

IVORIES FROM NIMRUD VI

IVORIES FROM
THE NORTH WEST PALACE
(1845-1992)

by
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and
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with HELENA COFFEY

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*Affectionately dedicated to
Lamia al Gailani Werr
without whose friendship, constant guidance and assistance
this catalogue would not have been written*





Aerial view of the citadel of Nimrud from the north

LIST OF CONTENTS

Figure captions and chronological tables	vii
List of colour plates	ix
Synopsis (Arabic)	xi
Introduction	1
Chapter One. An overview of the political scene in the Levant from an ivory perspective	5
Chapter Two. The North West Palace and the distribution of ivories	27
Chapter Three. History of study, terminology and methodology	53
Chapter Four. Commercial or state production?	69
Chapter Five. The Phoenician and Syrian traditions	75
Chapter Six. The North Syrian tradition	91
Chapter Seven. The Assyrian and Assyrianizing traditions	101
Chapter Eight. Concluding remarks	113
Abbreviations and Bibliography	117

THE CATALOGUE

Notes to the catalogue	128
<i>The Great Court</i> , Nos. 1-43	129
<i>The State Apartments</i> , Nos. 44-98	138
a. Room B, Nos. 44-76	
b. Room A, Nos. 79-92	144
<i>The Residential Wing</i> , Nos. 99-399	150
a. Room V/W, Nos. 99-208	
b. Court and Well AJ, Nos. 209-301, by F. Safar, S. al-'Iraqi and G. Herrmann	178
c. North-east corner, Nos. 302-347	210
d. Well NN, Nos. 348-373	216
e. Well 4, Nos. 374-399, by Muzahim M. Husain	223

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Pieces of varied materials from Well AJ, by F. Safar, Sa'ied al-'Iraqi and G. Herrmann	227
Appendix 2: The Central Palace or Palace of Tiglath-pileser III (744-747)	229
Appendix 3: The Town Wall Houses	233
Appendix 4: Field numbers of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq and the Iraqi expedition finds from Wells AJ and 4 with their catalogue equivalents	241
Appendix 5: Index of distribution	244
Appendix 6: Other objects found with the ivories	249

FIGURE CAPTIONS

Frontispiece: An aerial view of the citadel at Nimrud.

Chapter One, An overview of the political scene in the Levant

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 1. | Map of principal sites, drawn by A. Searight. | 6 |
|----|---|---|

Chapter Two, the North West Palace and the distribution of the ivories

- | | | |
|-----|--|----|
| 2. | The North West Palace showing the areas excavated by Layard, Rassam and Loftus, from a plan in Layard 1853. | 27 |
| 3. | The North West Palace in 1956 at the conclusion of Mallowan's excavations. | 28 |
| 4. | The North West Palace in the 1990s at the conclusion of the Iraqi excavations. | 29 |
| 5. | Rooms around the Great Court. | 34 |
| 6. | Rooms of the State Apartments. | 37 |
| 7. | Watercolour by F.C. Cooper, 1850, showing one end of Room AB and the well, from Curtis & Reade, 1995, 135. | 39 |
| 8. | Rooms of the Residential Wing. | 43 |
| 9. | Well AJ, showing the steps and the burnt brick pavement inscribed with the name of Shalmaneser III (Mallowan <i>N. & R.</i> I, 148, fig. 88). | 44 |
| 10. | Room HH, a. showing blocked doorway in west wall and entrance to Room JJ. Ivories were found on the beaten mud floor at Level III; b. Ivories in situ in the centre of the room. | 47 |
| 11. | View from Well NN across the Residential Wing, Ziggurat in background, 1989. | 50 |
| 12. | Stone spoon-stopper from Well 4, from Husain in Curtis, McCall, Collon & al Gailani Werr, eds., 2008. | 51 |

Chapter Three, History of study, terminology and methodology

- | | | |
|-----|---|----|
| 13. | Detail from the side of the sarcophagus of King Ahiiram of Byblos and the banquet scene on the ivory pyxis from Well AJ, No. 234, drawn by D. Wicke. | 57 |
| 14. | The 'hero and griffin' motif, a. of the 'classic Phoenician' 'ornate group' (<i>I.N.</i> IV, 1051), and b. of the 'crown and scale' Syrian tradition (<i>I.N.</i> IV, no. 318), drawn by A. Searight. | 58 |
| 15. | Winged discs from the SW7 chair-backs, drawn by P. Clarke. | 58 |
| 16. | SW12 Pharaoh panel of the 'classic Phoenician' style-group, ND11035, drawn by A. Searight. | 59 |
| 17. | Syrian 'wig and wing' frontlet, <i>I.N.</i> I, no. 137, drawn by A. Searight. | 59 |
| 18. | Sphinx panels, a. of the Phoenician tradition, <i>I.N.</i> IV, no. 527; b. of the Syrian tradition, <i>I.N.</i> V, no. 406, drawn by A. Searight. | 60 |
| 19. | North Syrian sphinxes from a. a 'flame and frond' pyxis, No. 233, drawn by D. Wicke; and b. the 'round-cheeked and ringletted' tradition, <i>I.N.</i> IV, no. 904, drawn by A. Searight. | 61 |

Chapter Four, Commercial or state production

- | | | |
|-----|---|----|
| 20. | Women at the window, a. of the Phoenician tradition, <i>I.N.</i> V, no. 102; b. of the Syrian 'wig and wing' tradition, No. 110; and c. of the North Syrian 'round-cheeked and ringletted' tradition, <i>I.N.</i> V, no. 109, drawn by A. Searight. | 71 |
| 21. | Cows suckling their calves, a. of the 'classic Phoenician' 'ornate group', <i>I.N.</i> V, no. 479; and b. of the North Syrian tradition, <i>I.N.</i> IV, no. 701, drawn by A. Searight. | 71 |
| 22. | Opposed Pharaoh figures with sceptre and jug from SW12, a. of a Phoenician style-group, and b. of the 'classic Phoenician' style-group, drawn by A. Searight. | 73 |

Ivories from Nimrud VI

Chapter Five, The Phoenician and Syrian traditions

23.	Reconstruction of a statuette of a Pharaoh figure, drawn by D. Wicke.	78
24.	'Classic Phoenician' blinker with seated sphinx from Well AJ, drawn by D. Wicke.	79
25.	'Classic Phoenician' hinged frontlet with goddess and god from Well AJ, drawn by D. Wicke.	79
26.	A <i>naiskos</i> from Sidon (Gubel, 2002, frontispiece, drawn by C. Florimont).	80
27.	Phoenician blinker with sphinx striding over fallen figure, drawn by D. Wicke.	81
28.	Phoenician frontlet with warrior god and Bes figure, drawn by D. Wicke.	81
29.	Syrian 'wig and wing' panel with 'Young Pharaoh', No. 99, drawn by A. Searight.	83
30.	Syrian 'wig and wing' panel with opposed youths, No. 107, drawn by A. Searight.	83
31.	'Wig and wing' sphinx from NW21, Fort Shalmaneser, <i>I.N.</i> V, no. 406, drawn by A. Searight.	84
32.	Opposed griffins from NW15, Fort Shalmaneser, <i>I.N.</i> V, no. 459, drawn by A. Searight.	85
33.	'Wig and wing' panel with opposed sphinxes from Arslan Tash (Thureau Dangin et al. 1931, no. 220), drawn by A. Searight.	86
34.	Nineteenth century drawings of stelae from Arvad, a. with opposed griffins; and b. with a seated sphinx, Perrot & Chipiez 1885, III, 131, fig. 76, 129, fig. 73.	87
35.	Photographic reconstruction by Stuart Laidlaw of a 'crown and scale' panel from fragments found in the Idaean Cave by Halbherr in 1888 and by Sakellarakis in the 1980s.	88

Chapter Six, The North Syrian tradition

36.	Muscle markings on some animals of the 'flame and frond' style-group, drawn by P. Clarke.	91
37.	Part of the 'flame and frond' Well AJ pyxis, No. 234, drawn by D. Wicke.	92
38.	The 'flame and frond' lion spoon-stopper from Well AJ, No. 237, drawn by D. Wicke.	94
39.	'Round-cheeked and ringletted' steatite box, BM 91905, in the British Museum, drawn by D. Wicke.	100

Chapter Seven, The Assyrian and Assyrianizing traditions

40.	The 'book' from Room AB; the boards folded, the method of joining the boards, drawn by M. Howard.	105
41.	Boutcher's 1854 plan of the south-west corner of the citadel.	106
42.	Reconstruction of the panels found by W.K. Loftus in the Central Palace, proposed and drawn by D. Wicke.	107

Chronological tables

Table I.	Phoenicia, Israel and Assyria.	8
Table II.	Syria and Assyria.	14
Table III.	North Syria, Assyria and eastern Turkey.	18
Table IV.	Syria, Palestine and Assyria.	22

LIST OF COLOUR PLATES

A selection of enlarged colour photographs of ivories, some of which are accompanied by watercolours drawn by Edward Prentis for Henry Layard, which were published in his The Monuments of Nineveh, 1849. The Prentis drawings are shown courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

- Plate A. A fragmentary Egyptianizing cylinder with the Pharaoh in his blue crown, found in Well AJ. Catalogue no. 258. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM79516.
- Plate B. An Egyptianizing panel with seated deities, found by Layard in Room V, drawn by E. Prentis, accompanied by a photographic detail. Catalogue no. 146. British Museum, London, BM118120.
- Plate C. An Egyptianizing panel with seated deities, found by Layard in Room V. Catalogue no. 146. British Museum, London, BM118120: and a fragment from a matching panel, photograph and Prentis drawing. Catalogue no. 147. British Museum, London, BM118164.
- Plate D. An Egyptianizing fragment showing Horus seated on a lotus between winged deities, photograph and Prentis drawing. Catalogue no. 157. British Museum, London, BM118180.
- Plate E. A 'wig and wing' panel with youth, found by Layard, photograph and Prentis drawing. Catalogue no. 99. British Museum, London, BM118148. An openwork panel with griffins in the branches of a tree, photograph and Prentis drawing. Catalogue no. 159. British Museum, London, BM118162.
- Plate F. A 'Classic Phoenician' panel with griffins in the branches of a tree, Prentis drawing. Catalogue no. 158. British Museum, London, BM118157.
- Plate G. A 'Classic Phoenician' panel with griffins in the branches of a tree. Catalogue no. 158. British Museum, London, BM118157.
- Plate H. A 'wig and wing' woman at the window, found by Layard in Room V, Prentis drawing and photograph. Catalogue no. 110. British Museum, London, BM118159. A 'wig and wing' woman's head, found by Layard in Room V, Prentis drawing and photograph. Catalogue no. 115. British Museum, London, BM118219.
- Plate I. A North Syrian 'flame and frond' pyxis with sphinxes found in Well AJ. Catalogue no. 233. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM79514.
- Plates J-K. A North Syrian 'flame and frond' pyxis with banquet and offering scenes, found in Well AJ. Catalogue no. 234. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM79513.
- Plates L-M. A North Syrian 'flame and frond' flask from Well AJ. Catalogue no. 236. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM79508.
- Plates N-O. A North Syrian 'flame and frond' lion spoon-stopper from Well AJ. Catalogue no. 237. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM79511.
- Plate P. A North Syrian 'round-cheeked and ringletted' cosmetic palette from Well AJ. Catalogue no. 239. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM79501.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

- Plate Q. Fragment of a North Syrian pyxis from Well NN. Catalogue no. 362, ND2216, 2232, Metropolitan Museum, New York, MMA 54.117.05. A 'crown and scale' panel with opposed deities from Well AJ. Catalogue no. 266. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM79536. A 'classic Phoenician' right blinker with a seated sphinx from Wells AJ and NN. Catalogue no. 257. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM56639 & 56639.
- Plate R. A Phoenician, Group 1, upper section of a hinged frontlet with a warrior god from Well AJ. Catalogue no. 245. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM79577. A Phoenician fragment of a snarling lion from Well NN. Catalogue no. 354. ND2231, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, MMA 54.117.06. A Syrian openwork panel with men saluting stylized trees from Well AJ. Catalogue no. 242c. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM79529.
- Plate S. A 'classic Phoenician', Group 2, lower section of a hinged frontlet with a deity supporting goddesses squatting in baskets from Well AJ. Catalogue no. 254. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM79582.
- Plate T. The North Syrian head known as the 'Ugly Sister' from Well NN. Catalogue no. 349. ND2549. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, MMA 54.117.02.
- Plate U. The Phoenician head known as the 'Mona Lisa' from Well NN. Catalogue no. 348. ND2550. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM56643.
- Plate V. A 'classic Phoenician' plaque showing a lion slaying a youth, one of a pair found in Well NN. This piece was in the Iraq Museum until 2003, when it was looted during the American invasion of Iraq. Catalogue no. 356a. ND2547. Formerly in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM56642.
- Plate W. A 'classic Phoenician' plaque showing a lion slaying a youth, one of a pair found in Well NN. Catalogue no. 356b. ND2548. British Museum, London, BM127412.
- Plate X. Two Assyrianizing panels found by H.C. Rawlinson, probably in Room V. Fragmentary panel with youth below winged disc. Catalogue no. 204. British Museum, London, BM118115. Fragmentary panel with lion held upside down, originally by a pair of heroes. Catalogue no. 206. British Museum, London, BM118117.

الخلاصة

إن الهدف الأساس لهذا الكتاب هو نشر أعمال النحت على العاج التي اكتشفت في غضون المائة والستون سنة الماضية والتي وجدت في القصر الشمالي الغربي بمدينة النمرود (كالخو القديمة). فلقد عُثر على أولى المجموعات في منتصف القرن التاسع عشر للميلاد من قبل المنقب الشهير أوستن هنري لايارد، Austen Henry Layard، الذي يعده الباحثون أحسن من نقب في القصر الشمالي الغربي، كما أكد ذلك رچارد بارنيت، Richard Barnett، أمين آثار غرب آسيا في المتحف البريطاني حيث كتب قائلاً:-

" لايارد كمنقب ليس بأقل من معجزة العصر في ذلك الزمان، وللحقيقة فلقد كان ذو حظ وفير لامتلاكه العديد من المقومات الأساسية؛ كالشجاعة العالية والإصرار وقوة ودقة الملاحظة والوصف هذا فضلاً عن قوته الجسدية وخبرته الجيدة في اللغات الشرقية ومعرفته بالمسالك وبالناس وقدرته الفائقة على اختيار وحشد العمال وتنظيمهم ... لم يكن مدرباً ولا يوجد من سبقه في هذا المجال ما عدا بوتّا، Botta، وبدون مرشد ما عدا قدرته بالتعامل مع العامة من الناس، شاباً وفي الغالب لوحده، في بلد موحش موبوء، فلقد حقق ليارد أكثر من أي إنسان عمل في هذا المجال، وقام بتقنين القدرات العلمية التي يمكن لا بل ما زالت تستخدم حتى الآن، ويمكن مقارنة ذلك في الأعمال التي جرت في النمرود وغيرها من المواقع التي قام بتنقيبها وتوجيه فكره نحوها ولعشرات من السنين" (Barnett C.N.I., 18).

وخلف لايارد في التحري والتنقيب في القصر الشمالي الغربي وما يحيط به عدد آخر من المنقبين مثل هنري كرزويك رولنسن وهرمز رسام ووليم كينييت لوفتس وجورج سمث، Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, Hormuzd Rassam, William Kennet Loftus and George Smith، وعثروا على بعض أعمال العاج، ولكن تدوينهم للمعلومات عن الموضوع الأصلي كانت غير دقيقة، هذا فضلاً عن أن صاحب الحظ السيئ لوفتس الذي توفي قبل تدوينه المعلومات عما عثر عليه. وعلى الرغم من كل ذلك فلقد عثروا على مائة قطعة عاجية في القصر الشمالي الغربي، لكن معظمها تم العثور عليه بواسطة لايارد، وقد تم جلبها إلى المتحف البريطاني عند اقتراب نهاية القرن التاسع عشر.

وبعد قرن من أعمال تنقيب لايارد، بدأ المنقب المعروف ماكس ملوان، Max Mallowan، برعاية من المدرسة البريطانية للآثار في العراق حملات تنقيب متعاقبة بين عامي 1949 و 1956 وبنفس الوقت تمكن ديفد أوتس، David Oates، من اكتشاف الخريطة العامة لمستودعات للقصر في الزاوية الجنوبية الشرقية للمدينة، أما قلعة شلمانيزر فبدأ العمل بها بين عامي 1958 و 1962، وقد ترأس البعثة آنذاك وفي موسمها الأخير جيفري أورچرد، Jeffry Orchard، وكان ملوان قد عثر على مجموعات من العاج في القصرين، الشمالي الغربي والقصر المحروق هذا فضلاً عن معبد الأله نابو والبيوت المحاذية لسور المدينة،

بينما عثر أوتس على آلاف الكسر، وبالأخص في غرف الخزن التابعة للقلعة. وقد أغنت أعمال التنقيب هذه بشكل ملحوظ المواد العاجية.

ونظراً لاهتمام ملوان بالأعمال الخاصة بالعاج، بدأ أعمال التنقيب في القصر الشمالي الغربي بعد أن توصل إلى الغرفة التي أسماها لايارد غرفة العاج، Room V، الموسومة غرفة الحرف اللاتيني في، وذلك من خلال إزاحة الأنقاض المترامية نتيجة أعمال التنقيب الأولى. وبعد ذلك وسّع المخطط المعروف لأجنحة القصر، والذي أكتشف من قبل لايارد، وبخاصة إلى الشمال حيث عثر على القاعة الرئيسية العظمى هذا فضلاً عن نهايات الغرف من جهة الشمال، كما كشف عن الجناح المأهول الواقع إلى الجنوب من ذلك. ووجد العديد من قطع العاج في بعض الغرف، مع عدد كبير من القطع الصغيرة في غرفة العرش، الموسومة الغرفة باء، Room B، لكن أجود القطع عثر عليها في البئر الموسوم بحرفي نون، Well NN، وبضمن ذلك بقايا للكتاب العاجي الذي يعود إلى الملك سرجون والذي عثر عليه في البئر الموسوم أي.بي، Well AB، في ما أسماه لايارد مخدع الكنز أو غرفة الأعمال البرونزية. وفي الوقت ذاته، تقاسم المتحف العراقي والمدرسة البريطانية للأثار في العراق المكتشف من الأثار بينهما، وحصل المتحف العراقي على أجود النماذج وبضمنها، المونا ليزا، Mona Lisa، وما تبقى من الأعمال على العاج قُسم أيضاً وبقي نصفه في بغداد والنصف الآخر أخذته المدرسة البريطانية للأثار في العراق ووزعته على ممولي أعمالها.

لعل أهم وأجمل الأعمال على العاج اكتشفت في النمرود، ولربما أكثر أعمال العاج جودة من تلك التي ظهرت في شتى أرجاء الشرق الأدنى القديم، استظهرت في عام 1975 من قبل مديرية الأثار والتراث العراقية وذلك في البئر الموسوم أي.جي، Well AJ، الواقع في القاعة المؤشرة أي جي، Court AJ، أيضاً. وكان هذا البئر قد فحص من قبل لايارد وملوان سابقاً، لكنهما وجدا أن جدران البئر غير آمنة فتخلياً عن تفريغ البئر من الأثار. وبعد تدعيم جدران البئر وتقويتها، عثر على 90 قطعة من العاج بشكلها الجميل والكامل حيث انتشلت من قاع البئر ونشرت بشكل سريع من قبل فواد سفر وميسر سعيد العراقي (1987). والحقيقة أن تنظيف البئر كان جزء من برنامج كبير لاستكمال أعمال التنقيب للقصر وصيانتها من قبل دائرة الأثار والتراث العراقية. وكان من نتائج هذا العمل استكمال مخطط القصر وصيانة معظم أجزاءه، وبهذا يمكن التمشي عبر الممرات والغرف ثانية. وعندما تولى مزاحم محمود حسين رئاسة هيئة التنقيب، اكتشف أكثر الأثار إثارة في مدينة النمرود التي لم يسبقه أحد بمثلها، ونعني هنا المدافن الملكية لمملكات آشوريات، وقد نشرها في سنة 1999 (حسين وسليمان). واستمر في كشفه لمخطط القصر، وكشف عن بئر رابع في الزاوية الجنوبية الشرقية للقصر. ومن جملة ما عثر عليه مجموعة فريدة من أعمال نفذت على العظم والعاج وبخاصة فناني الكحل، هذا فضلاً عن الهياكل العظمية التي تعود لهم تلك الأثار، والتي نقوم بنشرها لأول مرة.

ولذلك فإن هذا الجزء يجمع بين دفتيه كل الأعمال على العاج التي عثر عليها في القرنين التاسع عشر والعشرين والتي أمكن تأشير مواضعها الأصلية. وان نشرها بهذه الطريقة يؤكد أن هذه الأعمال نحتت وفق الأسلوب الآشوري المعروف وأنها وجدت فقط في الغرف

الأشورية المهمة، ما عدا تلك التي عثر عليها في البئر الموسوم أي.جي، Well AJ ، والتي لا يوجد سوى بضعة منها. ولعله من الواجب ذكر أن خمسة في المائة فقط من أعمال النحت على العاج والتي عثر عليها في النمرود كانت مطابقة للأسلوب الآشوري، فالمجموعة الأولى جلبت كجزية أو هدايا أو عطايا من البلاد الواقعة غرب البلاد.

ولأن غالبية الآلاف من الأعمال على العاج التي عثر عليها في النمرود كانت مستوردة، فلقد عنى الفصل الأول من هذا الكتاب بالمشهد السياسي في نهاية الألف الثاني وبدايات الألف الأول قبل الميلاد لتلك البلاد التي تمكنت من إنتاج تلك المواد ذات الطبيعة التي تنم عن ترف. فالامبراطوريات العظيمة الموجودة في نهايات الألف الثاني قبل الميلاد سقطت، وكانت بلاد "سوريا الكبرى" قد قسمت إلى عدد من الدول المستقلة، وكل منها له عاصمته وفنونه. وأن المصدر الأساس لتثبيت الأحداث هو المدونات الآشورية وما وجد في التوراة، وعلى الرغم من ذلك فيجب أخذ الحذر من استخدامهما لأنهما مصادر متحيزة لهذا الجانب أو ذاك. هذا فضلاً عن ضم الآشوريين للبعض من تلك الدول المنتجة لأعمال العاج إلى بلاد آشور، وعلى سبيل المثال لا الحصر الدول المجاورة لبلاد آشور، مثل بيت بحيان وبيت أديني، والتي مزجت مع بلاد آشور خلال حكم الملك شلمانيزر الثالث، مع تل بارسب المعروفة باسم كار- شلمانيزر التي تدعى الآن تل أحمر والتي أصبحت العاصمة الغربية للإمبراطورية. وعلى أية حال، فالمدن الواقعة إلى الغرب منها، مثل حماة ودمشق وصور وصيدا، كانت تتمتع بشبه استقلال حتى نهاية القرن الثامن قبل الميلاد. ولأن العاج كان من المنتجات الترفيحية، فإن إنتاجه لا يمكن سوى خلال فترات الغنى والحرية.

ويعنى الفصل الثاني بمناقشة تاريخ تنقيب القصر الشمالي الغربي من خلال 150 سنة وكل مجموعة من أعمال العاج عثر عليها هناك، وقبل ذلك جمع أي من المعلومات التي تتعلق بالمكان الأصلي للعثور على الأعمال العاجية. ولأن المدونات الخاصة بذلك متناثرة وليس من السهولة الحصول عليها، فلقد دوتنا وبإطالة كل ما أمكن من الاعتماد عليه ونقل بشكل تفصيلي.

أما المواضيع التي تناولها الفصل الثالث فشملت تاريخ الدراسة، والمصطلحات وطرائق البحث. نشر لايارد العديد من أعمال العاج خلال الثلاثة أعوام التي أعقبت اكتشافاته. وللمرة الثانية يقوم بوضع منهج نموذجي لم يسبقه إليه أحد. فلقد شخص بعض القطع بأنها "ذات أسلوب مصري خالص على الرغم من وجود خصوصية في التنفيذ" ورجح أن تكون من أعمال فنان غريب عن بلاد آشور. وعلى أية حال، فبعيد نشر تلك الأعمال، فإن الباحثين الفرنسيين اقترحوا أن البعض من تلك الأعمال العاجية ذات أصل فينيقي.

وبعد قيام لايارد بنشره لتلك الأعمال العاجية ظهر العديد من المقالات في الدوريات وفي الموسوعات ذات الاختصاص. وعلى أية حال، وفي بدايات القرن العشرين اكتشف كل من لايارد ولوفتس في بناية عرفت لاحقاً باسم القصر المحروق ونشرت كسابقها. وكان ذلك كاف للباحث الألماني فردريك پولسين، Fredrik Poulsen ، ليؤكد أن هناك علاقة بالنحت ما بين القطع المكتشفة ذات الطابع الآشوري والفينيقي والدول الشمالية الواقعة شمال سوريا

وحدود الأناضول (1912). وهذا التقسيم الأولي إلى ثلاثة مجموعات أو أساليب، أي الآشوري والسوري الشمالي والفينيقي، استمر حتى يومنا هذا، فضلاً عن مجموعة إضافية، فالمجموعة السورية، ربطت بين السورية الشمالية والفينيقية، إضافة إلى مجموعات فرعية للتقاليد المعروفة سابقاً.

ولعل الخطوة ذات التقدم الكبير الآخر حصلت بواسطة دراسات الباحث رچارد بارنيت وذلك من خلال عمله الأساس والموسوم، *The Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories in the British Museum (1957, 2nd ed. 1975)*، "فهرسة عاج النمرود في المتحف البريطاني" (1957 والطبعة الثانية 1975). وزودتنا هذه الدراسة المستفيضة بالعاج المكتشف من قبل لايارد ومعظم مجموعات العاج المكتشفة من لدن لوفتس التي تم الحصول عليها من القصر المحروق، والتي كانت عبارة عن كسر محروقة بشدة والتي لم تنشر بعد. فكتاب رچارد بارنيت سي. إن. أي، C.N.I. تبعه نشر آخر من قبل الباحث ملوان الموسوم، *Nimrud and its remains (1966)*، "النمرود ومكتشفاتها" (1966)، والذي عني بوصف أعمال التنقيب للمدرسة البريطانية للأثار في العراق، والتي وضعت أعمال العاج في سياقها.

شهدت سنة 1967 ظهور أول سلسلة نشر للأعمال على العاج من قبل المدرسة البريطانية للأثار في العراق، ووسمت هذه السلسلة، *The Ivories from Nimrud*، "عاج النمرود"، حيث فهرسة آلاف قطع العاج التي اكتشفتها في النمرود. وتناولها الباحثون بشيء من تباين الآراء: وكان الجزء الأول من نصيب جيفري أورچرد الذي ركز على مكانة القطع من باب استخدامها فعني بالقطع التي تخص سروج الخيل وتجميلها مثل غطاء العيون والرسن، ووجدت تلك القطع في عدد من القصور. وقبل المكتشفات العراقية في البئر الموسوم أي.جي، AJ، ومعظم تلك القطع العاجية وجدت في غرفة المخزن الكبير، الغرفة الموسومة، Room SW37، إس.دبليو 37 من قلعة شلمانيزر، مع عدد قليل من القطع التي وجدت في البئر الموسوم إن.إن، Well NN، في القصر الشمالي الغربي والقصر المحروق. أما تناول الباحثين الآخرين فكان استناداً إلى الأسلوب، حيث شُخصت النماذج التي اتبعت الأسلوب الآشوري وكان رواد هذا النمط من البحث (ملوان وديفيس، 1970)، *Ivories in Assyrian Style (Mallowan and Davies, 1970)* وتناولوا العاج الذي معظمه وجد ضمن أسوار قلعة شلمانيزر. وهكذا شُخصت أهمية المواضيع الأصلية لقطع العاج في الجزء الثالث، الذي تضمن عدد من مساند الكراسي التي عثر عليها في الغرفة الموسومة إس.دبليو 7، Room SW7، في قلعة شلمانيزر (ملوان وهيرمن، 1974)، Mallowan and Herrman 1974، ونفس الفكرة تبناها ناشري الأجزاء الأخرى التي تضمنت العديد من أعمال العاج التي عثر عليها في القلعة (هيرمن، 1986 و 1992)، Herrman 1986, 1992.

إن الحجم الكبير للمادة جعل من الممكن التوصل إلى أساليب وفكر جديدة لطرائق البحث، مثل التعرف على مجموعات معينة واستنباط أساليب لتلك المجموعات من العمل على العاج. ودعم هذا الرأي بالتقنيات وشكل الأساليب والتي ربما توحى شيء ما عن طرائق العمل في

المراكز المختلفة. والعديد من تلك المجموعات ذات الأسلوب بحثت في "عاج من النمرود"، *Ivories from Nimrud IV and V*، الجزء الرابع والجزء الخامس. ولقد ساعدت المعلومات تلك الخاصة بالفهرسة العديد من البحوث ذات العلاقة وقدمت الخدمة لشتى الباحثين الذين قاموا بتناول هذا الموضوع من جوانب مختلفة لهذا الفن المدهش على الرغم من صغره بين الفنون، هذا الفن الذي رسم صورة غنية لمختلف الأعمال الفنية السائدة في بدايات الألف الأول قبل الميلاد في الشرق الأدنى.

في سنة 1973 أنهت الباحثة أريني ونتر، Irene Winter، عملها القيم لنيل شهادة الدكتوراه في، *North Syria in the early first millennium B.C, with special reference to ivory carving*، "شمال سوريا في بدايات الألف الأول قبل الميلاد، مع الإشارة الخاصة إلى نحت العاج" والتي كانت أول محاولة لوضع أعمال العاج من الناحية الاجتماعية والاقتصادية. وللأسف فإن نشرها بقي حبيس الرقائق المرئية الصادر عن الجامعة وبشكل محدود، وعلى الرغم من ذلك قامت ونتر بكتابة عدد كبير من المقالات التي كان أساسها مادة رسالتها لكنها ركزت على مشاكل معينة (1976a and b، 1981، 1982، 1983، 1989، 2005) مع التعرض لبعض المقالات (1992، 1998).

ودعي الباحث رچارد بارنيت سنة 1974 لتقديم سلسلة من المحاضرات إلى الجامعة العبرية في القدس تخص أعمال العاج القديمة. ونشرت تلك المحاضرات في قدم 14 سنة 1982، *Qedem 14*، وبذلك وفرت عرضاً عاماً لأعمال العاج خلال آلاف من السنين. وخص الفصل الثامن من بحثه سوريا وفينيقيا في عصر الحديد، وتناول إلى جانب أعمال العاج في النمرود المكتشف في المنطقة ككل وبخاصة في المواقع مثل السامرة وحماة وزنجري وأرسلان طاش وخرصباد وسلامس في قبرص، وكهف إديين في كريت ومدافن الاتروسكان. وشخص مجموعات الأسلوب والتي عرفت من قبل پولسين والتي قام بتفنيدها والى الأبد، لأنها لا تفي بالمراد.

والمشكلة المربكة هي ما أعقب ذلك من مصطلحات، التي ما زالت تنتظر الحل. وأعقب ذلك وصف للتقاليد وتكوين ما يعرف بمجموعات الأسلوب. أما سعة المواضيع التي تناولتها أعمال العاج في منطقة "سوريا الكبرى" فكانت محدودة بشكل مدهش، وعالج الجزء المتبقي من الفصل الاختلافات غير الملحوظة في التنفيذ وعلى صعيد التقاليد المعروفة، هذا فضلاً عن بعض الأشكال التقنية، مثل أنماط التطعيم التي نفذت من قبل التقاليد واستخدام العلامات الخاصة من قبل الحرفيين. أما الفصل الرابع فعنى بالطرائق الأخرى التي تخص المنتجات، وفيما إذا كان العاج قد نحت في كالخو، النمرود، أو في البعض من المراكز التجارية أو إذا ما كانت من مشاغل مركز القصر.

وركزت الفصول الثلاثة الأخرى على أعمال العاج لمختلف التقاليد، الفينيقية والسورية؛ شمال سوريا، والأشورية أو الممزوجة بها. ومن الملاحظ أن البعض من مجموعات الأسلوب تمثلت في القصر الشمالي الغربي بالمقارنة مع تلك التي عثر عليها في قلعة شلمانيزر، ومع ذلك فالنماذج التي حفظت بشكل جيد تمثل التقاليد كلها عثر عليها في البئر

الموسوم أي.جي، Well AJ ، والتي يعتقد أنها رميت في البئر خلال عملية التدمير التي واجهتها المدينة.

أما أعمال العاج التي وجدت في الغرف الموسومة بحرفي في و أي، Room V and A ، فكلها عملت على الطراز الفينيقي السوري وربما جيء بها كجزية في إحدى حملات سرجون الثاني، الذي وضعها هناك عند تجديده للقصر الشمالي الغربي: كما أهدى بعض أعمال العاج السورية وبضمنها ما يعرف "بغطاء الرأس والأجنحة"، "wig and wing" ، إلى معبد الإله نابو في خرصباد (دور-شروكين القديمة). و فقط اثنان من مجموعات الأسلوب من أعمال العاج وجدت في ما يعرف بمخدع الكنز، الغرفة الموسومة بحرف في، Room V ، أي مجموعات "غطاء الرأس والجناح" و "الفينيقية الكلاسيكية". وبضمن الأخيرة أعمال العاج ذات الطابع المصري المميزة، والتي اختلف الباحثين فيما إذا كانت قد عملت في مصر أو لا، ودحضت تلك الفرضية بواسطة أعمال الأستاذ كينيث كيجن، Kenneth Kitchen.

ولم يُعثر على أعمال عاج سوريا شمالية في القصر الشمالي الغربي: ووجدت فقط في الآبار الموسومة أي.جي و إن.إن، Wells AJ and NN ، ويجب أن تكون قد خزنت في موضع كنز آخر، والتي يمكن أنها جلبت من قبل آشورناصيرپال الثاني أو شلمانيزر الثالث. وهناك عدد كبير من المراكز السورية الشمالية التي ضمت إلى الامبراطورية أبان منتصف القرن التاسع قبل الميلاد وربما انتهى إنتاج النمط المحلي للعاج.

وفضلاً عن أعمال العاج المكتشفة في القصر الشمالي الغربي، هناك ملاحق عنيت بدراسة قبضتي أنية لم تكن مصنوعة من العاج والتي وجدت في البئر الموسوم أي.جي، Well AJ ، هذا فضلاً عن لوحات آشورية ربما جاءت من القصر المركزي لتجالات-بليزر الثالث وأعمال العاج الذي عثر عليه في بعض المناطق التي نُقبت لبيوت السكنى، والبيوت المجاورة لسور المدينة.

البعد الفني الآشوري

إن كل مجموعة وجدت في النمرود تختلف في مداها وميزتها والمادة التي عملت منها. على سبيل المثال، الثلاثة مخازن التي وجدت في قلعة شلمانيزر، الموسومة إس.دبليو 7، و إس.دبليو 12 و إس.دبليو 37، SW7, SW12 and SW37، كانت عبارة عن مخازن لعاج مستورد، خزن في كالخو بعد أن جُردت من الذهب الذي كان يرصعها: ولا يوجد سوى القليل من القرائن التي تشير أنها استخدمت (هيرمن وملارد، 2003، Herrman and Millard 2003). وهناك غياب للاستخدام أيضاً في خزينة الملكة، في الغرفة الموسومة إس 10 ، Room S10، الواقعة في قلعة شلمانيزر. أعمال العاج الآشورية من الناحية

الأخرى عشر عليها في غرف العرش أو في غرف الخزن المجاورة لها، ومنها خرجت الأثاث لتستخدم في المناسبات الرسمية كلما تطلب ذلك. وهناك لوح مسماري جاءنا من نينوى يصف اللوائيم الملكية وبدء باستعراض "مائدة الملك وأريكته التي يجب جلبهما. ويدخل الملك بنفسه، ويعقبه واحد ثم الآخر من الموظفين، يتبعهم ولي العرش والأمراء الآخرون." (أوتس، 1968، 34)، Oates 1968, 34. إن هذا النظام المميز للتوزيع تحقق في القصر الشمالي الغربي، وذلك لكون الأعمال على العاج الآشورية قد وجدت حول غرفة العرش، الغرفة الموسومة بحرف بي، وتحقق ذلك أيضاً في مخدعي الموظفين في زوايا القاعة العظيمة، وقد رميت في البئر الموسوم أي.جي، والتي ربما جاءت من مخدع الملك، الغرف الموسومة بالحروف إس وتي و في ودبليو وإكس، Rooms S/T/V/W/X.

ولم تكن أعمال العاج الآشورية مخصصة لمناطق معينة حسب، لكنه لم يكن هناك ما يشير إلى استيرادها. وهذا يقودنا إلى الدليل القاطع أن الملك لم يستخدم سوى الأثاث المزينة بزخارف من اختياره والتي نفذت بالطراز الآشوري. الباحثة ألن ريهم، Ellen Rehm، برهنت، ذلك بقولها "أن الملك الآشوري يجلس على أريكته والأثاث الآشوري الذين زين بأشكال زخرفية محلية آشورية الأصل، فهي وحدها التي يمكن أن تحمي الملك الآشوري من كل سوء وذلك استناداً إلى معتقداتهم الأنيية آنذاك" (ريهم، 2005، 203؛ ينظر كذلك كيرتس، 1996)، (Curtis 1996, 203; and see also Rehm 2005, 203). فالمشاهد القديمة لها مغزاهما، وبخاصة حماية مالكةها من القوى الشريرة. كما أشرت بواسطة تركيز أعمال النحت البارزة حول أقسام السكن للدولة، هذا فضلاً عن الأشكال ذات الطابع الحامي، مثل دمي الأسس الحامية، فالملك حمي من الشرور بكل المستطاع، وقوة حماية اللماسو وأعمال النحت البارز عززت بواسطة المشاهد المنقوشة على عرشه وعلى ملابسه.

ومن المفاجئ أن تختلف الباحثة أليسون توماسون، Allison Thomason، مع وجهة النظر تلك. فاعتبرت أن الآشوريين مولعون بجمع أعمال العاج حيث انتقوا استعمال أعمال العاج التي أنتجت في الخارج (توماسون، 2005). واقترحت أن مشهد الوليمة للملك آشوربانيبال يتكئ على فراش مستورد، الذي أوحى لها بواسطة الدمية المنفذة على رجل السرير والتي هي عبارة عن "امرأة تطل من شباك". وعلى النقيض من ذلك، ريهم برهنت أن تلك الدمية تمثل أحد المخصيين من القصر، وليس امرأة، وإن الفراش آشوري بالتأكيد فهو من النوع المعروف منذ القرن التاسع قبل الميلاد. وبالمقابل، فإن انتشار الأسلوب الآشوري يطغى على أسلوب أعمال العاج المنتجة في "سوريا الكبرى" والتي لا تؤيد ما ذهبت إليه نظرية توماسون التي تقول بالجمع للأعمال: بالتأكيد فإن أعمال العاج نقلت من المدن التي غلب على أمرها وجمعت في المخازن، ولكن فقط لغرض الخزن. ومن وجهة نظر أخرى التي تعكس أن نقل تلك الأعمال المدروس من قبل الملوك الآشوريين وتوزيعها الضروري على مملكته أو "مخازن قصره" بعد النصر. فمن المستحيل الحكم دون "الكنوز". وعندما دحر آشوربانيبال نينوى (ملك مصر)، فلقد جرده مما يملك، وعندما أعاده كفرعون، قام "بكسوته بملابس فاخرة، وحلى عنقه بسلسلة ذهبية، كرمز لحقه في الملكية. ووضع في أصابعه الخواتم الذهبية، وقلده بخنجر من الحديد، مرصع بالذهب وكتبت اسمي (أي اسم آشوربانيبال) عليه. عربات، وخيول وبغال أهديت إليه ليركبها كملك ... ومنحته

الخطوة أكثر من أبي" (لوكينبل، 1989، 2، 774)، Luckenbill 1989, II, 774، وفي الحقيقة، فلقد قلد نيخو بكل ما يوحي أنه الملك.

ويوجد دليل بسيط يشير إلى استخدام الآشوريين للعاج في أثاثهم: التي شملت مواد أخرى، مثل الذهب والفضة والبرونز، والتي كانت تفضل عندهم. وكان لديهم حدادون مهرة، ومن المرجح أنهم أرادوا تفضيل اتباع تقاليدهم فزينوا أثاثهم وأبوابهم بالبرونز والفضة والذهب على العمل بمواد غريبة عليهم. فالعرش الذي اكتشفه لايارد في الغرفة الموسومة أي.بي، Room AB، كان مصنوعاً من الخشب، ومرصع بالبرونز، مع أجزاء فقط من الأرجل كانت من العاج، بينما كان العرش الآخر الذي اكتشفه جورج سميث، George Smith، في نينوى معمول من "بلور الحجر (در النجف)" (كيرتس، 1996)، Curtis 1996. وبشكل كبير، يشير آخر إلى فقدان سمعة (أعمال العاج) في بلاد آشور هو انه لم يعثر سوى على القليل من العاج في القبور الملكية، المؤتثة بشكل مدهش، والعائدة للملكات الآشوريات التي عثر عليها في القصر الشمالي الغربي، على الرغم من أن أصل البعض منهم من "سوريا الكبرى". علماً أنه كانت تزينهم كيلوات من الحلي الذهبية، والملابس وقناني بمختلف الأشكال والتي عملت بمواد ثمينة، والأحجار والفخار (حسين وسليمان، 2000)، وهناك ملاحظة ظاهرة وهي فقدان مواد الزينة للنساء: هناك مرأتان (ينظر الأرقام، 40 و 218)، وبضعة سدادات لملاعق من الخشب، وأخرى ربما عملت من الزجاج (رقم، 173 و 38)، واحدة أو اثنتان كأغطية لجرار صغيرة عملت من العاج أو العظم ربما جرار للكحل (رقم، 8) وأحد عشرة قنينة صغيرة جداً من الذهب (رقم، 59)، ربما للعطور. ولا توجد صناديق صغيرة أو علب مجوهرات، أو قوارير أو مقابض لمراوح. وبالمقابل، وعلى العكس من المدفن الموسوم 79، Tomb 79، في سلامس، والذي كان، بالتأكيد، قبر رجل، والذي لم يعثر فيه على أي نوع من الأثاث. وأشار هذا إلى أن النساء الآشوريات لم يفضلن العاج فقط، ولكنهن لا يفضلن حتى المواد الصغيرة المرصعة بالعاج، مثل علب المجوهرات والقوارير، والتي ربما استخدمت لغرض الاحتفال أو لطقوس دينية تخص الرجال. فالعلبة المزينة بالشخوص المجنحة يمكن رؤيتها على الطاولة بجانب الملك آشوربانيبال في مشهد الوليمة: لا يوجد شيء بجانب ملكته. وبالمقارنة بالسرير العائد للملك والمزين بشكل غني وكذلك الطاولة، فكرسي الملكة العالي مزين بشكل بسيط بقضبان مقوسة، وهذا معيار على كل المنطقة.

ومثل عدم الاهتمام هذا يظهر على أغراض آشورية صغيرة، والتي تظهر على أعمال النحت البارز. ولا يمكن إلا بصعوبة العثور على أمثلة آشورية من الأعمال على العاج لمقابض المراوح، أو الصولجانات أو أوعية المجوهرات أو الكؤوس وما شابه ذلك، والتي انتشرت في قاعات العرش بشكل كبير: فتلك التي عثر عليها في القصر المحروق كلها كانت من أعمال "سوريا الكبرى". وهناك مقبض مروحة واحدة من العاج عثر عليها في البئر الموسوم إن.إن، Well NN، رقم، 263، لكن المقبضين من البئر أي.جي، Well AJ، عملت من مواد أخرى، وبضمن ذلك الحجر (الملحق رقم 1). وهناك بعض الرمان المصنوع من العاج والصولجانات جاءت من البئر الموسوم إن.إن، Well NN، (الأرقام، 365-366)، وبالتأكيد أنابيب الكحل من البئر الرابع، ولكن لا شيء مثل وفرة الصناديق،

وحاملات الكؤوس، ومقابض المراوح، والقوارير، وسدادات الملاعق، وأنية التجميل وما إلى ذلك والتي توحى بعمل "سوريا الكبرى".

العاج ثمن عبر التاريخ وحتى يومنا هذا. لقد افترض بشكل عام أن الآشوريين اعتزوا كثيراً بالمادة. ونفس النصوص التي اقتبست للبرهان على تقدير العاج والأثاث المصنوعة منه. وعلى الرغم من ذلك، فإن تحليل الحوليات الآشورية تكشف عن تامين الآشوريين لغنائمهم من الذهب والفضة والبرونز والخشب والمنسوجات والحيوانات. أما العاج وجلود الفيلة فقد دونت، ولكن ليس بشكل شائع وغالباً ما تأتي في المؤخرة من القائمة. وان غياب الاهتمام في تلك المادة أو ندرته بالنسبة للعاج الآشوري المكتشفة في النمرود: فقط خمسة في المائة منها نفذت بالأسلوب الآشوري، بينما بقية الخمسة والتسعون جاءت من "سوريا الكبرى". وكان ذلك مسألة خيار وذوق، فالغالبية العظمى من عاج النمرود قدمت الدليل أن التجهيزات للعاج كانت وفيرة وبخاصة في الألف الأول قبل الميلاد.

سمعة العاج في "سوريا الكبرى"

ومن الناحية الأخرى يوجد تامين واضح في "سوريا الكبرى" للعاج، يتمثل بشكل جيد بالكمية الكبيرة لأعمال العاج الفينيقية السورية، حرفياً هناك الآلاف من القطع وجدت في مخازن النمرود. الكتاب الأول من سفر الملوك يصف التجارة البحرية بالمنتجات الفاخرة، حيث أرسل كل من سليمان وحيرم السفن إلى ترشيش كل ثلاث سنوات ويجلبان "الذهب والفضة والعاج والقروود والطواويس" (الكتاب الأول من سفر الملوك الفقرات، 10 و 22)، وكيف أطلق على ذلك سليمان بقوله:-

"العرش العظيم، المرصع بأنقى الذهب. للعرش ست درجات، وعند ظهر العرش يوجد رأس عجل، وعلى جانبيه توجد أماكن لراحة المرفقين وبجانبيهما أسدان واقفان، بينما وقف اثنتا عشر أسداً هناك، وعند نهاية كل درجة من الدرجات الست وقف أسد. لا يوجد مثيلاً له في أية مملكة" (الكتاب الأول من سفر الملوك الفقرات، 10 و 18-20).

ويحاكي هذا الوصف ما وجد على العرش الفينيقي الشائع الاستعمال المعروف بالعرش الفينيقي ذو الشخصوس المجنحة، والذي تطور عن الأصل المصري ذاك المحلى بالعاج والذي وجد في مدينة مجيدو ويعود تاريخه إلى القرن الثانية عشر قبل الميلاد وهو أول نموذج للعروش. وفي النوع الفينيقي زينت الجوانب بالشخوص المجنحة (كوبيل، 1996، 142-143)، وفي النوع الفينيقي زينت الجوانب بالشخوص المجنحة (كوبيل، 1996، 142-143)، واستخدم مثل هذه العروش بشكل شائع في الألف الأول قبل الميلاد من قبل الملوك والآلهة وعلى امتداد المنطقة من "سوريا الكبرى" وحتى اسبانيا.

إن مكانة العاج في "سوريا الكبرى" أشرت بواسطة بقايا العاج المتناثرة، وكل ما وصل إلينا منها هو تلك البقايا في المدن التي أغلبها الآشوريين. كسر وجدت في أمكنة كثيرة ومبعثرة في السامرة، وحماة، وزنجلي، وألتين تيه، وتوبركاله وحسنلو. وبالمقابل هناك قطع تكاد تكون كاملة وجدت في المعبد في ألتين تيه (أوزگوچ، 1969، 78)، (Özgülç 1969، 78)، هذا

فضلاً عن القبور في نفس الموقع. كراسي من العاج ولوحات مزينة في القبور الغنية بجهازها وبخاصة القبر الموسوم 79 ، Tomb 79، في سلامس، وكسر في قبور وجدت بتل حلف وألتين تيه. وقطع مهشمة لأثاث وأشياء صغيرة كشفت عنها ضمن ما خزن في كهف إديين. وكل تلك الآثار تنم عن عودتها إلى أشخاص ذوي مكانة عالية في المجتمع أو من العائلة المالكة، وهي أما وضعت لأغراض دينية أو لمراسيم دفنية.

أعمال عاج "سوريا الكبرى"

لقد كانت أعمال العاج التابعة للقصر الشمالي الغربي عبارة عن مجموعات ملكية، جمعت من قبل ملوك القرن التاسع قبل الميلاد، آشورناصربال الثاني، وشلمانيزر الثالث، ومن قبل الملك سرجون الثاني في القرن الثامن قبل الميلاد. الفرق بين النمطين السوري الشمالي والفينيقي السوري وضح من خلال عملية توزيع موضعهما، فالأعمال الفينيقية السورية وجدت في المخازن، بينما الأعمال السورية الشمالية كانت وبشكل رئيسي ملقاة في البئر الموسوم أي.جي، Well AJ. وهذا يعكس دون لبس أن الفرق ربما كنتيجة لفترات جمعهما، أي أن السورية الشمالية جاءت من القرن التاسع قبل الميلاد بينما الفينيقية السورية جمعت في القرن الثامن قبل الميلاد. والنمطين يعكسان مجموعات الأسلوب السوري الشمالي، "فالشعلة والسعفة" و "الخدود المدورة والمجدولة" كل منها يحمل شخصية قوية مميزة. وتشير بشكل ما إلى أن أصلها من تل حلف وزنجري، وتتصل بتمثيل الموقعين، ويكونان جزء من ثقافة ما بعد الحثيين للمنطقة، هذا فضلاً عن التأثيرات الآرامية التي شجعها القادة الآراميين وحملت الرموز المعروفة في المنطقة. ويتجسد فيها تأثير قوي وذلك لازدحام التصميم على ألواح العاج. إضافة إلى الذخيرة الفنية ومعياريها الخاص بالبشر والشخص المجنحة، فهناك ولائم، ومواكب، ومشاهد صيد وقتال. فالإنسان السوري الشمالي والشخص المجنحة ليس عليها تيجان، وتصفيف الشعر والأزياء متميزة. وهناك العديد من الميزات التقنية الشائعة في المنطقة، مثل الترصيع المشبك واستخدام النقطة الواقعة في الوسط من المشهد، ومن المحتمل أن أعمال العاج في سوريا الشمالية تضمنت ترصيع ملون بالعاج وليس الترصيع بالزجاج.

ومن الناحية الأخرى فإن أعمال العاج الفينيقية كانت متطورة بشكل كبير. فهي تعرض إحساس بالتوازن والفضاء، ذات تصميم رائع، مستقاة من الفن المصري. فتجنبت العنف. فالرجل طعن العنقاء برمحه، لكن الوحش لم يقاوم ذلك، فتقبل الرمح: واللبوة يمكن أن تقتل إنساناً-وهو يضحي بلوزته إلى فكيها. العديد من أعمال العاج كانت عبارة عن حلي، بألوان نفذت بالترصيع بواسطة الزجاج بالتجانس مع الذهب الذي قد يغطيها. وغالباً ما تستخدم قطع العاج بقطع متشابهة، وأحياناً لدمية منفردة، ولكن على شكل مزدوج ومتناظر. فمدينة صور أو صيدا، القوة البحرية الفينيقية في الألف الأول قبل الميلاد اقترحتا كمركزين أساسيين لتنفيذ أعمال العاج الفينيقية، والذي وجد في القصر الشمالي الغربي، وهو المعروف بمجموعة الأسلوب "الفينيقي الكلاسيكي".

تعتبر أعمال العاج السورية حلقة وصل بين التقليدين لكنها، روحياً، أقرب إلى أعمال العاج الفينيقية من أعمال العاج منطقة سوريا الشمالية. فاللوحات أكثر ازدحاماً ونفذت فيها مشاهد عنف أكثر من النماذج الفينيقية، إلا أنها أكثر ولعاً بالتوازن من القطع السورية الشمالية. المواضيع استقيت من مصر، مثل التيجان والأزياء، والتي أصبحت غير مميزة، لكن نفس المواضيع ظهرت في المنطقة كلها. فالترصيع الملون سمج. ولا توجد إلا نادراً حدود قوية المعالم بين مجموعات الأسلوب: والحقيقة فلقد كانت غير واضحة المعالم، كما هو مبرهن عليه بالنسبة للمجموعات السورية، فعلى سبيل المثال "غطاء الرأس والجناح" و "التاج و المقياس" التي تشترك ببعض السمات الفنية. وأحد المواضيع قدم لنا أمثلة كثيرة وهي الغرفة الموسومة بحرف في، Room V، فما يعرف "غطاء الرأس والجناح" كانت "فينيقية" لمجموعات الأسلوب السوري، ومن المحتمل أنها عملت في أرفاد وحماة. ومشكلة تحديد المجموعات بالضبط كانت معروفة، بسبب التعقيدات السياسية وتاريخها في المنطقة في تلك الفترة، وذلك لكثرة تبديل التحالفات.

هذه انطباعات عامة على الملاحظات الأولية الخاصة بأعمال العاج لمختلف التقاليد. وعلى أية حال، فالقارئ تشير إلى لغة رمزية مشتركة بين التقاليد، مع اختلافات طفيفة في الحجم والشكل للوحة. إضافة إلى أسلوب النحت والأزياء بين مجموعات الأسلوب. البعض من المواضيع منسوبة بشكل خاص لبعض الأغراض، وربما الأكثر شيوعاً الرجل والشجرة اللذان يظهران على خلفية الكراسي. أن تنوع تفسير هذا الموضوع هو، ما تمثل بشكل جيد بخلفية الكراسي التي عثر عليها في الغرفة الموسومة إس. دبليو 7، Room SW، مع خصوصية مجموعات الطراز التي نفذت على أشكال مختلفة للكرسي، والتي توحى بأنها صنعت في مراكز متعددة. ونفس الموضوع معروف جداً بأنماط سورية وفينيقية. والصورة الأخرى المفضلة هي الحيوان المجنح أو المماثل لأبي الهول، الذي عرف بأمتلة طويلة ممشوقة فينيقية، وإلى النوع البدين السوري ومنه إلى النوع المليان "ذو الخدود المدورة و المجعدة" لتلك الحيوانات الخرافية التي ظهرت في مجموعة الطراز السوري الشمالي.

تختلف أنواع الأشياء المصنوعة طبقاً لاختلاف المناطق وتخصصاتها. فعلب المجوهرات الصغيرة، على سبيل المثال، تظهر أنها من صنع مناطق شمال سوريا. ومعظم النماذج لأعمال العاج تنتمي إلى ما يسمى "بالشعلة والسعف" من مجموعة الطراز، مع الأخذ بنظر الاعتبار أن المراكز الأخرى ربما صنعت علب المجوهرات أيضاً. فالعلبة المزخرفة بمشهد الوليمة وموكب الموسيقين التي جاءتنا من القصر المحروق، الموسومة إس 3، S3، تشير بوضوح إلى اختلافها عن طراز "الشعلة والسعف" الذي لدينا أمثلة له (بارنيت، سي. إن. أي، 191، اللوحات، 16-17)، Barnett C.N. I., 191, pl, xvi-xvii، على الرغم من أن الكتابة الموجودة على القاعدة تشير إلى بيت أگوسي والذي لا يمكن استخدامها كدليل على مكان عملها. ولسوء الحظ فكل ما نستطيع قراءته من الكتابة الموجودة على فوهة العلبه يذكر أنها منحت إلى شمسي-إيلو (رقم، 213) وإن تلك الفوهة: الظاهرة في الصورة لا ترينا الجهة الأخرى، والتي يمكن أن تزودنا بمقترح إلى أي أسلوب تعود العلبه. ولا توجد علب نموذجية سورية أو فينيقية. وعلى أية حال، "فحمالات الكوب" عملت من لوحات أعرض

عند القاعدة مقارنة بالجزء الأعلى والتي تمثلت في ما يعرف إس.دبليو 37 ، SW37، وهي فينيقية سورية نموذجية ولا يوجد ما يماثلها من شمال سوريا.

وهناك مثال سوري شمالي نموذجي، ومرة أخرى أساساً من طراز "الشعلة والسعف"، تمثل في مقابض المروحة، وعلى الرغم من وجود أمثلة سورية، وللمرة الأخرى فهي تختلف بالشكل، والحجم والأسلوب (إس، 293 و 294 و 308، بارنيت، سي. إن. أي. و 213، 215، اللوحات، 88-89، و 91)، S293, 294 and 308, Barnett CNI, 213, 215, pls. Ixxxviii-Ixxxix, xci. وكذلك زينة الخيل كانت تجلب من مناطق معينة، فأغطية العيون الكبيرة الفينيقية المشابهة لشكل المجرفة وما يعرف بالعوائق الأمامية المفصلية والنماذج الصغيرة السورية لأغطية العينين المعروفة بشكل النعل هذا فضلاً عن العوائق المفصلية الصغيرة والمثلثة الشكل.

من هم مستخدمي أعمال العاج

النقطة الأخرى والمهمة هي من الذي استخدم هذه الأشياء الصغيرة؟. وللمرة الثانية نقول، فلقد اقترح ومنذ فترة طويلة أن تلك الأعمال الترفيهية صنعت للنساء. بارنيت، على سبيل المثال، اقترح أنها صنعت للمتاجرة بها بشكل واسع من قبل الفينيقيين: "في فينيقيا كان الصانع أكثر التصاقاً بطبقة التجار، وأقل التصاقاً بالكهنة، على العكس من مصر. الفينيقيون صنعوا الأشياء، ليس لاستخدامها في المدافن أو لغرض حفظها للحياة القادمة، لكنها صنعت من أجل عالم الأحياء. فالقطعة عملت لتسعد مستعملها، وبخاصة لبيعها في السوق الخاص بالنساء: لذلك فإن عددها وتنوعها وأشكالها تعود إلى مواضيع التجميل-فمقابض المرايا المصنوعة من العاج، وعلب المرهم، والملاعق، والقناني الزجاجية كلها حاجات تخص النساء." (بارنيت، سي. إن. أي.، 56)، Barnett C.N.I., 56.

وعلى أية حال، لم يُعثر على أشياء التجميل بشكل واسع، ولا يوجد دليل يؤكد أن أعمال العاج صنعت للنساء فقط ولا حتى كون الفن الفينيقي تجارياً فقط. والحقيقة، أنه من الممكن اعتبار علب التجميل الصغيرة والمزخرفة بكثافة، وكذلك القوارير وحمالات الملاعق ومقابض المراوح أنها عملت حصراً للرجال، وينطبق ذلك أيضاً على حلية سرج الخيل. ورأي بارنيت المنقوص عن الحرفيين الفينيقيين كان يستند إلى ما هو موجود لدى اليونان، واليونانيين الذين اعتبروا أن التجارة غير متوافقة مع المبادئ الأرستقراطية، المبادئ التي استمرت حتى وقت قريب. كما كتب أوبيت، Aubet، قائلاً:

"إن مبدأ هومر في منع المتاجرة كمهنة، تحقق لاعتبارات اجتماعية وليس لأغراض اقتصادية. ففي عالم اليونان، أن التاجر المحترف كانت له مكانة اجتماعية متدنية ويعودون إلى طبقة مزدراة. فالنبيل الهومري المثالي افترض أن السلع حصل عليها أصحابها بواسطة الغزو والقرصنة، ولهذا ظهرت تلك النزعة السالبة في الإلياذة والأودسة عن التجارة والتجار وبالتواصل عن الفينيقيين." (أوبيت، 1997، 127-128)، Aubet 1997, 127-28.

تواريخ الإنتاج

المشكلة التي عقدت تحديد التاريخ أو مكان الصنع لمجموعة ما من أعمال العاج أو حتى متى نحتت هي أن المجموعات مزجت في مجال الأسلوب أو الطراز، وأينما وجدت تلك المجموعات ومنذ القرن الثانية عشر قبل الميلاد والتي امتد وجودها بين مدينتي مجيدو والنمرود. في الحقيقة، منذ بدايات الثلاثينات من القرن الماضي فإن المتقنين في مجيدو اقترحوا أن أعمال العاج تعكس "ولع أمير كنعاني غريب الأطوار في نهايات العصر الحديدي" (لوود، 1939، 7-9)، Loud 1939, 7-9. وقرابة الثلاثمائة من قطع العاج وجدت في مجيدو رتبت من قبل يارنيت إلى، في الأقل، عشر أساليب، واقترح يارنيت أنها تنم عن "نمط مهم من الغنى" والذي قاد إلى إيجاد "اكتناز أعمال العاج" (يارنيت، سي.إن.أي، 25)، Barnett C.N.I., 25، وفي الغالب لأجيال. (الأختام كانت تحفظ عائلياً ولأجيال، پاركر، 1962، 26)، Parker 1962, 26. واقترن هذا الشيء بناب الفيل الذي نحت على شكل هيئة رجل كبيرة، و إلهة أو أميرة وحدود وضع اسم الفرعون من القرن الثالث عشر قبل الميلاد ميرن فتاح، Merneptah، والذي وجد في المخزن المجاور لغرفة العرش في تل ميقنة، عقرون القديمة، والتي دحرت من لدن نبوخذنصر في 603 قبل الميلاد. وكما صرح كيتين، Gitin: "الظاهر أن العاج قد كنز لما يقارب الستمئة سنة" (كيتين، 1997، 101-102)، Gitin 1997, 101-102. وبالمقابل، البعض من أعمال العاج التي وجدت في النمرود يمكن مقارنتها في نماذج أعمال العاج من أواخر العصر البرونزي، على سبيل المثال، الرأس المهشم من المنطقة الموسومة إس.دبليو، 37، SW37، والتي عبرت عن صورة تقليدية لأنثى صاحبة الكرة والصولجان والجدائل الهائلة والتي يمكن مقارنتها بما وجد على مشاهد التمثال الذي يصور النصر من مجيدو (أي.إن، 4، 125، رقم، 397، اللوح، 89: لوود، 1939، الألواح، 4، 2؛ يارنيت، 1982، اللوح 19أ)، I.N. IV, 125, no.397, pl. 89: Loud 1939, pl. 4, 2; Barnett 1982, pl. 19a بينما الوجه الصغير من الغرفة الموسومة إ.ج. إ.ج المماثلة للفنّاع الصغير الذي اكتشف حديثاً في قطنة (رقم، 315؛ لوسيان، 2006، 24)، No. 315; Luciani 2006, 24. وهكذا فتاريخ مكان العثور هو آخر الاحتمالات لتاريخ القطع وليس دليل على وقت الإنتاج، على الرغم من الحظ المتباين للممالك والذي يمكن اعتماده كدليل للتاريخ.

المقارنة بين أعمال العاج التي وجدت في مختلف المواقع تكتسب أهمية خاصة. كما برهنت وينتر في 1976 أن هناك اختلاف جوهري في التوزيع لأعمال العاج بين سوريا الشمالية والفينيقية السورية (1976، 12، المشاهد، 1-2)، 1976, 12, figs, 1-2، ومع ما يعرف "بالشعلة والسعف" من أعمال العاج والتي وجدت على امتداد الشمال في حسنلو والنمرود وتل حلف وحماة وكهف إديين، Idaean، والقطع المعروفة بأسلوبها "الفينيقي الكلاسيكي" والتي وجدت متركزة في الجنوب عند السامرة وصور وساربيتا، Sarepta، وسلامس، Salamis، فكهف إديين ومدفن برنارديني، Bernardini، في إتروريا، Etruria، كلها تعكس أوقات مختلفة من الأزدهار.

الإنتاج المتمركز في القصر

منذ الوقت الذي عاش فيه لايارد والباحثون يدعمون نظريات مختلفة للإنتاج. لايارد اعتبر أن أعمال العاج الغربية التي وجدها كانت مصنوعة للملك من قبل حرفيين أجانب والمعروف أنهم عملوا في النمرود، كالخو القديمة. والفرضيتان الأخريتان اعتبرتتا في المقابل شكل من الأسلوب المتنوع، فالإنتاج التجاري حصل في بضع مراكز، مثل كاركميش، وزنجرلي، وحماة ودمشق، أو ان أمكنة سيطرت على الإنتاج في دول الألف الأول قبل الميلاد. وتنفيذ أشكال متشابهة شملت المنطقة ككل، على الرغم من استخدامها لأشكال مختلفة، هذا فضلاً عن الأحجام والأساليب أو الطرز، وربما مثلت مراكز متعددة للإنتاج وليس إنتاج سوق مثالية ومقننة. وكلا الباحثين، أوبنهايم ومووري، Oppenheim and Moorey (2001) ذكرونا بالدور الأساس الذي لعب من قبل العائلة الملكية في عملية إنتاج تلك المصنوعات اليدوية. ولذا فمن المرجح أن التفسيرات الكثيرة للغة الرمزية التي تمثلت في لهجات مختلفة والتي اتبعت من قبل الإدارات الملكية لتثبيت فنونهم المشرقية بطابع شخصيتهم الذاتية.

فأعمال العاج البارزة بوضوح في القصر الشمالي الغربي منحتنا العديد من الفرص لسبر دراستها بعمق. والأفكار التي قدمت هنا ربما تقف أو لا تقف صامدة أمام امتحان الزمن. وبالاستناد إلى ما اكتشف من معلومات جديدة، وبخاصة كنوز أعمال العاج. مع الأخذ بنظر الاعتبار أن هناك عدد لا يحصى من أعمال العاج التي لم تكتشف لحد الآن في النمرود والأكثر من ذلك ما ينتظر الاكتشاف في نينوى. عمل واحد على العاج فقط عثر عليه في صور وساربيتا، والتي تؤكد بالدليل كم هو كثير ما نحتاج إليه من أعمال التنقيب في مواقع لبنانية وسورية.

(للإطلاع على المراجع والمصادر المذكورة، تنظر قائمة مصادر ومراجع الكتاب)

INTRODUCTION

*The wealth of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria
shall be carried off before the king of Assyria (Isaiah 8, 4)*

The principal aim of this book is to publish the ivories found in the North West Palace over the last 160 years. These include the finest ivories found at the site and probably the finest in Western Asia. The first ones were found in the mid-19th century by Austen Henry Layard, arguably the best excavator of the Palace. As Barnett wrote:

‘Layard as an excavator was little less than a prodigy. It is true, he was fortunate in possessing initial assets: a high courage and determination, rare powers of observation and description, a powerful physical constitution, a sympathetic knowledge of Oriental languages, ways and peoples, and a remarkable skill in draughtsmanship ... Untrained, without predecessors except Botta, without guidance other than his native ability, young and usually single-handed in a wild and unhealthy country, Layard achieved more than any other man has ever since done in the same field, and set a standard of scientific efficiency which was almost always serviceable, compared with which the work at Nimrud and elsewhere of those on whom his mantle fell showed for many decades only a sad degeneration’ (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 18).

His 19th century successors, Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, Hormuzd Rassam, William Kennet Loftus and George Smith, ‘excavated’ in and around the North West Palace and found some ivories, but the recording was poor, the unfortunate Loftus dying before he had the opportunity to write up his finds.

Max Mallowan began a major campaign at Nimrud in 1949, a century after Layard, under the auspices of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq. He expanded the known plan of the Palace and found ivories in a number of rooms, as well as some iconic pieces in Well NN. However, it was a series of campaigns by the Iraqi Department of Antiquities and Heritage, engaged in a major programme of restoration of the Palace, that found outstanding ivories in two wells, principally Well AJ but also Well 4. Some 90 magnificent pieces from all four traditions of ivory carving were recovered from Well AJ and were speedily published (Safar & Sa’ied al-‘Iraqi 1987). Finally, in Well 4 in the south-east corner of the Palace, a collection of bone and ivory kohl pots was found, together with the skeletons of their owners. These are published here by their excavator, Muzahim Mahmud Husain.

This volume brings together for the first time, therefore, all the ivories that can be located from the 19th and 20th century excavations: they are published according to their provenance. Because of the disaster of the Gulf War, many of these ivories may never be seen again, either because they have disintegrated as a result of unfavourable storage conditions or because they have been stolen. For instance, one of the famous pair of the ‘Lioness and the youth’, usually thought to be an African, No. 356a, was stolen from the Iraq Museum as a result of the 2003 Gulf War and has not yet been recovered.

In addition to ivories from the North West Palace, three appendices discuss two Assyrian handles and a spoon from Well AJ, even though they are not made of ivory, some fine Assyrian panels found by W.K. Loftus, probably in the Central Palace of Tiglath-pileser III, and the ivories found by the British School of Archaeology in Iraq in one of the few excavated areas of domestic housing, the Town Wall houses.

While illustrating and recording the ivories as comprehensively as possible is the principal aim of the book, another has been to assess the present state of ivory studies. There is healthy academic dispute over a variety of topics from terminology to assembling style-groups and to possible centres of production. I have always believed, following Oppenheim and Moorey (2001), that the role of royal courts in the production of luxury products was crucial. I therefore consider that the numerous subtle interpretations of the same iconographic language represented the different dialects followed by the courts in establishing their own Levantine artistic individuality: however, alternative views are also discussed. I begin in Chapter

Ivories from Nimrud VI

One with an overview of the political scene in the late second/early first millennia, focussing on those states within the 'Levant' most likely to have been able to support luxury production. The principal sources are the Assyrian records, which are extensively quoted, as well as the Old Testament. The varied pattern of flourish followed by Assyrian annexation provides a framework into which to fit ivory production.

Chapter Two discusses the history of excavation of the North West Palace and the various groups of ivories found there, before collecting whatever information there is about the different locations where the ivories were found. Since records are widely dispersed and not always easy of access, relevant passages are extensively quoted. A database of all the registered objects found by the B.S.A.I. at Nimrud has only just been completed. It has been assembled by a group of volunteers, organized and supervised by Christopher Walker. This database forms the basis of Appendices 4 to 6. Unfortunately it was finished too late for the material to be included in the chapter. I am deeply grateful to Mr. Walker and the volunteers for having undertaken this task.

Topics covered in Chapter Three include the history of study, terminology and methodology. Layard published many of his ivories within three years of their discovery – once again setting a standard that few others have achieved. Publication thereafter in a series of encyclopaedias and various articles was erratic, but by the early 20th century about 150 ivories found both by Layard and Loftus had been published, enough in 1912 for Fredrik Poulsen to determine that, in addition to Phoenician and Assyrian ivories, there was another group with links to states located on the North Syrian/Turkish border. The next major advance in the study of the ivories was made by Richard Barnett in his seminal work, *The Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories in the British Museum* (1957, 2nd ed. 1975), making available both the Layard ivories and the major Loftus collection from the Burnt Palace. *C.N.I.* was followed by the *Ivories from Nimrud* series, published by the B.S.A.I., of which this is the sixth. The mass of new data made available in these catalogues has inspired ongoing studies by a variety of scholars into many different aspects of this remarkable minor art, one which illustrates the wealth and artistic variety of the early first millennium Levant.

Chapter Four discusses the vexed problem of terminology, which is still awaiting a consensus. This is followed by a description of the traditions and the formation of style-groups. The range of motifs employed in Levantine ivory workshops is surprisingly limited, and the rest of the chapter discusses some of the subtle differences in their depiction across the traditions, as well as some technical features, such as the varied types of inlay employed by the different traditions and the occasional use of fitter's or maker's marks.

Different scholars have suggested different methods of production for the ivories. The first, suggested by Layard, was that the ivories were carved in Kalhu for the Assyrian king, probably by foreign craftsmen: however, such craftsmen would have been fully occupied carrying out the king's own programme. Two other suggestions are that production was undertaken in Levantine centres, either 'commercially' in a few 'bazaars' in large centres working in a range of styles for export, or as elite palace-centred production. These options are discussed in the fourth chapter.

Chapters Five to Seven focus on the ivories of the various traditions, the Phoenician and the Syrian; the North Syrian and the Assyrian, together with some Assyrianizing ivories. Surprisingly few style-groups are represented in the Palace when compared, for instance, with the many from Room SW37, Fort Shalmaneser. Most 'Phoenician' ivories belong to the 'classic Phoenician' group, which incorporates Egyptianizing pieces: the principal Syrian group is the 'wig and wing', while the Well AJ ivories greatly expand two North Syrian groups, the 'flame and frond' and the 'round-cheeked and ringletted', among other groups. These are discussed with their foreign relations and, where evidence permits, a possible location is suggested.

Chapter Eight tries to provide an overview of the principal contributions made by the ivories of the North West Palace.

Acknowledgments

Many people have contributed to this volume in many different ways, to all of whom is owed a massive debt of gratitude for their labour and skill. First and foremost, those who excavated the ivories from the soil, starting with those in the nineteenth century, the great pioneer Austen Henry Layard followed by Henry Rawlinson, Hormuzd Rassam and William Loftus, while in the twentieth century, there was first, Max Mallowan and his B.S.A.I. team, followed by the Iraqi Department of Antiquities and Heritage. Then, conservators in both the 19th and 20th centuries in London and Baghdad have made possible the longer-term survival of these fragile objects. Perhaps the finest conservation was undertaken by the 19th century conservators in the British Museum, whose method, alas, is lost, although we know that Loftus boiled up his ivories in gelatine.

While excavation and conservation is the primary task, next comes illustration, and again there is a long list of those who have contributed to this task. Many of Layard's ivories were skilfully drawn by Edward Prentis for the Trustees of the British

Museum: most of these were reproduced in Layard's *Monuments of Nineveh* volumes, and all have recently been scanned and are available on the British Museum website: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database.aspx. Two of the Central Palace ivories were drawn by William Boutcher, thanks to which the ivories found by Loftus could be identified. Many of the drawings reproduced in this volume were generously drawn by Dirk Wicke of the University of Mainz and by Ann Searight of the British Museum. The late Marjorie Howard prepared drawings of many Assyrian-style ivories, published in *Ivories from Nimrud II*, as well as drawings of the ivory writing boards found in Well AB, some of which are reproduced here. I am extremely grateful to all of them.

While the initial photographs appeared in the 19th and early 20th centuries, particularly in Mansell's collection of photographs in the British Museum (n.d.), the first full coverage of the British Museum ivories was in Barnett's *C.N.I.*, for which volume many of the ivories had been carefully conserved, restored and beautifully photographed. Some of these photographs have been re-used in this volume, and I thank the British Museum for permission to use them. I am also more grateful than I can say to Dr. John Curtis, Keeper of the Department of the Middle East, for granting me volunteer status and for providing me with access to the ivories, both those belonging to the Museum and those of the B.S.A.I., which are being cared for by the Museum, access to the registers and allowing me to use the excellent library. All of this made my work possible.

Some photographs of the B.S.A.I. ivories were taken on site by Agatha Christie Mallowan and Barbara Parker Mallowan, others have been taken by a variety of photographers employed by the School since that time. Much use has been made of the School archive, now stored in the British Museum. These have been supplemented by new photographs taken by Stuart Laidlaw, Catherine Thomas and myself, all of which have been printed by Stuart Laidlaw. Funding to cover photographic and scanning costs has been generously provided by the B.S.A.I.

The first photographs of the superb Well AJ ivories appeared in the catalogue of the excellent exhibition arranged by the Centro Ricerche Archeologiche e Scavi di Torino per il Medio Oriente of the University of Turin, *The Land between Two Rivers* (1985), and I thank Professor Antonio Invernizzi for allowing some of these to be reproduced. Most of the photographs of the Well AJ ivories have been supplied by the Iraq Museum, and I am very grateful to the staff of the Museum for these fine photographs. I also wish to thank them for generously allowing me to photograph those Well AJ ivories which were on exhibition in 2000, when I was able to make a short visit to Baghdad, accompanying Dr. Lamia al Gailani Werr. This visit was funded by the B.S.A.I., as also was one to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in 2005. I would like to thank Dr. Joan Aruz, the Curator, and Kim Benzel and Paul Collins for their welcome and help, as well as for providing me with some fine photographs taken in their superbly-equipped Photographic Department. I am also grateful to Dr. Susan Walker, Keeper of the Department of Antiquities of the Ashmolean Museum, for making their ivories available, despite packing up for a major building programme. I also thank the National Museum of Copenhagen and the Australian Institute of Archaeology in Melbourne for information and photographs.

Thanks to the generosity of the above, it has been possible to assemble photographs of nearly all the ivories, although in a few cases, images have had to be scanned from books, some of poor quality, a poor quality image being better than none. This variety of material, photographs, drawings, digital images and scans, has made the preparation of the plates for publication particularly challenging, a task skilfully undertaken by Stuart Laidlaw of the Institute of Archaeology, U.C.L., and Helena Coffey, who also scanned the images. They have jointly designed and prepared the camera-ready copy. Without their considerable input, this book would not have appeared.

On my retirement, the Institute of Archaeology, U.C.L., appointed me an Honorary Visiting Professor, which has been an enormous help, as it allows me to use its excellent library and facilities.

The ivories having been found over such a long period of time and being dispersed from Australia to New York, it has not been possible to examine them all. Those which I have not seen have been marked in the catalogue with a *: their entries necessarily depend on earlier publications, the field registers and, where accessible, the museum registers, as well as any available photographs. In particular, the entries for the superb Well AJ ivories rely heavily on the excellent catalogue published by Fuad Safar and Muyasser Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, while those of the Well 4 ivory and bone tubes were prepared by their excavator, Muzahim Mahmud Husain: their translation was kindly arranged by Lamia al Gailani Werr. I am grateful to Muzahim for allowing publication of his material in this volume with the other ivories from the North West Palace. I also want to thank Dr. Farouk al Rawi for his excellent and speedy translation of the Synopsis into Arabic.

As in the two previous volumes, *Ivories from Nimrud IV* and *V*, Ken Kitchen has written the entries on the Egyptianizing ivories and finally established that they were not made in Egypt: Alan Millard has again read the fitter's or maker's marks, prepared the cuneiform entries and read the text, making many helpful suggestions and corrections. I thank them both warmly. I have greatly benefited from criticism by Michael Roaf and Dirk Wicke, who read early versions of the text

Ivories from Nimrud VI

– after which I rewrote it. With our common interest in ivories I have collaborated closely with both Dirk Wicke and Elena Scigliuzzo, which has been enjoyable and stimulating. Julian Reade has an unparalleled knowledge of all things Nimrud, including the archive in the British Museum, from which I have profited. Christopher Walker was in charge of the ivories in the British Museum until his retirement, and he guided me through both the Museum ivories and the complexities of the registers. I thank both of them warmly.

It is an excellent custom today that books are ‘peer-reviewed’, although this task places a heavy burden on busy colleagues. I am very grateful to David Hawkins for reading the first chapter, the political overview, and to Dominique Collon, who kindly took on the thankless task of editing the book.

One of the disadvantages of living in Wales is that it is not possible to consult Institute colleagues about the inevitable problems with computers: however, here I am extremely fortunate in having Ian and Jackie Martin ‘down the road’, who ‘fix’ them, as well as coping with many other problems, including the dogs. However, most of all, as always, I rely on my husband Luke, who has supported me in every way. As is evident from the above, this volume is multi-authored and multi-dependent.

Georgina Herrmann
Penrhos, Monmouthshire

January 2008

CHAPTER ONE

AN OVERVIEW OF THE POLITICAL SCENE IN THE LEVANT FROM AN IVORY PERSPECTIVE¹

Most of the ivories found at Nimrud were not made there but were imported as ‘gift’, tribute or booty from the minor powers of the early first millennium Levant. These had been left free to develop by the collapse first of the Hittite empire and then of the XXth dynasty in Egypt. The early twelfth century, the so-called ‘Dark Age’, saw major changes caused by a variety of factors, such as the incursions of the ‘Sea Peoples’ along the Mediterranean coast and the arrival of the Aramaeans in Syria and the Israelites in Palestine. The breakdown of long-established trading patterns and the disruption caused by climate change further disturbed the economy of the area and led to an increase in pastoralism. This pattern did not affect the whole area equally. Although some cities, such as Ugarit, were completely destroyed, others like Tyre and Sidon continued to exist and to flourish as independent centres. The situation along the Taurus was mixed. As David Hawkins has established, important centres such as Carchemish and Malatya maintained an unbroken series of kings of Hittite descent. Intermixed with Neo-Hittite powers were new Aramaean states, taking advantage of a time of Assyrian retrenchment, while in Palestine the Hebrews founded their own state of Israel, later divided into Israel and Judah. These new states typically consisted of a capital city with dependent ‘strong cities’ and villages within a geographically distinct tract of land.

Unfortunately the sources for this time, c. 1050-700, are uneven, with few internal ones. The principal early one is the Old Testament, followed from the ninth to the seventh centuries by the Assyrian records. Both sources have different agendas and must be used with caution. The Old Testament has a primarily religious focus, while the Assyrian texts record the inevitable victories and successes of the kings, whether or not they won. Nevertheless they provide an idea of the principal Levantine powers of the time, of their rulers and of their varying alliances and defeats. Also of interest is the tribute provided by the various states. It is frequently stated that the Assyrians valued ivory highly. However, it seems probable that the prestige of ivory in Assyria was very different from that in the Levant. The proportions and the distribution of Assyrian and Levantine ivory found at Nimrud differ markedly. Only some 5% or less were worked in the characteristic Assyrian style, the rest were Levantine. Of these, Assyrian ivories were almost all found in or near ceremonial contexts, while Levantine pieces were stripped of their gold overlays and stored in magazines or treasuries. In Levantine contexts, however, ivories have been found in high prestige contexts in palaces and temples at Samaria, Zincirli and Carchemish, in tombs at Tell Halaf and Salamis and in the Idaean Cave shrine.

Equally, when examining lists of tribute,² excerpts of some of which are given below, it becomes obvious that what the Assyrian kings really wanted, not surprisingly for a military state, was not ivory but metal, gold, silver, bronze, tin and iron, as well as a wide range of woods. Equally valued were horses and chariots, cattle and sheep, and, of course, people. Ivory is rarely mentioned and is usually well down the list of booty. Most references just record the material – tusks – although six kings were more specific and described the furniture they collected. However, furniture made of boxwood was as popular as ivory, particularly from Carchemish and Unqi, and here it is worth remembering that the furniture of the Phrygian kings was decorated with boxwood and juniper rather than ivory. However, the paucity of references to ivory might reflect either a lack of Assyrian interest or ivory furniture could have been included in ‘the treasure of his palace’, without further definition.

From the outset of the ivory programme it has been the aim not only to publish the ivories by their provenance and to reassemble them into coherent stylistic groups, but also to try to identify their places of manufacture. The ivory used at Nimrud is in the main elephant ivory, often from very large animals. It was a rare and expensive material, which was probably at this time sourced in Africa and imported by Phoenician maritime merchants. As such it would have been

¹ This chapter aims to provide an overview of the political and economic situation in the Levant, drawn from standard sources, such as Aubet 2001, Markoe 2000, Grayson 1991, 1996, Hawkins 1982, Lipinski 2000.

² Tribute lists have been examined for mentions of ivory by a number of scholars, including Barnett (*C.N.I.*, 114-15), Winter (1973, 409, fig. 7) and Bär (1996, 30-51).

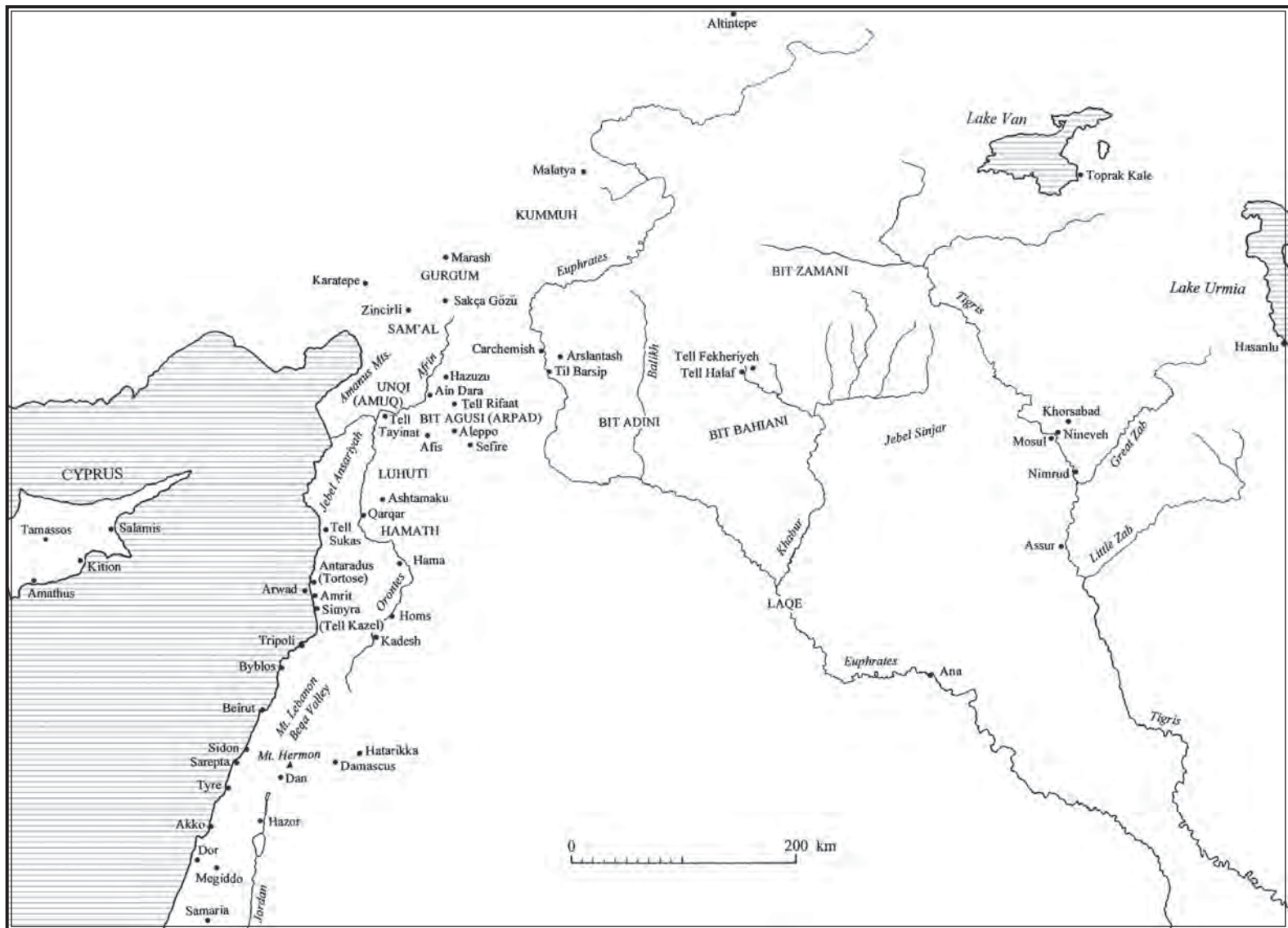


Fig. 1 Map of principal sites, drawn by A.Searight

principally employed for elite production, to be used both to demonstrate the status of the owner, probably the king, the members of the court and the aristocracy, and as elite gifts.³

As has been recognized from the early 20th century, most of the Nimrud ivories were either ‘Phoenician’ or ‘North Syrian’, though in the last forty years it has been realized that some were made in ‘Syria’. Within the North West Palace assemblage ivories belonging to all three groups or traditions have been found. The following discussion will focus on the principal minor powers of the early first millennium Levant, those of sufficient importance to support elite production and to develop their own artistic styles, those states in fact that might have had their own ivory workshops producing prestige goods. Such luxury production presumably ceased after their takeover by Assyria. This occurred at different times according to location. States in the west, along the Levant coast and in central Syria, for instance, remained relatively independent until c. 720, while those nearer metropolitan Assyria, were incorporated into the empire by Shalmaneser III c. 850. Furthermore, it is probable that most ivories were deposited in Kalhu prior to the establishment of Sargon’s new capital at Dur Sharrukin, that is before 710 BC. The probable dates of the varied style-groups of ivories are likely to reflect the varied fortunes of their centres of production, thus ‘Phoenician’ ivories in Nimrud might have been carved at any time from c. 1100 to 720 BC, while any production in Bit Adini would have ceased c. 850 and begun not before 1000.

The political scene was complex and fluid with states forming and reforming alliances in the face of the increasing threat of domination by Assyria. Assyria had already developed an imperial organization in the Middle Assyrian period, and there is evidence to prove that there was a continuing Assyrian presence in the Jezirah from the fourteenth century until the final collapse of Assyria in the seventh century, although control further west had been lost. The first sign of the re-emerging interest of Assyria in the west occurred in the reign of Adad-nirari II (911-891) who received gifts from the Aramaean state of

³ For a discussion of alternative views of production, see Chapter Four, Commercial or State Production.

Bit Bahiani on the Upper Habur. However, it is the reigns of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859) and Shalmaneser III (858-824) that see Assyria marching to the Mediterranean and receiving gifts or tribute even from the Phoenician cities, while Shalmaneser III established a permanent western capital at Til Barsib/Kar Shalmaneser in the former state of Bit Adini on the Euphrates. Although Adad-nirari III (810-783) was reasonably successful at re-establishing control after a period of rebellions, the following forty years once again saw a loss of Assyrian control and the re-establishment of local sovereignty, but that was finally to cease after the onslaughts of Tiglath-pileser III (745-727) and Sargon II (722-705), after which most states became Assyrian provinces. There is inevitably an amount of repetition in the description of the various centres below because the history of these states was interdependent. Since there are various versions of many texts, only the principal one is quoted.

THE PHOENICIANS

The name, Phoenician, Phoinix or Phoinikes, is what the Greeks called the merchants of the Levant sea-board (Aubet 2001, 6), not how the citizens of the centres along the narrow coastal territory between Aradus or Arvad and Akko, essentially modern Lebanon, thought of themselves. Unfortunately, the name suggests that the Phoenicians considered themselves to be a state, for which there is no evidence. Like so many Near Eastern peoples they were city-dwellers, and their loyalty was to their city – the men of Sidon were Sidonians and those from Tyre, Tyrians. Sometimes one city would be dominant, and Sidon control Tyre, or vice versa, but still the citizens would have thought of themselves as Sidonians or Tyrians, not Phoenicians, and the cities would have continued to be controlled by their own Councils of Elders.

The Phoenician cities were established in the Late Bronze Age (c. 1550 BC) and have essentially continued to the present time, although with changes of fortune (Bikai 1992; Markoe 2000, 11). The time focussed on here is c. 1100 to 700 BC, a time of considerable wealth and prosperity and the probable time of production of the ‘Phoenician’ ivories. The earliest reference was in the reign of Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076: Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 42, A.0.87.4, 24-30), who undertook an expedition in his fifth year to the Mediterranean to obtain supplies of cedar for the Anu-Adad temple. ‘I continued to the land Amurru (and) conquered the entire land [Amur]ru. I received tribute from the city Arvad (and) lands Byblos (and) Sidon (and) a crocodile (and) a large female monkey of the sea-coast’. Tyre was not listed among the donors.

Byblos

Byblos is located at the foot of the Lebanese mountains 37 km. north of Beirut. It is sited on a promontory with a central spring and two small adjacent harbours and was the principal coastal emporium for trade with Egypt in the third and second millennia. Tiglath-pileser I was given tribute by Byblos in 1109, some forty years before the visit of the Egyptian ambassador, Wen-Amon, in 1070. Wen-Amon has left a remarkable account of a journey he made to try to obtain supplies of cedar from Zakarbaal, king of Byblos, in exchange for rolls of papyrus (Aubet 2001, 356-362). By this time Egypt was a suppliant rather than in control of the trade: Levantine maritime dominance had begun, matched by evidence for urban expansion within Phoenicia, with signs of renewal at Tyre and Sarepta, and possibly Phoenician destruction followed by rebuilding at Tell Dor (Markoe 2000, 30-31). The presence of Phoenician pottery on Cyprus from the second half of the 11th century suggests a westward expansion of Phoenician trade. Byblos remained an important trading centre during the Iron Age, both for cedar and papyrus.

Nothing is known of King Ahiram of Byblos, other than Ithobaal’s inscription on his father’s sarcophagus. Unfortunately the date of the sarcophagus is strongly disputed, for, with its superb sculptures, it is a crucial monument for defining the development of early Phoenician art. Some scholars have suggested a date in the early 12th century for the sarcophagus itself, partly because of a comparison of the banquet scene carved on the side with that on an ivory from a 12th century context in Megiddo (e.g. Markoe 2000, 144; Rehm 2004), while Porada convincingly argued for a 10th century date (1973, 362-364). Recently Sass has proposed a very late date in the ninth or even eighth centuries both for the sarcophagus and an ivory pyxis found at Nimrud (No. 234: 2005, 75-82). Its date is, therefore, far from certain.

The first Neo-Assyrian king to reach the Mediterranean was Ashurnasirpal II (883-859), who made no attempt to ‘conquer’ the cities but collected ‘tribute’. What is interesting is that he was given ivory from a *nahiru*, sea-horse or whale (blower), according to the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary, rather than an elephant at this time.

‘I made my way to the slopes of Mount Lebanon (and) went up to the Great Sea of the land Amurru. I cleansed my weapons in the Great Sea (and) made sacrifices to the gods. I received tribute from the kings of the sea coast, from the lands of the people of Tyre, Sidon, Byblos Mahallatu, Maizu, Kaizu, Amurru, and the city Arvad, which is (on an island) in the sea – silver, gold, tin, bronze, a bronze casserole, linen garments with multi-coloured trim, a large

Ivories from Nimrud VI

female monkey, a small female monkey, ebony, boxwood, ivory of *nahirus* (which are) sea creatures'. (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 218-219, A.O. 101.1 iii 84b-90)

The monkeys can be seen on Slab D7 on the façade of the throne room of the North West Palace (Meuszynski 1981, Taf. 5).

Byblos	Tyre and Sidon	Arvad	Israel	Judah	Assyria
Zakarbaal					Tiglath-pileser I 1114-1076
Ahram c. 1000	Abibaal		David 1000-961	David 1000-961	Ashur-rabi II 1012-972
Ithobaal, son of Ahiram					Ashur-resh-ishi II 971-967
Abibaal	Hiram I 971-939		Solomon 965-931	Solomon 965-931	Tiglath-pileser II 966-935
Yehimilk	Baal-eser I 935-919		Jeroboam 931-910	Rehoboam 931-913	Ashurdan II 932-913
Abiibaal	Abdastrato 918-910		Baasha 909-886	Asa 911-870	Adad-nirari II 911-891
Sibitti-ba'al		Matinu-Baal	Omri 885-874	Jehoshaphat 870-848	Tukulti-Ninurta II 889-884
	Ithobaal 887-856	Matinu-Baal	Ahab 874-853		Ashurnasirpal II 883-859
	Baal-azor II 855-830		Joram 852-841	Jehoram 848-841	Shalmaneser III 858-824
	Mattan II/ Metenna 829-821		Jehu 841-814	Athaliah 841-835	Shamshi-Adad V 824-810
	Pygmalion 820-774		Jehoahaz 814-798 Joash 798-782	Jehoash 835-796 Amaziah 796-767	Adad-nirari III 810-783
			Jeroboam II 782-753	Azariah 783-742	Shalmaneser IV 782-772
				Uzziah 767-752	Assurdan III 772-754
	Ithobaal II 750-740				Assur-nirari V 754-746
Sibitti-ba'al	Hiram II 739-730	Matan-Baal	Menahem 745-738		Tiglath-pileser III 745-727
	Mattan II 730-729		Pekah 737-732	Jehoahaz I 735-715	Shalmaneser V 727-722
	Luli/ Elulaios 729-694		Hoshea 732-722	Hezekiah 715-687	Sargon II 722-705
Uru-milki					Sennacherib 705-681
	Baal I 680-640 Taba'lu of Sidon	Abdil'ti Matanu-ba'al			Esarhaddon 681-670
Milki-ashapa	Abdi-milkutti of Sidon	Iakinlu Azi-baal			Ashurbanipal 668-627

Table I, Phoenicia, Israel and Assyria.

In 853 Byblos joined a coalition of 12 kings, the 'Damascus coalition', which fought Shalmaneser III at Qarqar, probably with an inconclusive result. The alliance consisted of Urhilina the Hamathite, Hadad-ezer the Damascene, Ahab the Israelite, Byblos, Egypt, Irqanatu, Matinu-ba'al of the city Arvad, Usanatu, Adunu-ba'al of Šianu, Gindibu of the Arabs, Ba'asa, the man of Bit Ruhubi, the Ammonite (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 23, A.O.102.2, ii, 89b-102). Shalmaneser III claimed to have been victorious and continued to the Mediterranean, but he had to fight three further battles in 849, 848 and 845. However Byblos had to give tribute in 838.

The following kings of Byblos gave tribute: Sibitti-ba'al of Gubla/Byblos to Tiglath-pileser III (Tadmor 1994, 69, Ann.13, 11); Uru-milki the Gublite to Sennacherib (Luckenbill 1989, II, 119, para. 239) and Milki-ashapa to Ashurbanipal as one of 22 Levantine kings 'of the sea-coast, of the midst of the sea and of the dry land, vassals of mine' (Luckenbill 1989, II, 340, para. 876).

Byblos was excavated by French archaeologists between the First and Second World Wars. The principal settlement of this large and prosperous city occupied 3 hectares and served as a major harbour and trading city in the Early and Middle Bronze Ages, with public buildings and large residential areas. Iron Age Byblos is less well known.

Tyre and Sidon

Tyre and Sidon were important centres of maritime trade, located only 35 km. apart. Sidon was pre-eminent in the 11th century, for the city gave tribute to Tiglath-pileser I (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 42, A.0.87.4, 24-30), but the balance of power between the two cities then shifted towards Tyre (Markoe 2000, 32-33). Wen-Amon mentioned the harbour of Tyre in 1070, although most of his story is about Byblos (Aubet 2001, 357). By the end of the 11th century Tyre had established her first colony on Cyprus at Kition (Larnaka), shown by a massive influx of White Painted and Bucchero wares found in Stratum XIII of the deep sounding undertaken by Patricia Bikai (1978, 74).

The first mention of Tyre in the Old Testament is during the reigns of Hiram of Tyre (971-939) and Solomon of Israel. The two kings formed a mutually convenient alliance, with Hiram supplying timber and skilled craftsmen for the Temple that Solomon planned to build, and Solomon providing Hiram with much-needed food-stuffs, corn, oil and wine, as well as some extra territory as described in both I Kings, 5, 1-12 and 2 Chronicles 2, 13.

'Now Hiram king of Tyre sent his servants to Solomon, when he heard that they had anointed him king in place of his father; for Hiram always loved David. And Solomon sent word to Hiram. "You know that David my father could not build a house for the name of the Lord his God because of the warfare with which his enemies surrounded him, until the Lord put them under the soles of his feet. But now the Lord my God has given me rest on every side; there is neither adversary nor misfortune. And so I purpose to build a house for the name of the Lord my God ... Now therefore command that cedars of Lebanon be cut for me; and my servants will join your servants and I will pay you for your servants such wages as you set; for you know that there is no one among us who knows how to cut timber like the Sidonians.' I Kings 5, 1-12.

'Now I [Hiram] have sent a skilled man, endowed with understanding. Hiram-abi, the son of a woman of the daughters of Dan, and his father was a man of Tyre. He is trained to work in gold, silver, bronze, iron, stone and wood, and in purple, blue and crimson fabrics and fine linen, and to do all sorts of engraving and execute any design that may be assigned him, with your craftsmen, the craftsmen of my lord, David your father. Now therefore the wheat and barley, oil and wine of which my lord has spoken, let him send to his servants; and we will cut whatever timber you need from Lebanon, and bring it to you in rafts by sea to Joppa, so that you may take it up to Jerusalem.' 2 Chronicles 2, 13.

It was not only Tyrian craftsmen that were famous. Sidonians were also known as skilled craftsmen, particularly working in bronze, and were mentioned in both I Kings and the Iliad (23:740-745). Indeed the words Sidonian and Tyrian may have been inter-changeable.

Hiram and Solomon were also reported to have formed a trading partnership, undertaking maritime expeditions to Ophir:

'For the king had a fleet of ships of Tarshish at sea with the fleet of Hiram. Once every three years the fleet of ships of Tarshish used to come bringing gold, silver, ivory, apes and peacocks' (I Kings 10, 22).⁴

By the early 10th century, therefore, Tyre was a flourishing maritime and commercial power. Isaiah wrote: 'Tyre, the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth' (Isaiah 23, 8). Yet this benign view of Tyre is very different from that generally promoted by Western scholars, who have followed the derogatory Greek view of the Phoenicians:

'Unlike the Near East or mediaeval Europe, ancient Greece considered trade to be incompatible with the Greek concept of aristocracy and ethics. The ethics of Homer forbade the practice of commerce as a profession, for social rather than economic reasons. In the Greek world, the professional trader had a very low social status and belonged to a despised social class. The Homeric noble ideal assumes that goods are acquired through looting and piracy, hence the completely negative attitude seen in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* to trade and traders and by extension, to the Phoenicians.' (Aubet 2001, 127-128)

⁴ Lipinski considers that the Biblical references to the Tarshish fleet of Hiram and Solomon were anachronistic (Lipinski 1995, II, 1322).

Ivories from Nimrud VI

There is, of course, no evidence that Phoenician merchants were low status: Ezekiel, for instance, described them as ‘princes of the sea’ (Ezekiel 26:16). Merchants in the ancient world enjoyed considerable prestige, had a high social status and were closely linked with the governing class and the institutions of temple and palace (Aubet 2001, 107). The kings of Tyre and Byblos were advised by a ‘Council of Elders or representatives of the most renowned and powerful families in the city, whose power probably lay in their mercantile interests’ (Aubet 2001, 145). This administrative system is familiar across the area through time. It was only the Greeks who derided merchants, because of their different social system.

Tyre and Sidon gave tribute to most Neo-Assyrian monarchs, although it is possible that in this first phase of Assyrian expansion this may have been little more than the offering of propitiatory gifts. Ashurnasirpal II (883-859) marched to the Mediterranean and received the tribute of ‘the kings of the sea coast, from the lands of the people of Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, ... and the city Arvad’ (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 218-219, A.O.101.1, iii. 84b-92a). According to the Banquet Stela, envoys from Tyre and Sidon were honoured and asked to the inaugural celebrations of the North West Palace, although men from Arvad and Byblos were not, perhaps suggesting their relative wealth at the time (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 293, A.O. 101.30, 145).

It was during the reign of Ashurnasirpal II that Ahab of Israel ‘took to wife Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Sidonians’ (I Kings 16, 31), actually Ithobaal of Tyre (887-856), confirming the continuing close relations between Tyre and Israel and the inter-changeability of the two names, Tyre and Sidon. The ninth and eighth century ‘kingdom of the Sidonians’ extended from Akko to Nahr el-Kelb, some 100 km. away.

Shalmaneser III (858-824) reached the shores of the Mediterranean in his first campaign and claimed that he received tribute from the ‘kings of the sea coast’, but then focussed on controlling Syria. In 853 the ‘Damascus coalition’, 12 kings led by Damascus and Hamath fought Shalmaneser at Qarqar, the result of which was uncertain, although again Shalmaneser reached the Mediterranean. He defeated the coalition in his 18th year, 841, and received tribute from Tyre and Sidon, which was twice recorded on the Balawat gates: ‘I received tribute from the boats of the people of Tyre and Sidon’ and ‘I received tribute from the cities of the people of Tyre and Sidon: silver, gold, tin, bronze, wool, lapis lazuli (and) carnelian’ (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 141, A.O.102.66; 147, 102.84). He erected a stela and marched north along the Phoenician coast. The next Assyrian king to be given tribute was Adad-nirari III (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 213, A.O.104.8, 5b-14).

The accession of Tiglath-pileser III saw the beginning of a new phase of Assyrian conquest and control, and resulted in the imposition of fresh dues and service upon all the Levantine states, including Hiram of Tyre (Tadmor 1994, 69, Ann.13, 11). Although Gubla/Byblos is listed, Sidon is not. The tribute consists of a general list from all donors of the usual mixture of precious metals, elephant’s hides, ivory, garments, woods and ‘all kinds of precious royal treasure’, as well as animals.

In a Nimrud tablet dated 728, Tiglath-pileser III records that he sent his official, the *rab-sha reshi*, to Tyre, and received from Metenna of Tyre the sum of 150 talents of gold (Tadmor 1994, 171, Summary Inscription 7, r.16). Sargon II also brought Tyre ‘under his sway’ (Luckenbill 1989, II, 61, para. 118).

In his third campaign in Syria and Palestine Sennacherib (705-681) imposed a heavy tribute on various states, including Tyre:

‘Luli [Elulæus], king of Sidon [Tyre], was afraid to fight me and fled to Iadnana [Cyprus], which is in the midst of the sea, and (there) sought a refuge. In that land in terror of the weapons of Assur, my lord, he died. Tuba’lu I placed on the throne of his kingdom, and imposed upon him my royal tribute’ (Luckenbill 1989, II, 147, para. 326).

In his sixth campaign he ordered ‘Tyrian, Sidonian and Cyprian sailors, captives of my hand’ to sail boats built by Hittite people down the Tigris to Opis (Luckenbill 1989, II, 145, para. 319). He also made the people of Tyre ‘carry the headpad and mold bricks’ for the building of Nineveh (Luckenbill 1989, II, 166, para. 383). After this defeat Tyre and Sidon once again separated into two separate city-states (Bikai 1978, 74).

Esarhaddon (680-669) commented on how he conquered Sidon ‘in the midst of the sea’, and captured ‘Abdi-milkutti, its king, who had fled before my arms into the midst of the sea, I pulled out of the sea, like a fish’ and took the ‘wealth he had treasured up – gold, silver, precious stones, elephant hides, ivory, maple and boxwood, garments of brightly colored wool and linen, of every description, the treasure of his palace, I carried off en masse. His people, from far and near, which were countless, (with their) cattle, flocks and asses, I deported to Assyria’ (Luckenbill 1989, II, 211, 527). Esarhaddon built a city in his new Assyrian province, and settled ‘people, spoil of my bow, of mountain and sea of the setting sun,’ there. Two alabaster ‘vases of oil, large and full, which (came) with the rich goods of every kind, from the treasure of the palace of Abdi-milkuti, king of Sidon, which is in the midst of the sea, which my strong arm captured ...’ were deposited at Ashur (Luckenbill 1989, II, 277-278, para. 721).

During his tenth campaign Esarhaddon besieged Tyre and conquered Baal, king of Tyre, who ‘had put his trust in his friend Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, had thrown off my royal yoke and had sent me insolent (messages)’ (Luckenbill 1989, II, 219-220, para. 556). He commemorated his victory on the Zincirli stela, which shows two figures at his feet, probably

Usanahuru, the Egyptian crown prince, and Baal, made a treaty with Baal (Luckenbill 1989, II, 229-230, para. 586-587) and installed an Assyrian governor.

In his third campaign Ashurbanipal ‘marched against Baal, king of Tyre, who dwells in the midst of the sea, when he did not observe my royal command and did not obey the word of my lips. I threw up earthworks against him, by sea and land I seized his approaches’. Baal gave Ashurbanipal his daughter and his nieces with large dowries to serve as concubines, and his son (Luckenbill 1989, II, 296, para. 779). Ashurbanipal later returned the son and tore down the earthworks, receiving a rich tribute (Luckenbill 1989, II, 325, para. 848). Ashurbanipal ‘established the yoke of his rule over Tyre, which is in the midst of the Upper Sea’ (Luckenbill 1989, II, 374, para. 970).

Ancient Tyre was sited on two reefs, the larger one of which measured c. 500 m., and is now joined to the mainland by sediments built up along a mole constructed by Alexander to enable him to defeat the city (Markoe 2000, 195-198). Tyre was first occupied in the Early Bronze Age, abandoned in the Middle Bronze Age, and began to be re-used in the Late Bronze Age. Urban development, according to a sounding by Bikai, did not begin until the end of the 15th century. ‘The small area excavated at Tyre also showed continuity in construction from Stratum XV of the Late Bronze Age through Stratum XI of the 9th century’ (Bikai 1978, pls. 64-66; 1992, 133). A rare and important find from Stratum XIII 2 was a small ivory palmette capital, similar to some from Nimrud (Bikai 1978, pls. xxxviii, 74/11/194, pl. lxxxv 12).

Tyre greatly expanded during the reign of Hiram (969-936), who, according to Josephus, joined the islands and rebuilt the harbour and temples, all of which suggests great wealth. The ancient sources make it clear that Tyre was densely populated with multi-storeyed buildings, occupying an area of some 16 hectares. As the Assyrian reliefs show, it was surrounded by a wall with towers and arched gateways. Apart from Bikai’s sounding, excavation has not been possible but the temples of Melqart and Astarte and the royal palace with its residence, archives and treasuries would have been sited on the acropolis in the south-west. The industrial areas, fisheries, metal foundries and purple dye installations, would have been sited in the east. Tyre was dependent on the mainland for food, water and fuel, based on the city Ushu.

Sidon, 35 km. north of Tyre, is on a small promontory bordered by reefs, next to two natural harbours (Markoe 2000, 199-201). An oval mound of some 58 hectares is sited between two rivers, an area of which is currently being excavated by the Lebanese Directorate General of Antiquities, although most of the area is still densely occupied. It consists of an elevated coastal area to the west, where the principal public buildings and elite housing would have been sited, and a low flat one to the east. Sidon controlled a narrow agricultural plain and ‘strong walled cities where there were supplies for his garrisons’, mentioned by both Sennacherib and Esarhaddon (Luckenbill 1989, II, 119, para. 239; 205, para. 512). Sidon also had a number of suburban cemeteries with tombs from the 14th century to the early Roman period. Nineteenth century excavations by the French recovered a number of shrines or *naiskoi*, now in the Louvre and recently republished by Gubel (2002a, 82-84, nos. 71-74), with important similarities to some ivories. Sidon also controlled some of the eastern foothills of the mountains into the Beqaa valley, providing access to Syria and Transjordan.

Sited between Tyre and Sidon was the small harbour town of *Sarepta*, excavated by the University of Pennsylvania from 1969-1974. Soundings in both a residential area on a high area of the mound and an industrial area have revealed continuous occupation from its foundation in the beginning of the Late Bronze Age to the Hellenistic period. An ivory from the site showed the head of a sphinx represented frontally and is one of the very few found in Phoenicia (Pritchard 1978, 143, fig. 139; Suter 1992, 16, fig. 5).

Arvad

Another Phoenician city regularly mentioned in Assyrian texts was Arvad. This was located on a roughly shaped oval island of some 40 hectares, some 2.5 km. from the Syrian coast. It had twin harbours, would have been protected by strong defences, some still very impressive, and would have consisted of multi-storey houses. The island is still densely occupied and is completely unexcavated. On the mainland, opposite Arvad is Antaradus, modern Tartus, while 5 km. to the south was Amrit, which served as another port for Arvad. The town of Amrit occupied some 6 sq. km., with a rectangular tell of some 110 x 140 m. West of the settlement is the famous sanctuary, a porticoed temple complex with a chapel set in a rock-cut basin, a monument, as Gubel has observed, shown on Assyrian reliefs.

While Tyre and Sidon were southern ports, with connections to Egypt and Cyprus, Arvad and Antaradus were northern Phoenician emporia trading with central and north Syria and south-east Turkey. Their geographical location, controlling one of the passes across the mountains and the road through the Homs Gap between the Lebanon and the Ansariyah mountains, and their different political connections would have affected the local art, as can be seen by stelae found at Arvad in the 19th century showing opposed griffins and a couchant sphinx (Fig. 34; Perrot & Chipiez 1885, III, 131, fig. 76; 129, fig. 73 and see p. 87 below).

Tribute was regularly exacted from the Arvadites by the Assyrian kings. The first to impose a tribute was Tiglath-pileser

Ivories from Nimrud VI

I: he 'rode in boats of the people of Arvad (and) travelled successfully a distance of three double hours from the city Arvad, an island, to the city Samuru of the land of Amurru. I killed at sea a *nahiru*, which is called a sea-horse' (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 37, A.0.87.3. 16-25). About a century later Ashur-bel-kala (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 103, A.0.89.7, iv, 1-4) killed a *nahiru* in the Great Sea. Ashurnasirpal II marched to the Mediterranean and received the tribute of the kings of the sea-coast, including Arvad (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 218-219, A.0.101.1, iii.84b-92a). In 855 Arvad joined the 'Damascus coalition', an anti-Assyrian coalition of twelve kings led by Hadad-ezer of Damascus and Urhilina of Hamath, but it was only a minor player, its king Matinu-ba'al contributing just 200 soldiers to the combined forces (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 23, A.0.102.2. ii. 89b-102). Shalmaneser III claimed to have defeated the coalition at Qarqar and continued to the Mediterranean, but he had to fight three further battles in 849, 848 and 845. The next Assyrian king to defeat Damascus and to receive tribute from the Phoenician cities was Adad-nirari III, who 'marched to the great sea in the west. I erected my lordly statue in the city Arvad, which is on an island in the sea' (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 211, A.0.104.7, 4-8). At the beginning of the eighth century Arvad flourished because of its skill at ship-building, still continuing today.

After the period of weakness in the early eighth century, Tiglath-pileser III re-established control over the Levantine states and received tribute from Matan-Baal of Arvad (Tadmor 1994, 171, Summary Inscription 7, 10). In 701 Abdi-li'ti the king gave lavish gifts to Sennacherib and kissed his feet (Luckenbill 1989, II, 119, para. 239), while his successor, Matan-Baal is mentioned as one of the kings of the sea coast ordered by Esarhaddon to transport building material to Nineveh (Luckenbill 1989, II, 690). Ashurbanipal brought 'Iakinlu, king of Arvad, who dwells in the midst of the sea, who had not submitted to the kings, my fathers', under his yoke (Luckenbill 1989, II, 296, para. 780). 'After Iakinlu, king of Arvad, died, ... the sons of Iakinlu, who dwelt in the midst of the sea, came up out of the sea, and with their rich gifts came and kissed my feet. I showed favour to Azi-Baal and installed him as king of Arvad' (Luckenbill 1989, II, 297, 783).

Another version of the annals was inscribed on a tablet commemorating the rebuilding of the temple of Sin at Harran: 'Ikkilu [Iakinlu], king of Arvad, who dwells in the wide sea, whose abode, like (that) of a fish, is in the unmeasured waters of the mighty deep, who had betaken himself to the frightful sea, not submitting to my yoke ... made his submission as my vassal, and drew my yoke. (The payment of) gold, dark-red wool, black wool, fish and birds, I imposed upon him as yearly tribute' (Luckenbill 1989, II, 352, para. 912).

NORTH SYRIA

After the collapse of the Hittite empire a number of centres, principally Carchemish but also Malatya, Marash, Unqi and Kummuh continued Hittite traditions. The Aramaeans, first mentioned by Tiglath-pileser I, who 'crossed the Euphrates 28 times, twice in one year, in pursuit of the *ahlamu*-Arameans', and by Ashur-bel-kala (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 42, A.0.87.4, 34-36; 101-103, A.0.89.7 iii-iv), settled in large numbers across the Fertile Crescent from c. 1100 onwards, forming a series of Aramaean states, the most important of which would be the kingdom of Aram with its capital at Damascus. Some states were initially under the control of Hittite dynasties but then fell to Aramaean control, such as Bit Adini. Hamath too was a Hittite centre, later Aramaized (see Hawkins 1982, 388-395, 399-401, 409-428). However, there are no records of conflict on ethnic grounds between the two peoples, although the early first millennium was a time of constant manoeuvring for power between the different states. These formed alliances both against other Syrian states and then against the ever-increasing threat of Assyria, which first became a threat during the reign of Ashur-dan II (934-912), increasing under Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III. They gradually lost their independence and were annexed by Assyria.

Carchemish

Carchemish or, more correctly Karkamish, located on the west bank of the Euphrates at an important crossing point, had been a major Hittite centre throughout the Empire. It had been the seat of the Hittite viceroys who governed Syria under the authority of the Great King at Hattusa. It survived the collapse of the Empire and maintained an unbroken line of kings, becoming the pre-eminent power in north Syria and south-east Turkey, and continuing as a city-state (Hawkins 2000, I, 1, 73-76). It preserved and developed many features of Hittite civilization, such as the architecture and its tradition of monumental sculpture with a strong artistic style and inscribed in the hieroglyphic script.

The site of Carchemish was identified by George Smith in 1876. The British Museum sent an expedition to recover some sculptures in 1878-1881 and undertook excavations there from 1911-1914, which were resumed in 1920 but were soon terminated by the location of the Turkish-Syrian border through the site. The site is extensive and consists of three main areas, the citadel mound, the inner town protected by earth ramparts and the outer town with its own fortifications. Excavation concentrated on a public quarter of the city at the foot of the citadel from the water-gate on the Euphrates.

Excavations revealed wall façades decorated with orthostats and a temple of the Storm God (Hawkins 1984, 104a, 70). Seven ivory palmettes were found in loose soil in front of an altar in the inner court of this temple (Woolley & Barnett 1978, 167, pl. 71 f). They differ from other examples of this popular motif.

The Middle Assyrian kings, Adad-nirari I (1305-1274) and his son Shalmaneser I, both marched as far as Carchemish (Grayson 1986, *RIMA* 1, 131, A.0.76.1; 184, A.0.77.1), while Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076) went into the desert in the midst of the Aramaeans and raided from Suhi to the city of Carchemish, where he met Ini-Teshub, ‘king of the land of Hatti’ (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 23, A.0.87.1, 44-63). A fragmentary text of Assur-bel-kala on the Broken Obelisk also mentions Carchemish (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 101, A.0.89.7 ii 19b-24). However, it is really with the reign of Ashurnasirpal II that much fuller information is provided of the situation in north Syria. Ashurnasirpal

‘crossed the Euphrates, which was in flood, in rafts (made of inflated) goatskins (and) approached the land Carchemish. I received tribute from Sangara, king of the land Hatti, 20 talents of silver, a gold ring, a gold bracelet, gold daggers, 100 talents of bronze, 250 talents of iron, bronze (tubs), bronze pails, bronze bath-tubs, a bronze oven, many ornaments from his palace the weight of which could not be determined, beds of boxwood, thrones of boxwood, dishes of boxwood decorated with ivory, 200 adolescent girls, linen garments with multi-coloured trim, purple wool, red-purple wool, *gišnugallu*-alabaster, elephants’ tusks, a chariot of polished (gold), a gold couch with trimming – (objects) befitting his royalty.’ (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 217, col. iii, 65-68).

Ashurnasirpal illustrated some tusks given by Sangara, king of Hatti, on Slab B17 in his throne room,⁵ and on Band L1 of the pair of gates from the Temple of Mamu at Balawat (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 349, 90; Barnett, Curtis, et al., 2008, in press). Ashurnasirpal settled some ‘Hittites’ at Kalhu and invited envoys of Hatti to the inauguration of his new Juniper Palace (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 293, A.0.101.30, 144).

The same king, Sangara, challenged Shalmaneser III, who was heavily involved in fighting the north and south Syrian states throughout his reign, undertaking no less than 19 of his 34 recorded campaigns against Syria (Hawkins 1982, 391). In Year 1 he faced and defeated a ‘western coalition’ of ‘Haianu the Sam’alite, Sapalulme the Patinean, [Ahunu], the man of Bit Adini and Sangara the [Carchemishite]’ who ‘put their trust in each other and prepared for war’ (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 9, A.0.102.1, 53-64). Having stormed a fortress belonging to Carchemish in his second year he was given 2 talents of gold, 70 talents of silver, 30 talents of bronze, 100 talents of iron, 20 talents of red-purple wood, 500 garments, his daughter and the daughters of his nobility, oxen and sheep, by Sangara. He also imposed an annual tribute of 1 mina of gold, 1 talent of silver, 2 talents of purple wool (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 18, A.0.102.2 ii 27b-30a). In his sixth year he again collected tribute from Sangara, which he illustrated on the Balawat Gates, as well as showing a fortified city on the banks of the Euphrates (King 1915, pl. xxxiii; Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 142, A.0.102.70). Further tribute was received in his tenth and eleventh years (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 66, A.0.102.6 ii 56; 14, 85-86; A.0.102.8 35). Sangara is mentioned for the last time in 848 when victory is claimed over 97 cities of Carchemish.

Hatti once again challenged Assyria by withholding tribute, causing Adad-nirari III to march against it in his fifth year (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 209, A.0.104.6, 11b-20).

During the subsequent period of Assyrian weakness, the state must have been rich and prosperous, although there are few external references to it. It was artistically active with all its rulers represented by inscriptions and sculptures, and it is possible to reconstruct a dynasty of at least three generations from an Astiruwa through the regent Yariri, guardian of Astiruwa’s son, Kamani. Kamani was succeeded by the son of his vizier, either Astiru II or perhaps Pisiri, the last king of Carchemish (738-717: Hawkins 1982, 406-407, 412).

The accession of Tiglath-pileser III led to a major change of Assyrian policy resulting in the annexation of most Levantine states: Arpad in 740, Unqi and the north of Hamath in 738, Damascus and north Israel in 732. Many centres show traces of the Assyrian destruction and of the subsequent construction of Assyrian governors’ palaces. Unfortunately Tiglath-pileser’s inscriptions are fragmentary, but in his eighth year he mentions a number of kings, including Pisiri of Carchemish, who provided tribute (Tadmor 1994, 69, Ann.13, 11; Ann. 21, 9-10).

However, once again in Sargon’s fifth year ‘Pisiri of Carchemish sinned against the oath by the great gods’, and Sargon ‘brought him and his family out (of his city) in chains. Gold, silver, together with the property of his palace and the rebellious people of Carchemish who were with him, with their goods, I carried off and brought into Assyria’ (Luckenbill 1989, II, 4, para. 8). Carchemish was turned into an Assyrian province in 717, its people deported and new peoples settled there.

⁵ Slab B17, Barnett & Lorenzini 1975, 31; Meuszynski 1981, Taf. 1. Two ninth century Assyrian ivories from Fort Shalmaneser and the Nabu Temple also show tusks: an Assyrian official introduces tribute-bearers in long coats, carrying tusks and earrings (*J.N.* II, no. 100), and two tributaries in long shawled garments on a fragmentary panel from the Nabu Temple carry tusks on their shoulders (*J.N.* II, no. 72). Both Layard and Mallowan found tusks in a number of rooms, including ZT12, AB and Court AJ.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

Sargon stored some of the booty he seized from Carchemish in the ‘Juniper palace of Calah’, which he ‘filled to bursting with luxuries’.

‘At that time I placed into that treasure-house 11 talents, 30 minas of gold, 2,100 talents, 24 minas of silver, out of the huge (amount of) plunder which my hand captured from Pisiris, king of Carchemish, of the land of Hatti, by the bank of the Euphrates’ (Luckenbill 1989, II, 73, para. 138).

Samal/Bit Gabbari	Unqi/Pattin	Kummuh	Carchemish	Bit Agusi	Assyria
			Ini-Teshub		Tiglath-pileser I 1114-1076
			Ura-Tarhunza Tudhaliya		
					Ashur-rabi II 1012-972
				Masuwari	Ashur-resh-ishi II 971-967
			Suhi I	Stela B - Hamiyata	Tiglath-pileser II 966-935
Gabbar c. 920 ?			Astuwatamanza	Stela A Ariyahina, son	Ashurdan II 934-912
BMH c. 890 ?			Suhi II		Adad-nirari II 911-891
			Katuwa		Tukulti-Ninurta II 889-884
	Lubarna c. 870 Sapalulme	Qatazilu 866-858	Sangara c. 870-848	Gusi c. 870	Ashurnasirpal II 883-859
Haianu 858-853 Š'L (son)	Qalparunda, 857, 853 Lubarna II 832 Sasi 829	Kundashpi	Sangara c. 870-848	Aramu 858-834	Shalmaneser III 858-824
Kulamua 840-830					Shamshi-Adad V 824-810
QRL		Ushpilulume	Astiruwa	Atarshumki 805-796	Adad-nirari III 810-783
Panammu I			Yariri		Shalmaneser IV 782-772
Bar-sur			Kamani		Assurdan III 772-754
				Mati-'ilu 754-740	Assur-nirari V 754-746
Panammu II 733/732	Tutammu Assyria 738	Kushtashpi (750)	Astiru II or Pisiri 738-717	Assyria 740	Tiglath-pileser III 745-727
Bar-rakib			Pisiri 738-717		Shalmaneser V 727-722
Assyria		Mutallu Assyria 711	Pisiri 738-717 Assyria 717		Sargon II 722-705

Table II, Syria and Assyria

Winter has convincingly proposed that Carchemish was *the* pre-eminent power in North Syria and was a major cultural centre with a strong artistic signature applied both to major and minor art, also visible on sites such as Zincirli and Til Barsib. She suggested that Carchemish not only manufactured and exported luxury goods but lent craftsmen to other polities (1983). Russell went further and suggested that some of the ivories in the North West Palace had actually been captured from Pisiri (1998, 698). However, there is little reason to agree with his proposal, since no typically ‘Carchemishy’ ivories have been found at Nimrud, and Pisiri’s treasure was of silver and gold.

There is a fine sequence of dated Carchemish sculptures. One prominent early inscribed group was the work of the four-generation dynasty of Suhis – Suhis I, Astuwatamanzas, Suhis II, Katuwas – and is considered to have begun before the

reign of Ashurnasirpal II and ended before the reign of Sangara (c. 870-848). This early Neo-Hittite style is remarkably homogeneous with similar sculptures at Ain Dara, Carchemish itself and Marash, and with a later phase at Carchemish, Marash and Til Barsib. Two figures are typical, the Storm God and the ruler: the latter has hair worked in pot-hooks and falling in a bunch on the shoulder and a spade-shaped beard. He wears a long, short-sleeved, belted and fringed robe with a sword. Examples have been found on sculptures at Gurgum, Carchemish (Katuwa) and Zincirli (Hawkins 1982, 382-387).

Sam'al/Bit Gabbari/Y'DY

Sam'al (modern Zincirli) lay at the foot of the eastern flank of the Amanus range to the north of Bit Agusi, immediately opposite the exit of one of the west-east passes of the range. It was only a small city-state, probably originally Neo-Hittite but Aramaized during the 10th century, and was surrounded by aggressive neighbours. Bit Gabbari was probably founded not later than 920, because Haianu, the second successor of the founder, Gabbar, was a contemporary of Shalmaneser III. It is well known from its Phoenico-Aramaean inscriptions and monuments which follow the Neo-Hittite style (Hawkins 1995b, 94).

The city consists of an inner citadel, built on an old tell, and an outer town surrounded by a circular double wall with towers and three gates. The site was excavated by von Luschan and others in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Work was concentrated on the citadel with its *bit-hilani* structures, a palace, probably built by Kulamua, and another of the reign of Bar-rakib. The fine sequence of sculptures and associated inscriptions can be dated to the earlier and later ninth centuries, Kulamua and Panammu II. Kulamua's sculpture is carved in a style which was 'clearly a local imitation of a purely Assyrian style, plausibly traced back to the victory stelae erected by Ashurnasirpal and Shalmaneser III in the Amanus' (Hawkins 1982, 198). Sculptures of the later eighth century were commissioned by Panammu II and Bar-rakib and carved in a different Assyrianizing style (Hawkins 1984, pls. 105, 115, 121-122). Excavations were resumed in 2006 by the Oriental Institute, Chicago.

The inscriptions provide an outline history of the dynasty, only partially reflected in Assyrian sources. The early dynastic history is summarized by Kulamua (c. 840-830) and consists of Gabbar – BMH – *Haianu* – Š'L (son of *Haianu*) – Kulamua, and the later, QRL, Panammu I, Bar-Sur, Panammu II. Bar-Sur, the father of Panammu II, was killed in a dynastic struggle, and Panammu fled to Tiglath-Pileser III, who reinstated him. As a loyal vassal, he 'ran at the wheel of his lord Tiglath-pileser' and died fighting for him at Damascus. He was succeeded by his son, Bar-rakib, who undertook a major building programme

In 858 Shalmaneser III attacked Haianu of Sam'al and found him supported by the 'western coalition' of Sam'al, Patin, Bit-Adini and Carchemish. A preliminary Assyrian victory was followed by another contest after Sam'al had gained support from the Cilicians, but with the usual result (Hawkins 2000, 362-363). Shalmaneser received tribute in 857 and 853, from:

'Haianu, the man of Bit-Gabbari, which is at the foot of the Amanus range, .. talents of silver, 90 talents of bronze, 90 talents of iron, 300 linen garments with multi-coloured trim, 300 oxen, 3,000 sheep, 200 cedar beams, 2 homers of cedar resin, (and) his daughter with her rich dowry',

as well as imposing an annual tax of silver and cedar (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 18, A.O.102.2, 24'b-27a).

The next reference to Sam'al was not until the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, who was given tribute by many of the Syrian states, including by Panammu II of Sam'al (Tadmor 1994, 171, Summary Inscription 7, 8). Bar-rakib, his son, continued his father's pro-Assyrian policy and enjoyed a prosperous reign when he undertook a major programme of building, adorned with sculptures. Nothing further is heard of Sam'al until 681, when it is controlled by an Assyrian governor. It may have been annexed to Assyria c. 711. A stela commissioned by Esarhaddon and found at Zincirli shows that king triumphant over two small figures, usually identified as the Egyptian crown prince, Usanahuru, and Baal of Tyre. The citadel was destroyed, possibly in 675 (Lipinski 2000, 247).

Unqi, Patin, Aramaic 'mq

The land of Unqi⁶ was located in the Amuq plain, where the Orontes river swings towards the sea. During the Hittite empire it was controlled by the Hittite viceroy of Carchemish. Its territory extended from Hazazu in the north to Aribua near the middle Orontes, adjacent to the kingdom of Hamath. The capital or royal city was Kunulua, probably Tell Tayinat. Hazazu and Aribua were both mentioned by Ashurnasirpal II (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 217-218, col. iii, 70-84). Unqi controlled the valleys of the Afrin and the Kara Su towards the kingdom of Sam'al: the site of Ain Dara with its fine temple and sculptures on the Afrin is assumed to be part of Unqi (Hawkins 1982, 384; 2000, 364; Assaf 1990).

⁶ Hawkins 2000, 361-366, pls. 189-190.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

Nothing is known of events in Unqi from c. 1200 BC until the reign of Ashurnasirpal II,⁷ when Lubarna, the Patinean, 'took fright in the face of my raging weapons ... and submitted to me to save his life. I received as his tribute 20 talents of silver, one talent of gold, 100 talents of tin, 100 talents of iron, 1,000 oxen, 10,000 sheep, 1,000 linen garments with multi-coloured trim, decorated couches of boxwood with trimming, beds of boxwood, decorated beds with trimming, many dishes of ivory (and) boxwood, many ornaments from his palace, the weight of which could not be determined, 10 female singers, his brother's daughter with her rich dowry, a large female monkey (and) ducks' (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 217-218, col. iii, 72-77).

Ashurnasirpal II later invited Patinite envoys to his party at Kalhu (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 293, A.O.101.30, 144) and settled citizens there.

In his first year Shalmaneser III faced and defeated the western coalition, including Sapalulme, the Patinean, and carried off booty and tribute (Hawkins 1982, 391-392; Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 16, A.O.102.2 i. 41b – ii 10a). Later that same year he received tribute from Qalparunda, the Patinean:

'3 talents of gold, 100 talents of silver, 300 talents of bronze, 300 talents of iron, 1,000 bronze casseroles, 1,000 linen garments with multi-coloured trim, his daughter with her rich dowry, 20 talents of red purple wool, 500 oxen (and) 5,000 sheep. I imposed upon him as annual tribute one talent of silver, 2 talents of purple wool (and) 100 cedar beams' (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 18, A.O.102.2. ii 18b-24a).

He illustrated a tusk from this consignment on the north side of his throne base in Fort Shalmaneser, together with other booty from Unqi:

'I received tribute from Qalparunda, the Unqite: silver, gold, tin, bronze, bronze casseroles, elephant ivory, ebony, cedar beams, garments with multi-coloured trim and of linen (and) harness trained horses' (Mallowan *N. & R.* II, 446, 449, fig. a; Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 139, A.O.102.60).

It is interesting that Shalmaneser listed and illustrated different items, including ivory and ebony, from those in his Annals. He collected further tribute from Qalparunda in both 853 and 848 (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, A.O.102.2.ii 82-86; 47, A.O.102.8, 40-41), and illustrated some of that on the Balawat gates, again including tusks (King 1915, pl. 28, band V, 4; *RIMA* 3, 142, A.O.102.69). The items illustrated on the Black Obelisk are similar to those received in 853:

'I received tribute from Qalparunda, the Patinean, silver, gold, tin, bronze compound, bronze casseroles, ivory (and) ebony' (*RIMA* 3, 151, A.O.102.91).

Qalparunda was succeeded at some point after 853 by Lubarna, who was killed by rebels, and in his 28th year, 829, Shalmaneser III despatched Dayyan-Ashur, the *turtan*, to quell the revolt. The people submitted and the *turtan* made Sasi, a man of the land Kurussa, king. Shalmaneser received 'silver, gold, tin, bronze, iron, (and) elephant ivory without measure' and 'created my colossal royal statue (and) erected (it) in Kunulua, his royal city, in the temple of his gods' (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 69, A.O.102.14, 150-156).

In the reign of Adad-nirari III, the king of Unqi took part in an Arpad-led alliance against Zakur of Hamath in 796, which ended with Shamshi-ilu, *turtan* of the west, negotiating peace (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 203, A.O.104.2, 4-11a).

In 739 Tutammu of Unqi revolted against Tiglath-pileser III (745-727), who defeated the country in 738, deported Tutammu and seized the wealth and population of Unqi. He made Kunulua, the capital of an Assyrian province and settled citizens from the east there (Tadmor 1994, 57, *Ann.* 25, 3-10; 67, *Ann.* 13, 4-5).

A palace area with monumental buildings decorated with orthostats in the Hittite style was found at Tell Tayinat (Hawkins 2000, I, 3, pl. 194), as well as an Assyrian provincial palace (Haines 1971). Qalparunda has been identified with Halparuntiyas whose name appears on a fragmentary base from Tayinat (Hawkins 2000, I, 3, pls. 189-190).

Kummuh

The Hittite state of Kummuh, the later Commagene, occupied a long stretch of the west bank of the Euphrates.

Both Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III were given tribute by its kings without having to fight. In his 18th year, 866, Ashurnasirpal II was given 'cedar logs, silver, (and) gold, the tribute of Qatazilu, the Kummuhite' (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 219, A.O.101.1, 95-100), while Shalmaneser III received tribute from Qatazilu in 858: silver, gold, oxen, sheep (and) wine (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 15, A.O.102.2, i, 36b-39), and from Kundashpi in his second year (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 23, A.O.102.2, ii, 81b-86a).

Adad-nirari III erected a boundary stone between Ushpilulume, king of the Kummuhites, and Qalparuda, son of Palalam, king of the Gurgumites at Pazarcik (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 205, A.O.104.3, 7-18). In 773, this boundary was re-established by Shamshi-ilu, representing Shalmaneser IV. During the period of Assyrian weakness Kushtashpi submitted to Sarduri II of

⁷ Hawkins 2000, 362 for a description of this western campaign

Urartu c. 750 BC and was subsequently soundly defeated in 743 by Tiglath-pileser III (Tadmor 1994, 69, Ann.13, 11; Ann. 21, 9-10). He is recorded as submitting in 738 and perhaps again later.

At the beginning of Sargon's reign Kummuh was a favoured Assyrian client state and was given additional lands, possibly including Sakça Gözü. The ruler figure from Sakça Gözü and the colossal Malatya statue might represent Mutallu of Kummuh. In 711 Kummuh was the last substantial independent Hittite state. However Mutallu, 'a wicked Hittite', joined Argishti of Urartu, refused to pay the annual tribute, revolted against Sargon II and was defeated by Sargon's generals. He escaped, but his cities were captured and 'his wife, his sons, his daughters, together with the people of his land, horses, mules, asses, camels, cattle and sheep, they counted as spoil ... gold, silver, garments of brightly coloured wool, and linen garments, blue and purple garments, elephant hides, ivory, maple and boxwood, the treasure of his [palace] .. they brought to Kalhu, into my presence' (Luckenbill 1989, II, 23, para. 45). The people of Kummuh were exchanged with the people of Bit Yakin in southern Babylonia (Luckenbill 1989, II, 21, para. 41), and an Assyrian governor appointed to rule the province (Hawkins 1983, 338-340).

Sakça Gözü

Since no inscriptions were found with the well-preserved sculptures of Sakça Gözü it is not known to which state the city belonged. It lies almost equi-distant between Zincirli and Marash but could have been assigned to Kummuh in the reign of Sargon (Hawkins 1984, 81-83). The fine series of sculptures are dated to the late eighth century. One well-known sculpture shows a pair of gods flanking a stylized tree and plucking fruit from a winged disc, a familiar design on ivories; another depicts a lion hunt. There are also humans, sphinxes, griffins and entrance lions, the usual range of imagery (Orthmann 1971, Taf. 49-50).

Bit Bahiani

Bit Bahiani/Guzana was an Aramaean state on the Upper Habur. Its capital has been identified as Tell Halaf. The wealthy Aramaean level, with public buildings and rich tombs, was followed by an Assyrian palace. It consisted of a citadel with a large outer town (Mazzoni 1995, 184-188). On the opposite bank lies Sikani/Tell Fekheriyah, where the mid-9th century statue of Hadad-yis'i was found. These cities were strategically sited, controlling a major section of the main route from Assyria to the Euphrates and the Mediterranean. Armies moving west from Assyria needed to pass through this area (Lipinski 2000, 123).

The first Assyrian reference to Guzana is by Adad-nirari II (911-891), who collected tribute without any military engagement. In 894 he

'crossed the River Habur (and) marched to the city Guzana, which Abi-salamu, a man of Bit Bahiani, held. I entered the city Sikanu which lies at the source of the River Habur. By the exalted strength of the god Shamash, lord of my turban, lover of my priesthood, I received from him his numerous chariots, teams of horses, silver, gold, the property of his palace. I imposed on him tribute' (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 153, A.O.99.2, 100-105).

Ashurnasirpal II campaigned extensively in Syria, building on the campaigns of his predecessors in Upper Mesopotamia and extending his reach as far as the Euphrates. He collected tribute in 882 (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 203, A.O.101.1, ii 220-23a) and later, on his way to Carchemish, when he

'received tribute from Bit Bahiani, harnessed chariots, horses, silver, gold, tin, bronze (and) bronze casseroles. I took with me the chariots, cavalry (and) infantry of Bit Bahiani' (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 216, A.O.101.1, iii, 56b-60).

Lipinski (2000, 129-130) has suggested that Ashurnasirpal's seizure of the army of Bit Bahiani and its incorporation into the Assyrian army meant that the state essentially became an Assyrian province at that time, although with a nominal Assyrian governor/Aramaean king, Adad-iti' or Hadad-yis'i, as recorded on the statue from Tell Fekheriyah/Sikan with its bilingual inscription in Assyrian and Aramaic, dated to the mid-ninth century (Millard & Bordreuil 1982; Abou Assaf et al. 1982). Following Lipinski, and a hypothesis put forward by Herrmann (1989, 106-108), the independence of Bit Bahiani would then only have lasted from c. 1000 to 860 or thereabouts. Considering the strategic location of Bit Bahiani across Assyria's route to the west this early date seems plausible, although it is hotly disputed.

First, Lipinski surprisingly considered that the later Aramaean period, associated with the ruler Kapara, should be dated to the late 9th century because of ivory fragments found in the palace which are paralleled at Nimrud by pieces dated to the 9th century by Barnett (*C.N.I.* pl. lxx-lxxi). However, the Halaf ivories were actually found in a shaft grave sealed by a statue of a seated female, which lacks any stratigraphic evidence but has been variously dated from the late 10th century (Barnett 1982, 45) to the 9th (Hrouda 1962, 9-10). Furthermore, the date of production for 'flame and frond' ivories is itself disputed.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

There is, therefore, little to support Lipinski's late date for Kapara, although even later dates have been proposed by a group of senior scholars, most recently Mazzoni, who considered that 'the construction of the monumental citadel with the relevant decorations of the palace of Kapara and the temple of the Storm God' was 'in fact a project spanning two centuries, the full 9th and the 8th' (2000, 44 with references in note 56, 52; 2008). German excavations were resumed in 2006 and 2007 at Tell Halaf by a team from the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin under the direction of Dr. Lutz Martin and may, it is to be hoped, solve this problem.

Bit Adini	Bit Bahiani	Bit Zamani	Assyria	Urartu
			Tiglath-pileser I 1114-1076	
			Tiglath-pileser II 966-935	
			Ashurdan II 934-912	
Son of Adini 899	Abi-salamu 894		Adad-nirari II 911-891	
		Amme-ba'li	Tukulti-Ninurta II 889-884	
Ahuni c. 875-855	Kapara ?	Ilanu Assyria	Ashumasirpal II 883-859	
Assyria 856	Hadad-yis'i		Shalmaneser III 858-824	Arame 858-844; Sarduri I 844-832
			Shamshi-Adad V 824-810	Ishpuini 832-810
	Assyria 808		Adad-nirari III 810-783	Menua 816-786
Shamshi-ilu 796-712			Shalmaneser IV 782-772	Argishti I 786-764
			Assurdan III 772-754	
			Assur-nirari V 754-746	
			Tiglath-pileser III 745-727	Sarduri II 764-734
			Shalmaneser V 727-722	Rusa I 734-714
			Sargon II 722-705	Argishti II 714-680

Table III, North Syria, Assyria and eastern Turkey

Guzana's vassal status ended after it had joined a Syrian revolt against Adad-nirari III, was retaken in 808 and turned into an Assyrian province. An Assyrian governor, Mannu-ki-Ashur, eponym in 793, was installed the same year. Guzana revolted again in 759-758 but was soon defeated, and further Assyrian governors appointed. There was, therefore, some two centuries of Assyrian occupation before the collapse of the empire.

Excavations by a German team led by Baron Max von Oppenheim in the late 19th and early 20th centuries discovered three major periods dating to the early first millennium, an early Aramaean period, *Altbau*, with five phases, a later Aramaean period *Neubau* and an Assyrian period. The *Altbau* buildings included the early Temple Palace with a range of highly original sculptures and the tombs, in one of which fragments of ivory similar in style to the sculptures was found, while *Neubau* was the time of Kapara and his rebuilt *bit hilani* Temple Palace, with more sophisticated sculptures in the same style.

Bit Zamani

Bit Zamani maintained its independence for an even shorter period than Bit Bahiani (Lipinski 2000, 135-161). It was located in the Tur Abdin region, at the source of the Tigris, north of Bit Adini. It is first mentioned in the Assyrian annals by Tukulti-

Ninurta II (889-884) who launched three or four campaigns against Bit Zamani (Grayson 1982, 252) and received tribute from the Aramaean, ‘Amme-ba’li, a man of Bit Zamani’ (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 202, A.0.101.1 ii12b-15a). Five years later Amme-ba’li was murdered by his nobles, and Ashurnasirpal marched to avenge him, appointing his brother Ilanu in his place. Ashurnasirpal was given ‘harnessed chariots, equipment for troops (and) horses, 460 harness-trained horses, 2 talents of silver, 2 talents of gold, 100 talents of tin, 100 talents of bronze, 300 talents of iron, 100 bronze casseroles, 3,000 bronze receptacles, bronze bowls, bronze containers, 1,000 linen garments with multi-coloured trim, dishes, chests, couches of ivory decorated with gold, the treasure of his palace’ (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 211, A.0.101.1 ii, 118b-125a). However, a revolt by Ilanu led to the Assyrian seizure of the province, with Ashurnasirpal taking over the management of the city (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 220, A.0.101.1 iii, 105-110).

Bit Adini/Beth Eden

By the beginning of the first millennium the Aramaeans had established a considerable state on the middle Euphrates from Carchemish to the river Khabur. However, Bit Adini, like Bit Bahiani, was strategically sited across Assyrian routes to the west and suffered increasing Assyrian pressure, prior to seizure. It was first referred to in 899 by Adad-nirari II, who was given ‘a large female monkey (and) a small female monkey, a shipment from the land Bit-Adini which lies on the bank of the Euphrates’ (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 150, A.0.99.2 45-48). Ashurnasirpal II twice received tribute from Ahuni of Bit Adini, first gold, tin, bronze, linen garments with multi-coloured trim, cedar logs, the treasure of his palace’ (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 216, A.0.101.1, iii.55-56a), and on a second expedition en route to Carchemish:

‘silver, gold, tin, bronze, bronze casseroles, ivory dishes, ivory couches, ivory chests, ivory thrones decorated with silver (and) gold, gold bracelets, gold rings with trimming, gold necklaces, a gold dagger, oxen, sheep (and) wine. I took with me the chariots, cavalry, (and) infantry of Ahunu’ (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 216-217, A.0.101.1 iii, 61-64).

Shalmaneser III undertook no less than 19 campaigns against the Syrian kingdoms, initially concentrating on conquering Bit Adini and north Syria. Ahuni, son of Adini, was one of those forming the western coalition with Carchemish, Sam’al and Unqi. Shalmaneser fought Ahuni in his first, second and third years, and in his fourth, 856, pursued Ahuni and captured him, his gods, his chariots, his horses, his sons, his daughters, his troops and took them to Ashur (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 21-22, ii 66b-75a). He illustrated his battle against the city of Dabigu, which belonged to Ahuni of Adini, on the Balawat Gates (Grayson 1996, 142, *RIMA* 3, A.0.102.68).

The Aramaean royal capital of Til Barsib (Tell Ahmar) on the east bank of the Euphrates, 20 km. downstream of Carchemish (Hawkins 2000, I, 1, 224-225) probably formed part of Bit Adini relatively briefly, for it had been the Neo-Hittite city of Masuwari and was to become the Assyrian western capital of Kar Shalmaneser. Shalmaneser III settled Assyrians there and built royal palaces (Hawkins 1982, 392; Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 19, A.0.102.2 ii 30b-35a). Kar Shalmaneser remained under Assyrian control during the reign of Shamshi-Adad V (823-810) and became the seat of the *turtan* Shamshi-ilu. Remains of all these phases were found in French excavations in the 1930s (Thureau Danguin *et al.* 1936). Several stelae of the Hittite Storm God similar in style to that of Suhi-Katuwa at Carchemish and belonging to the 10th century have been found (Hawkins 1982, 384), as well as a range of palatial buildings on the citadel and Assyrian sculptures and wall paintings. Excavations were resumed in the 1990s by an Australian expedition, who found Assyrian buildings in the lower town with a small assemblage of imported ivories of varied styles (Bunnens 1997a and b).

Bit Agusi or Yahan⁸

Nothing is known of events in central north Syria in the early first millennium after the fall of the Hittite empire. It may initially have been under the control of a Hittite dynasty, but by the time of Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III the area between Carchemish and Unqi was controlled by an Aramaean tribe, the Bit Agusi, or sons of Gusi. It extended to the land of Hamath/Luhuti. Initially the political capital was the important centre of Aleppo/Halab with its famous Temple of the Storm God (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 23, A.0.102.2 ii 86b-89a), but from 805 or earlier the capital was moved to Arpad (Tell Rifa’at).

In about 870, when marching from Carchemish to Unqi, Ashurnasirpal II received tribute from ‘Gusi’, the Yahanite, the eponymous founder of Bit Agusi (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 218, A.O. 101.1, 77b-79). Aramu of Bit Agusi (858-834) submitted to Shalmaneser III in 858, 857 and 853. In his first year Shalmaneser received the tribute of a group of rulers,

‘Qalpurunda, the Unqite, Mutallu, the Gurgumite, Haianu, the Sam’alite, Aramu, the man of Bit Agusi: silver, gold, tin, bronze, iron, bronze, red-purple wood, elephant ivory, garments with multi-coloured trim, linen garments, oxen, sheep, wine (and) ducks’ (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 11, A.0.102.1. 92b-95).

⁸Hawkins 2000, 389-391.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

Aramu gave tribute of ‘ten minas of gold, six talents of silver, 500 oxen, (and) 5,000 sheep’ (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 18, A.O.102.2, ii 27b-30a). He was attacked again in 849, 848 and 834 and lost some of his cities, illustrated on the Balawat gates (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 146, A.O. 102.80 and 81).

In 805 Atarshumki, son of Adramu, probably Aramu, of Arpad, formed an alliance with Ushpilulume of Kummuh and eight other kings against Adad-nirari III, who defeated them and erected a boundary stone between them (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 205, A.O.104.3, 11-15). Encouraged by Bar Hadad of Damascus Atarshumki led another alliance against Zakur of Hamath: peace was negotiated in 796 in favour of Arpad by Shamshi-ilu, *turtan* of the west:

‘The boundary which Adad-nirari, king of Assyria, (and) Shamshi-ilu, the field marshal, established between Zakur of the land of Hamat and Atarshumki, son of Adramu: the city Nahlasi with all its fields, gardens [and] settlements is (the property) of Atarshumki. They divided the Orontes River between them. *This is the border*’ (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 203, A.O.104.2, 4-11a).

In 754 Ashur-nirari V (754-746) campaigned against Arpad and signed a treaty with Atarshumki’s son, Mati’ilu (Luckenbill 1989, I, 265-268, para. 750-760). According to the Sefire stela found south-east of Aleppo, Mati’ilu also formed an alliance with Barga’ya of KTK, possibly a ruler of Hamath, and ‘all Aram’ and ‘all Upper and Lower Aram’ (Hawkins 2000, 390; Schwartz 1989, 279). Bit Agusi was the principal power of northern Syria at this time, and, allied with Urartu, Melid, Kummuh and Gurgum, led the opposition to Assyria. The alliance fought Tiglath-pileser III in 743 and was severely defeated (Tadmor 1994, 132-133, Summary Inscription 3, 15-19). Arpad was besieged for three years, captured and turned into a full Assyrian province c. 740 (Tadmor 1994, 186-187, Summary Inscription 9, 24’-25’; Hawkins 2000, 390, note 29). Tiglath-pileser received ‘elephant hides, ivory, red-purple and blue-purple wool, multi-coloured garments, linen garments – numerous vestments of their lands, ... weapons, spindle-shaped implements’ in the city Arpad (Tadmor 1994, 56-57, Ann. 25, 1’-2’). Arpad participated in a revolt led by Yaubi’di of Hamath against Sargon in 722-720 but, once again, was defeated.

Empire and Neo-Hittite sculptures belonging to the Temple of the Storm God at Aleppo have been recovered on the citadel at Aleppo since 1998, despite the heavy over-burden of subsequent occupation.

At Tell Rifa’at, located some 30 km. north-west of Aleppo, only preliminary excavations have been undertaken (Seton Williams 1961, 1967), together with a survey in 1977-1979. Tell Rifa’at consists of a citadel, 30 m. high and 250 x 233 m., and a lower town, enclosed within a wall with a circuit of some 3 km. The Aramaean/Assyrian Level II was revealed near the top of the citadel mound, under a modern village: an Iron Age palace with columns in the Hittite style and a ‘fragment of an inscription in Phoenician letters’ have been reported (Schwartz 1989, 279). There were at least three phases of reconstruction in the East Gate, which was lined with orthostats. Numerous fragments of ivory, including the charred foreparts of a lion similar to one from Zincirli, were found in burnt debris there (Seton Williams 1961, 81, pl. xli, 15; 1967, 20, pl. ixb).

A fragmentary ivory pyxis was found by Loftus in the Burnt Palace and carries a damaged inscription on its base (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 161, 191, S3, pl. xvii). This has been read as Bit Agusi by Puech, followed by Mitchell (Puech 1978, 163-169; Mitchell 1996, 165). The pyxis has recently been re-examined by Millard, who considers that it is possible but not certain that the letters refer to Bit Gush because of a break in a crucial area (see Thomas, in preparation). However, he points out that even if the inscription is correctly read, this does not prove that the pyxis was made in Bit Agusi. The style of the pyxis and its subject, a procession of musicians towards a seated figure, are entirely different from those of the ‘flame and frond’ series, such as Nos. 234-236.

Suhi

Suhi was an important kingdom in the middle Euphrates area, mentioned in numerous texts. Its most important cities are Anat [the island of Ana] and Suru. The first references to Suhi were in the reign of Tiglath-pileser I, who marched

‘to the land Suhu. I conquered (from) the city Saporata, an island in the Euphrates, as far as the city Hindanu, all the cities of the land Suhu’ (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 43, A.O.87.4 41-43).

Two centuries later Tukulti-Ninurta II (890-884)

‘approached the city Anat of the land Suhu – Anat lies (on an island) in the Euphrates. I pitched camp (and) spent the night before Anat. I received bountiful tribute from Ili-ibni, governor of the land Suhu: three talents of silver, 20 minas of gold, an ivory couch, three ivory chests, 18 tin bars, 40 furniture legs of *meskannu*-wood, a bed of *meskannu*-wood, six dishes of *meskannu*-wood, a bronze bath-tub, linen garments, garments with multi-coloured trim, purple wool, oxen, sheep, bread, (and) beer’ (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 174-175, A.O.100.5, 64-73).

In his 6th campaign Ashurnasirpal II also spent the night in front of the city of Anat, before storming the city of Suru, the stronghold of Kudurru, the governor of the land Suhi, and carrying off a heavy booty including ‘silver, gold, tin, casseroles, (and) precious stone of the mountain, the property of his palace’. He set up a statue of himself (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 213-214, A.O.101.1, iii 15-25). He illustrated some of the tribute, including tusks given by Kudurru, on the Balawat Gates

found by Mallowan in the Temple of Mamu (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 351, 97; Barnett, Curtis *et al.*, eds., 2008 in press, Bands L6, R1 and R3). Envoys from Suhi were invited to the banquet, inaugurating the North West Palace (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 293, A.0.101.30, 140-144).

Together with numerous other cities Suhi revolted during the upheavals against Shalmaneser III but had to submit to Shamshi-Adad V (824-810) in his first campaign (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 183-184, A.0.103.1 ii 10-15). The city of Anat and the land of Suhi was mentioned in the Saba'a stela of Adad-nirari III in a list of cities governed by Nergal-erish (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 208, A.0. 104.6, 23-25).

Ashurnasirpal was also given tusks by the people of Sarugu, shown on Band L1 of the Palace gates (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 347, 84; Barnett, Curtis, *et al.*, 2008 in press).⁹

CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN SYRIA

Hamath or Hamat and Luhuti/Lu'ash

Hamath (modern Hama) is mentioned as the capital of a significant Neo-Hittite state in the Old Testament as early as the reign of David, c. 980. 'When Toi, king of Hamath, heard that David had smitten all the host of Hadad-ezer, then Toi sent Hadoram/Joram his son unto king David, to salute him ... And Joram brought with him vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and vessels of brass' (II Samuel 8). In the south the territory of Hamath stretched to Labwe between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon and to the borders of the kingdom of Aram/Damascus.

In the north, as early as the mid-9th century Hamath controlled the land of Luhuti (Aramaic *l's*). In 870 Ashurnasirpal II conquered the cities of the land Luhuti and massacred many of its inhabitants (Grayson 1991, *RIMA* 2, 218, A.0.102.1 iii 80-84) but did not mention Hamath. According to his itinerary Luhuti occupied the east bank of the middle Orontes (Hawkins 1995a, 96). Its capital was Hatarikka (Aramaic *h'zrk*), which both Mazzoni (2001b) and Cecchini have identified as Tell Afis (2005, 243), the location of the Zakur stela, although Hawkins considered that Afis is the 'pš of the text on the stela (1995a, 96). At this time the combined state of Hamath and Luhuti formed the principal power of central Syria, controlling the Orontes valley, the passes to the coast to the north and south of Jebel Ansariya and the coastal plain. The border with Bit Agusi must have been not far south of Aleppo (Halab).

During the reign of Shalmaneser III Urhilina of Hamath (c. 853-845) was one of the founders with Hadad-ezer/Adad-idri of Damascus of the 'Damascus coalition', an alliance of 12 kings (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 23, A.0.102.2, ii, 89b-102). In 853 Shalmaneser III attacked this coalition and claimed a victory at Qarqar. However, he had to fight the same alliance again in 849, 848 and 845. He illustrated two of Urhilina's cities, Qarqar and Ashtamaku, on the Balawat Gates (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 145, 147, A.0.102.76 and 82). The alliance was dissolved when Hadad-ezer was murdered by Hazael.

Urhilina, son of Parita, was the author of the largest of the 'Hamathite stones' with hieroglyphic inscriptions, as well as duplicate inscriptions at Restan and Apamea: his son Uratami also wrote five stones, each of which records the building of a fortress, presumably at Hama (Hawkins 1982, 196). The kings of Hamath were still Hittite in the late 9th century, but Hamath was to fall to the Aramaean Zakur and lose its pre-eminent position. The Zakur stela recorded that he was king of *hmt* and *l's* (Hamath and Luhuti) and had been attacked by a north Syrian coalition inspired by Bar-Hadad, son of Hazael, king of Aram/Damascus (Lipinski 2000, 254-255; Hawkins 1982, 400-401), after which the kingdom was reduced in size. Zakur was the king when Adad-nirari III and Shamshi-ilu established the boundary between Arpad and Hamath in favour of Arpad (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 203, A.0.104.1, 4-8).

In 738 Azriyau of Hamath revolted against Tiglath-pileser, who commented on the '19 districts of Hamath together with the cities of their environs, which are on the seacoast of the west' (Tadmor 1994, 63, Ann. 19, 9-10): Hamathite influence extended as far as Latakia and Tell Kazel/Simirra near Tartous (Lipinski 2000, 287). Tiglath-pileser re-organized the provinces and appointed Eni-il as the next ruler of Hamath. Eni-il duly provided tribute after Tiglath-pileser's defeat of Damascus in 732 (Lipinski 2000, 316; Tadmor 1994, 69, Ann. 13, 11-12).

The last independent king of Hamath was Yau-bi'di or Ilubi'di, who organized a revolt probably with Egypt and Gaza against Sargon II, which inevitably was crushed:

'a camp follower, with no claim to the throne, an evil Hittite, ... plotting in his heart to become king of Hamath, and had caused the cities of Arpadda, Simirra, Damascus and Samaria to revolt against me, had unified them and prepared for battle. I mustered the masses of Assur's troops and at Karkar, his favourite city, I besieged and captured him, together with his warriors. Karkar I burned with fire. Him I flayed' (Luckenbill 1989, II, 27, para 55).

⁹ Grayson commented that Sarugu is otherwise unknown but that it could be a city on the upper Balikh near Harran. Adad-nirari II refers to the city of Saraku, not far from Nisibin; 1991, *RIMA* 2, 347.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

Yau-bi'di and his family were captured and carried off to Assyria, where he was flayed, as shown on a relief from Khorsabad. Hamathite troops were enrolled in the Assyrian army, and Hamath itself was sacked, evidence of which was found in the excavations by the Danish Carlsberg Foundation, 1931-1938, on the citadel of Hama. These revealed a monumental gate complex leading into an open area surrounded by palatial buildings dated to the 10th-9th centuries and associated with Urhilina. The gateway lions and orthostats of Neo-Hittite style have been dated to the early 9th century. The citadel level E was destroyed by a fierce fire, probably the Assyrian destruction in 720 B.C., after which it was abandoned until the Hellenistic period (Hawkins 2000, 398-403). Ivory fragments, belonging to a variety of traditions and style-groups were found in and below the destruction level in Building 5, including typical North Syrian 'flame and frond'

Tyre and Sidon	Hamath	Damascus	Israel	Judah	Assyria
					Tiglath-pileser I 1114-1076
		Rehob of Zobah	Saul		
Abibaal	Toi	Hadad-ezer	David 1000-961	David 1000-961	Ashur-rabi II 1012-972
		Rezin, son of Eliadah			Ashur-resh-ishi II 971-967
Hiram I 971-939	Hadoram/Joram		Solomon 965-931	Solomon 965-931	Tiglath-pileser II 966-935
Baal-eser I 935-919			Jeroboam 931-910	Rehoboam 931-913	Ashurdan II 932-913
Abdastrato 918-910		Bar-Hadad I	Baasha 909-886	Asa 911-870	Adad-nirari II 911-891
			Omri 885-874	Jehoshaphat 870-848	Tukulti-Ninurta II 889-884
Ithobaal 887-856	Parita	Hadad-ezer	Ahab 874-853		Ashurnasirpal II 883-859
Baal-azor II 855-830	Urhilina 853-845	Hazael, c. 843-803	Joram 852-841	Jehoram 848-841	Shalmaneser III 858-824
Mattan II 829-821	Uratami	Bar-Hadad II c. 803-775	Jehu 841-814	Athaliah 841-835	Shamshi-Adad V 824-810
Pygmalion 820-774	Zakur 796	Mari/Bar-Hadad (III)	Jehoahaz 814-798 Joash 798-782	Jehoash 835-796 Amaziah 796-767	Adad-nirari III 810-783
			Jeroboam II 782-753	Azariah 783-742	Shalmaneser IV 782-772
		Hadianu II c. 775-750		Uzziah 767-752	Assurdan III 772-754
Ithobaal II 750-740					Assur-nirari V 754-746
Hiram II 739-730	Bar-Gaya? Azriyau Eni-il 738-732	Rezin I c. 750-732 Assyria 732	Pekah 737-732 Hoshea/Menahem 745-738	Ahaz I 735-715	Tiglath-pileser III 745-727
Mattan II 728-729 Metenna	Yau-bi'di 720				Shalmaneser V 727-722
Luli/ Elulaios 729-694	Assyria 720		Hoshea 732-722 Assyria 722		Sargon II 722-705
				Hezekiah 715-687	Sennacherib 705-681

Table IV: Syria, Palestine and Assyria

fragments, and fragments of two tall, Syro-Phoenician plaques, incised and with traces of red paint with finely-drawn stylized trees, probably with a winged disc above (Buhl 1990, 239-241, no. 948), among other fragments of different styles and types.

Tell Afis, some 45 km. south of Aleppo, is the largest mound between Aleppo and Hama. The excavations of an Italian team from the Universities of Pisa and Bologna, directed by Stefania Mazzoni and Serena Cecchini, have revealed a sequence of occupation from the Late Bronze Age into the Early Iron Age (Mazzoni et al. 2005). 'The earliest Iron Age remains are of small-scale domestic structures in a village-like community, but evidence of urban planning and specialization of architecture appears in the ninth century. At this point the settlement is enlarged and fortified with a casemate wall. In

the ninth and eighth centuries, Afis becomes a full-scale regional center, with public buildings crowning its acropolis' (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003, 361).

An ivory frontlet from a bridle found in the Burnt Palace is inscribed with the letters *l's*, read by Millard as 'Lu'ash' (1962, 42-43) or Luhuti. It showed a nude female figure represented frontally, standing on a lotus flower and holding up a pair of lions and lotus flowers under a winged disc (Orchard 1967, *I.N.* I, 27, no. 136, pl. xxix). The style is typically Syrian and has been attributed by Wicke (1999) and Scigliuzzo (2006) to the 'wig and wing' group. A plain label was found in Fort Shalmaneser with the letters *hmt*, Hamath, 'undoubtedly the name of the famous city of central Syria' (*I.N.* IV, 237, no. 1272, pl. 331)

Aram/Damascus

Aram-Damascus was the principal Aramaean state of southern Syria during the 10th-8th centuries. The city of Damascus is in an oasis watered by the Barada river and is sited between the Anti-Lebanon and the Syrian steppe. Continuously occupied, it has not been possible to excavate there: a stela with a simplified, rather heavy-bodied sphinx was found out of context in the Umayyad mosque, which had been built on the site of the great temple of Hadad (Winter 1976a, pl. iii, d; 1981, pl. vi).

Aramaean settlement in southern Syria in the early first millennium, specifically in Aram-Zobah/Assyrian Subutu. However, Hadad-ezer, son of Rehob, king of Zobah was conquered by David, when, according to II Samuel, 8, 3-6:

'he went to recover his border at the river Euphrates. And David took from him a thousand chariots, and seven hundred horsemen, and twenty thousand footmen. . . . And when the Syrians of Damascus came to succour Hadad-ezer, king of Zobah, David slew of the Syrians two and twenty thousand men. Then David put garrisons in Syria of Damascus: and the Syrians became servants to David and brought gifts'.

However, Israelite control of southern Syria did not last long. Rezin, son of Eliadah, took advantage of the weakness of Aram-Zobah after Hadad-ezer's defeats, seized Damascus and became 'an adversary to Israel all the days of Solomon' (I Kings 11, 23-25).

Bar-Hadad I was involved in a boundary war between Israel and Judah, resulting in his acquisition of extra territory (Lipinski 2000, 372). Bar-Hadad was probably succeeded by Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), one of the founders of the 'Damascus coalition' of twelve kings, with Urhilina of Hamath, Ahab, the Israelite, and Matinu-ba'al of Arvad. Shalmaneser III fought the coalition in his sixth year (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 23, A.0.102.2, ii, 89b-102), and again in 849, 848 and 845. The descriptions of the battles are vague and do not mention the defeat of the coalition, but, as Hadad-ezer remained the leader of the coalition, he must have been king of the most powerful state opposing the Assyrians.

In 843 Hadad-ezer died and was succeeded by Hazael (c. 843-803), who was, in Shalmaneser's opinion, 'the son of a nobody'. However, a recently discovered inscription suggests that he was indeed the son of Hadad-ezer. The accession of Hazael, who proved to be an extremely successful king, led to major political changes. Although the 'Damascus coalition' was dissolved, Hazael first invaded northern Israel, fighting Israel and Judah, which resulted in the deaths of Jehoram and Ahaziah (Lipinski 2000, 376-377). Hazael was not able to exploit his victory fully, for Shalmaneser attacked Damascus in 841 and again in 838/837 (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 67, A.0.102.14, 97b-99a, 102b-104a). Shalmaneser succeeded in capturing one of Hazael's royal cities, Malaha, as recorded on a small black cylinder found at Ashur:

'Booty from the temple of the deity Šeru of the city Malaha, a royal city of Hazael of Damascus, which Shalmaneser, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), king of Assyria, brought back inside the wall of the Inner City' (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 151, A.0.102.92).

After these inconclusive battles Shalmaneser turned his attention to the west and the north, fighting Urartu. It was more than 30 years before an Assyrian army again attacked Aram/Damascus, leaving Hazael free to exploit the subsequent period of Assyrian weakness. He expanded to the north and south, and 'Hazael, the king of Aram, oppressed Israel all the days of Jehoahaz' (II Kings 13, 22). At this time 'the large territory of the House of Hazael' included much of Transjordan, as far as Ramoth-Gilead' (Dion 1995, 1285). Inscriptions on two bronze frontlets, one found in the Heraion at Samos (Kyrieleis & Röllig 1988) and the other in Eretria, read 'that which Hadad gave to our lord Hazael from 'Umq [Patin] in the year that our lord crossed the River', probably the Orontes (Lipinski 2000, 388), and illustrate his success in the north. A similar inscription was found on a plain ivory label from Arslan Tash (Thureau Dangin et al. pl. xlvii;), while a shell fragment from T10 in Fort Shalmaneser has his name in hieroglyphic (Mallowan, *N. & R.* II, 451, fig. 372).

Hazael was succeeded by his much less successful son, Bar-Hadad II/Ben-Hadad III (c. 803-775). According to a stela found at Tell Afis, Bar-Hadad inspired a north Syrian coalition to attack Zakur (Mazzoni 1998): he also dedicated a stela to Melqart, found north of Aleppo (KAI 201). These early successes did not last, for Adad-nirari III (810-783) successfully besieged and captured Damascus in 803/796 and forced the king, Bar-Hadad II, to become his vassal. He received

'2,300 talents of silver, 20 talents of gold, 3,000 talents of bronze, 5,000 talents of iron, linen garments with multi-coloured trim, an ivory bed, a couch with inlaid ivory, his property (and) possessions without number – (I received

Ivories from Nimrud VI

all of this) within his palace in Damascus, his royal city.’ (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 213, A.0.104.8, 15-21).

The sources for the reign of Bar-Hadad describe a series of defeats (Lipinski 2000, 400). He was succeeded by Hadiani II (c. 775-750), who in 773 had to give tribute to the *turtan* Shamshi-ilu for Shalmaneser IV (782-772):

‘the tribute of Hadiani, the Damascene – silver, gold, copper, his royal bed, his royal couch, his daughter with her extensive dowry, the property of his palace without number (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 240, A.0.105.1, 4-10).

The last king of Aram/Damascus was Rezin/Rahianu (c. 750-732), son of Hadiani, who is mentioned in the Old Testament. He paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser III in 739 or 738 (Tadmor 1994, 55, Ann. 21, 4-5, Lipinski 2000 405) but then formed an alliance with Hiram of Tyre and Pekah of Israel (Tadmor 1994, 187). With Pekah he attacked Ahaz of Judah, who sent gifts to Tiglath-pileser and appealed for help, c. 734. This led to the conquest of Damascus in 733-732, the execution of Rezin, and the annexation of ‘the wide land of Bit-Hazaili in its entirety from Mount Lebanon as far as the cities of Gilead ... on the border of Bit Humria, I annexed to Assyria’ (Tadmor 1994, 81, Ann.23, 13-17; 69, Ann.13, 10; Ann. 21, 4; Sum. 9, 3-4). Tiglath-pileser received Ahaz of Judah in Damascus itself, and Aram was formed into an Assyrian province (Tadmor 1994, 139, Summary Inscription 4, 7-8).

Israel/Judah

For 80 years under David and Solomon, Israel was a powerful centralized state (Kuhrt 1995, II, 447-456). However, the rise of Aram-Zobah and Edom towards the end of Solomon’s reign weakened Israel, which separated into two kingdoms, a northern and a southern. Omri (885-874) successfully seized power in the north and made Samaria his capital. He was succeeded by Ahab (874-853), who married Jezebel, the daughter of Hiram of Tyre. At this time, Israel under Ahab and Judah under Jehoshaphat were the most important states in the southern Syro-Palestinian corridor. Ahab joined the ‘Damascus coalition’, providing 10,000 troops (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 23, A.0.102.2, ii, 89b-102).

With the death of Hadad-ezer of Aram and the accession of Hazael the coalition dissolved, and Hazael attacked Israel and Judah, killing both kings (Lipinski 2000, 377-380). Jehoram was succeeded by Jehu (841-814), who was forced to pay tribute to Shalmaneser III in 841: the kneeling figure of Jehu is illustrated on the Black Obelisk:

‘I received tribute from Jehu of the house of Omri: silver, gold, a gold bowl, a golden tureen, gold vessels, gold pails, tin, the staffs of the king’s hand (and) spears’ (Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 149, A.0.102.88).

Jehu and his successors ruled for the next century and were principally concerned with fighting the successful state of Aram/Damascus over control of trade routes and commercial advantages. Hazael expanded into northern Israel and Philistia and reached Ashdod. He was planning to attack Jerusalem but Jehoash, king of Judah, paid him a heavy tribute and the city was spared. Israel and Judah were under pressure throughout the reign of Hazael, but this eased with the conquest of Damascus in 796 by Adad-nirari III. At that time Adad-nirari received ‘the tribute of Joash, the Samarian’, king of Israel, (798-782: Grayson 1996, *RIMA* 3, 211, A.0.104.7, 4-8). The reigns of the less successful kings of Aram/Damascus, Bar-Hadad II and Hadianu II, saw the regaining of some Israelite territory.

Pekah of Israel, having formed an alliance with Rezin of Aram/Damascus, attacked Ahaz of Judah, who appealed to the Assyrians for help, sending them tribute, c. 734 (Tadmor 1994, 187). Tiglath-pileser attacked and conquered Damascus in 733-732, killing both Rezin and Pekah and installing Hoshea in his place (Tadmor 1994, 137, Summary Inscription 4, 1-19). He received Ahaz of Judah in Rezin’s palace in Damascus, before he undertook a major re-organization of all the Syro-Palestinian states, turning many into Assyrian provinces. It was probably at this time that Menahem of Samaria paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser (Tadmor 1994, 69, Ann.13, 10).

In Sargon’s second year, the ‘southern coalition’ of Arpad, Simirra, Damascus and Samaria led by Iau-bi’di of Hamath revolted (Luckenbill 1989, II, 27, para 55). Samaria was conquered (Luckenbill 1989, II, 51, para. 99), turned into an Assyrian province and Arabs settled there (Luckenbill 1989, II, 7, para. 17).

A revolt inspired by Ekron and involving Egypt brought Sennacherib (704-681) into battle against the rebels, one of whom was Hezekiah, king of Jerusalem. Sennacherib conquered many of his cities, besieged him and was given

‘30 talents of gold and 800 talents of silver, (there were) gems, antimony, jewels (?), large *sandu*-stones, couches of ivory, house chairs of ivory, elephant’s hide, ivory, maple (?), boxwood, all kinds of valuable treasures, as well as his daughters, his harem, his male and female musicians, (which) he had (them) bring after me to Nineveh, my royal city’ (Luckenbill 1989, II, 119, para. 240).

A joint Harvard-Hebrew University-Palestine Exploration Fund expedition working at Samaria in 1932 and 1933 discovered more than 500 fragments of ivory ‘in a rectangular area on top of the hill amid traces of a burnt layer between some walls, possibly remains of an Israelite palace but confused with later Neo-Babylonian and Hellenistic filling material; others were found in a Roman quarry nearby’ (Barnett 1982, 49). It is unfortunate that these ivories lack a secure context, for they contain fragments of all three Levantine traditions and can be paralleled by many ivories found at Nimrud. Tappy recently

published a re-assessment of the evidence for the contexts of the ivories and concluded that hardly any ivories were found near the Israelite palace, that most came from a narrow strip in the northern courtyard and beyond the lateral rock scarp and that the ivories were spread over a number of local layers of varied character, dated mainly to the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Tappy 2001, 443-495; 2006, 637-656).

Urartu

Urartu in eastern Turkey falls outside the area being considered in this chapter but is included because some ivories, Nos. 202-206, probably found in Room V, are strongly Assyrianizing but are clearly not Assyrian. It is possible that they may have originated in eastern Turkey, since they can be compared to fragments found at Toprak Kale and Altintepe. The most dramatic description of booty from the area is the treasure Sargon seized during his 8th campaign from both the Temple of Haldi and the palace at Musasir, which may have formed a part of Urartu at this time. In addition to carrying off the Urartian king's wife, sons and daughters, 6,110 people, and hundreds of animals, Sargon

‘opened all the seals of the treasures of the storerooms, replete with heaped-up precious objects [34 talents 18] minas of gold, 167 talents, 2.5 minas of silver, gleaming copper, tin, carnelian, lapis, agates, a choice assemblage of stones of great number, [chairs] of ivory, ebony, and boxwood, as well as wooden caskets set with gold and silver, [] huge tables of ivory, ebony, and boxwood, fit for a king, set with gold and silver; 8 items: heavy carving platters and vegetable baskets of ivory, ebony, and boxwood, with gold and silver decorations’ (Foster 2005, 809)

and so on. An immense quantity of booty was also taken from the Temple of Haldi including –

‘1 item: a bed of ivory(?) and silver, the god's place of repose, inlaid with gems and gold; 139 items: staves, trays, vegetable baskets, knives, and smaller knives of ivory with gold decorations; 10 items: boxwood tables with frames of boxwood, legs of ebony and boxwood, and gold and silver mountings...’ (Foster 2005, 810-811).

COMMENT

Ivory was a rare imported material, the Levantine ivories found in the North West Palace would have been expensive to commission and were presumably designed for ceremonial use by palace or temple. Such elite production can only have been feasible when states were prosperous, with ample wealth to devote to conspicuous consumption. As the shadow of Assyria spread across the Levant, extracting massive quantities of tribute, such production must have been declined and finally ceased, once the states were converted into Assyrian provinces. Thereafter, any surplus wealth would have been transferred to the Assyrian heartland, and art commissioned by the governors would have been in the Assyrian style. Thus we can expect, for instance, that any local production in the Aramaean state of Bit Zamani would have ceased by the end of the reign of Ashurnasirpal, while production in Bit Bahiani and Bit Adini would have stopped c. 850 when Til Barsib became the Assyrian capital of Kar Shalmaneser. However, the real wave of annexations occurred during the reign of Tiglathpileser III, who seized Bit Agusi/Arpad in 740, Unqi and part of Hamath in 738 and Damascus in 732, while Carchemish, Samaria and Kummuh lost their independence a little later to Sargon II. Production of North Syrian and Syrian ivories had presumably ceased from the mid-9th to late 8th centuries. The Phoenician cities, Tyre, Sidon and Arvad, were fortunate in maintaining a greater level of independence, although the tribute exacted from them was extremely heavy from the mid-8th century, after which there can have been little surplus wealth. Their independence was curtailed by Sennacherib with the installation of Assyrian governors.

Recent research has suggested that the Phoenician cities were flourishing from before the beginning of the first millennium and would have been well able to support ivory production from an early date. With continuity of kingship established in Carchemish, it is also probable that Neo-Hittite centres were able to support luxury industries from before or at the beginning of the first millennium. The Aramaean states may also have been sufficiently prosperous from the beginning of the first millennium. Thus, a general pattern can be established that ivory production in the east, the areas of Bit Zamani, Bit Bahiani and Bit Adini, can probably be dated c. 1000-850, while that from Carchemish, Zincirli, Unqi, Hamath and Damascus may have flourished between c. 1050 and 740-717. The Phoenician cities would have had the longest possible time of production, because of their wealth at the turn of the millennium, their ready access to supplies of ivory and their long tradition of wood-working: Phoenician ivories might date from c. 1100 to 700, although those at Nimrud would have been deposited before c. 710.

The Assyrian annals provide us not only with an outline of what was happening across the area but also make evident that what the Assyrians were primarily interested in was the acquisition of wealth in the form of gold, silver, bronze, tin and iron, the hard woods, garments and horses, chariots, oxen and sheep. Gems and ivories were of less importance: ivory is

Ivories from Nimrud VI

rarely listed and is always well down the list. Even though the Phoenicians had plentiful supplies, ivory does not form part of Phoenician tribute, apart from elephants' hides and the ivory listed in the massive booty seized from Sidon by Esarhaddon. Otherwise there is only a single gift of the 'ivory of *nahiru*', possibly a whale? (*C.A.D.*), to Ashurnasirpal II.

Although items of furniture are often illustrated on the reliefs, they are not regularly recorded in lists of booty. The first Assyrian king to receive ivory furniture was Tukulti-Ninurta II, who was given some by Ili-ibni, governor of Suhi. Ashurnasirpal received ivory furniture from Bit Zamani and Bit Adini, but the furniture he took from Carchemish and Unqi was made of boxwood. Clearly both Carchemish and Unqi had supplies of ivory as they are shown giving tusks on reliefs and on the Balawat gates, and Ashurnasirpal received a bowl inlaid with ivory from Carchemish and dishes of ivory and boxwood from Unqi. In this case it may be that these North Syrian centres followed the Anatolian fashion for furniture decorated with box and juniper, so brilliantly illustrated by the Phrygian furniture from Gordion. Adad-nirari III acquired an ivory bed and a couch with inlaid ivory from Ben-Hadad III of Damascus: perhaps the craftsmen of Damascus were already developing a tradition of elaborate inlay, still maintained today.

Ashurnasirpal was given elephant tusks by Sangara of Carchemish, Kudurru of Suhi and the people of Saruqu, which he illustrated on the Balawat gates. Shalmaneser III received ivory tusks from Qalparunda of Unqi, shown on his throne base, the Black Obelisk and the Balawat Gates, and tribute from the 'western alliance' of Syrian rulers included elephant ivory.

Because the 9th century lists of tribute and booty record so little ivory it seems unlikely that they reflect the situation on the ground, particularly since the tusks shown on the Balawat Gates are not mentioned in the annals. Equally those from the later 8th century are even less specific, with elephant hides and ivory being included in booty from a range of states, as well as specifically from Arpad and Kummuh. However, that ivory was indeed widely used at this time – even if not by Assyria itself – is shown not only by the volume of imported ivories found at Nimrud but by the massive booty Sargon seized from Musasir in his 8th campaign. Otherwise, Sennacherib comments on the couches and house chairs of ivory and the ivory and elephant hides that he seized from Hezekiah of Jerusalem.

CHAPTER TWO

THE NORTH WEST PALACE AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF IVORIES

The North West Palace is located on the north west of the acropolis of Nimrud, immediately south of the Ziggurat and the Ninurta Temple (see frontispiece). The plan of this monumentally important building has been revealed in three principal stages over a period of one and a half centuries. The first to work there was Austen Henry Layard (1817-1894), who began excavations on November 8 1845 and continued in 1846 and 1847. His primary interest was the carved slabs of Mosul marble, which lined the state rooms. Although he was unable to follow mud brick walls, by following and recording the location of the sculptures, he was able to recover the plan of the State Apartments, which form the central block of the palace. His work was reported in *Nineveh and Its Remains*, which was published in 1849, as well as in a series of letters, kept in the British Museum.

Layard returned to Nimrud in 1849 and continued work until May 1851, after which he left, deciding not to return, partially because of the recurrent fever which he had contracted and partly because of his involvement in politics. He recorded his work in *Discoveries in the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, published in 1853. In this last season he was assisted by Hormuzd Rassam, a Chaldean Christian and brother of the British Vice-Consul of Mosul, Christian Rassam, by the artist, F.C. Cooper, and by a doctor. Rassam became his overseer, general agent and successor. In 1852 the British Museum sent him to Mosul to continue Layard's work: Rassam concentrated on Nineveh but also excavated with large gangs of workmen at numerous other sites including Nimrud and Sherif Khan, ancient Tarbisu. His funds were exhausted in April 1853, after which control of the British Museum excavations was entrusted to Colonel H.C. Rawlinson, the British Resident in Baghdad.

The next excavator of Nimrud was William Kennet Loftus. He had been sent to Mesopotamia in 1853 by the Assyrian Excavation Fund, a private body, with the artist, William Boucher. Rawlinson was able to employ the two on behalf of the British Museum, jointly with the Fund. They excavated at Nineveh and Nimrud from October 1854 to March 1855. Their principal contribution at Nimrud was in the South East Palace, later re-named as the Burnt Palace and the Nabu Temple. However, they also found ivories in what was probably the Central Palace of Tiglath Pileser III (Appendix 2, Nos. CP1-11).

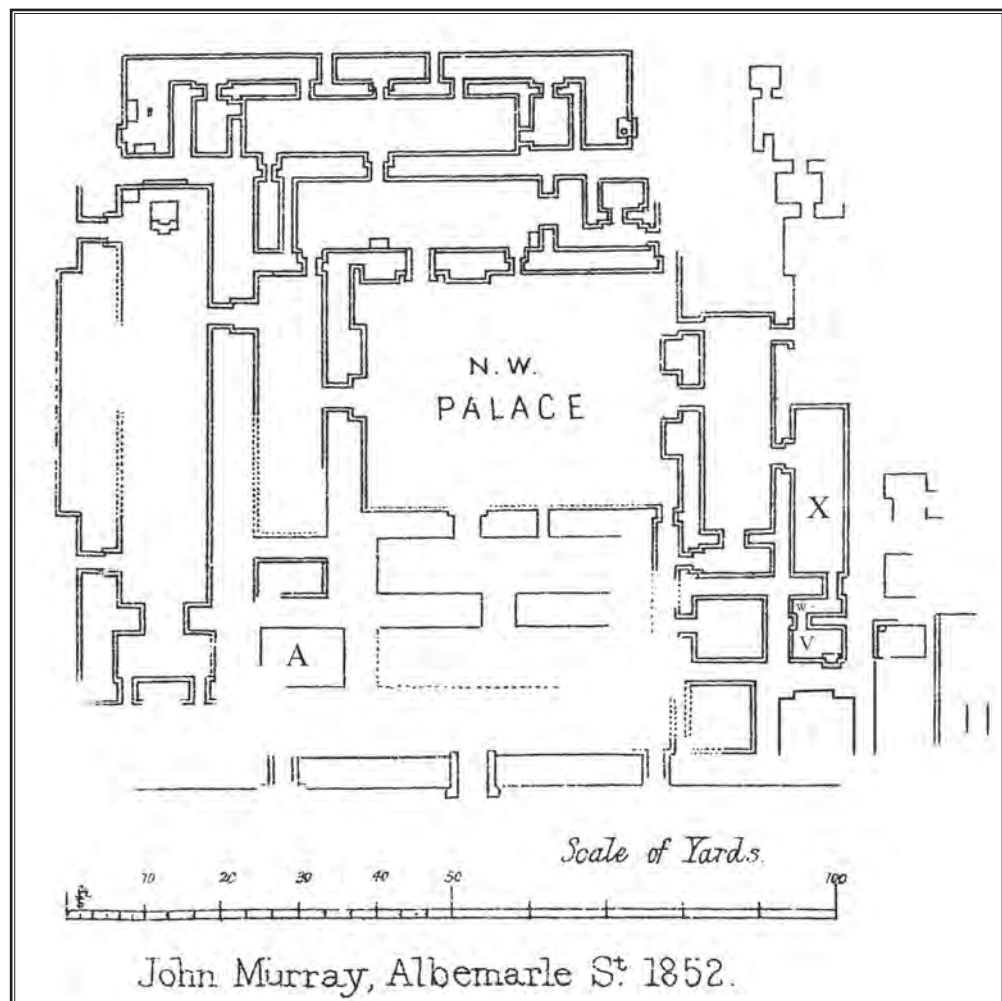


Fig. 2. The North West Palace showing areas excavated by Layard, Rassam & Loftus: 1853.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

In 1949 Max Mallowan began excavations at Nimrud for the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, deliberately following in the footsteps of Layard. From 1949 to 1956 he directed excavations on the acropolis, examining many of the major buildings, before handing over the field directorship to David Oates. From 1958-62 Oates recovered the plan of the palace arsenal in the south west corner of the lower town, known as Fort Shalmaneser, and while doing so found literally thousands of ivories. The last B.S.A.I. season in 1963 was directed by Jeffrey Orchard.

Mallowan made two major contributions to our understanding of the North West Palace. First, by discovering a range of rooms on the north side of a large ravine which had cut through the Great Court, he established that there had been a large courtyard in front of the throne room. The other was to find the residential wing to the south of the State Apartments. He thus proved that the North West Palace followed the standard plan of an Assyrian palace, with an outer courtyard, the principal apartments arranged around an inner courtyard and a residential wing. He also succeeded in locating three wells, NN, AB and AJ, and emptied two of them, finding outstanding ivories. He failed to empty Well AJ because of the danger of the walls collapsing: it was later to be successfully emptied by the Iraqi Department of Antiquities and Heritage.

From 1974-76 a Polish team, led by Janusz Meuszynski examined some areas of the North West Palace and excavated part of the central area of the acropolis, after which the Iraqi Department of Antiquities and Heritage took charge of work on the citadel.

