

IVORIES FROM NIMRUD (1949-1963)

Fascicule VII, 1

IVORIES FROM ROOMS SW11/12 AND T10

FORT SHALMANESER

*COMMENTARY AND CATALOGUE*

*by*

GEORGINA HERRMANN

*and*

STUART LAIDLAW

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*Ivories from Nimrud VII*

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STUART LAIDLAW

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*Affectionately dedicated to*

*Helena Coffey*

*Without whose painstaking and accurate work  
this book would never have been finished*

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## ملخص

مضت مدة خمسين عاما على اكتشاف آخر قطعة من عاجيات قلعة شلمنصر من قبل المدرسة البريطانية للآثار في العراق. تم اكتشاف معظم آلاف العاجيات في ثلاثة مخازن كبرى في الجناح الجنوبي الغربي وفي مخزن رابع في مبنى غرفة العرش بالإضافة الى ثلاثة مجموعات صغيرة اخرى اكتشفت في غرف متنوعة في انحاء القلعة. احتوت المخازن الكبرى الثلاثة في الجناح الجنوبي الغربي بقايا مستوردة من غنائم متكونة بصورة رئيسية من الواح أثاث جلبت الى نمرود من قبل الملوك الآشوريين وأودعت في مخازن بعد ان انتزعت عنها أية رقائق ذهبية كانت مطعمة بها. وكانت غرفة الخزن SW7 متميزة بكونها احتوت أظهر مقاعد كاملة نسبيا من الطراز التقليدي لسوريه الشمالية كما ورد في كتاب عاجيات من نمرود 3 (Ivories from Nimrud III) (1974)، بينما احتوت الغرفتين الأخرتين SW37 و SW11/12 ألواح مهشمة لأنواع مختلفة من الأثاث وصفائح ولجامات وسروج تنتمي الى تقاليد الفينيقيين والسوريين. وتم نشر عاجيات الغرفة SW37 في الكتاب المعنون عاجيات من نمرود 1 (Ivories from 1) (Nimrud 1967) وعاجيات من نمرود 4 (Ivories from Nimrud IV) (1986)، بينما تم تسجيل المجموعات الصغيرة المتنوعة المنتشرة في انحاء القلعة في كتاب عاجيات من نمرود 5 (Ivories from Nimrud V) (1992). أما كتاب عاجيات من نمرود 2 (Ivories from Nimrud II) (1970) فقد احتوى عاجيات من الطراز الآشوري المتميز فقط تم تجميعها من جميع انحاء الموقع. هناك مجلد سادس هو عاجيات من نمرود 6 (Ivories from Nimrud VI) (2009 –) ركز على العاجيات التي اكتشفت من قبل منقبين أثريين مختلفين في القصر الشمالي الغربي ابتداءً من أوستن هنري ليارد في القرن التاسع عشر الى دائرة الآثار والتراث العراقية في أواخر القرن العشرين وتشمل العاجيات الفخمة التي عثر عليها في الآبار.

يضم المجلد الحالي أكبر قدر من المعلومات عن العاجيات من الغرفتين المتبقيتين غير المسجلتين وهن الغرفة رقم SW11/12 و T10. معظم هذه العاجيات محفوظة لدى المتحف العراقي في بغداد، ولكن لسوء الحظ وبسبب الظروف السياسية لم يتم ابدا تسجيل الكثير منها تسجيلا منتظما ولا تعرف اية نسبة منها مجمعة هناك. ورغم بذل كل جهد ممكن لنشر صور فوتوغرافية من نوعية عالية في مجلدات سابقة، انصب التركيز في هذا المجلد على استعادة أية صور موجودة حتى لو كانت من 'الصور التسجيلية'، اعتقادا منا بأن الصور الرديئة هي افضل من لا شيء. ان غياب تسجيلات صورية كاملة للعاجيات الفريدة والملاحظة التي عثر عليها في الغرفة رقم T10 هو امر مؤسف حقا، حيث أن هذه هي الغرفة الوحيدة في القلعة التي تحتوي على كلا نوعي العاجيات من الطراز الآشوري والقطع المشرقية المستوردة. ان توزيع انواع العاجيات هو توزيع متميز حيث تكثر القطع الآشورية في المناطق الآشورية ذات المنزلة العالية.

على أي حال، ورغم هذه المحاذير، فإن إكمال نشر الأغلبية العظمى من العاجيات من القلعة بالإضافة الى عاجيات القصر الشمالي الغربي يجعل من الممكن البدء بطرح النظر على هذه المجموعة المثلى المكونة من اكثر من 6000 قطعة من العاجيات التي عثر عليها في نمرود ككل، والنظر في الإستنتاجات العامة التي يمكن استخلاصها من هذه المجموعة الفريدة من المواد. ستتم محاولة ذلك في الفصول التالية. وسينصب التركيز على محاولة تحديد المجموعات الإقليمية المختلفة من العاجيات عبر الموقع وداخل المجموعات الكبيرة وذلك لتحديد مجموعات الطرز الرئيسية والفرعية.

تبقى المصطلحات اللغوية مشكلة شائعة. المصطلح المحلي لكل من 'الفينيقية' و 'السورية الشمالية' و 'الآشورية' هي مصطلحات سارية منذ مدة طويلة ومعترف بها على نطاق واسع. ولكن المشكلة ممثلة اكثر في المجموعة المشتقة من الفينيقية. ففي عام 1981 كانت السيدة آيرين ونتر هي اول من جمعت

عاجيات التي كانت اجزاء منها سورية شمالية واجزاء اخرى فينيقية فسمتها 'سورية جنوبية' واقتربت بأنها قد تكون قد صنعت في دمشق. ففي عاجيات من نمروود 6 (Ivories from Nimrud VI – الصفحة 52، وصفت هرمان هذه العاجيات بأنها 'متوسطة'، بينما فضل أو هلينجر (2000) المصطلح 'سورية جنوبية محلية'. لذلك فقد تم تبني المصطلح 'سورية – متوسطة' بصورة عامة في هذا المجلد.

تم تجميع مجاميع الطرز المختلفة التي نوقشت في الفصول الثاني الى الخامس من انحاء القلعة والقصر الشمالي الغربي. وقد تشتق مكونات كل مجموعة من مجلد واحد او اثنين والى حد ستة مجلدات. لكن ذلك يجعل تصور المجاميع المختلفة والتحقق من تشابه مكوناتها عملية صعبة جدا وقد تكون مستحيلة. لذلك فقد قررنا توحيد النص والصورة في جميع الفصول بإدخال أشكال توضيحية لكل مجموعة. فالفصل الثاني، على سبيل المثال، يحتوي اقل من 130 صورة منظمة في 16 شكل توضيحي والفصل الثالث يحتوي 110 صورة مجمعة في 20 شكل توضيحي. وتفتح هذه الأشكال التوضيحية آفاقا جديدة. فلأول مرة، على سبيل المثال، هناك 19 صورة للعاجيات 'ذات التأثير المصري Egyptianizing' مشتقة من نطاق من المواضيع المصورة في هذه المجموعة المميزة ومعروضة على صفتين متقابلتين، وكذلك هو الحال مع 41 صورة لوحات وقطع من 'المجموعة المزخرفة' حيث تم تنظيمها على صفتين متقابلتين أخريتين كذلك. نتيجة لذلك اصبحت وحدة الأسلوب والتقنية في تصاميم هذه العاجيات واضحة للعيان. تجري في كل فصل من فصول المجلد مناقشة العاجيات ذات الطراز الأكثر شيوعا فقط. تم توفير قوائم العاجيات بما فيها الكسر المرتبطة بكل تقليد على حدة في نهاية كل فصل وذلك تقاديا لتحميل النص بمجموعة كبيرة من الأرقام. ويتم تبويب العاجيات حسب طراز كل مجموعة وكذلك حسب موضوعها مما يتسبب بحكم الضرورة الى تكرار ذكر بعضها، ولكن احد اهداف هذه الفصول هو تحديد نطاق المواضيع ضمن كل تقليد من التقاليد.

يركز الفصلين الثاني والثالث على العاجيات التي تمت بصلة الى التقاليد الفينيقية. ويمكن تقسيم هذه الى مجموعتين كبيرتين. تكون العاجيات الفينيقية الكلاسيكية في الفصل الثاني مجموعة متماسكة مرتبطة بمواضيعها وطرزها الأنيق والتقنية المتطورة المستخدمة في حفرها. ولكن من الغريب ان نجد ان نطاق مواضيعها محدود خصوصا عند الأخذ بالاعتبار قرب المراكز الفينيقية من عالم الفن المصري الديناميكي. فنجد ان فن السرد معدوم: وبدلا عنه هناك تركيز على المراسيم. ويبدو ذلك واضحا بصورة خاصة على العاجيات القريبة في فنها من الفن المصري، التأثير المصري Egyptianizing (الشكل 2a-c). هذه المجموعة الفرعية هي قريبة الى العاجيات الفينيقية الكلاسيكية من الناحية التقنية والطرز ولكنها تستخدم مرجع تصميمي أغنى وهي فريدة من عدة نواحي. فهي تستخدم العديد من الرسوم المصرية بما فيها الشعارات والملابس الملكية بدرجات متفاوتة من الدقة. بعضها، مثل عين حورس أو القرد، يبدو مقتصرًا على العاجيات الفينيقية، بينما نجد اخريات مثل الأفعى uraeus وتمثال الإله مات Maat، هي أكثر وأوسع استعمالا. الكثير من العاجيات الفينيقية، ولكن ليس كلها، مزخرفة زخرفة غنية ومطعمة بمواد دقيقة الصنع مركبة ضمن قواطع ذهبية. ويبدو من المحتمل ان يكون هذا التطعيم الدقيق هو من السمات المميزة للعاجيات الفينيقية الكلاسيكية. بالمثل، يبدو ان اعمال التطعيم النادرة المستخدمة في التقاليد الإقليمية الأخرى، السورية المتوسطة والسورية الشمالية، هي أكثر غلاظة وخشونة في الصنع. الأسلوب والكفاءة التقنية للعاجيات الفينيقية الكلاسيكية هي دائما عالية المستوى، ومن المحتمل ان تكون هذه العاجيات قد صنعت في ورش في مركز واحد يضم مهارات عالية.

أما العاجيات الفينيقية في الفصل الثالث، فرغم كونها بكل وضوح فينيقية من حيث الطراز والموضوع، فهي متنوعة الأطرزة وقد تكون قد صنعت في مراكز مختلفة. ومن الممكن دائما تمييز 'الفينيقية الكلاسيكية' عن القطع الفينيقية العامة. مثلا، اللوحات ذات الزخارف المفتوحة البديعة التي تصور خنافس الجمل والآلهة، المجلد السابع عاجيات من نمروود 7 (Ivories from Nimrud VII – الأرقام 95 و 96، والإله الطويل القامة ورأسه رأس الصقر في عاجيات من نمروود 7 (Ivories from Nimrud VII –

الرقم 112 (الشكل 3d) قد يكون بكل بساطة جزء من المجموعة الفينيقية الكلاسيكية. ولكن رغم تشابهها، فمن غير الممكن ربطها مباشرة بالأمثلة الفينيقية الكلاسيكية فوضعت الآن في الفصل الثالث. من جهة أخرى نجد الفينيقيات النموذجية تصور ملوك الفراعنة يحملون صولجان وقارورة وهم يلبسون التنورات الشنديد، عاجيات من نمود 7 (Ivories from Nimrud VII – الرقم 83 – 93، مقابل أمثلة فينيقية كلاسيكية مماثلة حيث يلبس ملوك الفراعنة تنورة ذات طيات مع منزر معقد التصميم (الشكل 3a).

العاجيات السورية المتوسطة في الفصل الرابع هي بصورة عامة مماثلة للعاجيات الفينيقية ولكن نطاق رسومها محدود أكثر ويمت بعلاقة أبعد الى الفن المصري. فهناك فروقات ملحوظة في الطراز والتقنية والقياسات النسبية. فرسوم البشر السورية اقصر طولاً وعددها كبير. والحركة أكثر ديناميكية. استخدمت الألواح في مجاميع ذات تصاميم متشابهة ورسوم بشرية منفردة. احد هذه التصاميم الذي استنسخ عبر المنطقة هو رسم ملك فرعوني يحمل صولجاناً وقارورة وهناك أمثلة فينيقية كلاسيكية وفينيقية وسورية متوسطة في (الشكل 4j). ثمة رسم مشهور آخر استخدم من قبل الحرفيين في كلا الطرازين ألا وهو البطل والغرفين (الشكل 3f و 4b). يمكن مشاهدة منظر المثل الفينيقى غير العنيف في نماذج المجموعة المزخرفة، بينما نشاهد النموذج الديناميكي السوري على ألواح 'التاج والميزان'. بالمثل، فإن ألواح 'التاج الطويل' ذات رسوم لأبي الهول محمول على اكتف شباب جالسين القرفصاء هي أمثلة سورية متوسطة تقلد أبو الهول الأنيق وهو يمشي على رأسي شابين راكعين (الشكل 4f). هذه الألواح لا 'تستعير' التصميم العام فحسب بل تستنسخ رسوم معينة بكاملها، مثلاً، المجموعة المزخرفة بالزهرة الثلاثية. هناك مثل مقتع عن هذه الإستعارة وهو المثل السوري المتوسط للفينيقى الكلاسيكي الذي يظهر إلهة مجنحة عارية الصدر (الشكل 6b). إلهة اللوح المجزأ، عاجيات من نمود 7 (Ivories from Nimrud VII – الرقم 147، تلبس تاج حتحور على شعر مستعار مجعد مع أقراط طويلة وترتدي ثوبا متواضعا يغطي صدرها، وهذه ليست إلا صدىً بعيداً للإصل المصري. والحقيقة هي ان من الصعب ان تجد رسوم سورية متوسطة ليست نسخ معدلة من أصول فينيقية.

كان حفر العاج معروفا معرفة جيدة في العصر البرونزي المتأخر في المشرق وهي تقاليد حرفية استمر بها الفينيقيون. وقد رغب الملوك الآراميون الذين وصلوا مؤخرًا في تقليد جيرانهم من الفينيقيين المتقدمين وقد يكونوا قد استعاروا الحرفيين والمواد لكي يعهدوا اليهم صناعة سلعهم الفاخرة حسب اذواقهم. من هذه المراجع الفينيقية الغنية ركزت المراكز الحرفية الجديدة جهودها على نطاق محدود.

### العاجيات السورية الشمالية

العاجيات الأولى التي أعزيت الى ورشة عمل سورية شمالية كان بعضها من الحُقّ اكتشف في فترة عام 1850 من قبل لوفنتس. وفي عام 1912 اتضح لبولسن بأن من الممكن مقارنة هذه العاجيات مع لوحات جدارية حجرية بارزة اكتشفت في مواقع على طول الحدود السورية التركية، ولاحظ بارنيت في وقت لاحق تأثير الفن الإيقوني الحثي المبكر. التصاميم المتواجدة على قطع الحُقّ، التي تنتمي الآن الى مجموعة 'الشعلة والسعفة'، تختلف أساساً عن المرجع المشرقي السوري في نطاق مواضيع رسومها وطرازها وكذلك الأشكال غير الطبيعية للبشر والتكوين العضلي للحيوانات. فبدلاً من المناظر الرسمية المتكررة الموجودة على العاجيات الفينيقية، نجد قطع الحُقّ مزينة بمناظر لولائم وحملات الصيد وكذلك بألهة وسيدات حيوانية ورسوم لأبي الهول. ويكون التطعيم بقطع كبيرة قد تكون من العاج بدلا عن الزجاج ومثبتة في مواقعها بواسطة أوتاد.

كانت قطع الحُقّ هي العاجيات الوحيدة المميزة بأنها من سورية الشمالية حتى جاءت الحفريات التي قامت بها المدرسة البريطانية للآثار في العراق B.S.A.I ومديرية الآثار العراقية، حيث تم اكتشاف المزيد من عاجيات البيكسيديس وقطع صغيرة أخرى بالإضافة الى ألواح ذات رسوم بلامح وأجهزة عضلية مميزة أعزيت الى مجموعة 'الشعلة والسعفة' (الأشكال 5a-5d) بالإضافة الى مجموعة سورية شمالية جديدة

توصف بكونها 'ذات الخدود المستديرة وعصات الشعر' برسوم بشرية غريبة وسمينة تملأ سطح اللوح او الصحن لها صلة بمنطقة زنجري (الشكل 5e). وقد تكون مجموعة 'الشعلة والسعة' قد صنعت في تل حلف/ بيت بهياني في شمال شرق سورية بينما صنعت مجموعة الخدود المستديرة وعصات الشعر في شمال غرب سورية.

تختلف اكبر مجموعة من العاجيات السورية الشمالية وأظهر الكراسي من الغرفة SW7 (الشكل 5f) في طابعها عن المجموعتين السابقتين بكونها أكثر تطوراً: وقد تكون هذه من حقبة زمنية تالية وقد تعكس تأثيراً آشورياً، وقد يكون معظمها قد صنع في مركز واحد. وكما هو الحال مع المراجع الفينيقية والسورية المتوسطة نرى ان مواضيع رسومها التي تشمل الرجال والأشجار بقيت كما هي عبر السلسلة؛ ولكن ما تغير هو شكل وحجم أظهر الكراسي والألواح بالاضافة الى نمط النقش وتفاصيل الرسوم. ان مثل هذه الاختلافات الصغيرة هي من سمات جميع العاجيات. الفروقات بين المجموعات تقتصر على الحجم والشكل والنمط والتفاصيل الفردية.

### تاريخ الإيداع والإنتاج

معظم العاجيات التي اكتشفت في نمرود تم جمعها اصلاً من قبل الملوك الآشوريين من الممالك الواقعة ضمن امبراطوريتهم إما كهدايا أو كجزية أو غنيمة واحتفظ بها في كالح/ نمرود. لسوء الحظ ان تكون المعلومات الوحيدة التي يوفرها السياق الأثري محددة بالأزمنة المحتملة لوصولها في كالح، والتي لا بد ان تكون ما بين حكم الملك آشورناصربال الثاني (883-859) وسرجون الثاني (722 – 705). ومن المحتمل كذلك ان الملك اسرحدون (681-670) الذي أعاد تعمير كالح قد قام بخزن غنائه هناك. عليه فإن معظم العاجيات قد وصلت في القرنين التاسع والثامن مع قليل منها قد يكون قد وصل في القرن السابع.

غير ان تاريخ الإيداع لا يعكس تاريخ الإنتاج. فليس هناك إلا القليل من الأدلة التي تمكننا من تثبيت متى وأين تم انتاج هذه العاجيات، حيث لم يتم العثور إلا على القليل جداً منها في أماكن أخرى عدا نمرود. المراكز الفينيقية الرئيسية، مثل صور وصيدا وبيروت وبيبلوس أو أرفاد، بقيت مأهولة الى يومنا هذا، والطبقات الفينيقية اصبحت مدفونة بعمق بالرواسب التي تلت. على أية حال، كانت التجارة الفينيقية بالتأكيد مزدهرة منذ القرن الحادي عشر، والعاجيات الفينيقية قد ابتدأت صناعتها منذ ذلك الوقت مستمرة بتقاليد العصر البرونزي في نقش العاج المعروف من أوغاريت Ugarit وإنكومي Enkomi ومجيدو Megiddo. يمكننا افتراض استمرار هذه التقاليد حتى نهاية القرن الثامن على الأقل، وقد تعتبر الحقبة الزمنية من القرن الحادي عشر وحتى نهاية القرن الثامن فترة محتملة لإنتاج العاجيات الفينيقية التي اكتشفت في نمرود. كما أن من المحتمل ان ابتداء انتاج العاجيات السورية المتوسطة لم يحصل قبل القرن العاشر ثم توقف لكون الممالك المختلفة قد استوعبت من قبل الإمبراطورية الآشورية. ومن المحتمل ان التقاليد السورية الشمالية الفريدة جداً قد ابتدأت في القرن الحادي عشر ومرة أخرى، توقفت نتيجة للغزو الآشوري فيما عدا انتاج أظهر الكراسي الموجودة في الغرفة SW7.

تحليل العاجيات في هذا المجلد يبدي بوضوح ان أغلبها يعود الى التقاليد الفينيقية ويكشف عن تفوق صانع العاج الفينيقى من حيث عدد العاجيات المنتجة وبداية صناعتها. ويبدو واضحاً حتى عند تقييم الكميات النسبية فقط من القوائم المنشورة في نهاية فصول المجلد بأن عدد العاجيات الفينيقية هو على الأقل ضعف عدد العاجيات من التقاليد السورية المتوسطة والسورية الشمالية والآشورية بمجموعها. ان ذلك ليس من المستغرب، حيث ان التجار الأمراء الفينيقيين يمثلون شعباً بحرياً يتاجر بالبضاعة عبر البحار وكانت ثروتهم ومهاراتهم الحرفية مشهورة. بالإضافة الى الذهب والفضة فقد كانوا قادرين على الحصول على كميات من عاج الفيلة تشمل بما فيها انياب فيلة ضخمة. ان عاجيات نمرود مصنوعة برمتها من عاج أنياب الفيلة مع استعمالات قليلة للعظام تعكس تفوق الفينيقيين في التجارة مع المناطق البعيدة. عليه، فإن عاجيات

الفينيقيين في نمرود مع بعض الكاسات البرونزية التي اكتشفت من قبل لايارد في القصر الشمالي الغربي تشكل المصدر الرئيسي للفنون الصغيرة لشعب طال الإعراف بكونه سادة حرفيي النصف الألفي المبكر.

كما هو معروف فإن التراث الآشوري هو تراث عظيم كما وصفوه. ولكن الأقل من ذلك شهرة هو المساهمة التي قدموها عن دون قصد بقيامهم بالمحافظة على المنتجات الفنية الصغيرة للممالك المشرقية. كانت السياسة الآشورية تتضمن تفريغ قصور الأعداء الذين تغلبوا عليهم ليس لأنهم كانوا يرغبون بها ولكن للقضاء على المظاهر الملكية للعدو المغلوب. بهذه الطريقة، وبخزن البقايا المهشمة من الأثاث والقطع الفنية الصغيرة، تمكنوا أن يحفظوا للأجيال التالية فنون الألف الأول المبكر المفقودة.

## INTRODUCTION

*By Georgina Herrmann and Stuart Laidlaw*

Fifty years have passed since the British School of Archaeology in Iraq raised the last ivory from Rooms SW11/12 and T10 in Fort Shalmaneser, ivories which this volume is publishing, as far as records survive. With the completion of the publication of the ivories from the Fort and those from the North West Palace, it is now possible to begin to look at this remarkable collection of more than 6,000 ivories as a whole. It immediately becomes apparent that the major assemblage is ivories of the Phoenician tradition. What we have, therefore, at Nimrud is *the* record of what is otherwise essentially lost, the art of the Phoenician merchant princes of the early first millennium. To the evidence of the ivories can be added many of the bronze bowls found by Austen Henry Layard in the North West Palace, which are currently being prepared for publication by John Curtis.

The excavation of Fort Shalmaneser by the B.S.A.I. lasted from 1957 to 1963: it was directed by David Oates and, for the last season, by Jeffery Orchard. Most of the ivories were found in three great storerooms in the South West Quadrant and in a fourth in the Throne Room block, with smaller groups found in contexts throughout the Fort. The first three volumes published during the lifetime of Max Mallowan, the founder director of the B.S.A.I. expedition to Nimrud were *Ivories from Nimrud I.2, Equestrian Bridle Harness Ornaments*, by J.J. Orchard (1967), *Ivories from Nimrud II, Ivories in Assyrian Style*, by M.E.L. Mallowan and L. Glynne Davies (1970), and *Ivories from Nimrud III, Furniture from SW7, Fort Shalmaneser*, by M.E.L. Mallowan and Georgina Herrmann (1974). The first two collected ivories according to function or style, while the third recorded the remarkable series of chairbacks and the few other ivories found in Room SW7.

After the death of Sir Max Mallowan in 1978 his widow Lady Mallowan, formerly Barbara Parker, asked Georgina Herrmann to continue the publication of the ivories. Work began on probably the largest collection of ivories, those found in Room SW37, published in 1986 in *Ivories from Nimrud IV*. The plan was then to continue with the ivories from the adjacent room, SW11/12, which also contained a considerable number of ivories. Preparations were made in 1989 for a major study visit to the Iraq Museum to record as many pieces as possible, but access to the stores was not permitted at that time and has not been since. The decision was made, first, to continue with the reasonably complete photographic archive of the smaller groups of ivories found throughout the Fort, *Ivories from Nimrud V* (1992), and then those found by the various excavators of the North West Palace from Austen Henry Layard in the nineteenth century to the Iraqi Department of Antiquities and Heritage: this resulted in *Ivories from Nimrud VI*, published in 2009.

The years are passing, memories are failing, and time is not on our side. We (Georgina Herrmann and Stuart Laidlaw) therefore decided to try to complete publication of the ivories from the two remaining assemblages, Rooms SW11/12 and T10, by collecting any existing photographs, however poor the quality, and improving the images with Photoshop. It is, of course, not currently practical to undertake a study visit to the Iraq Museum, since the situation there is unstable. This is all the more unfortunate because most of the ivories from Rooms SW11/12 and T10 remain in Iraq. These were the last rooms to be excavated by the B.S.A.I., and the ivories were deposited in the Iraq Museum

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

awaiting a final division, to be made after conservation had been completed and the relevant joins made.

The ivory programme, directed by Jeffery Orchard, was set up in 1963 to complete the conservation and recording of the ivories with the help of a team of conservators and photographers. The conservation of most fragments was completed in 1968, but the task of photography and cataloguing was still underway. Occasional divisions of the ivories were made: for instance, 72 ivories were allocated to the B.S.A.I in May 1965. However, a change in Iraqi law in 1967/1968 stopped any further divisions. Thereafter, the programme was reduced in scale and ceased when Mr. Orchard was appointed a lecturer in the University of Birmingham in 1971. This left hundreds of pieces neither catalogued nor photographed. Since that time, many ivories – and other antiquities – in the Iraq Museum have been stolen or destroyed as a result of the 2003 invasion and the subsequent lawlessness.

The current publication is a ‘rescue publication’. In the previous volumes the emphasis has been on high quality photographs and high quality printing: we have striven to achieve the same in this volume, but there are inevitably some poor quality images. However, our emphasis has been on retrieving every existing image, even from ‘record shots’, in the belief that *any* record is preferable to none. It must be borne in mind that no photographs exist of many important ivories, particularly the unique and remarkable pieces found in Room T10. It is to be hoped that, in the future when the situation stabilizes, a programme to complete recording can be initiated.

From 1987 to 1989 the Centro Scavi di Torino per il Medio Oriente et l’Asia undertook excavations in the South West Quadrant of Fort Shalmaneser, starting in Room SW37, which they renamed A1. They recovered nearly 1500 ivory fragments, many similar to ivories discovered by the B.S.A.I. (Fiorina 2009, Follis 2009, Pappalardo 2005, 2009). Apart from a few pieces, these are not included in the current analysis, and neither are most of the ivories from the Burnt Palace, published by R.D. Barnett in his *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories with other examples of Ancient Near Eastern Ivories in the British Museum* (1957, 1975).

### *Previous studies*

There has been ongoing discussion of the ivories since their initial discovery by Austen Henry Layard and William Kennet Loftus in the 1840s and 1850s. Layard himself noted their strong connections to Egypt, but perceptively decided that they were not made there. Since then major studies have been undertaken by Poulsen, Barnett, Mallowan, Hawkes, Winter, Herrmann, Wicke, Scigliuzzo and Pappalardo, among others. Three stimulating conferences have focussed on the ivories, two at Fribourg and one at Pisa, and have been published (Uehlinger 2000; Suter & Uehlinger 2005; Cecchini, Mazzone & Scigliuzzo 2009). There was also a useful seminar at the University of Mainz in 2005.

*The historical context.* Chapter One of *Ivories from Nimrud VI* presented an overview of the political and economic situation in the Levant in the early first millennium B.C.E. to try to establish possible places of production. This is not repeated in this volume. It is assumed, rightly or wrongly, that ivory production was confined to relatively wealthy centres among the various kingdoms and city-states of the Levant, whose rulers would have commissioned art with their own imagery. However, as these areas fell under Assyrian control, such production would presumably have ceased. There are, for instance, relatively few ivories in the various styles common to North Syrian centres, areas, which were conquered during the ninth century.

## *The Plan of Ivories from Nimrud VII*

Chapter One collects such information as is available on the history of excavation of the two rooms, SW11/12 and T10, relying heavily on the memories of Julian Reade and Jeffery Orchard. Orchard also comments on some significant events at the British School of Archaeology in Iraq from 1956 to 1971. The project to conserve and record the ivories was initiated by Max Mallowan and Jeffery Orchard in 1963 and directed by Orchard until 1971. Lady Mallowan (Barbara Parker) re-started the project after her husband's death. The current project has been and is organized by Georgina Herrmann. Stuart Laidlaw discusses the various advances in the photography of these fragile and fractured objects from the 1960s to the present. The photographic archive is stored in the Department of the Middle East, the British Museum.

With the completion of the publication of the majority of the ivories, the time is right to begin to establish the broad outlines of the collection as a whole, and to see what general conclusions can be drawn about this remarkable body of material. In the following chapters just such an attempt is made. The emphasis is on trying to identify the different regional groups of ivories across the site and, within these large groupings, to define the principal style-groups and sub-groups. A start has already been made in the earlier volumes and in a variety of articles by different scholars, but, with additional material and ongoing study, there are naturally constant revisions and changes to these initial groupings.

Terminology remains a vexed issue. The regional terms of 'Phoenician', 'North Syrian' and 'Assyrian' are long established and widely recognized. It is a derived Phoenician group that presents more of a problem. In 1981 Irene Winter first collected some partly North Syrian and partly Phoenician ivories, which she called 'South Syrian' and suggested that they were made in Damascus. In *I.N.* IV, 52, Herrmann called such ivories 'Intermediate', while Uehlinger (2000) preferred the term 'local South Syrian', also suggesting a Damascus provenance. There is, of course, no indication of where these various style-groups may have originated. Of these terms, 'Syrian' may be the most appropriate, being less geographically specific, although it is easy to confuse with the other terms. In this volume the term 'Syrian-Intermediate' is generally used. There were, of course, no Assyrian ivories found in either Rooms SW37 or SW11/12, which contained collections of broken booty. T10 is one of the few rooms in which both imported and Assyrian ivories were found.

While these terms cover the general regional traditions, there are also problems in the names of groups or style-groups of ivories. For instance, Chapters Two and Three focus on ivories that can be attributed to the Phoenician tradition. These can be divided into two principal groups, each consisting of a number of sub-groups. Chapter Two discusses 'Classic Phoenician' ivories, that is those groups with the closest links to Egypt and to each other, and which can realistically be considered to have been made in workshops in a single centre. These include 'Egyptianizing' ivories, Pharaoh statuettes, ivories of the 'Ornate Group', and 'Unusually Shaped Ivories' and are fairly tightly defined. There are, however, more ivories, which belong to the 'Classic Phoenician' group, but less obviously, such as the 'Finely Carved' group. There are also many typically Phoenician ivories, discussed in Chapter Three. The Syrian-Intermediate and North Syrian ivories of Chapters Four and Five also contain a number of groups.

The various style-groups discussed in Chapters Two to Five have been assembled across the six volumes of the *Ivories from Nimrud* series (the Assyrian ivories of Volume II, are not included). The members of a style-group may be drawn from one or two or even up to six different volumes. This makes visualizing the different groups and checking their similarity difficult if not impossible. We therefore decided to unite text and image throughout the chapters by building figures to illustrate each

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

group. Chapter Two, for instance, has no less than 130 images arranged in 16 figures and Chapter Three 110 images in 20 figures. The individual numbers of each illustration are provided below them, and there are generalized captions.

These figures break new ground. For the first time, for instance, 19 images of ‘Egyptianizing’ ivories drawn from a range of the subjects depicted in this distinctive group are arranged on two facing pages, and so are 41 images of ‘Ornate Group’ panels and plaques on another two pages. As a result, their obvious stylistic and technical unity is made evident. Smaller figures, such as Fig. 3b with five images, illustrate the similarity of carving between Phoenician panels with Pharaohs with sceptres and jugs and panels with women. Equally, an unusual depiction of the Egyptian double crown with an elongated spiral is represented on a range of panels found in SW37, SW11/12 and T10, showing sphinxes striding over flowers or kneeling youths or couchant sphinxes (Fig. 3h).

Only the most typical ivories are discussed in each chapter. In order not to overload the text, which is anyway fairly dense, with a mass of numbers, lists of ivories, including fragments, attributed to each tradition are provided at the end of each chapter. These lists are not intended to be fully comprehensive: questionable pieces or those too fragmentary for attribution are not included. The ivories are listed both by style-group and by subject, which necessarily results in duplication. However, one of the aims of these chapters is to establish the ranges of subject within each tradition. For instance, the complex designs on ‘Egyptianizing’ panels only occur on ‘Classic Phoenician’ ivories, while the popular contest between hero and griffin can be found on ‘Classic Phoenician’ ‘Ornate Group’ ivories and *champ-levé* plaques, as well as on Syrian-Intermediate ‘Crown and Scale’ ivories. Equally, specific Phoenician motifs such as the scarab beetle can be seen on an ‘Egyptianizing’ boat scene, I.N. IV, no. 991, as well as on a range of other Phoenician plaques and panels.

Chapters Four and Five discuss the ivories of the Syrian-Intermediate and North Syrian traditions, as well as some ivories, the origins or regional groupings of which are uncertain. The final chapter is a general overview, which tries to bring together the various topics covered in the volume.

During the ongoing programme of publication of the last 30 years there have naturally been revisions to the initial groupings, some expansions and some changes. In an ideal world such groupings would have awaited the completion of cataloguing across the site. However, the aim throughout this publication programme has been to make the material available, accepting not only that much remains to be done but that there will also be many errors.

## *Acknowledgments*

Fort Shalmaneser proved to be an incredibly generous site, especially in the wealth of ivories recovered by the excavators, both the B.S.A.I. team and the Shergati workmen (Fig. 1c). But digging up the ivories is only the beginning of the work, and in the 55 years since the first ivories were found in 1957 many people have contributed to their preservation and recording, especially the teams of conservators and photographers, many of whom are listed on pp. 13-15. An especial debt of gratitude is due to the Hon. Anthony Robertson Pearce, who in 1965-1966 photographed groups of ivories from T10 prior to their being packed away, providing the only record of most of these ivories.

Some photographs in Chapter One were taken by Vaughn Crawford and Jorgen Læssøe, with the images provided by Jeffery Orchard and Rune Rattenborg of Copenhagen University. Others were given by Ann Searight, Nanina Shaw-Reade and Julian Reade. More recently hundreds of photographs have been taken by Mick Sharpe, Georgina Herrmann and Stuart Laidlaw in Iraq, the U.S.A. and the U.K. We are grateful to all for permission to publish. We warmly thank the curators of the Iraq Museum in Baghdad and museums in Mosul, Erbil, Kirkuk, Babylon and Nasariyah, who

allowed us to work there and who kindly took ivories off exhibition. We are also indebted to a number of museums in America, particularly, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, but including the museums in Baltimore, Boston, Philadelphia and San Francisco. In the U.K. we would like to thank the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, the British Museum, London, the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and the City Museums of Birmingham, Bolton, Bristol, Ipswich and Manchester.

Unfortunately there are few surviving records of the excavation, and it is thanks to Julian Reade and Jeffery Orchard that some information has been retrieved. Jeffery Orchard also succeeded in finding the plans of the west end of Room SW12 with the location of ivories in the soil (Appendix Two) and found the Robertson Pearce negatives of T10 ivories, both of immense value. As in previous years, we are indebted to Alan Millard, who has struggled with the thankless task of identifying fitters' marks, and to Ken Kitchen, who has made real advances in the understanding of the hieroglyphs inscribed on Phoenician ivories: they have kindly collaborated on all the recent fascicules. We also want to thank Christopher Walker, the master of the database, who 'magicked' the numbers in the Appendices, most of which he prepared. Saadi al-Timmi undertook the translation into Arabic of the Synopsis, which was also read by Mark Altaweel. We thank them both.

This particular volume would not have been completed without the dedicated work of Helena Coffey. Not only did she prepare all the scans of *Ivories from Nimrud I-V*, but she also scanned and prepared the initial layout of the plates and catalogues of both *Ivories from Nimrud VI and VII*. She is an important member of the 'team'.

We are deeply grateful to Dr. Dirk Wicke of the University of Mainz for help throughout the preparation of the volume. Not only did he read and comment on the early drafts of both the text and the catalogue, but he also proof-read the final version, making numerous important observations. In addition he drew the plans and the drawings of the three-sided furniture element and the photographically restored 'Egyptianizing' panel. Dirk has a real 'ivory eye', and it is always worth trying out a group on him – we usually, but do not always, agree! Dr. Erika Fischer also kindly read the text and catalogue, making many valuable suggestions.

Our greatest debt of gratitude is, however, to our sponsoring institutions, the British Museum, London, the staff of whom were endlessly helpful in finding us ivories, the Institute of Archaeology of University College London, and its helpful librarian, Katie Meheux, and the British Institute for the Study of Iraq, formerly the British School of Archaeology in Iraq. B.I.S.I. funded the costs of preparing the camera-ready copy and publishing the volume, continuing its ongoing commitment to the publication of this uniquely important site. Jon Taylor kept a gentle eye on the volume's rather erratic progress. Finally, the Bonham Carter Trust enabled us to illustrate a number of these magnificent ivories in colour – which they really need. We thank them warmly.

And we should not fail to mention the steady support given by both our spouses, Luke and Helena.

Georgina Herrmann and Stuart Laidlaw  
Institute of Archaeology, University College London.  
12.12.2012.

### *Post Script*

The interesting information presented by Julian Reade was offered to us at the end of February – too late to form part of the text but too good to be omitted. We therefore included it as Appendix Twelve.

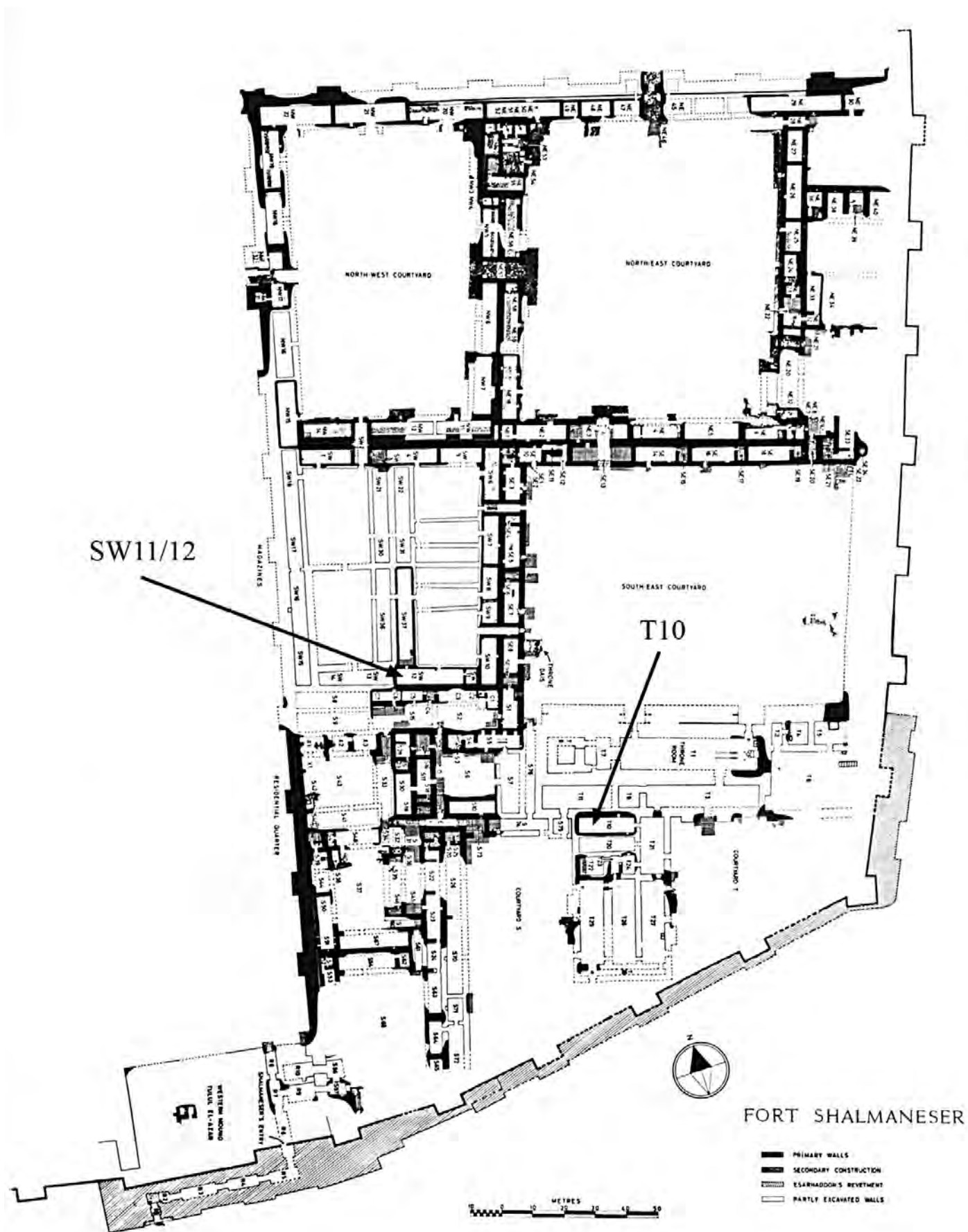


Fig. 1a. Plan of Fort Shalmaneser from Mallowan, N. & R. 1966, folding maps, plans and sections, VIII.

## CHAPTER ONE

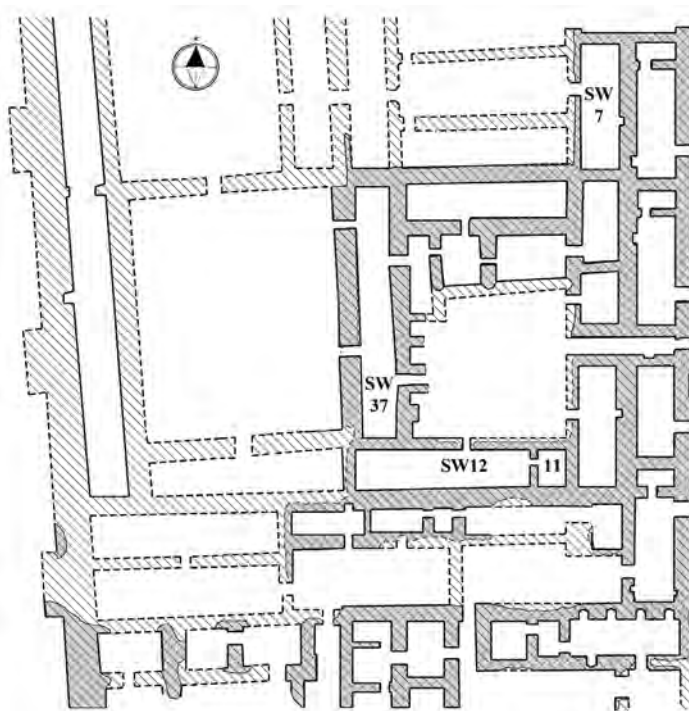
*The excavation of Rooms SW11/12 and T10*  
*The Nimrud Ivory Programme (1963-1971) by Jeffery J. Orchard*  
*The Ivory Project (1982-2012) by Georgina Herrmann*  
*Photography and Archiving by Stuart Laidlaw*

Work began on the excavation of the great palace/arsenal known as Fort Shalmaneser in 1957 ending in 1963 (Fig. 1a: Oates & Oates 2001, 144 ff.). An initial survey of the surface of the south west quadrant in 1957 and 1958 suggested that three large storage magazines, SW7, SW37 and SW11/12, probably contained ivories. Excavation in 1957 and 1958 concentrated on recovering what proved to be the relatively complete chair-backs from SW7. From 1958 to 1961 attention focussed on the mass of material from SW37, consisting of thousands of ivories. Attention then moved to the other ivory rooms, Rooms SW11/12 and T10.

### *The excavation of Room SW11/12, Fig. 1b*

While some 26 fragmentary pieces had been found near the surface in 1957, it was only in 1962 that the excavation of Room SW11/12 began (Fig. 1b). The wall faces of this great magazine were defined in 1961. The room measured 24.80 m. along the north wall, 24.60 m. along the south wall, 4.30 m. along the east wall and 5.0 m. along the west wall. The preserved height of the walls on all four sides was approximately 2.00 m. Access was via a single doorway, 1.05 m. wide, halfway along the north wall of SW12, leading into the courtyard. It had originally been fitted with a wooden door. In 1963 a partition cross-wall was identified towards the east end. This survived to a slightly lower height than the main walls and separated the small Room SW11 from SW12: its internal floor measurements were approximately 4.30 x 3.15 m. A doorway at the northern end of the north-south cross-wall gave access to SW12 (personal communication, J.J. Orchard).

David Oates was supervising the excavation of the upper fill in 1962 when the first white specks of ivory emerged, and he decided to record their locations. Although no attempt had been made to do this in the adjacent storeroom SW37, the positions of



*Fig. 1b. Plan of part of the South West Quadrant with the ivory rooms, SW37, SW11/12 and SW7, from N. & R. 1966, folding plan VIII and Fiorina 2009, 41, fig. 1, drawn by Dirk Wicke.*

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the chair-backs from SW7 had been recorded, and it had been discovered that they had indeed been arranged in rows (Oates 1959, 104-110). Oates wished to ascertain whether there was any evidence to suggest that the SW12 ivories had been deliberately deposited or were simply broken during the sack and thrown back in disorder, after their gold overlays had been removed, as he himself believed.

### *Planning the west end, Appendices Two - Four, Fig. 1c*

Two team members were therefore set to plan and number the ivories as they were raised from the first five metres from the west wall. They prepared six successive plans showing the distribution of carved fragments as follows: Plan 1, surface to 60 cm.; Plan 2, 60-90 cm.; Plan 3, 90-120 cm.; Plan 4, 120-150 cm.; Plan 5, 150-180 cm. and Plan 6, 180-210 cm. As can be seen on the plans (Appendix Two), ivories tended to cluster towards the west end, with the largest number being found between 60 and 150 cm. There were relatively few in the top 60 cm. and numbers diminished in the last 60 cm. Three hundred and thirty pieces were numbered. These were, of course, uncleaned and uncatalogued, and it was difficult to establish or maintain a satisfactory means of correlating the ivory items on the paper SW12 plans with the ivories as they travelled on trays to the house for cleaning. After cleaning, numbers in circles were marked on the backs: these marks on registered ivories were recorded in the field catalogues after the ND number, i.e. ND 11007 (58), and are repeated in the catalogue below.

Nearly fifty years have passed and unfortunately, only 140 of the 330 planned ivories can be identified, and of these only 95 actual pieces located. The results from this small sample are inconclusive, as can be seen in Appendix Three, where the 95 ivories are listed with their plan, catalogue and ND numbers. As a result Oates commented:

‘It is sufficient here to note that the disposition of the individual pieces within the fill of the room, which was recorded in great detail, was fully as haphazard as in SW37, and strengthened our belief that the articles of furniture which they had originally adorned were already broken before being placed in the rooms in which they have been found. The explanation of this curious circumstance probably lies, as has already been suggested, in the twofold sack of the fortress of which we have found stratigraphical and architectural evidence elsewhere (1963, 7).’

A little further planning was undertaken in 1963 at the beginning of the season but was discontinued because of the small staff and other pressing work. However, Reade remembers that a distinctive group of ivories was found in SW11, the small room at the east end of SW12, probably mainly near the middle. This consisted of a large number of plaques and fragments of plaques showing human- and ram-headed sphinxes, distributed in the fill above rather than on the floor. He thinks they were virtually the only ivories found in SW11 (personal communication). Unfortunately the 1963 field catalogue does not differentiate between ivories found in SW12 and those from SW11. However, it is possible that the ‘Crown and Scale’ ivories, nos. 279-299, are these ivories: they fit the description given by Professor Reade and are the only ones excavated in 1963 to be given additional numbers in brackets in the field catalogue (listed in Appendix Four). Unfortunately it has not been possible to ascertain their significance.

In 1962 Professor Reade watched some of the excavation of SW12 and described it as follows: ‘First the upper fill to a depth of perhaps 1 metre, was removed with pick and shovel. David was supervising the work when the first ivory fragments began to emerge (white specks, and then small bits, one or two of which were incised with what I vaguely recall as an arcaded pattern). ... As the workmen dug down deeper white patches began to appear, which were decayed ivory. From then on down to the mud floor, the fill was quite dense earth, presumably derived from fallen and eroded mudbrick and mud plaster. Ivories were frequent, often broken but in good

physical condition except for the large structural pieces. They seemed to be scattered at random, up and down in the fill' (personal communication).

In *Fifty Years of Mesopotamian Discovery* Reade commented evocatively that the ivories in the western part of the room were 'lying profuse as stones in a Cotswold garden' (1982, 108). In both 1962 and 1963:

'the Sherqati workmen primarily responsible for digging were Dowlah Talab al-Angud and Saleh Muhammed al-Muslah (Fig. 1c). Dowlah was the most skilled, observant and responsible of all the Sherqati workmen. ... The sheer quantity of pieces found in 1962 was remarkable. A large proportion were structural pieces, many of which remained uncatalogued. In 1962 there were so many pieces requiring consolidation that Ali Neqshebendi, a London-trained conservator in the Iraq Museum, and other colleagues came from Baghdad to help. In 1963, in addition to the smaller panels, there were again large numbers of structural pieces; one of them, I remember, in poor condition, was a curved chair-leg of the type compared by Mallowan with Chippendale chair-legs. ...

'There were many pieces of solid glass inlay (much of it blue) from wings. I suppose these came from wooden furniture, as the inlay in the ivories I saw was a different, much more friable, glass. Some at least of the adhesive was blue, like the inlay adjoining it' (Reade, personal communication).



*Fig. 1c. Saleh Mohammed al-Muslah (son of Mohammed al-Muslah, principal Sherqati foreman) exposes an ivory plaque in the fill of Room SW11/12 (1963 season). Photo: Dr. Vaughn Crawford.*

He further noted that 'the brilliant red and yellow ochreous colours which stained the lower fill of SW11 might have derived from a huge heap of textiles' (1982, 110), although he did not notice any traces of textile.

Reade also described the lifting of the ivories:

'When freshly taken from the earth, they were pale yellow in colour, with a consistency not unlike that of processed cheese; later, if allowed to dry untreated, they would become whiter and more brittle. Various methods of treatment were tried, but the ones finally evolved were relatively simple and straightforward. The primary excavation of these objects, many of which were carved in exquisite detail, was largely entrusted to two supremely dexterous workmen, who extracted them on individual lumps of soil, which were then wedged securely on trays. Next there was the slow and perilous drive to the dig-house, where the ivories were placed on shelves, ready for further cleaning and consolidation with polyvinyl acetate. It was work often lasting far into the night, in which virtually all the staff, led by trained conservators from the London Institute of Archaeology, would participate. The problems were comparable with those presented by unbaked clay cuneiform tablets: for a few hours after exposure, the wet earth could be easily detached from the soft ivory, and some of the most skilled practitioners preferred to do much of the cleaning then: alternatively one could wait until the ivory was harder, but then the earth was hard too, and had to be softened by repeated dabs of methylated spirits or acetone in order to separate it from the ivory surface to which it clung. Each case had to be judged on its merits, with some deserving priority treatment. Particular difficulties arose with those pieces that

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

lay face down, and which were liable to need their backs bandaged before they could be turned over. Perhaps the most difficult of all, and very numerous, were the larger segments of furniture, the surface and interior of which were frequently rotten; many of these were plain or decorated only with simple mouldings, but among them too were lions that required hours of devoted attention. The easiest were the fragments of plain veneer, which was also found in great quantities' (1982, 108-109).

The Turin Centro Scavi per il Medio Oriente e l'Asia undertook some excavations in the South West Quadrant of Fort Shalmaneser in 1987-1989 (Fiorina 2009, 27-46). In a brief report to the conference on Syrian and Phoenician ivories held at Pisa in 2004 he commented that Rooms SW11/12 were rich in the remains of wood (2009, 30).

*The excavation of the ivories from Room SW11/12 in 1962 and 1963:  
their conservation, registration and cataloguing in the expedition dig house  
by Jeffery J. Orchard*

### *The excavation and transportation of the ivories*

With a local shovel man and a basket boy or two in attendance, the excavation was performed by two highly skilled and experienced Sherqati workmen (Fig. 1c), each equipped with a small pick and a pointed kitchen knife (or similar) for exposing the ivories as encountered, and a light to medium-weight brush for brushing away loose soil. Digging progressively down into the fill of the room, from today's ground surface to ancient room floor-level in a succession of spits approximately 30 cm. deep, the Sherqatis' standard procedure on encountering an ivory in the soil was essentially as follows. First, the surface of the ivory was delicately exposed with small pick, knife and brush, and then the entire piece was carefully undercut so as to lie freely on its own supportive bed of earth. Transferred next onto a wooden tray,<sup>1</sup> it was subsequently transported to the Dig House at the end of the day to be dealt with by the Expedition's Conservators. Transporting the ivories from Room SW11/12 to the Expedition house was effected by Land Rover, generally the B.S.A.I.'s elderly, short wheelbase Land Rover, known affectionately as 'The Rattletrap', in which we sat, gingerly holding the trays of excavated ivories across our knees.

### *The reception and treatment of the ivories at the Expedition House.*

On arrival, the day's trays of ivories were delivered into the care of the Conservators, who at once bore them into their Workroom for sorting and classification into three categories of descending conservation importance, namely:

1. Complete to virtually complete carved ivory elements needing only cleaning and conservation to be ready for division at the end of the season.
2. Partially complete carved ivory elements holding the promise of eventual completion, subject to the finding of additional joining fragments.
3. Partial fragments of carved ivory elements, holding the promise that they might eventually be found to join some larger preserved fragment to make a complete or virtually complete carved ivory.

With the ivories thus divided into three categories, the cleaning and conservation began in earnest,

<sup>1</sup> When fulfilling the original use for which they were purchased by the Nimrud Expedition, these simple, *Suq*-manufactured white wood and plywood trays belonged to a set of racks intended for the storage of small finds in the Expedition Conservators' Work Room.

work in which the conservators were often given a helping hand by other team members when they had a moment to do so. For instance, in 1963 conservators Nanina Shaw and Ann Searight were unstintingly assisted by Miss Selma al-Radhi, the Iraqi Directorate of Antiquities' Representative and by Nimrud Expedition Field Assistant, Mr. Julian Reade. Singing constantly at their work, the three ladies soon became known to themselves and to the 1963 Fort Shalmaneser team at large as 'The Shalmaneser Sisters'.

To summarize the treatment given to the ivories by the Conservators and their helpers: first, the ivories of all categories were cleaned of all surface soil by means of methylated-spirit-soaked cotton wool swabs mounted on cocktail sticks, supplemented by a selection of small tools, including an assortment of needles, stiff painter's brushes, orange wood sticks and a scalpel. Notably, during one season instead of cocktail sticks to mount the cotton wool swabs, exotic porcupine quills were used instead, obtained from the corpse of a porcupine killed one night below the Dig House by the dogs of our House Guard.



*Fig. 1d. The Phoenician bust, I.N. VII, no. 688, ND 12000 (Colour Plate I, Plates 143-146), during and after conservation by Nanina Shaw-Reade.*

After the ivories had been cleaned, with top priority being given to Category 1, their essentially fragile fabric was strengthened and consolidated by an application of polyvinyl acetate diluted with either methylated spirits or acetone, according to availability (for tea-glasses of the above in use, see Fig. 1d, left). Fig. 1d shows the same Phoenician figure during and after skilful conservation.

#### *Registration and cataloguing of the ivories by J.J. Orchard, 1961-1963, Fig. 1e*

After cleaning and consolidation, the Category 1 and the best of the Category 2 ivories were passed to J.J. Orchard for registration (the allocation of an 'ND'/Nimrud Expedition Field Number) and descriptive cataloguing for division between the Iraq Museum and the Expedition at the end of the season. This operation of 'ND' number allocation and descriptive cataloguing is illustrated in Fig. 1e, which shows J.J. Orchard registering and cataloguing ivories from Room SW37 in 1961. On one side of the table, J.J.O. is composing the descriptions of the ivories that he is cataloguing at the School's office portable typewriter, surrounded by a scatter of reference books, while on the other side of the table is Conservator Charmian Reed, who is inscribing the 'ND' number of each ivory as dictated with a mapping pen and Indian ink.

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

*The formal 'division of finds' at the close of each season.*

At the end of each digging season it was the custom to hold a formal 'division' of the season's registered finds between the Iraq Museum, represented in 1962 and 1963 by Mr. Fuad Safar, Iraqi Director of Excavations, and Mr. Faraj Basmachi, Director of the Iraq Museum on the one hand and the Nimrud Expedition, represented by Mr. David Oates as Field Director in 1962 and Mr. Jeffery Orchard as Field Director in 1963 on the other.

Held in the Expedition House at Nimrud on a day mutually agreed on for the occasion and formally presided over by the Iraq Museum representative party, who travelled up from Baghdad to Nimrud by car, the Division was organised thus. First, before the Iraqis arrived, the season's finds were laid out by the Expedition's Director in two parallel rows of as nearly equal artistic merit and scientific interest as possible (in his judgement and opinion). One row, he visualised for working purposes as the 'Iraq Museum's share', the other the 'share of the Nimrud Expedition'.

Following the arrival of the Iraqis, and after mutual greetings accompanied by coffee/tea and biscuits, the actual process of 'Division' began formally with a meticulous examination by the Iraq Museum team of each row of finds, in the course of which every object adjudged to be 'unique' was set aside and removed from the 'Division' as 'retained for the Iraq Museum's collections'.<sup>2</sup> Once the 'unique' finds had been removed from contention, the 'Division of Finds' between the Iraq Museum team and the Nimrud (foreign) team began in earnest with much good-natured haggling and swapping of objects between the two rows of finds.

In the end, after the swapping of individual finds between the two rows, final agreement was reached and to cement matters two sets of the Nimrud Expedition's Field Catalogues for the Season (such as the Ivories Catalogue, the Varia Catalogue or finds of various materials, or the Pottery Catalogue) were marked up to show which objects had gone to which party. Thereafter, with the Iraq Museum party taking one Catalogue set for its records, and the Nimrud Expedition taking the other Catalogue set for its records, the meeting formally broke up, the Iraqis boxing up their share of the finds for immediate transportation to Baghdad, while the Expedition boxed up its share for ultimate export to the U.K.

### *The ivories from Room SW11/12 registered in 1957, 1962 and 1963 by Georgina Herrmann*

The first ivories from SW11/12, some 26 pieces, numbered from ND 6301, were discovered in 1957 near the surface. However, excavation of the magazine did not begin until 1962. Work initially concentrated on the west end, where hundreds of ivories were recovered, 125 of which were registered (ND 11001-11121, 11127-11130). About 60 were allocated to the Expedition in the Division and

<sup>2</sup> In the context of the 'Division' the description 'unique' was used by the Iraq Museum authorities to mean either literally 'unique' or alternatively of exceptionally fine quality or scientific interest.



*Fig. 1e. Jeffery Orchard composing the 1961 Nimrud ivories catalogue in preparation for the end-of-season Division, while Conservator Charmian Reed inscribes the ivories with their Expedition numbers as they are allocated. Photo: Dr. Vaughn Crawford.*

brought back to London for distribution to contributing museums. The rest of the magazine was excavated in 1963, when some 261 ivories were registered (ND 12000-12161, 12184-12186, 12191-12249, 12282-12306, and 12308-12332), of which about 140 were brought back to London. Many hundreds of unrecorded ivories remained in the Iraq Museum's stores: these formed part of a continuing programme of conservation and photography, directed by Jeffery Orchard, which ended in 1971 when he was appointed to the University of Birmingham. The Iraq Museum stopped the division of artefacts in 1968, with numerous ivories still unrecorded from all areas of the excavation. These were still stacked on wooden trays in 1989.

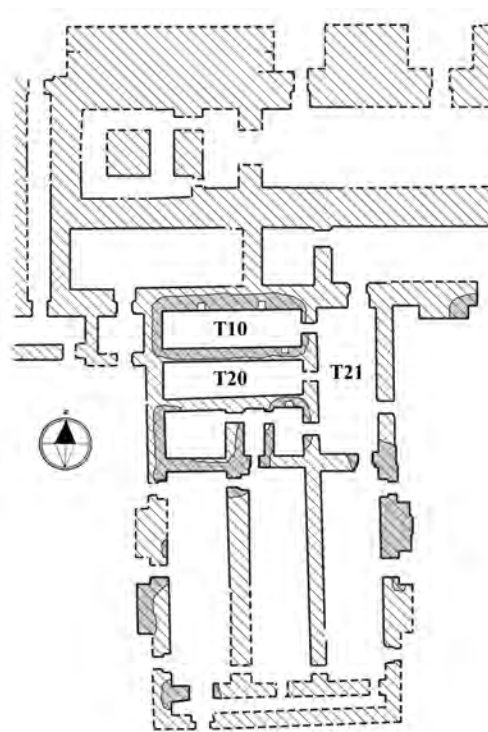
*The excavation of Room T10, Figs. 1f - i*

Room T10 formed part of the southern wing of the Throne Room block (Fig. 1f). As Oates recorded in *Iraq XXV*:

‘The principal feature of the south wing is a suite of three interconnecting long rooms, T25, T26 and T27, with triple entrances from each of the courtyards on east and west. ... Between T25-27 and the throne room block was a complex of six smaller rooms, T10 and T20-24. Of these T21 originally served as a vestibule with doorways leading to the other rooms in the wing. ... T10 was certainly in use as a storeroom when the building was destroyed, and, with its identical neighbour, T20, was probably designed for that purpose. ...

‘The only considerable collection of objects in the excavated area of the south wing was discovered in the storeroom, T10, in which there had been a fierce conflagration during the sack of the building. We were able to identify among the debris on the floor not only bronze fittings and ivory decorative elements but parts of the wooden members of various pieces of furniture, which had perhaps been used in the adjacent reception rooms. Other finds of a miscellaneous character included bronze armour scales and fragments of bone, which, from their size, appeared to derive from the long bones of an elephant. Little of the original surface of these fragments was preserved, and it was impossible to determine whether they had been worked; their presence in the store remains a mystery’ (Oates 1963, 25-26).

Excavation of Room T10 began in 1962 and was completed in 1963. The room was 17.0 m. long and 4.62 m. wide. The height from floor to the surface in 1962/63 was some 5.0-6.0 m. A door in the east wall led into T21, a long reception room opening onto Courtyard T. The door was 1.10 m. wide: the wall to the left of the door measured 1.90 m., that to the right, 1.01 m. There were two recessed rectangular cupboards in the north wall, 1.50 m. high, 1.40 m. wide and 1.10 m. above the floor, Fig. 1i. The cupboards were 6.0 m. apart, the wall to the left was 3.90 m. long, that to the right 4.33 m. Ivories were found in the fill of the room between c. 2.0 m. and 0.25 m. above the floor and in chief concentration at either end of the room. Ivory work was of rare occurrence in the middle of the room (J.J. Orchard, personal communication).



*Fig. 1f. Plan of part of Area T with Rooms T10, T20 and T21, from N. & R. 1966, folding plan VIII, drawn by Dirk Wicke.*



*Fig. 1g. View of east end of T10 (1962), looking down north west from south east corner of room. A basket man is climbing up the stairs on southern side of room. Two Sherqati workmen are excavating the floor below. The upper side of the photograph shows soil within the room, with a large hole where loose ash and debris has fallen away. A corrugated sheet for protection of ivories leans against the wall on the right. Caption by Julian Reade. Photo: Ann Searight.*

In 1962, while recording the fragments of the glazed brick panel of Shalmaneser III from T3, Julian Reade was able to see the excavation of T10, which was worked on by at least two Sherqati workmen in 1962 and by no more than two in 1963. One of these was Abd Abdullah al-Angud and the other, Wismi Abd-ul-Razzaq al-Angud.

In *Fifty Years* Reade vividly describes the chaos illustrated in Room T10. The room

‘had been burnt, so that the ivories were brown, black, blue, or, as the heat finally twisted them out of recognition, a greyish-white. In a section through T10 one could see veins of ash and ivory sandwiched between thicker layers of fallen brick, as if each successive collapse of a chunk of wall had thrown up a new shower of debris from the floor. These burnt ivories were much stronger and easier to clean than the others. Sometimes one only needed a soft brush, and had the satisfaction of being able to think about details as they emerged. There were the fragments with alphabetic inscriptions: a casual check in the small dig library revealed that one inscription was not identical with but resembled that on an ivory from Arslan Tash in Syria, and gave the name of Hazael, probably the 9th century king of Damascus, like the inscription later published by A.R. Millard [no. T310, Mallowan, *N. & R.* II, 598-599, fig. 582]. There were the small fragments, shell rather than ivory, incised with marks that suddenly became recognizable as Hittite hieroglyphs, to be read by R.D. Barnett as the name of Urhilina, a 9th

century king of Hama. And there was a continuous stream of minor observations, such as the way in which the different surface colours of stained polychrome ivories were echoed still by differential burning’ (1982,169).

In addition to the Hazael inscription, Reade remembers finding ‘two or three other small pieces of veneer, each of which was incised with several letters in an alphabetic script, which were excavated during the 1963 season’. He further recollects that in 1962

‘against the north wall of T10, just above the floor, maybe 2 or 3 metres from the east wall, there was a denser lump of burnt material, perhaps 30 cm. wide, 20 cm. deep and 20 cm. high. No clear shape was observed. The lump included two or three large chunks of very spongy bone, each maybe at least 20 x 10 x 10 cm. Someone identified them as elephant bone (if correct, presumably this would have been the pelvis as elephant legs are famously solid, in order to take the animal’s weight).

‘I seem to recall that the remarkable large piece ND 11125 [no. T35], showing a full-face sphinx was found in the south east corner of T10. I saw it in the field, and I glanced around for any

similar fragments, but noticed nothing: maybe the rest is through the door, in the Room T21, which was only slightly excavated.

‘An abundant type of ivory in T10 was plain veneer. In contrast, I do not recall any loose pieces of long glass inlay, such as were numerous in SW11/12. I agree that the T10 ivories, given their location in what was not an obscure storeroom like SW11/12, are likely to have belonged to furniture, which was still in use at court in the seventh century.

‘As I have surely discussed somewhere, there were in my view two main phases of construction or usage in the T area. I do not recall ‘squatter’ occupation in this area. One phase must be ninth century, i.e. the general plan and the visible but largely lost original wall decoration of T1, the wall-paintings in T27, the water-proofing bricks in T22, and my glazed brick panel outside T3. The other phase is presumably seventh-century (when Esarhaddon renovated the building, although I recall that David Oates was reluctant to accept the idea that there was a major internal refurbishment



*Fig. 1i. View of T10 looking east, two or three years after the close of excavations before the decision to re-fill. Unexcavated staircase in south east corner. The two niches and plaster visible on north wall. Caption and photograph by Julian Reade.*



*Fig. 1h. View looking north from T26 into T23 (1962) with a man (probably Peter Hulin), working on the remains of the door that separated the rooms. The door post consisted of alternating burnt wood and ivory elements, more or less cylindrical, each of which was inscribed with a letter in an alphabetic script. Rabbiting is visible on both sides of the door on T26, together with traces of blue paint. There are traces of burning on the plaster towards the top of the door. Caption by Julian Reade. Photo: Ann Searight.*

by Esarhaddon), notably the redecoration of the throne room. Things that were burnt, i.e. the T10 ivories, and the wood-and-ivory door with units lettered alphabetically that separated Rooms T23 and T26, were presumably burnt when the building was sacked about 614. Presumably the rooms that were apparently not burnt did not contain enough inflammable things’ (Reade, personal communication).

*Significant events at the Iraq School from 1956-1971  
from the annual Reports of the Council  
by Jeffery Orchard*

*1956-1957:* The B.S.A.I. celebrated its Silver Jubilee at the Annual General Meeting on November 6th, 1956. The huge building known as 'Fort Shalmaneser' was discovered in the south east corner of the Outer Town: some remarkable ivories were found. Professor Mallowan was awarded the Lucy Wharton Drexel medal, presented to him by the University of Pennsylvania, for outstanding work at Nimrud.

*1957-1958:* Some 500 pieces of ivory were recovered during the B.S.A.I.'s ninth season at Nimrud, directed by Mr. David Oates. Mr. Carroll Wales of the Byzantine Institute of America treated the ivories in the field with great skill: see Appendix II in Mallowan, *N. & R.* II, 621-622.

*1958-1959:* While the Government of Iraq was reorganizing labour and land taxes, it was deemed expedient to suspend excavations at Nimrud. There was progress in the laboratories of the Iraq Antiquities Department in the delicate task of cleaning the last consignment of Nimrud ivories under the supervision of Sayid Akram Shukri and his assistant Sayid Ali Nakshabandi. Conservation work was also undertaken in the Institute of Archaeology in London.

Sayid Antran allowed the B.S.A.I. the use of the Department's Photographic Studio. Photographs were taken for Professor Mallowan's book, *Nimrud & its Remains*, and of some of the 1958 ivories, which were published in the *Illustrated London News* of January 17, 1959.

*1959-1961:* Numerous fine ivories were found during the tenth season at Nimrud and the third concerned with Fort Shalmaneser, which lasted from March 2 to May 5, 1960. Excavation of Room SW37 was completed during the Expedition's 11<sup>th</sup> Season, March 2 to May 5 1961. Fig. 1j shows the 1961 Expedition team. The first Woolley Memorial Fund Fellowships were awarded to Mr. N.H. Kindersley, Mr. E von Gericke and Mr. J.J. Orchard.

*1961-1962:* After 15 years, Professor M.E.L. Mallowan retired as Director of the B.S.A.I. The 12<sup>th</sup> season of excavations at Nimrud from March 2 to May 16, 1962 was the last directed by David Oates.

At the beginning of the season, Oates was faced with the shock discovery that the hitherto unexcavated and unplanned south-east quadrant of Fort Shalmaneser embraced not a huge defensive bastion protecting the south-east corner of the city of Kalhu's perimeter wall as was generally believed, but a royal palace with a full-scale throne room and accompanying palatial rooms and suites to match. At this moment of realization, the disturbing thought must instantly have occurred to him that in truth he was going to have his work cut out even to attempt to meet the challenge which now confronted him, given that he had literally only one single season, that of 1962, at his disposal. Beyond that, not only was his time throughout the School Year 1962-1963 entirely commandeered to complete his book, *Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq*, for early publication by the British Academy, but from the beginning of 1964 onwards he was due, first to launch and then to lead the B.S.A.I./University of Pennsylvania Museum (Philadelphia)'s Joint Expedition to Tell al-Rimah, a totally new venture in the northern Jazirah of Iraq. Plainly, the odds as regards finishing Fort Shalmaneser in 1962 were heavily stacked against him, but characteristically he resolved he was going to put up a good show.

The stress, which he experienced, though scarcely revealed to his 1962 team, was directly related to the unexpected and challenging nature of the excavation task and the extreme shortness of the time available for him to deal with it.

1962-1963: While attending the Al-Kindi Festival in Baghdad with Mrs. Mallowan in the winter of 1962, Professor Mallowan paid a formal visit, with Jeffery Orchard in attendance as the B.S.A.I.'s resident representative in Baghdad, to Mr. Fuad Safar, Director of Excavations at the Directorate of Antiquities, Baghdad. In brief, the purpose of this visit by Professor Mallowan



*Fig. 1j. The 1961 Expedition team outside the Expedition House. From left to right: David Oates, Barbara Parker, Ann Searight, Prof. Jorgen Læssøe, David French, Jeffery Orchard, David Stronach, Selim al-Jelili (Department Representative) and an official from Mosul. Photo: Dr. Vaughn Crawford.*

was to express the B.S.A.I.'s deep appreciation, as well as his own, for the Directorate's unfailing support, as well as for numerous friendly acts of collaboration over the years since the work of the B.S.A.I. first began in 1949. In addition, he also expressed the hope that, in recognition of Mr. David Oates' sterling work and striking results achieved in the south-east quadrant of Fort Shalmaneser during the B.S.A.I.'s most recent season, it would be acceptable to the Directorate for the B.S.A.I. to bring its operations at Nimrud to a close, at least for the immediately foreseeable future.

To all this, Mr. Fuad Safar responded much as expected, but, concerning the B.S.A.I. closing down its work at Nimrud, he came up with the surprise answer: 'No, it would not be acceptable to the Directorate for the B.S.A.I. to close down its work at Nimrud just yet, but on the contrary it would like the B.S.A.I. to carry out one more season in Fort Shalmaneser's palace area in order to complete essential work as yet undone (or unfinished)'.

Professor Mallowan, it must be said, was slightly taken aback, but probably calculating, as without much doubt Mr. Fuad Safar did, from David Oates' end of the 1962 season findings, that both Room SW11/12 and Room T10 still contained a mass of unexcavated ivory work, the former in much the same density as Room SW37, he agreed – as, likewise, he agreed to Mr. Safar's further suggestion that, should David Oates not be available to direct a thirteenth B.S.A.I. season in Fort Shalmaneser (for whatever reason), Mr Jeffery Orchard, his Field Deputy in 1962, should direct the work in his stead.

Besides completing the excavation of Rooms SW11/12 and T10, two other major tasks were specifically mentioned by Mr. Safar as requiring the B.S.A.I.'s attention in 1963, namely (as listed in the School's Report to Council for the Year ended May 1963):

1. to clarify the architecture of the facade of Fort Shalmaneser looking south; and
2. to discover what kind of building was concealed beneath the smaller of two prominences known locally as the Tulul al-Azar.

The Nimrud Expedition's 13<sup>th</sup> Season of Excavations, February 19 to May 26, 1963, was directed by Mr. Jeffery Orchard. The task confronting him was completely and utterly different in its character

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

to that experienced by David Oates and stemmed from two causes. Initially, and briefly, the ‘stress’ of bringing together his team, the Expedition’s bedding lorry, and Sherqati workmen from Sherqat together on site at Nimrud at the same time and on the same date for the start of work in the last dying days of a ‘Baghdad Revolution’. Additionally and importantly, the excruciatingly wet weather which afflicted Turkey and northern Iraq generally during the winter of 1963,<sup>3</sup> causing severe flooding of the Tigris along its course below the Nimrud mound and frequent heavy rain showers. This resulted in much frustrating loss of time waiting for wet trenches to dry out.

*1964-1966:* The School Hostel moved from its old courtyard house premises at 76/1 Karradet Mariam to premises of more modern build at 90/1 Karradet Mariam, because of the marked increase in the number of students and official visitors. An increase in the School’s grant from H.M. Treasury made it possible to create the post of Resident Director in Baghdad. Mr. David Oates was appointed and took up residence on January 1, 1966, in the Director’s House, the old School house at 76/1 Karradet Mariam.

