoot and carries a bucket (7) in the left hand, the date of this monument is uncertain but the attitude of the suppliant is the same as Nos. 1-20, although there is no tree at Carchemish. Closer parallels are the winged and unwinged genii carrying buckets as on Nos. 22-8: the intention is likely to have been the same in all cases—perhaps to hold the ichor or lifeblood of the gods. It seems probable that these well-carved Carchemish basalt bucket carriers were executed in the latter half of the eighth century, both on grounds of associated inscriptions and because sculpturally these figures at Carchemish reflect a greater mastery over the refractory basalt than the ninth-century monuments. Indeed, if we follow J. D. Hawkins, we may agree it is possible that the winged figure carrying a bucket, A.21, may together with A.22, have been approximately contemporary with Pisiris, the prince who was overcome by Sargon II.

Illustrate lions mauling gazelles and may have been executed at about the same period as the SW.7 theriomachy for the contents of SW.37 appear to range in date from the ninth to the last quarter of the eighth century.

(1) Carchemish, I, pls. B.4-B.8.
(2) Op. cit. pl. B.6 Araras; pl. B.8 Kamanas, whose name also occurs on another mutilated figure, Carchemish, III, pl. B.66a, wearing a similar belt.
(3) Carchemish, I, pl. B.8.
(5) Carchemish, III, pl. B.66b.
(8) Op. cit. pl. A.21, pl. B.35. See also Mallowan, AS, XXII, p. 81 and note 24. In Assyria the ninth-century bucket was relatively deep in comparison with Sargon's. The Carchemish buckets come closer to the earlier Assyrian types while the relatively small buckets on the SW.7 panels are perhaps more in conformity with Sargon's. There is an interesting parallel, allegedly of the eighth century, in an Urartian mural painting from Arin-Berd, Erzibuni, an unusually deep form—B. Piotrovsky, Urartu, Nagel, Geneva 1969, pl. 10. On the significance of the bucket, C. J. Gadd, Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East, Schweich Lectures 1945, note on 'The Assyrian Cone-Smearing Ceremony'.
(9) J. D. Hawkins, 'The building inscriptions of Carchemish', AS, XXII, p. 104; the inscription upon this monument is connected with another from Jekke.
Also of interest is the Banquet Scene illustrated on one of the Water Gate reliefs at Carchemish. There is evidence to support the belief that this set of carvings is considerably later than the accepted date for them, and this one in particular which exhibits a Phrygian-style pot with drooping spout need not be any earlier than the last quarter of the eighth century, for the spouted pot itself has no parallels before about 700 B.C., as has been demonstrated by Mrs. K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop. Common to this monument and the SW.7 ivories, Nos. 47–51, is the simple table: compare Nos. 47, 49 and 50 where the pedestal cup and perhaps the flaps of bread may be similar. Although the date of the Carchemish monument is problematic the theory that it was erected shortly before or about the time of Sargon II has much to commend it.

Finally we may notice the powerfully rendered basalt winged disc, B.36, at Carchemish, in order to compare it with the numerous examples of the winged disc on the SW.7 panels, see fig. 4. It is not impossible that the Carchemish disc in association with the staircase should be attributed to the ninth century, but it is clearly much simpler in composition than the elaborately rendered discs on the Nimrud ivories. It seems reasonable to argue that they represent a stylistic development of a symbol which has a long history in North Syria.

**Conclusion:** some of the Carchemish sculpture belongs to the ninth century and its iconography represents a stage earlier than that of the Nimrud ivories from SW.7. However comparisons between an orthostat illustrating a 'Gilga-mesh' figure subduing wild animals and the theriomachy No. 105 suggest that the associated chair with its scroll design, No. 95, may be older than the remainder of the collection in SW.7.

Comparisons with other sculptures from Carchemish, however, attributable to Araras and Kamanas, 760–740 B.C., can be shown to support an eighth- rather than a ninth-century date for the remainder of the SW.7 ivories: the Carchemish banquet scenes, figures carrying buckets or equipped with elaborate buckled belts, and the dress of the goddess Kubaba also confirm this conclusion.

**Arslan-Tash**

This important North Syrian township is situated near the frontier about 8 km. S.W. of the railway station at Aram-punar; its ancient name was Hadatu and it lay on a direct road connecting Guzana (Tell Halaf), Harran and Til-Barsib (T. Ablmar) on the Euphrates. The city, which was extensively excavated by a French expedition, occupied a superifcies of about 36 hectares and was an oval enclosed by a heavily buttressed town wall intersected by three gates. Arslan-Tash contained traces of a temple, an extensive Palace and a 'Bâtiment aux Ivoires' which yielded a superb collection of carved ivories. The city flourished during the ninth and eighth centuries and under Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.) became the capital of a province directly controlled by Assyria.

The ivories, which were of high quality, were associated with the name of Hazael, king of Damascus, whose name was inscribed in Aramaic on an ivory plaque which had been a component part of the royal bed. The framework of this bed was discovered in situ and was clearly of ample dimensions, 1–95 metres long by 0·96 metres wide, which exactly corresponds with the measurements of a Victorian divan! The scale of the individual panels which had once adorned the bed approximated to some of the smaller panels from SW.7 and inclined us at the time of our excavations to infer that the frames of the SW.7 ivories belonged to beds rather than chairs, but it will be seen that a good case can be made for identifying the SW.7 frames as the backs of chairs, see pp. 3–9 above.

(2) AS, XXII (1972), p. 78 note 49.
(3) Mallowan, AS, XXII, p. 78. The Carchemish chair is cross-legged, has drapery at the back and the legs may terminate in bull's hooves.
(4) F. Thureau-Dangin, A. Barrois, G. Dossin, Maurice Dunand, Arslan-Tash, Paris, 1931.
(6) Op. cit. pl. XVIII illustrates the base of the bed in situ: it was found in Room 14 of the 'Bâtiment aux Ivoires', p. 90. The original framework is thought to have been made of wood, carbonized traces of which were discovered in situ. The associated plaques were both solid and ajourées. There were originally two beds, position marked on sketch plan, op. cit. p. 29, fig. 31. Owing to the decay of the wooden framework the ivories had fallen out and were found scattered. The excavators noted that the number of plaques found exceeded the requirements of the two beds and we are therefore not justified in associating all of them with Hazael, though see Barnett, CNI, p. 127 for an alternative theory. However, Arslan-Tash, Nos. 92 and 93, colonettes, 113–17, glass plaques, were thought to have been the components of one bed; and Nos. 104–7 and 111 were found within the debris of the framework with Nos. 43 and 44. The plaques decorated with papyrus Nos. 101–3 and flowers, Nos. 94–6, were found about 3 to 4 metres further to the south.
The ivory fragment recording a dedication by some unknown person "To our Lord Hazael, in the year of ..." almost certainly refers to the king of Damascus who was a contemporary of Shalmaneser III, in spite of the fact recorded in *Mallowan, N & R*, that Hazael was a dynastic name and that others bore it at a later date. However the fact that the same name has reappeared in Nimrud as well as Irkhuleni, king of Hamath, another contemporary of Shalmaneser III, enables us to discard any doubts about the chronology and we may identify him with the king named in a coalition of Syrian princes who engaged with Shalmaneser III in the battle of Karkar in 841 B.C. Although beaten, he saved the city of Damascus from Assyrian assault. In a second attack by Adad-nărāri III (810–782 B.C.) the successor of Hazael, Ben-Hadad III, saved Damascus by paying a heavy tribute to the king of Assyria including 2,500 talents of silver, 20 talents of gold, 3,000 talents of copper, polychrome linen cloth, ivory beds, ivory stools, ivory incrusted with gold and precious stones. This vast treasure, as Adad-nărāri III records, was received in the Syrian King's palace in Damascus.

Thureau-Dangin hazarded the suggestion that this royal bed, once made for the king of Damascus, may have been the remains of the tribute paid to Adad-nărāri III and deposited by him in Arslan-Tash, a city then subject to Assyria. He has also suggested that the carved ivory panels which decorated it were manufactured in various workshops either in Damascus itself or in centres easily accessible to it. Some of the panels in their highly distinctive quasi-Egyptian style were obviously Phoenician; others such as the cow and calf were Asiatic; Cypriote influence seems less probable to us now than it did to him at the time, as more recent discoveries have furnished evidence that Cypriote parallels belong to the eighth rather than the tenth century B.C.

However that may be, it is relevant to examine one panel from SW.7, No. 87, which alone of this group has striking parallels at Arslan-Tash. We cannot deduce any firm chronological criterion from No. 87 because it was found loose in the debris and its dimensions do not correspond with any others found in the same room. It could therefore have been removed from some article of furniture not otherwise represented here. The figure has been described in detail in the catalogue, p. 106 below; it is a youth wearing the triple *atef* crown, clad in a sleeved garment which trails behind the ankles; he carries a *khnum* sceptre in one hand and a jug with a tall papyrus plant in the other. This youth, equipped and clad in the Phoenician manner, was perhaps an attendant of some Phoenician Ba'al. The plaques from Arslan-Tash which illustrate these distinctive youths, some of them in procession, exhibit many small differences of detail and are of different dimensions, so that it is not necessary to believe that they came from the same workshop as No. 87. But the ram-headed sceptre, the handled jug and the short undertunic with long trailing coat are common to both. The iconography therefore stems from a common Phoenician milieu. It is possible that the Nimrud panel, which is more elaborate in detail and more vivid and imposing in presentation, illustrates a later version of a scene which at Arslan-Tash was probably associated with Hazael's bed. But we must hesitate between a ninth- and an eighth-century date in recognition of the fact that this iconography had a long history, as we know from figures of this same attendant with ram-headed sceptre and jug on coins from Sidon struck in the early fourth century B.C.

However that may be, as H. Frankfort has rightly observed, some of the Arslan-Tash ivories come so near to the iconography of Sargon's panels from Khorsabad that they may have been executed in the eighth rather than the ninth century. We repeat that the date when No. 87 was made need not necessarily be the same as that of the others in SW.7 and could, as we proposed for Nos. 95, 96 and 105, be attributed to the ninth century. Similar considerations apply to the incrusted ivory illustrating papyrus bud and plant, No. 107, which is similar in design to incrusted strips from Arslan-Tash: the more elaborate version from Nimrud could well have been made later, see also pp. 18–19 above.

Finally, it should be noted that much of the stone sculpture discovered at Arslan-Tash can be specifically assigned

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(3) *LAR*, I, 749.
(4) *Arslan-Tash*, p. 139.
(6) *Mallowan, N & R*, II, p. 506, fig. 412: for preliminary discussion on the date see p. 654, note 84. It is possible that the panel illustrating the Phoenician youth belongs to the period of Hazael.
(7) *Arslan-Tash*, pl. XXXII, nos. 39–42.
(9) *AAAO*, p. 192.
(10) *Arslan-Tash*, pl. XLVI, nos. 105–7, stated on p. 91 to have been found within the framework of the beds.
to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III. The formal style of the bulls to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III. The formal style of the bulls to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III. The formal style of the bulls is perhaps not far removed from No. 104, although the Arslan-Tash rendering appears to be a more elaborate development appropriate to a monument. Moreover, the chariot scene showing a pair of horses drawing a cab with humped back set on eight-spoked wheels, as well as a warrior perhaps wearing greaves, illustrates equipment not depicted before Sargon II. On the other hand the elliptical yoke is, with one exception, not represented after Tiglath-pileser III, and the rings on the horse’s neck are typical of sculpture contemporary with that monarch. The indications are that this bas-relief was executed in about 730 B.C.; it thus provides confirmation for our dating of the hunting scene from SW.7, No. 1, Panel 9.

Urartu

The wealth of evidence which has been assembled from excavations conducted over a period of nearly a century at many Urartian sites, of recent years mainly by the U.S.S.R. and Turkey and to a lesser extent by British, German and American expeditions, has yielded a number of chronological links with Assyria as well as with Iran, particularly with the Mannaean kingdom. Two ivory scenes, well illustrated by R. D. Barnett, deserve particular attention; they were discovered at Toprak Kale where two bronze shields bearing the name of the ancient city Du-Ush-Pa or Tush-Pa were also found. These finely carved ivories have been described by Barnett as human figures with heads of birds of prey and are unusually large, 17.2 and 11.7 cm. high; they appear to be crestless griffins and are winged. The costumes, belt-overmantles trailing to the ground and short undertunics leaving the right knee exposed are comparable with the SW.7 bucket carriers, Nos. 22–8, and see pp. 24–6.

Some latitude has to be admitted in the evidence for fixing precise dates to the Toprak Kale discoveries, and we have to recognize no less than three monarchs with the name of Sarduris, reigning from the last quarter of the ninth to the middle of the seventh century. Piotrovsky has stressed that ‘the territory of Urartu continued to extend and its power to grow’ in the reign of Sarduris II, c. 750; to this period I am inclined to ascribe the series of well carved ivories from Toprak Kale, some of which appear to have found their way to Nimrud either as loot or as tribute.

Comparative evidence has no more than an indirect bearing on the SW.7 ivories, but the Toprak Kale ivories, a painted mural of a winged genius carrying a bucket from Arin-Berd, and the historical background are not discordant with a date in the latter half of the eighth century for the allied iconography at Nimrud.

Hasanlu

The site lies a few kilometres to the south of Lake Urmia and, to judge by the size of the akropolis, about 24 hectares in area, was at one time the capital city of the country of Mannai. The archaeological sequences of occupation have been classified in five main periods of which Hasanlu V is the earliest. Most important and prosperous of the cities was Hasanlu IV which was defended by a massive, buttressed wall on stone foundations. The time span of this powerful citadel approximately covered the period 1000–800 B.C., as is known not only from archaeological but also from Carbon 14 determinations. A great conflagration which brought this citadel to an end would appear to have occurred at about
813 B.C.±21 and was perhaps the result of a devastating attack by the kingdom of Urartu which was then at the beginning of its ascendency under Menues who, according to an inscription at Tash Tepe, near Mianduab, conquered the country Mana and built a fortress to control the neighboring province of Missi. It seems that Urartians rather than Scythians were responsible for the end of Hasanlu IV, because the latter were then still in an adolescent stage, and the Assyrians, also possible candidates, were about to enter a period of decline.

Hasanlu IV is distinguished by a remarkable architecture and excavation has revealed three buildings characteristic of the period. These consist of a columned portico, added it seems at some subsequent stage to a spacious ante-chamber which gave access to a square courtyard. The roof of the court was supported by wooden columns resting on stone bases; within the court there were hearths and benches lined the walls. The staircase to the upper floor was situated at one end of the ante-chamber. This type of building is, through its ground-plan and accessories, especially the hearth, obviously related to the megaron and may perhaps have originated in Anatolia: its 'classical' format occurs in Greece.

The architecture may well reflect the ecology of a cold, wooded country but further excavation is required to determine the probable source of origin. No less interesting is the place of Hasanlu on the stage of architectural transmission which eventuated in the great columned apadana of Persepolis. Here Urartu also played a part, as may be judged from the ground-plan of Arin-Berd, Erebuhi, which was perhaps a stage later than Hasanlu.

The diagnostic pottery of Hasanlu IV consists of a grey and black ware fired in a reducing temperature. The types display bridge spouts and are ceramicly often of a high standard. This was a period of great wealth in which vessels of gold, silver and electrum were produced in abundance, as well as bronze ornaments and fittings. The most splendid discovery was a gold bowl decorated with remarkable scenes illustrating contemporary mythology. The simple form of chariots and the modish costume of the charioteers are clearly Mannaean and may fall within the period: they need not be earlier than 1000 B.C., although some authorities would date this object earlier. The costume of a charioteer is reflected in an 'Assyrian-style' cylinder seal which illustrates an archer intended to be interpreted as shooting downwards from a wooded highland amid trees at an oryx; head turned back: a bird flies over the hunted beast and a crescent moon, attributable to Sin, is seen in the sky. This seal is, within the context of Hasanlu IV, of great interest because it is in the Assyrian style but not strictly Assyrian. The subject is common enough in Assyrian glyptic of the ninth-eighth centuries but the spirited rendering of the scene and composition was never better done than here. On the majority of Assyrian seals the crescent moon and vegetation also appear in conjunction with the scene. But on the seal from Hasanlu the hunter is clad in an ankle length, fringed and belted robe, a mode illustrated on a four-legged bronze stand and on the famous gold bowl, which must be at least a century earlier. It therefore seems likely that such engravers at Hasanlu, while working within the framework of Assyrian glyptic, were investing scenes familiar to the courts of their powerful, hostile neighbours with trappings familiar to themselves. This particular seal thus seems to be a good example


(2) JNES, XXIV, p. 203.

(3) But they may, as Edith Porada has suggested, op. cit. p. 123, have been responsible for the sacking of Ziiwi about 150 years later.

(4) B. Piotrovsky, Urartu, 1969, p. 69. The building was probably erected in the early eighth century. B. Hrouda, Vorderasiens, I, abb. 86 for the plan and for Anatolian links: plan of temple at Altin-Tepes, op. cit. abb. 85. The origins of the megaron in Anatolia have been traced back to EB 3; early examples of the plan appear to occur at Kültepe and possibly at Beyce Sultan, considerably older than the classic forms at Mycenae and Pylos; and finally as late as the eighth century in the Phrygian level at Gordium, which contains close architectural parallels with Hasanlu. T. Cayler Young, 'Thoughts on the Architecture of Hasanlu IV', Iranica Antiqua, VI, 1966, pp. 48-71.

(5) E. Porada, The Art of Ancient Iran, p. 96, pl. 24 and figs. 63 and 64.


(7) L. Delaporte, CCO, I, pl. 57, 3 (K.2) illustrates a later development of the scene in the eighth century at Khorsabad, where a kneeling bowman shoots a lamasu amid the trees. The seal is of serpentine. CCO, II, pl. 86, 14 (A.647) where the bowman shoots downwards at a winged bull—glazed seal. A. Moortgat, Vorderasiatische Rollseilge, 1940, taf. 76, nos. 643 and 644: kneeling hunter attacking an ibex (7) with spear; crescent moon also appears in the scene. Limestone and steatite from Assur, ninth to eighth century.

(8) R. H. Dyson, Archaeology, 17, pl. 9. Porada, op. cit. figs. 63 and 64.
of Assyrian overlaid by Mannaean style. There are no doubt other seals which are Assyrian importations but this does not seem to be one of them. It was made by a skilled draughtsman, who may or may not have been native to Hasanlu, and who was ready to put his skill in a form acceptable to his patrons.

This conclusion is altogether relevant to a consideration of the Hasanlu IV ivories which have appeared in some quantity in association with buildings in the same stratum. The most striking example is a figure almost in the round which has been illustrated as a 'Hasanlu IV Nimrud type ivy. Anyone familiar with the Nimrud ivories will recognize immediately that this striking head wearing a high crown and necklace differs from anything found at Nimrud itself and must have been executed by a craftsman working in some non-Assyrian milieu. The long straight nose, the severe reserved expression of the face, almost emaciated in comparison with the rotund faces of the Nimrud ivories; the small mouth; must be Mannaean, while the technique of the arched joined eyebrows and the great hollowed eyes recalls Assyria. But Dyson’s comment that it is a ‘Nimrud type’ is a fair one and can be sustained by an examination of the many ivories from that site discovered in the ‘Burnt Palace’. The high crown also differs from any found in Assyria.

It has, however, been possible, thanks to the kindness of Robert Dyson, who in 1964 sent a large number of pencilled sketches, to identify at least one ivory HAS-64-976 as a type which could have emanated from Nimrud itself. This one illustrates a recumbent winged sphinx with female head wearing a ‘Phrygian’ style cap or high conical hat which appears to droop to a peak at the back. The type closely resembles one discovered by Loftus in the ‘Burnt’ or S.E. Palace at Nimrud. Here we may feel confident that these two ivories were executed at about the same time, and the probable synchronism and identity of style establish a close link for at least a part of the Hasanlu ivories, the small mouth; must be Mannaean, while the technique of the arched joined eyebrows and the great hollowed eyes recalls Assyria. But Dyson’s comment that it is a ‘Nimrud type’ is a fair one and can be sustained by an examination of the many ivories from that site discovered in the ‘Burnt Palace’. The high crown also differs from any found in Assyria.

On the other hand, and at about the same time, and the probable synchronism and identity of style establish a close link for at least a part of the Hasanlu IV ivories and the Nimrud Burnt Palace. While the foundation of Phase F in the latter building appears to have been subsequent to Adad-nērāri III, and the contents connected with the reign of Sargon, nevertheless certain foundation deposits, including the figures of the seven akhalle, were most probably laid down by Adad-nērāri III, 810–782 B.C. Many of the Palace treasures were probably already antiquities at the time of the full floruit of the building; the date may be applicable to some of the Hasanlu ivories and to most of the Burnt Palace ivories, including the beautifully modelled recumbent figures of calves in the round, which are closely matched by an ivory calf, HAS-64-901, and similar in style to a lion couchant at Hasanlu, HAS-64-901. Furthermore a female head wearing a high ribbed crown from Hasanlu IV, with long hair and deeply incurved eyes, comes very near to Nimrud figures and provides a firm assurance of a close relationship between the two collections.

Conclusion: this examination of the ivories and other small objects from Hasanlu IV has yielded negative evidence in

(1) Compare the hairstyle with that of the figure of a warrior, Dyson, op. cit. pl. 3.
(2) JNES, XXIV, pl. XXXVI, fig. 64.
(4) Dyson wrote in a letter to Mallowan dated December 9, 1964, 'All belong to period IV (we are just running the samples of grain, etc. which ought to help nail down the end date—certainly between 850 and 800 I would think).'
(5) Barnett, op. cit. pl. XIX, S.13, part of a pyxis. See also Dyson, Memorial Volume, op. cit. supra, p. 43, fig. 2, for an illustration of the ivory pyxis from Hasanlu IV depicting a winged sphinx.
(6) Mallowan, N & R, I, pp. 200–30 and figs. 135–92. See also the Chronological Table on pp. 286–7. It must be assumed that many of the ivories found on the floor of Sargon’s Palace, Phase F, had been taken over from the older foundation, Phase E, Adad-nērāri III, who had perhaps acquired them.
(7) Other parallels include HAS-64–977, winged sphinxes; HAS-44–1066, winged sphinx; HAS-64–901, the lion couchant. Ivory calves at Nimrud, Mallowan, op. cit. figs. 174–5.
(8) HAS-64–923: Mallowan, op. cit. figs. 146–7, 152; Barnett, CNI, pls. LXXII–LXXIV.
(9) The evidence for a date late in the ninth century was further strengthened by the discovery in the same stratum of an ‘Egyptian blue’ stone lion bowl comparable with a North Syrian type wherein the cup was supported by human fingers: M. N. Van Loon, ‘A Lion Bowl from Hasanlu’, Expedition 4, no. 4, 1962, pp. 14 f. Lion bowl at Nimrud, see Mallowan, N & R, I, p. 221, fig. 177. These objects of the minor arts reflect an architectural tradition which may be seen in stone column bases supported by representations of the upturned fingers of the human hand, see AIS, IV, taf. LVI and AIS, II, taf. XXXIII in Hilani III at Zinjirî, ascribed by Frankfort to the period of Bar-rakib. Similar column bases at Sakca Güzü—J. Garstang, The Hittite Empire, pl. 1; and see pp. 45–6 and note 1 on p. 46 above.
so far as none of them is related to the SW.7 ivories. But the exercise is nonetheless of value in establishing a chronology for other sets of ivories discovered in the Burnt Palace. A series of ivory heads and recumbent calves at Hasanlu and the Burnt Palace may be dated to c. 820 B.C. This well-dated group of ivories, unrelated to those from SW.7, illustrates a distinctive and earlier phase of development and thus provides negative confirmation of the later eighth-century date advanced for the SW.7 panels.