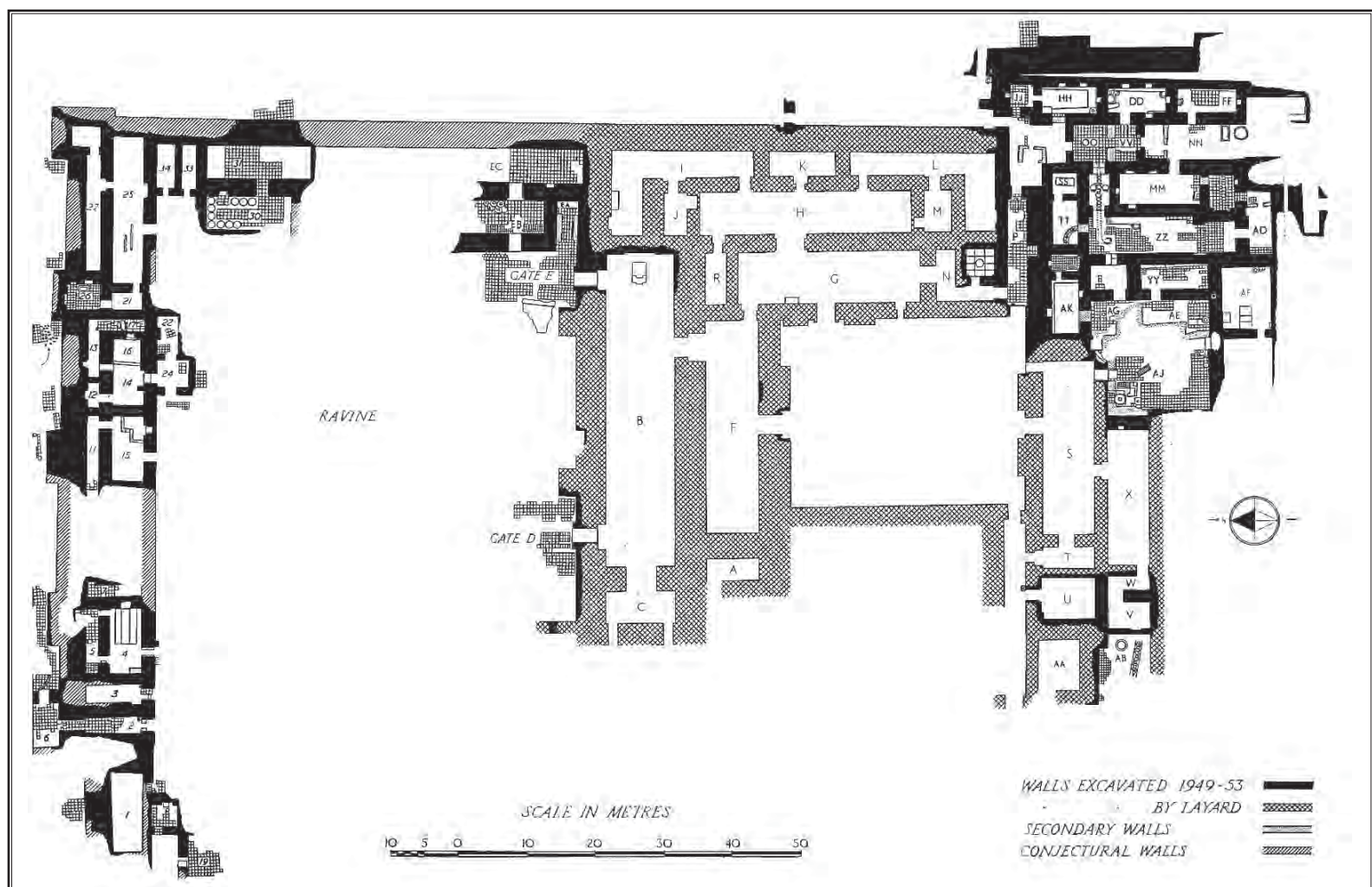


Fig. 3. The North West Palace in 1956 at the conclusion of Mallowan's excavations.

The excavation of mud brick buildings does not usually leave the site in a visitor-friendly condition, and that certainly was the case at Nimrud. Nimrud, like Babylon, was a site of considerable public interest, and the Iraqi Department of Antiquities and Heritage therefore undertook a wide-ranging programme of conservation and reconstruction, not only at Nimrud but also at Nineveh and Khorsabad. In the North West Palace, for example, in a series of campaigns lasting into the 1990s they emptied the rooms of the State Apartments, filled in the ravine in the great courtyard in front of the throne room, reconstructed the State Apartments, completed the plan of the Residential Wing and reconstructed it. They succeeded in emptying Well AJ in Court AJ and recovered spectacular ivories (Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi 1987).

While clearing the Residential Wing, the Iraqi Department found four royal tombs belonging to the Assyrian queens,

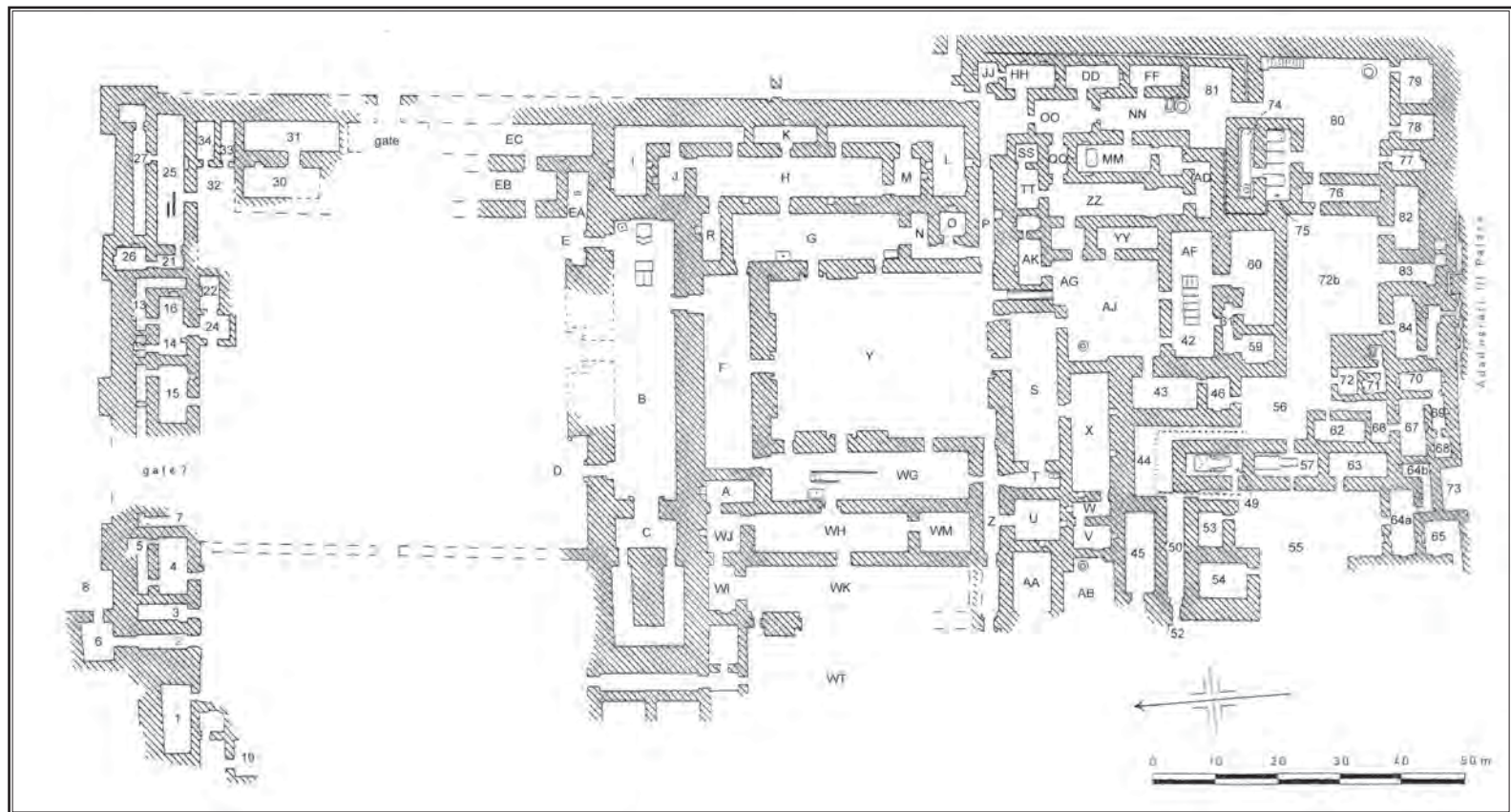


Fig. 4. The North West Palace in the 1990s at the conclusion of the Iraqi excavations.

all of which were speedily published by Muzahim Husain (2000). It is surprising that among all the treasures within these unbelievably wealthy tombs, which included precious metals, jewellery, textiles and ceramics, there were no ivories, not even any in Assyrian style, and no furniture. Only one mirror had inlays in its handle, either of ivory or shell. This omission must have been deliberate, particularly since survival was excellent with both textiles and wood being preserved.

In 1992 the Iraqi Department found another well, Well 4, in the south east corner of Court 80 (Husain 2008). In addition to the bodies of prisoners thrown down the well, a series of ivory and bone cosmetic containers were also recovered, Nos. 374-396, as well as seals and other items. The plan of the Palace is now, therefore, essentially complete, except for the western edge, which has eroded off the mound and the area eroded by the ravine in the Great Court.

THE IVORIES

Ivories have been found in all areas of the North West Palace from the time of Layard to the end of the twentieth century. However, the numbers retrieved from the different areas are uneven, probably because of the vagaries of original deposition, the disturbance caused by the sack of the palace, and the different standards of excavation, re-excavation and recording employed by the various teams.

Layard was the finest excavator of Nimrud, far ahead of his time, with his understanding of the importance of meticulous recording of location and speedy publication. Thanks to his detailed records, it has been possible to recreate the programme of the reliefs decorating the state apartments. He was similarly precise with small antiquities. Layard found ivories in two principal locations. He found the first as early as his second day in Room A (Nos. 79-92):

‘I forgot to mention that, in cleaning out the first chamber I found some small figures apparently in ivory, one of which represents a sphinx. This is singular. I have since found a large quantity of metal resembling copper, a dagger, and various parts of a large saw – all of great antiquity. The ruins do not appear to have been so completely plundered as those of Khorsabad, and I hope to find many objects of interest in them’. Layard letter no. 5, December 4, 1845.¹

In *Nineveh & its Remains* he was more detailed.

¹ Transcripts of letters relating to excavations at Nineveh, Babylon, etc., held in the Department of the Middle East, the British Museum.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

‘In the rubbish near the bottom of the chamber, I found several ivory ornaments, upon which were traces of gilding; amongst them was the figure of a man in long robes, carrying in one hand the Egyptian *crux ansata*, part of a crouching sphinx and flowers designed with great taste and elegance’ (Layard *N. & R.* I, 29-30).

However, Layard’s principal collection was found in Rooms V and W (Nos. 99-189). He noted that most were found in the doorway between the rooms.

‘The chamber V is remarkable for the discovery near the entrance *a*, of a number of ivory ornaments of considerable beauty and interest. These ivories, when uncovered, adhered so firmly to the soil, and were in so forward a state of decomposition, that I had the greatest difficulty in extracting them, even in fragments. I spent hours lying on the ground, separating them, with a penknife, from the rubbish by which they were surrounded. Those who saw them when they first reached this country, will be aware of the difficulty of releasing them from the hardened mass in which they were embedded. The ivory separated itself in flakes. Even the falling away of the earth was sufficient to reduce it almost to powder. This will account for the condition of the specimens which have been placed in the British Museum. With all the care that I could devote to the collection of the fragments, many were lost, or remained unperceived, in the immense heap of rubbish under which they were buried.’ (Layard *N. & R.* II, 9-10).

Layard found a remarkable and rich range of antiquities in Room AB, the ‘Treasure Chamber’, which is principally famous for the great bronze cauldrons and dishes found there. Less well known is that he also found a ‘mass of ivory’, much of which was engraved, as well as many tusks (Letters, January 6, 1850, MS p. 10). Unfortunately these ivories have not subsequently been identified, and it may have been impossible to preserve them. Layard also found a few fragments of ivories, Nos. 38-40, when he was excavating the ‘Roadway made for the Bulls’.

Transporting antiquities from Nimrud to London was to prove hazardous, and Barnett has described some of the disasters which occurred:

‘The discovery was made in April 1847, on the 22nd of which thirty-one cases of small antiquities left Nimrud for a circuitous and unhappy journey via Basra and Bombay for England, where they arrived in the ‘*Clive*’ only in October 1848. The cases had been opened and tampered with at Bombay, and it is said that the labels indicating the provenance of the objects were disturbed. It appears that certain of the ivories were included in this cargo. The remaining and far larger part, together with those from Rooms A and I, must have been brought home by Layard in person when he closed the dig on 22 June 1847 and returned to England.’ (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 16-17).

On their arrival in London the ivories ‘aroused the liveliest interest, and the Trustees appointed a sub-committee consisting of Lord Northampton (President of the Royal Society), Dean W.H. Buckland, the geologist and palaeontologist, and Mr. W.R. Hamilton, the eminent antiquary and diplomat, to advise how they could best be preserved. As a result of their recommendations and those of the naturalist, Professor Richard Owen, eighteen of the ivories were entrusted in February 1848 to a Mr. Flower, who skillfully treated them with gelatine and put them into the state of repair in which they have since remained.’ (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 16-17).

Layard was pleased with their conservation (1849, 10): ‘Since they have been in England, they have been admirably restored and cleaned. The gelatinous matter, by which the particles forming the ivory are kept together, had, from the decay of centuries, been completely exhausted. By an ingenious process it has been restored, and the ornaments, which on their discovery fell to pieces almost upon mere exposure to the air, have regained the appearance and consistency of recent ivory, and may be handled without risk of injury.’ The success of this restoration can be seen in their stable state today. After restoration the pieces were recorded in the 1848 register, which often noted their exact provenance, although some were simply described as ‘Procured by Mr. Layard at Nimrud’, presumably those travelling via Bombay.

The Trustees of the British Museum commissioned the artist Mr. Edward Prentis to prepare ‘most careful and elaborate drawings’ of the ivories from the 1846 and 1847 excavations. He drew some 80 ivories, most of which were found in Chamber V, although eighteen were found in Chambers A, I and X.² Many of Prentis’ drawings were ‘engraved on wood, by Messrs. John Thompson and S. Williams’ and published in *Monuments of Nineveh*. The drawings are retained in the Middle East Department and have recently been made available on the British Museum web-site.

Hormuzd Rassam, Henry Rawlinson and William Loftus all found ivories in the 1850s. However, as Barnett noted, Layard’s successors ‘did not take such great pains as he did to see that provenances were accurately recorded. Indeed the records of most of their excavations are utterly inadequate, if they can be called excavations at all’ (Barnett *C.N.I.* 20). Rassam found ‘three ivory heads, most beautifully cut’, in rooms of sun-dried brick all round the Pyramid extending as far as the ravine, that is probably in area ZT. The heads were sent to Rawlinson (letter in Layard Papers, December 30, 1852) and have been

² Room A, Nos. 79-80, 82-92; Room I, No. 78; Room X, Nos. 192-95.

identified by Barnett as possibly Nos. 41-43, even though two of these were said, according to the 1855 register, to come from Sherif Khan and Kuyunjik. However, the 1855 register is neither particularly informative nor reliable.

As he reported in a letter to the Trustees of the British Museum from Baghdad in 1852 Rawlinson also found ivories:

‘The kitchen of the palace of Sardanapalus where Mr. Layard found bronzes and chased copper vessels was thoroughly explored and the nature of the apartment clearly ascertained, but although the fragments of metal pots and pans were very numerous, no single perfect vessel was discovered. In an adjoining room, however, which was also cleared out a very beautiful alabaster vase was found quite uninjured, and strange to say some dried conserves inside the jar are almost in the same state as when they were served at the supper table of Sardanapalus nearly 3000 years ago. This vase, a set of ivory ornaments, some of them very beautifully carved, but all, more or less injured, and a small square inscribed tablet were the only articles of value found at Nimrud.’ (Transcripts, 83 and 85).

Barnett identified and restored some panels, which he suggested were those found by Rawlinson [Nos. 202-207]. These finely modelled Assyrianizing panels may have been found in Room V.

Although his principal discoveries were in the Burnt Palace, Loftus also found ivories in what can probably be identified as the Palace of Tiglath-pileser III, sited between the North West and South West Palaces. Thanks to drawings by the artist, William Boucher, these can be identified as CP1-11 in Appendix 2.

In 1949 Mallowan returned to Nimrud:

‘Our first objective was to re-excavate certain fixed points in the N.W. Palace, in order to tie in our new work with the plan of the mound which had been left by Layard and Loftus. We therefore began at square J.7, and set to work on Rooms U, V, W, where Layard had recorded the discovery of many of the best pieces in the collection of Nimrud ivories which were later on added to by Loftus. These Rooms had been entirely re-filled with the debris that had come out of them and in V, W we found hundreds of mutilated fragments of ivories, most of them terribly damaged, which had belonged to the original collection. ... The very deficiencies of his methods had their advantages too, for in re-excavating Room V we discovered the beautiful ivory cow [No. 123] ..., still lying in situ on a patch of soil overlooked by his workmen in the S.W. corner of the room. That indeed gave a clue to the circumstances under which these pieces had been found, for the cow lay at a level higher than the original floor of Assur-nasir-pal, and it was therefore evident that Layard was right in inferring that some of the ivories were still in use after that king’s decease. ... In the debris of the same room V two unfinished ivory plaques ... were especially interesting because they proved conclusively that some of the ivories had been made at Kalhu itself – perhaps by foreign craftsmen. Room U was partially and rooms W, V, completely re-excavated; the Standard Inscriptions of Assur-nasir-pal are once more visible on the great gypsum blocks which line the walls ...’ (Mallowan *Iraq* 12, 160-162; *Iraq* 13, 2).

The scale of the Palace meant that neither Layard nor Mallowan had the resources to be able to clear the huge rooms. Instead Layard tended to tunnel round the walls, following the reliefs, while Mallowan left the monumental rooms of the State Apartments essentially untouched except for the east end of the throne room, B, and the small Rooms O, U, V and W. Following Layard, he hunted for and found Well AB in Room AB, known today as the Room of the Bronzes but by Layard as the Treasure Chamber. Layard had identified the well and emptied it to water level. Mallowan, however, was aware that finds were more probable in the sludge at the bottom and thus found the smashed remains of Sargon’s ivory ‘book’ of writing boards, with the famous astrological text, *enuma anu enlil*, Nos. 96-98.

Mallowan found his finest ivories at the bottom of Well NN in the south-east of the Residential Wing, Nos. 348-373. He also recovered ivories from a variety of contexts, the most significant of which may be some fragments in Assyrian style near the throne base in Room B, which may represent the remains of Ashurnasirpal’s throne or some other piece of ninth century royal furniture, Nos. 44-66. These fragments had survived Layard’s tunnelling: but further fragments, if any, would not have survived the clearance of tons of fallen mud brick when these rooms were emptied.

Undoubtedly the most magnificent and complete ivories from Nimrud were found by the Iraqi Department of Antiquities and Heritage in 1975 in Well AJ in the north west corner of Court AJ, Nos. 223-297. Mallowan had attempted to excavate this well but had to abandon work because of the danger of collapse. With better equipment, the Iraqi archaeologists were successful, and the Well AJ ivories were speedily published by Fuad Safar and Muyasser Sa’ied al Iraqi in 1987. Whether more ivories were found during the emptying and restoration of the palace is not known: these would have been recorded in the daily record book, kept in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad, which is currently unavailable for consultation.

DISTRIBUTION OF IVORIES

There is a clear division, as far as anything is clear in a palace that has been comprehensively sacked, between the distribution of Assyrian ivories and imported pieces. The first were found in ceremonial and important residential contexts, such as Room B and the adjacent F, Room AB, which served as the storeroom for the ceremonial area, and the two principal suites at the northern end of the Great Court. Ivories of Levantine manufacture were discovered in treasuries, like Rooms V/W and A. Both types, not surprisingly, were found cast down wells. It must, however, be borne in mind that excavation and recovery has been uneven and erratic, and the standard of recording, variable.

The following section describes what is known of the various areas in which ivories were found and outlines which types of ivory were found in each context. Because of the long time span involved in their recovery, some 150 years, and the variety of relevant sources, many of which are not easy to find, quotations from the original reports are, where possible, provided below, in order to give the fullest information about context, even though they are sometimes contradictory. The sources include A.H. Layard, R.D Barnett, M.E.L. Mallowan, J.E. Reade, M. Husain, as well as a recent overview of the palace undertaken by David and Joan Oates in their book *Nimrud*, published in 2001.

1. THE GREAT COURT

Mallowan was the first to establish the presence of a Great Court in front of the throne room B. He began work at the east end of the southern façade and discovered the famous Banquet Stela in the alcove EA and the southern ends of two rooms, EB and EC along the eastern side of the Great Court (Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 7). In 1952 and 1953 he moved to the south side of the ziggurat, Area ZT, where he continued work in 1956. This area had previously been excavated by both Layard and Rassam and was heavily disturbed. However, he found rooms which he identified as belonging to the north and east sides of the Great Court, as well as others belonging to the Ninurta Temple. Two fine ivories, Nos. 18 and 19, were found near the Banquet Stela, as well as fragments in Court E, Nos. 20-37, and some in rooms on the north and east sides of the courtyard.

The north side of the Great Court

In the autumn of 1852 Rassam excavated rooms in Area ZT, focussing on the ‘Pyramid’ or ziggurat. In a letter in the Layard Papers (December 20 1852) Rassam reported that his men were finding rooms of sun-dried brick ‘all round the Pyramid’ extending as far as ‘the ravine’. These would have occupied the same area as Mallowan’s ‘Ziggurat Terrace’. ‘In two of these rooms we found slabs of marble used as pavements one of which is covered on the back with inscriptions. In another room we found three ivory heads most beautifully cut, the head of one being covered with thin gold’ (Add. Ms. 38981, 187-8: letter to Layard, 20.xii.1852 in Reade 2002, 193). Barnett tentatively identified two of these heads, Nos. 41 and 42, as BM 118228 and 118229 and published them in *Iraq* 2 (1935, 197), where he noted that the registers described them as from Sherif Khan. He republished them in *C.N.I.* as U6 and U7, suggesting that the information in the register was incorrect and that these could have been two of the three heads found in the rooms between the ziggurat and the ravine (*C.N.I.*, 20, 50). He also suggested that the third head, No. 43, was *C.N.I.* T5, BM 118217, said in the registers to have come from the centre of Kuyunjik (*C.N.I.*, 20, 224, pl. cxxv). Barnett’s suggestion is not unreasonable as not only was Rawlinson uninterested in archaeological objects unless they were inscribed, but Rassam was working at both Kuyunjik and Nimrud at the same time and could well have muddled locations. The 1855 and 1856 register entries are often unreliable.

Mallowan only found a few fragmentary ivories, mostly Assyrian style, in the principal suite and in the adjacent smaller suite in the north-east corner and in a second suite in the north-west corner, as well as some scattered in Rooms 5, 6, and 11.

The Principal Suite, Room ZT25

Assyrian narrative ivories, Nos. 1-2, were found in the great hall of the principal suite in the north-east corner, which ‘contained a niche in the south wall, at the bottom of which there was a gypsum slab. The room had been previously dug and the soil was much disturbed, but earlier diggers had failed to penetrate as low as floor level, and in the bottom 60 cm. of debris, which consisted mostly of decayed mud-brick, some objects of interest were found. Nothing was left of the original pavement, and it was impossible to judge from the brickwork to what period the last occupation of the room had belonged. The mixed materials found in the debris of the room could however be assigned to various periods between the ninth and seventh centuries BC. In the centre of the room there were two heavy blocks of a limestone plinth with a hollow channel down the middle. These do not seem to have been in position and are perhaps comparable with the heavy gypsum blocks used in

Sargon's palace at Khorsabad to strengthen buttresses Near the plinth there were two stone vases ND 3555 and ND 3556, the latter a beautiful oil jar of striped black and yellow translucent alabaster, ht. c. 47 cm., the rim unfortunately missing, but inscribed at the neck with a hieroglyphic inscription Other objects included ND 3115-9, 3139, 3142, pottery; ND 3394, a fragment of an ivory plaque with a 16-petal rosette engraved upon it; ND 3266, ... another fragment of an ivory

plaque, engraved with a procession of warriors, was found in the bottom 20 cm. of debris above the level of the pavement; ... ND 3413 was a sun-dried clay docket or bulla inscribed with the name of Shalmaneser III Among the pot types at the same level there was a pedestal lamp with elliptical spout and a miniature clay vase.' (Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 124-126)

The Oates' description was of a suite consisting of 'a porch with two small rooms (33 and 34) at its east end and, on the north, the entrance to a suite of five rooms, including a reception room 21 m. long (25), with a vestibule leading to an ablution room (21 and 26). This arrangement reproduces on a small scale the plan of a typical Assyrian throne room, and the resemblance is heightened by the presence in the floor of the reception room of two parallel rows of stone blocks, known to us as 'tram-lines', and probably intended to carry a wheeled brazier ... This must have been the reception suite of an official of sufficient importance to be treated with considerable ceremony' (Oates & Oates 2001, 44).

The Second Suite also had its own entrance and consisted of 'rooms 12, 14/16, 13 and 17, with a later addition of two small anterooms (24, 22)' (Oates & Oates 2001, 45). The principal room 14/16 'contained much ash on a burnt floor; a good baked clay champagne vase type; a sun-dried clay triangular docket inscribed with a few Phoenician signs [possibly ND2346-47, Millard 1972, 131-132]; a beautifully rendered cast bronze lion ND 2163, the base of it inscribed with four Phoenician(?) characters; a ten *mana* basalt duck-weight

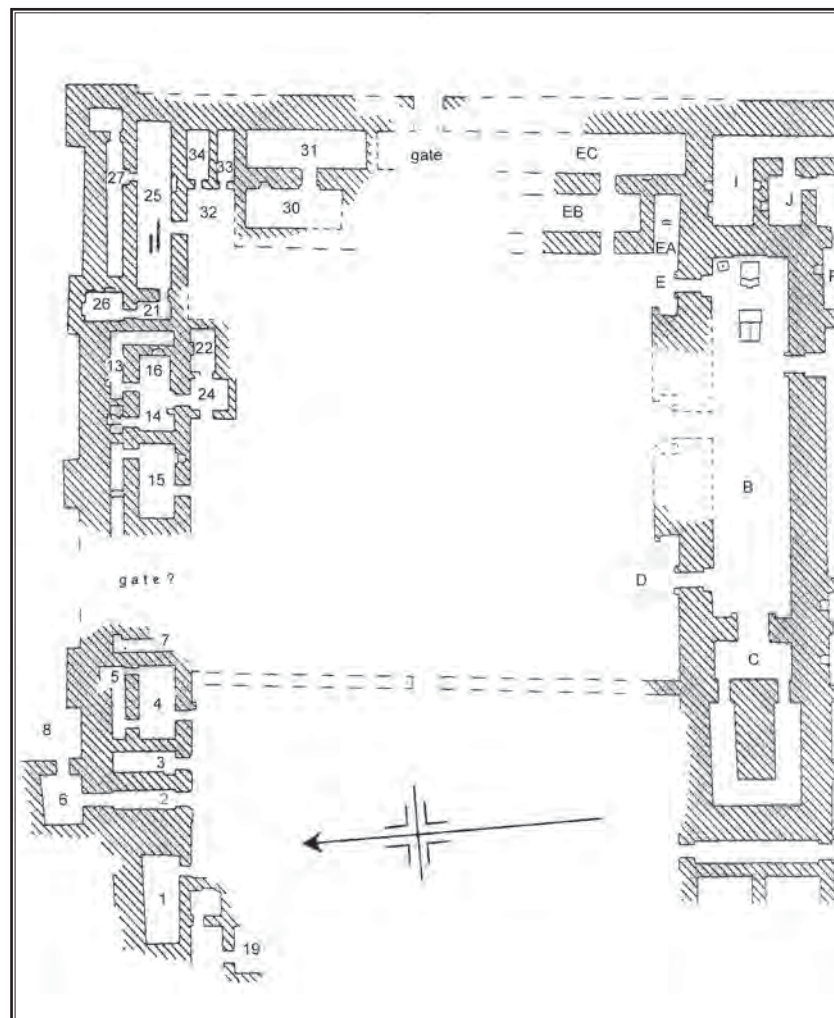


Fig. 5. Rooms around the Great Court.

of Assur-nasir-pal. In the doorway there was sesame seed and lentils' (Mallowan *Iraq* 15, 36). In 1954 Mallowan noted that the room had been excavated in 1952 and that 'these rooms contained heavy traces of burning; there was a thick belt of ash-filling which in some places rose up to the top of the existing walls. A collection of dated tablets found in ZT14, see B. Parker 1954, 29 ff., indicate that the burning "would have occurred after the reign of Assur-bani-pal"' (Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 122).

Room 12: 'a small room abutting on the west side of ZT13, which also led into ZT14, lay on the south side of the Ziggurat terrace; its plastered walls had been heavily carbonised by fire. In it there was a 'wind-door' or shelf on which rested a good collection of palace-ware, all obviously contemporary and left exactly as it had been placed by its last owner. ... In heavily burnt soil, in the N.W. corner of the same room, there was a part of an elephant's tusk engraved with a guilloche pattern; it lay about 20 centimetres above the level of the mud brick floor [No. 4]. This was a type of ivory not encountered previously either in the North West Palace or in the Burnt Palace and would appear to be both later in date and in different style from other Calah ivories' (Mallowan *Iraq* 15, 36; *Iraq* 16, 122).

A fragment of a sphinx's wing, No. 5, was found in Room 24, which 'contained a good stone duck weight which was found lying on the floor upside down by the east door, also a not inconsiderable quantity of wheat. In the south-east corner of the room there was barley, a stone duck, big querns, long rubbing stones, loom-weights, pots, remains of vegetable matter and not inconsiderable traces of iron, including nails' (Mallowan *Iraq* 15, 37). Room 24 was 'filled with disturbed soil. In the upper rubbish ND 3407, an inscribed clay tablet, undated; at floor level ND 3221, a basalt duck; ND 3317, a fragment of a sphinx's wing in ivory. On the floor there were traces of two iron hoops 1.55 m. in diameter which may possibly have been the ends of a barrel or storage cask' (Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 124).

Ivories from Nimrud VI

The North-West Suite, Room ZT 19

Only a few fragments of ivory, including an Assyrian fragment, No. 12, were found in the small excavated area of this suite. 'The house at the west end of ZT commanded a fine view over the plain and its occupant looked sheer down on to the quays and the River Tigris. This house may have been occupied by some official who was responsible for the superintendence of weights and measures, for a large inscribed stone duck-weight was found in ZT 19 with the parentage of Assur-dan III thereon, and the remains of a heavy duck-footed stone trough.' (Mallowan *Iraq*15, 31-32). In 1954 Mallowan added that 'Three superimposed pavement levels were observed in a total depth of little over 1 metre. The top two levels were a poor patchwork; the predominant size of brick was 44 cm. square. In 1952, at the third level from the top, a fragment of a heavy stone trough with legs in the shape of ducks' heads was found. The brickwork measurements of the pavement corresponded approximately with a size used by Adad-nirari III. These three levels probably represent a period extending from the early ninth century to the end of the seventh century B.C.' (Mallowan *Iraq*16, 124).

Room 5, No. 7: A few fragments were found in '... rooms 4 and 5, which at one time must have been the chancery, concerned with the imperial administration of Assyria. Room 4 contained a collection of over 350 tablets, the greatest number hitherto found in any one room at Nimrud. This chamber, now mostly stripped of its burnt-brick pavement, measured 31 x 14 feet (9.5 x 4.2 metres), and at its eastern end most of it was occupied by two burnt-brick benches 3 feet 2 inches wide. It is reasonable to surmise that these served as filing-cabinets for the different classes of documents which had to be immediately available for reference, while room 5 behind may have been used as a permanent store' (Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 172).

Room 6, Nos. 8-11: A few fragments of Assyrian ivories similar to some from Court E were recovered from Room 6. 'No object of interest was found in this chamber which had been previously excavated in the nineteenth century, but there were traces of a high-lying pavement which included burnt bricks 44 cm. square and 46 cm. square.... The main pavement was probably in use in the time of Sargon and re-patched in the reign of Assur-bani-pal' (Mallowan *Iraq*16, 121).

The east side of the Great Court

A number of rooms survive both to north and south of the ravine which had destroyed the centre of the east side and much of the Great Court.

Room ZT30

'This was a long magazine mostly paved with burnt brick; on three sides of the room there was a mud-brick *mastaba* or bench within which stood big oil jars, partly sunken below the level of the floor. ... Most interesting was the discovery in this room of a number of inscribed clay tablets ... ND 3638, a fragment of an ivory pyxis decorated with guilloche and rosettes [No. 15], is therefore interesting because there is a strong presumption that it must be dated to about that time. The pottery in ZT30 included a pointed based goblet; big storage jars ... some fragments of dimpled palace ware

'The evidence provided by stratigraphy as well as the documents thus proves that this room was originally used as a storage room for oil jars; it had certainly served as such in the reign of Sargon, it had perhaps been designed for that purpose even earlier; it continued to be used in the same tradition at a slightly higher level in the time of Assurbanipal. ... The same room also contained two good seals. ...' (Mallowan *Iraq*16, 126-127).

Room EB

A fragmentary Assyrian winged genie, No. 16, was found in Room EB, which 'had probably served both as a guard room and as a storeroom for the grain rations required by the Palace. Standing on the floor against its eastern wall was a group of large pottery store jars, one of which was inscribed with its capacity measure, 2 homers ... In this and in the adjoining room EC a few beads, some gold leaf, fragments of glazed pottery and glazed bricks were all that remained of the valuable objects which they may once have contained' (Mallowan *Iraq*14, 10).

'There are, however, two chambers which must have been built to the order of Assurnasirpal II himself and were therefore contemporaneous with the palace: they were beautifully paved with his own inscribed bricks. These two rooms, EB and EC, abutted on the alcove containing the stela, and the outer one had no doubt once served as an apartment set aside for the guards who watched over the exit from the throne-room. ... At a later period, the former guardroom EB was used as a storage chamber for grain rations required by the palace officials. It contained a series of great pottery jars marked with their capacity, two homers, probably about 370 litres.' (Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 167-168).

Court E, recess EA

‘...there was a deep recess which formed a bay from the court itself, and within it stood the splendid carved stone erected by king Assur-nasir-pal II in 878 B.C. in order to commemorate the building of his Palace. When first erected it stood upon a burnt-brick pavement which bore the Palace inscription of Assur-nasir-pal, but the great weight of the stone, the pressure of the heavy mud-brick walls on either side of it, and the seepage of damp had caused the original pavement to burst and swell. Later on, therefore, it became necessary to effect some repairs in order to keep the approach worthy of the monument. The side walls which had begun to lean inwards were heavily reinforced by two deep mud-brick buttresses and a new burnt-brick pavement was laid at a height of about half a metre above the level of the original one. The ground was properly waterproofed, for the later bricks lay on a bed of clean clay which overlaid a thin layer of sand, beneath which again lay the original pavement. The bottom line of the inscription on the front of the monument was kept carefully clear of the new pavement. The measurements of the bricks in the upper floor and their quality were consistent with those used elsewhere during the reign of Shalmaneser III to whose reign we may with some confidence ascribe these repairs Whatever had been on the original floor was of course removed and relaid on the later pavement, and fortunately a few of these objects had survived. Finest of all was a delicately engraved ivory plaque depicting the king himself [No. 18], which lay embedded in ash and mud at the back of the stele, directly over the later floor ... Not far from it was another ivory, an open work or *ajouré* sphinx [No. 19], and in the same belt of debris, to the front of the stele and along the east wall of the court, there were other fragments of broken up ivory plaques engraved with processional scenes, clearly ninth century in style [Nos. 20-36]. Although these objects and a fragment of a large glazed vase found near by no longer lay in their original position, some of them, notably the ivory panel depicting the king, must once have been closely associated with the ritual appropriate to the stele. Directly over the top of the ivories there was a mass of mud-brick which had fallen on to them from the tops of the adjacent walls’. (Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 7-8).

Reade recently commented on the stela. ‘Ashurnasirpal’s Banquet Stela was placed in the North-West Palace in an alcove EA immediately adjoining the eastern door of the great throne room, Room B, close to the throne (Mallowan, *N. & R.* I (1966), 57-73). It showed the king with divine symbols around him, and their presence presumably made the alcove into a shrine. The king was wearing ritual dress but, instead of posing in the usual attitude of worship, with the right arm raised as if he had just snapped his fingers, he was holding a staff. Ninth-century ivories were found in the alcove: one plaque showed the king holding a sickle-sword as on the statue from the Sharrat Niphi shrine, but he was not wearing ritual dress. The nature of the object or objects to which these ivories were attached is unknown, and they may have been thrown there from elsewhere’ (Reade 2002, 195).

Court E

Many fragments of narrow strips, some 2.5 cm. high [Nos. 20-37], were found outside Gate E. These narrative scenes were lightly modelled and rather provincial in style, but recognizably Assyrian. ‘Many fragments of debris, tokens of the final sack, were found in the court outside this room [Room EB]: links of iron armour, copper nails and beams from the roof, traces of mural paintings that had once decorated the walls, and fragments of strip ivory with processional scenes in a 9th century style’ (Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 168).

**UNPROVENANCED FRAGMENTS, POSSIBLY FOUND
IN THE ‘ROADWAY MADE FOR THE BULLS’**

Layard found a few fragments of Assyrian ivory in the great trench, the ‘Roadway made for the Bulls’, which he dug to move the bulls from the palace to the quay-side for transport to London. Unfortunately, the location of the trench is uncertain. Barnett wrote that ‘Layard’s principal task was to remove the winged human-headed lion-colossi from Hall G, the eastern hall of the North-West Palace. For this purpose a roadway was dug westwards across the court towards the side of the mound, and in the course of it “a few fragments of ivory with kneeling goats” were discovered’ (Barnett *C.N.I.* 17, 186). Following this interpretation, the trench would have been cut across Court Y and through the West Wing down to the quay-side. However, Layard’s own report of digging the trench in *Nineveh and Babylon* (1853), 162-163, recorded that he was moving the human-headed lions from Room B rather than G, in which case he would have dug a trench from the throne room façade across to the ravine in the Great Court, as agreed by Gadd (1936, 124-125).

‘The gigantic human-headed lions, first discovered in the north-west palace at Nimroud [Room B], were still standing in their original position. Having been carefully covered up with earth previous to my departure in 1848, they had been preserved from exposure to the effects of the weather, and to wanton injury on the part of the Arabs.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

The Trustees of the British Museum wishing to add these fine sculptures to the national collection I was directed to remove them entire. A road through the ruins, for their transport to the edge of the mound, was in the first place necessary, and it was commenced early in December. ... This road was dug to the level of the pavement or artificial platform, and was not finished till the end of February, as a large mass of earth and rubbish had to be taken away to the depth of fifteen or twenty feet. During the progress of the work we found some carved fragments of ivory similar to those already placed in the British Museum; and two massive sockets in bronze, in which turned the hinges of a gate of the palace.'

Barnett identified the ivories thanks to an entry in Layard's diary of December 4 1849, which noted the discovery of 'a few fragments of ivory with kneeling goats' (f.30).

The ravine in the Great Court was commented on by George Smith when he visited Nimrud: 'South of the pyramid lies a ravine, and crossing this we arrive at the north-west palace, one of the most complete and perfect Assyrian buildings known' (Smith 1875, 71). The ravine was still visible in the 1947 aerial view of the citadel (Barnett, *C.N.I.*, plate before p.13), although it has since been filled in.

2. THE STATE APARTMENTS

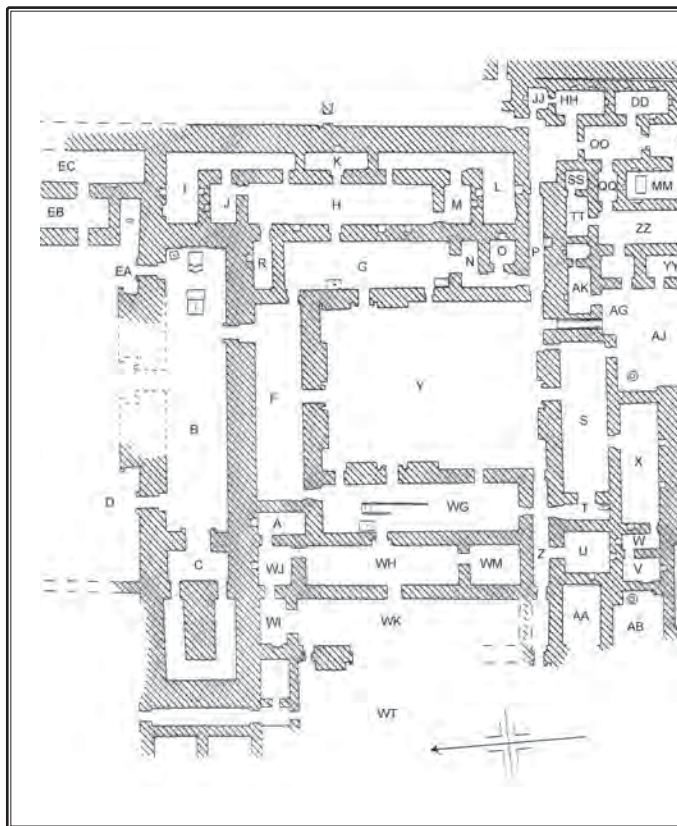


Fig. 6. Rooms of the State Apartments.

All the rooms of the State Apartments were lined with bas-reliefs and surrounded the inner courtyard, Y. To the north is the monumental throne room, Room B, which ends in Room C and a ramp to the roof. The adjacent room F connects the throne room with Court Y, the east and west sides of which are lined with magnificent reception suites. The rooms along the south side include the King's Suite (S, T, X, W & V) and are separated from the main halls by narrow corridors, Z and P. These provided access to Court AJ and the Residential Wing and to further rooms on the west leading onto the terrace.

Considering the size and importance of these rooms, very few ivories have been found, but it is wise to remember the history of excavation. As Layard wrote:

'The smallness of the sum placed at my disposal, compelled me to follow the same plan in the excavations that I had hitherto adopted, - viz. to dig trenches along the sides of the chambers, and to expose the whole of the slabs, without removing the earth from the centre. Thus, few of the chambers were fully explored; and many small objects of great interest may have been left undiscovered' (*N. & R.* I, 332).

To retrieve slabs which had fallen on their faces, Layard found it 'necessary to remove a large accumulation of earth and rubbish - to empty, indeed, nearly the whole chamber, for the fallen slabs extended almost half-way across it'. However, he did not record finding small antiquities and presumably did not dig to floor level. Mallowan was similarly deterred from emptying the large halls.

Room B, the throne room

Mallowan re-discovered the throne base at the east end of the throne room (Mallowan, *I.L.N.*, 28.07.51, 134, fig. 1), as well as a fragmentary but important collection of Assyrian incised ivories nearby, Nos. 44-76, with a few scattered in Room F.

'Excavations at the east end of this room exposed the great inscribed stone table with stepped top which had been discovered by Layard a century ago. This was leaning at an angle of about thirty-five degrees, presumably as he had left it, and has now been moved to the Mosul Museum. We cut away a broad section of the already ruined eastern wall in order to see if there was a foundation deposit within it, ... but none was discovered. In the south-eastern sector of the room, however, there were fallen frescoes, presumably from the upper parts of the walls. The painting was done directly on to a prepared mud plaster and included a large fragment of a chariot scene with horses' heads

and an eight-spoked wheel. . . . Beneath the frescoes lay a number of finely engraved fragments of ivories which were covered by a layer of 10 cm. of clay and rested directly on a hard beaten mud pavement overlaid with bitumen, apparently contemporary with the reign of Assur-nasir-pal. This pavement was flush with the bottom of the high plinth which had formed a base or edging to the wall-sculpture, and Layard, who had been mainly interested in cutting away the sculpture, had evidently not dug down to floor level in this section. Inevitably therefore we are led to suspect that the centre of this great Hall may be worth digging again, and that only the soil immediately adjacent to the walls can have been thoroughly cleared. Underneath the frescoes and abutting on the broken ivories there was a large stone tablet ND.1121 on which was carved the wall inscription of Assur-nasir-pal. Why it was here we do not know, but it had evidently been pulled away from its original setting together with a number of similar tablets which in a previous season were found indiscriminately strewn in various parts of the Palace.

‘The discovery of ivories in this room was of great importance chronologically. They were . . . found on a pavement which may be attributed to Assur-nasir-pal, adjacent to his sculpture and to his inscriptions. Moreover, they are executed in a peculiar style and exquisitely engraved with Assyrian scenes, some of which have never appeared before. The most remarkable of these are two strips illustrating a ritual which is taking place on a hill-top or in the mountains. In one of them a bearded hero stripped to the waist is felling a tree with a heavy three-pronged axe; in the other, more elaborately attired in ceremonial robes, he is accompanied by a retinue of nobles. This individual can be none other than the king himself. Other fragments illustrate chariot scenes, a hero on bended knee dispatching two bulls, horses in a battle scene, eunuchs and soldiers in procession and, in general, the subjects which are depicted on contemporary wall reliefs from the N.W. Palace’ (Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 10-11).

The Room B ivories are perhaps the only ones found in the North West Palace that can be considered a ‘royal collection’. They were all Assyrian in style and, being found near the throne base, presumably decorated either the throne itself or an associated piece of furniture. It is significant that *no* non-Assyrian ivories were found there.

East Wing, Room I or L

Layard found a single Assyrian fragment, No. 78, registered in 1848 as from Chamber I and by Barnett, *C.N.I.*, 15: ‘In another room (I) were also found “one or two fragments of ivory”’. However, there is no record of Layard finding any ivory in Chamber I: he did find a few fragments in Chamber L. ‘In this chamber also occurred niches similarly placed to those in I. In front of the female figure, and forming part of the pavement, was a slab with a hole through the centre. On raising it, I discovered an earthen pipe, about eight inches in diameter and two feet in length, communicating with a drain running underneath, the whole being lined and cemented with bitumen. One or two fragments of ivory were also found in this room’ (Layard, *Nineveh & its Remains* II, 5-6). No. 78 was therefore probably found in Chamber L.

West Wing, Room A

This room presumably served as a storeroom or treasury, for only imported ivories were found in it. Layard found his first ivories on his second day:

‘. . . on 8 November Layard secretly set to work with the assistance of a handful of men at the north-west and south-west corners of the mound. Before nightfall they had struck the palaces in each corner. On the very next day in a room of the North-West Palace (Room A) he found the first of the ivories’ (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 15).

In his letters Layard twice mentioned finding an ivory sphinx in Room A but gives a fuller description of his discovery in *Nineveh & its Remains* I, 29-30:

‘It was evident that the top of a chamber had been discovered, and that the gap was its entrance [the chamber marked A on plan 3]. I now dug down the face of the stones, and an inscription in the cuneiform character was soon exposed to view. . . . Next morning my workmen were increased by five Turcomans from Selamiyah, who had been attracted by the prospect of regular wages. I employed half of them in emptying the chamber partly uncovered on the previous day, and the rest in following the wall at the S.W. corner of the mound. Before evening, the work of the first party was completed, and I found myself in a room built of slabs about eight feet high, and varying from six to four feet in breadth, placed upright and closely fitted together. . . . In the rubbish near the bottom of the chamber I found several ivory ornaments, upon which were traces of gilding; amongst them was the figure of a man in long robes, carrying in one hand the Egyptian *crux ansata*, part of a crouching sphinx,³ and flowers designed with great taste and elegance.’

³ The reference to a ‘crouching sphinx’ may be erroneous, for in his letters Layard simply mentions a sphinx. The only sphinx registered in 1848 found in the Museum is No. 81.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

Apart from the Room B examples, the ivories of Rooms A and V were the only possible ‘collections’ of ivories as such in the North West Palace, that is pieces that may have been found near where they were kept or deposited. Unlike Room B, no Assyrian ivories were found in the room, only an eclectic collection of single pieces from different workshops belonging to the Syrian and Phoenician traditions, which suggest that the room was a ‘treasury’.

West Wing, Rooms U, AA and AB

Although they are sited south of Passage Z, which effectively separates the State Apartments from the suites and rooms of the Residential Wing, these rooms are included with the State Apartments, since they have no connexion with the Residential Wing. Room U opens onto Passage Z and thus could have formed a convenient storeroom for the western suite of rooms, WH-WK, while AA and AB both opened onto the west terrace, and, therefore, formed a continuation of the ceremonial western suite of rooms, with WK opening onto the terrace and overlooking the River Tigris and the distant hills.

Room U

This was first excavated by Layard, who recorded inscriptions on the threshold slabs by Ashurnasirpal II and Sargon II:

‘On the two slabs forming the entrance to Room U were identical inscriptions, above those which invariably occur on the slabs in this palace. They contained the name of the king who founded Khorsabad, and they had evidently been cut long after the lower inscriptions, from which they differ in the forms of many characters. They may have been carved to celebrate the reopening, or the restoration, of the building.’ (Layard *N. & R.* II, 11).

Sargon’s inscription describes his restoration of the Palace, and how he filled it with

‘The plunder of the cities, (acquired through) the success of my weapons which I hurled against the foe, I shut up therein and filled it to bursting with luxuries. ... At that time I placed into that treasure-house 11 talents, 30 minas of gold, 2,100 talents, 24 minas of silver, out of the huge plunder which my hand captured from Pisiris, king of Carchemish, of the land of Hatti, by the bank of the Euphrates’. (Luckenbill 1989, II, 72-73, para. 137-138)

According to the field register, only a few fragments of ivory were found by Mallowan in Room U, some of which may have been identified in the British Museum [No. 93], although the fragments do not match the entry in the register. What is of interest is that ivory fragments were found in that room.

Room AA

In Layard’s diary (BM Add. MS.39096) for the 7th of March 1850 he recorded, ‘From chamber panelled with inscribed alabaster slabs adjoining Treasure Chamber a fine ivory sphinx was found’. Barnett has suggested that this room was AA, to the north of the Room of the Bronzes. However, the sphinx has not been identified (*C.N.I.* 183).

Room AB

In January 1849 Layard excavated Room AB, which he called the Treasure Chamber, re-named by Barnett as the ‘Room of the Bronzes’ because of the twelve cauldrons and 150 bronze bowls found there. It was indeed a treasure chamber, with the remains of an Assyrian throne and other bronze furniture fittings, ivory and tusks, glass, horse harness, weapons and armour. Room AB clearly served as a store for Assyrian furniture and a treasury, sited conveniently near the rooms of the west terrace. In entries in his diary of January 1850 (MS p. 10) Layard wrote:

January 6: ‘Returning to Treasure Chamber and emptied fourth cauldron ... Near the cauldron was a mass of ivory and iron and copper remains – two small glass bowls – the fragments of others, various components (?) for inlaying etc. ... Much of the ivory was engraved and the head of a sceptre/mace [furniture leg No. 94] was taken out much injured. There were also tusks entire, which however fell to pieces on exposure to the air.

January 7: Returned to Treasure Chamber emptied a fifth cauldron in which were many interesting remains – amongst them several handsome ornaments resembling sword handles (sic) a grotesque head in massive copper, apparently the head of a mace – many fragments of ivory and near the cauldron two or three elephants’ tusks ...

January 22: An elephant’s tusk which had been very carefully measured in the Treasure Chamber measured 2 ft 5in.

Of his discoveries, Layard wrote in *Nineveh & Babylon* (175-180):

‘During our absence a new chamber [AB] had been opened in the north-west palace, to the south of the great centre hall. The walls were of plain, sun-dried brick, and there were no remains of sculptured slabs, but in the earth and rubbish which had filled it were discovered some of the most interesting relics obtained from the ruins of Assyria. ...

‘The newly discovered chamber was part of the north-west palace and adjoined a room previously explored. Its only entrance was to the west, and almost on the edge of the mound. It must, consequently, have opened upon a gallery or terrace running along the river front of the building. The walls were of sun-dried brick, panelled round the bottom with large burnt bricks, about three feet high, placed one against the other. They were coated with bitumen, and, like those forming the pavement, were inscribed with the name and usual titles of the royal founder of the building. In one corner, and partly in a kind of recess, was a well, the mouth of which was formed by brickwork about three feet high. Its sides were also bricked down to the conglomerate rock, and holes had been left at regular intervals for descent. When first discovered it was choked with earth. The workmen emptied it until they came, at the depth of nearly sixty feet, to brackish water.’⁴

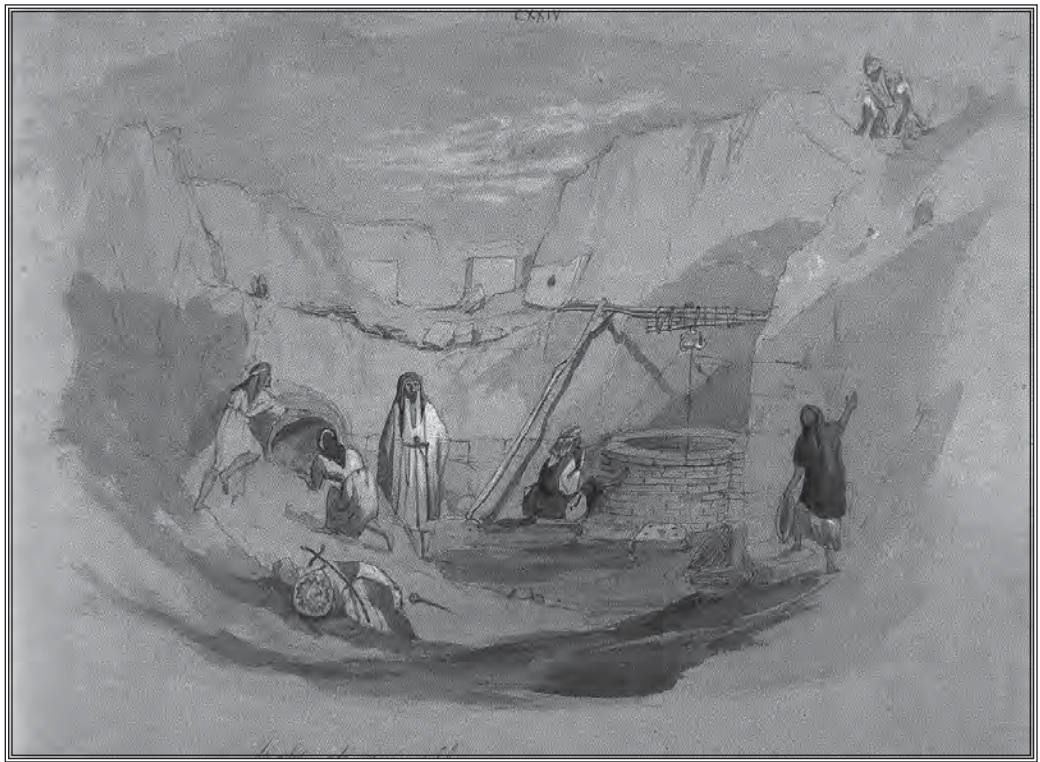


Fig. 7. Watercolour by F.C. Cooper, 1850, showing one end of Room AB and the well: Curtis & Reade 1995, 135.

‘The first objects found in this chamber were two plain copper vessels or caldrons, about 2 ½ feet in diameter, and 3 feet deep, resting upon a stand of brickwork, with their mouths closed by large tiles. Near them was a copper jar, which fell to pieces almost as soon as uncovered. Several vases of the same metal, though smaller in size, had been dug out of other parts of the ruins; but they were empty, whilst those I am describing were filled with curious relics. I first took out a number of small bronze bells with iron tongues, and various small copper ornaments, some suspended to wires. With them were a quantity of tapering bronze rods, bent into a hook, and ending in a kind of lip. Beneath were several bronze cups and dishes, which I succeeded in removing entire. Scattered in the earth among these objects were several hundred studs and buttons in mother of pearl and ivory, with many small rosettes in metal.

‘All the objects contained in these caldrons, with the exception of the cups and dishes, were probably ornaments of horse and chariot furniture. The accompanying woodcut from a bas-relief at Kouyinjik will show the way in which the studs of ivory and mother of pearl, and the rosettes or stars of metal, were probably used.’

‘Beneath the caldrons were heaped lions’ and bulls’ feet of bronze; and the remains of iron rings and bars, probably parts of tripods, or stands, for supporting vessels and bowls; which, as the iron had rusted away, had fallen to pieces, leaving such parts entire as were in the more durable metal.

‘Two other cauldrons, found further within the chamber, contained besides several plates and dishes, four crown shaped bronze ornaments, perhaps belonging to a throne or couch;⁵ two long ornamented bands of copper, rounded at both ends, apparently belts, such as were worn by warriors in armour; a grotesque head in bronze, probably the top of a mace; a metal wine-strainer of elegant shape; various metal dishes of peculiar form, and a bronze ornament, probably the handle of a dish or vase. ...’

Unfortunately the ivory found in this room was in poor condition and

‘could with difficulty be detached from the earth in which it was imbedded. It fell to small fragments, and even to dust, almost as soon as exposed to the air. Such specimens as have been brought to this country have been restored, and further decay checked by the same ingenious process that was applied to the ivory carvings first placed in the British Museum. Parts only of the elephants’ tusks have been preserved.

⁴ In his *Journal*, p. 18, Layard commented that the well in Room AB was dug until ‘mud now comes out’

⁵ Curtis & Reade 1995, 125, no. 85. For ivory versions from Well AJ, see No. 232.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

‘The most interesting of the ivory relics were a carved staff, perhaps a royal scepter, part of which has been preserved, although in the last stage of decay [No. 94, the foot of a throne]; and several entire elephants’ tusks, the largest being about 2 feet 5 inches long. Amongst the smaller objects were several figures and rosettes, and four oval bosses, with the nails of copper still remaining, by which they were fastened to wood or some other material.’ (Layard 1853, 195-196)

Other treasures from this room included the famous blue glass bottle and two white alabaster vessels all engraved with the name of Sargon (Layard 1853, 197; Layard papers p. 13). He also found the remains of a complete Assyrian throne:

‘In the further corner of the chamber [S.E. corner], to the left hand, stood the royal throne. Although it was utterly impossible, from the complete state of decay of the materials, to preserve any part of it entire, I was able, by carefully removing the earth, to ascertain that it resembled in shape the chair of state of the king, as seen in the sculptures of Kouyunjik and Khorsabad, and particularly that represented in the bas-relief already described, of Sennacherib receiving the captives and spoil, after the conquest of the city of Lachish. With the exception of the legs, which appear to have been partly of ivory,⁶ it was of wood, cased or overlaid with bronze, as the throne of Solomon was of ivory, overlaid with gold. The metal was most elaborately engraved and embossed with symbolical figures and ornaments, like those embroidered on the robes of the early Nimroud king, such as winged deities struggling with griffins, mythic animals, men before the sacred tree, and the winged lion and bull.⁷ As the woodwork over which the bronze was fastened by means of small nails of the same material, had rotted away, the throne fell to pieces, but the metal casing was partly preserved. Numerous fragments of it are now in the British Museum, including the joints of the arms, and legs; the rams’ or bulls’ heads,⁸ which adorned the end of the arms (some still retaining the clay and bitumen with the impression of the carving, showing the substance on which the embossing had been hammered out), and the ornamental scroll-work of the cross-bars, in the form of the Ionic volute. The legs were adorned with lion’s paws, resting on a pine-shaped ornament, like the thrones of the later Assyrian sculptures, and stood on a bronze base. A rod with loose rings, to which was once hung embroidered drapery, or some rich stuff, appears to have belonged to the back of the chair, or to a frame-work raised above or behind it, though not I think, as conjectured, to a curtain concealing the monarch from those who approached him.

‘In front of the throne was the foot-stool, also of wood overlaid with embossed metal, and adorned with the heads of rams or bulls. The feet ended in lion’s paws and pine cones, like those of the throne’

Barnett wrote:

‘In this room, evidently one of the Palace storerooms, Layard found “several entire elephants’ tusks”, one of which *in situ* measured 2ft 5 in. long (Layard’s *Journal*, f. 37). Five pieces of these tusks are in the Museum. He also found an ivory leg of a piece of furniture (which he mis-called a sceptre), “several figures and rosettes and four oval bosses”, but none except the furniture leg can be recognized. The contents of this room, as far as it is possible to determine their dates, were of the eighth century. Among them, and near the throne, was the tyre of a wheel studded with nails. Ivory throne and wheel possibly belonged together to a kind of wheeled chair visible on the sculptures of Sargon’ (C.N.I., 182).

Well AB

Inspired by his discoveries in Well NN, Mallowan decided to empty the sludge from the bottom of Well AB. He was rewarded with the fragments of a 16 page ivory ‘book’, inscribed with the name of Sargon [Nos. 96-98]. Initially he had problems in locating the well, because he thought it was sited in a corner of Room AB rather than in an alcove and because a ‘massive accumulation of mud-brick from the adjacent walls had fallen on top of it. Even to re-establish the ancient alignment and to locate the four corners of the room was not easy. ... Furthermore the collar of the well, which once stood about three feet, or 91 cm. above the pavement had been dismantled; now the well-mouth was sunken no less than 1.2 metres under the pavement, that is just over 2 metres beneath the level at which it had been when originally discovered.

‘The well itself revealed nothing of interest until we penetrated near to the bottom, for it had been refilled with earth after it had been dug out. When water-level appeared, the brick-lining of the well, as Layard had foretold, gave way to rock, and

⁶ There are slight discrepancies between his diary entry of January 24, 1850: ‘the feet of the throne precisely similar to those represented in the Khorsabad and Kuyunjik sculptures, bulls’ feet resting on a pine-apple shaped ornament and the legs evidently of ivory, the remains of which were discovered’ and the account in *Nineveh and Babylon*. Curtis (1988, 88-89) notes that the pieces in the Museum belong to a number of items of furniture, not just one.

⁷ The bronze overlays are illustrated in Curtis & Reade, 1995, 124, no. 84. For a description of the surviving parts of Layard’s throne see Curtis 1988, pl. 75, and Curtis in Herrmann, ed., 1996, 172.

⁸ Curtis & Reade, 1995, 124, no. 83.

this change occurred at a depth of approximately 20 metres. The lowest recorded depth was in fact 20.5 metres or a little over 67 feet, but as the well itself had been dismantled to a depth of 1.2 metres below the level of the pavement, this lowest measurement is at a depth of about 71 feet below actual pavement level; if we add to that approximately 3 feet for the collar of the well as it existed in Layard's time, we obtain a total depth of 74 feet; add another 2 feet at least for the actual bottom of the well and we obtain a figure of 76 feet or 23.7 metres for the total depth. We are only able to give these measurements approximately because we were unable to climb down to the bottom, for a very good reason. Our aged well-digger was deep in water when he found himself in imminent danger; the lowest courses of brickwork had disintegrated, the bedrock was undercut and seamed with heavy cracks. When he had penetrated to a depth of between 73 and 75 feet below the level of the pavement, the sides of the well began to give way and water to rush in from the feed or "eye-opening". The old man at the bottom had the presence of mind to collect his miner's lamp, his tools and his kit before pulling at the well rope, which was the signal for him to be hoisted to the surface by our mechanical winch. Hardly had he stepped out of the bucket and reached safety at the top, when the whole of the bottom of the well caved in with a mighty roar; by so narrow a margin did we avert a fatal disaster.

'From the measurements already noted it may be computed that we had penetrated to a depth of about 15 feet below the level to which Layard had reached. As we had anticipated, it was in this lowest zone, from which we baled out the water and gathered up the sludge, that we began to find an unexpected variety of objects which justified the hazards of this descent. The lowest level at which we found objects was, however, about 6 feet higher than that in the well of room NN which was at a depth of some 81 feet. ...

'The bottom of the well was defined by a water-bearing stratum of sandstone containing iron oxides, interbedded with marl. This water-bearing Fars sandstone was similar to that exposed in the ancient river bank at the bottom of the quay-wall, and an outcrop of it is also to be seen on the south side of the town.

'The sludge in the water-logged levels below the 60 ft. mark was precisely similar to that which had been discovered in well NN; it consisted of a grey viscous clay which acted as a marvellous preservative for such objects as lay embedded within it. The first significant object to be discovered, at a depth of approximately 20 metres, was a bronze axe ND 3279, with traces of rope binding still adhering to the socket; near to it was an unusual wire ornament, bell-shaped, ND 3204; a small rectangular block of wood, ND 3574, and a wooden comb ND 3573.

'The major discovery in the sludge of the well, however, proved to be the fragments of 16 ivory writing boards, ND 3557-3572. They were rectangular in shape and consisted of panels 33.5 cm. in length, and 13 mm. thick, edged with a border 15 mm. in width and 2.3 mm. in depth.

'Together with the ivory boards there were others, precisely similar (ND 3575 to 3581) made of a wood which, on examination by the Forest Products Research, Princes Risborough, has proved to be walnut. Some of the wooden boards,⁹ like the ivory ones, had been broken, and subsequently repaired and dovetailed with wooden butterflies. As with the ivory boards some traces of copper or bronze dowels had survived ...' Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 95-99.

Wiseman studied the boards and reported (1955, 17):

'From about 18 metres a sludge deposit reminiscent of that in the first well was encountered. Here was made one of the most challenging and frustrating Nimrud discoveries, its interest far from immediately apparent. This consisted of literally hundreds of small fragments of burnt ivory. The pieces were flat and undecorated except for shallow cross-hatched incisions on the flat surfaces and occasional raised edging. Some fragments also bore the impression of hinges. These hundreds of broken fragments constituted a jigsaw puzzle of impossible intricacy, since there were no designs to aid reconstruction, only the raised edges of some pieces, but these all looked alike. The fragments were spread out on all the available tables in the dig house ... , and it was only the perseverance of Mallowan's wife, Agatha Christie, that produced results. By the end of the season she had demonstrated that the basic component was a rectangular board with hinges and that each individual board measured 33.8 x 15.6 x 1.4 cm. Here, in fact, was what proved eventually to be a set of 16 hinged, ivory writing boards, which together formed a polyptych, in a sense the earliest form of "book".'

3. THE RESIDENTIAL WING

The Residential Wing was separated from the State Apartments by two long, narrow and secure corridors, Z and P, at either end of Court Y, which ran east-west. An entrance from outside in the east gave access to a small court, guarded by Rooms JJ and HH, which also led into the east end of corridor P. A passage at the west end of P led south from Court Y into Court AJ.

⁹ The wooden boards were of three different sizes, two of which were larger than the ivory boards: Wiseman 1955, 4, note 22.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

To the west of this passage was a typical Assyrian residential suite, usually identified as the king's suite (Reade 1980a, 85; Russell 1998, 698; Oates & Oates 2001, 61; Reade 2002, 196). Rooms S and T were lined with carved bas-reliefs depicting winged genies and stylized trees (Paley & Sobolewski 1987, pls. 3-4, plan 2), and as such this suite with its additional Rooms X, W and V, could be considered to form part of the State Apartments. However, the rooms were smaller in size than the other great halls, and the suite, sited to the south of the secure Passage Z, links the State Apartments to Court AJ and the less formal Residential Wing. A smaller, more private residential suite on the south of Court AJ is usually considered to be the Queen's suite (Oates & Oates 2001, 65). It consisted of two large reception rooms and a service area.

The stratigraphy was complex and is described by David and Joan Oates:

'Passage P provides evidence of three periods of construction, with an original pavement laid at the time of Assurnasirpal, over which lay a second pavement with inscribed bricks of Shalmaneser III and a still later pavement in which the bricks were uninscribed but believed to date from the time of Sargon or Esarhaddon. The individual brick pavements were laid directly on one another with no intervening fill or debris; a ritual burial of a gazelle (?) was found beneath the uppermost pavement.' (2001, 61).

The King's Suite

The king's suite consisted of five rooms, a reception hall, S, entered from Court Y, a small room T at its west end, equipped with a door to Passage Z, an ablution slab and drain, a large, inner room, X, leading off Room S and two small rooms at the west end, W and V, accessed from X. Room V was paved and equipped with a drain and had originally served as a bathroom.

In April 1847 Layard found a large collection of ivories in Rooms V, W and X, mostly in the doorway between Rooms V and W. He suggested that Room V was being used as a treasury at the time of the sack at the end of the seventh century, by which time the palace may no longer have been employed as a royal residence (*Mons. Nin.* I, 1849). However, it is more probable that this change of use occurred during Sargon's well-known repair of the North West Palace, commemorated in his inscription on the threshold of Room U (Luckenbill 1989 II, para. 137-38).

The ivories found by Layard in April 1847 in Rooms V-X were registered in the British Museum in 1848. As he wrote in *Nineveh and Its Remains* II, 9-10:

'... The most interesting are the remains of two small tablets, one nearly entire, the other much injured, representing two sitting figures, holding in one hand the Egyptian scepter or symbol of power. Between the figures is a cartouche, containing a name or words in hieroglyphics, and surmounted by a feather or plume, such as is found in monuments of the eighteenth, and subsequent dynasties, of Egypt. The chairs on which the figures are seated, the robes of the figures themselves, the hieroglyphics in the cartouche, and the feather above it, were enamelled with a blue substance let into the ivory; and the uncarved portions of the tablet, the cartouche, and part of the figures were originally gilded, - remains of the gold leaf still adhering to them. The forms, and style of art, have a purely Egyptian character; although there are certain peculiarities in the execution, and mode of treatment, that would seem to mark the work of a foreign, perhaps an Assyrian, artist. The same peculiarities - the same anomalies, - characterized all the other objects discovered. Several small heads in frames, supported by pillars or pedestals, most elegant in design and elaborate in execution, show not only a considerable acquaintance with art, but an intimate knowledge of the method of working in ivory. Found with them were oblong tablets, upon which are sculptured, with great delicacy, standing figures, with one hand elevated, and holding in the other a stem or staff, surmounted by an ornament resembling the Egyptian lotus. Scattered about were fragments of winged sphinxes, the head of a lion of singular beauty, but which unfortunately fell to pieces, human heads, hands, legs, and feet, bulls, flowers, and scroll-work. In all these specimens the spirit of the design and the delicacy of the workmanship are equally to be admired.'

A century later Mallowan found numerous fragments and one or two complete pieces in Room V.

'Small fragments of gold foil and of ivories overlooked by earlier diggers are being recovered from these Rooms ... we gathered by careful sifting some hundreds of fragments of ivory carvings, mostly it is true perished beyond repair, but among them a dozen or so well worth the recovery. There were three delicately carved human heads and various fragments which were obviously parts of a set found a century ago. In the debris of Room V two engraved plaques, perhaps unfinished, suggested that some of the work must have been executed at Nimrud itself, in spite of the foreign appearance of many of the pieces. These two little plaques depicted a human body with a bull's head, perhaps a masked *ashipu* or incantation priest, and a bull or a cow seen in profile. All this however was but secondary, disturbed material; there was something still more important to come. After several days of slow digging we found in the south-west corner of the room, a little under one metre above the level of the stone paved floor, a small patch of undug soil strangely overlooked by our predecessors. Lying on this island of harder clay in the surround of softer

thrown soil was a superb figure of a cow, head turned back and licking the tail of the calf which it had once suckled, ND362. ... It was obviously part of a set of similar figures found by Layard in the same Room' (Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 36).

Unfortunately most of Mallowan's fragments are no longer available for study, it is not always possible to identify them from the photographs in *Iraq* 14, pls. xii-xv, and not all fragments have been included in the catalogue. During the sack of the palace, the ivories would have been seized from Room V, with many dropped in the doorway and more scattered in Rooms W and X. The Room V collection is unusually coherent and consists of sets of ivories belonging to the 'Syrian' and 'Phoenician' traditions. There are no 'North Syrian' or 'Assyrian' pieces. Instead the material has a strong western flavour with parallels to Samaria, Salamis, the Idaean Cave and the Etruscan Bernadini tomb. This suggests that the ivories were booty from a western campaign: Russell, among others, has suggested that they might have formed part of Sargon's plunder from his defeat of Carchemish in 717 (1998, 698). However, no similar fragments in any media have been found at Carchemish to support this hypothesis. Surprisingly, no ivories similar to the Room V/W examples have been recovered from Well AJ, and none has been reported from the adjacent Room S. However, once again, the excavation history must be borne in mind. After its initial examination by Layard, Room S was cleared by the Iraqi Department of Antiquities and Heritage, and there is no access at present to the register of small finds.

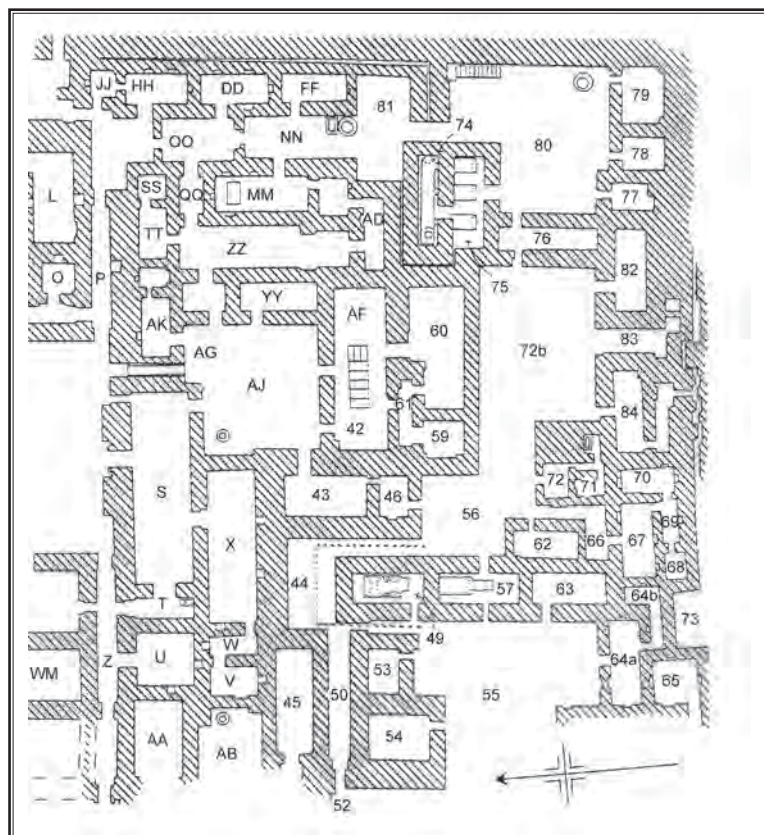


Fig. 8. Rooms of the Residential Wing.

reassembled and published in *C.N.I.* (183-184), as the Assyrianizing panels, F.1-F.7, Nos. 202-207. Many fragments had been registered in 1855 or 1856, with the comment 'These objects are, I think, from the North West Palace'. According to the more informative and reliable 1848 register, a group of stylistically similar fragments, No. 195, were found in Chamber X. More recently Christopher Walker identified a small fragment of a wingtip, BM 131573, found by Mallowan in Layard's dump in Room V, as part of this group (No. 186). On balance, therefore, with the evidence of similar fragments from Rooms X and V, it is probable that Rawlinson's panels came from Room V, which is indeed adjacent to Room AB. They show links with Toprak Kale and Altintepe.

Court AJ and Well AJ

Court AJ is the hub of the Residential Wing. A passage connects it directly with Court Y, and a doorway leads into the King's Suite. There are also entrances into the Queen's Suite to the south and to rooms on the east and west. Mallowan, who worked in Court AJ (*Iraq* 14, 6) wrote:

Assyrianizing panels registered in 1855 and 1856

During a visit to Assyria in March and April 1852 Rawlinson reopened the excavations at Nimrud, working on the Temple of Ninurta and the North-West Palace. In a letter to the Trustees he wrote that he had cleared out the room 'where Mr. Layard found bronzes and chased copper vessels' and the one next to it, where he found 'a set of ivory ornaments, some of them very beautifully carved, but all, more or less injured' (Rawlinson to the Trustees April 21, 1852, Transcripts 83 and 85). There are problems with identifying both the ivories and the room where they were found. Barnett wrote that there 'is obviously even more uncertainty in identifying this room than in the case of Layard's reference, since there is here no mention of inscriptions, and by 1852 another chamber had been found adjacent to the Room of the Bronzes, on the south. On the other hand Rawlinson's description would also fit Room V ... which adjoined the Bronze Room on the north [actually east].'

Barnett proposed three possible locations for Rawlinson's room, Room AA, a room to the south of Room AB, or Room V. In *C.N.I.*, 19, he opted for Room AA, 'the same as that in which Layard found the ivory sphinx', and identified Rawlinson's panels with a series of fragments which he

Ivories from Nimrud VI

‘The Court AJ, which gave access to so many smaller rooms, occupied less than a third of the area contained by the gigantic court Y from which radiated three suites of royal audience halls and reception rooms. But even AJ was planned on a majestic scale, for its cross dimensions were no less than 17.5 x 16 metres. The newly excavated rooms on this side of the Palace had been denuded of most of their contents in antiquity, but interesting fragments of ivories, many beads, and pottery were discovered, and the stratification gave some important clues to the duration of the building and to the various periods of repair. It is certain that Shalmaneser III renovated this wing and repaved many of the rooms. This ruler was probably responsible for increasing the thickness of the southern boundary wall of passage P, and he apparently sunk a new well at the N.W. end of court AJ, which supplemented the water-supply previously assured by his father from the finely constructed well at the south end of room NN ...

‘A second well, this time empty of debris, was discovered at the N.W. end of the Courtyard AJ, and here more had been left of the ancient superstructure. The courtyard itself was paved with inscribed bricks of Shalmaneser III, and on it stood a raised platform composed of burnt bricks belonging to the same king. The platform was very carefully constructed of bricks laid in bitumen mortar, and the purpose of raising the well-head was clearly for the sake of keeping the water clean and unpolluted by the animals within the court; the tethering blocks for tying beasts to the wall when their packs were unloaded were found, still in position against the walls. At the top of a flight of half a dozen steps the great cap-stone of the well was still in position, but it had cracked in half owing to the weight of superincumbent earth and mud-brick with which it was sealed after the final destruction at the end of the seventh century B.C. There was still some water at the bottom of the well, but no attempt can be made to pump this out until the necessary apparatus is available. Adjacent to the top of the well there was a brick perforated with five holes, perhaps once used to take the ends of wooden beams in the derricks, and there was also what appeared to be a discarded well-cover made of stone and consisting of a short cylindrical drum with a square head. At the foot of the well there was a big square drip-stone which could also be sealed with a cylindrical cap. All these details (Mallowan, *I.L.N.*, 28.07.51., fig. 16) and the perfected construction of the well itself show that the Assyrians had nothing to learn about well-construction. Shalmaneser’s well continued in use for nearly a century after the N.W. Palace was sacked, but the well itself was then encased in a heavy mud-brick platform which sealed the burnt-brick and elevated the well-head by nearly two metres. This end of the Palace was now open ground but the Assyrians continued to draw water at the now ancient well until the final destruction in 612 B.C. By this time no attention was paid to the orientation of the Palace walls, for the staircase up to the latest well-head was askew to the ancient alignment. (Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 14-15).



Fig. 9. Well AJ, showing the steps and the burnt brick pavement inscribed with the name of Shalmaneser III (Mallowan N. & R. I, 148, fig. 88).

In 1953 Mallowan returned to Well AJ with a gang of workmen (*Iraq* 16, 65). ‘As, however, we approached the deeper levels of AJ the brick-lining became increasingly insecure and with great reluctance we had to abandon work there, having nearly avoided a fatal accident in Well AB’.

In *Nimrud & Its Remains* I, 150-151, there are some additions to our information as well as some discrepancies.

‘From the brick-lined casing [of the well] we extracted bricks inscribed with the name of Assur-nasir-pal and dedicated to the Sibitti (the seven Pleiades). These particular bricks may therefore have been manufactured for some other building; but it is not impossible that the Pleiades were considered to be an integral part of that platform. But as the bricks of his son Shalmaneser were also found in the lining it may be that he either finished or repaired it – more probably the latter.’

Well AJ was therefore probably built by Assurnasirpal II as part of the initial palace plan and repaired by his son, Shalmaneser III. As the Oates’ comment, the well ‘seems to have remained in use for a considerable time after the collapse of the Assyrian empire, the well head at some later period having been encased in a heavy mud-brick surround and elevated by some two metres’ (2001, 92).

Mallowan discovered fragments of ivories, gold foil overlay, faience beads and glass around the well-head in a belt of ash 25 cm. thick (*Iraq* 14, 14-15).

‘The debris covering the courtyard and overtopping the well contained many small fragments of ivories, which had obviously belonged to the rest of the collection from Sargon’s treasure chamber and room HH in the domestic wing. One fragment, ND1091, represented the fringed border of a lady’s skirt...’

‘The ivories need not necessarily be of the same date, for they were no more than broken fragments collected from different places. Few if any of them belonged to the early group, that is to the lot discovered at the northern end of the Palace, but one small fragment, ND1069, a finely engraved kneeling doe, resembled an ivory found in chamber B, ND 1060. Most of the remaining pieces were comparable with the ivories found in room HH in the previous season, eg. ND 1066, six-foil rosettes; 1072, an ivory wing; ND 1074, bulls’ ears and human ears; this group may have been made at any time between the beginning of the eighth century and its last two decades. There were also fragments of pyxides, ointment boxes decorated with ornamental Phoenician trees and palmettes; one of them was inscribed on the rim [No. 213], but the inscription unfortunately gave no clue to its date. A few strips of unworked raw ivory and trial pieces ND1077 were also found and, as elsewhere in the Palace large sections of elephant-tusks have been found, we need have no doubt that many were carved in Calah itself. One fragment also found in Court AJ was noteworthy: ND 1091 appeared to have been part of a pyxis and represented the lower portion of a lady’s pleated skirt with a dot and fringed border. The skirt was cut away at the base, the lady was in profile and barefoot and below her there was a band of guilloche pattern [No. 215]. The importance of this figure is that it was obviously very similar in style to the ‘Lotus Lady’ discovered by us in the ‘Burnt Palace’, cf. *I.L.N.* August 4th 1951, fig. 17, and this implies that some ivories found in the N.W. Palace may be ascribed to the so-called ‘Lotus group’ and may be contemporary with them.’

In the field register the ivories were said to come from Room AI, a room not marked on any plan, but presumably referring to the debris in Court AJ, adjacent to the well: a handwritten J is easily mistaken for an I.

The Iraqi excavations of Well AJ

In 1975 the Iraqi Department of Antiquities and Heritage successfully excavated Well AJ and found the finest ivories discovered at Nimrud in the sludge at the bottom. Fuad Safar & Muyasser Sa’ied al-‘Iraqi reported on the excavations and rapidly published these remarkable ivories (1987, 15-16):

‘During restoration work at Nimrud by the Directorate General of Antiquities and Heritage, excavations were resumed in Well AJ in June 1974 (6th season). By the autumn a depth of 21.50 m. had been reached. With the exception of a few potsherds and a solitary shell object in the shape of a bird, nothing was discovered, and excavations were halted for the winter season.

‘Excavations were resumed in the spring of 1975. At a depth of 22.50-23.00 m. three ivory pieces were discovered. These were an unusual cloisonné furniture fitting, IM 79544 [No. 289], and two feet from the composite statue of an Assyrian courtier, IM 79520 [No. 230]. The rest of the statue was found nearby. These discoveries encouraged further excavation, even though conditions were dangerous with a deep 2.0 m. layer of sand and marlstone. Below this, twenty-six courses of the brick lining of the well were found, above a lining of stone, which also lined the bottom of the well. The bottom was reached in August at a depth of 25.90 m. Most of the outstanding ivories were discovered at the bottom of the well. Many jars and pots with ropes still attached, and wicker baskets lined with bitumen, were also found.’

Ivories from Nimrud VI

Junaid al Fakhri, a member of the excavation team, reported to Dr. Lamia al Gailani Werr that many of the ivories were found in wicker baskets at the bottom of the well. This is obviously of fundamental importance, for it suggests that the ivories were deliberately lowered into the well rather than roughly thrown down and explains why so many are in such good condition. It is a possibility that some of the Well NN ivories were also deliberately deposited, although some were obviously thrown down, for instance the broken blinker, Nos. 257 and 359b, parts of which were found in the two wells. Equally, the ivory book in Well AB, Nos. 96-98, must have been smashed before deposition.

More ivories have been found in Well AJ than anywhere else in the North West Palace. Not surprisingly, these ivories include outstanding and often relatively complete examples from all the traditions, the Assyrian, North Syrian, Syrian and Levantine. There is a fine collection of Assyrian panels, both incised and modelled, as well as parts of a statuette and furniture elements in the round. North Syrian examples include superb 'flame and frond' pyxides, an oil flask and a lion bowl, as well as the extraordinary 'round-cheeked and ringletted' cosmetic palette and openwork siren. It is significant that North Syrian ivories were only found in Well AJ, with smashed fragments in the immediate area, and with a few examples in Well NN. There is an exceptional collection of Phoenician material including bridle harness belonging to two different style-groups, as well as other fine pieces, but there is relatively little Syrian material. Apart from the Assyrian material, which presumably came from ceremonial areas or furniture stores for throne-rooms, the imported material must have been kept in a number of treasuries in the vicinity, probably in the north-east corner of the Residency.

The Queen's Suite

A more private residential suite opened onto the south side of Court AJ. Apart from two entrances into the principal reception room AF/42, this suite was self-contained and is described by the Oates' as 'undoubtedly the most prestigious set of rooms' in the Residential Wing, 'consisting of a large reception room (42) with ten dressed limestone slabs at its centre, together with a large inner room (60) and a bathroom suite (58, 59, 61). We believe this residence to be that of the queen, identified not only by its superior dimensions but also by the quality of the materials recovered here. ... Moreover, on some walls the carefully smoothed plaster was decorated with paintings of human, floral and geometric motifs, subjects similar to those on the stone reliefs' (2001, 65).

Unfortunately, few ivories have been recorded from this area, most of which was cleared by the Iraqi Department of Antiquities and Heritage: any finds would have been noted in the day register. Only two pieces were retrieved from Mallowan's excavations in 'Room AF', the eastern half of the principal reception room. These were a disc engraved with a 16-petalled rosette, No. 299, recovered from the surface and a fragment of a staff or handle engraved with parallel lines, No. 300, neither of which has been located. It is worth remembering that Mallowan wrote: 'most of the domestic rooms were disappointingly bare of objects apart from the fragments of ivories, the graves, and what was found in the wells' (Mallowan *N. & R.*, 118).

THE NORTH-EAST CORNER OF THE RESIDENTIAL WING

The excavation of Fort Shalmaneser clarified the stratigraphy of the rooms in this area, which Mallowan in the early 1950s had misunderstood. His reports can be found in *Iraq* 12, 178-180; 13, 2; and 14, 12-13. The Oates' re-assessment (2001, 62-65) is quoted below.

'... Immediately to the east of Passage P was another suite of rooms, JJ and HH, entered from the open court. In room HH were found iron spears stacked against the east wall, a large storage jar inscribed with its capacity (c. 99 litres), a number of carved ivories, and a group of clay docketts, some inscribed, some sealed. One recorded a herd of 37 camels, another over a ton and a half of wool. An intriguing discovery in this room consisted of a few trinkets, gold foil, beads and shells sealed into a wall cupboard, presumably by the occupant of the room. The collection was deliberately hidden, the cupboard itself masked with brickwork and plastered over.

'Room HH is also important in providing one of our better-documented pieces of evidence concerning the stratification of the deposits in this part of the North West Palace. Although Mallowan describes, and illustrates, what he interprets as three distinct occupation levels, the earliest of which is attributed to the time of Sargon, this is very misleading. Indeed he himself remarks that 'in dissecting *successive* floors of at least three rooms (author's emphasis), we found many examples of miniature pots, side by side with sheep bones', and continues, these votive deposits were 'part of the ritual when a new floor was laid'. In Fig. 34¹⁰ two earlier plaster surfaces can be clearly seen in section beneath the excavated floor, of which the lower lies just above the level of the foundation deposit.

¹⁰ Oates & Oates 2001, caption to Fig. 34: 'the ritual deposit of gazelle bones below the lowest floor of Room HH'.

Unfortunately, the excavation records do not tell us whether the deposit was sealed by this floor, and it seems possible that it was associated with one of the two later floors, perhaps contemporary with the gazelle burial in passage P which is said to have been inserted from the level of the latest pavement. Here the sequence of floors, where three baked brick pavements are identified each resting immediately on the previous one without intervening debris, is precisely that noted also in room HH. What is described by Mallowan in the preliminary reports as the original floor, in the burnt debris of which the ivories and dockets were found, is in fact the latest of the three floors illustrated in Fig. 34. Mallowan's Level II represents simply the upper surface of the 612 destruction debris, and at some time not long after the destruction, collapsed brickwork was levelled off to create a new (post-612 BC) floor, his Level I. These observations correspond with those of Iraqi excavators. The 1950s evidence was not correctly understood until the identical sequence was identified some years later in Fort Shalmaneser. Moreover, unless a building was being completely reconstructed, the proper upkeep of a monumental building would have required the removal of rubbish before laying a new floor, the type of sequence which is illustrated here. Unfortunately, at Nimrud, it is only in the TW private houses that we have a reliable sequence of genuinely stratified material between successive Assyrian floors.

'That these events are all closely related in time is proved by the discovery in room HH of dockets sealed by the same seal in both Mallowan's Level III and Level I, while an inscribed sherd of the large jar is attributed in the excavation catalogue to Level I, yet the jar itself is described as lying in 'another corner' of the room opposite the stack of spears, that is, Level III. In the final report, these objects from Mallowan's original Level III are recognised as having been 'abandoned after the sack at the end of the 7th century'. Moreover, in both its position and pattern of deposition Level I corresponds very closely with the so-called 'squatter level' identified not only in Fort Shalmaneser but elsewhere on the mound. This represents a re-occupation of the buildings not long after the destruction of Kalhu, presumably by the original inhabitants of the city, but lacking the royal authority represented in earlier repairs. The partial clearing and levelling off of the destroyed contents of rooms elsewhere on the site occasionally produced precisely the situation observed in HH, that is the presence of material from the destruction level within that of the squatter occupation.

'Further evidence for the 7th century date of this destruction is provided by the fragment of a prism of Assurbanipal (668-627 BC), as Mallowan observed at the time, 'at a surprisingly low level'. This important piece was carefully recorded as having been found 23 cm. above the 'original floor' in room OO, that is, in Mallowan's 'Level III' destruction debris. This debris also included a piece of a *lamashtu* plaque, of which the other fragment was recovered from room QQ, clear evidence that the materials in these rooms had been thrown about by those who destroyed the palace. Moreover, as Mallowan remarks, it is highly unlikely that an Assyrian would have destroyed such a potent symbol of ritual magic, which was believed to dispel evil spirits, that is, this debris dates from the 612 destruction.'

Mallowan found ivories in a number of rooms in the north-east corner of the Residential Wing, a small hoard of smashed ivories in Room HH, Nos. 302-324, with some straying into the adjacent JJ, Nos. 325-327, a group in Room OO, Nos. 329-340, and fragments in the neighbouring rooms GG, 'north of OO', No. 328, QQ, Nos. 341-343, ZZ, No. 344, and TT off ZZ, No. 345. There are a number of parallels with material either found in Well AJ or its vicinity, including Assyrian kneeling

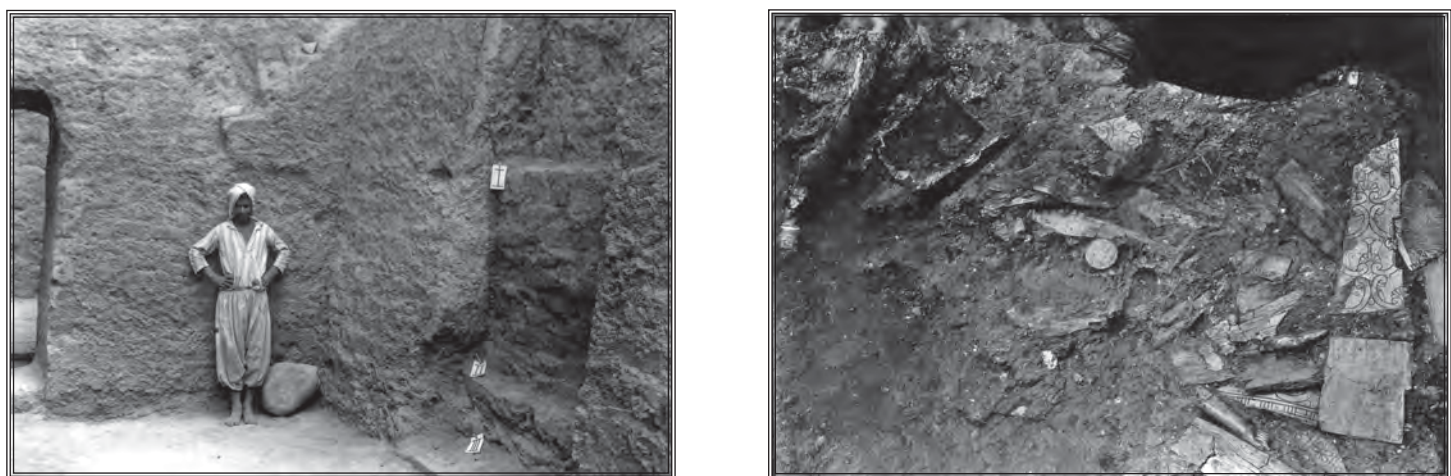


Fig.10. Room HH, a. showing blocked doorway in west wall and entrance to Room JJ. Ivories were found on the beaten mud floor at Level III; b. Ivories in situ in the centre of the room.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

gazelles from HH and near Well AJ and a fragment from QQ, which formed part of a set with pieces in Well AJ, Nos. 242-43. Looked at as a whole, the ivories from this area are broken and mixed and clearly out of their original context or contexts. It seems probable that they were en route from a treasury or storeroom to be tipped down the well when they were dropped.

Rooms HH and JJ, a suite in the north-east corner

Room HH was a spacious reception room, with a smaller bathroom, JJ, to the north. Both rooms opened onto a small court, which connected an entrance in the east and Passage P. Mallowan commented (*Iraq* 13, 4-5):

‘The mutilated condition of the ivories is sufficient proof that the Palace had been invaded by a brutal and disorderly rabble bent on destruction, no less than loot. In room HH, for example, they lay mostly towards the middle of the room, in the utmost confusion: half of a head with its torn gold foil; a lion that had once embellished the side of a throne; fragments of caskets; an arm wrenched off a statuette and other pieces that must have belonged to more than one article of furniture, indicate that the mob had not only torn away the fittings, but hurled them from one room to another as unbridled rioters do on such an occasion. Pieces from the same collection were found, as we have previously noted, in five different rooms. ... It should also be noted that in room HH at Nimrud the soil bore many traces of decayed wood on to which some of the ivories had been backed’.

Rooms OO, GG, QQ and ZZ

A small assemblage of ivories, Nos. 329-340, was found in the large ‘corridor’ room OO, with entrances north into GG next to HH, east and west into Rooms DD and QQ and south into another large court NN. The ivories were found at different levels, both on the beaten mud floor and in ‘Level III’. Three were found in QQ, en route to Well AJ, and one in GG. Mallowan noted that ‘in every case the pieces were found lying in confusion on a pavement level’ (*Iraq* 13, 2).

Only a single fragment, No. 344, was found in Room ZZ, which is similar to one from Room OO, No. 335. Mallowan (*Iraq* 14, 12-13) described this large hall between the rooms of the north-east corner and Court AJ:

‘The stratification in room ZZ may be taken as typical. Here the main surviving pavement was laid by Shalmaneser III, and during his reign this room must have been an important reception room, perhaps even a banqueting hall. In Sargon’s time the northern end of the room was turned into a kitchen and used for ablutions. A brick bench was built along the north end of the east wall for big water pots, and there were two ovens in the middle of the room, the floor level of which rose but slightly. Then the place was sacked; water pots, ovens, some beads and a marble bowl remained in the debris. The walls themselves must then have suffered some damage for the older pavement was filled with broken mud-brick, some of it hard packed, and ash, to a height of 80 cm.; above it a new patchwork pavement had been relaid. At this time when the occupation was perhaps no more than that of squatters in an abandoned building, rubbish pits were dug into the filling to contain kitchen and other debris. Later still, perhaps towards the end of Assur-bani-pal’s reign, the place was levelled up to the surviving tops of the walls and became an open thoroughfare.’

‘Room ZZ seems at one time to have been a kitchen, with benches, water and cooking pots and a bread oven: it is also the source of the glazed vessel decorated with the amusing ostriches ...’ Oates & Oates (2001, 65).

Doorway between Rooms AH and AK

A fragment, No. 301, was found in Level III of the doorway between Rooms AH and AK. ‘The common pattern seems to have been a living or reception area, with wall cupboards and an adjacent bathroom, for example room MM, described by Mallowan as a well-constructed and spacious apartment, with water jars in a cupboard in the east wall. Room AK and bathroom AH provide another example.’ Oates & Oates (2001, 61).

THE EAST CENTRAL AREA OF THE RESIDENTIAL WING

Doorways from NN led north into Room OO, west into MM, where the first of the royal tombs was found and east into Room FF, as well as opening into another court, 81, to the south. Its principal features were a big stone tank with a capacity of at least 100 gallons for the storage of water and the famous well, NN, at the south-east end. Room FF was the most southern of the rooms lining the north-east side of the Residential Wing. Two Levantine pieces, Nos. 346-347, a small furniture fitting and a fragmentary openwork panel, were found.

Well NN

The well was discovered in April 1951 and cleared by Mallowan in 1952. Until the Well AJ ivories were recovered, those from Well NN, Nos. 348-372, were undoubtedly the finest recovered from Nimrud. Once again, there is a considerable range of styles. Mallowan described the adventures emptying the well, which 'was built by King Assur-nasir-pal II, no doubt as a main water supply for the domestic wing at the time of its foundation. The structure was of burnt-bricks, specially manufactured for the well and appropriately curved. Many of them were inscribed with the king's name. The internal diameter of the well was 1.7 m., and external, 2.25 at the top. The well was filled with mud and rubbish and there were occasional potsherds; at 15.15 m. water first appeared, 205 courses of brick below the well-head. We then began working in sludge and continued to a depth of about 18 metres, 245 courses down: the brick-lined well, tenacious as ever, showed no signs of stopping, but work had to be abandoned because without the use of pumps water was coming up into the well faster than we could bucket it away.'

'The sludge acted as a good preservative for antiquities, and a number of interesting objects were found within it. There were two good ivories. First, a beautifully made *ajouré* plaque of a stag grazing in a meadow of lotus flowers; unfortunately the head was missing [No. 360]. There was also an ivory comb probably made from a boar's tusk, not as was usual an elephant's [No. 367]' (Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 13-14).

'In 1952 the Iraq Petroleum Company lent us a winch, steel cables and adequate tackle to enable us to continue baling out the well at the deeper levels. No pumps were available and all the work had to be done by hand. This was a matter of extreme difficulty because the deeper we went and the more we cleaned the well, the faster the water came in. Indeed, in the lower stages of the work we were compelled to start at midnight and to draw water continuously for six hours until dawn. From then until sunset our well-workers were able to draw up one oil-drum full of sludge to every forty gallons of water. By this method, we managed to extract all the sludge from the well and dug down to well-bottom which was no less than 331 courses of brickwork from the top. By the time we had finished on the 24th April, 1952, the total depth that we had dug was 25.4 metres or 83 feet 5 inches; on that date the water-level was 67 feet 2 inches, there then being a depth of 16 feet 3 inches of water in the well. The lowest brick-course rested on a hard brownish marl, but unfortunately when we came down to bedrock, the well had been undercut, no doubt owing to water-action, and was in a dangerous condition. We were therefore only able to dig down a distance of 1.3 metres below the bottom of the brickwork and there we had to stop although it seemed that the well-eye or inlet lay at a greater depth still.

'During the course of 1951 two fine ivories and a number of pots had been discovered in the sludge. We had then also found parts of oak beams which had fallen from the derrick and even some pieces of string, a sheaf of Assyrian wheat, and part of a human skull. In 1952, between the 245th course where we started work, and the bottom of the well, we discovered more than 70 vases some of them still bound with pieces of rope round their necks. In the deeper levels, especially below the 270th course, a great variety of objects began to appear buried in the sludge.

'As we approached the bottom, the variety and quantity of objects began to increase. 320 courses down, just over 10 courses above the bottom of the well we discovered the most magnificent object of all, the celebrated polychrome ivory head, perhaps the largest and finest carved ivory head [No. 348] ever found in the ancient Near-East. ...

'... Many of these pieces were of a mellow brownish colour and showed no signs of bleaching. Their extraordinary preservation was entirely due to the casing of sludge which had protected them during their long sojourn in the well. This sludge which lay principally at a depth of between 15 and 25 metres corresponded to the rise and fall of the water-level which of course fluctuated with the seasonal rise and fall of the River Tigris itself. As a result the mud at the bottom of the well had year after year been cleaned and refined, and with the chemical impurities washed out of it, acted as a natural protective coating to what would otherwise have been highly perishable material. Only thus can we explain the fact that the ivories, rope and string, were so well preserved. The polychrome ivory head ND2550, for example, was undoubtedly saved for posterity in this way, for the back of this head, which was concave since it had been cut from the longitudinal section of an elephant's tusk, was, as it were, imprisoned in a hard coat of sludge. This sludge had clamped the head together and prevented certain dangerous cracks which may be seen running vertically down the face from splitting it into many small pieces. ... On the other hand on the rounded surfaces, the sludge was never so closely fixed, and when the ivories had been removed from the well, the convex portions were easily cleaned, for the sludge was still found to be damp upon them, whereas when the sludge had hardened and dried it was almost of the consistency of cement and took much time to remove; this, however, could eventually be done by submitting it to water.

'No less remarkably preserved and as beautiful in execution and craftsmanship was a pair of chryselephantine plaques. ... These pieces, which depicted a lioness killing an Ethiopian against a background of blue and red lotus flowers were partly encased in gold. ... Once again their astonishing preservation could only be accounted for by the fine



Fig. 11. View from Well NN across the Residential Wing, Ziggurat in background, 1989

in 1951, together with the excavation's lack of pumps, forced the abandonment of the investigations at a depth of about 18 m. (245 courses below the well-head). However, in 1952, with a heavier tripod and winch, excavation of the well was again attempted. This time the rising water was bailed out by hand, and Mallowan instigated an extraordinary system whereby work began at midnight, by the light of hurricane lamps, in order to empty the well of water. Thereafter, from dawn until sunset, for each oil drum of well sludge removed 40 gallons of water had to be drawn out. By this laborious method the sludge in the well was eventually removed, and the bottom of the brickwork was reached at a depth of 331 courses or 25.4 m. (83 feet 4 inches). The well continued further into the bedrock, and another 1.3 m. was excavated before a steel pulley snapped, crashing to the bottom just after the well excavator had been brought to the surface at the end of his shift. Work here was then abandoned, the water rising again to a depth of some 5 metres the very same day' (Oates & Oates 2001, 91-92).

Most of the ivories were found in 1952 in the sludge below brick-course 270, with many even deeper. The 'Mona Lisa' was found 320 courses down, just ten courses above the bottom. These must all have been thrown in before the pots. Two ivories were found above the pots, the stag, No. 360, and the comb, No. 367, which were found 265 courses down.

There are stronger links between Wells AJ and NN, than with rooms in the north-east and Well AJ, despite the distance between the two. The most remarkable is that a 'classic Phoenician' blinker was found in two parts, one in each well. Equally, the pyxis fragments from Well NN are obviously linked with the Well AJ pyxides, and there are examples of the Syrian 'crown and scale' style-group in both. No similar material to any of these style-groups was found elsewhere in the Palace.

The two heads, Nos. 348 and 349, present entirely different views of a woman. The beautiful face of the 'Mona Lisa' is of a young woman with doe eyes, enhanced with colour, smooth cheeks, a smiling mouth and a rounded chin. This superbly carved head was probably worked in a Phoenician workshop. Equally famous is the slightly larger and very different head, known as the 'Ugly Sister'. She has enormous, almond shaped eyes with drilled pupils, heavy eyebrows, the thin lips of the elderly and a firm chin. This piece has many parallels with 'flame and frond' heads from the Burnt Palace and can be attributed to that style-group. If the 'Mona Lisa' and the 'Ugly Sister' are two of the iconic pieces from Nimrud, the pair of cloisonné plaques showing a lioness in a field of flowers killing a fallen youth is another: these have been attributed to the 'classic Phoenician' group (No. 356).

Although there are no Assyrian modelled or incised panels in Well NN, the fan handle, No. 363, is Assyrian in style, and probably also Assyrian are a fine cloisonné lion head in the round No. 353, the staff, No. 366, and the pomegranates, No. 365. The fragment of a magnificent, twisted and snarling lion, No. 354, is unique and difficult to attribute. The absence of quality Assyrian panels is significant, for Well NN is relatively far from the State Apartments.

sludge, which had certainly prevented the vertical cracks visible through the back of one of the plaques from splitting it into a thousand fragments.' (Mallowan *Iraq* 15, 21-22).

The Oates' also described the emptying of Well NN, which 'was well built, and the baked bricks, as is true of well bricks generally, were wedge-shaped in order to facilitate the curved construction, in this case some 80 mm. thick; many of the bricks in the upper part of the well were inscribed with the name of Assurnasirpal II. The internal diameter of the well was 1.7 metres, which allowed two workmen to be winched up and down, but the rising water table which accompanied the spring floods

The superb ivories in Well NN are mostly unique: there are no sets of panels and only one pair, No. 356. As in Well AJ, there is a range of material, with the majority belonging to the Phoenician tradition, some Syrian examples, two North Syrian and some unimportant Assyrian pieces. The most logical place for the Well NN ivories to have been stored would have been in the adjacent Room FF, where Mallowan found two ivories. However, they differ from anything in Well NN.

Well 4

The last of the wells was discovered in 1992 by Muzahim Mahmud and Junaid al-Fakhri. It was sited in the south east corner of Court 80, itself located in the south-east corner of the North West Palace. The ivory and bone pieces recovered from this well are a remarkably coherent collection, and entirely different from any other material from the Palace. They consist of tall thin containers for kohl, often with bases and lids, and with a special slot for placing the kohl stick, Nos. 374-395. Most are decorated with a variety of geometric designs of greater or lesser complexity, but three have important incised scenes in Assyrian style, showing typical motifs such as a banquet scene, winged genies saluting stylized trees and browsing goats, Nos. 374-376. I am extremely grateful to Sd. Muzahim Mahmud Husain for his description of the containers, the copies of his photographs, and for being allowed to publish them here. There are two accounts of the discovery of Well 4, one by Muzahim himself, and a more detailed version by Junaid al-Fakhri, both given below, followed by an interpretation of the events by Julian Reade. These are based on their own reports, expanded by their contributions to the Nimrud conference in 2002, edited by Curtis, McCall, Collon & al-Gailani Werr (2008).

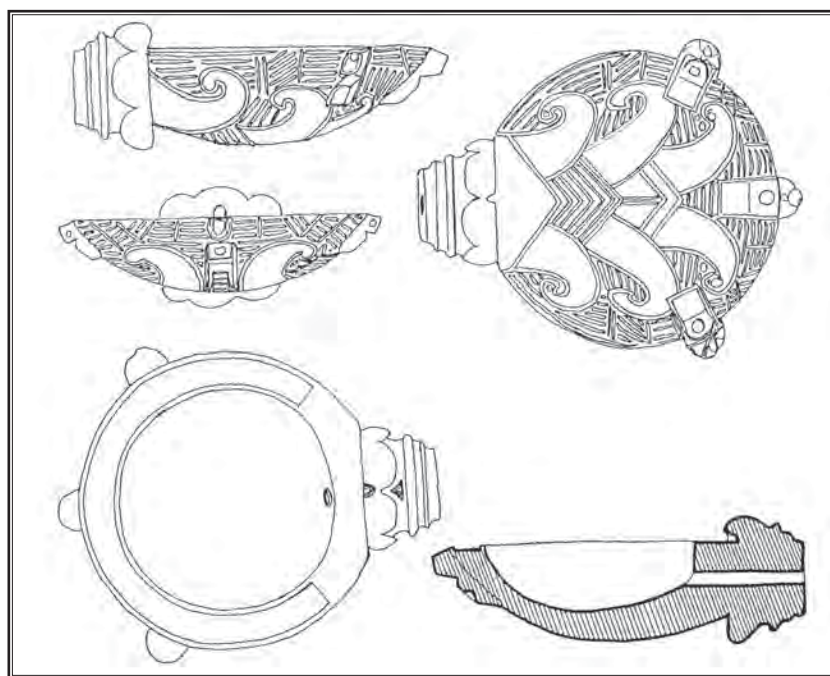


Fig. 12. Stone spoon-stopper from Well 4, from Husain in Curtis, McCall, Collon & al Gailani Werr, eds., 2008.

The Well 4 Ivories, by Muzahim Mahmud Husain

In June 1992 a well, discovered in the south-eastern corner of Courtyard 80, was emptied. A mass of clay or *libn* covered its mouth, presumably placed there for reasons of safety or hygiene, when the well was no longer used (Husain 2000-2001). On the upper part of the round structure, there was a round white limestone slab or lid, 90 cm. in diameter with a perforated hole in the centre, which would have been closed by a round stone found nearby. The walls of the well narrowed at the top so that the lid fitted. The well is 170 cm. in diameter and 25.5 m. deep. The walls are lined with 300 rows of very fine bricks, 27 x 29 x 34 cm, 7-8 cm. thick, which rested on rough limestone, 55 cm. high, round the well. The excavation of the well lasted four and a half months, because of the difficulties of controlling the water, despite the use of an electric pump.

The first 6 m. of the well was filled with debris, consisting of ash and broken bricks. Then, human bones belonging to some 120 individuals began to appear.

Some were in an extended position, some had their hands manacled, and some had both hands and legs shackled. Below an unexpected void at 9.5 m. to a depth of 19.10 m., more debris and human bones were found, packed closely together with large quantities of objects. Finds from Well 4 included pottery, both glazed and plain, gold, silver, copper, iron, wood, bone, precious stones, paint and shell in addition to stamp and cylinder seals (Husain and Abdul-Razaq 1997-1998).

The ivories from Well 4 are completely different from other ivories from the North West Palace, particularly those from the other wells, AB, AJ and NN. Most are small containers, cylindrical in shape and possibly used for cosmetics, such as kohl. Small holes or sockets had been bored in the upper part, tapering to the inside, and would have held the pencils, also found in the well, without lifting the lid. The containers are similar in size and manner of manufacture, although they differ in decoration.

A large number of objects were found including gold jewellery and beads, large and small pottery vessels, stone spoon-stoppers decorated with incised geometric and floral patterns (Fig. 12), wooden objects such as combs, small cups and plates and door knobs. A similar stone spoon-stopper was found at Zincirli (Andrae 1943, Taf. 13h, 14k).

Ivories from Nimrud VI

The Discovery of Well 4, by Junaid al-Fakhri

Work was slow in the aftermath of the Gulf War. Torrential rain in the winter of 1991-92 undermined the passage from Well NN and resulted in the collapse of part of the wall opposite the well. . . . The clearing of the southern court, Court 80, led to the discovery of a new well, which is similar in construction to the other wells of the North West Palace. It was closed by a round, marble stone. The well has a diameter of 170 cm. and was lined with 140-150 courses of bricks. The bottom was paved with stones.

At a depth of 4.0 m. below the surface or 40-45 courses of bricks four skeletons with large stones next to their heads were found. Their hands and legs had been shackled with iron chains. At 5.0 metres six more skeletons were found. Groups of five to six skeletons continued to be found as digging progressed. Personal ornaments such as silver fibulae, rings of gold, silver and copper, stamp seals and a few beads of carnelian and turquoise were found with the skeletons.

At 7.0 m. a skeleton was found on its own in a crouching position with the hands by the chest: a cylinder seal was found between the finger bones of the right hand (Gailani Werr 2008, fig. 21j). Associated with the seal was a string of semi-precious beads, mostly carnelian, and some rings, still on the fingers. The wrists and ankles were shackled, and there were several broken jars around the body. Work continued with further skeletons found in the same way.

At a depth of some 12.0 m. work on five tangled skeletons revealed an opening, initially thought to be the mouth of a jar. However, when air started coming out of it, together with the sound of falling stones, the opening was enlarged. Taking a rope and a lamp, Junaid went down 3.0 m. and found numerous skeletons tangled and 'calcified' together, one on top of the other, like a net due to the drying of the mud. About 24 skeletons with their belongings of fibulae, bead necklaces, earrings and seals, were recovered. A few scattered beads were found at the bottom, which consisted of soft sand, suggesting that it may originally have been filled with water.

Another 30 skeletons, accompanied by unusual finds and embedded in mud, were found at a depth of 16 m. They were equipped with small ivory cosmetic bottles, some decorated with Assyrian motifs. Some of the bottles had the remains of kohl or henna. There were also ivory and wooden combs, rings, bracelets and beads. These individuals may have been the palace hairdressers and beauticians.

Another group of thirty skeletons were revealed below a further 20 cm. layer of mud. These were probably palace officials, as they were equipped with seals, gold rings with semi-precious stones, silver fibulae and bead necklaces. Beneath another 20 cm. of mud with large pieces of burnt wood some 40 charred skeletons were found: the burning wood must have been thrown in after the bodies. With the skeletons were some bottles, some of 'crystal', some coloured, and one eight-sided pottery vessel covered with copper. Further skeletons were recovered to a depth of 21.50 m. In the last metre were found the skeletons of young gazelles and kids, four pomegranates, date stones and other fruit remains, as well as pottery. The pottery is similar to that from the vaulted rooms, found below Nos. 74-75, and included a complete *kernos* with six cups, each 30 cm. high and with a diameter of 6 cm. There were no further finds, and the bottom of the well was reached at 26.0 m.

Around 400 skeletons were recovered, of which 150 were damaged because they were buried after discovery as a sign of respect. The remaining 250 were given a coating of preservative and placed in plastic bags. For some time no further study was undertaken: indeed they were not officially acknowledged. Students from the Mosul medical school have now studied them. They belonged to young males aged from 18 to 20. There was no evidence of strangulation, such as broken necks. There were several types of skulls, with prominent chins, wide or small eye sockets, flat or pointed noses, wide or narrow foreheads. Four or five skeletons had hunchbacks or humps at the chest. Some had broken bones, which had healed, mostly incorrectly. Two skeletons had 1.5 cm. square holes on the right side of the skulls, with the cut bone returned to its place, evidence of surgery.

Muzahim Mahmud and Julian Reade discussed the sequence of events which might have occurred. Reade was asked to describe his conclusions, paraphrased here (2008). He suggests that the three vaulted rooms below Rooms 74 and 75, on the opposite side of Court 80, had served as communal tombs for the inhabitants of the North West Palace, even though no bones had been found there, only numerous cylinder and stamp seals, necklaces, glazed jars, etc. Desecration of the graves of enemies was regularly practiced, and he suggests that these bones were deliberately collected, together with their funeral equipment, at the time of the sack and were thrown down, occupying the bottom 5 m. of the well. Most of these had probably died before 707 BC. Those in the top 12 m., however, were probably thrown down either alive or just after they had been killed at the time of the sack of the palace.

What is remarkable about the ivory and bone objects found in Well 4 is not the objects themselves but that they were found with a heap of skeletons some 15 m. below the surface. The small cylindrical containers, with lids, bases and pencils, still had within them the remains of kohl or henna. They form a coherent collection, presumably of Assyrian production and use. Three were of superior quality, with typical Assyrian scenes incised around them, the rest carried geometric designs of greater and lesser complexity.

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORY OF STUDY, TERMINOLOGY AND METHODOLOGY

HISTORY OF STUDY, AN OVERVIEW

Within three years of their discovery, the ivories were in the public domain and their varied styles recognized. Layard, describing the Egyptianizing panels which he had found in the doorway V/W, Nos. 146-147, wrote: ‘the forms, and style of art, have a purely Egyptian character; although there are certain peculiarities in the execution, and mode of treatment, that would seem to mark the work of a foreign, perhaps an Assyrian, artist. The same peculiarities – the same anomalies – characterized all the other objects discovered. ...In all these specimens the spirit of the design and the delicacy of the workmanship are equally to be admired’ (Layard *N. & R.* II, 9-10).

The ivories had first been described by Dr. Birch of the British Museum in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, New Series* III (163-171). His list of ivories was printed as an appendix in Layard *N. & R.* I, 391-394. Superb drawings of eighty of these ivories were prepared by Edward Prentis, of which Layard published thirty-three in 1849 in *Monuments of Nineveh* (pls. 88-91); eight are illustrated here (Plates B-F, H). All are now available on the British Museum web.

According to François Lenormant, writing in *Bulletin archéologique de l’Athénæum français* 6 (June 1856), his father, Charles, was the first to suggest that the pseudo-Egyptian workmanship of Layard’s ivories was actually Phoenician (Barnett *C.N.I.* 31, note 2). Fredrik Poulsen in the first serious study of the ivories (1912, 37) suggested that the first to recognize their possible Phoenician origin was Longperier. However that may be, by the end of the 19th century a few ivories were appearing in various encyclopaedic publications, such as Perrot & Chipiez in their *Histoire de l’Art dans l’Antiquité* (1884, II, 222, 314-315), and Dieulafoy (*L’Art antique de la Perse*, 1885, III, 50-53), both of whom suggested that they were of Phoenician manufacture, while in 1893 Ohnefalsch-Richter suggested that they were Cypriot.

In 1855 William Kennet Loftus discovered a hoard of broken and heavily burnt ivories in the South East Palace [later the Burnt Palace], which he promptly described in the *Athenaeum*, 1855, 351, the *Illustrated London News*, April 12, 1856, and the *Literary Gazette*, April 5, 1856. He also found a few fractured panels near some entrance bulls belonging to the Central Palace (Appendix 2, CP1-10 below), but he died before being able to publish them, and his ivories were essentially forgotten. Indeed, Layard gave him no credit for finding ivories, saying in his 1867 edition of *Nineveh & Babylon* that Loftus had found nothing of any importance. Perrot and Chipiez were the first to illustrate an Assyrian ivory panel found by Loftus in the Central Palace, CP2a (1884, II, 730, fig. 391).

An album of photographs of important antiquities in the British Museum was published in the late 19th century by W.A. Mansell & Co.¹ and included ten of Loftus’ ivories, as well as seven of Layard’s, of which four had already been published. Six ivories were illustrated in the 1908 *British Museum Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities* and included a panel in Assyrian style (No. 200). The *Guide* commented that ‘The ivories in Table Cases E and F prove that a very intimate connection existed between Egypt and Assyria at a very early period; others are of a purely Assyrian character, but all are probably the work of Phoenician artists’ (27-28).

Ten Layard and Loftus ivories were illustrated in Cecil Smith’s report on the ivory statuettes found at Ephesus (1908), of which four were previously unpublished. Smith had a derogatory view of the Phoenicians and suggested that the ivories were the work of the Ionian Greeks:

¹ The Mansell Collection of Photographs of the principal historical and religious monuments which are exhibited in the Babylonian and Assyrian Galleries of the National Collection. N.d.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

‘There cannot be many now who still believe in this ‘*mirage orientale*’; whatever romances Greek literature has to tell us of the early trade relations between Phoenicia and Greece, we are justified in questioning the artistic influence which such a nation of hucksters is likely to have exercised on an artistic people such as the Greeks’ (Smith in Hogarth 1908, 182),

a view dismissed, however, by the excavator Hogarth himself (1909, 61).

In 1912, therefore, when Poulsen wrote *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst*, he had only about a hundred and fifty ivories from Nimrud on which to base his studies, including about a hundred exhibited in the Galleries (1908 *B.M. Guide*), some fifty of which had been published. Studying these, he was able to identify a group which generally lacked Egyptian elements but was related to sculptures from sites along the Syro-Turkish border, such as Carchemish and Zinjirli, in fact a North Syrian group.

When describing the ivories on view in Table Case 1, the 1922 *British Museum Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities* wrote:

‘All these were executed in the ninth and eighth centuries before Christ, and as a series this collection is unrivalled.

Three styles may be noted: 1. That characteristically Assyrian. 2. Egyptian imitation. 3. Phoenician.’ (165-167).

By this time, therefore, with Poulsen’s North Syrian group, four different groups of ivory carving had been recognized.

A major advance in our understanding of the ivories came with the work of Richard Barnett, who had the advantage of working in the British Museum and thus had access to all the material, to the services of conservators and photographers and to the registers and archives. In the 1930s he began a long and painstaking study of the mass of ivory material deposited in the Museum by Layard, Rawlinson, Rassam and Loftus and undertook a major programme of restoration. He wrote two important articles in 1935 and 1939, which built on Poulsen’s division into two groups, Phoenician and North Syrian. Barnett recognized their significance and realized that Layard’s unburnt examples from the North West Palace were principally Phoenician while Loftus’ burnt examples from the South East Palace [renamed the Burnt Palace by Mallowan] contained many North Syrian pieces. In 1957 [revised in 1975] he published a major catalogue of both Layard’s and Loftus’ ivories, *The Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories in the British Museum (C.N.I.)*, which included a full discussion and commentary.

Mallowan directed a series of campaigns on the acropolis from 1949 to 1956, while Oates uncovered the general plan of the palace arsenal in the south-east corner of the city, Fort Shalmaneser, from 1958 to 1962. Mallowan found ivories in the North West and Burnt Palaces and the Nabu Temple and Town Wall Houses, while Oates found thousands of pieces, principally in the storerooms of the Fort. Their work dramatically enlarged the corpus of material.

Mallowan was particularly interested in ivories, which was why he began work by locating Room V of the North West Palace, Layard’s ivory room. He published annual reports in the journal *Iraq*, both reporting on the excavations and on the ivories he found in the North West Palace (*Iraq* 13 and 14). He also published a major, two-volume overview of the excavations and the principal finds in his *Nimrud & Its Remains* (1966), which was deliberately modelled on the style of Layard’s own publications, and he wrote a British Museum handbook on the Nimrud ivories (1978).

In 1954 in her *Inventaire commenté des ivoires phéniciens et apparentés découverts dans le Proche-Orient* C. Decamps de Mertenfeld published a compendium of 1,271 ivory or bone carvings arranged geographically from Palestine through Syria and into Mesopotamia, including unprovenanced pieces.

1967 saw the first of an ongoing series of publications by the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, the *Ivories from Nimrud (I.N.)* series, cataloguing the thousands of ivories recovered by the School. Different approaches have been employed by the various authors: the first by Jeffrey Orchard was by function, and happily the blinkers and frontlets of the bridle harness he published had been found in relatively few places. Before the Iraqi discoveries in Well AJ, most pieces were found in the great storeroom, Room SW37 of Fort Shalmaneser, with a few in Well NN of the North West Palace and the Burnt Palace. The second approach was by style, identifying the distinctive *Ivories in Assyrian Style* (Mallowan and Davies, 1970): these were more widely distributed on the acropolis and in Fort Shalmaneser. The importance of provenance was recognized in the third volume, which published the remarkable series of stacked chair-backs from Room SW7 of Fort Shalmaneser (Mallowan and Herrmann 1974), and the same approach was followed in the succeeding volumes publishing more ivories from the Fort (Herrmann 1986, 1992). The sheer quantity of material has made possible new and more refined approaches, such as defining sets and making these up into style-groups of ivories. These are based on a range of technical and stylistic features and probably reflect production in different centres.

In 1973 Irene Winter completed her important Ph.D. on *North Syria in the early first millennium B.C., with special reference to ivory carving*, which was the first attempt to set the ivories in their social and economic context. Unfortunately this has only been published as a University Microfilm, although Winter has since written numerous major articles based on her thesis but focussing on specific problems (1976a and b, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1989, 2005) and review articles (1992, 1998).

Richard Barnett was invited in 1974 to give a series of ten lectures in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem on ancient ivories. These were published in *Qedem* 14 in 1982 and provided the first overview of ivory through the millennia. His eighth chapter was dedicated to Syria and Phoenicia in the Iron Age, discussing not just the Nimrud ivories but all the others that had been discovered across the area in sites such as Samaria, Hama, Zinjirli, Arslan Tash, Khorsabad, Salamis in Cyprus, the Idaean Cave in Crete and Etruscan tombs. He was also able to include some of the outstanding ivories found in 1974 by the Iraqi Department of Antiquities and Heritage in Well AJ (published in 1987). He recognized that a simple division into the two style groups initially defined by Poulsen was no longer adequate, but that each was made up of a number of sub-groups.

Howard Hawkes completed in 1981 a useful Ph.D. entitled *The Nimrud ivories: an analysis of the Egyptianizing style*, unfortunately unpublished. This was the first attempt to start serious work on Phoenician ivories and was followed in 1992 by Davide Ciafaloni's *Eburnea Syrophoenicia*.

In 1987 came the publication of the finest ivories found at Nimrud, those from Well AJ, Nos. 223-298 (Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi), followed by a further discovery by Muzahim Mahmud Husain of kohl tubes, Nos. 374-395, from Well 4 of the North West Palace, published by him in this volume. However, the first good photographs of a few Well AJ ivories had appeared two years earlier in the excellent exhibition in Turin and Rome, *The Land between two Rivers. Twenty years of Italian archaeology in the Middle East – The Treasures of Mesopotamia* (1985). More recently, an overview of the state of ivory research has been provided by Lamprichs (1995, 327-371).

The flood of new material has continued with recent discoveries at Til Barsip (Bunnens 1997) and Tell Abu al-Kharaz (Fischer & Herrmann 1995). This has stimulated research with conferences discussing, for instance, ivory in Greece and the eastern Mediterranean (Fitton 1992), as well as four symposia focussing on the minor arts of the late second and early first millennia with an emphasis on the Nimrud ivories. These were begun thanks to the initiative of Christoph Uehlinger, then of the University of Fribourg and now Zurich. The first two, held at Fribourg in 1997 and 2001, have been published (Uehlinger, ed., 2000; and Suter and Uehlinger, eds., 2005), while the papers of the third workshop held at the University of Pisa in 2004 are in press: the fourth was held at the University of Mainz in November, 2005. These colloquia, attended by senior scholars and students, have been enjoyable and instructive and, most importantly, have encouraged students to become aware of the potential posed by ivory research, which offers an opportunity to reconstruct the arts of the Levantine states of the early first millennium. Students are working on or have completed Ph.D.s in Münster, Pisa, Bologna and Turin, and the next generation of scholars is already publishing significant papers (Wicke 1999, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2008; Scigliuzzo 2004, 2005, 2006; Rehm 2004, 2005; Thomason, 2004, 2005; Fischer 2005, 2007).

Other important initiatives are underway. E. Pappalardo of the University of Turin has undertaken a survey of oriental ivories found in the Idaean Cave (2004) and is engaged on publishing the many ivory fragments excavated in Fort Shalmaneser by the 1980s Turin expedition to Nimrud, while Claudia Suter is undertaking a painstaking review of the thousands of tiny fragments found in the 1930s at Samaria: these will be crucial in helping to establish the range of material found at that important site. The University of Mainz has set up a dedicated research project with three researchers, Dirk Wicke, Angela Busch and Erika Fischer, directed by Professor Dr. Braun-Holzinger, which is engaged in studying contacts between Egypt and the Levant. All this work makes evident the necessity for an agreed terminology.

THE VEXED PROBLEM OF TERMINOLOGY

Until the excavations in the twentieth century only a few Assyrian ivories had been found, mostly by Rawlinson and Loftus. These were easy to recognize and date because of well-established artistic criteria defining Assyrian art based on bas reliefs and bronzes. Panels found by Loftus in the Central Palace (Appendix 2) are eighth century in style rather than the ninth century examples found in the North West Palace, while the Assyrianizing ivories found by Rawlinson (Nos. 202-207), probably in Room V, have parallels with ivories from Toprak Kale and Altintepe, and may have been made in eastern Turkey.

Poulsen's recognition that there were two principal groups of Levantine ivories, one, pseudo-Egyptian or Phoenician, and the other similar to North Syrian bas reliefs with little Egyptian influence (1912, 37-59), is still generally accepted, although a number of attempts have been made to find better labels. 'Phoenician' is essentially ethnic and suggests that the citizens of centres along the Levant coast such as Akko, Tyre, Sidon, Byblos or Arvad thought of themselves as 'the Phoenicians', although they probably considered themselves, in the way of the ancient Near East, to be 'men of Tyre' or 'men of Sidon'. 'North Syria' is an equally unsatisfactory term, covering an imprecise geographic area and omitting Syrian centres such as Hamath or Damascus.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

The situation has been complicated in the last half century by the recognition not only that the ‘North Syrian’ and ‘Phoenician’ traditions contained a number of sub-groups, but also that some ivories combined elements of both. This transitional tradition has been variously named, ‘South Syrian’ (Winter 1981), ‘local South Syrian’ (Uehlinger 2000, xxix), ‘Intermediate’ (Herrmann 1986, 6) and ‘Syro-Phoenician’. Once again, the terms are unsatisfactory – ‘South Syrian’ and ‘local South Syrian’ suggest that ivories were carved in southern Syria, specifically Damascus, while ‘Intermediate’ begs the question of intermediate between what. The situation is further complicated as, unsurprisingly in view of the fluid political conditions of the time, there are not always clear boundaries between the different groups.

Much discussion has focussed on this problem, made more difficult because the original terms of ‘Phoenician’ and ‘North Syrian’ are deeply embedded in the literature, not only of the ancient Near East but of the classical world. In an attempt to move the discussion forward, Wicke suggested a return to the original bipartite division of more Egyptian and less Egyptian, proposing to rename the two as ‘Levantine’ and ‘Syrian’ (forthcoming). He bases this nomenclature on the political realities of the Late Bronze Age, calling areas which were under Egyptian control and absorbing Egyptian influences over a long time-scale, Levantine, and areas under Hittite control, absorbing Hittite and earlier influences from the third millennium, Syrian. Continuity between the Late Bronze and Iron Ages is now generally accepted, and he suggests, therefore, that these different cultural influences continued into the early first millennium, affecting the artistic styles of the day. He, and others such as Markoe (2000, 11), thus provide a convincing underlying historical/political reason for the cultural differences readily perceived in the art of the time, whether major or minor. However, while many ivories can be fitted into these broad categories, Wicke accepts that there were areas which were clearly open to influences from both Egypt and the Hittites: for these he suggests the term Syro-Levantine.

While Wicke’s proposal is attractive and although these terms provide a general political/cultural description for the area in the early first millennium, whether they can replace the current terminology is debatable. Both ‘Phoenician’ and ‘North Syrian’ are terms that have been generally accepted for a considerable time, and the styles associated with them are readily recognized. Furthermore, Wicke’s use of the term ‘Syrian’ is too wide. Indeed, Bunnens has recently discussed the definition of ‘Syria’ (2000, 3-4).

The long-used ‘North Syrian’, however geographically imprecise, remains valid for material linked to the characteristic bas-reliefs of states along the Syro-Turkish border, such as Tell Halaf, Carchemish, Aleppo, Ain Dara, Zinjirli, Sakça Gözü and Marash. Furthermore, if the attribution of ‘flame and frond’ ivories to Guzana/Tell Halaf is accepted² and that of the ‘Classic SW7’ and/or the ‘round-cheeked and ringletted’ to the Zinjirli area,³ then ‘North Syrian’ can be divided into a North-East and a North-West Syrian region. The term ‘Syrian’ can then be employed more generally for central and southern Syria, replacing ‘South Syria’, ‘local South Syrian’ and ‘Intermediate’. Such a term would include most ‘Intermediate’ ivories, many of which were probably made in that general area.

There is also the problem of Palestinian centres, an area long under Egyptian control but with strong links with Syria. One style-group with ivory and bone pieces found on Palestinian sites and at Nimrud (Fischer & Herrmann 1995; Beck 2000, 174-177) shows the influence of both Phoenicia and Syria, but with an indigenous twist: such groups can perhaps be called Palestinian.

The term Levantine remains a useful general term to cover all the ivories originating in the west, whether Phoenician, Syrian or North Syrian.

SETS, STYLE-GROUPS AND CRAFTSMEN

The Levantine traditions of ivory carving generally employed ivories in ‘sets’ of similar plaques or panels. These consisted of pieces of the same size, shape, subject, style, framing and method of fixing, which essentially match each other. These sets form the basic building block of any analysis. They are not contentious because they are assembled using a wide range of technical, stylistic and iconographic features. This is the simplest way of starting to organize the hundreds of complete and fragmentary pieces.

The next step is to arrange sets into larger groupings or ‘style-groups’ (*I.N.* IV; Herrmann 2005). This is necessarily more subjective because the range of direct comparisons is smaller. Nevertheless, in an attempt to impose order on this mass of material, it is essential to move, when the evidence permits, from ‘sets’ to ‘style-groups’. Groups must be built employing a range of diagnostic criteria, both technical and stylistic, not one or two ‘markers’. The forming of such groups must be undertaken cautiously, because it is easier to unite sets at a later date, when new evidence or analysis makes this possible,

² Proposed by Herrmann 1989. For an alternative view, see Winter 1989 and most recently 2005, 34-35.

³ Winter 1976b, 2005; Wicke 2005

than to separate them once they have entered the literature as a style-group. The definition of a style-group in no way considers the different problem of whether the ivories were made in one or more workshops in a particular centre or in different centres, or whether they were contemporary or made over a period of time.

Despite the comprehensive sacking and looting of the palaces and temples of Nimrud, the archaeological context of the ivories, although disturbed, remains of importance and provides a starting point for assembling sets and style-groups. Realizing this, Layard carefully recorded that many of the ivories from Room V had fallen in the doorway between Rooms V and W and may have formed part of the same piece of furniture (Layard *Mons.* vi). These included a set of six panels with youths facing to left and right (Nos. 99-104) and four panels with women at the window (Nos. 110-113). Their common provenance is an important factor in recognizing that these two sets, which initially seem very different, in fact formed part of the same style-group: they are similar in size and were fixed in the same way, the features, when comparable, are stylistically similar, and a number of them employed maker's marks, even in some cases the same marks, see pp. 65-66 below.

A number of other pieces from the doorway can be assigned to the same style-group, while the panels with women at the window can be compared not only with examples from Fort Shalmaneser but also with some from Khorsabad. Significantly, the carving of the faces of the women at the window is essentially identical to that of a group of winged sphinxes whose heads are represented frontally: again the panels originate from both the Fort and Khorsabad. These ivories belong to a single style-group, called the 'wig and wing' style-group because of the Egyptian-style wigs worn by the women and sphinxes and the upward-curving wings of the sphinxes.

Publication of new groups of material expands the data base and makes possible new connexions. For instance, in *Ivories from Nimrud IV* two sets were initially identified, the 'scaly wing' group and panels with the 'George and dragon' or hero and griffin motif (*I.N.* IV, 12-13). With additional evidence provided by the ivories published in *I.N.* V, it became possible to unite these two groups into a single style-group and to re-name them the 'crown and scale' style-group (*I.N.* V, 32-33). The names given to style-groups have been chosen because they are easier to remember and visualize than names such as 'Syrian IIc'. Thus, 'crown and scale' refers to only two diagnostic characteristics out of the many which identify this style-group, the corrupted crowns, distantly based on Egyptian examples, and the outlining of wing-scales with ribs.

SUBJECTS ACROSS THE TRADITIONS

The style-groups of the three Levantine traditions, Phoenician, Syrian and North Syrian, are generally homogeneous, both iconographically and in the types of object produced. The range of imagery was limited and was employed on major and minor art. The ubiquitous sphinx, for instance, was used for the bases of columns and on bas reliefs in palaces. It formed the sides of Phoenician thrones and was one of the most popular motifs on furniture panels and small objects. Although the subject was the same, the function, scale, material and style of representation were different. Perhaps the most remarkable example of this can be seen on the tenth/ninth century sarcophagus of Ahiram from Byblos and a 'flame and frond' pyxis of the North Syrian tradition (Fig. 13).⁴ The sides of the sarcophagus are decorated with a series of scenes, one of which shows the king seated

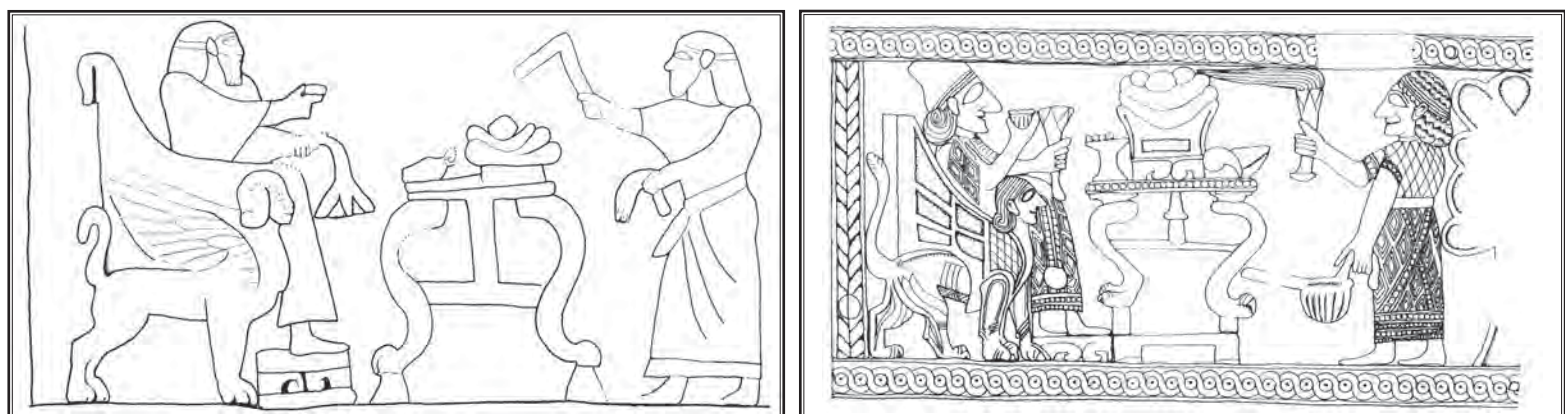


Fig. 13. Detail from the side of the sarcophagus of King Ahiram of Byblos and the banquet scene on the ivory pyxis from Well AJ, No. 234, drawn by D. Wicke

⁴ There is considerable debate about the dates of both the sarcophagus and the pyxis, see Porada 1973, Herrmann 1989, Muyltermans 1989; Rehm 2004 and Sass 2005, 75-82.



Fig. 14. The 'hero and griffin' motif, a. of the 'classic Phoenician' 'ornate group' (I.N. IV, 1051), and b. of the 'crown and scale' Syrian tradition (I.N. IV, no. 318), drawn by A. Searight

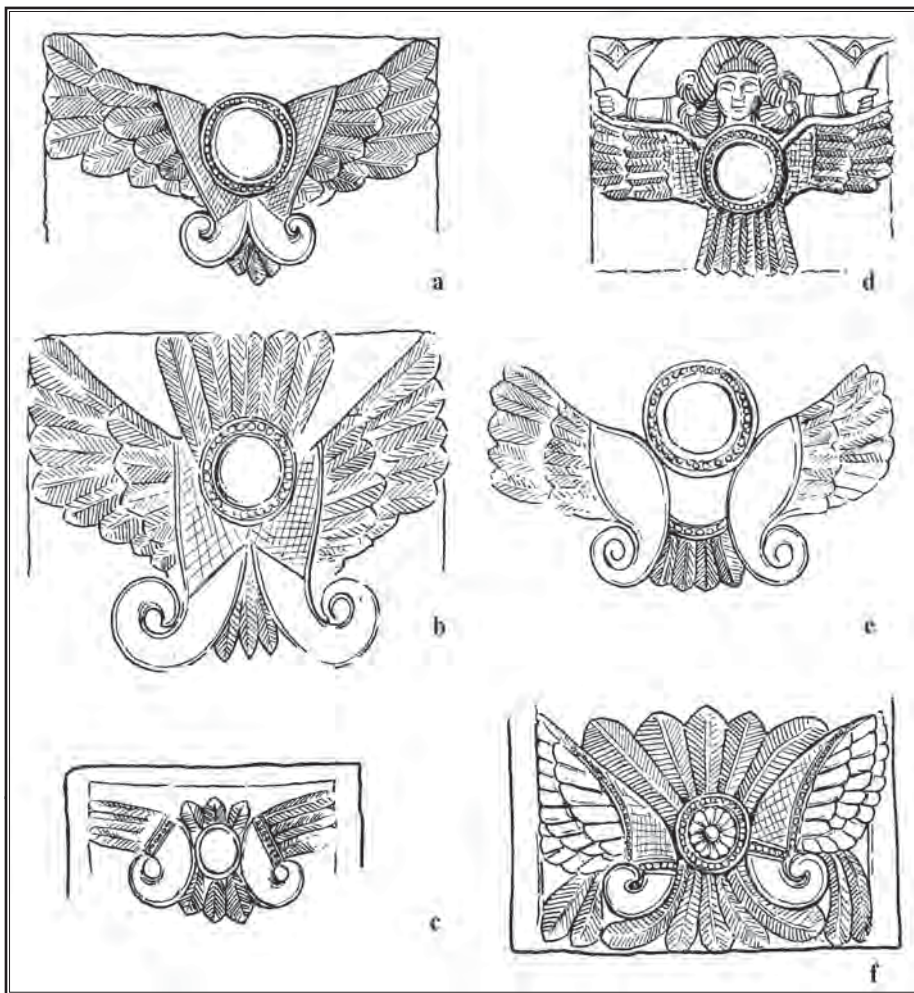


Fig. 15. Winged discs from the SW7 chair-backs, drawn by P. Clarke

on a sphinx throne with a Phoenician table in front of him: he is approached by mourners. He is holding a lotus, the head of which hangs down. Part of this banquet scene is repeated on the pyxis: the king⁵⁶ is again seated on a sphinx throne with a table in front of him, but he has only one attendant. The lotus he holds is upright, showing he is alive. The arrangement of the figures, the types of furniture and the equipment are almost identical: what differ are the purposes, scales, styles of representation and dress of the participants. Although this is the most striking illustration of the employment of the same design in different ways from the Phoenician coast to North Syria, many motifs were employed across the area and media. This common vocabulary suggests a common belief system on the one hand, and on the other a quest for regional diversity, exhibited by minor changes in style and technique.

The relatively limited range of subjects includes humans, mythical beasts, cattle and cervids, and floral and geometric motifs. The humans may be divine, royal or simply human. They are often shown in association with trees or plants. Sometimes they are seated at table, or a woman might look out of a window. They are also shown fighting animals, such as griffins, holding up lions or being walked over by sphinxes. Mythical beasts, such as sphinxes and griffins, and bovids and cervids were popular. They are shown in a variety of ways, associated with plants and in contest scenes of greater or lesser ferocity. Typically North Syrian is a tumbling mass of struggling sphinxes, griffins, lions and bovids, such as No. 239. Also unique to that tradition are hunting or musical scenes.

Despite the iconographic similarity of Syro-Phoenician ivories, 'classic' examples from each tradition are readily identifiable. For instance, the elegant openwork winged youth killing a griffin, which calmly accepts its fate, is obviously Phoenician and can be attributed to the 'ornate group' because of its characteristic use of space, proportions, colour, framing and tenoning (Fig. 14a). Equally, the heavier and more powerful Syrian hero is actively fighting the griffin, which

⁵ The seated figure on the pyxis is often considered to be female, e.g. Muyldermans 1989, 395. This is incorrect. The type of hat, hairstyle and dress are similar to those worn by males on 'flame and frond' pyxides.

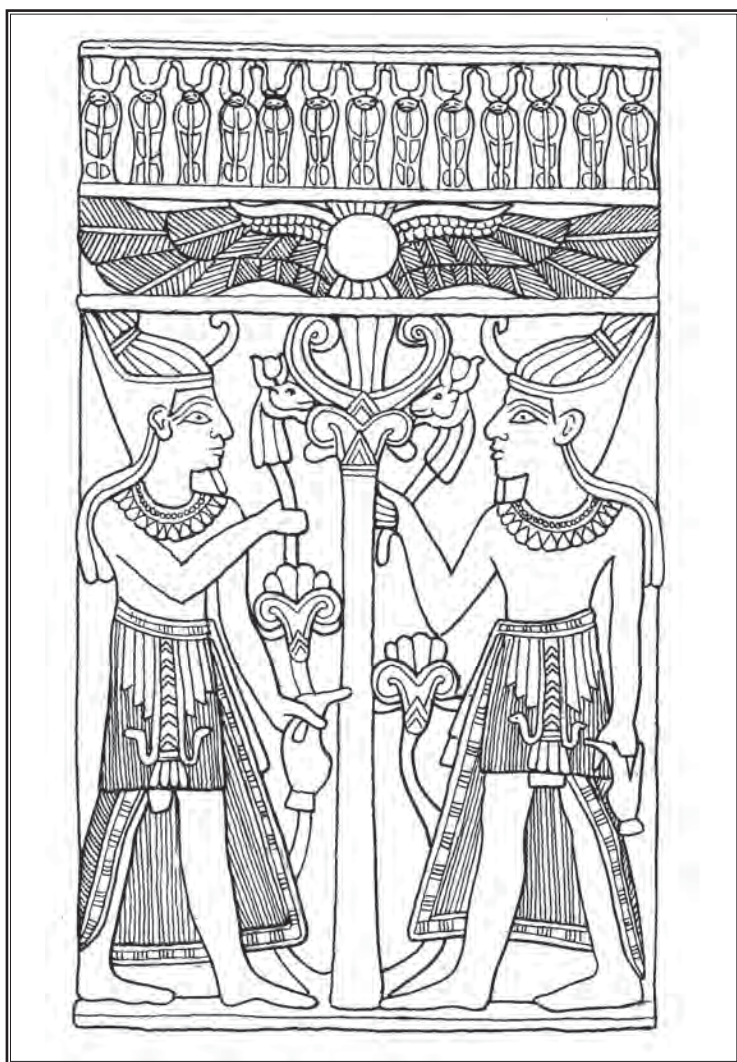


Fig. 16. SW12 Pharaoh panel of the 'classic Phoenician' style-group, ND11035, drawn by A. Searight

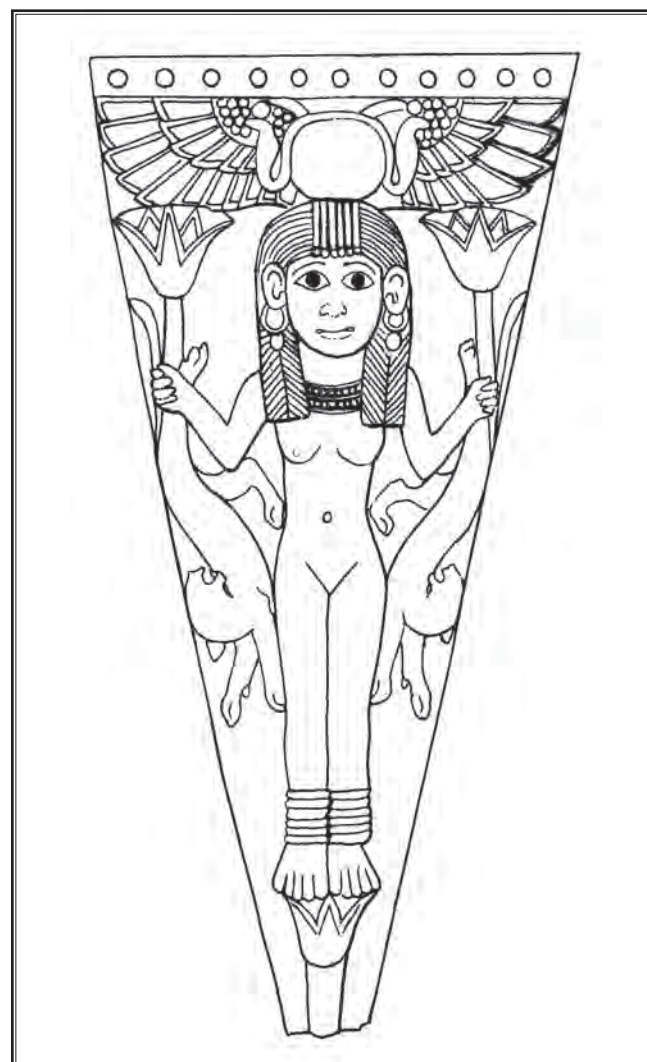


Fig. 17. Syrian 'wig and wing' frontlet, I.N. I, 137, drawn by A. Searight

he pins to the ground while still in flight (Fig. 14b). These are two of many different Phoenician and Syrian representations of the same motif. Motifs are not indicative of the output of a particular workshop, centre or region; shapes, sizes and styles are. The design of the Syrian panels is more powerful, the action more immediate and the space fully occupied, while Phoenician ivories are more aesthetically pleasing, peaceful and graceful. A feature of all these pieces is repetition. They were usually used in sets of matching plaques or panels, apart from the 'Egyptianizing' ivories, which are derived from the art of Egypt.

VARIATIONS ACROSS THE TRADITIONS

While the iconography is common across the area, there are specific variations which help to identify the tradition to which an ivory may belong. One of the best known of these is the different forms of winged disc, Syro-Phoenician versions being markedly different from North Syrian ones. Equally, there are variations within both traditions, a few of which are discussed below.

The winged disc

Although well known across the area from the 18th century B.C. in a variety of media, the winged disc is relatively rarely employed on the ivories found at Nimrud. Furthermore, its use seems to have been tightly controlled. It was principally employed on furniture panels, occurring on many of the North Syrian chair-backs from Room SW7 in Fort Shalmaneser

Ivories from Nimrud VI

where men and a few women are associated with trees and plants (Fig. 15, *I.N.* III). The winged disc is also employed on variations of this motif, such as the sets of Phoenician panels with pairs of Pharaoh figures with sceptres and jugs flanking trees (Fig. 16), on Syrian versions of this motif and on Assyrianizing panels (Nos. 202-205). Otherwise it can be seen on a few Syrian bridle harness frontlets with the ‘mistress of animals’ motif (Fig. 17): for a discussion of the use and symbolism of the winged disc in the 2nd and 1st millennia, see Mayer-Opficus (1984), Parayre (1989, 1990a & b) and Ornan (2005).

The variety of representation of this familiar motif is well illustrated on panels from SW7. A typical North Syrian version from one of the ‘classic SW7’ chair-back panels, Fig. 15a, consists of a beaded disc ending in a pair of volutes separated by a fan of fronds and framed by cross-hatching, from which two tiers of feathers spring (*I.N.* III, nos. 1-2). Sometimes fronds might grow above and below the disc, Fig. 15b and c (*I.N.* III, nos. 26-27 and 21). In another set there are no volutes and the disc is topped by a frontal female head with ‘Hathor’ curls, Fig. 15d (*I.N.* III, no. 38). In a provincial version the disc is supported above the volutes, with a second line of beading above the fan of fronds and no cross-hatching, Fig. 15e (*I.N.* III, no. 57). In the most bizarre adaptation, Fig. 15f, the winged disc is trampled *underfoot*, becomes a rosette and sprouts vegetation (*I.N.* III, no. 68). Despite these variations, these winged discs remain recognizably ‘North Syrian’ with a central beaded disc and wings springing from the volutes. The only possible exception is the vegetative version, Fig. 15f. Each of these varied forms of disc is associated with a different panel size, a different style of carving, and the panels were attached to different types of chair-back.

While there is considerable variety among North Syrian types of winged disc, Phoenician and Syrian versions are relatively similar, although once again there are minor variations according to style-group. The disc itself is plain and is flanked by a pair of *uraei*; the wings are tripartite with scales and feathers. The winged disc is rarely used on Phoenician panels, only occurring on sets of panels from SW12 with Pharaoh figures with the ram-headed sceptre and jug, a Phoenician version of the men and trees of the SW7 chair-backs (Fig. 16; Cecchini 2005, pl. 32, 5-7). In Syrian versions the disc may be slightly flattened, and the *uraei* form a ‘horse-shoe’ over the disc, as on frontlets with the mistress of animals (Fig. 17; *I.N.* I, nos. 136-139, 147).

Crowns and clothing

Another typical variable are the crowns. These were based on ‘Egyptian’ originals and were represented with varying degrees of accuracy on Phoenician and Syrian ivories but do not occur on North Syrian examples. It is only on Egyptianizing ivories that crowns are reasonably accurate, as can be seen on the Egyptianizing panel from Well AJ, No. 248, with the Pharaoh in his blue war crown and the goddesses in Hathor crowns. Crowns on the Phoenician ‘ornate group’ are reasonably accurate, except that the solar disc may be remarkably small or the Pharaonic headdress may be replaced by a short wig (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1057-1058). However, the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt becomes almost unrecognizable on Syrian ‘crown and scale’ versions: the *uraeus* at the front and the red crown of Lower Egypt were united and flattened to form a type of dish on which rests the ‘bun’ of the white crown of Upper Egypt (Fig. 14b, *I.N.* IV, nos. 316-319, 477; V, nos. 240-241, 328). Similar corruption occurs to the solar disc and *uraeus* crown, the disc becoming oval, framed by a pair of *uraei* (Fig. 18b). This form is typical of both the ‘crown and scale’ and ‘wig and wing’ style-groups (*I.N.* V, 242, 329, 393, 401 and 406). There are numerous other minor variations on the theme.

Similarly the clothing across the area varies from relatively correct versions of Egyptian dress, particularly on Egyptianizing panels, for instance the seated goddesses of Nos. 146-147, and on typically Phoenician panels, like the Pharaoh figures of the SW12 panels above, through a range of garments to the tunics under long open coats worn by North Syrian men on SW7 chair-backs (*I.N.* III) and ‘flame and frond’ pyxides, such as No. 234. North Syrian goddesses and women wear a distinctive long pleated dress with a trailing hem, as on Nos. 233-234, very different from the Egyptianizing dress.

Sphinxes

Sphinxes were popular across the traditions, and once again there are significant differences between Phoenician, Syrian and North Syrian sphinxes. There are hundreds of plaques and panels with Phoenician and Syrian sphinxes, particularly from Room SW37. They are shown with human heads, ram heads or hawk heads and are usually crowned with the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt,⁷ although some Syrian sphinxes, mostly of the ‘wig and wing’ and ‘crown and scale’ groups, are crowned with a solar disc, flanked by *uraei*.⁸ The double crowns rest on versions of Pharaonic headcloths, one end of which extends over the front of the chest to form a raised band, while the solar crown is usually set on Egyptian-style wigs (*I.N.* IV, nos. 534-541). Because of the number of style-groups within the traditions, there are numerous minor variations.

⁶ For instance, *I.N.* IV, plaques, nos. 87-126, panels, 418-541, 546-549, 556-560, 566-567, 595-612.

⁷ *I.N.* IV, nos. 420, 480, 490, 518, 534-541, and V, 193 and 406. Some sphinxes are just crowned with discs, for instance *I.N.* IV, nos. 115, 118, 123-126, 244, 253 and 656.

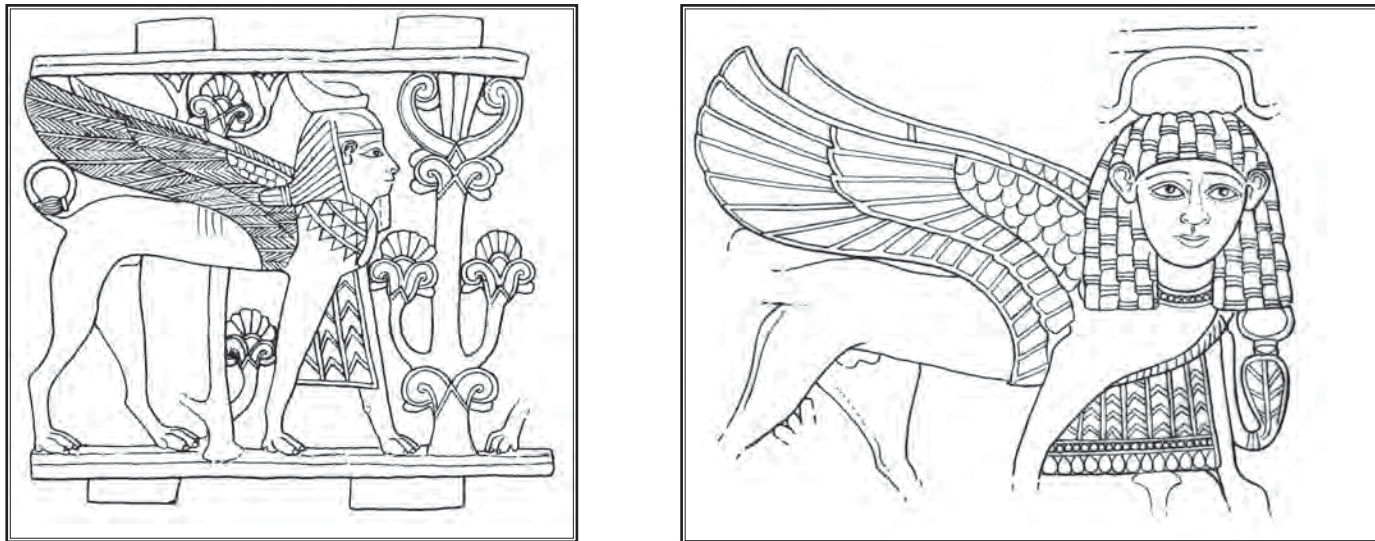


Fig. 18. Sphinx panels, a. of the Phoenician tradition, *I.N. IV*, 527; b. of the Syrian tradition, *I.N. V*, 406, drawn by A. Searight

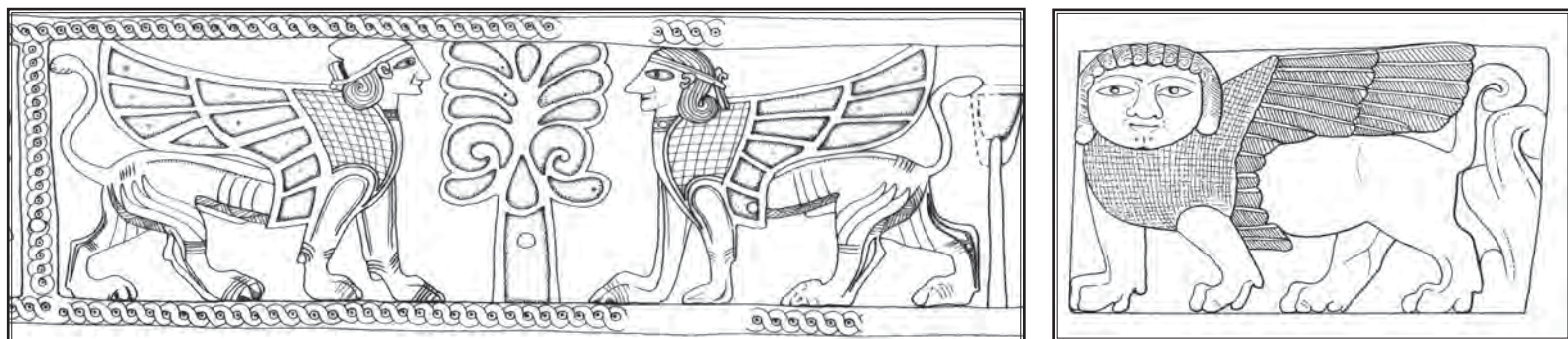


Fig. 19a. North Syrian sphinxes from a. a 'flame and frond' pyxis, No. 233, drawn by D. Wicke; and b. the 'round-cheeked and ringletted' tradition, *I.N. IV*, no. 904, drawn by A. Searight

Phoenician and Syrian sphinxes are usually shown in profile. They regularly wear an *usekh* collar on the chest, although occasionally no collar is represented, but a curving area outlined by the head-cloth is left plain for such a collar. They are always equipped with an apron, usually decorated with chevrons. Occasionally sphinxes are represented full-face, causing problems with the collar, which is shown on either side of the head. Phoenician examples include the superb fragmentary head from Well AJ, No. 239, with a wide collar with inlaid frames at top and bottom, as well as two examples from SW12, where the collars are partially obscured by the pegged wigs (Herrmann 2002, 133, figs. 8 and 9). Syrian examples occur in both the 'crown and scale' and 'wig and wing' style-groups,⁹ where the collars are relatively crudely carved and decorated with large drops and chevrons.

The wings of Phoenician and Syrian sphinxes are tripartite, one tier is either left plain or consists of scales, while the other two have feathers, usually but not always marked. The wings usually spring from behind the head-cloth and collar, or plain area, onto the belly behind the foreleg. This applies to Syrian groups, such as the 'crown and scale' (*I.N. IV*, nos. 481-489), and to Phoenician examples like the elegant sphinxes of the 'grooved cheek' group (*I.N. IV*, no. 546). There are variations in the springing of the wing on the body, such as the wing not extending as far as the belly, as on the long coloured panel, *I.N. IV*, no. 1107, or lines running along the back and down the haunch, *I.N. IV*, nos. 620, 622. Equally, there are examples when sphinxes have no wings, *I.N. IV*, no. 1111, but may have lines along the back and haunch, *I.N. IV*, nos. 1112-1113. Tails usually curve up over the back, but may also curve up in an S-shape.

There are marked differences between Phoenician and Syrian sphinxes (Fig. 18) and North Syrian examples (Fig. 19), in their proportions, in the form of crowns and head-dresses or hats and hair-styles, in the form of the wings and in the presence or absence of collars, aprons and cross-hatching. North Syrian sphinxes are confined in the main to the 'flame and frond'

⁹ 'Crown and scale' examples include *I.N. IV*, nos. 481-486 and nos. 1127-1129 (inlaid) and *I.N. V*, no. 243 and 329 (inlaid); 'wig and wing' examples include nos. 534, 538-541 and *I.N. V*, no. 226. The 'collar' has been reduced to a beaded necklace on *I.N. V*, no. 406, Fig. 18b.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

(Fig. 19a) and ‘round-cheeked and ringletted’ style-groups (Fig. 19b), although a few are shown on some SW7 chair-backs. They are stockier than Phoenician examples and occupy much of the surface of the panel, particularly the ‘round-cheeked and ringletted’ style-group.

North Syrian sphinxes are not crowned, although ‘flame and frond’ sphinxes often wear a droopy hat. Their hair is shoulder-length and arranged in ringlets or ends in a heavy curl. They do not usually wear collars or aprons, except for the unusual fragmentary sphinx, *I.N.* V, no. 205, which is carved in the round. Typically the base of the wing is cross-hatched – cross-hatching is common on North Syrian ivories. The first line of feathering either wraps round the belly or, in a typically North Syrian way, extends to a point behind the foreleg. Tails generally form an S-shape.

Sphinxes are rarely represented on the SW7 chair-backs. Two stand on the heads of youths and in the branches of trees on panels attributed to the ‘flame and frond’ style-group (*I.N.* III, no. 21). Two others occupy the lowest register of the vase-hat men set of panels (*I.N.* III, no. 38 and 42). The three sitting under the chairs of seated women with tables in front of them are more sophisticated in many ways and are more Syrian in style: the sphinxes have short Egyptian-style wigs and lack cross-hatching on the chest (*I.N.* III, nos. 47-48, 50). The last example lies underneath the chair of a portly man (*I.N.* III, no. 51), part of a set of four crudely carved provincial panels.

Contest scenes with struggling animals

Contest scenes have traditionally been considered to be North Syrian and to consist of a tumbling mass of fighting animals, such as *I.N.* IV, nos. 668-670, or indeed the animals on the round-cheeked and ringletted palette, No. 239. There are, however, more symmetrically arranged contest scenes, such as the paired contests of No. 264, which are very different in spirit. They can be compared with two from Fort Shalmaneser: *I.N.* IV, no. 667, shows a similar group of a pair of lions attacking a central bull, while *I.N.* V, no. 308, is a more dynamic version. These should probably be considered to belong to the Syrian rather than the North Syrian tradition.

SOME TECHNICAL FEATURES

While changes in styles, proportions, sizes and diagnostic details, such as crowns, clothing or musculature, form one way to attribute ivories to traditions, another is a range of technical features, such as methods of colouring, the use of cross-hatching, the types of framing and fixing, and the use of different tools. Some of these can be assigned to specific traditions, and some within the traditions to specific style-groups. One of the most obvious of these is the various techniques of colouring ivories.

Inlays

Barnett was one of the first to be interested in the inlays employed on the ivories and commissioned analyses of some Layard ivories. He noted that cloisons in the Loftus group were ‘usually drilled with one or two circular depressions the size of a pin-head, apparently to hold the gum’ (Barnett *C.N.I.* 156-157).

In 1983 Dan Barag wrote about glass inlay, which he considered was ‘one of the features characteristic of Western Asiatic ivories dating from the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. Their introduction marked a clear departure from second millennium B.C. traditions of ivory carving and their disappearance after the eighth century B.C. coincided with the end of the Golden Age of Western Asiatic ivory carving’ (1983, 163). He concluded that ‘the distinction between non-inlaid and inlaid Phoenician ivories may have a bearing on their chronology, the former perhaps dating from the late ninth-early eighth century B.C. and the latter only from the eighth century B.C. It is also possible that this distinction has a bearing on the localization of their manufacturing centres’ (1983, 167).

Barag’s view that inlaid and non-inlaid ivories were carved in different workshops at different times was followed in the catalogue, *I.N.* IV. That was why an arbitrary division was made between those with and without coloured inlays. This division has proved to be incorrect: evidence steadily accumulates that inlay work was undertaken by many workshops and need have no implication on either the location or the chronology of the different style-groups. This was first made evident by similarities between monochrome and inlaid Egyptianizing ivories (for instance *I.N.* IV, nos. 968 and 1015-1017, and nos. 969 and 1018 and 1021). This observation was reinforced by panels of the Syrian ‘crown and scale’ style-group, with essentially identical pieces either plain or inlaid (*I.N.* IV, nos. 481-486 and 1127-1129). Another style-group producing both plain and inlaid pieces was, of course, the North Syrian ‘flame and frond’ group, with pyxides from the Burnt Palace, Well AJ and Hasanlu (Muscarella 1980, 118-129). It may well prove to be the case that all workshops employed coloured inlays

when required, and also stained ivories or overlaid them with gold foil, depending on the level of colour required by the patron. However, the methods of inlaying are diagnostic and vary considerably between the traditions and style-groups. Furthermore, although used across the area, inlaying was not particularly popular, occurring on less than 15% of the ivories recorded from the great storeroom, SW37.

Phoenician ivories

The most sophisticated and varied techniques were employed by the Egyptianizing and 'ornate group'. Characteristic of the Egyptianizing style-group are carefully shaped inlays, where a crown, a wig or other feature was inlaid with a single piece of glass or rarely stone, carefully cut to shape, decorated and bedded into the prepared cloison on a frit bedding, as on No. 258. However, in other examples, such as Nos. 146 and 147, the wigs were made up from sections of glass rather than a single shaped piece. Shaped inlays were, therefore, characteristic of the group but were not standard. It may be that further analysis will divide these beautiful ivories into workshop groups which each employed slightly different practices, but at present they can be considered as a single style-group.

Another method of colouring wigs is typical of the 'ornate group', where rows of raised pegs of ivory were left by removing the surrounding background. The pegs were then gilded and held coloured cylinders of blue glass bedded on blue frit, as in Nos. 259, 260 and 356. This technique, the 'pegged wig', is, so far, only represented on 'ornate group' pieces and is therefore a valuable diagnostic. However, once again, while most 'ornate group' wigs were worked in this way, there are examples where segmented glass inlays, like those employed on some Egyptianizing pieces, were used instead, for instance on the lappet wigs of hawk-headed figures, such as *I.N. IV*, nos. 1090 and 1097. Unusually, the superb pair of 'ornate group' plaques from Well NN, the lioness and the youth, No. 356, replaced glass inlays with semi-precious stones, carnelian and lapis lazuli.

Characteristic of both the Egyptianizing and 'ornate group' is decorating a hem or the stalk of a plant with 'alternate inlay', that is one coloured segment alternating with an ivory segment, as can be seen on No. 258. Yet another technique employed by both groups is 'silhouette-inlay' or *champ-lévé* on the raised rectangles or cartouches containing hieroglyphs. In these the background was left high and possibly stained, while the hieroglyphs were worked in shaped and coloured inlays (No. 146). The use of 'silhouette-inlay' is also diagnostic of a group where the actual designs of the plaques were hollowed out, filled with coloured pastes and modelled (*I.N. IV*, 21-22, nos. 1171-1214). There are no examples of this group in the North West Palace. Uehlinger has suggested that 'silhouette' ivories may have been carved in Samaria (2005, 149-186).

Syrian ivories

Syrian ivories employed inlays of different degrees of fineness, as can be seen by examining the ivories illustrated in *I.N. IV*, pls. 293-306. Only a few of these have been assigned to specific style-groups, with the exception of some 'crown and scale' pieces (*I.N. IV*, 32-33). The latter form an easy-to-recognize group, employing both modelling and inlay: the inlaid sphinxes of *I.N. IV*, nos. 1127-1129 or *I.N. V*, no. 329 can be readily compared with the monochrome sphinxes of *I.N. IV*, nos. 481-487. The method of inlay is characteristic, with relatively small shaped pieces of inlay fitted into the cloisons.

Another Syrian group, the 'beaky nose' group, examples of which have been found in the V/W doorway (No. 141) and in Room SW37 (*I.N. IV*, 16, nos. 471-474, 611-614, 940-941 and 1130-1135¹⁰) is, so far, principally monochrome, with the possible exception of *I.N. IV*, nos. 1130-1135. The cloisons on these pieces are distinctive, forming rather rigid, quite large compartments with heavy frames. Undoubtedly, with further publication and analysis, more Syrian groups with inlaid decoration will be identified.

North Syrian ivories

'Flame and frond' objects found in the North West and Burnt Palaces were often highlighted with inlays. The pyxides and horn from Well AJ, Nos. 233-236, employed relatively large cloisons, with shaped inlays, some of which had survived *in situ* and were reported to be of burnt or coloured ivory rather than glass. The inlays were held by a bedding, usually reinforced by small 'pegs', the drilled holes for which can often be seen in the bottom of the cloisons: these are called 'pegged inlays' (Barnett *C.N.I.* 156-157; Barag 1983, 164). 'Pegged inlays' are unique to the group and are a valuable diagnostic.

Circular holes with central peg-holes can also be seen on the lids of some pyxides, Nos. 233 and 234, round the ends of the horn, No. 236, and on the crowns of the sphinxes of No. 237: these holes alternate with carved rosettes and would have been filled, presumably, with inlays with rosettes. Some may have been of glass, for circular mosaic glass plaques were found at Nimrud in 1958 (Curtis 1999, 61, fig. 7). Some finer and deeper cloisons can be seen on the lion bowl, No. 237.

¹⁰ In *I.N. IV*, 16, it was suggested that nos. 393-395 and 1137-1153 might also form part of the group. However, the eyes and the cloisons are worked differently: these attributions may be incorrect.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

Rectangular inlays were employed on a variety of ivories. The frames on a fragmentary furniture leg with two registers of bulls (*I.N.* V, no. 96; Herrmann 1996, 160-161, pl. 42a) consisted of rectangular cloisons with central peg-holes, measuring c. 1.25 x 1.05 cm. A fragmentary openwork piece with a bull attached to a frame with longer rectangular cloisons from the Town Wall Houses, Appendix 3, TW20, and a fragment from a similar piece from Well AJ, No. 276, may also have been parts of inlaid furniture elements. Curtis has suggested that these contained glass inlays (1999, 64).

An Urartian wood figurine, with ivory face and hands and with a garment made of lead, inlaid with pieces of ivory and glass, was found in the 19th century at Toprak Kale and is another variation on inlay technique (Mitchell 1983, 157-162, pls. xxxv-xxxvii).

The sills of some women at the window panels once contained long, rectangular inlays: these included some from Rooms SW37 and S10 in Fort Shalmaneser (*I.N.* IV, no. 409; V, nos. 111-112) and three from Arslan Tash (Thureau Dangin *et al.* 1931, pl. 36, nos. 52-54).¹¹ An example of a variation on the theme of woman at the window may also have contained an inlay: the area above the sill is an excised rectangle, while the sill itself rests on flowers (*I.N.* V, no. 437). The crowns of some fan-handles from the Burnt Palace also once contained rectangular (*C.N.I.*, pl. lxxii, S192-194) or square inlays (*C.N.I.*, pl. lxxiii, S212), some of which were pegged.

Inlays were, therefore, used across the traditions, although employing distinctive techniques in the various areas. There seem to be no valid workshop differences between inlaid and plain ivories: the variation seems to be one purely of choice. If 'flame and frond' ivories were indeed inlaid with stained ivory rather than glass, then that may be a distinction between the inlays of North Syria and Syria and Phoenicia, but this would be a regional not a chronological difference. There seems little to support Barag's suggestions that glass inlays were 'characteristic of Western Asiatic ivories dating from the ninth and eighth centuries B.C.' and ceased after the eighth century B.C. (1983, 163), nor that 'the distinction between non-inlaid and inlaid Phoenician ivories may have a bearing on their chronology.' (1983, 167).

Cross-hatching

Cross-hatching is ubiquitous on North Syrian ivories and is almost a diagnostic of North Syrian work, although there are a few Phoenician and Syro-Palestinian examples. It is common on North Syrian 'flame and frond' ivories, where it is regularly employed on the bases of wings of winged discs, humans and sphinxes and on the trunks of trees, for instance Nos. 233-236. It is also employed on the wings of 'round-cheeked and ringletted' sphinxes, *I.N.* IV, nos. 904, 906-907, 909, 911, 914 and 920, although some sphinxes on the cosmetic palette, No. 239, have panels of feathery hatching. It occurs on the trunks of stylized trees, *I.N.* IV, nos. 785-786, 788-789 and 791, and on the noses of cattle, *I.N.* IV, nos. 714-717, 728-732, 738-739, 741, 752-753 and 760.

Cross-hatching occurs on most ivories from Room SW7. It can be seen on many but not all winged discs, for instance those of the 'classic SW7 group' (*I.N.* III, nos. 1, 2, 8-9, 11-12, 22-24, 26-27, 30, 33-35, and the long panels, nos. 97-98 and 101). Cross-hatching also occurs on the 'vase-hat men' panels, nos. 38-41, 43 and 45; the panel with the curved back, no. 46; the wings of the floriate discs trampled underfoot of no. 65; and the elegant winged male of no. 68. There is no cross-hatching on the discs of nos. 57, 63-64, although these are still the North Syrian voluted form of disc. Similarly, cross-hatching is shown on the bases of the wings of winged figures, such as nos. 1, 3, 67-69, and on the sphinxes but not the winged discs of no. 21. Finally, the bases of the wings of the sphinxes under the chairs of nos. 47 and 50 are cross-hatched.

Despite the presence of cross-hatching on their wings, seven tall elegant sphinxes¹² from SW37 are not North Syrian in style. They form part of a style-group together with a set of panels with Pharaoh figures holding sceptres and jugs (*I.N.* IV, nos. 338-341): note the fine work, the elegant proportions, the carving of the unusual crowns and the fine cross-hatching, as well as their excised eyes: they probably belong to a Phoenician style-group, which atypically used cross-hatching. Otherwise, cross-hatching was employed for the frames and the bases of wings on a Palestinian group of bone handles found at Nimrud, and Tell Abu al-Kharaz, Tell en Nasbeh and Hazor in Palestine (Fischer & Herrmann 1995; Beck 2000, 174-176; Uehlinger 2005, 154-157).

¹⁰ A plaque with a window has been found in Rhodes, Braun-Holzinger & Rehm 2005.

¹¹ *I.N.* IV, nos. 461-462, 521-522, 620, 622 and 623. Other panels attributed to the group in 1986 were nos. 298-302 and 361-363.

Frames

The majority of ivory panels have simple, single frames. It is possible that variations from the norm may reflect different workshop practices. One example is the twisted frames of the Syrian openwork panels, Nos. 242, 243 and 341. Another variation can be seen on Assyrian panels, such as Nos. 1 and 226-229, where registers, particularly vertical registers, were separated by guilloche bands or floral friezes. Another framing band consists of a frieze of *uraei*, which occurs on the frontlets, Nos. 252-254, and on sets of panels from SW12 with Pharaoh figures with sceptres and jugs (Fig. 16). Provincial, Syrian versions of this motif also employ a frieze of *uraei*, often cross-hatched and associated with a lower guilloche frame, see for instance *I.N.* IV, nos. 338-351, but are stylistically distinct.

One variation which at first sight does not seem particularly significant is the use of paired or double frames. However, this appears to be typical of the work of a centre or workshop, since they regularly occur on ‘ornate group’ panels, on some

SW12 panels with opposed Pharaoh figures and on some trapezoidal panels, all of which are similar in style (Herrmann 2002). However, while this type of frame is typical of the group, its presence is not essential: the superb pair of plaques, the ‘Lioness and the youth’, No. 356, have no frames but stylistically form part of the group, with the youth’s ‘pegged wig’, the characteristic gilded kilt, the flamboyant use of colour and elegance of style.

Other panels without frames include the North Syrian ‘round-cheeked and ringletted’ group and the Syrian ‘beaky nose’ sphinxes of No. 141. The latter was compared by Crowfoot to openwork sphinxes from Samaria (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pl. v, nos. 1 and 2) with an unusual triple frame, also seen on the similar *I.N.* IV, no. 471 from Room SW37. Another group lacking frames are some unusual, provincial pieces from SW37 (e.g. *I.N.* IV, nos. 923-939), held in place by glueing and thick dowels.

The ‘flame and frond’ workshop used a variety of frames. While panels employed the usual single frames, frames on pyxides and the flask, Nos. 233-236, were varied and included guilloche bands, foliate designs and rows of rosettes alternating with excised circles, probably filled with inlays. Guilloche bands were often used on cylindrical furniture elements with bulls such as No. 196.

Despite some variability in their use, different types of frame can be an aid in identifying sets and workshop groups of ivories, although they are just one of a variety of criteria to be considered.

FITTER’S OR MAKER’S MARKS

Fitter’s or maker’s marks occur on a number of Phoenician and Syrian panels, but only rarely on either North Syrian or Assyrian ivories. They usually consist of one or more Aramaic or Phoenician letters incised on the backs or tenons, where they would not have been visible after assembly. Their function is uncertain: they might have been used as some form of maker’s mark or to indicate their position, like the marks on the backs of the glazed brick panel of Shalmaneser III (Curtis, Collon & Green 1995). Millard considered that

‘at the simplest level the letters could be used as guides for correct assembly on the principle that tenon A fits into slot A, tenon B into slot B, etc. The famous carving of the lioness felling a negro has an *aleph* on its upper edge.¹³ More elaborate are groups, which have a letter, followed by vertical strokes, which should be numerical marks; the appropriate number of strokes indicates 1 to 9 in Aramaic and Phoenician, a horizontal stroke ten. Other marks might be added, like the horn on several tenons of ivories found at Nimrud, as well as one at Arslan Tash’ (Millard 2005, 3).

Marks are not ubiquitous: they only occurred on some of the output of a particular workshop or on some panels of a set. Occasionally there are several letters, when they might have served as some form of identification, for a place or a person. The famous frontlet from SW37 in Fort Shalmaneser has three letters *l’s* inscribed in the top right hand corner of the back, which Millard has read as the place name, Lu‘ash, a district adjacent to the territory of Hamath (1962, 42-43, pl. xxiiib; *I.N.* I, no. 136), while a plain label was inscribed with the letters *hmt*, interpreted as Hamath (*I.N.* IV, no. 1272). Equally, an inscription with five letters *’lyš*‘ on a panel with a griffin, ND10303, has been read as the personal name, Elisha (Millard 1962, 49; *I.N.* IV, no. 1137; Millard, 2005, 4). However, their relative infrequency and location out of sight on many panels may suggest that they could sometimes have been the marks of particular craftsmen.

The use of maker’s marks on *Phoenician* ivories is erratic. Marks survive on some ‘ornate group’ panels from SW37, either on their backs (eg. *I.N.* IV, nos. 418-419, 1054-1055, 1062, 1083, 1086-1087, 1107) or their tenons (eg. *I.N.* IV, nos.

¹² No mark has been observed on the other matching example.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

1049, 1069, 1072): these marks may be drawings, strokes, circles or letters. None of the openwork ‘ornate group’ panels has been found in the North West Palace, although there are ‘ornate group’ pieces. As mentioned above, one of the plaques with the lioness and the youth, No. 356b, has the letter *aleph* carved between tenon slots at top and bottom, but the other is unmarked. The ‘ornate group’ fragments, Nos. 357-358, with sphinxes wearing the sidelock of childhood, have marks of vertical strokes, and the openwork griffins within branches, No. 159, also have a mark.

Marks on Egyptianizing panels are rare. Only one fitter’s mark has been recorded on the back of a panel with a pair of falcons flanking a *djed* column, *I.N.* IV, no. 1009.

Two *Syrian* style-groups from the North West Palace, the ‘wig and wing’ and the ‘crown and scale’ employ marks on some of their panels. The most coherent set of marks has been found on ‘wig and wing’ panels from the doorway between Rooms V and W, Nos. 99-105. Of the set of six panels with youths or young Pharaohs, two facing right have marks on their backs, Nos. 99 and 100, and two facing left have marks on their tenons, Nos. 102 and 103. Nos. 99 and 100 each have two marks, an unusual version of a *gimel*, an ‘acute *gimel*’, and a *shin/mem* or a *beth*. The single marks on the tenons consist of a *beth* and a *daleth*. Of the four women at the window panels, Nos. 110-113, two have ‘acute *gimel*’ signs, two on No. 110 and one on No. 111. The others are unmarked.

Nos. 99 and 100 with the ‘acute *gimel*’ marks were probably worked by the same hand, being essentially identical and sharing many details, such as the facial features and the form of the ears, the long fingers of the raised hands, the form of the necklaces, the sleeves covering the elbows, the pendant ‘tail’ down the back, the beaded edge of the long open skirt, and the relatively narrow lotus flowers at the top. Of the two with marks on the fronts of the tenons, Nos. 102 and 103, only No. 102 is well preserved: it shows many differences from the previous pair. The pupil of the eye is slightly larger and deeper, the ear is placed differently, the base of the back of the wig has a double rib, the necklace is beaded, the sleeves end above the elbows, there is no pendant ‘tail’, the edge of the long open skirt is plain, not beaded, and the lotus flowers are much wider. The flaring lotus flower, the deeply drilled eye, the double rib at the bottom of the wig are all visible on the poorly preserved No. 103. These again form a pair, probably carved by the same hand but a different hand to that of Nos. 99 and 100.

The two women at the window panels with ‘acute *gimel*’ signs, Nos. 110 and 111, are also essentially identical with similarly carved wigs, drilled pupils, slightly enlarged left ears, sensitive mouths and beaded necklaces. There are no marks on the backs of Nos. 112 and 113, and their tenons were poorly preserved. Their deeply drilled pupils match those of Nos. 102 and 103, the ears are more coarsely carved than Nos. 110 and 111, and there is more space in the ‘window’ allowing the garment shoulders to be represented. So once again, there seems to be a pair of panels, Nos. 110-111, with ‘acute *gimel*’ signs on their backs and a different hand carving Nos. 112 and 113. The ‘acute *gimel*’ panels from the two sets, despite the difference of subject, are stylistically comparable (compare for instance the eyes and ears), and may have been carved by the one hand

Two of the faces, Nos. 116 and 119, also have marks on their backs. The poorly preserved mark on No. 116 may be a ‘*gimel*’: the carving is similar to Nos. 110 and 111. The mark on No. 119 is a *kaph*. The only other panel from Room V with an ‘acute *gimel*’ sign on the back is the front of a cow, No. 127. However, the difference in subject is too great to make meaningful comparisons.

These marks suggest that, at least in the ‘wig and wing’ workshop, the signs might be those of different craftsmen. One craftsman marked his work with an ‘acute *gimel*’, his own form of a particular letter, on the back of the panel: the other preferred to mark his pieces on the bottom tenon. Unfortunately, there are, so far, relatively few groups as coherent as the Room V panels, and few marks have been found on ‘wig and wing’ ivories from Fort Shalmaneser¹⁴ (*I.N.* V, 30-31). None from Khorsabad had a fitter’s mark (Loud & Altman 1938, 96). Again this suggests intermittent usage by craftsmen.

Another *Syrian* workshop employing fitter’s marks is the ‘crown and scale’ style-group. Only a few examples from Fort Shalmaneser have fitter’s marks, incised either on the front of the bottom tenon¹⁵ or on the back.¹⁶ Three pieces from Well AJ have marks: the sphinx, No. 265, has a sketch of a head and chest scratched on the back; the deities of No. 266 have marks both on the back and the tenon; the stylized tree, No. 267, has a poorly preserved mark on the tenon, while two from Well NN have marks, the stag: No. 360, on the back, and a poorly preserved mark on the front of the bottom tenon of the stylized tree, No. 361. Marks have also been noted on the backs of the Bes figure, No. 269, from Well AJ, and the face, No. 315 from Room HH.

Marks have rarely been recorded on *North Syrian* ivories. None has been noted on ‘flame and frond’ panels and pyxides, but they do occur on the bases of some of the calves attached to the lids of pyxides. Only one mark has apparently been

¹³ *I.N.* V, no. 219, a fragment of a mark; no. 407, a *he* on the tenon; no. 440, a cross; no. 460, three vertical strokes and a *daleth?*; no. 464, on the tenon, indeterminate; and no. 467, a *gimel*, but not an acute one. In *I.N.* IV, no. 539, an ‘O’.

¹⁴ *I.N.* IV, nos. 315, 319, 320, 477, 480, 481; and *I.N.* V, no. 330.

¹⁵ *I.N.* IV, nos. 1127; and *I.N.* V, nos. 115-18 243, and 328-329

recorded on ‘round-cheeked and ringletted’ pieces, on the panel, No. 241.¹⁷ Equally, none has been noted on the chair-backs from Room SW7, but this might be because it has not been possible to examine the backs, or that their backs were striated. Striated backs were rarely marked, irrespective of the group to which they belong. Two instances of marks on striated backs can be seen on the fine black panel with sphinxes, *I.N.* IV, no. 620, and the multi-register panel, *I.N.* IV, no. 247, both of which would have been made in the Phoenician rather than the Syrian area.

As proven by the brick panels, marks were clearly known, understood and in use in ninth century Assyria. However, they have not been recorded on Assyrian ivories, except on the hinges of the writing boards found in Well AB (Nos. 96-98), where they presumably indicated position.

At present, it appears that marks were favoured by Syrian workshops, but relatively rarely employed by other traditions. There are sets of ‘crown and scale’ panels in SW11/12 awaiting analysis, and these may shed some light on the problem. Marks are also often recorded on the ubiquitous friezes of running palmettes, such as No. 271 from Well AJ. Further study may clarify the purpose or purposes of these simple marks, which may help to identify workshops or craftsmen.

WORKSHOPS, CRAFTSMEN AND VARIABILITY

A study of minor details using the Morelli technique makes it evident that the individual panels or plaques belonging to a set were carved by more than one ‘hand’ or craftsman. This suggests, not surprisingly, that the ivory workshop was managed by a master craftsman, assisted by a number of apprentices. Variations in quality and in the depiction of details are evident, as can, for instance, be seen by differences in the carving of the necklaces or the use of beading on the youths, Nos. 99-104. Indeed, variability is an inbuilt factor in studying the ivories, or most other ancient art. Layard was the first to notice that the work of different craftsmen can even be seen in the sculptures of the North West Palace, which were commissioned by the Assyrian king for his own palace. The finest artists and craftsmen available would have been employed and been strictly supervised. Furthermore, the reliefs were carved within a relatively short period of time:

‘the work of different artists may be plainly traced in the Assyrian edifices. Frequently where the outline is spirited and correct, and the ornament designed with considerable taste, the execution is defective or coarse, evidently showing that, whilst a master drew the subject, the carving of the stone had been entrusted to an inferior workman It is rare to find an entire bas-relief equally well executed in all its parts’ (Reade 1965, 127).

