NIMRUD AND ITS REMAINS

VOLUME II

IV ND10500(B) Winged boy and griffin. Height 17 cm. From SW37, F.S. See p. 536.

NIMRUD
AND ITS REMAINS

VOLUME II

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COLLINS

ST JAMES'S PLACE · LONDON

1966

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CHAPTER XVI

FORT SHALMANESER

THE discoveries at Fort Shalmaneser came as the climax to a decade of work at Nimrud: the rich bounty of treasure which suddenly appeared within our grasp; the unique character of the architecture; the historical sequences revealed by its inscriptions; and finally, the fact that it had been almost untouched by any diggers before our time since its abandonment at the end of the Assyrian empire, combined to make every day's labour a thrilling experience.

Our determination to dig there came as a result of a walk round the outer town with Professor Laessøe early in 1957. At the north end of the site, not far from a gap in rising ground which seemed to indicate a gate in a wall, we noticed an inscribed brick of Shalmaneser III. We had long realized that the contours of the ground should be interpreted as concealing the remains of some expansive military establishment, for this had been made amply clear by Mr R. W. Hamilton's survey conducted in the course of our first three seasons, and it was evident that the two high mounds known locally as Tulul el 'Azar at the south-east angle of the site must have been the remains of powerful defensive towers. Before ever we attacked the ground with pick and spade we had therefore named the site Fort Shalmaneser, a title which proved to be altogether appropriate.

The first opportunity of excavating this selected spot came in our eighth season on 21st March 1957, when we were still at work completing our investigations at the south-east end of the akropolis. So successful were our new operations, that a week later we increased the strength of our labourers from 45 to 205, and for the remainder of the season concentrated our maximum effort there. The task of invigilating so many men was a difficult one, even for our supervisory staff of twelve; but little headway could have been made in unearthing these mighty walls and great halls buried deep in the debris of fallen mud-brick without a large striking force of diggers. The operation continued until our thirteenth season in the spring of 1963, by which time we had altogether abandoned our work on the akropolis.[1] Except for the final season in 1963, when a small expedition was led by Mr J. J. Orchard, the field operations were conducted by Mr David Oates, whose plan of the fortress appears on pl. VII.[2]

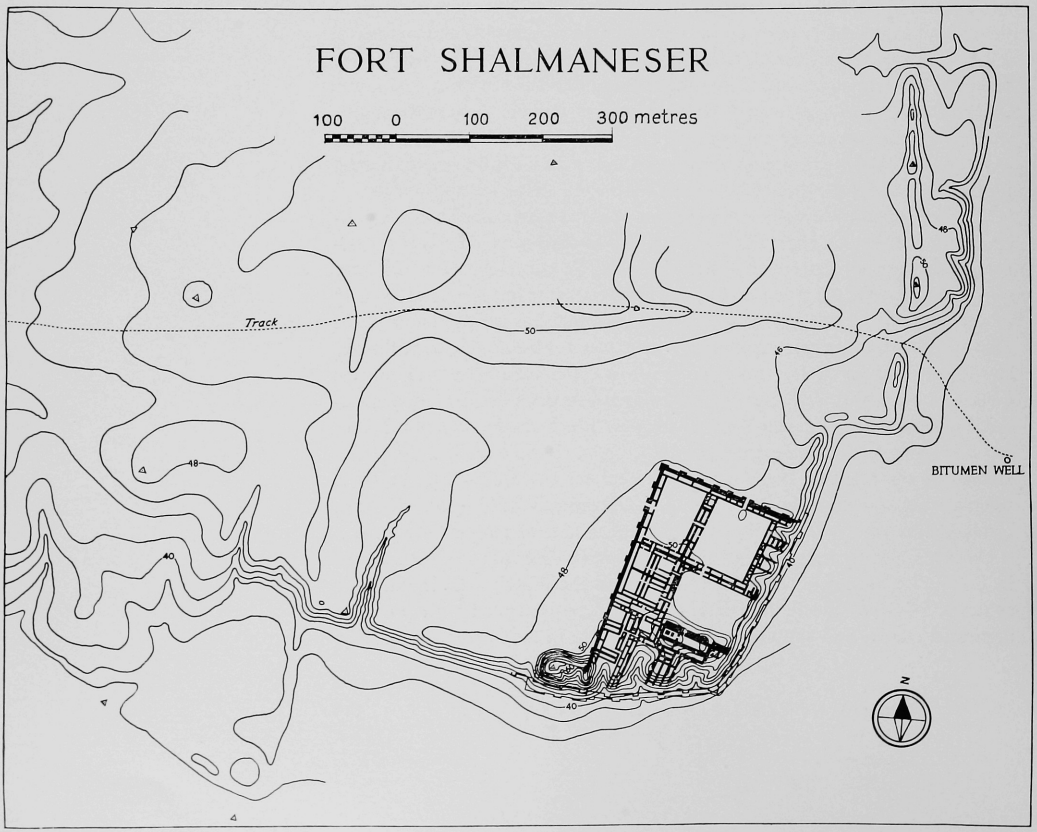
Oates has already written a full and authoritative description of the site and its excavation, together with brief references to the principal finds and their contexts. His accounts in *Iraq* XXI-XXV will be consulted with profit by interested readers and supplement this one which, in the interests of brevity,

The notes for chapter XVI *will be found on pp. 638–49.*

cannot be exhaustive. Here, the significance of these discoveries and their bearing on history and architecture and the stratigraphic sequences chronologically determined through the associated documents, have been the particular topics for our attention. Moreover we have been able for the first time to describe in detail the principal varieties of ivories, as well as other categories of objects and remains which are of outstanding scientific and artistic importance. Only a selection of what was found can at present be discussed, for treatment of many fine ivories in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad, is still in progress, and the complete catalogue of all the ivories as well as other small objects will still require many years of work.

In advancing our conclusions about what has so far been discovered (1963), it is important to remember that some rooms in the fortress have only been partially cleared, and that undoubtedly many more antiquities and architectural features, probably also inscriptions significant for the history of the site, remain buried in the soil. But the main outline of the building has been completed, and its organization is determined. Indeed, we now possess the plan of a military installation more extensive and more detailed than

301. Fort Shalmaneser, contour map.



any other yet discovered in ancient Assyria. The moment is therefore opportune to survey what has been done and to present our results, before those who have taken part in the discoveries become overwhelmed by the mass of material which confronts them. We may be sure that the art history of the Nimrud ivories alone will attract discussion from scholars in many countries for generations to come: indeed, the collections of chryselephantine carvings from the fortress and elsewhere in Nimrud are richer than any other in western Asia.

The Site

This great enclosure [301], which measures in outline about 350 by 250 metres and covers more than 18 acres of ground (about 7·5 ha), lies at the extreme south-east end of the outer town of Calah within the 5-mile circuit of walls which formed its main defences. Between the Fort and the akropolis, against the south wall of the town, there were other buildings—at least one of them of a military character, a great palace probably built for the use of the military commander in the last decades of the 7th century B.C. after the reign

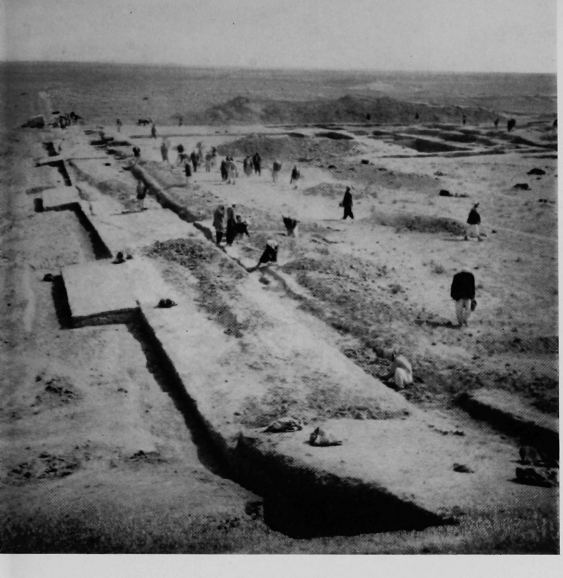
302. Air photograph of Nimrud showing the line of the town walls, the ziggurrat and the akropolis (right foreground) and, in the south-east corner, the site of Fort Shalmaneser before excavation with the eastern and western mounds of Tulul el 'Azar.

of Assur-bani-pal.[3] But Fort Shalmaneser was a separate independent unit probably far larger in scale than any other building in Calah. Its exclusive character was indicated by a re-entrant angle in the high turf embankments which mark the line of the outer walls. On the southern side of the Fort, before excavation, two high mounds were visible for a considerable distance on the skyline as one approached the city; they were known as Tulul el 'Azar,[4] and stood about 150 metres apart [**302**]. The eastern one measures about 100 × 180 metres and stood 20 metres above the level of the plain; the more westerly one was about 5 metres higher still. These two great bastions of eroded mud brick concealed beneath them the lofty walls of the great throne-room, T1, and the intricate system of access and defence in this corner of the town.

Fort Shalmaneser was deliberately sited at no great distance from a main gate in the eastern wall of the town; the location of the gate itself is indicated by a gap in the turf embankment about 300 metres north-east of the northern wall [**301**, **303**]. The ancient Assyrian road which entered Calah at this point must first have skirted the bitumen wells which were still productive in our time; it then crossed a ditch now known as the Siyah which in the spring is filled with water. The line of the road seems to be approximately indicated by a modern track passing over undulating ground which marks the sites of several still unexcavated buildings and crosses the outer town up to the great gates of the akropolis where the cobbles of Shalmaneser Street are still visible. Eastwards, beyond the town, the Assyrian track must have passed through what is now the village of Abbas Rejeb where an ancient Assyrian well is still to be seen. This was probably an important military highway which may have crossed the Zab at Abu Sheetha and connected Calah with Erbil. The outer town gate has consequently been named by us the Erbil Gate, and many an Assyrian army must have passed through it in the course of the repeated campaigns which had to be conducted against the hostile peoples of Kurdistan.

On the north side of the Fort, between it and the road, there must have been

303. Fort Shalmaneser, 1958. View looking north, south-east quadrant is being excavated. Note in the distance the hummocks which approximately correspond with the location of ancient towers along the eastern town wall.



304. West external wall of fort, looking north from Tulul el 'Azar. Heavy buttresses up to 7·5 metres wide are visible in the foreground.

a campus in which troops could be deployed and traffic distributed while awaiting entry to a gate in the northern wall. Here, against a possibility of the enemy forcing the Erbil Gate, the heavy north wall had been erected; it was reinforced by a systematic arrangement of towers. In this wall, the powerfully defended entrance through NE46 was comparatively narrow, considering the enormous scale of the fortress itself, but wide enough to admit wheeled traffic; it was stormed and destroyed during the first sack of Calah in 614 B.C. and was not rebuilt in time to meet the second assault two years later.

The main entrance to the Fort was, however, the formidable towered gate (NW17, 31, 32) through the western wall; it apparently continued in use from the time of Shalmaneser III until the second sack in 612 B.C., but soon after it was breached by sappers. Traffic approached this entrance from an outer bailey which, like the one on the north side, was sufficiently spacious to allow the deployment of large numbers of troops. In the 7th century B.C. Esarhaddon instituted an additional entry through an elaborate series of ascending corridors at the south-west end of the building, with a gateway R1 in the southern wall, which superseded an older entrance of Shalmaneser III. There were, therefore, entrances on three sides—only the eastern wall was without direct access [folder VII].

The western wall of the Fort, partially dug in its southern sector, is still an impressive monument. It is of mud brick, 290 metres in length, and varies in thickness between 3·70 and 4·20 metres; it is buttressed externally by towers 7·50 metres wide set at intervals of 18·70 metres [**304**]. Each tower projects 2 metres and is bonded with the wall; foundations rise 50 centimetres above ancient ground level and protrude up to 40 centimetres beyond the outer face. These enfilading towers, a regular feature of Assyrian military architecture, are elsewhere illustrated both in the 9th century N.W. Palace of Assur-nasir-pal, where the dimensions are approximately similar, and in Sargon's palace at Khorsabad where the scale is even larger. The arrangement of this towered wall was repeated on the other three sides of the fortress, but the projection of the towers and the distances between them were irregular. In spite of considerable soil erosion, the line of the eastern wall was satisfactorily determined, and where sufficient cover existed it was possible to trace the plans of a series of chambers

built up against it within the north-east quadrant of the Fort [folder VII]. Pavement remains marked up to the dotted line on our plan of the south-east quadrant indicate the position of the inner face of the eastern boundary wall, the south-east corner of which was still preserved. The width of this massive wall was here about 14 metres, and recalled to our minds the vast scale of the akropolis boundary wall which in one place was about 37 metres (120 ft) in thickness (p. 76).

The defences on the southern side proved to be the best preserved because here Esarhaddon had reinforced those originally built by Shalmaneser III. Wherever the outer face was examined, it proved to be of mud brick surmounting finely dressed base courses which consisted of great blocks of ashlar masonry [**305**]. The ashlar was directly built up against the original line of Shalmaneser's mud-brick wall; in the south-east corner of the building the junction between Esarhaddon's wall with its relatively shallow buttresses and the line of Shalmaneser's projecting towers provides a sharp contrast on the plan.

The external defences of the fortress with its enfilading towers and formidable southern bastions reveal how determined the Assyrian military architects were to make the building impregnable. Moreover the fortress was judiciously sited, for, as the contour map shows, the floors of the building on the eastern side stood more than 40 metres over the level of the plain which in winter was doubtless often water-ridden. Floor level on the southern side stood even higher, and to scale the walls from this direction would have been a hazardous and difficult task; indeed in the south-west sector the stone-based wall attained a mean thickness of no less than 12 metres (40 ft). We do not know to what extent the southern walls of the Fort were defended by water, but it is probable that the Patti canal built by Assur-nasir-pal made a junction with them somewhere on the south side of Calah, perhaps west of Fort Shalmaneser, and if so it is possible that a subsidiary canal following the line of a modern one ran along the entire length of the southern wall. If a canal had in fact flowed past the walls at this point, then Esarhaddon's door (R1) in the south wall may have communicated with a 'Water Gate' at a lower level beyond it. To ascertain the topography in this direction would involve the expenditure of many thousands of pounds. Indicative of the considerable rise in levels at the extreme south end of the building is the fact that the brick pavement marked on the plan in courtyard T, outside the south entrance to T3, lies 8·64 metres above the level of the outer sill of Esarhaddon's door in R1.

The Fort proper, with its 200-odd rooms, was compounded of four intercommunicating units, each of which formed a separate quadrant, irregular in layout and differing in size. These have been denominated north-east, north-west, south-east and south-west respectively, followed by numbers to indicate the rooms as in the plan. The southern wing of the building (S and T on the plan) differed in character from the northern, which was principally devoted to ordinary official and military purposes and included residential quarters for officers, barracks, bathrooms, workshops and magazines; the south wing on the other hand contained the throne-rooms, treasuries, residences, audience halls and reception rooms of the king and his court and pivoted around the two great open courtyards S and T on the plan.

Abutting on the south-west quadrant there was a Residency, denominated by

the letter S, with elaborately guarded access from the Fort, through a series of gated chambers and corridors. In this south-western sector the most important unit was the block of rooms radiating from the court S6, including the throne-room S5 and the great halls S17, 30. The long treasure chamber S10, with which 7th century tablets concerning the *shakintu*, 'Lady of the Palace', were associated, may perhaps have led to the harem or women's apartments in the area south-east of it, which has still to be excavated. In addition, there were various other apartments in subsidiary and separate units, together with a series of courtyards[5] (in the south-west sector) which served several of them.

The plan [folder VII] shows in black those chambers within the building which have been completely or nearly completely excavated[6]; in outline those in which only the tops of the walls have been traced for the purpose of ascertaining the general layout. It will be seen that much of the south-west sector and most of the southern sector, marked S and T, were traced in outline only in order to record the plan; the extreme southern and south central ranges would hardly repay excavation, for their covering is severely denuded and indeed these ends of the building have had to be restored in dotted outline.

Of the chambers in the southern block, the great throne-room T1 was the focal point of the building; it was erected by Shalmaneser III on a scale as grandiose as that of his father in the N.W. Palace. The walls were thicker than any other in the palace and doubtless towered over the others; when they finally collapsed the quantity of fallen debris accounted for a considerable part of one of the accumulations known as Tulul el 'Azar. The complete clearance of this vast chamber therefore proved to be beyond our resources, but we reached floor level at its eastern end and there discovered the great throne base with figured reliefs of the Assyrian king and his tributaries as well as that of the contemporary monarch in Babylon. To finish the excavation of this and the adjacent chambers would require a great expenditure of time and money, and we believe that the more pressing task is an assessment of what has so far been discovered. When this has been done it may be opportune, if the means are available, to continue the effort which this and other buildings in the outer town still demand.

305. View of Esarhaddon's south wall immediately below S72, showing overlap of work by two separate gangs of men and battered slope cut out of the ground on which the base courses rested.

The Ekal Masharti, or Arsenal

Before examining the four quadrants in the northern range, we may anticipate some of our conclusions by considering the special purpose which this building served as a military establishment. Shalmaneser III at the time of its foundation called it a palace, on his bricks, on stone thresholds, and on two separate throne-daises.[7] But the nature of its defences, the arrangement of its magazines and its barrack-rooms made it abundantly clear that from the beginning it was a fortress as well as a palace. Its function as a fortress was specified in detail by Esarhaddon who about 170 years later both renovated the building and on the south side added, as we have already seen, a stone-based revetment which was keyed to the mud-brick terrace of the founder. In so doing he was obliged to break new and unbuilt ground. It was indeed archaeologically satisfying that in the course of our last season, in 1963, we discovered in R1 at the south-west end of the Fort two inscribed door jambs which gave this precise information and included the new title of *ekal masharti* which he assigned to the building. This discovery was all the more satisfactory in that we had previously discovered, out of their original position, but associated with the fortress, three foundation cylinders which contained the same information and can therefore now be conclusively proved to have been specifically designed for this building. In addition the same title occurs on six economic texts, and all these inscriptions give us a range of dates which run from 676–621 B.C.: obviously, therefore, the place continued to be so named until its final destruction.[8]

The correct transcription of this title was given to us by Professor Laessøe, who drew attention to the fact that hitherto it had been erroneously transcribed as *ekallu mahirtu*,[9] meaning 'former palace', and that it should have been read as *mashartu*, the equivalent of 'arsenal', a term elsewhere used by Sennacherib and Esarhaddon. Fort Shalmaneser indeed appears to be practically synonymous with a military establishment at the Nebi Yunus, an outlying citadel of Nineveh. Esarhaddon on a series of Ninevite prisms explicitly defined the functions of a building of this type as intended 'for the ordinance of the camp, the maintenance of the stallions, chariots, weapons, equipment of war, and the spoil of the foe of every kind'.[10] This description is precisely applicable to the present building in which many fragments of armour and of weapons have been found, as well as an abundance of valuable loot, some of it clearly the spoils of war. It is true that so far no remains of horses or chariots have appeared, but on the other hand many metal horse-trappings have been recovered, and the marks of studded wheel tracks have been identified on a tarmac road within the inner gate, NE3 and SE13, as well as in the main entry through the western wall. Although no evidence of stabling has been found we may confidently assume that this could be exposed somewhere in the outer bailey, for we have many economic texts which refer to the acquisition, provision and maintenance of horses, which were imported from Samaria, Cilicia and from the territory of the Mannai in Iran, as well as from Assyria itself.[11] Moreover, one tablet, ND6218 from SW6, dated 784 B.C., mentions the issue of wine to the 'Master of Chariots of the Palace Gate'.

The *ekal masharti* as defined by Esarhaddon was, however, something more

than an arsenal; indeed, on the foundation cylinders he described it as an enlargement and extension of the palace originally built by Shalmaneser III within the city of Calah. Moreover, for good measure he added the phrase: 'to the amazement of all the people I filled it with luxuries' (*lulie*). Since his account of the architecture has been precisely confirmed by the archaeology, we have to accept this part of his evidence also. In addition to military equipment we discovered what the king described as 'spoil of the foe of every kind', often in juxtaposition with armour. For example, in SW7 coats of armour, and ivory bedsteads in the north Syrian style were found together in the same room. It is however clear that these different types of article had once been appropriately distributed according to their categories; and the apparent chaos in which they were found could be ascribed to various causes: an upper floor had crashed into a room on ground level, as in the stairways of SE11, 13; or mutilated ivories had been shovelled on to a bonfire, as in S10; or the remains of dismantled furniture had been restacked, as in SW7. It may be taken for granted that many of the expensive ornaments found at ground level had at one time been housed in luxurious apartments upstairs. Many of the ivories were already antiquities in Esarhaddon's time, and some of the furniture may have been removed from older, abandoned buildings within the akropolis. The special character of this building—part palace, part arsenal—explains the incongruity of the various kinds of material discovered within it. Esarhaddon saw to the protection of his treasure by enormously strengthening the southern defences; his hand can be detected in repairs over many parts of the building, and we need not doubt that, as he says, he completed the work with prisoners from the territories which he had conquered, as far afield as the frontiers of Egypt, Palestine, Phoenicia, Armenia, north Syria, Iran and Babylonia. He gave his personal signature to the renovation by refurbishing what must have been a lesser throne-room, S5, with a new set of mural paintings that overlooked a pair of stone 'tram-lines' which may once have led up to a now vanished royal dais. Here, on his periodical visits to Calah, he must have inspected with some satisfaction the elaborate arrangements which had been made for the security of the treasure which that city contained.

Architecture, Construction and Function

Although in later years, from the reign of Esarhaddon onwards, the building was specifically described as an arsenal, at the time of its foundation it was known under the generic name of E.GAL, the great house, or palace—the title for any royal building which, as our discoveries have proved, could serve as a residence and as a repository for the king's property. It is certain, therefore, that throughout its history the building served these two functions.

We know from the inscription on the throne-base in T1 that the palace in its original layout must have been completed by the thirteenth year of the reign of Shalmaneser III, in 846 B.C. In the same inscription the king proudly recorded his marches into north Syria; his cutting of beams in the Amanus forests, doubtless for the roofing of the palace, and the setting up of his statues.

As regards the timber used in the roofing, it is interesting that one specimen from the Fort examined by the Forest Products Research Laboratory, Princes Risborough, proved to be *pinus halepensis* var. *brutii*, that is Aleppo or Calabrian

pine. And it is curious that up to date all the examined specimens of roofing timber have proved to be pine, and not *erinu*,[12] cedar, of which the kings boasted in their inscriptions. And this raises the question whether in fact *erinu* did not often signify pine rather than cedar, in spite of the equation with Hebrew cedar, *orên*, the ground on which it has been so translated. Perhaps the Assyrian name was loosely used to cover both these trees. We know that heavy baulks of timber served in the palace for roofing, for the doors, and for the heavy posts which were braced against them obliquely when locked, their butt ends securely fixed into deep-set pavement sockets. In this connection, a docket, ND7065, found in SE10, records the receipt of 200 wooden poles, for the Ninurta (temple). The extensive use of timber in this way provided ready-made inflammable material for the invaders when the palace was first looted in 614 BC., and many traces of carbonized wood were found in the filling of various rooms, notably S10.

The great thickness of the internal walls in many of the rooms was obviously devised for the purpose of supporting an upper floor, as is evident in the double row of intramural chambers in the four quadrants; in the disproportionately thick walls of the smaller rooms such as S16 in the Residency; and finally proved by the discovery of brick stairs leading to the roof in SE12.

Although it was impossible to undertake the complete clearance of the four great courtyards, it was evident that in the cobbled north-east and brick-paved south-east quadrants there were great open spaces specifically designed to accommodate military and other traffic, including wheeled vehicles. Indeed in the south-east quadrant, an open space measuring nearly 80 by 100 metres was available for these purposes, and the discovery of the royal throne-dais or saluting base near its south-west angle implies that in the 7th century B.C. this inner court was used for reviewing and inspecting troops, either by the king or by the commander-in-chief.

Of the three quadrants, the south-west was almost entirely devoted to magazines, and was sub-divided into four courtyards of no mean size, obviously adapted for the reception and distribution of merchandise, provisions and valuables as they arrived within the arsenal. Whether most of the courtyards were paved with burnt bricks throughout is uncertain, but many of the smaller rooms certainly were, and many thousands of bricks must have been fired for the purpose. It is therefore interesting that one tablet, ND7069, discovered in room SE10, was a record of payments made to workers in the brick factory, *bît libitti*.

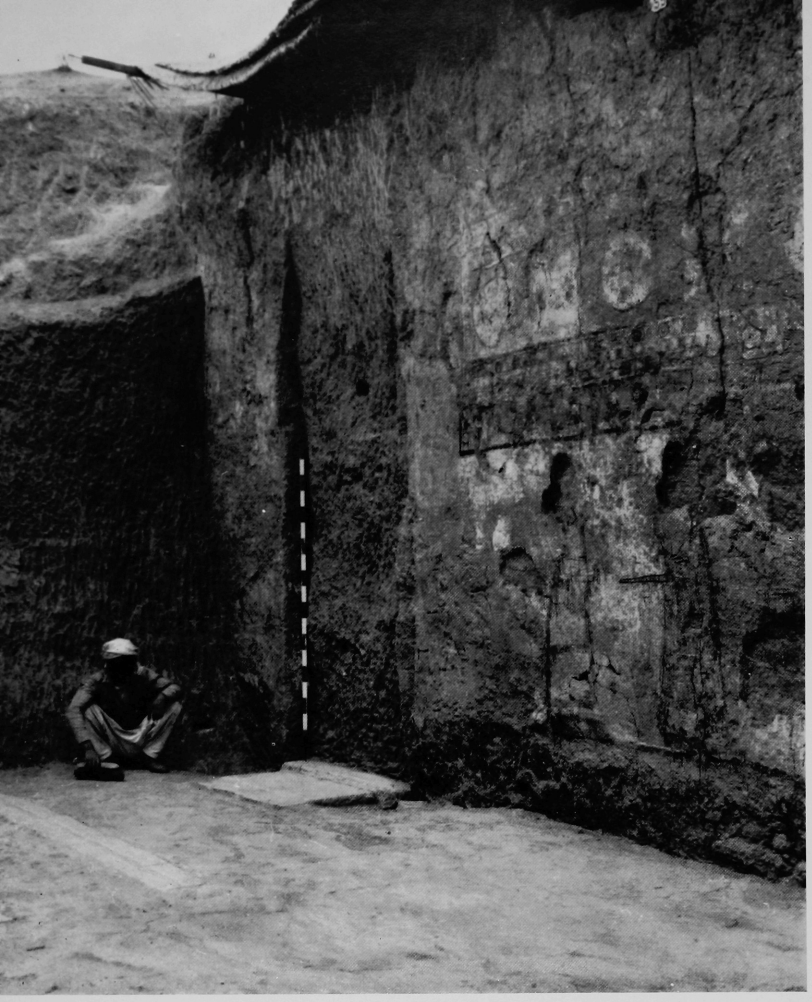
306. S3: stone-paved bathroom showing ablution slabs and drain-hole.

Apart from the magazines, many of them great halls with a very large storage capacity, the arrangements for housing personnel within this sector of the arsenal are of exceptional interest. The single range of rooms SE14–19 which separates the north-east from the south-east quadrant [folder VIII] consists of a series of long halls to each of which a paved bathroom is attached, with the usual stone ablution-slab, and bung-hole in the floor: these suites were in fact barracks and baths designed for the king's bodyguard. This arrangement is fully in accord with Assyrian precept which through religious texts constantly stresses the necessity of performing ablutions, cleanliness being next to godliness.[13] We may infer from this discovery that Assyrian military commanders were no less aware than any others in history of the importance of keeping the troops clean.

Thoughtfulness and ingenuity of design is also borne out by the repeated use of corner suites for smaller individual residences: SE20–4, where there was a lavatory in the wall; SE1–3 and 10–12, the personal residence of the *rab-ekalli*, master of the household, whose documents were found therein; S16, 28, 29; S17–19, S20, 21, 22, etc. This practice is well attested in the palace of Assur-nasir-pal at Assur and was derived from older systems of planning already established by the middle Assyrian period, for example in a wing of the palace of Adad-nirari I (1307–1275 B.C.).[14]

Beyond the south-west quadrant lay the Residency which differed in function as in design from the arsenal on its northern side. The most distinguished of these units are, as we have already seen, the smaller throne-room suite S3–5, and the two great reception halls S17, 30; they flanked the north and west sides of court S6 respectively. Equally important must have been the great hall S10 on the south side of the same court with access through its eastern wall to a courtyard S flanked on either side by two separate building blocks. In addition to these units, and to subsidiary suites S18, 19 and 16, 28, 29, obviously for the use of the great nobles and the highest officials, there were other suites also reserved for high-ranking members of the court, perhaps of a lesser standing. In this latter category we may include S26 served by a bathroom S25; S22 with subsidiary rooms and bath S20 approached from an oblong courtyard S31–45; S23, 24, 63; S71, 72, 64 which could only be reached from the great court S68, and were deliberately sealed off from the residences to the north of them which were approached by other courts, S73 and 31–45. The various units which flanked the west boundary wall of the building were obviously of lesser importance, and in the last years of the 7th century B.C. were appropriated to domestic staff for use as kitchens, and for the storage of food and cereals. Some important halls were, however, served by the big courtyards S37, 68 at this end of the building; notably S67 and S54 leading to S62.

The appointments of the great hall, S5, apparently laid out as a throne-room, with its antechamber S4 (perhaps the robing-room) and bathroom S3 [306, see also p. 432] are of special interest. Within S5 there remained the stone 'tram-lines' which, we may assume, once ran up to the royal dais. This long and relatively narrow hall had five niches, or 'wind-doors' as they were known to the Assyrians, for purposes both of ventilation and storage, four cut into the north wall, one in the southern. Around the room ran a frieze of painted murals depicting the king's bodyguard; a procession which no doubt led up to the king

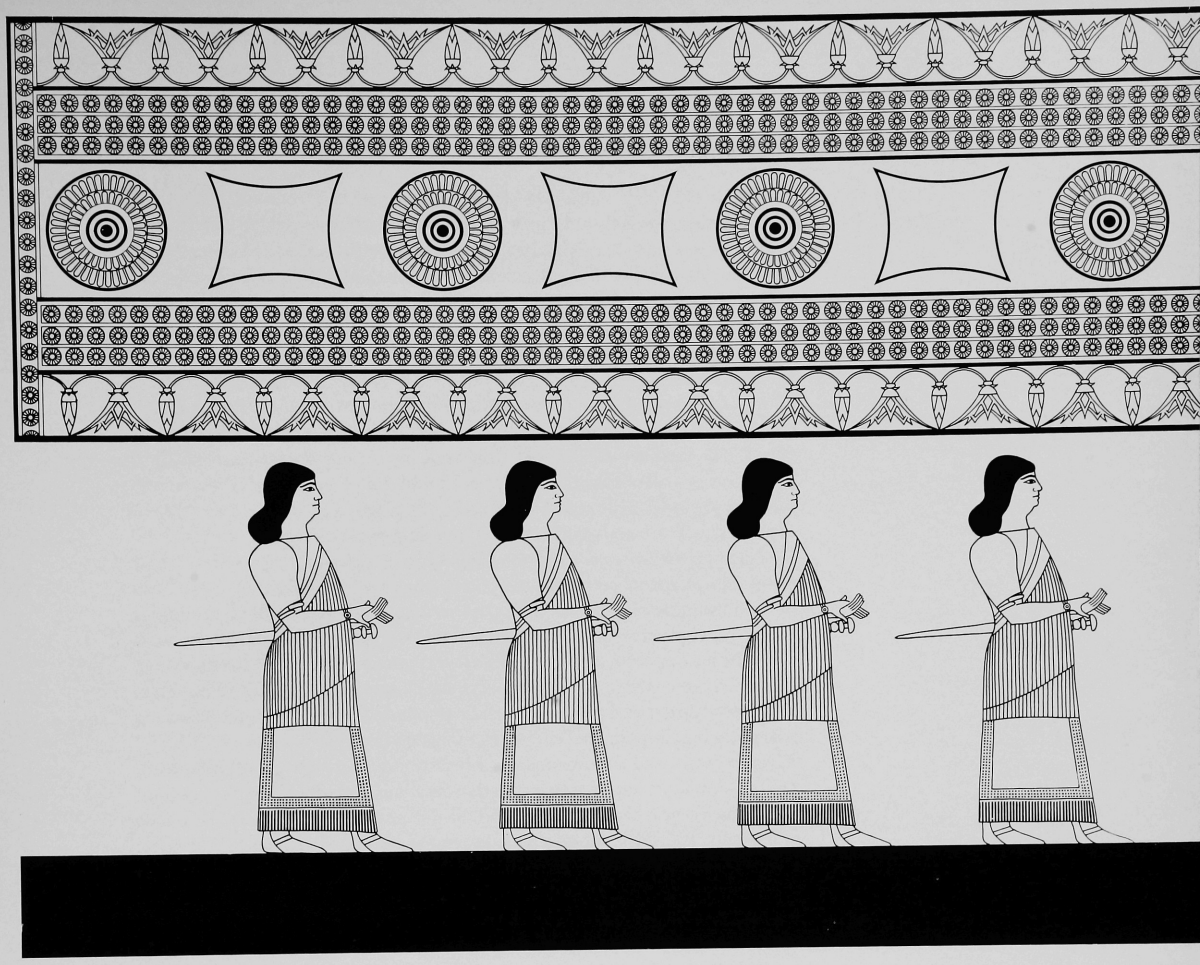


307 (*Left*). S5: the throne-room, showing the painted murals on the south wall, doorway and stone 'tramlines' which had originally confronted the king's dais. East end of room (behind boy) unexcavated, consists of fallen mud brick.

308 (*Right*). S5: reconstructed panel of painted murals in the throne-room.

himself. These paintings [307–8], which on grounds of style we may attribute to Esarhaddon, had perhaps replaced an older set. West of the throne-room S5, an antechamber S4 with an inscribed sill of Shalmaneser III gave access to a brick-paved bathroom S3.

At the east end of S5, beyond the pair of stone lines, we had expected to find a throne-dais, but when we came to clear the room completely there was no sign of one. I had therefore assumed that the royal dais which we had previously found in the south-east quadrant outside SE8 was in later times extracted from S5 as a suitable base for reviewing the troops. But we failed to find any evidence of the niche which should have been cut to receive it in the face of the eastern wall. The evidence for assuming that S5 was a throne-room, in spite of the murals and the 'tram-lines', is therefore not altogether satisfactory. Nonetheless, the royal inscription in the sill of its anteroom and the arrangements devised for entering it lead me to believe that this chamber may have served as a royal state-room for Shalmaneser himself, possibly for temporary use while the great throne-room T1 was being built.



The arrangements by which the king or his deputy could proceed from the lesser throne-room to the great courtyard in the south-east quadrant were elaborate. In order to do so he had to pass through the door in its south wall across the court S6 and into the corridor D which originally had led from the long court S2 into a corner hall S1, the east wall of which faced the great court of the south-east quadrant [309]. This devious means of access from throne-room to court through a number of right-angled turns may well have been devised for reasons of security, since the arsenal stood near to a main gate of entry to the town. In this respect there is a considerable contrast with the situation of the king's throne-room T1, and with that in the N.W. Palace which, as we have seen (p. 99), gave out directly on to the main outer court and made the king easily accessible. But the relative accessibility of the king when enthroned in T1 or in the palace within the inner citadel, where visitors had already been carefully scrutinized at many check-points, was evidently deemed to be inappropriate here. Indeed, at a later stage in the history of the Fort the approach from the south-east quadrant was made even more difficult, probably to coincide with the setting

up of the royal dais outside SE8 [353] (see p. 424). The gate in the east wall of S1 was then blocked, and a new door was cut through SE9 which had formerly been a bathroom. SE8, originally a barrack room, thus became an outer guard-room and an entrance to the Residency from the south-east quadrant.

One more feature in the Residency deserves attention, namely the excellent planning of the two paved corridors D, E, at right angles to one another and allowing free circulation and early access to the various units within it. On excavation this was one of the most impressive sights in the palace: long stretches of wall still covered in burnt plaster standing up to a height of about 3 metres (8 to 10 ft), bricks pavements swept and garnished. The sockets in the floor for barricading the doors at either end of corridor E were clearly visible, and in various places the little boxes cut under the floor were still intact with their prophylactic figurines of warriors in sun-dried clay, hidden guardians of the fortress. The corridors themselves were indeed admirably adapted to serve the dual purposes of access and segregation, and by closing the doors, corridor E and the residential suites around courts 37, 43, and 68 could be completely isolated from the rest of S, an arrangement which provides additional support for the assumption that the apartments in this sector included the harem; but it would be pure surmise to suggest that S5 was the queen's personal audience-hall.

Finally, we come to the great L-shaped block which extends its two arms about courtyard T and stands out as altogether different in character from the remaining buildings in the fortress. Here was the great throne-room T1, with its subsidiary halls and dependencies and beyond it an arrangement of chambers, T10, 20–8, unique in plan, the inspiration for a building which was to be erected more than a century later at Khorsabad. Shalmaneser III, in planning these state apartments, laid them out on a scale as great as his father's in the N.W. Palace: it was the ambition of every Assyrian monarch to erect for himself a royal seat no less impressive than that of his forebears. One of the noblest aspects of this building was the great glazed brick panel which was placed aloft over the main entrance to the ante-hall T3 and depicted the king in all his glory. The throne-room is also distinguished by the greater thickness of its walls which implies that it stood higher than any other building within the fortress.

The appurtenances of the throne-room itself were in every way typical and included at its eastern end a pair of stone 'tram-lines' which led up to a stepped throne base. The podium or rostrum for the throne recorded the principal triumphs of the king up to his thirteenth year and displayed on its three sides, in sculptured relief, the king receiving his tributaries and shaking hands with the king of Babylon.

Westwards from T25 lay the courtyard S, which intervened between the state apartments and the residences provided for the immediate entourage of the court.

Up to the present time, Fort Shalmaneser is a unique monument of ancient Assyrian architecture, although, as we have seen, Sennacherib and Esarhaddon claim to have built or rebuilt arsenals at Nineveh. The entry to such a building was excavated by the Iraq Antiquities Department in the Nebi Yunus and it may be that one day the opportunity will arise for completing its excavation.[15] But there is hardly room on that site for an arsenal approaching the scale of the one at Nimrud. Moreover, if we examine the great 'south-west' palace within the

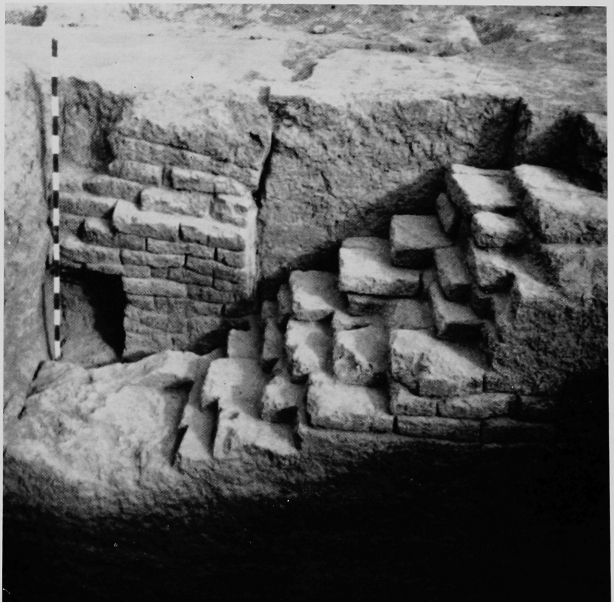
akropolis of Nineveh itself (Quyunjik), probably to be identified with the 'Palace without a Rival' of Sennacherib.[16] we shall find no trace of comparable planning.

There is, however, more profit in comparing the remains of a spacious Palestinian fortress which has been assigned to the period known as Iron Age II; it was discovered in the Negeb of Judah at a place called Hurvat 'Uzzah.[17] It is true that this is constructed of large undressed stones, not of mud brick, but that would be appropriate to the country. The Judaic fort, a powerfully built, impressive monument, is of no mean size—about 53 by 41 metres—and the two huge courtyards, corner towers and buttresses, as well as the intramural chambers, although less elaborate in plan, may well be a reflection of the peculiar form of Assyrian military architecture which we have been considering.

Another architectural parallel outside Assyria is also relevant, namely the fortress at Sakcha Gözü. Here also we have a great enclosure, about 65 by 50 metres overall, with heavily buttressed walls and corner towers, built probably towards the end of the 9th century B.C. and containing at one end a Residency approached by a spacious court. This north Syrian type of building presents some striking analogies to the arrangement of the court S6 in Fort Shalmaneser and the block of rooms west of it, S16–19 and S28–30. Allowing for certain differences, namely that the Syrian building comprises a variation of the *hilani* portico, it seems most probable that the two buildings are architecturally allied. This conclusion is strengthened when we take account of the fact that some of the Nimrud ivories are closely allied in style to the sculpture associated with the 8th century Residency at Sakcha Gözü, as we shall see below.[18]

Stratification and Chronology

The plan of Fort Shalmaneser is manifestly irregular, and its axis conforms partly with the layout of the town walls. The orientation of its western side no doubt depends on that of the deep foundations which underlay the building platform, the extent of which we do not know. But the irregularity of the internal arrangement is also due to piecemeal building which must have



309. Primary and secondary walls, showing blocked door into the courtyard and reinforcing wall probably built by Esarhaddon. See p. 381.

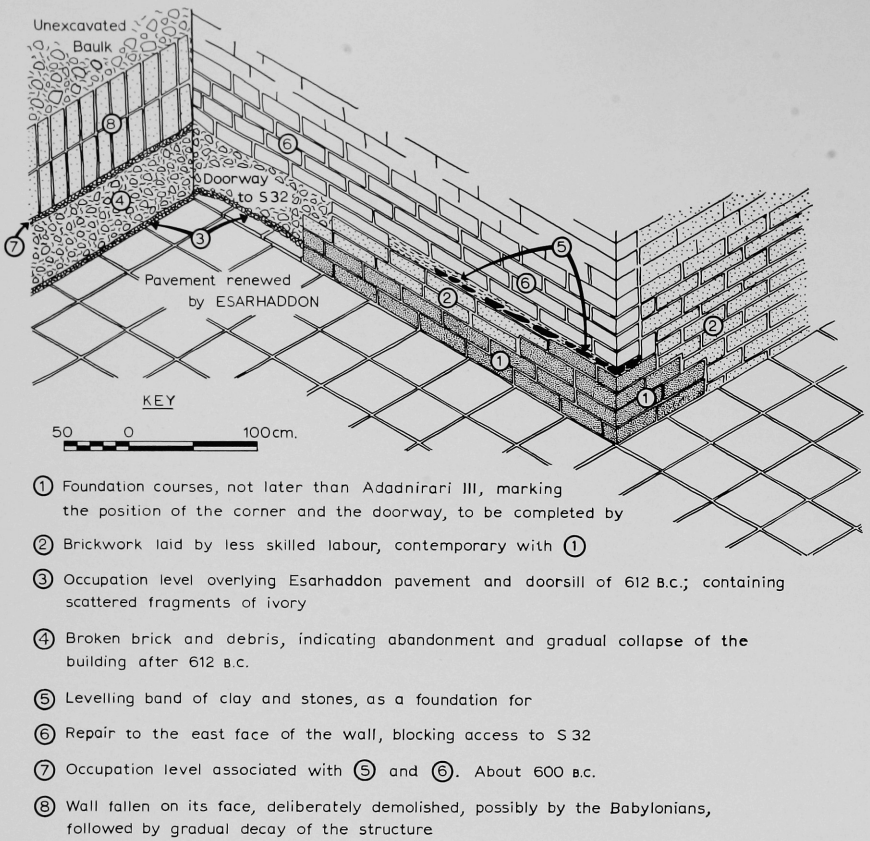
covered a long span of time, and indeed the throne-base inscription, dated to the thirteenth year of Shalmaneser III, probably implies that many years of his reign had been spent on the work before it was anything like complete. It is probable that from about the year 850 B.C. onward, Fort Shalmaneser was undergoing a more or less continuous process of construction; for example, half a century later Adad-nirari III was probably responsible for a renovation of the residence in the north-west angle of the north-east courtyard—there was an inscribed brick bearing his name in NW3. Elsewhere, the magazines NW11, 12 were butted on, without bonding, to SW4, 5, and may not have been contemporary with the first foundation; and the deviation of axes in the party walls of the south-west quadrant is yet another indication of the many alterations which occurred in the course of time. In some parts of the building, rooms were remodelled and repaired or subdivided at a later period, for example in SE1, 2 and SE8, S22, 28, 42, or floors were relaid at a higher level, SW3, S23, 24, 32, 35, 63. Some walls had to be revetted and propped with secondary walls, S1; reinforced and repaired, S32, 35; or new doors were cut when older ones were closed, SE9, as a substitute for a sealed door in S1. A new southern wall, and a new entry at the south-west angle of the Fort was, as we have seen, added by Esarhaddon.

Generally speaking, in the bold and spacious planning of the four quadrants, the tremendous scale of the whole scheme, including the great throne-room suite of which T1 was the focal point, and the dimensions of the magazines and the towered entrances on the northern and western sides, as well as in the double gateway NE3 and SE13 with its tarmac road, we may detect the grandiose layout of the founder Shalmaneser III. Several of his inscriptions have been recovered within the building, on his gypsum statue found in NE50 [310], on the stone daises, on the sill of S4, on a clay tablet, ND6210, in SW6, and on a broken stone lion-weight, ND7879, in SE11. The throne-room and its suite were certainly a part of the original scheme, and the planning of S10 and the units to the west of it, S16-19 and 28–30, are on the same scale and probably contemporary, though these rooms were certainly renovated later. Moreover, it seems likely that, in the main, the extensive range of big apartments at the south of the Fort, including T20–8, also reflects the founder's scheme.

In some places the patchiness and irregularity of the layout may also be attributed to later monarchs, notably Adad-nirari III, 810–782 B.C., one of whose inscribed bricks was found *in situ* in the pavement of S35 and beneath it a foundation box with winged *apkalle* figurines of a type which in the Burnt Palace was also associated with his reign.

Between the reigns of Adad-nirari and Esarhaddon we have no express mention of any monarch as associated with the fortress, but we have tablets to prove that business was being transacted from it during the reign of Sargon (p. 400) and it seems historically probable that the building was also in use under Tiglath-pileser III. In SW6, a cellar with a large number of jars in it, we found eleven tablets, of which all but one, which mentioned beer, referred to the issue of wine.[19] The parent tablet of this archive (ND6210 of Shalmaneser III), dated 857 B.C., mentioned a wine-growing district named Ialuna[20] which no doubt was situated in the foothills of Kurdistan. Another document in this archive, probably of the 8th century B.C., referred to the same district, and perhaps the parent tablet had been kept as evidence of the long-standing wine

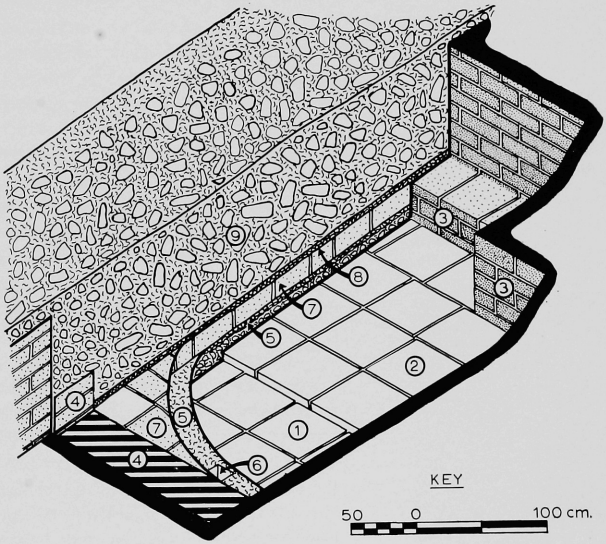
310. ND10000. Inscribed white limestone (?) statue of Shalmaneser III found in NE50 on the floor against the north wall. Height 103 cm. Traces of carbonized wood are visible along the bottom edge. The posture is typical of neo-Assyrian royal statuary. The outline of a necklace and of three amulets hanging from it is incised round the neck, and these insignia may be identified as the eight-pointed star of Shamash, the crescent of the moon-god, Sin, and the crown of Anu. On the face of the king's robe are 41 lines of cuneiform inscribed in two panels separated by the modelling of the upper fringe. The writing is done in a neat hand, and the signs are in the stone-workers' as opposed to the true 'scribal' tradition, and thus include many Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian forms. The inscription is to be dated after the 20th year of Shalmaneser III, i.e. 839–838 B.C., and takes the form of an address to the god Adad. The contents summarize the major events in the king's reign, and mention the expedition to the Amanus for cedars and Kati or Katu of Que (Cilicia). The inscription ends:—'This statue of spotless, shining, costly alabaster whose workmanship is beautiful to look upon and of which the face is (an) exceptional (likeness), I have had made and mounted before Adad, my lord, so that whenever my lord Adad looks upon it, he may be truly pleased to order and ordain me for lengths of days and fullness of years, and may daily command the removal of any affliction of my strength' (lines 36–41).



311. Isometric view of north-east corner of S32, showing pavement of S1, and illustrating phases of construction, occupation and destruction of Fort Shalmaneser. See p. 389.

trade with this particular vineyard. Two other dated issues were of 784 and 778 B.C., that is, contemporary with Adad-nirari III and Shalmaneser IV respectively. Yet another tablet, ND6212, from the same archive, may possibly have been contemporary with the former monarch, for it records *inter alia* the issue of wine to the *ziqritu* women of Arpad. Other dates are however also possible, for that city, although twice attacked by Adad-nirari III and once by Assur-nirari V in 754 B.C., begins to figure more prominently in the Assyrian annals during the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, who after a three years' siege (742–739 B.C.), incorporated it as headquarters of a separate province of the Assyrian empire.[21] But the time at which these 'housekeepers' were acquired for Calah from Arpad must at present remain a matter for speculation, for the latter city revolted yet again in 722 B.C., and was then subjugated by Sargon. Moreover we know from an explicit statement in this king's annals that following on his victorious campaign against Kummuh he received a large quantity of tribute including ivories from Melidu (Malatya) in Calah.[22]

Since Sargon used Calah as a base whilst building his new palace at Dur-Sharrukin, it is not unlikely that he would have dispatched some of the materials required for that operation from the spacious store-rooms of Fort Shalmaneser.[23] Thereafter, historical evidence suggests that the building was neglected, for Sennacherib abandoned Calah for Nineveh and only in the reign of Esarhaddon did the old families return, as we are expressly told in an Assyrian letter.[24] This must have been the reason which made it necessary for Esarhaddon to re-establish the arsenal and to repair its gates, as we learn from various fragments of cylinders found in the building.[25] To Esarhaddon then we may confidently ascribe much repointing and revetting of the walls, particularly in the Residency, as well as the painting of the mural in the lesser throne-room, S5, which is in a style appropriate to his reign. Business records continue through the reign of Assur-bani-pal and Assur-etil-ilani and become frequent in the reign of the last king, Sin-shar-ishkun. Significantly, three tablets can be confidently dated to the year 615 B.C.,[26] the latest year of the Assyrian era ever mentioned at Nimrud, and this evidence, combined with the stratigraphy has, thanks to the observations of David Oates in 1960, finally given us the proof that Calah-Nimrud was



312. Isometric view of north end of S35 from the north-east illustrating phases of construction and occupation of Fort Shalmaneser. See p. 389.

① Original pavement with inscribed brick of Adadnirari III

② Later pavement overlying the stub of the original west wall, dismantled during the enlargement of the building by Esarhaddon

③ Wall associated with pavement ②

④ Reinforcement to the east wall of the room probably in 614 B.C.

⑤ Beaten earth floor contemporary with ④

⑥ Foundation box containing seven winged figurines, sunk into ⑤, and disturbed before the next occupation. (Deposits originally of Adadnirari III period, re-used during repairs in 613 B.C.)

⑦ Mud brick levelling for

⑧ Final occupation level, after 612 B.C., (second re-occupation) overlying the cut-back face of the wall ③

⑨ Debris indicating collapse of the structure

313. ND7330 (B). Terracotta cup in the shape of a woman's head, decorated with punctuated and incised designs; perhaps originally affixed to the top of a large jar. Buff slip, reddish clay, found on floor of S32. Height 8·7 cm.

sacked in the year 614 B.C.—the same year in which Assur and Tarbisu fell, two years before the destruction of Nineveh in 612 B.C.

What then is the stratigraphic proof for this succession of events? It is as follows, and depends on the interlocking of the evidence from the soil and the records. We know from the Babylonian Chronicle[27] that Nineveh fell to the combined forces of the Medes and the Babylonians in the year 612 B.C. After that, the king of Assyria left his homeland and fled north-westward to Harran, where a brief and unsuccessful stand was made in 610 B.C.: the Assyrian monarchy and government then ceased to exist. It is therefore certain that Calah itself could not have been under Assyrian control after 612 B.C. when the Medes and the Babylonians were paramount in the land. Now the evidence from Fort Shalmaneser shows, in more than one place, that the first destruction of the city, a violent conflagration, was followed very shortly afterwards by a partial reoccupation at levels never more than 15 to 30 centimetres higher. Moreover, this was an official, Assyrian, reoccupation, for it was accompanied in places, S35, 37, 41, by the sinking of foundation boxes within which magical sun-dried clay figurines[28] were deposited, and there was no change whatsoever in the typology of the pottery. Furthermore, during this reoccupation, an attempt was made to salvage and rescue some of the damaged remains from the first sack, as was proved by the restacking of the ivory bedsteads and other mutilated furniture in SW7. This period of reoccupation was therefore a deliberate attempt by the Assyrian government to re-establish order in the city, and must have occurred before the sack of Nineveh in 612 B.C., most probably in the year 613 B.C. when, as we know from the Chronicle, the king of Assyria made a counter-attack, and the Babylonians were engaged elsewhere on the Euphrates. There followed at Calah a second sack which in fact must have coincided with the destruction of Nineveh in 612 B.C. The first, that is to say the great holocaust, must have happened before the attempted reconstitution of 613 B.C., most probably therefore in 614 B.C., for there were no floors attributable to 612 B.C. under the ash and all subsidiary floors were above the level of the ash. Moreover it was in 614 B.C. that Assur, and Tarbisu—a town which lay a few miles to the north-west of Nineveh—were destroyed. The disintegration of

Assyria was thus accomplished in stages over a period of three years accompanied by the successive capitulation of Assur, Tarbisu, Calah and Nineveh.

It is indeed surprising that in the Babylonian Chronicle, which is our textual authority for the events which led to the dismemberment and final destruction of Assyria, no mention was made of the fall of Calah, and it is not easy to account for this omission. Probably at this time Calah was no longer the headquarters of the Assyrian army and that may have been one of the reasons for not mentioning it in the record; but it must nonetheless have been a most valuable prize, for the loot which the enemy carried away from it was enormous. Perhaps, moreover, this was primarily a Median operation and in consequence the Babylonian chronicler took no account of it.[29] We have also to remember that the fall of Nineveh itself was recounted in no more than three lines of the text, which is silent about the struggle that must have occurred in many other important citadels.[30] However that may be, it seems likely that Calah was not then strongly defended for, as D. Oates has pointed out, the Assyrians could then ill have afforded to dissipate their manpower over a 5-mile[31] circuit of wall whilst engaged in a desperate holding operation at Nineveh itself.

The stratigraphy, particularly in the Residency, had much to reveal about the last flickering of life at Calah. It is easiest to follow the main succession by reference to D. Oates's isometric drawings through S31 and S35 [**311–12**]. The discovery of a pavement *in situ* inscribed with the name of Adad-nirari III in S35 is a most important landmark among the series of repairs which were carried out in the fortress from the early 8th century B.C. onwards. It is interesting that in this same room there was a foundation box containing a damaged set of the seven winged *apkalle* figurines of a type which in the Burnt Palace appeared also to have been associated with the reign of Adad-nirari III. The box which contained them had in fact been sunk through a pavement attributable to Esarhaddon while the figurines themselves had probably been collected and piously redeposited during repairs which were being made to this room shortly before the last destruction of Calah.

In the adjacent court S31–45, a brick pavement could be authenticated as the work of Esarhaddon thanks to the discovery at the south end of a brick 35 centimetres square inscribed with his name. The stratification here and elsewhere, as reference to the illustrated sections will show, indicates that above the pavement of Esarhaddon there were later beaten earth floors accompanied by makeshift repairs which in these rooms were carried out at least twice. There was evidence here also of two successive destructions, of which the last but one coincided with the end of the Assyrian empire. In S35, as in S31, 32, we can trace the gradual disintegration of the building, which may possibly have been accelerated by an earthquake.[32] A terracotta cup in the shape of a woman's head, ND7330 [**313**], was found on the floor of S32.

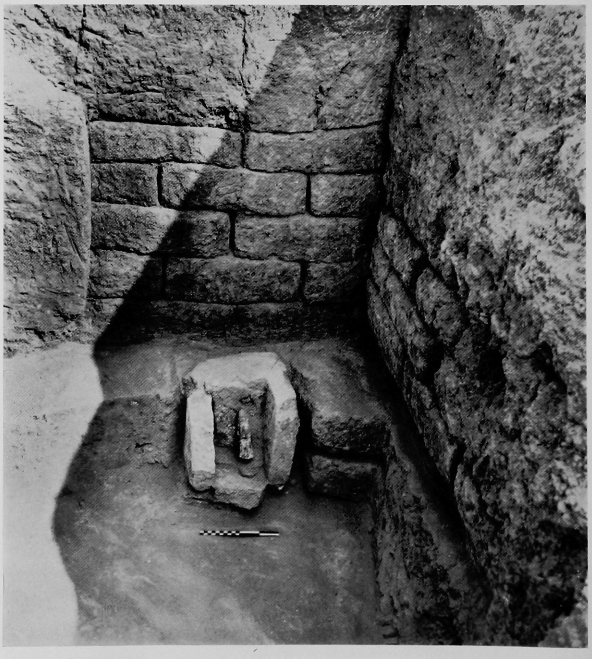
314 ND8190. (Musée Cinquantenaire, Bruxelles) Prophylactic figurine of sun-dried clay height 11·5 cm. Standing lion-man, holding a mace across his right shoulder; the left arm is extended; he wears a baldrick and belt which still carry traces of white *jus* plaster. Inscribed 'the one who admits the . . .' (mu-she-rib) MU.BAR.NU.U.X. Found in south box, outside west door of corridor E. See p. 390.

Elsewhere, some foundation boxes bore witness to similar efforts at repair during the time which intervened between the two destructions of 614 and 612 B.C. In the north-east re-entrant angle of the court S37, there was a box with 'a single lion-headed figure clasping a flail in his right hand'[33] (ND9342 [**314**] shows a similar figure) and this had been inserted into a layer of trodden debris overlying the courtyard pavement. In S41 and S64, other deposits were found in a similar context [**315**].

In short, the last stages consisted of a pavement level which had originated in the time of Esarhaddon and in many places bore marks of a destructive burning (614 B.C.), followed by a reconditioning and reconsecration often at the same level (613 B.C.), then by a beaten mud floor a few centimetres above the old one representing the Assyrian reoccupation of 612 B.C., to be followed by another destruction shortly afterwards, and finally one or more poor reoccupations at considerably higher levels representing the successive returns and flights of refugees who were still using the same types of Assyrian pottery. In NE48 and 49, for example, a new floor of hand-packed debris was laid 70–80 centimetres above the original floor level, and the rooms were enlarged by cutting back to the old, inner face of the northern wall, while at the same time an attempt was made to rebuild the north gate of the fortress.

A dramatic illustration of the carnage (see also p. 440) which accompanied these last years was to be seen in two lots of mass burials [**316**] which were found at the south end of room 42 against the west outer wall 'containing upwards of 20 individuals whose bodies had been thrown on the floor of the room together with a few pots, and covered with a thin layer of earth or broken brick. These bodies were presumably given hasty burial after the sack of 612 B.C., and were subsequently covered by debris which accumulated to a height

315. S64: box in south-east corner looking east. Spearman figurine ND9445. The deposit was sunk on to the old floor in the year 613 B.C. when an attempt was made to reconstitute the fortress.

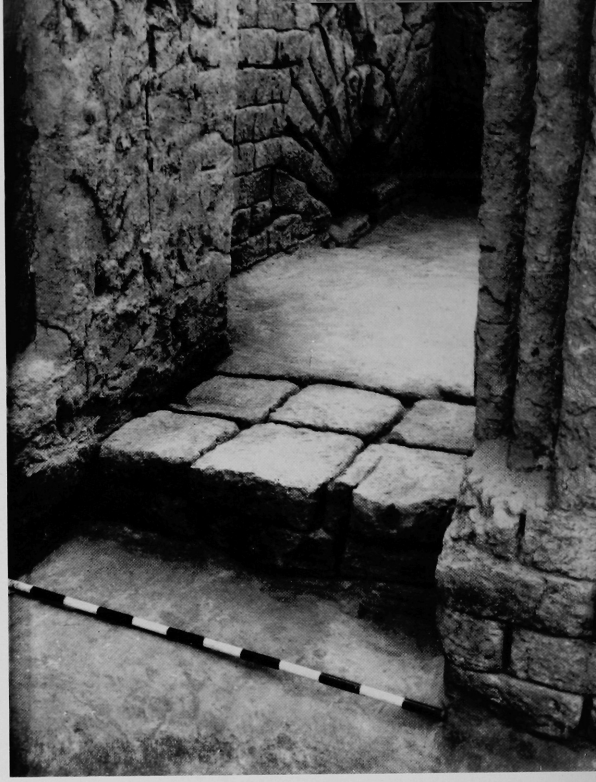


316. Mass burial at south end of S42 looking south.

of nearly two metres above the original floor. In this debris was sunk a second grave, immediately above the first, containing six more bodies again hastily interred with no grave goods other than a miniature jar and a pair of copper bangles. The level from which this second grave was dug corresponds stratigraphically with the ground surface overlying the fallen walls in S31 and in rooms X1–3 and it seems likely that its occupants were victims of a raid during which the building was damaged and were subsequently buried by survivors who returned after the danger had passed.' [34]

The latest series of occupations was best illustrated on the east side of the south quarter, in rooms S23, 24, 63, where a succession of new floors and flimsy partition walls occurred at heights varying between 1·5 and 2·5 metres above the original floors. These impoverished dwellings contained pottery indistinguishable from that associated with the preceding levels and had been irreparably damaged by erosion and modern ploughing. It is clear that the last vestiges of Assyrian life at this end of Calah are not likely to have outlasted more than one generation after 612 B.C.

This succession, so clearly demonstrated within the Fort, corresponds very well with observations made both by Layard and by ourselves within the akropolis. The attempt to rehabilitate the passage to the west of the throne-room in the Burnt Palace where mutilated ivories were buried in renewed door-socket boxes; evidence of post-destruction occupation in Ezida, and of the great hall ZZ transformed into a kitchen within the domestic quarters of the N.W. Palace; all belong to the phases following on 614 B.C. Lastly, the discovery by Layard of 150 bronze bowls and part of a king's throne in room AB of the N.W. Palace, stacked for removal and subsequently concealed under fallen brickwork, corresponds exactly with our observations in SW7, where the second sack of 612 B.C. forever foiled the attempts which had been made at rehabilitation in the previous year.[35]



317. Doorway from NE2 to NE1 looking west into NE1 and showing relieving arch for drain doors which were a common architectural feature in Fort Shalmaneser.

Architecture, Stratigraphy, and Location of the Principal Objects Discovered within the Fort

N.E. Quadrant. The majority of the chambers in this quadrant consisted of workshops, magazines and official accommodation. The north wall was intersected by a towered, cobbled gateway, which was second in importance only to the main entrance in the western wall. On the south side of the quadrant, in addition to the long magazines, there was a gate-chamber with cobbled approach, NE3, and at the south-east corner, an officer's suite. 'Along the east side of the courtyard there was again a single row of rooms, and behind them three further blocks of buildings separated by small courtyards',[36] around which each unit centred. Each of these building blocks projected eastwards, but in the direction of the town wall their plans could not be traced because of the severe erosion which had occurred here. It was therefore impossible to detect the relationship of the house-units to the towers, the line of which was clearly visible on the skyline as a continuous range of projected hummocks.

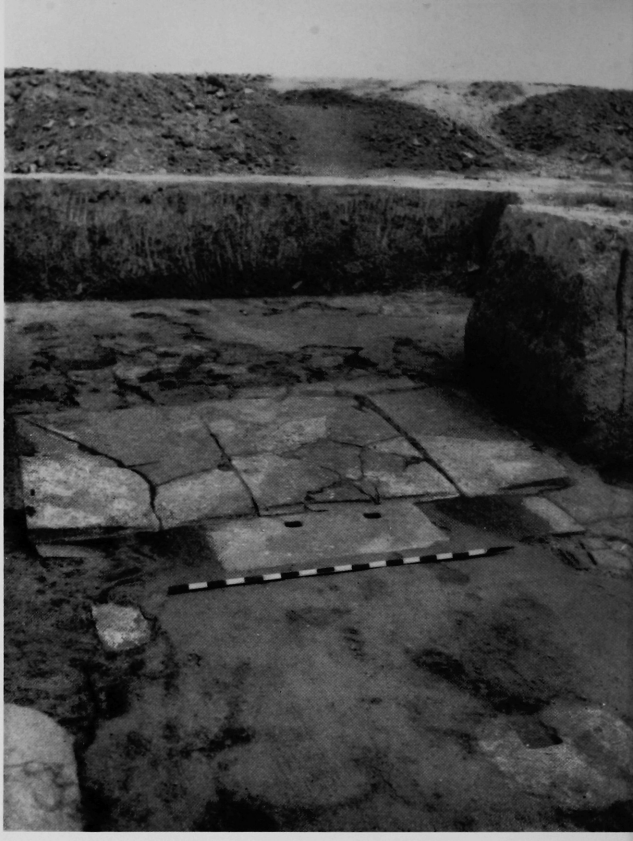
From NE1 and 2 [317] and the south-west end of the court immediately to the north of the *rab-ekalli*'s house, a few more archives of that official were recovered together with two additional fragments of the Esarhaddon cylinders found in 1958.[37] NE1, designed as a bathroom, yielded two long strips of ivory, ND9396–7,

depicting lions and griffins in high relief, attacking bulls, probably a side-piece for a bed or couch, of admirable craftsmanship; in the same room, there was an ivory arm, ND9467, from an articulated ivory figure.

In the adjacent chamber NE2 [318], the south side of which had been severely burnt, evidently at the same time as the apartments of the *rab-ekalli* to the south of it, some remarkable ivories were found (ND9301–6). The south wall contained two arched niches or cupboards, and in the eastern one, and in the ashes below it, there were six ivory statuettes; the four found on the floor had been burnt, but the two in the niche had been shielded from the fire. These brilliantly carved figures were all in the round, and mostly burnt. They consisted of negroid types, perhaps Nubians, and, in addition, Syrians (?) carrying animals across their shoulders or leading them on the rein: monkeys, ibex, goat, gazelle (?), ostrich, and lion are represented (see ch. XVII, p. 528). They were evidently set up as open-work along an ivory plinth and must have been a highly prized royal ornament.

NE3 [319], a gate-chamber, was almost identical with SE13 [320], which adjoined it. The pavement consisted of similar large bricks, 48 centimetres square, and both chambers shared the same tarmac road. The door-sill opening on to the north-east courtyard was composed of large limestone slabs which had been inscribed, probably to the order of Shalmaneser III, but the signs were too much worn to be legible. There were socket holes on either side of the door wherein the double-door posts had once revolved, but the stone tops of the socket boxes had been removed and stacked neatly against the walls. It may be inferred that they had been intended for re-use after the first sack when looters had probably abstracted the metal shoes, but the opportunity for reassembling them was denied to those who had attempted the salvage. D. Oates has noted that 'on either side of the gateway facing on to the courtyard were two small towers, each 4·80 metres wide and with a projection of 1·50 metres; at some time, possibly during Esarhaddon's restoration of the building, their faces were cut back and the projection reduced to 75 cm., but their original outline can be traced in the limit of the cobbles which abutted on them'.

318. NE2 showing cupboard where the ivory figurines were found and doorway into NE1.



319. NE3. Gate-chamber gateway of north-east courtyard looking north. Showing tarmac road, inscribed stone threshold, cavities in which the struts for barring the door were braced and, right against the wall, hole from which the sockets had been removed. See p. 393.

NE4–5 had no distinguishing features to give evidence of their function; a copper quiver, ND9521, was found on the floor of NE5; NE6 with small ante-chamber and bathroom, NE7–8, resembled the suite of the *rab-ekalli* and had probably also been the residence of an important officer.

It is probable that Esarhaddon, who undertook much work on the fortress, made considerable alterations in this corner of the quadrant. D. Oates has described this work as follows: 'The north wall of NE6 had fallen into decay, and when it was repaired the original doorway to the courtyard was blocked and a new access was cut through the east wall of NE8 which ceased to be a bathroom; the whole suite was thus linked with the complex of rooms around the small court NE9 which appears from the size of the main bathroom SE21 to have been the residence of an official of some importance. NE9, the centre of this complex, was linked with the south-east courtyard by a short corridor SE20. . . . The whole of the courtyard wall on its eastern side had to be reinforced by an almost equal thickness of brick along its outer face. This work was most competently executed, in a manner quite unlike the hasty improvisations after the first sack of the building, and it was accompanied by the insertion of new foundation

deposits before many of the doorways, and the repaving of considerable areas.'[38] Such radical improvements can therefore with some confidence be ascribed to Esarhaddon who, as we have seen, alone among the successors of Shalmaneser III, inscribed cylinders and carved his name monumentally on stone. This architectural evidence is therefore interesting confirmation of the fact known from inscriptions that Esarhaddon's father, Sennacherib, had neglected Calah in favour of Nineveh, and Fort Shalmaneser had suffered accordingly.

NE25, gate-chamber to NE35 east of it, also served as a magazine and contained large storage jars; beyond it, NE26 yielded some important finds. Here, although the party walls had in places survived to a height of less than a metre, there was found propped up against them a set of six large inscribed stone tablets, five of Assur-nasir-pal II and one of Shalmaneser III (ND6232–7).[39] They were standard town-wall inscriptions and must have been extracted from their original location within the wall at some period when repairs were being effected, and piously kept here. The most likely time for this to have happened is during the reign of Esarhaddon, when he was repairing the gates of the Fort. This has an interesting bearing on the discovery of similar foundation tablets torn out of their original context and found in 1951 within the domestic wing of the N.W. Palace. In room DD of that building they were used to seal the grave which contained the Nimrud jewel (ch. VIII, p. 114, [58]); that burial consequently may date to this period. This second discovery made six years later, in 1957, is a good instance of the way in which persistent digging can accumulate circumstantial evidence, and force a confession out of mute and unwilling witnesses.

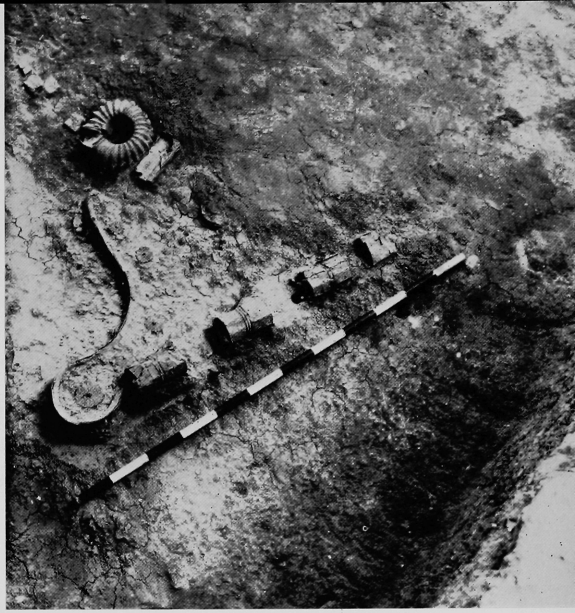
320. SE13: gate-chamber looking north, showing stone threshold and tarmac road; the northern door, unexcavated, still contains its mud-brick fill. See p. 393.

In the same room NE26, on the floor at its northern end, a quantity of shell inlay and assorted metal bindings and feet were found, which seem to have been the component parts of a couch or couches [**321–3**]. It appears that these objects represented the broken components of several pieces of furniture which were thrown or stacked against the end wall. 'Such a theory', as Mr Orchard has remarked, 'would explain the logical order in which some of the metal bindings were found'. Any reconstruction of the couch or couches would therefore be fanciful. But it was clear that the legs were partly sheathed in bronze, as was the upper, curved surface of the arm-rest. The sides of the arm-rest were ornamented with a line of bronze rosettes; the edge of the seat was inlaid with a geometric pattern in two rows of ivory plaques, each decorated with a simple, excised cross, and the back appears to have been panelled with shell inlay, ND9522 [**323**], which reproduces the pattern of arcaded lotus buds and rosettes familiar on wall-paintings and door-sills of the Sargonid period.

In addition to the metal rosettes and other fragments of copper and bronze there were two open-work copper plaques of exceptional interest, approximately similar in size. The first, ND9250 [**324**], now in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad, depicts a sacred tree between a pair of antithetical winged griffins; the second, ND9251 [**325**], hammered and chased, has a design in the form of a winged sphinx who is seized on either side by a pair of winged *lamassu* figures. Sets of similar plaques deemed by Layard to have been the component parts of a throne (perhaps in fact components of a couch) were found by him in room AB of the N.W. Palace and may well have been contemporary with these.[40]

Also from room NE26, though not in direct association with the couch, there were shell plaques in the shape of winged sphinxes and stylized trees, ND6362 [**326**], 6380 [**327**], 6391 [**328**], 9500–5. The finely carved sphinx, ND6362, and its larger companion, ND9500 [**329**], though without the Phoenician apron, have a superficial resemblance to one depicted on a gold pectoral from Ziwiye,[41] near Saqqiz in Kurdistan, probably of the 8th century B.C. A closer parallel, however, is an ivory plaque from the same site, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York,[42] whereon we can see similar nicks on the breast, elaborate treatment of legs and body, and similar horns on the head which, however, is turned back. But there is another earlier type: the female sphinx depicted on the mantle of Assur-nasir-pal II, not very accurately copied by Layard.[43] That sphinx, however, appears to have two instead of four sets of pinions to the wings, and this may perhaps indicate a change of style either in or after the reign of Shalmaneser III whose inscribed tablet was found in the same room. However that may be, the Assur-nasir-pal sphinx was certainly the prototype for this one as well as for those depicted at Ziwiye. A set of open-work models all made of shell, representing the voluted palmette tree, ND6380 [**327**], 6391–3 [**328**],[44] equally small in scale, and associated with the sphinx, must also be contemporary. Another shell object, ND9501 [**330**], found in NE26, represents a winged cone-bearer carrying a bucket, and there is no reason to deny that it could be attributed to the 9th century, perhaps to the reign of Shalmaneser III.

We have not at present sufficient evidence to enable us to determine with certainty the date at which couch and shell objects were made, though their high level of craftsmanship suggests that they antedate by many years the last phases of the north-east quadrant in which they were found. The couch itself recalls



that represented on the famous garden scene relief of Assur-bani-pal; but that was doubtless a late example of an ancient traditional form. Sargon mentions an ivory couch, a valuable item of booty from his eighth campaign, but no doubt this type of full-length couch had been produced for the delectation of kings from at least as early as the 9th century onwards, for on the bronze gates at Balawat, contemporary with Shalmaneser III, the aged king of Hamath is represented as reclining on one.[45]

Little evidence remained as to the function of the rooms at the north-eastern end of the court; but it is reasonable to surmise that in this wing there was accommodation for high officers of the guard, as well as ample capacity for storage of military equipment, for example in NE26, 27 and adjacent rooms.

In the northern wall the long range of chambers, NE29, 30, must have been magazines, and it is reasonable to suppose that those in the immediate vicinity of the gate were connected with the royal guard.

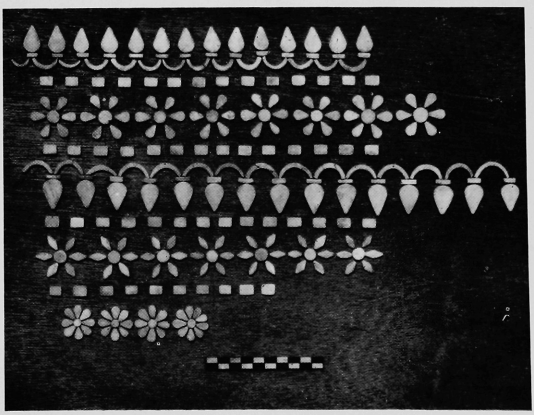
NE32–40, adjacent to courts 34, 35, reflect the denudation of the ground between the north-east courtyard and the eastern boundary wall; incomplete in plan, they provide just enough evidence to show that there were at least four residences pivoting around courtyards at this end of the building.

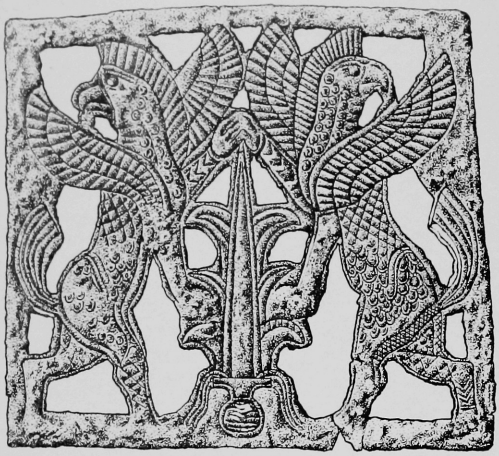
NE48–9 were of particular interest because, as we have already seen, they yielded an important archive of administrative and economic texts which, when examined in detail, will certainly add to our knowledge of the

321 (*Above left*). NE26, north end, looking north-west. Ivory inlay edging of couch with bronze elements of leg and arm-rest, and shell inlay.

322 (*Above right*). NE26, north end. Bronze elements of back leg and arm-rest of couch.

323 (*Right*). ND9522. Shell inlay, lifted and mounted as found; forming part of the decoration of a couch at the north end of NE26.





324 (*Above*). ND9250(B). Copper plaque, similar in technique to [325], and part of the same set, represents a sacred tree between a pair of antithetical winged griffins. 8·3×7·5 cm. NE26. See p. 396.

325 (*Below*). ND9251. Copper plaque, hammered and chased, winged sphinx between winged *lamassu*. Part of a couch, resembling in style copper plaques found by Layard in the N.W. Palace. 9·5×7·5 cm. From NE26. See p. 396.

Opposite page

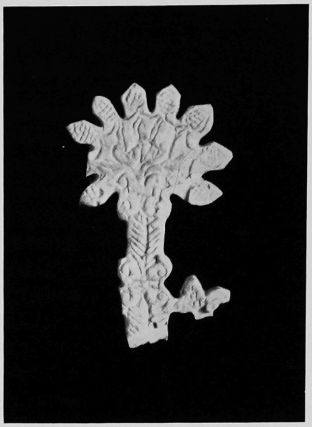
326 (*Top left*). ND6362(B). Shell sphinx, originally inlaid, perhaps part of a couch. Length 5·5 cm. From NE26.

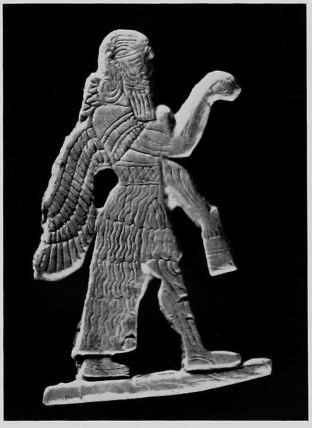
327 (*Top right*). ND6380 (Met.Mus. N.Y.). Shell tree. The prototype of this ornament goes back to the Middle Assyrian period, c. 14–13th centuries B.C. See *WVDOG* 66, taf. 25–26. Height 4·6 cm. From NE26. See p. 396.

328 (*Centre*). ND9500 (Met.Mus. N.Y.). Shell sphinx, associated with [326], and probably part of a set of inlay which had once adorned a couch, the remains of which were found in NE26. Length 6·4 cm. See p. 396.

329 (*Bottom left*). ND6391. Shell tree with branches and voluted trunk for inlay. Length 4 cm. NE26. See p. 396.

330 (*Bottom right*). ND9501 (B). Shell figure, depicting a winged cone-bearer carrying the bucket usually held by the *lamassu*. Height 6·1 cm., NE26. See p. 396.





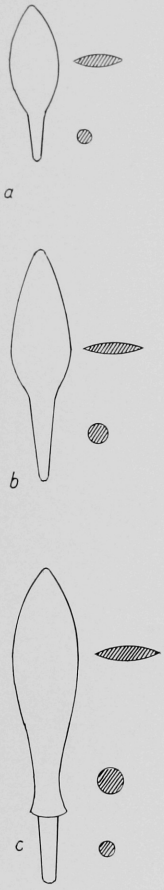
complicated yet highly efficient methods of ancient Assyrian administration. The texts were found in packed debris which had been used to raise the level of the floor when the chambers were reoccupied and enlarged by exposing the old inner face of the 9th century north wall, after 612 B.C. It is possible, however, that they had originally been filed in this range of chambers. A few others were found, also out of place, in NE50, 55, and in NW3.

This set of tablets was also of chronological importance because two of them could be dated to the reign of Sargon,[46] and it is most probable that the whole lot reflect his activities, as is suggested by references to Samaria and to Cilicia, and by the concern with metal, including iron, and with horses. Evidence from other parts of the city—the N.W. and Burnt Palaces and the Governor's Palace —confirm the importance of Calah as an administrative capital during his reign. The almost complete absence of business texts in Sennacherib's reign, and the rarity of documents during that of his successor, Esarhaddon, except for cylinders and lapidary inscriptions concerning his architectural activities, make it absolutely clear that Calah declined in importance for a period of about 40 years. Thereafter, it seems likely that Esarhaddon contemplated converting the city into his capital and elevating it to the status it had last held in the 9th century. This lapse of time explains why Esarhaddon had to do so much work on the repair and renovation of Fort Shalmaneser, which had evidently been allowed to fall into a sad state of disrepair.

331. NE59 from the south, showing the stub of a mud-brick bench against the west wall on the left of the photograph, overlaid by the plaster of the later floor. In the centre is the rough workshop pavement, uncovered by the removal of a part of the plastered floor, of which a section has been left *in situ* on the right of the photograph. At the north end of the room is the doorway leading to the bathroom NE58, inserted when the room was converted for residential use. See p. 402.

NE50 was the only one of a series of workshops which had been established in the 9th century in this sector of the Fort to retain its original function until the end. Here we made a notable discovery, namely a statue, ND10000 [310], of Shalmaneser III; it was just over 1 metre in height, and smaller than that discovered below the citadel (p. 86). The statue conforms in general with the standard representations of the king and his father; the moustache, square-cut curly beard, hair bunched over the shoulders and hands clasped in front of the body, bare head and style of dress, toes peeping out from the skirt, agree closely, except for the position of the hands, with the British Museum statue of Assur-nasir-pal.[47] Other details include bracelet adorned with rosette, and an incised and painted necklace with pendants in the form of the eight-pointed star of Shamash (or Ishtar?), the crown of Anu and the crescent of Sin. The quality of the stone, a calcite, alabastrine in appearance, is inferior to that of the other statue of the same king from the akropolis, and although modern critics are unlikely to acclaim it as fine statuary, it still carries an atmosphere of reverence and commanding dignity which give us a glimpse of what the Assyrians thought to be a true likeness of the king.