*1966-1967:* The ‘67 War’ broke out during the last two or three days of the B.S.A.I./Pennsylvania University Museum (Philadelphia)’s 1967 Season at Tell al-Rimah, David Oates and his team returning to Baghdad from the field in entire ignorance of the fact. Both the United States and Britain severed relations with Iraq, and it became evident that the B.S.A.I. in Baghdad would have to close down until diplomatic relations were restored. David and Joan Oates closed the Director’s House at 76/1 Karradet Mariam and drove to the British Institute of Persian Studies in Teheran (director, Mr. David Stronach), to be followed soon after by Jeffery Orchard, accompanied by Miss Jocelyn Farrell and Mr. Julian Reade. Before closing the School Hostel at 90/1 Karradet Mariam, Jeffery Orchard, with the aid of Jocelyn Farrell and Julian Reade, packed the B.S.A.I.’s Baghdad Library and deposited it for safe keeping with the caretaker Swedish Embassy officials at the British Embassy, Baghdad. After arriving in Teheran to meet up with David and Joan Oates and family at the British Institute of Persian Studies, Jeffery Orchard was taken temporarily sick with Sand Fly Fever, caught while crossing the border from Iraq into Iran.

*1967-1968:* The B.S.A.I. Hostel in Baghdad re-opened after a period of closure following the outbreak of the ‘67 War’ and the temporary breach of diplomatic relations with the U.K. The B.S.A.I. Library returned to 90/1 Karradet Mariam after its safe-keeping by the Swedes on the British Embassy’s premises.

The Iraq Museum issued the shock announcement that from henceforth no further divisions of finds would be conducted between itself and foreign expeditions, either for the present or for the more distant future. Furthermore, any finds, which still remained undivided from past expedition seasons, should at once be deemed to be the property of the Iraq Museum. This announcement caught all by surprise, not least the staff of the Nimrud Ivory Programme, who had assumed that the Programme and its periodic divisions with the Iraq Museum would continue indefinitely until, by mutual consent, ‘the great ivory jigsaw puzzle’ was deemed to be finished and done.<sup>4</sup>

*1969-1971:* Mr. David Oates was appointed Professor of Western Asiatic Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology, University of London, October 1969. The Council appointed Mrs. Diana Helbaek as his successor. Mr. Jeffery Orchard was appointed Lecturer in Archaeology and Ancient History at the University of Birmingham, October 1971. The ivory programme was closed.

<sup>3</sup> Apropos the exceptional wetness of the weather at Nimrud, the winter of 1963 has likewise gone down as a byword in recent climatic history for its cold, its snows and general all round iciness.

<sup>4</sup> It was probably at the end of the School’s Year 1967-68, when the Iraqi’s announcement was made, that Mr. Jeffery Orchard compiled a comprehensive list of the undivided burnt ivories from Room T10 in the Iraq Museum’s Stores for future preservation and reference in the B.S.A.I.’s London and Baghdad records, see Appendix Six.

*The processing of the ivory finds from 1957-1963  
The Nimrud Ivory Programme, 1963-1971  
by Jeffery Orchard*

The processing of the ivory finds (cataloguing, photography and conservation) was carried out in the field, the only exception to this being when conservators arrived a little early for the beginning of the season (e.g. in 1963) or stayed on for a spell after the season by agreement (e.g. Eric von Gericke in 1961), when undivided ivory fragments were borrowed on loan from the Iraq Museum stores for further work at the School's Hostel in Karradet Mariam. The Expedition Staff, whose formal role was to process the ivory finds, was as follows:

- Cataloguers: Professor M.E.L. Mallowan, 1957-1958  
Mr. Jeffery J. Orchard, 1960-1963
- Photographers: Miss Barbara Parker [later Lady Mallowan], 1957-1958, 1960  
Mr. Nicholas H.S. Kindersley, 1961-1963
- Conservators: Mr. Carroll Wales, 1958  
Miss C. Ann Searight, 1960, 1962-1963  
Mr. Eric von Gericke, 1961  
Miss Charmian N. Reed [later Mrs. Biernoff, Mrs. Steele]  
Miss Stephanie Page [later Dr. Dalley], 1962  
Miss S. Nanina Shaw [later Mrs. Shaw-Reade], 1963

The Nimrud Ivory Programme was formally established in the autumn of 1963. Its aim, management and staffing was recorded in the Report of the Council of August 31, 1964:

‘An intensive programme under the direction of Professor M.E.L. Mallowan and Mr. J.J. Orchard to prepare for publication the many hundreds of ivories recovered by the School's expeditions to Nimrud since 1949 was begun in October (1963). Three restorers, Miss C.A. Searight, Miss S.N. Shaw and The Hon. Anna Plowden, cleaned and rejoined a major proportion of the fragments from Room SW37 of Fort Shalmaneser and sorted material from Room T10, which still awaits formal division in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad. Mr. Orchard began to prepare the first fascicule due to appear in 1965, which will deal exclusively with some 200 incised and carved (horse)-harness decorations. Mr. N. Kindersley gave valuable part-time assistance.’

*1963-1964:* Director in Baghdad: Mr. Jeffery J. Orchard: Photographer: Mr. Nicholas H.S. Kindersley: Conservators: The Hon. Anna Plowden, Miss C. Ann Searight, Miss S. Nanina Shaw (later Shaw-Reade).

Prior to the start of work in Baghdad, Professor Mallowan and Mr. Orchard mulled over how best to publish the Nimrud ivories, e.g., by artistic style (ivories in Assyrian style), by function (horse harness decoration and chair backs), or by place of discovery (Room SW7). Professor Mallowan was keen to get started, and it was decided that he would do a fascicule on the Assyrian style ivories from Nimrud, while Jeffery Orchard took on the horse-harness decorations.

At the start of the Programme's work, Conservators Plowden, Searight and Shaw unpacked the undivided ivory fragments from Rooms SW11/12 and SW37 (and some other less productive rooms)

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

and laid them out on a number of large wooden trays, made available by the Iraq Museum. These trays, which they labelled, were then stacked in order on metal shelving in a big Museum study room in the Museum's Administrative Wing, which was specially reserved for them to work in, and which contained a huge, dark, polished wooden table for their primary use. This Study Room was situated immediately opposite the Iraq Museum Director's Office. Thus, set up and well provided for, the Conservators began their great 'jigsaw puzzle' of piecing the unburnt ivory fragments from SW11/12 and SW37 together without delay.<sup>5</sup>

The photography of the ivories concentrated on the finest pieces. The most interesting ivories discovered each year were initially published by Professor Mallowan in articles in the *Illustrated London News* and *Iraq*. A selection of outstanding pieces was also illustrated in Mallowan's account of work at Nimrud from 1949 to 1963, *Nimrud & its Remains*, published in 1966.

1964-1965: Director in Baghdad: Mr. Jeffery J. Orchard; Photographer: Mr. Richard T. Benson-Gyles; Conservators: Miss Margaret A. White, Miss Mary-Ann V. Cardale; Artist: Mrs. Margot I. Clarke (withdrew).

Mr. Jeffery Orchard worked on the catalogue volume of *Ivories from Nimrud I, 2, Equestrian Bridle Harness Ornaments*. Mr. Richard Benson-Gyles worked primarily on photographing the horse harness decorations of ivory and other materials from Nimrud for Mr. Orchard's fascicule. Conservators Margaret White and Mary-Ann Cardale continued piecing together and conserving the unburnt ivory fragments from Rooms SW11/12 and SW37 for earliest division. In May 1965, a division of conserved ivories was conducted between the Iraq Museum and the B.S.A.I. in which 72 ivories were allotted to the B.S.A.I.

1965-1966: Director in Baghdad: Mr. Jeffery J. Orchard; Photographer: The Hon. Anthony Robertson-Pearce; Conservator: Miss Sylvie Nesbit.

Jeffery Orchard's *Ivories from Nimrud I, 2, Equestrian Bridle Harness Ornaments* published. Anthony Robertson-Pearce concentrated on ivories in the Assyrian style preserved in Iraq for early publication in Professor M.E.L. Mallowan's and Mrs. Leri Glynn-Davies's projected fascicule, *Ivories from Nimrud II, Ivories in Assyrian Style*. Experimentally, he also photographed a number of burnt ivories recovered from Room T10, held pending conservation in the Iraq Museum's stores.

1966-1967: Director in Baghdad: Mr. Jeffery J. Orchard; Photographer, Mr. Peter Dorrell; Cataloguer: Miss Jocelyn C. Farrell (later Orchard); Conservator/Artist: Miss Brenda I. Macey.

A paying guest at the School Hostel during the winter of 1966-1967 was Dr. Robert H. Brill, Head of Research in the Scientific Research Department of Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, U.S.A., who was in Baghdad to study the Iraq Museum's ancient glass collections. Amongst the early glass items, which interested him greatly, were the coloured glass inlays associated with the Nimrud ivories, and not unnaturally, Jeffery Orchard was keen to discuss these with him. As a result, the thought took root of a detailed study of the Nimrud glass inlays, in which a descriptive account by Orchard of a typical range of glass inlaid Nimrud ivories would be matched by Dr. Brill with a full analysis of the Nimrud ivory inlay glasses, using the highly sophisticated resources of the Corning Museum's Scientific Research Department. Agreement sealed on this project, Jeffery Orchard provided Dr. Brill with a comprehensive collection of glass inlays from the large number recovered and allocated to the B.S.A.I. from Room SW37. Dr. Brill's analyses still figure importantly in comparative glass analytical studies today. For a readily quotable example of Orchard and Brill's study of a set of painted and gold leaf decorated clear glass inlay plaques from Room SW7, see the article in *Iraq XL* (1978).

<sup>5</sup> Although the Conservators did not lay out the burnt ivory fragments from Room T10 on wooden trays but left them in their original cardboard packaging as brought down from Nimrud in 1962 and 1963, they did from time to time get some of them out to work on as a 'change' from the more run-of-the-mill unburnt ivories from SW11/12 and SW37 (personal communication by Nanina Shaw-Read to Jeffery Orchard).

Miss Jocelyn Farrell catalogued the latest collection of SW11/12 and SW37 ivories conserved and completed for Division between the Iraq Museum and the B.S.A.I. Peter Dorrell photographed the ivory chairbacks from Room SW7 preserved in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad, for publication in Professor Mallowan's and Georgina Herrmann's *Ivories from Nimrud III, Furniture from SW7, Fort Shalmaneser*. Miss Brenda Macey, in addition to conserving and piecing together the unburnt ivory fragments from Rooms SW11/12 and SW37, also prepared a number of ivory drawings for the plates of Professor Mallowan's and Leri Glynn Davies's, *Ivories from Nimrud II, Ivories in Assyrian Style*.

1967-1968: Director in Baghdad: Mr. Jeffery J. Orchard; Photographer: Mr. John S. Bradbury; Conservator: Miss S. Nanina Shaw (later Shaw-Reade).

The Report of the Council on October 28, 1968, recorded that the 'cleaning and conservation of the fragments has been completed, an occasion for congratulation to all who have been concerned in this arduous work. The photography and cataloguing of the remaining ivories will continue in 1969.'

Leri Glynn Davies visited Baghdad to confirm and add to the contents of the Plates for Professor Mallowan's and her forthcoming *Ivories from Nimrud II, Ivories in Assyrian Style*. While working on his study of the equestrian bridle-harness decorations, Jeffery Orchard conceived the idea for another *Nimrud Ivories* fascicule of the 'functional objects' type, namely a fascicule dealing with such objects as ivory and bone dagger handle and sheath ornaments, game pieces, cosmetic implements and bone spatulae.

Mr. John Bradbury photographed ivories representing good examples of coloured glass inlay work for use as illustrations to Mr. Jeffery Orchard's projected technical study of this highly decorative technique. He also photographed and made prints of objects for Mr. Jeffery Orchard's newly conceived fascicule dealing with functional objects, while Mr. David Price Williams prepared drawings of dagger handle and sheath ornaments in London.

1968-1969: Director in Baghdad: Mr. Jeffery J. Orchard; Photographer: Mr. Michael S. Haggerty; Artist: Mrs. Vanna Haggerty.

Mr. Michael Haggerty was occupied with the creation of a top quality collection of coloured slides illustrating the finest and most interesting Nimrud ivories in Iraq for Sir Max Mallowan to use on prestige lecture occasions in America, the U.K. and Europe. Mrs Vanna Haggerty prepared a number of drawings required for the illustration of the Commentary volume of Jeffery Orchard's *Ivories from Nimrud I, 1, Equestrian Bridle Harness Ornaments* and his technical study of glass inlays in connection with the Nimrud ivories. With regard to the last study, she also prepared a set of sketches of the most elaborate inlaid ivories selected by Mr Orchard to enable him to annotate them in fine detail.

1969-1971: Director in Baghdad: Mr. Jeffery J. Orchard.

Mr Jeffery Orchard continued his work on the commentary volume for *Ivories from Nimrud I, 1, Equestrian Bridle Harness Ornaments*; on his technical study of coloured glass inlays as applied to the Nimrud ivories, and on the catalogue and plates for his projected fascicule dealing with dagger handle and sheath ornaments, game pieces, etc. This completed, he continued work on the Commentary volume of his Equestrian Bridle Harness ornaments and his technical study of coloured glass inlays as applied to the Nimrud ivories.

Publication of Sir Max Mallowan's and Mrs. Leri Glynn-Davies's fascicule, *Ivories from Nimrud II, Ivories in Assyrian Style*.

*Photographing ivories, 1949-2011, by Stuart Laidlaw*

The photography of archaeological remains is largely dictated by the considered best practice techniques of the times. In the late 1940s, plate cameras, usually with negatives of 10" by 8" or 8.5" by 6.5" (whole plate) were used by site photographers. The advantage of this single large frame was that the high quality original negative could be printed to produce images up to poster size



*Fig. 1k. Photographing a chairback from Room SW7. Agatha Christie Mallowan supervising. Photo: Jørgen Læssøe.*

or used to crop original individual shots from a large group of pieces. When used outdoors the dark slide will act like a rudder and move the camera if there is more than a very slight breeze so great care would be taken to avoid any use of this camera during blustery conditions. In Fig. 1k, the site photographer is supervised by Agatha Christie and is seen photographing one of the chair backs from Room SW7 shortly after it has been supported on a wooden tray with cotton wool. He is using natural daylight and the camera would be a hand held 35mm, in this case with a coupled rangefinder with additional framing finder on the hot shoe mount. This would allow for the readjustment of the framing to allow for any errors in paralax. The photographer in this case was probably using colour transparency film (Kodachrome 64 was commonly used due to its stability in hot conditions). Most excavations would only use daylight balanced colour transparency film as it had the best resolution and was suitable for use in publications and for public lectures about the excavations. The exposure would be based on the amount of light and usually would be taken with the lens' best aperture for the finest resolution, as the modest depth of field required would be available, even at wide apertures of f8 or f11 and with a sufficiently fast shutter speed to avoid movement and blurring in the photograph.

The resulting photograph of the ivory panels in their wooden tray on a backing of cotton wool with paper are shown in Fig. 11. You can see in the top right that the rough ground

or used to crop original individual shots from a large group of pieces. When used outdoors the dark slide will act like a rudder and move the camera if there is more than a very slight breeze so great care would be taken to avoid any use of this camera during blustery conditions. In Fig. 1k, the site photographer is supervised by Agatha Christie and is seen photographing one of the chair backs from Room SW7 shortly after it has been supported on a wooden tray with cotton wool. He is using natural daylight and the camera would be a hand held 35mm, in this case with a coupled rangefinder with additional framing finder on the hot shoe mount. This would allow for the readjustment of the framing to allow for any errors in paralax. The photographer in this case was probably using colour transparency film (Kodachrome 64 was commonly used due to its stability in hot conditions). Most excavations would only



*Fig. 11. The chairback, ND 7904, from SW7 before conservation, still in its tray (I.N. III, no. 1). Photo: Jørgen Læssøe.*



Fig. 1m. Two examples of ivories taken in the standard way: I.N. VII, no. 38, ND 11023, and no. 35, ND11054.



Fig. 1n. The same two ivories taken with moving lights.

surface is shown so that this photograph was taken outdoors in daylight. In this photograph I have taken the original colour slide and added a black and white correction layer to produce a black and white illustration. This set up with the high view point (standing on boxes) shows the pieces in relation to each other but does not include a scale to help the viewer to understand the size of the chairback. This sort of set up is typical of the *in situ* recording of materials on archaeological sites.

After conservation and once back in Baghdad it was possible to work inside and to use lamps to supplement natural light, although using both lighting types is not possible with colour films as they have different colour balances. The standard set-up was to put the camera pointing vertically downwards on a heavy tripod with counterweight and then to place a lamp on the right and another further away, to the left, to fill in the shadows. Once the lighting had been set up and the camera positioned, the object could be placed under the camera and the exposure reading made using a handheld exposure meter. This would show a choice of shutter speeds and apertures. Sufficient depth of field would have been at apertures of f16 and smaller and these apertures would be chosen with the shown shutter speed. Many of the ivories were recorded in this way on the School's fine plate camera. This method was simple and relatively quick. Two typical examples taken in Baghdad are shown in Fig. 1m.

In 1983 the School employed Mick Sharp to photograph the hundreds of ivories in the Institute of Archaeology, in museums in Britain, and to accompany G. Herrmann to Baghdad to record ivories in the Iraq Museum and in a number of museums in Iraq. Mick developed a new way of photographing ivories. He used a hand-held lamp and a reflector, a variation on the standard method. But this was not all. The lamp and reflector for each ivory were moved to achieve the most

sympathetic result, by watching through the lens until the best image appeared. This was time-consuming – and hard on the back – but the results are excellent. The lamp would be held higher for ivories with deep relief, and practically level with the ivory for incised pieces or those with low relief. The improvement can be seen by comparing the images on Figs. 1m and 1n.

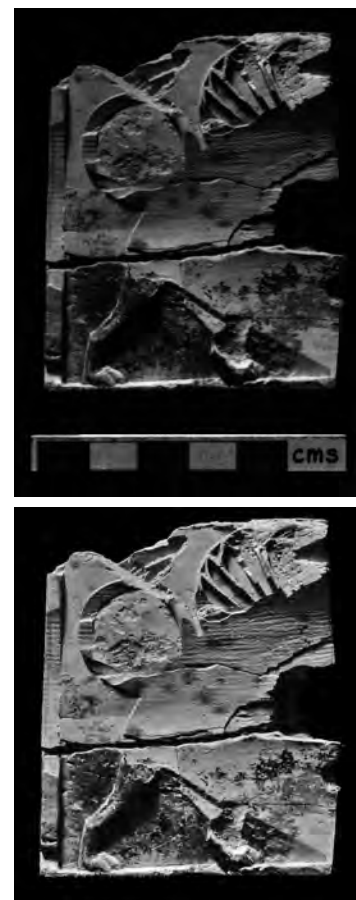
It is obviously always best to start with the highest quality image of these important but all too often fragmentary and damaged pieces. However, the introduction of Adobe Photoshop has made it possible greatly to improve poor images. Fig. 1o shows an indifferent image before and after it has been adjusted in Photoshop. The image is first opened then sized to 300 dpi and the same size. A black and white adjustment layer is used if the file is in RGB colour space. The image is then balanced using a curves adjustment layer to produce detail across the image. With some images I also need to use the highlights and shadows adjustments to maximise the details in the lightest and darkest areas. Print sharpening is then added by a series of adjustments using a system suggested by Martin Evening in his book *Adobe Photoshop CS5 for Photographers*, 2010, 680-683. The image may then be copied and used as a flat greyscale image.

Digital recording through DSLRs (Digital Single Lens Reflex camera) have changed the way that I set-up to photograph ivories. The standard set-up now consists of a DSLR placed on a tripod with a cross-head (this allows the camera to be placed squarely over the top of the object). For stability in this set-up, I normally make the tripod about 1.5 metres high (and add a counterweight if required) and photograph at the corner of a table. This gives a good working distance using a 50 or 70 mm macro lens without the operator having to do too much bending and stretching. I am now able to use an electronic flash gun as my lighting source, which is an improvement as the tungsten light was hot and tiring to work with and could be damaging to fragile, delicate ivories. This flash unit is adjustable in output and is connected to the camera with a flexible connection to the hotshoe (or could be connected to the flash synchronisation socket). The flash may be used bare with no diffusion or with a diffusing sheet attached. This choice will give the hardness of the light needed for the particular object I am photographing. The object is examined and direction of most suitable lighting chosen. It is then placed on a black velvet background that is clear of marks and debris from previous shots (a lint roller is useful here). A scale and identification number can be placed to the edge of the frame, but these should be in the same plane as the main focus of the object (these can be removed later once the object is ready to print at same size).

The camera is connected by cable to a laptop or desktop computer and the controls of the camera can be displayed using the camera manufacturers' software. I use Canon DSLRs and the EOS utility software which allows control of aperture, shutter speed, ISO and white balance (usually adjusted to degrees Kelvin rating, which for our Nikon flash gun appears to be at its most neutral in rendition using 4800°K).

The files are usually shot using the RAW format to maximise the quality and control that I am able to make to the copy file that is used for publication.

Once the set-up is arranged, I start to take test shots, to decide upon the exact positioning of the flash. This is adjustable by the angle of the flash to the object, the height of the flash to the surface of



*Fig 1o. A typical dark and flat original print improved for publication*

the object and the distance of the flash from the object. The flash will slightly illuminate the closer part of the object more than the further part, and this contrast can be adjusted by the distance of the flash unit from the object so that the closer the flash the greater the contrast. When I am happy with the position of the flash, I may then choose to add in a reflector to fill in the unlit detail of the object. This reflector, again, may be high or low contrast. A piece of white card will give a soft fill-in depending on the distance of the card from the object. A harder fill-in light is produced by using a card covered in tin foil. The position of these reflectors is decided upon by looking at test exposures on the laptop screen. It is worth noting that this screen should be colour-corrected before the shoot starts and should show the preview image of the raw file that is dependant on the settings on the camera but not necessarily of the corrected raw file itself.

This modern approach also allows for a continuous adding of information to the record of shots. The files will be placed in a named folder with the file names and metadata that are useful for identification. When an object or series of objects have been taken, then the files may have identification metadata added to the final recorded raw files so that an IM number, for example, can be embedded with the original file and will stay with that file as it is altered, adjusted or copied in the software. This is then searchable on the computer to show where the original (and all its versions) exists. These files must then be backed up on several different hard drives so that the information is accessible and secure.

#### *The 1960s photographic archive of the SW11/12 and T10 ivories*

As explained above, the photographic focus of the photographers of the Nimrud Ivory Programme 1963-1971 was the recording of ivories for Professor Mallowan's articles in the *Illustrated London News* and *Iraq*, his lecture tours, his major publication of the School's work at Nimrud in his prestigious, two volume work, *Nimrud and its Remains*, and for the first three volumes in the primary publication of the ivories, the *Ivories from Nimrud* fascicules. There was neither time nor resources for recording the many thousands of fragments found at the site, many of which were awaiting possible future joins.

As a result, the photographic record of the hundreds of ivories found in SW11/12 is exceptionally uneven in quality, as well as, of course, in coverage. There are a number of excellent photographs of a few important ivories, such as no. 39, ND 12034 (Pl. 7), but there are also many 'record shots' of SW11/12 ivories taken in 1963. These are 6 cm., roughly 2", square negatives with up to two dozen fragments on a single negative, not individually lit (Fig. 1p). As such, they are useful, both to establish that an ivory was found in SW11/12 and as a record of otherwise unrecorded pieces, but the quality is necessarily poor. It has, in some cases, been possible to find and re-photograph a piece from such a 'record shot', for instance no. 7, ND 13921, initially recorded on Sheet 1963/201: Sheet numbers are given in the first line of the catalogue entry.

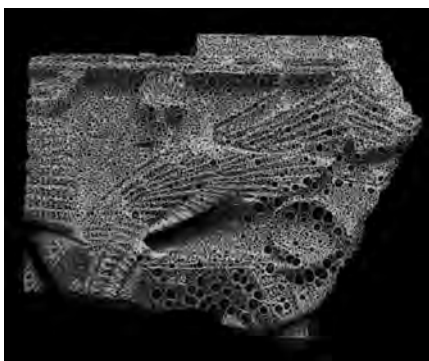
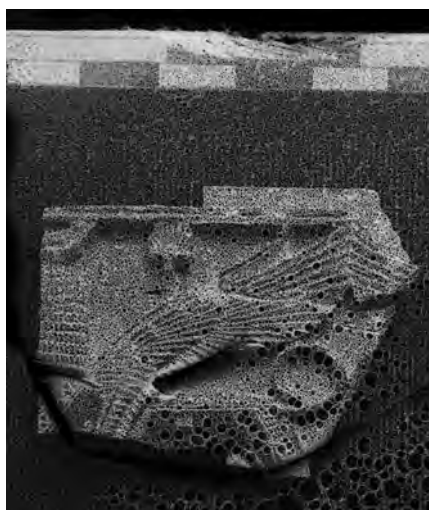
Unfortunately, many of the ivories on these 'record shots' have not been located. The only record is, therefore, on these negatives. These have been printed up and improved as far as possible, since a poor quality photograph is preferable to none. However, the result is that the quality of the photographs in this catalogue is necessarily uneven. Nevertheless, using all available photographic material, it has been possible to catalogue and illustrate more than 900 ivories. What proportion of the total



*Fig. 1p. A square negative at original size with 17 fragments and scale bar*



*Fig. 1r. A typical large format negative with ivories from T10.*



*Fig. 1s. An example of the T10 negatives that have suffered some damage and the used piece no. T16, ND 14513.*

excavated from Room SW11/12 this represents is uncertain.

The situation with the remarkable ivories from T10 is even worse. Very few individual photographs were taken, although fortunately Jeffery Orchard found nine large negatives, whole plate in size, some in very poor condition, taken by Anthony Robertson-Pearce in 1965-1966, which contained a variety of important fragments (Fig. 1r). With this negative there is an element of discolouring with part of the negative being denser than the rest. This difference has been balanced in Photoshop so that the images are even. The quality of the

negative is poor, but these images do greatly expand the number of pieces known from T10.

Some negatives have suffered deterioration over time. The damage on Fig. 1s looks as if the negative was developed in developer that was too hot. The emulsion has become detached from the cellulose acetate backing material and it has caused areas to produce circular marks. In modern films a noncurl coating of hardened gelatin is applied to the base of the film and this reduces the strain on the film base as it is highly flexible. In the plates the marks are removed from the background but remain on the objects themselves. There is no way to reproduce the lost information on the negative. Work with Photoshop has improved them as much as possible. Orchard also found prints of one of the pieces from these block shots so we have the front and back of no. T37, ND 14532 (Pl. 219), taken by J.S. Bradbury in 1967/68.

*The Nimrud Ivory Programme resumed, 1978-2012  
by Georgina Herrmann*

After the death of Sir Max Mallowan in 1978 his widow, Lady Mallowan, formerly Barbara Parker, Secretary of the School in Baghdad, then Lecturer at the Institute of Archaeology, London University, and President of B.S.A.I., asked Georgina Herrmann to re-start the ivory programme. They discussed the best way to continue publication. They decided it would be simplest and archaeologically sound to publish the ivories by provenance, as had been done in *Ivories from Nimrud III*, rather than by function or by style, as had been done in *Ivories from Nimrud I and II*, although both approaches had been appropriate for those ivories. They decided to work initially on the ivories from the great magazine, Room SW37, chosen because the largest number of ivories had been found there.

*Recording ivories allocated to the Expedition in the U.K. and Iraq Museum, Baghdad*

The first task was to assemble, identify and organize all the existing photographs in the U.K. The next was to try to establish the location of the ivories allocated to the Expedition in the Division. Some of these had been distributed to museums in England and America, but many still remained in drawers in the Institute of Archaeology. All of these, both in museums and in the Institute, had to be located, recorded and photographed.

Work began on the task of recording the ivories stored in the Institute of Archaeology, which were photographed by Mick Sharp (November 1983, February 1984, November 1985, February 1986). The ivories in Museums in Britain (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; British Museum, London; Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; the City Museums of Birmingham, Bolton, Bristol and Ipswich) and Europe (Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels) were photographed by Mick Sharp and Georgina Herrmann. In April 1984 Herrmann recorded ivories in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the University Museum, Philadelphia, the Museum of Fine Art, Boston, the Museum of Art, Cleveland, M.H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco and the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. Photographs were generously supplied by the Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen; the Nicholson Museum, Sydney and the University of Melbourne.

In the autumn of 1982, Lady Mallowan, accompanied by Georgina Herrmann, visited the Iraq Museum, Baghdad, to assess the condition and numbers of ivories stored there and to start recording and photographing them. In 1971, when the Nimrud Ivory Programme was ended, the ivories had been left on large wooden trays in the storage area of the Iraq Museum. From 1982 to 1989 (the date of Herrmann's last visit to the Museum Stores) they were still arranged on these trays on metal shelving as described by Jeffery Orchard above. The trays occupied 26 rows of metal shelving arranged in two stacks. Some trays contained ivories from excavations on the acropolis, as well as pieces from different areas of Fort Shalmaneser. There were also many trays, which contained numerous unrecorded fragments from SW37 and SW11/12: loose paper labels on the trays indicated whether they came from SW37 or SW11/12. Those from T10 were still packed in six cardboard boxes. In addition to the ivories in the store, there were also ivories on exhibition in the Iraq Museum and in museums throughout the country.

Because the fragments were mostly unnumbered, they posed a challenge for Museum staff. Pieces had to be described before they could be handed over for study. The aim of the ivory team was to 'process' as many pieces as possible, by numbering, measuring, photographing and recording any significant features. This was relatively speedy and required a steady supply of ivories. This rapid turnover presented immense problems for the Museum staff, who were always courteous and helpful. They were however not used to people requiring fresh material every day. Most scholars were given a few tablets to study, which lasted for their visit.

The ivory team on the other hand required new ivories each day, and, once provided with a tray of ivories, tried to complete work on the pieces before midday – otherwise the Museum staff would claim that it was too late to fetch more from the store that day, and there would be no ivories until fairly late the following day. This increased the pressure on speed of recording and photography – and on the staff of the Museum.

*Ivory registration numbers*

It was necessary to differentiate the new pieces registered in the 1980s from those registered earlier – in 1957, the 6,000s, in 1958, the 7,000 and 8,000s, in 1960, the 9,000s, in 1961, the 10,000s, in 1962, the 11,000s and in 1963, the 12,000s. New numbers were allocated, beginning with ND 13000.

### *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

Some 230 ivories, ND 13000-13230, from SW37 were recorded and photographed in 1982, as well as a few from SW11/12, ND 13500-13507.

### *Visits in February and March 1983, and November 1984*

Georgina Herrmann returned to Baghdad in February and March 1983, accompanied by Mick Sharp. They worked both in the Iraq Museum and the Mosul Museum, which had numerous ivories on display. Together they recorded more than four hundred pieces from SW37, ND 13231-13499 and 13508-13661, two hundred from SW11/12, ND 13800-13994, as well as numerous registered ivories from other rooms and some unprovenanced pieces.

Herrmann made another visit to Baghdad in November 1984. In addition to working in the Iraq Museum, she was able to visit the museums in Erbil, Kirkuk, Babylon and Nasiriyah, thanks to the kindness of the late Jeremy Black, who drove her round in the School Land Rover. Numerous registered ivories were photographed, as well as ND 14000-14009 from SW11/12 and some from SW37. The invaluable Mick Sharp, an outstanding photographer, continued the gruelling task of printing up hundreds of negatives.

The primary focus of work from 1982 to 1984 was to try to record as many pieces from SW37 as possible to enable completion of *Ivories from Nimrud IV*, *Ivories from Room SW37*, *Fort Shalmaneser*. There were so many pieces, many of them repetitive, such as the broken off horns or legs of bovids, that it was never going to be possible to record everything within the limited time frame. A decision had to be made between trying to record everything from a particular tray or to try to record as many different types of pieces. Total coverage would, in any case, have been impossible because the selection of ivories for study from the store was arbitrary. Some days we might be given an entire tray – other days, a number of pieces from a tray, with no certainty that further access to that particular tray would be possible. On receipt, each piece was numbered, brief notes and measurements taken, and photographed: the full catalogue entry was prepared later in the U.K. Photographs were taken of any ivory made available. Because of the speed of work, there were inevitably errors in the numbering. A few ivories are double-numbered: there are, for instance, two ivories numbered ND 13864, ND 13875, ND 13876 and ND 13867, subsequently rectified with an ‘a’ or a ‘b’.

Georgina Herrmann was unable to return to Baghdad after 1984 until 1989, initially because of the completion and seeing through the press of *Ivories from Nimrud IV*, published in 1986. Meanwhile work was underway to prepare draft entries for those ivories from SW11/12 of which photographs existed. This would expedite work in Baghdad on the next visit, which was scheduled to focus on unrecorded ivories from SW11/12. While awaiting the opportunity to return, work began on drafting the next fascicule, *Ivories from Nimrud V*, *The Small Collections from Fort Shalmaneser* (1992), for which there was reasonable photographic coverage.

### *Visit in 1989 as part of the British Museum's expedition to Nimrud and Balawat*

With the completion of most of the work on the *Small Collections*, attention turned to the least well-recorded ivories remaining unpublished, those from SW11/12 and the burnt storeroom in the Throne Room Block, T10. In the autumn of 1989 Georgina Herrmann was able to return to Iraq as part of the British Museum expedition to Nimrud and Balawat (*Curtis et al.*, 1993). When work at Nimrud permitted, she spent time in Baghdad and the Mosul Museum ‘processing’ more ivories.

In 1989 the numerous trays of unnumbered ivories in the store of the Iraq Museum were much as last seen in 1984. The acropolis fragments were still on trays at the top of the first stack. Other trays contained ivories from Fort Shalmaneser. Since some of the best pieces had been selected

for exhibition both in Baghdad and in museums throughout the country, some trays were mixed, containing pieces from 1949 to 1963.

As usual, Georgina Herrmann began numbering the fragments, starting with ND 15000 to differentiate the new ivories from those registered on earlier visits, but, after only a dozen pieces had been recorded, she was asked by the Museum authorities not to give pieces ND numbers, as the ivories belonged to the Iraq Museum. This made control extremely difficult, resulting in large numbers of unnumbered but catalogued and photographed ivories. To aid computer identification, numbers have been arbitrarily assigned in this publication to the catalogue entries of these ivories, even though the pieces themselves are not marked. Such pieces from SW11/12 have been numbered from ND 14009, while those from T10 are numbered from ND 14500. Iraq Museum numbers are, of course, always given when known.

In 1971 the ivories from T10 had been packed in six cardboard boxes, with labels attached to the tops: there were also two boxes of small fragments. When seen in 1989, the T10 material was still mostly in good order, although some boxes had been opened, exhibition-worthy ivories removed and given IM numbers. A small exhibition had been arranged in a subsidiary exhibition room, the 'Ivory Room': these pieces were recorded (nos. T72-T82). A tray of burnt fragments was also made available and recorded.

The few T10 boxes briefly examined indicated how important the material is. Unlike the magazines in the SW Quadrant, T10 contained both Assyrian style ivories (Mallowan and Davies, *I.N.* II, nos. 36-49, 52, 54, 56, 99, 110, 116-117, 160, 164-168, 192, 194 and 204), as well as a range of Levantine material. A number of pieces are unique, such as the North Syrian female musicians with instruments (no. T83), or the large sphinx head (no. T35), its discovery noted by Julian Reade. There are openwork figures, North Syrian pieces and Phoenician scarab beetles, as well as examples of pieces known from elsewhere in the Fort, such as the unusual panels with dogs, locusts and two-headed figures from SW37 (nos. T84-T95; *I.N.* IV, nos. 924-933). A list prepared by Jeffery Orchard gives a tantalizing glimpse of this unique assemblage (Appendix Six).

It proved possible to record about 130 pieces and small fragments during the 1989 visit, and these, together with other surviving photographs, are catalogued below. In an ideal world, full publication of this collection should form a separate fascicule, but this is a rescue project.

Finally, a brief visit with Lamia al Gailani Werr of only two weeks in 2000, offered the opportunity to record a few ivories on exhibition and included important pieces from Well AJ of the North West Palace. Access to the storerooms was not permitted at this time, and it has not been possible to continue work in Baghdad since. In 2003 during the Gulf War the storerooms were opened, and it has been reported that ivories were thrown to the floor and trampled. The current situation is hard to establish. A visit to London by Faeza al Baghdadi in 2010, sponsored by the British Institute for the Study of Iraq, suggests that the situation may be better than feared. She had been given access to the T10 boxes to select some ivories for her M.A. dissertation. These included some pieces that form part of our Photographic Archive, as well as others. Hopefully, in the future, the ivories of this unique assemblage can be fully recorded.

### *The Ivory Archive*

The photographic archive of the Nimrud ivories contains many thousands of negatives and prints. This is now stored in the Middle East Department, British Museum, London. The photographs also exist in digital versions: those from *Ivories from Nimrud I-V* have been made available in *The Published Ivories from Fort Shalmaneser, Nimrud*, by Georgina Herrmann, Helena Coffey and Stuart

Laidlaw (2004). It is planned to make available digital versions of *I.N.* VI and VII in due course.

### *Recent excavations*

#### *The Italian excavations in Fort Shalmaneser, 1987-1989*

In 1987 the Centro Scavi di Torino per il Medio Oriente e l'Asia, directed by Paolo Fiorina, began excavations in the South West Quadrant of Fort Shalmaneser, with the aim of understanding the different chronological phases as initially defined by the B.S.A.I. (Fiorina 2009, 27-41). They first re-excavated Room SW37, which they renamed A1, then moved to study the adjacent room at its north east corner, A2, as well as recording a series of walls built out into the courtyard. In Room SW37/A1 they uncovered two new doorways: they found 1,450 fragments of ivory, mostly very small, by the door in the east wall near the north east corner, as well as quantities of glass inlays in the same area. Most were blue (745 pieces), green (597), turquoise (98) and rarely yellow (8), as well as a bar of Egyptian blue (2009, fig. 16-18). There were also fragments of gold and silver. However, unlike in SW11/12, there were no remains of wood.

While the Fort was obviously built by Shalmaneser III and looted at the end of the Assyrian period, Fiorina considered that occupation continued in the neo-Babylonian period.

Of interest to this volume is the discovery of the ivory fragments. Some of the best of these were published by Elisa Follis in a paper at the Pisa conference in 2004 (2009, 47-61) and include fragmentary panels of Phoenician and Syrian-Intermediate sphinxes, a fine *champ-levé* panel, some bulls and plaques and panels with hieroglyphs. Some 500 pieces have been published by Eleonora Pappalardo in *Mesopotamia* XLI (2006, 56-156, pls. i-lxi and 10 colour plates). She also gave a paper at the Pisa conference in 2004 (2009, 63-85). Predictably, being found in the same location, many fragments resemble or form parts of ivories excavated by the B.S.A.I. One fine fragment, no. 406 (Pappalardo 2006, pl. xliv; 2009, 69, figs. 37-38), actually completes an Egyptianizing fragment found by the School (*I.N.* IV, no. 999 – see the photographic reconstruction in Pappalardo 2006, pl. lxi, fig. 5 and the drawing, Fig. 2c, by D. Wicke from photographs). It is not practicable in this volume to include the Italian large corpus within the analysis of the School ivories, although a few pieces are mentioned.

#### *British Museum excavations in Fort Shalmaneser in 1989*

The British Museum has had a long association with Nimrud, beginning with supporting both Layard in the 1840s and the B.S.A.I. from 1949-1963. It, therefore, seemed appropriate in 1989 for the Museum to return to Nimrud with the purpose of excavating what was thought to be a previously unexcavated room near the State Apartments. T20, a room adjacent to the rich storeroom T10 was selected: work began on October 3 and ended on November 25. It was hampered by very bad weather, including the collapse of some of the wall. Only a single season proved to be possible, further excavation being stopped by the war in 1990 (Curtis, Collon and Green 1993).

The original construction of the South Wing dates from the reign of Shalmaneser III. Mallowan considered that some work was undertaken by Esarhaddon, who certainly built a fine stone door in the outer wall. The British Museum team established that there were

‘two distinct phases of construction. Up to a depth of 10 cm. beneath the burnt white plaster floor associated with the destruction of the room (corresponding to the floor level cleared in Room T10) was an earlier floor of yellow clay, without any signs of burning. Scattered through the

deposit sealed between the two floors were items of horse harness', armour scales, bronze bosses and glass plaques (Curtis, Collon and Green 1993, 8).

'In the later deposit, above the white plaster floor, there was widespread evidence of the destruction of 614-612 B.C. in the form of ash, carbonized roof beams and charred matting. There were also signs of extensive burning on the walls, testifying to the great heat that must have built up. From this later deposit came a large number of bronze holdfasts and nails, faience beads and bone plaques and an iron dagger. ... There was also a bronze furniture sleeve decorated with embossed volutes of a type attested on Assyrian reliefs from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (Curtis, Collon and Green 1993, 16).

'The most outstanding single discovery in the destruction level was an ivory plaque found near the middle of the room, about 1.5 m. above the floor and some 0.7 m. from the south wall. It lay on its front at an angle in the fallen brickwork with its best-preserved end uppermost' (Curtis, Collon and Green 1993, 18, fig. 20).

The vertical rectangular plaque shows three registers carved in low relief, two of Assyrian courtiers with their hands clasped and one of tributaries with hands raised before their faces. Similar fragments, both incised and carved in low relief, were found in T10, see nos. T130-138 and T145-150.

## CHAPTER TWO

### *Ivories of the Phoenician Tradition: I*

Phoenician ivories are aesthetically the most attractive and elegant pieces found at Nimrud. They are also the most numerous. As has long been recognized, their designs show a considerable debt to the art of Egypt and in some cases have even been thought to be of Egyptian manufacture. However, the Levantine coast had been in close contact with Egypt from at least the third millennium B.C.E., and Egyptian art was well known along the coastal cities. Phoenician craftsmen borrowed Egyptian motifs and designs. They did not slavishly copy them but adapted them to serve their own purposes and meanings. Even those ivories closest to the art of Egypt, the ‘Egyptianizing’ ivories, show sufficient deviation from the accepted canon that both Layard in the nineteenth century and Kitchen in 1986 (*I.N.* IV, 37-46) dismissed the idea that they were made in Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

Most Phoenician ivories recovered from Nimrud were furniture panels. They were not intended to be seen singly but, apart from the Egyptianizing group, were employed in sets, often with designs of pairs of figures arranged symmetrically. These, whether human or animal, tend to be relatively tall and ‘leggy’, with, for instance, the height from the head to the waist and the waist to the feet of a human figure, or from the wings to the top of the shoulders and the shoulders to the paws of sphinxes being c. 1:2. Winter noted that the heads of ‘most “classical” Phoenician standing figures ... are consistently in a ratio of 1:5 for the rest of the body’ (1981, 106; 2010, 284). The proportions of stockier, Syrian-Intermediate humans or sphinxes are approximately equal.

Phoenician ivories are technically varied and consist of openwork examples and those with backgrounds. Their use of space is also characteristic. Designs on Syrian panels occupy much of the area of the panel, as opposed to Phoenician examples where areas are left empty to emphasize and empower the design. Furthermore there is little violence on Phoenician panels, even in supposedly violent scenes, as can be seen on the famous pair of panels showing a lioness killing a fallen youth from Well NN (*I.N.* VI, no. 356): this seems more an act of love or voluntary sacrifice than a youth having his throat ripped out (Fig. 21, bottom row left).

#### *Classic Phoenician Ivories*

The majority of the ivories found at Nimrud can be attributed to the Phoenician tradition. This large corpus can be divided in two, ‘Classic Phoenician’ ivories, discussed in this chapter, and ‘Phoenician Ivories’, in Chapter Three. ‘Classic Phoenician’ ivories are those closest to the art of Egypt and consist of a series of distinct but related sub-groups. The strong technical links between the Egyptianizing and Ornate Groups were recognized in *I.N.* VI, 76-81, and these, together with the Pharaoh statuettes and the Group 2 bridle harness, were united under a single umbrella. Some new groups have now been added, such as the ‘Finely Carved’ group and the Unusually Shaped Ivories.

Most ‘Classic’ ivories are like jewels, highlighted with gold overlays and coloured inlays, a few

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of early Phoenician art, see Gubel 2000, 185-214.

were painted or they may simply be modelled, again probably with gold overlays. Indeed the use of these fine inlays may be confined to these ivories: see pp. 47-49 below.

Chapter Three concentrates on ‘Phoenician’ ivories, still typically Phoenician in style, design, proportion and technique, but they do not belong to the ‘Classic’ group and are not inlaid. Like the ‘Classic’ ivories, they also consist of a series of sub-groups. Phoenician small objects, such as bridle harness and trapezoidal plaques, are gathered together at the end of Chapter Three and consist of both Classic and standard Phoenician examples.

#### *Egyptianizing ivories, Figs. 2a-c*

The Egyptianizing group<sup>2</sup> of Classic Phoenician ivories forms a particularly coherent and distinctive group, of which about a hundred have been found, see list at the end of the chapter. The panels tend to be unique in design, shape and style: there is little of the repetition, which is such a standard feature of other Phoenician ivories. Many are carved on panels with slightly trapezoidal sides, and are usually, but not always, fixed by tenons at the sides (e.g. *I.N.* IV, nos. 989-998): some thinner ones have chamfered sides, striated backs and were glued in position (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1006, 1008). A few examples have curving sections cut from the lower halves of the panels (*I.N.* IV, nos. 969, 1015-1016). The majority was richly inlaid, although the inlays do not usually survive. However, there are also modelled versions of inlaid ivories, for instance the lioness suckling her young in papyrus marshes of *I.N.* IV, nos. 968 and 1015 and the seated Isis suckling Horus, *I.N.* IV, nos. 969 and 1018.

The designs are complex, with complete scenes carved on a single panel. There are three principal types of design: two are set either in flowering fields of papyrus or in sun-boats, while the third is a scene of worship. Some boats with papyrus prows simply contain a triple crown or a scarab beetle (*I.N.* IV, nos. 989-991), but more complex scenes are combined with a scene of worship. In *I.N.* IV, nos. 992 and 993, *ba*-birds and *uraei* flank the triple crown, while in *I.N.* IV, nos. 1029-1030 a falcon-headed figure seated on an Egyptian chair, possibly representing Re, is paddled through a papyrus marsh by an ibis headed figure, perhaps Thoth. A fragment from NE9 shows a kneeling Pharaoh in a boat (*I.N.* V, no. 313).

Scenes set in papyrus marshes showing the young being suckled include Isis and Horus, lionesses, sphinxes and cows (*I.N.* IV, nos. 968-969, 1014-1021; *I.N.* VI, nos. 357-358). The infant Horus squatting on a lotus was another popular subject. He might be in a field of papyrus on his own (*I.N.* IV, no. 1026) or be worshipped by pairs of goddesses or vultures (*I.N.* IV, nos. 994-996; *I.N.* VI, no. 157). Other scenes of worship or offering may be centred on a *djed* pillar, perhaps flanked by *wedjat* eyes (*I.N.* IV, nos. 984-987, 1008; *I.N.* V, no. 225), falcons (*I.N.* IV, no. 1009), or worshippers (*I.N.* IV, nos. 997-999, 1003-1004). An alternative central feature is the crowned cartouche flanked by seated or kneeling goddesses (*I.N.* VI, nos. 146-147; *I.N.* VII, no. 39).

A different scene of worship is illustrated on a panel consisting of a fragment found in SW37 (*I.N.* IV, no. 999, ND 13042), which has been more or less completed by fragments found by the Italian excavations (1987-1989) in Fort Shalmaneser (Fig. 2c: Pappalardo 2006, 110, no. 406, pl. xlv, Tav. 1; 2009, 69, 82, figs. 37-38). The drawing of the photographically reconstructed panel shows a central mummified figure, perhaps Osiris, flanked by a pair of offering stands consisting of columns of papyrus topped by bunches of lotus, and a pair of worshippers. Rectangles with hieroglyphs may have been placed at the top, each side of the figure: however, the fragments at the top with the hands of the worshipper, the *wedjat* eye, and the rectangles are probably incorrectly restored. The hands are clearly too large for the figure: compare the hands of *I.N.* VII, no. 39 (Fig. 2b, top row).

<sup>2</sup> See Howard Hawkes, *The Nimrud ivories: an analysis of the Egyptianizing style*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1981.

*Ivories from Nimrud VII*



IV, 992



IV, 989



IV, 991



IV, 1029



IV, 969



IV, 1019



IV, 1021



IV, 1026



IV, 1015



IV, 1014

*Fig. 2a. Panels with Egyptianizing designs of scenes in the solar boat; Isis suckling Horus; Horus squatting on a lotus in a field of papyrus; and a cow and a lioness suckling their young in fields of papyrus.*



VII, 39



IV, 1008



IV, 995



IV, 996



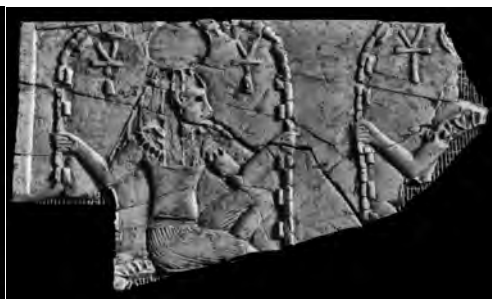
VII, 38



IV, 1009



VI, 146



IV, 1006



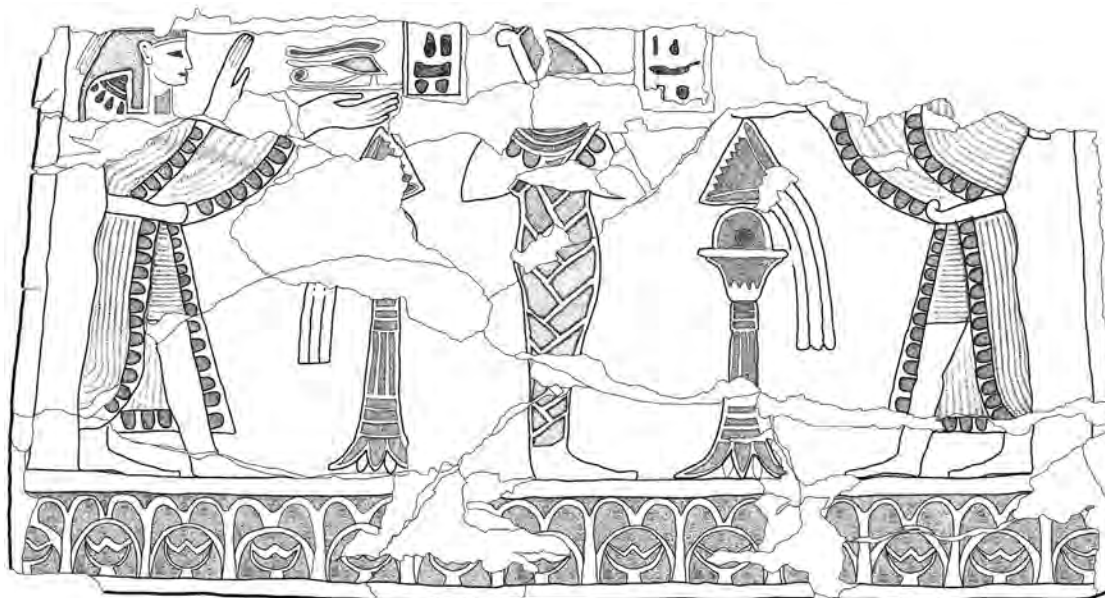
VII, 40

*Fig. 2b. Panels with Egyptianizing designs of worship; kneeling youths saluting a crowned cartouche; wedjat eyes and a djed pillar; the squatting Horus worshipped by goddesses; sphinxes and a crowned cartouche; falcons and crowned djed pillar; seated goddesses and a crowned cartouche; and kneeling youths with palm branches.*

Another favourite motif is a kneeling figure, probably representing the Egyptian god Heh, holding notched palm branches, representing millions of years or eternity (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1005-1007; *I.N.* V, nos. 291-292; *I.N.* VII, no. 40). Finally, there are a few sphinxes, some Hathor-headed, some with the side-locks of childhood, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1267-1268; *I.N.* VII, nos. 38, 41. For a discussion of the Egyptian originals from which the designs of these panels were derived, see K.A. Kitchen in his chapter, 'Egyptianizing

## Ivories from Nimrud VII

Fig. 2c. Drawing by Dirk Wicke from a photographic reconstruction of fragments found by the B.S.A.I. in 1957-1958, ND 13042, I.N. IV, no. 999, below; and by the Italian expedition in 1987, ND87-29 A685, which E. Pappalardo (2006) recognized belonged together. The fragments at the top are probably incorrectly restored.



features in the Nimrud ivories' in *I.N.* IV, 37-42.

*Distribution:* The first Egyptianizing ivories were found by Layard in Room V of the North West Palace and include the well-known panels with seated goddesses saluting a central cartouche (*I.N.* VI, nos. 146-147). Other examples were found by the B.S.A.I. in Rooms V/W, X, Well NN, and Room FF of the North West Palace, see the list at the end of the chapter. However, the majority was found in Fort Shalmaneser in Room SW37 (*I.N.* IV, nos. 952-1031). Only a few Egyptianizing ivories have been recorded from SW11/12, but these include two superb, virtually complete panels and some fine fragments, *I.N.* VII, nos. 38-42. Four panels or fragments were found in rooms around the South East Quadrant, one from the North East Quadrant but only fragments from T10.



IV, 999

As is well known, Egyptianizing ivories have also been discovered at Samaria, where they were found with examples of Unusually Shaped Ivories and the Ornate Group, thus reinforcing the linkage between these groups. There are four typical Egyptianizing panels, a hawk-headed figure kneeling to the infant Horus (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pl. i, fig. 2), kneeling figures holding notched palm branches (*ibid.*, pl. ii, fig. 2), kneeling winged figures saluting a *djed*-pillar (*ibid.*, pl. iii, fig. 1) and winged *wedjat* eyes flanking a bunch of papyrus (*ibid.*, pl. iii, fig. 2a). A remarkable group of ivory panels from Salamis borrows Egyptianizing motifs but employs them in a different way, see below p. 40 (Karageorghis, 1974, pls. lxi-lxiii).

### *Furniture fittings with youths and goddesses or queens, Figs. 2d and 2e*

This sub-group consists of three-sided furniture elements, decorated with youths and queens or goddesses, and tall rectangular panels, also decorated with queens or goddesses (Herrmann 2012b). Initially, these pieces appear to form part of the Egyptianizing group: however, it is the absence of complex designs and the element of repetition that separates them from the former.

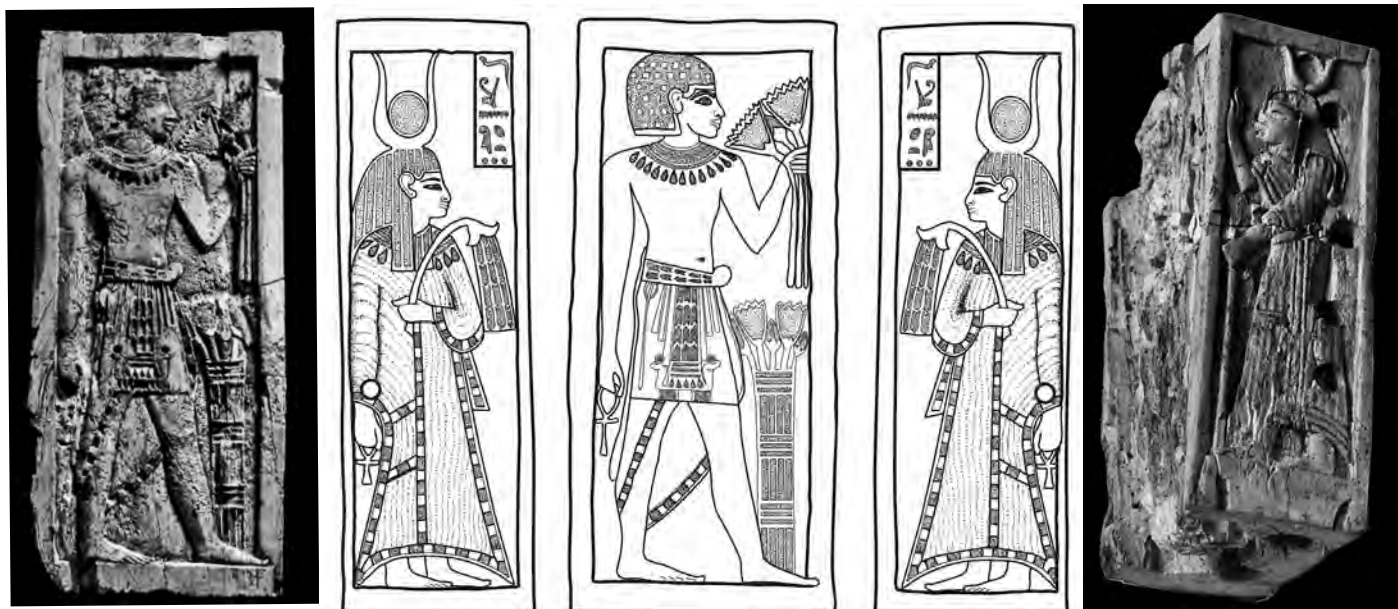
Only four examples of the three-sided fitting survive, and none of them is well preserved. The two found in Rooms SW37 and SW11/12 form a pair (*I.N.* IV, no. 1043; *I.N.* VII, no. 47). The SW37

example is the better preserved of the two. The central youth has a pegged wig and wears a collar and a thigh-length skirt with a sloping over-skirt and an apron, belted at the waist. The apron is richly decorated, with a central, chevroned section, a pair of pendant *uraei* and a series of ties and is typical of Classic Phoenician pieces: it also occurs on Pharaoh statuettes, on panels with Pharaohs with sceptre and jug (*I.N.* VII, nos. 64-82) and on some Ornate Group ivories (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1062-1064, 1104). A tied bundle of lotus flowers stands in front of the youth, and he holds a bunch of lotus flowers and buds in his raised left hand, the right grasping an *ankh*.

Only vertical halves of the poorly preserved goddesses on the side panels of *I.N.* IV, no. 1043, have survived, although more is preserved on the SW11/12 examples (*I.N.* VII, nos. 47 and 49). They have Hathor crowns on tripartite wigs and wear collars and long, loose, shawled garments or mantles. Like the youth, they carry *ankhs* in one hand and floral flails in the other. A fragment of a rear corner from SW37 formed part of a different panel, for the garment is plain rather than pleated. (*I.N.* IV, no. 1044).

A similar fitting was found in Room FF of the North West Palace (*I.N.* VI, no. 346): this is the smallest of the group, just over half the size of the SW37 example (*I.N.* IV, no. 1043). Once again, the central male is poorly preserved, but traces remain of his lotus flower. The queen or goddess on the left is crowned with a sun disc and *uraeus* on a tripartite wig, holds up her right hand in salutation and grasps a flower in her lowered left. That on the right with the Hathor crown also holds up her right hand and grasps a floral sceptre in her left. They wear long garments with long sleeves and curving hems of a pleated material, banded at the knee. The figures are not richly inlaid, although the wigs are excised to hold shaped pieces of inlay, as is the disc in the Hathor crown. With the various differences in crowns and stances of the queens or goddesses, this panel is perhaps closer in spirit to the art of Egypt than the others and may have served as the model for the others.

A small group of rectangular panels or panel fragments depict similar *queens* or *goddesses*, which either wear ornate collars over long garments with curving hems or are bare-breasted with their wings



IV, 1043

VI, 346

Fig. 2d. Three-sided furniture elements with central youths flanked by goddesses on the side panels. Reconstruction drawn by Dirk Wicke, based on *I.N.* IV, no. 1043 and *I.N.* VII, no. 47; and view of *I.N.* VI, 346.

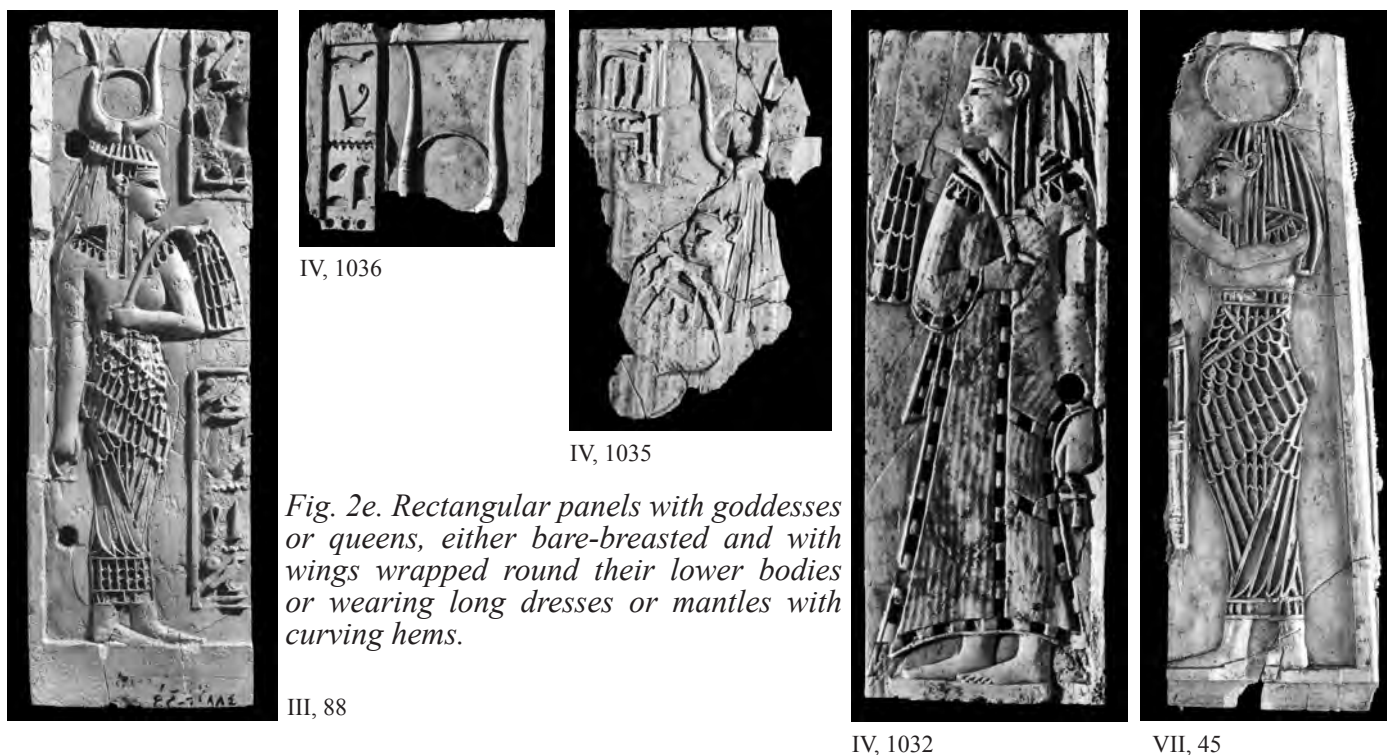
wrapped round their skirts. Two are crowned with the Hathor crown on a tripartite wig (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1035-1036), one with a sun-disc (*I.N.* III, no. 88), while the other two are simply wigged (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1032-1033). Like the queens on the three-sided panels, most carry floral flails and *ankhs*.

## Ivories from Nimrud VII

Two of these panels have rectangles with hieroglyphs, which Kitchen has read as standard formulae of speech by a deity. That on *I.N.* IV, no. 1035, reads ‘Words spoken by Ha..’ and on no. 1036, ‘Words spoken by Maat’ (1986, 40, 205). Kitchen has also read the hieroglyphs on the SW7 panel with the bare-breasted goddess as ‘Re rises’ slightly mis-written (*I.N.* III, no. 88; Kitchen, *I.N.* IV, 67, note 46), re-interpreting the notorious ‘*iw wbn r*’ inscription. This was incorrectly read by Barnett as *Ilu-bidi/laubidi* of Hamath (Barnett, *C.N.I.*, 1975, 135, 177, pl. viii).

On the origin of these designs, Kitchen commented:

‘the robed female figures, seen on [*I.N.* IV] nos. 1032-8 and 1043-7, could pass for either queens



*Fig. 2e. Rectangular panels with goddesses or queens, either bare-breasted and with wings wrapped round their lower bodies or wearing long dresses or mantles with curving hems.*

or goddesses. For queens with lotus-sceptre and *ankh*-sign, one may compare the Silsila jubilee-stela of Ramesses II, showing two of his queens in this pose. Goddesses likewise stand in this way, holding an *ankh*-sign by their side, but not usually the flail or short lotus-sceptre’ (Kitchen 1986, 39).

On the central youths he noted that:

‘the image of the male figure is a blend of a simple bearer of floral offerings (as seen in processions of such) and of a king offering flowers to a deity’ (Kitchen 1986, 206).

*Distribution:* A set of three generally similar furniture fittings found at Zinjirli (Andrae 1943, Taf. 65-67) are clearly versions of the same type of fitting and employ the same convention of a central male flanked by females. However, the style, the dress and the objects they carry are different. The males have short wigs, collars, armllets and bracelets, and either a short skirt with sloping hem and apron or a short pleated skirt and open overskirt. They carry voluted palmette flowers, a *was* sceptre, and an unidentifiable item. The women have tripartite wigs, collars, and long pleated dresses with decorated borders and sloping hems. Unfortunately they are not particularly well preserved: two carry *wedjat* eyes and a duck, the third an unidentified object.

There are parallels to the robed goddesses, both in Samaria (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, 13-14, pl. ii) and, more distantly, in a Bernardini tomb in Praeneste, now in the Villa Giulia (Aubet 1971,

nos. 12-13, fig. 17, pl. ix).<sup>3</sup> Kitchen observed that the Samaria figure was wrongly described as Osiris (Kitchen 1986, 67, note 37).

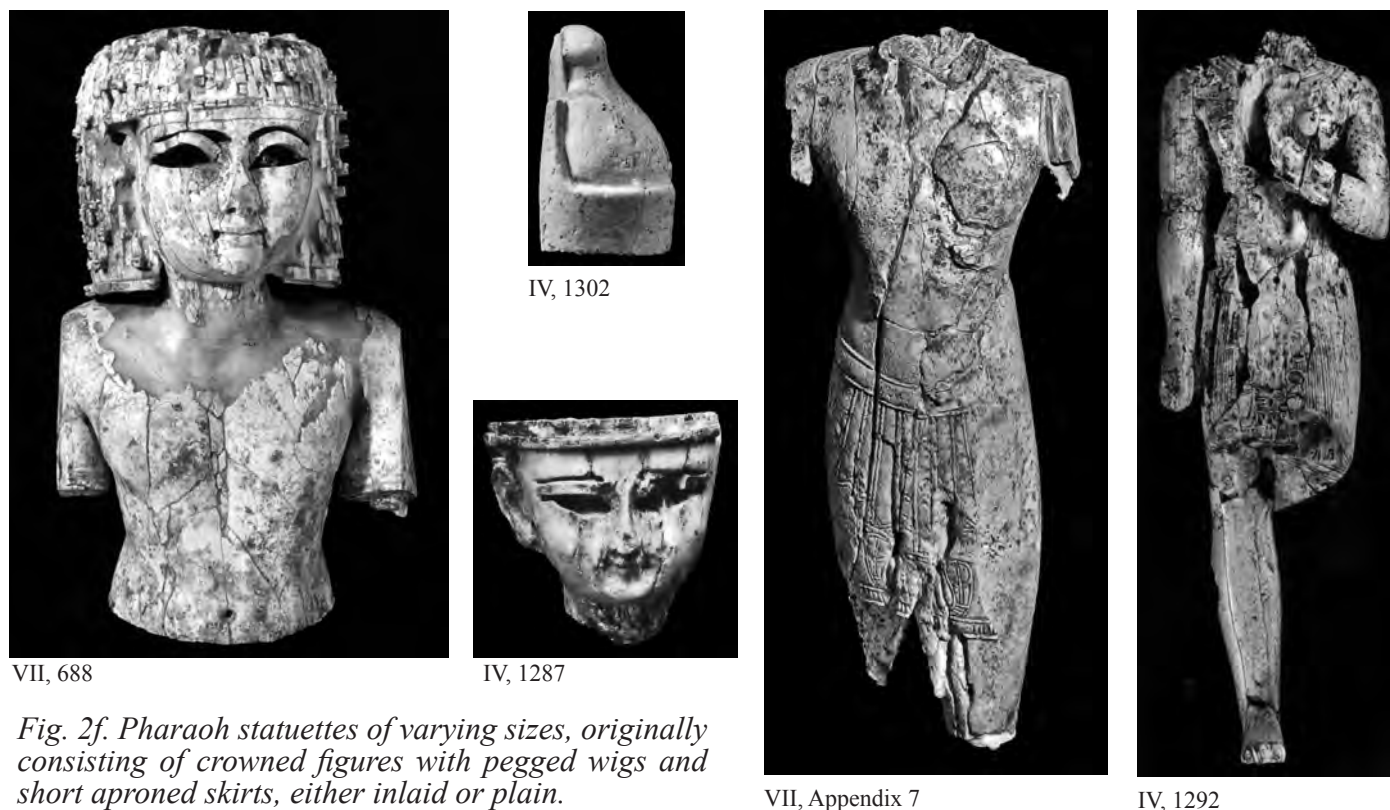
As indicated by the variety of fittings found in Fort Shalmaneser, the North West Palace and Zinjirli, this type of furniture fitting was popular and presumably made in more than one centre across the area.

*Pharaoh statuettes, Fig. 2f*

Although they are not furniture panels, the Pharaoh statuettes are discussed here since they are versions in the round of the youths on the fronts of the fittings and are also similar to the Classic Phoenician Pharaohs with ram-headed sceptres and jugs (*I.N.* VII, nos. 64-70), as well as those shown on Ornate Group panels, such as *I.N.* IV, nos. 1057-1061. The statuettes are tall and stand to face the onlooker, with the left leg in the lead (Busch & Wicke 2005). Usually the left arm is flexed and the right held at the side (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1292-1295), although one from SW12 is shown with the right arm on the chest (*I.N.* VII, no. 689). They are designed to be seen from the front or sides. There are no indications of how they were fitted in place, nor any fitter's marks.

Although no crown has been found *in situ*, examples, such as *I.N.* IV, nos. 1302-1304, make it evident that these statuettes wore the Egyptian double crown. These were set on a pegged wig: the top of the head of the large bust, *I.N.* VII, no. 688, is flattened to receive one. The statuettes are made up from many different pieces, which are not standardized but made from individual sections, cut according to the available ivory. They vary in size: for instance, the faces of *I.N.* VII, nos. 678-687, range in height from just over 4.0 cm. to 10.0 cm., the crowns of *I.N.* IV, nos. 1302-1304, from 3.0 to 7.7 cm. There is also considerable variety in the individual features of the faces, as can be seen by comparing those of *I.N.* IV, nos. 1286-1290 or *I.N.* VII, nos. 678-685.

No complete statuette has survived. The most complete is *I.N.* IV, no. 1292, measuring 20.4 cm. in height even without the head and crown. The splendid head and chest, *I.N.* VII, no. 688, would have



*Fig. 2f. Pharaoh statuettes of varying sizes, originally consisting of crowned figures with pegged wigs and short aproned skirts, either inlaid or plain.*

<sup>3</sup> I am grateful to Dirk Wicke for drawing my attention to this important parallel.

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

been even taller, as it measures some 17.7 cm. with neither the crown nor the lower body and legs (pls. 143-146). The statuettes wear short pleated skirts, belted at the waist, with elaborate aprons with ties and pendant *uraei*. Despite the variations, the style and proportions are standard.

Most of the surviving examples would have been richly coloured, with the eyes and eyebrows deeply excised, and the wigs, collar, belt and apron inlaid. However, an example from SW37, *I.N.* VII, Appendix Seven, ND 7987, is monochrome, again making it evident that workshops produced colour or monochrome according to demand.

*Distribution:* Parts of Pharaoh statuettes were found in the North West and Burnt Palaces on the Acropolis and in Rooms SW37, NE59 and SW11/12 in Fort Shalmaneser, see list. A face and part of a body were found in the Idaean Cave on Crete (Sakellarakis 1992, pls. 13-14).

Other sculptures in the round include the unique and outstanding set of six free-standing sculptures of Africans and Asiatics leading and carrying animals and found in and near a niche in Room NE2 (Fig. 2n: *I.N.* V, 37, nos. 298-303). There are also human-headed sphinxes with the remains of pegged wigs from SW11/12 (*I.N.* VII, nos. 706-709).

### *Pharaohs with sceptres and jugs, Fig. 2g*

Pharaohs, stylistically similar to those on the furniture elements and statuettes, are carved on a set of panels from SW11/12 (*I.N.* VII, nos. 64-82). These show pairs of Pharaohs with sceptres and jugs flanking stylized trees: there are friezes of *uraei* and winged discs above. This motif, originally Egyptian, became popular in the Levantine world with both Phoenician and Syrian-Intermediate versions (Cecchini 2005). Two sets were found in SW11/12, one is typically Classic Phoenician with the Pharaohs wearing the aproned skirt, while the others wear *shendyt* kilts (*I.N.* VII, nos. 83-93) and are discussed in the following chapter.

‘Classic Phoenician’ Pharaohs have Egyptian double crowns with spirals rising from the fronts, ribbons down the backs and Osiride beards. They wear beaded collars with pendant droplets, short skirts and longer open skirts with decorated hems, made of a pleated material and held by belts.



*Fig. 2g. Pharaohs with sceptres and jugs, I.N. VII, no. 64.*

Typical of the set are the elaborately decorated aprons, examples of which are well preserved on pieces, such as *I.N.* VII, nos. 64 and 71: the central section consists of a vertical row of chevrons with ties below, flanked by pendant, crowned *uraei* with more ties hanging from the belt. The Pharaohs hold ram-headed sceptres crowned with Hathor crowns and tall, spouted jugs: the left hand Pharaoh touches the trunk of the tree with his jug, while that on the right holds it at his side. The tree consists of a single set of voluted branches growing from the top of a long, straight trunk. Two voluted palmette flowers on long, sinuous stalks grow from the bottom. The winged disc is typically Phoenician, with a central sun-disc with feathers above and below, flanked by *uraei*, of which in some instances only the tails are shown. The well-worked frieze of *uraei* in the top register has Hathor crowns.

This set was worked on similarly sized, rectangular panels with double frames at the top and bottom. The various elements are carved in high relief with some parts in the round, for instance the *uraei* and the legs of the figures, the ivory behind being hollowed out. Although the panels are almost identical, there are nevertheless

minor differences in the carving, suggesting that, as usual, the workshop employed a number of craftsmen. The panels were fitted to their backing by keyhole slots, and there are often horizontal guide lines. Fitter's marks are lightly incised on the backs, as they are on Ornate Group panels.

*The Ornate Group, Figs. 2h and i*

This group was first assembled in 1986 as Section XII (*I.N.* IV, 20) and consisted of openwork panels with tall elegant figures, pleasingly located within their frames. In addition to the standard Phoenician features of style and proportion, typical characteristics include 'pegged wigs' and fine inlay work. Another diagnostic is that the frames are usually double rather than single. This seems a simple point, but nevertheless the use of double frames is largely confined to Ornate Group pieces and is a useful guide. Another factor is that the edges of the backs of openwork figures are often slightly shaped. Fitter's marks are occasionally lightly incised on the backs or the tenons, although since, unfortunately, many ivories of this group are fragmentary, the survival of both frames and marks is erratic. In 2002 an article focussed on the group increased its range to include panels with backgrounds, statuettes and some trapezoidal plaques (Herrmann 2002).