Ziwiye

The site stands at an altitude of about 2000 metres above sea-level, approximately 40 km. east of Saqqiz, perhaps in Mannaean territory and may once have been subject to Hasanlu, which was probably the capital city of the province. Ziwiye, a compact citadel, seems to have flourished principally in the seventh century, the period to which most of the pottery belongs although some of it clearly derives from eighth-century prototypes, as Cuyler Young has demonstrated. It seems plausible to suggest that Ziwiye conceals the name of Zibia or Uzbia, a township known to have been sacked by Sargon in 716 in the course of his eighth campaign.1

Robert Dyson describes the citadel as situated 'at the top of a small 300 ft. high mountain which towers over the local valley with its fine spring'. In the course of a visit he observed three large limestone column bases, simple drums with flaring collars 'which had undoubtedly supported wooden columns in a portico or hall of a very grand building'.2 It is unfortunate that the site was not scientifically excavated because it contained a rich treasure of ivories and gold work, some of it related to the art of Assyria as well as to that of the Scythians: possibly Urartian and Mannaean influence may also be detected.3 At least a part of this treasure appears to have been contained within a big bronze or copper trough elaborately chased with files of tributaries bearing gifts to an Assyrian prince, who was portrayed receiving them in the presence of his courtiers. Stylized ibex or goats perched on rosettes were chased elsewhere on this object.4 It seems probable that this trough-shaped receptacle had once served as a coffin, for it is closely matched by two other bronze coffins discovered at Zinjirli and Ur, where one was probably correctly dated by Woolley to c. 700 B.C., or a little later—a date which fits well with the probable date of the one found at Zinjirli.5 The style of the chased design on the Ziwiye trough has a freedom and curvature of drawing which is in contrast to the comparative stiffness of that on the reliefs of Assyrian ninth-century art. Charles Wilkinson has commented on the spotted robes which may be matched on a relief of Sargon, while the animal horns and buckets terminating in animal heads, and the model cities, are also illustrated in the same period at Khorsabad.6 However that may be, a container of this kind, secondarily used, should not be expected to give a precise date for the objects assembled within it.

In assessing the date of the Ziwiye treasure we have to exercise a measure of caution, for the collection has meretriciously attracted to it much else that does not belong, and in some cases may not be genuine. For purposes of comparison it is therefore safer to take account of the ivories illustrated by Godard,7 who was close to the scene of discovery and was able to describe the original hoard before it had attracted public attention. We may also feel some assurance in accepting as genuinely belonging to the collection a number of objects which reached the Metropolitan Museum, New York, during or immediately after the early stages of licensed digging. One of these pieces, for example, is an ivory incrusted with glass or glass paste, representing a merman and exactly matching in technique another illustrated by Godard,8 representing a bearded male figure, clearly in the style of the last quarter of the eighth century. Similar types of glass incrusted ivory, but not mermen and as yet unpublished, were found at Nimrud and no doubt

(1) H. J. Kantor, JNES, XIX, 1960, alleges that the authentic Mannaean style may be discovered on the golden bucket from Hasanlu IV a century at least earlier than Ziwiye, where we see eclectic, derivative styles.
(2) H. J. Kantor, JNES, XIX, 1960, alleges that the authentic Mannaean style may be discovered on the golden bucket from Hasanlu IV a century at least earlier than Ziwiye, where we see eclectic, derivative styles.
(3) Godard, op. cit., fig. 9.
(6) Godard, op. cit.

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belonged to the same period. The merman is of course represented on Sargonid reliefs at Khorsabad but also occurs earlier in Assyrian art.

There are marked differences in the artistic styles of the metal, particularly the gold work on the one hand, and the ivories on the other. A study of the gold pectorals and other ornaments need not long detain us, for this is not strictly relevant to our Nimrud ivories. The mixture of styles on the gold work has however been apparent to many observers, for here we have Assyrian lamassu with feather crowns, winged sphinxes wearing long Phoenician-style skirts such as figure on the Nimrud ivories, small crouching lions with heart-shaped ears and rope-like legs with curled up feet, rightly interpreted by Charles Wilkinson as marking the beginning of the interplay of Assyrian and Scythian art. In addition, as Helene Kantor has well observed, we see trees without trunks adorned with pairs of clamped ribbons, reminiscent of works found in Scythian and Urartian contexts and forming a mixed group within which Scythian craftsmanship cannot always be distinguished from oriental. Such traits serve to emphasize the fact that Ziwiyeh was situated in march country subject to exploitation by many different influences, and attracted skilled craftsmen of varying ethnic origin. I think it is possible that the Scythian elements, because they appear in quantity at a later period, have tended to induce some archaeologists to depress the date of such gold work excessively, and Hrouda has rightly stated that the late seventh century is probably too low. But we may recall that Esarhaddon arranged for the marriage of a daughter, Bartatua, to a Scythian prince: that can only mean that by this time the Scythians were a power deserving the diplomatic attention of Assyria and that they must by then have been in the ascendant for some years, perhaps from as early as the end of the eighth century.

Madhloom, after examining the ivories, has adduced a number of traits which tend to illustrate the style of Tiglath-pileser III and these form an impressive list: but many of these stylistic features are also attributable to Sargon, as Hrouda has emphasized. We have to allow in a provincial region for some measure of archaism, and on the whole I incline to a late eighth-century date with a possible descent into the early seventh for much of this material.

When we turn to examine the ivories the strength of the Assyrian imprint, often in association with a Phoenician counterstamp, is immediately apparent and there are certain criteria which enable us to date them as definitely not earlier than Tiglath-pileser III. These include the concentric square patterns on the garments with their 'fish-tail' fringed drapery, and the hairstyles; the tables with their floriate legs and ornamentation; more than one of them incline to a late eighth-century date with a possible descent into the early seventh for much of this material.

We come finally to a set of ivories which illustrate chariot scenes and are directly relevant for comparison with our Nimrud panel, No. 1, Panel 9. Here we see scenes of the chase in which teams of three mounted in heavy, decorated cars hunt down a massive lion and wild bulls. The wheel axle is set under the back of the car, the elliptical yokes are decorated and the yoke-pole terminates in a flower or tassel-like ornament. The two rings through which the reins pass hanging down beneath the knees--pl. XLV, 7. This style of dress introduced by Tiglath-pileser III continues to Ashurbanipal.

2. H. J. Kantor, JNES, XIX, p. 7. The same type of tree may be seen in Godard, op. cit. fig. 13.
3. B. Hrouda, Vorderasien, I, p. 249. He reckons that the end of the eighth century may be accepted as the time of origin but not of deposition.
4. Known to the Assyrians as Ishkuza, they had threatened the Assyrian garrison in Tabal as early as 679. Later between about 650-625 B.C., they controlled both the Mannaean and Median kingdoms and, as Herodotus tells us, became the dominant power in Western Asia, until the revolt by the Median king, Cyaxares. They were still victorious at Nineveh in alliance with the Babylonians in 612 B.C.
6. Op. cit. p. 69, describes this as a fringed vertical edge
are characteristic of Tiglath-pileser III as is the treatment of the looped up tail: the collar of the harness is consistent with equipment used at this period. The large heavy wheels are eight-spoked. Although the type of 'S' shaped shield here used is alleged not to recur after the reign of Tiglath-pileser III elsewhere, it has also to be recalled, as Hrouda has pointed out, that several other traits do recur after that time and much that we see here can be illustrated in the reign of Sargon, although the humped back of the cab reflects an innovation of Tiglath-pileser III. The caparison of the horses may be archaic, but Madhloom maintains that the type of collar, wide at the front and relatively narrow at the back, first appears in the reign of Tiglath-pileser. All things considered I believe that the heavy cab and large wheels are veering towards a seventh-century type and that general stylistic grounds argue a date towards the end of the eighth century or early in the seventh century for these spirited dynamic designs. There is room for divergence of opinion, but we may agree with Hrouda's conclusion that the pronounced plasticity of style of the Ziwiye plaques is reminiscent of Khorsabad, and that these ivories came not from one, but from many find-places.

The Ziwiye plaques would seem to be one stage later in design than that of the Nimrud hunting scene, to which they are closely related. One good reason is that the Ziwiye cabs are built to larger dimensions in order to accommodate the more numerous crews that were manning the chariots at the time. The Nimrud cab was clearly inadequate for a crew of four; the Ziwiye one was more than adequate for a crew of three. This evidence has an important bearing on the date of the Nimrud panel, No. 1, Panel 9, which can hardly be more than a generation earlier. If the proposal that the Ziwiye ivories reflect the art of Sargon, with which they bear many points of comparison is acceptable, then the Nimrud panel must belong to the time of Tiglath-pileser III.

Conclusion: Metal work and ivories appear to represent a stage of artistic development which is later than that of the objects discovered in SW.7. The ivories depicting chariot scenes illustrate improvements, especially in the equipment and size of the cab, over the corresponding chariot from SW.7. The Ziwiye ivories probably reflect the art of Sargon and may have been carved towards the end of his reign, perhaps during the decade before 700 B.C., not long before the appearance of the diagnostic pottery of Ziwiye. A date of c. 730 B.C. fits well with the earlier stage of development of the Nimrud chariot scene, No. 1, Panel 9, a stage which is also illustrated by most of the other ivories from the same chamber.

Salamis in Cyprus

'The region round the bay of Salamis, on the east coast of Cyprus, is one of the most favoured in the whole island.'

The rewarding discoveries made at this site by V. Karageorghis and his colleagues have more than justified this description and have added beyond measure to the fruits culled by the pioneers of the nineteenth century. Here we find abundant evidence of the impact of the Aegean on the one hand, and of Assyria and Phoenicia on the other upon the native Cypriote genius which, while using the manufactures of each, simultaneously reshaped them in their own mould. Salamis, which was established as a new foundation after its Late Bronze Age predecessor, the city of Enkomi, had collapsed under earthquake in about 1050 B.C., thereafter enjoyed intermittent periods of prosperity which profited by and outlasted many waves of invasion until the final destruction by the Arab invaders in the seventh century A.D.

At Salamis the richest discoveries so far have been made in a series of princely tombs which are included within a cemetery dispersed over about 5 sq. kms. Some of these tombs provide evidence of the utmost importance for a chronological assessment of the ivry furniture from SW.7, because a number of close parallels have been found in certain of the Salamis tombs, notably No. 79, which along with many others has been excavated and recorded in detail with admirable promptitude by Vassos Karageorghis. These tombs are well dated by the discovery of various types of Aegean, geometric and Cypriote pottery to about 700 B.C. and the succeeding half century.

Illustrated in op. cit. taf. 26.4, Op. cit. taf. 28.3 shows a wheel, said to be a seventh-century type. Op. cit. taf. 61.2 and p. 115; Hrouda affirms that the cab could be a seventh- or a ninth-century type.

(1) Summary of evidence warranting attribution to Tiglath-pileser III in Madhloom, op. cit. p. 33.
(2) C. Wilkinson, Iraq, XXII, attributed the bronze or copper bath grave to Sennacherib.
(3) Hrouda, op. cit. p. 115.
(4) V. Karageorghis, Salamis in Cyprus, 1969, p. 13.
(5) Op. cit. p. 24. The end of the eighth century saw the establishment of colonies in the eastern Mediterranean by Greeks from the Cyclades, mainly from Eretria, at Al Mina in Syria, no doubt part Cypriote in population, and at Tarsus in Cilicia. Much Euboean pottery has been discovered at Salamis.
The finds in the Salamis tombs illustrate the accession of oriental luxuries at a time when Cyprus had suddenly fallen within the economic and political orbit of Assyria. This happened in the year 707 B.C., the fifteenth regnal year within the period 722–705 B.C. of Sargon II, who claimed the island among his domains. The first direct evidence of this is the so-called Kition stela, which, it is alleged, was originally set up at that important site: a lengthy inscription engraved in cuneiform takes account of the Assyrian empire at the time and includes the name Iatnana, Cyprus. To this period we may relate some of the luxurious deposits in the older Salamis tombs which contain ivories and horses’ cheekpieces which are Phoenician in style. Later deposits in so far as they also reflect the influence of Assyrian domination may in part coincide with the period of Esarhaddon, who, like Sargon, boasted of his conquests and specifically mentioned ten kings of Iatnana.

The tombs themselves, apart from the comparative material, are intrinsically interesting. They consist of stone chambers, built in part of megalithic masonry, with saddle or flat roofs, approached by a spacious dromos and sometimes covered by a tumulus. The burials had been for the most part robbed, and while generally cremations, also contained evidence of inhumation, in particular of the retainer who on occasion accompanied the royal master. In some of the later tombs there was evidence of funerary pyres. The principals themselves had been wheeled into the dromos on carts or in hearse drawn sometimes by horses and sometimes by asses, and their bodies were placed within the stone-built chambers. These must have been family vaults which were used for a circumscribed period and sometimes covered by a mound. The tombs had been for the most part robbed, and while generally cremations, also contained evidence of inhumation, in particular of the retainer who on occasion accompanied the royal master.

The combination of cremations and inhumations within these tombs illustrates the dual practice attested in the Mycenaean world, at Mycenae itself on the one hand where inhumation was the rule, and Homeric burial on the other, as presented in the Iliad, Book XXIII, when Patroclus was committed to a funeral pyre, to the accompaniment of human sacrifices.

The extraordinary wealth of treasure exhibited in these royal tombs at Salamis is eloquent testimony to the richness of the contemporary palaces within that city. Although it is likely that the palace or palaces have long ago been robbed, a rich reward awaits their discoverer, who would certainly add greatly to our knowledge of royal architecture at that period. It is paradoxical that at Nimrud the counterparts of the luxury goods which the Salamis tombs once contained have been found in palaces, the plans of which have been revealed in extenso, while no royal tombs have ever been discovered there: the archaeological situation at Nimrud is thus reversed at Salamis.

We must now turn to a more detailed examination of the comparative evidence and this is for the most part contained in Tomb 79, the richest of all the built tombs, in which the stone burial chamber possessed a gabled roof. Karageorghis discovered within the dromos evidence of two burnt burials, the first datable to the end of the eighth century, the second a few years later. The vehicles found in the dromos were drawn by horses or asses. Some of the equestrian equipment can, as we shall see, be matched at Nimrud, but the wheels with their ten spokes, the plaited, osier chariot-box, and the cab with two compartments are Salaminian. Nonetheless the arrangement of the diaphragm and tubular bronze hook to be gripped by those mounting the chariot are devices not unfamiliar to anyone concerned with the interpretation of Assyrian reliefs.

Before we discuss the harness, we must examine a notable discovery in the dromos, namely an elaborately carved chair or throne, once no doubt the seat of a prince in the reception hall of his palace. This royal seat is a throne of wood, the whole surface of which was decorated with ivory plaques; the backrest was decorated with bands of ivory carved with guilloche pattern and with a thin sheet of gold at the top. The wood had disintegrated completely but the ivory plaques remained in situ and the throne could be reconstructed with accuracy. Before describing the chair in (1) LAR, II, 179–89. Paragraph 186 refers to the seven kings of Ia', a district of Iatnana. See also C. J. Gadd, Stones of Assyria, p. 214.

(2) R. C. Thompson, The Prisms of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, 1931, p. 25, lines 63–71. There is a puzzle here for there is no mention of Salamis which, if it figures in this list of cities, must be concealed under a different name. V. Karageorghis has kindly drawn our attention to the discussion in George Hill, A History of Cyprus, I, p. 107. On the prism there is mention of a city under the name Silliia, but the equation with Salamis is improbable.

(3) Evidence deduced by Karageorghis on the grounds that an earlier chariot was still in good enough condition to be wheeled away at the time when a later burial was intruded.

(4) See note 3 above and Salamis p. 153.

(5) Identification still awaited: one was drawn by four, the other by two, quadrupeds.

(6) Salamis, caption to pl. 42 and pls. IV–VI.
detail we may note that in spite of decay the evidence that this object was a chair and not a bed was unequivocal, as enough was preserved to restore it with reasonable accuracy and to ascertain the dimensions of all its component parts. Traces of a cushion were also found, and it seems likely that the seat was fitted with leather straps. It should be mentioned that there were also traces of a bed consisting of a pile of ivory bands veneered onto a wooden frame. The width and height of this object are in marked contrast to the ivory remains from SW.7 which at the time of discovery we believed to be beds but now tend to interpret as chairs.

The back of the Salamis chair, which was slightly incurving, is shown to have consisted of eleven bands of ivory overlaid on wood: these struts were vertically decorated with pairs of guilloche or twists, a simple form of ornamentation which made a pleasing combination with lotus and palmette, or ‘horizontal friezes of anthemia’ on the lower part of the backrest near the seat. The dimensions and the shape of the backrest come near to comparable chairs from Nimrud.

Although different in detail this Salamis chair is similar to the scroll chair from SW.7, No. 95, described below in the catalogue and in Mallonan, N & R. In each case the appearance of the chairs from Salamis and Nimrud reminded their discoverers, independently, of Penelope’s chair as described in the Odyssey, wherein the name of the craftsman was given as Ikmallois, which sounds Phoenician. This designation in the case of the Salamis chair is confirmed by the fact that in close proximity were two elaborately carved ivory panels in the quasi-Egyptian style which may be correctly described as Phoenician. Karageorghis placed these between the arms of the chair: they consisted of a ‘composite lotus flower, incrusted with paste of blue and brown colours’, and of an aproned sphinx wearing the double crown of Lower and Upper Egypt, adorned with papyrus and lotus flowers, one of which rises from the back in front of the wing. These gilded, incrusted cloisonné ivories have many parallels at Nimrud and the Salamis sphinx is likewise comparable with specimens from Arslan-Tash. The brightly gilded lotus and papyrus tree with its tiers of voluted branches vividly recalls a beautiful example from Nimrud wherein the gilt was still in almost perfect condition.

In addition to the reconstituted throne, there were in the dromos of Tomb 79 the remains of two others, stacked against the wall after they had been discarded to make way for the later, seventh-century burials. The second throne was associated with ivory plaques and blue glass inlay and a stool decorated with thin silver sheets, while traces of a third throne, again of ivory veneer overlaying wood, had also survived. These remains were chronologically well fixed by association with the Aegaean and Cypriote pottery as deposited in c. 700 B.C.

Associated with the remains of the fragmentary ivory bed were a number of ivory plaques, still partially overlaid with gilt, representing the kneeling divinity Helē and the notched palm branch signifying eternity; stylized anthemia with interlocked stems; and aproned sphinxes standing on either side of palmette trees. Similar panels at Nimrud differ in several points of detail: on the Helē plaques the modelling of the limbs at Nimrud appears to be heavier and more muscular; different also is the treatment of the hair. There are also variations between the vigorously modelled Nimrud sphinxes and those from Salamis: at Nimrud the limbs are more stolid and muscular but the faces, though obviously modelled by different hands, conform strikingly in the set cast of Egyptian-style physiognomy. While it is possible that these Phoenician ivories emanated from the same workshop somewhere on the Mediterranean coast, it seems more probable that they did not; indeed in Cyprus such plaques may have been the work of immigrant ivory carvers introduced at the time of the first Assyrian invasion. More than one solution to this problem is possible, for Phoenician-style ivories may well have been imports at Salamis as well as at Nimrud. It seems probable, however, that the minor differences in style may reflect sequences of periods, if only amounting to a few decades, perhaps the difference in time between the last decade of Tiglath-pileser III’s reign and the first of Sargon’s. From our knowledge of the Samarian styles we may be assured that the origins go back to the first half of the ninth century.

Another striking parallel between Salamis and Nimrud is the veneered ivory cabriole leg terminating in a lion’s paw which must originally have belonged either to a table, as has been suggested for the Salamis leg by Karageorghis, nearer in form to the one from Salamis but contained no gilt. Note the fitter’s marks on the Nimrud version, which is rather crudely executed. Compare also, Op. cit. fig. 477.

(1) Dimensions given in Salamis, p. 92.
(2) Op. cit. p. 94. After reconstruction, width 1.11 metres; length, 1.89 metres; height (without bedstead) 31 cm., total height with bedstead 89 cm.
(3) Op. cit. pls. IV-V.
(4) Cf. Mallonan, N & R. II, fig. 425 from NW.15, gilt overlay still well preserved but lotus flowers take the place of the Salamis volutes and there is only one instead of two main branches. Mallonan, op. cit. fig. 508 from SW.37 comes closer.
(5) Salamis, pp. 92–3.
(7) Mallonan, op. cit. II, fig. 511 from SW.37.
(8) Op. cit. II, fig. 479 from SW.12. Note the similarity in the style of cloisons which occur on the apron of the Nimrud sphinxes with the cloisons at Arslan-Tash and Khorsabad.
or to a chair as proposed for the Nimrud leg. Both objects appear to be delicate and therefore in appearance ill adapted to support a heavy weight, but both could have been backed by a solid piece of wood and if so could have been put to a heavy-purpose use. The principal difference between the two is that whereas the cavities of the Salamis claws seem to have been intended to hold inlaid blue glass, the Nimrud claws were stained red. Here again no more than twenty years or so may have separated the two. The Nimrud "Hepplewhite" type of cabriole leg was found in SW.6, which was separated from SW.7 by no more than a narrow passage. It is probable that some of the contents of the two rooms were contemporary.

The Salamis tombs, particularly No. 79, also produced fine metalwork. We may list the relevant objects briefly. First is a bronze breastplate or pectoral with repoussé figures, representing four-winged as well as two-winged genii carrying situlae or bucket and clad in a long garment open at one knee. Winged sphinxes, lamassu and griffins carrying buckets, scorpion men and winged ibex flank the centrepiece which consists of a strange deformation of the Assyrian tree, surmounted by a winged disc and above a four-winged figure facing to the front. The iconography has the appearance of being a Syrian version of a theme long familiar in the bas-reliefs of the Assyrian palaces from the ninth century onwards. As noted above, the tomb is well dated to c. 700 B.C.; thus this object looks like being a late derivative of Assyrian themes, an interesting example of a progressive stylistic development.

Equestrian equipment from Tomb 79 is also relevant: it consists of side-pendant ornaments and head-bands which illustrate lions, the nude Astarte holding her breasts and standing on a lotus flower, and four-winged figures. The Astarte figure can be well matched on a repoussé copper or bronze plaque of the eighth century discovered at Tayinat. Although not strictly relevant to the discoveries in SW.7, we must record a pair of bronze repoussé horse's blinkers, again from Tomb 79, which depict a lion attacking a bull, a subject illustrated on No. 105, and a winged sphinx trampling on a fallen negro, symbolic of the king's triumph over his enemies, clearly a version of the ivory chryselephantine plaques discovered in Well NN of the N.W. Palace at Nimrud. A subject similar to that on the blinkers is depicted, again in repoussé, on an oval bronze plaque found at the back of the pole of a chariot in Tomb 79. This one displays a winged lion whose head is surmounted by the solar disc encased in the horns of Hathor trampling over a fallen enemy who wears a helmet or high hat and knee-length tunic, probably an Asiatic tribesman. Subject, treatment and style of the victor's tunic come near to that on a Nimrud plaque from another chamber, SW.37. Once again we have at Salamis the development of a theme which may be a decade or two later than a version found in Assyria.

Objects from Tomb 79 and elsewhere at Salamis, iron bits, blinkers, daggers and the like recall equipment from Nimrud. In this connection it is interesting to note that in Tomb 23 a stemmed bowl supported by four nude caryatid maidens appears to be a derivation of the more expensive quadruple ivory caryatid maidens in the Burnt Palace. The Salamis pot, a comparatively inexpensive creation, is not likely to be much older than the period at which the tomb was built, ergo it was not made much before 700 B.C. This pot therefore may provide an argument in support of the theory that the Cypriote ivories in this tomb may be ascribed to the end phase of a continuous stylistic development which elsewhere, that is in Phoenicia and Assyria, was apparently spread over a century and a half. It is a curiosity that maidens appears to be a derivation of the more expensive quadruple ivory caryatid maidens in the Burnt Palace. 11

A subject similar to that on the blinkers is depicted, again in repoussé, on an oval bronze plaque found at the back of the pole of a chariot in Tomb 79. This one displays a winged lion whose head is surmounted by the solar disc encased in the horns of Hathor trampling over a fallen enemy who wears a helmet or high hat and knee-length tunic, probably an Asiatic tribesman. Subject, treatment and style of the victim's tunic come near to that on a Nimrud plaque from another chamber, SW.37. Once again we have at Salamis the development of a theme which may be a decade or two later than a version found in Assyria.

(1) Salamis, pp. 95-6 and pl. 44: Mallowan, N & R, II, p. 409, fig. 328.
(2) V. Karageorghis in a letter dated May 12, 1973 writes: 'The Salamis ivories may have been deposited c. 700 B.C., but one might allow one or more decades in dating their manufacture.' This estimate brings us very close to the probable date of many of the ivories in SW.7.
(3) Salamis, p. 86, fig. 22.
(4) Compare with the griffin carrying bucket on No. 66, Panels 2 and 4.
(5) Salamis, p. 87, figs. 23 and 24, pls. 47-9.
(7) Salamis, p. 88, figs. 25 and 26; Mallowan, N & R, I, pl. 1 (frontispiece) and figs. 81-3. For a different rendering of the lion attacking the bull see op. cit. II, pp. 512-13, figs. 416-17.
(8) Salamis, pp. 78-9, fig. 20.
(9) Mallowan, N & R, II, p. 570, fig. 521, SW.37. The tunic worn by the trampled Asiatic on the Salamis bronze is short and sleeveless and in this respect differs from the ankle-length garment of the Nimrud ivory, but the rendering of the fabric is clearly similar and both figures are bearded.
(10) Salamis, pl. X.
(11) Mallowan, N & R, I, fig. 147, found in the Throne Room.
(12) Salamis, p. 54, pl. 15. According to Karageorghis this was Osorkon I, 914-874 B.C., but it is perhaps more likely that it was the second monarch of that name, who reigned 860-837 B.C., a contemporary of Ahab, and overlapped Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmanesar III in whose reign the Phoenician-style ivories were much in demand in Assyria, see also under 'Samaria', above p. 40 and notes 1, 6. Revised dates as above for Osorkon I and II are published in CAH (1974).
heirloom, as Karageorghis has stated. The same name is associated with the Phoenician-style ivories from Samaria and it is probable that this dynasty was associated with the prototypes of such ivories.