An inscription,[48] 41 lines in length, engraved round the body, summarizes the principal conquests up to and including the twentieth year of the king's reign, that is in or about 839 B.C., and does not omit a special reference to the large numbers of chariots, cavalry horses and camp equipment which he captured from Hazael, king of Damascus, whose name was engraved on an ivory which was subsequently found in room T10 (see p. 598). This kind of spoil may well have found its way to Fort Shalmaneser, but the statue itself was dedicated elsewhere. Indeed the preamble to the text informs us that the king was addressing the Storm God Adad 'who makes the rain fall . . . and the vegetation grow', and that it was for his sanctuary in Kurba'il. That city, as yet unidentified, seems to have been situated on the confines of northern Assyria proper, somewhere on the upper reaches of the Tigris, approximately on the line of the present frontier between Turkey and Syria. Mr J. V. Kinnier Wilson has made the attractive suggestion that Shamshi-Adad V (whose name we found on an ivory label elsewhere in the fortress) may have brought the statue into Calah for safe-keeping, as an act of piety to his father, after Kurba'il had revolted and had been punished. Whether this same statue was subsequently re-erected within Adad's shrine in Calah,[49] we do not know. But there was evidence that it had been repaired, for there were flaws in the neck that had been patched with gypsum, and holes had been dowelled to mend a fracture across the bottom left-hand corner. David Oates plausibly suggested that the damage had been done under exceptional circumstances—and we might identify the vandals as the invaders of 614 B.C., for the stratification agreed with this hypothesis. If so, a long iron frame-saw (identical in type with one found by Layard in room AB of the N.W. Palace)[50] found near it may have been a part of the lapidary's equipment used for repair work. Stone fragments in the same room were identified as dolomite with haematite staining, the host rock for a vein of quartzite containing haematite and pyrolusite, a manganese ore. Two possible uses of these components were for colouring and for the making of iron. The locality of this material was probably the Jebel 'Ain as-Safra about 30 kilometres



north-north-east of Nimrud, and it is relevant that a text, ND10006, found in the same room referred to the issue of iron for 'men of Calah'.

The remainder of the rooms in this quadrant were of less spectacular interest; but each of them made some contribution to the history and architecture of the building. NE51–5, for example, together with NW1–3 (the latter a bathroom), constituted the nucleus of a house which opened off the north-east courtyard. Although the main walls were no doubt contemporary with Shalmaneser III, the house in its present form appeared to date from the time of Adad-nirari III (810–782 B.C.), one of whose inscribed bricks was found in the bathroom; its dimensions—45 centimetres square—tallied with others in the house courtyard. In room NW1 a touch of domesticity was given by a simple painted frieze of horizontal black and white chevrons: NW2 and NE55 were small workshops. An interesting architectural feature was an upper floor, no longer in existence but to be inferred with certainty from a stair which still survived in the courtyard, and from the extra thickness of the western wall which was required to support the weight of an upper storey. From the gradient of the stair it has been estimated that the height of the upper floor from the ground was rather more than 4 metres. Most of the rooms were cobbled except for a part of the court and the bathroom, and this cobbling was usual in rooms used as workshops. Minor changes in the plan, including the addition of small party walls, occurred in the course of the 7th century.

NE56 had no connection with the house previously described; its mud-brick bench and cobbled floor were typical of the large store-rooms and workshops which flanked the great courtyards in the northern quadrants. NE57 was a powerfully constructed gate-thoroughfare, between the north-east and north-west courtyards; it was cobbled, and closed on its western side by double doors, the pivot holes of which are shown in the plan. As this was an internal gate there was no need to make it as narrow as the outer gates which had to serve the interests of security; here two carts or chariots could pass abreast simultaneously with room to spare and so avoid the congestion which would otherwise have occurred in this busy centre. NE59 [331], originally a cobbled workshop with mud-brick benches, had finally been converted into living quarters by the insertion of a small bathroom, NE58, at its northern end: possibly it was then a residence for the guard in charge of the gate; NE18 adjacent to it was a wine or grain store.

Small finds were made indiscriminately throughout most of the rooms in the various quadrants: they included weapons, fragments of ivory and bronze decoration for furniture, horse-trappings, metal buttons and the like, but nearly all of these were unrelated to the chambers in which they happened to

332. Types of iron and copper arrowheads used in the last defence of the city at the end of the 7th century B.C. and held as military equipment in Fort Shalmaneser.

a. ND6182 (*left*). Iron arrowhead. Length 3·5 cm. From SW12, F.S.

b. ND6424 (*left*). Iron arrowhead. Length 5·2 cm. From north external wall of F.S.

c. ND6102 (*left*). Iron arrowhead. Length 7·0 cm. From SW12, F.S.

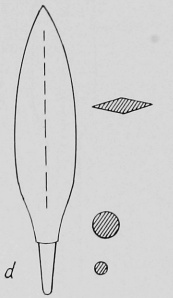
be found, and with a few important exceptions—the statues and larger collection of ivories noted elsewhere—they had probably been salvaged and stored in haphazard fashion when the building was being rehabilitated.

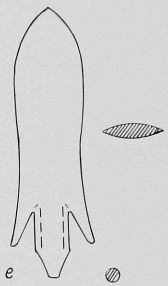
N.W. Quadrant. This was separated from the north-east and south-west quadrants by a spine wall, a backing for a double row of chambers, including NW6–14, which were laid out on a large scale. On the west side, flanking the main gate, there was a single row of large magazines, NW15–19, of which only NW16 has not been excavated down to floor level. Those on the south, NW11, 12, 14, were not bonded with the corresponding chambers in SW but, even if secondary, they probably formed a part of the original 9th century scheme. NW11, 12, with their cobbled pavements, had probably at one time been used as repair shops. NW14 was completely excavated. Again the room was partly filled with fallen bricks from the walls; a barbed iron arrowhead, ND6120 [332], an un-Assyrian type perhaps used by the enemy, was found here. There were a few insignificant fragments of ivories in the debris, but the principal feature was four rows of large pottery storage jars for wine, oil or grain, encased in a low mud-brick platform at the east end of the room. The west end of the room and the entrance from the north-west courtyard were paved with bricks 36 centimetres square, a size commonly used by the Sargonid dynasty.

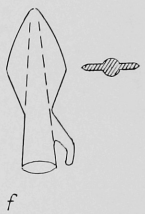
SW2, between NW12–14, was a long narrow passage which we named the gate-room, connecting the north-west with the south-west quadrant. Mr David Oates has well described its arrangements:

> 'Against the west wall of this passage was a baulk of mud-brick, 5 metres long, 1·60 metres high, and just over a metre thick, in which a row of four large jars had been sunk up to the neck. A hole had been pierced in each jar near the bottom and connected by a bitumen-lined channel with one of a row of bitumen spouts on the outside of the baulk, about 50 cm. above the floor of the passage. The spouts must originally have been closed with removable plugs, and the jars presumably served as butts for drinking water, replenished as necessary from a well, or perhaps with rainwater drained from nearby roofs during the rainy season.'[51]

That this was a regular water point is further indicated by traces of a bitumen floor with an inward fall towards the middle of the room in order to carry the drip from the water-butts which drained into it. This arrangement must date from the last decade of the empire and was probably a remodelling of an older thoroughfare. Within the debris over the floor there were a few superb ivories hurriedly discarded in the pandemonium which followed the sack; they would



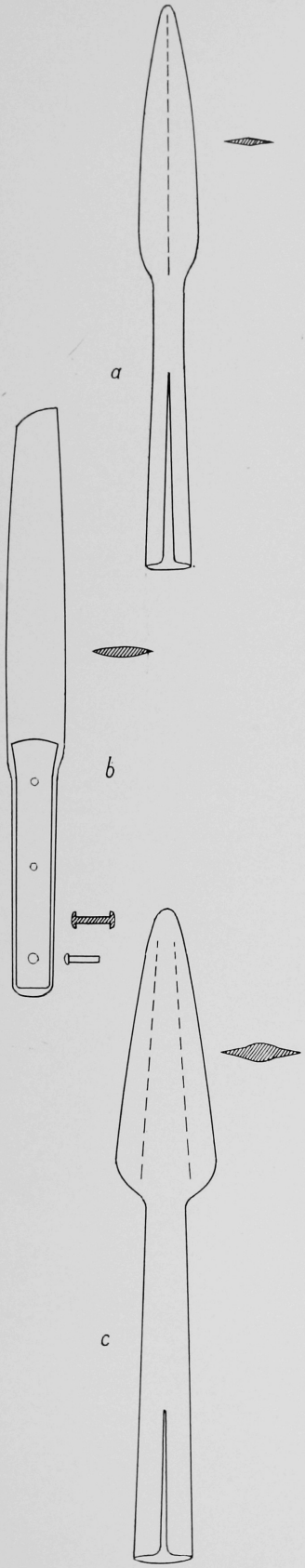




d. ND6181(B) (*right*). Iron arrowhead. Length 6·5 cm. From north external wall of F.S.

e. ND6120(B) (*right*). Iron arrowhead. Length 6·0 cm., barbed, probably an Anatolian type similar to one found in the destruction level at Sultantepe (see *Iraq* XX, p. 171). From NW14, F.S.

f. ND6162(B) (*right*). Copper arrowhead. Length 3·7 cm., socketed with a tapering cylindroid mid-rib and a side-catch, possibly Scythian. From sub-surface fill SW1, F.S.



seem to have been a part of a collection found in NW15. The finest of these objects was ND6310, an open-work cow suckling a calf, in three-quarter relief. In the background are delicately cut papyrus flowers and buds upon which part of the gilt overlay remains, as well as the 'Egyptian blue' incrustation. This, like the 'lady at the window' found in NW15, is a superbly executed example of a favourite Assyrian subject already well exemplified in the N.W. Palace, but there are tricks and details of carving which indicate that it may have come from a different *atelier* and have been executed at a different time. No less brilliant is the little open-work lotus-cum-palmette tree, ND6453; the '*cloisons*' were incrusted with 'Egytian blue' and the solid ivory overlaid with gold. Another similar fragment, ND6452, was found in the same place, together with a little lion's head, a mask, ND6451, of a type also found in the N.W. Palace. Lastly comes a figure in high relief, ND6309, which represents the 'boy-king' wearing a short tunic, striding right, doubtless saluting the sacred tree which unfortunately is missing. There is a lotus flower behind his back; traces of gilding remain on the hair, hem of sleeve, and girdle.

The corner room, NW15, a capacious magazine approximately 20 metres (over 65½ ft) in length, by no means one of the biggest in the fort, gives a measure of the tremendous storage capacity provided by this building. The walls still stood to a height of 24 courses, and as with many of the magazines, the tops of them had crashed into the chamber after the sack, and filled it nearly up to the modern ground level. The floor was of beaten mud; any traces of matting or burnt brick which it might once have contained had disappeared. About 60 centimetres above the level of the floor the disintegrated brickwork in the fill was mixed with fragments of ivory, 'Egyptian blue' incrustation, and a smashed skull, one of the rare remains of the many human beings who must have perished when the place was destroyed. In the debris on and just above the floor some splendid ivories and good metal objects were recovered; they included iron weapons and tools, several spears, two daggers, an arrow head, a hoe, two crescentic blades and a horse-bit, a bronze pommel, bronze armour scales, and a number of small bronze plaques cut in silhouette of a rare type,[52] two representing winged griffins, and some small rosettes.

The ivories in this room were exceptionally fine in quality. They included a number of 'ladies at the window' of which ND6316 [**429**], *ajouré* open-work, complete with tenons for slotting into the arms of a chair, is without doubt the finest specimen of the kind yet found; other broken fragments were in the same debris. Of a similarly high quality was ND6311 [**427**], an open-work winged griffin, head

333. Iron dagger and various types of iron spears used during the reign of the last king of Assyria and found in room NW15, F.S.

a. ND6175 (*left*). Iron spearhead, socketed, length 26·3 cm., from NW15, F.S.

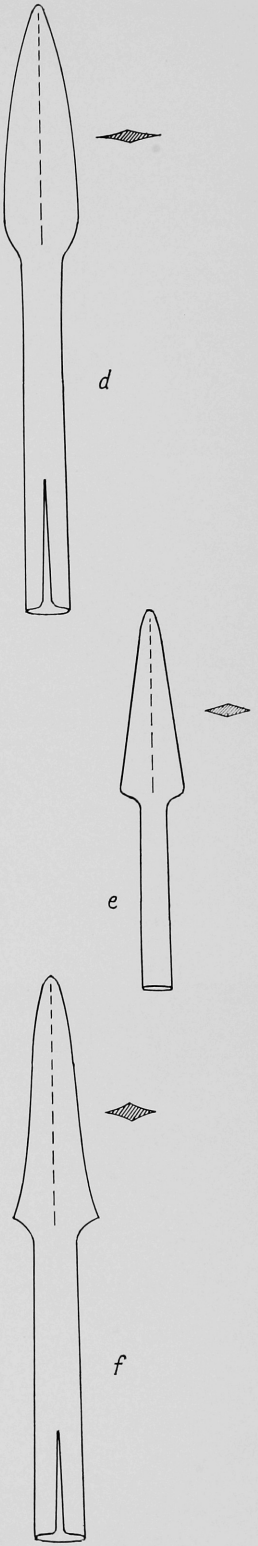
b. ND6177 (*left*). Iron dagger with flanged and riveted tang, length 27·7 cm., from NW15, F.S.

c. ND6112(B) (*left*). Iron spearhead, socketed, length 30·3 cm., with triangular blade and tapering cylindroid mid-rib, from NW15, F.S.

straining upwards, with traces of blue on the '*cloisons*' of the wings. Three other open-work ivories of matchless beauty were found in the same room: ND6314, an oryx browsing on plants; ND6379, a stag similarly conceived; and finally ND6349, a seated lion amid vegetation wearing pectoral, head surmounted by sun-disc, carved on both sides, leonine on the one, jackal-like on the other which was without pectoral; the carving of this figure was a feat of incredible dexterity and finesse. All of these *ajouré* plaques must have been part of the framework of chairs or thrones. In addition, ND6433 [**428**], a collection of open-work ivory fragments consisting of crested winged griffins and palmettes, also belonged to a group of ivories unrivalled in quality and similar in style. Their discovery within a single room (perhaps fallen from an upper floor) is also of great importance, because so homogeneous a collection from one single find spot must imply that they were a contemporary group. It is probable that some of the superb open-work ivories found strewn in the nearby gateway, SW2, may once have belonged to the same collection, for at least two of these pieces are very similar in style. The group differs in this respect from other collections, for example in S10 and SW37, where the ivories displayed a wide variety of styles which belonged to many different periods. The date at which the group of ivories from NW15 was made is problematical and will be discussed in the next chapter. A fragment of a swimming maiden with disproportionately long legs, ND6351, similar to types found in the Burnt Palace (p. 215) was also associated. Many fragments of open-work floral strips, ND6346, could be reconstituted as panels. In NW15 a small clay docket, ND6228, inscribed 'Palace of Sin-shar-ishkun', found with them, implies no more than that these precious objects were still prized by the last king of Assyria; a collection of iron spears and a dagger, ND6112, 6174–7 [**333**], found in the same room, were, however, probably contemporary with this monarch.

NW16 and 18, which lay on either side of the main gate, NW17, may have been used in part for the storage of supplies and equipment which came under the direct control of the royal guard. In the latter chamber, NW18, five jars were discovered at its western end; they may have contained oil, and if so they added fuel to the fire which had raged at this end of the fortress; carbonized grain was also found among the debris (appendix 1).

NW10 with cobbled floor, originally a workshop, was later converted to use as a granary, and finally as a pottery store, for it contained bowls, lamps and more than a hundred pot-stands. Like many of the long magazine-like rooms in this wing, after original use as a workshop it had later served other functions.



d. ND6174 (*right*). Iron spearhead, socketed, length 27 cm., from NW15, F.S.

e. ND6172 (*right*). Iron spearhead, socketed, length 17 cm., relatively light in comparison with types *b–e*. From NW15, F.S.

f. ND6176(B) (*right*). Iron spearhead, socketed, length 24·8 cm., with sharply projecting shoulders, from NW15, F.S.

NW20 [334], however, survived as a workshop until the final sack. The purpose for which this chamber was used was clearly illustrated by a mud-brick bench about 80 centimetres high and 60 centimetres deep, built along the entire length of the north wall, opposite the door; in the wall above the bench there were at intervals plastered holes into which pegs had been inserted to support racks. This arrangement was a perfect parallel to that which we had devised for the repair and storage of antiquities in our own expedition house. The cobbled floor in front of the bench had perhaps been put down on account of the use by craftsmen of liquids which would otherwise have made the mud floor slushy. Opposite the work-bench there was a typical ventilating shaft in the south wall; a rough rectangle of burnt bricks set in the floor beneath it was probably the foundation for a storage bin or shelf—an arrangement frequently met elsewhere.

NW20–2 had exceptionally wide doors, and in the west jamb of the doorway into NW22 there remained the stub of an arch with two rows of radiating voussoirs from which Oates calculated that its crown was 3·40 metres above the floor, and this warrants the inference that these two chambers were intended to accommodate large and perhaps lofty objects, including chariots which, with their canopies, could have been stored in 21 and 22, and repaired in 20. Tablets in this wing bore frequent references to wheeled vehicles. Most important is a docket fragment, ND10082, from NW21, which records an inspection of no less that 36,242 bows: an illuminating proof of the military strength contained within Fort Shalmaneser. An interesting feature of these three chambers is the provision for a porch on each of the doors into the court—supported on projecting piers on either side of the entrance and obviously intended to shield the occupants against the midday sun. The debris of NW21 contained many fragments of ivory panels, ND10577–10629, which included a series of open-work cows and calves, browsing stags, bulls, ladies at the window, and wide-spreading winged disc, and other ivories in the Phoenician-Egyptianizing style. The plaques representing animals in relief must once have belonged to a single set of furniture which was probably made in the 8th century B.C. (see ch. XVII, p. 526).

334. The end of NW20 from the south-east. Note the benches against the north wall with sockets for pegs or racks in the face of the wall above; the rough pavement in front of the bench, presumably to act as a soakaway for liquids; the marks of fire on the beaten earth floor in the foreground; in the bottom left-hand corner the foundation of a brick storage bin or perhaps a work table.

S.W. Quadrant. Reference to the plan shows that although the organization of this quadrant has been verified, only a minority of the chambers have been completely excavated. Four subordinate courtyards appear to serve long magazines, which we have traced in outline superficially; but deeper down these great halls may prove to have additional subdivisions. On three sides, however, as the blacked portion of the plan shows, we have cleared most of the chambers, as well as SW11–12 and SW37, down to floor level.

SW1 may at one time have been a wine or grain store, for the remains of a few big jars still survived in it. The doorway into the court in the south wall contained a stone threshold, and the wall foundations could be traced to a depth of 50 centimetres. below what must have been a secondary floor. A few copper or bronze (?) objects were found: spatula, broken drill, and a socketed arrowhead, ND6162,[53] interesting because it is of a hooked type generally considered to be un-Assyrian and frequently ascribed to the Scythians, though without sufficient proof. Perhaps this had come from a shaft fired by some Median archer during the battle which resulted in the sack of Calah.

The more remarkable discovery in this room was an *ostracon*, ND6231,[54] inscribed in ink, in Aramaic, with a list of Hebrew and Phoenician (?) names; the only example of the kind discovered at Nimrud. Possibly this was a list of foreign workmen employed by the arsenal in the 7th century B.C. It is evidence of the mixture of peoples which lived in Calah at the time. Aramaic was becoming the *lingua franca* and the writing of it duplicated Assyrian. It is likely that many more such *ostraca* remain to be found.

SW3, 4, originally a single room, had later on been divided by a cross wall, and SW3 was then turned into a paved bathroom with brick drain running under the floor through the west wall. Bronze rosettes and a small shell plaque fragment depicting a male figure carrying a bucket, were the only objects of note found here. The converted bathroom SW3 was, as we have seen, a late adaptation; the floor lay at a slightly higher level than that of the adjoining rooms, and evidence of the approximate period at which this happened was provided by the fact that some of the bricks, 35 centimetres square, were stamped with a striding lion in relief. This form of decorated brick was probably of the Sargonid period, for stamped bricks of approximately the same size, but with bulls instead of lions, occurred at Khorsabad and were attributable to Sargon himself: elsewhere, in the Nabu temple, a brick with a dragon stamp was inscribed with the name of King Assur-etil-ilani.[55] In the same floor there were other bricks 44 centimetres square. One more curious discovery occurred in the bathroom, namely a large quantity of shell tesserae, mostly perforated and cut as polygons. They would seem to be rejected portions of conches thrown out by shell-cutters who presumably had a workshop within the arsenal. The discovery of a number of carved shell objects already noted is consistent with this hypothesis.

No discoveries of any significance were made in SW4 and 5, which still need further investigation; they were doubtless similar in character to the magazines already noted.

SW6 was an extremely interesting room. It proved to be a wine cellar with serried ranks of big pottery containers set in mud-brick benches. Between them were narrow gangways just wide enough apart to enable a man to pass between and

replenish or empty the pots as need be. The tops of many of the jars had been dislocated by a fall of the roof and their appearance on excavation was remarkably similar to that of excavated wine stores in the contemporary fortress of Karmir Blur, in ancient Urartu. Here, as in that fortress, many of the jars had been inscribed after baking. At Nimrud the capacity was reckoned in *homers*, *sutu*, and *qa*.

Two of these inscribed vases were reconstituted and filled with grain on the assumption, which may or may not be correct, that they were originally filled to the brim, and that the capacity marked on each corresponded with the measure of a full jar. One of them, ND6673, which stood 1·17 metres (3ft 8 in.) high when filled, was found to contain 303 litres. It is possible that this particular measurement may be a small fraction over the true capacity, because at one place in the belly of the vase a portion was missing, but the error can only be a small one. All the jars varied considerably in size and it has not yet been possible to obtain a constant for the *homer* which at present on three separate estimates fluctuates between about 183 litres and 223. It may well be that the *homer* was a measurement in the neighbourhood of 200 litres, but the calculations are complicated by the fact that the *sutu* was a variable, fluctuating between 6 and 8 *qa*. One has only to remember that in modern times the standard measures adopted in Near Eastern towns such as Aleppo, Damascus and Mosul, whilst identical in terminology, varied in magnitude. In the case of the Calah jars there is also this possibility: that the marked capacity, which was always inscribed after baking, corresponded not necessarily with the contents of the jar when full, but to the quantity poured in when the jar was first made. However that may be, this cellar must at one time have contained over 4,000 gallons of wine.

The assumption that this particular set of jars contained liquor was proved by eleven clay tablets found in the same room.[56] These were records of issues of wine by the storekeeper, except in one case, ND6219, which referred to beer. The recipients named were princes and courtiers, the 'lady of the palace'—possibly the queen herself—and the royal choir of male singers composed of Kassites, Assyrians and Syrians (men of Hatti); also included were the master of the king's chariots, the regiment of Shamash and various craftsmen, foreigners visiting the capital, and a group of governors from the provinces, perhaps summoned to Calah for a conference.

In the same room SW6, together with the wine jars, a few other classes of objects were also found. ND6383 [335] was part of an ivory chair-leg terminating in a lion's paw; the claws stained reddish-brown had been separately applied. This was a curious anticipation of a form of furniture in England associated with the name of Hepplewhite! Small hemispherical ivory discs and long strips of ivory decorated with guilloche, lily and palmette patterns were found here. Also, at one end of the cellar, there were large lumps of bright 'Egyptian blue', ND6448, which were certainly stored for the purpose of incrusting the ivories, for the material used in the '*cloisons*' is identical. Since such objects can hardly have been kept in a wine cellar they must have been moved there from elsewhere, or, as is not improbable, had fallen into it from an upper floor. The discovery of these raw materials implies that there were repair shops in the arsenal where, as we have already seen, there was presumed evidence of shell-carvers in SW3. When the top floor crashed it may have fallen on

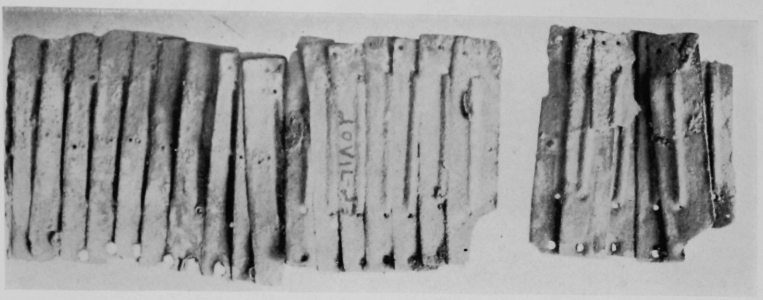
335. ND6383. Ivory leg of a chair terminating in a lion's paw on a guilloche border; claws incrusted with ivory inlay stained reddish brown; ivory studs probably used for veneering on to wood; the nicked edge may have served either to key in with wood or for a cloth (?) cover. Height about 47·5 cm. SW6.

a cellarman, for lying, flexed, beside the wine jars in the north-west corner of the magazine, there was a human skeleton. The collapse of the roof perhaps occurred when the south-east wing was set on fire (although there was no trace of burning here) and, as David Oates has aptly said: 'Although there is no direct evidence to show who the man was or how he met his death, he may have been killed by the collapse of the upper storey during the sack. . . . It is possible that the contents of the magazine had helped to render him insensible of his danger.'[57]

We have already seen in the preceding pages (pp. 384–6), when discussing the chronology, that SW6 must have been in use, probably more or less continuously from 857 B.C. until the last quarter of the 8th century B.C. Indeed it is not improbable that business was still active here as late as the second year of Sargon's reign when Calah again lorded it over Arpad and, as we have seen, may have acquired 'housekeepers' from it. After that, there may have been a period during the reign of Sennacherib when this particular chamber as well as others, was neglected, though so spacious a building is unlikely to have been altogether abandoned. This evidence is important, and relevant to the discoveries in the adjacent chamber SW7, the contents of which, as we shall see, were certainly not later than the reign of Sargon, 722–705 B.C.

SW7 was separated from SW6 by a narrow, paved passage-way, which connected the south-west quadrant with the great court of the south-east quadrant and was symmetrically arranged to correspond with a second similar passage between SW9 and SW10. The layout of SW7 was that of a normal large magazine measuring internally about 14·5 × 4 metres; in the eastern wall there was a typical 'wind-door', that is, a recess in which the bottom shelf stood about 1·50 metres above the level of the floor.

This chamber, which had the distinction of yielding to us some of the finest antiquities ever recovered from Nimrud, contained a variegated assortment of material within its debris. In the corners at the northern end of the room there was a pair of shattered storage-jars and David Oates observed that 'signs of seepage in the mud-brick around the bases of the jars suggested that their contents were liquid, probably olive oil. The whole north end of the room, including the doorway, was covered by a rusty mass of scale armour, lying in layers up to 35 centimetres thick, interspersed with broken brickwork. The forms of individual garments could not be distinguished, but large fragments were preserved in which the arrangement of the iron, and more rarely of bronze, scales could be observed [**336a–d**]. The armour was found at intervals from a height of 1·40 metres down to the level of the plastered floor, and it is difficult to conceive how it could have fallen in this position unless it was stored on the floor above, or else suspended from the walls or roof of this chamber. The oil jars are not entirely inconsistent with the use of this room as an armoury, since oil forms an important part of the armourer's equipment.'[58]



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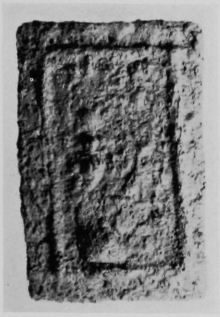

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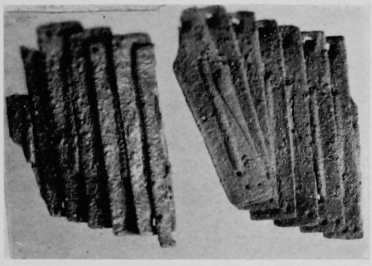

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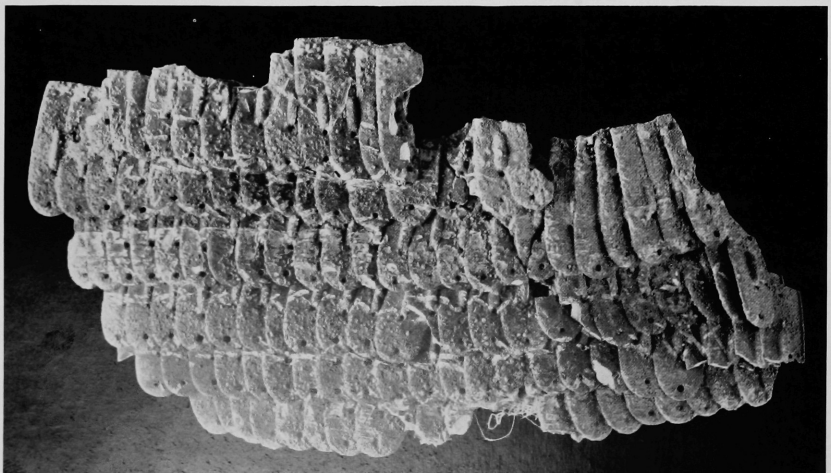

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336. Types of metal armour, weapons and other equipment associated with Fort Shalmaneser. See p. 409.

a. ND8123(B). Row of overlapping copper scale-armour consisting of rectangular plates reinforced with central rib and perforated at the ends. Each plate measures 6·3 × 1·4 cm. Found in the fill, 15 cm. above the floor of SW7.

b. ND7555(B). Iron plate, rectangular, one of a set of seven, horse-armour(?), ends and edges perforated for attachment. Lengths vary from 9·0 to 7·0 cm. From SW7.

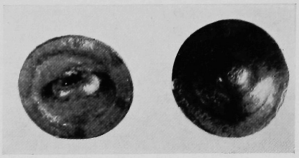
c. ND7555(B). Iron plate similar to (*b*) and found with it in SW7.

d. ND8126(B). Overlapping plates of copper scale-armour, similar to (*b*) above. From SW7.

e. ND12557(B). A large portion of copper or bronze(?) scale-armour, 12 × 22 cm. Six consecutive parallel rows are preserved with traces of the binding still clearly visible on the exterior of the surface; they must have been laced together and attached to a foundation of leather or cloth. The individual scales measure approximately 4·0 × 1·5 cm.; they are rounded at one end and straight at the other. Down the centre of the scale is a repoussé mid-rib. Found about 60 cm. above the floor, in the fill of SW11–12.

f. ND7514(B) (*opposite page*). Copper button(?), diameter 2·8 cm., showing left (back view), the loop for attachment, and right (front view), convex with boss centre. Specimens were found in SE5, 9, NW15. See also *Iraq* XX, pl. xxxiii.

g. ND7520(B) (*opposite page*). Copper-harness ring(?). Height 4·1 cm. From SE16.



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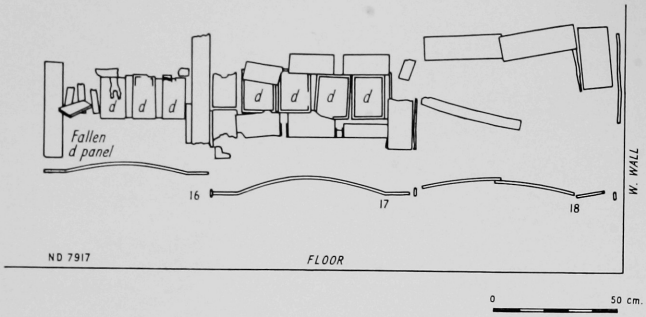
Whatever the original arrangements for storing the coats of mail may have been, they now lay in complete disorder, for one of the pots was full of loose plate-links, and this mass of metal was doubtless but the discarded remnant of a great store, inextricably embedded with the debris of fallen brickwork and rubbish which here rose to a maximum height of 2·30 metres, the top 80 centimetres representing a heavy fall of brickwork from the upper floor. A fragment of scale-armour showing the method of mounting is illustrated on [336], (see also p. 426).

The southern half of SW7, however, produced a rich series of ivories which had been stacked in a much more orderly manner. This consisted of many sets of ivory panels, some of them exquisitely carved, which were ranged in rows from a few centimetres above the level of the floor over a total depth of about 60 centimetres, though a few stray pieces were found embedded in mud brick at a higher level still. The plan, recorded by Mr David Stronach, shows the location of the principal panels and their relative height above the floor [337–41]. It will be seen that each of the juxtaposed sets was in a gentle concave curve which indicates that these were the component parts of chairs and couches or bedsteads: the latter is a probable conjecture, for associated with one of them there was a strip of ivory carved with animals in relief, part of a framework which would have been too long for a chair, but admirably suited to a long couch.

The space in between the rows was for the most part filled with collapsed mud brick which fortunately had not seriously damaged the ivories, probably because they were already covered by a bedding of dirt and rubbish before the final collapse occurred. Moreover all the panels were originally veneered on to a stout wooden backing which, although long perished, had, at the time they were deposited, held them together and, as the tops of the panels had been protected by ivory railings and the bottoms by a solidly compacted framework (for some were lying upside down), the figured sections had thus been saved from disintegration. The collapse of brickwork from walls and upper floor accounts for the fact that the tops of certain panels which had been surmounted by long strips of delicately carved winged discs were in every case shattered. The thinner ivory of these wing-carvings seems to have been less solidly backed and was highly susceptible to any pressure or shock.

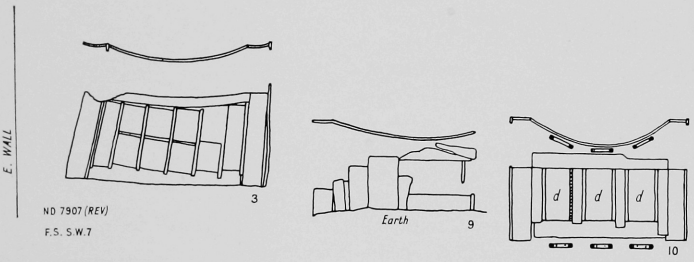
It will be seen from the plan [341] that each set of panels in the row which touched the south wall of the room lay about 50 centimetres above the level of the floor, from which it may be inferred that they had originally rested on a wooden pedestal (now altogether disintegrated) of approximately that height. Moreover, as each row was separated from the next one by intervals of not less than 80 centimetres we may assume that this afforded the necessary space to accommodate the full length of a couch: in fact one of the carved side strips associated with ND7910 (no. 10 in the second row) was just over 1 metre long. Between the first two rows the arrangement allowed for an overlap, the curved ends being opposite one another, so that the long side of each couch in the first row probably rested over the corresponding length in the second row. It was therefore clear that the couches in this room had been stacked, and since they spanned the entire width of the room, the conclusion must be, in the words

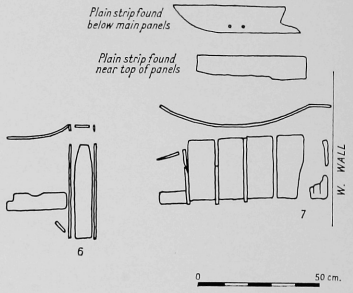


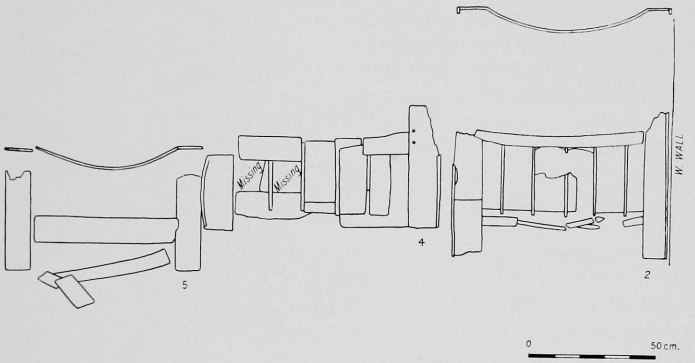
337–41. Plans of the principal ivory couches and chairs showing their relative positions as stacked in room SW7. See p. 411. (d = decorated).

337 (*Left*). First row (far end of room against south wall) including ND7917.

338 (*Below*). Second row, including ND7907.

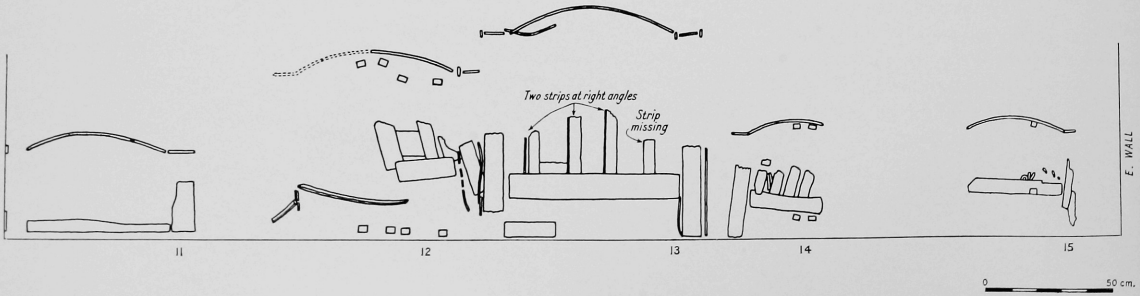


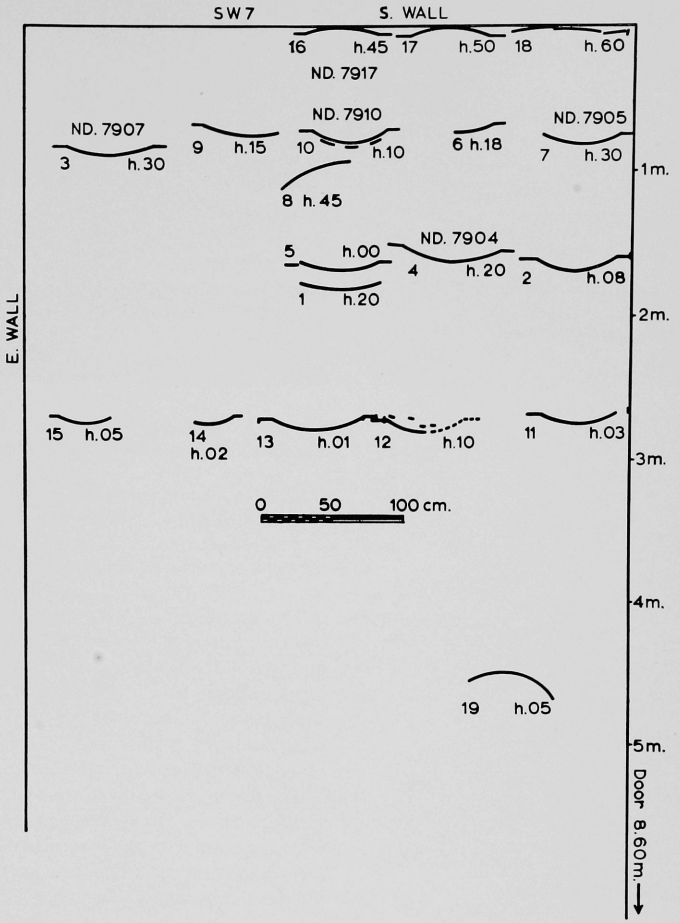




339 (*Left*). Third row, including ND7904, 7906.

340 (*Below*). Fourth row (furthest from south wall).





341 (*Right*). Relative positions of the four rows showing height above floor (h) in centimetres.

of David Oates, that 'access to the pieces at the south end of the room would have been virtually impossible without disarranging the rows nearest the door'. It follows that this stacking cannot have been the work of those who sacked Nimrud, for they had already got what they wanted when they tore off the gold which had originally covered many of these carvings. Indeed, all the evidence goes to show that the looters were not interested in the ivory itself, which they were content to smash or to burn, and of which they left thousands of fragments behind. We must therefore conclude that the stacking was done after the sack of 614 B.C., most probably in the year 613 B.C. when there was an organized attempt by the Assyrian authorities in Calah to rehabilitate the place.[59] It is significant that none of the ivory found in this room was burnt, and we are thus entitled to conclude that it represents a collection of furniture which had escaped the general conflagration and was selected as capable of repair and restoration. But any further attempt at reconstituting these couches was thwarted by the final sack in 612 B.C. when organized authority ceased. The tops of the walls then began to fall in and sealed these precious objects from the gaze of the impoverished squatters who subsequently returned to eke out a

342. ND7906. View of the veneered ivory bedhead from the back as first exposed in the soil. The position on the plan is in the third row from the south wall, No. 2, adjacent to ND7904.

miserable existence for another generation or so, until the fortress area was only touched by the plough.

The carved panels themselves depict male warriors and female figures plucking the fruits of 'lotus' trees; goddesses banqueting from tables which grow out of trees, sometimes surmounted by winged discs; a spirited hunting scene; winged female goddesses or protective spirits. Several couch-backs decorated with scrolls or volutes constitute a class of ivory altogether apart from what was found in other rooms. Their date, original provenance and problems of style will be discussed in the next chapter.

The first group was lifted from not far below the surface in 1957; the rest, that is to say the bulk of them, in the next season, 1958, when we were fortunate in having at our disposal the services of Mr Carroll Wales, whose skill in treating them in the field and lifting them expeditiously made it possible to reconstitute them in the laboratories later on.[60] The illustrations [342–3] show some of the panels as they appeared in readiness for lifting before they were bandaged. The total number of sets was at least fifteen, and there were fragments of others which must already have disintegrated before ever they were placed in this chamber.

The homogeneous character of these couches makes it virtually certain that

ND7906. Front view of the bedhead shown in [342] after preliminary cleaning (see also p. 494 and [390] ch. XVII).

343. ND7907. Back of the veneered ivory bedhead as first exposed in soil; found in the second row from the south wall, no. 3 on the plan. SW7.

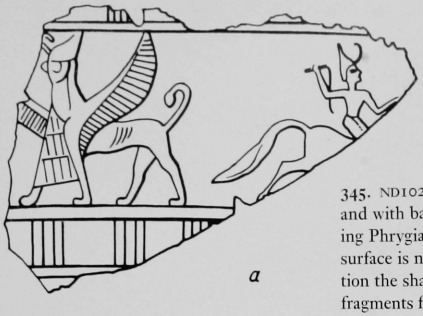
they were made more or less contemporarily, perhaps even in the same *atelier*, with the possible exception of those which were only decorated with scrolls. Since they were grouped in a single room it seems probable that they had formed part of a single collection, originally gathered together by one monarch. In this connection it is interesting that none of them was of '*cloisonné*', or champlevé work—a technique abundantly displayed in other apartments—with the exception of one single piece, ND7580 [**413**], of a goddess in Egyptianizing style. This latter object, found loose in the soil, did not appear to have been associated with any of the couches; it contained a cartouche which incorporated the name 'Iwbnwt-Ra which occurs also on an ivory found by Layard in Sargon's treasure chamber v or w of the N.W. Palace (see p. 510).

The only other objects of any importance found in this room were five fragmentary glass plaques, ND7631–3, 7638–9 [**344**], delicately painted with traces of blue on a white ground. The scene depicted was a sphinx of Phoenician type with uraeus and apron, advancing towards a papyrus plant.[61]

SW8–10, the remaining chambers in this range on the east side of the quadrant, produced little of interest. The strange angle at which the party wall between 8 and 9 is set is a token of later repairs. SW8 produced some fragments of burnt ivory bulls and cows, ND6384–5, and SW10 an obsidian pendant, ND6119, in the form of a miniature bushy-tailed dog. In the south-east corner of SW9 there was a small bitumen-lined tank; in the floor a few burnt bricks 48 centimetres square—a type used in the reign of Assur-nasir-pal. The walls had been bitumen-proofed to a height of 40 centimetres from the floor. It follows that this chamber must, at some stage in its history, have been used for ablutions.

Two more rooms in the south-west quadrant, SW11–12 (a single chamber) and SW37, have been completely excavated. SW37, a few metres longer than SW11–12,

344. ND7638. Photograph and reconstruction. Glass plaque bearing the design of a winged sphinx of Phoenician type wearing *uraeus* disc and crown, apron, and advancing towards papyrus plant. 4·2 × 3·5 cm. The design is outlined in black and there are traces of blue. The ground, now bleached white, was probably formerly green. The plaque has weathered to a paper-thin biscuit and is one of a set of five, mostly fragmentary, ND7631–33 and ND7636 found in the lower fill of SW7.



345. ND10250. Glass fragments of a shallow bowl decorated with a rosette round the base (*c*) and with bands of figured designs above it (*a*), (*b*), including a winged griffin, horseman wearing Phrygian (?) hat, man praying in front of a tree. The glass has a faint green tint, and the surface is now finely pitted; the designs appear to have been engraved, but owing to oxidization the sharp edges of the lines have broadened and give the impression of moulding. Other fragments found in the same room were undoubtedly moulded. The diameter of the bowl was originally about 10·4 cm.; owing to decay the fragments are now not more than 1 mm. thick. Sizes: (*a*) 3·25 × 4·7 cm.; (*b*) 3 × 1·6 cm.; (*c*) 2·3 × 2·1 cm. Found in the fill of SW37.

was a vast storeroom, which measured 30·3 metres long by 4.3 metres wide, and the walls stood to a height of between 1·5 and 1·8 metres. Floor level yielded traces of a burnt-brick pavement, composed of bricks 45–8 centimetres square.

Each of these rooms was filled from surface to floor level with a heterogeneous collection of carved ivory fragments, for the most part unburnt, intermingled with a miscellaneous assortment of small objects which included lion's head finials, rosettes and petals of white limestone, glass, lumps of 'Egyptian blue', shell and rock crystal inlay; stone, bronze and faience beads (ND6102, 6182), iron arrowheads, armour scales of iron and bronze [**336** a-e]—a part of the equipment of the royal bodyguard which had once protected this royal treasure.

Among the debris there were some remarkable fragments of engraved and moulded glass, ND10250 [**345**], unfortunately much decayed. But Mr E. von Gericke succeeded in deciphering the designs on a cup of greenish glass, which depicted a winged griffin, man kneeling before a tree, and rosette motifs familiar on the ivories and, in addition, a galloping horseman wearing a high Phrygian hat. These fragments should be compared with those found in SW7, mentioned above.

It took no less than three seasons' work to excavate the many hundreds of ivory fragments which these two chambers contained. The majority of them were miniature in comparison with the large panels from SW7. The circumstances in which they were found were remarkable, for they were embedded in a solid packing of mud bricks, hard as rock, from which they could be extricated only with the utmost difficulty.[62] Valuable as these *objets d'art* may be, it seems that they must have been unwanted articles thrown back into empty chambers after the first sack, when some attempt was being made to reconstitute a part of the building for a much diminished population. It is difficult otherwise to account for the intermingling of mud brick and small objects from top to bottom of the chambers: exposure of this fill to sun and rain over a period of years would account for its hardness, which reminded me of the densely packed chamber AB in the N.W. Palace—extraordinarily difficult to excavate after a hundred years of exposure to the elements.

The carvings varied in quality: some were of a superb finesse, others were mediocre and relatively crude in execution and included many horses' blinkers and cheekpieces with which a number of bronze dome-shaped studs may originally have been associated. In most cases the surface of the ivory was stained black with bitumen, apparently the adhesive used to fasten down the

gold strips which must originally have masked their surfaces. Oates observed that the gold overlay was 'the only valuable and easily portable element for the looters': that is the reason for which so many carvings have survived, and subsequent to the stripping, much of what remained must have been broken with considerable force.

None of the wood, to which many of these ivories had served as veneer, survived in direct association with them; but in SW11–12 there were traces of carbonized fragments of wooden furniture. It is possible that some of the powdered wood may have been a part of the shelving on which some of these objects had once been stacked around the walls of the room, and it may well be that originally some of the ivories were property held in these particular chambers, although it is clear that they were a secondary deposit. Certain articles were obviously part of separate sets of furniture which may have been distributed in various suites of the palace and its residences.

Many different styles, and probably different periods, of carving from the 9th until the end of the 7th century B.C.[63] appear to be represented by these numerous fragments, the last of which were excavated in 1963. Preliminary descriptions of certain categories have been given in ch. XVII, and the work of repairing and cataloguing has now begun in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad, where the majority of the collection is housed. Many of the carvings are manifestly under the influence of Phoenician styles.

S.E. Quadrant. The maximum overall dimensions of this irregularly planned quadrant [346] were about 103 by 73 metres; it was bounded on the east side by the town wall, and here no traces of any chambers were found; on the west the majority of chambers consisted of barracks and bathrooms which backed on to the magazines of the south-west quadrant, and formed with them a double row between the two sectors. On the north side, as on the west, there were again three sets of barracks, each with its bathroom, which backed against a row of magazines in the north-east quadrant and thus again formed a double row of chambers. In addition, there was a residential suite in each corner. The double entrance chambers, NE3 and SE13, which penetrated the north side, were no doubt deliberately situated off the axis of the entrance to the great throne-room, T1, of Shalmaneser III, which was the main feature of the southern side of this quadrant and comprised a set of state apartments laid out on a scale as grand as that of his father's in the N.W. Palace on the akropolis. At the south-west angle of this quadrant a long gated passage-way, S76, formed the connecting link with courtyard S and separated the throne-room block and its dependencies from the royal residential suites at the south-west end of the fortress.

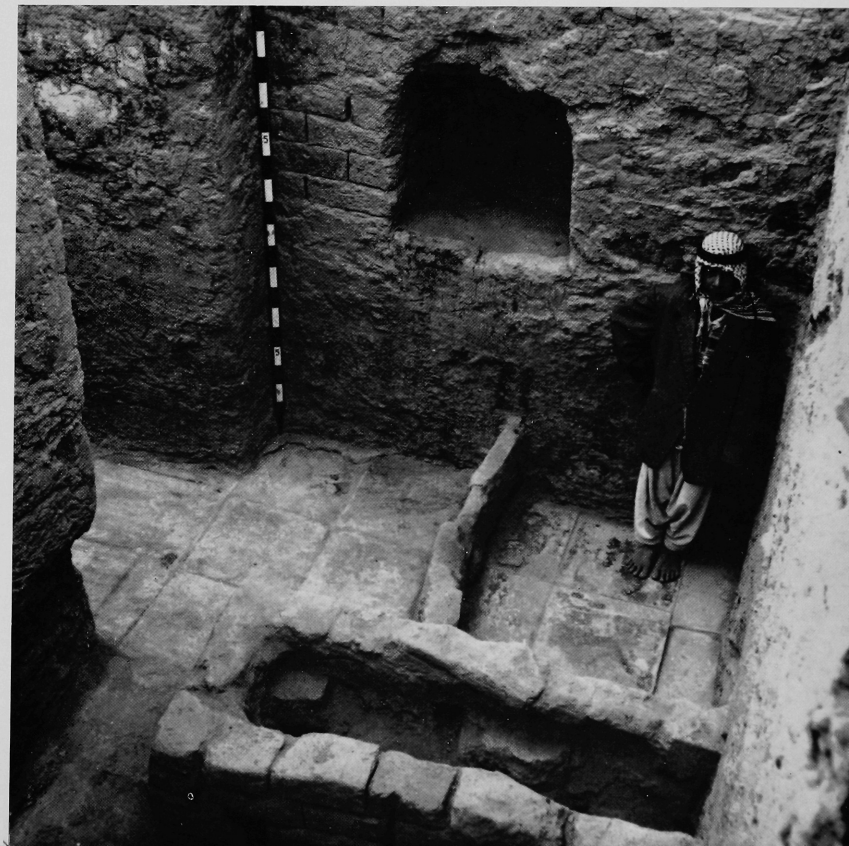
In the north side of the quadrant both gate-chambers were brick-paved, and a tarmac road 4 metres wide, allowing ample space for the passage of chariots, was laid across the middle through the gates, doubtless to protect the bricks and to ease the jarring of the vehicles; the imprint of studded wheels was visible in the bitumen. The gate-chamber, SE13 [320], had been destroyed by fire; it was filled up to a depth of almost a metre with broken brick and charcoal, partly no doubt the debris of the fallen roof. Fragments of burnt ivories, doubtless cast aside by looters as they hurried through, were found in this chamber.

346. S.E. Courtyard, burnt brick pavement showing mud brick platform upon which it rested. See p. 417.

347. SE13: gate-chamber, showing stone door-socket covers which had been wrenched out of their boxes and stacked for removal. See p. 420.

348. Staircase with burnt brick treads in the house of the *rab-ekalli*. See p. 420.

349. SE I: showing wall with relieving arch and repair work of late 7th century B.C. See p. 420.



Among the unusual pieces were ND7634, 7641 [**545-6**] (see pp. 580–2), a roaring lion associated with an elaborately coiffured lady—'Beauty and the Beast'.

Most impressive were two pairs of huge stone door-sockets which had been stacked against the wall ready for removal [**347**], but this evidently proved too heavy an undertaking. Whence they were abstracted we do not know, for there is no evidence that they belonged here; they are large enough to have been made for one of the main gates of the town, or for an entrance in the outer bailey. The most probable time for their stacking is 613 B.C., when an attempt was being made to reconstitute the building and its defences.

SE1–3, 10–12, a corner suite of rooms, was of particular interest because it appears to have been the residence of the *rab ekalli*, a high official who must have combined the office of master of the household with many other duties. The suite consisted of a large entrance hall, SE3, with a stone seat for the porter at the entrance, a small anteroom and bathroom, SE1, 2, and another chamber, SE10, with direct access to the court. This room contained a marble-floored ventilation shaft in the north wall, and an arched cupboard niche, opening directly on to the courtyard. SE11-12 gave access to the upper storey by means of two flights of stairs set at right angles to one another [**348**]. Although there was no intercommunication between SE1–2 and 10, it was clear that this was a single residence, for it was compact and more luxuriously appointed than the larger rooms near by. Faint traces of mural paintings remained on the walls of SE1–3 [**349**] and there were ornamental reveals to the doorways of SE10–11, a feature absent from the barracks. Traces of alterations to doorways, the addition of a brick bench and a storage bin, patching of pavements, and a makeshift stone seat for the porter in the door of SE3, were evidence of late alterations, probably conducted shortly before the sack when some of the rooms suffered severely from the work of incendiaries. SE1 produced burnt ivories and charred wood from a depth of 50 centimetres. down to floor level. Much of this material may have fallen from above. A few charred fragments in SE2 and burnt debris up to a metre in depth covered the whole floor of SE10. Mr Oates has interpreted the archaeological evidence as follows: 'The collapse here seems to have taken place in two stages, separated by a brief period in which the first layer of rubbish was levelled off about 35 cm. above the original floor, and a mud-brick bench built on it . . . a second collapse rendered the room uninhabitable. The common origin of the two layers of debris is demonstrated by the discovery of two fragments of the same ivory plaque—one on the original floor and its mate in the accumulation overlying the squatters' level.' Traces of heavy burning were also discovered on the stairs and in SE11 which had been used as a kitchen and contained cooking and drinking vessels. The small finds included a set of duck-weights in an alcove under the stairs, including ND7888 [**350**]; a broken stone lion-weight, ND7879, inscribed with the name of Shalmaneser III, and a calcined alabaster vase, ND8159, inscribed 'Palace of Esarhaddon'—a pair of trophies which commemorated the two kings who had had the strongest connections with this building. The fire had raged with great severity here and may have been specially directed to this spot by the invader, probably in 614 B.C., when he reached what had doubtless been the offices of the Assyrian commandant.

The burnt debris in SE1, 2, 10, 11 contained an interesting set of records, personal and official, belonging to the *rab ekalli*, naming six occupants of that

350. ND7888. Duck weight, limestone, incised with nine strokes, possibly originally ten, corresponding probably to nine or ten *manas*. Actual weight 9·82 kg. From SE11.

office. Parts of four inscribed baked clay cylinders, ND7097–100, dated 676 B.C., recording repairs to the 'gate-walls of the great buildings of Calah' by Esarhaddon, were also found. The name of this king was again recorded on an unusually large jar sealing, ND7080. Six of the tablets contained the names of post-canonical *limmu* officials who must have held office at various times between 648 B.C. and 612 B.C. Four of the *limmu* are known to have held office during the reign of Sin-shar-ishkun, 622–612 B.C., the last king of Assyria, and it is therefore certain that the arsenal was a centre of activity right up to the end.

Three of these texts, ND7010, 7054, 7067, mention the Assyrian title of the fortress as *ekal masharti*, which also served as a great storehouse. The business records refer to many different kinds of commodities, including issues of grain, straw, bird feed and fodder for the cattle house below the terrace. The transactions are typical of everyday Assyrian business and include private loans, as well as payments to workers; a tablet referring to the brick factory has been previously mentioned. Among the recipients of rations are two units described as 'the king's soldiers, the tenth' whose commanders are named; they may have been the guard who occupied the barracks in the same wing. Of particular interest in this connection are two dockets. The first, ND7060, mentions the issue of coats of mail from Damascus, a city which right down to medieval times was famed for its armaments. ND7008, found in the courtyard beyond SE22 at the far end of the same wing, mentions 784 bows from Arpad; though undated and possibly as early as Adad-nirari III, it could refer either to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III[64] who subdued that city and received tribute in it, or to Sargon, who likewise secured its submission. Finally from SE8, ND7013 is a letter concerning the delivery of goat's wool (2 *biltu*) and *iarate* garments described as front and back or former and latter, technical terms which one is tempted to regard as meaning surcoats and undergarments as shown on the ivories: the last part of this letter, imperfectly preserved and not wholly intelligible, apparently refers to lack of bread, perhaps in the reign of Sin-shar-ishkun, when prosperity was declining in Assyria.[65] A tablet found in room SE1, ND7000, also referring to *iarate* garments, was sealed with a similar stamp (a goddess surrounded by rays), and another, ND7001, with the same seal, was dated to 624 B.C. These three must once have formed part of the same archive.

Many fragments of bronze armour, of ivories and other small objects, such as copper buttons [336*f*] were found in the corner suite SE1–12, mostly burnt black or grey by the fire; a few deserve special mention: ND7561 [**499**] from SE1, a large head of a lady wearing an unusual type of open-work crown which is reminiscent in shape of a helmet worn by an opponent of Tiglath-pileser III;[66] ND7562 [**542**], the head of a lion surmounted by uraeus and sun-disc. ND7563–4[**558**], two burnt ivory plaques depicting a remarkable scene, which is the prototype of St George killing the dragon, were both found in the upper levels of SE10. In the debris of SE11, there were two objects which appeared to be a variety of sandstone and could have been used as a silica material for making glass and glazes; this discovery is an interesting addition to evidence obtained elsewhere in the Fort of the activities of glaziers, most probably in the 7th century B.C. SE13 also contained some fragments of an inlaid glass bowl and there were examples of moulded, encrusted and painted techniques. (See also appendix III).

SE14–18, the suites of barracks and baths, were not altogether unproductive; SE14–15 produced a collection of nineteen tablets, commercial in character, covering the sale of slaves and land, and loans of grain and silver; one, ND7066, in Babylonian script and dialect, was dated to the accession year of Sin-shar-ishkun.

In SE16 there was a small cache of iron weapons, crescentic blade, dagger and broken sword, ND7527–9, and a copper harness-ring, ND7520, [336*g*] found on a low brick shelf which had been set up in the north-west corner of the room after a partial collapse of the north wall (indicated by a considerable bulge in the plan).

351. SE21: brick-paved bathroom showing stone ablution slab against west wall.

The bathroom SE17 contained a water-jar in the niche behind the drain-hole, which was still closed by its stone plug. It may be that the finds in SE16–17 are to be attributed to a period of reoccupation any time after 614 B.C. As Oates has demonstrated, it is not always possible to distinguish between the traces of the last Assyrian occupants and those of squatters, since the latter seem in the end to have left as precipitately as their predecessors, leaving many of their chattels behind them. 'The same problem presents itself in the next chamber, SE18, where a large collection of pot-stands, small jars, bowls and "istikans" (goblets) lay in a heap on a layer of rubbish at the west end, as if hurled from a falling cupboard. The pottery is, however, typical of the latest period of Assyria and, whatever the occasion of its abandonment, it must be dated within a very few years of the 7th century.'[67]

These collections of late Assyrian pottery, made in the last decades of the 7th century B.C. and especially well represented in various parts of Fort Shalmaneser, form a closely dated group, a valuable type series which has now been published in detail by Joan Oates.[68]

The suite SE21–3 at the north-east end of the quadrant was also residential, and well constructed, though not as important as that of the *rab ekalli* at the opposite end of this wing. A spacious, well-paved bathroom, SE21 [351], with raised limestone bath-slab against the west wall, shows that the occupant was an official of some standing. Some 30 centimetres of debris covered the floors, but was barren of objects; the tablet concerning the delivery of bows from Arpad, found in the court south of room 22, may however once have belonged here (see p. 421 above). A small latrine, SE24, was probably for the use of the guards on the wall.

We have already seen that the superstructure of the eastern wall had vanished, but fortunately the south-east corner was preserved in the angle made by it and the north wall of T5, in the throne-room block. The dotted line on the plan showing the inner faces of the eastern and southern walls of this quadrant can, furthermore, be safely accepted as correct because traces of the courtyard pavement existed up to it: against the throne-room façade there were burnt bricks 48 centimetres square which could equally well be attributed to Shalmaneser III or to Esarhaddon.

The west side of the south-east quadrant was intersected by two passage-ways which gave access to the eastern courtyards of the south-west quadrant. The more northerly of these two passages passed between SE3, which we have already noted as an entrance-hall of the house of the *rab ekalli*, and the bathroom, SE4. The remaining chambers on this side, SE5–9, comprised a suite of long barrack-rooms, each with its bathroom attached. SE5 produced many fragments of the sun-dried clay figurines which the Assyrians were accustomed to insert for prophylactic purposes in boxes under the floors. There were also two examples of the miniature copper symbols, a crescent on a pole, and a spear, which have sometimes occurred elsewhere with such figures. Five types of figurine were found: a bearded warrior with spear in front of the body; a similar figure clasping double axe and mace; a bearded man wearing fish-cloak and carrying a bucket; a cloaked and bearded man carrying a spear in both hands; a naked and striding male, sometimes holding a bucket.[69] All were coated with lime plaster, some were inscribed with legends such as may be rendered:[70]

Enter kindly spirit,
Avaunt evil spirit,

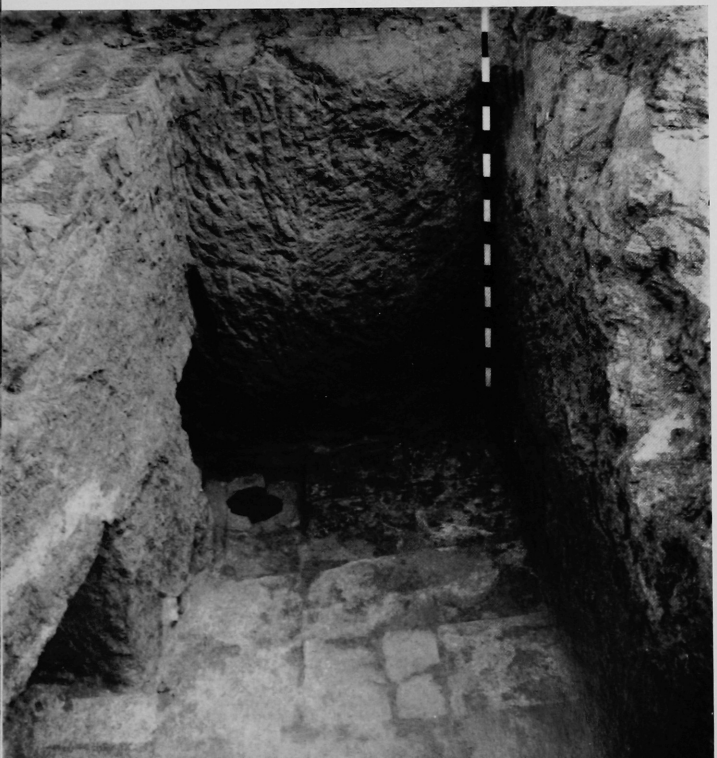
and

May the life of the prince be everlasting!
May the *lamassu* demon (save him) forever!

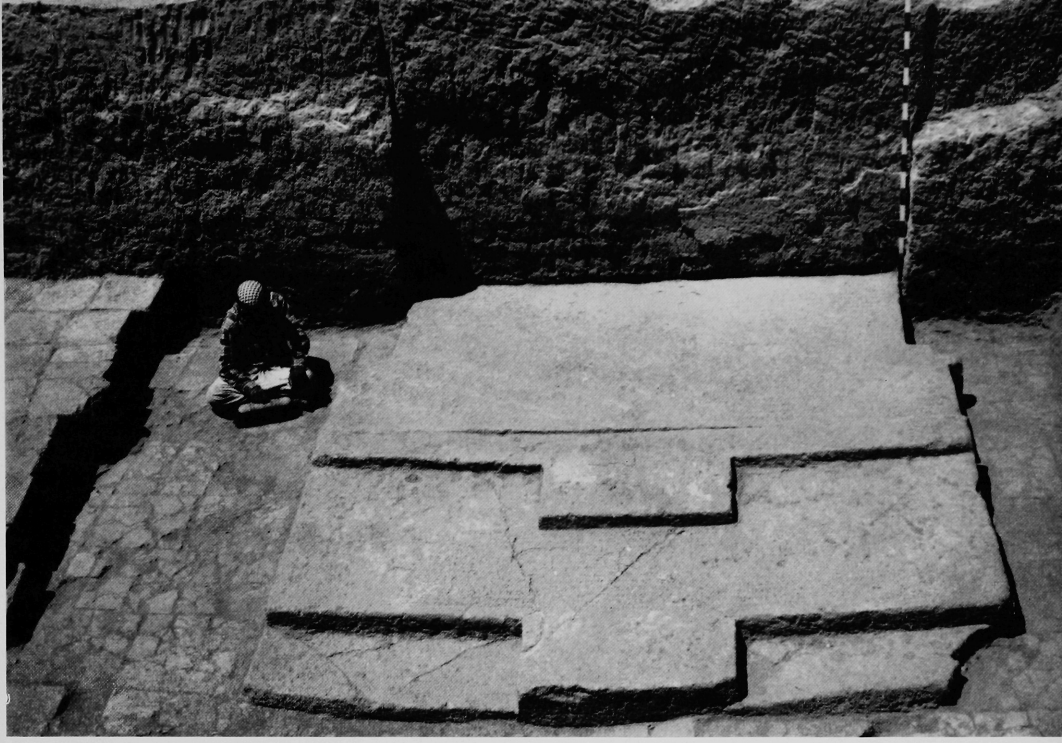
It seems safe to infer that some, if not all, of these were made in the 7th century B.C., for it is noticeable that none were of the *apkallu* bird-headed winged type made in the 9th-8th.[71] Bearded warriors with similar inscriptions were found in the foundation boxes of the Residency in the southern sector, and it is possible that these had been discarded from older boxes, replaced by new figurines, and retained for reasons of piety. Alternatively, they may have been intended to be replacements during the repairs which took place in 613 B.C., but owing to the sack in the year that followed, were never used as such.

SE6 [**352**], a bathroom, and SE7, a larger barrack, had been reconditioned after the first sack when debris had accumulated to a depth of about 50 centimetres over the pavements. The partition wall between them was carelessly refaced at a different angle; the floors were patched and raised, probably to support pillars required to hold up the roof which appeared to have been renewed more than once. All these repairs were evidence of a series of makeshift occupations subsequent to 614 B.C.

SE8 provided a feature of particular interest: set against the outer face of its eastern wall in the courtyard was a great throne-dais carved out of two slabs of limestone, stepped in two tiers, 3·20 metres overall [**353–4**]. The front step and two compartments on the back were inscribed, and recorded events leading up to the fifteenth year of Shalmaneser III. The rear portion of the dais on which the throne must once have been set was narrowed on either side by a double rebate to fit into a niche, but seems to have been designed for one deeper than



352. SE6: bathroom showing, left, reinforcement wall resting on rubbish; this wall was built at a higher level after the sack.



353. Stepped throne-dais with inscription of Shalmaneser III, limestone, set in the courtyard near the door of SE8. Probably transferred to this position from the throne-room in the 7th century B.C.

354. Throne-base of Shalmaneser III covered by a patchwork brick pavement, probably in the year 613 B.C. when an attempt was made to repair the fort after the first sack of Calah.

that in which it now stood. We have already seen (p. 380) that there was no trace of a niche where we had expected to find one, beyond the stone 'tram-lines', in the east wall of the lesser throne-room, S5, and we have therefore to assume that the podium had been removed from elsewhere. It may have been Esarhaddon who arranged for the transfer to the courtyard where it was conveniently placed as a rostrum from which the king or his *turtan* could review the troops.

The blocking of an original door in the east wall of S1, and the arrangement of a passage through a former bathroom, SE9, into SE8, must have happened contemporaneously with some repair and change of function in S5. Access from the south-east courtyard to the Residency was through the chambers already mentioned through an inner court, S2, thence into corridor D. There was, in addition, another means of approach through a doorway which was situated at the extreme west end of the great throne-room block. This was an important entry, for it was flanked by a foundation box which contained two miniature spears, ND8197. It led to the long corridor, S76, which was an easily controlled thoroughfare connecting the great state-apartments in block T with the residential area S.

The contents of SE8 agreed with its function as a guard-room; an iron knife, two crescentic blades, scale-armour, and a score of arrowheads, ND7530–5, eight of which were stored in a small jar.[72] Outside SE8 at a level of 30–40 centimetres above the 9th century pavement level there was a patchwork of bricks, a part of which overlapped the throne-base and represented a period of reoccupation subsequent to the first sack. Amid this debris was found a clay bead pendant, ND7084, inscribed with the name of Merodach Baladan, and dated 710 B.C., the last year of his reign as king of Babylon—doubtless part of the loot taken from him by Sargon.[73] We have already noted other records relating to that monarch, especially in the chancery of the N.W. Palace (ch. XI, p. 174–5).

The fragments of military equipment found in SE8 are typical of the large quantity of similar material which was found in many chambers throughout Fort Shalmaneser—the majority was of copper or bronze, but many specimens were made of iron. In this chapter we have illustrated on [**333-4**], [**337**] a selection of armour-plates from corslets; rectangular plates for horse-armour (?); a harness-ring; iron spears and a dagger; and various types of arrowheads most of which must have been the standard paraphernalia stored in any neo-Assyrian armoury.

The largest proportion of these metal objects consisted of hundreds of fragments of scale-armour plating, and we may be sure that many hundreds of corslets were once stored in the fort. One example, ND12557 from SW11/12 [**337***e*], is of peculiar interest because it illustrates the method by which these strong plates with their reinforced ribs were mounted. The fine white lines in the photograph probably represent strips of decayed gut or leather which were threaded through the holes in the *lamellae* and no doubt fastened to a leather backing.

South Sector, the Residency. The layout of this building, which comprised rooms S1–72, differed entirely from that of the four main quadrants in the northern wing of the arsenal, and was in keeping with the normal designs for Assyrian palaces. Central and side courts, a throne-room, S5, with antechamber

355. ND7852. Terracotta figurine of hooded man, height 4·9 cm., from fill on lower floor of C6.

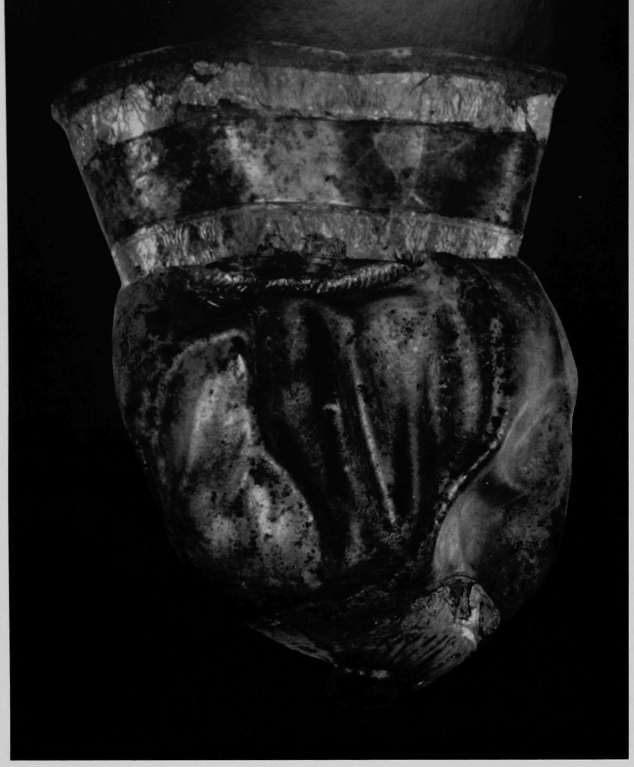
and bath, large reception halls, smaller domestic suites, and a long magazine, all approached by two main paved corridors at right angles to one another constituted the most important wing of this building.

The apartments immediately to the north of this block were probably a re-adaptation of the ground space available between the south-west quadrant and the Residency. Two oblong courtyards S2 and S15, as we have already seen, connected the Residency with the south-east quadrant; they were flanked on their northern side by a range of oblong chambers C1–7, including two bathrooms C2–4. The scale on which these rooms were laid out was appropriate to the Residency rather than the arsenal; they comprised domestic storerooms and kitchens.

C1–2 was perhaps the suite of a commander-of-the-guard, and a second rather more important official may have occupied the remainder of the apartments in this block. In these two rooms a trodden level about 80 centimetres above the original floor, marked by a few pots and storage jars, provided evidence of a later reoccupation by squatters. Very striking in this range was the deep bed of ash, especially in C4–7, a foretaste of the great quantities of burnt debris which we were to discover later in the main block of the Residency. In these chambers we observed considerable quantities of grain which have been examined by Dr Hans Helbaek who noted: 'two types of Wheat grains, probably Club Wheat and Emmer (but no proof for the latter), some grains of Hulled Barley, and one spikelet of Goat-face grass.' From the pots in the same rooms: 'mainly Club Wheat, two seeds of Cleavers, two Lentils, a few Hulled Barley, and possibly a few Emmer' (see also appendix 1). The grain was typical of the cereals cultivated at the time, as we know also from contemporary Assyrian documents.

A few small objects were also found within these apartments, besides a considerable quantity of pottery; they included ND7852 [355], a terracotta figurine depicting a hooded man with upturned face;[74] ND6327, a conical glass paste seal engraved with lotus bud and flying bird; ND6355, a small burnt ivory female head; ND7823, a limestone dagger-pommel; ND8117, a bronze elbow fibula; all, as David Oates has remarked, 'a typical collection of the small personal possessions lost by their owners in various parts of the fortress before its final hurried abandonment.' Fortunately, moreover, two trophies hidden in a small pit dug under the earth floor of room C6 had escaped the looters. They consisted of two magnificent vessels, triumphs of the silversmith's art, which must once have been a part of the palace treasure.

The first, ND7845 [356], about 12 centimetres ($4\frac{3}{4}$ in.) high, was a silver goblet, or 'beaker', with high flared neck, galbous body and button or 'nipple' base.[75] The form can be matched in pottery both at Nimrud and at Assur where Andrae noted that this type of nipple cup was rare in the neo-Assyrian, but common in earlier periods. At Nimrud nipple-based pots are equally rare, but one was found in a 9th century context in the street between Ezida and the Burnt Palace, and another under the main floor of the N.W. Palace. The evidence indicates



356 (*Left*). ND7845 (BM). Silver vase of Assyrian type decorated with a thin band of hammered gold overlay. Above button base gold rosette and traces of animal design. Height about 12 cm. Found with the silver bowl illustrated on [357] in cache under floor of room c6. See p. 427.

357. (*Opposite and above*) ND7844 (B). Three views of a silver bowl, diameter 12·5 cm., decorated with 24 gadroons terminating in lion's heads which radiate from a central boss. See illustration of base on the left. The collar has a repoussé design depicting running ibex and vegetation. 8th century B.C., perhaps part of Sargon's loot in his eighth campaign against Urartu. Found together with ND7845 [356] in a cache under floor of C6. See p. 430.

that as a pot-form the type is not later than the 8th century B.C. The vase was decorated with two bands of gold foil overlay hammered over the neck after the design had been chased on the silver. The pattern consists of groups of stylized plant-like designs with pairs of concentric circles, or part circles, between them; in the upper band the plants are pendent from the circles, in the lower one this arrangement is transposed. At the junction between neck and shoulder there is a gold band, obliquely fluted. The gold decoration at the base consists of a floral design identical with that on the upper bands; touching the button-base there is a radially arranged design of petals with triangular ends. When we consider the excellence of the silversmith's work, the pattern, with the exception of the radiate design at the base, is very roughly executed. There seems to be evidence that a part of the vessel had been subjected to some degree of heat, especially the upper band; its crushed condition is probably due to pressure of earth above it. It may be that this vessel was the work of an Assyrian smith who was attempting to vie with the more decorative styles of north Syria, or Urartu, and if so a date in the latter half of the 8th century B.C. would seem to be most probable.

The other silver vessel, ND7844 [357], associated with the goblet is even more magnificent. It is a bowl 12·5 centimetres in diameter, with 24 heavy, hammered gadroons which radiate from a central boss at the base; each gadroon terminates in a lion's head. The solid strength and high quality of the craftsmanship is also apparent when the bowl is viewed upside down, each gadroon being further decorated with artistically spaced piriform and elliptical designs, chased as well as repoussé;[76] in places there are still traces of gold overlay. The collar of the

358. Passage E looking west. Stone pavement in foreground and brick pavement in background. Note the akropolis and ziggurrat in the far distance.

bowl bears a repoussé design of running goats and simply stylized vegetation; the details are rendered by chased ornamentation.

The most interesting and relevant objects for comparison with the Nimrud bowl are two bronze helmets of Assyrian type discovered in the Urartian citadel at Karmir-Blur.[77] Both of them were ornamented with a frieze of chariots and winged *lamassu* on either side of a 'lotus' tree, the latter scene framed by repoussé gadroons with terminals in the shape of roaring lions' heads. The inscription on one helmet indicates that it was dedicated to the god Haldi by Argishti son of Menua, c.785–760 B.C.; the second similar one was dedicated by King Sarduri, son of Argishti, c.760–733 B.C. Since these two inscriptions refer to the son and grandson of the Menua who was a contemporary of Shamshi-Adad V, their date would most probably fall about 780–745 B.C., a time of high prosperity for Urartu (Armenia) which had then temporarily shaken off the shackles of Assyria.[78] The Nimrud bowl obviously reflects the style of the helmets and we may consequently propose an approximately similar date for it, a time at which, as we have seen, the accompanying silver goblet might well have been made. It is therefore tempting to suggest that this was part of the booty captured by Sargon II in 714 B.C. as the result of his successful Urartian campaign, and brought back to Calah by him. Hundreds of silver cups 'made in the lands of Assur, Urartu and Kilhu'[79] were recorded amongst this booty, which incidentally included an ivory bed embellished with gold, silver and precious stones, while an inscription on a prism has details of similar booty including a dozen silver shields encircled with designs which were embellished with the heads of lions—obviously a similar class of workmanship.[80] It remains only to observe that this type of craftsmanship also found its way to Italy, for elaborate bronze bowls and a gold clasp with lions' heads found in the Barberini tomb were, together with certain ivories, certainly influenced by Assyrian workmanship.[81]

Our reconstruction of the evidence relating to the Nimrud silver vessels may appear to some unduly bold, but the proposed dates fit the historical sequence. Assyrian smiths executed work for Urartu; the kings of Urartu in the early 8th century B.C. are known to have raided towns in Assyrian provinces;[82] and finally Assyrian monarchs, particularly Sargon, recovered some of the lost booty in counter-attacks. Here in Fort Shalmaneser we have the end of that story. Someone, possibly an Assyrian palace official or servant, tried to hide coveted treasure; whoever it was never returned to claim it.

The value of contents within the Residency was indicated by the precautions which had been taken to enable its two main corridors D and E [358] to be securely bolted and barred. At the north entrance to D there was a bolt socket in the stone threshold and in the pavement behind the door a recessed stone slab, constructed to contain the butt end of a beam braced against it. A similar device was used in the entrances to corridor E. Boxes containing the remains of phropylactic figurines in sun-dried clay were found in the corridors, for example ND8190 [314], a standing lion armed with mace, and ND8194 [359], an unusual model of a dog.

Two noble halls, S17, S30, were situated on the west side of the court. At the north end there was a suite which consisted of a paved room, S16, which opened into S28, unpaved, with bathroom, S29, beyond. The decline in upkeep of the palace towards the end of its days is indicated by the poorly appointed repairs

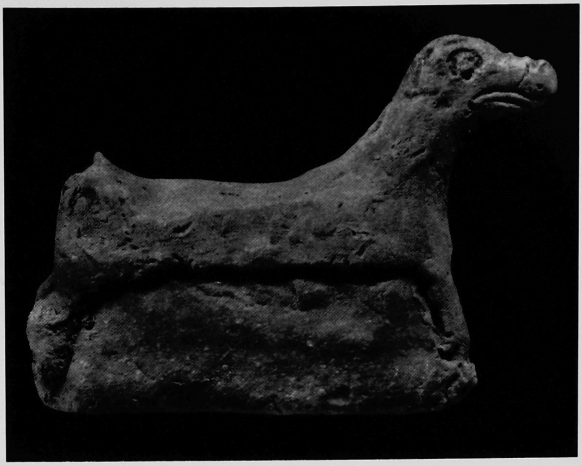
and adjustments found here: low mud-brick bench, and party-wall askew to the main alignment in S28. A few rejected ivory strips of high quality were found in S16: ND8017, engraved with palmettes and an archer; ND7747, horned sheep; ND7752, procession of tribute-bearers; ND7672, a fragment of '*cloisonné*' work depicting a man wearing a woollen cap; ND8118, a lunate copper earring. In S29, a terracotta head of a duck with stippled crown may have been a child's toy.

S30, the great hall, was part of a suite that included a second hall, S17, which had access direct to the court S6, and to the anteroom and bathroom, S18, 19. Lying on the floor, inside S30, a little to the north of the east door, was ND7559[**504**], one of the finest ivories discovered in the building; it consisted of a chryselphantine winged sphinx in three-quarter relief, carved within an openwork lunette of exceptionally large dimensions, 19 × 15 centimetres overall and 2 centimetres thick. The head was that of a male surmounted by the feathered *atef* crown, and the front of the body was decorated with pectoral, Phoenician apron and *uraeus*. Tenons for fitting to a chair or a bedstead (?) still protruded from the top of the frame. Untouched by fire, the ivory, though damaged, retained its mellow, pristine whiteness. The date and stylistic affinities of this extraordinary piece, which bears the unmistakable imprint of Phoenician or north Syrian workshops under strong Egyptian influence will be discussed in the next chapter. In this object I am tempted to see the head of an Assyrian monarch, projected through the mask of an Egyptian Pharaoh.[83]

After the sack of 614 B.C., the halls S17 and S30 appear to have been left derelict and served as open courts for squatters who only attempted to recondition the smaller rooms and lived on a beaten mud floor some 15 centimetres above the original one, over a layer of rubbish which they did not trouble to clear. Later still, no doubt after 612 B.C., the bathroom S19 became uninhabitable and was blocked by a wall built of pavement bricks probably because its walls threatened to collapse. Pottery was found, both at the squatters' level and in the debris which had accumulated within the bathroom up to a height of about 1 metre over the floor. The upper 30 centimetres of this debris appeared to correspond with a second reoccupation after the first squatters had left, for here an unbroken vase of exceptionally fine palace ware was found. At the same level in S17 a collection of small ornaments included ND8070, beads of glass paste and semi-precious stones; ND8071, silver wire earrings and a paste seal; ND7827–8, a miniature gold rosette and earring. The evidence therefore seems to suggest two, probably short, periods of reoccupation after the sack in 614 B.C.—short because there were no hard trodden floors such as would have emerged from prolonged occupation—each followed by a hurried flight which involved leaving behind small possessions, not without value.

On the east side of court S6, two doorways, ornamented with reveals, led into a long hall, S7, which was obviously a waiting-room for persons seeking admission to the lesser throne-room, S5, which had a small robing-room, S4, and bathroom, S3 [**306**], at its western end (see p. 379 above).

Objects found in the royal suite, S3–5, included a number of ivories, ND7668–71, 7675, of which the most interesting was a series of openwork plaques ornamented with lotus, lily and palmette branches elaborately interlaced, growing out of a stylized tree trunk consisting of a double tier of voluted pillars on a



359. ND8194. Sun-dried clay figurine of a dog, length 9.2 cm. Found in the Residency, box in south jamb of doorway in corridor E. See p. 431.

pedestal. These attractively carved small rectangular plaques still bore tenons on the framework and must originally have been fitted to the side rails of the king's throne; they are closely related in style to a set of ivories found at Khorsabad and may be dated to the reign of Sargon. There were also several examples of engraved ivories, amongst which ND7666, horses, ND7973, fallow deer and stags, were beautiful examples of freehand drawing. Foundation boxes in the north-west and south-west corners of S5 produced sun-dried clay figurines of the bearded warrior with spear and the standard form of prophylactic inscription, ND7847.