Most Ornate Group ivories are inlaid and can be divided into a number of groups, including:

- a. those highlighted with polychrome inlays, usually red and blue;
- b. those worked with very fine inlays;
- c. those on thinner panels, some with floral backgrounds, some with just blue inlays.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine the colour of the inlays on all Ornate Group ivories, either because no trace of colour survives or because pieces have only been catalogued from photographs. There are also modelled versions, once probably highlighted with gold overlays, as can be seen by comparing the SW37 inlaid version of the hero and griffin with the monochrome version from SW11/12 (Fig. 2i, Row 2).

By far the most popular subject is a Pharaoh or a youth, usually shown standing, once with a bird between the wings (*I.N.* V, no. 177). Sometimes he is winged, sometimes he wears the Egyptian double crown, and sometimes he has a falcon headdress. He is also shown kneeling, and once, in a more Egyptianizing mode, squatting on a lotus (*I.N.* IV, no. 1085). Compared with the numerous coloured examples, there are relatively few modelled versions of a young male. A fragmentary panel with double frame from SW12 (*I.N.* VII, no. 103) shows a winged youth holding a flower and the tail of an *uraeus* and is similar to a fragment from Well AJ (*I.N.* VI, no. 208). These can be compared to the design on a trapezoidal panel with a double frame from SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 53.

*Sphinxes* are often illustrated on Ornate Group panels and plaques. They may be human-headed or ram or falcon-headed. Some human-headed examples stare straight out of the panel (*I.N.* IV, no. 1010; *I.N.* VII, no. 370-372, 374-388). A unique example was found in Well AJ, the large head with an enigmatic smile, *I.N.* VI, no. 259. *Griffins* are usually shown rampant (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1054-1055, 1101; *I.N.* V, no. 471). A classic Ornate Group panel shows a *cow suckling her calf* in a field of papyrus (*I.N.* V, no. 479). *Stylized trees* are also represented (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1077-1078, 1107; *I.N.* V, nos. 481-482).

The *hero and griffin* or 'George and dragon' (Fig. 2i) was a popular motif, which travelled across the area, being represented on both Phoenician and Syrian-Intermediate 'Crown and Scale' panels and plaques and has remained popular over time. Phoenician versions on Ornate Group panels include the inlaid version *I.N.* IV, no. 1051, the modelled *I.N.* VII, no. 190 and the fragments, *I.N.* V, nos. 297 and 90. The design is also popular on plaques (Fig. 3f: *I.N.* IV, nos. 85-86, *I.N.* V, nos. 141-144) and shows the hero grasping the griffin, which is walking beside him, by its comb, turning its head and thrusting a spear into its open beak, without apparently breaking stride.

*Ivories from Nimrud VII*



*Fig. 2h. Ornate Group. Row 1, polychrome; 2, finely worked; 3, floral or blue; 4, modelled, and sphinxes.*



IV, 1054



V, 471



V, 479



V, 481



IV, 1078



IV, 1051



VII, 190



V, 297



IV, 79



IV, 1117



V, 90



VII, 373



IV, 1111



IV, 1112



IV, 656



IV, 1107



IV, 617



V, 224



VII, 167



IV, 12

Fig. 2i. Ornate Group: griffins, cow and calf, stylized trees, heroes and griffins, sphinxes striding over youths or flanking trees, griffins and kneeling Pharaoh figures.

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

More problematic in their attribution are some fragmentary panels and a set of plaques with dynamic versions of fights with griffins and a lion (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1117-1118, 78-80). The heroes have an unusual hairstyle. On the panels they have a fringe and hair falling in front and behind the shoulder and are clean-shaven, while on the plaques they have three locks, and a fine pointed beard. Above the design is a Phoenician-style frieze of voluted palmette flowers. The carving on these pieces is exceptionally fine.

*Victory scenes* with sphinxes striding over fallen youths are derived from an Egyptian motif which represented Pharaoh defeating his enemies. *I.N.* VII, no. 373 (Fig. 2i) is a typical Ornate Group example with the human-headed sphinx treading on the youth, its paw resting on the youth's head: as usual, there is an apparent absence of struggle. However, this subject occurs more commonly on some long, narrow panels with backgrounds from SW37, which show falcon-headed sphinxes walking over youths (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1111-1115; *I.N.* VII, no. 415). There are some interesting variations. The fragmentary no. 1114 shows an opposed pair of sphinxes treading on youths with between them a pair of kneeling heroes attacking the sphinxes: the sword held by the left-hand hero is visible. Then, there are two processions of sphinxes, one pair separated by an altar (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1111 and 1113). Some sphinxes have inlays along the back and down the haunch, a residual representation of wings (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1112-1113): the headdresses or wigs of the youths vary in shape and type of inlay. As usual, there is a modelled version, compare *I.N.* IV, no. 1111 with no. 656 (Fig. 2i, Rows 4-5). The element of victory is omitted from *I.N.* VII, no. 1107, where human-headed sphinxes are flanked by stylized trees.

Another long modelled panel has three scenes; two pairs of rampant griffins flank trees on the outside with a central design of kneeling Pharaoh figures saluting a tree. The three are framed by papyrus and bud columns, and there is a double frame along the base (*I.N.* IV, no. 617). The kneeling Pharaohs can be matched on both a set of panels and some plaques with double frames (*I.N.* VII, nos. 167-169; *I.N.* IV, nos. 12-18) and form an interesting group, illustrating the range of output from a workshop (Fig. 2i, Row 5).

### *Ornate Group modelled panels, Fig. 2j*

Sphinxes, both human and ram-headed, are popular motifs on modelled examples of openwork Ornate Group panels. Many belong to a style-group characterized by a curved groove cut along the line of the jaw.<sup>4</sup> This groove is an echo of the ties used in Egypt to hold the Osiride beard in place, and, at first, it was thought that the groove might be workshop-specific, but it is not. Many fragments are essentially identical except for the presence/absence of the groove: compare, for instance, *I.N.* VII, no. 302, lacking the groove, with *I.N.* IV, no. 546, with the groove. Once again, this reminds us of the variability inherent within the oeuvre: the groove is probably craftsman-specific and is a useful marker, but, as so frequently among the ivories, it is not standard.

Sphinxes belonging to the 'grooved cheek' group, whether their cheeks were grooved or not, were found in both SW37 and SW12. One set is carved on relatively thick panels with detailing of headdress, collar, apron and wings (*I.N.* IV, nos. 527-529, 546-548, *I.N.* VII, nos. 300-342). The human-headed sphinxes usually have the Egyptian double crown on the *nemes* headcloth, sometimes with an *uraeus* winding over the top. Traces survive of similar crowns on ram-headed sphinxes, although their headcloths end in a curl rather than being tied (*I.N.* IV, no. 548, *I.N.* VII, nos. 327-337). The second group, while generally similar, is plainer and carved on thin panels, only about 0.5 cm.

<sup>4</sup> *I.N.* IV, nos. 546-547, VII, nos. 300, 304, 306-308, 311-312, 314-315 and 318



Fig. 2j. Ornate Group modelled panels: similar sphinxes with and without 'grooved cheeks'; similar ram-headed sphinxes. Those carved on thinner panels with less detailing. The 'triple flower'.

thick (*I.N.* IV, nos. 429-455, *I.N.* VII, nos. 343-348). They lack markings on head-cloth and apron: there is no collar or feathering on the wings.

Another feature, which initially was thought to be a workshop marker, is the 'triple flower', a voluted palmette flower with two lily flowers blooming from the volutes (*I.N.* IV, 13-14). However, it occurs on two very different groups, on modelled Ornate Group panels, such as *I.N.* IV, nos. 527-528, and on the Syrian-Intermediate 'Tall Crown' group of panels with sphinxes (*I.N.* IV, nos. 599-601; *I.N.* VII, nos. 253-278, see Chapter Four, Fig. 4g). Diagnostics are a useful guide to making an attribution but must be used with caution and with additional criteria to support them. The stylized trees associated with these panels tend to be relatively simple, with a volute at the base from which flowers grow, a tall plain trunk and another volute at the top.

*Distribution:* Two superb examples of Ornate Group openwork panels, richly inlaid and carved on both sides, were found in Tomb 79 at Salamis. One represents a sphinx with flowers, the other a stylized tree with double volutes (Karageorghis 1974, pl. B, LXI-LXIII). There were also three long panels with backgrounds, which Karageorghis reconstructed as a single panel on the foot-board of

### *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

a bed, with additional friezes at the sides (1974, pls. C-E). They show familiar Nimrud motifs of kneeling youths with notched palm branches, sphinxes with the side-lock of childhood confronting trees, and a complex floral frieze.

Apart from these magnificent pieces, only fragments of Ornate Group ivories have been found at Samaria (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pls. iv, fig. 1, vii, figs. 1, 8, 13-14, and x, fig. 5). Some inlaid wings were recovered from the Bernardini tombs at Praeneste, now in the Villa Giulia, Rome (Aubet 1971, 105-106, fig. 18).

### *Champ-levé panels and plaques, Fig. 2k*

A few fragmentary panels and plaques were worked in an attractive, reverse inlay technique, when the design is hollowed out and filled with a coloured inlay, while the background is plain and left high. Most of these were found in Room SW37 (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1171-1208), with only fragments from SW11/12 (*I.N.* VII, nos. 670-675). The style is typically Phoenician. Usually all that survives is the excised design with perhaps some traces of the colours of the original inlays, as in the plaque with a hero and griffin of ND 10449 (*I.N.* IV, no. 1176). The body of the hero is red, while his skirt and the griffin are blue. However, in one fragment in the Iraq Museum some of the inlays still actually survive, ND 13067 (*I.N.* IV, no. 1186). The arm and lower leg of the kneeling youth and the body of the griffin are in raised and coloured relief, showing that these champ-levé ivories were a true reversal of the usual type of inlaid ivory. There are also many traces of colour: the hair and clothes are blue, the neck, body and foot are reddish-brown, the wings and tail of the griffin are blue, as probably is the floral column and lotus and bud frieze behind them. The range of designs is relatively limited. Fragments of similar ivories have been found at Samaria (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pls. xiv-xv; Suter 2011).



IV, 1177

IV, 1176

IV, 1179

IV, 1186

IV, 1196

*Fig. 2k. Champ-levé plaques and panels with a winged god, heroes fighting lions or griffins, a kneeling figure above a winged sphinx and a stylized tree. Some of the modelled inlays survive on I.N. IV, no. 1186.*

### *Unusually Shaped Ivories, Fig. 2l*

Like the Pharaoh statuettes, these are not strictly furniture panels. Indeed, their purpose is uncertain. However, these rather clumsily named ivories straddle the 'boundary' between the Egyptianizing and Ornate Groups and are therefore included in this chapter. The majority exhibits a standard motif of a pair of griffins, although a few show designs of Egyptian inspiration. They are set within the curving branches of a stylized tree. All are concave, with rough, plain backs and are fixed at top and bottom, not the sides, as far as their state of preservation permits comparison. The ivories are not standardized: their sizes and shapes vary considerably, as does the form of the branches and the bases from which they rise.

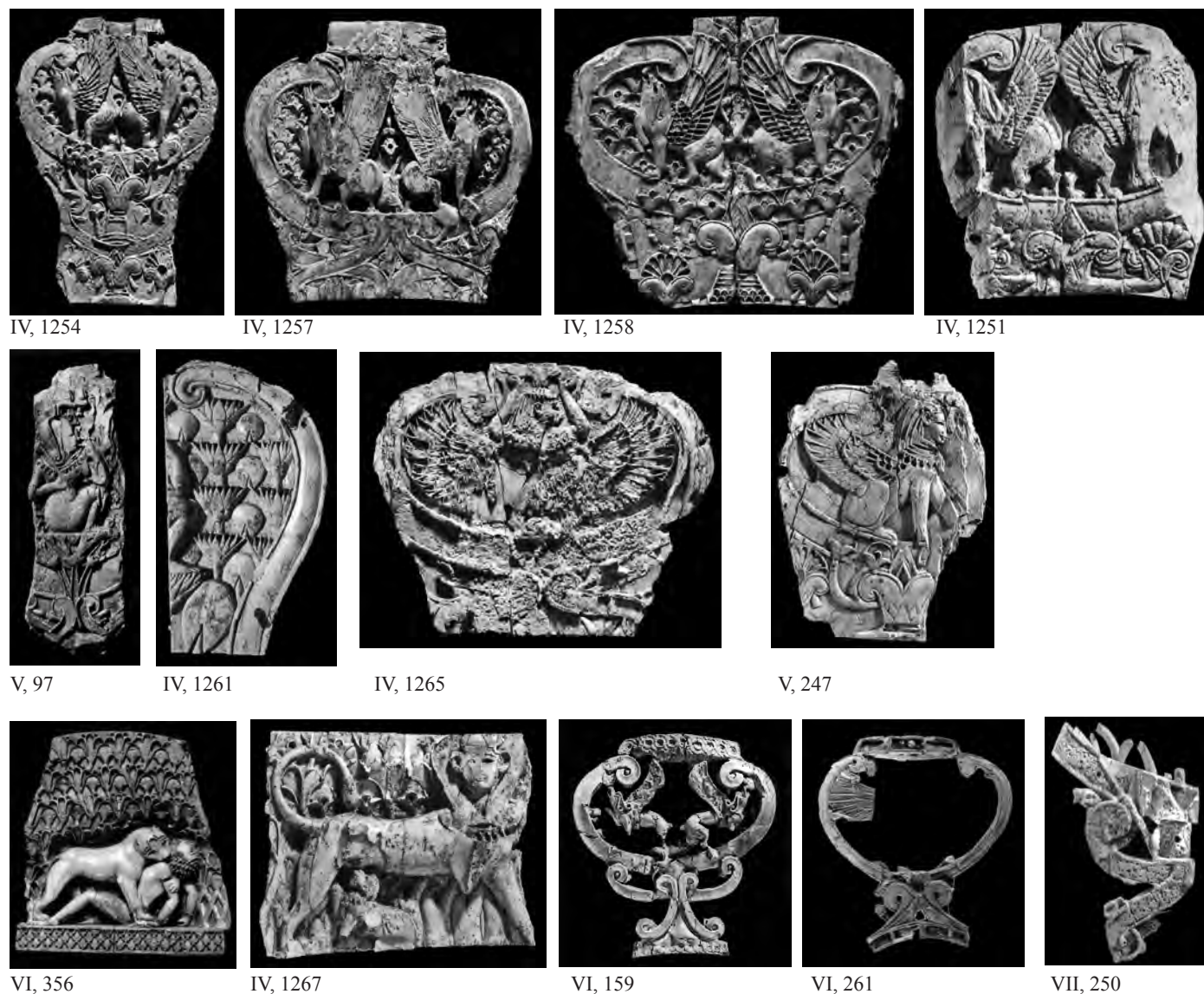


Fig. 21. Unusually Shaped Ivories are of varied sizes and forms: the designs are usually set within the enclosing branches of a stylized tree. The most popular motif was a pair of griffins, back to back: Egyptianizing motifs include a squatting Horus, a human-headed scarab beetle and a sphinx. The sphinx and the lioness of I.N. IV, no. 1267 and I.N. VI, no. 356 may have been insets. There are also openwork versions.

*Rampant griffins* are the most popular image on both solid and openwork, and modelled and inlaid examples. The griffins stand back to back with heads raised to browse on fronds growing from the ends of the curving branches, and with wings and tails raised, touching in the centres of the panels. The branches rise from a variety of different bases, most from an abbreviated version of the stylized tree with flowers on either side. One from SW12, although poorly preserved (I.N. VII, no. 245), forms a pair to an example from SW 37 (I.N. IV, no. 1253). A *wedjat* eye occupies the rectangular extension of a fragment from the top of a panel (I.N. VII, no. 246). Exceptionally fine examples, though of different sizes, were found in SW37 (I.N. IV, no. 1258) and Room V/W of the North West Palace (I.N. VI, no. 158). Flowers bloom from the bases of the stylized tree and form floral fields, especially rich in the SW37 example. Rising from a similar base, two griffin panels are simply modelled. The fragmentary I.N. IV, no. 1252 is finely worked, although the carving of the other is relatively crude and the proportions squatter (I.N. IV, no. 1251). The stylized tree supporting the griffins of I.N. IV, no. 1254 is unique, being taller with two sets of volutes and branches and with flowers growing around the tree and beside the griffins. The inlays and work are fine. Finally, the griffins of I.N. IV, no. 1257

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

are differentiated from the others because the branches rest on double, crossing volutes, like those of the human-headed scarab beetle below (*I.N.* IV, no. 1265).

*Egyptianizing motifs:* Two well-preserved examples of the *divine child upon the lotus* were found in Samaria (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, frontispiece and pl. i, 1 and 3), although the Samarian versions appear to be flat rather than curved and are smaller than the Nimrud pieces. The complete version has a wide rectangular extension at the base below the outward-curving branches and a shorter extension at the top. It was partially overlaid with gold foil and inlaid with blue glass and yellow and green paste. The child Horus, wearing the *atef* crown, squats on a lotus and has one finger to his lips, the other holding a flail.

The larger Nimrud examples are of varied sizes. The central fragment from an inlaid example from Corridor E of Fort Shalmaneser shows the child, probably also crowned with an *atef* crown, with one hand to his mouth and the other holding the flail (*I.N.* V, no. 97). The curving branches and the lotus rise from crossing volutes, also shown on examples with a human-headed scarab beetle and griffins (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1265 and 1257). A relatively complete version from SW37 has the child squatting in a field of lotus flowers with the swelling branches springing from a frame of alternate vertical and horizontal ribs (*I.N.* IV, no. 1260). A modelled section from the right side and two fragments also show traces of a child squatting in a field of lotus flowers and leaves (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1261, 1263-1264). The last example is an inset with shaped pieces of inlay (*I.N.* IV, no. 1262).

A winged, human-headed *scarab beetle* is set within the branches of a tree rising from crossing volutes (*I.N.* IV, no. 1265). She faces to the right, with both arms raised, supporting the branches of the crown, presumably an *atef* crown, the rest of which would have been carved on an upper section. Just such an upper section was found in Room NW21 (*I.N.* V, no. 426). Another unique panel shows a winged, *human-headed sphinx*, seated to the right, within curving branches rising from a voluted base with papyrus and palmette flowers (*I.N.* VII, no. 247). The work is exceptionally fine, with the wig, collar, wings, branches and flowers inlaid. An unprovenanced fragment with part of a curving branch and a wing-tip may have belonged to a piece similar to either of the last two (*I.N.* V, no. 502).

Even though no trace of the enclosing branches survives, a concave panel, fixed at the top, bottom and one side may form the central section of one of these ivories (*I.N.* IV, no. 1267). The panel shows a *sphinx* with a Hathor head, turned to the front. She is suckling her young in a field of papyrus flowers. It is also possible that the superb pair of panels from Well NN showing a *lioness* in a field of flowers killing a youth (*I.N.* VI, no. 356) were employed in this way. The geometric pattern at the bases rather than parts of a tree can also be seen on *I.N.* IV, no. 1260. There are fitter's marks at the top and bottom of *I.N.* VI, no. 356a, but, not as far as is known, on any other.

*Openwork versions of Unusually Shaped Ivories* are necessarily fragile and usually only survive as fragments. However, a relatively complete example was found by the incomparable Layard in Room V/W of the North West Palace, together with fragments of two more (*I.N.* VI, nos. 159-161, 192). Another was found by the Iraqis in Well AJ (*I.N.* VI, no. 261). The Room V/W examples contain the usual pair of griffins, rampant and back to back, within the outward-curving branches of a tree rising from a pair of volutes set upwards, a bifurcated trunk (Gubel 2009, 204, fig. III). The frames at top and bottom form concave curves and are decorated with guilloche with inlaid centres. The fragmentary Well AJ version, *I.N.* VI, no. 261, is different again: the upper section consists of the usual outward-curving branches rising from volutes. Within the curve is a single wing-tip, probably belonging to a sphinx (?), cf. *I.N.* VII, no. 248 or the fragment *I.N.* IV, no. 1266. Below the voluted base is the beginning of a second curve presumably containing another motif.

Two fragments were found in the Burnt Palace (Barnett, *C.N.I.*, 1975, S323-S324, pls. xc and xcv).

All that survives are the outward curving branches rising from simple volutes. S323 has a similar concave base with guilloche pattern to *I.N.* VI, nos. 159-160, while S324 was carved on both sides. Fragments of bases with versions of the bifurcated trunk from SW37 (*I.N.* IV, nos. 791-792) and SW11/12 may also form parts of such pieces, *I.N.* VII, no. 249.

However, the largest and perhaps the most interesting fragment, alas poorly preserved, was found in SW12 (*I.N.* VII, no. 250). The existing height of the fragment showing part of the base of the tree with bifurcated trunk and part of the outward-curving branches measures 14.2 cm. in height and is therefore larger than all but one of the complete pieces. But even more interesting is the small figure of an ape squatting on the lower branches, his legs drawn up, one hand in front of his mouth, the other resting on his knees. Between the bottom branches only the legs survive of a second creature perched on the volutes. Eric Gubel (2009), who has studied the iconography of the group, has suggested that apes associated with the sacred tree would be ‘Phoenician renderings of the Egyptian *imjw htt*, the adoration of the sun at rise and dawn by apes’ (Gubel 2009, 194).

The Unusually Shaped Ivories clearly all served a specific purpose, and a number of suggestions have been made about their probable use. These range from forming parts of furniture to chariot or bridle fittings, see Gubel 2009, 187-207. However, no proposal yet seems convincing. All that we can safely say is that:

- a. they were designed to be seen from the front, which was concave. The convex back was plain and rough.
- b. they were held in place from the top and bottom, and not from the sides.
- c. neither their shapes nor their sizes were standardized.
- d. there were both monochrome and inlaid versions, solid and openwork.
- e. most show griffins, back to back, within curving branches, but Egyptianizing motifs are also employed.

#### *The ‘Finely carved’ group, Fig. 2m*

An exceptionally elegant and finely worked sphinx was found in SW37 (*I.N.* IV, no. 622). The ram-headed sphinx has an unusual crown, a version of the *atef* crown on branching horns with *uraei* on a *nemes* headdress. There is a crescent on the cheek. He has an *usekh* collar, an apron decorated with vertical lines and a tassel in front of the leg, a feature which is typical of the group. The base of the wings is decorated with a diamond pattern, with three tassels resting on the elegantly curving wings. Three raised ribs run along the top of the back and end in tassels down the haunch: in Egyptian iconography, these would represent the wings and tail of a falcon, although a sculpture from Carchemish makes it plain that the feature represents a folded wing there (Barnett, *C.N.I.*, 1975, 74-75, fig. 21b). There are muscle markings on the hindlegs. Set in a panel with triple frames, this sphinx is unique.

A series of similar but smaller burnt examples with double rather than triple frames was found in Room T10 (*I.N.* VII, nos. T12-T22), although one of these was incorrectly catalogued as coming from SW37 (*I.N.* IV, no. 620 = *I.N.* VII, no. T12). Unfortunately, our only record of most of these pieces is from two large negatives in poor condition taken in 196b. The list of ivories in Appendix Six makes it evident that more of this beautiful group await recording.

The T10 panels, all fragmentary to a greater or lesser degree, formed parts of long panels with pairs of human-headed sphinxes flanking stylized trees. The sphinxes have Egyptian double crowns with spirals at the front, on hatched headdresses. Their heads are framed by pairs of wings, very finely carved, with diamond patterns at the bases and raised ribs or tassels at the bottoms of the curving

*Ivories from Nimrud VII*



IV, 622



VII, T12



VII, T14



VII, T1



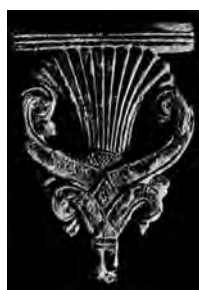
V, 420



V, 419



VII, T2



V, 281



VII, T11



V, 411



VII, T4

*Fig. 2m. Panels of the 'Finely Carved' group with sphinxes, stylized trees and a couchant lion.*

wings. The collars are relatively narrow. Winged *uraei* are suspended from their chests. Typical of the sphinxes are long, ribbed tassels falling each side of the aprons, and raised ribs running along the top of the back and falling in tassels on the haunches. Similar ribs and tassels can be seen on long panels from SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1112-1113 (Fig. 2i). The curl on the wing of *I.N.* V, no. 419, shows that ram-headed sphinxes were also represented. The stylized trees consist of two sets of voluted branches with large fans of petals in the centres and especially at the tops and flowers growing from the volute ends.

Two unique openwork but fragmentary examples were on display in the Mosul Museum in 1989 (looted 2003) and showed similar sphinxes except that the heads were represented frontally. No crown survives on the headdress decorated with rows of beading of no. T1, although a similar head was found in NW21 (*I.N.* V, no. 420). The second piece from Mosul, no. T2, consisting only of the head, one wing and part of the chest, shows an unusual face crowned with a version of the *atef* crown, again with rows of beading. Locks of hair fall in ringlets and curls onto the wings. It is similar to no. T3. Wing fragments with the characteristic fine carving, diamond pattern and tassels were found in Rooms T10 (*I.N.* VII, nos. T9-T10) and NW21 (*I.N.* V, nos. 415-419), as well as an apron (*I.N.* V, no. 421). From both contexts and from Room SE10 there were fragments of openwork, stylized trees, the fine carving of which is distinctive (*I.N.* VII, no. T11, *I.N.* V, nos. 281, 424).

Some T10 fragments show the forelegs or hindquarters of couchant sphinxes or lions (nos. T4-T9). These have fine triple frames, as do the SW37 sphinx (*I.N.* IV, no. 622), and the seated sphinx and legs of two standing sphinxes from NW21 (*I.N.* V, nos. 411, 422-423).

The remarkably fine and crisp work of this group is easy to recognize. In *I.N.* V, from a small sample of fragments, it was suggested that this group formed part of the Intermediate tradition (*I.N.* V, 34). However, both the elegant style and proportions and the presence of panels with double frames not only suggests that the group fits more comfortably into the Phoenician tradition but also that it should form part of the ‘Classic Phoenician’ group.

#### *Specifically Phoenician motifs, Fig. 2n*

Some Egyptian motifs, such as the *wedjat* eye, the *aegis* of the goddess Bastet, the scarab beetle, the god Bes, the ape or the use of hieroglyphs, seem to be specific to Phoenician ivories, occurring on a range of Phoenician panels and plaques, including, of course, the Egyptianizing group. They have not so far been recognized on Syrian-Intermediate or North Syrian pieces.

The *wedjat* eye, sometimes with a raised human arm, sometimes with an *uraeus*, occurs on many Egyptianizing panels, such as *I.N.* IV, nos. 968-970, 984-998 or 1008 (Fig. 2b, Row 2). It is also a popular motif on shield-shaped blinkers from SW37, some of which are simply incised and painted, others modelled and inlaid (Fig. 3o). In some examples the hand grasps a ram-headed sceptre – a few rest on a basket or *nwb* (*I.N.* I, nos. 1-32, 119-121). There are matching triangular frontlets (*I.N.* I, nos. 131-133). Other examples of this motif include a small rectangle with an incised *wedjat* eye, (*I.N.* IV, no. 1215) and a unique panel from SW11/12 with a seated Pharaoh holding up a *wedjat* eye and saluting it (*I.N.* VII, no. 165).

A *scarab beetle* forms the central feature on a papyrus boat on an Egyptianizing panel, *I.N.* IV, no. 991 (Fig. 2a, Row 2). A fine cloisonné fragment from SE9 with large shaped inlays emphasizes the Egyptian inspiration for the use of the beetle, which is accompanied by a pair of crowned leonine heads reminiscent of Bes, with a flexed arm above an *ankh* sign on the broken right edge (*I.N.* V, 197). A fragment from SW37 may form part of a similar panel: note the possible top of the crown, perhaps of Bes, the bird and snake and the wings, perhaps of a beetle, on the right edge (*I.N.* IV, 1125). The beetle is associated with Bes on an incised Egyptianizing piece, *I.N.* VII, no. 24. With a female head it forms the central feature of one of the Unusually Shaped Ivories, *I.N.* IV, no. 1265 (Fig. 2l, Row 2).

Two unfortunately fragmentary but unique panels from SW11/12 were carved on both sides (*I.N.* VII, nos. 95 and 96). These partially openwork pieces occupy at least three registers with winged ram-headed gods separated by panels with winged scarab beetles (Fig. 3d). The beetles can be compared to fragments from SW11/12 and T10, *I.N.* VII, nos. 36 and T120-T125. Scarab beetles also occur on spade-shaped blinkers, *I.N.* I, nos. 42-43 (Fig. 3o).

A unique, three-register trapezoidal plaque contains a range of Phoenician-specific motifs (Fig. 3s), not only the crowned scarab beetle in the top register, flanked by a bird and another animal, but also a pair of deities, perhaps representing the Sun-god, Re-Horakhte, and the Moon-god, Thoth, carrying pen and scroll. At the top a rectangle is inscribed with pseudo-hieroglyphs, and at the bottom there is an ape (*I.N.* IV, no. 255).

Scarab beetles can be seen on trapezoidal plaques from SW37 and NE26. *I.N.* IV, no. 187 forms part of a set with the *aegis* of no. 186. The beetle and *aegis* of the two register plaques of *I.N.* IV, nos. 230 and 231 (Fig. 2n) are associated with a double-voluted tree and a couchant sphinx, and with a seated sphinx on a multi-register plaque from Room SW37 (Fig. 3s: *I.N.* IV, no. 249). A series of

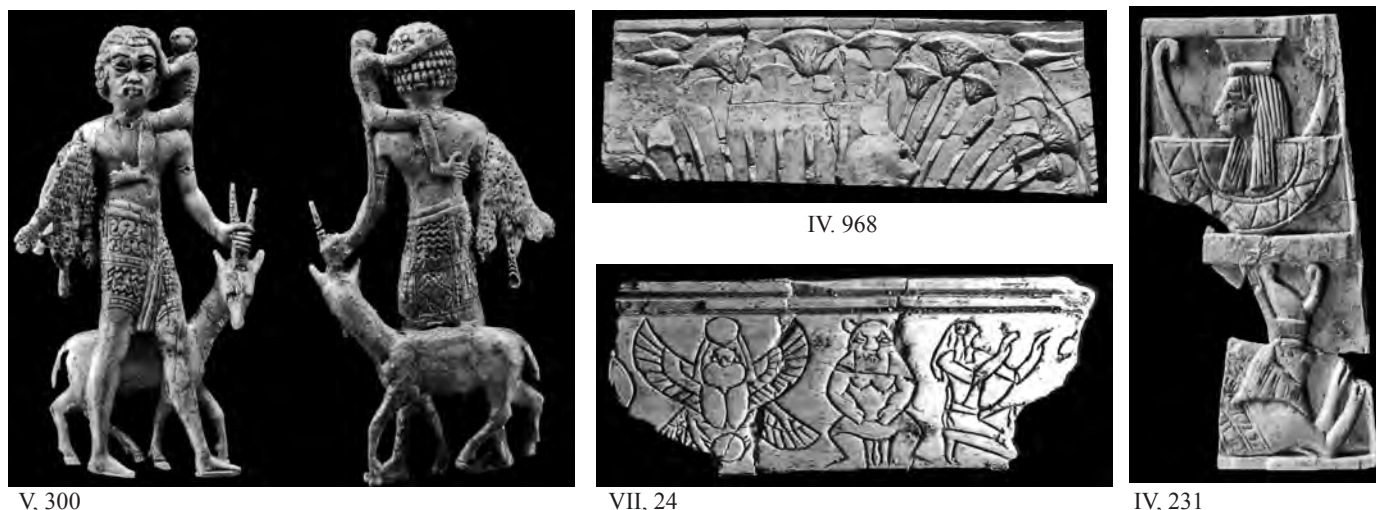


Fig. 2n. Statuette from Room NE2, and Egyptianizing motifs occurring on Phoenician ivories, including the wedjat eye, scarab beetle, aegis, Bes and apes.

motifs, including a *wedjat* eye, occupy a small rectangular plaque, *I.N.* IV, no. 189. These all illustrate the range of Phoenician motifs.

The *aegis* of the goddess Bastet is employed relatively rarely on the ivories. Kitchen noted that this motif became popular in the first millennium in Egypt (Kitchen 1986, 39). There are two fine Phoenician, openwork panels with opposed, winged Pharaoh figures flanking the *aegis* set on voluted palmette columns, one from SW11/12 and the other from T10 (*I.N.* VII, nos. 61, T71). The men are set in a field of voluted palmette flowers and wear slightly squashed versions of the Egyptian double crown or the sun-disc and *uraei* crown, and long open skirts with decorated borders. A trapezoidal plaque from SW37 shows a falcon-headed figure with the Egyptian double crown kneeling to half an *aegis* on a floral column (*I.N.* IV, no. 41). The *aegis* is also employed on some trapezoidal plaques, in the same sets as scarab beetles.

Other examples include an Egyptianizing bridle frontlet with a crowned *aegis* flanked by *uraei* (Fig. 3o: *I.N.* I, no.183, *I.N.* VII, no. 34), a short frieze with a central *aegis* and two half-*aegis* and a fragment with an *aegis* from Room SE1 (*I.N.* V, nos. 238 and 218). The *aegis* carved in the round presumably formed the central feature of larger pieces (*I.N.* VII, nos. 29-33): the leonine head might be represented centrally or to right or left.

There are a number of representations on Phoenician ivories of the *Egyptian god, Bes*, the genie of luck. He is shown as a small, free-standing statuette (*I.N.* VI, no. 269) and on the lower sections with a warrior god above on the hinged frontlets of the Group 1 bridle harness (Fig. 3r: *I.N.* VI, nos. 245-247). There are two incised panels, one with a pair of Bes figures flanking a palm tree with apes, with birds flying above (*I.N.* IV, no. 1217) and another with a scarab beetle and a falcon-headed male (*I.N.* VII, no. 24). Finally, there are two fragmentary panels with probable representations of the god with scarab beetles (*I.N.* IV, no. 1125, *I.N.* V, no. 197). There are also Bes-heads from Salamis (Karageorghis 1974, *Salamis V, Necropolis*, pl. LXX, nos. 200, 219), a reference pointed out to me by Dirk Wicke.

The *ape* is another motif confined to Phoenician ivories. Perhaps the most remarkable representation of the ape is on two of the set of six openwork statuettes of men leading animals with other creatures on their shoulders, found in a niche in Room NE2. *I.N.* V, nos. 298 and 300 show Egyptians leading gazelles and with apes on their shoulders (Fig. 2n).

In addition to the trapezoidal plaque (Fig. 3s: *I.N.* IV, no. 255), and to a fragment of an openwork Unusually Shaped Ivory of the Classic Phoenician group (Fig. 2l, Row 3 right: *I.N.* VII, no. 250), apes

can be seen on two unique panels from SW37. On one, a lion-headed male wearing the sun-disc and *uraeus* crown holds a crowned papyrus sceptre in one hand and salutes an ape squatting on a lotus column (*I.N.* IV, no. 336). The second is an openwork panel with a lion-headed male placed centrally and facing out. He grasps a pair of short papyrus columns, crowned with cartouches and feathers. Apes crouch beside him, their paws to their mouths (*I.N.* IV, no. 293). Partially similar is a fragment in two registers with a similarly-sited, four-winged figure, holding a crowned *uraeus* in his right hand (*I.N.* IV, no. 384).

Finally, as mentioned above, an incised plaque (*I.N.* IV, no. 1217) has a pair of Bes figures and apes either side of a palm tree.

*Hieroglyphs or pseudo-hieroglyphs, Fig. 3r.* The half-scarab of Taharqa (*I.N.* V, no. 178) is probably the only ivory found at Nimrud, which was carved in Egypt. Since most hieroglyphs are corrupted versions of standard, common inscriptions, Kitchen considers it unlikely that they would have been carved in Egypt, except possibly by Phoenician craftsmen working in the Delta (*I.N.* IV, chapter IV). If decipherable, they contain common phrases, such as ‘Words spoken by ...’ (Kitchen, *I.N.* IV, 40). Not surprisingly, most examples of hieroglyphs or pseudo-hieroglyphs, whether in raised rectangles or cartouches, occur on Classic Phoenician ivories, especially on Egyptianizing ivories (Figs. 2a-b), see list. Cartouches framed by *uraei* but lacking hieroglyphs can be seen on *I.N.* IV, nos. 952-953.

Classic Phoenician panels with goddesses or queens have rectangles with inset hieroglyphs, and there are traces on one of the furniture elements (Fig. 2d-e). Hieroglyphs in cartouches can be seen on Classic Phoenician Group 2 bridle harness with gods and goddesses (Fig. 3n), and on a panel with opposed seated sphinxes (*I.N.* IV, no. 642).

Ornate Group ivories, being openwork, are fragile, and few hieroglyphs, if originally present, survive. Hieroglyphs in a rectangle occur on the Ornate Group hero and griffin panel from SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 190 (Fig. 2i, Row 2): similar, but plain rectangles, which may have been intended for an inscription, can be seen on *I.N.* IV, no. 1049. There are also plain rectangles on *I.N.* VII, nos. 170-172, panels with kneeling males, one of which is slightly trapezoidal with a double frame at right, cf. *I.N.* VII, no. 149. Three fragmentary panels of the ‘Crinkly Hair’ group from SW11/12 contain raised rectangles with crudely incised hieroglyphs (Fig. 3e: *I.N.* VII, nos. 148, 149 and 151).

There are three groups of trapezoidal plaques decorated with hieroglyphs or pseudo-hieroglyphs (Fig. 3r). Two sets are finely worked and can be assigned to the Classic Phoenician group, while the third is generally Phoenician. All the signs are in relief: the background would have been filled with colour. There are also three, relatively crude plaques with a range of motifs and signs (*I.N.* IV, nos. 196-198).

### *Inlays, Colour Plates LXVII-LXVIII*

While specific motifs, style and proportion are all guides to identifying Phoenician ivories, technical features are also extremely important. The inlay techniques on Phoenician ivories are the finest, most varied and complex and are typical of Classic Phoenician ivories. As illustrated in the panel with the falcon-headed winged god of ND 6328 (*I.N.* V, no. 496 – Colour Plate LXVIIIId) areas to be coloured were hollowed out, and the walls of the cloisons covered with gold foil. This gold only rarely survives *in situ*, presumably having been ripped off prior to deposition. The interior was filled with a frit or paste, acting as a bedding for a thin layer of glass, or occasionally stone. Much of the bedding survives in ND 6328. The coloured ground material would have been mixed with an adhesive or binding agent prior to its insertion.

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

The colour of the bedding is usually red or blue, still surviving in the wings of the openwork Ornate Group fragment of a youth with a bird between his wings, ND 8068 (*I.N.* V, 177 – Colour Plate XIII). Analyses by the British Museum (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 1975, 240) identified the blue material as Egyptian blue (and see Moorey 1994, 186-189). When inlays were examined by X-ray diffraction in the Department of Archaeology at the University of Leicester, the blue was, as expected, Egyptian blue, while the red was iron oxide (haematite –  $\text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3$ ). Yellow and green were also employed, the yellow being a yellow ochre or limonite ( $\text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3 \cdot 2\text{H}_2\text{O}$ : *I.N.* IV, 59).

Another feature of this ivory is the pegged wig. As can be seen on the Well NN plaque, ND 2548 (*I.N.* VI, 356a: Colour Plate LXVIIb), sections of ivory were left high and covered with gold, some of which survives. The areas between the pegs were filled with blue frit, and cylinders of ivory or glass of varying sizes fitted in. The blue bedding is clearly visible in the pegged wig, in the eye and in the edges of the crown and the collar in the fragment of the head of a Pharaoh, ND 10364 (*I.N.* IV, no. 1058: Colour Plate LXVIIId). So also are a number of the cylinders held by the pegs.

Wigs were inlaid in a variety of ways. While the pegged wig is diagnostic of panels of the Ornate Group, some wigs on both Egyptianizing and Ornate Group panels were decorated with long cloisons, as can be seen on the panel where Isis is suckling Horus, ND 10509 (*I.N.* IV, no. 1019 – Colour Plate LXVIIa). This panel also shows the shaped cloison of the sidelock of Horus. Like the sidelock, inlays of wigs might be cut as single shaped pieces. In the fine Egyptianizing panel, ND 10702 (*I.N.* IV, no. 992: Colour Plate III), the wigs of the Ba-birds and the flowers of the papyrus boat would have been formed of specially shaped pieces of glass, set on the usual frit bedding. Indeed, this piece shows the variety of the shapes of the specially prepared inlays, from the long pieces forming the boat, to the *wedjat* eye, and the *uraei* and crown. No trace of colour survives.

The superb pyxis found by the Iraq Department of Antiquities and Heritage in Well AJ (IM 79516, *I.N.* VI, no. 258: Colour Plate LXVIII f) shows the blue crown of the Pharaoh and the wig and beard of his follower cut from single pieces of inlay, while the edges of the garments and the staff of the sceptre were worked in ‘alternate inlay’. Alternate inlay is when a raised or modelled line is formed of alternating cylinders of ivory and glass and most frequently employed for a march-pattern background (Fig. 2a). This technique is found in Egypt in contexts going back to the New Kingdom (Kitchen 1986, 40-41).

Survival of the actual inlays *in situ* is rare. Usually these were made of glass, of which many examples were found loose at Nimrud (Saldern 1966, 632-633; Barnett, *C.N.I.*, 1975, 156-157; Barag 1983, 163-167; 1985; Curtis 1999, 59-69; Fiorina 2009, 45, fig. 17). There are, however, examples when the inlays set on the frit bedding were stones rather than glass. The best-known example is, of course, the magnificent plaque from Well NN of the North West Palace, one of a pair, showing a lioness mauling a youth in a field of flowers ND 2548 (*I.N.* VI, no. 356a: Colour Plate LXVIIb). In addition to the areas of gold overlay surviving on the pegged wig and skirt of the youth and on the stalks of the flowers, there are many traces of the blue bedding and some of the actual stone inlays: thin pieces of lapis lazuli for the lotus flowers and rounded domes of carnelian for the papyrus flowers.

While traces survive of red and blue frit beddings on many ivories, there are also some coloured only in blue: these were often carved on thinner plaques or panels (Fig. 2h, Row 3 right). The Ornate Group fragment from SW37, ND 13524 (*I.N.* IV, no. 1096: Colour Plates, XII, LXXVIIc), shows a winged youth with *uraeus* in a field of papyrus flowers saluting a sceptre and cartouche. Neither the gold nor the glass or stone inlays survive, but there are many traces of the bright blue bedding.

Exceptionally fine inlays can be seen on the fragment of an Ornate Group Pharaoh, ND 9516 (*I.N.* IV, no. 1082: Colour Plate LXVIIe). The surface of the Red Crown is filled with tiny circular cloisons,

and the cloisons of the collar are crescent and droplet shaped. There is a small group of similar, finely-worked ivories (Fig. 2h, Row 2 : *I.N.* IV, nos. 1081, 1083-1084 and *I.N.* V, no. 224), presumably parts of a single set or workshop group.

Two different techniques were employed on the cartouches and rectangles containing *hieroglyphs*. In one, the sign was in relief and covered with gold, while the background was hollowed out and inlaid, possibly with specially cut pieces of glass, as in ND 13142 (*I.N.* IV, no. 979: Colour Plate LXVIIIe). In the other the sign was hollowed out and filled with inlay against a higher, plain background (*I.N.* IV, nos. 975-976, 978, 995). This is a form of ‘*champ-levé*’, a technique also applied to plaques and a few panels (Fig. 2k), of which relatively few examples have been found.

Early studies of glass and inlays in the 1980s suggested that such specialized work may have been concentrated in a few centres or may have indicated a later date of production (Barag 1983). It was for these reasons that in *Ivories from Nimrud IV* the relatively few coloured ivories were catalogued separately from the rest of the collection. However, even in *I.N.* IV such a division clearly proved to be artificial, with obvious similarities between monochrome and inlaid ivories both of the Egyptianizing group and with the then-named ‘scaley wing’ group, now the ‘Crown and Scale’ group of the Syrian-Intermediate tradition (*I.N.* IV, 19, 15). That the same centres worked both plain and inlaid ivories has since been demonstrated across the traditions. However, while some centres indeed carved both, it may be that this highly specialized work was concentrated in only a few centres, just as elaborate inlaid furniture and small objects are made today in Damascus and Isfahan. The work of the two centres is similar but recognizably different.

All these different varieties of inlays are represented on ivories of the Egyptianizing group, the Pharaoh statuettes and furniture elements, the Ornate Group and the Unusually Shaped ivories. These ivories are stylistically and technically coherent. Indeed, it may be that *all* inlaid Phoenician ivories were a speciality of highly skilled Phoenician craftsmen, who may have worked in a single centre.

#### *Painting and a different inlay, Figs. 2o and p*

The designs on some ivories were incised and then emphasized by painting, although the original colours rarely survive. It seems probable that most incised ivories were highlighted with colour. Traces survive on the headcloth, body and wings of the couchant sphinx of ND 13933 (*I.N.* VII, no. 25: Colour Plate LXVIIIb). Burnt fragments from T10 also show couchant sphinxes, which were painted alternately, on the headcloths, collars and wings – the paint doesn’t actually survive but is shown by differential burning (*I.N.* VII, nos. T23-T33).

Other fragments from T10 show wings with feathers alternately excised or left high (*I.N.* VII, nos.



Fig. 2o. Remains of painting on ivories, *I.N.* VII, nos. 25 and T23

*Ivories from Nimrud VII*



*Fig. 2p. Ivories with the wings alternately raised or inlaid.*

T56-57, T60), thus apparently copying the practice of the painters in relief. A few fragments of this unusual technique were also found in Room SW37 (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1156-1157). A long panel with a winged disc from NW21, *I.N.* V, no. 436, also has the outspread wings inlaid alternately.

*List of Ivories of the Phoenician Tradition: I**Egyptianizing*

- North West Palace, Room A, *I.N.* VI, no. 82 – lion in floral field, fragment  
 North West Palace, Room V/W, X, *I.N.* VI, nos. 146-147 – seated goddesses, central cartouche  
 North West Palace, Room V/W, X, *I.N.* VI, nos. 148-156 – fragments  
 North West Palace, Room V/W, X, *I.N.* VI, no. 157 – seated Horus and goddess  
 North West Palace, Room V/W, X, *I.N.* VI, nos. 179, 193 – fragments  
 North West Palace, Well NN, *I.N.* VI, nos. 357-358 – sphinx suckling in floral field  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 952-956 – cartouches  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 957-962 – assorted hieroglyphs  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 963 – seated god  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 964 – Tauert on *nwb*  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 965 – fragment with *nwb*  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 968-972 – figures in curving floral fields  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 973 – bovid in field  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 974-981 – hieroglyphs and cartouches  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 982-983 – *atef* crowns  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 984-986, 988 – *wedjat* eyes  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 987 – base of *djed*  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 989-993 – assorted motifs in boats  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 994-996 – Horus on lotus and deities  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 997-998, 1002 – scenes of worship  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 999 – scene of worship + Pappalardo 2006, no. 406, pls. xliv, lxi, fig. 5  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1003-1004 – scenes of worship with kneeling youths  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1005-1007 – kneeling youths with notched branches  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1008-1009 – *wedjat* eyes and falcons with altars  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1010, 1013 – sphinx fragments and flora  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1014 – suckling cow in floral field, pyxis  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1015-1017 – suckling lionesses in floral fields  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1018-1022 – suckling goddesses in floral fields  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1023-1025 – fragments of floral fields  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1026 – squatting Horus in floral fields  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1027-1028 – squatting youths in floral fields  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1029-1030 – boats with deities in papyrus marshes  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE9, *I.N.* V, no. 197 – scarab beetle, crowned Bes?  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE3, *I.N.* V, no. 225 – *wedjat* eye on *nwb*  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE13, *I.N.* V, nos. 291-292 – kneeling youths, notched palm branches  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room NE9, *I.N.* V, no. 313 – kneeling youth in boat  
 Fort Shalmaneser, unprovenanced, *I.N.* V, no. 501 – *wedjat* eye  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 24 – incised, beetle, Bes, human  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 37 – floral field and *wedjat* eye  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 38 – opposed sphinxes, central cartouche  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 39 – opposed kneeling youths, central cartouche  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 40 – kneeling youth on *nwb*, notched palm branch  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 41-44 – fragments

*Furniture fittings, youths and goddesses**Three-sided fittings*

- North West Palace, Room FF, *I.N.* VI, no. 346  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1043-1044  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 47-49

*Openwork fragments*

- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1045-1046, 1048 – fragments of youths  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1047 – fragments of goddess

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

### *Panels with goddesses*

- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW7, *I.N.* III, no. 88 – winged
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1032-1038 – long dress
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1039-1040 – winged
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE1, *I.N.* V, no. 208 – frag. winged
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 45-46 – winged

### *Pharaoh statues and other statuettes*

- North West Palace, Room V/W, X, *I.N.* VI, nos. 162-170 – faces, apron, limbs, feet
- North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N.* VI, no. 260 – face in pegged wig
- Burnt Palace, Barnett, *C.N.I.*, pl. xcvi-xcvii, S314, S342, S344, S349
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1285-1291 – faces
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1292-1295 – bodies
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1302-1304 – crowns
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1305-1309 – ears
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1311-1324 – limbs
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* VII, Appendix 7, ND 7987 – monochrome body and limbs
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room NE59, *I.N.* V, no. 334 – face and wig
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room NW5, *I.N.* V, no. 347-349 – arms
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room NE2, *I.N.* V, nos. 298-303 – NE2 Group of statuettes
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room NE2, *I.N.* V, nos. 293-294, 297 – NE2 Group of heroes, fragmentary
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 677 – crown
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 678-685 – faces
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 686-687 – wigs
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 688 – head and chest
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 689-691 – bodies
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 692-697 – limbs

### *Classic Phoenician Pharaohs with sceptres and jugs*

- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 64-82

### *Openwork Ornate Group furniture panels*

#### *a. Ivories with polychrome inlays*

- North West Palace, Room HH, *I.N.* VI, no. 313 – floral fragment
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1049-1050 – kneeling youths
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1051-1053 – heroes and griffins
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1054-1055 – rampant griffin
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1056-1061 – winged or unwinged youths
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1062 – falcon-headed god
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1063-1070 – fragments of youths
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1071-1072 – sphinx fragments
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1073-1074 – birds
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1075-1080 – trees and flora
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1085 – squatting figure on lotus
- Fort Shalmaneser, Trench X, *I.N.* V, no. 177 – winged youth and bird
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE5, *I.N.* V, nos. 200-201 – sphinx, tree
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room NE18, *I.N.* V, no. 341 – winged youth, fragment
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room NE18, *I.N.* V, no. 343 – winged sphinx, fragment
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room NE18, *I.N.* V, no. 345 – fragment, flora
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room NW15, *I.N.* V, no. 471 – griffin
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW2, *I.N.* V, no. 480 – youth, fine inlay
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW2, *I.N.* V, nos. 481-482 – trees
- Fort Shalmaneser, West of Room SW7, *I.N.* V, no. 496 – falcon headed god
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 128, 132, 135 – youths, fragmentary
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 143 – kneeling falcon-headed god
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 206 – rampant griffin fragment
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 373, 375-377, 378, 381, 383, 385, 388-390, 392 – sphinxes
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 399-400, 405 – trees, flora

*b. Ivories with figures in a floral background*

- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1095-1100 – gods and youths
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1101 – griffin
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1102-1103 – empty cartouches
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1104-1105 – youths
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room S16, *I.N.* V, no. 90 – hero and griffin fragment
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW21, *I.N.* V, no. 484 – griffin fragment
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 139-140 – gods in floral field

*c. Ivories with blue inlays*

- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1082, 1086 – winged youth
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1087-1088 – hero and griffin fragments
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1089-1092 – youths
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1094 – wing fragments
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE3, *I.N.* V, no. 224 – kneeling Pharaoh
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room NE59, *I.N.* V, no. 333 – youth
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room NE18, *I.N.* V, no. 336 – fragment of youth
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room NE18, *I.N.* V, no. 342 – griffin fragment
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room NE18, *I.N.* V, no. 344 – fragments of trees
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room NW21, *I.N.* V, nos. 427-428 – fragments of trees
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW2, *I.N.* V, nos. 481-482 – trees
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 125-127, 130 – fragments of youths
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 141 – falcon-headed god
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 195 – youth
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 203 – rampant griffin frag
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 378, 385 – sphinx
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 398 – flora

*d. Ivories lacking surviving colour*

- North West Palace, Well NN, *I.N.* VI, nos. 357-358 – suckling sphinx
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1055 – rampant griffin
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1081, 1083-1084 – fine inlay fragments of youths
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1093 – head of youth
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW2, *I.N.* V, nos. 479 – cow and calf
- Fort Shalmaneser, Unprovenanced, *I.N.* V, no. 504 – head
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 123-124, 129, 131, 133-134, 136-138 – fragments of youths
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 142 – falcon-headed god
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 194 – head
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 196-200 – hero and griffin fragments
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 201 – sphinx
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 201-202, 204-205, 207-210 – griffins
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 371-372, 374, 379-380 – sphinx fragments
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 382 – head
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 386-387 – sphinx/griffin fragments
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 384, 391, 393-395 – wings
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 401-404 – tree fragments
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 413-414 – sphinx fragment
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW12, *I.N.* VII, no. 415 – sphinx trampling man fragment

*e. Plain or Modelled Ornate Group Ivories*

- North West Palace, *I.N.* VI, no. 208 – winged youth
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 418-419, 429-455, 527-529, 546-548 – sphinxes
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 778-779 – trees
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room NW21, *I.N.* V, no. 425 – crown
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room NW21, *I.N.* V, no. 429 – flora
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 103 – winged youth
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 107 – youth
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 119 – head
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 187-193 – hero and griffin
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 300-349 – sphinxes

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

### *Panels with striated backs*

- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 144 – inlaid winged youth
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 145 – inlaid bottom of tree and youth
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 146 – youth and sceptre
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 167-169 – monochrome kneeling Pharaohs
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 413 – inlaid falcon-headed sphinx fragment
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 415 – inlaid sphinx trampling youth

### *Long panels, monochrome and inlaid*

- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW7, *I.N.* III, nos. 97-98 – long panels with winged discs
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 610 – monochrome sphinxes, back to back
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 615 – monochrome opposed griffins and tree
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 617 – monochrome kneeling men and griffins
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 619 – monochrome opposed sphinxes
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 655 – monochrome sphinxes
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 656 – monochrome sphinxes trampling Asiatics
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1107 – inlaid sphinxes and floriated trees
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1110 – inlaid falcon-headed sphinxes
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1111-1115 – inlaid sphinxes trampling youths
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room NE59, *I.N.* V, no. 331 – opposed falcon-headed sphinxes
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room NE courtyard, *I.N.* V, no. 346 – part of inlaid winged disc
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 416 – monochrome opposed sphinxes and tree

### *Champ-levé plaques and panels*

- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1171-1175 – griffin and trees
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1176 – hero and griffin
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1177-1178 – winged gods
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1179 – hero and lion
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1180 – falcon-headed sphinx
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1182 – leaping youth
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1181, 1183-1184 – assorted fragments
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1196-1197 – trees
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1198-1208 – assorted flora
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37/A1, Follis 2009, 58, fig. 13 – sphinx, tree, floral frieze
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 670-675 – fragments, winged figures and flora

### *Ribbed champ-levé*

- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1185 – winged god
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1186 – kneeling youth above sphinx
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1187-1191 – fragments, incl. floral
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1192-1193 – fragments of youths
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1194-1195 – tree and flora

### *Unusually Shaped Ivories*

- North West Palace, Rooms V/W, X, *I.N.* VI, no. 158 – inlaid griffins
- North West Palace, Well NN, *I.N.* VI, no. 356 – inlaid lioness attacking youth, insets
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1251 – monochrome griffins
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1252-1254 – inlaid griffins
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1255-1256 – monochrome floral fragments
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1257-1258 – inlaid griffins
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1259 – inlaid falcon-headed sphinx, fragment
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1260-1264 – inlaid squatting Horus and fragments
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1265 – inlaid winged scarab with human head
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1266-1268 – inlaid suckling sphinx, inset and fragments
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1269-1270 – inlaid floral fragments
- Fort Shalmaneser, Corridor E, *I.N.* V, no. 97 – inlaid squatting Horus
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room NW21, *I.N.* V, no. 426 – inlaid top of crown
- Fort Shalmaneser, unprovenanced, *I.N.* V, no. 502 – inlaid fragment from side
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 245-246 – inlaid griffins
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 247 – inlaid seated human-headed sphinx

*Openwork examples*

- North West Palace, Room V/W, X, *I.N.* VI, nos. 159-161, 192 – inlaid griffins  
 North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N.* VI, no. 261 – inlaid, two register, ? sphinx  
 North West Palace, Room HH, no. 309 – base only  
 Burnt Palace, Barnett, C.N.I., 1975, 216, pls. xc, xcv, S323-S329 – fragments of frame only  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 791-792 – monochrome parts of frame only  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 248-249 – inlaid parts of frames  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 250 – inlaid part of frame with ape

*The 'Finely carved' group*

- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 620 = T12 from T10 not SW37 – opposed sphinxes  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 622 – sphinx  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE10, *I.N.* V, no. 281 – tree  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room NW21, *I.N.* V, no. 411 – seated sphinx  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room NW21, *I.N.* V, nos. 415-419 – wings  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room NW21, *I.N.* V, no. 420 – openwork frontal head  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room NW21, *I.N.* V, nos. 421-423 – sphinx fragments  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room NW21, *I.N.* V, no. 424 – fragment of tree  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room T10, *I.N.* VII, nos. T1-T3 – openwork sphinxes  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room T10, *I.N.* VII, nos. T4-T9 – couchant sphinxes  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room T10, *I.N.* VII, no. T10 – wing  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room T10, *I.N.* VII, no. T11 – openwork tree  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room T10, *I.N.* VII, nos. T12-T22 – sphinxes and trees

*Specifically Phoenician Motifs**Wedjat Eye*

- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* I, nos. 1-33, 119-121 – blinkers,  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* I, nos. 131-134 – frontlets  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 196 – plaque with assorted motifs  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 951, 957, 959, 968-970, 984-986, 988, 992, 1008, 1021, 1023, 1025  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1215 – incised rectangle,  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE3, *I.N.* V, no. 225,  
 Fort Shalmaneser, unprovenanced, *I.N.* V, no. 501  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 165 – seated youth holding *wedjat* eye

*Scarab beetles*

- Burnt Palace. Barnett, C.N.I., 1975, S151a, pl. lxiv – fragmentary multi-register plaque  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* I, nos. 42-43 – blinkers  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 187-188 – trapezoidal plaques  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 196 – plaque with range of motifs  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 230, 249 – multi register plaques  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 255 – complex trapezoidal plaque  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 967 – fragment  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 991, 1121 – Egyptianizing  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1265 – human headed, Unusually Shaped Ivory  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room S10, *I.N.* V, no. 149 – two register plaque  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE9, *I.N.* V, no. 197 – Egyptianizing  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room NE26, *I.N.* V, nos. 314-315 – trapezoidal plaques  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 24 – incised Egyptianizing, Bes and beetle  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 35 – Egyptianizing pyxis, winged beetle  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 36, 95-96 – openwork, multi-register  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room T10, *I.N.* VII, nos. T120-T125 – fragmentary multi-register

*Aegis of the goddess Bastet*

- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 41, 186, 189 – trapezoidal plaques  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 231, 249 – multi-register plaques  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1366 – in the round  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room S10, *I.N.* V, no. 148 – two-register plaque

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE1, *I.N.* V, no. 218 – fragment  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE10, *I.N.* V, no. 238 – frieze  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 29-33 – in the round  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* I, no. 183, *I.N.* VII, no. 34 – frontlet  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 61 – opposed gods  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room T10, *I.N.* VII, no. T71 – opposed gods

### *Bes*

North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N.* VI, nos. 245-247 – Group 1 frontlets  
North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N.* VI, no. 269 – statuette  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1125 – trace with griffin, snake and beetle  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1217 – incised Bes with tree, apes and birds  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1360 – fragment of head of Bes  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE9, *I.N.* V, no. 197 – Bes head with beetle  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 24 – incised with beetle and falcon headed male

### *Apes*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 255 – 3 register plaque with beetle, gods and ape  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 293 – Lion-headed male with apes  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 336 – lion-headed male with ape on lotus  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1217 – box with Bes, apes and palm tree  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room NE2, *I.N.* V, nos. 298, 300 – statuettes with apes on shoulders  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 250 – fragment of Unusually Shaped Ivory

### *Hieroglyphs*

Fort Shalmaneser, near West Wall, *I.N.* V, no. 178 – Taharqa half-scarab

### *Hieroglyphs in vertical or horizontal boxes or strips*

North West Palace, Room V/W, *I.N.* VI, no. 155 – Egyptianizing fragment  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 957-959, 961, 978-981, 995-996; Follis 2009, figs. 29-30 – Egyptianizing  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1035-1036 – Classic Phoenician goddesses  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1049 – plain rectangle  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 42-43 – Egyptianizing  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 46 – Classic Phoenician goddess fragment  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 49 – Classic Phoenician 3-sided post  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 148-149, 151 – Phoenician, crinkly hair  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 190 – Classic Phoenician hero and griffin  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 170-172 – Phoenician, plain rectangles

### *Hieroglyphs in cartouches*

North West Palace, Room V/W, *I.N.* VI, nos. 146-147, 150, 153 – Egyptianizing  
North West Palace, Wells AJ & NN, *I.N.* VI, nos. 252-257, 359 – Classic Phoenician bridle harness  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 642, 954-956, 974-976 – Egyptianizing  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 38-39, 41, 44 – Egyptianizing  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 952-953 – empty cartouches

### *Hieroglyphs on trapezoidal plaques*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 196-199 – range of motifs and signs  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 200-203 – Phoenician  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 204-207 – Classic Phoenician  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, Follis 2009, 61, fig. 28 – Classic Phoenician  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room NW18, *I.N.* V, no. 453 – Classic Phoenician  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 22-23 – Classic Phoenician

## CHAPTER THREE

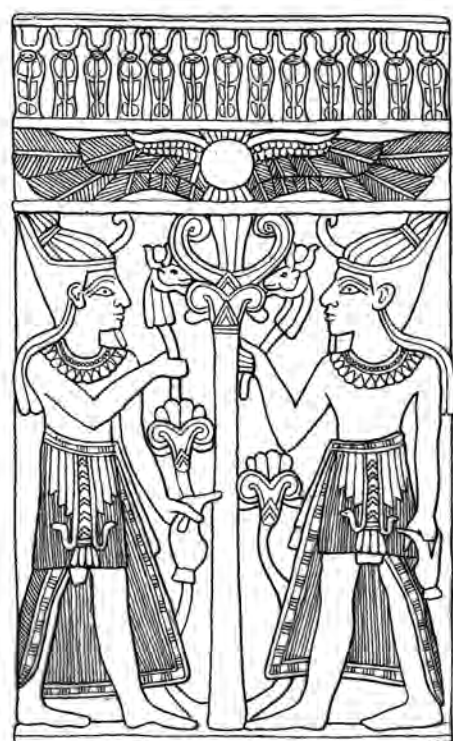
### *Ivories of the Phoenician Tradition: II*

The 'Classic Phoenician' ivories gathered in Chapter Two form a coherent stylistic and technical group. However, not surprisingly, there are many more ivories attributed to the Phoenician tradition than these. The merchant princes of the Phoenician sea-board undertook their long distance trade from independent and prosperous city states, with the wealth, and the craftsmen, capable of producing luxury goods for themselves. The ivories discussed below are typically Phoenician – indeed some may, with further analysis, be added to Classic Phoenician groups – but others form parts of different Phoenician groups probably carved in different centres. This chapter also surveys the range of subjects represented on both Classic Phoenician and Phoenician ivories.

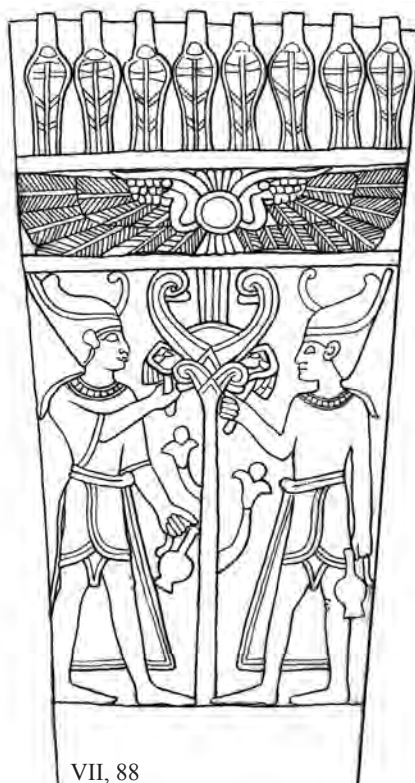
#### *People*

##### *Pharaohs with sceptres and jugs, Figs. 3a-b*

An initial similarity between the Pharaohs of *I.N.* VII, nos. 64-82 and nos. 83-93 actually serves to illustrate the differences between Classic Phoenician and ordinary Phoenician panels. Both sets show Pharaohs with sceptres and jugs flanking trees with registers of winged discs and friezes of *uraei* above. Starting with technical features, instead of the standardized, rectangular Classic panel, fixed by three keyhole slots, one near the top and a pair at the bottom, the panels of *I.N.* VII, nos. 83-93 are varied in both size and shape, and they lack the double frames of the



VII, 64



VII, 88

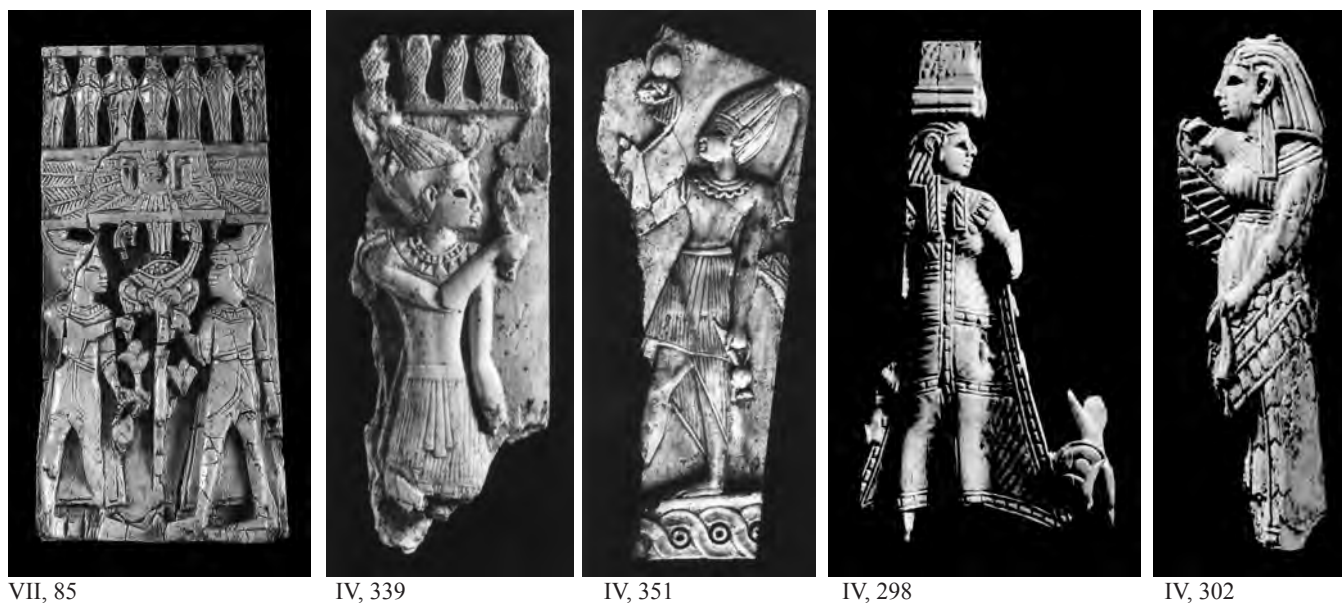
*Fig. 3a. Panels with 'Pharaohs with sceptres and jugs': 'Classic Phoenician' on the left and Phoenician on the right, drawn by Ann Searight.*

Classic versions. Many are slightly trapezoidal in form, and one, *I.N.* VII, no. 89, consists of more than one register of Pharaohs, while *I.N.* VII, no. 88 has a plain extension at the base. Furthermore, there is no indication of how they were fixed, having neither keyhole slots nor tenoning, and most have smooth backs, except for light striations on no. 96. The marks on the backs also differ, being prominent, large and deeply incised, as opposed to the rare, lightly incised marks on Classic panels.

The Pharaohs are, in addition, differently dressed. Instead of aproned skirts and long overskirts of a pleated material, they wear garments of a plain material with shawl sleeves, *shendyt* kilts and open, ankle-length skirts: there is no apron. The heads of the *uraei* flanking the winged sun-disc are recorded, while only the tails are usually shown in the Classic version – and the friezes of *uraei* are also differently carved. All these differences, particularly those of the shape and sizes of the panels, the dress and the fitter's marks, suggest that the ivories were carved in different centres.

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

The motif of a ‘worshipper raising the ram-headed staff in one hand and holding a pitcher in the other’ was a popular one, which travelled across the Levant, as has been demonstrated by Serena Cecchini (2005): she has followed versions in different media across time and space. While the Classic Phoenician panels (*I.N.* VII, nos. 64-82) are the finest examples of the design – and perhaps served as the model for the others – there are many different versions. Despite lacking the symmetry of paired figures, the three fragmentary panels with single Pharaohs with sceptre and jug can also probably be assigned to a Phoenician group (*I.N.* IV, nos. 338-341). They have Egyptian double crowns with spirals at the front and ribbons down the back, beaded collars and short pleated skirts with aprons with short ties, lacking *uraei*, a residual version of the Classic aprons. The carving is exceptionally fine with the faces beautifully modelled and the eyes excised. They are surmounted by friezes of *uraei* with bands of



*Fig. 3b. Three Phoenician versions of ‘Pharaohs with sceptres and jugs’, the Pharaohs either wearing shendyt kilts or kilts with residual ties. Two openwork panels with goddesses or queens probably forming parts of the same Phoenician style-group.*

guilloche below. The Pharaoh of *I.N.* IV, no. 351, with a variant of the crown of Upper Egypt with an additional ribbon at the back, and the fragment no. 352, are similar to the three panels. Compare the faces with excised eyes, the collars, aprons with residual ties and the sceptres and jugs with long spouts.

The faces, eyes and collars can be paralleled on some openwork panels with triple frames depicting women with tripartite wigs and long dresses with curving hems (*I.N.* IV, nos. 298-301). They hold *ankhs* and are set in a field of papyrus flowers. There is also a stylistically similar winged goddess (*I.N.* IV, no. 302).

### *Youths and tied trees, Fig. 3c*

Three Phoenician panels show pairs of tall youths in short Egyptian wigs grasping the stalks of papyrus flowers, curving out from a tied papyrus tree. Three flowers rise above their heads (*I.N.* VII, nos. 58-60). This design is based on an Egyptian original where two Nile gods tie the stems of the lily and the papyrus, symbolizing the unity of Upper and Lower Egypt. A similar scene is carved on a trapezoidal plaque from SW37, although the flowers above the heads are omitted (*I.N.* IV, no. 40). There are also examples with single rather than opposed figures (*I.N.* IV, nos. 38-39).

The same design can be seen on two poorly preserved pieces found by Layard in Room V/W of the North West Palace (*I.N.* VI, nos. 107-108) in a context with sets of Syrian-Intermediate ‘Wig and Wing’ ivories. In *I.N.* VI, it was incorrectly suggested that, despite differences in size and design, the panels ‘were probably’ part of the ‘Wig and Wing’ group. However, Scigliuzzo noted differences between *I.N.* VI, nos. 105-108 and her ‘Wig and Wing’ workshop pieces (2005, 575): these panels are more comfortably placed in the Phoenician tradition. Ongoing study necessitates many revisions of initial ideas.



VII, 58



IV, 40



VI, 107

Fig. 3c. An SW11/12 panel with Phoenician youths grasping flowers growing from a tied papyrus tree: the same design on a plaque from SW37 and a panel from the North West Palace

An interesting comparison is with a pair of tenoned panels found at Arslan Tash (Thureau Danguin *et al.* 1931, nos. 20-21, pl. xxvi), although as usual there are differences. The Arslan Tash panels are slightly larger, the youths wear the Egyptian double crown on a tripartite wig, a beaded collar and shawled garment; a Maat figure is set on top of the papyrus column, the papyrus flowers are fluted and the base of the column has a criss-cross design. There are fitter's marks on the tenons.

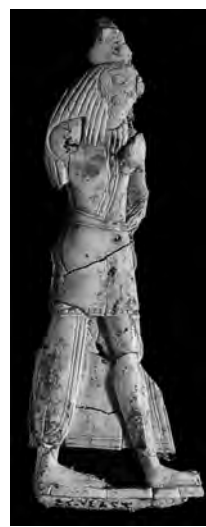
*Gods with ram and falcon headdresses on openwork panels, Fig. 3d*

An unfortunately fragmentary pair of double-sided, multi-register panels shows winged gods with ram headdresses wearing short skirts or *shendyt* kilts (I.N. VII, nos. 95-96). Above or below them are winged scarab beetles. They are similar to some tall elegant gods crowned with sun-disc and *uraeus* on falcon headdresses (I.N. VII, nos. 112-117) and can be assigned to the Phoenician tradition. Similar falcon-headed gods equipped with sceptres occur on some trapezoidal panels from SW37 (I.N. IV, nos. 25, 27 and 31-33), which form parts of larger sets with different motifs, again a typically Phoenician trait.

*Seated humans* are relatively rare. The finest example is unfortunately fragmentary, with the head broken off. The openwork figure, probably a goddess, is clad in a pleated and shawled garment and sits on a typical Egyptian chair with a scale pattern and *ankh* in the corner (I.N. IV, no. 296). The feet rest on a footstool with voluted supports. A set of five panels found in Room SW7 shows youths in short wigs seated on Egyptian chairs with the scale pattern but lacking the *ankh*, their feet also on footstools (I.N. III, nos. 77-81). The rectangular base of another chair is



VII, 95



VII, 112



IV, 33

Fig. 3d. A Phoenician panel, carved on both sides, with a scarab beetle and a god with a ram headdress, two falcon-headed gods from SW11/12 and SW37.

## Ivories from Nimrud VII

divided into four cross-banded compartments (Fig. 3e). This is sat on by a feline-headed goddess of the ‘crinkly hair’ group (*I.N.* VII, no. 164). Finally, two rather cruder panels show youths with either the Egyptian double crown or the *atef* crown wearing long garments and seated on Egyptian-style chairs. The former salutes a *wedjat* eye, supported on his left hand (*I.N.* VII, nos. 165-166).

*Kneeling figures:* Many Phoenician designs are symmetrical and consist of pairs of figures. A long Classic Phoenician panel shows scenes with pairs of griffins and kneeling youths flanking stylized trees (Fig. 2i, bottom row, *I.N.* IV, nos. 617-619). An example with kneeling youths either side of a floral column can be seen on the plaque, *I.N.* IV, no. 19 (Fig. 3q, Row 2). However, most panels and plaques with kneeling figures show single figures, including some with the elegant kneeling youths of the Classic Phoenician group (Fig. 2i, bottom row: *I.N.* VII, nos. 167-169; *I.N.* IV, nos. 12-18), discussed above. Clearly Phoenician, and possibly Classic Phoenician, is a unique panel with one curving side from SW37. This superb example shows a winged youth with a fillet and a tripartite wig, holding papyrus and voluted palmette flowers (*I.N.* IV, no. 949). Chunkier versions of a kneeling youth crowned with the sun disc and *uraeus* and wearing a pleated, shawled garment with short skirts are Phoenician rather than Classic Phoenician (*I.N.* VII, nos. 170-171), as are the panels of *I.N.* VII, nos. 172-179.