Conclusion: this review of the discoveries in the Salamis tombs reveals a remarkable resemblance in style with ivories from Nimrud, including some from SW.6 and SW.7. The comparable Cypriote objets d'art, particularly the metalwork and the ivories, appear to be a reflection of Phoenician technology, which followed in the wake of Sargon's authority over Cyprus, signalized by the Kition stela set up in 707 B.C. Some objects must have been made c. 700 B.C., for example a caryatid clay pedestal vase which probably was derived from an ivory prototype at Nimrud. The differences, which are not great, between the comparable Nimrud and Cypriote ivories imply the lapse of not more than a few decades: some resemblances, e.g. the Ḥēḥ figures and aproned sphinxes are remarkable. A chair from Tomb 79 with guilloche and other decoration is similar to the remarkable ivory 'scroll' chairback from SW.7, No. 95. The Cypriote furniture may be dated to the decades preceding 700 B.C. although the Nimrud scroll chair is probably more ancient.
IVORIES FROM NIMRUD—3

Foreign Sites: Tabular Résumé of the Evidence Bearing on SW.7

1. SAMARIA

Ivories mostly of the ninth century, some possibly of the eighth. One apparently of the eighth century is matched in SW.7, the rest not.

2. ZINJIRLI

The ninth century ivories do not match those from SW.7, but the illustration of a throne on a monument dated to the period of Tiglath-pileser III c. 740-730 B.C. provides one important synchronism.

3. SAKCHA GÖZÜ

Evidence altogether compatible with a date in the later half of the eighth century.

4. CARCHEMISH

Evidence suggests that No. 105, the theriomachy and No. 95 the scroll-back ivory is of the ninth century and older than most of the other objects in SW.7; but there are some important resemblances which may be dated 760-740 B.C.

5. ARSLAN-TASH

Some ivories apparently of the ninth, a few possibly of the eighth century B.C. The evidence is therefore at present inconclusive but illustrates the persistency of iconographic themes. Similarities of iconography on the sculpture, however, confirm an eighth-century dating for SW.7.

6. URARTU

Cognate ivories and a wall-painting agree with an eighth-century date for SW.7.

7. HASANLU

No comparable iconography. The ivories are in a different style, all of the ninth century and provide an important clue to the date of the collections discovered in the Burnt Palace at Nimrud. This negative evidence is confirmation of the theory that the SW.7 ivories were executed at a different period.

8. ZIWIYE

Comparative ivories may be dated to the last quarter of the eighth century. A chariot scene at Ziwiye appears to illustrate a development in style and indicates a slightly earlier date, not later than c. 730 B.C. for the SW.7 chariot scene.

9. SALAMIS IN CYPRUS

A number of remarkable resemblances in the iconography of the ivories and metal work may be dated in Cyprus to the last decades of the eighth century B.C. This site also illustrates the long sequences of iconographic tradition which continue into the seventh century. Elsewhere in Cyprus there is evidence of this continuity, for example a copper or bronze (?) horse's blinder discovered at Idalion, illustrating a winged lion with head of a bird of prey, one paw raised over a papyrus, which may well have been executed not later than the last quarter of the eighth century, possibly earlier. This object however was inscribed, almost certainly later, in the Phoenician script with the name Ba'n', king of Sidon, some time in the sixth to fifth century B.C. Illustration in A.I.S. V, p. 111, abb. 153, compared with a winged leonine sphinx c. 820 B.C. from J.2 in the North Palace. Reference to the inscription in J. B. Peckham, The Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts (Harvard 1968), p. 76, n. 25.1

(1) Professor D. J. Wiseman has kindly supplied the reference to J. B. Peckham.
NOTES TO THE CATALOGUE

As most of the ivories found in SW.7 depict the same subject, that of men saluting or grasping flowering trees, this catalogue has had to be arranged according to relatively minor changes in details of dress and the like. Thus we have established groups such as 'Men wearing cut-away coats' and 'Men wearing short tunics and overskirts open at the front'. These groups, twelve in all, cover the majority of the panels; the remaining eight groups are divided according to differences of subject matter, such as 'Voluted palmette trees' or 'Wing-spans'.

It has not always been possible to adhere strictly to this arrangement, for where more or less complete sets of panels were excavated these have been included as a single entry in that section of the Catalogue to which the majority of the individual panels of such a piece belong. Thus No. 1, in which eight of the eleven panels show men wearing cut-away coats, has been included in 'I: Men wearing cut-away coats'. For the three panels of No. 1 depicting different subjects, a wing-span, Panel 3, a winged lady, Panel 6, and a bull-hunt, Panel 9, cross-references will be found in the relevant catalogue sections. For simplicity of reference each individual panel in a complete set has been given a separate number, for example the winged lady of No. 1 is catalogued as 1, Panel 6.

Method of Description: In all cases the first line of the entry gives the catalogue number, the expedition field number, the present location of the ivory and the plate number or numbers. For single panels this is followed by technical information—shape, dimensions and state of preservation: a second paragraph describes the scheme of decoration while a third section, Comment, discusses any unusual features or relevant parallels. References to other publications, if required, occur at the end of each entry; discussions of comparative material from other sites also occur separately in the Commentary which precedes the catalogue.

In the case of sets of panels the first line of the entry is succeeded by a general description of the complete object and the numbering of the panels, while a second introductory paragraph may give details of where in SW.7 the set was found and its condition. There follows a description of each panel as outlined above, the Comment coming after the description of the last panel.

Abbreviations used to indicate present location are as follows:

- Ashmolean: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
- B: Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- Birmingham: City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham
- BM: British Museum, London
- Brussels: Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels
- Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen
- Philadelphia: University Museum, Philadelphia
- Sydney: Nicholson Museum, Sydney
- Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto

The measurements given in this catalogue are necessarily approximate, for it has not always been possible to verify the measurements taken in the field where many of the panels were in a fragmentary state, and some ivories have been subject to shrinkage. These unchecked field measurements are therefore preceded by a 'c.' and should be used with caution: those measurements of the restored panels either checked by us or kindly supplied by the relevant museums are given without the qualifying 'c.'.

Illustrations: With six exceptions, Nos. 10, 63 (Panel 3), 82, 86, 100 and 106, all the ivories are illustrated in this volume. The great majority are shown at approximately actual size. Where this is not the case the scale is indicated. As far as production considerations allowed, the plates have been arranged in the numerical order of the Catalogue.

Glossary: While the first relevant catalogue entry includes explanations of terms such as 'cut-away coat', these definitions are also given here for ease of reference.
Bed-head: Although we incline to believe that the sets of panels found in SW.7 formed the backs of chairs rather than the heads of beds, this hypothesis has not been proved. Sets of panels are therefore described as 'Bed-head or chair-back'.

Cut-away coat: a long coat with short sleeves fastened by a wide belt. It opens below the waist to reveal a short skirt—see fig. 5 on p. 21.

Banded material: a material consisting of horizontal rows of loops, used for instance for the cut-away coat, and see pp. 23-4.

Kilted skirt: a skirt wrapped round in the manner of the Scottish kilt.

Lily tree: a tree growing 'lily' flowers, as on No. 5.

Palmette tree: a tree growing 'palmette' flowers, as on No. 2, Panel 5.

Lily-palmette tree: a tree growing both lily and palmette flowers, as on No. 7.

Fruit, frond or feather: the object either plucked by the men from the top of the tree, as on Nos. 4-7, or held aloft in the hand as on Nos. 8, 11, etc. This object sometimes looks like the fruit of the tree, as on Nos. 4 and 5, and sometimes like a frond from a palmette tree or a feather, as on No. 2, Panel 1 and No. 8.

Fitters' Marks: In his preliminary account in *Iraq* XXI, p. 105, David Oates noted that many of the panels bore Aramaic or Phoenician signs as fitters' marks on the undersides. It was impossible to examine these markings at the time of discovery because it was necessary to mask the backs of the panels with protective bandages. Many of these bandages are still in place and it has not therefore proved possible to record these marks.
THE CATALOGUE
I: MEN WEARING CUT-AWAY COATS AND SHORT TUNICS

ND. 7904. (B)

I. Bed-head or chairback consisting of two side posts supporting a curved central section formed (originally) of five panels, framed above and below by long carved strips. The panels are numbered as follows: left side post, Panels 1 and 2; wing-span framing central section above, Panel 3; five panels of central section, Panels 4 to 8; hunting scene framing central section below, Panel 9; right side post, Panels 10 and 11. Overall measurements c. 60 x 76 cm.

ND. 7904 was found upside-down in the third row, c. 20 cm. above the floor (figs. 1 and 2), next to ND. 7906, No. 2, and it was raised in one piece. Plate I below illustrates it after preliminary cleaning. The surface of the ivory is worn.

PANELS 1 AND 2, LEFT SIDE POST

Rectangular panel with curved margin at the top, c. 60 x 10.5 cm., divided into two compartments. Top panel nearly complete except for head, bottom panel fragmentary and much restored.

Panel 1 (top), c. 31 x 10.5 cm.

Male, facing right, wears a long coat with short sleeves. The coat, fastened by a wide belt, opens below the waist to reveal a short skirt; it is made of a material consisting of horizontal rows of loops hereafter called banded. This type of coat is described henceforth as cut-away, see discussion on pp. 19-24 and fig. 5 on p. 21. A short skirt, probably part of a tunic, is worn under the coat: a fringe adjoining the edge of the coat indicates that the skirt is wrapped round, perhaps like a kilt, referred to hereafter as kilted, see p. 22. The man with left arm raised and bent at the elbow raises aloft a fruit (?): the right arm is stretched down rigidly behind him; the hand is probably grasping the trunk of the lily-palmette tree, cf. Panel 10. The man walks barefoot over mountains depicted as three rows of scales. The tree, which grows from the ground between his feet, divides in two so that a branch grows up on either side of the man. A blossom rises above the winged disc and touches it.

Panel 2 (bottom), c. 29 x 10.5 cm.

Bearded male, facing right, attired as on Panel 1. The left arm is raised, the hand holding up a fruit: the (restored) right arm is held out in front of the body; the hand grasps the trunk of the tree, cf. Panel 11. The man walks barefoot over mountains and the tree-trunk is set between the feet. Originally there must have been two branches on either side, but the rear branch is no longer preserved. A blossom of the lily-palmette tree rises aloft and touches the winged disc.

PANELS 3-9, THE CENTRAL SECTION

Panel 3

Long rectangular panel, c. 11 x 55 cm., restored in centre.

Spread wings finely rendered in a bold sweeping curve with three rows of overlapping pinions stemming from a voluted palmette. This wing-span is closely comparable with No. 99, ND. 6343/4. The principal difference between the two is that the short feathers fanning out from the volute in the five top rows are more rounded on this example in comparison with No. 99 where they are lozenge-shaped.

Panel 4

Two fragments of a rectangular panel, which originally showed a bearded male, facing right and grasping a tree, cf. Panels 7 and 8. The top left fragment, shown on pl. I below, consisted of one wing-tip of the sun-disc and the head of a man. This is now missing: the head may be No. 32. The fragment from the bottom right (pl. I) shows part of the branch of a lily tree, which is grasped by the man’s hand.

Panel 5—missing.
IVORIES FROM NIMRUD—3

Panel 6

Rectangular panel, c. 24.5 x 11 cm.

Winged lady, facing right, walks beneath a winged sun-disc. She wears a long belted dress with trailing hem and elbow-length sleeves. The material of the dress is represented by parallel undulations, cf. No. 3, Panels 2 and 3. For discussion of this garment see pp. 31–3. The hair is arranged in short curls over the forehead and at the back falls on her shoulders in heavy ringlets; it is held in place by a band which looks like a tress of hair. This band falls down in front of a finely carved ear and terminates in a ringlet. The lady wears bangles on the ankles and walks barefoot. There is no lily tree as on the panels illustrating males. Instead, the lady holds in each hand a flower on a long stalk: the one in the right hand falls back towards the shoulder while the one in the left is held up to the winged disc.

Females occur less frequently than males in this series of ivory furniture—in all 16 times, Nos. 3, 46–51, 57, 61, 65 and 67 and see pp. 11–16 and 31–5.

Panel 7

Rectangular panel, c. 24.5 x 10.5 cm. Middle and bottom left restored.

Bearded male, facing right, attired as on Panel 1 except that the tunic skirt is not kilted. The man’s left arm is raised, the hand plucking a knobbled fruit from the top of the palmette tree. The right arm is held out in front of the body; the hand grasps the trunk of the tree. The tree, based on the ground between the man’s bare feet, rises in front of him and touches the winged disc.

Panel 8

Fragments of a rectangular panel, restored, c. 24.5 x 10.5 cm.

Bearded male, facing right, attired as on Panel 1. The left arm is raised, the right held out in front probably grasping the tree-trunk, cf. Panel 7. A winged disc above.

Panel 9

Rectangular panel, c. 8 x 55 cm. Right half fragmentary; legs of leading bull and background restored.

This long panel depicts the hunting of wild bulls by four men in a chariot. The chariot consists of a squarish cab mounted on a six-spoked wheel with reinforced hub. The axle is set at the back. Distinctive of the cab are the curved top end of the back and the gently rising beaded margin which runs up to it and round the other three sides; the tasselled fringe at the bottom, which conceals the junction of the yoke-pole, may perhaps represent a cloth covering. There is a pair of crossed quivers on the side of the cab; the back is closed with a shield. Four men are in the cab: two wear the usual belted cut-away coats, another wears a sashed dress, a garment similar to those worn by the men on the side posts of No. 2, q.v., below. Three of the men face the front; one is the driver who holds both whip and reins; one, barely visible behind the driver, was probably a second bowman; the
The principal figure draws the bow at full stretch and aims an arrow at the galloping bull. An unusual and interesting feature of this figure is that he wears an archer’s protective outfit; long, strapped arm-guard running up to the wrist of the left arm, gloves strapped to the wrist on the right arm—this equipment must have been made of leather. It can be compared with similar equipment at Zinjirli (A.I.S. IV, taf. LXI). The fourth man, a beardless youth, leans out of the back of the cab and gives the *coup de grâce* with a spear to a huge wild bull. The horse, or pair of horses, is harnessed to the chariot by a curving yoke-pole equipped with an elaborate elliptical fitting, which is divided into compartments and decorated with rosettes. This type of yoke-pole is first commonly represented on the monuments of Ashurnasirpal II and last (once only) on a relief of Sennacherib. There is, moreover, a single representation on the White Obelisk, now generally admitted to have been executed for the former King, early in his reign (*AS*, XXII, (1972) pp. 66–7).

Dr. T. Madhloom of the Iraq Antiquities Department has suggested that what has hitherto been interpreted as an elliptical yoke-pole may have been a horse-cloth suspended from a pole (Madhloom, *The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art*, p. 12). The yoke-pole is supported by a thin shaft which is set obliquely from the cab’s front to the yoke. The end of the yoke-pole resting on the withers terminates in a flower-like fitting. The horse is elaborately caparisoned: a horse-cloth made of a banded material similar to the cut-away coats is draped over the body and secured by straps around chest, girth and hindquarters. An elaborate tasselled disc is pendant on the shoulder.

The three huge bulls are carved in relief with little stylization of muscles. The rippling neck muscles are simply rendered by wavy lines; the animals are in true profile. The leading bull appears to be browsing, not yet startled into flight as has been the second bull. The third animal has been forced to one knee by the thrust of the hunter’s spear. The fragmentary strip No. 104 shows a file of bulls carved in the same manner.

Flattened under the horse and the central bull is a double-branched lily-palmette tree.

For further discussion of this important panel, see pp. 46–8.

**Panels 10 and II, right side post**

Rectangular panel with curved margin at the top, c. 60 x 10.5 cm., divided into two compartments. Fragmentary, restored in wax.

**Panel 10 (top), c. 31 x 10.5 cm.**

Male, probably bearded, facing left, attired as on Panel I. The man’s right arm is raised and touches the winged disc, the left is held down stiffly behind and the hand grasps the trunk of the lily tree. He walks barefoot over mountains, represented by three rows of scales. The tree, set between the feet, divides in two and from it branches curve upward on either side of the man.

**Panel II (bottom), c. 29 x 10.5 cm.**

Male, facing left, attired as on Panel I. The man’s right arm is raised, the hand plucking a fruit; the left arm is held out in front and the hand grasps the trunk of the lily tree. He walks barefoot over four rows of scales representing mountains. The tree rises from between the feet towards the winged disc.

**Comment**

This bed-head or chairback, the most sumptuous of all, is the only one which still contained figured carvings along the top and bottom, as well as on the centre and side panels. Loose examples of the wing-spans have been found (Nos. 97-102) and also a file of bulls (No. 104) which would have corresponded to the spirited bull-hunt of Panel 9. This bull-hunt is unique as a scene in this series and is of cardinal importance as a criterion for dating these ivories, see pp. 43, 46–8 and 56–7.

Other unusual features include:

1. The men on the central panels, Panels 4, 7 and 8, all face the same direction and are not opposed, as they are, for instance, on Nos. 2 and 3 below.
2. The position of the men’s arms in Panels 1 and 10 occurs only once again, see No. 12.
IVORIES FROM NIMRUD—3

1. The inclusion of a lady is rare and of a winged lady even rarer. Winged females occur only four times in all, on Panel 6, on No. 3, Panels 2 and 3, and on a loose panel, No. 67.
Madhloom, T. A. The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art, pl. XIII.
Supplement to the I.L.N., January 30, 1960, p. III.

2. ND. 7906. (B) Plates VI—XI
Bed-head or chairback consisting of two side posts supporting a curved central section formed of six panels, framed above and below by strips of ivory veneer. The bottom strip was decorated with incised volutes. The panels are numbered as follows: left side post, Panels 1—3; six central panels, Panels 4—9 (numbered from left to right); right side post, Panels 10—12. Overall measurements c. 67×76 cm.
ND. 7906 was found in the third row, some 8 cm. above the floor (Figs. 1 and 2), next to ND. 7904, No. 1: it was raised in one piece. Pl. CXI shows it when first exposed in the soil; Pl. VI below illustrates it after preliminary cleaning. The surface of the ivory is worn.

PANELS 1—3, LEFT SIDE POST Plates VI, VIII, IX
Rectangular panel with curved margin at the top, c. 67×10.5 cm., divided into three compartments. Panel 3 is fragmentary and is restored in wax.

Panel 1 (top), c. 25×10.5 cm. Plates VI, VIII
Bearded male, facing right, wears a calf-length dress with short sleeves made of a material with a criss-cross design. A tasselled sash is worn over the left shoulder and secured under the right arm by a wide tasselled girdle. Another band of tassels adorns the hem of the skirt. For a discussion of this garment, see pp. 28—30 and fig. 8 on p. 29. The heel-piece of the sandals extends the length of the foot and is secured by straps over the big toe and instep. The left hand raises aloft a fruit or frond which touches the winged sun-disc above. The right hand grasps the trunk of the lily tree which rises from the ground between the feet.

Panel 2 (middle), c. 21×10.5 cm. Plates VI, VIII, IX
Bearded male, facing right, attired as on Panel 1. The trunk of the lily tree, which rises from between the feet, is firmly grasped by both hands.

Panel 3 (bottom), c. 21×10.5 cm. Plates VI, VIII
Surface worn and fragmentary, restored in wax.
Bearded male, facing right, attired as on Panel 1. The trunk of the palmette tree, which rises from between the feet, is firmly grasped by both hands.

PANELS 4—9, THE CENTRAL SECTION Plates VI, VII, X, XI
Panel 4 Plates VI, VII
Rectangular panel, c. 26.5×6.5 cm.
Voluted palmette tree formed of five tiers of up-curved volutes; five inner tiers curl down. Palm fronds adorn the ends of the volutes. For other palmette trees see also Nos. 21, 22 and 89—94.

Panel 5 Plates VI, X
Rectangular panel, c. 26.5×10.5 cm.
Bearded male, facing right, wears a long cut-away coat made of a banded material. The coat, belted at the waist, is worn over a short tunic with a criss-cross design. The left hand raises aloft a fruit, which touches the winged
IVORIES FROM NIMRUD—3

2. Sun-disc above. The right hand grasps the trunk of the palmette tree, which rises from the ground between the bare feet.

Panel 6

The upper portion of a rectangular panel, c. 10.5 x 10.5 cm, is all that survives; the remainder has been restored in wax.

Bearded male, facing right, probably attired as on Panel 5. The left hand raises aloft a fruit, which touches the winged disc above. Two blooms of the lily tree have also survived.

Panel 7

Rectangular panel, c. 26.5 x 10.5 cm. Central and bottom left section restored.

Bearded male, facing left, attired as on Panel 5. The right hand raises aloft a knobbly fruit, which touches the winged disc. The left hand grasps the trunk of the lily tree, mostly missing, which rises from the ground between the bare feet.

Panel 8

Rectangular panel, c. 26.5 x 10.5 cm.

Bearded male, facing left, attired as on Panel 5. The right hand raises aloft a fruit, which touches the winged disc. The left hand grasps the trunk of the lily tree, which rises from the left hand corner of the panel in front of the bare feet.

Panel 9

Rectangular panel, c. 26.5 x 6.5 cm.

Voluted palmette tree formed of five tiers of up-curl ed volutes; five inner tiers curl down. Palm fronds adorn the ends of the up-curl ed volutes but not the tips of the down-curl ed volutes, as in Panel 4. The volutes of Panel 9 are more tightly curled than those of Panel 4 and the crowns of fronds at the tops are also carved differently. These variations suggest that the panels were not carved by the same hand.

Panels 10–12, Right Side Post

Rectangular panel with curved margin at the top, c. 67 x 10.5 cm., divided into three compartments. Fragmentary.

Panel 10 (top), c. 25 x 10.5 cm.

Bearded male, facing left, attired as on Panel 1. The right arm is raised, presumably offering a fruit to the winged disc, cf. Panel 1. The left hand grasps the trunk of the lily tree, which rises from the left hand corner of the panel in front of the sandalled feet.

Panel 11 (middle), c. 21 x 10.5 cm.

Bearded male, facing left, attired as on Panel 1. The trunk of the palmette tree, which rises from the left hand corner of the panel in front of the sandalled feet, is firmly grasped by both hands.

Panel 12 (bottom), c. 21 x 10.5 cm. restored.

Bearded male, facing left, attired as on Panel 1. Both hands grasp the lily tree which rises in front of the man.

COMMENT

The fragments of some six pairs of decorated side posts have survived: of these only those of Nos. 1 and 2 were found in association with their curved central section. The side posts of No. 2 are unusual for two reasons:
IVORIES FROM NIMRUD—3

2. that they are formed of three conjoined panels instead of the more usual two as in Nos. 1 and 11–12, and that the dress of the men in the panels of the side posts differs from those in the panels of the central section. Another unusual feature is that on other panels the location of the trees is constant: they rise either from between the men’s feet or, less commonly, from in front of them, see No. 3. Here the setting varies.


Bed-head or chairback consisting of two plain side posts supporting a curved central section formed of four panels. These panels were separated from each other by five narrow strips of plain veneer and were framed above and below by strips of veneer. The panels were placed in the wrong order while being restored, see *Mallowan, N & R*, II, fig. 384: when raised from the ground the male figures were on the outside and the females on the inside. They are described below in their order of discovery. The width of the piece was c. 65 cm. ND. 7917 was found in the first row against the south wall of SW.7, the right way up, some 45 cm. above the floor, see figs. 1 and 2 and pp. 3–6.

*Panel 1*

Rectangular panel, 18.4 × 8.2 cm. Restored bottom centre and upper frame.

Winged youth, barefoot, with shoulder-length hair, faces right; he wears a long cut-away coat made of a banded material. The coat, belted at the waist, is worn over a short tunic with a criss-cross design. The left arm is raised and bent, the hand is plucking a berried fruit from the top of a long undulating stalk; the right hand grasps the stalk, which bears only the one fruit.