The chief decorative feature of S5, however, was a painted mural depicting a procession of Assyrian soldiers which surmounted a bitumen-lined dado, 45 centimetres high [**307-8**]. The men in procession were beardless youths wearing swords with their hands clasped before them; they were drawn with a strong black line on a white ground and although often only faintly discernible and fragmentary, have been skilfully copied and reconstituted in outline by Mr David Oates, whose technical description has been published elsewhere.[84] The figures are wearing court dress, a long fringed tunic descending to the ankles, with a loose garment worn over it. Traces of red on the sandals still survive and there is a double toe-strap over the top of the foot. On the upper right arm there is the standard form of torque and rosette wristlet so often depicted on stone bas-reliefs. The style of the figures with their distinctively long outer robes and sandals with short heel-piece is definitely Sargonid,[85] and it seems most likely that they were executed to the order of Esarhaddon, who perhaps refurbished this room and used it as a temporary throne-hall at a time when the great throne-room, T1, of Shalmaneser III had fallen into disrepair. The figures advanced in a clockwise direction round the room; they were best preserved near the doorway in the south wall, and made a circuit before reaching the throne. Faint traces of a bearded figure approaching the file at the point where the foot of the dais would have been, opposite the door, may have been intended to represent the king, who was painted in red and in blue.

The height of the individual figures was about 1·25 metres; they were contained within a panel 1·33 metres high and were surmounted by a patterned

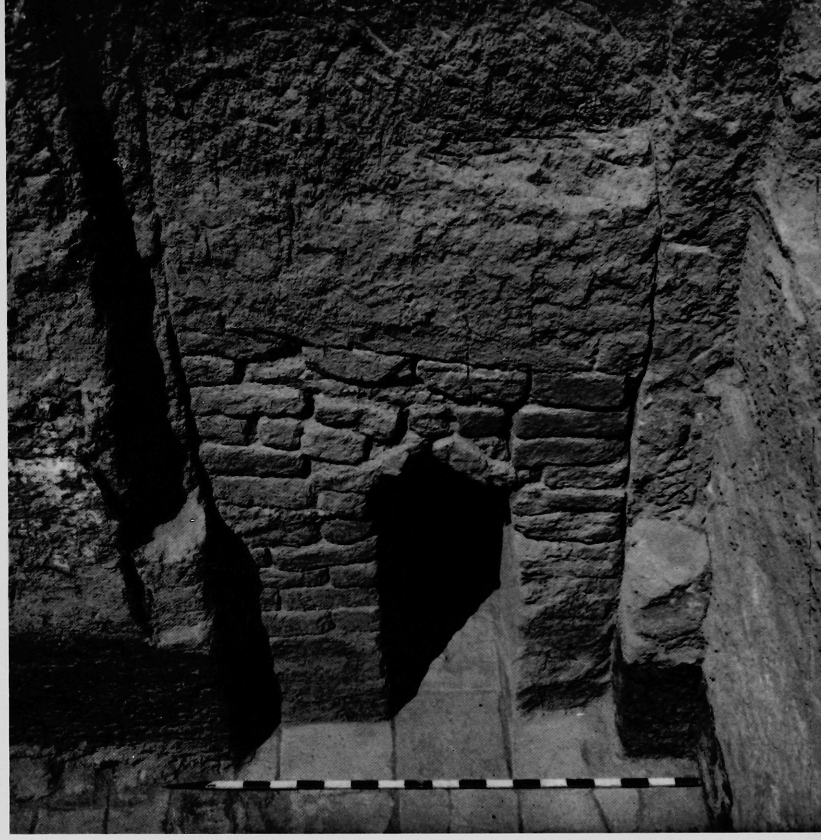
frieze 1·35 metres high, running all round the room except where interrupted by the ventilation shafts. This frieze consisted of five registers which included pomegranate buds and flowers, rosettes with concentric circles, and white 'pillow' motifs with incurving sides. This type of floral and geometric design occurred frequently elsewhere: in the military buildings of the outer town west of the fort, and in the palace of Adad-nirari III north of the akropolis.[86] They were done in bold, black outline with application of red and blue to pomegranates and rosette petals; these, but not the figures, also decorated the walls of S3, 4. All the paintings here and in the throne-room were rendered directly on to the wall plaster.

Opposite the throne-room suite, on the southern side of the court, lay the large chamber S10, about 13·5 metres long and 5 metres wide. The condition in which we found it was a dramatic illustration of the final sack: the wall plaster had been baked hard and burnt yellow by the flames and then blackened with soot which had penetrated into the brickwork itself. The intense heat had caused the south wall to bend inwards at a dangerous angle and the floor of the chamber itself was buried under a great pile of burnt debris over a metre and a half in depth, filled with ash, charcoal, small antiquities, including tablets, terracotta and bronze figurines, potsherds and a fragment of glass; there were also many hundreds of mutilated fragments of ivory carvings burnt black and grey, sometimes to a high polish from the heat. This debris was mixed with inflammable cereals which consisted of millet, barley, wheat and emmer.[87] I have in my time witnessed the debris of many an ancient fire—at Ur of the Chaldees, at Nineveh, at Arpachiyah, on sites in the Habur and Balih valleys—but never have I seen so perfect an example of a vengeful bonfire, loose-packed as bonfires are, the soot still permeating the air as we approached. After this great holocaust parts of the walls toppled over into the chamber, which was filled to a total height of 3 metres in all with mud brick. The hard upper packing, amounting to another metre and a half of debris over that of the bonfire, thus finally sealed the contents which were left udisturbed until we reached them in 1958.

Whether this great hall had always been a treasury, and how many of the contents may have been housed on an upper floor, we do not know, but the mixture suggests that the mutilated furniture and ornaments may have been collected from various places and consigned to the flames here, and that the inscribed clay tablets, of which a number was found, may have come from above, although we have not yet found any trace of a staircase in the Residency itself.

It is, however, likely that in its latter days this room had been used as a treasury, for the original door in the south wall was found to be blocked by a secondary wall, leaving a narrow entrance only 1·50 metres high, which resembled that of a closely guarded storeroom of a house in the citadel [360].[88] An interesting document, ND7072, found in the debris, if originally associated with this room, implied that it came under the charge of a woman who was housekeeper of the palace. She was referred to as the *shamartu* of the *ekal-masharti*, and was engaged in a law-suit over a claim for money in 621 B.C.; the verdict was handed down by a *shanitu* magistrate named Kabalaia who was also a woman. This was well in accord with Assyrian practice, for we know from the Assyrian laws that women had attained a responsible place in society even as early as the latter half of the 2nd millennium B.C.[89] Another tablet, ND7071, related to a court case

V ND7754(B) Lady at the window. 10.5×9.2 cm. From S10, F.S. See p. 437.



360. S10: blocked doorway in south wall leaving only a narrow access into the treasury, probably against threatened attack, towards the end of the reign of Sin-shar-ishkun.

concerning a runaway girl in which the *shanitu* was also involved. This document was found in corridor E, outside S10, together with a collection of cosmetic bottles.

The other documents from the same room S10 formed a typical collection of private business records which included letters, contracts and loans. The earliest could be dated either 671 or 666 B.C., that is to say to the reign of Esarhaddon, and eight out of the total of eighteen which fell between 623 and 615 B.C. were evidence of similar activities during the last decade of the empire when Sin-shar-ishkun was on the throne.

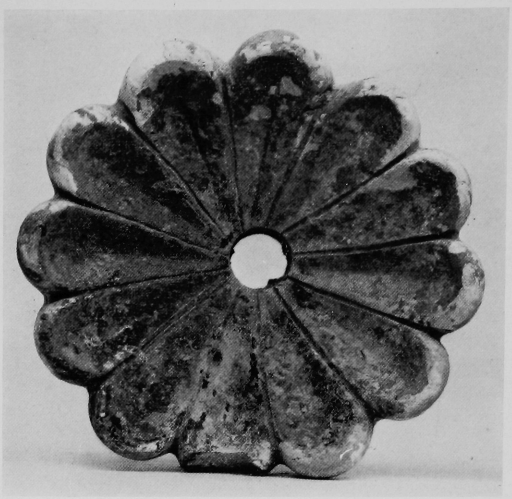
In addition to the ivories, S10 also yielded two terracotta figurines, perhaps toys, crudely made; ND7855, a turbaned man clashing cymbals; ND7850, a horse with appliqué harness. But the most remarkable figurine in the round was a bronze statuette 12 centimetres high, ND7857 [361], depicting the bow-legged Egyptian dwarf god Bes; it was hollowed at the back as if to be fitted to a wooden post, perhaps on a couch or a chair, for Bes was 'a luck devil'. This heavy, cleverly modelled, cast statuette is represented wearing the feathered crown of the Egyptian goddess Anukhis, and parallels in Egypt can also be found for the square-cut beard, protruding tongue and cow's ears, though not for the posture of the arms. But in Egypt itself, where Bes originated, he was always naked, with prominent phallus, symbolic of sexual coition, a familiar domestic figure popular in the Egyptian home.[90] It is interesting that when he reached the Assyrian court he was clothed with the loin-cloth of respectability, as is also

361. ND7857 (B). Three views of bronze statuette of the bow-legged Egyptian dwarf god Bes. This representation does not exactly correspond to the standard Egyptian prototype; the position of the hands and the addition of a loincloth are unusual. Note the hollowed back (*right*) probably so left after casting for fixture to a wooden (?) holder. From C6. Height 12 cm. See p. 435.

shown on an ivory, ND1510 [**183**] found in the Burnt Palace. Only on the small frit and paste figurines was he still naked.

The typical Bes, as Dr Contenau long ago noted, was a rendering of a pathological condition known to medicine as *achondroplasia*, that is to say defective articulation of the joints.[91] A man so deformed becomes a midget and may have distorted limbs and skull. This apparently means that cartilage or gristle has failed in its early development. It is in some way connected with a defective parathyroid gland. Deformed human beings and especially dwarfs have long been thought to be lucky amongst primitive communities, but why this grotesque figure should have made so wide an appeal in Mesopotamia is a mystery. Well known in Egypt in the Amarna period,[92] and at home in Phoenicia from the 7th century onwards, Bes became very popular in Assyria and Babylonia, whence he travelled to Iran. It is curious that this freakish product became one of the most widely propagated fruits of direct contact with Egypt after the Assyrian conquest. But as with the ivories, by the time he reached his new home Bes had been transformed and refashioned to meet the tastes of a different market.

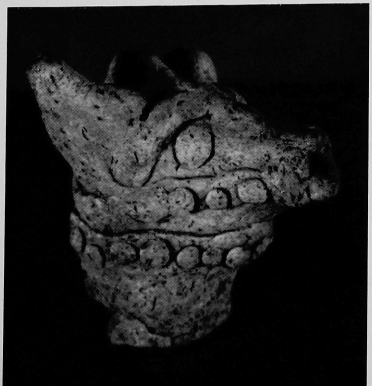
A great variety of ivories came out of S10 and a selection of them will be discussed in the next chapter. Here we may note: ND7738, a plaque with three rows of palmettes in high relief, with interlaced stems, interesting to compare with the open-work floral plaques found in the throne-room; a remarkable panel (unnumbered) in two registers, burnt black, depicting above, bearded men, and below, youths opposed and holding the branches of the sacred tree;[93] ND7806, a coursing dog in the round seizing in its open jaws the hindquarters or claws (?) of another animal; the dog still bore a part of its golden overlay with which it was once entirely covered—perhaps a dog with tawny hair? For this breed of Assyrian hound there is a most interesting comparison on a pyxis discovered by Loftus in the Burnt Palace.[94] There was also a series of plaques in three-quarter relief, unfortunately burnt, depicting browsing stags, cow suckling calf. Exceptional, because nearly complete, was a bird's nest bowl or palette, ND7648 [**529**] which may possibly have been used as a salt cellar, with birds perched around the rim of the bowl, on the handle a sphinx crowned with the *pschent* (double Egyptian crown) confronting a voluted' lotus tree'. It is interesting that the device of birds peering over a bucket occurs in sculpture of



362. ND7878. White limestone rosette, diameter 9·2 cm., found in cupboard of S21. See p. 438.

Sargon II at Khorsabad, and that a strikingly similar ivory was found at Sultantepe in the district of Harran.[95] Fragments of the 'lady at the window' also occurred, together with many mutilated carvings in the quasi-Egyptian or Phoenician style. Probably contemporary was part of a tusk, ND7560 [**551**], completely blackened by fire, carved with a procession of bulls, head down, advancing left, in the style of those discovered in the house site on the akropolis; this ivory was found in the adjacent corridor E together with ND7627 [**540**], comprising segments of an ivory pyxis carved with Hathor-like, Astarte heads. The extraordinarily rich collection found in S10 and outside it had suffered terribly at the hands of looters, but what remained bore witness to its high quality and variety. These ivories may date from different periods; most of them are not likely to have been made much later than the last quarter of the 8th century B.C.; their chronology will be discussed in the next chapter.

With a few rare exceptions the rooms in the Residency other than those in the royal reception wing (S3–5, 6, 10, 16–19, 28–30), did not produce many objects of importance, but the pottery and the 7th century Egyptian and Egyptianizing scarabs and scaraboids were of interest. As we have seen in discussing the architecture (pp. 379–82 above) the apartments immediately south of corridor E had obviously once been intended for the nobility but had been wrecked in the sack, dismantled, and then patched by more than one succession of fugitive settlers, while the rooms on the west side had been intended for servants and kitchen staff: one of these rooms, S42, had been used as a common grave for those killed in the sack (p. 390 above). In these rooms the most interesting discoveries were the pottery used by the inhabitants of post-Assyrian Calah who may not have spanned more than one or two generations at most. There was no change in the typology: the known forms of palace ware continued to be produced, as well as the coarser vessels; while life was not wholly extinct the



363. ND7851. Terracotta head of horse, height 7·2 cm., with oblique harness, from S10. See p. 438.

364. S40 b, looking east: pottery on floor as left after the sack.

potter plied his trade. The area along the inner face of the west wall was finally used as a rubbish dump, and large quantities of broken pottery were found immediately below the surface.

Amongst the small objects of a utilitarian character found hereabouts we may note the following: S20, a bathroom, together with its anteroom S21, produced much pottery up to a height of 15 centimetres above the floor, abandoned probably after the second sack. In S21 there was a cache of eight arrowheads, ND7725, within a niche in the east wall, together with ND7878, a white limestone rosette [**362**]; in the adjoining room S22 an iron arrowhead, ND9216, and knife, ND9217, together with the back portion of an ivory head of a female; S24 produced a stone scaraboid depicting a seated winged sphinx; in S73 there was a terracotta horse's head, ND7851 [**363**]. Another animal figurine, a cow, ND7849, coated with yellow glaze, was found near the junction of the corridors D and E, and at the west end of the latter a rare object, a small strip of polished red stone, ND7056, bearing the name and title of Shalmaneser III; an inscription on it is believed to refer to 'the lifting of food'. Court S37 yielded from a foundation box a lion-headed figurine of sun-dried clay, ND9342, probably deposited in 613 B.C., and described above (p. 390); S38, a room which had served as a shelter for squatters after the destruction, contained a cylindrical bone needle-case, ND9224, with one copper and three iron needles inside it; a faience seal, ND9309, with suspension loop and the design of a standing archer and ibex, probably late 7th century B.C.; ND9496, a yellow paste scarab with traces of green glaze and design of a duck with outspread wings, of the same date; also a tablet, ND9901, which pledged two men on oath to swear that they had cultivated the field of the *rab*

ekalli. Room S39 (with traces of stairs) produced a collection of pottery, ND9000–5, 9008, both on the floor and in the fill, from the end of the 7th century.

The three rooms, S39, 40 a and b, and S44 must originally have comprised an important suite, and Oates has observed that the bathroom S40 [364] was paved with large 9th century bricks. Modifications and a reduction in status appear to have been made in the time of Esarhaddon, and in the last days of the empire the bath had become a kitchen; it contained coarse domestic pottery including ND9015–20 and storage jars; it was heavily burnt in the sack, and yielded specimens of carbonized barley, lentils and linseed (?). Oates has suggested that the reduction in status of these three rooms occurred at a time when S31 [365] and 45 on the opposite side of the courtyard were correspondingly enlarged.

More pots, ND9006, 9007, 9009–12, were found in S41 including a chalice and a glazed bottle, together with a miscellaneous collection of objects: ND9343, 9344, a sun-dried clay warrior, bearded specimen, inscribed on both arms, deposited in corner boxes which had been sunk from the level immediately above the original floor, while ND9201, an iron fibula of triangular type, was found on the upper floor itself. In addition we may note ND9316, a yellow paste scaraboid, Saite Egyptian, decorated with the single Egyptian hieroglyph *ms* 'birth'; ND9323, a white paste scarab with on the base a single tall sign *t'-mḥw*, 'Lower Egypt', according to H. S. Smith certainly of Egyptian make, perhaps Saite in date; ND9322, a rectangular bone stamp seal depicting on the base an Assyrian figure standing in an attitude of prayer before an altar; ND9325, a cylinder seal of grey stone, with a design of an Assyrian figure with bow resting on the ground, holding a cup in his raised hand, facing a jar on a stand, on the far side of which is an attendant and behind him the emblem of Marduk and a crescent; ND9328, a miniature Pazuzu head with suspension loop of blue faience; and ND9329, a similar head in a blue glazed paste. This collection was interesting because it associated small objects of the Saite period with others of a purely Assyrian manufacture, which we might normally expect from the time of Esarhaddon until the end of the Assyrian empire; and furthermore such

365. S31: relieving arch over the drain, main sewer in north-east corner of the room.

366. ND9228. Gold-leaf pendant, length 3·1 cm., with rolled over thread-hole at the top Chased design of a figure wearing a long open robe, hands upraised in an attitude of prayer. Found on the dump in area S of the Residency.

objects were retained by squatters for another generation after the fall. This conclusion is reinforced by discoveries made in the adjoining room S42 which, as we have seen, contained two lots of common burials made probably in and after 612 B.C. [316] (see p. 390).

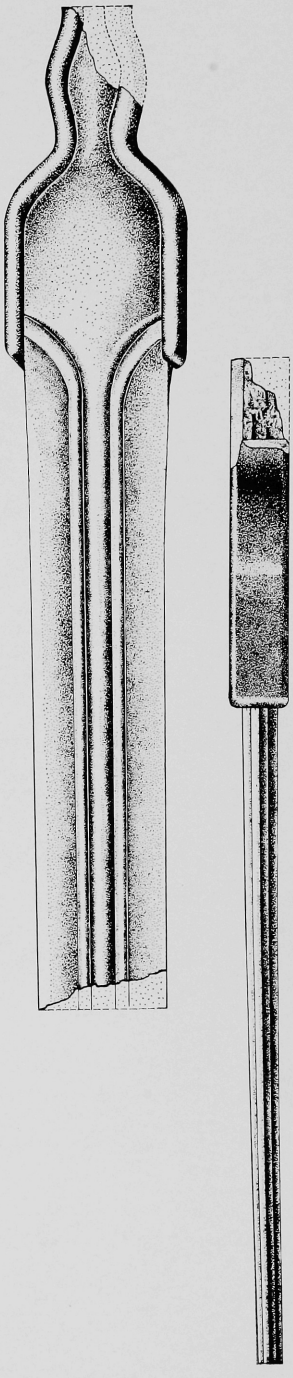
The comparatively poor objects in S42 included pottery, seals, copper fibulae and bangle, amulets, faience and paste scarabs and scaraboids, which did not differ in character from similar classes of objects current in Assyria during the 7th century B.C.; once again scarabs and scaraboids appeared to be of the Saite period. It is therefore obvious that those who survived the sack saw no change in the modest articles of luxury and everyday use which they still contrived to retain in spite of their poverty. A list of the objects found in this room is recorded elsewhere.[96]

Various objects of a similar character to those described above were found in the rooms numbered S45 to S72 but these were much less prolific than those previously mentioned: a separate list of these articles will be found in the notes.[97] An ornament, ND9228 [366], was recovered from the dump in this area; it was a small gold leaf pendant, oblong, with a narrow rolled-over thread hole at the top; chased on it was a standing male figure in an attitude of prayer. A fragment of an iron or steel (*?*) sword, ND9272 [367] from S67 was a weapon of high quality (see note 97).

On the west side of the Residency, the area in which rooms X1–X3 were situated also produced abundant evidence of the last periods of occupation, both immediately before and after the destruction. A collection of pottery, all of Assyrian type, was associated with each of two destruction levels. The first lot lay on a beaten surface defined by ash 35 centimetres above a brick pavement; the second was represented by a further accumulation of debris 75 centimetres in depth and on top of that a mud-brick wall on its side which, if not due to deliberate destruction, could have been the result of an earthquake shock [368].[98] Above it, the second collection of pottery in the sub-surface soil had been suddenly abandoned. Although the last destruction seems certainly to have taken place after 612 B.C., it is not altogether certain whether the earlier debris represents the sack of that year, or of 614 B.C. However that may be, the collapse of the wall in room X1, which had fallen on to its side, may be correlated with a similar collapse which occurred in the west wall of the courtyard in the Burnt Palace, since there also the fallen brickwork overlay debris of the 7th century occupation.[99]

In room X3, lying in debris above the level of the brick pavement, there lay a magnificent ivory of '*cloisonné*' work, ND8068, 27 centimetres high, as fine as any that has ever been found. It represents a winged boy with golden hair, holding a papyrus plant, a Horus hawk perched on a lotus, stylized palmettes in the background. Traces of gold overlay remain on the ivory, and 'Egyptian blue' is still embedded within the '*cloisons*' of the collar as well as in the necklace. This splendid fragment was a strangely isolated piece in its context, and we need have

367. ND9272. Fragment of iron or steel(?) sword. Length 27·6 cm. The blade has a prominent cylindroid mid-rib and the hilt is flanged on each side. S67.



little doubt that it had once been associated with the royal furniture in the sumptuous apartments of the royal wing around S6. The date at which it was made will be discussed in the next chapter; here we must draw attention to the fact that in the upper debris over the ash layer we found an ivory scarab bearing the cartouche of the Pharaoh Taharqa, whose statues Esarhaddon set up at the Nebi Yunus, the arsenal of Nineveh, in 671 B.C.[100] Some therefore may be disposed to assign the ivory boy also to this king's reign, but the solution is not so simple, for both objects were out of place, and certainly older than their context, and each lay in a different stratum of debris.

The residential wing which we have discussed in the previous pages pivoted around four courtyards, S6, S43, S37 and S68. The plan shows that the block built around S6 was the most formal and regular, and that the large halls within it were appropriate for royal receptions, as well as for official business in which the queen and her ladies may well have had a part, for their apartments could be kept secluded and the approaches to them were strictly controlled. The remaining residences comprised ample accommodation for a numerous domestic staff and were not lacking in kitchens and bathrooms. In assessing the organization of the building from the spacious plan that we have been able to recover, we have to recall that we have altogether lost the plan of the upper floors and that the far south end of the building has had to be restored on paper by means of conventional dotted lines. Throughout the building, however, the vast dimensions of the halls is remarkable and we can only account for their magnitude by the enormous bulk of treasure which a wealthy and acquisitive court had accumulated during the three and a half centuries of the neo-Assyrian empire. Indeed, there was a series of Assyrian ritual texts concerned with the storing and guarding of discarded furniture.[101]

Although, as we have seen, many modifications occurred to this wing of the fortress up to the end, the essential plan of the founder Shalmaneser III survived. Only at the extreme south-west end of this wing has it been lost, partly owing to denudation of the ground, still more because of the large scale of the work undertaken here by Esarhaddon. It seems certain that by this time a part of the mud-brick terrace of Shalmaneser in the area of S68, and its flanking chambers, had become severely denuded, probably owing to the neglect with which Calah was treated by Sennacherib. His successor, therefore, not only reconstructed the whole of the southern wall, which he rebuilt partly of ashlar masonry, but also constructed an entirely new approach at the south-west angle of the building through a series of rising corridors, R1–10, which overrode the ruins of Shalmaneser's building and raised the ground level in the neighbourhood of S68 by over 2 metres. Esarhaddon, by his additions, thus destroyed a part of the plan of the rooms which once radiated from the south end of court S68, and similarly dismantled the south end of the chambers, T25–T27. This work of Esarhaddon was contained within the western mound of the two Tulul

368. Southern sector, room XI, the Residency, showing walls demolished and brickwork toppled after the attack of 612 B.C. See p. 440.

el 'Azar, of which one part only has been dug; the other consists of a solid platform of mud brick, the content of which could only be determined in detail by prolonged excavations. The second of these two *tulul* lay on the eastern side of courtyard S and contained within it Shalmaneser's grandiose royal apartments T, which we shall now proceed to examine.

The State Apartments. In 1957, when we made a superficial examination of the ground, we imagined that the dense covering of mud brick in this sector of the mound must have formed part of a system of defensive towers; but five years later, when David Oates was able to probe more deeply, we came to a different conclusion.[102] It was discovered that this great volume of debris was to be accounted for as the remains of a throne-room and its appendages; the collapse of the walls had resulted in a pile proportionate to their exceptional height.

These apartments, numbered T1–28 on the plan, occupied an L-shaped area about 100 metres in length; they were buried beneath an accumulation of soil 7 metres high. The nucleus of the building comprised two contiguous blocks which included first the throne-room and its subsidiary apartments, T1–9, 11, opening off courtyards on its northern and southern sides, and secondly, a system of great oblong halls, T10, 21–8, which formed its southern wing.

The Throne-Room Block. A shower of rain in the spring of 1962 revealed a thin line of plaster on the east wall of the throne-room, with the rebated niche that had been designed to receive the throne-base. On excavation the throne-room itself was found to be divided into two sections of unequal width by a massive

longitudinal wall which separated T1, 7 and 8 from T3, 9, 11 and was built of mud brick throughout on a scale commensurate with that of the royal apartments in the N.W. Palace at Nimrud and at Khorsabad; it measured 42·1 × 9·8 metres internally. At its eastern end, the only part of the throne-room which it was possible to excavate to floor level, there was a shallow rebated niche into which the great limestone, stepped throne-base of Shalmaneser III was fitted. This was confronted by two stone rails, 'tram-lines' which were set in the conventional position before the throne and were contrived for ceremonial purposes, perhaps to guide a brazier which ran on wheels, or as a base for the king's table. To one side of the throne in the north-east corner of the room was a stone ablution slab with a drain-hole in the centre. Foundation boxes in the north-east and south-east corners of the room contained two prophylactic figurines of sun-dried clay of spearman type, ND11309 and 11304 respectively.

There was access to the throne-room both on its northern and on its southern sides. Two wide portals gave off the south-east courtyard, of which the western was probably the entrance and the eastern, nearer to the throne, was the exit, thereby conforming to usage in the N.W. Palace. The second main entrance and exit was from courtyard T; it was flanked by towers and gave an indirect approach to the throne through the long hall T3. This also must have been an important ceremonial entry since, as we shall see, the archway above it was surmounted by a great glazed brick tableau, which depicted the king saluting the winged disk of the god Assur, beneath a pair of bulls rampant, framed by floral devices. There was another smaller approach through T21, which was later blocked.

The exceptional thickness of the walls of the royal apartments (4·4–4·8 metres) must be accounted for by their abnormal height, which no doubt exceeded that of the outer walls. Indeed, the north wall of the throne-room is unique, for an extra baulk gives it an additional width of 5·6 metres.[103] This extra width, Oates believes, may have been intended to support a terrace below a clerestory which ran round the room: access to it would have been given by a stairway in room T8. It is reasonable to assume the total height of the throne-room walls as not less than 12 metres.[104]

Apart from the throne-base, no significant discoveries were made in T1, but we did discover a decayed section of timber which gave an impression of the original roof-beam, 45 centimetres in diameter, rough-dressed and plastered. There was no evidence of any burning, and it appeared that this great hall had been left empty and abandoned possibly before the final collapse of Nimrud. Indeed, two sockets which may have contained wooden posts had been set in front of the throne [369] and would hardly have been so placed if this room had still been used for ceremonial. Their purpose seems to have been to reinforce the roof at a time when it threatened to collapse.

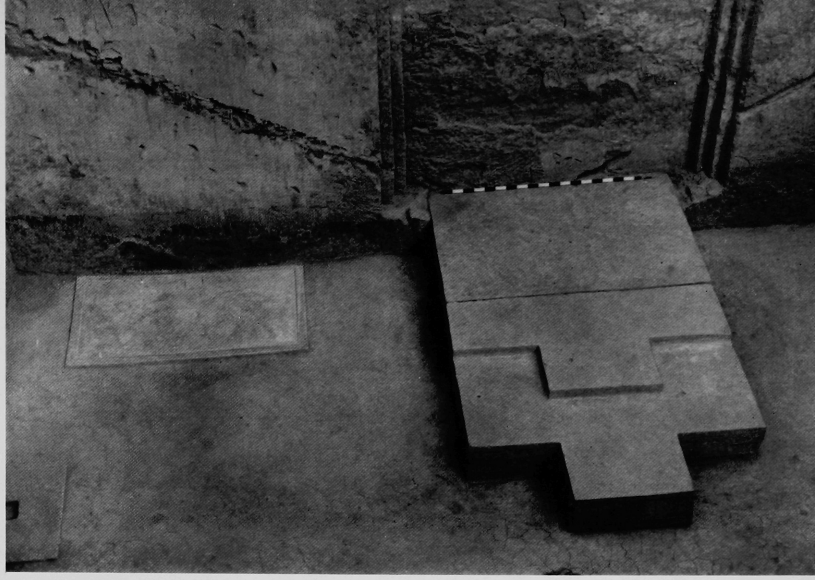
When the throne-base came to be lifted, traces of painted mural were found underneath it and this can only imply that it had been shifted, perhaps for repairs, at some relatively late period. Furthermore, the throne-room itself still bore faint traces of cushion-shaped designs which, together with other geometric and floral ornaments, rosettes, lozenges and lotus, had accompanied figures of the king attended by the royal guard; but only fragments on the floor had survived. It is therefore clear that T1 must have been open to the sky sufficiently

long for rain to cause the mural paintings to vanish, since when, buried, they remained relatively well preserved.

These murals imply a change in the artistic methods of decorating a palace during the reign of Shalmaneser III, for his father had used stone bas-relief as the principal form of royal ornament concurrently with mural painting, for example the diaper pattern picked out in a brilliant red, which was also used by his son. But nowhere have we found any trace of stone reliefs used as murals attributable to Shalmaneser III, who perhaps wished to avoid the long and tedious operations which they involved, nor is it likely when we consider how much has been dug of 9th century remains at Nineveh and Assur, as well as at Calah, that he ever pursued this art on an extensive scale. The tantalizing fragments of his painted murals, however, suggest that in this form of decoration he may have excelled. The figured relief carvings on the throne-base therefore are a rare and welcome legacy, although they too reflect a continuation of smaller relief work, such as his father had already used on the Broken Obelisk.

The Throne-Dais. The position of the throne-dais set against its rebated niche, and the ablution slab, can be clearly seen from [**369-70**]. The rostrum measured 2·28 × 3·82 metres overall and was composed of two slabs of yellowish limestone. It had a shallow step 9 centimetres high, leading to an upper platform,

369–70 (*Left and on opposite page*). Two views of the throne-base of Shalmaneser III set against a rebated niche at the east end of throne-room T1; to the left an ablution slab: in front post-holes.

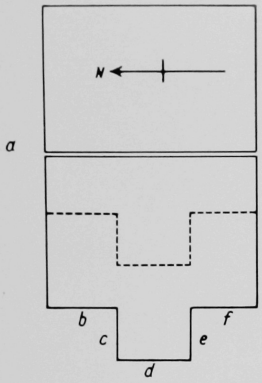


and there were projecting tongues at two levels in the centre of the throne-base. The throne itself must have stood about 50 centimetres above the level of the floor, and from a series of shallow depressions cut in the base it was possible to discern that the throne and footstool had been renewed, and slightly altered in position, at least three times.

The larger part of the upper surface was inscribed and engraved with geometric designs of rosettes which had been picked out in white. The written legends also ran above the reliefs all around the sides of the base.

We learn from the inscription, which has been published in detail by P. Hulin,[105] that the latest event referred to in it took place in the thirteenth year of Shalmaneser's reign, so that it was probably completed in or about the year 845 B.C., two years earlier than the one set up in the south-east quadrant. The governor of Calah, named Shamash-bel-usur, is mentioned as responsible for setting up the base. The text gives a selection of the principal conquests of the king and indicates the broad range of his military triumphs; for example, he refers specifically to his conquests of Unqi (the 'Amuq plain in western Syria) and to his triumphs over Chaldaea as far south as the Persian Gulf, and claims to have received elephant tusks as tribute from each of these regions. He also records his victory over a coalition led by the king of Damascus and including Irhuleni, king of Hamath (whose name was also found inscribed on a shell in T10), and describes with obvious satisfaction his reinstatement of Marduk-zakir-shumi on the throne of Babylon.

We are left in no doubt that some of the figured reliefs are illustrations of the succinct narrative [371]. Perhaps the most remarkable is the unique picture of the king grasping the hand of his Babylonian ally and vassal. This I would interpret as a ceremonial form of ratifying a treaty by a touching of hands; a comparable scene had been depicted many centuries earlier on a stela discovered at Ugarit.[106] For the rest, the items of tribute are the standard ones that appear on the monuments of Shalmaneser and of his father: horses, cauldrons, linen, ornaments of gold and silver. The king is dressed in the usual fashion of royal ceremonial robes but, unlike his father, not represented as fighting: his personal exploits in action may perhaps have been recorded on his mural paintings as in



371. ND11000(B). 2·28 × 3·82 metres. The throne dais of Shalmaneser III from the great throne-room TI of Fort Shalmaneser, illustrated on the following two pages. The key on the left shows the positions of the throne-dais's sides, as shown in the photographs overleaf. See pp. 444–50.

Panels a, b and c, carved on the north side of the throne-dais, depict the tribute of 'Qalparunda of the land of Unqi', as the inscription above the reliefs indicate. The land of Unqi may be identified with the 'Amuq plain in north Syria. The illustration of this tribute advertised the extent of the king's sway towards the west, just as the Chaldaean tribute-bearers depicted on the south side (*panels e, f, g*) drew attention to his influence in the Persian Gulf.

Panel a (*left*) shows the Assyrian king accompanied by a sunshade bearer and an armed escort of three – two archers and a spearman. The latter (*extreme left*) carries a spiked shield, a weapon depicted frontally on *panel d* (*extreme right*). The king stands in characteristic pose with left hand resting on the tip of the bow and right hand grasping two arrows and raised in greeting. He wears the royal headdress and is clad in a long, fringed tunic and outer robe. The latter, unlike the more elaborate, belted ceremonial garment worn by the same king in the glazed brick panel [373] falls loosely in the manner of a surcoat; here, it is worn over a sword scabbard. Six Assyrian officers, of whom the first may be the *turtan*, introduce the procession of foreign tributaries. At its head is a small figure, perhaps a son of Qalparunda who may himself be depicted as the second figure in 'Syrian' dress. The latter seems to be characterized by heavily fringed garments, ankle boots, and caps which appear to have a loose end folded back over the forehead and secured by a bandeau. The inscription referring to the tribute of Qalparunda mentions 'silver, gold, tin, bronze, bowls of bronze, elephant tusks, ebony, logs of cedar, bright-coloured garments and linen, (and) horses trained to harness'. Most of the articles in this list may be identified with the objects shown on the reliefs, which are as follows: (*panel a, from left to right*) two men each carry a metal bucket in one hand, as do several of their companions, while balancing a tray in the other; the objects on the tray might be ingots of precious metal – they appear in the shape of contemporary cruciform earrings. Next are shown garments or cloths draped over a pole; perhaps they were made of the 'reddish-purple dyed wool' mentioned on the Kurkh Monolith as part of the tribute of a 'Qal . . . . unda mat Hattina' (II, 21 ff). The rest of the tribute consists of a tray of unidentifiable objects; two large ingots; an elephant tusk; a small log of wood, probably the ebony of the inscription; huge, two-handled cauldrons presumably of bronze; metal bowls and other vessels, and a trident.

Panel b shows another bowl and a fringed cloth; a tray of rounded objects with pointed tops might be caskets of ivory or precious metal and are comparable with similar objects depicted on Band V of the Balawat Gates and said to be among the tribute of the 'Unqians'; four porters carrying the cedar logs of the inscription.

Finally, *panel c* depicts the 'horses trained to harness' with their yokes and tasselled trappings.

There are other references to the tribute received by Shalmaneser from a Qalparunda or Qarparunda variously described as of 'mat Unqa' or 'mat Hattina' (see P. Hulin, *Iraq* 25, p. 65). These, together with the illustrations on the Balawat Gates and Black Obelisk, correspond fairly closely with the tribute shown on the throne-base. On Band V of the Balawat Gates, exact parallels to the throne-base include large, two-handled cauldrons, metal buckets, ivory tusks, small logs of wood and possible the trays of round objects with pointed ends already mentioned. The Black Obelisk shows the tribute of 'Qarparunda of Hattina' and the inscription lists 'silver, gold, tin, bronze, vessels, ivory, ebony' – an abbreviated version of the throne-base inscription. Exact parallels in the reliefs include tusks, metal buckets, two-handled cauldrons and shallow, two-handled vessels as carried by the second man from the right on *panel a*. It does not seem possible to associate the tribute of Qalparunda as shown on the throne-base with a definite year: the relief was probably intended to demonstrate the Syrian ruler's contribution rather than to commemorate a specific occasion.

Panel d: two kings greet each other beneath a canopy (see detail on p. 447). Shalmaneser is on the right wearing the Assyrian royal headdress; he has an armed escort of three, two with a mace and bow and one with a spear and the spiked shield seen in profile on the left in *panel a*. The king on the left is almost certainly Marduk-zakir-shumi; he is referred to in an inscription at the back of the throne-base. Shalmaneser suppressed a revolt against him and confirmed his position on the throne of Babylon. It is probable that their 'handshake' was a gesture well-understood at the time and denoting some degree of homage paid by the ruler of a client state.

Panels e, f and g show the combined tribute of 'Mushallim-Marduk, son of Ukani (and) of Adini, son of Dakuri', Chaldaean rulers from south Babylonia. The group of Shalmaneser and escort (*panel g, extreme right*) is basically similar to that already described on *panel a*. The two groups of tributaries introduced by the Assyrian officers are each led by an identical trio of figures: the prince himself

d (*centre*)

preceded by a small son or hostage – both of whom raise their clenched fists in homage – and followed by a staff-bearer. The fringed robes of the Babylonians differ slightly from those of the Assyrians; their hairstyle is similar but with the addition of a headband tied at the back of the head, the loose ends of which are sometimes visible. The Babylonian beards are close-cropped with the exception of that of the two princes who wear a shorter version of the Assyrian square-ended beard. As might be expected, the tribute of the Chaldaeans differ in some respects from that of Qalparunda, a difference reflected in the accompanying inscription which lists 'silver, gold, tin, bronze, elephant tusks and hides, ebony and sissoo wood'.

Starting with *panel e* (*from left to right*), the following may be identified: rectangular packages which may represent elephant hides; two tusks; two metal buckets with button bases; two logs, probably of ebony; two shallow, metal vessels with curled handles.

Panel f (*from left to right*) shows a large cauldron; small logs, perhaps of sissoo wood, and a metal bucket; a pair of bows and a helmet; a model of a city, token of its submission; a tray of metal bowls and bracelets (?); a tray of cruciform earrings or ingots. The next figure, who makes a gesture of homage, must be a Chaldaean official.

Panel g shows more bundles of elephant skins (?) and two trays of ingots or boxes; a pair of horses with no trappings or harness apart from a halter – these are the only articles of tribute definitely not mentioned in the inscription referring to this panel; a tusk and metal buckets; a tray of jewellery or ingots; another model city.

The Balawat Gates Inscription and reliefs provide an interesting comparison. That inscription lists the tribute of Adini and the combined tribute of Mushallim-Marduk and a certain Iakini; the text is defective but the throne-base list for Mushallim-Marduk and Adini corresponds to that of the Balawat Gates for Iakini and Mushallim-Marduk with the exception of ivory and ebony – which may have been mentioned in the defective part of the text. All the tribute of Adini listed on the Balawat Gates is included on the throne-base with the exception of iron. Band XI of the Balawat Gates is inscribed 'tribute of Adini the Chaldaean'. Exact parallels with the throne-base include metal buckets; bronze cauldrons; timber carried on the shoulders of porters; squarish packages of elephant skins (?); square objects stacked in ferry-boats and comparable with those carried in trays on *panel g* (*extreme left*) of the throne-base. We should not, of course, expect the scenes on the Balawat Gates, which relate the first nine years of the king's reign, to correspond exactly with those of the throne-base which refers to events down to the thirteenth year.

It is clear that in spite of occasional confusion and inaccuracy of detail, the court sculptors took care to distinguish between the types of foreign tributaries, their dress and the articles they brought with them; they must have been provided with official lists to guide them.

a

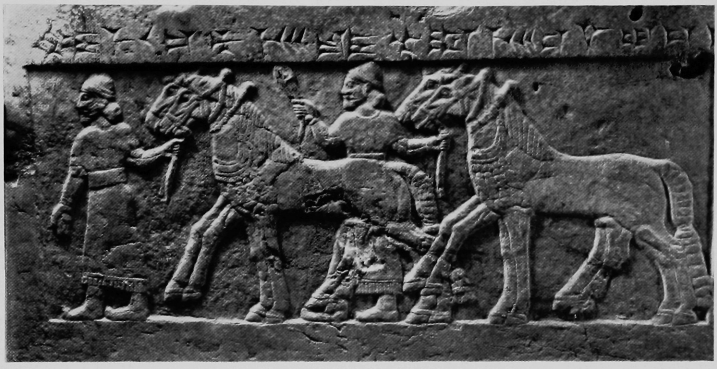
b

d

e

g

c



f

For the relative positions of the scenes illustrated in *a–g* see key plan on p. 446.

the later painted designs discovered at Til Barsip.[107] The king himself is represented twice resting on his bow and holding his arrows; he greets his *turtan* and high officers as well as the tributaries from different parts of the empire, and is accompanied by his personal bodyguard. Many of the scenes closely anticipate the episodes later rendered on the Bronze Gates of Balawat and also on the Black Obelisk. The one episode that may be described as unique was placed in the most prominent position on the forefront of the dais [371*d*]; it is here that the king of Assyria is seen shaking hands with the king of Babylon under the royal canopy.

Although there is otherwise nothing novel in these scenes, which are rigidly defined by the comparatively limited conceptual framework of imperial Assyrian art, the excellent quality of the stone, the clarity and firm rendering of the figures, combine to make the throne-base an outstanding monument of Shalmaneser's reign.

T7 and T8 follow the conventional layout of Assyrian throne-rooms elsewhere, but as the walls were only traced in outline we have no information about them other than the knowledge that T7 was an ante-room to the stair-well T8, giving access both to the terrace and to the roof, which commanded a distant view across the gardens and irrigated plain which lay between Calah and the rushing waters of the upper Zab.

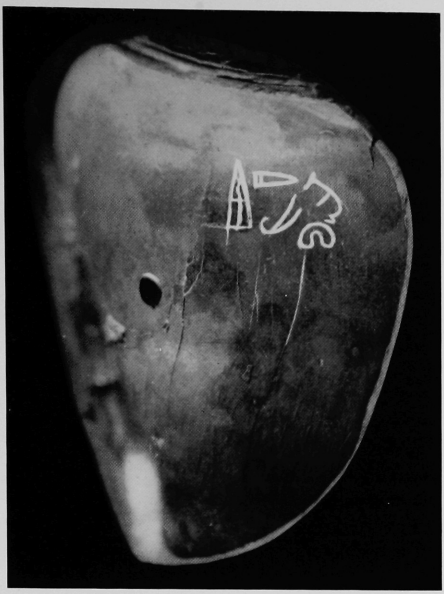
On the southern side of the throne-room, the long hall T3 which runs parallel with it again follows the dual arrangement of the royal apartments around three sides of the N.W. Palace of Assur-nasir-pal.

T9, a room subsidiary to T3, did not communicate with any other room. T11 to the west of it must have served some special purpose, for it was approached through the square antechamber S75 and had no other communication; it may well have been a treasure-chamber.

The South Wing. The arrangement of this set of rooms is unique at Calah, and is of particular interest because it anticipates a plan partly reproduced more than a century later by Sargon at Khorsabad in Palace F, which was also situated in the outer town. The most prominent chambers were three long interconnecting rooms T25–7, with triple entrances from courtyards S and T, which were situated on their western and eastern sides respectively. There was evidence that T25 and T27 were reception-rooms, for niches in the north wall of the former room were obviously designed to receive a seat of honour, and in the second room there were traces of mural painting, and a stone ablution slab remained against the eastern wall.

T26, which was only excavated to floor level in a small area, revealed no evidence of its use, but was obviously an important assembly room. The floors of all three chambers consisted of gypsum cement.

The northern portion of this wing was differently arranged, but there was intercommunication with the above mentioned chambers. This complex of six smaller rooms comprised T10 and T20–4. A vestibule, T21, had access to every room adjacent to it, but was later blocked from the throne-room wing. T10 and T20 were storerooms; T22, a bathroom, had been waterproofed with bitumen; it contained remains of stone paving and two stone orthostats against the north and south walls; a painted floral frieze, later covered with plaster, once decorated



372. ND12518. Burnt cut shell ornament, 8·7×7·5 cm. Pierced by a drill hole. The name of Irhuleni, king of Hamath, is incised on the inner surface with neo-Hittite hieroglyphs. From the fill of T10. See p. 452.

the west and south walls. T23, a small passage, linked T22, which may have been a robing-room, and gave off the great hall T26. In at least three of these rooms, T21, 23 and 24, the floors were made of gypsum cement and may possibly be attributed to Esarhaddon and his successors, for they do not appear to be typical of 9th century work.

In T23 the carbonized remains of a wooden door were still preserved; it had swung on a door-pin which rested inside a capstone and socket and had been held in position at the top through a ring in the wall; a cavity in the floor had served as a bolt-hole to receive the brace which had fastened the door. Sufficient data are available for a reconstructed drawing which will show that the panels constituting the door were embellished at intervals with a papyrus design worked in wood and ivory, reminiscent of the carved ivory veneer that so frequently adorned palace furniture. It was calculated that the height of the door was about 3 metres and its width about 1·30 metres.

Some discoveries of exceptional interest were made in T10, the only chamber to be excavated throughout to floor level. This room had been thoroughly burnt, presumably in the sack of 614 B.C. and contained many fragments of blackened ivory, some of which were Assyrian in style and reminiscent of the miniature relief work which had been discovered in the chambers off the small throne-room in Ezida, while others were in the engraved style which had also been popular in the 9th century. Together with the ivory were found the long bones of an elephant, remains of carbonized wood which had no doubt served for furniture, and fragments of bronze and iron armour-plates. The evidence of the remains of elephant is of particular interest when we recall that both Assur-nasir-pal and Shalmaneser claim to have kept them in their park at Calah. Since fragments of tusks have been found in the akropolis we may take it for granted that some ivory was worked in Calah itself. It is well to remember this evidence

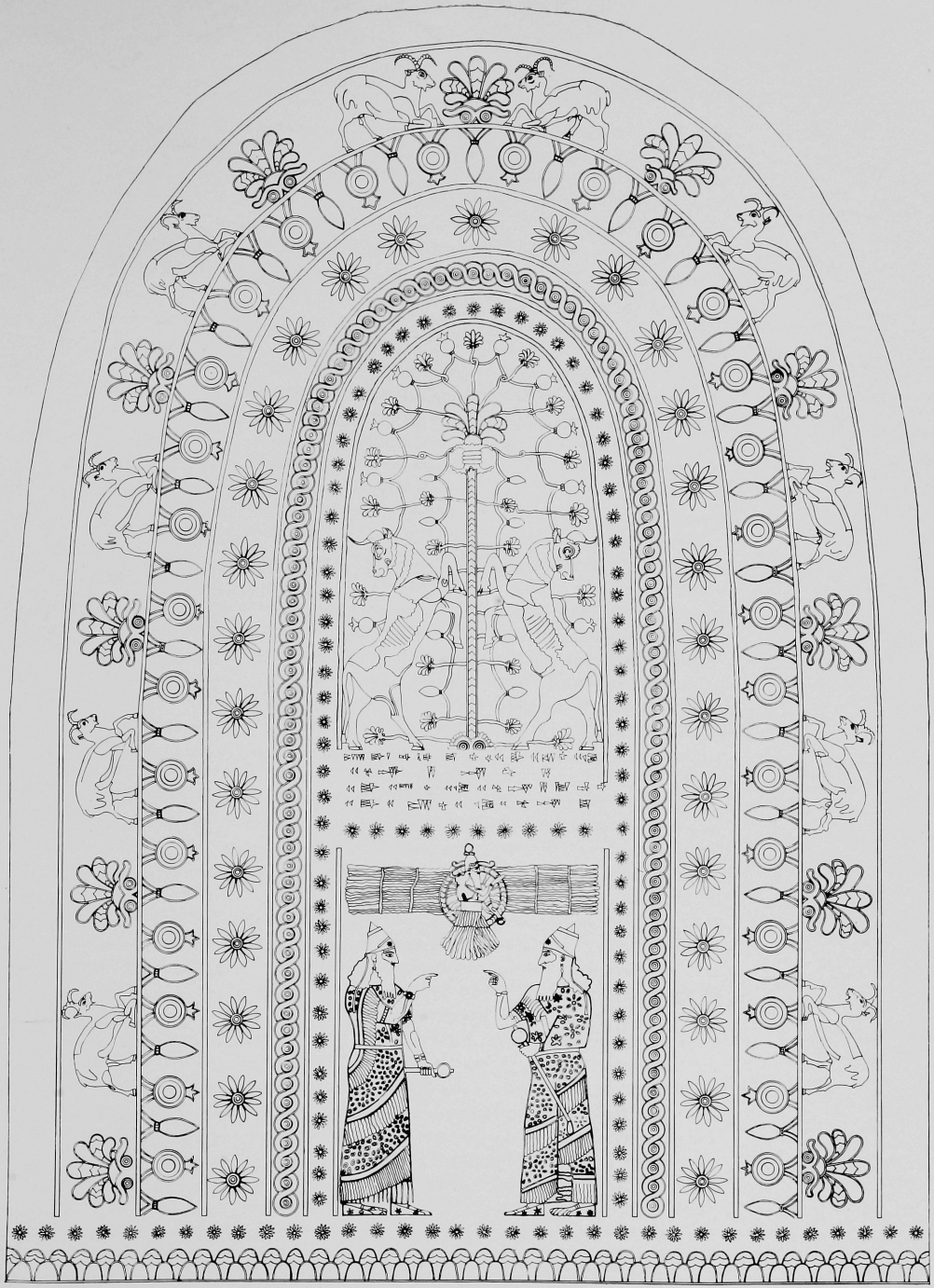
when we recall how much ivory was made elsewhere. Additional evidence of articles imported from abroad was furnished by the fortunate discovery of fragments of shells, ND11225, 12518[372], 12519, also burnt, at the east end of the same chamber in the fill, incised with neo-Hittite hieroglyphic signs which have been identified by Dr R. D. Barnett[108] as recording the name of Irhuleni king of Hamath, a city from which Sargon must have obtained ivories when he sacked it in the year 720 B.C. It would however be wrong to suggest that Hamath supplied Calah with more ivories than other Phoenician and Syrian cities which must have been equally important centres of supply, each with their own workshops. Some fragments of shell were decorated with incised designs of lions, others with concentric circles and all of them had once been perforated in their centres with bronze nails, such as were found in association with similar uninscribed shells which we had discovered in well NN of the N.W. Palace [66] (see ch. IX, p. 125). The purpose for which they were used is uncertain, but Dr Barnett has ingeniously suggested that they may have been clappers for dancing girls (Greek *krotala*). This use however would not meet his objection that the inscriptions should not have been concealed, for the nails that penetrated the shells were certainly fastened to a wooden (?) backing which would have obscured the inner surface upon which the written signs appear. Nor do these objects bear traces of the abrasion which one would have expected had they been clashed together.

Another important discovery in T10 was a fragment of burnt ivory veneer, ND11310[582], inscribed with the name of Hazael. The fact that this object was found in the same chamber which yielded the name of Irhuleni, an opponent of Shalmaneser III, provides us with strong grounds for the assumption that this Hazael was the contemporary king of Damascus. It also follows that some of the ivories found in this chamber were probably made in the 9th century B.C.

Although Esarhaddon must have had a hand in repaving the southern wing of the royal block T, we know that its foundation dates from the time of Shalmaneser III, whose inscriptions were discovered on various door-sills, for example in T21–7; in T27 off courtyard T; on the west side of T25; in the door between T25 and T26; in the bolt-hole of the southern door of T23; and on a door-socket in T24. Unfortunately the extreme south end of the building beyond T25–7 was eroded away and only a short length of the south wall of T25 had survived. If, however, we assume that Esarhaddon's ramp ran so far east, there would have been room for a narrow corridor debouching on courtyard T between T25–7 and the southern wall of the fort.

Although one can but conclude that the purpose of the two courtyards S and T was for assembling a large concourse of persons, it has to be admitted that the only surviving public thoroughfare that led to it, namely S76, was a comparatively narrow passage and altogether inadequate for meeting such large assembly points. It may therefore be that in the original plan there was another, perhaps more adequate, entry from the south-west through court S68; but, as we have seen, there is no satisfactory solution at present for its prolongation as far as courtyard T.

Assyrian architects took full advantage of the dramatic possibilities provided by the setting of monumental entrances. Here they contrived spectacular effects calculated to impress the visitor, as we may see from a glance at the towered



373. Glazed brick panel above portal of doorway in south wall of T3, representing Shalmaneser III beneath the winged disc. Original height 4·07 metres. Reconstruction by Julian Reade. See p. 454.

central door on the west side of T25 and the similar one on the east side of T27. But the most majestic entry of all was that which gave on to the paved courtyard T through the southern wall of T3. Here, lying on the brick pavement beneath the entrance, were a mass of glazed bricks which had fallen from above the door into the courtyard. Their reconstruction was undertaken by Mr Julian Reade,[109] whose skilful labours resulted in a representation of the striking panel which is illustrated on [373]; his task was facilitated by the ancient fitters' marks which he used as a guide.

After reconstruction the panel was found to take the shape of a semi-elliptical Assyrian gate-arch. It stood 4·07 metres high and was 2·91 metres wide at its base. The top of the panel must have stood at least 8 metres above the ground. The figured representations were carried over a series of 38 courses of brickwork, which were not firmly bonded into the mud brick behind it either by mortar or by bitumen. Consequently, when the doorway was fired at the time of the sack of Calah, the entire panel detached itself from the mud-brick wall which it had lined and was subsequently covered and protected by the fall of the superstructure.

In considering the techniques applied to the execution of these façades, we should call attention to a pleasing irregularity in the distribution of the design over the brickwork and the absence of monotony which might have prevailed had mechanical means been used. The bricks were individually glazed and there were occasional flaws in the design. The artistry of the applied handwork was in keeping with the rough and ready methods of Assyrian architecture.

Five different colours were used for the decoration: white, black, green and yellow on a blue background. This simple but startling combination stood out all the more boldly for being set against a mud-brick background and must have attracted the gaze of the visitor as he looked aloft before entering these majestic portals.

There were two themes in the centre of the panel, set one above another and separated by an inscription, which included the name, genealogy and titles of Shalmaneser III. The centre was framed by five borders, which included kneeling goats and floral designs in the standard forms familiar to Assyrian decorative art.

In the lower half of the central register, Shalmaneser was depicted twice, standing beneath the winged disk of Assur, in a kind of motion picture which showed him supplicating for authority from the god, who transmitted it to him in the form of the circlet which he held in his left hand. This iconographic representation of the divine right of kings followed precisely that which had been established by Assur-nasir-pal when he set up his great throne-room in the N.W. Palace [43] (see p. 97).

The upper and larger part of this centrepiece is given over to the representation of two rampant bulls on either of a magical tree, which is artistically drawn and perfectly adapted for the space set aside for it. The design below the row of rosettes at the bottom of the panel is of uncertain significance but recalls the border which edged a painted royal panel of the 18th century B.C. in Syrian Mari.[110]

This form of glazed brick panelling has a long history both in Assyria, where we find evidence, especially at Assur, of glazed brick figured orthostats in the

9th century—an art which derives from older painted murals of the middle Assyrian period [111]—and also in the decorative modelled but unglazed bricks of neo-Elamite art.[112] Later the Achaemenian reliefs at Susa[113] were influenced by developments in Assyria, although the direct tradition of Assyrian glazed work was most strikingly reflected in the Great Processional Way at Babylon.[114]

East of the throne-room, in the intervening space between it and the eastern wall of the fort, there were three chambers, T2, 4–5, flanked by an area, T6, which may have been open to the sky and had perhaps been a terrace with direct access to the city wall. Although the origin of the plan of T6 and the chambers leading off it probably goes back to the time of Shalmaneser III, it seems most likely that its walls had been rebuilt by Esarhaddon; they consisted of mud brick on a base course of dressed limestone blocks, in the same style as that of the extreme southern wall which can be attributed to him by inscriptions. Nonetheless, as Oates has pointed out, this form of building had already been used in the Nabu Temple of Adad-nirari III and at Assur in the Anu-Adad Temple of Shalmaneser III. There was evidence in the south-west corner of T6 of a cement pavement that had been raised 20 centimetres higher than the original and this is probably also evidence of repairs in the 7th century overlying 9th century work. At the eastern end of the same room a series of limestone slabs were set in cement and are also likely to be the work of Esarhaddon.

T2 was an entry chamber to a brick-paved bathroom with stone bath-slab, T4, and here again there was a later pavement 25 centimetres higher than one which contained brick-sizes of Shalmaneser III and Assur-nasir-pal. This pavement was 1·5 metres above the level of the throne-room floor and 35 centimetres below that of the terrace, T6. Orthostats consisting of plain limestone slabs about 1·15 metres high had lined the west and north walls and recall the architecture of Palace AB on the akropolis (see ch. XV).

T5 was paved with gypsum and the varying heights of floor levels here and generally throughout the area in the vicinity of T6 has led to the suspicion that subsidence had occurred in this area, possibly as early as the end of the 9th century B.C. This may have been a contributory reason impelling Esarhaddon to rebuild the whole of the southern wall of the fort. But on the other hand, where the outer walls of Shalmaneser could be examined in proximity to those of Esarhaddon, there was no evidence of subsidence and we are more inclined to attribute the comparatively small inequalities of level in contemporary floors to the imprecise methods of Assyrian builders. But neglect of the Fort during the reign of Sennacherib may well have necessitated the subsequent repairs which resulted in the beautifully built stretch of masonry contrived by Esarhaddon, who here displayed the ornamental style of architecture so much favoured by the Sargonid kings of Assyria in their magnificent façades. It may well be that by that time builders had realized that it was more economical in the end to go to the labour of making limestone base courses which had a far greater durability than mud brick.

Throughout the south-east sector, in and beyond courtyard T, the ground had been heavily eroded. The underlying platform was intersected by drainage gullies and, as in the north court of the N.W. Palace, there was a deep gully through the middle of courtyard T through which the waters drained away over the eastern wall. It was water action after the abandonment of the fortress that

was responsible for the destruction of many walls here. A complete plan was therefore beyond recovery.

State Apartments, Comparison with Khorsabad. The L-shaped plan of the state apartments, so striking a feature of this end of the fortress, has no parallel elsewhere at Nimrud. It is of particular interest because of its obvious similarity to the plan of the Palace F at Khorsabad[115] built by Sargon. It is clear that Sargon, who was using Fort Shalmaneser as a base while building his new palace, was inspired by the older plan of his home town. There are, as is to be expected, considerable differences in the layout, but these were due to the exigencies of space, for on new ground at Khorsabad it was possible to adopt a more regular plan and to introduce into it certain architectural innovations such as a loggia in the style of a pillared *hilani*. The greater regularity of the plan at Khorsabad was reflected in the simplification of the short arm of the L, in which the chambers which would have corresponded to T10, 20–4 were replaced by a single long hall, running transversely to the three main ones, which were similar to T25–7 at Nimrud. Further, the layout of the apartments behind the throne were regularized in a system of long symmetrical halls, and beyond the opposite end of the same room the *hilani* type of entrance took the place of the passage-way S76 and its entrance chamber S74 at Nimrud. It is also to be observed that Palace F, like Fort Shalmaneser, was situated on a terrace which lay directly against the towered city wall.

Another discovery at Khorsabad which relates the two buildings is that in proximity with it there were discovered a series of enamelled bricks with designs of human figures, and a text which included Sargon's name, so that this building also may have been decorated with a figured portico.

Unfortunately none of the inscriptions associated with Palace F defined its function, and Sargon made no mention of the expression *ekal masharti*. Eight complete cylinders of the king and a few fragments were found in its halls, but they did not specify the function of the building, which Loud, without any evidence, suggested might have been built for the Crown Prince, Sennacherib, since Sargon himself had his own larger palace on the akropolis. But Loud also recalled that in a suite of three of the halls in Sargon's palace corresponding with a similar suite in Palace F, Botta had discovered many bronze implements of war,[116] which may incline some authorities to support the view that Palace F too was an arsenal. But the fact is that an Assyrian palace was a stronghold for the spoils of war and the king's throne-room was never far distant from the arms by which it was sustained.

The Outer Gates and Methods of Access. Access to the fortress was obtained through three gates, which intersected the north, west and southern walls; there was no entry from the eastern side, and the entry from the south was on a bent axis: every effort was made to see that any attack would be fraught with difficulties.

The West Gate. A glance at the plan will show that the main gate, NW17, with towers NW31, 32, was designed as an integral part of the western wall and, how-

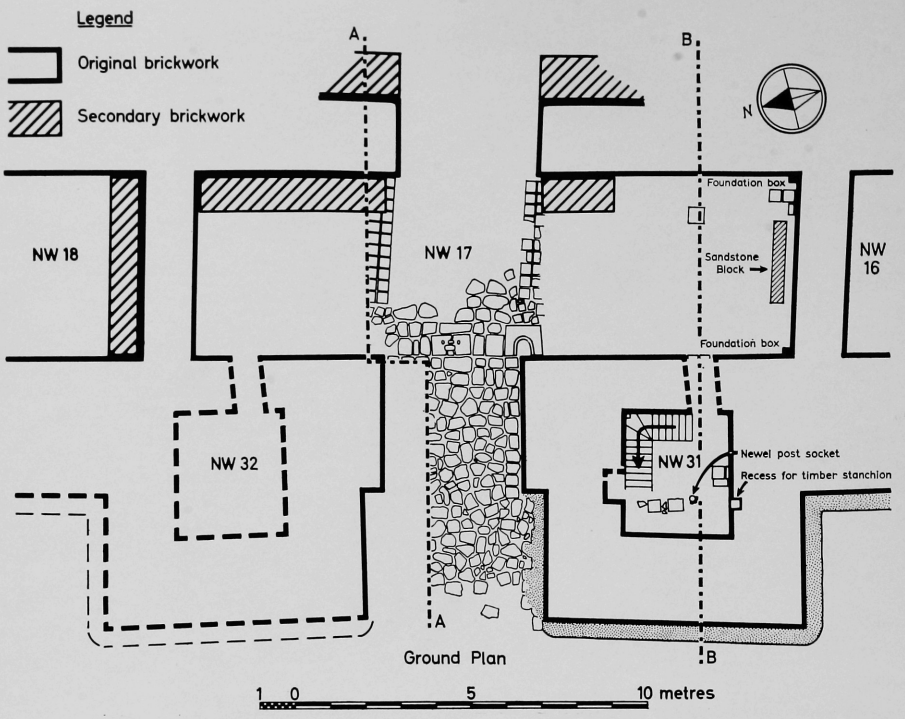
374. West Gate from the east, showing the remains of the arched entrance. The ziggurat is just visible in the background.

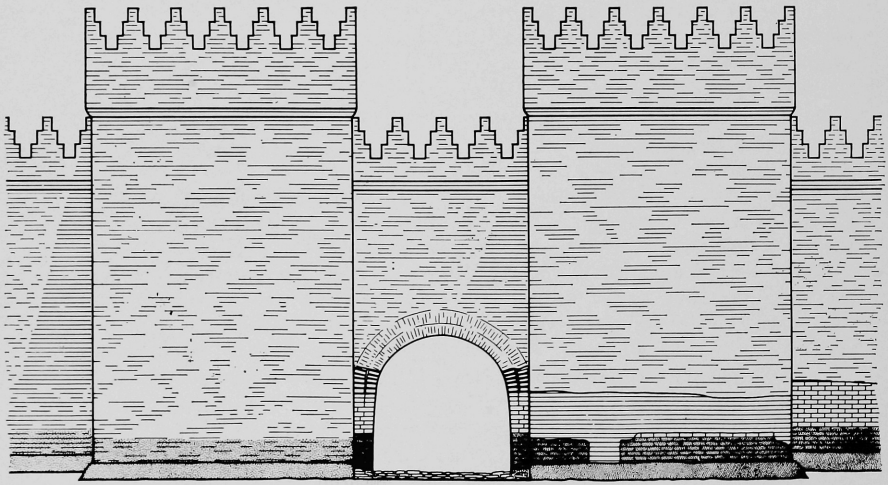
ever much it was modified in the course of time, retained till the end the plan originally laid down at the time of its foundation in the reign of Shalmaneser III.

Anyone approaching the fort from this direction passed under a semi-elliptical archway, which was similar to those depicted on Assyrian bas-reliefs. The arch spanned an opening in the outer wall just under 4 metres wide, and may have been about 4 metres high [374]; it was a barrel vault consisting of two concentric, unbonded rings of radiating voussoirs, only a few of which survived. The lack of bonding was an essential weakness and explains the poor survival of these large arches. The gate was originally closed by double doors.

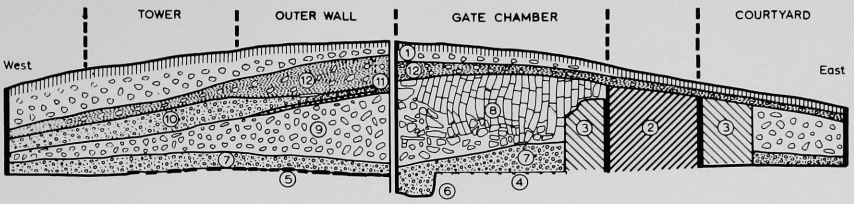
Beneath the arch a flagged, stone roadway led into the fortress, perhaps from the Shalmaneser Gate on the eastern slope of the citadel. The road passed through the gate-chamber, NW17, which was set immediately inside the gateway [375–6].

The north-east and north-west courtyards may originally have been paved, at least in part, with the same rough limestone slabs as in the roadway. In the small excavated area east of the gate-chamber these slabs were missing: the paving of the road was also incomplete. The flagstones of the unfinished roadway had, in some cases, a bitumen coating with wheel-marks running in many different directions, showing that they were not in their original positions. A pile of used





375. West Gate: ground plan and west elevation. See p. 457.

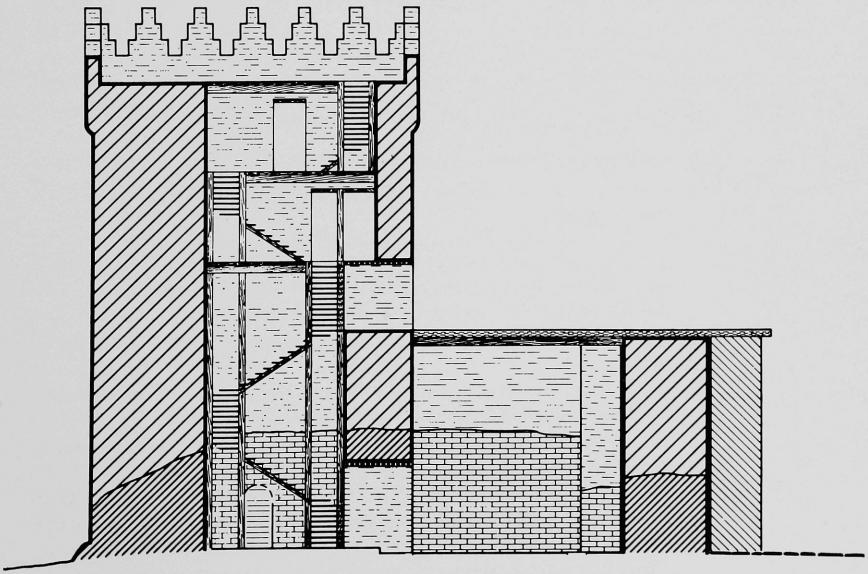


Section A—A

① Inner face of outer wall
② Original east wall of gate chamber
③ Mud-brick reinforcements to ②, perhaps added during Esarhaddon's restoration (676-672 B.C.)
④ Brick edging for roadway, probably contemporary with ③
⑤ Flagstones of roadway, relaid after the sack of 614 B.C.
⑥ Emplacement for gate socket, removed during repairs 614-612 B.C.
⑦ Accumulation of debris after the sack of 612 B.C.
⑧ Brickwork dislodged from the outer wall, marking deliberate destruction of the building
⑨ Debris of gate vault, contemporary with ⑧
⑩ Dump of material cleared from gate chamber by squatters
⑪ Emplacement of wall built by squatters
⑫ Debris containing ash, marking the end of the occupation by squatters

Original mud-brick walls (in cross-section)
Secondary mud-brick walls
Fallen mud-brick
Fragments of mud-brick and plaster
Mud-brick debris with ash
Pavement Baked brick Stone

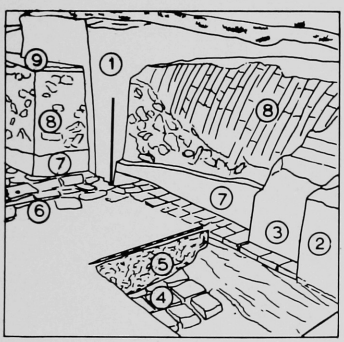
1 0 5 10 metres



Section B—B with suggested reconstruction

376. West Gate: section with suggested reconstruction. See p. 457.

377. West gate. Interior of west gate-chamber, NW17, seen from the south-east.



1. North jamb of gate arch in west outer wall.
2. North jamb of inner gate, in the original wall dividing the gate-chamber from the north-west courtyard.
3. Reinforcing pier of mud brick built against the west face of 2. Associated with the remains of a pavement of small, probably 7th century bricks and may plausibly be ascribed to Esarhaddon, though there is no direct evidence of date, except that it is later than 2 and earlier than 5.
4. Mud bricks of the original platform, exposed when the original roadway was dug up for repair.
5. Broken mud brick and debris, containing a large quantity of ash, which was intended as a foundation for the paving stones of the roadway.
6. Paving stones relaid on 5. The repairs were obviously interrupted while this stage of the work was being carried out, since the pavement peters out just inside the gate-chamber, and a pile of paving stones was found outside the gate—see photographs 3 and 4.
7. Layer of debris indicating some damage to, and abandonment of, the building.
8. Fallen mud brick, including a complete segment of wall, indicating deliberate demolition.
9. Later occupation level within the gate, overlying 8.

slabs was found outside the south gate tower. Repaving was undoubtedly in progress when the fortress was finally captured in 612 B.C. The original road surface had probably been laid directly on to the mud-brick platform which extended over the site. Before repaving, the bed of the road had been excavated to a depth of about 50 centimetres and packed with debris containing much ash. This radical repair had been necessitated by an earlier sack, probably that of the Medes in 614 B.C. It is interesting that the final sack of Fort Shalmaneser in 612 B.C. is marked throughout the fortress by a layer of debris and broken objects, with only occasional burning. This debris represents superficial damage followed by a short period of weathering and decay. Above this level was a thick layer of large fragments of mud brick, incorporating a tumbled, cohesive mass of brickwork from the outer wall amounting to no less than 26 courses, and seemingly indicative of deliberate demolition, as practised by the Assyrians and illustrated on their sculpture. Perhaps the attackers of 612 B.C. had hurriedly sacked the fortress and gone on to more important missions elsewhere in Assyria. Later, when Nineveh had fallen, a force returned to pull down the walls and thus render Fort Shalmaneser incapable of further resistance.[117]

The gate-chamber NW17, measuring 16·8 × 5·10 metres, was set across the line of the road. The floor was plastered except for a strip of burnt bricks bordering the paved roadway [377]. These edging bricks, 33 × 34 centimetres, indicate a 7th century date. A foundation box containing an inscribed spearman (ND10229) was found in the south-east corner: fragments of a similar figurine (ND10230) were found in the south-west corner. Close to the south wall was a large block of sandstone, 2·30 metres by 75 centimetres and 35–40 centimetres thick apparently to be used for repairs, perhaps as a door-sill. The main structure of the gate-chamber and gate are, as we have seen, probably the work of Shalmaneser III. The secondary baulks of mud brick, built against the inner and outer faces of the east wall of NW17, are of uncertain date. They overlie the small edging bricks and should represent a 7th century repair, perhaps one of those carried out by Esarhaddon, dated by cylinders to 676–672 B.C.

The gateway was flanked by towers 7·50 metres wide, which projected 3·60 metres. The south tower was completely excavated: it is probable that the plan of the north tower duplicated that of the south tower.

A small room, NW31, was situated in the thickness of the south tower. It was entered by a doorway at the south end of NW17. The original floor of the tower-room had been laid some 15 centimetres above the underlying platform: a secondary floor lay some 20 centimetres higher and is probably to be associated with the repairs in progress at the time of the final sack in 612 B.C.

Flights of stairs ascended the walls of the room to give access to the top of the outer wall and to the tower roof. While no actual steps remain, careful assessment of the evidence has enabled Oates to reconstruct the stairs [**376**].

A line of burnt bricks roughly parallel with, and about 75 centimetres from the west wall terminated in a brick-edged post-hole, diagonally opposite the south-west corner. This arrangement must have supported the stanchions and newel-post for a flight of steps ascending the west wall, and suggests a stair-width of 75 centimetres. A vertical slot, let into the south wall 75 centimetres from the south-west corner and 1·75 metres above the original floor level, must have held the post supporting the return of the stairs along the south wall.

378. ND10931 (B). Fragment of a pottery storage bin representing the crenellations on a fortress wall. Height 52 cm. Found in the debris against the West Gate of F.S.

On the north and east walls sufficient indications of the actual treads remained for the gradient to be estimated. Treads had been grouted into the wall when additional support was required, for example, above a round-headed niche on the north wall. The position of the treads, although irregular, suggests that the average height of each step was one course of mud-brick, about 13 centimetres, and that the depth of each step was half the combined length of a mud-brick and mortar joint, about 19 centimetres. This inference was borne out by evidence at two other points. Assuming the common arrangement of two angled steps at the turn, the top step at right angles to the east wall should be 75 centimetres (the width of the stair) distant from the north wall, and seven courses high. At this point there is a slot in the wall to house a tread. Secondly, the suggested angle of descent from this point along the east wall would bring the bottom step in line with the north jamb of the door, exactly where it should be.

Having determined the width, 75 centimetres, and gradient (steps 13 cm. high, 19 cm. deep) of the stair, Oates was now justified in calculating the height of the *chemin de ronde* of the outer wall to which it presumably gave access. The head of the stair probably terminated in the north-east corner, some 55 courses or 7·15 metres above the platform. This is supported by external evidence of the height of the outer wall: the surviving wall consists of 25 courses; a block of mud-brick consisting of 26 courses had fallen from the outer wall outside the gate-chamber; allowing some 50 centimetres for erosion of the standing wall a minimum height of 55 courses is accounted for.

Oates's restoration is plausibly based on the assumption that the *chemin de ronde* must have been completely shielded from the outside and that a man's height must intervene between the stairhead and the bottom of the crenellations. These have therefore been placed 15 courses (1·95 metres) above the *chemin de ronde*. A guide to the appearance of the crenellations is given in a fragment of a pottery storage bin, found in the West Gate; impressed on the surface of this object was a representation of a city wall, ND10931 [378]. Other similar fragments, ND11406, 11407, were found in T21 of the throne-room block.

We have, however, to remember that since the tops of the walls no longer survived there are other possibilities for reconstruction and that, in accounting for the stepped form of the crenellations, it is reasonable to assume that they were so devised for a dual purpose, which was to provide an arm rest and support for a bowman when firing at the enemy, as well as the maximum protection for his person. Assyrian reliefs depicting foreign fortresses may be thus interpreted. The illustrated restoration would consequently require the presence of steps from the *chemin de ronde* up to the battlements. Alternatively it is possible that a soldier was only partly shielded when he walked round the *chemin de ronde*, and that full protection was only given by the central portion of the crenellations. The advantage of this system would have been that it gave the defenders full visibility over the enemy from any point on the wall, and provided that he walked in a bent position with his shield on the exposed side from one crenellation to another his body would still have been protected.[118]

Oates has, moreover, noted two main difficulties in further reconstruction: one, that all representations are frontal, and that it is therefore impossible to tell whether the *chemin de ronde* passed through the tower, or whether the inner wall of the tower was set back, allowing the *chemin de ronde* to pass behind it.

The second and more important problem concerns the height of the tower. The pottery model, referred to above, gives a general idea of proportion. Sculptured reliefs from the N.W. Palace, admittedly illustrating conquered cities and fortresses, suggest that towers were two or three storeys higher than the top of the main wall. The tower of Fort Shalmaneser has been reconstructed on the assumption that there were two main storeys above the *chemin de ronde*. This assumption, the position of the upper flights of stairs, and the doorways, are of course hypothetical. The aim of the reconstruction has been to combine such evidence as exists in the simplest manner consistent with the requirements of the building.

The North Gate. The North Gate was perhaps less important than the West Gate, although roughly similar in plan. The Assyrians as a rule appear to have preferred a bent-axis approach to the king's throne-room, and on this assumption it seems reasonable to suppose that the north-west was regarded as the outermost courtyard of the fortress. Furthermore, a substantial part of the east wing in the north-east quadrant comprised a series of residences which are less likely to have been housed in an entrance court.

The flanking-towers had the same projection as those of the West Gate and were probably identical. The long gate-chamber of the West Gate had, in the North Gate, been divided into three separate rooms, NE45, 46, 47—NE46 being the gate-chamber. The towers were entered from one of the rooms flanking

NE46. These rooms, NE45 and 47, had originally been entered directly from the north-east courtyard, but it is possible that an inner range of rooms was interposed along the north side of the courtyard at a later date. The plan of these rooms was, however, beyond recovery.

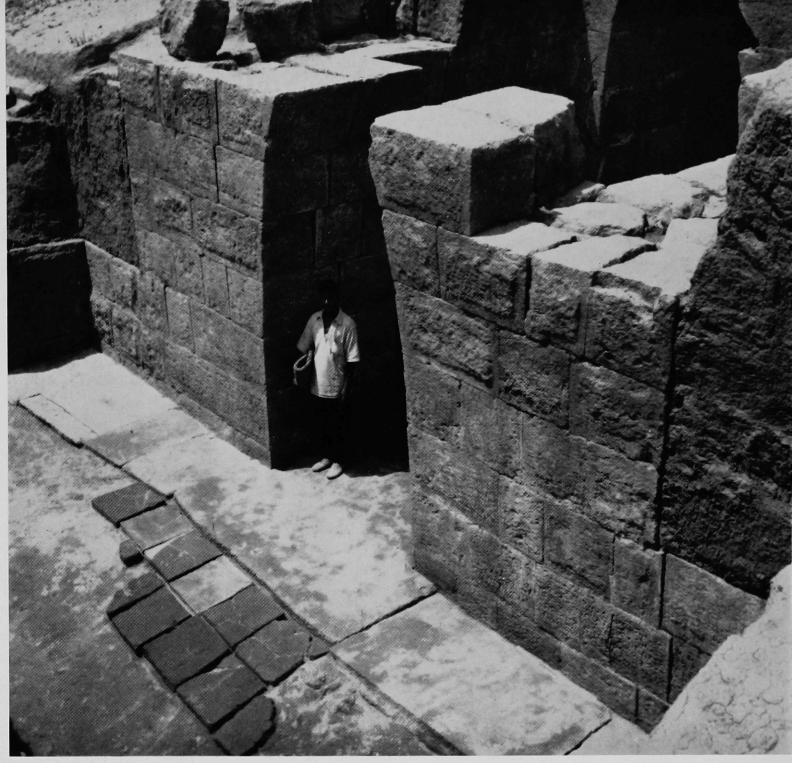
A burnt-brick pavement had been installed over the original stone-flagged roadway, possibly at the time when the secondary structures in the courtyard were built. There were no traces of wheel-marks on the bitumen surface of this brick pavement and it is therefore unlikely that this entrance was used for vehicles. The pavement included some bricks 48 centimetres square (probably old bricks re-used), and others 35 centimetres square, a size characteristic of the Sargonid dynasty.

At the time of the final sack in 612 B.C. the North Gate was being reconstructed: the walls had been demolished almost to pavement level, and the debris had been removed. The Assyrians were doubtless repairing the fortress after the original sack of 614 B.C., and it seems astonishing in retrospect that they were prepared to render Fort Shalmaneser defenceless at a time when their empire was crumbling and on the point of final dissolution. Who shall say whether this fatal dalay was due to bureaucratic incompetence or to unjustified confidence in the strength of their army?

Some 90 centimetres above the debris of the 612 B.C. sack and its consequent dilapidation, there was a levelled roadway, which had been built for a narrower, stone-paved entrance. The associated structures were too near the modern surface for a plan to be recovered. This attempt at once more creating defences for this fortress implies that some semblance of government still existed, even after the two sacks, but all the evidence goes to show that ordered life in the fortress was thereafter soon extinguished.

South Gate. We know little about the southern approaches to the fort at the time of its foundation, because they had been dismantled by the work of Esarhaddon [**305, 379-80**]. In R6, however, J. Orchard[119] discovered the remains of a barrel-vaulted doorway intersecting the southern façade of Shalmaneser III, 1·7 metres wide, filled and deeply buried with Esarhaddon's brickwork. We have no other evidence of a 9th century gate, and it would require further extensive digging to ascertain the original entrance system here and how much of it had been deleted in the 7th century.

An interesting feature of Shalmaneser's wall was that it had been regularly studded with ventilation shafts, the mouths of which measured 13 centimetres square and were closed by plain perforated bricks, 5·5 centimetres thick, similar in appearance to others that we had found in the debris of Shalmaneser's well-head in the N.W. Palace.[120] It is possible that these orifices were intended for purposes of drainage and to allow for expansion of the brickwork. While we know of no parallel in Assyrian architecture, the vents recall the much earlier weeper holes in the ziggurrat of Ur-Nammu at Ur; they were a feature peculiar to Shalmaneser III's mud-brick wall, which, unlike that of Esarhaddon, did not appear to be based on any stonework, but did yield evidence of mud-brick footings. The architectural feature which gave an unusual distinction to the southern wall was however the great revetment, which extended over a stretch of approximately 60 metres along the east wall. In these stretches a mud-brick superstructure,



379. Esarhaddon's door and south façade of Fort Shalmaneser. On either side of the gate there are inscribed blocks of ashlar masonry (bottom course but one).

380. Mud-brick doorway giving access from R2 to R3 in the ascending passage leading up from Esarhaddon's door R1.

which in one place survived up to a height of about 7 metres,[121] rested upon a limestone footing of ashlar masonry which, when examined, was found to consist of six or seven courses; its base followed the undulations of the ground and may have corresponded with variations in the height of the superstructure. The work must have been executed by two separate gangs, for opposite S72 there was an overlap in the masonry, which differed in character on either side; on the eastern side a rusticated finish was predominant, whereas on the western side the masonry was predominantly smooth. Blocks within the same course were more or less uniform in height, but varied considerably in width, from 25 centimetres to 1 metre: course heights varied between about 39 and 55 centimetres. The core of the masonry in the narrower parts of the revetment consisted of closely fitted, trimmed limestone boulders, and in the wider parts of rougher boulders packed with smaller chunks of limestone.