The ‘Crinkly Hair’ group (Fig. 3e) is principally distinguished by its variety of subject, shape, size and form. It includes youths with the Egyptian double crown, falcon-headed and ram-headed gods, and a series of goddesses. Unfortunately many of the panels are fragmentary, making comparisons problematic. They are united by two factors, one an unusual method of representing some, but not all, of the wigs with ‘crinkly hair’, and the other, the presence on three of them of raised rectangles with crudely incised hieroglyphs (*I.N.* VII, nos. 148, 149 and 151).

The poorly preserved no. 148 has a youth, probably wearing the Egyptian double crown, with one hand raised in salutation. No. 149 is a relatively small, slightly trapezoidal panel with double frames at the sides but single frames at top and bottom, with a falcon-headed god, crowned with a sun-disc on a ‘tripartite wig’ of crinkly hair. He holds a voluted palmette flower in one hand and raises the other. The fingers and thumb are unusually long: this feature is



*Fig. 3e. Panels of the ‘Crinkly Hair’ group, most of which have ‘crinkly’ wigs: a youth in an Egyptian crown, a falcon-headed god, and goddesses with crowns on vulture headdresses, feline-headed goddesses, one seated, and another in an Egyptian style mantle with ankh and floral flail, a head with curled and crinkly head-dress, and two wearing lotus crowns.*

characteristic of these panels. He wears a garment of a fine, pleated material with shawl sleeves, a *shendyt* kilt and a long open overskirt. Two fragments from SW11/12, which may be related, show ram-headed figures with ‘tripartite wigs’ of crinkly hair and pleated garments, *I.N.* VII, nos. 157-158.

Two feline-headed goddesses (*I.N.* VII, nos. 156 and 164), one seated on an Egyptian chair and with an *ankh* on her lap, have tripartite wigs of crinkly hair: no. 156 has a large voluted palmette flower similar to those on nos. 149 and 151. The goddesses of *I.N.* VII, nos. 150-151 have crowns on vulture headdresses with tripartite wigs of blocks rather than crinkled hair and wear long pleated garments with curving hems and patterned borders. Their lowered right hands have similar long fingers and thumbs to *I.N.* VII, no. 149. In front of the goddess of no. 151 is a Phoenician vase-stand with a two-handled amphora. Her left hand holds the stalk of a voluted palmette flower, held like a flail, over her left shoulder. *I.N.* VII, nos. 152-155 are variously preserved, but all the goddesses wear long pleated garments or mantles with shawl sleeves and curving hems. The better-preserved *I.N.* VII, no. 153 has a ‘tripartite wig’ of crinkly hair, a flail over her left shoulder and an *ankh* in her right hand. In front of her is a ram-headed figure squatting on a lotus plant.

Some fragments of queens or goddesses from SW37 may also belong to the group. The most similar is the fragment *I.N.* IV, no. 386, but *I.N.* IV, nos. 385, 387 and 393-395 all have crinkly hair. The mixed hairstyle of *I.N.* VII, no. 154, with rows of short curls above the crinkles of a tripartite wig, can be compared with *I.N.* IV, no. 393. The carving of the eyes of the group, where surviving, is also similar. Traces can be seen of a lotus crown worn by the goddess of *I.N.* IV, no. 395. A better-preserved version of this crown is worn by a fine burnt fragment from Room T10, *I.N.* VII, T97. She has crinkly hair and is similarly dressed. The lotus crown is also worn by the beautiful Well AJ statuette (Fig. 3t: *I.N.* VI, no. 287).

Two long panels and some fragments from Room SW37 show processions of men and women with a variety of crowns, the men wearing the *shendyt* kilt. The leading men carry the ram-headed sceptre and jug, while the women at the ends carry ducks (*I.N.* IV, nos. 940-945). These panels may be Phoenician: they share some similarities with the ‘crinkly hair’ group, including the carving of the eyes and hands with long fingers and the *shendyt* kilts.

*Heroes fighting griffins or lions, Fig. 3f:* As discussed in Chapter Two, there are significant differences in Phoenician and Syrian versions of this motif. Classic Phoenician examples are illustrated on the Ornate Group panels, *I.N.* IV, no. 1051 and *I.N.* VII, no. 190 (Fig. 2i, Row 2), but there are Phoenician versions on trapezoidal plaques. Two trapezoidal plaques show typical Phoenician examples, with the hero, crowned with the sun-disc and wearing the *shendyt* kilt, despatching the griffin walking by his side (*I.N.* IV, nos. 85-86). In a similar *champ-levé* version, the hero is holding his sword or spear above his head, waiting to deliver the *coup de grace* (*I.N.* IV, no. 1176). These are much less confrontational contests than Syrian-Intermediate examples on plaques or panels such as *I.N.* IV, nos. 82-84 or 316-319 Figs. 4b; t, where griffins are pinned down in flight.

Two fine trapezoidal plaques, one *champ-levé*, show a hero despatching a lion (*I.N.* IV, nos. 77 and 1179). The lions stand on their hindlegs, one of their front paws held by the youths, who thrust their spears through the beasts. The scene also occupies the upper register of a tall trapezoidal panel (*I.N.* IV, no. 254). A flowering plant, on which the lion rests a paw, can be seen between the two. In the fragmentary lower register a winged sphinx with winged *uraeus* strides over a fallen male, of whom only the legs can be seen. Another Phoenician version of a lion hunt is shown on a series of three plaques. These show first, the hunters approaching, then the actual conflict and, finally, the hindquarters of a pair of opposed lions in a papyrus field (*I.N.* IV, nos. 73-75).

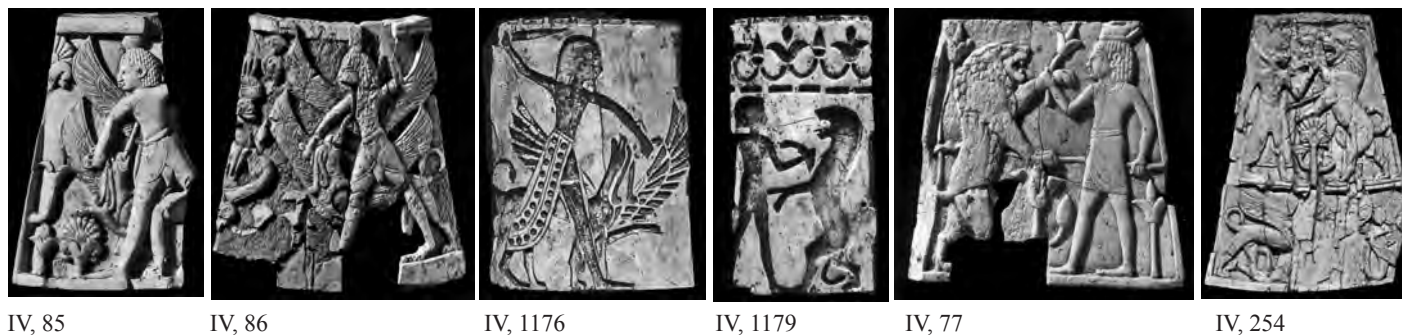


Fig. 3f. Phoenician plaques with heroes fighting griffins or lions from SW37.

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

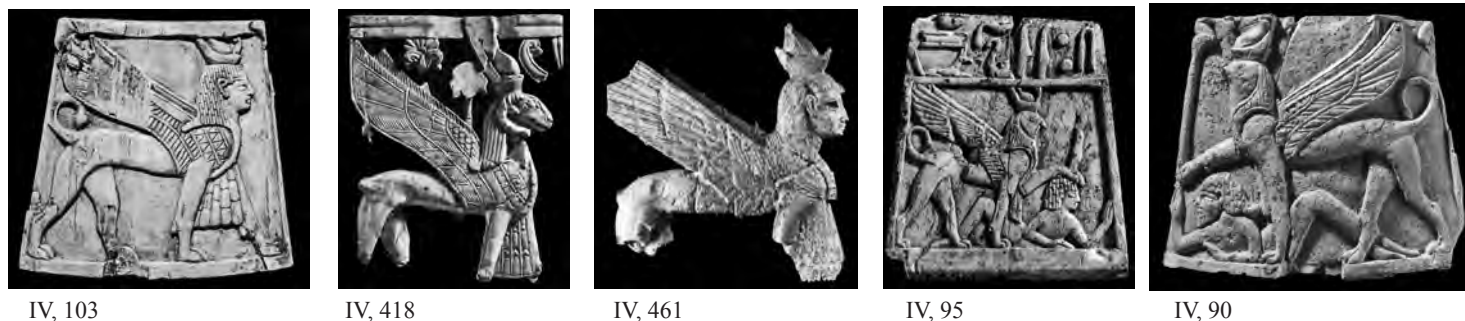
Most examples of *Women at the Window* belong to the ‘Wig and Wing’ group of the Syrian-Intermediate tradition (see discussion in *I.N.* VI, 84 and Scigliuzzo 2005, 557-607). However, one elegant set from Room S10 can be attributed to the Phoenician tradition (*I.N.* V, nos. 102-108: *I.N.* VI, 71, fig. 20), as there are a number of significant differences. The Phoenician frames have four recesses rather than the three of the Syrian examples and lack a bottom rail. The form of the balusters is simpler and more sophisticated. The faces are finely carved, and the hair is arranged smoothly over the top of the head, tied with a floral fillet, and falls in ringlets beside the face, concealing the ears. The Syrian wig carefully reveals the ears and often has elaborate earrings and a central jewel on the forehead. The faces are more rounded.

### *Sphinxes, griffins and stylized trees, Figs. 3g-k*

*Sphinxes* were perhaps *the* favourite motif of the early first millennium craftsman and representations can be found across the area, from Egypt to North Syria, to Assyria and beyond. There are many Classic Phoenician sphinxes, discussed in Chapter Two. There are also numerous examples of Phoenician sphinxes, not yet attributed to a specific group. These include many of the sphinxes on trapezoidal plaques, such as *I.N.* IV, nos. 100-114, as well as furniture panels, *I.N.* IV, nos. 418-419 and 466-468. Three fragments of finely carved human and ram-headed sphinxes (*I.N.* IV, nos. 461-463) wear either the Egyptian double crown or the *atef* crown with a rosette in the centre and are certainly Phoenician but could be Classic Phoenician. The eyes are excised, the bases of the wings decorated with a diamond pattern, and there are hooks along the edge.

*Sphinxes walking over enemies*: A lack of emotion is a feature of this popular motif derived from Egypt, of a sphinx, representing Pharaoh, walking over his enemies. There are versions on trapezoidal plaques and on Classic Phoenician long panels. The set of plaques with falcon-headed sphinxes with friezes of hieroglyphs above (*I.N.* IV, nos. 95-97) reinforces their Phoenician production, especially since the fallen figures are Egyptian rather than Asiatic, as they would have been had they been made in Egypt. The presence of the feather rising above their heads may suggest that they were intended to represent Libyans, according to Egyptian convention. The sphinxes of *I.N.* IV, nos. 87-88 and 94 are similar and can also be attributed to Phoenician workshops.

An interesting variation is that the victim of *I.N.* IV, no. 90 can be identified as an Asiatic by his hair and beard,



*Fig. 3g. Trapezoidal plaques and openwork panels from SW37 with Phoenician sphinxes and sphinxes striding over youths, one Egyptian and the other Asiatic.*

thus correctly from an Egyptian point of view representing Pharaoh's Asiatic enemy. Similar scenes are represented on Classic Phoenician long panels (Fig. 2i, Rows 3-4). The well-preserved panel, *I.N.* IV, no. 656 shows falcon-headed sphinxes trampling on the belly and on one foot of the fallen Asiatic, a front paw encircling his head. The Asiatic's long hair is tied with a fillet and ends in straight and curled locks behind the ear. The beards are long. They wear long, pleated and belted garments. A similar hairstyle can be seen on the pegged wigs of *I.N.* IV, no. 1113, an Ornate Group version.

*Falcon-headed sphinx walking over flowers, Fig. 3h*: The superb openwork panel, *I.N.* VII, no. 417, is typically Phoenician. It shows a tall sphinx walking on two voluted palmette flowers growing from a plant with lily and voluted palmette flowers. The sphinx has the Egyptian double crown with an elongated spiral at the front on a headcloth. The form of the crown is similar to that on the couchant sphinxes, which may form parts of the same style-group. An apron is pendant from the raised front paw, and the wings curve gently upwards. The fragment, no.

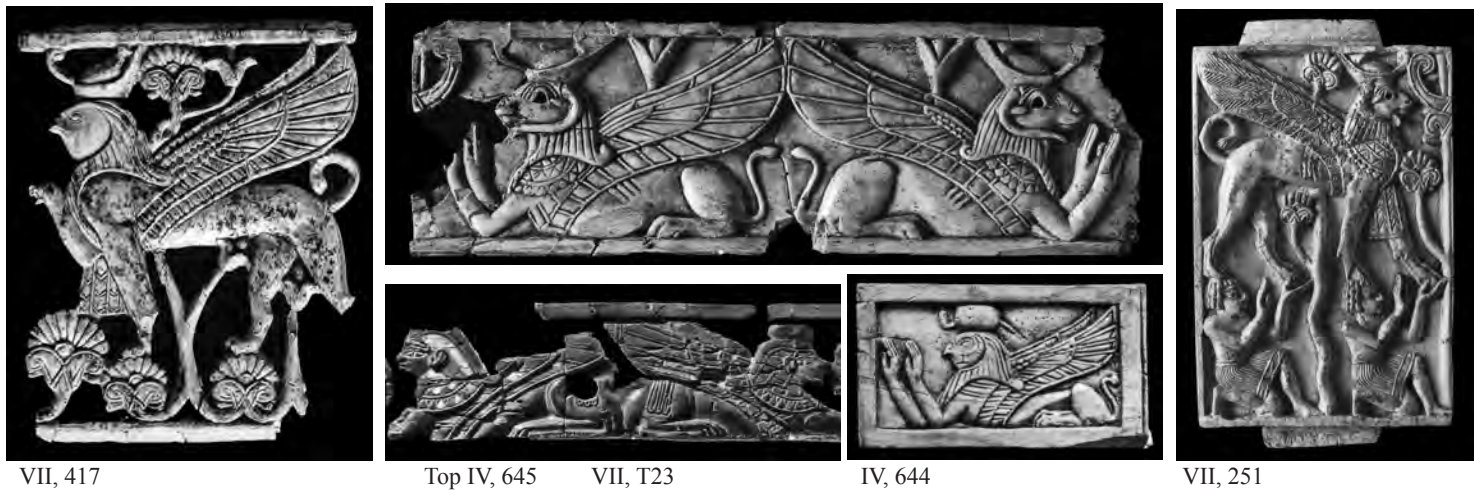


Fig. 3h. A falcon-headed sphinx striding over flowers, some couchant sphinxes and a sphinx supported on a pair of kneeling youths. These have elongated spirals on their crowns and are stylistically similar.

418, forms a pair with it.

*Couchant sphinxes.* Fig. 3h: Some long panels, mostly from SW37, depict couchant sphinxes, usually crowned with the Egyptian double crown with elongated spirals, like the falcon-headed sphinx (*I.N.* IV, nos. 645-647, 649). They may have human or ram's heads, and in one case a falcon head crowned with the sun-disc and *uraeus* (*I.N.* IV, no. 644). When preserved, their front legs are shown as human arms, raised in supplication to half a stylized tree. A heavily restored panel from SE10 shows two human-headed sphinxes flanking a stylized tree (*I.N.* V, no. 250): a fragment survives from SW11/12 (*I.N.* VII, no. 428). Couchant falcon-headed sphinxes with the Egyptian double crown are shown on trapezoidal plaques from SW37 (*I.N.* IV, nos. 120-122).

Variations in technique in the depiction of this theme occur on some fragmentary openwork panels from T10 (*I.N.* VII, nos. T24-T34). Two long panels show a series of human-headed sphinxes separated by short stylized trees or palmette plants (*I.N.* VII, no. T23). They are crowned with sun-discs on *nemes* headcloths and have *usekh* collars represented frontally. The sphinxes either raise flexed human arms and hands or leonine paws. There are looped tassels on the hindquarters indicating a folded pair of second wings. Much of the decoration was incised and alternately painted. The panels were fixed with large dowel holes.

A fragment from SW11/12 of what was probably another long panel, broken at both ends, has a similar design, but it is worked in a different technique. All that survives is the front of a couchant, human-headed sphinx, crowned with the sun-disc and *uraeus*, with arms flexed and raised (Fig. 2o *I.N.* VII, no. 25). On its back a box is incised representing a residual wing. The piece is unusual, not only because the design is incised but also because there are obvious traces of paint.

*Sphinx supported on kneeling youths, Fig. 3h:* Related to the couchant sphinxes of *I.N.* IV, nos. 645-653 is a panel with a fine Phoenician, ram-headed sphinx with Egyptian double crown with elongated spiral on a headcloth. The sphinx is walking on the heads and raised hands of a pair of kneeling youths (*I.N.* VII, no. 251). There is half a stylized tree on the right edge and growing up between the youths is a tall palmette plant. The form of the crown, head, headcloth and collar of the sphinxes is similar to the preceding panels, as are the hands with elongated fingers.

*Sphinxes with floriated trees, Fig. 3i:* The opposed ram-headed sphinxes of *I.N.* IV, no. 602 flank an elaborate floriated tree with a mass of blooms between the upper set of voluted branches, including capped papyrus flowers. In 2005 Scigliuzzo published an important article on Syrian-Intermediate ivories, focussing on the 'Wig and Wing' workshop but also discussing other groups within this regional tradition. She considered a fluted 'capped flower' with a rib, or sometimes a double rib, across the top, to be a diagnostic of the 'Crown and Scale' group (2005, 582, fig. 41). As a result Scigliuzzo attributed the sphinxes of *I.N.* IV, no. 602 to the Intermediate 'Crown and Scale' group.

However, like the 'triple flower' with its Phoenician and Syrian-Intermediate examples discussed in Chapter Two (p. 39, Fig. 2j), there are also Phoenician and Syrian-Intermediate examples of the capped flower (Fig. 3i). The Syrian version can, for instance, be seen on many 'Crown and Scale' panels, including the sphinxes of *I.N.* VII, nos. 279-294, or the hero and griffin of *I.N.* IV, no. 319. It consists of a fluted flower with a ribbed top: the flower

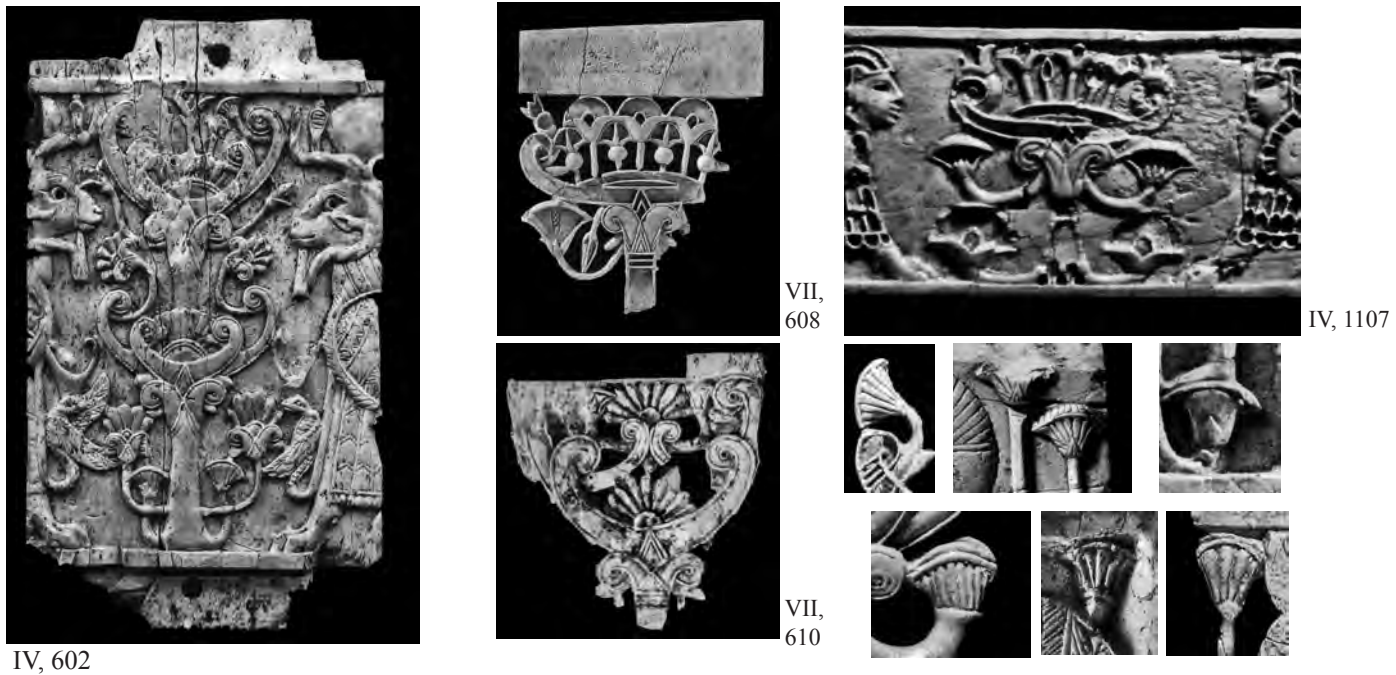


Fig. 3i. Phoenician floriated trees. Details of papyrus flowers from Phoenician panels, above, I.N. VII, no. 58, I.N. V, no. 481 and I.N. VII, no. 558, contrasted with capped flowers from Syrian-Intermediate 'Crown and Scale' panels, below, I.N. VI, no. 267, and I.N. IV, nos. 319 and 482.

looks more like a palmette than a papyrus. The Phoenician version, on the other hand, is much finer and is clearly a papyrus: the flower may be plain or fluted and has either a plain ribbed top or a ribbed and fringed top, as on I.N. VII, nos. 58-59, 554; I.N. IV, no. 617, I.N. V, 479, 481, I.N. VII, no. 558.

Returning to I.N. IV, no. 602, its capped flowers are clearly fluted papyri with plain tops not the Syrian type of flower. The panel can, therefore, be attributed to the Phoenician tradition not only because of the flower but because of other factors, including the symmetrical arrangement of the sphinxes with their pendant, winged *uraei*, crowned with Egyptian crowns with elongated spirals, and the unusual stylized tree with its rich arrangement of flowers. A fragment from the top of a similar Phoenician tree, which is carved on both sides with one side inlaid, can be seen on I.N. VII, no. 608, and there is another elaborate version on no. 610. Furthermore, similar trees separate the sphinxes on the Classic Phoenician, long panel, I.N. IV, no. 1107, Fig. 2i, Row 4. This type of floriated tree is typically Phoenician.

*Griffins, Fig. 3j.* A unique and beautifully carved fragment from Well AJ of the North West Palace depicts a fine Phoenician griffin (I.N. VI, no. 262). Classic Phoenician versions occur in the Ornate Group (Fig. 2i, Row 1: I.N. IV, no. 1054; V, no. 471) and on the long panel, I.N. IV, no. 617, Fig. 2i, bottom row: The griffins on the latter have



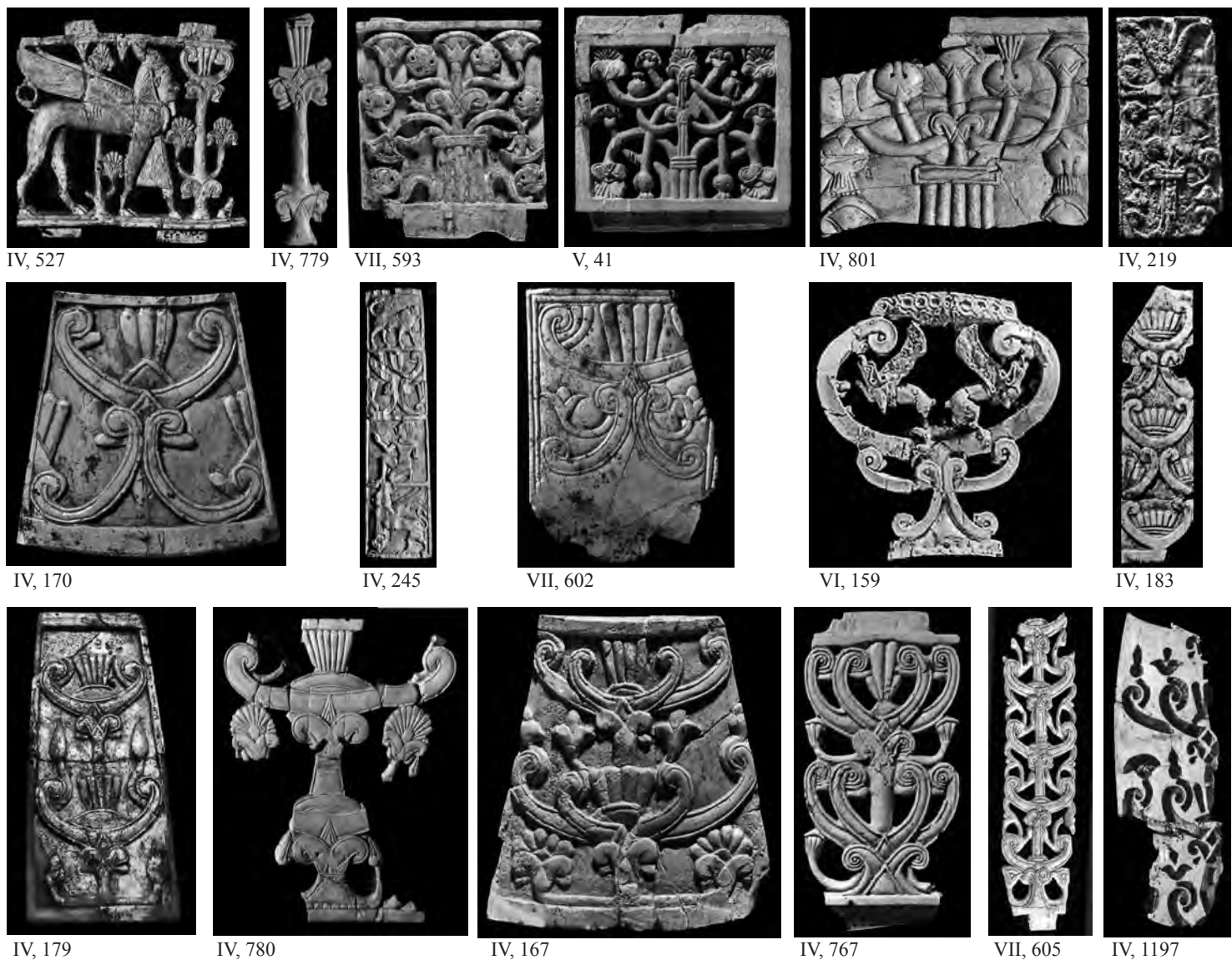
Fig. 3j. A Phoenician griffin fragment from Well AJ, and a set of panels from SW11/12 depicting griffins, kneeling youths and a stylized tree.

the usual tall proportions and gently curving wings. Trapezoidal plaques and panels with griffins can be attributed to Phoenician workshops, including *I.N.* IV, nos. 131-134, 143-147, 153-155 and the panels, nos. 499-500.

A set of panels with three different designs, pairs of griffins, kneeling youths and trees, is also probably a Phoenician production (*I.N.* VII, nos. 228-238). The griffins share similar proportions and curving wings to other Phoenician griffins, and the pair with kneeling youths can also be compared to Phoenician examples (*I.N.* VII, nos. 170-171). The latter also have plain raised rectangles in front of them – probably a residual feature from rectangles with hieroglyphs. Furthermore, the eleven panels all have deeply incised fitter's or carver's marks on their backs, similar but not identical to those on the backs of panels with Phoenician Pharaohs with sceptre and jug (*I.N.* VI, nos. 83-93): this might be a workshop marker. The last panel of the set, similar in size, framing, tenoning and incised mark, is a stylized tree with double voluted branches, *I.N.* VII, no. 596.

*Stylized trees, Fig. 3k:* This familiar motif, of course, travels across the area from Phoenicia to Assyria and beyond. However, some types of tree are specific to the Phoenician tradition, such as the floriated tree discussed above. The most common is a simple tree consisting of a long trunk with a pair of volutes at the top, sometimes with a small pair of volutes with flowers at the base. These can be seen on both the Classic Phoenician and Phoenician examples of Pharaohs with ram-headed sceptre and jug (Fig. 3a: *I.N.* VII, nos. 64-82, 83-93), as well as on monochrome Ornate Group panels (*I.N.* IV, nos. 527, 778-779).

A typically Egyptian tree is depicted on panels when two Nile gods tie the stems of the lily and the papyrus,



*Fig. 3k. Phoenician stylized trees. Row 1, two simple versions on left; four 'tied trees' on right, see also Fig. 3c: Row 2, bifurcated trees on plaques, panels and an openwork Unusually Shaped Ivory: Row 3, trees with double or single voluted branches on plaques and openwork panels.*

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

symbolizing the unity of Upper and Lower Egypt (Fig. 3c: *I.N.* IV, no. 40; *I.N.* VII, nos. 58-60). A more floral form of the ‘tied tree’ can be seen on a set of openwork panels from Rooms S4-5 (*I.N.* V, nos. 41-45) and on examples from SW37 and SW11/12 (*I.N.* IV, nos. 801-802; *I.N.* VII, nos. 593-594; see also Loud and Altman 1938, pl. 55, nos. 10-63). It also occurs on the lower register of *I.N.* IV, no. 219.

Another variation is the bifurcated tree, where the central trunk is replaced by a pair of voluted branches, which support the central voluted branch. This type of tree occurs on a panel with double frames (*I.N.* VII, no. 602), on some trapezoidal plaques (*I.N.* IV, nos. 169-173) and on some multi-register plaques (*I.N.* IV, nos. 235, 245), together with kneeling youths, a sphinx and a bull. It can also be seen on two openwork Unusually Shaped Ivories (*I.N.* VI, nos. 159-160), as well as on inlaid examples with additional supporting branches (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1257, 1265). The plaque, *I.N.* IV, no. 183, shows an unusual version of a bifurcated tree, stacking the branches on top of each other, a version also seen on some stelae from Arvad (*I.N.* VI, 87).

The standard stylized tree, common across the area, consists of a varying number of voluted branches, one above the other and with varying numbers of fronds and flowers. Some have double voluted branches, while others are single, and both occur on Phoenician and Syrian-Intermediate examples. Double voluted branches can be seen on a variety of Phoenician pieces including trapezoidal plaques (*I.N.* IV, nos. 164-167), and floriated trees (Fig. 3i: *I.N.* IV, nos. 602 and 1107). Various forms of tree with double voluted branches are represented on *I.N.* IV, nos. 767-776 and 805. Half-trees with double voluted branches can be seen on some Ornate Group trapezoidal plaques, *I.N.* IV, nos. 34-36, 49 and 51, and on *champ-levé* plaques (Fig. 2k: *I.N.* IV, nos. 1196-1197). Panels with double and single voluted branches were found in SW11/12 (*I.N.* VII, nos. 595-596), and there are Ornate Group examples with single voluted branches (*I.N.* V, nos. 481-482). An openwork example with lily flowers is unique and exceptionally fine (*I.N.* VII, no. 605).

## *Bovids and cervids*

The numerous examples of *cows suckling their calves* must have formed parts of long panels, perhaps forming rails for chairs or beds. Many are unfortunately fragmentary, but it seems probable that the majority fall into the Syrian-Intermediate tradition or, occasionally, into the North Syrian tradition. There are, however, some that can be attributed to the Phoenician tradition. There are, for instance, some obvious Classic Phoenician examples, the best-known of which is the magnificent, openwork, Ornate Group panel found in SW2 (*I.N.* V, no. 479). The cow is set in a field of tall flowering papyrus flowers and buds. The slim and elegant cow turns her head to lick the tail of her calf. Two panels from SW12 showing cows suckling their calves in a field of papyrus are generally similar to the

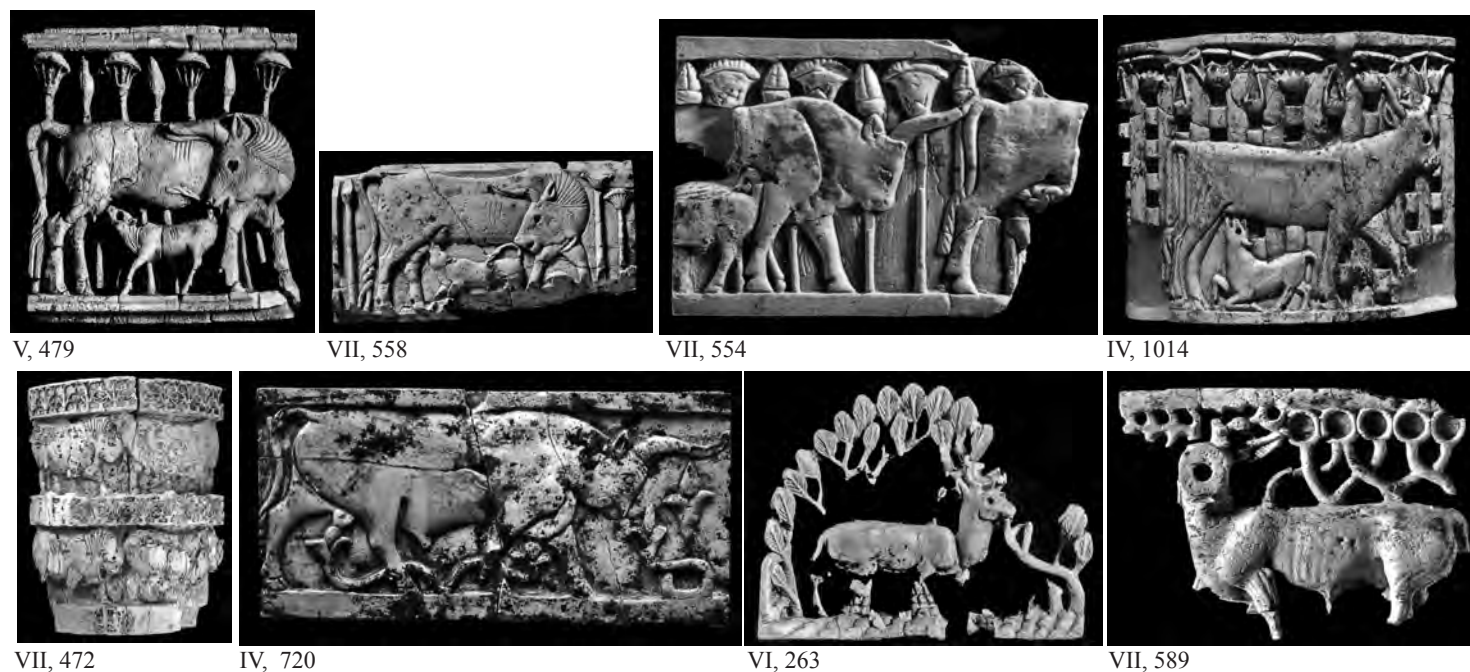


Fig. 31. Row 1, Phoenician cows suckling calves in papyrus fields on panels and a pyxis: Row 2, Phoenician bulls on a furniture leg and a panel, and openwork panels with browsing stags.

Ornate Group cow (*I.N.* VII, nos. 558-559).

Another Classic Phoenician example forms part of a pyxis (*I.N.* IV, no. 1014). Unusually, the cow is facing forward rather than turning to lick her calf: her horns are seen from the front in the Egyptian manner. A panel with part of a procession of cows, similarly facing forward, can reasonably be attributed to the same group (*I.N.* VII, no. 554). Two fragmentary and poorly preserved pieces have an elaborate floral plant in front of the cow, *I.N.* VII, nos. 560-561, and can also be attributed to the Phoenician tradition.

Like the cows and calves, there are numerous examples of *bulls*, employed as rails, both with backgrounds and as silhouettes, and there are sets of plaques forming circles or rings, probably to decorate furniture legs. At present, only a few have been attributed to the Phoenician tradition, although detailed study will doubtless identify more. Despite its worn condition, a furniture leg with registers of bulls from SW12 (*I.N.* VII, no. 472) belongs to the Ornate Group. The registers are separated by floral friezes of alternating lotus and papyrus flowers, delicately inlaid and reminiscent of the floral background of the Well NN panels of a lioness mauling a youth (*I.N.* VI, no. 356). Bulls with long curving horns advancing in fields of lilies can also be attributed to the Phoenician tradition (*I.N.* IV, nos. 720-721).

Two openwork panels with *stags* in floral backgrounds belong to the Classic Phoenician group. One from Well AJ shows a slender stag browsing nervously in a curving field of twisting branches ending in fronds (*I.N.* VI, no. 263), while that from SW12 shows a stag, head represented frontally and carved separately, also in a field of twisting branches ending in inlaid flowers (*I.N.* VII, no. 589).



VI, 264



IV, 667

*Fig. 3m. Phoenician contest scenes with lions or griffins attacking bulls.*

*Contest scenes:* Two panels with contest scenes, a motif usually attributed to the North Syrian tradition with its series of struggling animal combats, are different in design and style from North Syrian examples. First of all the basic design is symmetrical, rather than consisting of a struggling mass of amorphous animal. *I.N.* IV, no. 667 shows two lions attacking a bull, but the bull has not fallen, it is standing, and its horn has pierced the neck of one of the lions. Furthermore, the end of a hindleg on the left indicates that the design was repeated. The second panel from Well AJ of the North West Palace (*I.N.* VI, no. 264) is more dynamic but also consists of two complementary scenes. On the left a pair of lions attack a central bull, while on the right griffins maul the

bull. The absence of a tumbling mass of beasts, the symmetry and the repetition suggest that these are Phoenician versions of the contest scene.

#### *Small Objects, Figs. 3n-t*

Compared to the huge numbers of ivory panels used to decorate furniture, relatively few small objects were found, and many came from the palaces on the acropolis rather than from the Fort. However, this may reflect location rather than an absence of Phoenician production. The great magazines in the Fort, SW7, SW37 and SW11/12, were clearly used for the storage of consignments of booty, principally broken-up furniture decoration, rather than small antiquities. The dichotomy in the distribution of ivories is made evident by comparing the assemblages from the palaces and the rooms of the Fort. For instance, very few pyxides or fan handles would have been known but for the excavation by Loftus in the 19<sup>th</sup> century of the South East or Burnt Palace and by Mallowan and the Iraqi Department of Antiquities and Heritage of the wells of the North West Palace. However, Phoenician production obviously included a range of small objects, such as bridle harness, plaques, pyxides, bowls, flasks and boxes.

Two different sets of *bridle harness* were found in Wells AJ and NN of the North West Palace, both of which belong to the Phoenician tradition (Fig. 3n). One set adheres closely to Egyptian iconography and is typically Classic Phoenician in style and technique (*I.N.* VI, 79, figs. 24-25, nos. 252-257, 359; *I.N.* I, nos. 116-117), while the other set with spade-shaped blinkers and hinged frontlets differs in size, form, subject and style (*I.N.* VI, 81, nos.

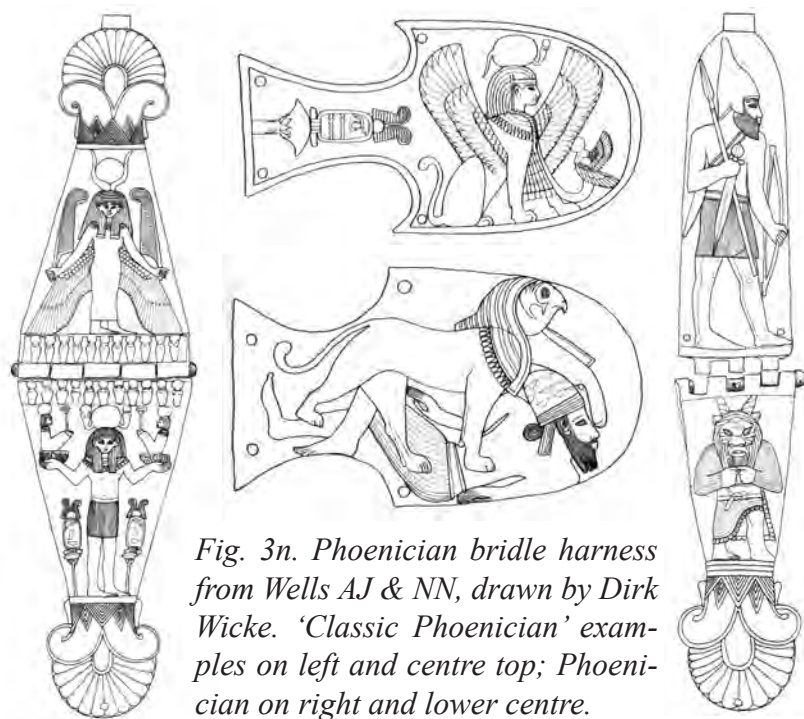


Fig. 3n. Phoenician bridle harness from Wells AJ & NN, drawn by Dirk Wicke. 'Classic Phoenician' examples on left and centre top; Phoenician on right and lower centre.

245-251). For a discussion of bridle harness, see Wicke 1999, 803-852; Gubel 2005, 111-147.

The hinged frontlets of the Classic Phoenician set are decorated with deities, winged goddesses with Hathor crowns on the upper frontlets and gods crowned with sun-discs flanked by *uraei* on the lower sections (Gubel 2005, 120-121, 125-127). Beside the gods are cartouches with hieroglyphs, crowned with discs and supported on papyrus flowers. Friezes of crowned *uraei* frame the hinges, and voluted palmette flowers contain the fixings at top and bottom. Pairs of elegant spade-shaped blinkers with flaring handles complete the sets and show winged sphinxes, seated either to right or left, the wings outspread, with winged *uraei* in front.<sup>1</sup> In the handle is a crowned cartouche with hieroglyphs on a papyrus flower: this is an abbreviated and corrupted form of a speech incipit.

The hinged frontlets of the second set are simpler as well as slightly smaller than the Classic Phoenician examples. There is a warrior god in the upper section and the Egyptian god Bes below: there is a simple loop at the top and a voluted palmette flower at the bottom (Gubel 2005, 121, 122-124). The blinkers, also slightly smaller, show falcon-headed sphinxes striding over fallen Asiatics. The Asiatics wear helmets, tied by triple bands with ties, and have tripartite beards. A similar Asiatic can be seen on a long panel from SW37 (Fig. 2i, Row 4: *I.N.* IV, no. 656). The style of carving is heavier and clumsier than the Classic Phoenician examples, see discussion by Wicke (1999, 832).

The only example of bridle harness from SW12 is a unique frontlet showing a crowned *aegis* flanked by *uraei* and resting on three more *uraei* (Gubel 2005, 127-128; *I.N.* VII, no. 34), a Classic Phoenician piece.

Wicke and Gubel also demonstrated that some shield-shaped blinkers and triangular frontlets found in Room SW37 are derived from Egyptian originals and are Phoenician (Fig. 3o: Wicke 1999, 808-809; Gubel 2005, 114-118: *I.N.* I, nos. 1-63, 128-134). They are either incised or decorated in relief with *wedjat*-eyes (*I.N.* I, nos. 1-32) and scarab beetles (*I.N.* I, nos. 41-42), or left plain (*I.N.* I, nos. 48-63). There are some matching triangular frontlets with *wedjat*-eyes (*I.N.* I, nos. 131-134), as well as plain examples (*I.N.* I, nos. 128-130).

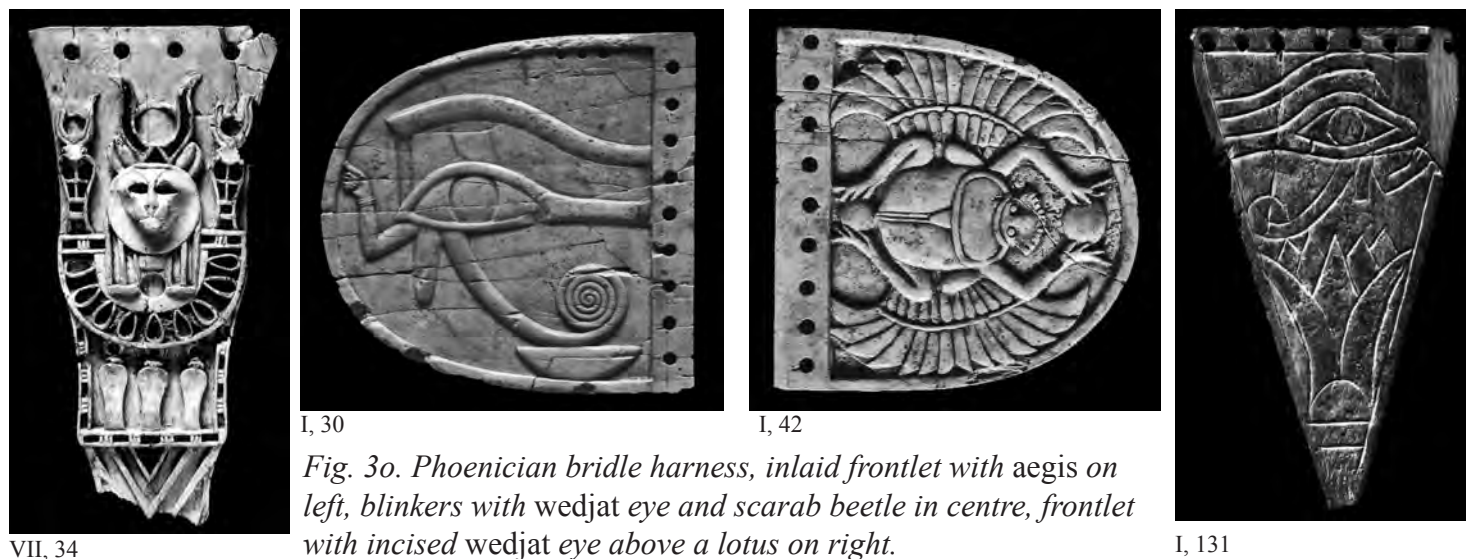


Fig. 3o. Phoenician bridle harness, inlaid frontlet with aegis on left, blinkers with wedjat eye and scarab beetle in centre, frontlet with incised wedjat eye above a lotus on right.

<sup>1</sup> A small panel with human-headed, winged sphinxes seated either side of a cartouche with hieroglyphs reading 'Words spoken by Osiris' is stylistically similar and can be assigned to the same workshop, *I.N.* IV, no. 642.

## Plaques, Figs. 3 f-g, p-s

Plaques of various shapes and sizes were found in the Fort, principally in Room SW37 (*I.N. IV*, nos. 1-255), but also in smaller numbers in other rooms. However, none seem to have been found on the acropolis. The plaques form parts of sets, all have striated backs and would have been fixed to a presumably wooden form to make up boxes or stands of varying types. The majority are trapezoidal, often with a curved obverse and mitred sides and base. Most consist of a single register, but there are also those with secondary registers, usually floral. They would have been made up into stable circular, hexagonal or octagonal stands.

Two of the most popular motifs are sphinxes and griffins. The sphinxes are usually crowned with the Egyptian double crown on a headcloth and have an *usekh* collar and apron. Most are falcon-headed, but there are also human

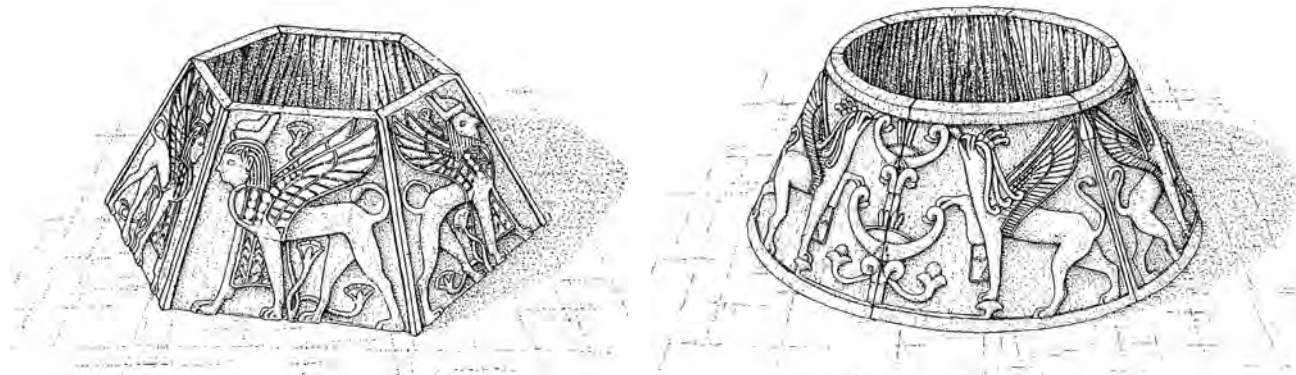


Fig. 3p. Reconstructions of sets of trapezoidal plaques as hexagonal or circular stands based on *I.N. IV*, nos. 110-111 and 153-155, drawn by Jean Williamson (*I.N. IV*, p. 8).

or ram-headed examples, while two have a crowned and winged *uraeus* suspended from their chests (*I.N. IV*, nos. 118-119). Some occupy the plaques on their own (*I.N. IV*, nos. 98-116), some are shown striding over youths, both bearded Asiatics with long hair and those with Egyptian wigs (Fig. 3g right: *I.N. IV*, nos. 87-97). Griffins stand with one front paw on a plant, the other raised to a floral column or tree forming one side of the plaques (*I.N. IV*, nos. 123-152).

Human figures are also represented. A set from SW37 shows crowned figures with sceptres or jugs with flowers (*I.N. IV*, nos. 23-26), and there are human figures with falcon and leonine heads, two wearing *shendyt* kilts: they

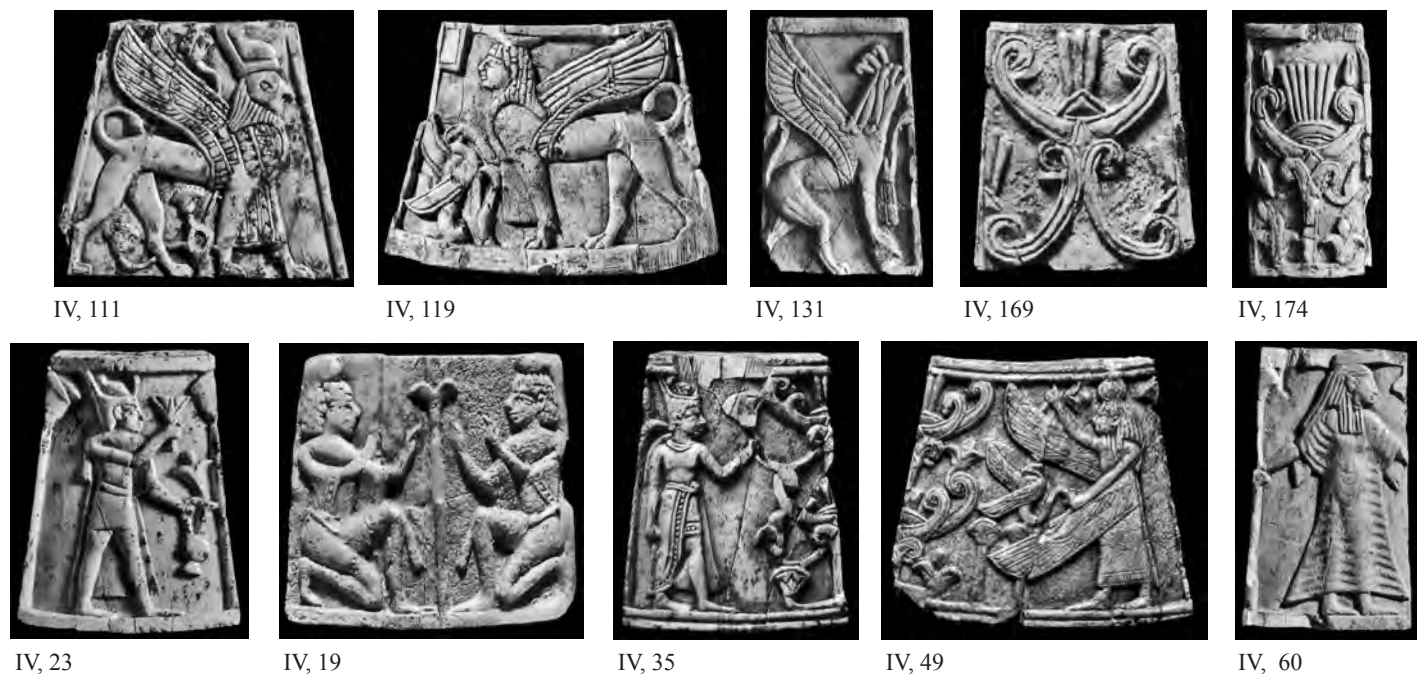


Fig. 3q. Phoenician trapezoidal plaques with assorted motifs. Row 1, sphinxes, a griffin, and stylized trees; Row 2, youth with jug and lotus, kneeling youths, youth and winged goddess, and woman holding floral columns



IV, 206



VII, 23



IV, 203

Fig. 3r. Phoenician trapezoidal plaques with hieroglyphs

are equipped with various sceptres (*I.N.* IV, nos. 28-33). There are crowned and kneeling figures, two saluting a lily (*I.N.* IV, nos. 6-19), and winged figures, both male and female, as well as rows of women in long dresses, arms extended to the floral columns on the edges (*I.N.* IV, nos. 55-72), some with additional floral friezes above or below. Stylized trees often form one edge of a design but may also fill the plaque (Fig. 3k).

Some tall, thin, trapezoidal plaques with *hieroglyphs* can be divided into three groups, two sets of which are finely worked, while the third set is rather cruder. The finest four plaques are well carved with the hieroglyphs in relief, the background probably filled with a frit inlay (Fig. 3r, left: *I.N.* IV, nos. 204-207). The second set, scattered between Rooms SW37, SW11/12 and NW18, are also finely worked and spaced, although carved in lower relief (Fig. 3r, centre: Follis 2009, fig. 28; *I.N.* V, no. 453; *I.N.* VII, nos. 22-23). The third group is more coarsely carved (Fig. 3r, right: *I.N.* IV, nos. 200-203). There are also three, relatively crude plaques with a range of hieroglyphs and motifs (*I.N.* IV, nos. 196-198).

While sets of matching figures are standard, it is characteristic of some Phoenician sets to employ different but related motifs. For instance, a pair of two register plaques, *I.N.* IV, nos. 230-231, depict a winged scarab beetle above a stylized tree and an *aegis* above a winged sphinx (Fig. 2n), motifs repeated on the fragmentary tall plaque, *I.N.* IV, no. 249, together with a seated sphinx and friezes of papyrus and lilies, Fig. 3s. Four plaques from NE26 are decorated with scarab beetles and crowned cartouches on *nwb* signs flanked by wing-tips, possibly parts of scarab beetles (*I.N.* V, nos. 314-317). Other plaques depict scarab beetles, the *aegis*, deities squatting on papyrus or lotus flowers and buds, the hippo-headed goddess Taueret and a variety of other motifs (*I.N.* IV, nos. 186-199).

A few trapezoidal plaques are larger than the standard run. One double register example shows a winged sphinx striding on a squashed version of a double voluted tree above a winged god with *uraeus* and plants (*I.N.* IV, no. 253). Another shows a hero spearing a rampant lion above a winged sphinx, who is not only trampling a fallen Asiatic but also has a winged and crowned *uraeus* suspended from his chest (Fig. 3f: *I.N.* IV, no. 254). The most unusual version has three registers of Egyptianizing motifs, Fig. 3s. The upper register depicts a crowned, falcon-headed scarab beetle flanked by a bird and a dog?, above a frieze of birds (*I.N.* IV, no. 255). Two bird-headed males, probably representing the sun-god, Re-Horakhte and the moon-god Thoth, with an ape between them, occupy the bottom register, a scene similar to one on an Egyptianizing panel where the gods ride in a sun-boat in the papyrus marshes (Fig. 2a: Row 2 right: *I.N.* IV, no. 1029).

There are also a few taller, flat rectangular plaques decorated with from two to five registers of design. These include specifically Phoenician motifs, such as the scarab beetle and *aegis* and provide a good illustration of the styles and range of motifs employed by Phoenician craftsmen. These plaques were presumably used in a different way to the standard trapezoidal plaques, although their subjects and style are the same, as are their striated backs. One pair of double register plaques shows rather lean bulls above rampant winged sphinxes (*I.N.* IV, nos. 233-234), motifs repeated on the multi-register *I.N.* IV, nos. 245 and 248, with the addition of kneeling youths and bifurcated trees: the latter are also shown on the two-register *I.N.* IV, no. 235. Bulls are represented above winged and falcon-headed figures on the trio of plaques, *I.N.* IV, nos. 236-238. Youths, crowned with the double crown or the sun disc and equipped with sceptres, occupy some of the registers of three and five register plaques, together with winged sphinxes and floral friezes (*I.N.* IV, nos. 244, 247). Floral friezes occupy the centre of a three-register plaque with a bifurcated tree above and a tied tree below (*I.N.* VII, no. 20), as well as occurring on the tops or bottoms of both trapezoidal and rectangular two-register plaques over the usual range of motifs (*I.N.* IV, nos. 211-229).

The majority of the plaques, whether trapezoidal or rectangular, whether a standard size or multi-register, form a stylistically coherent group. Many of them include typical Phoenician motifs, such as the scarab beetle or the *aegis*.



IV, 255

IV, 244

IV, 245

IV, 249

VII, 20

Fig. 3s. Phoenician multi-register plaques. On left, an Egyptianizing plaque with scarab beetle above bird-headed gods with an ape; and four plaques with varied Phoenician motifs, including an aegis and scarab beetle.

While it seems probable that they were made in Phoenician centres, it is not always possible to differentiate between Classic Phoenician and Phoenician pieces. Comparisons with Ornate Group furniture panels, as well as the presence of the characteristic double frames, make it possible to attribute some plaques to the Classic Phoenician group. The elegant kneeling Pharaohs of the trapezoidal plaques, *I.N.* IV, nos. 12-18 can be compared to the Classic Phoenician panels of *I.N.* VII, nos. 167-169, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1049-1050 and *I.N.* V, no. 224 (Fig. 2i, Row 5): the form of the figures with their finely carved faces with excised eyes, raised hands and flexed knees are essentially identical. Despite a different function, they share a sense of style and proportion and were probably made in the same workshop. Equally, the youths on either side of tied papyrus plants of *I.N.* IV, no. 40 are similar to those on the SW11/12 panels, *I.N.* VII, nos. 58-59 (Fig. 3c).

A set of plaques with youths holding papyrus flowers and *ankhs* in front of a stylized tree has double frames (Fig. 3q, Row 2: *I.N.* IV, nos. 34-36), as do the winged goddesses holding lily flowers and winged *uraei* saluting stylized trees (*I.N.* IV, nos. 49-51). A rather larger plaque has a winged youth with *uraeus* and papyrus (*I.N.* IV, no. 53) and can be compared with the youths in a floral background of *I.N.* IV, nos. 1095-1096. A number of fragmentary trapezoidal plaques with varied subjects and double frames found in Rooms S10 and SE3 (*I.N.* V, nos. 141-152, 230-235) include youths, sphinxes, sphinxes striding over youths, griffins, heroes fighting griffins and trees. These plaques may have been carved in Classic Phoenician workshops: however, the important point is that plaques, whether single or multi-register, were probably made in Phoenician centres.

#### *Egyptianizing small objects, Fig. 3t*

The most remarkable and unique Egyptianizing object was found by the Iraqi Department of Antiquities and Heritage in Well AJ of the North West Palace. This consisted of most of the sides of a *pyxis* and showed the triumphant Pharaoh in his blue war crown, followed by an attendant with two defeated figures and, as a separate scene, two winged goddesses (*I.N.* VI, no. 258). The unique scene, the style, proportions and methods of inlay are typically Egyptianizing, as are the sides of two other pyxides, one with a scarab beetle, *I.N.* VII, no. 35 (Fig. 1n), the other with a cow suckling her calf in a field of papyri, *I.N.* IV, no. 1014 (Fig. 3l).

Two unusual plaques from SW37, curved horizontally with concave sides, formed parts of a small box (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1216-1217). They were decorated with incised and presumably painted designs. One showed Bes figures



VI, 258

VI, 286

VI, 287

V, 140

*Fig. 3t. Phoenician small objects: the Egyptianizing pyxis, the woman flask and the statuette from Well AJ: and a bird's nest bowl from S10.*

flanking a palm tree with apes, and the other a pair of lionesses in a field of papyrus, again typically Egyptianizing motifs. Also possibly Egyptianizing are friezes with Hathor heads (*I.N.* V, nos. 98, 101).

A woman *flask* and *lion bowl* were found in Well AJ of the North West Palace (Fischer 2007: *I.N.* VI, no. 286) and were probably made in a Phoenician workshop. The flask was carved from the tusk of a relatively small elephant, with the upper section carved to represent a woman's body. Fragments of similar flasks were also found in the South East/Burnt Palace (Barnett, *C.N.I.*, 1975, 198-199, S96-S98). The lion-bowl fitted onto the head of the woman and would have served as a spoon-stopper.

A beautiful female *statuette* found by the Iraqi Department of Antiquities and Heritage in Well AJ of the North West Palace (*I.N.* VI, no. 287) can probably be attributed to a Phoenician workshop. Her lotus crown can be seen on a fine fragment of a goddess from T10, *I.N.* VII, no. T97, and on the worn *I.N.* IV, no. 395 (Fig. 3e, bottom row). The long fingers of her hands cup her breasts in the same way as those of the woman on the flask. There are obvious comparisons with North Syrian versions of female statuettes known from the Burnt Palace (Barnett, *C.N.I.*, 1975, pls. lxxiii-lxxvi), but these are considerably smaller, wear different headdresses, have their hands at their sides and were used as fan handles. They are nothing like as voluptuous as the Well AJ lady.

A *bird's nest bowl* with a rectangular handle was found in Room S10. The bowl is decorated with two birds with outstretched wings and the edges are decorated with fine lines (*I.N.* V, no. 140). The 'handle' is decorated with a rampant sphinx with the Egyptian double crown, a narrow collar and curving wings. One paw is raised to the half-stylized tree. The work is fine, the style of the sphinx and tree, and the triple frame along the bottom all suggest that the bowl was carved in a 'finely carved' workshop. Another Phoenician type of bowl was supported by the extended arms of one or more 'swimming maidens'. One with three 'swimming maidens' was found in the Burnt Palace: the raised heads were carved separately (Barnett, *C.N.I.*, 1975, 198, no. S93, pl. li), and a fragment of a body, ND 2114, in Room 23 of the Burnt Palace (Mallowan, *N. & R.* I, 214-215, fig. 160).

The overview of Phoenician ivories in Chapters Two and Three does not attempt to discuss every ivory that belongs to this large group. Many pieces are too fragmentary or damaged to enable a reasonably safe attribution. Others are problematic. It is, however, a beginning in trying to re-assemble the production of a number of workshops in a variety of Phoenician centres.

*List of Ivories of the Phoenician Tradition: II**Furniture panels**Pharaohs with sceptres and jugs*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 83-93 – opposed Pharaohs

*Panels with striated backs with single Pharaohs, sceptres and jugs, and women*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 338-341 – single Pharaohs with *uraei* and guilloche

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 351-352 – single Pharaohs

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 298-301 – single women, cf. nos. 338-341

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 302 – winged goddess, cf. nos. 338-341

*Youths and papyrus trees*

North West Palace, Room V/W, *I.N.* VI, nos. 107-108

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 58-60

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW7, *I.N.* III, nos. 83-84 – standing youths

*Gods, ram-headed or falcon-headed*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 95-96 – double sided, multi-register with scarab beetle

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 112-115

*Seated people*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW7, *I.N.* III, nos. 77-81 – youths

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 296 – queen or goddess

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 165-166 – crowned youths

*Kneeling people*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 949 – kneeling winged god

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 170-171 – kneeling youths

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 172-179 – kneeling youths

*The ‘Crinkly hair’ group*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 385 – female musician

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 386-387, 393-396 – women

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 940-941 – processions

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 942-945 – fragments of processions

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 148 – youth

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 149 – falcon-headed god

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 150 – goddess

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 151 – goddess with vulture crown

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 152-155 – goddesses

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 156 – feline-headed goddess

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 157-158 – ram-headed sphinx fragments

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 164 – seated, feline-headed goddess

Fort Shalmaneser, Room T10, *I.N.* VII, no. T97 – goddess in lotus crown

*Opposed deities*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 322 – opposed deities and central feature

*Women at the Window*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room S10, *I.N.* V, nos. 102-108

*Sphinxes*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 461-463

Fort Shalmaneser, Room S10, *I.N.* V, no. 125 – opposed sphinxes with *atef* crowns

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 419

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

### *Falcon-headed sphinx walking over flowers*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 417-418

### *Seated sphinxes*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 642-643

### *Couchant sphinxes*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 644 – falcon-headed  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 645-648 – ram-headed  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 649-653 – human headed  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE10, *I.N.* V, no. 250 – human-headed  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 25 – incised and painted  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 428 – fragment human-headed  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room T10, *I.N.* VII, no. T23 – painted alternately  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room T10, *I.N.* VII, nos. T24-T34 – fragments, painted alternately

### *Sphinx supported on kneeling youths*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 251-252

### *Set of griffins, kneeling men and trees*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 228-236 – griffins  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 237-238 – kneeling youths  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 595-596 – trees

### *Griffins*

North West Palace, Well NN, *I.N.* VI, no. 262 – fragment  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 499-500 – openwork panels

### *Sphinxes and floriated trees*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1107 – long panel, sphinxes and floriated trees  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 602 – opposed sphinxes with floriated tree  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 608 – double-sided floriated tree  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 610 – floriated tree

### *Contest scenes*

North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N.* VI, no. 264 – lions and griffins attacking bulls  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 667 – lions attacking bull

### *Ribbed alternate inlay*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1156-1157? – sphinxes?  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room NW21, *I.N.* V, nos. 436 – long winged disc  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room T10, *I.N.* VII, nos. T56-T63 – sphinxes

### *Long wings*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW7, *I.N.* III, nos. 97-98  
Fort Shalmaneser, N.E.courtyard, *I.N.* V, no. 346 – fragment

### *Trees*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 527, 777-779 – Ornate Group simple tree  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 602, 1107 – floriate tree, double voluted branches  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 767-772, 775-776, 799, 805 – double voluted branches  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 801-802 – tied trees  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1257, 1265 – bifurcated trees  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room S4-5, *I.N.* V, nos. 41-46 – tied trees  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 20-21 – bifurcated tree, multi-register plaques  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 593-594 – tied trees  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 596, 598 – double voluted branches  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW12, *I.N.* VII, no. 602 – bifurcated tree

*Bovids*

- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 720-721 – browsing bulls  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1014 – pyxis, cow in floral field  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW2, *I.N.* V, no. 479 – Ornate Group cow and calf in papyrus  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW12, *I.N.* VII, no. 472 – Ornate Group, bulls, chair leg  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW12, *I.N.* VII, no. 554 – cows and calves in papyrus  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 558-559 – cows and calves in papyrus

*Stags*

- North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N.* VI, no. 263 – stag in oval field of fronds  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 580-582 – body and head only  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room 102, *I.N.* V, no. 138 – body only  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 589-590 – stag in floral field

*Heirlooms*

- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 306 – winged god with *uraeus*  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 397 – crowned head with plait  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* VII, no. 362 – fragment, leg with spiral

*Phoenician table leg*

- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW6, *I.N.* V, no. 486 – table leg

## SMALL OBJECTS

*Classic Phoenician bridle harness*

- North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N.* VI, Group 2 frontlets, nos. 252-254 – goddesses and gods  
 North West Palace, Wells AJ & NN, *I.N.* VI, Group 2 blinkers, nos. 255-257, 359, *I.N.* I, nos. 116-117  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW12, *I.N.* I, 183, VII, frontlet, no. 34 – *aegis*

*Phoenician bridle harness*

- North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N.* VI, Group 1 frontlets, nos. 245-247 – warrior god and Bes  
 North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N.* VI, Group 1 blinkers, nos. 248-251 – trampling sphinxes  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* I, blinkers, nos. 1-35, 119-121 – *wedjat* eye  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* I, blinkers, nos. 36-39 – trees  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* I, blinkers, nos. 40-41 – tree and sphinx  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* I, blinkers, nos. 42-43 – scarab beetles  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* I, blinkers, nos. 48-63 – plain  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* I, blinkers, no. 118 – sphinx  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* I, frontlets, nos. 128-130 – plain  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* I, frontlets, nos. 131-134 – *wedjat* eye

*Plaques**Single register trapezoidal plaques*

- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1-2 – bulls  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 3, 6-11 – kneeling youths  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 5 – couchant sphinx  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 12-18 – kneeling Pharaohs – double frames  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 19 – opposed kneeling youths  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 20-22 – assorted males with sceptres  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 23-27 – assorted males with sceptres or jugs  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 28 – feline headed goddess with sceptre  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 29-30 – youths with sceptres  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 31-33 – falcon-headed gods with sceptres  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 34-36 – youths and trees – double frames  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 37 – youth and tree – double frame  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 38-39 – youths and tied trees  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 40 – opposed youths and tied tree  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 41 – kneeling falcon-headed god and *aegis*  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 42-43 – winged gods with flowers

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 44-46 – winged gods with flowers  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 47-48, 52 – winged deities with *uraeus* or flowers  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 49-51 – winged goddesses, *uraei*, trees, double frame  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 53 – winged god, *uraeus* – double frame  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 54 – kneeling winged god with flowers  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 55-56 – winged goddesses with flowers  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 57-64 – women in long dresses  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 65-66 – women in long dresses  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 67-68, 69 – women grasping flowers  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 73-75 – lion hunt series, double frame  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 76-77 – hero and lion  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 82-83 – heroes fighting griffins in mountains  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 84 – heroes fighting griffins in mountains, guilloche frames  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 85-86 – winged heroes and griffins  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 87-94 – sphinxes trampling youths  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 98-114 – sphinxes with double crown  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 118-119 – sphinxes with *uraeus*  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 120-122 – couchant falcon-headed sphinxes  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 123-126 – rampant falcon-headed sphinxes  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 127-139 – rampant griffins  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 140-148 – griffins  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 149-155, 157-158 – rampant griffins with trees  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 159 – stag  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 160-162 – bulls  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 163-168 – single and double voluted trees  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 169-173 – bifurcated trees  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 174-182 – single and double voluted trees  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 183 – stacked bifurcated tree  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 184-185 – single voluted trees  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 186-188 – beetles and aegis  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 189 – *aegis* on papyrus  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 190 – donkey and grasshopper  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 191 – Tauert  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 192-195 – squatting figures on lotus and bud  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 196-199 – assorted Egyptianizing motifs  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 200-203 – hieroglyphs  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 204-207; Follis 2009, p. 61, fig. 28 – hieroglyphs  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 241-242 – windows, papyrus balusters  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room S10, *I.N.* V, nos. 141-142 – hero and griffin  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room S10, *I.N.* V, nos. 143-144 – sphinx and tree  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room S10, *I.N.* V, no. 154 – fragments of women  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE3, *I.N.* V, nos. 230-231 – griffins  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE3, *I.N.* V, nos. 232-233 – sphinxes  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE3, *I.N.* V, nos. 234-235 – youths  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE3, *I.N.* V, no. 236 – opposed winged gods  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room NE26, *I.N.* V, nos. 314-316, 317 – beetles, cartouches  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room NE26, *I.N.* V, no. 318 – seated sphinx  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room NW18, *I.N.* V, no. 453 – hieroglyphs  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 1-2 – kneeling youths  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 3 – youth and tree  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 7 – goddess or queen  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 8-10 – rampant sphinxes  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 11-14 – sphinxes  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 16-19 – sphinxes trampling youths  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 22-23 – hieroglyphs

### *Plaques, mostly rectangular, with guilloche frame*

- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 84 – heroes fighting griffins in mountains  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 156 – rampant griffin with tree  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 208 – winged goddess

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 209 – rampant sphinx  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 210 – kneeling, falcon-headed god

*Plaques, mostly rectangular, with floral frieze*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 70-72 – women in long dresses with flowers  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 78-81 – heroes fighting griffins and lions  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 115-116 – sphinxes with crowns  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 211 – youth  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 212 – ‘Horus’ on lotus  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 213 – kneeling youth  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 214 – seated sphinx  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 215 – sphinxes back to back  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 216-218 – griffin, sphinx, papyrus  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 219 – tied tree  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 220-222 – winged gods  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 223-227 – seated sphinxes, trees, papyrus  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 228-229 – lotus & bud frieze, fragments  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room S10, *I.N.* V, nos. 145-147 – sphinxes, one trampling youth  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room S10, *I.N.* V, nos. 148-149 – *aegis*, scarab  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room S10, *I.N.* V, no. 150 – kneeling Pharaoh, fragmentary  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room S10, *I.N.* V, nos. 151-152 – women  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 4-5 – winged gods and *uraeus*  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 15 – sphinx

*Plaques with frieze of hieroglyphs*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 95-97 – sphinxes trampling youths

*Two register plaques, mostly rectangular*

Burnt Palace, *C.N.I.*, S151a, pl. lxiv – scarab beetle and human figures  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 230-231 – beetle + tree; *aegis* + couchant sphinx  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 232 – bull, kneeling youth  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 233-234 – bulls, sphinxes  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 235 – kneeling youth, bifurcated tree  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 236-238 – bulls, winged and falcon-headed gods  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 239-240 – windows with papyrus balusters, sphinx  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE10, *I.N.* V, nos. 259-262 – blind window on papyrus  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room NW21, *I.N.* V, no. 437 – window on papyrus balusters

*Two register large trapezoidal plaques*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 253 – sphinx on tree, falcon-headed god, guilloche  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 254 – hero and lion, sphinx and *uraeus*

*Three register large trapezoidal plaque*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 255 – beetle, birds, gods and ape

*Three register rectangular plaques*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 243 – rampant & seated sphinxes, papyrus & bud  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 244 – youth & sceptre, papyrus, rampant sphinx  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 246 – youth, lotus, sphinx  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 251-252 – fragments, youth, bull, lotus  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 20-21 – bifurcated and tied trees, lotus frieze

*Four register rectangular plaques*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 245 – bull, tree, kneeling youth, sphinx  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 250 – tree, lotus frieze, fragmentary

*Five register rectangular plaques*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 247 – youths, floral friezes, and sphinx  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 248 – papyrus, bull, lotus, sphinx, papyrus  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 249 – *aegis*, papyrus, beetle, lily, seated sphinx

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

### *Egyptianizing small objects*

- North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N.* VI, no. 258 – pyxis, inlaid, Pharaoh triumphant, goddesses
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1215 – plaque with *wedjat* eye
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1216-1217 – box, lions in papyrus, Bes, palm, apes
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 1014 – part of pyxis, inlaid, cow & calf
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room S10, *I.N.* V, nos. 98, 101 – Hathor frieze
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW12, *I.N.* VII, no. 35 – part of pyxis, inlaid, scarab beetle

### *Sphinx, lion and bird statuettes*

- North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N.* VI, no. 259 – large sphinx fragment, head and collar
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 706-713 – inlaid statuettes and fragments
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 714-724 – monochrome statuettes and fragments
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 725-732 – monochrome heads
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 733-734 – ears
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 735-754 – hindquarters and paws
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 755-756 – bird statuettes

### *Flasks and small bowls*

- North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N.* VI, no. 286 – woman flask and lion bowl
- Burnt Palace, Barnett, *C.N.I.*, pl. lix, no. S96 – fragmentary woman flask
- Burnt Palace, Barnett, *C.N.I.*, pl. lix, no. S97 – fragments of head of woman flask
- Burnt Palace, Barnett, *C.N.I.*, pl. lx, no. S98 – fragments of heads of women flasks
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room S10, *I.N.* V, no. 140 – ‘Finely carved’ bird’s nest bowl with sphinx
- Burnt Palace, Barnett, *C.N.I.*, 198, no. S93, pl. li – bowl with ‘swimming maidens’

## CHAPTER FOUR

### *Ivories of the Syrian-Intermediate Tradition*

Irene Winter was the first scholar to recognize that the two groups into which the ivories had been organized since the nineteenth century, the Phoenician and the North Syrian, required further analysis (1981, 101-130; reprinted 2010, 278-333). She formed a group of ivories combining ‘traditional Phoenician iconography in squat, “un-Phoenician” proportions’ (2010, 285), which, she thought, might have been produced in Damascus, the capital of the powerful kingdom of Aram. She assembled a range of material, which she called ‘South Syrian’, based on the ivories found at Arslan Tash and a sculpture from the Omayyad mosque in Damascus.