*Panel 2*

Rectangular panel, 18.6 × 9.9 × 0.5 cm. Upper section partially restored in wax.

Winged lady, facing right, wears a long dress with trailing hem and elbow-length sleeves; the hems of sleeves and skirt have beaded borders. A curving beaded line runs obliquely across the front of the skirt and may represent an overskirt. The material is represented by parallel undulations and the dress is bound by an elaborate double girdle at the waist. The hair is arranged in short curls over the forehead and at the back falls on the shoulders in heavy ringlets; it is held in place by a band which looks like a tress of hair. This band falls down in front of the (restored) ear and terminates in a ringlet. The figure is barefoot and displays bangles on the ankles. An elaborate design which has the appearance of a floral motif can be seen between the upper and lower wings on both sides of the lady: it may suggest an arboreal background. The lady holds a palmette on a long stalk in each hand: the one in the right hand falls back onto the right shoulder while the one in the left is held aloft.

*Panel 3*

Rectangular panel, 18.4 × 9.5 cm.

Winged lady, facing left, attired as on Panel 2. An elaborate floral (?) motif can be seen between the upper and lower wings on both sides. In each hand there is a palmette on a long stalk; the one in the left hand falls back towards the left shoulder, while the one in the right tilts towards the right shoulder. The stalk of the palmette in the right hand originates in the floral (?) motif between the wings.

*Panel 4*

Rectangular panel, 18.0 × 9.0 cm. Partially restored in wax.

Winged youth, facing left, attired as on Panel 1. The right arm is raised and sharply bent, the hand plucks a fruit from the top of a long undulating stalk; the left hand grasps the stalk, which bears only the one fruit and rises from between the bare feet.
COMMENT

The panels of No. 3 exhibit a number of unique features: they are only c. 18 cm. high instead of the more usual c. 25 cm. and they illustrate only winged humans. These are rare on the ivories from SW.7: there are only four other examples, the ladies on No. 1, Panel 6 and No. 67 and the men on the fragmentary panels Nos. 68 and 69. Winged griffins are represented on Panels 2 and 4 of No. 66. The motif separating the upper and lower wings of the ladies is also unique, no exact parallel can be found. The winged griffin of Sakcha Gözi has a motif separating the upper and lower wings: this is triangular in shape and appears to be covered with feathers or scales (Akurgal, The Art of the Hittites, pl. 134). Closer, however, are the motifs between the wings of two figures engraved on a bronze head-band found in Tomb 79 at Salamis (Salamis, p. 87, fig. 24 and pl. 48), a lily flower and some other sort of floral motif. Another unusual feature of No. 3 is that the trees grasped by the youths each bear only the one fruit. There are many minor variations of detail in the carving of these four panels, note the front curls of the ladies, the criss-cross markings on the wings, the borders of the men's sleeves and coats, the beading on the wings of Panel 1, etc. These suggest that each panel was cut by a different hand, see pp. 35-6 above.


ND. 6364. (B)  
Plate XIV

Rectangular panel, c. 26 x 10-5 cm. Surface worn, restored in wax bottom left.  
Bearded male, facing right, wears a long cut-away coat made of a banded material. The coat, belted at the waist, is probably worn over a short tunic. The left arm is raised and the hand plucks a berried fruit from the top of the lily tree; the right hand grasps the tree in front. The tree rises from the ground between the bare feet.

COMMENT

Although not found in association, Nos. 4 and 5 probably formed part of the same piece of furniture, see No. 5 below.

ND. 6374. (B)  
Plate XV

Rectangular panel, c. 25.2 x 11.5 cm.  
Bearded male, facing left, wears a long cut-away coat made of a banded material. The coat, belted at the waist, is worn over a short tunic made of a criss-cross material. The right leg, bare below the knee, is seen against the the plain inside of the coat which has a decorated hem. The outer edges of the coat are also embellished with decoration, as are the sleeves. The right arm is raised and the hand plucks a berried fruit from the top of the lily tree; the left hand grasps a branch of the tree in front. The tree rises from the ground between the bare feet.

COMMENT

Although not found in association, Nos. 4 and 5 probably formed part of the same piece of furniture; they may have been cut by the same man. The carving of the two males is closely similar: the fleshy curves and slender ankles of the exposed legs are rendered identically, as are the curves of the arms and the peculiarly thick elongated thumbs. The relatively high instep of the front foot of No. 5 is unusual, but see also No. 6. As far as can be determined from the worn state of No. 4 the curls of hair and beard appear to be rendered in the same crisp and distinctive way as on No. 5.

I.L.N., 23.6.1957, p. 1000, fig. 2.  
Life, 28.4.1958.  
IVORIES FROM NIMRUD—3

6. ND. 6363. (Ashmolean) Plate XVI
Rectangular panel, $25 \times 11-8 \times 0-6$ cm. Surface worn, partially restored in wax.
Bearded male, facing left, wears a long cut-away coat made of a banded material. The coat, belted at the waist, is worn over a short tunic decorated with a criss-cross design. The right arm is raised and the hand plucks a fruit from the top of the lily tree; the left hand grasps the trunk of the tree in front.

COMMENT
No. 6 may also originally have formed part of the piece of furniture which included Nos. 4 and 5: the general stance of the men plucking fruit from the tops of lily trees is closely similar, as are the curving outlines of their bodies and the distinctive upward-tilting belts. Their faces, too, appear to be almost identical. However, No. 6 is more crudely carved than the superb panel, No. 5. This can be clearly seen in a comparison of the hair and beards of the two panels. The curls of No. 5 are richly and crisply carved and happily arranged in the familiar spade shape: those of No. 6 are rigidly arranged as wire-like spirals in rows and lack the depth and subtlety of the other. And again, there are marked differences in the rendering of the short tunic skirt: the criss-cross pattern of No. 6 is more crudely drawn and the hem has no embroidered border. It was suggested above, pp. 35-6, that a piece of furniture was carved by a group of craftsmen rather than by one man and the differences of technique cited above do not therefore disprove the possibility that Nos. 4-6 originally belonged to one set of panels.

7. ND. 6376. (Met. Mus. N.Y.) Plate XVII
Rectangular panel, $25-4 \times 12-7$ cm.
Bearded male, facing right, wears a long cut-away coat made of a banded material. The coat, belted at the waist, is worn over a short kilted tunic with a criss-cross design. The left arm is raised and the hand plucks a berried fruit from the top of the lily-palmette tree: the right hand grasps the trunk of the tree in front. The tree rises from the ground between the bare feet and immediately divides into two, the principal branch growing up in front, the secondary one to the rear.

COMMENT
This panel is comparable with the preceding three, Nos. 4-6, in general stance and style. The tree has two branches rising from the ground instead of the one in the preceding panels.

8. ND. 7963. (Met. Mus. N.Y.) Plate XVIII
Rectangular panel, $25-6 \times 11-8$ cm. Bottom right restored in wax.
Bearded male, facing right, wears a long cut-away coat made of a banded material. The coat, belted at the waist, is worn over a short tunic with a criss-cross design. The left arm is raised and the hand holds aloft a palm frond or feather, which touches the winged disc. The (restored) right hand grasps the trunk of the lily-palmette tree. The tree rises from the ground between the bare feet and divides into two, the principal branch growing up in front, the secondary one to the rear.

COMMENT
The carving of this piece lacks subtlety—note the stereotyped curls of the beard and the shapeless arms; the head appears to be too large for the body, a disproportion perhaps caused by the relatively large amount of space given to the winged disc.
9. ND. 7964. (I. of A.)
Plate XIX
Fragmentary rectangular panel, restored in wax—the flowers after No. 24. Measurements of fragment, 24·5 × 6·5 cm., of restored panel, 26·6 × 12·1 cm. Surface worn.
Bearded male, facing left, wears a long cut-away coat made of a banded material. The coat, belted at the waist, is worn over a short tunic with a criss-cross design. The right arm is raised, the hand is restored. The left hand grasps the trunk of the tree which rises from between the (restored) feet. Above, a winged disc.

10. ND. 6375. (B)
Fragmentary rectangular panel, c. 23·5 × 11 cm.
Male, wearing a long coat made of a banded material over a short tunic. One arm holds the lily tree, the other has not survived.

11. ND. 7936. (B)
Plates XX-XXII
Fragments of a side post, c. 62·2 × 11·5 cm. The side post consists of two vertically conjoined rectangular panels. Surface worn, restored in wax. Found near the surface in disturbed soil.

Panel 1 (top) Plates XX, XXII
Male, striding left, wears a long cut-away coat made of a banded material. The coat, belted at the waist, is worn over a short kilted tunic with a criss-cross design. The right arm is held down in front of the figure: the hand grasps the trunk of the tree, which rises from between the bare feet (one missing). The left arm is not preserved but the rising line of the shoulder suggests that it may have been raised behind the body.

Panel 2 (bottom) Plates XX-XXI
Bearded male, facing left, attired as on Panel 1. The right arm is raised; the hand, holding aloft a palm frond or feather, touches the winged disc. The left arm is held out in front and the hand, no longer preserved, probably grasped the trunk of the tree which is missing. The secondary branch of the palmette tree can be seen behind the figure. The rear foot is bare (the front is not preserved) and is standing on mountains.

COMMENT
No. 11 and No. 12 below q.v. were probably originally the side posts of a single piece of furniture. Unfortunately the arms in No. 11, Panel 1, are defective: their position appears to have been unique. We should expect either both arms to be placed in front of the body as in Panel 2, or the inner arm to be raised in front of the body and the outer held down behind as in No. 11, Panels 1 and 10 and in No. 12. It is possible that the foot and mountains of Panel 2 have been erroneously conjoined. The distance between the foot and the hem of the coat is short in comparison with Panel 1: furthermore, pairs of panels are usually consistent in that both figures walk either over mountains or on flat ground. In No. 11, the man of Panel 1 walks on the ground, while the man of Panel 2 walks over mountains.

12. ND. 7935. (B)
Plate XXIII
Fragments of a side post, c. 40 × 12 cm. The side post consisted originally of two vertically conjoined rectangular panels. Surface worn. Found near the surface in disturbed soil.

Panel 1 (top) Plate XXIII
Male, striding right, wears a long cut-away coat made of a banded material. The coat, belted at the waist, is worn over a short kilted tunic with a criss-cross design. The left arm is not preserved but the rising line of the
12. The shoulder suggests that it was raised in front of the body, cf. No. 1, Panels 1 and 10. The right arm is held down behind the body; the hand grasps a branch of the lily tree, which rises from between the feet and divides into two equally-sized branches.

**Panel 2 (bottom)**

Only part of the winged disc survives.

**COMMENT**

The panels of Nos. 11 and 12 were found in disturbed soil near the surface of SW.7. It is probable that they originally formed the side posts of the same piece of furniture. As far as can be seen from the fragmentary state of the panels, the carving appears to be closely similar. Note, for instance, the shapely long legs, the kilted skirts, and the hands grasping the curving branches of the trees.

13. ND. 6365, ND. 6367 and ND. 7940. (B. & I. of A.)

Fragments of one, or perhaps two, side posts; Panel 1 (top) consists of ND. 6365 (Plate XXIV left) which has been joined to part of ND. 7940 in Plate XXIV right. The bearded head ND. 6367 in Panel 2 (bottom) has been placed there by the restorer.

**Panel 1 (top)**, c. 19.5 x 7 cm.

Bearded male, facing right, wears a long cut-away coat made of a banded material. The coat, fastened at the waist by an elaborate buckled belt, is worn over a short tunic with a criss-cross design. The left arm is raised, the right held out in front. The heel-piece of the sandal extends most of the length of the foot and is secured by straps. The lily-palmette tree rises from the ground between the feet (leading foot restored).

Two fragments, ND. 7940, which were found separately, almost certainly once formed the right side of this panel. They were found with the fragmentary panel No. 14 which joins the upper fragment. The upper fragment measures 8.3 x 3 x 0.5-6 cm. and the lower 8.5 x 3 x 0.5-6 cm. The left hand plucks a fruit from the top of the tree; the right hand grasps the trunk of the lily tree.

**Panel 2 (bottom)**

The upper fragment shows the bearded head of a male facing right probably dressed in a short-sleeved dress with a tasselled band or sash worn over the left shoulder, cf. No. 2, Panels 1-3 and 10-12. The lower fragment shows part of the skirt of a cut-away coat and a sandalled back foot.

**COMMENT**

As noted above, No. 13, Panel 1 joins No. 14 to form part of a single side post, see No. 14 below. The distinctive buckled belt worn by the men of Nos. 13 and 14 also occurs on No. 15 and it is probable that No. 15 formed part of the opposite side post or one of the central panels of the same piece of furniture, see No. 15 below.

A similar buckled belt is worn by two princes of Carchemish, Araras and Kamanas, for whom dates of c. 760 and 740 B.C. have been proposed by Mallowan in *Anatolian Studies*, XII (1972). For illustrations see *Carchemish*, I, pls. B.6 to B.9 and III, pl. B.66a. Buckled belts are also worn at Zinjirli (A.I.S. IV, pl. LXII) and Arslan-Tash (*Arslan-Tash*, pl. XII). See also pp. 22, 49 above.

No complete side post found to date has consisted of conjoined panels illustrating men in different dress. It may be, therefore, that the head and shoulders now forming part of Panel 2 have been incorrectly allocated to this position.
IVORIES FROM NIMRUD—3

14. ND. 7940. (I. of A.)  
Plate XXV  
Fragment of a rectangular side post. Curved upper margin at top. 19.6 x 19.4 x 4.2 x 0.5-6 cm.  
Part of male figure, facing right; he wears a long cut-away coat made of a banded material. The coat, fastened at the waist by an elaborate buckled belt, is worn over a short tunic with a criss-cross design. The left arm is raised and bent, the hand plucking a fruit from the top of the lily-palmette tree. The sandal has a long heel-piece—note that the toe extends into the margin of the panel.

COMMENT  
No. 14 was found with and forms part of the same side post as the two pieces placed on the right side of No. 13, Panel 1 (Pl. XXIV right). The detailed similarities of dress worn by the men of Nos. 13 and 14—the distinctive buckled belts of which we have only three examples, Nos. 13-15, the openings of the coats, the double hem fringes of the tunics and the sandals—indicated that Nos. 13 and 14 had formed part of the same side post, a theory clinched by the convincing join. The man on No. 15 is also closely comparable, q.v. below.

15. ND. 7943. (I. of A.)  
Plate XXV  
Fragment of rectangular panel: measurement of fragment 18.4 x 6.4 cm.; of restoration 18.7 x 7.3 cm.  
Surface worn.  
Bearded male, facing left, wears a long cut-away coat made of a banded material. The coat, fastened at the waist by an elaborate buckled belt, is worn over a short tunic with a criss-cross design. The left arm is held out in front.

COMMENT  
It has already been suggested above that Nos. 13 and 14 formed part of a single side post. It seems likely that No. 15 originally formed part of the opposite side post or one of the central panels of the same piece. The three men of Nos. 13-15 all wear distinctive buckled belts, see pp. 22, 49 and No. 13 above; the method of carving the hair and the deep drill hole for the pupil of the eye of Nos. 13 and 15 are closely similar, as are the fleshy curves of thigh and leg.

16. ND. 7953. (I. of A.)  
Plate XXVI  
Fragment of rectangular panel, 9.5 (max) x 7.8 x 0.6 cm.  
Bearded male, facing right, wears a coat made of a banded material. The left arm is raised, the hand holding up a fruit (?), which touches the corner of the panel. The right arm is held out in front, the hand grasping the trunk of the palmette tree. The thumb of the right hand extends into the border of the panel.

COMMENT  
This piece is crudely carved: note the fleshy upper left arm and the formless right arm. The coat sleeves appear to be cut from the same piece of material as the bodice; they lack the two to four rows of loops encircling the arm, common to most of these coats.

17. ND. 7941. (B)  
Plate XXVI  
Fragments of a side post, c. 26.5 x 10.5 cm. Surface worn, restored in wax.

Panel 1 (top)  
Male, facing left, wears a long cut-away coat made of a banded material. The coat appears to be belted at the waist and worn over a short tunic, but the ivory is in poor condition and the details have been obliterated. The man grasps the lily-palmette tree with the left hand.
17. **Panel 2 (bottom)**

Bearded male, facing left, appears to be wearing a dress with a tasselled band or sash worn over the left shoulder, cf. No. 2, Panels 1–3 and 10–12. The left arm is held out in front.

**COMMENT**

It is unfortunate that this panel is fragmentary and worn, for once again two conjoined panels illustrate men dressed differently, see Comment on No. 13. The fragment No. 71 most probably belonged to No. 17 and should be fitted between the man’s legs on Panel 1—the bloom would then appear in front of the face of the man in Panel 2.

18. **ND. 7940. (I. of A.)**

Fragment of a rectangular panel, 13.6 × 7.8 (max.) × 0.6 cm. Surface worn.

Part of male figure facing right and wearing a long cut-away coat made of a banded material. The coat, belted at the waist, is worn over a short tunic with a criss-cross design.

**COMMENT**

The coat is cut to open sharply a little way below the belt instead of displaying the more usual, gentle curve.

19. **ND. 7952. (B)**

Rectangular panel, c. 25.5 × 10.3 cm.

Bearded male, facing right, wears a long cut-away coat made of a banded material. The coat, belted at the waist, is worn over a short tunic with a criss-cross design. The heel-piece of the sandals extends the length of the foot and is secured by straps over toe and instep. Both hands grasp the trunk of the lily-palmette tree, which grows out of the mountains just in front of the leading foot. Winged disc aloft; the pinions of the wings touch the fronds of the top palmettes.

**COMMENT**

Although the detailed markings are carefully executed the drawing is poor, the head too big for the ungainly and ill-proportioned body; the arms are mis-shapen and the carver has made an error in transposing right and left hands. The feathers of the wings, the fronds of the palmettes and the curls of the hair and beard are only blocked out and lack all fine detail; the loops of the coat are coarsely carved. This piece is clearly the work of an indifferent craftsman.


20. **ND. 7962. (B)**

Fragment of rectangular panel, 22.3 × 4.3 × 0.5 cm. Burnt.

Part of male figure facing right and wearing a long cut-away coat made of a banded material. The coat is belted at the waist and is worn over a short tunic with a criss-cross design. The leading foot is bare and is walking over mountains. The left arm appears to be raised, the right is held out in front, the hand grasping the trunk of the lily tree.

**COMMENT**

This fragment is the only ivory found in SW.7 which has been burnt.
21. ND. 7914. (B) Plates XXVIII–XXXIII

Set of six panels originally forming the central section of a bed-head or chairback. The panels as photographed in Pl. XXVIII above have been incorrectly reassembled. They are described below in their proper order, as discovered. They are numbered from left to right.

Panel 1

Rectangular panel, c. 25.5 x 6.5 cm.
Volute palmette tree formed of four tiers of up-curved volutes; five inner tiers curl down. Palm fronds spread from the ends of the up-curved volutes towards the centre and grow outwards from the lowest down-curved volute. Lily flowers on long stalks rise from the top three down-curved volutes. The crown of palm fronds at the top springs directly from the beaded collar of the double volute, instead of from a plain stalk as in Nos. 2, 22 and 89–94, and see fig. 14 on p. 109.

Panel 2

Rectangular panel, c. 25.5 x 9.5 cm. Surface worn.
Beardless male, facing right, wears a long cut-away coat over a short tunic. The left arm is raised, the right held across the body; both hands grasp the trunk of the lily tree. Above the youth, standing partly on his head and partly on the upper branches of the tree, is a winged sphinx, facing right. The sphinx's hair is arranged in the usual female fashion of a fringe and ringlets on the shoulder, held in place by a band terminating in another ringlet. The youth climbs the tree barefoot. The tree has two roots, one in either corner of the panel: between the roots are three semi-circles outlined with beading.

Panel 3

Rectangular panel, c. 25.5 x 9.5 cm.
Bearded male, facing right, attired as on Panel 3. Both hands grasp the trunk of the lily tree. Above, a winged disc with feathers or fronds protruding above and below the central disc, see fig. 4c on p. 20. The man climbs the tree barefoot. Below the slanting trunk of the tree is a row of beaded semi-circles.

Panel 4

Rectangular panel, c. 25.5 x 9.5 cm.
Bearded male, facing left, attired as on Panel 3. Both hands grasp the trunk of the lily tree. Above, a winged disc with feathers or fronds protruding above and below the central disc. The man climbs the tree barefoot: below the slanting trunk are three beaded semicircles.

Panel 5

Rectangular panel, c. 25.5 x 9.5 cm. Surface much worn except for the figure of the winged sphinx at the top. Beardless male, facing left, attired as on Panel 3. Both hands grasp the trunk of the lily tree. Above the youth, standing partly on his head, partly on the upper branches of the tree and partly on the raised right hand, is a winged sphinx, facing left. The sphinx's hair is arranged in the usual female fashion of a fringe and ringlets, see p. 33. The wing feathers spring from a beaded band which has the appearance of being the hem of a cloth covering. The ribs are indicated by scored lines and punctuations run along the back; there are three flame markings on the hindquarters. The youth is standing on the trunk of the tree below which a row of semi-circles can be discerned.
IVORIES FROM NIMRUD—3

21. Panel 6
Rectangular panel, c. 25.5 x 6.5 cm. Surface worn, partially restored in wax.
Repeat of Panel 1, q.v.

COMMENT
This bed-head or chairback, which illustrates subjects familiar on other panels, bearded warriors, beardless youths, winged discs and voluted trees, is of particular interest because of the many deviations from the norm that appear in detail on each of the panels. The voluted trees display one elaboration not found elsewhere in SW.7, namely the addition of the lily flower in full bloom and are in this respect comparable with Arslan-Tash, pls. XXIV, 15, 16, XXV, 17, and XLV, 97, 98.
While the physiognomy and the spiral curls of the hair on the males, shoulder-length for the bearded figures though somewhat shorter for the youths, appear elsewhere, their long coats are differently executed. Instead of the banded material displayed on the preceding panels, Nos. 1-20, this material consists of rows of scales between lines of beading—and the denticulated edging of the coat and tunic is also unique. The appearance of these scales gives a much stronger impression of mail or armoured coating than do the other panels and it seems likely that they represent military dress (see p. 9), for even the scales on the shoulders appear to be reminiscent of armoured coats on the sculpture of Ashurnasirpal (Madhloom, The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art, pl. XLV, 1).
Unique to these panels also is the representation of the men as climbing the lily trees and it is reasonable to propose that these are mythological figures ascending to the sky. Above two of the figures (Panels 3 and 4) appears the winged sun-disc in an unusual form and below them is a series of dotted semicircles. These take the place of the rows of mountains which are sometimes represented under the feet on other panels. Unique again are the delightful feminine sphinxes which climb over the youths' heads. They too are perhaps to be associated with the sun which thus appears to be a dominant element in the iconography. However that may be, we have as yet no written texts to confirm these interpretations and it is possible that the craftsmen employed on this set came from a different workshop or from a different city and might have been rendering as best they could a classical theme which they misunderstood.

II: MEN WEARING SHORT TUNICS AND OVERSKIRTS OPEN AT THE FRONT

22. ND. 7907. (BM)
Bed-head or chairback consisting of two side posts of uncarved ivory supporting a curved central section formed of six panels, framed above and below by long strips of uncarved ivory. The six carved panels, numbered from left to right, are separated from each other by strips of uncarved ivory c. 29-25 mm. in width. The maximum overall measurements are 56.5 x 82.5 cm.: the side posts measure 56.2-54.2 x 8.5 cm. (left) and 56.5-54.2 x 9 cm. (right); the central section measures 45.8 x 64.5 cm. The panels are carved in high relief.
ND. 7907 was found in the second row next to the east wall, some 30 cm. above the floor (see figs. 1 and 2), and was raised in one piece. Pl. CXI shows it when first exposed in the soil; pl. XXXIV below illustrates it after preliminary cleaning. Surface worn.

Panel 1
Rectangular panel, 26.5 x 6.4 cm.
Voluted palmette tree formed of four tiers of up-curled volutes; four inner tiers curl down. Palm fronds adorn the ends of the volutes.
Panel 2
Rectangular panel, 26.4 x 9.0 cm.
Beardless male, facing right, wears a short tunic, patterned with a diamond design. An ankle-length skirt made of a banded material is belted over the tunic. A section of the front of the skirt is cut away, exposing the hem of the tunic and the leading leg. For a discussion of this garment, see pp. 24–6 and fig. 6 on p. 25. The right hand raises aloft a berried fruit; the left holds a bucket. The lily tree rises from between the bare feet, the topmost bloom almost touching the winged disc.