The construction of this magnificent stretch of wall must have been a most formidable task and could hardly have been undertaken if the older wall of Shalmaneser had not been in need of repair. No effort was made, however, to key the revetment on to the existing mud brick, for the masonry strengthening was obviously sufficient. It may well be that motives of showmanship were as strong an inducement as any for undertaking the formidable task of rebuilding this façade, which was in the fashion of the time—modern stone, not mere archaic mud. It is possible that Esarhaddon had intended to prolong the stonework over the remaining sides of the building: such an effort would have been consistent with his evident intention of turning Calah into a capital city once more, but it seems that he left this project until too late in his reign, and death intervened to prevent him from completing his task.

Esarhaddon's Gate and Corridors. It will be seen from the plan that approximately on the line of the east wall of S72 there is a change in the character of the south wall of the fort. From here, as it runs towards the west, it gradually becomes considerably thicker and steps outwards in a series of deeper projections which become larger and shallower in the sector flanking the western mound of Tulul el 'Azar. The widening of the defences along this stretch was for the purpose of containing a gateway and a series of corridors which were contrived by Esarhaddon as a new method of approach from the south-west end of the fort. The entry, through R1, was stone-paved and composed of an outer and inner doorway separated by a small vestibule 2·5 metres deep by 2·9 metres wide. Both doorways were ogival in form, following the conventions of Sargonid architecture in stone. The stone blocks in the top of each doorway were missing; Orchard however calculated that the original height of the inner doorway was not less than 4 metres, but as the entry was on a steep incline the height of the outer door internally would have been rather more than 4·5 metres, and the total height of the entire masonry feature between 8 and 9 metres. Both inner and outer doorway had been fitted with a single-leaf door, and there was a multiplicity of bolt-and-bar sockets in the pavement for the purpose of securing the doors. Fortunately it was possible to authenticate the origin of this work, for on either side of the outer jamb of R1 there were two almost identical inscriptions giving the name of Esarhaddon, his genealogy and titles, and recording in phrases almost identical with that of the cylinders how he took over extra ground

and added a 'bonding of mountain stone'[122] to the terrace of Shalmaneser's *ekal masharti*; he also mentions that he set thereon a palace for his lordly pleasure. Here it is appropriate to note his claim to have raised the terrace from a depth of 120 courses—and in his time each course was 15 centimetres thick. We consequently arrive at an estimated height of 18 metres, and it is possible that in the case of the southern wall, where the ground level is low, this was not an exaggeration. Deep and difficult excavations would be required to discover if the low-lying R1 led out to a river-gate which, if it existed, would have been situated about 100 metres further to the south, assuming that the Patti-hegalli canal reached so far.[123]

The remainder of the corridors to which R1 led are an integral part of this work, and belong to the same period. We pass from R1 through a right-angled turn into corridor R2, where there was an arched doorway of mud-brick, 4·8 metres high, which gave access to a further series of chambers, R3–5, each connected by similar arched entries. The roadway through them passed on a gentle incline between Esarhaddon's revetment and the old wall of Shalmaneser as far as R5, and then took another right-angle turn, this time to the north into R6. The ascent continued through another long gallery, R7, decorated with mural paintings of which unfortunately only faint traces remained; but it was just possible to discern that they depicted a procession of courtiers, a wheeled vehicle, and perhaps the king. At the northern end of the 'painted gallery', the way divided: one path lay straight on into the outer bailey of Fort Shalmaneser; the other turned right into R9, which was a paved room, possibly an open court, with a single-leaf door on the far side into a vestibule, S57, which led into the area of the courtyard S68 inside Fort Shalmaneser proper. From S57 there was access to two subsidiary chambers, S56 and R10, where there were substantial remains of Shalmaneser's wall, as will be seen by reference to the conventional blacking on the plan whereon the earlier 9th century building may easily be distinguished from the hachuring of Esarhaddon's construction [folder VIII]. In constructing the corridors which gave access to the inside of the court, that is beyond R6, the latter monarch had of course made ample use of the earlier 9th century work. But the difference of period between the two constructions was immediately apparent from a difference of levels, for the sill of the exterior door of S57 lay 2 metres above the floor of S64. This difference of occupation levels proves that in Esarhaddon's time the south side of court S68 must have been occupied by a broad ramp which, as we have previously suggested, would have run parallel with the south wall of the fort and probably led to a corridor on the south side of the great chambers T25–7. This considerable rise in level at the south-west end of the fort in Esarhaddon's time must have been required by the erosion and damage that had occurred to Shalmaneser's walls, and provides additional proof of Sennacherib's neglect.[124] The new system of approach, however, was destined to inspire later architects, and is reflected by the long ascending stone-lined ramp which Assur-bani-pal devised for the ascent to the North Palace at Nineveh.[125]

The character of the western mound of Tulul el 'Azar, which is flanked on two sides by Esarhaddon's corridors, is still undetermined, and although it is composed of a mass of mud brick we still hesitate to say that it was a tower, since the eastern mound, which had concealed the throne-room block, presented a

similar appearance superficially. It was only possible in the time available to determine the outlines of a single room (R11 on the plan), which lay at the topmost level of the mound: the walls were composed of standard-size mud-bricks, but may well have been post-Assyrian.

The plan of this appendage to the building is therefore still concealed from us: but whatever may be the solution to this problem, it is fortunate that in the course of what may well prove to have been the last of a series of campaigns at Nimrud for some time to come, Mr Orchard was able to determine the part which Esarhaddon had played in restoring Fort Shalmaneser and has resurrected for us the magnificent façade which so amply justified the proud claims made by the king towards the embellishment of Calah on his cylinders and on the wall itself.

Summary of Historical Sequences Correlated with the Archaeological Evidence

In conclusion, we may now recapitulate the main historical sequences that have been detected within the arsenal and the residences as follows:

1. The founder was Shalmaneser III (859–824 B.C.). It would appear from the inscriptions on his throne-base, and from the rostrum discovered in the south-east quadrant, that the palace was ready for occupation not earlier than the thirteenth, and not later than the fifteenth year of his reign. An ivory plaque inscribed with the name of Hazael—probably the king of Damascus—and shells inscribed in neo-Hittite characters with the name of Irhuleni, king of Hamath, prove that Shalmaneser was then using the building as a storehouse for booty and tribute acquired during his campaigns. Evidence of inscribed bricks and stone thresholds is sufficiently widespread throughout the building to make it certain that the concept and main layout of the fortress must be attributed to him. It is probable that his successor, Shamshi-Adad V (824–810 B.C.), maintained the building adequately, for an ivory label found in one of the magazines bears an inscription which can be taken to mean that he made or repaired a throne—perhaps one of the three of which evidence was found in the throne-room.

2. Extensive repairs and reconstruction of Fort Shalmaneser were undoubtedly undertaken by Adad-nirari III (810–782 B.C.), whose inscribed bricks were found in S36 and in a bathroom NW3 of a spacious house, which was sited in the north-west angle of the north-east courtyard. A tablet referring to the issue of wine in 784 B.C. also furnishes proof of activity during his reign, and another dated to 778 B.C. is testimony that the same wine business was being conducted during the time of his successor, Shalmaneser IV, whose ascent to the throne marked a period of depression in Assyria which was then partially overrun by Urartu. He and his three immediate successors, of whom the last, Assur-nirari V, was murdered in his palace in 745 B.C., have left no recognizable trace of any building activity in Calah. An ivory label found in the magazines, mentioning the king of Lu'ash, probably belongs to the first quarter of the 8th century, when the Fort was no doubt an important repository for valuable objects acquired abroad.

3. Assyria recovered her wealth and prosperity under Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B.C.), whose gains were brilliantly consolidated by Sargon (722–705 B.C.). We have no epigraphic evidence to show that either of these monarchs

conducted any important building operations at Fort Shalmaneser, which can then no longer have been in its pristine condition. But we have evidence from the tablets that the building was still actively used, and it is possible that references in tablets to armaments delivered from Arpad and garments from Damascus and horses from Samaria refer to this period. Calah itself was still an important centre under both these monarchs, as we know from tablets found in the chancery of the N.W. Palace; but Tiglath-pileser III built himself a palace in the akropolis, and Sargon probably used Fort Shalmaneser as a repository for materials such as timber and the like while constructing his new palace and town at Dur-Sharrukin (Khorsabad). A tablet written in his reign refers to supplies issued for the queen's kitchen; some of the ivories and the two valuable silver vessels found in the Residency may have been a part of the loot obtained from his eighth campaign against Urartu. Many of the ivories found in the fortress were similar in style to those which apparently had been collected by him and stored in the N.W. Palace: the veneered couches and chairs found in SW7 may have been acquired from Syria by each of these two famous monarchs.

4. Sennacherib neglected Calah in favour of Nineveh, and it may be assumed that Fort Shalmaneser then suffered serious dilapidations. His successor Esarhaddon, however, appears to have had the intention of restoring the city to its former capital position. Between the years 676 and 672 B.C., as we learn from his cylinders and other inscriptions on stone, he restored the building and its gates; one of his inscribed bricks was found *in situ* in the court S31–45. Esarhaddon also built a new south wall to the fort on a great revetment of limestone ashlar which he set against the old mud-brick boundary wall of the founder. At the south-west end of the fort he contrived a new approach. He was the first to describe the building as an arsenal, *ekal masharti*, and proclaimed that he filled it with luxuries. This also was a period of great prosperity: for the first time Assyrian troops set foot on Egyptian soil and conquered a part of Egypt proper. An ivory scarab of the Pharaoh Taharqa is a trophy of this period. It is evident from dated contracts that private business continued to be transacted in the reign of his successor, Assur-bani-pal, but the fortress had then ceased to be a centre for imperial administration.

5. There is evidence of much activity in the fortress during the last decade of the Assyrian empire up to the end of the reign of Sin-shar-ishkun; private business was being transacted normally, and the legislature continued to function, but these were anxious times and no major reconstruction was any longer undertaken. It is significant that the last ascertainable year on the documents is 615 B.C.; that was followed by a sacking of the city and its fortress in two stages: the first sack, accompanied by a great holocaust, appears to have taken place in 614 B.C., and evidence of it occurs in many parts of the building where the debris of destruction, conflagration, and abandoned possessions have been found, including many thousands of fragments of burnt ivory. In the next year, 613 B.C., an attempt was made by the Assyrian government to reconstitute the place and a token of this effort was left in the shape of new deposits of prophylactic figurines which had been placed in foundation boxes; in room SW7 a valuable set of ivory couches and chairs was salvaged and stacked; the main entrance

gates of the Fort through the western and northern walls were undergoing repairs which were never completed. A year later in 612 B.C. the enemy returned for the final sack, from which Calah never recovered. In the lower levels of S42 a mass burial contained the skeletons of some of the slain.

6. After 612 B.C. refugees who had survived the attack returned to eke out a miserable existence in the ruins, but were attacked yet again; some of the dead were buried at a higher level in S42. Traces of this post-Assyrian occupation are abundant, especially in the Residency and the north-east sector of the fortress, and it may well have lasted for generations in spite of marauding raids, for the accompanying debris in places is as much as 2 metres deep. There was no longer any hope of a revival, and indeed in some places the enemy appears to have deliberately dismantled some of the walls. The last occupants were probably humble Assyrian peasantry who still farmed the land. Their pottery and simple possessions display no change in character from that owned by their predecessors.

CHAPTER XVII

FORT SHALMANESER: THE IVORIES

THE ivories discovered within the fortress were scattered amid the debris at all levels; they comprise thousands of fragments, amongst which many hundreds are complete enough to warrant a detailed description. To publish the catalogue in full and to do justice to every piece will require many years of work, and completely to reconstitute the collection is indeed a formidable task. Here we must confine ourselves to a survey of the principal classes of ivory and seek guidance for establishing their dates, and for distinguishing the different workshops in which they were made. The attempt to resolve these questions has to be done on grounds of stratification; on the association of dated inscriptions; on changes of style; and by comparison with similar works of art found at many other western Asiatic centres.

Chronological Problems: Homogeneous and Distinctive Collections of Ivories Grouped in Different Rooms: Royal Names on the Nimrud Ivories

Within Fort Shalmaneser groups of ivories were distributed in many rooms and represented different periods of craftsmanship. There were, however, seven large collections of fragments, in SE2, SW7, 12, 37, NE2, NW15, 21, each of which contained a large number of carvings that were homogeneous, and distinctive in style. The biggest collections of all, those found in SW12 and SW37, may however belong to more than one period and represent the output of many workshops; here Egyptian and Phoenician influences predominate and there is much that is comparable with the ivories from Arslan-Tash. Another collection, much of it burnt, from T10, a state apartment at the south end of the Fort, has yet to be examined in detail; these ivories which had been partly consumed in a bonfire suffered the same fate as the large mixed group in S10.

In the survey of some hundreds of pieces, which we attempt in this chapter, we shall begin our analysis by examining the contents of three rooms, SW7, NW15 and SW2 (pp. 485–526). These three collections provide a valuable preliminary study to a wider review of all the ivories, because much of the material seems to represent artistic styles which were particularly favoured in the latter half of the 8th century B.C., although there are some pieces of a distinctive character which may be 50 years older.

The notes for chapter XVII *will be found on pp. 649–63.*

The analysis of separate collections was a method profitably used by Dr R. D. Barnett in examining two groups found a century ago by Layard and Loftus within the N.W. Palace and the Burnt Palace respectively. It then seemed that there were grounds for labelling the first group 'Phoenician', owing to their predominantly Egyptianizing characteristics, and the second, which on the whole lacked them, 'Syrian'. This preliminary classification was an important step forward in the analysis of styles which, however, as the late W. Llewellyn Brown demonstrated, were by no means exclusive, and indeed it is sometimes impossible to distinguish between the two.[1]

We may do well to remember that, in considering style, we tread delicately and we can hardly do better than quote Charles Wilkinson's assessment of a contemporary art in Iran:

> 'What could be more natural than that the objects they made should blend artistic influences that we have come to think of as characteristic of other peoples of the time? There is danger in dividing ancient art into neat little watertight compartments of style. It is especially dangerous to ascribe objects to the art of one people or locality on the strength of a particular mannerism that has been associated, in a few known examples, with a definite area—for even mannerisms in art travel from place to place'.[2]

These cautionary words are indeed apposite, and need to be constantly borne in mind when we speak of 'Phoenician' and 'Syrian' styles. Fortunately, however, there is no doubt at all about the characteristics of a third group of Nimrud ivories, which are entirely Assyrian in style, and reproduce figures and scenes familiar to the mural art of the 9th, and perhaps also of the 8th century B.C.

It seems reasonably certain that some of the ivories found in the fortress had been the property of the founder, Shalmaneser III, for a set of shells found in T10, one of the royal apartments, was inscribed in neo-Hittite with the name of Irhuleni, a contemporary king of Hamath, and it therefore seems probable that the name Hazael inscribed on an ivory from the same room refers to the contemporary king of Damascus. Moreover, an ivory label from SW37 [576], was inscribed with the name of the founder's son, Shamshi-Adad V (824–810 B.C.)—unfortunately not associated with any figured carving. We may also assume with some confidence that the founder's grandson, Adad-nirari III, again made additions to the collections, for we know that he repaired the fortress and we learn from an inscription that he acquired ivories as tribute and was familiar with '*cloisonné*' or champlevé work.[3] On grounds of stylistic development we have attributed one set of ivories to his reign or thereabouts.

Many ivories must also have been carved, as well as acquired, in the course of the 8th century B.C., for we have already seen that in the domestic wing of the N.W. Palace collections of considerable size could be associated with inscriptions of Sargon (722–705 B.C.), who filled it with luxuries, including booty captured from Carchemish[4] which may well have provided ivories. We have already seen that a set of writing boards found at Calah was inscribed with his name.[5]

The latest of the royal names inscribed on a Nimrud ivory is that of the Egyptian Pharaoh, Taharqa (probably 690–665 B.C.);[6] it occurs on an ivory scarab [582] which was probably a trophy acquired by Esarhaddon, and

kept in the fortress, but it was not directly associated with any other ivories and it may well be later than the majority of them. It is true that Esarhaddon also claims to have filled the fortress with luxuries (see p. 377)—and ivories may have been numbered among them—but there is reason for thinking that ivory had become rare at this time, and many of them may already have been antiquities (see also p. 377).

Chronological Bearing of Comparative Material from Other Sites in Western Asia. Much evidence towards establishing a chronology is provided by stylistic comparisons with ivories found on other sites in Assyria, particularly Khorsabad, Sargon's new capital, and in Syria, notably at Tell Halaf, Arslan-Tash, Carchemish, Zinjirli, the Sakcha Gözü monuments and Hama; in Palestine, especially Samaria and Hazor; in eastern Anatolia, notably at Altintepe, Toprak Kale and Karmir Blur; and finally in north-west Iran, Ziwiye and Hasanlu. But while each of these cities has a historical bearing on the problem, at none of them can we pin a precise date on any one ivory. In this respect Nimrud, as we have seen, has the advantage, for in addition to the names of four monarchs, one Egyptian, one Syrian and two Assyrian, inscribed on ivories, we have a figured representation of a fifth: Assur-nasir-pal II.

Nonetheless, many of the foreign sites at which ivories occur have yielded some stratified evidence, in many cases associated with the names of historical dynasties which provide measurable sequences in time. These criteria indicate that all the stylistically allied material must be fitted into the three centuries 900–600 B.C., and in Syria, apart from some exceptions, mostly after about 850 and before 720 B.C., when Hama was sacked by Sargon. The date of the comparable monuments and ivories from Tell Halaf (Guzana) is a controversial problem, but the orthodox view now is that most of them are probably to be dated before the sack by Adad-nirari III, that is to say before the Assyrian occupation of 808 B.C.[7] However that may be, the art of Tell Halaf has some traits which do not appear in Assyria till the time of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon, more than 60 years later. Moreover, it has to be recalled that Assyrian governors of the city occur by name in the eponym lists for the years 727 and 706 B.C. and the place was undoubtedly occupied until the fall of the empire. At Arslan-Tash, if we identify the Hazael for whom a veneered ivory bed was made as the monarch mentioned in the 9th century Assyrian inscriptions, we obtain a date c.840 B.C. for some of the 'Phoenician' ivories, with the possibility, indicated by Frankfort,[8] that some may be of a period much nearer to Sargon.

At Zinjirli a rich series of jewellery, bronzes and ivory falls mainly within a period of about a century between a local prince named Kilamu, a late contemporary of Shalmaneser III, c.830 B.C., and Bar-rekub, a vassal of Tiglath-pileser III, c.730 B.C. Many of the Zinjirli ivories, however, and especially those which have parallels at Nimrud, belong to the late rather than the early end of this period, as we may judge by comparing them with the style of carving on dated stone sculpture: the monuments of Kilamu are much simpler and less realistic; those of Bar-rekub, about a century later, are elaborate in detail; the changed style of dress is reflected on the ivories, and is closely matched on sculpture at the neighbouring site of Sakcha Gözü.

If we turn to Palestine we have to consider several interesting parallels in the

ivories at Samaria, but there the evidence is not decisive: the ivories are almost certainly earlier than 722 B.C. when the city was sacked; some of them must be contemporary with those of Arslan-Tash and Nimrud, but which of them were contemporary with Ahab and 'the ivory house which he made' (1 *Kings* xxii 39) we do not know, and the association with the names of Osorkon II (874–853 B.C.) is tenuous.[9] The stratigraphic evidence from Samaria is also too wide in range to offer a precise date or dates within these historical sequences which provide termini for this material between about 850 and 720 B.C.

There are, however, Egyptian parallels which indicate a 9th century date for some of the Samarian ivories, amongst which we would include the fine '*cloisonné*' style rather than the cruder pieces. Exactly the same period is indicated by the discovery at Nimrud of the name of Irhuleni, king of Hamath,[10] a contemporary of Shalmaneser III, and an ivory label bearing the name of Shamshi-Adad V. This discovery does not indeed imply that we have to date all such ivories to this period, but it is a strong argument for dating some of them to it.

The elaborately carved, incrusted ivories which have been found in abundance at Nimrud undoubtedly derive from the influence of Egypt which inspired the 'Phoenician' style at sites such as Samaria, and it is therefore important to examine the chronology of the Egyptian material.

Ultimately we may trace the descent of these ivories to the luxurious and rather naturalistic art of the New Empire, particularly as exhibited on jewellery, metallurgy and ornamental vases in Egypt from the XIXth Dynasty onwards. But the material at Nimrud may be pinned down even more closely in time by comparison, for example, with material from Tanis, which can be assigned to the 9th century B.C. We may compare the massive silver coffin case of Sheshonk II (?) Heqa-Kheper-Re[11] which is decorated with a winged figure of Hathor, or more probably Isis, surmounted by a winged disc; the scaling of the wings and the poise of the figure is surely ancestral to that of the famous winged boy at Nimrud [**493**]. Yet older ancestors are gold pendants with winged Isis figures (in the Cairo Museum) of Psusennes I, early 10th century B.C.; other gold pendants of the same monarch depict winged figures of Isis, and boats reminiscent of the Nimrud boating scenes [**468**].

In searching for the origin of our 'Phoenician' style ivories, however, it is most instructive to turn to a group of Egyptian faience, lotiform chalices which are said to have come from the necropolis of Tuna-el-Gebel, and to have been made in the workshops of Hermopolis. The subjects represented in miniature relief on these vases, as well as on bowls and on related objects such as rings and spacers, correspond closely with scenes depicted on Layard's Phoenician ivories from the N.W. Palace and similar material from Fort Shalmaneser. These scenes include: the inundation god Hapy; Heh, the god of eternity holding up the notched palm-branches; Bes; Hathor; Maat; the falcon-headed Horus; Thoth, and other divinities. We may note also the *wedjat* eye, and the *djed*-pillar with disc and feathers flanked by winged cobras. In addition, we may discern on these Tuna vases the lotus and papyrus, and boats in the marshes including fishermen, men with boomerangs, ducks and an amphora on a stand.

Prominent among these figured representations is the birth of the boy Horus who appears as seated on a lotus with hand to mouth, sometimes flanked by

guardian winged goddesses. G.A.D. Tait has well demonstrated that this was the first recognizable fashion of representing the Infant Sun on the lotus, and was a method of claiming legitimacy for the usurping, Libyan, XXIInd dynasty, founded by Sheshonk I who no doubt encouraged this form of pictorial propaganda.[12]

An important clue for the dating of this Egyptian material is provided by a cartouche on a chalice now in Eton College. This, according to Tait, who had the approval of Alan Gardiner, was inscribed with the name of a monarch who was probably Sheshonk I—if so, c.945–924 B.C. Equally important are gold *cloisonné* bracelets, now in the British Museum, BM14594–5 made for Nimlot, who was probably his son, whereon the infant on the lotus is again represented. The same motif depicting the boy Horus hand to mouth, flanked by two winged figures of Maat offering the *ankh* sign are depicted on the Cleveland stela which bears the name of the High-Priest of Memphis under Sheshonk I.

From these parallels we may conclude that such objects, mostly in miniature relief, of the XXIInd dynasty, inspired the fashion of miniature '*cloisonné*' and champlevé ivories of Samaria and Nimrud, perhaps by the medium of some yet undiscovered source in the Delta, for there is no evidence of closely related Phoenician and Syrian work much earlier than the middle of the 9th century B.C. Historically it seems probable that it was Sheshonk I who was the prime mover in establishing this cross-fertilization of artistic motifs, for it was he who after attacking Jerusalem gave his daughter as wife to Rehoboam and, as Tait has pointed out, re-established an interrupted contact between Phoenicia and Egypt. We may also accept Tait's view that the homogeneous style of the Tuna vases need not indicate any long lapse of time,—perhaps not more than a century—but no doubt motifs on the related Egyptian material persisted throughout the XXIInd dynasty, and if so, as late as 730 B.C. Moreover, it is well to remember that some authorities would read the names of Sheshonk II, and III (c.823–772 B.C.) on the Tuna vases. Allowing for a time-lag in transmission of the Egyptian motifs to Phoenicia, their adaptation to ivory, and their adoption by the kings of Assyria, it seems most likely that the style did not penetrate here until the reign of Assur-nasir-pal II was well advanced, and did not become popular before the reign of his son Shalmaneser III.

The soundest conclusion on the available evidence is that so popular a style, akin to the art of the jeweller, must have persisted in Assyria from a little before the middle of the 9th through the 8th century B.C. Is there any criterion for helping us to decide which of these ivories were relatively early or relatively late in date? It is just possible that size may provide a clue, for the most delicate Samarian ivories in this style,[13] probably of the 9th century, are relatively small in comparison with the large and boldly cut ivories such as the Nimrud winged boy [**493**] and the human-headed *lamassu* in the lunette [**504**] which may well reflect the art of the late 8th rather than the 9th century B.C. The striving for the largest figure that a single elephant's tusk could yield in one piece is perhaps a trend which may be expected to occur at a relatively late phase in the development of a sumptuary art. On the larger figures, with some notable exceptions, we may perhaps detect a less delicate and less firmly executed modelling of the limbs, less finesse of the features—in these respects a falling-off from the high standards achieved on the Samarian plaques; a tendency to careless and crude

rendering of plant and tree forms may also perhaps be indicative of the later periods. If we accept these criteria, then some of the '*cloisonné*' found by Layard in the N.W. Palace and comparable material from Fort Shalmaneser is of the 9th, while some of the larger clumsier plaques found by us are of the 8th century B.C. Nonetheless we need not disparage the superbly rich, chryselephantine effects of the larger and perhaps later ivories. The precise date or dates at which these spectacular and often beautifully carved, incrusted ivories were made is therefore still a problem and will remain so until we discover one or more of them inscribed with a royal name.

There is, however, one important site, El Kurru in the Sudan, which does provide a series of objects in the Egyptian style of which some are closely comparable with the Nimrud ivories and range in date over a few decades before and after 730 B.C. As parallels can be drawn with the subjects depicted on the Nimrud champlevé and '*cloisonné*' work there may be some justification here for the assumption that the Samaria style continued as late as the end of the 8th century B.C.

In considering connections with Palestine we must not neglect the site of Hazor where a number of comparatively crude carvings have been found: there, likewise, we have a terminal date for the ivories in the burnt stratum, which contained debris of the sack by Tiglath-pileser III in 732 B.C.[14]

The 8th century again is the period indicated for related ivories and other art forms discovered on Urartian sites such as Toprak Kale and Karmir Blur. This chronology is further strengthened by discoveries of a number of fine ivories at Altintepe, which are apparently associated with the name of Argistis II, c.713–680 B.C.[15] One of the Anatolian sites which has yielded important chronological evidence is Gordion where a set of ivory horse-trappings closely related to material from Nimrud has been found.[16] There were fragments of four triangular frontlets and five cheek-pieces which were part of a set of eight; all these articles were foreign, not Phrygian in style; they were associated with iron horse-bits and must have been used as ornamental horse-trappings. The frontlets were carved with figures of a nude goddess with high crown suspending sphinxes by their hind legs, and are variants of a type found at Nimrud [458, 549]: the Gordion ivories were surmounted by a Hittite solar sun symbol, and must have been imported into Phrygian Gordion either from south-east Asia Minor or from north Syria—Zinjirli or Carchemish are possible sources of origin. The cheek-pieces depict winged lions in side view with human heads facing and the voluted tree rising in tiers; they are again variations of a theme which occurs at Nimrud. All these objects were found in a building which had been sacked by the Kimmerians, probably shortly after 700 B.C.;[17] and since the ivories must previously have been in use for ceremonial purposes, it would be reasonable to date them to the last quarter of the 8th century B.C. Although skilfully executed, the doll-like, amorphous body and limbs of the goddess, the rather rigid symmetry of the features, and the stylization of the lion's head may be an index of the late rather than the early end of this style of ivory carving; at Nimrud, the goddess holding animals [458, 549] was already in vogue not long after 800 B.C. The conclusion to be drawn once more is that ivories of this type ranged over a period of at least a century or more. The ivories found at Sultantepe, in the district of Harran, may fall as late as 610 B.C.,

but were most probably much older, like the mass of ivories in the Assyrian capitals which were sacked at about the same date. In short the evidence from outside Assyria proper tends to support the hypothesis that the great period of ivory carving in Syria falls between c.850 and 700 B.C. and that in Urartu it may have flourished for a few decades after 700 B.C.

If we turn to Iran, we may observe that nothing has yet been discovered at Ziwiye[18] and Hasanlu (see notes 48–50, 93–6) to conflict with this evidence. At Hasanlu some ivories of Nimrud type may be dated between 850 and 800 B.C. It is significant that on a Ziwiye ivory depicting a hunting scene (Godard, *Ziwyiè* fig. 83), the type of rein-ring on the horses' back only recurs in Assyria on reliefs of Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.).

*Terminal Dates for the Ivories Discovered in Fort Shalmaneser: Climax of Development during the Reigns of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon c.*750–710 B.C. For most of the material discovered in Fort Shalmaneser, Nimrud, the terminal dates are: 846 B.C. when the building was completed, and 612 B.C. when it was sacked. The quantity of inscribed material that has survived from the reign of Shalmaneser III, though important, is relatively small. Among the inscriptions we have his name on a statue, on his throne-base, on his podium or saluting-base, on thresholds, on a clay and on a stone tablet, on a stone spoon and on a duck-weight (see p. 384). It is probable that most of the furniture and objects associated with him were discarded by his successors, but something has survived, and among the ivories we may be on safe ground in attributing the distinctive categories of incised plaques, particularly the sketches of tribute-bearers, and perhaps the wild beasts, to that period, c.850 B.C.: the slightly raised relief style associated with his father in the N.W. Palace is, however, missing. Another class of object which we may also perhaps assign on ground of style to the reign of Shalmaneser III is a series of finely cut and engraved shell plaques depicting *lamassu*.

Among the incised or engraved ivories of this early period we may note the processional scenes of tributaries carrying cauldrons and other metal vessels, similar in style to panels on the Balawat Gates and the Black Obelisk: similar ivories found in the Burnt Palace, although associated with the treaty tablets of Esarhaddon, are most probably relics of this earlier period.[19]

Next in order of time amongst the great names associated with the fortress is that of Adad-nirari III (810–782 B.C.) who acquired an ivory bed and a couch from the king of Damascus c.800 B.C. A part of that booty may well have reached Nimrud where the inscription mentioning it was found, and since the carvings must have been older than the date of their capture it would be reasonable to attribute some of them to the last quarter of the 9th century B.C.[20] It is not easy to isolate this group, but we have suggested (p. 428–30), that certain carvings in the round from NE2 [**443-9**] may belong to this period, as well as others in an apparently archaic style, such as the female head found in the same room.

Whether two tablets found in room SW6, dated 778 and 764 B.C. respectively, were contemporary with any of the ivories we do not know, but the hypothesis is not improbable. With greater confidence we may assume, as we have already noted, that some designs, particularly details of dress and chariot scenes, reflect

the art of Tiglath-pileser III, whose stone sculpture represents an important phase of development in design. Certain it is that many ivories found by Layard and by us in the N.W. Palace were associated with the name of Sargon II (722–705 B.C.), and indeed the list of trophies captured by him during his campaign in Armenia, and brought to Calah in 714 B.C., would serve as a model catalogue of the objects discovered in the fortress. Most of the objects acquired by Sargon must of course be older than that year, though not all of them necessarily antedate his reign. But it is significant that the famous chariot scene on the ivory bed from SW7 [386] illustrates equipment characteristic of his predecessor Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.) with some older traits, while the fact that as many as four men are represented in the cab makes it most improbable that the scene was executed much before Sargon (722–705 B.C.). As many other ivories in a similar style were associated with this particular specimen we cannot be far wrong in assigning a large category of the Nimrud ivories to the three decades 750–720 B.C. This is a period which witnessed the climax of achievement for this art in north Syria and in Assyria, a most important stage in the long history of ivory carving.

Comparative Lack of Evidence for Ivory Working at Nimrud in the 7th Century B.C. There is little at Nimrud that can be attributed to Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.), whose absorption with Nineveh caused him to neglect Calah. We might however expect his successor Esarhaddon (681–669 B.C.) to have added something to the already rich collection of ivories, for he claims to have filled the fortress with luxuries: the truth of the matter may be that most of them were probably already antiquities. Since this was the period when Assyria had laid claim to Egypt by conquest, some might be tempted to believe that a large number of ivories in a quasi-Egyptian style were executed to his order. But as we have already seen, comparisons with the undoubtedly older collections from Samaria and Arslan-Tash where almost identical pieces probably belonged to the late 9th or early 8th century B.C., prove that this 'Phoenician' style had in fact penetrated north Syria long before Esarhaddon's time. The fact that an inscribed ivory scarab [582] with the name of Taharqa (probably 690–665 B.C.) was found in the arsenal cannot be taken as dating evidence for any particular category of ivories in view of all the older evidence, and indeed the style of cutting differs from that of all the others: this was a unique trophy captured by the king of Assyria, a witness of Esarhaddon's triumph like the statues at the gates of Nineveh (Nebi Yunus) and the scene on the triumphal stela discovered at Zinjirli where the king of Assyria holds a noose round the same Pharaoh's neck.

However that may be, there is no reason to suppose that ivories were not being worked in the 7th century B.C. and indeed there is mention of them by Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, but any carvings of importance executed during those reigns would have been concentrated most probably in Nineveh: only a few ivories from Nimrud may be tentatively assigned to this period,[21] and none to the last decades of the empire, for although at Calah business was active throughout the reign of Sin-shar-ishkun, signs of neglect and impoverishment were apparent.

Syrian (Asiatic) Elephant Probably Extinct after 800 B.C. *Scarcity of Ivory thereafter in the Levant.* There is moreover one other important consideration. It seems probable that the elephant, once relatively common in Syria, had become much rarer if not extinct there, no doubt through uncontrolled hunting, by about 800 B.C., or not long afterwards. Shalmaneser III appears to have been the last Assyrian monarch to receive a live elephant as tribute, an incident recorded pictorially on the Black Obelisk dated to his thirty-first year, 828–827 B.C.; the animal came from the land of Musri which, in this context, was not Egypt, but a district on the eastern frontier of Assyria where it met Iran.[22] His predecessors, Assur-nasir-pal, Adad-nirari II and Tiglath-pileser I, had boasted of their hunts and recalled the trapping of elephants: we hear no more of such exploits in the 8th century. After the end of the 9th century no more live beasts, but only hides, tusks, and furniture are mentioned as tribute. Shamshi-Adad V recorded a throne; Adad-nirari III, ivory beds and stools, and ivory overlaid with gold and incrusted; Tiglath-pileser III, in the annals inscribed at Nimrud, referred to the receipt of elephant hide and ivory in Arpad,[23] and his successor, Sargon II, received in his palace at Calah (probably the Burnt Palace) elephant hide and ivory captured from Malatya.[24] Moreover, as we have already seen, we may be confident that many of the fine ivories stored in Fort Shalmaneser correspond with the description written down for him in 714 B.C. as the valuable booty that he had won on his Urartian campaigns. One ivory label was inscribed with the name of Hamath, and it may be assumed that many carvings came to Calah from that centre, and that some of them were acquired by Sargon after he captured that city (see p. 595 and note 209). Some years later we have a substantial record of the valuable ivories obtained by Sennacherib[25] during his third campaign in 700 B.C. including chairs and beds and, in addition, hides and tusks; but all this tribute was carried off to Nineveh and there is no evidence that any of it reached Calah. It is however surely significant that thereafter, apart from a single reference to hides and ivory tusks captured by Esarhaddon from the king of Sidon,[26] we have no further reference to elephants, to tusks, or to ivory, by the subsequent Assyrian kings. And since, as we have seen, there is no reference to live elephants after 800 B.C. the conclusion can only be that ivory had become a very rare commodity after 700 B.C.; it is therefore unlikely that much carving was executed in Esarhaddon's time, and with the exception of a few pieces, the bulk of the Nimrud collections are certainly earlier than his reign. This is not to deny that some ivory workshops may have continued to operate even through the reign of Assur-bani-pal. The passage describing the decoration of the god's chariot and couch in Babylon, where we might have expected a reference to ivory if it was used, is unfortunately defective, although wood, gold, silver and precious stones are specifically mentioned.[27] It is indeed true that neo-Babylonian ivories of the 6th century B.C. have been found in Babylon itself, and at Ur, but these are rarities and the style of carving is very different from the Assyrian and Syrian material which we have in mind.[28]

Conclusion on the Range of Dates for the Ivories. Influences Surviving from the 2nd Millennium B.C. The conclusion therefore on the present evidence must be that by the close of the 8th century B.C., the great days of ivory-carving were over—mainly, no doubt, because of the scarcity of tusks, the Asiatic elephant having

been virtually exterminated in Syria. We must however reckon that the craftman's tradition was by no means extinct, and it may be that even in the 7th century an occasional masterpiece was produced from some royal workshop: in the well of the N.W. Palace there was an ivory fan handle with figures reminiscent of the art of Assur-bani-pal. But by and large we have a useful terminus of c.700 B.C. which is perhaps the latest date for our ivories, whilst apart from the pieces obviously in the Assyrian style of Assur-nasir-pal II and his son Shalmaneser III, we must reckon that the great bulk of Syrian and Phoenician carvings ranges from c.850 to c.700 B.C. Within this historical framework most of our ivories have therefore to find their place. But the difficulty of dating such carvings on stylistic criteria alone will be appreciated by comparing them with many executed at least five centuries earlier on sites such as Megiddo, Fakhariyah, Enkomi and Ugarit. Much that has been found in the palaces of the neo-Assyrian empire is derived from these ancestral carvings. In spite of the dark ages 1100–900 B.C., caused by the invasions of the Peoples of the Sea and their disruption of urban life in the Levant, certain traditional motifs survived uninterruptedly, preserved through the medium of woodwork and textiles now long perished.[29]

Purpose and Setting of the Ivories. Character of the Furniture, Veneered Panels; Receptacles and Objects of Daily Use

Another problem is to decide what was the shape and purpose of the furniture to which our fragmentary components belonged. It must be admitted that more often than not we are unable to determine the original setting of the carvings. At least it can be said that in Assyria ivory, one of the most highly prized objects of luxury, was applied as a veneer to every conceivable form of furniture.

In room SW7, however, a discovery of exceptional interest provided evidence of many juxtaposed panels in their original setting, and here were revealed elaborately ornamented backs and in some cases sides of beds or couches and chairs. This discovery therefore also enlightened us as to the original position of many other panels which had been found in isolation. Moreover, we know from the evidence of a relief depicting Assur-bani-pal and his queen that the class of ivory known as 'the lady at the window' must often have been used to decorate the sides of a couch; indeed, many of these square panels as well as open-work ones depicting other subjects still carry the tenons made to mortise into the chair-rails. In addition, we have fan handles also depicted on the palace bas-reliefs; cosmetic bowls, possibly salt-cellars,[30] and cylindrical boxes. Sargon's list of ivory objects captured during his raid into Urartu included decorated tables, sceptres, open-work carvings and baskets cut in the shape of plants. We have also to reckon with boxes or caskets elaborately carved. In the citadel, ivory panelling was used on the walls. Some ivories were stained, many were overlaid with gold. Chryselephantine statuary was not uncommon. The most elaborate fancies and conceits must have gone to the embellishment of the king's thrones. No scrap of ivory was ever wasted and the residue of tusks, often minute in size, was carved with incredible dexterity; some of this fragile miniscule work is a triumph of the ivory cutter's art.

Subjects and Content

Finally, before describing the principal categories of ivory found within the Fort we have to consider the variety of subjects and their content. And one of the main attractions of the ivories is their domestic character which is often far removed from the limited range of subjects displayed on the formal bas-reliefs: the latter were almost exclusively concerned with the pomp and ceremony of the royal court, with scenes of the king's triumphs in war or in the chase, and with repeated representations of the magical genii and the sacred trees and plants which formed a prophylactic background to the king's person.

Many of the genii carved on the ivories are in a peculiar guise which does not appear at all on the stone bas-reliefs. The difference is probably due to their source of origin which may be Syria, or even Anatolia, rather than Assyria. But the most striking difference between carvings in ivory and carvings in stone is their feminine aspect. Ladies of the court, musicians, courtesans, female genii appear frequently, and there are not a few ivory heads that can be interpreted as queens or princesses, perhaps as divinities. Animals, including lions, dogs, horses, the oryx, stags, ibex are frequent, as well as a rich series of stylized plants: palmettes, lotus, lily and papyrus. Most remarkable perhaps is the variety of configurations in a quasi-Egyptian style: sphinxes, griffins, winged angels, crowned youths. These subjects may to the uninitiated appear Egyptian, but in fact they hardly ever are. H. Frankfort has described them as bungled Egyptian themes; R. D. Barnett has stressed the part that the workshops of Phoenicia must have played in transmitting these subjects to Assyrian markets.

Quasi-Egyptian Styles Transmitted to Assyria from Phoenicia and Syria. The fact that no single piece can be described as authentic Egyptian, with the exception of an occasional scarab, is perplexing. And indeed I. E. S. Edwards has observed that even the statues of Taharqa set up at Nebi Yunus, the arsenal of Nineveh, with the Pharaonic cartouche, are abnormal by Egyptian standards. These deviations may be due in part to the fact that the Assyrians for all their boastings held but a precarious foothold in Egypt itself; partly also because the Assyrians did not wish to absorb elements of Egyptian religion alien to their own, and consequently made no effort to understand its symbolism. Moreover, these influences were transmitted to them by the peoples of Phoenicia and Syria, who had for a much longer period of time been in close contact with Egypt and adapted its religious and artistic concepts to suit themselves. Egyptian concepts the Assyrians could certainly have understood had they wished, for their harems must have held many Egyptian women, and Egyptian names figure in Assyrian business records. But Assyria in its way was as chauvinistic as Egypt and these two different civilizations were never reconciled.

Nevertheless, some of the basic ideas behind Egyptian iconography were understood well enough outside Egypt, for they were common currency in western Asia. For example, the griffin or the lion trampling on and slaying the hunter must have been recognized as the Pharaoh triumphing over his enemies and reapplied to the king of Assyria.[31] Similarly, the prophylactic value of the guardian angels was recognized by the Assyrian court; but whereas in Egypt these winged guardians were female, in Assyria they were often male. Other

examples are the winged discs which in Egypt were emblems of the Pharaoh's translation to the sky and assimilation to the sun—everywhere understood in western Asia as symbolic of divine majesty.

Prophylactic Character of the Iconography; Mythological Traditions. Victory over the forces of evil is doubtless represented by the 'St George and the dragon' scene, which spread to Cyprus and to Greece and was possibly Syrian or Phoenician in origin.[32] Prosperity, joy, life, festive commemorations, must be ideas latent in the sets of panels depicting male and female figures at the banquet table, often in association with mighty warriors grasping the fruits or the flowers of the life-giving lotus, lily and palmette trees; sometimes the tables of offerings rested in the branches. But nearly always the exact meaning of this iconography, if indeed there was exact meaning, escapes us, for the scenes must often have been abbreviated illustrations to mythologies of which the written records have been lost. Similarly, the rich variety of subjects engraved on western Asiatic cylinder seals which often commemorate legends known to us from the literature show how difficult it is, even when specific clues are provided, to follow the ramifications of the artist's fancy.

Problem of Distinguishing between Phoenician and Syrian Work. It is difficult to decide how much is owed to specifically Phoenician, how much to specifically Syrian or Aramaean influence. Many of the alphabetic and numerical markings on the ivories seem to be a kind of shorthand lettering which could have been indiscriminately applied in all of these workshops. Phoenician sites are unfortunately still deficient in comparative material, apart from a handful of ivories from Sidon and Byblos. Much might be forthcoming from Tyre, but there excavation on a large scale has yet to take place. The majority of close parallels come rather from Syrian cities where Phoenician craftsmen no doubt often worked alongside Syrians. The subject, content, and style of the Nimrud ivories may often be traced to north Syrian and, to a lesser extent, Palestinian workshops. Our principal sources of comparison are, as we have already observed, the art motifs of Tell Halaf, Carchemish, Arslan-Tash, Zinjirli and Fakhariyah, Samaria, Megiddo, and Hazor.

Increasing Intricacy and Elaboration of Ivory-Carving in the 8th Century B.C. Champlevé, 'Cloisonné,' and Polychromy. One more stylistic consideration has to be taken into account. With the increased interest in ivories so evident in the 8th century B.C., the artists undoubtedly became absorbed in composition, the building up of elaborately contrived, balanced, or opposed scenes which allowed them a certain latitude that perhaps would not have been acceptable in the 9th century B.C. Obviously too there was great appreciation of the *tour de force*—the intricate carving of open-work which called for the greatest skill and sleight of hand only achieved at imminent risk of fracture. '*Cloisonné*' and champlevé work, whatever the date of its origin may have been, remained as popular as ever at the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 7th centuries B.C. Here the attraction was the polychromy achieved by the incrustation of coloured stones, more rarely of lapis lazuli and carnelian, as a rule of 'Egyptian blue.' The fact that large quantities of this material were found in Fort Shalmaneser leads to the conclusion that some ivory-carving as well as repairs were done on the spot.

Indeed Layard discovered tusks in the N.W. Palace, and we ourselves subsequently found a tablet, ND2620, written either in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III or in that of Sargon II, referring to a storeroom which contained nine ivory tusks.[33]

Repetition: Cow and Calf. There were of course many themes which were repeated over and over again. Such repetition is indeed characteristic of 'magical' art at all periods, but some subjects must have been popular in themselves because they had the kind of direct appeal which finds universal response. For this the most obvious example was the model of the cow suckling its calf which must have been carved in hundreds, with many slight variations.[34] A theme such as this, which in nature moves most men, could hardly be rendered in art too often. And although such repetition may seem naïve to modern art critics, the Assyrians could not have too much of it.

Technique. As we look at individual pieces one of the most satisfactory features is the delicacy and sharpness of the cutting; on the best carving the finish and precision of every stroke is a joy to behold. It is therefore disconcerting to reflect that often this finesse must have been concealed by the gold overlay once lavishly applied; not infrequently a flashy *nouveau riche* effect obscured the original beauty of the pristine ivory: perhaps we are fortunate to see it in its present state. The gold strip when applied to silver vessels was hammered direct on to the metal, but in the case of the ivories fixed with adhesive. Most of the fragments found in room SW37 were stained black from the bitumen colloid which had been used to stick down the gold. It was because the enemy valued the gold and cared little for the ivory itself that so many thousands of ivory fragments have survived at Nimrud until our time.

Simplicity of the Ivory-Worker's Kit; Methods of Indian Ivory Carvers. It is not surprising that few implements which could have served as part of the ivory-worker's kit have been found at Nimrud, since nearly all the ivories were finished products and no ivory-worker's *atelier* has yet been found. We have already seen, however, that both in Fort Shalmaneser and in the N.W. Palace large lumps of 'Egyptian blue' were often associated with the ivories, and these may have been the raw materials used to effect repairs on the spot, and some carving must certainly have been done in Calah itself. In NE50 there were benches and a stone-cutter's saw; copper chisels and fragments of awls have turned up sporadically as well as copper nails. And here it is worth recalling that the ivory-worker's tools must have been simple and few if we are to judge by those used in India where artisans are still turning out delicately finished articles using only the most primitive technique. I have watched an Indian in Delhi making a minute ivory hinge and threading it to another with fine copper wire, using only vice, file and chisel. The only other apparatus consisted of saw, wooden mallet and a heavy block which served as a table. Today the patron may suggest what he wants; the craftsman makes a sketch: the result is a combination of the patron's plan and craftsman's modifications. I was told that the tusk was only considered mature at 50 years—that is the half-life of the male elephant. The craftsmen, incidentally, were all of humble origin; they were poorly paid and their workshop was equipped only with a bare minimum of furniture; a single

patron employed about twenty of them; some carvings could be achieved in a day, others required months of work according to their elaboration. Surprisingly, the patron averred both in Delhi and in Jaipur that African were better than Indian tusks, but whether this was a sound judgement I am unable to say. The Nimrud ivories came from the Syrian elephant, *Elephas maximus asurus Deraniyagala*, the most westerly and largest sub-species of the Asian elephant.[35]

In Jaipur likewise the craftsman was only using chisel, file, fine saw and a nail with a sharp point, and a small tool with a flat paddle-shaped blade at each end. He made me a figure of an Indian god (Krishna) out of a section of elephant's tusk about 4 inches in height. His practice was to saw a section longitudinally, cutting the tusk in two halves and then to make two similar figures after having sketched the object intended on the convex side. The technique explains the fact that many of the Nimrud ivories were carved in pairs. The craftsman sat at his work on a low stool in the courtyard of his patron's house; he was putting the last touches to the little god's flute with a fine chisel, making parallel incisions in the fringes of the robe, a task which required steadiness of hand and keen vision. He reckoned that it took about five days, working seven to eight hours a day, to cut one of these small figures. The man said that his father had been a sculptor-mason and that he had taken up his trade because his elder brother practised it, and that as a boy he used to help and had learnt the craft from him. This close association between ivory-carver and stone-worker also makes it easier to understand why the style of the Nimrud ivories may so often be related to stone carvings.

At Jaipur the craftsman said that the most delicate and tricky part of the operation was cutting out the open or *ajouré* parts of the figures, that is to say carving the elongated strips out of the body of the ivory, free-standing and without support. Such carvings were always more expensive owing to the risk of fracture. But if an accident happened, then the free-standing parts were altogether cut away, and only the solid figure was produced (one thinks of the chessman-like figures [534-7] from Nimrud), so that it was usually possible to make use of the ivory core even if some damage had occurred in attempting an ambitious design. On the figure of Krishna which I bought I noticed a \|/ mark at the back on the base.[36] The old man explained that this had no other significance than to obliterate the traces of a flaw.

The techniques still used in India today thus no doubt follow very closely the ancient traditions of ivory carving, and an examination of it is helpful to our understanding of ancient Asiatic practice. This account may be used to supplement Dr Barnett's interesting discussion of technique in *CNI*, 155–168; he has also noticed on the Nimrud ivories the marks of drills, picks, files, gravers, gouges and compasses.

Reasons for Applying Gold Overlay. One more point remains for consideration. Why did the Nimrud ivory-carver so often overlay his ivories with gold? The obvious answer, that the glitter of gold was in itself an irresistible attraction, and that chryselephantine work made a meretricious appeal to a *nouveau riche* court, is not wholly satisfactory. It is tempting to suggest that the covering of ivory and the concealment of a naturally beautiful surface may have been a practice based on an older, and perhaps commoner, woodwork technique which the

carver had devised in order to conceal knots and defects in the graining, and cracks: indeed ivory itself is liable to similar blemishes. We must therefore make these concessions to the ancient patrons and craftsmen of Syria and Assyria, before condemning them for a lack of sensitivity in hiding a superb detail carved in material which must often have been in colour rich and mature as old wine.

Ivories from Room SW7

The discovery of magnificent sets of ivory carvings in this room has been described in the previous chapter. For the first time we were confronted with a series of panels conjoined in their original setting. Not more than half a dozen were complete enough to be reconstituted, the remainder were more or less fragmentary, and in many cases no more than one or two panels had survived in isolation. All the panels had been backed on to wood which had altogether disintegrated, and in some cases probably only the wooden framework, shorn of its ivory veneer, had been stored in this room.

As we have previously explained, what we had found was furniture: beds or couches, and chairs, carelessly stacked, often upside down and not always on the same level, for there was a variation of up to half a metre in the depths at which the highest and the lowest lying pieces were found. The decorated panels had been set in a slight concave curve as ornaments to bed-heads and the large ones as reconstituted appear to have been of a more or less standard size, about 84 by 56 centimetres, with some variations. Individual panels belonging to the different beds also varied: 25 × 9·5 centimetres was a standard measurement for the larger plaques, but there were many smaller ones also. One reconstituted back, decorated with volutes only and no human figures, 48 × 33 centimetres, is likely to have belonged to a chair [415]. None of the ivories found in this room had been exposed to fire, and this may be the reason for which some attempt had been made to salvage them, probably soon after the sack.

Many of these bed or chair-backs were without trace of carved panels, indeed the majority consisted simply of an unadorned ivory surround similar to the plain framework visible on our reconstituted specimens [381, 384]. Scattered amid the debris were many stray panels which obviously must once have belonged within the frames, but it is certain that many of the beds had been dismantled of their ivory carvings before they were stacked; in these cases only the woodwork and some of the plain ivory veneer had survived. No traces of legs for the beds and couches remained, and it was therefore assumed that these had been made of wood, but subsequently, in 1962, ivory legs of furniture were discovered in the debris of room SW12, ND 1086–7.

ND7907 [381], now in the British Museum, is typical of the simpler series. Here we have four panels depicting human figures facing inwards towards the centre, framed on either side by the palmette tree with tiers of voluted branches. The human figures are dressed warriors and wear long coats girt with broad waist-band and short under-tunic which falls to just above the knee; on this set of figures, only the lower part of the garment, which is a kind of cut-away swallow-tail, appears to represent the conventionalized form of armour. Above the waist they wear an embroidered short-sleeved jacket or surcoat the details of which are indicated by a criss-cross design. The two middle

381 (*Right*). ND7907 (BM). Ivory bed-head, overall 84×56 cm., consisting of six panels depicting warriors and magical tree. SW7, F.S. See p. 485. Scale c. 1/4

382 (*Left*). ND7952 (B). Ivory panel, height 25·5 cm., depicting warrior and magical tree. SW7, F.S. Scale c. 3/5

warriors are bearded, the outer ones are clean-shaven; this contrast between men of mature years and youths is frequently repeated on all kinds of different panels, both here and in room S10. All four figures are barefoot; they carry a bucket in one hand and hold the fruit of the 'lotus' tree—perhaps a kind of lily—in the other. Above each is the winged disc. The surround to the carvings is a plain veneer of ivory which originally overlaid wood. The surfaces of these panels were much damaged by damp, but the detailed form of the garments may be discerned very clearly, for example on ND7905 [383], and 7952 [382] whereon sandals are depicted. It can be seen that the outer garment was a long surcoat open in front, with short sleeves. The horizontal bands of decoration below the waists seem intended to reproduce the scale-armour of which large collections were found in the same room—an interesting association which gives a clue to the military character of the men depicted on these panels: they were evidently warriors, and this interpretation is further sustained by the fact that similarly clothed figures on other panels wore helmets, e.g. ND7919 [391], a high-ranking dignitary who is shod with sandals.

ND7905 [383], another of the less complex bed-backs, consists of five panels. In the centre is a bearded male, seated on a cushioned stool which is

supported by crossed legs terminating in bull's hooves; at the side of the stool, pendent from the cushion, there is an elaborate set of crossed tassels. The man wears a long coat with tasselled fringe, and sandals; his feet rest on a footstool flanked by a bull passant in high relief. Confronting the man is a tall lily-tree in full flower; he holds an upraised cup in his right hand; the cup and its contents are thus unmistakably in close association with the tree. On either side of this central figure are winged griffins clasping bucket and fruit, advancing in front of a lily-tree. The curl on the top of the griffin's head and the side-locks are rendered in true Syrian fashion as at Carchemish and more particularly at Sakcha Gözü where a similar griffin carries the bucket and clasps the fruit; the iconography is thus identical.[37] The simpler Carchemish griffins are probably earlier; the ones from Sakcha Gözü must be nearly contemporary. Behind each griffin, also facing towards the centre, are youths with curly hair, the one carrying a young stag, the other an oryx: the spiral rendering of the curls in pot-hook fashion is striking and in Assyria is a Sargonid fashion which in a modified form appears at Khorsabad and at Quyunjik.[38] These figures wear coats of mail and are shod with sandals—youthful officers. The top of the

framework appears to have been surmounted by half-cylindrical pieces of ivory 3·5 × 2 centimetres inscribed with fitters' marks on their undersides.

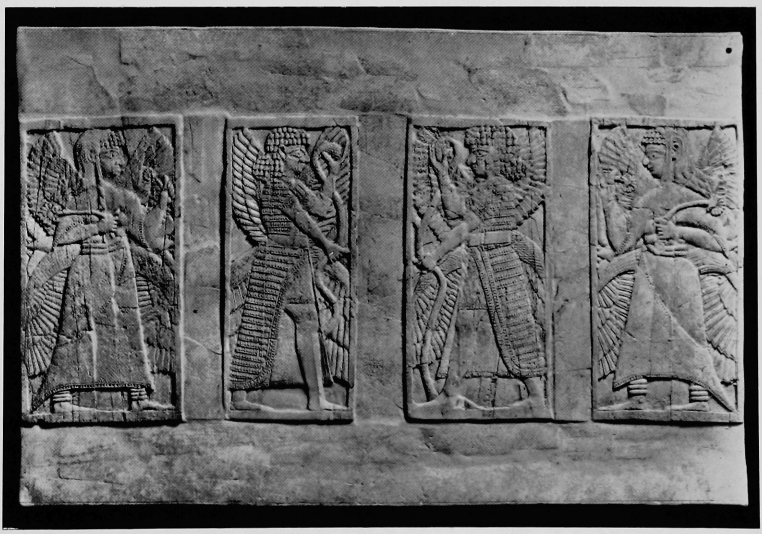
ND7917 [384], reconstituted from four panels found together, probably part of some larger composition, is interesting to compare with the preceding sets because here we have a pair of warriors wearing the normal chain-mail gown and seizing the fruit of the tree, but these are winged and must be genii, youthful spirits of war. In addition we see a pair of four-winged female genii with long trailing coats[39] which have dot-fringed borders at the bottom. Their garments are girt at the waist by belts of fine spun strands elaborately knotted; in each hand they carry a palmette branch; three bangles are visible above each ankle. The hair-style is very elaborate: curls on the forehead; three tresses fall down on to the shoulders and a long twisted coil which appears to be a tie for the hair is carried across the crown and hangs in front of the ears. The treatment of the wings is remarkable, for the upper edge of the bottom pair is folded over as if to depict the back. Note the simplified delineation of the ears and their high position on the head. Another panel, ND7904 (see [387], panel 6) which depicts a similar winged figure though differing in some details, notably the tresses and the winged disc surmounting the head, displays the cutting of the wings and the hair-style very clearly. Here the details of the disc, particularly the margin enclosing clusters of circles and terminating in volutes, have a striking resemblance to those of a basalt winged disc from Carchemish.[40]

ND7904 [385–7], a large bed-back on a slightly concave curve, probably comprised a set of eleven panels. These brilliant carvings, perhaps the finest of the series, depict the bearded warrior as well as the four-winged female guardian spirit mentioned above; a winged disc spanned the top of the five panels of figures which composed its centre: of these, as far as could be seen, all were male except for one, but unfortunately the majority were damaged and fragmentary. Each of the side-pieces consisted of two warriors in ceremonial military dress wearing scale armour; they are shown in tiers separated by imbricated bands, a very ancient convention for representing mountains; they grasp the lotus tree with one hand and in the other hold its fruit upraised towards the sun-disc which surmounts their heads.

The long panel which runs horizontally across the base of the composition is remarkable. It depicts the hunting of wild bulls. The chariot consists of a squarish cab with back higher than the front, mounted on a six-spoked wheel with reinforced hub [386]. On the side of the cab there is a pair of crossed quivers. Four men are in the cab; the hindmost is giving the *coup de grâce* with a spear to a huge wild bull; the back of the chariot is closed with a shield; this fourth man is a youth differently dressed from the others; he wears a long fringed tunic and a short-sleeved jerkin. The three others clad in the usual coat of armour face the front: one is the driver; one, barely visible, was probably a second bowman; the principal figure draws the bow at full stretch and fires an arrow at one of the retreating bulls. An unusual and interesting feature of this figure is that he wears an archer's protective outfit: long, strapped arm-guard running up to the wrist of the left arm, gloves strapped to the wrist on the right arm; this equipment must have been made of leather.[41] The horse is yoked to the chariot by means of the elaborate elliptical fitting generally described as a

383. ND7905 (B). Ivory bed-head, length about 60 cm., composed of five panels depicting seated male figure and 'lily' tree, winged griffins, and youths carrying a young stag and oryx. SW7, F.S. See p. 486. Scale c. 1/3

384. ND7917 (Met.Mus. N.Y.). Ivory bed-head, about 18·5×8·4 cm., reconstituted from four panels. Male and female winged genii hold fruit of sacred tree, and palmettes. Parts of legs, feet and border restored in wax. SW7, F.S. Scale c. 2/3



'yoke-pole' which in the stone sculptures is first represented on the monuments of Assur-nasir-pal and last on a relief of Sennacherib. Sayid Tariq el Madhlum of the Iraq Antiquities Department has however plausibly suggested that what has hitherto been interpreted as an elliptical yoke-pole may very well in fact have been a horse-cloth, often embroidered, and suspended from a pole, so that what we see is actually yoke-pole and cloth pendent from it. There is also a counter strut which runs obliquely from the upper to the lower yoke.

The horse is most elaborately caparisoned; a long horse-cloth probably composed of scale-armour is draped over the body and strapped to it at the flanks and round the base of the neck; the terminal of the straps consists of a floral knot. Armour and a protective frontlet run up to the top of the horse's neck; a large disc from which hang four tassels hangs down the shanks.

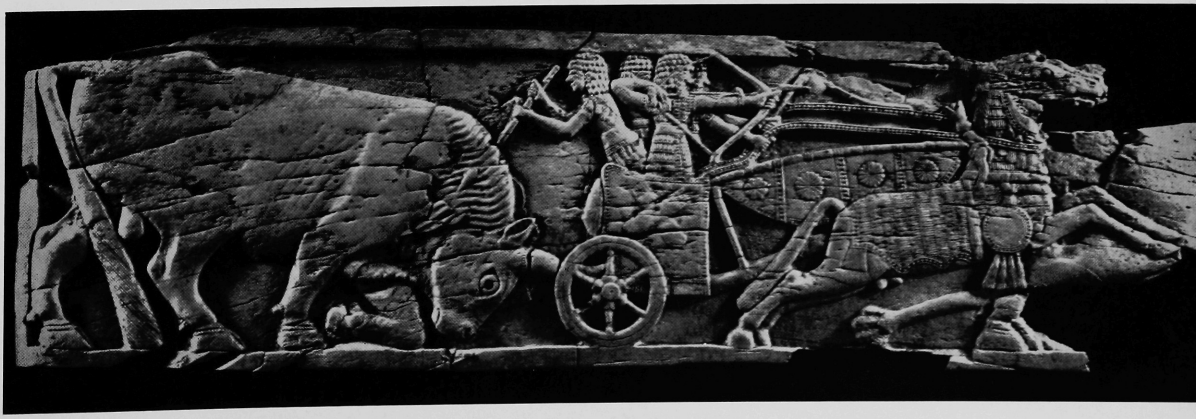
The equipage of the chariot is of cardinal importance to the dating of the ivories because of the very strong similarity which it bears to a stone bas-relief discovered at the Anatolian site of Sakcha Gözü, a day's march from Zinjirli. There the caparison of the horse is almost precisely similar, and so are the warriors and the winged disc; so close are the resemblances that we may safely propose an approximately similar date for both. In one important respect they differ, namely that on the Nimrud panel there are four men in the chariot: at Sakcha-Gözü only two. In Assyria the first evidence for four men in a cab occurs in a relief of Sargon II (722–705 B.C.) at Khorsabad.[42] A crew of four first becomes common in the reign of Assur-bani-pal, whose larger chariots, however, are altogether differently mounted and cannot be matched with this one; moreover, by his time, the elliptical cloth on the yoke-pole had long disappeared. On this ivory, however, the type of wheel, protective shield, cap, yoke-pole and horse's equipage are in fact decisive evidence for a date not later than Sargon, more probably not later than Tiglath-pileser III, in spite of the crew of four. That probability is reinforced by the evidence from Sakcha Gözü itself and its neighbouring site of Zinjirli where many of the monuments in an increasingly Assyrianizing style probably coincided with the reign of Bar-rekub, a vassal of Tiglath-pileser III; alternatively they may have been carved to the order of his immediate predecessor Panammu II. There are indeed strong reasons for believing that neither at Sakcha Gözü nor at Zinjirli can the Assyrianizing reliefs be later than about 727 B.C. (the end of Tiglath-pileser III's reign) and some authorities would perhaps date them somewhat earlier.

The most obvious difference between the Sakcha Gözü relief and the Nimrud ivory is that on the former there are two men, not four, in the chariot, and that the wheels are of the simpler Syrian type, eight-spoked, without the Assyrian reinforced hub; but these particular differences need not imply any difference in date between the two scenes. Treatment of the winged disc is closely comparable with some of those delineated on the Nimrud ivories, compare for example those represented on the panels at the sides of the bed.[43] Finally the bas-relief provides proof that our male figures wearing the long scaly garments are warriors, for at Sakcha Gözü the similarly clad figure with long cut-away coat wears a helmet. At Nimrud one of the clearest examples of this fashion may be seen on the magnificent panel ND6374 [388] where the detailed scale-like markings, fringes, back of the tunic and knee-length under-garment may be clearly discerned. There are, however, considerable differences of detail in

385 (*Above*). ND7904 (B). Ivory bed-head, overall about 84×66 cm., originally composed of eleven panels. At the sides, warriors and magical tree; in the centre, a winged sun-disc spans panels showing female goddess (?) and warriors; at the bottom, a bull-hunt. SW7. F.S. See pp. 488–90. Scale c. 1/4

386 (*Below*). ND7904 (B). Detail of bull hunt shown in [385]. Scale c. 3/4

387 (*Opposite page*). ND7904 (B). Detail of centre panel of [385]. Scale c. 1/2



the various renderings of the warriors' coats, for on this example the representations of what elsewhere we may with confidence interpret as metal scales appear to be carved as a series of zig-zags, and it would be possible to interpret the coat or gown as elaborately embroidered linen or the like. It is therefore conceivable that this and other similar figures, for example ND6376 and 6363 may in fact be wearing a full-dress ceremonial garment based on the coat of mail and so appropriate to a warrior. No such reserve however need be expressed in the case of panels such as ND7904 and 7914 [**385, 389**] where the form of the individual plates is exactly that of the bronze and iron *lamellae* found in the same room.

A very close parallel also occurs on two ivories discovered at Zinjirli where we have a fragment depicting a chariot and the upper part of a bridled horse in a style similar to this one from Nimrud.[44] The earliest possible date for the Zinjirli ivories would be the reign of Kilamu, who overlapped with the latter years of Shalmaneser III, but in fact it is probable that many, if not most of them, had been made and collected by his successors who came increasingly under the influence of Assyria and were her vassals after 745 B.C. In this connection we must also compare an open-work plaque with horse-drawn chariot, ND10316 [**462**], found in SW37, which is almost identical and may well have been an import from Zinjirli itself.

The elaborate treatment of the Nimrud chariot should also be compared with that of a famous chariot relief of Tiglath-pileser III in the British Museum.[45] That chariot carried three, not four persons; the yoke-pole was decorated with winged disc and other devices, the elaborate wheel-hub is similar, though there are eight not six spokes as on the Nimrud ivory: the very elaborate horse's harness is in the style of the time.

On the chariot relief of Tiglath-pileser III in the British Museum, the rendering of the wheel-hub with its short cylindrical stubs reinforcing the spokes where they are mostly likely to snap, at the junction with the wheel-hub,[46] is identical with that on the Nimrud ivory, and is never depicted after his reign in Assyria. Another important point is that the shield at the back of the chariot cab disappears on the reliefs by the time of Tiglath-pileser III and must therefore be an archaism here, whilst on the contrary a crew of four is an innovation if it is before Sargon, and we must reiterate that the curved, elliptical yoke-pole familiar on chariots from Assur-nasir-pal II to Tiglath-pileser III has disappeared in Sargon's reign.[47] The evidence so far adduced therefore inevitably leads to the conclusion that the Sakcha Gözü relief and the Nimrud panel must be very nearly contemporary; that the probable date for the Sakcha Gözü relief is in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, whose vassal Bar-rekub erected monuments there; and comparison with Assyrian reliefs again points to a similar time, either late in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III or possibly during the short reign of Shalmaneser V, who preceded Sargon. In round figures therefore, c.730–720 B.C. is the most probable date for our ivory.

Yet another interesting comparison can be made with the equipage of the Nimrud chariot, namely that depicted on an ivory panel found at Ziwiye[48] where there are three men up in a cab, hunting wild bulls which have technical resemblances to those delineated on the Nimrud ivories ND7910 [**416-7**] (see p. 513). The elaborate harnessing of the Ziwiye horses has some points

388 (*Left*). ND6374 (B). Ivory panel, 25·2× 11·5 cm. Warrior, in ceremonial dress, grasps 'lily' tree. SW7, F.S. See p. 490. Scale c. 3/5

389 (*Below right*). ND7914 (B). Ivory panel, detail of one of a set of six depicting warriors wearing armour-plating, with palmette tree. SW7, F.S.

of resemblance; there is the 'elliptical yoke-pole', and the chariot cab has the high curve at the back, characteristic of 8th century types. Yet another of the Ziwiye ivory plaques[49] depicts horses with cloth and disc very similar to the Nimrud panel, and again three up, though there is room for a fourth in the very large cab: here the spearman at the rear of the cab seems to be wearing armour. In spite of Godard's opinion, it would seem very difficult to date this plaque earlier than the latter half of the 8th century B.C. on account of the capacious cab and wheels which are obviously much nearer in scale to those of Assur-bani-pal than to those of Assur-nasir-pal; judged by Assyrian standards, however, the most probable date is about the time of Tiglath-pileser III because of the yoke-pole and the form of the cab with its high, curved back.[50]

Also comparable, though by no means identical, is a chariot scene on an ivory pyxis found by Loftus in the 'Burnt Palace' at Nimrud:[51] approximately similar horse-cloth, knotted straps of the bridge, pendent disc and coat worn by the driver. It is moreover interesting to compare the hunting dog running beside the horse on that pyxis with ND7806 [**547**] which was found in room S10

of Fort Shalmaneser. A similar date, late 8th century B.C., would be suitable for this Burnt Palace pyxis, and also for a bronze bowl with similar chariot found by Layard in the N.W. Palace.[52]

The Nimrud chariot scenes have a long antecedent history behind them, and must ultimately derive from the iconography of the 13th and 12th centuries B.C., for example the hunt depicted on the famous ivory casket from Enkomi; the scenes on the gold bowl from Ras Shamra; the Megiddo plaque; and Tutankhamen's fan handle.[53] During the dark ages between 1100 and 900 B.C. those older traditions must have been perpetuated on wood or in textiles, so that they were ready to reappear in the expensively carved stone and ivory at the revived courts of Syrian and Assyrian monarchs after 900 B.C.

In Assyria, however, the line of ancestry for the representations of chariots is more directly traceable to the 9th century throne-room reliefs of Assur-nasir-pal II, as is clear from the form of the chariot cab, the decorated elliptical yoke-pole, spoked wheels with reinforced hubs, and other details. These earlier reliefs had at Nimrud been the cynosure of every eye, and served as a model for Assyrian and Syrian artists over a period of at least two centuries. But in the course of time every Assyrian monarch improved or modified his equipage and new models of the king's car were exacted in the same way that modern fashion demands a new model for a motor-car. The carving of reliefs depicting ancient Assyrian vehicles was not the whim of the artists' fancy, but represented what was used by the king. A minute study of details on the long series of monuments between Assur-nasir-pal and Assur-bani-pal would prove the point.

Finally, in assessing the place of the Nimrud chariot scene in the history of art, we have to take into account the similarity of the other carved vertical and horizontal panels on the same bed-head to the majority of the other ivories found in the same room. This consideration obliges us to conclude that all of them must be approximately similar in date, to within a few decades. In short the evidence suggests that most of the carvings in room SW7 were executed a little before or a little after 730 B.C.

ND7906 [**390**], another splendid panel now in Baghdad, depicts four bearded warriors in the usual posture, voluted palmette trees framing them as in ND7907 [**381**] but here the upright frames on either side are unusual in that they depict three tiers of bearded figures, instead of two, clasping the tree, the top one surmounted by the winged disc. It is interesting that the curve at the top of these outer frames is ogival, as in chariots in the Assyrian bas-reliefs; but these sets can only be bed-heads. In this case the rather elaborate form of the winged disc is almost identical with that depicted on the Sakcha Gözü bas-relief which we have described above. The six bearded men on the sides are not wearing the coat of mail, but ordinary court dress. This is not a standard form of Assyrian dress, nor can it be very closely matched on the north Syrian monuments. But the cut of the coat with fringed shawl passing over one shoulder and hanging down below the waist, short-sleeved tunic and long tassels at the back of the skirt is not far removed, in spite of deviations, from the style of dress worn by attendants of Sargon,[54] and could well be of the same period. The chief difference in the stone reliefs is that on them the tunic is usually worn without a belt, and trails down to the ankles, not merely to the calves as here. The type of dress can clearly be seen in the panel ND7951 [**391**],

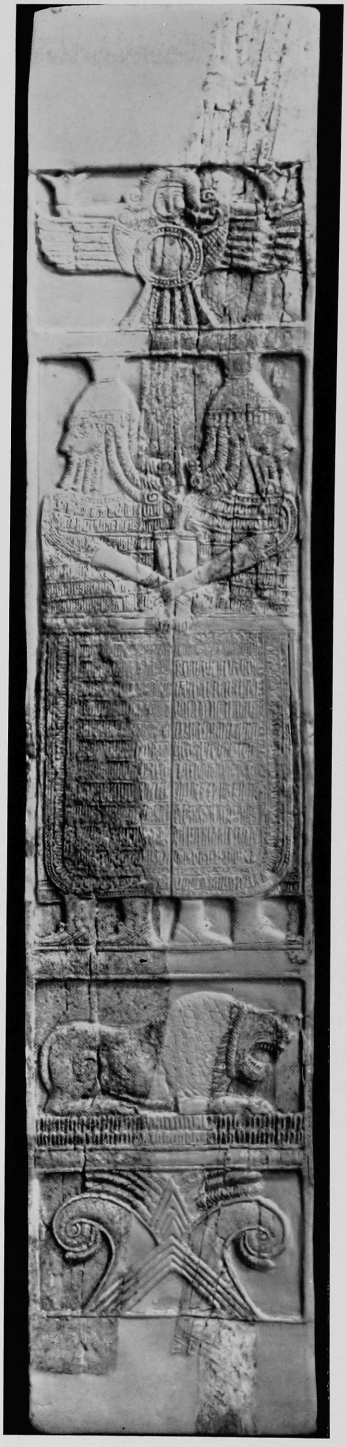
390 (*Above*). ND7906 (B). Ivory bed-head, overall about 84×60 cm., composed of twelve panels. Warriors and magical trees. SW7, F.S. Scale c. 1/4

391 (*Opposite page*). ND7951. Ivory panel from a set of three comprising a bed-head, height 24·7 cm. Male figure grasps palmette tree. SW7, F.S. Scale c. 2/3

where a bearded male figure, barefoot, grasps a palmette tree; there is a winged disc above and lotus below.

ND7919 [392] is one of a series of plaques executed with exceptional brilliance which displays the art of the ivory-cutter in all its glory. Unfortunately none of these panels (about half a dozen variants of the same theme occur, mostly fragmentary) was found in its original setting. They are exceptionally tall, and narrower than the majority of those described above. The centre-piece depicts a warrior clad in the long, armoured coat with short sleeves plucking at a 'lotus' tree—really a lily—which is rendered with a rare delicacy. A smaller plant with long lanceolate leaves is also depicted; the scale-like base of tree and plant is probably intended to indicate mountains. The remarkable feature of this figure is the extraordinary helmet, a kind of inverted flower-pot, which cannot be exactly matched elsewhere, although such elaborate helmets became fashionable in the 8th century. Also striking are the sandals with their high looped straps; the fastening is closely comparable with that depicted on a statue of a king from Malatya, and also comes near to the one shown on the sandals of Sargon's Gilgamesh figure at Khorsabad; the short heel-piece is also characteristic of the same period.[55] In the top register we have again an altogether exceptional cherubic female who caps the winged disc and carries a lily in each hand. The lowest register depicts a winged female sphinx; on other comparable plaques instead of a sphinx there was a lion couchant, ND7925–7926 [393]. We have to go far afield to find parallels for the cherub, but they are of extraordinary interest. A silver bowl (4556) from the Cesnola collection discovered in Cyprus, depicts a similar kind of winged goddess with hair falling in two Hathor-like curls on either side of the neck. She appears to be calling up to the sky a warrior in his chariot and the scene inevitably reminds us of the Old Testament story of Elijah drawn up to heaven in his chariot—doubtless a form of sun-god or sun-goddess myth. The date of this Cypriot bowl probably falls in the early 7th century B.C. and the scenes on it are derived from Syria and Phoenicia, with Egyptian influence in the background. The same goddess was probably transmitted through Cyprus to Etruria, for she reappears in the famous Bernadini silver bowl which our best authorities are now inclined to date to c.725 B.C., perhaps almost contemporary with the Nimrud plaque.[56] Parallels for the iconography of the goddess also occur on *tridachna* shells as far afield as Lindos, Rhodes on the one hand, and Assur on the other.[57]

Who was this lady? Here we may perhaps turn to the Ugaritic legends of western Syria, doubtless of Canaanite origin. Those sources speak of 'The Lady Sun' under the name Shepesh who in the Ugaritic texts intercedes with the god El on behalf of a son of Athtar: she is 'the luminary of the gods', burning the furrows in the fields.[58] Another text in this series translated by Ginsberg runs: '(Wait) for the setting of the Lady Sun, and the shining of the light of myriads.'[59] It is thus possible that the lady emerging from the winged disc on this series of plaques may be based on a west Syrian or Canaanite mythology, clearly foreign to Assyria as to Babylonia where the sun—Shamash—was always male. Indeed, in any attempt to interpret some of the strange figures on these and other ivory plaques of the same group we may legitimately turn to Syria for guidance and examine the content of related subjects on the artistic



392 (*Left*). ND7919 (B). Ivory panel, overall 28·7 × 6·7 cm. In the centre, a warrior in an armoured coat and 'flower pot' helmet grasps a 'lily' tree. Above, a sun goddess; below, a female winged sphinx. SW7, F.S. Scale c. 2/3

393 (*Centre*). ND7926 (AM). Ivory panel, 28·7 × 6·7 cm., similar to [392] but with lion couchant instead of a female sphinx. SW7, F.S. Scale c. 2/3

394 (*Right*). ND7924 (B). Ivory panel, overall 50·5 × 10·2 cm., partly restored. Sun goddess, two warriors, lion couchant and voluted palmette. SW7, F.S. See p. 498. Scale c. 1/2

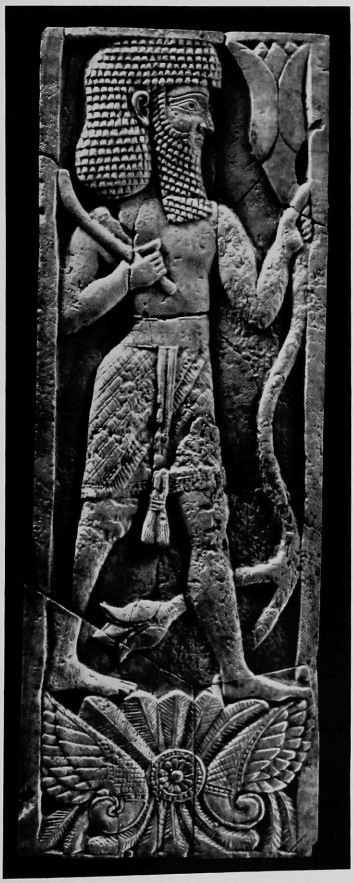
remains of sites such as Carchemish, Zinjirli and its district. At the time these ivories were made, in the 8th century B.C., cosmopolitan Assyria was beginning to assimilate western imagery, and the artists of the time clothed the human figure in a guise acceptable to Assyrians though still eccentric to their normal fashions.

Eccentricity is indeed most pronounced in the shape of the helmet for which, as we have seen, there is no exact parallel. But vase-like hats enjoyed a wide vogue in the 8th century and variant forms of them, perhaps as early as c.820 B.C., may be observed at Carchemish[60] and at Zinjirli.[61] A very odd form of helmet with splayed top is worn by one of the enemies of Tiglath-pileser III, a mounted knight of unknown origin, but the top is much flattened in comparison with ours.[62] A vase-like helmet is also depicted at approximately the same date on an Etruscan cauldron found in the Barberini tomb.[63] Finally we have an interesting variant in a famous head of Taharqa,[64] a contemporary of Esarhaddon —unique in Egypt, perhaps ultimately derived from Assyria. All these examples, while in no case precisely similar, are pointers to the general likelihood that our ivories were made in the latter half of the 8th century B.C.

In the same series as the foregoing plaque we have a remarkable variant ND7924 [**394**], by far the largest of all, fragmentary and partly restored in wax. This depicts a sun-goddess, two warriors instead of one, a lion couchant, and at the bottom a voluted palmette with fronds. Here the principal compartment represents two helmeted warriors back to back, one arm extended down the side of the body, the other crossed at the wrist and obviously intended to depict the clasping of hands. It would seem that the artist was concerned with some ceremonial in which two figures were standing side by side with linked hands: the difficulty of displaying this gesture had the figures been shown either full face or in profile has been overcome by this unrealistic posture which is obviously intended to draw attention to the formal embrace; the kind of attitude we should expect at an oath of alliance or friendship. Yet had this represented a treaty between two foreign princes the dress should not have been identical in each case. This would seem rather to be an alliance of brotherhood— the fraternal oath sworn by a king's sons. Interpretation in the absence of written records can only be conjectural.

A somewhat different form of attire from that worn by the figures previously discussed is represented by a set of six panels ND7918 [**395**] of which the two centre ones are also illustrated in detail [**396–7**]. Both figures stand barefoot on the fronds of an elaborate sun-disc—a most unusual pose in which the artist was perhaps giving free play to his fancy without consulting convention, for normally the disc was overhead. Here the man seizes a great lily tree in the left hand and carries a short bent club in the other not unlike one carried by a Gilgamesh figure on Sargon's reliefs.[65] The short kilt with tassels hanging from a stomacher down the front of the body is an elaboration of the one worn by north Syrian warriors at Zinjirli—a fashion which originated at the end of the 9th century; but this example is peculiarly elaborate—of fine woven material.