Since that time a series of studies have begun to define some of the groups making up this regional tradition, which has been variously known as South Syrian, Syrian or Intermediate (Winter 1981; Herrmann *I.N.* V, 30-34; Scigliuzzo 2004a, 2005, 2006, 2009; Uehlinger 2005; Wicke 2009; Herrmann *I.N.* VI, 83-90). Here the term Syrian-Intermediate is used to avoid confusion between North Syrian, Syrian and South Syrian.

#### *Characteristics of Syrian-Intermediate ivories, Figs. 4a and b*

The range of subjects of Syrian-Intermediate ivories is similar to that of Phoenician ivories but is considerably more limited: there are, for instance, no Egyptianizing ivories. However, some Egyptian influence is still evident but is more distant, and there is a considerable misunderstanding or corruption of Egyptian motifs. For instance, the Egyptian double crown is either flattened, as on ‘Crown and Scale’ examples, or heightened on the ‘Tall Crown’ group (Fig. 4a).

As Winter correctly pointed out, the proportions of people and animals also differ (1981, 106; 2010, 284).



*Fig. 4a. The Egyptian double crown on the ‘Crown and Scale’ panel, I.N. VII, no. 283, and the ‘Tall Crown’ panel, no. 257.*

Figures on Phoenician ivories are taller, often with a proportion of upper body to lower body of 1:2 as opposed to the squatter 1:1 of Syrian pieces or Winter’s ‘the head is large with respect to the rest of the body, to a ratio of 1:3.5, whereas with most “classical” Phoenician standing figures, the heads are consistently in a ratio of 1:5 for the rest of the body’. This difference in proportion is illustrated on the two panels of Fig. 4b, which show the same design of a sphinx supported on two kneeling youths. They form an interesting illustration of the difference in style and use of space between the Phoenician and Syrian-Intermediate panels. Generally the design of Syrian-Intermediate panels is crowded, tending to fill most of the area of the panel or plaque, and the action is more dynamic, as can be seen by comparing the Phoenician version of the popular ‘hero and griffin’ motif with the Syrian-Intermediate ‘Crown and Scale’ panel, particularly the spacing and the different positions of the griffins.

The publication of many more Fort Shalmaneser ivories than were available to Winter when she wrote her pioneering article has made it possible to build a number of Syrian-Intermediate groups. The two best-known ones are the ‘Wig and Wing’ and the ‘Crown and Scale’. The characteristic ivories of these groups, then known as Intermediate, were first identified in 1992 in *Ivories from Nimrud* V, 30-34. In 2002 Elena Scigliuzzo of Pisa University chose ‘Intermediate’ ivories as the subject of her Ph.D. (2004a) and was able, during visits to the British Museum, to examine in the hand the ivories found by Layard in the North West Palace, by Loftus in the Burnt Palace and some of the ivories from Fort Shalmaneser. However good photographs may be, there is nothing to replace study of the actual piece. Working on examples of ‘Wig and Wing’ ivories, she was able to develop a real understanding of their feel and technique, which enabled her to incorporate other pieces, only known photographically, such as the small collection from Khorsabad. She was then able to identify the work of different ‘hands’ and to propose that some ivories found at Khorsabad and in Fort Shalmaneser were actually carved by the same hand.



Fig. 4b. A Phoenician version of a sphinx supported on kneeling youths, I.N. VII, no. 251, and the Syrian-Intermediate 'Tall Crown' panel, no. 257: and the 'hero and griffin' motif on a Phoenician panel, I.N. VII, no. 190, and the Syrian-Intermediate 'Crown and Scale' panel, I.N. IV, no. 316.

*The 'Wig and Wing' workshop, Figs. 4c-e*

The two principal assemblages of 'Wig and Wing' ivories were found by Layard in Room V/W of the North West Palace and by Loud in Room 13 of the Nabu Temple at Khorsabad (Loud & Altman 1938), although some examples were found in various locations in Fort Shalmaneser. Scigliuzzo began her study with the Layard ivories, which are available in the British Museum. These had mostly been found in the doorway of Room V/W and include a set of four women at the window and half a dozen heads, insets from similar panels, as well as a set of six panels with youths (*I.N.* VI, nos. 99-104, 110-113, 115-120). The faces of the women are finely modelled with excised arching eyebrows, eyes with drilled pupils, fine noses and sensitive mouths. The ears are flattened to lie on the wig, the locks of which may be plain or hatched and sometimes tied. The windows have frames with triple recesses, are relatively narrow with sills resting on four balusters with voluted capitals. The heads of the insets are similar. The youths have an unusual wig, tied with an *uraeus*, perhaps a debased version of the blue crown, a suggestion made by Erika Fischer (2012). Their faces are finely carved with elegant eyebrows, long eyes with drilled pupils and finely modelled mouths and chins. They are clad in pleated and beaded garments, belted at the waist, and salute a lotus plant. Three face to the left and three to the right.

A number of these Layard ivories have Aramaic letters or fitter's marks incised on their backs, while two panels have them on the fronts of their tenons. A *gimel* is incised on the backs of two women at the window, nos. 110 and 111 (*I.N.* VI, 153-154), which are stylistically similar, on the back of an inset with a head (*I.N.* VI, no. 116), and on the backs of two youths, nos. 99 and 100, panels which are essentially identical (*I.N.* VI, 150-151). Marks are also incised on the fronts of the tenons of two other stylistically similar youths, nos. 102-103. Both Scigliuzzo (2005, 572-575) and Herrmann (*I.N.* VI, 83-84) note that the panels with *gimels* and those marked on the tenons were carved by different craftsmen. Scigliuzzo comments:

'It therefore seems that two craftsmen divided the work equally, and it is interesting that this division was not by subject because each hand worked both two ladies at the window and also three plaques with male figures and flowers' (2005, 574).

One possible interpretation of these marks may be that the craftsmen in the 'Wig and Wing' workshop identified the panels they carved with Aramaic letters. If so, one of them might be the '*gimel* craftsman'. Unfortunately there are few sets of panels sufficiently well preserved to reinforce this preliminary observation. Furthermore, even if 'Wig and Wing' craftsmen used marks to identify their work, there is no reason to assume that this was a general



Fig. 4c. 'Wig and wing' panels found in Room V/W of the North West Palace: women at the window, an inset and youths, panels with gimel marks on their backs. They are attributed by Scigliuzzo to Hand 7 (2005, 572-574).

practice. Unfortunately the preservation of marks on the ivories and their recording is limited and erratic (see Appendix Nine for a list of surviving marks).

*Khorsabad.* A small hoard of fragmentary and burnt ivories was found in Room 13 of the Nabu Temple at Khorsabad (Loud & Altman 1938, pls. 51-56). There are nine panels with women at the window, three with winged women and up to 14 fragments of sphinxes with heads represented frontally. They are stylistically homogeneous, and Scigliuzzo suggests that they all formed parts of a single piece of furniture, made in the 'Wig and Wing' workshop and donated to the Temple by Sargon II (2005, 564-565). There are also some fragmentary panels with tied, stylized trees, similar to the Phoenician examples illustrated on Fig. 3k, and incised panels with floral friezes (Loud & Altman 1938, pl. 55).

The fact that the small Khorsabad collection included women at the window and sphinxes with their heads represented frontally made it possible for Scigliuzzo to undertake a detailed examination of the micro-variants of their carving. It is worth quoting from her excellent article in *Ugarit Forschungen* 37, for she succeeded in identifying up to nine different hands in her 'Wig and Wing Workshop'. That different hands were indeed at work in the various workshops of the time is well known, but it has not previously been possible to identify specific hands and to follow them across ivories with different subjects and found at different sites. This is clearly a major advance in ivory studies, but it is worth noting that it is dependent on there being a number of reasonably well preserved panels with the same or similar subjects, such as the frontal heads, to enable detailed comparisons to be made. Otherwise, craftsman variations are easy to identify within a set, but it is rarely possible to identify the same craftsman's work across the range.

Elena Scigliuzzo writes that the ivories from Khorsabad are:

'characterised by a high degree of iconographic uniformity. All the plaques with the same subject have no significant iconographic differences. The set seems to have been worked in accordance with a precise, rigorously applied iconographic project. This means that, for example, all the ladies at the window have identical diadems, robes, hairstyle, frame and baluster.

'The style, too, is very homogeneous. The highly plastic shapes with soft modulations tend towards naturalism, and were carved in accordance with a common procedure from the general structure to the details. Indeed, it is clear that a fixed modelling pattern was applied: in the bodies of the sphinxes the haunch muscle is marked by a very plastic curved line ... The frontal faces were first roughed out, then carved following two basic modulations: one clear curved transition separates the surface of the forehead from the plane of the eyes, then a softer transition marks the cheek moving from the temples to the nose-mouth area. It follows that an ideal continual line forehead-temple-mouth circles this part of the face.

'The eyes, too, are carved in accordance with a fixed pattern. The craftsman created jutting surfaces from the cavity below the eyebrow arc and the cheekbone. The eyeball is surrounded by a deep groove, the upper eyelid is a curved strip in relief. The eyebrows are deeply carved curved lines.

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

‘The characteristics just described correspond to the carving pattern applied by the artisans who worked the set. The figures carved, however, are not identical to each other, but the modelling was done through a variety of micro-variants in rendering the anatomic details. This is particularly evident in the frontal faces: some are very similar in the sense that they have the same association of micro-variants, while others seem rather more diversified. . . . That the same association of micro-variants are found on different plaques cannot be coincidental, just as it is improbable that the set from Khorsabad was worked by a single craftsman who more or less consciously worked at diversifying the various series of identical faces.

‘The hypothesis to be formulated, therefore, is that different craftsmen worked the set and that each one of them (hand) is recognizable for having produced the same association of micro-variants. Supporting this hypothesis is the fact that the same associations recur in some plaques of the ‘Wig and Wing’ group from Fort Shalmaneser’ (2005, 565).

The Khorsabad women have wigs with double-tied locks and wear a rectangular jewel with pendants in the centre and earrings (Loud & Altman 1938, pl. 51, nos. 29-37). The windows have the usual triple recesses, outlined with incised lines, and sills resting on four short voluted balusters. Openwork sphinxes with their heads turned to the front at Khorsabad (Loud & Altman 1938, nos. 42-56) and in the Fort (*I.N.* IV, nos. 534-541, *I.N.* V, nos. 95, 219, 226, 406-410) were probably wearing a version of the sun-disc and *uraeus* crown, preserved on the sphinx of *I.N.* V, no. 406, and the winged youths of *I.N.* V, nos. 115-118 and 393-400. This consists of a sun disc, more oval than circular in form, flanked by *uraei*, which form a rib over the top. The locks of the wigs are either plain or hatched and may be tied with single or double ties. Most sphinxes are equipped with the *usekh* collar, represented frontally, an apron decorated with chevrons and a pendant *uraeus*. However, one Khorsabad sphinx has a second collar on its chest (Loud & Altman 1938, no. 42), while two Nimrud sphinxes have only a beaded necklace and a line outlining the chest (*I.N.* V, nos. 219 and 406). These variations were presumably the choice of the craftsman. The gently arching tripartite wings start behind the chest and continue to the belly. The modelling is plastic, there are no muscle markings, but a raised, moulded muscle on the haunches is characteristic.

Scigliuzzo identifies the work of five different hands at Khorsabad, with the same craftsman working both on women at the window and sphinxes (2005, 564-567; 2009, 218-219), the same pattern of work as in the ivories from Room V/W. For instance, the same eyes, mouth, nose and proportions occur on the Khorsabad sphinxes, nos. 42-43 and the Khorsabad women, nos. 30-32 (Loud & Altman 1938, pls. 52-53). These panels can be compared with the Nimrud sphinx, *I.N.* V, no. 226, all of which she attributes to Hand 2. She also tentatively attributes one of the finest examples, the sphinx of *I.N.* V, no. 406, to the same hand. As noted by Herrmann and Scigliuzzo, Khorsabad panels nos. 29 and 37 are essentially identical to one from Room S10 in Fort Shalmaneser (Herrmann, *I.N.* V, 30-31, 65, no. 110; Scigliuzzo, 2005, 566), and are attributed by Scigliuzzo to Hand 1 (2005, 590; 2009, 218-219).

Scigliuzzo does not include in her workshop two examples from SW37, which might belong: one is the right side of a panel, the other an inset, both with women with long hair and earrings (*I.N.* IV, nos. 407, 409). The inset would have had an inlay, perhaps a strip of glass, similar to examples from Arslan Tash (Thureau Dangin *et al.*, 1931, pl. xxxvi, nos. 56-58). A group of panels found in Room NW15 might also form part of the workshop. This consists of four openwork women at the window (*I.N.* V, nos. 467-470) and a delicate set of openwork griffins (*I.N.* V, 126, nos. 459-466). The panels of the women at the window are slightly smaller than those from Khorsabad and Room S10, and the triple frames lack the incised lines: the ladies only have a small, simple rectangle resting on their wigs with single-tied locks, and their faces are chubbier, but minor variations within a workshop are common. The rounded cheeks would certainly indicate a different hand, if they were a product of the workshop. The elegantly curving wings of the griffins and the replacement of their *usekh* collars with lines are similar to those on the famous panel from Arslan Tash with opposed sphinxes, also attributed to the ‘Wig and Wing’ workshop (Thureau Dangin *et al.* 1931, pl. 27, no. 22; *I.N.* VI, 85-87).

Another outstanding piece also not mentioned by Scigliuzzo but possibly not only part of the ‘Wig and Wing’ workshop but also carved by Hand 2 is the sphinx of the magnificent lunette, *I.N.* V, no. 95. The sphinx, head represented frontally, has a crown consisting of a combination of the Egyptian double crown with *atef* plumes, a typical Syrian-Intermediate misunderstanding of Egyptian iconography. This is set on a headcloth, on which the ears lie flat. The eyes are deeply excised: the face is superbly modelled and can be compared with *I.N.* V, no. 406. The sphinx has a collar, similar to that of *I.N.* V, no. 226, an apron with pendant *uraeus*, also seen on *I.N.* V, no. 406,



Khorsabad fig. 29, Hand 1



Khorsabad fig. 31, Hand 2



Khorsabad fig. 43, Hand 2



V, 110, Hand 1



V, 226, Hand 2



IV, 406, Hand 2



V, 95



V, 467



V, 459

Fig. 4d. 'Wig and Wing' ivories from Khorsabad and Nimrud. Row 1: Khorsabad panel 29, Scigliuzzo's Hand 1; Khorsabad panels 31 and 43, Scigliuzzo's Hand 2; Row 2, Woman at the Window, Hand 1, sphinxes, Hand 2; Row 3, possible additions to the 'Wig and Wing' workshop; the sphinx lunette from S30 and woman at the window and griffins from Room NW 15.

## Ivories from Nimrud VII

gently curving wings, a muscle modelled on the hindquarters and a tightly curled tail.

### 'Wig and Wing' panels with faces in profile

A few panels depict figures represented in profile rather than full-face: these, of course, unfortunately lack the full range of micro-variants established by Scigliuzzo (2005, 583-584). Nevertheless, they can also be attributed to the 'Wig and Wing' group. These include the Khorsabad winged women (Loud & Altman 1938, pl. 52, nos. 37-40), who wore squashed versions of the Egyptian double crown on tripartite wigs and long garments with shawled sleeves, and the Fort Shalmaneser winged youths wearing the sun disc and *uraei* crown on tripartite wigs (*I.N.* V, nos. 115-118 and 393-400). The better-preserved nos. 115-118 have small figures crowned with sun discs, squatting on papyrus flowers in front of them. Another member of the group is the fragmentary *I.N.* V, no. 207, a unique panel showing a youth with four wings wearing a short garment and long overskirt and grasping *uraei* in his outstretched hands. This design can also be seen on some ceramic moulds attached to an Assyrian pot (Curtis and Herrmann 1998). Unfortunately the face of a fragmentary male figure holding a bird from Room NW21 (*I.N.* V, no. 402) has not survived, although the double-tied locks of the wig and the pleated and beaded overskirt make it possible that this was also a product of the 'Wig and Wing' workshop, as may be the youth with sceptre and flail of *I.N.* IV, no. 401.

Scigliuzzo added the 'pointed ear' group of sphinxes, identified in *I.N.* IV, 14-15,<sup>1</sup> to her 'Wig and Wing' workshop. Unfortunately, the original group defined in 1986 was not particularly coherent, and neither is Scigliuzzo's smaller group.<sup>2</sup> However, a case can be made for adding some of the sphinxes with the Egyptian double crown to the 'Wig and Wing' group (*I.N.* IV, nos. 501-507 and 512-513). She points out similarities between the carving of the faces of the sphinxes and the youths from the North West Palace (2005, 575-577; *I.N.* VI, nos. 99-104) and attributes them



Khorsabad 38



V, 115



V, 207



V, 393



V, 401



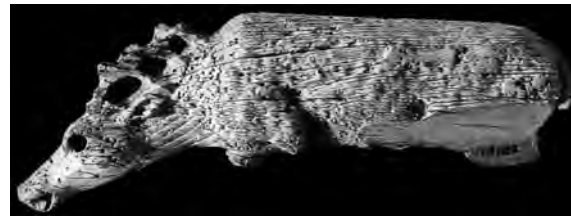
IV, 502



IV, 512



top V, 122



V, 137



I, 137

Fig. 4e. 'Wig and Wing' ivories. Row 1, winged woman from Khorsabad, fig. 38, three winged youths from Nimrud and a possible 'Wig and Wing' panel; Row 2, two 'Pointed Ear' sphinxes from SW37, a cow and a stag from Room V/W and a frontlet from SW37.

<sup>1</sup> *I.N.* IV, nos. 501-517, 524-526, 595, 602-603, 769-771, 499-500?

<sup>2</sup> *I.N.* IV, nos. 501-507, 508-516.

to Hand 9 ? = Hand 5 (2005, 594).

Layard found a few fragmentary silhouettes of *cows suckling calves* and *browsing stags* in Room V/W, but not in the doorway with the other ivories (*I.N.* VI, nos. 122-136 and 137-139). The cows have excised eyes, ears marked on the necks, double horns with fringed base, 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 was no upper rail: the panels were fixed to their wooden backings by keyhole slots and rails at the bottom. The poorly preserved stags are similar, and it is possible that both the cows and the stags were carved in the ‘Wig and Wing’ workshop.

When in the British Museum Scigliuzzo also studied *bridle harness* and *fan handles* and included some of these in the production of her workshop. Scigliuzzo, Herrmann and Wicke attribute four triangular bridle frontlets from SW37 to the ‘Wig and Wing’ group (Wicke 1999, 814 f.; Scigliuzzo 2005, 568-572; *I.N.* VI, 85; Wicke 2009, 260, figs. 28-29). These show the mistress of animals, represented frontally, holding a pair of lions (Barnett, *C.N.I.*, 1975, S146; *I.N.* I, 136-139). The mistresses have similar sun disc and *uraei* crowns to those worn by ‘Wig and Wing’ sphinxes and youths (e.g. *I.N.* IV, nos. 534-541, *I.N.* V, no. 393-400, 406), and the hair, diadem and features of the faces can also be compared to ‘Wig and Wing’ sphinxes and women at the window. Scigliuzzo goes further and attributes more frontlets and blinkers to the workshop, but these are less convincing (Wicke 1999, 814 f.).<sup>3</sup> At present, it is safer to include only the four frontlets discussed above.

Scigliuzzo also draws attention to similarities between the faces on two fan handles to those of Nimrud and Khorsabad sphinxes (2005, 2009, 212-217). She compares Barnett *C.N.I.*, 1975, S294, with Fort Shalmaneser *I.N.* V, no. 226 and Khorsabad, nos. 42-44, and attributes them to Hand 2 (2005, 568, figs. 5, 9 and 16). She also compares Barnett, *C.N.I.*, 1975, S293, with Fort Shalmaneser *I.N.* V, no. 219 and Khorsabad no. 47, and attributes them to Hand 4 (2005, 568, fig. 14). Less convincing is her inclusion of S295, an entirely different type of object (2006, 568, pl. II).

‘Wig and wing’ ivories are the most sophisticated and attractive of the Syrian-Intermediate ivories. They have a distinctive style, are on the whole easy to recognize and are technically competent. However, the examples found to date have a surprisingly limited range of subjects, although more will doubtless be recognized in the years to come. They were probably once highlighted with gold overlays, but so far no inlaid pieces have been found. Their distribution at Nimrud is relatively limited, with most pieces being found in the North West Palace and in a few locations in the Fort, together with the fan handles from the Burnt Palace. The parallels with ivories from Khorsabad suggest their deposition in the late eighth century.

Few examples have been found outside the Assyrian homeland. The principal one is the famous openwork panel with opposed sphinxes from Arslan Tash, referred to above, and two damaged fragments of the heads of frontal sphinxes (Thureau Dangin *et al.* 1931, pls. xxvii, no. 22; xxxi, nos. 35-36). More recently excavations by Bunnens at Tell Ahmar/Til Barsib recovered a male head from a seventh century destruction layer (1997, 439-440).

#### *The ‘Crown and Scale’ Group, Fig. 4f*

Uniting sets of panels with different subjects is always challenging. In 1986 a series of panels with sphinxes, both plain and highlighted with inlays, was named the ‘scaley wing’ group. The sphinxes all share the unusual, semi-circular scales at the base of the wings and the degenerate form of the crowns among other characteristics (*I.N.* IV, 15, nos. 475-495 and 1127-1129). It was only in 1992, after locating three panels with youths (*I.N.* V, no. 242; *I.N.* VII, nos. T36-37) that act as a link between two different types of panel, that it was realized that the group showing a hero fighting a griffin, or the George and Dragon motif, *I.N.* IV, nos. 316-319, form parts of the same group as the sphinxes and the youths (see also Scigliuzzo 2005, 581-582; Wicke, 2009).

The youths are represented frontally, have sun disc and *uraei* crowns and hold palmettes. The first example was found with both sphinx and hero and griffin panels in SE10, the common provenance reinforcing the stylistic link (*I.N.* V, no. 240-243), while the two from T10 accompanied ‘Crown and Scale’ sphinxes with heads represented frontally (*I.N.* VII, nos. T36-T39). Panels with a hero and griffin, a ram-headed sphinx and the front of an inlaid sphinx also occurred together in Room NE59 (*I.N.* V, nos. 328-330). Crowns, hair and garments and general technique are similar, and the new group was named the ‘Crown and Scale’ group (*I.N.* V, 32-33).

<sup>3</sup> 2005, 569-570: Group II, *I.N.* I, nos. 122-124, 125?, 149; Group III, *I.N.* I, nos. 109-114; Group IV, *I.N.* I, nos. 40-41.

*Ivories from Nimrud VII*



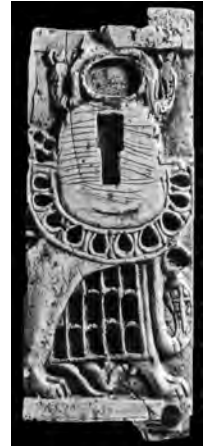
VII, 279



VII, 290



IV, 481



IV, 1127



VI, 265.



IV, 493.



VII, T39.



IV, 490.



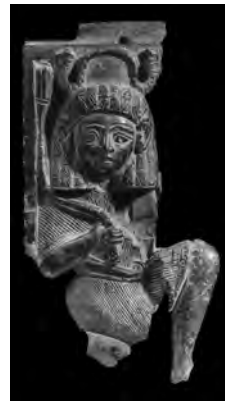
IV, 316



V, 240



V, 242



VII, T36



VII, T35



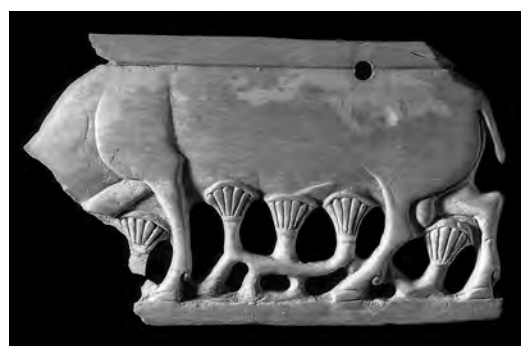
VII, T69



VI, 266



VI, 267



VI, 360

*Fig.4f. Panels of the 'Crown and Scale' group.*

Sphinxes seem to be the most popular subject. Two groups of panels were found in SW11/12 and SW37. The largest set, consisting of at least 21 similarly-sized panels or panel fragments, *I.N.* VII, nos. 279-299, was found in the small room SW11, probably close together. Unfortunately, no record survives of their relationship, although the range of numbers in brackets after their ND numbers (Appendix Four) suggests that some record of their locations must have been kept. These panels each measure just less than 7.0 cm. in height, with a width varying between 7.8 and 7.4 cm. If they were mounted in a continuous rail, this would have measured about 1.60 m., or split in two, 2 x 80 cm. The SW37 sphinxes are varied in size: they belong to a number of different sets with both human and ram heads, include some griffins and a few inlaid examples (*I.N.* IV, nos. 475-495, 1127-1129).

Characteristics of the group include degenerate versions of Egyptian crowns, facial features with a short eyebrow, elongated eye with central dot, large ear with long lobe, straight nose, modelled mouth, firm chin and garments made of a pleated material with a beaded hem, the belt ending in a volute. The scales on collars, aprons and wings are outlined with ribs, the bodies are stocky, and there is no musculature. The edges of the backs are slightly bevelled and there are some fitter's marks.

While the above form the standard series, there are some unusual examples. A panel from Well AJ of the North West Palace, *I.N.* VI, no. 265, is one of the finest. It is exceptionally large, very finely worked and shows the front of a human-headed sphinx with a version of the sun disc and *uraeus* crown. Found in the same Well were two smaller and much less sophisticated panels, one showing winged goddesses grasping the stalks of a lotus and papyrus plant, the other an openwork stylized tree (*I.N.* VI, nos. 266-267). Each of these contains a 'capped flower', a flower, identified by Scigliuzzo as characteristic of the group (2005, 582). A similar capped flower can be seen on the stag of *I.N.* VI, no. 360. There is a Phoenician version of this flower, the capped papyrus, see Chapter Three, Fig. 3i.

Another possible member of the group is a unique piece found in T10. It is the front of a large sphinx, head shown frontally, with elaborate hair, curled beard, and deeply excised eyes and eyebrows above an *usekh* collar, shown frontally and round the chest (*I.N.* VII, no. T35). Another unique panel from T10, a room with many exceptional pieces, might also form part of the 'Crown and Scale' group (*I.N.* VII, no. T69). It has a guilloche frame all round it and four vertical registers, each of which shows the heads, chests and paws only of two winged lions and two winged, human-headed sphinxes. The creatures are crowned with the sun-disc and have large *usekh* collars. Like the large sphinx, additional evidence is needed to confirm this attribution.

So far, no small, obviously 'Crown and Scale' objects have been identified, but this does not, of course, mean that they will not be in future, particularly after a detailed study of the material from the Burnt Palace. Examples of furniture panels have mostly been found in Fort Shalmaneser, with a few from Well AJ of the North West Palace. Outside Nimrud, fragments of a pair of sphinx panels, stylistically identical to panels from Room SW11/12, were found in the Idaean cave on Mount Ida in Crete (Sakellarakis 1992; *I.N.* VI, pp. 88-89, fig. 35).

#### *The 'Tall Crown' Group, Figs. 4b, g*

In *I.N.* IV, 13-14, it was suggested that a distinctive 'triple flower' blooming above the wings of some sphinxes was a workshop marker. However, further study has made this preliminary suggestion untenable (see discussion in Chapter Two, 39, Fig. 2j, and Uehlinger 2005, 173, note 56). The flower consists of a central voluted palmette flower with lilies growing from the volute ends on either side. Panels with this flower, or traces of it, found in SW37 are *I.N.* IV, nos. 429, 453, 527-528 and 599-601. Most of these examples are clearly Phoenician, such as the modelled Ornate Group sphinx of *I.N.* IV, no. 527, with its proportions of 1:2, Egyptian double crown on the *nemes* headcloth, Osiride beard, *usekh* collar and apron, double frames and general style, or the hindquarters of *I.N.* IV, no. 528 (Fig. 2j).

Other panels are Syrian-Intermediate. The proportions of the sphinxes of *I.N.* IV, nos. 599-601 are 1:1 rather than the Phoenician 1:2, and the depth of relief is deeper (1.4 cm. as opposed to 0.8 cm.). The Egyptian double crown is taller and set on a striped headcloth, as if representing hair. Two sets belonging to this group with tall crowns and triple flowers were found in Room SW11/12 (*I.N.* VII, nos. 253-270 and 271-278). Some are simple sphinx panels, others show sphinxes walking on the heads and hands of squatting youths. The sphinxes are both ram and human-headed with one foot on the heads of the youths and the other on their raised hands. The youths have short wigs, are wearing short pleated skirts, decorated at waist and hem and are sitting with knees raised. These 'Tall Crown' panels



IV, 599



IV, 601



VII, 271



VII, 272



VII, 262



VII, 268



VII, 257

*Fig. 4g. Sphinxes of the 'Tall Crown' group with triple flowers.*

with sphinxes striding on youths (*I.N.* VII, nos. 253-270) may be versions of an 'Ornate Group' original (*I.N.* VII, no. 251, Fig. 4b), copied right down to the unusual type of flower but employing a different style and proportions. On the Phoenician version the youths are kneeling rather than sitting, with one knee raised and the other beneath them. They wear short pleated skirts, belted at the waist, with decorated hems. The sphinx has the Egyptian double crown with the spiral or volute at the front forming an extension of the Red Crown, a type of crown

similar to those on a series of panels with couchant sphinxes from Room SW37 (*I.N.* IV, no. 645-653, Chapter Three, Fig. 3h).

Another Syrian-Intermediate feature on these panels is the voluted palmette flowers between the legs of some examples (*I.N.* VII, nos. 272, 273, 275, 277): filling the ground with flowers is a feature also seen on 'Crown and Scale' sphinxes. It is perhaps worth noting that most of the tails form a curve above the hindquarters: one, however, no. 271, forms an S-shape. This is, as so often, a craftsman variable, as also is the presence/absence of genitalia (Herrmann 2005, 16).

A very worn panel from Samaria probably forms part of the group (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pl. V, no. 3 and 3a: Uehlinger 2005, 172-173, pl. xxiv, no. 3).

*The 'Beaky Nose' Group, Fig. 4h*

A small set of human-headed sphinxes from Room SW37 (*I.N.* IV, nos. 471-474) is stylistically distinct, united by the fine striping of headcloth and wings, a large eye, beaky nose and small chin, no collar but an apron with a herringbone design. In *I.N.* IV, 16, these fragmentary pieces were united to the fragments, nos. 611-614, with similarly striped headdresses and wings and an unusual voluted palmette flower with many petals and deeply curved volutes. No such fragments have been found elsewhere in the Fort, although a panel found by Layard in Room V/W of the North West Palace has similar features and wings, also lacks a collar but has an apron and similar voluted palmette flowers (*I.N.* VI, 89, no. 141). The Room V/W panel was first compared with two from Samaria in 1938



Fig. 4h. Panels of the 'Beaky Nose' group.

by Crowfoot (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, 20, pl. V, 1-2). The Samaria sphinxes have similar headdresses, features and wings, and the apron parallels the North West Palace example. The sphinxes are set in a field of flowering lotus plants. A Samaritan fragment with striped wings and the unusual voluted palmette flower also forms part of the group (Crowfoot & Crowfoot 1938, pl. VII, 4).

When building groups, there is always a tendency to include extra pieces, and this has been the case with the 'Beaky Nose' group. In *I.N.* IV Herrmann added the procession scene, nos. 940-941, some frontal sphinxes, nos. 1130-1135, and raised the possibility of nos. 393-395. None of these are convincing members of the group. Both Uehlinger (2005, 171-173) and Scigliuzzo (2006) also suggested additions, including *I.N.* IV, nos. 679-680, which share the unusual beading of the headdress with nos. 611-614, and nos. 923-938. The latter is a very unusual group of ivories with a unique range of figures, of which similar fragments have been found in T10, *I.N.* VII, nos. T84-T95. In Chapter Three it is suggested that they *may* belong to the 'Crinkly Hair' group, but there seems little reason to place them in the 'Beaky Nose' group.

However, there is a pair of panels, unfortunately heavily restored, which might belong to the 'Beaky Nose' group. These are the couchant sphinxes of *I.N.* V, nos. 123-124, which have fine striped headdresses and wings; their hands hold up lotus flowers like those on the Samaria panels. They are a Syrian version of the Phoenician couchant sphinxes of *I.N.* IV, nos. 645-647, 649.

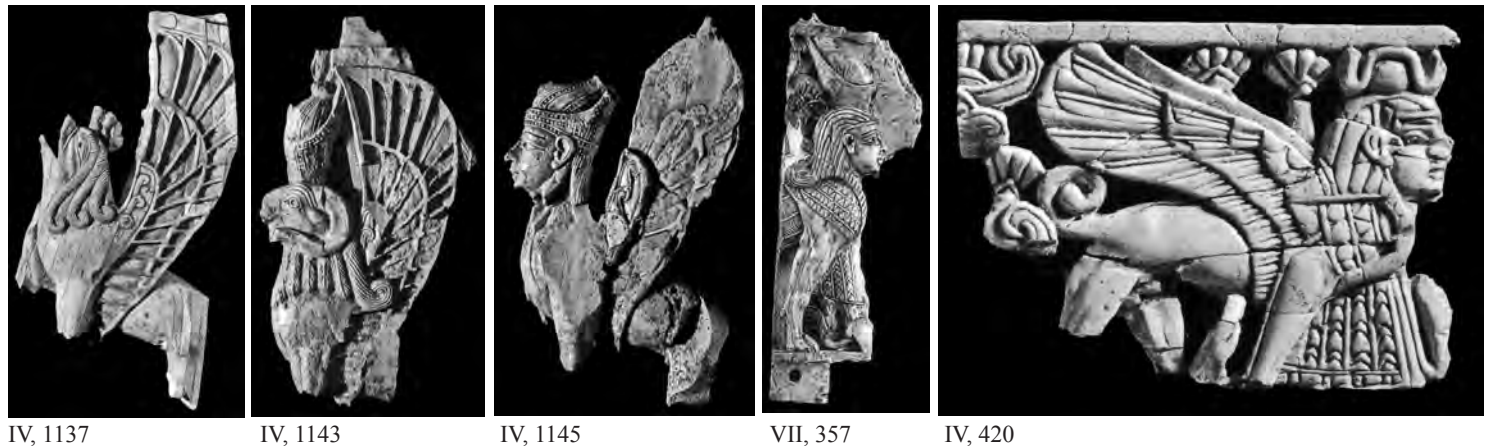
#### *Sphinxes and griffins, Fig. 4i*

An interesting set of fragments, probably Syrian-Intermediate, shows sphinxes and griffins, which are united by the type of inlay and by the hooks at the base of the wings. They consist of some beautifully carved rampant griffins (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1137-1142) and four sphinxes (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1143-1147; VII, no. 445). The crown only survives on one of the two ram-headed sphinxes: it is a tall version of the Egyptian double crown set on an unusual fronded or feathered headdress. The human-headed sphinx also has an Egyptian double crown on an indeterminate headdress.

Other sphinxes and griffins assigned to the Syrian-Intermediate tradition are noted in the list at the end of the chapter. They have been placed there because of their proportions among other features but are not attributed to a named group and are of varying quality. For instance, the three sphinxes from SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 357-359 are finely worked, but their proportions and rendering of the Egyptian regalia mark them out as Syrian-Intermediate rather than Phoenician. Equally the sphinx of *I.N.* IV, no. 420 is clearly non-Phoenician, as is the griffin on the small panel, *I.N.* IV, no. 470.

#### *Pharaoh figures with ram-headed sceptres and jugs, Fig. 4j*

In an article in 2005 Serena Cecchini discussed the well-known motif of a worshipper with a ram-headed sceptre and jug, first documented in the Levant in the 13<sup>th</sup> century (2005, 248-250, pls. xxxii-xxxiii). This motif is an excellent illustration of how a design travels across an area, being represented in different Syrian-Intermediate



IV, 1137      IV, 1143      IV, 1145      VII, 357      IV, 420

Fig. 4i. Panels with sphinxes and a griffin.

styles and probably gaining different interpretations.

The originals of the series on ivory panels were probably the Classic Phoenician and Phoenician examples discussed in Chapters Two and Three (Figs. 2g, 3a and b). The Classic Phoenician panels with pairs of Pharaoh figures confronting stylized trees (Fig. 2g, 3a, *I.N.* VII, nos. 64-82) are the finest of the series and probably formed the model for the others. These were followed by the Phoenician panels, also with two Pharaoh figures (Fig. 3a-b, *I.N.* VII, nos. 83-93), and then by Phoenician panels with single Pharaoh figures (Fig. 3b, *I.N.* IV, nos. 338-341). It is this version that travels east, with interpretations of steadily decreasing accuracy.

A fine panel from SW37 (*I.N.* IV, no. 337) is a reasonably accurate version, while the proportions of one from



IV, 337      III, 87      IV, 347      IV, 350      IV, 357

Fig. 4j. Syrian-Intermediate versions of the motif of worshippers with ram-headed sceptres and jugs.

Room SW7 are stockier, the crown has changed and the jug supports a large, voluted palmette flower (*I.N.* III, no. 87). Different again are the panels of *I.N.* IV, nos. 347-348, 350 and 355, with crowns with heavy frontal spirals and with elements growing from the jug. The motif can also be seen on one of the two 'procession panels', *I.N.* IV, nos. 940-941. The lead worshipper of no. 940 carries a sceptre and jug, as may a worshipper on the fragment of another procession, *I.N.* IV, no. 944. Cecchini points out that the same motif also occurs on a procession scene from Arslan Tash (2005, pl. xxxv; Thureau Dangin *et al.*, 1931, pl. xxxii, 39). With the jug supporting a flower and the sceptre translated into a lotus blossom, yet another version can be seen on two trapezoidal plaques (Fig. 3q, bottom row: *I.N.* IV, nos. 23-24). However, the most bizarre and distant version is perhaps *I.N.* IV, no. 357. The design is clearly recognizable, but the style is entirely different.

*Bovids and cervids, Fig. 4k*

Many panels are carved with cattle, both bulls and cows with their calves. These are repeating designs, which probably decorated long rails. They are not easy to attribute to the different traditions, apart from some obvious ones, like the Ornate Group cow and calf of *I.N. V*, no. 479, or perhaps the bulky browsing bull of *I.N. IV*, nos. 728-729, with eyes drilled with a centred bit, probably made in a North Syrian workshop. It may be that most of these rails were made in Syrian-Intermediate workshops. The methods of fixing vary, from frames at top and bottom, as in the cows and calves from NW21 (*I.N. V*, nos. 381-389), to the back of the animal replacing the top frame, on the ‘Wig and Wing’ cows from Room V/W (Fig. 4e: *I.N. VI*, nos. 122-136), or the bulls from SW37 (*I.N. IV*, nos. 748-753). Solid panels with their scratched backs decorated with cows and calves or processions of bulls (*I.N. IV*, nos. 702-706, 709-713) would have been glued in position, while the fixing of the fragile openwork examples were reinforced by keyhole slots.

Browsing stags were less popular than bovids but were probably made in the same workshops and fixed in the same ways (*I.N. V*, nos. 369-380; *I.N. VI*, no. 137).

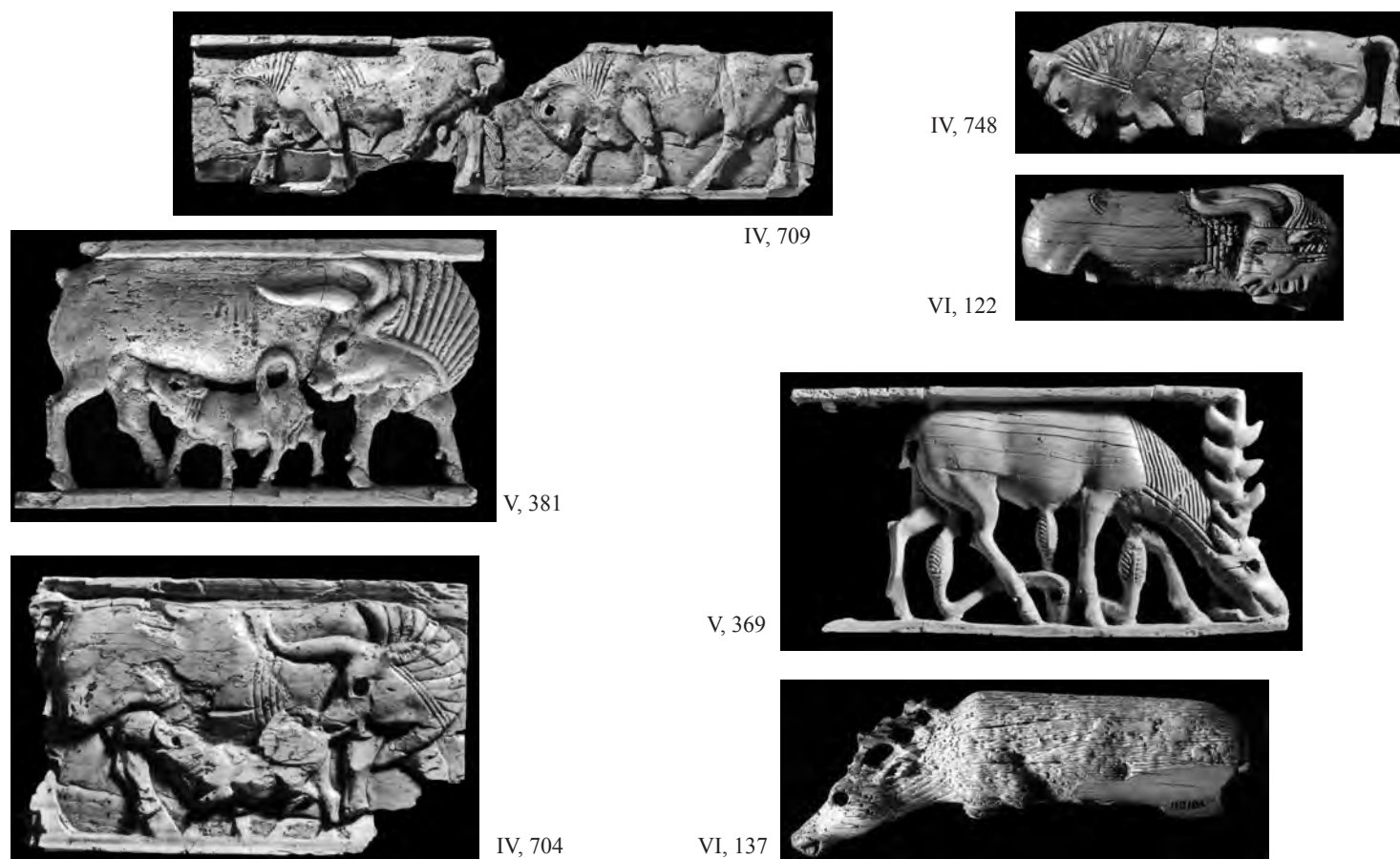


Fig. 4k. Syrian-Intermediate versions of cows with their calves, bulls and stags.

*Problem pieces, Fig. 4l*

Fragments of an unusual set of panels from Well AJ and Room QQ of the North West Palace (*I.N. VI*, nos. 242-243 and 341) form parts of a long openwork panel with twisted frames and show pairs of opposed men saluting a stylized tree and holding *ankhs*. They are unique in many ways, in the unusual ‘vase-hats’ with a crowned *uraei* at the front and flowers from the tops catching the ends of the curls of hair and in their long garments with open skirts made up of what looks like rows of scales. There is also a fragment of a sphinx with a similar ‘vase-hat’ and a hatched base to the angled wings, a very North Syrian feature. As discussed in *I.N. VI*, p. 192, these pieces show a combination of Syrian-Intermediate and North Syrian elements.

### *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

Another problem set from Room SW37 shows human-headed sphinxes, their heads looking out (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1130-1133). They wear hats forming a knob at the top, decorated with beading. Their ears are huge, and their hair falls in heavy ringlets onto the shoulder. Their front paws rest on the branches of a stylized tree. There are muscle markings on front and back legs. The panels are carved in very high relief, and the wings contain crudely cut cloisons. Again, their origin is uncertain.

Syrian-Intermediate ivories clearly do not belong either to the Phoenician or to the North Syrian traditions. As defined to date, they are not particularly numerous. Equally the range of subjects is limited. Most designs are versions of Phoenician originals, carved in different styles.



VI, 242



VI, 243



VI, 341



IV, 1130

*Fig.41. Some problem pieces, possibly Syrian-Intermediate?*

*List of Ivories of the Syrian-Intermediate Tradition**The 'Wig and Wing' Group*

Discussion *I.N.* V, 30-31; VI, 83-88; Scigliuzzo 2004, 2005/2006, 557-607; 2009, 209-237; Wicke 2009

- North West Palace, Room V/W, *I.N.* VI, nos. 99-104 – crowned youths  
 North West Palace, Room V/W, *I.N.* VI, nos. 110-113 – women at the window  
 North West Palace, Room V/W, *I.N.* VI, nos. 115-120 – female heads  
 North West Palace, Room V/W, *I.N.* VI, nos. 122-136 – cows and calves  
 North West Palace, Room V/W, *I.N.* VI, nos. 137-139 – stags
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 295 – winged youth with squatting figure on flower  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 407, 409 – women at the window  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 499-500 – griffins  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 501-503 – pointed ear sphinxes  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 505-507 – pointed ear sphinxes  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 512-513 – pointed ear sphinxes  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 534-541 – frontal sphinxes  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 596-598 – hindquarters of sphinxes  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room S30, *I.N.* V, no. 95 – openwork lunette, sphinx  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room S10, *I.N.* V, no. 110 – woman at window  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room S10, *I.N.* V, nos. 111-112 – heads for woman at window  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room S10, *I.N.* V, nos. 115-118 – winged Pharaohs  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room S10, *I.N.* V, no. 207 – winged youth with *uraei*  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room S10, *I.N.* V, nos. 219 & 226 – frontal sphinxes  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE10, *I.N.* V, nos. 244-245 – frontal heads  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE10, *I.N.* V, nos. 251-258 – woman at window fragments  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room NW21, *I.N.* V, nos. 393-400 – winged youths  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room NW21, *I.N.* V, no. 401 – youth with sceptre, flail and cartouche  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room NW21, *I.N.* V, no. 402 – man with bird  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room NW21, *I.N.* V, nos. 406-410 – sphinxes facing frontally  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room NW21, *I.N.* V, nos. 438-441 – fragments, women at window  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room NW15, *I.N.* V, nos. 459-466 – griffins, possibly W & W?  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room NW15, *I.N.* V, nos. 467-470 – women at window  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 53-54 – heads  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 209-210 – griffins  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room T10, *I.N.* VII, no. T40-T55 – sphinx fragments

*Bridle harness and fan handle*

- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* I, nos. 136-139 – mistress of animals  
 Burnt Palace, *C.N.I.*, pls. lxxxviii-lxxxix, S293-S294 – Fan handle, four figures

*Khorsabad, Room 13, Nabu Temple*

- Loud and Altman, Khorsabad II, 1938, pls. 52-53, nos. 29-37 – women at the window  
 Loud and Altman, Khorsabad II, 1938, pl. 52, nos. 38-40 – winged females  
 Loud and Altman, Khorsabad II, 1938, pls. 52-54, nos. 42-56 – frontal sphinxes  
 Loud and Altman, Khorsabad II, 1938, pl. 55, nos. 60-61, 63 – tied trees

*Arslan Tash*

- Thureau Dangin, et al., 1931, no. 22, pl. XXVII – opposed sphinxes  
 Thureau Dangin, et al., 1931, nos. 35-36, pl. XXXI – fragments of heads

*The 'Crown and Scale' Group*

- North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N.* VI, no. 265 – sphinx  
 North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N.* VI, no. 266 – winged deities  
 North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N.* VI, no. 267 – tree  
 North West Palace, Well NN, *I.N.* VI, no. 360 – browsing stag  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 316-319 – hero and griffin  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 475-496 – sphinxes and griffins  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1127-1129 – inlaid sphinxes  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Corridor E, *I.N.* V, no. 99 – frontal head

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE1, *I.N.* V, no. 217 – sphinx fragment  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE10, *I.N.* V, nos. 240-241 – hero and griffin  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE10, *I.N.* V, no. 242 – frontal male  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE10, *I.N.* V, no. 243 – sphinx, inlaid  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room NE59, *I.N.* V, no. 328 – hero and griffin  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room NE59, *I.N.* V, nos. 329-330 – sphinxes, one inlaid  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 279-299 – sphinxes  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 439-441? – sphinxes  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room T10, *I.N.* VII, nos. T36-37 – kneeling males  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room T10, *I.N.* VII, nos. T38-39 – frontal sphinxes

### *Possibly 'Crown and Scale'*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room T10, *I.N.* VII, no. T35 – frontal sphinx  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room T10, *I.N.* VII, no. T69 ? – frontal heads, lions and sphinxes ?

Idaeian Cave, see *I.N.* VI, 88, fig. 35 – (photographic reconstruction of panel) sphinx

### *The 'Tall Crown' Group*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 599-601 – sphinxes  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 253-270 – sphinxes striding over seated figures  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 271-278 – sphinxes  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 357-359 – sphinxes

### *The 'Beaky Nose' Group*

North West Palace, Room V/W, *I.N.* VI, no. 141 – sphinx  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 471-474, 611-614 – sphinxes  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room S10, *I.N.* V, nos. 123-124 – couchant sphinxes

*Samaria*, pls. V, 1-2, VII, 4 – panels with triple frame, and sphinxes with lotus flowers

### *Syrian-Intermediate ivories, varied subjects*

#### *Sphinxes and griffins*

North West Palace, Room A, *I.N.* VI, no. 81 – sphinx  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 420-421 – sphinx and stylized tree  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 466-469, 510, 524-525, 595, 621 – sphinxes  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 470 – griffin  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1137-1142 – inlaid griffins  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1143-1145 – inlaid sphinxes  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE9, *I.N.* V, no. 193 – sphinx  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 357-359 – sphinxes  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 445 – inlaid sphinx

#### *People*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW7, *I.N.* III, no. 87 – Pharaoh with sceptre and jug  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 337, 347-348, 350, 355 – Pharaoh with sceptre and jug  
North West Palace, Room A, *I.N.* VI, no. 79 – man holding *ankh*  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 320-321 – winged women  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 324-329 – winged youths with *uraei*  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 82-84 – plaques, hero and griffin  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 4-6 – plaques, youths with winged *uraei*

#### *Bovids and cervids*

North West Palace, Room V/W, *I.N.* VI, nos. 122-136 – cows and calves  
North West Palace, Room V/W, *I.N.* VI, nos. 137-139 – browsing stags  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room NW21, *I.N.* V, nos. 381-389 – cows and calves  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room NW21, *I.N.* V, nos. 332, 369-380 – browsing stags

### *Syrian-Intermediate or North Syrian?*

North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N.* VI, nos. 242-243 – men holding *ankhs* and sphinx  
North West Palace, Room QQ, *I.N.* VI, no. 341 – man holding *ankh* and tree  
Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1130-1135 – frontal sphinxes and trees, inlaid

## CHAPTER FIVE

### *Ivories of the North Syrian Tradition and Other Centres*

Poulsen was the first to recognize that the ivories found by Layard and Loftus in the North West and Burnt Palaces could be divided into two groups, the Phoenician and the North Syrian (1912). He noticed that North Syrian ivories lacked the Egyptian elements typical of Phoenician ivories but could be compared to stone reliefs found at Syrian sites such as Carchemish, Zinjirli and Tell Halaf. The primary publication of the ivories found in the nineteenth century at Nimrud was R.D. Barnett's *Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, first published in 1957 and revised and enlarged in 1975. Barnett attributed the ivories found by Layard in the North West Palace to the Phoenician tradition and those found by Loftus in the South East Palace (later identified as the Burnt Palace) to North Syria. In addition to the absence of Egyptian features in North Syrian ivories, Barnett also noted the presence of Hurrian and Hittite elements inherited from the second millennium.

While Barnett was working on *C.N.I.*, the excavations of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq from 1949-1963 not only increased the numbers of ivories found in the North West and Burnt palaces but also revolutionized ivory studies with the recovery of thousands of pieces found in Fort Shalmaneser.

In 1973 Irene Winter completed an important doctoral thesis, *North Syria in the early first millennium B.C., with special reference to ivory carving*, which set North Syrian luxury production in its historical and economic contexts. Although this only appeared as a Michigan microfilm in 1981, it was preceded and followed by a series of articles based on it (1976a & b, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1985, 1989; 2005, all reprinted 2010).

The largest number of outstanding small objects, many belonging to the North Syrian tradition, was found by the Iraqi Department of Antiquities and Heritage in 1975 and 1976, when they succeeded in emptying Well AJ of the North West Palace. They recovered superbly preserved ivories from the sludge at the bottom, including some of the finest ivories found at Nimrud (*I.N.* VI, 45-46, 179-208, nos. 223-298). These were speedily published by Fuad Safar and Muyasser Sa'ied al-'Iraqi in 1987. They include pieces belonging to two well-known North Syrian groups, the 'Flame and Frond' and the 'Round-cheeked and Ringletted', which are summarized below but discussed more fully in *I.N.* VI, 91-100.

The principal discovery of North Syrian ivories in Fort Shalmaneser was made in 1957 and 1958 with the recovery of a series of large curved panels from Room SW7, one of the great storerooms in the S.W. Quadrant. These panels were found stacked in rows and initially were thought to be the heads of beds or couches (Oates 1959, 105-106; Mallowan, 1966, II, 485-504). In 1974 Mallowan and Herrmann published them as the third in the *Ivories from Nimrud* series, when it was suggested that the panels more probably formed the backs of chairs than the heads of beds (*I.N.* III, 3-9).

From the time of their discovery it was recognized that the majority of these chairbacks belong to the North Syrian tradition, partly because one of the most obvious differences between Phoenician and Syrian-Intermediate ivories on the one hand and North Syrian examples on the other is the form of the winged disc. While Phoenician winged discs display a central disc flanked by *uraei*, the North Syrian version has a central disc with fronds above and below and wings springing from volutes. The winged discs on the chairbacks are all of the North Syrian variety. There is also a general absence of Egyptian features, and an element of Assyrianizing influence.

There are also ivories, which are generally North Syrian in style but not yet assigned to a specific group. These are discussed at the end of the chapter, as well as ivories from unknown centres.

#### *The 'Flame and Frond' group, Figs. 5a-d*

The 'Flame and Frond' group was first assembled in an article in *Iraq* in 1989 (Herrmann, 85-109) and has been discussed at length in *I.N.* VI, 91-98. This group is one of the easiest to recognize among North Syrian ivories because of the variety of criteria unique to it. The name given to the group, 'Flame and Frond', selects just two of

## Ivories from Nimrud VII

these criteria, the flame markings on the haunches, a continuation of a second millennium feature, and the fronds of the foliage. However, the group does not rely on these two markers but is reinforced by numerous technical and stylistic features.

The physiognomy of the humans and the musculature of the animals are both distinctive. The eyes are large and almond-shaped, either modelled or with drilled pupils, the noses and chins are pointed and the mouths small. Humans often wear pointed droopy caps and long garments of a criss-cross design. The animals, whether mythical or not, have a line incised along the top of the back with a series of small vertical lines or 'v' markings, ending in longer vertical lines in front of the tail. Other standard features include 'petal' markings on the forelegs, marking of the ribs, and 'flames', varying from two to six, growing from the front of the hindlegs. Lions have tufted manes, plait markings along the belly and haunch, and peapod markings on the hocks. Sphinxes share similar plait and peapod markings, the bases of their wings are hatched and there are two rows of feathers, extending into a point below the foreleg. Bulls have long curving horns, cross-hatching on the nose and wavy lines on the neck. There is a large oval 'hook', often containing a Y, on the shoulder and lines along the belly. Stags share similar markings. The

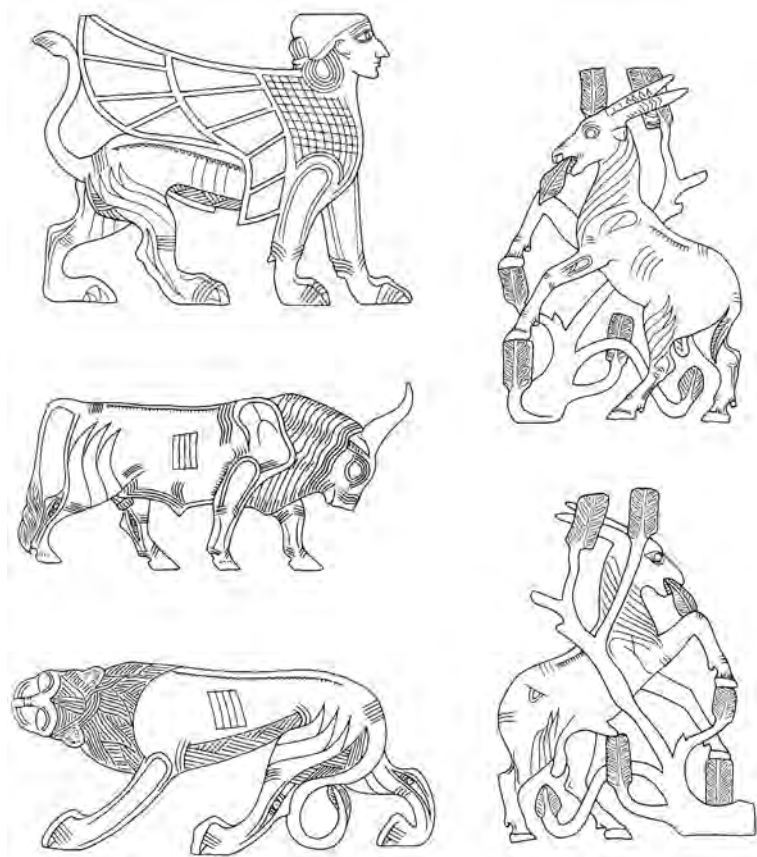


Fig. 5a. Muscle markings on animals of the 'Flame and Frond' group, drawn by Pat Clarke.

plants have twining twigs and frondy leaves. Equally distinctive is the carving of the backs of openwork panels, which repeat the design in a simplified form, a practice not seen on other ivories.

Decoration included much use of gold overlays, still surviving in some areas of the pieces recovered from Well AJ (see, for instance, *I.N.* VI, no. 233, colour plate I). Characteristic are the large inlays, set in deep cloisons and sometimes 'pegged'. Without technical examination it is hard to determine what these were made of, probably coloured ivory rather than glass. Pieces survive in the wings of *I.N.* VI, no. 234 and 236 (colour plates J and M). In addition to the pegs, these inlays must have been held by an adhesive.

The earliest and best-known examples of the 'Flame and Frond' group are the *pyxides* found by W.K. Loftus in the Burnt Palace and published by R.D. Barnett in *C.N.I.* This group was greatly expanded by discoveries made in Well AJ of the North West Palace (Safar & al-'Iraqi 1987, nos. 9-11; *I.N.* VI, nos. 233-235). They found three superb *pyxides*, relatively complete, with bases and lids with couchant calves, thus solving the purpose of these little animals, which had been found in quantity by Loftus. (Barnett, *C.N.I.*, 1975, pls. ci-cvi).

The Iraqis also recovered a magnificent *flask*, with tip and lid, a lion bowl or spoon-stopper and a silhouette of a lion attacking a bull (Safar & al-'Iraqi 1987, nos. 6-7 and 15; *I.N.* VI, nos. 236-238). The flask is decorated with four registers of design, two of bulls and two of lions attacking sphinxes. These pieces are not only remarkable in themselves but also enabled more pieces to be united to the group. For instance, the head on the tip of the flask and the heads of the sphinxes on the lion bowl show the heads of women in the round (Safar & al-'Iraqi 1987, nos. 6 and 7; *I.N.* VI, nos. 236-237). They have high crowns with pegged inlays, multiple-stringed chokers with round pendants and the distinctive physiognomy of large eye, curved nose, pouting mouth and pointed chin. The hair on the flask has long plaits curving onto the back, while that on the lion bowl has ringlets framing the face, flanked by curls. These heads are similar to *heads* and *fan handles* from the Burnt Palace both in the Loftus collection and found more recently by Mallowan (see discussion in *I.N.* VI, 94-95). The same features can also be seen on the much larger head of the 'Ugly Sister' (*I.N.* VI, no. 349).



VI, 236



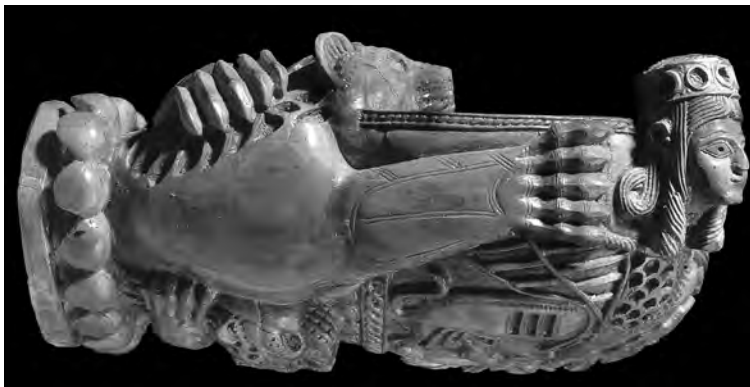
VI, 349



VI, 233



VI, 234



VI, 237



VI, 237

Fig. 5b. 'Flame and Frond' ivories found in Wells AJ and NN of the North West Palace.



*Fig. 5c. Chairback from Room SW7 and furniture leg from SW11/12 attributed to the 'Flame and Frond' group.*

*Furniture:* One of the Well AJ pyxides depicts a banquet scene carved in the standard 'Flame and Frond' style (Safar & al-'Iraqi 1987, no. 9; *I.N.* VI, 95, no. 234). This shows a ruler seated on a typical Phoenician sphinx throne with an Egyptian pylon-shaped table with zoomorphic legs in front (Fig. 5b, row 3: Gubel 1996, 142-143, 149-150). This illustrates the extent of Egyptian influence in North Syria in the early first millennium – that Egyptian furniture was represented on an otherwise typical 'Flame and Frond' banquet scene, a popular motif of the time. The front and back legs of such a chair with 'Flame and Frond' musculature were found in Room SW37 (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1441-1442), and an S-shaped table leg from a table similar to that depicted on the banquet scene in Room SW6 (*I.N.* V, no. 486; *I.N.* VI, 95).

One set of panels from the chairback room, SW7, can be assigned to the 'Flame and Frond' group, both because of the form of the winged disc on Panels 3 and 4, which can be compared to that on the front of the lion bowl, and because of the characteristic musculature on a sphinx climbing on the head of the youth of Panel 5 (*I.N.* III, no. 21; *I.N.* VI, 91). Although the subject of men and trees is the same, this set shows many deviations from the norm of the 'Classic SW7' panels, see below, Fig. 5f. Differences include the fact that the men and youths are climbing the trees, which are located in mountains, rather than standing on the ground, that two youths have sphinxes walking on their heads, that their dress differs, and that the stylized trees of Panels 1 and 6 have lily flowers growing from the central volutes. It is possible that the chairback and the furniture legs (*I.N.* IV, nos. 1441-1442) once belonged together.

A very different, shorter and stockier 'Flame and Frond' furniture leg, no. 471 (Pl. 106), was found in Room SW11/12. This massive leg, some 22 cm. high and 14 cm. wide, is decorated with two registers, one with bulls and the other with a contest between a griffin, a lion and perhaps a bull, and presumably belonged to a bed or couch. Few panels with North Syrian contest scenes have survived, and these are all fragmentary (*I.N.* IV, nos. 683-687). With their striated backs, they would have been glued to a wooden backing.

More than 20 *openwork, tenoned panels* were found in the Fort. The finest and most complete consist of a set of four panels found in Room NW15, two with a stag and a gazelle and the other pair with seated lions (*I.N.* V, nos. 454-457). The stag and gazelle each have their heads turned to browse on fronds growing from frames consisting of stylized trees and of papyri and buds. There is the familiar range of 'Flame and Frond' markings, of ribbing on

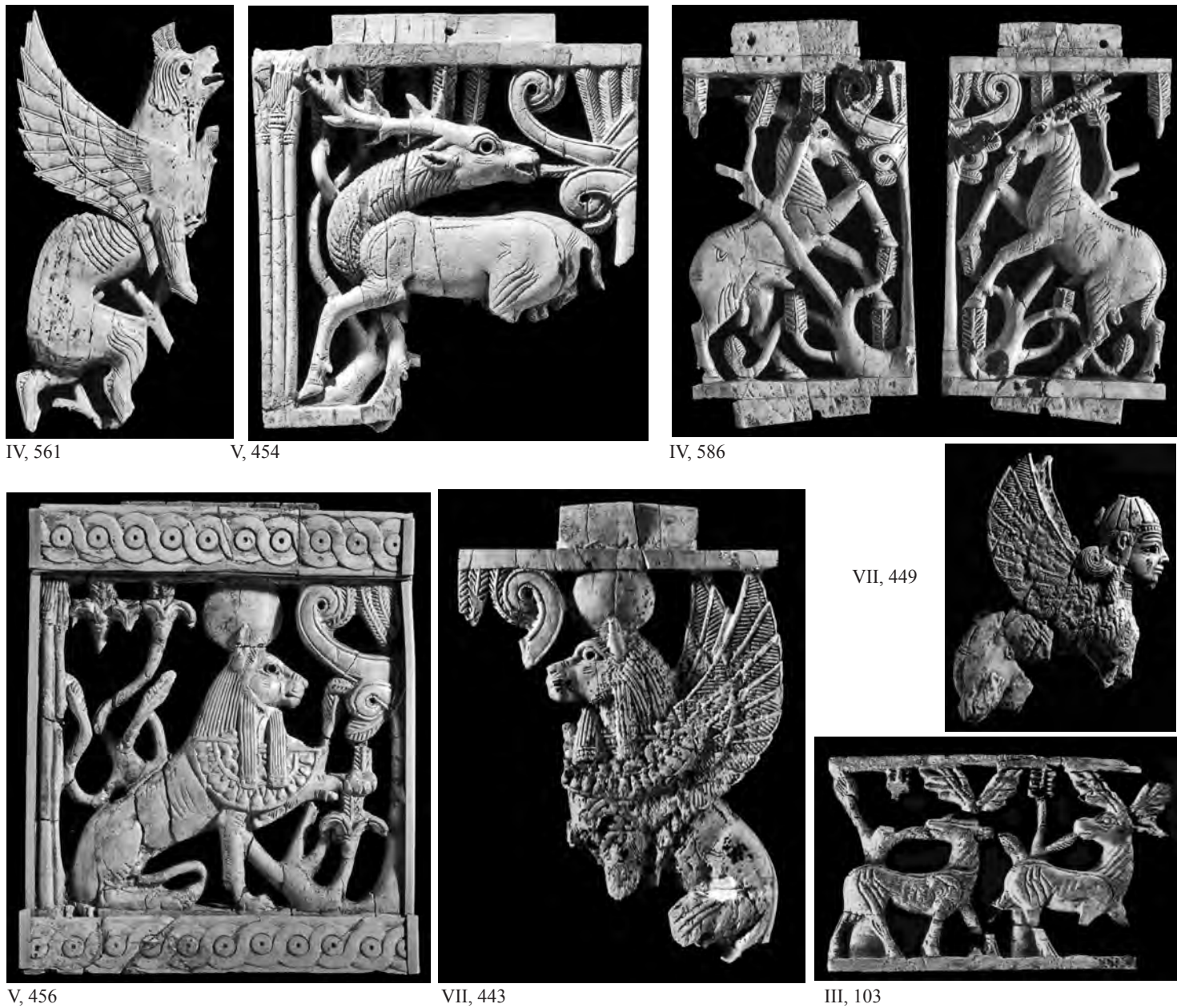


Fig. 5d. Openwork panels from Fort Shalmaneser attributed to the 'Flame and Frond' group.

the neck, curving hooks with a Y mark on the shoulder, lines along the back, vertical lines in front of the tail and flame markings growing from the front of the hindlegs, many of which are repeated on the backs. Equally, the stalks of plants growing up within the panel are also shown on the backs, a feature unique to the group. The work on a rampant gazelle from Room SW37 (*I.N.* IV, no. 586) is exceptionally fine and can be compared to that of the NW15 stag: it is considerably finer than the NW15 gazelle and the other fragments from Room SW37 (*I.N.* IV, nos. 587-591). This suggests, as so often, that a number of craftsmen were employed in the workshop.

Openwork panels were also found in Room SW11/12 but, unfortunately, many are fragmentary and poorly preserved. A winged lion-headed rampant sphinx, no. 443 (Plate 99), is crowned with a sun disc on a wig with long tails overlapping a version of the *usekh* collar. There are many comparisons between no. 443 and the NW15 panels with seated lions (*I.N.* V, nos. 456-457), such as the crowns and wigs, the faces and the versions of *usekh* collars. Not as much musculature is shown on some pieces, but there are usually lines along the backs and flame markings on the haunches, while the carving of stalks on the backs is standard.

*I.N.* VII, no. 444 is the most complete of a series of ram-headed sphinxes, nos. 444-448, also crowned with the sun disc on a wig and *usekh* collar, shown frontally (Plates 99-101). Examples of rampant, human-headed sphinxes with knobbed crowns were found in Rooms SW12 and SW37 (*I.N.* VII, no. 449; *I.N.* IV, no. 562): the SW12 sphinx

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

is the better-preserved and has a fine fluted and knobbed crown. An even better crown is shown on no. 450. It is possible that the fragmentary panel, no. 456, with a male in a version of the *atef* crown and a shawled garment with kilted skirt and long overskirt, also belongs to the group.

Only a single griffin has survived, (*I.N.* IV, no. 561): in addition to the standard musculature, there is an interesting pattern on the foreleg, repeated on the human-headed sphinx, no. 562. Finally, three parts of a long openwork panel from Room SW7 shows deer with feathery horns, either galloping to the right or with heads turned to browse on the foliage of palmette trees (*I.N.* III, no. 103). Despite poor preservation, there are clear traces of the standard musculature, and although it has not been possible to examine the backs, the lines of the trunks growing up behind strongly suggest that the stalks would have been carved on them.

These openwork panels all have a strong stylistic unity and share the distinctive musculature, the fronding of the trees, the unusual crowns set on wigs, hairstyles or headdresses and the carving on both sides, unique to the group. There is a limited use of distant Egyptianizing elements, such as the crowns and collars, and a Phoenician sphinx chair and table on the banquet pyxis. This has caused problems to Irene Winter, who queries whether they can be considered to form part of North Syrian production (1998, 152) as, more recently, does Giorgio Affani (2009, 171-185). However, Wicke considers that these traits were an ephemeral phenomenon and argues against Winter's suggestion of redefining North Syrian styles (2009, 256-258). They can be considered to form parts of the 'Flame and Frond' workshop group.

*Distribution:* Although the principal collection of 'Flame and Frond' ivories was found at Nimrud, fragments of this group are more widely distributed than those of any other. Fragments of pyxides were found at Hasanlu and have also been recovered from Tell Halaf and the Idaean Cave. Recently a small calf from, the lid of a pyxis was found at Tell Afis (S. Mazzoni, personal communication). Fragments of panels were found at Hama (Buhl 1990, Mazzoni 2009). A ceramic mould with an impression of a 'Flame and Frond' contest scene was found at Zinjirli (Andrae 1943, Taf. 9i, 10a). As first noted by Winter, this represents a distinctly 'northern' distribution (for discussion, see *I.N.* VI, 96-98).

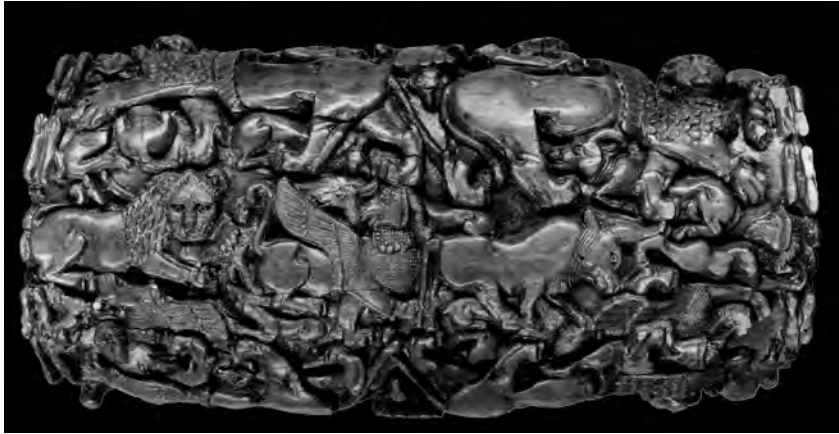
There are, as usual, differing opinions about both the formation of the group, and its location and date. Various locations for the workshop or workshops have been proposed, recently summed up by Mazzoni (2009, 107-132), who returns to the original suggestion of Hama, made by R.D. Barnett. Winter (1983), following a revised suggestion by Barnett, considers Carchemish to be the pre-eminent centre in North Syria. Combining the evidence of a similar style on stone sculpture, and the discovery of ivory fragments at Tell Halaf, Herrmann considers Guzana to be the probable centre of production, while Affani (2009) suggests that there 'might have been many – not just one – centres of production', consisting of Tell Halaf and a Syrian-Intermediate centre (2009, 178). Dates are generally agreed to fall between the 11/10<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The output of the 'Flame and Frond' group is rich and varied. The most characteristic examples are the pyxides and the openwork panels. As usual, there is a division between small objects found in the palaces of the acropolis, and the remains of furniture from various locations in Fort Shalmaneser, but all share a coherent style. The craftsmen were competent in a wide range of techniques, including gold overlays and inlays, although they did not all work to the same high standards. There seems little reason to believe that this stylistically coherent group would have been made in more than one centre, and the most probable seems to be Tell Halaf, between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, until it fell under Assyrian control.