Panel 3
Rectangular panel, 26.6 x 9.2 cm.
Bearded male, facing right, attired as on Panel 2 and also holding a berried fruit and a bucket. The lily tree rises from between the bare feet; the topmost blooms touch the winged disc. The centre petal of the lowest and intermediate blooms have a raised design, similar to the berried fruits held by the men of Panels 2, 3 and 4.

Panel 4
Rectangular panel, 26.3 x 9.2 cm.
Bearded male, facing left, attired as on Panel 2, although the tunic skirt is kilted, and also holding fruit and bucket. From between the bare feet the lily tree rises up to the level of the right hand. Above, a winged disc.

Panel 5
Rectangular panel, 26.4 x 8.9 cm.
Beardless male, facing left, attired as on Panel 2, although the tunic skirt is kilted, and also holding fruit and bucket. Here a criss-cross pattern on the inside of the skirt, mostly obliterated in the other panels, is clearly visible. The lily tree rises from between the bare feet, the topmost bloom touches the winged disc.

Panel 6
Rectangular panel, 26.3 x 6.0 cm.
Repeat of Panel 1, q.v.

COMMENT
Panels which illustrate men holding buckets occur rarely in the furniture from SW 7. Usually the buckets are carried by men wearing the distinctive tunic and open skirt of Nos. 22–8. Such men do not, however, invariably carry buckets, thus the men of No. 25 simply grasp the tree: there are no winged discs on these smaller panels. In one case, No. 66, buckets are carried by winged griffins attired in Assyrian dress. The buckets are always held in the left hand, the right raising aloft a fruit (?), irrespective of which way the figure is facing, and perhaps this consistency should be attributed to the fact that only the right hand, or hand of honour, may carry the magical or sacred fruit.

Craftsmen: although the carved panels of this chairback or bed-head are in a poor state of preservation, it is possible to see that the panels were carved by different men. For instance, the youth of Panel 5 shows many minor variations while being, in general, stylistically indistinguishable: his shoulders do not touch the side of the panel; his hair lacks the distinctive bun effect of Panels 2–4; the flowers are carved differently, the outer petals are closer to the central petal and are not outlined, thus giving a bud-like appearance; the bucket has a longer handle and is beaded only along the top and bottom, while those of Panels 3 and 4 are beaded along the sides as well; and finally the fruit (?) held aloft appears to be either a feather or a palm frond, as on the voluted palmette trees of Panels 1 and 6, rather than the berried fruits held by the men of Panels 2–4. Variations between
22. Panels 2, 3 and 4 can also be noticed, particularly in the form of the flowers, the way they grow from the trunk of the tree and in the beading of the buckets.


23. ND. 7944. (B)

   Rectangular panel, c. 25.7 x 9.2 cm. Partially restored in wax.
   Beardless youth, facing left, wears a short tunic patterned with a diamond design. An ankle-length skirt, open at the front, is belted on over the tunic. The inside of the skirt is decorated with a criss-cross design and the hem is fringed. The right hand raises aloft a fruit, the left once probably held a bucket (missing), cf. Nos. 22, 24 and 26. The lily tree rises from the mountains between the bare feet. One bloom touches the winged disc.

   **COMMENT**
   It is possible that Nos. 23 and 24 formed part of the same bed-head or chairback, see No. 24 below.

24. ND. 7945. (I. of A.)

   Rectangular panel, 25.2 x 9.5 x 0.9 cm. Considerable depth of relief—0.7 cm. Surface worn, restored in wax.
   Bearded male, facing left, wears a short kilted tunic patterned with a diamond design. An ankle-length skirt, open at the front, is belted on over the tunic. The inside of the skirt is decorated with a criss-cross design and the hem is fringed. The right hand raises aloft a fruit (?), the left is holding a bucket. The lily tree (mostly restored) rises from the mountains between the bare feet. Flowers touch the winged disc. The central petal of each flower is decorated with berries (?), as on No. 22, Panel 3, q.v., where some of the flowers are similarly rendered.

   **COMMENT**
   The fruit held aloft differs in design from the usual feather or frond; it is reminiscent of a fir-cone.
   No. 23 and No. 24 may once have formed part of the same bed-head or chairback, for the stance of the two men, their dress, the type of winged disc and the design of the mountains are closely similar, although they were clearly not carved by the same hand.

25. ND. 7915. (B, Philadelphia, B, & I. of A.)

   Set of four panels.

   **Panel 1**
   Rectangular panel, c. 14.2 x 8.4 x 0.9 cm.
   Bearded male, facing right, wears a short kilted tunic patterned with a diamond design. An ankle-length skirt, open at the front, is belted over the tunic. Both hands grasp the trunk of the lily-palmette tree, which rises from the ground in front of the bare feet.

   **Panel 2**
   Rectangular panel, 14.2 x 8 x 0.8 cm. Carved in high relief. Fragment at bottom right missing.
   Beardless youth, facing right, attired as on Panel 1 except that the tunic skirt is not kilted. Both hands grasp the exceptionally thick trunk of the lily-palmette tree.
25. Rectangular panel, c. 14.2 x 8.4 cm. Surface worn.
Beardless youth, facing left, attired as on Panel 1. Both hands grasp the trunk of the lily-palmette tree.

Panel 4
Vertical fragments of rectangular panel, 14.2 x 2.9 x 0.7 cm. and 6.1 x 1.4 x 0.8 cm.
Most of the lily-palmette tree is preserved. Of the man originally facing left, only the hands grasping the tree, the leading leg and part of the skirt have survived. The tunic skirt was kilted.

COMMENT
The panels of No. 25 are smaller than the rest of the ivory panels of II, Nos. 22–8: they are a little over half the length of the larger sets and presumably could have been cut in pairs from the longitudinal section of a single tusk.
This set is unique in the group Nos. 22–8 because the men are represented as concerned only with the sacred tree, without winged disc and, unlike the others, carrying no bucket.


26. ND. 7948 and ND. 7946 (?). (B)
Vertical half of a rectangular panel, c. 33.2 x 6.2 cm. The fragment joined to the left half of the panel by the restorer is probably ND. 7946 and measures c. 22 x 6 cm. It originally belonged to another similar figure. The restored panel has been made up in wax.
Bearded male, facing right, wears a short tunic patterned with a diamond design. An ankle-length skirt, open at the front, is belted on over the tunic. The inside of the skirt is decorated with a criss-cross design and the hem is fringed. The rising line of the shoulder and upper arm indicate that the right arm was raised as on No. 22, Panels 2 and 3; the stump of the left arm can be seen below the right arm; it was probably held down, the hand perhaps carrying a bucket, cf. No. 22, Panels 2 and 3. The trunk of the tree rises from the mountains in front of the bare back foot. A single bloom appears in front of the face. Above, a winged disc surmounted by a crown of fronds or feathers.
The lower right section of the panel, joined to ND. 7948 by the restorer, represents the sinuous trunk and two blooms of a lily-palmette tree and the lowered left arm and leading leg of a male figure facing right. The hand grasps a bucket and the bare foot stands on mountains. The join is not convincing, for the man is depicted as walking over a double row of mountains with the leading foot, while there is only one row under the back foot. However, although the right hand section may not have formed a part of ND. 7948, it clearly came from a similar panel.

COMMENT
The winged disc with plumes protruding from the top occurs only once more in the panels from SW.7—on No. 27 and it is probable that these two panels once formed part of the same bed-head or chairback, see below. This feature is of particular interest because it can be compared with a plumed disc from Zinjirli of the latter half of the eighth century B.C., although on that example the ring in the disc contains a rosette motif (A.I.S. IV, pl. 54 and see p. 21 and fig. 4b on p. 20 above).
The height of No. 26 is greater than the average, some 33 cm. instead of the more usual 24-8 cm.

27. ND. 7947. (B)
Upper half of a rectangular panel, c. 15.4 x 9.8 cm. Surface worn.
Bearded male, facing left, wears a tunic patterned with a diamond design—the figure is preserved only from the waist up. The right arm is raised, the hand holding a berried fruit similar to that of No. 24. The left
IVORIES FROM NIMRUD—3

27. Arm is held down in front of the body, the hand probably carried a bucket, cf. Nos. 22-4 and 26. A lily-palmette tree grows up in front of the man; flowers touch both sides of the winged disc, which is surmounted by a crown of fronds or feathers.

COMMENT
Nos. 26 and 27 probably formed parts of the same bed-head or chair-back for the carving of the curls of the hair and the curves of the shoulders are closely similar. The plumed winged disc occurring on both panels is unique to them, but a variant form also plumed occurs on No. 65, see pp. 21 and 35.

28. ND. 7948. (B) Plate XLV
Fragment of a rectangular panel, c. 18×5·4 cm.
The lower left hand section of the panel is all that has survived. Male, facing right, wears a tunic patterned with a diamond design. An ankle-length skirt, open at the front, is belted on over the tunic. The tunic skirt, showing below the overskirt, consists of a deep tasselled fringe. The base of a tree can be seen in front of the bare back foot, which is standing on mountains.

COMMENT
The deep tasselled fringe of the tunic skirt is unique.

FRAGMENTS BELONGING TO PANELS OF TYPE I OR II

29. ND. 6366. (B) Plate XLV
Fragment of a rectangular panel, c. 10·2×9 cm.
Lower part of male figure, facing right and represented as wearing either a long cut-away coat as on No. 5 or a tunic and skirt as on No. 23. A tree rises from the mountains between the bare feet. The leading foot extends into the margin.

30. ND. 7960. (B) Plate XLVI
Fragments of rectangular panel, c. 10×9 cm.
Upper left section of panel showing a winged disc and the head of a bearded male facing right.

31. ND. 7961. (B) Plate XLVI
Fragment of rectangular panel with curved upper margin, c. 16·8×3·5 cm.
Upper right section showing a wing-tip from a winged disc and an arm held upright touching it.

32. ND. 7961. (B) Plate XLVI
Fragment of rectangular panel, c. 7×4·5 cm.
Head and shoulders of bearded male, facing right, wearing a cut-away coat of a banded material. It is possible that this fragment belonged to No. 1, Panel 4 (see Pl. 1 below) and has subsequently become detached from it.
IVORIES FROM NIMRUD—3

33. ND. 7961. (B) Plate XLVI

Fragment of rectangular panel, c. 5.8 x 4.7 cm.
Part of winged disc.

34. ND. 7961. (B) Plate XLVII

Fragment of rectangular panel with curved upper margin, c. 15.4 x 4.6 cm.
Upper right section showing a wing-tip from a winged disc and an arm held upright touching it.

35. ND. 7958. (B) Plate XLVII

Fragment of rectangular panel, c. 7.6 x 10.1 cm.
Winged disc and a raised hand holding a fruit or frond.

36. ND. 7961. (I. of A.) Plate XLVII

Fragment of rectangular panel, c. 6.3 x 4.3 cm.
Lower left corner showing an ankle-length open skirt of banded material either from a cut-away coat as on No. 5 or a skirt as on No. 23. The inside of the skirt has a criss-cross design; the hem is fringed. The base of a tree rises from mountains in front of the bare back foot.

37. ND. 7906. (B) Plate XLVII

Fragment of rectangular panel, c. 10.4 x 3.7 cm.
Lower left hand corner showing part of an ankle-length skirt as in No. 36. The figure walks barefoot over mountains.

III: MEN WEARING ‘VASE-HATS’ AND LONG COATS

38. ND. 7919. (B) Plate XLVIII

Rectangular panel, c. 28.7 x 6.7 cm., divided into three registers. Bottom right corner missing.
Upper register: winged disc, surmounted by the head of a cherubic female, full-face. The hair is arranged in a fringe and in two Hathor-like curls on either side of the face. The arms rest along the top of the wings, the hands hold large lily flowers. She wears armlets and bangles. For a discussion of this figure see pp. 17–18 and 26–27 and Mallowan, N. & R., II, pp. 496–8. Six feathers depend from the base of the disc.
Middle register: separated from the upper register by a plain and a fluted margin. Bearded male facing left. A striking feature of this panel is the distinctive hat in the form of an inverted pedestal vase, a line marks the carination. In other examples, Nos. 39–45 below, the carination is adorned by a double band. A fringe of curls is pendent from the hat: for a discussion see op. cit. p. 498. The beard and hair are arranged in twisted ringlets as on a Sakcha Gözüi orthostat of the eighth century (Akurgal, The Art of the Hittites, pl. 134). The long coat with short sleeves is of a banded material somewhat similar, though coarser, than that of the cut-away coats of Nos. 1–20 and of the long skirts of Nos. 22–8: like them it is belted at the waist. The style and construction of the garment appears, however, to be different from that of the cut-away coats: there is no central opening, instead a seam runs along the top of the left sleeve, over the shoulder and down the back—compare the profile view shown in this panel with the frontal view of No. 43 below and see fig. 7 and pp. 27–8. The coat is open below the waist and the border is decorated. The plain lining of the coat is clearly visible in front of the leading leg; the hem is fringed. The fastening of the sandals with their short heel-piece and high looped straps is comparable with that depicted on a statue of a king from Malatya (Mallowan, N & R, II, p. 496). Similar types
of sandal but without the loops figure in reliefs from Carchemish (Carchemish, I, pls. B.4, B.7). The man, who has bangles on the wrists, grasps the tree with both hands. Six tiers of scales beside the leading foot may indicate a mountain, from the top of which grows a lily tree and a plant with lanceolate leaves. This plant may be matched in an even more realistic form by slabs from the North Palace at Nineveh found in Room E Nos. 7-8 and 5 respectively, representing the garden scene of Ashurbanipal, BM. 118914-118916, illustrated by G. Rawlinson, The Five Great Monarchies (2nd ed. 1871) I, p. 354, and noted by Meissner, Babylonien und Assyrien, I, p. 211. This scene is best illustrated by E. Strommenger, The Art of Mesopotamia, pl. 245 where a similar plant is clearly shown behind a lioness in the royal garden: according to F. N. Hepper this represents the Madonna lily, Lilium candidum. On the relief of Ashurbanipal the leaves and flowers are correctly represented as in nature and are not merely a stylization as on our ivory. The naturalistic lily on the Ashurbanipal relief is thus a development from the older stylized design of the eighth century.

Lower register: separated by a plain border from the bearded figure above. Winged sphinx passant facing left. The hair is arranged in a fringe over the forehead and falls in ringlets behind the ears. A wide net (?) or covering, perhaps made of hair, is clearly represented over the top of the head and terminates in another ringlet falling in front of the ear, an arrangement similar to that worn by ladies though the head coverings there are considerably narrower, see p. 23 and Nos. 1, 3, 46-51, etc. The line of the belly is marked by a twisted cable design and there are three double V markings on the upper hindquarters. The bushy end of the tail can be seen above the rump.

COMMENT

The panels of Nos. 38-45 share many unusual features and are clearly the product of a single workshop, see p. 38 above. They are narrower and taller than most panels and originally consisted of three (or four, Nos. 43-4) registers, instead of the usual one. The upper registers in every case show the winged sun-disc surmounted by a cherub, unique in this series, for which few parallels can be found though a similar motif once formed the handles of bronze cauldrons (B. Piotrovski, Urartu (Nagel 1969) said to be from Alishar (eighth century B.C.), pls. XIV, XV and see p. 27; see also O. W. Muscarella, Art & Technology; A Symposium on Classical Bronzes, pp. 110-11).

The men of the middle registers, wearing 'vaso-hats', strangely-constructed coats and distinctive looped sandals, are again unique to the series, see p. 27. The lower registers of these panels are decorated with either a sphinx as in Nos. 38 and 42, or a lion, Nos. 39, 43 and 44.

This distinctive group of panels, Nos. 38-45, perhaps once formed a single bed-head or chairback. The long panels, Nos. 43 and 44, would have formed the side posts, while the central section perhaps consisted of six of the single panels, Nos. 38-42, see p. 8 above.

Mallowan, M. E. L. Nimrud & Its Remains, II, pp. 496-8, fig. 392.

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39. **COMMENT**
See Comment on No. 38 above.
Mallowan, M. E. L. *Nimrud & Its Remains*, II, fig. 393 (where it is wrongly numbered as ND. 7926).

40. ND. 7926. (Ashmolean) Plate XLVIII
Upper half of rectangular panel, 15.7 x 6.8 x 0.6 cm.
Upper register: Winged disc, surmounted by the head of a cherubic female, full-face, as on No. 38.
Lower register, separated from the upper register by a plain and a fluted margin. Bearded male, facing left, preserved only from the waist up. Attired as on No. 38.

**COMMENT**
See Comment on No. 38 above.

41. ND. 7922. (B) Plate XLIX
Fragment of rectangular panel, c. 6.7 x 5 cm.
Winged disc, surmounted by the head of a cherubic female, full-face, as on No. 38.

**COMMENT**
Nos. 41 and 42 may have formed part of the same panel.

42. ND. 7925 and ND. 7921. (I. of A., B) Plate XLIX
Upper fragment, ND. 7925, 5.9 x 4.5 cm., joined photographically to ND. 7921, c. 10 x 7 cm. Surface worn.
Upper register: part of the coat and feet of a male, facing right, attired as on No. 38. Two branches of a tree rise from beside the leading foot.
Lower register, separated by a plain margin from the upper register: winged sphinx *passant*, facing right, as on No. 38.

**COMMENT**
This fragment is of particular interest as it indicates that the ‘vase-hat’ men faced to the right as well as to the left.
No. 41 may have been the upper register of this panel.

43. ND. 7924. (BM) Plate L
Rectangular panel, 51.2 x 10.2 x 0.6 cm. Fragmentary, much restored in wax top left, centre and bottom.
Top register: Winged disc, surmounted by the head of a cherubic female, full-face, as on No. 38.
Second register, separated by a plain margin from the top compartment. Two bearded males, apparently back to back but no doubt intended to be standing side by side; their heads and lower bodies are in profile while their chests are represented frontally. This unrealistic position enables the two men to be shown mostly in profile as on the panels with just one figure, Nos. 38–42, but also with linked hands. Their outer arms are held across their chests and the hands are joined: their inner arms, which are shorter, hang down, adjoining but not linked. They wear ‘vase-hats’ and long coats as on No. 38, and see fig. 7 and pp. 27–8.
Third register, separated by a plain border from the second register. Lion *couchant*, facing right, with a rounded gaping mouth, twisted ‘collar’ and mane arranged in lozenge-shaped and triangular curls; a twisted cable design under the belly; the tail is curled on the flank. The lion is lying on a double row of scales which may represent mountains or possibly a podium, see No. 39.
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43. Bottom register, separated by a plain margin from the third register. Pair of down-curved volutes which spring from four concentric triangles. Above a crown of palm fronds; palm fronds also adorn the ends of the volutes.

**COMMENT**

Among the ivories of Type III, Nos. 38–45, Nos. 43 and 44 are unique in showing two men standing side by side and holding hands, a stance which leaves no room for the sacred tree beside them, although a palmette tree occupies an additional register. The general appearance of the men, the winged disc and the snarling lion are all closely paralleled on the preceding panels, Nos. 38–42.

Nos. 43 and 44 are exceptionally long, some 50 cms., and may have been used as the side posts of the bed or chair. It is possible that Nos. 38–45 are the panels of one set which originally decorated a single piece of furniture, see p. 8.


44. Plate LI

ND. 7920. (B)

Fragments of rectangular panel, c. 47×9 cm. Partially restored in wax.

Upper register: Remains of two men standing side by side and holding hands, as on No. 43 above.

Middle register, separated by a plain margin from the upper register. Lion *couchant*, facing left, as on No. 43.

Bottom register, separated by a plain margin from the middle register. Voluted palmette tree as on No. 43.

Beneath this is a strip of plain ivory, approximately 16 cm. long, perforated with a square mortice hole to enclose a tenon and two smaller circular holes, possibly intended to receive rivets or pegs.

**COMMENT**

This is the best preserved of the lions on the Type III panels, see Nos. 39 and 43 above; in style it is comparable with the eighth-century lions from the portal at Tall Tayinat (H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, pl. 156). These beasts share the same oval type of gaping mouth; the same flat forehead and high point behind the ears; and the same method of representing the mane with heavy collar and wavy tresses.

The stylization of the facial muscles is not, however, identical.

See also Comment on No. 43 above: No. 45 below may have formed the top of this panel.

45. Plate LI

ND. 7923. (B)

Fragment of rectangular panel, c. 10·1×4·5 cm.

Upper register: remains of a winged disc, surmounted by the head of a cherubic female, shown full-face, as on No. 38.

Lower register, separated by a plain margin from the upper register. Part of ‘vase-hat’.

**COMMENT**

The width of this piece and the position of the ‘vase-hat’ indicate that this fragment once belonged to a ‘double’ panel, such as Nos. 43 and 44; it may once have formed the top compartment of the fragmentary No. 44.

IV: ENTHRONED FIGURES, MALE AND FEMALE. MEN WEARING CALF-LENGTH DRESSES, GIRDLED AND SASHED

46. Plate LII–LV

ND. 7909. (B)

Bed-head or chairback consisting of four carved panels framed by strips of uncarved ivory. The top strip of veneer has a quasi-ogival curve at each end; it measures 72·7–66·8 cm. in length; the bottom strip measures 61·5–56·3 cm. long. The height is 42·6 cm. The ivory plugs above Panel 4 are 0·9–0·8 cm.
Panels 1–3, numbered from left to right, were found juxtaposed with the frame and lifted together. Panel 4 was found separately and may not belong to this set, see Comment below.

**Panel 1**

Rectangular panel, 21.7 x 10.8 cm. Bottom right corner restored in wax.

Bearded male, facing right, wears a calf-length dress with short sleeves and long fringed hem. The dress is held at the waist by a wide belt which consists of three parts—a plain band, a beaded band and a long tasselled fringe. Over the left shoulder and secured under the right arm by the belt is a fringed sash which may have been made separately from the belt or may have been part of it (see pp. 29–30, fig. 8 and compare No. 2 Panels 1–3 and 10–12). Both hands grasp the trunk of the lily-palmette tree, which rises from the ground in front of the bare feet. The lowest bloom on this tree has three petals and folded back sepals.

**Panel 2**

Rectangular panel, 21.5 x 10.6 cm.

Lady, facing left, sits on an ornate throne, the feet rest on a footstool. She wears a long dress with elbow-length sleeves made of a material represented by parallel undulations. The curving neckline has a twisted border; the sleeves have beaded hems. The dress is bound by an elaborate double girdle at the waist—for a discussion of this garment see pp. 31–5. The lady is adorned with expensive jewels: a thick beaded collar around the neck, similar to one worn by the banqueting lady at Zinjirli (A.I.S. IV, taf. 54) and partially similar to one worn by Ashurbanipal's queen (Strommenger, *The Art of Mesopotamia*, pl. 241); bracelets consisting of two rows of beads and a plain band; and three anklets. The hair is arranged in the style consistently used for the representation of females, short curls over the forehead and ringlets at the back held in place by a band which terminates in a ringlet falling in front of the large ear with its ear-ring. The right arm is raised, the hand holds aloft a beaded circlet which touches the winged disc above: the winged disc is partially similar to one from Sakcha Gözi (W. Orthmann, *Späthethitischer Kunst*, taf. 51). The left arm rests on the thighs and the hand grasps a short lily tree which grows from behind the footstool. The footstool consists of a plain rectangular box on voluted supports. The throne has straight legs strengthened by a stretcher. The seat is embellished with an ornamental cloth from which depends a trellis fringe.

**Panel 3**

Fragments of rectangular panel, 15.7 x 5.8 cm. (fragment). Most of right side and bottom of panel restored in wax.

Lady, facing right, sits on an ornate throne, the feet presumably rested on a footstool. The sleeved dress, similar to that on Panel 2, has an overskirt, cf. No. 3, Panels 2 and 3 and Nos. 47–50, the edge of which is beaded and fringed. The dress is bound by an elaborate triple girdle at the waist; looped ties can be seen against the left shoulder and on the right hip—for a somewhat similar method of tying the belt see Nos. 48 and 65. The jewellery, of which only the high beaded collar and the circular ear-ring survive, was probably similar to that of Panel 2. Only the stumps of the arms remain; the left was raised, the right held out in front. Above the lady, a fragment of the winged disc.

**Panel 4**

Rectangular panel, 21.5 x 9.5 cm. Worn at bottom left, corner missing at top left.

Upper register. Bearded male, facing left, attired as on Panel 1 except that abnormally the sash runs over the right instead of the left shoulder. Another slight difference is that a short fringe depends from the left sleeve. Both hands grasp the trunk of the lily-palmette tree, which rises from the ground in front of the bare feet. The three flowers consist of a beaded palmette at the top, an elaborate campanulate lily in the centre and at the bottom another lily decorated with beading. Bottom register, separated by a plain margin from the upper register. Festoon of lily flowers alternating with stylized buds. The flowers are decorated with criss-crossed
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46. calices and the central, triangular petals are outlined with dots. The elaboration of this pattern appears to be unique.