Similar varying standards of craftsmanship in technique and drawing occur on Assyrian ivory fragments found in the throne room, B. On some the drawing is excellent, while on others it is almost invisible. A reasonable amount of variability in quality and in the employment of ‘diagnostic criteria’ is therefore to be expected.

The danger of reliance on single criteria to identify groups is illustrated by the following cautionary tales. Winter (1981, 106) and Gubel (2000, 190) both considered that the pronounced genitalia of the Arslan Tash panel with opposed sphinxes and the Damascus bas relief of a sphinx were indicative of South Syrian production and extended this hypothesis to the identification of groups of ivories. However, genitalia are occasionally, but not regularly, shown across all the Levantine traditions. They occur on some elegant Phoenician ‘ornate group’ sphinxes, *I.N.* IV, nos. 529 and 530, some Syrian ‘crown and scale’ sphinxes, *I.N.* IV, nos. 481-482, 484-485, and on the sphinxes, nos. 596-597 and 600-603, as well as on the North Syrian ‘flame and frond’ griffin, no. 561, and the sphinxes on the pyxis, No. 233. Furthermore, even within a set of matching blinkers, No. 248, genitalia were carved on only one of the set, No. 248a. Their presence/absence must have been a variable chosen by the individual craftsman rather than the designer and cannot be a characteristic of a specific style-group.

Equally erroneously, Herrmann formed a style-group in *I.N.* IV, 13, because of the presence of an ‘unusual flower blooming above the wing. This consists of a central voluted palmette flower with lilies growing from the volute ends’, a ‘triple flower’. However, one set of three panels carved in high relief, *I.N.* IV, nos. 599-601, assigned to the group is significantly stylistically different to the others (*I.N.* IV, nos. 422-459, 527-529, 778-779). The proportions of the sphinxes are different, and the thickness of the panels differs: the panels do not belong to the rest of the group. The triple flower, like genitalia, is an unusual motif, occasionally used on ivories of both the Phoenician and Syrian traditions. Some errors in attribution are, of course, inevitable, but they can be minimized by employing a sufficient range of criteria.

¹⁶ Mentioned in the Arabic text but not visible when the panel was photographed

In her reviews of the ivory catalogues, *I.N.* IV and V (1992, 1998) and in a recent article (2005), Winter has criticised the lack of rigour in assembling groups. She has been troubled by

‘issues not of detail, but of the hierarchy of multiple criteria in mind. ... I felt that the complex problem of attribution had been inappropriately reduced to one or two “cameo” elements – like the co-variance of flame markings on animal haunches and leafy frond-like wings and plants – as criteria for membership in a given group’ (2005, 29).

As Winter correctly pointed out, it has long been recognized that flame markings on their own are in no way diagnostic, since they occur from the second millennium from Megiddo to Enkomi and elsewhere (Herrmann 1989, 104). However, the North Syrian ‘flame and frond’ group was not assembled only on the basis of flame markings but on a wide range of characteristics (Herrmann 1989, 85-109). What is distinctive about ‘flame and frond’ musculature is the

‘presence of the full range of these markings rather than just one or two of them The muscle markings differ slightly from animal to animal, although some features remain common to all. The two most obvious, which occur on all the animals, are the flame markings on the haunches and the incised line along the back. The flames grow from the front of the upper hindleg and vary in number from two to six, although three to four are usual. The line incised along the top of the back has either a series of small lines or a series of “v” markings pendant from it and terminates in front of the tail with longer vertical striations, between three and six in number. There are various markings on the front and back legs, sometimes including a feature resembling a peapod near the hock, and the ribs are often indicated with a few lines, sometimes enclosed in a box.’ (Herrmann 1989, 86).

Other details specific to the different animals, lions and sphinxes, bulls and cervids, were also described, as well as the distinctive physiognomy of human figures and, equally importantly, the characteristic technical features. Winter’s regret that the distinguishing markers for the group were not sufficiently inclusive or decisive ignores the range of stylistic and technical criteria employed.

Winter further asserted that ““distinctive characteristics” of particular groups – “Flame and Frond”, “Triple Flower” or “Scaley Wing” – then became the sole defining features, or markers, of a unit’ (2005, 30). However, as already noted, the names of groups were selected simply as convenient labels – as Roaf chose the name ‘double diamond’ to identify a team of sculptors at Persepolis. Even a casual reading of Herrmann 1989 shows that Winter has not realized the multi-faceted criteria used in the assignment of individual exemplars to style-groups. Her criticisms on this point are mistaken.

Winter went on to suggest that

‘To make progress in untangling competing hypotheses, given the limits of archaeological evidence and the lack of textual evidence concerning production ... we set up several collective and collaborative exercises, with a designated body of material amenable to attribute analysis, along the lines of the system used by Michael Roaf in his study of artistic hands and work groups manifest in the carving of the Persepolis reliefs’ (2005, 35).

Roaf’s approach was indeed both novel and exemplary: however, the range of available data was entirely different at Persepolis and Nimrud. His method was appropriate to the problem of understanding the organization of the work of sculptors at Persepolis, where the provenance, the dates of carving and the patrons of the reliefs were all known. The style was standard and the subjects were sufficiently numerous, similar and well-preserved to allow detailed analysis (Roaf 1983). He was able to study the long lines of similar figures by a stylistic analysis of details which he was able to check against a mathematical computer analysis. The two methods provided distinctive groups, which in the main coincided. Happily, his groups matched an additional level of evidence which he had noticed, sculptor’s marks which proved to define the areas worked by the different teams of sculptors. Roaf thus made a signal breakthrough, discovering the arrangement of the work by teams of sculptors, identifiable on different areas of the palaces. He successfully further defined that within the teams there were specialist carvers for the different parts of the figures, one doing the heads, another, the hands, another the feet, etc., rather than one sculptor carving the whole figure.

Unfortunately such a method cannot satisfactorily be applied to less coherent material, such as the ivories. There are insufficient known factors. We do not know for whom, when or where they were carved, and the material is fragmentary making detailed comparisons problematic. It may be possible occasionally to identify a ‘hand’, such as the ‘acute *gimel*’ master, although it can usually only be suggested that ivories were not carved by the same hand.

CHAPTER FOUR

COMMERCIAL OR STATE PRODUCTION?

While it is generally agreed that there were distinct regional traditions of ivory carving, there is considerable dispute about the places and methods of production. The dispute is essentially over whether the ivories were carved in Assyria, or in just a few centres in the Levant and subsequently distributed, or whether they were produced by the various polities of the time. Layard, followed by Mallowan, suggested that most ivories were carved in Kalhu itself for the Assyrian king. Barnett, followed by Winter and more recently Scigliuzzo, proposed that Levantine ivories were carved in a few major centres, such as Carchemish, Hamath and Damascus, where they were worked in a variety of styles for the market – a form of commercial or mass-production (Barnett C.N.I. 46-49; 1963, 81-84; Winter 1983, 177-197; 2005, 32-34; Scigliuzzo 2005). The suggestion followed here is that the patrons who commissioned the ivories were the rulers of the minor states of the time: they selected both the images with specific purposes in mind and the styles in which they were carved, i.e. palace-controlled production. Unfortunately there is no unequivocal evidence to answer this problem – rather a balance of probability.

Patronage of prestige art in the ancient world was generally controlled by the palace, court and temple. Using the example of the contemporary Assyrian kings, royal patronage and control is evident in, for instance, the North West Palace, the decoration of which was conceived as an overall programme and served the purpose not only of proving the king's immense wealth and power but also of protecting him through a careful selection of images, such as the monumental *lamassu* guarding entrances, the bas-reliefs with magical figures and the magical figurines buried in foundation boxes (Russell 1998). Assyrian narrative reliefs illustrated the king's pre-eminent power. Lining the outer wall of the throne room they showed the king receiving foreign delegates bringing gifts: inside the throne room, graphic scenes of war, conquest and destruction, followed by victory and the carrying off of captives and booty gave a warning message. This message was not confined to monumental art but was employed on paintings, and bronze bands decorating doors.

Assyrian reliefs regularly show the king seated on Assyrian furniture (Curtis 1996; Rehm 2005) and wearing clothes decorated with Assyrian designs. In Room G of the North West Palace, Ashurnasirpal II is seated on a backless throne: he, his courtiers and the protective genies wear garments with elaborately engraved designs – all Assyrian in style. A relief from Nineveh showing Sennacherib at Lachish described how the 'king of the Universe, king of Assyria, sat upon a house-chair while the booty of Lachish passed before him'. The sides of his straight-backed throne are filled with registers of magical figures with raised arms, protecting the king (Barnett & Lorenzini 1975, 9, 76 and 77). A similar high-backed throne, though lacking the figures, is used by Ashurbanipal's queen on the well-known banquet scene, where the king is reclining on a typical Assyrian bed with a C-shaped headrest (Barnett & Lorenzini 1975, 168-169). As frequently demonstrated (see for instance Curtis 1996, 175; Rehm 2005), this type of bed can be traced from the ninth to the seventh centuries on the reliefs: Reade considers that it was developed from camp furniture and influenced the development of the Greek symposium (1995). Recently Allison Thomason suggested that Ashurbanipal was reclining on an imported bed because she has misinterpreted the motif at the top of the legs as 'women at the window' (Thomason 2005, 145-150). However, Rehm has correctly seen them as two eunuchs and reiterated that the Assyrian king used Assyrian furniture (Rehm 2005, 195-198). The imagery was deliberately selected and had magical powers designed to protect him. The distribution of Assyrian ivories with narrative scenes in or near Assyrian throne rooms reinforces this hypothesis, that the king used furniture with his own imagery rather than decorated with that of defeated enemies. Designs on ivories found near the throne base in Room B reflect but do not copy those on the bas reliefs: the one complements the other. They include protective genies with bucket and cone, the king, his courtiers and battle and victory scenes. The minor arts served, therefore, the same purpose as major art, giving a strong political and protective message. Art was specifically in the service of the king. The craftsmen who undertook the work were servants, not masters.

As Roaf has demonstrated at Persepolis, the chain of command was from the patron or ruler, through the designer to the teams

Ivories from Nimrud VI

of craftsmen carving the reliefs (1983). In the Sasanian period Shapur II organized the artisans into corporations, supervised by a chief of artisans, a Syrian called Posi (Harper 1981, 17). A similar chain of command of patron, designer and artisan can be expected for the production of prestige art. Layard's suggestion, therefore, that the Assyrian kings commissioned foreign artists to carve ivories with alien motifs in foreign styles can be dismissed, particularly since all available craftsmen would have been employed at Kalhu itself and in the other principal cities, fulfilling the monumental royal commissions.

Bazaar or Palace

The two other hypotheses, either of bazaar production in a few centres making luxury goods for onward sale and distribution, or palace-controlled local production, are more complex to prove or disprove. The former has recently been re-stated by Winter, although she failed to produce evidence to support it and accepts that such a model 'for the Ancient Near East in the first half of the first millennium BCE is not yet definitively demonstrated'. However, she claims that 'it is supported by the ethnographic record of Syrian and Anatolian craft production in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, where individual villages contributed goods to markets in regional centers, with the cities then distributing the goods to end consumers. The model seems to fit the textual evidence for the early first millennium BCE' (2005, 32-34).

However, the late Roger Moorey suggested a very different picture for non-elite production in the Late Bronze Age and later:

'There is no clear evidence for completely independent specialist craftsmen trading on their own account in the Late Bronze Age; but, if they existed, they might be expected to have fallen outside the range of surviving documentation. Throughout history, however, such artisans have generally produced utilitarian goods in response to a social demand outside the *elite* community, where neither technological innovation nor precious materials are to be expected' (Moorey 2001, 4),

As Moorey perceptively commented, village craft production tends to focus on utilitarian goods, such as textiles, rugs or ceramics, rather than prestige goods requiring luxury materials. If nineteenth and twentieth century parallels can be considered relevant – and they are distant in time and social organization – then there were, and indeed are, workshops in the bazaars or souks of cities which produced a wide range of material, jewellery, damasks, silks, metalwork and woodwork for sale. Each craft had its workshops concentrated in an area of the bazaar and produced recognizably similar objects. The bazaars of both Isfahan and Damascus are still well known today for their elaborate woodwork with coloured inlays, made up into a range of goods such as chess-boards, chairs, stools or tables. Although the techniques are generally similar, the output of each is readily recognizable. The products of these workshops are typical commercial production.

Quality woodworkers – ivory works in the same way as a hard wood and employs the same tools – were always highly regarded, especially in areas where timber was a scarce and valued commodity. Darius mentioned that the woodworkers for his palace at Susa came from Egypt and from Sardis (Kent 1953, 144, DSf, 49-55): however, they worked in the Achaemenian court style, not their own. The importance of the craftsman is emphasized by some early Islamic ivory boxes carved in Cordoba. Both the royal patrons and the artisans were named, and the inscriptions make plain that the 'owners of such boxes were either members of the caliph's family or people who aspired to caliphal office. ... These links with royalty tie the production of these ivory boxes to the royal workshops of Cordoba and Madinat al-Zahra, where craftsmen worked on luxury goods for the caliph's court' (Rosser-Owen 1999, 20-21). Equally, in mediaeval Iran the richly carved doors of Afushteh near Natanz, dated to 1428, were signed 'by the master Husayn ibn 'Ali, joiner and cabinetmaker of Abadeh'. This area still specializes in woodwork (Wulff 1966, 81). All these are examples of state-controlled production of the highest quality.

The evidence for establishing the method of production of the Levantine ivories essentially consists of the ivories themselves, although the fact that the majority have been found in palatial contexts in itself suggests elite patronage. The iconographic range was remarkably limited and included human figures, often associated with stylized trees or plants, sometimes under the protection of a winged disc, mythical creatures such as sphinxes and griffins, bovids and cervids and floral and geometric motifs. There was considerable repetition since ivories were used in matching sets of panels or plaques. Some motifs were specific to types of object, for instance, men saluting stylized trees were clearly considered particularly suitable for furniture panels, and the motif can be found across the traditions. There was little interest in narrative, apart from a few North Syrian hunting and banqueting scenes.

While the range of motifs is essentially the same, what does change is the form and size of the objects and their styles. The problem is whether such relatively subtle change fits the model of bazaar or palace production. One of the best-documented examples of furniture decorated with a common subject in different styles, shapes and sizes are the chair-backs found in Room SW7 of Fort Shalmaneser (Herrmann 1996). Of these Winter has recently re-confirmed her belief that 'the well-known group of furniture panels from Room SW 7 in Fort Shalmaneser are generally attributed to a single centre of production, despite the fact that they show a remarkable range of quality in the individual plaques and panels that constitute

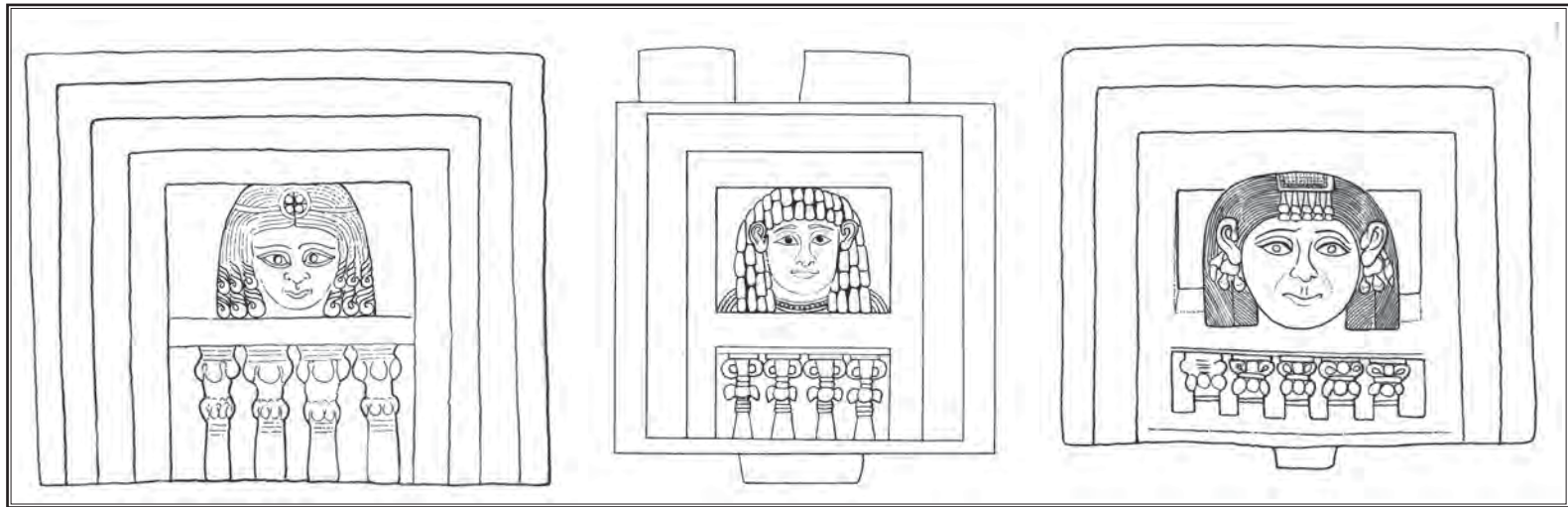


Fig. 20. Women at the window of, a. the Phoenician tradition, *I.N. V*, no. 102; b. the Syrian 'wig and wing' tradition, No. 110 from Room V; and c. the North Syrian 'round-cheeked and ringletted' tradition, *I.N. V*, no. 109, drawn by A. Searight.

the chair backs...'. And she repeats her conclusion, first proposed in 1977, that 'My argument in the case of the SW 7 ivories had been that, unless other more compelling arguments prevail, one should be able to tie the production of movable goods to places where the fixed monuments manifest the same stylistic (and sometimes iconographic) properties – hence their origin around Zincirli, ancient Sam'al' (Winter 2005, 33-34; 1977).

Much new data has been made available since 1977, and a similar pattern of subtle change of form, size and style, like that on the SW7 chair-backs, has been demonstrated on other types of object, such as bridle harness.¹ Blinkers and frontlets belong to all three traditions, and to a variety of style-groups within the traditions. With bridle harness there is predictably more variation in form, size and style, as well as in the range of motifs than in the SW7 chair-backs, as they were made across the area rather than belonging to a single tradition. There are, for instance, the small shield-shaped blinkers derived from Egypt and decorated with Egyptianizing motifs. The Phoenician tradition employed larger, spade-shaped blinkers with flaring ends and hinged frontlets, while the Syrian tradition used simpler sole-shaped blinkers and triangular frontlets: there is an obvious linkage between form, motif, style and origin (Wicke 1999).

A similar range of variation occurs across most motifs. To give just a few instances, panels depicting women at the window occur in all three traditions, examples of each of which have been found in Room S10 of Fort Shalmaneser. The elegant and spacious Phoenician version measures 9.3 x 10.9 cm. (Fig. 20a; *I.N. V*, no. 102), has a quadruple frame on three sides but lacks a frame at the bottom: the sill is supported on the usual four balusters. The face is finely carved and framed by long ringletted hair secured by a fillet with a central rosette. A smaller 'wig and wing' or Syrian version from Fort Shalmaneser measures 9.0 x 9.7 cm. (*I.N. V*, no. 110) and has a triple frame, a rail at the bottom, a sill supported on four balusters and a fine face set in a relatively small 'window'. The wig has double tied locks with a rectangular beaded jewel on the forehead, not present on the Room V set (Fig. 20b), Nos. 110-113. The North Syrian, 'round-cheeked and ringletted' version is the largest, measuring 10 x 11.6 cm. (Fig. 20c; *I.N. V*, no. 109). The panel has a triple frame, a rail at the bottom, five balusters rather than four supporting the sill, on which the chin of the round-faced woman rests.

Phoenician and Syrian examples of the 'hero and griffin' also differ in size and style (Fig. 14): the incomplete openwork Phoenician version measures 13.8 x 9.1 cm., while the chunkier and more powerful 'crown and scale' panels are considerably smaller, measuring between 8.7 and 10.3 cm. high and 5.6 cm. in width (*I.N. IV*, no. 1051 and nos. 316-19). Equally, the familiar 'cow and calf' occurs across the traditions. The Phoenician 'ornate group' version from Room SW2 in Fort Shalmaneser has beautifully carved animals set within a field of papyrus flowers and buds (Fig. 21a). It is nearly square, measuring 8.3 x 8.4 cm. (*I.N. V*, no. 479). A stockier Syrian version from NW21 with rails at top and bottom is only 5.4 cm. high, although 9.7 cm. long (*I.N. V*, no. 381), while a North Syrian version, with cross-hatching on the noses of the animals and a twisted plant in front, measures 5 cm. high and 11.5 cm. long (*I.N. IV*, no. 701; Fig. 21b). A similar range of style and form can be observed on sphinxes, for instance the Phoenician 'ornate group' and the Syrian 'crown and scale' (Fig. 18: *I.N. IV*, no. 527, 9 x 10 cm; no. 477, 6.8 x 6.2) and the North Syrian 'roundcheeked and ringletted' and 'flame and frond' examples (Fig. 19; *I.N. IV*, no. 904, 6.6 x 10.3 cm., No. 233). There is no dramatic change in the representations of the same motifs across the traditions, but consistent variation in shapes, sizes and styles: exactly the pattern seen in the SW7 chair-backs.

¹ For a full discussion of different types of bridle harness, see Wicke 1999 and Gubel 2005.

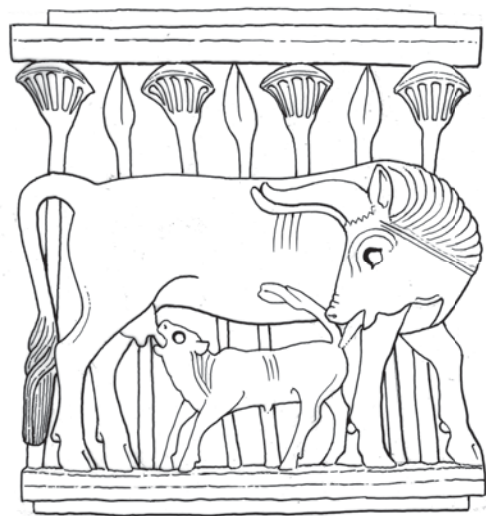
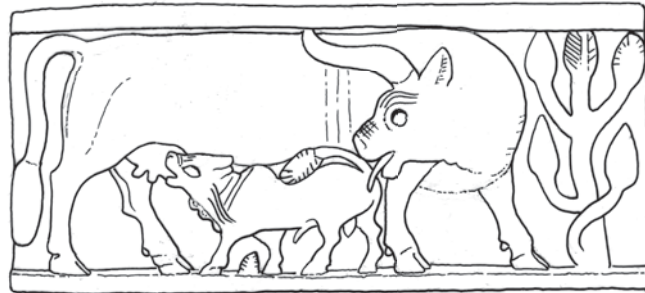


Fig. 21. Cows suckling their calves,
a. of the 'classic Phoenician' 'ornate group',
I.N. V, no. 479;

b. of the North Syrian tradition, *I.N. IV, no. 701*, drawn by A. Searight.



With this in mind, and because the actual form of some of the SW7 chair-backs has survived, not just sets of panels or plaques, it may be that a fresh examination is justified to decide whether it really was feasible for such a range of material to be produced in a single centre. There were five different shapes of chair-back, decorated with a common iconography,

men and occasionally women associated with stylized trees, often below a protective winged disc. There were four chair-backs of the 'classic SW7 group', measuring c. 60 x 76 cm. or 67 x 76 cm., as well as some loose panels.² They consist of a pair of uprights or side-posts supporting a curved back (Herrmann 1996, 156-157). The style of carving in low relief is competent and assured: the form of the winged disc is typically Syrian, and the men all have shoulder-length curled hair, long beards and wear long open coats or skirts made of rows of looped material over diamond patterned tunics. The ladies have their hair in ringlets and wear dresses of a pleated material with trailing hems. The panels vary between c. 24.5 and 26.5 cm. in height, and between 10.5 and 11.5 cm. in width. Long panels with winged discs frame the central section above and in one case, a panel below shows a dynamic bull hunt (*I.N. III, no. 1*).

An entirely different type of chair-back, of which unfortunately there was only one example (*I.N. III, no. 46*), had a similar comfortably curved back as the 'classic SW7' group but lacked the side-posts. Instead the long top rail formed the back and ended in elegant curves. This chair-back, which was smaller, measured 42.6 x 72.6-61.5 cm. and was decorated with only four carved panels, shorter than those of the 'classic group' (c. 21.5 x 10.6 cm.) set between strips of plain veneer. Two panels show men in knee-length, shawled and fringed tunics grasping a flowering plant, while the other pair show seated ladies in long dresses below winged discs, holding up a disc in one hand and a plant in the other. The style and proportions of the figures, and many details of the design and dress are different to those of the 'classic SW7 group'. The heads of the men are relatively larger in proportion to their bodies: compare the corkscrew curls of hair and beard, and the large almond-shaped, rimmed eye with the fine work of *I.N. III, no. 5*. The garments, too, with bands of beading, are more coarsely represented. Similar comments apply to the panels with ladies: their winged discs are outlined with rims rather than beading, there are no fronds between the volutes, and so on. The carving is generally less competent.

Unfortunately only fragmentary panels survived of another style-group, the 'vase-hat men', but even the fragments that do survive make it evident that they belonged to an entirely different type of chair with tall upright side-posts (*I.N. III, nos. 38-44*). The central section would have been made up of six tall, narrow panels, measuring c. 28.7 x 6.7 cm., with designs in three registers. At the top is a unique form of winged disc lacking the familiar volutes. The beaded disc is surmounted by a female head with heavy curls, whose arms extend along the wings and hold flowers. The central registers show, as usual, men with flowering plants, but these men wear tall 'vase-hats' over a row of tightly twisted curls and ringlets. The beard too is twisted. They wear a version of the usual long, belted coat of a looped material, and sandals with a loop on top. The bottom registers show either a couchant sphinx with a net over the head, fringe and twisted ringlets, or a roaring lion with tufted mane.

There are many other examples varying in the probable form of the chair-back, the sizes of the panels, the style of carving and other details, including one assigned to the 'flame and frond' style-group (p. 95: *I.N. III, no. 21*). The four panels of *I.N. III, no. 64*, are unusually tall, 28.4 cm., varying in width between 9.9-8.3 cm., and extraordinarily provincial. The men stand on rows of loops, presumably representing mountains, and their beards and hair fall down onto their shoulders: one wears a crude version of the looped coat, while the others wear long, belted and fringed garments. The four panels of another provincial version, *I.N. III, no. 51*, measure some 17.5 x 12.9-13.5 cm.: two panels depict enthroned men, grasping the stalks of a plant with large flowers and the other two enthroned women, one spinning, the other with a table before her. However, the most extraordinary representation of this familiar motif occurs on a set of six narrow panels, measuring 21.2 x 7.4 cm., which show men and women striding *over* a foliate version of the winged disc. The men's hair and beards are carved in rows of blocks,

² *I.N. III, nos. 1-18, 22-37, 52-56, 67-69, 89-94, 99-102* and possibly 104.

they wear short, fringed kilts with a pendant girdle and carry a club over one arm, while the ladies have long hair and dresses with unusual, heavy twisted girdles (*I.N.* III, no. 65). Although the interpretation of the regulation motif in this example is bizarre, particularly in the misunderstanding of the winged disc, at least the carving is competent. These are just a few examples of chair-backs which differ markedly in their forms, sizes and styles.

The motif of men and trees was not confined to North Syrian style-groups but was also represented in the Syrian and Phoenician traditions. Typically Syrian are the 'wig and wing' panels from Rooms V/W, Nos. 99-104, with a young male grasping a lotus plant (8.6 x 5.0 cm.). Another Syrian version, attributed to the 'collar and crown' group from Room S10, consists of a pair of tall panels with opposed figures holding the branches of flowering stylized trees, below rows of cross-hatched *uraei* (*I.N.* V, 33-34, nos. 119-120). Friezes of cross-hatched *uraei* occur on some panels from SW37, which belong to different style-groups within the Syrian tradition (*I.N.* IV, nos. 338-349: Cecchini 2005, 249). One of these shows the usual motif of man and tree (*I.N.* IV, no. 346), but others depict a variation on the theme, men saluting the trees holding ram-headed sceptres and pitchers. Writing about the motif, Cecchini noted that: 'Produced by different workshops, they share – as far as we can tell – some features that enable us to assign them to the so-called South-Syrian Style or Intermediate Tradition' (2005, 249). The design illustrated on these fragments was not Syrian in origin but was inspired by more sophisticated versions derived from Egypt and employed on Phoenician panels found in the storeroom SW12, only a few of which have been published so far.

Two sets of the SW12 furniture panels show pairs of Pharaoh figures saluting trees with ram-headed sceptres and holding pitchers (Fig. 22).³ The pairs of figures are typically Phoenician: they have Egyptian double crowns with ribbons or counterweights down their backs and wear collars, kilts and ankle-length open skirts. Winged discs are set in separate registers above the main design and are Phoenician in form, while the top registers contain friezes of *uraei*, represented frontally. Cecchini perceptively noted that there were two sets of these panels, generally similar in design but differing in details (2005, 248-249). Differences include the shape of the panels, either regular or irregular, as well as their sizes and details of framing. One set of Pharaoh figures has Osiride beards and pleated kilts with aprons (Fig. 22b), the others lack beards and wear shawled upper garments, *pschent* kilts and open overskirts, made of plain material (Fig. 22a). The set with aproned Pharaoh figures can be compared in style, proportion and dress to many 'ornate group' panels, such as *I.N.* IV, 1043: they have the typical double frames at top and bottom and lightly scratched maker's marks on the backs and have been attributed with the 'ornate group' to the 'classic Phoenician' group. The other set, although superficially similar, belongs to a different style-group, together with many other panels found in SW12. They have deeply incised fitter's or maker's marks on their backs.

Because the SW12 ivories await publication, Cecchini was misled into thinking that there were more Syrian than Phoenician representations of the bearer with the ram-headed staff (2005, 251). However, there are at least six complete panels, and fragments of probably half a dozen more, of the aproned Pharaohs, and much the same number of the kilted Pharaoh panels

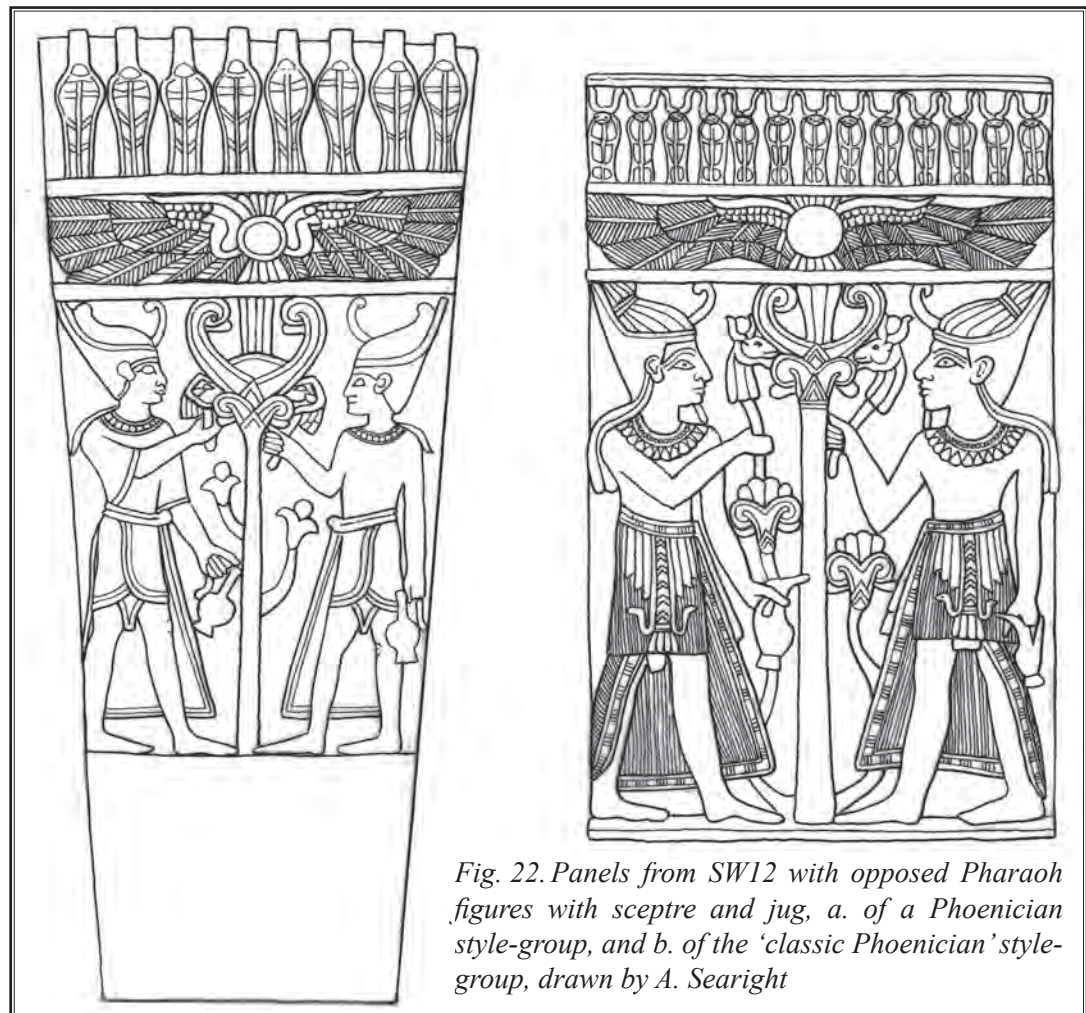


Fig. 22. Panels from SW12 with opposed Pharaoh figures with sceptre and jug, a. of a Phoenician style-group, and b. of the 'classic Phoenician' style-group, drawn by A. Searight

³ Published examples include ND11035, Mallowan 1966, fig. 481; ND 11129 and 12123, *C.N.I.*, suppl. 22 and 28.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

in the unpublished SW12 assemblage, and there will be many unrecorded fragments still in Baghdad. This was a popular Phoenician furniture motif, derived from Egypt. Cecchini noted that:

‘The iconography of the bearer of the ram-headed staff, however, remains basically the same over the centuries: he wears an Egyptianizing dress, mostly the Egyptian Double Crown, but also the White Crown or the Atef Crown, and sometimes a provincial interpretation of the original headdresses. In his left hand he holds a pitcher corresponding to roughly contemporary items. The right arm is raised and holds the ram-headed staff. By this time, the Iron Age, he is crowned with an Isis/Hathor Crown or with a simple disc’ (2005, 248).

Another variation on the men and trees motif employed on Syrian and Phoenician panels are winged youths holding *uraei*; panels with opposed figures were found in NE2 and SW37 (*I.N.* V, no. 306; *I.N.* IV, nos. 306, 324-329), while the single winged youth of *I.N.* V, no. 207 holds a pair of *uraei*. Another Syrian variation has winged youths, saluting a tree with a small squatting figure between the wings (*I.N.* V, nos. 115-18). There are also Assyrianizing examples, Nos. 202-205. Men associated with trees were, therefore, a standard motif for furniture panels across the traditions, obviously with a specific protective meaning, but varying in the style of representation and the size of panel, just like the women at the window, cows and calves or sphinx panels discussed above, and of course the bridle harness.

The same pattern of a common vocabulary carved in a variety of styles has long been demonstrated on orthostats found on a range of late second and early first millennium Levantine polities. These include the temple at Ain Dara, dated to the 12th-11th centuries, the 11th century sculptures at Aleppo, the ongoing first millennium series at Carchemish, and Zincirli and the sculptures from Tell Halaf (Orthmann 1971). This variety reflects the political situation at a time when states were striving to establish specific artistic styles within the regional iconography, which they applied as a recognizable, artistic signature across the media. One such example illustrated by Winter, among other scholars, is the similarity between reliefs and fragmentary steatite boxes at Carchemish (Winter 1983).

The use of furniture – and many other household items – is conservative: it reflects social traditions and customs. The forms of chairs, tables and beds are often specific to areas, as was demonstrated by Symington on early first millennium Neo-Hittite and Aramaean sculpture (1996). Typical regional variations can be demonstrated by comparing, for instance, an Egyptian chair as on panel No. 146, the upright throne of the goddess Kubaba with a curled top on a early ninth century stela from Carchemish (Symington 1996, pl. 31b),⁴ or an Assyrian throne (Curtis 1996). Such a pattern has also been observed in a different time and place on chairs made in the English regions in the eighteenth century: the furniture historian, Bernard Cotton, established that chairs differed significantly in appearance, materials and methods of construction from area to area (1990, 13). He also noted that the distribution of the different types of chairs matched that of linguistic dialects: cultural and linguistic boundaries coincided (Herrmann 1996, 154).

The wide-spread minor variation in the proportions, sizes and styles of panels between the style-groups and across the traditions has been clearly demonstrated. When this consistent pattern is considered together with the conservatism common in the range of imagery and the use of furniture, the hypothesis that the varied shapes of chair and styles of carving evident among the panels and chair-backs from SW7 were actually carved in a single centre must be abandoned. Indeed, had these pieces not been found in close association but scattered throughout the Fort, it is unlikely that such an idea would ever have been suggested. Moving on, it is therefore proposed that ivory production in the Levant was multi-centre rather than based in just a few bazaars; and that it was palace-controlled rather than being commercial. As Moorey has commented (2001,4):

‘It was not accidental that courts were central to technological developments. Only in such places were the necessary resources in terms of labour and materials, tools and workshops readily available on an appropriate scale.’

Supporting this hypothesis of palace production is the material itself. Ivory was highly valued. The ships of Tarshish sent by Solomon and Hiram brought gold and ivory to the Levant every three years (1 Kings 10, 22). Solomon built a throne of ivory and gold (1 Kings 10, 18-20), while the Prophet Amos castigated the idle who lay on beds of ivory (6, 4-5). Ivory production in the first millennium Levant can, therefore, be considered to be prestige art, controlled by the palace and produced for the king and court and designed with specific messages to protect the owner. Ivories were made both for the elite’s own use and for diplomatic gift exchange. The variety evident in any assemblage of ivory, whether from Samaria, Hamath, Arslan Tash, Til Barsib, Hasanlu or, of course, Nimrud itself make it evident that ivories and other prestige items were part of a system of diplomatic gift exchange, as identified by Aubet (2001).

⁴ Some variety is evident in eighth century Zincirli where the Assyrian client king, Bar-rakib is shown both seated on an Assyrian style backless throne but also on an unusual, elaborate chair with a curving arm-rest and panelled sides, while the eighth century noblewoman sits on a comfortable chair with reclining back and angled top (Symington 1996, pl. 31c), similar to the ‘classic SW7 chair-backs’ (Voos 1985, 65-86).

CHAPTER FIVE

THE PHOENICIAN AND SYRIAN TRADITIONS

PHOENICIAN ART

Phoenician art has been derided from the late 19th century to the present day: de Vogüé wrote that the Phoenicians lacked originality (Moscati, S., 1968, 43), while in 1908 Cecil Smith suggested that the ivories were the work of the Ionian Greeks. Richard Barnett in the 1950s described Phoenician art as ‘repetitious and largely mass-produced, yet technically skilful, the product of commercial minds ..’ and even suggested that Phoenician art was deliberately designed to corrupt the social order:

‘by their copious supply of luxury-goods, the Phoenicians sponsored and encouraged a social development for which the ancient Mediterranean communities were then ripe, the enrichment of the land-owning aristocracy at the expense of the peasants’ (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 62, 60).

More recently Maria Aubet (2001, 79) repeated and expanded on the idea of commercial production for a foreign market:

‘The Phoenician cities consisted of large centres specializing in the manufacture of luxury and prestige articles destined for international trade and to satisfy the needs of a very restricted social elite in the east for prestige, authority and dominion.’

These damning and frequently repeated condemnations suggest an entirely different purpose for Phoenician art than that of most ancient art, which was employed to demonstrate the wealth and power of the owner and to protect him from evil forces. It suggests that it was designed to please a foreign market and that it lacked meaning or significance, that it was in fact commercial art. Chinese porcelain is a well-known example of such art: the attractive ‘blue and white’ wares were mass-produced solely for the European market, while Chinese armorial porcelain was specifically ordered by European aristocrats: these were export wares. However, a similar case cannot be made out for Phoenician ivories, since the functions and the iconographic range of Levantine ivories, particularly those of the Phoenician and Syrian traditions, found at Nimrud are strikingly similar. Both, for instance, have panels with sphinxes and griffins, women at the window, men with plants, bulls, cows with calves, contest scenes, both human and animal, and so on. What changes between the different versions are the sizes, forms and styles of carving of the ivories, not the images.

Similarly, Syrian and Phoenician ivories are usually found together in palatial contexts, for instance in Room V with its fine assemblage of Syrian ‘wig and wing’ and ‘classic Phoenician’ ivories, as well as in many other storerooms. Ivories of the two traditions were employed for similar purposes, decorating furniture and making small objects, such as boxes and handles, and they employed the same range of images. Therefore, either *all* ivories were commercially produced, or they represent the elite arts of the powers of the day.

The ivories found by Layard and Mallowan in the North West Palace mostly belong to the Phoenician¹ and Syrian² traditions. They were found in the store-rooms and wells of the North West Palace, but not in ceremonial areas. North Syrian ivories have only been found in Wells AJ (Nos. 233-240) and NN (Nos. 349 and 362). The principal Phoenician style-groups in the palace are the ‘Egyptianizing’ ivories, the ‘ornate group’ and sets of bridle harness. The principal Syrian style-group is the ‘wig and wing’, although there are examples of the ‘crown and scale’ and the ‘beaky nose’ groups, as well as ivories simply attributed to the tradition. While typical examples of both Phoenician and Syrian style-groups are easy to recognize, the boundaries between the two or between Syrian and North Syrian style-groups are sometimes blurred.

¹ Phoenician ivories were found in Rooms A (No. 82), V/W (Nos. 146-159, 162-170, 179, 192-193), HH (No. 315), OO (Nos. 329, 333) and FF (No. 346) and Wells AJ (Nos. 245-263) and NN (Nos. 348, 354, 356-359), and the unprovenanced No. 208.

² Syrian ivories were found in the recess EA (No. 19), Rooms A (Nos. 79-81, 83-86), V/W (Nos. 99-142) and QQ (No. 341), Wells AJ (Nos. 242-243, 264-268, 275-276) and NN (Nos. 349, 360-361), and in rooms along the east side of the residential wing (No. 341), and the unprovenanced No. 198.

'The classic Phoenician group'

It is easy to recognize 'classic' members of a style-group. The initial division in 1986 in *Ivories from Nimrud IV* into two groups, the Egyptianizing and the 'ornate group', seemed obvious. The Egyptianizing ivories were distinctive and formed a group, 'heavily indebted to Egyptian traditions and iconography' and 'different in character from the others found in SW37. The subjects are more complicated and consist of complete scenes carved on a single panel' (*I.N. IV*, 19).³ Equally distinctive were the sets of colourful, openwork panels with double frames belonging to the 'ornate group' (*I.N. IV*, 20-21; *V*, 35-37). However, with the expansion of the 'ornate group' (Herrmann 2002), the boundaries between the two style-groups have blurred, and there are aspects, particularly of inlay technique, that are common to both. There are also pieces that 'bridge' the gap, such as the Group 2 blinkers and frontlets. These three groups, the Egyptianizing, 'ornate group' and Group 2 blinkers, epitomize the problem of trying to establish sound style-groups. All the ivories are typically 'Phoenician' and share many iconographic and stylistic features: it is possible that they were all carved in the same centre. As a result, it is suggested that the group as a whole should be called the 'classic Phoenician' group, although the sub-sets of Egyptianizing, 'ornate group' and Group 2 bridle harness should continue to be maintained for the present.

Egyptianizing⁴

Layard found the first and perhaps the most famous Egyptianizing panels in 1846 in Room V: these were the pair, No. 146 and the fragmentary No. 147, first published in 1849 and frequently since. Layard realized that, although indebted to Egyptian iconography, the panels were not Egyptian work:

'The most interesting are the remains of two small tablets, one nearly entire, the other much injured, representing two sitting figures, holding in one hand the Egyptian sceptre or symbol of power. ... The forms, and style of art, have a purely Egyptian character; although there are certain peculiarities in the execution, and mode of treatment, that would seem to mark the work of a foreign, perhaps an Assyrian, artist' (Layard *N. & R.* II, 10).

It was soon suggested that the most probable craftsmen were the Phoenicians (see above).

Kenneth Kitchen made a similar observation to Layard's about the unique, fragmentary cylindrical ivory, No. 258, from Well AJ, which initially appears to be entirely Egyptian in iconography and style. The principal scene shows Pharaoh with a suppliant kneeling in front of him followed by a second figure with a small figure of a defeated chief thrown over his arm: a dog walks beside him. A second scene shows a pair of winged goddesses in Hathor crowns looking towards each other or at some lost central feature. Kitchen commented that, although the scenes are 'of Egyptian inspiration' they 'show intriguing deviations from Egyptian usage'. He has dismissed the hypothesis that Egyptianizing pieces may have been made in Egyptian workshops. He is also convinced that the hieroglyphs on Nimrud ivories are Phoenician rather than Egyptian work, with the craftsmen employing garbled phrases from formal speeches of the gods (*I.N. IV*, 41-42, and see his comments on No. 146 below).

Other Egyptianizing fragments from Room V, Nos. 148-157 and possibly No. 179, consist of small pieces found by Mallowan in the debris thrown back into the room by Layard. Layard found a fragment with part of a field of papyrus stalks worked in alternate inlay, No. 193, in Room X. This can be compared to some Egyptianizing panels from SW37,5 while a fragment from Room A, No. 82, shows the front of a lion – or more probably a lioness – with the remains of the stalks of such a floral field behind it. This is similar to more complete versions of a suckling lioness in a field of papyrus (*I.N. IV*, nos. 1015-1016). Layard also found the superb fragment, No. 157, with the young sun-god squatting on a lotus and flanked by goddesses: unfortunately the piece is unprovenanced, although the balance of probability suggests that it would have been found in Rooms V or X.

³ General themes include scenes in boats with papyrus prows (*I.N. IV*, nos. 989-993); seated deities with attendants (*I.N. IV*, nos. 1029-1030) or a kneeling Pharaoh figure (*I.N. V*, no. 313). Others are focussed on a central motif such as an altar or crowned cartouche (Nos. 146 and 147, *I.N. IV*, nos. 984-985, 1008-1009; *I.N. V*, nos. 225, 501, 997-998, 1003-1004). Popular motifs include suckling goddesses and lionesses (*I.N. IV*, nos. 1015-1022 and No. 82). Horus was shown squatting on a lotus on the fragmentary panel No. 157, and on *I.N. IV*, nos. 1026-1028. Kneeling figures within notched palm branches (*I.N. IV*, nos. 1005-1006; *I.N. V*, nos. 291-292) include versions at Samaria and Salamis. Technically, they were carved on panels slightly narrower at the top than the bottom and were fixed by tenons or mitreing (*I.N. IV*, nos. 984-1010). Some were carved on panels with curving sections cut from their lower sides (*I.N. IV*, nos. 696 and 1015).

⁴ Nos. 146-159, 179, 193, 258.

⁵ *I.N. IV*, nos. 1014-1015, 1017, 1019, 1021, 1023-1031.

The 'ornate group'⁶

Typical 'Ornate group' pieces occur in sets of openwork tenoned panels employing a repetitive range of motifs derived from Egypt and have double frames and colourful inlays. These were first identified as a style-group in SW37 (*I.N.* IV, 20-21, nos. 1049-1105; Herrmann 2002). However none has been found in the North West Palace except for an unprovenanced fragment, the upper part of a modelled panel with a winged youth grasping a plant, No. 208, although there are a number of pieces which can be attributed to the group⁷

Layard found the finest 'ornate group' piece, No. 159, in Room V. This is one of a number of pieces with griffins set back to back in a field of flowers within the spreading branches of voluted trees and is similar to examples from SW37, particularly no. 1258 (*I.N.* IV, no. 1253-1254, 1257-1258). These panels are usually curved, were fixed vertically and were designed to be seen from the front – the back is convex and only roughly finished – and they vary in shape and size (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1251-1267). No. 159 has aspects of both 'ornate group' and Egyptianizing panels with its beautifully shaped inlays of the branches and flowers with alternate inlay of the stalks. Layard and Mallowan also found openwork versions of these opposed griffins, one relatively complete, the others fragmentary, Nos. 159-161: Safar and Sa'ied al-'Iraqi found a fragmentary openwork version in Well AJ, No. 261.

The famous pair of plaques from Well NN, No. 356, where a lioness kills a young male in a field of flowers, can not only be attributed to the 'ornate group'⁷ – the youths wear pegged wigs – but may also have formed the central sections of two large versions of these unusually shaped pieces. The Well NN plaques were carved on concave plaques with plain convex backs and were fixed vertically. Similar examples of the central section from SW37 include the Hathor-headed suckling sphinx and the squatting Horus of *I.N.* IV, nos. 1267 and 1262. The distinctive lattice pattern of the stalks on the Well NN plaques is similar to those behind the SW37 sphinx, as well as on some fragments (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1267, 1269-1270). The general form, style and flowers of the Well NN and SW37 plaques can also be compared to a monochrome fragment from the South West Palace at Nineveh (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 224, pl. cxxiii, T7).

The fragment, No. 357, was found during conservation work embedded in the mud of a blinker, No. 359. It probably originally formed part of a fragmentary panel with two other beautifully worked fragments, No. 358, all probably from Well NN. This superb inlaid panel once showed a human-headed sphinx wearing the side-lock of childhood and probably suckling a human-headed sphinx, also wearing the side-lock. The scene was set in a field of flowers, with the flowers inlaid with shaped pieces and the stalks worked in alternate inlay. Although fragmentary, this piece is another with aspects of both Egyptianizing and 'ornate group' ivories.

Tassels formed of rows of chevrons can be seen on the haunch of No. 358. Such tassels are the continuation of an unusual decoration along the backs of some 'ornate group' SW37 sphinxes, which are striding over fallen figures with pegged wigs (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1112 and 1113). It can also be made out on two superb monochrome panels from SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 620 and 622, with double and triple frames respectively. A residual version of this feature can be seen on a procession of human-headed sphinxes wearing the side-lock, *I.N.* IV, no. 655.

'Pegged wigs' are unique to the 'ornate group' and form a valuable diagnostic, which has helped in the attribution of ivories to the style-group. One of these is the fragment of a magnificent, openwork, human-headed sphinx, No. 259, with the head represented frontally, from Well AJ. Not only is the lappet wig pegged, but the carefully excised eyebrows and pointed, almond-shaped eyes are typical of many of the faces of Pharaoh figures, also part of the 'ornate group' (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1286-1290 and below). The forehead is low, the ears are long, the face sensitively modelled, the nose is fine and the mouth, subtly smiling. A similar rather enigmatic smile, wig, eyes and eyebrows can be seen on the fragmentary head, *I.N.* IV, no. 1281. The broad collar has inlaid borders and traces can be made out of the wing-scales.

The superb carving of the sphinx, No. 259, is reminiscent of the famous head, the 'Mona Lisa', No. 348, from Well NN, although the latter has eyes and eyebrows painted rather than excised for inlay. But the shapes of the eyes, eyebrows, rounded cheeks and smiling mouths are comparable and make it possible to suggest that this magnificent piece was also a product of the 'classic Phoenician' group.

Another outstanding 'ornate group' fragment, No. 329, was found in Room OO and showed the side of a female head in high relief, wearing a crown with rosettes and with carefully shaped inlaid curls on the brow and in front of the ear. The eye and eyebrow were deeply excised, like the sphinx fragment and Pharaoh figures. Some of the gold overlays belonging to this piece were found in association. Another possible member of the group is the little mask, No. 315 from Room HH.

Found in Well AJ with the sphinx was the front of a head, No. 260, belonging either to a sphinx or, more probably to a

⁶ Nos. 159, 162-70, 259-60, 315, 329, 348, 356-58.

⁷ Gubel (1985) pointed out that the small lion masks from SW37 match the turned head of the lioness of No. 356 (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1341-1357) and probably form part of the same style-group. For a similar mask from Room OO, see No. 333.

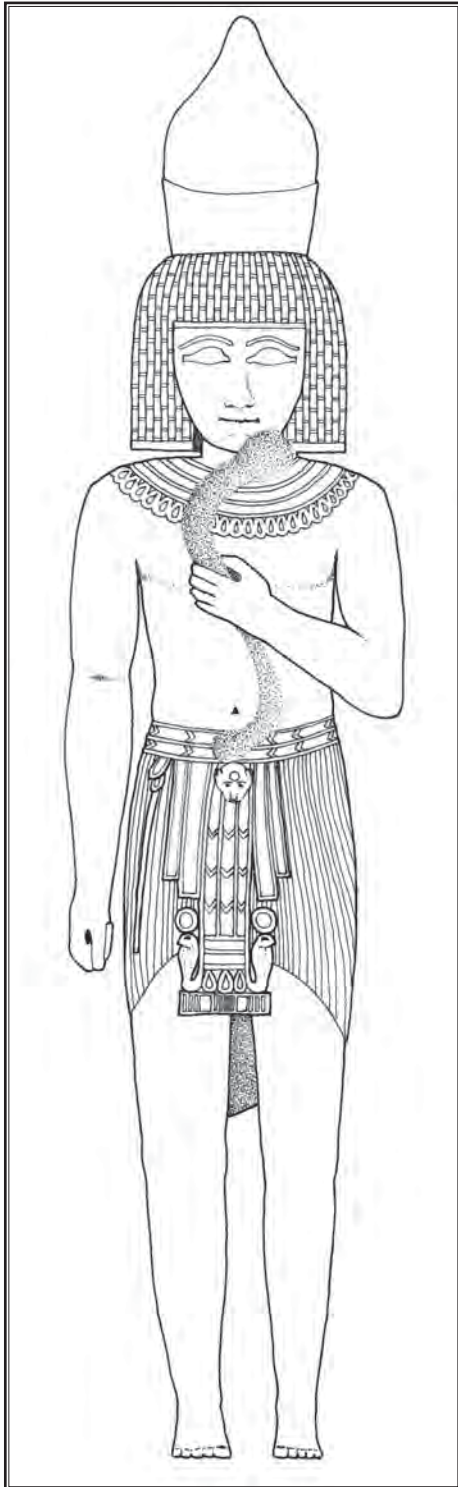


Fig. 23. Reconstruction of a statuette of a Pharaoh figure, drawn by D. Wicke

free-standing Pharaoh figure: it has a pegged wig, excised eyes and eyebrows, long ears, rounded cheeks and a firm chin and is similar both to the sphinx and to the little mask, No. 315. The faces of such Pharaoh figures display markedly different features, as can be seen by comparing those from Room V, Well AJ and the Fort.⁸

Fragmentary statuettes and parts of statuettes have been found on the acropolis and in Fort Shalmaneser. Layard and Mallowan found masks with pegged wigs, arms, legs and feet and part of an inlaid apron, Nos. 162-170 in Room V. Examples of such figures have also been found in the Burnt Palace⁹ and in Fort Shalmaneser, in Rooms SW37, SW12 and NE59.¹⁰ One of the most magnificent examples was found in SW12 and consisted of the head, complete with pegged wig, and the torso of a Pharaoh figure (Herrmann 2002, 134, fig. 11). The body, arms and one leg were preserved of a fine piece from SW37 – the leg and parts of the arms being carved separately and jointed in (*I.N.* IV, no. 1292). The statuettes were made up from a number of pieces and were themselves of varying sizes. The restoration by Dirk Wicke in Fig. 23 shows what a complete statuette of a standing Pharaoh with his right arm at his side, his left, flexed on his chest would have looked like. He would have been crowned with an Egyptian double crown set on a pegged wig, sometimes a short wig, sometimes a lappet wig. He would have worn a heavy collar and knee-length pleated skirt with an apron with *uraei*. The back of the statuette was left in a partially roughened state, proving that the pieces were meant to be seen from the front.

The characteristic ‘pegged wig’ can be seen on a youth occupying the central panel of a three-sided furniture element from Room SW37 (*I.N.* IV, no. 1043; 2002, 135-136, fig. 13-14). He is similar in dress, style and proportion to the Pharaoh figures and to many of the youths and falcon-headed figures of openwork ‘ornate group’ panels, such as *I.N.* IV, nos. 1051-1067. The sides were only partially preserved but showed traces of women, similar to pieces from SW37 (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1032-1044), where they wear lappet wigs, heavy collars and long dresses with trailing hems. Although the furniture element is in many ways a typical ‘ornate group’ piece, it was incorrectly assigned in 1986 to the Egyptianizing group because of panels of hieroglyphs on two fragments (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1035-1036), which again shows the closeness of the two groups.

A much smaller furniture fitting, No. 346, was found in Room FF. Only the women on the side panels are reasonably well preserved, although traces survive of the central figure. The women wear Hathor crowns on lappet wigs and long pleated and belted garments and have eyes excised for inlay. The Room FF example is unlikely to have been made in the same workshop as that from Fort Shalmaneser, although the inlay technique of the wig suggests that it was of ‘Phoenician’ production.

Phoenician bridle harness¹¹

Two sets of spade-shaped blinkers and hinged frontlets were found in Wells AJ and NN. One, Group 2, adheres closely to Egyptian iconography and is typically Phoenician in style and technique, the other, Group 1, is similar in form but different in size and style.

The form of the Group 2 blinkers, Nos. 255-257 and 359, is elegant, with the spade extending into points, which begin to form the curve of the flaring handle with its narrow waist (Fig. 24). These blinkers are the largest of the Nimrud assemblage, varying in length between 18.9 and 19.5 cm. and 10.0 and 10.4 cm. in width. The Egyptianizing sphinxes sit comfortably in the ‘spade’, the wings frame the faces, and cartouches occupy the handles, the whole surrounded by a plain modelled frame. The solar disc and

⁸ Nos. 162-163 and 260; *I.N.* IV, 1285-1290; *I.N.* V, no. 334.

⁹ *C.N.I.*, pls. xcvi-xcvii, S314, S344, and S349.

¹⁰ *I.N.* IV, nos. 1286-1295, *I.N.* V, 334. Herrmann, 2002, 130-131, figs. 11-12

¹¹ Nos. 248-257 and 359.

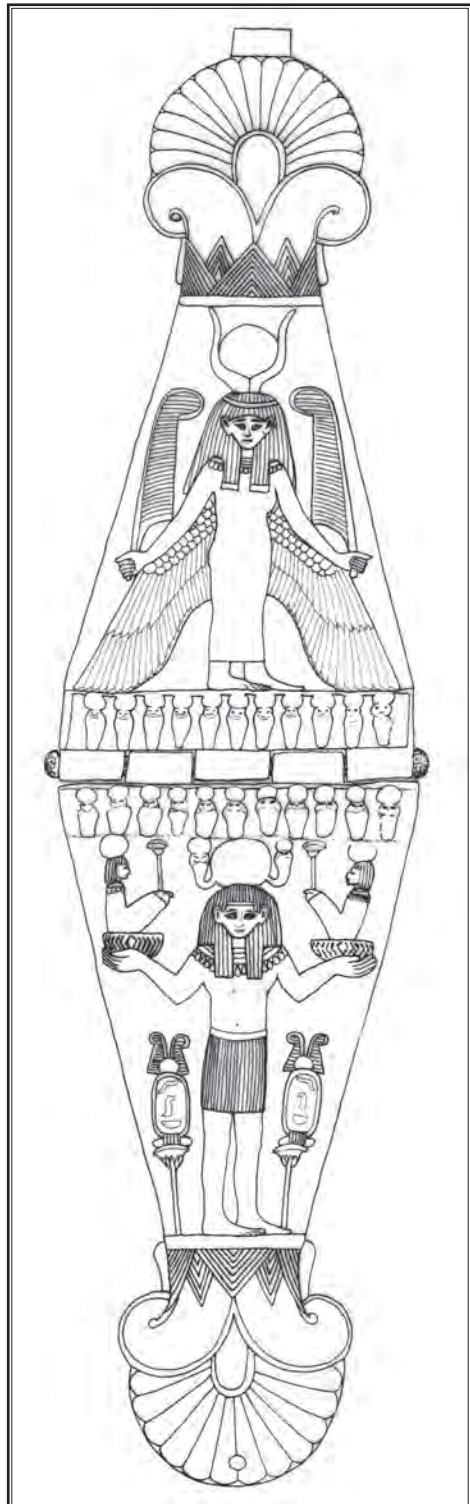


Fig. 25. 'Classic Phoenician' Group 2 hinged frontlet with goddess and god from Well AJ, drawn by D. Wicke

group. Another member of the group is a set of panels from Room SW12 showing Pharaohs flanking a stylized tree and holding ram-headed sceptres and long-necked pitchers (Fig. 16). They share many details of style, carving and design, particularly with the frontlets, and are important members of the group, because they can be compared with naiskoi from Sidon, see below. This newly-formed style-group contains, therefore, a range of types of object, all employing motifs derived from Egypt and using varied techniques, as is to be expected in the output of what must have been a sophisticated royal urban workshop.

External Relations

Both Egyptianizing ivories and 'ornate group' fragments have been found at Samaria, unfortunately mostly unstratified, although they probably predate the sack of Samaria c. 720. Similar to the Egyptianizing Horus flanked by winged figures,

uraeus crown is set on a pharaonic head-cloth: the usekh collar is outlined on the chest by a hatched line or 'ruff', a winged *uraeus* is suspended from the chest, and the sphinx has an apron. The tripartite wings rise from behind the foreleg, well



Fig. 24. 'Classic Phoenician' Group 2 blinker with seated sphinx from Well AJ, drawn by D. Wicke

above the line of the belly. The springing of the wings and the 'ruff' can be paralleled on 'classic Phoenician' panels from SW37, such as I.N. IV, no. 1107. Two trapezoidal plaques with hawk-headed sphinxes, I.N. IV, nos. 100-101, have similar ruffs and wings. The tail curves up in an S shape. The cartouches in the handles are set on papyrus plants and are not royal names but standard beneficent phrases, as on other cartouches in the Nimrud repertory (Kitchen, p.197-199 below). As Gubel has noted seated sphinxes are often represented as guardians of the royal cartouche in Egyptian and Egyptianizing art (2005, 120).

The upper and lower sections of the Group 2 frontlets, Nos. 252-254, are sub-triangular in form and end in voluted palmette plants: rows of crowned uraei, represented frontally, frame the central hinges (Fig. 25). The average height of the sections is c. 22-23 cm. for the upper frontlet and c. 21.5 cm. for the lower one, giving a total of some 44 cm.: the width is c. 10.5 cm. Like the blinkers, these are the longest and widest of the Nimrud frontlets. The designs are superbly carved and elegantly spaced and are Egyptianizing and 'classic Phoenician' in iconography and style. The winged goddess on the upper section wears the Hathor crown on a lappet wig, a collar and a long garment and holds a pair of atum feathers. According to Gubel, she was inspired by representations of Nut in Theban and Tanite funeral art of the early Third Intermediate period (Gubel 2000, 125-127). The god on the lower section is crowned with the solar disc flanked by uraei on a voluminous lappet wig and supports two squatting goddesses, also crowned, on his outstretched hands. He wears a short pleated kilt. Beside him are cartouches rising from papyrus plants and crowned with solar discs and feathers. Gubel recognizes the god as Atum presenting his children Shu and Tefnut (Gubel 2000, 125-127).

The iconography, the excellent spacing and superb carving, the proportions of the figures, the carving of the faces, the elegantly excised eyes and eyebrows of the deities and of the sphinxes are similar to Egyptianizing and 'ornate group' panels and support an attribution of the Group 2 bridle harness to the 'classic Phoenician'

Ivories from Nimrud VI

No. 157, is a fragment with Horus flanked by a kneeling figure and a pair of squatting winged figures flanking a *djed* pillar (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pl. I, 2; pl. iii). Winged and crowned goddesses on the unique Egyptianizing cylinder from Well AJ, No. 258, are similar to pieces from SW37 and to an ‘ornate group’ lady in a long dress from Samaria (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pl. ii, 1). Fragments of a winged youth and of sphinxes, including one striding over a fallen youth (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pls. iv, 1; vii, 1, 8a, 13 and 14; and x, 5) are also similar. For a recent study of the various groups of ivories at Samaria, see Uehlinger 2005.

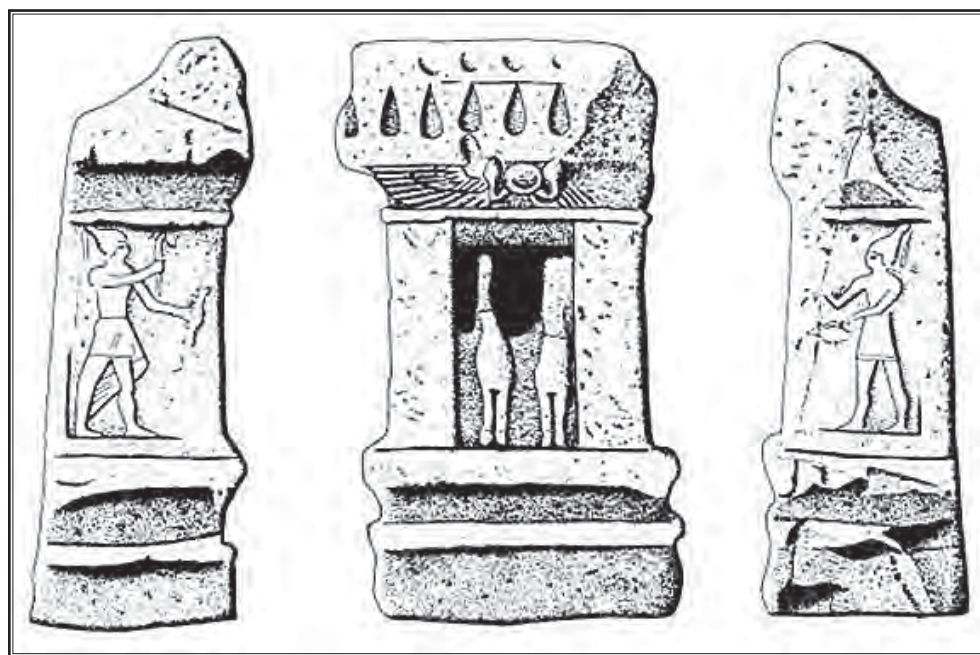


Fig. 26. A naiskos from Sidon (Gubel, 2002, frontispiece, drawn by C. Florimont)

Furniture from Tomb 79 at Salamis has been associated with the first of the two burials in the tomb and dated to the end of the eighth century – not much later than the sack of Samaria c. 720. Two richly inlaid, openwork plaques with a sphinx and a stylized tree were found near a throne in the dromos and are typical ‘ornate group’ productions, despite the lack of double frames (Karageorghis 1969, pls. iv and v; 1974, pl. A, lxi-lxii). The Salamis sphinx has the Egyptian double crown on the Pharaonic headcloth, continuing into a ‘ruff’ in front of the chest, an Osiride beard, a pendant *uraeus* and a collar and apron. The tripartite wings rise from behind the shoulder. The sphinx can be compared to sphinxes on the blinkers, Nos. 255-257, and to examples from SW37, such as that of *I.N.* IV, no. 1010: note the similar headdress and ruff, collar, wings and apron. The finely carved face is similar to heads on the blinkers and many of the heads of ‘ornate group’ youths, such as *I.N.* IV, no. 1081-1082, 1086 and 1092, as well as to the fallen youths on the pair of plaques from Well NN, No. 356: compare the eyes and eyebrows, ears, noses, lips and chins. The flowers on the sphinx and tree panels are also similar to those of No. 356. Two sets of gilded panels from Tomb 79, possibly from a footboard, showed sets of the seated god Heh holding notched palm branches and pairs of human-headed sphinxes with the side-lock of childhood flanking stylized trees. The faces of the sphinxes and the Heh figures are stylistically similar to the two Salamis panels. These are typical Egyptianizing Phoenician productions and reinforce the suggestion that Egyptianizing and ‘ornate group’ panels were made in a single centre.

Two ‘ornate group’ pieces were found in the Idaean Cave (Sakellarakis 1992, 132-133), described by John Boardman as ‘the most important cave sanctuary in Iron Age Crete’ (1961, 79). Some 34 ivories were discovered there in 1885 by Federico Halbherr and published in 1936 by Kunze (1935-36) and recently re-examined by Pappalardo (2004). Sakellarakis returned to the Cave for a series of campaigns from 1982 to 1986 when he sieved the debris and recovered more than 1,000 fragments (Sakellarakis 1992, 113). In addition to locally produced ivories, there were fragments of ivories familiar from Nimrud and belonging to the Phoenician, Syrian and North Syrian traditions. Unfortunately, no evidence of date is provided by the Cave material, since it remained a sanctuary for centuries,

Sakellarakis found the face and part of the chest of an ‘ornate group’ Pharaoh figure, although he thought that the statuette was a female because of the bosomy chest (Sakellarakis 1992, 132-133, pls. 13-14): a similar bosomy chest with a nipple was found in the Burnt Palace, which Barnett also considered to belong to a female statuette (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 218, S349, pl. xcvi). However, all extant examples of this characteristic type are male. Although a nipple is marked on the Burnt Palace piece, neither of the chests is well developed, as they would have been on female figures. Unless more compelling evidence is found, it seems reasonable to consider that all the statuettes were of males.

In 1876 a few fragments of the inlaid wings of openwork figures were found in the Etruscan Bernardini tomb at Praeneste, now in the Villa Giulia, Rome (Barnett 1982, 61).

There is one further, significant external parallel for the ‘classic Phoenician’ group and one which may suggest its place of production. In his publication of Phoenician sculpture in the Louvre, Gubel drew attention to the similarity between panels from Room SW12 in Fort Shalmaneser and some poorly preserved and fragmentary *naiskoi* from Sidon, which he re-dated to 850-675 B.C. (Gubel 2002a, 82-84, nos. 71-74 – Fig. 26). The SW12 panels show a pair of Pharaoh figures flanking a

stylized tree below a winged disc and a frieze of *uraei*: they are holding ram-headed scepters and tall-necked pitchers (Fig. 16). The pediments of four of the Sidonian *naiskoi* have friezes of *uraei* above winged discs, like the SW12 panels. The best preserved of them contains a sphinx throne, set in a deep niche in the front, flanked by friezes of eroded palmettes, framed above by a winged disc and a frieze of *uraei* (Fig. 26). On the sides are figures holding ram-headed sceptres and tall-necked pitchers and wearing conical hats with tails at the back and long open coats with sloping hems over short tunics. Cecchini also commented on the similarity between the panels and the *naiskoi*, although she suggested a slightly later date (Cecchini 2005).

To reinforce his early date, Gubel has compared the pitchers on the *naiskoi* with Phoenician imports at Tell es-Safi of the 9th century and to the Salamis and Amathous horizons (850-750: 2000a, 200-201). The SW12 pitchers resemble but are not identical to some Iron II A and B examples found in northern Israel at Tell es Safi, Hazor and Megiddo (Amiran 1969, 272, pl. 92, 1 and 2), dated to the ninth century.

Because of their similarity to the *naiskoi* Gubel has proposed that the SW12 Pharaoh panels were carved at Sidon. This hypothesis is plausible and attractive, and, if correct, would suggest that the ivories of the ‘classic Phoenician’ group can be attributed to the same place. Certainly Tyre or Sidon, the greatest Phoenician cities of the time, would seem to be the appropriate centres, both for these panels and for the style-group as a whole.

Gubel’s dating of the Sidonian *naiskoi* to 850-675 generally agrees with the late 8th century horizon of the destruction of Samaria and the probable time of deposition in the Salamis tomb and in Room V/W. With Phoenician cities independent and flourishing from the late second through the early first millennia, these ivories could have been carved at any time from c. 1050 BC.

OTHER PHOENICIAN STYLE-GROUPS

While the ‘classic Phoenician’ style-group is the largest Phoenician style-group found in the North West Palace, there are others. The spade-shaped blinkers and hinged frontlets of the Group 1 bridle harness is generally similar in form to the Group 2 harness and definitely belongs to the Phoenician rather than the Syrian tradition. However, iconographically and stylistically it is markedly different from the Group 2 examples and must have been produced in a different centre. Hinged frontlets¹² are a specifically western/Phoenician type, and it is probably because of this that Wicke named the Group 1 bridle harness ‘Cypro-Phoenician’ (1999), as both spade-shaped blinkers and hinged frontlets were found in the Salamis tomb. There is, however, no

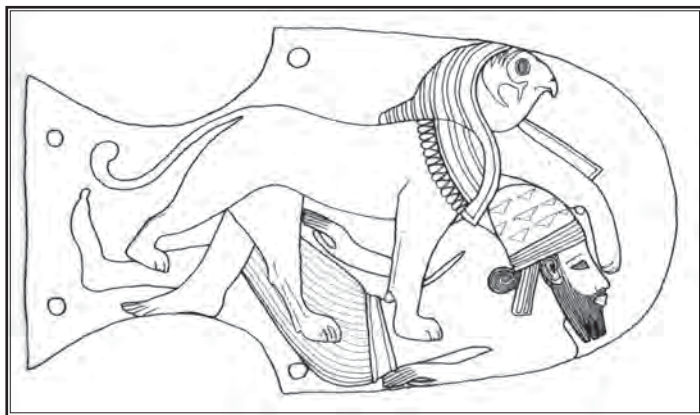


Fig. 27. Phoenician Group 1 blinker with sphinx striding over fallen figure, drawn by D. Wicke

¹² Hinged frontlets are uncommon at Nimrud, with only a few found in Room SW37 (*I.N.* I, nos. 191-197). These are smaller and plainer than the Well AJ examples.

¹³ Nos. 245-251.



Fig. 28. Phoenician Group 1 frontlet with warrior god and Bes figure, drawn by D. Wicke

specific reason to attribute this group to Cyprus rather than to another Phoenician centre.

Group 1 bridle harness¹³

The second and larger set of bridle harness from Well AJ, Group 1 (Figs. 27-28), is generally similar in form to the Group 2 pieces, i.e. both blinkers are spade-shaped and both frontlets are hinged. However, the Group 1 bridle harness is different in subject, shape, size and style to the Group 2 pieces and belongs to a different style-group. The blinkers vary in size between 16.5 and 17.1 cm. in length and 10.2-9.6 cm. in width and are therefore shorter than the 18.9 and 19.5 cm. of the Group 2 blinkers and the spade is slightly narrower, although the handle is wider. The

Ivories from Nimrud VI

upper sections of the hinged Group 1 frontlets, Nos. 245-247, are tongue-shaped and fixed by a simple loop, while the lower sections resemble the Group 2 lower frontlets and are sub-triangular with 'palmettes' forming the tips. The average size of the two sections is c. 21 cm. for the upper frontlet and c. 19 cm. for the lower one, that is a total of some 40 cm.: the width is c. 6.8 cm. Like the blinkers, the Group 1 frontlets are a different shape and a smaller size than Group 2 examples.

The seven blinkers, Nos. 248-251, show a sphinx¹⁴ striding inwards over a fallen Asiatic, who twists awkwardly to face forward and raises his knees above the curve of the handle (Fig. 27). The hawk-headed sphinx has no crown, and the pharaonic headdress continues to enclose the *usekh* collar, which, like the headcloth, is simplified and formed only of raised ribs, as on the Arslan Tash sphinxes (Thureau Dangin *et al.* 1931, pl. xxvii, no. 220). Resting on the raised foreleg is a residual apron. Genitalia are marked on only one sphinx, No. 248a. The fallen Asiatic wears a helmet or hat decorated with triangles and tied with a triple band, the ties of which hang down behind his ear. The features are well carved, the eye excised: the man has a moustache and an unusual tripartite beard. He wears a short belted and pleated kilt. This rather clumsy design occupies all the available space of the blinker: there is no frame or border.

Hawk-headed sphinxes striding over/protecting fallen figures are represented on a range of pieces from Nimrud. Some Phoenician trapezoidal plaques from SW37 carved in a variety of styles show crowned and winged sphinxes, both hawk and human-headed, striding over fallen figures, identified as Asiatics, Egyptians or even Libyans by their hairstyles (*I.N.* IV, nos. 87-97: Gubel 2000b, 195-196). The same design occurs on some long, fragmentary panels from SW37 (*I.N.* IV, nos. 656 and 1111-1115), again exhibiting differences in style but all belonging to the Phoenician tradition.¹⁵ The best preserved, ND10706 (*I.N.* IV, no. 656), is a long tenoned panel with a pair of elegant winged sphinxes, crowned with flattened solar discs set on head-cloths, striding over fallen Asiatics, one forepaw cradling the head of the fallen man, who is trodden on by the other foreleg and leading hindleg, in much the same manner as on the blinkers. The sphinxes wear *usekh* collars, and a residual apron can be seen above the raised foreleg. The tripartite wings rise from above and just behind the foreleg. There is no musculature or genitalia, and the tails are held high in a circle. Although they lack hats or helmets, the men have a similar hairstyle to the Asiatics, and they also share the unusual tripartite beards.

A bearded warrior-god occupies the upper section of the Group 1 frontlets, while a Bes figure is squashed into the short lower section (Fig. 28). The warrior-god wears a high pointed helmet and a short, pleated kilt and is armed with bow, quiver, spear and sword. The Bes figure is based on the Egyptian grotesque dwarf god. His residual plumed crown, broad face surrounded by a lion's mane and ears and beard reflect his origin. Unusually he is clothed, wearing a sleeved garment with long open skirt, belted at the waist.

Unlike the sophisticated Group 2 bridle harness, where the designs of blinkers and frontlets are linked by the common presence of cartouches and form a harmonious group, there is little linkage between the images on the Group 1 blinkers and frontlets, Nos. 245-251, and the motifs find no satisfactory parallels. There are none for the warrior-god of the upper frontlet, identified by Gubel as Reshef (Gubel 2005, 122-124), although the Bes figure of the lower section is based on the well-known dwarf god. Examples from Fort Shalmaneser include a pair of Bes figures incised on either side of a central palm tree on an Egyptianizing pair of panels from SW37 (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1216-1217), where the figures are closer to the Egyptian original, and the god is naked. Another SW37 panel and fragment, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1161-1162, show the lower half of a male figure in a cut-away coat and holding a lion or lion cub. Wicke has recently identified these figures as Bes and compared them to the Group 1 frontlets (Wicke 2005, 105-106). The bronze version from S10 is more distant, having lost its grotesque shape and being kilted (Mallowan *N. & R.* II, fig. 361).

While the Group 2 bridle harness is obviously Phoenician in style and form, the Group 1 examples are more problematic. The style is heavier and clumsier than the 'classic Phoenician' Group 2 pieces and has more of a Syrian feel. However, the spade-shaped blinkers and hinged frontlets belong to a western tradition of bridle harness rather than the very different Syrian tradition, with its smaller sole-shaped blinkers and triangular frontlets.

Phoenician furniture elements

Also generally Phoenician is a small, three-sided furniture element, No. 346, from Room FF, with a male figure on the front and females on the sides, discussed above. This type of furniture element is relatively uncommon and so far seems to be confined to the Phoenician tradition. A typical 'ornate group' example was found in SW37 (*I.N.* IV, no. 1043), while three more pieces

¹⁴ A fragment with the head of a hawk-headed sphinx, S144, from the Burnt Palace probably formed part of a similar blinker (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 202, pl. lxvi).

¹⁵ A fragment from a similar scene was found at Samaria (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, 2, pl. X, 5).

belonging to the Phoenician tradition were found in Zincirli (Andrae 1943, Taf. lxx-lxxvii). Once again, therefore, there is a standard type of fitting, the three-sided furniture element, decorated with a standard set of images, a male figure on the front flanked by females on the sides, occurring in different sizes and styles, as can be demonstrated across the repertoire.

THE SYRIAN TRADITION

'Wig and wing' ivories

The principal group of Syrian ivories in the North West Palace was found by Layard in Room V and in the doorway leading to Room W (Nos. 99-139). They belong to the 'wig and wing' style-group, which was first recognized in 1992 in *Ivories from Nimrud V*, when some 28 ivories from Fort Shalmaneser¹⁶ were attributed to the group and were compared to the ivories from Room V and from Room 13 of the Nabu Temple at Khorsabad. In her Ph.D. at the University of Pisa (2004a), currently being prepared for publication as a series of articles (2005), Scigliuzzo undertook a detailed study of the 'Intermediate tradition', focussing on the carving of faces with the aim of identifying the work of specific hands, and thus strengthening attributions to the different Intermediate groups. Using precise similarities of the carving of eyes, eyebrows and cheeks of faces represented frontally on panels with women at the window and sphinxes represented frontally, she identified the work of different hands and reinforced their attribution to the 'wig and wing' workshop. She extended her method to a study of bridle frontlets and fan handles from the Burnt Palace, which she has also attributed to the style-group.

Two 'wig and wing' sets of panels were found in the V/W doorway: one was a set of six youths, Nos. 99-104, the other a set of four women at the window panels, Nos. 110-113. Both Layard and Barnett plausibly suggested that these panels formed part of the same piece of furniture (Layard, *Mons.*, vi; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 171). Their common provenance, meticulously recorded by Layard, reinforces their attribution to the same style-group, even though they differ in subject, and there are relatively few direct comparisons. They share similar heights and

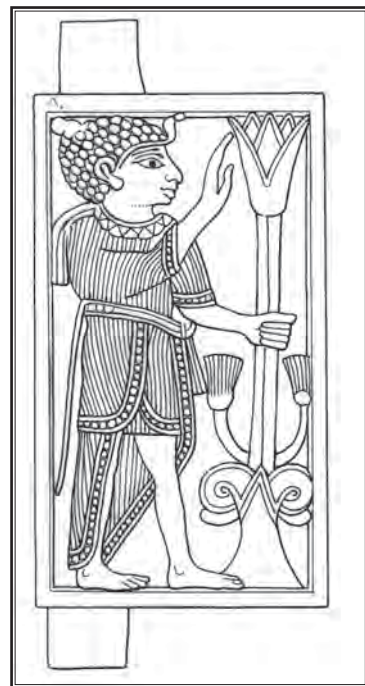


Fig. 29. Syrian 'wig and wing' panel with 'Young Pharaoh', No. 99, drawn by A. Searight

methods of framing and fixing, methods of carving of faces, ears and eyes with curving eyebrows and drilled pupils, the employment of beading on necklaces and garment edges. Finally, the presence of matching maker's marks on some panels raises the possibility that some were carved by the same hand.

Youths: The youths or young Pharaohs have headdresses with *uraei* at the front, rising to knobs at the back (Fig. 29). Their faces are finely carved with elegant eyebrows, long eyes with drilled pupils, and finely modelled mouths and chins. They wear short kilted tunics and open ankle-length skirts, of a pleated material with beaded edges. Similar maker's marks are incised on the backs of two panels with youths facing right, Nos. 99-100, and there are different marks on the tenons of two facing left, Nos. 102-103: it is a possibility that these marks identified two craftsmen: one, the *gimel* craftsman, carving panels with youths facing right, the other, with youths facing the opposite direction, see pp. 65-66 above.

Four other panels from the doorway, the poorly preserved pair, Nos. 105-106, and the pair with opposed youths binding a central plant, Nos. 107-108, probably belong to the same style-group. Nos. 105-106 are the same height and thickness as Nos. 99-104, while Nos. 107-108 are slightly shorter (Fig. 30). They all share similar tenoned, plain frames, and most

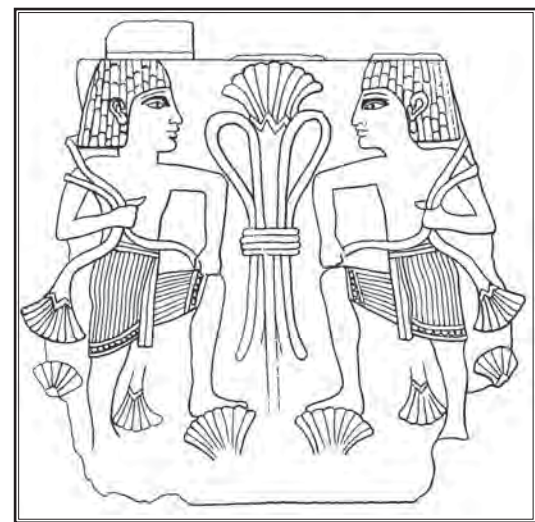


Fig. 30. Syrian 'wig and wing' panel with opposed youths, No. 107, drawn by A. Searight

¹⁶ *I.N. V*, 30-31, nos. 95 from S30, the openwork lunette with a sphinx facing frontally; 110 from S10, woman at the window; 207, winged youth with *uraei*; 219 and 226, sphinxes facing frontally, from the *rab ekalli*'s suite; 394-400, fragmentary winged youths (could be 'crown and scale'); 402, man with bird; 406-407, 409-410, sphinxes facing frontally; 438-441, fragments of women at the window, from NW21; and 459-470, opposed griffins and women at the window from NW15. Another piece that may belong is the youth with a residual cartouche in the corner, *I.N. V*, no. 401. Compare the treatment of crown, wigs, eyes and garments with looped hems.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

have maker's marks. As far as their varying state of preservation permits comparisons, there are similarities in the delicate carving of the faces, the eyes with curving eyebrows and drilled pupils, the ears, the pleated material and the extensive use of beading for necklaces and garment edges. The plants and papyrus flowers are also similar.

The slightly shorter Nos. 107-108 find parallels in SW12 (Barnett *C.N.I.*, pl. cxxxvi, supp. 20, ND11022): differences include the garments worn by the youths, pleated in Room V, plain with an open overskirt in SW12, and the flowers and arrangement of the stalks. There are maker's marks on the front of the bottom tenon of the SW12 panel. The poorly preserved *I.N.* IV, no. 306, from NE2 appears generally similar in subject and style, as far as its state of preservation permits comparison. A similar design can be seen on a trapezoidal panel from SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 40.

Women at the window (Fig. 20b)

Both panels and separate heads were found in the V/W doorway, Nos. 110-113 and 115-121. The windows have triple frames, although the top frames are narrow, matching those at the bottom. The actual windows are also relatively narrow with plain sills resting on four balusters with voluted capitals. The faces of the women are finely modelled with excised, arching eyebrows, eyes with drilled pupils, fine noses and sensitive mouths. The ears are awkwardly flattened to lie on the wig, and no earrings are worn. They have beaded necklaces and traces of pleated garments on their shoulders. Maker's marks are preserved on the backs of two panels. Some of the heads, Nos. 115-121, where adequately preserved, are similar to those of the women at the window panels, even though the locks of the silhouette heads were hatched rather than smooth. They too have marks on their backs: the *gimel* of No. 116, probably matches those on Nos. 110 and 111. These panels, together with the youths of Nos. 99-100, were probably all carved by the '*gimel* craftsman'.

Women at the window panels from Rooms S10 and NW21, Fort Shalmaneser, can be attributed to the same style-group. As previously noted, the comparison between the women at the window from S10 (*I.N.* V, no. 110) and Khorsabad (Loud & Altman 1938, pls. 51-52, nos. 29-36) is so close that they could have formed parts of the same set. Each of the tenoned panels has a triple frame, with incised lines drawn round the inner edges, a rail at the bottom; a sill supported on four balusters with double ribs at the top and faces set in a small window. The faces are all relatively fine with excised eyebrows and drilled pupils, fine noses and full mouths. Their wigs have double tied locks with a rectangular jewel with pendants on the forehead.

Although the four NW21 panels are openwork (*I.N.* V, nos. 467-470), they share similar triple frames and balusters, although the window opening is a little wider, and the women's faces a little fuller. The jewels on their wigs are simple rectangles, and their wigs have single rather than double ties. Maker's marks are preserved on the fronts of the tenons of nos. 467 and 469 (omitted from the catalogue entry in *I.N.* V). These panels share an overall similarity in style, proportion and iconography, together with the expected minor variations in detail from set to set. Variations between sets include whether the locks of the wig have double or single ties or none, whether the locks are plain or hatched and whether the central jewel is beaded with pendants, a simple rectangle or omitted. These are simple workshop variables.



Fig. 31. 'Wig and wing' sphinx from NW21, Fort Shalmaneser, *I.N.* V, no. 406, drawn by A. Searight

Sphinxes

Although 'wig and wing' sphinxes have not been found in the North West Palace, the carving of the faces of some sphinxes with heads turned frontally from Fort Shalmaneser and Khorsabad can be compared with the faces of the 'wig and wing' women at the window, for instance, the openwork *I.N.* V, no. 406 from NW21 (Fig. 31). They form an important part of the 'wig and wing' style-group. The sphinx wears a version of the solar disc and *uraeus* crown with an oval rather than circular disc and with the *uraeus* forming a rib around the top and sides: it is set on an Egyptian wig with double tied locks, similar to those of some women at the window and the lappet wig of the man, *I.N.* V, no. 402. The sphinx wears a beaded necklace, like those of the Room V women at the window. The chest is outlined with a narrow curving band decorated with incised lines, and suspended from the chest is a crowned *uraeus*. There is no *usekh* collar, but an apron decorated with chevrons is worn. The gently arching, tripartite wings start behind the chest and continue to the belly. There are no muscle markings as such, but there is a characteristic, moulded muscle on the haunch near the tail. The presence or absence of genitalia is variable, although present

on no. 406.¹⁷ The similar Khorsabad sphinxes share the line outlining the chest, the upward-curving wings and the muscle on the haunches, among general aspects of style and proportion (*I.N.* IV, 15, 29-30; Loud & Altman 1938, pls. 52-54).

Another member of the ‘wig and wing’ group is a set of openwork opposed griffins from NW15 (*I.N.* V, 32, nos. 459-466 – Fig. 32), found with the openwork women at the window panels, nos. 467-470. These share similar methods of representing the eyes, the framing and tenoning, and the positioning of fitter’s marks, when preserved. The griffins’ wings curve upwards, and the residual *usekh* ribbed collars on their chests can be compared with those on sphinxes from Arslan Tash (Fig. 33).

Returning to Room V, some cattle and cervid silhouettes, Nos. 122-139, also belong to the ‘wig and wing’ group. The cows, Nos. 122-136, once formed part of a procession fixed to rails at the bottom and with keyhole slots on the back. The cows have excised eyes, double horns, distinctive ‘scallops’ on the neck and rib markings below the horns, and occasionally a ‘bracket’ mark on the haunch (Nos. 122 and 123): otherwise the bodies are long and smoothly modelled. A maker’s mark of the same form as those on the *gimel* group, Nos. 99-100, 110-111 and 116 (see pp. 65-66 above), was incised on the back of No. 127. Similar examples from SW37 might include the suckling cows, *I.N.* IV, nos. 744-745, and the bulls, nos. 748-754, which also have long, smoothly modelled bodies and were fixed by bottom rails and keyhole slots. The cervids of Nos. 137-139 with similarly proportioned bodies and methods of fixing can also be attributed to the group.

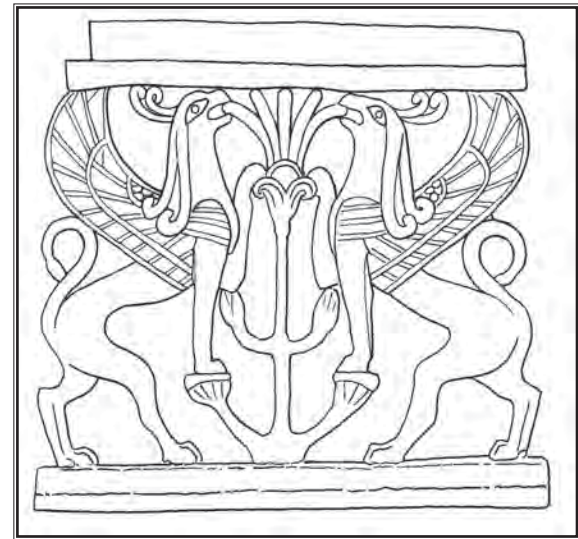


Fig. 32. Panel with opposed griffins from NW15, Fort Shalmaneser, *I.N.* V, no. 459, drawn by A. Searight

Bridle harness

Although no Syrian bridle harness has been found in the North West Palace, some examples from the Burnt Palace and Fort Shalmaneser have been attributed to the ‘wig and wing’ group. Unlike Phoenician spade-shaped blinkers, most Syrian blinkers are sole-shaped, and the frontlets are a single unit, triangular or sub-triangular, as opposed to the double hinged Phoenician frontlets. In addition to different shapes, Syrian bridle harness is smaller and is carved in different styles, with different subjects. The bridle harness once again illustrates the differences that separate the products of a variety of workshops or centres.

Some Syrian frontlets with women holding lions and flowers below winged discs can be attributed to the ‘wig and wing’ group (Fig. 17).¹⁸ The disc and *uraei* of the winged discs resemble that of ‘wig and wing’ solar crowns, while the frontally represented heads, with excised eyebrows and eyes with drilled pupils, the sensitive mouths, the forehead jewels and the earrings are matched at Khorsabad, and the beaded collars are similar to those worn by the Room V women at the window, see below. One of these frontlets, *I.N.* I, no. 136, has three Aramaic letters on the back, *l’s*, read as Lu‘ash by Millard (1962, 42-43).

Characteristic features of the ‘wig and wing’ group include the representation of the solar crowns, the smooth, angled faces, the carving of the eyes and eyebrows, the wigs with locks either tied or untied, the beaded and pleated garments, the upward curving wings, the line outlining the chests and the muscle marking on the haunches of the sphinxes, as well as the general style and proportions, and the occasional use of fitter’s marks on the backs or the tenons. ‘Wig and wing’ ivories form a sophisticated, well-worked, coherent and informative group, whose craftsmen produced both furniture panels and small objects. No inlaid examples have been recognized to date.

External relations

As has long been recognized, there are parallels with Khorsabad and Arslan Tash, and Bunnens recently discovered a fragment at Til Barsib, which may belong to the group (Bunnens 1997, 439-450, no. 2, fig. 4). The ivories from Room 13 of the Nabu Temple at Khorsabad are closely comparable and consist of furniture panels with women at the window, winged youths, sphinxes facing frontally, stylized trees and voluted palmette plants (Loud & Altman 1938, pls. 51-55, nos. 29-61). Scigliuzzo’s study of the carving of the faces of the women and sphinxes from Khorsabad, the Fort and Room V/W

¹⁷ This sphinx matches the burnt fragments of a sphinx from the *rab ekalli*’s suite, no. 219, and can be compared to the sphinx, no. 226. Similar fragmentary sphinxes with double-tied wigs and *usekh* collars were found in SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 538-541: the smaller and more elegant nos. 534-537 should be added to the group – compare the carving of the faces and wigs.

¹⁸ *I.N.* I, nos. 136-139; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 202, S146, pl. lxiii; Wicke 1999; Scigliuzzo 2005.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

has suggested that they were all carved by one team of craftsmen (Scigliuzzo 2005). The comparisons between the three groups of material are close and certainly suggest that they came from a single assemblage of booty or tribute, presumably distributed by Sargon II between treasuries in the North West Palace, the Fort and his newly-built Nabu Temple at Dur Sharrukin. As with the 'classic Phoenician' group, the Assyrian evidence provides a probable date of deposition in the late eighth century.

Parallels with ivories found at Arslan Tash are less comprehensive than at Khorsabad but include three groups of material – women at the window, youths and sphinxes. The Arslan Tash women at the window (Thureau Danguin et al. 1931, pls. xxxiv-xxv, nos. 45-51) have equal triple frames, thinner frames along the bottom, four balusters supporting the sill, and relatively narrow window openings. The unusual central jewel is wider at the back than the front, has beaded edges and contains incised Xs, and the women wear looped earrings. The locks of the wigs are not tied. As in Room V, there are similar heads for dropping into panels (Thureau Danguin et al. 1931, pl. xxxv, nos. 52-55). Another version lacked the triple frames and had the sill excised for an inlay, presumably of glass, with the hair shown in ringlets (Thureau Danguin et al. 1931, pl. xxxvi, nos. 56-60). These panels have striated backs for gluing with additional narrow slots in the sides instead of the tenoning employed at Nimrud.

Some Arslan Tash panels depict winged Pharaohs flanking plants (Thureau Danguin et al. 1931, pls. xix-xxiv, nos. 1-13). The Pharaohs have Egyptian double crowns over short wigs and wear long open coats with looped edges. Their wings curve up in the familiar 'wig and wing' curve. A pair of tenoned panels show similar youths without wings, thus leaving space for a seated figure to be placed near the top of the panel. There are fitter's marks on the front of one tenon (Thureau Danguin et al. 1931, pls. xxvi, nos. 20-21). These Arslan Tash figures are similar in crown, wig, dress and general proportions and style and can be compared to fragments of panels with winged youths from Khorsabad, although the Khorsabad crowns are flattened and the garments sleeved (Loud & Altman 1938, pl. 52, nos. 38-40).

The sphinx panels and fragments from Arslan Tash are not stylistically coherent and belong to a number of different groups. However, the famous openwork panel with opposed ram-headed sphinxes flanking a stylized tree (Thureau Danguin et al. 1931, pl. xxvii, no. 220 – Fig. 33) is typically 'wig and wing'.

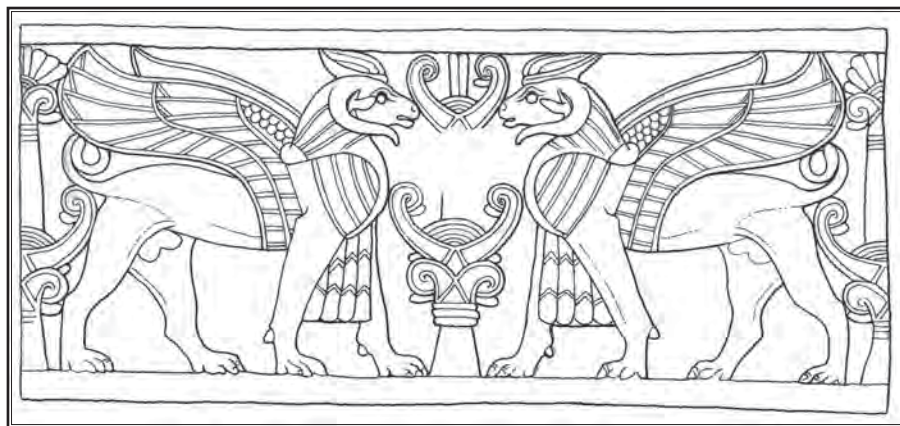


Fig. 33. 'Wig and wing' panel with opposed sphinxes from Arslan Tash (Thureau Danguin et al. 1931, no. 220), drawn by A. Seawright.

unquestionably Phoenician specimen. But, within the Syrian tradition, the Til Barsib ivories display great diversity. Also remarkable is the fact that all the styles attested at Til Barsib are already known from the Nimrud collection' (Bunnens 1997a, 450).

One fragment of a male head, wearing a flattened solar crown on a short tied wig, probably forms part of the 'wig and wing' group, though it is too small to be certain (Bunnens 1997a, 439-440, no. 2, fig. 4). The magnificent, double-sided panel with a griffin above a shortened tree on one side and a stylized tree on the other is, as Bunnens says, typically Syrian and could have been made in a 'wig and wing' or 'crown and scale' workshop (Bunnens 1997a, 442-445, no. 5, figs. 7-8). The form of tree with double branches is similar to the 'crown and scale' tree of No. 267, although the absence of the 'capped palmette' flower may suggest a 'wig and wing' attribution. Other ivories from Til Barsib include a fragment of the frame of a woman at the window (Bunnens 1997a, 449, no. 12, fig. 16), and some loose flowers, partially similar to the fragment, No. 313. These ivories are important for showing the distribution of ivories within greater Assyria but provide little chronological information.

A fragment with a frontal head and upper chest of a sphinx is a rare ivory found on a Phoenician site, in the shrine of

Tanit/Ashtarte at Sarepta (Pritchard 1978, 143, fig. 139; Suter 1992, 16-17). The Egyptian wig is shoulder-length and consists of rows of locks, while the remains of the collar is decorated with chevrons. The face is rounded, with incised eyebrows, eyes with drilled pupils, a smiling mouth and a firm chin. Although the fragment is small, Suter has pointed out that the head can be compared to examples from V/W and Khorsabad (Suter 1992, 16-17, figs. 5, 7-10). Although not ‘wig and wing’, a rather crude woman at the window panel was found at Samaria, while a panel lacking the woman was found at Ialysos in Rhodes (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pl. 13, 2; Braun-Holzinger & Rehm 2005, Taf. 36, R.1). A fragment with an upward-curving wing from the Idaean Cave (Heraklion Museum 1982.174, unpublished) could have formed part of a ‘wig and wing’ panel, but it is too small to be certain.

Finally, Eric Gubel pointed out an interesting parallel between the griffin panels from NW15 (Fig. 32) and three stelae found on the island of Arwad (Fig. 34a), the design and proportions of which are comparable (Gubel 2002a, 27-29).¹⁹ Above the griffins are guilloche bands and rows of linked palmettes. Another stela from Arwad shows a couchant sphinx with upward-curving wings (Fig. 34b), again below guilloche bands and rows of linked palmettes.²⁰ These stacked rows of palmettes occur both on the *naiskoi* from Sidon and on a later fragmentary sculpture from Tyre (Gubel 2002a, 82-82, 122). The palmettes can also be matched with examples from SW37 (*I.N.* IV, nos. 183, 1225-1229) and Samaria (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pl. xxi, 4-5; Uehlinger 2005, pl. 25, 5-6). A deeply excised cloisonné version was found at Til Barsib (Bunnens 1997a, 445, fig. 10). Because of the curving wings of the griffins and sphinxes, the stelae were initially dated to the Achaemenid period. However, upward-curving wings and the unusual form of palmette frieze are clearly represented on ‘wig and wing’ ivories, and there is, therefore, no reason to date the stelae so late. Gubel has proposed that they were carved between 850-750 B.C. (2002a, 26-30).

Most comparisons of the ‘wig and wing’ group are with Assyrian sites, Nimrud, Khorsabad and the Assyrian provincial capitals of Arslan Tash and Til Barsib, although there is a link to Sarepta. If Gubel’s comparison with the Arwad stelae is accepted, this may suggest a possible location for the ‘wig and wing’ style-group, the most Phoenician of the Syrian groups. Arwad’s location at the northern end of the Phoenician coast with links both to the north and to the interior with control sometimes from Hamath, would agree with such a style. Scigliuzzo points out links with the area of Hamath, the principal power of central Syria (Scigliuzzo 2005). In the mid-ninth century Hamath controlled not only Luhuti (Lu‘ash), but also the Orontes valley, passes to the coast and the coastal plain, possibly even including Arwad. Scigliuzzo’s hypothesis may be strengthened by the bridle frontlet with a mistress of animals with an inscription on the reverse read as Lu ash, which has been attributed by Wicke (1999) and Scigliuzzo (2005) to the ‘wig and wing’ group. Scigliuzzo further suggests that the ivories were carved in the last decades of the 8th century. However, this is surely too late, being close to their probable time of deposition in Assyria. As with other Syro-Phoenician material, an earlier date is more plausible.

Uehlinger has put forward an alternative hypothesis: he prefers to locate what he calls the ‘South Syrian’ tradition in



Fig. 34. Nineteenth century drawings of stelae from Arwad a. with opposed griffins and b. with a seated sphinx, Perrot & Chipiez 1885, III, 131, fig. 76, 129, fig. 73.

¹⁹ Published in Perrot & Chipiez 1885, III, 131, fig. 76. There are three versions of the griffin relief, one in the Louvre, one in the museum at Tartous, and the third in a private collection in Geneva.

²⁰ Perrot & Chipiez 1885, III, 129, fig. 73; Gubel 2002, 29-30, no. 3

Ivories from Nimrud VI

Damascus (Uehlinger 2005, 179). He unites the ‘wig and wing’, ‘crown and scale’, ‘collar and crown’ and ‘beaky nose’ style-groups in this tradition, thus returning to the theory of relatively few centres carving ivories in different styles. However, a central Syrian, Orontes valley provenance may be more probable for the ‘wig and wing’ style-group.

The ‘crown and scale’ style-group

There are strong iconographic links between the ‘wig and wing’ and ‘crown and scale’ style-groups, as agreed by Wicke (1999, 811; in press) and Scigliuzzo (Ph.D., 2004; 2005). Although typical members of each group are obvious, there is once again the problem of ‘blurred boundaries’ – panels, such as the winged youths from S10 and NW21, which could be assigned to either group (*I.N.* V, nos. 115-118, 393-400). In view of the variability of carving common within workshops, they epitomize the problem of defining borders.

The ‘crown and scale’ group was first assembled in *I.N.* V (32-33) by combining two SW37 groups, the ‘scaley wing’ sphinxes and the heroes fighting griffins. Characteristics include degenerate versions of Egyptian crowns, facial features with a short eyebrow, elongated eye with a central dot, large ears with long lobes, straight nose, modelled mouth and firm chin, pleated garments with beaded hems, semi-circular scales outlined with ribs on wings and collars, and the absence of defined musculature. Proportions of the bodies are relatively stocky. The backs of panels are lightly shaped, and there are occasional fitter’s marks on the fronts or backs of the bottom tenons. Another diagnostic detail, observed by Scigliuzzo, is the capped palmette flower, i.e. it has a single or double rib running across the top (2005).

While numerous examples of this distinctive style-group were found in Fort Shalmaneser,²¹ only three examples have been recovered from Well AJ and two from Well NN: they must have been stored separately from the ‘wig and wing’ ivories from Room V. The Well AJ examples are the front of a human-headed sphinx, No. 265, a pair of winged gods grasping a plant, No. 266, and an openwork stylized tree, No. 267. The Well NN panels show a browsing stag, No. 360, and another openwork stylized tree, No. 361.

The Well AJ sphinx, No. 265, wears a version of the crown of Sekhmet similar to that on *I.N.* IV, nos. 480, 1127-1128: the disc is oval, outlined by a rim and flanked by a pair of *uraei*. On No. 266 this crown is squashed almost beyond recognition. Another type of ‘crown and scale’ crown is a provincial version of that of Upper and Lower Egypt, flattened to a ‘bun on a dish’ (e.g. *I.N.* IV, nos. 316-318 or 477). Crowns are set on head-

cloths (No. 265 or *I.N.* IV, nos. 475-480) and on wigs or hair (No. 266 and *I.N.* IV, nos. 316-319). Sphinxes are shown with both collars and aprons. Wings spring from behind the collars and wrap under the belly: the first tier is of outlined ‘scales’, the other two of feathers, either plain or hatched. The ribbed scales of No. 265 occur on the wing and the *usekh* collar, while the lines on the head-cloth are ribbed.

The unique scene of the opposed winged gods grasping plants, No. 266, is a ‘crown and scale’ version of the familiar motif of men and trees, best known from the SW7 chair-backs. The carving of the ringletted wigs, faces and garments can be compared to those on the hero and griffin panels,²² where the griffin is captured in flight (Fig. 14b). The panels are typically Syrian in their dynamism and use of space. Probably forming part of the same set is the stylized tree, No. 267. The general style, framing, tenoning and employment of maker’s marks are similar, as are the ‘capped palmette’ flowers.

Other panels with trees with double branches and ‘capped palmette’ flowers from SW37 are *I.N.* IV, nos. 604 (with ram-headed sphinxes) and 767-768. This form of tree also occurs on the trapezoidal panels, *I.N.* IV, nos. 164-168, although they lack ‘capped flowers’. No. 361 from Well NN has ‘capped flowers’, but the tree has single rather than double branches. Nevertheless,



Fig. 35. Photographic reconstruction by Stuart Laidlaw of a ‘crown and scale’ panel from fragments found in the Idaean Cave by Halbherr in 1888 and by Sakellarakis in the 1980s

²¹ ‘Crown and scale’ panels include the following: *I.N.* IV, nos. 315-319, 475-495 and 1127-1129 (with inlays) from SW37; *I.N.* V, no. 99 from corridor E; nos. 115-118 from S10; nos. 240-243 from SE10; nos. 328-330 from NE59; nos. 393-398 from NW21. Numerous panels were found in SW12, as yet unpublished, for an example see Barnett *C.N.I.*, pl. cxxxiv, suppl. 33.

²² Found in SW37, SE10 and NE59 (*I.N.* IV, nos. 316-319; V, nos. 240-41, 328).

it shares many features such as the framing, tenoning and maker's mark and forms part of the 'crown and scale' style-group. Single or double branches may be a workshop decision. Deeply incised maker's marks are a feature of Nos. 266-267 and 360-361.

A group of three fan-handles from the Burnt Palace (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 213, S293-294, pl. lxxxviii-lxxxix and the fragmentary S308, 215, pl. xci) are clearly Syrian and could be assigned to either the 'wig and wing' or 'crown and scale' groups, the problem being that there are few direct points of comparison. Wicke (1999, 849) has placed them in the 'crown and scale' group, while Scigliuzzo (2005) has attributed them to the 'wig and wing' group.²³ S293 and S294 have four caryatid figures, standing on palm capitals with floriate capitals above. The four are all male on S293, but are both male and female on S294. The male figures wear a long open garment with short sleeves of a pleated material with beaded edges. The garments are tied at the waist and open from the knee, and are generally similar to those on the hero and griffin panels. The females are naked except for anklets: their hair is parted in the centre and falls smoothly in ringlets behind the ear.

'Crown and scale' panels are well represented at Nimrud in Fort Shalmaneser, being found in corridor E and S10 of the Residency, in SE10, NE59, NW21 and SW12 and 37. However, only a few examples have been found in the North West and Burnt Palaces. The only example outside Nimrud is a fragmentary pair of typical 'crown and scale' opposed sphinxes from the Idaean Cave in Crete (Fig. 35). The first fragment was found in the 19th century by Halbherr (1888, 689-766, on display in the National Museum of Athens, 11788/1b; Pappalardo 2004, fig. 1) with more fragments from the same panel recovered by Sakellarakis, together with fragments from a matching panel.

The Cave panels are essentially identical to Nimrud examples, with similar framing, technique and style, as well as details such as the wing-scales and flora. Indeed it seems probable that they were made in the same centre of production. Even the musculature on the hindquarters of one Idaean Cave fragment can be paralleled on a Nimrud example (HM 1982.9 and ND12141 from SW12), suggesting the possibility of work by the same hand. The only significant difference between them is that the backs of the Cave panels are lightly scratched while the backs of the Nimrud panels are plain. Unfortunately the evidence from the Cave has no chronological significance. It is probable that the 'crown and scale' panels belong to a similar time-frame as the 'wig and wing' ivories and would have been carved before the late eighth century, probably in central Syria.

The 'beaky nose' group

The 'beaky nose' sphinxes, No. 141, from the V/W doorway were compared by Crowfoot to panels from Samaria (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, 20). In 1986 the Room V and Samaria panels and examples from SW37 were called the 'beaky nose' group.²⁴ The sphinxes are characterized by 'a large eye, beaky nose and small chin' and the fine striping of head-cloth, apron and wings, although the head-cloth of the Room V sphinx has a zigzag pattern instead of striping. As so often, the representation of the eye is characteristic, with a long curving eyebrow and a strongly-outlined eye with a drilled pupil. The sphinxes of *I.N.* IV, nos. 471, 473 and 612 and from Samaria wear a version of the Egyptian double crown set on a striped head-cloth, which ends in a curl, probably understood as hair. There is an absence of cross-hatching, and no collar is worn. The Room V and Samaria aprons are decorated with a petal design rather than finely striped like *I.N.* IV, no. 471. There are the usual minor differences between the Nimrud sphinxes and those from Samaria and Room V. The wings of the latter spring from a line of beading rather than directly from the shoulder, but both extend below the belly into a distinctive point. The flowers with tall petals on SW37 examples are comparable with the Room V example. Although No. 141 lacks a frame, panels from SW37 and Samaria have a distinctive triple frame (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pl. v, 1; pl. xii, 2, 3, 7, pl. xvii, 1, 2, 5). The griffin, No. 142, may belong to the group: note the elongated eye and beading at the edge of the wing.

Elena Scigliuzzo has added a number of pieces to the 'beaky nose' group (2006), some more convincingly than others. She attributes the 'beaky nose' group as a whole to the North Syrian tradition rather than the Syrian, while Uehlinger suggests that they were made in Damascus, together with many other style-groups (2005). However, the absence of cross-hatching, such a strong indication of North Syrian work, the fine proportions and the presence of aprons on *I.N.* IV, nos. 471-474 makes such an attribution less than certain, particularly since no North Syrian pieces were found at Samaria. This may suggest a lack of penetration of that northern style so far south. The original provenance of the 'beaky nose' group awaits definition.

²³ Scigliuzzo includes S295 in this group, although it is rather different in function and style. It is a small stand with a flat top with a central dowel hole and three legs with feet resting on lotus flowers (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 213, pl. xci).

²⁴ *I.N.* IV, 16, nos. 471-474, 611-614, 940-941, 1130-1135, 1137-1153 and possibly nos. 393-395.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

Other Syrian pieces

A number of pieces can be attributed to the Syrian tradition but not to a specific group. The fragments in Room A were the first ivories found by Layard and consist of a mixture of Syrian and Phoenician pieces, mainly Syrian. Syrian examples probably include No. 79, the male figure in a long open pleated coat holding an *ankh*, the human-headed sphinx, No. 81, the wing fragment, No. 80, the fragments of plaques, Nos. 85 and 86, and the heads of a bull and a cow with turned head, Nos. 85-86.

Syrian examples from Well AJ include the stylized tree, No. 268, taller and narrower than the 'crown and scale' No. 267, and lacking the 'capped flowers'. The contest scene, No. 264, differs from the usual tumbling mass of animals of typical North Syrian contests and, with its pairs of opposed lions and griffins attacking bovids, can be attributed to the Syrian tradition.

No. 275 is a fine and rare example of a relatively complete, openwork furniture fitting. It consists of five bulls processing in a circle, set on a guilloche band at the base, probably with a second band at the top, of which only the stump of a tenon can be seen on the hump of one bull. These bulls have lowered heads with inlaid eyes, the musculature of their necks is marked, and their bodies are long and slim. This type of openwork fitting, usually poorly preserved, is relatively common at Nimrud, as are solid versions. They probably decorated furniture legs and would have been made in a variety of workshops (Herrmann 1996, 160-162, pls. 41-42). Only part of the base and the feet of two bulls of a second fragment, No. 276, survive. The base was excised to receive large rectangular inlays and can be compared to some from the Town Wall Houses, Appendix 3, TW20-22 (Herrmann 1996, pl. 42e).

Borderline cases

As previously mentioned, it is easy to recognize 'typical' examples of style-groups or traditions, but some pieces are hard to place, for instance the set of openwork panels with twisted frames, Nos. 242-243 from Well AJ, and No. 341 from Room QQ. The subject of men saluting trees is obviously reminiscent of the SW7 chair-backs (*I.N.* III). However, instead of the single panels typical of the SW7 pieces, No. 242 consists of a longer, openwork panel with a procession of pairs of men flanking trees. The dress of a tunic with an open overskirt made of a looped material is familiar on the SW7 panels, and the hat is reminiscent of those of the 'vase-hat' men (*I.N.* III, nos. 38-45), but the *uraei* in front and the strange feature pendant from the top of the hat, 'catching' the long hair, are different. There are similar differences between the sphinxes of No. 243 and those on the 'vase-hat men' panels, *I.N.* III, nos. 38 and 42. The SW7 sphinxes have a 'hair-net' on top of their heads and curled ringlets, as opposed to the 'vase hat'; both have criss-cross markings on their chests, but No. 243 also has a decorated collar and an *uraeus* rising beside the chest. However, the wings of both types of sphinx and of the winged discs have unusual angled upper wings, which can also be seen at Zincirli B/22 (Orthmann 1971, Taf. 59, 4). Initially the panels were attributed to the 'vase hat' workshop, but differences between the two sets, particularly the degree of corrupted Egyptianizing features, such as the *uraei* and the *ankhs* held by the men, together with their different shape and fixing, make a Syrian attribution more probable.

Another problem is posed by the magnificent Well AJ statuette, No. 287. It can be compared in general to Burnt Palace caryatid fan-handles of the North Syrian tradition, but its rendering is much more sensuous and it may be the product of a Syrian workshop.

CHAPTER SIX

THE NORTH SYRIAN TRADITION

North Syrian ivories are different in character from Phoenician ivories. Their message is more immediate. Figures may fill the piece, and their proportions are usually heavier. There are numerous differences in the arrangement of the figures – usually spacious and balanced in Phoenician art but often single and filling the panel in North Syrian. There are differences in the forms of winged discs, the features and dress of human figures, the musculature of animals, the use of cross-hatching, pegged inlays and dowels, and so on. While subjects, such as sphinxes and griffins or men and trees, are applied across the board, the style is different. Equally there are some motifs unique to the North Syrian corpus, such as animal hunts, banquets or processions of musicians. The employment of motifs derived from Egypt is diminished but continues in a corrupted form.

Layard found no North Syrian ivories in the North West Palace. Mallowan only found the great head, the Ugly Sister, No. 349, and fragments of a pyxis, No. 362, in Well NN, as well as a few fragments, No. 214, in the ground around Well AJ, the emptying of which he had to abandon. It was the successful Iraqi excavation of that well that transformed our understanding of the North Syrian tradition not only in the North West Palace but at Nimrud. They discovered a number of superb, relatively complete small objects. Three pyxides, a flask, a lion bowl and a silhouette, Nos. 233-238, belong to the principal North Syrian style-group, the ‘flame and frond’. Pieces attributed to the ‘round-cheeked and ringletted’ style-group include the magnificent cosmetic palette, a panel, a bowl and some furniture elements, Nos. 233-241, 277-282 and 284. An unusual version of a lion, No. 244, probably belongs to another North Syrian style-group.

It is significant that North Syrian ivories were only recovered from the wells, principally from one well, and that none were found in rooms. This suggests that there must have been a storeroom not far from Well AJ. The distribution of ‘flame and frond’ at Nimrud in general is also remarkable, with small objects found in the Burnt Palace and in wells in the North West Palace, but no furniture elements, while in Fort Shalmaneser only furniture elements were recovered.

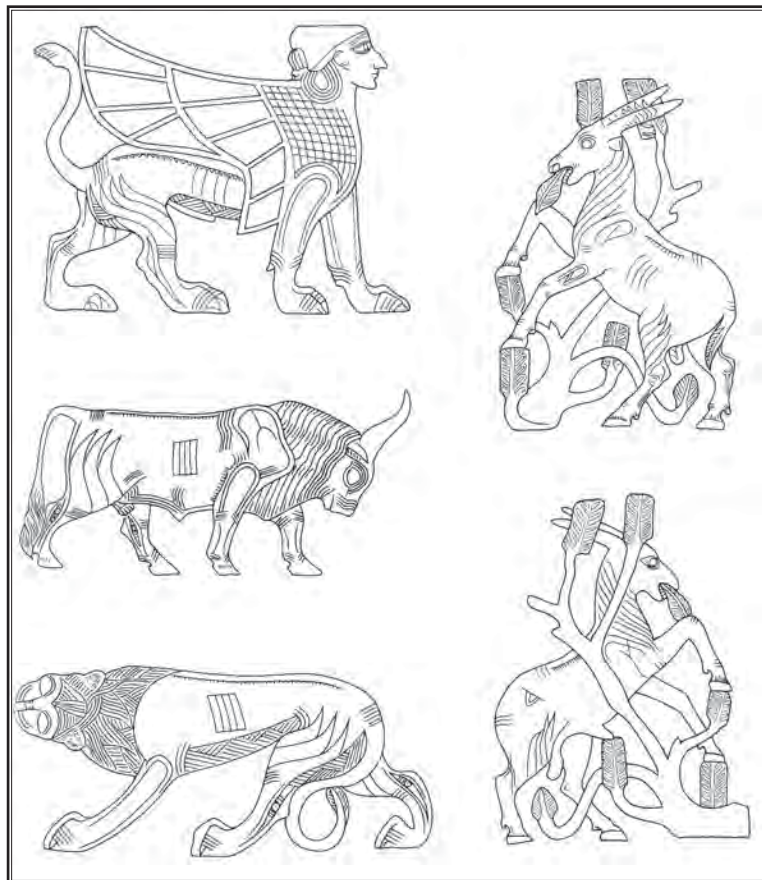


Fig. 36. Muscle markings on animals of the ‘flame and frond’ style-group, drawn by P. Clarke.

THE ‘FLAME AND FROND’ STYLE-GROUP

The main characteristics of the ‘flame and frond’ style-group, ‘one of the easiest to recognize amongst the North Syrian ivories from Nimrud’, were first defined in an article in *Iraq* (Herrmann 1989, 86-88). Although the name selects just two of the many diagnostic features defining the group, it is a combination of criteria that allows attribution to the group. The most distinctive features are the incised muscle markings on the various animals and mythical beasts (Fig. 36), and the physiognomy of the humans. The muscle markings vary slightly from animal to animal, although some are common to all. These include the line along the top of the back with a series of small vertical lines or ‘v’ markings, ending in several vertical lines in front of the tail. Other standard features are the large, almond-shaped eyes, either modelled or with drilled pupils, the modelled brows, the ‘petal’ markings on the forelegs, and the ‘flames’ growing from the front of the hindlegs, which range in number from

Ivories from Nimrud VI

two to six, although three or four are standard. The ribs are usually indicated with vertical lines, sometimes set within a box.

In addition to the standard markings, the lions have tufted manes, plait markings along the belly and down the haunch, and 'pea-pod' markings on the hocks. The human-headed sphinxes have large eyes, pointed noses and firm chins. They either wear a droopy cap or have their long hair tied with a fillet: it falls onto the shoulder in a heavy curl. The base of the wings is decorated with cross-hatching: there are two rows of wing feathers, which extend behind the foreleg into a point. Sphinxes share similar plait and 'pea-pod' markings to the lions, and their tails curve upwards in an 'S' shape. The griffins have the same marks and two curls on their necks. The bulls have a long curving horn, wrinkles and cross-hatching on the nose, neck musculature indicated by rows of wavy lines, a big oval hook marking on the shoulder, often with an upside-down 'Y' in it and wavy lines along the belly. Cervids of various types share many markings with the bulls, although their neck lines may be divided horizontally or there may be an additional marking in the form of a 'U' or 'V' in front of the haunch.

Human figures have a receding forehead, a large, almond-shaped, outlined eye with a drilled pupil, an incised eyebrow, a pointed nose, a thin pouting mouth and a small chin. The hair of male figures is varied: it may be dressed in the same way as the sphinxes, that is long, drawn behind the ear and falling in a heavy curl, may fall in ringlets in front of the ear, may be arranged in a short rounded form with zigzag markings or may be plaited. Women have their hair drawn back into a long curl on the neck, have two curls framing the face, or curls arranged vertically and plaits. They may also have ringlets and plaits down the back. Dress is also distinctive, and different from Syro-Phoenician garments. Men wear a short-sleeved, long, belted garment, often, but not always, open, over a short skirt. The material is often diamond patterned and the hems beaded. Women also wear short-sleeved, long, belted garments of a pleated material and with beaded hems. The hem is either straight or trailing.

The foliage is characteristic of the group. The stylized trees usually have a plain trunk, either cross-hatched or inlaid, with a single set of voluted branches with a central fan of fronds and fronds growing from the volute ends. The same frondy branches and twigs occur on different types of plant.

'Flame and frond' ivories may be modelled or elements of the design may be highlighted with large, shaped inlays

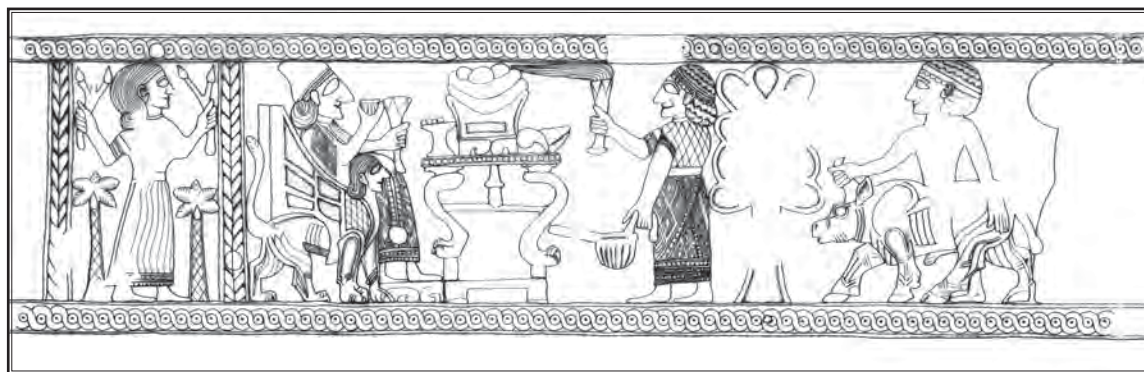


Fig. 37. Part of the 'flame and frond' Well AJ pyxis, No. 234, drawn by D. Wicke

set in deep cloisons. The inlays were sometimes held in place by a peg-hole and are called 'pegged inlays'. Different elements are inlaid, presumably depending on the luxury of the specific object. For instance, the wing feathers are often inlaid and sometimes the tufts of the mane: parts of crowns or necklaces may be highlighted; the stylized trees and flowers may be inlaid, as well sometimes as an element

of the framing. Few inlays survive *in situ*, apart from a few in two of the Well AJ pyxides and the flask, Nos. 234-236. These were of burnt or coloured ivory rather than glass and were set on a bedding (Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi 1987, 34, 52). Many parts of the design were overlaid with gold foil. Designs on the bases of pyxides were incised.

The three pyxides and a flask found in Well AJ, Nos. 233-236, form a coherent stylistic group, which exhibit the characteristic musculature and physiognomy as well as the distinctive technical features of this style-group. They show a range of motifs, from the sphinxes of No. 233, to the banquet and offering scenes of No. 234 (Fig. 37); to the winged goddesses and rampant goats of No. 235; and the processions of bulls, combat scenes, and maiden's head of the flask, No. 236. They are so close in style and technique that they were probably made in the same workshop and form an invaluable quartet from which to 'build' the group.

Other pyxides belong to the group. Mallowan found some broken fragments, Nos. 213-214, beside Well AJ and two joining fragments in Well NN, No. 362. Numerous pyxis fragments were found by Loftus and Mallowan in the Burnt Palace. From a cursory examination, at least a dozen fragmentary pyxides from the Burnt Palace can be attributed to the 'flame and frond' group,¹ though a more detailed examination of these will follow in the publication of his doctoral thesis by Dirk Wicke (2008) and the catalogue of the Burnt Palace ivories by Catherine Thomas (in preparation). Less than two dozen 'flame and

¹ Barnett *C.N.I.*, 190, S1, pl. xviii; 192, S13, pl. xix; 192-193, S14-17 and 23, pl. xx; 191, S2, pl. xxii; 193, S23c, pl. xxv, while S6 (191, pl. xxi) is comparable except for the absence of inlays. Fragments of lids with rosette and disc borders, nos. S34 and S44a, b and S45 (194, pls. xxi, xxx). The calves fixed to the lids were a common find in the Burnt Palace, see those catalogued as S362 (219-221, pls. ci-cvi) and Mallowan *N. & R. I.*, 220, fig. 174. Similarly decorated base fragments include S35, 36q, and S38 (pls. xxix and xxxi). See Wicke 2008.

frond' pyxides have, therefore, probably been found in the acropolis palaces. This is a small enough sample to have been produced in a single workshop.

Turning first to an examination of the size of the pyxides, essentially the heights because only the Well AJ examples are relatively complete, there is some understandable variation. Two of the Well AJ pyxides, Nos. 233 and 234, measure 7.0 and 6.4 cm. in height respectively, while the third, with the winged goddesses, No. 235, is taller and narrower (H. 9.2 cm.) and is, indeed, probably the tallest pyxis at Nimrud. Of the surviving Burnt Palace 'flame and frond' pyxides, there are essentially two groups, one is similar in height to Nos. 233 and 234 and measures between 6.0 and 6.6 cm. (S6, S14, S12 and No. 362 from Well NN), while a second group is taller with heights between 7.5 and 8.0 cm. (S1, S13, S15, S17, S18, S20 and S23). Of these, S1 and S6 were not inlaid.

Another typical workshop marker, since it is unaffected by 'style', which might be imposed on a craftsman, is the type of framing. The most popular frame across the group is the guilloche band, either just modelled or with the centre drilled: it was employed to decorate the frames at the tops and bottoms of the sides of Nos. 233-235 and also formed the vertical frames of the short panel of No. 233, although foliate frames were used for the vertical frames of No. 235, and for the fragment from Well NN. The fragments found in the vicinity of Well AJ have guilloche frames, as far as their state of preservation and recording permit comment. Turning to the Burnt Palace pyxides, again the majority employ guilloche frames at top and bottom and as vertical separators (S12 to S18, S20, S23), while S1 has a foliate frame at the top and a guilloche band at the base, and S2 and S6 have foliate frames at top and bottom and as vertical separators where present.

The two surviving lids of the Well AJ pyxides are made up of a series of pieces. The lid of the banquet scene pyxis, No. 234, is exceptionally complicated, employing an outer frame of alternate rosettes and excised circles, presumably to receive an inlay of a rosette, and an inner frame, inside the calves, of a zigzag line. The lid of No. 233 is slightly simpler, with the rosette and disc frame slightly inset from the edge: the sides of both were decorated with guilloche bands, as were the sides of the bases. The insides of the bases were filled with rosettes formed of interlocking circles.

The narrow end of the flask, No. 236, is occupied by a frame of excised circles, presumably for rosette inlays, while the wider end has a double guilloche band. Three guilloche bands run the length of the flask, separating the processions of bulls from each other and from the combat scenes, although the frame running along the concave edge of the flask is a large, inlaid version of a foliate frame. The oval stopper is decorated in the same way as the bases of the pyxides, with an outer guilloche band enclosing rosettes formed of interlocking circles.

From the above, it is evident that the most popular frame was the guilloche band, followed by the foliate frame, the rosettes and incised circles, just incised circles and, finally, the zigzag band. Such variability in size and framing suggests that it was the craftsmen who chose the types of framing and the size of the pyxis, according to the available tusk.

There are many similarities between the Well AJ pyxides and the flask. The stylized trees seen on Nos. 233, 234 and 236, with their plain trunks, single sets of volutes with fronds growing from the volutes and fans in the centres are all decorated with pegged inlays and are essentially identical, while the modelled trees of No. 235 are the same except for the absence of inlays, which was replaced by cross-hatching. In addition to the standard range of markings, the sphinxes of No. 233, the sphinx chair of No. 234 and the griffins of No. 236 share the cross-hatching on the chests, the two rows of pegged inlays and the bottoms of the wings forming characteristic points below the bellies.

Hairstyles, like so many aspects of this style-group, are varied. The enthroned figure of No. 235 wears the same droopy hat and hair curl as one of the sphinxes of No. 234, while the other sphinxes, all male, have a simple fillet to control their long hair ending in a curl. This type of hairstyle is also shown on the winged goddess and the twig-bearing figure in the separate panel of No. 235, while male attendants have their hair controlled by fillets but arranged in rows of zigzag curls. Finally, the twig-bearing female on No. 234 has her voluminous hair arranged in three fat curls above her fillet and in a long heavy plait down her back. There are also variations in dress, from the diamond-patterned garments of the enthroned figure and attendants to the long pleated garments of the females with straight or trailing hems.

The enthroned figure of the banquet scene has been described as a female, probably a deity, both by Invernizzi (1985, 410) and Safar and Sa'ied al-'Iraqi (1987, 51), although no evidence was offered to support the idea. However, the figure is probably male and royal. The droopy hat and curled hair is the same as that worn by the clearly male sphinxes of No. 233, the diamond-patterned garments are those worn by male not female figures, and the actual design of the banquet scene is similar to that on the sarcophagus of Ahiiram, where the enthroned figure is also male (Pritchard 1969, 456-458). This design was probably well known and can also be seen on an earlier scene from Megiddo, where again the seated ruler was male (Loud 1930, pl. 4, 2; Pritchard 1969, fig. 332). A significant difference between the sarcophagus and the pyxis is that the lotus held by the king on the sarcophagus droops, a sign that the ruler was dead, while that on the pyxis is upright, indicating a living ruler.

The carved tip of the flask provides a valuable illustration of the head of a woman in the round. The high crown with pegged inlays, the distinctive physiognomy of large eye, curved nose, pouting mouth and pointed chin, the hair arranged in heavy ringlets falling onto the chest and rich plaits curving round the back form useful comparisons with the free-standing

Ivories from Nimrud VI

heads on the 'lion-bowl', No. 237, from Well AJ and with numerous heads, caryatid figures and fan handles from the Burnt Palace.

This lion bowl or rather large spoon-stopper (Fig. 38) shares many similarities with the pyxides and flask but is more richly inlaid with the inlays set in deep cloisons. These appear to lack pegging, even in the long cloisons of the sphinxes' wings,

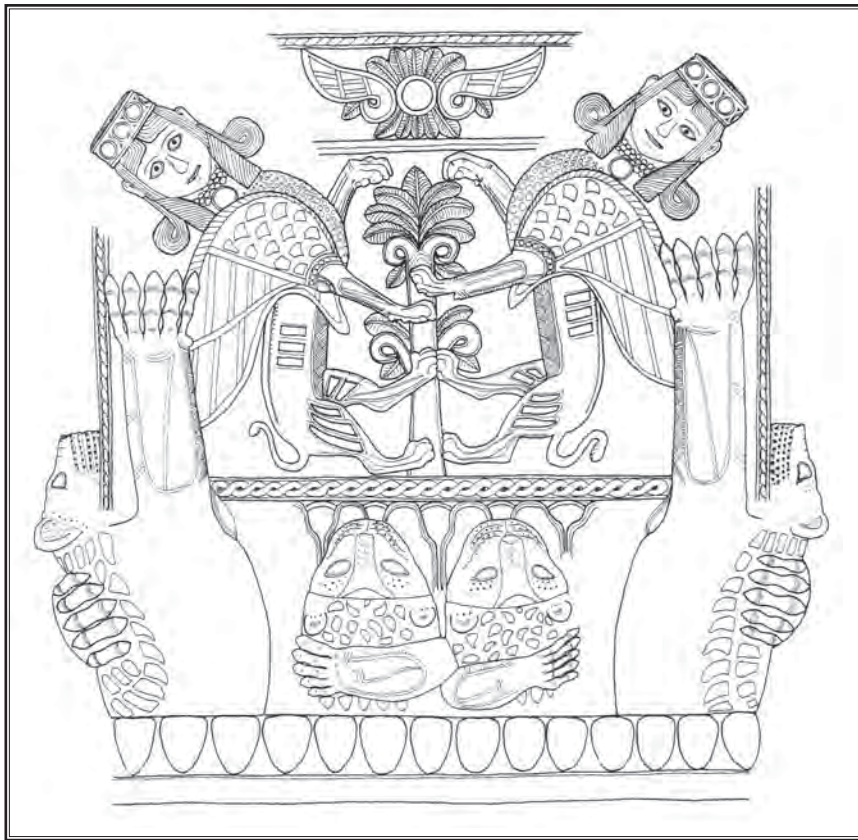


Fig. 38. The 'flame and frond' lion spoon-stopper from Well AJ, No. 237, drawn by D. Wicke.

or the inlaid ribs and flame markings, although the discs of the crown were probably pegged: closer examination may reveal traces of pegging. There are minor differences in the musculature, such as the chests of the sphinxes being carved with lozenge-shaped cloisons ending in a row of beading, and outlined with rows of beading instead of the usual cross-hatching; or the absence of plaiting along the hindlegs, although much of the other musculature is comparable. There are sufficient similarities to leave this piece in the 'flame and frond' group, even if carved by a different hand or workshop: the sphinxes' faces, hairstyle and necklaces are similar to those of the lady carved on the tip of the flask, and the sphinxes' wings with their two rows of feathers continuing to a point behind the foreleg are comparable to the sphinxes on the pyxides.

The last Well AJ piece assigned to the 'flame and frond' group because of the muscle stylizations is the openwork fitting, No. 238: a lion attacks a bull, standing on its back and biting its haunch, while the bull begins to collapse. However, although employing the usual sequence of musculature, with the lion having a tufted mane, line along the back, plaiting along the belly, rib and flame markings, these are not stylistically particularly close to the pyxides and

flask. The markings are less definite, especially the flames, and the plait along the haunch has been replaced by tufts of hair. Equally, although the bull has the familiar neck and shoulder markings, he has additional lines behind the foreleg. Like the lion bowl, it may have been carved by a different hand or in a different workshop.

The human heads of the sphinxes on the lion bowl, No. 237, are similar to some heads from the Burnt Palace and the three which may have been found by Rassam in the ZT area, Nos. 41-43. They wear crowns with circular pegged inlays, their hair falls in ringlets in front of their ears and heavy curls behind, their eyes are almond-shaped, with a heavy rim and drilled centre, their noses are sharp, lips thin and chin pointed; they wear beaded necklaces but no earrings. Apart from wearing fillets rather than crowns, and the circular inlays alternating with rosettes, the heads S172-177 (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 205, pl. lxx) are almost identical in the use of pegged inlays, hairstyle, eyes and eyebrows, and other features. The fillets are tied in a knot at the back.

Equally, the head of the flask, No. 236, is recognizably similar in features and hairstyle; she is crowned with a tall polos with pegged rectangular inlays, and her necklace has pendant discs, originally inlaid. Her hair falls in plaits down her back, is secured by a band of beading and ends in a row of curls. There are a number of examples with these tall crowns, with either plain or inlaid rectangles in the Loftus collection, for instance Barnett *C.N.I.*, nos. S193-194 (206, pl. lxxii). The fragmentary S209 is comparable in crown, features and hairstyle, as is the double caryatid figure S212, although the crown has wider pegged inlays, while the elegant single caryatid S211 has similar features, fillet and hairstyle (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 207, pls. lxxiii, lxxv).

Although it is considerably larger in size, the head known as the 'ugly sister', No. 349, also belongs to the group: compare the hairstyle as far as it is preserved, the excised eyebrows and rimmed eyes with excised pupils, and the necklace with inlaid pendants, although the mouth of the 'ugly sister' is less pursed than that of the head, No. 236. Also probably forming part of the group is the head from NE2, *I.N.* V, no. 304, with the usual hairstyle, smooth over the top of the head and ringlets falling behind the ears, the excised eyebrows, pointed almond shaped eyes with rims and drilled pupils, thin lips and small firm chin. There seems to be, therefore, a large group of stylistically similar female heads employed on lion bowls, horns, and single and double caryatid figures, as well as a number of heads the purpose of which is uncertain. They are distinguishable

by their features, particularly the eyes and hairstyle, by their jewellery and by the characteristic pegged inlays.

Returning to the lion bowl, No. 237, the winged disc at the front is formed of a central disc with fronds above and below and two rows of feathers rising directly from the volutes which, in this case, lack the cross-hatching common on many North Syrian winged discs: fronds grow from the volute ends. This type of simple fronded disc can be compared with the winged discs on a set of furniture panels from Room SW7 (*I.N.* III, no. 21, panels 3 and 4), while the markings on the sphinx riding on the head of the youth of panel 5 with cross-hatching on the wing, indented line along the back and rib and flame markings are typically ‘flame and frond’. Because of this Herrmann suggested that the chair-back was made in a ‘flame and frond’ workshop (1989, 93). However, this hypothesis has been strongly disputed by some scholars, particularly Winter, who consider that all the SW7 chair-backs were made in a single centre, see pp. 72-74 above.

A front and hind leg from a sphinx chair similar in form and style to that illustrated on the banquet scene pyxis, No. 234, as well as the curving S-shaped leg of a similar table, have been found in Fort Shalmaneser (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1441 and 1442; *I.N.* V, no. 486). Both are well known Phoenician types (Gubel 1996, 142-144). The sphinx chair was already known in the late second millennium, occurring on ivories from Late Bronze Age Megiddo, while both chair and table are illustrated on the Ahiram sarcophagus (Dentzer 1982, 31-34). As noted above, the banquet scene on the pyxis presumably originated from a similar cultural vocabulary to that employed on the sarcophagus, with the difference being that each was carved on different objects, with different purposes and in their local styles. However, the furniture elements with ‘flame and frond’ stylizations from SW37 suggest that sphinx chairs were actually made in this North Syrian centre.

Another ‘flame and frond’ furniture element is the massive leg, ND12042 from SW12. The two registers of animals are framed by guilloche bands: a procession of bulls advancing left with lowered heads is above a contest scene with a battling griffin and lion (Herrmann 1989, pl.18a). The animals carry the familiar musculature, with the neck marking on the bull framed by raised ribs: similar ribs can be seen on a bull from a contest scene from SW37, which once formed part of a long panel showing battling lions, sphinxes and bulls (*I.N.* IV, nos. 683-688).

A series of *openwork tenoned furniture panels* also belong to the group, although Winter has again disagreed (1998, 152). The clearest example, and that on which the suggestion was founded, is the beautiful oryx of *I.N.* IV, no. 586. The range of markings on the oryx is typically ‘flame and frond’ with lines on the neck, a shoulder marking with a Y mark, an indented line along the back ending in vertical lines, a marking on the front leg and flame markings on the hind leg. The oryx is browsing on the fronds of a plant growing from the base of the stylized tree, which has a plain trunk and single volute at the top. A group of panels stylistically and technically similar to the oryx was found in both NW15 (*I.N.* V, nos. 454-457) and SW12 (Herrmann 1989, pl. 16). The NW15 panels show a stag, an oryx and a pair of seated lions, with stylized trees forming the frame of one side and with papyrus and bud frames on the other. Fronded plants grow beside the tree and behind the animals. An important technical feature unique to the panels of this group is that the design is repeated in a simplified manner on the back. The range of markings is similar to the SW37 oryx, although the neck musculature has a central rib: there are the same markings on the shoulder, along the back and in front of the tail, and on the haunch, and all exhibit a deeply drilled eye. The seated lions are crowned with unusually large versions of a solar disc, set on lappet wigs. They wear *usekh* collars, represented frontally in a similar manner to some ‘crown and scale’ panels, although the lions lack the ubiquitous apron, regularly represented on Syrian versions. There is the usual incised line along the back and some rib markings, but the flame and plait markings are omitted. Panels from SW12 include variations on this theme with winged lions and sphinxes, crowned with large discs and with or without the frontal collar (Herrmann 1989, pl. 16). There can be little doubt that these panels form a distinctive style-group and that their musculature suggests that they belong to the ‘flame and frond’ style-group.

However, the panels with lions are a ‘vexing problem’ for Winter. She writes that Herrmann

‘joins works on the basis of a particular treatment of the leafy boughs of volute trees and a characteristic marking on the haunches of animals. On these grounds, nos. 454 and 455 of the present volume [*I.N.* V], showing a gazelle with head turned back to graze accompanied by various flora – volute tree, papyrus cluster, windy tendril-plant – are included in the group, although the motif has parallels in Phoenician production, as do the more egyptianizing papyrus clusters. When one then extends the class to include also nos. 456 and 457 – of identical size, fitting, tenons, and accompanying flora, but showing a seated lion with clearly egyptianizing bib and (solar?) disk on his head – one steps over the boundary of what is generally a criterion for Phoenician vs. North Syrian distinctions: the strong presence of egyptianizing elements. Does this mean one has to reclassify all four pieces (*I.N.* IV, nos. 454-57) as “Intermediate/South Syria”? Or must we now reconsider the distinguishing features of the North Syrian tradition in general?’ (1998, 152).

The answer to the second question is ‘yes’. We need to be aware that Egyptian influence had existed along the Levant coast and inland for centuries. By the early first millennium, motifs in inland areas had changed almost beyond recognition. Indeed, the increasing misunderstanding of Egyptian motifs is evident on many Nimrud style-groups. It is too simple to

Ivories from Nimrud VI

suggest that no North Syrian workshop employed any motif derived from Egypt. Indeed, the mobility of motifs is illustrated by the similar design of the banqueting scenes on Ahiram's sarcophagus and the 'flame and frond' pyxis, No. 234 (Herrmann 1989). Winter's objections are untenable.

Symmetry, variation and quality

The NW15 stag and oryx show marked variation in quality even within panels from a single set (*I.N.* V, 125). Some Burnt Palace pyxides demonstrate variation even within a pyxis: pairs of opposed sphinxes are usually arranged symmetrically, but the fragmentary S13 (192, pl. xix) combines a pair of opposed sphinxes with a third larger sphinx, lying down. This rejection of absolute symmetry by the 'flame and frond' group is in marked contrast to Phoenician and Syrian pieces.

Even from the limited sample known to date, 'flame and frond' material employs an unusually wide range of motifs, and it is probable that no two objects were identical. For instance, the Well AJ pyxides illustrate banquet and procession scenes, opposed sphinxes and the mistress of animals. Burnt Palace examples include lion hunts. The flask shows processions of bulls and animal combat scenes and the head of a female. The furniture leg from SW12 has a similar combination of motifs. The chair-back from SW7 depicts the familiar motif of men saluting trees, while openwork panels show cervids, sphinxes, griffins, and seated lions. A collection of female heads in the round from the Burnt Palace probably formed parts of fan handles or small statuettes, while the 'ugly sister' presumably belonged to a considerably larger statue.

This variety suggests that North Syrian patrons were not restricted to the standard iconography common across the area. They could choose standard motifs, but they also employed a range of motifs, including some with an element of narrative, all of which were carved in their characteristic style. The only other style-group with a similar approach is the Egyptianizing, but that is derived from the art of Egypt and is not as original as the 'flame and frond' oeuvre. Craftsmen clearly had access to plentiful supplies of ivory and were competent in the various techniques of ivory production, openwork or with backgrounds, modelled or incised, inlaid with colour or overlaid with gold.

An appreciation of this variable quality of production is important for our understanding of workshop organization and for trying to establish the boundaries of a style-group. Whether an example with the typical musculature but with significant differences should be assigned to the main group, with the hypothesis that it was carved by a different craftsman, or whether the piece was carved in a different centre by someone aiming to copy the style, is a question that can be posed but not answered.

External relations

Relatively few 'flame and frond' ivories have been found outside Nimrud. However, the breadth of their distribution is impressive, with ivories found at Hasanlu, in a tomb in Tell Halaf, at Hama and in the Idaean Cave. A ceramic mould with a fragment of an animal contest scene was found at Zincirli, while a bronze bowl from Nimrud and a bronze frontlet from Tell Tayinat *may* have been products of 'flame and frond' workshops. With the exception of those in the Idaean Cave, presumably dedicated by some fortunate sailor or merchant, this distribution is distinctly northern. No fragments have been recognized in other Assyrian sites or at Samaria or in Cyprus.

The most significant assemblage was found in a destruction layer on the citadel at Hasanlu (Muscarella 1980, 192-199; Winter 1976a, pl. Vb). This destruction provides an invaluable *terminus ante quem*, by which time the ivories had not only been made, but traded or given to the ruler. However, its date has been and continues to be disputed: the excavators originally suggested that the city was burnt as the result of an Urartian raid c. 800 BC. This was countered by Medvedskaya in 1988, who proposed that the site was sacked by Sargon II during his eighth campaign in 714 BC. Both the excavators (Dyson & Muscarella 1989) and Zimansky (1998) have argued against her suggestion. Zimansky pointed out that

'it is clear that the horizons of the [Urartian] kingdom were expanding dramatically. Far-reaching campaigns were launched toward the southeast to effect the conquest of the southern shore of Lake Urmia'.

He further commented that Minua

'left nearly as many building inscriptions as all the other Urartian rulers combined, and extended the kingdom nearly as far as its ultimate limits in all directions except northward. He solidified Urartian control of the Urmia Basin and campaigned against Malatya in the west. It was probably in the time of Minua, either as sole ruler or subordinate to Išpuini, that Hasanlu was destroyed' (Zimansky 1998, 33).²

'Flame and frond' material at Hasanlu included the remains of lion bowls, no. 222, pyxides with bases and lids with calves fixed on top, nos. 226-235, 242-248, and parts of a lion statuette, nos. 256-257 (Muscarella 1980, 118-129, 136-137). Despite being fragmentary, the couchant sphinxes on the pyxis fragments, nos. 226-231, are obviously 'flame and frond' with their facial features, drooping hats, hair curls, hatched bases of the wings and feathers represented by large pegged inlays, and, where preserved, the familiar musculature and fronds. The shape is slightly different from most Nimrud examples, with

² I am grateful to David Stronach for this reference.

a plain section separated by a zigzag frame from the design in the bottom half of the pyxis. However, one unpublished fragment found by Mallowan in the Burnt Palace, ND1607, is almost identical to the Hasanlu type. The markings on the recumbent calves originally fixed to the lids also differ from Nimrud examples, although the general type is similar. The bases, with their guilloche frames and internal design of interlocking circles forming rosettes are identical to Nimrud pieces, as is the lid fragment with rosettes and a guilloche edge (Muscarella 1980, no. 248).

Fragments of *plain pyxides* with simple guilloche borders were found in the Burned Buildings at Hasanlu (Muscarella 1980, 240-41) and in Well AJ (No. 293). These are similar to a complete example from Tell Halaf, which was found in the 'Ältere' or 'Gold-Gruf', a vaulted tomb sunk into prehistoric levels and lying partly under the terrace of the Hilani built by Kapara, and thus predating both terrace and building. The dead man lay on his back, with his head to the east. His mouth had been covered by a gold plate on which were represented his moustache and short beard, both highlighted with blue and white inlays.³ The most important find was a semi-circular gold plaque with holes round the edge (Moortgat 1955, 5-7, Abb. 1-3; Hrouda 1962, 3-4, 19 & Taf. 1), perhaps attached to his clothing. Within a guilloche frame it shows a pair of rampant goats either side of a stylized tree. Despite their small size, the cervids have the familiar lines on the neck, the oval shoulder, incised ribs and flame markings on the upper hindlegs. The mountains at the bottom and the fronds at the top of the tree had large cloisons for inlay, and the tree is similar to those on the pre-Kapara orthostats (Moortgat 1955, Taf. 70b-78). Rudimentary markings can also be seen on the bulls and goats of six small gold plaques (Moortgat 1955, 5-7, figs. 1-3; Hrouda 1962, 3-4, 19 & Taf.1), which once decorated the man's sandals. Other finds from this tomb included a gold, triple-armed earring, often shown on Assyrian reliefs as tribute from the west, some beads and a bronze strainer. The strainer, with its fluted oval body, long spout and high strap handle, can be compared with that held by the attendant on the 'flame and frond' pyxis from Well AJ, No. 234.

The plain cylindrical box of the Tell Halaf pyxis was some 9 cm. high with a diameter of 11.5 cm. (von Oppenheim, nd, 221; Hrouda 1962, no. 217, Taf. 43 and 50) and was decorated at the top and bottom with guilloche bands, overlaid with gold and fixed by gold-covered ivory nails. The lid was formed of a sheet of ivory, decorated with gold-covered guilloche bands and with a central golden rosette, the petals of which were filled with blue and white inlays. There were five compartments in the interior: the remains of rouge were found in one, with a silver spatula nearby (von Oppenheim nd, 221-22), thus suggesting the original form and use of such pyxides.

Fragments of actual 'flame and frond' ivories were found in a shaft grave sealed by a statue of seated females. There is no stratigraphic evidence to date these tombs, although Moortgat considered that they also belonged to the pre-Kapara period (Moortgat 1955, 11-14). Barnett dated them to the late 10th century (Barnett 1982, 45), while Hrouda opted for a 9th century date (Hrouda 1972-1975, 54). The fragments consist of a small female head with a high polos, partially overlaid with gold, similar to a number of heads from the Burnt Palace, such as S181 or S194-196 (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 205-206, pls. lxxi-lxxii), a fragment of a second head crowned with a rosette band, cf. S172-177 (Hrouda 1962, Taf. 9; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 205, pl. lxx-lxxi), a stag with horns along its back and fragments with animals with the usual muscle patterning, incised lines along the back, incised ribs, plaits along belly and haunch and flame markings (Moortgat 1955, 13, figs. 10-12; Hrouda 1962, 9-10, 21, Taf. 9b, nos. 49-58; Taf. 11, no. 77).

The well-known Tell Halaf sculptures, both bas reliefs and in the round, were also carved in this distinctive style. There are two periods, an early and a late. The lively early slabs, which were small and rather crude, were first set up in the temple of the Weather God, according to the original inscription only partially erased by the ruler Kapara, who re-inscribed the slabs and used them to face his new terrace (Moortgat 1955, 15-19, Taf. 10-102; Orthman 1971, 119-129). The second series consist of Kapara's own slabs, inscribed by Kapara, and are more sophisticated (Moortgat 1955, 22-28, Taf. 103-122; Orthmann 1971). These were used on the façade of the Hilani or Temple Palace itself. The similarity of the range of musculature of the animals on both series with the ivories is remarkable (Herrmann 1989, 97-100).

The smaller slabs were carved on rough basalt and limestone, which would probably have been plastered and painted. They have often been criticized as being crudely worked, but fine work is essentially impossible on such poor quality stone, as is obvious when seeing slabs carved on similar material belonging to different periods, including Roman sculptures at Bosra, and elsewhere in Syria. Furthermore, there would have been no need for fine work if the slabs were to be plastered and painted: a rough surface holds the plaster. There is an obvious development from the small, rough but lively slabs from the Temple of the Weather God to the more restricted iconography and finer working of the guardian figures and slabs commissioned by Kapara for his Hilani palace-temple. The small slabs illustrate a wide range of subjects, not designed to form a continuous narrative, but with vivid scenes of warfare and hunting, both on foot and from chariots, of men fishing from boats and seated on the bank, of camels, and a variety of animals, such as gazelles, shown singly or rampant either

³ Oppenheim von , n.d., 219-22, pls. Moortgat 1955, 5-7, figs. 1-2; Hrouda 1962, 3-4, 19, pl. 1;

Ivories from Nimrud VI

side of a stylized tree, in combat with each other, of mythical creatures, such as sphinxes and fish-men, and of birds (von Oppenheim nd, pls. 17-38). Some slightly larger scenes showed a seated man with in front of him a pair of bull-men supporting a winged disc on a stool, while another showed an animal orchestra. The iconographic range is considerably wider on the sculptures than on the ivories. As discussed in Chapter One above, the date of both Aramaean phases at Tell Halaf or Guzana, the capital of Bit Bahiani (Hrouda 1972-1975, 54), can probably be placed between c. 1000 and 850 BC, although this is disputed.

Many fragments of burnt ivory and bone were found in Building V at Hamath, destroyed by Sargon II in 720. As usual the collection is mixed. Pieces from Level E include some fragmentary 'flame and frond' examples of panels with guilloche frames, the working of which is comparable to the finest group from Nimrud (Buhl 1990, 249-251; Herrmann 1989, 102-103). They probably consisted of a pair of opposed sphinxes, with a male figure walking off to the right, a pair of opposed bulls with heads locked above a voluted palmette plant, and part of a combat frieze of a lion and a bull with a long frond curving back over the lion's back. A fragment of an openwork tenoned panel with the horn of an ibex among fronds is also similar to examples from Nimrud (Buhl 1990, 248-251, nos. 988-1002: *I.N.* IV, no.586; V, nos. 454-455).

A few fragments from 'flame and frond' pyxides were found in the Idaean Cave (Heraklion Museum, HM 658, 667 and 666, unpublished), as well as fragments of two other pyxides (Sakellarakis 1992, pl. 10a). The small, finely carved fragments of a sphinx exhibit the familiar feathered wings, marked rib case and plaited band along the belly: these are the westernmost examples of 'flame and frond' material. Sakellarakis also found fragments of Nimrud-type North Syrian fan handles with caryatid figures, lotus and palm capitals, handles and knobs (Sakellarakis 1992, 113-114, pls. 2-7).

Bronze

Matching style-groups across ivory and metal is problematic, both because the craftsmen and workshops would have been different, and because of corrosion. Suggestions in Herrmann 1989, 102-103, that 'flame and frond' musculature could be seen on a Nimrud bowl found by Layard in the 'Room of the Bronzes' (Layard 1853, pl. 64) and a bowl found in the Kerameikos cemetery (Kubler 1954, pl. 162) were incorrect.⁴ However, another Nimrud bowl *might* have been made in a 'flame and frond' workshop (Layard 1853, pl. 60; Markoe 1985, 17; Curtis & Reade 1995, 138, no. 101). This 'swinging-handle bowl' has a ring or loop-shaped handle fixed to a bar riveted to the side of the bowl and a raised central rosette. Decoration consists of three continuous friezes of animals separated by guilloche bands, a contest scene with bulls, gazelles, ibex and winged griffins in the centre with friezes of bulls and gazelles above and below. As far as can be determined, the bulls and cervids exhibit the characteristic shoulder markings, lines along the back, rib markings and flames on the haunches, although many details are unclear (Curtis in Curtis & Reade 1995, 138, no. 101). However, Curtis considers the bowl to be Syrianizing or Syro-Phoenician and has dated it to the 9th to 8th centuries. Finally, a poorly preserved bronze frontlet from Hilani I at Tell Tayinat has been attributed to a 'flame and frond' workshop, but, once again, the state of preservation is poor (Kantor 1962, 99, fig. 7).

Despite the balance of archaeological evidence which suggests that 'flame and frond' ivories were carved at Tell Halaf, this has been hotly disputed since the outset with a variety of more or less ingenious arguments, and dispute will undoubtedly continue. Although Barnett noted similarities between the Halaf sculptures and the ivories, he suggested that all North Syrian ivories were carved at Hamath, which he proposed to be the centre of ivory working in the early first millennium (Barnett C.N.I. 46-49; 1963, 81-84). In 1982 he amended this hypothesis and added Zincirli, Sakça Gözü, Carchemish and Kunulua to the list. In 1983 Irene Winter developed Barnett's thesis and suggested that Carchemish was the pre-eminent power in North Syria, which manufactured and exported luxury goods and craftsmen (Winter 1983, 177-197). Winter has continued to maintain, as recently as 2005 (34) that Guzana was a less developed and largely politically dependent city state, unable to support its own elite production. She considered that Carchemish and Zincirli were centres of 'mass, multi-style ivory production'. No 'flame and frond' artifacts were found at Carchemish, although seven ivory palmettes were found in the Temple of the Storm God (Woolley & Barnett 1978, 167, pl. 71 f), and only a broken ceramic mould showing the hindquarters of a lion with the characteristic markings at Zincirli (Andrae 1943, pls. 9f, 10a), so evidence to support Winter's hypothesis is not strong.

However, with a square fortified citadel occupying more than 3 hectares, with impressive gates and major public buildings constructed over a period of at least a century and with a striking array of monumental and artistically coherent sculpture, as well as a range of important artefacts, the insignificance of Guzana is hard to maintain. Furthermore the site is located approximately in the centre of the area of distribution of 'flame and frond' material. It seems probable, therefore, that the style-group was made at Guzana

⁴ Although the Kerameikos bowl is generally North Syrian in style, it was not a product of a 'flame and frond' workshop.

itself and was the state art of the rulers of Bit Bahiani (Herrmann 1989). The ivories can perhaps be dated to c. 1000-850 B.C.

THE 'ROUND-CHEEKED AND RINGLETED' STYLE-GROUP

Discoveries in Well AJ of the remarkable and exuberant cosmetic vessel, No. 239, the siren of No. 240, and the lugubrious lion, No. 241, expanded the range of the 'round-cheeked and ringletted' style-group, previously only known from some panels from SW37 (*I.N.* IV, 19, 49, 183-187, nos. 888-922). The SW37 panels are remarkable for their lack of uniformity in size and subject: there are none of the familiar sets of panels and only one or two pairs. The subjects on these relatively crude panels fill the entire surface: there are no frames. They depict human figures, both male and female, usually represented frontally and wearing a variety of head-gear, hairstyles and clothing, as well as panels with crouching or rampant sphinxes, again usually human-headed (Fig. 19b). The faces of both humans and sphinxes are characteristic: they are round and fleshy with arching eyebrows, long, rimmed eyes with drilled pupils and wide noses. Numerous differences in details suggest that they were carved by a number of hands, for instance compare the method of representing the hair, faces, chests and wings of *I.N.* IV, nos. 907 and 908. There is an absence of any marking of musculature in the group. Panels were fixed to their backings by a distinctive type of wide dowel, with a central peg hole cut by a centred bit, rather than by tenons.

The cosmetic palette, No. 239, is carved from a single piece of ivory and is unique in form and decoration. Within the mass of figures occupying the entire surface of the palette, there is a hierarchy of animals, with others employed to fill spaces. For a detailed analysis of the design and of this group, see Wicke 2002 and 2005. This vessel is extremely competent, elaborate and dynamic with its magnificent series of animals, mythological, fantastic, wild and domestic.

Another remarkable piece from Well AJ is the silhouette of a siren attacking a goat, No. 240. The distinctive physiognomy of the siren's face can be compared with faces on the cosmetic palette and on SW37 panels, such as *I.N.* IV, nos. 904 and 906, with the hair arranged in short ringlets, the long eye with drilled pupil, the wide nose and the fleshy cheeks and chin. The Well AJ lion, No. 241, is strongly reminiscent of the SW37 panels: the form of the eye, the nose wrinkles, the tufts of mane are similar to those on the lion on the base of the cosmetic palette, and see also *I.N.* V, no. 216.

In an article presented in 2002 and published in 2005 Wicke made a number of new attributions to the group. He suggested that two small bull figures made up from separate pieces in Well AJ, Nos. 277-282, had been made in the 'round-cheeked and ringletted' workshop (Wicke 2005, 79). With the cross-hatching on their heads and rounded bodies, this is plausible.⁵ He also compared the plain Well AJ spoon-stopper, No. 285, with its handle formed of a column capital heavily ornamented with mouldings and foliate designs, with a fragment from S10 (*I.N.* V, no. 169), and the ivory chair legs and base of a column at Zincirli (Andrae 1943, Taf. xlili, liii). Barnett called this distinctive type of moulding a 'cushion capital' and considered it typically North Syrian. He pointed out comparisons with capitals forming the bases of caryatid figures from the Burnt Palace (S253 and 254, Barnett *C.N.I.*, 210, pl. lxxviii), as well as drawing attention to the chair legs and a stone bowl from Zincirli (Andrae 1943, Taf. lxiii, 13, 10o). The cushion capital can also be seen on a colossal inscribed basalt throne and base from Tell Tayinat (Hawkins 2000, 364, pls. 189-190).

The only other piece which can be assigned to this group is a woman at the window from Room S10 of the Residency (Fig. 20c; *I.N.* V, 31, 65, no. 109; Wicke 2005, 104). This unusual example has a fleshy and rounded face, with long eyes and large ears. She wears a rectangular jewel with pendants on top of her head and heavy, three-lobed earrings. The hair falls in ringlets onto the wide window-sill, on which her chin rests. The sill is supported on five balusters rather than the usual four.

A similar style of carving can be seen on a small steatite box for kohl, first published by Barnett (Fig. 39).⁶ This was purchased in 1869 at a cost of £5.00 and was said to come from Orfah/Urfa.⁷ The narrow box, with three holes along the top, has designs on both sides. On one side the upper register depicts a banquet scene with an enthroned male in a pointed hat holding up a bowl, with an attendant standing in front of him also holding a bowl. He is seated in a chair with a straight back, curved top and side panels, his feet rest on a footstool also with side panels. Chairs and footstools with side panels occur at Zincirli and Karatepe and can be traced back to Late Bronze Age Ugarit (Symington 1996, 136). Below is a ritual bedroom scene, with two figures, represented frontally, side by side, the man holding the woman's breast. The bed has high sides and a complex system of cross-legs. The other side shows a roaring lion and a couchant sphinx carved in typically 'round-cheeked

⁵ Less convincingly, he suggested that a fragment of a human head (Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 216, fig. 164), and a series of fragments of lion heads from Fort Shalmaneser belonged to the group, but these are perhaps too fragmentary to draw such a conclusion (*I.N.* IV, no. 1372; V, nos. 214, 216, 507). Equally it is hard to prove that the plain half-cylinders (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1535-1540) belonged to any particular group, even if they used a centred dowel for fixing, also extensively employed by the 'flame and frond' group.

⁶ Barnett *C.N.I.*, 130, fig. 48, BM 91905, 1869.6.19; Wicke 2005, 102.

⁷ See the receipt from the Trustees of the British Museum to Narum Dimitri of 1 Lower John Street, Golden Square, kept in a volume of correspondence from 1868-1881 (D-E, p. 1558).

Ivories from Nimrud VI

and ringletted' style. The lion's mane is cross-hatched and his tail curves over his back: the sphinx has a pointed hat with tail, similar to that of the seated figure, cross-hatching on the chest, and an S-shaped tail. No musculature is marked.

Unlike most style-groups, the 'round-cheeked and ringletted' group enjoys a variety of motifs carved in an individual and easily recognizable style. The imagination of the craftsmen was carried to new heights on the cosmetic palette, with not only a fantastic design but also variety in the representation of detail. It has long been recognized that the 'round-cheeked and ringletted' style-group belongs to the North Syrian tradition. Wicke has drawn comparisons between the SW37 panels and reliefs from Zincirli, comparing the men of *I.N.* IV, nos. 888, 890 and 891 with the relief showing men wearing pointed hats and shawled garments (Luschan von 1911, Taf. lviii). The similar ivory chair legs, stone bowl and column capitals at Zincirli

illustrate the marriage between major and minor arts and support Wicke's proposal that this unusual but stylistically coherent group was produced at Zincirli.

Another North Syrian piece

The North Syrian material in Well AJ is remarkably coherent, with most pieces belonging only to the two style-groups discussed above, one located in the east and the other in the west of the area. However, Bonatz has attributed the rectangular panel with a lion, No. 244, to a North Syrian workshop (2004, 393-394), comparing it to representations on sculptures from Carchemish and Sakça Gözü. He has pointed out how similar the pose of the lion is to a seal impression of Adad-nirari III (808-782) found in SE10. The 'gloved' outstretched forepaw is indeed similar to the seal, which was compared by Mallowan to the paws of lions and griffins on a contest scene, ND9396-97, from NE1 (*N. & R.* II, 534-545, figs. 453 and 452; *I.N.* V, nos. 308-309). However, there is little stylistic similarity between the Well AJ lion and those on the NE1 contest scene.

It has been generally accepted that contest scenes were a specifically North Syrian motif, and it was, therefore, assumed in *I.N.* V, 29 that the NE1 contest scene had been

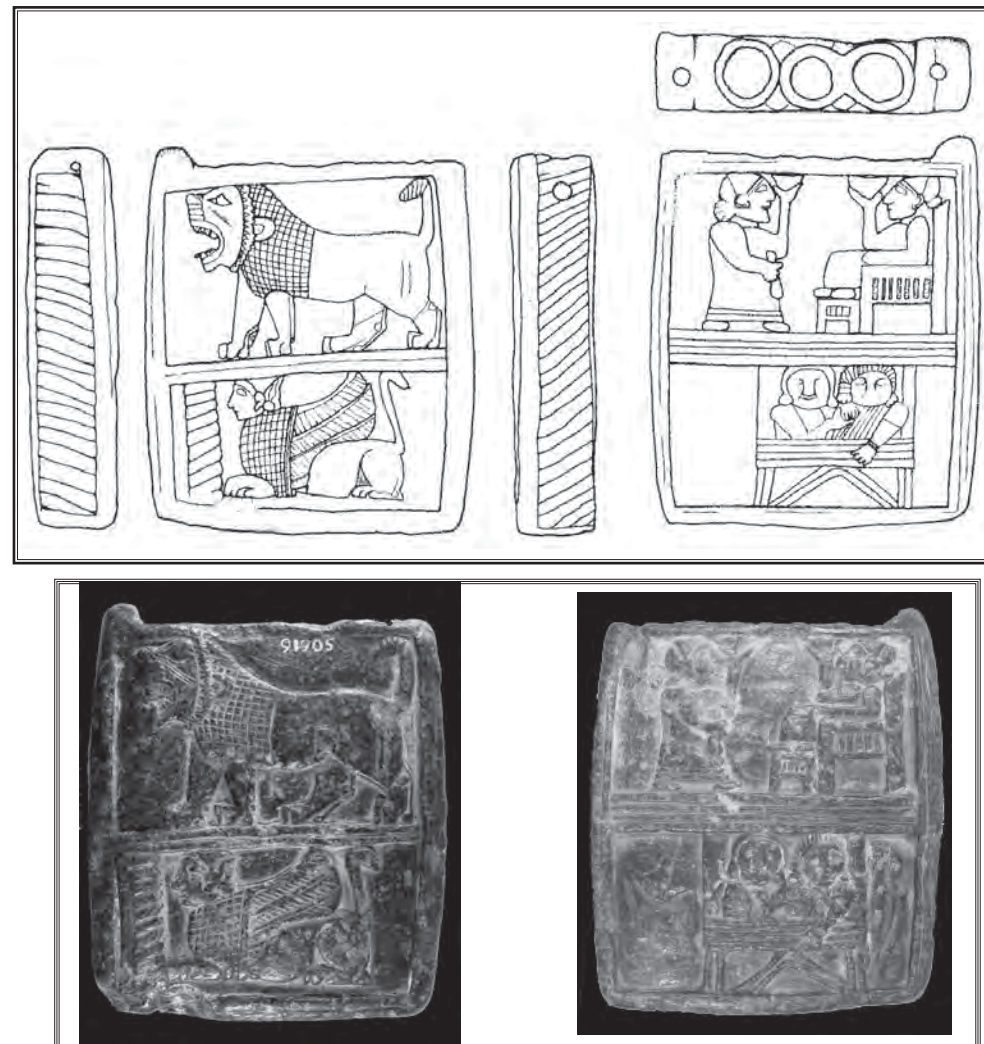


Fig. 39. 'Round-cheeked and ringletted' steatite box, BM 91905, in the British Museum, drawn by D. Wicke.

carved in a North Syrian workshop. However, as the iconographic vocabulary of the area becomes clearer, it seems probable that contest scenes were carved in Syrian and Phoenician workshops as well. Certainly, there is little reason to attribute either ND9396-97 or No. 264 from Well AJ to a North Syrian workshop. There is none of the familiar cross-hatching on the wings and the bodies of the beasts are relatively slim.

Returning to the Well AJ lion, this piece is unique in its musculature with the heavy plaited ruff by the ears, the flower-like muscle on the shoulder and the upturned 'V's on the hindquarter. Bonatz is surely correct in attributing the lion to a North Syrian workshop, but where in the North Syrian world it was carved awaits definition. There are also many other groups awaiting location, such as the 'vase hat' men from SW7.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE ASSYRIAN AND ASSYRIANIZING TRADITIONS

Distribution of Assyrian ivories in Nimrud

Until the excavations of Mallowan and the discoveries by the Iraqis in Well AJ, only a few fragmentary Assyrian ivories had been found in the North West Palace. Layard found the first fragment in Room I or L, No. 78, and a few fragments with kneeling goats when cutting the Roadway for the Bulls, Nos. 38-40. Layard called Room AB the 'Treasure Chamber',¹ because he found such riches in it, the 12 cauldrons and 150 bronze bowls, the remains of an Assyrian throne, bronze furniture fittings, ivory and tusks, glass, horse harness, weapons and armour. However, Layard was unable to retrieve the 'mass of ivory', much of which was engraved, probably in Assyrian style, as it 'could with difficulty be detached from the earth in which it was imbedded. It fell to small fragments, and even to dust, almost as soon as exposed to the air' (Layard 1853, 195).

The only surviving ivory from Layard's excavation in Room AB is the damaged furniture leg, No. 94, and some poorly preserved fragments of tusk, No. 95. A century later Mallowan retrieved from the bottom of Well AB, also investigated by Layard, the shattered remains of Sargon's 'book', Nos. 96-97. While the slender information that we have suggests that the ivories were probably Assyrian, the bronze bowls were of many different forms and styles. Room AB was well sited to have served as a storeroom for the Terrace and West Wing.

Mallowan found the superb modelled panel of the Assyrian king, No. 18, whom he identified as Ashurnasirpal II, near the Banquet Stela in the recess EA. Looking for the throne dais in Room B, he recovered the broken remains of ninth century Assyrian furniture panels, Nos. 44-75. A few fragments were found in two rooms of the principal suites of the Great Court, and a fan handle and other minor pieces in Well NN, No. 363 and 365-366.

The best Assyrian ivories were found by the Iraqis in Well AJ, Nos. 223-232. These consisted of some furniture panels, a large wood and ivory statue of a courtier and some furniture elements. The Iraqis also recovered a different type of Assyrian ivory from Well 4, ivory or bone tubes, some with the remains of kohl or henna. Three of these were engraved with typical Assyrian scenes.

Outside the North West Palace, Mallowan found furniture panels, probably from the throne of the Assyrian king, in the throne room of the Nabu Temple,² and Loftus found some eighth century panels in an area to the south of the North West Palace, probably in the Central Palace of Tiglath-pileser III, Appendix 2, CP 1-10.

Although easy to recognize, the actual numbers of Assyrian ivories recovered, not only from the North West Palace but from Nimrud as a whole, are relatively small. There are a mere 203 entries in *Ivories from Nimrud II, Ivories in Assyrian Style*, while thousands of ivories belonging to other traditions were found in the storerooms of Fort Shalmaneser (*I.N.* III-V). The ivories in *I.N.* II represent basically all those found by the B.S.A.I. worked in the Assyrian style from both the Acropolis and Fort Shalmaneser, but not the few found by Layard and Loftus. They also include some ivories probably incorrectly assigned to the group, such as *I.N.* II, nos. 114, 118 and 119. In all, therefore, Assyrian ivories probably represent less than 5% of the total of ivory recovered from Nimrud.

¹ Barnett called Room AB the 'Room of the Bronzes' by which name it is now known.

² *I.N.* II, 2, 3, 17, 19, 20, 22-24, 35, 51, 62, 65, 67-69, 72-74, 76, 81, 83, 85-90, 171, 176, 181-182, 184, 187, 198-202. One ivory in Assyrian style was found in Fort Shalmaneser, T20, Curtis *et al.* 1993, 18-21, fig. 20.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

Provenance

Mallowan and Davies were correct in their observation that ‘if we classify the ivories by reference to their location in the soil, they fall into homogeneous groups, and analysis by location is found to correspond to analysis by style’ (*I.N.* II, 1).

As is clear from an examination of their provenances in *I.N.* V (24-25), Assyrian ivories do indeed fall into groups according to provenance, and their distribution differs from that of ivories in other styles. Not only were Assyrian ivories not found in treasuries with imported ivories, but their distribution varied according to subject. Ivories with animal, floral or geometric motifs occurred in more contexts than figurative or narrative scenes, which were restricted to throne rooms, to storerooms serving throne rooms, to the vicinity of daises or to official suites (Herrmann 1997; Herrmann & Millard 2003, 390-391).

A similar pattern occurs in the North West Palace, where Assyrian narrative ivories were found near the throne dais in the south east corner of the Throne room, Room B, with some spread to Court E and Room F. Significantly no non-Assyrian ivory was recovered from that area, although one, No. 19, was found with the panel of the Assyrian king, No. 18, beside the stela in the recess EA. The principal group was recovered from Well AJ, which is sited not far from the reception room, S, of the King’s Suite.

In some instances a room’s significance may be suggested or reinforced by the presence of an Assyrian ivory: the two Ziggurat Terrace rooms, 25 and 19, formed parts of important suites and contained a few Assyrian fragments. Just as their presence may reinforce the importance of a suite of rooms, equally their absence may also be informative. Numerous ivories were recovered by Loftus and Mallowan in the Long Room of the Burnt Palace, including many retrieved from a deep bed of ash overlying a mud brick dais. However, these were all imported ivories. Indeed, no Assyrian ivories were found in that building at all, which raises queries about its use.

Incised ivories with narrative scenes

Most Assyrian ivories were simply incised, sometimes very lightly incised, on thin panels. Mallowan found Nos. 44-63 in Room B:

‘Beneath the frescoes lay a number of finely engraved fragments of ivories which were covered by a layer of 10 cm. of clay and rested directly on a hard beaten mud pavement overlaid with bitumen, apparently contemporary with the reign of Assur-nasir-pal’ (Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 10).

There are parts of vertical panels with Assyrian courtiers or soldiers, Nos. 44-47, as well as fragments of long panels with a variety of scenes including the king, the god in the winged disc, courtiers and soldiers, battle scenes both on horseback and from chariots, the felling of trees, and scenes of tribute. These are scenes typical of the Room B reliefs, which they complement rather than copy. Another panel showed a hero kneeling between a pair of bulls, No. 64. A few fragments had strayed into the adjacent Room F, No. 77.

The fragments are, unfortunately, too broken for it to be possible to reconstruct their original sequence, although they can be collected into groups, according to the direction in which they face. A group facing left consists of the fragment with the winged disc, No. 49, and the king with a defeated enemy at his feet, No. 50. The king might have been followed by some courtiers and soldiers, Nos. 53-55. Other sequences are the battle scenes, Nos. 57-61, and the tree felling sequence, No. 56. Another small series might consist of Assyrian soldiers advancing right, Nos. 51a and 52. These fragments can be dated to the ninth century, as can the remains of four vertical panels decorated with winged genies, Nos. 225-228, from Well AJ. The left side of a panel with an Assyrian under a baldaquin, No. 229, probably formed part of a procession scene.

These ivories presumably formed parts of royal furniture, and the panels found in Room B and Well AJ should be of uniformly high quality. However, the immediate impression is of varying standards of craftsmanship, both in technique and in the actual drawing. On some the drawing is excellent and well worked, for instance, the courtiers on Nos. 44 and 53, the king on No. 50, the sequence of fragments showing trees being cut down, No. 56, and Nos. 225 and 229 from Well AJ. On other examples the incision is slight and the design difficult to see, even if a photographic light is held really low to try to pick up the details, for instance the fragmentary vertical panels with courtiers, Nos. 46-47, or the battle scenes on Nos. 57-58 or Nos. 61 and 64. Others, such as Nos. 226-228, are poorly drawn. The designs would, of course, have been painted, but even the painter might have found it hard to define the figures. Since ivory is an exceptionally hard material, it is unlikely that these lightly incised figures would have worn away.

The variable quality and depth of incision pose more difficult questions than just work by different hands. The ivories found in or near the State Apartments are typically ninth century in style – many details, such as hair, dress and equipment, can be compared to those illustrated on the North West Palace reliefs – and were probably commissioned by Ashurnasirpal

II to decorate his furniture. Their decorative programme would have been designed to reflect and amplify that of the bas-reliefs and paintings of the throne room itself. They carried the standard messages of the king, protected by magical figures, a warrior and hero, supported by his courtiers and soldiers, and receiving tribute. Yet, while the drawing on some fragments is excellent and clear, that on others is barely visible.

If such variation was acceptable on the royal throne and on the bas reliefs decorating his palace (Reade 1965, 127), then we should not expect too great a level of standardization in the work of other style-groups. It raises interesting questions about what was considered to be important. Presumably it was that the design was recorded, rather than how well it was drawn, since the purpose of the image was to protect the user. The relative unimportance of the image is also suggested by the Assyrian practice in the reign of Ashurnasirpal II of writing cuneiform inscriptions across sculptures, even of the king himself.³ A similar comment about poor quality drawing has been made by Curtis about the crude designs on gold plaques from the Oxus treasure (Curtis & Searight 2003, 224-231).

A few fragments with Assyrian soldiers and courtiers, Nos. 1 and 12, were found in the halls, ZT25 and ZT19, rooms forming parts of suites in the north-west and north-east corners of the outer courtyard. Two small fragments, Nos. 302-303, were recovered in a mixed hoard in Room HH, probably out of context. Three ivory or bone containers with incised Assyrian scenes, Nos. 374-376, were recovered from Well 4, part of a large collection of containers, most of which were decorated with geometric designs of greater or lesser complexity.

Naturalistic and/or geometric designs

Few naturalistic motifs in Assyrian style were found in the North West Palace. Most were found in the throne-room or near Well AJ and were therefore associated with pieces with narrative scenes. The most popular motif was kneeling goats, found in Room B, Nos. 65-66; Layard's 'Roadway for the Bulls', No. 40; Court AJ, No. 210 and Room HH, No. 303. Floral motifs, such as a stylized tree or voluted palmette plants, were found in Rooms B and F, Nos. 68, 72-73 and 77c. Otherwise there are strips with rosettes set in circles, Nos. 74-75 and 220. Finally, there are geometric designs on many of the ivory or bone kohl tubes found in Well 4, No. 377-398.

Modelled Assyrian ivories

There are only a few modelled panels: most Assyrian ivories were incised. Modelled panels are usually well executed and worked on slightly thicker panels, between 5 and 6 mm., than incised pieces. There are only three, relatively complete panels: one is the Assyrian king, No. 18 from Court E; the other two from Well AJ depict Assyrian courtiers and a winged genie, Nos. 223 and 224. Nos. 18 and 223 are typical examples of high quality Assyrian work, with the hair lightly waved and ending in a row of spiral curls, the beard in curls round the face and falling in long curls ending in spirals, the large eye and heavy eyebrow, curved nose and carefully drawn mouth, and the garments decorated with rosettes in panels, and fringed shawls. The working of No. 224 is stylistically similar but more definite, as can be seen by comparing the faces of the courtiers of Nos. 223 and 224: the hair and facial features of No. 224 are much stronger, and the beardless courtier has a fleshy neck. Incidentally, both these panels were photographed by the author in the same way using the same low light, so these differences do not reflect different photographic techniques or lighting. The variation reflects the hands of different craftsmen working in the Assyrian palace workshop.

A group of fragments of narrow strips, varying in height from 2.5 to 3.3 cm., was found smashed in Court E (Nos. 20-37). They are carved relatively crudely in low relief and depict a range of typical Assyrian scenes, such as processions of courtiers and tributaries bringing gifts, captives, horses and laden mules and a castle. A single fragment of this group was found in ZT6, No. 8.

Other modelled examples include the fragment of a narrative scene from Room I, No. 78, and the kneeling goats, Nos. 38 and 39. Modelled versions of animals were found in Rooms NW5 and T10 (*I.N.* II, 163-168) in Fort Shalmaneser. Finally, the fan handle from Well NN, No. 363, has the same scene of pairs of opposed kneeling figures carved on both sides and is another modelled Assyrian ivory.

Assyrian statuary

Parts of Assyrian statues, such as faces, ears, arms, hands, legs and feet, are relatively common. Statues or statuettes would have been constructed of ivory and wood, with presumably the body parts worked in wood and then clothed. Rassam found

³ I am grateful to Michael Roaf for this observation.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

parts of two statuettes of a king and a genie with bucket and cone at Balawat (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 225-226, U3, pl. cxxvii). However, the most remarkable example of such a composite statue was that of a courtier found in Well AJ, No. 230. He stands about half a metre high and consists of separate ivory sections, the head, fully carved in the round, including the wig, the shoulders and upper arms and parts of the skirt and the sandaled feet: the rest would have been made of wood. The life-size ears from Well NN, Nos. 350-351, may have formed parts of other life-size Assyrian statues. Parts of these statues and statuettes would also have been overlaid with gold.

Parts of animals carved in the round may also be of Assyrian work, such as the fine leonine head, No. 283, which may have been part of a statuette or other small object.

Furniture

In his description of the bronze and ivory throne that he found in Room AB,⁴ Layard noted that the legs were made of ivory. He also found a pine cone foot, No. 94. More recently, a pair of massive ivory palm capitals, carved in the round, was found in Well AJ. These can be matched by bronze examples of much the same size found by Layard in Room AB and examples of silver-plated furniture legs found by Özgüç at Altintepe (Özgüç 1969, pl. xix): there are also stone versions (Curtis 1996, 178-9, pl. 53). Some big cylindrical units and a cone-shaped foot, Nos. 290-291, from Well AJ can all probably be considered to be Assyrian work.

Writing Boards

With plentiful supplies of ivory available in the reign of Sargon, writing boards were made not only of wood but also of ivory, examples of both being recovered by Mallowan from Well AB. The 'book' of writing boards, Nos. 96-97, had 14 'leaves' and a front and back cover. The cuneiform inscription on the front recorded that the book was written for Sargon II and contained an astrological text. Remains of the text survived on some wax preserved on the boards and was studied by Donald Wiseman. The boards were initially assembled from fragments by Agatha Christie and conserved by Margaret Howard (1955, 14-20), whose description of the boards, their construction and hinging is quoted in full below.

'The tablets are approximately 33.8 cm. in length and 15.6 cm. in width, including the margins which are raised 3 mm. to allow for some clearance of the waxed surface which was thus protected from abrasion when the boards were closed. Both faces of the boards within the margins were hatched with criss-cross lines to make a gripping surface for the wax on which the inscription would be written. The beeswax with which the boards were coated was mixed with sulphide of arsenic, or orpiment, which rendered it sufficiently fluid to spread easily over the surface and more plastic for writing.

'The two end margins and one of the side margins on each face of the tablets are 1 cm. wide, while the fourth margin, which carries the hinges, is wider by an extra 4 mm. to allow for a groove or flute to contain the hinge-pin ...

'The boards were fitted together like the separate leaves of a Japanese screen; consequently the hinge-margins are on opposite and alternate sides, that is to say on the left obverse and right reverse of each board, and there is never more than one hinged margin to any one face.

'There are ten grooves for the hinge-pin which ran along the whole length of the side, and these alternate with nine hollows for the hinges, which are each 2.2 cm. long by 7 mm. wide, separated by intervals of 1.5 cm. At the extreme end of the tablet the space is only 1 cm. or less in length.

'Each hinge-hollow consists of eight transverse ridges, and every alternate hollow is slotted for the insertion of the hinges, which must have been made either of metal or of leather. In each of these alternate hollows there is a pair of slots separated from one another by a bridge 6 mm. wide.

'The method used in preparing the margins for cutting the hinges seems to have been as follows:

'First the outer corner of the margin was hollow-chamfered for about 3 mm. on each side, making a flute of a quarter segment of a circle. Nine hinge-hollows, 2.2 cm. in length, were next marked out at intervals of 1.5 cm. from each other, leaving at each end a space of approximately 1.0 cm. in length. In several instances the flute or groove between the hollows is engraved with an incised sign, which may perhaps have been a fitter's mark, but not every one was thus inscribed.