### *The 'Round-cheeked and Ringletted' Group, Fig. 5e*

Once again it was the discovery by the Iraqi Department of Antiquities and Heritage of the magnificent and overwhelming cosmetic vessel in Well AJ, as well as an important silhouette (Safar & al-'Iraqi 1987, nos. 1 and 21; *I.N.* VI, nos. 239 and 240), that gave a new dimension to the 'Round-cheeked and Ringletted' group. This group had only previously been known from some rather crude panels found in Room SW37 (*I.N.* IV, nos. 888-922).

The cosmetic dish is an astonishing *tour de force*, depicting a struggling mass of animals on all surfaces surrounding the central bowl, the purpose of the dish. Two useful long articles by Wicke (2002, 2005) concentrate on the cosmetic vessel and the group as a whole, which has a strong and individualistic stylistic signature: see also



VI, 239



VI, 240



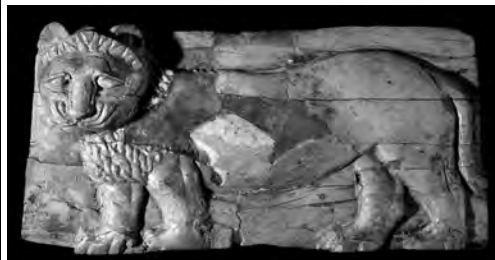
IV, 891



IV, 888



top IV, 906



VI, 241



IV, 914



IV, 583



V, 109



IV, 903

*Fig. 5e. The 'Round-cheeked and Ringletted' cosmetic dish and silhouette from Well AJ, and panels from Room SW37, Well AJ and Room S10.*

discussion in *I.N.* VI, 99-100. The panels are unusual in many ways: they are of varied sizes and are fixed to their backings by large dowel holes, cut by a centred bit. No frames surround the panels. The designs of men, women and sphinxes with fleshy faces, often framed by ringlets, fully occupy the surface. Bodies are plump, and there is an absence of musculature, although much use of hatching. The Iraqis also found a panel with a lion similar to those from SW37 in the Well (Safar & al-'Iraqi 1987, no. 29; *I.N.* VI, no. 241).

A fleshy face and ringlets occur on the remarkable openwork silhouette of a siren or human-headed bird flanked by vultures, which grip a recumbent goat: this is also fixed by dowels cut by a centred bit. Two openwork panels from SW37, a plump rampant goat climbing up a twisted plant and the hindquarters of a rotund sphinx (*I.N.* IV, no. 583, 551), can also be assigned to the group.

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

Wicke and Herrmann disagree as to whether the openwork ‘woman at the window’ from Room S10 (*I.N.* V, 109) should be attributed to the ‘Round-cheeked and Ringletted’ or to a Syrian-Intermediate group (Wicke 2005, 79-80). The panel differs from both Phoenician and Syrian-Intermediate examples in a number of ways: the features of the face are fleshy, similar to those of the siren and the heads on the cosmetic disc. The forehead jewel has five pendants rather than the four of the ‘Wig and Wing’ examples from S10 and Khorsabad (*I.N.* V, 110, Khorsabad nos. 29-34). The jewel rests on hair falling in ringlets behind the ears, which have massive earrings, again much larger than the Khorsabad hoops. The heavy chin overlaps the balustrade, which rests on five rather than the usual four balusters of the Khorsabad and S10 examples. Variations between groups are often relatively minor, and these differences may suggest that an attribution to the ‘Roundcheeked and Ringletted’ group is possible. However, Wicke draws comparisons between the woman and the bridle frontlet, *I.N.* I, nos. 137-139, attributed to the Syrian-Intermediate ‘Wig and Wing’ group (Wicke 2009, 260-261, figs. 28-29).

Many groups carve both monochrome ivories and those with inlays, and the ‘Round-cheeked and Ringletted’ is no exception. Wicke has identified a panel with the lower body of a male, wearing a garment with inlaid borders, and parts of statuettes of a bull and a sheep made of wood and ivory, their wooden chests, instead of being hatched, inlaid with lapis lazuli set in cloisons covered with gold, as forming parts of the group (2005, 105, 79, 106; *I.N.* IV, no. 1161; *I.N.* VI, nos. 277-281).

Wicke (2005, 85-91) draws comparisons between the men on the SW37 panels (*I.N.* IV, nos. 888, 890-891) and reliefs from Zinjirli showing men with pointy, three-fold hats and shawled garments (Luschan von 1911, Taf. lviii-lx). He has also noticed that the distinctive ‘cushion capital’ of the ivory chair legs and the base of a column at Zinjirli (*I.N.* VII, nos. 764-771; Andrae 1943, Taf. xliii, liii; *I.N.* VII, nos. 764-771) are similar to that on the handle of an otherwise plain bowl or spoon stopper from Well AJ (2005, 89-91; *I.N.* VI, no. 285) and a fragment of a capital from S10 (*I.N.* V, no. 169). It was R.D. Barnett who first noticed that a capital from one of the caryatid figures from the Burnt Palace could be compared to Zinjirli (Barnett *C.N.I.*, 1975, 210, S253-S255). This type of cushion capital is typically North Syrian, and its development can be followed from Tell Halaf to Zinjirli and Tell Tayinat (Hawkins 2000, 364, pls. 189-190). Wicke has also identified two small fragments at Zinjirli, which probably belong to the group, consisting of part of the neck of a figure with a choker (Andrae 1943, Taf. 79, l). While a few ‘cushion capital’ bases of caryatid figures were found, there is only one piece from an actual figure belonging to a fan-handle that might belong to the ‘Round-cheeked and Ringletted’ group, the small head S184 (Barnett, *C.N.I.*, 1975, pl. lxx).

Wicke (2005) plausibly suggests that the group should be attributed to Zinjirli because of comparisons with reliefs from the site and the similarities of their proportions, as well the presence of the ivory fragments and the ‘cushion capitals’, and a corresponding date in the early to mid eighth century.

### *The chairbacks from Room SW7, Fig. 5f*

The majority of the chairbacks and panels found in Room SW7 belong to the ‘Classic SW7’ group (*I.N.* III, 19; Herrmann 1996, 156-157). These chairbacks consist of pairs of tall side-posts framing a curved central section decorated with from four to six panels, all of a similar size, framed by long strips above and below, sometimes decorated, sometimes plain (*I.N.* III, nos. 1-20, 22-37, 47-50, 67-69, 89-94, 99-102 and 104). The panels show men in cut-away coats grasping flowering trees, sometimes accompanied by winged or seated ladies, and sometimes framed by panels with stylized trees. Sometimes the men stride underneath a North Syrian style winged disc, sometimes the framing panel above is decorated with a winged disc.

The most elaborate of this group, *I.N.* III, no. 1, has long panels framing the central panels with a winged disc above and a dynamic scene below. Three men in a chariot are hunting bulls: two bulls flee in front, jumping over a flattened plant, while a third is speared behind the cab. They have massive bodies, the pupils of their eyes are drilled, and their necks decorated with wavy lines. Another long panel from SW7 shows a procession of bulls like those on the hunting scene, this time peacefully browsing on plants (no. 104). A few fragments from Room SW37, some openwork, also illustrate men hunting or in chariots (*I.N.* IV, nos. 657-662), and form part of the same ‘classic SW7’ group.

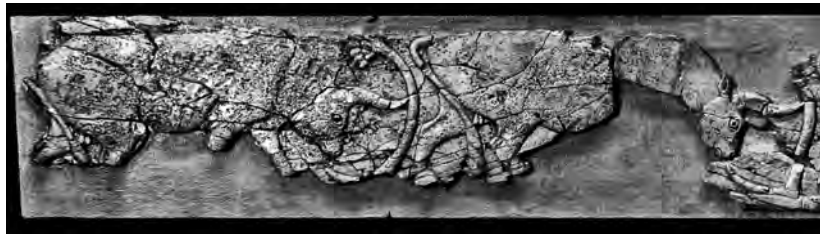
Eleven other chairbacks or sets of panels were found stacked in rows in Room SW7. Although generally similar in size and subject, with men saluting flowering trees, they are stylistically and technically different from the



III, 1



top III, 1 panel 9



III, 104



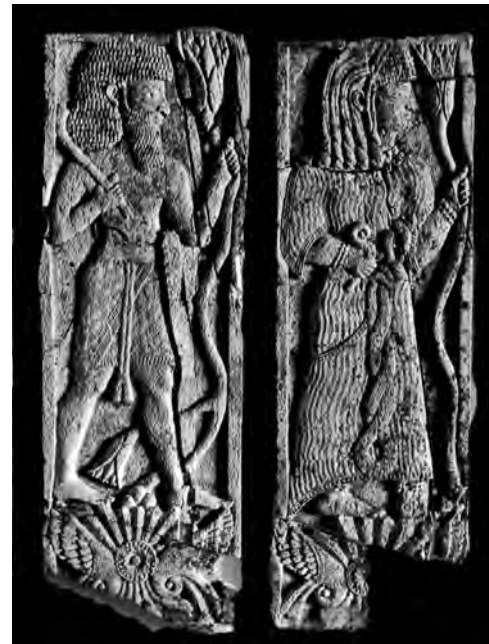
IV, 659

Fig. 5f above. 'Classic SW7' chairback, panel from bottom of chair back, 'Classic SW7' panel with bulls; and a fragment with a chariot..

Fig. 5f below. Two chairbacks and panels which differ in forms, sizes and styles from 'Classic SW7' examples .



III, 46



III, 65



III, 38



III, 95

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

‘classic SW7’ chairbacks. First and foremost, the actual forms of the chairbacks differ as can be seen by comparing the shape of *I.N.* III, no. 46, (*I.N.* III, pls. lii-iv) with *I.N.* III, nos. 1-2 (pls. i-xi). The chairback of no. 46 has no side-posts but a curved panel of veneer along the top. The decorated panels are also stylistically distinct, with the men differing in hairstyle, feature and dress, while the seated ladies grasp beaded rings with different winged discs above. Equally, the set of panels of *I.N.* III, no. 65 (pls. lxxvi-lxxix) consists of six tall panels showing men and women with tall lotus plants walking *over* a floral version of a winged disc: the shape of the chairback is unknown. The panels of *I.N.* III, no. 21, have already been attributed to the ‘Flame and Frond’ group, while the ‘vase-hat men’ of *I.N.* III, nos. 38-44, are another unusual set of tall panels and fragments, varying in shape and style. Entirely different again is the curved chairback of no. 95, a decorated openwork version of an unusual form of stylized tree. The use of furniture is conservative, and types tend to be area-specific. Thus, the varying forms of chairback, on its own, might suggest production in different centres.

There are many instances of a common motif represented in different ways across the area, and that of a deity or a man saluting a stylized tree occurs from Phoenicia to Assyria. The most probable explanation for variations in the form and size of panels, in style and in details such as dress and hairstyle is production in different centres. The large ‘Classic SW7’ group of chairbacks was probably carved in the principal centre, with the other eleven types carved in different centres.

However, with all too little evidence other than that of the ivories themselves, there are different interpretations. From the beginning Irene Winter has maintained that ‘despite individual variations ... the SW7 ivories were clearly produced according to a single iconographic programme’ (2010, 248). This is certainly correct. She also believes that the panels were made in a single centre, despite significant differences of form, size and style, and has recently re-stated her opinion:

‘As but one example, the well-known group of furniture panels from Room SW7 in Fort Shalmaneser are generally attributed to a single center of production, despite the fact that they show a remarkable range of quality in the individual plaques and panels that constitute the chairbacks that they once decorated’ (Winter 2005, 33).

The arguments have been fully discussed elsewhere, see *I.N.* III, Winter 1976a & b, 1983, 1989, 2005, 2010; Herrmann 1996, *I.N.* VI, 72-73; Wicke 2005, 91-95. They are, however, fundamental to our understanding of ivory production. Did a single centre really produce artefacts in a range of shapes, sizes and styles, or do such differences indicate production in different centres, as is believed here?

### *Other North Syrian ivories, Figs. 5g-h*

*Animal contest scene, Fig. 5g.* Friezes of furiously battling and entwined animals have long been considered to be typically North Syrian. No such dynamic scenes occur on Syrian-Intermediate or Phoenician ivories. The friezes are usually carved in relief on long panels and occupy all the surface. No inlaid examples have been recovered, and the presence of frames is variable. The animals involved are usually griffins, lions and the unfortunate bull, which always comes off worst. There are no human figures.

Since they formed parts of long, thin panels, most examples only survive as fragments. They are carved in a variety of styles, but it is difficult to attribute them to different groups, with the exception of the ‘Flame and Frond’ fragments discussed above (*I.N.* IV, nos. 683-688). However, two longer friezes did survive: one (*I.N.* III, 113, no. 105) was found in juxtaposition with the chair-back decorated with voluted scrolls, *I.N.* III, no. 95. This chair-back is, of course, very different to the rest of the series, and the long, two-part combat frieze is also unusual in that it shows a continuous battle between lions and bulls. In these panels the contest is more equal, and the bulls fight back. The musculature of the bulls consists of neck wrinkles, a big shoulder pad, a beaded line along the back and rib markings, markings also shared by the lions. However, it is clear that two different craftsmen carved the panels. No. 105a was more finely worked, and the lions have some additional musculature, including plaiting along the belly and markings on the legs, while the work of no. 105b is coarser.

Another relatively complete frieze was found in Room NE1, *I.N.* V, no. 308, and is a framed and slightly more spacious version of the triple fights. The animals’ bodies are relatively slim, and there is some modelling rather than incised musculature. A series of fragments from SW37 and SW11/12 (*I.N.* IV, nos. 668-693, *I.N.* VII, nos. 467-470)

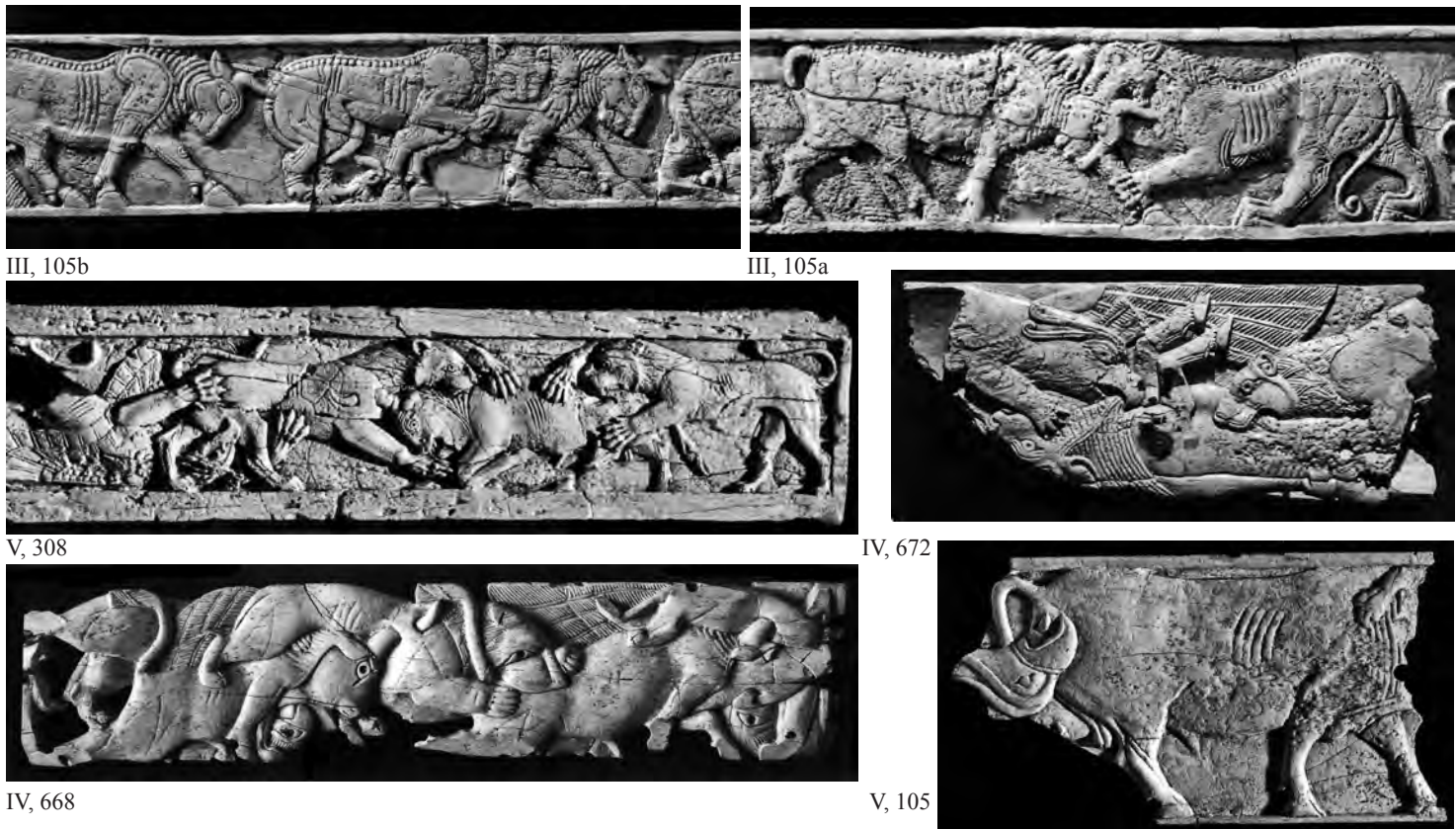


Fig. 5g. North Syrian animal contest scenes.

present other versions of the triple fight. The animals have large oval eyes with drilled pupils and lines on necks and ribs. Finally, a fragment from Room SE9 has a large bull striding to the right, attacked by griffins from the front and rear (*I.N.V*, no. 195). There is considerable variety in the way the animals and the fights are depicted.

*Sphinxes, a lion and bovids, Fig. 5h:* The sphinx was a popular and long-lived motif represented across the area. Many different versions have been discussed above, listed according to their specific groups. The following are generally North Syrian in style, but there is insufficient evidence to attribute them to a particular group.

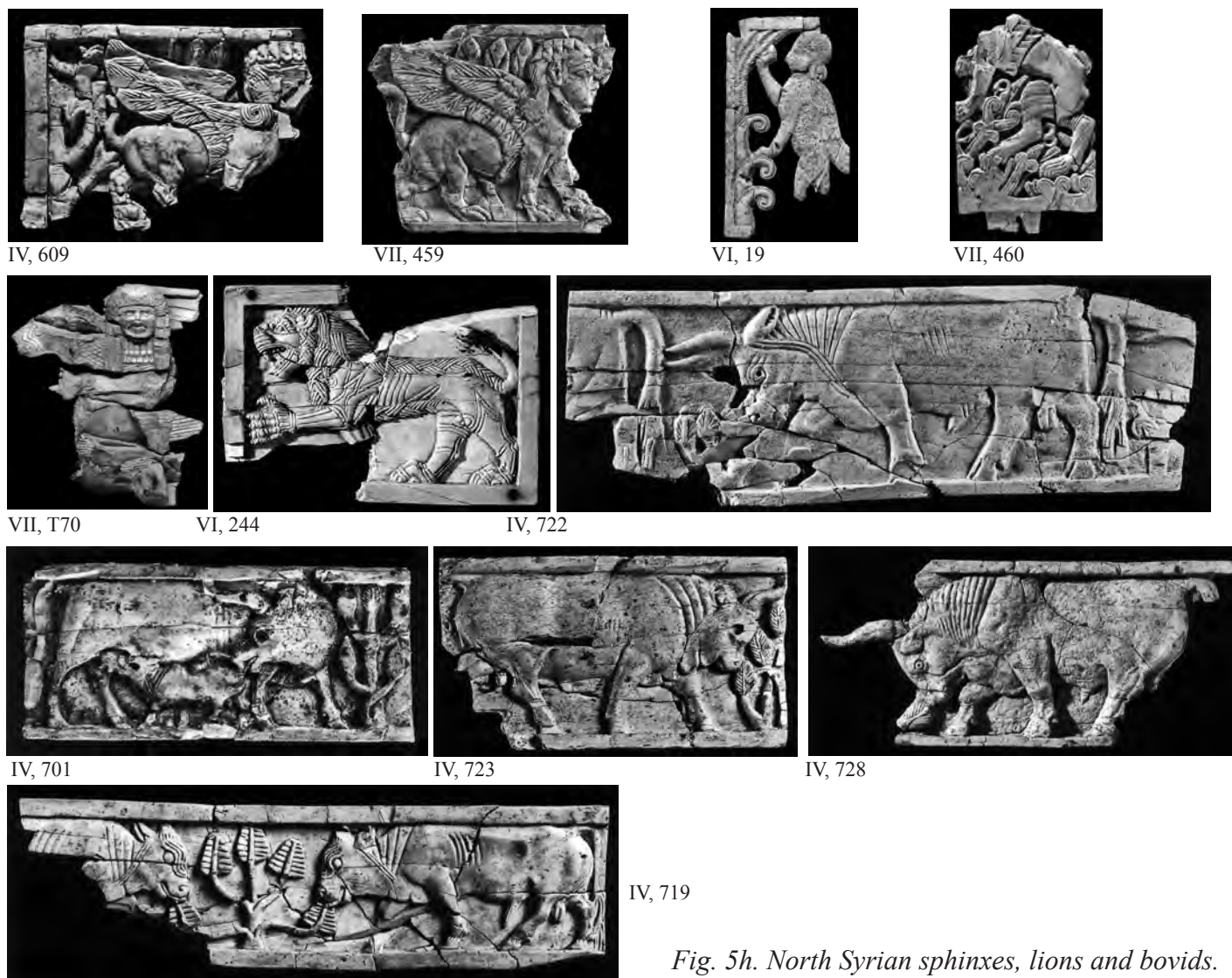
Two fragmentary panels from SW37 and SW11/12 are typically North Syrian, and not far distant in style from the 'Round-cheeked and Ringletted' group (*I.N.* IV, no. 609 and VII, no. 459). The winged, human-headed sphinxes have a row of curls round the top of their heads, with the rest of the hair falling in ringlets in front of the ears and curls behind. There is no musculature, and the tail curves up in an S-shape. Above the wings are three fronds or buds, while growing up behind no. 609 are the stalks and flowers of an unusual plant.

Found in the recess adjacent to the Throne Room of the North West Palace is a rampant, human-headed sphinx resting its paws on a stylized tree (*I.N.* VI, no. 19). Again, this is typically North Syrian, although unfortunately it is poorly preserved, with only traces of the large shoulder-pad and markings on the legs. There are some links to Carchemish, but not particularly strong ones. The stance and angle of the wings is paralleled by a rampant bull between a winged mythical man and a hunter (Hogarth 1914, pl. B16), while the rather basic tree with downward curving volutes can be seen on a fragment of a steatite pyxis (Woolley 1921, pl. 28, 1).

One of the most unusual fragments, of which all too little survives, shows the body, head missing, of a winged sphinx climbing an extraordinary collection of plants (*I.N.* VII, no. 460 and the fragment no. 461). No parallel has been found. Equally remarkable is a double-headed piece from Room T10: *I.N.* VII, no. T70, is probably incorrectly restored, with the base not belonging to the top. What we have is the head of a roaring lion to the left, surmounted by a human head, shown frontally. This has wavy hair over the top ending in a mass of tightly curled ringlets, surrounding a rounded, rather worried-looking face, above an elaborate curled beard.

A small panel from Well AJ shows a lion with gaping mouth and raised paw to the left (*I.N.* VI, no. 244). The animal is covered with a mass of unusual musculature, for which no parallel has been found.

*Ivories from Nimrud VII*



*Fig. 5h. North Syrian sphinxes, lions and bovids.*

Relatively crude carving and heavy bodies may suggest that a number of panels with *bulls* belong to the North Syrian tradition. These include the bull of *I.N.* IV, no. 722 and the cow suckling her calf of no. 701: both have excised eyes and are associated with similar fronded plants. The bulls of nos. 723, with double horns, and 724-727 are also associated with fronded plants, as well as short, voluted palmette and lily flowers growing from the ground. The bodies of the bulls of nos. 728-729 are massive and reminiscent of the bulls of the Classic SW7 group of *I.N.* III, no. 1, panel 9 and no. 104.

While the above all differ mildly in style, *I.N.* IV, no.719 shows the same motif of browsing bulls, but instead of forming a procession, this pair, with residual horns, flank an unusual fronded plant and, once again, were probably carved in a different centre.

*Unusual North Syrian panels from Room T10, Figs. 5i-k*

*People with kohl-rimmed eyes, I.N. VII, nos. T72-T82.* A set of small, relatively unsophisticated panels from T10 are unusual in a number of ways. The most complete panel shows a winged male saluting a columnar altar formed of hanging palm leaves, with what appears to be a bowl with flames above. On another panel a similar 'flaming bowl' is shown above an elaborate lotus. The other panels show men, with and without wings, with a variety of headgear, including a version of the Egyptian double crown, and holding different objects, and a female musician. The style is relatively crude, but a distinguishing feature is the large excised eyes, carefully outlined in black, when the paint survives. As with so much from T10, the pieces are unique. A partial parallel to the unusual treatment of the eyes can be found at Hasanlu (Muscarella 1980, nos. 92-93), but the features differ and the Hasanlu men all wear abbreviated collars or gorgets.



Fig. 5i. People with kohl-rimmed eyes from Room T10.

*A procession, I.N. VII, no. T83, Fig. 5j.* Unfortunately only a fragment survives of a fascinating and unique scene of a row of five people and a child wearing richly decorated garments, one of whom holds a pitcher with flowers at the top. This was probably the product of a North Syrian workshop.

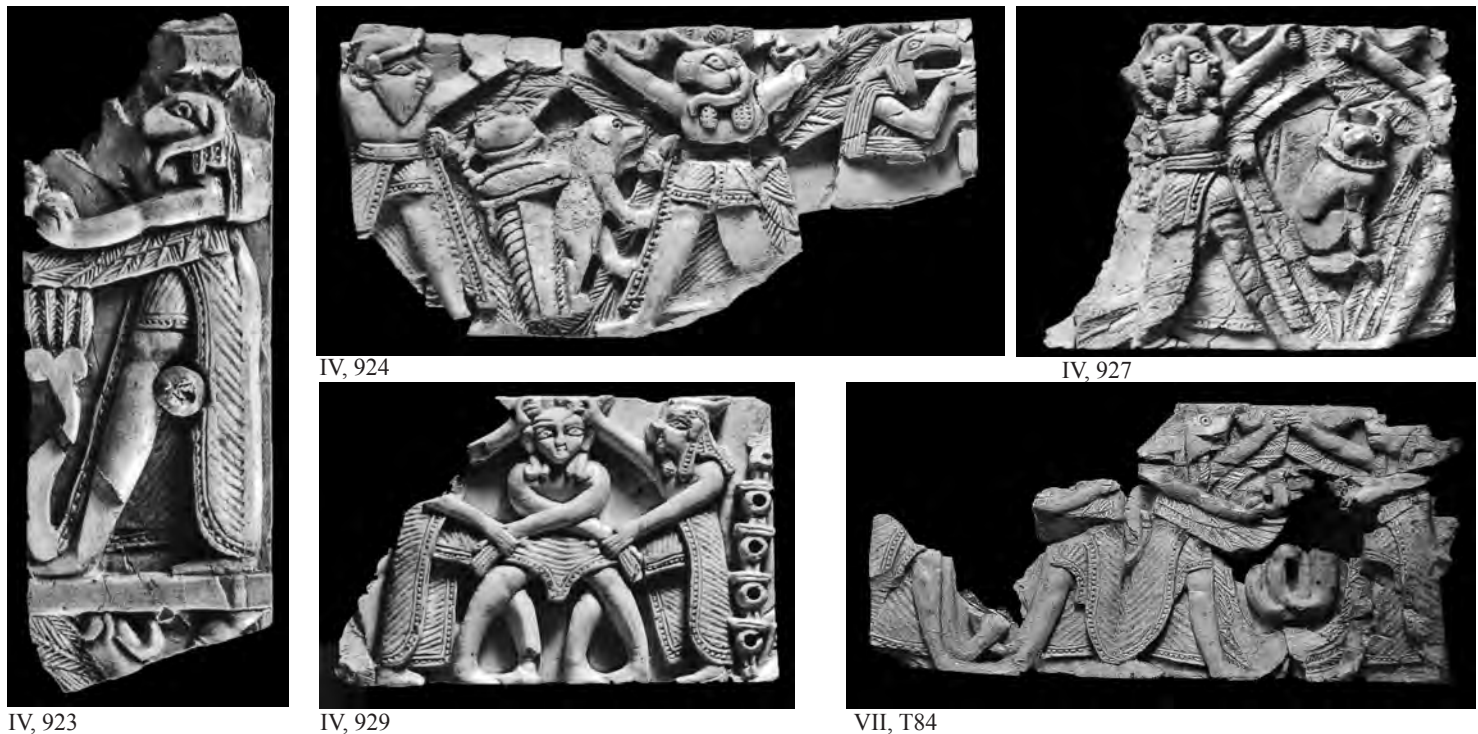
*Tall pyxides with browsing goat, Fig. 5f.* The pyxis from Room T10 was found in fragments and carefully restored by S. Nanina Shaw (*I.N.* VII, no. T129). It is the best-preserved example of this type of pyxis and was on exhibition in Mosul Museum until 2003, when the Museum was looted. It shows three registers of rampant goats browsing on stylized trees and fronded plants. Two frontal heads are applied to the sides of the top register. Both Loftus and Mallowan found fragments of similar pyxides in the Burnt Palace (Barnett, *C.N.I.*, 1975, pl. xxxvii, S49; Uden & Moore 1999, 2-3). They were presumably made in the same North Syrian workshop.



Fig. 5j. Unusual ivories from Room T10, a procession scene, winged discs on abbreviated trees and a tall pyxis.

*Winged discs on abbreviated trees, Fig. 5j, I.N. VII, nos. 109-118.* Another unusual set from Room T10 consists of ten panels in varying states of preservation showing a unique form of winged disc apparently supported on an abbreviated stylized tree. The central disc was dowelled in separately and is set on a crescent within rows of scales and wing feathers. The tail feathers are framed by arching branches, which fit into volutes with berried fruits. These curve out from a moulding above rows of central scales, which end in a quadruple moulding. The only partial parallel to this type of winged disc and berried fruit can be found on some panels found by Rawlinson in the North West Palace (*I.N.* VI, no. 204, and see also the bases of trees on no. 201). Fragmentary discs from Altintepe also have similar outlined discs on crescents, as does an unprovenanced example probably from Toprak Kale (Herrmann 2012a, 339), but there is no parallel for the abbreviated 'tree'.

VII, T129



*Fig.5k. Unusual panels from Rooms SW37 and T10 with masked humans, snakes, locusts and dogs.*

*Masked humans, snakes, locusts and dogs, Fig. 5k.* Fragmentary panels belonging to this extraordinary set were found in Rooms SW37 and T10. The iconography is unique, although elements have been extensively borrowed and adapted from elsewhere. The fragments may originally have belonged to a chair-back, for no. 923 from Room SW37 is part of a vertical panel, similar in form, but not in style, to some from Room SW7. This fragment shows a winged male figure associated with a plant. He has a ram headdress and is wearing a garment with short skirt and cut-away coat. The design is clearly derived from the SW7 panels, but only distantly.

The designs on the fragmentary central panels are really ‘way-out’ consisting of men still wearing cut-away coats but with a variety of horned headdresses and accompanied by dogs, snakes and locusts. There is also a struggle between two men and a central horned male, whose arms are crossed and grasped by men with abbreviated Egyptian double crowns on beaded headdresses. At one side is a curving feature reminiscent of Egyptian notched palm branches. The set is amazingly eclectic and imaginative with its echoes of the North Syrian ‘Classic SW7’ and of Egypt. Who knows where or when it was made, but its carvers were at least very imaginative.

*List of Ivories of the North Syrian Tradition and Other Centres**'Flame and Frond'<sup>1</sup>**Furniture*

- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW7, *I.N.* III, no. 21 – chair-back, type 5, men, youths and trees
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 1441-1442 – front & back legs of chair
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 471 – furniture leg, bulls and contest scene
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW6, *I.N.* V, no. 486 – table leg

*Openwork panels*

- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW7, *I.N.* III, no. 103 – long openwork panel with deer
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 561 – rampant griffin
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 562 – rampant human-headed sphinx
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 586-591 – browsing gazelles
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room NW15, *I.N.* V, nos. 454-455 – browsing stag and gazelle
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room NW15, *I.N.* V, nos. 456-457 – seated lion
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 443 – lion-headed sphinx
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 444, 446-448 – ram-headed sphinxes
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 449 – human-headed sphinx
- Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 450-452 – fragments, human-headed sphinxes?

- Panels:* Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 683-688 – fragmentary contest scenes  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 456 – Pharaoh in *atef* crown (?)

*Small objects*

- Pyxides:* North West Palace, Room 30, *I.N.* VI, no. 15 – lid, rosette & guilloche, inlaid  
 North West Palace, Room A1, *I.N.* VI, nos. 213-214 – fragments, sphinx, inlaid  
 North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N.* VI, no. 233 – opposed sphinxes & goddess  
 North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N.* VI, no. 234 – banquet scene, goddess & attendants  
 North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N.* VI, no. 235 – winged goddesses, frontal, & rampant ibex  
 North West Palace, Well NN, *I.N.* VI, no. 362 – fragment with goddess  
 Burnt Palace, *C.N.I.*, 1975, S1 – lion hunt  
 Burnt Palace, *C.N.I.*, 1975, S4 - goddess  
 Burnt Palace, *C.N.I.*, 1975, S6 - sphinxes  
 Burnt Palace, *C.N.I.*, 1975, S12 – goddess and hunt  
 Burnt Palace, *C.N.I.*, 1975, S13 – opposed sphinxes and couchant  
 Burnt Palace, *C.N.I.*, 1975, S14-18, 23 – fragments with sphinxes  
 Burnt Palace, *C.N.I.*, S26 - goddess  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room T10, *I.N.* VII, no. T108 – fragment of chair with animal

- Calves:* Burnt Palace, *C.N.I.*, S362  
 Burnt Palace, *N. & R.* I. 220, fig. 174

- Flask:* North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N.* VI, no. 236 – flask with lid and top

- Lion bowl:* North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N.* VI, no. 237 – lions, sphinxes & tree, winged disc

- Heads:* North West Palace, *I.N.* VI, nos. 41-43 – heads  
 Burnt Palace, *C.N.I.*, S172-177, 180 – heads with floral fillets  
 Burnt Palace, *C.N.I.*, S181, 183 – heads with chaplets  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room S22, *I.N.* V, no. 171, 173  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE1, *I.N.* V, no. 205 – with vase-hat and collar  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE1, *I.N.* V, no. 304 – frontal head

- Silhouette:* North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N.* VI, no. 238 – oval silhouette, lion and bull

<sup>1</sup> No recent study has been completed of the ivories from the Burnt Palace. Only a few are included here, some pyxides (Wicke 2008) but no lids or bases and only a few of the calves once fitted to the lids.

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

*Fan handles* : Burnt Palace, *C.N.I.*, S206-209, 211-212

Burnt Palace, Throne Room, *N. & R. I*, ND 1095 – Pair of caryatid figures

Burnt Palace, Throne Room, *N. & R. I*, ND 1644 – Four caryatid figures

*Ugly Sister*: North West Palace, Well NN, *I.N. VI*, no. 349 – head of statuette

*'Round-cheeked and ringletted'*

*Cosmetic dish*: North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N. VI*, no. 239 – contest scene

*Panels*: North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N. VI*, no. 241 –lion

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, no. 888 – bearded male with ram

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, no. 889 – frontal bearded male with flowers

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, no. 890 – profile male with flowers

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, nos. 891-895 – frontal males in shawled garments

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, no. 896 – head only in hat

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, nos. 897-899 – fragments, standing figures

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, nos. 900-901 – fragments of hem and feet

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, nos. 902-903 – heads and chests of women

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, nos. 904-905 – standing sphinxes looking out

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, nos. 906-910 – couchant human-headed sphinxes

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, no. 911 – couchant ram-headed sphinx looking out

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, no. 912 – couchant winged bull looking out

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, no. 913 – couchant sphinx

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, no. 914 – small rampant sphinx

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, no. 915 – small, seated, human-headed sphinx

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, nos. 916-919 – assorted fragments of heads

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, nos. 920-922 – sphinx fragments

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N. VII*, no. 703 – standing figure

*Silhouette*: North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N. VI*, no. 240 – silhouette, frontal bird with vultures and goat

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N. VII*, nos. 755-756 – birds of prey

*Openwork panels*: Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, no. 551 – sphinx hindquarters

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, nos. 583-585 – rampant goat, twisted plant & fragments

Fort Shalmaneser, Room S10, *I.N. V*, no. 109 – woman at the window

*Inlaid panels*: Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, nos. 1161-1162 – lower bodies of males

*Statuettes*: North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N. VI*, no. 277 – bull's head

North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N. VI*, no. 278 – ram's head

North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N. VI*, nos. 279-280, 282 – forequarters and forelegs of bulls

North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N. VI*, no. 281 – hindquarters of bull

*Cushion capitals*: North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N. VI*, no. 285 – spoon stopper

Fort Shalmaneser, Room S10, *I.N. V*, no. 169 – fragment of 'cushion capital'

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N. VII*, nos. 764-771 – 'cushion capitals'

Burnt Palace, *C.N.I.*, S253-255 – Caryatid figures, head and 'cushion capital' bases

### *Animal Contest scenes*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW7, *I.N. III*, no. 105 – bulls and lions, frame, long rail, two hands

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, nos. 668-671 – lion, bull, griffin, no frame

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, no. 672 – lion, griffin, bull, no frame

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, no. 673 – lion and bull, frame

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, nos. 674-676 – Lion?, muscle markings, triple frame

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, no. 677 – fragment

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, no. 678 – lion, frame

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, nos. 679-680 – griffin, bull, inlaid guilloche frame

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N. IV*, nos. 681-682 – fragments with guilloche frame

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 683-688 – ‘Flame and Frond’ frame  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694-700 – assorted fragments  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SE9, *I.N.* V, no. 195 – bull and griffin, large, well-carved, framed fragment  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room NE1, *I.N.* V, nos. 308-309 – dynamic lion, bull and griffin, long framed rail  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 467-470 – griffin, lion and bull

*Chairbacks from Room SW7, Herrmann 1996*

*Type 1: Classic SW7 chairbacks and panels*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW7, *I.N.* III, nos. 1-20, 22-37, 47-50, 67-69, 89-94  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW7, *I.N.* III, nos. 99-102 – long panels with winged discs  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW7, *I.N.* III, no. 104 – procession of bulls, cf. *I.N.* III, no. 1, panel 9  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 335 – fragment of man in cut-away coat  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 657-663 – scenes with hunters and chariots, cf. *I.N.* III, no. 1, panel 9

*Type 2: Vase-hat men:* Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW7, *I.N.* III, nos. 38-45  
 North West Palace, *I.N.* VI, no. 242

*Type 3:* Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW7, *I.N.* III, no. 46

*Type 4:* Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW7, *I.N.* III, no. 65

*Type 6:* Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW7, *I.N.* III, no. 51

*Type 7:* Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW7, *I.N.* III, no. 57

*Type 8:* Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW7, *I.N.* III, nos. 59-61

*Type 9:* Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW7, *I.N.* III, no. 62

*Type 10:* Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW7, *I.N.* III, no. 63

*Type 11:* Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW7, *I.N.* III, no. 64

*Type 12:* Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW7, *I.N.* III, no. 66

*Other North Syrian ivories*

*Sphinxes and a lion*

North West Palace, Recess EA, *I.N.* VI, no. 19 – rampant sphinx and tree  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 609 – sphinx, blooms above wing & plant  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, no. 459 – sphinx, blooms above wing  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW11/12, *I.N.* VII, nos. 460-461 – fragmentary sphinx climbing tree  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room T10, *I.N.* VII, no. T70 – unique frontal chimaera  
 North West Palace, Well AJ, *I.N.* VI, no. 244 – roaring lion with musculature

*Cattle*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 701, 705 – cow and calf with plant  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 719 – bulls browsing on plant  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 722 – bull browsing on fronded plant  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 723-727 – bulls browsing on plants  
 Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 728-729 – bulls

*Stag* Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, no. 761 – rampant stag and tree

*People with kohl-rimmed eyes*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room T10, *I.N.* VII, no. T72-T82

*A procession*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room T10, *I.N.* VII, no. T83

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

### *Pyxis*

Burnt Palace, *C.N.I.*, S3 – banquet with music

### *Tall pyxides with browsing goats*

Burnt Palace, *C.N.I.*, S49 – fragments

Burnt Palace, ND 1094, Ashmolean Museum AN 1998.113

Fort Shalmaneser, Room T10, *I.N.* VII, no. T129

### *Other ivories from Room T10*

### *Winged discs on trees*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room T10, *I.N.* VII, nos. T109-T118

### *Masked humans, snakes and dogs*

Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, *I.N.* IV, nos. 923-939

Fort Shalmaneser, Room T10, *I.N.* VII, nos. T84-T95

## CHAPTER SIX

*Concluding Remarks*

With the publication of *Ivories from Nimrud VII*, the cataloguing of the ivories found in Fort Shalmaneser is as complete as records permit. Together with those from the palaces on the acropolis, it is now possible for the first time to look at this remarkable collection as a whole, rather than by room, by group or by function.

*Setting the scene*

Layard recognized from the outset that it was unlikely that the majority of the ivories were made at Nimrud. Most were clearly imported, and he wrote that some had a ‘purely Egyptian character’ (*N. & R.* II, 9-10). Thereafter a variety of suggestions were put forward (*I.N.* VI, 53). However, it was Poulsen in 1912, who was able to examine displays of the Layard and Loftus ivories in the British Museum, and who realized that the imported ivories could be divided into two principal groups, one with a strong debt to the art of Egypt and the other generally lacking Egyptian elements but related to sculptures from sites along the Syro-Turkish border.

The next major advance was made by Richard Barnett in the 1930s, who arranged for the conservation of the Layard and Loftus ivories in the British Museum. He wrote two important articles in 1935 and 1939, building on Poulsen’s division into the Phoenician and North Syrian groups, while preparing his great catalogue, *Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories in the British Museum* (1957, 1975). For some reason, he had a low opinion of the Phoenicians and their ivories. He described the ivories as ‘repetitious and largely mass-produced, yet technically skilful, the product of commercial minds’ and even suggested that Phoenician luxury goods were designed to enrich the ‘land-owning aristocracy at the expense of the peasants’ (*C.N.I.*, 62, 60). It is hard to know on what evidence Barnett based his sweeping condemnations, and it is surprising that his view is still supported by Aubet in 2001 (79).

Meanwhile, the known number of ivories was dramatically increased by the excavations of the B.S.A.I. at Nimrud (1949-1963), first on the acropolis and then in Fort Shalmaneser. The B.S.A.I. has since been engaged in publishing this huge corpus, first, by function, the bridle harness ornaments in 1967, followed by those in the readily recognizable Assyrian style (1970) and by provenance, the remarkable rows of chair-backs in Room SW7 (1974).

In the 1970s Irene Winter began a study of North Syria in the early first millennium with special reference to ivories (Ph.D. 1973), setting the material in its historical and economic context. She published a series of important articles on North Syrian and Phoenician ivories and identified a new group, with elements from both traditions, her South Syrian group (1976a & b, 1981, 1983). By this time it was recognized that the ivories belonging to these general ‘traditions’, a word collecting together similar ‘groups’, each consisted of a number of different ‘groups’. One coherent North Syrian style-group is the ‘Flame and Frond’ group (Herrmann 1989, *I.N.* VI, 91-98), another the ‘Round-cheeked and Ringletted’ (*I.N.* IV, 19, 49, 183-187; Wicke 2002, 2005; *I.N.* VI, 99-100).

Advances were made in the 1990s (*I.N.* V, 30-34) and in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century in the study and

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

definition of the ‘Intermediate’ ‘tradition’, especially by Elena Scigliuzzo. Studying the ‘Wig and Wing’ group, which she re-named the ‘Wig and Wing Workshop’, she was able to identify the same ‘hand’ carving panels found both at Nimrud and Khorsabad and was able to include some fan-handles discovered by Loftus in the Burnt Palace (2004a, 2005, 2009).

In comparison relatively little work has been undertaken on the Phoenician corpus (Hawkes 1981; Ciafaloni 1992), although Gubel has discussed both Phoenician bridle harness and the ivories of the Unusually Shaped Group, considering their interpretation (2000, 2005, 2009). In 2002 Herrmann began to assemble the ivories of the ‘Ornate Group’ across the site, while in *I.N.* VI she started to define various Phoenician groups and to build the ‘Classic Phoenician’ group (76-83).

### *Dating the ivories*

#### *Time of deposition*

Unfortunately, the evidence for dating the ivories is inadequate, partly because their archaeological contexts simply suggest their probable time of deposition by the Assyrian kings and because so few have been found elsewhere. Nimrud does, however, provide a terminus ante quem, since most ivories would have been collected from the kingdoms within the Assyrian empire, as gift, tribute or booty, and subsequently stored at Kalhu/Nimrud. Their times of arrival would probably have been between the reigns of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859) and Sargon II (722-705). Sargon, of course, moved his capital to his new foundation, Dur Sharrukin/Khorsabad, depositing some ivories there himself, while his son, Sennacherib (704-681) selected Nineveh as the capital of his new empire and would have stored his booty there. Esarhaddon (681-670) restored Kalhu and may have stored ivories there, including, for instance, the broken scarab with the cartouche of the Pharaoh Taharqa (c. 690-664; *I.N.* V, no. 178, ND 7624). However, it is likely that most ivories arrived between c. 860 and 710 B.C.E.

The ivories were probably already broken when stored by the Assyrians, for nearly all were found stripped of every fragment of the gold overlays with which they were once embellished, although a few loose fragments have been recovered. Only a little gold survives, even on those thrown down the wells of the North West Palace. The same applies to those possibly still in use, such as those in Room T10 and the rab ekalli’s suite, which were smashed and burnt. This removal of the gold suggests deliberate policy rather than the ‘smash and grab’ of a sack. Equally, such removal ensured that most of the glass inlays also fell out when the gold covering their cloisons was pulled off, leaving only the frit beddings.

#### *Time of production*

Unfortunately there is little evidence to enable us to establish when or where the ivories were made. Few Iron Age ivories have been found other than at Assyrian sites, principally at Nimrud, but also at Khorsabad, presumably deposited by Sargon II, and at Til Barsib and Arslan Tash, the ivories at the latter two probably being donated booty. Otherwise Iron Age ivories have been found at Hasanlu and Ziwiye in Iran, at Altintepe, Toprak Kale, Zinjirli, Carchemish and Ziyaret Tepe in south east Turkey, at Tell Halaf, Tell Tayinat and Tell Afis in Syria, and a small head at Phoenician Sarepta. There is, of course, the well-known collection from Samaria, unfortunately not securely dated, as well as furniture from an eighth century tomb in Salamis in Cyprus (Barnett 1982). Some Classic Phoenician fragments have been found in the Idaean Cave in Cyprus and in the Bernardini tombs, again not securely dated. Unfortunately, the principal Phoenician centres, such as Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Byblos or Arvad, have remained occupied to the present day, and Phoenician levels are deeply buried by later deposits.

However, the end of the Late Bronze Age suggests a probable date for the beginning of Iron Age

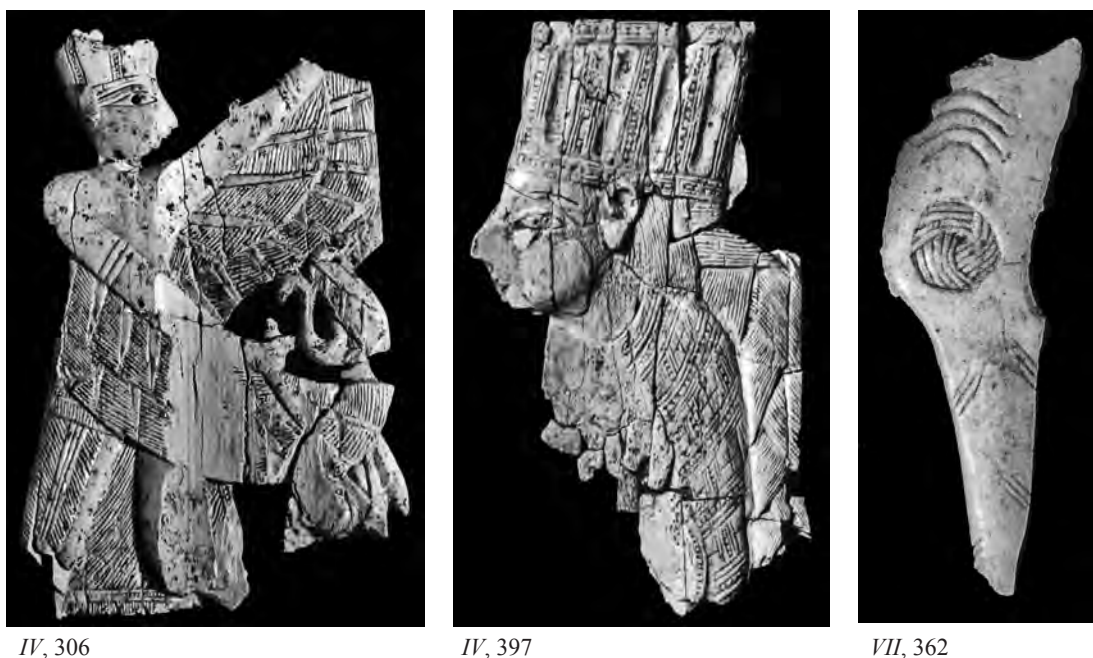


Fig. 6a. Three 'archaic' ivories.

production. Ivories found at sites such as Ras Shamra/Ugarit, Alalakh, Byblos, Lachish, Megiddo and Enkomi (Loud 1930; Kantor 1956; Barnett 1982) prove that there was a flourishing tradition of ivory carving at that time, principally using hippopotamus ivory (Caubet 2008; 2011, 663). The ivories found at Nimrud prove that production continued, using elephant rather than hippopotamus ivory, marking a major change in trading practices. Probable times of production for the ivories can, therefore, be considered to be from c. 1150 to 710 B.C.E.

Three poorly preserved fragments found at Nimrud look 'archaic' (Fig. 6a) and may belong to the Bronze Age. These are the winged god with Egyptian double crown and receding chin holding an *uraeus* of I.N. IV, no. 306, the goddess in high turreted crown and heavy plait down her back of I.N. IV, no. 397, which can be compared to the queen on the victory panel from Megiddo (Loud 1930, pl. 4), and the fragment of a foreleg of a sphinx (?) with a typical second millennium hair spiral (Kantor 1949; I.N. VII, no. 362). These may have formed part of a collection, reflecting a fashion for collecting, illustrated by the mixed assemblages found at, for instance, Megiddo or Samaria (Herrmann & Millard 2003, 377-402) or by an Egyptian tusk found in late seventh century occupation at Tell Miqne/Ekron with a cartouche of the 13th century B.C.E. Pharaoh Merneptah (Gitin 1997, 101-102, fig. 23; Ben Schlomo & Dothan 2006).

#### *Looking at the ivories as a whole*

With the completion of the publication of the Fort Shalmaneser ivories, as far as records permit, and having made use of previous studies of the ivories, outlined above, it has proved possible to begin to study the ivories as a whole. The first task was to go through each of the volumes, other than *I.N. II, Ivories in Assyrian Style*, and to attribute the ivories to the three regional 'traditions' and, where possible, to the various style-groups within these 'traditions'. These are recorded in the lists at the ends of Chapters Two to Five. However, these lists are not exhaustive: they do not include pieces of uncertain attribution, nor those, which are too fragmentary. Equally, since another aim of the lists was to try to determine which subjects were illustrated in each 'tradition', some ivories may be recorded more than once. Nevertheless, it immediately becomes apparent, just from these lists, that the majority of the ivories found at Nimrud belong to the Phoenician tradition. There are at least twice as many Phoenician ivories as ivories of the Syrian-Intermediate, North Syrian and Assyrian traditions combined.

Even at this preliminary stage, the analysis reveals the pre-eminence of the Phoenician ivory-worker, both in the sheer numbers of ivories and in their exquisite workmanship. Phoenician ivories are readily recognizable for their Egyptian-looking iconography. The figures tend to be tall and elegant and are well spaced in the panel. Most formed parts of sets of furniture panels, although there were also small objects, such as plaques and bridle harness. Two chapters are dedicated to a discussion of the various groups attributed to this tradition, the first to the finest Phoenician ivories. These form a coherent group, linked by subject, elegant style and sophisticated techniques of carving and inlaying and are called 'Classic Phoenician'. It is reasonable to suggest that these ivories were made in workshops in a single, highly-skilled centre. These ivories, together with some of the bronze bowls found by Layard in the North West Palace, form the principal source for the minor arts of a people long recognized to be the master craftsmen of the early first millennium.

Chapter Three comments on the many other Phoenician pieces, which, although still clearly Phoenician in style and subject, are stylistically more varied and were probably made in a number of different centres. Some of these should probably also be assigned to the 'Classic Phoenician' group but have not yet been, since their attribution is less certain. For instance, the splendid openwork panels with scarab beetles and deities, *I.N.* VII, nos. 95 and 96, and the tall falcon-headed god of *I.N.* VII, no. 112 (Fig. 3d), might easily form part of the Classic Phoenician group.

Perhaps the differences between the two are best illustrated by sets of furniture panels from SW11/12 with the popular motif of a pair of Pharaoh figures equipped with ram-headed sceptres and jugs flanking stylized trees (Fig. 3a). Both are clearly Phoenician. However, one set (*I.N.* VII, nos. 64-82) is typically 'Classic Phoenician' with its regular rectangular panels with double frames, fixed by keyhole slots and with lightly incised fitter's marks on the backs, as opposed to the irregular panels of *I.N.* VII, nos. 83-93, lacking keyhole slots and with deeply incised fitter's marks. The Pharaohs themselves are differently dressed with the Classic version wearing heavy collars and pleated kilts with elaborate aprons, as opposed to the plain shawl sleeves and *shendyt* kilts of the others. Elaborate aprons with pendant *uraei* are a Classic Phoenician diagnostic, uniting many Classic Phoenician ivories. They can be seen on Pharaoh statuettes (Fig. 2f), on three-sided furniture elements (Fig. 2d) and on Ornate Group panels, such as *I.N.* IV, nos. 1062-1065, 1104.

The three-sided furniture elements with central youths flanked by goddesses (Fig. 2d) are the closest in style and subject to the Classic Phoenician Egyptianizing group, and at times have been thought to form a part of that group (Herrmann 2012b). However, they serve as a link between Egyptianizing panels and the other Classic Phoenician ivories rather than forming a part of it. About a hundred Egyptianizing panels and fragments have been identified and themselves form a coherent group, technically and stylistically close to other Classic Phoenician ivories but with a richer repertoire of design and unique in form. Designs are complex with complete scenes carved on a single panel set in fields of papyrus or in sun-boats, or they might feature a scene of worship. There is little or no repetition.

Phoenician ivories employ a variety of Egyptian motifs with greater or lesser degrees of accuracy. Some, such as the *wedjat* eye or the ape, appear to be unique to Phoenician ivories, others, such as the *uraeus* or the figure of Maat, travel widely. Subjects include young males, sometimes winged, who often wear the Egyptian double crown and may be masked. Goddesses or queens, on the other hand, are relatively rare and wear a variety of crowns and long garments or wings serving as skirts. The most popular subject is the sphinx, human-headed, ram-headed or falcon-headed and usually, but not always, winged. They may stride over fallen or kneeling youths or walk towards a stylized tree. Griffins are also represented, either rampant or killed by a hero. There are also lions, bovids and cer-

vids. However, the range of subjects is surprisingly limited, particularly in view of the proximity of Phoenician centres to the artistic world of Egypt. There is no narrative art: instead there is a focus on ritual.

Many Classic Phoenician ivories were richly and finely inlaid and originally highlighted with gold. The types of inlays are varied with shaped pieces of glass or occasionally stone, with raised sections of ivory and pieces of inlay, ‘alternate inlay’, with the ‘pegged wig’, typical of Ornate Group ivories, and with *champ-levé*. Like the elaborate aprons, such inlays are a diagnostic of Classic Phoenician ivories and do not occur on Phoenician ivories. It seems probable that Classic Phoenician ivories were carved in a single centre. The pre-eminent Early Iron Age Phoenician cities were Tyre and Sidon, and it is possible that they were carved there.



VII, 45



VII, 147

Fig. 6b. Goddesses in Hathor crowns with wings wrapped round their hips.

#### *Syrian-Intermediate ivories*

There are in comparison relatively few Syrian-Intermediate ivories. The principal differences between the two are the proportions of the figures, which are more compact, the crowding of the panels, and the violent action. Panels were used in sets of similar designs with single figures, rather than the pairing so typical of Phoenician examples, and there is a more distant relationship to Egyptian art, which is increasingly misunderstood.

The range of designs is similar but more limited. Indeed it is hard to find a Syrian-Intermediate ivory that is not a ‘version’ of a Phoenician original. One popular motif employed across the area was Pharaohs with sceptres and jugs with Phoenician and a series of Syrian-Intermediate versions (Fig. 4j; Cecchini 2005, 243-261). Other examples of Syrian-Intermediate versions of Phoenician originals include the hero and griffin motif with its violent action and crowded panel, so different from the calm of Phoenician examples (Fig. 4b) or the ‘Tall Crown’ interpretation of the Phoenician sphinx supported on a pair of youths (Fig. 4b), or the blatant copy of a goddess with wings wrapped round her hips, a distant echo of the Egyptianizing original (Fig. 6b). This borrowing can even be seen on elements within panels. For instance, ‘Crown and Scale’ ‘capped flowers’, considered by Scigliuzzo to be diagnostic of the group, occur in a more sophisticated version, the capped papyrus, on Phoenician panels (Fig. 3i). Equally, ‘Tall Crown’ panels with sphinxes not only ‘borrow’ the general design but also copy the Ornate Group ‘triple flower’ (Fig. 4g).

One possible interpretation of this borrowing may be that the recently arrived Aramaean kings wished to emulate their sophisticated Phoenician neighbours and commissioned luxury goods in their

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

own styles. The principal Aramaean centres include Hamath and Damascus, with production probably starting in the eleventh century and ceasing with the Assyrian control of those states.

### *Fitter's marks (Appendix Nine)*

Such fitter's marks as have been recorded are principally confined to Phoenician and Syrian-Intermediate ivories, although some can be seen on the small calves attached to the lids of North Syrian pyxides and on the ivories with 'kohl-rimmed eyes' (T72-T82). It had been assumed from the outset that these marks served the same purpose as those on the backs of the bricks of the great glazed brick panel of Shalmaneser III, which enabled Julian Reade to reassemble the panel (1963). However, no such clear-cut result has been established, partly possibly because of inadequate recording with marks either not preserved, not visible or not recorded.

There are very few series of marks, which are based on the Aramaean and Phoenician alphabets (Millard 2005). The best, perhaps as usual, comes from the time of Layard, with his superbly recorded series of ivories from Room V/W of the North West Palace: it has been possible to suggest that marks on some of these Syrian-Intermediate 'Wig and Wing' ivories may have identified specific craftsmen (I.N. VI, 66). And there is one instance, which might suggest their employment as an aid to assembly: the pair of panels, I.N. VII, nos. 58 and 59, with an incised 'aleph and a beth, while the sphinxes supported on the youths of nos. 259-260 each have a gimel and a stroke. Other groups identified by Millard are the Phoenician panels with Pharaohs with sceptres and jugs, I.N. VII, nos. 83-87, and the griffins and kneeling youths of nos. 228-239, with various letters and strokes, all of which are unusually deeply incised. While the majority of the letters belong to the Aramaic or Phoenician alphabets, a few show distinctively Hebrew forms, e.g. no. 114.

Some marks may be workshop-specific, and the presence/absence or the types of marks can be an aid to identifying workshop groups. For instance, those on the backs of Classic Phoenician panels of Pharaohs with sceptres and jugs and on Ornate Group panels are lightly incised, as opposed to the deeply engraved marks, mentioned above. These differences reinforce the suggestion made on grounds of form and style that the ivories were carved in different centres. Similarly, the ivories from T10 with 'kohl-rimmed eyes' tend to have marks, while some of the 'Crown and Scale' group have additional designs lightly incised (I.N. VI, no. 265, I.N. VII, no. T37).

Alan Millard, who has studied all the existing marks, is 'convinced that some "marks" are scratches produced during the carving of the pieces, while others belong to previous uses of the ivory, perhaps marking blank pieces prior to carving, as in no. 290, where the carving clearly cuts through the mark, as the cutting does to the letters on no. 662. In other cases the marks or doodles seem to be practices or sketches for parts of figures (eyes, ear, feathers, etc.). Where there are several strokes I suspect the carver was testing his engraving tool!' (personal communication).

### *North Syrian ivories*

Poulsen in 1912 attributed the first ivories, some fragmentary pyxides discovered in the 1850s by Loftus, to North Syria, comparing them to stone reliefs found at sites along the Syrian-Turkish border. Barnett later noticed the contribution of earlier Hittite iconography. The designs on the pyxides attributed to the 'Flame and Frond' group are fundamentally different to the Syro-Levantine repertoire in their range of subjects, their style and the unusual physiognomy of the humans and musculature of the animals. Instead of the relatively formal repetitious scenes depicted on Phoenician ivories, the pyxides were decorated with scenes of lively banqueting and hunting, and with goddesses, mistresses of

animals and sphinxes. Inlays were large, possibly of ivory rather than glass, and held in place by pegs.

Until the excavations of the B.S.A.I. and the Iraqi Department of Antiquities from 1949 to the 1990s, the Loftus pyxides were the only ivories recognized as North Syrian. The new excavations increased the number and varieties of North Syrian ivories. More pyxides and other small objects as well as furniture panels with the characteristic physiognomy and musculature were recovered and attributed to the 'Flame and Frond' group (Figs. 5a-d; Herrmann 1986), as well as a new North Syrian group, the 'Round-cheeked and Ringletted', with strange, rotund figures, which filled the surface of the panel or dish, and with links to Zinjirli (Fig. 5e; Wicke 2002, 2005). The 'Flame and Frond' group may have been made at Tell Halaf/Bit Bahiani in north-east Syria, starting in the eleventh century but ceasing as early as the mid-ninth, with its conquest by the Assyrians, as opposed to the 'Round-cheeked and Ringletted', which Wicke locates to Zinjirli and dates to the eighth century.

The B.S.A.I. recovered the largest collection of North Syrian ivories, a series of curved chair-backs found stacked in rows in Room SW7 (Fig. 5f). These are different in character and more sophisticated than the preceding two groups: they are probably later in date and may reflect Assyrian influence. It is the form of the winged disc with volutes and fronds, and the scene of hunters in a chariot of *I.N.* III, no. 1, that identifies the chair-backs as a North Syrian production. The 'Classic SW7' chair-backs were probably made in a single centre, while the others would have been carved in a variety of different centres. As in the Phoenician and Syrian-Intermediate repertoire, the subject of men and trees essentially remains the same across the series, what changes are the forms and sizes of the chair-backs and the panels, as well as the styles of carving and representations of details. Such apparently minor changes are a characteristic of the ivories as a whole; differences between groups are very much based on size and form, style and individual details.

#### *Other North Syrian ivories*

There were many small states in the early first millennium Levant, and not surprisingly there are ivories belonging to groups, which can generally be considered to be North Syrian. Scenes of ferocious animal combats are a typical North Syrian motif, carved in a variety of styles (Fig. 5g). Other more familiar motifs include sphinxes and bovinds (Fig. 5h), and there are fragments of very tall pyxides with registers of goats, also known from the Burnt Palace (Fig. 5j).

However, the most extraordinary ivories were found in T10, the room, which, unfortunately, is only partially recorded. These include the unique procession scene of *I.N.* VII, no. T83, and the very different procession of deities, warriors and musicians with kohl-rimmed eyes and the 'flaming bowl' altars (Fig. 5i-j). Among other unusual examples is the set of winged discs set on residual trees, possibly Urartian (Fig. 5j). Also, alas only briefly seen on a poor quality photograph, were fragments of openwork pyxides, only 2.5 cm. high, carved with an extraordinary range of figures. It is to be hoped that a full record of the ivories from this important collection can be made one day.

#### *Small objects*

While most ivories found at Nimrud were furniture panels, there was also a range of small objects, including bridle harness, plaques making up into stands and boxes, pyxides and fan-handles. Just as different forms of chair-back were probably specific to different centres (furniture use is conservative), it is probable that certain shapes and styles of small object were similarly specific. This is easiest to see in the bridle harness, with marked differences in form, style and subject between that of the various traditions. Equally, the trapezoidal plaques that made up into stands are principally Phoenician,

### *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

as are women flasks, while fan handles were made in both Syrian-Intermediate and North Syrian workshops. The North Syrian pyxis, however, seems to be typical for North Syria, although other forms of pyxides do occur in other areas too.