COMMENT
The shape of the frame of No. 47 is unique, see p. 7.
There is some doubt as to whether Panel 4 formed part of this bed-head or chairback. Pairs of panels are generally rendered as duplicates and the register of flowers displayed on Panel 4 does not occur on Panel 1. Moreover, Panel 4 was found separately. Panels 1 and 4 are, however, similar in style and clearly originated from the same workshop. For a further discussion of workshops, see pp. 35 ff.
Enthroned ladies only occur rarely, eight times in all: on No. 46, Panels 2 and 3, on Nos. 47–50 and on No. 51, Panels 2 and 3. The principal difference between the two panels discussed above and these six is that there are no winged discs on the latter but on most examples there are tables loaded with dishes: see also p. 34.
Supplement to the I.L.N., January 30, 1960, p. 1135, fig. 3.

47. ND. 6369. (B) Plate LVI
Rectangular panel, c. 25×14 5. Fragmentary, much of the upper section is missing.
Lady, facing right, sits on an ornate throne, the feet rest on a footstool. She wears a long dress with trailing hem and flowing elbow-length sleeves made of a material represented by parallel undulations. The dress has an overskirt, the top of which, like the hem of the sleeves, is outlined with dots; a double girdle encircles the waist. The hair is arranged in the usual short curls over the forehead and long ringlets at the back, see p. 33. The left hand holds aloft a many-petalled flower, perhaps growing from the tree, most of which is missing. The right hand reaches out to the table on which there are dishes and a pedestal cup, cf. Nos. 49 and 50. The table has crossed legs terminating in bovine feet. An additional support with voluted top rises from the junction of the table-legs. Surprisingly one leg rests on a lily flower and the other on the lady's bare left foot. The ankles are adorned with bangles. The throne has straight legs strengthened by a stretcher. The seat is embellished with an ornamental cloth from which depends a trellis fringe. In the lower compartment, a seated winged sphinx, which, judging by the hairstyle, is male: the wings frame the face. The footstool has a horse-shoe hollow excised in the side—perhaps this served as a carrier's handgrip (and see A.I.S. IV, pl. 54).

COMMENT
This panel is one of a group of five showing enthroned ladies extending their hands to the bread and wine (?) which is set out before them on tables—Nos. 47–50 and No. 51, Panel 3. The significance and interpretation of these ladies and their identification is discussed on pp. 11–16 whether queens, priestesses or mythological personalities. A close parallel to these scenes can be found carved on an orthostat from Zinjirli (A.I.S. IV, pl. 54). There also a table with dishes and cups is set before a princess seated on a throne. As well as a close similarity of subject, there are in addition many similarities of detail, for instance the construction of the table, the padded and fringed seat of the chair, the flaps of bread (?) laid on the table, and the flower held in the left hand—see also pp. 33–4.
The lady of No. 47 is holding a unique type of flower. The right hand is extended to the food on the table; the left hand is never employed for that purpose.
Three of the panels with enthroned ladies illustrate sphinxes as the ‘familiar’ in the lower compartment of the throne. The simple hairstyle of close curls falling to the shoulder indicates that they are male, unlike the elaborate hair of the female sphinxes of Nos. 21, 38 and 42. Each of the three sphinxes is shown in a different position; the sphinx of No. 47 is seated with a pair of wings framing the face; the sphinx of No. 50 is seated with wings resting on the back; and the sphinx of No. 48 is standing.
48. ND. 7928. (Sydney)  Plate LVII
Rectangular panel, 24.2 x 12.5 (restored) x 0.4 cm. Left side restored in wax.
Lady, facing left, sits on an ornate throne, the feet rest on a footstool. She wears a long dress with trailing hem and flowing elbow-length sleeves made of a material represented by parallel undulations. The edge of the overskirt, like the hem of the sleeves and collar, has a decorated border. A triple girdle is knotted round the waist; the loop of the knot rises above the girdle, the ties are pendent. The hair is arranged in the usual short curls over the forehead and long ringlets at the back. The left hand holds a lily flower, the right arm stretches out in front of the lady, perhaps to a table as on Nos. 47 and 49-50, which has not survived. Only one flower of the lily tree at the top of the panel remains. The lady’s bare bangle feet rest on a cushioned footstool, the base of which is decorated with low voluted legs. The throne has straight legs, strengthened by a stretcher. The seat is embellished with a decorated cloth from which depends a trellis fringe. In the lower compartment a male winged sphinx.

COMMENT
This panel is one of a group of five showing enthroned ladies reaching out to tables, see Comment on No. 47.
In this panel the table is not preserved but the position of the stump of the lady’s right arm is closely similar to that of No. 50 and it is probable that a table originally stood in front of her. A voluted support from a footstool of similar form was found at Megiddo (Loud, Megiddo Ivories, pl. 46, Nos. 213–15).
The carving is exceptionally crisp: this is well illustrated by the lady’s hair, particularly by the ringlets which cling to the nape of the neck before cascading on to the shoulder in sharply twisted curls. The closely drawn undulating parallels of the dress may represent a coloured garment made of wool or linen.
Sydney University Union Recorder, XL, 25 (October 20, 1968).

49. ND. 6371. (BM)  Plate LVIII
Rectangular panel, 23.9 x 12.8 (restored 14.1) cm. Restored from three principal fragments: fragment at top right incorrectly restored.
Lady, facing right, sits on an ornate throne, the feet rest on a footstool. She wears a long dress with trailing hem and an overskirt, similar to No. 47 above. The hair is arranged in the usual feminine style. The left hand plucks a fruit from the lily tree, the right stretches out to the table on which a chalice stands on flaps of bread (?). The table top rests on a lily flower which rises from between the branches of the tree. The lady’s bare bangle feet rest on a footstool, the base of which is decorated with low voluted legs. The throne has straight legs, strengthened by a stretcher. The seat is embellished with a decorated cloth from which depends a trellis fringe. In the lower compartment a miniature lily tree with a mass of blooms.

COMMENT
This panel is one of a group of five showing enthroned ladies reaching out to tables, see Comment on No. 47.
The top right corner of this panel illustrating flowers and fruit grasped in the hand has been incorrectly restored. The join is improbable not only because the ivory of the two fragments does not touch but also because there is no other representation of a lady plucking fruit, an activity reserved for men. Furthermore the lady would be shown with two right hands, one extended to the table, the other plucking a fruit.
Unique to this panel is the table top supported by a flower and the branches of a tree, and the motif in the lower compartment of the stool—the miniature lily tree.
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50. ND. 6370. (Ashmolean)  Plate LIX

Rectangular panel, 24·2 × 14·2 × 0·6 cm. Fragmentary, restored in wax.

Lady, facing left, sits on an ornate throne, the feet rest on a footstool. She wears a long dress with trailing hem, flowing elbow-length sleeves and overskirt as on No. 47 above. The dress is bound at the waist by a double girdle, the tie of which passes under it. The hair is arranged in the usual feminine style. The left forearm covers some unidentifiable object, napkin or cushion (?), which rests on her lap: the right hand stretches out to the dishes on the table. The lady appears to be scooping liquid in a ladle out of a chalice: flaps of bread (?) stand in front of the chalice and another unidentifiable object, perhaps meat or a vegetable (?), rests on them. The table has crossed legs terminating in bovine feet; a flower-like support rises from the junction of the legs which rest on the curved trunk of the tree. This rises from in front of the simple box-like footstool, on which the lady’s bare bangle-d feet rest. Much of the throne on which she is sitting is restored: it had straight legs, strengthened by a stretcher; the seat is embellished with a decorated cloth from which depends a trellis fringe; in the lower compartment a male sphinx is seated.

COMMENT

This panel is one of a group of five showing enthroned ladies extending their hands to the bread and wine (?) which is set before them on tables, see Comment on No. 47. The lady of No. 50 is the only one holding an object in the lap: the hand is clumsily rendered.


Bed-head or chairback consisting of two side posts of uncarved ivory supporting a curved central section formed of four panels, framed above and below by long strips of uncarved ivory, c. 10 cm. wide. The four panels, numbered from left to right, were separated from each other by strips of uncarved ivory c. 2·4 cm. wide. The surface of the ivory is much worn and parts of the figures are obliterated.

ND. 7908 was found in the first row against the south wall, some 50 cm. above the floor, next to ND. 7917, No. 3, see Figs. 1 and 2.

Panel 1  Plate LX

Rectangular panel, 17·4 × 12·9 × 0·8 cm.

Bearded male, facing right, sits on a chair, the feet rest on a footstool. He wears an ankle-length dress with short sleeves and a fringed hem; the dress is bound at the waist by an elaborate girdle, traces of which can be seen passing over the left shoulder, cf. Panel 4. The feet are shod in sandals with a long heel-piece. The man grasps the branches of the lily-palmette tree with both hands. The tree rises in front of the low footstool. The chair has a high back with a curved top, which reaches the shoulder; it has straight legs strengthened by a stretcher; the seat is embellished with a decorated cloth from which depends a trellis fringe; in the lower compartment a male sphinx couchant.

Panel 2  Plate LXII

Rectangular panel, 17·4 × 13 × 0·9 cm.

Lady, facing right, seated on a throne; probably attired as on No. 47. The left hand holds aloft a distaff, around which is wound a thick strand of wool (?). The right hand, extended in front of the lady, holds a second distaff, around the lower half of which fine threads are wound. The throne has straight legs strengthened by a stretcher, below which it is possible to discern a feeding bird. Rising from the corner of the panel is a lily tree.
Panel 3

Rectangular panel, 17.6×13.5×0.7 cm.
Lady, facing left, seated on a throne, the feet rest on a footstool. She is probably attired as on No. 47; the hair is arranged in the usual feminine style. The left hand rests on the lap, holding an unidentifiable object; the right is stretched out to the table. The table has crossed legs and a central supporting strut: one leg rests on the lady’s feet, the other on a flower (not preserved), as on No. 47. Traces are left of the cloth with trellis fringe which once covered the seat of the throne. The lower compartment, below the stretcher, is empty. An excised circle in the portable footstool is comparable with No. 47. The lily-palmette tree rises from in front of the footstool.

Panel 4

Rectangular panel, 17.6×13.0×0.8 cm. Partially restored in wax bottom left.
Bearded male, facing left, sits on a chair, the feet rest on a footstool. As on Panel 1 he wears an ankle-length dress with short sleeves and a fringed hem. The dress is bound at the waist by an elaborate girdle which is passed over the left shoulder and secured under the right arm, as on No. 2, Panels 1–3 and 10–12. The feet, shod in sandals, rest on a low footstool with a horseshoe excised as on Panel 3. The left hand holds a palmette flower against the chest; the right grasps the lily-palmette tree which rises from in front of the footstool. The flowers are exceptionally large and are embellished with dot borders. The back of the chair apparently reaches only to the man’s elbow instead of to the shoulder as on Panel 1. It appears that the carver had left himself insufficient space in the design for a higher back. The chair has straight legs strengthened by a stretcher; the seat is covered by an ornate cloth from which depends a trellis fringe; in the lower compartment a pair of birds feeds on a plant.

COMMENT

These four panels, which are smaller than the others of this type, are more crudely carved, note for instance the trees and their luxuriant blooms, the massive girth of the man on Panel 4 and the extended left arm of the man on Panel 1. There is, however, little doubt that Nos. 47–51 originated from the same workshop or group of workshops, even if No. 51 was executed by less skilful hands. Compare the sphinx on Panel 1 with those on Nos. 47, 48 and 50; the form of the thrones and chairs; the tables of Panel 3 and Nos. 47–50; the female dress of the six panels, Nos. 47–50 and No. 51, Panels 2 and 3. See also p. 36 above.

The most unusual feature in this set is the spinning lady of Panel 2, which unfortunately is in a poor state of preservation. This motif is unique on the ivories although parallels can be found on stone at Marash (E. Akurgal, The Art of the Hittites, pl. 138) and at Susa (G. Contenau, Manuel d’Archéologie Orientale, III, p. 1231, fig. 798). In both these examples, however, only one distaff is used: at Susa it is held in both hands; at Marash the distaff is held aloft in the left hand as on Panel 2, while the right hand holds the thread. It may be that the lady of Panel 2 is holding aloft in the raised left hand a distaff wound with a thick long rove while the right hand grasps the distaff which for the most of the time is twisting free (J. P. Wilde, Textile Manufacture in the Northern Roman Provinces, Cambridge 1970, p. 37 and pl. IVa for a Roman example, and G. M. Crowfoot, ‘Methods of Hand Spinning in Egypt and the Sudan’, Bankfield Museum Notes, II, 12 (1931), pp. 17 and 28). See also pp. 33–4 above.

Unusual are the enthroned males who are normally represented standing. A similarly dressed man, seated on a throne, is shown on No. 52 and probably also on the fragment No. 54. The male of No. 66, Panel 3, is shown seated but his throne is supported on crossed legs terminating in bovine feet. Seated men are also illustrated on Nos. 77–82, but these panels come from a different workshop, see p. 38 above.

The chair of Panel 1 is significant for the high back clearly ends in a curved top, similar to the curve on the side posts discussed above, Nos. 1, 2 and 22. This curved top also occurs on the throne of the Zinjirli stela (A.I.S. IV, pl. 54) discussed above, see p. 3. The motifs of the feeding birds in the lower compartments of the thrones of Panels 2 and 4 are unique. The flowers growing on the trees are larger than usual and more richly decorated. They are partly similar to those of No. 46, Panels 1 and 4.


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52. ND. 7927. (B) Plate LXIV

Rectangular panel, c. 24·5×10·5 cm. before restoration.

Bearded male, facing right, sits on a throne. He wears a dress with short sleeves, bound at the waist by an elaborate girdle which is passed over the left shoulder and secured by the waist-band under the right arm, as on No. 46, Panel I. The left hand is held aloft, the right grasps the trunk of the tree, most of which is not preserved. The throne has straight legs strengthened by a stretcher; the seat is covered with a cloth from which depends a trellis fringe terminating in bag-like tassels. The footstool has a horseshoe excision, as on No. 47: part of the sandalled foot has survived. Three flowers at the top right; the central bloom, pseudo-papyrus (?), with criss-cross calyx and feathery petals is unique.

COMMENT

Enthroned males occur only rarely, see Comment on No. 51 above.

53. ND. 7959 (?). (B) Plate LXV

Fragment of rectangular panel, c. 9·6×8·3 cm.

Bearded male figure, facing right, probably attired in a short-sleeved tunic as on No. 52. In front of him a lily flower the central petal of which is adorned by cross-hatching, see also No. 49. The fragment now at the top right of No. 49 possibly once formed part of this panel.

54. ND. 7923. (B) Plate LXIV

Fragment of rectangular panel, c. 6×5·3 cm. Surface worn.

Part of a throne adorned with a trellis fringe, and skirt of a male figure facing right, cf. No. 52.

55. ND. 7909. (B) Plate LXV

Fragment of rectangular panel, c. 3·7×4·7 cm.

Part of a throne adorned with a trellis fringe.

V: MAN WEARING FRINGED AND SASHED DRESS

56. ND. 7914 and ND. 7940. (B, I. of A.) Plate LXV

Fragments of a side post: lower body of male ND. 7914, c. 11·7×7·3 cm., here joined photographically to ND. 7940; upper fragment, 20·3×2·7×3·0×0·5-6 cm., lower fragment 7·1×9·9×0·3 cm.

Upper register: only a part of the leading foot, shod in a sandal with a long heelpiece, has survived.

Lower register: Male figure, facing right; head, shoulders and feet are missing. He is dressed in a calf-length skirt decorated with a criss-cross design. The skirt has a fringed hem and is bound at the waist by an elaborate girdle with exceptionally long fringes: a sash, with shorter fringes, is passed across the chest, cf. No. 46, Panel I. The material of the bodice is plain. The left hand is raised and holds a fruit; the right grasps the trunk of the tree which rises from between the sandalled feet. The tree has ornate, many-petalled flowers with folded back sepals. The man is walking over nine ranges of mountains.

COMMENT

The fragments of ND. 7914 and ND. 7940, here joined photographically, almost certainly once formed part of the same panel: note the joins of right arm and leg and of the tree-trunk; and the similar flowers. The nine ranges of mountains carved in the bottom fragment (ND. 7940) also probably formed part of the same panel.
for the match of both the scales and the margins of the three fragments is perfect—both left margins are narrow and both right margins are wide. The proposed juxtaposition thus appears to be indisputable. The section of the bottom fragment is, however, narrower than that of the right side of the panel—0.3 cm. instead of 0.5–6 cm. —and the striations on the back are horizontal rather than vertical. The piece of tusk available was presumably not long enough to complete the side post in one; the bottom fragment must have been carved separately and joined on. Tall side posts were frequently made of separate pieces joined together: for instance No. 14 was carved from a separate piece to the fragments joining No. 13. No. 56 illustrates a number of unique features: the dress worn by the man; the many-petalled flowers and the deep layer of scales consisting of no less than nine rows, probably representing ranges of mountains.

VI: MEN WEARING SHAWLED DRESSES AND LADIES

57. ND. 7912. (Birmingham, I. of A.) Plates LXVI–LXVII
The three carved panels in this set, numbered from left to right, were found with four strips of plain veneer, c. 26 × 7.5 cm. These strips were arranged vertically on either side of the carved panels.

Panel 1 Plate LXVI
Rectangular panel, 26.5 × 9 cm. Surface worn.
Bearded male, facing right, wears a calf-length dress with fringed hem and short sleeves. A band with long fringes encircles the waist, the end of it appears to be passed up over the chest and across the left shoulder—
or this band may have been part of a shawl, see pp. 30–1 and fig. 9 on p. 29. The man walks barefoot over the top of the bottom compartment, which contains a lozenge design. He grasps the trunk of the lily–palmette tree with the right hand; the raised left hand plucks a fruit. Above, a winged disc.

Panel 2 Plate LXVII
Rectangular panel, 26.5 × 9 cm. Surface worn, restored in wax.
Lady, facing left, walks beneath a winged disc. She wears a long dress with an overskirt, a trailing hem and elbow-length sleeves made of a material represented by parallel undulations. A double girdle encircles the waist and is secured in a looped knot as on No. 48. The hair is arranged in the usual feminine style of short curls and ringlets. The left hand holds a flower, the right grasps the trunk of the lily-palmette tree which rises from in front of the bare feet. The ankles are bangled. The lower register, mostly restored, contains a lozenge design.

Panel 3 Plate LXVI
Rectangular panel, 26.8 × 8.8 × 0.4 cm. Surface worn, restored in wax.
Bearded male, facing left, attired as on Panel 1. Most of the trunk of the tree is restored except for the palmette and the fruit which the man plucks with the raised right hand. The lozenge pattern of the lower register is restored.

COMMENT
Both the form of the winged discs and the lower registers with the lozenge patterns are unique to this set of panels. The Assyrian-style shawl worn by the two men of No. 57 is rarely represented on the ivories from SW.7, occurring only thrice elsewhere on Nos. 59, 60 and 62. The more usual form of sashed or shawled dress is that shown on Nos. 2, Panels 1–3 and 10–12, 46, 51, 52 and 56, where the band goes over the left shoulder and is secured by the belt under the right arm.
Many points, such as the unique form of winged disc, the method of carving the hair, the variations in the dress, the fact that the lady grasps the tree with the right hand rather than holding a plucked bloom, and the
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57. use of a secondary register combine to let us know that these panels were not made in the principal centre of production, see pp. 35-9.

58. ND. 7961. (B) Plate LXVII
Fragment of rectangular panel, c. 10.5 x 2.4 cm.
Part of dress and girdle belonging to male figure facing right. The garment is similar to No. 57, Panel 1.

59. ND. 7957. (B) Plate LXIX
Rectangular panel, c. 25.5 x 8.5 cm. (before restoration).
Bearded male, facing left, wears a calf-length dress with fringed hem and short sleeves. A band with long fringes encircles the waist, the end of it runs across the back and over the left shoulder—or this may have been part of a shawl. Sandals with a long heel-piece and double straps, apparently surmounted by a knobbed button or buckle are more clearly visible on the second panel of the pair, No. 60. The man grasps the trunk of the lily tree with the left hand, the right hand is raised.

COMMENT
Although not juxtaposed Nos. 59-61 probably formed part of the same piece of furniture, see No. 61 below. The shawl of No. 59 is similar to those worn by the men of No. 57, Panels 1 and 3.

60. ND. 7956. (B) Plate LXVIII
Fragments of rectangular panel, c. 20.5 x 11 cm.
Lower half of male figure, facing right, attired in a calf-length dress with fringed hem. A band with long fringes encircles the waist and runs up across the chest. Elaborate sandals as on No. 59. The man grasps the trunk of the lily tree with the right hand.

COMMENT
Although not juxtaposed Nos. 59-61 probably formed part of the same piece of furniture, see No. 61 below.

61. ND. 7955. (B) Plate LXX
Fragments of rectangular panel, c. 17 x 15.5 x 0.3 cm. (before restoration).
Lower half of female figure, facing right, attired in a long dress with an overskirt made of a material represented by parallel undulations: a many-stranded girdle encircles the waist. The ankles are adorned with four bangles each; the feet are bare. A lily tree rises from in front of the feet.

COMMENT
As far as can be judged from their present fragmentary state Nos. 59-61 originally all formed part of the same piece of furniture. The section of the ivory of No. 61 (and probably also of Nos. 59 and 60) is exceptionally thin, only some 0.3 cm., and consequently the relief on the panels is low. The flat tree trunks are similar and the dress and style of carving of the two men are closely comparable.

62. ND. 7954. (I. of A.) Plates LXX, LXXI
Fragments of three panels, much damaged.
62. **Panel 1**

Rectangular panel, 24.8 x 8.1 x 0.4 cm. Restored in wax.

Upper register: Bearded male, facing left, wears a calf-length dress with fringed hem and short sleeves. A band with long fringes encircles the waist, the end of it runs across the back and over the left shoulder and is probably part of a shawl, see also No. 57, Panel 3 and No. 59. Sandals with a long heel-piece and three straps. The lily palmette tree rises from in front of the feet. The man grasps the trunk with the left hand; the right arm is raised.

Bottom register: Large, many-petalled lily flower with two buds.

**Panel 2**

Fragments of rectangular panel, 19.4 x 6.8 x 0.3-4 cm.

Upper register: Lower half of male figure, facing left, attired as on Panel 1. Traces of the tree trunk.

Bottom register: As on Panel 1.

**Panel 3**

Fragment of rectangular panel, 19.5 x 3.8 x 0.3 cm.

Upper register: Part of a sandalled foot, belonging to a male figure facing right and probably attired as on Panels 1 and 2, and the lily-palmette tree survive.

Bottom register: Part of lily as on Panel 1.

**COMMENT**

As in Nos. 59–61 above, the section of the ivory of these panels is exceptionally thin, only some 0.3 to 0.4 cm., and consequently the relief on the panels is low. The shawled dress of Panel 1 is comparable with that of No. 59. The lily motif in the lower register is unique on ivories from SW.7, but see Barnett, *C.N.I.,* pl. CXIII, No. 12i.

63. **ND. 7951. (Met. Mus. N.Y., B)**

Fragments of three panels.

**Panel 1**

Rectangular panel, 24.8 x 9.3 x 0.5 cm.

Upper register: Bearded male, facing right, wears a calf-length dress with fringed hem and short sleeves. A band with long fringes encircles the waist; a second band is slung over the left shoulder. The man grasps the trunk of the palm tree with both hands. This rises from in front of the bare feet. Above a winged disc.

Lower register: Festoon of interlaced buds and lily flowers.

**Panel 2**

Rectangular panel, 24.9 x 9.2 cm. Partially restored in wax.

Upper register: Youth, facing right, wears a calf-length dress with fringed hem and short sleeves; a buckled belt encircles the waist. The man wears sandals with a long heel-piece and grasps the trunk of the lily tree with both hands. Above a winged disc.

Lower register: Festoon of interlaced buds and lily flowers.
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63. **Panel 3**

Fragments of a rectangular panel, c. 22x7.5.
Youth, facing left, wears a calf-length dress with fringed hem and short sleeves; a buckled belt encircles the waist. The man wears sandals with a long heel-piece and grasps the trunk of the lily tree. Above a winged disc.

**COMMENT**
The buckled belt of Panel 2 (and probably of Panel 3 also) is similar to a type which appears on orthostats at Carchemish contemporary with Araras, c. 760-740 B.C., see p. 22 and No. 13 above.
The festoon of lilies is unique on panels from SW.7.