The dress of the women on the other hand is unique: other panels there are from the same room besides this one, but their like has not been found elsewhere either in Syria or in Assyria. The lady wears a long pleated skirt trailing



395 (*Above*). ND7918(B). Ivory bed-head consisting of six panels, each 21·2 × 7·4 cm. Male and female figures stand on fronds of elaborate sun-disc. SW7, F.S. Scale c. 2/5

396 (*Far left*). ND7918 (B). Detail of male figure from [395]. Scale c. 2/3

397 (*Left*). ND7918 (B). Detail of female figure from [395]. Scale c. 2/3

at the back, just exposing the bangles round her ankles. Short sleeves and full shoulders as well as the base of the skirt have a hemmed dot border. The waist is girt with a remarkable knotted rope-like belt which hangs in serpentine coils down to the base of the skirt in splendid profusion. In her right hand is a short bird-headed (?) staff; she has two coils of bead wristlets. The unusual style of hairdressing which consists of curls over the forehead, with a single twisted plait of hair behind them and hanging down in front of the ear, and three more plaits behind the ear is partly similar to that of the winged ladies on ND7917. The identity of this astonishing figure escapes us—queen, goddess, priestess?—we do not know: she grasps the tendrils of life. The voluminous folds of the quilted (?) coats are in their different style as elaborate as the linen tunic depicted on the king's statue at Malatya.[66]

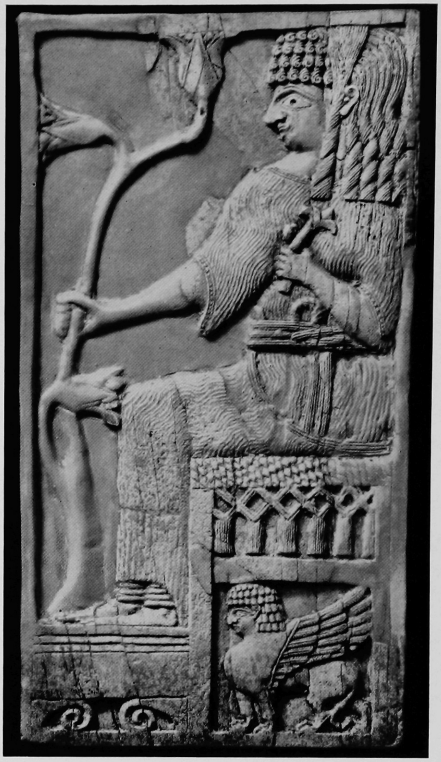
Comparable with these figures is yet another panel, ND6368 [**398**], whereon a winged lady carries a drooping plant in her right hand; the hair-style with twisted plaits behind and in front of the ear is clearly shown, as also is the folded (?) lower wing and the bare foot with bangles.[67] The examination of these ladies inevitably invites comparison with the splendid series of enthroned banqueting figures which are no less enthralling. ND7928 [**399**] is similarly clad, though the neck-line is lower. The elaborate dress with its intricate folds is carefully and minutely carved: it may be that the curved lines below the waist were intended to represent an over-skirt, but they could equally well depict embroidery. The lady sits on a cloth-covered throne with tassels hanging down the side; a sphinx, her familiar, is in the lower compartment; her bare, bangled feet rest on a heavy tabouret with volutes at the base. In her left hand she carries a lily; in her right she clasps the tree which has been restored in wax (with the exception of the top flower), for this portion of the panel was missing. The heavy prominent nose and very large eye lend forceful character to the head. The treatment of the front curls is reminiscent of that on the oryx and gazelle bearers, ND7905 [**383**], and leaves no doubt that this panel, although found in isolation, belongs to the same workshop. The male counterpart of this figure is represented on a smaller panel ND7908 [**400**] where under the tasselled throne, instead of a sphinx, we see a pair of birds on either side of a little tree.[68]

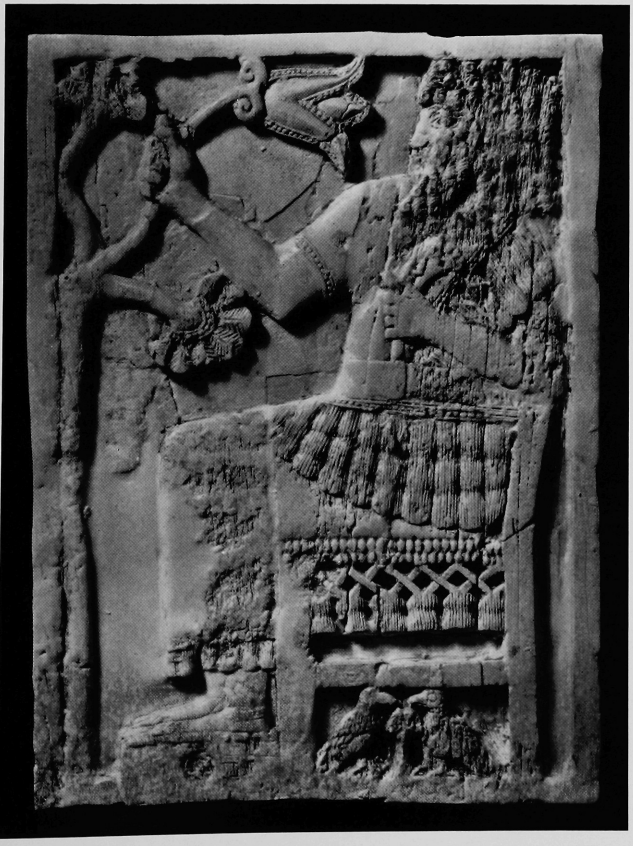
Another enthroned female, ND7909 [**401**], is exceptional because in her right hand, which is held upwards below the winged disc, she holds a circlet with beaded coil—precisely the kind of circlet which forms the centre of the sun-disc in the helmeted warrior panels described above. In some way therefore this would seem to imply authority derived from the sun, a token of the Babylonian *kittu*, 'justice', *misharu*, 'righteousness', symbolized by the measuring cord which could be drawn straight, and by *kippatu*, the circle of perfection.[69] Such ideas may well be embodied within this iconography. The enthroned female was one of a pair and each was attended by a bearded male figure grasping the palmette and lotus tree: the entire bed-head has been reconstituted from broken and fragmentary material and follows the order of discovery in the soil [**402**].

Most striking of the enthroned female figures however are those which are depicted at the banquet-table. ND6369 [**403**] unfortunately fragmentary, is one of the most remarkable. Here the lady accompanied by a guardian sphinx holds aloft in her left hand an elaborate plant of a kind which is unique on these panels:

398 (*Opposite page*). ND6368. Ivory panel, 25·2×9·5 cm., depicting winged lady carrying a drooping plant. SW7, F.S.
Scale c. 1/2

399 (*Right*). ND7928. Ivory panel, 24·5×12 cm. Enthroned female figure with protective sphinx. Most of the tree, forearm and parts of back border restored in wax. SW7, F.S. Scale c. 1/2





400. ND7908. Ivory panel, 26·5×6 cm., showing male counterpart of [399]. SW7, F.S.
Scale c. 1/2

the iconography recalls a phrase in an inscription of Adad-nirari III, 'as agreeable to the people of Assyria as (is the smell of) the Plant of Life'.[70] The garment is in the style of the time, with definite indication of an over-skirt; draped and tasselled throne, and footstool we have seen elsewhere. Most remarkable is the table of offerings supported on crossed legs which terminate in bulls' hooves and are resting in the branches of a lily-tree. On the table are a chalice and next to it curved objects which we may interpret as flaps of bread.

The details of the table are better preserved on a second panel ND6370 [**404**] where bread and wine, and the right hand touching the tip of the chalice, are clearly discerned. Here again the table is resting on the trunk of a tree, and the lotus or lily flower supports one of the bull-hoof legs. On another panel, of which much is unfortunately missing, ND6371 [**405**], the right hand again seems to touch the chalice as if in an act of consecration; the left clasps the fruit of the 'lotus' tree which is in full flower, and the table top is balanced on the flowering tree.

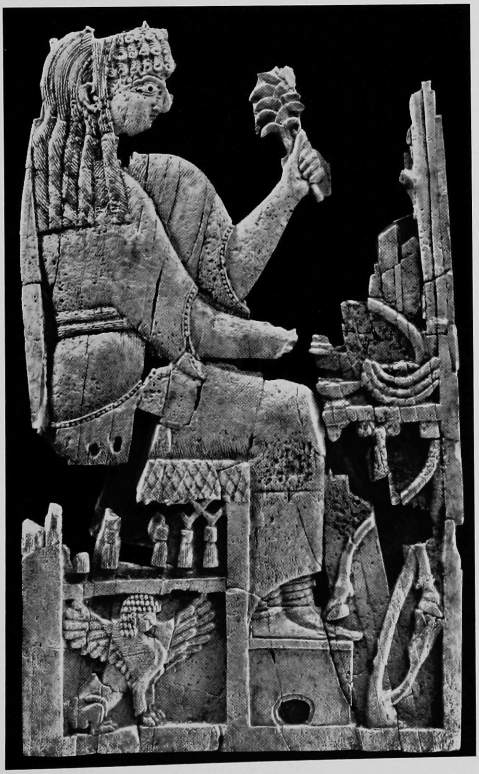
With some hesitation, therefore, I am inclined to interpret these enthroned females as goddesses or protective spirits[71] because of the ethereal nature of the banquet tables which are perched in the branches of the tree of life and lend an unreal character to the scene. Had these been purely Assyrian panels one might have argued with more confidence that the ladies were queens because in Assyria divinities were normally distinguished by the wearing of crowns, and were often in statuesque guise on the backs of animals. But in Syria, notably on the carved reliefs at Carchemish, neo-Hittite legends indicate that apparently lay figures are divinities. For parallels we have to look at the art of north Syria and eastern Asia Minor where females enthroned before the banquet-table are contemporarily represented on little gold or silver plaques and at a later date on funerary reliefs. On a silver pendant partly overlaid with gold leaf from Karmir Blur,[72] ancient Teshebaïni, an enthroned figure confronted by an attendant offering a kid has been interpreted as a goddess (on the reverse there is a male god with animal attributes); and a more striking parallel occurs on a gold medallion of a similar type discovered at Zinjirli, where a crossed-legged table piled with bread is placed in front of the lady who is seated on a high-backed chair, feet on footstool, flower in her right hand. This subject was interpreted by Von Luschan as a banquet of the dead, because allegedly funerary stelae and orthostats found on the same site represented similar scenes.[73] But a relief in the outer gateway of Zinjirli[74] which depicts two seated figures, male and female, on either side of a table loaded with food, could equally well represent a banquet of the living attended by high-ranking officers, huntsmen, bearers of offerings, and

401 (*Above left*). ND7909 (B). Ivory panel, height 21 cm. Enthroned female holding sun circlet. Above, a winged disc. Detail of [402]. SW7, F.S. See p. 500. Scale c. 3/5

402 (*Opposite page, top*). ND7909 (B). Ivory bed-head reconstituted from four panels. Enthroned females and male attendants. SW7, F.S. See p. 500.

403 (*Opposite page, bottom left*). ND6369 (B). Fragmentary ivory panel, 24 × 14·5 cm. Enthroned female at the banquet-table. SW7, F.S. See p. 500. Scale c. 1/2

404 (*Opposite page, bottom right*). ND6370. Ivory panel, about 24·5 × 13·9 cm., showing enthroned female at the banquet table, compare [403], [405]. Face, top left corner of panel, base of throne, part of back border restored in wax. SW7, F.S. Scale c. 1/2



animals of the chase. Again there is nothing to show whether the two guests of honour are divine or human. The classic example of this period for comparison is, however, a big stone relief from Zinjirli which depicts winged disc, enthroned female with cup in one hand, lily in the other, table of offerings, and attendant with fly-whisk. This again has been interpreted as a funerary stela,[75] and here we may well see a queen, for she is dressed and portrayed in much the same style as the inscribed relief of Bar-rekub, a vassal of Tiglath-pileser III. But positive evidence of funerary stelae is lacking until the 7th century B.C., when appropriate funerary inscriptions appear on them, for example, at Neirab in Syria.[76]

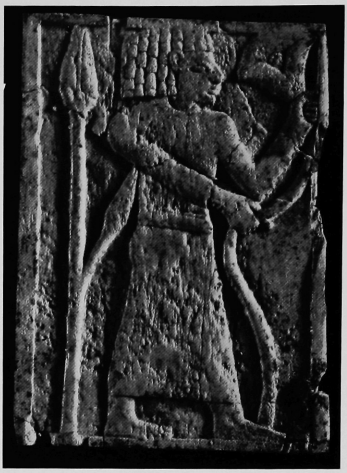
The identity of these ladies must therefore remain enigmatic for the present, in spite of the fact that later stelae appear to represent banquets to the dead. It may be that on the Nimrud ivories we have pictures of high priestesses, even queens, but for the reasons already adduced, namely the unrealistic character of the trees and the tables set in their branches, I would opt for goddesses or protective spirits. It is curious that although we have an example of an enthroned male, ND7908 [**400**], only females have a table of offerings, though the bearded god (?) in ND7905 [**383**] holds a cup in his hand.

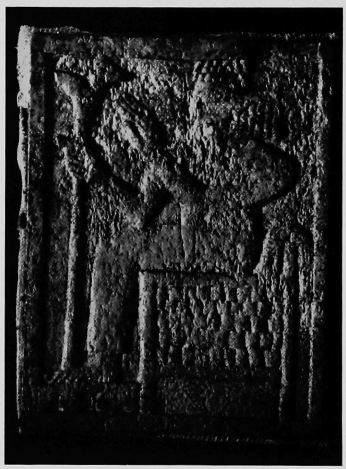
It is not possible here to give exhaustive descriptions or illustrations of every panel so far discovered: the scenes that we have described are perhaps a sufficient cross-section of the whole series. But it is of interest to note that different hands may be detected among the artists and that some panels, particularly those depicting the warriors, are much less skilfully executed than others: a few are heavy, ill-proportioned, clumsy figures, such as ND7913 [**406**], which lack the touch of the great masters.

All the panels hitherto mentioned have been relatively large and with a few exceptions more or less uniform in size. There are also smaller sets which doubtless decorated various parts of beds or chairs other than the backs or heads. Typical of the smaller panels is ND6389 [**407**] whereon a bewigged standing figure, barefoot, simply dressed in plain long gown girt with broad waistband, pulls at a lily tree with single flower; a second simplified tree with buds is erect behind him. These, in spite of various differences, are comparable in style with sets of ivory panels found at Zinjirli whereon single bewigged figures, male and female, more elaborately dressed, carry palmettes and other objects[77]; their dimensions are approximately similar. One of these small Nimrud panels, ND6352 [**408**], depicts an enthroned bearded male, holding a simple plant erect before him; the sides of the throne are decorated with imbrications; a tasselled cushion drapes the back.

First-rate work was indeed often achieved on the smaller panels within this series: ND7915 [**409**] was part of a beautifully carved set which had depicted bearded men and youths with cut-away coat and embroidered jacket clasping the palmette and 'lily' tree; they effectively reproduced on a smaller scale some of the figures represented in ND7907 [**381**], but carried no bucket and the tree was a combination of palmette and 'lily'.

A few other smaller ivories remarkable in character were found in this same room SW7. ND7592 [**410**] is an open-work strip of browsing deer against a background of palmette trees. Beautifully rendered, with vivacity and spirit, this was perhaps part of an open-work railing which had once surmounted the sides





405 (*Opposite page*). ND6371 (BM). Fragmentary ivory panel, height 24·1 cm., restored in wax. Enthroned female at the banquet table. SW7, F.S. See p. 502.
Scale c. 2/3

406 (*Above left*). ND7913. Ivory panel, height about 25 cm. Bearded warrior in armoured dress. Above, winged disc. Partly reconstituted in wax. SW7, F.S.
Scale c. 3/5

407 (*Above right, top*). ND6389. Ivory panel, 10·1×7·3 cm. Youth grasping 'lily' tree. SW7, F.S.
Scale c. 4/5

408 (*Above right, bottom*). ND6352 (B). Ivory panel, height 10 cm. Enthroned male figure. SW7, F.S.
Scale c. 4/5

of some bed or chair. The only parallel known to me is a group of ivories in the Louvre which were originally set into strip-metal panels; but here there was no sign of any metal-work in association. This type of work is however comparable to a set of five chair-rail floral panels, probably made for Sargon, found in and around the throne-room of the southern residence, ND7671 [411], etc. (q.v. p. 562[78] and ND12007 [492], p. 552). The carving represents the interlaced branches of flowering rosettes, palmettes and papyrus which are attached to a central trunk rising in two tiers. The lower parts of three main branches are bound together by a triple turn of cord and thus give the impression of representing a pedestal which supports the trunk of the voluted trees. The upper and lower tenons are seen in the photograph.

The ivory, ND7579 [412] is of particular interest because of the iconography, which is decisively Phoenician and can be matched both at Arslan-Tash and at Sidon. This depicts a youth with Egyptian-style wig and pigtail wearing the triple *atef* crown which consists of *uraei* and feathers. He is clad in a long, short-sleeved coat with hemmed sleeves and fringes over a short under-tunic, girt at the waist and secured with a knot. The boy advances to the right, barefoot, and carries in one hand a ram-headed *Khnum* sceptre surmounted by a sun-disc; in the other he grips the handle of a jug from which rises a voluted palmette plant. Substantial traces of black bitumen on the surface of this plaque indicate that it was once overlaid with gold: the left-hand side of the plaque has been cut down, apparently deliberately sawn off to make a straight end.

Comparison with the Arslan-Tash plaques suggests that the focal point of the scene was perhaps a winged *uraeus* which may once have been overlaid with gold. This admirable carving surpasses the Arslan-Tash panels in finesse and in rendering of detail; dress and treatment of hair is more elaborate, but the general character of the figures is similar, for in each case we have a procession of youths carrying jug and sceptre.[79] The probability that this is a true Phoenician subject is indicated by a series of coins from Sidon, first struck in the early 4th century B.C., heavy double *staters* which depict on the obverse a Phoenician galley, and on the reverse a scene which represents a horse-drawn chariot carrying driver and crowned male figure, followed by a male attendant who bears the ram-headed sceptre and jug, in exactly the same way as our ivory youth. Henri Seyrig has kindly informed me that in his opinion the crowned figure in the car is most likely to be the local Phoenician god Ba'al, closely followed by his attendant, and this would seem to be the most probable explanation.[80] Paul Naster in an invaluable study entitled *Le Suivant du Char Royal sur les Doubles Statères de Sidon*[81] sees the king rather than the god in the chariot, and has drawn attention to other parallels for the iconography, particularly the Arslan-Tash plaque, and also to a wooden ram-headed sceptre in the museum at Turin which can now be closely matched by one found in the king's throne-room of Ezida at Nimrud, ND4253 (ch. XIV, p. 256), so that we have also the actual ceremonial objects which were appropriate to this provincial scene. However that may be, what is important is that we have here a scene which can definitely be associated with a Phoenician cult: variant forms of this figure appear on other plaques at Nimrud—see ND11035 [481] from SW12.

The similarity to the Arslan-Tash plaques also gives rise to the problem of

409 (*Left*). ND7915 (Un. of Pennsylvania). Ivory panel, 14·2 × 8·4 cm. Male warrior in military dress. SW7, F.S. See p. 504.

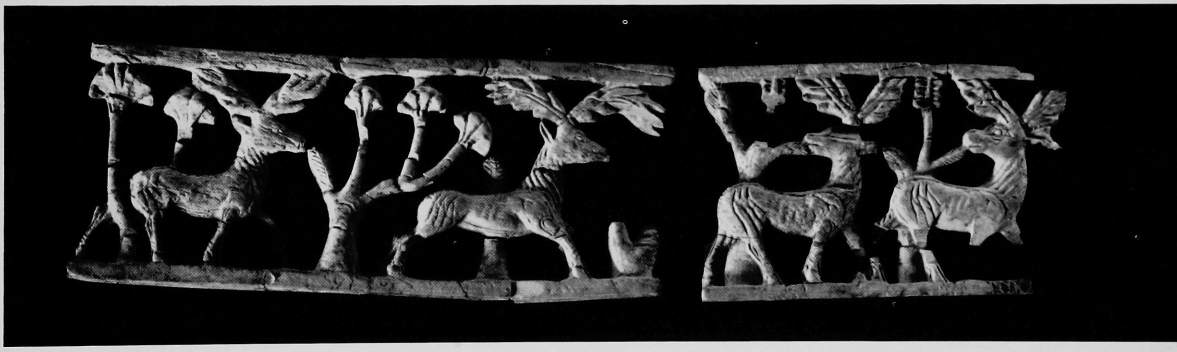
Scale c. 4/5

410 (*Centre*). ND7592 (B). Open-work ivory panel. Deer browsing against background of palmette trees. SW7, F.S. See p. 504.

411 (*Foot of page*). ND7671 (B). Open-work ivory panel, longest strip about 18·7×4·5 cm., probably originally fitted between upper and lower rails of a chair. Decorated with plant motifs, compare [492]. S5, F.S.

412 (*Opposite page*). ND7579 (Met. Mus. N.Y.). Ivory plaque 11×6·4 cm. Phoenician iconography probably representing attendant of Ba'al. SW7, F.S.

Scale c. 4/5



their date, about which—as we have mentioned above—there is as yet no unanimous opinion. We therefore have to consider the arguments upon which those ivories have been dated. On that site there were found parts of two ivory beds, one of them inscribed with the name of Hazael who has been plausibly identified as the well-known king of Syria mentioned in 2 *Kings* xiii. 22. And since it is known from Assyrian inscriptions that Hazael's son Ben-Hadad submitted to Adad-nirari III and paid him ivory furniture as tribute, Thureau-Dangin provisionally proposed a 9th century date for the accompanying plaques.[82] But the name on the Arslan-Tash ivory is simply referred to as 'our lord Hazael' without any qualification, and we cannot be altogether certain that this was the king of Damascus to whom the Old Testament refers. However, the discovery of the same name on the ivory fragment in room T10 at Nimrud, associated with that of a 9th century king of Hamath (Irhuleni), strengthens the presumption made by Thureau-Dangin. (See also p. 598). At the time of the discovery this proposition was commended by the fact that ivories previously discovered at Nimrud, Samaria and Tell Halaf were generally also considered to be of the 9th century. Nevertheless, the case for assigning so early a date to all of the Arslan-Tash ivories is now weaker. In the first place it is known that the main buildings at that site were erected by Tiglath-pileser III, 745–727 B.C., whose historical clay tablet found in Ezida[83] at Nimrud contains a passage which could perhaps be construed as implying that Hazael was a dynastic name held by more than one king of Damascus. Moreover, many of the Arslan-Tash ivories are so close in style to those found at Khorsabad[84] which were no doubt made to the order of Sargon II, that they can hardly be separated by a long period of time and, as we have already seen, many similar ivories from Nimrud itself may be attributed to this same period. Indeed, Hazael also appears in the Assyrian records as the name of an Arab chieftain in the reigns both of Sennacherib and of Esarhaddon—obviously too late in the present context.[85] However that may be, there is now no serious objection against dating most of the Arslan-Tash group later than 750 B.C., perhaps to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, as was recognized by H. Frankfort. This proposition accords well with A. Parrot's observation that the plan of the Arslan-Tash throne-room is identical with that of Sargon at Khorsabad; but unfortunately this architectural parallel is not in itself sufficient to establish an 8th century dating, because we now know from the general lay-out of a set of rooms at the south end of Fort Shalmaneser, T10 and T21–25, that Sargon himself was directly inspired by 9th century planning. However that may be, the finds associated with this 'Arslan-Tash' plaque in SW7 [**412**] most probably date to about 730 B.C.

We now come to a plaque of a different character also found in the same room. This one, ND7580 [**413**] is the only ivory from SW7 of '*cloisonné*' work. Here we have a goddess in quasi-Egyptian style, facing right, surmounted by Hathorian sun-disc between horns similar to that worn by the goddess on a pectoral of Osorkon. She wears Egyptian-style headdress, '*cloisonné*' collar, tight-fitting skirt composed of a pair of wings folded one over the other, *ankh* in the right hand, 'lily' in the left with '*cloisonné*' compartments pendent from it, perhaps representing a papyrus plant. A quasi-Egyptian inscription figures twice in a cartouche. The top and one side of the plaque have been sawn down as on the preceding one; two dowel-holes may be seen near the

413. ND7580 (B). '*Cloisonné*' ivory panel, 15·9 × 5·2 cm. Goddess in quasi-Egyptian style, and hieroglyph incorporating name '*Iwhnwt-Ra*. SW7, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

margin. This beautiful carving once incrusted with 'Egyptian blue' and partly overlaid with gold may fairly be described as sham Egyptian, for it is in fact without parallel in Egypt. Once again, therefore, it is likely to have been the product of a Phoenician workshop, but who can gainsay the possibility that it might have been carved by some Phoenician or Aramaean craftsman in cosmopolitan Syria? The figure is closely comparable to ND11101 [480], which was found in SW12.

The question of the date at which it was made presents us with an interesting problem. This was a stray piece torn out of its proper context, the only one of its kind in SW7. The rich, lush style might at first sight incline us to believe that it was later than the other panels found in the same room; the fact that it carried no trace of lapis lazuli or of carnelian which were sometimes used in chryselephantine plaques of the 8th century instead of the cheaper 'Egyptian blue' has little bearing on its date.

Fortunately, however, the quasi-Egyptian hieroglyph within the cartouche provides us with an important chronological clue, for it appears to incorporate

the name 'Iwbnwt-Ra which also occurs on a celebrated ivory[86] found by Layard in the domestic wing, room V or W of the N.W. Palace where, as we have previously seen (p. 22), there are strong grounds for believing that a group of '*cloisonné*' and other ivories had been collected by Sargon II. Moreover the type of throne depicted on the Layard ivory is identical with that pictured on a small ivory panel, ND6352 [408], found by us in SW7, which we have dated c.730 B.C. Thus these are reasonable grounds for concluding that all three ivories belong to the same period, and that our quasi-Egyptian figure may be a relatively late example of the '*cloisonné*' style which at Samaria had perhaps been introduced in the 9th century B.C.[87]

The acceptance of some such translation as 'The Sun riseth'[88] for the inscription is in agreement with our suggestion that the enthroned goddesses on other plaques in SW7 also derive their authority from the sun.

One piece, which deviates in style from anything else found in room SW7, is the back of a chair or couch, ND7910 (item no. 10 in the plan of this room, second row from the south wall). The two photographs [414-5] show it as first cleaned in the field, then as reconstituted by Miss Olive Starkey in the laboratories of the Institute of Archaeology in London. Smaller than any of the other complete sets described above, it consists of three vertical panels of scrolls bordered by star-spangled margins and surmounted by a railing.

The ivory was lifted in the field by Mr Carroll Wales in a single piece, having first been strengthened at the back with Chinese rice paper. In this condition the panel still stood on a slight curve, although it had been flattened by the compression of soil against its back and front. In the process of reconstruction one of the problems was to discover what the original curvature had been. This question, however, was gradually solved by projecting the curved portions of the framework, and in doing so it was found that the resultant arc corresponded with the curvature of the railing which had decorated the top.

The ivory scroll-work, which must originally have been a veneer on wood, was provided with a substitute backing of thin *fablon* imitating a grained walnut. Wherever possible the soil into which the scrolls were bedded was preserved, and the missing parts of the design were reconstructed in wax. It is thus possible to see at a glance what is original and what is restored, and it will be apparent that the general lines of the framework must very closely correspond to its original appearance. The whole panel has now been backed against a wooden frame on a perspex cradle; open weave bandages and paper are included within this support. Fragments of two other similar chair-backs were also found in the same room, and could be similarly reconstructed.

The cutting of the ivory resembles wooden fretwork, and must have been done with a fine saw; the ivory in the scrolls has split into thin strands. The fine five-pointed stellar incrustations of ivory in the thin vertical strips which form the margin of each compartment are very delicately cut; similar stellar designs are used as infilling for the scrolls themselves.

It is possible that some sections of the top railing between the ivory strips consisted of precious metal, for other panel fragments also show that the ivory portions of the rail were not continuous. Moreover, the tops of the rails are vertically perforated, perhaps in order to carry metal attachments.

There are no parallels for this beautifully designed chair; but the tiers of

414. ND7910. Ivory chair-back, as it appeared immediately after lifting from the soil.

415. ND7910 (Met. Mus. N.Y.). Ivory chair-back, height 33 cm., overall length at base 48·8 cm.; it stands on a slight concave curve with maximum radius of about 10·1 cm. Decorated with scroll pattern bordered by stars, comparable with Homer's description of Penelope's chair. SW7, F.S. Scale c. 2/5

scrolls are obviously allied to the stylized voluted tree designs frequently represented on Syrian and Assyrian ivories. If, however, we turn to Homer's *Odyssey* and read the description of Penelope's chair, we find a written record of a similar design; '. . . and by the fire where she was wont to sit they placed a chair inlaid with spirals of ivory and silver, which of old the craftsman Ikmalios had made, and beneath it a footstool that was part of the chair, and upon it a great fleece was laid.'[89]

It would indeed be appropriate to take our Nimrud chair as the very model which the poet had in mind, and if we combine that with the ivory figures of seated ladies with their footstools and fleecy cushions the picture is complete. Moreover the name of the craftsman which Homer has given us—Ikmalios—is Phoenician. If we recall that the *Odyssey* in its received form was probably first written down in the latter half of the 8th century B.C., even the chronology fits to perfection. Homeric scholars will recognize that this last conclusion is however not necessarily warranted, for the lines in question may well have been sung four centuries or so earlier than that; but here, certainly, the *Odyssey* gives us an authentic record of Phoenician ivory-working which is reflected in these panels.

As regards the date, we may well hesitate between the last quarter of the 9th and the last quarter of the 8th century B.C.: there is no reason why these scroll-backed chairs should not have been more ancient than most of the other ivories found in the same chamber. It is moreover interesting to recall that the little

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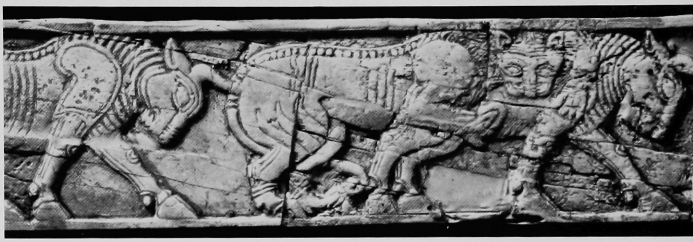
416–17. ND7910 (Met. Mus. N.Y.). One of a pair of ivory panels as reconstituted, 110×4·4 cm. × 16 mm., possibly framing side of bed or couch of which [415] was the back. Frieze of lions attacking wild bulls. SW7, F.S.
Scale: complete panel (*top*) c. 2/5, details c. 4/5



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five-pointed stars on these chairs are similar to those depicted on a gold pectoral from Tanis belonging to a Pharaoh Sheshonk, XXIInd Dynasty, who cannot be exactly dated, but reigned at some time between c.950 and c.730 B.C. There may well be some artistic connection, for Stevenson Smith considers that this pectoral and other jewellery from the same tomb may have served as models for the Egyptianizing Phoenician ivories 'which began to appear contemporaneously in the 9th century'[90] (see also p. 474-5). Other figures on the same pectoral,—lotus, voluted lilies, and the winged goddesses—have their counterparts in the previously described '*cloisonné*' ivory ND7580 [**413**] as well as in ND8068 [**493**] to be discussed below.

On either side of the chair-back ND7910 were two long narrow panels [**416–7**] which were obviously out of their true position, and must once have framed the sides of a bed or couch, for each when reconstituted was 110 centimetres long and 4·4 centimetres wide. The scene consists of a frieze depicting in relief a theriomachy on which lions are attacking and mauling wild bulls, and is divided into two halves about a twelve-petalled rosette, each half running in an opposite direction to the other. It appears almost certain, therefore, that originally the two composed one single panel, 2.18 metres in length, which would have framed an ample couch. If the scroll-work panel previously described was a component of the same piece of furniture, then what survives is one long side as well as the back of a couch. The form of the Assyrian couch is depicted on the famous garden relief of Assur-bani-pal, where we can see the concave back similar in shape to the

bed-heads of SW7.[91] The long ivory strip could either have framed the bottom of the bed or alternatively it might have served as the lower cross-bar between the two legs. A similar form of couch is depicted on a bas-relief of Sennacherib in the British Museum.[92]

The modelling and detail of the animals is striking. Noticeable is the beaded mane on some of the bulls and lions, and the carving of their legs which in some cases have the appearance of wearing stockings. This unusual stylization of the legs has, as Charles Wilkinson first pointed out to me, an interesting resemblance to the 'stockinged' legs of the lion on the magnificent golden bowl discovered by R. Dyson at Hasanlu in Azerbaijan, although nearly everything else on that vessel differs widely from anything known at Nimrud. But the similarity of technique in this respect, unsupported by any other stylistic resemblances, does not necessarily imply a synchronism. Indeed Edith Porada first proposed a date between the 11th and the 9th centuries for the Hasanlu bowl[93] and subsequently Dyson demonstrated that it had been found in the burnt stratum, for which various dates have been offered as a result of applying C.14 tests. These dates range from about 1,000 to 700 B.C. Since the bowl may have been an heirloom it could be older than the level in which it was found,[94] and judged by Assyrian standards, the simple form of chariot depicted on the Hasanlu bowl is archaic and indicates a date in the 2nd rather than the in 1st millennium B.C.

The stylistic comparisons with the lions of Hasanlu, taken in conjunction with similarity of the stars on the Nimrud chair-backs to those on the Tanis pectoral may perhaps indicate a rather earlier date than that assigned to the remainder of the hoard in SW7—possibly the last quarter of the 9th century B.C.

On the other hand we must also observe that the bulls' heads on these Nimrud strips are comparable with one represented on an ivory from Ziwiye[95] where part of a hunting scene is executed in a manner which accords with other carvings of the late 8th century B.C. The beaded manes of the bulls and some markings on the lions[96] are also comparable. Finally we may compare the theriomachy with a terracotta plaque fragment from Zinjirli.[97] The treatment of manes, tail and legs on the bulls also appear to have something in common with the great stone bulls dedicated by Tiglath-pileser III at the gates of Arslan-Tash.[98]

The last of the plaques from SW7 which needs attention here is another reconstituted panel, ND7949 [418], which depicts the winged disc with elaborate concentric circles and feathered centre. This is one of a series much damaged and found scattered over the room; most of these panels are fragmentary because the long span of the wings and their relative narrowness rendered them particularly liable to breakage. A more elaborate panel in a different technique, ND6343–4 [419], with scroll-like talons, has been skilfully reconstituted in the Iraq Antiquities Department laboratories; it must once have surmounted the top of a bedstead.

Room SW7. *Conclusions.* The result of examining the hoard of ivories in this room leads to the conclusion that the larger panels form a homogeneous group with stylistic affinities in north-west Syria and south-east Anatolia. The chronological criteria suggest a date c.730 B.C. A few ivories alien to this group could

418. ND7949. Ivory panel 55.4 cm., reconstructed in wax. Winged disc. SW7, F.S.
Scale c. 1/3

419. ND6343–4 (B). Ivory panel, length 32.7 cm. Winged disc with scroll talons. SW7, F.S.
Scale c. 3/5

well belong to the same period, although the single piece of '*cloisonné*' work could be older. We have also to reckon with the possibility that the couch with voluted scroll-work decoration may have been designed as early as the last quarter of the 9th century B.C. (but this is still a matter of doubt) nor need the long strip which accompanied it—the theriomachy—necessarily have been made before the reign of Tiglath-pileser III.

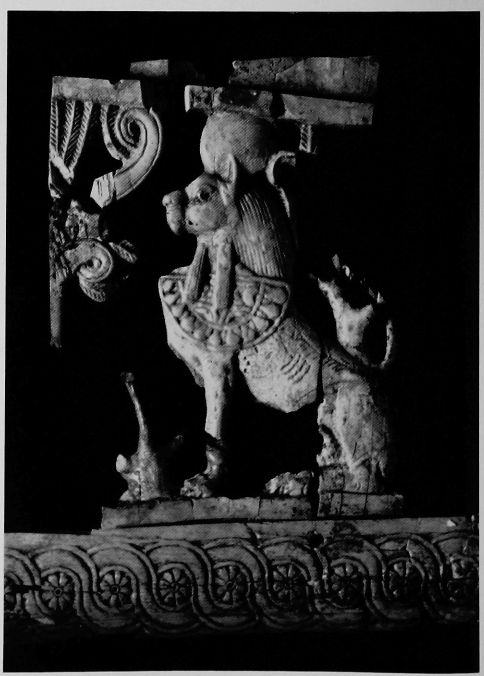
It is very difficult to decide whether these are imports, tribute, or booty, and if so, exactly where the majority were made. The bedsteads may well have been captured, for most of the Assyrian monarchs record the import of ivories in this way. But if so, many of the pieces were made in workshops which were strongly influenced by Assyrian styles, and we cannot altogether rule out the possibility that Syrian and Phoenician carvers may have executed some of the work at Calah itself. The discovery in this range of rooms of large lumps of 'Egyptian blue' indicates that some of the incrustation was done on the spot, and perhaps also repaired. Those panels which are clumsily executed may have been the work of less skilled local craftsmen who were imitating Syrian prototypes.

Ivories from Room NW15 *and the Gate-Room* SW2

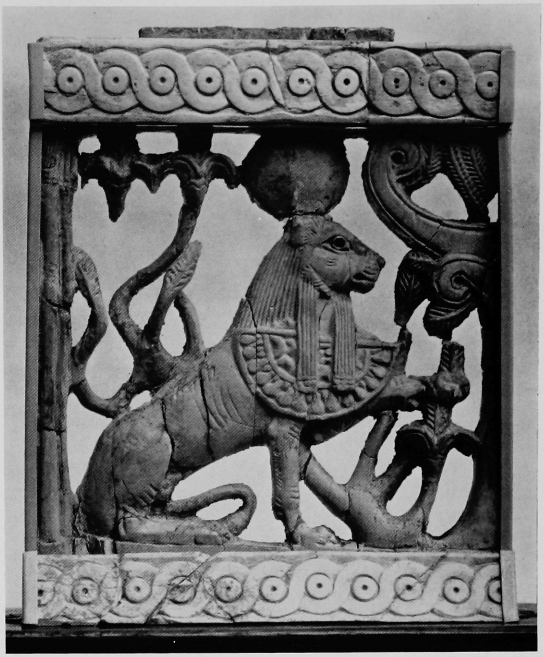
These again form a homogeneous group which is likely to have been made more or less contemporaneously. As a whole, they diverge considerably from the lot previously described in that the majority are either open-work, or '*cloisonné*', a type of ivory very rare in SW7.

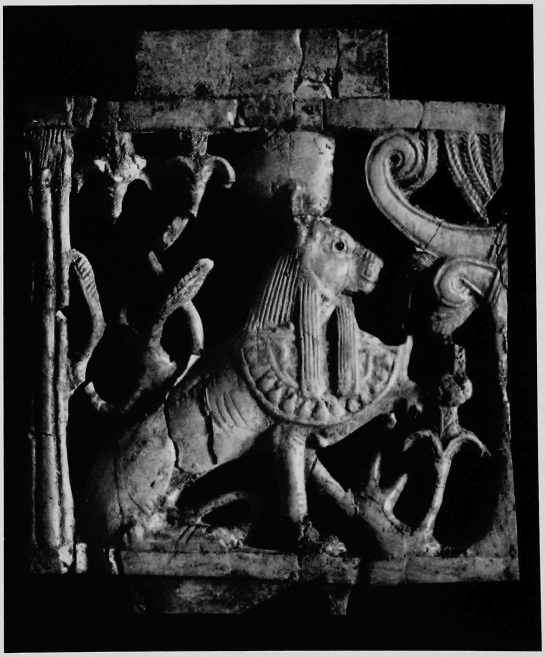
The open-work or *ajouré* ivories from these two almost adjacent apartments in the fortress must have called for the very highest degree of skill on the part of the carvers, who ran a grave risk of fracturing their material. All of them are cut in the shape of animals and stylized plants.

ND6349 [420], from NW15, is an outstanding example of this technique. The tenons, 2 centimetres high, above and below, indicate that it was probably set between the arms of a chair. The carving depicts a seated leonine figure crowned with sun-disc, left forepaw resting in the branch of a voluted palmette tree, top and bottom framed by a guilloche border. There are simple incised markings on the body and legs; the tail is conveniently curled back between fore and hind legs. On the obverse the mane is elaborately rendered with two long fillets pendent from the ruff at the neck; they overlap a prominent, decorated Egyptian aegis or pectoral which the carver wisely omitted to represent on the reverse where the animal with its pricked-up ears has perhaps a more canine Anubis-like appearance, but this in fact must be due to the summary cutting which avoided the risk of damaging the ivory. The left-hand side of the plaque is framed by thin papyrus columns which, together with the aegis, lend the figure a quasi-Egyptian character. This kind of pectoral appears commonly on Egyptian figures made of bronze and other materials, representing Anubis, Khnum and Hathor at periods approximately contemporary to the one in which this ivory was made, for example at El Kurru in Nubia, under the XXVth Dynasty. Most interesting is a ram-headed faience amulet from that



421. ND6350 (B). Open-work ivory plaque, size of lion about 11·2×8 cm.; similar to [420]. See p. 518. Scale c. 1/2





420. ND6349 (BM). Open-work ivory plaque, 13·6× 10·8 cm. Seated lion wearing aegis and sun-disc, forepaw resting on fronds of tree. NW15, F.S. *Top right*, obverse; *above*, reverse; *right*, view of obverse before repair.

Scale c. 3/4

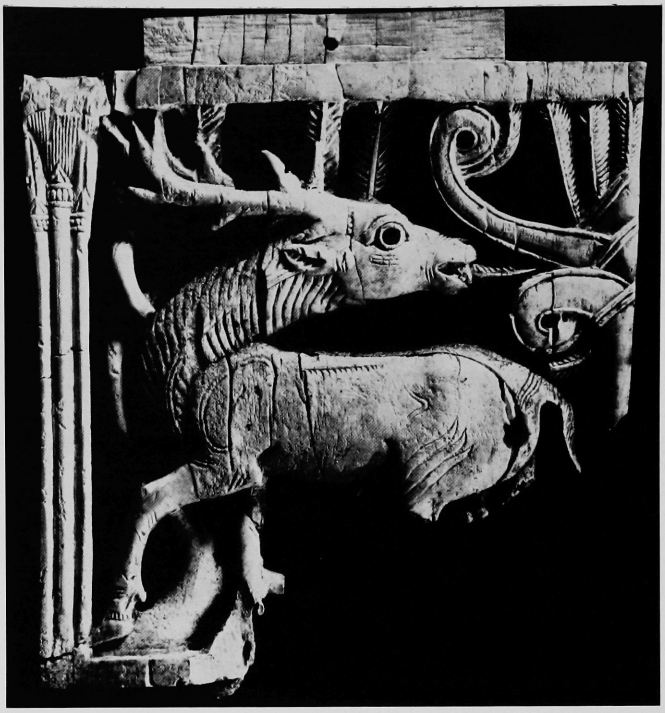
site in which sun-disc, rendering of mane, and the two fillets are identical to the carving on our lion.[99] The tomb from which that article came belonged to Queen Tabiry, wife of Piankhy, and is therefore likely to date within a few decades of 730 B.C.[100]—a most interesting synchronism, and, as we shall see later, other articles from Fort Shalmaneser may be related in style to the same period, that of the XXVth Dynasty. Since the trees and foliage in this panel may also be matched on north Syrian ivories, for example at Arslan-Tash, we need have little hesitation in assigning a date in the 8th century to it, and, if the synchronism with Egypt be accepted, to the last quarter of that century.[101] Compare also ND11102 [482] from SW12.

Interesting for comparison is a second, similar lion, from the same room, ND6350 [421]; when complete it must have been of the same size as the previous figure. This one faces left, instead of right: a guilloche border with rosette centres found in proximity may have formed part of the framework. On this piece, as on the other, the reverse carries no aegis but the two fillets are represented.

ND6379 [422] from NW15, a brilliantly carved masterpiece which in technique perhaps excels the lion, depicts a stag, head turned back, browsing on the fronds of a voluted palmette tree. Flame-like markings on the body and the incisions can be matched on other ivories. At the left-hand side of the frame the three papyrus columns are more clearly delineated than the pair on the lion plaques. The artist again took great risks with his material in carving the back. There is an upper tenon for fitting into the rail of a chair. This panel may be compared with the beautifully rendered open-work ivory stag found at Arslan-Tash[102] which is rendered in much less detail: the tail or scut of that stag is very similarly represented and there can be little doubt that the two pieces are not far removed in time;[103] both panels are of approximately the same size.

ND6314 [423], another finely carved open-work plaque from the same room, is a companion to the others; three of the legs and the trunk of the tree (unfortunately missing) have been restored in wax. The animal depicted is an

424. ND12134. Open-work ivory plaque, 8·7 cm. high. Kriocephalic sphinx wearing solar disc and Phoenician skirt and confronting voluted papyrus column. SW11–12, F.S. See p. 520. Scale c. 1/1



422. ND6379 (B). Open-work ivory plaque, about 11.5×11.2 cm. Stag browsing on fronds of palmette tree. NW15, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

423. ND6314. Open-work ivory plaque, 11·7×11·3 cm. Oryx browsing on fronds of palmette tree; legs, tree, trunk and portions of frame reconstructed in wax. NW15, F.S.
Scale c. 1/1

425

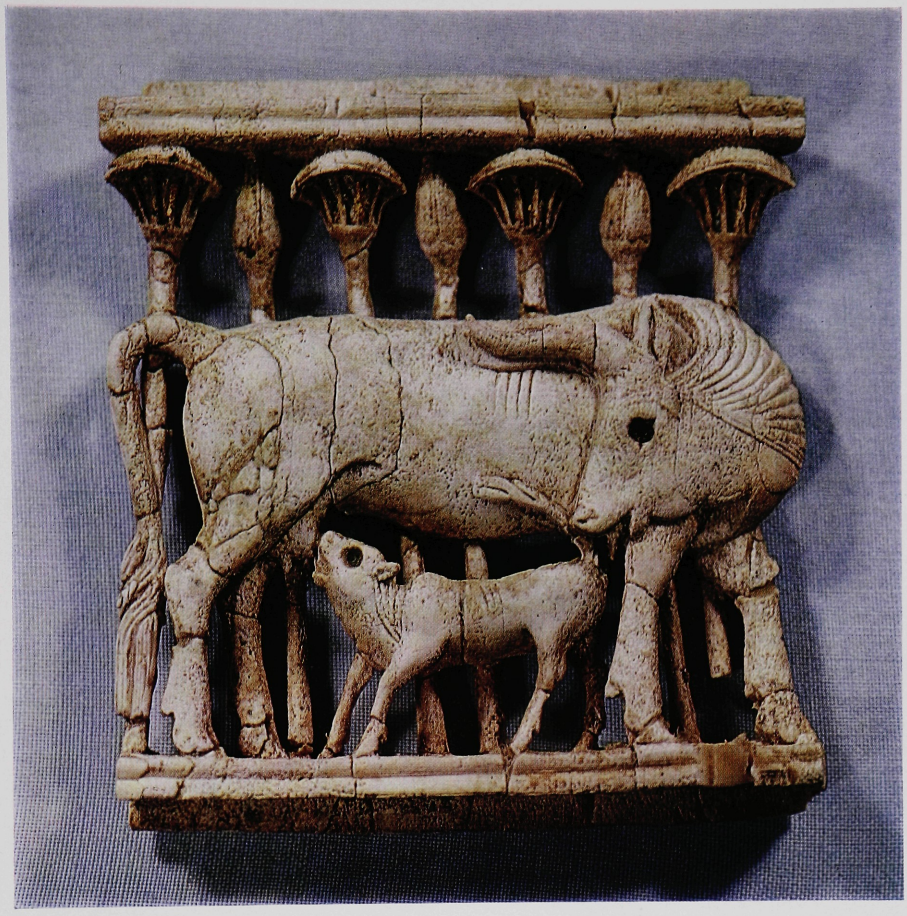
oryx,[104] head turned back, like the stag, browsing on the fronds of a stylized palm with intersecting branches. Three papyrus columns again occupy the left-hand side of the framework. It would seem likely that originally this was one of a pair, and we may suppose that there was another animal facing the opposite direction on the other side of the voluted palm-tree, as was probably the case with the lion plaque previously described. The technique used for the treatment of the hair on the neck is identical with that on the stag ND6379 [**422**], which has been discussed above. Compare also the oryx ND10377 [**471**] from SW37, a beautiful variation on the same theme.

These four open-work plaques, found in debris mixed with mud brick on the floor, are among the finest specimens of this technique to have been discovered.[105] They have obvious affinities in style with some of the *ajouré* work from Arslan-Tash, but are much more elaborately executed. Here reference should be made to another panel, ND12134 [**424**] found in room SW11–12 embedded in mud brick. This plaque depicts a ram-headed (kriocephalic) sphinx wearing solar disc and Phoenician skirt with *uraeus* suspended from it, confronting a voluted papyrus column. This ivory is an elaboration of a type found at Arslan-Tash and repeats the trick of representing a palmette as if rising from the top of the wing.[106] It is likely to be more or less exactly contemporary. Whether the plaques in NW15 which, in delicacy of technique and artistry represent an even higher level of accomplishment, are to be dated a little later in time or are by the hand of some other master, is not capable of proof.

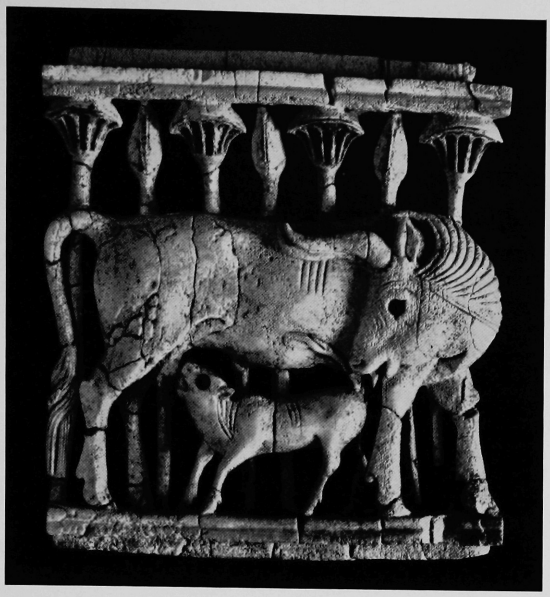
From the gate-room SW2 adjacent to NW15 comes another small open-work ivory, chryselephantine, with considerable traces of gold leaf still preserved on the surface. This ivory ND6453 [**425**] depicts an elaborately stylized tree-trunk partly of '*cloisonné*' of 'Egyptian blue' with papyrus flowers and voluted palmettes overlaid with gold. This beautiful miniature, only 5·2 centimetres high, was found embedded in rubbish on a trodden level a little above that of the original floor and, together with other pieces, may have been cast aside and rejected by plunderers who had looted NW15.

From SW2 again comes the finest example of the many dozens of plaques discovered in various places at Nimrud depicting the cow suckling its calf. This one, ND6310 [**426**] is again open-work, three-quarter relief, with traces of gold leaf still preserved on the papyrus flowers and lotus buds. The floral background differs from that of other specimens which in the N.W. Palace could with some probability be associated with the reign of Sargon (722–705 B.C.). The elaborate tail is characteristic of some of the solid plaques from Arslan-Tash depicting the same scene.[107]

ND6311 [**427**] from NW15, is another open-work panel fragment, interesting because like the preceding ivory it is also '*cloisonné*'. The figure represents a griffin with neck straining upwards, outspread wings with traces of gold on the pinions and 'Egyptian blue' incrustations within; behind the body is the papyrus tree. The posture of the griffin with its strained neck and gilt papyrus flowers, in spite of certain differences in the '*cloisons*', is very similar to that of the solid relief figures first found by Layard in room X of the N.W. Palace, probably part of Sargon's treasure. It therefore seems unlikely that the two are separated by any long interval of time, for open-work griffins rather smaller in size occur there also.[108] If there is a chronological difference,

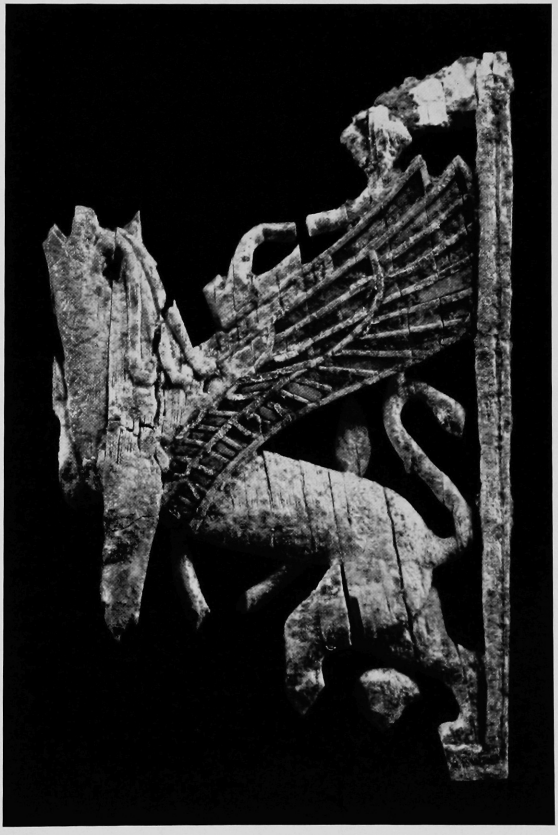


VI ND6310(B) Cow and calf. 8.5×7.7 cm. From SW2, F.S. See p. 520.



425 (*Opposite page*). ND6453 (B). Open-work, '*cloisonné*' ivory plaque, height 5·2 cm., carved to represent stylized tree. SW2, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

426 (*Left*). ND6310 (B). Open-work ivory plaque, 8·5×7·7 cm. Cow suckling calf: this is the finest example of a series which enjoyed great popularity in Syria and Assyria. SW2, F.S. Scale c. 1/1



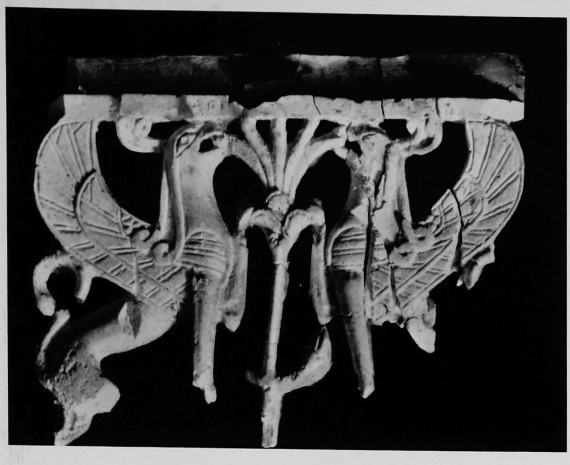
427 (*Right*). ND6311 (B). Open-work, '*cloisonné*' ivory plaque, 13·4×8·4 cm. Winged griffin. NW15, F.S.
Scale c. 1/1

then this specimen might be a few decades later but there is really no warrant for this suggestion except that we are hard put to it to attribute anything to Esarhaddon whom we might expect to have kept some of his own treasures in the fort. Another solid piece, '*cloisonné*', ND6330 [**526**], which depicts a pair of winged griffins back to back in the branches of a palmette tree, surmounted by a double *uraeus* and found in SW12, could in fact have been removed from the N.W. Palace itself, so similar is it to the specimens found by Layard[109] (see p. 572).

The griffin was indeed one of the many subjects constantly repeated by ivory-workers. A most interesting set of open-work figures, very delicately cut, is appropriate for comparison here: ND6433–34 [**428**], also from NW15 where fragments of other pairs were also found; the height of each griffin in no case exceeds about 7 centimetres. These are opposed figures in pairs, one paw resting in the voluted palmette tree on the fronds of which the animals are browsing; the posture of these figures recalls that of the open-work lion ND6349 [**420**] (p. 516) and in general is comparable with that of the smaller '*cloisonné*' griffins found by Layard in the N.W. Palace.

Another familiar subject represented with superlative skill on an open-work plaque from NW15 is ND6316 [**429**]. It depicts the 'lady at the window', the familiar courtesan whose cult later persisted in Cyprus.[110] There is nothing novel about this ivory except its splendid pristine condition. The recessed framework reproduces an architectural feature common in Assyrian temples and palaces. The tenons for fitting it into chair-arms are well preserved; there is a fitter's mark on the bottom frame, in the Phoenician-Aramaean signary. The well-rounded, soft features of the lady represent a distinct advance in style from the older farouche female heads of the 9th century found at Tell Halaf: it is worth observing that at no other site, so far as I am aware, has an open-work lady been found; at Samaria, Arslan-Tash, Khorsabad, the plaques are always solid. It is also noteworthy that there is a slight difference from other known types in the form of the diadem which appears to be set with a large rectangular plaque at the centre of the forehead. The solid plaques found by Layard in rooms V and W, Sargon's wing of the N.W. Palace, are undoubtedly the closest in style.[111] The technical excellence exhibited by this piece marks it as an outstanding example of the ivory-cutter's skill. Since other fragments, e.g. ND6436 from the same room, are of the normal Khorsabad and Arslan-Tash type, there is no particular justification for proposing a later date for this open-work piece. A date between about 730 B.C. and 700 B.C. may be acceptable for the manufacture of this and the other associated objects in the same room.

One more open-work ivory fragment found in the gate-room SW2 remains to be described: ND6309 [**430**], the figure of a boy in three-quarter relief, He is advancing right, clad in long mantle and short tunic with '*cloisonné*' hem, sleeves and girdle. Traces of gold also remain on the hem of the sleeve, girdle and bottom of the coat. The hair is capped with gold. The right hand is raised in salutation, and no doubt once confronted a sacred tree. Behind the figure is a papyrus plant. More than one small head of this type was found elsewhere in Fort Shalmaneser and the subject was a favourite one. There is no reason to assign to it a date any different from that of the remainder of the ivories, although its popularity may well have perpetuated the type for several generations.



428. ND6433. Open-work ivory plaque, height of each figure about 7 cm. Antithetical winged griffins browsing on foliage of palmette tree. NW15, F.S. Scale c. 4/5

429. ND6316 (B). Open-work ivory panel, 8·1×6·9 cm., depicting the 'lady at the window'. NW15, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

430. ND6309. Open-work, '*cloisonné*' ivory figure of a boy, height 10·1 cm. Feet restored in wax. SW2, F.S.
Scale c. 1/1

The type of garment worn by the youth in ND6309 [**430**] is one that is common on many other '*cloisonné*' figures from other parts of Fort Shalmaneser such as the Horus-headed figure on [**434**]. Interesting for comparison is ND7589 [**431**] from SE3, a delicate chryselephantine fretwork figure facing left, bent down on one knee, hands raised in salutation. Here the figure differs in that it wears the *sekhemty* crown, pectoral and bracelets; there is no skirt, but the short tunic is identically rendered. The '*cloisonné*' with its 'Egyptian blue' incrustation is very delicate work; we may note the remarkable finesse of touch which was required to carve the hands. A fragment of the tenon survives on the base of the framework. This kneeling figure should be compared with another, ND6315 [**432**] in exactly the same attitude, found in sub-surface soil, room SW12. Note the carving of legs and feet with bent toes. This figure is in low relief, not '*cloisonné*', but so similar in style and posture that it could have come out of the same workshop and might be contemporary. A dowel-hole has been bored through the centre of the small plaque, doubtless to fix it on to a wooden casket or the like.

A third figure in relief, ND7808 [**433**], depicts yet another kneeling youth, obviously drawn from the same pattern. This is a fragment of a pyxis from room SW37, adjacent to SW12 where the previously described ivory [**432**] was found. This time the bewigged figure wears no crown; he clasps a lily in each hand. The similar drawing on all three of these ivories of the elongated, bent foot is striking.

The garment worn by two of the three kneeling figures which we have just described is again identical with that depicted on a fine '*cloisonné*' open-work figure of a four-winged hawk-headed Horus, ND6328 [**434**] found in sub-surface debris to the west of room SW7. The long skirt with hem is like that worn by the standing boy ND6309 [**430**] above. This figure carries a plant in his right hand; he is set against a background of papyrus, his left arm raised in salutation. Many traces of 'Egyptian blue' incrustation have survived and the pinions of the wings are still covered in gold. Most striking is the crown, which is a sun-disc consisting of a separate piece of oval ivory set in a double *uraeus*. This is a travesty of such figures as are represented on a faience amulet of Pharaoh Piankhy's queen at El Kurru[112] to which this and the fine '*cloisonné*' female figure ND7580 [**413**] from SW7 (p. 508) are clearly allied. We have already noted that a date in the last quarter of the 8th century B.C. is warranted on the Egyptian evidence. Here we have a striking example of the way in which these quasi-Egyptian carvings, clearly influenced by Egyptian prototypes, perhaps made in Phoenician workshops, invariably showed unorthodox deviations which would not have been tolerated in Egypt. Here we may note that the pinions and '*cloisons*' of the wings are identical in treatment and shape with those on the winged boy ND8068 [**493**] found in room X3, west of the southern residence (see pp. 513 and 554). It is not impossible that this figure was once combined in a single panel with the '*cloisonné*' griffin ND6311 [**427**] discussed on p. 520 above.

Ivories from Room NW15 *and Gate-Room* SW2. *Conclusions.* We have examined these two lots of ivories together because the majority clearly form a homogeneous group, and several pieces among them may have been components in a single set of furniture, and therefore contemporary. Some of these ivories,

431 (*Top left*). ND7589 (B). Open-work, '*cloisonné*' figure of a kneeling boy, 10×6·5 cm. He wears the Egyptian *sekhemty* crown, pectoral and bracelets. SE3, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

432 (*Top right*). ND6315 (B). Ivory figure, 8·3×4·5 cm. Kneeling boy wearing *sekhemty* crown, hands raised in salutation. Posture and detail of bent toes identical with [431], [433]. SW12, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

433 (*Above*). ND7808. Fragment of ivory pyxis, height 5·1 cm. Kneeling boy holding lotus in each hand. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

434 (*Right*). ND6328 (B). Open-work, '*cloisonné*' ivory panel, 11·6×5·5 cm. Four-winged hawk-headed Horus surmounted by sun-disc and double *uraeus*. Room west of SW7, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

especially those in '*cloisonné*', have been shown to be identical in style and in execution with others found elsewhere in Fort Shalmaneser. Occasionally a scene or subject depicted on the '*cloisonné*' panels, notably the kneeling boy, the winged angel, the throne, is repeated on ivories executed in plain, relief style: consequently there can be no reason for arguing a difference in date between these two different techniques. Strong connections with the early part of the XXVth Dynasty in Egypt have been adduced, not only for the aforementioned sets of plaques, but also for the open-work styles. Comparable material from elsewhere in Nimrud—Burnt Palace and N.W. Palace—and comparisons with ivories from Arslan-Tash, all in our opinion point to the same conclusion, that the majority belong to the latter half of the 8th century B.C. And much as we should be inclined to seek for ivories which might have been executed in the reign of Esarhaddon we are in these groups unable to adduce any evidence for so late a date.

Ivories from Room NW21

This series, ND10577–10629, found scattered in the filling, again represents the wreckage of broken-up furniture, and some of the fragments, particularly those representing animals in relief, must once have belonged to a single set of furniture which was probably made in the 8th century B.C. Although perhaps not all of the fragments were contemporary, those illustrated and discussed below are in style typical of 8th century craftsmanship (see also ch. XVI, p. 406).

ND10582 [**435**], an open-work plaque depicting browsing stags, in full relief. The smooth finish, well-moulded forms and mobile appearance seem to be typical of the 8th century B.C. The subject is reminiscent of sets of plaques found in SW7, ND6379, 6314 [**422-3**], and SW37, ND10377 [**471**], but there are are many differences in the treatment of detail. This and other similar plaques found in the same room may be of north Syrian origin; compare Arslan-Tash, op. cit. pl. XXXVI, nos. 61, 62. See also [**439**] below.

ND10577 [**436**], an open-work 'cow and calf' plaque; skilled carving in the north Syrian style, cf. Arslan-Tash, op. cit. pl. XXXVII, no. 63, and ND362 [**5**] from the N.W. Palace. This was perhaps the most popular subject of all and thousands of similar plaques must have been carved in the course of the 8th century B.C. See also ND6310 [**426**], from NW15, and [**437**] below. The serrations at the base of the horn and on the ear are abnormal.

ND10581 [**437**], an open-work 'cow and calf' plaque which must be contemporary with [**436**], q.v. above, and which probably adorned the same article of furniture.

ND10596 [**438**], a curved ivory plaque representing a bull in relief, advancing. Compare ND7594, 7993, 7573, 7560 [**550-3**] for other methods of treating the same subject.

ND10590 [**439**], an open-work plaque depicting a browsing stag; on the reverse is a slot for a tenon; two fitters' marks in the under surface of the lower frame. Compare [**435**] above: the subject is the same but there are considerable differences in detail.

ND10591 [**440**], plaque carved in relief with a male figure crowned with a solar disc flanked with *uraei*; he wears an Egyptian-style wig. In his right hand

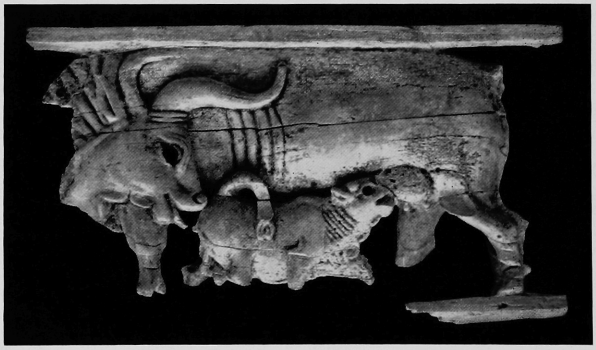
435 (*Above*). ND10582. Open-work ivory plaque, 19×5·7 cm., depicting browsing stags. NW21, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

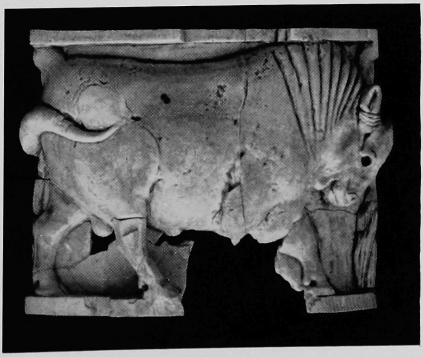
436 (*Left*). ND10577. Open-work ivory plaque, 9·4×5 cm. Cow and calf. NW21, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

437 (*Right*). ND10581. Open-work ivory plaque, 9·6×5 cm. Cow and calf. Part of a set of furniture veneer to which [436] also belonged. NW21, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

438 (*Below left*). ND10596. Curved ivory plaque, 5·8×4·6. Bull advancing. Compare [550–3]. NW21, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

439 (*Below right*). ND10590. Open-work plaque, 9·6×5 cm. Browsing stag. NW21, F.S. Scale c 1/1





he holds an *ankh*, in his left, which is held across his chest, he grasps a *flabellum*. He is dressed in a thigh-length kilt over which is a long waist-to-ankle garment with fringed hem. This type of dress would also be appropriate to Syrian-style ivories. In front of the face there is an empty cartouche surmounted by *atef* feathers, and in front of the body a tall, straight palmette (?) tendril.

ND10613 [441], fragment of a plaque which is basically quadrangular, with an additional tongue projecting from the middle of its shortest side. The face is incised with an interlaced design of voluted palmettes. It is possible that the pattern was originally coloured. A variant of this overall palmette occurs in an ivory found at Khorsabad, period of Sargon (see *OIP* XL, pl. 55, no. 57).

ND10594 [442], open-work plaque. A finely carved, winged, human-headed sphinx, body in profile, head full-face, a posture characteristic of Sargon's sculpture. The sphinx wears an Egyptian-style wig, a necklace, and is crowned with a solar disc flanked by *uraei*. The tasselled 'Phoenician' apron is decorated with vertical bands of chevrons; another *uraeus*, crowned with sun-disc, is attached to a stem which is suspended along one side of the skirt. The same method of representing head full-face and body in profile occurs at Arslan-Tash op. cit. pl. xxxi, nos. 33, 34.

Ivories from Room NE2

A remarkable group of ivories, ND9301–6 [443–8], is the only set from Nimrud carved in the round.[113] The technical execution of these delicate figures is of a high order and the subject is a rare one. The carvings, which had originally stood upon a veneered ivory plinth [443] represent a procession of attendants: men carrying monkeys, and in one instance a lion, on their shoulders; and they lead oryx, antelope, gazelle, goat or ibex, sometimes by the horns, sometimes on a string. Some of the animals, oryx and gazelle, are creatures of the desert, the former particularly associated with Arabia. It is therefore appropriate that their attendants are for the most part negroid in appearance, perhaps Nubians as in [443]. Here, the features are almost simian, prognathous with high cheek-bones, pendulous ears, flattened nose and protruding lips. The carver was evidently not altogether familiar with oryx and antelope; two attendants [444-5] are Syrian rather than Nubian for they have hooked nose, high forehead, incised moustache and short beard; they wear long, matted and twisted hair in contrast to the crisp curls of the others. All are clad in Egyptian-style skirts; the nicked rendering of the monkeys' bodies is also in the Egyptian technique; one [446] wears a leopard skin over the shoulder.

The monkey is not often represented in Assyrian art, but on the north façade of the N.W. Palace the bas-reliefs of Assur-nasir-pal II depict porters carrying them on their shoulders and leading them by a string,[114] and in unrealistic form they appear on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III[115] whilst the 8th century orthostats at Karatepe[116] show Humbaba with a more realistic drawing of a monkey on each shoulder, and there is another in a musical scene at Tell Halaf.[117] At Carchemish[118] and at Zinjirli[119] there are scenes in which porters also carry animals in procession. The subject itself is thus archaic, originating in the 9th century, but in Syria persists through the 8th. It is also interesting that amongst the tablets from the archives found at Babylon in the building once

VII ND9301(B) Man and Monkey. Height 13.2 cm. From NE2, F.S. See p. 528.

440 (*Left*). ND10591. Ivory plaque, 15·7 × 6 cm. Male figure crowned with solar disc flanked by *uraei*. Egyptian-style objects include *ankh* and *flabellum* and an empty cartouche surrounded by *atef* feathers. NW21, F.S. See p. 526.

Scale c. 1/1

441 (*Below*) ND10613. Ivory plaque, 7·9 × 5·6 cm. incised with interlaced design of voluted palmettes. NW21, F.S.

Scale c. 1/1

442 (*Foot of page*). ND10594 (Met. Mus. N.Y.). Open-work plaque, 10·3 × 8·9 cm. Human-headed sphinx in posture characteristic of Sargon's monuments. NW21, F.S.

Scale c. 1/1

known as the 'hanging gardens' there are ration lists for Egyptians including the name 'Pusamiski', 'keeper of the king's monkeys'. The name may be the equivalent of Ps'mtk, that is to say Psammeticus. But this tablet, which is contemporary with Nebuchadrezzar II and Jehoiakin, king of Judah, is probably as much as two centuries later than the representation in [443] which may perhaps be dated to the last quarter of the 9th century B.C.[119a]

The armlet on [446] and indeed the negroid appearance and the loin-cloths of this and the others remind us of the negro on the chryselephantine plaque from the well of the N.W. Palace (probably 8th century B.C.), but there are many differences and it is hard to decide whether this set was made in the last quarter of the 9th or the first half of the 8th century B.C.; the free modelling in the round is unlikely to have been done as early as Assur-nasir-pal II or Shalmaneser III. Since there is no evidence of monkeys so realistically carved in the 9th century, they may fill a gap for which we have at present little artistic evidence—c.800 B.C.—and in this connection it may be recalled that an ivory label found in room SW37 bears a reference to the throne of Shamshi-Adad V (824–810 B.C.), (cf. p. 594).[120]

Two rare bronze pieces, of Egyptian provenance, possibly from the Delta, are comparable, and I am indebted for this information to Dr R. D. Barnett whose letter I quote in full.[121] It remains only to observe that processional scenes in flat, cut-out ivory were executed at Assur as early as the middle Assyrian period, 13th century B.C.[122]

ND9400 [449], a female head found in the same room, has, at the top, part of a frame with tenon-hole. It is a beautifully cut ivory, a model of formal symmetry with hair straight and parted in the middle, curling tresses on either side and collar around the neck. It has the archaic type of eye, thin mouth and finely scored hair which characterize the ivory known as the 'Ugly Sister' (ND2549, [73], see p. 132) which Frankfort considered to be earlier than the other ivories associated with it.[123] Moreover this same head [449] is stylistically allied to the famous stone goddess from Tell Halaf which some authorities believe to be of the 9th century B.C., perhaps a decade or two before the reign of Adad-nirari III.[124] If this belief is correct, then most if not all of the other ivories found in the same room, including the procession described above, may be dated to the last quarter of the 9th century B.C.; but this is a problem open to argument, and we cannot exclude the possibility that it was made as late as the reign of Sargon (see ch. IX, pp. 132–5).

443 (*Opposite page, right*). ND9301 (B). Burnt ivory figure in the round, obverse *above*, and reverse *below*. Height 13·2 cm., of base 3 cm., thickness of base 1·9 cm. A Nubian (?) bringing a baboon on his shoulders and apparently leading an antelope. He wears a patterned, divided skirt tied by a sash. Eyes and eyebrows originally inlaid. NE2, F.S. See p. 528. Scale c. 4/5

444 (*Opposite page, left*). ND9304 (B). Burnt ivory figure in the round, obverse *above*, and reverse *below*. Height 12·8 cm. Man with Mediterranean, perhaps Syrian, type of features, wearing a fringed skirt tied with a sash and decorated with a geometric pattern, rosettes and *uraei*. He carries a lion on his shoulders, and grasps the end of a lead. He holds an ibex or goat by the horn but the animal is not realistically represented. NE2, F.S. See p. 528.
Scale c. 4/5

445 (*Opposite page*, *left*). ND9306 (B). Burnt ivory figure in the round, obverse *above*, and reverse *below*. Height 13·3 cm. Features, hairstyle and skirt resemble [444]. The man carries a goat on his shoulders and holds an ostrich by the neck. The representation is realistic, the beak opened and front wing held upwards, apparently fluttering. NE2, F.S. See p. 528. Scale c. 1/1

446 (*Opposite page*, *right*). ND9302 (Met. Mus. N.Y.). Ivory figure in the round, obverse *above*, and reverse *below*. Height 13·4 cm. Nubian (?) leading an oryx, carrying a monkey (*cercopithecus*) on left shoulder and leopard skin over right. Skirt similar to [443] but decorated with two full-length *uraei*. Pendant round neck and armlet originally incrusted. Parts of legs restored in wax. NE2, F.S. See p. 528. Scale c. 1/1

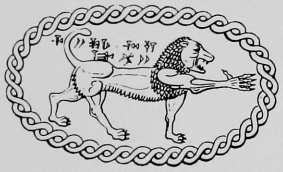
447 (*Above*, *left*). ND9303 (B). Ivory figure in the round, height 13·5 cm. A Nubian (?) with gazelle (?) on shoulder and goat or ibex at the side. NE2, F.S. See p. 528. Scale c. 1/1

448 (*Right*). ND9305 (BM). Burnt ivory figure in the round, height 11 cm., obverse *above*, reverse *below*. A Nubian (?) leading a bull and carrying a second animal on his shoulders. He wears a skirt with antithetic *uraei*. Figure subsequently restored in wax. NE2, F.S. See p. 528. Scale c. 1/1

ND9398 [**450**], stained ivory nearly in the round, depicting a youth with long, curly locks grappling with a lion, displays a lithe modelling and movement that may be a later development of the more rigid, archaic figures. The youth wears a short kilt decorated with carved zig-zags and ending in a hem with rope pattern. It is possible that this polychrome style, of which several examples have now been found, is not earlier than the late 8th century B.C. On the other hand the long locks of hair ending in curls resembles the hair style on a 9th century head from Ezida ([**224**] in ch. XIV) but the ears on this head are more realistically modelled.

ND9405 [**451**] is a type of carving which can be matched on many other ivories for it is comparable in style with ND9475 [**513**], ND9412 [**514**] and ND10509 [**515**], and its date depends on that assigned to similar subjects found elsewhere, both in Calah and in Samaria; (see p. 510 and note 87). This is an ivory strip decorated with images of the Egyptian god Heh holding the ribbed palm branch. The top edge was originally incised with small rectangles of blue, red, and green glass (?) paste, alternating with rectangles of ivory. The short ends of the strip are mitred. In the centre of the mitred surface is a small, blunt tenon. On the plain inner face of the strip a narrow slit runs along the full length of the lower edge.

Finally, ND9396 [**452**] is included in this series because it was found in NE1, the bathroom immediately adjoining NE2, and must originally have formed a part of the same collection. The style of this object is of particular interest because, as we shall see, it is characteristic of the end of the 9th century B.C., and is thus in agreement with the date which we have proposed for several of the ivories from NE2. This ivory represents the right hand portion of a panel which was originally a metre in length; two other fragments of it were preserved, but their upper portions were missing and they were badly damaged. The scene, carved in high relief, depicts a continuous combat in which bulls, lions and griffins are engaged. The significant feature of the iconography is the exaggerated presentation of the lion's outstretched paw with claws widespread, precisely in the manner of a royal seal impression of Adad-nirari III from SE10, ND7104 [**453**], (*Iraq* XXIV, p. 39, fig. 9). The same stylization reappears at Ziwiye on a bronze bucket and on ivory panels, see C. Wilkinson, *Met. Mus. Bulletin* April 1963, pp. 282–3, figs. 14–17; and A. Godard in *Le Trésor de Ziwiyè*, figs. 81, 82.



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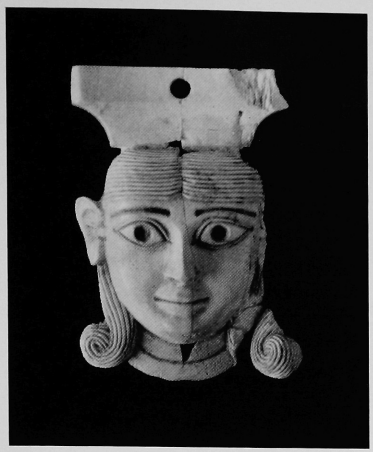
Ivories from SW37

This great hall over 30 metres in length was filled to a depth of not less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ metres over pavement level with a vast collection of ivory fragments embedded in fallen mud brick (p. 416). The yield of ivory from this room was richer than that of any other in the building,[125] and the attempt to reconstitute the group will require years of labour. It is probable that more than one period is represented in the many varieties of furniture found here. Among predominant characteristics, we may note the Egyptianizing style with its classic finish and dexterity of workmanship, as well as resemblances to stylistic traits which occur at Zinjirli and Sakcha Gözü that can be dated with some confidence to the last quarter of the 8th century B.C. No doubt, however, there are also pieces which may have been carved a century earlier, from the middle of the 9th to the



449 (*Left*). ND9400 (B). Ivory head, female, three-quarter relief, height 5·7 cm. Comparable in style with ND2249 [73], the 'Ugly Sister' found in well of N.W. Palace. Found with [447] in niche. NE2, F.S. See p. 530 and p. 392–3. Scale c. 1/1

450 (*Right*). ND9398 (B). Burnt ivory figure, three-quarter relief, height 7·8 cm. Boy fighting a lion one of whose paws is visible. Eyes and eyebrows originally inlaid; hair coloured an orange-yellow; body may have been stained. NE2, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

451 (*Below*). ND9405. Ivory strip, length 11.9 cm., depicting the Egyptian god Heh, holding the ribbed palm branch. Polychrome, incrusted with blue, green and red glass paste. Probably the side of a box. NE2, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

452 (*Foot of page*). ND9396 (B). Right hand fragment of ivory panel originally 1 metre long; height including margin was 8·2 cm., thickness 7 mm. Lions, bulls and griffins in combat. NE1, F.S. Scale c. 1/2

453 (*Opposite page*). ND7104. Royal seal impression of Adad-nirari III. SE10, F.S.

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first half of the 8th century, and there is much in common with the carvings of Arslan-Tash. Thus it appears that a part of the collection reflects the developed styles characteristic of the high level of carving in north Syria about the middle of the 8th century. The ivories in this room, however, display many differences in subject and in execution and may cover a longer span of time than those in the four other rooms which have been described above. Here we record a selected number which must serve for the present to represent the collection as a whole, and may give some idea of its variety. Some of the pieces are unique, others can be closely matched elsewhere, notably at Sakcha Gözü, Zinjirli, Arslan-Tash, Carchemish, Tell Halaf and Samaria. Other ivories from the same room, SW37, are illustrated in the second half of this chapter among those classified according to subject and style.

Bearded Male Figure Holding Up a Ram by its Horns. ND10— [454], ivory statuette almost in the round. A bearded male figure wearing a long fringed garment and short-sleeved under-tunic, holds a fleecy ram by its horns against the front of his body. Beard, moustache, and side whiskers are sharply defined. Fine strands of hair fall over the side of the forehead, apparently from beneath a sheepskin cap which is carefully blocked out in squares. Hair-style, beard and garment are closely matched by carvings at Zinjirli of the time of Bar-rekub[126] which depict that prince himself wearing a similar type of fringed coat and sleeve; but on our ivory there are no folds.

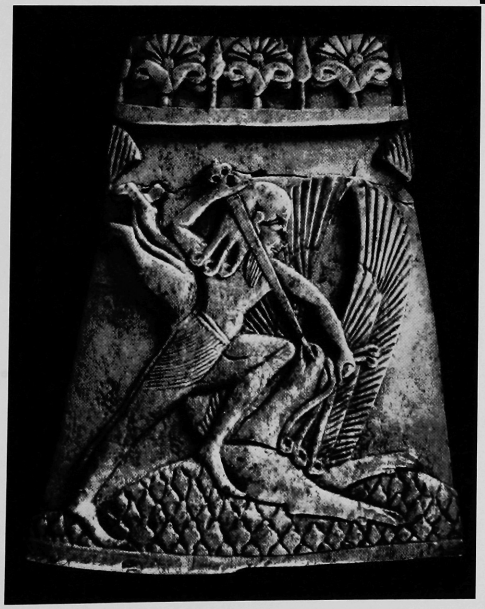
Winged Youth Spearing a Winged Griffin. ND10500 [455], large open-work plaque of '*cloisonné*'. A winged boy grasps a winged griffin by the comb, and plunges a lance into its open beak; palmette and lily tendrils in the background. He wears an Egyptian-style wig composed of alternating squares of ivory and inlay; at his neck is a pendant consisting of droplets. The winged feathers seem to have been incrusted alternately with red and blue, and the last four feathers, outer row, of the griffin, have been inlaid uniformly with blue. The motif is a variation of the 'St George and dragon' plaques [558-9], and the style of figure is well represented in other settings, e.g. ND6328 [434].

Hero Spearing a Dragon. ND10696 [456], a curved ivory plaque. A long-haired bearded male figure grasps a winged griffin by the comb and plunges a long sword into its gaping beak. The griffin kicks its hind legs in the air. The man wears a short pleated thigh-length kilt. The long curling locks at the back of his head and the cut of the beard are unusual: the pointed beard seems to have gone out of fashion in Assyria shortly after the beginning of the 9th century B.C. when a square-cut became fashionable. The sword would also appear to be archaic in type. Nevertheless, this ivory was probably executed at the same time as the remainder of the 'St. George' series, in the 8th century B.C. The 'slaying of the dragon' takes place on a mountain top. Above is a frieze of palmettes and lotus buds. It is of great interest that we can identify a design from which this subject may have been inspired; namely a stela from Ras Shamra depicting the weather god on the mountains, 14th to 13th century B.C.[127] The long curling locks are identical; both figures have pointed beards and wear short kilts, and in both cases the scene takes place on the mountains. The differences are understandable when we recall that the two designs are separated by an interval of about five centuries.[128]

454 (*Opposite page*). ND10— (B). Ivory figure, almost in the round, height 15·7 cm. Bearded man holding up a fleecy ram by its horns. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 4/5

455 (*Right*). ND10500 (B). Open-work, '*cloisonné*' ivory plaque, height 17 cm. Winged youth spearing winged griffin. Traces of red and blue incrustation. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

456 (*Below left*). ND10696 (B). Curved ivory plaque, height 9.6 cm. Hero spearing griffin on mountain top. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1



457 (*Below*). ND10326 (AM). Ivory plaque, height 5·5 cm. The slaying of Humbaba. SW37, F.S. See p. 538. Scale c. 1/1

The Slaying of Humbaba. ND10326 [457], ivory plaque. The scene is composed of three struggling figures. The two outer figures grasp the arms of the demon in the middle, and each plunges a dagger into his head. An identical scene occurs on an orthostat at Tell Halaf; a simpler version at Carchemish of the time of Katuwas or earlier, and on a bronze bowl discovered by Layard at Nimrud in the N.W. Palace.[129] Finally we may note an Iranian version of this scene, perhaps a century or more earlier, on the golden bowl bound at Hasanlu.[130]

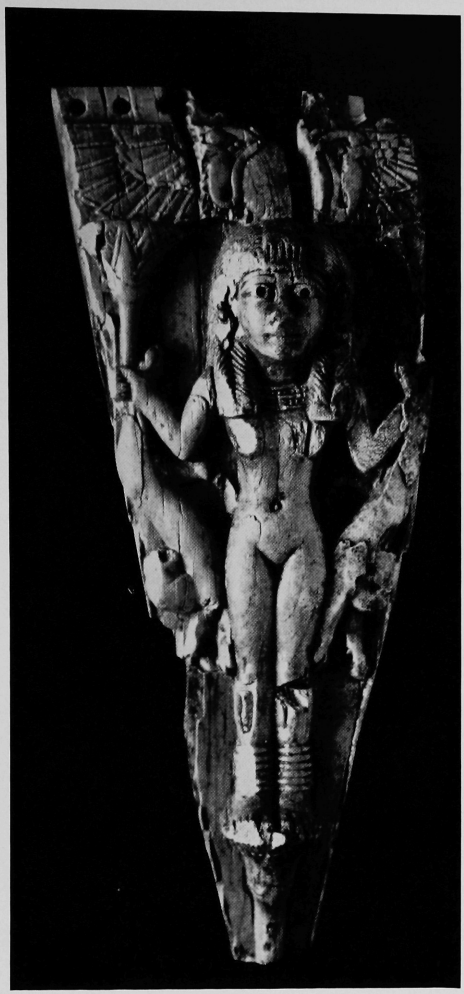
Ivory Horse's Head-Piece. ND10518 [458]. The carving is executed in high relief on a triangular ivory which must once have been worn on the forehead of a horse,[131] and was doubtless accompanied by cheek-pieces of the type found in the well of the N.W. Palace (p. 126). A naked female stands on a lotus flower, and while holding up a lotus in each hand, grasps a lion by the hind-leg. She is surmounted by a wide-spreading winged disc with pair of *uraei* in the Egyptian style; she wears bangles on her ankles. A row of perforations at the top were no doubt intended for fixing the ivory to the bridle. This figure provides a remarkable parallel with a piece discovered by Loftus in the S.E. (Burnt) Palace, now in the British Museum.[132] Both figures wear the pomegranate headcloth of the courtesan, and although there are some differences in the treatment (for the B.M. ivory carries a lotus and an *ankh* instead of a lion), the two pieces might nonetheless have come out of the same workshop. Date of this piece could be as early as the first quarter of the 8th century B.C. if the very similar head-piece ND10359 [549], inscribed Lu'ash, is correctly dated to that period (see discussion below on p. 595), this subject was no doubt favoured by the kings of Assyria and may well have persisted for more than half a century, with variations.