'The hinge-hollows are about 3 mm. wider than the flute for the hinge-pin, and appear to have been made by

⁴ See p. 40 above. These pieces probably belonged to a number of different pieces of furniture (Curtis 1988, 85)

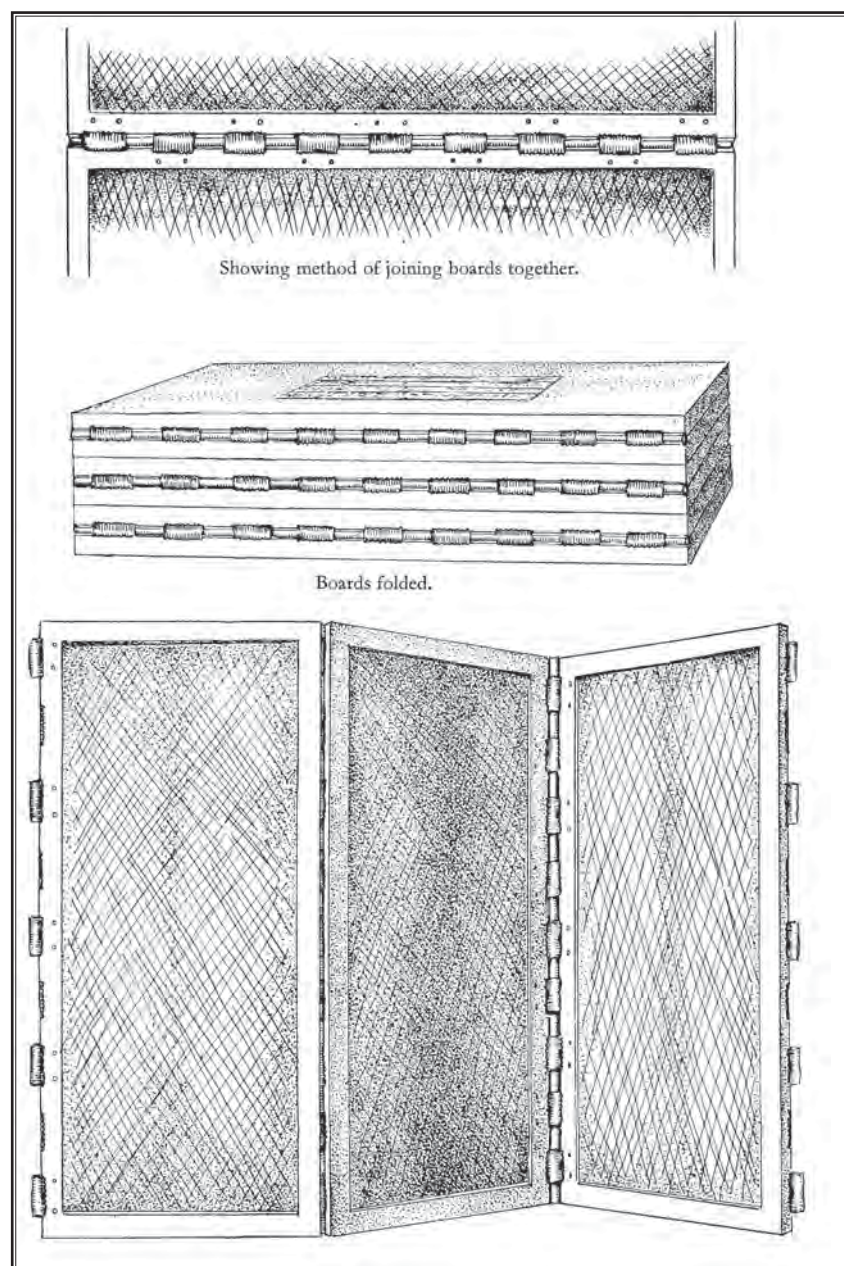


Fig. 40. The 'book' from Room AB, drawn by M. Howard

advantage of the extra width of the margins of the boards, thus enabling the hinges to have the firmest possible foundations in the ivory, and so minimizing the risk of fracture.

'Each alternate board had five slotted hinge-hollows and four unslotted hinge-hollows on each face; while the adjacent boards on each side had four slotted and five plain hollows on each face. The hinges could thus be fitted and held together by means of the connecting pin which was threaded through them, on the same principle as a piano-hinge of the present day.

'Almost any number of tablets could be joined in this fashion to form a book, which would be folded together when not in use. The two end tablets must have served as covers, and on one of them was inscribed the king's names and dedication.

'The hinges themselves may possibly have been made of H-shaped pieces of leather, which were folded in half, so that the uprights of the H could be inserted in the two slots, while the cross-bar of the H formed a tube for the reception of the connecting rod or pin.

'It is, however, worthy of note that more than one hundred hinges were examined and every single one was found to be broken. If the hinges were of leather and the books of tablets were thrown entire into the well, it seems likely that, though many of the hinge-slots would have been broken by the fall, at least a few would have survived unharmed. The fact that every one was broken rather points to deliberate and systematic destruction. The possibility may, therefore, be considered that the hinges, pins and connecting rods were in themselves valuable enough to be worth

means of nine short cuts from each side of about 1 mm. in depth. In examining the serrated edges of the hinge-hollows, it is noticeable that the centre and two end serrations are almost invariably slightly deeper than the intermediate ones. From this it may be inferred that the cuts at each end were made first, next the centre would have been attacked, and finally the space intermediate between the centre and the ends; this would, in fact, have been the most practical method of obtaining eight evenly spaced ridges in each hinge-hollow.

'A slight unevenness in the joining of the ridges in the centre of the hollow suggests that the cuts for the serrations were made from each side and met in the middle, and that finally, any remaining projections would have been cut away.

'To make each of the slots in the hinge-hollows, three contiguous holes were bored, and the resulting perforations were then enlarged and deepened to about 1.23 cm.; this must have been done with a very fine graver or chisel.

'The slots, for additional strength, were made to slope at an oblique angle to the face of the tablet. Occasionally the cutting of the slot-holes went too far and accidentally broke through to the other side of the board; this, however, would not have been visible when the tablet was in use, as the damage would have been covered by the waxed surface.

'Above each slot a small hole was bored through the margin of the tablet, so as to bisect the slot at a right angle. This hole was evidently intended to carry a pin by means of which the hinge could conveniently be held in place. The oblique angles at which both the slot and the pin-hole were bored, very cleverly took

Ivories from Nimrud VI

extracting from the boards. As no trace of corrosion was found, we are led to infer the use of the one incorruptible metal of antiquity, namely gold. If both hinges and hinge-pins were of gold, we can understand why the books were dismantled before they were destroyed. ...

‘The ivory from which the tablets were made came from large tusks, the diameter of which must have been at least 18.0 cm., and they appear to have been cut longitudinally at a distance of about 1.5 cm. from the centre. The circular structure of the ivory, which is plainly visible at the ends of the boards, makes it possible to calculate the dimensions of the tusks with a fair degree of accuracy.

‘From these measurements it seems likely that only two boards were cut from each length of tusk. From the remains which have been examined we have no evidence that any boards were cut from the centre, and it may be that there was a technical reason against using this part of the tusk. In some cases there are several knot-like lumps in the ivory down the centre of the board, and where the ivory has laminated, these lumps tend to fall out. ...

‘The interior of the boards was covered with a thin coating of wax, fragments of which were found with the ivory boards: more fragments were found adhering to the coarser-grained wooden boards. When analysed, the thin wafer-like overlay was found to vary in thickness between one tenth and one twentieth of an inch, being thicker at the edges owing to surface tension; the overlay would thus be amply protected by the raised border of the tablet. The filling is composed of beeswax, melting point 67°C., containing about twenty-five per cent sulphide of arsenic (AS₂S₃ – orpiment) as a filler. Experiments showed that the addition of the orpiment makes the beeswax more plastic and enables the molten wax to flow freely and evenly over the whole surface. Without such a granular mixture the wax becomes stringy and is spread only with great difficulty.’

Donald Wiseman was able to read parts of the original text, still surviving on the wax lining the boards.

‘Only two fragments of the wax which originally covered the boards remain at all legible, the remainder being blurred by the action of the water and silt in which they were found. When cleaned with distilled water sufficient signs were recovered to make it probable that the fragment was part of the text series *Enuma Anu Enlil*, as would be expected from the title engraved on the cover board.’

‘The inscribed wax fragment ND3578 shows that the text was written in two columns down the long axis of the boards. The script is small and neat and reminiscent of the Nineveh Library copies of the same series ... The writing averages ten to twelve lines to the inch (24 mm.) in each column. The wax-covered surface available for writing measures 12.5 x 31.3 cm.; there are 16 boards which, allowing for the front and back protecting covers, gives thirty surfaces on each of which two columns of c. 125 lines, or a total of c. 250 lines of cuneiform inscription (or a grand total of c. 7,500 lines as a low estimate for the whole volume) could have been written.’... (Wiseman & Howard 1955, 5-8)

EIGHTH CENTURY IVORIES FROM THE CENTRAL PALACE

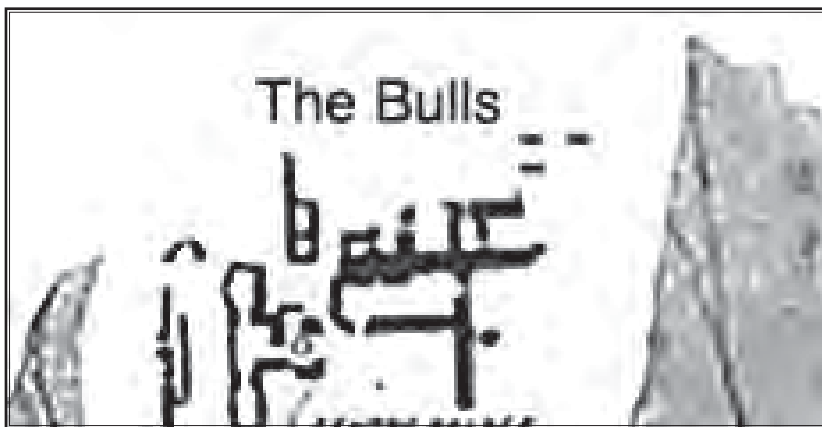


Fig. 41. Boutcher's 1854 plan of the south west corner of the citadel

In 1854 Loftus found a few fragmentary ivory panels near some bulls located north of a ravine opposite the south-west palace, see Appendix 2. Fortunately a plan (Fig. 41) and two of the ivories were drawn by William Boutcher, and it is thanks to these that Barnett was able to identify and restore the fragments (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 186). The bulls were located by the 1970s Polish expedition in an area that probably formed part of the Central Palace of Tiglath-pileser III (Mierzejewski & Sobolewski 1980, 159-161)

The ivories consist of incised narrative panels, framed with guilloche bands and separated by panels of floral festoons between rows of rosettes (Fig. 42). They

depict winged genies, the king, the crown prince and courtiers. The form of the crown, hairstyle and shawled garment of the king and the garments worn by the courtiers and soldiers with their rows of rectangles containing circles can be paralleled on the sculptures of Tiglath-pileser III (for instance, Barnett & Falkner, pls. 86-87, 98 and 59). The ivories can reasonably be dated to the reign of that king. The panels are slightly thicker than 9th century examples, and the incision is clearer. Their backs are roughened with chisel marks, and they were additionally fixed by simple dowels, rather than the bronze nails set in recesses, which was typical of ninth century panels.

A possible reconstruction, by Dirk Wicke

In *C.N.I.*, Barnett was concerned with assembling the ivories catalogued as I, 1 and 2a-j and suggesting their provenance. He thought that they were probably found in the southern wing of the North West Palace, although more recent research has suggested that they were found in the Central Palace of Tiglath-pileser III, a location which agrees with his late 8th century date (186-187). As to their original purpose, Barnett pointed out that Tiglath-pileser described the doors of the ‘*bit hilani*’ which he built at Kalhu as being made of ivory and various precious woods (Luckenbill 1989 I, 288, para. 804; and see Tadmor 1994, 173-175 and p. 230 below). It is unlikely that all the panels decorated the same piece, and it is probable that they formed parts of three different pieces;

1. A set of eight, Barnett *C.N.I.*, I, 2a, c-h and j; here CP1-8;
2. A tribute scene, Barnett *C.N.I.*, I, 1; here CP10,
3. A winged genie, Barnett *C.N.I.*, I, 2b; here CP9.

Of these, a reconstruction (Fig. 42) can only be suggested for the set, even though that is obviously incomplete. These can be assumed to have formed a group not only because of their probable common provenance but because they are similar in size and style. The carving has similar thicker contours, more hastily drawn inner lines, and rather light incision. Little circles on hair or garments are drawn by hand rather than drilled. The guilloche-framing on most panels was produced by a centred bit, the drilled centres of which survive. Although they look carefully planned, the guilloche are neither aligned nor spaced evenly, which suggests that the craftsman did not use a ruler. Furthermore, the guilloche-frame was not laid out before carving started but shows inconsistencies such as ‘over-cutting’ (CP2, left side; CP4, bottom right) or mismatching (CP1, bottom line). The palmette and pomegranate festoon was also produced by a centred bit.

In any possible reconstruction the two vertical panels, CP1a and b, suggest the presence of at least two horizontal rows of panels, separated by a palmette and pomegranate band. The upper panels are framed at the sides by guilloche bands, by rosettes and palmettes and pomegranates at the bottom but are cut at the top. The lower panels are framed by guilloche bands.

Matching the framing of the upper panels is CP2, and of the lower panels, CP3. Since CP3 has a palmette and pomegranate festoon along its lower edge, not present on the long vertical panels CP1, it seems probable that originally all panels would have had such festoons at the bottom, of which two individual examples survive, CP7 and CP8. This would result in an



Fig. 42. Reconstruction of the Central Palace panels, proposed and drawn by D. Wicke.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

approximately rectangular panel, some 31 cm. high and 24 cm. wide. However, this arrangement employs only six of the nine possible pieces, omitting the panels with single soldiers, CP4 and CP5, and the bull panel, CP6.

The panels with soldiers to left and right, CP4 and CP5, are framed by guilloche on all four sides and are relatively narrow, c. 6.1 cm. wide. These might have formed an additional register below the courtiers of the vertical side panels, CP1. This would have resulted in three registers of figurative panels, presumably divided by bands of rosettes and palmettes and pomegranates. This is probably the most convincing reconstruction with on the highest level, the king and crown-prince, flanked by winged genies; above a row of four beardless courtiers carrying bows, arrows, swords and maces, all dressed in the same ankle-length garment, in both the central and side panels, while bearded courtiers with clasped hands occupied a third panel, probably with a central panel showing a pair of similarly dressed courtiers, not preserved.

The panel with a kneeling bull below a palmette and pomegranate festoon, CP 6, must form part of a bottom-row, since it is decorated with two parallel lines along its lower edge. Since the bull faces right it might have been placed below CP1. It was presumably once matched by a mirrored image on the right, and there would probably also have been a central panel, probably with kneeling bulls arranged antithetically.

If the suggestion of the three rows of figures, separated by festoons is accepted, then the panel would have measured some 46 cm. in height and 28 cm. wide. With an additional row with bulls, the height would have been increased to about 51 cm., depending on the spaces between the panels. Still obviously missing is the panel that would have completed the top of the design. To repeat the floral festoon is unconvincing, but there is no evidence to suggest what else might have been employed. However, with an additional band the panel would have been taller.

This leaves the question of object-type unanswered, particularly since such a reconstruction is too high and narrow to have been employed as a chair-back. A second suggestion made by Barnett was that the ivories might have been ‘the ornament of a box or perhaps a quiver’ (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 187), but again the size seems inappropriate. Their original purpose remains enigmatic.

ASSYRIAN USE OF IVORY

There is little indication that the Assyrians were more than competent ivory workers. Ivory works like a hard wood, and hard woods were not readily available in Assyria, so such craftsmanship would not have been indigenous, as it was in the Levant with its excellent supplies and long tradition of woodworking. Ninth century Assyrian ivory working is clearly in the tradition of what is known of late second millennium ivories from Ashur, such as the silhouette figures or inlays from outside the palace of Tukulti-Ninurta I, and the pyxis and comb with lightly incised designs and the pins from Tomb 45 of the late second millennium (Harper, Klengel-Brandt, Aruz and Benzel 1995, 98, no. 61, and 83-6, nos. 45-49). Silhouettes or inlays are, of course, a Mesopotamian tradition, represented, for instance, in Early Dynastic shell figures from Ur and Mari. Small silhouette figures or inlays were found in Fort Shalmaneser (*I.N.* V, nos. 1, 180, 184, 220 and 223).

Inadequate supplies may have been one reason initially why the Assyrians used ivory so economically, either as thin sheets for both incised and lightly modelled panels or for the inlays, or it may, more probably, have been that they were copying the technique of overlaying with bronze or silver, a familiar Assyrian technique for decorating their furniture. They were master metal-smiths, working both sheet metal and in the round (Curtis 1988). Indeed, the Assyrian throne discovered by Layard, see p. 40 above, was mostly made of wood, overlaid with bronze, with only parts of the legs being of ivory. Equally, the throne found in Sennacherib’s palace by George Smith was ‘of rock crystal’, ‘beautifully turned and polished’ (Smith 1875, 432).

Elements in the round from statues and statuettes, such as the statuette of an Assyrian, No. 230 from Well AJ, and furniture elements, like the palm capitals, No. 232, might indicate the greater availability of supplies, an increasing Assyrian competence in wood-working or the employment of captured craftsmen.

Distribution outside Nimrud

Few Assyrian ivories have been found outside Nimrud. Within Assyria some have been found at Nineveh and Balawat. Those from Nineveh include some fine, though fragmentary incised examples. Fragments of large panels show the king in a chariot facing the enemy, or with cup and mace, courtiers with clasped hands and Assyrians crossing a river: some fragments formed part of a large circle containing a wheel-like arrangement of voluted palmettes (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 223-26, T 21-26, pls. cxvi-cxx). Less dramatic examples consist of fragments of panels with ostriches and bulls, a voluted palmette plant and semi-circles with rosettes (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 224, T 10-18, pl. xiii and cxxii). The drawing is competent and crisp. Finally, a

small 'inkwell' in the form of a miniature column base supported by a pair of recumbent, human-headed bulls is an example of Assyrian work in the round (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 224, T 9, pl. cxxvi; Barnett 1982, pl. 38a).

No Assyrian ivories have so far been found outside metropolitan Assyria in the west, and only a few in Iran. Some were excavated at Hasanlu, and others found in illegal excavations at Ziwiye. The Hasanlu ivories were found on the citadel in Burned Buildings II and IV in a heavy destruction layer, Level IVB, dated to c. 800 BC,⁵ although a later date of 714 has also been proposed, see p. 96 above. They consist of a fragmentary, modelled panel with a bearded male carrying an animal, and incised panels with motifs including a winged genie with bucket and cone, winged sphinxes, goats, ostriches, plants and the like. There is even part of a rosette silhouette. These ivories were obvious imports, as were some 'flame and frond' pyxides and lion bowls, some 'Iranian' pieces and some in the local style.

In 1950 André Godard published a 'treasure' found by accident at the hill-top site of Ziwiye in Kurdistan. In addition to gold objects, this included twenty-four ivories (Godard 1950, 78-107). More ivories reached the market in the following years as a result of clandestine digging, until in 1976 the Iranian Centre for Archaeological Research began work there and in 1977 found three ivories. An unpublished study by Martin Charlesworth of the 'Ziwiye' ivories in the Iran Bastan Museum (1980) identified a total of 101 ivories, forming 90 plaques. Some of these were probably made locally, others were decorated in Assyrian or Assyrianizing style, both incised and in low relief. What is of interest is that two sites in west Iran in an area under strong Assyrian influence had Assyrian or Assyrianizing ivories in their treasuries and graves.

ASSYRIANIZING IVORIES, Nos. 200-207

In 1852 when Rawlinson reopened the excavations at Nimrud, he cleared out the room 'where Mr. Layard found bronzes and chased copper vessels' [Room AB] and the one next to it, where he found 'a set of ivory ornaments, some of them very beautifully carved, but all, more or less injured' (Rawlinson to the Trustees April 21, 1852, Transcripts 83 and 85). Barnett identified the ivories, which were registered in 1855 and 1856. He restored and published them (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 183-184, F.1-F.7) and proposed three possible locations for Rawlinson's room next to Room AB:

- i. Room AA to the north, where Layard had previously found an ivory sphinx;
- ii. A room to the south of Room AB, shown in the 1855 plan, Fig. 2 = Room 45 in the Iraqi plan, Fig. 4; or
- iii. Room V, to the east.

Of these, he chose Room AA, because of the sphinx. However, the main ivory room was Room V, and Layard had found some stylistically similar fragments, No. 195, in the nearby Chamber X, while Mallowan found a wingtip, No. 186, in Layard's dump in Room V. It seems likely, therefore, that Rawlinson's panels came from Room V.

Rawlinson's panels, Nos. 202-207, are distinctive, both technically and stylistically. The ivories are carved on thin sheets of ivory, are lightly modelled and have wide plain frames. The edges are bevelled, suggesting that the panels were slid into position. The backs are striated. The designs are strongly influenced by the art of Assyria but, as Barnett noted,

'there are indications that, though in an Assyrian manner, it was executed by Syrian, not Assyrian, craftsmen. The hair-riband, the lock of hair before the ear, the pointed shoes, the reversed sceptre, the shape of the sceptre head, and particularly the fruit growing from the winged disc's tail, are all details unfamiliar in representations of genuinely Assyrian scenes. All can be illustrated from the sculptures found at Sakçe Gözü, below Mount Amanus in North Syria' (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 183).

The panels are all damaged, but the design of four of them, Nos. 202-205, shows a pair of tall elegant youths either side of a stylized plant plucking fruits growing from the volute ends of the winged disc, and as such is obviously another interpretation of the familiar motif of men and trees below winged discs: this motif was represented in all three traditions, North Syrian, Syrian and Phoenician and was obviously considered to be particularly appropriate for furniture, see p. 59 above.

Shortly after the publication of Barnett's *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories* in 1957, Helmuth Kyrieleis suggested in an article in *Berliner Jahrbuch* that four of these panels, Nos. 202-205, were of Urartian rather than North Syrian manufacture. He pointed out that the winged disc with crescent moon and plants was derived from Hittite forms, was familiar in north Syria, especially at Sakça Gözü, and that a similar winged disc had been found at Toprak Kale (1965, 199-206, Taf. 43-44).

⁵ Muscarella 1980, 2, 148-57, nos. 280-93, 200-2. Burned Building II, Room 8, Nos. 285-6, 90, 92; Room 10, Nos. 280, 284 293; Room 5, Nos. 287-89; and Burned Building IV East, Room 3, Nos. 281-83; and Tower 5, No. 291.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

The winged disc is partially preserved on Nos. 202 and 204 and on the fragment No. 195. It consists of a beaded ring set on a crescent within a V of scales, spreading out into the wings. The volutes are separated by a large fan of petals, between the ends of which are set pine-cones, while long, branched tendrils grow from the volutes and terminate in further pine-cones with sepals.

Both Barnett and Kyrieleis pointed out that this winged disc can be compared to one on the well-known sculpture from Sakça Gözü (Akurgal 1962, pl. 134). However, that example has a central rosette rather than a beaded ring above a crescent, as can also be seen at Carchemish: it does, however, have a scale pattern at the base of the wings and fruits growing from the volute ends, which are held by both hands of the two deities.

The SW7 panels, in typical North Syrian manner, show single figures rather than pairs. Most of the winged discs on the SW7 panels have beaded rings, which can be seen on the 'classic SW7' group as well as on a number of other sets and panels,⁶ although not on all panels.⁷ A beaded ring containing a central rosette occurs on the extraordinary foliate version where it is trodden on by the figures of *I.N.* III, no. 65 (p. 58, Fig. 15f). A plain disc above a crescent occurs at Carchemish (Woolley 1952, pl. B.36c).

A better comparison for the Rawlinson winged disc is with a fragmentary ivory silhouette, BM 127176, which is unfortunately unprovenanced, although Barnett considered that it was found at Toprak Kale: he quoted a report to the Trustees of July 24 1880 that refers to a 'representation of a winged disc in ivory' from Toprak Kale (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 228, V12, pl. cxxv; Kyrieleis 1965, 202). This unprovenanced silhouette is similar to a fragment of a winged disc, BM 123879, found at Toprak Kale (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 229, W10, pl. cxxx). It has a central beaded disc above a crescent with an additional scroll-like motif above: it is set within a scale pattern forming the base of the wings, with an abbreviated floral feature between the volutes. This type of winged disc is similar to some found at Altintepe, also with a beaded disc above a crescent (Özgüç 1969, 39, figs. 36-37, 78-81, pls. xxxii-xxxiii).

Although stylistically similar, the youths of the three panels differ in detail and were presumably carved by different hands. They all have long hair bound by a diadem and falling in locks in front of the ear and on to the shoulder, although the hair is carved differently on each panel, sometimes falling straight in front of the ear and arranged in waves over the head and onto the shoulders, or in twisted ringlets, lines on the heads, and a roll on the shoulders. Their features are finely worked, with modelled eyebrows, oval eyes, a fine nose, firm mouth and chin. The carving of their long garments with deep fringed shawls and hems also differs in detail, as does the representation of the single or double straps on their chests. One hand holds a mace, the other reaches up to pluck one of the fruits, so richly growing from the elaborate winged disc. The variety of detail suggests that too close a comparison should not be expected, and there are indeed no close comparisons with these youths. They are distinctly different from the versions of the motif found in SW7, Fort Shalmaneser, being paired, taller and more sophisticated. The best comparisons are with some pieces from Toprak Kale and Altintepe. Unfortunately only the back survives of a tall male statuette, BM 123888, from Toprak Kale (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 229, W 5, pl. cxxix). He is shown with a similar wavy hairstyle to No. 203, and a similar shawled and fringed garment, with a single strap on the chest, to Nos. 202 and 204: compare the fine carving of the garment banding and borders. The garments worn both by the fragmentary pair of openwork panels with griffins with raised arms from Toprak Kale (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 229, W13-14, pl. cxxx) and from Altintepe (Özgüç 1969, 39, figs. 36-37, 78-82, pls. xxxii-xxxiii) are similar.

While there are similarities with the Toprak Kale winged discs, statuette and griffins, perhaps the strongest comparison between Rawlinson's panels and Toprak Kale is a tiny fragment from the Temple of Haldi, discovered by Clayton and Rassam in 1878-1880, which shows a hand plucking a pine-cone with sepals (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 229, W16, pl. cxxx), like those being picked by the youths. This sepalled cone is an unusual motif, otherwise represented on another Assyrianizing piece, No. 200. Although found by Layard and registered in 1848, this piece is unfortunately unprovenanced, although the probability is that it came from Room V. No. 200 consists of fragments from a thick piece of ivory carved from a vertical section of tusk with an unusual form of stylized tree: the trunk is decorated with chevrons and is tied at the top with volutes. Tendrils grow from the trunk with fruit consisting of similar pine-cones with sepals to those on the Rawlinson panels and the Toprak Kale fragment. The nearest parallel to this unusual form of stylized tree is some plaques recovered by Godard from the looted treasure of Ziwiye (Godard 1950, 83-85, figs. 72-74; 1965, 94, fig. 117; Ghirshman 1979, 41, pl. viii, 3-8, 43, pl. xviii, 7-8; Charlesworth 1980, Fig. 1e).⁸ The Abegg-Stiftung at Bern also retrieved a number of looted Ziwiye ivories,

⁶ *I.N.* III, nos. 19, nos. 38-45 (the 'vase-hat' men), nos. 57, 63-64, 68 and on the long wing panels, nos. 97 and 98.

⁷ The discs are simply outlined on no. 21 ('flame and frond') and no. 46 (the chair with a curved back).

⁸ I am grateful to Dirk Wicke for drawing my attention to this.

including one similar to that published by Godard, as well as two plaques with trees flanked by rampant ibex (Wilkinson 1975, 34, fig. 12, 31, fig. 11). The Ziwiye plaques were shorter, H. 6.0 cm., than the North West Palace fragment but were also carved on thick panels (2.0 cm.). They share similar chevroned trunks, tied at the top with voluted elements, and with double branches with pine-cones and sepals.

The snarling lion of No. 206, held upside down by a pair of heroes, also forms part of the Rawlinson group, being carved on a similar panel. Only one leg and one toe of the heroes survive: one was wearing a similar short tunic with beaded hem and long open fringed overskirt to the Toprak Kale griffins. As Barnett noted, the actual motif is similar to a bas relief from Carchemish, where a god and a hero are despatching a lion (Hogarth 1914, pl. B.11), but the stylizations are entirely different, the Carchemish lion having a rounded rather than a V-mouth, the distinctive ‘Carchemish paw’ and lacking any cross-hatching. The Rawlinson lion, standing on an abbreviated pair of volutes, can be compared to a lion statuette found at Altintepe: compare the eyes, mouth, and the use of cross-hatching (Özgüç 1969, 42, figs. 39-40, 82-83, pl. xxxiv-xxxv).

Versions of Assyrian art were popular across a wide area at this time, probably the eighth century, from North Syria to Urartu to Western Iran. Barnett pointed to comparisons with Sakça Gözü (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 183), while Kyrieleis identified the ivories as being of Urartian workmanship (1965). Mallowan suggested that they were the work of ‘foreign craftsmen whose influence is betrayed in the style of north Syrian Sakcha Gözü or at Toprak Kale in Urartu’ (1978, 14-15), suggesting that they were made at Kalhu by foreign craftsmen.

As with so many style-groups of ivories, identifying their original provenance is not yet possible. These panels share many unique features but lack strong enough parallels with other material to locate their place of manufacture. There are similarities with Sakça Gözü, but they are not convincing. They consist of the fact that there are pairs of figures plucking fruits growing from a winged disc: however, the form of the disc with the central rosette and the rather squat proportions of the deities are markedly different to the tall Rawlinson figures carrying maces, who presumably represent soldiers. Furthermore, the hair of the Sakça Gözü figures is worked in corkscrews, and the central voluted tree is entirely different from the unusual versions surviving on the panels, Nos. 202-203, or on the fragments, No. 201.

Equally, there are parallels with ivories from Toprak Kale and Altintepe, but these are again relatively slender, resting on an unprovenanced winged disc, parallels with the proportions and dress of some figures, and the presence of the ‘sepal cone’. An Urartian source for these ivories, as proposed by Kyrieleis, is certainly possible but not yet proven, especially as the elegant style of the youths differs from that of figures on the well-known bronzes. However, these ivories could have been gifts, or, if they were made in Urartu, could have been specifically ordered from a royal workshop, where they might have been made by ‘imported craftsmen’.

There are good parallels between the stylized tree, No. 200, with pieces from ‘Ziwiye’. However, these are of little value in determining a place of production, since not only were these ivories looted, but they are stylistically completely mixed and included a number of Assyrian or Assyrianizing ivories.

By the eighth century Assyria had long been the dominant super-power of the area, and many states were copying its art, including Urartu. Since Urartu was in close political contact with Sakça Gözü and was campaigning in western Iran, a common but not identical artistic language across that area is not surprising. The Rawlinson ivories fit into this artistic world and could well have been carved either in Toprak Kale itself or some other important centre in the region, have been collected as booty by Sargon II and deposited in Room V.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUDING REMARKS

THE ASSYRIAN DIMENSION

Each assemblage found at Nimrud is different in the range and character of the material which it contained. For instance, the three great magazines in Fort Shalmaneser, SW7, SW12 and SW37, were treasuries for imported ivories, stored in Kalhu after the removal of their gold overlays: there is little evidence that they were used (Herrmann & Millard 2003). There is a similar absence of Assyrian ivories in the Queen's treasury, Room S10 in Fort Shalmaneser. Assyrian ivories, on the other hand, were found in throne rooms or in nearby storerooms, from which furniture was carried in for ceremonies as required. A tablet from Nineveh describes the organization of a royal feast and begins by instructing that the 'king's table and couch shall be brought in. The king himself enters, followed one at a time by court officials, then by the crown prince and the other princes.' (Oates 1968, 34). This distinctive pattern of distribution has been confirmed in the North West Palace, by Assyrian ivories being found in and around the throne-room, Room B, in two official suites in the corners of the Great Court, and thrown down Well AJ, presumably having come from the king's suite, Rooms S/T/V/W/X.

Not only were Assyrian ivories specific to certain areas, but there tended to be no imported ivories in those areas. This makes evident the entirely probable fact that the king only used furniture and objects decorated with images chosen by him and worked in the Assyrian style. Ellen Rehm demonstrated that 'Der assyrische König sitzt und liegt auf assyrischen Möbeln, die mit einheimischen, d.h. mit assyrischen Motiven verziert waren. Denn nur diese könnten nach damaligem Verständnis den assyrischen König schützen' (Rehm 2005, 203; and see also Curtis 1996). Ancient imagery had a purpose, that of protecting its owner from evil forces. As is indicated by the concentration of bas reliefs around the State Apartments, not to mention other protective features, such as foundation figurines, the king was protected in every possible way, the power of the *lamassu*, bas reliefs and wall paintings being reinforced by the images on his furniture, jewellery and clothing.

Surprisingly Allison Thomason has a very different view. She considers that the Assyrians were keen collectors of ivories and deliberately chose to use foreign made artefacts (Thomason 2005). She suggested that the famous Ashurbanipal banquet scene showed the king reclining on an imported bed, because of the well-known plaque on the leg thought to show women at the window. However, Rehm has demonstrated that this plaque showed eunuchs, not women, and that the bed was obviously Assyrian, a type well known since the ninth century (Curtis 1996, 175). Equally, the distinctive distribution of Assyrian versus Levantine ivories does not support Thomason's theory of collecting: certainly the ivories were removed from conquered cities and gathered into treasuries, but only for storage. A different interpretation is that this reflected the deliberate removal by the Assyrian kings of the essential attributes of kingship or the 'treasures of his palace' after conquest. It was impossible to rule without them, as shown by Ashurbanipal. When he defeated Necho, he initially stripped him of his goods, but when he reinstated him as Pharaoh, he 'clothed him in splendid garments, laid upon his (neck) a golden chain, as the emblem of his royalty. I put rings of gold upon his fingers, gave him an iron girdle dagger, set in gold – having written my name upon it. Chariots, horses and mules I presented to him for his royal riding ... showed him even greater favour than that of my father' (Luckenbill 1989, II, para. 774). In fact, he re-equipped Necho with the insignia of royalty.

There is little evidence to suggest that the Assyrians used much ivory on their furniture: other materials, such as gold, silver and bronze, were preferred. The throne Layard discovered in Room AB was made of wood, overlaid with bronze, with only parts of the legs being of ivory, while that found by George Smith at Nineveh was of 'rock crystal' (Curtis 1996, 173). Their lack of interest in this material is borne out by the relative paucity of Assyrian ivory found at Nimrud: only some 5% were in the Assyrian style, with the other 95% being Levantine. However, the sheer quantity of ivory at Nimrud makes it evident that supplies of ivory were plentiful in the early first millennium. This paucity of Assyrian ivory reflects, therefore, their limited interest in the material.

Ivory has been highly prized through the centuries, and it has been assumed that the Assyrians also valued the material. The same few texts have been regularly quoted to prove their appreciation of ivory and ivory furniture. However, the lists of

Ivories from Nimrud VI

tribute itemized by the kings, who presumably emphasized the items of booty/tribute of most value to them, mention ivory infrequently and low down the lists, as discussed in Chapter One. Another indication of its lack of prestige in Assyria is that there is basically none in the unbelievably richly equipped royal tombs of the Assyrian queens found in the North West Palace, even though some of the queens were of Levantine origin. Although they were endowed with kilos of gold jewellery, clothing and vessels of varied shapes made of precious materials, stone and ceramic (Husain & Sulaiman 2000), there was a marked absence of feminine toilet objects: there were two mirrors (nos. 40 and 218), a few wooden spoon stoppers, and possibly one of glass (nos. 173 and 38), one or two small ivory or bone lids, perhaps from kohl pots (no. 81), and eleven tiny gold bottles (no. 59), possibly for perfume. There were no small boxes or pyxides, flasks or fan-handles. Equally, unlike Tomb 79 at Salamis, which was, of course, a male burial, there was no furniture of any kind. This not only suggests that ivory was not favoured in the Assyrian harem, but that elaborately decorated small ivory objects, such as pyxides and flasks, may have been reserved for ceremonial and religious use by men. A pyxis decorated with winged sphinxes can be seen on the table beside Ashurbanipal on his famous banquet scene: there is nothing beside his queen. In contrast to the rich decoration of Ashurbanipal's great bed and table, the queen's upright chair is simply decorated with voluted rails, standard across the area.

This lack of interest is also evident among small Assyrian objects, again frequently illustrated on the reliefs. There are hardly any Assyrian ivory examples of the numerous fan-handles, staffs, pyxides, cups and the like, with which the court must have been lavishly provided. There is one ivory fan handle from Well NN, No. 263, but the two from Well AJ were made of other materials, including stone (Appendix 1). There were some ivory pomegranates and staffs from Well NN (Nos. 365-366), and of course the kohl tubes from Well 4, but nothing like the plethora of boxes, cup-stands, fan-handles, flasks, spoon-stoppers, cosmetic bowls etc. of Levantine manufacture. There seems little evidence, therefore, to support an Assyrian preference for ivory as a material.

THE PRESTIGE OF IVORY IN THE LEVANT

There is on the other hand an obvious appreciation of ivory in the Levant, well illustrated by the quantities of Syro-Phoenician ivories, literally thousands, found in the treasuries at Nimrud. The First Book of Kings describes the maritime trade in luxury products, with Solomon and Hiram sending out ships of Tarshish every three years and bringing back 'gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks' (I Kings 10, 22), and how Solomon commissioned

'a great ivory throne, and overlaid it with the finest gold. The throne had six steps, and at the back of the throne was a calf's head, and on each side of the seat were arm rests and two lions standing beside the arm rests, while twelve lions stood there, one on each end of a step on the six steps. The like of it was never made in any kingdom' (1 Kings 10, 18-20).

This description is reminiscent of the typical Phoenician sphinx throne, developed from an Egyptian original and first seen on a 12th century ivory at Megiddo. In the Phoenician version the sides were formed of sphinxes (Gubel 1996, 142-143). This type of throne was widely used in the first millennium by kings and deities from the Levant to Spain.

The status of ivory in the Levant is also indicated by the location of the smashed remains of ivory, which was all that survived after the Assyrian sacking of so many cities. Fragments have been found in palatial contexts at Samaria, Hama, Zincirli, Altintepe, Toprak Kale and Hasanlu. Relatively complete versions were found in the temple at Altintepe (Özgüç 1969, 78) and in tombs at that site. Ivory chairs and decorated panels were also found in the richly equipped Tomb 79 at Salamis, and fragments in tombs at Tell Halaf. Smashed remains of furniture and small objects have been recovered from deposits in the Idaean Cave. All of these are high status, royal, funerary or religious contexts.

LEVANTINE IVORIES

The ivories in the North West Palace formed royal collections, assembled partly by the ninth century kings, Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III, and by the eighth century Sargon II. Unfortunately, most were found thrown down Wells AJ and NN, but there were two treasuries, Rooms V and A with ivories still *in situ*. Interestingly, only Syro-Phoenician ivories were found in these rooms, obviously no Assyrian, but not any North Syrian either. North Syrian ivories were only found in Well AJ with just two in Well NN, which suggests that there was another treasury nearby in which this material had been stored, probably by Ashurnasirpal or Shalmaneser. The booty found in Rooms V and A may have been brought to Kalhu by Sargon II after one of his successful western campaigns.

The North West Palace ivories also make evident the marked difference between the style-groups of the North Syrian and

the Syro-Phoenician traditions, a difference emphasized by their distribution within the Palace. The two clearly defined North Syrian style-groups, the ‘flame and frond’ and the ‘round-cheeked and ringletted’, each have a strong identity. With suggested provenances at Tell Halaf and Zincirli, and links to sculptures from those sites, they form part of the post-Hittite culture of the area, although including Aramaean influences from their Aramaean rulers and sharing a common iconography across the area. They have a powerful impact with designs crowding the panels. In addition to the standard repertoire with humans and sphinxes, there are also banquet, procession, hunting and combat scenes. North Syrian humans and sphinxes have no crowns, and their hair-style and dress is characteristic. There are many technical features typical of the production of the area, such as the pegged inlays and use of the centred bit, and it is probable that North Syrian ivories employed coloured ivory rather than glass as inlays.

Phoenician ivories on the other hand are immensely sophisticated. They exhibit a sense of space and balance, with elegant designs, inspired by the art of Egypt. Violence is eschewed. A man may spear a griffin, but the beast does not resist, it accepts the spear: a lioness may kill a man – he offers his throat to her jaws. Many of the ivories were jewel-like, with colour achieved by finely shaped glass inlays within cloisons covered in gold foil. Ivories were used in sets of similar pieces, sometimes with single figures, but usually with pairs of opposed figures. Tyre and/or Sidon, the principal Phoenician maritime powers of the early first millennium, have been suggested as the centre of production of the most typically Phoenician of the ivories, well represented in the North West Palace, the ‘classic Phoenician’ style-group.

Syrian ivories link the two traditions but are closer in spirit to Phoenician ivories than to North Syrian ones. Panels are more crowded and violent than Phoenician examples, but more spacious and balanced than North Syrian pieces. Motifs derived from Egypt, such as the crowns and the dress, become steadily more unrecognizable, but the same motifs occur across the area. Coloured inlays are coarser. There are rarely hard boundaries between the style-groups: indeed these are often blurred, as is evident with the two Syrian groups, the ‘wig and wing’ and ‘crown and scale’, which share some characteristics. One of these, the ‘wig and wing’ is the most ‘Phoenician’ of the Syrian style-groups, and a possible area of production has been proposed from Arvad to Hamath. The problems of defining boundaries between groups is predictable, because of the complex political history of the area at the time, with frequently changing alliances and probably craftsmen moving from centre to centre.

These are general observations on the initial impressions of the ivories of the different traditions. However, what is also evident is the common iconographic language across the traditions, with only subtle differences in the size and form of the panels, the style of carving and the dress between the style-groups. Some subjects were clearly considered particularly appropriate for specific purposes, perhaps the most obvious being the man and tree for chair-backs. The variety of interpretations of this motif is, of course, best known from the chair-backs from Room SW7, with specific style-groups applied to different forms of chair, suggesting multi-centre production. The same motif is also well known in Syrian and Phoenician versions. Another favourite image across the area is the sphinx, from tall elegant Phoenician examples, through stockier Syrian ones to the dumpy ‘round-cheeked and ringletted’ sphinx of a North Syrian style-group.

Different areas specialized in different types of object. Pyxides, for instance, seem to have been a specifically North Syrian production. Most known ivory examples belong to the ‘flame and frond’ style-group, but other centres also made pyxides. The pyxis with a banquet scene and a procession of musicians from the Burnt Palace, S3, is clearly different in style to ‘flame and frond’ examples (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 191, pl. xvi-xvii), although the inscription on its base possibly mentioning Bit Agusi cannot necessarily be used to identify where it was made. Unfortunately all that is known of the inscribed rim of a pyxis recording that it was given to the king by Shamshi-ilu (No. 213) is that rim: there is no photograph of the side, which might have suggested to which style-group the pyxis belonged. No typically Syrian or Phoenician pyxides have been found. However, the ‘cup-stands’ made up of sets of plaques wider at the base than the top and well represented in SW37 are typically Syro-Phoenician with no North Syrian versions.

Another typically North Syrian type, again principally from the ‘flame and frond’ workshop, is fan handles, although there are a few Syrian examples, again different in form, size and style (S293, 294 and 308, Barnett *C.N.I.*, 213, 215, pls. lxxxviii-lxxxix, xci). Bridle harness too was area-specific, with the large Phoenician spade-shaped blinkers and hinged frontlets and smaller Syrian sole-shaped blinkers and triangular frontlets.

WHO USED IVORIES

Another interesting point is who used these small objects. Again, it has long been assumed that small luxury objects were made for women. Barnett, for instance, suggested that they were made on a commercial scale by the Phoenicians:

‘In Phoenicia the artisan stood much closer to the commercial class, and less close to the priest, than in Egypt. The Phoenicians made things, not for use in tombs and the future life, but for the world of the living. Their object was to please, and especially to sell to a feminine market: hence the number and variety of pieces and shapes belonging to

Ivories from Nimrud VI

the toilet – ivory-handled mirrors, unguent pots, spoons, glass bottles.’ (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 56).

However, not many ‘toilet’ items have been found. There is no evidence that ivories were made specifically for women or that Phoenician art was ‘commercial’. Barnett’s derogatory view was based on that of the ancient Greeks, who considered trade to be incompatible with the Greek concept of aristocracy and ethics, a concept that continued to be followed until recent times. As Aubet wrote:

‘The ethics of Homer forbid the practice of commerce as a profession, for social rather than economic reasons. In the Greek world, the professional trader had a very low social status and belonged to a despised social class. The Homeric noble ideal assumes that goods are acquired through looting and piracy, hence the completely negative attitude seen in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* to trade and traders and by extension, to the Phoenicians’ (Aubet 2001, 127-128).

Indeed, it seems more probable that elaborately decorated ivory objects were essentially ceremonial and thus reserved for use by men. As noted above, there was a marked absence of such small items in the tombs of the Assyrian queens, surely our best source for the equipment of royal women, while a compartmented pyxis with rouge and a silver spatula was found in a male grave at Tell Halaf. The ivory bridle harness must also have been ceremonial.

PALACE-CENTRED PRODUCTION

From the time of Layard scholars have supported different methods of production. Layard considered that the obviously foreign ivories he found had been made for the king by some of the many foreign craftsmen known to be working in Kalhu, a suggestion supported by Malloyan. The other two hypotheses suggest, on the one hand, a form of multi-style, commercial production undertaken in a few centres, such as Carchemish, Zincirli, Hama and Damascus, or palace-controlled production in the various early first millennium states. These hypotheses have been considered in Chapter Four, and the last is the one followed here. The consistent combination of different shapes, sizes and styles more probably represent multi-centre production than the standardization typical of bazaar production.

DATES OF PRODUCTION

A problem which complicates establishing when or where any particular group of ivories may have been carved is that nearly all assemblages are stylistically mixed, wherever they were found from 12th century Megiddo to Nimrud. Indeed, as early as the 1930s the excavator of Megiddo suggested that the ivories reflected the ‘hobby of an eccentric Canaanite prince of the Late Bronze Age’ (Loud 1939, 7-9). The nearly 300 ivories found at Megiddo were arranged by Barnett into at least ten groups, and Barnett suggested that the ivories were ‘an important form of wealth’ which led to the ‘hoarding of ivory’ (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 25), often for generations.¹ This is demonstrated by an elephant tusk carved with a large male figure, a goddess or princess and the cartouche of the 13th century Pharaoh Merneptah, which was found in a treasury adjacent to the throne room at Tell Migne/Ekron, sacked by Nebuchadnezzar in 603 BC. As Gitin commented: ‘The ivory appears to have been curated over a period of 600 years’ (Gitin 1997, 101-102). Equally, some ivories found at Nimrud can be compared with Late Bronze Age examples, for instance, the fragmentary head from SW37 of an archaic looking female with tall polos and massive plait can be compared to a figure on the triumphal scene from Megiddo (*I.N.* IV, 125, no. 397, pl. 89; Loud 1939, pl. 4, 2; Barnett 1982, pl. 19a), while the small face from Room HH is reminiscent of the little mask found at Qatna (No. 315; Luciani 2006, 24). Thus the date of the provenance is only the latest possible date and not a guide either to the place or to the time of production.

Nevertheless, parallels with ivories found at different sites, despite the above caveats, are valuable. As Winter established in 1976 there is an obvious difference in the pattern of distribution between North Syrian and Syro-Phoenician ivories (1976, 12, figs. 1-2), with ‘flame and frond’ ivories being found along the north at Hasanlu, Nimrud, Tell Halaf, Hama, and the Idaean Cave, and ‘classic Phoenician’ pieces found with a southern focus at Samaria, Tyre, Sarepta, Salamis, the Idaean Cave and the Bernardini tomb in Etruria, all located on Phoenician trade routes. There is an example of the Syrian ‘crown and scale’ style-group in the Idaean Cave, otherwise not found outside Nimrud.

The outstanding ivories of the North West Palace present many opportunities for further and deeper study. Ideas presented above may or may not stand the test of time, according to what new information is discovered, especially new hoards of ivories. And it must be borne in mind that many more ivories remain to be found at Nimrud and above all at Nineveh. One ivory has been found at Tyre and at Sarepta, which again makes it evident how much more excavation is needed of sites in Lebanon and Syria.

¹ Seals were also kept in families for generations, Parker 1962, 26.

PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS

Regularly quoted catalogues are referred to as below: some standard abbreviations are also employed.

Barnett <i>C.N.I.</i>	Barnett, R.D. 1975. <i>Catalogue of the Nimrud ivories in the British Museum</i> , London, 2 nd ed.
<i>I.N. I</i>	Orchard, J.J. 1967. <i>Ivories from Nimrud I, 2: Equestrian bridle-harness ornaments</i> , London
<i>I.N. II</i>	Mallowan, M.E.L. & Davies, L. Glynne, 1970. <i>Ivories from Nimrud II: Ivories in Assyrian Style</i> , London
<i>I.N. III</i>	Mallowan, M.E.L. & Herrmann, G. 1974. <i>Ivories from Nimrud III: Furniture from SW7 Fort Shalmaneser</i> , London
<i>I.N. IV</i>	Herrmann, G. 1986. <i>Ivories from Nimrud IV: Ivories from room SW37 Fort Shalmaneser</i> , London
<i>I.N. V</i>	Herrmann, G. 1992. <i>Ivories from Nimrud V: the small collections from Fort Shalmaneser</i> , London
Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi <i>Turin Catalogue</i>	Safar, Fuad & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, Muyasser. 1987. <i>Ivories from Nimrud</i> , Baghdad (in Arabic) Invernizzi, A., 1985. 'The Assyrians and the Nimrud ivories' in Gullini, G., ed., <i>The land between two rivers. Twenty years of Italian archaeology in the Middle East – The treasures of Mesopotamia</i> , Florence.

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

<i>C.A.D.</i>	<i>Chicago Assyrian Dictionary</i>
<i>I.L.N.</i>	<i>Illustrated London News</i>
<i>K.A.I.</i>	Donner & Röllig 1976, <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> , Wiesbaden.
<i>R.I.M.A.</i> 1-3	Grayson, A.K. 1987, 1991, 1996. <i>Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian periods 1-3</i> , Toronto.
Layard <i>N. & R.</i>	Layard, A.H. 1849a. <i>Nineveh and its remains I and II</i> , London
Layard <i>Mons.</i>	Layard, A.H. 1849b. <i>The monuments of Nineveh</i> , first series, London
Luckenbill 1989	Luckenbill, D.D. 1926, reprinted 1989. <i>Ancient records of Assyria and Babylonia: historical records of Assyria</i> , Chicago and London.
Mallowan <i>Iraq</i> 12	Mallowan, M.E.L. 1950. 'Excavations at Nimrud, 1949-50', <i>Iraq</i> 12, 147-183
Mallowan <i>Iraq</i> 13	Mallowan, M.E.L. 1951. 'The excavations at Nimrud (Kalhu), 1949-50. Ivories from the N.W. Palace', <i>Iraq</i> 13, 1-20.
Mallowan <i>Iraq</i> 14a	Mallowan, M.E.L. 1952. 'The excavations at Nimrud (Kalhu), 1951', <i>Iraq</i> 14, 1-23
Mallowan <i>Iraq</i> 14b	Mallowan, M.E.L. 1952. 'The excavations at Nimrud (Kalhu), 1949-50. Ivories from the N.W. Palace', <i>Iraq</i> 14, 45-53
Mallowan <i>Iraq</i> 15	Mallowan, M.E.L. 1953. 'The excavations at Nimrud (Kalhu), 1952', <i>Iraq</i> 15, 1-42
Mallowan <i>Iraq</i> 16	Mallowan, M.E.L. 1954. 'The excavations at Nimrud (Kalhu), 1953', <i>Iraq</i> 16, 59-163
Mallowan <i>N. & R.</i>	Mallowan, M.E.L. 1966. <i>Nimrud and its remains</i> , London

Some standard journal abbreviations also employed.

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THE CATALOGUE



NOTES TO THE CATALOGUE

The North West Palace has been divided into three principal areas, the Great Court, the State Apartments and the Residential Wing. The ivories have been described according to their find-places within these areas, rather than by their date of discovery. Within each room the ivories have been grouped by form and style. As far as possible, pieces are reassembled into sets.

The ivories from the rooms around the Great Court include the relatively few ivories found by Mallowan, as well as some unprovenanced pieces found by Layard, probably in the 'Roadway made for the Bulls', and by Rassam possibly in the ZT area. The ivories from the State Apartments begin with the fragments found by Mallowan near the throne base in Room B and the adjoining Room F, and continue with the rooms along the West Wing. Layard found his first ivories in the small treasury, Room A, and some, mostly too fragmentary to preserve, in his 'Treasure Chamber', the 'Room of the Bronzes', Room AB, where Mallowan found Sargon's book at the bottom of Well AB.

The majority of the ivories, some 200, were found in two locations in the Residential Wing. Layard found a splendid series in Rooms V, W and X of the king's suite, to which Mallowan added some fragments a century later. Rawlinson may have found some fine Assyrianizing panels in Room V, but the provenance is conjectural. The other great collection was those found by the Iraqis in Well AJ: Mallowan found similar fragments in the surrounding area. Mallowan found fragmentary ivories in rooms along the east side of the Residential Wing, particularly in Room HH, as well as some superb pieces in Well NN. And finally, Muzahim Mahmud Husain found a collection of kohl tubes in Well 4.

Description

The first line of the entry gives the catalogue number and a second identifying number, which consists either of the B.S.A.I. field number, or the numbers in the two previous publications, Barnett, *C.N.I.* and Safar & al Iraqi, *Ivories from Nimrud*. If a * precedes the catalogue number, Herrmann has not seen the ivory, and information has been assembled from photographs and/or registers. The provenance is also listed in this first line. The next provides the present location and the museum number.

The second section covers technical information, such as the shape and state of preservation, comments on technique, and descriptions of the frames, methods of fixing and back. If no comment is made on the back, it has either not been possible to examine it, or it is not sufficiently well preserved. When present, fitter's marks, identified by Alan Millard, are inserted after the technical description. Measurements, particularly of fragments, are necessarily approximate, and it has not been possible to verify them all. There are often discrepancies in measurements taken by different scholars: in these cases both are provided.

The third section describes the design, while the fourth section comments on other pieces forming a set and any relevant parallels, both within Nimrud and externally. It also includes remarks by Kenneth Kitchen on Egyptianizing ivories. The principal publications are listed in the last section.

Most of the ivories are illustrated, usually at approximately actual size. If too large for the page, the illustration has been reduced, usually by 50% and the scale indicated. The backs are illustrated, if they contain a feature.

THE GREAT COURT

THE PRINCIPAL SUITE, ROOM 25

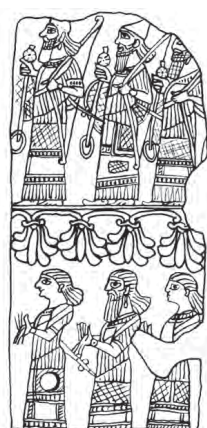
*Assyrian style****1. ND3266, Room 25**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56978

Plate 1

Four fragments, incised in Assyrian style, all probably forming parts of the same piece of furniture: a. and b. found in association.

a. Part of a vertical panel, top broken off, right side damaged with fragments missing, cut at the bottom. In two registers: double frame with hanging voluted palmettes between registers. Dowel hole at bottom left, D. 0.3 cm. 10.3 x 4.7 x 0.3 cm.



Upper register: Three helmeted and bearded Assyrian soldiers advancing left. They are heavily armed, equipped with bows, swords in voluted scabbards and wickerwork shields. They grasp maces with lanyards and rosette heads in their right hands; their left hands hold the hilts of their swords. A quiver is visible behind the shoulder of the first (unfortunately omitted from drawing). They wear long shawled robes with beaded collars, some patterning, aprons and beaded and fringed hems.

Lower register: Three similarly-dressed courtiers, the central one bearded, advance to the left, their hands folded in front of them. Bracelets can be seen on their wrists. The leading courtier carries a sword in a voluted scabbard.

Poorly drawn. Found in the bottom 20 cm. of debris above the pavement.

Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 125, pl. xxxii, 4; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 181-182, 194, fig. 131, 339, note 34; *I.N.* II (1970), 20, no. 14, pl. vi.



b. Fragment, top, right side and bottom broken off. Incised. All that survives of the design is the head and chest of a bearded Assyrian facing right. He has a conical earring and wears a short-sleeved, shawled garment with beaded hems. Three hanging loops above possibly formed part of a row of palmettes. 2.6 x 1.5 x 0.25 cm.

Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 125, pl. xxxii, 2; *I.N.* II, 19-20, no. 12, pl. vi.



c. Two fragments from the top of a panel or panels, sides and bottom broken off. Incised. Plain frame at top with a row of hanging voluted palmettes. The tops of the heads of presumably Assyrian courtiers advancing left, from panels similar to the two above.

Courtiers were a common motif on Assyrian art and ivories, see, for instance, Nos. 12, 223-224, and *I.N.* II, nos. 9-69, pls. vi-xxi. Assyrian soldiers can be seen on *I.N.* II, nos. 22, 25-29, pls. viii, x, and with helmets on no. 62, pl. xviii. Frames with hanging voluted palmettes can be seen on No. 16 from Room EB, No. 45 from Room B, and on examples from the Nabu Temple throne-room (*I.N.* II, pls. ii-iii, nos. 2, 3, pls. viii-ix, nos. 22-24, pls. xliv-xlv, nos. 198-202) and NTS4, (*I.N.* II, pl. xlii, 183); and from S4 of Fort Shalmaneser (*I.N.* II, pl. xli, no. 180).

***2. ND3394, Room 25**

Not illustrated

Cambridge University Museum, UM 56.2

Rectangular plaque, slightly convex front, engraved with a 16-petalled rosette. Found on floor. 3 x 2.4 x 0.2 cm.

Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 125.

SECOND SUITE, ROOMS 14/16, 12 AND 24

***3. ND2504, Room 14**

Not illustrated

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56644

Comb broken into about 23 pieces, burnt black, probably incomplete.

Combs were also found in Well NN, No. 367, Well 4, No. 396, and the Burnt Palace (Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 209, fig. 145).

***4. ND2503, Room 12**

Not illustrated

Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Elephant's tusk, including one large lump sawn through the middle longitudinally, 16 x 6 cm. End piece engraved with guilloche pattern in a single strip, the whole broken in about 50 pieces.

***5. ND3317, Room 24**

Not illustrated

Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Fragment of a sphinx's wing, L. 2.7 cm.

ROOM 11

***6. ND4236, Room 11**

Not illustrated

Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Collection of fragments, including lotus bud capital, H. 5.0 cm.; human face in relief, H. 2.0 cm.; cartouche with traces of blue paint, Phoenician style, similar to fragments from Layard's ivory room, Room V.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

THE CHANCERY, ROOMS 4 AND 5

7. ND3621 and ND4237, Rooms 4 and 5 Plate 1
British Museum, London, SR8/19

Collection of fragments, including



a. ND3621, a lanceolate leaf with stem, 3.4 cm. Not illustrated

b. ND4237, a hemispherical knob, engraved with a rosette in centre framed by linked loops, dowel hole, 0.4 cm., in base. H. 1.4 cm., D. 2.2 cm.



c. ND4237, a strip, one edge preserved with an incised frame and a design of diamonds with dots. 2.3 x 1.5 x 0.2 cm.

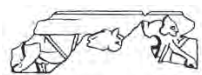
d. ND4237, a few small fragments of gold leaf: not illustrated.

The leaf, ND3621 from Room 4, the tablet room, was found underneath the level of the main floor (Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 121). Hemispherical knobs with rosettes are relatively common. One, No. 368, was found in Well NN, and there are examples in the Burnt Palace, for instance ND1591 from the centre of the Long Room. They were sometimes used between the calves on the lids of pyxides, see ND2107, Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 219, fig. 173; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 64-65, fig. 19. Two were found in Room SW37, Fort Shalmaneser, *I.N.* IV, nos. 886-887, and several were found at Samaria (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pl. 23, 1). An example made of bronze and lead was found at Zincirli (Andrae 1943, 117, Abb. 164).

The diamond or lozenge pattern with dots is also relatively common, fragments being found in Well NN, No. 370, and the Burnt Palace, ND2284. Larger sections within frames were found at Samaria, Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pl. xxi, nos. 9-10.

ROOM 6

***8. ND4214, Room 6** Plate 1
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 59271



Collection of fragmentary strips, unburnt, the largest of which measures 9.5 and 7.0 cm. They depict muleteers driving pack animals.

One fragment, broken at sides and bottom with part of a muleteer on the right and parts of the following mule. 2.3 x 7.0 x 0.4 cm.

These fragments belong to a group of similar fragments found in Court E, see Nos. 26 and 27 below. They form quite short strips carved in a provincial style.

In *I.N.* II, 38, no. 104, pl. xxx, the ivory is incorrectly published as ND1055 from Court E. Bär 1996, Abb. 26.

***9. ND4238, Room 6** Not illustrated
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Collection of fragments including leg and skirt with diamond pattern. Small fragments of lapis lazuli and gold.

***10. ND3548, Room 6** Not illustrated
Iraq Museum, Baghdad
Group of 8 small ivory fragments.

11. ND3547, Room 6 Not illustrated
British Museum, London, BM 1994.11.5.331
Packet of 13 small ivory fragments.

NORTH-WEST SUITE, ROOMS 19 AND 1

***12. ND2298, Room 19** Plate 1
Iraq Museum, Baghdad



Group of Assyrian style fragments, incised, poor condition. One fragment, of which only the top left corner is preserved, was probably from a vertical panel, surface worn, some fragments missing. Traces of dowel holes at top and centre. 5.0 x 3.2 x 0.3-0.4 cm.

The back of the head and upper chest of an Assyrian courtier to the right. He has long hair and wears an earring with a triangular tip, a beaded necklace, and a decorated garment with a strap or baldric over the left shoulder.

This fragment was incorrectly published in *I.N.* II, 19, no. 11, pl. vi, as ND2293 from Room B. Courtiers were a favourite Assyrian motif, see Nos. 1, 223-224, and *I.N.* II, nos. 9-69, pls. vi-xxi.

***13. ND2299, Room 19** Not illustrated
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Group of fragments, including plaque or base of pyxis, engraved with 12-petalled rosette, D. 6.0 cm. Smaller fragments engraved with rosettes and guilloche borders.

***14. ND2300, Room 1** Not illustrated
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Group of fragments, including ribbed plaque, L. 7.5 cm., fragment of panel with rosette, L. 3.4 cm., and guilloche strip.

THE OIL MAGAZINE, ROOM ZT30

15. ND3638, Room 30 Plate 2
British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London



Fragments of a pyxis lid with a bevelled edge, cut across the tusk. The lid was elaborately decorated but poorly preserved. Cloisonné. The central rosette was formed of deeply excised petals and a hollow centre, all originally inlaid, framed by a series of borders; a guilloche band framed by dots and an outer border, W. 1.1 cm., of small, eight-

petalled rosettes separated by excised circles, originally with inlays, probably further rosettes, within a dot border.

D. as preserved c. 11.5 cm. Max Th. 1.2 cm.

One very poorly preserved fragment survives, probably from the side of the pyxis, with the remains of inlaid circles, not illustrated.

This lid with its central inlaid rosette and framing guilloche bands is similar to the lid of the pyxis from the 'Ältere Gruft' at Tell Halaf (Moortgat 1955, 5-7, figs. 1-2).

Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 127; Wicke 2003, 279, I.c-80.

Room EB

16. ND1062, Room EB

Plate 1

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1952.92a



Fragments from top left of a vertical panel. Assyrian style. Incised. Remains of frame with hanging voluted palmettes at top. Dowel hole. Back lightly striated. 6.7 x 2.3 x 0.2 cm.

An eagle-headed genie facing right; only the head, shoulders and raised right arm survive. He has an elaborate necklace with pendant discs and a bracelet with a rosette. His short-sleeved garment is decorated with rosettes.

A fragment depicting a bearded warrior and palmettes was not located.

This fragment was published in *I.N.* II, 50, no. 188, pl. xliii, but neither its ND number nor its provenance was known. For other Assyrian eagle-headed genies see Nos. 224-228 from Well AJ and comments, and those published in *I.N.* II, nos. 189-202, pls. xliiii-xlv.

*17. ND1061, Room EB

Not illustrated

British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London

Fragments of palmettes, largest 2.2 x 1.2 x 0.3 cm.

RECESS EA

The Assyrian king

18. ND1082, Recess EA

Plate 3

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56344

Vertical rectangular panel, carved in modelled Assyrian style. Plain frames at top and sides, wider frame outlined with incised lines at bottom. Pairs of dowel holes near the top and through the feet. Found lying behind the banquet stela of Ashurnasirpal II in the recess EA: it lay on a burnt brick pavement dated to Shalmaneser III and was embedded in ash and mud beneath fallen mud-brick. 27.2 x 7.5 x 0.5 cm. (*Turin Catalogue* 27.8 x 7.5 cm.)



The king, facing right, right arm flexed and raised, a hemi-spherical bowl balanced on the tips of the fingers and thumb; left arm at his side holding the ceremonial sickle of Ninurta with an eagle's head and a row of loops outlining the curve of the blade. On his head the royal hat or tiara surmounted by a cone (poorly preserved): the hat is tied with a diadem with a central framed panel containing a rosette and long, fringed ties, again with panels containing rosettes above the fringes. The hair is arranged in curls over the brow and in long tresses, falling behind his ear and ending in curls on his shoulders.

His face is damaged and has been restored in wax: the eyebrows are notched: his beard is arranged in curls and locks ending in curls on his chest. The ear is pronounced with a long lobe, possibly including an earring.

He is wearing standard royal attire, consisting of a richly decorated, short-sleeved, long robe: The material is decorated with panels of incised rosettes and plant motifs, arranged around the collar and sleeves, and covering the skirt. The hem is fringed. A wide belt is wound round the waist. A shawl, again decorated with panels of rosettes and plants and with deep fringed hems, is worn over the robe, crossing his left shoulder, and continuing to the hem. He wears simple bracelets on his wrists and has sandals on his feet.

'There can be little doubt that the ivory plaque ND1082 ... represents no less a person than King Assur-nasir-pal II himself and that it is likely to have been carved at the same time as the stela, for use in conjunction with it. We have already seen that this ivory lay on a pavement which must indeed have been laid by Shalmaneser III; but that the engraved figure was probably the image of his father and made during his father's own lifetime is most strongly suggested by the ceremonial sickle carried in the king's left hand. This object is precisely similar in appearance to the bird-headed sickle carried by the king on the celebrated statue, now in the British Museum, discovered by Layard at the entrance to the 'Small Temple' of Belit-mati, to the east of the ziggurat.' Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 8-9.

This is an outstanding and unique example of the relatively rare, modelled Assyrian style. There are two other fine examples from Well AJ, Nos. 223 and 224, which show courtiers and genies. A fan handle, No. 363, with a modelled design on both sides, was found in Well NN, and the small strips from Court E, Nos. 20-36, were also lightly but crudely modelled.

Other examples with modelled narrative scenes were found both in the Nabu Temple (*I.N.* II, nos. 30-31, 61, 120-21, 171, 193, pls. xi-xii, xvii, xxxii, xl, xliii), and in Room T10 of Fort Shalmaneser (*I.N.* II, nos. 36-42, 99, 110, 116-17, 192 and 194, pls. xii-xiii, xxix, xxxi, xxxii, xliii). Scenes with kneeling goats were also sometimes modelled, Nos. 38-39 and examples from Fort Shalmaneser, Rooms NW5 and T10 (*I.N.* II, no. 163-68, pl. xxxix).

Ivories from Nimrud VI

For incised Assyrian style ivories depicting the king, see *I.N.* II, nos. 2-7, pls. ii-v. The king is similarly dressed and also balances a bowl on his fingertips on the incised panel from the Nabu Temple, ND4251, *I.N.* II, no. 2, pl. ii. He is frequently shown on reliefs with a bowl balanced on his finger-tips, for instance on panels G3, G8, G10, G13, G16, G25 and G29 in Room G of the North West Palace (Meuszynski 1981, Taf. 9-10).

Mallowan *I.L.N.*, 28.07.51, 134, 136, fig. 9; Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 8-9, 23, pl. i; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 58, fig. 21, 62, and 321, note 1; Mallowan 1978, 16; Falkner 1952-1953, 135, Abb. 6; *I.N.* 1, 16, no.1, pl. i; *Turin Catalogue*, no. 158, 390, colour pl. 322, top right.

19. ND1083, Recess EA

Plate 2

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, MMA 52.23.02



Openwork rectangular panel, right side and bottom right corner broken off, fragments missing from top left and surface overall. Plain frame at top, left side and bottom, right side not preserved. No trace of tenon or dowel, back smooth. Found lying behind the banquet stela of Ashurnasirpal II in the recess EA: it lay on a burnt brick pavement dated to Shalmaneser III and was embedded in ash and mud beneath

fallen mud-brick. 13.8 x 7.7 x 0.9 cm.

A rampant, human-headed, winged sphinx facing left. His lower legs are not preserved, his upper paws rest on the half-stylized tree carved on the edge of the panel. His hair is drawn back over his head to terminate in a heavy curl on his shoulder. A few muscle markings can be seen – a distinct shoulder marking and lines on paws and hindlegs. The wing is attached to the shoulder and runs along the back, curving out, the tip is broken off. The tree consists of three half volutes and a fan of fronds at the top.

This panel shares some similarities with the human-headed, rampant sphinx, ND8050, *I.N.* IV, 144, no. 562, pl. 131, which probably forms part of the ‘flame and frond’ school, *I.N.* IV, 16. There is, however, no reason to place ND1083 in that style-group: note, for instance, the very different treatment of the wing and musculature. It can be compared to a relief showing a pair of human-headed sphinxes attacking a winged bull from Carchemish: note the similar stance and hairstyle (Hogarth 1914, pl. B15)¹: however, the Carchemish wings curve up rather than down. Although the Nimrud panel shows no sign of the distinctive Carchemish treatment of paws, the shoulder marking and the outlining of legs is comparable, see Woolley & Barnett 1978, pls. B49b, B55a, B57b. Mallowan compares the sphinx with one on the Herald’s Wall at Carchemish (Hogarth 1914, B14, see Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 321, note 1).

Trees with tiers of only downward curving volutes are relatively

¹A poorly preserved human-headed sphinx striding to the right is also partially similar: Woolley 1921, pl. B18.

unusual. Examples can be seen on the fan-handle, No. 363 from Well NN (below), and on ND9162 and ND9474, *I.N.* IV, 171-172, nos. 783 and 796, pls. 203 and 208. Similar downward curving volutes also occur on the well-known relief from Sakça Gözü (Akurgal 1962, pl. 134), on a pendant showing a tree between a pair of goats from Zincirli (Andrae 1943, Taf. 47b) and on a fragmentary steatite box from Carchemish (Woolley 1921, pl. 28).

Mallowan *I.L.N.* 28.07.51, 136, fig. 7; Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 9; Wilkinson 1952; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 59, fig. 22, 62, 321, note 1.

COURT E

The following fragments, Nos. 20-36, are Assyrian style strips with lightly modelled designs, which all probably belonged to the same object. They were found on the floor of the court outside Gate E. They are poorly preserved, unusually narrow and carved in a provincial style. They show many of the standard Assyrian subjects, processions of courtiers, a walled city, prisoners and tributaries, files of mules and horses, and carts with bovinds. They presumably formed parts of a single object. A few similar fragments, No. 8, ND4214, were found in Room 6, on the other side of the Great Court. The drawings, taken from *I.N.* II, are not totally accurate.

Assyrian courtiers

*20. ND1051, Court E

Plate 2

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56413



Fragment of a long, narrow strip, carved in low relief, pierced by dowel holes. Worn and poorly preserved. Traces of poorly defined frames at top and bottom. 2.4 x 6.5 x 0.3 cm.

Part of a procession of six Assyrian courtiers advancing right, with the last one on the left half-turned with arm raised, possibly to introduce some tributaries? The central four have their arms flexed and held in front, probably with hands clasped. They all have shoulder-length hair and wear ankle-length garments with fringed hems.

Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 61, fig. 26; *I.N.* II, 35, no. 93a, pl. xxvii; Bär 1996, Abb. 22.

A fortress

*21. ND1057, Court E

Plate 2

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56416



Fragments of a long narrow strip, slightly curved, carved in low relief, pierced by two dowel holes. Sides broken off, fragments missing, surface worn. Traces of a poorly defined frame at top.

a. Part of a battle or siege scene showing part of a walled city or fortress with crenellated battlements, three defensive towers with narrow embrasures and a central gateway. 2.3 x 7.1 x 0.35 cm.

Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 61, fig. 26; *I.N.* II, 35, no. 92b, pl. xxvii.

b. Two fragments: one from the top of a strip shows the head of a soldier on left and the top of his scaling ladder leaning against a fragment of a tower. 0.7 x 5.9 cm.; the second shows the crenellations and part of a tower of a fortress, 1.4 x 3.6 cm.

I.N. II, 35, no. 92c, pl. xxvii.

Prisoners and tributaries

***22. ND1049, Court E**

Plate 3

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56412

Four fragments of a long narrow strip or strips, carved in low relief, pierced by dowel holes. Traces of poorly defined frames at top and bottom.



a. Both sides broken off: fragments missing from top, bottom right and surface. 3.2 x 11.0 x 0.3 cm.

The scene shows a procession of four prisoners advancing left, a central scene with a man turning to a woman, and three further figures on the right, also facing left. The four captives on the left are naked, their hands tied behind their backs. They wear a close-fitting hat or helmet? In the centre a bearded man turns to pour some liquid into a bowl held by a female: she has waist-length hair and wears a long garment. The next figure may also be female; she holds her arms up to her head, holding something, and has two rolls of cloth? through her belt. The following figure is also female but is only preserved above the waist: her arms are held out on either side, and she is holding something in her right hand. She has long hair and wears a short-sleeved garment. The procession ends with a helmeted and bearded soldier, only preserved above the waist. He has a bow over his shoulder and holds up a thick staff or stick to control his prisoners.

Mallowan *I.L.N.* 28.07.51, 136, fig.11; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 61, fig. 26, where it is wrongly numbered as ND1045 and shown forming part of b. below; *I.N.* II, 35, no. 94, pl. xxvii.



b. Fragment, left side broken off, two dowel holes on right and remains of two on left. Poorly preserved. 3.2 x 11.8 x 0.4 cm.

A procession of seven tributaries, only partially preserved, advancing left. They wear long fringed coats over long tunics and boots with upturned toes. They bring a variety of gifts, the first and last three carry sacks on their shoulders, the second and third, bundles of wood, while the fourth grasps a long-necked vessel or bag.

In Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 61, this fragment is wrongly numbered as ND1045 and is joined to a. above: there is little evidence to support this.

I.N. II, 36, no. 95b, pl. xxvii; Bär 1996, Abb. 20.



c. Two small fragments: i. sides and top broken off, remains of dowel hole on right. A single tributary, similar to those in b., advances left, carrying a gift on his shoulder; and ii., top right corner, with left side and bottom broken off and central dowel hole. Parts of two tributaries advancing left. H. as preserved 3.0 cm.



I.N. II, 36, no. 95a and c, pl. xxvii.

***23. ND1051, Court E**

Plate 4

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56413

Two fragments of long narrow strips, carved in low relief, pierced by dowel holes. Worn and poorly preserved. Traces of poorly defined frames at top and bottom.



a. Fragment from left of strip, right side broken off. A procession of four tributaries advancing right wearing long garments and boots with upturned toes. The two leading figures carry sacks on their backs. 2.4 x 5.3 cm.

I.N. II, 35, no. 93b, pl. xxvii; Bär 1996, Abb. 22.



b. Fragment of strip, both sides broken off. Traces of a procession of four tributaries advancing right. Only traces survive of the leading tributary, just his legs, the hem of his garment and a sickle-shaped object; the second, with a floppy hat and knee-length garment, carries a handled bucket and a sickle?; the next two hold up forks, while the fourth also holds a handled bucket. 2.4 x 8.0 cm.

Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 61, fig. 26; *I.N.* II, 35, no. 93c, pl. xxvii; Bär 1996, Abb. 22.

24. ND1050, Court E

Plate 4

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1952.86

A group of six fragments of long narrow strips, with slightly rounded tops and bottoms and mitred sides, carved in low relief.



a. AM 1952.86a. Fragment, sides broken off, fragment in centre missing. Remains of dowel hole at right. 3.2 x 7.1 x 0.4 cm.

Three bearded tributaries and parts of two more advance right. They are dressed in long fringed coats and boots. The leading complete figure has arms raised in front and carries a sack over the shoulder; the second and third hold bowls in their raised hands,

Ivories from Nimrud VI

while the fourth may be carrying an animal.

I.N. II, 36, no. 96d, pl. xxviii; Bär 1996, Abb. 21.



b. AM 1952.86c. Fragment from bottom right corner of strip, top and left side missing. Two tributaries with raised arms and wearing fringed coats advancing right. 3.2 x 4.5 x 0.4 cm.



c. AM 1952.86c. Fragment from bottom of strip, top and sides not preserved. The lower bodies of three tributaries wearing fringed coats advancing right. The central one is bent forward. 2.4 x 5.4 x 0.4 cm.

I.N. II, 36, no. 96a, pl. xxviii; Bär 1996, Abb. 21.



d. AM 1952.86a. Fragment from centre of strip, no original edges. The bodies of two tributaries, heads and feet missing, advancing right with raised arms, probably carrying sacks. 1.6 x 4.5 x 0.4 cm.

I.N. II, 36, no. 96b, pl. xxviii; Bär 1996, Abb. 21.



e. AM 1952.86e. Fragment from left side, top and bottom broken off. The upper body only of a soldier with a spear and a shield, possibly waisted, at left, attacking the figure in front. Only the body with one arm flexed and raised survives of the latter. He is wearing a long, ? fringed garment. 1.7 x 4.2 x 0.4 cm.

I.N. II, 36, no. 96c, pl. xxviii; Bär 1996, Abb. 21.



f. AM 1952.86b. Three fragments, originally joined, sides broken off: the right fragment is now separate. Three tributaries, partially preserved, advance to the right, the leading pair with arms raised, the last one holding a handled bucket. The leading figure has a floppy hat and a long fringed coat, the second and third are wearing long garments, probably fringed coats. 3.2 x 7.3 x 0.4 cm.

I.N. II, 36, no. 96e, pl. xxviii; Bär 1996, Abb. 21.

25. ND1058, Court E

Plate 4

British Museum, London

Three small fragments from long narrow strips, carved in low relief. Traces of frames at top or bottom.



a. Fragment from top, rest not preserved. The heads and upraised arms of two tributaries, holding up dishes, with the hand of a third at the left. 1.2 x 4.0 x 0.4 cm.

I.N. II, 36, no. 97c, pl. xxviii.

b. Fragment from bottom, rounded edge, rest not preserved. The leg and foot of a figure advancing left in the mountains. 1.2 x 3.9 x 0.4 cm.

I.N. II, 36, no. 97a, pl. xxviii.

c. Fragment from bottom with remains of dowel, rest not preserved. Part of a figure wearing a long fringed coat and pointed boots advancing right, followed by the foot of a horse. 0.8 x 1.5 cm.

I.N. II, 36, no. 97b, pl. xxviii.

There are a number of other very small and poorly preserved fragments, not recorded.

Bär 1996, Abb. 27.

Mules and horses

*26. ND1055, Court E

Plate 5

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56414



Fragments of long narrow strips, carved in low relief, some joining.

Traces of poorly defined frames at top and bottom, pierced by dowel holes. The design shows a file of pack-mules and muleteers advancing to the right. The muleteers wear soft hats and knee-length garments: their left arms are lowered, the hands grasping the mules' tails, their right arms hold up sticks. The mules are not bridled: they carry rectangular packs, perhaps timber, held by two girths fastened in a V-form under the belly.

The largest section, made up from a number of fragments, shows three mules and two muleteers. The central mule appears to stumble, note the position of the animal's nose and legs. A tree can be seen behind the leading muleteer. The second muleteer seems to hold a bucket as well as the mule's tail. 3.3 x 16.0 x 0.4 cm.

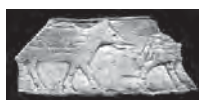
A fragment, No. 8, ND4214, from Room ZT6, see above, was published as ND1055 in *I.N.* II, 37, no. 104, pl. xxx. Although recorded as coming from ZT 6, it clearly forms part of the Court E set.

Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 60, fig. 23; *I.N.* II, 37, no. 103, pl. xxx; Bär 1996, Abb. 25a.

*27. ND1056, Court E

Plate 5

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56415



Fragment of a long narrow strip, carved in low relief, sides broken off. Traces of poorly defined frames at top and bottom. 2.8 x 5.5 x 0.6 cm.

Parts of two mules from a file of pack-mules, advancing right. Of the leading mule all that survives is the hindquarters and the end of a blanket and haunch-strap; the following mule is carrying a pack secured by girths fastened in a V-form under the belly. This piece is similar in style to the two fragments above, but is slightly narrower and thicker. It presumably belonged to a different strip.

I.N. II, 38, no. 105, pl. xxx; Bär 1996, Abb. 26.

28. ND1054, C.N.I., N4, Court E Plate 5
British Museum, London, BM 131156. 1952.0209.28



Part of a long narrow strip, slightly curved, carved in low relief. Broken at sides, poorly preserved on left with much of surface missing. Traces of frame at top and bottom. Pierced by dowel hole, D. 0.4 cm. 2.5 x 10.3 x 0.4 cm.

A file of three horses with raised heads trotting to the right. In Barnett *C.N.I.*, 190, this is incorrectly located in Room B.

Mallowan, *I.L.N.* 28.07.51., 136, fig. 11, left; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 190, N4, pl. cxx; *I.N.* II, 38, pl. xxxi, no.107; Bär 1996, Abb. 24.

***29. ND1055, Court E** Plate 5
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56414



Two fragments from a long narrow strip, carved in low relief, sides broken off. Traces of poorly defined frames at top and bottom. Remains of dowel hole. 3.3 x 6.5 x 0.3 cm.

A file of horses advancing right. The fragment on the right shows the hindquarters of one horse, followed by a second, advancing right. The second fragment also shows the hindquarters of one horse, followed by the front of another.

I.N. II, 38, no.109, pl. xxxi; Bär 1996, Abb. 25b.

***30. ND1055, Court E** Plate 5
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56414



Fragment from bottom of long narrow strip, carved in low relief, sides broken off. Traces of poorly defined frame at bottom. Surface poorly preserved. 2.5 x 10.5 x 0.3 cm.

The lower bodies and legs of a double file of horses advancing right.

I.N. II, 38, no.108, pl. xxxi; Bär 1996, Abb. 25b.

31. ND1058, Court E Plate 5
British Museum, London (not in register)



Boxes of small fragments, many undecorated and poorly preserved, showing double files of horses advancing right and left.

a. Three fragments showing parts of horses advancing left: i. 2.3 x 3.8 x 0.4 cm.; ii. 1.7 x 4.4 x 0.4 cm.; iii. 1.8 x 3.5 x 0.4 cm. with remains of dowel hole.



b. Four fragments showing parts of horses advancing right. i. Straight left edge, beveled bottom edge, 1.8 x 2.9 x 0.4 cm. ii. 2.0 x 3.2 x 0.4 cm.; iii. 1.8 x 3.0 x 0.4 cm.; iv. 1.8 x 2.5 x 0.4 cm. with beveled bottom edge.

Bullock carts

32. ND1053, Court E Plate 6
British Museum, London (box 5) (not in register)



Long, narrow, curving strip, carved in low relief, pierced by two dowel holes, D. 0.5 cm. Bottom right corner broken off, worn and poorly preserved. Traces of poorly defined frames at top and bottom. H. 2.5 cm. W. at top 13.0 cm.; at bottom c. 13.7 cm. Th. 0.5 cm.

Two men, advancing right and wearing hats and long robes are each escorting a bullock cart. These have six-spoked wheels and are loaded with two large double-handled cauldrons.

I.N. II, 38, no. 106, pl. xxx; Bär 1996, Abb. 23.

***33. ND1057, Court E** Plate 5
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56416

Two fragments, carved in low relief.



a. Sides broken off, fragments missing, surface worn. Trace of a poorly defined frame at bottom, pierced by a dowel hole. All that survives of the design is a six-spoked wheel, like those of the bullock carts above. 2.6 x 1.5 cm.



b. Top and sides broken off. Trace of a poorly defined frame at bottom. All that survives of the design is the lower part of a cart with a solid wheel. 0.8 x 2.5 cm.

I.N. II, 35, no. 92a & d, pl. xxvii.

34. ND1058, Court E Plate 6
British Museum, London



Worn fragment, rounded edge. All that survives is the wheel of a cart. 2.5 x 1.5 x 0.4 cm.

35. ND1058, Court E Plate 6
British Museum, London

Two small fragments of long narrow strips with traces of frames at bottom.



a. Fragment from bottom left corner, frame at bottom. An animal leg to right. 1.4 x 1.7 x 0.5 cm.

b. Fragment from bottom, frame. Remains of dowel. Shoulder and bent

Ivories from Nimrud VI

foreleg of kneeling bovid/cervid to left. 2.2 x 2.7 x 0.3 cm.

36. ND1052, Court E Not illustrated
British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London

Assyrian style fragments in poor condition, mostly showing tribute bearers to right. Largest 6.5 x 2.5 cm.

37. ND1067, Court E Not illustrated
British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London
Coarse undecorated strips, largest 4.2 x 7.5 x 1.0 cm.

UNPROVENANCED FRAGMENTS OF ASSYRIAN STYLE PANELS

Layard may have found these fragments in the 'Roadway made for the Bulls', the trench that he dug to enable him to remove the human-headed lions from Room B and bring them back to London. In *Nineveh and Babylon* (1853), 162-163, he wrote: 'During the progress of the work we found some carved fragments of ivory similar to those already placed in the British Museum'. The fragments were not registered, but Barnett was able to identify the ivories thanks to an entry in Layard's diary of December 4, 1849, which recorded that he found 'a few fragments of ivory with kneeling goats' (f.30): Barnett *C.N.I.* 17,² 186.

Kneeling goats

38. C.N.I., H2. Plate 6
British Museum, London, BM 123867



Two fragments from long thin panel, modelled Assyrian style. Plain frame at top and bottom. Back flat. The two fragments show parts of a pair of kneeling goats flanking a central voluted palmette flower.

a. 1.1 x 5.0 x 0.4 cm.; b. 1.3 x 3.6 x 0.4 cm.

Both modelled and incised versions of this motif are a familiar Assyrian design. Incised examples were found in Room B, No. 65, near Well AJ, Nos. 210-211, and Room HH, No. 303, and from Rooms NW5 and T10 in Fort Shalmaneser, *I.N.* II, nos. 163-168, pl. 39.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 186, H2, pl. xiii

² Barnett considered that the 'Roadway for the Bulls' was made to move the 'winged human-headed lion colossi from Hall G, the eastern hall of the North West Palace': Barnett *C.N.I.* 17. However, Layard in *Nineveh and Babylon* (1853) 162-163, wrote that the 'gigantic human-headed lions, first discovered in the north-west palace at Nimroud [Room B] were still standing in their original position' and, at the request of the Trustees of the British Museum, he dug a road through the ruins to the edge of the mound—for further discussion, see pp. 35-36 above.

39. C.N.I., H3. Plate 6
British Museum, London, BM 123868



Fragment from panel with modelled Assyrian design. Plain frame at top and bottom. Back flat. All that survives of the design is the hindquarters of a goat kneeling to the left. 2.1 x 3.8 x 0.4 cm.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 186, H3.

40. C.N.I., H1. Plate 6
British Museum, London, BM 123856

Fragments from a pair of long thin panels, with incised Assyrian designs of goats flanking central rosettes. Many fragments no longer preserved. Backs flat.



a. H1a. Fragmentary panel, fragments missing from top left, right and bottom. Plain frame at top. The design once showed a pair of goats sinking on one knee and flanking a central twelve-petalled rosette within a circle. Their horns are represented frontally. Musculature carefully drawn. Back poorly preserved. 4.5 x 13.4 x 0.3 cm.



b. H1b. Fragments from a long panel, similar to a. above, once showing a pair of kneeling goats flanking a central rosette with traces of a second rosette behind the fragmentary cervid on the left. Plain frame at top and bottom. Fine work. The possible original length, as preserved, is c. 12.0 cm.

i. Fragment, no original edges, hindleg of goat originally advancing right, with traces of a circle behind. 0.7 x 2.0 x 0.3 cm.

ii. Fragment, top and sides not preserved, plain frame at bottom, with the foreleg of a goat kneeling to the right. 1.3 x 2.2 x 0.4 cm.

iii. Fragments of the central circle: 1.2 x 2.4 x 0.3 cm.; 1.2 x 2.2 x 0.3 cm.; 1.0 x 2.0 x 0.3 cm.

iv. Fragment, sides not preserved, plain frame at top and bottom. Only the hindquarters of a goat kneeling to the left survive. 3.8 x 2.6 x 0.4 cm.

v. Fragment, no original edges, only the hindquarters of a goat kneeling to the right survive. 1.7 x 2.7 x 0.6 cm.

These panels would have been decorated with a succession of pairs of opposed goats flanking central circles containing rosettes and separated from the following pairs by further circles with rosettes. Panels with opposed goats were a common Assyrian design. Examples with central voluted palmettes were found in Rooms NW5 and NW15 of Fort Shalmaneser, *I.N.* II, nos. 162-163, pl. xxxviii.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 186, H1, pl. xiii

UNPROVENANCED HEADS FOUND BY RASSAM

The provenances of the following three heads are uncertain. They were found by Hormuzd Rassam, sent to Rawlinson and registered in 1855 and 1856. In 1935 Barnett registered two of the heads, Nos. 41 and 42, as BM 118228 and BM 118229 and noted that they were said to have come from Sherif Khan (Barnett 1935, 197). However, in Barnett *C.N.I.* 20 and 50, he suggested that the registers were incorrect and that these heads, together with one registered as found in Nineveh, No. 43, were the 'three ivory heads most beautifully cut, the head of one being covered with thin gold' found by Rassam in the ZT area. Such a suggestion is not unreasonable as not only was Rawlinson uninterested in archaeological objects unless they were inscribed, but Rassam was working at all three sites at the same time and could well have mixed the locations. However, it remains uncertain as to whether the three heads were found in the North West Palace.

Three North Syrian female heads

41. *C.N.I.*, U6. Rassam from Sherif Khan? Plate 6
British Museum, London, BM 118228. 1855.12.05. 208 + 215b



Head and neck of a woman, carved in the round, front of neck not preserved. The oval eyes are large with drilled pupils, heavy rims and arched eyebrows. The tip of the nose is broken off, the mouth thin and the chin firm. The hair is smooth over the head and falls in twisted ringlets in front of the ears and onto the shoulders. She wears a fillet with alternate rosettes and circular discs for inlay, one of which still has remains of gold overlay and traces of the original paste inlay. Rectangular tenon slot in base, 0.8 x 0.6 cm. 4.2 x 2.6 x 2.5 cm.

This head and No. 42 find many parallels with examples from the Burnt Palace, for instance, S172-177, Barnett *C.N.I.*, 205, pls. lxx-lxxi. The head is typically 'flame and frond'.

Mansell n.d., pl. 580; Barnett *C.N.I.* (1975), 226, pl. lxxi.

42. *C.N.I.*, U7. Rassam from Sherif Khan? Plate 6
British Museum, London, BM 118229. 1855.1205.213 + 216

Head and neck of a woman, carved in the round. Some surface fragments from right side of face and back of head missing. Perforated tenon at bottom, below neck. The oval eyes are large with drilled pupils, heavy rims and arched eyebrows. The nose



is pointed, the mouth thin and the chin firm. The hair is smooth over the head and falls in ringlets in front of the ears and onto the shoulders. She wears a fillet with alternate carved rosettes, one with gold overlay surviving, and excised circular discs for inlay, with some original paste still *in situ*. Her necklace consists of four strands of beads with pendant discs, also visible below her finely carved ear.

H. with tenon 5.6 cm.; H. 5.2 cm.; W. 2.8 cm.; Th. 3.2 cm.

This head and No. 41 find many parallels with examples from the Burnt Palace, for instance, S172-177, Barnett *C.N.I.*, 205, pls. lxx-lxxi. Like No. 41, it is typically 'flame and frond'.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 226, pl. lxxi.

43. *C.N.I.*, T5. Kuyunjik Plate 6
British Museum, London, BM 118217. 1856.09.03.1134



Head and neck of a woman, wearing a crown of rectangular panels, overlaid in gold. The ivory is unusually white. Gold covered part of the hair over the forehead and part of the ringlets, as well as the pupils of the eyes. The hair is plaited over the crown and falls in twisted ringlets in front of the ears and onto the shoulders. The face is more naturalistic than the previous two. The oval eyes have drilled pupils and arched eyebrows. The nose is straight, the mouth and chin firm. Round the neck is a necklace with two strands of beads. Back, flat, striated. Half of dowel hole in back, 0.7 x 1.1 cm. 4.1 x 2.6 x 1.4 cm.

According to the 1856 register, three heads were found at Nineveh 'in the centre of the mound, they are white ivory. Head of a female bound with gold, full-face. Two long curls, 1½" high'. This description fits No. 43: the other two heads have not been found: they were 1856.09.03.1133, a head with a fillet of rosettes and excised discs over flowing hair; and 1856.09.03.1135, the left side of a face with a fillet of jewels and rosettes. However, No. 43 could equally be the third head found by Rassam in 1852: it can be compared to S183, BM 118232, from the Burnt Palace (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 224, pl. lxx).

Hogarth 1908, pl. 28; Poulsen 1912, fig. 35; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 224, pl. cxxv.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

THE STATE APARTMENTS

THE THRONE ROOM, ROOM B

Mallowan found a small but important collection of ivory fragments at the east end of the throne room Room B, to the south of the great throne dais. These lay on a hard mud pavement overlaid with bitumen and were apparently contemporary with the reign of Ashurnasirpal II. The pavement was flush with the bottom of the plinth which had formed the base or edging to the bas reliefs. They were covered by a 10 cm. layer of clay. The ivories were engraved with Assyrian scenes, some of which have not previously been recorded.

'The most remarkable of these are two strips illustrating a ritual which is taking place on a hill-top or in the mountains, [No. 56]. In one of them a bearded hero stripped to the waist is felling a tree with a heavy three-pronged axe; in the other, more elaborately attired in ceremonial robes, he is accompanied by a retinue of nobles. This individual can be none other than the king himself. Other fragments illustrate chariot scenes, a hero on bended knee dispatching two bulls, horses in a battle scene, eunuchs and soldiers in procession and, in general, the subjects which are depicted on contemporary wall reliefs from the N.W. Palace.' Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 10-11.

The drawings in this section are by Dirk Wicke.

Assyrian courtiers and soldiers

*44. ND1715, Room B

Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Plate 7



Fragment from panel, top and top right side broken off, base cut with two half dowel holes, pair of dowel holes in centre, surface worn with some fragments missing. Incised. Plain incised frames at sides. 6.6 x 6.0 x 0.2 cm.

Two elaborately dressed, beardless courtiers face right, top of heads and lower bodies not preserved. The nearer courtier has his arms flexed and hands linked in front; the other has one arm raised, the other holding a staff. Their hair falls onto their shoulders, ending in curls. They wear beaded necklaces with tasseled 'necklace counterweights' down the back, earrings and bracelets. Their short-sleeved, belted garments are richly decorated with semi-circles, rosettes and a honeycomb pattern. Similar decoration can be seen on the worn No. 45, which may have formed part of a matching panel. The end of a voluted sword can be seen by the hips.

Attendant courtiers are a familiar feature on the bas-reliefs, and relatively common on the ivories, as can be seen on No. 1; a modelled version, No. 223 from Well AJ and see *I.N.* II, pls. vi-xv. The numerous examples on the reliefs include some from Room G, Meuszynski 1981, Taf. 8. Budge 1914, pls. xxx-xxxii; Stearns 1961, pl. 4. The honeycomb pattern on the skirt of No. 9 can be seen on *I.N.* II, 15, and as a frame on no.184.

I.N. II, 19, no. 9, pl. vi.

138

45. ND2293, Room B

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1954.716

Plate 7



Fragment from top right of vertical panel, left side and bottom broken off, cracked with surface worn and fragments missing. Lightly incised. Elaborate frame at top consisting of two rows of voluted palmettes separated by a guilloche band. Dowel holes, D. 0.4 and 0.2 cm., near top. Back, lightly striated. 12.5 x 4.8 x 0.4 cm.

Two Assyrian soldiers, facing left, one bearded, the other clean-shaven. The bearded Assyrian has shoulder-length hair and an earring and wears a short-sleeved, knee-length garment of a decorated material. He carries a bow over his shoulder, a quiver under his arm and holds a mace with a rosette head in his left hand. Only the head, upper body and right arm of the clean-shaven Assyrian is visible.

The voluted palmette frames, light incisions and similar context suggest that the fragments, Nos. 45-46, formed parts of the same panel. For examples of courtiers equipped with maces, swords, bows and quivers on the reliefs, see, for instance, some from Room G, Meuszynski 1981, Taf. 8, G3-4.

I.N. II, 22, no. 28, pl. x.

46. ND2293, Room B

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1954.717

Plate 7



Fragment from bottom of vertical panel, broken at top and right side; fragments missing from bottom and surface; surface, cracked and worn. Incised. Double incised frame at left and bottom with a voluted palmette above, part of a voluted palmette frieze. Dowel hole, D. 0.2 cm., near bottom. Back, lightly striated. 12.5 x 4.8 x 0.3 cm.

The bodies, heads not preserved, of two Assyrians advancing left. They are wearing garments with short sleeves and belted skirts, made of a patterned fabric with fringed hems. Bare feet with toes articulated. The figure on the right carries a decorated quiver and sword with voluted scabbard and holds a mace in his raised right hand. The figure on the left, partially obscured by the other, holds a mace with a rosette head in his lowered right hand.

Possibly part of the same panel as No. 45 above, although they do not join.

I.N. II, 22, no. 27, pl. x.

*47. ND1715, Room B

Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Plate 8

Fragment from panel, cut at top, right side and bottom broken off, surface worn with some fragments missing. Incised. Plain incised frame at left. Dowel holes in centre. 9.8 x 5.2 x 0.5 cm. Traces



only of the lower body of an Assyrian to the left, holding a mace with a rosette top in his right hand. The surviving part of his garment is decorated with a honeycomb pattern, see No. 44 above, and has a fringed hem.

Similar to the preceding pieces.

I.N. II, 20, no. 15, pl. vii.

48. ND2295 and ND1715, Room B

Plate 8

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Three assorted fragments.



a. ND2295, AM 1954.735, 4: Fragment from left side of panel showing the back of an Assyrian to the right, head, rest of body and feet missing. The fringed end of the shawl is visible. 4.6 x 1.2 cm.

b. ND2295: Fragment from top of panel, sides and bottom broken off. Worn. Frame at top with row of guilloche above voluted palmette frieze, of which only half of one palmette and traces of a second is preserved. The surviving design shows the back of the head of an Assyrian to right with shoulder-length hair. He is holding a bow. 5.7 x 1.0 x 0.4 cm.



c. ND1715: Fragment, no original edges, shows part of a fringed garment. 6.5 x 1.5 cm.

The winged disc

***49. ND1715, Room B**

Plate 8

Iraq Museum, Baghdad



Fragment from top of panel, sides and bottom broken off, cracked with some surface fragments missing. Incised. Incised plain frame at top. 3.6 x 2.5 x 0.3 cm.

The central section of an Assyrian style winged disc with a god wearing the horned cap of divinity and hiding the disc. He faces left, right hand raised, left holding his bow. He is bearded, has shoulder-length hair and wears a short-sleeved garment of a decorated fabric, belted at the waist. There is a scroll above the disc and a fan of fronds or petals below.

A fine modelled but different version of this design, *I.N.* II, no. 171, pl. xl, was found in the throne room of the Nabu Temple. He does not wear the cap of divinity, is not winged, and does not carry a bow – his function is clearly different. For examples of the winged disc on the throne room reliefs, see, for instance, Room B, B11 and B5, Meuszynski 1981, Taf. 2.

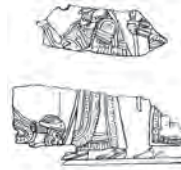
I.N. II, 48, no. 172, pl. xl.

The Assyrian king

***50. ND 1715, Room B**

Plate 8

Iraq Museum, Baghdad



Two fragments from a rectangular panel, top, centre and sides broken off, some surface fragments missing. Incised. Plain incised frame at base. Dowel hole in upper fragment. Upper fragment, 2.0 x 5.1 cm.; lower fragment, 3.0 x 7.0 x 0.3 cm.

In the centre the Assyrian king, top of head and centre of body not preserved, is advancing left with right arm flexed and raised, left lowered, the hand presumably holding a bow, which can be seen just above the ground. He is bearded, the ties of his diadem can be seen down his back. He has a beaded necklace and bracelet and wears an elaborate ankle-length garment with short sleeves and shawled fringed over-garment and sandals. He is followed by an attendant, of whom only part of the right arm and upper body and below the knee survive. The attendant wears a fringed, ankle-length garment and holds up a parasol?, only partially preserved. In front of the king a vassal or captive abases himself. He has a fillet or diadem round his head, shoulder-length hair, is bearded and wears a garment with outlined sleeves.

For an example on the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal, see, for instance, Room B, relief B18 below, Meuszynski 1981, Taf. 1; Budge 1914, pl. xx, 1. Similar scenes of Shalmaneser III are shown on the Black Obelisk, Barnett & Lorenzini 1975, pl. 45; and the Balawat Gates, King 1915, pl. lvii.

Mallowan *I.L.N.* 28.07.51, fig. 12; *I.N.* II, 17, no. 4, pl. iv.

Assyrian courtiers and soldiers

51. ND2295, Room B

Plate 8

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

Three incised fragments.

a. AM 1954.734. Fragments from top left of rectangular panel, bottom and right side broken off, cracked, some surface fragments missing. Dowel hole, D. 0.4 cm. Back, not preserved. 4.9 x 6.4 x 0.2 cm.



A procession of three Assyrians, only preserved to waist-level, facing right. They all have shoulder-length hair; the first is bearded and holds a staff or spear. He is followed by two beardless Assyrians with bows in their raised left hands and maces in their right. The last Assyrian wears a short-sleeved garment decorated with rosettes.

I.N. II, 22, no. 25, pl. x.



b. AM 1954.736. Fragment with no original edges, incised. The lower head and shoulder of a beardless Assyrian with long hair, facing left. Hands raised in front of face. Shawl on shoulder. 0.9 x 2.5 cm.



Th. 0.3 cm.

c. AM 1954.736. Fragment, no original edges. Part of the head and shoulder of a beardless Assyrian with long hair, facing left. Shawl on shoulder. 3.6 x 2.0 x 0.3 cm.

The type of incision on fragment a. is similar to that on Nos. 45 and 46.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

***52. ND1715, Room B**
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Plate 9

Assyrian armed with a sword. 1.5 x 4.0 x 0.2 cm.
I.N. II, 27, no. 59, pl. xvi.



Fragments from a rectangular panel, top, sides and fragments from left and right bottom broken off, some surface fragments missing. Incised. Plain incised frame at base. 5.0 x 10.0 x 0.3 cm.

A procession of four Assyrians, only partially preserved, moving right and carrying swords with voluted scabbards. Of the first, only one shoulder and part of the hip survives: of the second the chest and part of the lower body are preserved. The right arm is raised. He wears a short-sleeved belted garment, with a patterned apron covering the skirt at the back. Only the lower body and legs survive of the third: he is wearing a knee-length fringed skirt with apron over the hips, the apron decorated with a dotted diamond design. Only traces survive of the last Assyrian.

An apron over the back and hips can be seen worn by the king and his son on the reliefs B18, 20, and B25 in Room B, Meuszynski, 1981, Taf. 2.

I.N. II, 22, no. 29, pl. x.

53. ND1715, C.N.I. N2, Room B

Plate 9

British Museum, London, BM 131153. 1952.0209.25



Fragment from top of panel, sides and bottom broken off. Incised. Back, not preserved. 2.6 x 4.4 x 0.3 cm.

A procession of three Assyrians, only the heads and upper bodies preserved, moving left. Only the head of the leading Assyrian, partially obscured by the second Assyrian, survives. He is bearded. The second has a triple band tied round his head, shoulder-length hair and is beardless. His left arm is flexed. The body of the third, also beardless, is represented frontally, the head in profile, as if raising his left arm behind in introduction, the right is by his side. The Assyrians wear round-necked, short sleeved garments of an elaborately decorated material.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 190, N2, pl. cxx; *I.N.* II, 23, no. 32, pl. xii; Mallowan 1978, 23, fig. 18.

54. ND2295, Room B

Plate 9

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1952.93



Fragment, no original edges. Incised. Head and shoulders of bearded Assyrian to left, left arm raised in salutation. Trace of diadem and diadem ties. Garment with beaded borders. 3.0 x 2.2 x 0.2 cm.

***55. ND1715, Room B**

Plate 9

Iraq Museum, Baghdad



Fragment, no original edges. Surface pitted. Incised. Only part of the chest survives: probably an

Assyrians cutting down trees

***56. ND1715, Room B**

Plate 9

Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Five fragments, all probably showing trees being cut down, a complicated scene. For a similar scene on the Room B reliefs see Meuszynski 1981, Taf. 2, B3 and B4.



a. Fragment, top and sides broken off. Incised. No frame, dowel holes for fixing. 3.2 x 9.8 x 0.25 cm.

The design shows five Assyrians, three to the left and two to the right, of which only the lower bodies are preserved. The scene is set in a hilly or mountainous landscape: there are the trunks of three trees. The central Assyrian, possibly the king, grasps a spike-butted axe with both hands and is cutting down a tree. His garment is lavishly decorated, he has tassels hanging down his skirt and his back, perhaps the end of diadem ties, and is the only one to wear sandals. He is followed by a pair of Assyrians, with another pair in front, all dressed in long decorated garments with fringed hems. One of the pair in front holds out a hand and has a tassel down the apron, the other's hands are clasped.

Mallowan *I.L.N.* 28.07.51, 136, fig. 12; Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 11; Falkner 1952-53, 136, Abb. 7; Hrouda 1965, Taf. 59, no. 2; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 60, fig. 24; *I.N.* II, 17-18, no. 5a, pl. iv.



b. Fragment, no original edges. Surface cracked and worn. Incised. 6.4 x 3.8 cm.

A bearded, bare-chested Assyrian, facing left, is felling a tree with a spike-butted axe. His kilt is decorated with a stepped design. His lower legs are not preserved.



c. Two fragments, no original edges. Incised. Dowel holes. 1.9 x 3.5 cm.; 1.6 x 2.4 cm.

The larger fragment shows the lower bodies of two Assyrians in ankle-length decorated garments. One carries a sword with a voluted scabbard; a hand is visible between the two. Parts of a third Assyrian can be seen on the smaller second fragment: the dress is similar to that on fragment a.

I.N. II, 17, no. 5e, pl. iv.



d. Fragment, top and sides broken off. Surface poorly preserved. Incised. No frame, dowel hole on right edge. 3.3 x 5.4 cm.

The scene is set in a hilly or mountainous, wooded landscape. An Assyrian, of whom only the body and legs survive, is bending forward to the left, assisting a second figure of whom only traces survive. Both were probably working with ropes around the tree between them. The Assyrian is wearing a short, kilted skirt and has a sword with a voluted scabbard.

Mallowan *I.L.N.* 28.07.51, 134, 136, fig. 12; Mallowan *Iraq* 14,

11; Falkner 1952-3, 136, Abb. 7; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 60, fig. 24; *I.N.* II, 17, no. 5d, pl. iv.



e. Fragment, no original edges. Incised. 1.4 x 4.9 cm.

Part of the chin and chest only of a beardless Assyrian bending forward to the right. His short-sleeved garment is decorated with bands. He is probably involved with felling trees with a billhook(?): the trunk of a tree can be seen behind his right arm. On the left edge the arm only of a second, similarly dressed Assyrian to the left.

I.N. II, 17, no. 5c, pl. iv.

There are frequent references to the felling of trees, undertaken as a symbol of conquest, but there are relatively few illustrations. One poorly preserved slab, probably taken from the North West Palace and found in the South West Palace, showed trees being felled: the original design had been partly erased, and it is only known from a scrappy drawing by Layard (Barnett & Falkner, 1962, Wall e, No. 1a, 25, pl. 114). Assyrian soldiers are shown cutting down trees in Urartu on the Balawat Gates of Shalmaneser III (King 1915, pl. 8).

Warfare

57. ND1715, Room B

Plate 10

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, MMA 52.23.7



Fragment, no original edges. Surface cracked and pitted. Incised. Back, smooth. 2.9 x 7.7 x 0.3 cm.

Part of a lively battle scene, involving parts of three chariots and their charioteers advancing left with an enemy trapped between the last two. Of the leading chariot, only the bent left elbow of the archer wearing a decorated garment survives, together with the javelin fixed to the back of the chariot. Of the central chariot, most of the heads and bodies to the hips survive of an Assyrian archer and his driver. The bearded archer is drawing his bow and is also armed with a sword in a voluted scabbard hanging from a baldric. He wears a short-sleeved, decorated garment. The driver, who is similarly dressed, is partially obscured by the archer: both arms are outstretched, holding the reins of a pair of horses. A javelin with a pennant is fixed to the back of the chariot, the cab of which does not survive. The row of loops along the bottom left edge may represent the top of the yoke pole. Of the third pair of contestants, only the heads of the two horses are preserved: the bits of the bridles are in the form of a double wedge. The bearded enemy soldier, facing right, wears an unusual helmet with a feathered crest; his right hand is raised in submission. Above his head hangs the limp arm of a corpse.

For similar pairs of overlapping chariots, see B4 and B10 from Room B (Meuszynski 1981, Taf. 2). Nos. 57, 60 and 61 were found in association and might have formed parts of the same panel, according to *I.N.* II, 29. Crested helmets are usually associated with Urartu. They can be seen on Band L2 of the Mamu Temple

gates of Ashurnasirpal II and on Bands L7, R5 and R7 of the Balawat Gates of Shalmaneser III (Barnett, Curtis *et al.* 2008, in press: King 1915, pls. xxxvii and xlii). Urartian helmets are, however, different in form.

Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 61, fig. 25; *I.N.* II, 26, no. 55, pl. xvi.

58. ND1715, C.N.I. N1, Room B

Plate 10

British Museum, London, BM 131152, 131155. 1952.0209.24 and 27



Fragments from a rectangular panel. Incised. Left fragment, top and left side broken off. 3.9 x 3.6 x 0.3 cm.

Right fragment, top, bottom and right side broken off. Bottom fragment on right wrongly restored. 4.0 x 7.0 x 0.3 cm.

The main fragments join and show the hindquarters of a pair of chariot horses, mainly the hindlegs, and parts of the yoke-pole and wheel of a chariot advancing right.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 190, N1, pl. cxx.

59. ND1715, C.N.I., N3, Room B

Plate 10

British Museum, London, BM131154. 1952.0209.26



Fragment, no original edges. Strongly incised. Back lightly striated. Part of the body of a chariot horse to left, with harness on chest, similar to that on the horses from the Room B reliefs, B3-11, Meuszynski 1981, Taf. 2. 2.2 x 7.0 x 0.4 cm.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 190, no. N3, pl. cxx.

*60. ND1715, Room B

Plate 10

Iraq Museum, Baghdad



Fragment from bottom of panel, top and sides broken off. Surface cracked and pitted. Incised. Incised plain frame. Dowel hole. 3.7 x 9.3 x 0.2 cm.

Part of a lively battle scene with horses. Parts of three horses can be made out. The principal horse in the centre is being forced to the ground, with head and neck bent, and hindlegs collapsing. The bare feet of the rider in a fringed short skirt can be seen. Above the horse to the left can be seen the lower legs and hoofs of a second horse: above and behind the central horse the forelegs and hindlegs of a third horse. The reins attached to the bridle are unusually thick and tasseled and seem to be confused with the chest ornament, which consists of a tasselled breast plate, see Meuszynski, 1981, Taf. 2, B9 above.

Pairs of ridden horses are shown on the Room B reliefs, for instance, Meuszynski 1981, Taf. 2, B9 above. Nos. 57, 60 and 61 were found in association and might have formed parts of the

Ivories from Nimrud VI

same panel, according to *I.N.* II, 29.

I.N. II, 29, no. 64, pl. xviii.

61. ND1715, C.N.I. Supp. 8, Room B Plate 10
British Museum, London, BM 131160. 1952.0209.32



Fragment from right side of panel, top, left side and bottom broken off. Surface worn. Lightly incised. 3.2 x 4.8 x 0.3 cm.

Part of a battle scene. Only the bodies are preserved of a mounted Assyrian archer accompanied by a second horseman, advancing left, in a wooded landscape. The archer would have been drawing his bow; he carries a quiver decorated with a rosette, has a shield slung on his back, and a sword in voluted scabbard thrust through his belt. Only the hindquarters of a horse survive; tail tied at top. To the right a branched tree.

Nos. 57, 60 and 61 were found in association and might have formed parts of the same panel, according to *I.N.* II, 29.

I.N. II, 27, no. 58, pl. xvi; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 231-2, fig. 93, pl. cxlvi, supp.8.

62. ND2293, Room B Plate 10
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1954.720, 2-3

Three fragments. Incised. Dowel holes.



a. 1954.720, 3: fragment with no original edges. All that survives of the design is the head of a helmeted, bearded tributary, facing left. In front of him part of a two-handled cauldron. 3.3 x 1.3 x 0.3 cm.



b. 1954.720, 2: fragment from top of panel. All that survives is the head of a bearded tributary, facing left, a fillet with a central circle tied round his head. Behind him is a cruciform earring, originally held by another tributary, not preserved. 2.2 x 1.3 x 0.3 cm.



c. Head and shoulders of bearded tributary, facing left, a fillet with a central circle tied round his head. He holds a sack, neck only preserved, over the shoulder. 1.5 x 1.6 x 0.3

cm.

The cruciform earring is shown on some Room B reliefs, worn, for instance, by Ashurnasirpal II on the relief showing the dedication of a dead bull, Relief B19, by a musician on the same scene, and by a genie (B22: Paley, 1976, pl. 22d). The earring is also represented as tribute on ivories from the Nabu Temple, *I.N.* II, 30, no. 69, pl. xxi, and 32, no. 76, pl. xxiv, from SE9, Fort Shalmaneser, *I.N.* II, 37, no. 100, pl. xxix, and from the Chaldeans on the throne base of Shalmaneser III, Mallowan *N. & R.* II, 449f. Numerous cauldrons are shown as items of tribute, but few have such long handles.

Mallowan *Iraq* 15, 27, pl. iii, 2; *I.N.* II, 32, no. 80, pl. xxiv.

142

63. ND1715, Room B Plate 11
British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London

Two fragments:



a. Fragment with human foot in a hilly landscape. 2.3 x 0.9 x 0.3 cm.



b. Fragment with leg and foot. Plain frame. 2.8 x 1.3 x 0.3 cm.

Hero and bulls

64. ND1715, Room B Plate 11
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1952.85



Fragmentary, cracked rectangular panel, right side broken off, left side damaged, surface poorly preserved. Incised. Incised plain frame at top and sides. Two dowel holes, D. 0.2 cm. Left edge mitred. 3.2 x 11.9 x 0.5 cm.

A central bearded deity, wearing the horned hat of divinity, kneels to the left, arms outstretched on either side, hands grasping the horns of bulls, which kneel on either side. He has shoulder-length hair and is dressed in a short-sleeved, belted, knee-length garment of a patterned material with a long open overskirt covering the back leg. The feet are bare. The bulls' heads are turned, their musculature is elaborate.

Similar but not identical designs can be found incised on garments on the sculptures of the North West Palace, see Layard *Mons.* I, pl. 8, a kneeling, winged deity with horned hat holding two bulls by the tail; pl. 9, a kneeling winged deity in a horned hat holding a lion by the hind leg; pl. 44, 1, a standing, winged deity in a horned hat with winged horses; pl. 44, 3, running winged deity in a horned hat with sphinxes; pl. 47, 2, a standing deity in a horned hat with goats; and pl. 48, 1, standing figure with bulls.

I.N. II, 47, no. 169, pl. xl.

Goats

***65. ND1060, Room B** Plate 11
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56417

A pair of rectangular plaques, slightly curved. Incised. Large, central dowel holes.



a. Broken at right. 2.7 x 4.9 x 0.3 cm.

b. Bottom and right side broken off, fragment from centre missing. Surface worn and pitted. 2.7 x 5.1 cm.



The design shows a goat kneeling to the right, with muscle markings on shoulder, ribs and haunch.

Similar panels were found by Layard in the 'Roadway for the

Bulls', Nos. 38-40, Barnett *C.N.I.*, H1-3; and by Mallowan, see the fragmentary examples from the debris adjacent to Well AJ, No. 210, and No. 303, Room HH. Examples have also been found in PD5 and in S4-5, S30, SE9 and NW5 of Fort Shalmaneser (*I.N.* II, nos. 134-145).

Mallowan *I.L.N.* 28.07.51, 136, fig. 11; *I.N.* II, 42, no. 133, pl. xxxiv.

66. ND1715, Room B Plate 11
British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London
Two fragments with goats:



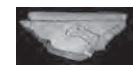
a. Top of long strip, right side and bottom broken off. Incised frame at top. All that survives of the design is the top of a voluted palmette plant and the top of the head and back of a goat kneeling to the right. 0.9 x 8.8 cm.



b. Fragment with little surface surviving. Left edge and frame at bottom. Only the face of a goat survives. 3.1 x 1.0 x 0.5 cm.

Assorted

67. ND2295, Room B Plate 11
British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London



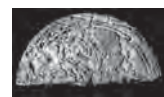
Fragment from top of panel, incised frame at top. All that survives of the design is the head of a bird. 2.4 x 1.0 cm.

68. ND2293, Room B Plate 11
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1954.720, 6



Fragment with an incised plant formed of twining stalks and round flowers or fruits. Raised arm and side of body of figure at right. Trace of unidentified feature at left. 3.3 x 1.7 x 0.3 cm.

69. ND1715, Room B Plate 11
British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London



Half a circular disc, poorly preserved, frame with chevrons, interior design uncertain, possibly floral? D. 5.7 cm. Th. 0.4 cm.

70. ND Room B Plate 11
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1952.89



Fragment, no original edges, perhaps part of a circular lid. All that survives is a curving guilloche band between double frames at the bottom and two lion's paws. Parts of two dowel holes on edges. 2.3 x 1.7 x 0.3 cm.

71. ND Room B Plate 11
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1952.88



Fragment perhaps from right edge. Incised. Plain frame. Enigmatic design, perhaps part of a lion? 2.0 x 0.9 x 0.4 cm.

***72. ND1715, Room B** Plate 11
British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London

Fragments of long narrow strips with voluted palmette plants.



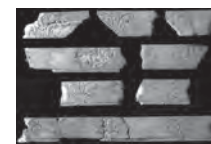
a. Fragment of strip, broken at sides, with one voluted palmette plant. 1.4 x 2.4 cm.



b. Fragments of three strips with the remains of voluted palmette plants. 1.6 x 5.5 cm.; 1.8 x 5.4 cm.; 1.9 x 2.8 cm.

Rows of voluted palmette plants are often used for framing: they also formed part of the neck ornamentation of a figure in Room G (Paley 1976, pl. 23c).

73. ND2295, ND2293, Room B Plate 11
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1952.87, 1954.721



Eight fragments from long narrow strips with incised voluted palmette plants, broken at sides. Plain frames at base. Some dowel holes. Group of three: 1.2 x 3.1 x 0.3 cm; 1.2 x 2.6 x 0.2 cm.; 1.2 x 9.4 x 0.4 cm. Group of five: 1.3 x 3.3 x 0.3 cm.; 1.3 x 3.2 x 0.3 cm. 1.2 x 2.6 x 0.3 cm.; 1.2 x 4.8 x 0.3 cm.; 1.2 x 3.3 x 0.3 cm.

74. ND1715, Room B Plate 11
British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London



Three fragments of long strip, broken at sides, with incised designs of rosettes within circles. On the largest fragment, two complete circles and an incomplete one survive. Circles drawn with centred bit. Further fragments with parts of rosettes in circles. Trace of dowel hole. 2.0 x 9.0 x 0.4 cm.; 2.0 x 3.5 x 0.4 cm.; 2.0 x 2.1 x 0.4 cm.

Similar strips with daisies or rosettes were found by Layard in 1848, No. 199b. Simpler rosettes lacking frames were found in Room JJ, No. 314. Both types of rosette or daisy pattern were found at Samaria (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, 40, fig. 11).

75. ND2293, Room B Plate 11
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1954.718



Three fragments of long strips, sides broken, with incised rosettes within circles. Worn. 2.2 x 4.9 x 0.4 cm.; dowel hole on edge, 2.0 x 2.9 x 0.4 cm.; 2.1 x 3.0 x 0.4 cm.

76. ND2293, Room B Plate 12
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1954.719



Fragment from edge of plain panel, rest not preserved, back striated. 2.2 x 12.3 x 0.4 cm.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

ROOM F

Fragments of Assyrian ivories

77. ND2501, Room F

Plate 12

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1954.736

A collection of about 35 fragments, mostly plain, mostly not located. Designs include:



a. Most of the head and upper body of a beardless, Assyrian courtier facing left, wearing a shawled garment. His hands are clasped in front of him. He carried a sword, only parts of the hilt and scabbard of which survive (not shown in drawing). 3.5 x 2.0

x 0.3 cm.

I.N. II, 21, no. 18, pl. vii.



b. Two fragments with plain incised frames and crenellations with criss-cross designs.

Fragment from top left corner with dowel hole.

Part of one hatched crenellation. 2.4 x 1.4 x 0.4 cm.

Fragment from top. Part of one hatched crenellation. 3.0 x 2.0 x 0.2 cm.

Similar hatched crenellations can be seen on *I.N.* II, no. 16.



c. Three fragments of voluted palmette plants, no original edges. Worn. Two show parts of the plants while the third shows the right edge of a panel with plain frame: below double frame with trace of guilloche band. The design consists of running

loops decorated with vertical lines, originally linking the voluted palmette frieze.

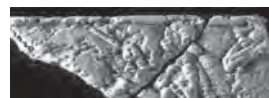
ROOM I OR L

78. *C.N.I.*, B1, Room I or L

Plate 12

British Museum, London, BM 123846. 1848.0720.37

E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 09.



Fragmentary strip in modelled Assyrian style. Sides and bottom broken off. Plain frame at top. Worn. Back, light striations.

1.7 x 4.9 x 0.5 cm.

All that survives is the head and torso of a bearded man with shoulder-length hair facing left. Both hands are raised, the right one holding a stick? He is wearing a rounded cap and robe with a fringed side. Some feature hangs from his shoulder. Behind him, the head of a horse.

Layard *Mons.* I, pl. 89, no. 8; Rawlinson 1871 I, 373; de Mertzfeld 1954, pl. cxi, no. 1014; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 170-71, B1, pl. xii.

ROOM A

79. *C.N.I.*, A1, Room A

Plate 12

British Museum, London, BM 118274. 1848.0720.10

E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 09.



Right side of openwork panel, top, left side, and bottom broken off. Plain frame at top, with stump of tenon. Back, smooth but worn with light striations. 6.6 x 2.1 x 0.7 cm.

Bearded male figure advances left, left arm at side, holding an *ankh*, right arm, only stump preserved, raised. His hair/headdress is unusual: he seems to be wearing a peaked hat, tied at the top, possibly with hair rising from the top, and with a neck-flap. Hair can be seen below the hat. He wears a V-necked tunic with short sleeves, tied at the waist, and a long open overskirt. The material is ribbed or pleated and the edges or hems are decorated with a looped fringe.

Other panels with men or youths holding *ankhs* include a set from Well AJ, No. 242, and two from Fort Shalmaneser, one from NW21 (*I.N.* V, no. 401), and the other from SW37 (*I.N.* IV, no. 297). Female *ankh*-carrying figures occur on some openwork panels, *I.N.* IV, nos. 298-302, possibly forming a set with *I.N.* IV, no. 297: note the similar frames. As far as their preservation permits, No. 79 can be compared to *I.N.* IV, no. 297: note the similar stripey garments and looped fringes. These panels with their misunderstood Egyptianizing features were probably made in a Syrian workshop.

Layard *N. & R.* I, 29-30; Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 393, no. 31; Layard, *Mons.* I, pl. 88, no. 7; *I.L.N.* 29.05.1852, 426, no. 12; de Mertzfeld 1954, pl. cxi, no. 986; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 169, A1, pl. i.

80. *C.N.I.*, A2, Room A

Plate 12

British Museum, London, BM 123817. 1848.0720.35

E. Prentis drawing, no number.



Fragment from top right of openwork tenoned panel. Plain frame and tenon at top: fragment missing from top right. The back is lightly modelled.

H. with tenon 3.4 cm. H. of panel 2.9 cm. W. 3.9 cm. Th. 0.8 cm.

All that survives of the design is part of the wings and the curl of the tail of a sphinx? advancing left. Above the wing, a lily flower.

Barnett suggested that Nos. 80 and 194, Barnett *C.N.I.*, A2 and A3, may have belonged to the same set. However, according to the register, No. 194 was found in Room X. Although there are numerous similar openwork tenoned panels with sphinxes in Fort Shalmaneser, SW 37, see, for instance, *I.N.* IV, nos. 477, 499-500, 512-13, etc., the fragment is too small for a convincing parallel to be found. It was probably carved in a Syrian workshop.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 169, A2, pl. i.

81. *C.N.I.*, A4, Room A?

Plate 12

British Museum, London, BM 118160. 1848.0720.130



Openwork tenoned panel, fragmentary. Top right and bottom of panel broken off, fragments missing from centre left. Part of the plain frame and tenon survive at the top left. Back: the outline of the plant stem is marked, there is some modelling.

Fitter's mark: upright cross, arms at right angles, possibly letter *taw*.

H. with tenon 5.8 cm. H. of panel 5.5 cm. W. 6.4 cm. Th. 0.8 cm.

Winged, human-headed sphinx advancing right, part of crown, tail and lower legs missing. All that survives of the Egyptian double crown is the front of the two crowns and the base of the frontal *uraeus*: the crown is set upon the *nemes* headcloth. The sphinx wears the *usekh* collar and an apron decorated with vertical rows of chevrons. A lily can be seen below the apron and the stalk of another flower behind the foreleg.

Numerous examples of openwork panels with winged, human-headed sphinxes were found in Rooms SW37 and SW12, belonging to both the Syrian and Phoenician traditions. With its fragmentary and rudimentary Egyptian double crown No. 81 was probably made in a Syrian workshop: it is not possible to attribute the piece more closely.

The register simply records that the ivory was 'Procured by Mr. Layard at Nimrud'. Layard twice refers to finding an ivory sphinx. In Letter 5 from Mosul dated December 4 1845 (Gadd¹ transcripts) he writes: 'I forgot to mention that in clearing out the first chamber [A] I found some small figures apparently in ivory, one of which represents a sphinx. This is very singular.' On March 7, 1850, he recorded in his diary (BM Add. MS. 39096): 'From chamber panelled with inscribed alabaster slabs adjoining the Treasure Room a fine ivory sphinx had been found' (*L.J.* f.50, 7 March 1850; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 183). Since the sphinx, No. 81, was registered in 1848, Layard's earlier reference is the more probable and suggests that it was indeed found in Room A, as proposed by Barnett (*C.N.I.*, 169). The 1850 sphinx has not been identified

Perrot & Chipiez 1884, II, 534, fig. 248; Mansell n.d., pl. 578; *B. & A. Guide*, 2nd ed., 27, illustration; 3rd ed., pl. xli, 3; de Mertzenfeld 1954, pl. cx, no. 1027 (reversed); Barnett *C.N.I.*, 169, pl. i.

82. C.N.I., A9, Room A

Plate 13

British Museum, London, BM 118183. 1848.0720.27

E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 28.



Fragmentary panel, no original edges. Eye excised for inlay. Fleck of gold on stalk near eye in Prentis drawing. Birch noted 'embellished with blue and gold' in Layard *N. & R.* I, 394. Back striated. 6.4 x 8.5 x 0.8 cm.

All that survives of the design is the front of a lion, or possibly a lioness, facing right, originally set in a field of flowers, of which

¹ Transcripts of letters relating to Excavations in Nineveh, Babylon, etc.

only the stumps of a few stalks remain. The lower jaw, legs and hindquarters are missing. Fringe around head and cheek, ear laid flat, mane marked, continuing down chest.

This fragment is essentially identical to a more complete version, *I.N.* IV, no. 1015, from Room SW37. In that example the 'lion', although maned, represents a lioness. She is accompanied by two cubs, one jumping up in front of her, the other suckling. The scene takes place in a field of papyrus flowers. Other similar fragments are *I.N.* IV, no. 1017, with the head of a lion/lioness in a floral field, and a fragment from the bottom of the panel, *I.N.* IV, no. 1016, with the legs of the lioness, the suckling cub and probably the outline of the cub in front, again in a floral field. The Fort Shalmaneser panels belong to a group of unusually shaped panels with incurving sides. No. 82 may have formed part of a similar panel.

I.N. IV, no. 1267, is also of interest. This depicts a human-headed sphinx with Hathor curls suckling a small human-headed sphinx, again in a field of flowers. This curved panel may have formed one of the panels with the design enclosed within voluted branches, *I.N.* IV, 22, 233-236, nos. 1251-1270. Fragments of floral fields can be seen on *I.N.* IV, nos. 1269-1270. These examples belong to the 'Classic Phoenician' style-group.

Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 394, no. 39; Layard *Mons.* I, pl. 90, no. 14; *I.L.N.* 29.05.1852, 426, no. 11; Rawlinson 1871, I, 373; de Mertzenfeld 1954, pl. cxiv, no. 1044; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 170, A9, pl. ii; Stéphan 1996, 204.

83. C.N.I., A6, Room A

Plate 12

British Museum, London, BM 123820. 1848.0720.26

E. Prentis drawing, no number.



Right side of fragmentary trapezoidal plaque, top, centre and left not preserved, some surface fragments missing. Plain frame at base. Mitred base. Back, vertical striations, right side striated. Only the hindquarters with curling tail of a sphinx (?) advancing left are preserved. H. of front 6.1 cm. H. of back 5.8 cm. W. 1.8 cm. Th. 0.8 cm.

Part of a plaque from a set making a 'stand', see *I.N.* IV, 8-9, figs. 1-2. For similar plaques, see *I.N.* IV, nos. 98-119. Probably made in a Syrian workshop.

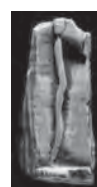
Barnett *C.N.I.*, 170, A6, pl. i.

84. C.N.I., A7, Room A

Plate 12

British Museum, London BM 123821. 1848.0720.69

E. Prentis drawing, no number.



Left bottom side of fragmentary trapezoidal plaque, top, centre and right not preserved, some surface fragments missing. Narrow, plain frame at base. Mitred base. Back, vertical striations, side striated. All that survives of the design is the hand and lower arm of a figure to the left, holding a wavy stalk or a snake? Probably made in a

Ivories from Nimrud VI

Syrian workshop. H. of front 3.5 cm. H. of back 3.1 cm. W. 1.8 cm. Th. 0.7 cm.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 170, A7, fig. 63.

85. *C.N.I.*, A5, Room A

Plate 12

British Museum, London, BM 123819. 1848.0720.29

E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 49.



Fragment showing head and neck of bull silhouette to right, horn, edge of neck and rest of body broken off. Eye drilled for inlay with trace of Egyptian blue: colour preserved when described by Birch and in Prentis drawing. Criss-cross markings on nose, fringe at base of horn. Neck musculature with double line below. Part of wide dowel hole, D. 0.7 cm., at edge of neck. Back smooth with fitter's mark.

Fitter's mark: 'aleph at 90° degree orientation to head. 2.7 x 3.0 x 0.7 cm.

For similar bull silhouettes, see *I.N.* IV, nos. 748-758.

Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 392, no. 21; Layard *Mons.* I, pl. 90, no. 15; *I.L.N.* 29.05.1852, 426, no. 2; de Mertzfeld 1954, pl. cxiv, no. 1038; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 169-70, fig. 62, pl. cxxxii (fitter's mark).

86. *C.N.I.*, A8, Room A

Plate 12

British Museum, London, BM123822. 1848.0720.28

E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 49.



Fragment showing head, neck and part of foreleg of a silhouette of a cow to left with head turned back. Fragmentary, edges broken off. Fringe at base of horn. Neck musculature with double line below, dewlaps scalloped. Back smooth with trace of saw mark. 4.0 x 3.6 x 0.5 cm.

For similar cows, see *I.N.* IV, nos. 744-746.

Layard *Mons.* I, pl. 90, no. 16; de Mertzfeld 1954, pl. cxiv, no. 1037; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 170, A8, pl. v; Stéphan 1996, 204.

87. *C.N.I.*, A12, Room A

Plate 13

British Museum, London, BM 118168. 1848.0720.68

E. Prentis drawing, no number.



Top of lion's head and part of neck, carved in the round. Bottom and many surface fragments missing. The lion is roaring with mouth open. The musculature around the upper jaw and the fringe of the mane are carefully represented.

Eye modelled. 5.0 x 4.0 x 1.6 cm.

Superb examples of leonine heads were found in Well AJ, No. 283, and Well NN, No. 353; and another in Room V, No. 175. Such heads were carved in a variety of sizes and were used as parts of

figurines and as lion bowls. For a range of examples from SW37, see *I.N.* IV, nos. 1367-1385.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 170, A12, pl. ii.

88. *C.N.I.*, A14, Room A

Plate 13

British Museum, London, BM 123823. 1848.0720.75

E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 64.



Rosette with 12 petals and cross-hatched centre. Back rounded with central dowel hole, D. 0.2 cm. 2.0 x 2.0 x 0.6 cm.

This common motif was made in a variety of materials. Examples were found in Well AJ, No. 292a, the Burnt Palace, Barnett *C.N.I.*, 216, S333e, pl. xciv, and ND1142 (unpublished), and at Samaria, Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pl. xxiii, 2.

Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 394, no. 42; Layard *Mons.* I, pl. 90, no. 20; *I.L.N.* 29.05.1852, 426, no. 14; de Mertzfeld 1954, pl. cxi, no. 1048; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 170, pl. ii (Barnett incorrectly records BM number as 123844).

89. *C.N.I.*, A13, Room A

Plate 13

British Museum, London, BM 123844. 1848.0720.74

E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 64.



Rosette with 8 petals, plain centre, perforated, D. 0.3 cm. Curved back. 2.4 x 2.4 x 0.6 cm.

This common motif was made in a variety of materials. A similar example was found in the Burnt Palace, ND1604 (unpublished), and at Samaria, see Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pl. xxiii, 2, top row, centre left.

Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 394, no. 41; Layard *Mons.* I, pl. 90, no. 19; de Mertzfeld 1954, pl. cxi, no. 1049; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 170, pl. ii (Barnett incorrectly records BM number as 123823).

90. *C.N.I.*, A15, Room A

Plate 13

British Museum, London, BM 123845. 1848.0720.72-73

E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 64



Two fragments of guilloche frame, broken at sides and top or bottom. Back striated. 1.0 x 4.0 x 0.5 cm.; 1.0 x 2.6 x 0.5 cm.

Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 394, no. 40; Layard *Mons.* I, pl. 90, no. 17; *I.L.N.* 29.05.1852, 426, no. 15; de Mertzfeld 1954, pl. cxv, nos. 1056-57; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 170, pl. xii (omits one fragment).

91. *C.N.I.*, A10, Room A

Plate 13

British Museum, London, BM 123806. 1848.0720.70

E. Prentis drawing, no number.



Section of cylindrical furniture element with plain band at top, mitred sides, broken at base. Fragments missing from lower centre. Back, striated. It is decorated with two rows of pendant leaves outlined with beading. 4.4 x 4.8 x 1.0 cm.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 170, A10, pl. ii.

92. Barnett *C.N.I.*, A11, Room A

Plate 13

British Museum, London, BM 123807. 1848.0720.71

E. Prentis drawing, no number.



A single leaf from the same or a similar object to No. 91, BM 123806. Edge of petal beaded. Back striated. 2.2 x 1.6 x 0.7 cm.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 170, A11.

ROOM U

93. ND2288, Room U

Plate 13

British Museum, London, BM 1994.1105.334



Nineteen small fragments, mostly tiny and uncarved, including

- a. part of garment, 4.8 x 1.3 x 0.7 cm.
- b. chest fragment, 3.1 x 1.2 x 0.7 cm.
- c. three wing fragments, 3.8 x 0.7 x 0.5 cm.; 3.2 x 0.8 x 0.6 cm.; 2.3 x 0.7 x 0.7 cm.
- d. part of chest represented frontally, 3.0 x 1.1 x 0.6 cm.

e. stalk and wing, 2.8 x 1.1 x 0.8 cm.

The field register describes these fragments as ‘strip, group of fragments, about 14 pieces, dot and rectilinear patterns, probably of the reign of Sargon’. Clearly this description does not match the fragments found in a box with ‘ND2288’ marked on the lid. What is important is that some fragments of ivory were found in Room U.

ROOM AB, THE ‘ROOM OF THE BRONZES’

94. *C.N.I.*, E1. Room AB

Plate 13

British Museum, London, BM118190



Bottom section of a furniture leg, carved in the round from the end of a curving section of tusk, poorly preserved. A curved section with a pointed foot and the remains of six rows of pendent leaves tapering towards the pointed base. H. 33.5 cm. D. of top c. 10.0 cm.

A similar fitting in bronze was recovered from Nineveh (Curtis 1996, pl. 52b). Numerous examples are illustrated on reliefs and paintings (Curtis 1996, 169).

Layard 1853, 195, and figure; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 182, fig. 77.

95. *C.N.I.*, E2-4

Not illustrated

British Museum, London, E2, N.1795; E.3, N1.796-97; E3, N1798

Five poorly preserved fragments of at least two tusks, surface entirely lost, not photographed.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 182.

96. ND3557-3558, Well AB

Plate 14

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56967

The front and back covers of an ivory ‘book’ of 16 panels.



a. ND 3557. Writing board, one edge hinged, one missing. Smooth surface, inscribed in cuneiform. Back, recessed with raised plain frame, interior with criss-cross striations.

H. 33.5 cm. Original width, c. 15 cm. Th. 1.3 cm.

This cover formed the title-page of a sixteen-leaved polyptych inscribed with an Assyrian version of the astrological omen series named after its opening phrase *Enuma Anu Enlil*. ‘When (the gods) Anu and Enlil ...’. (Wiseman & Howard 1955, 17, 7-8). The text is slightly broken in the centre, where it has been joined, the two halves being recovered within a few hours of each other on the same day.

Inscription on the outer face of the writing board:

É.GAL¹ MAN.GI.NA MAN *kiš-ša-ti*
 MAN^{KUR} *aš+šur*^{KI} DIŠ AN^d EN.LÍL.LA ÉŠ.GÀR
 AŠ GIŠ *li-u₅-um* ZÚ AM.SI *ú-ša-áš-tir-ma*
 AŠ *qé-reb* É.GAL-ŠÚ AŠ^{URU} BAD.MAN.DU *ú-kin*

*ékal*¹ *šárru-kēn* *šar*₄ *kiš-ša-ti*
*šar*₄ *māt* *aššur*^{KI} *enuma anu*^d *enlil iškaru*
ina^{is} *le'i šinni pīri* *ú-ša-áš-tir-ma*
ina *qé-reb ekalli-šu* *ina*^[ā] *dūr-šárru-kēn* *ú-kin*

‘Palace of Sargon, king of the world, king of Assyria. The series *Enuma Anu Enlil* he had written on an ivory board and placed in his palace at Dur-Sharrukin.’

b. ND3558

Not illustrated.

Writing board, fragmentary, restored in wax, one hinged border. The board is plain on one side. The back is recessed and cross-hatched within a plain frame. H. 33.4 cm. W. c. 15.0 cm. Th. 1.3 cm.

Mallowan *I.L.N.* 22.08.53, 299, fig. 22; Wiseman 1953; Wiseman & Howard 1955; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 152-159.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

97. ND3559-3571, Well AB

Plates 14-15

Iraq Museum, Baghdad; British Museum, London; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

The fourteen internal boards, heavily restored, were divided between Baghdad, London, Oxford and New York.



a. ND3559-3562, ND3569-3570: Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Six fragmentary, hinged writing boards, worked on both sides. Plain frame all round.

Interiors, recessed and cross-hatched. Original dimensions c. 33.1 x 15.0 x 1.0 cm.

The surface of ND3562 was pitted with several circular depressions. Surface matter on ND3570 required analysis.

b. ND3563-3564, ND3572

British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London

Three fragmentary, hinged writing boards, worked on both sides. Plain frame all round. Interiors, recessed and cross-hatched. Original dimensions c. 33.1 x 15.0 x 1.0 cm. ND3563, four dowel holes near the base: ND3564, one half blackened by fire.

c. ND3565-3566c, 3567

British Museum, London, BM 131952-131954

Three fragmentary, hinged writing boards, worked on both sides. Plain frame all round. Interiors, recessed and cross-hatched. ND3565, hinges well defined. ND3567, top pitted with holes where knots occur in the ivory. Traces of burning.

d. ND3566a and b

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, MMA 54.117.12 a & b.

Two writing boards, fragmentary, restored in wax, worked on both sides. Plain frame all round. Interiors, recessed and cross-hatched.

i. Possible very faint and small fitter's mark on frame – H. too faint to rub. H. 33.2-33.7 cm. W. 14.7 cm. W. of frame 1.1 cm. W. of interior 12.4 cm. Th. 1.3.

ii. H. 33.6-33.8 cm. W. 15.3 cm. W. of frame 1.0 cm. W. of interior 12.8 cm. Th. 1.7.

e. ND3568 and ND3571

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1954.750.2; 1954.750.1

Two writing boards, fragmentary, restored in wax, no original hinges, worked on both sides. Plain frame all round. Interiors, recessed and cross-hatched. H. 33.4 cm. W. 15.5 cm.

98. Fitter's marks

Plate 15

British Museum, London, BM 131955-131963, and unnumbered hinges

The following section on the fitter's marks on the hinges is written by Alan Millard.

M. Howard and D. J. Wiseman recorded sixteen different marks between the hinge hollows on the edges of pieces of the writing boards assigned to the expedition.² Any other pieces that may

² At the time of study, the pieces were in two groups, one bearing registration numbers 148

be in Baghdad have not been available for study. There are only fragments bearing fitters' marks, so the relationship between the marked pieces cannot be established. Some of the marks are firmly incised, others very lightly scratched. Diagonal strokes are the most frequent marks, occurring in groups of one, two or three on No. 98a, of one and two on No. 98b and of two and three on No. 98c, two on No. 98d. Two separate strokes at an oblique angle are faintly visible on No. 98e. An ovoid precedes the single stroke on No. 98a and stands before three parallel strokes on No. 98f. A quadrant is engraved on No. 98g and a quadrant and part of an oblique stroke, and perhaps a cross on No. 98h. No. 98i has an ovoid and a triangle. Two parallel vertical strokes on No. 98j are followed by a semicircle, and a semicircle, with a false start, occurs on No. 98k. No. 98l has two strokes meeting almost at a right angle. No. 98m has two facing 'fish hooks' in the same recess and No. 98q may have had the same.

The use of letters of the north-west Semitic alphabet as fitters' marks on the carved ivories is less apparent on the writing boards, perhaps indicating that the boards were made in Assyria. The marks which are similar to letters of the alphabet may be no more than craftsmen's signs. They are: 'aleph on No. 98n and 98o, perhaps gimel on No. 98p, daleth (or triangle) on No. 98i, lamedh on No. 98q, tav on No. 98r. The faint sign like a reversed N on No. 98s should probably not be understood as the letter heth. The 'trident' on Nos. 98t, 98u and 98v could be interpreted as an archaic Phoenician form of the letter kaph, or as an unusually early form of the letter shin used in Aramaic from the sixth century B.C.³; it is better treated as a mark.

a. 112. L. 14.5 cm. Marks: ovoid, one, two and three oblique strokes.

Wiseman & Howard 1955, 15, fig. 4, nos. 2, 3 (C).

b. BM 131961. L. 5.55 cm. Marks: firmly incised one slanting stroke and two oblique strokes.

Wiseman & Howard 1955, 15, fig. 4, nos. 1, 2.

c. BM 131962. L. 7.73 cm. Marks: firmly incised, two and three parallel oblique strokes.

Wiseman & Howard 1955, 15, fig. 4, no. 3.

d. 105. Corner, L. 4.98 cm. Mark: two parallel oblique lines.

Wiseman & Howard 1955, 15, fig. 4, no. 13.

e. BM 131959. L. 10.8 cm. Marks: lightly incised, one oblique stroke and one vertical.

Wiseman & Howard 1955, 15, fig. 4, no. 7.

f. BM 131958. L. 9.35 cm. Marks: firmly incised ovoid and three parallel oblique strokes.

Wiseman & Howard 1955, 15, fig. 4, nos. 3, 6.

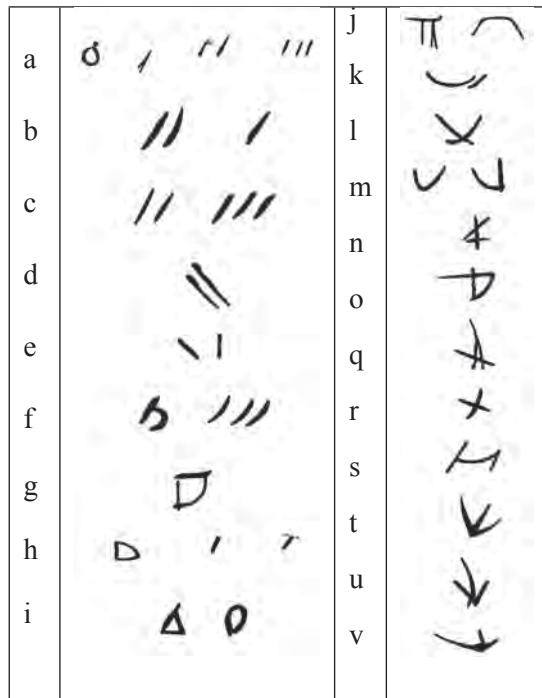
g. 107. L. 10.78 cm. Mark: quadrant.

Wiseman & Howard 1955, 15, fig. 4, no. 15.

h. 109 Side and corner, L. 12.45 cm. Marks: D, quadrant, part of oblique stroke and cross.

tration numbers of the Middle East Department of the British Museum, the other, transferred to the Museum from the Institute of Archaeology where they had been held on behalf of the School, was given temporary numbers 101-114.

³ As noted by Röllig 1974, 37-64, see 55.



- i. BM 131957. From inner panel, L. 7.45 cm. Marks: firmly incised ovoid and triangle.
 Wiseman & Howard 1955, 15, fig. 4, nos. 8, 9.
 j. BM 131963. L. 6.04 cm. Marks: two parallel vertical strokes

- and lightly incised semi-circle.
 Wiseman & Howard 1955, 15, fig. 4, no. 4.
 k. 111. Mark: lightly incised semi-circle with extra stroke.
 Perhaps Wiseman & Howard 1955, 15, fig. 4, no. 11.
 l. 106. L. 4.6 cm. Mark: two lightly incised strokes one crossing the other near one end.
 m. 114. Mark: two facing 'fishhooks'
 n. 110. L. 6.04 cm. Mark: letter *aleph*.
 Wiseman & Howard 1955, 15, fig. 4, no. 12 (D).
 o. 104. Corner, L. 5.22 cm. Mark: like an *aleph*.
 p. 108. L. 10.98 cm. Marks: inverted chevron (perhaps letter *gimel*), lower part of two facing 'fish hooks' – not illustrated, cf. No. 98m.
 q. 113. L. 2.15 cm. Mark: like letter *lamedh*.
 r. BM 131955. From inner panel, L. 6.85 cm. Mark: firmly incised cross, perhaps letter *taw*.
 Wiseman & Howard 1955, 15, fig. 4, no. 10.
 s. 101. L. 3.88 cm. Mark: lightly incised mark like a reversed N.
 Wiseman & Howard 1955, 15, fig. 4, no. 16.
 t. BM 131960. L. 4.15 cm. Mark: lightly incised trident.
 Wiseman & Howard 1955, 15, fig. 4, no. 5.
 u. 102. L. 6.46 cm. Mark: firmly incised trident, with false starts.
 Wiseman & Howard 1955, 15, fig. 4, no. 14.
 v. 103. L. 3.05 cm. Mark: lightly incised trident.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

THE RESIDENTIAL WING

THE KING'S SUITE, ROOMS V, W AND X

Layard found most of his ivories in Rooms V and W. These were carefully registered in the British Museum in 1848, and their provenances, when known, recorded. Some were simply attributed to 'Chambers V and W', although the majority was found lying in the doorway between the two rooms. Others, registered as 'Procured by Mr. Layard at Nimrud' or just 'Nimrud', can also probably be attributed to Room V because of a comment in Layard's Introduction to *The Monuments of Nineveh* I, vi. 'They were mostly discovered in an inner chamber of the North-West Palace at Nimroud (Chamber V, Plan 3), and may have formed part of the panelling of a throne or chest'. Many of Layard's ivories were drawn by Edward Prentis and engraved on wood by Messrs. John Thompson and S. Williams. Prentis also drew some from Rooms A, I and X.¹

Room V had obviously served as the principal storeroom of the King's Suite, although only a few ivories remained *in situ*, including a cow, No. 123, found by Mallowan a century later. Most had been dropped in the doorway between Rooms V and W, on the way out of the building, with a few fragments registered from the adjacent Room X, Nos. 192-195. Most of the V/W ivories belong to two style groups, the Syrian 'wig and wing' group and the 'classic Phoenician' group, see p. 43 above.

ROOM V

'Wig and wing' ivories, Nos. 99-140

Set of six, Nos. 99-104

99. *C.N.I.*, C1. V/W doorway Plates E & 16
British Museum, London, BM 118148, 1848.0720.2
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 03.



Tenoned panel, virtually complete, short tenons at top and bottom on left, those on right broken off. Plain frame. Pupil drilled. Traces of reddish stain on surface on Prentis' drawing. Back, smooth with fitter's marks.

Fitter's marks: two lines meeting at an acute angle, possibly letter *gimel*, below four deliberately incised strokes forming W, letter *shin*, but a long descender from the right hand stroke could turn it into letter

mem. However, this stroke may be part of a separate mark lower on the surface. The orientation is the same as the front.

H. with tenon 10.9 cm. H. of panel 8.6 cm. W. 5.0 cm. Th. 1.1 cm.

Young male, advancing right, grasps the stalk of a plant with the left hand, the right is raised in salutation to the lotus flower. His headdress or wig fits the head closely and rises to a knob at the back: there is a residual *uraeus* at the front and diadem ties down the back. He has a necklace of triangular beads and wears a short tunic with elbow-length sleeves, a kilted skirt and a long open 'over-skirt' with a sloping hem, made of a ribbed or pleated

¹Nos. 78-80, 82-92 and 192-195.

material with hems and edges decorated with beading. His girdle is tied in front with pendant ties and a 'tail' at the back. The base of the plant consists of a voluted palmette, from which rises a double stalk terminating in a lotus flower at the top and two shorter stalks with papyrus flowers.

This panel is one of a set of six, with three males advancing right, Nos. 99-101, and three left, Nos. 102-104. They were all found in the doorway between Rooms V and W. Apart from the directional change, the six panels are essentially identical as regards framing, fixing, the subject and the style of carving and must have been carved in a single workshop. However, as usual, the panels were carved by more than one hand, as can be determined by minor differences: these include whether the necklace consists of triangular beads, as in Nos. 99-101, or is beaded, No. 102, or whether the sleeves fit closely, Nos. 99-101, or are loose, No. 102.

Nos. 99 and 100 are essentially identical, sharing details such as the facial features, the form of the ears, the long fingers of the raised hands, the necklaces, the fitted sleeves, the pendant 'tail' down the back, the beaded edge of the long open skirt, and the relatively narrow lotus flowers at the top. The two also share an unusual form of fitter's or maker's mark on the backs of the panels, an 'acute *gimel*', also seen on two 'women at the window' panels, Nos. 110 and 111. The women of Nos. 110 and 111 have similarly carved wigs, drilled pupils, slightly enlarged left ears, sensitive mouths and beaded necklaces to Nos. 99 and 100. They may all have been carved by the same hand: a suggestion with which Scigliuzzo agrees (2005). As Layard was the first to recognize, these panels, the young men and the women at the window probably decorated the same piece of furniture (Layard *Mon.*, vi).

With their misunderstood interpretation of Egyptian crowns and dress, this set of panels is a typically Syrian version of the motif of a 'man saluting a tree', well known from the SW7 chairbacks (*I.N.* III). They have been attributed to the 'wig and wing' style-group, first recognized in 1992 in *I.N.* V (30-31, and see pp. 83-84 above). For a similar shape of hat rising to a knob, see Andrae 1943, V, Taf. 66-67.

Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 393, nos. 26-28; Layard *N. & R.* II, 10; Perrot & Chipiez 1884, II, 222, fig. 80; Dieulafoy 1895, III, 51, fig. 52; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, pl. xc, fig. 2; *B. & A. Guide* (2nd ed.) 22, ill.; (3rd ed.), pl. xli, fig. 10; Barnett 1935, 183, pl. xxiii, fig. 4; de Mertenfeldt 1954, pl. cxvi, no. 987; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 171 pls. iii, cxxxii; Mallowan 1978, 31, fig. 28; Uberti 1988, 414, 597, no. 79; Stéphan 1996, 201; Scigliuzzo 2004, 24, 51; Scigliuzzo 2005.

100. *C.N.I.*, C3. V/W doorway Plate 16
British Museum, London, BM 118152. 1848.0720.3
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 01.

Tenoned panel, short tenons at top and bottom on left, those on right broken off. Plain frame. Pupil drilled. Back smooth with fitter's marks.

Fitter's marks: two lines meet at an acute angle, possibly the



letter *gimel*, followed by an angular letter *beth*. The orientation is reversed to the front. While the letters *gb* could mean 'side, back', the signs on this piece are not close together and may not be related. Barnett *C.N.I.*, pl. cxxxii.

H. with tenons 10.9 cm. H. of panel 8.6 cm. W. 5.1 cm. Th. 1.0 cm.

Young male advancing right, grasping the stalk of a plant with the left hand, the right raised in salutation. He is similar in design, orientation and style to Nos. 99 and 101, although he is relatively portly, and his girdle ties are shorter than those of No. 99. He has a similar necklace of triangular beads and is similarly dressed. A lotus flower on a double stalk and papyrus buds rise from a voluted palmette.

This panel is one of a set of six, possibly carved by the same craftsman as No. 99: compare the facial features, the form of the ears, the long fingers of the raised hands, the form of the necklaces, the sleeves covering the elbows, the pendant 'tail' down the back, the beaded edge of the long open skirt and the identical plant with the relatively narrow lotus flower. The unusual form of the 'acute *gimel*' also occurs on Nos. 110, 111 and 127 and may be a craftsman's mark, see pp. 45-46 above.

Birch in Layard *N. & R. I*, Appendix II, 393, nos. 26-28; Layard *N. & R. II*, 10; Mansell n.d., pl. 578; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 171, pl. cxxxii (fitter's mark): Scigliuzzo 2005.

101. C.N.I., C2. V/W doorway

Plate 16

British Museum, London, BM 118149. 1848.0720.1

E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 02.



Tenoned panel, 3 short tenons, top left tenon broken off, some fragments missing from right and left edges, centre and surface: poorly preserved. Plain frame. Pupil drilled. Back not preserved.

H. with tenons 9.9 cm. H. of panel 8.3 cm. W. 5.0 cm. Th. 1.2 cm.

Young male advancing right, grasping the stalk of a plant with the left hand, the right raised in salutation, similar to Nos. 99 and 100. The youth is the slimmest of the three, has a similar necklace of triangular beads and is similarly dressed. A lotus flower on a double stalk and papyrus buds rise from a voluted palmette.

This panel is one of a set of six.

Birch in Layard *N. & R. I*, Appendix II, 393, nos. 26-28; Layard *N. & R. II*, 10; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 171.

102. C.N.I., C4. V/W doorway

Plate 17

British Museum, London, BM 118147. 1848.0720.4

E. Prentis drawing, no number.

Tenoned panel with 4 short tenons, virtually complete. Narrow plain frame at top, left and bottom, wider frame on right. This



wider frame suggests that the panel formed the right edge of the set. Some surface fragments missing from frame at top and left side. Traces of reddish stain on surface on Prentis' drawing. Back originally smooth, poorly preserved. H. plus tenon 10.1 cm. H. of panel 8.5 cm. W. 5.8 cm. Th. 1.3 cm. Fitter's mark on front of tenon: *beth* with curved leg.

A slim, young male advancing left, grasping the stalk of a plant with the right hand, the left raised in salutation. His headdress or wig fits the head closely and rises to the back: there is a residual *uraeus* at the front. He has a beaded necklace, or the neck edge of the tunic is beaded, the sleeves are loose shawl-sleeves, rather than close-fitting. The edges of the kilt are beaded, while the edges of the sloping skirt are plain, as is the tail from the girdle. In front, a lotus flower, wider than those of the preceding panels, rises from a double stalk, and papyrus buds on straight stalks, rise from a voluted palmette.

This panel is one of a set of six, with three youths advancing left and three right. No. 102 shows many differences to Nos. 99 and 100. The pupil of the eye is larger and deeper, the ear placed differently, the bottom of the back of the wig has a double rib, the necklace is beaded, the sleeves end above the elbows, there is no pendant 'tail', the edge of the skirt is plain rather than beaded, and the lotus flowers are wider, all suggesting that it was carved by a different hand. Two of the three with youths advancing left have marks on the fronts of their tenons, Nos. 102 and 103, although unfortunately that on No. 103 is poorly preserved. However, some of the features visible on No. 102 also occur on No. 103, such as the flaring lotus flower, the deeply drilled pupil, and the double rib at the base of the rib. The two may have been carved by the same hand, but by a different one to that carving Nos. 99-100.

Birch in Layard *N. & R. I*, Appendix II, 393, nos. 23-25; Layard *N. & R. II*, 10; Layard *Mons. I*, pl. 88, no. 1; *I.L.N.* 29.05.1852, 427, no. 16; de Mertenfeldt 1954, pl. cxi, no. 988; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 171, pl. iii; Barnett 1982, 50, pl. 50c; Curtis & Reade 1995, 130, no. 94; Scigliuzzo 2004, 24; Scigliuzzo 2005.

103. C.N.I., C5. V/W doorway

Plate 17

British Museum, London, BM 118151. 1848.0720.5

E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 05.



Tenoned panel, 1 short tenon and stump of second at top; central tenon at base with fitter's mark on front. Plain frame. Fragments missing from centre top, right frame and surface overall. Poorly preserved. Back smooth.

Fitter's mark on front of tenon: apparently letter *daleth*, although a crack runs along the vertical. See Barnett *C.N.I.*, pl. cxxxii.

H. plus tenon 10.9 cm. H. of panel 8.5 cm. W. 5.6 cm. Th. 1.2 cm.

Young male advancing left, grasping the stalk of a plant with the right hand, the left raised in salutation, similar to No. 102. Most

Ivories from Nimrud VI

details missing, except for the headdress and trace of girdle, kilted skirt and overskirt with sloping hem, and the wide lotus flower on a double stalk and pair of papyrus buds all rising from a voluted palmette.

This panel may have been carved by the same hand as No. 102, see above, since they share a number of details, and both have fitter's marks engraved on the front of the bottom tenon.

Birch in Layard *N. & R. I*, Appendix II, 393, nos. 23-25; Layard *N. & R. II*, 10; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 172, pl. cxxxii.

104. C.N.I., C6. V/W doorway Plate 17
British Museum, London, BM 118150. 1848.0720.6
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 06.



Tenoned panel, 4 short tenons. Plain frame. Poorly preserved. Fragments missing from frames and surface overall. Pupil drilled. Back smooth.
H. plus tenon 10.1 cm. H. of panel 8.6 cm. W. 5.4 cm. Th. 1.3 cm.

Young male advancing left, grasping the stalk of a plant with the right hand, the left raised in salutation, similar to Nos. 102-103 but poorly preserved. Most details missing, except for headdress and *uraeus*, a trace of the girdle, kilted skirt and overskirt with sloping hem, and the wide lotus flower on the double stalk and papyrus buds rising from a voluted palmette.

This panel is one of a set of six.

Birch in Layard *N. & R. I*, Appendix II, 393, nos. 23-25; Layard *N. & R. II*, 10; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 172

Pair of panels

105. C.N.I., C8. 'Nimrud' Plate 17
British Museum, London, BM 118146. 1848.0720.156



Right side of fragmentary tenoned panel, only 1 short tenon at top surviving. Many surface and edge fragments missing. Plain frame at top, right side and bottom, left side not preserved. Back not preserved.
H. plus tenon 9.1 cm. H. of panel 8.5 cm. W. as preserved 5.2 cm. Th. 1.0 cm.

Young male advancing left, grasping the curving stalk of a plant with the right hand, the left raised in salutation. His headdress or wig fits the head closely and rises to the back, with long diadem ties. He has a beaded necklace, or the neck edge of the tunic is beaded, with short sleeves, poorly preserved, a kilted skirt and an overskirt with a straight hem. His garments are made of a ribbed or pleated material with hems and edges decorated with beading, except for the vertical edges of the overskirt. His girdle is tied in front with pendant ties and a 'tail' at the back. The plant is poorly preserved, only part of the lotus flower at the top and one long curving stalk of a papyrus flower surviving.

The register only records that the panel was 'Procured by Mr. Layard at Nimrud'. One of a pair of panels, Nos. 105 and 106, which Barnett catalogued with Nos. 99-104 above. Similar in size, style and tenoning, as far as can be determined from their poor state of preservation, the panels may well have formed parts of that set, although the overskirts of Nos. 105-106 have straight rather than sloping hems, and the youths grasp the twining stalks growing from the trunk of the tree rather than the trunk itself: note the similar garments with pleating and beading and the form of plants as preserved. The unprovenanced but stylistically similar No. 107 is slightly shorter.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 172, pl. iii, fig. 1; Scigliuzzo 2004, 24.

106. C.N.I., C7. 'Nimrud' Plate 17
British Museum, London, BM 118141 and 118154. 1848.0720.129 and 135.

Two fragments from one or two fragmentary, poorly preserved tenoned panels.



a. BM 118141: Fragment from left side of panel, right side broken off, surface damaged, many fragments missing. Remains of short tenons at top and bottom. Plain frame at top, left and bottom. Pupil drilled. Back, not preserved.

H. with tenons 10.1 cm. H. of panel 8.4 cm. W. as preserved 3.1 cm. Th. 1.2 cm.

b. BM 118154. Fragment from right side of panel, poorly preserved, with the edges and much of surface missing, as well as large fragments from centre top and bottom. Back not preserved.

H. as preserved 8.2 cm. W. as preserved 3.8 cm. Th. 1.1 cm.

The register only records that the panel was 'Procured by Mr. Layard at Nimrud'. All that survives on fragment a. is the poorly preserved remains of a figure facing right, one arm lowered, the other raised. Traces remain of the headdress and ties, short tunic with beaded neck and hem and long over-skirt with straight beaded hem, and of the curving stalk of the plant.

Only traces of the outline of a figure to left with left arm raised, right lowered, survive on fragment b. He wears a short skirt and open overskirt with straight beaded hem. Traces survive of a flowering plant.

The fragmentary remains of Nos. 105 and 106 probably formed part of a set with Nos. 99-104, despite the differences in design, although neither was found in the V/W doorway.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 172.

107. C.N.I., C10. V/W doorway Plate 17
British Museum, London, BM 118165. 1848.0720.8
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 07.

Fragmentary tenoned panel, poorly preserved. Remains of two tenons at top. Sides and bottom broken off, fragments missing from bottom right and lower centre, many surface fragments missing. Plain frame at top, rest not preserved. Back, poorly



preserved, originally smooth.
H. with tenon as preserved 8.2 cm. H. of panel as preserved 7.5 cm. W. as preserved 8.0 cm. Th. 1.0 cm.

Two youths flank a central, tied, papyrus 'tree' and grasp long sinuous stalks growing from it with both hands. Their inner arms are flexed and bent downwards, hands resting on raised knees and grasping stalks. Their outer arms are flexed, hands on their chests holding two more stalks. Their inner legs are raised, feet resting on a papyrus bloom growing from the base of the tree (only that on right preserved). The youths wear short Egyptian-style wigs, ear-rings and short kilted skirts of a ribbed material with beaded hems, tied at the waist by girdles with ties. The 'tree' is poorly preserved: a papyrus flower blooms at the top of the central stalk, which is flanked by two other stalks, tied in the centre. The latter rise to the top, loop down into the central tie and branch out into sinuous stalks with papyrus flowers grasped by the youths and flowering above and below them.

The fragmentary and poorly preserved Nos. 107 and 108 were found in the same doorway as Nos. 99-104 but are slightly shorter with a panel height of 7.4-7.5 cm. rather than 8.5 cm. The design also is significantly different. Nevertheless, they were probably products of the same 'wig and wing' style-group, even if they did not form part of the same piece of furniture. The framing and tenoning is similar, as is the form of carving the faces, the material and decoration of the kilts and the form of the papyrus flowers. However, the eyes lack the deeply drilled pupils of Nos. 99-104. The wigs are comparable to those of the women at the window, Nos. 110-113.

This design of opposed youths flanking a central tied tree is similar to panels from SW11/12, Fort Shalmaneser, such as Barnett *C.N.I.*, pl. cxxxvi, Supp. 20, BM 132988, ND11022. A trapezoidal plaque from SW37 is also comparable, *I.N.* IV, no. 40, while two others, nos. 38-39, show only one youth. Tenoned panels from Arslan Tash (Thureau Danguin *et al.* 1931, nos. 20 and 21, pl. xxvi) depict figures wearing the Egyptian double crown flanking tied papyrus trees which support small Ma'at figures on the central bloom. Another set from Arslan Tash shows pairs of winged Pharaohs flanking central flowers on which a Horus figure is seated (Thureau Danguin *et al.* 1931, nos. 1-13, pls. xix-xxiv). Once again, this is a Syrianized version of an originally Egyptian motif.

Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 393, nos. 29-30; Layard *Mons.* I, pl. 88, no. 6; *I.L.N.* 29.05.1852, 426, no. 14; Contenau 1931, III, 1334, fig. 837; Barnett 1935, 183, pl. xxiv, 3; de Mertenfeld 1954, pl. cxvi, no. 989b; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 172, pl. iii, fig. 1. Mallowan 1978, 36-37; Stéphan 1996, 202; Scigliuzzo 2004, 24.

108. *C.N.I.*, C11. V/W doorway Plate 16
British Museum, London, BM 118153. 1848.0720.9
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 08.
Left side of tenoned panel, right side not preserved, or carved



separately. Tenon at top. Plain frame at top, left side and bottom. Surface pitted. Back flat.
H. with tenon as preserved 8.3 cm. H. of panel as preserved 7.4 cm. W. as preserved 4.7 cm. Th. 1.1 cm.

Only the youth facing left and part of a tied papyrus tree survive of a design once probably consisting of a pair of youths grasping the flowering stalks of a central tree, cf. No. 107. He wears a short Egyptian-style wig and a short kilted skirt of a ribbed material with beaded hem. His left arm is flexed and bent downwards, the hand, poorly preserved, resting on his raised left knee: his right arm is flexed, his hand on his chest holding stalks. The youth places his raised left foot on a papyrus flower, poorly preserved, growing from the bottom of the 'tree', which consists of a wider central stalk with a papyrus flower at the top and two other stalks, tied in the centre. These rise to the top, loop into the central tie and branch out into sinuous stalks with papyrus flowers flowering above and beside the youth – only those on the left preserved.

Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 393, nos. 29-30; de Mertenfeld 1954, pl. cxi, no. 1013; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 172.

109. *C.N.I.*, C9. V/W doorway Plate 17
British Museum, London, BM 118246. 1848.0720.7
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 09.



Fragment from top left of panel. Plain frame at top. Back not preserved. All that survives is the face of a youth facing right, with part of his headdress and *uraeus*. 2.9 x 1.6 x 1.2 cm.

Layard *Mons.* I, pl. 88, no. 2; de Mertenfeld 1954, pl. cxi, no. 1013; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 172.

Women at the window

Set of four

110. *C.N.I.*, C12. V/W doorway Plates H & 18
British Museum, London, BM 118159. 1848.0720.13
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 10.

Tenoned panel, two tenons at top, fragmentary central tenon at bottom: carved from a vertical section of tusk. Fragments missing from left side, bottom and surface. Some surface cracking. The window consists of three wide frames at the sides (left only partially preserved), one narrow and two wide frames at the top and a narrow, single frame at the bottom. The window sill is supported on four balusters with elaborate palmette capitals. Back smooth with fitter's marks.



Fitter's marks on back: two acute-angled 'gimel' signs.
H. with tenons 10.9 cm. H. of panel 8.5 cm. W. as preserved 8.8 cm. Th. 1.1 cm.

The woman is shown full-face. She wears an Egyptian style wig, which reaches the window sill. Her face is rounded and finely

Ivories from Nimrud VI

modeled. The eyebrows are incised, the eyes pointed, with outlined rims and drilled pupils. The ears are large with pronounced rims and lobes, the nose is narrow between the eyes, widening towards the finely modeled mouth. The chin is rounded. The beaded collar of a dress or necklace can be seen below the chin. Traces of her garment can be made out on top of her shoulders.

Three of the women at the window panels were found in the V/W doorway, while the fourth, No. 111, is simply listed as 'Nimrud' but was probably also found there, particularly as it is essentially identical to No. 110. The carving of the wigs and facial features are closely similar; both have beaded collars and traces of garments on their shoulders, and both have the same 'acute *gimel*' marks incised on their backs. The two panels were probably carved by the same hand.

Although there are few direct points of comparison it is probable that Nos. 110-113 belong to the same 'wig and wing' style-group, as the youths, Nos. 99-106, and formed part of the same piece of furniture. The panels are of a similar height, c. 8.5 cm., and tenoning; the carving of the eyes with curving lids and drilled pupils is similar, as are the beaded necklaces worn by most of the figures. Many of the panels have fitter's marks. An unusual form of an acute '*gimel*' occurs on four of the panels, Nos. 99, 100, 110 and 111 and may be a specific craftsman's mark, see pp. 65-66 above. The four may well have been carved by the same hand, as may the heads, Nos. 115 and 116, see below.

The woman at the window was a popular motif, carved, as usual with most motifs at this time, with a number of variations and in different styles belonging to different traditions. The V/W women can be compared with 'wig and wing' examples from both Fort Shalmaneser and Khorsabad (*I.N.* V, 30-32 and p. 71 above). 'Wig and wing' examples from the Fort include *I.N.* V, no. 110 from Room S10, nos. 467-470 from NW15, and the fragments, nos. 438-441, from NW21. The frontally represented heads of these women can be compared to the frontal heads of sphinxes, such as the 'wig and wing' sphinx ND10594 from NW21 (*I.N.* V, no. 406) and to sphinxes from Khorsabad (Loud & Altman 1938, pls. 52-54, nos. 42-56). Other styles of women at the window from the Fort include *I.N.* IV, nos. 400-408 and *I.N.* V, nos. 102-109. Examples occur at Arslan Tash (Thureau Dangin *et al.* 1931, pls. xxxiv-xxxv, 45-48), and a fragment of frame was found at Til Barsib (Bunnens 1997a, 449, no. 12, fig. 12). For further discussion see Suter 1992 and Rehm 2003.

The motif was also carved as an inset, lacking the triple frame and with the sill excised for an inlay, occurring at Nimrud (*I.N.* IV, no. 409) and Arslan Tash (Thureau Dangin *et al.* 1931, pls. xxxv-xxxvi, 56-58). Other pieces lack the single outer frame as at Nimrud (*I.N.* IV, nos. 411-413, *I.N.* V, nos. 111-112) and Arslan Tash (Thureau Dangin *et al.* 1931, pls. xxxv, 52-55). An even more reduced version simply carved the head as an inset, as in Nos. 115-121, also occurring in the Fort (*I.N.* V, nos. 410-416). Another variation replaced the voluted balusters with papyrus flowers, of which a crude provincial version was found at Samaria (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pl. xiii, 2). Sometimes the head was omitted and the window left empty above the sill supported on

papyrus stems as on *I.N.* V, nos. 437 and on trapezoidal plaques, *I.N.* IV, nos. 239-242. Once again, a favourite motif is employed in a variety of versions, sizes and styles.

Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 393, nos. 32-35; Layard *N. & R.* II, 10; Layard *Mons.* I, pl. 88, no. 3; *I.L.N.* 29.05.1852, 427, no. 3; Perrot & Chipiez 1884, II, 314, fig. 129; Dieulafoy 1885, III, 51, fig. 51; Mansell n.d., pl. 578; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, pl. clix, 7; *B. & A. Guide*, 18; Contenau 1931, III, 1335, fig. 838; Barnett 1935, 182, pl. xxiii, fig. 3; de Mertenfeld 1954, pl. cxvi, no. 983; Barnett 1956, 94-97; Strommenger & Hirmer 1964, pl. 268; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 172-173, pls. iv & cxxxii; Mallowan 1978, 33; Barnett 1982, 50, pl. 50b; Ribichini 1988, 118, 597, no. 81; Suter 1992, 17-18, Abb. 7; Stéphan 1996, 173-174, 204; Curtis & Reade 1995, 129, no. 93; Rehm 2004b, 506, Abb. 1; Scigliuzzo 2004, 23; Scigliuzzo 2005.

111. *C.N.I.*, C15. 'Nimrud'

Plate 18

British Museum, London, BM 118158. 1848.0720.128, 1848.1104.314



Tenoned panel, only top right tenon and stump of left tenon survive. Fragments missing from sides, and large fragments from centre and bottom. The window is similar to No. 110, consisting of three wide frames at the sides, one narrow and two wide frames at the top and traces of a narrow, single frame at the bottom.

The window sill is supported on four balusters with elaborate palmette capitals (only three survive). Back, poorly preserved, smooth with fitter's mark, right side bevelled. H. with tenon as preserved 9.8 cm. H. of panel 8.6 cm. W. 9.7 cm. Th. 1.4 cm.

Fitter's mark: one acute-angled '*gimel*' sign.

The woman with her rounded face and Egyptian style wig, her incised eyebrows and pointed eyes with drilled pupils, large ears, and nose widening to her finely modelled mouth is essentially identical to No. 110, as are the beaded collar of her dress or necklace and the traces of garment on her shoulders.

Although only identified as 'Nimrud' in the register, this panel is so similar to Nos. 110 and 112-13 that it was probably found in the doorway between Rooms V and W with them. The carving of the wigs and facial features, the presence of beaded collars and traces of garments and the 'acute *gimel*' marks on the backs suggest that Nos. 110 and 111 were carved by the same hand. The unusual form of '*gimel*' also occurs on Nos. 99-100 and 127 and may have been a craftsman's mark, see pp. 65-66 above. It may suggest that Nos. 99-100, 110-111 and the heads, Nos. 115-116 were carved by the same hand, see above.

Birch in Layard, *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 393, nos. 32-35; Layard, *N. & R.* II, 10; Hogarth 1908, 182, pl. 28, fig. 5; Poulsen 1912, 40, fig. 25. Barnett, *C.N.I.*, 173, pl. iv; Scigliuzzo 2004, Schema 1, Mano 7, pl. 23; Scigliuzzo 2005; Fontran, Gillmann & le Meaux 2007, 372, no. 286.

112. C.N.I., C14. V/W doorway
British Museum, London, BM 118156. 1848.0720.12

Plate 19



Tenoned panel, left tenon at top and bottom survive. Fragments missing from right side and centre bottom. The window is similar to Nos. 110 and 111, consisting of three wide frames at the sides (those on right only partially preserved), one narrow and two wide frames at the top and a narrow, single frame at the bottom. The window sill is supported on four balusters with elaborate palmette capitals (two damaged). Back poorly preserved, originally smooth. H. with tenon 10.6 cm. H. of panel 8.6 cm. W. as preserved 8.0 cm. Th. 1.2 cm.

The woman is shown full-face, wearing an Egyptian style wig of tied locks reaching the window sill. There are similarities between Nos. 112-113 and 102-103, the figures having deeply drilled pupils and similar ears, and it is possible that they may have been carved by the same hand. However, minor differences between No. 112 and Nos. 110-111 suggest that the latter were carved by a different hand. The ears of No. 112 are uneven, the right one being larger than the left, and the lobes are not so pronounced. The drilled pupils are larger, occupying much of the eyes, the angle of the eyebrows differs. The nose is finer, the mouth better formed and the chin more sharply angled. She has a beaded collar, and, because there is more space in the 'window', more of her garment can be seen on her shoulders.

Birch in Layard *N. & R. I*, Appendix II, 393, nos. 32-35; Layard *N. & R. II*, 10; *B. & A. Guide*, 2nd ed. 1908, 26, illustration, 3rd ed. 1922, pl. xli, 13; de Mertenfeld 1954, pl. cix, no. 984. Barnett *C.N.I.*, 173, pl. iv; Scigliuzzo 2004, 23, 40; Scigliuzzo 2005.

113. C.N.I., C13. V/W doorway
British Museum, London, BM 118155. 1848.0720.11
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 11.

Plate 19



Tenoned panel, virtually complete, although poorly preserved. Two tenons at top and bottom. Fragments missing from centre, right side and bottom. Surface poorly preserved, especially of wig on right and neck. The window is similar to Nos. 110-112, consisting of three wide frames at the sides, one narrow and two wide frames at the top and a narrow, single frame at the bottom. The window sill is supported on four balusters with elaborate palmette capitals. Back smooth with bevelled sides.

H. with tenons 10.2 cm. H. of panel 8.5 cm. W. 9.2 cm. Th. 1.1 cm.

The woman is shown full-face, wearing an Egyptian style wig of tied locks reaching the window sill. Unfortunately she is poorly preserved, but nevertheless there are a number of similarities between Nos. 113 and 112, particularly the spacing within the window. She has similar, relatively small, uneven ears with less pronounced lobes. Her eyes with large drilled pupils and angled eyebrows are similar to those of No. 112, as are the finer nose

and mouth and chin. Nos. 113 and 112 were probably carved by the same hand, while Nos. 110-111 were probably worked by a different craftsman.

Birch in Layard *N. & R. I*, Appendix II, 393, nos. 32-35; Layard *N. & R. II*, 10; Layard, *Mons. I*, pl. 88, no. 3a; Murray *et al.* 1900, fig. 17; de Mertenfeld 1954, pl. cix, no. 982; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 173, pl. iv; Scigliuzzo 2004, 23; Scigliuzzo 2005.

***114. ND368. Room V, Layard's fill**

Plate 19

Iraq Museum, Baghdad



Left side of openwork woman at the window panel. All that survives is the triple frame at the left, part of the triple frame at the top and a plain frame at the bottom: the triple frame consists of three equal frames. Of the window, part of the sill supported by a voluted baluster survives. In addition to a different form of frame, the panel is shorter than Nos. 110-113 and belonged to a different set. 6.2 x 2.5 cm.

Part of an assemblage of varied fragments found by Mallowan in the fill of Room V, see Nos. 144-145, 148-150, 153-154, 156, 160, 166, 168, 170, 177-179, 183-188, 190-191. Finds included small pieces of lapis lazuli and blue paste, some with rosette designs, and minute pieces of gold overlays.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 50, pl. xiii, no. 3.

Heads from women at the window panels

115. C.N.I., C16. V/W doorway
British Museum, London, BM 118219. 1848.0720.15
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 17.

Plates H & 19



Face in high relief. Stumps of tenons at top and bottom. Left side missing, top, right side and base damaged. Back, flat, poorly preserved. 3.8 x 3.9 x 2.2 cm.

The face, represented frontally, is framed by an Egyptian style wig, the locks of which are ribbed and tied. The face is finely modeled; the eyebrows are elegantly incised, and the eyes pointed, with outlined rims and drilled pupils; the ears are large with pronounced rims and perforated lobes; the nose is narrow between the eyes, widening towards the finely modeled mouth. The chin is rounded. Traces survive of a collar.

This face probably belonged to an openwork woman at the window panel, slightly larger than Nos. 110-113 above, rather than to a sphinx, since no fragments of such sphinxes were found in Room V. The only differences between these heads and those of the women at the window are the lack of framing, the fixing and the dressing of the wigs. The carving of the face, eyes, ears and especially the mouth of No. 115 is sensitive and similar to those of Nos. 110 and 111 and to the head, No. 116. It seems probable that they were carved by the same hand: if this supposition, with which Scigliuzzo agrees, is correct, then it would show that differences

Ivories from Nimrud VI

in the depiction of the wigs were simply a workshop variation.

Wig and wing, openwork women at the window panels were found in Room NW15, *I.N.* V, nos. 467-470, and examples from other style-groups in Room S10, *I.N.* V, nos. 102-105. Some heads were found in Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 410-416.

Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 393, no. 36; Layard *N. & R.* II, 10; Layard *Mons.* I, pl. 88, no. 4; *I.L.N.* 29.05.1852, 427, no. 2; Perrot and Chipiez 1884, II, 315, fig. 130; Mansell n.d., pl. 578; de Mertenfeld 1954, pl. cix, no. 985; Barnett 1935, 183; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 173, pl. v; Suter 1992, 17-18, Abb. 10; Scigliuzzo 2005.

116. *C.N.I.*, C20. V/W doorway Plate 19

British Museum, London, BM 118218. 1848.0720.16
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 12 (reversed).

Face carved in high relief. Poorly preserved, especially top and sides. Fragments missing from top left and surface, especially of wig and ears. Tenons at top and bottom, damaged. Back, flat with fitter's mark near bottom tenon, poorly preserved. 4.3 x 4.3 x 2.2 cm.



Fitter's mark: lightly incised and damaged, possibly 'gimel'.

The face, represented frontally, is framed by a poorly preserved Egyptian style wig, with traces of tying and ribbing; the ears are poorly preserved. The face is finely modeled; the eyebrows are elegantly incised and the eyes pointed with outlined rims and drilled pupils; the nose is narrow between the eyes, widening towards the finely modeled mouth. The chin is rounded.

Although less well preserved, the modeling of the face, the eyebrows and eyes, the nose and mouth are similar to Nos. 110, 111 and 115.

Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 393, no. 36; Layard *N. & R.* II, 10; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 173, pl. v.

117. *C.N.I.*, C19. V/W doorway Plate 19

British Museum, London, BM 118250. 1848.0720.18
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 15.

Face carved in high relief. Sides broken off, fragments missing from top and bottom, surface cracked, pitted and poorly preserved. Tenons at top and bottom. Back, flat. 4.7 x 2.8 x 2.1 cm.



The face, represented frontally, is partially framed by a poorly preserved Egyptian style wig. The face is modeled; the eyebrow is elegantly incised and the surviving left eye, pointed with an outlined rim and drilled pupil; the nose, mouth and chin are damaged.

Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 393, no. 36; Layard *N. & R.* II, 10; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 173.

118. *C.N.I.*, C18. V/W doorway Plate 19 156

British Museum, London, BM 118252. 1848.0720.17
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 14.



Face carved in high relief. Left and right sides broken off, fragments missing from top. Surface pitted and cracked, poorly preserved. Back, flat. 4.9 x 2.6 x 2.2 cm.

The face, represented frontally and poorly preserved, still has the remains of an Egyptian style wig on the right. The eyes are pointed with drilled pupils; the nose, mouth and chin are damaged. Raised 'triangles' above and below head on panel.

Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 393, no. 36; Layard *N. & R.* II, 10; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 173.

119. *C.N.I.*, C17. V/W doorway Plate 19

British Museum, London, BM 118251. 1848.0720.14
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 13.



Face, carved in high relief. Sides broken off. Poorly preserved. Back flat, smooth with two fitter's marks. 4.8 x 3.5 x 2.2 cm.

Fitter's mark: letter *kaph* with curving descender, the lower left stroke rising from the descender below the upper stroke, not from the same point, as normally written. Below, letter *zayin*. Both signs are carefully engraved.

The face, represented frontally and poorly preserved, is partially framed by an Egyptian style wig with ribbed and tied locks, cf. No. 115. The eyes have drilled pupils. Unusual, slightly prognathous mouth, and pointed chin. Raised 'triangles' above and below head on panel.

Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 393, no. 36; Layard *N. & R.* II, 10; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 173.

*120. ND367. Room V Plate 19

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM55347

Face, carved in high relief. Right side broken off, surface cracked, pitted and poorly preserved. Tenon for attachment at bottom. Back, flat. 3.9 x 3.3 cm.



The face, represented frontally and heavily damaged, is partially framed by an Egyptian style wig. The eyebrows are incised and the eyes pointed with outlined rims and drilled pupils.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 50, pl. xiii, no. 5.

121. *C.N.I.*, C21. V/W doorway Plate 19

British Museum, London, BM 123772. 1848.0720.19
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 18.

Front of face, sides and back broken off. Surface cracked with

fragments missing. Back not preserved. 2.8 x 2.0 cm.



Face, smaller than preceding pieces, shown frontally. The remains of the wig on top of the head has ribbed and tied locks, with single rather than double ties. The face is round; the eyes are pointed, with deeply drilled pupils; the nose and mouth are damaged. The chin is rounded. Part of a beaded collar survives.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 173, pl. v.

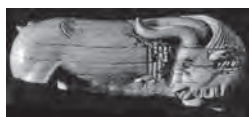
Cows and calves, possibly 'wig and wing'

Bovids were a popular subject, carved across the area in different styles, arranged either as processions of bulls, or cows and calves, bulls being the more common. Examples from Fort Shalmaneser occur with solid backgrounds or as silhouettes, as on Nos. 122-126, see *I.N.* IV, 701-708, 744-747, 1014; V, 132-136, 381-389, 472, 479. Similar panels were found at Arslan Tash, Thureau Dangin *et al.* 1931, pls. xxxvii-xliii.

In this damaged set, the calves have been separated from their mothers, and the cows have lost their legs. The cows would have joined rails at the bottom, and the panels fixed to their backing by keyhole slots, like the bulls of *I.N.* IV, nos. 748-758. Typical of the V/W cows are the excised eyes, the ear marked on the neck, the double horn with a fringed base and the neck musculature, finely carved with a triple rib, and U-shaped 'scallops' on the lower neck. The bodies are long and slender, and the ribs are indicated. There is no cross-hatching on the nose. These pieces were probably worked in a Syrian workshop, possibly the 'wig and wing' workshop. One of the cows, No. 127, has a similar form of 'gimel' to the youths of Nos. 99-100 and the 'women at the window' of Nos. 110-111. They may all have been carved by the same hand.

Set of seven cows, heads turned to left

122. C.N.I., C23. Rooms V/W Plate 20
British Museum, London, BM 118129. 1848.0720.38
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 42.



Cow standing to right with head turned to left, tail and lower legs broken off. Eye excised. Ear marked on neck, musculature finely worked with triple rib and U-shaped 'scallops' on lower neck. Double horn with fringed base. Ribs indicated. Double 'bracket' marking on haunch, cf. No. 123 below. Back smooth, keyhole slot, 1.7 x 0.5-0.3 cm. 3.1 x 8.0 x 1.4 cm.

Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 392, nos. 11-16; Layard *Mons.* I, pl. 91, no. 32; *I.L.N.* 29.05.1852, 426, no. 8; *B & A. Guide* (1st ed.), 23; Contenau 1931, III, 1337, fig. 840; de Mertenfeld 1954, pl. cxiv, no. 1035; Barnett 1935, 183; Barnett *C.N.I.* 174, pl. v; Uberti 1988, 598, no. 84; Curtis & Reade 1995, 131, no. 97.

***123. ND362. Room V** Plate 20
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 55344

Cow standing to right with head turned to left: tail and lower legs



broken off. Eye excised. Neck musculature finely worked with U-shaped 'scallops' on lower neck. Double horn with fringed base. Moulded lines below horn. Double 'bracket' marking on haunch, cf. No. 122 above. Tail of calf preserved. Back, flat and smooth. 3.0 x 7.50 cm.

This was the first ivory found by Mallowan, lying on a patch of beaten clay in the south-west corner of Room V, having been missed by Layard's workmen. It was a little less than a metre above the level of Ashurnasirpal's pavement.