64. ND. 7913. (I. of A., Brussels, Toronto) Set of four panels. Partially restored in wax.

**Panel 1**

Rectangular panel, 28.4x8.3x0.6 cm.
Bearded male, facing right, wears a calf-length dress with long fringed hem and short sleeves: a narrow belt encircles the waist. The man stands barefoot on two rows of loops, which may represent mountains, see Nos. 39, 43 and 44, and touches the trunk of the lily-palmette tree with the right hand (the left arm is restored). A lily on a long stalk appears to be rising from the man’s belt at the back and was presumably meant to be connected to the tree—this strange deviation is unique to Panels 1 and 3. Above, an unusual form of the winged disc, the lower feathers of which overlap the crown of the man’s head.

**Panel 2**

Rectangular panel, 28.5x8.5x0.8 cm.
Bearded male, facing left, wears a calf-length dress with long fringed hem and short sleeves: a wide belt encircles the waist. The man stands barefoot on mountains, see Panel 1. The lower right hand touches the trunk of the tree, the left arm is raised—the hand and the upper part of the panel is restored.

**Panel 3**

Rectangular panel, 28.5x9.9x0.95 cm.
Bearded male, facing right, wears a long coat made of a banded material. A curved panel is cut out of the coat at the front to expose the leading leg to the knee and is a deviation from the more usual cutaway coat as on Nos. 1-20. The coat has short sleeves and is belted at the waist. The man stands barefoot on mountains, see Panel 1, and grasps the trunk of the lily-palmette tree. A lily on a long stalk appears to be rising from the man’s belt at the back as on Panel 1. Above a winged disc.

**Panel 4**

Rectangular panel, 28.2x8.4x0.5 cm.
Bearded male, facing left, attired as on Panel 2, although the fringe of the dress is shorter. The man stands barefoot on mountains, see Panel 1, and touches the trunk of the lily tree with the left hand. The right arm is raised—the hand and the upper part of the panel is restored.

**COMMENT**
This group is of indifferent workmanship and is clearly the product of an inferior craftsman or craftsmen. The panels are much damaged but even in their present condition it is evident that they were carved by at least
two artisans—one may have carved Panels 1 and 3 (note for instance the lily rising from the narrow belt at the back and the palmette touching the belt at the front) while a second may have carved Panels 2 and 4. It seems surprising that the royal household was prepared to accept clumsily executed pieces alongside the highly competent carvings of master craftsmen whose work is well represented in the same room.

The unusual banded coat of Panel 3 is presumably based on the cutaway coat of Nos. 1-20: it is partially similar to one represented on an orthostat at Sakcha Gözü (W. Orthmann, *Späthethitischen Kunst*, taf. 51c), which probably belonged to the latter half of the eighth century B.C., see p. 23 above.

The form of beard worn by the men, which leaves the upper lip free of hair, is according to Madhloom a ninth-century convention, see p. 31 above: this may suggest, in combination with the primitive style of carving, that these panels were older than the rest of the series.

Panel 3: *I.L.N.* November 30, 1957, fig. 8.

### VII: MEN WEARING KILTS AND LADIES BESTRIDING WINGED DISCS

Set of six rectangular panels.

**Panel 1**
Rectangular panel, c. 21.2×7.4 cm.
Bearded male, facing right, wears a short kilt decorated with a lozenge design: the fringed edge of the kilt and the hem are adorned with rows of beading. A wide belt encircles the waist from which depends a double tassel reaching to below the knee. The thick shoulder-length hair and beard are arranged in compact rows of quadrangular blocks. The right arm is bent at the elbow and the hand holds a curved club against the shoulder; the left hand grasps the trunk of the lily tree which rises from between the bare feet. The man bestrides a feathered winged disc which contains a central rosette; the disc is decorated with feathers, above and below. Feathers also spring from the ends of the volutes.

**Panel 2**
Rectangular panel, c. 21.2×7.4 cm. Left side partially restored in wax.
Similar to Panel 1 except for the number of petals on the lilies.

**Panel 3**
Rectangular panel, c. 21.2×7.4 cm. Winged disc partly restored.
Lady, facing left, wears a long dress with an overskirt, trailing hem and elbow-length sleeves made of a material represented by parallel undulations; the edge of the overskirt, the hem, sleeves and shoulders are outlined by a row of dots. An elaborate double girdle is loosely knotted round the waist; the looped ends rise above it and hang down in heavy serpentine coils. The lady is jewelled; she wears a necklace and bracelets of beads and bangles on the ankles. The hair is arranged in the usual feminine style of short curls rendered as on the male figures, see Panels 1 and 2, and long, twisted ringlets. The right hand holds a short staff with voluted head against the waist; the left hand grasps the trunk of the lily tree which carries only a single flower. The lady is walking barefoot over a winged disc as on Panels 1 and 2.

**Panel 4**
Rectangular panel, c. 21.2×7.4 cm. Winged disc partly restored.
Similar to Panel 3 except that the lily bears more petals and the tree rises from behind the toe instead of between the feet.
Panel 5
Rectangular panel, c. 21.2 x 7.4 cm.
Similar to Panel 1 except for the number of petals on the lilies.

Panel 6
Fragment of rectangular panel, c. 6.5 x 7.4 cm.; restored in wax to c. 21.2 x 7.4 cm.
Of the original panel only the winged disc at the bottom survives: the entire figure is made up in wax. The disc is similar to those on Panels 1-5.

COMMENT
The panels of this bed-head or chairback stand out as a unique and remarkable set. The stylization of the males and females is regular in comparison with the other sets, where more variations of detail occur. The stance and dress of the males holding up clubs find parallels at Tell Halaf (Halaf, III, pl. 21b-A.3.25, inscribed Palace of Kapara, last quarter of the ninth century). Another unusual feature of this set is that the ladies are grasping the trunk of a flowering tree instead of holding plucked flowers. Again the tree with its single bloom is rare. The winged disc is set under the feet instead of above the head; in addition it is exceptionally ornate. The plumes above and below the disc and the central rosette find a parallel in a winged disc from Zinjirli (A.I.S. IV, taf. 54), although the Zinjirli disc does not have feathers springing from the volute ends: neither is it trodden underfoot.
These many variations in the iconography suggest that this set of panels was made in a workshop not sited in the principal centre of production, see pp. 35-9.
Supplement to the I.L.N., January 30, 1960, p. II.

VIII: YOUTHS IN CUTAWAY COATS, WINGED GRIFFINS AND AN ENTHRONED MAN

ND. 7905. (B)
Bed-head or chairback consisting of two side posts supporting a curved central section formed of five panels framed above and below by long strips of plain ivory veneer. The panels are numbered from left to right. The curved central section probably measured c. 45 x 55 cm., while the total width of the piece with the side posts was c. 76 cm. The top of the framework was probably once surmounted by half cylinders of ivory cut longitudinally, c. 2.5 x 2 cm. These carried on their undersides fitters’ marks.
ND. 7905 was found in the second row next to the West wall, some 30 cm. above the floor, see figs. 1 and 2. The surface of the ivory is worn.

Panel 1
Rectangular panel, c. 25 x 10.5 cm. Restored in wax bottom right corner.
Youth, facing right, wears a belted cutaway coat of a banded material as on Nos. 1-20. The coat is probably worn over a short tunic, see Panel 5. The short hair is arranged in three rows of tightly-curled tresses. On the shoulders the youth carries a gazelle held by its front and hind legs. The head is turned to face its captor. The lily tree rises from the ground between the youth’s sandalled feet and immediately divides into two branches on either side of the figure, waist-high.

1 N. & R. II, pl. 383, wrongly styled oryx; illustrations of two oryx do, however, appear on other ivories from Fort Shalmaneser, pls. 423 and 471 from NW.15 and SW.37 respectively. Compare also Layard, Mem. II, pl. 32, illustrating a gazelle carried by a huntsman on a Khorsabad relief, reign of Sargon. Note that the bearer wears an elaborate buckled belt.
Panel 2

Rectangular panel, c. 25 x 10.5 cm.

Winged griffin, facing right, wears a calf-length dress with fringed hem and short sleeves. A band with long fringes encircles the waist and passes over the left shoulder as on Nos. 57, Panel 1, and 60. The curved beak is wide open and exhibits a protruding tongue. One tress of hair curls over the top of the head, another curls down over the shoulder. The wings spring from behind the shoulder and feathers also grow on the crest of the neck. The right hand raises aloft a cone, the left holds a rectangular bucket with handle and beaded border. The lily-palmette tree rises from the ground between the sandalled feet and immediately divides into two branches on either side of the figure.

Panel 3

Rectangular panel, c. 25 x 10.5 cm.

Male, probably bearded, facing left, seated on an ornate throne, the feet rest on a footstool. He wears a calf-length dress with fringed hem; traces remain of the tasselled band which once encircled the waist and passed over the left shoulder. The left hand cups the right elbow; the right hand balances a hemispherical bowl on the fingertips and holds it up to the lily tree. The sandalled feet rest on a footstool, the side of which is decorated with a lion in high relief. The seat of the throne has a padded or cushioned top adorned with a trellis fringe: the legs are crossed and terminate in bull's feet.

Panel 4

Rectangular panel, c. 25 x 10.5 cm.

Winged griffin, facing left, similar to Panel 2 except that the tree is arranged differently and that the griffin plucks a fruit from the topmost branch instead of carrying a plucked fruit or cone.

Panel 5

Rectangular panel, c. 25 x 10.5 cm.

Youth, facing left, similar to Panel 1 except that the animal carried on the shoulder is a young stag and that the arrangement of the tree differs.

COMMENT

Although these figures are executed in the style familiar from the other bed-heads or chairbacks in the same room, there are many differences in detail and some features that are unique to them. Panels 1 and 5, for example, show youths dressed in a similar fashion to the males of Nos. 1-20. Unique features are the upcurled hair of the youths and the animals borne on their shoulders. In Assyria the rendering of curls in large spirals occurs on religious and prophylactic figures (Madhloom, The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art, p. 86, and Botta, Mon. de Ninive, I, pls. 41-7), but the hair is not arranged in exactly the same manner. Men carrying animals in a similar fashion occur on orthostats at Zinjirli on the N. Hallenbau, where the animal's head is not turned (A.I.S. IV, pl. LXIII), and on the W. side of the outer defences (A.I.S. III, pl. XXXVIIa), at Karatepe and at Carchemish, where the animals' heads are turned (Akurgal, The Art of the Hittites, pl. 148, Carchemish, II, pls. B.22, 23, 24; and see Mallowan, Anatolian Studies, XXII, p. 76).

Only Panels 2 and 4 illustrate winged griffins, which, however, wear a similar garment to the males of Nos. 57, 59 and 60 rather than the more usual attire of a griffin, the coat and tunic, simple tunic or brief skirt (Madhloom, op. cit., pls. LXXXII-III). The hairstyle is closely comparable with that worn by griffins from Zinjirli and Carchemish (op. cit., pl. LXXXIII, Nos. 1 and 2), while the curved beak and tongue is paralleled on ivories from Urartu (op. cit., pl. LXXXIII, Nos. 5 and 6) and Ziwiye (Godard, Le Trésor de Ziwiye, p. 40, fig. 30: for further comparisons see Mallowan and Davies, Ivories from Nimrud, II, No. 189, pp. 50-1, pl. XLIII).

The enthroned man of Panel 3 can be compared with the seated figures on Nos. 46-51. Unique, however, are
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66. the footstool flanked by a lion and the crossed bovine legs of the throne. Crossed legs, common on the tables, occur on thrones from Carchemish, Yagri, Souweida and Darende (Carchemish II, pl. B.30b; Bossert, Alt-Anatolien, pl. 136, fig. 571; Bossert, Alt-Syrien, pl. 151, fig. 490 and Orthmann, Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst, pl. 6a). The carrying of the cup on the tips of the fingers descends from an archaic iconography and is portrayed on the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal (Strommenger, The Art of Mesopotamia, pl. 195), as well as at, among other places, Zinjirli and Carchemish (A.I.S. IV, pl. 54, Carchemish II, pl. B.30b).

Supplement to the I.L.N. of January 30, 1960, p. III.

IX: WINGED MALES AND FEMALES

67. ND. 6368. (Met. Mus. N.Y.)
Plate LXXXVIII
Fragments of rectangular panel, c. 25.5 x 9.5 cm.
Winged lady, standing and facing right, wears a long dress with an overskirt, trailing hem and elbow-length sleeves made of a material represented by parallel undulations. The hems of the sleeves and collar have decorated borders. A double girdle is knotted round the waist; the loop of the knot rises above the girdle, the tyes are pendent. The hair is arranged in the usual short curls over the forehead and long ringlets at the back. The right hand, held up to the chest, holds a drooping plant with folded back sepalas. The foot is bare; bangles adorn the ankle.

COMMENT
Only four panels found in SW.7 illustrate winged females, No. 1, Panel 6, No. 3, Panels 2 and 3 and No. 67. In each case one hand holds a drooping plant against the shoulder while the other (not preserved in No. 67) holds a second flower aloft. No. 67 is superbly and sensitively carved and is closely similar in style to No. 1, Panel 6. It was probably carved in the principal centre of production, see pp. 31 and 35–6.

68. ND. 7929. (B)
Plate LXXXIX
Fragments of rectangular panel, c. 24.5 x 14 cm. Surface worn, restored in wax.
Winged bearded male, facing left, wears a tunic with short sleeves and a kilted skirt made of a material with a diamond design. A wide belt encircles the waist; a tassel is pendent. The right arm is bent at the elbow and raised; the left hand grasps the trunk of the tree behind. The palmette tree, which probably rose from between the feet, has branches growing up on either side of the figure. The flowers have double rows of petals. Above, a winged disc.

COMMENT
Winged males, like winged females, are illustrated only four times on the panels found in SW.7 but, unlike the females, these four are differently dressed: the men of No. 3, Panels 1 and 4 wear cutaway coats whereas those of Nos. 68 and 69 wear short, belted tunics. Even though little remains of No. 69, it is possible that Nos. 68 and 69 once formed part of the same bed-head or chairback because the men are similarly dressed in short tunics with a distinctive form of belt, and both are winged. The flowers of No. 68, with their distinctive double row of petals which are perhaps a cross between palmette and papyrus, also occur on the file of grazing bulls No. 104. It may be that this long strip formed part of the same piece.
69. ND. 7939. (B) Plate XC
Fragments of a side post, c. 22 x 11 cm.
Upper register: Lower half of winged figure, probably male, facing right and attired as on No. 68 except that the diamond design is not outlined with beading. A double lily tree rises from between the feet.
Lower register: Head and shoulders of bearded male, facing right and wearing a cutaway coat of banded material as on Nos. 1-20. In front, a lily flower.

COMMENT
It is doubtful for two reasons if the upper and lower panels belong together: first because the join itself is fragmented and secondly because panels forming side posts usually illustrate men in identical dress, cf. Nos. 1 and 2.
The upper register may have been part of the left side post of a bed-head or chairback in which No. 68 was one of the central panels, see Comment on No. 68 above. No. 104 may also once have formed part of this piece of furniture, see Nos. 68 and 104.

FRAGMENTS FROM PANELS SIMILAR TO THOSE DESCRIBED ABOVE
70. ND. 7942. (I. of A.) Plate XCI
Fragment of a side post in two registers, 16.3 x 5.6 x 0.5 cm.
Upper register: Trunk of a tree growing up the left margin.
Lower register: Two branches of the tree survive, together with the outline of the fingers of a hand grasping the upper one.

71. ND. number not identified (I. of A.) Plate XCI
Fragment of a side post in two registers, 4.7 x 3.4 x 0.6 cm.
Upper register: Root of a tree.
Lower register: One lily flower.

COMMENT
It is possible that this small fragment belongs to No. 17, ND. 7941. The flowers are closely comparable.

72. ND. number not identified (I. of A.) Plate XCI
Fragment, 7.8 x 3.3 x 0.4 cm.
Two flowers touching a central branch are all that have survived.

73. ND. number not identified (I. of A.) Plate XCI
Fragment, 6.9 x 1.8 x 0.5 cm.
One flower and part of a branch.

74. ND. number not identified (I. of A.) Plate XCI
Fragment of rectangular panel, 3.9 x 1.6 x 1.0 cm.
Top right corner of panel and tip of wing.
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75. ND. number not identified (I. of A.)
Plate XCI
Fragment, 1·9×2·8×0·3 cm.
Lower right hand edge of panel showing scale pattern representing mountains, see No. 56 for comparable pattern.

76. ND. 7961. (B)
Plate XCI
Fragment of rectangular panel, 3·8×7·9 cm.
Bare feet of figure, facing right, walking on mountains. Trunk of tree rises from between the feet.

X: ENTHRONED MALES WEARING LONG SKIRTS

77. ND. 6352. (B)
Plate XCII
Rectangular panel, c. 10×7·5×0·5 cm. Surface worn.
Seated male figure, facing left, wears an ankle-length skirt, probably belted at the waist cf. No. 80. The hair falls in curls to the shoulders. He grasps a lily growing on a long stalk with the right hand and salutes it with the left. The side of the chair is decorated with a scale pattern and cushioned drapery rests over the low back. The man's bare feet rest on a low voluted footstool.

COMMENT
Nos. 77 to 82 are all closely similar in style and subject and are clearly the products of a single workshop: from which the similar types of panels, Nos. 83-6, may have originated, see also pp. 35, 38 and 40.

The chair is clearly descended from an Egyptian model (Pritchard, The Ancient Near East in Pictures, fig. 422): it is paralleled on ivories from Samaria and Nimrud (Samaria Sebaste II, pl. XI; Mallowan, N & R, II, fig. 491) and the scaling on the sides of a chair from Nimrud (Barnett, C.N.I., pl. VIII, C.48).

Mallowan, M. E. L. Nimrud & Its Remains, II, p. 504, fig. 408.

78. ND. 6353. (B)
Plate XCII
Rectangular panel, c. 10×6·8 cm. Surface worn.
Seated male figure, facing left, as on No. 77. He apparently grasps the two branches of the flowering plant with his hands and pulls one bloom towards him. Chair and footstool as on No. 77.

COMMENT
Apart from minor differences in the arrangement of the foliage Nos. 77–82 are closely similar in style and subject.

79. ND. 6386. (Ashmolean)
Plate XCIII
Rectangular panel, 10×8·5×0·8 cm.
Seated male figure, facing left, as on No. 77. With the right hand he grasps a lily growing on a long stalk and salutes it with the left. Chair and footstool as on No. 77. A second plant, bearing a single bud, grows up behind the chair.

COMMENT
Although closely similar in style and subject to Nos. 77 and 78, the three panels Nos. 79–81 differ from the former by having a second plant growing up behind the chair and are therefore a little wider.
80. ND. 6354. (I. of A.)  Plate XCIll
Rectangular panel, 10.1 x 8.7 x 0.4-6 cm. Surface worn in upper right corner.
Seated male figure, facing left, wears an ankle-length skirt with fringed hem, belted at the waist. The man grasps the tall lily with the right hand and salutes it with the left. Chair and footstool as on No. 77—note that the cushioned drapery hung over the back of the chair nearly reaches the ground. A second plant, bearing a single bud, grows up behind the chair.

COMMENT
See Comment on No. 79.

81. ND. 6388. (B)  Plate XCIll
Rectangular panel, c. 10.3 x 8.5 cm. Surface damaged.
Seated male figure, facing left, as on No. 77. He apparently grasps the flowering plant with the right hand and salutes it with the left as on Nos. 77-80. Chair and footstool as on No. 77. A second plant, bearing a single bud, grows up behind the chair.

COMMENT
See Comment on No. 79.

82. ND. 6387. (B)  Not photographed
Rectangular panel, c. 10 x 10 cm. Surface damaged.
Seated male figure, facing left, as on No. 77: he grasps the tree in front of him.

XI: MALES WEARING SKIRTS

83. ND. 7577. (Toronto)  Plate XCV
Rectangular panel, 10.25 x 5.4 x 0.3-4 cm.
Bearded male, facing right, wears a long skirt secured by a belt at the waist: the hair falls in curls to the shoulders. He pulls the trunk of the lily tree with both hands.

COMMENT
Nos. 83–6 are all closely similar in style and subject and clearly originated from a single workshop, perhaps the same as the one which executed Nos. 77–82.
Annual, Royal Ontario Museum, 1960, p. 32, pl. VIII.

84. ND. 6389. (Copenhagen)  Plate XCV
Rectangular panel, 10.1 x 7.1 x 0.6 cm.
Youth, facing right, as on No. 83. He pulls the trunk of the lily tree with both hands: a second tree with buds grows up behind him.

COMMENT
No. 84 is closely similar to No. 83; it is however nearly 2 cm. wider and this extra space leaves room for a second plant to grow up behind the youth.
I.L.N., November 30, 1957, p. 934, fig. 2.
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85. ND. 7869. (I. of A.) Plate XCIV

Rectangular panel, 10·4 × 6·5 × 0·5 cm. Surface worn.
Male figure, facing right, wearing a short skirt secured by a belt at the waist; hair as on No. 83. He pulls the trunk of the lily tree with both hands: two plants with buds grow up in front and behind him.

COMMENT
No. 85 differs from Nos. 83 and 84 only in that the man wears a short skirt and there are three plants or trees instead of one or two.

86. ND. 7578. (B) Plate XCIV

Not photographed

Rectangular panel, c. 10 × 7·4 cm.
Male figure, facing left, as on No. 85. He grasps the lily tree with the right hand and salutes it with the left. A second bud rises.

XII: YOUTH WEARING THE TRIPLE ATEF CROWN

87. ND. 7579. (Met. Mus. N.Y.) Plate XCV

Rectangular panel, 11 × 6·4 cm., vertically cut at left. Traces of bitumen on the surface may indicate that the panel was once overlaid with gold.
Youth, facing right, wears a short tunic secured at the waist by a knotted belt. Over the tunic a coat with elbow-length sleeves, or perhaps a shawl and long skirt: the edges of the sleeves and the skirt are beaded. It is probable that the skirt was intended to cover the back leg, compare the skirts of ND. 10500, ND. 11102, ND. 8001 and ND. 7698: only on this panel is the vertical edge of the skirt shown behind and between the youth's legs. Egyptian-style hair and the triple aef crown consisting of uraei and feathers: the ends of the ties which apparently belong to the crown, see ND. 11035 (Mallowan, Nimrud & Its Remains, II, fig. 481), can be seen below the right shoulder. He holds aloft in the right hand a ram-headed Khnum sceptre surmounted by a sun-disc: in the left hand he grips the handle of a jug from which rises a voluted palmette flower. The youth is barefoot.

COMMENT
While there are general similarities of style between No. 87 and the simple panels Nos. 77–86, for instance the faces, hairstyles and belts, there are many important differences unique to this ivory. The triple aef crown is rare at Nimrud; it caps a cartouche on ND. 12034 (op. cit. fig. 478). The shawl and skirt are only illustrated together on ND. 6309 from SW.2 (op. cit. fig. 430), though separately the shawl-like sleeves occur on ND. 7589 and ND. 10476 (op. cit. figs. 431 and 571). The hemmed skirt can be seen on ND. 6328 and ND. 11035 (op. cit. figs. 434 and 481); covering the back leg it also occurs on ND. 10500, ND. 11102, ND. 8001 and ND. 7698 (op. cit. figs. 455, 492, 495 and 530). The ram-headed sceptre occurs relatively frequently at Nimrud, for instance on blinkers (Ivories from Nimrud, I, Nos. 21–5 and 31), and is carried in their right hands by youths on ND. 11035 and ND. 9485 (Mallowan, op. cit. figs. 481 and 518). The opposed youths of ND. 11035 also carry jugs in their left hands; the youth of ND. 9485 may also have carried a jug in the left hand but the ivory is broken at this point.
Apart from Nimrud the nearest parallels to this scene have been found at Arslan-Tash and Zinjirli: on the Arslan-Tash ivories youths in short tunics carry similar sceptres and jugs (Arslan-Tash, pl. XXXII, Nos. 39–42); at Zinjirli panels depicting youths in the Phoenician style carrying palmette flowers may perhaps be dated to the last quarter of the ninth century B.C. (A.I.S. V, pls. 66v, 67v), and see pp. 43–4.

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It has been suggested that this scene is a ‘true Phoenician subject’ presumably originating in Phoenicia (Mallowan, op. cit. p. 506): see pp. 35 and 38.


XIII: ‘GODDESS’ IN QUASI-Egyptian Style

88. ND. 7580. (B)  
Plate XCV

Rectangular panel, c. 15.9 x 5.2 cm. Cut with a saw in antiquity at top and right side. ‘Cloisonné’ or champlevé work incrusted with Egyptian blue, the raised portions originally overlaid with gold. Two dowel holes near left margin.