### *The Assyrian Legacy*

As is well-known, the Assyrian legacy is a magnificent one. Less well known is the contribution they unwittingly made to the preservation of the minor arts of the Levantine kingdoms. It was Assyrian policy to empty the palaces of defeated enemies, not because they wanted the goods but to remove attributes of royalty. In so doing, and by storing the smashed remains of the furniture and small objects in their storerooms, they saved for posterity the otherwise lost art of the early first millennium.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- Barnett, C.N.I. Barnett, R.D. 1975. *A catalogue of the Nimrud ivories in the British Museum*, London, 2<sup>nd</sup> revised edition.
- I.N. I Orchard, J.J. 1967. *Ivories from Nimrud I, 2: Equestrian Bridle-harness Ornaments*, London
- I.N. II Mallowan, M.E.L. & Davies, L. Glynne, 1970. *Ivories from Nimrud II, Ivories in Assyrian style*, London
- I.N. III Mallowan, M.E.L. & Herrmann, G. 1974. *Ivories from Nimrud III, Furniture from SW7, Fort Shalmaneser*, London
- I.N. IV Herrmann, G. 1986. *Ivories from Nimrud IV, Ivories from Room SW37, Fort Shalmaneser*, London.
- I.N. V Herrmann, G. 1992. *Ivories from Nimrud V, The Small Collections from Fort Shalmaneser*, London.
- I.N. VI Herrmann, G. & Laidlaw, S. 2009 (n.d.). *Ivories from Nimrud VI, Ivories from the North West Palace (1845-1992)*, London.
- I.N. VII Herrmann, G. & Laidlaw, S. 2013. *Ivories from Nimrud VII, Ivories from Rooms SW11/12 and T10, Fort Shalmaneser*, London.
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APPENDIX ONE: Room SW11/12

By C.B.F. Walker

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11063	IM 65521	Appendix 7	11118	IM 65545	717
11064	BM 2011	822	11119	Ashmolean 1962.599	724
11065	IM 65522	804	11120	IM 65546	723
11066	IM 65523	809	11121	BM 132989, 1962-11-10, 3	40
11067	Ashmolean 1962.598	170	11123	IM 65547	Appendix 7
11068	Ipswich Museum R 1966-29	651	11124	IM 65548	Appendix 7
11069	BM 2011	477	11127	BM 2011	715
11070	BM 2011	486	11128	BM 2011	772
11071	IM 65524	Appendix 7	11129	BM 132990, 1962-11-10, 4	67
11072	IM 65525	Appendix 7	11130	BM 2011	770
11073	IM 65526	85	12000	IM	688
11074	IM 65527	86	12001	BM 2011	659
11075	IM 65528	Appendix 7	12002	BM 2011	666
11076	IM 65529	Appendix 7	12003	Metropolitan 64.37.11	149
11077	BM 2011	209	12004	IM	10
11078	BISI	546	12005	Metropolitan 64.37.14	1
11079	BM 2011	730	12006	IM	565
11080	Bolton A 2/3/1964	525	12007	BM 2011	3
11081	IM 65530	693	12008	IM	626
11082	IM 65531	60	12009	Metropolitan 64.37.12	593
11083	Cambridge Fitzwilliam E.6.1963	571	12010	IM	598
11084	IM 65532	43	12011	IM	601
11085	IM 65533	443	12012	IM	711
11086	BM 132996, 1962-11-10, 10	830	12013	IM	745
11087	IM 65534	768	12014	IM 65928	34
11088	IM 65535	769	12015	BM 2011	800
11089	Bristol FA 97, 88/1972	660	12016	BM 2011	260
11090	IM 65536	87	12017	BM 2011	806
11091	IM 65537	429	12018	BM 2011	833
11092	BM 132991, 1962-11-10, 5	272	12019	BM 2011	810
11093	BM 2011	677	12020	IM	836
11094	Ashmolean 1962.602	558	12021	IM 65883 Looted from Kirkuk	237
11095	Metropolitan 62.269.6	150	12022	Bristol FA 99, 88/1972	
11096	Metropolitan 62.269.8	139	12023	IM	767
11097	IM 65538	569	12024	BM 2011	766
11098	Ashmolean 1962.601	84	12025	IM 60947 Looted from Kirkuk	210
11099	Birmingham 1965 A 451 b	231	12026	IM 65948 Looted from Erbil	232
11100	IM 65539	559	12027	IM	2
11101	IM 65540	45	12028	IM 65929 Kirkuk	17
11102	IM 65541	61	12029	Metropolitan 64.37.3	537
11103	Metropolitan 62.269.2	682	12030	Manchester Museum 1966.1	564
11104	Ashmolean 1962.603	151	12031	BM 2011	662
11105	IM 65542	9	12032	BM 2011	793
11106	Ipswich Museum R 1966-28	478	12033	IM	417
11107	BM 2011	650	12034	IM	39
11108	BM 2011	805	12035	IM	743
11109	IM	799	12036	IM	68
11110	BM 2011	816	12037	BSAI	765
11111	BM 2011	834	12038	IM 65935 Looted from Erbil	721
11112	IM	813	12039	Metropolitan 64.37.6	262
11113	BM 2011	812	12040	IM 65944	259
11114	IM	826	12041	IM 65915	779
11115	IM 65541 Mosul	462	12042	IM	471
11116	Metropolitan 62.269.7	740	12043	IM	473

12044	IM	592	12098	IM	683
12045	BM 2011	602	12099	BM 2011	828
12046	IM	827	12100	BM 2011	736
12047	IM	663	12101	IM 65900	737
12048	IM 65886	22	12102	BM 2011	701
12049	BM 134318, 1963-12-14, 4	271	12103	IM	698
12050	BM 2011	749	12104	BM 2011	814
12051	BM 134324, 1963-12-14, 10	746	12105	IM	811
12052	BM 2011	727	12106	IM	758
12053	IM 65887 Looted from Mosul	726	12107	BM 2011	519
12054	IM 65888	842	12108	IM	508
12055	BM 2011	590	12109	Metropolitan 64.37.10	459
12056	BM 2011	818	12110	IM	Appendix 7
12057	BSAI	739	12111	BM 134323, 1963-12-14, 9	56
12058	IM	303	12112	IM	675
12059	IM	Appendix 7	12113	IM	605
12060	IM	234	12114	BM 2011	681
12061	Metropolitan 64.37.9	229	12115	BM 134315, 1963-12-14, 1	302
12062	BM 2011	233	12116	IM Looted from Mosul	340
12063	BM 2011	712	12117	Tokyo, MECCJ 9090-8	342
12064	IM	702	12118	BISI	223
12065	IM 65893	764	12119	IM	720
12066	BSAI	277	12120	IM	751
12067	BM 2011	274	12121	BM 2011	690
12068	Metropolitan 64.37.2	222	12122	BSAI	521
12069	IM	817	12123	BM 134316, 1963-12-14, 2	66
12070	BM 134320, 1963-12-14, 6	728	12124	IM	327
12071	IM	55	12125	IM	668
12072	BM 2011	761	12126	Metropolitan 64.37.4	490
12073	IM	819	12127	BM 2011	491
12074	IM	820	12128	BM 2011	754
12075	IM	825	12129	BM 2011	815
12076	IM	844	12130	BM 2011	19
12077	Birmingham 1965 A 451 f	253	12131	IM	284
12078	IM	239	12132	BM 134322, 1963-12-14, 8	283
12079	BM 2011	748	12133	IM 65950 Looted from Erbil	290
12080	IM 65931 Looted from Mosul	658	12134	IM 65949 Looted from Erbil	291
12081	IM 65941	661	12135	San Francisco, M. H.de Young MM 1980.54.3	292
12082	San Francisco, M. H.de Young MM 1980.54.4	235	12136	IM 65908	293
12083	IM 65897	16	12137	Ipswich Museum R 1966-27	289
12084	BM 2011	11	12138	IM	288
12085	IM	570	12139	Metropolitan 64.37.8	280
12086	IM 65904	696	12140	BM 2011	282
12087	IM 65895	714	12141	IM 65901 Looted from Nasiriyeh	279
12088	BM 134319, 1963-12-14, 5	763	12142	IM 65934?	287
12089	BM 2011	699	12143	Metropolitan 64.37.7	286
12090	IM	Appendix 7	12144	IM 65909	281
12091	BM 2011	823	12145	Metropolitan 64.37.13	18
12092	BM 2011	735	12146	IM 65910	257
12093	BM 2011	742	12147	Bristol FA 98, 88/1972	563
12094	IM 65896 Looted from Kirkuk	173	12148	IM Looted from Mosul	273
12095	BM 2011	174	12149	IM	599
12096	IM	178	12150	IM	Appendix 7
12097	BM 2011	704	12151	IM 65954 Looted from Mosul	489

*Ivories from Nimrud VII*

12152	IM 65945	47	12233 a	BM 2011	539
12153	IM	747	12233 b	BM 2011	548
12154	IM	456	12234	BISI	574
12155	BM 2011	829	12235	BM 2011	523
12156	BM 2011	20	12236	BM 2011	545
12157	IM	709	12237	IM	547
12158	BISI	707	12238	IM	522
12159	BM 2011	841	12239	BISI	524
12160	IM Looted from Mosul	444	12240	BM 2011	467
12161	Baltimore, WAG 71.1170 562		12241	BM 2011	755
12184	IM	37	12242	IM 72098	756
12185	IM	472	12243	IM 76099	627
12186	BM 2011	744	12244	BM 2011	414
12191	IM	494	12245	IM	236
12192	IM	495	12246	BM 2011	431
12193	BISI	507	12247	IM	433
12194	BM 2011	511	12247 a	IM	434
12195	IM	492	12248	IM	762
12196	IM	510	12249	IM	733
12197	IM	487	12282	BM 2011	585
12198	IM	485	12283	BM 2011	577
12199	BM 2011	512	12284	BM 2011	719
12200	IM	509	12285	IM	780
12201	BM 2011	516	12286	BM 2011	798
12202	IM	501	12287	IM 76105	738
12203	BM 2011	504	12288	IM	224
12204	BM 2011	496	12289	BM 2011	665
12205	IM	500	12290	IM	664
12206	BISI	505	12291	BISI	517
12207	BM 2011	499	12292	BM 2011	821
12208	BM 2011	483	12293	IM	824
12209	IM	497	12294	BM 2011	777
12210	BM 2011	498	12295	IM	802
12211	IM	476	12296	BSAI	Appendix 7
12212	IM	482	12297	BM 2011	774
12213	BM 2011	576	12298	BM 2011	837
12214	IM	529	12299	BM 2011	782
12215	IM	566	12300	IM	838
12216	IM	567	12301	BM 2011	729
12217	IM	528	12302	IM	846
12218	BSAI	Appendix 7	12303	IM 109307	845
12219	IM	531	12304	IM	832
12220	IM	530	12305	BM 2011	Appendix 7
12221	BM 2011	527	12306	IM	778
12222	BM 2011	526	12308	BM 2011	783
12223	IM	532	12309	BM 2011	775
12224	BM 2011	536	12310	BM 2011	776
12225	BM 2011	554	12311	BM 2011	781
12226	BM 2011	573	12312	IM	831
12227	BM 2011	538	12313	IM	839
12228	IM	542	12314	IM	840
12229	BM 2011	540	12315	IM	579
12230	BM 2011	543	12316	IM	753
12231	IM	575	12317	IM	807
12232	IM	541	12318	BM 2011	808

12319	BM 2011	803	13833	IM	120
12320	BSAI	Appendix 7	13834	IM	109
12321	BM 2011	49	13835	IM	183
12322	IM	797	13836	IM	111
12323	BISI	304	13837	IM	63
12324	Tokyo, MECCJ 9090-5	314	13838	IM	145
12325	BISI	275	13839	IM	104
12326	IM	752	13840	IM	94
12327	BISI	710	13841	IM	33
12328	BM 2011	716	13842	IM	420
12329	BM 2011	718	13843	IM	692
12330	IM	722	13844	IM	694
12331	IM 72113	689	13845	IM	705
12332	IM 72108	703	13846	IM	691
13500	IM 74823	112	13847	IM	102
13501	IM 74826	69	13848	IM	445
13502	IM 74824 ?	70	13849	IM	337
13503	IM 74837	71	13850	IM	338
13504	IM	124	13851	IM	329
13505	IM 74824 ?	422	13852	IM	330
13506	IM 74821	379	13853	IM	331
13507	IM 74805	202	13854	IM	447
13800	IM	103	13855	IM	448
13801	IM	62	13856	IM	350
13802	IM	107	13857	IM	421
13803	IM	116	13858	IM	353
13804	IM	108	13859	IM 74860	166
13805	IM	162	13860	IM 74859	180
13806	IM	163	13861	IM	685
13807	IM 74822	117	13862	IM 74698	336
13808	IM	98	13863	IM	440
13809	IM	99	13864 a	IM 74695	95
13810	IM	100	13864 b	IM	423
13811	IM	148	13865 a	IM 74858	285
13812	IM	161	13865 b	IM	319
13813	IM	101	13866 a	IM 74857	295
13814	IM	113	13866 b	IM	375
13815	IM	114	13867 a	IM	373
13816	IM	115	13867 b	IM	306
13817	IM	195	13868	IM	310
13818	IM	128	13869	IM	320
13819	IM	135	13870	IM	309
13820	IM	143	13871	IM	308
13821	IM	134	13872	IM	307
13822	IM	147	13873	IM	322
13823	IM	154	13874	IM	313
13824	IM	152	13875 a	IM	453
13825	IM	155	13875 b	IM	454
13826	IM	157	13876	IM	312
13827 a-b	IM	158	13881	IM	544
13828	IM	156	13882	IM	609
13829	IM	455	13883	IM	635
13830	IM	118	13884	IM	27
13831	IM	159	13885	IM	647
13832	IM	122	13886	IM	790

*Ivories from Nimrud VII*

13887	IM	784	13943	IM	695
13888	IM	646	13944	IM	79
13890	IM	268	13945	IM	216
13891	IM	267	13946	IM	654
13892	IM	263	13947	IM	333
13893	IM	269	13948	IM	467
13894	IM	276	13949	IM	376
13895	IM	252	13950	IM	372
13896	IM	270	13951	IM	203
13897	IM	264	13952	IM	200
13898	IM	255	13953	IM	204
13899	IM	265	13954	IM	201
13900	IM	256	13955 a	IM	385
13901	IM	75	13956	IM	206
13902	IM	90	13957	IM	208
13903	IM	91	13958	IM	388
13904	IM	76	13959	IM	381
13905	IM	80	13960	IM	351
13906	IM	81	13961	IM	352
13907	IM	73	13962	IM	401
13908	IM	160	13963	IM	123
13909	IM	182	13964	IM	110
13910	IM	74	13965	IM	671
13911	IM	82	13966	IM	413
13912	IM	92	13967	IM	44
13913	IM	184	13968 a	IM	383
13914	IM	670	13968 a-d	IM	405
13915	IM	297	13969	IM	713
13916	IM	298	13970	IM	533
13917	IM	299	13971	IM	506
13918	IM	296	13972	IM	578
13919	IM	130	13973	IM	684
13920	IM	397	13974	IM	392
13921	IM	7	13975	IM	398
13922	IM	125	13975 a	IM	403
13923	IM	441	13976	IM	390
13924	IM	679	13977	IM	212
13925	IM	687	13978	IM	197
13926	IM	686	13979	IM	196
13927	IM	442	13980	IM	226
13928	IM	706	13981	IM	192
13929	IM	708	13982	IM	188
13930	IM	731	13983	IM	464
13931 a-b	IM	249	13984	IM	187
13932	IM	843	13985	IM	219
13933	IM	25	13986	IM	215
13934	IM	589	13987	IM	463
13935	IM	26	13988	IM	217
13936	IM	396	13989	IM	225
13937	IM	607	13990	IM	220
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13939	IM	667	13992	IM	789
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13941	IM	57	13994	IM	785
13942	IM	52	14000	IM 74818	175

14001	IM 74679 Mosul	318	14060	IM	194
14002	IM 74847	458	14061	IM	198
14003	IM	349	14062	IM	199
14004	IM 74820	380	14063	IM	205
14005	IM 74673	72	14064	IM	207
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14007	IM 74735	449	14066	IM	214
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14010	IM	12	14069	IM	240
14011	IM	13	14070	IM 117670	241
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14013	IM	15	14072	IM	243
14014	IM	21	14073	IM 1176??	244
14015	IM	28	14074	IM	246
14016	IM	30	14075	IM 117841	250
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14019	IM	36	14078	IM Looted from Mosul	300
14020	IM 117519	41	14079	IM	301
14021	IM	46	14080	IM	305
14022	IM	48	14081	IM	311
14023	IM	77	14082	IM Looted from Mosul	316
14024	IM	78	14083	IM Looted from Mosul	317
14029	IM	93	14084	IM 74844 Looted from Mosul	321
14030	IM 74696	96	14085	IM	323
14031	IM 74676 Looted from Mosul	97	14086	IM	324
14032	IM	105	14087	IM	325
14033	IM	119	14088	IM	326
14034	IM	127	14089	IM 74675 Looted from Mosul	328
14035	IM	129	14090	IM	332
14036	IM	131	14091	IM	334
14037	IM Looted from Mosul	132	14092	IM	335
14038	IM Looted from Mosul	133	14093	IM	339
14039	IM	136	14094	IM	341
14040	IM	137	14095	IM	343
14041	IM	138	14096	IM	344
14042	IM	140	14097	IM	346
14043	IM	141	14098	IM	347
14044	IM	142	14099	IM	354
14045	IM 74852 Looted from Mosul	144	14100	IM	355
14046	IM	146	14101	IM	356
14047	IM 74685	164	14102	IM	357
14048	IM	168	14103	IM	358
14049	IM	169	14104	IM 74674	359
14050	IM 74806 Looted from Mosul	171	14105	IM	361
14051	IM	176	14106	IM	362
14052	IM	177	14107	IM	363
14053	IM	179	14108	IM	364
14054	IM	181	14109	IM	365
14055	IM	185	14110	IM	366
14056	IM	186	14111	IM	367
14057	IM	189	14112	IM	368
14058	IM	191	14113	IM	369
14059	IM	193	14114	IM	370

*Ivories from Nimrud VII*

14115	IM	374	14170	IM	515
14116	IM	378	14171	IM	520
14117	IM	382	14172	IM	534
14118	IM	384	14173	IM	535
14119	IM	386	14175	IM	549
14120	IM	387	14176	IM	550
14121	IM Looted from Mosul	389	14177	IM	551
14122	IM	391	14178	IM	555
14123	IM	393	14179	IM	556
14124	IM	394	14180	IM	557
14125	IM	395	14181	IM Looted from Mosul	561
14126	IM	399	14182	IM	568
14127	IM Looted from Mosul	400	14183	IM	572
14128	IM	402	14184	IM	588
14129	IM	404	14185	IM	580
14130	IM	405	14186	IM	581
14131	IM	406	14187	IM	582
14132	IM	407	14188	IM	583
14133	IM	408	14189	IM	584
14134	IM	409	14190	IM	586
14135	IM	410	14191	IM	587
14136	IM	411	14192	IM	591
14137	IM	412	14193	IM	597
14138	IM	415	14194	IM	600
14139	IM	416	14195	IM	603
14140	IM 117927	418	14196	IM	608
14141	IM	424	14197	IM	610
14142	IM	425	14198	IM	611
14143	IM 74838	426	14199	IM	612
14144	IM	428	14200	IM	613
14145	IM	430	14201	IM	614
14146	IM	432	14202	IM	615
14147	IM	434	14203	IM	616
14148	IM	436	14204	IM	617
14149	IM	437	14205	IM	618
14150	IM	438	14206	IM	619
14151	IM 74849 Looted from Mosul	439	14207	IM	620
14152	IM	446	14208	IM	621
14153	IM 74842	450	14209	IM	622
14154	IM 74851	451	14210	IM	623
14155	IM	452	14211	IM	624
14156	IM	457	14212	IM	625
14157	IM 117917	460	14213	IM 117665	628
14158	IM	461	14214	IM 117816	629
14159	IM 11766?	466	14215	IM	630
14160	IM 74819 Looted from Mosul	469	14216	IM	631
14161	IM Looted from Mosul	470	14217	IM	633
14162	IM 65954	474	14218	IM	634
14163	IM	479	14219	IM	636
14164	IM	484	14220	IM	637
14165	IM	488	14221	IM	638
14166	IM	502	14222	IM	639
14167	IM	503	14223	IM	640
14168	IM	513	14224	IM	641
14169	IM	514	14225	IM	642

14226	IM	643
14227	IM	644
14228	IM 62691	648
14229	IM 62698	649
14230	IM	652
14231	IM	653
14232	IM	655
14233	IM	669
14234	IM	672
14235	IM	676
14236	IM	741
14237	IM	759
14238	IM Looted from Mosul	773
14239	IM	786
14240	IM	787
14241	IM 62692	792
14242	IM 62692b	795
14243	IM 62692c	796
14244	IM	801
14245	IM 62188	552
14246	IM	6
14247	IM 110519 Looted from Mosul	465
14248	IM	632
14249	IM 62692a	794
15000	IM	24

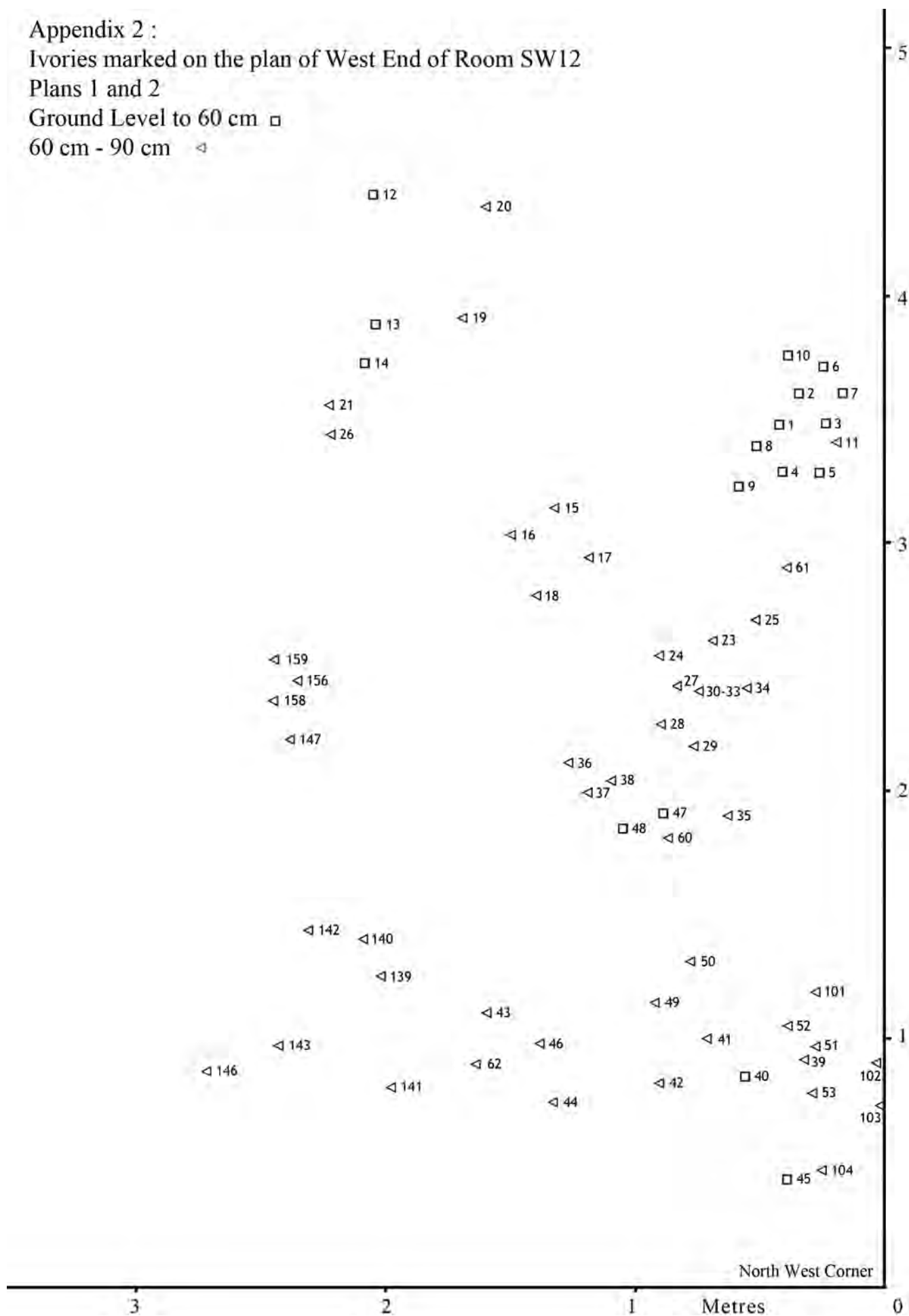
Appendix 2 :

Ivories marked on the plan of West End of Room SW12

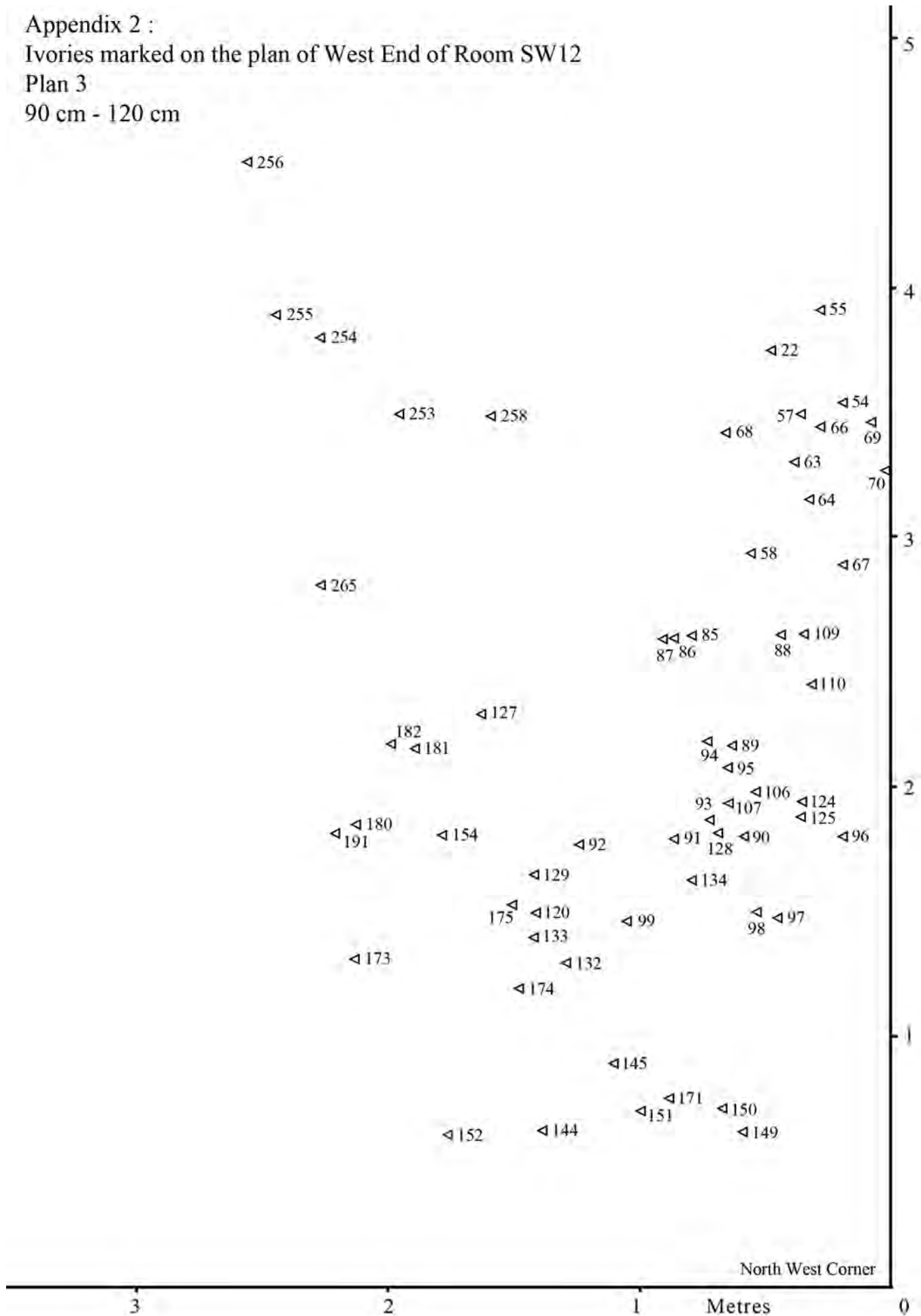
Plans 1 and 2

Ground Level to 60 cm □

60 cm - 90 cm ◁



Appendix 2 :  
Ivories marked on the plan of West End of Room SW12  
Plan 3  
90 cm - 120 cm



*Ivories from Nimrud VII*

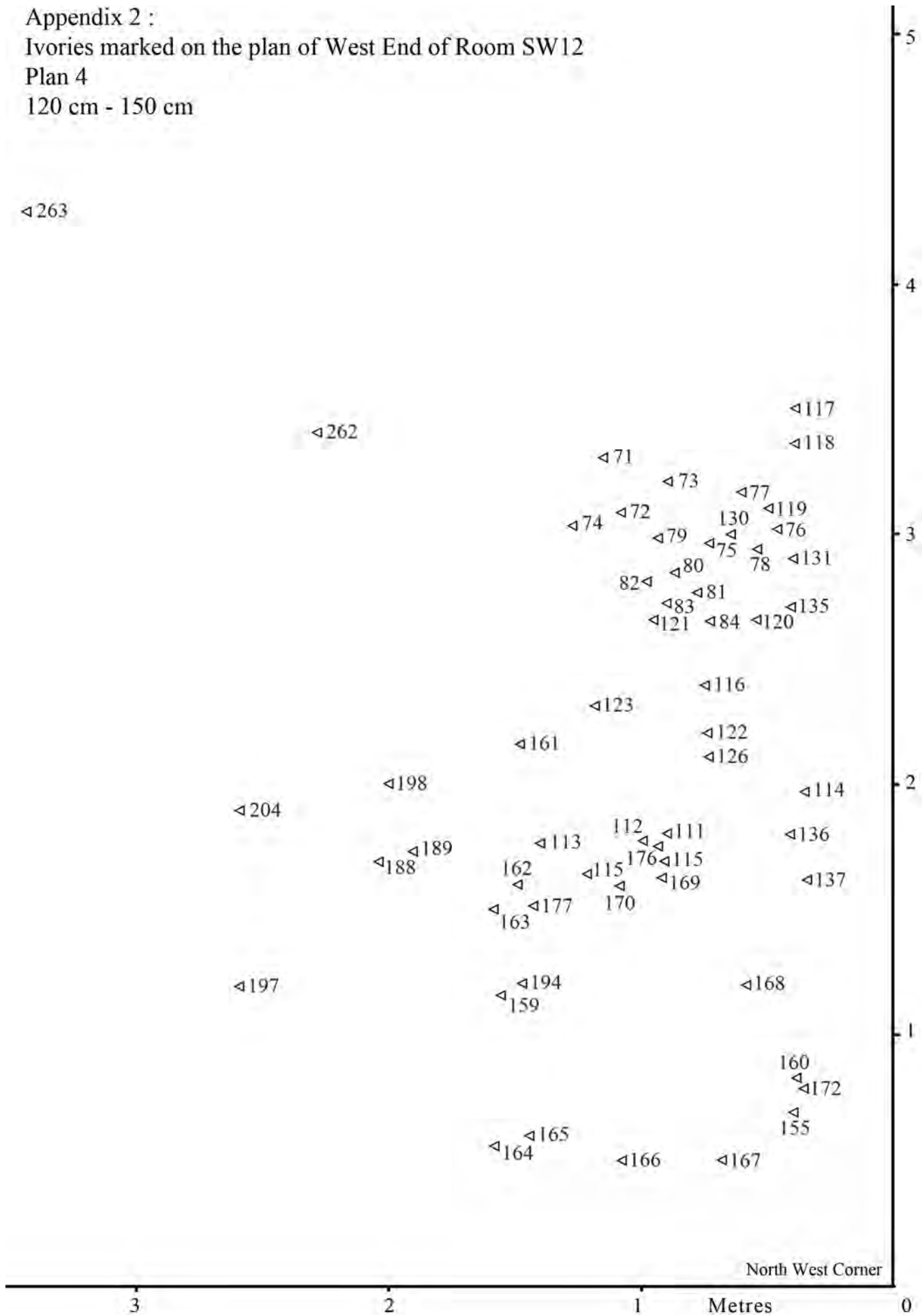
Appendix 2 :

Ivories marked on the plan of West End of Room SW12

Plan 4

120 cm - 150 cm

◁263



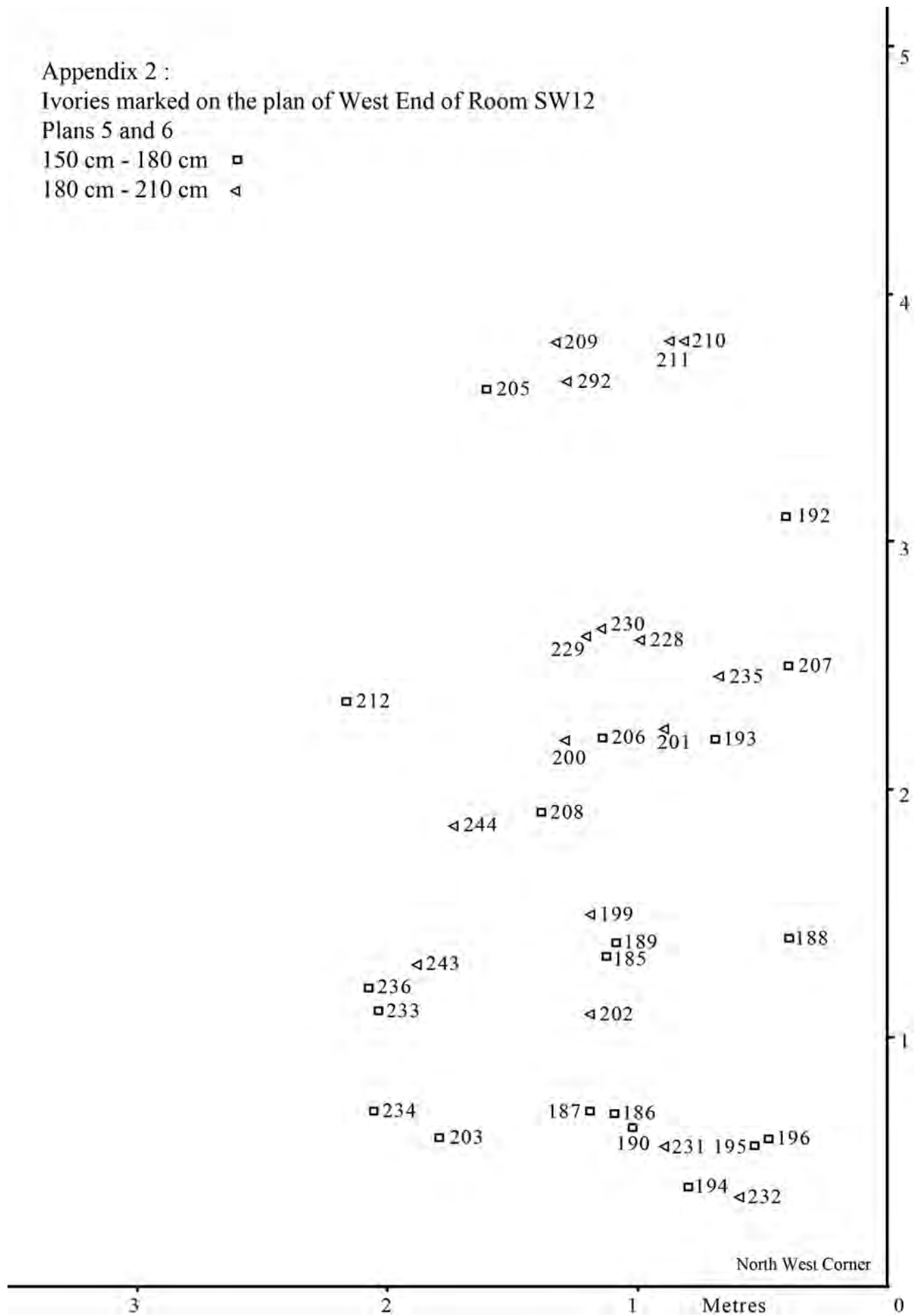
Appendix 2 :

Ivories marked on the plan of West End of Room SW12

Plans 5 and 6

150 cm - 180 cm □

180 cm - 210 cm ◁



*Ivories from Nimrud VII*

APPENDIX THREE  
Identified ivories from the 1962 plans  
of the first five metres of the west end of SW12  
N.B. Not all ivories are marked on the plans

*Plans 1 & 2, Surface to 60 cm. & 60-90 cm.*

Number on plan	Catalogue number	ND number
1	23	11001
11	5	11002
15	IM 65528 Youth, lost	11075
16	IM 65529 Cow and calf, lost	11076
33	475	11004
39	718	12329
50	760	11005
52	656	11006
103	462	11115
147	254	11014
156	58	11015

*Plan 3, 90-120 cm.*

Number on plan	Catalogue number	ND number
22	88	11003
58	89	11007
68	IM 65497 Bull, lost	11008
106	481	11010
134	322	13873
145	152	13824
173	379	13506
174	447	13854
175	546	11078
182	518	11021
255	846	12302
256	IM 65512 Hemi-cylinder, lost	11041

*Plan 4, 120-150 cm.*

Number on plan	Catalogue number	ND number
112	247	11042
113	IM 65499 Bull, lost	11011
115	153	11043
117	755	12241
126	560	11044
130	133	14038
131	700	11012
135	313	13874
135	463	13987
137	771	11013
161	228	11017
163	209	11077
165	IM 65502 Egyptianizing, lost	11018
167	596	11019
176	732	11020
197	251	11024
198	97	14031
262	843	13932

*Plans 5 and 6, 150-180 cm & 180-210 cm.*

Number on plan	Catalogue number	ND number
187	730	11079
190	250	14075
193	38	11023
199	IM 65504, Lion leg, lost	11025
200	54	11026
201	525	11080
206	594	11027
207	373	13867a
208	172	11028
209	693	11081
231	731	13930
231	750	11033
232	261	11046
235	266	11034
243	419	11047

Ivories not marked on plans

Number not found on plan	Catalogue number	ND number
77	165	11009
97	268	13890
148	757	11031
157	435	11016
184	59	11022
213	258	11045
218	416	14139
224	306	13867b
226	65	11032
227	60	11082
237	64	11035
238	148	13811
242	190	11036
245	83	11037
246	230	11038
248	680	11039
249	835	11040
268	571	11083
274	43	11084
275	443	11085
288	830	11086
289	166	13859
290	769	11088
290	772	11128
294	660	11089
296	275	12325
297	87	11090
300	429	11091
302	272	11092
303	318	14001
304	677	11093
305	715	11127
305	770	11130
305	67	11129
308	558	11094
309	775	12309
310	150	11095
311	139	11096
313	604	11117
316	569	11097
319	61	11102
320	84	11098
321	682	11103
323	231	11099
324	314	12324
326	740	11116
328	559	11100
329	45	11101
330	717	11118

APPENDIX FOUR

*'Crown and Scale' panels from SW11 with numbers in brackets in the field catalogue*

Catalogue no.	ND no.	Bracket no.
279	12141	9:24
280	12139	17:56
281	12144	36:49:50
282	12140	52
283	12132	11:13
284	12131	28:35
285	13865a	-
286	12143	40
287	12142	1:8:54
288	12138	15:18
289	12137	21
290	12133	14:29
291	12134	6:12:23
292	12135	2:5:30:53:55
293	12136	4
294	14077	-
295	13866a	-
296	13918	-
297	13915	-
298	13916	-
299	13917	-

Part II: Room T10

APPENDIX FIVE: Room T10 by C.B.F. Walker  
Index of Expedition (ND) numbers with their Catalogue Equivalents

11125	T.35	12263 a-c	T.159	12353	T.325
11126	T.303	12264 a-d	T.155	12354	T.343
11145	T.302	12265 a-b	T.164	12355	T.309
11310	T.310	12266 a-g	T.161	12356	T.345
12162	T.335	12267 a-e	T.160	13302	T.12
12163	T.322	12268 a-f	T.162	13868 a	T.23
12164	T.307	12269 a-c	T.163	13877	T.11
12165	T.326a	12270 a-d	T.149	13878	T.109
12166	T.327	12271 a-c	T.151	13879	T.110
12167	T.326b	12272 a-c	T.152	13880	T.319
12169	T.329	12273 a-b	T.153	13889	T.282
12170	T.330	12274 a-f	T.145	14500	T.1
12171	T.308	12275 a-b	T.158	14501	T.2
12172 a	T.331	12277 a-d	T.154	14502	T.3
12172	T.69	12278 a-d	T.150	14503	T.4
12173	T.339	12279 a-c	T.146	14504	T.5
12175	T.338	12280	T.148	14505	T.6
12177	T.337	12281	T.147	14506	T.7
12182	T.156	12307	T.316	14507	T.8
12183	T.157	12333	T.318	14508	T.9
12187	T.72	12334	T.315	14509	T.10
12188	T.295	12335	T.314	14510	T.13
12189	T.297	12336	T.312	14511	T.14
12190	T.296	12337	T.313	14512	T.15
12250	T.132	12338	T.317	14513	T.16
12251 a-b	T.139	12339	T.311	14514	T.17
12252 a-b	T.136	12340	T.126	14515	T.18
12253 a-c	T.138	12341	T.127	14516	T.19
12254 a-m	T.141	12342	T.128	14517	T.20
12255 a-c	T.130	12343	T.328	14518	T.21
12256 a-f	T.131	12344	T.342	14519	T.22
12257	T.134	12345	T.324	14520	T.24
12258 a-c	T.140	12347	T.344	14521	T.25
12259 a	T.135	12350	T.143 a	14522	T.26
12259 b	T.133	12350 a	T.143 b	14523	T.27
12260 a-b	T.137	12351 a-o	T.144	14524	T.28
12262 a-b	T.142	12352	T.341	14525	T.29

ND number	Catalogue numbers				
14526	T.30	14567	T.74	14608	T.165
14527	T.31	14568	T.75	14609	T.166
14528	T.32	14569	T.76	14610	T.167
14529	T.33	14570	T.77	14611	T.168
14530	T.34	14571	T.78	14612	T.169
14531	T.36	14572	T.79	14613	T.170
14532	T.37	14573	T.80	14614	T.171
14533	T.38	14574	T.81	14615	T.172
14534	T.39	14575	T.82	14616	T.173
14535	T.40	14576	T.83	14617	T.174
14536	T.41	14577	T.84	14618	T.175
14537	T.42	14578	T.85	14619	T.176
14538	T.43	14579	T.86	14620	T.177
14539	T.44	14580	T.87	14621	T.178
14540	T.45	14581	T.88	14622	T.179
14541	T.46	14582	T.89	14623	T.180
14542	T.47	14583	T.90	14624	T.181
14543	T.48	14584	T.91	14625	T.182
14544	T.49	14585	T.92	14626	T.183
14545	T.50	14586	T.93	14627	T.184
14546	T.51	14587	T.94	14628	T.185
14547	T.52	14588	T.95	14629	T.186
14548	T.53	14589	T.96	14630	T.187
14549	T.54	14590	T.97	14631	T.188
14550	T.55	14591	T.98	14632	T.189
14551	T.56	14592	T.102	14633	T.190
14552	T.57	14593	T.111	14634	T.191
14553	T.58	14594	T.112	14635	T.192
14554	T.59	14595	T.113	14636	T.193
14555	T.60	14596	T.114	14637	T.194
14556	T.61	14597	T.115	14638	T.195
14557	T.62	14598	T.116	14639	T.196
14558	T.63	14599	T.117	14640	T.197
14559	T.64	14600	T.118	14641	T.199
14560	T.65	14601	T.119	14642	T.200
14561	T.66	14602	T.120	14643	T.201
14562	T.67	14603	T.121	14644	T.202
14563	T.68	14604	T.122	14645	T.203
14564	T.70	14605	T.123	14646	T.204
14565	T.71	14606	T.124	14647	T.205
14566	T.73	14607	T.125	14648	T.206

*Ivories from Nimrud VII*

ND number Catalogue numbers

14649	T.207	14690	T.248	14731	T.290
14650	T.208	14691	T.249	14732	T.291
14651	T.209	14692	T.250	14733	T.292
14652	T.210	14693	T.251	14734	T.293
14653	T.211	14694	T.252	14734 a	T.298
14654	T.212	14695	T.253	14735	T.294
14655	T.213	14696	T.254	14735 a	T.299
14656	T.214	14697	T.255	14736	T.300
14657	T.215	14698	T.256	14737	T.301
14658	T.216	14699	T.257	14738	T.304
14659	T.217	14700	T.258	14739	T.305
14660	T.218	14701	T.259	14740	T.306
14661	T.219	14702	T.260	14741	T.320
14662	T.220	14703	T.261	14742	T.321
14663	T.221	14704	T.262	14743	T.323
14664	T.222	14705	T.263	14744	T.332
14665	T.223	14706	T.264	14745	T.333
14666	T.224	14707	T.265	14746	T.334
14667	T.225	14708	T.266	14747	T.336
14668	T.226	14709	T.267	14748	T.340
14669	T.227	14710	T.268	14749	T.129
14670	T.228	14711	T.269	15001	T.99
14671	T.229	14712	T.270	15002	T.100
14672	T.230	14713	T.271	15003	T.101
14673	T.231	14714	T.272	15004	T.103
14674	T.232	14715	T.273	15005	T.104
14675	T.233	14716	T.274	15006	T.105
14676	T.234	14717	T.275	15007	T.102
14677	T.235	14718	T.276	15008	T.102
14678	T.236	14719	T.277	15009	T.107
14679	T.237	14720	T.278	15010	T.106
14680	T.238	14721	T.279	15011	T.198
14681	T.239	14722	T.280	15012	T.108
14682	T.240	14723	T.281		
14683	T.241	14724	T.283		
14684	T.242	14725	T.284		
14685	T.243	14726	T.285		
14686	T.244	14727	T.286		
14687	T.245	14728	T.287		
14688	T.246	14729	T.288		
14689	T.247	14730	T.289		

## APPENDIX SIX

B.S.A.I. List of Ivories from Room T10, drawn up in 1968  
by Jeffery Orchard before the ivories were packed in six boxes

### Ajouré ivories A-E

- A. Fragments of bewigged female figures with *uraeus* and disc crowns, carrying a papyrus plant (cf. Mallowan, *N. & R.* II, fig. 554)
- B. Fragments of Assyrian provincial figures, including foot from fish-man
- C. Fragments of female musicians
- D. Wig and fragments of miscellaneous figures
- E. Limbs and ears from figures

### Plaques with human figures A-C

- A. Standing winged guardian figures
- B. Miscellaneous large figures
- C. Miscellaneous smaller figures

Syro-Hittite style plaques: musicians, tribute bearers, genies, etc.

North Syrian plaques showing fragments of furniture and human figures

‘Hittite’ style plaques showing animal-headed divinities, also animals

### Egyptian group A-E

- A. *Taurt*-type hippopotamus goddesses. Plaques
- B. Fragments of Bes figures. Plaques
- C. Fragments of kneeling *Heh* figures. Plaques
- D. Fragments of pseudo-hieroglyphs
- E. *Wedjat* eyes

Falcon figure, ajouré

Fragments of scarabs, carved in relief

### Sphinxes ajouré A-F

- A. Human-headed Phoenician-Chinoiserie sphinxes, couchant, regardant
- B. Human-headed Phoenician-Chinoiserie sphinxes, passant, regardant
- C. Human-headed Phoenician sphinxes, passant, regardant, bead collar; separately attached heads and fancy wings
- D. Human-headed Phoenician sphinxes, passant, regardant, bead collar, similar to C above but heads are not carved separately and the wings are plain
- E. Human-headed Phoenician sphinxes, passant, bead collar and Pharaonic headcloth
- F. Fragments of ram-headed sphinxes

### Sphinx plaque A-E

- A. Human-headed sphinxes confronting sacred trees. Finely carved in high relief
- B. Fragments of human, falcon and ram-headed sphinxes confronting sacred trees
- C. Human and ram-headed sphinxes, either in high relief or rather large
- D. Assorted human and falcon-headed sphinxes in low relief

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

- E. Fragments of large sphinxes with hatched wings

Fragments of bodies (and skirts) from sphinxes/griffins, etc., ajouré

Fragments of 'lions' limbs, paws, tails from sphinxes/griffins ajouré

Fragments of 'lions' paws on foliage. Ajouré and plaques

Fragments of wings A-C

- A. Feathered wings from ajouré sphinxes/griffins/winged boys etc.

- B. Plain wings from ajouré sphinxes/griffins/winged boys etc.

- C. Wings from plaques

Pendant *uraei*, *Atef* and Egyptian crowns, ajouré and plaques

Inlaid ivories i. and ii.

- i. Fragments of large human-headed sphinxes with inlaid wings and flowers; miscellaneous wings; falcon-headed figure; two fragments of Egyptian wig from large human; inlaid hoof; ajouré and plaques

- ii. Fragments of medium sized or small sphinxes, animals, flowers, sacred trees, human figures etc. (two St. George scenes). Ajouré and plaques

Stained ivories A-D

- A. Fragments of large figures and sphinx, lion's paws

- B. Fragments of sphinx plaques in low relief, floral motifs

- C. Fragments of incised sphinxes, sacred trees, human figures, etc. (It is very possible that many of these were not originally stained, but as burning has been extensive it is difficult to say for certain.)

- D. Fragments of guilloche

Incised ivories A-C (see also C and D above, and Assyrian)

- A. Encircled rosettes

- B. Fragments of veneer incised with diagonal lines and having the beginnings of a guilloche border

- C. Fragments of guilloche

Flowers A-D

- A. 'Daisy' type, ajouré

- B. 'Palmette' type, ajouré

- C. Assorted flowers, ajouré

- D. Assorted flowers from plaques

Plant stems, tendrils, ajouré

Sacred trees A-B

- A. Fragments of assorted sacred trees, ajouré

- B. Fragments of assorted sacred trees, plaques

Fragments of cows and calves

Fragments of grazing stags

Fragments of bulls (fragments of bulls appear frequently in the category of 'assorted animal plaques – probably mainly combat scenes')

Fragments of bodies: cows/bulls/stags

Fragments of legs, hooves: cows/bulls/stags

Fragments of antlers and 'feathered bud' type flowers usually associated with stags (Mallowan, *N. & R.* II, fig. 435)

Fragments of small or medium-sized lions

Fragments of griffins

Fragments of horse? plaque supported by volutes

Fragments of large animals, mainly lions

Fragments of large ajouré animal combat scene

Assorted fragments of animal plaques – probably mainly combat scenes

Palm trees A-D

A. i-vii (Mallowan, *N. & R.* II, fig. 503)

i. Fragments showing centres of trees

ii. Fragments of trunks

iii. Fragments of upper central fronds

iv. Fragments of upper left hand fronds

v. Fragments of upper right hand fronds

vi. Fragments of lower left hand fronds

vii. Fragments of lower right hand fronds

B. Fragments of linked palm trees, with and without bisected fronds

C. Fragments of tall palm trees in flower, carved in low relief

D. Assorted fragments of palm trees not fitting into previous categories, ajouré and plaques

Elaborate Phoenician-style sacred trees with 'shaving brush' tops

Fragments of voluted pillars, surmounted by winged discs

Winged discs A-B

A. Winged discs in low relief

B. Winged disc frags

ND 11507 and ND 11511

These fragments were found (in 1968) in their original box labelled 'ND 11507. Fragments of burnt ivory. For further more detailed study. T 10 west end', but would seem to correspond more closely to the description given for ND 11511; from field catalogue:

'ND 11507. Fragments of carved ivory. For further more detailed study. T 10 floor'

'ND 11511. Fragments of burnt ivory, carved in low relief with sphinxes and chariot scenes. For further more detailed study. T 10 West end'

Fragments carved on both faces: sacred tree, one wing

Ladies at window i. and ii.

i. Fragments of ladies and balustrades

ii. Fragments of recessed window frame

Assyrian fragments

Inscribed fragments

Assorted materials found amongst the ivories. Could be used for analysis

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

### Structural elements A-I

- A. Those manufactured from ivory other than elephant ivory
- B. Fragments of chair legs: stylized leaf mouldings
- C. i. and ii. Fragments of chair legs and miscellaneous mouldings
- D. Fragmentary tubular elements and hemi-cylindrical edgings
- E. Fragments of assorted miniature elements: domes, semi-circles, squares, etc.
- F. Assorted tenons
- G. Fragments of assorted rods and fluted elements
- H. Structural elements with iron; found in association with ND 12164 (lion's rump in low relief, now in Iraq Museum), row of low relief stained sphinxes, ND [14576] , and procession of low relief human figures – two having dresses carved with animals ND [13868a]
- I. Gazelle-headed handles

### Fragments of frames A-E

- A. Ajouré – single border
- B. Ajouré – multiple border
- C. Plaques – single border
- D. Plaques – multiple border
- E. 'Fancy' border

Assorted fragments, not easily identifiable

Assorted fragments of possible value and significance

There is also a very large box of mainly veneer, which is utterly useless for reconstruction or technological purposes. A somewhat smaller box contains pieces which may have technological significance.

Part III: Assorted Appendices

APPENDIX SEVEN

by C.B.F. Walker

*Ivories from Room SW37, omitted from I.N. IV  
and  
Missing ivories from Rooms SW11/12 and T10*

***Ivories from SW37***

**ND 6448, SW37**

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, MMA 58.31.6, 7, 8, 11 and 12  
British Museum, London, BM 2011.6001

Fragments from a collection of Ornate Group fragments, including part of a human figure, wings incrustated with blue glass, a male face; 49 fragments of wings with blue inlay, and the hind leg of a deer. For other fragments from this collection, see *I.N. IV*, nos. 1053, 1074, 1089 and 1108.

**ND 7797, SW37**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Fragmentary panel, poorly preserved. Winged sphinx wearing *atef* crown, facing left, tail curving over back. H. 1.0 cm. W. 5.3 cm.

*Classic Phoenician Pharaoh statuette*

**ND 7987, SW 37**

Plates 250-251

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 62671

The body of a Pharaoh statuette in the round, head, neck, arms and lower legs broken off. Surface cracked with fragments missing, much grey speckling. The youth stands facing the onlooker in a typically Egyptian pose: only stumps of arms surviving, left leg slightly in front of right. His chest is bare; he is wearing a knee-length skirt with an apron with elaborate ties down the front consisting of vertical rows, flanked by *uraei* crowned with sun discs: the hem is decorated. Shorter ties hang next to the central apron. There is a plain belt round the waist.

H. 17.0 cm. W. 6.7 cm. Th. 3.7 cm.

This example is similar to Ornate group figures from SW 37, *I.N. IV*, nos. 1292-1295 and from SW11/12, *I.N. VII*, nos. 688-692. Fragments were also found by Layard in Room V of the North West Palace, *I.N. VI*, nos. 162-170.

**IM 74802, SW37**

Plate 249

Iraq Museum, Mosul, IM 74802. Looted 2003

Right side of tenoned panel. Plain frame at top, right side and bottom, left side broken off; tenon at top. Surface pitted with some fragments missing.

H. with tenons 11.2 cm. H. of panel 10.4 cm. W. 4.5 cm. Th. 0.8 cm.

A male advances left, probably towards a plant or tree, of which only one stalk survives. He wears the Egyptian

### *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

double crown, a short Egyptian-style wig, a fringed tassel down back, a garment with beaded collar, shawl sleeves, short skirt and long, open overskirt with looped borders, tied at the waist by a belt with a voluted end.

#### **ND 10741 SW37**

British Museum, London, BM 2011, 6001.

Fragment of a bud from a blinker or frontlet. Small dowel hole, D. 0.2 cm., at one end.

L. 4.1 cm. W. 2.6 cm. Th. 0.8 cm.

#### **ND 13222, SW37**

Plate 249

Iraq Museum, Baghdad

A long panel, sides and bottom broken off, top damaged, surface very poorly preserved overall. Trace of frame at top. Part of a complex, running combat frieze with parts of a winged griffin, with pupil of eye drilled, attacking a bull lying on its back. The surface of the other animals is too poorly preserved for identification. H. 5.9 cm. L. 32.7 cm.

This poorly preserved fragment is generally similar to *I.N.* IV, nos. 669 and 672, although these lack a frame.

#### **ND 14008, SW37**

Plate 249

Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Openwork fragment, broken at bottom. A voluted palmette flower. Back smooth.

H. as preserved 5.1 cm. W. as preserved 4.4 cm. Th. 0.9 cm.

### *Missing ivories from Room SW11/12*

#### **ND 6301, SW12, top rubbish**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 60501

Bull, advancing left, in high relief, fragment. legs missing. L. 10.6 cm.

#### **ND 6305, SW12, top rubbish**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 60503

Palmette with pendant leaves, fragmentary. 4.1 x 3.2 cm.

#### **N.B.**

#### **ND 6308, SW9**

This female head was incorrectly published in *I.N.* V, no. 497, as ND 6305.

#### **ND 6335, SW12, top rubbish**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 60514

Head of female, in high relief. She is facing right and wearing a *shenti* crown on a wig.

Ht. 2.6 cm.

#### **ND 6381, S. of SW11, E doorway of corridor, -2.0 m on a trodden level on floor.**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Flower with 4 folded petals and circular centre decorated with dot border. Tenon hole on underside. D. 2.1 cm.

**ND 6382, .S. of SW11**, E doorway of corridor, -2.0 m on a trodden level on floor  
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Nine fragments of burnt lotus flowers and buds. Largest, 6.5 x 3.7 cm. overall. Found with ND 6381.

**ND 6390, SW12**, surface  
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 60535

Openwork tree with volutes, fragmentary, and part of a panel to which it was once affixed. Two dowel pins  
H. 5.5 cm., W. 5.2 cm.

**ND 6444, SW12**  
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 60542

Palmettes and a square, 4.0 x c. 1.0 cm.

**ND 11008, SW12**. Plan 3, no. 68  
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 65497

Bull advancing left with head lowered, fragmentary. The horns, tail and right fore and hind legs below the knee are missing. Two vertical dowel holes are preserved in the animal's back, one at the neck, the other at the rump. The reverse bears a short five-letter Phoenician inscription.  
L. 8.5 cm., H. 3.2 cm.

**ND 11011, SW12**. Plan 4, no. 113  
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 65499

Bull advancing left with head lowered, fragmentary, surface badly pitted. The horns, tail and legs below the knee are missing.  
L. 10.4 cm. W. 4.2 cm.

**ND 11018, SW12**. Plan 4, no. 165  
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 65502

Rectangular panel, virtually complete. Minor fragments missing from surface. Champ-levé. A lotus flower flanked by a pair of Egyptian hieroglyphic (*nwb*) signs. Along the lower edge is a border of alternate rectangles and vertical triple bars. Remains of the original inlay are still preserved in the *nwb*-signs.  
L. 15.0 cm., H. 4.1 cm.

**ND 11025, SW12**. Plan 6, no. 199  
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 65504

Leonine right foreleg and paw. Surface pitted and small fragments missing overall. The musculature of the leg is indicated by simple, deeply-incised lines and similarly the claws and the locks of the mane, a small part of which overlaps the upper leg. The upper part of the leg is squared off for insertion into the main body, where it was held in place by a tenon passing downwards through the thickness of the leg. The tenon was held by a horizontal dowel.  
L. 18.5 cm., W. 4.4 cm., H. 4.8 cm.

**ND 11030, SW12**  
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 65559

### *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

Rectangular panel, virtually complete. Minor fragments missing from bottom right corner. Tenons at top and bottom – the lower being pierced by one dowel hole, the upper by two. Carved in relief with a palm tree. The reverse bears a fitter's mark.

H. 11.6 cm., W. 4.5 cm.

**ND 11041, SW12.** Plan 3, no. 256

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 65512

Hemi-cylinder, tapering towards ends. The reverse has two large tenon slots.

L. 30.0 cm., W. 7.1 cm., Th. 2.8 cm.

**ND 11050, SW12**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 65515

Bull, fragmentary, advancing right with head lowered. Tail and most of legs missing. Its eye is excised for inlay; traces remain in the form of a yellow 'pupil' encircled with blue. Two dowel holes are preserved in the thickness of the back, one at the neck, the other at the rump.

L. 9.1 cm., H. 3.7 cm.

**ND 11058, SW12**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 65517

Curved plaque, in two registers, virtually complete. Minor fragments missing from right edge and surface. The upper register has a running 'lotus-and-lily' frieze, while the lower shows a winged human-headed sphinx advancing towards a stylized tree, two of the voluted branches of which can be seen on the edge of the plaque. The sphinx wears the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, and an Egyptian-style wig. About its neck is a bead collar and between its legs an apron decorated with vertical bands of chevrons. A triple-headed papyrus tendril twines in the background.

H. 7.2 cm., W. 5.7 cm.

**ND 11060, SW12**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 65518

Rectangular panel, virtually complete. Fragments missing from left edge. A stylized tree with two pairs of voluted branches. Papyrus tendrils sprout from the volutes of the lower branches and two more curve down from the base of the same branches.

H. 6.2 cm., W. 4.6 cm.

**ND 11061, SW12**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 65519

Rectangular panel, virtually complete. Fragment missing from lower right edge. Tenons at top and bottom. A stylized tree with two sets of four voluted branches. From the top of the lower set of branches grows a pair of lily-tendrils, while two papyrus tendrils curve to the ground. The reverse bears a scratched inscription together with two fitter's marks and a drill hole.

H. 7.7 cm., W. 4.0 cm.

**ND 11062, SW12**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 65520

Bull, advancing left with head lowered, fragmentary. The tail and most of the legs are missing. The eye is hollowed for inlay, blue traces of which are preserved. Two dowel holes in the thickness of the back, one at the neck, the other at the rump. The reverse bears fitter's marks.

L. 9.2 cm., H. 3.4 cm.

**ND 11063, SW12**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 65521

Rectangular panel, virtually complete. Fragments are missing from top right corner, bottom left corner and surface. A palmette.

H. 14.5 cm., W. 4.8 cm.

**ND 11071, SW12**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 65524

Cow and calf, fragmentary. Most of legs of cow and calf are missing. Eyes excised for inlay, blue traces of which remain. The cow stands to the right with her head turned to lick her suckling calf.

H. 4.0 cm., L. 7.0 cm.

**ND 11072, SW12**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 65525

Bull's head, surface worn and badly pitted. Eye excised for inlay. Horns and ear, originally carved separately and doweled to the head, not preserved. Tenon slot and transverse dowel in the neck to attach the head to the body.

L. 6.2 cm., H. 5.2 cm., W. 3.3 cm.

**ND 11075, SW12.** Plan 12, no. 15

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 65528

Panel, fragmentary. Tips of wings, half of left arm and feet not preserved. Cloisonné, traces of red and blue in the wings. A winged male with an Egyptian wig facing right. He is wearing an *usekh* collar and a long garment with decorated borders.

H. 9.1 cm., W. 3.9 cm.

**ND 11076, SW12.** Plan 2, no. 16

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 65529

Cow and calf, fragmentary. Most of legs and tail missing, calf poorly preserved. The cow stands to the left with her head turned to lick her suckling calf. On the reverse a tenon slot in the centre of the cow's body.

L. 11.8 cm.; H. 5.8 cm.

**ND 12059, SW11/12**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Panel, virtually complete. Fragments missing from centre of top and bottom frames. Part of a continuous frieze of cows standing to the left and suckling their calves. To the left, the hindquarters of a cow and the head and forequarters of her calf; to the right, the head and forequarters of a second cow turning her head to lick the tail of its calf. Between the cows, a twining leafy tendril.

H. 5.4 cm., L. 9.3 cm.

*Ivories from Nimrud VII*

**ND 12090, SW11/12**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Small furniture element, virtually complete. Fragments missing from upper and lower edges. Hemi-cylindrical with large plain moulding at one end and another consisting of four narrow, parallel raised bands, at the other. Two large dowel holes in the reverse.

H. 5.2 cm., W. as preserved 6.7 cm.

**ND 12110, SW11/12**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Small furniture element, fragmentary. Surface poorly preserved with large fragments missing from one edge. Hemi-cylindrical, one end slightly stepped. Two large tenon slots in reverse.

H. 3.0 cm., W. 6.8 cm., L. 30.8 cm.

**ND 12150, SW11/12**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Button, hemicylindrical, virtually complete. Small fragment missing from surface.

Dowel hole in the reverse.

D. 2.9 cm., Th. 0.9 cm.

**ND 12218, SW11/12**

British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London (present location unknown)

Cow stands to the left while turning its head to lick its suckling calf. Surface, laminated and in poor condition with a large slice missing from neck and back of cow. Only stumps of the legs and tail remain. The entire lower part of the calf is missing and all its other features are blurred. Details of wrinkles, when not blurred, are incised and originally the eyes of both cow and calf were inlaid.

H. 10.45 cm., L. 4.7 cm., Th. 1.2 cm.

**ND 12296, SW11/12**

British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London (present location unknown)

Fragmentary rectangular strip, slightly warped, probably part of the edge of a plaque. Spotted with black stains on all surfaces.

W. 7.3 cm., H. 2.14 cm., Th. 0.27 cm.

**ND 12305, SW11/12**

British Museum, London, BM 2011.6001

Fragmentary, curved furniture element. Surface pitted and laminated, spotted with black stains and with chips missing. The top curves inward to the inner edge. Long, rectangular tenon-slot on reverse.

W. 14.45 cm., H. 4.7 cm., Th. 2.7 cm.

*Missing ivories from T10*

**ND 11123, T10, east end, fill**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 65547

Furniture element, virtually complete, burnt. The upper part consists of a plain block, tapering to a lion's paw. Cut in the thickness of the top is a large tenon slot with a transverse dowel hole. Below the paw is a short, hemi-cylindrical continuation cut off diagonally with a square tenon socket. One of the claws is missing.  
H. 20.4 cm. W. 7.8 cm. Th. 4.0 cm.

**ND 11124, T10**, east end, fill  
Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 65548

Furniture element terminating in a carved gazelle's head, burnt and fragmentary. Narrow and circular in section tapering to a point. At the base of the gazelle's head is a shallow groove, W. 1.0 cm., and a socket for a circular rod, D. 1.4 cm. Above, a dowel hole. 1.5 cm. and two square tenon slots. The end of the piece is hollow and pierced transversely by a small dowel.  
L. 32.5 cm. D. 4.5 cm.

**ND 11507, T10**, floor  
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Fragments of carved ivory.

**ND 11510, T10**, west end  
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Segments of mouldings from furniture elements.

**ND 11511, T10**, west end  
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Fragments of ivory carved in low relief with sphinxes and chariot scenes.

**ND 12168, T10**  
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Hemi-cylinder, virtually complete, burnt dark grey. Three dowel holes in base.  
H. 2.0 cm. W. 2.7 cm.

**ND 12174, T10**  
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Four lentoid inlay pieces with incised lines along length. Burnt from light brown to black.  
Average H. 2.8 cm. Average W. 1.4 cm.

**ND 12176, T10**  
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Ten shallow hemispherical discs, varying in D. from 3.6 cm. to 1.3 cm. Dowel holes in bases. Burnt.

**ND 12178, T10**  
Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Eleven pieces of inlay. Burnt,

*Ivories from Nimrud VII*

**ND 12276, T10**

Three small Assyrian style fragments with tips of wings. Burnt. 1.6 x 1.5 x 0.35 cm.; 1.75 x 0.85 x 0.25 cm.; 1.0 x 3.0 x 0.35 cm.

**ND 12346, T10**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Fragmentary triangular inlay. Burnt. 2,3 x 1.2 x 0.3 cm.

**ND 12348, T10**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Six Assyrian incised fragments with fans of fronds from trees. Burnt. 3.2 x 1.2 x 0.4 cm.; 3.7 x 1.8 x 0.3 cm.; 2.0 x 1.0 x 0.4 cm.; 2.0 x 1.8 x 0.4 cm.; 2.2 x 1.0 x 0.4 cm.; 1.9 x 0.9 x 0.4 cm.

**ND 12349, T10**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Three Assyrian incised fragments with parts of Assyrian trees. Burnt. 7.4 x 1.12 x 0.6 cm.; 2.9 x 1.0 x 0.4 cm.; 3.1 x 1.3 x 0.45 cm.

**ND 12563, T10**

British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London (whereabouts unknown)

Fragments of burnt ivory or wood with guilloche decoration.

APPENDIX EIGHT  
by C.B.F.Walker  
*Other objects found with the ivories  
in Rooms SW11/12 and T10*

**Room SW11/12**

1958

**ND 6102, SW12**

Arrowhead, iron, solid tang. Stronach 1958, 179, pl. xxxiii, 3

**ND 6182, SW12**

British Museum, London, BM 140277, 1984-2-5, 33

Arrowhead, iron. Stronach 1958, 179, pl. xxxiii, 1

1962

**ND 11216, SW12 fill**

British Museum, London, BM 140350, 1987-1-31, 23

Five miniature inlay pieces of dark blue glass in the shape of Egyptian male wigs. The pieces vary in size between 1.3 x 1.2 cm and 0.9 x 0.8 cm.

**ND 11217, SW12 fill**

Five miniature inlay pieces of dark blue glass in the shape of Egyptian male wigs. The pieces vary in size between 1.3 x 1.2 cm and 1.0 x 0.9 cm.

**ND 11218, SW12 fill**

British Museum, London, BM SR 8/22

Twelve inlay pieces of dark blue glass in the shape of feathers. The pieces vary in length between 6.4 and 3.4 cm.

**ND 11219, SW12 fill**

Twelve inlay pieces of dark blue glass in the shape of feathers. The pieces vary in length between 6.8 and 3.2 cm.

**ND 11220, SW12 fill**

Thirty-six circular shell inlay pieces pierced centrally with two apertures in the form of a circle enclosed by a crescent – perhaps symbolizing the divinities Sin and Shamash. The pieces vary in diameter between 1.1 and 1.2 cm.

**ND 11221, SW12 fill**

British Museum, London, BM 140340, 1987-1-31, 13

Thirty-six circular shell inlay pieces pierced centrally with two apertures in the form of a circle enclosed by a crescent – perhaps symbolizing the divinities Sin and Shamash. The pieces vary in diameter between 1.1 and 1.2 cm

1963

**ND 12500, SW11/12, top 50 cm. of fill (post 612 B.C. occupation)**

Conoid stamp seal of soft white limestone. On the face of the seal is a scene showing the head and torso of a male figure with out-stretched hands cradled in the curve of a crescent moon. Below the figure in the crescent are two indeterminate shapes, one of which may possibly have been a couchant animal.

*Ivories from Nimrud VII*

**ND 12509, SW11/12 fill**

Copper/bronze spacer bead. In form the bead appears like an axe-head with an expanding blade and a projecting knob at the butt end.

**ND 12525, SW11/12 fill**

British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 080

Twenty circular shell inlay pieces pierced centrally with two apertures in the form of a circle enclosed by a crescent, perhaps symbolising the divinities Sin and Shamash. The pieces vary in diameter between 1.1 cm and 1.2 cm. Also two large fragmentary specimens, D. 4.3 cm, and one medium, complete, D. 2.1 cm.

**ND 12526, SW11/12 fill**

Twenty-one circular shell inlay pieces pierced centrally with two apertures in the form of a circle enclosed by a crescent, perhaps symbolising the divinities Sin and Shamash. The pieces vary in diameter between 1.1 cm and 1.2 cm. Also one large specimen, D. 4.0 cm, and one medium, complete, D. 2.0 cm.

**ND 12531, SW11/12 fill**

A collection of complete and broken inlay pieces of dark blue glass formed in the shape of feathers. The pieces vary in length between 7.6 and 3.1 cm.

**ND 12532, SW11/12 fill**

British Museum, London

A collection of complete and broken inlay pieces of dark blue glass formed in the shape of feathers. The pieces vary in length between 8.5 and 4.0 cm.

**ND 12533, SW11/12 fill**

British Museum, London

A collection of assorted miniature inlay pieces of dark blue glass in various shapes.

**ND 12534, SW11/12 fill**

A collection of assorted miniature inlay pieces of dark blue glass in various shapes.

**ND 12535, SW11/12 fill**

British Museum, London

A collection of eighteen miniature inlay pieces of dark blue glass in the shape of papyrus heads.

**ND 12536, SW11/12 fill**

British Museum, London

A collection of eighteen miniature inlay pieces of dark blue glass in the shape of papyrus heads.

**ND 12537, SW11/12 fill**

A collection of eleven pieces of dark blue glass strip inlay.

**ND 12538, SW11/12 fill**

British Museum, London

A collection of eleven pieces of dark blue glass strip inlay.

**ND 12539, SW11/12 fill**

British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 078

A collection of pale green (originally red) glass inlay shapes.

**ND 12540, SW11/12 fill**

British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 078

A collection of pale green (originally red) glass inlay shapes.

**ND 12541, SW11/12 fill**

British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 173

A collection of assorted fragments from glass vessels, etc.

**ND 12542, SW11/12 fill**

A collection of assorted fragments from glass vessels, etc.

**ND 12543, SW11/12 fill and T10**

British Museum, London

A collection of minute fragments of gold foil, originally used in the embellishment of ivory work.

**ND 12544, SW11/12 and T10**

A collection of minute fragments of gold foil, originally used in the embellishment of ivory work.

**ND 12545, SW11/12 fill**

A fragmentary finial of fine-grained white limestone. As preserved the piece is roughly conoid, but originally it seems to have formed the neck of an animal-headed finial, since part of the surface is carved with a mane composed of four rows of curls running longitudinally. The head is broken off and missing. In the thickness of the piece is a deep dowel hole through which a smaller dowel hole passes horizontally.

**ND 12546, SW11/12 fill**

British Museum, London, BM 1984-2-5, 199

Bronze fibula bow.

**ND 12548, SW11/12 fill**

Bronze fibula bow.

**ND 12549, SW11/12 fill**

British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 183

A large shaped piece of shell inlay (?) with vertical striations.

**ND 12550, SW11/12 fill**

An approximately conical element of fine white limestone, broken at top. Perforated longitudinally; D. of perforation 1.3 cm. perhaps a broken spout.

**ND 12557, SW11/12 fill**

A large portion of bronze scale armour. Six consecutive parallel rows are preserved with traces of the binding still clearly visible on the exterior surface. The individual scales measure approx. 4.0 x 1.5 cm. being rounded at one end and square at the other. Down the centre of the scale is a repoussé mid-rib.

**ND 12560a, SW11/12 fill**

British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 278

Rim fragment from Assyrian glazed vessel.

**ND 12560b, SW11/12 fill**

British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 279

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Rim fragment from Assyrian glazed vessel.

**ND 12560c, SW11/12 fill**

British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 280

Rim fragment from Assyrian glazed vessel.

**ND 12560d, SW11/12 fill**

British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 281

Rim fragment from Assyrian glazed vessel.

**ND 12560e, SW11/12 fill**

British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 282

Rim fragment from Assyrian glazed vessel.

**ND 12560f, SW11/12 fill**

British Museum, London, BM 1992-3-2, 283

Rim fragment from Assyrian glazed vessel.

**ND 12561, SW11/12 fill, and East Wall Cut**

Rim fragments from Assyrian glazed vessels. Six sherds in all.

### ***Room T10***

1962

**ND 11200, T10**

British Museum, London

A horse's blinker of pale grey limestone. Surface damaged and discoloured in patches by fire. Spade-shaped, the entire outline being stepped all the way round and perforated at more or less regular intervals. Plain except for a large central boss. L. 11.3 cm. W. 7.9 cm. Th. 3.1 cm. Barnett, *British Museum Quarterly* xxvii, 83, pl. xxxviiiic; *I.N.* I, no. 202.

**ND 11201, T10**

A horse's frontlet of white limestone. Surface a mottled grey all over. Sub-triangular. The edges are perforated at regular intervals. Plain. L. 11.8 cm. W. 8.0 cm. Th. 1.1 cm. *I.N.* I, no. 207.

**ND 11202, T10 east end, fill**

British Museum, London

A fragment of a decorative limestone strip formerly inlaid with cloisonné work (gold and coloured glass) all of which is now missing. The design is composed of a pair of winged Assyrian genii who kneel with 'cone and bucket' on either side of a central six-petalled rosette.

**ND 11203, T10 east end, fill**

A finial of white limestone carved in the shape of a papyrus flower but indented around its maximum horizontal circumference so as to give the general impression of a rosette when seen from above. The piece is perforated vertically (D. of perforation 1.8 cm), and is damaged on one side.

**ND 11204, T10 east end, fill**

A decorative element of soft white limestone carved in the form of a scroll volute - perhaps half of a double voluted ornament from a piece of furniture.

**ND 11209, T10**

A horse's frontlet of white limestone. Surface blackened all over by fire. Sub-triangular. The piece is stepped all round and perforated at more or less regular intervals. Plain. L. 12.8 cm. W. 9. cm. Th. 1.4 cm. *I.N.* I, no. 206.

**ND 11210, T10** east end, fill

A cut shell ornament, roughly ovoid in outline, pierced with a central drill hole.

**ND 11211, T10** east end, fill

British Museum London, BM 133012, 1962-12-8, 05

A cut shell ornament, roughly ovoid in outline, pierced with a central drill hole. Two additional holes have been drilled through an inner lip formed by the incurving edge of the natural mouth of the shell. Barnett 1963, 82 and 85, pl. xv, e

**ND 11212, T10** east end, fill

A cut shell ornament, roughly ovoid in outline, pierced by a central drill hole. Forming two rough circles, one around the central drill hole, the other around the edge of the piece, are a number of small double circles executed by means of a hollow drill. 8.2 x 7.1 cm

**ND 11213, T10** east end, fill

British Museum, London, BM 133009, 1962-12-8, 02

A cut shell ornament, roughly ovoid in outline, pierced by a central drill hole. Surrounding the edge of the piece is a continuous band of guilloche. Two fragments are missing from the centre. Barnett 1963, 82 and 85, pl. xv, g

**ND 11214, T10** east end, fill

Fifteen lentoid beads of pale buff quartz-frit ware. Some show patches of discoloured glaze, now white but probably originally green/blue.

**ND 11215, T10** east end, fill

British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 268

Fourteen lentoid beads of pale buff quartz-frit ware. Some show patches of discoloured glaze, now white but probably originally green/blue.

**ND 11224, T10** east end, fill

A series of shell fragments incised with Hittite hieroglyphic signs.

**ND 11225, T10** east end, fill

British Museum, London, BM 133011, 1962-12-8, 04

One of a series of shell fragments incised with Hittite hieroglyphic signs. Barnett 1963, 82 and 85, pl. xv, d.

**ND 11225, T10** east end, fill

British Museum, London, BM 133014, 1962-12-8, 07

One of a series of shell fragments incised with Hittite hieroglyphic signs. Barnett 1963, 82 and 85, pl. xv, i.

**ND 11225, T10** east end, fill

British Museum, London, BM 133015, 1962-12-8, 08

One of a series of shell fragments incised with Hittite hieroglyphic signs. Barnett 1963, 82 and 85, pl. xv, f.

**ND 11225, T10** east end, fill

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British Museum, London, BM 133016, 1962-12-8, 09

One of a series of shell fragments incised with Hittite hieroglyphic signs. Barnett 1963, 82 and 85, pl. xv, b.

**ND 11225, T10** east end, fill

British Museum, London, BM 133018, 1962-12-8, 11

One of a series of shell fragments incised with Hittite hieroglyphic signs. Barnett 1963, 82 and 85, pl. xv, c.

**ND 11225, T10** east end, fill

British Museum, London, BM 133020, 1962-12-8, 13

One of a series of shell fragments incised with Hittite hieroglyphic signs. Barnett 1963, 82 and 85, pl. xv, k.

**ND 11225, T10** east end, fill

British Museum, London, BM 133021, 1962-12-8, 14

One of a series of shell fragments incised with Hittite hieroglyphic signs. Barnett 1963, 82 and 85, pl. xv, h.

**ND 11225, T10** east end, fill

British Museum, London, BM 133023, 1962-12-8, 16

One of a series of shell fragments incised with Hittite hieroglyphic signs. Barnett 1963, 82 and 85, pl. xv, l.

**ND 11226, T10** east end, fill

British Museum, London, BM 133010, 1962-12-8, 03

One of a series of shell fragments bearing incised emblems. Barnett 1963, 82 and 85, pl. xv, a.

**ND 11226, T10** east end, fill

British Museum, London, BM 133013, 1962-12-8, 06

One of a series of shell fragments bearing incised emblems. Barnett 1963, 82 and 85, pl. xv, o.

**ND 11226, T10** east end, fill

British Museum, London, BM 133017, 1962-12-8, 10

One of a series of shell fragments bearing incised emblems. Barnett 1963, 82 and 85, pl. xv, m.

**ND 11226, T10** east end, fill

British Museum, London, BM 133022, 1962-12-8, 15

One of a series of shell fragments bearing incised emblems. Barnett 1963, 82 and 85, pl. xv, n.

**ND 11227, T10** east end, fill

A series of shell fragments bearing incised emblems.

**ND 11228, T10** east end, fill

A shell fragment bearing the incised representation of a lion.

**ND 11229, T10** east end, fill

British Museum, London, BM 133008, 1962-12-8, 01

Fragments of a shell ornament carved in low relief with a metopic design. Each metope originally contained a stylized cervid (?ibex) of which one is preserved entire. The animal's eye is represented by a drill mark. Barnett 1963, 82 and 84-85, pl. xviib

**ND 11229, T10** east end, fill

British Museum, London, BM 133019, 1962-12-8, 12

Fragments of a shell ornament carved in low relief with a metopic design. Each metope originally contained

a stylized cervid (?ibex) of which one is preserved entire. The animal's eye is represented by a drill mark.  
Barnett 1963, 82 and 85, pl. xv, j

**ND 11306, T10** west end

British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 111  
Figurine. See register for full description and *C.T.N.* III, 265

**ND 11505, T10** west end

Specimen of roof beam. For analysis.

**ND 11506, T10** west end

Specimen of roof beam. For analysis.

**ND 11508, T10** west end (3)

Fragments of burnt wood with traces of a pattern of arcaded lotus flowers in low relief and small fragments of gold leaf adhering to them.

**ND 11509, T10** west end (3)

British Museum, London  
Fragments of burnt wood similar to ND 11508.

**ND 11512, T10** west end

Furniture component of burnt wood. Requires further laboratory treatment.

1963

**ND 12503, T10** fill

British Museum, London, BM 140417, 1987-1-31, 90  
A horse's frontlet of white limestone. Sub-triangular. The edges are stepped and perforated at regular intervals. Various fragments are missing from the edge. Plain. L. 11.1 cm. W. as preserved 7.9 cm. Th. 0.7 cm. *I.N.* I, no. 210.

**ND 12504, T10** fill

A horse's blinker of pale grey limestone, grey from smoke of fire. Surface chipped. Spade-shaped. The edges are stepped and perforated at more or less regular intervals. From the rear edge spring three parallel 'Indian-club'-shaped features carved in bold relief. All three are damaged. L. 10.1 cm. W. 7.9 cm. Th. 1.9 cm. *I.N.* I, no. 204.

**ND 12506, T10** fill

A mace-head or heavy decorative knob of limestone. The piece is basically cylindrical with six round protuberances, one of which is damaged. From above it is approximately rosette-shaped.

**ND 12518, T10** fill

Iraq Museum, Baghdad  
A burnt cut shell ornament, roughly ovoid in outline, pierced by a central drill hole. The name of Irhuleni of Hamath, an opponent of Shalmaneser III (see *IAR* I, 223 (601)) is incised on the inner surface in Hittite hieroglyphs. Oates & Oates 2001, fig. 6.

**ND 12519, T.10** fill

British Museum, London, BM 134325, 1963-12-14, 11  
A burnt cut shell ornament, roughly ovoid in outline, pierced by a central drill hole. The name of Irhuleni of Hamath, an opponent of Shalmaneser III (see *IAR* I, 223 (601)) is incised on the inner surface in Hittite

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hieroglyphs. Barnett *C.N.I.*, pl. cxxxiv, suppl. 27; cf. Barnett 1963, 81-85.

**ND 12520, T10 fill**

British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 122

Four burnt cut shell ornaments, roughly ovoid in outline for the most part and perforated with various drill holes.

**ND 12521, T10 fill**

Four burnt cut shell ornaments, roughly ovoid in outline for the most part and drilled with various drill holes.

**ND 12523, T10 fill**

Fourteen lentoid beads of pale buff quartz-frit ware. Some show faint traces of pale greenish glaze.

**ND 12524, T10 fill**

British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 267

Fourteen lentoid beads of pale buff quartz-frit ware. Some show faint traces of pale greenish glaze.

**ND 12527, T10 fill**

British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 126

A series of shell fragments bearing incised Hittite hieroglyphs forming the whole or part of the name of Irhuleni of Hamath. The fragments are from shells similar to ND 12518 and 12519.

**ND 12528, T10 fill**

A series of shell fragments bearing incised Hittite hieroglyphs forming the whole or part of the name of Irhuleni of Hamath. The fragments are from shells similar to ND 12518 and 12519.

**ND 12529, T10 fill**

Three fragments of shell each bearing traces of an incised representation of a lion. The fragments are from cut shells similar to ND 12518 and ND12519.