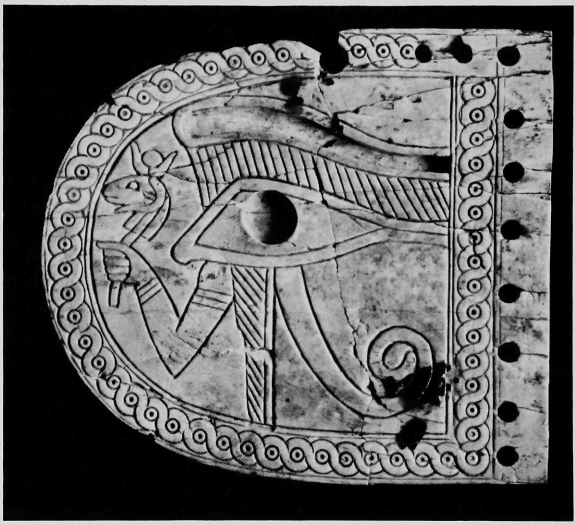
Ivory Horse's Cheek-Pieces. ND10332 [459], an ivory cheek-piece, shield-shaped, with nine perforations along the base, and three above it at one side. Carved in relief is an Egyptian *wedjat* eye, combined with a quasi-Egyptian hieroglyph. In front of the eye and attached to it, a human arm wearing a bracelet is raised in salute. Compare [460].

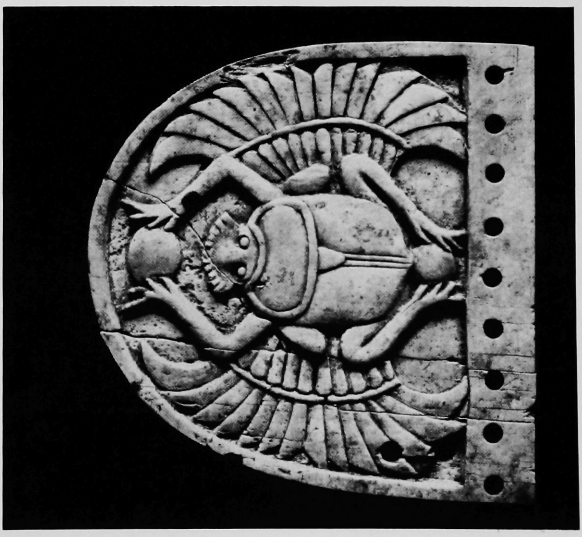
ND10387 [460], an ivory cheek-piece comparable with [459] above; but here the design is incised and the human hand grasps a *Khnum* sceptre crowned with horns and a solar disc. Guilloche border. Pupil and brow of the *wedjat* eye have been deeply hollowed out for inlay.

ND10388 [461], horse's ivory cheek-piece comparable with [459-60], with different design, which here consists of a winged scarab holding solar discs between its fore and hind feet.[133]

Chariot frieze. ND10316 [462], a fragment of an open-work plaque. The scene represents a two-horsed chariot with two charioteers. The second of them, an archer, is represented only by his kilt. His quiver laden with arrows is carved on the side of the chariot. This ivory is comparable with the chariot illustrated on ND7904 [386] (discussed in this chapter on p. 488*f* above) and may be approximately contemporary, but differs in that it lacks the elliptical 'yoke-pole'. On Assyrian reliefs this feature occurs down to the time of Tiglath-pileser III, and







458 (*Above*). ND10518 (Met. Mus. N.Y.). Ivory horse's head-piece, height 16·1 cm., depicting a naked goddess surmounted by winged disc, standing on lotus, and grasping a lion and lotus in each hand. SW37, F.S.
Scale c. 1/1

459 (*Above right*). ND10332 (B). Ivory horse's cheek-piece, height 8.9 cm. Egyptian *wedjat* eye to which is attached human arm raised in salute. Quasi-Egyptian hieroglyphs. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

460 (*Centre right*). ND10387. Ivory cheek-piece, height 8 cm., with elaborate, incised *wedjat* eye and arm carrying Khnum sceptre. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

461 (*Below right*). ND10388 (B). Ivory cheek-piece, height 7·9 cm. with winged scarab holding sun-discs between forefeet and hindfeet. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

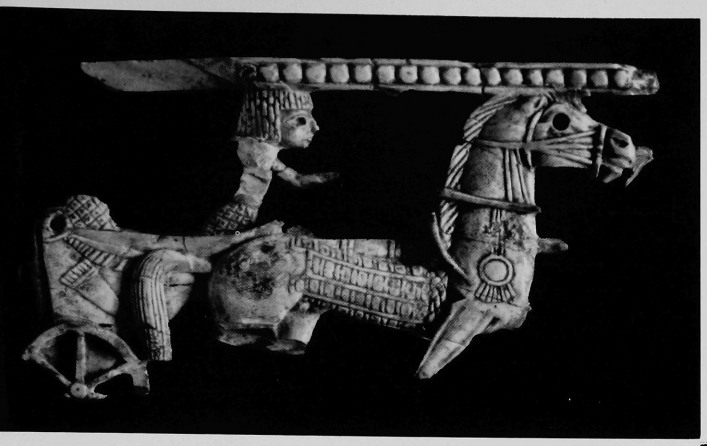
disappears thereafter (with one exception, a solecism, in the reign of Sennacherib). But this is clearly a Syrian form of chariot, and the shape of the cab with high, rounded back, shield behind, points to a date not later than Tiglath-pileser III, for thereafter the shield disappears. On the other hand the delineation of the horse's tail without horizontal ties is characteristic of Sargon and his successors, but this may have been derived from Syria. The Nimrud plaque is almost identical with one from Zinjirli whence it may have been imported. Compare also a 'Kapara' orthostat from Tell Halaf for form of bridle, reins and horse's mane; an earlier 9th (?) century prototype occurs on a Syrian relief from Carchemish.[134] The date of this Nimrud ivory may be of the mid-8th century B.C. or earlier.

Chariot Frieze. ND10344 [**463**], plaque depicting part of a hunting scene with chariot, the back of which is closed by a shield, two charioteers, and behind it, the hand of a third figure clasping javelins or arrows and advancing on foot. The first charioteer holds the reins; his companion, armed with a bow, clasps him around the shoulders. In style, comparable with [**462**] above but the dress of the charioteers is similar to that worn on a pyxis discovered by Loftus in the Burnt (S.E.) Palace, (SI in *CNI*, p. xviii). A unique feature of this scene is the projecting head of the ibex or stag (?), doubtless part of the day's hunting bag. Syrian workmanship, mid-8th century B.C. (?)

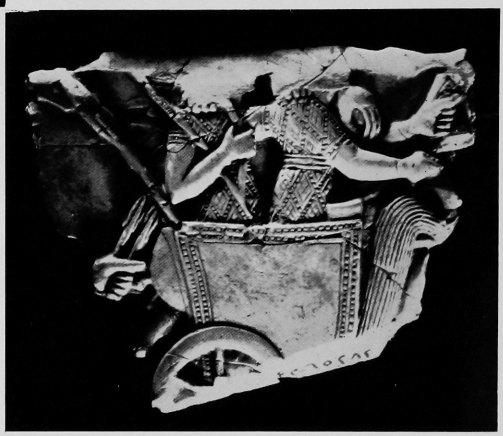
Open-Work Plaque Depicting Ibex and Tree. ND10321 [**464**]. A plump goat or ibex (?) is nibbling the leaves of a stylized shrub which is in the form of a pair of intertwined tendrils. Compare the series of open-work animals ND6379, 6310, and 6314 [**422-3, 426**]. The carving is bold and masterly.

Winged Sphinx. ND10342 [**465**], a rectangular ivory plaque. A winged human-headed sphinx advances left, its head facing outwards. It has rotund fleshy features with thick lips and cleft chin, and rows of short curls on the forehead, while long tresses hang down to the shoulders. Behind the sphinx is part of a stylized shrub. The type is reminiscent of a sphinx orthostat which was probably from Hilani II at Zinjirli;[135] the arrangement of the lower pinions on the wings is comparable; the Zinjirli orthostat is in the developed style of the 8th century, but may perhaps have been made some decades earlier than the Nimrud plaque which has the head executed frontally, and the body in profile, a technique attributable to Sargon.

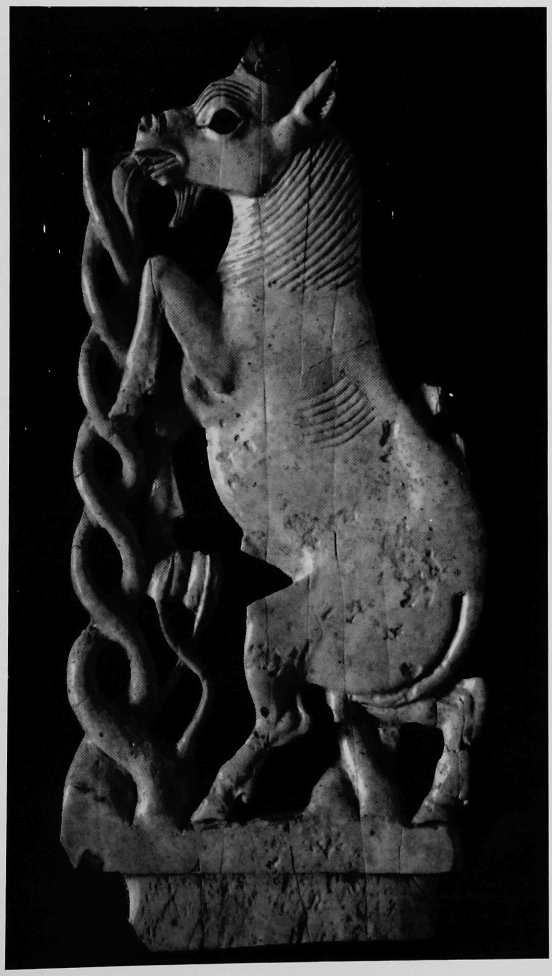
465. ND10342 (B). Ivory plaque, 10·5×6·6 cm. Winged human-headed sphinx. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1



462. ND10316 (BM). Open-work plaque, 6× 11·3×1·2 cm. Two-horse chariot with charioteers. Compare [386]. SW37, F.S. See p. 538. Scale c. 1/1



463. ND10344 (B). Ivory plaque, height 6·3 cm. Hunting scene with chariot and two charioteers. Back of chariot is closed by shield and projecting from it is the head of an ibex or stag(?). SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1



464. ND10321 (Met. Mus. N.Y.). Open-work ivory plaque, height 16·2 cm. Goat or ibex nibbling leaves of stylized shrub. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

'*Cloisonné*' *Plaque Depicting a Winged Boy.* ND9511 [466], a winged boy, wearing Egyptian style wig, plucks a palmette flower in his right hand. He stands in a field of lotus buds and papyrus flowers. There are traces of discoloration on some greenish surfaces of the ivory; the '*cloisons*' are filled with green and blue paste. This is a brilliant piece of polychrome work. Compare with ND8068 [493].

Ivory Plaque Depicting a Pair of Kriocephalic Sphinxes and the Sacred Tree. ND10— [467]. The scene represents two ram-headed winged sphinxes standing on either side of an elaborate palmette-and-lotus tree which rises in tiers and has branches terminating in volutes. The sphinxes wear the Phoenician skirt or apron from which a winged *uraeus* with double crown is suspended. The heads of the rams are crowned with sun-disc and *uraeus*. This is a variation of plaques discovered by Layard in the N.W. Palace[136] and of others found elsewhere in Fort Shalmaneser, but winged griffins are usually represented in association with the tree instead of winged rams as here.

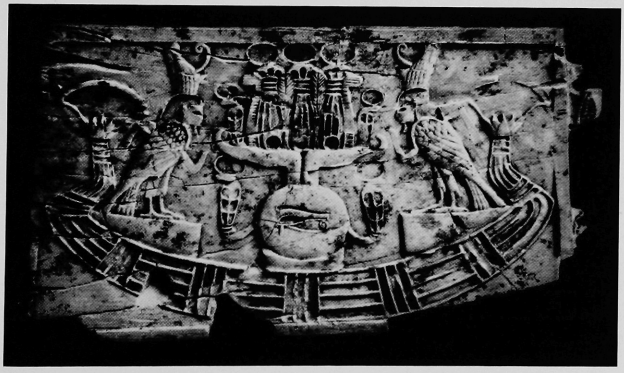
Ivory Plaque with Design of a Papyrus Boat Carrying Egyptian Symbols. ND10702 [468], an ivory champlevé plaque carved with a papyrus boat, the '*cloisons*' of which were once filled with colour. The cargo consists of the Egyptian symbol representing the rising sun carrying a divine crown which is composed of three Osiride crowns flanked on either side by a *uraeus*, and carved within its circumference a *wedjat* eye. Standing fore and aft on small platforms are two royal *ba* birds who face towards the rising sun, their human arms raised in adoration.[137] Fragmentary tenons on both the lateral edges.

Ivory Panels with Processional Scenes in Relief. ND10448 [469]. The scene, which depicts a procession of five worshippers wearing Egyptian crowns, is obviously inspired by ancient Egyptian themes and we may take this and [470] as being typical of the 'Phoenician' school of ivory-carving. The woman carrying a duck recalls the much earlier Syrians carrying the same offering on an ivory panel found at Megiddo.[138] The head of the duck is carved on a separate piece and dowelled into the background.

ND10376 [470], ivory panel in a similar style to [469] above, but the procession is travelling in the opposite direction. The first two figures wear Osiride crowns, the third a crown of Upper and Lower Egypt and a long Egyptian wig (of the type worn by women in Egypt); the fourth wears the horns and lunar disc associated with Hathor and Isis; the fifth, a woman, wears similar horns and disc and a short Egyptian wig usually worn by men.

466 (*Above*). ND9511. (Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto). '*Cloisonné*' ivory plaque, 5 × 7 cm., filled with green and blue paste. Winged boy plucks a flower in a field of lotus buds and papyrus flowers. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

467 (*Right*). ND10—. Ivory plaque, height about 16 cm. Winged ram-headed sphinxes and magical tree. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 4/5



468 (*Left*). ND10702 (B). Ivory plaque, champlevé and '*cloisonné*', 7 × 13·5 cm. Papyrus boat carrying Egyptian symbol of rising sun upon which there are three Osiride crowns flanked by *uraei*; royal *ba* birds on either side. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 4/5

469 (*Below*). ND10448 (B), Ivory panel 7 × 23 × 2·5 cm. Procession of four men and a woman who carries a duck as an offering. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 4/5

470 (*Opposite page*). ND10376 (B). Ivory panel, 6·8 × 24·6 × 2·5 cm., similar to [469]. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 4/5

Ivory Panel, Open-Work, Depicting a Browsing Oryx. ND10377 [471]. This beautiful carving, another masterpiece, which must have required the utmost dexterity to prevent it from fracturing at the time of cutting, is a variant of the subjects found in NW15, see especially ND6379 [422] and ND6314 [423] (p. 518). Note that here we have only the palmette tree, not the papyrus as in the panels mentioned above. Other fragments of similar panels were also found in the same room. There are tenons above and below for fitting to a chair-rail. We may be justified in assuming that all these ivories are approximately of the same date, perhaps the latter half of the 8th century B.C.

Ivories in Quasi-Egyptian Style. ND10635 [472]. Panel, carved in relief, depicts an ibis flanked by a papyrus column on either side; three roughly executed Egyptian hieroglyphs in the field.

ND10305 [473]. Panel carved in relief depicts the Egyptian hippopotamus goddess Taurt, standing on the *neb*-sign and resting a foot on an Egyptian girdle-symbol (?) surmounted by plumes. Parts of three Taurt figures are preserved.

ND10398 [474]. Plaque, deeply carved so that the design itself without its inlay has the effect of being *en creux*: the original appearance must have been of a brightly coloured figure striding across an ivory background; the form and features were represented by the inlay itself in red, blue and green. The subject is an Egyptian-style winged boy. He carries a papyrus blossom in each hand and is crowned with the solar disc. He wears a short tunic beneath a long ankle-length garment. Traces of incrustation remain. The flesh parts of the figure preserve fragments of red quartz-frit inlay; wings, tunic and flowers have traces of blue. A piece of opaque, green glass inlay representing the left leg is still in position. The technique is similar in ND10654 [475] and elsewhere is so far only known at Samaria (see *Samaria Sebaste* 2, pl. xiv and especially no. 2).

ND10654 [475]. Curved plaque, deeply cut, similar in technique to ND10398, [474] *q.v.*, in a technique peculiar to Samaria. The design represents a rampant winged griffin and part of a voluted papyrus tree; the lower band consists of a lotus and bud frieze; the griffin rests its left paw on a papyrus flower and right forepaw over a volute; it wears the 'Phoenician' apron. Traces of blue inlay on the griffin and red in the feathers, flowers and buds. Compare ND7790 and 7741 [501-2] (p. 560).

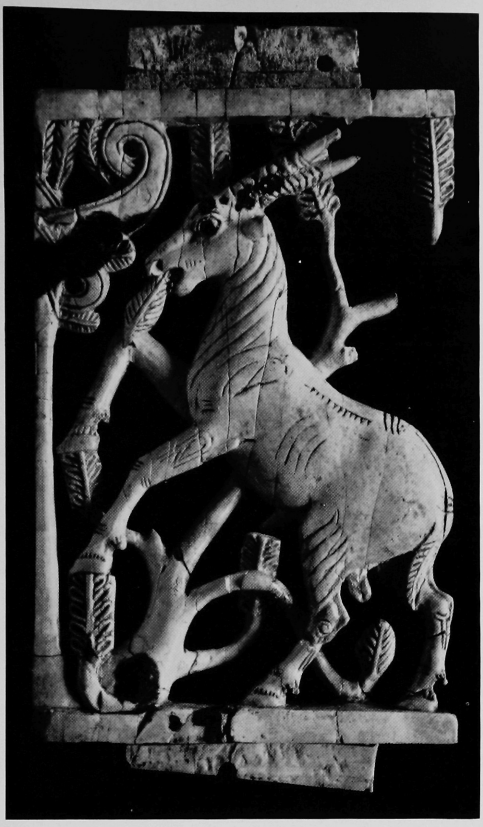
ND10363 [476]. Fragment of an open-work, champlevé plaque, represents an Egyptian goddess, reminiscent of Maat, squatting on a lotus. Collar and petals bear traces of blue and red inlay; a piece of opaque, blue glass is still in position in the central portion of the lotus. The smooth finish and soft form of this ivory may indicate that it is not earlier than the last quarter of the 8th century B.C. Compare ND9412 [514] (p. 568) for smoothness of the surface.

474 (*Top*). ND10398 (Met. Mus. N.Y.). Ivory plaque, 5·9×3·6 cm., originally filled with coloured inlay. Egyptian winged boy. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

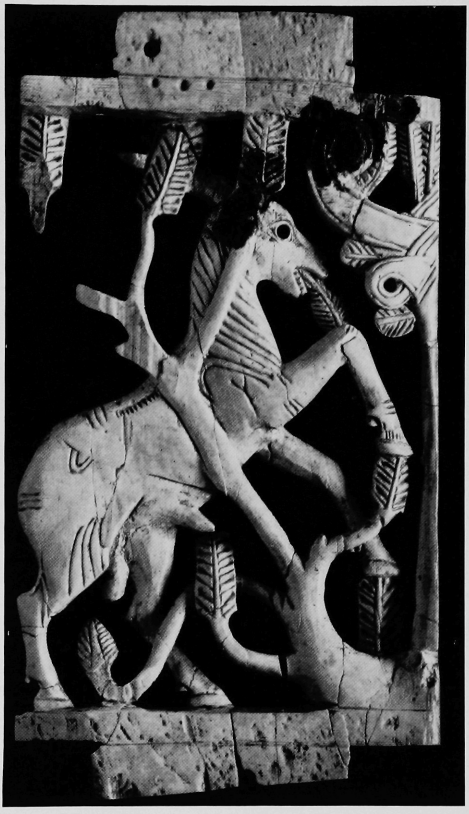
475 (*Centre*). ND10654. Curved ivory plaque, 5·9×5·2 cm. Rampant, winged griffin, papyrus tree, lotus and bud frieze. Similar in technique and style to [474.] Scale c. 1/1

476 (*Below*). ND10363. Open-work, champlevé ivory plaque, 6·3×2·1 cm. Egyptian goddess reminiscent of Maat, squatting on lotus. Collar and petals bear traces of blue and red inlay. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

VIII ND8068(B) Winged boy. 25.7×9 cm. From room X3, F.S. See p. 554.



472. ND10365 (B). Ivory panel, 5·9×2·8 cm. Ibis, papyrus columns, three Egyptian hieroglyphs. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1



471. ND10377 (B). Open-work ivory panel, 14·6×8 cm. Obverse *above*, and reverse *right*. A browsing oryx. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

473. ND10305. Ivory panel, 9·8×4·9 cm. Egyptian hippopotamus goddess Taurt and various Egyptian symbols. SW37, F.S.
Scale c. 1/1

ND10705 [477]. A long ivory champlevé plaque representing two antithetically placed winged sphinxes and three sacred trees. The sphinxes wear 'Egyptian-style' head-cloths and Phoenician apron. The trees are designed in the shape of voluted trunks with branches consisting of papyrus and 'lily' tendrils. The top of the central tree is crowned with three 'lilies' interspersed with central buds in place of the four radiating petals crowning the lateral trees. A piece of opaque, dark blue glass inlay is preserved in the right-hand tree. Perforated tenons remain at either end of the plaque and there are five fitters' marks on the back. High relief and smooth finish may indicate a date not earlier than the last quarter of the 8th century B.C.

Ivories from SW11–12

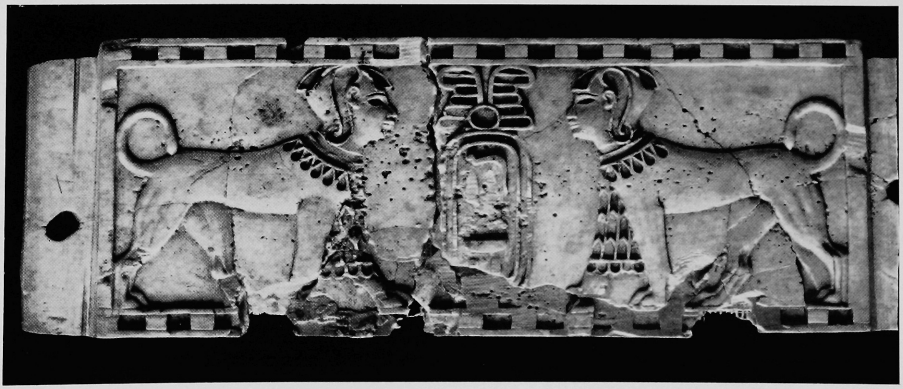
This long magazine was some metres shorter than SW37 which lay at right angles to it. It also contained a mass of fragmented ivories, embedded in mud brick throughout the fill, down to the floor, in circumstances exactly similar to those in the adjacent chamber (see p. 534 and ch. XVI, p. 416). Both collections consisted of broken-up furniture from the palace; they comprised a variety of artistic styles which probably represented more than one period of carving and may well have come from workshops in more than one city outside Assyria; quasi-Egyptian influence was perhaps dominant. The debris which filled the two rooms was no doubt an accumulation which occurred after the sack of Calah, and both collections of ivories are similarly heterogeneous in character.

Ivories in Quasi-Egyptian Style. ND12034 [478], an almost complete ivory plaque, carved in relief, in a strongly Egyptian style, '*cloisonné*', or champlevé, originally incrusted. Two kneeling male figures wearing Egyptian-style head-cloth, identically dressed in short pleated, knee-length kilts, belted at the waist, face inwards. They wear bead collars and an Osiride beard. Each figure carries in one hand a bowl on which there is a diminutive squatting divinity, holding a papyrus stem, perhaps a misrepresentation of Maat, seated on a *neb*-sign. The cartouche in the centre stands on the hieroglyph for gold and is flanked by *uraei* with sun-discs; it is surmounted by a triple *atef* crown mounted on ram's horns and flanked by the feathers of truth and *uraei*. Dr I. E. S. Edwards, Keeper of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, British Museum, has commented on the cartouche as follows: 'The reading which I put forward with much hesitation is *wtrnrw*, but both *n* and *r* may represent any of the liquids *l*, *n* and *r*, so there is scope for some variation in the reading. The last *w*, written with the three plural strokes is likely to represent the vowel *u* or *r*.' It does not however seem possible to equate any name in the cuneiform texts with these hieroglyphs. Dowel holes are preserved in the thickness of the upper and lower edges, and there is a tenon on the right-hand side. The reverse bears two fitters' marks. In style this plaque is comparable with the celebrated one found by Layard in the N.W. Palace, *CNI* pl. viii, C.48; the treatment of the arms and hands is more skilfully done and more realistic than a plaque in a similar style from Samaria, see *Samaria Sebaste* 2, pl. ii.

ND11023 [479], a champlevé ivory plaque. The design consists of a pair of

477. ND10705. Champlevé ivory plaque, 22·4×3·6 cm., with traces of dark blue glass inlay. Two antithetical winged sphinxes and three sacred trees. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 4/5

478. ND12034 (B). Champlevé ivory plaque, 5·7×14 cm., originally incrusted. Two kneeling male figures in Egyptian style, each carrying a bowl on which there is, perhaps, a misrepresentation of Maat. Cartouche reads *wtrnrw*; it stands on hieroglyph for gold, is flanked by *uraei* with sun-discs and is surmounted by triple *atef* crown on ram's horns which also carry the feathers of truth and *uraei*. SW11–12, F.S. Scale c. 1/1



479. ND11023. Champlevé ivory plaque, 15·7×5·2 cm. Identical sphinxes advancing towards cartouche surmounted by disc and pair of *atef* feathers. SW12, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

identical sphinxes advancing towards a cartouche which is surmounted by a disc and a pair of *atef* feathers. The sphinxes wear '*cloisonné*' Phoenician-style aprons and bead collars about their necks. Both have the side-lock characteristic of childhood in ancient Egypt. Top and bottom of the frame consist of a broken line border which once carried inlay. Tenon-holes at each end of the plaque. Smooth finish and style of relief may be characteristic of the last quarter of the 8th century B.C.

ND11101 [480], champlevé plaque carved in elaborate '*cloisonné*' with a female figure wearing Egyptian-style wig and bead collar, crowned with the lunar disc. Naked to the waist she is clothed in a long ankle-length skirt composed of a pair of wings folded one over the other. Her left arm is raised in adoration. Carved in front of her body on the very edge of the plaque are the bound stalks of a bunch of lotus (?) flowers which the figure presumably held in her right hand. The coloured inlays have vanished but fragments of a yellow discoloured material survived in the wig. Compare ND7580 [413] from SW7, which is probably contemporary. For a similar style of head-dress see ND10509 [515].

ND11035 [481], carved in high relief with a scene showing two identical Pharaoh figures facing a sacred tree from the foot of which spring two 'lily' tendrils. Each figure grasps in his right hand a ram-headed *Khnum* sceptre with which he touches the top of the tree while in his left hand he carries a spouted jug—a subject familiar to Phoenician iconography. Compare ND7579 [412], (p. 506). The style of dress is familiar on other Nimrud ivories. Above the sacred tree there is a winged disc surmounted by a frieze of thirteen *uraei* crowned with horns and a disc.

ND11102 [482], an open-work ivory plaque depicting a pair of winged female figures wearing the attenuated double crown facing an 'aegis of Bastet' mounted on a symmetrical flowering 'lily' tree. The rendering of the limbs is skilfully done. Compare the Bastet figure discovered in NW15, ND6349 [420]. Both pieces are probably contemporary and may belong to the last quarter of the 8th century B.C. (see also p. 516).

ND12146 [483], carved in high relief with a winged kriocephalic sphinx supported by two kneeling male figures who carry it on their heads and hands. The Egyptianizing, Phoenician style is familiar on many other ivories from Nimrud, but this particular form of composition depicting kneeling men carrying a sphinx is rare. The carrying of a winged figure on the arms is an iconographic motif that figures on a seal impression of the king of Carchemish, Ini-Teshub, c. 13th century B.C. (see *Ugaritica* III, p. 23, fig. 29).

ND11024 [484], carved in high relief with winged kriocephalic sphinx supporting by two kneeling male figures facing right. A variant form of the subject depicted on [483] above. The two plaques may have been executed in the same workshop.

ND11036 [485], an open-work ivory plaque which depicts a youthful winged Egyptian Pharaoh grasping the comb of a winged griffin with his right hand and plunging a long spear into its mouth with his left—an ambidextrous figure!

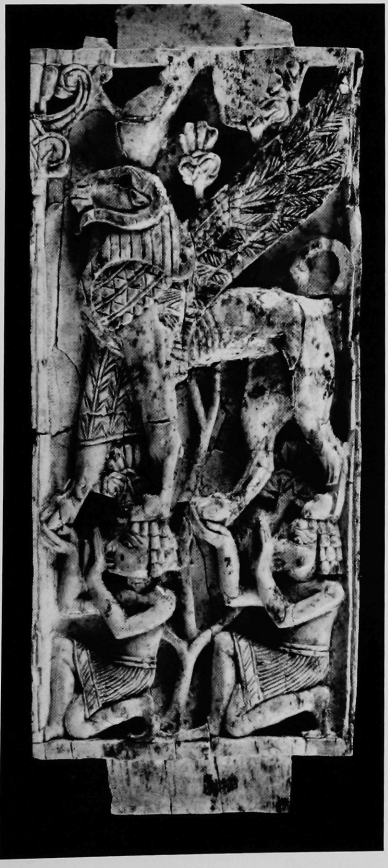
480. ND11101 (B). Champlevé, '*cloisonné*' ivory plaque, 13×4 cm. Female figure wearing Egyptian-style wig and bead collar, crowned with lunar disc. SW12, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

481 (*Above left*). ND11035 (B). Ivory plaque, 12·3×7·4 cm. Two Pharaoh-figures on either side of a sacred tree beneath winged disc and *uraei*. SW12, F.S. Scale c. 4/5

482 (*Above right*). ND1102 (B). Open-work ivory plaque, 11·1×8·7 cm. Pair of winged female figures wearing double crown with aegis of Bastet on flowering 'lily' tree between them. SW12, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

483 (*Below left*). ND12146 (B). Ivory plaque, 14·9×6·1 cm. Winged kriocephalic sphinx supported by two male figures. SW12, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

484 (*Below right*). ND11024 (Met. Mus. N.Y.) Ivory plaque, 10×6.3 cm. A variant of [483] and possibly from some workshop. SW12, F.S. Scale c. 4/5



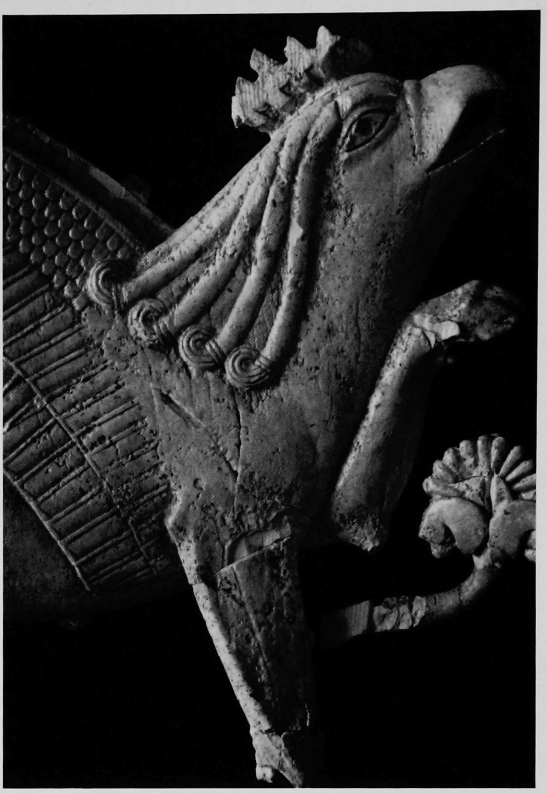
485 (*Left*). ND11036 (B). Open-work ivory plaque, 13×7·7 cm. Variant of 'St. George and the dragon' motif. Compare [558–9]. SW12, F.S. See p. 548. Scale c. 1/1

At the top of the plaque is a small 'box' containing a pseudo-hieroglyphic inscription. The reverse bears a fitters' mark. This is a variant of the 'St George and the dragon' motif: as a rule the griffin is slain with a sword, see ND7564 [558] and ND10471 [559] (p. 586).

ND11029 [486], a fragment of a large open-work plaque consisting of the head and forequarters of a winged griffin feeding on the flowers of a sacred tree. In the thickness of the left-hand edge of the plaque are two tenon slots for the attachment of the hind-quarters, which were carved from a separate piece of ivory. The slots are each pierced transversely by a dowel-hole; a fragment of an ivory dowel is still preserved.

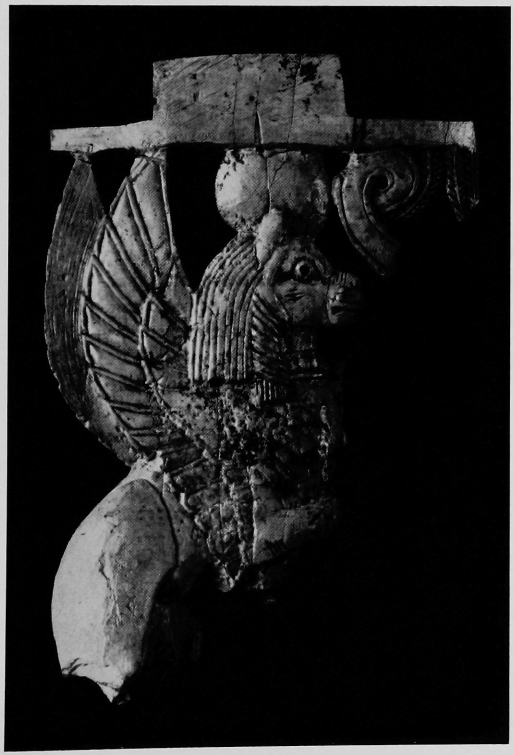
ND11085 [487], open-work plaque carved on both sides with a rampant winged feline-headed sphinx, facing a sacred tree. On the obverse is a *usekh*-collar about its neck, on the reverse a bead collar. Its chest is decorated with long upward-curling locks of hair. The treatment of the hair is a more elaborate version of that represented on the 'Bastet' lion ND11102 [482]; compare also [420]. Probably the last quarter of the 8th century B.C.

ND11039 [488], a male human mask. The features are plump and broad and are framed above by a single row of blue inlaid 'curls' or locks of a wig. Eyes and eyebrows were also incrusted with blue inlay, traces of which are still preserved. Fragments of closely comparable figures were discovered in rooms V and W of the N.W. Palace and were considered by Barnett to be in the Phoenician style, see *CNI* pl. vi, C39 and C41.



486 (*Right*). ND11029 (B). Fragment of open-work plaque, 15·3×11·4 cm. Winged griffin feeding on flowers of sacred tree (detail). SW12, F.S.

487 (*Below*). ND11085 (B). Open-work ivory plaque, 11×7·5 cm. Feline-headed sphinx crowned with sun-disc and wearing *usekh* collar, facing sacred tree. Variant of lion figure on [420]. SW12, F.S. Scale c. 1/1



488 (*Above*). ND11039 (B). Ivory mask of male head, 6×5·2 cm. SW12 F.S. Scale. c. 1/1

ND11103 [489], an Egyptian-style mask of a male head, sensitively carved. It originally carried inlay. The locks of the wig are composed of alternate rectangles of ivory and blue inlay. There is a large square tenon-socket in the centre of the back.

ND11104 [490], plaque carved in relief depicting a standing female figure clad in a long, pleated, ankle-length garment with a decorated, fringed border and hem. She wears an Egyptian-style wig, surmounted by the emblem of the vulture goddess Nekhbet, and clasps the stalk of a 'lily' to her bosom. In front there is a two-handled amphora on a stand, and behind the head a small rectangle with pseudo-Egyptian hieroglyphs. This unusual figure comes close in style to the set of seated females represented on plaques discovered in room SW7, but the hair and ears are more summarily treated on this figure, which however was probably contemporary with the others—latter half of the 8th century B.C. Compare ND7928 [399] (p. 500); ND6369 [403] (p. 500); ND7909 [401] (p. 500); and ND6370 [404] (p. 502).

ND11009 [491], carved in relief with a seated 'Egyptian' crowned Pharaoh figure, barefoot, clothed in a long, pleated, ankle-length garment with a fringe-decorated hem and sleeves. In his left hand he carries a *wedjat* eye, which he salutes with his right hand. A cushion of cloth hangs over the back of the throne. The plaque is a variant of a set of relatively small panels from SW7, compare especially the enthroned male figure, ND6352 [408] (p. 504).

ND11027 [492], plaque, carved in relief, depicts a sacred tree with elaborate interleaved branches terminating in papyrus flowers and pomegranates; the stems are bound together by a tie, so that the tree appears to rise out of a pillared table. The subject represented on this plaque is closely related to that depicted on a set of ivories in relief found at Khorsabad, which were probably expressly designed for Sargon's palace in the last quarter of the 8th century B.C., see *OIP* XL, pl. 55, nos. 60–3. Compare also the open-work variant of the same subject, ND7668 [505], ND7671 [411] (pp. 562, 506).

Other Ivories from Fort Shalmaneser. Classification by Subject and Style

The ivories which we have discussed in the preceding pages were found for the most part in seven rooms: NE2, NW15, NW21, SW2, SW7, SW11–12, and SW37. The collections from the first five of these rooms resolved themselves into homogeneous groups. Since many of these pieces had once belonged together as component parts in suites of royal furniture it is understandable that they were concentrated and when there was evidence of close similarity in style we were able to conclude that they were made at approximately the same date. We may be justified in making similar deductions for a selection of ivories found in other rooms within the fortress, especially SW12 and 37, which are adjacent to one another and contained many small panels in an Egyptianizing style. But the large numbers of ivories found in SW11–12 and the enormous collection of fragments in SW37 may, after detailed examination, be found to represent the salvaged remains of more than one period, and until the work of reconstituting them is completed we cannot give a final answer to the problems concerning their dates.

In some places we have evidence of secondary debris thrown back as fill from several chambers after the final sack. This in fact seems to have been the case

489 (*Above*). ND11103. Ivory mask, 8·5×9 cm., of Egyptian-style male head. SW12, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

490 (*Right*). ND11104. Ivory plaque, 17×6·5 cm. Female figure in Egyptian-style wig, surmounted by emblem of vulture goddess. At top of plaque, small rectangle with pseudo-Egyptian hieroglyphs. SW12, F.S. Slightly enlarged

491 (*Below left*). ND11009 (B). Ivory plaque, 7·8×5·9 cm. Enthroned Pharaoh-figure carrying *wedjat* eye in left hand. Compare with [408]. SW12, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

492 (*Below right*). ND11027 (B). Ivory plaque, 8×6·6 cm. Sacred tree; see also [411], [505]. SW12, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

with the large collection of burnt and mutilated fragments piled high within the four walls of the long store-chamber S10. Here, as we have seen in the previous chapter, we have the remains of a great bonfire which was probably fed with ivories collected from several rooms. Amongst them there were many panels or fragments of panels, identical in style and doubtless contemporary: men associated with the magical tree; the 'lady at the window'; cow suckling calf; processions of stags in relief. Elsewhere in the Residency the scattering of the ivories at different levels makes it even more difficult to determine whether their actual find-place may be related to the chamber in which they were originally housed; although some sets of panels—for example the open-work floral plaques found in S5, the lesser throne-room—were probably once associated with the throne itself. In our survey of this rich material, it is therefore also helpful to classify some varieties of ivories from the fortress iconographically. A few examples, unique or rare, have to be dated on grounds of stylistic development, but the remainder can be, as we shall see, related to the groups of dated ivories discussed in the first part of this chapter. In one instance, room SW37, we have already described some of the ivories as related by their association in groups; others from the same room we shall describe below according to subject and style.

'*Cloisonné*' *or Champlevé with Incrustation.* Outstanding in this group is the magnificent open-work ivory ND8068 [**493**] found in room X3 on the west side of the Residency abutting on the north-west side of S33 in debris above the floor. This represents a winged youth with golden hair holding a papyrus plant in his left hand; the right hand, doubtless raised in salutation, is missing. Between the wings a 'Horus' hawk is perched on a lotus; there are two stylized palmettes in the background. The torso and arms are bare, the dress consists of a short loin-cloth with fringed, incrusted border, and an open skirt represented by an incrusted hem in front of the right leg.[139] Traces of gold remain on the hair and on the raised borders of the '*cloisons*', and many traces of 'Egyptian blue'[140] have survived within the '*cloisons*'. Touches of gold remain in the necklace and of blue in the drop pendants of the collar. This piece was unburnt and retains its beautiful ivory sheen. A fragment of cornice over the head is all that has survived of the framework which must once have enclosed a large composition. It is possible that in its original setting this figure was confronted by a second youth facing him in the opposite direction, and that something else stood between the two, but a similar figure in miniature, ND8001 [**495**] stands solitary and faces a plant against the margin of a panel. The original appearance of the composition is therefore doubtful, but if there were two figures it is possible that the boy Horus was represented between them, sitting on a lotus, as on an ivory fragment now in the British Museum, discovered by Layard in the N.W. Palace.[141] On ivories from Arslan-Tash and Samaria we see, as Dr Barnett has observed: 'the infant Horus . . . on a lotus flower between two winged figures of varying sex.'[142] The comparable figures found elsewhere however are in the plain relief style; they are much smaller and differ in detail in many respects; nowhere is the hawk associated with them.

A fragment of a second figure, ND7602 [**494**], in poor condition, was found in room SW37, embedded in fallen mud brick, sub-surface soil. This supplies

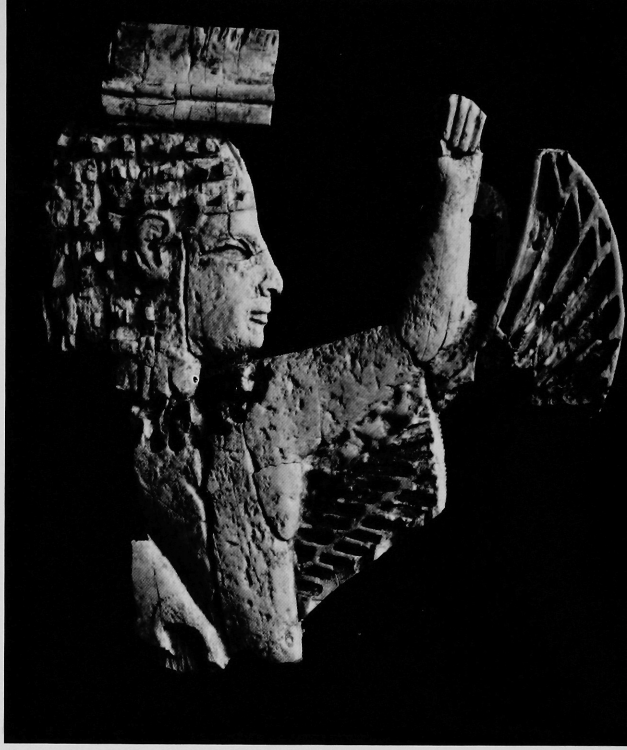
493. ND8068 (B). Open-work, '*cloisonné*', ivory panel, 25·7×9 cm. Winged youth holding papyrus plant; between his wings is a 'Horus' hawk on a lotus flower. Room X3, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

us with the pose of the missing right forearm and hand of the larger figure. It suggests that there were other similar panels, for the carving of the face and lack of the long pencilled eyebrow leads one to conclude that even if it was one of a pair it did not stand opposite ND8068 [493].

Whether the whole composition was once interpreted as having a definite mythological interpretation is doubtful, though as Dr Barnett has indicated, Philo provides us with a clue to the Phoenician origins of the plaques on which the infant appears between winged figures.[143] It is reasonable to infer, in accordance with an older Egyptian iconography, that the scene was symbolic of protection at the birth of the young king who was guarded by his winged angels. However that may be, we are here confronted by yet another polychrome jewel which combines intricacy of craftsmanship with elegance; the rich tone of the ivory finds a perfect setting against the heavier background of the '*cloisons*'. An echo of the impression made by these chryselephantine carvings in antiquity is surely retained in the Song of Solomon, v. 10: 'My beloved is all radiant . . . his head is the finest gold . . . his locks are wavy . . . his arms are rounded gold, set with jewels. His body is ivory-work, incrusted with lapis lazuli.'

As regards the date of this plaque there is nothing to warrant the suggestion that it may be far removed in time from any other of the ivories previously discussed, as we have already seen when describing the '*cloisonné*' goddess on the ivory panel ND7580 [413] (see p. 508–9). Nevertheless this ivory presents us with a chronological problem when we compare it with the beautiful '*cloisonné*' goddesses on a plaque from Samaria;[144] the similarity in the construction and detail of the wings is remarkable and might lead us to conclude that the two pieces were made contemporarily. Since there was some evidence for believing that the Samaria ivories were associated with Ahab, a contemporary of Shalmaneser III, it might be thought that others like it were made in the 9th rather than in the 8th century. This problem is not easily resolved, and although it must be admitted that the evidence for attributing the Samarian carvings to Ahab is not decisive, we are reluctant to abandon this attractive suggestion. On balance, however, I am inclined to believe that the winged youth at Nimrud, with its fluency of line and soft modelling, is more characteristic of the less rigid, mobile style of the late 8th century and that the resemblance to the iconography of Arslan-Tash figures, some of which are also probably of the 8th century, may be accepted as weighing against a 9th century date. The tendency to execute relatively large figures may also have been a development of the 8th rather than the 9th century, which excelled in miniatures. If this conclusion is correct, we must admit that there was no change in the '*cloisonné*', champlevé technique and that some subjects remained constant for at least a century; but in comparing the Nimrud and Samarian ivories we can always observe some variations. We may therefore have to depend on minute and unobtrusive details as criteria in helping us to date ivories in the absence of more precise stratigraphic evidence; (see also p. 568).

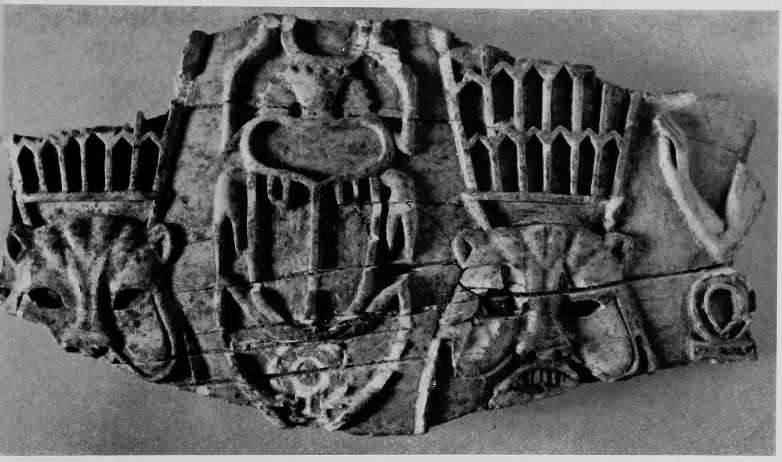
In this connection we may also compare the small winged figure in relief on a panel, ND8001 [495] found in SW37, whereon subject and pose are closely comparable. This figure carries in its upraised left hand a flower, and it is possible that originally both '*cloisonné*' figures likewise grasped one; the right hand tugs at a 'lily' just below the flower exactly in the manner of the com-



494 (*Right*). ND7602. '*Cloisonné*' ivory panel, height 12·2 cm. Winged youth, compare [493]. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

495 (*Opposite page*). ND8001 (Sydney). Ivory plaque with tapering sides, 8·3×4·4 cm. Top register: lotus flower. Bottom register: winged boy who reconstitutes in detail the original appearance of [494]. Bird on lotus flower as in [493]. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

496 (*Below*). ND7568. Ivory plaque, 13·4×7 cm. Egyptian-style lions' heads with '*cloisonné*' crowns. Cartouche, *ankh* and remains of human forearm. SE9, F.S. See p. 558. Scale c. 1/1



497 (*Right*). ND7691 (B). Fragment of lion oliphant, height 6·4 cm. '*Cloisonné*' mane. SW37, F.S. See p. 558. Scale c. 1/1

parable Arslan-Tash figures who, however, differ from the Nimrud youths in that they wear the Egyptian double crown. Traces of the bird perched on a flower between the wings are just visible and reproduce the iconography of [493].

The winged boy and the goddess with which we have compared it are outstanding examples of the '*cloisonné*' technique which, however, was by no means uncommonly employed to depict head-dresses and crown, wings, birds, jewellery, or even a lion's mane. ND8040 [69] from SW37 is of particular interest because it is comparable with Sargon's (?) large winged sphinx, ND2244, and with the smaller one, ND2244a [68] found in the N.W. Palace, well NN, encased in the mud that overlay the magnificent horse's cheek-piece. The drop pendants on the collar of this sphinx, ND8040, are identical in shape with those worn by the winged boy.

Associated with lions' heads are the prominent '*cloisons*' on the Egyptian-style plaque with cartouche, ND7568 [496], from room SE9. This beautifully carved fragment, which also contains traces of an *ankh*, is a good example of an apparently Egyptian piece which in fact has no direct Egyptian prototype. '*Cloisonné*' was also used to depict a lion's mane as in ND7691 [497] from SW37, a fragment of a lion oliphant, otherwise depicting the beast in a style common to Syria and Assyria. '*Cloisonné*' is also put to full advantage in the ivory bird ND6448 [498] from SW37.

Lastly in this series the same technique is used for the crown and pectoral in the remarkable female head of burnt ivory ND7561 [499] found in the fill of SE1, the suite of the *rab-ekalli*. The original setting of this unique piece is uncertain: the back of the head is plain and has a large rectangular dowel-hole cut into it for attachment; below the pectoral the ivory is smooth and convex and it would therefore appear that the head was never attached to a body, and that in this respect it is comparable with the celebrated 'Mona Lisa'. The elaborate twists of hair which fall down on to the shoulders are in the style of some of the smaller heads from the Burnt Palace. The unnaturally large ears (comparable with ND9400 [449]), and the incised style of eyes, heavy nose and mouth, have something in common with a style of carving which Frankfort believed to be archaic[145] and reminds us of the head of the Ugly Sister, ND2549 [73] from the well NN in the N.W. Palace. The evidence is less compulsive for relating this head to any of the rather crude sculpture and ivories from Tell Halaf to which some authorities are disposed to assign a date in the last quarter of the 9th century B.C.[146] (see also ND9400 [449]). But pectoral and hair-style were similarly represented in Sargon's reign a century later.[147] Similarly for the crown, to which there is no exact parallel, the closest analogy is the flat-topped helmet worn by an enemy of Tiglath-pileser III, a horseman depicted on a relief in the British Museum.[148]

Reviewing the '*cloisonné*' or champlevé style as a whole, it is evident that the technique must have owed its origin to Egypt where it had long been practised; and on the ivories at Nimrud it was often applied to subjects with quasi-Egyptian motifs. But the technique was, as we have seen, also applied to carvings which have no traces of Egyptian influence—a lion, a female head—and it is therefore clear that the '*cloisonné*' technique in itself is no criterion of a date different from that of the ordinary relief styles. It seems that this technique was

498 (*Opposite page*). ND6488 (Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery) '*Cloisonné*' ivory bird, height 9 cm. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

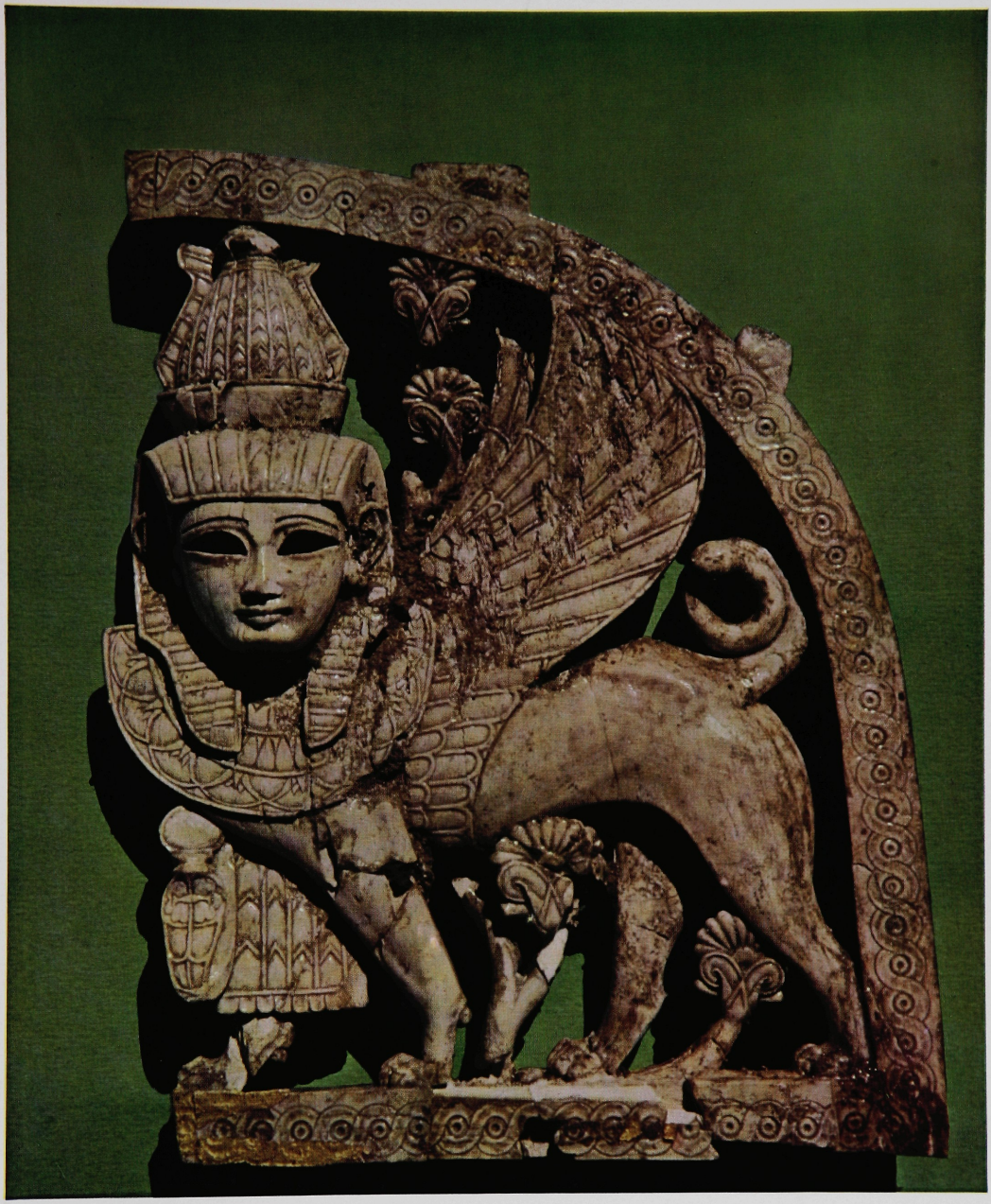
499. ND7561 (B). Burnt ivory female head, height 12 cm., front view *above*, and profile *left*. '*Cloisonné*' high crown and pectoral. Features comparable with 'Ugly Sister' [73] and ND9400 [449]. SE1, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

already at home in Samaria in the 9th century, and it may be that it became more popular in Assyria in the latter half of the 8th century B.C., especially from the time of Tiglath-pileser III when direct contact with Egypt first occurred.

Incrustation. Apart from the use of incrustation within '*cloisons*', it occurs most frequently as filling for sunken designs, lotus, palmettes, volutes on ivory strip (which doubtless served for the framing and veneer of boxes), or as a margin for figured compositions. As a rule the 'Egyptian blue', apparently not strictly speaking a frit, was used for this purpose, and occasionally a red vitreous paste. The fact that many large lumps of 'Egyptian blue' were found in room SW6[149] warrants the inference that some of the ivories must have been repaired at Nimrud, and perhaps even made on the spot, possibly by foreign craftsmen from Syria, for Calah was from the time of its foundation a cosmopolitan centre; and the later 8th and 7th century tablets found in Fort Shalmaneser bear witness to close contact with north Syrian cities—even Egyptian names occur. The chemical compound known as 'Egyptian blue', commonly used for incrustation, was also found in bulky lumps as supplied by the manufacturers to the craftsmen, and it is probable that azurite was used as a base in the composition, for this substance is a by-product in practically all copper mines. The raw material probably came from the mountains of Kurdistan, not far away, where Layard a century ago explored a copper mine and observed copper ores scattered in abundance among the loose stones in a forest of oaks between Berwari and Asheetha. 'The copper runs in veins of bright blue; in small crystals, in compact masses, and in powder which I could scrape out of the cracks of the rocks with a knife. I recognized at once in the latter the material used to colour the bricks and ornaments in the Assyrian Palaces. . . . The mine had evidently been opened, and worked at a very remote period; . . . . In the Tiyari mountains, particularly in the heights above Lizan, and in the valley of Berwari, mines of iron, lead copper and other materials abound.'[150] There need therefore be little doubt about the origin of the raw material required for some of the chemical compounds found in Fort Shalmaneser and the facts must therefore lead to the conclusion that some of the incrustation was done on the spot, at Calah itself.

Ivories with stylized floral decorations illustrating this technique are: ND10654 [475], lotus and bud, from SW37 (see also p. 544); ND8002 [500], stylized volutes perhaps based on a palmette design from SW37; ND7790 [501], part of a ring with a festoon, lotus and bud very delicately rendered, incrusted with blue and red paste, from the same room; ND7741 [502], a flat strip possibly part of the framework of a bedstead, with attractively rendered lotus and bud design from SW7. Here the buds and outer petals of the flowers are of lapis lazuli, while stems, buds and inner petals are of green paste; the bedding for the decoration is of 'Egyptian blue'; technique and design can be closely matched at Samaria,[151] and there are similar plaques of stained ivory at Arslan-Tash.[152] Contrast with these the open-work floral panels, ND6347 [503], still bearing traces of bitumen adhesive for overlay, found in NW15 and in SW6; similar work occurs at Arslan-Tash.[153]

Open-work—'Ajouré' Style. Perhaps the most spectacular piece in the entire collection is the unique sphinx ND7559 [504] set within a lunette framework decorated with a guilloche pattern a part of which is still overlaid with gold; a



IX ND7559(B) Winged Sphinx. 19×15 cm. overall. From S30, F.S. See p. 560.

500 (*Above*). ND8002. Ivory strip, 18×3·8 cm., incrusted with 'Egyptian blue'. Stylized floral design. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

501 (*Above right*). ND7790 (AM). Ivory strip, diameter 5·7 cm., festoon of lotus flowers and buds, incrusted with blue and red paste. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

502. ND7741. (Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto). Ivory strip, 13·5×5·2 cm., lotus and bud design. Lapis lazuli and green paste incrustation bedded on 'Egyptian blue'. Compare [501]. SW7, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

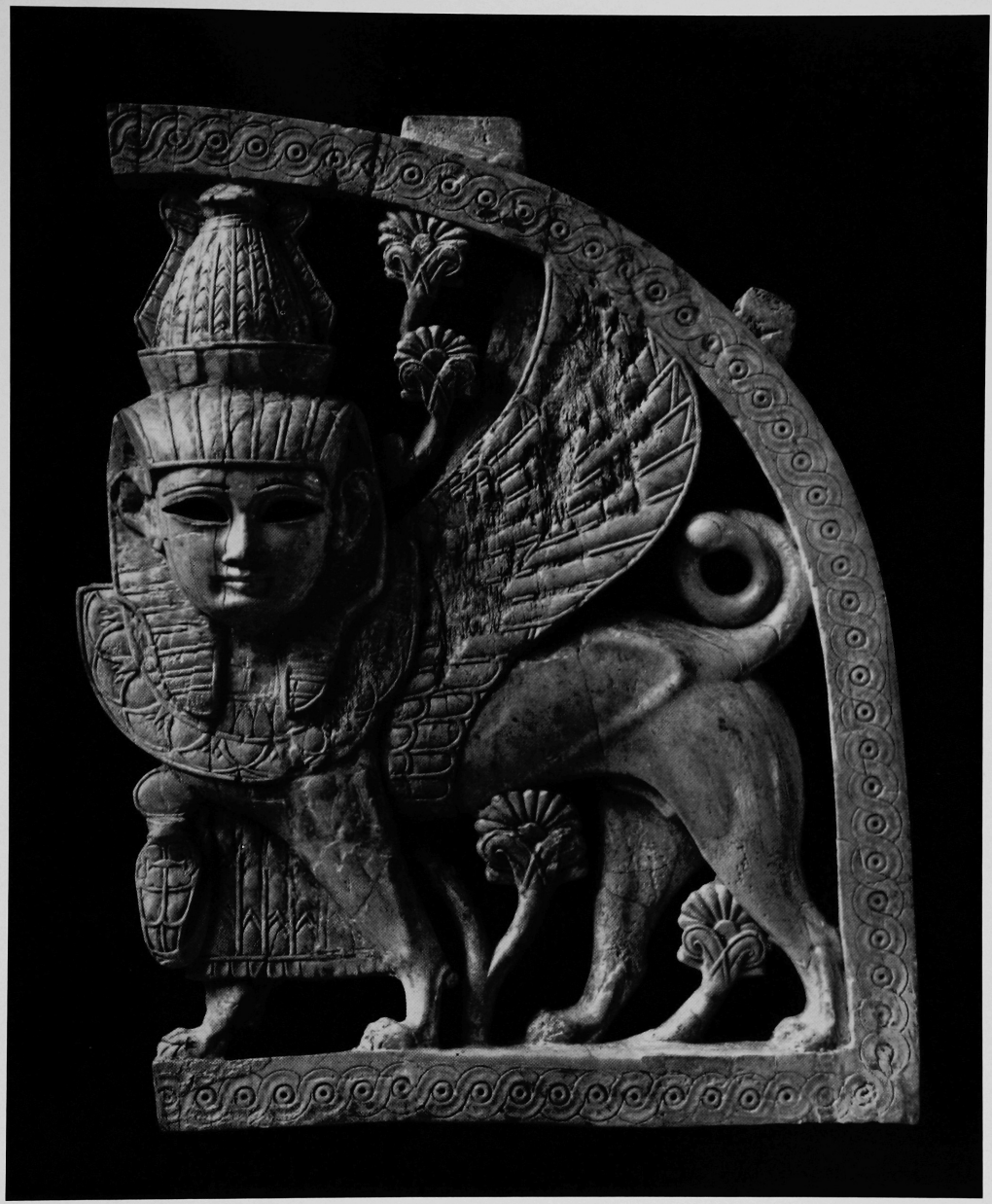
503. ND6347. Open-work ivory strip, 23×5 cm., stylized palms with drooping fronds. NW15, F.S. Scale c. 4/5

reddish stain beneath the gold leaf may represent traces of a colloid. The carving is in three-quarter relief up to 2 centimetres in thickness, with flat back; tenons project from the top of the frame, which was perhaps once affixed to the back of a throne. The figure consists of a winged sphinx with male head wearing the Pharaonic head-cloth, surmounted by the *atef* crown. Suspended from the neck is a pectoral with papyrus designs; Phoenician-style apron between the legs and attached to it an *uraeus* decorated with cruciform design and surmounted by the sun-disc. Plants above and below the body consist of voluted palmettes. Note the rendering of the sinews on the leonine body and the elaborately curled tail. The face is very skilfully carved, the cheeks broad and well-rounded, mouth full and chin carefully modelled; the sharp bony structure separating the nostrils is unusual. Large deep-set eyes and long pencilled eyebrows were originally decorated with incrustation; the disproportionately large ears are also in the tradition of the ivory carver.

Since this extraordinary ivory is unique we have no means of knowing how the remainder of the plaque was composed. But there may have been a second, similar sphinx in opposition to this one, and perhaps between the two of them some elaborate form of tree like the one which is represented between two opposed sphinxes on a pyxis discovered by Loftus in the Burnt Palace.[154] Even when projected the lunette is not likely to have measured more than 50 to 60 centimetres across; the carving betrays an admirable sense of proportion and for this reason we assume that it was affixed to the back of a throne or chair rather than to a bed. The ivory was found divorced from its original context, lying on the floor, just to the north of the east door of the great hall S30 within the Residency. Looters had evidently discarded it as without value for them once most of the gold had been shorn off it.

So magnificent a plaque would have been worthy of a royal setting, and while it is possible that it once belonged to some seat in either of the two great reception rooms S17 or S30, it is tempting to suggest that it may once have belonged to a throne which no doubt stood on a dais at the back of room S5, not far distant from S30 where this ivory was found. If so, we might associate with it a set of open-work floral plaques some of which were discovered in the lesser throne-room S5—ND7668 [**505**] and 7671 [**411**], and others in the adjacent room S4 of the same suite. These beautifully carved plaques, each approximately 7·5 centimetres square, were probably fitted to the rails on the side of a throne or a chair as is indicated by the projecting tenons above and below. The design consists of elaborately interlaced palmettes, lotus, and papyrus branches and flowers pendent from a stylized trunk, a triply bound voluted tree rising in tiers as if from a pedestal. A similar tree, probably of the same period, figures on an ivory fly-whisk found in the well NN of the N.W. Palace; (see ch. IX, p. 144 and [85]). The intricate forms of these floral designs appear on incised plaques from Khorsabad[155] which were probably ordered by Sargon himself; (see also ND11027 [**492**], and p. 552). It is possible that their open-work counterparts from Nimrud had once been associated with the royal lunette [**504**] on a single piece of furniture.

Reverting to the ivory sphinx, we can see, as in the case of so many of the ivories, that it is not purely Egyptian but quasi-Egyptian in style for there is no instance in Egypt itself of a similar sphinx wearing Pharaonic head-



504. ND7559 (B). Open-work ivory panel, 19×15 cm., set in a lunette framework 14 mm. wide. Sphinx in quasi-Egyptian style, wearing Pharaonic headcloth and *atef* crown, pectoral with papyrus design, Phoenician apron with pendent *uraeus* and sun-disc. Eyes and eyebrows originally incrusted. S30, F.S. See p. 560. Scale c. 1/1

cloth, crown and apron. The last-named garment with *uraeus* pendent is generally described as Phoenician, and from some such workshop it may have come. But it is worth observing that the broad features of the countenance, setting of eyes, nose, and mouth, have something in common with that of the north Syrian sphinx on the column base at the gate of Sakcha Gözü which may be dated c.730 B.C as we have elsewhere seen, together with other contemporary neo-Assyrian carvings: the stone sphinxes at the gates of Zinjirli are in a similar style.[156] Difficult as it is to compare ivory-carving with stone[157] I believe that in this case the comparison does reflect some common and approximately contemporary artistic concept. The Nimrud lunette may perhaps have been the equivalent of an Assyrian protective *lamassu*, but imported from the west, a proper ornament for the throne. I am inclined to risk a guess that here we see a semi-divine image of Sargon himself, or possibly of Tiglath-pileser III. It was Sargon who was the first Assyrian monarch to represent a *lamassu* with head full-face and body in profile,[158] and the closest analogies for this carving are to be found at Arslan-Tash[159] where, as we have argued, there are strong grounds for attributing the *objets d'art* to the latter half of the 8th century. The rounded modelling conforms with the style of this period, treatment of the eyes can be matched on a man-headed bull of Tiglath-pileser III.[160] There is no warrant for a date later than the 8th century, however much we may be tempted to ascribe this figure to Esarhaddon who at the time of his death was making extensive renovations to the fabric of Fort Shalmaneser, and claimed to have filled it with luxuries.

Three other sets of open-work ivories show the strong influence of Syrian and Phoenician styles. ND7616 [**506**] from SW37 is a winged sphinx with Phoenician apron; it wears Pharaonic head-dress, surmounted by double Egyptian crown, and confronts the voluted palmette tree. This piece is comparable with two examples of open-work from Arslan-Tash, even to the palmette fixed to the middle of the wing[161] and, if not from that *atelier*, comes from one in close touch with it. ND9465 [**507**] from SW37 (now in the Musées Royaux, Brussels), depicts a winged griffin with triple locks of hair and triple crest reminiscent of the hero shown in ND10696 [**456**]. ND7603 [**508**], a voluted tree with papyrus plants and fitters' marks on the lower tenon, is also typical of this style and was found in the same room SW37.

Finally we may note the open-work strips of ivory of which many specimens were found in SW6, ND6347 [**503**]: they are of particular interest because well matched both at Arslan-Tash[162] and at Samaria[163] where they are described as palms with drooping fronds. Proportions and details of these Syrian and Palestinian specimens do however differ from those found at Nimrud, and the Samarian examples may be older. It seems likely that the squatter Nimrud variety was locally carved; many specimens of lengthy strips were found and they were no doubt a standard form of local fretwork commonly used as frames for larger scenes; for example ND6345, guilloche strips with rosettes 2·8 centimetres long and 1·9 centimetres wide—reconstructed with a lion, in ND6350 [**421**].

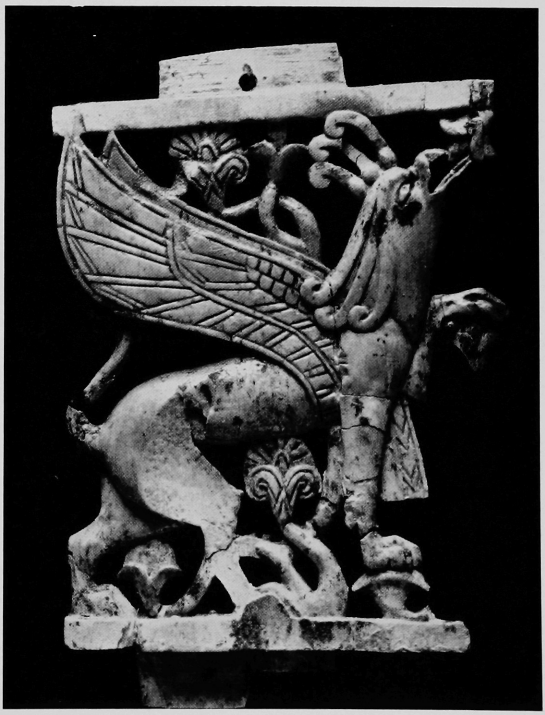
Quasi-Egyptian Strip, Relief Style. Comparisons with Samaria. Four ivories which at first sight are singularly Egyptian in appearance may be assigned to this

505 (*Above left*). ND7668 (Met. Mus. N.Y.). Open-work ivory plaque, 7·5 cm. square. Floral design. S5, F.S. See p. 562. Scale c. 1/1

506 (*Above right*). ND7616 (B). Open-work ivory plaque, 10·5×9·7 cm. Sphinx, wearing Pharaonic headcloth and double crown and Phoenician apron, confronting palmette tree. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

507 (*Below right*). ND9465 (Musées Royaux, Bruxelles). Open-work ivory plaque, 10·8×7·4 cm. Winged griffin browsing on lotus. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

508 (*Below left*). ND7603 (Met. Mus. N.Y.). Open-work ivory plaque, height 10 cm. Voluted tree with papyrus plants. SW37, F.S. Slightly enlarged



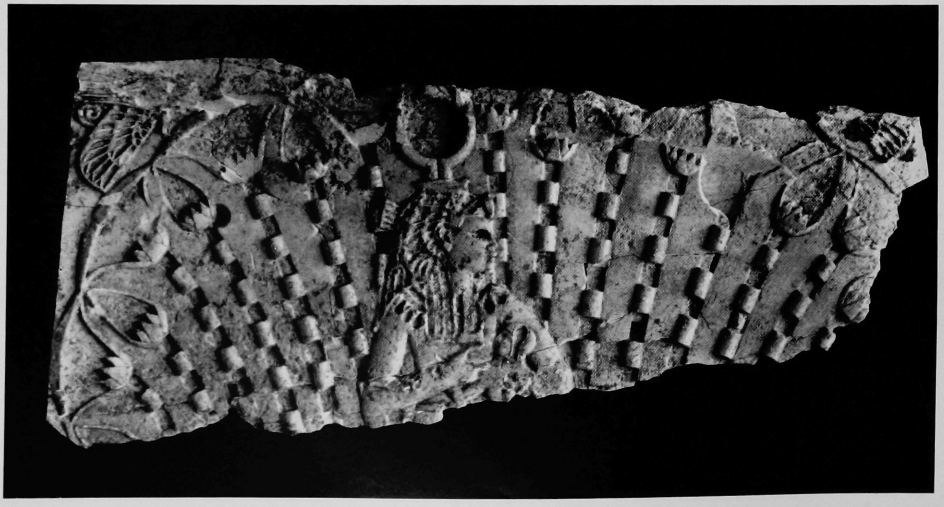
special category, but their deviations from normal Egyptian standards indicate that they were probably made outside Egypt, if not at some yet undiscovered site in the Delta. Two of them are of peculiar interest because they repeat a scene depicted on an ivory strip in the same style at Samaria; a third because certain details are reminiscent of a panel found in the bedchamber SW7.

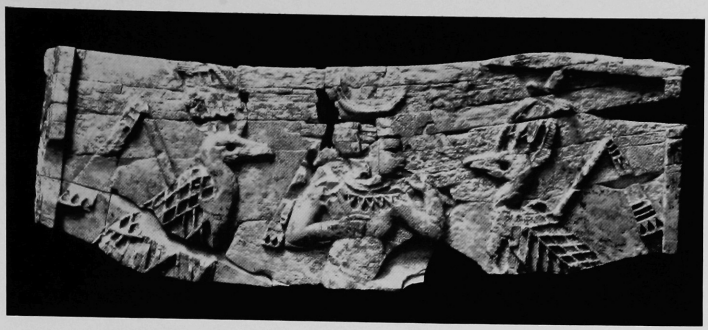
ND8065 [**509**] from SW37 depicts in high relief the little figure of Khons, or Harpocrates, emerging from a lotus flower and carrying a *flabellum*. On either side are two vultures with *atef* crowns. The *flabellum* behind them would be a solecism in Egyptian art. This is partly '*cloisonné*' work infilled with the blue which incrusted each *flabellum*, the wings of the birds and the collar on the figure of Khons. The birds should be compared with those seated beneath the throne of the bearded figure ND7908 [**400**] (see p. 500), though the latter have no crowns: this, therefore, is another example of the interplay of similar motifs on ivories devoted to entirely different subjects. The subject compares fairly closely with those on two Egyptian bracelets in the British Museum incrusted with gold and lapis lazuli, depicting Harpocrates, contemporary with Piankhy-Nimrod, c.751–730 B.C.[164]

ND7658 [**510**], from SE13, depicts two kneeling, hawk-headed figures confronting one another, each of them grasping a notched palm branch in either hand: in Egypt these would be symbolic of eternity. The figures themselves were doubtless intended to represent the god Rē-Harakhte: a plaque in the British Museum (38183), almost certainly of the XXVth Dynasty (751–656 B.C.), comes very near in style to this one which is also comparable with an ivory plaque from Samaria whereon, however, one of the figures carried the image of Maat.[165]

ND7683 [**511**], from room SW37, in a similar champlevé style, depicts a seated figure wearing the royal head-dress surmounted by the divine sun-disc, a combination which would be a solecism in Egyptian art. In either hand is the ribbed palm branch signifying longevity; *ankh* symbols are pendent from the top of the branch. Here the similarity to a strip plaque from Samaria is again very striking in spite of some divergence in detail.[166]

513. ND9475 (B). Ivory plaque, 7·2 × 15·7 cm. Isis suckling Harpocrates in a field of papyrus flowers and buds flanked by *wedjat* eyes. SW37, F.S. See p. 568. Scale c. 1/1

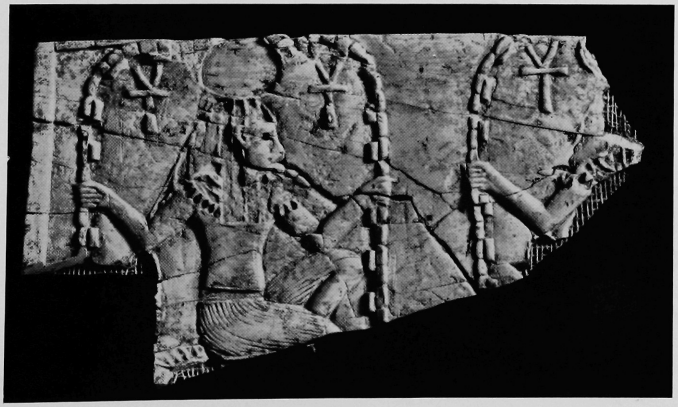


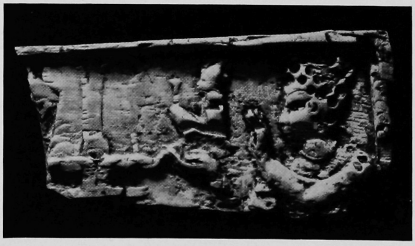


509 (*Left*). ND8065 (Met. Mus. N.Y.). Ivory plaque, 11·7×4·8 cm. Khons or Harpocrates on lotus flower, carrying *flabellum*. Vultures with *atef* crowns on either side. SW37, F.S.
Scale c. 1/1

510 (*Above*). ND7658. Ivory plaque, 14·5×5·6 cm. Two kneeling, hawk-headed figures grasping notched palm branch. They probably represent Re-Harakhte. SE13, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

511 (*Below left*). ND7683. Ivory panel, length 11 cm. Seated figure wearing Egyptian royal headdress and holding ribbed palm-branch with pendent *ankh* symbols in either hand. SW37, F.S.
Scale c. 1/1





512 (*Above*). ND8059. Ivory strip, 6·8×3·3 cm. Youth wearing '*cloisonné*' crown and offering a little figure of Amun or Osiris. SW37, F.S. See p. 568.
Scale c. 1/1

The two Samaria plaques with which those from Nimrud have been compared were executed with much finesse, and the features even more finely delineated. It has yet to be decided whether the Palestinian examples are as much as a century older than the ones from Calah, many of which, as we have demonstrated, could have been executed c.730 B.C. The Samaria ivories, which many authorities have ascribed to the 9th century B.C., appear for the most part to have been found in debris attributable to the sack of the city in 721 B.C. They must therefore have been made before that date; how long before we do not know, but it is well within the bounds of possibility that they reflect the prosperity of the early 8th century B.C. H. Frankfort has rightly observed that the resemblance of these Samaria ivories to those of Nimrud, Khorsabad and Arslan-Tash—mostly perhaps of the mid-8th century B.C.—is far too close to warrant acceptance of a difference in time amounting to as much as a century, without further proof.[167] See also the discussion of the date of the Samaria ivories on p. 556 above: recent evidence has tended to strengthen the case for attributing a 9th century date to this particular class of ivory at Samaria itself.

ND8059[512] from SW37, a fragment, much damaged, belongs to the same series and is again a travesty of an Egyptian subject. Here we have the figure of a young man wearing a '*cloisonné*' crown. In his right hand he offers a little figure of Amun or Osiris with the wrong ostrich plumes! Translated back into the Egyptian iconography he should be carrying Maat.

ND9475[513] from SW37 depicts Isis suckling Harpocrates against a background of papyrus plants[168] flanked by *wedjat* eyes. A single piece of green glass inlay remains in the stalk of one of the papyrus flowers. The fan-shaped design is beautifully contrived. In technique it is identical with ND9412[514] which shows a cow of Egyptian Hathor type suckling a kneeling calf in a papyrus field.