Mallowan *I.L.N.* 22.07.1950, 151, fig. 21; Mallowan *Iraq* 12, 161; Mallowan *Iraq* 13, 2, 13-14, pl. i, 2-3; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 36-37, fig. 5.

124. C.N.I., C24. Rooms V/W Plate 20
British Museum, London, BM 118127. 1848.0720.39
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 43.



Cow standing to right with head turned to left, hindquarters and lower legs broken off. Eye excised. Neck musculature modelled but coarser than No. 122. Minimal scallops. Ribs indicated. Traces of reddish stain on cheek in Prentis drawing. Back smooth, keyhole slot, 2.0 x 0.6-0.4 cm., with 4 drill holes in base. 3.8 x 7.2 x 1.3 cm.

Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 392, nos. 11-16; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 174.

125. C.N.I., C22. Rooms V/W Plate 20
British Museum, London, BM 118130. 1848.0720.40
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 45.



Head and forequarters only of cow standing to right with head turned back, horn missing, rest broken off. Poorly preserved. Surface pitted and fragments missing. Eye excised. Ear on neck, musculature finely worked, ending in three ribs, cf. No. 127 and No. 130. Tail of calf on body. Back smooth. 3.5 x 5.6 x 1.4 cm.

Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 392, nos. 11-16; de Mertenfeld 1954, pl. cxiv, no. 1036; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 173, pl. v.

126. C.N.I., C26. Rooms V/W Plate 20
British Museum, London, BM 118125. 1848.0720.42
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 47.

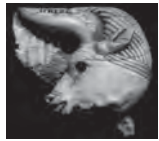


Forequarters of cow standing to right with head turned back, body and legs broken off. Eye excised. Single horn with fringe at base. Ear on neck. Neck musculature finely modeled with double-rib and U-shaped scallops, cf. No. 122. Back smooth. 3.1 x 3.5 x 1.3 cm.

Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 392, nos. 11-16; Mansell n.d., pl. 578; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 174.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

127. C.N.I. C27. Rooms V/W Plate 20
British Museum, London, BM 118126. 1848.0720.43
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 46.



Head and forequarters only of cow to right with head turned back, rest not preserved. Double horns. Eye excised. Ear in relief on neck. Neck musculature finely worked with triple rib at base, light scallops. Ribs indicated. Stump of one foreleg. Back smooth, with fitter's mark. 3.7 x 3.9 x 1.4 cm.
Fitter's mark: one acute-angled 'gimel' sign.

This unusual form of the 'gimel' also occurs on Nos. 99, 100, 110 and 111 and may be a craftsman's mark, see pp. 65-66 above. The cow may have been carved by the same hand as the other panels, although there are no direct points of comparison.

Birch in Layard, *N. & R. I*, Appendix II, 392, nos. 11-16; Evans, *Palace of Minos IV*, 555-556, fig. 517; Hogarth 1909, 184, pl. 29, no. 5a; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 174.

128. C.N.I., C25. Rooms V/W Plate 20
British Museum, London, BM 123824. 1848.0720.41 and 44
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 44.



Three fragments of a cow standing to right with head turned back, damaged. Back smooth.
a. Part of head and neck only. Eye excised. Neck musculature finely modeled with triple rib, U-shaped scallops. 3.0 x 3.0 x 1.3 cm.
b. Fragment of horn, no original edges. 1.0 x 3.2 cm.
c. Fragment of body and hindquarters, stump of tail and upper hindleg. Remains of keyhole slot. 3.8 x 2.7 x 1.3 cm.

Birch in Layard *N. & R. I*, Appendix II, 392, nos. 11-16; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 174.

129. C.N.I., C28. Rooms V/W Plate 20
British Museum, London, BM 123825. 1848.0720.45
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 48.



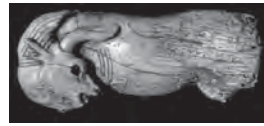
Head and forequarters of cow to right with head turned back, nose damaged, rest not preserved. Eye excised. Ear against neck. Neck musculature with triple rib, U-shaped scallops. Stump of one foreleg. Back smooth. 3.8 x 3.0 x 1.3 cm.

Birch in Layard *N. & R. I*, Appendix II, 392, nos. 11-16; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 174.

Two cows with heads turned to right

130. C.N.I., C29. Rooms V/W Plate 20
British Museum, London, BM 118128. 1848.0720.46
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 40.

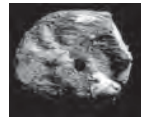
Cow standing to left with head turned to right. Cow's tail and lower legs broken off. Rudimentary double horn. Eye excised. Ear 158



in relief. Neck musculature modeled with triple rib at base. Ribs indicated. Back smooth, keyhole slot, 2.0 x 0.4-0.2 cm. 3.3 x 7.9 x 1.4 cm.

Birch in Layard *N. & R. I*, Appendix II, 392, no. 17; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 174, pl. v, fig. 64.

131. C.N.I., C30. Rooms V/W Plate 20
British Museum, London, BM 123826. 1848.0720.47



Head and forequarters only of cow standing to left with head turned back, rest not preserved. Poorly preserved with many surface fragments missing. Back smooth. 3.3 x 3.5 x 1.3 cm.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 174.

Five calves to the left

132. C.N.I., C31. Rooms V/W Plate 20
British Museum, London, BM 123827. 1848.0720.51
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 52.



A calf standing to left with head raised, originally suckling, lower legs missing, possibly originally part of No. 122. Eye excised. Neck musculature indicated, scallops on neck, double rib. Hump on top of shoulder. Ribs indicated. Tail on haunch. Back, roughly worked. 1.6 x 3.6 x 1.0 cm.

Birch in Layard *N. & R. I*, Appendix II, 392, no. 18; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 174, pl. v.

133. C.N.I., C34. Rooms V/W Plate 20
British Museum, London, BM 134949. 1848.0720.50
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 50.



Calf to left, originally suckling, legs missing. Neck musculature lightly indicated, scallops on neck, double rib. Ribs indicated. Tail on haunch. Back, not preserved. 1.8 x 3.7 cm.

Birch in Layard *N. & R. I*, Appendix II, 392, no. 18; Evans 1935, IV, 556, fig. 519; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 174, pl. v.

134. C.N.I., C32. Rooms V/W Plate 20
British Museum, London, BM 123828. 1848.0720.52
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 51.



A calf to left, originally suckling, nose and top of head, legs and tail missing. Neck musculature indicated, double rib. Ribs indicated. Tail marked on haunch. Back, roughly worked. 1.7 x 3.8 x 1.0 cm.

Birch in Layard *N. & R. I*, Appendix II, 392, no. 18; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 174, pl. v.

135. C.N.I., C34a. Rooms V/W Plate 20

British Museum, London, BM 123830. 1848.0720.49
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 53.



Calf to left, originally suckling, face, legs and tail missing. Neck musculature indicated, finer than No. 133, U-shaped scallops. Ribs indicated. Tail on haunch. Back, roughly worked. 1.8 x 4.2 x 1.0 cm.

Birch in Layard *N. & R. I*, Appendix II, 392, no. 18; Layard *Mons. I*, pl. 91, no. 33; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 174.

136. C.N.I., C33. Rooms V/W Plate 20
British Museum, London, BM 123829. 1848.0720.48
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 54.



Calf to left, originally suckling, head, legs and tail missing. Neck musculature indicated, scallops on neck, triple rib. Tail marked on haunch. Trace of red stain on belly in drawing by Prentis. Back, roughly worked. 2.0 x 3.6 x 1.1 cm.

Birch in Layard *N. & R. I*, Appendix II, 392, no. 18; Layard *Mons. I*, pl. 91, no. 33; de Mertenfeld 1954, pl. cxiv, no. 1039; Barnett, *C.N.I.*, 174, pl. v.

Cervids

137. C.N.I., C35. Rooms V/W Plate 21
British Museum, London, BM118124. 1848.0720.53
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 55.



The head and body of a stag browsing to the left, with head lowered and mouth open. Antlers and ear rest on neck. Eye excised. Lines indicate neck musculature. Trace of forelegs, rest of legs broken off: would originally have been fixed to a rail. Surface poorly preserved. Keyhole slot, 2.2 x 0.5-0.2 cm., on back: no trace of rail at top. 3.0 x 10.5 x 1.1 cm.

The stag and cows from Room V/W share the long lean bodies, the lack of rails along the top, and the keyhole slots on the back. They may well have formed part of a common decorative scheme, like the heavier stags and cattle from NW21 (*I.N. V*, nos. 368-389). With its antlers lying flat along the neck, as opposed to the more upright antlers of the NW21 stags, No. 137 can be compared to an example from NE59 (*I.N. V*, no. 332), which also had a keyhole slot and lacked a top rail.

Possibly part of the same set as the fragments, Nos. 138-139. A poorly preserved fragment of a stag was found at Tell Halaf, Oppenheim n.d., 218, pl. lix, 4.

Birch in Layard *N. & R. I*, Appendix II, 392, no. 8; Layard *Mons. I*, pl. 91, no. 31; *I.L.N.* 29.05.1852, 427, no. 9; de Mertenfeld 1954, pl. cxiv, no. 1041; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 174-175, pl. ii; Stéphan 1996, 204.

138. C.N.I., C37. Rooms V/W Plate 21

British Museum, London, BM123832. 1828.0720.55
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 57.



The head and neck only of a browsing stag facing right, with head lowered. Antlers, tip of muzzle and neck broken off. Eye excised for inlay, eyebrows marked, ear flat on neck. Lines indicate neck musculature. Trace of red stain on cheek in drawing by Prentis. Back poorly preserved. 1.9 x 4.4 x 1.2 cm.

Possibly part of the same set as Nos. 137 and 139.

Birch in Layard *N. & R. I*, Appendix II, 392, no. 9; Layard *Mons. I*, pl. 91, no. 30; *I.L.N.* 29.05.1852, 427, no. 7; de Mertenfeld 1954, pl. cxiv, no. 1042; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 175, pl. ii.

139. C.N.I., C36. Rooms V/W Plate 21
British Museum, London, BM123831. 1848.0720.54
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 56.



The head and neck only of a browsing stag facing left. Poorly preserved, surface mostly destroyed. Eye drilled, ear flat on neck. Back not preserved. 2.3 x 4.4 x 1.3 cm.

Possibly part of the same set as Nos. 137 and 138.

Birch in Layard *N. & R. I*, Appendix II, 392, no. 9; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 175.

140. C.N.I., C38. Rooms V/W Plate 21
British Museum, London, BM118952. 1848. 0720.56
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 58.



The head and forequarters only of a stag advancing right, with head turned frontally and open mouth. Stumps of forelegs survive, rest of body broken off. Remains of two upright antlers, stumps of ears, incised eyebrows, eyes marked with centred bit. Modelled shoulder. Back roughly worked. 4.0 x 2.4 x 2.5 cm.

This fragment can be compared to two examples from SW37, showing a deer with head turned frontally, probably originally in a field of flowers, *I.N. IV*, nos. 580 and 581: the head was attached separately. A fine example, ND13934, was found in SW12 (unpublished). Partially comparable is a stag shown in profile within a curving framework of frondy leaves from Well AJ, No. 263.

Birch in Layard *N. & R. I*, Appendix II, 392, no.10; Layard *Mons. I*, pl. 91, no. 29; *I.L.N.* 29.05.1852, 426, no. 10; Rawlinson 1871, I, 375, fig.; de Mertenfeld 1954, pl. cxiv, no. 1043; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 175, pl. ii.

'Beaky nose' sphinxes

141. C.N.I., C62. V/W doorway Plate 21
British Museum, London, BM 118163. 1848.0720.23
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 27.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

Fragmentary rectangular panel, sides broken off. Fragments missing from top and bottom left, top right and centre bottom. Trace of red stain in drawing by Prentis. Back, fine horizontal striations. No frame. 8.2 x 15.0 x 1.0 cm.



Two winged, human-headed sphinxes, back to back, with tails and wing-tips touching. Of the left sphinx only the wing, back and curled tail, ending in a frond, survive. The remains of a flower

can be seen above the wing. The sphinx on the right is relatively complete except for any crown, if worn, and the lower right hindleg. The sphinx wears a headcloth formed of zig-zag lines, ending in a curl, and continuing round the front of the chest, incised with fine lines. The face is finely worked. The eye is long and pointed with a drilled pupil. There is a long moulded rib above the eye, uniting ear and nose, set below the long curving incised eyebrow. The ear has a pronounced rim and short lobe. The nose is hooked, the mouth firmly closed, the chin pointed. The apron is decorated with alternate rows of petals and beading and has a beaded hem. Two rows of finely incised wing feathers grow from a line of beading and extend to a point behind the foreleg. The sphinx is quite portly, the ribs are lightly indicated, there is a moulded marking on the haunch and markings on the leading foreleg, left hindleg and paws. The curled tail ends in a frond.

The remains of a plant with curving double stalks and a voluted palmette flower can be seen in front of the sphinx: another plant grows up between the legs. A 'lily' can be seen above the wings.

A unique piece with similarities to openwork sphinx panels from Samaria, as already noted by Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, 20, nos. 1 and 2, pl. v. Note the similar aprons of the Samaria and North West Palace sphinxes, the unusual beading at the start of the wings and their extension beside the foreleg, as well as the facial features. They may be the products of the same style-group or centre. The small griffin fragment, No. 142, below, shares both the distinctive eye and the unusual wing with the feathering starting from a band of beading: it may form part of the same group.

In *I.N.* IV, 16, it was suggested that some panels from Room SW37 were sufficiently similar to have been made in the same centre or workshop as the North West Palace and Samaria sphinxes: these included *I.N.* IV, 16, nos. 471-474, 611-614, 940-941, 1130-1135, and possibly nos. 393-395. They share a distinctive style, features with a large eye, curving eyebrow, beaky nose and small chin, and the fine striping of the head-cloth and wings: they were called the 'beaky nose' group, see pp. 89-90 above.

Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 394, no. 37; Layard *Mons.* I, pl. 89, no. 12; *I.L.N.* 29.05.1852, 426-427, no. 5; *B. & A. Guide*, 2nd ed., 24, illustration; 3rd ed., pl. xlii, 12; Poulsen 1912, 40, Abb. 24; Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, 20; de Mertenfeld 1954, pl. cx, no. 1028; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 179-180, C62, pl. i; Mallowan 1978, 30-31; Barnett 1982, 50, pl. 50a; Uberti 1988, 600, no. 96; Stéphan 1996, 203; Scigliuzzo 2004, 92.

142. *C.N.I.*, C61. V/W doorway

Plate 21

British Museum, London, BM 123837. 1848.0720.36
E. Prentis drawing, no number.



Openwork fragment, the head and forequarters of a rampant griffin to the left, beak and rest of body not preserved. Traces survive of a raised right foreleg and lowered left foreleg. Right side would have been joined to rest of panel. Head raised, long pointed eye with drilled pupil, two curls on neck. The wing forms a point beside the foreleg: the edge is outlined with a row of beading, cf. No. 141. Back smooth. 4.8 x 2.4 x 0.5 cm.

The carving of the eye and the beading at the base of the wing is common to the griffin and the North West Palace and Samaria sphinxes. The feathering is, however, entirely different.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 179, fig. 75.

Assorted

143. *C.N.I.*, C60. V/W doorway

Plate 21

British Museum, London, BM 118167. 1848.0720.25
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 30.



Openwork fragment, the head and forequarters of a winged, human-headed sphinx to the left, rest of body and forelegs broken off. Only traces of the crown survive; it was set on a pharaonic headcloth. The sphinx has an Osiride beard and an *usekh* collar. Trace of stem of plant under belly. Reddish-brown surface in drawing by Prentis. Back smooth. 3.9 x 3.9 x 0.7 cm.

There are numerous openwork panels with winged human-headed sphinxes at Nimrud. Too little survives of this piece to be able to attribute it to a specific group.

Layard *Mons.* I, pl. 89, no. 13; de Mertenfeld 1954, pl. cx, no. 1029; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 179, pl. i.

*144. ND368. Room V, Layard's fill

Plate 23

Iraq Museum, Baghdad



Bottom of panel, top broken off. Plain frame at left side and base; trunk of tree on right. All that survives are the legs of a sphinx advancing right towards the trunk of a tree. The sphinx wears an apron and traces remain of an *uraeus* suspended from the chest. 1.9 x 7.2 x 0.6 cm.

Too few diagnostic features of this familiar motif survive to attribute the fragment to a specific group. Part of an assemblage of fragments found by Mallowan, see Nos. 114, 145, 148-150, 153-154, 156, 160, 166, 168, 170, 177-179, 183-188, 190-191.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 50, pl. xiii, 2nd row from bottom, centre, no. 11 – incorrectly described as two figures with human bodies and lion's feet.

*145. ND368. Room V, Layard's fill
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Plate 23



Bottom of openwork tenoned panel, rest broken off, showing part of a plant with a large flower, two stalks and the leg of a sphinx? advancing left towards the plant. Plain frame with tenon at bottom.

Part of an assemblage of fragments found by Mallowan, see Nos. 114, 144, 148-150, 153-154, 156, 160, 166, 168, 170, 177-179, 183-188, 190-191.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 50, pl. xv, 2nd row from bottom, centre.

'Classic Phoenician' group, Nos. 146-170

Pair of Egyptianizing panels

146. C.N.I., C48. V/W doorway

Plates B-C & 22

British Museum, London, BM 118120. 1848.0720.20

E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 25.



Trapezoidal panel with beveled sides, fragments missing from left side of panel, centre and bottom right. Plain frame. Cloisonné. Applied gold leaf, blue glass inlays over a backing layer of Egyptian blue. Gold on central cartouche, solar disc, on parts of chair, on sleeve and on scepter: where the gold foil has been lost, the surface appears to have been stained purple. In Prentis' drawing some inlays survived in the plumes, the sides of the chairs and the cloth over the back, and in the wigs and garment hems. Back covered.

H. 7.4 cm.; W. at top of bevel 15.3 cm.; W. at bottom of bevel 15.9 cm.; W. at top of frame 15.1 cm.; at bottom of frame 15.6 cm.; Th. 0.4 cm.

Two deities are seated either side of a central feature, which consists of a cartouche surmounted by a solar disc and *atef* feathers. They wear lappet wigs with ties falling down their backs (better preserved on No. 147), *usekh* collars and long, pleated and belted garments with shawl sleeves, the hems of which were inlaid. Their faces (left hand face damaged) are subtly modeled: the eyebrows incised, the eyes are long, pointed and excised for inlay, the nose straight, the mouth full above a small chin, the ears are small with a defined rim and lobe. The outer arms are raised in salutation to the central feature, their inner arms hold *was* scepters: the hands have long, elegant fingers. Their feet are bare and rest on the ground. The chairs are of Egyptian style, with a cushion over the back, sides decorated with a scale pattern and rectangles enclosing *ankhs* in the corners.

Layard wrote:

'The most interesting are the remains of two small tablets, one nearly entire, the other much injured, representing two sitting figures, holding in one hand the Egyptian scepter or symbol of power. Between the figures is a cartouche, containing a name or words in hieroglyphics, and surmounted by a feather or plume, such as is found in monuments of the eighteenth,

and subsequent dynasties of Egypt. The chairs on which the figures are seated, the robes of the figures themselves, the hieroglyphics in the cartouche, and the feather above it, were enameled with a blue substance let into the ivory; and the uncarved portions of the tablet, the cartouche, and part of the figures, were originally gilded, - remains of the gold leaf still adhering to them. The forms, and style of art, have a purely Egyptian character; although there are certain peculiarities in the execution, and mode of treatment, that would seem to mark the work of a foreign, perhaps an Assyrian, artist. The same peculiarities - the same anomalies - characterized all the other objects discovered.' (N. & B. II, 9-10):

Birch described the panels in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, New Series III (1850), quoted in Layard *N. & R.* II, 10-11:

'The first of these panels, which is the most complete, measures nine inches long by six inches high. The cartouche is placed vertically in the centre, surmounted by a solar disk, gilded, flanked by two ostrich feathers, which are inlaid with narrow horizontal strips of opaque blue glass, probably imitations of lapis-lazuli, and with some few bars in green. The area of the cartouche is gilded, and the hieroglyphics are incused, and inlaid with blue glass. At each side is a divinity, beardless, wearing the long hair-dress called *namms*, also inlaid with blue and draped in linen garments, enveloping the whole of the form, with a border of inlaid blue ovals. The seats on which they sit are the usual Egyptian throne, the side decorated with scales alternately of blue and opaque green pastes, inlaid into the ivory, and intended to imitate lapis-lazuli and felspar. At the lower corner, in a compartment, in gilded ivory on a blue back-ground, is a symbol of life. Each divinity holds in one hand a *tam* or *kukupha* scepter, and holds up the other with the palm turned towards the cartouche. No name is attached to either of these figures, which are probably intended for deities of an inferior rank, such as the Persian *Izjeds*. Like all the Egyptian figures, they are unbearded; but their drapery is not that of Egyptian females.'

The hieroglyphs, by K.A. Kitchen

The hieroglyphs in the cartouche on this long-known and well-wrought piece have long been enigmatic. Normally, the hieroglyphic signs inserted into cartouches by Phoenician artists and engravers are not proper names (royal or commoner) as in authentic Egyptian usage, but simply garbled phrases from formal speeches of the gods used in innumerable standard scenes of pharaoh and his gods, and sometimes including deities' names.



See already *I.N.* IV, 154, no. 642, pl. 156; 192-193, nos. 954-956, pl. 250; 195, nos. 975-976, pl. 253; plus 'speech'-fragments in *I.N.* IV, 195, nos. 978-981, pl. 253; 198-199, no. 996, pl. 257 and on the frontlets and spade blinkers from Well AJ, Nos. 252-257.

Therefore, the hieroglyphs here must be viewed in that light. From Birch's time on, the *iw* (*šw?*) *bnw r'* in this cartouche has been compared to the royal names *Weben-re* (I and

Ivories from Nimrud VI

II) in the highly obscure 14th Dynasty list (c. 1700 BC) in the 13th century Royal Canon of Turin. But:

1. it is highly improbable that anyone in Phoenicia had any knowledge of such obscure minor royalties (presently known from no other source);
2. the supposed initial *i* would not agree with this identification, and may rather be a *shu*-plume; and
3. on the analogy of all other hieroglyphs in Phoenician ivory cartouches, a personal proper name of king or commoner would not be expected here.

However, Phoenician artists did tend to confuse the reed-sign *i* with the feather-sign *shu*, outwardly identical except for the slight bulge at the top of *shu*; and oriented in opposing directions. Thus a *Shu*-plume could be reversed (to face like an *i*) in the name of the air-god Shu, as in *I.N.* IV, 192, no. 954 bottom, pl. 250. That deity is incessantly termed ‘Shu, the son of Re’ in Egyptian usage. If we dare to read this cartouche as *Šw bn BIRD R*’ here (and treat the bird as a determinative for the common-place West Semitic word *bn*), we would have here ‘Shu, son (*bin*) of Re’, just as he is so commonly termed in Egypt. The only likely graphic objection to this suggestion would be that the bird before Re is far more a lumpy quail-chick (*w*) than a pintail duck (*s3*, ‘son’), a suitable determinative for a word ‘son’. However, it should then be pointed out that these artists did appear at times to confuse these two birds on ivories. See *I.N.* IV, 100, no. 202, pl. 144, where in ‘daughter (*s3t*) of Re’ the expected pintail duck is in effect replaced by an ungainly *w*-chick; contrast the parallel piece, *I.N.* IV, 193, no. 958, pl. 250, where the duck is more correctly written. A transitional form, neither duck nor chick, is found on no. 974 (*I.N.* IV, 195, pl. 253). The chick-plus-stroke on no. 196 (*I.N.* IV, 99, pl. 43) should probably be taken as equivalent of duck-plus-stroke (= *s3*, ‘son’), giving ‘son of the goddess’ (SNAKE).

The reading ‘Shu son of Re’ is the most banal and commonplace phrase one could ever find relating to that deity. Thus, if the Phoenicians knew of Shu through their incessant Egyptian contacts (as his occurrence elsewhere on these ivories would indicate), then this phrase would be known. It would be but a simple step to substitute native *bin* for foreign *sa* to express ‘son’ here. The flanking figures might then be for Shu. For naming of deities in these Phoenician cartouches, see already *I.N.* IV, 192, no. 954, pl. 250 (Shu himself!); 192, no. 955, pl. 250 (Re-Horus); 195, no. 974, pl. 253 (<Maat>, daughter of <Re>); 195, no. 976, pl. 253 (the good god, Re [in the] barque); 195, no. 976, pl. 253, (Bast(?)). *K.A.K*

The fragment, No. 147, formed the right side of an identical panel. This pair of panels were carved on thin sheets of ivory, c. 0.4-0.5 cm., and fixed by sliding into position: the sides are mitred. Other examples fixed in this way include No. 157 and *I.N.* IV, nos. 984-985. Most Egyptianizing panels were carved on thicker sheets and fixed by tenons at the sides, for instance *I.N.* IV, nos. 992-998. These two panels, Nos. 146 and 147, probably form part of the ‘classic Phoenician’ group, see p. 76 above.

This well-known panel has been frequently reproduced and described. References include: Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix 162

II, 393, no. 29, and *N. & R.* II, 9-10; Layard discussing Assyrian-Egyptian connections, 207-211, illustrated it opposite 209, and commented on Birch’s reading of the hieroglyphs; Layard *Mons.* I, pl. 89, no. 11; Rawlinson 1871, I, 374, fig.; Perrot & Chipiez 1884, II, 533, fig. 247; Mansell n.d., pl. 578; *B. & A. Guide*, 2nd ed., 23, illustration, 28, Table Case F, no. 69; 3rd ed., pl. xlii, 5; Barnett 1935, 183; de Mertenfeld 1954, pl. cix, no. 990; Barnett 1963, 81, pl. xviii b; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 177, pl. viii, figs. 18, 20; Mallowan 1978, 34, fig. 33; Barnett 1982, 50, pl. 46c; Bartoloni 1988, 79, 600, no. 95; Stéphan 1996, 205.

147. C.N.I., C49-C50. V/W doorway Plates C & 22
British Museum, London, BM 118164 and 123855. 1848.0720.21 and 78

E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 26.



Two fragments from a trapezoidal panel, the larger one, a, consisting of the right side; the second, b, consisting of part of the central cartouche, the two drawn as parts of the same panel by E. Prentis., similar to No. 146 above.

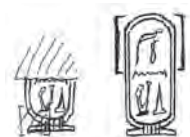
a. C49, BM 118164. The right side of a trapezoidal panel, with centre and left broken off, and a beveled side. A few surface fragments missing. Cloisonné. A few tiny fragments of gold leaf adhere to cloison walls of the sleeve and chair: in the Prentis’ drawing more gold leaf survived on the chair. Traces of blue inlays. Plain frame. Back, covered. 7.2 x 6.5 x 0.4 cm.

Seated deity to left, lower legs not preserved, wearing a lappet wig with a tie falling down the back, *usekh* collar and a belted and pleated garment with shawl sleeves, the hems of which are inlaid. The face is subtly modeled: the eye is oval and excised for inlay, the nose straight, the lips pronounced above a small chin, the ears have a defined outer rim. The outer arm is raised in salutation to a central feature (lost), the inner arm holds a scepter, only partially preserved: the hands have long, elegant fingers. The chair is of Egyptian style, with a cushion over the back, side decorated with a scale pattern and a rectangle enclosing an *ankh* in the corner.

b. C50, BM 123855. 1848.0720.78 but numbered by Barnett as 21a.

Fragment from centre of panel, no original edges: cloisonné, remains of gold overlay, traces of purple stain. All that survives is part of a cartouche with hieroglyphs, traces of three or four characters survive. 1.9 x 2.4 x 0.2 cm.

The Cartouche, by K.A. Kitchen



Here we have the bottom half of a cartouche, with the same surviving text as No. 150 but oriented instead facing to the right and reading from right to left. Below horizontal *n* is a ‘footed triangle’ and seated deity with papyrus-sceptre on the knee. Again, restore and read [*d(d)-mdw*] (*in* <deity>: *di.i* <*n.k* ... (promises)> ‘[Words spoken] (b)y <Deity>: ‘I give <to you ... promises>’, see No. 150 for discussion. *K.A.K*

These fragments form a pair to No. 150. Although identical in subject and style, differences in detail, especially of the faces, the pendant ties and the size of the scales of the hems and the chairs, suggest that they may have been carved by different hands. Part of the 'classic Phoenician' group.

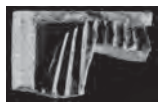
Layard *Mons.* I, pl. 89, no. 10; Birch 1850, 50 (illustration); de Mertzenfeld 1954, pl. cix, no. 991; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 177, fig. 68.

***148. ND368. Room V, Layard's fill**

Plate 22

Iraq Museum, Baghdad.

Two fragments from Egyptianizing panels.



a. Fragment from top left of panel, rest broken off. Plain frame at top and left side. Cloisonné. All that survives of the design is the wig of a figure facing right, see No. 146.



b. Fragment from top right of panel, rest broken off. Cloisonné. Plain frame at top and right side. All that survives of the design is part of the head of a figure facing left wearing an Egyptian style wig, probably a lappet wig, see No. 146. Eyes excised for inlay. H. 1.5 cm.

These fragments could form parts of an Egyptianizing panel, similar to No. 146, perhaps with parts of Nos. 149 and 150.

Part of an assemblage of fragments found by Mallowan in Layard's debris, see Nos. 114, 144-145, 149-150, 153-154, 156, 160, 166, 168, 170, 177-179, 183-188, 190-191.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 51, pl. xv, top left and right.

***149. ND368. Room V, Layard's fill**

Plate 22

Iraq Museum, Baghdad.

Three fragments from the centres of Egyptianizing panels, no original edges, showing parts of the plumes surmounting a cartouche or *djed* column, see No. 146 for plumes and cartouche and *I.N.* IV., nos. 1008-1009 for plumes and *djed* columns. Cloisonné.



a. Two fragments incorrectly assembled: above disc and plumes; below part of a cartouche with hieroglyphs, probably upside-down. H. as shown 5.2 cm.

b. Top of plumes. H. 1.0 cm.

c. Side of plume on right. H. c. 1.5 cm.

Part of an assemblage of fragments found by Mallowan in Layard's debris, see Nos. 114, 144-145, 148, 150, 153-154, 156, 160, 166, 168, 170, 177-179, 183-188, 190-191.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 51, pl. xv, top, left centre and bottom.

150. ND368, C.N.I., C55b. Room V, Layard's fill

Plate 22

British Museum, London, BM 131971. 1954.11.15.20



Fragment from centre bottom of panel, with remains of plain frame: top and sides broken off. Cloisonné, traces of blue background in cartouche.

All that survives is the lower section of a cartouche with two raised characters. Back striated. 21x29x04cm.

The Cartouche, by K.A. Kitchen



Here the bottom half of a cartouche preserves only two signs, a 'footed triangle' plus Lower Egyptian Crown *n*. As the Well AJ frontlets and blinkers, Nos. 245-257, also have cartouches that include nothing more than bungled versions of the introductory phrases for speeches of the Egyptian gods, this is almost certainly the case here, as it was in an earlier-edited example (*I.N.* IV, 154, no. 642, pl. 156). In the missing top half of this cartouche, one would expect therefore to find the sinuous snake *d*, and perhaps a vertical sign to stand under it for *mdw*, 'words', giving the phrase *d(d)-mdw*, 'Words spoken:' – then, our surviving triangle would be for *di.(i)*, and the *n* for *n.<k>*, giving the incipit 'I give to you...' (various promises). Thus, when complete, the whole cartouche would have read [*d(d)-mdw*]: *di.(i) n.<k>*..., '[Words spoken]: (I) give to <you>,(various promises)>'. The 'footed triangle' is footed because the Phoenician artists did not understand the double base-line and upward tick in the hieroglyph *di*. *K.A.K*

This fragment could form part of an Egyptianizing panel with No. 148 and parts of 149, which is similar to No. 147. One of an assemblage of fragments, Nos. 114, 144-145, 148-149, 153-154, 156, 160, 166, 168, 170, 177-179, 183-188, 190-191, found by Mallowan in Layard's debris.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 51, pl. xv, centre bottom; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 178, fig. 70.

151. C.N.I., C52a-b. Room V

Plate 22

British Museum, London, BM 118119, 1848.0720.24

E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 29.



Three fragments from a long, rectangular panel, sides, centre, top and much of bottom not preserved, showing a pair of sphinxes advancing left separated by a *djed* pillar.

Cloisonné, the collar and apron of the leading sphinx, the pillar and traces of the apron of the second sphinx were inlaid: some traces of red and blue colour survive. Plain frame at base. Back covered.

a. The front of a wingless sphinx advancing left, head and hindquarters missing. It wears the *usekh* collar and an apron decorated with vertical rows of chevrons. 3.9 x 6.2 x 0.4 cm.

b. Fragment, no original edges. Only part of the hock of a hindleg on a plain background survives. Back covered. 1.2 x 4.0 x 0.4 cm.

c. Fragment from panel, no original edges. 3.6 x 4.1 x 0.3 cm.

Part of a *djed* pillar, set on a reversed lotus, broken at top and bottom. To the right traces of the collar and apron, presumably from a sphinx advancing left.

Prentis drew these fragments as parts of a single panel. Fragments with similar sphinxes were found in Room SW37, Fort Shalmaneser, see *I.N.* IV, nos. 1010-1013 and nos. 1107-1113, the latter three with the sphinxes striding over fallen figures. Some

Ivories from Nimrud VI

sphinxes were associated with flowering plants, nos. 1010-1013 and 1107, while the sphinxes of no. 1111 were separated by a *djed* pillar. Three pairs of opposed sphinxes wearing the sidelock of childhood and separated by flowering plants were found in Tomb 79 at Salamis (Karageorghis 1974, pls. C and E).

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 178, pl. viii.

152. C.N.I., C53. Unprovenanced Plate 23
British Museum, London, BM 118142, 1848.0720.148

Two Egyptianizing fragments, no original edges.



a. *C.N.I.*, C53, BM 118142, 1848.0720.148.
Fragment, Cloisonné. Back striated. All that survives is a trace of the *usekh* collar, the apron and a foreleg of a sphinx advancing left, cf. No. 151. 2.5 x 1.9 x 0.3 cm.

b. *C.N.I.*, C55, BM 123858. 1848.0720.149.
Fragment, Cloisonné, traces of blue. Part of two 'Hathor' curls separated by a collar and traces of the top of the apron from a sphinx advancing right but with head turned to face the spectator. 1.9 x 2.6 x 0.4 cm.

These fragments are similar to the preceding pieces, although the frontal representation is relatively unusual.

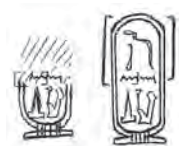
Barnett *C.N.I.*, 178, pl. viii.

153. ND368, C.N.I., C55a. Room V, Layard's fill Plate 22
British Museum, London, BM 131974. 1954.11.15.23 or 24



Egyptianizing fragment from centre bottom of panel, with remains of plain frame: top and left side broken off: the fragment would have been joined to an adjacent panel at right. Cloisonné, blue colour in cartouche, one piece of blue inlay survives in the apron. All that survives of the design is part of a cartouche with two raised characters and the trace of a third. To the right, the leading foreleg and trace of an apron of an advancing sphinx. Back striated. 3.0 x 3.4 x 0.4 cm.

The cartouche, by K.A. Kitchen



Again the bottom half of a cartouche, with traces of three signs: a tiny trace of horizontal 'water' *n*, over two vertical signs. These are oriented to face to the left, and thus be read from left to right. The second one is a seated figure (as of a deity), with a papyrus-sceptre held upon the knee; it could serve as the 'divine' version of *i*, the pronoun 'I/my'. Parts of the raised-relief figure are now missing, leaving only an impression of their former presence on the lowered inner surface of the cartouche. Likewise for the tall sign in front of it, also in part broken away below. Thus, it is not a reed-leaf but a 'footed triangle', of which part of the base at bottom-left is lost, plus the horizontal 'foot', leaving only an impression. Thus, we should read (under the *n*) a *di.i*, 'I give <to you...>'. Above it, in the lost upper half of the cartouche,

164

above the *n*, one should restore accordingly [*d(d) mdw*]; 'Words spoken', then the *n* for (*i*)*n*, 'by' (<deity-name omitted>), before we reach the preserved speech-fragment. Cf. previously *I.N.* IV, 199, no. 996, pl. 257, where the name of a divine speaker (a goddess) was omitted except for final *t* and egg-determinative. *K.A.K*

Part of an assemblage of fragments from Layard's dump, see Nos. 114, 144-145, 148-150, 154, 156, 160, 166, 168, 170, 177-179, 183-188 and 190-191.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 51, pl. xv, bottom right; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 178, fig. 69.

154. ND368, C.N.I., Sup. 7. Room V Plate 23
Layard's fill and C54, unprovenanced
British Museum, London, BM 131972, 123857. 1954.11.15.21

Two small Egyptianizing fragments of a panel with a *djed* pillar, no original edges.



a. ND368, Barnett *C.N.I.*, Sup. 7, BM 131972.
Fragment from centre of panel. Cloisonné. All that survives is the top of a *djed* pillar, cf. No. 151. 2.0 x 2.9 x 0.3 cm.

Mallowan, *Iraq* 14, 51, pl. xv, third row, left. Davies in Barnett *C.N.I.*, 231, Sup. 7, pl. cxlii.

b. C54, BM 123857, part of a lotus design probably from the bottom of a *djed* pillar. 0.8 x 2.5 x 0.3 cm.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 178, pl. viii.

Djed pillars are represented on a number of Egyptianizing ivories, for instance *I.N.* IV, nos. 984-985, 997, 1008-1009 and 1111. Part of an assemblage of fragments found by Mallowan in Layard's dump, see Nos. 114, 144-145, 148-150, 153, 156, 160, 166, 168, 170, 177-179, 183-188 and 190-191.

155. C.N.I., C58. V/W doorway Plate 23
British Museum, London, BM 123861. 1848.0720.22
E. Prentis drawing, no number.



Egyptianizing fragment from top of panel, sides and bottom broken off: raised figures, background originally inlaid: trace of blue background on left in Prentis drawing. Wide frame at top, beveled edge. Back striated. 2.7 x 2.0 x 0.3 cm.

Surviving design consists of a duck above a zig-zag line, with a vertical line to the right.

Comment by K.A. Kitchen

This item shows a horizontal raised border over what appear to be successive short columns of Egyptian hieroglyphs. One or more such columns would precede the first surviving one with a chick *w* over a horizontal *n*. Behind these at the right a vertical divider-line, one may see the (whitish) shadow of a possible reed-leaf (*i*) now lost, over an open-work left-hand corner of a basket-sign, either *k* or *nb*. Without fuller context, no integral interpretation can be offered of these signs without unjustifiable speculation. *K.A.K*

Birch 1850, 51 (illustration reversed in error); Barnett *C.N.I.*, 179, fig. 73.

***156. ND368. Room V, Layard's fill**
Iraq Museum, Baghdad.

Plate 23

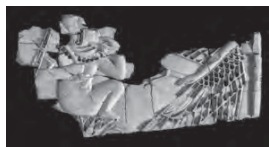


Egyptianizing fragment from top of panel, sides and bottom broken off. Cloisonné. Plain frame at top. All that survives of the design is part of the *hmhn* or 'triple crown', which consists of three tall *atef* crowns, flanked by *uraei* and set upon a pair of ram's horns. H. c. 2.6 cm.

Versions of these crowns can be seen on some Egyptianizing panels, such as *I.N. IV*, nos. 989-990, 992 and 1009. Part of an assemblage of fragments found by Mallowan on Layard's dump, see Nos. 114, 144, 148-150, 153-154, 160, 166, 168, 170, 177-179, 183-188 and 190-191.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 51, pl. xv, centre.

157. C.N.I., C51. 'Nimrud' Plates D & 23
British Museum, London, BM 118180. 1848.1104.312
E. Prentis drawing, no number.



Egyptianizing fragment from right side of panel, top, bottom and left side broken off. Surface fragments missing. Cloisonné, the eye, sidelock, collar, flail, lotus and the wings of the deity were excised for inlay – no gold or colour preserved. Plain frame on right with beveled edge. Fragment at top left with flail added subsequently, not in Prentis drawing. Back striated. 5.2 x 10.8 x 0.4 cm.

Part of a design originally showing the young Horus, squatting on a lotus flower, flanked by winged deities. All that survives is the sun-god with the sidelock of childhood, facing right. The top of his head is damaged, but his long, rimmed inlaid eye, straight nose, modeled mouth and fine chin have survived. He wears an *usekh* collar. His right arm is flexed, the hand holding a flail, which hangs over the shoulder; the left arm is flexed, the elbow resting on the knee and the hand with elongated fingers raised to his mouth in salutation to the goddess in front of him. All that survives of the winged goddess, who faces left, is part of the centre of her body. Part of her robe survives with wings folded over it: one wing is raised, the other lowered. The left arm rests along the wing, the hand with long fingers holding a lotus flower, little of which survives.

Comment, by K.A. Kitchen

This piece has a good Egyptian theme, of the infant Horus rising from a lotus-flower identifying him with the sun-god; the goddess who protects the new-born child with her outstretched wings at right would then (in Osirian mythology) be Isis – otherwise perhaps Hathor. No inscription appears to have been included.

For similar but not identical panels showing Horus squatting on

a lotus between deities holding sceptres from SW37, see *I.N. IV*, nos. 995-996. He is also shown in a field of flowers, *I.N. IV*, no. 1026, and on curved panels the design of which is usually set within curving branches, *I.N. IV*, nos. 1260-1264. Horus figures with flails can be seen at Samaria. On one example the figure is flanked by a kneeling, falcon-headed deity, in the others he is set within curving branches (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pl. 1, nos. 1-3). *K.A.K*

Layard commented that this fragment, together with several others, was deposited in the British Museum after the initial group and described it as follows: 'The most interesting is part of a very beautiful tablet, representing the god Horus, with a finger on his lip, seated on a lotus flower. On either side of him were other figures which have probably been destroyed.'

Layard *N. & R. I*, Appendix II, 394; Layard *Mons. I*, pl. 89, no. 9; Barnett 1935, 183, fig. 1; de Mertzfeld 1954, pl. cx, no. 992; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 178, pl. viii; Stéphan 1996, 203.

Concave panels with griffins within voluted branches

The following pieces belong to a group whose purpose remains enigmatic. The panels are usually concave and fixed at the top and bottom; the back is unworked, so clearly the pieces were designed to be seen from the front. They are of various sizes, shapes and styles, although most belong to the 'classic Phoenician' group. Most of the designs are set within the expanded uppermost branches of a stylized tree, although in some cases the base of the tree may be turned into a flower or a geometric design. The most popular motif was a pair of griffins, set back to back, as in No. 158, see *I.N. IV*, nos. 1251-1254 and 1257-1258 for other examples. The best parallel to No. 158 is *I.N. IV*, no. 1258, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, although that example is slightly more ornate, with the griffins set within a field of flowers and with the plant stems decorated with alternate inlays.

There were also openwork versions of this design, as can be seen in Nos. 159-160, the fragmentary No. 192 from Room X, No. 261 from Well AJ, No. 309 from Room HH and S323a, b and S324 from the Burnt Palace (Barnett *C.N.I.*, pl. xcvi, xc).

Nos. 158-159 and 161 were simply listed in the 1848 register as from 'Nimrud', while No. 160 was found in the debris thrown back into Room V. Their provenances are, therefore, insecure. However, since the majority of Layard's ivories were found in Room V, they were allocated to that room. Nevertheless, the presence of open work griffins in Room X, No. 192, may suggest that these pieces came from Room X rather than Room V.

158. C.N.I., D9. 'Nimrud' Plates F-G & 23
British Museum, London, BM 118157. 1848.1104.306
E. Prentis drawing, no number.

A strongly concave, unusually shaped panel. Fragments missing from left edge and surface, deep crack down the centre top. Cloisonné: much of the design, the curving branches of the main volutes, the griffins' eyes, locks and wings, the petals of the flowers and much of the trunk of the tree were inlaid; remains of gold leaf

Ivories from Nimrud VI



on wings and plant; remains of blue glass inlay in wings, one flower and trunk of tree. Worked in high relief with the outer legs of the griffins in the round. The front of the panel is concave, the back is convex and relatively smooth, though roughly worked. Top and sides beveled. There is a tenon, W. 2.5 cm., damaged, at the top; and the remains of a small vertical dowel in the left of the base. H. as preserved 14.4 cm. H. of panel 13.4 cm. W. as preserved 13.7 cm. W. of base 9.4 cm. Th. 1.5 cm.

Set back to back within the curving branches of a stylized tree are a pair of winged griffins, beaks raised to nibble the fronds growing from the volute ends. They stand on three paws, the inner front legs are raised and rest on papyrus flowers. The tree has a short stubby trunk, decorated with a scale pattern, horizontal lines and fine chevrons. Papyrus flowers grow from the volutes and the base of the trunk. At the top, between the wings, is a palmette flower.

With its elegant proportions, finely worked inlays and carving, No. 158 forms part of the 'classic Phoenician' group.

Layard *Mons.* I, pl. 90, no. 21; Perrot & Chipiez 1884, II, 535, fig. 249; Dieulafoy 1885, III, 50, fig. 50; Mansell n.d., pl. 579; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, pl. cxvi, 5; Dalton 1908, 8; *B. & A. Guide*, 1st ed., 23; 2nd ed., 28; 3rd ed., 166, no. 11; Poulsen 1912, 49, fig. 39; Schaefer and Andrae 1925, pl. 568; Contenau 1931, III, 1336, fig. 839; Barnett 1935, 183; de Mertenfeld 1954, pl. cxiii, no. 1034; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 181, pl. ix and fig. 1; Dalton 1964, xlvi, fig. 29; Mallowan 1978, 34-35; Barnett 1982, 50, pl. 49c; Moscati 1988, 515, 600, no. 97; Stéphan 1996, 202; Fontran, Gillmann & le Meaux 2007, 375, no. 297.

159. C.N.I., D8. 'Nimrud' Plates E & 24
British Museum, London, BM 118162. 1848.1104.307-8
E. Prentis drawing, no number.

A concave, unusually shaped, openwork panel. Much of the surface missing, fragments missing from trunk and branches of tree, and



legs and tails of griffins. Worked in high relief with the griffins in the round. Curving frame at top, decorated with guilloche cut with centred bit; beveled sides. Guilloche frame at bottom, slightly concave. Slight reddish stain in Prentis' drawing. Back, poorly preserved. Restored since drawn by Prentis. H. 10.0 cm. W. 8.2 cm. Th. at top 1.6-0.7 cm., at base, 0.6 cm.

Fitter's mark on base: X-shaped cross, possibly letter *taw*.

Set back to back within the curving branches of a stylized tree are a pair of winged griffins, beaks raised to nibble the fronds growing from the volute ends. They would have stood on three paws, mostly not preserved. The outer hind leg may be resting on a flower growing from the tree. The fourth, inner front legs would have been raised to rest on flowers: that on the left is the

better preserved. The griffins have large, curving open beaks, pointed eyes with the pupils marked, two long curls fall down the neck and onto the wing. The wing is relatively narrow and curves upwards. The tree trunk consists of a pair of volutes, set upwards, from which grow two pairs of voluted branches, one pair of which is enlarged to frame the griffins.

This piece is an openwork example of a group of solid similarly-shaped panels, see No. 158 above and *I.N.* IV, nos. 1251-1267, for the solid versions. The griffins are relatively slender, compared to the griffins on solid panels, and if the restoration is correct, stand at a lesser angle. They are almost identical to the griffins of the fragmentary No. 192: those of No. 161 are poorly preserved. The unusual form of tree with a pair of volutes forming the trunk can be seen on most of the other fragmentary examples of similar openwork pieces, Nos. 160 and 192 from Room X and 309 from Room HH. These were, presumably, carved in the same workshop. A similar type of tree with a trunk formed of upright volutes occurs on some trapezoidal plaques and panels from SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 169-173, with a taller variation on *I.N.* IV, no. 183, and part of an openwork panel on *I.N.* IV, no. 791.

The other openwork examples, all fragmentary, employed a different type of tree, for instance No. 261 from Well AJ and S323a, b and S324 from the Burnt Palace (Barnett *C.N.I.*, pls. xc, xcvi).

Layard *Mons.* I, pl. 90, no. 22; Hogarth 1908, 183, pl. 29, fig. 1; Poulsen 1912, 48, fig. 37; Barnett 1935, 183; de Mertenfeld 1954, pl. cxiii, no. 1031; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 181, pl. ix and fig. 1.

***160. ND368. Room V, Layard's fill** Plate 24
Iraq Museum, Baghdad.

Four fragments from an unusually shaped, curved openwork panel.



a. base of tree with trunk formed of two volutes, voluted branches growing from the upper volute ends, the trunk supporting the wide voluted branches which may once have contained a pair of griffins?, back to back. H. 6.2 cm. Th. 0.9 cm.



b. Fragment from top right of panel with guilloche frame and end of a voluted branch, cf. No. 159.



c. two fragments, possibly from centre of panel or from a similar panel?

These fragments belong to an openwork concave panel, the principal design of which would have been set within the curving branches of a stylized tree. Layard found two examples of this type of openwork panels, Nos. 159 and 192. Each shares the same type of tree with a voluted trunk, as does a fragment found by Mallowan in Room HH, No. 309. Part of an assemblage of fragments found by Mallowan in Layard's fill, see Nos. 114, 144-45, 148-50, 153-54, 156, 166, 168, 170, 177-79, 183-88 and 190-91.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 50, nos. 6, 7 and 9, pl. xii; see also 52, no. 9, ND897, pl. xvii, from Room HH.

161. C.N.I., D5-D6. 'Nimrud' Plate 24
British Museum, London, BM123841-42. 1848.0720.139-40



The poorly preserved remains of two openwork griffins, originally set back to back within the enlarged voluted branches of a stylized tree, see No. 159 for a relatively complete example, and No. 192 for a better preserved pair of griffins from Room X.

- a. The eroded remains of an openwork griffin to left (D5). Remains of frame at top. Only the neck and one wing survive. 4.1 x 3.0 x 1.0 cm.
- b. The worn remains of an openwork griffin to right (D6). Only the body and stump of the wings survive. 3.5 x 2.7 cm. The register only records that the ivory was 'Procured by Mr. Layard at Nimrud'.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 180.

*Pharaoh statuettes of the 'classic Phoenician' group,
Nos. 162-170*

Parts of at least three statuettes of Pharaohs were discovered by Layard in the doorway between Rooms V/W, with further fragments, probably from the same statuettes, found by Mallowan in the debris. Although no complete examples have been found, parts of other Pharaoh figures were found in Fort Shalmaneser, in Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1286-1295; in Room NE59, *I.N.* V, 35, no. 334, and in SW11/12 (mostly awaiting publication but see Herrmann 2002, 130-132 for an exceptional example of a head and torso). Fragments were also found by Loftus in the Burnt Palace.² A head and part of a chest was found in the Idaean Cave (Sakellarakis 1992, 132-133). These statuettes were, therefore, not uncommon.

As far as the evidence permits, the type of statuette appears to have been standard. It was free-standing and meant to be seen from the front, as the back was only roughly worked. The most common surviving parts of the statuette are the face masks,³ which vary markedly in size and in individuality, although the style remains standard with deeply excised eyes and eyebrows. A distinctive feature are the grooves, which often continue from the long pointed eyes towards the ears, as on Nos. 162-163. The masks usually stop at the line of the wig, have large flattened ears and usually continue into the neck. However, the unique, partially restored SW12 example (Herrmann 2002, 134, fig. 11) consists of the face, the wig and the upper body, providing an excellent example of how these statuettes were assembled. The top of the head was flat to receive the Egyptian double crown, of which examples of different sizes were found in SW37 (*I.N.* IV, pls. 340-341, nos. 1302-1304).

Relatively complete examples of the bodies were found in SW37 (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1292-1295, pls. 338-342). They stand upright, with the right arm at the side of the body, hand clenched holding

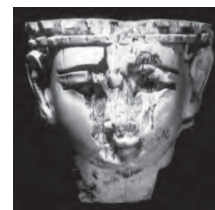
² These include part of a head, Barnett *C.N.I.*, 206, S186, pl. lix; a damaged body, 215, S314, pl. xcvi; three heads, 217, S342-S344, pl. xcvi-xcvii; and part of the chest with collar, 218, S349, pl. xcvi. Barnett considered both S186 and S349 to be female, but they were probably male.

³ Nos. 162-164; *I.N.* IV, nos. 1286-1290; *I.N.* V, 35, no. 334; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 217, S342, S344, pl. xcvi and Sakellarakis 1992, 132, pl. 13.

something, perhaps an *ankh*, while the left arm is flexed and held on the chest, the hand also holding some staff, the end of which can be seen on the chest of *I.N.* IV, no. 1292. They wear *usekh* collars and short kilted skirts, longer at the back than the front, of a pleated material. An elaborate apron is worn on top. Arms and legs were jointed in as necessary; for examples see the arm No. 165, and the leg, No. 168: also *I.N.* IV, nos. 1314-1323. For sandaled feet see Nos. 169-170 and *I.N.* IV, nos. 1334-1335. The various pieces were not standardized but cut according to the size of ivory available. Thus the SW12 head and upper body had the arms and lower body added, while both the bodies, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1292-1293, required the heads and legs. A reconstruction of one of these figures, Fig. 23, has been drawn by Dirk Wicke (Busch & Wicke 2005, 50-51).

The surviving pieces in the Room V/W doorway consisted of three faces, one only a fragment, Nos. 162-164, a right arm and part of the shoulder with a trace of the collar, No. 165, an inset from the apron, No. 167, and a right foot, No. 169, with Mallowan finding an elbow, No. 166, a leg, No. 168, and two feet, No. 170. As Ciafaloni (1992, 28, tav. viii) and Busch and Wicke have demonstrated (2005), these figures are derived from Egyptian originals. They form part of the 'classic Phoenician' group.

162. *C.N.I.*, C39. V/W doorway Plate 24
British Museum, London, BM118227. 1848.0720.59
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 19.



Face only, top and back of head carved separately. Damage to centre of face and neck, with surface fragments missing. Raised ridge round forehead and to ears with traces of the pegs of the wig above: the 'pegged' wig consisted of raised pegs which once held cylinders of blue paste, set on a blue bedding;

traces of the bedding survive. The eyebrows and eyes were excised for inlay. A groove from the pointed eyes continues towards the large ears: these were strongly curved, with pronounced rims. When described by Birch, some blue inlays survived. Nose and mouth damaged. Top and back striated. 4.0 x 4.2-1.8 x 2.5 cm.

This face and the similar Nos. 163 and 164 can be compared to faces from Fort Shalmaneser from SW37 (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1286-1287) and NE59 (*I.N.* V, 35, no. 334). There is some individuality in the carving of the features of these little masks.

Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 391, no. 1; Layard *Mons.* I, pl. 91, no. 25; *I.L.N.* 29.05.1852, 426, no. 1; Barnett 1935, 183-84; de Mertenfeld 1954, pl. cx, no. 996; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 175, fig. 65, pl. vi.

163. *C.N.I.*, C41. V/W doorway Plate 24
British Museum, London, BM118222. 1848.0720.64
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 20.



Fragment of right side of face, top and back of head carved separately, rest broken off. Raised ridge round forehead and to ear, traces of the 'pegged'

Ivories from Nimrud VI

wig can be seen above: traces of blue in wig in Prentis drawing. The eyebrow and eye were excised for inlay: trace of blue in eye. A groove from the eye extended towards the large ear: this had a pronounced, curving rim. Top worn. Back, as preserved, criss-cross striations. 2.7 x 2.7 x 1.4 cm. For comparisons see No. 162 above.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 176, pl. vi.

164. *C.N.I.*, C40. V/W doorway

Plate 24

British Museum, London, BM123771. 1848.0720.63

E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 16.



Face only, top and back of head carved separately. Poorly preserved, right side of face broken off, edges damaged. Only nose, mouth and chin visible. Back striated. 3.8 x 3.5 x 2.3 cm. For comparisons, see No. 162 above.

Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 391, no. 4; Layard *Mons.* I, pl. 88, no. 5; de Mertenfeld 1954, pl. cxi, no. 1012; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 175-176.

165. *C.N.I.*, C42. V/W doorway

Plate 25

British Museum, London, BM123833. 1848.0720.60

E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 21.



Part of the right shoulder, arm and clenched hand, originally held at the side, possibly from a 'Pharaoh' figure. Top broken off. Only two-thirds of the arm's thickness is represented, the inside is flat and striated. Dowel hole, D. 0.6 cm., in shoulder for attachment to body. The statuette would have been wearing an *usekh* collar, of which only part survives: cloisonné, fleck of gold, traces of gold on upper shoulder near collar in Prentis drawing; traces of colour, blue-green, in cloisons. H. 11.4 cm. W. at top 2.5 cm. W. at hand 1.7 cm. Th. at top 1.4 cm., at hand 0.5 cm.

For similar examples see *I.N.* IV, nos. 1292-1293 and 1314.

Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 391, no. 2; Layard *Mons.* I, pl. 88, no. 27; de Mertenfeld 1954, pl. cxi, no. 1024; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 175-6, fig. 65, pl. vi.

166. ND368, *C.N.I.*, C44b. Room V, Layard's fill

Plate 24

British Museum, London, BM131966. 1954.11.15.1

Fragment from flexed left arm, broken at top and bottom. All that survives is the bent elbow. Back not preserved. 4.1 x 2.3 x 1.5 cm. Part of an assemblage of fragments found by Mallowan in Layard's dump, see Nos. 114, 144-145, 148-150, 153-154, 156, 160, 168, 170, 177-179, 183-188 and 190-191.



Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 50, pl. xiii, no. 13; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 175-6, fig. 65

167. *C.N.I.*, C44. V/W doorway

Plate 24

British Museum, London, BM123835. 1848.0720.62

E. Prentis drawing, no number.

Rectangular inset forming part of the apron on the skirt of a Pharaoh



figure: the ivory is thicker on one side. Cloisonné: remains of gold leaf overlay on left, remains of blue glass inlays. Striated sides and back, thin side beveled. The inlay shows part of the decorated apron with *uraei* crowned with solar discs at the sides. 2.9 x 2.2-2.1 x 0.7-0.2 cm.

Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 391, no. 5; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 176, pl. vi.

168. ND368, *C.N.I.*, C44a. Room V, Layard's fill

Plate 25

British Museum, London, BM131965. 1954.11.15.14

Thigh and lower leg from a Pharaoh figure, carved in the round.



Cut diagonally at the thigh with remains of a rectangular tenon slot, 0.9 cm., for fixing, broken off at ankle: remains of cut at front of ankle to fit foot section. Fragments missing from front of thigh and back of leg. Rudimentary modeling. H. 8.7 cm. W. at top 2.3 cm. W. at ankle 1.3 cm. Th. at top 2.1 cm. Th. at ankle 1.5 cm.

Part of an assemblage of fragments found by Mallowan in Layard's dump, see Nos. 114, 144-145, 148-150, 153-154, 156, 160, 166, 170, 177-179, 183-188 and 190-191.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 50, pl. xiii, no. 8; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 176, fig. 66.

169. *C.N.I.*, C43. V/W doorway

Plate 25

British Museum, London, BM123834. 1848.0720.61

E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 22.

The front of a right foot from a Pharaoh figure, carved in the round: virtually complete. Dowel hole, 0.2 cm., between first and second toe. Toe-nails indicated.



Sole of sandal below foot. Bottom of foot striated. Tenon slot, 0.4 x 0.4 cm., in back to fit to rest of foot: back striated. 1.4 x 2.7 x 1.7 cm.

For other examples of sandaled feet, see *I.N.* IV, nos. 1334-1335.

Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 391, no. 3; Layard *Mons.* I, pl. 91, no. 28; de Mertenfeld 1954, pl. cxi, no. 1025; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 175-176, fig. 65, pl. vi.

170. ND368. *C.N.I.*, C44c-d. Room V, Layard's fill

Plate 25

British Museum, London, BM131967-131968. 1954.11.15.16

The fronts of two fragmentary feet from a Pharaoh figure, carved in the round:

a. front of left foot, poorly preserved. Toes broken off, trace of dowel hole, 0.2 cm., between first and second toe. Sole of sandal below foot. Bottom of foot striated. Remains of tenon slot, 0.4 x 0.5 cm., in back to fit to rest of foot. 1.0 x 2.2 x 1.4 cm.

b. front of right foot, poorly preserved, back broken off. Toes damaged, dowel hole, 0.2 cm., between first and second toe. Toe-nails indicated. Sole of sandal below foot. Bottom of foot striated. 0.8 x 2.4 x 1.5 cm.



Part of an assemblage of fragments found by Mallowan in Layard's dump, see Nos. 114, 144-145, 148-150, 153-154, 156, 160, 166, 168, 177-179, 183-188 and 190-191.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 50, pl. xiii, no. 12; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 176.

Three pairs of clasped hands

171. *C.N.I. C46. V/W doorway*

Plate 25

British Museum, London, BM123773. 1848.0720.66
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 23.



Pair of clasped hands, carved in high relief, from a statue. Cut obliquely at sides/wrists. Back slightly curved with 5 deep dowel holes, 0.4-0.5 cm., cut with centred bit. Right hand with elongated fingers and thumb above. Left hand thumb between right thumb and fingers, hand below, fingers broken. Finger nails marked, especially on thumbs. 3.6 x 5.4 x c. 2.2 cm.
Fitter's mark: vertical stroke.

See similar clasped hands on statues at Zincirli, Andrae 1943, V, pl. 70s; and Altintepe, Özgüç 1969, 54, fig. 54.

Birch in Layard *N. & R. I*, Appendix II, 391, nos. 5-6; Layard *Mons. I*, pl. 91, no. 26; *I.L.N.* 29.05.1852, 427, no. 13; de Mertzfeld 1954, pl. cxi, no. 1023; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 176, pl. vii; Stéphan 1996, 204.

172. *C.N.I. C47. 'Nimrud'*

Plate 25

British Museum, London, BM123836. 1848.0720.141



Pair of clasped hands, carved in high relief. Some fragments missing. Cut obliquely at sides/wrists. Back slightly curved, lightly striated, with 3 deep dowel holes, 0.4-0.5 cm., cut with centred bit. Right hand with elongated fingers and thumb above, fingernails indicated. Left hand thumb between right thumb and fingers, finger-tips not preserved. 3.6 x 5.4 x 2.6 cm.
Fitter's mark: letter *gimel*.

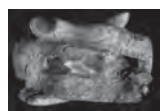
Although the register only records that the ivory was 'Procured by Mr. Layard at Nimrud', this piece is catalogued here because of its similarity to Nos. 171 and 173.

Birch in Layard *N. & R. I*, Appendix II, 391, nos. 5-6; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 176, pl. vii.

173. *C.N.I., C45. V/W doorway*

Plate 25

British Museum, London, BM118131. 1848.0720.65
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 24.



Pair of clasped hands, carved in high relief: poorly preserved, many surface fragments missing. Thumbnails indicated. Back slightly curved, lightly striated, with 3 deep dowel holes, 0.4-0.5 cm., cut with centred bit. 3.6 x 5.4 x 2.5 cm.
Fitter's mark: 4 vertical lines.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 176, fig.67.

Lions

174. *BM 123787. Room V*

Plate 26

British Museum, London, BM 123787. 1848.720.82



A miniature couchant lion in the round, of ivory or bone? Dowel hole to fit tail. Base flat with criss-cross striations. Crudely carved. 1.5 x 1.5 x 0.8 cm.

175. *C.N.I., C63. V/W doorway*

Plate 26

British Museum, London, BM118144. 1848.0720.67
E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 59.



Two parts of the muzzle of a roaring lion, carved in the round, rest of head not preserved. Strong musculature on nose and whiskers, nostrils drilled. Some teeth surviving. Upper jaw, 2.7 x 4.7 x 2.5 cm.; lower jaw, 3.1 x 2.9 cm.

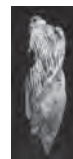
A superb complete example of a lion's head was recovered from Well AJ, No. 283, and a fine inlaid version from Well NN, No. 353: the battered remains of a head were found in Room A, No. 87. For examples from SW37, see *I.N.* IV, pls. 356-360, and pls. 361-363, for lion statuettes. There are lion heads at Arslan Tash and Altintepe (Thureau Danguin *et al.* 1931, pl. xliii; Özgüç 1969, pls. 37-41). These presumably formed parts of statuettes, possibly forming parts of furniture: for other examples see *I.N.* IV, no. 1385, Zincirli (Andrae 1943, Taf. 64a-d, 65a) and Samaria (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pl. ix, 1).

Birch in Layard *N. & R. I*, Appendix II, 392, no. 7; Layard *N. & R. II*, 10; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 180, pl. ii.

176. *C.N.I., C64. Rooms V/W*

Plate 26

British Museum, London, BM123838. 1848.0720.77



Curving fragment probably from a piece in the round, broken sides and back, possibly part of the mane and body of the lion. Trace of gilding. 4.0 x 1.7 x 1.1 cm.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 180.

*177. *ND368. Room V, Layard's fill*

Plate 26

Iraq Museum, Baghdad.



a. Part of a lion's paw, sculpted in the round. The claws were incrustated with triangular strips of blue glass. 3.3 x 2.8 cm.



b. Three digits, possibly from a lion's paw? 3.4 x 2.2 cm.

Parts of an assemblage of fragments found by Mallowan in Layard's debris, see Nos. 114, 144-145, 148-150, 153-154, 156, 160, 166, 168, 170, 178-179, 183-188 and 190-191.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 50, pl. xii, nos. 2 and 3.

Bovid

*178. *ND368. Room V, Layard's fill*

Plate 26

Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Fragment showing the upper hindquarters and part of the tail of a bull? to the right, probably from a silhouette. Trace of a paw of

Ivories from Nimrud VI



a second beast, perhaps a lion, on right edge. 6.0 x 8.0 cm.

Part of an assemblage of fragments found by Mallowan in Layard's debris, see Nos. 114, 144-145, 148-150, 153-154, 156, 160, 166, 168, 170, 177, 179, 183-188 and 190-191.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 50, pl. xii, no.1.

Fragments of human figures

***179. ND368. Room V, Layard's fill**
Iraq Museum, Baghdad.

Plate 26



Fragments from at least two panels. Cloisonné:
a. Fragment, no original edges. Eye and beard excised for inlays, edge of garment inlaid. The head and upper body of a male figure facing right. The top of the head is not preserved. The eyebrow is modeled, the eye long and pointed, the nose straight



and the mouth sensitively carved. The ears are relatively large with rims and large lobes. His beard ends in three separate locks. He wears a sleeved pleated garment. 4.5 x 3.7 cm.



b. Fragment of part of pleated garment with inlaid collar, similar to No. 180 below. 2.8 x 1.8 cm.
c. Two fragments of shawl sleeves with inlaid hems from pleated garments, cf. No. 146. 2.4 x 2.5 cm.; 1.8 x 1.7 cm.



d. Fragment, no original edges, part of knee-length pleated skirt with inlaid hem, and part of leg of figure. 4.9 x 1.9 cm.

The beard ending in triple locks of a. is unusual. Similar beards, not inlaid, can be seen on the fallen figures trampled by sphinxes on blinkers from Well AJ, Nos. 248-251, and on a long rectangular panel from SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 656. These pieces can be attributed to the Phoenician tradition.

Part of an assemblage of fragments found by Mallowan in Layard's fill, see Nos. 114, 144-145, 148-150, 153-154, 156, 160, 166, 168, 170, 177-178, 183-188 and 190-191.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 51, pl. xiv, no. 2.

180. C.N.I., C59. Unprovenanced
British Museum, London, BM123862

Plate 26



Fragment from left side of panel, with remains of wide, plain frame: top, right side and bottom broken off. Cloisonné, the beads of the collar were inlaid. Back, strong striations. All that survives of the design is three pear-shaped beads of an *usekh* collar and the edge of a long garment with horizontal pleating. 4.2 x 1.3 x 0.4 cm.

No evidence of provenance. Similar to 179b, although from the opposite side of a panel.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 179, C59, fig. 74.
170

181. C.N.I., C57. Rooms V/W

Plate 26

British Museum, London, BM 123860, 1848.0720.80
E. Prentis drawing, no number.



Fragment, no original edges. All that survives of the design is part of a pleated robe of a figure, possibly holding an *ankh*, of which only traces survive. Back, not preserved. 3.5 x 1.0 x 0.4 cm.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 179, C57, fig. 72.

182. C.N.I., C56. Rooms V/W

Plate 26

British Museum, London, BM 123859, 1848.0720.79
E. Prentis drawing, no number.



Fragment from bottom of panel, with remains of plain frame: top and sides broken off. Cloisonné, alternate inlay. All that survives of the design is the lower edge of a long garment with hem decorated with alternate inlay, and one foot advancing right. 3.4 x 1.9 x 0.4 cm.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 178-179, C56, fig. 71.

***183. ND368. Room V, Layard's fill**

Plate 26

Iraq Museum, Baghdad.



Fragment, no original edges, depicting a face and torso. The eye is a large pointed oval with an outlined rim and a drilled pupil, the nose is long and pointed, the mouth small and firm and the chin beardless. The man wears a fluted conical hat, possibly one with an inlaid diadem. His garment has short sleeves. 6.8 x 3.0 cm.

Nos. 183 and 184 were published in *Iraq* 14 as forming parts of the same panel, but they obviously do not. This fragment belongs to the North Syrian tradition.

Part of an assemblage of fragments found by Mallowan in Layard's fill, Nos. 114, 144-145, 148-150, 153-154, 156, 160, 166, 168, 170, 177-179, 184-188 and 190-191.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 51, pl. xiv, top right.

184. ND368. Room V, Layard's fill

Plate 26

British Museum, London, BM 131976. 1954.1115.25



Fragment from the bottom of a tenoned panel, top and sides broken off. Stump of tenon at base. Dowel hole in right side, D. 0.2 cm. Poorly preserved. Back not preserved.
H. with tenon 4.7 cm. H. of panel 4.2 cm. W. 3.0 cm.
Th. 1.2 cm.

The lower body of a woman advancing left. She is wearing an ankle-length garment of a pleated wavy material. Her feet are poorly preserved.

Nos. 183 and 184 were published in *Iraq* 14 as forming parts of

the same panel but obviously do not.

Part of an assemblage of fragments found by Mallowan in Layard's fill, see Nos. 114, 144-145, 148-150, 153-154, 156, 160, 166, 168, 170, 177-179, 183, 185-188 and 190-191.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 51, pl. xiv, top right; Barnett *C.N.I.*, Sup. 12.

Assorted

***185. ND368. Room V, Layard's fill** Plate 26
Iraq Museum, Baghdad



a. Fragment, no original edges, part of the head of a figure wearing a wig facing right. 2.0 x 2.4 cm.



b. Two fragments, possibly of champ-leve work:

i. no original edges, possibly the head of a griffin, traces of blue.



ii. fragment from edge of panel, surface poorly preserved.

Part of an assemblage of varied fragments found by Mallowan in Layard's fill, see Nos. 114, 144-145, 148-150, 153-154, 156, 160, 166, 168, 170, 177-179, 183-184, 186-88 and 190-191.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 50, pl. xiii, no. 6; xiv, second row from bottom, third and fourth fragments.

186. ND368. Room V, Layard's fill Plate 27
British Museum, London, BM 131973, 1954.1115.22



Fragment from top of panel, sides and bottom not preserved. Wide frame at top, beveled; back striated. All that survives of the design are parts of two layers of feathers from a wing. 3.9 x 0.9 x 0.3 cm.

This tiny fragment is important because of its provenance: it was found by Mallowan in the fill of Room V. Stylistically it is comparable to some fragments found by Layard in Room X, No. 195, and to panels with Assyrianizing figures found by Rawlinson, of which the provenance is uncertain, Nos. 202-207. Rawlinson found his fragmentary panels in a room adjacent to Room AB. This fragment and No. 195 suggest that they could have been found in Room V.

Part of an assemblage of fragments found by Mallowan in Layard's debris, see Nos. 114, 144-145, 148-150, 153-154, 156, 160, 166, 168, 170, 177-179, 183-185, 187-188 and 190-191.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 51, pl. xiv, top right.

***187. ND368. Room V, Layard's fill** Plate 26
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Plaque, deeply incised, fragment missing from bottom left. Eye excised. Relatively crude work. 2.5 x 1.8 x 0.3 cm.

A figure with a human body and asinine or bovid head facing right. The arms are flexed and stretched upwards, the hands holding



something on the edge of the plaque. The figure is wearing a garment with chest harness, wide belt and short pleated skirt. The shoes have upturned toes. Rudimentary wings can be seen below the arms.

Mallowan suggested that Nos. 187 and 188 were unfinished and that this proved that they were carved at Nimrud. However, not only do they appear to be finished, but their unusual style and provenance in a treasury or storeroom otherwise only containing imported material argues against local production.

Part of an assemblage of fragments found by Mallowan in Layard's fill, see Nos. 114, 144-145, 148-150, 153-154, 156, 160, 166, 168, 170, 177-179, 183-186, 188 and 190-191.

Mallowan *I.L.N.* 22.07.50, 151, fig. 19; Mallowan *Iraq* 12, 161; Mallowan *Iraq* 13, 17, pl. vi, 3; Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 48; *I.N.* II, 40, no. 118, pl. xxxii.

***188. ND368. Room V, Layard's fill** Plate 26
Iraq Museum, Baghdad



Plaque, deeply incised. Eye excised. Plain frame on all four sides. Pierced by a dowel hole. Relatively crude work. 2.4 x 3.4 x 0.2 cm.

Bull advancing left. Curving shoulder marking formed of rows of triangular incisions on neck and chest. Volutes rise above and below the neck.

Mallowan suggested that Nos. 187 and 188 were unfinished and that this proved that they were carved at Nimrud. However, there is no reason to believe that the little bull is unfinished. The style is unusual and the provenance in a storeroom of imported ivories makes it probable that this piece was also imported.

Part of an assemblage of fragments found by Mallowan in Layard's fill, see Nos. 114, 144-145, 148-150, 153-154, 156, 160, 166, 168, 170, 177-179, 183-187 and 190-191.

Mallowan *I.L.N.*, 22.07.50, 151, fig. 19; Mallowan *Iraq* 12, 161; Mallowan *Iraq* 13, 17, pl. 6, 4; Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 48; *I.N.* II, 40, no. 119, pl. xxxii.

189. C.N.I., G4. 'Nimrud' Plate 26
British Museum, London, BM 123850. 1848.1104.313
E. Prentis drawing, no number.



Rectangular panel with three convex mouldings, decorated with incised diamonds, and framed by raised ribs. One side broken off. Pierced by three dowel holes, D. 0.3 cm. Back flat. 2.6 x 7.2 x 0.3 cm.

The register only records that the ivory was 'Procured by Mr. Layard at Nimrud'.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

Layard *Mons.* I, Pl. 90, no. 18; de Mertenfeld 1954, pl. cxv, no. 1055; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 184, G4, pl. xii.

***190. ND368. Room V, Layard's fill** Plate 27
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

A selection of fragments found in Layard's fill.



a. Either a column capital or part of an ivory staff. Centrally perforated for attachment with a piece of the ivory pin still in situ, H. 2.2 cm.: *Iraq* 14, pl. xii, no. 4.



b. Half a hemispherical knob engraved with a rosette in the centre and framed by linked loops: *Iraq* 14, pl. xiii, no. 4. D. 2.0 cm. Examples of this common type of ivory have been found in Room ZT5, No. 7; Well

NN, No. 368; in the Burnt Palace; in SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 886-887, and in Samaria, Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pl. 23, 1.



c. Leaves or petals from some decorative element: *Iraq* 14, pl. xiii, nos. 1 and 2. 3.3 x 2.1 cm.; 3.2 x 2.0 cm.



d. One side of a large volute, 6.4 x 4.7 cm.: *Iraq* 14, pl. xii, no. 5.

Parts of an assemblage of fragments found by Mallowan in Layard's debris, see Nos. 114, 144-145, 148-150, 153-154, 156, 160, 166, 168, 170, 177-179, 183-188 and 191.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 50, pls. xii and xiii.

***191. ND368. Room V, Layard's fill** Plate 27
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Parts of frames from the bottom of openwork panels with quadrupeds: 3.4 x 1.4 cm; 2.7 x 1.4 cm.



Part of an assemblage of fragments found by Mallowan in Layard's fill, see Nos. 114, 144-145, 148-150, 153-154, 156, 160, 166, 168, 170, 177-179, 183-188 and 190.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 50, pl. xiii, no. 7.

ROOM X

Only a few fragments were found in Room X. Most had originally been stored in Room V and been dropped in the doorway between Rooms V and W. Those from Room X can be considered as 'scatter' from Rooms V/W, dropped by the looters as they left the treasury, Room V, and the King's Suite. The Room X fragments are either Phoenician or Assyrianizing.

Barnett attributed ten 1848 ivories to Room X, Barnett *C.N.I.*, D1-D10, 180-181, pl. ix. However, only half, all small fragments, Nos. 192-193 and 195, Barnett *C.N.I.*, D1-D4 and D10, are recorded in the register as from Room X. Barnett tentatively attributed No. 194, Barnett *C.N.I.*, A3, to Room A, although the register records it as from Room X.

192. C.N.I., D2-D4 & D7. Room X & 'Nimrud' Plate 27
British Museum, London, BM 123785, 118166, 123840, 123843. 1848.0720.57, 58, 76 and 137

E. Prentis drawing, 48-5-25, 30: no drawing of D7.

These openwork fragments, carved in high relief, may have belonged to the same piece. They formed part of an unusually



shaped, openwork panel, cf. No. 159, for a more complete version. All that survives is:

a. the head, wing and body of a griffin to the left (D2). 4.0 x 3.4 x 1.0 cm.

b. part of the body and wing of a griffin to the right (D3). 3.2 x 3.0 x 1.0 cm.

c. a fragment of a volute from a tree (D4 – not illustrated). 2.4 x 1.8 x 0.6 cm.

d. the unprovenanced base of the tree (D7).

The surface of the tree-trunk is poorly preserved. Remains of curving frame at base. Back, poorly preserved. 4.8 x 3.2 cm.

Following the example of No. 159, the griffins would have been set back to back, their beaks nibbling fronds growing from the curving branches of a stylized tree. They would have stood on three paws, the fourth, the inner front leg, raised to rest on the outer branches. The surviving sections of the griffins are better preserved than those on the more complete version, No. 159. They have pointed oval eyes with drilled pupils, two curls of an upright crest survive on a., and two long curls fall down the neck onto the wings. The tripartite wings curve upwards and have a diamond pattern at their base and two rows of fine feathering within raised ribs. There are no muscle markings. The tree trunk consists of a pair of volutes, set upwards, supporting the large outward-curving branches (not preserved), cf. Nos. 159-160a.

There is a small group of these damaged openwork versions, all of which are similar, Nos. 159-161. It is possible that these pieces were all found in Room X rather than V as suggested above, since both No. 159 and 161 were registered simply as 'Nimrud', while No. 160 was found in Layard's debris in Room V. For solid versions of similarly-shaped panels, see No. 158 above and *I.N.* IV, nos. 1251-1267.

The griffins are almost identical to the griffins of the fragmentary No. 159, and the type of tree with a pair of volutes forming the trunk occurs on the other fragmentary examples, Nos. 159-160 and 309 from Room HH. They may well all have been carved in the same workshop. A similar type of tree with a trunk formed of upright volutes occurs on some trapezoidal plaques and panels from Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 169-173, with a taller variation on no. 183, and part of an openwork panel on no. 791. Other openwork examples, all fragmentary, employed a different type of tree, for instance No. 261 from Well AJ and S323a, b and S324 from the Burnt Palace (Barnett *C.N.I.*, pl. cxv, xc).

D7 was, according to the register, 'Procured by Mr. Layard at Nimrud'.

Birch in Layard *N. & R.* I, Appendix II, 392, nos. 19-20; Layard *Mons.* I, pl. 90, no. 23 and 24; de Mertenfeld 1954, pl. cxiii, no. 1032-3; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 179-80, pl. ix.

193. *C.N.I.*, D1. Room X

Plate 27

British Museum, London, BM123839. 1848.0720.30
E. Prentis drawing, no number.



Unevenly shaped fragment, no original edges. Cloisonné: the petals of the flowers were inlaid and the stalks alternately inlaid. Back striated. 3.7 x 2.7 x 0.3 cm.

Fragment belonging to a design showing a radiating field of papyrus flowers on stalks. Parts of four stalks and two flowers survive. No trace of the motif once within the field of flowers remains.

There are a number of Egyptianizing panels from Fort Shalmaneser, SW37, which show motifs set in a field of flowers. The flowers might either form a semi-circle, as probably with No. 193, cf. *I.N.* IV, nos. 1015, 1021, 1023-1028, or grow straight up, as in nos. 1014, 1017, and 1029-1031. *I.N.* IV. no. 1019 combines vertical and curving stems. The lion or lioness, No. 82 from Room A, would have been set in a similar field of flowers. The fragment belongs to the 'classic Phoenician' group.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 180, fig. 76.

194. *C.N.I.*, A3. Room X

Plate 27

British Museum, London, BM 123818. 1848.0720.34
E. Prentis drawing, no number.



Fragment from bottom right of openwork tenoned panel: plain frame at right and bottom. Stump of tenon on right edge. The back is lightly modeled. All that survives of the design is a voluted palmette flower. 2.4 x 2.4 x 0.7 cm.

Incorrectly attributed by Barnett to Room A.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, A3, 169, pl. vii.

Assyrianizing fragments

195. *C.N.I.*, D10a-e. Room X

Plate 27

British Museum, London, BM123847. 1848.0720.32
E. Prentis drawings, 48-5-25, 63 and second unnumbered sheet.

Six fragments from a panel showing parts of a complex floral winged disc from a panel similar to Assyrianizing examples found by Rawlinson in 1852 in a 'room adjoining the Bronze Room', Barnett *C.N.I.* 183, F1-F3, see below, Nos. 203-207.

a. Fragment from top of panel, sides and bottom broken off. Wide frame with dowel hole, 0.2 cm., at top, back striated. Bevelled edge. All that survives of the design is the central beaded disc, part of the surrounding crescent and the wing-scales on the left. 2.3 x 2.5 x 0.3 cm.

b. Fragment, no original edges, back striated. All that survives of the design is the V-shaped base of the central wing-scales, the beginnings of the wings, the beginning of the volutes, the end of one of which is preserved in c., see No. 204, and some pendant lines. 2.6 x 2.1 x 0.3 cm.



c. Fragment, no original edges, back striated. All that survives of the design is part of the left volute with two and a half petals with fruits, and a twining stalk growing from the volute with three fruiting flowers or 'sepalled cones'. 4.9 x 2.9 x 0.3 cm.

d. Fragment, no original edges, back striated. All that survives of the design are some wing feathers. 3.3 x 1.5 x 0.3 cm.

Two other wing fragments, 1.5 x 0.5, with part of central wing-scales, and 1.8 x 0.7 cm.: there are six other small fragments.

A more complete version of a similar winged disc can be seen on No. 204, one of a set of panels found by Rawlinson and brought back in 1856. These panels were restored by Barnett *C.N.I.*, F1-F3. No. 206, F4, forms part of the same group. A fragment from a wing-tip, No. 186, BM 131573, was found by Mallowan in Room V. For similar unprovenanced examples see Nos. 200-201.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 181-2, pl. x.

UNPROVENANCED IVORIES, POSSIBLY FROM ROOM V

196. *C.N.I.*, G3. 'Nimrud'

Plate 28

British Museum, London, BM 123849. 1848.0720.143-144 (bulls); 1848.1104.309-311 (guilloche fragments).



Seven fragments from an openwork cylinder, probably a furniture element. This once showed a procession of bulls with lowered heads advancing right. Guilloche

frame with drilled centres cut by centred bit at top and bottom. D. c. 11.0 cm.

a. Traces of guilloche band at top, and body and neck of bull to right. Some neck musculature. Poorly preserved. 2.6 x 4.3 x 1.0 cm.

b. Guilloche band at top, part of body of bull to right. Possible feet of bull from a second register above. 2.8 x 3.2 x 1.2 cm.

c. Lowered head only. Eye cut by centred bit. Ear forward, neck, double rib and lines. 2.2 x 1.0 cm.

d. Four fragments of guilloche band, some hoofs attached. H. 1.0 cm. W. 3.7, 3.6, 2.8 and 2.5 cm. respectively.

Cylindrical furniture fittings, either openwork or with backgrounds, with processions of bulls were relatively common at Nimrud. A fine openwork example was found in Well AJ, where the bulls advance to the left, No. 275. This is similar to No. 196, except that the bulls' eyes were excised. The bulls from these openwork fittings are rarely complete but have usually been broken from their frames, see *I.N.* IV, 109-110, nos. 268-276, pls. 60-61. For another style of a bull on a bottom frame, see Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 220, fig. 176, and for an inlaid upper frame with bulls, see TW21-TW23 below. Sets of solid curving plaques (*I.N.* IV, 109, nos. 258-267, pls. 57-59) formed cylinders (*I.N.* IV, pl. 56) and were, almost certainly, used to decorate the legs of tables or beds (Herrmann ed., 1996, 161-162, pl. 42). The register records that this ivory was 'Procured by Mr. Layard at Nimrud'.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 184-85, G3, fig. 80.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

197. *C.N.I.*, G2. 'Nimrud'

Plate 28

British Museum, London, BM 123848. 1848.0720.134

Fragment from top right of a small panel with a curving corner, broken at left and bottom. Incised design, miniature. Double frame of incised lines. Side decorated with linked diamonds, with small rosettes at the central crossings, and circles, cut with a centred bit, at the edges. Back, flat with a dowel hole, D. 0.4, near end. Possibly originally a lid, swivelling on the dowel. 1.7 x 4.4 x 1.0 cm.



A pair of winged griffins flank a voluted palmette flower: their raised inner paws rest on volutes growing from the bottom of the plant (only preserved on right). The griffin on the left is only partially preserved. The griffin on the right has an open beak, oval eye, a 'collar' of incised lines on the neck, a tripartite wing, wears an apron of vertical lines and has his tail raised in an S-shape.

A unique piece. The register records that this ivory was 'Procured by Mr. Layard at Nimrud'.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 184, G2, fig. 79.

198. *C.N.I.*, G5. 'Nimrud'

Plate 28

British Museum, London, BM 123851. 1848.0720.136



Fragment, no original edges. Cloisonné, traces of red and green paste survive. Poorly preserved. Possibly part of the dress of a large figure, showing a decorated border? 6.8 x 2.3 x 1.3 cm.

The register records that the ivory was 'Procured by Mr. Layard at Nimrud'.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 184, G5, pl. vii.

199. *C.N.I.*, G7. 'Nimrud'

Plates 28, 29

British Museum, London, BM 123863. 1848.0720.138; and 1848.0270.158 and 162



a. G7. Fragment from openwork panel with a relatively large, voluted palmette flower. The petals were originally inlaid. 3.4 x 4.4 cm.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 185, G7, pl. vii.



b. 1848.0720.158 and 162. Two fragments from a strip, lacking frames, broken at sides, each containing a single incised rosette with 14 petals and central hole. Back smooth. Similar strips with daisies or rosettes were found by Mallowan in Room B, No. 74. Simpler rosettes lacking frames were found in Room JJ, No. 314. Both types of rosette or daisy pattern were found at Samaria (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, 40, fig. 11). 2.5 x 1.7 x 0.3 cm. The register records that these were 'Procured by Mr. Layard at Nimrud'.

Assyrianizing panels

200. *C.N.I.*, G6a. 'Nimrud'

Plate

28 British Museum, London, BM118145. 1848.0720.132

174

Four fragments from a thick panel of ivory, carved from a vertical section of tusk.



a. Three fragments from an ornate version of a stylized tree, a central section, sides, top and back not preserved, and two joining fragments from right side, no original edges. At bottom a row of outlined scales is enclosed within a plain frame. Flat bottom. Remains of shallow rectangular slot on base, 2.3 x 0.8 x c. 0.5 cm. H. of central tree 8.2 cm. W. 6.7 cm. Th. 2.8 cm. Fragments from side, 11.0 x 2.4 cm.

The remains of a stylized tree rise from a pair of inward curving volutes at the base, which resemble those on No. 206. The central trunk is decorated with a chevron design below a pair of vertical striated volutes tied at the top. A number of voluted stalks curve out from the tied trunk and terminate in sepalled pine cones.



b. Fragment from top of poorly preserved tenoned panel. Of the design all that survives is one sepalled pine cone and part of a stalk.

H. 8.0 cm. H. of panel 6.0 cm. W. 3.0 cm. Th. 1.2 cm.

The register records that this ivory was 'Procured by Mr. Layard at Nimrud'.

The sepalled pine cones are similar to Nos. 201 and 204 and may have been worked in the same Assyrianizing workshop. A fragment from the Temple of Haldi at Toprak Kale, discovered by Clayton and Rassam in 1878-80, shows a similar sepalled pine cone: Barnett, *C.N.I.*, 228-29, W16, pl. cxxxi.

This unusual form of stylized tree is similar to plaques recovered by André Godard from the looted treasure of Ziwiye (Godard 1950, 83-85, figs. 72-74; 1965, 94, fig. 117; Ghirshman 1979, 41, pl. viii, 3-8, 43, pl. xviii, 7-8; Charlesworth 1980, Fig. 1e).¹ The Abegg-Stiftung at Bern also retrieved some looted ivories, including one similar to that published by Godard as well as two plaques with similar trees flanked by rampant ibex, Wilkinson 1975, 34, fig. 12, 31, fig. 11. The Ziwiye plaques were shorter, H. 6.0 cm., than the North West Palace fragment but were also carved on thick panels, 2.0 cm. They share similar thick trunks with rows of chevrons, tied at the top with voluted elements and double branches with sepalled pine cones.

B. & A. Guide, 2nd ed., 25, illustration; 3rd ed., pl. xlii, 8; Poulsen 1912, 50, fig. 41; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 184, G6a, pl. vii.

201. *C.N.I.*, G8. 'Nimrud'

Plate 28

British Museum, London, BM 127138. 1848.0720.161: G9-10. BM123852-3

Three fragments:

a. G8, BM 127138. Fragment from top of panel, sides and bottom broken off, showing a wide plain frame, the end of a volute and a cone with wide-open sepals, possibly originally part of a winged disc, cf. Nos. 195 and 204. 4.2 x 1.0 x 0.3 cm.

b. G9, BM 123852. Probably found by Layard, *C.N.I.*, 184.

¹ I am grateful to Dirk Wicke for drawing my attention to this parallel.



Fragment from bottom of panel, top and sides not preserved, showing part of a large plant, rising from V-shaped chevrons, with an eagle's claw on the top chevron. Back flat, criss-cross striations. 8.2 x 2.4 x 0.3 cm.

c. G10, BM 123853. Fragment from bottom of panel, top and sides not preserved, showing the base of a voluted stylized tree, rising from a half-circle with a scale pattern. Back flat, criss-cross striations. 6.2 x 3.2 x 0.3 cm.



These fragments were registered in 1848 as 'Procured by Mr. Layard at Nimrud' and form parts of an Assyrianizing group of panels carved on thin sheets of ivory. They are similar in style to provenanced fragments found by Layard in Room X, No. 195, and by Mallowan in Room V, No. 186. Layard probably found them in either Rooms V or X. These fragments are significant, for they enable us to suggest that the unprovenanced panels found by Rawlinson and Rassam and registered in 1856, Nos. 202-207, may have been found in Room V. All are elegantly and lightly modeled and worked on thin panels. They share some features with pieces from Altintepe (Özgüç 1969, 49, fig. 45, 87, pl. xlvi).

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 185, G8-10, pls. x, xii.

Four fragmentary Assyrianizing panels

Nos. 202-205 show pairs of youths flanking trees and plucking fruits growing from an elaborate and unusual form of winged disc. The panels do not necessarily all belong to the same set for the figure on No. 204 is considerably shorter than the others. The best preserved versions of the winged disc and a youth are preserved on No. 204: parts of the central tree can be seen on both Nos. 202 and 203. These four panels are obviously stylistically similar and were probably carved in the same workshop or centre, although by different hands. The style is strongly influenced by the art of Assyria, although not Assyrian. Versions of Assyrian art were, unsurprisingly, popular across a wide area at this time, probably the eighth century, from North Syria to Urartu to Western Iran. Barnett pointed to comparisons with Sakça Gözü (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 183), and there are similarities with the winged disc from that site (Akurgal 1962, pl. 134). Kyrieleis identified the ivories as being of Urartian workmanship (1965, 199-206, Taf. 43-44), while Mallowan, who believed that ivories were carved at Kalhu by foreign craftsmen, suggested that they were the work of 'foreign craftsmen whose influence is betrayed in the style of north Syrian Sakça Gözü or at Toprak Kale in Urartu' (1978, 14-15).

The winged disc can be compared with an unprovenanced example thought to have been excavated at Toprak Kale (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 228, V12, pl. cxxv), which has a beaded disc above a crescent, a scaly base for the wings and a fan of petals between the volutes: a fragmentary example was found at Toprak Kale (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 229, W5, pl. cxxix). Similar fragments of winged discs were found at Altintepe (Özgüç 1969, 50-51, figs. 46-47, 88-89, pl. xlvii).

A freestanding male statuette from Toprak Kale, of which unfortunately only the back is preserved, is similarly clothed in a long tunic with beaded neck and short sleeves: the hem is beaded

with a fringed hem and a shawl is wrapped round the waist and crosses the shoulder (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 229, W5, pl. cxxix). The griffins, W14 and W14, also have garments with beaded necks, belts and hems, and a beaded and fringed hem of the open overgarment (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 229, W13-14, pl. cxxxi). Similar griffins have been found at Altintepe (Özgüç 1969, 39-41, figs. 36-37, 79-82, pls. xxxii-xxxiii).

However, perhaps the most convincing parallel with Toprak Kale, even though the fragment is so small, is one with a hand plucking one of the unusual pine cones with folded-back sepals (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 229, W16, pl. cxxxi). The same type of fruit occurs on an unusual form of fruiting tree found by Layard at Nimrud, No. 200, and on some unprovenanced panels said to have been found at Ziwiye.

The motif of youths flanking a tree under the protection of a winged disc was popular for furniture panels across the area, most obviously occurring on the chair-backs found in SW7, Fort Shalmaneser, but also with Syrian and Phoenician versions. These panels are an Assyrianizing interpretation of this familiar motif.

202. *C.N.I.*, F3a. N.W. Palace?

Plate 30

British Museum, London, BM 118108, 1856.0903.1236



Thin fragmentary panel made up from fragments by Barnett and mounted on board. Much of left side and centre missing, fragments missing from top, right side and bottom, surface worn. Modelled. Trace of wide plain frame at base, sides without frames. Back, covered. 22.2 x 10.3 x 0.4 cm.

Only the lower section of the winged disc at the top of No. 202, BM 118108, survives, with the volute ends and the central fan of petals and cones: twining stalks with fruit shaped like a pine cone with sepals grow from the volutes. The trunk of the tree consists of a series of outward curving petals, stacked one above the other. Only parts of the youth on the left, the head, the flexed right arm holding a mace, some of the long garment and one sandal, are preserved. Most of the youth on the right survives, although the surface is worn.

The beardless youths have long hair, falling in twisted ringlets over the ears and in curls on the shoulders, bound by triple diadems. They have modeled eyebrows, oval eyes, straight noses, fine mouths and firm chins. They wear long garments with V-necks and short sleeves, made of a pleated or ribbed material. Seams and hems are beaded, the hems at the bottom are beaded and fringed. Fringed shawls are wound round the waist and cross the shoulder. They wear sandals with up-turned toes. Their inner arms are raised to pluck the fruits of the winged disc, their outer arms are flexed, their hands holding the thong of a reversed mace.

Although stylistically and technically similar, the work on these four panels, Nos. 202-205, exhibits many differences, suggesting that the panels were carved by different hands, although probably in the same workshop. The work of No. 202 is relatively coarse

Ivories from Nimrud VI

when compared with No. 203. The hair is represented by crude, angled lines rather than the fine wavy striations of No. 203, and falls in twisted ringlets as opposed to the relatively straight strands of No. 203. This coarser hair-style also occurs on the shorter panel, No. 204. Similarly the beading and fringing of Nos. 202 and 204 is coarser than that of No. 203, and the crossed straps on the chests of No. 203 are missing. The 1856 register records that 'These objects are, I think, from the North West Palace'.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 181, 184, pl. xi; Kyrieleis, 1965, 199-206, Taf. 44.

203. *C.N.I.*, F1. N.W. Palace?

Plate 31

British Museum, London, BM 118109/118114 (118108 and 118114 in *C.N.I.*): central plant 1856.0903.1232; left figure, 118109, 1856.09.03.1234; profile to left, 118114, 1855.1205.203; profile to right, 118109, 1855.1205.207



Fragmentary panel, made up from fragments and mounted on board. According to the register, the two heads formed part of Mr. Rassam's collection from Sherif Khan: the head on the right is 1855.12.05.203, BM 118114, that on the left is 1855.12.05.207, BM118109. The central plant was not registered until 1856 and was among a collection thought to come from the North West Palace, 1856.09.03.1232, BM118100?,

as was the fragmentary figure on the left, 1856.09.03.1234, BM118109. Many fragments missing overall from the reconstructed panel. Finely modeled and carved. Plain frame at base. Bevelled edge. Back, criss-cross striations. 16.6 x 10.0 x 0.4 cm.

All that survives of the design is parts of two youths flanking a central tree. The beardless youths have finely waved hair, falling in long, straight tresses over the ears and in curls on the shoulders, bound by triple diadems. They have modelled eyebrows and pointed, oval eyes, straight noses, modelled mouths and firm chins. They wear long garments with V-necks and short sleeves, made of a pleated or ribbed material. The hems at neck and sleeve are outlined with raised ribs rather than beading, the curving hems of the garments have a row of beading between ribs and long fringes. Fringed shawls, also finely carved, are wound round the waist and cross the shoulder. Double straps, outlined with beading and panelled, cross the chests. They wear sandals with up-turned toes. Their inner arms are raised, their outer arms are flexed, their hands holding the thongs of reversed maces. Only part of the central trunk of the tree, formed of stacked flowers and ending in a volute with sepalled cones growing from the volute, survives.

The work is of higher quality than No. 202, the hair is arranged more naturally in waves over the head with relatively straight tresses each side of the ear. The beading and fringing of the garments and the maces and thongs are finely worked, as is the sandal with its heel and up-curved toe. There are crossed straps on their chests, not shown on the other two panels. The panel was probably worked by a different craftsman.

The 1856 register only records that 'These objects are, I think, from 176

the North West Palace'. The problem is increased by confusion over the numbering and provenance of the two heads said to come from Sherif Khan and made up into this panel. It is probable that the entry is incorrect, because the 1855-1856 registers were less precise than the 1848 one, and because Rawlinson had little interest in small antiquities unless they were inscribed. Furthermore, the heads fit the panel convincingly. Rassam undertook excavations at Sherif Khan and Nimrud: Rawlinson recorded (Transcripts 21st April 1852) that two scepters, two ivory fragments from a mace and fragments of a stone vase were found at Sherif Khan but did not mention other ivory fragments. More recently, Iraqi excavations from 1968-69 at Sherif Khan recorded finding fragments of ivory (*Al Rafidain*, 1968-69, I am grateful to Dr. F. al Rawi for this information).

Schuhl 1930, pl. vii; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 183, pl. x; Kyrieleis, 1965, 199-206, Taf. 43; Mallowan 1978, 14; Scigliuzzo 2004, 52.

204. *C.N.I.*, F2. N.W. Palace?

Plates X & 30

British Museum, London, BM 118115. 1856.0903.1233 & 1237



Two separate fragments from a panel, one from the top centre with a winged disc – 1856.0903.1237 – the other from the bottom right, 1856.0903.1233, mounted on a plastic backing. Plain frames at top, right side and base. Bevelled edges. Back, criss-cross striations. 18.4 x 6.8 x 0.5 cm.

The upper fragment shows most of a winged disc, BM118115. This consists of a small central disc with a beaded rim within a crescent, enclosed by scales in a V-shape and two layers of feathers, mostly not preserved. The first layer of feathers turns into volutes and encloses a fan of six 'petals' with seven cones growing between the ends. Stalks with fruiting flowers grow from the volutes, the cone-shaped fruits with sepals being plucked by the figures. Of the youths, all that survives is the raised arm of the one on the left, with the end of his beaded sleeve, and the raised hand of that on the right.

The lower fragment is from the bottom right corner and shows most of the youth on the right. The hair over the head is represented by crude, angled lines and falls in twisted ringlets at the side of the face, similar to No. 202: it is bound by a triple diadem. The eyebrow is modeled, the eye a pointed oval, the nose straight, and the mouth and chin firm. The garment has a beaded round neck, the pleating of the upper tunic is coarse, the lower skirt is mainly plain, except for an unusual pleated panel at one side. There is the usual deep beaded fringe at the hem. A shawl is wound round the waist and crosses over the left shoulder. The raised left arm is flexed, the hand holding the thong (not preserved) of a reversed mace. He appears to be barefoot, or there may be the trace of an upturned toe of a sandal.

Once again, the 1856 register only records that 'These objects are, I think, from the North West Palace'. There is no contact between the two fragments. The considerably shorter youth, differently dressed from the others, may have belonged to a different set. The work

resembles that of No. 202 and is coarser than that of No. 203.

Rawlinson 1871, I, 573, figs.; Schuhl 1930, pl. vii; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 183-4, pl. xii; Strommenger & Hirmer 1964, pl. 266; Kyrieleis, 1965, 199-206, Taf. 43; Mallowan 1978, 15; Stéphan 1996, 206; Curtis & Reade 1995, 132, no. 98.

205. C.N.I. F3b. Plate 31
British Museum, London, BM 123854 on fragment of skirt



Fragments from the centre of a vertical panel, top and sides missing. Wide plain frame at base. Bevelled edge. Back, criss-cross striations. 16.4 x 3.0 x 0.5 cm.

All that survives is part of a youth, facing right, cf. No. 202, BM 118108. He has a triple diadem, although little of the hair is preserved. His eyebrow is excised rather than modeled, and the pointed oval eye has a drilled pupil. He wears a long pleated garment with a round, beaded neck and beaded and fringed hem. A fringed and beaded shawl is wound round the waist and across the shoulder. He is holding the thong of a mace in his raised right hand.

The work is similar to that of Nos. 202 and 204 and is less finely worked than No. 203. However, differences in the positioning of the diadem and the carving of the eye may suggest a third craftsman.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, F3b.

206. C.N.I., F4. N.W. Palace? Plates X & 29
British Museum, London, BM 118117. 1856.09.03.1238



Fragment from bottom of panel, sides and top broken off. Lightly modelled. Back striated. 7.9 x 4.1 x 0.4 cm.

The design once showed a pair of opposed heroes fighting a lion. All that survives of the heroes is the toe of the figure on the left and the leg and foot of that on the right: their toes touch. The latter is wearing a short tunic of a pleated material with a beaded hem and a beaded and fringed overskirt. The foot is bare. The hero on the right held the lion up by the hindlegs, the front legs resting on a short pair of volutes growing from the bottom of the panel: these resemble the volutes at the base of the tree No. 200. Its head is turned, the mouth open and snarling with teeth bared. The whiskers and eye are modeled, the ear laid back on the mane. The mane, the back of the forelegs and a strip along the belly are decorated with modeled, criss-cross markings. The tail is curled over the back.

For a similar subject from Carchemish, rather more complete but carved in a different style, see Hogarth 1914, I, pl. B.11, where two heroes up-end a lion. The 1856 register records that 'These objects are, I think, from the North West Palace'.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 184, pl. xii.

207. C.N.I., F5-F7. N.W. Palace? Plates 29, 34
British Museum, London, BM 118106, 127152. 1856.0903.1229-31

Fragments of wide strips, incised with a double guilloche design, the centres cut with a centred bit. Some pieces pierced by dowel holes. Backs, lightly striated.



a. F5. 1856.0903.1229. Two fragments, i, one end and sides preserved, dowel hole, D. 0.5 cm. 9.0 x 3.0 x 0.3 cm.; ii, one end survives, sides broken off, remains of dowel hole, 4.4 x 2.7 x 0.3 cm. Although photographed as one in *C.N.I.*, pl. xii, the pieces do not join.

b. F6. 1856.0903.1231. Five fragments, i. one corner preserved, part of dowel hole, (top centre) 4.8 x 1.7 x 0.3 cm.; ii. Sides preserved, 6.0 x 3.0 x 0.3 cm.; iii. Sides preserved, part of dowel hole, 5.8 x 2.7 x 0.3 cm.;



iv. one end and side preserved, part of dowel hole, 3.7 x 1.5 x 0.3 cm.;

v. small fragment, part of one side survives, 1.7 x 1.5 x 0.3 cm.



c. F7. 1856.0903.1230. Thirteen fragments of similar strips, from left to right. Top row, 3.0 x 1.5 x 0.3 cm.; 3.6 x 1.7 x 0.3 cm.; 2.4 x 1.7 x 0.3 cm.; 1.2 x 0.7 x 0.3 cm. Second row, 3.1 x 1.3 x 0.3 cm.; 3.0 x 1.5 x 0.3 cm.; 2.3 x 1.3 x 0.3 cm.; 2.9 x 1.1 x 0.3 cm. Third row, 4.0 x 1.7 x 0.3 cm.; 3.0 x 1.8 x 0.3 cm.; 2.5 x 1.0 x 0.3 cm.; 2.6 x 1.3 x 0.3 cm.

The 1856 register records that 'These objects are, I think, from the North West Palace'.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 184, pl. xii.

UNPROVENANCED IVORY NOT IN
19TH CENTURY REGISTERS BUT PROBABLY FOUND THEN

208. C.N.I., G1. Plate 32
British Museum, London, BM 118143



Fragment from top of openwork tenoned panel, left side and bottom broken off. Double frame and tenon at top. The head and upper body of a winged youth advancing right, left arm and wing raised, hand holding a voluted palmette flower. He wears a short, Egyptian style wig. The scene is set in a floral field. H. with tenon as preserved 4.0 cm. H. of panel as preserved 3.7 cm. W. as preserved 4.6 cm. Th. 0.5 cm.

In *C.N.I.*, 184, Barnett stated that Layard found this ivory: however, since it has not been located in the registers, there is no proof of excavator or provenance. Since Mallowan does not mention this fine fragment, it was almost certainly found in the 19th century. Although lacking inlays, this piece can be compared with winged youths of the 'ornate group', see for instance *I.N.* IV, nos. 1051-1058, especially no. 1057, and Herrmann 2002. Typical of this group is the elegant style, the double frame and the tenoning. The

Ivories from Nimrud VI

‘ornate group’ forms part of the ‘classic Phoenician group’.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 184, G1, pl. i.

COURT AJ AND WELL AJ

‘Beneath the level of the latest well-head, in a belt of ash 25 cm. thick’, Mallowan found ‘fragments of ivories, gold foil overlay, faience beads and glass’, presumably dropped and trampled at the time of deposition. ‘... they were no more than broken fragments collected from different places. ... A few strips of unworked raw ivory and trial pieces ND1077² were also found and, as elsewhere in the Palace, large sections of elephant-tusks’ (Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 15). Although many were ‘amorphous fragments’ and were registered in groups, there were important pieces. Unfortunately, there are few photographs of these ivories, many are inaccessible in the Iraq Museum, and most of the following entries have necessarily been based on the field register.

Room ‘AI’, upper levels beside Well AJ

***209. ND1075, Room AI** Plate 33
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Group of fragments, including numerous burnt, broken and mutilated pieces, found in a burnt rubbish stratum.



a. Panel, broken at sides, blackened and burnt. Incised, Assyrian style. A cervid kneeling beside a voluted palmette plant. 2.2 x 5.5 cm.

b. Ivory, circular in section, engraved to represent a sheep, overlaid with gold foil, originally hammered over it, the gold carrying the impression of the striations of the fleece. D. 6.0 cm. – not illustrated.

c. Fragment of the calyx of a lotus flower, 6.0 x 3.0 cm.; not illustrated.

d. Strip incised with guilloche pattern, W. 1.3 cm.; not illustrated.

e. Strip with interlaced rosettes, framed by guilloche pattern, burnt black, W. 3.1 cm. Th. 0.1 cm.; not illustrated.

f. Assorted ivory fragments, mostly unworked but including a bovid body; and a fragment with an 8-petalled rosette, D. 1.2 cm.; not illustrated.

***210. ND1066, Room AI** Plate 33
Iraq Museum, Baghdad



a. Fragment of panel, right side broken off, remains of dowel hole. Incised, Assyrian style. The surviving design shows the hindquarters of a goat running to the right, 2.4 x 2.2 x 0.6 cm.

b. Fragmentary panels, unspecified, longest piece 6.0 x 0.3mm. Six foil rosettes edged with guilloche frame. Not illustrated.

Incised goats are a common Assyrian motif: panels with the design have been found in the ‘Roadway made for the Bulls’, Room B, and Room HH, Nos. 40, 65, 211 and 303, and in Fort Shalmaneser,

² This number is incorrect, see No. 301 below.

in NW5 and 15 and T10, *I.N.* II, 46-47, nos. 161-168, pls. xxxviii-xxxix

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 15.

211. ND1069, Room AI Plate 33
British Museum, London



a. Fragment of a panel, sides and bottom broken off. Incised. Assyrian style. A goat kneeling to the left. Only the head and part of the back survive. 1.9 x 1.8 x 0.2 cm.

b. Fragments of doe and human head. Fragments of copper, gold leaf and bone spatula. Not illustrated.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 15.

212. ND1063, Room AI Plate 33
British Museum, London



The field register records Assyrian style fragments, broken and mutilated, some incised, mostly plain. A few beads, some disintegrated glass from the burnt stratum, all in bad condition. There are three

boxes of amorphous fragments in the Museum, most of which are broken and mutilated: most are plain, not illustrated. Only one has any feature: no original edges, curving surface. Some incised ribs or frame? 6.0 x 3.2 cm.

***213. ND 1089, Room AI** Plate 33
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56418



Fragment of a pyxis, with guilloche frame at top and bottom. Cloisonné: inlaid wing. Broad rim at top with two lines of carefully engraved cuneiform running round the vessel. Found next to No. 214 in the burnt stratum.

H. 6.0 cm. D. at top 12.0 cm. D. of base 10.0 cm. W. of rim 1.2 cm.

According to the field register, the design showed a thick-stemmed flowering lotus, flanked by a pair of sphinxes, possibly rampant, the tips of their tails touching the top of the flower, fronts not preserved. Traces of a wing above one lion.

The two lines of carefully engraved cuneiform, part of a once longer inscription, may be read

[...ina m]e-reš-ti DINGIR.MEŠ NIG.SUM nap-ḥ[a-ar...]
[...ana RN] MAN KUR AŠ EN-šú^{1a}UTU-^dDINGIR a-[na TIL.LA-šú iqīš]

[...ina m]e-reš-ti ilāni nidinti nap-ḥ[a-ar...]
[...ana RN] šar^{māi}aššur bēlī-šú^{1a}šamši-ilu a[-na ...balāṭī-šú iqīš]

[... at the re]quest of the gods as a gift from al[l of ...]
[...to RN] king of Assyria, his lord, Shamshi-ilu f[or his life has given]³

³ We are grateful to Irving Finkel for providing the restoration of the first line.

This is apparently part of a dedicatory inscription by the powerful *turtanu* Shamshi-ilu on behalf of his suzerain, the Assyrian king. Shamshi-ilu's career spanned at least the years 800-746 B.C., so the king might have been Adad-nirari III, Shalmaneser IV, Ashur-dan III or Ashur-nirari V (Mattila 2000, 110-111). Whether the inscription was added to an existing ivory pyxis or to one made at the governor's command cannot be known. A.M.

Unfortunately, there is no photograph of this pyxis, and the photograph of the inscription was found in a file but without identification. It almost certainly belongs to this fragment. The inscription is referred to in the field register and in Mallowan's report in *Iraq* 14, 15: 'There were also fragments of *pyxides*, ointment boxes decorated with ornamental Phoenician trees and palmettes; one of them was inscribed on the rim, but the inscription unfortunately gave no clue to its date.'

214. ND1090, C.N.I., Sup. 11, Room AI Plate 32
British Museum, London, BM 131975. 1954.1115.24



Fragment of pyxis, sides broken, poorly preserved. Surface of frame at top missing. Remains of guilloche frame at base. Cloisonné, the wings were excised for pegged inlays. Back smooth. Found next to No. 213, ND1089, in the burnt stratum. 7.2 x 3.3 x 0.9 cm.

The hindquarters of a winged sphinx advancing left with muscle stylizations of the North Syrian 'flame and frond' group, indented line along top of back, plait along belly, 'flame' markings, plait and 'pea-pod' on hindleg, etc. Tail not preserved. Possibly similar to No. 213.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 232, Sup. 11, pl. cxxxiv.

***215. ND1091, Room AI** Not illustrated
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Fragment of panel, with guilloche frame at base. The lower body of a lady in profile wearing a long pleated skirt. Curved hem with beaded fringe. She is barefoot. 3.2 x 1.7 cm.

The field register notes that the fragment is similar to one from the north end of the Long Room in the Burnt Palace, a lady with lotus flowers, which Barnett joined to a piece found by Loftus (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 192, S12, BM 118178, 1856.0903.737 and BM 1312141, ND1143, pl. xxvii). It was possibly part of a pyxis.

***216. ND1072, Room AI** Not illustrated
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Fragment of wing with traces of feathering, ribbed, end curved, convex. 7.5 x 6.5 cm. Fragment of undecorated pyxis.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 15.

***217. ND1071, Room AI** Not illustrated
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Assorted fragments including:

a. Fragments of a cylindrical pyxis, 'the surface of which was once incrustated with blue glass tessellations, triangles and a guilloche pattern... Twice perforated with circular holes to take rivets' (field register). D. c. 5.0 cm. Th. 1.0 cm.

b. Fragment in high relief with a design like 'the turned legs of furniture'. 2.8 x 2.8 x 1.1 cm.

***218. ND1074, Room AI** Not illustrated
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Collection of ears carved in the round:

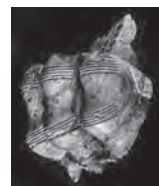
a. Two human ears, one with a rectangular tenon: L. 4.5 cm.;

b. Two bovid ears, flat backed with rectangular dowel holes in back: L. 3.5 cm.;

c. Two bovid ears with feathering and concave side, circular dowel holes at ends: L. 5.0 cm.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 15.

***219. ND1073, Room AI** Plate 32
Iraq Museum, Baghdad



a. Group of fragments of leonine paws, largest piece 5.0 x 4.0 x 3.0 cm., possibly originally belonging to several leonine legs, mounted vertically on a pole or staff.

b. Plain unornamented blocks associated with them: not illustrated.

220. ND1068, Room AI Plate 32
British Museum, London, BM 1/4. 1994. 1105.324 and 326



Two boxes of mostly uncarved fragments, one fragment engraved with a half rosette, 3.2 x 1.4 x 0.2 cm.; one fragment with row of incised rosettes, small with double frame, 1.3 x 1.4 x 0.2 cm.; one circular pointed element, D. 1.6 cm. H. 1.4 cm. One panel, 2.0 x 1.8 x 0.7 cm., with dowel hole, 0.6 cm., not illustrated.

***221. ND1065, Room AI** Not illustrated
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Two boxes of fragments, undecorated except for one piece with three nicks, presumably the edging for an ornamental panel or box.

***222. ND ..., Room AI** Not illustrated
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

'Strips of unworked raw ivory and trial pieces ... were also found and, as elsewhere in the Palace, large sections of elephant-tusks'. Mallowan, *Iraq* 14, 15.

WELL AJ

by Fuad Safar, Sa'ied al-'Iraqi and G. Herrmann

Although the excavation of Well AJ was attempted by Mallowan, he had to abandon work because of the dangerous state of the

Ivories from Nimrud VI

walls. In 1975 the Iraqi Department of Antiquities and Heritage reinforced the walls of the well and successfully excavated it. In the sludge at the bottom they found the finest ivories discovered so far at Nimrud, which were speedily published by Fuad Safar and Muyasser Sa'ied al-'Iraqi (1987). G.H. has not seen those ivories marked with a *: the following descriptions are based on Safar and al-'Iraqi's excellent catalogue entries. Many of the photographs were provided by the Iraq Museum.

Assyrian Ivories

223. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 33. Well AJ
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79537

Plate 32



Vertical, rectangular panel in two registers, fragmentary, top broken off, bottom cut, fragments missing from sides and bottom left corner. Carved in low relief in modelled Assyrian style. Plain frame at sides and between registers. Two dowel holes, D. 0.4 -0.5 cm., of typical ninth century Assyrian type near base. Back, lightly striated. 13.7 x 5.0 x 0.6 cm.

Upper register: only the fringed hems of the long garments and sandalled feet of two Assyrians standing to the left survive.

Lower register: two courtiers, facing left, are preserved to just below the knee. The garment hems and feet would have been shown on an adjacent panel. Their left arms are lowered, the hands held open and flat, the right arm of the nearer courtier is raised, again with an open hand: a trace of the palm of the further courtier can be seen below the right hand of the nearer courtier. The nearer courtier has a fine moustache and is bearded: the curls of his shoulder-length hair and of his beard resemble those on the famous panel showing Ashurnasirpal II, found in Room EA, ND1082 (No. 18, pl. 3). The second courtier is clean-shaven. They have large eyes with strong eyebrows, marked with chevrons. Their noses are slightly curved, the mouths firm. They are wearing long garments, over which are wound fringed shawls with decorated borders. The material of the upper parts of the garments is embroidered with a design of rosettes within panels, again similar to that on No. 18, while the skirts are plain: the collars are decorated with a chevron design.

Modelled Assyrian ivories are relatively rare. This fine panel is similar in style and technique to No. 18, although it is narrower, measuring 5 cm. in width rather than 7.5 cm. The carving is different to that of a second modelled panel from the well, No. 224. Courtiers are frequently represented on the bas-reliefs, for example on reliefs from Room G of the North West Palace (Meuszynski 1981, Taf. 8), and on the ivories. The latter include Nos. 44-47 above from Room B, and *I.N.* II, 19-26, nos. 10-54, pls. vi-xv and 30, nos. 67-69, pls. xx-xxi.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 97, no. 33.

224. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 79. Well AJ Plate 32
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79589

Vertical, rectangular panel in two registers, fragmentary, bottom 180



broken off, fragments missing from top right, left edge and centre. Carved in low relief in modelled Assyrian style. Plain frame at top and sides, guilloche band between registers. Four dowel holes, D. 0.3 cm., of typical ninth century Assyrian type near top and below guilloche band: an ivory pin is preserved in one. 14.1 x 6.2 x 0.6 cm.

Upper register: a four-winged, eagle-headed genie kneels to the right, his right arm raised, holding a cone, the left lowered, holding a handled bucket. His left knee is raised, the right foot can be seen at the bottom left. He has a feathered crest, long hair and curls below his beak. His eye is large with a heavy eyebrow, his beak is open. He wears a knee-length garment with short sleeves and a fringed hem, made of a material with a dotted border and a rosette on the sleeve. There is a broad belt at the waist, and an open overskirt made of rows of fringes or loops, with a fringed band passing from the hip and over the left shoulder. He is wearing sandals.

Lower register: only the upper part survives and shows the heads of two Assyrians facing right. The Assyrian on the left wears a diadem with a central rosette and curl. His hair forms loops in front of the diadem and waves over the back of his head. He is bearded with a heavy moustache: a long curl passes from in front of the ear down beside the mouth. The second figure has wavy hair and is clean-shaven. Both have large eyes with heavy rims and strong hatched eyebrows, slightly curved noses and modelled mouths: the clean-shaven one has a characteristically firm chin.

Although eagle-headed genies are ubiquitous on the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II, for instance in Room F of the North West Palace (Meuszynski 1981, Taf. 6-7), they are relatively rare on the ivories. Fragments of modelled examples can be found in the Nabu Temple and T10 in Fort Shalmaneser (*I.N.* II, 51-52, nos. 192-94, pl. xliii); and an openwork eagle-headed genie was found in Room NE50 of Fort Shalmaneser (*I.N.* II, 50-51, no. 189, pl. xliii; *I.N.* V, 104-105, no. 321, ND10328, pl. 67). Five ivory examples of incised winged eagle-headed genies were found in the North West Palace, four from Well AJ, Nos. 225-228, and one from Room EB, No. 16. Relatively complete examples with two registers of human-headed and eagle-headed genies were found in the throne-room of the Nabu Temple (*I.N.* II, 52-53, nos. 198-202, pl. xlv-xlv). Other fragments from the Nabu Temple, the Town Wall houses, PD5 and Fort Shalmaneser have been published in *I.N.* II, 48-52, nos. 173-78, 180-81 and 183-87, 190 and 196-97, pls. xli-xliii.

The bearded Assyrian with a diadem probably represented the crown prince, see for instance, the king and the crown prince shown on the façade of Room B (Meuszynski 1981, Taf. 5, D2-D3), and the ivory panel of a banquet scene, *I.N.* II, no. 7, pl. v. The other figure would have been a courtier or attendant. The panel is wider and the carving is stronger than No. 223 and was probably worked by a different hand.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 135, no. 79; Fontran, Gillmann & Le Meaux 2007, 207, fig. 2.

225. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 49. Well AJ
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79553

Plate 33



Fragment from a vertical, rectangular panel in three registers, broken at top and cut at bottom: fragments missing from top left, right side and bottom left. When first photographed (*Turin Catalogue*, colour photograph, fig. 163 on 322; Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, fig. 98 on p. 111), two extra fragments survived, completing most of the right side: these were missing in 2000, as shown in the drawing taken from a 2000 photograph. Incised. Assyrian style. No frame at sides, decorated borders between registers: between top and central registers the border consists of framed vertical lines; there is a small rope pattern between the central and bottom registers. Originally, two dowel holes, D. 0.3 cm., of typical Assyrian type survived at top and three at bottom; in 2000 only one survived at the top and two at the bottom. Back, lightly striated. The piece is a light brown colour. 16.2 x 5.8 x 0.2 cm.; (original width 8.0 cm.; Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 111); *Turin Catalogue*, 16.3 x 8.0 x 0.3 cm.

Upper register: little of the design survives. It once showed a pair of winged sphinxes (?) flanking a central rosette. Of the left animal, all that survived in 2000 were the two front legs with leonine paws, part of the chest and the paw of the leading hindleg; of the one on the right only the leading paw survived in 2000, but when first photographed both the leading foreleg and hindleg survived, together with the line of the belly. The chest of the left animal is outlined and decorated with rosettes. Only the lower half of the central rosette survives: nine of the petals surrounding the raised disc with a central hole survive. They are decorated with an incised chevron design.

Central register. A two-winged, human-headed genie advances to the right, his right arm raised, holding a cone, the left lowered, holding a bucket (not preserved in 2000). On his head is the horned cap of divinity, surmounted by a disc with a rosette, and decorated with incised designs. His hair is shoulder-length, and he has a moustache and a long, spade-shaped beard. He has a triangular earring, a beaded necklace and a bracelet with a disc. The end of his fringed shawl can be seen behind his right shoulder in front of the wing, before passing over his left shoulder and down his chest. He wears a knee-length, kilted tunic with a rounded decorated collar, short sleeves, a fringed hem, and an open, fringed, ankle-length overskirt. The sleeve and skirt of the tunic are decorated with rosettes, the hem with a row of lotus flowers. Tucked in his belt is a dagger, the handle of which can be seen above the wide belt. He wears sandals. The outer edge of the wing is decorated with a row of rosettes or ornate feathers, similar to those on the chest of the left animal of the upper register.

Bottom register: only the upper part of the design survives, originally probably similar to that once shown in the upper register. It shows a pair of winged, human-headed sphinxes advancing towards two superimposed discs. The sphinxes wear the horned cap of divinity surmounted by discs over shoulder-length hair and a collar round their necks. They have no beards and their features are carefully represented. The central feature consists of an upper disc with two concentric circles with a central dot, and a lower one, only half preserved, with a rosette.

This piece is exceptionally detailed and well drawn. Both human-headed and eagle-headed genies are ubiquitous on the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II, for instance in Rooms B and F of the North West Palace (Meuszynski 1981, Taf. 1, 3-4, 6-7). Ivory examples of human-headed genies are represented on fragmentary panels from Room EB of the Great Court, No. 45, from Well AJ, Nos. 226-228, and from Fort Shalmaneser (*I.N.* II, 48-49, nos. 174-175, 180, pl. xli). Examples on panels from the throne-room of the Nabu Temple also show human-headed and eagle-headed genies (*I.N.* II, 49, 52-53, nos. 176 and 198-200, pls. xli, xlii), while a fragment from the Tashmetum sanctuary (*I.N.* II, 48, no. 173, pl. xli), depicts a human-headed genie. Two of the Nabu Temple panels have kneeling bulls in their lower registers (*I.N.* II, 53, nos. 201-202, pl. xlv), and fragments survive of winged, human-headed sphinxes (*I.N.* II, 50, nos. 185-187, pl. xlii). Animals flanking a central feature include the bulls with central rosette or pomegranate plants of *I.N.* II, 39 and 41, nos. 112 and 127, pls. xxxii-xxxiii. There are, of course, numerous examples of cervids kneeling beside pomegranate plants, voluted palmettes or a rosette, see for instance, *I.N.* II, 42-43, nos. 135, 137, 139-141, pl. xxxiv, and the gazelles with voluted palmette plants of *I.N.* II, 46-47, nos. 161-166, pls. xxxviii-xxxix.

Turin Catalogue 1985, no. 163, 322 (colour photograph), 393; Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 111, no. 49; Bonatz 2004, 389, Abb. 2 on 402.

Set of three vertical panels

***226. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 50. Well AJ**
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79554

Plate 34⁴



Fragment from top of a vertical rectangular panel in three registers, fragments missing from top left, left side and centre, bottom broken off. Incised. Assyrian style. No frame at sides, decorated frames between registers, consisting of rows of buds with incised chevrons, separated by guilloche bands, framed by plain lines. Dowel holes of typical Assyrian type, at top and centre. 21.0 x 5.6 cm.

Top register: a bull kneeling to the right. The neck, back and belly are curly.

Central register: the design appears to be similar to No. 225 and shows a winged, human-headed genie advancing right, his right arm raised, holding a cone, the left lowered, presumably holding a bucket. On his head is the horned cap of divinity. His hair is shoulder-length. His fringed shawl crosses his chest. He wears a short-sleeved tunic and an open, fringed, ankle-length overskirt. Tucked in his belt is a dagger.

Bottom register: the photograph in Safar & al-'Iraqi, 112, no. 50, is dark and the bottom of the panel is obscure and impossible to draw. The drawing in Safar & al-'Iraqi, 112, shows the eagle head of a genie facing right.

The three panels, Nos. 226-228, form a set, which can be compared to the Nabu Temple panels, *I.N.* II, 52-53, nos. 198-200, pl. xlii.

⁴ No photograph was available, so the image was scanned from the book and the drawing prepared from the same.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

The bull in the top register is similar to the kneeling bulls of the Nabu Temple panels, *I.N.* II, 53, nos. 201-202, pl. xlv.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 112, no. 50.

***227. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 51. Well AJ**
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79555

Plate 35



Fragment from top of a vertical rectangular panel in two registers, sides and bottom broken off. Incised. Decorated frame between registers, consisting of rows of buds with incised chevrons, separated by a guilloche band, framed by plain lines. Dowel holes of typical Assyrian type at top left and bottom. 17.1 x 2.9 cm.

Upper register: a bull kneeling to the right, head not preserved. The chest, back, belly and hindquarters are decorated with curls.

Lower register: the design is similar to that on Nos. 225 and 226. Only the head and left side of a figure advancing right survives. He wears the horned cap of divinity, surmounted by a triangular feature, is bearded and was presumably winged. Only part of

the raised right arm survives: his lowered left arm holds a bucket, on his wrist a rosette bracelet. Traces survive of his fringed shawl, tunic with short sleeves and decorated and fringed hem, and open overskirt.

The three panels, Nos. 226-228, form a set, which can be compared to the Nabu Temple panels, *I.N.* II, 52-53, nos. 198-200, pls. xlv, and the kneeling bull with *I.N.* II, 53, nos. 201-202, pl. xlv. Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 113, no. 51.

***228. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 52. Well AJ**
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79556

Plate 35



Fragment of the centre and bottom of a vertical rectangular panel in two registers, top and bottom cut or broken off, left side not preserved. Fragments missing from centre and top. Incised. Decorated frame between registers, consisting of rows of buds with incised chevrons, separated by a guilloche band, framed by plain lines. Dowel holes of typical Assyrian type. 19.0 x 3.7 cm.

Upper register: the lower left body of a male, probably a winged, human-headed genie, advancing right. In his lowered left hand he is holding a bucket with a beaded border at the top and rope design at the base. Traces survive of the tunic with decorated hem, the fringed open overskirt and shawl.

Lower register: fragmentary remains of a bearded, human-headed genie, probably winged, advancing right. He is holding in his left hand a bucket, similarly decorated to the above: on his wrist a double bracelet. Traces survive of his tunic with an elaborately decorated hem and fringed open overskirt.

The three panels, Nos. 226-228, form a set, which can be compared

to the Nabu Temple panels, *I.N.* II, 52-53, nos. 198-200, pls. xlv. The type of elaborate floral frame is also similar, although the Well AJ frieze of buds is replaced by voluted palmettes and buds (?) on the Nabu Temple panels.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 114, no. 52. [The drawing of fig. 101 in Safar & al-'Iraqi is reversed.]

***229. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 53. Well AJ**
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79557

Plate 33⁵

Fragmentary rectangular panel, right side broken off, slightly convex, or possibly warped. Frames at top and bottom consist of registers of buds decorated with chevron designs, the upper row pointing downwards and the lower one upwards. 8.0 x 5.4 cm.



An Assyrian stands to the right under an elaborately decorated, fringed baldachin supported on two posts with bud-shaped finials. His shoulder-length hair is bound by a fillet, and he wears a shawled, ankle-length tunic with short sleeves and a fringed hem. His left hand is raised, holding his bow, while his right holds a mace in front of him. His quiver hangs on his left shoulder and the blade of his sword can be seen behind. The feet are bare. Behind him, also under the baldachin, is a backless throne with ornate feet with ribbed mouldings surmounted by stylized palm capitals (Curtis 1996, 171). The curls and shoulder of a second figure can be seen at the upper right.

A unique piece. This figure is similar to that at the end of a long procession scene incised on a similarly sized panel, ND4193, from the throne-room of the Nabu Temple (*I.N.* II, 30, no. 67, pl. xx), where the king receives tributaries. The finials of the Well AJ baldachin are more elaborate than the Nabu Temple example, where there is no chair. For similarly equipped Assyrians, see *I.N.* II, 21-22, nos. 22, 25 and 28, pls. viii and x, .

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 115, fig. 102.

An Assyrian statuette

***230. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 16. Well AJ**
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79520

Plates 36-37

A statuette, c. 53 cm. high as restored, of a beardless Assyrian was originally made up from many pieces fitted together with wooden tenons, presumably on a wooden core. The surviving pieces consist of the head, the upper arms and shoulders, parts of the lower arms and hands, the right side of the lower body from the waist to the ankles and the two sandaled feet. Much of the torso and parts of the lower arms and hands are missing. The statue was restored by the State Organization for Antiquities and Heritage, the lost sections being made of gypsum. The pieces were found close together at a depth of about 23 metres.

H. c. 53.0 cm. Distance between tops of shoulders 19.0 cm.

⁵ No photograph was available, so the image was scanned from the book and the drawing prepared from the same.



The *head* is well preserved, carved in one piece and virtually complete, with a rectangular tenon slot at the bottom for fitting to the body. The face is round and smooth with heavy eyebrows, large, almond-shaped eyes with pronounced rims, a curving fleshy nose, a small mouth, slightly downward-curving, rounded cheeks and firm, fleshy chin and neck. The eyebrows, eyelashes and pupils were originally coloured black. The hair, also coloured black, is waved over the head and behind the ears, falling in a heavy roll made up of rows of spiral curls onto the shoulders. The ears show through the hair: they are large, finely shaped in the form of a question-mark, and each is perforated twice, at the bottom and the top, for earrings. The neck is thick and short, as on many Assyrian statues. He is wearing a thick torque from which numerous chains of a herringbone design are pendant. D. of head between the upper ends of the ears, 18.2 cm., D. from tip of nose to behind the head at the same level 12.0 cm.

The two parts of the left and right *shoulders* and upper *arms* are covered in a short-sleeved garment with rows of a chevron design over the shoulders and incised rectangles within rectangular panels on the upper arms. The hem is formed of two or three ribs, originally coloured. There are rectangular tenon slots in the sides and bottom for fixing to the body and to the lower arms.

A fragment from the right side of the *body*, broken at top and sides, is covered in a long garment decorated with incised rectangles within larger rectangles and with a hem at the bottom.

The *feet* are carved naturalistically with the toes and toe-nails shown. They are shod in heeled sandals secured by straps around the big toe and tied on top of the foot. Traces of black paint suggest the sandals were painted. The feet were fixed to the body by large tenon slots cut vertically into the rear end of the foot.

Right foot, 11.6 x 4.4 x 3.4 cm., tenon slot, 2 x 1.2 cm.; left foot, 11.4 x 4.0 x 3.4 cm., tenon slot 1.9 x 1.4 cm.: Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 11.0 x 3.0 cm.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 69-77, no.16; Ciafaloni 1992, tav. xviii

231. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 17. Well AJ Plate 37
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79521



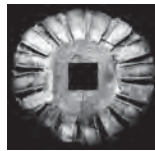
The front of a foot, heel carved separately, carved naturalistically in the round. It would have been fixed to a body by a large circular hole, only partially preserved. The surface is highly polished. The big toe is long and slightly separated from the other four toes, the toe-nails are represented. 3.3 x 5.6 cm. x 9.5 cm. (*Turin Catalogue*, 3.3 x 5.7 x 9.5 cm.)

Turin Catalogue, no. 175, colour plate, 330, 404. Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 78, no. 17.

Assyrian furniture elements

232. Safar & al-'Iraqi, nos. 42-43, 45. Well AJ Plates 38-39
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79546-47, IM 79549

Pair of circular furniture fittings, and fragments from a third, in the form of palm capitals with sixteen, free-standing, hanging leaves around the edge, carved fully in the round. Pierced from top to bottom by large square tenon slots: areas adjacent to tenon slots, flat and striated. The leaves are separated from each other by spear-shaped channels with raised ribs around the edges, simple channels continuing underneath. The ends of the leaves are semi-circular.



a. IM 79546, virtually complete. Tenon slot, 2.4 x 2.5 cm.: with flat striated areas adjacent, D. 6.0 cm. Colour, brown, some light, some dark. Max D. 13.4 cm. Th. 5.0 cm.

b. IM 79547, fragments missing from ends of leaves and centre top. Tenon slot, 2.2 x 2.2 cm.: with flat striated areas adjacent. Max D. 13.4 cm. D. of centre 6.2 cm., Th. 4.8 cm.

Fitter's mark: two parallel strokes.

c. IM 79549. Three petals from a capital similar to a. and b. above. Colours, light to dark brown, according to their location in the well. Remains of tenon slot in centre. 3.0 x 6.3 cm.

These furniture fittings are ivory versions of bronze examples found by Layard in Room AB and now in the British Museum. The bronze fittings are much the same size, H. 4.55 cm. D. 15.5 cm., but have twenty-seven leaves rather than sixteen, more sharply delineated, and with a circular sleeve rather than the square tenon slots of the ivory examples. Bronze versions have been found at Altintepe, Özgüç 1969, 45, figs. 43-44, pl. 36, 82-84. Stone versions are also known (Curtis 1996, 178-9, pl. 53; Curtis & Reade 1995, 125, no. 85). As noted by Curtis, such fittings are shown on furniture illustrated on the Assyrian reliefs. They are placed below the cross bar and above the feet.

A similar example was looted from Ziwiyeh, Ghirshman 1979, 42, pl. xiv, 5.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 106-108, nos. 42-44.

NORTH SYRIAN IVORIES

Three 'flame and frond' pyxides

***233. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 10. Well AJ** Plates I & 40-43
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79514



A relatively complete pyxis with base and lid: some restoration. The shape is approximately oval, with a flat back. Colour, brown, except for part of back panel. Pyxis: 14.7 x 13.4 cm. H. including calves, 10.0 cm. H. of side 7.0 cm. Th. of ivory, 1.4 cm.

The lid rotated around a wide dowel fixed to the flat side of the pyxis: it was cut from the length of a tusk, fitted inside an oval band decorated alternately with rosettes and circular holes, once containing inlays: there were rosettes each side of the peg. The edge of the lid is decorated with a guilloche band with drilled centres. Attached to the lid over the decorated band are four calves, carved

Ivories from Nimrud VI

in the round, partially overlaid with gold, and arranged, back to back, in pairs: the calf to the left of the peg has been restored in gypsum by the laboratory of the State Organization for Antiquities and Heritage. They are lying down, with legs tucked up. Their heads are turned and rest on their forelegs, their tails are wound round their hindlegs. The eyes are cut with centred bits; they have criss-cross markings on their faces, feathery beards, long ears and short horns, their neck musculature is marked, as are indented lines down their backs, rib markings and flame markings on their haunches.

The *body* of the pyxis has been restored from several pieces. There are guilloche frames with drilled centres at top and bottom and outlining the rear panel. Gold overlay survives on parts of the frames and some figures. The cloisons on the wings and branches are large, with some peg holes and contain the remains of 'coloured pastes'. The colour of the pyxis is brown except for part of the back, which is white: this was found separately, more than two metres above the rest. There are a number of dowel holes, for fixing the base, and for internal compartments. Six small holes are equally spaced around the guilloche band at the top; nine pierce the side, five of them set 2.5 cm. higher than the bottom, two in the frame of the back panel.

The *sides* are decorated with three scenes: two show pairs of sphinxes flanking a central tree, the third has a female figure holding a plant. The two scenes of opposed, human-headed, winged male sphinxes are similar: they are separated from each other by a papyrus plant. The second sphinx of the right-hand pair has been restored. The sphinxes have smooth hair ending in a single heavy curl, are clean-shaven and wear beaded collars around their necks; the bases of the wings are cross-hatched, the wings are decorated with large cloisons once holding coloured pastes. The musculature is typically 'flame and frond', consisting of markings on the forelegs, indented lines along the backs with vertical lines in front of the tail, rib and plait markings along the belly and back of the hindlegs, flame-markings on the hindlegs and 'peapod' markings on the hocks. The principal difference between the four is that one sphinx wears a soft, floppy hat, probably tied at the back, while the others have their hair tied with fillets or diadems. Gold overlay partially survives on the hair, chests, bodies, wing cloisons and the end of a tail. A stylized tree separates the opposed sphinxes: it consists of a wide trunk with a single set of downward curving volutes from which rise seven large 'fronds', with other fronds below. Peg-holes for the inlays are visible.

The *back* is decorated with a female figure, partially restored. She is probably a deity: she advances to the right, her left arm flexed, the hand holding a three-twigged stalk, her right held down and out in front of her, holding a stalk with two twigs. Her hairstyle is flamboyant with three large curls tied with a fillet on top of her head and a long plaited curl down her back. She wears a long pleated dress with a V-neck and short sleeves, belted at the waist, and with a beaded and fringed hem. The skirt of her cloak can be seen in front of her thigh and leading leg. The hair, garment and plants were overlaid with gold.

Only fragments survive of the *base*, which was inset into the

pyxis and held in place by dowels. It is formed of a thin piece of ivory, with five surviving dowel holes, presumably for fixing to its wooden base, which would have been attached either to a wooden lining or to the walls of the pyxis. The edge was decorated with a guilloche band with drilled centres and the interior with rows of rosettes formed of incised interlocking circles.

This is one of three pyxides, Nos. 233-235, all probably made in the 'flame and frond' workshop or workshops and found in Well AJ, see discussion on pp. 91-94. The motif of opposed sphinxes was a popular one for 'flame and frond' pyxides, with examples found in the Burnt Palace and at Hasanlu (Muscarella 1980, 120-123, nos. 226-34). Fragments found by Loftus in the 'Burnt Palace' include Barnett *C.N.I.*, 192-193, S13-17 and 23, pls. xix-xx, while Barnett *C.N.I.*, 191, S6, pl. xxi, is comparable except for the absence of inlays. Fragments of lids with rosette and disc borders were also found, see for instance nos. S 34, S44 and S45 (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 194, pl. xxix-xxx). The little calves fixed to the lids were a common find in the Burnt Palace, see those catalogued as S362 (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 219, pls. ci-cvi) and Mallowan *N. & R. I.*, 220, fig. 174. Similarly decorated base fragments include S35, S36, and S38 (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 194, pl. xxix-xxxi).

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 54-57, no. 10; Barnett 1982, 51, fig. 17; Herrmann 1989, 89-90, pl. ix; Scigliuzzo 2004, pl. 1, 1; Wicke 2008, No. Nim. 4.

234. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 9. Well AJ Plates J-K & 44-47 Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79513



An oval pyxis with lid and fragmentary base, relatively complete, restored from a number of pieces, probably cut from a single section of tusk. Gold overlay survives on parts of the frame and figures. The wings and parts of the stylized tree were inlaid: the cloisons are large with peg holes, and there are traces of brown paste. A few pieces of

burnt ivory inlay survive *in situ* on the wings of the goddess. The colour is black and coffee brown. H. of box including calves, 9.5 cm. H. of pyxis 6.4 cm. W. at top 13.9-12.8 cm. W. at base 14.4-13.0 cm. Th. c. 0.9 cm. *Turin catalogue*: 14.5 x 13.1 x 6.5 cm. Lid : 14 x 12.7 x 3.2 cm. Total height 9.7 cm.

The *oval lid* is the same shape as the body of the pyxis and rotates around a wide dowel fixed to the side above the female figure in the back panel. The lid is formed of a central oval, with a central rectangular slot, and is outlined with a zigzag frame: this oval is set within sections forming an outer frame, the edge of which is decorated with a band of alternate rosettes and circular holes with central pegholes for inlays: the edge of the lid is decorated with a guilloche band. The underneath of the lid has a central oval outlined by a guilloche band, which was cut from a vertical section of tusk. The outer sections were cut across the tusk.

Four calves, carved in the round, are attached to the lid, fixed through the rosette band on the edge: they are arranged, back to back, in pairs. The musculature is typically 'flame and frond'. They

are lying down, with legs tucked up. Their heads are turned and rest on their forelegs, their tails are wound round their hindlegs, the ends resting on their backs. They have criss-cross markings on their faces, long ears and short horns, their neck musculature is marked, hook marks on the shoulders, indented lines along the backs ending in vertical lines, four lines for the ribs and flame markings on the haunches. Gold overlay survived on the horns of one calf.

The *body* was probably cut from a complete tusk. The sides are decorated in relief with three scenes, a banquet scene, an offering scene and a female deity in a flat panel at the back. There are guilloche frames with drilled centres at the top and bottom, still containing traces of gold overlay, while the deity is enclosed within vertical foliate frames. A number of dowel holes, D. 0.3-0.4 cm., pierce the sides of the box, six are equally spaced around the upper guilloche band, and nine more are located some 2 cm. above the base, 2 in the vertical frames of the female figure. These may have been to hold partitions inside the pyxis. A peg, restored, above the back panel acted as a hinge.

The banquet scene. The ruler is seated to the right on a sphinx throne. Both arms are flexed, the right hand holding up a fluted cup, the left an upright lotus flower, signifying that he is alive. He wears a hat forming a point at the back, over smooth hair with a single heavy curl on the shoulder. He has a large eye, pointed nose and small mouth and chin. His garment has short sleeves and an ankle-length kilted skirt with a beaded wrap-over edge and a beaded hem. The material is decorated with an overall beaded diamond design, although gold foil still surviving on the neck and upper body obscures some details. The feet are bare and rest on a Phoenician style footstool with voluted supports (Gubel 1996, 144-145, 149, Type VIIa).

The throne is a version of a Phoenician sphinx throne (Gubel 1996, 142-143), first seen at Megiddo (Loud 1939, pl. 4, no. 2). The side of the throne is formed of a human-headed sphinx striding forwards to the right, the upward-curving wing forming the arm-rest. The backrest is high and slightly sloping, with a flat top. The sphinx has a pointed nose, small chin and smooth hair ending in a single curl. The base of the wing is cross-hatched, and the wings consist of large cloisons: one piece of burnt ivory inlay survives *in situ*. Typical 'flame and frond' musculature is marked on the forelegs, indented lines along the back, ending in vertical lines, lines on ribs, plait markings along the belly, flame-markings on the flank and 'peapod' markings on the hocks. The tail curves upwards behind the backrest of the throne.

The table is a typical Phoenician tripod table with S-shaped legs and leonine paws (Gubel 1996, 149-150), set on a platform. The edge of the blade is beaded, and the legs joined by a cross-bar with a vertical support. Set on the table is a pedestal vase or fruit-stand, a stand, perhaps with bread and eggs, set on voluted supports, and other foods, including a bird with turned head.

An attendant approaches the table from the right. His right arm is raised holding a fly-whisk with a long tail, the left is lowered holding a fluted wine-strainer with a long spout and curved open handle (chip missing from spout). His hair, bound with a fillet, is

short and wavy: he has a large, almond-shaped eye, pointed nose and small mouth and chin. He wears an ankle-length garment with short sleeves and beaded hems. It is made of a similar diamond-patterned material to that of the enthroned figure, the skirt being more decorated than the bodice. Both the hair and the garment are covered with gold overlay, as is the wine-strainer.

Separating the banquet scene from the following offering scene is a stylized tree, poorly preserved: some of the downward curving volutes and 'fronds' can be made out. The surviving cloisons were covered with gold overlay. The tree is generally similar to that on No. 233, IM 79514, above.

The central feature of the *offering scene* is a four-winged goddess, her body turned to the right but with her face, upper body and wings confronting the onlooker: the area on the right is damaged. Her arms are flexed and hold up twin-branched buds, similar to those of the panelled goddess. Her hair is smooth and, hooked behind the ears, falls in two heavy 'Hathor' curls on her shoulders: the eyes are almond-shaped, the mouth and chin are small. She is wearing a high, many stranded collar and a long, pleated dress, belted at the waist, with short sleeves and a trailing hem, both with beaded edges. The feet are bare. Two curls decorate each wing above her shoulders, and large volutes frame the hips, similar to those on the goddess of No. 235 below. The wings are formed of large cloisons: some pieces of carnelian coloured inlay, probably burnt ivory, remain *in situ*. Parts of the hair, much of the dress, some of the wing cloisons and parts of the plant are covered with gold overlay. The goddess is flanked by a pair of tall offering tables with attendants. The tables have rectangular blades, cavetto and torus mouldings and slatted sides. On the tables are conical, flame-like objects rising from bowls with outward-sloping sides. The area to the left of the left-hand table is damaged, as is the object on the table on the right and that held up by that attendant.

The attendants raise their right arms, and lower their left, although the hands and objects held in the right hands, and the lower left arm and hand of the left attendant are damaged. Only the left hand of the right attendant survives, holding a footed and handled jug with a high spout. The attendants are similar in appearance to the attendant in the banquet scene: their hair, bound by fillets, is short and wavy. They have the usual almond-shaped eyes, beaky noses and small mouths and chins. They wear necklaces, one of ribs, the other beaded, and short-sleeved garments, belted at the waist, with short skirts and long, open overskirts with beaded hems. The material is decorated overall with a simple diamond pattern similar to that on the upper garment of the royal attendant. Their hair and clothes are partially overlaid with gold.

Separating the two principal scenes and following the king's attendant is a man leading a bull towards a stylized tree. He stands behind the bull, grasping the horn with his right hand, while his left rests on the flank. His hair, bound with a narrow fillet, is short and wavy: some of the gold overlay survives. He has the usual almond-shaped eye, beaky nose, small mouth and pointed chin. His chest is bare: there are traces of a belt around his waist. One foot can be seen behind the bull's leading hindleg. The musculature indicated on the bull is typically 'flame and frond' with a large eye and ear, an oval shoulder marking, lines on the ribs, flame markings on the

Ivories from Nimrud VI

flank and 'peapod' markings on the hocks.

The third scene is separated from the other two by vertical foliate frames and contains a female deity advancing right, with both arms flexed and raised, holding similar twin-branched buds to the winged goddess. Two small palm trees with a criss-cross design on the trunks grow on either side. Her hair is smooth ending in a single curl on her shoulder. She wears a necklace and a long dress with short sleeves (damaged in the centre) of a similar pleated material to that worn by the goddess, although the hem is straight rather than trailing. Most of the gold overlay on the hair and the dress survive.

The oval base is poorly preserved and fragmentary. It was constructed of thin pieces of ivory, probably fitted onto wood. All that survives are fragments of the guilloche frame around the edge and the central design of incised, six-petalled rosettes, drawn with compasses (Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 48).

There is uncertainty about the gender of the enthroned figure. In Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 51, the figure is identified as a woman, probably a deity, an identification followed by Invernizzi (*Turin Catalogue* 410). No reasons were given for this. However, the figure is almost certainly the king. Reasons to support this hypothesis are that similar enthroned figures are male. The design on the pyxis is based on part of a scene on the famous Ahiiram sarcophagus (Pritchard 1969, 456-458), where the king is seated on a sphinx throne with a table in front and with a procession of attendants advancing towards him. Equally an earlier ivory from Megiddo shows a victory scene with captives and tribute being brought to a king seated on a sphinx throne (Loud 1939, pl. 4, no. 2; Pritchard 1969, fig. 332). There are no examples of such procession scenes with enthroned women.

The single curled lock on the shoulder is a hairstyle worn by both men and women. On the banquet pyxis it is worn by the goddess on the back panel, as well as the enthroned figure and the sphinx of the sphinx throne. However, the hat and curl of the enthroned figure and the sphinx also occur on the preceding pyxis, No. 233, where pairs of sphinxes flank plants: their gender is unequivocal – they are male. A silver and gold pendant from Zincirli shows a man and woman holding floral staffs and touching hands, each has hair arranged in a single curl on the shoulders (Andrae 1943, Taf. 46k, 47e). A male with a rounded hat and hair in a single curl can also be seen on a stela from Zincirli with a funerary banquet (Pritchard 1969, fig. 633). The single curl is not, therefore, an indication of gender.

Equally suggestive is the dress. Women or goddesses are regularly shown wearing long dresses of a pleated material often with trailing hems, for instance the goddesses on the banquet and sphinx pyxides. For fragments from the Burnt Palace see Barnett *C.N.I.*, 193, S 26, pl. xxiii, for a frontal 'Mistress of Animals' with Hathor curls and pleated dress; and Barnett *C.N.I.*, 192, S12, pl. xxvii, for a female with a single curl, wearing a pleated dress with trailing hem and holding plants. Furthermore, many of the females on the panels from Room SW7 of Fort Shalmaneser also wear garments made of a pleated material and with a trailing or straight skirt (*I.N.* III, 72, no. 3, pl. xiii; and 89-92, nos. 46-50, 186

pls. liv-lix). Returning to the Zincirli pendant, the man wears a short kilted skirt of a diamond patterned material and the woman a long pleated dress (Andrae 1943, Taf. 46k, 47e).

Men on the other hand are regularly shown wearing garments made of a diamond-patterned material. Both the king and the attendants on the banquet pyxis wear garments made of this material. Many male figures in hunting scenes on pyxides from the Burnt Palace also wear similar garments, including for instance Barnett *C.N.I.*, 190, S1, pl. xviii; 191, S10, pl. xxiv and 192, S20, pl. xxvi). Fragments of hunting scenes from SW37 also show men in similar garments (*I.N.* IV, 156-157, nos. 657, 659-661, pl. 161), as do furniture panels from Room SW7 (*I.N.* III, 70-71, no. 2, pl. viii-ix; 80-84, nos. 22-28, pls. xxxiv-xliv). Indeed, the material may be a better indicator of gender than hairstyle: for instance, it raises the question of whether the enthroned figure on S28a holding up a fluted cup in one hand and wearing a long garment of this material is male rather than female, as suggested by Barnett (*C.N.I.*, pl. xxiii). It is comparable with the enthroned figures of the Ahiiram sarcophagus and the banquet pyxis.

On balance, therefore, with other procession scenes focussed on male figures, with the hat and hairstyle worn by male sphinxes, and the diamond-patterned garment also supporting a male identification, it seems probable that the enthroned figure on the banquet scene was indeed a male.

Turin Catalogue, colour photographs on 332; 409-412; Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 48-53, no. 9; Herrmann 1989, 90, pls. xi-xii; Muyldermans 1989, 393-407; Bonatz 2004, 391-393, Abb. 6-7 on 404; Scigliuzzo 2004, pls. 4,4 & 53,5; Herrmann 2005, 14, pl. v; Wicke 2008, Nim. 19.

***235. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 11. Well AJ**
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79515

Plates 48-49



A tall, oval pyxis, lid and base not preserved. The pyxis was carved from a section of tusk and was relatively complete but with restored elements. There are guilloche frames with drilled centres at the top and bottom. The faces of the two goddesses were carved separately and fixed by rectangular blocks, still in situ, the wings were inlaid: the cloisons are large with peg holes. A few pieces of burnt ivory inlay survive in situ. No traces of gold overlay except for a fragment on the edge of a feather. The pupils of the animals' eyes were drilled. Five holes pierce the upper frame, but are not equally spaced, and five holes pierce the lower frame. 9.2 x 10.8-9.3 x 1.0-0.5 cm.

Two similar scenes are carved in high relief, each showing a nude winged goddess or mistress of animals holding a pair of lions. The two scenes are separated by stylized trees, on which pairs of rampant ibex browse. The mistress of animals is represented frontally, her wings outspread beside her, her arms flexed and raised, grasping one hindleg of each lion. Her face was carved separately. Her hair is arranged in two ringlets framing her face. She wears a beaded necklace with pendant discs and nothing

else. Her belly button is formed of a drilled circle and her pubis is triangular. The base of the wings is cross-hatched and ends in inlaid volutes, similar to those on No. 234: some of the darkened ivory inlay of the volutes survives. The feathers are formed of two rows of large cloisons. The lions are held aloft by one hindleg, their front legs do not reach the ground. They are roaring with open mouths. The lions have ruffs round their faces, tufted manes, indented lines along the backs ending in vertical lines in front of the tails, rib and plait markings along the belly, flame-markings on the hindlegs and 'peapod' markings on the hocks.

The stylized trees consist of a single pair of downward curving volutes from which two fronds grow down and five up. The trunk is cross-hatched: two fronds grow from its base. The rampant ibex support one foreleg on the lowest fronds, while the other is bent against the volutes: they browse on an upper frond. They have large eyes, long curving horns, short ears, and their necks are cross-hatched. There are oval markings on their shoulders, indented lines along the backs, rib and flame markings and 'peapod' markings on the hocks.

Fragments of clothed versions of the mistress of animals were found in the Burnt Palace (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 192-193, S20, pl. xxvi and S26, pl. xxiii).

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 59, no. 11; Herrmann 1989, 90, pl. x; Scigliuzzo 2004, pl. 46, 4; Wicke 2008, Nim. 39.

'Flame and frond' flask

236. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 6. Well AJ Plates L-M & 50-55
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79508-79510



A flask consisting of four pieces, a large section of carved tusk, IM 79508, *a disc or stopper, *a short wooden section, IM 79509, and *a carved female head, IM 79510,

all discovered at nearly one level in the well. The wooden section and the head were joined and fit the top of the flask, while the stopper fits the lower end.

The main section, IM 79508, follows the curve of the elephant's tusk from which it was carved. It is divided into four longitudinal registers, the two on the convex side show processions of three bulls advancing towards the wide end, while the two on the concave side show opposed pairs of winged griffins fighting lions. Dividing the two combat registers is a wide herringbone frame formed of cloisons: the other registers are separated by guilloche bands. The wide end is framed by a pair of guilloche bands, the narrower end by rows of circular holes for inlays: there is a socket in the narrow end. The remains of gold overlays can be seen on the herringbone frame, together with the remains of inlays of burnt ivory; there are traces of gold on the necks of some lions and griffins, on the wing cloisons, and the horns and hair of the bulls. There are remains of gold overlay and inlays of burnt ivory or coloured pastes on the stylized trees separating the combatants in the upper registers and on the papyrus flowers between the bulls.

L. of convex side 38.0 cm. L. of concave side 32.0 cm. The large end measures 9.5 x 7.5 cm. and the small end, 6.0 x 5.3 cm. The wooden block was fixed to the small end through a central hole, 1.9 x 1.7, and secured by dowels.

Turin Catalogue, L. 35.7 cm. Larger end, 9.4 x 7.4 cm. Smaller end, 6.5 x 5.4 cm. Th. 1.95 x 1.55 cm.

The *combat scenes* in the upper concave registers. A central stylized tree, similar to those on the pyxides, Nos. 233 and 234, separates the pairs of fighting beasts: these consist of a single pair of downward-curving volutes from which two fronds grow down and five upwards. The elements are inlaid with ivory or coloured pastes. Each of the scenes shows a lion fighting a winged griffin. The principal difference between them is that the two scenes nearer the narrow end represent the lion with his head shown frontally, the jaws grasping the lower neck of the griffin, whose head is raised to allow the lion to bite its neck, while at the wider ends the griffin's head is lowered and the lion bites its upper neck. In this version the griffin's wings spread along its back and behind the lion. In both scenes the lion is attacking fiercely, its right forepaw grasping his prey, and his jaws clamped. The lions have wrinkles round the open jaws, large eyes, heart-shaped ears, tufted manes, indented lines along the backs ending in vertical lines, rib markings and plait markings along the belly and the back of the hindlegs, flame-markings on the hindlegs and 'peapod' markings on the hocks. Their tails curve down between their hindlegs. The griffins attack the lions with open beaks. They have large oval eyes, two curls falling down their necks, cross-hatching at the base of their wings, and similar rib, plait, flame and 'peapod' markings to the lions. The tails of the griffins near the narrow end curve up in an 'S' shape around the tree; the tails of those at the wider end are tucked between their legs.

The *bulls* in the lower registers. Three-branched papyrus trees grow at the narrow end, and single papyrus plants with curving stalks separate the three bulls and end the panel. The bulls advance towards the wider end of the tusk, their right legs leading. Their heads are lowered, the long horns, cross-hatched at the bases, curve up to touch the frames of the register; the eyes and curving eyebrows are large; the noses are cross-hatched; the chins tucked into the chests, the ears folded back. Their massive necks and chests are marked with curved lines: there are oval shoulder markings containing reversed 'Y's, indented lines along the backs, ending in vertical lines, rib markings; flame-markings on the hindlegs, 'peapods' on the hocks and long tails.

*A *wooden disc*, IM 79509, was attached by tenons to the narrow end of the flask and to the woman's head, IM 79510, thus uniting the two. A third piece, now missing, would have fitted the slot on top of the woman's head. The wooden disc has shrunk and only a third has survived: its original decoration cannot be determined. H. 3.5 cm.

*The *woman's head*, IM 79510, was carved in the round and cut from the tip of a tusk. Square tenon slots, cut into the bottom, 1.9 x 1.7 x 2.8 cm., and the top, 2.5 x 2.5 x 1.5 cm., were secured by dowels or pins: two wide dowel holes at base, 0.7-0.8 cm., one with an ivory dowel decorated with a rosette, *in situ*. Narrower dowel holes at the top retain an iron nail, the ends of which are

Ivories from Nimrud VI

hidden by small ivory discs. Long narrow cloisons, each with three peg-holes, cut in the crown: three of the five large discs of the lower necklace were excised for inlay. Three fragments of gold foil survive on the lower section.

L. of convex side, 12.5 cm. L. of concave side, 10.0 cm. Oval base 6.0 x 4.7 cm.. Top of crown, 3.6 x 2.7 cm. *Turin Catalogue*, 10.9 x 4.8 cm; base socket 1.8 x 1.9 x 2.8 cm., top socket 1.5 x 1.45 cm. Dowels 0.7-0.8 cm.

The head is carved in the round. The face is thin and sensitively carved. The eyes are large and almond-shaped with drilled pupils, painted black, the colour spreading to the rest of the eyes. The heavy curved eyebrows connect above the thin, hooked nose. The lips are thin and pout, the chin is pointed. The hair is parted in the centre of the forehead and falls in ringlets in front of the ears, originally down to the breast, although the lower portions are missing, and in long plaits, tied with a beaded band, ending in curls on the back. She wears a tall crown of excised rectangular panels, and an elaborate necklace, consisting of a 'collar' of three strands of beads with five, large, flat discs, alternately excised for inlays and plain, below. The peg-holes for the inlays are visible in both the crown and three of the necklace discs.

*The ivory disc forming the stopper is approximately oval and fits the bottom of the flask. Decoration is incised and consists of a guilloche frame surrounding a series of rosettes formed of intersecting circles. 9.5 x 7.5 cm.

The crowned head forming the end of the horn can be compared to a number of heads of caryatid figures found in the Burnt Palace. The face with its large eyes, hooked nose, protruding lips and firm chin is similar to, for instance, the crowned heads of S192, S202 and S212, while the crown with inlaid rectangular compartments finds parallels with S192, S193 and S212 (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 206-207, pls. lxxii-lxxiii). A similar hairstyle can be seen on many of the heads, both crowned and uncrowned, for instance on S172-174, S193 (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 205-206, pls. lxx, lxxii). A similar necklace is worn by many of these figures, e.g. S172-173, U7, S176 and S193. An earlier version of this tall crown can be seen on the ivory with a victory scene from Megiddo (Pritchard 1969, 111, fig. 332). For discussion, see pp. 91-94.

Turin Catalogue, flask, 404-407, no. 177, colour photographs, 331: and head, 408-409, no. 180, colour photograph, 326; Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 34, no. 6; Herrmann 1989, 89, pl. viii; Scigliuzzo 2004, pl. 46, 4; Wicke 2008, Nim. 39.

'Flame and frond' lion bowl

237. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 7. Well AJ Plates N-O & 56-58
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79511



A large and richly decorated example of a 'lion-bowl' or 'spoon-stopper', carved from a single piece of tusk and belonging to the North Syrian 'flame and frond' style-group. The round bowl is held by four lions, two on the top, two on the bottom, of which only the foreparts are represented.

They extend their inner paws round the necks of the adjacent lions, while the two on top hold the bowl with their outer paws. The lions on the base are separated by a guilloche band from the principal scene, a pair of winged sphinxes flanking a stylized tree, their heads carved in the round on the front of the bowl. There is a winged disc between the heads. The eyes of the lions, their manes, the discs of the winged disc, crowns and necklaces, the chests, ribs and wings of the sphinxes were inlaid. The inlays of the crowns were pegged, but those in the discs were shallow. Traces of a dark brown paste survives in one of the upper lion's eyes, and black paste in the lower lions' eyes. The rim of the bowl is outlined by a twisted frame and has nine small holes on the top, D. 0.2 cm., possibly for pins to hold gold overlay or small ornaments. The handle end is decorated with a row of palmettes in the round, while the back has two deep tenon slots, 2.2 x 2.2 cm. and 2.4 x 2.1 cm., with two dowel holes perforating the piece from the top, to attach the bowl to a handle or flask. A circular hole, c. 1.0 cm., continues through the tenon slots into the lions' mouths to attach the tongues, which were also held in place by further dowel holes with nails from the top. Some scratches can be seen between the two nails. 7.6 x 15.9 cm. W. at tenon end 9.7 cm. Max. W. of bowl 12.4 cm.; *Turin Catalogue*, 7.4 x 16.2 x 12.6 cm. Slot 2.1 x 2.1 x 2.7 cm.; Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 5 x 16.3 x 13 cm..

The upper lions are shown with gaping mouths, which are linked by circular holes to the tenon slots on the back. The faces are wide with pricked, rounded ears and almond-shaped eyes, the wrinkles and whiskers around the mouths and above the eyes are stippled, and the nose has incised chevrons. The tongues stretch down into the bowl between the carefully represented fangs of the upper and lower jaws. The curls of the mane are formed of deep cloisons. The paws have five jointed 'fingers', either supporting the bowl or linked across their necks. The lower edges of the extended paws are decorated with a herringbone design. The lower lions have faces with closed mouths, noses decorated with chevrons, stippled whiskers and eyebrows, almond-shaped eyes, rounded ears and inlaid manes. Their inner legs cross the necks of the next lion: the outer ones are not shown. In front of their faces is a mountain design and a guilloche band, which separates the lions from the principal design.

The winged, human-headed sphinxes occupying the bottom and sides of the bowl stand on the trunk of a stylized tree, the inner forepaws rising above the tree. This consists of two sets of downward curving volutes, with fronds above and below and a central crown of fronds. The heads of the sphinxes are carved in the round. Their hair is parted in the centre and falls in ringlets in front of the ears and long curls behind. The hair is held by crowns or chaplets with inlaid discs. The eyes are almond-shaped with drilled pupils. The eyebrows, originally inlaid, nearly meet above the thin noses. The mouths are small and pout. They wear necklaces with three strands of beads with central pendant discs between the ringlets. The fronts of the chests are outlined with triple rows of beading, with beading at the top of the outer forelegs. The bases of the wings are formed of deep triangular cloisons. The wings have two rows of inlaid feathers; also inlaid were the rib markings and flames on the haunches. The lines along the backs are finely beaded, and there are plait markings along the bellies and backs of the legs. The tails curl up over the haunches.

The winged disc between the sphinxes on the front is set between the cord frame round the rim and a double frame below. It consists of a central disc, probably once inlaid, between a pair of inlaid wings rising from inlaid volutes. There are fronds above and below the disc and from the end of the volutes.

This lion bowl with its four lions and the elaborate scenes decorating the base of the bowl is unique, especially in the number of lions depicted. It is also unusually large; there are relatively few examples of larger bowls, and these have only single lions. They include two Egyptian blue examples from Hasanlu, L. 15.2 cm., and from Kinneret, 7.7 x 13.0 x 3.0 cm. (Muscarella 1965, 43, fig. 3; Fritz 1987, 232-240): another unusually large example is the plain bowl with the cushion capital, No. 285, with a length of 16 cm. These bowls must have been joined to large flasks.

A more standard lion bowl is No. 286 with a single lion, its paws cradling the bowl, and measuring 7.8 x 5.2 x 7.5 cm.: it belongs to a different style-group. A number of fragments of lion bowls was found in the Burnt Palace, by both Loftus, S77-84 (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 197, pl. xlix) and Mallowan (*N. & R. I.*, 221, fig. 177). These include a fragment with a typically 'flame and frond' shoulder and paw, S78. A stone fragment was found at Khorsabad (Loud & Altman 1938, pl. 64, 257). Fragments of five or six lion bowls have been found at Hasanlu, some of which were made in Egyptian blue or stone (Muscarella 1980, 192-193; 1974, 25-29). Two fragmentary single lion bowls of serpentine were found in Zincirli (Andrae 1943, 148, Taf. 13a-b, e-f; 14a-b, d, e), and a fragment in greenstone at Boghazköy (Mazzoni 2005, 56, pl. xv, 9). See Muscarella 1965, 1974, Fritz 1987, and for a recent discussion Mazzoni 2005, 49-56.

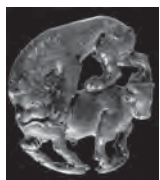
The heads of the sphinxes are generally similar to heads from the end of the flask, No. 236, to examples from the Burnt Palace, Barnett *C.N.I.*, such as S192, S202 and S212, (206-207, pls. lxxii-lxxiii), and from area ZT, Nos. 41-43. The form of the winged disc, with fronds above and below the central disc, also occurs on panels 2 and 5 of a set of chairbacks, no. 21, from SW7, Fort Shalmaneser, *I.N. III*, 79-80, pls. xxviii, xxxiii. See discussion on pp. 91-95.

Turin Catalogue, 407-408, no. 179, colour photograph of front and back, 331; Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 40, no. 7; Barnett 1982, 51, fig. 18; Herrmann 1989, 90-91, pl. xiii; Scigliuzzo 2004a, pl. 102, 1; Scigliuzzo 2004b, 109-17, fig. 19; Herrmann 2005, 14, pl. iii.

'Flame and frond' silhouette

***238. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 15. Well AJ** Plate 59
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79519

An openwork oval fitting or ornament, representing a lion attacking a bull, carved in high relief. Virtually complete, except for a fragment from the mountainous ground below the bull's hooves. Colour, dark brown. Back, plain with two rectangular slots. *Turin catalogue*, 8.9 x 8.8 cm.: Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 8.5 x 8.5 x 1.5 cm.



The bull is standing on a narrow strip of ground, facing right, with head turned frontally. He is beginning to collapse from the weight of the lion on his back. The lion is balanced on the bull's head and back, facing left, his head turned frontally, biting the bull's haunch. His left forepaw grasps the bull's flank, his right forepaw passes under the bull's hindleg, the claws visible on the bull's left hindleg.

The bull's head is small and trapezoidal in shape, with short horns, long ears, small eyes with drilled pupils and drilled nostrils. The leading foreleg is flexed to hold the weight of the lion. The musculature on the neck is represented by curving lines, there is a curving 'hook' on his shoulder, a line with indentations along his back and muscle markings on his hocks. His tail is on his thigh. The lion's head is wide with almond-shaped eyes with drilled pupils, eyebrows, a wide nose and stippled whiskers. The ears are flat, the mane is tufted, he has a line with fine indentations along his back, a plait along his belly, his ribs are indicated by incised lines, there are indications of flame-markings on the flanks, curls mark the back of his hindlegs, there is a 'pea-pod' on his hock and his tail is curled in a double S on his hip.

A unique piece belonging to the North Syrian 'flame and frond' style-group.

Turin Catalogue, 407, no. 178, colour photograph, 330; Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 67, no. 15; Barnett 1982, 51, fig. 21; Herrmann 1989, 91, pl. x.

'Round-cheeked and ringletted' palette

239. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 1. Well AJ Plates P & 59-66
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79501-03



A unique, oblong-shaped vessel, IM 79501, cut from a lengthwise section of tusk, one end narrower than the other. In the centre of the top is a small rounded bowl; the base is convex. The ivory is decorated overall with a remarkable,

frenetic, interlocking design of animals, carved in low relief on the top and high relief on the sides and base: some heads are nearly in the round. The pupils of the eyes are marked. There is no trace of any inlay, paint or gold overlay. Colour, light coffee. Essentially complete except for a few fragments from noses, etc. The central bowl, D. 5.0 cm., is outlined by a wide plain frame. To left and right of the bowl are two square tenon slots, into which separately carved lion paws, IM 79503, could be fitted. Additional rectangular slots for floral elements, IM 79502, were carved at each end: the slots were pierced horizontally by dowel holes – the iron nails, which once held the flowers in situ, still survive. L. 24.0 cm., W. 11.5 cm. H. with flower on left, 9.5 cm., on right, 8.7cm. H. of right flower, 5.8 cm., and left flower, 4.2 cm. *Turin Catalogue*. 24.7 x 12.2 x 9.4 cm. Central bowl, 4.7-5.0 cm. Central sockets, 0.9 x 0.9 x 1.2 and 1.1 x 0.8 x 1.3 cm.; end sockets, 1.3 x 0.7 x 1.4 and 1.2 x 1.0 x 1.1 cm.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

The dominant feature of *the top* is two eagles, nos. 9 and 10 (Plate 63), perched on the sides of the central bowl, which they grasp with their claws.⁶ Their heads are carved in the round and turned to either side. Their outstretched wings and broad tails are carved on the sides of the vessel. Their bodies are decorated with cross-hatching, their wings are feathered. Between the slots on the top are pairs of leaping gazelles. One pair, nos. 24 and 25, cross, their heads and forelegs framing the slot nearest the bowl, their hindlegs outstretched, touching the necks of a pair of lions. These lions, nos. 19 and 20, are recumbent, with their heads represented frontally and outlined by a curve of hair, ending in short ringlets. Their manes are tufted. The bodies of the other pair of gazelles, nos. 26 and 27, also cross, but their heads are carved on the same side of the vessel. A pair of winged lions, nos. 17 and 18, are rather awkwardly squashed in on either side of the vessel. A pair of filler motifs of crouching creatures, nos. 28 and 29, can also be seen.

The *long sides and base* of the vessel are convex both in length and width, following the natural curvature of the tusk. The surface is covered with carvings in relief of legendary creatures and animals arranged longitudinally and transversally. Although the principal beasts are generally mirrored, there is considerable variety in detail and in the arrangement of the filler motifs, the principle being to leave no area of the surface bare.

The sides, flanking the central eagles, are occupied by pairs of winged, human-headed sphinxes, nos. 2 and 4, at one end of the vessel and winged lions, nos. 1 and 3, at the other. These are set back to back and advance towards the edges of the vessel, their outer forepaws raised. They stride over a number of small animals, cervids, winged griffins and lions, nos. 15-16, 31-33, 37-40. Their heads are represented frontally and are framed by ringlets. Their chests are covered with panels of short feathers, and the wings have two rows of feathers. Their tails hang down behind them, in one case with tips crossing, the other arranged differently.

The hair of the two human-headed sphinxes is carved differently: one has smooth hair with a central parting and ringlets falling onto the chest, while the other has plaits over the top of the head and spreading out behind: the hair is crossed by a band ending in ringlets beside the face. The lion and sphinx, nos. 1 and 2, wear stranded necklaces with pendant discs, not worn by nos. 3 and 4. The manes of the lions around the faces are decorated with zigzag lines and end in ringlets, the ears above are rounded, the wrinkles round the muzzles are stippled.

Occupying the centre of the base is a row of four animals, advancing left. In the front is a squashed and elongated griffin-man, no. 14, with turned head and thick curled ringlet. This long sprawling figure has a human arm in front, and leonine hindlegs stretched out behind. The griffin is followed first by a bull, no. 13, and then by a winged griffin, no. 12. The bull's horn is in profile, there is a line of dots above the eye, and the neck musculature is marked by wavy lines. The griffin's head is turned back to

attack a cervid, no. 35; it has thick twisted locks, a stranded necklace with discs like those of nos. 1 and 2, cross-hatching on the chest and base of the wings and two rows of feathers; its tail is raised in an 'S' curve. Behind the griffin is a lion, no. 11, with head turned frontally, killing an ibex, no. 34. The lion resembles the others with rounded ears, zigzag feature round the top of the head, stippled muzzle and tufted mane. Spaces between the principal animals are filled with a mass of creatures, cervids, griffins and birds, with parts of animals appearing above or below the principal beasts.

The ends of the vessel are decorated with pairs of rams, nos. 5-8, back to back, with folded legs. Their tails touch. There is a row of fronds above the rams' backs, which continue onto the base of the separate floral elements, IM 79502. The wool of three rams is represented by rows of spirals, that of the fourth by rows of straight lines (*Turin Catalogue*, 397).

Although musculature is not marked on the animals' bodies, which are lightly modelled, there are a number of stylizations. The necks and bases of the wings of the central birds, the chests of the griffins and the tops of the heads of the sheep on the sides are cross-hatched, while the chests of the winged sphinxes and lions are feathered. All wings have two rows of feathers. The hair of the griffins usually ends in curled locks. The nose wrinkles and whiskers of the lions, together with the manes around their heads are marked, as are the neck wrinkles on the bull and cervids.

Two flowers, IM 79502, carved in the round with outward-curving petals and a central boss, fitted into slots at the ends of the vessel. Between the flowers and the stalk are two raised ribs: the stalk of one flower has an incised design of fronds, which continues the fronds on the rams between the human-headed sphinxes; the other is plain, since the frond design was essentially completed on the vessel. Prongs on the bases fit the slots.

A third flower, found nearby, is carved in the round and is similar to but smaller than the others. It lacks the stalk, ending above the raised ribs. There is a slot, 0.8 x 0.8 cm., in the base to receive prongs for fixing. 2.7 x 4.4-1.9 x 1.8 cm.

The forelegs of a lion, IM 79503, carved in the round, end in an oval disc and tenon, 0.7 x 0.7 x 0.6 cm., and fitted into the slot near the central bowl. A fringe was cross-hatched and the claws indicated. A dowel hole, 0.3 cm., pierces the paw, in the base. 2.5-2.0 x 2.0-1.5 x 2.0-1.3 cm.

The cosmetic palette is a unique piece, although its attribution to the 'roundcheeked and ringletted' style-group is generally recognized (pp. 99-100). This group was identified in a series of unusual panels from SW37, Fort Shalmaneser, depicting both humans and sphinxes (*I.N.* IV, 19). The sphinxes, *I.N.* IV, nos. 904-922, are similar in style to those on the cosmetic palette and have also been compared to the double sphinx column bases from Zincirli. The range of representation of the details is unusual and, with the palette's vitality and variety, is evidence of the imagination of the craftsman. It also raises interesting questions as to whether it was the work of one or more craftsmen. Such variety is typically 'round-cheeked and ringletted', as are the smooth modelled bodies of the animals.

⁶ The drawing and numbering of the animals, Plate 63, was prepared by Dirk Wicke and published in Wicke 2002.

Turin Catalogue, 396-401, no. 170, colour plate, 327; Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 18-25, nos. 1-2; Ciafaloni 1992, Tav. xvii, a; Wicke 2002, 229-271, Taf.1-8; Scigliuzzo 2004a, pl. 102, 2; Scigliuzzo 2004b, 109-117, fig. 20; Wicke 2005, 67-110, pl. xvii.

'Round-cheeked and ringletted' silhouette and lion

***240. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 21. Well AJ**
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79525

Plate 67



A silhouette of a human-headed bird or siren, carved in high relief. The siren is represented frontally, with outstretched wings, grasping a goat in its talons, as if it has just swooped to capture its prey and thrown it to the ground. A pair of vultures beside the bird are devouring the goat. The back of the panel is flat with two circular dowels, cut by a centred bit, one behind the head, the other at the bottom left. A small drill hole is sited on the opposite side. Some incisions around the head and centre were possibly from a previous trial design. Colour, dark brown. 9.8 x 15.0 cm. (*Turin Catalogue*, 9.9 x 14.6 cm.)

The human head of the 'bird' is round: the hair is arranged in curls over the low brow and ends in ringlets; the long eyes have drilled pupils and arched eyebrows; the cheeks are prominent, the nose is broad and flat, the mouth well modelled, and the chin, dimpled. The neck is short and adorned with a wide necklace consisting of four rows of oval beads divided by seven separators with pairs of vertical lines. Attached to the necklace are fourteen pendant discs with hollowed centres, possibly once inlaid. The necklace is similar to those worn by three of the creatures on the preceding vessel, a human-headed sphinx and lion and a griffin, Nos. 1, 2 and 12. The chest, the base of the wings and the wings themselves are feathered. The legs are smooth, and the three clawed talons grip their prey.

The goat forms the base of the panel and is stretched out to the left, its legs tucked up beneath it. Its mouth is open, its eye is rounded below a ribbed eyebrow, its long ear is laid back, its curved and ribbed horn is raised beside the body of the left-hand vulture. The neck musculature is marked.

The two vultures form the lower sides of the panel. Both face inward, their long necks curving down, their beaks tearing at the neck and haunch of the gazelle. They are feathered overall and have oval bodies with folded wings. The vulture on the left has a claw resting on the gazelle's head.

Wicke has noted that two small fragments from Zincirli, Andrae 1943, Taf. 70 l, are similar to the corkscrew curls and the necklace: Wicke pers. comm..

Turin Catalogue, 401-402, no. 171, colour photograph, 328; Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 83, no. 21; Barnett 1982, 51, fig. 20; *I.N.* IV, 19, 28; Wicke 2005, 66-110, pl. xvii; Herrmann 2005, 16, pl. v.

241. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 29. Well AJ
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79533

Plate 59



An approximately rectangular plaque, slightly narrower at the top. Some fragments missing overall, restored in wax. No frame. Carved in high relief. Back poorly preserved: two holes for fixing, D, 0.5 cm., at top right and bottom left. Colour, light brown. 7.4 x 14.7-15.8 cm. Th. head, 2.3 cm.; body, 1.1 cm.; background, 0.7 cm.

Fitter's mark: the Arabic text records an Aramaic letter (*Alef*) on the back, not seen – possibly covered in wax.

Lion walking to the left, head shown frontally. The mane is represented by a raised and incised ridge in front of the ears and in tufts (poorly preserved) on the chest. The eyes are large and formed as elongated triangles. Mouth area is emphasized with raised wrinkles. No musculature indicated on the body. The tail is down.

A feature of 'round-cheeked and ringletted' panels from SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 888-922, is that each is different in size and details of design. They do not form sets. This lion panel is unique and is larger than the SW37 sphinx panels. The face of the lion is similar to those on the cosmetic palette, above. If there was indeed a fitter's mark on the back, it would be the only example on a 'round-cheeked and ringletted' ivory.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 93, no. 29; Wicke 2005, 66-110, pl. xvii, 3.

Syrian Openwork Panels

Set of panels

242. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 25. Well AJ
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79529

Plates R & 68

Three fragments from a long, openwork, tenoned, rectangular panel with a repeating design of helmeted men flanking stylized trees. The single frames at top and bottom consist of a twisted rope design. The piece was fixed by shallow tenons at top and bottom. Back flat.



a. Fragment with traces of a narrow plain frame at left edge, broken at right. Large fragment missing from centre top. Fragments missing overall. One and a half repeats of the design survive and show two beardless men flanking a stylized tree. Their inner arms are raised, the hands clenched in front of the uppermost volute of the tree, their outer arms are held at their sides holding a type of *ankh*. Their helmets are shaped like an upturned vase, tied near the top, with an *uraeus* crowned with a solar disc rising at the front. The top of the hat is flowerlike: from its centre hangs a stalk ending in a tulip shape, which rests on, or is attached to, the heavy curl of hair on the shoulder. The men have small eyes, straight noses and rounded cheeks. They wear V-necked tunics with short sleeves and knee-length skirts. Long open skirts decorated with rows of scales are belted on over the tunics. The feet are bare. The tree is

Ivories from Nimrud VI

formed of three tiers of upward and downward curling volutes, from which papyrus and lily flowers and fronds grow. Three lilies and two buds grow from the curving fan at the top of the tree. 8.0-7.3 x 13.8 x 0.7 cm.



b. Fragment from bottom of panel, top and sides broken off. The bottom frame and tenon survive. The lower bodies of two men, back to back and holding *ankhs* survive, together with the lowest tier of branches of the stylized tree on the right. This fragment probably joined fragment a. 6.0-5.7 x 10.3 x 0.8 cm.



c. Fragment from openwork panel, broken at left and right, fragment missing from bottom right. Although broken at both sides, this piece is the best-preserved fragment and shows two men, back to back with a stylized tree on the left edge. The man facing left is complete except for the back foot. He salutes the tree with his raised right hand and holds an *ankh* in his left. The man facing right is also well preserved, except for his raised arm and feet. 8.3-7.6 x 8.3 x 0.8 cm. *Turin Catalogue*, 8.3 x 8.4 cm.

A fragment, No. 341, found by Mallowan in Room QQ, shows the lower body of a man advancing right and part of a stylized tree and formed part of the same set. This may suggest that the original treasury containing these panels was nearby. The fragmentary sphinx of No. 243 is generally similar in style and probably formed part of the same set, although, because of the different subjects represented, there are relatively few points of comparison, other than the unusual frames and the flowers.

These panels could have been made in either a Syrian or a North Syrian workshop, since they show elements typical of both. The vase hat with hanging flower? can be compared to the helmet worn by a man on a silver pendant from Zincirli (Andrae 1943, Taf. 46k, 47e), and the cross-hatching of the sphinx's wing is typically North Syrian. However, the misunderstood Egyptianizing features, such as the *uraei* rising from the 'vase hats' and the rather squashed versions of the *ankhs* held by the men, as well as the different form of panels may suggest a Syrian source.

Turin Catalogue, 412-413, no. 183, colour photograph on 323; Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 88-89, no. 25; Bonatz 2004, 389, Abb. 3 on 402.

243. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 80. Well AJ

Plate 68

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79590



Fragment from an openwork, tenoned, rectangular panel, bottom and left side not preserved. Frame with a herringbone design at top. Tenon along top. Back flat with Aramaic letter on back of tenon. Colour, light brown. 4.4-3.8 x 5.2 x 0.6 cm.

Fitter's mark: letter *shin*.

A winged, human-headed sphinx, legs not preserved, faces left. The sphinx wears a helmet shaped like an upturned vase, tied near

the top, with an *uraeus* (damaged) rising at the front, similar to those worn by the men of No. 242. Two long locks of hair fall onto the shoulder. The sphinx has a short beaded collar around the neck. The base of the wing is cross-hatched, the two rows of feathers of the wings are angled upwards. The head of an *uraeus* can be seen in front of the chest. The tail is curled. A flower and bud bloom above the wing.

The distinctive angled wing is an unusual feature, which occurs at Zincirli (Orthmann 1971, Taf. 59, Zincirli B/22). This fragment was made in the same workshop as No. 242 and probably forms part of the same set. It shows the same mixture of North Syrian – the cross-hatching on the wings – and Egyptianizing – the *uraei* – as the previous panels. The frame is a double version of the twisted frame of No. 242. The representation of the faces with the undrilled eyes, smooth cheeks and small mouths are also similar to the men of No. 242, as are the papyrus flowers.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, no. 80.

North Syrian lion

244. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 30. Well AJ

Plate 67

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79534



A fragmentary rectangular plaque, large fragments missing from top right and bottom left. Plain frame on all four sides, missing top right and bottom left. Fixed by dowel holes in the corners, with the remains of an iron pin preserved in the bottom right hole. Back, flat and plain. Colour, brown with dark brown on the tail. 5.7 x 8.3 x 0.5 cm. *Turin Catalogue*, 5.8 x 8.35 cm.

A roaring lion advances to the left, the left paw raised and extended, the tail curves over the back. The eyebrow is thick and twisted, the eye small, the nose has heavy wrinkles, the mouth is U-shaped and the teeth bared. The small ear lies flat against the heavy locks of the mane, which extend into a plait in front of the chest. The musculature is unique; there is a 'floral' shoulder marking, plaits along the back and belly, rib markings and heavy musculature on both front and back legs. The extended front paw looks more like a gloved hand with raised knuckles and raised ribs at the wrist than a leonine paw. Markings on the hindlegs include raised ribs and raised, inverted V markings on the left hindquarter.

Invernizzi and Bonatz point to a comparison with the extended paw of a lion on a seal impression of Adad-nirari III (Mallowan *N. & R.* II, 534, fig. 453) and suggest that the lion belongs to a North Syrian group. Mallowan had compared the seal with a contest scene from NE1, *I.N.* IV, 308. However, the lions are all very different and belong to different style-groups. The lion's powerful presence may suggest a North Syrian workshop.

Turin Catalogue, 391, no. 160, colour photograph on 322, bottom right; Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 94, no. 30; Bonatz 2004, 390-391, Abb. 4 on 402.

PHOENICIAN BRIDLE HARNESS

The bridle harness found in Well AJ consists of hinged frontlets and spade-shaped blinkers. Hinged frontlets are considered to be typically Phoenician. Examples of bronze hinged frontlets have been found in Tomb 79 at Salamis (Karageorghis 1969, 87, figs. 23-24) and at Tamassos (Gubel 2000, 133). The spade-shaped bronze blinkers from Salamis, however, lack the flaring handles of the Well AJ examples.