**ND 12530, T10 fill**

British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 128

A group of shell fragments bearing drilled circle patterns and guilloche decoration. Also a plain fragment showing marked purple staining. The fragments are from cut shells similar to ND 12518 and ND 12519.

**ND 12551, T10 fill**

Two fragments of a horse's blinker of white limestone. Spade-shaped. Edge stepped and perforated at regular intervals. Plain except for traces of large central boss. L. as preserved 5.2 cm. W. as preserved 6.2 cm. Th. 0.8 cm. *I.N.* I, no. 203.

**ND 12562, T10**

A collection of small fragments of burnt wood with carved decoration, principally guilloche, coming from furniture.

**ND 12563, T10**

A collection of small fragments of burnt wood with carved decoration, principally guilloche, coming from furniture.

## APPENDIX NINE

*List of fitter's marks on the ivories published in I.N. I-VII*

<b><i>I.N. I</i></b>	480. ND 9594	769. ND 10556
13. ND 9383	481. ND 9596	770. ND 13099
14. ND 9384	482. ND 10555	771. ND 13624
24. ND 10553	503. ND 13204	778. ND 13634
74. ND 10840	504. ND 13587	779. ND 13097
78. ND 10744	510. ND 9592	787. ND 13633
124. ND 10728	511. ND 13590	792. ND 13629
136. ND 10359	513. ND 10569	794. ND 10429
	519. ND 9591	795. ND 10369
<b><i>I.N. II</i></b>	520. ND 9608	811. ND 9583
None recorded	521. ND unregistered	817. ND 9577
	525. ND 13305	824. ND 9575
<b><i>I.N. III</i></b>	530. ND 13240	825. ND 9573
Most backs not seen.	539. ND 13306	826. ND 10351
	553. ND 13380	827. ND 10564
<b><i>I.N. IV</i></b>	555. ND 13348	829. ND 9574
133. ND 10431	570. ND 13336	830. ND 10308
139. ND 10539	574. ND 13385	831. ND 9574
208. ND 9480	584. ND 13235	835. ND 9551
247. ND 10659	585. ND 13234	836. ND 10405
295. ND 13426	586. ND 10377	839. ND 9568
296. ND 9435	595. ND 9600	851. ND 9559
303. ND 10311	602. ND 9604	1009. ND 9470
306. ND 13152	604. ND 13325	1049. ND 10502
307. ND 13456	605. ND 13601	1051. ND 10500
309. ND 13396	620. ND 13302	1054. ND 13214
314. ND 13160	621. ND 9700	1055. ND unregistered
315. ND 10557	713. ND 9180	1056. ND 7602
319. ND 10695	744. ND 13174	1062. ND 10476
320. ND 9733	745. ND 13483a	1069. ND 8034
322. ND 9486	746. ND 13483b	1072. ND 13549
369. ND 13181	749. ND 13171	1081. ND 9513
400. ND 9433	750. ND 9649	1083. ND 13278
401. ND 13094	751. ND 13606	1086. ND 13070
418. ND 10693	752. ND 9645	1087. ND 13215
419. ND 8047	753. ND 9647	1088. ND ?.
429. ND 9593	754. ND 9646	1107. ND 10705
449. ND 8049	755. ND 13481	1127. ND 10522
450. ND 13331a	757. ND 13173	1130. ND 9436
459. ND 13334	758. ND 9648	1131. ND 10710
460. ND 13386	763. ND 13266	1137. ND 10304
461. ND 9738	765. ND 13618.	1138. ND 10303
462. ND 13194	766. ND 13619	1139. ND 13212
463. ND 13349	767. ND 10353	1140. ND 13211
477. ND unregistered	768. ND 7603	1144. ND 13221

*Ivories from Nimrud VII*

1145. ND 13105  
1158. ND 13121  
1166. ND 13131  
1215. ND 10434  
1221. ND 9761  
1258. ND 10409  
1271. ND 10150  
1272. ND 10151  
1273. ND 10152  
1298. ND 13180  
1388. ND 10691  
1424. ND 10422  
1449. ND 9653  
1457. ND 13595  
1462. ND 10419  
1491. ND 9164  
1493. ND 9550  
1494. ND 9683  
1510. ND 9616  
1513. ND 13296  
1528. ND 9706

***I.N. V***

39. ND 7587  
67. ND 7974  
68. ND 7974  
73. ND 8193  
74. ND 7971  
75. ND 7971  
76. ND 7971  
77. ND 7971  
78. ND 7971  
79. ND 7971  
80. ND 7971  
81. ND 7971  
82. ND 7971  
84. ND 8088  
96. ND 7560  
105. ND 7967  
115. ND 8150  
116. ND 8030  
117. ND 7805  
118. ND 8010  
134. ND 8014  
135. ND 8016  
136. ND uncertain  
163. ND 8216  
170. ND 8184  
173. ND 9394  
177. ND 8068

178. ND 7624  
181. ND 6442  
200. ND 7617  
201. ND 7865  
219. ND 7676  
224. ND 7589  
243. ND 7588  
282. ND 7785  
283. ND 7785  
284. ND 7785  
290. ND 8210  
328. ND 10314  
329. ND 10329  
330. ND 10331  
342. ND 9515  
369. ND 10587  
375. ND 10584  
377. ND 10588  
380. ND 10621  
391. ND 10590  
407. ND 10620  
431. ND 10621  
434. ND 10621  
437. ND 10611  
440. ND 10621  
450. ND 10460  
451. ND 10470  
460. ND 6434  
464b. ND 6434  
467. ND 6316  
481. ND 6453  
484. ND 6323  
490. ND 6348  
491. ND 6347  
492. ND 6347  
493. ND 6347  
497. ND 6308

***I.N. VI***

81. BM 118160  
85. BM 123819  
98. BM 131955-131963  
99. BM 118148. Pl. 16  
100. BM 118152  
102. BM 118147  
103. BM 118151  
110. BM 118159  
111. BM 118158  
116. BM 118218  
119. BM 118251

127. BM 118126  
159. BM 118162  
171. BM 123773  
172. BM 123836  
173. BM 118131  
232b. IM 79547  
241. IM 79533  
243. IM 79590  
265. IM 79528  
266. IM 79536  
267. IM 79588  
268. IM 79532  
269. IM 79524  
271. IM 79531  
290. IM 79552  
296. IM ..  
315. ND 763  
323. ND ...  
356b. ND 2548  
357. ND 2244a  
358. BM 131969-70  
360. ND 1100  
361. ND 2215

***I.N. VII***

29. ND 11056  
39. ND 12034  
51. ND 13940  
54. ND 11026  
55. ND 12071  
56. ND 12111  
58. ND 11015  
59. ND 11022  
64. ND 11035  
68. ND 12036  
83. ND 11037  
84. ND 11098  
86. ND 11074  
87. ND 11090  
89. ND 11007  
93. ND 14029  
94. ND 13840  
95. ND 13864a  
100. ND 13810  
107. ND 13802  
108. ND 13804  
115. ND 13816  
122. ND 13832  
130. ND 13919  
133. ND 14038

139. ND 11096  
145. ND 13838  
149. ND 12003  
151. ND 11104  
157. ND 13826  
160. ND 13908  
165. ND 11009  
166. ND 13859  
170. ND 11067  
174. ND 12095  
178. ND 12096  
190. ND 11036  
196. ND 13979  
197. ND 13978  
201. ND 13954  
202. ND 13507  
203. ND 13951  
212. ND 13977  
214. ND 14066  
228. ND 11017  
229. ND 12061  
230. ND 11038  
231. ND 11099  
232. ND 12026  
233. ND 12062  
235. ND 12082  
237. ND 12021  
238. ND 12022  
239. ND 12078  
249. ND 6448, ND 13931  
253. ND 12077  
254. ND 11014  
257. ND 12146  
259. ND 12040  
260. ND 12016  
262. ND 12039  
267. ND 13891  
271. ND 12049  
273. ND 12148  
274. ND 12067  
276. ND 13894  
277. ND 12066  
282. ND 12140  
290. ND 12133  
298. ND 13916  
302. ND 12115  
321. ND 14084  
327. ND 12124  
351. ND 13960  
359. ND 14104

379. ND 13506  
388. ND 13958  
390. ND 13976  
399. ND 14126  
401. ND 13962  
403a. ND 13975a  
405. ND 13968, ND 14130  
417. ND 12033  
418. ND 14140  
419. ND 11047  
420. ND 13842  
431. ND 12246  
445. ND 13848  
456. ND 12154  
490. ND 12126  
508. ND 12108  
593. ND 12009  
596. ND 11019  
604. ND 11117  
654. ND 13946  
660. ND 11089  
661. ND 12081  
662. ND 12031  
663. ND 12047  
665. ND 12289  
666. ND 12002  
699. ND 12089  
709. ND 12157  
717. ND 11118  
748. ND 12079  
765. ND 12037  
768. ND 11087  
781. ND 12311  
812. ND 11113  
827. ND 12046  
842. ND 12159  
844. ND 13932  
1145. ND 13105  
1158. ND 13121  
1166. ND 13131  
1215. ND 10434  
1221. ND 9761

***I.N.VII***

T1. ND 14500, IM 74688  
T12. ND 13302, IM 74832  
T74. ND 14567, IM 117702  
T75. ND 14568, IM 117705  
T76. ND 14569, IM 117704  
T77. ND 14570, IM 117797

T78. ND 14571, IM 117707  
T79. ND 14572, IM 117708  
T95. ND 14588, IM  
T108. ND 15012, IM  
T197. ND 14640, IM  
T213. ND 14655, IM  
T286. ND 14727, IM  
T302. ND 11145, IM  
T310. ND 11310, IM  
T311. ND 12339, BM 2011  
T312. ND 12336, BM 2011  
T314. ND 12335, BM 2011  
T320. ND 14741, IM

APPENDIX TEN  
by C.B.F.Walker

*Ivories from Fort Shalmaneser not published in I.N. I-V and VII*

**ND 9273, NE26**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Six square pieces, each with a cut out cross, which may have been inlaid originally, in the centre. All formed part of the border decoration that ran along the edge of the seat of the couch from NE26. Side of square 4.0 cms. Depth 0.7 cm. Oates 1961, 14 and pl. viii; Curtis 1996, 175, pl. 50a.

**ND 6314a, NW15**

British Museum, London, 2011, 6001

Fine animal leg. L. 2.5 cm.

**ND 6345, NW15**

British Museum, London, 2011, 6001

Group of guilloche strips similar to *I.N.* V, no. 475.

**ND 10619, NW21**

British Museum, London, 2011, 6001

Additional to the pieces already published in *I.N.* V there are a further 34 assorted fragments and a blackened head.

**ND 10621, NW21**

British Museum, London, 2011, 6001

Additional to the pieces already published in *I.N.* V there are a further 20 fragments, both carved and plain, some bearing fitters' marks.

The following two pieces, given to Baltimore in 1982 but having no known ND number, probably also came from NW21 together with many similar fragments already published.

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 71.1172

Fragment from a 'woman at the window' panel, showing a triple recessed window, and traces of another window.

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 71.1173

Fragment of a plaque, showing colonnade of three columns: the third column is broken.

**ND 7868, S1**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Rolling pin. Two holes pierced through it. L. 4.1 cm.

**ND 8174, S4/5**

British Museum, London, 2011, 6001

A group of fragments engraved with rosettes, additional to *I.N.* V, 48 and 56.

**ND 7629, S6?**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Button, disc, roughly engraved with whorl on the convex side, perforated through centre. D. 2.2 cm.

**ND 8160, S10**

British Museum, London. BM 1994-11-5, 072; Suppl. 5/15/7, BM 2011

**GOLD LEAF** described as 'Small collection of thin gold foil; formerly beaten over the ivories and some bear faint traces of design'.

**ND 8018, S30 floor**

British Museum, London, 2011,6001

A fragment additional to the one published as *I.N.* II, 122 and *I.N.* V, 93, showing part of the dress of a man carrying a sword. This is now in the Nicholson Museum, Sydney. The dig register described ND 8018 as, 'Ivory plaque, fragments, upper register armed warrior carrying sword, lower, a winged bull *lamassu*. Overall 8.2 x 4.2 cm.'

**ND 6347, SW6**

British Museum, London, BM 140402, 1987-1-31, 75

12 roundels of varying size, 8 with circular or square holes in the centre of their flat undersides; similar to *I.N.* V, 488.

**ND 6347, SW6**

British Museum, London, 2011,6001

12 small knobs and a larger unrelated fragment.

**ND 6347, SW6**

Metropolitan Museum, New York, MMA 58.31.10

Openwork plaque with palm leaves. 4.8 x 3.2 cms.

**ND 6348, SW6**

Iraq Museum. Baghdad. IM 60517-21 and 60524 (IM 60522-3 are published as *I.N.* V, 490 and 495)

Collection of strip panels similar to ND 6347 and other fragments for furniture. Either plain or with rectilinear design. Longest strip 11 x 4 cm.

**ND 6383, SW6**

British Museum, London, BM 132261, 1958-2-8, 4

One of two claws from the base of a chair leg. The complete chair-leg and two claws are shown in Mallowan *N. & R.* II, 409, pl. 335. The leg, ND 6383 (BM 132260, 1958-2-8, 3), and the other claw, ND 6347 (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1957.225), are published in *I.N.* V, 486 and 487.

**ND 7912a, SW7**

British Museum, London, BM 2011,6001

Plain veneer, 28 fragments, large and small, only two marked; additional to the fragments published as *I.N.* III, 57.

**ND 7954, SW7**

British Museum, London, 2011,6001

A fourth panel of *I.N.* III, 62 and many fragments, one with palmette?

*Ivories from Nimrud VII*

**ND 7966, SW7**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad

**ND 8026, SW7**

British Museum, London. BM 2011,6001

Fragments of strip, deeply engraved with festoons of palmettes or other flowers, which are incrustated with blue frit. Largest strip about 8.5 cm., badly burnt.

**ND 11501, T23 floor**

Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Cylindrical elements with hollowed mortice joints which alternated with similar wooden cylinders to form vertical ribs between the planks of a burnt door.

**ND 6443, unprovenanced**

British Museum, London, BM 2011,6001

A collection of fragments, palmettes and a square (3.5 x 3.5 cm). 16 numbered pieces, additional to the piece published as *I.N. V*, 509.

**'ND 12519', unprovenanced**

British Museum, London, BM 1994-11-5, 290

Fragment, restored, with incised decoration of a lion walking to the right. The fragment certainly has an incorrect ND number; ND 12519 is a fragment of shell from room T 10.

APPENDIX ELEVEN  
by C.B.F.Walker

## Index of Current Distribution of Ivories

<i>Ivories in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad</i>			
		IM 65505	594
		IM 65506	172
		IM 65507	757
		IM 65508	64
		IM 65509	190
		IM 65510	230
		IM 65511	680
		IM 65512	Appendix 7
		IM 65513	247
		IM 65514	560
		IM 65515	Appendix 7
		IM 65516	53
		IM 65517	Appendix 7
		IM 65518	Appendix 7
		IM 65519	Appendix 7
		IM 65520	Appendix 7
		IM 65521	Appendix 7
		IM 65522	804
		IM 65523	809
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		IM 65525	Appendix 7
		IM 65526	85
		IM 65527	86
		IM 65528	Appendix 7
		IM 65529	Appendix 7
		IM 65530	693
		IM 65531	60
		IM 65532	43
		IM 65533	443
		IM 65534	768
		IM 65535	769
		IM 65536	87
		IM 65537	429
		IM 65538	569
		IM 65539	559
		IM 65540	45
		IM 65541	61
		IM 65542	9
		IM 65543	462
		IM 65544	604
		IM 65545	717
		IM 65546	723
		IM 65547	Appendix 7
		IM 65548	Appendix 7
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IM 60499	167		
IM 60501	Appendix 7		
IM 60502	42		
IM 60503	Appendix 7		
IM 60505	678		
IM 60511	245		
IM 60512	553		
IM 60513	697		
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IM 60517	Appendix 10		
IM 60518	Appendix 10		
IM 60519	Appendix 10		
IM 60520	Appendix 10		
IM 60521	Appendix 10		
IM 60524	Appendix 10		
IM 60527a	360		
IM 60528	248		
IM 60535	Appendix 7		
IM 60539	673		
IM 60542	Appendix 7		
IM 60947	210		
IM 61903	50		
IM 62188	552		
IM 62671	Appendix 7		
IM 62691	648		
IM 62692	792		
IM 62692a	794		
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IM 62692c	796		
IM 62698	649		
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IM 65499	Appendix 7		
IM 65500	58		
IM 65501	435		
IM 65502	Appendix 7		
IM 65503	518		
IM 65504	Appendix 7		

*Ivories from Nimrud VII*

IM 65549	T.35	IM 74692	T.67
IM 65557	732	IM 74694	T.64
IM 65558	218	IM 74695	95
IM 65559	Appendix 7	IM 74695	T.65
IM 65560	266	IM 74696	96
IM 65561	153	IM 74698	336
IM 65562	258	IM 74735	449
IM 65883	237	IM 74802	Appendix 7
IM 65886	22	IM 74805	202
IM 65887	726	IM 74806	171
IM 65888	842	IM 74818	175
IM 65893	764	IM 74819	469
IM 65895	714	IM 74820	380
IM 65896	173	IM 74820	T.73
IM 65897	16	IM 74821	379
IM 65900	737	IM 74822	117
IM 65901	279	IM 74823	112
IM 65904	696	IM 74824	70
IM 65907	T.307	IM 74826	69
IM 65908	293	IM 74831	T.81
IM 65909	281	IM 74832	T.12
IM 65910	257	IM 74837	71
IM 65915	779	IM 74838	426
IM 65928	34	IM 74842	450
IM 65929	17	IM 74843	422
IM 65931	658	IM 74844	321
IM 65934 ?	287	IM 74845	294
IM 65935	721	IM 74847	458
IM 65941	661	IM 74849	439
IM 65944	259	IM 74851	451
IM 65945	47	IM 74852	144
IM 65948	232	IM 74857	295
IM 65949	291	IM 74858	285
IM 65950	290	IM 74859	180
IM 65954	474	IM 74860	166
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IM 6644-	T.68	IM 76099	627
IM 72098	756	IM 76105	738
IM 72108	703	IM 76109	T.318
IM 72110	T.126	IM 109307	845
IM 72113	689	IM 110519	465
IM 74673	72	IM 117519	41
IM 74674	359	IM 1176??	244
IM 74675	328	IM 11766?	466
IM 74676	97	IM 117665	628
IM 74679	318	IM 117670	241
IM 74685	164	IM 117685	T.214
IM 74688	T.1	IM 117702	T.74
IM 74689	T.2	IM 117704	T.76
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 IM 117707 T.78  
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 IM 117782 T.82  
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 IM 117841 250  
 IM 117916 T.319  
 IM 117917 460  
 IM 117918 T.71  
 IM 117927 418  
 IM 117932 T.324

*IM ivories lacking IM numbers*

## Room SW11/11

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## Room T10

Nos. T.3, T.5, T.6, T.7, T.8, T.9, T.10, T.11, T.13, T.14, T.15, T.16, T.17, T.18, T.19, T.20, T.21, T.22, T.24, T.25, T.26, T.27, T.28, T.29, T.30, T.31, T.32, T.33, T.34, T.36, T.37, T.38, T.39, T.40, T.41, T.42, T.43, T.44, T.45, T.46, T.47, T.48, T.49, T.50, T.51, T.52, T.53, T.54, T.55, T.56, T.57, T.58, T.59, T.60, T.61, T.62, T.63, T.69, T.70, T.72, T.80, T.83, T.84, T.85, T.86, T.87, T.88, T.89, T.90, T.91, T.92, T.93, T.94, T.95, T.96, T.97, T.98, T.99, T.100, T.101, T.102, T.102, T.102, T.103, T.104, T.105, T.106, T.107, T.108, T.109, T.110, T.111, T.112, T.113, T.114, T.115, T.116, T.117, T.118, T.120, T.121, T.122, T.123, T.124, T.125, T.128, T.129, T.130, T.132, T.133, T.135, T.136, T.137, T.138, T.140, T.141, T.146, T.148, T.156, T.157, T.151, T.162, T.163, T.164, T.165, T.166, T.167, T.168, T.169, T.170, T.171, T.172, T.173, T.174, T.175, T.176, T.177, T.178, T.179, T.180, T.181, T.182, T.183, T.184, T.185, T.186, T.187, T.188, T.189, T.190, T.191, T.192, T.193, T.194, T.195, T.196, T.197, T.198, T.199, T.200, T.201, T.202, T.203, T.204, T.205, T.206, T.207, T.208, T.209, T.210, T.211, T.212, T.213, T.215, T.216, T.217, T.218, T.219, T.220, T.221, T.222, T.223, T.224, T.225, T.226, T.227, T.228, T.229, T.230, T.231, T.232, T.233, T.234, T.235, T.236, T.237, T.238, T.239, T.240, T.241, T.242, T.243, T.244, T.245, T.246, T.247, T.248, T.249, T.250, T.251, T.252, T.253, T.254, T.255, T.256, T.257, T.258, T.259, T.260, T.261, T.262, T.263, T.264, T.265, T.266, T.267, T.268, T.269, T.270, T.271, T.272, T.273, T.274, T.275, T.276, T.277, T.278, T.279, T.280, T.281, T.282, T.283, T.284, T.285, T.286, T.287, T.288, T.289,

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

T.290, T.291, T.292, T.293, T.294, T.295, T.298,  
T.299, T.300, T.301, T.302, T.305, T.306, T.310,  
T.315, T.316, T.317, T.320, T.321, T.327, T.330,  
T.331, T.332, T.333, T.334, T.335, T.336, T.340,  
T.342, T.343, T.344, T.345

Also 20 items in Appendix 7 and 5 items in  
Appendix 10.

### IVORIES IN BRITAIN AND EUROPE

#### *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*

AM 1957.222	315
AM 1957.223	427
AM 1962.598	170
AM 1962.599	724
AM 1962.600	228
AM 1962.601	84
AM 1962.602	558
AM 1962.603	151

#### *Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery*

1958 A 271	106
1965 A 451 a	83
1965 A 451 b	231
1965 A 451 f	253

#### *British Institute for the Study of Iraq (currently stored in the British Museum)*

Nos. 223, 275, 304, 475, 505, 507, 517, 524, 546,  
574, 707, 710

#### *British School of Archaeology in Iraq*

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.

Nos. 277, 521, 739, 765, T.296, T.297, Appendix 7 (x2).

#### *British Museum, London*

BM 132261, 1958-2-8, 4	Appendix 10
BM 132987, 1962-11-10, 1	54
BM 132988, 1962-11-10, 2	59
BM 132989, 1962-11-10, 3	40

BM 132990, 1962-11-10, 4	67
BM 132991, 1962-11-10, 5	272
BM 132992, 1962-11-10, 6	254
BM 132995, 1962-11-10, 9	771
BM 132996, 1962-11-10, 10	830
BM 134315, 1963-12-14, 1	302
BM 134316, 1963-12-14, 2	66
BM 134317, 1963-12-14, 3	662
BM 134318, 1963-12-14, 4	271
BM 134319, 1963-12-14, 5	763
BM 134320, 1963-12-14, 6	728
BM 134322, 1963-12-14, 8	283
BM 134323, 1963-12-14, 9	56
BM 134324, 1963-12-14, 10	746
BM 140402, 1987-1-31, 75	Appendix 10
BM 1994-11-5, 290	Appendix 10
BM 1994-11-5, 333	Appendix 10

The following ivories were transferred into the ownership of the British Museum in 2011, but have not yet been allocated British Museum registration numbers.

#### Room SW11/12

Nos. 3, 4, 8, 11, 19, 20, 23, 35, 49, 121, 126, 174, 209, 211, 233, 260, 274, 282, 345, 348, 371, 414, 431, 468, 477, 480, 481, 483, 486, 491, 496, 498, 499, 504, 511, 512, 516, 519, 523, 526, 527, 536, 538, 539, 540, 543, 545, 548, 554, 573, 576, 578, 586, 590, 596, 602, 645, 650, 659, 665, 666, 674, 677, 681, 690, 699, 700, 701, 704, 712, 715, 716, 718, 719, 725, 727, 729, 730, 734, 735, 736, 742, 744, 748, 749, 750, 754, 755, 761, 766, 770, 772, 774, 775, 776, 777, 781, 782, 783, 793, 798, 800, 803, 805, 806, 808, 810, 812, 814, 815, 816, 818, 821, 822, 823, 828, 829, 833, 834, 835, 837, 841

#### Room T10

Nos. T.127, T.131, T.134, T.139, T.142, T.143 a, T.143 b, T.144, T.145, T.147, T.149, T.150, T.152, T.153, T.154, T.155, T.158, T.159, T.159, T.160, T.161, T.308, T.309, T.311, T.312, T.313, T.314, T.322, T.325, T.326a, T.326b, T.328, T.329, T.337, T.338, T.339, T.341

Also 7 items in Appendix 7 and 12 items in Appendix 11.

#### *Bolton Museum*

A 2/2/1964	88
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A 2/3/1964 525

***Bristol Museum and Art Gallery***

FA 97, 88/1972 660

FA 98, 88/1972 563

FA 99, 88/1972 238

***Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire***

MRAH O.3481 657

***Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge***

E.2.1963 419

E.5.1963 595

E.6.1963 571

***Ipswich Museum***

R 1966-27 289

R 1966-28 478

R 1966-29 651

***Manchester Museum (University of Manchester)***

1966.1 564

**IVORIES IN NORTH AMERICA AND JAPAN*****Baltimore, Walters Art Museum***

71.1170 562

71.1172 Appendix 10

71.1173 Appendix 10

***Boston, Museum of Fine Arts***

MFA 65.925 493

***New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art***

MMA 58.31.6 Appendix 7

MMA 58.31.7 Appendix 7

MMA 58.31.8 Appendix 7

MMA 58.31.10 Appendix 10

MMA 58.31.11 Appendix 7

MMA 58.31.12 Appendix 7

MMA 62.269.1 T.303

MMA 62.269.2 682

MMA 62.269.3 65

MMA 62.269.4 38

MMA 62.269.5 251

MMA 62.269.6 150

MMA 62.269.7 740

MMA 62.269.8 139

MMA 62.269.10 29

MMA 64.37.2 222

MMA 64.37.3 537

MMA 64.37.4 490

MMA 64.37.6 262

MMA 64.37.7 286

MMA 64.37.8 280

MMA 64.37.9 229

MMA 64.37.10 459

MMA 64.37.11 149

MMA 64.37.12 593

MMA 64.37.13 18

MMA 64.37.14 1

***Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum***

UM 65.20.1 261

***San Francisco, M. H. de Young Memorial Museum***

1980.54.3 292

1980.54.4 235

***Tokyo, Middle Eastern Cultural Centre in Japan***

9090-5 314

9090-8 342

APPENDIX TWELVE

*The 1962-3 excavations at Nimrud: archaeological procedures and problems*

by Julian Reade, University of Copenhagen

During the spring months of 1962-3 I participated in the last two seasons of excavation at Nimrud conducted under the auspices of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq (BSAI). David Oates was field director in 1962, and Jeffery Orchard in 1963. On arrival I knew little about the history and antiquities of Nimrud and the excavations there, but in 2013 I find that colleagues are liable to be unfamiliar with information I take for granted. The current paper contains a proportion of what I know or seem to remember about the 1962-3 archaeological work, and related observations.

The background is that Max Mallowan in 1957, soon after beginning excavations in Tulul el-Azar, the mounds covering the building in the outer town of Nimrud that he named Fort Shalmaneser, discovered “an extraordinarily rich collection of ivories, many of them overlaid with gold and incrustated with blue frit”, *Iraq* 20 (1958), 108. The discovery of these and an abundance of other carved ivories met two requirements. Max had originally learnt his trade from Leonard Woolley at Ur and from R. Campbell Thompson at Nineveh: besides having academic agenda, both men were particularly keen to make dramatic discoveries of any kind, especially fine objects that could be taken out of Iraq and distributed to supportive institutions and individuals, securing money for future work. For Max the Nimrud ivories satisfied this requirement; they were his equivalent of Woolley’s Royal Tombs of Ur, the Temple Library that eluded Campbell Thompson. At the same time they satisfied Max’s own personal agenda, his long-standing desire to find beautiful works of art. So he viewed the discovery as the crowning achievement of his archaeological career, and maintained a possessive attitude even after handing the Nimrud field directorship over to Oates in 1958. My understanding, based on what I heard over the dinner-table at Nimrud in 1962, was that Max hoped for more spectacular ivories, but that David looked forward to leaving Nimrud and commencing excavations at a new site of his own. Meanwhile the Iraq Directorate-General of Antiquities (DGA), especially Fuad Safar, wanted the BSAI expedition to complete at least the main ground-plan of Fort Shalmaneser.

Several publications cover the 1962-3 excavations. Oates’ wide-ranging preliminary report on 1962 appeared in *Iraq* 25 (1963), together with papers on the throne-base inscriptions by Peter Hulin who was the excavation epigraphist in that year, on a hieroglyphic inscription by R. D. Barnett who had not been present, and on a glazed-brick panel by myself. A summary of Orchard’s 1963 results is given in the BSAI *Report for the Year ended 31 May 1963*, 4-5, but these *Reports* are rare, and apparently not yet available on line. Information about both seasons was incorporated into Mallowan’s *Nimrud and its Remains* (1966), his final report on all the BSAI 1949-63 excavations at the site. Joan and David Oates’ *Nimrud: An Assyrian Imperial City Revealed* (2001) also includes both seasons, with informed commentary on points of interest. I have myself made various references to the work, some of which are quoted in the present volume while others have been published in *Fifty Years of Mesopotamian Discovery* (J. Curtis, ed., 1982) and elsewhere.

The Oates report on 1962 gives a flavour of the traditional Mallowan-style scale of the operation. It begins by listing the excavation sponsors and the principal staff, supporters and visitors. Oates also maintained a tradition, which continued at least into the 1970s, that directors of British archaeological expeditions in Iraq unobtrusively paid some costs themselves. Most non-Iraqi staff, so far as I am aware, had either permanent posts or academic grants, and worked at Nimrud unpaid in return for food and lodging. Details



Figure 1. Looking east over the Nimrud dig-house and encampment. Photograph: S. N. Shaw Reade (1963).

of staff and sources of funding for this season and for all other seasons, according to official documents held by the DGA, are given in Albert Al-Haik's *Key Lists of Archaeological Excavations in Iraq, 1842-1965* (1968). Names of donors and other financial details appeared regularly in the annual *BSAI Reports*. Few records say much about the Iraqi workmen.

During the excavations, which each occupied about three months around March and April, staff from outside Iraq and representatives of the DGA lived on the main citadel-mound of Nimrud, Fig. 1. The dig-house, a long mudbrick building on the eastern rampart, had been begun in 1950 by Barbara Parker (later Mallowan); from north to south it comprised kitchen, dining-room, office, workroom and darkroom, with an annexe at the end that Agatha Mallowan had used for her own writing. Drinking water was from the Tigris, filtered through a large jar. Hot water for washing arrived in our tents at dawn, together with tea, but there was also an outhouse where, perhaps every Thursday, we could enjoy a half-full hip-bath. Lavatories were separate, north for men and south for women (the latter a fine roofed structure, incorporating many inscribed bricks, that had been built for Agatha). A bench along the western face of the dig-house was a pleasant place for tea or a drink after work on site; once in April 1963, after sunset, Nicholas Kindersley drew our attention to a comet in the western sky (presumably the one now known as Alcock 1963 III).

The yard in front of the bench was where cars parked, such as the handsome pre-war Lagonda which Nicholas had driven out from England, invaluable when both dig cars failed. A line of tents where we slept, with space for two beds in each, lined the southern side of the yard. On the north stood the mudbrick house of Ali Saleh, the permanent Nimrud site-guard; his wife made our daily bread. Yoghurt came by donkey from Sheikh Abdullah Nejeffi of the small village of Nimrud in the flood-plain to the west. A tent on the western side of the courtyard was occupied by Humeid or Hamudi, the expedition guard from the larger village of Na'maniyah in the plain just south of the mound; he patrolled the encampment at night, armed with large rifle and intimidating cough. Petros of Ba'shiqa was the long-established expedition driver,

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

who brought supplies from Mosul. We had an Assyrian cook, George, although I am not sure whether he was there throughout 1962-3. A waiter, Sandhu, who had been with the Indian Army at the siege of Kut in 1916, became a good friend; Sandhu appears in the photograph by Nicholas that was used as frontispiece for David's Festschrift volume, *Of Pots and Plans* (L. Al-Gailani Werr *et al*, ed., 2002). Much of the menial housework at Nimrud was done by Ali Khan, Persian in background. With all this help we lived comfortably, and we could work late into the night, cleaning innumerable ivories by the light of the Tilley pressure lamps known to us as *luxat*.

Slightly further to the west were the tents of the skilled workmen, Shergatis from the village of Shergat near ancient Ashur, all or mostly descendants of men trained during the excavations of Walter Andrae before 1914; some had worked on the great U.S. excavations of the inter-war period. The employment procedure was obscure to me at the time, but broadly similar to that which I later inherited at Tell Taya. At the start of the season, as arranged by telegram, a mass of Shergatis requiring work arrived at Nimrud. Mallowan, *Nimrud and its Remains I*, 18, mentions the two foremen: Abd Khalaf al-Angud, highly perceptive, tactful and efficient, to whom Paolo Fiorina paid tribute in *Mesopotamia* 41 (2006), 1, and Muhammad Khalaf al-Musla, whose tireless enthusiasm was matched by his mastery in the skills of recognising and articulating (or pointing) mudbrick.

The BSAI regularly employed members of the Angud and Musla families. Daulah Talab al-Angud was brilliant with mudbrick besides personally excavating many of the ivories in SW 11/12; his judgement was respected on every kind of matter, not just on archaeology. His younger brother Khalaf helped with the surveying; there was another brother Aswad, and a youngest brother who was later killed as a conscript in Kurdistan. Their cousins Abd Abdullah and Wismi Abd-ul-Razzaq both excavated in T10. The Musla family included Muhammad's elder son, Saleh, who worked with Daulah on the ivories; others were Shalash and Jauhar, Muhammad's brother and younger son respectively. Men of exceptional ability with mudbrick were Saleh Hussein Dakhil, to whose memory McGuire Gibson dedicated *Excavations at Nippur Eleventh Season* (1975), and the unassuming Muhammad Rothwan. There was Khalifa Muhammad (if I have the father's name correct), and probably others such as Ahmed Mudeid who later worked with me at Taya.

The Shergatis were outnumbered by local villagers. On site each team usually consisted of one Shergati who did the digging, one or two villagers with shovels, and four or five who carried the broken earth in baskets to dumps. In 1962 the villagers were mainly from nearby Na'maniyah and Naifa, but some came from farther afield, from the Turkoman village of Selamiyah overlooking the Tigris, from Abbas Rejeb to the east towards Khidhr Elias and the remarkable monastery of Mar Behnam, and possibly from elsewhere. In 1963 the BSAI expedition had less money, so that fewer men could be employed; this caused friction, and in the end the villagers were nearly all from nearby.

Payday was Thursday afternoon. Then everyone congregated in the courtyard outside the house, to be paid through the office window. The foreman Muhammad Khalaf summoned individuals up one by one. Because the law required employers to get receipts for payment but few of the workmen were literate, he would grab the first one by the hand, and press his thumb firmly on to an ink-pad and then on to ten or twenty successive lines of a paysheet: each line represented one worker. When these ten or twenty men had been paid, the next workman's thumb signed for the next group in similar fashion. Villagers received a modest extra payment for any find they might have happened to make, such as a small object spotted in a basket; this was the "baksheesh" system which Max had learnt as a young man at Ur. It was famously double-edged, rewarding honesty and diligence, but having odd side-effects; it could lead to trickery, and at Ur it had encouraged the workmen's private "Diqdiqqa" dig. I never heard of such problems at Nimrud, but was told that any unwanted objects should be discarded effectively so that there should be no danger of their reappearance. The Shergatis did not get this kind of baksheesh, but the wages of the foremen and the most important or successful experts were supplemented at the end of the season by an extra bonus, very

awkward to calculate. The names of all the Shergatis and the villagers and details of their pay will be listed in the directors' paybooks, if these still exist.

This raises a technical issue, not obvious to outsiders, about the paper records of the Nimrud expeditions (this was long before digital recording). Several scholars have been involved both with the BSAI and the British Museum (BM): BM staff sometimes worked on the BSAI dig at Nimrud, and the BM acquired much Nimrud material from the BSAI (or BISI, British Institute for the Study of Iraq, as renamed in 2007). The two institutions, however, have always been independent of one another. Many BSAI Nimrud site records and photographs are now in the BM, in the archive of what is currently called the Middle East Department, but they arrived there long after the excavations, through Barbara Mallowan, John Curtis and others, and are incomplete. Originally, so far as I know, records were normally retained by the field director or whoever was responsible for creating or publishing them. Thus in 1962 I kept notes on the provenances of glazed bricks in Fort Shalmaneser; I had no BM links at that time, and the notebook remained in my possession till I gave it to the BM in the 1990s. Peter Hulin kept his own copies of cuneiform texts, as described in *Iraq* 62 (2000), 65. To cite a typical example of what might happen, about 1976 Mallowan showed me personal and excavation records of his own that were still at Greenway, his former residence in Devon; they dated from his pre-war years both in Iraq (Ur, Nineveh, Arpachiyah) and in Syria; we selected many of these for donation to the BM archive. Mallowan's Nimrud work was post-war, and I saw few records of this period at Greenway. Most of the Nimrud material must have been in London, or at Winterbrook House near Wallingford, where he then kept his library of academic books. That library itself held some albums containing Nimrud dig photographs; Campbell Thompson had created albums like this showing his Nineveh excavations in order to impress donors, and the Nimrud ones may have had a similar purpose. Some or all of these albums were sold at auction (Sotheby's) with the Winterbrook library books after Max's death in 1978.

Ground-plans of the Nimrud excavations were made in 1962-3 with telescopic alidade and plane-table; distances were measured with cloth or steel tapes. The plans were drawn on cartridge paper, not yet on a drafting film such as permatrace. Elevations were recorded with a telescopic level and levelling stave. Oates had high standards of accuracy, and used to refer with admiration to Andrae's pre-1914 survey of Hatra, the excellence of which had recently been confirmed by Muhammad Ali Mustafa, surveying the remains on behalf of the DGA. Sometimes, however, Fort Shalmaneser rooms had not been fully excavated and the walls sloped slightly, so that it was necessary to plan the corners above floor-level and to assess the likely degree of error from the angle of the walls.

Further information about Nimrud may exist in formal reports sent from the excavation to the DGA in Baghdad, and in unofficial notebooks or letters written independently by staff members, colleagues or visitors. Thus some photographs taken by individuals in and before 1962-3 appear in this volume. More records might be located by systematic investigation, or may emerge by chance. For instance, in April or May 1963, on a very wet day when there were no workmen on site, we were visited by a group of French visitors on a cultural tour in a minibus, then on their way from Mar Behnam to Mosul. They knew that ivories were being found, and wished to see the place. I showed them SW 11/12, the principal source, and they surely took photographs.

Another technical issue concerns the recording and disposal of objects found on excavation. Mallowan's procedures, adapted from those of Woolley and Campbell Thompson, have been summarised by me in *Iraq* 64 (2002), 203-4, with special reference to material found about 1956 in the temple area at Nimrud. I relied then on excavation catalogues, field notebooks, and many opportunities to deduce what had actually happened. By 1962 the system had evolved further, and David or Joan Oates had probably been responsible for one major improvement, the introduction of a "register" for the continuous recording of small finds. Nimrud is a complicated and productive site, however, and movable objects found there can be classified

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

into one of at least five main categories.

Those regarded as most important were nearly all assigned ND catalogue numbers. The catalogue was written and typed in several duplicate copies towards the end of the season, and the ND number was then written directly on to an unobtrusive surface of the object. ND 11000 numbers were used in 1962, ND 12000 numbers in 1963. Sometimes a single ND number has covered a group of fragments, not all of them marked, but I am unsure if this happened in 1962-3. There was a formal “division” at the end of each season, when the ND objects were either graded as “unique”, in which case they remained in the Iraq Museum (IM), or were allocated in roughly equal numbers either to the IM or to the BSAI. The division had formerly happened at Nimrud but, according to my recollection, in May 1962 it was for the first time in Baghdad; on the evening of that day I attended a fine dinner, possibly given by DGA staff, in a garden overlooking the left bank of the Tigris. The objects allocated to the BSAI would be provided with formal export papers and sent to England, and a selection would later be sent on to supporters of the BSAI work (notably the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, but there were many more), or retained for future distribution. Mallowan was then professor at the Institute of Archaeology, University of London. This is where he originally kept most of the BSAI share of Nimrud ivories.

There were other things from Nimrud at the Institute too. They largely belonged, however, in a second category, consisting of small finds and other objects which had been retained (and sometimes recorded in the site register once this had been introduced), but which had been regarded as less significant and therefore not catalogued with ND numbers. I encountered this uncatalogued category first in 1962, on enquiring about some large stone tablet fragments (Ashurnasirpal “duplicates”) and a stone tripod mortar at the Nimrud dig-house. I was told that they were worth preserving but were not wanted in the Iraq Museum or elsewhere. In practice, however, some such uncatalogued things were sent to England, as samples or examples of typical material, and were then available for distribution, retention, analysis or, at the Institute, for use as a study collection, joining material from Mallowan’s own pre-war work at Arpachiyah and in Syria, and from other sites such as Kish and Ur. About 1980 I arranged in one of the lecture rooms a display of typical Mesopotamian material, including items from Nimrud, but all or most of these latter are now in the BM. An example of an object in the uncatalogued category is a glazed finial illustrated upside down in *Iraq* 64 (2002), 183; this had no ND number, but other records enabled me to identify it with a piece excavated in 1956. Similarly some items found in 1960 at Fort Shalmaneser were recorded in the excavation register but not in the ND catalogue, see Ann Searight et al., *Assyrian Stone Vessels* (2008), 28. This confusing practice of grading objects by their perceived significance was comparable to that customary in the IM, where new accessions were assessed and either assigned IM catalogue numbers or marked in Arabic LDRS, “for study”. I do not know how many Nimrud items fell into the uncatalogued category in 1962-3. They included samples of glazed brick and painted wall-plaster, intended for pigment analysis.

A third category consisted of items which were regarded as important but which were left uncatalogued because they required special attention. One example was the glazed-brick panel which was found in fragments in 1962; the fragments were sent to Baghdad, unnumbered, and the panel was then reconstructed there for display in the IM. The other very important group of material in this category in 1962-3 consisted of those carved ivories from SW11/12 and T10 that were sent unnumbered to Baghdad, to await further recording and conservation, as described elsewhere in this volume.

Fourthly, there were objects that were important and that might in some circumstances have been removed, but that were left in position on site: among them in 1962-3 were royal inscriptions of Shalmaneser III and Esarhaddon which formed part of the structure of Fort Shalmaneser. A substantial stone fragment with one carved face, *Iraq* 43 (1981), Pl. XXIc, found in 1963, was left in position because of its weight. A special problem was created in 1962 by the discovery of wall-paintings in good condition in room T27, shown in *Fifty Years of Mesopotamian Discovery*, colour Pl. 7b-c; the room was not completely excavated, as the

DGA was considering options for conservation or removal of the paintings, but it was decided, some time later, that the most sensible way of mitigating damage was reburial. Other parts of Fort Shalmaneser were reburied at various times: several Nimrud buildings have had comparable histories of excavation, refilling, reconstruction and so forth.

Finally, as a fifth category, some things that had been removed from position were discarded or reburied. A site as rich as Nimrud is liable to produce large quantities of broken and decayed material of many kinds, some of which is not appreciated at the time. For instance, in the nineteenth century, the BM scholar E. A. Wallis Budge maintained that even fragments of freshly excavated inscribed cuneiform tablets from Babylonia could be “waste”, and about 1965 I was shocked to hear a twentieth-century philologist express the same opinion. At Fort Shalmaneser the most abundant material besides ivory was naturally pottery. Joan Oates catalogued a vast amount of it, *Iraq* 21 (1959), 130-46, Pls XXXV-XXXIX, but confirms that she could not possibly have retained everything she recorded. Things like soil samples were not kept because we did not realise how much information might one day be recoverable from them.

During 1962-3 most of the BSAI excavations were inside Fort Shalmaneser, and that is where I was mainly employed. Fig. 2, a photograph taken from a helicopter near the end of the 1963 season, shows much of the area. Rooms allocated T numbers were begun in 1962, those with R numbers in 1963. Rooms SW11/12 and T10 were dug during both seasons, and the carved ivories found there are described and discussed elsewhere in this volume. The 1962 season, however, began with an unexpected problem. In the previous 1961 season ivories had been excavated from another room, SW37. Oates and Orchard had thought that the cleaning of ivories excavated from SW37 had been completed before the team left in May 1961, but it turned out that this was not the case. They were very surprised, on arrival in 1962, to find some SW37 ivories still

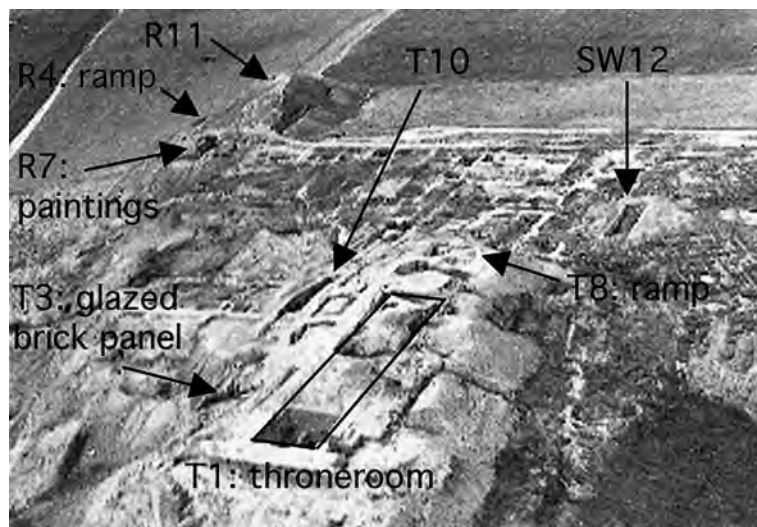


Figure 2. Looking south-west across Fort Shalmaneser (Tulul el-Azar). Photograph: A. Searight (1963)

in the dig-house office, awaiting treatment; there were perhaps three shelves of them (the standard trays, if these were similar, measured some 12 by 24 inches, or 30.5 by 61 cm). Among these left-overs were presumably the six SW37 ivories later catalogued with numbers in the ND 11000 range, otherwise reserved for 1962 material.

There were therefore ivories to clean from the very start of the 1962 season. More began to arrive soon afterwards from new excavations in SW12. The situation over Rooms SW11 and 12 is slightly confusing. In 1958 Oates had planned the SW11/12 rectangular area and recognised from the architectural proportions that it surely incorporated two different rooms: hence the terms SW11 and SW12, at eastern and western ends respectively, written in plans published during 1959-1963. The wall-plaster in these rooms, however, was inferior and much less easily recognised than the fine whitish plaster in grand rooms like the throneroom, T1. Also, the north-south partition with its doorway, defining the difference between SW11 and SW12, is thin and was probably built after the main east-west walls. Consequently the brickwork of the partition was only identified by Daulah or Saleh in March or April 1963, when the excavation at this point had reached a depth of around 1 m. The partition is first represented in the final plan published by Mallowan in 1966.

Because the 1962 excavation was conducted in the western end of SW12, for a distance given by Oates, *Iraq* 25 (1963), 7, as about 5 m from the western wall, that was the provenance of all the ivories excavated in that year. A door links the western end of SW12 with SW37, so there can be no clear distinction between

### *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

the material from the two rooms. Ivories excavated in 1963, in contrast, came either from SW12 or from SW11. My own recollection is that the 1963 SW12 ones were mainly from the centre of the room, i.e. beside those excavated in 1962, and that the eastern end of SW12 was emptier. Generally, in SW12, the ivories were as Oates has described them, scattered through the soil for a depth of over a meter above the floor, apparently at random. Possibly the furniture to which they originally belonged had been stored in the ninth or eighth century as superfluous tribute, and had been smashed, in or before the seventh century, by Assyrians or enemy soldiers who were removing the gold-leaf overlay. In SW12 we also excavated many glass inlays (dull blue and perhaps yellow in colour, and measuring around 2-2.5 cm long, 3-4 mm wide and 1-2 mm thick) that must have belonged to inlaid wings, being similar in shape to the friable red and blue glass or paste inlays inside some ivory wings. They were in far better condition than the latter, however, and I saw no ivory panels into which they might have fitted. These superior glass inlays could have been used in carved panels made of wood; some pieces of brown organic material from here or from T10 might perhaps have been wood rather than ivory.

The deposit in SW11, though doubtless buried at the same time as that in SW12, was different. The ivories from SW11, as I recall them, were all or nearly all repetitive plaques showing varieties of human-headed or ram-headed sphinx, evidently deriving from a single piece or set of furniture. They were scattered well above the floor, as if they had been resting on top of something. Ochreous colours in the soil in the lower fill of SW11, comparable to those from decayed modern kelims, suggested that it had once contained a heap of textiles. Furniture and textiles were indeed among the principal items of tribute repeatedly sent to Assyria from the west.

As the 1962 season progressed, trays of ivories from SW12 steadily filled the shelves around the office and workroom. When an especially remarkable, delicate or complete piece arrived, David Oates would emphasise that it was reserved for Ann Searight, our most skilful conservator. I myself usually spent most of the day on site, but often joined other members of the team to clean ivories in the evenings and after dinner, using a solvent (methylated spirits or strikingly cold acetone) to soften the earth, a pin-vice to shift it, and a brush to apply the fashionable consolidant, polyvinyl acetate (PVA), which also functioned as a glue. The most attractive ivories were those in what we called the Phoenician style, in low relief, in which the figures often had wings with the friable red and blue inlay; the ivory cloisons separating the colours were about 1 mm wide, with traces of gold-leaf. Despite being fairly adept, I found these almost impossible to clean without damage to cloisons, inlays or both, so soon preferred to leave them alone. The other types of carved panels and fragments were easy, but required care and patience, especially when there was extensive undercutting, as in a series which had rows of cobras along the top. I cleaned one incomplete "George and Dragon" in what seemed a lively, almost Greek style. There were many panels carved with palm-trees or the "woman-at-the-window" motif, plenty of grazing deer, and masses of detached bulls or cows-and-calves (usually with the legs and calf missing).

Olwen Brogan sat a table just behind me; she spent a great length of time cleaning and consolidating one large plain cylindrical piece of ivory, a single segment of tusk with perhaps one or two tenon-holes, that came to be christened "Olwen's cheese". Nearby, Stephanie Page (later Dalley) was working on a griffin. Towards the end of the 1962 season there were so many ivories requiring treatment that conservators from the Iraq Museum came to help. Meanwhile, accumulating on the shelves, there were larger structural elements, often decayed because the ivory was thicker and less compact, but with moulded surfaces and sometimes carved finials or volutes. Some were reburied. In the 1963 season, for the first week or two, I maintained a record, for private reference, of structural elements being excavated from SW12. Pressure of work intervened, leaving a crude list of 15 items that needs further study.

The other main source of ivories was Room T10, which had been burnt. Already in 1962 I had the impression that the T10 ivories were more varied and interesting than those from SW12, deserving at least



Figure 3. Saleh Muhammad al-Musla holding a tray of ivories, probably from T10.

Photograph: A. Searight (1962).

as much care and attention, and I was puzzled that no one else seemed to regard them so highly. Saleh Muhammad al-Musla seems to have worked there for a time in 1962, probably when ivories were first being found, as a photograph shows him holding a tray of apparently burnt ivories, Fig. 3, but he was usually in SW11/12. In 1963 I tried with limited success to keep an eye on the T10 excavation, which was completed apart from whatever may lie under the access steps in the south-eastern corner; maybe there is related material through the eastern door in Room T21, while fill from the room was dumped to the south-west in Courtyard S. In 1963 I took charge of the T10 ivories in the house, laying them out at the southern end of the dining-room, soaking them in PVA, and classifying and boxing them by style or type. Besides items noted elsewhere, there were sphinx-heads with strikingly elongated eyes and rounded hats, and sphinx-wings that were once stained different colours (now shades of white or grey), rather than being inlaid like the “Phoenician” pieces. Three or four fragments of veneer were incised with alphabetic letters, and on one of them I was able to identify, through our copy of *Arslan Tash* in the small expedition library, the name of Hazael (comparable with ND 11310, that was found in 1962). There were many fragments of veneer incised or carved with figures in Assyrian style, some or all of which were published by Mallowan and Leri Glynne Davies in *Ivories from Nimrud II* (1970); I

do not recall seeing such things from SW11/12. Similarly I do not recall any ivories in the “Phoenician” style from T10, and there were fewer large structural elements than in SW12. Given the location of T10, and the apparent ninth-century date of many of the Assyrian-style carvings, it looked as if this was the type of furniture available for royal use by Shalmaneser III, which was still present in the time of Esarhaddon, just as items decorated in ninth-century Assyrian style remained in use in the Nabu Temple in the seventh century. In digging T10 we were not aware of the possibility that there might be an earlier floor below the burnt one, such as Curtis later discovered in the adjoining Room T20.

While excavation for ivories was beginning in SW12, other workmen were recovering more of the ground-plan of Fort Shalmaneser. The typical procedure, as used by Mallowan all over Nimrud, was to break the topsoil with large picks, scrape the surface for signs of mudbrick walls, and use small picks in selected areas to confirm the faces of the walls. The walls had been plastered, and often the line of the plastered face was clear. On other occasions, however, when the plaster was of poorer quality and when the fill inside a room consisted of fallen mudbrick identical in composition to the mudbrick wall itself, only the most skilled workmen, tapping delicately with small picks until the fill fell away, could distinguish between them. This meant that, at the very start, large numbers of workmen were swarming over the site, leading Oates to remark half-jokingly that I was watching the last nineteenth-century excavation. In fact

### *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

the system worked well in Fort Shalmaneser because much of the structure essentially belonged in a single period, with the tops of the original walls emerging immediately below the topsoil. Muhammad Khalaf al-Musla was available to advise the less proficient Shergatis. Much labour was needed for the removal of fallen mudbrick, and Oates had limited money. Once the walls of a fresh room had been established, he aimed to ascertain, for instance by digging deeper at one end, whether there was a significant deposit of objects on or above the floor; if there was, only then was further clearance necessary. Close to the floor it became desirable to use trowels, knives or brushes. Sometimes there was pottery, but there was no clear difference between the types of pottery being used when Nimrud was sacked around 614-612 BC, and those being used soon afterwards by “squatters” who could presumably collect as much as they liked from deserted houses.

The most prominent mound excavated in 1962 turned out to comprise the great throneroom, T1, with its carved thronebase, and adjoining suites. A silver finger-ring decorated with a triangular granulated pattern emerged from the uppermost fallen brickwork in this area, in excellent condition, and was handed me to draw; someone identified it as “Phoenician”. Once T1 had been recognised as a throneroom, Oates checked whether or not there was evidence for a central door through its northern wall. He could not afford to dig to a great depth to ascertain this detail, but examination of the exposed brickwork and plaster led him to decide that the wall was unbroken, as indicated on his plan and confirmed in *Nimrud, An Assyrian Imperial City Revealed*, 172. I recollect, however, some expressions of uncertainty as to whether the plaster in question had really belonged to walling in position or had slipped from above; it would be strange not to have a door in this position. Oates also refers, *Iraq* 25 (1963), 28-9, to “very faint outlines of a ‘cushion’ frieze” painted on the otherwise plain plaster of the throneroom wall; these cushion shapes were visible as slightly darker patches when the wall was freshly excavated, but I have not located them on any photograph. I wonder if they reflected a ninth-century frieze behind the existing whitish plaster. The whitish plaster itself presumably dated from Esarhaddon’s seventh-century refurbishment of the building, but Oates also describes the two fragments of ninth-century wall-painting, brilliantly coloured with narrative theme and hexagonal pattern, that we excavated from the earth underneath the carved thronebase after this had been removed by crane. There is a black-and-white print of these fragments in *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 10 (1979), Taf. 11b. The earth from which they came was of an unusual pale loose sandy composition, and had clearly been brought so that the heavy thronebase could be laid or relaid absolutely flat. This deposit also produced a flat piece of Egyptian Blue, possibly the side of a small box, so there may have been more items of interest, but there was no time to continue the excavation.

Room T8, beyond T7 at the western end of the throneroom, was preserved to a height of 7 m or more above its floor. Again, for lack of time and money, only the uppermost part of T8 was excavated, but it had probably been entered at ground-floor level at its north-eastern corner, and incorporated a ramp that sloped upwards, anti-clockwise, around a central block of brickwork. Nearly all Assyrian throneroom suites had ramps of this kind, but how they functioned and where they led is not established. The available plan suggests that the ramp in T8 was preserved as far as an upper level, in the south-eastern corner of the room, and that at this level there was a doorway that led back eastward into T7. If so, there could be evidence for the floor of an upper level or raised gallery within T7, for royal use overlooking the throneroom, as proposed in *Iraq* 70 (2008), 28. Here again I recollect some uncertainty about the details of the architecture, which was only just below the surface of the mound, and am doubtful whether the upper surface of the ramp was established inside T8 itself. Unless this area has been damaged since 1963, it may yet offer a unique opportunity to investigate the arrangements in this part of a throneroom suite.

I was myself about to record further details of T8 when a heap of some 300 glazed bricks was discovered in front of the southern doorway of T3, plainly fallen from a wall above, Fig. 4. The bricks were mostly broken into three or four pieces, but they carried patterns of flowers, vegetation, zigzags, human and animal



Figure 4. Looking north-west at doorway of T3: fallen glazed bricks in foreground and J. E. Reade beginning work on bricks in background. Photograph: A. Searight (1962).

limbs, and a few cuneiform signs. The condition of the glaze was superficially excellent, with a bright light blue colour predominant, besides green, yellow, white and black, but the surface formed a distinct bubbly and friable layer, quite unlike the stable glaze used later at Babylon. An attempt to bind the surface layer to the brick behind it, by applying PVA, had the opposite effect from that intended, pulling much of the glaze away from the brick and detracting especially from the brilliance of the blue and green. One suggestion was that all the fragments should be photographed in colour and placed in store somewhere, for reconstruction if the photographs suggested that enough survived for this purpose. This would have been expensive even if enough film could be obtained (fifty years before everyone had a digital camera), and it was probably impossible to process colour film in Mosul. So then I was asked to determine the original arrangement of the bricks directly, to see whether enough survived for a reconstruction. I did this, shifting pieces around in rain and shine, with the help of some noxious fish-glue bought in Mosul, and the bricks turned out to derive from a single panel that was almost complete. So at the end of the season they were loaded into crates and sent to Baghdad. During the summer of 1962 I laid out the fragments on the floor of a large room in Gertrude Bell's old Iraq Museum, and the complete panel was eventually reconstructed on a wall in the new Iraq Museum.

My work was overseen by Akram Shukri, Director of the Museum Laboratory. He was to become Acting Director-General of the DGA soon after a violent change of government on 8 February 1963. We were then about to leave Baghdad for the next season at Nimrud; DGA help enabled the excavation to proceed uninterrupted despite political uncertainty. The welcome and kindnesses which I received from Akram and many other colleagues in Baghdad in 1962 were important factors behind my subsequent continuing involvement in Mesopotamian archaeology.

Fragments from comparable panels of glazed brick were found here and there in Fort Shalmaneser, and it is likely that some of them once decorated the doorways on the northern facade of the throneroom. This facade is also a likely position for the display of panels of glazed tiles representing Esarhaddon's campaigns in Egypt. Some of these tiles, reused in a later pavement, were found by Henry Layard about 1850, and were illustrated by him in *Monuments of Nineveh, Second Series* (1853), Pls. 53-4. Another fragment from this series was found south of the throneroom suite in 1962, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 5 (1977), 317.

The 1962 excavations had been directed at the eastern of the two most notable elevations in the Tulul el-Azar or Fort Shalmaneser area. The discovery that it constituted the remains of a throneroom and related suites came as a surprise, but Oates soon recognised the general nature of the ground-plan and the relationship with another such building at Khorsabad. He also began work on the city-wall fringing Fort Shalmaneser to the south and east; this seemed to consist of the original ninth-century city-wall, reinforced by a lower outer city-wall of the kind employed at Nineveh by Sennacherib in the seventh century. In 1963 Jeffery Orchard's aim was to clarify the nature of the second notable elevation, which can be called Tulul el-Azar West, which projected westward from the south-western corner of the fortress; because this mound turned out to incorporate a substantial ramp, we later assigned it the designation R. Orchard also

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aimed to continue Oates' work on the city-wall beside Fort Shalmaneser. The additional sections of ground-plan recovered during 1963 can be seen by comparing the 1962 plan, *Iraq 25* (1963), Pl. II, with the 1963 one in *Nimrud and its Remains*, Map Folder, Pl. VIII.

Most of the 1963 work is shown in Fig. 5. The plan of the main structure of Fort Shalmaneser was extended by the excavation of Rooms S56-57 and an adjoining area. I seem to recall inscribed bricks or tiles of Adad-nirari III and a disturbed corner deposit containing the top of a "spear-man" apotropaic figurine. The original ground-plan here was surely affected by later building works, which can be dated to the reign of Esarhaddon, when doors were cut through the western walls of Rooms S56 and S57, to join R10 and R9. Mallowan, *Nimrud and its Remains*, II, 648-9, quotes from Orchard's otherwise unpublished reports on this difficult area.

A trench dug in 1963 to investigate the stratigraphy outside the city-wall on the eastern side of Fort Shalmaneser has been briefly discussed in Searight *et al*, *Assyrian Stone Vessels*, 75. An upper deposit, which produced a few fragments of stone vessel besides much pottery, may have consisted of detritus thrown out after the first sack of the city about 614 BC. Elsewhere, along the line of the original city-wall just west of Tulul el-Azar West, Saleh Hussein Dakhil with characteristic elegance and precision cut trenches in which he articulated the exterior face and the mudbrick structure of a projecting tower. The trenches are visible as narrow slits on the upper left-hand side of Fig. 6.

Investigation of Tulul el-Azar West began with the identification of a gateway between Room R8 and the great parade-ground surrounding Fort Shalmaneser, but R8 was to one side of the main mound. From this point Muhammad Rothwan, one of the finest Shergati professionals, tapping methodically with his small pick, followed the wall-face westwards along the northern side of Tulul el-Azar West. He was working close to the surface, and lost the wall-face occasionally, but always recovered it; after some 45 m he reached a corner, whose position was checked by digging more deeply, and he then turned south for another 30 m before reaching what appeared to be the inner face of the city-wall, with an indentation that may have been a ramp for military access to the top of the rampart. The indentation is visible at the top of Fig. 6, just right of centre. This seems to be the only point at which the thickness of the original Nimrud city-wall has been ascertained by excavation on the inside as well as the outside, but the work failed to elucidate the nature of Tulul el-Azar West. Muhammad had largely encircled those parts of the mound that were accessible from inside the city, without finding any clear sign of access beyond R8. Much more digging would have been needed to ascertain whether there was an additional doorway from north or west. A surface scrape of part of the southern face of the mound, just visible in the upper right-hand corner of Fig. 6, suggested that here it was solid mudbrick from top to bottom. The southern face of the mound must indeed incorporate the solid mudbrick of the original ninth-century inner city-wall, but the

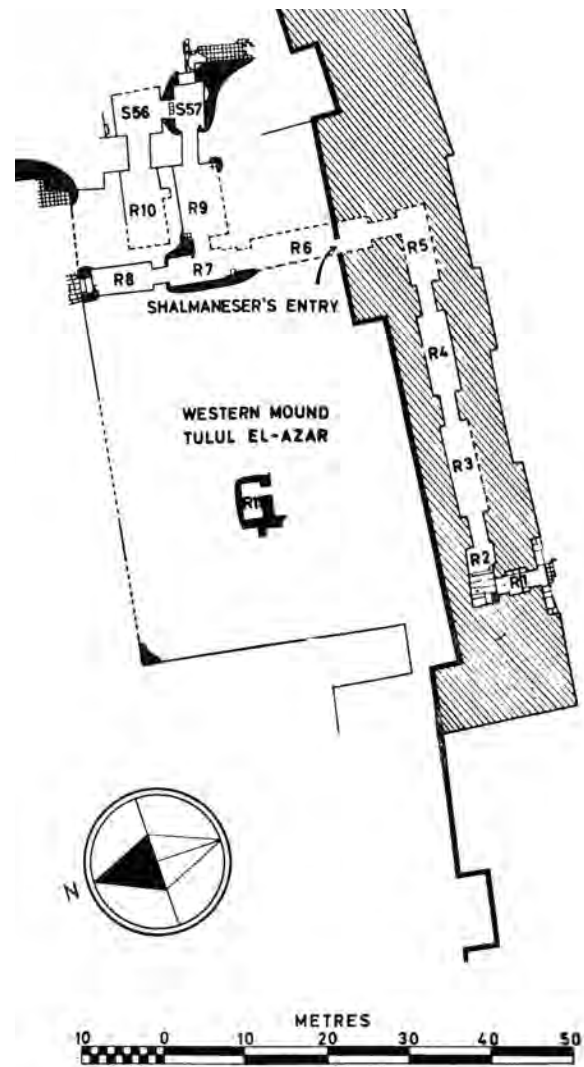


Figure 5. Detail of Fort Shalmaneser ground-plan, showing principal area excavated in 1963. After M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and its Remains*, Map Folder, Pl. VIII.



Figure 6. Looking north-west at Tulul el-Azar West, with R1 gateway just right of centre. Photograph: S. N. Shaw Reade (1963).

upper brickwork was not fully articulated, and there could have been later additions or alterations.

Meanwhile, yet further to the south, work was proceeding along the outer face of the seventh-century outer city-wall. The situation must have been exasperating for Jeffery Orchard because about now, some way into the season, he was confined to his bed by illness, and for a time he had to listen to what Nicholas Kindersley and I were telling him in the evenings about

our progress, as shown in Fig. 7. First there was a stone postern gateway with cuneiform inscriptions on either side, giving the name of a king soon to be identified as Esarhaddon, now published by Erle Leichty, *Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon* (2011), 164-5. The gate, which had a corbelled arch, led into R1, a room or space within which attackers who had entered could presumably be killed from above; this, at least, is the ingenious arrangement in external gateways at Nineveh (see Fig. 8 on p. 359). A second stone corbelled gateway led into R2, and then in R2 there was a right turn, and a mudbrick doorway leading eastward. Photographs illustrate the curving profiles of the arches, *Nimrud and its Remains II*, Figs 379-380, though the articulation of the mudbrick arch is not satisfactory. We scraped the surface east of R2, and at first we were unable to find anything but solid mudbrick, but we then scraped the side of the gully 30 m further east, and found the walls of Room R5 at a higher level, with a sloping floor. The eastern part of R5 was entirely missing, eroded by the gully, but we worked back easily down the slope or ramp through R4 into R3, where some of the mudbrick vault that must have covered these rooms probably survived near the door into R2. We were not anticipating and did not notice in these rooms any traces of painting; in retrospect we should have looked more thoroughly on the north wall for the back of the painted procession part of which, with movement to the right, we found soon afterwards in R7.

Assuming that the ramp turned northwards, we next scraped the western side of the gully at a point further north, on the eastern slope of Tulul el-Azar West. Some 20 m north of R5 we were rewarded by the western wall of R7, with the traces of paint. We followed the wall northwards, and the north door of R7 was leading directly into R8, but we were obstructed by a mass of unplastered and roughly laid but solid mudbrick running east-west; its location is just visible between R7 and R8 in Fig. 7. I recall the obstruction as resting on fill some feet above the floor of R8, and sloping slightly upwards to the west; on top of it there was the fragment of white limestone, carved with a horse's head and clearly Neo-Assyrian, which I illustrated in *Iraq* 43 (1981), Pl. XXIc. This mass of brickwork was plainly post-Esarhaddon and

## *Ivories from Nimrud VII*

presumably post-Assyrian.

By now we had investigated Tulul el-Azar West from all four points of the compass, and still did not know what it was: a high Assyrian building, an Assyrian platform with or without a building on top, or something else. So we decided to examine the flattish summit itself, scraping the top, and quickly identified several walls which were subsequently defined as forming Room R11. They were well built of mudbrick, but were neither wide nor high; I recall them as standing no more than 1 m above the floor. The floor itself was empty and unpaved, with no datable pottery. The building might have been Assyrian, but it seemed more likely that it was post-

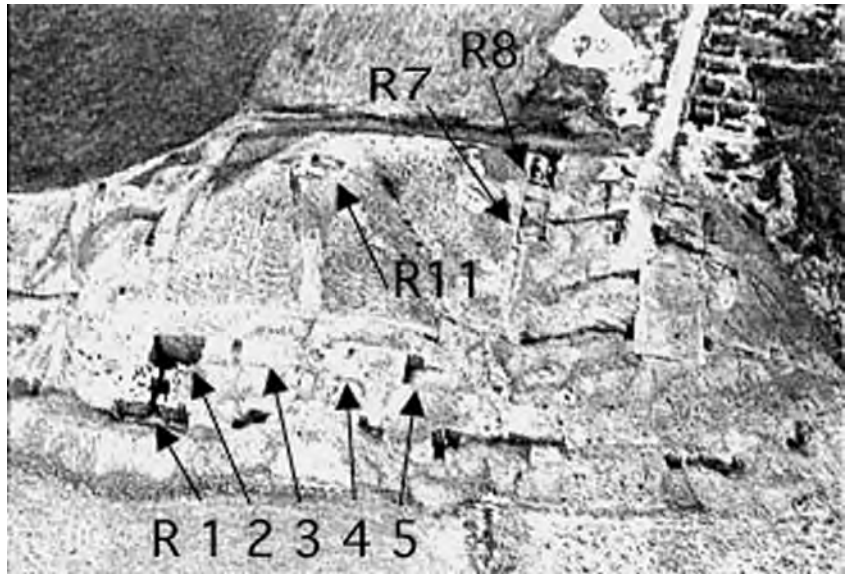


Figure 7. Looking north across Tulul el-Azar West.  
Photograph: A. Searight (1963).

Assyrian, resting on the remains of a Neo-Assyrian structure, and that the post-Assyrian brickwork over R8 could have belonged with it: for instance there might have been a high fortified house approached by stairs from the east. It would have been easy to examine the vicinity of R11 further and to expand the ground-plan, but it would have been more difficult to establish the nature of whatever may lie underneath. Jeffery, now fortunately restored to health, came to inspect what had been happening and decided that our workmen could be employed more usefully elsewhere.

So the original plan of Tulul el-Azar West remains unknown. Its function is perhaps suggested by the inscriptions on the wall outside R1, which state that Esarhaddon built a palace “for his lordly pleasure” (Chicago Assyrian Dictionary: *multa’uti*), not a unique term but one which is not commonly used. It appears in association with the palace suites of Tiglathpileser III and Sennacherib that were built in a “western” style, i.e. with outer windows or balconies according to Reade, *Iraq* 70 (2008), 35-6; Sargon uses it to describe a building in the countryside, suspiciously like a hunting-lodge. Since R2-7 formed a sloping passage up from a postern gate, with a return from the hunt painted on one wall, and since the area immediately south of the city-wall of Nimrud at this point was the likely location for the royal wild-life park, Tulul el-Azar West may well have contained a new building in which the king and his companions could feast and celebrate their exploits in the hunt. Since Esarhaddon texts also mention building a terrace 120 brick-courses high, i.e. some 15-18 m, this may have been the height of the floor of his new building above the sill of his postern-gate. If so the floor of R7, being roughly 8 m above the gate, was about halfway to the top. The gradient continued upwards through R9. So access to Esarhaddon’s new building might have been gained by a continuation of the ascending ramp through R9 and round on to the city-wall rampart, returning westward, but there are other possibilities. There were comparable ramps and decorated walls in the South-West and North Palaces at Nineveh and in Esarhaddon’s Nebi Yunus palace at Nineveh, and there was space for one beside Sargon’s palace at Khorsabad, but their ground-plans are either different or unclear.

Near the end of the 1963 season I tried to draw or trace the faint and fragmentary remnants of painting on the wall of R7. They showed movement to the right; according to my 1970 doctoral dissertation, they “were on a white ground, and incorporated an elaborate frieze with, underneath, a procession of courtiers and a wheeled vehicle with a lion’s tail hanging from it, the subject doubtless being a return from the hunt.” I had difficulty with the details of the hands. Mallowan, *Nimrud and its Remains* II, 467, says that the

procession included “perhaps the king”, but I have no recollection of this, and the king would usually have appeared near the back of this kind of procession. The wheeled vehicle carrying a dead lion recalls another painting of Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal, F. Thureau-Dangin and M. Dunand, *Til-Barsib* (1936), Pl. LIII. The “elaborate frieze” in R7 was not in position, but was represented by several lumps of wall-plaster with fragmentary patterns such as the lotus, which were recovered from the fill on the floor. We packed two or three of these for dispatch to England as samples.

While nearly all the BSAI work during 1962-3 was in Fort Shalmaneser, there was a little on the citadel mound too. In 1962 some graves, whose existence was already known, were cleared near the Governor’s Palace. The work was directed by Olwen Brogan; I had already met Olwen in Libya, and my first task at Nimrud was to assist her. My recollection is of an east-west row of three or four skeletons lying extended on their backs, supine, with heads to the south. The westernmost body had a coin by the head, and there was some discussion whether it was Parthian or Sasanian. With this or the neighbouring body there was a well-preserved bronze ladle, whose handle ended in an animal-head (goat or gazelle) and which was the subject of my first ever archaeological drawing. Olwen took notes on the graves and was to publish them. Perhaps these notes, and any she kept on other areas where she worked, notably T23 with its well-preserved burnt wood and ivory door, are stored with the bulk of her archaeological records in the archive of the Society for Libyan Studies, currently (2013) held at Leicester.

Also on the citadel mound, the remains of colossal figures in the facade of the Central Building are shown freshly cleaned in a 1963 photograph by Ann Searight, with Selma al-Radhi inspecting them. I was not present at that moment, but the work enabled me to publish a discussion of the area, including two other prints of the facade, in *Iraq* 30 (1968), Pl. XVIIIa-b.

One afternoon, about the start of May 1963, we were startled by the sound of a helicopter landing on the mound at Nimrud, disturbing a large snake in a patch of grass north of the dig-house. The helicopter was carrying a party official who was coming to speak with supporters in one of the nearby villages, and who was surprised to be greeted by a group of foreign archaeologists. Courteously he placed his friendly pilot and the helicopter at our disposal during the political meeting, and we enjoyed a trip from Nimrud citadel, across Fort Shalmaneser, and as far south as the confluence of the Tigris with the Greater Zab. Two of us had cameras and were able to take air photographs of the mounds and the excavations, some of which are reproduced here, Figs 1, 2, 6, 7. It was a most convenient and informative opportunity.

This reconsideration of the 1962-3 excavations at Nimrud, after such a length of time, prompts a number of thoughts on archaeological processes and archives and on their preservation and interpretation, on which one could expand at length.



*Fig. 8. Looking north west at the Esarhaddon gate, Tulul el Azar West, after additional post 1963 clearance with fallen stones in R1 entrance, and collapsed mudbrick inside R2. Photograph 1988.*