Opposite page

514 (*Top left*). ND9412 (B). Ivory pyxis, 5·6×6·7 cm. Cow of Hathor type suckling calf among papyrus thickets. Papyrus stems inlaid with blue and green glass; tips of plants '*cloisonné*' SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

515 (*Top right*). ND10509 (B). Ivory panel, 8·2×6·9 cm. Hathor or Isis suckling a prince against background of lilies or papyrus. SW37, F.S. See p. 570. Scale c. 1/1

516 (*Centre left*). ND9354 (B). Ivory plaque, 5·3×3·6 cm. Hawk-headed griffin crowned with sun-disc, forepaws resting on papyrus flower. SW37, F.S. See p. 570. Slightly enlarged

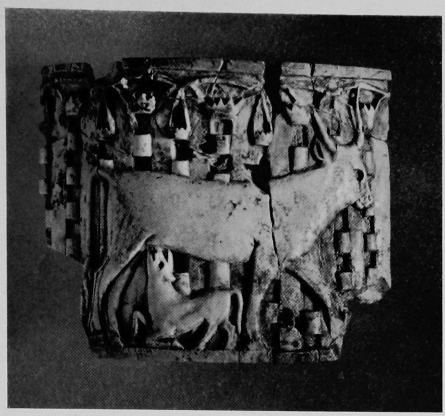
517 (*Centre right*). ND9372 (B). Ivory plaque, 5·7×4·3 cm. Above, winged griffin and papyrus plants, partly similar to [516]. Below, voluted palmette and lotus frieze. SW37, F.S. See p. 570. Scale c. 1/1

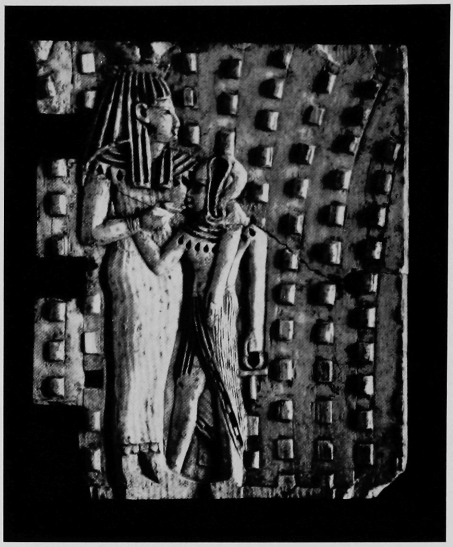
518 (*Bottom left*). ND9485. Ivory plaque, 10·7×3·9 cm. Figure wearing Egyptian double crown and grasping Khnum sceptre. SW37, F.S. See p. 570. Scale c. 1/1

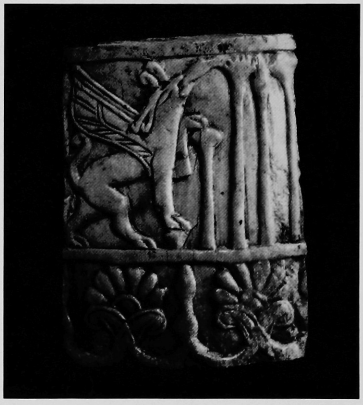
519 (*Bottom right*). ND9357. Ivory plaque, height 6 cm., maximum width 6·2 cm. Winged sphinx wearing attenuated double crown and Phoenician skirt. SW37, F.S. See p. 570. Scale c. 1/1

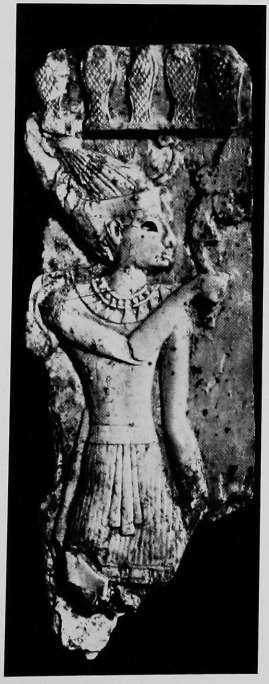
Left

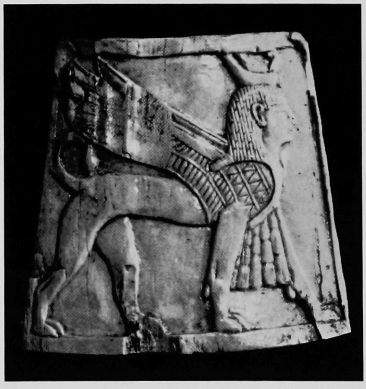
520. ND10470. Ivory *uraeus*, 6·2×1·7 cm. Crowned with horns and solar disc. NW19, F.S. See p. 570. Scale c. 1/1











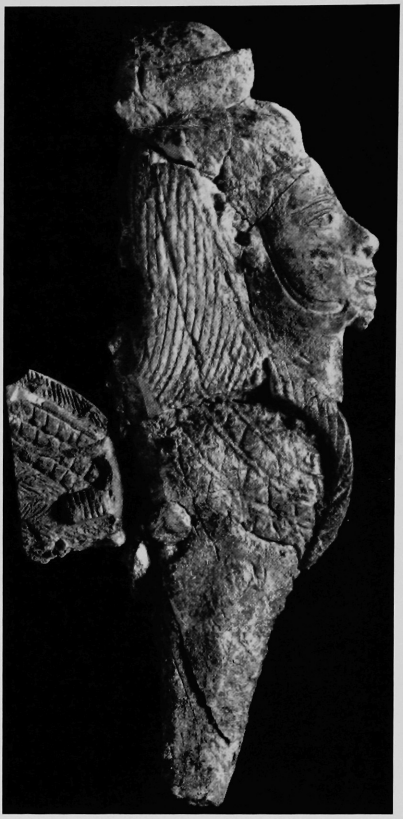
The papyrus stems are inlaid with a blue and green glass which alternates with ivory. The tips of the plants were '*cloisonné*'. The smooth finish of this work may indicate a date in the last quarter of the 8th century B.C.. Also identical in technique is ND10509 [515], a panel carved with a representation of the Egyptian goddess Hathor or Isis, who is suckling an adolescent Egyptian prince against a background of lilies or papyrus the stems of which are identical in form with representations of ribbed palm branches. The goddess is crowned with horns and wears a long close-fitting dress with a fringed hem and an Egyptian-style head-dress. The head of the young prince is shaven and has the Egyptian side-lock denoting adolescence; in his left hand he holds an *ankh*. All the above-mentioned plaques are of champlevé work. The same subject, with some differences in details of treatment, is represented on a gilded silver amulet which was discovered in the tomb of Piankhy's queen at El Kurru,[169] in the latter half of the 8th century B.C. ND9354[516] is a plaque depicting a hawk-headed griffin crowned with sun-disc; the forepaws rest on a papyrus flower; the posture is closely comparable to that represented on ND9372[517], where a crested, winged griffin is shown in front of papyrus. Both plaques are from SW37.

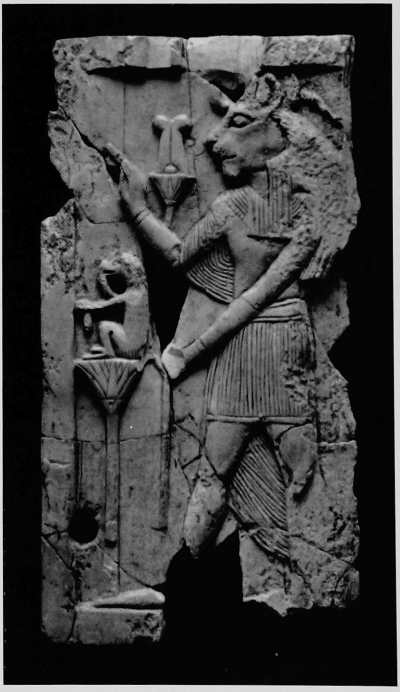
ND9485 [518], a plaque from SW37 carved with a male figure wearing an ornate collar and kilt, the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt and carrying the *Khnum* sceptre in the right hand. On the top edge of the plaque is a continuous border of *uraei*.

ND9357 [519], from SW37, depicts a winged sphinx wearing the attenuated double crown and Phoenician skirt.

ND10470 [520], from NW19, is an ivory *uraeus* crowned with horns and solar disc. Ivory *uraei* in the round were found at Samaria, see *Samaria-Sebaste* 2, pl. xxii, no. 2.

Quasi-Egyptian Style—Scenes Comparable with Ivories from Arslan-Tash and the N.W.Palace. ND10706 [521], a plaque from SW37, depicts falcon-headed sphinxes wearing the solar disc and *usekh* collar, trampling on fallen Asiatics. The drawing of the sphinx's body and wings recalls that of the ram-headed





521 (*Opposite page*). ND10706. Ivory plaque, 8·2×19·2 cm. Two falcon-headed sphinxes wearing solar disc and *usekh* collar trample on fallen Asiatics. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

522 (*Above*). ND7986 (Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery). Ivory plaque, 13·5×8·3 cm. Ram-headed sphinx wearing double crown and Phoenician apron. SW37, F.S. See p. 572. Scale c. 1/1

523 (*Above right*). ND6329. Ivory plaque, height about 13·8 cm. Human-headed sphinx wearing double crown and headcloth. SW12, F.S. See p. 572. Scale c. 1/1

524 (*Right*). ND10534. Ivory plaque, height 10·5 cm. Lion-headed male figure, perhaps Mios, holding lotus sceptre surmounted by *atef* feathers. In front of him, a monkey sitting on a lotus flower, eating dates. SW37, F.S. See p. 572. Scale c. 1/1

Arslan-Tash figures,[170] and the prostrate men, perhaps Beduin, are reminiscent of the famous chryselephantine lioness plaque from the N.W. Palace. Doubtless the iconography is based on Egyptian renderings of the triumph of the Pharaoh over his enemies.[171]

ND7986 [522], from SW37, depicts a ram-headed (kriocephalic) sphinx which strikingly resembles examples in the Arslan-Tash series, though here we have the high *pschent* crown instead of the attenuated low double crown depicted there. Some differences in detail may be noted and this is relief and not open-work. The rendering of the Phoenician apron is identical.

ND6329 [523], from SW12, a room adjacent to SW37, is another beautifully carved human-headed sphinx so close in its resemblance to ivories in the Arslan-Tash[172] series that it could well have been made in the same workshop. Note the trace of a beard, the greater part of which is missing, the double crown and elaborate head-cloth.

ND10534 [524], from SW37. An ivory plaque. The scene is unusual. A lion-headed Egyptian god with sun-disc and *uraeus*, perhaps Mios, carries a lotus sceptre surmounted by ostrich feathers; in front of him is a lotus flower upon which sits a long-tailed monkey holding a bunch of dates in one hand, and eating out of the other. Note the dowel-hole in the lower left-hand corner of the plaque.

ND9436 [525], from SW37. This ivory plaque represents a human-headed winged sphinx in high relief; the carving is of a fine quality. His left foreleg rests on the branch of a palmette, the left paw is upraised against a voluted tree. The sphinx wears a decorated conical cap terminating in a large knob and two plumes spring from either side of it. This rare form of quartered cap[173] with knobbed top is comparable with that represented on the ivory ND5276[260], found in Ezida. Note also the two locks of hair hanging down on either side of the head, and the '*cloisonné*' wings. One tenon remains, inscribed with fitters' mark.

ND6330 [526], from SW12. This plaque, finely carved on the concave side, depicts two winged griffins back to back on the topmost branch of a voluted tree; each has a forepaw raised over a papyrus flower, and is surmounted by a sun-disc with *uraei*; there are traces of palmettes and volutes below the tree. A special interest attaches to this plaque because, in spite of differences, it closely resembles a celebrated ivory discovered by Layard in Room X, domestic wing of the N.W. Palace.[174] That group of ivories, as we have seen, was part of Sargon's treasure, perhaps captured by him from north Syria. Our comparable ivory (one of several similar fragments from Fort Shalmaneser) must therefore be regarded as a link in the chain of evidence for relating different collections: Fort Shalmaneser group; N.W. Palace domestic wing group; Arslan-Tash group. This evidence may indicate a date in the latter half of the 8th century B.C. for some of these ivories; but no doubt some ivories collected by Sargon were already antiquities in his time.

ND10409 [527] from SW37 is a plaque depicting a scene similar to the one represented on [526] but with greater elaboration, particularly in the representation of '*cloisonné*' and incrusted lotus, papyrus and palmette designs. The papyri recall those depicted on the chryselephantine plaques found in the well NN of the N.W. Palace [81–2]; note the Egyptianizing ribbed stems. It is possible that the smooth finish and more numerous '*cloisons*' indicate that

525. ND9436. Ivory plaque, 10·7×7·5 cm. Human-headed winged sphinx, Note the type of quartered knobbed cap comparable with [261]. SW37, F.S.
Scale c. 1/1

526 (*Above left*). ND6330 (B). Ivory plaque, 8·7×8·2 cm. Two winged griffins on a voluted tree; they are surmounted by sun-disc with *uraeus*. Wings originally incrusted in blue. SW12, F.S.
Scale c. 4/5

527 (*Above right*). ND10409. Ivory plaque, 10·6×12 cm. More elaborate version of [526]. SW37, F.S.
Scale c. 4/5

530

this carving was executed slightly later than the simpler ivory [526], in the latter half of the 8th century B.C. But this was a popular subject and there were no doubt many variations on the main theme.

ND7585 [528], from corridor E at the southern end of the Residency, Fort Shalmaneser, is a finely carved fragment bearing a motif familiarly known as 'the birth of Horus' on a lotus flower. The youth wears the *atef* crown and carries a *flabellum* behind his back. Here again we have a carving almost identical with one found by Layard probably, but not certainly, in room V or W of the N.W. Palace.[175] Another similar ivory was found at Samaria.[176] The significance of the position of the left hand, which touches the mouth, admits of many interpretations. I prefer the most obvious one, an injunction to silence—at some secret, esoteric ceremony.[177] On Layard's ivory there is in addition to the boy Horus a fragment of an incrusted winged figure whose posture is similar to that of the celebrated winged boy, ND8068 [493].

531

ND7648 [529] from S10, an ivory burnt to a shiny black, is an almost complete palette, which consists of a 'bird's nest' bowl with handle, a type of vessel sometimes described as an oliphant, that is to say, used for the carrying of oil. It is, however, not improbable that this type of vessel was used as a salt-cellar at Assyrian royal banquets, for there is a reference in the Palace of Ugarit to ivory salt-cellars—*sha tabti sha shinni*.[178] The long rectangular handle depicts in relief a finely drawn winged sphinx wearing the high *pschent* crown, in a familiar posture, with forepaw raised against the voluted 'lily-tree'. Two little birds are clinging to the rim of the bowl, their wings spread over the back of it. It is interesting that a *lamassu* is depicted on a bas-relief of Sargon at Khorsabad carrying a bucket with birds peering over the top of it.[179] The most striking parallel, however, is an ivory from Sultantepe in the district of Harran, described as a palette, found in a context which may imply that it was the property of a lady who lived there at some date between 648 and 610 B.C.; on this specimen, however, the sphinx on the handle is couchant and not erect as on the Nimrud ivory, and instead of birds, papyrus flowers are suspended on the rim.[180] The rim of the 'bird's nest' bowl, ND7648, is decorated with concentric rings and incised rectangles which can be matched on stone bowls of the 7th century B.C. at Nimrud, for example in debris over the Palace AB, and also at Samaria.[181]

ND7698 [530], a fragment of a plaque from SW37, again depicts a theme familiar from Arslan-Tash. It is part of a scene which depicts two youths on either side of a papyrus thicket, interpreted by Frankfort as based on an Egyptian theme symbolizing the union of two lands, originally Upper and Lower Egypt; alternatively by Barnett as the binding of Tammuz, or possibly a figuration of the *asherah* connected with the Phoenician worship of Tammuz-Eshmun.[182] The theme occurs on an ivory found by Layard in the N.W. Palace at Nimrud.

532

Quasi-Egyptian Miniature, and Head Covered with Gold Leaf. ND7597 [531], a beautiful miniature from SW37, depicts a lady musician carrying a lyre; she is barefoot, elaborately clad in long flowing diaphanous garments which reveal the form of her body beneath them; her hair is bound with a fillet. This figure, when found, was covered with bitumen which was apparently the remains of the adhesive substance used to fasten down a gold leaf overlay. All the fragments found in this room bore similar traces of this black viscous substance.

528 (*Above left*). ND7585 (Met. Mus. N.Y.). Fragment of ivory panel, 11 × 3·8 cm. 'Birth of Horus'. Corridor E, south end of Residency, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

529 (*Right*). ND7648. Ivory bowl of 'bird's nest' type, 11·2 × 5 cm., burnt to a shiny black. Obverse *above* and reverse *below*. The handle depicts a sphinx wearing *pschent* crown. Note pair of birds on rim. S10, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

Opposite page

530 (*Top*). ND7698 (University of Leeds). Fragment of ivory plaque, 4·5 × 2·5 cm. Two youths on either side of papyrus thicket, twining its branches. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

531 (*Centre*). ND7597 (AM). Ivory miniature, height 6 cm. Lady carrying a lyre. Prototype comes from Egypt. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

532 (*Bottom*). ND8027. Fragment of ivory plaque, 6·2 × 4 cm. Head with Egyptian-style wig framed in guilloche design. S10, F.S. See p. 576. Scale c. 1/1

It seems extraordinary that the lovely detail of the ivory should originally have been obscured in this way, but frequent traces of gold, and the head, ND8027, still overlaid by its golden covering, prove the point. This subject was undoubtedly derived from Egypt where it had been a favourite theme from the XVIIIth Dynasty onwards, especially for the painter.[183]

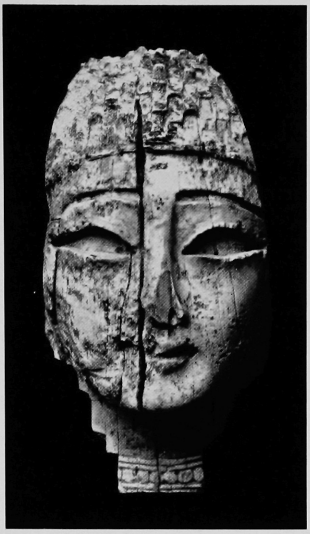
ND8027 [532] is a fragment of an ivory plaque from S10, depicting a head with Egyptian-style wig, framed with a guilloche design. The frame and head are still covered with gold leaf which is affixed to the ivory with bitumen. Only the ear remains exposed. There is little doubt that the majority of the ivories found in Fort Shalmaneser had been similarly covered with gold. The Babylonians and Medes when they ransacked the place cared apparently not at all for the carvings, which only interested them for the gold overlay and trappings, and these they tore off, though occasionally, as in this instance, some trace of the original covering was left.

Statuettes of Males and a Female Head in High Relief. ND7793 [533] is a female head, almost in the round, from SW37. For this beautiful carving there is no exact parallel elsewhere, though the blocking of the hair, eyebrows and eyes once incrusted are in a style altogether familiar. There is a choker around the neck. The mouth is sensitively rendered and the face delicately modelled in the soft, artistic tradition of the late 8th century.

ND7788 [534] is an ivory plaque from SW37 depicting a bearded man in high relief holding a voluted plant in either hand. He is clad in a long cut-away coat with an unusual 'corsage', a short-sleeved jacket with V-shaped top. It is interesting to compare this remarkable piece with an ivory from Arslan-Tash of a different design but also depicting a bearded man, perhaps a king, body and trunk full face, legs in profile as on the Nimrud figure. The curls at the side of the head are identical with those on a second Arslan-Tash panel.[184] It seems probable that all three pieces are contemporary. The plaque from Nimrud is also closely comparable with another ivory from Ziwiye,[185] a statuette once incrusted with paste. We have seen elsewhere that other Ziwiye ivories also resemble specimens from Fort Shalmaneser.

ND10463 [535] is an ivory statuette from SW37 of a bearded male figure wrapped in a long ankle-length garment with a fringed hem, right arm extended downwards against the body, with short sleeve, and bracelet on the wrist. The left arm held across the body grasps one end of a fringed shawl which is in fact part of an outer garment. The dress and square-ended beard divided into vertical locks is closely comparable with stone carvings attributable to Bar-rekub at Zinjirli[186] (contemporary with Tiglath-pileser III).

ND10697 [536] is an ivory statuette from SW37, carved in high relief. It depicts a standing male figure dressed in a long ankle-length garment with decorated hem, worn over a short-sleeved tunic; the long top garment is draped so as to leave the right arm bare, thus serving the purpose of a shawl. The posture of the arms is similar to that of [535] above. The feet are bare. The style of the beard is comparable to the Bar-rekub monument but less elaborate, since there is no upper tier in the beard. Lips are clean-shaven. The hair on the top of the head differs from the preceding figure in that the locks are spiral and not parted in the middle.[187]



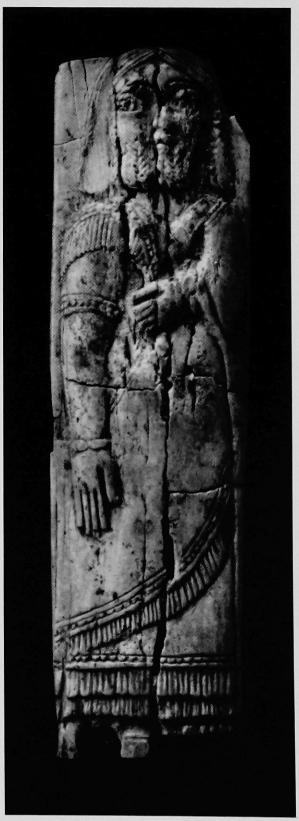
533 (*Right*). ND7793 (Met. Mus. N.Y.). Female ivory head, height 8·3 cm. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

534 (*Far right*). ND7788 (Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto). Ivory plaque, 15×4·3 cm. Bearded male holding voluted plants. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 4/5

535 (*Below, left*). ND10463 (Met. Mus. N.Y.). Ivory plaque, 16·5×5 cm. Bearded male figure. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 3/4

536 (*Below, centre*). ND10697 (B). Ivory plaque, 16·4×4·8 cm. Bearded male figure. North Syrian style, comparable with [535]. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 3/4

537 (*Below, right*). ND10411. Ivory plaque, 13·7×4·1×1·3 cm. Bearded male figure. North Syrian style, similar to [535-6]. SW37, F.S. See p. 578. Scale c. 1/1

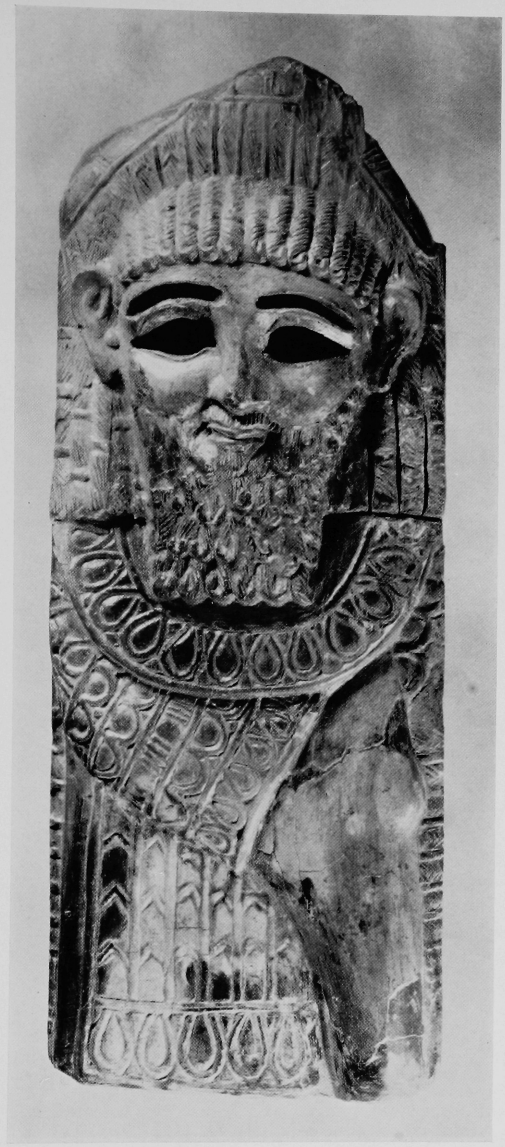


ND10411 [537] is an ivory statuette from SW37, carved in the shape of a bearded man wearing a long garment with a tasselled fringe. Style and posture are comparable with [535-6] above. On the head is a pointed cap with upturned fur-lined ear-flaps. Plain bracelets adorn the wrists.

ND1125 [538]. An exceptionally large plaque from T10, carved in relief and depicting the bearded head and forequarters of a sphinx advancing left with head turned outwards. The subject is of exceptional interest in that it represents a blending of several styles. The locks of hair terminating in curls over the forehead are Syrian and reminiscent of the beard of Bar-rekub on the stela from Zinjirli. The *usekh* collar and apron may be termed Phoenician and derive from Egypt; the beard is Assyrian and the features of the head are reminiscent of an Assyrian *lamassu* figure. The eyebrows and eyes were originally incrusted. The fine, pin-pointed drill-holes in the sockets of the eyes indicate that the pupils had been deeply infixed. Date probably latter half of the 8th century B.C.

Ancient North Syrian Motifs. Attendants Confronting the Sacred Tree; Hathor Heads. ND (supplementary) [539], an ivory plaque with tenons at the top, has been skilfully reconstructed by Miss Marjorie Howard from a large number of small fragments. It was found in room S10 where it had been cast after breakage into a bonfire. Many parts of the plaque are missing, most of the top left-hand side is restored in wax: the restorations are clearly visible in the photograph. The bottom right-hand figure was found complete except for the left forearm. The ivory itself is burnt to a black and grey tone. The scene depicts on the upper register two bearded figures grasping the branches of a palmette and 'lotus' tree; the same scene is repeated in the lower register, but the participants are youths without beards. The scene is horizontally framed with *uraeus* and guilloche designs. The particular point of interest attaching to this subject is that it is undoubtedly derived from an older Iron Age iconography which was current in north Syria about 1200 B.C., as has been well demonstrated by Miss H. J. Kantor. The prototype may be seen on a fragmentary plaque discovered at Tell Fakhariyah in a datable Iron Age level.[188] Whilst there have been not inconsiderable changes of detail in the centuries which intervene between the two plaques, the similarities are striking. Moreover the comparison is important because Fakhariyah was situated in the upper Habur valley of north Syria, and the ivories discovered there and comparable material of the period from elsewhere supply late Bronze Age antecedents for Phoenician work, which in its turn must often have been indebted to the products of older Syrian workshops. We may therefore attribute this Nimrud plaque to a source of inspiration originally north Syrian which need not necessarily have descended to Assyria by way of Phoenician workshops.

ND7627 [540], a segment of burnt ivory, possibly from a pyxis, was found in the corridor E of the Residency. It is carved with a series of Hathor-like heads; the cow's ears are prominent; the hair still bears traces of blue inlay. Like the preceding ivory, it can be closely related to an antecedent north Syrian form of the end of the 13th century B.C. An incised ivory fragment from Tell Fakhariyah is again closely comparable and, as Miss Kantor has observed, the reappearance there of cow's ears which on even older Canaanite masks had



538 (*Above left*). ND11125 (B). Ivory plaque, virtually complete, 21×8·1 cm. Bearded head and forequarters of sphinx. Rare example of blending of Syrian, Phoenician and Assyrian styles. Ivory is burnt, part black, part grey. T10, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

539 (*Above right*). ND (supplementary). Ivory plaque, length 30·5 cm., burnt, and reconstructed. Above bearded men grasp branches of sacred tree, below, youths in similar attitude. S10, F.S. Scale c. 2/3

540 (*Right*). ND7627 (Met. Mus. N.Y.). Segment of burnt ivory, width 2·6 cm. Band of Hathor-like beads. Corridor E, Residency, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

541

become human may have been due to freshly supervening Egyptian influence at that period.[189] However that may be, we have evidence here of Egyptian iconography transmitted through Canaanite and then north Syrian forms, perhaps without any Phoenician intervention, into whatever workshops produced these particular models for Assyria.

Lions. Always a favourite subject, these were rendered in ivory, in many different forms; a few illustrations will demonstrate the variety and ingenuity of treatment. They include statuettes in the round, figures in relief, and masks. Some but not all of the types have been found in other buildings at Nimrud as well as on other sites.

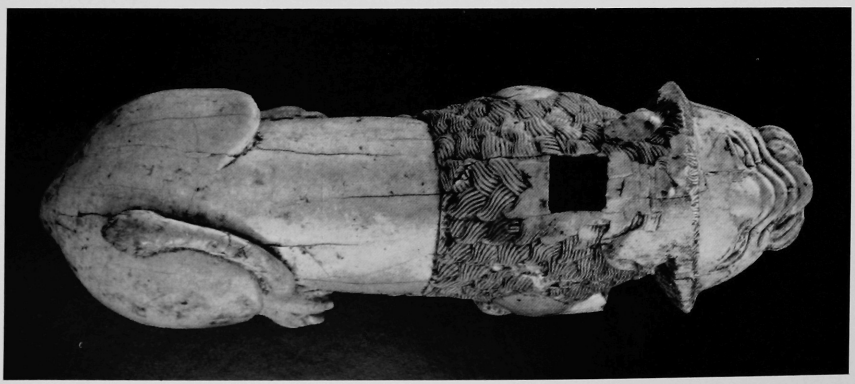
ND11118 [**541**], from SW12. The beast is in the round, couchant, roaring. The top of the back is pierced with a square cavity obviously designed for a tenon, and there is another hole in the base. Clearly therefore this object was designed to be a component of some piece of furniture; a throne is an obvious possibility, along the length of a lower rail, for something must have stood over the top of the figure. This may be compared with a set of elaborately dowelled ivory roaring lions discovered at Zinjirli.[190]

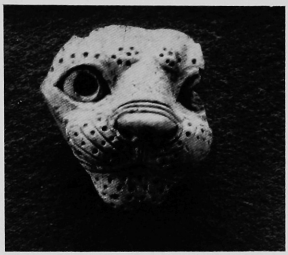
ND7562 [**542**] is a burnt ivory head of a lion in the round, surmounted by sun-disc and *uraeus*. It was found in the ash which filled the suite of the *rab ekalli*, SE1. The rendering of the mane has much in common with that of the figures from Zinjirli referred to above. Note the bristle-holes in the snout which appears to carry traces of a red stain. This is cleverly conceived, forceful carving.

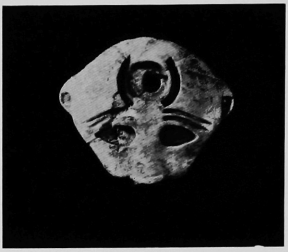
ND7590 [**543**], a mask, from the dump, is almost in the round; note the warts at the top of the head and the stippled whiskers the holes for which may originally have carried bristles.

ND7605 [**544**], a flat mask from SW37, originally decorated with coloured incrustation, was one of the commonest types of ivory lion-masks at Nimrud. A comparable type was found in the domestic wing of the N.W. Palace, probably dating to the period of Sargon.[191]

ND7641 [**545**], a heavily burnt ivory, was found in room SE13 together with the







541 (*Opposite page*). ND1118. Ivory lion, length 13 cm. Profile *above*, and top view *below*. SW12, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

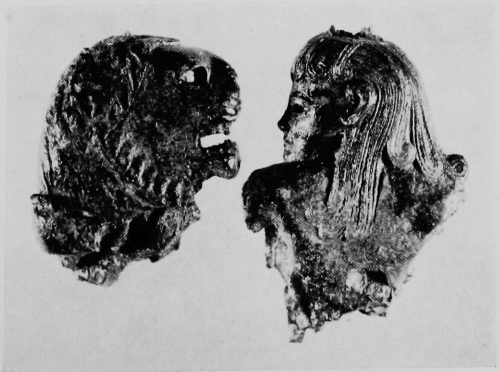
542 (*Above left*). ND7562 (BM). Burnt ivory head of lion, 10×8 cm. Surmounted by sun-disc and *uraeus* crown. Debris of SE1, F.S. Scale c. 4/5

543 (*Above centre*). ND7590. Ivory mask of lion, height 3 cm. From the dump, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

544 (*Above right*). ND7605 (Met. Mus. N.Y.). Ivory mask of lion, height 2·7 cm. Originally incrusted. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

545 (*Below left*). ND7641 (B). Two burnt ivory fragments of roaring lion, height 4·2 cm., and of a female, height 5·2 cm. 'Beauty and the Beast'. SE13, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

546 (*Below right*). ND7634. Ivory plaque, 5×3·7 cm., burnt black. Roaring lion, similar to [545]. SE13, F.S. See p. 582. Scale c. 1/1



547. ND7806. Fragmentary ivory plaque, length 7 cm. A hunting dog in the act of seizing its quarry. S10, F.S. Slightly enlarged

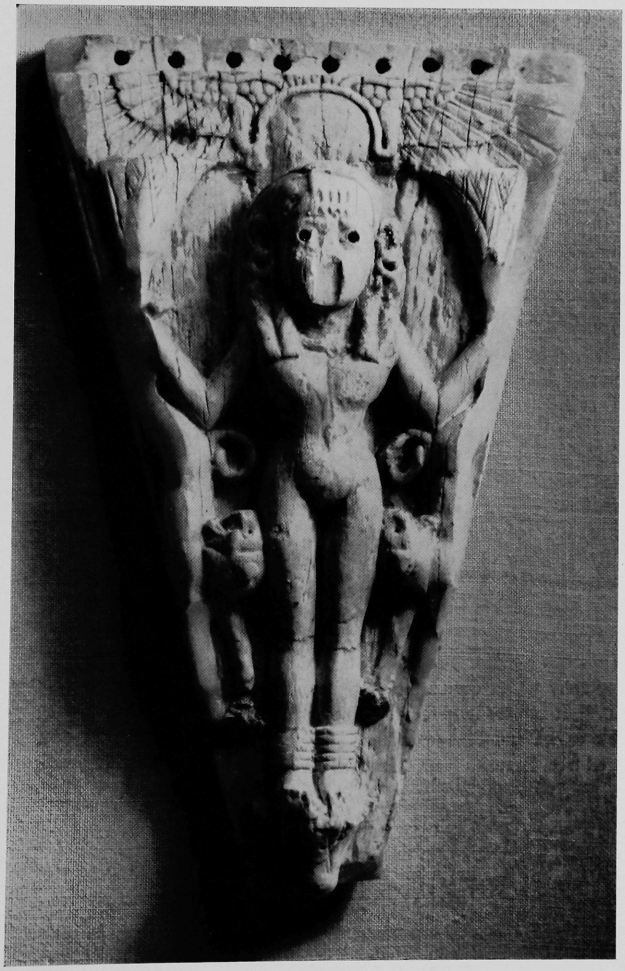
finely carved female head with long curled locks illustrated with it. Since the trace of a lion's claw was found on the torso of the female and her left hand gripped the lion's mane, we named it 'Beauty and the Beast'. The figures are flat, and carved on both sides. One other example of a similar roaring lion, ND7634 [546], was found in the same room. We do not know if this subject embodies some mythological allusion.

Dog. ND7806 [547], a burnt ivory fragment of a hunting-dog, was found in the ash of S10. It is represented in the act of seizing its quarry; a part of the gold leaf coating which once covered the body of the dog has survived, and markings on the shoulders simulate hair. This was evidently a favourite breed of Assyrian hunting-dog for the type was also depicted on an ivory pyxis discovered in the Burnt Place by Loftus.[192] On the pyxis, where it appears to be wearing a collar, the animal is engaged in a lion-hunt and is represented running at the side of a horse-drawn chariot with equipage similar to that shown on the big hunting panel described above, ND7904 [386] (see p. 488).

Horse's Cheek-Piece. ND7677 [548], from SW37, differs in shape and design from the remarkable ivory cheek-piece found in the well NN of the N.W. Palace (p. 126). The border is decorated with small running animals in relief, and the raised plant-like excrescences which run longitudinally may simulate leather protections. The format is comparable with a copper cheek-piece from Lachish now in the British Museum, and with another from Zinjirli; similar bronze cheek-pieces have also been found in Cyprus.[193]

Horse's Head-Piece. ND10359 [549] from SW37. A nude goddess standing on a lotus flower holds up a bloom in each hand and simultaneously grips two snarling lions by their hind-legs. She is crowned with winged disc and *uraei*, wears the courtesan's head-cloth, and is adorned with necklace and bangles on the legs. The subject is identical with that shown on ND10518 [458] which was found in the same room (see p. 538 and notes thereon) and the two head-pieces are probably contemporary.[194] Three Aramaic letters on the back appear to read Lu'ash (see under inscribed ivories, p. 595). This ivory, which may be dated to the earlier half of the 8th century B.C., was perforated at the top and bottom for attachment—there is a single hole through the stem of the lotus at the base (see also p. 595).

548. ND7677. (Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.) Ivory horse's cheek-piece or blinkers, length 13·1 cm. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1



549. ND10359 (B). Horse's head-piece, 15·8 × 8·7 cm. Nude Ishtar figure on lotus, crowned with winged *uraeus* and sun-disc, and holding lion and lotus flower in each hand. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

Bulls. These were as popular a subject as lions and lent themselves readily as a suitable exercise for the ivory carver's skill. A small selection illustrates the variety of treatment.

ND7993 [550] from SW37 is a plaque in relief, with flat back. The animal is represented advancing head down. Note the heavy dewlap. It is possible that the relatively straight break at the top of the back may be due to its having been carved in two pieces, the one fitted to the other.

ND7560 [551], is a fragment of a burnt ivory tusk, found in Corridor E of the southern Residency. The carved decoration is arranged in horizontal bands which represent prize bulls advancing left, head down, in single file. The compartments between these must originally have contained incrustation, possibly gold. An *aleph* sign is scratched on the top edge of the tusk, which is 3·2 centimetres wide. Similarly carved bulls were found in private houses on the akropolis, cf. ND3587 [125-6] (p. 193).

ND7573 [552] from SE9 is a fragment of a plaque in high relief apparently depicting a bull in the grip of a lion and attacked from behind by a griffin—an unusual scene. There are bitumen stains on the surface.

ND7594 [553] from SW37 is similar in technique to the previously described ivory. A bull, advancing left, appears to be browsing on vegetation.

The Lady at the Window, and Full-Length Open-work Figures. This again was a subject very frequently carved, indeed as common as any other. An outstandingly fine specimen has already been described, ND6316 [429] (see p. 522). Two other fine examples are added, one of them because, though reminiscent in appearance, it really belongs to a different category.

ND7786 [554], an openwork ivory from the lower floor of SE10. A bewigged female wearing long, short-sleeved coat, head surmounted by *uraeus* and disc, holds a papyrus plant in her hand; her left elbow rests on another. Note the disproportionately large protruding ears. The type of figure is not uncommon, but we do not know the kind of composition to which it originally belonged. Papyrus plants are shown against the frame.

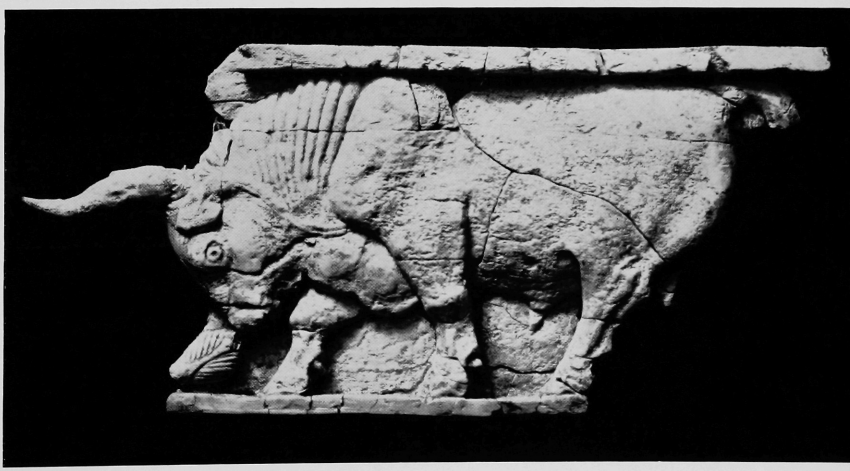
ND8005 [555] from S10, is a very fine specimen, partly burnt, typical of 'the lady at the window' series. She peers over the window-sill; she wears a fillet with lotus bud on the forehead and curling locks conceal the ears. Two colonettes survive below; the frame is four times recessed and reproduces the entrance of an Assyrian palace and temple doorways. This and other examples found elsewhere in the fortress were more soft in style and graceful in form than the rather crude ivory heads of crowned females found at Tell Halaf, which may be about a century older.

Female Sphinx Couchant. ND7782 [556]. Most of this plaque was found in the debris of the upper level, SE10, but a fragment of the body came from the lower level of the same room. The subject is unusual and closely follows an Egyptian iconography which occurs for example in the reign of Ramesses III, 1151–1145 B.C.[195] It represents a female sphinx, couchant, in high relief. She wears a double crown and Pharaonic headcloth; her arms are raised as if saluting the sacred tree. Beautifully and delicately carved, the face in profile

550 (*Above*). ND7993 (University of Leeds). Ivory plaque, 11·3 × 4·7 cm. Bull with heavy dewlap and mane. SW37, F.S.
Scale c. 4/5

551 (*Right*). ND7560 (BM). Fragment of burnt ivory tusk, diameter about 11·3 cm., length 14·5 cm. Carved in horizontal panels with prize bulls. Corridor E, Southern Residency, F.S.
Scale c. 4/5

552 (*Left*). ND7573 (Met. Mus. N.Y.). Fragment of ivory plaque, 17 × 9.7 cm. Bull in the grip of a lion and attacked by griffin. SE9, F.S.
Scale c. 3/5



553 (*Right*). ND7594 (Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto). Ivory panel, 15·5 × 6·8 cm. Bull browsing on vegetation. SW37, F.S.
Scale c. 1/1

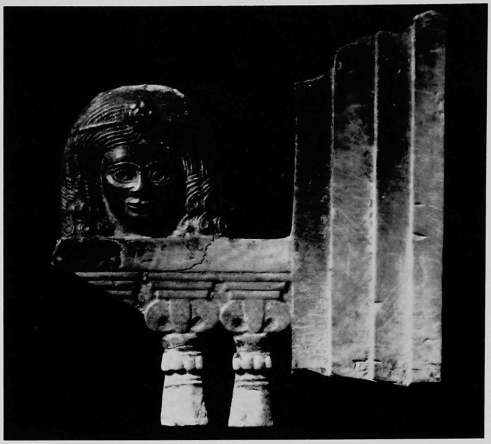
557

is exceptionally well rendered. Some fragments of two other female sphinxes of an approximately similar character were found elsewhere in Fort Shalmaneser.

Man Wearing a Sheepskin Cap. ND7672 [557] was found inside the west doorway of S16 about 20 centimetres above the floor. It is partly '*cloisonné*' work; traces of gold remain in the '*cloisons*'. This fragment depicts the head of a man in relief facing left, wearing what appears to be a woollen sheepskin cap composed of five horizontal strands, and coming to a point at the top; alternatively this may have been intended to represent a helmet; but the former explanation seems the more probable. The interest of this piece is the cap or helmet which is archaic in form. An ivory from Enkomi, Cyprus (13th century B.C.), is comparable,[196] and perhaps also the cap worn by the bare-breasted goddess on the celebrated plaque discovered by Schaeffer at Ras Shamra (probably 14th century B.C.).[197] Once again, therefore, we seem to have a form of iconography which goes back to the late Bronze Age in Syria and the eastern Mediterranean.

St George and the Dragon. Perhaps this title is permissible to describe a dramatic scene depicted on several ivory plaques found in Fort Shalmaneser. See also ND10696 [456] (p. 536).

ND7564 [558] is an ivory plaque found with a similar one, ND7563, in the upper level of SE10. Both were burnt; the former has been reconstituted in wax and shows the tenons above and below, no doubt once fixed into the slots of an upper and a lower chair-rail. The scene depicts a bare-footed youth with long locks of curled hair wearing a long cut-away coat over a short tunic; he wears the attenuated double Egyptian crown and is depicted against a background of palmettes in the act of driving a long sword into the mouth of a winged griffin which he seizes by the forelock. As there was no room on the plaque to represent both wings where they would normally have been, the artist depicted the tips of one of them in the top right-hand corner of the plaque. This extraordinary arrangement was repeated on a silver bowl found in Cyprus, as well as on a copper bowl discovered at Olympia where we see a spear similarly driven into the mouth of a griffin *renversé*. The Olympia bowl also depicts a nursing mother at table, a dancer, a nude Astarte, and a bearded male figure in swaddling clothes. The extension of the scene on this bowl further conveys the intention behind this iconography—the triumph over the forces of evil. It is thus of great interest that we have at Nimrud one version of a theme which was conveyed more or less contemporarily, perhaps not more than 50 years later, to Cyprus and to the Aegean. It is rare to have so distinctive and detailed an example of a theme which can only have arrived at three widely separated centres by a process of diffusion.[198] It is probable that the transmission was effected westwards into the Mediterranean, and eastwards into Assyria from Syria, perhaps from the Syrian littoral. The origin of the scene is again traceable in Cyprus on the famous ivory mirror handle (13th century B.C.) whereon 'St George' drives his spear into the griffin's belly;[199] the refinement of driving it into the mouth occurred 500 years later. There is every reason to believe that the two Nimrud plaques should be dated to approximately the same period as many others in the collection—730–720 B.C.



554 (*Above left*). ND7786. Ivory plaque, length 7 cm. Bewigged female, with *uraeus* and disc crown, carrying papyrus plant, SE10. F.S. See p. 584. Scale c. 1/1

555 (*Above right*). ND8005 (Met. Mus. N.Y.). Ivory plaque, about 7×7·5 cm. 'Lady at the window'. S10, F.S. See p. 584. Scale c. 1/1

556 (*Right*). ND7782 (B). Burnt ivory plaque, 8·9×4·3 cm. Couchant female sphinx wearing double crown; human arms upraised as if saluting sacred tree. SE10, F.S. See p. 584. Scale c. 4/5

557 (*Opposite page*). ND7672. Ivory plaque, height 5·5 cm. Head of a man wearing sheepskin cap of archaic form. S16, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

558 (*Below left*). ND7564. Burnt ivory plaque, originally about 11×6 cm. 'St. George and the dragon'. SE10, F.S. Scale c. 4/5

559 (*Below right*). ND10471. Ivory plaque, 10×5·7×0·8 cm., carved with scene similar to [558]. SW37, F.S. See p. 588. Scale c. 1/1

560 ND9434a (B). Ivory plaque, 13·5×3·9 cm., incised. Two figures of Bes. In the centre, two monkeys about to climb date-palm in fruit. SW37, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

Stylistic resemblances in dress, head-wear, and various details may be traced on several ivories previously described.

ND10471 [559] from SW37, is a complete ivory plaque depicting a similar scene to that represented on [558]. Compare ND11036 [485] from SW12.

Incised Ivory Plaque Depicting Bes. ND9434A [560], from SW37. This plaque is sharply concave; two figures of the Egyptian god Bes are flanked by ducks on the wing. In the centre, two monkeys are clambering up a palm tree, which is depicted in fruit. This graphic and grotesque scene which appears to stress the sexual potency of the god is without parallel at Nimrud but corresponds very closely to the iconography on a faience plaque discovered in a tomb of Piankhy's queen at El Kurru.[200] The date may be c.730 B.C., possibly a decade or two later, but not more. The object undoubtedly reflects contact between Egypt and Assyria about that time.

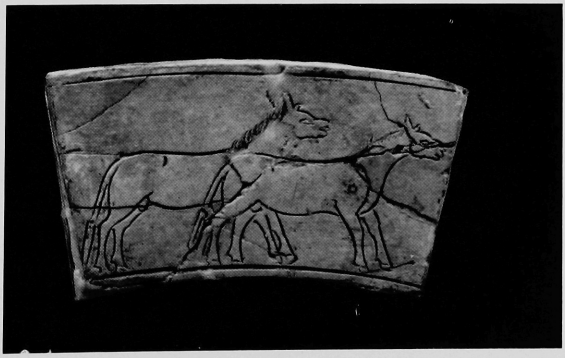
Incised Ivory Plaques, Assyrian Style. ND7973a and b [561–2], 7666 [563], 8006 [564], 7581 [565], 8167 [566], 8018 [567], 7742 [568], 7744 [569].

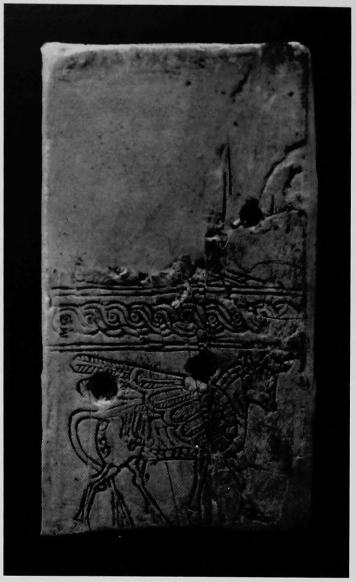
Scattered over various rooms within the fortress were many fragments of incised ivory plaques. We have no need to describe the themes in detail, for these are obvious in illustration. What is important is that most if not all of them must have been executed by Assyrian artists, for some of the themes reproduce subjects which have constantly recurred on the stone bas-reliefs of the palaces. ND7744 [569] from S4, probably of the 9th century B.C., is typical; it depicts tributaries carrying expensive furniture and metal vessels, boxes and sacks which may be wineskins. The dress, although in the style of the time of Assur-nasir-pal and Shalmaneser III, is not exactly matched on the monuments. Compare Gadd, *Stones of Assyria*, pl. v; for the upper frieze compare the dress worn by the attendant of Nabu, period of Adad-nirari III, op. cit. pl. vii;

561–2 (*Above*). ND7973a, *top*, and b, *below*. Two fragments of curved ivory strip, incised. Spotted fallow (?) deer, moufflon (?) or ibex, and other cervoids. S4–5, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

563 (*Below left*). ND7666. Ivory strip, incised. Procession of horses. Note curvilinear engraving of frame. Scale c. 1/1

564 (*Below right*). ND8006. (duplicate fragment in Baghdad). Curved ivory strip incised. Ostrich design. S3, F.S. Scale c. 1/1





565 (*Above left*). ND7581. Ivory plaque, incised. Bull advancing right. In the field, a reed (?). SW7, F.S. See p. 588. Scale c. 1/1

566 (*Left*). ND8167 (Met. Mus. N.Y.). Ivory strip, incised. Kneeling bull. S5, F.S. See p. 588. Scale c. 1/1

567 (*Above right*). ND8018. Ivory plaque, slightly curved. *Above*, traces of armed warrior; *below*, winged bull *lamassu*. Similar in style to [564], [566]. S30, F.S. See p. 588. Scale c. 1/1

for tributaries wearing fringed, open garments, see also ch. XIV, p. 250 and note 31. The plaques depicting animals vary in style: young fallow deer, bulls winged and unwinged, ostriches, horses, and grazing deer. Sometimes the drawing is superb. It is difficult to determine when these plaques with drawings of animals were made, for we have hardly any securely dated parallels. Some of the scenes go back to reliefs in the time of Assur-nasir-pal II from the N.W. Palace, and to the art of his son, Shalmaneser III, as depicted on the Balawat Gates. But they differ in execution from the formal ivory plaques in the engraved and relief style of the 9th century B.C., which were discovered in the N.W. Palace (see p. 62 [21][23–4]). Those plaques depicted more rigid, less mobile animals. On the other hand, these engraved animals should be compared with the free drawing of the miniature engravings depicted on the robes of Assur-nasir-pal and his courtiers, cf. Layard *Monuments of Nineveh*, pls. 43–50. But the freedom of movement, suppleness of line and vigour of the horses of ND7666 [563], recalls the spirited drawings on the sculpture of Assur-bani-pal. Nevertheless, the 9th century style appears to preponderate and it is to this period that I am inclined to date the majority of these plaques.

Ivory Winged Griffin. ND10501 [570] from SW37. Ivory winged griffin and plants, carved on both sides. The musculature and other details are treated in low relief; the pupils of the eyes were formerly incrusted. Note the simply drawn and jagged outline of the dragon-like wings with feathering on the innermost tier, the tracing of sinews on the foreleg and flame-like markings on the hind leg.

Ivory Plaque Depicting a Falcon-headed Male Figure, North Syrian or Phoenician Style Open-Work. ND10476 [571], from SW37. Champlevé work. A falcon-headed male figure faces right. He wears an Egyptian-style wig which was originally composed of squares of ivory and coloured inlay, short kilt, and long flowing robe which covers the shoulders but leaves both legs exposed. The figure was once decorated with incrustation; note the '*cloisonné*' *uraeus* design on the tunic and 'lily' tendril behind the head. Compare also ND6328 [434], from SW7, and ND8068 [493].

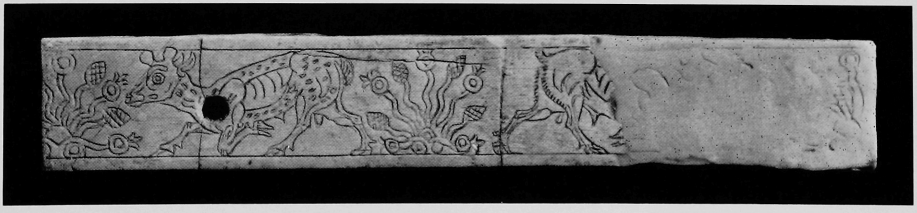
Ivory Plaques in the Shape of Stylized Palm Trees. ND10413 [572] is an open-work plaque from SW37. The upper and lower edge carry a tenon. The type is comparable with plaques from Samaria,[201] and similar designs occur at Carchemish and Ziwiye.

ND9376 [573] is an ivory plaque from SW37 in the form of a palmette. It is perforated at the base with six drill holes for attachment and was perhaps part of a harness decoration. The details are incised.

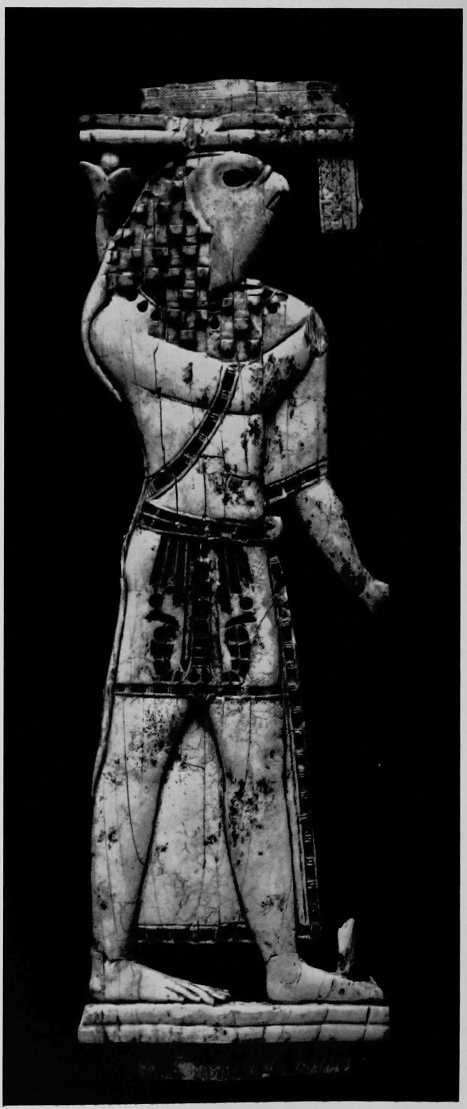
Ivory Hemicylinder. ND9442 [574] from SW37. The outer surface is decorated in relief with three zones of imbrications, perhaps the conventional design for mountains. The circles in the top and bottom bands were originally inlaid. The function of this object was probably to serve as a veneer for a wooden chair-leg.

568 (*Below*). ND7742. Ivory strip, incised. Spotted deer and another animal kneeling before clumps of stylized flowers and fruit (pomegranates?). S30, F.S. See p. 588. Scale c. 1/1

569 (*Foot of page*). ND7744 (B). Two fragments of ivory strip, width 3·9 cm. Procession of tribute-bearers. S4, F.S. See p. 588. Scale c. 3/4



570. ND10501. Open-work plaque, 15·8× 7·7 cm. Winged griffin against a field of plants. Pupils of eyes originally incrusted. SW37, F.S. See p. 591. Scale c. 4/5

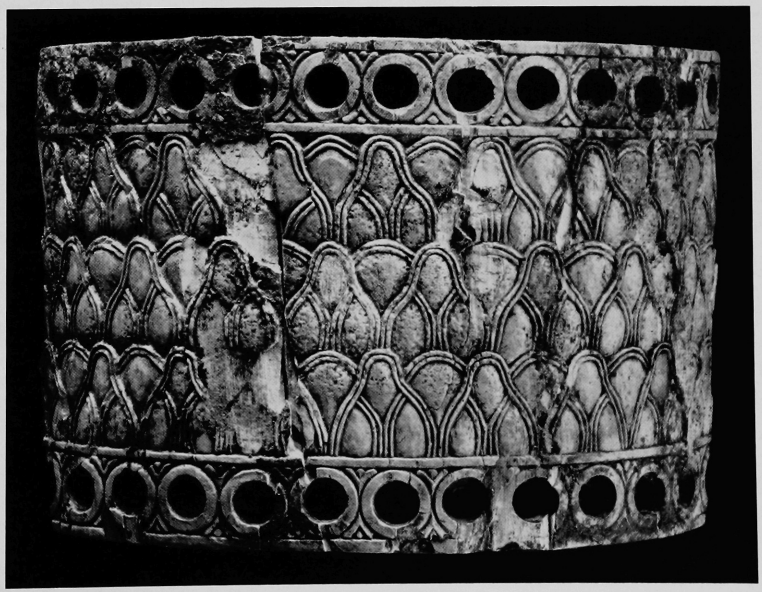


571. ND10476 (B). Ivory plaque, 27·5×8·7 cm., champlevé. Falcon-headed male figure wearing Egyptian-style wig, originally inlaid. '*Cloisonné*' *uraeus*. SW37, F.S. See p. 591. Scale c. 2/3

572 (*Above left*). ND10413. Open-work ivory plaque, 11·8×5·2 cm. Conventionalized palmette tree. SW37, F.S. See p. 591. Scale c. 1/1

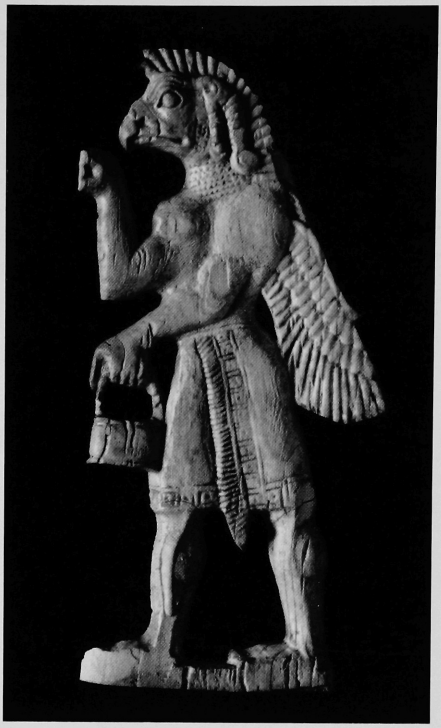
573 (*Above right*). ND9376 (Met. Mus. N.Y.). Ivory plaque, height 10·7 cm. Palmette with details incised. SW37, F.S. See p. 591. Scale c. 1/1

574 (*Below*). ND9442 (Met. Mus. N.Y.) Ivory hemi-cylinder, 13·5×9·7×2·5 cm. Decorated with three zones of imbrications. SW37, F.S. See p. 591. Scale c. 1/1



'*Nisroch*'. ND10328 [575] from the floor of NE50. An open-work ivory plaque showing the magical figure sometimes known as 'Nisroch', anthropomorphic, with the crested eagle's head and wings familiar from Assyrian sculpture. In the hands it holds 'cone and bucket'. The iconography was already well established in the 9th century B.C. on the murals of Assur-nasir-pal II, and on cylinder seals.[202] A simpler Syrian prototype of this griffin man, without tree, cone, and bucket, appears on an orthostat from the 'Herald's Wall' at Carchemish, c.820 B.C.[203] Modifications in the arrangement of the hair and the dress indicate that the Nimrud figure is of 8th, not of 9th century date. The ivory is closely comparable with a relief from Sakcha Gözü[204] which (as we have seen on pp. 487, 490) was almost certainly contemporary with Bar-rekub and corresponding monuments at Zinjirli. The style of dress with its long 'fish-tail' fringe hanging down below the trimmed squares on the hem does not appear on Assyrian sculpture before the time of Tiglath-pileser III. Marked changes occur in the time of Sargon and Sennacherib; the fish-tail becomes a tasselled cord on a monument of the former and hangs lower in the reign of the latter monarch.[205] On these grounds I am inclined to date our ivory c.730–720 B.C. There are other parallels, which may be nearly contemporary, elsewhere; at Altintepe in Anatolia a very similar ivory was found by Tahsin Özgüç; at Ziwiye the design appears on a golden pectoral; and we also find it on a bronze situla from Luristan.[206] The distribution of this iconography is an impressive witness to the widespread belief in its potency throughout western Asia. There is evidence that these winged genii were engaged in transferring to the king the magic virtue of the tree which also dispensed that of the sun.[207] Lastly we may note a fragmentary orthostat found at Tell Halaf in north Syria, the date of which could be late 9th or early 8th century B.C.[208] In so far as I am aware, 'Nisroch' with cone and bucket ceased to be represented on the monuments of Syria and Assyria in the 7th century.

Inscribed Ivories. Many of the ivories bore what would appear to be fitters' marks in the shape of Phoenician or Aramaic signs. Some rare specimens, however, are of particular importance because they are inscribed with intelligible legends, however brief. Indeed, one strip ND10152 [576] from SW37 is of peculiar interest because it is inscribed with the name of a king: 'Shamshi-Adad King of Assyria, son of Shalmaneser, King of Assyria, grandson of Assur-nasir-pal (this throne has . . .)'. It is unfortunate that no figures were attached, but we may perhaps assume that the king's throne would have been embellished with carved ivory veneer and that some of the articles found in the debris of this room and elsewhere in the fortress may have been associated. If so, we should be able to identify some of the carvings as having been made during the reign of that monarch (824–810 B.C.). Perhaps the most likely fragments for this distinction are some of the incised ivories, particularly those representing tribute bearers, such as ND7744 [569] from S4, which come very near to the figures on the Balawat Gates that were erected by the father of the monarch in question. Some, though not all of the incised animal drawings, may also be contemporary and we have already suggested (on pp. 179–80) though with hesitation, that the set



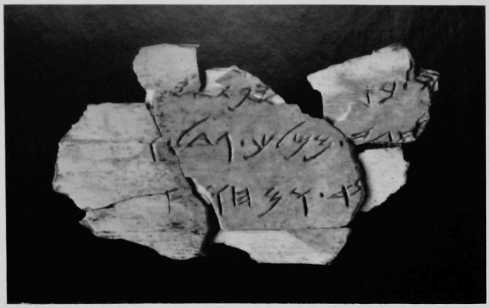
575. ND10328 (B). Open-work ivory plaque, 11·7×6 cm. Winged 'Nisroch' figure. NE50, F.S. Scale c. 1/1

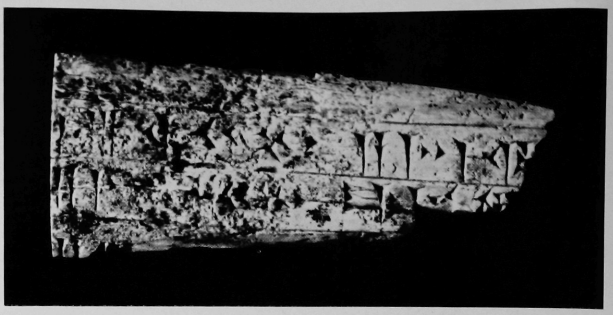
of realistic carvings in the round, [443-7] from NE15, depicting men carrying monkeys and leading other animals, belong to this period.

Other important pieces are ND10150 [577] from SW37, inscribed in Old Hebrew, the second line of which includes the words *m m l k . g d l.* which may be understood as 'from the great king' or as 'from King Gdl'. The letters indicate a range of date between the early 8th and the early 7th century B.C.

More informative is ND10151 [578] from SW37, a label inscribed with three Aramaic letters which read *h m t*, namely the city of Hamath, a city from which Sargon II probably acquired ivories for Nimrud; indeed, ivory carvings of a similar type were found at Hama, in the debris of the citadel sacked by Sargon, and R. D. Barnett with prescience surmised that some of the Nimrud ivories must have originated in Hamath.[209]

ND10359 [549], a triangular plaque representing a nude female holding up a lion by the legs in each hand, is a type of horse's nose-piece common in the Nimrud collection.[210] It is inscribed at the back with three letters: *l ' sh* which in the light of ND10151 may plausibly be read as *lu ' ash.* If this is the correct interpretation, it is relevant to recall the inscriptions of Zakir (from Afis, near Aleppo) who recorded a victory over Bar-Hadad, son of Hazael, and styled himself 'king of Hamath and Lu'ash'. The most likely date for this event is 773–772 B.C. according to Thiele's chronology based on synchronisms with Jehoahaz in the Old Testament (2 *Kings* xiii. 14 ff.). We cannot indeed infer that the mention of Lu'ash necessarily implies a synchronism with Zakir, but a date somewhere in the earlier half of the 8th century B.C. is not improbable for this and similar ivories.[211]





576 (*Above right*). ND10152 (B). Ivory label, 9×3·6 cm., inscribed with name of Shamshi-Adad (V) (824–810 B.C.). SW37, F.S. See p. 594. Scale c. 1/1

577 (*Above left*). ND10150 (B). Ivory label, 9×5·3 cm. Three lines of writing in Old Hebrew script may include words 'from King Gdl'. SW3, F.S. See p. 595. Scale c. 2/3

578 (*Left*). ND10151. Ivory label, 9·2×6·5 cm., inscribed with three Aramaic letters which read 'Hamath'. SW37, F.S. See p. 595. Scale c. 2/3

579 (*Below*). ND10304 (B). Open-work plaque, 15·3×8 cm., champlevé. Obverse *left* and reverse *right*. Rampant winged griffin. On the reverse, six Phoenician letters of indeterminate meaning. SW37, F.S. See p. 598. Scale c. 3/4

580 (*Above*). ND12031 (BM). Ivory plaque, 14·9×5·6 cm., obverse *left* and reverse *right*. Palmette design. On the reverse, two lines of inscription, in Aramaic or Phoenician, of uncertain interpretation. SW11–12, F.S. See p. 598. Scale c. 3/4

581 (*Below*). ND12049 (BM). Ivory plaque, 12·4×5·1 cm., obverse *left* and reverse *right*. Hindquarters of winged sphinx; palmette and 'lily' flowers in the background. On the reverse, inscription of uncertain meaning, in Aramaic or Phoenician. SW11–12, F.S. See p. 598. Scale c. 4/5

582. ND11310 (B). Fragment of burnt ivory veneer, 2·8×0·8×0·2 cm. Inscribed in Aramaic with the name Hazael, doubtless the 9th century king of Damascus. T10, F.S.
Enlarged c. 5/1

We should note ND10304 [579], which is inscribed with six Phoenician letters of indeterminate meaning on the back of a rampant winged griffin. The head is crowned with a comb formed of curls of hair while three tresses hang down to the shoulder. The wings are in champlevé, in which traces of blue inlay paste remain. For general information on these Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions I am indebted to Mr A. R. Millard whose detailed account of them has already been published.[212]

ND12031 [580] from SW11–12. Ivory plaque, obverse representing in relief a palmette typically Samarian in style. Tenons above and below. Reverse inscribed. Mr A. R. Millard has commented on the inscription as follows: 'There are traces of two lines written before the plaque was cut to its present size. Only *i* is left of the upper line. Of the lower we have part of a *b* or *r*, and then *skn skn*. What the sense of this may be is not clear to me. *skn* could be 'governor' (Assyrian *shaknu*) but there is no reason why the letters should be divided to give that word. . . . The script may be 8th century Aramaic or Phoenician.'

ND12049 [581] from SW11–12. Obverse of an ivory plaque carved in high relief with the hindquarters of a winged sphinx. In the background there is a blossoming tendril with palmette and 'lily' flowers. Tenons are preserved above and below and these bear fitters' marks. The reverse is inscribed.

Mr A. R. Millard, who has examined the inscription, comments as follows: 'There is an *sh* all alone on the lower tenon. Round the other way are two lines, the first reads: *b'ṣ* (?) *r*, possible meaning "in the store", the second: *b x* (?) *h t*, the second sign is not recognizable and I wonder whether it is an error crossed out. . . . Again the script is inconclusive. Possibly Phoenician or Aramaic 8th century B.C.'

ND11310 [582] from T10. Fragment of burnt ivory veneer noted by J. J. Orchard whilst repairing ivories found in this chamber. The veneer is inscribed in Aramaic and contains the name of Hazael, doubtless king of Damascus, recorded on a small fragment of ivory which had once formed part of a frame of a bed in the palace of Arslan-Tash (see *Arslan-Tash*, page 185*f* and fig. 49, also pl. xlvii.

A. R. Millard has commented as follows:—

> 'the two letters before the name are *'n*, the ' not quite complete. It is thus a parallel to the piece from Arslan-Tash, inscribed . . . *m r ' n h z ' l* . . . . The script of this Nimrud fragment seems to me a little less careful than the other and there are no points separating the words. My reason for a little uncertainty at first was that the *n* looks rather like a *w*, but I think this is the result of the descending stroke being so straight. It would not be easy to make curves quickly on the ivory.'

The occurrence of Hazael's name apparently associated with the title of Lord, both at Calah and Arslan-Tash, means it is virtually certain that he was indeed the contemporary of Shalmaneser III.

Ivory Scarab of Taharqa. ND7624 [583]. We have already commented (see ch. XVII, pp. 472, 478) on this fragment of a scarab found immediately below the surface against the west wall of Fort Shalmaneser together with a later cache of pottery; it was clearly out of position. It is curious that this, the only ivory object with an Egyptian royal name upon it, is likely to be later than the remainder of the ivories. Perhaps it was cherished as a valuable trophy by Taharqa's contemporary, Esarhaddon, for there is good reason to believe that ivory was becoming rare at that time. However that may be, the style of cutting, deep and rigid, is different from any other of the many ivories found at Nimrud, and confirms the suspicion that it is later than the bulk of the collection.

583. ND7624 (B). Ivory scarab, length 3·8 cm. Winged *uraeus* and sun-disc. Inscribed with the name of the Pharaoh Taharqa, contemporary of Esarhaddon. Residency, F.S.
Enlarged c. 2/1

CHAPTER XVIII

EPILOGUE

THE time has now come to reconsider our discoveries at Nimrud, and to ask what we have learned from them that we did not know before. What has been the reward for so much toil and what has the particular character of this dig taught us?

In order to appreciate how much has been done we need only compare the map of the akropolis with that which was available a century ago and recall, in addition, the wide scope of the excavations in the outer town. Here the discoveries recorded in the two preceding chapters come most vividly to mind. Fort Shalmaneser, a single building which occupies some 18 acres of ground, is the epitome of Assyrian architecture. Its layout is an eloquent summary of Assyrian aspirations, for it has the combined characteristics of a fortress, an arsenal, and a palace. In this unique establishment with its vast courtyards defended by huge buttressed walls and towered gateways, its magazines, barracks with bathrooms, and its throne-halls, we have the largest and most complete military building known to ancient western Asia. Fort Shalmaneser represents the climax of uninterrupted military government by a father and son of exceptional ability and, better than any other architectural monument, illustrates the vital importance of longevity in dynastic succession.

Assur-nasir-pal II and his son were the two great architects of the new Assyrian Empire, and between them laid foundations which enabled it to survive the convulsions which from time to time shook the structure of government over the 270 years that elapsed between the establishment of Calah and its fall. Shalmaneser III and many of his successors had to overcome not only revolutions at home but also attacks from abroad, for the foreigner had learned the art of war from the advanced military technocracy of Assyria. It was fortunate for the stability of Mesopotamia that at this period, when Babylonia was unusually weak, the Assyrians provided a powerful northern bulwark against the incursions of more barbarous hillmen who lived in a state of continuous warfare at home, and showed no signs of the capacity for imposing orderly government abroad.

A wealth of evidence concerning the first two monarchs who erected anew the great city of Calah had been discovered a century ago, principally by the remarkable work of Layard in the N.W. Palace. But few realized how much of that building still remained to be excavated, and even fewer that after we had finished digging its 6 acres, yet another palace, three times as large, built by his son, remained to be disclosed. It took us no less than eight years to reach the site of

The notes for chapter XVIII *will be found on p. 663.*

this building, for this was the time we needed to obtain a thorough knowledge of the ground and, no less important, the confidence of the landowners who gave us permission to dig on land that was not government property. There could be no better illustration of the importance of having the facilities and the means for executing a continuous series of campaigns.

No less eloquent than this lay architecture were the temples, and here the most important additions to our knowledge were made through our excavation of a religious building called Ezida, the plan of which we were able to complete on the akropolis. This was one of the largest temples of Assyria, a complex which included a main shrine as well as several subsidiary ones, a library and scriptorium dedicated to the god, magazines, and two huge courtyards contained within powerful defensive walls and approached by strongly built gateways. The unusual plan of this ingeniously articulated building is a clear expression of its function which derived from a much older tradition.

Here we found the Assyrians dedicating themselves to Babylonian Nabu on an unprecedented scale, aware of how important it was to claim the protection of a Babylonian religious mantle, which their military and political aspirations could never afford to neglect. Moreover this building gave us more information than any other on the akropolis of the vicissitudes which beset Calah from the time of its foundation in 798 B.C. until the final sack nearly two hundred later. Advances in the technique of digging made it possible to unravel the complex changes of structure that had occurred within this span of time, and to detect the remarkable shoring up of the building which Sargon, and possibly Esarhaddon, had been obliged to undertake owing to the decay of the older boundary walls. And it was here that we found buried in the ash of the main entrance gate, a tablet written not more than five years before the final collapse of Assyria, which enabled us to establish the stages by which Calah finally succumbed to her enemies between 614 and 612 B.C. The dating of this ash stratum, which could be traced in many other places on the akropolis, was applicable to all the buildings which had been excavated by Layard and his successors, and marked a great advance in our understanding of the course of the city's history; this discovery, subsequently confirmed by other documents at Nimrud, was intimately related to the dramatic end of Assyria as reflected by the historical records which had been previously discovered at Nineveh and Assur. This aspect of the work at Nimrud therefore had a wide bearing on the history of other sites as well as of Assyria as a whole, and led to the conclusion that the collapse of the great city built by Sargon at Khorsabad should be ascribed to an attack contemporaneous with the one which had been made on Calah.

The decline in the fortunes of the city in the last two or three decades of its history, preceding the final attacks, could be deduced from the lack of evidence for the construction of any major building on the akropolis after the reign of Esarhaddon; the only possible exception was an erection in the outer town, consisting of a series of ceremonial halls, possibly built after the reign of Assurbani-pal, and emptied of its original contents. For comparison with the earlier series of enormous buildings, which often seemed to be exhibitions of an architectural megalomania, this later paucity of evidence must be read as indicative of Assyrian weakness at the time. Indeed these symptoms may perhaps also be diagnosed in the efforts made by the penultimate king, Assur-etil-ilani, to attract

the favour of the god Nabu by repairing and refurbishing his precincts in Ezida.[1]

Beyond Ezida in the south-east sector of the akropolis, more information altogether new to the history of Calah was forthcoming in the series of Hellenistic village settlements where, thanks to the discovery of coin hoards, we caught a glimpse of rural life between about 240 and 140 B.C., a period of Mesopotamian history about which we know all too little. In these villages we have remains which harmonize well with Xenophon's account of the country, and here we find evidence of a taste for Greek wine as opposed to the native variety which made the Greek soldiers unpleasantly drunk.

Another discovery which had a direct bearing on Xenophon's observations was the great stone quay-wall that flanked the western side of the akropolis where we were able to trace for the first time the old bed of the Tigris, or at least one arm of it, which had been the life-line of Calah during the summit of its power. Indeed our knowledge of the city's topography, of the layout of the inner and outer town, our appreciation of its enormous towered walls, has been greatly increased by the recent series of expeditions and has supplemented in a most interesting way what was hitherto known of Assyrian defences, mainly from Assur and Khorsabad, to a lesser extent from Nineveh where intensive work remains to be done on the magnificent ramparts which still enclose the city. From our study of Calah we see that the Assyrians who taught Palestine and other countries so much of the art of warfare did not consider themselves immune from attack, and realized that security begins at home.

It is evident from the great area enclosed by the walls, amounting to nearly 900 acres, and from the size of the public buildings, that Calah was a thickly populated city. But there was no basis for calculating its numbers until we discovered two sets of vital statistics which have provided us with most welcome evidence towards a solution of the problem.

First we have the wonderful sandstone stela of Assur-nasir-pal II which informs us of the various categories of persons who were present at the great banquet which he gave in the fifth year of his reign, 879 B.C., to celebrate the opening of his palace. These persons amounted to just under 70,000 in all, and we have calculated that the feast, which lasted for ten days, was given at the rate of 6,000 persons a day on the akropolis itself, where the 60 acres of ground must have sufficed for this lavish entertainment. We have discussed the difficulties of using this document as the means of a census, since for the most part women and children were not included in the list. But it is clear that the total is probably a minimum basis for an estimate of the population residing in the district at the time. In considering the population of Calah, however, we have to reckon that its inhabitants must have been widespread over a very considerable area of agricultural land and that only on rare occasions, such as festivals and war, would it have been assembled together within the town walls. Everyone however was doubtless subject to taxes and to the levy and had to visit the city from time to time. Moreover, as Calah was essentially a military centre, a considerable proportion of its manpower must have been mobile.

No less interesting is another document, a tablet discovered in Fort Shalmaneser, probably written in the reign of Sargon; it is the record of an inspection of 36,242 bows, most of which had probably been imported from Arpad in

north-western Syria, a city which is elsewhere mentioned in a similar connection. But the real value of this document is that it was written for purely utilitarian purposes, unmotivated by any desire to exaggerate the military strength of Assyria, and it thus provides us with the most reliable evidence for the size of the army which the country was capable of mustering shortly before 700 B.C. Assuming that a number of bows was held in reserve, we can admit with confidence that 30,000 archers were available, and if in addition to these numbers we add spearmen, cavalry, charioteers, technicians and the service corps, the total force with which Calah must have been equipped at the time may well have reached some figure between 70,000 and 100,000 men. It is probable that Calah was then the chief arsenal of Assyria, and if we reckon on armed forces of this order of magnitude, it follows that in the core of the country the population might well have amounted to something like half a million, an estimate which on this basis would be by no means exaggerated.

Although we now have these sources of evidence for an estimate of the city's population we are still far from understanding how it was distributed for, with one exception, the akropolis contained only public buildings—temples, palaces and administrative centres. The exception was a part of the north-east side of the akropolis which was exclusively devoted to private houses. These buildings were mostly built of mud brick, had contained small paved courtyards to admit pack-animals, and were mostly two storeys in height; they were abodes reserved for wealthy merchants and possibly for officials, but not for the nobles. It is fair to describe the occupants as 'upper middle class' in the parlance of Victorian English, and the relatively small size of the houses as compared with the palaces serves only to emphasize the great disparity between the court and the people, although at least one of the merchants in this quarter was a wealthy man, whose house, high up on the inner ramparts, commanded a magnificent view of the outer town and the hills beyond.

Outside the akropolis, north of the Ziggurrat, in the two or three places where we made soundings while looking for the confines of larger buildings, we did discover evidence of meanly built mud-brick houses inferior in quality and in size to those on the akropolis. The remains which we observed were probably of the 7th century B.C. and had evidently been squeezed into plots not required either for larger public buildings (such as a palace of Adad-nirari III at the far north-west end of the outer town), or for gardens. There must have been many hovels, of which all trace has now vanished owing to floods and ploughing, outside the walls, and we must also reckon that many thousands of persons lived in tents. Yet somewhere within the four walls of Calah there lies a bazaar and the merchants' quarters, as we know from references in the tablets. One day this sector should be discovered and the place to look for it in my opinion is in the eastern section of the outer town, not far from the soldiers' quarters, for an army in barracks soon attracts hucksters.

What we have gained from the one house-quarter so far known to us is an archaeological expression of the structure and composition of Assyrian society wherein a wide gulf was fixed between rich and poor. The main body of the people was a rural community tilling the land within the watchful range of the city walls, and controlled by a civil administration which consisted of some thousands of officials, all of whom must have been relatively affluent, and for

their own support must have had some stake in the land, which was either provided by the government or acquired by themselves; their prosperity as well as that of the common soldier and able-bodied labourer liable to recruitment depended on the quality and quantity of the annual harvest and on a sufficiency of rain to maintain cattle in pasture. The top stratum of society, and it must have been a big one, was the population of the palace which was based on a broad foundation of nepotism dependent on the king. We know of a number of privileged families who had served successfully for many generations, in various capacities, and while there were inevitable disadvantages in this system these were enormously compensated for by the wealth of accumulated experience which hereditary professions enjoy.

The spaciousness of the palaces is an indication of the size of the community. Here no doubt was housed, in addition to the court, a small army of craftsmen engaged in many different avocations: fullers, millers, smiths, carpenters and palace-weavers, as we know for example from the tablets found in Ezida. To this composite picture of Assyrian society the excavation at Nimrud has added many enlightening touches which are reflected in the architecture, the inscribed tablets, and the associated small finds.

Although we may regard some half-a-dozen buildings in Calah—Ezida, the Burnt Palace, the houses, Palace AB, the chancery and the domestic wing of the N.W. Palace, and Fort Shalmaneser—as the outstanding architectural contributions made by our expeditions, there was in fact hardly a building previously excavated and re-opened by us that did not reveal some new and significant discovery.

In the N.W. Palace a re-examination of the stratigraphy, by methods beyond the practice of excavation in Layard's time, established the successive phases of the building throughout its long history, and a more thorough investigation of those parts of it which had not been of interest to him, because devoid of stone bas-reliefs, brought some valuable rewards. Outside the main entrance to the throne-room we found the inscribed sandstone stela which is now one of the most famous monuments of his reign, and by prolonged excavation we were able to discover two new wings in addition to the long known state apartments, the chancery in the north and the domestic residence in the south, thus radically altering our former concept of the palace. Some of the tablets found in the chancery were invaluable additions to our sources for the history and economics of Assyria in the 8th and the 7th centuries B.C. At the bottom of one well in the domestic wing we found the first instance of Assyrian writing on waxed tablets in an ivory binding *de luxe*; and at the bottom of another, the finest of the chryselephantine ivories and the head of the 'Mona Lisa', besides many other pieces of superb craftsmanship.

Even in the Ninurta Temple, dedicated to the patron god of Calah, under the lee of the Ziggurrat we made unexpected additions to the plan, and were able to photograph for the first time the magnificent sculpture at the entrance hall of the main shrine—subsequently re-buried by Layard, for whom the services of the newly invented camera were not yet available. Two tablets, found near an impressive series of oil vats in the great hall of this building, proved its continuous use in the 7th century B.C., and here too we detected the same belt of black ash which was indicative of the city's first sack in 614 B.C.

Other additions to the architecture of Calah included many interesting features: an unexpected palace of Adad-nirari III with mural paintings, only partially dug; the Governor's Palace with its beautiful palace-ware pottery; Palace AB with its ivory panelling; and in the outer town a palace which seems to have been built in the last years of the 7th century B.C., perhaps a military building, composed of long halls obviously intended for ceremonial.[2]

To the eloquence of all this architecture we must add that of the objects found in them; and perhaps nothing has been more illuminating than the association of the documentary evidence with the buildings. In Oriental excavation, commentary on the written texts has all too often been treated in isolation from the archaeology, although these two aspects of the evidence should have been indissolubly associated. At the risk of some interruption in the sequence of our discoveries we have therefore in every chapter endeavoured to combine the two, perhaps more closely than has been done before in Assyriological studies.

We have already commented on one of the most illuminating documents of the 9th century—the sandstone stela of Assur-nasir-pal whereon we have a catalogue of the city's decorations and buildings, waterworks, parks, gardens and zoological collections; its categories of inhabitants and visitors; and finally the unique description of a royal banquet with its rich and variegated menu.

An unexpected human touch is the unique mention in one passage of the king as a cultivator propagating trees and flowers in 'a garden of delight'. Here at last we are presented with a facet of the Assyrian character which has long been obscured by the obtrusiveness of its pride and its brutal savagery in war. Among modern historians, Assyria has found its defenders who have justly claimed that its peoples were no more brutal than their contemporaries in the Orient, and, be it said with shame, Assyrian savagery has been exceeded in our own allegedly enlightened times.[3] We must therefore welcome this new portrait of Assur-nasir-pal as an artist, and recall that his bloody deeds were intermittently committed in the course of establishing an empire which was to endure for 250 years to the accompaniment of a rising material prosperity which engendered a brilliant succession of works of art, architecture and craftsmanship.

Next in importance to the stela were the clay documents written just over two centuries later in the reign of Esarhaddon, the famous 'treaty' made with the princes of the Medes who 60 years after were destined to be the allies of Babylon in the destruction of Assyria. Nothing written at Calah paints a more vivid picture than the commination service recorded in these tablets, in the course of which some of the curses may have been re-enacted to the accompaniment of ceremonial shedding of blood and burning of wax, in the manner of a much older Hittite ritual. These impressive texts have, together with his foundation cylinders, added to the prestige of Esarhaddon's name. The discovery of the magnificent stone façade with which he embellished and strengthened Fort Shalmaneser, and the unfinished palace found by Layard, show how much he was intending to do for Calah, which he might perhaps have reinstated as his capital city had not a premature death cut short his reign.

Two other documents of exceptional interest also deserve a distinguished place in the record of discovery; both were found in the chancery of the N.W. Palace. The first was a large inscribed prism of Sargon II found in an archive room, near to a series of little brick boxes where the scribes had stored their

'files'. In addition to a description of his campaigns which were already known, the prism contained a poetic passage, altogether new, concerning his restoration of the ancient city of Babylon which he found in ruins, overgrown with thorn and thistle, a jungle infested with jackals; for many years none had heard 'the sweet harvest song'. This poetic phraseology reproduces in the Assyrian tongue echoes of passages familiar in the contemporary utterances of Isaiah and other prophets of the Old Testament. Once again we see how in spite of intermittent warfare the Assyrians constantly re-endowed this 'Holy City' whose divine favour and cosmopolitan prestige many were ready to acclaim.

The second document, also found in the same room that contained Sargon's prism, was a cylinder of Marduk-apal-iddina II, Merodach-Baladan of the Old Testament, a dissident Chaldaean chieftain who had collided with three kings of Assyria and for a time usurped the throne of Babylon. The cylinder made an exultant reference to a victory over Sargon in 720 B.C. and to the consequent termination of Assyrian rule over Babylon. Sargon, however, had had the last word; not content with driving this dangerous enemy into the marshes and, as we have seen, rebuilding Babylon, he abstracted this unfriendly account from its place in a temple within the distant city of Erech and substituted a new and 'improved' version in its stead. The execution of this counter-propaganda must have been entrusted to the scribes of Calah who, after they had completed this work, retained the adverse record in the city's archives, and unwittingly thereby evinced a true sense of history.