Sixteen frontlets and blinkers were found in Well AJ. In a useful article in *Ugarit Forschungen*, Wicke (1999) pointed out that the hinged frontlets with warriors and Bes figures, Nos. 245-247, formed sets with the blinkers with sphinxes striding over humans, Nos. 248-251: these belong to Group 1. He also noted that the hinged frontlets with winged goddesses and gods, Nos. 252-254, and the blinkers with seated sphinxes, Nos. 255-257 together with No. 359 from Well NN, also formed sets. These Group 2 sets are attributed to the 'classic Phoenician' group, while the Group 1 sets are simply placed in the Phoenician tradition, see pp. 81-82.

Group 1 frontlets

The frontlets, Nos. 245-247, consist of two hinged pieces: Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, nos. 71-73. The upper piece is shaped like an elongated tongue with a horizontal loop at the top and three hinges at the base. The lower piece has four hinges at the top, which interlocked with the upper hinges and were held together by iron pins, parts of which survive in two examples. The lower section is triangular but ends in a voluted palmette flower, perforated horizontally at the base. This form of frontlet is similar to the Cypriot examples from Salamis and Tamassos. The upper section is decorated with a helmeted warrior, and the lower with a Bes figure. As usual, there are minor differences in the carving of the different pieces.

There are discrepancies in the numbering: in Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 128, the three upper pieces are numbered IM 79576, IM 79578 and IM 79580, and the lower pieces IM 79577, 79579 and 79581. However, the numbers written on the actual pieces do not agree: the three upper pieces are numbered IM 79576, IM 79577 and IM 79579, and the lower pieces IM 79576, 79579 and 79580: IM 79581 is No. 254a. Equally there is no IM 79578. Here, the numbering on the actual pieces is followed, even though that in Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi is more logical.

245. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 72. Well AJ Plates R & 69
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79577 & IM 79580

Frontlet 1

a. The upper part of a convex, tongue-shaped, hinged frontlet, IM 79577, virtually complete except for a fragment at centre right and some surface fragments. Eye excised. Gold overlay on helmet, background, beard, skirt and belt. Perforated horizontal loop at top: plain frame with three hinges at base. Two dowel holes on either side above frame. Colour, top dark brown, bottom light brown. 20.8-18.6 x 6.8 x 1.9 cm.: *Turin Catalogue*, 20.6 x 6.8 x 1.9 cm.



A helmeted warrior or bearded god advances to the right. He wears a tall pointed helmet with ear and neck flaps: the front and neck flaps are outlined. Short hair can be seen below the helmet. The long eye is oblique below the finely arched eyebrow; the nose is straight. There is a short moustache, and a short, pointed beard, partially concealed by the gold overlay, finely striated vertically, although the striations on the gold foil are horizontal. He is armed with a strung bow, held in his left hand, a broad strap crosses from his left shoulder to support a quiver; the blade of a scabbard can be seen below his right elbow. He grasps a short spear and sword in his right hand. The socketed spear has a central mid-rib, the hilt of the sword has a pointed pommel, the wide, short blade has a central rib. He is wearing a short kilt, pleated vertically on the ivory but horizontally on the gold overlay. His belt narrows towards the left. His feet are bare. For similar figures see Nos.

246a and 247a below.

Gubel has identified the figure as the god Reshef wearing the *lebbadé* crown with earflaps (2005, 122-124).

Turin Catalogue, 395-396, no. 167, colour photograph on 326; Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 128-129, no. 72; Wicke 1999, 816-817; Scigliuzzo 2004, Schema III; Gubel 2005, 122-124.

b. The lower part of a hinged frontlet, IM 79580, fragments missing from hinges, surface and centre bottom, restored in wax. Part of the iron pin survives. Eyes excised. Traces of gold overlay on bottom triangle of voluted palmette. Triple frame between figure and palmette with dowel hole at base. Colour mostly dark brown. 18.8 x 6.8 x 2.1 cm.

A 'Bes' represented frontally, arms flexed, hands clenched on chest, with thumbs extended and touching, feet facing right. He has a leonine head, two 'horns' rise above his ears. His nose is broad and flat, his mouth, gaping. The mouth is surrounded by a long drooping moustache like an upside-down U. His thick beard frames his face and falls down to his hands. He wears a long-sleeved, belted, ankle-length garment with a skirt open from the thigh. It is made of a pleated material and has beaded edges. The wide belt is closed by an elaborate, double knot in the centre. The feet are bare.

Gubel identifies the figure as the Sidonian Bes, possibly holding snakes (2005, 123).

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 128-129, no. 72; Wicke 1999, 816-817; Gubel 2005, 122-124.

246. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 73. Well AJ Plate 70
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79579

Frontlet 2

a. The upper part of a hinged frontlet, fragments missing from centre, centre bottom and surface, centre and leading foot restored

Ivories from Nimrud VI



in wax. Eye excised. Perforated horizontal loop (D. 0.4 cm.) at top; part of plain frame with two dowel holes, D. 0.3 cm., at base. Colour, light brown. A helmeted warrior or bearded god advances to the right, left hand holding strung bow, right arm flexed, poorly preserved, similar to Nos. 245a above and 247a below, holding sword and spear. 21.0-8.8 x 6.8 x 1.5 cm.



b. The lower part of a hinged frontlet, virtually complete most of the hinges and much of the iron pin surviving. Eyes excised. Traces of gold overlay on ear, 'horn', face, left shoulder and right upper arm. Triple frame between figure and voluted palmette at base. Dowel hole through base of palmette. Colour light brown with dark brown patches: the palmette is a reddish rosy colour. A 'Bes' figure represented frontally, arms flexed, hands together on chest, thumbs extended and touching, feet facing right, similar to Nos. 245b above and 247b below. 18.8 x 6.8 x 2.1 cm.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 128-129, no. 73; Wicke 1999, 816-817; Gubel 2005, 122-124.

247. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 71. Well AJ
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79576

Plate 71

Frontlet 3



a. The upper part of a hinged frontlet, top and fragment from centre right not preserved, restored in wax, some surface fragments missing, three hinges at base damaged. Eye excised. Plain frame at base with remains of hinges. Two dowel holes on either side above frame. Colour light brown. A helmeted warrior advances to the right, left arm holding strung bow, right arm flexed, holding spear and sword, similar to Nos. 245a and 246a above. Only the front and a little of the back of the helmet is preserved on this example. 17.0 x 6.6 x 2.2 cm.



b. The lower part of a hinged frontlet, top, upper left edge and right side not preserved, surface fragments missing from edges and centre, restored in wax, only stumps of hinges at top preserved. Eyes excised. Traces of gold overlay on shoulder, strap, skirt and frame. Triple frame between figure and voluted palmette at base. Dowel hole through base of palmette. Colour light brown with dark patches. A 'Bes' figure represented frontally, arms flexed, hands together on chest, thumbs extended and touching, feet facing right, for similar figures

see Nos. 245b and 246b above. H. as restored 20.8 cm. 16.5 x 6.5 x 1.9 cm.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 128-129, no. 71; Wicke 1999, 816-817; Gubel 2005, 122-124.

Group 1 blinkers

Seven spade-shaped blinkers with hawk-headed sphinxes striding over fallen Asiatics, four with sphinxes advancing to the left and three to the right: Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 121-123, nos. 60-66. Once again, there are problems with the numbering. Only three have been seen. Two left blinkers, Nos. 249 and 250, are illustrated only in the general view on Plate 72.

The motif of a sphinx striding over a fallen figure occurs on other Nimrud ivories, such as some plaques and a long panel from SW37 (*J.N.* IV, nos. 87-97, 656). The last is exceptionally interesting: it shows a pair of winged hawk-headed sphinxes striding over fallen Asiatics lying in the same awkward position as on the blinker, but not needing to raise their legs to fit into the handle. They have similar tripartite beards and hair falling in a curl on the shoulder and tied by a fillet with ties behind the ear. A bronze blinker from Salamis shows the same motif but in a different style (Karageorghis 1969, 88, fig. 26).

248. Safar & al-'Iraqi, nos. 60-61. Well AJ Plates 72-73
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79565-66



a. IM 79565, Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 60. Spade-shaped blinker for right side, virtually complete except for cracking, surface fragments, and central section, restored in wax. Carved in high relief. Traces of gold overlay survive on headcloth. Eyes excised. Colour, light

and dark brown. No framing. Perforations, D. 0.4 cm., for fixing, two at end of 'handle' and two at widest part. 9.7-7.7 x 17.1 x 1.3 cm.

Hawk-headed sphinx striding right, trampling or protecting a fallen Asiatic. His left foreleg is raised and covers the head of the Asiatic, his other three legs stand on the belly, hip and foot of the fallen man. The end of the long tail curves up. The head has a large, round eye, and a small, closed, hooked beak. Distinctive musculature curves round the eye and onto the cheek. The sphinx wears a version of a Pharaonic head-cloth, grooved in stripes with a tail at the back, but no crown. The two ends of the head-cloth curve round the chest, ending above the foreleg, and can be seen above the raised right leg. The *usekh* collar ends in a row of beads. There is no apron. Some musculature is modelled on the inside of the left hindleg, but no other body markings are indicated. The genitalia are prominent.

The body of the Asiatic follows the curve of the blinker. His head is turned to the right: he lies on his back, awkwardly supported on his flexed left arm, the other arm lies on his body, the hand resting on his thigh. His legs are bent and raised, one foot rests on the narrowest section of the blinker, the other leg is extended, with the sphinx's hind-paw resting on the ankle. His helmet or hat is decorated with raised triangles and tied with a triple band, the ties of which hang down behind the ear and in front of the long curled lock of hair. The eye is long and narrow, the nose pointed and the mouth finely carved, with a moustache and long beard, which is finely striated and ends in three distinct sections. His chest is bare,

and he wears a short pleated skirt or kilt, belted at the waist.



b. IM 79566, Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 61
Spade-shaped blinker for left side, virtually complete except for cracking, surface and edge fragments, and section in centre. Traces of gold overlay survive on headcloth and collar. Eyes excised. Colour, light and dark brown. No framing. Perforations, D. 0.4 cm., for

fixing, two at end of 'handle' and two at widest part. 17.0 x 9.8-6.5 x 1.4 cm.

Similar design to No. 248a, except that it is reversed. Minor differences include clearer face markings on the sphinx, the absence of genitalia, a fatter Asiatic with more skirt showing behind a straighter and thinner leading hindleg of the sphinx.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 121-123, nos. 60-61; Ciafaloni 1992, tav. x, b; Wicke 1999, 816-817, Abb. 24; Gubel 2005, 122-124; Herrmann 2005, 16, pl. vi.

249. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 64. Well AJ

Plate 72

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79569



Spade-shaped blinker for right side, virtually complete except for cracking, surface fragments, and bottom corner. Traces of gold overlay survive on headcloth, helmet, hair and beard. Eyes excised. Colour, light and dark brown.

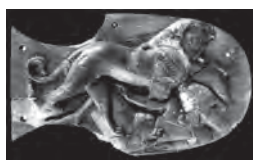
No framing. Perforations, D. 0.4 cm., for fixing, two at end of 'handle' and two at widest part. 16.9 x 9.9-6.6 x 2.2 cm.; *Turin Catalogue*, 16.3 x 9.8 x 2.3 cm.; Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 17.0 x 9.7 x 1.3 cm.

Similar design of hawk-headed sphinx striding right, trampling a fallen Asiatic as No. 248a above. Minor differences in carving include clearer face markings and a less curled tail on the sphinx, the absence of genitalia, and minor differences in the placing of arms and legs. This blinker is carved from a thicker piece of ivory and is narrower than other examples.

The pair to this blinker can be seen on the general view. It is not otherwise described or illustrated.

Turin Catalogue, 396, no. 168, colour illustration on 326; Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 121-123, no. 64; Ciafaloni 1992, tav. iia; Wicke 1999, 816-817; Gubel 2005, 122-124.

* **250. Safar & al-'Iraqi, nos. 62-63. Well AJ** Plates 72, 74a
Iraq Museum, Baghdad. IM 79567 and 79568



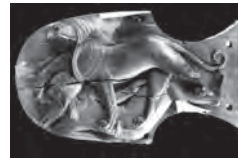
Pair of blinkers, virtually complete except for cracking and surface fragments. Eyes excised. Colour, light and dark brown. No framing. Perforations, D. 0.4 cm., for fixing, two at end of 'handle' and two at widest part. Similar to Nos. 248 and 249.

Both blinkers are illustrated on Plate 70 and the right blinker on Plate 72a.

IM 79567: 17.0 x 10.0 x 1.3 cm.; IM 79568: 16.5 x 9.8 x 1.4 cm.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 121-123, nos. 62 and 63; Gubel 2005, 122-124.

***251. Safar & al-'Iraqi, nos. 65-66. Well AJ** Plates 72, 74b
Iraq Museum, Baghdad. IM 79570 and IM 79571



Pair of blinkers, virtually complete except for cracking and surface fragments. Eyes excised. Colour, light and dark brown. No framing. Perforations, D. 0.4 cm., for fixing, two at end of 'handle' and two at

widest part. Similar to Nos. 248 and 249.

IM 79570, 17.0 x 10.2 x 1.2 cm.; IM 79571, 16.5 x 10.0 x 1.2 cm.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 121-123, nos. 65 and 66, Gubel 2005, 122-124.

Group 2, the 'classic Phoenician' group

Three strongly Egyptianizing hinged frontlets formed sets of bridle harness with some spade-shaped blinkers with seated sphinxes. Most blinkers were found in Well AJ, although one and a half, No. 359, were found in Well NN (Wicke 1999 and Gubel 2005, 127).

Three Group 2 frontlets, Nos. 252-254

The three frontlets consist of two hinged pieces. The sides of both the upper and lower sections slope inwards from the hinged ends to voluted palmettes at the tops and bottoms. The palmettes rise from rows of chevrons, set on plain frames. There are horizontal loops above the palmettes at the top and perforated palmettes at the bottom. Bands of *uraei* represented frontally and crowned with solar discs frame the hinges. The upper sections contain winged goddesses with Hathor crowns represented frontally and holding feathers or plumes in their outstretched hands. The lower sections are occupied by male figures, also represented frontally, their hands supporting squatting goddesses. Two papyrus plants supporting cartouches crowned by solar discs and feathers flank the figures. A bronze hinged frontlet from Salamis also has divine figures on both sections, with a voluted palmette at the bottom (Karageorghis 1969, 87, fig. 24).

252. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 75. Well AJ

Plates 75-76

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79583, IM 79584

Frontlet 1

a. Upper section of a hinged frontlet, IM 79583, with a perforated loop at the top and two surviving hinges, originally three, at the bottom. Frame of eleven *uraei* crowned with solar discs set in a panel above the hinges. Gold overlays survive on petals of the palmette and the feathers. Eyes and eyebrows excised. Colour, light brown. 22.6-20.6 x 10.6 x 2.0 cm. Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 22.5 x 10.9 x 1.1 cm

A winged goddess is represented frontally with her feet turned

Ivories from Nimrud VI

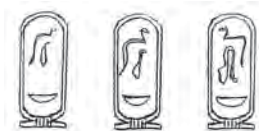


to the left. Her wings fan out beside her: her arms rest along the top of the wings, her hands grasping tall plumed feathers. She has a Hathor crown over a lappet wig, tied with a band round the head. She wears an *usekh* collar and a long, simple, ankle-length dress. The curves of her body are indicated. Her feet are bare.

b. Lower section of a hinged frontlet, IM 79584, with two hinges at top, one damaged, and a perforation, 0.4 cm., in the voluted palmette at the base. Some cracking and restoration. Frame of eleven *uraei* crowned with solar discs directly below the hinges and above the figure. Gold overlays survive on palmette, feathers, features at top and the *uraei*. Eyes and eyebrows excised. Colour, blackened. 21.6-20.3 x 10.1 x 1.7 cm.; Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 22.0 x 10.5 x 1.1 cm.

A god is represented frontally with his feet turned to the left. He is crowned with a solar disc flanked by *uraei* themselves crowned with discs, over a lappet wig. He has an *usekh* collar and wears a short pleated skirt, belted on the hips. His arms are outstretched, his hands supporting a pair of goddesses with papyrus sceptres, squatting in baskets. They too are crowned with solar discs on lappet wigs and wear *usekh* collars. On either side of the god, a papyrus stem and flower support matching cartouches, crowned with discs and feathers.

The lower sections of the frontlets, Nos. 252-254, by Ken Kitchen



All three show the same scene and cartouches. A human-headed god in short kilt and plain wig holds aloft in each hand a seated goddess with papyrus-sceptre in a basket. He bears a sun-disc with twin

uraeus-serpents on his head. The two goddesses each wear a plain sun-disc, as do the *uraei* on the god's disc. On either side of the god, a papyrus stem and flower support matching cartouches with the same basic three signs: serpent *d* for *d(d)* followed by a variable vertical sign, badly corrupted for *mdw*, and a plain basket-sign (*nb*) below, an error for the handled basket *k*.¹ The whole three-sign group is, in all cases, a massively abbreviated and corrupted form of the speech-incipit, *d(d)-mdw*: <*di.i n*>.k – 'Words spoken: <'I give to'> you ... (various promises)'. In all cases, the *mdw*-sign has been curled over at its top; on No. 253, IM 79586, it is given a thick, lumpy base; and on No. 252, IM 79584 the curl is brought down the back of the sign even more corruptly. In all cases <*di.i n*> is omitted, and the handle of *k*, turning it into a *nb*. K.A.K.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 131-132, no. 75: Gubel 2005, 125-127.

253. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 76. Well AJ Plates 75, 77
Iraq Museum, Baghdad. IM 79585, IM 79586

¹ See also Gubel 2000, 127.

Frontlet 2



a. Upper section of hinged frontlet, IM 79585, with a perforated loop at the top and two hinges, at the bottom. Frame of twelve *uraei* crowned with solar discs (two restored) set in a panel above the hinges. Gold overlays survive on two petals of palmette, part of the Hathor crown, collar and feathers. Eyes and eyebrows excised. Colour, light brown. 22.3-20.4 x 10.6 x 1.3 cm.



A winged goddess is represented frontally with her feet to the left and her wings fanning out beside her: her arms rest along the top of the wings, her hands grasping feathers. The design is essentially the same as the upper parts of Nos. 252 and 254.

b. Lower section of hinged frontlet, IM 79586, with three hinges at top, virtually complete, and a perforation, 0.4 cm., in the voluted palmette at the base. Some cracking and restoration, particularly of basket on left. Frame of eleven

uraei crowned with solar discs directly below the hinges and above the deity. Gold overlays survive on *uraei*, crown, belt and skirt of deity, on the squatting goddess on the right, right feather above cartouche and part of palmette. Eyes and eyebrows excised. Colour light brown. 21.6-20.7 x 10.0 x 1.5 cm.; Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 22.5 x 10.7 x 1.3 cm.

A god is represented frontally with feet standing to the left. He is crowned with a solar disc flanked by crowned *uraei* over a lappet wig and has an *usekh* collar, the ends of which are not visible between the ends of the wig. He is supporting goddesses with papyrus sceptres, squatting in baskets. Papyrus flowers support cartouches, crowned with discs and feathers. The design is essentially the same as the lower sections of Nos. 252 and 254.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 131-132, nos. 75-76; Gubel 2005, 125-127.

254. Safar & al-'Iraqi, nos. 71-72. Well AJ Plates S & 75, 78
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79581 and 79582

Frontlet 3

a. Upper section of hinged frontlet, IM 79581, much restored in wax, with three hinges at the bottom, partly restored in wax, one containing the remains of the pin. Horizontal loop at top, perforated. Only seven of the probably eleven crowned *uraei* in a panel above the hinges are preserved. Gold overlays survive on the solar disc, wings, feathers, and palmette petals. Eyes and eyebrows excised. Colour, light brown at the top, black in the centre. 23.1-20.4 x 10.5 x 1.7 cm. Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 23.5 x 10.5 x 1.1 cm

A winged goddess is represented frontally, lower body restored in wax, her wings fanning out beside her: her arms rest along the top of the wings, her hands grasping feathers. The design is essentially the same as the upper parts of Nos. 252 and 253.



b. Lower section of hinged frontlet, two hinges, one damaged, with pin *in situ* at top. Palmette perforated at base, 0.4 cm. Some restoration in wax. Only nine of the probably eleven crowned *uraei* below the hinges are preserved. Gold overlays survive on solar disc, one *uraeus* of upper frame, and skirt. Eyes and eyebrows excised. Colour, black and light brown. 21.7-20.6 x 9.1-10.6 x 1.7 cm. Safar & al-'Iraqi, 22.5 x 10.5 x 1.1 cm.

A god is represented frontally with his feet turned to the left. He is crowned with a solar disc flanked by *uraei* themselves crowned with discs, over a lappet wig. He has an *usekh* collar and a short belted skirt. He is supporting goddesses with papyrus sceptres, squatting in baskets. Papyrus flowers support cartouches, crowned with discs and feathers. The design is essentially the same as the lower parts of Nos. 252 and 254.

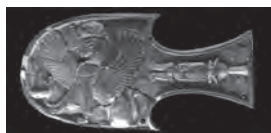
Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 131-132, nos. 71-72; Gubel 2005, 125-127.

Group 2 blinkers

One pair of spade-shaped blinkers and parts of two left blinkers were found in Well AJ, IM 79572b-79575. One of these broken blinkers, IM 79575, joined a fragment found in 1952 in Well NN, ND2243, where a matching right blinker, No. 359, was also found. There are, therefore, two relatively complete sets of blinkers and part of another left blinker. These are all similar in form, size, design and style. The blinkers are spade-shaped, with flaring handles, outlined by a plain frame. They show a human-headed sphinx seated either to right or left, its wings outspread on either side of its body: in the 'handle' of the blinker is a cartouche, resting on a papyrus flower, and surmounted by a disc and feathers. The cartouche contains four Egyptian hieroglyphs, originally interpreted by Orchard to give the name Janen or Jejanen (*I.N.* I, 22), but now see Kitchen below.

*255. Safar & al-'Iraqi, nos. 67-68. Well AJ
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79572b, IM 79573

Plate 79

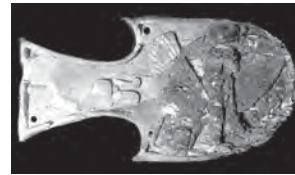


Left blinker, IM 79572b. The spade shape of the blinker is outlined with a plain raised frame. It is fixed by dowel holes in the corners of the handle and in the points of the blade. Modelled.

Virtually complete except for fragments from frame and some cracking. Eye and eyebrow excised. Some gold overlays survive on the cartouche and cartouche feathers. 19.0 x 10.0 x 1.4 cm.

A winged human-headed sphinx is seated to the left, that is facing to the front when mounted on the bridle. Its wings are outspread on either side of its body, rising from the belly behind the foreleg rather than the shoulder, its tail is raised. It wears a crown with a

solar disc and crowned *uraeus*. The Pharaonic headcloth continues round the chest, enclosing an *usekh* collar. The apron is decorated with chevrons and has a fringed hem. A winged *uraeus* crowned with a solar disc is pendant from the end of the collar. In the flaring 'handle' of the blinker, behind the sphinx, a tall oval cartouche rests upon a short-stemmed papyrus flower: it is surmounted by a disc and feathers.



*Right blinker: IM 79573. Although the blinker is virtually complete, the poor quality of the reproduction suggests that the surface of this blinker is cracked and poorly preserved. It is similar to the left blinker except for the

design being reversed. 19.7 x 10.4 x 1.8 cm

A winged, human-headed sphinx is seated to the right with outspread wings and raised tail. In the 'handle', a tall oval cartouche rests upon a papyrus flower and is surmounted by a disc and feathers. The design is similar to the left blinker above.

The cartouches, by K.A. Kitchen

All four of these pieces show on the 'handle' part of a papyrus stem and flower supporting a cartouche enclosing in each case an identical inscription: *d* over a truncated 'footed triangle' and *nm*. This outwardly enigmatic group was originally taken to be a name, Janen or Jejanen, but without benefit of the parallel material in *I.N.* IV and this volume.² On the basis of fuller knowledge, we can rule out any private or royal personal name; and there is no deity 'Dje(dja)nen' in Egypt or the Levant. On the other hand, the extensive series of such epigraphs in *I.N.* IV and this volume show that the serpent and 'footed triangle' are an abbreviation of the fuller *d(d)-mdw*: *di.i n.k* formula. What we have here is much the same, namely: *d(d)-<mdw>*: *Di.n<i> n.<k ... (promises)>*. That is, '<Words> spoken: (I) give to <you... (promises)>'. In these cartouches, the serpent and triangle have been corruptly fused together into one sign. K.A.K.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 124-125, nos. 67-68; Gubel 2005, 119-121.

*256. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 69, Well AJ
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79574

Plate 81



Right blinker, large fragment missing from lower part of spade. The spade shape is outlined by a plain raised frame. Dowel holes in the corners of the handle and the point of the blade. Modelled. Eye

and eyebrow excised. Gold overlays survive on cartouche, flower and feathers. Colour, handle blackened, spade light brown. Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 19.0 x 7.4 x 1.3 cm.

A winged human-headed sphinx is seated to the right with outspread wings: most of body and legs broken off, trace of disc and wingtip of winged *uraeus* in front of chest, and tip of tail. In the 'handle' of the blinker, behind the sphinx, a tall oval cartouche rests upon

² See also Gubel 2000, 120, and *I.N.* I, 21-22.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

a papyrus flower and is surmounted by a disc and feathers. The design is the same as the blinkers of No. 255 above.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 124-125, no. 69; Gubel 2005, 119-121.

257. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 70. Wells AJ & NN Plates Q & 80
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79575 and IM 56639 from Well NN



The upper part of a right blinker from Well AJ completes the fragmentary blinker found in Well NN, No. 359: the two pieces were joined by the Iraqi Department of Antiquities and Heritage and form the greater part of a complete

blinker. The spade shape of the blinker is outlined by a plain raised frame. It was fixed by dowel holes, D. 0.4 cm., in the corners of the handle and the points of the blade. Modelled. Excised eye and eyebrow. No gold overlays survive. 18.9 x 10.2-7 x 1.6 cm.: Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 18.3 x 10.3 x 1.4 cm.

A winged human-headed sphinx is seated to the right with outspread wings and raised tail. In the 'handle' of the blinker, a tall oval cartouche rests upon a papyrus flower and is surmounted by a disc and feathers. The design is the same as on the blinkers of Nos. 255 and 256 above.

I.N. I, 22, no.117, pl. xxii; Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 126-127, no. 70; Gubel 2005, 119-121.

An Egyptianizing cylinder

258. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 12. Well AJ Plates A & 82-83
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79516



Two thirds of a tapering cylinder carved from the lower section of a large tusk, the rest not preserved, narrowing at the top. Broken into two or three principal pieces, with fragments missing from all areas: restored. Cloisonné, the wigs, eyes, beards, collars, aprons, wings and garment hems were inlaid, the wigs and discs with large shaped pieces, the hems and staff with alternate inlay: a few pieces of blue still survive *in situ*, together with fragments of gold overlay on the skirts of the kneeling figure

and the attendant. No frame at top, plain frame along bottom. A large hole, D. 0.7 cm., perforates the top and five smaller holes, D. 0.3 cm., the base. Two damaged key-hole slots at top. On the interior, along the top, are a series of small indentations. H. 14.3 cm. D. 9.0-11.6 cm. Th. 1.0-0.4 cm.

The principal scene shows the Pharaoh in his blue war crown advancing left. In front of him kneels a 'boy'; behind him follows a second figure, carrying a 'child' on his right arm with a dog beside him. Framing the scene are two winged goddesses, facing each other. Both goddesses are poorly preserved, as the cylinder is damaged in this area. Kitchen suggests that both the 'boy' and the 'child' carried by the second figure were defeated enemies reduced in size to emphasize the importance of the victors, see below.

The Pharaoh strides to the right, his right arm raised behind, the hand holding an angled feather fan (centre destroyed) above his head. In his lowered left hand he holds a bow and three arrows above the head of the kneeling boy. He is wearing the blue war crown with an *uraeus* at the front and a diadem with diadem ties, an inlaid *usekh* collar, a belted kilt and apron with two pendant *uraei* and a long open skirt with a curving, decorated hem. These are made of a pleated material. His feet are bare. The object in front of and behind the belt may be a quiver.

The 'boy' or defeated chief in front of the Pharaoh has been forced to his knees: one bare leg can be seen between the Pharaoh's legs, his body is turned to the Pharaoh, his head looking down and his hands raised in supplication. He wears an Egyptian wig, collar and belted, short skirt.

Behind the Pharaoh is a man walking to the right and holding in his left hand a staff ending in a disc. On his flexed right arm he carries a 'child', or captured enemy chief. He wears a short Egyptian wig, has a pointed beard and wears an *usekh* collar, kilt with apron and pendant *uraei* and open overskirt with a curving hem, made of pleated material and decorated hem. The 'child' has a short Egyptian wig and wears an *usekh* collar and short pleated kilt. The feet of both are bare. A dog walks behind the man. The head, with inlaid eye and open jaws, can be seen between the man's staff and leading leg. The dog's forelegs frame his leading leg.

Behind the man, walking to the left is a winged goddess. She is wearing a Hathor crown on a lappet wig, an *usekh* collar and an ankle-length garment with decorated hem. Her left wing and arm are held down in front of her. Traces of her right wing suggest that the wing and arm were raised. The edge of the cylinder is broken at this point. Traces of a 'flower' can be seen beside the crown. A fragmentary second winged goddess is advancing to the right, away from the Pharaoh. She appears to be similar to the other goddess. Little survives of her crown and headdress, but her face, *usekh* collar, part of her lowered right wing and upper arm, and the skirt of her garment survive. Her feet are bare.

This unique Egyptianizing cylinder forms part of the 'classic Phoenician' style-group, see p. 76. The scene is typically Egyptian, while the winged goddesses can be compared to the goddesses on *I.N.* III, no. 88, and *I.N.* IV, nos. 1032-1040 and those on the sides of the furniture element no. 1043.

Comment by K.A. Kitchen

This segment has a triumph-scene, and a scene between two winged goddesses of which the central feature is lost. These are of Egyptian inspiration and show intriguing deviations from Egyptian usage.

The triumph-scene proper is based on a very common Egyptian convention of victory: the king slays kneeling foes with a mace or a *khopesh*-sword, lifted above his head, ready to deliver the death-blow. Here, curiously, the mace or a *khopesh* has been replaced by an angled feather-fan (the angled joint between plume and handle is lost in a break). The enemy figure is a full-sized adult in proportions, but looks smaller because of his pose. The strangely-

recessed rectangular sign repeated above both the king and the second man may be a misunderstood substitute for a cartouche.

The second figure is carrying a captured foreign chief, shown in small scale to symbolise his minor role and to keep the royal-style figure dominant. For this size-reduction of foreign chiefs seized by the king, compare the Karnak scene of Sethos I running with two armfuls of captured (and miniaturised) chiefs (Wreszinski n.d., II, Taf. 36a). It is remarkable that the second royally-garbed figure is given the short wig and short-bearded features of a Levantine personage ('Asiatic' in Egyptian terminology). The disc-topped tall sceptre is very un-Egyptian. The lost scene between winged goddesses may well have been of the infant Horus or king arising from the lotus, as with No. 157, Barnett *C.N.I.*, C 51 above. *K.A.K.*

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 62-65, no. 12.

'Ornate Group' heads

***259. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 18. Well AJ**
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79522

Plate 81



A human face, represented frontally, belonging to a large, openwork sphinx, advancing left. Broken at left side, left ear damaged, and bottom not preserved. Right edge, straight for fixing to rest of body. The wig has raised pegs; the large, almond-shaped eyes and eyebrows are excised and contain traces of black paste, the edges of the *usekh* collar were inlaid: traces of the inlaid wing-scales

can be seen beside the collar. Traces of colour survive. The back of the head is concave, following the curve of the tusk: it has two rectangular slots for fixing. Rest of back, flat. 16.5 x 11.5 cm.: *Turin Catalogue*, 16.3 x 11.1 cm.

The sphinx wears an Egyptian wig, surviving on the top of the head and right side, the pegs presumably once holding glass cylinders. The face is rounded, the eyebrows, arched, the deeply excised eyes are large, slightly tilted and almond-shaped with pointed ends. The surviving ear is large, well carved with a pronounced rim. The nose has a narrow bridge and broad tip, the thin lips of the mouth curve upwards in an enigmatic smile. The broad *usekh* collar is plain except for inlaid tear-drops in bands along the top and bottom. The scales from the base of the wing can be seen below the collar at the bottom right, as can the beginning of the foreleg.

No. 259 is unique and once formed part of a large free-standing or openwork sculpture. Fragmentary examples of similar 'ornate group' sphinxes with their heads represented frontally and with pegged wigs were found in SW12: the fragment ND13928 is comparable (Herrmann 2002, 133-134, figs. 8-10). The face is reminiscent of the 'Mona Lisa', No. 348, from Well NN: compare the shape of the rounded face, the arching eyebrows and almond-shaped eyes and the unusual smiling mouth, although the eyes and eyebrows of the Mona Lisa are modelled and painted rather than inlaid, and the similar locks of the wig carved rather than pegged. The sphinx's pegged wig also occurs on the small head, No. 260,

which may have formed part either of a sphinx or a Pharaoh figure. Although much smaller, this is generally similar in style, with the same sort of rounded face, large ears with deep lobes and deeply excised eyes and eyebrows, although the mouth is fuller and unsmiling.

Turin Catalogue, 413, no. 184, colour plate on 333; Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 79-80, no. 18; Herrmann 2002, 134, fig. 10.

260. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 19. Well AJ
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79523

Plate 84



Face and wig only, forming the front of a head, carved in high relief. Complete except for a central fragment from the eyebrows to the chin, restored in wax, and some fragments from the edges. The eyes and eyebrows are excised for inlay: a hole was drilled in the centre of each eye. The ears are large with long lobes. The wig was originally inlaid with coloured cylinders, held by the raised 'pegs'. The back is flat with a keyhole slot, 3.3 x 1.4-0.8 cm. Colour light brown. 6.8 x 6.8 x 3.0 cm.

This fine 'ornate group' head could have been attached either to a Pharaoh figure or to a sphinx. The largest and most complete example of a head and torso of a Pharaoh figure, ND12000, came from SW12 (Herrmann 2002, 134, fig. 11). There are a number of similar faces or masks, plus or minus wigs, two of which were found in Room V, Nos. 162 and 163, as well as others from Fort Shalmaneser, *I.N.* IV, no. 1287, and *I.N.* V, no. 334. These have flat tops for fixing a wig and crown, rather than the curved top of No. 260. For other examples, see *I.N.* IV, nos. 1286 and 1287, and *I.N.* V, nos. 172 and 323. These faces often exhibit a degree of individuality. With their pegged wigs and sensitive carving they belong to the 'classic Phoenician' group, see pp. 77-78.

Fragmentary examples of 'ornate group' sphinxes with heads represented frontally were found in SW12. In one example the sphinx is recumbent, with wings framing the face, which was carved separately and attached by a keyhole slot. Remains of the wig indicate that it was pegged: it would have been surmounted by the Egyptian double crown (Herrmann 2002, 133, fig. 8). In another fragmentary sphinx from SW12 the head formed part of the piece (Herrmann 2002, 133, fig. 9): whether the face or head was carved separately or not probably depended on the size of tusk available.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 81, no. 19.

Griffins

***261. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 23. Well AJ**
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79527

Plate 85



A concave, openwork element, only partially preserved. A rectangular, perforated tenon at the top fixed the piece, which originally consisted of a pair of large, open voluted branches, rising from a central pair of volutes, with the beginning of a second pair, only partially preserved, curving out below from the same

Ivories from Nimrud VI

palmette. Rectangular cloisons were excised on the lower branch, as preserved: traces of gold and black survive in the cloisons. Of the central design once contained within the upper branches, all that survives is one wing and the paws of a griffin or sphinx advancing right. The central volute was perforated by a dowel hole: the back was curved and not worked. 13.5 x 12.5 cm.

A unique version of the panels with outward-curving sides: in this example the branches may have formed a figure of eight. Examples with a single pair of branches were found by Layard in the North West Palace, Nos. 158-161, and by Oates in Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, see *I.N.* IV, nos. 1251-1270.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 86, no. 23.

262. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 26. Well AJ

Plate 84

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79530



Fragment from top right of a large plaque carved on a thin sheet of ivory, both sides and bottom broken off. Lightly modelled. Of the original edges, all that survives is part of a wide curving frame at the top. Dowel *in situ* below collar. Back, mostly not visible: traces of striations. Colour, light brown. 20.1 x 11.2 x 0.4 cm.

The front only of a winged griffin facing right, browsing on a frond growing from a stylized tree, of which only the edge of the top volute and one lily survive. Of the griffin only the head, chest and parts of the wing and forelegs survive. The crest consists of four upright curls and four long ones, which curve down the neck from the top of the beak: the curls are outlined with ribs. The beak is closed on the frond. The eye is outlined. A high collar with a zigzag design is fastened round the neck. The chest is covered with ribbed scales ending in a band of lozenges. The left foreleg is raised, probably resting on the plant. The wing curves upward sharply, the wing-scales at the base are pointed. A voluted palmette flower blossoms between the neck and wing.

The piece is unique and superbly modelled. It may have been carved in a Phoenician workshop.

Large panels with a rounded upper edge are relatively rare. The best-known example is the magnificent openwork sphinx from S30 in Fort Shalmaneser, which is carved in high relief (*I.N.* V, no. 95). Two fragments with a winged sphinx from S10 are also unusually large and were carved on thin pieces of ivory (*I.N.* V, no. 127): these can be compared to a fragment from Arslan Tash (Thureau Dangin *et al.* 1931, pl. xxxii, no. 37). Examples with a similar shape from SW 37 include *I.N.* IV, no. 959, with a winged boy kneeling to the left; the fragmentary *I.N.* IV, no. 951 and *I.N.* IV, no. 950, and the rather different *I.N.* IV, no. 946, which is carved on both sides.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 90, no. 26.

Browsing stag

263. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 22. Well AJ

Plate 85

200

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79526



Openwork semi-circular panel, slightly concave, restored from fragments: fragments missing from frame at bottom, which is formed of scales, and from the curving frame formed of fronds growing from the plants, which once filled the panel. Parts of fronds, many branches and the legs of the stag not preserved. Eye excised. Colour, light brown. The back is rough, with the line of the branches indicated. There are holes between the branches for fixing. 9.8 x 11.8 x 1.6 cm.

A stag advances right in a 'forest' in a mountainous landscape. The forest consists of two thick trunks rising behind the stag and a number of individual plants, which form a net of entwined branches and end in frondy leaves, some of which form the frame of the panel. The stag's head is raised, the antlers damaged, the ears pricked, and the body is represented without musculature.

This is a relatively complete piece of which otherwise only fragments survive. Bodies of similar animals have survived, often with their heads, fragile legs and branches of the foliate backing broken off. A partially similar body was found in Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 580, although the head of that example was carved separately and would have been turned towards the onlooker. Fragments of bodies and the 'mountainous ground' forming the frame at the base occur in the Burnt Palace, Barnett *C.N.I.*, 201, S137a-c, pl. lxii, although the fragment of bull is incorrectly added to S137a; and fragments of bodies and mountains were found in Zincirli (Andrae 1943, Taf. 71, k-x). A fragment with a pattern of interlacing frondy branches was found at Arslan Tash, Thureau Dangin *et al.* 1931, pl. xlv, 99.

Stags are more usually represented on long openwork panels, for instance those from Room NW21 and SW7, where they are browsing on, or running through, foliage, *I.N.* V, nos. 368-380, 391-392; *I.N.* III, no. 103. These examples have neck markings and the SW7 example, body markings as well. This elegant example was probably carved in a Phoenician workshop.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 85, no. 22.

Animal contest scene

*264. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 31. Well AJ

Plate 82

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79535



A long rectangular panel with an animal contest scene, right side and fragments from bottom left and centre missing, restored in wax. Plain frame at top, left side and bottom. 4.0 x 22.4 cm.

Two symmetrically arranged hunting scenes with lions or griffins attacking bulls. The first hunt shows a pair of lions, one on the left, the other on the right, attacking a bull in the centre. Both

lions stand on their hindlegs, their forelegs grasping the bull, their jaws sinking into him. Their tails curve up over their backs. Their manes are tufted, but little musculature is indicated. Relatively little survives of the bull, standing to the right: his head is lowered and his horn can be seen on, but not in, the flank of the lion on the right.

The griffin contest is similar in design, although only half of the scene is preserved. The surviving griffin on the left stands on his hindlegs, grasping the bull with his forelegs, his beak biting into his shoulder. He has a large eye: three curls fall onto his shoulder, and his tail curves up in an S bend. The wings lie along his back and behind the bull: the base of the wing consists of two rows of scales. Of the second griffin, only the paws and a trace of its head survive. The bull, advancing left, is being brought down by the weight of the leading griffin. His horn is long and curved. The eye and mouth are modelled and the base of the neck scalloped: there is no neck musculature. The ribs are indicated.

This panel is similar in form and design to examples found in Rooms SW37 and NE2 of Fort Shalmaneser, which show lions and griffins attacking bulls. The Well AJ hunts are more active than that from SW37 (*I.N.* IV, no. 667), and the attack is undertaken with greater ferocity. The lions' tails curve over their backs instead of passing between the hindlegs as on *I.N.* IV, no. 667, their hindlegs thrust forward instead of bending. The bull is not defeating a lion by piercing it with a horn, instead the horn can be seen against the side of the lion. However, that from NE2 (*I.N.* V, no. 308) is much more dynamic. The scene on the right edge of the panel shows a bull attacked by a pair of lions, but further to the left the lion itself is attacked savagely by a griffin. This is followed by a complex of battling beasts.

Contest scenes have long been assumed to be a North Syrian motif, and certainly the mass of struggling animals seen in, for instance, *I.N.* V, nos. 668-699, are typically North Syrian. However, the more organized and symmetrical contests seen in No. 264 and the two Fort Shalmaneser examples were probably carved in a Syrian workshop. Furthermore, there is none of the cross-hatching so typical of North Syrian panels.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 95, no. 31.
Syrian 'Crown and scale' ivories

265. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 24. Well AJ
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79528

Plate 86



Openwork, tenoned panel, fragments missing from bottom left, top frame and back. Plain frame and tenon at top, only partially preserved at bottom. Top tenon perforated by dowel hole, D. 0.3 cm. Back flat, with some shaping of the edges of the features and a lightly incised sketch of a head and chest. The colour of the ivory is dark brown. 21.2-19.8 x 7.0 x 1.2 cm.
Fitter's mark: sketch of head and chest near top; perhaps letter *zayin*, or simply two parallel lines

lower down.

The front of a winged, human-headed sphinx advancing right. The sphinx is crowned with a solar disc framed by *uraei*, themselves crowned with discs, the whole set upon a flattened triangular 'hat' on a pharaonic headcloth. The eye is large with the pupil indicated, the ear is finely shaped and large, the nose prominent and the chin firm. The sphinx wears a deep *usekh* collar decorated with alternate rows of chevrons and scales outlined with ribs, and an apron decorated with vertical rows of chevrons. An *uraeus* crowned with a solar disc is suspended from the chest. The wings are finely feathered, with ribbed wing-scales at the base. Parts survive of a plant: a papyrus flower by the leading paw; a frond or bud above the *uraeus* and a frond or bud and papyrus flower above the wing. The papyrus flowers end in double lines, called by Scigliuzzo 'capped', which she considers to be a diagnostic of the 'crown and scale' workshop, Scigliuzzo 2004a, 316.

This is an exceptionally large, finely worked panel. Although finer and larger than the standard examples of this group, it almost certainly belongs to the 'crown and scale' group of the Syrian tradition, see pp. 88-89, *I.N.* V, 32-33 and Scigliuzzo 2004a, 315-329. The type of misunderstood Egyptian crown is typical, as are the form of the ribbed wing-scales and loops on the collar, the 'capped flowers' and the partial shaping of figures on the back. The representation of the facial features, the eye, ear, nose and chin, is comparable to the smaller versions, *I.N.* IV, nos. 477-478.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 87, no. 24.

266. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 32. Well AJ
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79536

Plates Q & 87



Rectangular tenoned panel, virtually complete. Plain frames and tenons at top and bottom. Traces of black paint in one pupil: colour of ivory, light brown. Top tenon perforated, bottom tenon with fitter's marks. Plain back with fitter's mark. H. with tenons 10.8 cm. H. of panel 8.9 cm. W. 8.5 cm. Th.

0.9 cm.

Fitter's marks: on front of tenon, open U-shaped sign followed by a *waw*; back, letter *he*.

Two winged gods confront each other, their inner arms and wings raised, their outer ones lowered. Their raised hands hold buds, their lowered hands grasp the stalks of a short central plant. Their hair or wigs are formed of twisted locks, surmounted by squashed solar disc and *uraeus* crowns. They wear ankle-length garments of a pleated material with short sleeves. The hems of the sleeves are beaded and those of the skirts are decorated with beading and a looped fringe. The feet are bare. A lily flanked by buds blooms below the lower wings and 'capped palmette' flowers under the upper wings.

Although considerably less elegant than No. 265, these chunky figures in their pleated garments and misunderstood Egyptianizing crowns and headdresses belong to the 'crown and scale' style-group. Many details are comparable with 'hero and griffin' panels from Fort Shalmaneser, *I.N.* IV, nos. 316-319 and *I.N.* V, nos. 240-241 and 328. Scigliuzzo has noted that 'capped flowers' are

Ivories from Nimrud VI

a useful diagnostic of this group (2004a, 316). 'Capped flowers' with double ribs at the top can be seen on No. 267, an openwork stylized tree, which probably forms part of the same set: compare the general style and system of fixing.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 96, no. 32; Scigliuzzo 2004a, pl. 69.

267. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 78. Well AJ
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79588

Plate 87



Openwork, tenoned panel, virtually complete except for fragments from one stalk, bottom tenon and back. Plain frames and tenons at top and bottom. Back flat with six, small circular holes perforating the panel through volute ends. Remains of strongly incised fitter's mark on front of bottom tenon. H. with tenons 10.4 cm. H. of panel 8.5 cm. W. 5.0-4.5 cm. Th. 1.2 cm.

Fitter's mark: two parallel lines making a quarter of a circle.

Stylized tree consisting of two sets of four upward-curving voluted branches springing from the trunk. 'Capped palmette' flowers with double ribs grow up from the downward-curving volutes: there is a fan of four petals at the top.

The 'capped flower' also occurs on No. 266 above, which has similar strongly incised fitter's marks, and on the elegant No. 265. The arrangement of the branches of the tree can be compared to that on some trapezoidal plaques from SW 37: *I.N.* IV, nos. 164-168 and 177, and the openwork tenoned panels, *I.N.* IV, nos. 767-776. Some of these, *I.N.* IV, nos. 767-768 and 775-777, have 'capped palmette' flowers and may have been carved in a 'crown and scale' workshop. A tree with single rather than double voluted branches and 'capped flowers', No. 361, was found in Well NN.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 134, no. 78; Scigliuzzo 2004a, pl. 69.

Stylized tree

268. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 28. Well AJ
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79532

Plate 87



Openwork, tenoned panel, virtually complete except for fragments from tenon at top right and bottom frame. Plain frame and tenons at top and bottom. Colour, light brown. Back flat, with fitter's mark and three circular indentations. H. with tenons 14.3 cm. H. of panel 12.8 cm. W. 4.0 cm. Th. 1.0 cm. Fitter's mark: damaged, perhaps letter *waw*.

Stylized tree consisting of three sets of upward and downward-curving voluted branches springing from the trunk. Additional pairs of voluted branches grow from the two lower sets of upward-curving volutes. There is a fan of three petals at the top, and fronds grow from the volute ends.

An unusual version of a stylized tree, probably of the Syrian

tradition. For other examples, see *I.N.* IV, 169-172, nos. 767-789.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 92, no. 28.

'Bes' figure

269. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 20. Well AJ
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79524

Plate 88



Openwork panel or statuette of the Egyptian god, Bes, carved in high relief, standing on a plain frame. Fragments missing from the top and right side of the head, the arms are broken off and fragments are missing from both sides of the hips. The back is flat, striated, with a rectangular slot, 1.0 x 0.7 cm., in the back of the skirt, and an Aramaic fitter's mark. The colour is light brown. 7.4 x 3.7 x 1.5 cm. Fitter's mark: letter *beth*.

A small statue of the Egyptian god Bes, the genie of luck, standing frontally with bowed legs, feet facing outwards. He has bull's ears and hair on his forehead. The face has large eyes, strongly marked cheekbones, a large, flat nose and nostrils, an open mouth, showing the teeth and tongue, a moustache and square beard. He has heavy breasts and a bulging abdomen, with folds under the navel. He is wearing a short pleated skirt. Traces of the hands can be seen beside his stomach. His tail can be seen between his thickset legs.

Not many examples of this motif are known at Nimrud. Three examples occur on the lower sections of frontlets found in Well AJ, Nos. 245-247 above. These examples show a Bes clothed in a sleeved, pleated and belted garment with an open skirt. The Bes figures on an ivory plaque, ND1510, from Courtyard 18 of the Burnt Palace (Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 223, no. 183), and a bronze statuette from C6 of Fort Shalmaneser, ND7857 (Mallowan *N. & R.* II, 436, fig. 361), wear short skirts. An incised ivory plaque showing Bes twice was found in Room SW37 (Mallowan *N. & R.* II, 588, fig. 560; *I.N.* IV, no. 1217): in this example he is unclothed and closer to the Egyptian original. Mallowan considers that Bes was introduced to Assyria from Egypt via Phoenicia (Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 223). This is probably a Syrian or Phoenician version.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 82, no. 20.

270. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 56. Well AJ
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79560

Plate 88



A single voluted palmette flower from an openwork panel, back not preserved. Similar, broken off, voluted flowers were found by Layard, No. 199, and in Room OO, No. 337. 3.2 x 2.8 cm.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 117, no. 56, fig. 105.

Furniture fittings

271. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 27. Well AJ
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79531

Plate 89



Six openwork, tenoned panels forming parts of a frieze of running palmettes. They have double frames with short central tenons at the top, and short tenons from the base of the trunk at the bottom. The festoons and running branches of the palmettes are divided into three, outlined with raised ribs, the central chevrons are double. Three central petals rise from the chevrons, there are fronds between the festoons and the branches. The backs are flat, with fitter's marks. Colour, dark brown.

a. Virtually complete. Fragments missing from top tenon. Bottom tenon perforated. 5.7-4.6 x 2.9 x 0.7 cm.

Fitter's mark near tenon: letter *gimel* reversed; two indentations near top.

b. Virtually complete. Top tenon perforated, fragments missing from bottom tenon. 5.7-4.6 x 2.9 x 0.7 cm.

Fitter's mark in centre of back like a square bracket on its back, 3 short lines near base.

c. Virtually complete, originally: bottom section now missing, fragments missing from top tenon. 4.7-3.9 x 2.9 x 0.6 cm.

d. Trunk and bottom tenon missing. 4.6-3.8 x 2.8 x 0.6 cm.

Fitter's mark: four dots in centre.

e. Virtually complete. 6.6-4.6 x 2.9 x 0.7 cm.

Fitter's mark: perhaps letter *shin*.

f. Complete except for bottom tenon and some surface fragments. 5.6-4.7 x 2.9 x 0.7 cm.

Openwork tenoned panels with running palmettes were made in bronze as well as ivory and must have been made by the metre in many different workshops. Numerous examples have been found at Nimrud, see *I.N.* IV, 174-180, nos. 810-853, particularly nos. 836-843. For similar examples from Arslan Tash, see Thureau Dangin *et al.* 1931, pl. xlv, Carchemish, see Woolley & Barnett 1978, 167, pl. 71 f., Til Barsib, see Bunnens 1997a, 446-447, figs. 11-12, and for Samaria, see Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pls. xviii and xix, 2. They occur on furniture illustrated on bas-reliefs, particularly on Assyrian furniture, such as the backless throne of Ashurnasirpal II, tables from the reliefs of Sargon II from Khorsabad or on the chair of Ashurbanipal's queen, and on wall-paintings from Til Barsip (Curtis 1996, 169, pls. 46-47). They also occur on thrones attributed to Bar-rakib (Pritchard 1969, fig. 460; Voos 1985, 71 f.).

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 91, no. 27.

272. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 47. Well AJ

Plate 88

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79551



Furniture fitting, carved in the round, one third not preserved. It consists of a palm-shaped capital above a moulding with an outward-curving cylinder below, and an inset rim. There is a twisted double frame at the top and a row of interlocking triangles above the moulding. The base is flat. Square slot in the top, 2.3 x 2.3 cm. with a dowel hole. Brown

colour, some light brown. H. 14.2 cm. W. at top 5.0 cm. W. at petals 7.2 cm. W. at base 5.0 cm. Internal W. 4.3. Central moulding 4.3 cm.

Furniture elements decorated with palm-shaped capitals were popular, and there are many variations. This is an exceptionally elegant example. For some others from Nimrud see *I.N.* IV, nos. 1453-1456 and Herrmann 1996, 162, pl. 43. Simpler versions occur at Khorsabad (Loud & Altman 1938, pl. 56, nos. 69-70) and Zincirli (Andrae 1943, 126, Taf. 61, 1 and see Taf. 62). Earlier examples of this type of fitting can be seen at Megiddo (Loud 1930, pl. 25).

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 109, no. 47.

273. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 44. Well AJ

Plate 88

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79548



Furniture fitting, cylindrical, decorated with a set of downward-curving petals, some broken. The piece is perforated from top to bottom by a circular hole, 0.6 cm. Simple ribs at bottom and at top and bottom of petals. Two horizontal dowel holes in

bottom. Colour, dark brown. H. 4.1 cm. Max D. 5.1 cm. D. of top 3.0 cm. D. of bottom 2.6 cm.

An unusual type of furniture fitting.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 108, no. 44.

***274. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 46. Well AJ**

Plate 88

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79550



Furniture fitting, carved in the round, only a small section preserved. It consists of a capital above a moulding with an outward-curving cylinder below. The base is flat. H. 8.5 cm.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 108, no. 46.

***275. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 14. Well AJ**

Plate 89

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79518



An openwork circular furniture fitting of five bulls, carved in high relief, set on a circular base decorated with a guilloche. There would probably have been a similar circular fitting around the top (not preserved), fixings for which survive on

the shoulders and haunches of some bulls. The bulls advance to the left with lowered heads, the tip of their horns approaching the bull in front. Their eyes are excised for inlay, their neck musculature is indicated, but the bodies are otherwise smooth. The front of one bull is broken off: fragments of these fragile pieces are missing from horns, tails and legs. Backs roughly carved. Colour, dark brown: no trace of gold overlays. D. 12.2 cm.

Cylindrical furniture fittings decorated with bulls were relatively common at Nimrud. Some are openwork, like No. 275, although these are usually poorly preserved, the remains consisting either

Ivories from Nimrud VI

of just the bull silhouettes, broken from their frames, see *I.N.* IV, 109-110, nos. 268-276, pl. 60-61, or just the frames, see No. 276: for another style of a bull on a bottom fitting, see Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 220, fig. 176, and for an inlaid upper fitting with bulls, see TW20-23 below. Other examples are formed of solid curving plaques, making up a cylinder, as in *I.N.* IV, 109, nos. 258-267, pls. 57-59. A restored example made up from plaques from Room SW11/12 is shown on *I.N.* IV, pl. 56. There are also the remains of larger sections of furniture legs decorated with processions of bulls and see Herrmann 1996, 160-162, pl. 42.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 66, no. 14.

276. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 13. Well AJ Plate 88
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79517



Nearly half a ring, forming the base of a circular furniture fitting, originally decorated with a row of bovids, probably bulls, in silhouette, similar to No. 275. The left outside edge of the ring has two large excised rectangles, 3.1 x 1.2 cm., which would once have contained large inlays: the walls of these cloisons preserve the remains of gold overlays. The base has a hollow central section to enable it to be fitted over another element. Dowel holes, D. 0.5 cm., pierce the piece horizontally. The lower legs and hooves of one bovid on the left are reasonably well preserved: only stumps survive of a second on the right. H. with bovid legs 3.2 cm., H. of base 1.8 cm. Internal D. 9.8 cm. Th. 2.5 cm.

Part of the upper frame of a similar openwork furniture fitting and four bulls were found in House 6 of the Town Wall Houses, TW20-23. A solid version of the same, *I.N.* V, no. 96, ND 7560, was found in Corridor E of Fort Shalmaneser. All these examples employed large inlays in the frames.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 66, no. 13; Herrmann 1996, 160-161, pl. 42a and e; Curtis 1999, 59-69, fig. 16.

'Round-cheeked & ringletted' statuettes or furniture fittings. Nos. 277-282

Nos. 277 to 282 are parts of probably two animal statuettes, which were all carved to the same scale in the same simple naturalistic style. Compare the legs, fetlocks and hooves. Wicke suggested that they form part of the 'round-cheeked and ringletted' group (2005, 79, and see p. 99).

277. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 35. Well AJ Plate 90
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79539



The head of a bull, part of a statuette or furniture fitting, carved in the round and virtually complete. Left ear and fragments missing from tips of horns and top left. The head is finely shaped with two short, upward-curving horns. The eyes and eyebrows are carefully modelled. The top of the head is decorated with cross-hatching. Flat back with rectangular slot, 1.6 x 0.7 cm. Colour, brownish-grey. 4.8 x 4.7 x 2.6 cm. No. 278 is similar but less well preserved.

204

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 99, no. 35; Wicke 2005, 79, pl. xxi.

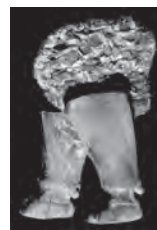
278. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 36. Well AJ Plate 90
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79540



The head of a bull, part of a statuette or furniture fitting, carved in the round, slightly damaged. The right side is cracked, and the ear and horn missing, the left horn is broken off and fragments are missing from the left side. The head is more crudely shaped than No. 277. The eyes, eyebrows and mouth are modelled. The top of the head is cross-hatched, finer lines than those of No. 277. Flat back with rectangular slot, 1.5 x 0.8 cm., and horizontal perforation, D. 0.3 cm. Colour, light and dark brown. 3.9 x 4.6 x 4.1 cm.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 100, no. 36, Wicke 2005, 79.

279. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 38. Well AJ Plate 90
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79542



The forequarters of a bovid, in the round: the chest is made of wood and the forelegs of ivory. The wooden sections were inlaid with pieces of lapis lazuli, with the walls of the cloisons overlaid with gold: many pieces of inlay and gold sheet still *in situ* on the left side, but little on the right. There is an iron pin in the neck area for fixing the head and neck. The wooden section, 4.5 x 4.4 x 2.8 cm., has shrunk. Left leg: 5.6 x 2.8 x 2.2 cm.: right leg: 5.4 x 2.8 x 2.0 cm.

Nos. 279 and 280 form a pair. The heads, Nos. 277 and 278, and the hindquarters, No. 281, may have formed parts of these statuettes.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 102, no. 3; Wicke 2005, 79, pl. xxi.

280. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 39. Well AJ Plate 90
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79543



The forequarters of a bovid carved in the round: the chest is made of wood and the forelegs of ivory: it forms a pair with No. 279. The wooden sections were inlaid with pieces of lapis lazuli, with the walls of the cloisons, 0.4 x 0.4 cm., overlaid with gold: the wood has shrunk considerably, 5.8 x 4.1 x 3.1 cm.; few pieces of inlay and gold sheet survive. Rectangular slot with pin on top, 1.2 x 0.6 cm., to fix head and neck, and second slot in back. The right foreleg has survived, but only a stump of the left. Right leg: 5.3 x 2.3 x 2.0 cm.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 103, no. 39; Wicke 2005, 79.

281. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 37. Well AJ Plate 90
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79541

The rounded hindquarters of a bovid, body not preserved, carved in the round. Most of the tail is missing. Colour, light brown. This



may have formed part of a statuette with either No. 279 or 280. 8.2 x 4.7 x 3.2 cm.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 101, no. 37; Wicke 2005, 79, pl. xxi.

282. Safar & al-'Iraqi, nos. 82-83. Well AJ Plate 90
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79592-IM 79593

The hindlegs of a bovid with the end of tail represented, carved in the round: a. left hindleg, 4.0 x 2.5 cm.; b. right hindleg, broken at top, fragments missing from inner leg and hoof, not illustrated. 4.2 x 2.5 x 2.0 cm.



Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 138, nos. 82-83.

Lions

283. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 34. Well AJ Plate 91
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79538



The head of a lion, part of a statuette or furniture fitting, carved in the round and virtually complete. Tips of canines broken. The lion is roaring with a rounded, open mouth. The eye is triangular, and wrinkles are represented on the nose and above the lips. The ears are flattened. The ridge of the mane is indicated in front of the ears. Flat back with a keyhole slot. Colour, light brown, traces of black on left of nose. 5.8 x 5.3 x 4.7 cm.; Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 6.5 x 4.7 cm.

The purpose of these heads, a number of which of varying sizes have been found across the area, is uncertain. They could have formed parts of statuettes or been employed on furniture. However, leonine heads are rarely shown on Assyrian reliefs, only on a 19th century drawing of a table from Khorsabad (Curtis 1996, 176, pl. 50b): ram's or bull's heads were the usual finial, although leonine paws are more or less a standard feature. A frieze of lions decorates the stretcher of Ashurbanipal's bed and there are sculptures of lions on the legs above, but not single heads. The lion was very much a royal prerogative. The front of lions, of course, formed parts of lion bowls, but not this type of head.

A fine head, No. 343, was found in Well NN, differing in having the mane inlaid and the mouth opened in more of a V shape; damaged versions were found in Rooms A and V, Nos. 87 and 175. For examples from SW37, see *I.N.* IV, pls. 356-360, and pls. 361-363, for lion statuettes. There are lion heads at Arslan Tash and Altintepe (Thureau Dangin *et al.* 1931, pl. xliii; Özgüç 1969, pls. 37-41). These presumably formed parts of statuettes, possibly forming parts of furniture: for other examples see *I.N.* IV, no. 1385, Zincirli (Andrae 1943, Taf. 64a-d, 65a) and Samaria (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pl. ix, 1).

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 98, no. 34.

***284. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 84. Well AJ** Plate 91
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79594
Part of a lion's left paw, only partially preserved. The toes are



prominently articulated. Ribbed wrinkles are carved above and below the joints. 5.5 x 4.2 cm.

For similar paws, see *I.N.* IV, nos. 1430 and 1431; and from Zincirli, Andrae 1943, Taf. 65d and i.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 141, no. 84, fig. 126.

Spoon-stopper or bowl

***285. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 8. Well AJ** Plates 91-92
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79512

A spoon-stopper or bowl with a handle in the shape of a column capital or base ornamented with mouldings with foliate designs and twisted cables. A hole perforates the bowl and handle, ending in a square tenon slot. The bowl, D. of interior 8.8 cm., is undecorated: its exterior was not smoothed – the marks of the chisel are still visible. L. 16 cm.; Th. of side 1.2 cm.



This plain bowl with its cushion capital handle is unusually large, like the 'flame and frond' lion bowl, No. 237, and two Egyptian blue lion bowls from Hasanlu and Kinneret (Muscarella 1965, 43, fig. 3; Fritz 1987, 232-240). Barnett, *C.N.I.* 210, was the first to call this type of capital a 'cushion capital', which he considered to be North Syrian in origin. He noted that its development could be followed from 'Tall Halaf (Oppenheim n.d., pl. 14) to Tall Tayinat (Gelb 1939, pl. lxxx) and Zincirli (Andrae 1943, Taf. 12 and 63; Luschan von 1911, Taf. 53); Wicke (2005, 91, 104) commented that a similar fragment was found in Fort Shalmaneser, S10, *I.N.* V, no. 169. At Zincirli there are both similar column bases, as well as a set of ivory chair legs, (Luschan von 1911, Taf. liii, 53; Andrae 1943, Taf. 63); and at Tell Tayinat, a relief shows part of the throne of a colossal figure with a cushion capital leg with volutes above (Hawkins 2000, pl. 180). Wicke (2005) has assigned the bowl to the 'round-cheeked and ringletted' group.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 47-48, no. 8; Wicke 2005, 91, 106.

'Woman flask' and lion bowl

Barnett noted that there are two types of 'woman-flask', both derived from Syria or Phoenicia. One represented a complete woman, the other is derived from a horn-flask, as found in the New Kingdom, and topped with a hand-shaped stopper (*C.N.I.*, 94-95, 198-199, S96-S98, pl. lviii-lx). For examples from Megiddo, one topped with a female head, see Loud 1930, pl. 41, nos. 186-189.

***286. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 4. Well AJ** Plates 92-93
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79505-07

The flask consists of three parts, a. a lion bowl, IM 79507; b. a 'woman-flask', IM 79505; and c. a lid, IM 79506. A square tenon slot with a circular hole connects the bowl and the flask: it is possible that a wooden section joined the two, as in the 'flame and frond' horn or flask, No. 236.

a. The lion bowl, IM 79507, was discovered at about the same level

Ivories from Nimrud VI



as the flask and probably served as its 'spoon-stopper': the diameter of its back, 5.2 cm., is the same as the top of the woman's head. Carved in the round. Only the head and forequarters of the lion are represented, the forelegs extended to hold the bowl. The mouth is open, with fangs bared and protruding tongue. The whiskers are indicated with dots, the eyes are large with drilled pupils, and the pointed ears are laid back. The mane forms a V between the ears and is marked with triangular incisions. There are no muscle markings. The flat back has a tenon slot, 2.2 x 2.3 cm., with dowel holes perforating the piece from the top and bottom to hold the square peg joining bowl and flask. A circular hole, c. 0.9 cm., continues through the tenon slot into the bowl under the tongue. 7.8 x 7.5 cm.

While the quadruple lion bowl of No. 237 is unique, there are a number of examples, mostly fragmentary of single lion bowls made in a variety of materials and widely distributed (Muscarella 1965, Fritz 1987, Mazzoni 2005a, 43-66). Some fragments were found in the Burnt Palace, by Mallowan (*N. & R. I.*, 221, fig. 177) and Loftus, S77-S84 (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 197, pl. xlix). Fragments of five or six lion bowls have been found at Hasanlu, two of which were made in Egyptian blue or stone (Muscarella 1980, 192-193, nos. 222-225). Two fragmentary single lion bowls of serpentine were found in Zincirli (Andrae 1943, 148, Taf. 13a-b, e-f; 14a-b, d, e), and a fragment in green stone at Boghazköy (Mazzoni 2005a, 56, pl. xv, 9). A fine example of a lion bowl in Egyptian blue was found at Kinneret (Fritz 1987, 232-240).



b. The 'woman flask', IM 79505, is carved from the tusk of a relatively small elephant. The top of the curving tusk has been cut off. Virtually complete, some cracks, repaired. Tiny traces of gold overlay survive on the wig and the armllets and bracelets. The top, D. 5.2 cm., is flat with a deep, square tenon slot, 2.2 x 2.2 x 4.0 cm., and is perforated by dowel holes, D. 0.5 cm., to hold the tenon: a circular hole at the bottom of the tenon slot continues into the hollow body of the flask.

H. 28.0-31.0 cm.; *Turin Catalogue*, 30 x 7.4 x 14.5 cm. Tenon slot 2.3 x 2.3 cm.

The upper section of the tusk is carved to represent the head and chest of a woman, the lower body is not marked: she is bending forward, following the curve of the tusk. The forehead is broad with long slanting eyes with drilled pupils, and eyebrows marked by uneven excised lines. The cheekbones are high, the nose has a flat bridge and a broad tip. The mouth is small, the chin is long and rounded. The ears are large with a high curving top and long lobe, perforated for earrings. Her tall and long Egyptian lappet wig has the locks indicated: the wig is tucked behind the ears and falls down over the shoulders onto her chest and back. The surface of the vertical strands of hair is marked with staggered notches: there are tiny traces of gold. Her necklace can be seen between the ends of the wig: it has two strands, decorated with incised teardrops. Her flattened arms come from hunched shoulders and are flexed, her hands with elongated thumbs and fingers, cup her small

breasts, which have the nipples marked. The fingers meet in the centre of her chest, the thumbs extend up the sides, in a typically Mesopotamian way. She wears armllets and bracelets consisting of two gilded bands. The lower part of the tusk is smooth with an incised line round the base.

Fragments of this type of flask were found in the Burnt Palace, see Barnett *C.N.I.*, 198-199, S96-S98, pl. lviii-lx, and ND1142c. The last, a fragment from the side of the head with an ear and part of the wig, was found in Room 7. A much smaller example, only 12 cm. high, in a different style was found in the South West Palace at Kuyunjik (Barnett *C.N.I.*, T6, pl. cxxiii). This type of container would have held precious liquids, an oil or lotion and was probably made in a Phoenician workshop.

c. The oval lid, IM 79506, was found near the flask and consists of an ivory disc fixed by five nails to a wooden disc, now much shrunken. The side of the cover was wrapped with a plait of material, leather or cloth?, to fit it tightly to the container – there are no dowel holes at the bottom of the flask. 9.0 x 7.4 x 0.3 cm.: current Th. of wooden disc 0.17 cm.

Turin Catalogue, no. 173, 402-403, colour plate, 329; Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 29-33, nos. 4-5. Scigliuzzo 2004, pls. 4, 5.

Statuette

*287. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 3. Well AJ
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79504

Plate 94



A statuette of a naked girl, carved fully in the round, set on a pedestal. Traces of black paint on the eyebrows and the edges of the eyes, with traces of white paint in the pupils. Fragments of crown, ringlets and right toe missing, restored in wax. The oval pedestal is decorated with three ribs round the edge and has a tenon, 1.2 x 2.0 x 2.5 cm., protruding from the bottom. The top of the crown is not polished and contains a rectangular tenon slot, 0.9 x 1.6 cm.

H. 34.0 cm. high; H. of pedestal and tenon 3.5 cm.; *Turin Catalogue*, 34.2 x 9.9 x 4.8 cm.

A beautiful, naked girl looking forwards and standing upright on a pedestal. Her arms, separated from the body, are flexed, her hands cupping her breasts. Her legs are joined at the thigh but separated below. She has broad shoulders, a narrow waist and full hips. Her belly is rounded with a carved navel, the pubic hair is marked with stipples. The back is flat with slightly convex buttocks, with a hollow above.

She wears a high polos or crown, decorated with a frieze of lotus flowers and buds and framed by beaded borders, partially repaired in wax. Her hair is parted in the centre and falls in twisted ringlets in front of her ears onto her chest (left ringlet and ear damaged), while fifteen thick plaits fan out on her back, forming a semi-

circle. Each plait ends in a twisted curl. Her face is rounded: her eyes are large, pointed ovals. Both the excised eyebrows and eyes are emphasized, as are the drilled pupils. The nose is triangular with a narrow bridge and broad tip. The cheeks are rounded, the mouth full, and the chin firm. She wears no jewellery. Her hands cup her full breasts with the nipples subtly marked. The thumbs of her elongated fingers are thicker, the other fingers are joined but the joints are unmarked. The nails of both fingers and toes, partially restored, are marked.

As a standing naked female, the Well AJ statuette has similarities to the caryatid fan handles or fly-whisks with naked women, either single, double or quadruple from the Burnt Palace (Mallowan *N. & R. I.*, 210-211, figs. 146-147; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 213-215, S206-233, pl. lxxiii-lxxvi, S294, S308, pls. lxxxix, xci). However, perhaps the most significant difference between the two is size: the Well AJ statuette is about twice the size of the larger handles and three or four times that of the smaller. Other differences are that the Burnt Palace women mostly have their arms at their sides and their legs joined, and were clearly designed to act as handles. A few Burnt Palace fragments have women cupping their breasts, for instance Barnett *C.N.I.*, 209, S231 and S234, one of a pair, pl. lxxvi, and some fragments have legs separated and feet standing on a pedestal, for instance Barnett *C.N.I.*, 209, S238, S241, S245, pl. lxxvii). These may be statuettes rather than fan-handles.

The Well AJ statuette is generally more sensuous than the North Syrian women. The face is more rounded with a full soft mouth, and her cupped breasts and curving hips are fuller. There are similarities with the 'Mona Lisa', No. 348, note the representation of the eyes and nose, while the fingers cupping the breasts resemble those of the flask, No. 286, above. Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi compared the piece to a smaller example found at Toprak Kale (Barnett *C.N.I.*, W.4, 229, pl. cxxviii), although noting many differences in the hairstyle, crown, and form between the two. The back only of an earlier version was found at Megiddo (Loud 1930, pl. 39, no. 175). She wears a similar lotus crown and has her hair falling in a plait on her back. Her arms are flexed and her legs slightly apart. The Well AJ statuette, different in size and style and serving a different purpose to the North Syrian examples, may have been carved in a Syrian or Phoenician workshop.

Turin Catalogue, 403-404, no. 174, colour plate on 330; Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 25-28, no. 3.

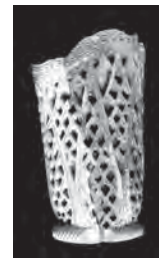
***288. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 81. Well AJ** Plate 91
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79591



Human head, represented frontally, poorly preserved, most of bottom broken off. Of the face, only part of the forehead and part of the right eye and eyebrow survive. The hair is arranged in twisted locks over the forehead and hangs down the back. Tenon slot at bottom. 5.0 x 4.8 cm.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 137, no. 81, fig. 123.

289. Safar & al-'Iraqi, nos. 40-41. Well AJ Plate 95
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79544-IM 79545



A unique pair of furniture fittings?, each cut from a tusk and occupying about three quarters of a circle. IM 79544 is essentially complete: the other, IM 79545, was found broken in two at different levels, the first piece, whose original colour survived, at a depth of 22.5 metres; the other more than a metre deeper. The fittings have a heavy twisted rim at the bottom and curving guilloche bands at the top. The area between is decorated with large pointed petals, filled with a diamond design, all with raised beaded borders.

IM 79544: Virtually complete, cut from a tusk, wider at the top than the bottom. There are traces of gold over the guilloche band, the mesh and the base. The holes were inlaid with paste of various colours, including green, some of which survive.

The top frame curves downwards and contains a rectangular tenon, 2.4 x 1.7 x 1.4 cm., perforated horizontally. The base is nearly circular with a large tenon slot, 2.2 cm. Colour, dark brown. 15.1 x 9.2-6.8 x 2.0 cm.

IM 79545: Similar to IM 79544, but less well preserved. Chip missing from base. Traces of gold on mesh. Upward-curving upper frame, no trace of tenon. Tenon at base 2.5 cm. 15.4 x 8.5-6.7 x 2.2 cm.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 104-105, nos. 40-41.

290. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 48. Well AJ Plate 96
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79552



Furniture fitting. A cone shaped piece probably from the bottom of a chair. H. 4.5 cm. D. at top 6.6 cm. Max D. 7.7 cm. D. at base 3.2 cm.

Fitter's mark on the flat circular top: unclear, possibly the letter *waw* above an oval, but it may not be a letter.

A similar piece was found at Zincirli: Andrae 1943, 127, Abb. 180.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 110, no. 48.

***291. Safar & al-'Iraqi, nos. 86-87. Well AJ** Plate 96
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79595, IM 79596



Two plain furniture fittings, one complete, one broken:

a. IM 79595, virtually complete. A cylinder pierced horizontally with four slots at different levels and at right angles: fragments missing from one slot. This piece joined four beams: the remains of dowels can still be seen inside the slots. Traces of black in one slot, and on the sides. Slots: 4.3 x 2.9 x 1.8 cm; 4.5 x 3.2 x 1.3 cm.; 4.6 x 3.0 x 1.2 cm.; 2.5 x 2.5 x 1.8 cm. H. 8.5 cm. D. of top: 7.5 cm. D. of bottom: 7.8 cm.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

b. IM 79596. A smaller furniture fitting, less well preserved. A cylinder pierced with four slots at right angles, with dowels *in situ*. One end broken off. Slot, 2.0 x 1.6 cm. H. 4.4 cm. D. 5.0 cm.

A similar piece was found at Zincirli: Andrae 1943, 127, fig. 178, Taf. 61,a.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 142-143, nos. 86-87.

Assorted

292. Safar & al-'Iraqi, nos. 54-55. Well AJ Plate 96
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79558-IM 79559

Two floral discs:



a. IM 79558, a circular disc, shaped like a spindle whorl, thicker in the centre than the edge. The design of a rosette is on the flat side. Fine perforation through centre. D. 3.4 cm. Th. at centre 0.8 cm., at edge 0.2 cm.;



*b. IM 79559, part of a circular disc with three petals and two damaged petals from a rosette with inlaid petals. Remains of gold overlay and one piece of ivory inlay. Tenon on back. D. 4.8 cm.

The rosette was popular and widely used on all media: ivory versions were found elsewhere in the North West Palace, Nos. 88-89, and in the Burnt Palace, Barnett *C.N.I.*, S382a, b, pl. cix.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 116-117, nos. 54-55.

Plain pyxis

293. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 59. Well AJ Plate 96
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79564



Three fragments of a plain pyxis with a frame consisting of a guilloche band between incised lines. 5.5 x 4.6 x 0.6 cm.; 5.0 x 4.3 x 0.4 cm.; 5.0 x 2.7 x 0.6 cm.

A complete pyxis, plain except for guilloche borders at top and bottom, overlaid with gold, was found in the 'Ältere' or 'Goldgrüft', a vaulted tomb sunk into prehistoric levels and lying partly under the terrace of the Hilani built by Kapara (Oppenheim, nd, 219-222, pls.; Moortgat 1955, 5-7, figs. 1-2; Hrouda 1962, 3-4, 19, pl. 1). Fragments of a similar pyxis were also found at Hasanlu (Muscarella 1980, 240-241).

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 120, no. 59, fig. 109.

294. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 58a-b. Well AJ Plate 96
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79562-63



Two rectangular, perforated strips used as fillers.

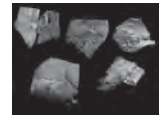
a. Five holes, with two broken holes at ends. 10.0 x 1.2 cm.;
b. two holes, with two broken holes at ends. 6.0 x 1.2 cm.

208

Mallowan found a similar piece, ND1523, in the Burnt Palace.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 119, no. 58, fig. 107-108.

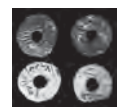
***295. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 57. Well AJ** Plate 97
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79561



Five fragments found in the dump from the B.S.A.I. excavations of Well AJ. Three fragments consist of perforated tenons above a herringbone frame and triangular herringbone design containing rosettes and excised petals. The other two fragments are indeterminate. A similar tenoned fragment with herringbone frame and rosettes was found in Room HH, No. 322. Diamond-shaped pieces with the same decoration were found in the Burnt Palace, Barnett *C.N.I.*, S389, pl. cix.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 118, no. 57, fig. 106.

***296. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 85. Well AJ** Plate 96
Iraq Museum, Baghdad



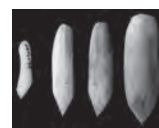
Four perforated cylinders, with fitter's marks on the ends.

Fitter's marks: top left, four horizontal strokes; top right, two horizontal strokes; bottom left, apparently the letter *kaph*; centre right, perhaps letter *gimel* or arrow-head.

There are examples of perforated cylinders from Fort Shalmaneser, SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1525, pl. 410, 2nd row from bottom; pl. 414, nos. 1554, 1556; and pl. 415, nos. 1559-1560.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 141, no. 85, fig. 127.

297. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 77. Well AJ Plate 97
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79587



Four ivory or bone oblong erasing knives, spatulae or scrapers. One end is rounded, the other pointed.

a. 10.7 x 3.2 x 0.2 cm.; b. 9.2 x 2.4 x 0.2 cm.; c. 9.0 x 2.3 x 0.2 cm.; d. 5.7 x 1.4 x 0.2 cm.

This type of object must have been a common tool and is probably under-reported. Similar pieces were found in Well NN, No. 372. Bone and ivory scrapers were also found at Zincirli, Andrae 1943, pl. 59a-f, 60, a-ar.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 133, no. 77.

***298. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 88. Well AJ** Not illustrated
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79597

Part of an elephant tusk, broken and restored. No carving. 31.0 x 17.0 x 2.0 cm.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 144, no. 88.

THE QUEEN'S SUITE, ROOM AF

***299. ND1031, Room AF** Not illustrated
British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London

Disc engraved with a 16 petalled rosette. From sub-surface. 1.5 x 1.5 x 0.2 cm.

***300. ND1079, Room AF** Not illustrated
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Circular handle, engraved with parallel and undulating lines. L. 3.5 cm. D. 0.6 cm.

DOORWAY BETWEEN ROOMS AH AND AK, LEVEL III

301. ND1077, AH/AK doorway, Level III Plate 97
Iraq Museum, Baghdad



Fragments of strips, up to 6.0 x 3.0 x 0.3 cm., mostly plain, one roughly engraved with wedges, not apparently writing.

ROOM HH
Assyrian panels

***302. ND.... Room HH** Plate 98
Iraq Museum, Baghdad



Fragment from top of panel, sides and bottom broken off. Assyrian style. Incised. Plain frame at top. Part of the face, left shoulder and raised left arm of an Assyrian facing right, holding up an unidentifiable object. 1.7 x 2.5 x 0.5 cm.

Mallowan and Davies suggested that the Assyrian was 'possibly leading a horse'.

I.N. II, 27, no. 60, pl. xvi.

***303. ND... Room HH** Plate 98
Iraq Museum, Baghdad



Fragmentary plaque, broken at left and bottom left. Surface damaged. Assyrian style. Incised. Plain frame at bottom. A goat kneeling to the left, with part of a voluted palmette plant in front. The animal has a dotted marking on its back, the ribs are marked and the flank is decorated with dots and an incised 'W'. 2.5 x 5.5 x 0.4 cm.

Kneeling goats were a popular Assyrian motif. Layard found

fragments of similar plaques in the 'Roadway made for the Bulls', No. 40, as well as fragments of modelled examples, Nos. 38-39 (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 186, H1-3, pl. xiii). A pair with goats kneeling to the right, No. 65, was found in Room B – *I.N.* II, no. 133, although these lacked the dot markings: small fragments were also found in the soil around Well AJ, Nos. 210-211. Both modelled and incised examples were found in Fort Shalmaneser, *I.N.* II, pls. xxxviii-xxxix.

I.N. II, 42, no. 135, pl. xxxiv.

?Phoenician panels

The thin panels of Nos. 304-307 may have formed part of a single decorative system, but they are too fragmentary for this to be more than a suggestion.

304. ND906, C.N.I., J5a-b. Room HH Plate 98
a. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 55714; b. British Museum, London, BM130858-59, 1951.0210.13 and 14



Three fragments of vertical rectangular panels, incised design:

a. IM 55714: fragment, broken at top, right side and bottom. Frame partially preserved on left consisting of two pairs of vertical lines enclosing groups of horizontal lines dividing the frame into rectangular compartments. The design consists of an unusual version of a stylized tree with pairs of volutes, set almost vertically, with a lily flower rising from each central palmette. Half palmettes adorn volute ends resting against the frame, and short fronds grow from the upper volute ends. Back, flat. 21.2 x 7.3 cm.



b. BM130858-59: two fragments from the sides of vertical panels with remains of an unusual stylized tree. They probably formed parts of 304a. above, or a similar panel. Frame, pairs of vertical lines enclosing horizontal lines dividing the frame into rectangular compartments. Remains of the flowers and branches from a stylized tree. Back striated. i. 11.0 x 3.1 x 0.3 cm.; ii. 9.0 x 2.4 x 0.3 cm.

For similar examples of this form of tree from SW37 in Fort Shalmaneser see *I.N.* IV, nos. 183, 235, 245, 250, 1225-1229, and from Samaria, Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, 16, 40, pl. xxi, 3-5, 8, and Uehlinger 2005, pl. xxv. For inlaid versions of the same design from SW37 see *I.N.* IV, no. 1194, and from Til Barsib, Bunnens 1997, 445, fig. 10. Crowfoot & Crowfoot considered that this type of palmette is characteristically Phoenician and pointed out that it is repeated over the upper registers of stelae found at Arwad (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, 16; Perrot & Chipiez 188 III, 129, fig. 73; 131, fig. 76). For a photograph of the ivories *in situ*, see Fig. 10 and Mallowan *Iraq* 13, pl. x, 2.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 52, pl. xvii, 1; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 188, J5.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

305. ND906b, C.N.I. J3. Room HH Plate 98
British Museum, London, BM130863. 1951.0210.18



Openwork fragment from a large thin, panel showing part of the wing of a sphinx or griffin, probably facing right, with incised scale-patterns, chevrons and oblique lines. Back, striated. Possibly part of No. 306 or a similar panel. 12.0 x 4.4 x 0.3 cm.

Mallowan *Iraq* 13, 19, pl. ix, 2; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 188, J3, pl.xv.

306. ND905. Room HH Plate 100
British Museum, London



Fragment from large, thin panel, broken at edges. Design incised and stained: alternate segments of wing and collar originally coloured. The remains of the design show part of the collar and wing of a sphinx? facing right. Fixed by dowel holes, back striated. Possibly part of No. 305 or a similar panel. 5.5 x 3.8 x 0.2 cm.

Assorted pieces

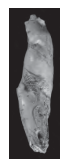
***307. ND... Room HH** Plate 99
Iraq Museum, Baghdad



Openwork fragment of the wing of a sphinx or griffin originally advancing right. 4.0 x 5.0 cm.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 52, pl. xvii, 4.

308. ND771, C.N.I. J4. Room HH Plate 99



British Museum, London, BM130855. 1951.0210.10
Fragment consisting of the head, neck and body of a rampant griffin to right, wings, tail and legs broken or cut off. The beak, tip broken, is raised. Eye excised for inlay. Trace of curls on neck and of feathering on wings. Trace of musculature on haunch. 6.2 x 1.6 x 1.4 cm.

Barnett suggested that this piece could have formed part of one of the pairs of griffins within the voluted branches of concave elements, such as Nos. 159 and 309. However, the angle of the body seems too steep. Barnett further suggested that the piece was about to be re-carved.

Mallowan *Iraq* 13, 19, pl. viii, 8; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 188, J4, pl. xiv.

***309. ND897. Room HH** Plate 99
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 55722



Fragment from base of concave element consisting of a voluted tree originally with curving branches containing a feature, such as a pair of rampant griffins, e.g. No. 308, back to back. Frame at the bottom, guilloche band. Part of base of tree, pair of downward-curving volutes, surface not preserved, and base of open branches. 5.2 x 6.2 x 1.0 cm.

210

Similar examples were found by Layard in Rooms V and X, Nos. 158-159, 161 and 192: and openwork fragments from Layard's dump, No. 160; Mallowan *Iraq* 14, pl. xii, no. 9. For other examples from SW 37, Fort Shalmaneser, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1251-1265.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 52, pl. xvii, 9.

***310. ND Room HH** Plate 99
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 55754



Rectangular panel, virtually complete, partially restored in wax. Wide frame above a rib at top. The design consists of a row of four stylized papyrus flowers alternating with five buds. 7.5 x 6.3 x 0.2 cm.

A similar motif occupies the lower register of a version of the woman at the window design from Room SE10, Fort Shalmaneser (*I.N.* V, pl. 51, nos. 259-262). The panel above the floral motif lacks a female head, is relatively narrow and left blank. A similar use of the motif also occurs at Arslan Tash, Thureau Dangin *et al.* 1931, pl. xlv, 101-103, where, once again, the motif fills the lower section below a blank strip. One Arslan Tash example, no. 102, repeats the design at the side, as if it formed part of a continuous pattern. The flowers have semi-circular petals with the sepals marked. A row of papyrus flowers replaces the voluted balusters in a provincial version of the woman at the window from Samaria (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pl. xiii, 2).

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 53, pl. xviii, 1.

***311. ND767. Room HH** Plate 99
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 55724



Fragment from vertical panel, broken at top and bottom. Plain frame at sides. All that survives of the design is two rows of downward pointing petals at the bottom separated by a moulded frame from two pairs of volutes. Flat back. 7.5 x 6.2 cm.

Mallowan, *I.L.N.* 22.07.50, 150, fig. 10. Mallowan *Iraq* 13, 15, pl. i, 6.

312. ND774, C.N.I., J2. Room HH Plate 99
British Museum, London, BM130857. 1951.0210.12



Triangular panel, virtually complete, cut at top. Double frame at sides. Design of lotus rising from a series of horizontal ribs, presumably representing water. Mallowan reported faint traces of colour on the flower. Flat back. Found in Level III. 8.5 x 5.3-0.4 x 0.4 cm.

Mallowan *Iraq* 13, 18, pl. viii, 3; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 188, J2, pl.xv.

313. ND896, C.N.I., G6c. Room HH Plate 99
British Museum, London, BM 130856. 1951.0210.11

Openwork fragment from top of floral panel carved in high relief.



Cloisonné. Traces of red in two of the buds. The surface was finely worked and highly polished. Top roughened. All that survives are the remains of four flowers, stalks broken off, separated by five buds (only partially preserved on left). The stalks of the buds curve to the back of the panel, between the flower stalks, and would have provided an impression of depth in this field of flowers. Back smooth. 3.5 x 9.5 x 2.7 cm.

Similar in concept, but not the type of flowers, to ND7738 from S10, Fort Shalmaneser, *I.N.* V, no. 155; and to some fragments from Til Barsip (Bunnens, 1997, 449, fig. 15). Four fragments from the 1950 excavations of a partially similar floral motif but with a background, ND1543, Barnett *C.N.I.*, G11, 185, pl. xv, were found in the Long Room of the Burnt Palace, although Barnett thought they were unprovenanced.¹ In the Burnt Palace example the sepals are carefully modelled and the tops of the flowers are flat rather than oval. A sensitively carved, solid version with similarly shaped flowers and buds was found at Kuyunjik (Barnett *C.N.I.*, T7, pl. cxxiii).

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 184, G6c, pl. vii.

314. *C.N.I.*, J6. Room HH Plate 100
Iraq Museum, Baghdad; British Museum, London, BM 130860. 1951.0210.15



Fragments, no original edges, from strips with incised designs of six-petaled rosettes arranged in compartments, separated by plain frames. Back flat. 4.3 x 2.4 x 0.3 cm. Similar strips of this common motif, No. 199b, were found by Layard in 1848, and by Mallowan in Room B, Nos. 74-75, although those rosettes had more petals and were enclosed in circular frames. Both types of rosette or daisy pattern, either enclosed in circles or plain, were found at Samaria (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, 40, fig. 11). A similar design is often employed on blue glass inlays, again with examples found both at Nimrud and Samaria.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, pl. xvii, 5 and 7; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 188, J6.

Parts of human and animal statuettes

***315. ND763. Room HH** Plate 100
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 55748



Face, carved in the round, probably from statuette: found with the bull, No. 319. Curved top, curving excised eyebrows, eyes with heavy lids, high cheekbones, straight nose, finely modelled, smiling mouth and firm chin. Back, flat with fitter's mark. 5.5 x 4.5 cm.

Fitter's mark: perhaps letter *resh*.

A beautifully carved face, possibly from a Phoenician workshop. For a similar type of head, though stylistically different, see No.

¹ Barnett thought that ND896 was found in a dump of Layard's time. However, it can be seen *in situ* in Room HH, Mallowan *Iraq* 13, pl. x, 2.

325 from the adjacent Room JJ. For earlier versions of such faces, see two from Megiddo (Loud 1939, pl. 44, no. 195-196) and the recently discovered example from Late Bronze Age Qatna, Luciani 2006, 21-33. See also an example from an Iron Age II level at Ekron, Gitin 1987, 217, top right; and Altintepe, Özguç 1969, pl. 45.

Mallowan *I.L.N.* 22.07.50, 150, figs. 14-16; Mallowan *Iraq* 13, 16, pl. v, 1-2, 4; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 113, fig. 55.

***316. ND766. Room HH** Plate 100
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 55723

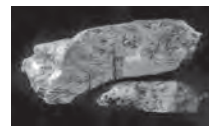


Lower arm, carved in the round, part of a statuette. The hand is clenched and holds an offering between first finger and thumb. Tenon, perforated by dowel hole, at back for attachment. See *Iraq* 13, pl. x, for the arm *in situ*. 8.0 x 1.8 cm.

Mallowan *I.L.N.* 22.07.50, 150, fig. 10; Mallowan *Iraq* 13, 14, pl. i, 4; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 217, fig. 167.

Sphinxes and bovids

317. ND907. Room HH Plate 100
British Museum, London



Fragment of openwork figure, body and wing only of a winged animal, perhaps a sphinx, to left, head and legs broken off. Poorly worked, perhaps a trial piece, unfinished. Residual markings on wing. 2.0 x 4.1 x 1.0 cm.

318. ND910, *C.N.I.*, J1. Room HH Plate 99
British Museum, London, BM130846, 1951.0210.01



The left side of the hindquarters of a large couchant lion to left, tail curled over rump, carved in high relief, poorly preserved. Front edge straight, for fitting to forequarters. Two rectangular slots, 1.5 x 1.0 and 1.6 x 1.4 cm., above rump. Back originally flat, but poorly preserved with central section flaked off: originally striated. Sloping tenon slot in base, 4.0-5.0 x 4.0, held by two dowels. See Mallowan *Iraq* 13, pl. x, for the lion *in situ*. 15.0 x 22.7 x 5.6 cm.

Mallowan *Iraq* 13, 15, pl. iv, 4; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 188, J1, pl. cxi.

***319. ND762. Room HH** Plate 100
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 55746



Bull, carved in high relief, striding to the right: horn and ear attached separately, not preserved – only the dowel holes survive. Legs broken off. Large modelled eye with five rows of raised eyebrow ribs, fine ribs on cheek and neck, heavy body, tail between hindlegs. Back flat with keyhole slot and two dowel holes in back at top. 9.0 x 22.0 cm.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

Found with No. 315, upside down in a bed of clay and mixed debris, close to the east wall in Level 3 near a tablet with the name of the *limmu* of 715 BC.

Mallowan *I.L.N.* 22.07.50, 151, figs. 18, 20; Mallowan *Iraq* 13, 15, pls. ii-iv; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 110, fig. 53.

***320. ND798. Room HH** Plate 101
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 55716

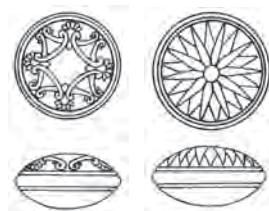


Part of a long horn in the round, tip broken off, fleecy markings towards bottom. Base has rectangular tenon slot with dowel in side to secure tenon. H. 21.0 cm.

Mallowan, *Iraq* 14, 52, pl. xvi, 4.

Assorted

321. ND1713/4, Room HH, cupboard in east wall Plate 101
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1952.82 and 83



A large group of beads, shells, including large shell beads engraved with scorpions, and gold foil, as well as three ivory disc beads, one engraved with a Maltese square and palmette design, another with a stellar or sun design. For similar discs see Loud 1930, pl. 51.

- Hemi-spherical disc, incised, double frame round edge. The central design consists of two sets of four voluted palmette garlands, overlaid. Back, double frame round edge. 3.6 x 3.6 x 1.9 cm.
- Hemi-spherical disc, incised, double frame round edge, engraved with a sixteen-pointed stellar design. D. 3.5 cm.
- Hemi-spherical disc. 16 lines radiating from the centre, lightly incised. Back, plain. 3.2 x 3.2 x 2.1 cm.

Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 112, fig. 56.

***322. ND Room HH** Plate 101
Iraq Museum, Baghdad



a. Fragment from top of openwork panel, perforated tenon. Herringbone frame at top, continuing to form triangle containing rosette and openwork petal. Similar fragments were found in the Burnt Palace, Barnett *C.N.I.*, 222, S389, pl. cix, and by the Iraqis in the B.S.A.I. dump near Well AJ, No. 295. H. 4.1 cm., Th. 0.7 cm.;



b. acorn, stem broken off. H. 2.6 cm.;



c. cervid leg in the round, broken at top. H. 2.1 cm.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 52, pl. xvii, 8, 2 and 3.

***323. ND ... Room HH** Plate 101
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

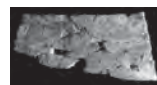


Three trapezoidal panels, one with a broken end, incised with fitter's marks. Lengths 7.4 cm.; 5.3 cm.; 4.5 cm.

Fitter's marks: left, five parallel strokes; top right, letter *zayin*; bottom right, letter *gimel*.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 53, pl. xviii, 5-7.

324. ND909. Room HH Plate 101
British Museum, London, BM130862. 1951.0210.17



Fragment of plain panel, lightly striated back. One dowel hole, 0.2 cm., and half of another on edge. 11.0 x 5.0 cm.

ROOM JJ, BATHROOM OF ROOM HH

325. ND764, C.N.I., K1. Room JJ Plate 101
British Museum, London, BM130847. 1951.0210.02



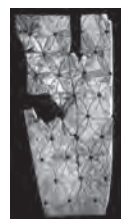
Face with a curved top, carved in high relief. The nose, mouth and chin are damaged. The eyes are raised and blank, the pupils not being marked – they may originally have been painted. The eyes are set in deep sockets: the eyebrows are not independently marked. The face has fleshy cheeks and a rounded chin. Back, flat. 5.7 x 4.2 cm. Th. at

top 2.3 cm., Th. of neck at base 0.7 cm.

This is similar to No. 315 from the adjacent Room HH but is less sophisticated in its carving. Found lying on a burnt brick pavement in the north east corner of the room.

Mallowan *Iraq* 13, 16, pl. v, 3; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 188-9, K1, pl.xiv.

326. ND782, C.N.I., K2. Room JJ Plate 102
British Museum, London, BM130861. 1951.0210.16



Fragmentary panel, sides broken off, fragments missing from top and centre. Continuous incised design drawn with compasses of intersecting circles forming 6-petalled flowers. The centres of the flowers were drilled. The petals were outlined with black and stained red, the drilled centres were filled with black paste. Back, striated. 13.6 x 6.4 x 0.3 cm.

Mallowan noted that similar fragments on equally thin panels had been found at Samaria, Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, 41, fig. 13. The same design was widely used, including for instance on the bases of pyxides, see No. 233 above, as well as on Phoenician bowls and the door-sill of Ashurbanipal's palace.

Mallowan *Iraq* 13, 18, pl. viii, 4; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 189, K2, pl.xv.

***327. ND904. Room JJ, door to Room HH** Plate 102
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 55715



Curving element in the round, described as a bovine horn. Fleecy markings towards the bottom. Rectangular dowel hole in base, with small cross-dowel in side. Found in fill over burnt brick floor in door. H. 5.9 cm.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 53, pl.xviii, 4.

ROOM GG, NORTH OF ROOM OO

328. ND895, C.N.I., M2. Room GG Plate 102
British Museum, London, BM 130852. 1951.0210.07



Oval foot of miniature piece of furniture with four horizontal triple mouldings and a pointed foot. Fragment missing from lower side. The piece was secured on its upper surface by two vertical dowel-holes. Similar feet can be seen on Assyrian thrones and footstools, Curtis 1966, 168-170, 174, figs. 1d, 4 and 6d-e. 5.0 x 2.6-2.4 cm.

Mallowan *Iraq* 13, 19, pl. ix, 1 (upside-down); Barnett *C.N.I.*, M2, pl. xiv.

ROOM OO

Parts of human statuettes

***329. ND765. Room OO** found on beaten mud floor Plate 102
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 55749



Fragment, no original edges, of a female head in three-quarter relief. Curls, eye and eyebrow excised for inlays. Fragments of gold overlay found in association. Back, flat. 8.0 x 3.5 cm.

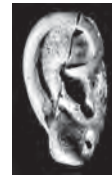
Hair represented by fine lines, smoothly dressed over top of head and originally overlaid with hammered gold, which carries the impressions of the hair-markings (see foil fragments). The locks fall in deep curls on forehead and in front of ear. These curls were 'rendered by twists of ivory overlaid on the forehead, the whole of which appears originally to have been decorated with a gold overlay between the curls and the top of the eye-brows'. An elaborate triple diadem is tied round the top of the head: it was decorated with applied twelve-petalled rosettes, of which only one and a half survive. Deeply excised eyebrows and eye socket, of which only half survives.

A unique piece, which Mallowan compares to a head from Toprak Kale (Barnett, *Iraq* 12, pl. xiv, 1 and 3; Barnett *C.N.I.* W4, pl. cxxix), principally because of the diadem decorated with rosettes. That piece is much simpler, smaller and very different in style. A number of North Syrian female heads from the Burnt Palace also wear diadems with rosettes, but these lack the triple diadem, Barnett *C.N.I.*, 204-205, S172-177, pl. lxx, as do two found by Rassam, Nos. 41-42. This superbly carved fragment with its finely-worked, large, shaped inlays is very different in style to the Toprak Kale and North Syrian examples. The excised eye and

eyebrow are similar to that on the sphinx, No. 259: this superbly worked fragment was probably carved in a 'classic Phoenician' workshop.

Mallowan *I.L.N.* 22.07.50, 150, fig. 17; Mallowan *Iraq* 13, 16-17, pl. vi, 1-2; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 110, fig. 52

***330. ND901. Room OO** Plate 102
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 55720



Human ear, life-size, carved in the round. Two small perforations in ear lobe. Flat back with rectangular tenon for fixing. H. 5.0 cm.

Numerous examples of human ears from statuettes have been found, two pairs, for instance, in Well NN, Nos. 350-351. See also *I.N.* IV, nos. 1305-1309.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 52, pl. xviii, 3.

331. ND899, C.N.I., L1. Room OO Plate 102
British Museum, London, BM130848. 1951.0210.03



Curving thumb, heel and stump of first finger of human right hand, carved in the round, rest not preserved. Carefully modelled with the finger-nail marked. The original statue must have been nearly life-size. For a similar thumb from Room QQ see No. 343. 6.0 x 3.2 x 1.7 cm.

Mallowan *Iraq* 13, 19, pl.ix, 5; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 189, L1, pl. xiv.

***332. ND777. Room OO, Level 3** Plate 102
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM55725



Carved phallus in the round, end perforated for attachment. H. 8.0 cm.
Mallowan *Iraq* 13, 12-13, pl. i,1.

Parts of lions

333. ND898, C.N.I., L2. Room OO Plate 102
British Museum, London, BM 130849. 1951.0210.04



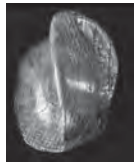
Lion mask, right ear and fragment from behind nose missing. Two holes perforate the mask from between the ears to the front of the nose suggesting that it was hung on a cord: a third, shorter, central hole was drilled in the nose. Eyes outlined, pupils raised, incised central disc framed by pairs of curved lines. Back flat. 4.1 x 4.4 x 1.2 cm.

This mask can be compared to some from SW37, Fort Shalmaneser, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1341-1357, although the eyes and central discs on these examples were excised for inlays. For a discussion of these little masks, see Gubel 1985.

Mallowan *Iraq* 13, 18, pl.viii, 5; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 189, L2, pl. xiv.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

334. ND778, C.N.I., L3. Room OO Plate 102
 *Iraq Museum, Baghdad. IM 55718;
 British Museum, London, BM 130850. 1951.0210.05

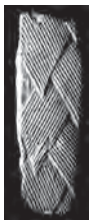


A pair of leonine ears, registered as bull's horns in the field register and catalogued as bovid ears in Mallowan, *Iraq* 13, 19. Virtually complete, with grooves along one edge and flat backs.

a. Left ear, Iraq Museum. W. 4.5 cm.;
 b. right ear, *C.N.I.*, L3, BM 130850. Virtually complete. Flat back with rectangular tenon slot. 2.8 x 4.0 x 2.2 cm.
 For similar examples from SW37, Fort Shalmaneser, see *I.N.* IV, nos. 1393-1395.

Mallowan *Iraq* 13, 19, pl. viii, 6-7; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 189, L3, pl. xv.

***335. ND780. Room OO** Plate 102
 Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 55721



Fragment, no original edges, with a design showing the curls of a mane or fleece? L. 7.2 cm.
 For a similar piece from Room ZZ, see No. 344 below.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 52, pl. xvi, 3.

Assorted

336. ND874, C.N.I., L4. Room OO Plate 103
 British Museum, Baghdad, BM130851. 1951.0210.06



Curving lower leg and foot of a cervid, carefully carved in the round at an angle. Heels marked, hair in zig-zag pattern on edge of hoofs. Hoof stained red. Fragment of gold overlay found nearby. Possibly the foreleg of a rampant goat? The angle is probably too great to form part of a tripod table leg as illustrated in Herrmann 1996, pls. 31c, or 44a and b. 2.0 x 5.8 x 1.7 cm.
 Mallowan *Iraq* 13, 19, pl. ix, 4 & 6; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 189, L4, pl. xiv.

***337. ND902. Room OO, Level 3** Plate 103
 Iraq Museum, Baghdad



An openwork voluted palmette flower, stem broken off, from a stylized tree or plant. H. 2.0 cm.

Similar, broken off, voluted flowers were found by Layard, No. 199, and in Well AJ, No. 270. These flowers can frequently be seen on openwork panels, for instance from SW37, Fort Shalmaneser, in *I.N.* IV, nos. 480-482, 499, 501, 510, 519, 525, etc., the size of the flower depending on the size of panel.

Mallowan *Iraq* 13, 18, pl. viii, 2.

***338. ND908. Room OO, Level 3** Not illustrated
 Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Fragment of a twelve-petalled rosette. 3.3 x 2.0 cm.

339. ND779, C.N.I., L5. Room OO, Level 3 Plate 103
 British Museum, London, BM130854. 1951.0210.09



Fragment from circular object, cut from vertical section of tusk. Sides and bottom broken off. Guilloche band at top; below, three recesses or steps, as in a woman at the window frame. Possibly a fragment from a pyxis or bowl? D. 11.0 cm.; 2.8 x 3.1 x 0.9-0.6 cm.

Mallowan *Iraq* 13, 19, pl. ix, 3; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 189, L5, pl. xv.

***340. ND903. Room OO** Not illustrated
 Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Fragment of plaque. 1.3 x 1.2 cm.

ROOM QQ Syrian panel

***341. ND893. Room QQ** Plate 103
 Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 55747



Fragment of openwork, tenoned panel, broken at top and sides. Frame of twisted rope at bottom with remains of tenons below. Back, probably plain. 5.0 x 5.5 cm.

This design, of which there are complete examples in Well AJ, originally showed a pair of male figures flanking a central stylized tree. All that survives is the body and legs of the man advancing right to the tree, and the leading foot of the man on the right. Of the tree, only the bottom two sets of volutes are preserved, with flowers growing from the downward curving volute ends. The man is wearing a V-necked, short-sleeved garment with an open skirt formed of rows of scales. His right arm is at his side: he holds an *ankh*. The stump of his left arm is raised and would have saluted the top of the tree.

Matching panel fragments, No. 242, were recovered from Well AJ, suggesting that the pieces might have been carried from this area to the well. No. 243 with a human-headed sphinx probably forms part of the same set. The panels have the same unusual frame and are worked in the same style. With their provincial Egyptianizing motifs they were probably carved in a Syrian workshop.

Mallowan *Iraq* 13, 14, no. 5, pl. i, 5.

342. ND894. Room QQ, from floor Plate 103
 Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 55717



Openwork curving stem with lily flower rising from within the curve. Hollow base for fitting. L. 4.4 cm.

Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 53, pl. xviii, 2.

343. ND900. Room QQ

Plate 103

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 55719



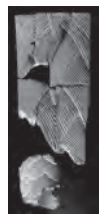
Thumb of human hand, fragmentary, L. 7.0 cm. Similar in size and style to No. 331 from Room 00.

Room ZZ

344. ND1037. Room ZZ

Plate 103

British Museum, London



Curving fragment, representing a section of fleece. 6.1 x 3.0 cm.

Found on the floor with ND1034, beads, ND1035, amulet, glass paste, with *Ba* bird; and ND1036, cylinder seal with stag. For a similar piece from Room OO, see No. 335 above.

Room TT

***345. ND1070. Room TT, fill above floor**

Not illustrated

British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London

Fragmentary strips, some curved, exceptionally large in section, e.g. 5 x 3.5 x 2.0 cm. Traces of a floral design, perhaps a lotus?, also a small piece of cylindrical ivory associated with a Tri capital glass bead, 1 x 1 cm., and small fragments of blue glass.

Room FF

Furniture fitting

346. ND768, C.N.I., M1. Room FF, Level 3

Plate 103

British Museum, London, BM 130853. 1951.0210.08



Four-sided rectangular furniture fitting, cut vertically from the centre of a tusk. Designs carved on three sides, fourth for attachment. Plain frames at top and sides of decorated panels; at bottom, frame probably represents a simple footstool or pedestal. Left panel: fragments missing from right side. Centre panel: fragments missing from top left and bottom, surface, poorly preserved. Right panel, virtually complete. Cloisonné, the wigs on both side panels and the solar disc on right panel excised for shaped inlays. Back: the fitting was complex consisting of two long vertical slots at sides connected by a wide one, damaged, across the top: note guide lines. Four dowel holes, D. 0.3 cm., cut through both side panels to fix mortices, two dowels survive *in situ* in left panel. Rectangular slot in top and two dowel holes in base. 7.0 x 3.8 x 2.6 cm.

Left side: goddess advancing right, face damaged. Right arm raised, hand damaged; left arm lowered, holding a lily on a stalk

growing from corner. She wears a lappet wig, excised for inlay, crowned with a modelled solar disc and a long pleated garment with elbow-length sleeves. A wide girdle circles the waist: three parallel ribs are marked on the garment above the knee and three more decorate the curving hem. She stands on a stool or pedestal – her feet are bare.

Centre, heavily damaged. All that survives of the design is the trace of a figure standing on a stool or pedestal and advancing right, with a raised arm and hand holding a lotus bloom in the top right corner. This was almost certainly a male, cf. *I.N.* IV, no. 1043.

Right side: goddess standing on a stool or pedestal advancing left. Right arm raised, hand resting on frame; left arm lowered, holding a lily on a long stalk growing from corner. She wears a lappet wig, originally inlaid, with a Hathor crown, the solar disc of which was also once inlaid, and a long pleated garment with elbow-length sleeves. It is tied at the waist: three parallel ribs are marked above the knee and three more decorate the sloping hem. Her leading leg is damaged: the feet are bare.

This is one of a group of three-sided furniture elements carved in different styles and sizes, all of which show a central male flanked by a pair of goddesses. The most sophisticated version was found in SW37, Fort Shalmaneser, see *I.N.* IV, no. 1043 (H. 13.2 cm.): the central panel with the male grasping lotus blooms is well preserved, although the side panels with the goddesses, one wearing a Hathor crown like No. 346, are damaged.

For three similar fittings in various states of preservation from Zincirli, see Andrae 1943, Taf. 65-67. Like the SW37 panel, these are about twice the size of the Room FF example, measuring some 13.0-13.3 cm. They are similar in general design, in that there is a central male flanked by females on the side panels, but not in style. The fittings were fixed by similar dowel holes in the side panels.

While the examples from Room FF, Fort Shalmaneser and Zincirli are clearly related in function and iconography, they differ in size, style, details of dress, and the objects held. The small Room FF figures hold flowers, the central male figure of the SW37 panel holds up a bunch of lotus flowers and buds with a second bundle beside his foot, and an *ankh* in his lowered right hand, while the poorly preserved ladies of this panel may be holding flowers and *ankhs*, as on the single panels, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1032-1044. The central Zincirli figures hold voluted palmette flowers and sceptres, the ladies hold *wedjat* eyes and carry ducks, as far as the variable state of preservation of these panels permits identification.

Once again, it seems probable that this type of furniture element was employed in different centres across Phoenicia, each centre slightly adjusting the standard iconography and style to local tastes. The SW37 example is an obvious product of the 'classic Phoenician' group', while the Zincirli pieces and the one from Room FF may also have been carved in Phoenician workshops.

Mallowan *I.L.N.* 22.07.50, 150, fig. 17; Mallowan *Iraq* 13, 17-18, pl. vii; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 54; Barnett *C.N.I.* 1975, M1, pl. xiv; Winter 1981, 120, pl. 17b;

Ivories from Nimrud VI

*347. ND784. Room FF, Level 3
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 55713

Plate 103



Fragment from top of a finely-worked, openwork tenoned panel, sides, centre and bottom not preserved. Found 35 cm. from doorway in west wall and 2.0 m. from north wall on mud brick floor. Wide tenon, plain frame. Cloisonné. The wing scales and feathers were inlaid. 7.0 x 5.5 cm.

Of the design all that survives is half of a winged disc at the top of the panel, with a trace of a crowned *uraeus* and one voluted palmette flower from a flowering plant below.

Mallowan *Iraq* 13, 18, pl. viii, 1.

WELL NN
The 'Mona Lisa'

*348. ND2550. Well NN
below 245th course, 18 m. from well-head
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56643

Plates U & 104-106



Front of head or mask, known as 'The Lady of the Well' or the 'Mona Lisa', carved in three quarter relief from a vertical section of tusk, with a hollow concave back. Tapering slightly to the bottom. Virtually complete except for the tip of the nose; some of the curls from bottom left and some of the ivory studs: restored by Sayyid Akram Shukri of the

Iraq Department of Antiquities and Heritage. Polychrome, hair, eyebrows, lids and pupils stained black, lips had a light reddish tint. The top, fillets and base were a darker brown. The ivory is coloured a rich warm brown from immersion in the well. Frame, H. 1.7 cm., around top and bottom, pierced with eight and seven dowel holes, originally fitted with ivory studs, of which only one survives in each. Toolmarks, apparently of a fine-bladed chisel, survive on the concave interior. Both ears are perforated near the top by dowel holes for fixing the mask in position. 16.0 x 13.2 x 5.5 cm.

The face is of a beautiful young woman with doe eyes, smooth cheeks and rounded chin. The eyebrows and eyelids are emphasized with colour, as are the large black pupils. Her nose, restored, has a narrow bridge and broadens to the tip. Her full mouth is slightly parted and gently smiling. Her thick hair is parted in the centre and tied by a plain, double band, passing round the head and above the ears. The hair is tied in a thick twist in front of the ear, the rest being arranged in tied and twisted locks below the ears, framing the neck.

'The most exciting day of all – one of the most exciting days of my life – when the workmen came rushing into the house from their work clearing out an Assyrian well, and cried: "We have found a woman in the well! There is a woman in the well!" And they brought in, on a piece of sacking, a great mass of mud. I had the pleasure of gently washing the mud off in a large wash-basin.

Little by little the head emerged, preserved by the sludge for about 2,500 years. There it was - the biggest ivory head ever found: a soft, pale brownish colour, the hair black, the faintly coloured lips with the enigmatic smile of one of the maidens of the Acropolis. The Lady of the Well – the Mona Lisa, as the Iraqi Director of Antiquities insisted on calling her – ... one of the most exciting things ever to be found', Christie 1977, 457.

A unique piece. There are resemblances, but not close comparisons, with both the fragmentary sphinx, No. 259, and the statuette from Well AJ, No. 287, which are exceptionally well carved, unique pieces. Similarities include the carving of the face with the smooth rounded cheeks and chins, the form of the eyes and eyebrows, the noses, fine at the bridge and broadening to the tip, the ears with curved rims and long lobes, and most of all the smiling mouths of Nos. 259 and 348. The lady can also be compared with some heads of Pharaoh figures, particularly unpublished examples from SW12, including the magnificent head and torso, ND12000 (Herrmann 2002, 134, fig. 11), which share similar smooth rounded features, pointed eyes and sensitively modelled mouths. This head is far from the North Syrian world, and Barnett suggested in 1982 that this magnificent piece was carved in a Phoenician workshop (1982, 51, pl. 46).

Mallowan *I.L.N.* 16.08.52, 243, fig. 1, as discovered before cleaning; Bryant *I.L.N.* 08.08.53, 199-200; Mallowan *Iraq* 25, 1-5, colour pl. 1; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 128-131, fig. 71 & colour Pl. II; Strommenger & Hirmer 1964, colour plate xli; Mallowan 1978, 52-53; Barnett 1982, 51, pl. 46; Scigliuzzo 2004, 42. This piece has been frequently reproduced.

The 'Ugly Sister'

349. ND2549. Well NN

Plates T & 108-109

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, MMA 54.117.2



Face and neck of a lady, known as the 'Ugly Sister', sawn from a vertical section of a large tusk. The head is carved in high relief and was probably part of a statue. Sides of face, neck and top of head damaged or broken off, tip of nose missing, originally carved separately and secured by a copper peg, D. 0.8 cm. – part of peg surviving *in situ*, flake missing from right cheek (restored). Inlaid: the eyebrows, pupils, D. 0.8 cm., and discs of the collar, D. 0.8 cm., were excised for

inlays: one gold segment remains *in situ* in the collar, as well as remains of deposit in the second disc. Back, damaged and mostly broken off. Originally flat with some toolmarks surviving. Two wide slots, one at the top, 4.3 x 3.0 cm., the other at the bottom, 4.1 x 3.5 cm. 18.0 x 13.7 x 5.0 cm. Weight as restored 332 gr. Mallowan, 18.8 x 13.8 cm.

The hair is parted in the centre, drawn back over the forehead and arranged smoothly over the head in fine parallel lines. The face is a carefully modelled oval with rounded cheeks and a firm chin. The eyebrows are deeply excised, the eyes are large, prominent, pointed ovals, outlined by raised ribs and with inlaid pupils. The

lips are thin and pursed, those of an elderly woman. The ears are missing. The 'dog-collar' around the neck consists of four strings of beads with circular pendants, originally inlaid with gold discs. Four of these discs survive, and parts of two others.

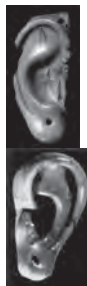
'In the same deep belt of sludge towards the bottom of the well, there was a large number of other objects no less perishable. These included a female head second only in size to the polychrome lady, represented as wearing a dog-collar with pendants, in which some of the gold incrustation survived' (Mallowan *Iraq* 15, 22).

This type of face with large eyes and pursed mouth is similar to the head at the end of the Well AJ horn, No. 236, and the sphinxes of the lion bowl, No. 237, both belonging to the 'flame and frond' style-group. The features are also similar to smaller versions of heads from caryatid figures found in the Burnt Palace, such S172-177, although these wear diadems with rosettes and inlaid discs (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 205, pls. lxx, lxxiii) and S202, S211 and ND1095 or ND1644 (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 207, pl. lxxv; Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 210-211, figs. 146-147) with high crowns or capitals. The head of the Well AJ horn, the sphinxes of the lion bowl, Nos. 236-237 and some of the Burnt Palace heads wear similar necklaces, for instance S172-173 (Barnett *C.N.I.*, pl. lxx). This magnificent head was probably carved in a 'flame and frond' workshop.

Mallowan *I.L.N.* 16.08.52, 255, fig. 13; Mallowan *Iraq* 15, 22; Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 132-133, fig. 73; Mallowan 1978, 54; Barnett 1982, 51; Scigliuzzo 2004, 42.

Two pairs of ears

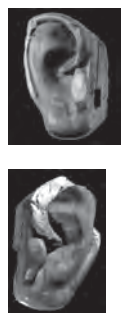
350. ND2228-ND2229. Well NN Plate 108
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56637



Pair of ears, carved in the round, approximately life size.
a. ND2229, right ear, fragment missing from edge. Flat top. Traces of hair. Dowel hole at top. Lobe perforated for earring. Back, not preserved. 7.6 x 3.3 x 1.7 cm.
*b. ND2228, left ear, edges damaged. Lobe perforated for earring. Part of design of hair incised above ear: dowel hole on edge. Back flat, with rectangular tenon slot, 1.8 x 0.5 cm. H. 7.7 cm.

Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 131-132, fig. 72, ND 2229.

351. ND2227, ND2230. Well NN Plate 109
National Museum, Copenhagen, NM13819
British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London



Pair of ears, carved in the round, approximately life size.
*a. ND2227, right ear, light brown. Attached to head with a dowel, fitted into a square tenon slot on the interior of the ear. A perforation on the back of the ear is connected with the dowel hole. Surface cracked with some fragments missing on the outside. 7.0 x 2.8 cm.
b. ND 2230, left ear, upper rim damaged. Left side straight. Back curving with fragment missing on right.

Remains of deep tenon slot and dowel hole. 7.0 x 4.5 x 3.0 cm.

352. ND 2546. Well NN Plate 108
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1954.725

Bone figurine of a nude woman, carved in the round. Base of left foot missing. 5.8 x 1.3 x 1.0 cm.



Nude woman, short hair with tresses marked on top of head, roll of curls on neck. Arms flexed, hands bent at right angles holding breasts, rounded buttocks, legs together. She probably wore a wide girdle around the waist, since her back is slightly indented and roughened in that area.

'A beautifully carved miniature figure of a nude maiden was done in bone; this figure was carved in the round and represented with the hands held up to the breasts in the old Babylonian manner ...' Mallowan *Iraq* 15, 22. For similar figures from SW37, Fort Shalmaneser, see *I.N.* IV, nos. 1300-1301, although the arms are held at the sides on these examples.

Mallowan *I.L.N.* 16.08.52, 255, figs. 11 and 14; Mallowan *Iraq* 15, 22; Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 137, fig. 77.

Lions

***353. ND2219. Well NN** Plate 107
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56635



Head of roaring lion, part of a statuette or furniture fitting, carved in the round and virtually complete. The top of the neck was excised for inlays to represent the mane. Back flat, with rectangular tenon slot, and dowel hole behind mane on left side. 6.7 x 7.0 x 5.8 cm.

The ears are inset separately and lie flat on the neck beside the mane, which forms a raised crest with curls of hair round the face. There are 'oriental warts' with drilled holes on the forehead, and ribbed wrinkles with chisel marks over the nose to the triangular-shaped eyes. The mouth is wide open, the jaws in a V-shape, and the sharp teeth and tongue have rows of chisel marks.

The purpose of these heads, a number of which of varying sizes have been found, is uncertain. They could have formed parts of statuettes, or finials, or been furniture fittings. However, while leonine paws, of which again numerous examples have been found, were regularly illustrated on reliefs depicting Assyrian furniture, leonine heads were unusual, only possibly occurring on a table carried by courtiers at Khorsabad, recorded on a 19th century drawing (Curtis 1996, 176, pl. 50b). Ram's or bull's heads were preferred. A frieze of lions decorates the stretcher of Ashurbanipal's bed and there are lion statuettes on the legs above. The lion was a royal beast and reserved for the furniture of the king. Lions, of course, also formed parts of lion bowls, but not this type of head: opposed heads joined the hilts to the blades on Assyrian swords.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

Another fine example of a leonine head was found in Well AJ, No. 283, although lacking the inlays, and with the mouth gaping in a more rounded shape. Less well preserved examples were recovered from Rooms A and V, Nos. 87 and 175, and heads and statuettes of varying sizes from SW37, Fort Shalmaneser, *I.N.* IV, pls. 356-363. Lion heads were also found at Arslan Tash and Altintepe (Thureau Dangin *et al.* 1931, pl. xliii; Özgüç 1969, pls. 37-41). Lion statuettes forming furniture fittings were found at Zincirli (Andrae 1943, Taf. 64a-d, 65a) and Samaria (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pl. ix, 1).

Mallowan *I.L.N.* 16.08.52, 256, fig. 19; 22.08.53, 296, fig. 2; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 135-136, fig. 74.

354. ND2231. Well NN Plates R & 107
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, MMA 54.117.06



Forequarters of a lion, probably originally carved in the round, as the back has broken off. Flat area on top of head. Only the head, shoulders and part of one foreleg survive. The lower jaw is restored. 9.7 x 6.9 cm.

The forequarters of a lion shown with head twisted to right and looking down. Large, protuberant eye, with raised eyebrows above; ear, upper part broken off, outlined on mane; whiskers on nostril; mouth open, roaring, with teeth shown. The mane forms a crest round the head and is represented in locks over neck and chest. There is a large, outlined, oval shoulder pad and muscle markings behind shoulder and on surviving part of left foreleg.

A unique piece, possibly carved in a Phoenician workshop.
Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 136, fig. 75.

***355. ND2220. Well NN** Plate 107



Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56636
Foreleg from a standing lion, broken at top. Finely carved, hair shown on back of leg, claws well rendered. Tenon hole at top. H. 5.0 cm.

A lion or lioness mauling a youth

Pair of panels

356. ND2547-2548, C.N.I. 01. Well N Plates V-W & 110-111
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56642 – stolen 2003
British Museum, London, BM 127412, 1954.0508.01



A pair of plaques cut from vertical sections of tusk with smooth convex backs, curving tops, mitred sides and flat bases. The pieces were fixed by pairs of square tenon slots, 0.4 x 0.4 cm., cut in the tops, and pairs of rectangular slots, 0.8 x 0.3 cm., in the bases (left slot of b. damaged). The two figures are carved in high relief, with the outer limbs in the round, the bodies cutting deep into the plaque. Cloisonné. The hair of the youth consists of raised pegs, covered in gold foil, once holding cylinders, probably of blue glass, between the pegs,

although none survive. The eyes and eyebrows, armlets, bracelets and belts were excised for inlays, and the kilts overlaid with gold – better preserved on b. The eyes and central discs on the lioness' heads were excised for inlay, the pale lapis lazuli inlay is still in situ in the disc of b. The intertwining stalks and the walls of the petals of the flowers forming the background were overlaid with gold, some still *in situ*. The petals were inlaid with stones set on a blue bedding, traces of the colour of which survive. A few pieces of very thin lapis lazuli inlays survive in the lotus flowers and some carnelian inlays in the rounded papyrus flowers of a., which are polished and dome-shaped and serrated at the base to engage with the teeth of the gold calyces.



The colour from the bedding and a few pieces of pale blue lapis lazuli inlays survive in the lattice frames of the bases.

This dramatic scene takes place in a field of lotus and papyrus flowers and shows a lioness, or possibly a lion, advancing right, killing a fallen youth. Her face is turned to maul the youth's neck, her left foreleg draws the youth to her, her paw on his upper arm, her other forepaw presses the youth's left hand to the ground. Both her hindlegs rest on his bare feet. Her out-turned face, with eyes, double eyebrows and central discs framed by pairs of curving lines, resembles the small lion masks, almost mass-produced, many of which were found in SW37 (Gubel 1985; *I.N.* IV, nos. 1341-1357). Her ears are small and rounded. No musculature, genitalia or other markings are represented. Her tail curls between her hindlegs. The youth's head arches back to offer his neck. He wears a short, Egyptian-style wig, better preserved on a. His eyes are open, his nose fine, his mouth modelled and his chin pointed. His arms are slightly flexed, his hands with long fingers partially supporting his upper body. His knees are raised and bent, his feet are bare. He wears armlets and bracelets, once inlaid, and a finely pleated, kilted skirt with an inlaid belt. The lotus and papyrus flowers grow from an intertwining lattice of stalks. There are five rows of flowers, the lotus flowers separated by the papyrus flowers.

a. ND2547, IM 56641. Formerly in the Iraq Museum but stolen in the summer of 2003 during the looting of the Museum in the aftermath of the American invasion of Iraq. Plaque, virtually complete except for fragments from sides. The wig of the fallen youth is better preserved than on b.: there is a band round the forehead, and the raised, gold-topped pegs are clearer. The work on the flowers is slightly stronger and coarser than on b. The lattice frame of the border, H. 1.2 cm., at the bottom is finer, with rows of smaller overlapping diamonds; 10.5 x 6.0-9.8 x 1.0-2.8 cm.

b. ND2548, C.N.I., 01 ('Purchased for £1,000': register). Plaque, virtually complete except for fragments from right side, shoulder and from bottom left and left side of base. The work is less fine than that of a. with only a single row of diamonds in the border at the base. 10.2 x 6.6-10.1-9.7 x 1.4 x 2.4 cm.

Fitter's marks: incised between tenon slots at top and bottom, *aleph*.

Fitter's marks: incised between tenon slots at top and bottom, *aleph*.

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Fitter's marks: incised between tenon slots at top and bottom, *aleph*.

Dr. H.J. Plenderleith examined ND2548 when it was deposited in the British Museum. Part of his technical report follows: 'The miraculous preservation of this superb object after a sojourn of over 2000 years in a well, was evidently due to the accretions of a fine clay that built up around the specimen, protecting it from mechanical damage and from violent change in humidity and temperature. The deep cracks in the ivory seen in an X-ray photograph [Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 143, fig. 84) had their origin at the back, or external side, of the tusk, and by good fortune were scarcely apparent on the decorated side. That the object survived the ordeal of excavation without disintegration is due solely to the care expended in controlling humidity during this crucial time so that the change to museum conditions was accomplished with the minimum of strain. Some interesting points of technique were revealed in the course of the cleaning of the ivory. The human figure was evidently intended to represent a negroid type and an effect of crisp, curly hair was obtained by fixing gilt-topped ivory pegs into the head, which was possibly stained black beforehand. The figure of the lioness is embellished with a lapis disc on the forehead, and curved channels at either side may once have borne similar inlays. As regards the floral canopy, the gold leaf was applied before the inlays so that when these were inserted the effect was as of precious stones set in gold *cloisons*. An interesting feature of the lapis inlays was their thinness compared with the depth of the cells which they occupied, necessitating the presence of a bedding layer to fix them in position at a level comparable with the '*cloisons*'. This foundation layer was found to be a species of mortar consisting of a mixture of calcium carbonate and blue powdered frit. Lapis dust may have been present, but granular frit preponderated, and it seems probable that a lime frit putty was employed as an adhesive foundation for the lapis. The residual blue stain in the empty cells is caused by this frit and not by the decay of lapis lazuli inlays. To attach the gold to the ivory another adhesive was used, undoubtedly of organic origin, the thinnest smear remaining clearly visible, however, under the microscope, as a brownish film which swelled in water. That a reversible colloid should have survived from such antiquity is remarkable and due, no doubt, to the coherent film of gold which had protected it from exposure to air and moisture through the ages.'

Mallowan, *I.L.N.* 16.08.52, Supplement p. 1. Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 140-141.

It may have been either Mallowan's own idea or the comment in Plenderleith's report that 'The human figure was evidently intended to represent a negroid type' that has given rise to the long-held view that the fallen youth was a black man. In the very first report in the *I.L.N.* of August 16, 1952, Mallowan describes the youth as an Ethiopian, while Plenderleith simply describes him as 'a black man'. In *Nimrud & Its Remains* (I, 139) Mallowan calls him 'a dark Ethiopian', while Barnett uses the term 'a negro' (*C.N.I.*, 190). However, are these identifications correct? First, Plenderleith's point that the ivory pegs forming the wig were actually carved separately and inserted into the plaque is unlikely. The pegs probably formed part of the plaque itself, as in numerous other examples of 'pegged wigs' of the 'classic Phoenician' or 'ornate group' of ivories (p. 62 above; Herrmann 2002).

Another query is whether 'black stain' was applied to the figure: Plenderleith himself says only that the head of the figure 'was

possibly stained black beforehand': no trace of such colouring survives today. Furthermore, there is evidence of black staining on numerous ivories. Such a stain, if deliberate, would have had to have been applied to the body, arms and legs of the figure, as well as to the face if the attribution of the figure as an 'African' can be accepted. Since the 'pegged wig' is one of the standard types of decoration of an 'ornate group' wig, it may well be that the long-accepted attribution of the figure as an African should be reconsidered.

There is another problem over the sex of the lioness or possibly lion, since neither genitalia nor any mane were carved. If the scene is interpreted as another version of the familiar Egyptian motif of Pharaoh triumphant, as seems probable, then the leonine figure should be male.

With the lion replaced by a sphinx crowned either with the Egyptian double crown or the solar disc and *uraeus* crown the same motif can be seen on trapezoidal plaques and on long panels (e.g. *I.N.* IV, nos. 87-97, 656, 1111-1116), where it obviously represents the victorious Pharaoh – or a local equivalent, while the victim may be an Egyptian rather than the Asiatic in the original Egyptian version.

It is difficult to suggest the purpose of this pair of outstanding objects. They may belong to the group of ivories which shows opposed griffins, a seated Horus or a suckling sphinx (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1251-1270), often within a floral background and usually but not invariably set within the outward-curving branches of a stylized tree. Significantly, these panels all share the uncarved, convex backs and vertical fixing of No. 356. The lattice-work at the bases of the plaques, replacing the usual voluted branches, can be compared to the frame of alternate vertical and horizontal rectangles of *I.N.* IV, no. 1260.

The field of flowers growing from a lattice of stalks is similar to *I.N.* IV, no. 1267. A similar depiction of papyrus buds can be seen on the SW37 panels, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1095-1101, 1257-1258, 1267 and 1269. Fragments of inlaid floral friezes were found by Loftus in the Burnt Palace (1856.9-3.943-944) and by Mallowan in the Nabu Temple, ND5274, (Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 278, fig. 258), while a fragment with a similar floral field, modelled rather than inlaid, was found by L.W. King 'in the centre of the mound at Kuyunjik' in the South West Palace at Nineveh (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 224, T7, BM 99397, pl. cxxiii). A fragment with inlaid papyrus flowers similar in style occurred at Samaria: the frame on the lower edge is curved (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pl. xvii, 3). Most if not all these pieces belong to the 'ornate' or 'classic Phoenician' group.

356a. Mallowan *N. & R.* I, frontispiece, 141, fig. 83.

356b. Mallowan, *I.L.N.* 16.08.52, supplement, 1; Barnett 1956, 96-97; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 139-144, figs. 81, 82 and 84; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 190, 0.1, frontispiece; Strommenger & Hirmer 1964, colour pl. xlii; Mallowan 1978, colour frontispiece; Barnett 1982, 51, pl. 49; Uberti 1988, 411; Curtis & Reade 1995, 128, no. 91; Stéphan 1996, 205 (image reversed); Scigliuzzo 2004, pl. 4; Fontran *et al.* 2007, 204.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

Suckling sphinxes

357. ND2244a. Well NN

Plate 111

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1956.961



Fragment from centre bottom of panel, top and sides broken off. Cloisonné: the eye and collar, and the surviving stems of the plants that once would have formed the background, are excised for inlay. The stems were alternately inlaid. Traces of gold overlay in the collar. Plain frame at bottom. Back flat with two fitter's marks. 2.7 x 5.2 x 0.7 cm.

Fitter's mark: two vertical strokes.

This fragment originally showed a sphinx standing to the right in a field of flowers, suckling its young. All that survives of the mother sphinx is one front and one back paw. The young, human-headed sphinx is seated to the left, suckling with head tilted back and right paw raised. The head has the side-lock of childhood. It wears an inlaid *usekh* collar, the tail is curled on the flank. In the background are stalks from the field of flowers.

This fragment was found embedded in the mud of the blinker, No. 359 below, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It may have formed part of the fragments, No. 358, below, both of which belong to the 'ornate group'. For a similar example from SW37 of this relatively rare motif of a suckling female sphinx in a field of flowers, see *I.N. IV*, no. 1267.

Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 127, fig. 68.

358. C.N.I., G12. From the 1950 excavations

Plate 111

British Museum, London, BM 131969-70. 1954.1115.18-19



Two fragments from a superbly carved panel with plain frame at top and left side, left edge mitred. The larger fragment is from the top left of the panel, right side and bottom not preserved, fragment from centre top missing. The smaller fragment is from the left side, top, right side and bottom broken off. Cloisonné: deep,

finely-worked cloisons; the wig and sidelock of a human-headed sphinx, and 'tassels' on the haunch, as well as the flowers, were inlaid with specially prepared sections of inlay: alternate inlay decorated the stalks. Traces of gold leaf and frit bedding survive. Colour brown. Back flat, lightly striated, traces of a fitter's mark. Top fragment, 1.9 x 8.6 x 0.4 cm.; fragment from left side, 3.8 x 3.7 x 0.6 cm.

Fitter's mark: remains of two vertical strokes at top left.

The design originally showed a human-headed sphinx with the side-lock of childhood advancing right in a field of flowers. All that survives on the fragment from the top are a few rounded papyrus flowers, the top of the head of the sphinx and part of its tail curving over its back. The second fragment has some buds and stalks, as well as part of the rear hindleg of the sphinx, with

'tassels' on the haunch.

Although recorded in the Museum registers as unprovenanced – the field number is not known – the rich brown colour of these fragments suggests that they may have been found in Well NN. The fragment, No. 357, shows a suckling sphinx and may have formed part of this panel: the three fragments are similar in scale, technique, style and colour. If these fragments do belong together, the design has obviously been corrupted from an Egyptian original.

Examples of sphinxes with the sidelock include a panel from SW37, *I.N. IV*, no. 655, where a procession of sphinxes advances left; and a poorly preserved, fragmentary panel, *I.N. IV*, no. 1013, which once showed a pair of sphinxes flanking a tied bunch of flowers. There are some representations of a child or Horus with the sidelock, which mostly occur on Egyptianizing panels, such as No. 157 and *I.N. IV*, 995-996, where he sits on a lotus flanked by goddesses; nos. 1018-1019, where he is suckled by a goddess within flowering fields; and nos. 1007 and 1026 where he is seated within flowering fields. The same motif, the seated child in a field of flowers but set within voluted branches occurs on three of the unusually shaped panels, nos. 1260-1263.

Nursing animals in flowery fields form an interesting and unusual group: they include a sphinx with Hathor curls, *I.N. IV*, no. 1267; a maned lioness with two cubs, no. 1015, and related fragments, nos. 1016-1017; and two examples of cows and calves, the curving plaque, *I.N. IV*, no. 1014, and the well-known 'ornate group' openwork panel from Room SW2, *I.N. V*, no. 479. The fragmentary panel, Nos. 357-358, is remarkable in having one 'child-sphinx' nursing another.

Subjects set within a field of flowers occur on No. 356 above and on Egyptianizing and 'ornate group' panels from SW37, *I.N. IV*, nos. 1014-1031, 1095-1101. The distinctive 'tassels' on the flank of the sphinx can be seen on two finely worked panels from SW37, *I.N. IV*, nos. 620 and 622, and on the fragment, no. 638. The 'tassels' on the sphinxes of *I.N. IV*, no. 655, are indicated by lightly incised lines rather than the inlaid rows of chevrons of No. 358. These superbly worked fragments show similarities to both 'Egyptianizing' and 'ornate group' panels, two sub-groups forming parts of the 'classic Phoenician' style-group.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 185-186, G12, fig. 81 – top fragment only.

'Classic Phoenician' blinkers

359. ND2244, ND2243. Well NN

Plate 112

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, MMA 54.117.1

Iraq Museum, Baghdad. IM 56639

A pair of spade-shaped blinkers of the 'classic Phoenician' style-group. The fragment from the right blinker completes one from Well AJ, No. 257.



a. ND2244. Spade-shaped left blinker cut from a lengthwise section of tusk, large fragments missing from lower edge and centre, restored in wax. Plain raised frame all round. Eye and

eyebrow excised. Dowel holes, D. 0.3-0.4 cm., in 'handle' and points of blade. High to medium relief. Flat back. Virtually complete. Max H. 10.3 cm. H. of handle 7.3-3.8 cm. W. 18.5 cm. Max. Th. 1.9 cm. Th. 1.5-1.3 cm. Weight as restored, 218 gr.

A winged human-headed sphinx is seated to the left, its wings, outspread on either side of its face, rising from behind the foreleg, its tail raised: lower face, centre of wings, much of body and apron restored in wax. It is crowned with a solar disc and *uraeus*, itself crowned with a disc. The Pharaonic headcloth continues round the chest, enclosing the *usekh* collar with pendant droplets. Suspended from the chest is a large winged *uraeus*, partially restored, crowned with a solar disc. The apron, is heavily restored. In the 'handle' of the blinker, behind the sphinx and lying horizontal to it, is a tall oval cartouche, resting on a short-stemmed papyrus flower: it is surmounted by a disc and feathers. The inscriptions on the four blinkers from Well AJ and Well NN are identical: for Kitchen's comment, see No. 255, p. 195, above.



***b. ND2243.** Lower half of spade-shaped right blinker, fragments missing from centre and right top, smaller fragments from centre and bottom. This piece completes a fragment from Well AJ, catalogued as No. 257 above. Plain frame. Dowel holes in 'handle' and point of blade. Medium relief. Flat back. 8.4 x 18.7 x 1.5-1.0 cm. See discussion on pp. 81-82 above.

Mallowan *I.L.N.* 22.08.53, 296, fig. 1; Mallowan *Iraq* 15, 22-23, pl. ii; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 125-127, 130, fig. 67; *I.N.* I, 22, nos. 116-117, pl. xxii; Safer & al-'Iraqi, 126-127, no. 70; Wicke 1999, 803-840, Abb. 4.

Two 'crown and scale' panels

360. ND1100. Well NN Plate 113
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1952.79



Openwork panel, found in 1951 with a comb, No. 367, 260 courses of brick from top. The left side, head and leading foreleg of a cervid and inside of bottom frame broken off. Plain frame at top, back angled, and at bottom. Dowel holes for fixing below top frame at right and residual one on left edge, and in front of rear hoof. Back, uneven: thicker ivory has been used at the top, and thinner below. This is not a result of flaking off but was original as the fitter's marks extend over both the thicker and thinner sections. 5.4 x 8.9 x 0.7 cm.

Fitter's marks: two marks in centre and tip of a horn, broken, on left edge, possibly a trial drawing: a well-made letter *beth* and a slightly less well-made letter *gimel*.

A stag, head missing, browses to the left in a field of flowers. Modelled shoulder pad but no muscle markings. There are three 'capped palmette' flowers between the legs, one in front of the foreleg and another between the hindlegs.

The 'capped palmette' flowers are similar to those on 'crown and scale' panels, such as Nos. 265-267 from Well AJ, 361 from Well NN and examples from Fort Shalmaneser, *I.N.* IV, no. 319 and *I.N.* V, nos. 240 and 242, to which style-group the panel can

probably be attributed. None of the browsing stag panels from Fort Shalmaneser are exactly comparable. The stags on panels from NW21, Fort Shalmaneser, *I.N.* V, nos. 368-379, browse on fronds rather than palmette flowers: they are slimmer and more dynamic, the neck musculature is marked and they are fixed by keyhole slots rather than dowels. Those on two panels from NW21, nos. 391-392, browse on fronds, lack the upper frames and were fixed by keyhole slots. No. 391, with the neck musculature marked, is rather crude and can be compared to the bull of no. 390, while the other, no. 392, is a more elegant version. An example from NE59 also lacks the upper frame and was fixed by keyhole slots: the stag browses on flowers rather than fronds and the neck musculature is not indicated, *I.N.* V, no. 332.

Mallowan *I.L.N.* 28.7.51, 135-136, fig 10; Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 13, before cleaning.

***361. ND2215. Well NN** Plate 113
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56633



Openwork panel, tenons, damaged, at top and bottom. Frame at top and bottom decorated with row of incised loops. Back flat. 6.5 x 2.5 cm. Fitter's mark on damaged bottom tenon: part of an unidentifiable mark.

Stylized tree consisting of two sets of voluted branches. Capped palmette flowers grow from the volutes of the lower set of branches, and buds and fronds from the upper set. There are three central petals.

For similar but not identical examples from SW37, see *I.N.* IV, nos. 767-772, although these have double rather than single upward-curving voluted branches, as does No. 267 from Well AJ. The 'capped palmette' flower is similar to those on 'crown and scale' panels, such as Nos. 265-267 from Well AJ, 360 from Well NN and examples from Fort Shalmaneser, *I.N.* IV, no. 319 and *I.N.* V, nos. 240 and 242. No. 361 can probably be attributed to that style-group.

Pyxis fragment

362. ND2216, ND2232. Well NN Plates Q & 113
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, MMA 54.117.05



Two joining fragments from the side of a pyxis, rest not preserved. The fragments were found at slightly different depths. Frame with foliate design along top and vertically separating the panels; raised rib at bottom with trace of foliate? design.

The design consisted of a separately framed back panel with a female figure or goddess, on the right, and a figure advancing left on the left. The back is unusual. The top half is curved and smooth, but cut horizontally in the centre. The thinner, lower section is strongly striated, presumably to aid the attachment of a section of plain veneer. 6.6 x 5.9 x 1.3-0.7 cm. D. c. 10.0 cm.

A goddess or female figure with upper body represented frontally advances to the right; the head is missing although the tails of

Ivories from Nimrud VI

the wig can be seen on both shoulders. The right arm is flexed and raised; only the stump of the left arm survives, although this suggests that it was also flexed and raised. The right hand holds a flower with cross-hatched petals and a short stalk: the left hand, not preserved, probably held a second flower. She wears a long, wavy pleated garment with short sleeves, tied with a girdle at the waist, and a beaded hem. Feet not preserved.

Only the head and shoulder of the figure, probably male, on the left survive. Facing left, the hair is tied with a foliate fillet and falls in curls to the shoulder. He has a large oval eye with pointed corners, a fine nose and small mouth. He is wearing a garment with a V-neck and short sleeves, decorated with a diamond pattern. For similar figures see No. 234, the banquet pyxis from Well AJ, where the man forms part of a banquet scene; and Barnett *C.N.I.*, 192, S20, pl. xxvi, where he attacks a lion.

For similar but not identical, separately-panelled goddesses holding up flowers or twigs, see Nos. 233-234 from Well AJ; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 192, S12, pl. xxvii; and 191, S8, pl. xxiii. These figures are sometimes shown as a 'mistress of animals' holding up lions, as on No. 235; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 193, S26, pl. xxiii; 192, S20, pl. xxvi.

Mallowan *I.L.N.* 16.08.52, 256, fig. 26; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 137-138, fig. 78.

Assyrian fan handle

363. ND2218, ND2218a. Well NN Plate 114
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, MMA 54.117.03-04



Part of a flywhisk or fan-handle, carved on both sides, virtually complete except for a few tiny chips from triple frame and chip from bottom: Assyrian style, modelled. Three cylinders at the top have been hollowed to accommodate bristles or hairs, D. 0.5 cm. Triple ribbed frame above and below principal scene with kneeling figures; a stylized tree with three downward-curving volutes, and a series of mouldings. Bottom, broken with dowel hole, D. 0.2 cm., pin *in situ*. One side angled for fitting. Sides plain, except for triple frame. Back, carved with repeat of scene. 10.2 x 3.5 x 1.0 cm.

An identical scene is carved on both sides. It shows a pair of beardless human figures kneeling on either side of a stylized tree. They pluck fruits at the top with their raised right hands and hold the ends of the fillets which bind its trunk in their left hands. Their hair is bound with fillets and falls in curls to the shoulders. They wear simple round-necked, ankle-length robes with short sleeves, belted at the waist. The central stylized tree consists of four stems tied at the centre and under the voluted palmette flower at the top. The fillets end in longer strands on one side than the other. The scene with the kneeling figures rests on an openwork tree consisting of three pairs of downward-curving volutes, set on a moulded column.

This piece was found in sludge, partly encased by a thick coat of bitumen, at the bottom of the well, see impression.

Mallowan *I.L.N.* 16.08.52, 256, fig. 29; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 144-145, fig. 85; *I.N.* II, 54, no. 203, pl. xlvi.

Assorted

***364. ND2239. Well NN** Not illustrated
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Capital, fluted, with stylized floral design, perhaps fitted to a maiden's head. Perforated. Similar examples found in Burnt Palace in 1951. H. 2.0 cm.

***365. ND2233-ND2234. Well NN** Plate 113
Iraq Museum, Baghdad; Institute of Archaeology, Melbourne; University Museum, Cambridge and Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



A group of small 'pomegranates', carved in the round, pointed sepals at top with a central boss. Thin, residual stalk at bottom, perforated horizontally where it meets the rounded body. Light brown.

a. ND2233, Iraq Museum, IM 56638

Seven pomegranates carved in the round, with a perforated loop at base for suspension. H. 3.2 cm.

b. ND2234, Institute of Archaeology, Melbourne IA5,009

Pomegranate with a perforated loop at base for suspension. 2.67 x 2.5 cm. Wt. 10 g.

c. ND2234, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, MMA 54.117.07

Pomegranate, virtually complete. 3.1-1.7 x 2.6 cm.

d. ND2234, University Museum, Cambridge, UM56.7

Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 138, fig. 79.

***366. ND2217, ND2221, ND2224, ND2225, ND2226. Well NN**

Plate 114

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56634;

British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London

Fragments of staffs.



a. ND2217, Iraq Museum, Baghdad. Head of staff, cylindrical, end broken off, terminating in a stylized gazelle's head with horns and ears laid flat along the neck, above rows of modelled ribs. L. 8.5 cm.

Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 136-137, fig. 76.

b. ND2221, British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London. Fragment of staff, cylindrical in section, with a heavily ribbed top. L. 8.7 cm. Not found.

c. ND2225, British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London. Cylindrical staff, L. 6.0 cm. Not found.

d. ND2224, Iraq Museum, Baghdad. Cylindrical staff with right angle bend. L. 9.5 cm. D. 0.6 cm.

e. ND2226, British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London. Flattened cylindrical staff, perforated horizontally. L. 8.0 cm.

Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 137, fig. 76.

***367. ND1716. Well NN**
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56353

Plate 113 1.8 cm., 4.3 x 1.8 cm.



Comb, probably made from a boar's tusk rather than elephant ivory, with opposed sets of teeth. 8.0 x 4.3 cm.

Found with No. 360, ND1100, 265 courses down. This is an example of a double-sided comb. Combs were both double and single-sided: both types have remained in use to the present day. Loftus found both in the Burnt Palace, Barnett *C.N.I.*, S169, pl. lxix; and Mallowan found one with one set of teeth, see Mallowan, *N. & R. I.*, 209, fig. 145. Examples, including lavishly decorated versions, were found at Megiddo, Loud 1930, pls. 16-18.

Mallowan *I.L.N.* 28.07.51., 135-136, fig. 8; Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 13.

368. ND2254, Well NN
British Museum, London, BM 1994.1105.325

Plate 113



Circular disc, sub-spherical with rosette and quartered petal design. Dowel hole, D. 0.2 cm. in base. 1.5 x 1.5 x 1.0 cm.

A relatively common type of ivory, probably under-reported. For similar pieces see No. 7, ND4237, from ZT5, and examples in the Burnt Palace, for instance ND1591 from the centre of the Long Room. They were used between the calves on the lids of pyxides, see Mallowan *N. & R. I.*, 219, fig. 173; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 64-65, fig. 19. Two were found in SW37, Fort Shalmaneser, *I.N.* IV, nos. 886-887. Examples also occur at Samaria, Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pl. xxiii, 1.

369. ND1691, Well NN. 19 m. from top
British Museum, London, BM 1994.1105.313

Plate 115



Two fragmentary plaques. Incised. Plain frame. Design consisting of concentric circles. L. 4.3 and 4.1 cm.

370. ND2223. Well NN
British Museum, London

Plate 114



Plaque, fragmentary, in two pieces, engraved with lozenge design with four dots in each lozenge. 3.6 x 2.9 x 0.2 cm.; 5.5 x 1.4 x 0.2 cm.

A similar fragment, No. 7, was found in Room ZT5, and in Room 39 of the Burnt Palace, ND2284, as well as fragments of frames with a similar pattern between plain frames at Samaria, Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pl. xxi, 9-10. Again, a common design, probably under-reported.

371. *ND2222. Well NN
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Not illustrated

Two fragments from a panel with running guilloche design. 6.6 x

372. ND2245, ND2246, ND2207, ND2211, ND2161? Well NN Plates 114-115

Iraq Museum, IM56640;
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1954.719;
Australian Institute of Archaeology, Melbourne, IA5.005-07

Arrow-heads, possibly bone, and fifteen bone spatulae or styli.



a. ND2245. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56640

Two arrow heads with three flanges. 4.4 x 1.0 cm.; 3.8 x 1.0 cm.

b. ND2246. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1954.719

Arrow-head, leaf-shaped, angled, with narrow tang. 3.7 x 1.0 cm.

c. ND2207. Australian Institute of Archaeology, Melbourne, IA5.005



Broad spatula or stylus. Cream colour, high lustre from use. 7.9 x 2.6 x 0.2 cm.

d. ND2211. Australian Institute of Archaeology, Melbourne, IA5.006. Not

illustrated.

Broad spatula or stylus. Cream colour, high lustre from use. 6.2 x 3.5 x 0.2 cm.

e. ND2161. Australian Institute of Archaeology, Melbourne, IA5.077. Not illustrated.

Broad spatula or stylus. Cream colour, high lustre from use. 8.0 x 2.5 x 0.2 cm.

Similar ivory or bone pieces were found in Well AJ, No. 297, and at Zincirli: Andrae 1943, Taf. 59a-f, 60, a-ar.

Comment by Dianne Fitzpatrick, Melbourne. A 1-3 mm. indentation is present on all three artefacts at the juncture of maximum length and width. The most pronounced is IA5.006 at 3 mm. By holding the stylus between thumb and forefinger, the blunt, rounded end fits comfortably into the heel of the hand. All of the tools taper to an approximate 45° angle point. All surfaces found on the body of the tools are smooth and bevelled. The point angle surfaces are smoothed but not bevelled. The tips are pointed, not rounded.

373. *ND3215, Room NN, dump
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Not illustrated

Fragment of female head, possibly from a pyxis. Hair over forehead in three strands, nose and mouth missing. H. 2.1 cm.

WELL 4

by

Muzahim Mahmud Husain

The following ivory and bone kohl tubes were found in Well 4. For a description of their discovery, see pp. 51-52 above.

Three Assyrian cylinders

***374. ND377. Well 4**
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 127916

Plate 116

Ivories from Nimrud VI

Cylindrical container, lid and base missing. Surface damaged in centre. Incised. Frame at top and bottom of concentric circles with drilled centres within double frame. Yellowish. 7.8 x 3.1 x 3.1 cm.



The design occupies the side of the vessel and shows a banqueting scene taking place below an inverted frieze of interlocking flowers and buds, decorated with chevrons. Two seated figures are attended by a third figure, all beardless; unfortunately the area with the seated figures is poorly preserved. The one on

the right appears to be seated in an arm-chair, back not preserved, that on the left is on a backless throne with a long seat: the area between is damaged but probably contained a table. The attendant has shoulder-length hair, tied with a fillet, wears a short-sleeved, ankle-length garment, with a rosette on the sleeve and belted at the waist: he carries a kebab fan. Behind the attendant are two stands, one large, one small, supporting globular jars. The tables have animal legs, probably bovid, and are set on stands.

For an ivory panel with a banqueting scene, see *I.N. V*, no. 185, ND7576, from Room SE9, Fort Shalmaneser. For containers with partially similar floral friezes, see Nos. 384 and 399, the latter from the vaulted rooms across Court 80.

Wicke 2008, Nim. 48.

***375. ND378. Well 4**

Plate 115

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 127917



Cylindrical container, lid preserved, base missing. Two holes, one on rim, one below rim. Frame at top and bottom, guilloche design with drilled centres within double frame. Incised. Yellowish. 7.1 x 3.8 x 3.2 cm.

The design occupies the side of the vessel and shows a pair of winged human-headed genies saluting a stylized tree with bucket and cone: a second tree is drawn behind them. The genies wear the horned crown and the usual Assyrian garment with short sleeves, a short skirt and long, open, fringed overskirt. The material is decorated with rosettes. The trees consist of a central voluted branch, with 19 and 21 branches ending in pomegranates.

Lid: Two holes on edge. Plain frame. Design consisting of an elaborate rosette flower: the central rosette with drilled centre, is circled by two additional bands of petals, the outermost incised with chevron designs.

For panels with human-headed winged genies, see No. 16 from Room EB and Nos. 225-228 from Well AJ, and for examples from the Nabu Temple and Fort Shalmaneser, *I.N. II*, pls. xli and xlii. Wicke 2008, Nim. 49.

***376. ND375. Well 4**

Plate 116

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 127914



Cylindrical container, probably of bone, some vertical cracking, lid and base missing. Frame at top and bottom of double concentric circles, cut with centred bit, incised line below top row, lines above and

below bottom row. Incised. Hole in thickened section on rim for kohl pencil. Holes through side at top and bottom. Pale colour, polished. 7.3 x 4.4 x 3.6 cm.

The design occupies the side of the vessel and shows a pair of goats flanking a stylized tree with a second tree behind them. The goats have their heads turned and their inner forelegs raised. The mane, shoulder and ribs are indicated: there is an N marking on the haunch. The tree has a fan of flowers at the top and branches tied in below, three pairs between the flanking goats, and four on the tree behind them.

For similar goats, see *I.N. V*, nos. 352-355, and for a modelled version, *I.N. V*, no. 351, although these are kneeling either side of a plant rather than standing on a tree.

Wicke 2008, Nim. 50.

Geometric designs

***377. ND361. Well 4**

Plate 117

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 127900



Tapering cylindrical container, lid and base missing. Incised, polished. Holes on rim to secure the lid. Dark brown. Horizontal bands, within double or triple frames. The central section is a hatched band, framed by bands of concentric circles and by guilloche bands, separated from additional rows above and below by plain bands. The decoration continues with further bands of hatching, plain

bands, guilloche bands and a final single row of concentric circles. 6.0 x 3.8 x 3.3 cm.

Bone cylinders with geometric motifs were found at Zincirli, Andrae 1943.

Wicke 2008, Nim. 57.

***378. ND371. Well 4**

Plate 117

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 127910



Tapering cylindrical container, lid and base missing. Incised. Eleven holes pierce the plain top band. Light brown. Although the container is taller than No. 377, the decoration is essentially identical, consisting of horizontal bands, within double or triple incised frames, except that the lowest band of hatching on No. 377 is replaced by a band of incised triangles, and the row of concentric circles is replaced by a row of holes. 8.9 x 3.9 x 3.9 cm.

Wicke 2008, Nim. 54.

***379. ND362. Well 4**
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 127901

Plate 117



Cylindrical container, lid and base missing, chipped at base. Incised. Light brown. Hole through container near top. Horizontal bands, framed by triple incised lines. The central band consists of a diamond design, framed above and below by bands of concentric circles and guilloche. 6.0 x 3.0 x 3.0 cm.

Wicke 2008, Nim. 56.

***380. ND366. Well 4**
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 127905

Plate 117



Cylindrical container, lid and base missing. Incised. Light brown with darkened areas. Pegs *in situ* on and near rim. The rim is thickened to take the top peg. Horizontal bands, framed by triple incised lines. Three bands of guilloche are separated by bands of concentric circles with plain zones at top and bottom. 5.4 x 3.2 x 3.2 cm.

Wicke 2008, Nim. 58.

***381. ND363. Well 4**
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 127902

Plate 120



Cylindrical container, lid missing, base *in situ*. Holes on and near rim. Horizontal bands, framed by double incised lines. The central band is an excised zigzag motif, framed by plain bands with guilloche bands above, followed by plain bands. 4.7 x 2.8 x 2.8 cm.

Wicke 2008, Nim. 55.

***382. ND373. Well 4**
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 127912

Plate 118



Cylindrical container, lid missing, base preserved. Pegs *in situ* on and near rim. Vertical crack caused by second peg. Incised. Horizontal bands, framed by double incised lines, similar to No. 381. The central band consists of an excised zigzag motif, with above a band of incised pomegranate flowers and bunches of grapes and below a plain band. The other two have guilloche designs, with plain bands at top and bottom. 4.7 x 2.6 x 2.6 cm.

Wicke 2008, Nim. 51.

***383. ND370. Well 4**
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 127909

Plate 118

Tapering cylindrical container, lid and base missing, partly damaged. Holes on (damaged) and near rim. Incised. Centres of circles and guilloche drilled. The horizontal bands were framed by triple or double incised lines. The wide central band consists



of a row of concentric circles with half circles pendant from the frames above and below, between bands of guilloche and concentric circles. The top and bottom bands are plain. 6.9 x 3.3 x 2.8 cm.

Wicke 2008, Nim. 53.

***384. ND379. Well 4**
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 127918

Plate 119



Cylindrical container, probably bone, lid and base missing, rim chipped, surface damaged. Incised. Centres of circles drilled. Three bands of concentric circles, framed by three incised lines, at top, centre and bottom, separated by plain bands. 9.0 x 4.0 x 4.0 cm.

Wicke 2008, Nim. 59.

***385. ND360. Well 4**
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 127899

Plate 119



Cylindrical container, with lid; base missing. Part of the surface damaged. Two holes, one in thickened area of rim, other in side. Incised. Centres of circles drilled. Dark brown. Three bands of concentric circles, framed by incised lines and separated by plain bands. 7.0 x 3.6 x 4.0 cm.

The lid is oval, possibly made of wood, with two holes for fixing. Blackened. D. 4.2 cm.

Wicke 2008, Nim. 63.

***386. ND364. Well 4**
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 127903

Plate 121



Cylindrical container, lid and base missing. Part of the surface damaged. Two holes, one in thickened area of rim, other in side. Incised. Centres of circles drilled. Light brown. Three bands of concentric circles, framed by incised lines and separated by plain bands. 7.2 x 4.2 x 4.2 cm.

Wicke 2008, Nim. 61.

***387. ND369. Well 4**
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 127908

Plate 119



Cylindrical container, surface partly damaged, vertical cracks. Incised. Centres of circles drilled. Three bands of concentric circles, framed by triple lines, separated by plain bands. 9.5 x 4.0 x 4.0 cm.

Wicke 2008, Nim. 60.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

***388. ND380. Well 4** Plate 119
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 127919



Heavy cylindrical container, incomplete, lid and base missing, vertical cracking. Incised. Centres of circles drilled. Three bands of concentric circles, framed by triple lines, separated by plain bands. 9.9 x 5.2 x 5.2 cm. Wicke 2008, Nim. 62.

***389. ND368. Well 4** Plate 118
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 127907



Cylindrical container, lid and base missing, surface damaged. Hole through rim and socket on rim. Incised. Centres of circles drilled. Three irregular horizontal rows and three irregular vertical rows of concentric circles. 5.5 x 2.8 x 2.8 cm. Wicke 2008, Nim. 64.

***390. ND372. Well 4** Plate 120
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 127911



Cylindrical container, probably of bone, base still attached, lid missing, vertical crack. Five holes round the rim. Incised. Two bands of diamonds formed of triple incised lines framed by double lines, separated by plain bands. 8.7 x 3.5 x 3.5 cm. Wicke 2008, Nim. 67.

***391. ND367. Well 4** Plate 120
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 127906



Cylindrical container, wider at top than bottom. Socket on rim and hole through side. Plain and polished except for two narrow bands of decoration, consisting of excised zigzag lines framed by triple incised lines. A similar zigzag band can be seen on No. 382 above. 6.7 x 3.5 x 3.5 cm.

Wicke 2008, Nim. 65.

***392. ND376. Well 4** Plate 121
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 127915



Cylindrical container, damaged, much of surface flaked off, vertical cracks. Two holes below the rim, one blind. Decorative band of wavy lines on upper part. 6.0 x 3.8 x 3.8 cm. Wicke 2008, Nim. 66.

***393. ND 382. Well 4** Plate 121
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 127921



Fragment from cylindrical container, surface damaged. Holes round rim. Rest broken off. Deep band of cross-hatching around top and a narrower one in the centre, the rest of the container being plain. Wicke 2008, Nim. 68.

***394. ND365. Well 4** Plate 121
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 127904



Plain cylindrical container, lid and base missing, vertical crack. Pegs on rim and side. 4.0 x 4.3 x 4.3 cm. Wicke 2008, Nim. 70.

***395. ND374. Well 4** Plate 121
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 127913



Cylindrical container, base, possibly of wood, still attached, lid missing. Several holes below the rim. Vertical crack. Undecorated and polished. 11.3 x 3.2 x 3.2 cm. Wicke 2008, Nim. 69.

***396. ND147. Well 4** Plate 120
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 127689



Fragment from a bone plaque decorated with concentric circles and incised lines, possibly part of a comb.

***397. ND356. Well 4** Plate 120
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 127895



A number of ivory or bone kohl pencils, some plain and polished, others decorated with incised lines.

***398. ND Well 4** Plate 121
Iraq Museum, Baghdad



Ivory weight looms, decorated with incised concentric circles or plain and polished. Numerous buttons and cloth decorations of different types and sizes.

VAULTED ROOMS 74 AND 75

***399. ND381. Rooms 74-75** Plate 121
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 127920



Cylindrical container, broken into four pieces, parts missing. Surface poorly preserved. Bands of concentric circles framed by double incised lines at top and bottom and a frieze of flowers and buds. 8.0 x 5.0 x 5.0 cm. Wicke 2008, Nim. 52.

APPENDIX 1

VARIED MATERIALS FROM WELL AJ

Two Assyrian handles

***1.1. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 89. Well AJ**

Plate 123

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79598



A black limestone handle in three pieces, a hollow cylinder at the top, a central section of a statuette, and a ram's head at the bottom. These were re-assembled in the laboratory of the State Organization for Antiquities and Heritage. Cloisonné: the design on the cylinder, the bands above and below the statuette, and the edges of the shawl of the statuette were inlaid with coloured pastes or perhaps with shell, a piece of shell remains *in situ* on the back, under the hair. The belt of the statuette was of metal. 20.3 x 2.4 cm.

Top section: A palmette capital on an inlaid band supports a hollow cylinder. The design consists of a winged disc above a stylized tree, flanked by a pair of kneeling figures with raised hands. They are followed by winged genies carrying buckets and cones. The design is known from cylinder seals, but the hollow at the top is too large and must once have contained a fan, feathers or a ceremonial object.

The statuette of the central section represents an Assyrian, carved in the round, standing with arms folded. The face, hands and feet would have been carved separately. The lower right arm is not preserved. The hair is formed of a series of straight lines, ending in spiral curls in a roll on the shoulders. He is wearing a garment with a V neck, short sleeves and a wrap-over skirt, decorated with a shawl or bands across the shoulders and back and wrapped round the skirt.

Bottom section: A reversed ram's head rises from a double moulding. It has downward-curving horns and eyes inlaid with shell and black paste.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 145, no. 89, fig. 130.

***1.2. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 90. Well AJ**

Plate 124

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79599

A handle in three sections, a hollow cylinder at the top, a central section of a statuette and a lion's head at the bottom, broken in two, now restored. The material is uncertain: Safar & al-'Iraqi record that it was made of wood; Invernizzi that it is ivory (*Turin Catalogue*, 390). The left side is chipped. Some areas are poorly preserved. This description is drawn from Safar & al-'Iraqi and the



Turin Catalogue. 20.3 x 2.4 cm. (*Turin Catalogue*, 16.2 x 2.0 cm; thickness 0.9-1.9 cm.).

Top section. The hollow cylinder has moulded frames above and below and is set on a palmette capital. It is decorated with four figures, probably women, squatting to the right, with their legs folded under them. The first is poorly preserved. The second has long hair falling down her back, wears a long robe with a rounded neck, tied with a sash at the waist and plays a tambourine. The third is playing what Safar and al-'Iraqi consider to be a flute, although it is said to be a high-footed vase in the *Turin Catalogue*. If,

however, we consider that the figures were probably all playing musical instruments, this may represent a harp. The fourth and last holds what Safar and al-'Iraqi consider may be a harp, although the *Turin Catalogue* suggests that the long vertical band which runs all the way up the back of the cylinder may represent a standard. It could also represent a lyre that overlaps the vertical band. Unfortunately the photographs are of poor quality, and most of these interpretations are speculative.

The central section shows a figure, probably female, carved in the round, standing with arms flexed, both hands holding a long stick extending onto the right side of the upper cylinder, to which it is fixed, according to the *Turin Catalogue*. The hair forms a fringe under a cap with a rolled brim. Long tresses fall on the right shoulder and arm. The face is finely modelled with thick eyebrows joining in a V, large eyes with drilled pupils, a straight nose and small mouth. She is wearing a long, smooth garment with a round neck: the sash round the waist has ties falling to the left. The hem is decorated with incised panels of eight-petalled rosettes and concentric squares and a fringe. The feet rest on an oval base.

Bottom section. A lion's head rises from a moulding. The mouth is wide open, roaring, with the pointed teeth clearly represented. Pointed ears project from a band surrounding the face. The nose is wrinkled.

For a pyxis with standing musicians rather than the unusual squatting position of these players, see Barnett *C.N.I.* pl. xvi-xvii. This handle could be that of a *sistrum*.

On the back of the skirt is a three-line inscription transcribed and translated by Dr. Bahija Khalil, which reads:

*ekal Aššur-našir-apli šar kiššati šar māṭ Aššur
mār Tukulti-Ninurta šar kiššati šar māṭ Aššur
mār Adad-nirari šar kiššati šar māṭ Aššur anaku*

Palace of Ashurnasirpal, king of the world, king of Assyria.

Son of Tukulti-Ninurta, king of the world, king of Assyria.

Son of Adad-nirari, also king of the world, king of Assyria.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 146-149, no. 90; *Turin Catalogue*, 1985, no. 159, 390-391, colour plate on p. 321.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

***1.3. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 91. Well AJ** Not illustrated
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79600

A wooden handle, affected by shrinkage. Hollow at the front. An incised design on the exterior. Colour dark, traces of burning. L. 16.3 cm.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 150, no. 91.

A spoon

1.4. Safar & al-'Iraqi, no. 92. Well AJ Plate 124
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 79601

A spoon or spatula at one end and the bust of a man at the other end of the handle. The spoon is made of limestone, light brown in colour. It is gripped by the jaws of a snake, carved in the round, whose hollow neck held the handle. The eyes were excised for



inlay, and red and black inlays survive on the nose and neck. 7.1 x 3.7 cm. D. of handle 1.1 cm. Hollow for handle 0.3 cm.

The man's bust, forming the end of the handle, is carved of black *suleimani* stone with white patches on the left shoulder. The head, right arm and hand, and left hand are made of ivory, burnt dark brown. The bust is carved in the round, and the hands are clasped on the chest. The figure wears a cylindrical crown or fez, similar to the Assyrian crown. The face is crudely carved with protruding lips. He wears a garment with a V-neck and a short sleeve with a decorated hem with gold overlay on the right arm, a long sleeve on the left. There is an oxidized metal bracelet on the right wrist. There is a hole, D. 0.2 cm., on top, and a circular peg or tenon on the base, with traces of oxidised copper, presumably from wire fixing it to the handle. 3.8-3.6 x 2.1 x 1.4 cm.

Safar & Sa'ied al-'Iraqi, 150-152, no. 92.

APPENDIX 2

THE CENTRAL PALACE, OR
PALACE OF TIGLATH-PILESER III (744-727)

Towards the end of his reign Tiglath-pileser III built a great palace on the acropolis at Kalhu. His account is best preserved in Summary Inscription 7, which was ‘composed in or shortly after the 17th *palu*’ (=729: Tadmor 1994, 154).

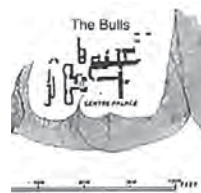
‘With keen understanding and broad knowledge, which the prince Nudimmud, the most expert of the gods, bestowed upon me, a cedar palace [... for my royal residence] and a *bit hilani*, modelled after a palace of the land of Hatti, I built for my pleasure in Calah. [To a length of x cubits and to a width of 6 cubits I expanded its size over and above (the palaces) of my ancestors (by filling up) the Tigris river [... I cleverly made plans with the help of all the skilled craftsmen ... [... I piled up heavy limestone boulders like a mountain, to a depth of 20 cubits in the raging waters, and I [... arresting] the flood. I built the terraces, laid the foundations firmly and raised them high. To a height of $6\frac{2}{3}$ cubits, palaces of [...I] constructed, and I set up their gates facing north. With ivory, ebony, boxwood, sissou wood, cypress wood, In[dian wood ... and] juniper – the tribute of the king of Hatti and the Aramaean and Chaldaean princes, whom I subdued with mighty courage – [I decorated them] and filled (them) with splendour. To a height of $5\frac{1}{2}$ NINDA (+) 4 cubits (=70 cubits), from the river-bed to the cornice, I designed their structure, and I made them more resplendent than the palaces of (foreign) lands. With long beams of cedar, a product of Am[anus], Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, which are as sweet to smell as the scent of *hashurru* wood, I roofed them, demonstrating appropriate care. To exhibit the splendour of [...] I fashioned stones, expertly cut, and (thus) made the gate befitting (a royal palace). Double doors of cedar and pine, which bestow (great) pleasure on those who enter them (and) whose fragrance wafts into the heart, I overlaid with strips of a shining silver alloy and <gold alloy> and set them up in the gateways. Lion colossi and bull colossi with very skilfully wrought features, clothed with splendour, I placed in the entrance and set up for display. At their feet (lit. beneath them) I laid threshold-slabs of gypsum and alabaster, and so I brightened the exits. And I fashioned statues, the guardians of the great gods, creatures of the deep (i.e. fish-men), and placed them around the supporting wall, thus endowing (it) with splendour. To put the final touch on them, I studded them all around with knobbed pegs of gold, silver and bronze, giving them a gleaming appearance. For my royal residence, I constructed (within) a glittering chamber inlaid with precious stones. I named them: ‘(The) Palaces-of-Joy, Which-Bear-Abundance-Which-Bless-the-King, Who-Made-Their-Structure-Everlasting ...’

Tadmor 1994, 173-175.

Unfortunately, the excavation history of this palace has been exceptionally unhappy, and little of the palace or its plan has survived. First, it was plundered by Esarhaddon as a source of building materials for his own South West Palace. Then, excavations were undertaken by Layard, who found about 100 reliefs of Tiglath-pileser III ‘lying one against one another, as slabs in a stone-cutter’s yard’ stacked for removal to the South West Palace (Falkner in Barnett & Falkner 1962, 1-7; Oates & Oates 2001, 73). Hormuzd Rassam cleared a large area of the palace, ‘almost without result’, finding a pile of damaged slabs some 6 feet below the surface (Falkner 1962, 5).

In July 1854 Loftus, working under Rawlinson’s firman, discovered three bull *lamassu* and some ivories in an area belonging to the Central Palace. He described these in a letter of August 28 1854, quoted in the *Second Report of the Assyrian Excavation Fund*, dated February 20, 1855 (Gadd 1936, Appendix):

‘On the north side of the ravine, opposite to the south-west palace, the legs and bases of three bulls, forming part of the central palace were discovered *in situ*. Their position and dimensions are indicated in the annexed diagram. Two face the north and one the south, its fellow being destroyed. They are all without inscriptions. Near to the bulls were found some fragments of ivories, carved in outline. They are much broken but can be restored.’



Fortunately Loftus was accompanied by the artist, William Boutcher, who prepared a plan of the citadel, illustrating the different excavations undertaken by Layard, Rassam and Loftus (Barnett & Falkner 1972, end plan). He recorded the position of Loftus’ three bulls, the bases of which are marked at the top right.

A century later, in 1952, Mallowan undertook ‘some digging ... in what is known as the centre palace of Tiglath Pileser III on the square where it was believed that Layard had found the black obelisk of Shalmaneser III. Here, however, work was not prolonged because it was found that what was left of the building was in a ruinous and badly damaged condition’ (Mallowan *Iraq* 15, 1953, 5).



However, excavations by a Polish team in the 1970s directed by the late Janusz Meuszynski clarified the problem (Mierzejewski & Sobolewski 1980, 151-162). They identified a Central Building, erected by Ashurnasirpal II, and the Central Palace of Tiglath-pileser III, just to the west, which probably partially overlay the Central Building and extended to the western edge of the platform. They also succeeded in locating Loftus’ three bulls and a stone-paved gate overlaid with bitumen, and many carved slabs (Mierzejewski & Sobolewski 1980, 159).

In addition to his plan, Boutcher also sketched two of the ivories which Loftus found, marking them as from the ‘Centre Palace’.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

These are CP8 and 9 (*Original drawings* I, pl. 15), and he thus made it possible for Barnett to identify the following group of incised Assyrian ivories as those discovered by Loftus. Their style agrees with a late 8th century date.

Assyrian incised panels¹

Pair of vertical panels

CP1. C.N.I., I, 2a; I, 2d. Central Palace Plates 126-127
British Museum, London, BM 127063, BM 118101



Two vertical panels, fragmentary and restored in wax. Incised design, in three registers, cut at top and bottom. Top register, guilloche frame between pairs of incised lines at sides. Central register, festoon of voluted palmettes between pomegranates with central dot and petals, framed above and below by rows of seven rosettes between double incised lines. Bottom register, framed on all sides by guilloche between incised lines.

CP1a. C.N.I., I.2a, BM 127063

Cracked and poorly preserved; fragments missing from top register, bottom register, poorly preserved, restored in wax. Dowel holes, D. 0.3 cm., on sides, but not recessed as in 9th century versions. Back, tapering slightly to base, roughly striated vertically. 25.7 x 6.6-6.2 x 0.3 cm.

Top register. A poorly preserved four-winged genie, with fragments missing, advances right. He has a horned helmet with incised circles and is wearing a long, open, fringed coat over a short tunic with a fringed hem and sandals. He holds a pine cone in his raised right hand and a bucket in his left.

Bottom register. A courtier or soldier advances right, head poorly preserved. He is wearing an ankle-length garment with a shawl wrapped round his waist. His sleeve is decorated with a row of incised circles, and the fringed skirt with squares containing incised circles. He wears sandals. Traces survive of his sword.

CP1b. C.N.I. I.2d, BM 118101, 1856.0903.1049, 1072-1074.

Cracked and poorly preserved, large fragments missing from right of bottom register. Dowel holes on sides, D. 0.3 cm. Back, roughened with chisel marks. 25.7 x 6.3 x 0.3 cm.



Top register. A four-winged genie with a horned helmet with a rosette on top and incised circles advances left. He has shoulder-length hair, is bearded and holds a pine cone in his raised right hand and a bucket in his left. He is wearing a long, open, fringed coat over a short tunic with a fringed hem and sandals.

Only the left side of the lower register survives and

¹For discussion of a possible reconstruction of the following panels by Dirk Wicke, see pp. 106-108 above.

shows a clean-shaven courtier or soldier with shoulder-length hair advancing right. He is wearing an ankle-length garment with a shawl wrapped round his waist and crossing over his shoulder. The fringed skirt is decorated with squares containing incised circles. His left hand holds a bow and a quiver, cf. BM 127069 below. His lowered right hand is poorly preserved but held a mace. He wears sandals.

These two panels presumably formed the left and right sides of a panel. The work of CP1b is stronger and cruder than that of CP1a.

CP1a: Perrot & Chipiez 1884, II, 730, fig. 391; Mansell n.d., pl. 581; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 187, pl. cxiv; Barnett 1982, 40, pl. 37; Uberti 1988, 599, no. 92.

CP2. C.N.I., I.2c. Central Palace Plate 125
British Museum, London, BM 127065



Fragmentary panel, much restored in wax, cut at top. Surface cracked and worn. Incised design, in two registers. Principal register framed by guilloche between incised lines at sides. Lower register, a festoon of voluted palmettes and pomegranates with rows of 9 rosettes between double incised lines above and below. Probable remains of dowel holes at sides. Back, covered in gauze. 15.2 x 9.3 x 0.3 cm.

The principal panel shows the Assyrian king facing right, holding a bow in his left hand and raising his right hand. In front of him the crown prince, facing the king and also raising his right hand, his left resting on the hilt of his sword. The king wears the royal crown and diadem over shoulder-length hair, the crown prince has a diadem tied round his shoulder-length hair. Both are bearded. Both wear sleeved, ankle-length, fringed garments. The king's robe is decorated with incised circles and triple-wrapped in a shawl, while the crown prince's has a squared pattern with a fringed shawl passing round his waist and over his shoulder. Both wear sandals. The king also has a sword.

The principal scene of this panel is slightly taller than that of CP3, the king measuring 10.6 cm. while the courtiers are 9.2 cm. high: this difference in height is made up by guilloche framing bands at top and bottom of CP3. A similar scene of king and crown prince can be seen in some of the reliefs of Tiglath-pileser III, such as that on Barnett & Falkner 1962, pl. lxxxiv. The gesture with unusual widely-spaced fingers on the ivory is similar to that of the crown prince on that relief. Material with a squared pattern can be seen on some reliefs, Barnett & Falkner 1962, pl. lix.

Mansell n.d., pl. 581; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 187, pl. cxiii.

CP3. C.N.I., I.2h. Central Palace Plate 128
British Museum, London, BM 127069. 1856.0903.1075



Fragmentary vertical panel, cracked, worn and restored. Incised design, in two registers. Top register framed on all sides by guilloche between double incised lines. Lower register, festoon of voluted palmettes and pomegranates framed above and below by rows of 9 rosettes between pairs of incised lines. Back, roughened with chisel marks. 15.1 x 8.6 x 0.3 cm.

Two beardless Assyrian courtiers or soldiers face each other. They have shoulder-length hair and wear ankle-length, fringed garments, decorated with squares and circles. Shawls are wrapped round their waists and passed over their shoulders. They wear sandals. The courtier on the right holds a mace in his lowered right hand and a bow in his left. A quiver with tassels can be seen behind his right shoulder and the end of a sword behind him. Traces suggest that the courtier on the left, who is less well preserved, was similarly equipped, traces can be seen of the quiver, sword and mace.

Courtiers with clasped hands are a familiar motif, see Barnett & Falkner 1962, pl. viii.

Mansell n.d., pl. 581; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 188, pl. cxiv; Barnett 1982, 40, pl. 37; Uberti 1988, 408, 599, no. 90.

Pair of panels

CP4. *C.N.I.*, I.2f. Central Palace Plate 129
British Museum, London, BM 127067



Fragmentary panel, fragments missing from top right and left, left centre and bottom left. Surface cracked and worn. Incised design, framed by guilloche between pairs of incised lines. Remains of dowel holes in sides. Back, roughened with chisel marks. 11.0 x 6.1 x 0.3 cm.

A bearded Assyrian with shoulder-length hair faces right, his hands clasped in front of him. He wears a fringed, ankle-length garment, decorated with squares and circles, and a shawl wrapped round the waist and passing over the shoulder. He wears sandals. The blade of his sword can be seen behind his back

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 187, pl. cxiii; Barnett 1982, 40, pl. 37; Uberti 1988, 599, no. 91.

CP5. *C.N.I.*, I.2j. Central Palace Plate 129
British Museum, London, BM 118123. 1856.0903.1054, 1070, 1071

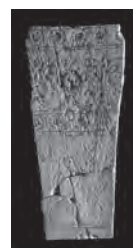


Fragmentary panel, sides broken off, many fragments missing. Incised design, framed by guilloche between incised lines at top and bottom, trace on left side: probably originally framed on all four sides like CP4. Back, roughened with chisel marks. 10.8 x 4.6 x 0.3 cm.

A bearded Assyrian with shoulder-length hair faces left, his hands clasped in front of him. He wears a fringed, ankle-length garment, decorated with squares, and a shawl wrapped round the waist and passed over the shoulder. He wears sandals. He has a sword, the hilt of which can be seen below his hands and the blade behind him.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 188.

CP6. *C.N.I.*, I.2g. Central Palace Plate 130
British Museum, London, BM 127068



Fragment of panel, sides broken off, surface worn. Incised design, in two registers. Upper register, festoon of voluted palmettes and pomegranates framed by rows of rosettes between incised lines. Lower register, frame of double incised lines at base. A bull kneeling to the right, head not preserved, tail curving over back. Mane and ribs marked, curl from hock.

Back, roughened with chisel marks. 9.1 x 4.3 x 0.3 cm.

Barnett *C.N.I.*, 188, pl. cxiv.

Pair of panels with floral friezes

CP7. *C.N.I.*, I.2e. Central Palace Plate 130
British Museum, London, BM 127066



Section of panel, sides broken off, damaged at top, probably where it was fixed by dowels. Incised design with festoon of voluted palmettes between pomegranates, framed by rows of rosettes between pairs of incised lines. Surface cracked and worn, restored in wax. Back, roughened with chisel marks. 4.6 x 6.5 x 0.3 cm.

Mansell n.d., pl. 581; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 187, pl. cxiii.

CP8. *C.N.I.*, I.2b. Central Palace Plate 130
British Museum, London, BM 127064



Small rectangular panel, sides broken off, damaged at base. Surface cracked and worn. Incised design with festoon of voluted palmettes between pomegranates, framed by rows of rosettes between pairs of incised lines. Barnett *C.N.I.*, 187, describes the design as lotus and bud. 4.8 x 5.5 x 0.3 cm.

Mansell n.d., pl. 581, bottom right; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 187.

Four-winged genie



CP9. *C.N.I.*, I.2i. Central Palace Plate 131
British Museum, London, BM 118121. 1856.0903.1045, 1051, 1052
Fragmentary vertical panel, most of sides broken off, many fragments missing, cut at top and bottom,

Ivories from Nimrud VI

partially restored. Incised design, in two registers. Lower register, festoon of lotus flowers and buds framed above and below by rows of rosettes between double incised lines. Dowel hole at left. Back, roughened with chisel marks. 14.1 x 5.8 x 0.3 cm.

The top register shows a four-winged genie with a horned helmet with a rosette at the top and decorated with incised circles advancing left. He is bearded and has shoulder-length hair. He wears a long, open, shawled and fringed coat over a short tunic with fringed hem and sandals. He holds a pine cone in his raised right hand and a bucket in his left.

This panel is the only one to have a festoon of lotus flowers and buds rather than voluted palmettes and probably belonged to a different set.

Drawn by William Boucher, and identified as 'Ivory from Central Palace Nimrud, Full Size'. *Original Drawings I*, Pl. 15; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 188, pl. cxiii.

Procession of tributaries

CP10. C.N.I., I.1. Central Palace Plate 132
British Museum, London, BM 118099. 1856.0903.1038.



along top. 8.0 x 25.8 cm.

Fragmentary horizontal panel, left side and bottom broken off, large fragment missing from top right. Many fragments missing. Incised design with incised frame

A procession of ten tributaries, only partially preserved, advancing left and bringing gifts. They have long hair tied with headbands and are bearded. They wear long, fringed and shawled coats. Only the head of the leading tributary, who carries a cube-shaped object, is preserved. The next pair, heads and upper bodies surviving, offers a beaded necklace and two sacks, slung over the shoulders. The fourth carries a tray on his head, which contains dishes and the model of a castle, presumably in token of surrender. The next pair, preserved to their knees, brings a wine-skin (?), a branch of fruits and a sack over the shoulders: the dress of the man in front is shawled. The seventh, with head turned back, leads two trotting horses with high crests. The eighth man is taller than the rest, but partially hidden by the horse: his skirt is knee-length and has a sloping, fringed hem. Little of the last pair survives.

For similar tributaries bringing gifts see Barnett & Falkner 1962, pl. lxviii.

Drawn by William Boucher, 'Subject People bearing tribute. Ivories from Central Palace, Nimrud'. *Original Drawings I*, Pl. 16; Barnett *C.N.I.*, 186, pl. cxv; Barnett 1982, 40, pl. 38; Uberti 1988, 599, no. 93.

CP11. ND1722a. C.N.I., I.3. Central Palace Plate 130
British Museum, London, BM 131137. 1952.0209.9



Palm capital, only partially preserved, one third missing, many surface fragments missing. One petal survives and traces of a further five. Above the petals an incised band: below them three narrow horizontal bands above a rounded rib. Square tenon slot, W. 2.0 cm., one side missing, perforated vertically, narrowing to top. 5.2 x 5.2 cm.

From Mallowan's 1951 excavations.