Lady, barefoot, facing right, naked to the waist, wears a long tight-fitting skirt with a pair of wings folded one over the other on top of it, perhaps a Phoenician rendering of Isis-Astarte. The long hair is bound by a fillet, the head surmounted by a Hathorian disc between horns. An elaborate pectoral covers the shoulders. She holds an ankh in the right hand; in the left a ‘lily’ with ‘cloisonné’ compartments pendent, apparently intended to represent the thongs of the swingle forming a misplaced flabellum. Right, two cartouches containing meaningless hieroglyphs: the top one incorporates the name *Jubnart-Ra*, which also occurs on an ivory panel discovered by Layard in the N.W. Palace (*Barnett, C.N.I.,* pl. VIII, C.48). Some authorities believe that this apparent Levantine misuse of Egyptian writing may become capable of interpretation.

COMMENT

Few ivories of ‘cloisonné’ or champlevé work have been found in SW.7: the only other pieces are a fragmentary strip with a festoon of lilies and buds, No. 107, and some fragments belonging to winged figures, No. 110. None of these ‘cloisonné’ pieces is related to any of the bed-head or chairback panels. No. 88 was found in the upper fill of this chamber and is clearly not part of the main contents. This mutilated ivory could perhaps have fallen from an upper floor, unlike the ivories at the base of the chamber, which were deliberately stacked in position. The sawing was probably the work of looters who were concerned only with those more valuable portions of the panel which may have been overlaid with gold.

No. 88 is closely comparable with a panel from SW.12, ND. 11101 (Mallowan, *N & R*, II, fig. 480), wherein the figure faces left instead of right and lacks the fillet and the horns—the arms are differently posed. The hairstyle figures on other Egyptian-Phoenician plaques from Fort Shalmaneser for instance op. cit. figs. 478 and 511 from SW.11-12 and SW.37 respectively. See also *Barnett, C.N.I.*, pl. LXIV, S.151a. It may be surmised that No. 88 featured on a panel of approximately the same dimensions as that which contained ND. 11101, above-mentioned. In each case the lady who served as a ‘priestess-attendant’ probably guarded either the youthful Pharaoh, the boy king, or other magical figures closely connected with the sun or the solar cult.

The iconography of two winged goddesses protecting the sun’s disc in a boat is well illustrated by a pectoral of Sheshonq, XXII Dynasty, from Tanis, composed of gold and lapis lazuli (W. Stevenson Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, p. 234, pl. 168A), doubtless one of many prototypes that inspired the prophylactic figures at Nimrud. See also *Barnett, C.N.I.*, pl. VIII, C.51 and pl. XXXII, S.470, winged figures guarding the boy king and the infant Horus on a lotus flower from the S.E. or Burnt Palace. The theme also figures on an ivory panel from Samaria in the form of a winged Isis and Nephthys (*Samaria-Sebaste*, II, pl. III) and on a series of ivory plaques from Arslan-Tash, there described as the birth of Horus protected by two winged genii (*Arslan-Tash*, pls. XIX–XXIV) with lotus and tree between them, ‘... d’une sphère d’influence également étrangère à l’Égypte’, p. 98. An identical form of compartmented flabellum is also represented, in the hand of the infant Horus on ivories from Samaria, op. cit. pl. I, Nos. 1, 3.

Deviations from the normal Egyptian iconography indicate a provenience outside Egypt itself, although some

(1) For the term ‘swingle’ see *Treasures of Tutankhamun*, No. 44, B.M. Exhibition Catalogue (1972).
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yet undiscovered site in the Delta may one day provide further clues as to origins. This panel with its meaningless hieroglyphs and misplaced symbols may be fairly described as sham Egyptian work and exemplifies the Phoenician misunderstanding of Egyptian iconography. It could have originated in one of the cosmopolitan workshops in Syria if not in Phoenicia itself. However that may be, the artist has endowed this figure, like that on Mallowan, N & R, II, fig. 480, with a rare grace and beauty, manifest in its harmonious curves and the brilliance of its polychromy.

Mallowan, M. E. L. Nimrud & Its Remains, II, pp. 508-10, fig. 413.

XIV: VOLUATED PALMETTE TREES (Fig. 14)

89. ND. 7930. (Met. Mus. N.Y.)
Plate XCVI
Rectangular panel, 25 x 6 x 1 cm. Piece missing at bottom right corner.
Voluted palmette tree formed of four tiers of up-curl volutes; four inner tiers curl down. Palm fronds adorn the ends of the volutes.

COMMENT
Nos. 89 and 90 probably once formed part of the same bed-head or chairback, for the arrangement of the fronds is closely similar. For other panels depicting voluted palmette trees see No. 2, Panels 4 and 9; No. 21, Panels 1 and 6; and No. 22, Panels 1 and 6.
Voluted palmette trees are commonly represented; similar trees occur, for instance, at Arslan-Tash (Arslan-Tash, pl. XLV, Nos. 47 and 48, though these also have palmette flowers); openwork examples were found at Nimrud Mallowan, N & R, II, figs. 425, 506, 508 and see H. Danthine, Le Palmier-Dattier et les Arbres Sacrés (Paris, 1937). See also p. 18 above.

90. ND. 7931. (I. of A.)
Plate XCVI
Rectangular panel, 25·6 x 6·5 x 1 cm. Fragment missing at bottom left corner. Surface worn.
Voluted palmette tree as on No. 89.

COMMENT
Nos. 89 and 90 probably once formed part of the same bed-head or chairback, see Comment on No. 89 above.

91. ND. 7932. (B)
Plate XCVII
Rectangular panel, c. 30·2 x 6 cm. Broken across centre.
Voluted palmette tree formed of six tiers of up-curl volutes; five inner tiers (the sixth at the centre has not survived) curl down. Palm fronds adorn the ends of the volutes.

COMMENT
The average height for panels with voluted palmette trees is c. 26 cm. This panel at about 30 cm. in height would therefore be exceptionally tall and it may be that the two pieces originally belonged to a pair of panels. The fronds springing from the ends of the upcurled volutes touch the trunk of the tree instead of passing over the top of the volute as in Nos. 89 and 90.
Fig. 14: Voluted palmette trees; a, No. 2, Panel 4, b, No. 85; c, No. 91; d, No. 92.
Note the many minor variations in the arrangement of the fronds and the markings on the trunks of the trees.
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92. ND. 7934. (B)
Fragment of rectangular panel, c. 12 x 6 cm.
Part of voluted palmette tree; two tiers of up-curled volutes and three tiers of down-curled volutes. Palm fronds adorn the ends of the volutes. The trunk is decorated with oval arches at the point of the springing of the volutes instead of the more usual semi-circles.

COMMENT
Similar arches adorn the trunk of No. 93.

93. ND. 7933. (B)
Fragment of rectangular panel, 16·3 x 6 cm.
Part of voluted palmette tree as on No. 92. The palm fronds are more crudely carved.

COMMENT
Nos. 92 and 93 may once have formed part of the same bed-head or chair back, although it is unlikely that they were carved by the same hand.

94. ND. 7934. (B)
Two fragments of rectangular panel, c. 7·2 x 2·1 cm. and c. 8 x 2·5 cm.
Part of voluted palmette tree; three tiers of up-curled volutes; two tiers of down-curled volutes. Palm fronds adorn the ends of the volutes.

XV: OPENWORK SCROLL CHAIRBACKS

95. ND. 7910. (Met. Mus. N.Y.)
Chairback or bed-head consisting of two side posts of uncarved ivory supporting a curved central section consisting of three openwork panels framed by strips of uncarved ivory. This central panel was surmounted by a railing of half-cylinders which may originally have been combined with metal, for the ivory portions of the rail were not continuous and were vertically perforated. The curved centre measured 33·1 - 33·3 x 54·5 x 0·3 cm; the radius of the curve was c. 10·1 cm. The left plain strip framed by the strips with stars measured 6·7 cm. wide; the left panel of volutes 8·4 cm.; the left central plain and star strips 7·2 cm.; the central voluted panel 8·8 cm.; the right central plain and star strips 7·1 cm.; the right voluted panel 8·6 cm. and the right plain and star strip 6·9 cm. The height of these panels was c. 20·5 cm.

ND. 7910 was found in the centre of the second row, some 10 cm. above the floor, see figs. 1 and 2, in the same row as ND. 7907, No. 22 and ND. 7905, No. 66. The long strip illustrating bulls and lions, No. 105, was found in juxtaposition and probably belonged to the same piece of furniture.

Three panels of scrolls, versions of the palmette tree, consisting of four down-curled pairs of volutes and two up-curled pairs of volutes. The voluted scrolls had split into thin strands. The panels were bordered by star-spangled margins.

COMMENT
The appearance of this piece conforms with the description of Penelope's chair in the Odyssey (XIX, 55-7) "... and by the fire where she was wont to sit they placed a chair inlaid with spirals of ivory and silver, which of old the craftsman Ikmalios had made, and beneath it a footstool that was part of the chair, and upon it a great fleece was laid". The name Ikmalios is Phoenician and this ivory might well have been made by a Phoenician craftsman.
The five-pointed stars reproduce those depicted on a gold pectoral from Tanis of the XXII dynasty, to be dated between 950–730 B.C. (Stevenson Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, pl. 168a). The carved strip, No. 105 found with No. 95 and measuring c. 107 cm. in length (if it was indeed one strip) may perhaps have been used to join the chair to its footstool as indicated in the *Odyssey*, and see p. 6. The frame and fragment of a chair or couch with a similar scroll design, though without the star-spangled margins, No. 96 was found in the same chamber: it belonged to a piece of furniture which was a little wider.

*ILN*, June 25, 1960, p. 1134, fig. 2.

96. ND. 7911. (I. of A.)
Curved chairback or bed-head consisting of two side posts of uncarved ivory supporting a curved central section consisting originally of five openwork panels framed by strips of uncarved ivory. Only the frame of the central section (pl. XCIX, bottom right) measuring approximately 38.5 x 70–72 cm., and one fragment of the openwork decoration survive.
ND. 7911 was found on the floor in the centre of the fourth row, see figs. 1 and 2.
Fragment of openwork panel, 13.5 x 9.3 cm., embedded in earth.
A delicate scroll pattern partly similar to No. 95.

XVI: WING-SPANS

97. ND. 7949. (BM)
Rectangular panel, 8.1 x 55.7 (restored) x 0.5 cm. Restored in wax centre and top right.
Disc with elaborate concentric circles and six feathers at base; feathers probably also at apex see No. 98 (top of No. 97 restored in wax). Spread wings on either side with five overlapping rows of pinions.

COMMENT
The wings of Nos. 97 and 98 spread directly from a central disc instead of from volutes, see p. 37.

98. ND. 7950. (B)
Fragmentary rectangular panel, c. 9 x 42 cm. Partially restored in wax.
Disc with elaborate concentric circles and feathers at base and apex; spread wings of which only four rows of overlapping pinions survive.

99. ND. 6343/4. (B)
Rectangular panel, c. 12 x 55 cm. Partially restored in wax.
Spread wings finely rendered in a bold sweeping curve with three rows of pinions stemming from a palmette volute.

COMMENT
No. 99 is closely comparable with No. 1, Panel 3; the principal difference between the two is that the short feathers fanning out from the volute in the top four or five rows are more pointed than in No. 1, Panel 3.
Mallowan, M. E. L. *Nimrud & Its Remains*, II, p. 514, fig. 419.
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100. ND. 7916. (B) Not photographed
Fragments of rectangular panel, c. 11 x 42.5 cm.
Spread wings stemming from palmette volute.

101. ND. 7937. (I. of A.) Plates CI, CII, CIII
Three fragments of rectangular panel: a, 8.5 x 21.6 x 0.3 cm.; b, 11.8 x 15 x 0.3 cm.; c, 5.5 x 24.5 x 0.4 x 0.5 cm.
Fragments of spread wings stemming from palmette volute decorated with a criss-cross design.

102. ND. 7938. (I. of A.) Plates CII, CIII
Two fragments of rectangular panel; a, 5.7 x 10.8 x 0.5 cm.; b, 6.4 x 15.1 x 0.4 cm. Surface worn.
Fragments of spread wings stemming from palmette volute. Note the feathers between the volutes.

XVII: STAGS

103. ND. 7592. (B) Plate CIV
Openwork strips: a, c. 18.7 x 4.5 cm.; b, c. 12 x 5 cm.; c, c. 8 x 5 cm.
Herd of deer startled into flight, two of them still browsing on the foliage of palmette trees, papyrus-like in appearance. The shrubs rising behind the backs of the leading stags on b and c cannot be identified although similar foliage occurs on other ivories from Nimrud (Barnett, C.N.I., pls. XVIII, XXII, S.1 and S.2). The animals are beautifully rendered, with vivacity and spirit. The flame markings on the rump and incisions above the forelegs are in the usual convention: the striations illustrating the folds on the neck are less common although they can be partially matched on the stags of ND. 6379 and ND. 6314 (Mallovan, N & R, II, figs. 422–3).

COMMENT
The style and subject of No. 103 differs from anything else found in SW.7. The feathery horns can be paralleled at Carchemish and Zinjirli (Carchemish, I, pl. B.10a and A.I.S. III, pl. XXXVIIa). For other ivory stags see Arslan-Tash (Arslan-Tash, pl. XXXVI, 61 and 62); and a panel of ivories encased in a silver band illustrating two felines threatening an antelope, head turned back, wooded background of trees and shrubs growing in the mountains (A. Parrot, Syria, XXXV (1958), pp. 172–5, pl. XIV).

Supplement to the I.L.N., January 30, 1960, p. II.

XVIII: BULLS

104. ND. 6372/3. (B) Plate CV
Rectangular panel, c. 11 x 58 cm. High relief.
Procession of grazing bulls against a background of palmette trees. The artist has contrived an effective simplicity in the method of rendering the massive strength of these animals: the flowers have a distinctive double row of petals.

COMMENT
This long strip was probably placed under the central section of a bed-head or chairback as was the bull hunt of No. 1, Panel 9. The bulls on these two panels are carved in the same simple manner and the impression of
IVORIES FROM NIMRUD—3

104. power and strength given by them is comparable with a relief from the vicinity of Ankara (Akurgal, The Art of the Hittites, pl. 137). The flowers with their distinctive double row of petals can be compared with those growing on the tree of No. 68. It may be that Nos. 68, 69 and 104 all formed part of the same piece of furniture. No. 104 is partially similar to ND. 8022 (unpublished) from S.1o. The S.1o bulls are slightly more ornate, having fringed ends to the tail, inlaid eyes and more stylization of the facial muscles.

105. ND. 7910. (Met. Mus. N.Y.)

Plates CV, CVI, CVII

Two rectangular strips. \( a \), with dowel hole at left, \( 54.7 \times 4.4 \times 0.3 \) cm.; \( b \), \( 52.4 \times 4.4 \times 0.4 \) cm.

ND. 7910 was found in the centre of the second row, 10 cm. above the floor, see figs. 1 and 2, in the same row as ND. 7907, No. 22, and ND. 7905, No. 66. It was in juxtaposition with No. 95, the openwork scroll chairback, see p. 6.

Theriomachy or combat between lions and bulls, vigorous carving; the conventions used in the rendering of the animals, beading, flame marking, high shoulder pads and other details such as the fingerlike rendering of the lions' paws appear to be in an early ninth-century tradition. Madhloom notes that shoulder pads which cut into the lions' manes are a feature of North Syrian sculpture before the penetration of Assyrian influence (Madhloom, The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art, p. 102). The fingerlike rendering of the lions' paws may be seen on many statues from Carchemish and Zinjirli, as well as on an early ninth-century statue, perhaps of the founder of Zinjirli (A.J.S. IV, pl. 64; Mallowan, Anatolian Studies, XXII, p. 84; W. Orthmann, Untersuchungen zur Späthethitischen Kunst, taf. 62 and see p. 48 note 6). Fragments of a rosette on right of strip \( a \), left of strip \( b \).

COMMENT

The conventions used to represent the animals on the left strip differ markedly from those on the right. On the former the shoulder pads are indicated, not harshly outlined; there are plait marks along the lions’ bellies and an unusual stylization in front of the hind legs of the lions. This can most easily be seen on the lion nearest the remains of the rosette (Pl. CVI bottom). Dr. Irene Winter drew our attention to parallels for this marking on an openwork ivory stag ND. 6379 and an oryx ND. 6314 from NW.15, and an ivory blinker ND. 10573 from SW.37 (Mallowan, N & R, II, figs. 422 and 423; Orchard, Ivories from Nimrud, I, p. 14, pl. XIV, No. 76). On the SW.7 ivories the stylization is reversed.

The animals on the right strip are more crudely carved: the neck muscles and dots along the back are large in comparison with those of the left strip; the shoulder pad is harshly outlined; the lions’ paws are long and fingerlike, and there are no plait marks along the bellies. These differences, and many others, make it virtually certain that the two strips were carved by different craftsmen. Nevertheless, they may have formed one long strip, see p. 6.


106. ND. 7581. (I. of A.) Illustrated in Mallowan and Davies, Ivories from Nimrud, II, pl. XXXII, No. 114

Catalogued and illustrated in Ivories from Nimrud, II, No. 114, p. 39, pl. XXXII.


XIX: FLORAL STRIPS

107. ND. 7741. (Toronto) Plate CVIII

Fragment of rectangular strip, \( c. 13.5 \times 5.2 \) cm. Incrusted with lapis lazuli and green paste.

Festoon of lilies, buds and flowers alternating. Festoons, buds and outer petals of the flowers are of lapis lazuli,
107. while stems, buds and inner petals are of green paste; the bedding for the decoration is of ‘Egyptian blue’; technique and design can be closely matched at Samaria (Samaria-Sebaste II, pl. XV) and there are similar panels of stained ivory at Arslan-Tash (Arslan-Tash, pls. XLIV, XLVI). The design is exactly matched by an incised panel from Khorsabad dated to the reign of Sargon II (Loud & Altman, Khorsabad, II, O.I.P. XL, pl. 55, nos. 58 and 59) and on an unpublished ivory ND. 10406 from SW. 37. Older version of the same design on the Phoenician sarcophagus of Ahiram at Byblos (Pritchard, The Ancient Near East in Pictures, fig. 456). See also Barnett, C.N.I., p. 100.


Needler, W. 1960 Annual of the Art and Archaeology Division, the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

108. ND. 7762 (I. of A.) Plate CVIII

Fragment of openwork rectangular strip, 23×5 cm.

Festoon of palmettes. Many such strips were found at Nimrud, for instance in SW. 6 and NW. 15, Fort Shalmaneser (Mallowan, N & R, II, pp. 560, 564). They are of particular interest because well matched both at Arslan-Tash (Arslan-Tash, pl. XLIV, no. 96, and Frankfort, Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient, fig. 93, p. 192) and Samaria (Samaria-Sebaste II, Early Ivories, pl. XVIII), where they are described as palms with drooping fronds. Proportions and details of these Syrian and Palestinian specimens differ however from those found at Nimrud and the Samarian examples may be older. It seems likely that the squat Nimrud variety was locally carved; many specimens of lengthy strips were found and they were no doubt a standard form of local fretwork commonly used as frames for larger scenes and as decoration on simple furniture, such as footstools. A relief found in Room J. 6 of the Kilamu palace at Zinjirli illustrates a similar strip of palmettes adorning the side of a footstool (A.I.S. V, pl. 62a). It is not certain that the ivory illustrated in pl. CVIII is ND. 7762, but if not the identical strip it is one that is closely similar.

109. ND. 7761. (B) Plate CVIII

Fragment of openwork rectangular strip, c. 3·5×3 cm.

Part of a festoon of palmettes as on No. 108.

XX: FRAGMENTS FROM PANELS SHOWING WINGED YOUTHS (?)

110. ND. 7649. (I. of A.) Plate CIX

Group of fragments: a–d and f, ‘cloisonné’ or champlevé work incrusted with Egyptian blue. a, 5·4×1·9×0·3 cm. b, 8·2×4·2×0·3 cm. c, 4·7×3·0×0·3 cm. d, 4·7×2·5×0·4 cm. e, 4·9×3·0×0·45 cm. f, 4·1×1·3×0·3 cm.

Fragments a–d and f probably from a panel or panels showing a pair of opposed winged youths with arms resting along the wings: between them a plant with uraeus, Horus or the like, cf. Mallowan, N & R, II, figs. 482 and 495—ND. 11102, ND. 8001; and Arslan-Tash, pls. XIX–XXV, Nos. 1–19.

Fragment e probably from a panel similar to No. 85.

IVORY VENEER

111. ND. number not identified (I. of A.) Plate CX

Fragment of strip of ivory veneer, 22·4×7×0·3 cm., illustrating dowel holes and striations on reverse.
### APPENDIX I

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PLATE I

1: bed-head or chairback as restored. Scale 1:4.

1: assembled after lifting from ground.
1, Panel 6. Actual size.
1, Panel 7. Actual size.

1, Panel 8. Actual size.
1. Panel II. Scale c. 5:6.


2: bed-head or chairback as restored. 
Scale r. 1:4.

3: assembled after lifting from ground.
2, Panels 1, 2 and 3. Scale c. 2:5.
3, Panel 1. Actual size.
2, Panels 10, 11 and 12. Scale c. 2:5.

2, Panel 2. Actual size.
2, Panel 5. Slightly reduced.

2, Panel 6. Slightly reduced.
6. Actual size.
7. Actual size.
PLATE XX

n. Scale 1:3

Joined by restorer to No. 99, spread wings.
PLATE XXI

II, Panel 2. Scale c. 2:3.
PLATE XXII

Panel 1. Actual size. On left ND. 6365, here joined photographically to ND. 7940.

Scale 6: 3:5.
15. Actual size.

14, fragment joined to top of 13, Panel 1. Actual size.
19. Actual size.

20. Slightly reduced.
21, as restored; panels in wrong order. Men below the winged discs should be in the centre; the youths with sphinxes should be between the voluted palmette tree panels and the men.
Scale c. 2:5.
PLATE XXIX

21, Panel 1.
Actual size.

21, Panel 6.
Actual size.
PLATE XXX

21, Panel 2.
Actual size.
23: bed-head or chairback as restored. Scale c. 1:4.

22: assembled after lifting from ground.
22, Panel 3.
Actual size.
PLATE XXXVIII

22, Panel 4.
Actual size.

Plate XLIII

25, Panel 3. Actual size.

27. Actual size.
29. Actual size.

38. Actual size.
30. Actual size.

31. Actual size.

32. Actual size.

33. Actual size.
PLATE XLVII

34. Actual size.

35. Actual size.

36. Actual size.

37. Actual size.
PLATE LI

44. Scale 1:2.

45. Actual size.

44. Detail. Actual size.
46, Panel 2. Actual size.
47. Slightly reduced.
48. Actual size.
49. Actual size.
51, Panel 1. Actual size.
Panel 3. Actual size.
Plate LXVI

57, Panel 1. Actual size.

57, Panel 3. Actual size.

58. Actual size.
PLATE LXX

61 Actual size.

62, Panel 3. Actual size.
PLATE LXXI


62, Panel 1. Actual size.
63, Panel 1. Actual size.
64, Panel 1. Slightly reduced.

64, Panel 2. Slightly reduced.
64, Panel 3. Slightly reduced.

64, Panel 4. Slightly reduced.
65, as restored. Scale c. 2:5.
65, Panel 3. Actual size.

65, Panel 4. Actual size.
65, Panel 1. Actual size.

65, Panel 2. Actual size.
65, Panel 5. Actual size.

65, Panel 6. Actual size.
PLATE LXXXII

66, Panel 5. Actual size.
PLATE LXXXVI

66, Panel 1, detail. Scale c. 2:1.
66, Panel 2, detail. Scale c. 2:1.
67. Actual size.
69. Slightly reduced.
All actual size.
77. Actual size.

78. Actual size.
79. Actual size.

80. Actual size.

81. Actual size.
83. Actual size.

84. Actual size.

85. Actual size.
87. Actual size.

88. Actual size.
8g. Actual size.

90. Actual size.
101b. Actual size.

102b. Actual size.
PLATE CIX

All actual size.
View of No. 2 from the back as first exposed in the soil. The position on the plan (Figs. 1 and 2) is in the third row from the south wall, No. 2 on the plan, ND. 7906, adjacent to No. 4 on the plan, ND. 7904, Catalogue No. 1.

View of No. 22 from the back as first exposed in the soil. The position on the plan (Figs. 1 and 2) is in the second row from the south wall, No. 3, ND. 7907.
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