HOUSE 2, LEVEL 3

APPENDIX 3

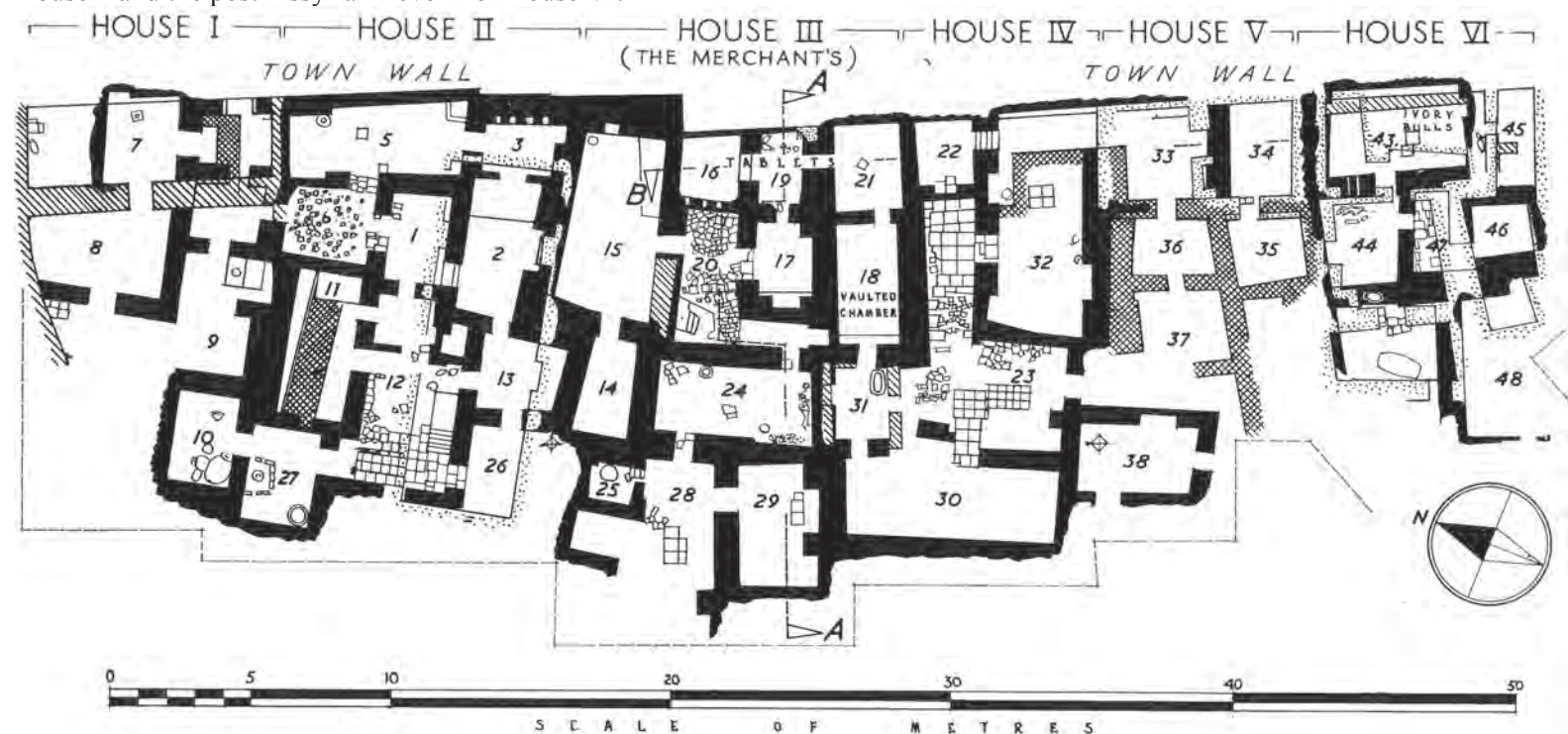
THE TOWN WALL HOUSES¹

In 1953 a group of private houses abutting the town wall on the east of the citadel was excavated for a distance of some 70 m. (Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 129-152; Mallowan *N. & R. I.*, 184-197; Oates & Oates 2001, 135-141). The houses consisted of irregular groups of rooms around courtyards: none of the house-fronts were identified, although access must have been from a street or passage not far to the west. Mallowan identified six houses, although the Oates considered that there were probably only two major establishments (Oates & Oates 2001, 137), which belonged to court officials, and one smaller house. The first, to the north, consisted of Houses I and II, Rooms 1-13, 26 and 27, while the second, Houses III-V, included the large central house and extended to the south: the smaller third house occupied Mallowan's House VI, Rooms 43-48.

Of the top four levels, the Oates date the earliest, Level 4, to 'either the late 8th or the early 7th century; Level 3, the best-preserved, covers a period from, at the latest, early in the reign of Assurbanipal to the fall of Assyria, while the upper two levels, which are less well preserved, include a "squatter" or perhaps Neo-Babylonian occupation with overlying Hellenistic houses' (Oates & Oates 2001, 137). Ivories were only found in the houses at either end of the excavation, in the Late Assyrian Level 3 of House 2 and the post-Assyrian Level 2 of House VI.

House 2 was the largest of the TW houses, and its owner lived and conducted his business there. A few, fragmentary ivories were found in rooms 3, 5, 11 and 12. The principal reception room was probably Room 11, where two fragments were found, an ivory foot on a pedestal, and a knob, TW5 and 6. From Rooms 3 and 5 two fragments of human statuettes, TW1 and 3, and part of a panel with cows and calves, TW4, were recovered. The most securely dated assemblage of ivories was a small cache, found buried under paving slabs in Court 12. In addition to a gold earring and a few beads, it contained a lion leg, TW8, and a few fragments of Assyrian ivories, TW7, which were varied in scale and subject. The largest fragment, TW7a, showed part of a tributary wearing an unusual type of floppy hat and formed part of a panel with a frame with crenellations with the brickwork indicated: this type of frame can be compared with a fragment from the Residency of Fort Shalmaneser.² Other fragments, TW7b-f, showed parts of bearded courtiers wearing garments with a rosette design on the upper arm similar to fragments from Room B of the North West Palace, Nos. 44, 49-51, and the Nabu Temple;³ or part of a courtier, TW7c, also like fragments from the North West Palace, the Nabu Temple and the Residency.⁴ Other fragments with part of a procession of tributaries cut to a smaller scale are different in style and can be compared with fragments found in Court E of the North West Palace.⁵ One piece depicted the front of a winged sphinx (TW7g, *I.N.* II, no. 185).

None of these pieces are impressive, and they were surely salvaged, even those buried under the pavement, rather than, as Mallowan suggested, proving that 'the wealthy householder coveted ivories



¹ I have profited from consulting Clemens Reichel's unpublished M.A. dissertation on the Town Wall houses, Reichel 1990, a copy of which he kindly gave me.

² Herrmann & Millard 2003, 389, fig. 12a; *I.N.* II, no. 13.

³ *I.N.* II, ND5612, no. 62 and ND4193, no. 67.

⁴ Nos. 1 and 48a; Herrmann & Millard 2003, 389, fig. 12a, *I.N.* II, nos. 68 and 13.

⁵ TW7h-i; *I.N.* II, ND1049-1051, nos. 93-96.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

and collected them, no doubt for their intrinsic as well as for their ornamental value' (Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 196). A *terminus post quem* for Level 3, which ended in a major conflagration, is provided by tablets from Shamash-sharru-usur's archive in the adjacent House 3, which range in date from 660 B.C. to the reign of Sin-shar-ishkun (Wiseman 1953; Whiting 1994, 77, note 20).

HOUSE 6, ROOM 43, LEVEL 2

Most ivories from the Town Wall Houses were found in the post-Assyrian Level 2 of House 6, Room 43, which was sited at the south-west end of the excavated area. Mallowan commented that the ivories were a fragmentary and mixed collection, 'lying in confusion on a beaten mud floor of level 2 against the eastern wall and were clearly out of place' (Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 148; Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 193). The Oates' noted that the ivories were among the most interesting discoveries in the southern house and 'had been removed from their original Level 3 contexts and re-deposited in Level 2', which 'lay generally at 60 to 90 cm. above the latest Assyrian floors' (Oates & Oates 2001, 139). Their date 'must fall not long after the 612 destruction, ..., since many of the Level 3 walls are re-used' (Oates & Oates 2001, 139).

The most unusual piece consists of fragments of an Assyrian pyxis, TW10, incised with a remarkable scene of a warrior and a walled fortress with women clashing cymbals, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Other Assyrian fragments include courtiers and narrative scenes, TW11-13, and plaques with an ostrich and a bull, TW16-17.

A more coherent find was five bull silhouettes, TW20-24, one of which is still attached to its circular frame. The bulls originally decorated three different circular elements, one with three bulls advancing to the right, TW20-22; one with one bull to the left, TW23; while the fifth bull, TW24, was carved in a different style and would have decorated a third fitting. These openwork bull circlets, together with solid versions, were a standard type of furniture fitting, which would probably have decorated the legs of tables or beds (Herrmann 1996, 161, pls. 41-43). For a relatively complete example from Well AJ, see No. 275.

Other fragments from House 6 include a fine hawk silhouette, TW26, a pin ending in a hand, TW19, and rosette silhouettes, TW27, of which numerous examples are known in ivory, faience and other media, and a fragment from a panel, TW28, similar to some from Room SW37 (*I.N. IV*, nos. 875-879).

Although a richer assemblage than the material from Level 3, these fragments are varied in type, style and function, and, unusually, mix Assyrian and Levantine fragments. They also presumably represent salvage, probably from the North West Palace.

HOUSE 2, ROOM 3, LEVEL 3

TW1. ND3268 Plate 133
Town Wall House 2, Room 3, level 3 on floor next to TW2
British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London



Forearm and clenched fist, carved in the round, part of a statuette. End of arm broken, area below wrist cut. 4.6 x 1.7 x 1.7 cm.

TW2. ND3267 Plate 133
Town Wall House 2, Room 3, north end, door into Room 5, level 3
British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London



Fragment of plaque with one curving edge, one side broken off, one corner perforated, dowel hole D. 0.2 cm. Incised guilloche frame on two sides. Back, poorly preserved. 4.8 x 2.2-3.2 x 0.5 cm.

HOUSE 2, ROOM 5, LEVEL 3

TW3. ND3278 Plate 133
Town Wall House 2, Room 5, level 3, lower floor
British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London



Forearm and elbow, flexed at the elbow. Carved in three-quarter relief, elbow end broken. Double moulded bands of ?armlet on bend of elbow and bracelet at wrist. Back flat, striated, with two dowel holes, D. 0.5 cm. 6.0 x 2.7 x 1.8 cm.

***TW4. ND3305** Plate 133
Town Wall House 2, Room 5, north-west corner, level 3, floor
Iraq Museum, Baghdad



Fragment of panel, top and most of bottom broken off. Carved in relief. Possibly broken or cut at sides. Back flat. 3.2 x 11.3 cm.

Part of a procession of cows and calves advancing right. Only the head, part of the neck, part of the forelegs, the hindlegs and the end of the tail survive of the leading cow, which has its head turned back to lick the rump of her calf. Of the calf, which is suckling, only the body survives: the head is not preserved nor the lower legs. The tail curves up over the back, the end resting on the haunch. The forelegs of a second cow can be seen following the first, together with part of one hindleg of her calf. The animals have scalloped necks. Between the hindlegs of the leading cow is a voluted palmette flower.

The motif of a cow and calf was represented in all three Levantine traditions, either with solid backgrounds or as silhouettes, see, for instance, Nos. 122-136; *I.N. IV*, 701-708, 744-747, 1014; *I.N. V*, 132-136, 381-389, 472, 479; and at Arslan Tash, Thureau Danguin *et al.* 1931, pls. xxxvii-xliii. Relatively little survives of this

procession scene. However, the thick proportions of the cows' legs and calf's body, and the out-of-proportion voluted palmette flower suggest that this panel would have been carved in a Syrian workshop.

Herrmann & Millard 2003, 380, fig. 2 (incorrectly numbered 3306).

HOUSE 2, ROOM 11, LEVEL 3

*TW5. ND328

Not illustrated

Town Wall House 2, Room 11, level 3

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56971

Fragment from a free-standing statuette. All that survives is a foot on a pedestal. Found with ND3282, a scaraboid amulet engraved with the design of a gazelle with turned head. 1.4 x 2.0 cm.

TW6. ND3377

Plate 133

Town Wall House 2, Room 11, level 3, floor

British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London



Knob of a staff with rounded head and ribbed stalk, perforated vertically, D. 0.6 cm. and with two horizontal dowel holes in stem. Head decorated with incised concentric circles, burnt. 2.1 x 1.8-1.4 cm.

HOUSE 2, ROOM 12

Assyrian fragments

*TW7. ND3336

Plate 133

Town Wall House 2, Room 12, pavement level 3

British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London



Assyrian style incised fragments, found in a cache under the pavement with TW8 and a cylindrical bead and a gold earring, ND 3345.

a. Fragment from top of panel, sides and bottom broken off. Pierced by dowel holes. Remains of crenellated frame with bricks at top. The head and upper body of a bearded tributary with floppy hat advancing left. 5.8 x 1.5 x 0.3 cm.

I.N. II, 33, no. 82, pl. xxiv; Herrmann & Millard 2003, 379, fig. 1.



b. Fragment from left side of panel. Part of a courtier with clasped hands wearing a shawled garment. 4.0 x 1.5 cm.

c. Fragment, no original edges, part of the hair and shoulder of a courtier advancing right. 0.8 x 1.8 cm.



d. Fragment, no original edges, the back of the head of a figure with part of the hair preserved, advancing left. 1.1 x 2.5 cm.

e. Fragment, no original edges, the right arm of a figure advancing right. The sleeve of the shawled garment has a rosette design. Traces can be seen of a counter-weight for a necklace and a sword. Trace of the hand of a second figure behind. Cf. Nos. 1 and 44. 1.4 x 2.8 cm.

f. Fragment, no original edges. 1.0 x 1.2 cm.

g. Fragment, no original edges. Part of the head and chest of a



winged, human-headed sphinx, facing right, one paw raised. Long hair, cross-hatching on chest. Cf. *I.N.* II, no. 187, 50, pl. xlii, from the Nabu Temple. 1.9 x 1.7 x 0.1 cm.

I.N. II, no. 185, 50, pl. xlii, where it is described as from Room 43.



h. Fragment from long strip, incised plain frame at top, trace of small figure advancing right. Possibly similar to the strips from Court E, e.g. No. 20. 2.8 x 2.5 cm.

i. Fragment from long strip, incised plain frame at top, remains of head and upper body of a bearded figure advancing right. Possibly similar to the strips from Court E, e.g. No. 20. 2.5 x 3.5 cm.

j. Fragment, no original edges. 1.4 x 2.0 cm.



k. Fragment from bottom of strip. Plain frame. All that survives is the lower body in a long, fringed garment of a figure advancing right. Possibly similar to the strips from Court E, though there is no parallel. 1.2 x 2.4 cm.

l. Fragment from left lower corner of strip. Plain frame. Dowel hole. Part of a voluted palmette flower. 1.4 x 2.8 cm.

These fragments of Assyrian narrative scenes can be compared with pieces from the North West Palace and the Nabu Temple: TW7b-f, with bearded courtiers wearing garments with a rosette design, are similar to fragments from Room B, Nos. 44, 49-51, and the Nabu Temple (*I.N.* II, nos. 13, 62, 67-68), while the crenellations of TW7a can be compared with a fragment from the Residency of Fort Shalmaneser (*I.N.* II, no. 13). The hat worn by TW7a is unusual. Other fragments cut to a smaller scale can be compared to fragments found in Court E (*I.N.* II, nos. 93-96). These presumably represent fragments salvaged from ceremonial areas.

I.N. II, 33, no. 82, pl. xxiv, and 50, no. 85 xlii; Herrmann & Millard 2003, 379, fig. 1.

*TW8. ND3380

Not illustrated

Town Wall House 2, Room 12, from cache in pavement

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56976

Lion foreleg and paw, carved in the round, part of a statuette. Found in a cache under the pavement with TW7, and ND3345, a cylindrical bead and a gold earring. L. 9.5 cm.

LEVEL 3

Unfortunately the field register only records that ND3506 was found in TW 53 Level 3 without identifying the house or room. However, if the level was correctly recorded, the plaque probably came from House 2, where the other Level 3 ivories were found.

Assyrian female genie

TW9. ND3506

Plate 134

Town Wall Houses, Level 3

Ivories from Nimrud VI



Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1954.715

Fragmentary plaque, large, v-shaped fragment missing from centre top, cutting out the face: this was possibly deliberately excised in antiquity. Fragments missing from left side, most of bottom broken off, restored in wax. Incised, Assyrian style. Double frame at top consisting of a band of guilloche

between incised lines with a row of rosettes, cut at top, above. Back striated. 12.0 x 7.6 x 0.3 cm.

A four-winged goddess or genie represented frontally, with head turned to the right. Most of head missing, arms held out either side on the wings, hands open, lower legs broken off. She has a high hat and shoulder-length hair. She is wearing a short-sleeved, tight-fitting bodice or corselet with a squared design and a long, scaley skirt, which divides at the front to reveal her legs.

A unique piece. The male winged genie is a common Assyrian motif, usually with two rather than four wings, and equipped with bucket and cone, although a few four-winged examples occur in the doorways of Rooms B, D, E and H of the North West Palace and in similar positions at Dur Sharrukin and Nineveh (Herrmann & Curtis 1998, 123-126). A rare four-winged female can be seen on Slab L20 (Meuszynski 1981, pl. 15), but she is fully clothed. Assyrian motifs were applied across the media, for instance on incised embroidery designs, seals, ivories and foundation figurines (Herrmann & Curtis 1998, 125; *I.N.* II, nos. 173-175, 179-180), but again these are usually male.

Mallowan, *I.L.N.* 22.08.53, 297, fig. 6; Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 152, pl. xxxi; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 194-196, fig. 133 (with head restored in wax); *I.N.* II, 47-48, no. 170, pl. xl; Herrmann & Millard 2003, 381, fig. 3.

HOUSE 6, ROOM 43, LEVEL 2 Assyrian fragments

TW10. ND3599

Plate 134

Town Wall House 6, Room 43

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, MMA 54.117.11 a-c



Two fragments from a circular pyxis? Incised Assyrian style. Plain frame at top and bottom. Back plain.

a. Large curving fragment, consisting of two joining pieces, with a straight right edge, bevelled, with a half dowel hole, D. 0.2 cm., and trace of a second. Central dowel hole, 0.5 cm. Some fragments missing. 4.8 x 6.3 x 0.4 cm. D. 8.0 cm.

b. Smaller fragment, sides broken. Large dowel hole, D. 0.5 cm. 4.7 x 4.2 x 0.4 cm.

The surviving design shows a castellated building with towers and

an arched and banded door. Three women stand above the gate and in the castellated towers, one facing left and the other two to the right. They wear high folded hats and have long hair. They appear to be celebrating: two are clashing cymbals, the one on the right is clapping. The garment of the central figure is decorated. The design on the second fragment shows the edge of the castle, with a figure, facing right, standing in a tower clashing a cymbal. A warrior is striding to the right. He wears a helmet and has long hair and a short beard. His ankle-length garment has short sleeves and is elaborately decorated. He holds a bow in his raised left hand, a mace in his lowered right hand, and has a sword with a voluted scabbard hung on a baldric across his body. On his back is a spiked shield.

Narrative scenes with castles occur on the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II (Meuszynski 1981, Taf. 2, slabs B3, 4 and 8; Paley & Sobolewski 1987, slabs WF1 20 and 24) and the bronze gates of Shalmaneser III from Balawat (King 1915, for instance, pls. iii, viii, ix, xiii, xvi, xx-xxi). However, these are usually enemy castles, being besieged or having fallen. The scene on this unique pyxis is clearly celebratory.

Mallowan *I.L.N.*, 22.08.53, 297, figs. 5 and 7; *I.N.* II, 18, no. 6, pl. v; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 194-195, fig. 132; Herrmann & Millard 2003, 381, fig. 4.

*TW11. ND3610

Plate 135

Town Wall House 6, Room 43

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56975



Fragment from vertical plaque, sides and bottom broken off, incised in Assyrian style. Unusual wide frame of a row of rosettes within incised circles with line framing design at top and left side. Of the design all that survives is the flexed right arm and hand of a figure facing left. The hand extends into the border, wears a rosette bracelet and has stylized markings on the hand. 8.5 x 2.5 x 0.3 cm.

A rosette border can be seen at the top of the winged goddess, TW9.

I.N. II, 27, no. 57, pl. xvi; Herrmann & Millard 2003, 382-383, fig. 6.

TW12. ND3611

Plate 135

Town Wall House 6, Room 43

British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London



Fragmentary panel, cut at right, top, left side and bottom broken off. Incised, Assyrian style. Back, poorly preserved, light striations. 2.5 x 5.5 x 0.4 cm.

Traces of three Assyrian courtiers advancing right. Of the leading figure only part of the scabbard of the sword survives. Of the

second, the clasped hands and the lower body in a shawled robe are preserved. Of the third, traces of the hands and part of the skirt of a shawled robe.

Processions of courtiers with clasped hands are a common Assyrian motif represented across the media. For other ivory examples, see for instance, No. 1, and *I.N.* II, pls. vi-vii, nos. 13-14 and 16-17.

I.N. II, 23, no. 34, pl. xii; Herrmann & Millard 2003, 382-383, fig. 5.

TW13. ND3612

Plate 135

Town Wall House 6, Room 43

British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London



Fragment, one end angled, other edges broken. Incised on both sides. Assyrian style. 2.2 x 5.7 x 0.2 cm.

Obverse: a man leads a horse, caparisoned in 9th century style, and advances right. Only the body of the man survives, the head, shoulders and lower legs are missing. He wears a belted garment with baldric and carries a sword. His right arm is raised to lead the horse. The horse, of which only the chest survives, has a fringed pectoral and a fringed rosette on the shoulder. On the right edge, traces of an object held by another figure to the right, not preserved.

Reverse: parts of two Assyrians armed with swords advance to the right. Only part of the hip of the leading figure in a shawled garment is preserved, of the second, the right arm is flexed, the hand holding a staff?, the other resting on the hilt of the sword.

This Assyrian ivory is unique in being carved on both sides. It is possible that the scene with the horse was a trial piece, replaced by the courtiers, because the left edge of the horse scene has been cut at an angle.

I.N. II, 29, no. 63, pl. xviii; Herrmann & Millard 2003, 382-383, fig. 5.

TW14. ND3636a

Plate 135

Town Wall House 6, Room 43

Iraq Museum, Baghdad



Fragment from left side of panel, incised in Assyrian style, with dowel holes. Top, bottom and right side broken off. Of the design all that survives is part of a horned helmet with a *fleur de lys* ornament on top. 1.8 x 5.0 x 0.4 cm.

I.N. II, 49, no. 178, pl. xli.

TW15. ND3613

Plate 135

Town Wall House 6, Room 43

British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London



Fragments, no original edges, incised, Assyrian style. Scene difficult to read. Back striated. 7.3 x 1.4 x 0.3 cm.

***TW16. ND3600**

Plate 135

Town Wall House 6, Room 43

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56974



Plaque with incurving sides, incised in Assyrian style. Double frame of incised lines on all four sides. Tips of two corners damaged. A lively and spirited bull advances right with chin tucked into chest, horn touching frame, and tail curled over back. Panels of cross-hatching along neck, back, belly, hindquarters and tail. Ribs indicated. 4.7 x 4.7 x 0.3 cm.

This panel is unique in form and in the style of representation of the bull, although the shape is typical of painted wall decorations at, for instance, Fort Shalmaneser, Mallowan *N. & R.* II, fig. 308.

Mallowan *Iraq* 16, pl. xxxii, no. 6; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 194, fig. 129; *I.N.* II, 41, no. 125, pl. xxxiii; Herrmann & Millard 2003, 383, fig. 7 left.

***TW17. ND3603**

Plate 135

Town Wall House 6, Room 43

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56973



Lunette plaque with central dowel hole and incised frame. Incised design, Assyrian style. Single frame around plaque. The design consists of an ostrich striding to the left. 3.7 x 3.5 x 0.4 cm.

The description of this plaque in *I.N.* II questions whether this bird is an ostrich or a bustard. A fragment of a similar lunette plaque was found in Fort Shalmaneser, Room S4 (*I.N.* II, 45, no. 153, pl. xxxvi). The design of the bird and the form of the plaque are unusual, see *I.N.* II, nos. 153 and 159 for fragmentary parallels.

Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 150, pl. xxxii, 5; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 194, fig. 130; *I.N.* II, 45, no. 157, pl. xxxvi; Herrmann & Millard 2003, 383, fig. 7 right.

TW18. ND3636

Plate 135

Town Wall House 6, Room 43

Iraq Museum, Baghdad



Fragment, modelled, of the hind leg and tail of a large bird running right? 2.9 x 0.8 x 0.2 cm.

I.N. II, 45, no. 156, pl. xxxvi; Herrmann & Millard 2003, 382-383, figs. 6a and 8.

***TW19. ND3592**

Plate 136

Town Wall House 6, Room 43

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56972



Pin, tip broken off, with circular shank, surmounted by a human hand with fingers extended and four bangles round wrist. Possibly a kohl stick. L. 13.0 cm. L. of hand, 2.8 cm.

Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 192-193, fig. 128.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

Bull furniture fittings

Set of three

*TW20. ND3587

Plate 136

Town Wall House 6, Room 43

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56968



Part of a circular furniture fitting with a bull attached to a curving frame at top, sides of frame broken off. The frame is divided into four long rectangular cloisons, presumably originally inlaid. Raised peg on shoulder fixes bull to frame. Bull, advances right, carved in the round, curved, horn, lower legs and most of tail broken off. Cross-hatching on nose, eye deeply excised for inlay with curving brows above, ear pointing forward. Neck musculature with triple rib. Light modelling on belly to indicate ribs. Curving horn of following bull on haunch. Back roughly worked with traces of tooling. 4.0 x c. 8.0 cm.

One of three bulls, TW20-22, from a circular furniture fitting. For a relatively complete example with five bulls still attached to the lower frame, although the upper frame is missing, see No. 275 from Well AJ. This type of fitting was relatively common at Nimrud, consisting both of openwork examples and solid curving plaques, see Herrmann 1996, 160-162, pl. 42. This set is stylistically similar to a second set, of which only one bull survives, TW23, where the bull advances in the opposite direction. They presumably formed parts of a pair of fittings.

Mallowan, *I.L.N.*, 22.08.53, 298, fig. 13; Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 149, pl. xxxiii, 1; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 192, fig. 125; Herrmann 1996, 161, pl. 42; Curtis 1999, 49-69; Herrmann & Millard 2003, 383-385, fig. 9a.

TW21. ND3590

Plate 136

Town Wall House 6, Room 43

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, MMA 54.117.10



Bull, advancing right, carved in the round, curved, part of a circular furniture fitting. Horn, legs and tail broken off. Raised peg on shoulder to fix into frame. Cross-hatching on nose, eye deeply excised for inlay with curving brows above, ear pointing forward. Neck musculature with triple rib. Light modelling on belly to indicate ribs. Back roughly worked with traces of tooling. H. 3.5 cm. H. with peg 4.0 cm. L. 7.0 cm. Th. 2.0 cm.

Beautifully carved stout bull, one of a set of three, TW20-22.

Mallowan, *I.L.N.*, 22.08.53, 298, fig. 15; Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 149, pl. xxxiv, 2; Herrmann & Millard 2003, 383-385, fig. 9b.

*TW22. ND3586

Plate 136

Town Wall House 6, Room 43

City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham



Bull, advancing right, carved in the round, curved, part of a circular furniture fitting. Tip of horn, lower legs and top of tail broken off. Raised peg on shoulder to fix into frame. Cross-hatching on nose, eye deeply excised for inlay with curving brows above, ear pointing forward, neck musculature with triple rib. Light marking on belly to indicate ribs. Back roughly worked with traces of tooling. L. 7.0 cm. H. 3.5 cm. H. with peg 4.0 cm. Th. 2.0 cm.

Beautifully carved bull, one of a set of three, TW20-22 above.

Mallowan, *I.L.N.*, 22.08.53, 298, fig. 14; Mallowan *Iraq* 16, pl. xxxiii, nos. 2-3; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 192, fig. 126.

TW23. ND 3588

Plate 136

Town Wall House 6, Room 43

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1954.728



Openwork bull, advancing left, carved in the round, curved, part of a circular furniture fitting. Horn, lower legs and tail broken off. Cross-hatching on nose, eye deeply excised for inlay with curving brows above, ear pointing forward. Neck musculature with triple rib. Light modelling on belly to indicate ribs. Back, roughly worked with traces of tooling and the end of a horn. L. 7.0 cm. H. as preserved 3.5 cm. H. with peg 4.0 cm. Th. 2.0 cm.

This bull advances to the left rather than the right, as on TW20-22, and would have formed part of a matching, second furniture fitting.

Mallowan, *I.L.N.*, 22.08.53, 298, fig. 16; Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 149, pl. xxxiv, 1; Herrmann & Millard 2003, 383-385, fig. 9c.

*TW24. ND3591

Plate 137

Town Wall House 6, Room 43

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56969



Openwork bull, advancing right, carved in the round, curved, part of a circular furniture fitting. Horn, lower legs and tail broken off. Cross-hatching on nose, eye deeply excised for inlay with curving brows above, ear pointing forward. Neck musculature with triple rib. Light marking on belly to indicate ribs. Back roughly worked with traces of tooling. L. c. 6.5 cm.

Part of a third circular furniture fitting: the style, proportions and muscle markings are different to those on TW20-22 and TW23.

Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 149, pl. xxxiv, 3.

***TW25. ND3601**

Town Wall House 6, Room 43
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Not illustrated

The leg and hoof of a bull, in the round, trace of tenon at top. L. 5.5 cm.

***TW26. ND3602**

Town Wall House 6, Room 43
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56979

Plate 137



Openwork hawk standing to the left, with wings outspread in front. Lower body missing. It is crowned with the Egyptian double crown on a lappet wig. Its lower wing touches a voluted palmette flower. A second fragment may represent a knotted snake or the tail of the bird; it also touches a voluted palmette flower. Beautifully carved. H. 6.2 cm.

Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 192, fig. 127; Herrmann & Millard 2003, 384-385, fig. 10.

***TW27. ND3614**

Town Wall House 6, Room 43
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Plate 137



One virtually complete silhouette rosette with 12 petals, one damaged, with a central dowel hole. The petals are outlined with pairs of incised lines. D. 2.6 cm.

The other rosettes are fragmentary but essentially identical.

Herrmann & Millard 2003, 385, fig. 11a.

***TW28. ND3614**

Town Wall House 6, Room 43
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Plate 137



Fragment of panel, broken at sides and bottom, perforated with a dowel hole, decorated with rosettes, only one of which is relatively complete, traces of a second. 3.8 x 2.2 cm.

TW29. ND3615

Town Wall House 6, Room 43
British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London

Plate 137



Two small fragments from cartouches with Egyptian hieroglyphs. Back smooth.
a. one hieroglyph. 2.1 x 1.4 x 0.2 cm.;
b. Remains of three hieroglyphs. 2.1 x 1.2 x 0.2 cm.

***TW30. ND3616**

Town Wall House 6, Room 43
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Not illustrated

Fragment of strip engraved with circles. L. 9.0 cm.

***TW31. ND3619**

Town Wall House 6, Room 43
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Not illustrated

Fragment with flat back, dowelled for fitting, shaped like a volute, three quarter relief. L. 4.0 cm.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

APPENDIX 4

Field numbers of the British School of Archaeology
in Iraq and the Iraqi expedition finds from
Wells AJ and 4 with their catalogue equivalents

1. British School of Archaeology

Field No. *I.N. VI Catalogue No.*

362	123	1053	32
367	120	1054	28
368	114, 144-145, 148-150, 153-154, 156, 160, 166, 168, 170, 177-179, 183-188, 190-191	1055	26, 29-30
762	319	1056	27
763	315	1057	21, 33
764	325	1058	25, 31, 34-35
765	329	1060	65
766	316	1061	17
767	311	1062	16
768	346	1063	212
771	308	1065	221
774	312	1066	210
777	332	1067	37
778	334	1068	220
779	339	1069	211
780	335	1070	345
782	326	1071	217
784	347	1072	216
798	320	1073	219
874	336	1074	218
893	341	1075	209
894	342	1077	301
895	328	1079	300
896	313	1082	18
897	309	1083	19
898	333	1089	213
899	331	1090	214
900	343	1091	215
901	330	1100	360
902	337	1691	369
903	340	1714	321
904	327	1715	44, 47-50, 52-53, 55-61, 63-64, 66, 69, 72, 74
905	306	1716	367
906	304-305	2161	372
907	317	2207	372
908	338	2211	372
909	324	2215	361
910	318	2216	362
1031	299	2217	366
1037	344	2218	363
1049	22	2219	353
1050	24	2220	355
1051	20, 23,	2221	366
1052	36	2222	371
		2223	370
		2224	366
		2225	366
		2226	366
		2227	351
		2228	350
		2229	350
		2230	351
		2231	354
		2232	362
		2233	365
		2234	365
		2239	364
		2243	257, 359
		2244	357, 359

Ivories from Nimrud VI

2245	372
2246	372
2254	368
2288	93
2293	45-46, 62, 68, 73, 75-76
2295	48, 51, 54, 67, 73
2298	12
2299	13
2300	14
2501	77
2503	4
2504	3
2546	352
2547	356
2548	356
2549	349
2550	348
3215	373
3266	1
3267	TW2
3268	TW1
3278	TW3
3281	TW5
3305	TW4
3317	5
3336	TW7
3377	TW6
3380	TW8
3394	2
3506	TW9
3547	11
3548	10
3557	96
3558	96
3559	97
3560	97
3561	97
3562	97
3563	97
3564	97
3565	97
3566	97
3567	97
3568	97
3569	97
3570	97
3571	97
3586	TW22
3587	TW20
3588	TW23
3590	TW21
3591	TW24
3592	TW19
3599	TW10
3600	TW16
3601	TW25
3602	TW26
3603	TW17
3610	TW11
242	

3611	TW12
3612	TW13
3613	TW15
3614	TW27-28
3615	TW29
3616	TW30
3619	TW31
3621	7 a
3636	TW14, TW18
3638	15
4214	8
4236	6
4237	7
4238	9

2. Iraqi Expedition Well AJ: Iraq Museum and Safar & al-'Iraqi numbers with their catalogue equivalents

<i>Museum and S & I catalogue nos.</i>	<i>I.N. VI</i>
<i>Catalogue No.</i>	
IM 79501-03, Safar & al-'Iraqi 1-2	239
IM 79504, Safar & al-'Iraqi 3	287
IM 79505-07, Safar & al-'Iraqi 4-5	286
IM 79508-10, Safar & al-'Iraqi 6	236
IM 79511, Safar & al-'Iraqi 7	237
IM 79512, Safar & al-'Iraqi 8	285
IM 79513, Safar & al-'Iraqi 9	234
IM 79514, Safar & al-'Iraqi 10	233
IM 79515, Safar & al-'Iraqi 11	235
IM 79516, Safar & al-'Iraqi 12	258
IM 79517, Safar & al-'Iraqi 13	276
IM 79518, Safar & al-'Iraqi 14	275
IM 79519, Safar & al-'Iraqi 15	238
IM 79520, Safar & al-'Iraqi 16	230
IM 79521, Safar & al-'Iraqi 17	231
IM 79522, Safar & al-'Iraqi 18	259
IM 79523, Safar & al-'Iraqi 19	260
IM 79524, Safar & al-'Iraqi 20	269
IM 79525, Safar & al-'Iraqi 21	240
IM 79526, Safar & al-'Iraqi 22	263
IM 79527, Safar & al-'Iraqi 23	261
IM 79528, Safar & al-'Iraqi 24	265
IM 79529, Safar & al-'Iraqi 25	242
IM 79530, Safar & al-'Iraqi 26	262
IM 79531, Safar & al-'Iraqi 27	271
IM 79532, Safar & al-'Iraqi 28	268
IM 79533, Safar & al-'Iraqi 29	241
IM 79534, Safar & al-'Iraqi 30	244
IM 79535, Safar & al-'Iraqi 31	264
IM 79536, Safar & al-'Iraqi 32	266
IM 79537, Safar & al-'Iraqi 33	223
IM 79538, Safar & al-'Iraqi 34	283
IM 79539, Safar & al-'Iraqi 35	277

IM 79540, Safar & al-'Iraqi 36	278	IM 79590, Safar & al-'Iraqi 80	243
IM 79541, Safar & al-'Iraqi 37	281	IM 79591, Safar & al-'Iraqi 81	288
IM 79542, Safar & al-'Iraqi 38	279	IM 79592-93, Safar & al-'Iraqi 82-83	282
IM 79543, Safar & al-'Iraqi 39	280	IM 79594, Safar & al-'Iraqi 84	284
IM 79544, Safar & al-'Iraqi 40	289	IM 79595-96, Safar & al-'Iraqi 86-87	291
IM 79545, Safar & al-'Iraqi 41	289	IM 79597, Safar & al-'Iraqi 88	298
IM 79546, Safar & al-'Iraqi 42	232a	IM 79598, Safar & al-'Iraqi 89	App. 1.1
IM 79547, Safar & al-'Iraqi 43	232b	IM 79599, Safar & al-'Iraqi 90	App. 1.2
IM 79548, Safar & al-'Iraqi 44	273	IM 79600, Safar & al-'Iraqi 91	App. 1.3
IM 79549, Safar & al-'Iraqi 45	232c	IM 79601, Safar & al-'Iraqi 92	App. 1.4
IM 79550, Safar & al-'Iraqi 46	274		
IM 79551, Safar & al-'Iraqi 47	272		
IM 79552, Safar & al-'Iraqi 48	290		
IM 79553, Safar & al-'Iraqi 49	225		
IM 79554, Safar & al-'Iraqi 50	226		
IM 79555, Safar & al-'Iraqi 51	227		
IM 79556, Safar & al-'Iraqi 52	228		
IM 79557, Safar & al-'Iraqi 53	229		
IM 79558, Safar & al-'Iraqi 54	292		
IM 79559, Safar & al-'Iraqi 55	292		
IM 79560, Safar & al-'Iraqi 56	270		
IM 79561, Safar & al-'Iraqi 57	295		
IM 79562-63, Safar & al-'Iraqi 58	294		
IM 79564, Safar & al-'Iraqi 59	293		
IM 79565-66, Safar & al-'Iraqi 60-61	248		
IM 79567-68, Safar & al-'Iraqi 62-63	250		
IM 79569, Safar & al-'Iraqi 64	249		
IM 79570-71, Safar & al-'Iraqi 65-66	251		
IM 79572b-73, Safar & al-'Iraqi 67-68	255		
IM 79574, Safar & al-'Iraqi 69	256		
IM 79575, Safar & al-'Iraqi 70	257		
IM 79576, Safar & al-'Iraqi 71	247		
IM 79577, 79580, Safar & al-'Iraqi 72	245		
IM 79579, Safar & al-'Iraqi 73	246		
IM 79581-82, Safar & al-'Iraqi 71-72	254		
IM 79583-84, Safar & al-'Iraqi 75	252		
IM 79585-86, Safar & al-'Iraqi 76	253		
IM 79587, Safar & al-'Iraqi 77	297		
IM 79588, Safar & al-'Iraqi 78	267		
IM 79589, Safar & al-'Iraqi 79	224		

3. *Iraqi Expedition Well 4 field and Museum numbers
with their catalogue equivalents*

<i>Field and Museum No.</i>	<i>I.N. VI Catalogue No.</i>
147, IM 127689	396
356, IM 127895	397
360, IM 127899	385
361, IM 127900	377
362, IM 127901	379
363, IM 127902	381
364, IM 127903	386
365, IM 127904	394
366, IM 127905	380
367, IM 127906	391
368, IM 127907	389
369, IM 127908	387
370, IM 127909	383
371, IM 127910	378
372, IM 127911	390
373, IM 127912	382
374, IM 127913	395
375, IM 127914	376
376, IM 127915	392
377, IM 127916	374
378, IM 127917	375
379, IM 127918	384
380, IM 127919	388
381, IM 127920	399
382, IM 127921	393

APPENDIX 5
INDEX OF DISTRIBUTION

IVORIES IN THE IRAQ MUSEUM, BAGHDAD¹

IM 55344	123	IM 56972	TW19
IM 55346	188	IM 56973	TW17
IM 55347	120	IM 56974	TW16
IM 55713	347	IM 56975	TW11
IM 55714	304	IM 56976	TW8
IM 55715	327	IM 56978	1
IM 55716	320	IM 56979	TW26
IM 55717	342	IM 59271	8
IM 55718	334	IM 79501	239
IM 55719	343	IM 79502	239
IM 55720	330	IM 79503	239
IM 55721	335	IM 79504	287
IM 55722	309	IM 79505	286
IM 55723	316	IM 79506	286
IM 55724	311	IM 79507	286
IM 55725	332	IM 79508	236
IM 55746	319	IM 79509	236
IM 55747	341	IM 79510	236
IM 55748	315	IM 79511	237
IM 55749	329	IM 79512	285
IM 55754	310	IM 79513	234
IM 56344	18	IM 79514	233
IM 56353	367	IM 79515	235
IM 56412	22	IM 79516	258
IM 56413	20, 23	IM 79517	276
IM 56414	26, 29-30	IM 79518	275
IM 56415	27	IM 79519	238
IM 56416	21, 33	IM 79520	230
IM 56417	65	IM 79521	231
IM 56418	213	IM 79522	259
IM 56633	361	IM 79523	260
IM 56634	366	IM 79524	269
IM 56635	353	IM 79525	240
IM 56636	355	IM 79526	263
IM 56637	350	IM 79527	261
IM 56638	365	IM 79528	265
IM 56639	257, 359	IM 79529	242
IM 56640	372	IM 79530	262
IM 56641	356	IM 79531	271
IM 56643	348	IM 79532	268
IM 56644	3	IM 79533	241
IM 56965	TW4	IM 79534	244
IM 56967	96	IM 79535	264
IM 56968	TW20	IM 79536	266
IM 56969	TW24	IM 79537	223
IM 56970	TW25	IM 79538	283
IM 56971	TW5	IM 79539	277
		IM 79540	278
		IM 79541	281
		IM 79542	279
		IM 79543	280
		IM 79544	289
		IM 79545	289
		IM 79546	232a
		IM 79547	232b
		IM 79548	273
		IM 79549	232c
		IM 79550	274

¹Not all ivories allocated to the Iraq Museum were given IM numbers.

IM 79551	272	IM 127905	380
IM 79552	290	IM 127906	391
IM 79553	225	IM 127907	389
IM 79554	226	IM 127908	387
IM 79555	227	IM 127909	383
IM 79556	228	IM 127910	378
IM 79557	229	IM 127911	390
IM 79558	292	IM 127912	382
IM 79559	292	IM 127913	395
IM 79560	270	IM 127914	376
IM 79561	295	IM 127915	392
IM 79562	294	IM 127916	374
IM 79563	294	IM 127917	375
IM 79564	293	IM 127918	384
IM 79565	248	IM 127919	388
IM 79566	248	IM 127920	399
IM 79567	250	IM 127921	393
IM 79568	250		
IM 79569	249		
IM 79570	251		
IM 79571	251		
IM 79572b	255		
IM 79573	255		
IM 79574	256		
IM 79575	257		
IM 79576	247		
IM 79577	245		
IM 79579	246		
IM 79580	245		
IM 79581	254		
IM 79582	254		
IM 79583	252		
IM 79584	252		
IM 79585	253		
IM 79586	253		
IM 79587	297		
IM 79588	267		
IM 79589	224		
IM 79590	243		
IM 79591	288		
IM 79592	282		
IM 79593	282		
IM 79594	284		
IM 79595	291		
IM 79596	291		
IM 79597	298		
IM 79598	App.1.1		
IM 79599	App.1.2		
IM 79600	App.1.3		
IM 79601	App.1.4		
IM 127689	396		
IM 127895	397		
IM 127899	385		
IM 127900	377		
IM 127901	379		
IM 127902	381		
IM 127903	386		
IM 127904	394		

IM ivories lacking museum numbers

4-6, 7a, 9-10, 12-14, 44, 47, 48c, 49-50, 52, 55-56, 60, 96-97, 114, 144-145, 148-149, 156, 160, 177-179, 183, 185, 187, 190-191, 209-210, 215-219, 221-222, 296, 300-303, 307, 322-323, 337-338, 340, 350, 364, 366, 371, 373, 398, TW14, TW18, TW27-28, TW30-31

IVORIES IN BRITAIN AND EUROPE*Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*

		AM 1952.79	360
		AM 1952.82	321
		AM 1952.83	321
		AM 1952.85	64
		AM 1952.86	24
		AM 1952.87	73
		AM 1952.88	71
		AM 1952.89	70
		AM 1952.92	16
		AM 1952.93	54
		AM 1954.715	TW9
		AM 1954.716	45
		AM 1954.717	46
		AM 1954.718	75
		AM 1954.719	76
		AM 1954.719-727	372
		AM 1954.720,2-3	62
		AM 1954.720,6	68
		AM 1954.721	73
		AM 1954.725	352
		AM 1954.728	TW23
		AM 1954.734	51a
		AM 1954.735,4	48a
		AM 1954.736	51b, c
		AM 1954.736	77
		AM 1954.750,1-2	97
		AM 1956.961	357

Ivories from Nimrud VI

Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery

Birmingham

TW22

British Museum, London

Some ivories from 19th century excavations have registration numbers from the 1840s as well as more recent BM numbers: some only have BM numbers, and some are made up from fragments from both categories.

N.1795-1798	95	BM 118158, 1848-11-4, 314	111
BM 118099, 1856-9-3, 1038	App. 2, CP10	BM 118159, 1848-7-20, 13	110
BM 118101, 1856-9-3, 1072	App. 2, CP1b	BM 118160, 1848-7-20, 130	81
BM 118106, 1856-9-3, 1229	207	BM 118162, 1848-11-4, 307	159
BM 118106, 1856-9-3, 1230	207	BM 118162, 1848-11-4, 308	159
BM 118106, 1856-9-3, 1231	207	BM 118163, 1848-7-20, 23	141
BM 118108, 1856-9-3, 1236	202	BM 118164, 1848-7-20, 21	147
BM 118109	203	BM 118165, 1848-7-20, 8	107
BM 118109, 1855-12-5, 207	203	BM 118166, 1848-7-20, 58	192
BM 118109, 1856-9-3, 1234	203	BM 118167, 1848-7-20, 25	143
BM 118114	203	BM 118168, 1848-7-20, 68	87
BM 118114, 1855-12-5, 203	203	BM 118180, 1848-11-4, 312	157
BM 118114, 1856-9-3, 1232	203	BM 118183, 1848-7-20, 27	82
BM 118115, 1856-9-3, 1233	204	BM 118190	94
BM 118115, 1856-9-3, 1237	204	BM 118217, 1856-9-3, 1134	43
BM 118117, 1856-9-3, 1238	206	BM 118218, 1848-7-20, 16	116
BM 118119, 1848-7-20, 24	151	BM 118219, 1848-7-20, 15	115
BM 118120, 1848-7-20, 20	146	BM 118222, 1848-7-20, 64	163
BM 118121, 1856-9-3, 1045	App. 2, CP9	BM 118227, 1848-7-20, 59	162
BM 118123, 1856-9-3, 1054	App. 2, CP5	BM 118228, 1855-12-5, 208	41
BM 118124, 1848-7-20, 53	137	BM 118228, 1855-12-5, 215	41
BM 118125, 1848-7-20, 42	126	BM 118229, 1855-12-5, 213	42
BM 118126, 1848-7-20, 43	127	BM 118229, 1855-12-5, 216	42
BM 118127, 1848-7-20, 39	124	BM 118246, 1848-7-20, 7	109
BM 118128, 1848-7-20, 46	130	BM 118250, 1848-7-20, 18	117
BM 118129, 1848-7-20, 38	122	BM 118251, 1848-7-20, 14	119
BM 118130, 1848-7-20, 40	125	BM 118252, 1848-7-20, 17	118
BM 118131, 1848-7-20, 65	173	BM 118274, 1848-7-20, 10	79
BM 118141, 1848-7-20, 135	106	BM 118952, 1848-7-20, 56	140
BM 118142, 1848-7-20, 148	152	BM 123771, 1848-7-20, 63	164
BM 118143	208	BM 123772, 1848-7-20, 19	121
BM 118144, 1848-7-20, 67	175	BM 123773, 1848-7-20, 66	171
BM 118145, 1848-7-20, 132	200	BM 123785, 1848-7-20, 57	192
BM 118146, 1848-7-20, 156	105	BM 123787, 1848-7-20, 82	174
BM 118147, 1848-7-20, 4	102	BM 123806, 1848-7-20, 70	91
BM 118148, 1848-7-20, 2	99	BM 123807, 1848-7-20, 71	92
BM 118149, 1848-7-20, 1	101	BM 123817, 1848-7-20, 35	80
BM 118150, 1848-7-20, 6	104	BM 123818, 1848-7-20, 34	194
BM 118151, 1848-7-20, 5	103	BM 123819, 1848-7-20, 29	85
BM 118152, 1848-7-20, 3	100	BM 123820, 1848-7-20, 26	83
BM 118153, 1848-7-20, 9	108	BM 123821, 1848-7-20, 69	84
BM 118154, 1848-7-20, 129	106	BM 123822, 1848-7-20, 28	86
BM 118155, 1848-7-20, 11	113	BM 123823, 1848-7-20, 75	88
BM 118156, 1848-7-20, 12	112	BM 123824, 1848-7-20, 41	128
BM 118157, 1848-11-4, 306	158	BM 123824, 1848-7-20, 44	128
BM 118158, 1848-7-20, 128	111	BM 123825, 1848-7-20, 45	129
		BM 123826, 1848-7-20, 47	131
		BM 123827, 1848-7-20, 51	132
		BM 123828, 1848-7-20, 52	134
		BM 123829, 1848-7-20, 48	136
		BM 123830, 1848-7-20, 49	135
		BM 123831, 1848-7-20, 54	139
		BM 123832, 1848-7-20, 55	138
		BM 123833, 1848-7-20, 60	165
		BM 123834, 1848-7-20, 61	169
		BM 123835, 1848-7-20, 62	167
		BM 123836, 1848-7-20, 141	172
		BM 123837, 1848-7-20, 36	142
		BM 123838, 1848-7-20, 77	176

BM 123839, 1848-7-20, 30	193	BM 130858, 1951-2-10, 13	304
BM 123840, 1848-7-20, 76	192	BM 130859, 1951-2-10, 14	304
BM 123841, 1848-7-20, 139	161	BM 130860, 1951-2-10, 15	314
BM 123842, 1848-7-20, 140	161	BM 130861, 1951-2-10, 16	326
BM 123843, 1848-7-20, 137	192	BM 130862, 1951-2-10, 17	324
BM 123844, 1848-7-20, 74	89	BM 130863, 1951-2-10, 18	305
BM 123845, 1848-7-20, 72	90	BM 131137, 1952-2-9, 9	App. 2, CP11
BM 123845, 1848-7-20, 73	90	BM 131152, 1952-2-9, 24	58
BM 123846, 1848-7-20, 37	78	BM 131153, 1952-2-9, 25	53
BM 123847, 1848-7-20, 31	195	BM 131154, 1952-2-9, 26	59
BM 123847, 1848-7-20, 32	195	BM 131155, 1952-2-9, 27	58
BM 123847, 1848-7-20, 33	195	BM 131156, 1952-2-9, 28	28
BM 123847, 1848-7-20, 81	195	BM 131160, 1952-2-9, 32	61
BM 123848, 1848-7-20, 134	197	BM 131952, 1954-11-15, 1	97
BM 123849	196	BM 131953, 1954-11-15, 2	97
BM 123849, 1848-7-20, 143	196	BM 131954, 1954-11-15, 3	97
BM 123849, 1848-7-20, 144	196	BM 131955, 1954-11-15, 4	98
BM 123849, 1848-11-4, 309	196	BM 131956, 1954-11-15, 5	98
BM 123849, 1848-11-4, 310	196	BM 131957, 1954-11-15, 6	98
BM 123849, 1848-11-4, 311	196	BM 131958, 1954-11-15, 7	98
BM 123850, 1848-11-4, 313	189	BM 131959, 1954-11-15, 8	98
BM 123851, 1848-7-20, 136	198	BM 131960, 1954-11-15, 9	98
BM 123852	201	BM 131961, 1954-11-15, 10	98
BM 123853	201	BM 131962, 1954-11-15, 11	98
BM 123854	205	BM 131963, 1954-11-15, 12	98
BM 123855, 1848-7-20, 78	147	BM 131965, 1954-11-15, 14	168
BM 123856	40	BM 131966, 1954-11-15, 15	166
BM 123857	154b	BM 131967, 1954-11-15, 16	170
BM 123858, 1848-7-20, 24	152	BM 131968, 1954-11-15, 17	170
BM 123858, 1848-7-20, 149	152	BM 131969, 1954-11-15, 18	358
BM 123859, 1848-7-20, 79	182	BM 131970, 1954-11-15, 19	358
BM 123860, 1848-7-20, 80	181	BM 131971, 1954-11-15, 20	150
BM 123861, 1848-7-20, 22	155	BM 131972, 1954-11-15, 21	154a
BM 123862	180	BM 131973, 1954-11-15, 22	186
BM 123863, 1848-7-20, 138	199	BM 131974, 1954-11-15, 23	153
BM 123867, AOC.58	38	BM 131975, 1954-11-15, 24	214
BM 123868, AOC.57	39	BM 131976, 1954-11-15, 25	184
BM 127063	App. 2, CP1	BM 134949, 1848-7-20, 50	133
BM 127064	App. 2, CP8	BM 1994-11-5, 313	369
BM 127065	App. 2, CP2	BM 1994-11-5, 324	220
BM 127066	App. 2, CP7	BM 1994-11-5, 325	368
BM 127067	App. 2, CP4	BM 1994-11-5, 326	220
BM 127068	App. 2, CP6	BM 1994-11-5, 331	11
BM 127069	App. 2, CP3	BM 1994-11-5, 334	93
BM 127138, 1848-7-20, 161	201		
BM 127412, 1954-5-8, 1	356		
BM 130846, 1951-2-10, 1	318		
BM 130847, 1951-2-10, 2	325		
BM 130848, 1951-2-10, 3	331		
BM 130849, 1951-2-10, 4	333		
BM 130850, 1951-2-10, 5	334		
BM 130851, 1951-2-10, 6	336		
BM 130852, 1951-2-10, 7	328		
BM 130853, 1951-2-10, 8	346		
BM 130854, 1951-2-10, 9	339		
BM 130855, 1951-2-10, 10	308		
BM 130856, 1951-2-10, 11	313		
BM 130857, 1951-2-10, 12	312		

British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London

Some ivories noted in the margins of the excavation registers as allocated to the B.S.A.I. cannot now be located. In any case the marginal notes in the excavation registers cannot be relied on as an authoritative statement of the division of the Nimrud ivories between the B.S.A.I. and the Iraq Museum. The B.S.A.I. ivories are currently stored in the Department of the Middle East, the British Museum.

Nos. 7, 15, 17, 25, 31-32, 34, 36-37, 48b, 63, 66-67, 69, 72, 74,

Ivories from Nimrud VI

97, 211-212, 299, 306, 317, 344-345, 351, 366, 370, Appendix 3, TW1-3, TW6-7, TW12-13, TW15, TW29.

Cambridge, University Museum

Cambridge UMAA dep. 56.2 2
Cambridge UMAA dep. 56.7 365

Copenhagen, National Museum

Copenhagen NM 13.819 351

IVORIES IN NORTH AMERICA AND AUSTRALIA

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

MMA 2.23.02 19
MMA 52.23.07 57

MMA 54.117.01 359
MMA 54.117.02 349
MMA 54.117.03 363
MMA 54.117.04 363
MMA 54.117.05 362
MMA 54.117.05 362
MMA 54.117.06 354
MMA 54.117.07 365
MMA 54.117.10 TW21
MMA 54.117.11a-c TW10
MMA 54.117.12 97

Melbourne, Institute of Archaeology

Melbourne IA 5.005-6 372
Melbourne IA 5.009 365
Melbourne IA 5.077 372

APPENDIX 6

OBJECTS FOUND WITH THE IVORIES

The following list describes those items found with the ivories. The entries give the ND number, the register's description of the provenance and the item, any bibliography and its present location if known.

THE GREAT COURT

Principal Suite, Room ZT25

Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 124-125

Pottery

- ND3039 Floor. Saucer lamp. Plain rim. Cambridge University Museum, UM 56.19
- ND3115 Upper floor with palace ware. Bottle. Buff ware and slip. Everted lip, straight neck, grooved shoulder, globular body, small flat base.
- ND3116-17 Floor. Two saucer lamps. Pinkish-buff ware, buff slip.
- ND3118 Floor. *Istikan* or tea-glass. Pinkish-buff ware, buff slip. Flared rim, flat base.
- ND3119 Floor. *Istikan*. Buff slip. British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 162
- ND 3139 Floor. *Istikan*. Buff ware and light buff slip. Flared rim, globular body, flat base.
- ND3142 Upper floor. Shallow bowl (almost complete - four fragments). Reddish-buff ware, buff slip. Rolled everted lip, carinated shoulder, ring base.

Tablets

- ND3413 Floor. Bulla with impression of the seal of Shalmaneser III. D. 2.7 cm. Sachs 1953, 167-170, no. 1; Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 181, fig.116; Oates & Oates 2001, 43, fig. 21. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1954.739
- ND3416 Tablet. Fragment of Creation Epic. Wiseman 1953, 150; Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 169. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- ND3418 Floor. Tablet. Wiseman 1953, 139. List of animals owned by Nergal-ga-zu-nu.

Seal and bulla

- ND3229 Lower rubbish. Cylinder seal, black soapstone.
- ND3546 Found on lower floor level, with an ivory. Circular bulla, sun-dried clay. Scene indistinct but appears to represent a hunter killing rampant lion. British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 063

Stone vases, found in rubbish above floor

- ND3555 Alabaster amphora, whitish, translucent. Low sharp neck, 2 broken lugs. Shoulder sharp and angular. H. c. 41 cm. Rim 13.5 cm., shoulder, 28.5 cm. Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 170, fig. 104. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

- ND3556 Egyptian alabaster amphora, yellowish, translucent, veined black and white; two handles, both perforated for suspension, rounded base. Incomplete, most of neck is missing: a fragment of the neck was found in the Town Wall Houses. The top has one band of a pseudo-hieroglyphic inscription and a cartouche, not very well executed. H. c. 47 cm. Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 170-171, fig. 103; Oates & Oates 2001, 41, fig. 20, 44. Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Arrowhead

- ND3240 Floor. Arrowhead, flint; tanged, bifacial. British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 042

Second Suite Rooms 14/16, 12 and 24

Room 14

Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 122-123

Pottery

- ND1848 Found with bronze lion, ND2163. Pedestal vase, dark buff, coarse ware. Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Tablets

- ND2077 Found with ND2163 and pedestal vase. Tablet. Parker 1954, 33. Docket, payment of barley. British Museum, London.
- ND2078 Tablet. Parker 1954, 33; Parker 1955, 116-117, pl. xxiv, 5; Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 198-199, fig. 134, no. 14. Loan on security of field, small stamp impression: *limmu* Ashur-gimil-tirri (after 648 B.C.). British Museum, London.
- ND2079 Tablet. Parker 1954, 33. Payment of money: *limmu* Adad-rimani (after 648 B.C.).
- ND2084 Tablet. Parker 1961, 18. List of names.
- ND2091 Tablet. Parker 1954, 35, 54; Jas 1996, *S.A.A.S. V*, 14, no. 4, the *Denu* texts. Money owed for donkey.
- ND2092 Tablet. Parker 1954, 35. Advance of barley: *limmu* Upaqa-ana-(al)Arba-ilu (after 648 B.C.). British Museum, London.
- ND2093 Tablet. Parker 1954, 35; Parker 1955, 96 & 125; Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 198-199, fig. 134, no. 26. Payment from royal treasury, seal impressions: *limmu* Nabu-shar-usur, the palace scribe (after 648 B.C.). British Museum, London.
- ND2094 Tablet. Parker 1954, 35; Parker 1955, 96 & 123; Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 198-199, fig. 134, no. 21. Advance of silver: *limmu* Paqa-ana-(al)Arba-ilu (after 648 B.C.). British Museum, London.
- ND2095 Tablet. Parker 1954, 36; Jas 1996, *S.A.A.S. V*, 83, no. 54. Law-suit, seal impression: *limmu* Salmu-shar-iqbi (after 648 B.C.). British Museum, London.
- ND2096 Tablet. Parker 1954, 36. Fragment: *limmu* Sharruna'id (after 648 B.C.).
- ND2097 Tablet. Parker 1961, 18, pl. ix. List of goods, including a large wine jar and garments.
- ND2098 Tablet. Parker 1961, 19 pl. ix. Distribution of grain from the depots.
- ND2099 Tablet. Parker 1954, 36. Loan of silver: *limmu* Sharru-mitu-ballit.
- ND2301 Tablet. Parker 1954, 36; Jas 1996, *S.A.A.S. V*, 55, no. 34. Crime committed by eunuch: *limmu* Ban-ba-

Ivories from Nimrud VI

- a (676 B.C.). British Museum, London.
- ND2344 Tablet. Parker 1954, 47. Sale of slave by *rab ekalli*. British Museum, London.
- Seal*
- ND2197 Found near an inscribed stone duck weight, ND2505. Cylinder seal, buff coloured stone, polished, engraved with a galloping horse, rayed sun and other emblems. Parker 1955, 103, pl. xiv, 3
- Bronzes*
- ND2163 Found with docket, sesame seed, and pedestal vase, ND1848, on floor of Room 14. Bronze lion weight, couchant, with an alphabetic inscription on base, contaminated by iron. L. 7.0 cm. Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 109, 172, fig. 105. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- ND2170 South door. Fibula, bronze, complete V type, ribbed. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- ND2177 Pipe lamp, bronze, with tubular spout, fragment. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- ND4154 Rubbish. Lion couchant, copper, solid cast, head missing.
- Stone*
- ND2505 Floor. Duck weight, dark grey basalt, broken but complete. Inscribed left side 'Palace of Ashurnasirpal, king of all, king of land of Assur, son of Tukulti-Ninurta, king of all, king of land of Assur. 10 mana'. Mallowan *Iraq* 15, 36; Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 170, 337 n. 8; Grayson 1991, 358, AO 101.107. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- ND2511-2512 Stone bowl, fragments, heavy ledged rim, bevelled walls, dark mottled oölitic limestone
- Room 16*
Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 123
- Pottery*
- ND1862 Bottle, miniature, greenish grey, delicate ware. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- ND1863 Bottle, similar to ND 1662.
- ND1865 Bottle, light buff. British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 197
- ND1874 Deep water jar, buff ware, pointed base. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- ND1880 Vase, buff ware, greenish, variant of ND 1879. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- Tablets*
- ND2305 Tablet. Parker 1954, 36. Contract, sale of field and garden: *limmu* Bel-(harran)-shadua (650 B.C.)
- ND2306 Tablet. Parker 1954, 37. Sale of estate and horses: *limmu* Sin-ahhe-eriba (687 B.C.). British Museum, London.
- ND2307 Tablet. Parker 1954, 36-39; Parker 1955, 96, 125; Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 198-199, fig. 134, no. 23. Marriage gift given to daughter of *shakintu* and Milki-ramu: *limmu* Sharru-na'id (after 648 B.C.).
- ND2308 Tablet. Parker 1954, 39; Parker 1955, 116, pl. xxiv, 4. Redemption of pledge, plus seal impressions. British Museum, London.
- ND2309 Tablet. Parker 1954, 39. Contract, purchase of girl as votary of goddess.
- ND2310 Tablet. Parker 1961, 20, pl. x. Detail of payments for meat, wine and oil, etc. British Museum, London.
- ND2311 Tablet. Parker 1961, 20, pl. x. List of cloth and garments. British Museum, London.
- ND2312 Tablet. Parker 1961, 21, pl. x. Payments in silver for goods.
- ND2313 Tablet. Parker 1954, 39. Sale of son.
- ND2314 Tablet. Parker 1954, 40. Sale of female slave: *limmu* Ashur-gimil-tirri (after 648 B.C.). British Museum, London.
- ND2315 Tablet. Parker 1954, 40. Sale of female slave: *limmu* Bel-na'id (663 B.C.). British Museum, London.
- ND2316 Tablet. Parker 1954, 40. Position of woman on marriage: *limmu* Ashur-garua-niri (after 648 B.C.).
- ND2317 Tablet. Parker 1954, 40. Docket with string and seal impression. Advance of grain: *limmu* Kanunaia (671 or 666 B.C.). British Museum, London.
- ND2318 Tablet. Parker 1954, 40-41; Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 198-199, fig. 134, no. 27. Debt for donkeys. Seal impression: *limmu* Sin-shar-usur, palace scribe (after 648 B.C.).
- ND2319 Tablet. Parker 1954, 41. Loan of silver: *limmu* Bel-iqbi (after 648 B.C.).
- ND2320 Tablet. Parker 1954, 41; Parker 1955, 96, 124; Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 198-199, fig. 134, no. 13. Envelope and tablet, seal impression. Advance of money to feed harvesters: *limmu* Mushalim Ashur (after 648 B.C.).
- ND2321 Tablet. Parker 1954, 41. Advance of grain: *limmu* Kanunaia (671-666 B.C.).
- ND2322 Tablet. Parker 1954, 41. Advance of silver: *limmu* Nabu-shar-usur (682 or after 648 B.C.).
- Stone*
- ND2164 Gypsum equestrian frontlet, fragment, trapezoidal, bordered with guilloche pattern, concentric circles in centre, perforated ledge. *I.N.* 1, 44, 205, pl. xlv. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56651
- Room 12*
Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 122
- Pottery*
- ND1835-44. Ten palace ware beakers found with ND1876 and ND1945 in a niche in the north wall. Oates, *Iraq* 16, 164-167; Oates & Oates 2001, 46-47, fig. 23, 252-253, fig. 158.
- ND1857. Clay goblet.
- ND1876 Palace ware beaker found in a niche in the north wall with ND1835-1844 and ND1945. Oates, *Iraq* 16, 164-167; Oates & Oates 2001, 46-47, fig. 23, 252-253, fig. 158.
- ND1945. Palace ware beaker found in a niche in the north wall with ND1835-1844 and ND1876. Oates, *Iraq* 16, 164-167; Oates & Oates 2001, 46-47, fig. 23, 252-253, fig. 158.
- ND1978 Bowl, miniature, dark drab, part missing. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- Bronze*
- ND4221 Bronze fibula, ribbed, pin missing.

ND4263a Bronze button?, similar to ND4262.

Flint

ND2166 Flint, bifacial, ovate, perhaps an Assyrian strike-light.

ND2168 Flint, ovate, bifacial, perhaps an Assyrian strike-light.

ND2169 Flint, chip, probably originally triangular, perhaps an Assyrian strike-light. British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 039

Room 24, ante-room
Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 124

Tablet

ND3407 In fill, 1.30 m below surface. Tablet. Wiseman, *Iraq* 15, 138. Iraq Museum, Baghdad. Account of unidentified items.

Bronze

ND2515 Bobbin, bronze, double conoid

Stone

ND2506 Duck weight, black basalt. 10 parallel lines on side. British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 165

ND2507 Duck weight, grey limestone. 2 parallel bands on left side but unincised. Kwasman, Parpola & Reade 1991, *S.A.A.* VI, pl. xxxi, fig 6a. British Museum, London, BM 140339, 1987-1-31, 12

ND3221 Found inside an iron hoop, along S. wall. Duck weight, basalt, rough pitted stone. Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 124). Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1954.37

North-West Suite, Room 19
Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 124

Pottery

ND1982 Vase, miniature, buff. University Museum, Cambridge, UM 56.12.

Bronze

ND2179 Top metre, latest level. Amulet, bronze. Pazuzu head, with perforated loop on top of head. British Museum, London, BM 1984-2-5, 134

Stone

ND2074 Floor. Heavy stone duck weight, roughly shaped, with remains of 3 lines of inscription of Ashur-dan(?). Iraq Museum, Baghdad

The Chancery, Room 5

Tablets

ND2070 Tablet. Saggs 1966, 178-180; Saggs 2001, *C.T.N.* V, 100, pl. 21. Letter to the king from the north. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 63396.

ND2800 Tablet. Saggs 1966, 191; Saggs 2001, *C.T.N.* V, 319, pl. 48. Letter to the king. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 64177.

Bronze

ND2155 Found in rubbish. Button, bronze? Convex on one side, loop at back. British Museum, London, BM 1984-2-5, 154

ND2156 Found in rubbish. Brooch, or perhaps a plain holdfast, bronze. Iraq Museum, Baghdad.

*Room 6**Tablets*

ND2064 Loose. Tablet. Saggs 2001, *C.T.N.* V, 150-151, pl. 30. Letter to the king from the west. British Museum, London.

ND2065 Loose. Tablet. Saggs 2001, *C.T.N.* V, 52-53, pl. 7. From Nabu-balassu-iqbi to the king from Babylon. British Museum, London.

North-West Suite, Room 1

Bronze and iron

ND2171 Fibula, bronze, similar to ND 2170. Iraq Museum, Baghdad

ND2172 Fibula, bronze, pin missing, similar to ND 2170. Iraq Museum, Baghdad

ND2175 Ingot, iron. Iraq Museum, Baghdad

ND2519 Blade, iron, probably fragment.

Stone

ND2198 Vase, yellowish translucent veined calcite, ovate, small bosses on the shoulder. Iraq Museum, Baghdad

ND4159 1.20 m. below surface. Weight, pinkish limestone, roughly hemispherical. British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 184

Oil Magazine, Room 30

Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 126-128

Pottery

ND3022 Upper level. Elongated beaker. Reddish buff paste, reddish slip. Rounded base, straight side.

ND3024 Upper level. Small jar. Reddish buff slip. Flat base, round body, everted rim.

ND3029 Upper level. *Istikan*. Buff ware and slip. Flat flared base, moulded everted rim, lower body enlarged.

ND3030 Upper level. Pipe lamp. Buff ware. Everted collar rim.

ND3031 Upper level. *Istikan*. Buff ware, light buff slip. Flat base, bulbous body, wide out flaring rim. British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 160

ND3032 122 cm below surface, 33 cm from west wall, 120 cm W. of large stone slab. *Istikan*. Reddish buff ware, buff slip. Straight sides, rounded base.

ND3035 Footed chalice. Reddish buff ware and lighter slip. Straight sided cup, no lip; splayed footed base. ND3040 Just above pavement.

Istikan. Buff clay and slip. Straight sides, blunt-pointed base.

ND3041 Above pavement. Small shallow bowl. Buff ware. Flat base with slight groove near centre, groove above base, everted rim. British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 77

ND3051 Floor. *Istikan*. Buff ware and slip. Flared rim, flat base.

Tablets

ND3482 Tablet. Wiseman 1953, 148. Account. British Museum, London.

ND3483 Tablet. Wiseman 1953, 148. Account from pistachio wing and stables of the palace for the substitute

Ivories from Nimrud VI

- king. Iraq Museum, Baghdad.
- ND3484 Tablet. Wiseman 1953, 148. Donkeys owned by Bel-dan and Ninurta-shar-usur. Iraq Museum, Baghdad?
- ND3485 Tablet. Wiseman 1953, 148. Account of jars of oil for Zibate, Nurzanu, Nabua and Nur-damiq. British Museum, London.
- ND3486 Tablet. Wiseman 1953, 148. Account of distribution of grain, wine, drink and food to various persons. Iraq Museum, Baghdad.
- ND3487 Tablet. Wiseman 1953, 148. List of horses and camels. Iraq Museum, Baghdad?
- ND3489 Tablet. Wiseman 1953, 148. Distribution of sesame to Ninurta, Nabu and Kidmuri temples and for Ishtar. British Museum, London.
- Seal*
- ND3227 Found against E. wall, 1.5 m N. of E. doorway. Cylinder seal, rock crystal. Parker 1955, 95, 101, pl. xiii, 3. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1954.741
- ND3254 Found against E. wall, on bench on sherds of a broken jar, 2 m. below top of wall and apparently associated with big store jar. Cylinder seal, black soapstone. Parker 1955, 95, 101, pl. xiii, 2

Room EB

Pottery and ceramic

- ND1254 Floor. Jar, 'blob' base only of large jar. Buff ware, rather coarse ware, light bluish-green glaze in and out. 'Blob' of base almost flat. British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 301
- ND1414 Storage jar, outsize, inscribed 2 homer, 10 she.
- ND1404 Floor. Hand of Ishtar with part arm, glazed and inscribed under glaze 'Palace of Ashurnasirpal'. Grayson 1991, 366-368, A.O.101.11.5, ex. 47; Frame 1991, 370, no. 80, 380. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1954.745
- ND1406 Hand of Ishtar, as ND1404. Frame 1991, 370, no. 82, 380. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- ND1706 Three gaming pieces, horn shaped
- ND1707 Two similar gaming pieces and another. (i.e. similar to ND1706, horn shaped). British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 232
- ND1723 In debris over the floor. Burnt brick, glazed surface, two figures, one seated, one standing - red and green paint. One side of brick missing. Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Recess EA

Pottery

- ND1354 Behind stela. Glazed pot, cylindrical, fragment. Soft pinkish buff, glazed blue green in and out with two bands of black and white chevrons running round outside, each between two narrow yellow bands, top of rim alternative strips of black and white. Oates & Oates 2001, fig. 153. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

'Banquet stela'

- ND1104 Sandstone stela of Ashurnasirpal II, the 'Banquet

Stela'. Relief of king in centre of upper obverse. Wiseman 1952, 24-44, pls. ii-vi, and 63; Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 62-73, fig. 27; Postgate 1973, *C.T.N. II*, 238-240, no. 266, 263; Grayson 1991, 288-293, A0.101.30. Mosul Museum 3, Iraq

Stone

- ND1465 Handle, large, semicircular, white alabaster. British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 087

Court E

Tablet

- ND1101 Entrance E, in fill 1 m. above 'Sargon level' against blocked doorway into EB. Tablet. Wiseman 1952, 63; Postgate 1973, *C.T.N. II*, 234, no. 253, 263. Docket. British Museum, London.

Metal

- ND1003 Fill in rubbish over the pavement outside N. door of Room B, near E. wall of the court. Circular button(?), silver(?). Boss centre, perforated flange. British Museum, London, BM 1984-2-5, 156
- ND1006 In rubbish above floor. Bronze needles. Very fine.

THE STATE APARTMENTS

The Throne Room, Room B

Stone throne base

- ND1122 Floor at east end of room. Stone throne base slab in the form of two steps, initially found by Layard. Standard inscription of Ashurnasirpal II. Wiseman 1952, 66; Postgate 1973, *C.T.N. II*, 240-243, no. 267; Grayson 1991, 223-228, A0.101.2.1. Mosul Museum 1, Iraq.

Tablet, stone

- ND1121 On floor by east wall below fallen fresco. Tablet, upper right corner missing. Lines 35 + 2 + 32. Wall inscription of Ashurnasirpal II. Mallowan *Iraq* 14, 11; Wiseman 1952, 66; Postgate 1973, *C.T.N. II*, 263; Grayson 1991, 278-282, A0.101.26.5. Institute of Archaeology, Melbourne IA 5.034

Glass and gold

- ND1011 Upper fill. Plaque, rectangular; hard blue glass paste impressed with a six foil rosette.
- ND2294 Found on the floor with ivories, ND2293, Nos. 46, 62, 68, 73, 75-76. Gold foil and a square blue glass plaque. British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London
- ND2296 Associated with ivories found on floor. Light gold strip, fragments.
- ND2542 Gold strip, minute fragments, group.

Bronze

- ND1004 Nail, bronze. Disc head.

Shell

- ND1102 Behind slab 23, E. wall. Fragments of ostrich egg, originally inscribed. Wiseman, *Iraq* 14, 63. Postgate 1973, *C.T.N. II*, 263. Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Fresco fragments

- ND1420 Fresco fragment, mud plaster, blue and white with some black and red. Chariot scene. Horses' heads

- and reins
 ND1421 Fresco fragment, mud plaster, similar to ND1420. Chariot scene.
 ND1422 Fresco, mud plaster, geometric design, concentric hexagons in blue, white and black on mud plaster
 ND2069 Floor. Small fragment of inscribed clay wall knob; remains of about 3 lines of inscription, unidentified. British Museum, London
- Room F*
- ND2297 Floor. Gold foil, fragment.
- Room and Well AB*
 Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 94-99
- Bronze*
 ND3204 Found in N.E. corner fill above burnt-brick pavement. Bronze ornament, bell-shaped, made of twisted strands of wire, basket-like appearance, and suspended by a wire loop. May have been an ornamental tassel.
- Shell*
 ND3507 Group of 5 shell and mother of pearl buttons. Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 98. British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 129
 ND3508 Group of 5 shell and mother of pearl buttons.
- Well AB*
- Pottery and bricks*
 ND3072 Shallow bowl. Buff clay, pinkish buff slip. Everted lip, flat base.
 ND3073 Shallow bowl, fragment. Dark red ware, light reddish slip. Everted rim, ring base, relatively deep bowl. British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 71
 ND3074 Shallow bowl, fragment. Buff ware and slip. Everted lip, flat base.
- Inscribed bricks*
 ND3491 Brick, shaped for well of the Sibitti temple. Wiseman 1953, 149; Walker 1981, 106, no. 145. Grayson 1991, 380, AO.101.131. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1957.183
 ND3492 Brick, shaped for well of the Kidmuri temple. Wiseman 1953, 149. Grayson 1991, 380-381, AO.101.132. Iraq Museum, Baghdad?
- Wood and wax*
 ND3574 Wood, small rectangular block. British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London
 ND3575 Wooden board, fragmentary; criss-cross markings on either side, traces of butterfly strengtheners. The board like those registered here-under was probably one of a pair, hinged, the counterpart of the ivory pieces ND 3557-3572. Wiseman, 1955, 3-4, 8-9 and n. 14, 22. British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London
 ND3576 Wooden hinged piece of board, small fragment. British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London
 ND3577 Wooden board, fragmentary, scored on one side only, i.e. plain back like the ivory ND3557. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- ND3578 Wooden board, fragmentary; scored on both sides, traces of wax adhering to one face: a few illegible parallel lines on the fragment may be traces of an inscription. British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London
 ND3579 Wooden board, small fragment; with about 5 small pieces of reddish wax with traces of cuneiform inscription. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
 ND3580 Collection of wooden fragments and parts of boards for analysis. British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London
 ND3581 Fragments of wood, Aleppo pine, *Pinus halepensis*. British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London
 ND3573 Comb, wood, fragment. British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London
 ND3573a Specimens of wax. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1954.751
- Bronze axe*
 ND3279 20 m. below the surface. Axe, bronze; socketed. Flat butt at back of socket. Adhering to the socket on one side, traces of crossed rope, probably part of the binding by which the wooden haft was made fast to the socket.
- THE RESIDENTIAL WING**
Room V
- Pottery*
 ND14 From Layard's dump. Ram's head, terracotta, curling horns.
 ND3026 Pavement, found with ND 3027. Beaker, fragment. Palace ware. Straight sides, slanting slightly inward, rounded base. Incomplete, cf. ND 1225. British Museum London, BM 1992-3-2, 154
 ND3027 Found with ND 3026. Shallow bowl. Palace ware, fine. Rounded base, straight rim, very shallow bowl.
- Room X*
- Pottery*
 ND1402 Hand of Ishtar, arm broken, finger nails snapped. Inscribed 'Palace of Ashurnasirpal ... city of Kalhu', Frame 1991, 369, no. 78, 380; Grayson 1991, 373-337, AO.101.123 ex.6. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- Room AI or AJ: area around Well AJ*
- Pottery*
 ND1026 Rubbish. Painted vase, terracotta, fragment, 2 registers. Procession of warriors? feet only in top register and geometric design, wedges; in bottom, black outline, black shoe, yellow band, black wedges, black border to the yellow band between the registers, ground originally green? bleached white.
 ND1232 Bowl, glazed, small. Rim fragment only. Buff paste, medium fine, soft, plain green glaze in and out, in fair condition.
 ND1275 Bowl. Fine orange-buff ware, rather thick, wet-smoothed. Ring base, rounded body, plain rounded

Ivories from Nimrud VI

	rim, carinated and everted .			
ND1403	On step. Hand of Ishtar as ND 1402. Frame 1991, 370, no. 79, 380; Grayson 1991, 372-373, AO.101.123 ex. 7. British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 005	ND618 ND664 ND665 ND666		55698 Top fill. Bowl, fragment. Bowl, fragment Bowl, fragment Bowl, fragment
ND1413	Well surround. Sherd, stamped with figure of stag in relief, Maltese cross in field. British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 318	ND1284 ND1320		SW corner. Storage jar. Ovoid body, pointed base. Under main floor with skeleton of gazelle, deposit 1. Vase, miniature, pink ware, fine with white slip. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
	<i>Glass bowl</i>			
ND1075f	Burnt rubbish stratum. Blue glass paste bowl, fragment, engraved with finely scored parallel undulating lines and apparently perforated through the base, up to 0.5 cm thick. Iraq Museum, Baghdad	ND1321		With ND1320. Vase, miniature, similar to ND1320 but hand made of brick red ware, taller neck, plain rim.
	<i>Assorted beads</i>		<i>Tablets</i>	
ND1029	Burnt stratum with fragments of ivories. Group of beads including blue glass paste, cylindrical carnelian disc, fluted glass paste ball bead, and two mother of pearl discs (unperforated). British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 221		ND486	Level III with No. 319. Tablet. Wiseman & Kinnier Wilson 1951, 116; Mallowan <i>N. & R. I</i> , 113, 327, n. 17; Postgate 1973, <i>C.T.N. II</i> , 234, no. 255. Wool weighed in the presence of Ninurta. British Museum, London.
ND1075h	Burnt rubbish stratum. Varia, including a plain alabaster? square, shells, half of a sandstone bead decorated with cut concentric circles, fragments of banded agate, lapis lazuli, copper, etc.	ND499		Level III. Tablet. Wiseman & Kinnier Wilson 1951, 117; Postgate 1973, <i>C.T.N. II</i> , 233-234, no. 252, 261. Wool docket. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56870.
ND1076	Group of small spherical and ring beads, also some fluted spherical, carnelian tubular glass paste and a few segmented. British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 224	ND800		Level III. Tablet. Wiseman & Kinnier Wilson 1951, 117; Postgate 1973, <i>C.T.N. II</i> , 233, no. 251, 261. Provisions delivered to Ishtar-shum-ibna. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56871.
ND1080	Burnt stratum. Group of beads, blue glass paste barrel, spherical, fluted spherical, tabular, lapis lazuli strips, black stone discs for inlay as eyes, circular shale buttons grooved at the back, mother of pearl discs, terracotta? eye socket intended for inlay, 2 striated conch shells, fragment of a mottled marble cone, one bleached faience ball and ring beads, banded agate elliptical on both sides (L 1.9cm). Also one small triple tabular glass paste bead and a piece of reddish limestone inlay.	ND805 ND810 ND868a ND868b		Level III. Tablet. Wiseman & Kinnier Wilson 1951, 118; Postgate 1973, <i>C.T.N. II</i> , 232-233, no. 250, 262. Sale of land by Shulmanu-Shamash. British Museum, London. Level III. Tablet. Wiseman & Kinnier Wilson 1951, 118; Postgate 1973, <i>C.T.N. II</i> , 234, no. 254. Docket, wool. Iraq Museum, Baghdad. Level III, floor, with fragment of sun-dried clay tablet. Set of 5 terracotta objects (2 to Baghdad, 3 to B.S.A.I.). Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56874 Level III, floor, with fragment of sun-dried clay tablet. Set of 5 terracotta objects (2 to Baghdad, 3 to B.S.A.I.). British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 217
	<i>Gold foil and copper</i>			
ND1081	Burnt stratum. Gold foil, thin red, group of fragments which no doubt originally served as overlay for ivory: some bear the parallel striations of carved decorative hair over which they have been hammered.	<i>Sealings</i> ND806		Level III. Sealing. Wiseman & Kinnier Wilson 1951, 118; Parker 1955, 95, 112-113, pl. xxii, 2; Mallowan <i>N. & R. I</i> , 198-199, fig. 134, no. 1; Postgate 1973, <i>C.T.N. II</i> , 251, no. 256, 262. Docket with seal impression. Iraq Museum, Baghdad.
ND1022	Upper rubbish. Bangle, copper. Flattened ends. British Museum, London, BM 1984-2-5, 085	ND807		Level III. Sealing. Wiseman & Kinnier Wilson 1951, 118; Parker 1955, 94, 114, pl. xxii, 5 (as '808'); Postgate 1973, <i>C.T.N. II</i> , 252, no. 257, 262. Docket with seal impression and inscription, sheep belonging to shepherd of Bel-duri-ittiia. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56873.
	<i>Stone</i>			
ND1460	Bowl fragment, alabaster, as ND 1459			
ND1473	With ivories. Jar, banded alabaster, fragments. Elongated.	ND808		Level III. Sealing. Wiseman & Kinnier Wilson 1951, 118; Parker 1955, 95, 111-112, pl. xxii, 1 (as '807'); Parker 1962, 26 (as '807'); Postgate 1973, <i>C.T.N. II</i> , 252, no. 263, 262. Docket with seal impression. British Museum, London.
	<i>Pottery</i>			
ND485	Upper fill. Sherd of rough clay storage jar. Inscribed one line with capacity. Wiseman & Kinnier Wilson 1951, 115; Mallowan <i>Iraq</i> 16, 127, n.2. Postgate 1973, <i>C.T.N. II</i> , 260. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM	ND809		Level III. Sealing, two fragments. Wiseman & Kinnier Wilson 1951, 118; Parker 1955, 95, 112-

Room HH

- 113, pl. xxii, 4; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 198-199, fig. 134, no. 1; Postgate 1973, *C.T.N.* II, 236, no. 258, 262. Docket with seal impression. British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 064.
- ND 1106. Upper fill level 1 of niche. Three sealings. Postgate 1973, *C.T.N.* II 236, nos. 260-262; Iraq Museum, Baghdad.
- ND1115 Cupboard in east wall. Sealing, fragment, part of one line. Wiseman 1952, 65; Postgate 1973, *C.T.N.* II, 236, no. 259, 263. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- Glass bowl*
- ND1047 Below floor III, between the animal graves. Glass bowl, fragment, translucent, bubbles visible in the glass.
- Stone bowl fragment*
- ND1459 Bowl fragment, alabaster. Petal design in relief
- Beads and gold foil*
- ND1713/4 Shelf in cupboard on E. wall. Large group of beads and shells, also a few small strips of gold foil and four ivory disc beads, No. 321. Note also large shell beads engraved with scorpions, cut shells and mixed beads. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
- Iron*
- ND796 South-west corner. Dagger, iron.
- ND869 Level III, floor, in south-east corner. Approximately 16 iron spears. Three in British Museum, London, BM 140267, 1984-2-5, 23; BM 140268, 1984-2-5, 24; BM 140273, 1984-2-5, 29
- Room JJ*
- Pottery*
- ND620 Floor. Miniature vase
- ND621 Floor. Lamp in saucer. British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 273
- ND653 Spouted lamp, fragment
- ND680 Bowl, fragment. British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 68
- ND1389 On pavement. Deep bowl, fragment, light buff, upper part only.
- ND1390 On pavement. Open bowl. Handmade? Pinkish ware.
- Stone*
- ND706 Bottle, alabaster.
- Rooms OO/QQ*
- Stone plaque*
- ND484 Fragments found in Rooms OO and QQ, level III. Limestone plaque, both sides slightly convex. Fragment from upper centre missing. Surmounted by head of Pazuzu. Obverse: two registers - upper, row of lion-headed figures - lower, demon combat with symbols. Reverse: rear view of Pazuzu. Round edges three lines of inscription (magical). Wiseman & Kinnier Wilson 1951, 115; Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 117-118, fig 60; Postgate 1973, *C.T.N.* II, 260; Oates & Oates 2001, 63, fig. 35. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 55753
- ND818 Room QQ, Level III. Fragment. Postgate 1973, *C.T.N.* II, 238, no. 265, 262. Babylonian script. British Museum, London.
- Room OO*
- Tablet and prism*
- ND487 Level III. Tablet. Wiseman & Kinnier Wilson 1951, 116; Postgate 1973, *C.T.N.* II, 230-232, no. 248, 261. . Sale of slaves by Bel-ali to Nabu-tuklatu-usalli, the palace scribe. British Museum, London, BM 132001, 1954-11-15, 50.
- ND814 23 cm. above level III, right of south door. Prism fragment. Wiseman 1951, 24-26; Wiseman & Kinnier Wilson 1951, 118; Postgate 1973, *C.T.N.* II, 262; Borger 1996, 128. Annals of Ashurbanipal, Prism C viii 29-47, ix 30-48. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 56875.
- Seal*
- ND864 Level III. Cylinder seal, Egyptian blue. British Museum, London, BM 141746, 1994-11-5, 218 p
- Beads, amulet, gold, etc.*
- ND776 Level III. Group of beads. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
- ND781 Level III. Beaten gold strip, small fragments. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
- ND864 Level III. Collection of beads, cowrie shells, etc. British Museum, London, BM 141746, 1994-11-5, 218 a-v
- ND876 Rubbish above Level III. Horus eye amulet, faience. British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 188
- ND877 Amulet, black steatite
- ND878 Beads, stone. British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 000
- Stone arm*
- ND883 Level III floor. Model of human arm, alabaster, decayed
- Room GG*
- Tablet, stone*
- ND819 Level III. Tablet, stone, fragment from lower right corner. Ashurnasirpal Standard inscription. Wiseman & Kinnier Wilson 1951, 119; Postgate 1973, *C.T.N.* II, 262. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 55743
- Bronze pazuzu*
- ND884 Pazuzu head, bronze. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1951.33
- Room TT*
- Pottery*
- ND1235 *Istikan*, bottom part only. Hand made, very rough. Coarse, pinkish ware, straw levigated. Small flat base, roughly cylindrical sides, contracting at base. British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 298
- ND1276 'Pipe'-lamp. Dark grey ware, rather coarse, covered in and out with bitumen.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

Room ZZ

Pottery

- ND1202 Jug, upper part. Pinkish, rather coarse ware, shading to cream outside, unsmoothed. Ridge at collar and two incisions, wide and shallow at shoulder (incised before firing). Handle rises from shoulder and joins the beaded rim. British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 267
- ND1225 *Istikan*, bottom part only. Pinkish paste with grits, medium; rounded base: sides straight but sloping in. British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 137
- ND1260 Level 1. Vessel, footed, large. Stem and lower part of the body only. Greenish buff ware, rather coarse, with greenish-white slip. Decorated with ridges and grooves, a sinuous groove running round a massive band at centre of stem.
- ND1355 Level 2. Glazed cylindrical vessel, glazed blue green inside and out, part rim missing. Painted outside in yellow and white glaze with a scene of a horseman hunting two ostriches approaching a river in which two fish swim, behind the horseman is a large winged disc. Flat base, beaded rim. H. 27.5 cm.; D. 29 cm. Mallowan *N. & R.* I, 119, fig.61; Oates & Oates 2001, 72, fig. 40. British Museum, London, BM 131161, 1952-2-9, 33
- ND1407 Level 2. Hand of Ishtar, similar to ND1406. Frame 1991, 370, no. 82, 380. British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 007
- ND1412 Level 2. Store jar sherd. Stamped design of ? gateway with ? bukranium. Oates & Oates 2001, 220, fig. 132 (stamp only). British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 314

Seal

- ND1036 Level 3, on burnt brick floor, found with ND 1034 and 1035. Cylinder seal, banded carnelian or sard?, engraved with design of a stag, circle containing quadrant, and another animal. Parker 1955, 103, pl. xiv, 4

Beads and amulet

- ND1020 Found in ash level on floor. Necklace of mixed beads, restrung, including fluted glass paste, tabular banded carnelian, carnelian balls and discs, banded calcite flattened cylindrical.
- ND1034 Level 3, on burnt brick floor. Collection of beads, including open backed cowries, cockle shell, 4 small striated conch shell beads, fluted glass paste spherical, small copper cylindrical bead, blue glass paste barrels and discs, carnelian disc, circular shell disc, a bone eye bead inset with glass paste, and a stone pendant, purplish with incised feathering. British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 222
- ND1035 Level 3, on burnt brick floor in a bed of ash, together with ND 1034. Amulet, glass paste, engraved with a design of the Egyptian BA bird, longitudinally perforated. British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 223
- ND1687 Just above level 2 pavement. Bead, cylindrical, white paste, once glazed? blue; (?) design. British

Museum, London, BM 140363, 1987-1-31, 36

Stone bowl

- ND1450 Open bowl, fragment; quartzite, greenish black, mottled. Close grained, highly polished

Room AH

Tablet

- ND1110 Above Shalmaneser III floor. Fragments of contract tablets, parts of 7 lines. Wiseman 1952, 64; Postgate, *C.T.N.* II, 232, no. 249, 263. Loan of copper, dated in the *limmu* of Zeru-ibni, governor of Rasappa (718 B.C.). British Museum, London.

Stone

- ND1468 Top. Fragment of oölitic stone, pillow shaped

Room AK

Pottery

- ND1318 Vase, cylindrical, upper part damaged, base small and flat, rim plain, pink ware
- ND1393 Floor. Dark grey, roughly spheroid spindle whorl
- ND1400 Sherd; dark grey hand made, incised design

Bronze

- ND1030 Corselet strip, bronze, one of the links in armour, probably perforated
- ND1044 About 3 cm. below surface in the rubbish above level 3. Fibula, bronze, ribbed bow type coming to a sharp apex

Bead

- ND1045 Bead, banded cat's eye agate or onyx, cylindrical, perforated.

Doorway between Rooms MM and NN

Pottery

- ND1267 In ash under floor. Vessel with mouth in shape of a ram, head and neck of ram only. Fine cream ware with straw levigation; hollow. The head is erect; round the neck is represented a collar with a tassel in front. Traces of red paint on neck near tassel. A hole is pierced through the mouth, communicating with the interior, and serving as the spout of the vessel.

Room FF

Tablets

- ND811 Just below Floor 3. Stone tablet, complete. Wiseman & Kinnier Wilson 1951, 118; Postgate 1973, *C.T.N.* II, 262; Grayson 1991, 233, AO.101.8. Annals of Ashurnasirpal II. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 55744.
- ND812 Floor 3, in box. Postgate 1973, *C.T.N.* II, 243-244, nos. 268-269, 262. Duplicate of the Assur version of the 'Marduk Ordeal'. Iraq Museum, Baghdad. IM 55744.
- ND813 Level 4. Stamp seal impressions, indecipherable. Postgate 1973, *C.T.N.* II, 238, no. 264, 262.
- ND821 Level 3. Postgate 1973, *C.T.N.* II, 244-245, nos. 270-272, 262. Parts of an incantation and ritual text, and lexical texts. British Museum, London, BM

	132004-006.		
<i>Bead</i>		<i>Bead</i>	
ND1685	Bead?, deep red? carnelian. British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 229	ND1704	Found at the 195th course, above water level. Bead, spherical, quartz or glass, greenish
		<i>Bronze ring</i>	
		ND1708	Found at 195th course. Ring, bronze, closed
	<i>Room NN</i>		
<i>Pottery</i>			<i>Well NN, below the water level</i>
ND1205	Bottle, miniature; fragment, rim missing. Light buff ware, medium, with white slip. Hand made with thick sides. Round body, flat base.	<i>Pottery</i>	
ND1206	Bowl, tripod? Grey, micaceous ware, medium, wet smoothed in and out. Straw levigation. Body sharply carinated, upper part vertical, beaded rim, flat base. Leg (stump only) springs from below carination.	ND1327	Water jar. Rim damaged, grey black ware, lightly burnished, egg-shape body, pointed base.
ND1211	Bowl, small, fragment, showing section. Fine cream paste, wet smoothed. Parabolic profile, nearly vertical at rim. Flat base, rim plain, one deep and one shallow groove below, outside. British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 220	ND1328	Water jar. Dark grey ware, two small handles below collar in shape of duck's head, the bill downwards, and pierced horizontally at top, evidently for a string.
ND1212	Bowl, rim, fragment. Fine pinkish ware, with red slip inside and on rim, cf. ND1203. Rim plain rounded, swelling slightly on inside. Three fairly deep grooves incised, before firing, below rim, outside. Body parabolic. British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 290	ND1329	Water jar. Soft orange cream ware. Institute of Archaeology Melbourne, IA5.012
ND1214	Bowl, rim, fragment. Fine dark grey micaceous ware, very hard. Outside burnished. Body rounded, pronounced ridges (two surviving) at bottom of body.	ND1330	Water jar. Light buff ware.
ND1227	Vase, round-bellied, fragment neck and shoulders only. Fine light buff ware, greenish white slip in and out. Body apparently globular, pronounced angle at collar, small handle tapering to bottom, from lip of body to neck.	ND1331	Water jar. Soft orange cream ware.
		ND1332	Water jar. Rim missing, orange cream ware.
<i>Scarab</i>		ND1333	Water jar. Rim missing, pinkish ware, cylindrical body, narrow neck with traces of bitumen.
ND1675	South extension. Scaraboid, white paste. Legs of beetle well defined, wing case and a 'v' at root of each wing. On base mixed design of deer? grazing (damaged about head). British Museum, London, BM 140364, 1987-1-31, 37	ND1334	Water jar. Body slightly warped. Grey buff ware, rather coarse. Institute of Archaeology, Melbourne IA 5.010.
		ND1335	Water jar. Rim damaged, centre of base missing. Grey brown ware.
	<i>Well NN</i>	ND1336	Water jar. Soft orange brown ware, covered bitumen inside.
<i>Pottery and ceramic</i>		ND1337	Jar, pink ware, white slip. The remains of a string net in which it was suspended adhere to the pot. British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 24.
ND1024	Found in filling of well, 96 courses from top. Spindle whorl, black mottled stone; conical. British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 177	ND1338	Water jar. Soft orange yellow ware, half discoloured by mud.
ND1265	Found 8 m. from top. Vase, rather coarse buff ware, with straw levigation and white slip. Base missing, body cylindrical, roughly modelled to shape of a woman; in place of the head, a trumpet rim. H. 23.7 cm. Oates & Oates 2001, 93, fig. 52.	ND1339	Water jar. Orange cream ware, discoloured, base covered bitumen. Institute of Archaeology Melbourne, IA 5.015.
ND1269	Found c. 12.5 m. from top. Figurine, clay, horse with rider. Fine white ware with straw levigation. Horse has stumpy, pointed legs, short body with no tail, vertical neck; head indicated summarily. Near hind leg and top of rider's body missing.	ND1340	Bottle, large, orange buff ware, thin white slip, part stained by mud. Ring base, full bellied, beaded rim. Ridge round collar, groove on shoulders and others very faint on upper part of body, all incised before firing.
		ND1341	Bottle, rim missing, dark yellow green ware. Institute of Archaeology Melbourne IA. 5.020
		ND1342	Bottle or flask, base missing, coarse grey black ware, covered inside and lower part outside with bitumen. Part of the string, tied round the neck, by which it was suspended. British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 251
		ND1343	Jar, rim damaged, soft orange cream ware. Ring base, egg-shaped body. Institute of Archaeology Institute of Archaeology Melbourne, IA5.018
		ND1344	Water jar, rim missing, pinkish ware, string tied round neck.
		ND1345	Jar, part rim missing, pinkish buff ware, thin white slip.
		ND1346	Jar, handled, rim missing. Orange cream, traces of string net in which pot was slung. Ring base, globular body. Single handle lower part only survives

Ivories from Nimrud VI

- springing from the shoulder and moulded into a T shape where it joins pot. Institute of Archaeology Melbourne, IA5.019
- ND1347 Jar, part rim missing. Soft orange cream.
- ND1348 Jar, rim and most of neck missing. Soft orange cream ware.
- ND1349 Flask, soft orange buff, covered with bitumen, globular body, rounded base, beaded rim, low ridge round collar. British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 33
- ND1350 Jar, soft orange buff coated inside and top part outside with thin bitumen. Squat rounded body and base, short neck beaded everted rim.
- ND1351 Jar, soft pink ware.
- ND1352 Bucket, part rim missing, rather coarse pink ware. Concave body, tapering to ring base, plain rounded rim. Two small loop handles well below rim.
- ND1353 Bucket. Similar to 1352 but rim beaded.
- ND1392 Glazed pot, fragment, buff ware covered yellow glaze in and out. Top part missing. British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London
- ND1701 C. 19m from top. Fruit of tree? Hard ovoid.
- ND1881 Found 330 courses down. Bowl, pinkish buff.
- ND1883 In sludge. Vase, palace ware, dimpled, light greenish buff. Oates, *Iraq* 16, 169, 172 & pl. xl, 2. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
- ND1884 In sludge. Jar, light buff. Traces of bitumened rope on neck. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- ND1885-93 Nine jars, some with rope marks round neck. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- ND1894 Jar. British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London
- ND1895-902 Eight jars, some with rope marks round neck. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- ND1903 Jar. Institute of Archaeology Melbourne IA 5.014
- ND1904-11 Eight jars, some with rope marks round neck. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- ND1912 Jar. Ribbed neck and shoulder. Institute of Archaeology Melbourne, IA5.017
- ND1913 Jar. British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 25
- ND1914 Jar. Nationalmuseet Copenhagen, NM 13848
- ND1915 Jar. Institute of Archaeology Melbourne, IA5.016
- ND1916 Jar. Variant with heavily ribbed neck. Institute of Archaeology Melbourne IA 5.048
- ND1917 Jar. British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 26
- ND1918 Jar, part of neck missing.
- ND1919 Jar.
- ND1920 Jar. Institute of Archaeology Melbourne IA 5.051
- ND1921 Jar. Base missing, surface of pot scaled as if a slip had been applied and probably most of the other jars in well were also slipped
- ND1922-23 Two jars.
- ND1924 Jar. British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 27
- ND1925 Jar. Broken in 2 halves. British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 288
- ND1926-27 Two jars, with rope marks round neck.
- ND1928 Jar. Heavily ribbed neck. 2 bitumen marks on shoulder. British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 289
- ND1929 Jar. Part of neck missing, pointed base. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- ND1930 Jar. Pointed base. Institute of Archaeology Melbourne, IA5.033
- ND1931 Jar.
- ND1932-33 Two jars.
- ND1934 Jar, carbonised black ware. Ring base.
- ND1935 Jar, pointed base, traces of rope mark on neck.
- ND1936 Jar.
- ND1937 Jar. 2 perforations through neck. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- ND1938 Amphora. ring base. 2 handles horizontally perforated.
- ND1939 Amphora. 3 strands of rope knotted round neck in fairly good condition. British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London
- ND1940 Fragments of rope. British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 000
- ND1940 Vase. Several strands of thick rope found in sludge with it but not adhering to vase. Nationalmuseet Copenhagen, NM 13851
- ND1941 Jar, with incurving neck and ribbed shoulder. British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 28
- ND1942 Vase, carbonised dark grey.
- ND1943 Jug, with one handle, lipped rim, ring base, ribbed neck with two bosses over handle. Dark grey. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- ND1944 Vase. 2 horizontally perforated duck handles on shoulder.
- Amulet*
- ND2253 Amulet, tabular, mottled grey stone, one side engraved with a scorpion, the other with radial nicks, longitudinally perforated.
- Electrum and bronze, deep in well*
- ND2180 Electrum plaque. Cheekpiece from a horse bit. Loops on top of horse to receive cheek-strap and reins. Details of mane and hair lightly scored, and trappings on front of body. The animal is represented at the gallop. Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 127, fig.70. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- ND2188 Ornament, bronze and electrum. Consists of circular electrum disc with a central boss, surmounting a hollowed cone. Base of cone consists of a narrow band 5 mm. wide decorated with repousse rosettes. Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 139, fig. 80. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1954.733
- ND3525 From debris. Finial, bronze, in the shape of a pair of lions' heads arranged mouth to mouth; socketed with stem with scoring of mane. Socket infilled with bitumen, and space between the heads similarly infilled.
- ND4183 Cylinder, copper, solid, surmounted by a double Pazuzu head, and now rather faintly visible in the cylinder; pair of goats on either side of a palm tree, Sibitti, and crescent.
- ND2190 Rod, bronze, flattened, bordered by a flange. Iraq Museum, Baghdad.

Animal figurines deep in well

- ND2181 Couchant animal? statuette, bronze, fragment. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- ND2182 Dog? figurine, bronze, forelegs fragmentary. Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 146, fig. 86. Institute of Archaeology Melbourne, IA5.004
- ND2183 Animal figurine, bronze, feline, on rectangular base. Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 146, fig. 86. Cambridge University Museum 56.05
- ND2184 Dog? statuette, bronze. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- ND2185 Dog? statuette, bronze. Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 147, fig. 86. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
- ND2186 Dog statuette, sitting, bronze. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- ND2214 Dog statuette, copper. Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 146, fig. 86. British Museum, London, BM 140474, 1984-2-5, 230

Shell

- ND2235 17 shell toggles consisting of half barrels with a tang perforated twice, some black, probably burnt, some white.
- ND2236 17 shell toggles, similar to ND2235. British Museum, London, BM 140337, 1987-1-31, 10
- ND2237 14 shell toggles, black and white, double palmettes, perforated, with two or sometimes three metal studs. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- ND2238 13 shell toggles, similar to ND2237. Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 124, fig. 65. British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London
- ND2240 9 decorated shell objects, perforated through centre, convex face decorated with concentric circles. In some cases the central perforation still contains a heavy copper stud; and perforated ledges on the concave side are also proof that these objects were originally fastened to something else. Mallowan *N. & R. I*, 125, fig. 66; Oates & Oates 2001, 243, fig. 154. ND2240a and c, British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 000, BM 140424, 1987-1-31, 97; ND2240b, Cambridge University Museum, 56.06; ND2240d, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; ND2240e, Institute of Archaeology Melbourne, IA5.001.
- ND2241 9 decorated shell objects similar to ND2240. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- ND2242 Shell or mother of pearl boss. Small holes perforated all round the edge. British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 121

Stone

- ND2510 Found deep down. Bowl, dark mottled oolitic limestone, fragment, heavy ledge rim, about half. Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Wood

- ND2255 3 wooden spindle whorls, spherical and ovate. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- ND2256 3 wooden spindle whorls, spherical and ovate. British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 000
- ND2544 Wooden pulley wheel. British Museum, London, BM 132162, 1957-2-9, 09

- ND2545 Wooden pulley wheel, mulberry? wood.
- Bone spatulae and awls between 260th and 290th courses*
- ND2199-2206 Eight spatulae, bone. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- ND2207 Spatula, bone. Institute of Archaeology, Melbourne, IA5.005
- ND2208 Spatula, bone. Cambridge University Museum 56.08 B
- ND2209-2210 Two spatulae, bone.
- ND2211 Spatula, bone. Institute of Archaeology, Melbourne, IA5.005
- ND2212-2213 Two spatulae, bone.
- ND2276 Spatula, bone; similar type to ND 2200-2213. British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London
- ND2148 Awl, bone. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
- ND2161 Scraper or awl, bone. Institute of Archaeology Melbourne, IA5.077

TOWN WALL HOUSES*House 2, Room 3*
Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 136*Pottery*

- ND3090 Floor 3. Palace ware bowl. Greenish-buff ware. Everted lip, carinated shoulder, ring base.

Seal

- ND3226 Floor of period 2 (earlier) in doorway of N. side of room. Cylinder seal, rock crystal. A kneeling archer. Parker 1955, 95 n.1, 101, pl. xiii, 1. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1954.742

Stone vase

- ND3271 Separate pieces found on floor level 3 in Rooms TW3 and 5. Vase, fragment; in two pieces, red stone.

Frit rosette

- ND3273 Rosette, frit, 10-petalled; a heavy piece. British Museum, London, BM 140405, 1987-1-31, 78

Arrowhead

- ND3292 Upper rubbish. Arrowhead, iron, tanged, lanceolate. British Museum, London, BM 140294, 1984-2-5, 50.

Bone spatula

- ND3248 Lower floor. Bone spatula.

House 2, Room 5
Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 136*Pottery*

- ND3044 Floor 3. Vase. Buff ware. Everted rolled rim, straight neck, rib on shoulder, ring base.
- ND3089. Clay bowl, palace ware

Tablet

- ND3415 Contract, sale of house, Wiseman 1953, 139

Copper and iron

- ND3258 30 cm from W. wall in a jar, lower rubbish (level 2). Two copper scale pans, discs of metal turned into shallow containers, sides apparently perforated for attachment to balance strings.
- ND3501 Floor 3. Arrowhead, iron.

Ivories from Nimrud VI

Beads

- ND3263 Limestone bead. Iraq Museum, Baghdad.
ND3264 Lapis lazuli bead

House 2, Room 11

Mallowan *Iraq* 16, 137-138

Bronze from Level 2

- ND3348 Three bronze rings

Tablets

- ND3478 Level 3. Tablet. Wiseman 1953, 147, pl. xiv. Memorandum over gift of silver.
ND3479 Tablet and seal impression. Wiseman 1953, 147. Sale of slave, dated to *limmu* Kanunaia, 666 or 671 B.C.

Scarab

- ND3282 Level 3, found with TW5, ND3281. Scaraboid amulet; engraved with design of gazelle with head turned back, and in the field a star.

Bronze holdfast

- ND3349 Level 3, floor. Holdfast, bronze; a pair, consisting of flat blades with heavy loops at the back. British Museum, London, BM 140492, 1984-2-5, 248

House 2, Room 12

Pottery

- ND3087 Level 3, floor. Bowl. Pinkish-buff ware, buff slip, fired pink inside. Everted rim, carinated shoulder, ring base. British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 134

Seal

- ND3303 Level 3, floor. Cylinder seal, faience. Design:

appears to represent a lion-headed bowman shooting at a conventionalised snake which has its tail curled in spirals; crescent moon.

Beads and earring

- ND3300 Level 3, floor. Cylindrical bead; mottled stone. British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 245
ND3336 Pavement level 3. Found in a cache with a gold ear ring, ND3345, and ivory and bone fragments, TW7. Bead, limestone, cylindrical; limestone, longitudinally perforated. British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 246
ND3345 Pavement level 3, cache, with ND3336. Ear ring, gold, lunate pendant with penannular wire holder.

House 6, Room 43

Glazed sherds

- ND3125 Level 2, an area which became Room 44 at level 3. Glazed sherds. White glaze decorated with yellow and black. One sherd with chevron pattern in black bounded by narrow horizontal bands of yellow above and below. The other sherd is decorated with an interesting pattern showing a chariot in which is a quiver of arrows; the hind quarters of a horse and what appears to be another chariot are also shown.

Arrowheads and axe

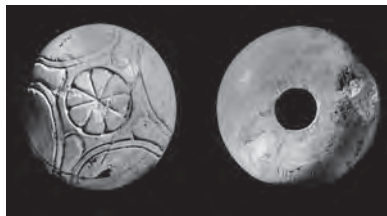
- ND3594 Level 3. Arrowhead, flint, ovate, bifacial.
ND3631 Level 3. Axe or sickle, iron.
ND3632 Level 3. Arrowhead, iron. British Museum, London, BM 140275, 1984-2-5, 31



1b. ND3266



1c. ND3266



7a. ND4237



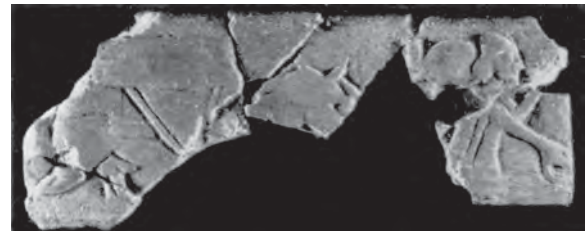
7b. ND4237



1a. ND3266



12. ND2298



8. ND4214



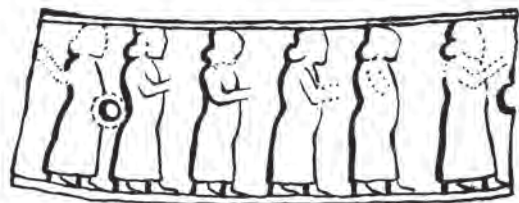
16. ND1062



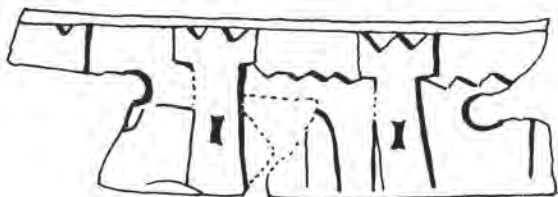
8. ND4214



19. ND1083



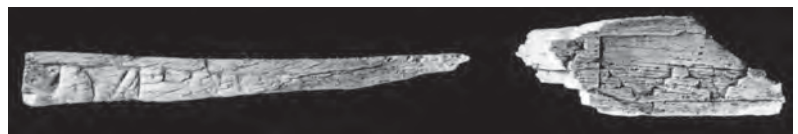
20. ND1051



21a. ND1057



15. ND3638

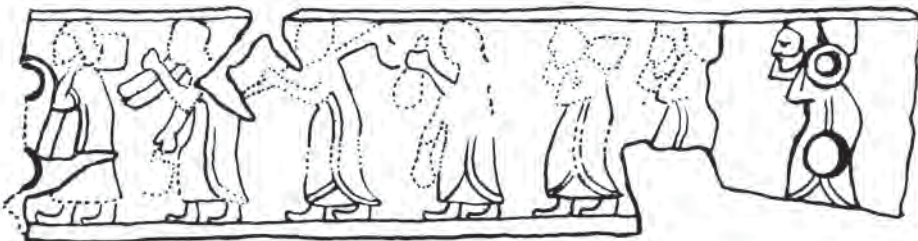


21b. ND1057





22a. ND1049



22b. ND1049



22c. ND1049



18. ND1082
Slightly reduced

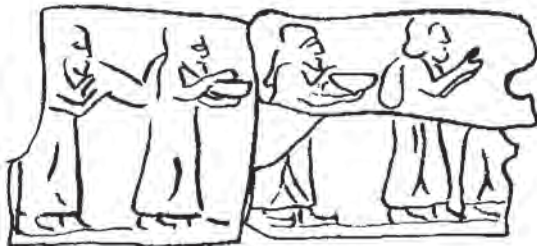
111 56344



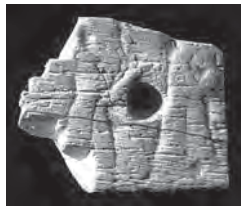
23a. ND1051



23b. ND1051



24a. ND1050



24b. ND1050



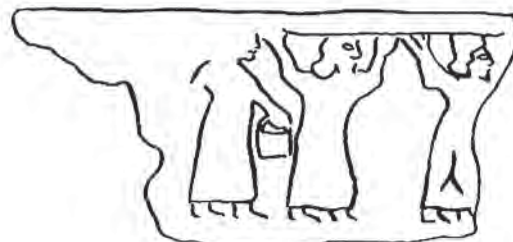
24c. ND1050



24d. ND1050



24e. ND1050



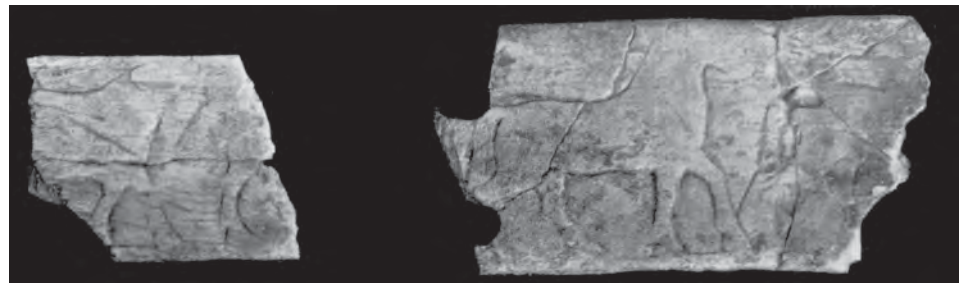
24f. ND1050



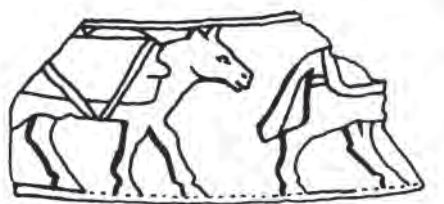
25a-c. ND1058



26. ND1055



29. ND1055



27. ND1056



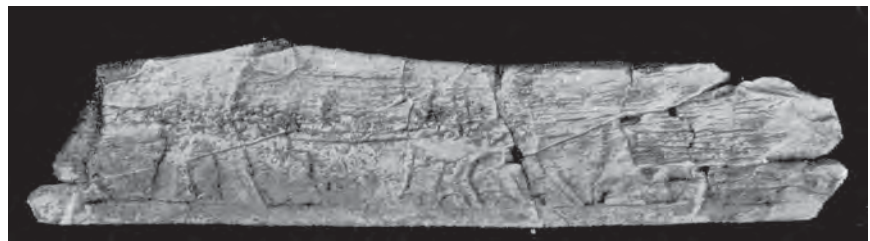
28. ND1054



33a. ND1057



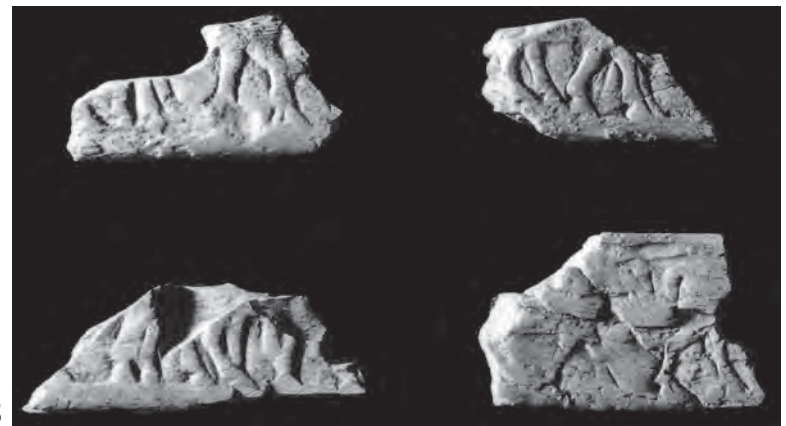
33b. ND1057



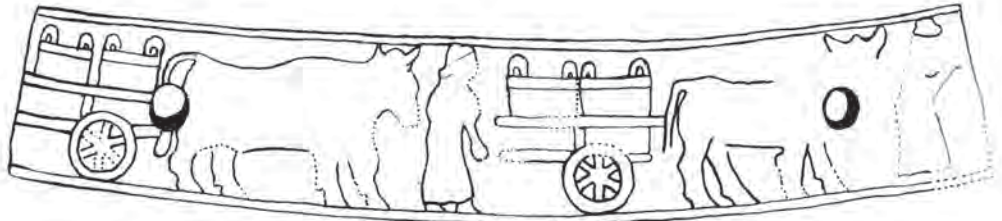
30. ND1055



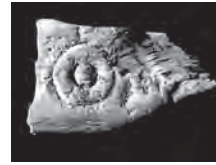
31a. ND1058



31b. ND1058



32. ND1053



34. ND1058



35b. ND1058



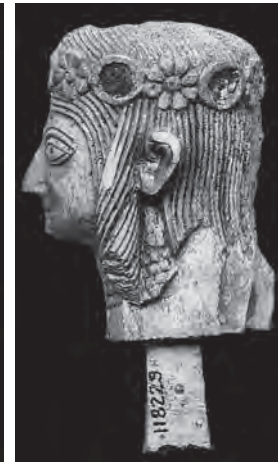
35a.
ND1058



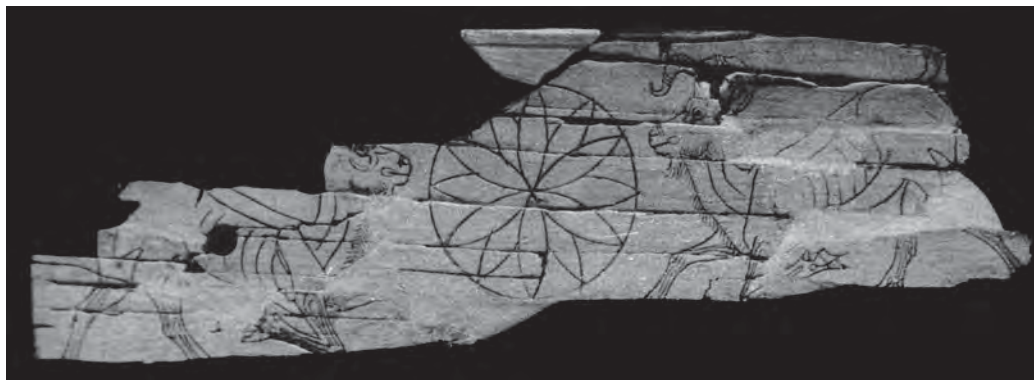
39. BM 123868



38. BM 123867



42. BM 118229



40a. BM 123856



43. BM 118217



40b. BM 123856



41. BM 118228





44. ND1715g



45. ND2293

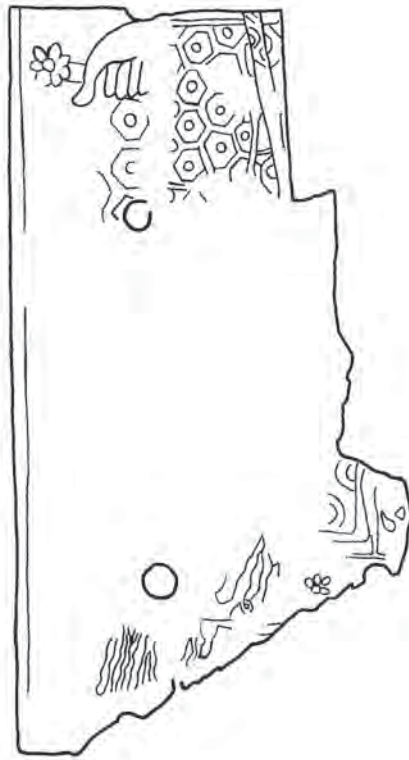


46. ND2293





47. ND1715k



48a.
ND2295



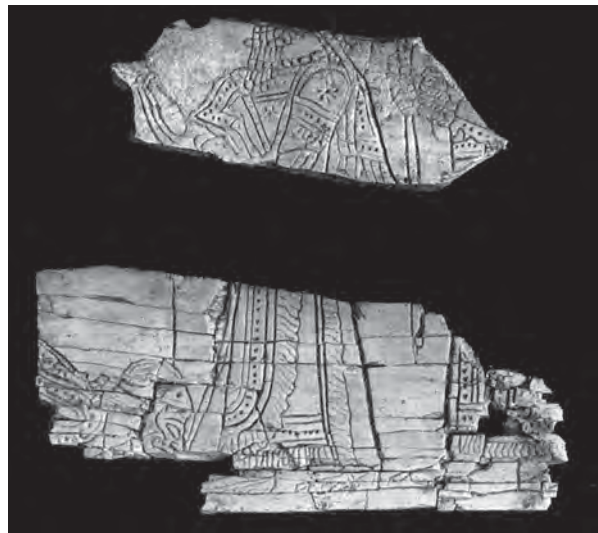
48b. ND2295



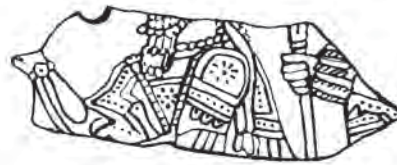
48c.
ND1715



49. ND1715h



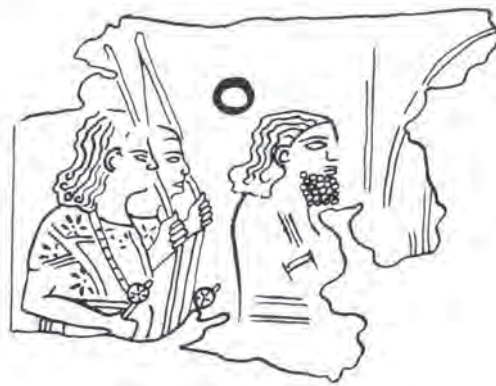
50. ND1715e



51c. ND2295



51a. ND2295

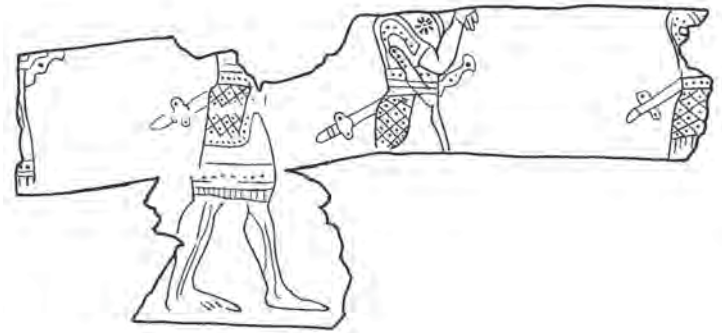


51b. ND2295





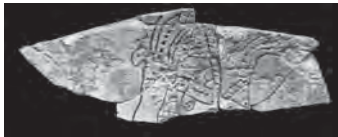
53. ND1715a



52. ND1715e



54. ND2295



55. ND1715i



56b. ND1715b



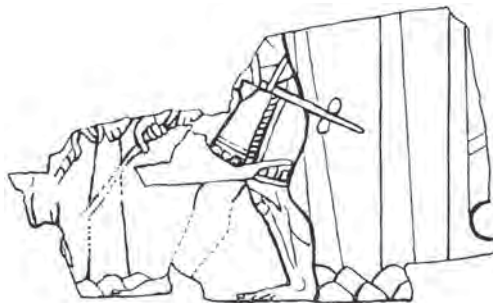
56a. ND1715b



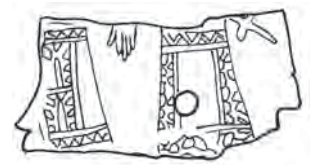
56e. ND1715b



56c. ND1715b



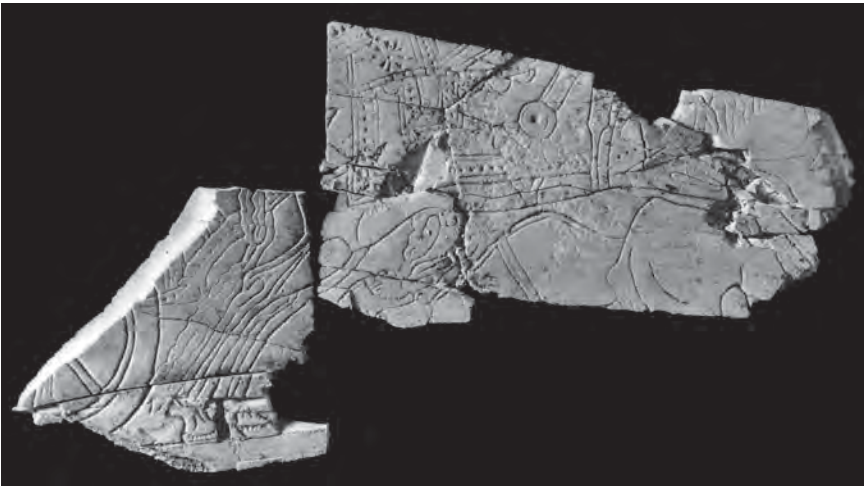
56d. ND1715b



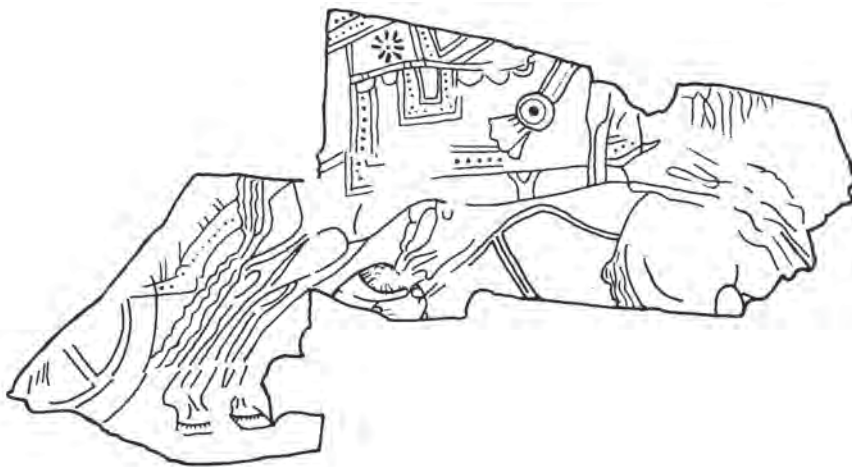
56c. ND1715b



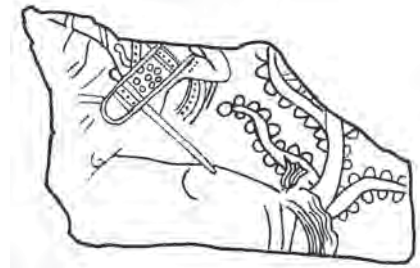
57. ND1715a



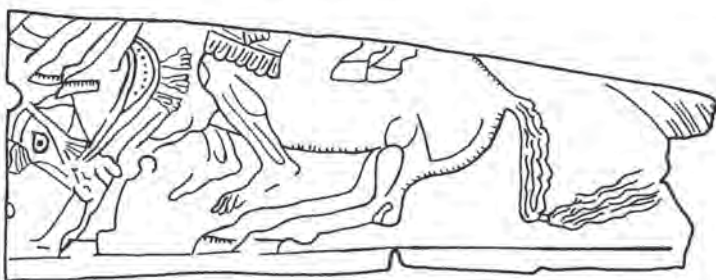
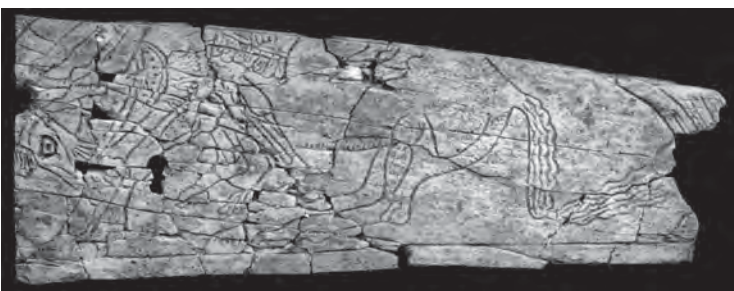
59. ND1715



58. ND1715



61. ND1715



60. ND1715i



62a. ND2293



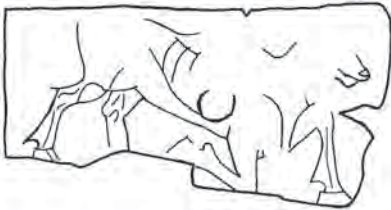
62c. ND2293



62b. ND2293



65a. ND1060



65b. ND1060



63a.



63b. ND1715e



64. ND1715c



72a. ND1715



72b. ND1715



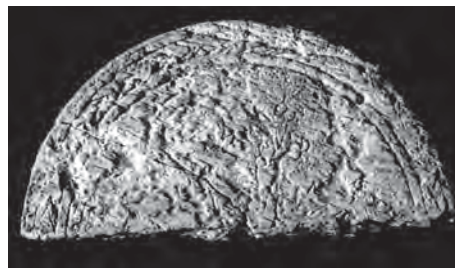
73. ND2295 & 2293



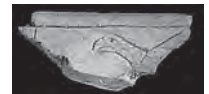
66a. ND1715 (1)



66b. ND1715 (1)



69. ND1715 (1)



67. ND2295



68. ND2293 (4)



74. ND1715 (1)



75. ND2293



70. AM 1952.89



71. AM 1952.88



81. BM 118160



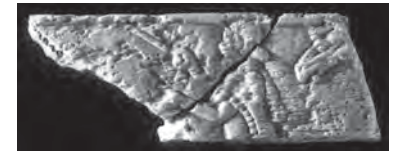
77b. ND2501



77c. ND2501



77a. ND2501



78. BM 123846



79. BM 118274



83. BM 123820



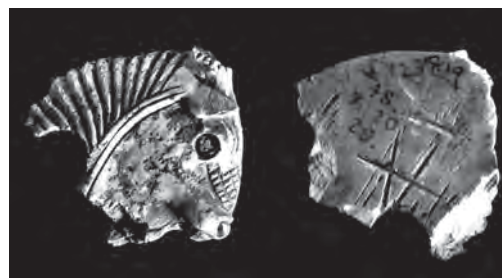
76. ND2293



80. BM 123817



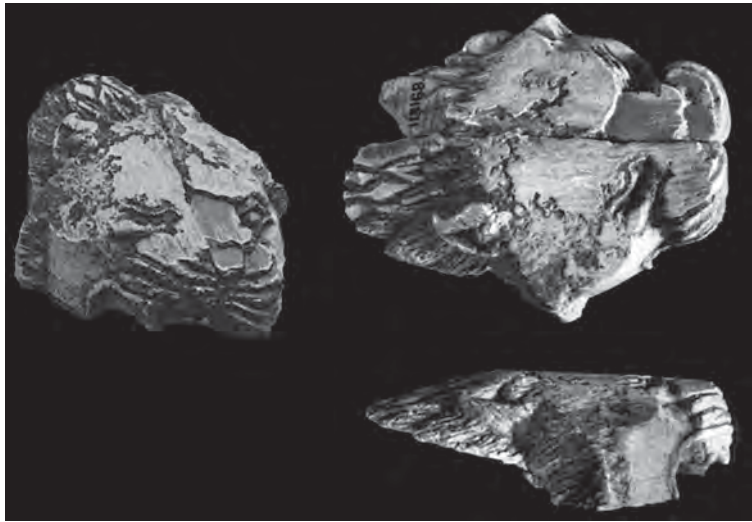
84. BM 123821



85. BM 123819



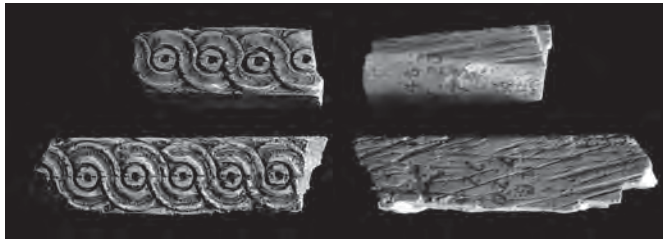
86. BM 123822



87. BM 118168



82. BM 118183



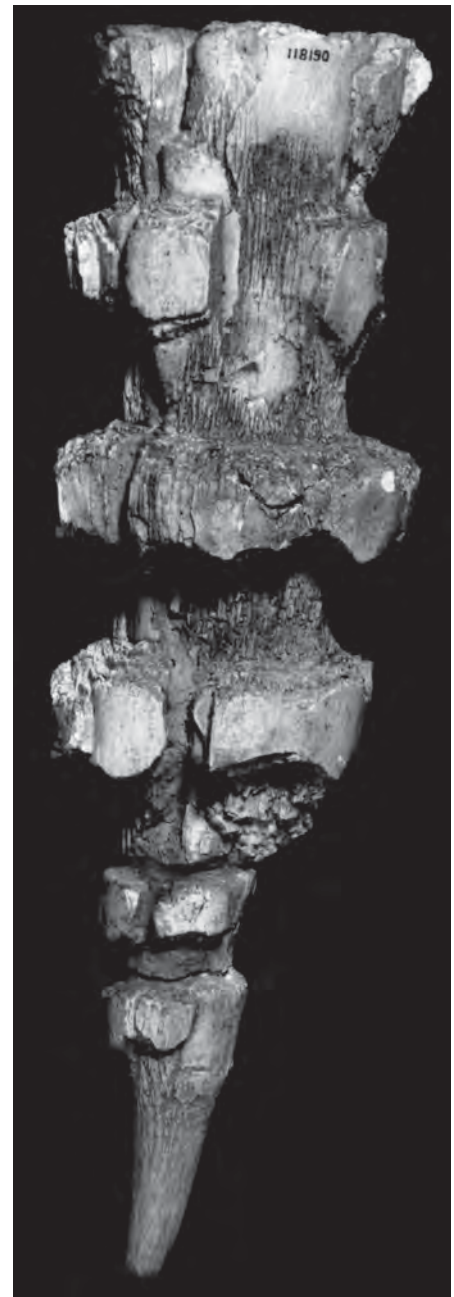
90. BM 123845



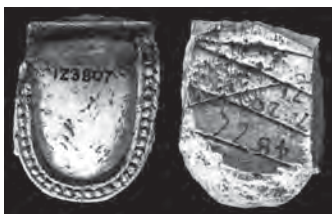
91. BM 123806



93. ND2288



94. BM 118190



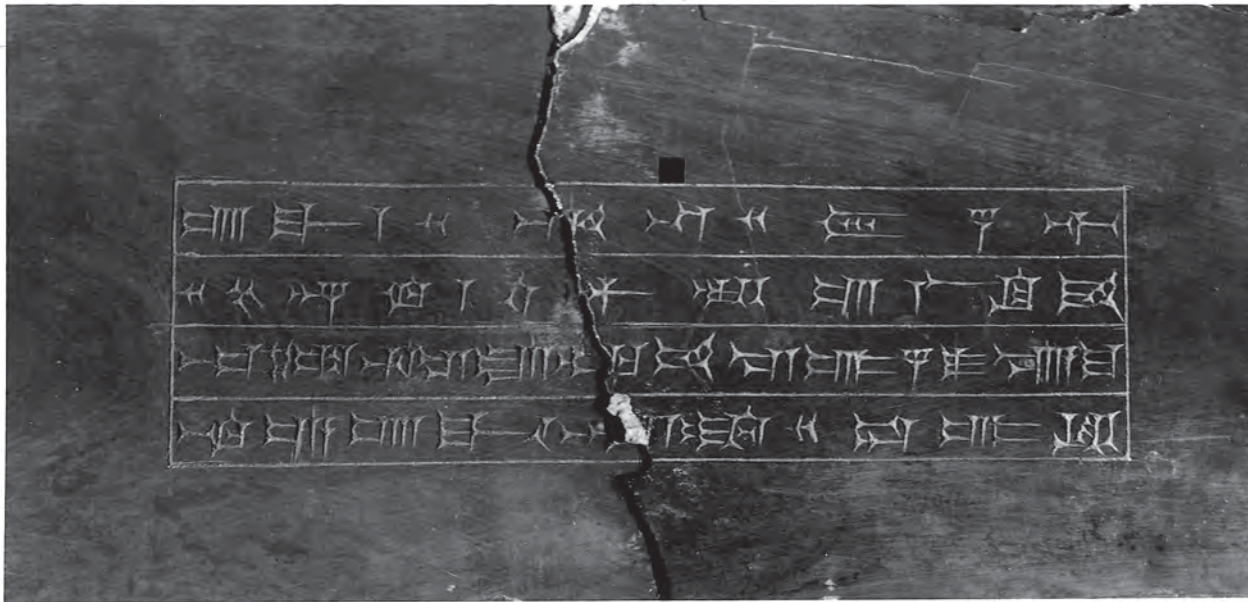
92. BM 123807



88. BM123823



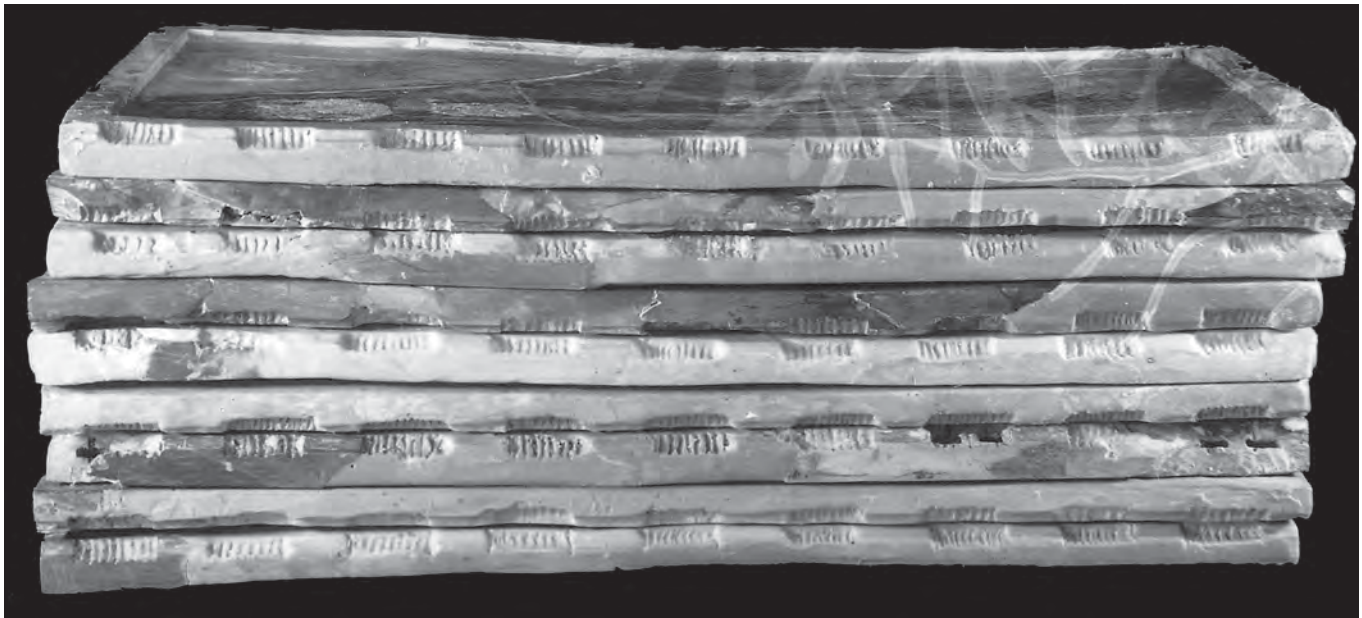
89. BM 123844



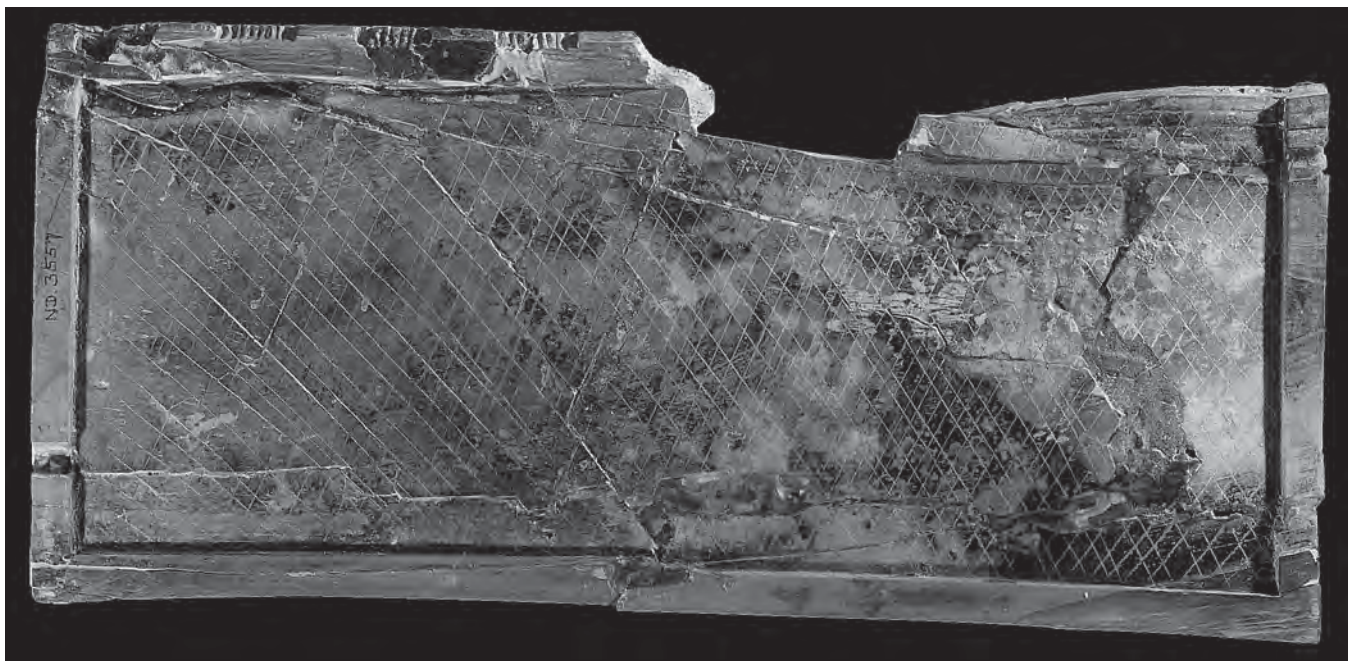
96a. ND3557. Half size



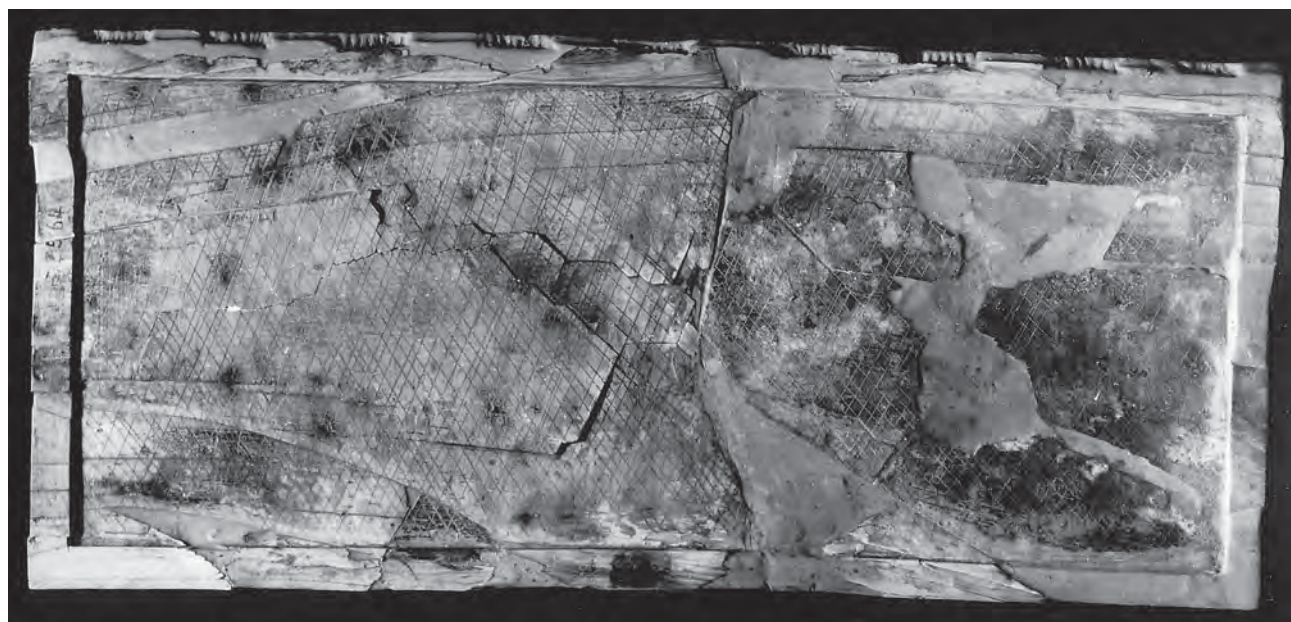
97. ND3559-3571



97. ND3559-3571



97. ND3559



98. BM 131955-
131963
97. ND3566



99. BM 118148



101. BM 118149



100. BM 118152



108. BM 118153



104. BM 118150



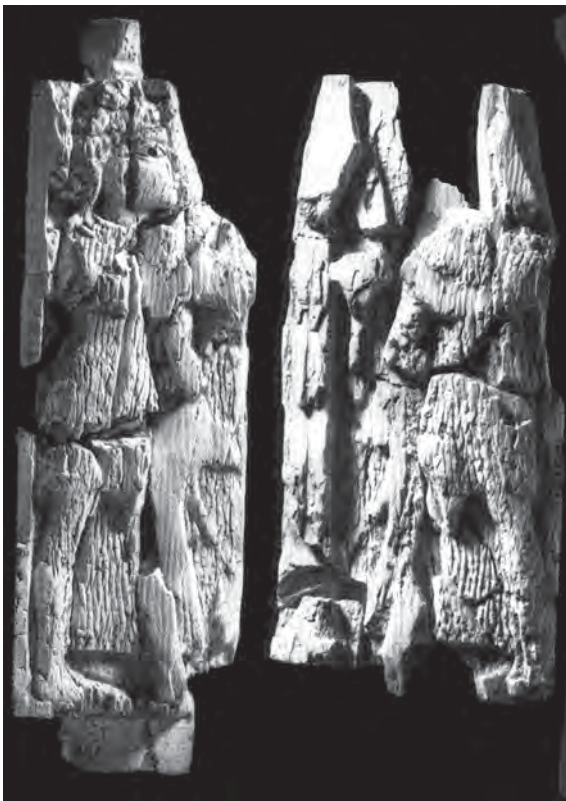
103. BM 118151



102. BM 118147



109. BM 118246



106. BM 118141 & 118154



105. BM 118146



107. BM 118165



110. BM 118159



111. BM 118158



112. BM 118156



113. BM 118155



114. ND 368



115. BM 118219



116. BM 118218



121. BM123772



117. BM 118250



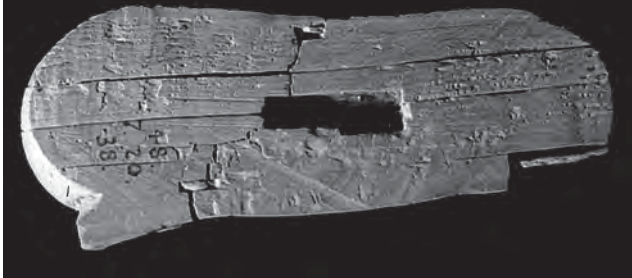
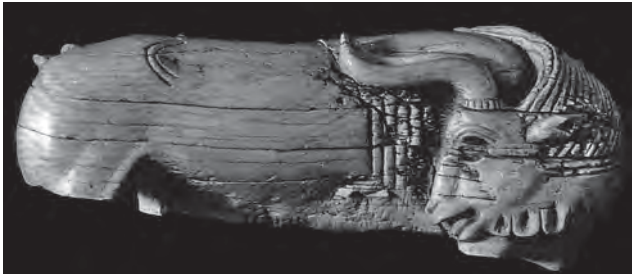
118. BM 118252



119. BM 118251



120. ND367



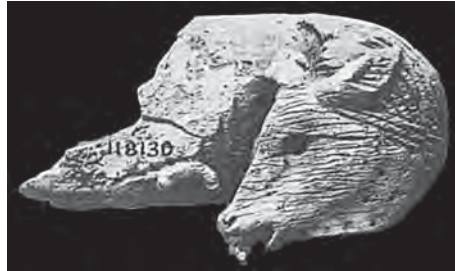
122. BM 118129



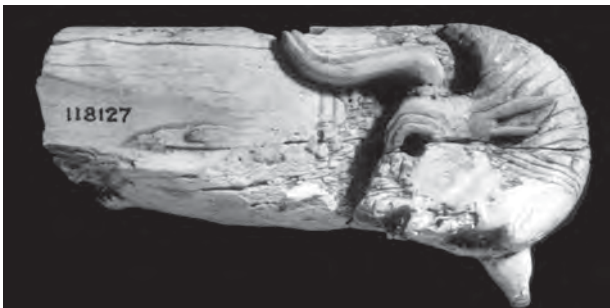
123. ND362



126. BM 118125



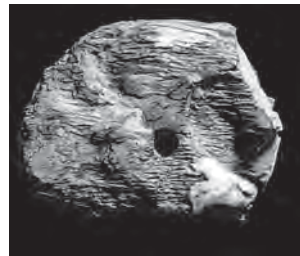
125. BM 118130



124. BM 118127



129. BM 123825



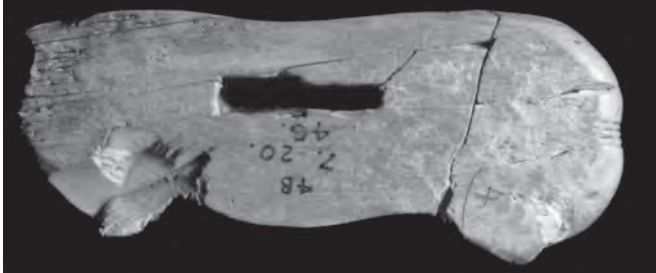
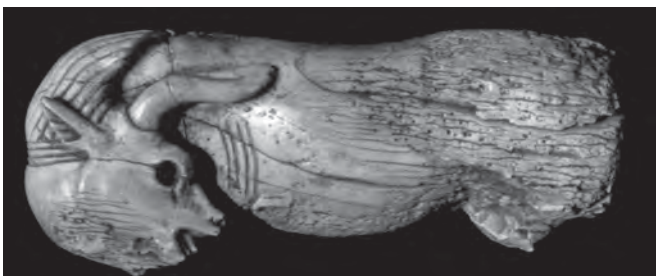
131. BM 123826



127. BM 118126



128. BM 123824



130. BM 118128



132. BM 123827



134. BM 123828



133. BM 134949



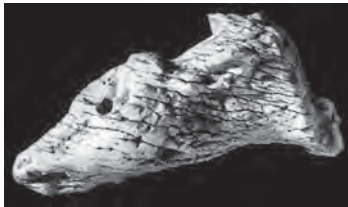
136. BM 123829



135. BM 123830



138. BM 123832



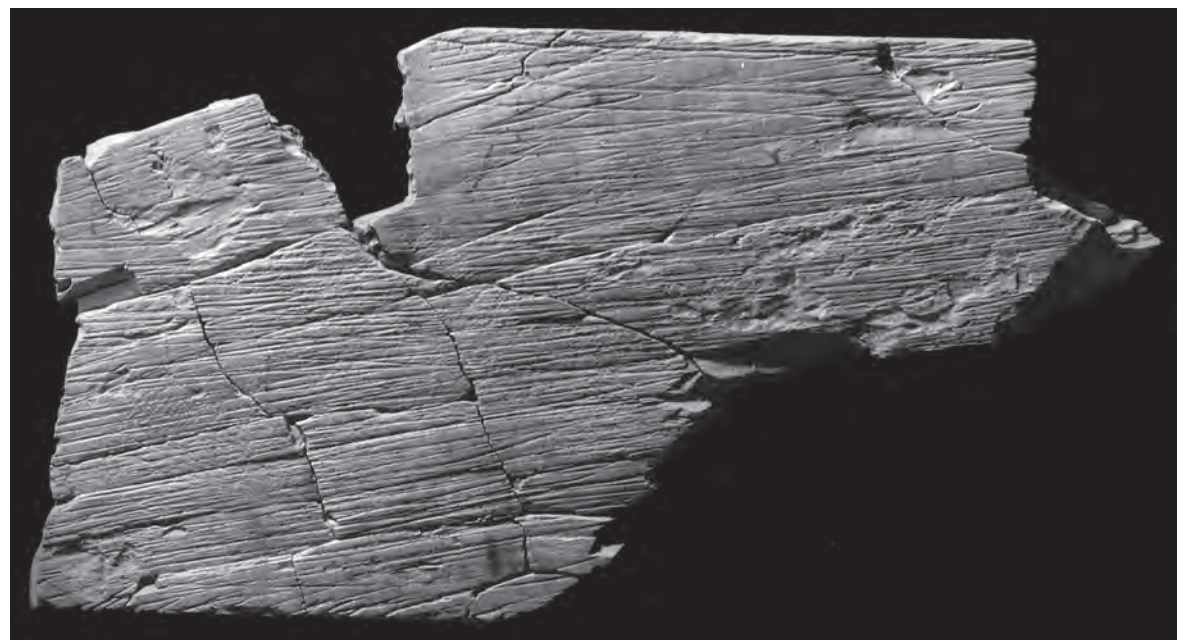
139. BM 123831



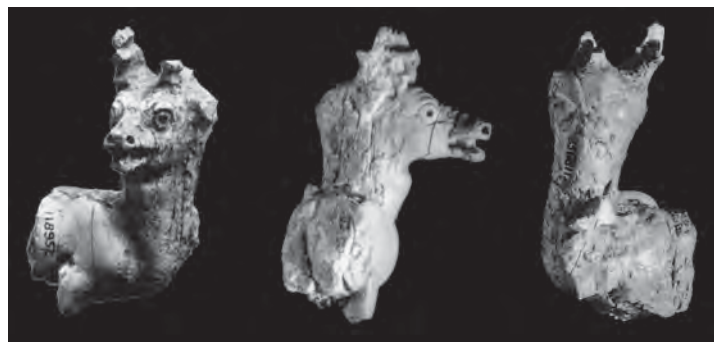
142. BM 123837



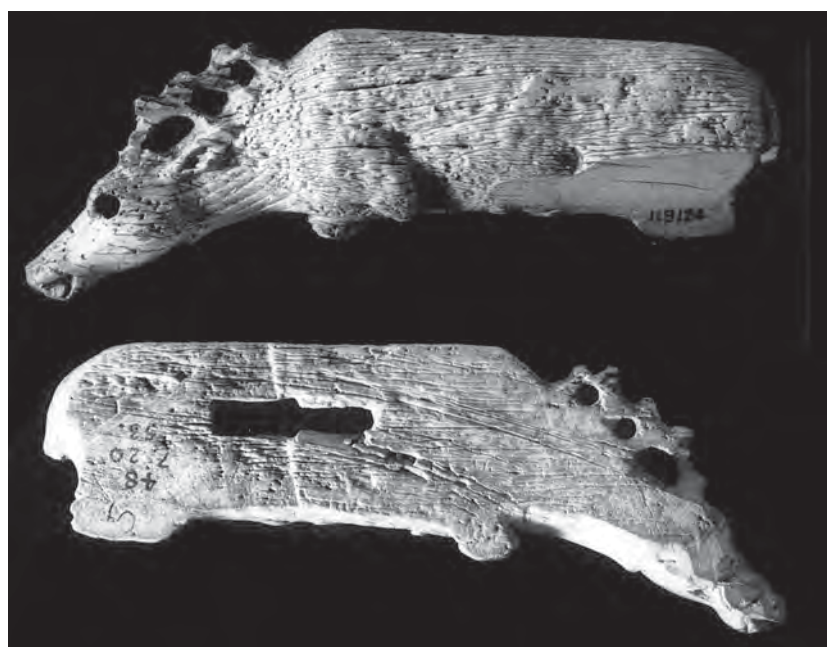
143. BM 118167



141. BM 118163



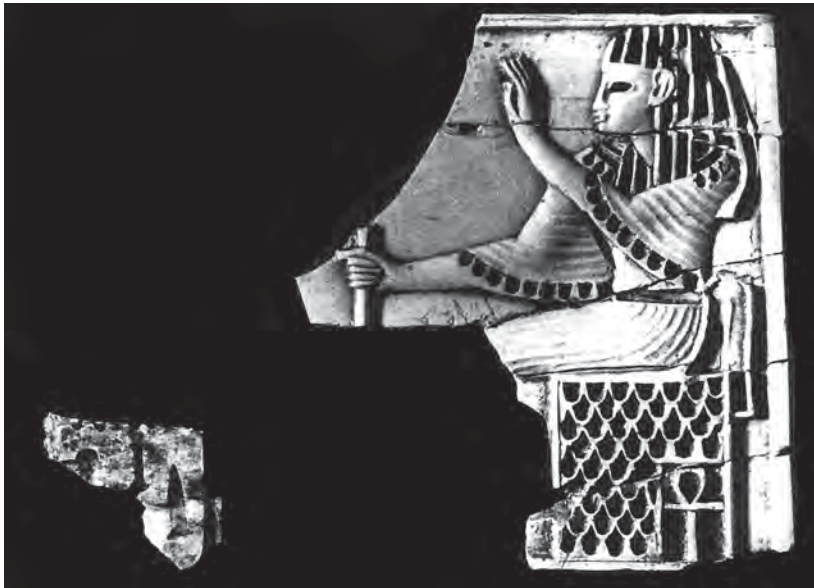
140. BM 118952



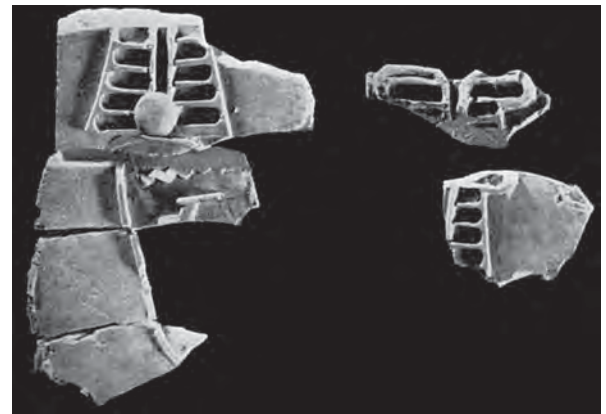
137. BM 118124



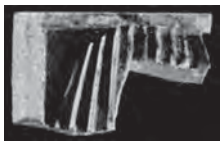
146. BM 118120



147. BM 118164 & 123855



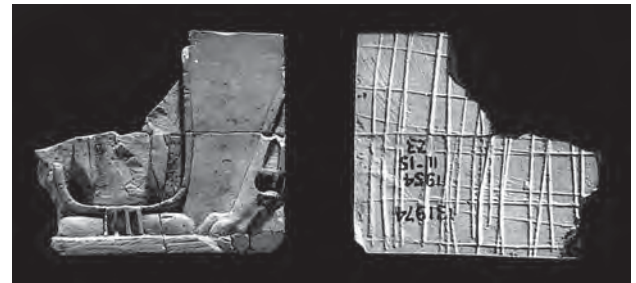
149. ND368



148a. ND368



148b. ND368



153. ND368



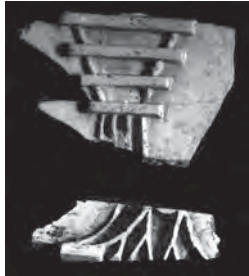
151. BM 118119



150. ND368



155. BM 123861



154. ND368



152b. BM118142



145. ND368



a



b

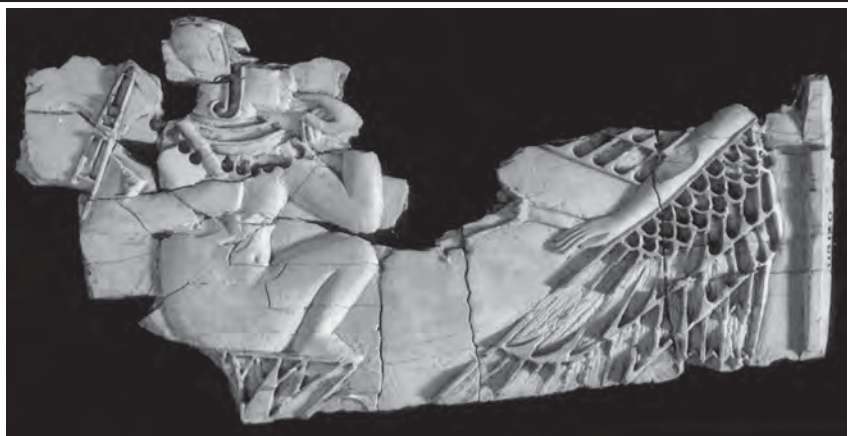
152. BM118142



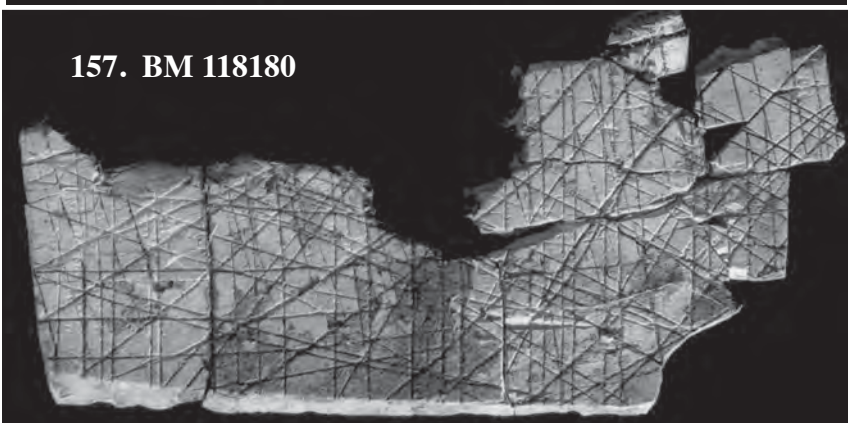
144. ND368



158. BM 118157



157. BM 118180



156. ND368



162. BM 118227



160b. ND368



160c. ND368



160c. ND368



163. BM 118222



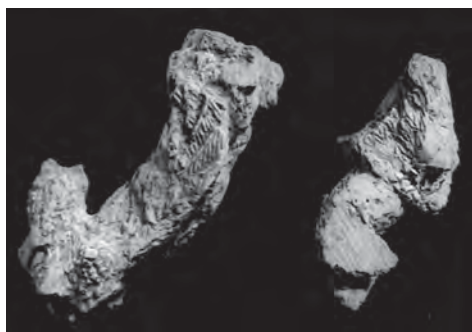
167. BM 123835



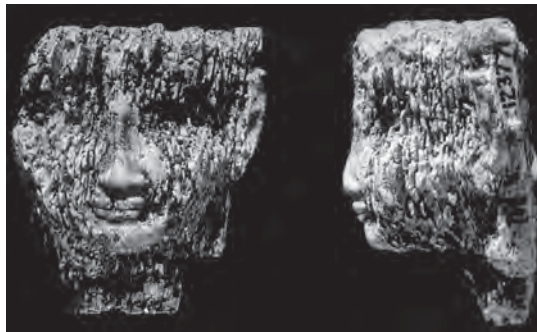
159. BM 118162



160a. ND368



161. BM 123841-42



164. BM 123771



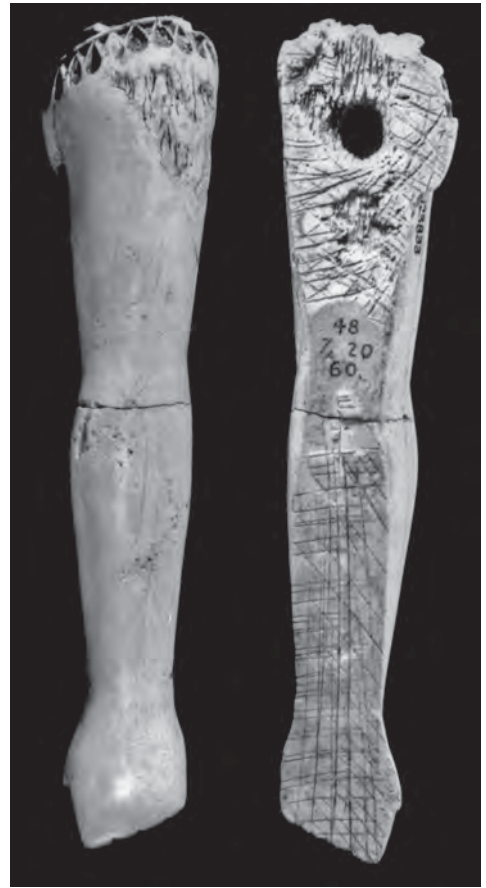
166. ND368



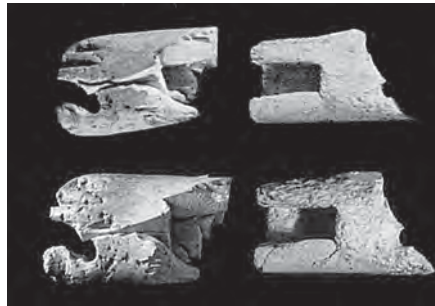
169. BM 123834



168. ND368



165. BM 123833



170. ND368



173. BM 118131



171. BM 123773



172. BM 123836



175. BM 118144



176.
BM 123838



177a. ND368



177b. ND368



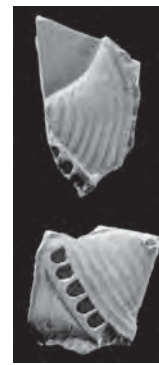
174.
BM 123787



179a. ND368



179b.
ND368



179c.
ND368



179d.
ND368



178. ND368



180. BM 123862



181.
BM 123860



182. BM 123859



183. ND368



184. ND368



185a. ND368



185b. ND368



185b. ND368



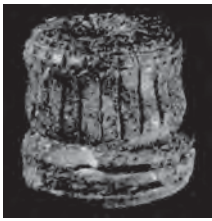
187. ND368



188. ND368



189. BM 123850



190a. ND368



190b. ND368



190c. ND368



192. BM 123785, 118166, 123840, 123843



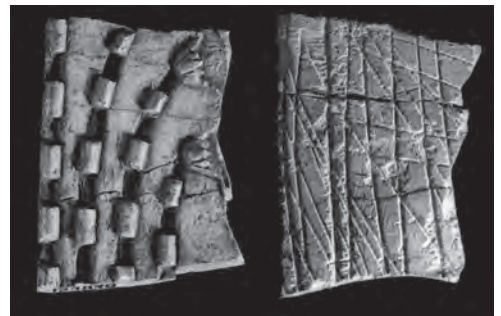
190d. ND368



191. ND368



186. ND368



193. BM 123839



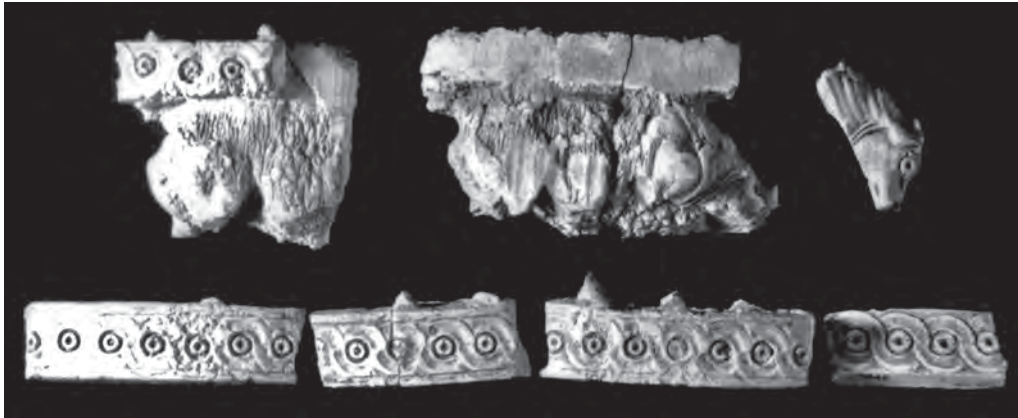
194. BM 123818



195. BM 123847



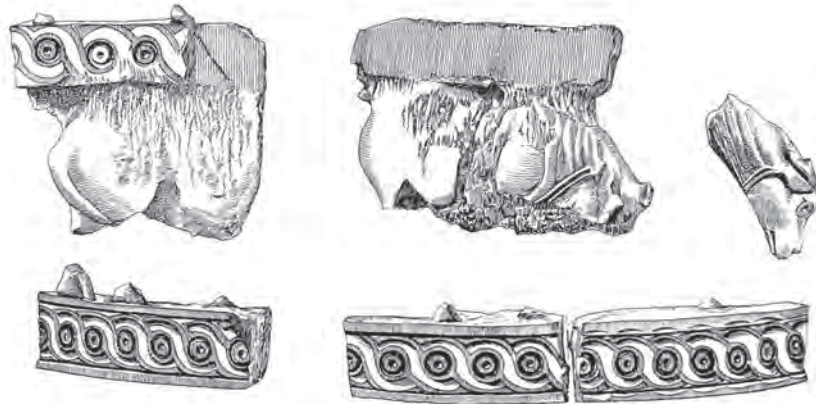
195. BM 123847



201a.
BM 127138



197. BM 123848



196. BM 123849



198. BM 123851



199a. BM 123863



200a. BM 118145



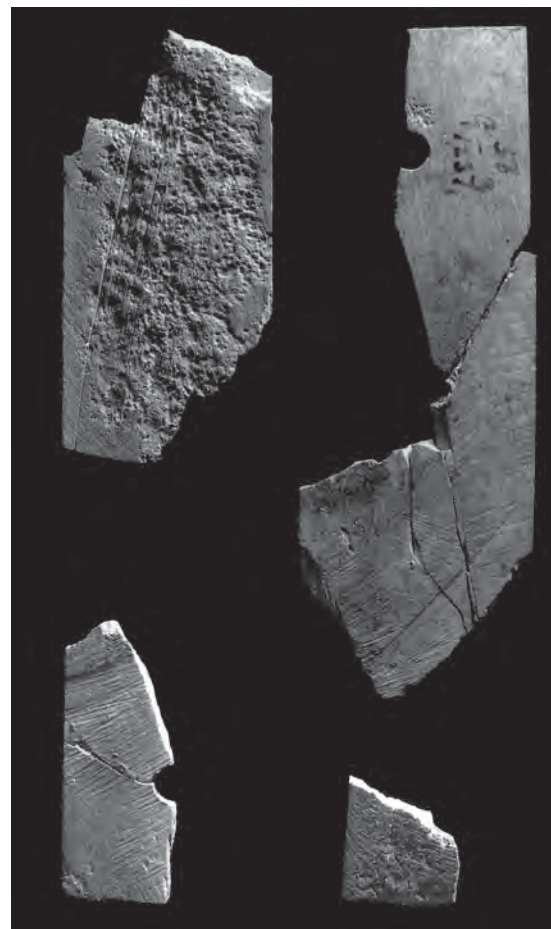
200b. BM 118145



201b and c. BM 123852 & 123853



207b. BM 118106



207b. BM 118106



199b. BM 123863



199c. BM 123863



206. BM 118117



207a. BM 118106



207a. BM 118106



202. BM 118108



204. BM 118115



203. BM 118109/118114



205. BM 123854



224. IM 79589



223. IM 79537



208. BM 118143



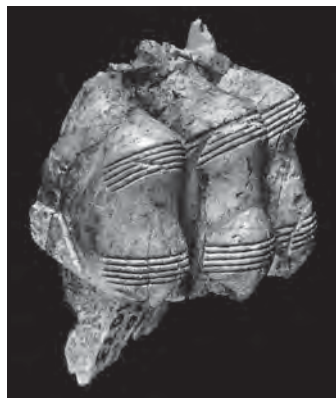
220. ND1068



220.
ND1068



214. ND1090



219. ND1073



219. ND1073



219. ND1073



210. ND1066



211. ND1069



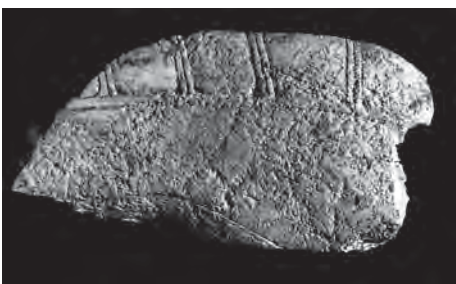
213. ND1089



225. IM 79553



209. ND1075



212. ND1063



229. IM 79557

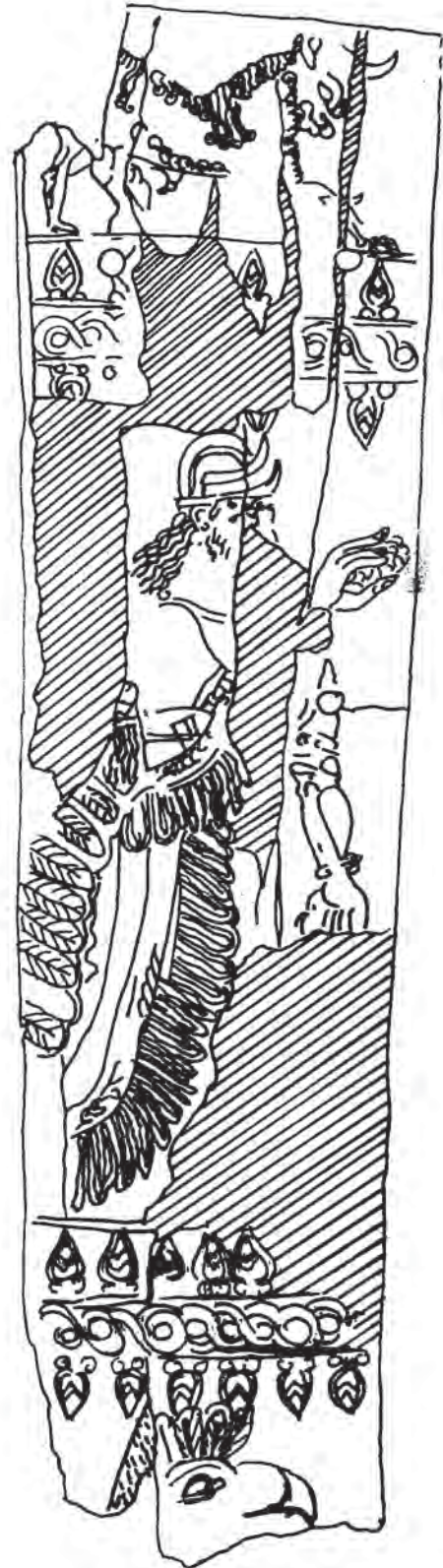




207c. BM 118106



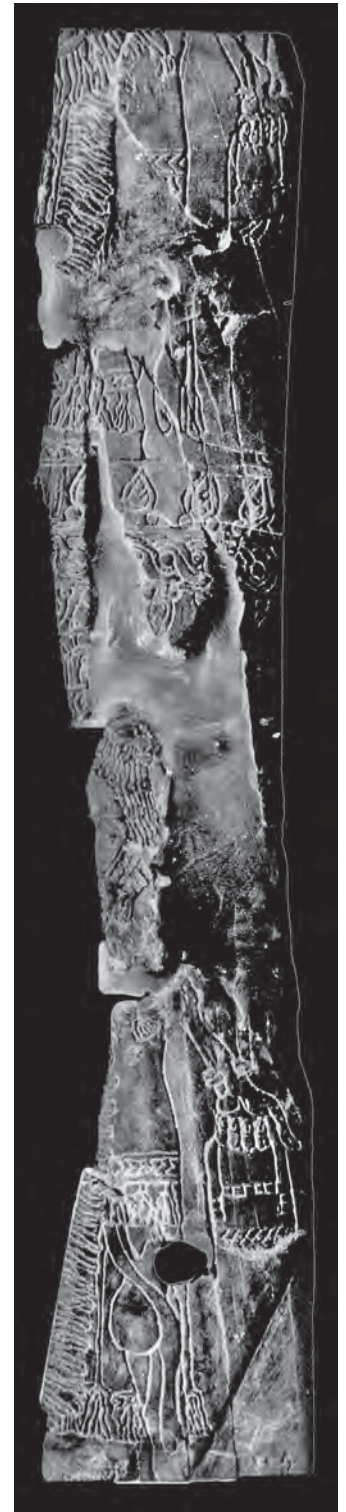
226. IM 79554



226. IM 79554



227. IM 79555



228. IM 79556



230. IM 79520. 1:2



230. IM 79520. 1:4



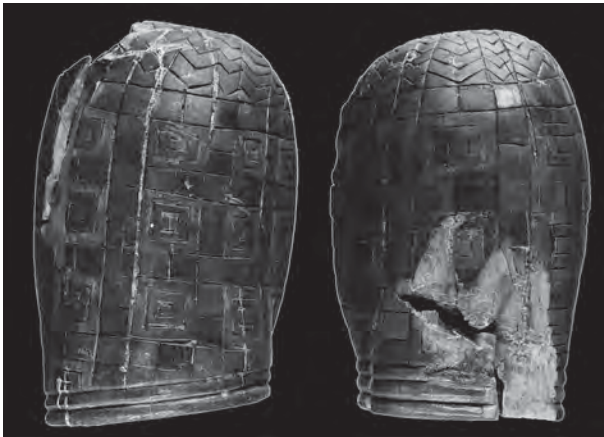
230. IM 79520. 1:2



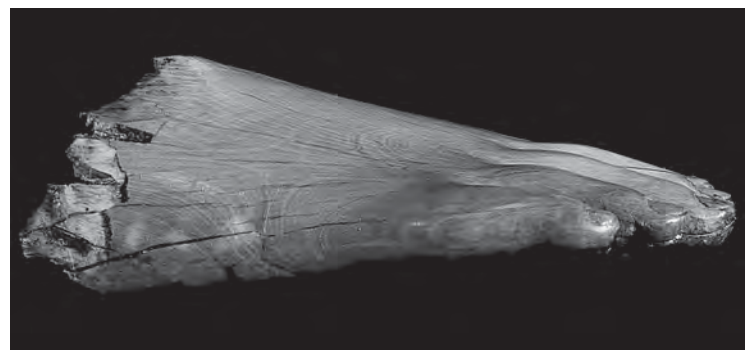
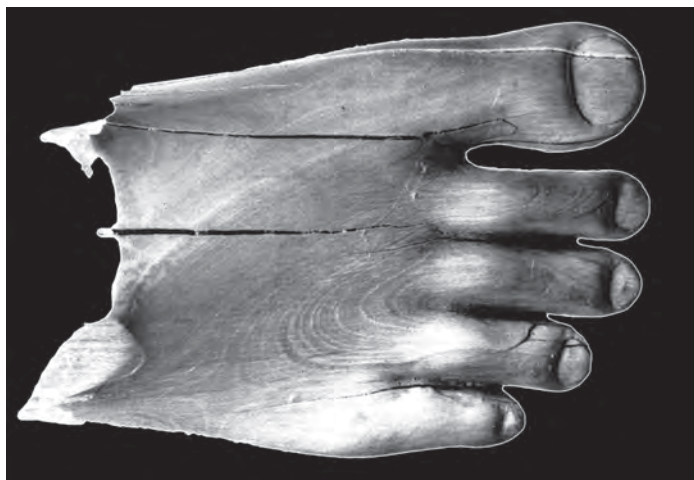
230. IM 79520. 1:2



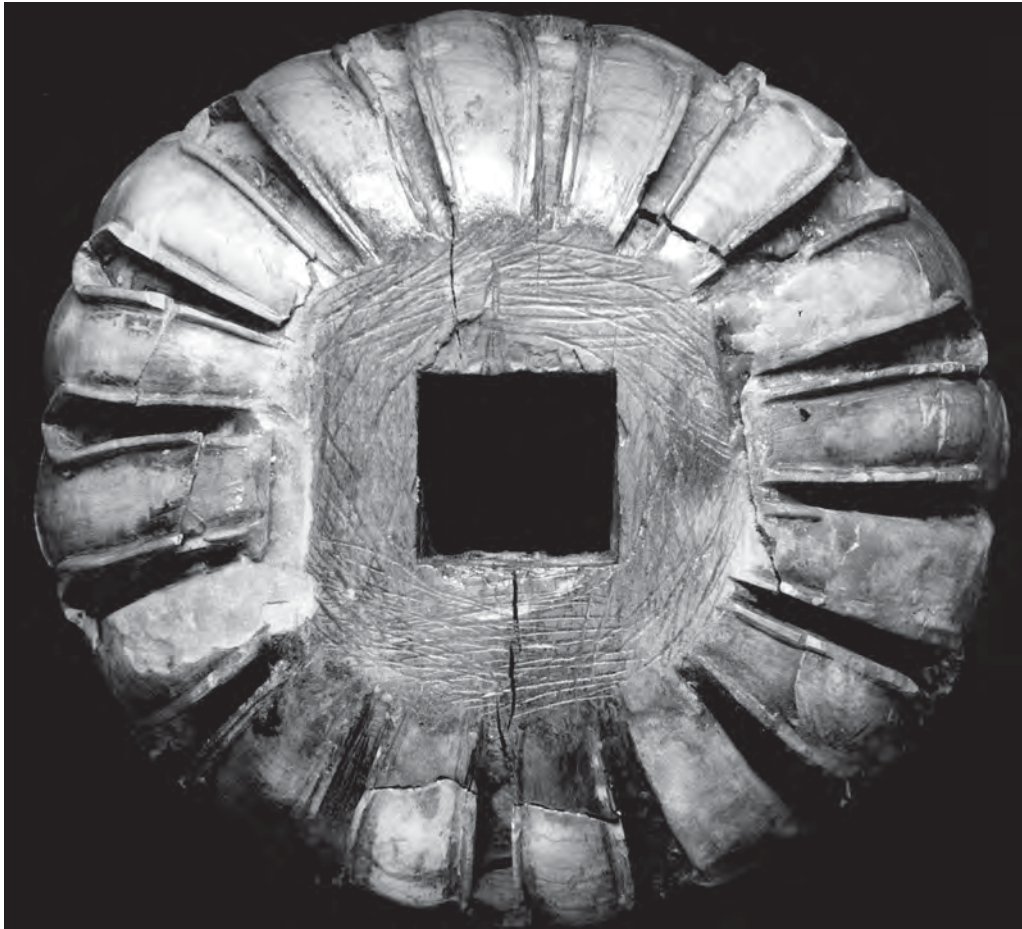
230. IM 79520. Not to scale



230.
IM 79520



231. IM 79521



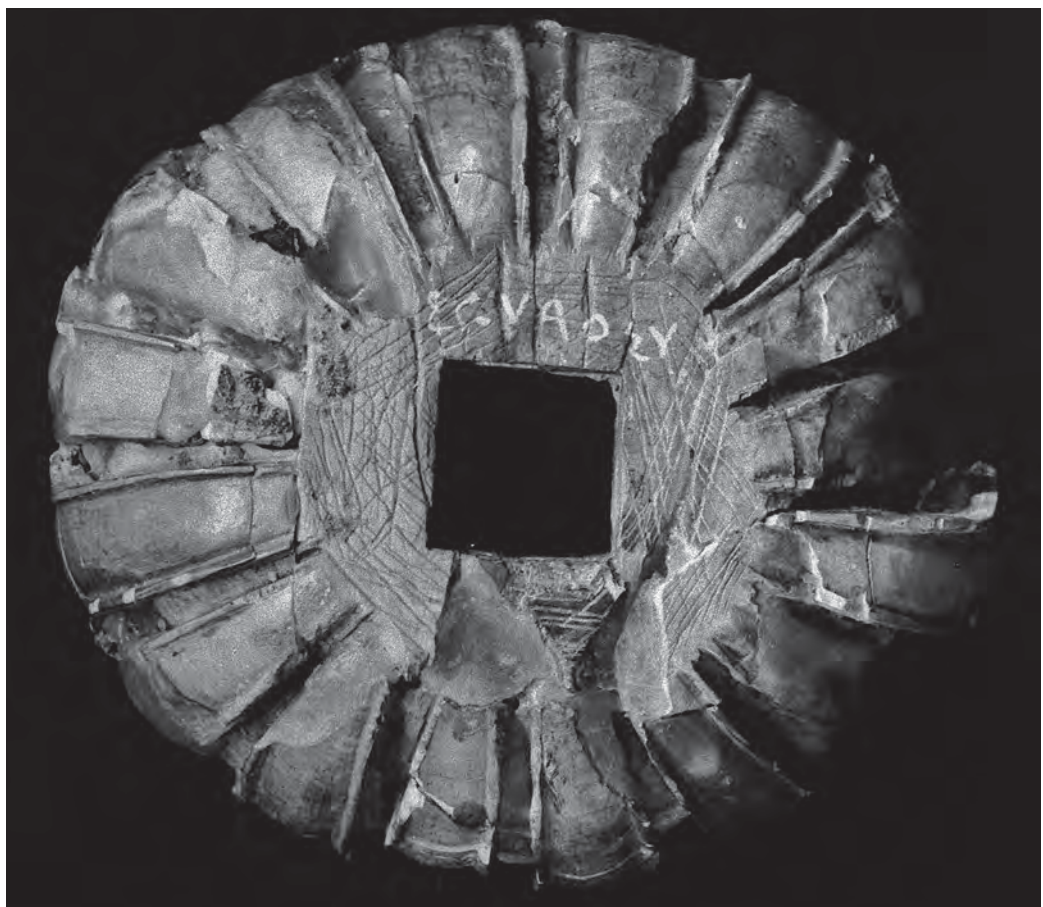
232a. IM 79546. Top



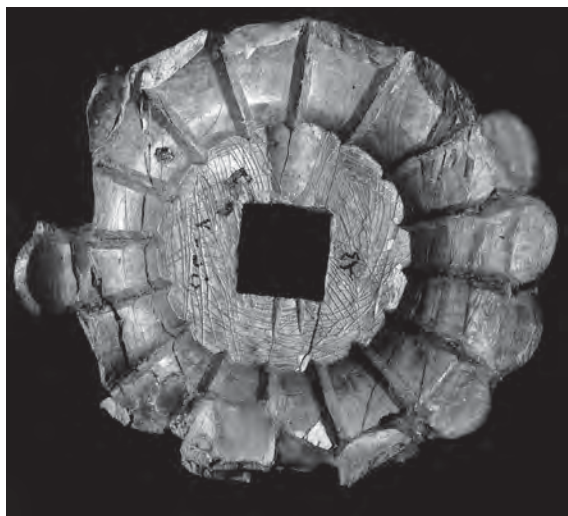
232a. IM 79547. Bottom



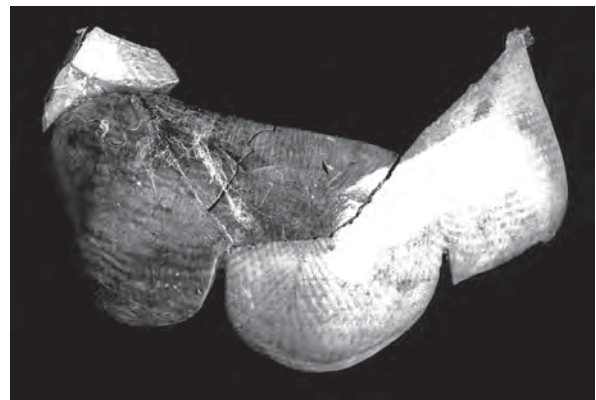
232a. IM 79546. Side



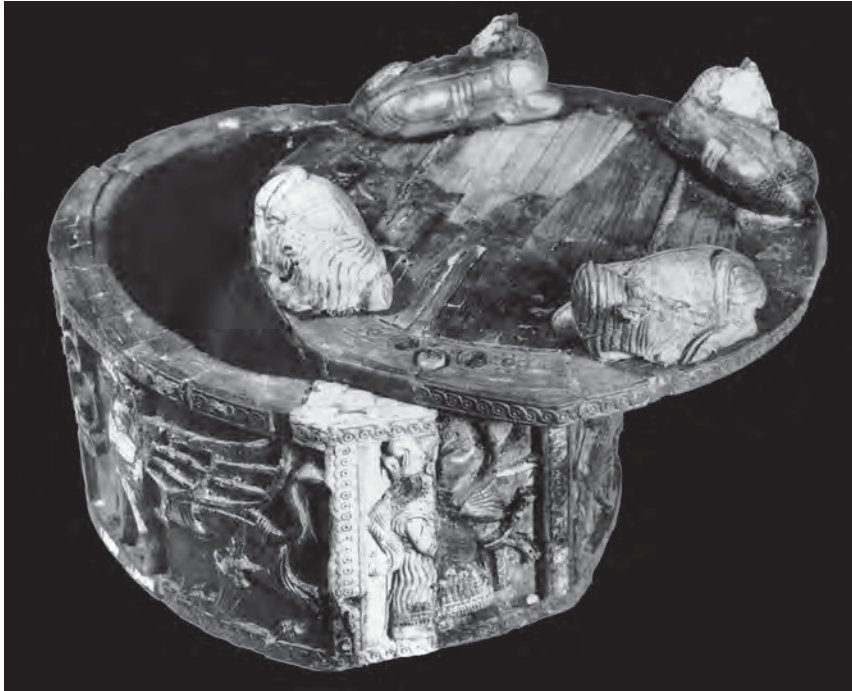
232b. IM 79547. Top



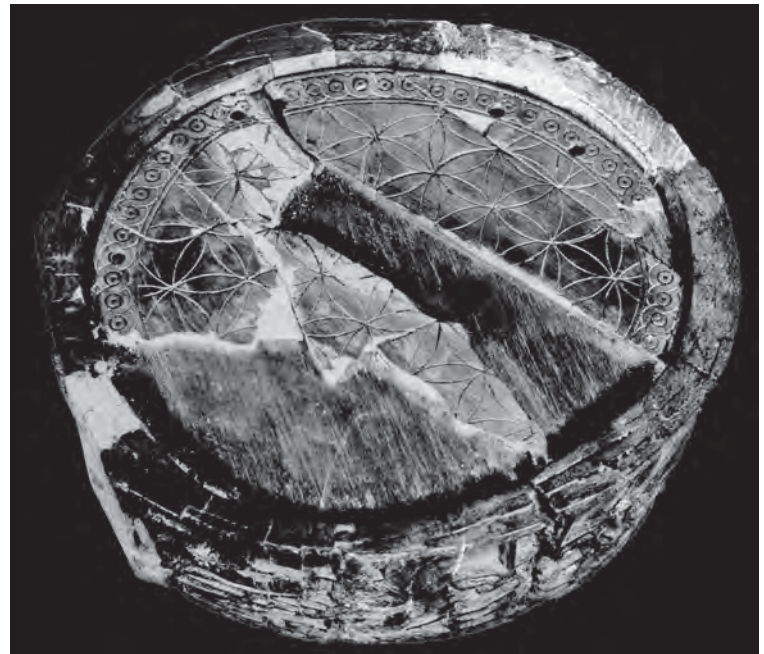
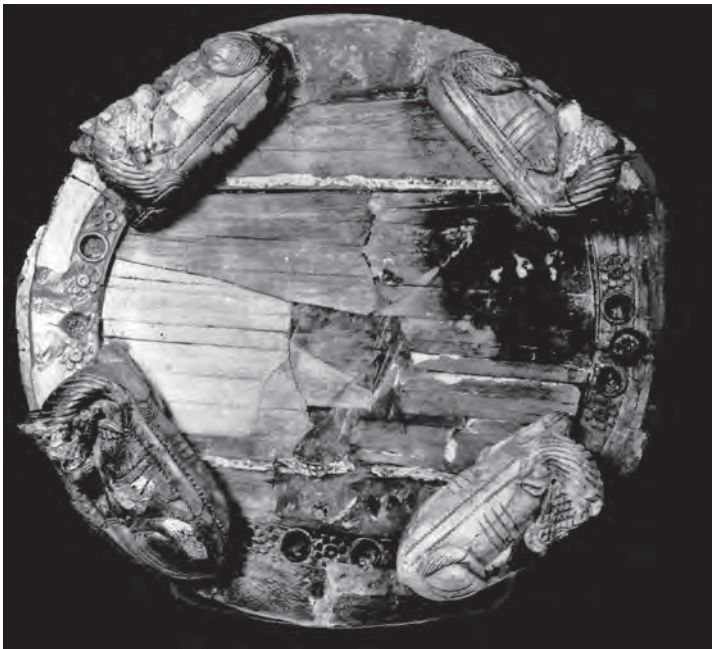
232. IM 79547. 1:2



232c. IM 79549

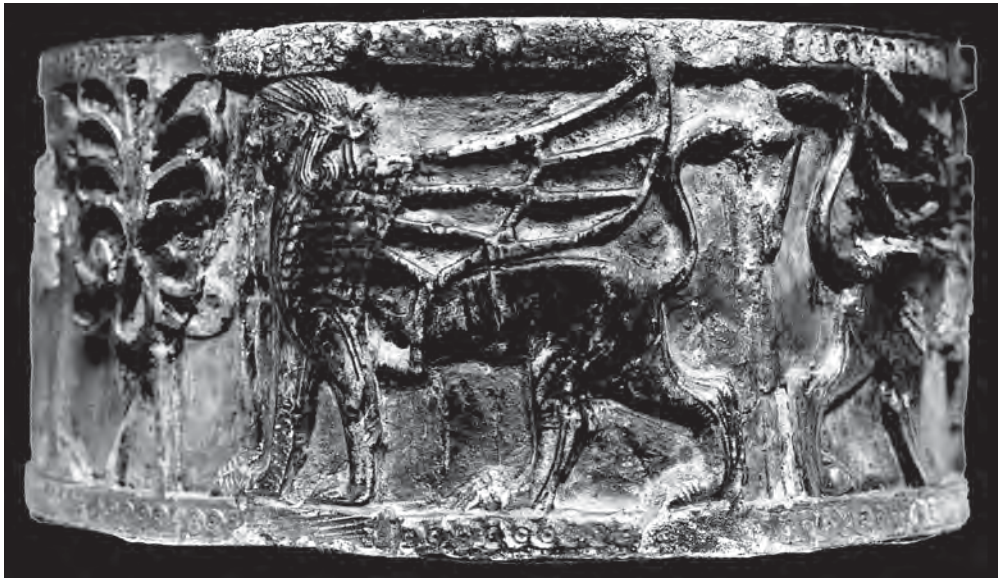


233. IM 79514. All not to scale





233. IM 79514



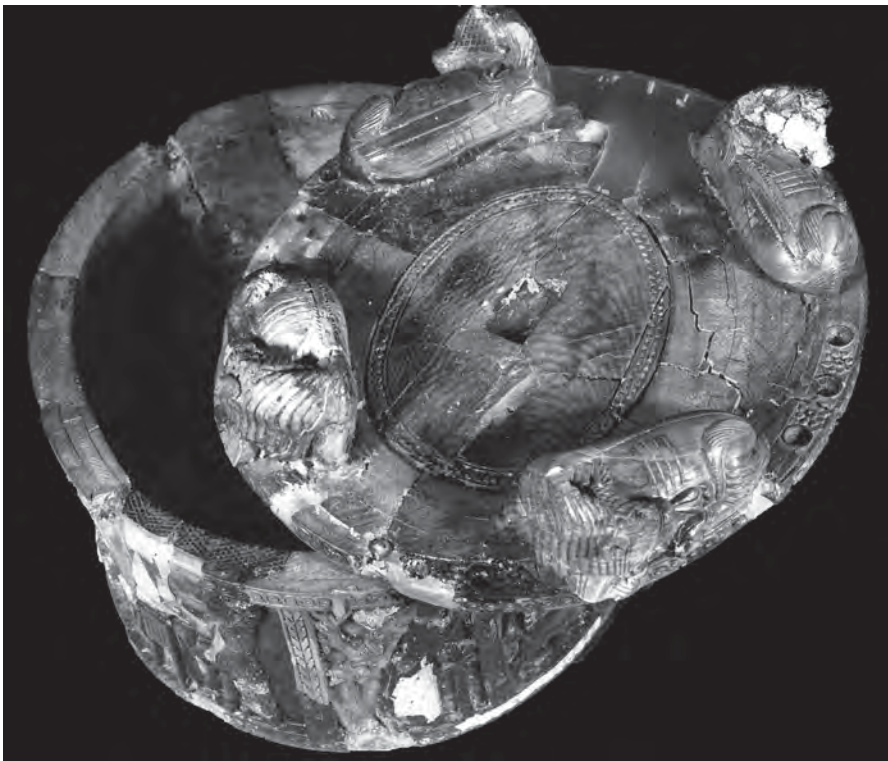
233. IM 79514



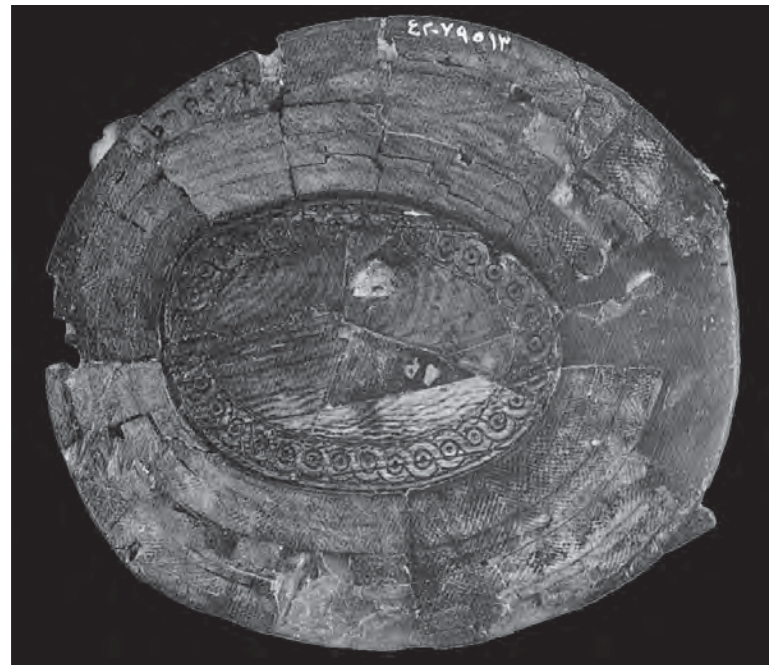
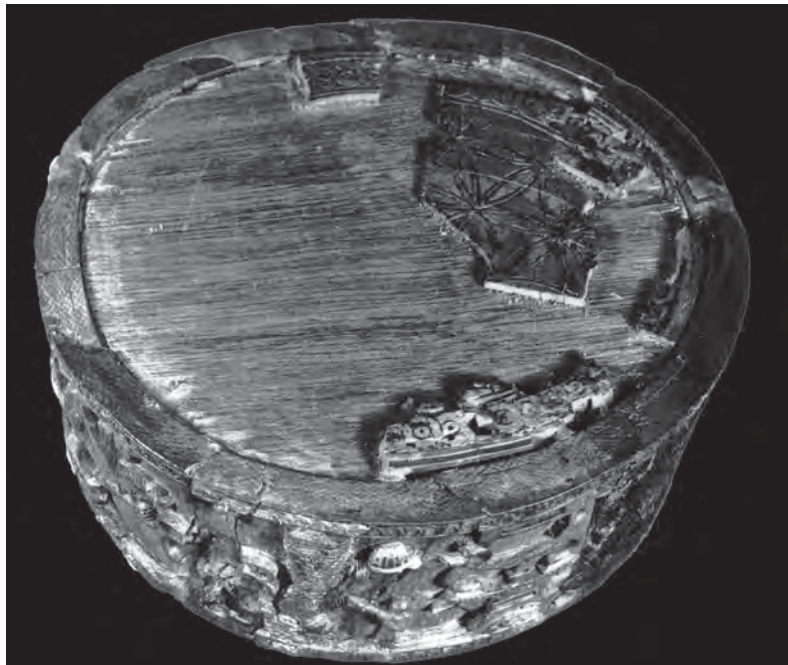
233. IM 79514



233. IM 79514. Not to scale



234. IM 79513 all not to scale





234. IM 79513



234. IM 79513



234. IM 79513 not to scale





235. IM 79515. Not to scale



235. IM 79515



235. IM 79515



235. IM 79515



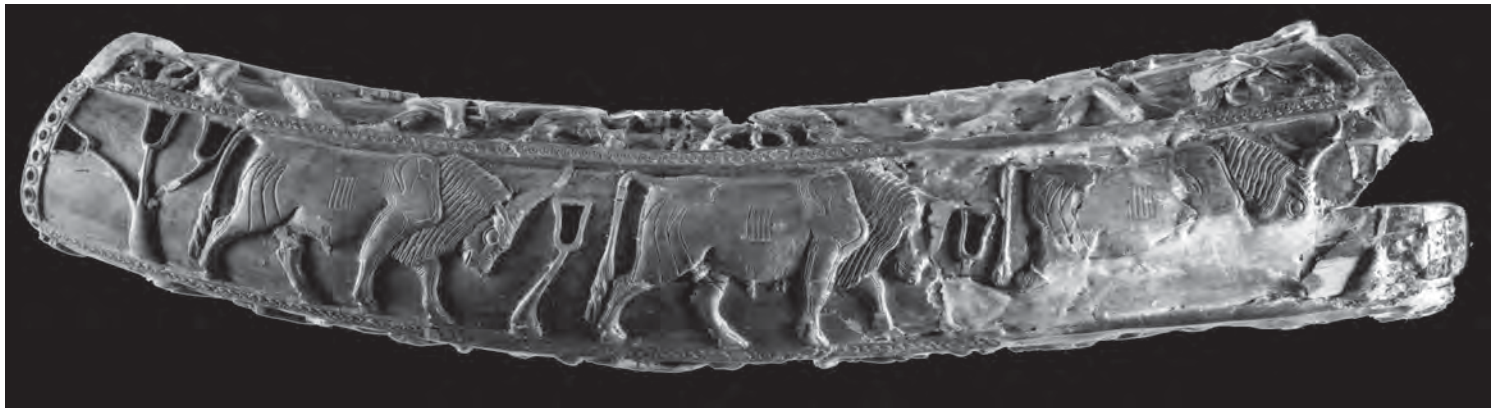
236. IM 79508. 1:2



236. IM 79510



236b. IM 79510



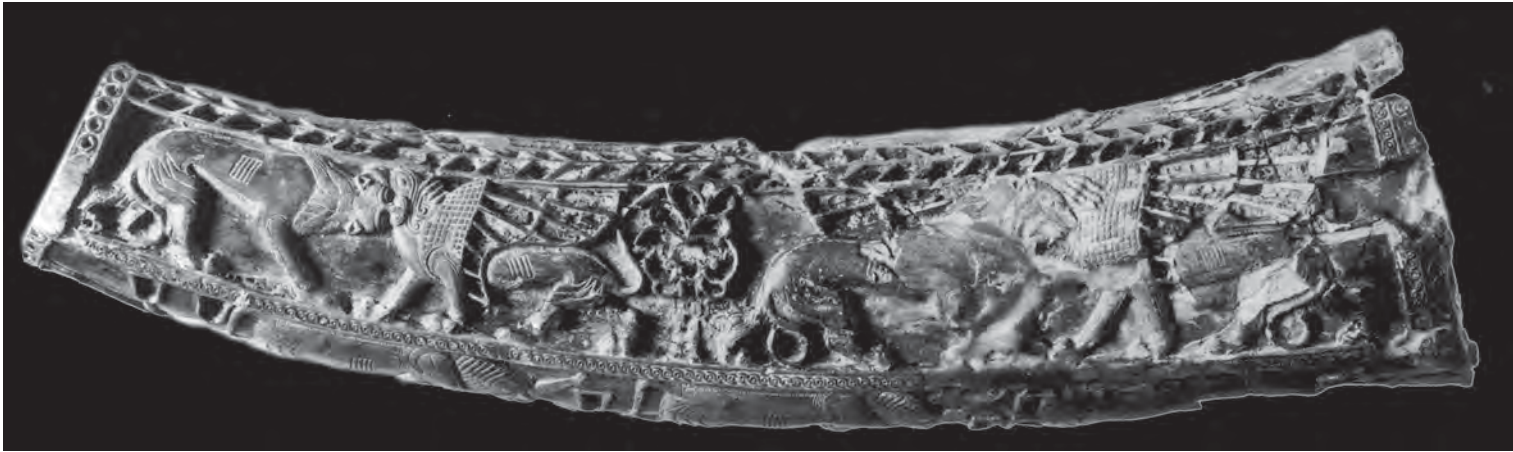
236. IM 79508. 1:2



236. IM 79508. Not to scale



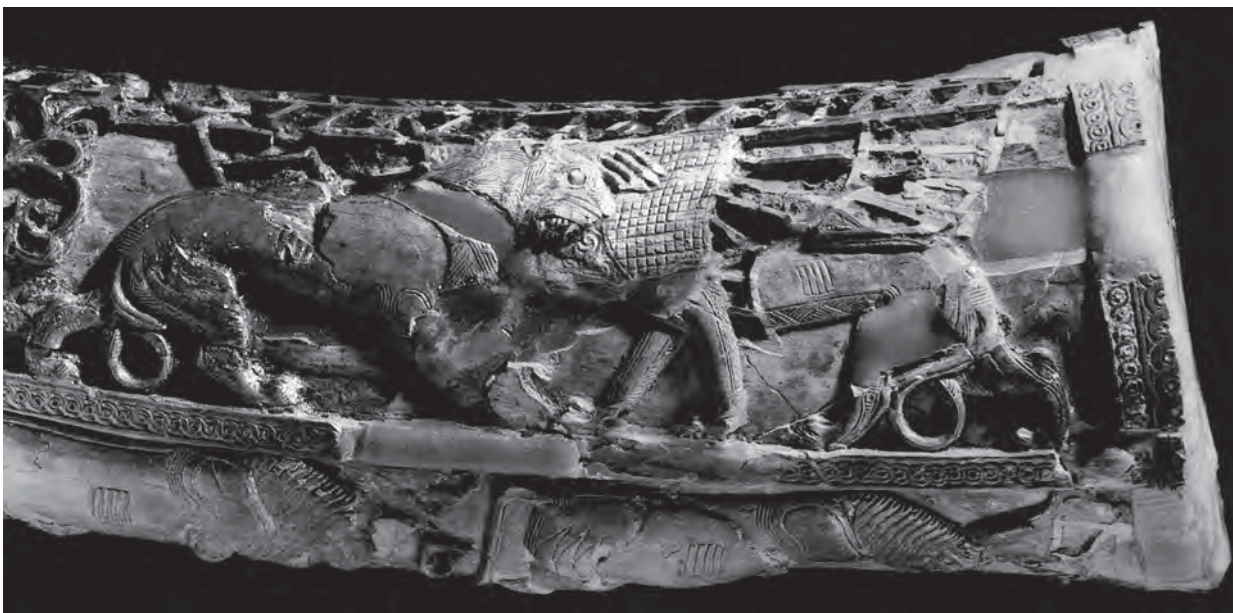
236. IM 79508. Not to scale



236. IM 79508. 1:2



236. IM 79508. Not to scale



236. IM 79508. Not to scale



236b. IM 79508. 1:2



236. IM 79508. Not to scale



236. IM 79508. Not to scale



236. IM 79508. 1:2



236. IM 79508. Not to scale



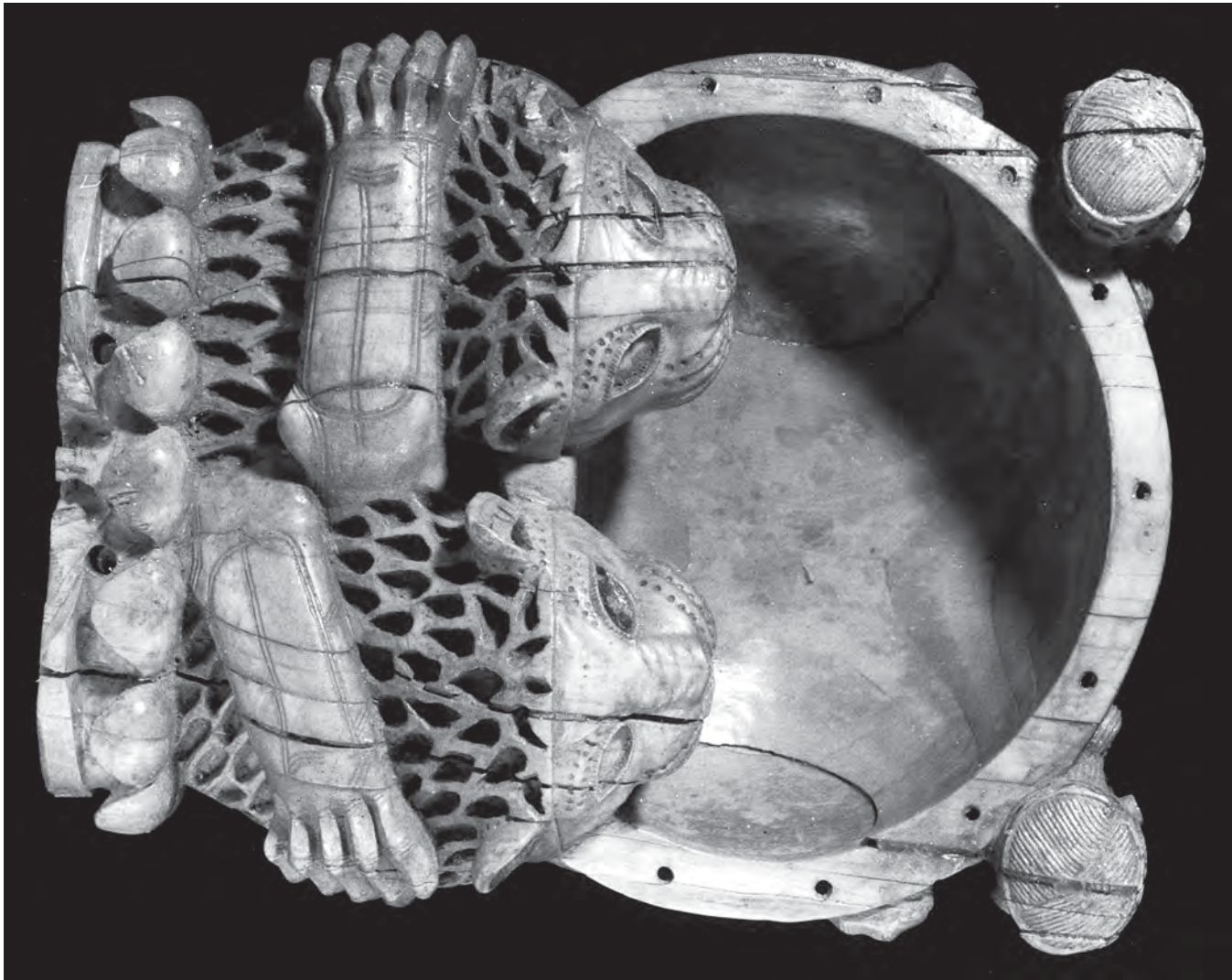
236. IM 79508. Not to scale



236. IM 79508



236a. IM 79508



237. IM 79511



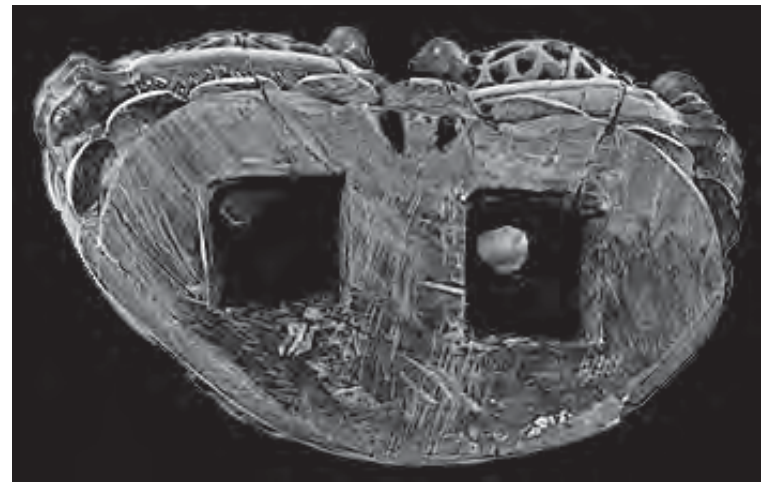
237. IM 79511



237. IM 79511. Not to scale



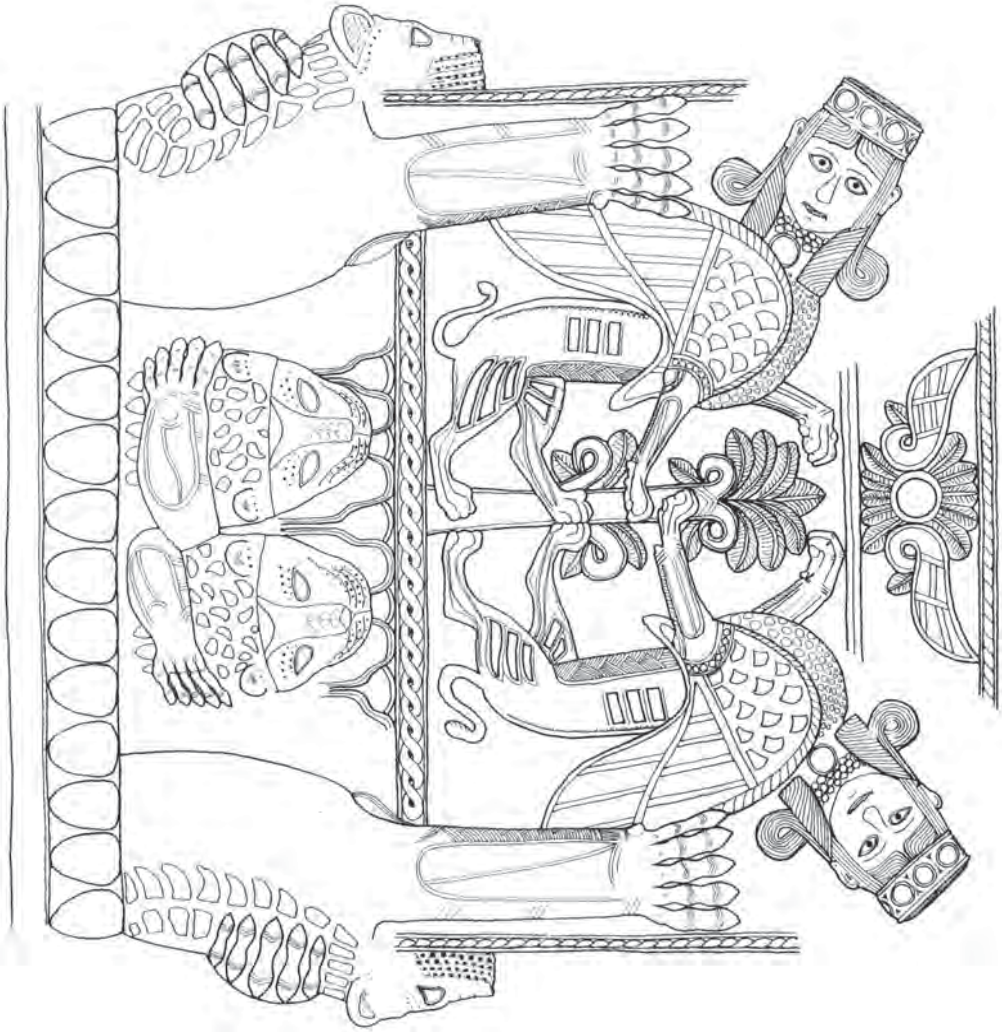
237. IM 79511. Not to scale



237. IM 79511.



237. IM 79511



237. IM 79511

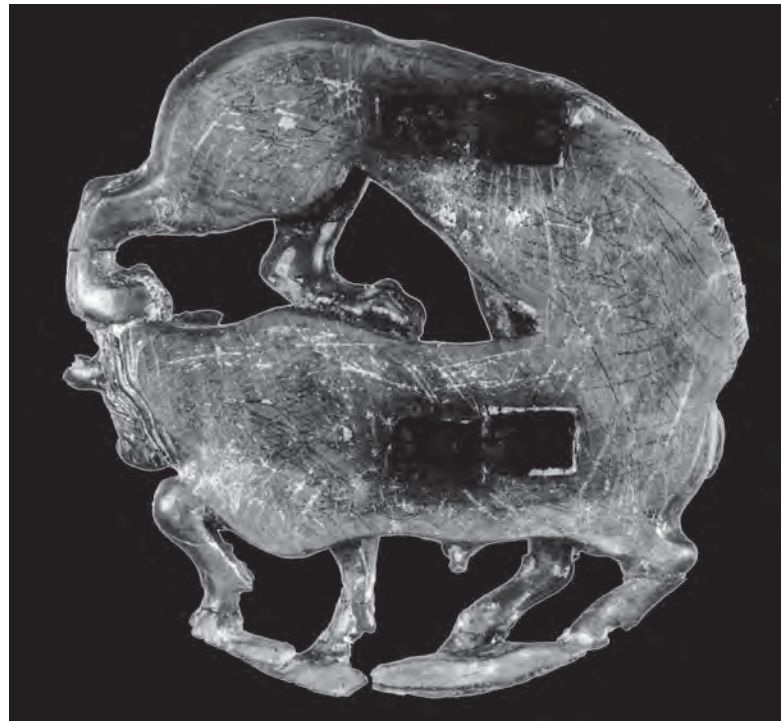




241. IM 79533



238. IM 79519



238. IM 79519



239. IM 79503



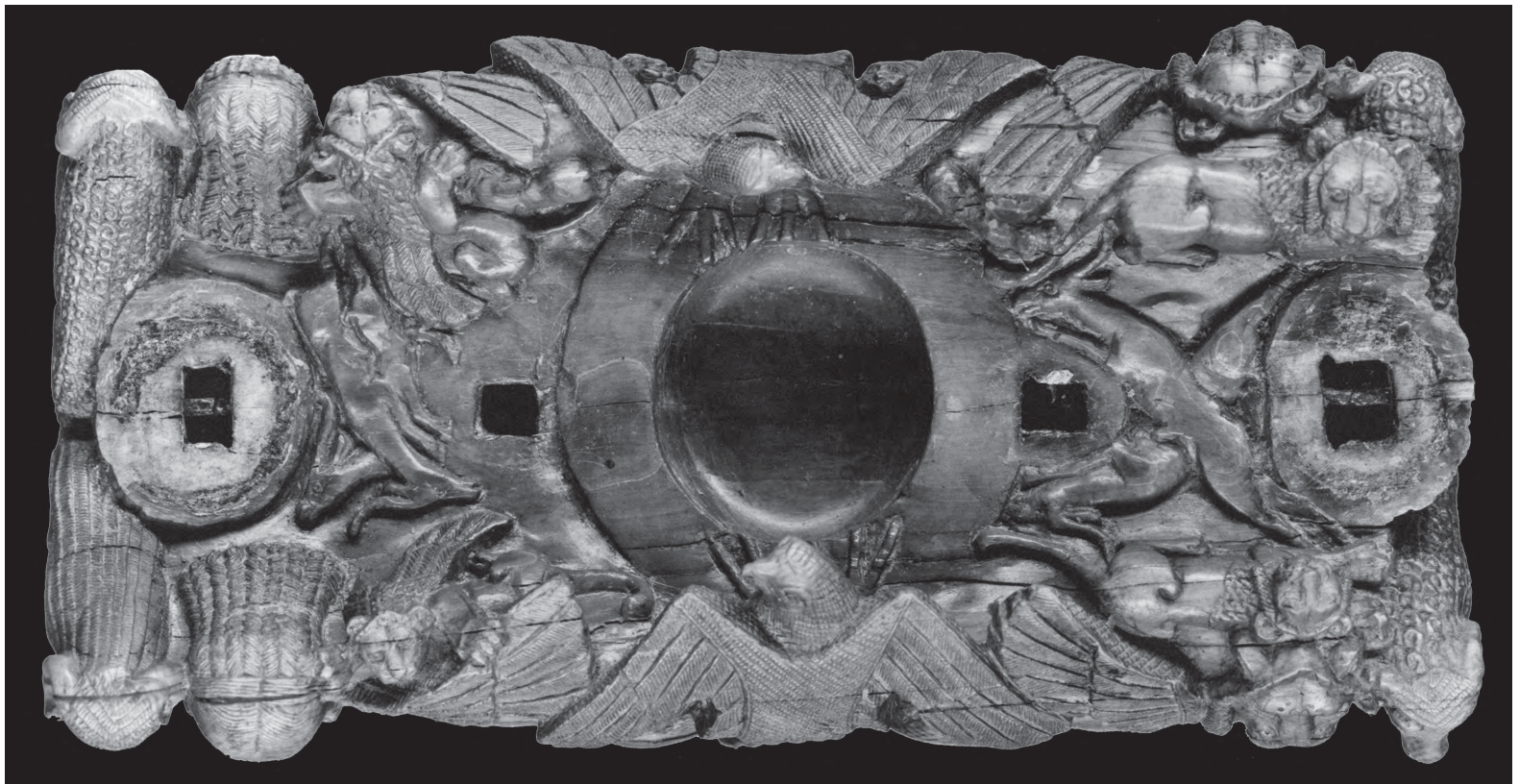
239. IM 79502



239. IM 79502



239. IM 79501. Not to scale



239. IM 79501. Not to scale



239.
IM 79501



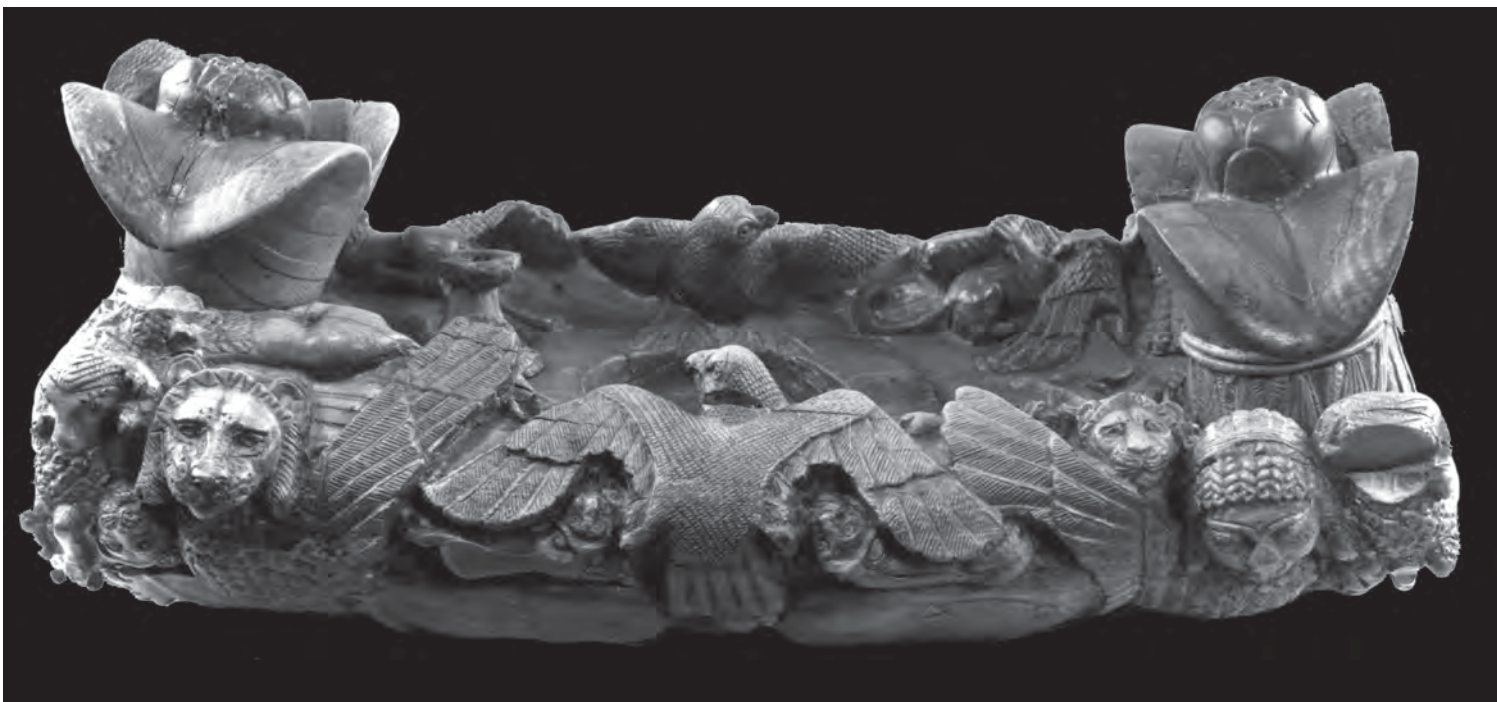
239.
IM 79501



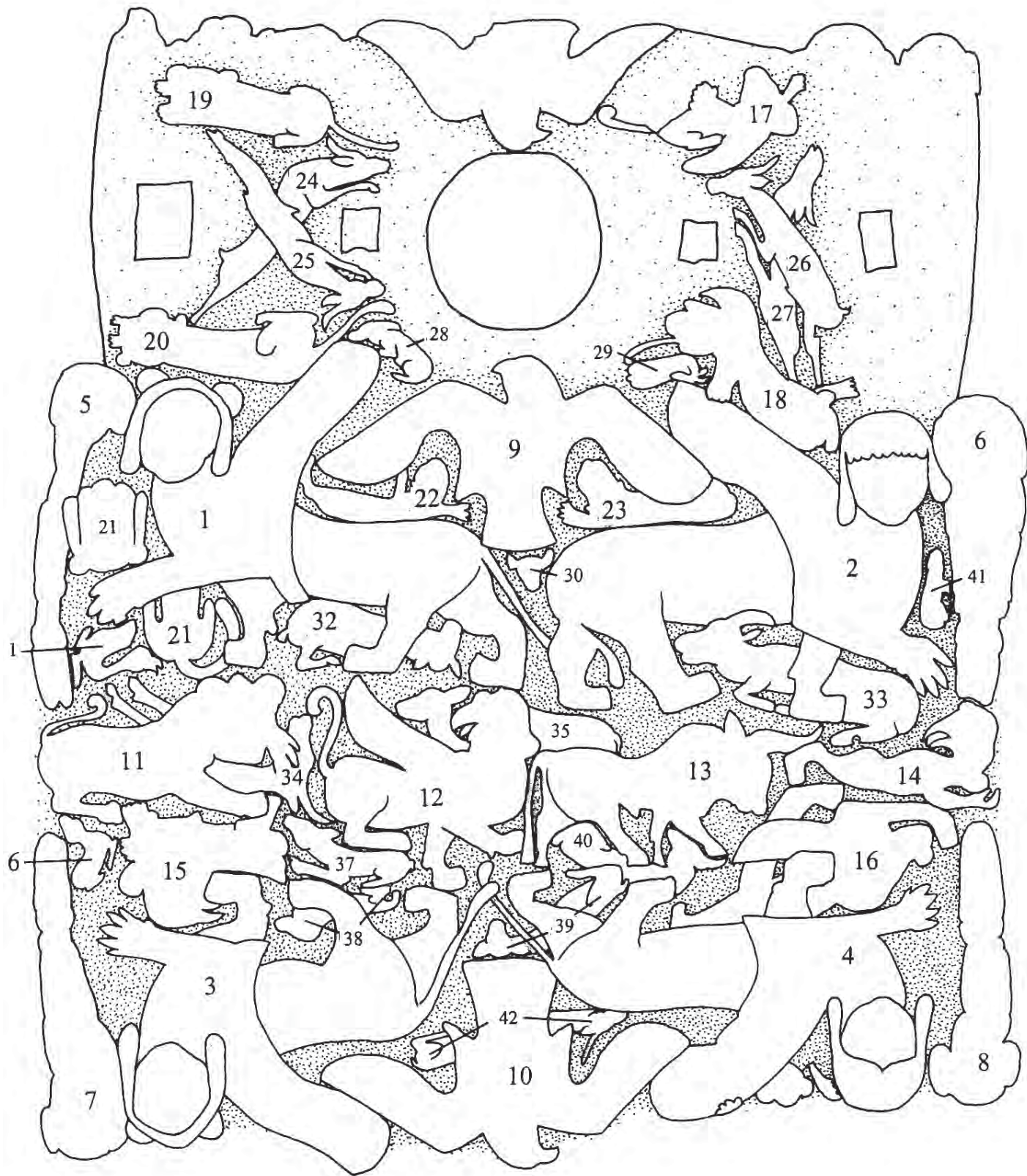
239.
IM 79501



239. IM 79501. Not to scale



239. IM 79501. Not to scale



239. IM 79501 Annotated drawing.



239. IM 79501. Not to scale.



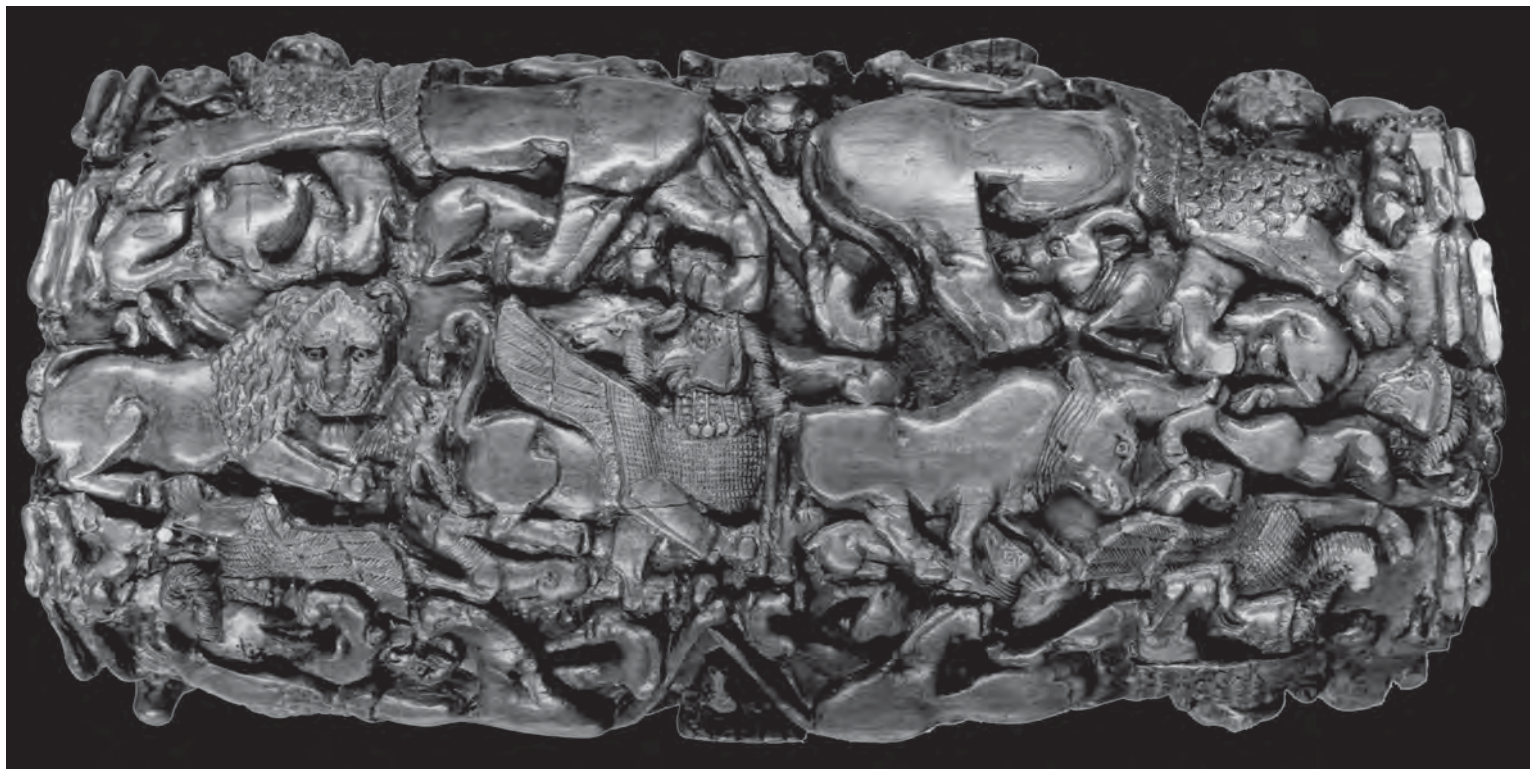
239. IM 79501.



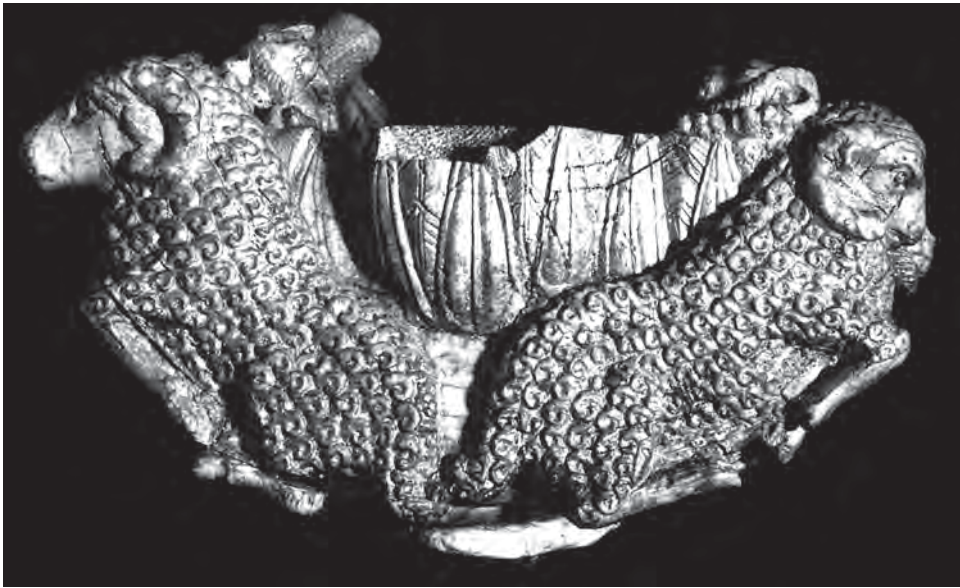
239. IM 79501.



239. IM 79501. Not to scale



239. IM 79501. Slightly reduced



239. IM 79501.



239. IM 79501.



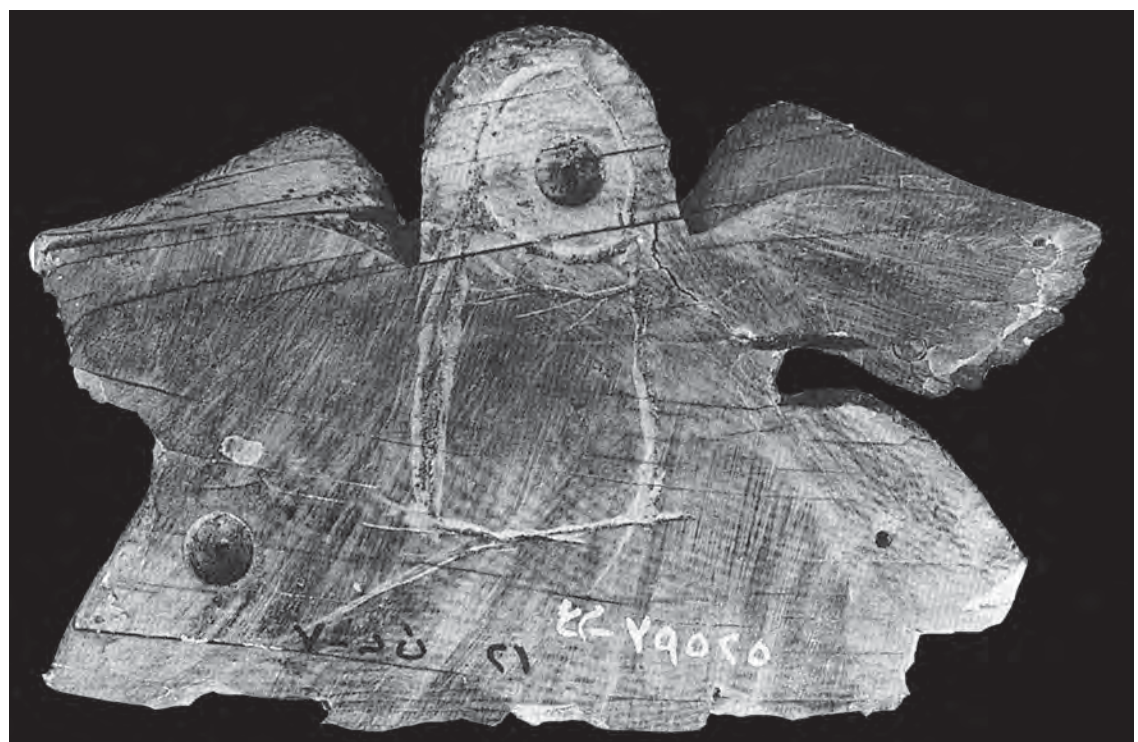
239. IM 79501.



244. IM 79534

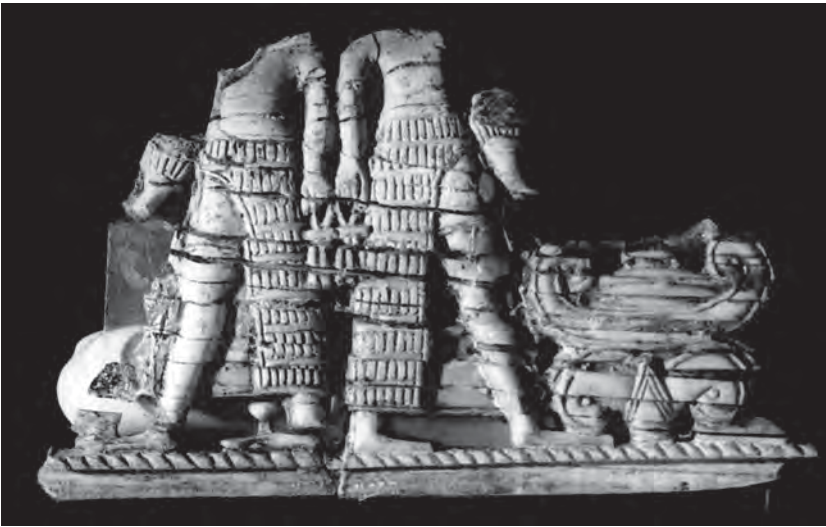


240. IM 79525





242. IM 79529



242. IM 79529



243. IM 79590



242. IM 79529



242. IM 79529



245. As found.



245. IM 79580



245. IM 79577



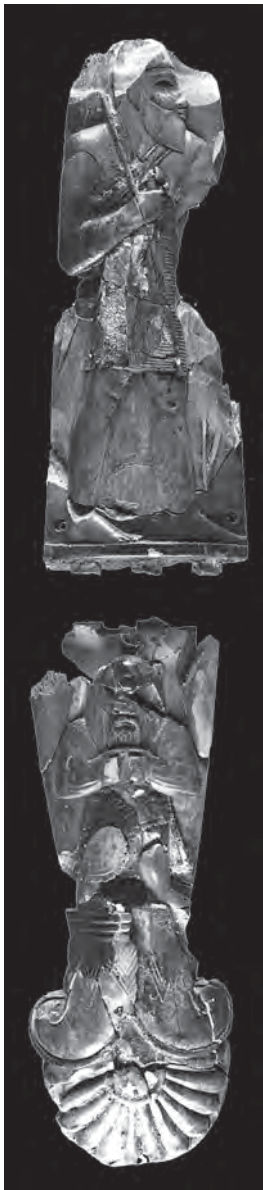
246. IM 79579



246. IM 79579



246. IM 79579.
As found



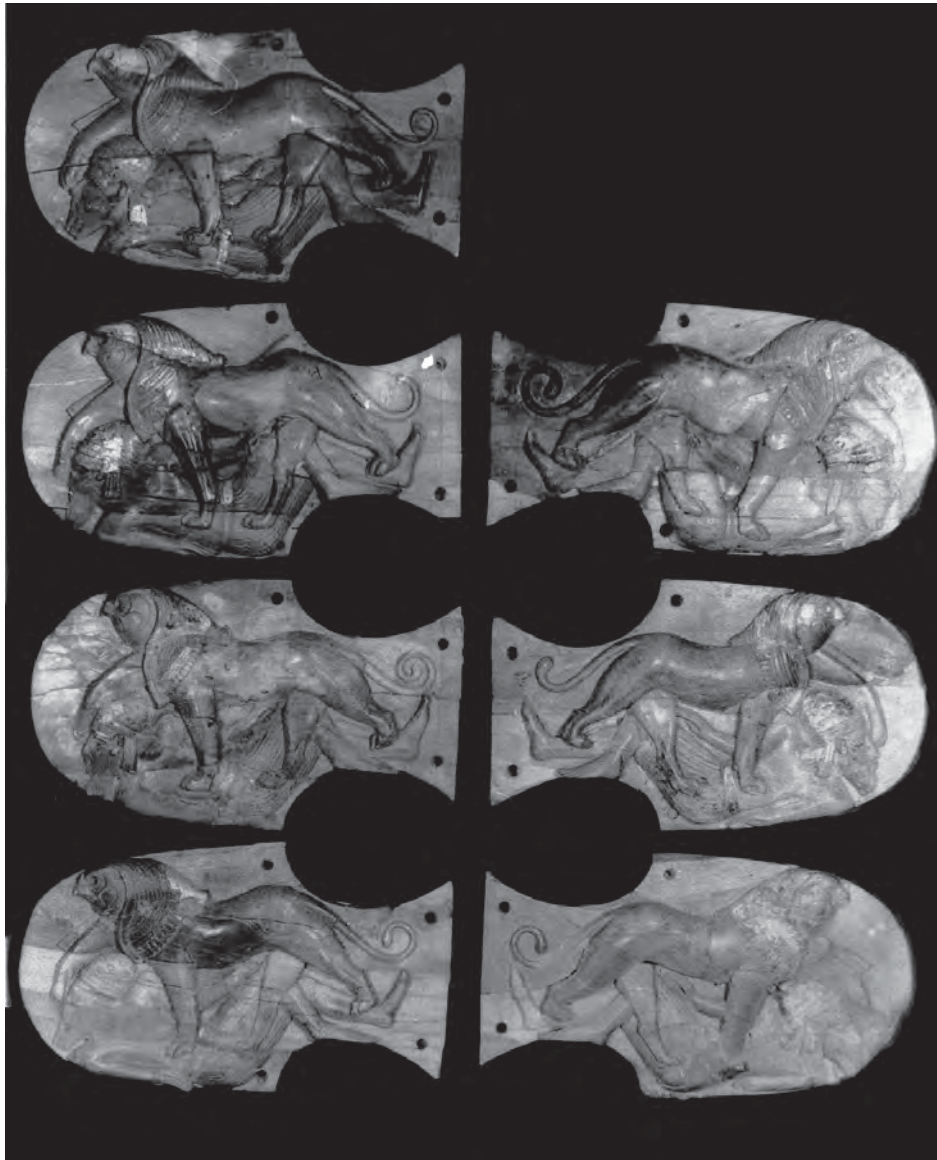
247. IM 79576.
As found



247. IM 79576



247. IM 79576

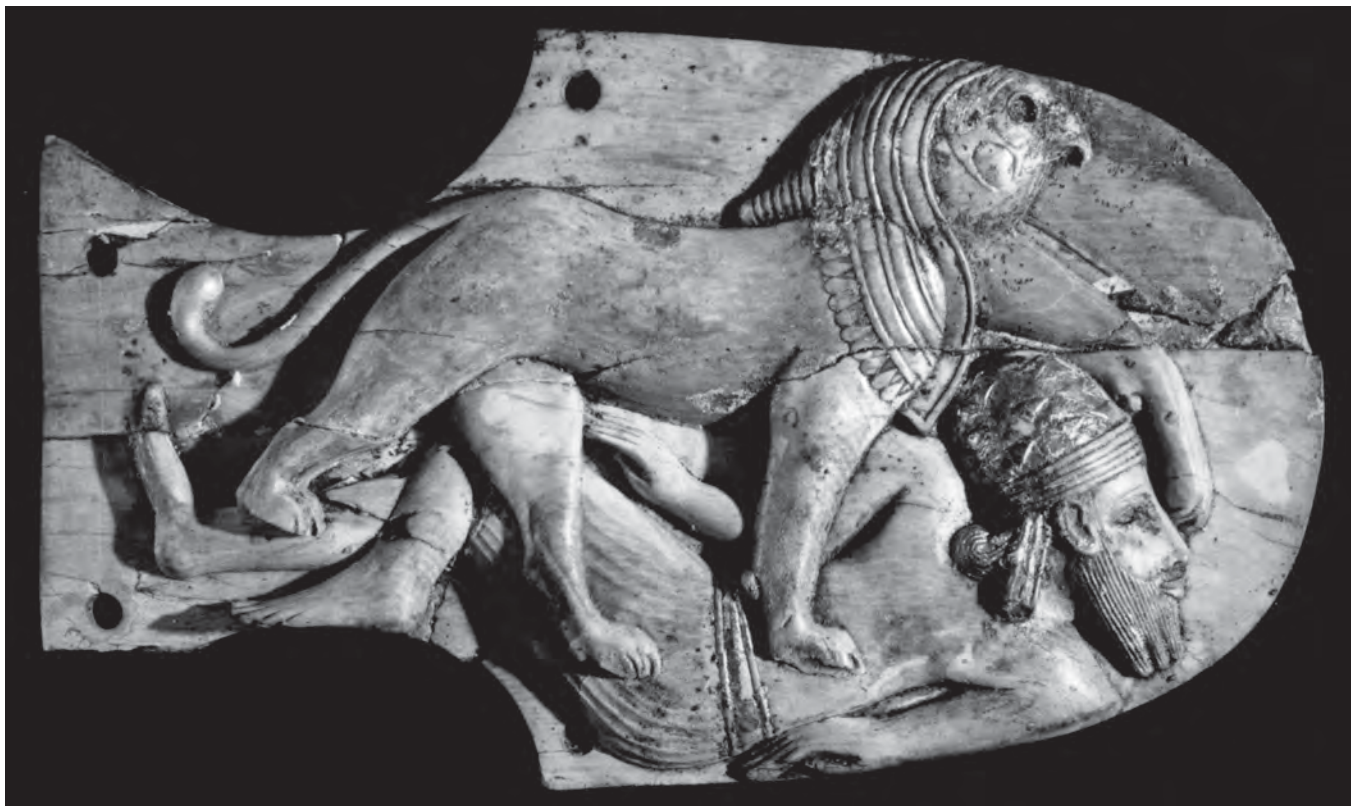


251(?).
IM ?

248.
IM 79565 &
79566

249.
IM 79569

250.
IM 79567 &
79568



249. IM 79569



248a. IM 79565



248b. IM 79566



250. IM 79567/68



251. IM 79570/71



252-255 as found - Not to scale



252. IM 79584 Slightly reduced.



252. IM 79583 Slightly reduced.



253. IM 79585 Slightly reduced.



253. IM 79586 Slightly reduced.



254. IM 79581 Slightly reduced.



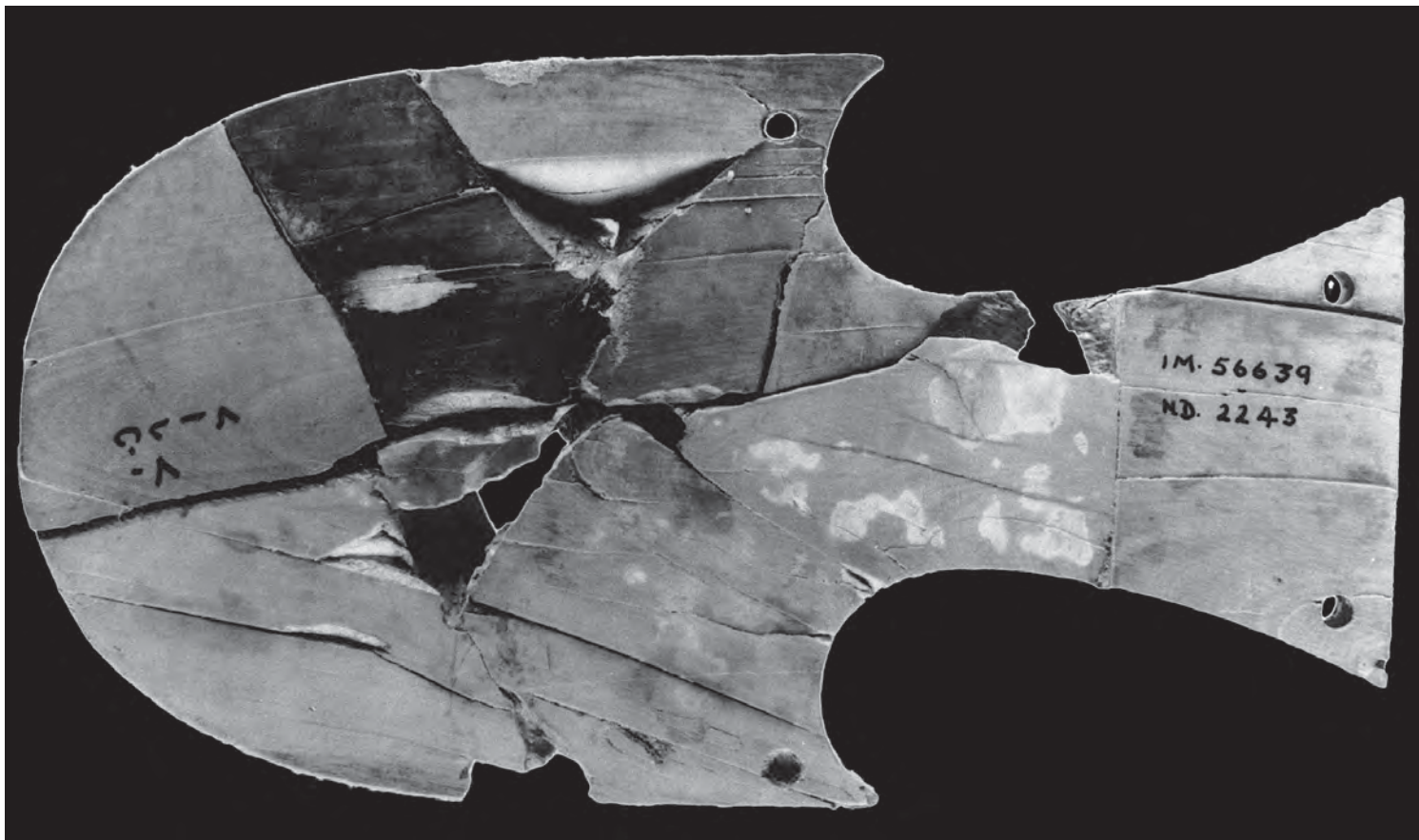
254. IM 79582 Slightly reduced.



255. IM 79572b

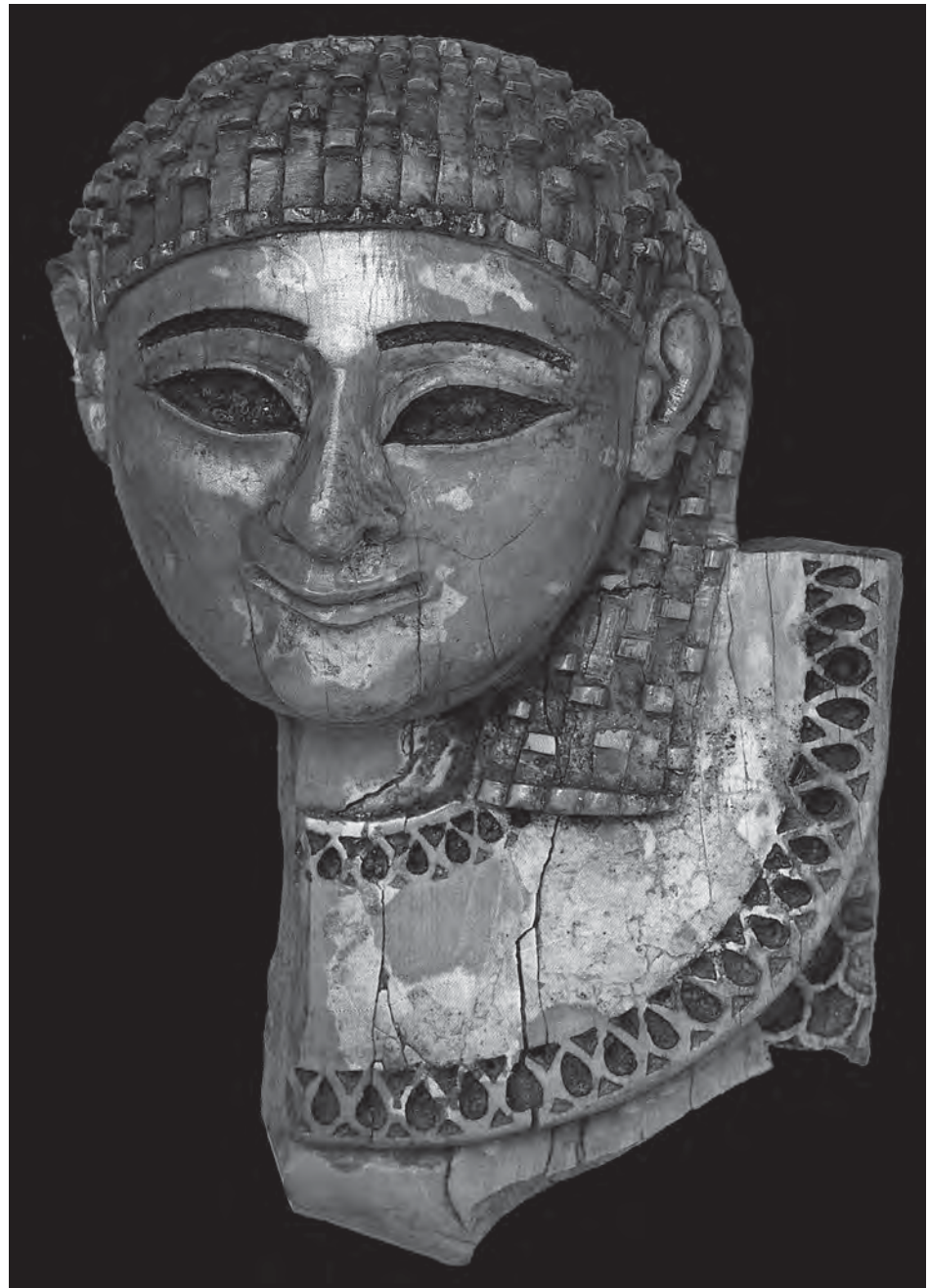


255. IM 79573



257. IM 79575 & IM 56639 from Well NN

259. IM 79522



256. IM 79574

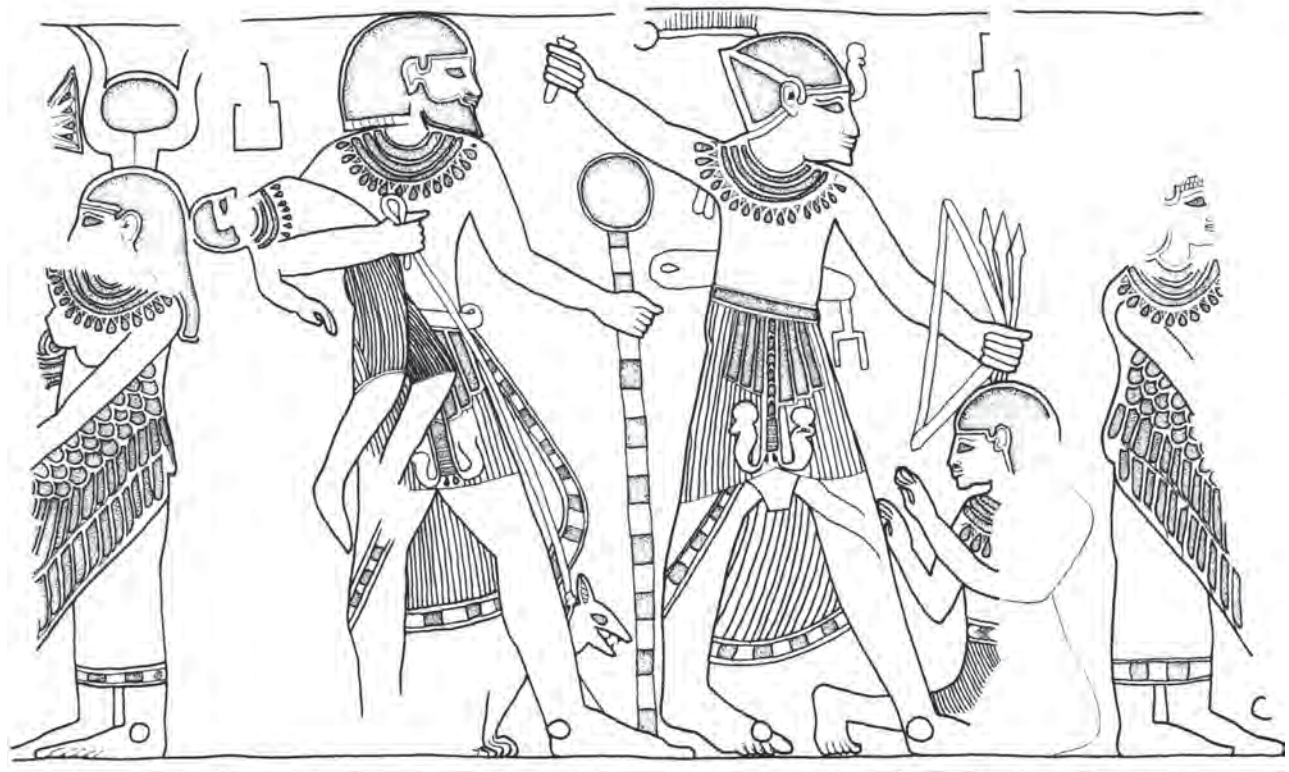




258. IM 79516



264. IM 79535 Slightly reduced.



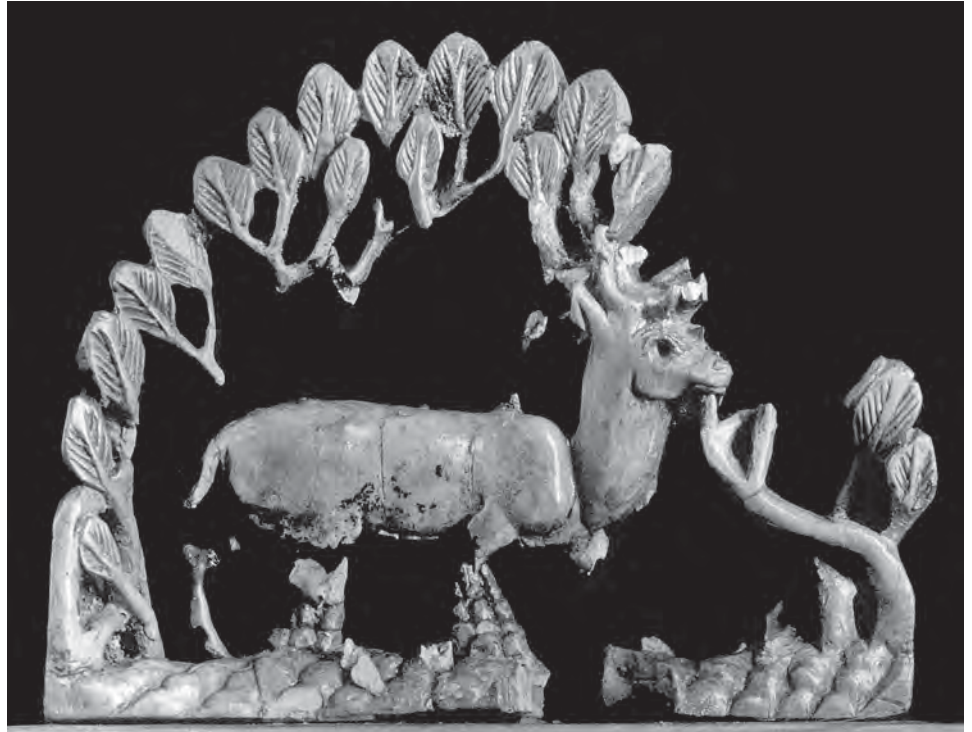
258. IM 79516
Slightly reduced.



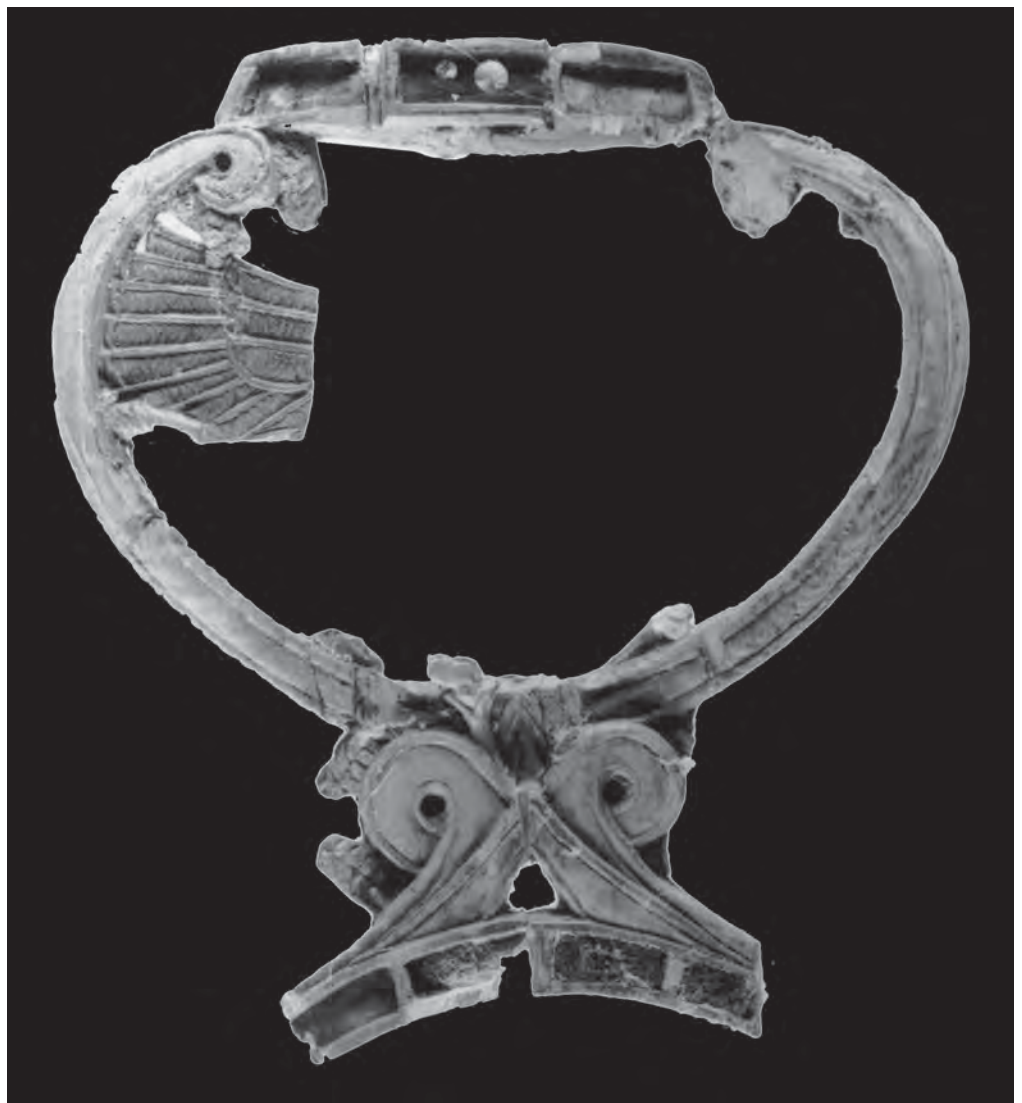
262. IM 79530



260. IM 79523



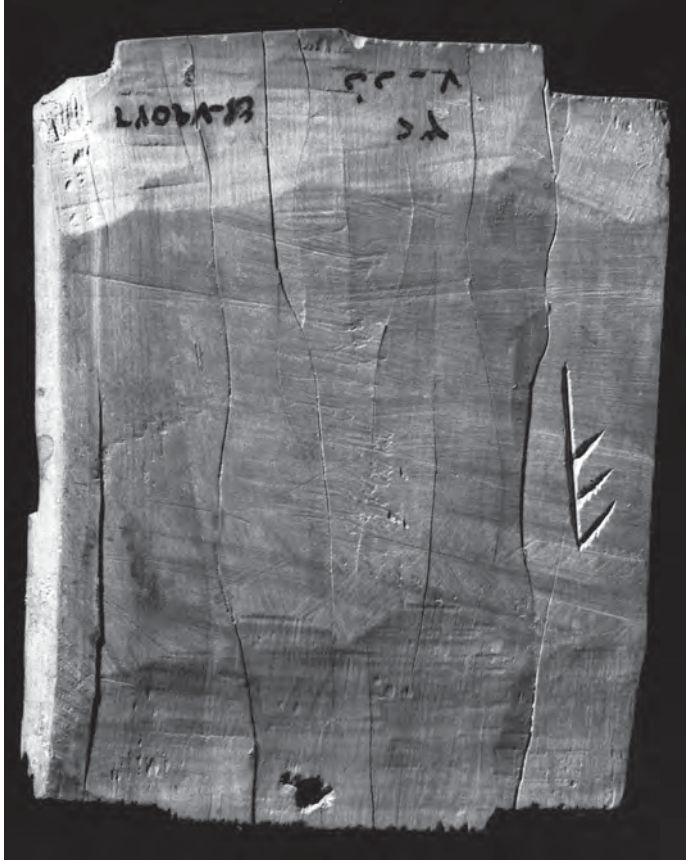
263. IM 79526



261. IM 79527



265. IM 79528



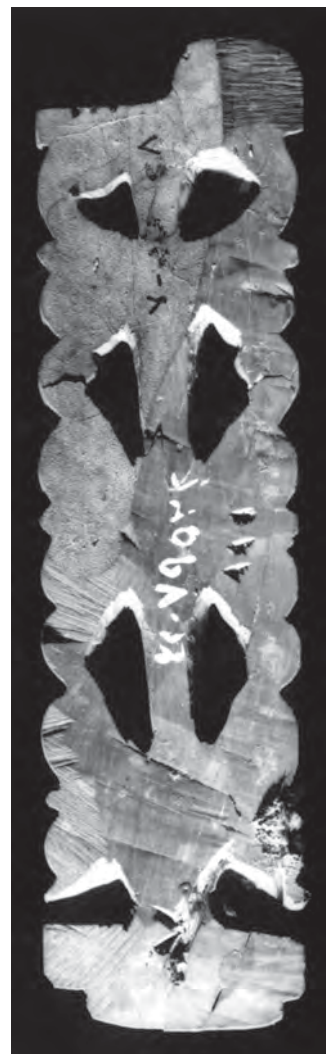
266. IM 79536



266. IM 79536



267. IM 79588



268. IM 79532





269. IM 79524



273. IM 79548



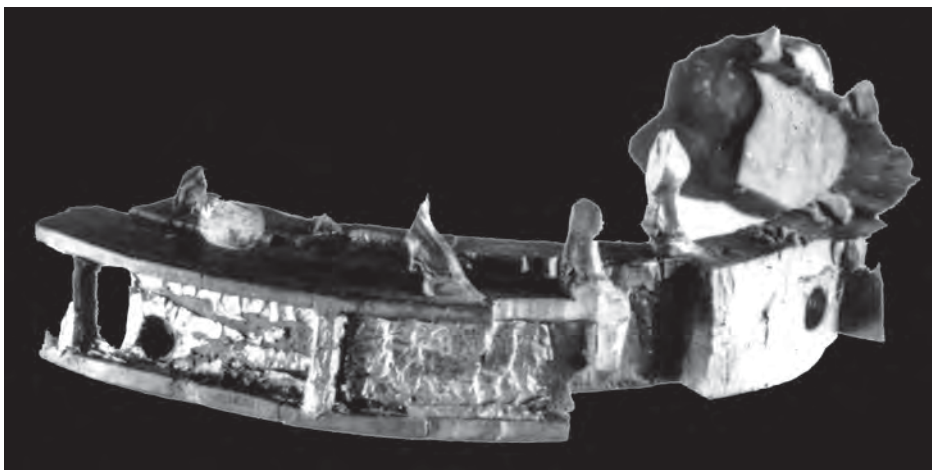
274. IM 79550



269. IM 79524



270. IM 79560



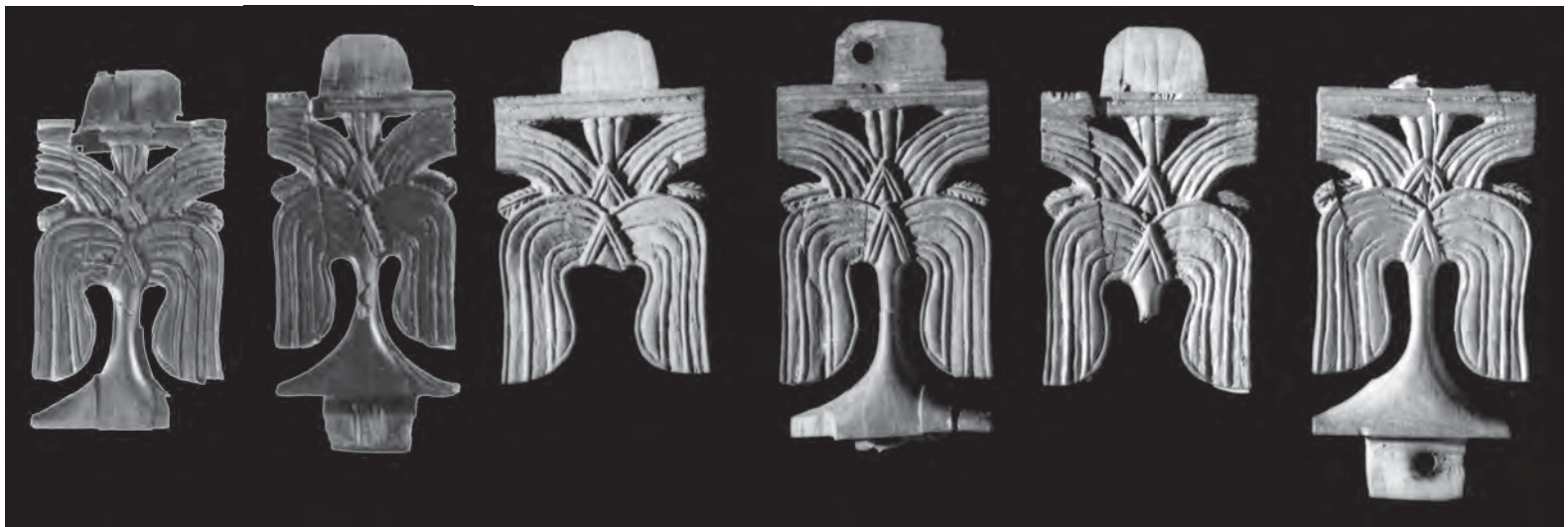
276. IM 79517



272. IM 79551



275. IM 79518



f

e

d

b

c

a



d

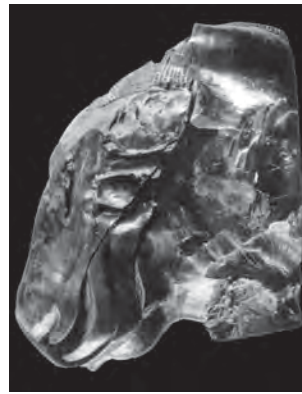
b 271. IM 79531

c

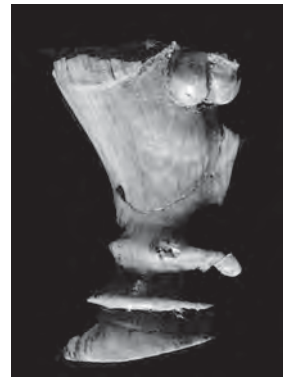
a



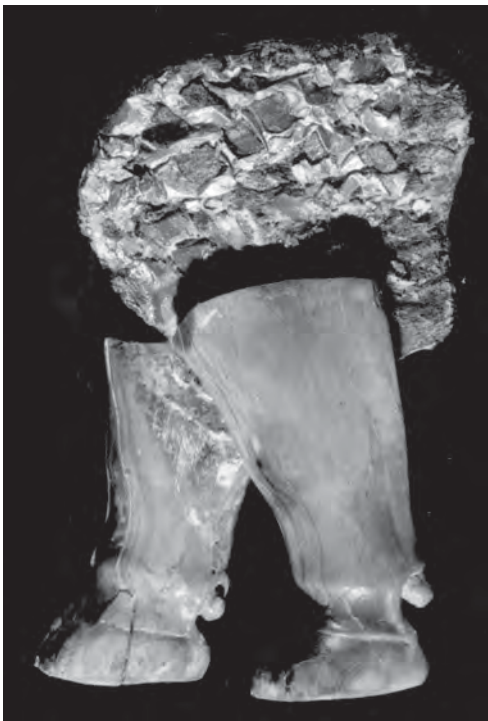
277. IM 79539



278. IM 79540



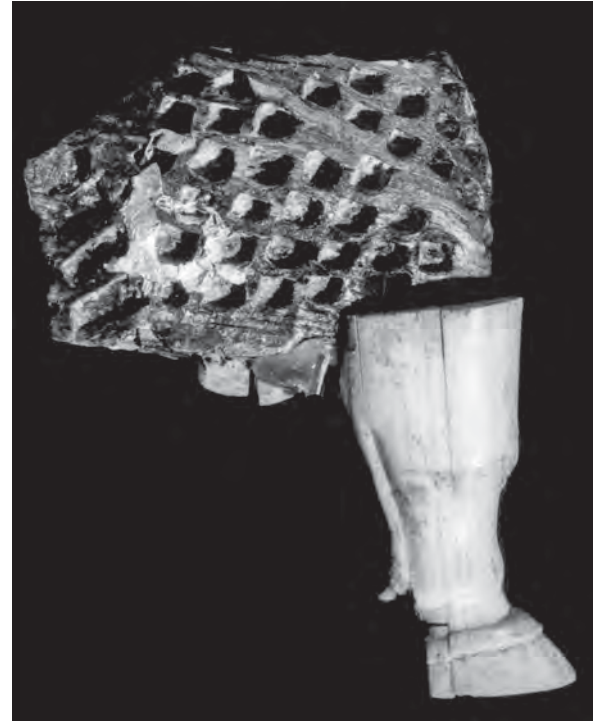
282. IM 79593



279. IM 79542



279. IM 79542



280. IM 79543



281. IM 79541



281. IM 79541



281. IM 79541



283. IM 79538



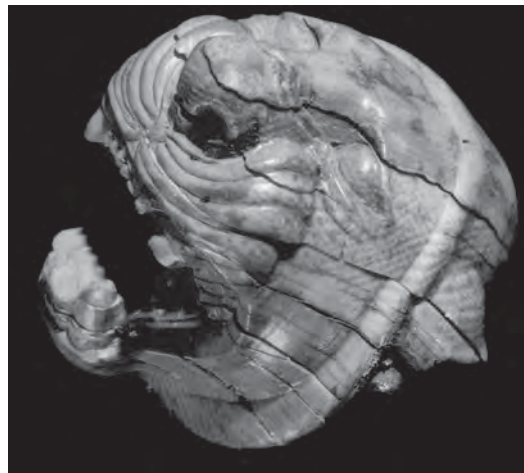
283. IM 79538



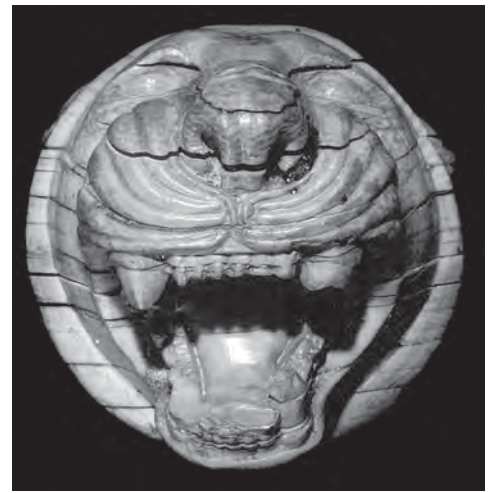
283. IM 79538



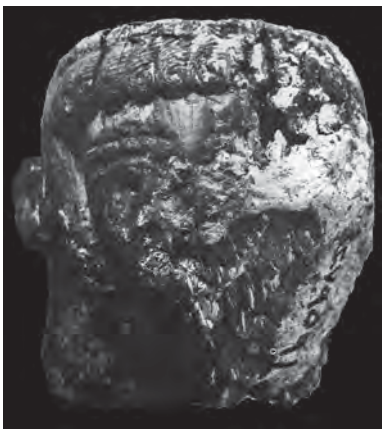
284. IM 79594



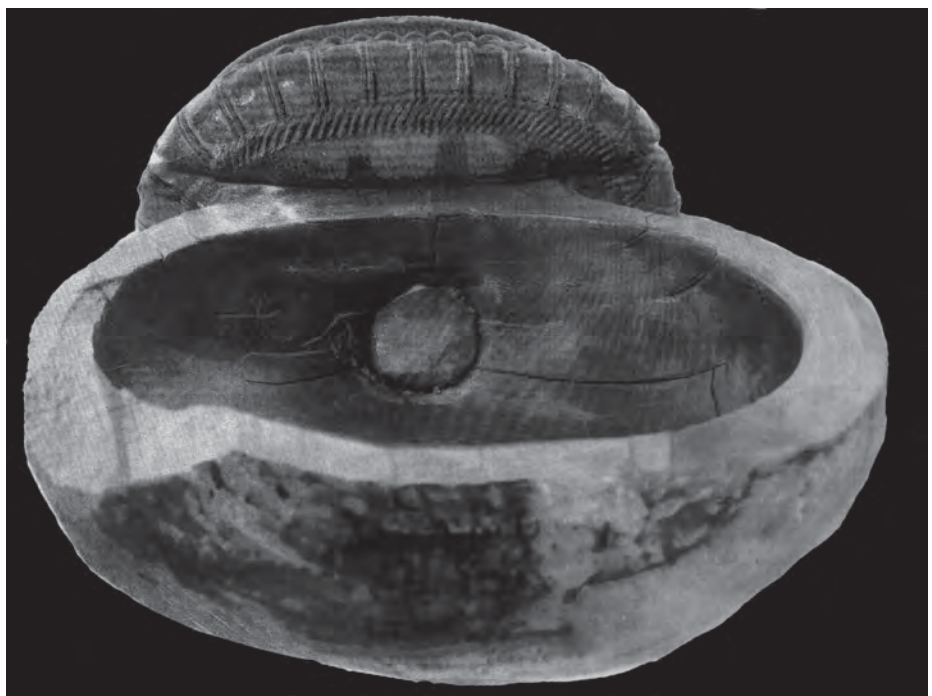
283. IM 79538



283. IM 79538



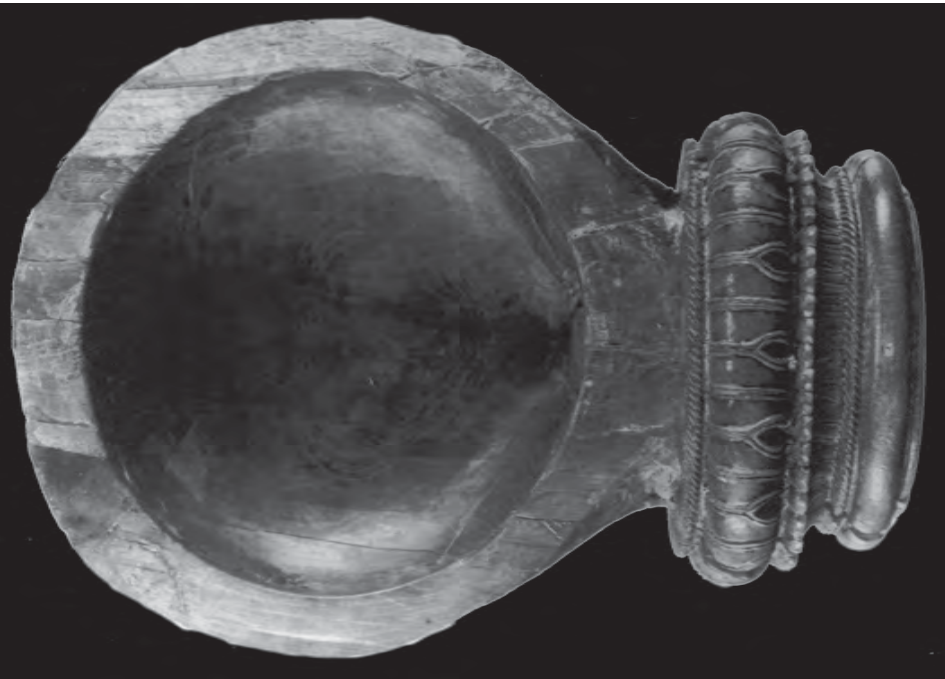
288. IM 79591



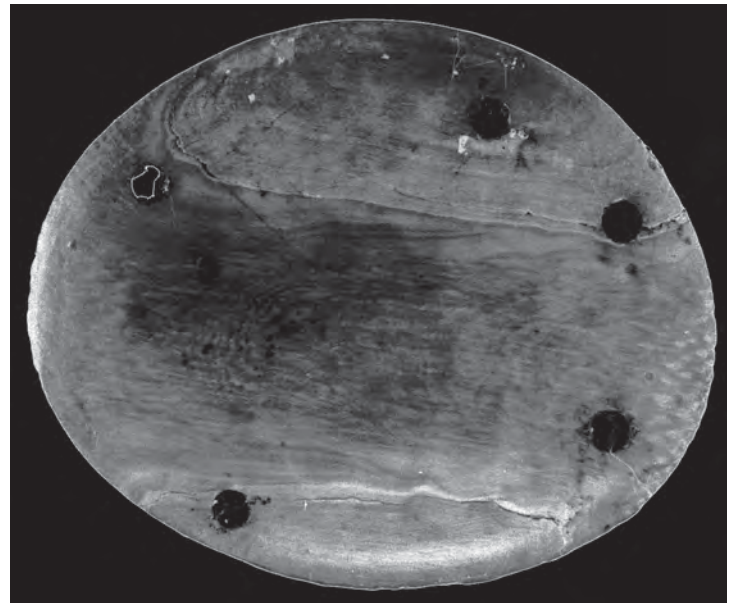
285. IM 79512



286. IM 79507



285. IM 79512 Reduced.



286. IM 79506



286. IM 79505



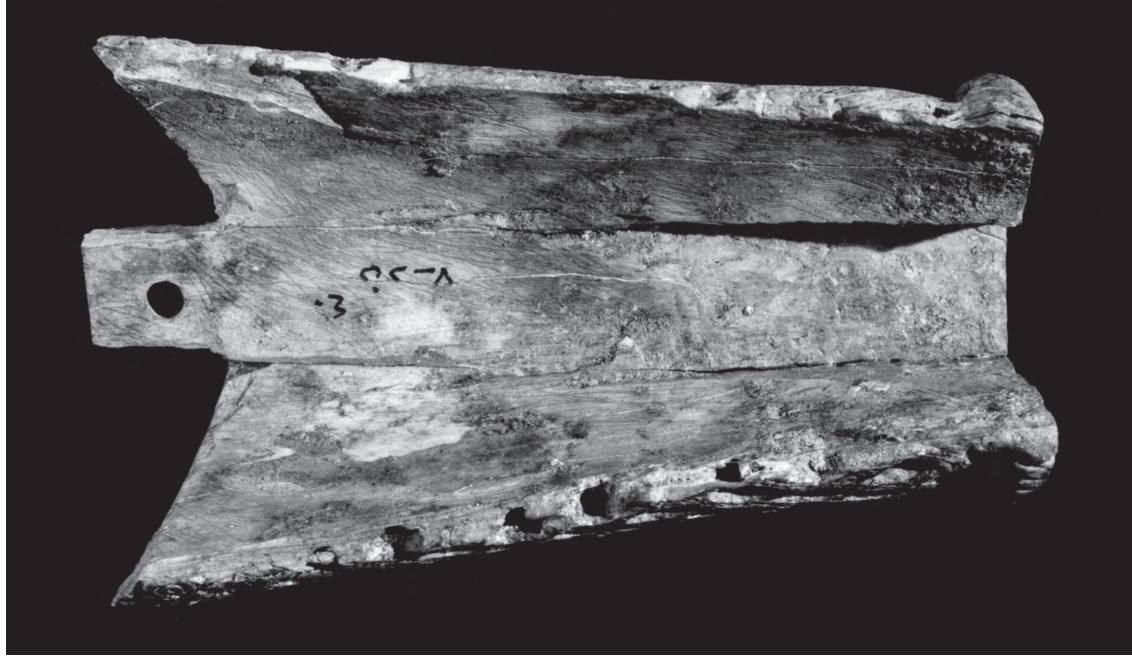
286. IM 79505



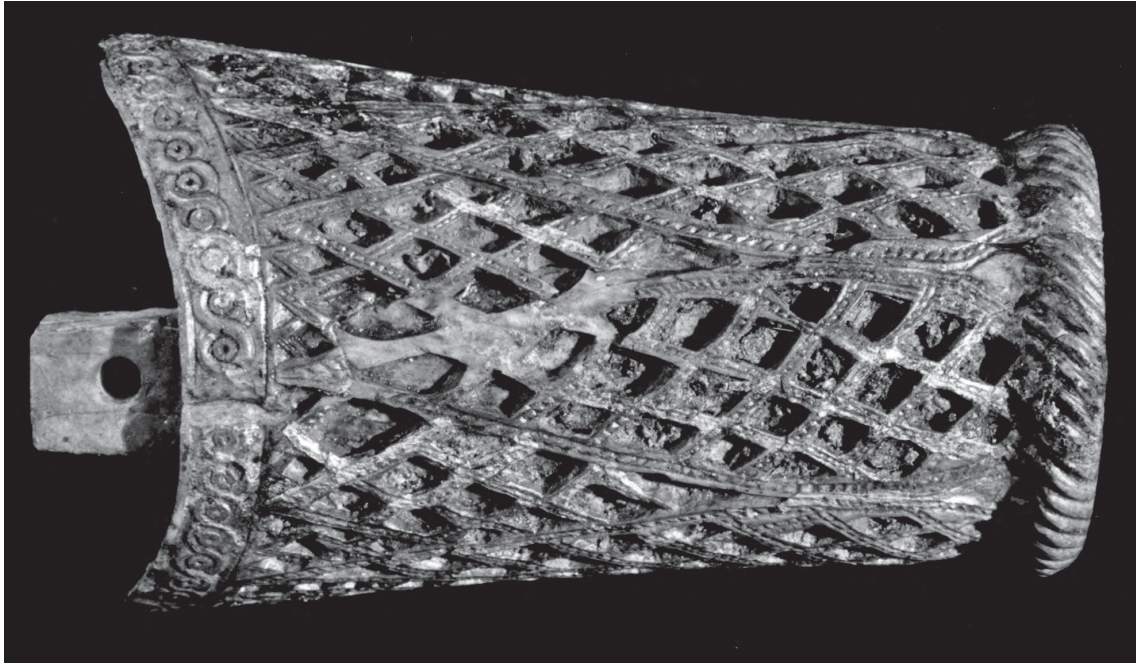
286. IM 79505



287. IM 79504
Slightly reduced.

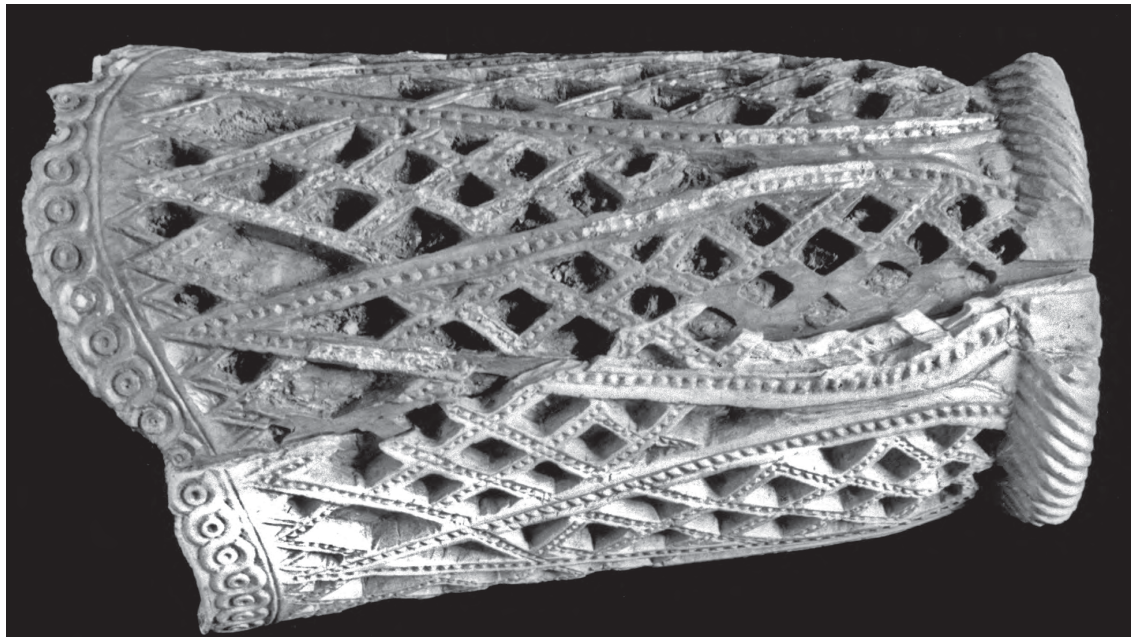


289. IM 79544

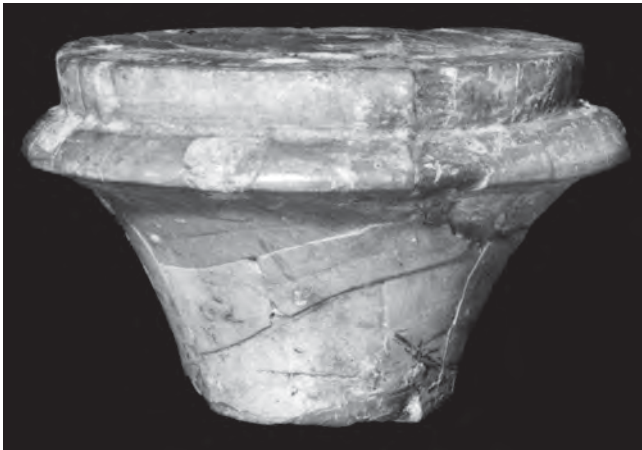


289. IM 79544

All slightly reduced



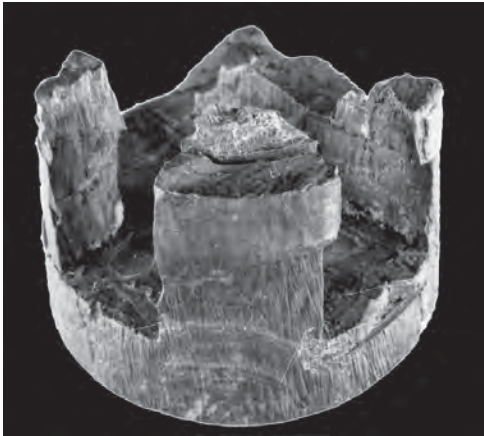
289. IM 79545



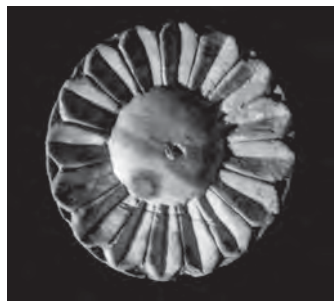
290. IM 79552



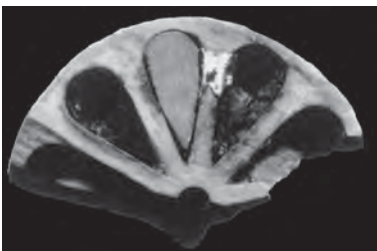
291. IM 79595



291. IM 79596



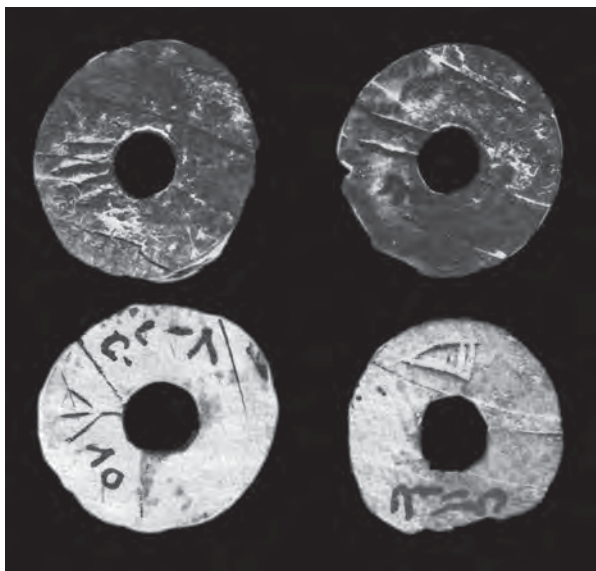
292a. IM 79558



292b. IM 79559



293. IM 79564



296. IM



294. IM 79563



294. IM 79562



301. ND1077



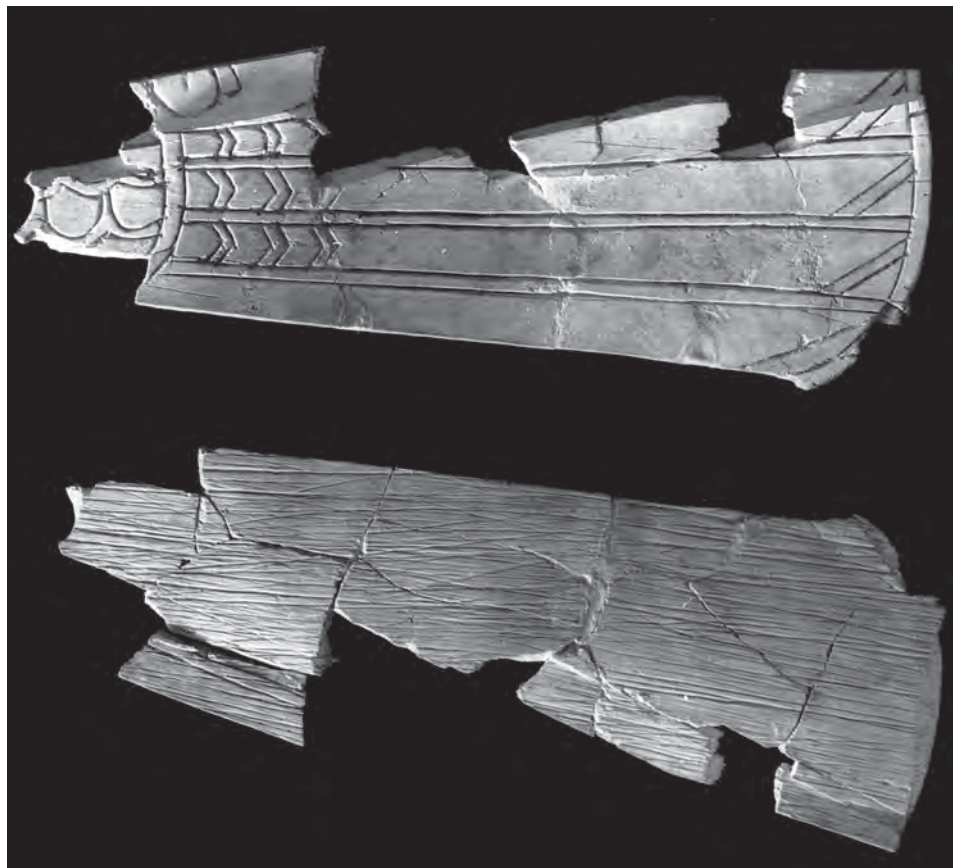
295. IM 79561



297. IM 79587



304a. ND906



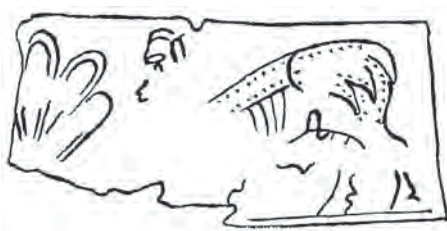
305. ND906b



302. ND



304b. ND906



303. ND



307. ND?



309. ND897



310. IM 55754



313. ND896



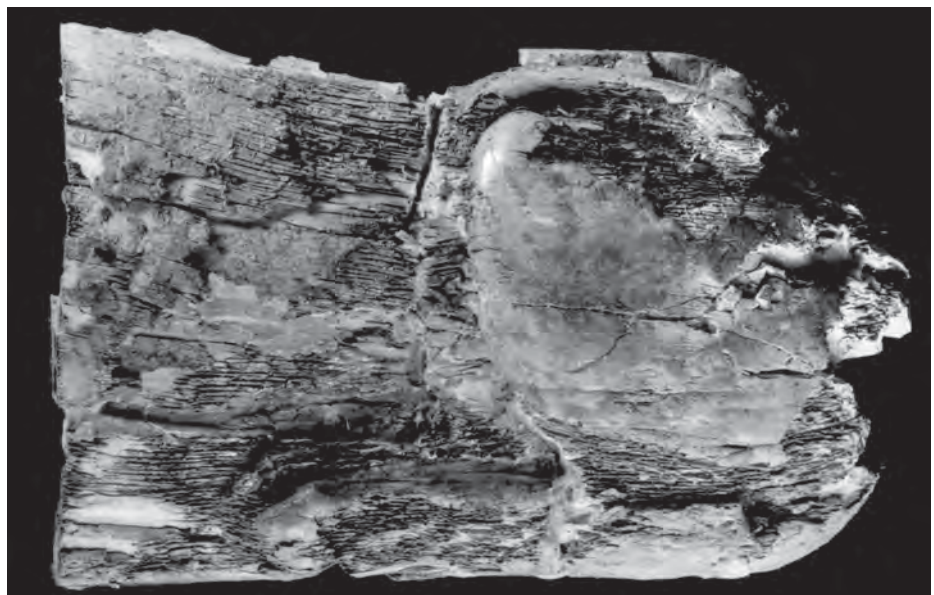
308. ND771



312. ND774



311. ND767



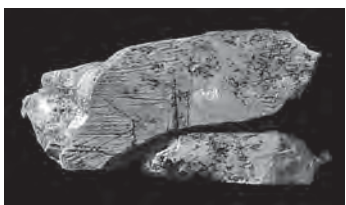
318. ND910. 1:2



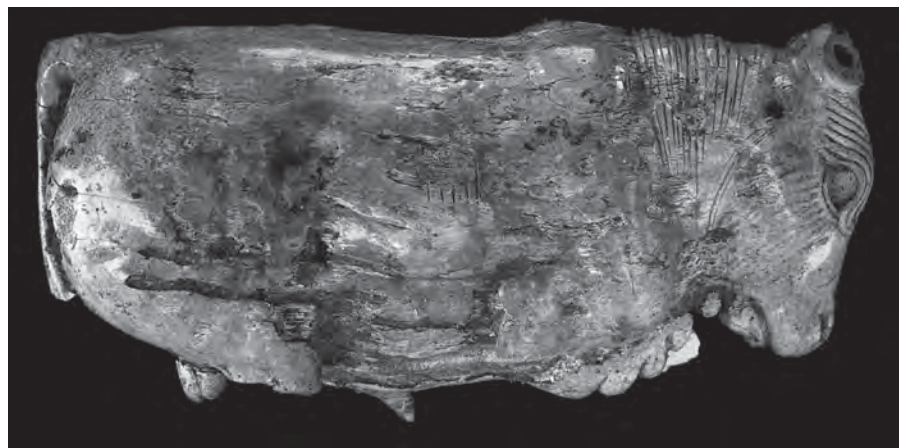
315. ND763



316. ND766



317. ND907



319. ND762. 1:2



314. BM 130860



306. ND905



322b



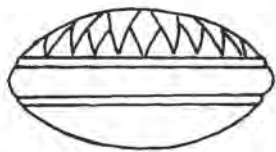
322c



321a. ND1713/4



321b. ND1713/4



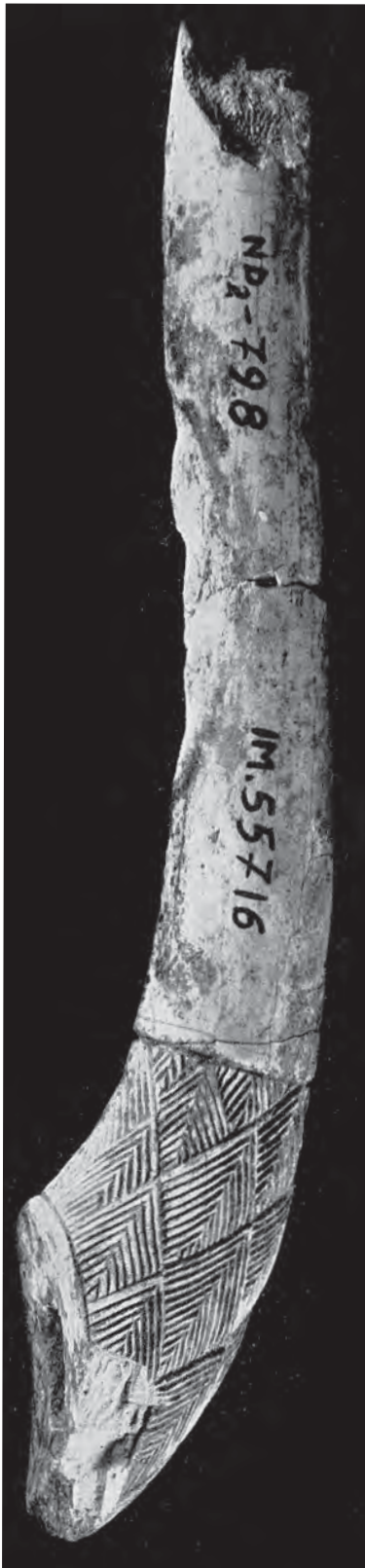
321c. ND1713/4



322a



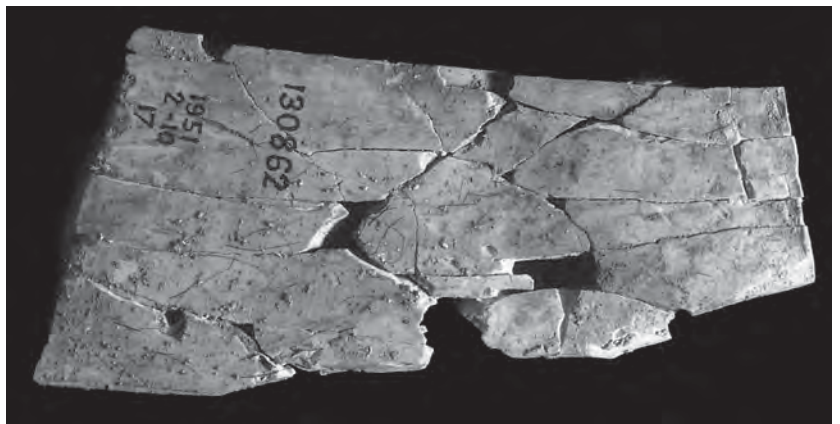
325. ND764



320. ND798



323. IM 55754



324. ND909

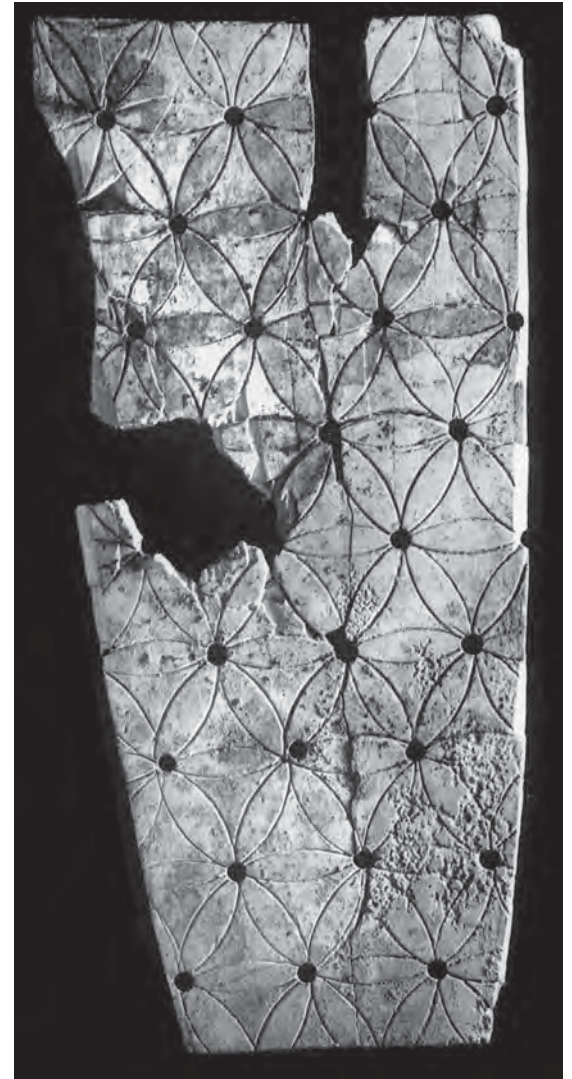




329. ND765



331. ND899



326. ND782



330. ND901



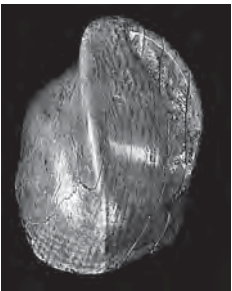
328. ND895



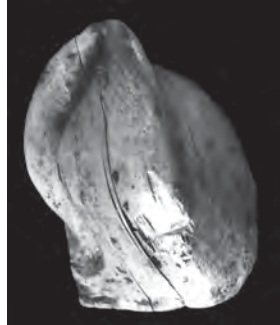
328. ND895



333. ND898



334. ND778



334. ND778



334. ND778



334. ND778



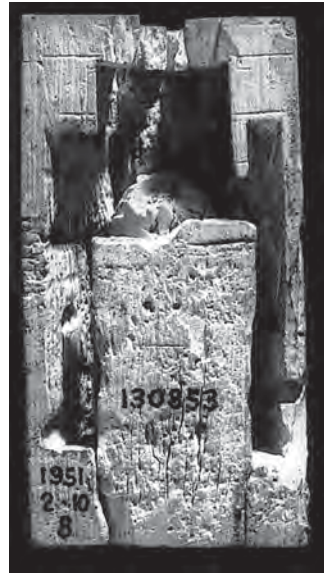
327. ND904



335. ND780

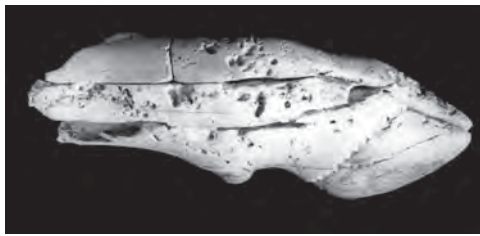


332. ND777



346. ND768

346. ND768



341. ND893



347. ND784



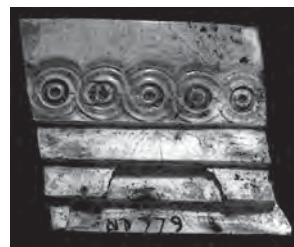
337. ND902



336. ND874



344. ND1037



339. ND779



342. ND894



343. ND900



348. ND2550



348. ND2550



348. ND2550



348. ND2550 as found



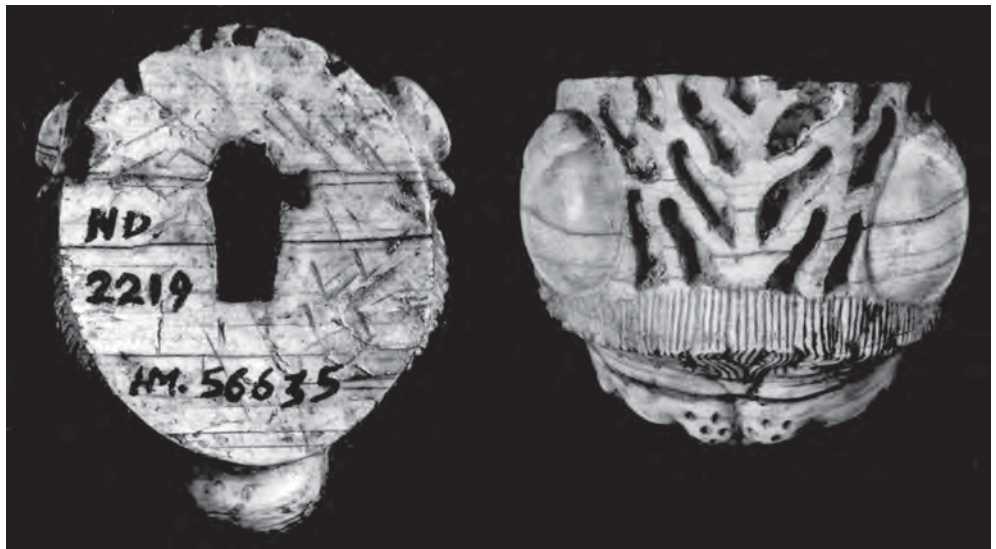
ND2550 Reduced.



354. ND2231



355. ND2220



353. ND2219

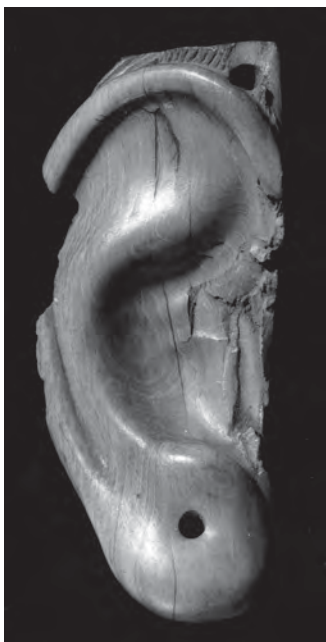




349. ND2549



349. ND2549



350. ND2229



350. ND2228



352. ND2546



349. ND2549



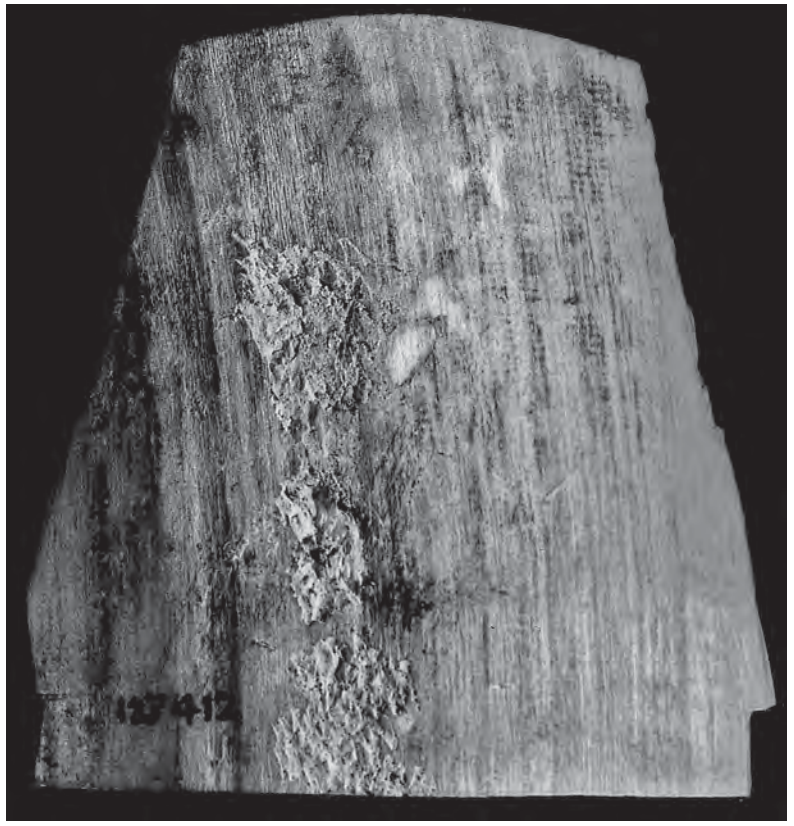
351. ND2227



351. ND2230



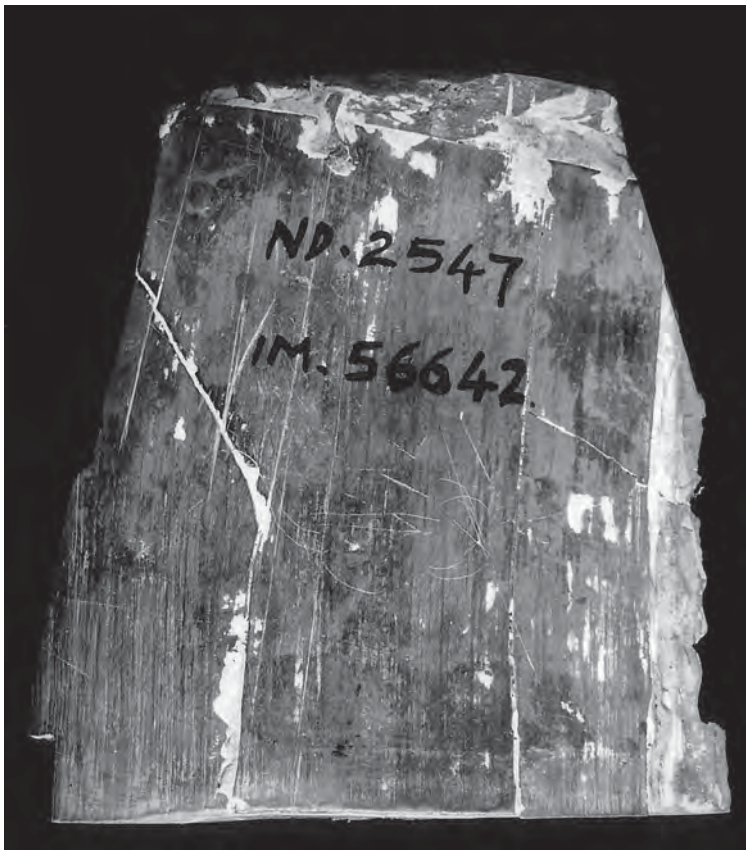
356b. ND2548



356b. ND2548



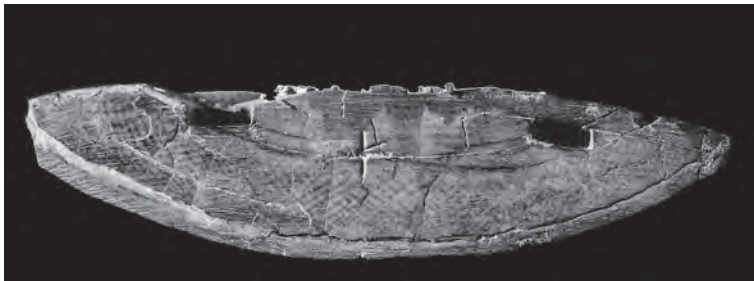
356b. ND2548 Enlarged.



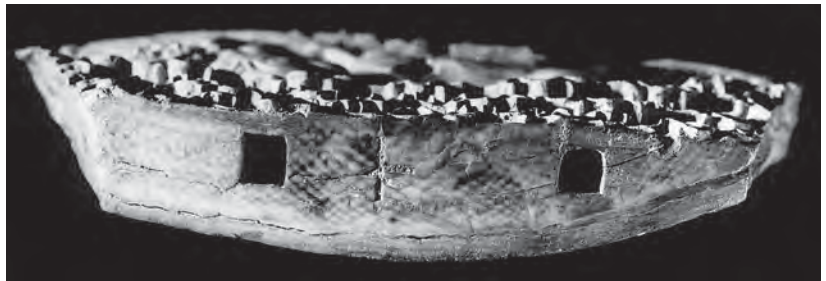
356a. ND2547 IM 56642



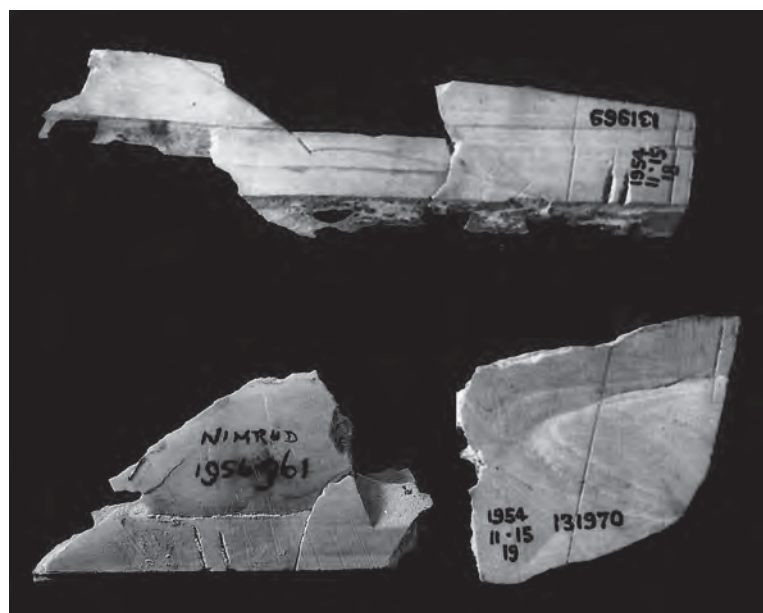
356a. ND2547 IM 56642



356b. ND2548



356b. ND2548



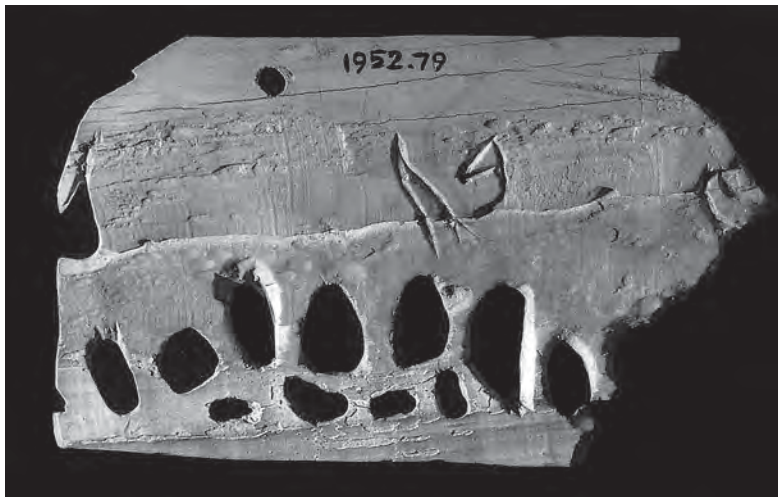
358. BM 131969-70: and 357. ND2244a



359. ND2244



359. ND2243



360. ND1100



360. ND1100



361. ND2215



362. ND2232/2216



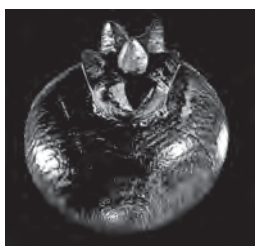
362. ND2232/2216



365a. ND2233



365b. ND2234



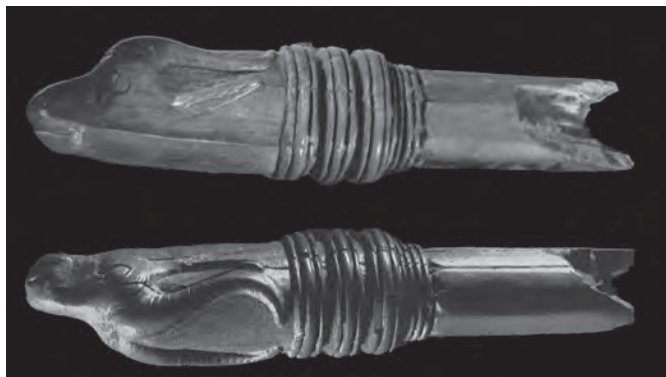
368. ND2254



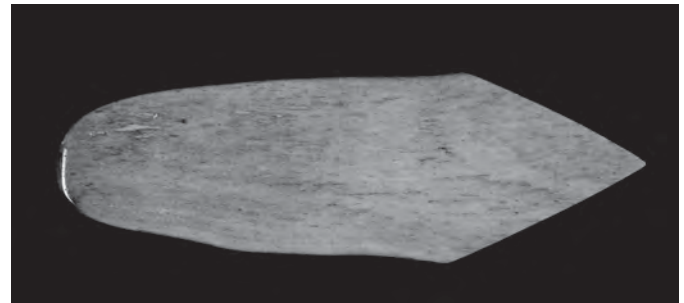
367. ND1716



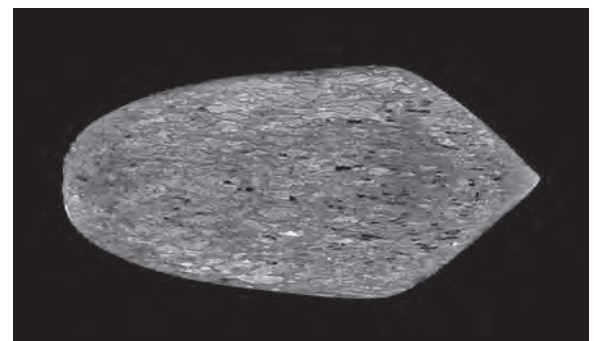
363. ND2218



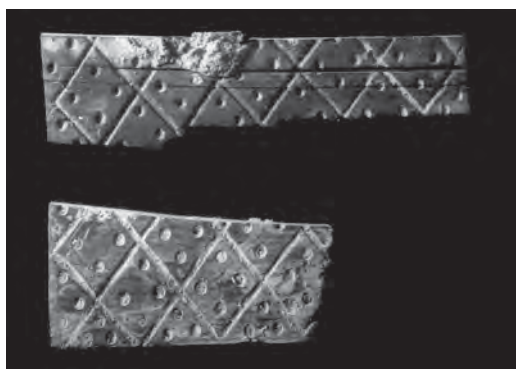
366. ND2217



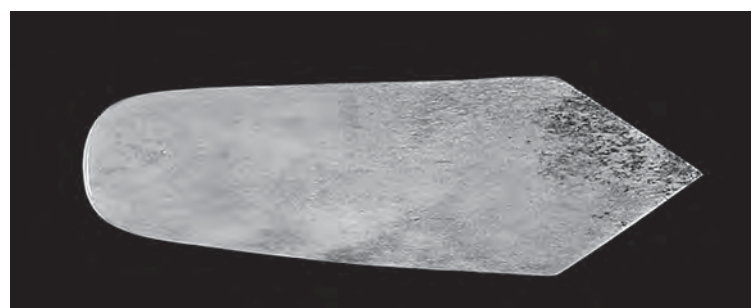
372c. ND2207



372d. ND2211



370. ND 2223



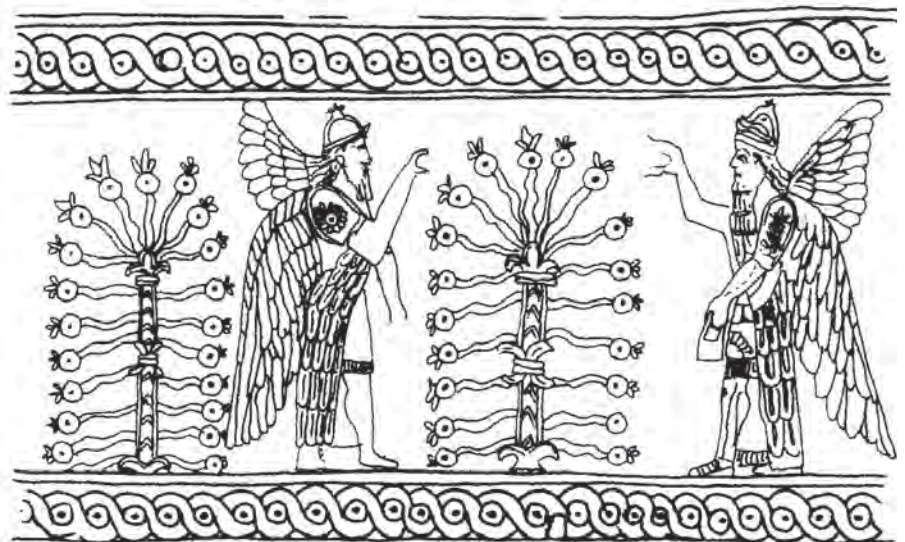
372e. ND2161



375. ND378



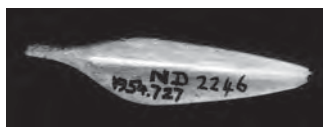
375. ND378. Top



375. ND378



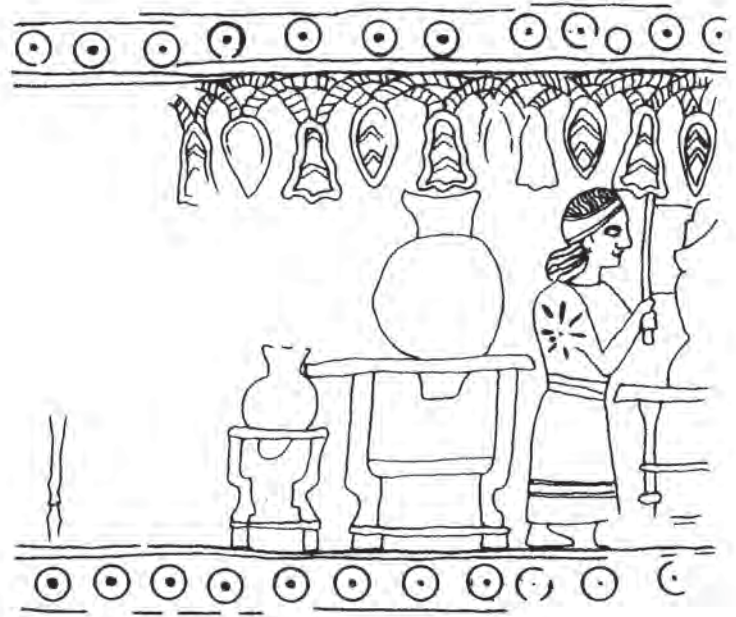
372a. ND2245



372b. ND2246



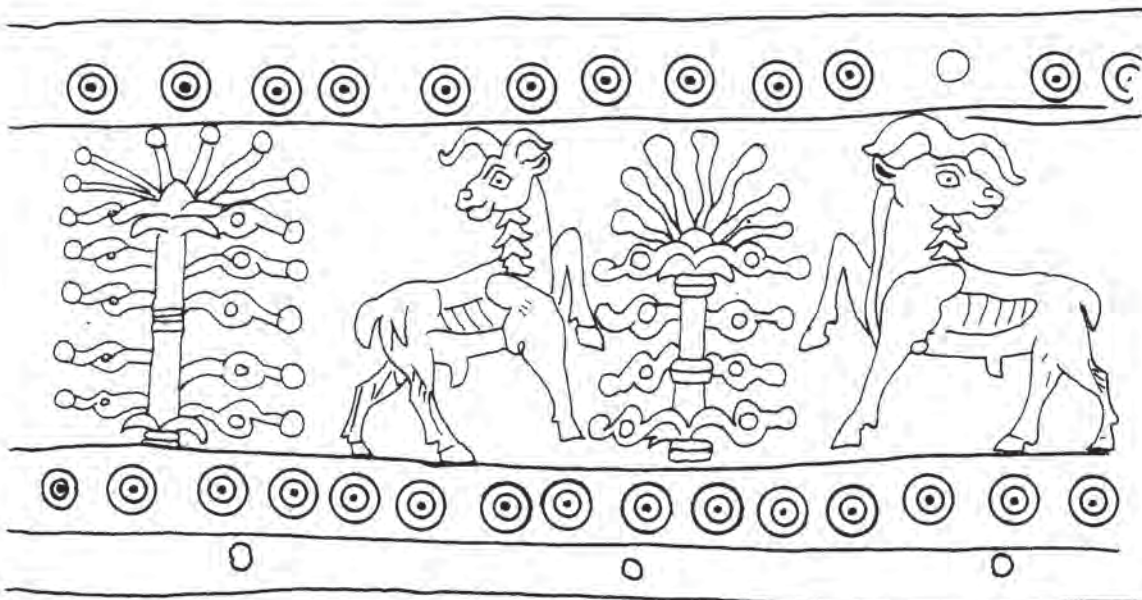
369. ND1691

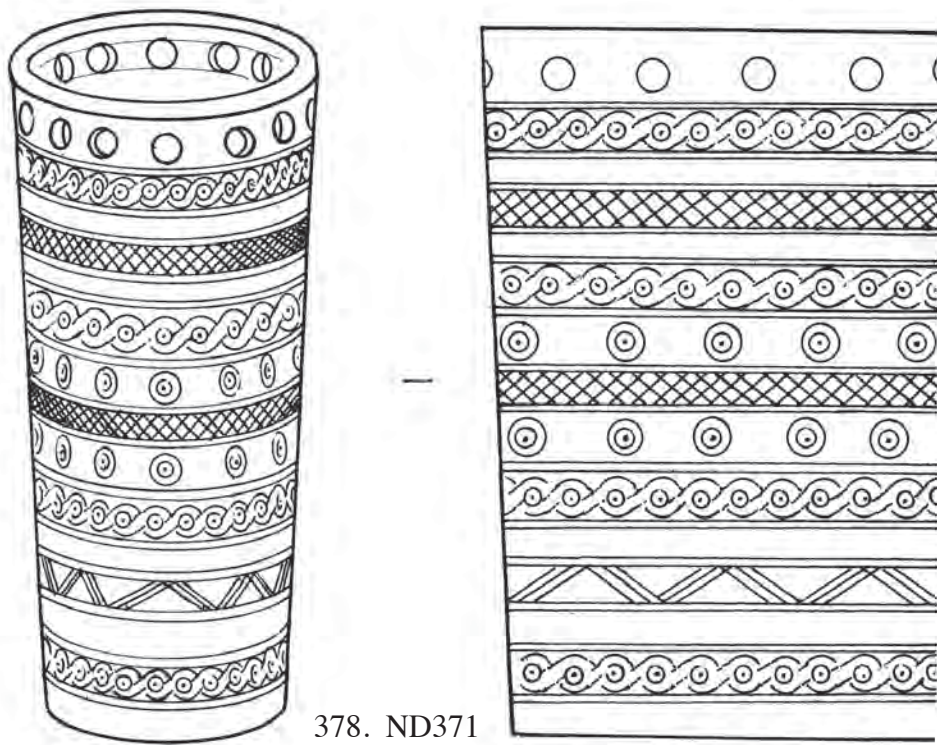


374. ND377

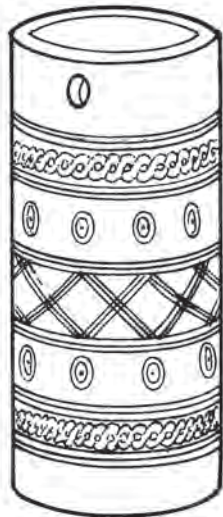


376. ND375

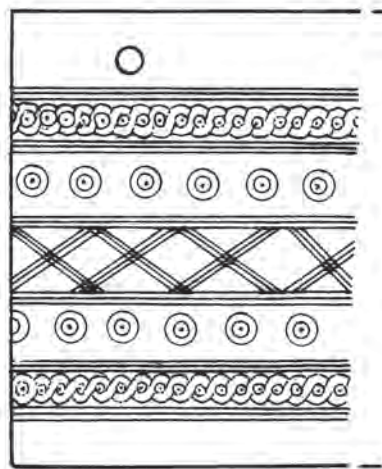




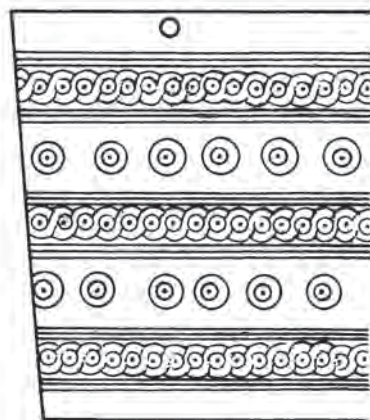
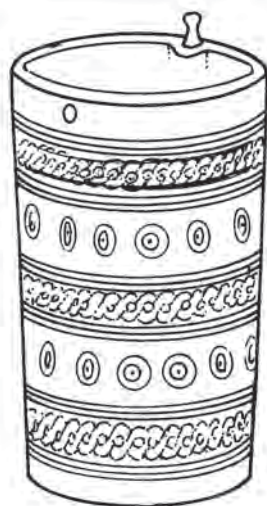
378. ND371



379. ND362



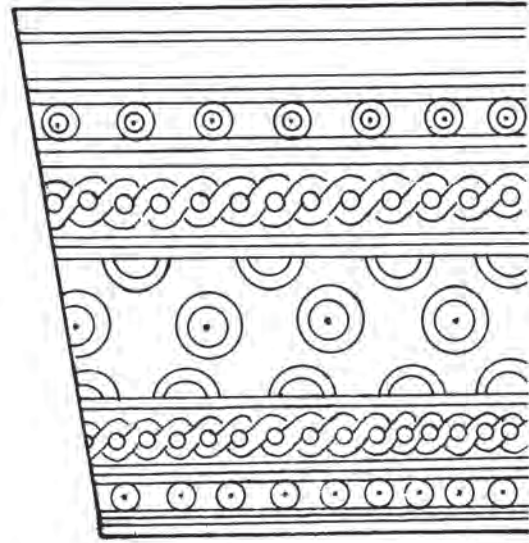
377. ND361



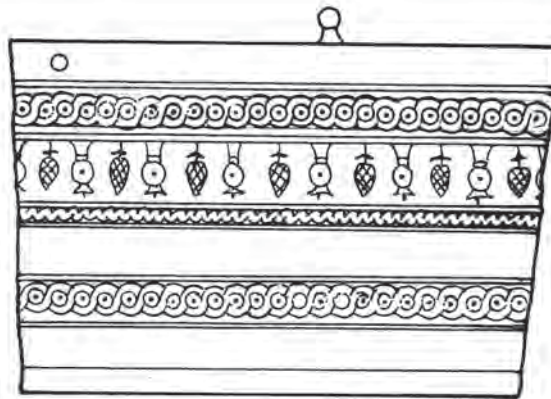
380. ND366



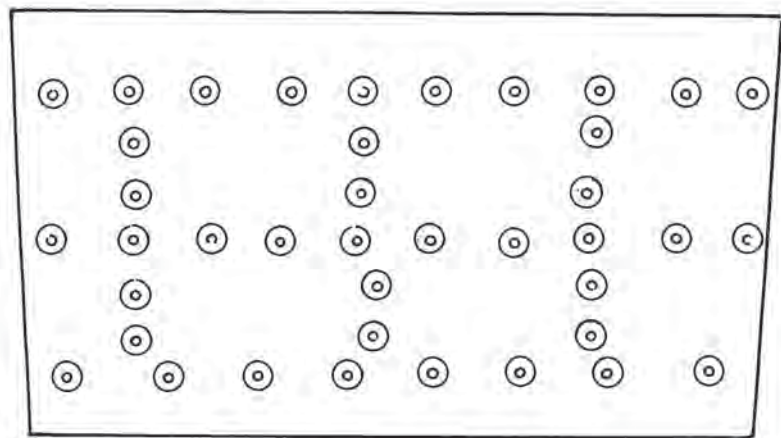
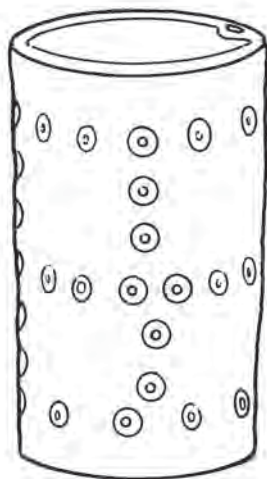
383. ND370



382. ND373



389. ND368





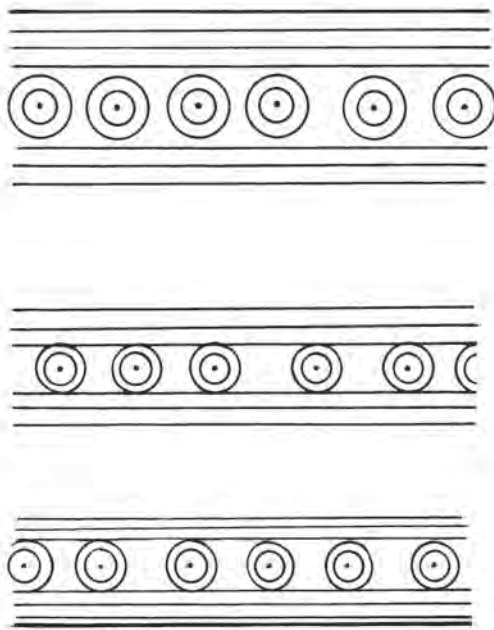
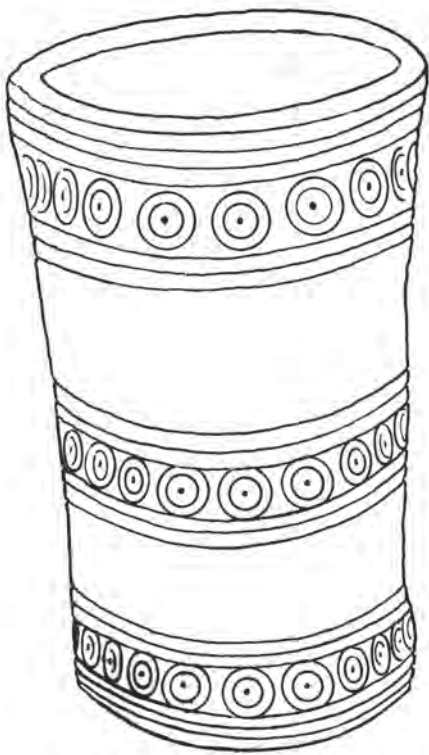
385. ND360



384. ND379

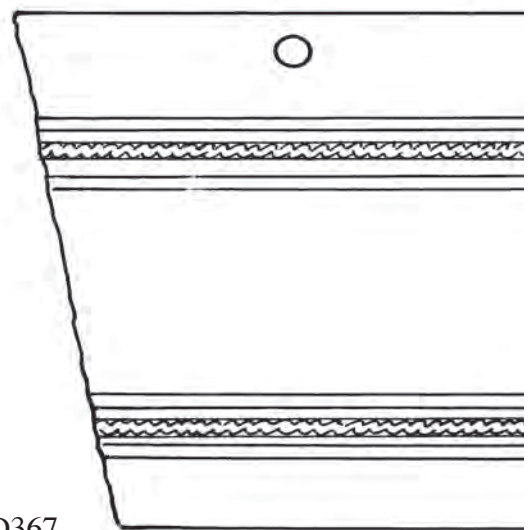
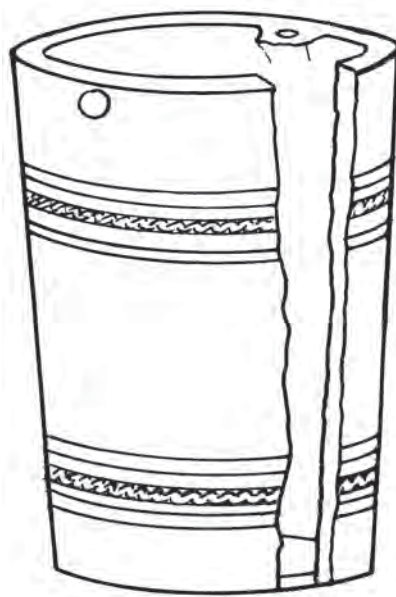


388. ND380

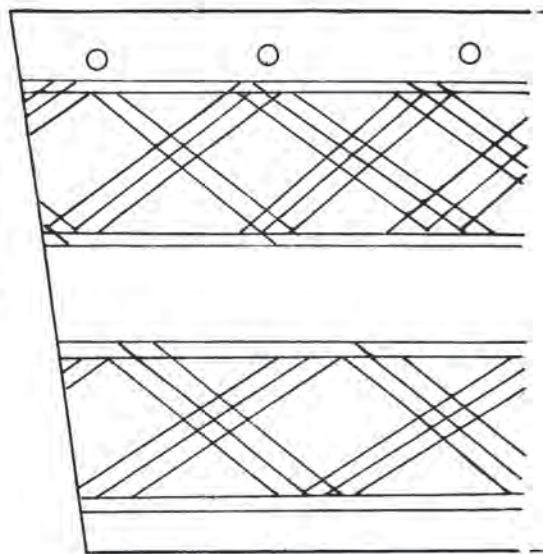
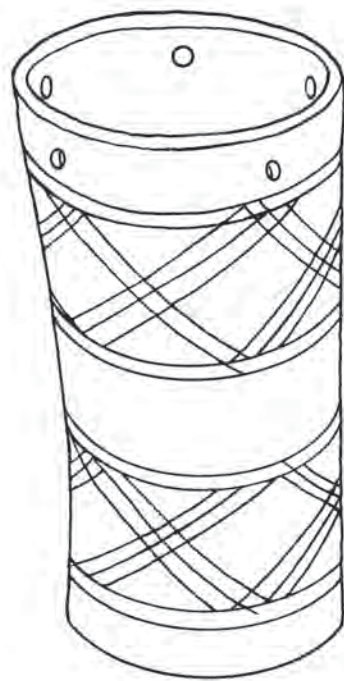


387. ND369





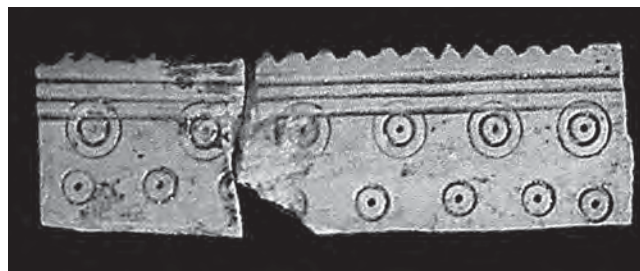
391. ND367



390. ND372



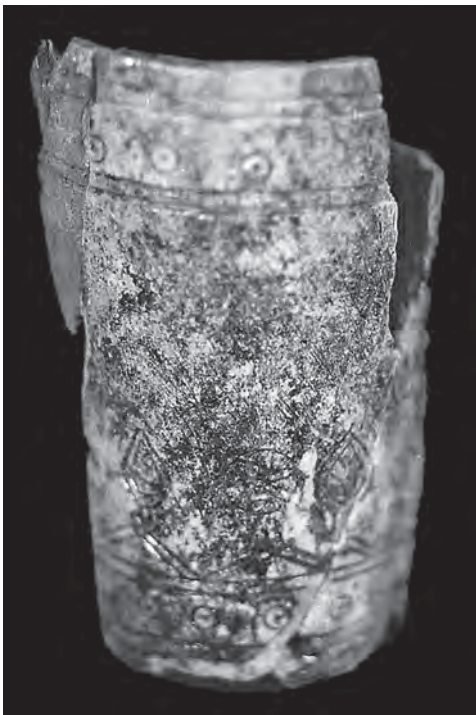
381. ND363



396. ND147



397. ND356



399. ND381



392. ND376



386. ND364



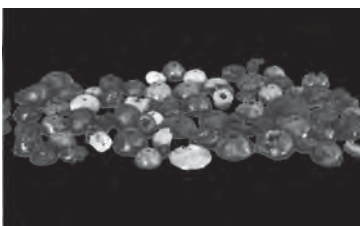
393. ND382



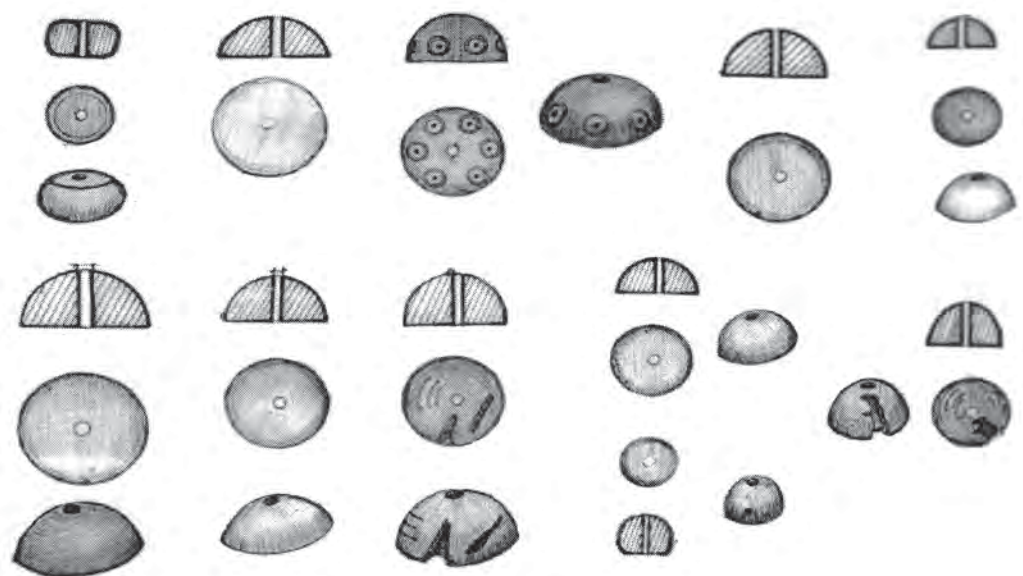
394. ND365



395. ND374
2:1

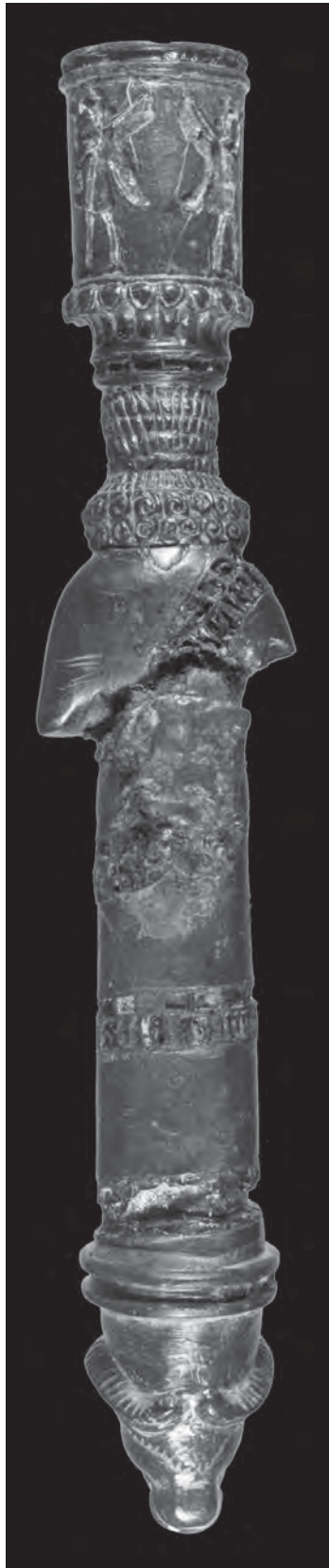


398. IM 127969



398. IM 127969

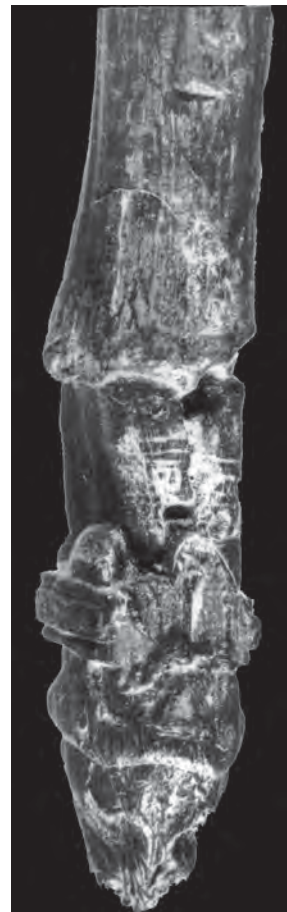




1.1. IM 79598



1.2. IM 70599 Reduced.



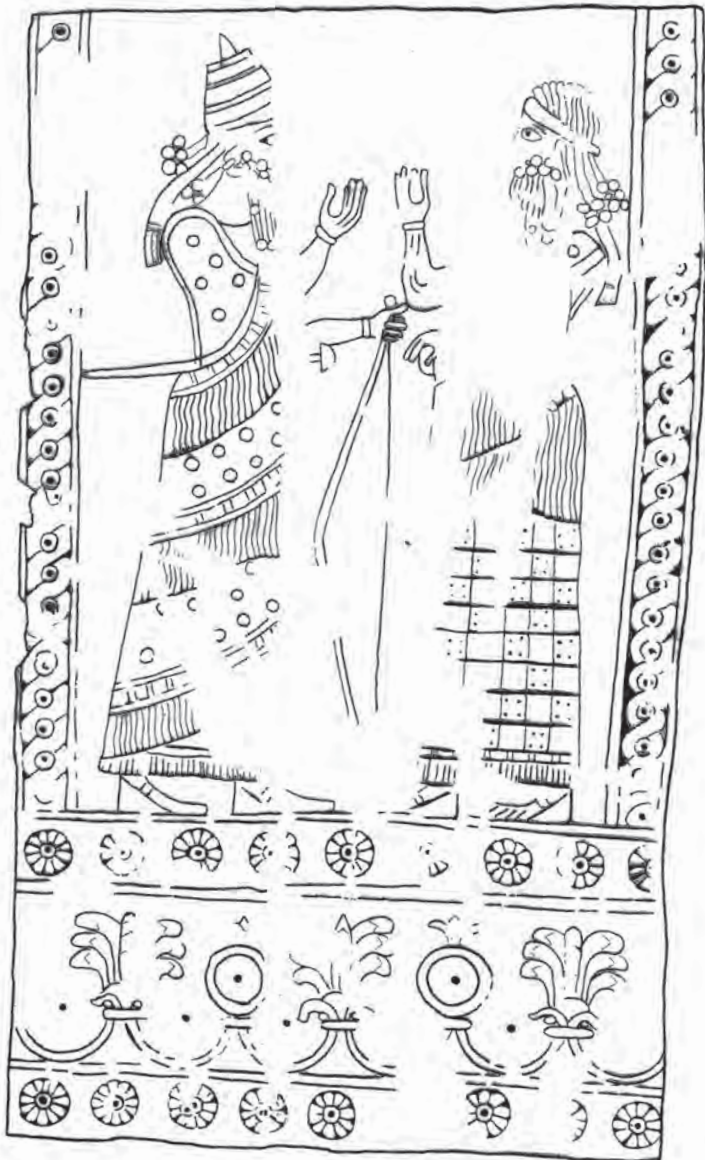
1.2. IM 70599



1.2. IM 70599



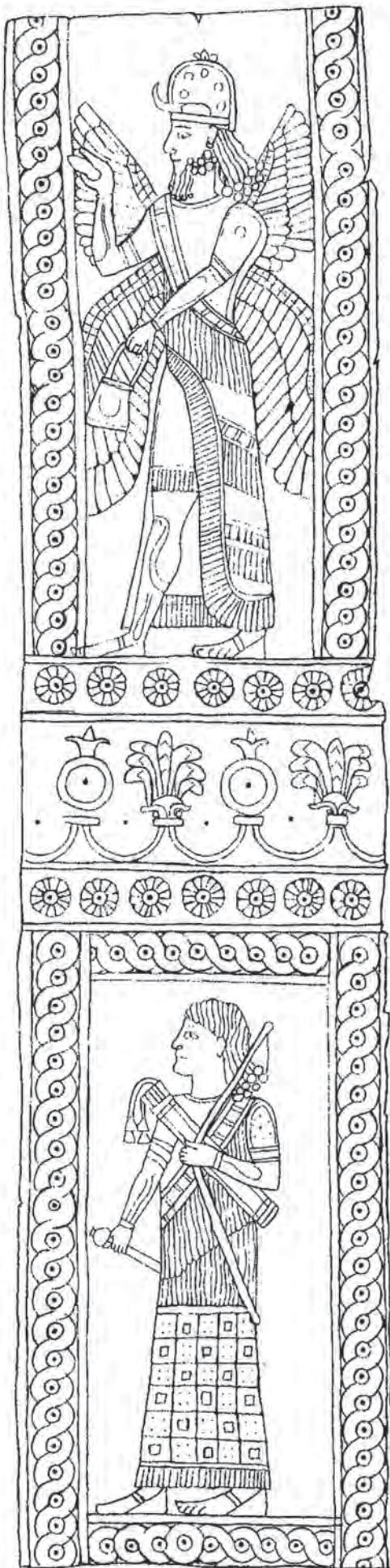
1.4. IM 79601



CP2. BM 127065



CP1a.
BM 127063



CP1b. BM 118101





CP3. BM 127069

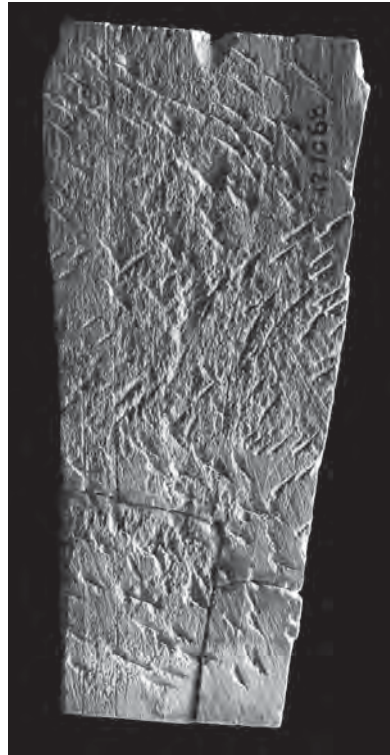
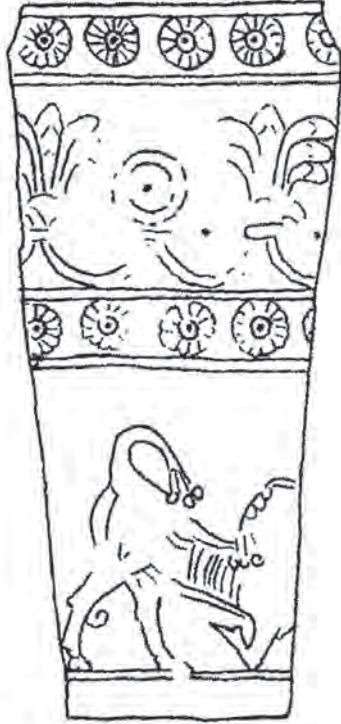


not to scale

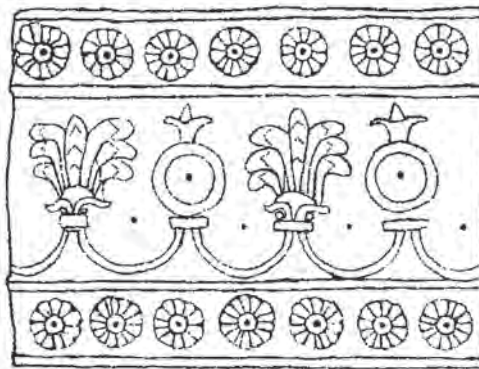


CP4. BM 127067

CP5. BM 118123



CP6. BM 127068



CP7. BM 127066



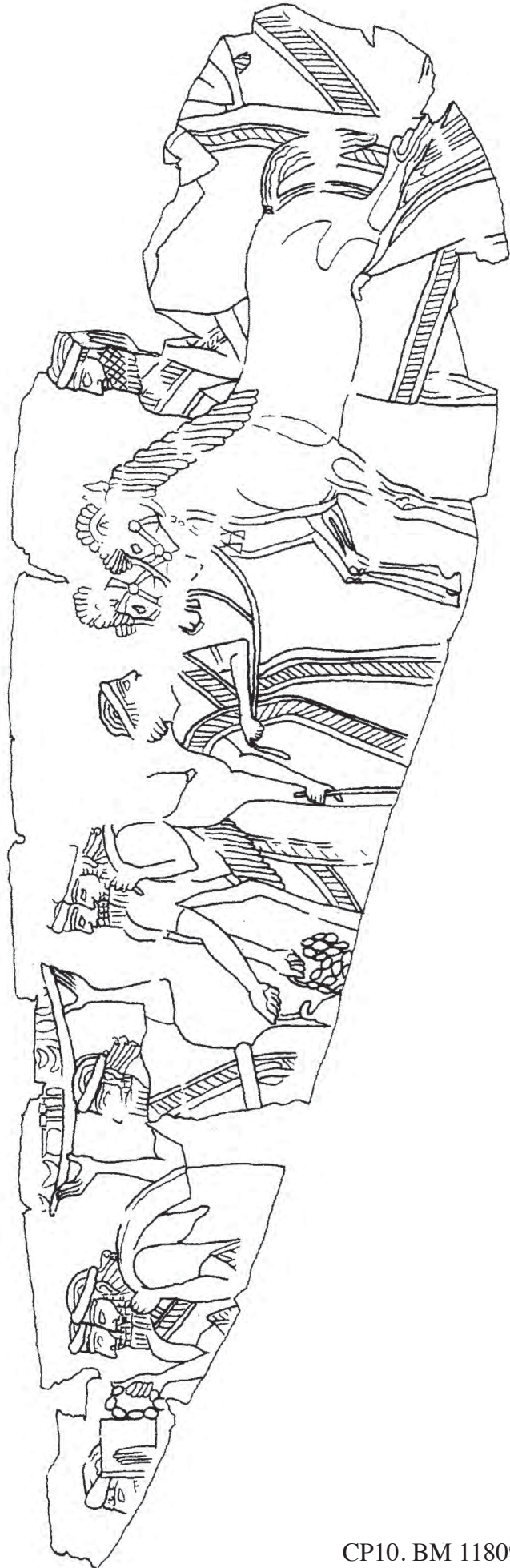
CP8. BM 127064



CP11. BM 131137



CP9. BM 118121



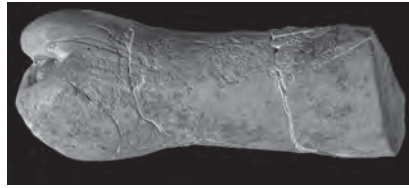
CP10. BM 118099



TW2. ND3267



TW6. ND3377



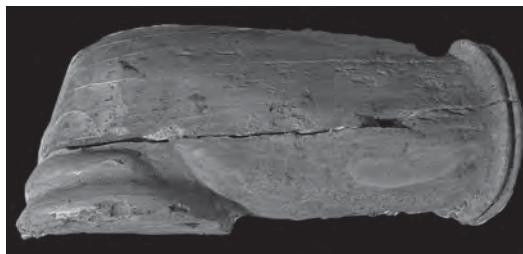
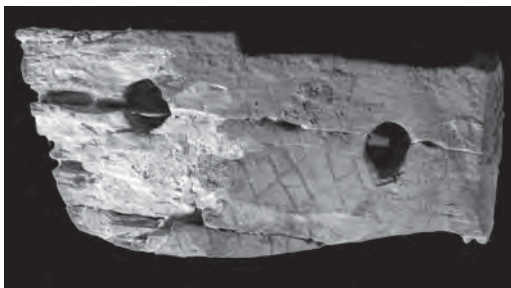
TW1. ND3268



TW7l and k. ND3336



TW4. ND3305



TW3. ND3278



TW7b. ND3336



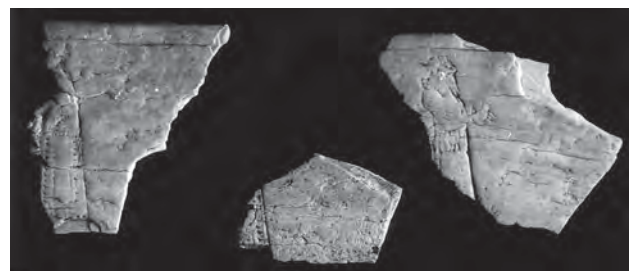
TW7c, d, e and f. ND3336



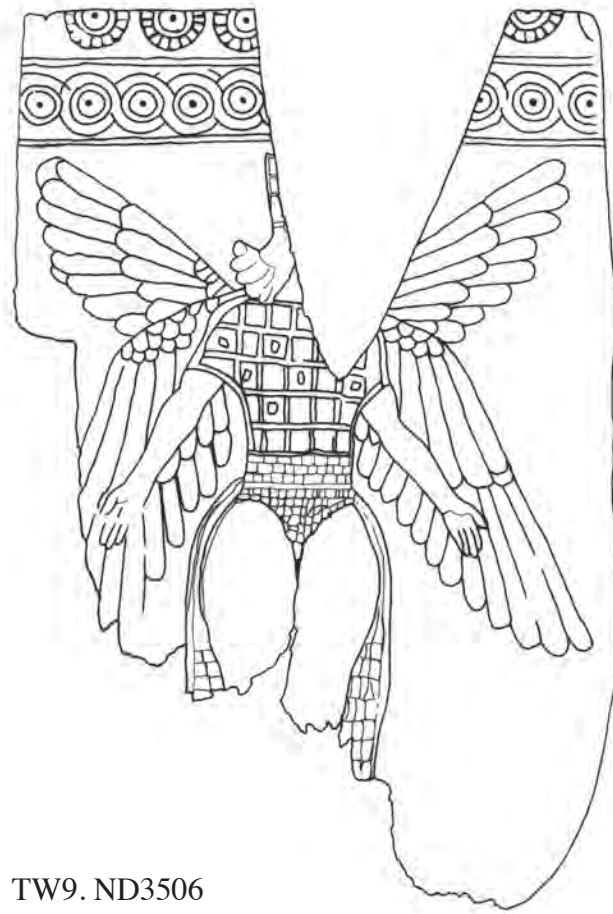
TW7a. ND3336



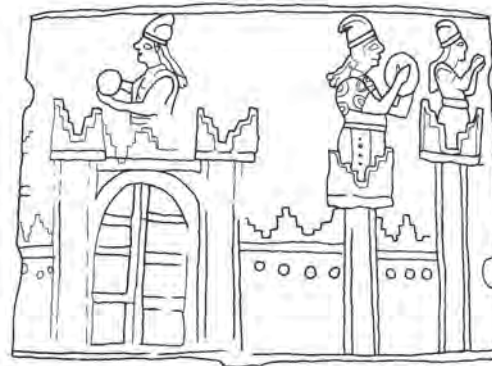
TW7g. ND3336



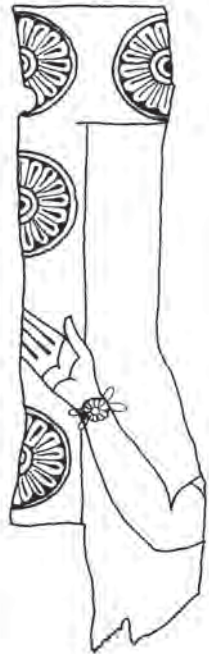
TW7h, i and j. ND3336



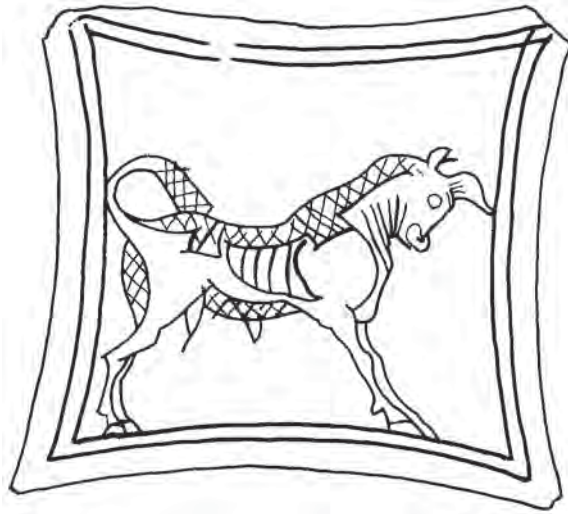
TW9. ND3506



TW10. ND3599



TW11. ND3610



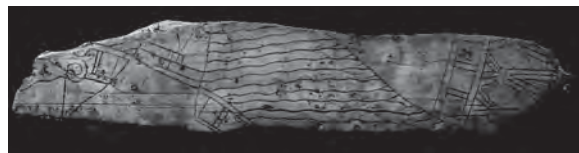
TW16. ND3600



TW14. ND3636a



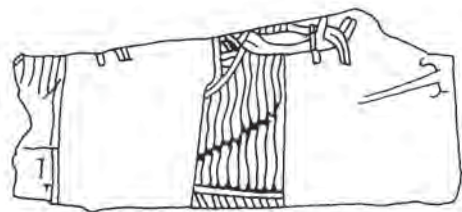
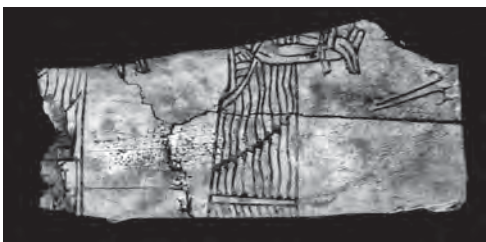
TW17. ND3603



TW15. ND3613



TW18. ND3636



TW12. ND3611



TW13. ND3612



TW13. ND3612



TW20. ND3587



TW24 ND3591



TW21. ND3590



TW22. ND3586



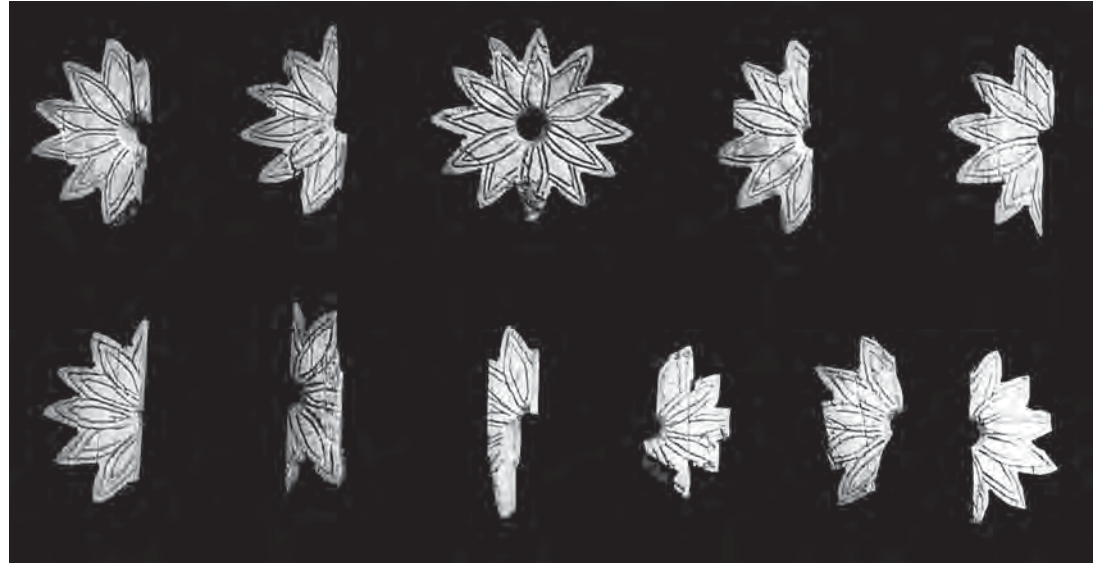
TW23. ND3588



TW19. ND3592



TW26. ND3602



TW27. ND3614



TW29. ND3615



TW28. ND3614



TW24. ND3591





258. IM79516

PLATE B



146. BM118120 Water colour drawing by Edward Prentis, 1848



146. BM118120 Detail



146. BM118120



147. BM118164 : E. Prentis, 1848



147. BM118164



157. BM118180



157. BM118180 : E. Prentis, 1848



99. BM118148



159. BM118162



99. BM118148 :E. Prentis, 1848



159. BM118162 : E .Prentis, 1848



158. BM118157: E. Prentis, 1848



158. BM118157

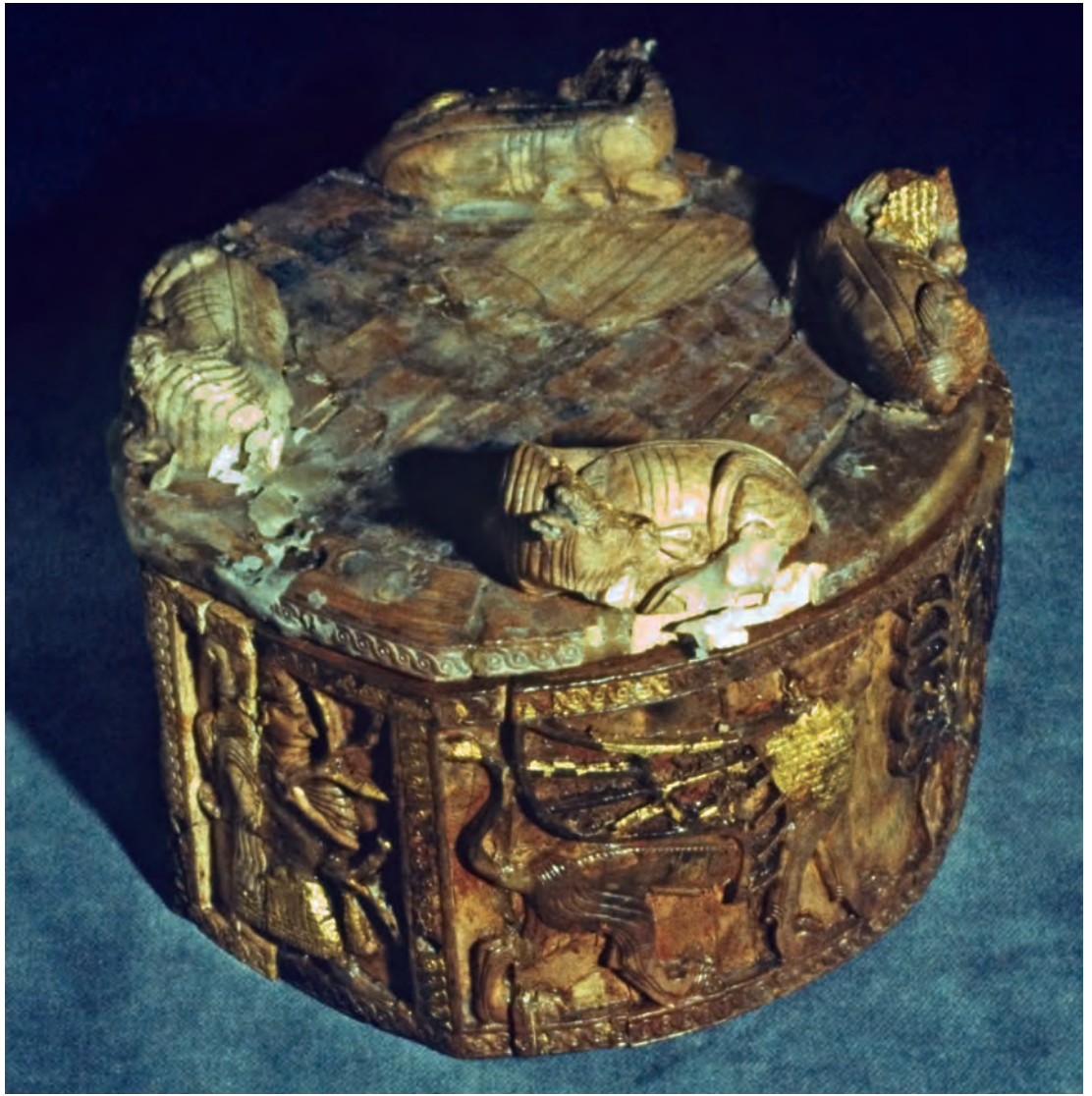
PLATE H



110. BM118159 : E. Prentis, 1848



115. BM118219 : E. Prentis, 1848



233. IM79514



234. IM79513



234. IM79513



234. IM79513



236. IM79508



236. IM79508



236. IM79508



236. IM79508



237. IM79511



237. IM79511



237. IM79511



239. IM79501





362. ND2232 : The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Rogers Fund, 1954 (54.117.5).
Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art



266. IM79536



257 IM79525 & IM56639



245. IM79577



354. ND2231 : The Metropolitan Museum of Art Rogers Fund, 1954 (54.117.6). Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art



242c. IM79529



254. IM79582



349. ND2549 : The Metropolitan Museum of Art Rogers Fund, 1954 (54.117.2).
Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art



348. ND2550



356. ND2547



356. ND2548



204. BM118115



206. BM118117