Equally interesting were many other tablets, particularly historic, economic and administrative texts written in the reigns of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon, and also stored in the same room. One of the most illuminating was a text vividly illustrating the difficulties which confronted His Assyrian Majesty's Commissioners of Inland Revenue in Tyre and Sidon, especially over the collection of timber and wine. Both here and elsewhere many hundreds of tablets have enriched our knowledge of every aspect of life in ancient Assyria, and these discoveries have been all the more remarkable in that before our expeditions took the field only two cuneiform tablets had been found at Calah in the course of the intensive work which had been conducted by Layard and others during the 19th century—apart from the standard inscriptions on the stone reliefs. From the first we had been convinced that texts of this kind remained to be found, and that it was because most of these documents had been written on unbaked clay and were therefore barely distinguishable from the surrounding soil, that they had been overlooked. Well-trained workmen, a century of experience in the observation and treatment of tablets, and an adequately manned supervisory staff enabled us to detect this material; but it would be unfair to blame the ill-equipped expeditions that had preceded us for their failure in this respect.

There is less need to recapitulate the list of objects large and small that have been recovered in the course of our excavations and have been added in generous measure to Layard's trophies. As a result of his work, principally in the N.W. Palace, in the 'Centre Palace' and in that of Esarhaddon, he had removed the cream of the bas-reliefs which so brilliantly illustrate the character of Assyrian art in the 9th century B.C. Nonetheless, for all these discoveries, sculpture varying in quality remained, notably the two life-size statues of Shalmaneser III,

and his magnificent throne-base, characteristic of the miniature art of relief at the time and matching in stone the bronze reliefs on the gates of Balawat. On the throne-base it was remarkable that the scene selected for placing in the foreground depicted the king of Assyria clasping hands with the king of Babylon, yet another instance of the importance which was attached to a good political relationship between these two cities in the face of implacable enemies to the north and to the east.

Many different classes of small objects have also been illustrated in this book, especially seals, metal implements and pottery; many of these have been examined in detail, and will continue to be studied for a long time to come. They are of interest in the history both of technology and of art, and illustrate both the spread of invention and its idiosyncracies in western Asia. No less interesting has been the study of rarer objects such as glass and of the ingenious processes which were used in manufacturing glass vessels of the utmost delicacy. It is possible that in the 7th century B.C. there were already factories which were a common source of supply for Etruria in the west and Assyria in the east. A study of the plant and cereal remains (and in one instance of the timber, the first Assyrian specimen to have been submitted to the Carbon 14 test for dating) has been no less rewarding and suggests that the Assyrians had to rely to some extent on importing grain from abroad, as may be warranted by a tablet which mentions the names of individual Egyptians who were concerned with the loan of grain. It is a peculiar advantage of Assyrian archaeology moreover that, thanks to associated inscriptions, much material can now be very precisely dated. Indeed we have sets of palace-ware pottery, especially those found in the Governor's Palace and in the chancery of the N.W. Palace, that can be determined as still in use in the year 614 B.C. when they were covered by the ash of the great sack.

When all the material from Nimrud has been reviewed, however, there are few who would not award the palm to the ivories which, to judge by their numbers and the loving care that was lavished upon them, the Assyrians prized more highly than any other *objets d'art*; they are indeed one of the richest and most bounteous legacies which the craftsmen of the ancient east have left us, beautiful in themselves, and the more interesting because we have acquired an increased understanding of their historical and archaeological setting. These carvings were applied as adornment to furniture, chairs, stools, tables and beds, boxes and trays, and were prized as decorations for ceremonial objects. In them we see not merely the art of Assyria but a more cosmopolitan output derived from workshops situated in the rich cities of Syria, Palestine and Phoenicia: Damascus, Samaria, Carchemish, Hama, Tyre and the like. Since specimens of this art were also widely dispersed in Anatolia and Iran where they betrayed an individuality of their own, we have in them a fruitful source of study for the interplay of variations on similar art themes such as plant and animal designs, and through them we can observe the artistic influences which followed the movement both of objects and of craftsmen.

The ivories recovered from Nimrud amount to tens of thousands of fragments, in addition to many hundreds of larger pieces. Here we have attempted to illustrate some of the principal subjects—a prelude to studies which will doubtless continue for many decades. None would have imagined that

after Layard and Loftus had brought home to the British Museum their wonderful collection, another, ten times as large, was still to come. But yet more was recovered from apartments in the same buildings which those two men had begun digging, and in Fort Shalmaneser, untouched by them, the richest harvest of the kind that has ever been garnered.

It is indeed fortunate that these early diggers left for posterity some parts of the site untouched, available to more modern methods of digging and amenable to a more revealing examination, thanks to an increased experience, and to the wide range of knowledge which since the last century has been obtained by digging at hundreds of selected sites dispersed throughout western Asia. We also, like our predecessors, have left for others wide expanses of untouched ground both on the akropolis and in the outer town which may be attacked the more profitably when different authorities have found time to reflect on what we found between the years 1949 and 1963. It is certain that many exciting discoveries remain for those who may have the good fortune to continue the work hereafter at this immensely rich site. But a lapse of some years should ensue before that can be conscientiously done.

Experience of digging at sites as vast as Nimrud has taught us that for any measure of success it is necessary to plan ahead for many seasons of work, continuously pursued, and that an expedition must be able to feel reasonably assured that the finance required for these expensive operations will be available for a prolonged run. These considerations alone, in addition to the great amount of material which has accumulated for publication, would have been enough to call a halt to the work for a time. When we began the task in 1949 the standard rate of pay for the humblest form of rural labour amounted to three shillings a day; ten years later the rate had approximately doubled, and the pay for skilled labour had at least tripled, and indeed it is probably fair to say that over the years the cost of a season's bill was at least two and a half times what it had been at the outset. Unfortunately, and understandably perhaps, the funds available for the support of an archaeological expedition had by no means increased on the same scale; those who know will appreciate that this is an understatement.

Looking back over a century it is interesting to recall that Layard paid his humblest labourer the equivalent of two and a half pence a day; at Nineveh in 1930 Campbell Thompson paid them six pence; a year ar two later at Arpachiyah we were paying one shilling. The course of inflation has continued unchecked, and the archaeologist must realize that work on a large scale is now beyond his means without the aid of some form of mechanization. Already we have successfully called in bull-dozers for the shifting of dumps and motorized pumps for the evacuation of water; we need overhead railways for the movement of dirt. There would however seem to be limits to what can be economically done by machinery; in the last resort it is the skill of the hand that counts. But with the miraculous progress of scientific invention he would be a fool who would deny that even the skill of the human hand and eye may eventually be replaced by some more modern mechanical marvel. One may foresee eventually for instance, the introduction of underground photography. Perhaps these reflections will serve to show that while we may with profit work at smaller sites for some time to come, at Nimrud we have reached *fin de siècle*.

However that may be, work of extraordinary interest is still to be done. The

base of the Ziggurrat, on one face of which Layard found a stone and pilastered brick façade, is virtually untouched. The completion of this task alone, involving many months of unspectacular work would now cost considerably over ten thousand pounds. In many parts of the akropolis there is much ground to be broken; but the most inviting prospects of all lie in the outer town, especially on its eastern side where a series of great buildings beyond Fort Shalmaneser await excavation. Layard's words, written at the end of his work in 1851, 'other treasures still exist in the mound of Nimrud',[4] are still as true to-day.

Now that we must take leave of the site, we can recall with joy the carefree days when we set out in 1949 with the glorious prospect of discovery. The mound of Nimrud was untenanted then, as it had been a hundred years earlier, except for a few humble shepherds. We worked untroubled and little known, on the green swards, gazing with joy over the meadows to the Tigris and the hills of Kurdistan where lay the bones of countless generations of men who had ventured forth, in war and in peace, from the home town where we still remembered them.

APPENDICES

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APPENDIX I

THE PLANT REMAINS FROM NIMRUD

by HANS HELBAEK

The excavation of Nimrud is one of the first major archaeological enterprises in the Near East where close and constant attention was paid to plant remains. Each campaign, carbonized material was recovered from among the debris of buildings and wells from which we are able to piece together an approximate picture of the vegetable foods of the Assyrians, as also of the state of the fields, how the crops throve, and what bright-coloured weeds broke the monotony of the uniform growth of the cultivated plants. Most of the evidence illuminates the conditions during the 7th century, but a glimpse was also obtained of an earlier period, and even agricultural products of times much later than the destruction of the Assyrian capital were discovered in the debris of the ravaged Nabu Temple.

The main crops reflected in the finds are barley, bread wheat, common millet, lentil and linseed. To this were added the fruits of date, fig, olive, pomegranate and cucumber, and the grapevine afforded fresh grapes, raisins and wine.

All the Nimrud barley was hulled; the naked variety in which the inner husk (palea) is detached from the kernel, did not occur. But by examining the two 7th century deposits, no. IV and no. VII[1], we find that both main types, the six-row and the two-row barley, were represented even though the latter was vastly more frequent. The two samples differ considerably regarding quality as well as content of weeds.

In sample no. VII [TW53, room 19] the average length of the grains is 6.15 mm and thus roughly equal to most carbonized ancient barley from the Near East. The bulk was the two-row species, but an insignificant proportion was the nodding, six-row variety, Bere. This can be made out from the shape of the grains; in two-row barley all grains are straight while the six-row spike has twice as many twisted as straight grains. Thus, when among the 4500 grains of this lot we find 41 asymmetrical ones it means that approximately 60 kernels came from the six-row variety, theoretically no more than two or three ears.

The predominant form, the two-row, hulled barley is illustrated by a most unusual find (sample no. III) from one of the wells, NN. Some time between 705 and 640 B.C. a fresh spike was dropped into the well and got embedded in the sludge on the bottom. Little by little as it rotted away under the water, loam particles sedimented in the tiny cavities formed by the decaying plant tissue, and at last a complete cast was produced. Meticulous excavation of the well brought it to light [64]. In it we observe the sterile lateral florets and a conspicuous wrinkling of the palea. The lower portion of the awns is also represented.

As seen with the eyes of a modern European farmer the barley field was not all that could be wished for (sample no. VII). The growth was not very dense and in open patches a lot of weeds had installed themselves. This appears from the charred seeds found among the corn. We find several kinds of grass such as wild oat, ryegrass, and goat-face grass of at least two species, all common weeds in the Near East and southern Europe. The Pea family was represented by such plants as vetch, vetchling,

The notes for the appendices will be found on p. 664.

trigonel, medick, melilot and other small or medium-sized slender plants, mostly with white or yellow flowers. Inhabitants as obnoxious as widespread among the straws were the rough, twining cleavers with their ball-shaped seeds. Less common and far less unpleasant were the bright pink cowherb and the mauve-flowered bladder-fruited corn salad which bears whitish, spongy fruits resembling small foam balls. Here and there a little bush of cheese weed displayed its pale mauve flowers among the barley ears, and the rusty-coloured tops of dock were conspicuous from the distance. A few plants of wheat and lentil grew dispersed in the field.

The other barley deposit, sample no. IV, was found in a large storage jar [TW53, room 9]. It is unusually irregular as to grain size, the average length is no more than 5.6 mm, and many grains do not reach 4 mm which is extraordinary even in prehistoric barley from northern Europe. Further, a certain proportion is almost destroyed by germination. Since this is only a minority it can hardly be intentional—for the purpose of malting—but may rather be conceived as bad management. A larger number than in the other deposit must be referred to as Bere, but still by far the major part seems to be of the two-row variety. The bread wheat which occurred together with the barley, amounting to about one-sixth of the volume, is in the same state of under-nourishment.

Besides the species enumerated above, some additional weeds were met with here. We can visualize the bright scarlet flower spike of pheasant's eye and the crown vetch with its small umbrellas of yellow flowers; Indian melilot emitted an attractive coumarin scent from its rich yellow clusters, while caterpillar belonged to the most numerous of all the weeds. It has got its peculiar name from its pods which are curved into a ring or spiral, densely beset with coarse prickles on prominent ribs, thus simulating a vicious caterpillar.

Judging by the poor quality of the last described corn (sample no. IV) as well as by the many weeds, we may take it that it came from rather poor land, probably from a stone-dry field with isolated humid spots. This impression is underlined by the many caterpillar, which is a plant of the sandy and rocky pasture rather than the irrigated field, and the corn may well have grown in the mountains far from Nimrud.

That a diet based on barley was not a novel feature is shown by a small lot of vegetable remains found 15 metres down the shaft of a well in the Burnt Palace, dated to the 13th century B.C. (sample no. I). It consists of shrivelled barley husks and many kinds of indeterminable vegetable matter, but some twenty puffed grains and a grape pip indicate that it is not refuse; indeed it seems to be the remnants of a cooked meal consisting mainly of hulled barley, raisins, and various green vegetables. If barley grains are cracked, the starch will dissolve enough in cooking for the grain shell to contract and distort on subsequent carbonization.

The bulk of the plant material came from the citadel, but the excavation of Fort Shalmaneser also yielded valuable finds which are of interest in that they diverge in certain respects from those of the citadel. The latter may be summarized as consisting mainly of barley, with some wheat thrown in; the Fort Shalmaneser finds are composed chiefly of wheat, to which was added some barley. Also, as we shall see, the combination of pulses from the two areas are distinctly different.

Because of its poor state of preservation, the wheat from the citadel which was found among barley is not easily determined, but it all seems to be bread wheat except for a few slender grains and some spikelet fragments which can be referred to as emmer. The latter species, a primitive wheat with 28 chromosomes, was practically the only wheat in Sumer and the other early Mesopotamian city-states. The 42-chromosome bread wheat was first cultivated on a large scale in Neolithic Anatolia from where it spread to Europe and eventually also to neighbouring countries to the east. It occurs in

northern Iraq more than a thousand years before the time with which we are here concerned.

Three of the wheat samples (nos. XII–XIV) from Fort Shalmaneser [N–S corridor, S40, C7] consist of bread wheat only while the fourth (no. XV) is a mixture of the two species. It is too badly damaged for the exact composition to be made out. But it appears from sample no. XII [F.S., N–S corridor] that the quality of the bread wheat was relatively good; the average length is 4.93, width 3.07 and thickness 2.62 mm. For comparison may be quoted the figures in very fine 13th century bread wheat from Anatolia: 5.48, 2.98 and 2.54 mm.

Some 800 cubic centimetres of millet was found in TW53, room 19, partly in lumps stuck together by carbonization tar (sample no. VIII). Some of the grains are naked, others are still covered by their glossy husks. Apart from a few barley grains the field seems to have been rather clean; only willow weed could be identified.

At the time of its discovery this find was most surprising. Although common millet was grown north and west of the Black Sea from the Neolithic period, and in the Far East long before the Assyrian kingdom was established, it was perfectly unknown in the ancient plant deposits from Egypt and western Asia. In 1958, however, an imprint of a millet grain was found in a pottery lid from Jamdat Nasr south of Baghdad, of about 3000 B.C., proving that the plant was indeed introduced into lower Mesopotamia even though there is as yet no evidence to show that it was commonly cultivated. Eventually Fort Shalmaneser [S40] also yielded a find of this cereal (sample no. XIII), and recently carbonized millet was recovered in contemporary levels at Hasanlu in north-western Iran, in a collection of plants literally identical to those found at Nimrud.

In ancient sites in the Near East, as opposed to northern Europe, we always encounter pulses (plants of the Pea family), either wild seeds collected in the pasture land, seeds grown together with the corn, or as separate crops. This is because they contain about three times as much protein as the cereals, and thus to the common population who could not afford meat as a daily treat, they form an important element in a balanced diet. Even though the Ancients could hardly define this, they knew of the practical effects from experience reaching back to the earliest days. At Nimrud and Fort Shalmaneser were found four species of common pulses. The principal crop was lentil together with which chick-pea is found in the citadel samples no. IV [TW53, room 9] and IX [ZT, room 14], and bitter vetch and grass pea in the deposit from Fort Shalmaneser [S40] (sample no. XVI).

The lentil is a low plant with inconspicuous bluish flowers and a short, broad pod with two or three flat, lens-shaped seeds (from which derives the name given to the glass component in magnifying instruments). The Nimrud seeds belong to the largest on record, attaining a diameter of up to 5 mm. Cultivation of lentil goes back to the beginnings of agriculture, and the pulse is still of great importance today in western Asia and southern Europe.

The chick-pea looks much like the lentil, but it has thick inflated pods containing two rather large angular seeds (resembling a ram's head), in Arabic called *Hūmmus*, which are a universally favoured food, not for a high protein content, but because they are unusually palatable. The roasted seeds are consumed as a confectionery or ground up with oil in a much relished paste (*Hūmmus bi tahina*) served with other food. This species has been found in prehistoric strata most often in the east Mediterranean countries, but in our days it is a widely distributed crop all along the Mediterranean and through Asia to India and Afghanistan.

As opposed to this, the bitter vetch is met with in prehistoric sites only in the Aegean area, Anatolia and, isolated, in mountainous northern Iraq. In ancient finds it

occurs among human foods, but now it is a fodder plant only, grown mostly in the Mediterranean countries, Anatolia, and western Iran but not in Iraq. Therefore, it is an inconsistency to find it in the Tigris valley and it probably means that the lentil in which it grew was imported. The grass pea points in the same direction, and considered in conjunction with the consistent predominance of wheat and the relative paucity in weeds in the Fort Shalmaneser deposits, the whole composition of plant foods from this area suggests foreign introduction.

In excavating the northern wing (chancery) of the N.W. Palace about half a litre of carbonized linseed was found (sample no. X from ZT14); some years later a similar find was made in Fort Shalmaneser [S40] (sample no. XVI).

In climates like that prevailing in the Tigris valley the plant (flax) cannot be grown without irrigation. Rain is too scarce and the early summer too hot, so it must be grown during the winter, carefully irrigated and reaped in the spring. In the mountains of northern Iraq rainfall is much more generous and the summer heat is more moderate; in such environment the wild flax is at home and this is where its cultivation began. However, the seeds of the mountain flax, grown without artificial watering, were rather small, whereas the irrigated lowland flax produced larger seeds and thus a better output of oil, a most important component of the food.

The Nimrud linseed is the finest example we know. Early dry-farming seed, as exemplified by imprints in clay from Arpachiyah and Brak, do not exceed a length of 4 mm; linseed from irrigated lands at Ur, Hama, Khafajah and Egypt, range from 4.4 to 5.1 mm. The carbonized seeds from Nimrud attain a maximum length of 5.3 mm. If, for comparison with imprints, we add the established shrinkage rate, one-sixth, we arrive at a length of some 6.2 mm. This would be considered good enough for a modern crop anywhere. Since sesame for cooking oil was introduced from India by Early Islamic trade, linseed has gone out of native production in the Near East. It appears sporadically in finds of the early 8th millennium, but only after introduction of controlled irrigation, presumably about 5000 B.C., did it attain real importance.

The flax field was infested by various weeds such as the cow-herb and Egyptian sun-rose, and the open growth presented favourable conditions for cleavers.

Hitherto we have been concerned only with annual crop plants, but perennials, trees and shrubs also added their fruits to the diet and refreshment of the Assyrians. Some of them were grown in the valley, others such as fig and olive were introduced from the mountains to the east and north where they are still being grown. Hazel nuts were collected in the forests up north, and shepherds brought in dodder and prosopis from the desert and pasture for use in the kitchen.

Peculiarly enough, most evidence comes from the wells. In the fill of well NN in the N.W. Palace were found uncarbonized shells of hazel nuts, olive stones and a date stone (sample no. II). In addition to cereals, another well, in the north-west corner of the Burnt Palace, yielded lentil, linseed, seeds of various weeds, many grape pips and fig seeds (both uncarbonized) as well as prosopis, pomegranate, and cucumber (sample no. XI). One gets an uncomfortable feeling about the old Assyrians' respect for the hygiene of their drinking water.

One of the plant finds from the Ziggurrat Terrace [TW53, room 19] is quite unique. It consists of many carbonized dodder plants, stems, flowerheads and seeds (sample no. V). This is a leafless parasitic twine which climbs on other plants and is a most obnoxious weed in many plant cultures. Quite a few species of dodder occur in Mesopotamia, and the specific name of the present one has not been ascertained. The various species are dependent upon a certain host species or on a few related ones. One dodder lives exclusively on flax, another mostly on camel thorn. We find the seeds of flax dodder among the Fort Shalmaneser linseed, but they are quite different from

those of the separate deposit. Which host was nourishing the latter we cannot say for sure, but together with them were found many slightly curved thorns which undoubtedly come from the host plant.

Although the stems of dodder are very long and thin they are useless for textile because they are extremely fragile; there must be some other property in the plant which was utilized by the Assyrians. What that is defies establishment, but in his *Natural History*, Pliny has a remark which may well bear on this problem. He says that 'at Babylon was planted a peculiar shrub which will only live on a kind of thorn, called the Royal thorn. They used it in the preparation of wine, and that is why they planted it.'

Another wild plant also seems to have contributed to the households of Assyrians. In TW53, room 19, a collection of carbonized pods were found, coming from prosopis, a small shrub of the Mimosa family, called *Shōk* or *Kharnūb* by the local population (sample no. VI). It bears small swollen pods, shaped like a thumb, containing oval seeds about 7 mm long which have a horseshoe-shaped incision in the sides of the hard seed coat. It is one of the commonest species in pasture and not too saline desert all over the arid lands of the Near East. Prosopis is a most useful plant which has extremely deep roots and, when once having had enough surface water to sprout, it is able to grow in places where nothing else can survive because the groundwater table is too far beneath the surface. In the dry season it constitutes the *pièce de résistance* to sheep in districts where little other food is available, and the pods are reputed to be eaten by shepherds also. There can be little doubt that the Ancients ate them since they brought them into their abode, especially as they are not quite mature.

When in 1955 the area of the Nabu Temple was stripped for investigation it was discovered that Hellenistic squatters had accommodated themselves among the ruins a long time after the citadel was destroyed, presumably about 200 B.C. At the south end of the temple a jar was found which contained over a gallon of barley, exceptionally well preserved (sample no. XVII). It had been stored in the unthreshed state and thus for once it was possible, from carbonized remains, to judge how the spike looked.

More than 500 internodes or articulate complexes of such could be picked out of the corn, and of all these only four came from a six-row spike. The Assyrian tradition of two-row barley had survived. All ordinary internodes bear characters that indicate a slender, nodding spike type with rather long pedicels to the sterile lateral florets; the grains are covered by a comparatively thin palea. Among the corn were found mouse droppings as also the dismembered, carbonized bodies of tiny grain beetles.

Although not of impressive size, the grains display all the details one could wish for—except their original colour. The average dimensions are approximately the same as in the poorer of the deposits described above (sample no. IV) and there is evidence for some variation of type. Some grains are almost smooth, others copiously wrinkled, and the rachilla, a tiny brush situated in the ventral furrow, is variously furnished with bristles. In a highly-bred strain the grains are uniform in respect of these traits. Judging by a few internodes still attached to slender, completely unwrinkled grains with a thick palea, there has been a slight sprinkling of the wild, two-row barley in the Hellenistic field. This situation still obtained when not many years ago the present writer herborized around the foot of the Nimrud *tell*.

Now, one would not expect a community so loosely organized, as evidenced by their habitation, to have managed the establishment and upkeep of an irrigation system. But, in fact, the long list of weeds from this deposit (no. XVII) seems to indicate the possibility. The large number of ryegrass is unusual in dry-farming corn, and a species such as hoary cress is a typical irrigation weed, and so are sedge and club-rush. It may also be noted that caterpillar is absent. Although at the time of the Hellenistic

occupation the Tigris had shifted its course away from the immediate vicinity of the city mound, the inhabitants may well have followed along and utilized its water for irrigation of their crops on a small scale. They do that up to this day.

This, in brief, is what Nimrud gave us in the way of information on Assyrian plant foods and the state of the Assyrian field. It also reflects some measure of trade relations with mountainous tribes and with the provinces. It must be realized that when we are dealing with a large cultural and political centre, on one of the big trade routes of the ancient world, the provenance of the plant food we find cannot always be pinpointed to its immediate environment. Much must have been supplied from far afield. A city like Nimrud could not be nourished exclusively by the Tigris farming within the first dozen miles up and down the river. Thus the ecological conditions reflected in the plant finds need not all of them apply to the vicinity of Nimrud—as indeed some details here described hardly do. It is a fact that at the time of late Assyrian Nimrud the whole of the agricultural lands of Mesopotamia had become so polluted by salinity from over-irrigation that wheat could hardly grow anywhere and therefore had to be brought in from higher land.

It might seem a waste of time to speculate on such things as ruined carbonized plant remains. Do not the innumerable cuneiform tablets tell the whole story? Indeed the ancient texts mention animals and plants in profusion, but it should be noted, first, that the plants are never mentioned with specific descriptions and that consequently the correlation of the Sumerian or Babylonian names with the specific Latin ones may be difficult to the philologist who has mainly etymological criteria for guidance. Secondly, it should be realized that plants may have changed names as their use or cultivation expanded into another linguistic territory. Many modern examples might be mentioned. And there is one case with which we are here concerned that invites consideration: the case of linseed versus sesame. The etymological basis for the modern Arabic name of sesame, *Simsim*, can be followed back to early Sumerian texts, but, search as we will, paleoethnobotany is unable to point to one single find of a sesame seed anywhere in the Near East. Now, the nutritional equivalent to sesame, linseed, is found everywhere from the very beginnings of agriculture, also in Sumerian, Babylonian and Assyrian sites—but no name for linseed as a food element can be described as commonly occurring, if occurring at all. Even the Nimrud stele of Assur-nasir-pal II mentions large volumes of sesame, of which we have seen no trace in our finds, but not a word of linseed which, as it appears from this study, was of considerable importance to the Nimrud citizens. Here is a discrepancy which can hardly be explained otherwise than by the assumption that the early Oriental name translated as sesame actually applied to linseed. And that the name was transferred to *Sesamum* when, about a thousand years ago, that commodity was introduced, replacing linseed as an important element in Near Eastern cooking.

Copenhagen 17.i.65

LIST A: CULTIVATED AND GATHERED PLANTS

(underlined **bold face** figures stand for cubic centimetres, italics for numbers of individual seeds or grains)

sample no.	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
date B.C.	13th cent.	715–612	705–640	7th cent.	666–626				648–612		617–600	612 (Fort Shalmaneser)					*ca.* 200
Emmer							*2*								**22**		
Bread wheat				**123**			*35*		*10*		*2*	**40**	**2**	**23**			*1*
Barley	*20*		x	**700**	*16*		**75**	*7*	*16*		*72*	*9*	*1*	*2*	*2*	*3*	**2610**
Millet								**800**					**48**				
Lentil				**7**			*6*		**85**	*1*	*2*	*1*					
Chick-pea				*1*					*36*								
Cucumber											*2*						
Linseed										**500**						**50**	
Grape	*1*										*61*						
Fig											*5*						
Date		*1*															
Olive		*3*															
Pomegranate											*1*						
Hazelnut		*2*															
Prosopis						**70**	*1*	*1*			*1*						
Dodder					**70**												

LIST B: WEEDS

(numbers of seeds and fruits)

weed-bearing samples	I	IV	V	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XVI	XVII
Echinaria *capitata*	1			1							1
Lolium rigidum Rigid ryegrass		96		7							1410
Lolium temulentum Darnel		4		2				1	1	21	1
Phalaris sp. Canary grass				1		1					1
Psilurus incurvis Awned mat-grass		1									
Avena ludoviciana Wild oat		57		11							14
Aegilops crassa Goat-face grass		2		9				3			28
Aegilops sp.	1	76		3				1			48
Scirpus tabernaemontani Clubrush											1
Carex sp. Sedge											1
Muscari ?				1						1	45
Polygonum, cf. *patulum* Willow weed						1					
Rumex spp. Dock			1	1							89
Gypsophila pilosa Hairy soap wort											56
Silene sp. Catchfly										1	12
Vaccaria segetalis Cowherb				2		1	6			45	91
Adonis dentata Pheasant's eye	1	2						2			19
Ranunculus arvensis Hunger weed				2							
Fumaria parviflora Fumitory											4
Hypecoum *pendulum*			1								
Capparis spinosa Caper				1							1
Alyssum sp. ? Madwort											14
Biscutella didymus Buckler mustard											1
Calepina *irregularis*		2									
Cardaria draba Hoary cress											161
Lepidium sativum Peppergrass										1	
Sisymbrium cf. *irio* Rocket											2
Thlaspi perfoliatum Perf. penny cress											21
Astragalus sp. Milk vetch		1									1
Coronilla scorpioides Crown vetch		19									1
Hippocrepis sp. Horseshoe vetch		2									1
Lathyrus aphaca Yellow vetchling		1									1
Lathyrus erectus Small-fl. vetchling		3		5							
Lathyrus cicera Dwarf chickling									1		
Medicago hispida Medick		15		2							1
Melilotus indica Melilot		95	2	8							10
Scorpiurus cf. *sulcata* Caterpillar		90		2		1			2		
Trigonella cf. *aurantiaca* Trigonel											1
Trigonella, cf. *brevidentata* Trigonel	1	19		36				2			33
Vicia cf. *angustifolia* Narrow-lv. vetch		1		2							
Vicia cf. *monantha* Syrian vetch		2		7							
Vicia peregrina Broad-podded vetch		1									
Geranium dissectum Jagged crane's bill		1					1				
Malva nicaeënsis Cheese weed	1	4		1		1					19
Helianthemum aegyptiacum Egypt. sun-rose							9				
Helianthemum salicifolium Willow-lv. sun-rose											16
Bupleurum cf. *subovatum* Hare's ear											1
Anagallis coerulea Blue pimpernel										1	
Convolvulus *arvensis*			1								2
Cuscuta epilium Flax dodder										26	
Ajuga chia Chian bugle		2				1					
Plantago sp. Plantain		1									
Galium tricorne Cleavers		33		5		30	12	2	5	1	32
Valerianella truncata Corn salad		2									
Valerianella vesicaria Bladder-fr. corn salad		1		1							
Cephalaria syriaca Syrian scabious				2		1				1	20
Centaurea solstitialis Star thistle			1							1	2
Garhadiolus *hedypnois*	1										

APPENDIX II

THE TREATMENT OF IVORIES IN THE FIELD

by CARROLL WALES

The great number of ivories that were excavated and treated in March and April of 1958 were found at all levels of the excavation, for the most part buried in a damp clay soil. Because of its porous nature the ivory had absorbed moisture which had in time decomposed its cell structure. When first uncovered the ivory would appear to be in fine condition, but on drying (and in the warm dry air of Iraq this may be a matter of a few minutes), the ivory would become brittle and crack, because it had lost all its strength. In order to preserve the ivory, therefore, some preliminary treatment had to be carried out as the object was being uncovered. H. J. Plenderleith of the British Museum had a long time ago recommended the use of polyvinyl acetate for preserving ivories found in a damp and weakened condition.

Specially trained workmen using small hand-picks and knives turned the wet earth over carefully to find an ivory. When one was located the dirt was cleared away from a small area and the exposed part immediately brushed with a dilute solution of polyvinyl acetate in acetone to infuse and strengthen its structure. Alcohol, because of its slower rate of evaporation, might prove to be a more satisfactory diluent to be used with polyvinyl acetate in a dry climate.

If the ivory lay face down, its smooth back could be quickly cleared of dirt and infused. After a few minutes, when the synthetic resin had dried, the object was cut loose from the soil, with only a small amount of dirt attached to it. It was then turned on its back, and the ivory was cleaned of dirt and infused with polyvinyl acetate, section by section. When both sides of the ivory were coated and dry, it was safe for transportation to the workroom. If the ivory lay design side up, the same procedure was followed but at a slightly slower pace in the beginning, as the carved surface required more careful cleaning.

Orange-wood manicure sticks, small soft brushes, and a small rubber syringe were used for removing the covering of dirt from the ivories. The orange-stick was used to remove the dirt from the intricate carved surface; great care had to be taken when touching the ivory with a tool, for even orange-wood can scratch the soft surface of a wet ivory. A soft brush was used to clear away the pieces of dirt as they were dislodged from the ivory, and a rubber syringe would blow out any remaining powdered bits. It was always safer, and easier, to clean the ivory while the earth still retained its original moisture, but occasionally, when there was not sufficient time for cleaning at the excavation, the exposed side of the ivory would be cleared and coated, a trench would then be dug around the ivory and at an angle beneath it, and it would be lifted resting on a small mound of earth and transported to the workroom for further treatment. There was danger of damage to the ivory if the dirt in drying cracked and fell apart; this was prevented by wrapping the dirt with a band of cloth or gauze and tying it securely. Later, in the workroom, the ivory would be freed from the dirt before removing the cloth band.

APPENDIX II: TREATMENT OF IVORIES

In room SW7 were found a number of curved panels, each composed of several pieces of ivory. The adhesive used to join the pieces had been destroyed, but they were held in position by the earth around them. Before such a panel could be removed, a secondary support was attached to its back to hold the pieces in position. Most of these panels were found standing on end. Where possible, the dirt was left against the design side of a panel for support, and the back of each piece was cleaned, infused, and coated with polyvinyl acetate. The backs of the pieces were then reinforced by bands of porous cloth which were attached with polyvinyal acetate to form a secondary support. Loose dirt was then placed against the back of the panel for additional support, and the slower work of uncovering and coating the design side was undertaken. The loose dirt placed against the back of the panel was then removed, and the whole panel lifted free and placed on a tray covered with cotton wool for removal to the workroom.

In the excavation workroom attention was first paid to the ivories still resting on beds of earth. If the mud had dried into a hard lump, it was softened by drops of methylated spirits added to the area immediately adjacent to the ivory until it could be freed, cleaned, and coated with polyvinyl acetate. In many instances ivories were brought in from the field in a partially clean condition. If, in order to save the ivory, resin had been brushed over dirt and ivory together, the dirt was again removed by drops of methylated spirits. Polyvinyl acetate was also used as a glue to reattach separated parts of an ivory. It was necessary to watch treated ivories carefully; many of them needed a second treatment with polyvinyl acetate because of their extreme dryness. Some of the ivories had a brown stain that later was found to be bitumen, believed to have been used to attach gold leaf. This was not endangering the ivory and was left for museum laboratory treatment.

In general, field treatment of ivories was the infusion with polyvinyl acetate immediately following the uncovering and cleaning of the piece. It could then be moved and transported with relative safety. Final treatment, which was to be carried out later under laboratory conditions, consisted of prolonged cleaning, more prolonged infusion, further reinforcement of the panels, with realignment of the parts if necessary, and compensation for losses.

APPENDIX III

GLASS

by AXEL VON SALDERN

Introduction

Since its publication in 1853 by Layard[1] the so-called Sargon vase—rather an alabastron—has caught the attention of the glass historian. The object bears the name of Sargon II, thus dating it in the last quarter of the 8th century B.C. Only very few other glass vessels prior to the Roman Empire carry marks that date them so precisely: there is only a handful of Egyptian vessels and fragments with names of rulers of Dynasty XVIII.

Layard reports, in addition, the finding of 'two entire glass bowls, with fragments of others'.[2] The bowls and some of the fragments are identical with the three vessels now preserved in the British Museum which are listed below. Furthermore, a vase with shield-like handles in the same institution stems likewise from last century's Nimrud excavation.

This group of five glass vessels held until recently a relatively lonely position within the history of glass of the 1st millennium B.C. Egyptian glass production, most prolific during the late 15th and 14th centuries, subsided gradually towards the end of the millennium. A 'revival' of the so-called sand-core technique spread, curiously enough, not in Egypt but along the eastern Mediterranean regions, particularly during the second half of the 1st millennium. About the middle of the 2nd millennium, cored glass vessels decorated with tooled threads made their appearance also in Mesopotamia,[3] but, as in Egypt, they seem to have got out of fashion, only to be made again, on a limited scale, in the 7th century.[4]

Thus the history of glass appears to have taken a rather uneven course: some periods, like Dynasty XVIII or the first centuries of our era, were graced with a very rich and varied glass industry, while people of other periods seem to a large extent to have been disinterested in this material. This conjecture, however, may very well be the result of an illusion because the archaeologist has not yet provided us with the 'missing links' that might force us one day to change our opinion on the relative frequency of glass-production over the centuries.

A case in point is Nimrud. The 1st millennium, until very recently was thought to have been a time practically devoid of any significant contribution to the history of glass (except for the last century); it is now emerging rapidly from the historical twilight. The new finds at Nimrud, the series of glasses of a similar nature excavated elsewhere, the recent discoveries at Persepolis and their parallels, and, lastly, the impressive products of transparent glass coming from the hitherto unknown Hellenistic industry: all this material has induced us to revise our views of this period considerably.[5]

In 1940, Fossing drew up an excellent and fairly complete survey of pre-Roman glass, covering about 1,600 years. The major objects listed, which were not produced in the sand-core technique, amounted to about half a dozen, including the Sargon alabastron and four bowls (from Fortetsa, Babylon, Praeneste and Ephesus; in a

footnote, a few additional vessels are mentioned).[6] Fossing considered clear glass to have been exceptional and the bowl form very 'rare in glass'. However, the Nimrud finds, together with other recent discoveries and re-attributions, suggest that, on the contrary, there was at times a fairly extensive production of transparent glass and that the bowl form within this category proved to be the most popular shape throughout most of the 1st millennium. The vessels were, perhaps with only a very few exceptions, formed in moulds and subsequently worked over with the wheel or other means of grinding and polishing.

From pre-Hellenistic times alone, about three dozen complete and fragmentary glass vessels are known at present; the great quantity of fragments represent infinitely more. (A corpus of transparent Assyrian and related glass prepared by the author will accompany a new study on Assyrian 7th century technological texts to be published by Professor A. Leo Oppenheim of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, and Dr Robert Brill, The Corning Museum of Glass.) Incidentally, the apparent sparsity of finds is probably to a large extent due to the former attitude of some archaeologists who considered small glass fragments as insignificant as undecorated duplicate pot sherds and, therefore, allowed them to perish in the waste heaps or to disappear uncatalogued in museum storerooms.

The great significance of the recent Nimrud glass can be summarized as follows.

1 Glass manufacturing facilities must certainly have existed at Nimrud in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C., possibly even in the late 9th; other glass factories operated elsewhere in the Near East, particularly in the neighbourhood of capitals. The craftsmen, either Phoenicians or Assyrians (trained by Phoenicians ?) made clear, greenish, transparent purple and turquoise-blue glass vessels, as well as inlays of opaque blue, white, red and green glass.

2 The fragments are the remnants of at least 110–140 bowls of predominantly hemispherical shape which appear to have had diameters ranging around 15 cm. They represent by far the largest group of transparent glass vessels known to have come from a pre-Hellenistic site. The production of inlays may have been even more extensive.

3 Glass-cutting shops turned out inlays and particularly vessels finished in a highly skilful fashion. Until the discovery of the carved fragments at Nimrud, it was virtually unknown that vessels of so early a time received extensive cut decoration. In the 1,500 years of glass production before the advent of the Roman Empire, only these Assyrian, or Phoenician (?), craftsmen have, apart from their Achaemenian and Hellenistic successors, used this technique so skilfully.

Even more surprising is the fact that some of the bowls were further embellished by inlaid glass-mosaic plaques and by painting. A statistical survey of the finds indicates that the ratio of decorated to undecorated vessels may have been 1:10.

4 The technique of manufacture must have been more refined than is generally assumed. Not only was the lost-wax process undoubtedly known to the Assyrians, but the extreme thinness of many of the vessel fragments lead one to believe that they were familiar with other methods not explicable in the light of our present knowledge.

A few general remarks on the value of fragments—in the absence of complete objects—should here be made in order to bridge the obvious disparity between statements such as the one on the importance of the Nimrud finds, and the actual presence of two small boxes of insignificant-looking glass sherds.

The high breakage ratio and the re-use of broken glass as the most convenient raw

material for new glass have frequently prevented the preservation of complete as well as of fragmentary objects. This is particularly the case when production was not on a scale comparable with the immense output of the Roman Empire and, therefore, to a large extent dependent on every usable sherd for a new melt.

For example, in western Europe very little glass has come down to us of the period after the introduction of Christian burial customs. A few reliquaries and occasional fragments are all that remain of a time spanning the six centuries prior to the early Renaissance. This fact, however, does not mean that glass-making retrogressed to such a degree that it came to a virtual standstill. There was less glass, to be sure, than during Roman times; but there was glass! The few remnants, low in number as they may be, form the basis for the historian's reconstruction of the glass-production of the period. From recent discoveries, it has now become increasingly clear that medieval glass vessels did exist in greater quantities and in a larger variety of shapes than previously assumed.

Similarly, a group of fragments excavated at a site such as Nimrud might often be the only proof of an important glass industry. Their number indicates the approximate number of objects of which they were part; the technique used to decorate their surface will help us to draw conclusions as to the skill of the craftsmen; their colour, thickness and chemical composition inform the historian and the scientist about the technological capabilities of the glass makers of the time.

The Nimrud glass finds

The Nimrud glass finds consist of five vessels, about 150 vessel-fragments and a multitude of inlays used almost exclusively for ivories. The vessels, excavated in the 19th century, are in the British Museum; the fragments excavated in the 20th are kept in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad, and at the Institute of Archaeology, University of London. Most of the inlays are preserved in Baghdad, London and in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The vessel forms as represented by the finds are as follows: alabastron (one, British Museum); vase-bowl (one, British Museum); hemispherical or similarly shaped bowl (at least 110–140, a number computed from the fragments and including the three bowls in the British Museum); cup with flat base (at least two, fragments in London and Baghdad); shallow ovoid cup or bowl (at least one, fragment in Baghdad).

Most of the glass varies in colour from a practically clear to a pale green or pale yellow material. Thick specimens appear sea-green. There is, in addition, transparent light purple and turquoise-blue glass. The inlays for ivories come in two shades of opaque blue; some have insets of opaque white glass. Unshaped glass and mosaic inlays (in a bowl) show that there was also opaque sealing-wax red and green glass.

The vessels are up to 1 cm. thick (vase in the British Museum); the average thickness of the fragments ranges from 0.2–0.4 cm., with some being extremely thin or very thick.

The bowls were possibly all formed in moulds (*infra*). They may have been made by the lost wax process[7]; or they could conceivably have been manufactured by placing ground glass between two moulds and then exposing the whole to melting temperature.

We assume that all vessels were ground and polished before leaving the workshops. Some were elaborately carved and, less frequently, incrusted with inlaid mosaic plaques or painted.

584. 90952 (BM). Glass alabastron engraved with name of Sargon II.

I *Vessels*

A—*Complete and fragmentary vessels*

1 The most renowned glass object from Nimrud is the alabastron with the name of Sargon II and two lions engraved on its shoulder [584]. (BM 90952; h. 8.5 cm., d. at handles 6.2 cm. Layard, *N&B.* 1853, pp. 196–7; 1875, pp. 166–7. E. W. Wallis Budge, *British Museum, A Guide*, London, 1922, p. 196. A. v. Saldern, in *J. Glass Studies*, I, 1959, pp. 27–8). The vessel, with two rudimentary handles, is of thick greenish glass. The considerable corrosion, including deep pits and channels in the glass, has obscured the grinding marks on the exterior and the inscription which is almost illegible. The interior shows clear traces of careful and regular grinding; the bottom of the interior is slightly convex.

The method used for the manufacture of this vessel is problematic. It may have been cut out of a solid block of glass and then drilled like a stone vessel, as Professor Turner and Dr Harden suggested,[8] or it was made by the lost-wax process and then ground and polished. As the latter method appears to have been used for many of those pre-Roman glasses that were not built up around a core of clay (less likely sand), it is plausible that the Sargon alabastron was also made by this technique.

This specific alabastron form is unique in glass although not in stone. There exists a group of slightly later glass alabastra which should be compared to the Nimrud piece: they are always of thick, either greenish or bluish-green transparent glass; they have rudimentary handles which are part of the body, and not applied; they are generally much deteriorated in a fashion similar to the Nimrud one. The closest parallels are those in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (87.50 from Cyprus) and in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (CG 778); the lower portion of an alabastron from Athlit certainly also had small handles (Palestine Arch. Museum, Jerusalem, 32.653; C. N. Johns, in *Q. Dpt. Ant. Pal.*, II, 1933, no. 653). Even more similar in shape is a rock-crystal alabastron in the Louvre (E 23325) with the cartouche of King Amun-rud, one of the last kings of Dynasty XXIII, who may possibly have been king at the time of Piankhy's invasion, and if so, flourished shortly before 730 B.C.

The other more elongated alabastra of glass seem to have been found predominantly in Cyprus and Italy. They are based, like the first group, on stone prototypes which become common as early as the 6th century.[9] As this type appears to have been rather international, it is not yet possible to determine whether the glass alabastra were manufactured in one region only and then exported, or in different areas. I am inclined to believe that they are of Near Eastern origin and shipped to the west.

2 A vase in the British Museum no doubt comes from the same area and period as the alabastron, i.e. it is datable to the late 8th or early 7th century [585] (91461; h. 7.7 cm., d. at handles 9.5 cm.; *J. Glass Studies*, 1959, p. 28). The two handles are cut to form shield-like motifs crowned by scroll-shaped protruberances. Considerably heavier than the alabastron, it is also much deteriorated, showing enamel-like scum and iridescence that overlay the corroded greenish glass.

The vessel was made by the same technique as the alabastron, i.e. possibly by the

585. 91461 (BM). Two-handled glass vase.

586. N818–91523 (BM). Glass bowl.

lost-wax process. It was, after cooling, cut and polished; concentric grinding marks are visible on the interior. The vessel form is, to our knowledge, unique in glass.

3–5 Three hemispherical bowls in the British Museum are probably those mentioned by Layard, see note 1 above (BM, N818–91523 [586], d. 15.1 cm.; N820–91534, d. 12 cm.; N821–91521, d. 10 cm., fragmentary; average thickness 0.3 cm.; cf. *J. Glass Studies*, 1959, p. 28). The glass seems to be almost clear but is now covered with decomposition scum which in turn overlays iridescence. The bowls were moulded, either between an outer and an inner ceramic (?) mould, or made by the lost-wax process. Subsequently they were polished.

The three bowls form one group with the numerous fragments of hemispherical vessels which are datable to the late 8th and 7th centuries B.C. A fragmentary hemispherical bowl of rock-crystal decorated with roughly engraved lotus leaves, presents itself as a close parallel to the group. This vessel was found in the ash debris of the Burnt Palace at Nimrud, on the floor of the throne-room which was sacked and burnt in 614 B.C.; it is datable to the first half of the 7th century (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1952, 57; h. 5.5 cm., d. 7.0 cm.; cf. *J. Glass Studies*, 1959, p. 29). See also p. 416 and [345] above.

Similar in shape and general character are two hemispherical vessels found at Fortetsa-Knossos and Praeneste (Palestrina). The former, of transparent pale green glass, is a very close relative of the Nimrud group; one is almost tempted to attribute it to a glass-house associated with the Nimrud finds (Herakleion Museum 1567; d. 13.3 cm.; J. K. Brock, *Fortetsa*, 1957, pp. 137, 214; before 630 B.C.; cf. *J. Glass Studies*, 1959, p. 31). The Praeneste bowl is of turquoise-blue transparent glass (*infra*) and datable to the first half of the 7th century (Rome, Villa Giulia; d. 10 cm.; C. D. Curtis, *The Bernadini Tomb*, 1919, no. 60; *J. Glass Studies*, 1959, pp. 31–2).

B—*Vessel fragments*

The Iraq Museum in Baghdad and the Institute of Archaeology, University of London, have about 150 fragments of glass vessels which seem to have lacked any decoration. I would estimate that they represent roughly 110–140 bowls of which the majority was hemispherical or nearly hemispherical. Only about eight rim fragments are included in the two lots. The fragments bearing decoration were part of about thirteen bowls of similar shape. In addition, seven more undecorated fragments, including three rim sections, were published by W. E. S. Turner.[10]

The average thickness fluctuates around 0.2–0.3 cm.; many increase in thickness from 0.2–0.4 cm., with some going up to 0.6 cm. The most astonishing fact, however, is that about one sixth of the series is of extremely thin glass, with some sherds being 'paper-thin'.

This fact again raises the question of the technique of manufacture. All fragments appear to come from archaeological contexts that date them to the late 8th and 7th centuries, with a *terminus ante quem* of 612 B.C. If any of the thin fragments were given to a specialist in ancient glass without his knowing their provenance, he would most certainly place them within the Roman period, as he would assume they they were blown. This fact led W. E. S. Turner to speculate on the possibility, however remote, that glass blowing may already have been known to the Assyrians.[11] The thinness of the fragments is not due to a fairly even deterioration of the material that might have decreased their volume. Such even decomposition process may be possible in exceptional instances, but certainly cannot have been the rule.

587. Fragment of undecorated glass cup (Inst. of Archaeology, London).

As the Assyrian craftsmen, or their Phoenician counterparts, were able to produce glass bowls with walls of such thinness they must have had knowledge of manufacturing 'tricks' inexplicable to us now. Vessels formed in moulds, even by using the lost-wax process, could only be given extremely thin walls by extensive grinding operations. This would have been a technical feat out of all proportion to the intense labour required. Glass-blowing is generally assumed to have commenced in Syria in pre- or early Augustan times. No other securely dated glass has been found prior to this period—i.e. the late 1st century B.C.—that is, no glass known to have been made by blowing. We too can only, as Professor Turner did, speculate on the possibility that the blowpipe, or another process aside from the regular moulding, was familiar to the glass-makers of Nimrud.

Undecorated

Clear and slightly greenish glass. There are about 115 fragments, all with curvature. In addition, similar fabrics (i.e. groups of glasses of identical colour, thickness and general appearance) are represented by the decorated fragments listed below. The colour varies from practically clear to slight tints in green. Most of the pieces show decomposition: some are just faintly corroded or 'frosted'; others show iridescence; about 25 are covered with a heavy enamel-like scum; again others present a combination of different stages of decomposition.

The thickness varies from 0.1–0.6 cm., the average being 0.2–0.3 cm. About fifteen sherds are 'paper-thin'.

All fragments are, from the point of view of curvature (which is gentle), preservation, colour and thickness, fairly homogeneous. The clear glass is well made, without major impurities; the tinted pieces seem to represent two major fabrics: glass with a warm yellowish-green, and glass with a cool bluish-green tint.

The type of curvature apparent in the fragments indicates that probably most come from hemispherical or similarly-shaped bowls.

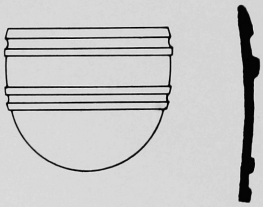
Two rim fragments (Baghdad) stem from vessels with estimated diameters of about 14 and 16 cm., another rim portion (*Iraq*, XVII, p. 58) was part of a bowl with an estimated diameter of 15 cm. (from the Courtyard AJ, N.W. Palace; datable to the 7th century).

One sherd (London) includes part of rim, wall and bottom of a cup with slightly convex sides turning sharply to a flat base [587] (h. 4.4 cm., estim. d. of rim about 15 cm.).

Another rim fragment formed part of a shallow cup with ovoid cross-section (Baghdad, ND12542; minimum diameter of the rim may have been about 4 cm., the maximum diameter at least 10 cm.; the glass is about 0.6 cm. thick).

No fragment came to light that could have come either from an alabastron or a vase similar to those in the British Museum.

Conclusion: the fragments in this section represent about 75–100 bowls of clear or greenish glass which were mostly hemispherical and had a rim diameter of about 15 cm. The fragments come from Fort Shalmaneser, from the Burnt Palace, from Ezida and the Courtyard AJ, N.W. Palace of which the finds are datable to the 7th century. They form a group with the bowls in the British Museum and the Fortetsa vessel (*supra*).



588. ND10250 (B). Grooved glass bowl, reconstruction and section.

Purple and turquoise-blue glass. About 30 vessel fragments of transparent purple glass were excavated; they are datable to the same period as the previous group. All show signs of corrosion. The thickness varies from 0.2–0.5 cm.; the majority, however, is slightly thinner than the green-tinted glass, some examples again being 'paper-thin'. One rim fragment (Baghdad) indicates an approximate bowl diameter of 15 cm.

Vessels of transparent turquoise-blue glass seem to have been rare. Only four fragments were found, all with curvature. Corrosion is similar to the previous two groups; two of the sherds are 'paper-thin'.

The bowl from Praeneste (*supra*) is closely related to this group. Whether it was made in the same glass factory as the Nimrud examples is impossible to determine at present.

Conclusion: about 34 fragments represent about 15–25 bowls of transparent pale purple, and a few of transparent turquoise-blue glass. The majority was probably hemispherical, possibly some with slightly inturned rim, like the Praeneste bowl and some of the decorated examples from Nimrud. Their diameters appear to have ranged around 15 cm. The unshaped bits of blue glass in the last section of this appendix may have served as raw material for the turquoise bowls.

Decorated vessel fragments

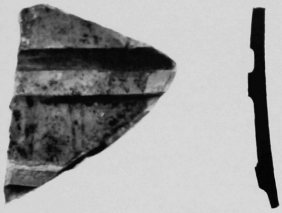
The following 14 fragments, representing probably 13 bowls and cups, are of extraordinary importance to the history of ancient glass. For the first time, glass-cutters have embellished vessels with geometric patterns and encircled them with a system of deeply-cut grooves between raised ridge-like bands. Such elaborate decoration was unknown to have existed at so early a time; only the *omphalos* bowl found at Gordion in 1956 gave a certain forecast as to what could be expected, through future excavations, of glass decorators of the 8th and 7th centuries B.C.

It is a great pity that not one single complete or fragmentary vessel with decoration as represented by these fragments has survived. Such a glass would certainly serve as an example of glass-making at its best, comparable, no doubt, to the foremost achievements of Achaemenian and Hellenistic times.

The cut fragments from Nimrud fall into four major types:
1 grooves and ridges, with some bearing additional decoration such as mosaic plaques and painting; *2* diamond frieze; *3* frieze with elevated panels; *4* vertical ribs. There are also a few fragments of cored glass with embedded threads. All of them are probably datable to the late 8th and 7th centuries.

1 Grooves and ridges. The glass vessels of which these fragments formed part, were very accurately cut and finished. A lathe must have been used to achieve the high precision evident in the decoration. The depths of the grooves vary from 0.1–0.3 cm., the width from 0.4–0.5 cm.

a Rim fragment of a bowl of clear glass with slightly iridescent and 'frosted' surface [588] (Iraq Museum, Baghdad; included in ND10250; from Fort Shalmaneser, room SW37 (B); h. 4.7 cm., width 7 cm., thickness 0.15–0.4 cm., estimated diameter of vessel about 11 cm.). The sherd is decorated with a succession of grooves and ridges whose sides are not perpendicular to the vessel wall but taper slightly inward (the groove sides of the fragments listed under (*b*) and (*d*) also taper).



589. Cut and painted glass fragment, photograph and section (Inst. of Archaeology, London).

b Vessel fragment, probably from the shoulder section of a cup or bowl of clear (?) glass now covered with a cream-coloured and brownish scum [589] (London; from Fort Shalmaneser, room SE13; h. 4.6 cm., thickness varies from 0.15–0.3 cm.). The piece curves both in vertical and horizontal directions and presumably formed part of the curved shoulder section of a vessel. Visible are three grooves separated by ridges. The broadest groove shows traces of painted decoration, namely pairs of vertical lines painted in black or dark sepia.

c Rim fragment of a bowl, probably of clear glass with tint, and now covered with brownish decomposition [590] (London; from Fort Shalmaneser, room SE13; h. 4.0 cm.; the rim part is too small for estimating the original diameter). Below the rim, there is a groove with perpendicular sides, followed by a ground concave band rising again at the bottom, presumably to another ridge.

Into the groove are set, with the help of an adhesive that now has turned brown, square plaques or tiles of opaque green glass (it does not seem to be red glass oxidized to a green). The plaques are inlaid with opaque white rosettes consisting of five petals arranged around a circular centre. As it was not possible to lift them out of the groove, their reverse could not be examined—which undoubtedly shows the same rosette design. Thus the plaques are of the so-called fused-mosaic type so common in early Roman times but occurring already in Egypt in the 4th century B.C. In this technique, threads of glass of contrasting colours are fused together in such a way as to show a particular design in cross-section; then the cane is drawn out and sliced.

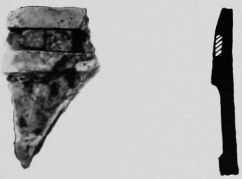
Only two of the mosaic plaques of this bowl are preserved; they are spaced closely together and were originally flush with the surface of the ridges (they now project slightly beyond the ridges, probably because the glue pushed them out; their size varies slightly, ranging from 0.4–0.5 cm. square).

There are no parallels known to exist for the grooved fragments. However, the mosaic inlays recall the blue and white inlay tiles ND6415 from Fort Shalmaneser [593], and particularly the very small blue glass plaques with white rosettes found at Arslan-Tash. These plaques are, in turn, embedded in green glass.[12] They are datable to a period ranging from the mid-9th to the mid-8th century.[13]

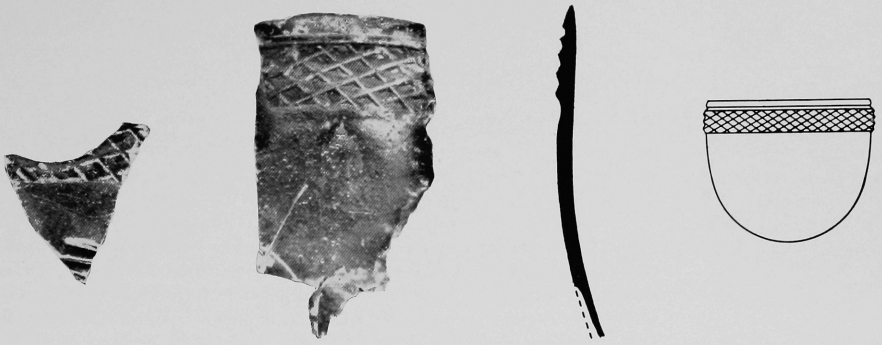
d There are, in addition, five small fragments (four in Baghdad, one in London) with a similar groove and ridge decoration, all coming from different vessels.

One (Baghdad; greatest dimension 6.3 cm.) seems to come from a small hemisperical bowl or cup and bears, on its heavily corroded surface, a very narrow groove between two hair-like ridges (that look at first glance like applied threads). A minute, particularly well-executed fragment of a bowl with groove and ridge is in London (from Fort Shalmaneser, room SE13; h. 3.4 cm.). A rim fragment (Baghdad; length 2.5 cm.) with faintly visible groove, curves sharply at the bottom, and, therefore, may come from a cup with slightly convex wall and flat bottom.

2 *Diamond band.* Rim fragment of a probably deep bowl of clear glass with green tint [591] (London; h. 8.0 cm., estimated diameter of bowl rim about 12 cm.). Below the rim, there is a groove followed by the main decoration: a band of elevated pyramidal diamonds arranged in five rows; each diamond is ground flat at the top.



590. Glass bowl with mosaic inlay; photograph, section and reconstruction (Inst. of Archaeology, London).



591. Glass bowl with diamond frieze; photograph, section and reconstruction (Inst. of Archaeology, London).

A much smaller fragment with the same decoration may stem from the same vessel (London).

The two fragments represent an unique decorative type; only in Roman times do we have again a fairly similar decorative pattern in glass.

3 Band with elevated panels. Fragment (from rim ?) of a probably hemispherical bowl of clear glass, now heavily corroded and with some iridescence [**592**] (Baghdad; ND10250; from Fort Shalmaneser, room SW37; h. 5.6 cm., estimated diameter of vessel about 12 cm.; glass, in comparison to the other cut fragments, relatively thin).

Below the rim, there are two broad shallow grooves which frame the main frieze: elevated panels slightly rhomboid in shape (to allow for the decreasing diameter of the vessel towards the bottom). The edges of the panels are bevelled (each panel measures about 2.0 by 2.5 cm).

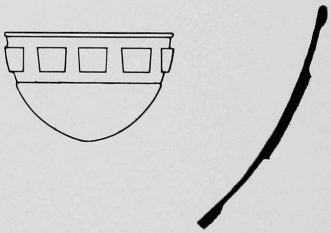
The decorative pattern of panels is, as in the previous example, unique in glass.

4 Vertical ribs. Three fragments with vertical ribs, stemming from two or three bowls or cups of clear glass with faint green tint, now corroded and iridescent (Baghdad; ND10250, from room SW37, Fort Shalmaneser).

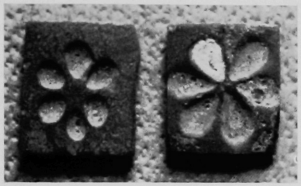
One fragment (h. 3.5 cm., 0.3–0.4 cm. thick) has vertical ribs vanishing at the top (which probably indicates that this section comes from near the rim; distance between ribs 0.5 cm.). The second (0.2–0.3 cm. thick), also slightly curved, seems to have come from near the centre of the bottom of a vessel as its ribs radiate. As this fragment is thinner than the first, although it stems from a vessel bottom—which is generally of thicker glass—both sherds were part of two different cups. A third fragment with ribs is too small to be identified as to its former position within the vessel.

The corrosion makes it extremely difficult to determine whether the ribs were moulded or cut. A combination of both seems plausible. The ribs are very evenly spaced and regular, a fact which might be due to extensive work with grinding tools.

Again, this type of decoration appears to be unique in this particular form. On the other hand, ribbed, or rather petalled bowls did exist at this time as exemplified by the *omphalos* bowl from Gordion.[14] Basically in the same category of ribbed vessels belong the slightly later bowls from Hallstatt and their relatives which, however, have irregular 'hand-tooled' ribs.[15]



592. ND10250 (B). Glass bowl cut with panels; reconstruction and section.



593. ND6415 (Met. Mus. N.Y.). Rosette inlays in blue and white glass.

5 Three fragments were formerly part of at least two vessels with sand or clay core. One has inlaid horizontal threads, the other two have chevron patterns of inlaid threads.[16] The fragments come, respectively, from room 23, and from the floor upon which many ivories were found, east end of the throne-room, Burnt Palace; they are datable to the end of the 8th or to the 7th century B.C.

II *Plaques and Inlays*

In the Iraq Museum, Baghdad, the Institute of Archaeology, University of London, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and other places, there is a large amount of glass inlays predominantly used as insets for the ivories found at Nimrud. Only a very small portion of the inlays has not fallen out of the ivory panels. They are generally found separate from the panels; this may mean that they were either prepared for future use and stored, or, more likely, that they had fallen out when the ivories were stored, broken or discarded.

In addition, four painted glass plaques were excavated; they may have been inlays in some decorative panel (wood ?) or piece of furniture.

A—*Painted plaques*

The glass is clear with pale green tint; the decomposition has progressed to such an extent that the glass has become very fragile and flakes easily (the thickness is 0.1–0.2 cm.). The decoration is painted in dark sepia or black outlines. The style is Phoenician, using Egyptian motifs.

1 Fragmentary rectangular plaque (Met. Mus. N.Y., 59.107.25; 1.8 by 1.9 cm.; ND7631; from Fort Shalmaneser, room SW7). Youth facing left, with part of sceptre (?).

2 Fragmentary rectangular plaque (Met. Mus. N.Y., 59.107.26; 2.9 by 1.8 cm.; ND7633; from Fort Shalmaneser, room SW7). Part of lotus.

3 Fragmentary rectangular plaque (Inst. of Arch., London; 4.2×3.7 cm.; ND7638; from Fort Shalmaneser, room SW7). Winged sphinx (remains of blue paint (?) visible). See [344] and the description by Professor Mallowan in ch. XVI, p. 415.

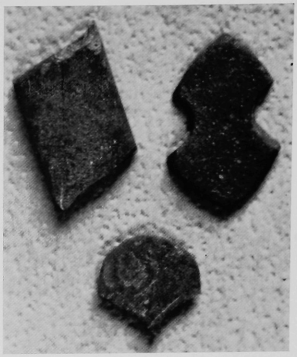
4 Fragmentary plaque (Inst. of Arch., London; sent for examination to The Corning Museum of Glass; length 4.2 cm; ND10279; from Fort Shalmaneser, room SW37). This section also seems to have been part of a rectangular plaque. The design consists of slightly radiating pairs of lines (part of wing ?).

B—*Inlays for ivories*

Literally hundreds of inlays have been found. They are made of opaque blue glass which comes in two predominant shades: a dark turquoise-blue (approximating a dark blue), and a lighter, truly turquoise-blue.

The inlays were probably made by inserting ground glass into moulds, heating the moulds to a point at which the glass fuses, then removing the inlays from the moulds after cooling, and polishing them. They were subsequently set in the ivory panels with the aid of an adhesive. The perforated examples show, more clearly than the others, grinding marks; this may indicate that only their rough shape was patterned in a mould while the final form was achieved by cutting.

Quite frequent and certainly the most colourful inlays are usually square tiles with



594. Blue glass inlays from ivories (Met. Mus. N.Y.).

inlaid rosettes in opaque white glass [593]. The shallow depressions in the tiles to receive the white fillings were cut into the blue glass.

Most of the other inlays consist of rectangular, often elongated, strips and of club-shaped pieces [594]. Many of these served as feathers for the wings of animals.[17] However, there is a great variety of other forms to suit the intricate compartments of the ivory plaques: diamonds (some of which are perforated; for use cf. Barnett, *CNI*), perforated squares, ovals, pedestal-like and shield-like pieces, legs, wings and many irregularly-shaped forms. A few come in the shape of wigs with an engraved cross-hatched pattern.—The size of all these inlays varies from 0.5 to 8 cm.

Apart from the glass inlays, the material most frequently used for incrustations has been identified as 'Egyptian blue'.

The closest parallels to the Nimrud inlays (cf. particularly Barnett, *op. cit.*)[18] are those of Arslan-Tash[19] and Samaria,[20] all dating from the 9th century onwards.

III *Miscellaneous finds*

Under this heading will be grouped together a few miscellaneous objects.

1 The first (Baghdad) is an almost flat piece of clear, very thin glass (3.5 by 3.2 cm.; thickness about 0.05 cm.). Judging from its shape it may have been an inlay although its size is unusual. If it had a painted decoration, nothing is left of it.

2 The next two objects are one disc and one (inlay?) strip of sealing-wax red glass. The disc, coming from the north end of the Burnt Palace, was published by W. E. S. Turner[21]: the stratigraphic evidence now suggests that this glass should not be dated earlier than the 2nd century B.C. See Mallowan in ch. XIII, pp. 209–10 and note 17. It is covered with a dark brown layer and turned out to contain 22.8% lead oxide, a most unusual constituent. The strip (Baghdad) is of the same material but has now deteriorated to a crumbling green glass, except for its red centre; this is a common oxidizing process in red glass.[22]

3 The following four objects are of opaque blue glass. The portion of a disc (formerly about 35 cm. in diameter, 2.6 cm. thick; published by Turner, *ibid.*) was found in room HH, N.W. Palace and may be dated to the late 8th century. A second disc from the north end of the Burnt Palace was turned over, like the red one, to the laboratory of the British Museum for analysis; it was also published by Professor Turner and is datable to the 7th century. Both pieces are of turquoise-blue glass and are now covered by greenish weathering. In addition, two pieces of cullet, or unshaped fused glass to be used as raw material, were recently found (Baghdad). One is of turquoise-blue, the other of a mixture of blue and turquoise-blue material.

The presence of cullet and discs of glass, probably formed in rough moulds, is an additional proof that there were glass-making facilities at Nimrud. Professor Mallowan speaks of kilns in the north end of the Burnt Palace where the discs were found.[23] The discs may have been used as base material for the manufacture of inlays, namely by powdering or crushing them so that the moulds could be filled. Such raw material also formed the basis for the making of the glass vessels to which the blue fragments mentioned above once belonged. The cullet looks, at least as far as the mixed-blue piece is concerned, as if it represents the product of the first melt from which the more homogeneous discs could be made; or it may have been part of the

interior of a destroyed melting-pot. Certainly more than one melting was necessary to produce the final glass because the temperatures available at that time were not sufficient to go directly from raw materials—i.e. silica, alkali, etc.—to the finished product.

The conclusions to be drawn from these miscellaneous finds are as follows: *a* Thin, clear glass was used not only for vessels but probably also for inlays (cf. the painted plaques). *b* Opaque red glass did exist at Nimrud, probably for inlays. *c* The discs and the cullet indicate the manufacture of glass at or near Nimrud (although it must be admitted that there is a faint possibility that special colours—for example the red—may have been imported (from the Phoenician coast?).

This report was made possible through a Grant-in-Aid from the American Council of Learned Societies which enabled the writer to study the objects under discussion.

APPENDIX IV

LIST OF SHELLS FROM NIMRUD, DISCOVERED IN TW53

by R. L. WILKINS

(*Natural History Museum, South Kensington*)

The species in the collection are fairly common to the Indian Ocean, several occurring in both the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, notably those marked with an asterisk in the following list.

Murex trunculus, from which much of the Tyrian Purple was obtained, occurs in the Persian Gulf as well as the Mediterranean.

The samples of shells are not large enough to warrant any important conclusions, but they incline rather to the Red Sea than the Persian Gulf.

1* Nerita albicilla (one rubbed down for threading)
2 Euthria cornea (calcined)
3* 2 Cypraea annulus (dorsal area of one cut away)
4* Cypraea erosa
5* Cypraea felina
6 Conus minianus (calcined—spire drilled—perhaps for a whistle?)
7 Conus sp. ? (too worn to identify correctly)
8 Nassa gibbosula
9 Thais elatum
10* Thais undatum
11 Murex trunculus (shell broken for extracting purple dye)
12 Mitra bovei
13 Thais sp. ? (fragment pierced for threading)
14* Strombus floridus
15* Engina mendicaria (worn smooth and pierced for threading)
16* Turbo intercostalis (several opercula)
17 Pectunculus lividus (all rubbed down to the umbo to make hole for threading)
18 Unio mingrelicus (freshwater Mussel)
19 Fragments to worn to identify; nothing remarkable

ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	*Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Liverpool
AAAE	W. STEVENSON SMITH: *The art and architecture of ancient Egypt*
AAAO	H. FRANKFORT: *The art and architecture of the ancient Orient*
ABSA	*Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens*
ADD	C. H. W. JOHNS: *Assyrian deeds and documents*
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*, Berlin
AJ	*The Antiquaries Journal*, London
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*, Princeton
AKA	BUDGE and KING: *Annals of the kings of Assyria*
ANET	J. B. PRITCHARD (ed.): *Ancient Near Eastern texts relating to the Old Testament*
AS	*Anatolian Studies*, London
ASBM	S. SMITH: *Assyrian sculpture in the British Museum from Shalmaneser III to Sennacherib*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Baltimore
BMQ	*British Museum Quarterly*, London
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*, Cambridge
CIS	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*
CNI	R. D. BARNETT: *A catalogue of the Nimrud ivories with other examples of ancient Near Eastern ivories in the British Museum*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*, Jerusalem
ILN	*Illustrated London News*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, London
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, London
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LAR	D. D. LUCKENBILL: *Ancient records of Babylonia and Assyria*
MAC	*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, Rome
MAO	G. CONTENAU: *Manuel d'archéologie orientale*
MDOG	*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft*, Berlin
MDP	*Mémoires de la mission archéologique de Perse*, Paris
MVAG	*Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-aegyptischen gesellschaft*, Berlin
N & A	V. PLACE: *Ninive et l'Assyrie avec des essais de restauration par Félix Thomas*
N & B	A. H. LAYARD: *Nineveh and Babylon*
N & R	A. H. LAYARD: *Nineveh and its remains*
OIP	*Oriental Institute Publication*, Chicago
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, London
PPS	*Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, Cambridge
PRU	C. F. A. SCHAEFFER (ed.): *Le palais royal d'Ugarit*
RA	*Revue d'Assyriologie*, Paris
RCAE	L. WATERMAN: *Royal correspondence of the Assyrian Empire*
Tell Halaf	MAX F. VON OPPENHEIM: *Tell Halaf* II *Die Bawerke*. Langenneger, Müller and Naumann. Ed. Naumann. Berlin 1950 III *Die Bildwerke*. Ed. Moortgat. Berlin 1955 IV *Kleinfunde aus historischer zeit*. Ed. Hrouda. Berlin 1962

Til Barsip	F. THUREAU DANGIN ET M. DUNAND: *Til Barsib*
UVB	*Vorläufiger Berichte über die von der Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenchaft in Uruk unternommenen Ausgrabungen*, Berlin
WVDOG	*Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Berlin

NOTES

Chapter XVI

page *note*

369 1 The excavations were temporarily suspended during 1959, and resumed in 1960. The thirteenth expedition under the auspices of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq concluded operations in May 1963.

369 2 The preliminary plan, drawn by M. L. and A. T. Friis in 1957, was published in *Iraq* XX, pl. xiv. The additions made in the last season, 1963, have been drawn by N. Kindersley and J. J. Orchard; they include the plan of the southern defences and Esarhaddon's entrance chamber.

372 3 *Iraq* XIX, p. 21*f.*

372 4 *N & B*, p. 165, tunnelled by Layard who referred to them as the Tel of Athur.

375 5 The principal courtyards which gave access to the separate units are: S6, S2, S15, S43, S31 and S45, S37, S68.

375 6 In some cases a baulk has been left, or one end of a chamber remains unexcavated, so that if necessary it will be possible to make an additional stratigraphic check; but where all four walls are in black, floor level has been reached in some part of the room.

376 7 The reference to 'palace' occurs in several places: on the throne-base in T1, the events described occurred up to the thirteenth year of his reign; on the dais in the south-east courtyard up to the fifteenth year, 844 B.C.; and an abbreviated version of the dais inscription in the courtyard occurred on a doorsill in S4, which served as an ante-chamber to the throne-room, S5. Another palace inscription was found in the pavement of T4, and we have also a reference on the statue of the king which was found in NE50.

376 8 The three foundation-cylinders discovered in direct association with the building are: ND9902, fragment found in fill above the floor of NE2; ND9903, fragment found near to the former, dated by *limmu* Banba, 676 B.C.; ND11308, almost perfect, with two extra lines at the end of the text referring to Assur-bani-pal and the *bît reduti*. It was found in debris along the south wall of Fort Shalmaneser and had perhaps been eroded out of its foundations. These three cylinders are virtually duplicates of ND1126 published in *Iraq* XIV, pp. 54–60, and brought to us by Shaikh Abdullah of Nimrud; this also may have been eroded from the foundations of Fort Shalmaneser to which it must originally have belonged. In the light of subsequent discoveries my statement in loc. cit. p. 5, must be emended, for it is now certain that this particular cylinder was abstracted many years ago, and had been buried under the floor of a house in the old village of Nimrud, possibly by one of Layard's workmen. Before the discovery of Fort Shalmaneser it seemed plausible to attribute this cylinder to the unfinished palace of Esarhaddon at the south-west end of the akropolis; but since the written text did not tally with the evidence from that building, and is on the contrary in perfect accord with the discoveries in Fort Shalmaneser, the original hypothesis must be abandoned. Economic texts referring to *ekal masharti* are: ND7010 (S8, 624 B.C.); ND7054 (SE1, 642 B.C.); ND7067 (SE10, period of Sin-shar-ishkun); ND7072 (S10, 621 B.C.); ND10026 (NE49); ND10022 (NE50).

page *note*

376 9 *Iraq* XXI, p. 38*f.* 'Building inscriptions from Fort Shalmaneser, Nimrud', especially p. 39 and note 1. The correct reading was first established by F. W. Geers and Theo Bauer.

376 10 Quoted from Esarhaddon's prism inscriptions, e.g. *LAR* II, para. 690. See also D. D. Luckenbill in *OIP* II, 'The Palace Without a Rival', p. 95, para. 73, and the 'Bellino Cylinder', p. 99, para. 44, and p. 104, line 56, for references to the *ekal masharti* of Sennacherib at Nineveh. Description of the *bît kutalli* or armoury, loc. cit. p. 128, line 41.

376 11 Of particular relevance is a series of texts discovered in 1962 in the rubbish of NW3, 20 and 21; NE48, 49, 50; especially ND10001, 10013, 10014, 10015, 10019, 10022 (A), 10025–7, 10047, 10050, 10051, 10077, 10079, and 10080.

378 12 *Iraq* XXI, p. 39, line 8, where *erinu* occurs on the Shalmaneser inscription. A roof-beam found in the Nabu Temple has also been identified as pine. See also for *erinu* R. Campbell Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Botany*, p. 282. *Pinus brutia* grows at Zawita on the western slopes of the principal range of the Zagros mountains in N. Iraq, halfway along the road between Mosul and Amadiya, between Dohuk and Sursink; its scaly bark is represented on Assyrian reliefs, and its variety *P. Heldarica* was depicted at Persepolis: cf. *Unasylva*, p. 41, vol. II, no. 1, 1957, published by FAO, Rome.

379 13 J. Laessøe, *Studies on the Assyrian Ritual and Series bît rimki* (Munksgaard, 1955) clearly demonstrates that 'The concept of bathing as an essential feature of the good life' was implicit in the religious ritual.

379 14 C. Preusser, 'Die Paläste in Assur', *WVDOG* 66, taf. 5 of Assur-nasir-pal II, and even more striking parallel in the palace of Adad-nirari I, taf. 4.

382 15 *Sumer* X (1954).

383 16 *OIP* II, *The Annals of Sennacherib*. The plan of his south-west palace at Nineveh is to be seen in R. Campbell Thompson and R. W. Hutchinson, *A Century of Exploration at Nineveh* (1929), plan 3.

383 17 Y. Aharoni, 'The Negeb of Judah', *Israel Exploration Journal*, vol. 8, no. 1, 1958, p. 33*f.* and plan on fig. 2. This appears to have been a strong border fortress 'of the uttermost cities of the tribe of the children of Judah toward the border of Edom southward', loc. cit. p. 35, quoted from *Joshua* XV, 21. It would indeed be of much interest to know to which phase or phases of the long period denoted by Iron Age II, 925–587 B.C., this fortress belongs, but the evidence at present seems insufficient for coming to a more definite conclusion. The analogy with the plan of Fort Shalmaneser, which implies a certain familiarity with Assyrian military architecture, suggests a date within the latter portion of that period now known as Israelite III, 840–587 B.C., and in the earlier rather than the later portion of this phase. See Y. Aharoni and Ruth Amiran, *A New Scheme for the Sub-Division of the Iron Age in Palestine*, *IEJ* 8, no. 3, 1958.

383 18 Fortress and residency at Sakcha Gözü. See J. Garstang, *The Hittite Empire*, p. 266, fig. 29, plan of the Royal Enclosure, and pl. xlvi for the stone orthostat with hunting scene closely comparable with that illustrated on an ivory from Fort Shalmaneser, SW7, q.v. ch. XVII. Also H. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, plan no. 874; R. Naumann, *Architektur Kleinasiens*, p. 242, fig. 284. The site was re-excavated in 1949, see *Iraq* XII, p. 53*f.* and contour plan on p. 74. Garstang's overall measurements, op. cit. p. 265, are wrong. G. M. A. Hanfmann in *BASOR* 160, December

page *note*

1960, propounds the view that the sculpture of Sakcha Gözü might possibly be attributed to the time of Sennacherib and Assur-bani-pal rather than to Sargon as is generally supposed. But the type of chariot in the Sakcha Gözü relief conforms in no respect to any vehicle later than Sargon (see also ch. XVII below). *Contra* Hanfmann see the reply by H. G. Güterbock in *BASOR* 162, April 1961, pp. 49–50, who would identify both the 'king' represented on the Gate at Sakcha Gözü and the statue found by Delaporte at Malatya as Mutallu, last king of Kummuh, an ally of Sargon in 712 B.C. for the campaign against Milid. On other grounds (similarity of the Zinjirli and Sakcha Gözü sculpture in the time of Bar-rekub) we have arrived at an approximately similar date, c.730 B.C.

384 19 The tablets are ND6210 (857 B.C.); 6211, wine from Ialuna, a heart-shaped docket; 6212, wine issued to the women of Arpad; 6214 (778 B.C.); 6218 (784 B.C.), wine for the master of the chariots; 6219, wine for the choir; 6223, beer; 6225; 6227; 6229; 6230.

384 20 Ialuna is named on the statue of the attendant of Nabu in Ezida as one of the districts controlled by Bel-tarsi-ilima, governor of Calah under Adad-nirari III in 798 B.C., cf. *LAR I*, para. 745. See also *Iraq* XII, p. 188, for its occurrence on a tablet ND208 found in the Governor's Palace; it is there mentioned in a list of names which include five men from (âl) Ia-lu-na-a; the tablet is undated but almost certainly belongs to the 8th century B.C. with the rest of the archive. For other occurrences of the same place and probable location see E. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des Assyrischen Reiches*, pp. 10, 34, 39.

386 21 Arpad does not appear to have figured in the Assyrian annals before the end of the 9th century B.C. The reference to it in *CAH* III, p. 16, as sending gifts to Assur-nasir-pal II is erroneous and should read Arvad, cf. *LAR* I, para. 479. The references to Arpad in the treaty of Esarhaddon with Ba'alu, king of Tyre, *LAR* II, paras. 589, 590, should also be deleted; see the corrected edition of this document in R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien* (1956), p. 107*f.* Sidney Smith in *CAH* III, p. 28, has well recognized that the attacks on Arpad by Adad-nirari III in 805 and 804 B.C. were designed to cut communications between Damascus and its allies and led to the surrender of the latter city in 802 B.C. Arpad was established as a provincial H.Q. in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, cf. E. Forrer, loc. cit. p. 49*f.*, and it is here that he received a rich haul of booty including elephant hides and ivory, after his triumphant northern campaigns either in 742 or in 741 B.C., cf. *LAR* I, para. 769. For the uncertainty as to the order of chronological events in the reign of this king, see H. W. F. Saggs in *Iraq* XVII, p. 144*f.* and his proposed scheme on p. 146*f.* Revolt and subjugation by Sargon II, cf. *LAR* II, paras. 55, 134, in the second year of his reign, 721 B.C., also recorded in *Isaiah* X, IX. Various letters, some of which date to the reign of Esarhaddon, indicate that the district of Arpad supplied Assyria with horses and mules, cf. *RCAE*, letters 372, 395, 601; and tablet ND7008 from the courtyard beyond SE22 of Fort Shalmaneser indicates that it also provided Assyria with bows, cf. p. 406. A docket fragment, ND10082, from NW21, refers to the inspection of 36,242 bows, but the place of origin is not specified. The site of ancient Arpad may be identified with T. Rifa'at, not far from Aleppo, cf. M. V. Seton Williams, *Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Tell Rifa'at*, in *Iraq* XXIII, pp. 68–87.

386 22 *LAR* II, para. 45.

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386 23 *RCAE*, letter 486 indicates that the Governor of Calah was responsible for reorganizing the work on a sector of the walls.

386 24 *RCAE*, letter 1103.

386 25 ND7097–7100, fragments found in SE1 and SE10, some of them dated by *limmu* to 676 B.C.

387 26 ND7086, 7088, 7090, all from S10, *limmu* Sin-alik-pâni; ND6228 from NW15 is a clay label inscribed with the name of Sin-shar-ishkun.

387 27 C. J. Gadd, *The Fall of Nineveh* (1923), D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of the Chaldean Kings* (1956).

387 28 ND9342, a lion-headed human figure holding a flail as mentioned below: ND9343, 9345, 'spearman' type of figurine with apotropaic inscriptions, found in north-west and south-west corners of room S35; the seven *apkalle* from the same room had evidently been extracted from an older deposit and replaced; sun-dried figurines were also found in S41.

389 29 In the absence of written evidence from Nimrud, the reconstruction of events affecting Calah for the years 614, 613 and 612 B.C. must be regarded as provisional, though the suggested historical sequence is in accord with the archaeological evidence. Latitude of some months must be allowed on either side of each calendar year.

389 30 Indeed the Assyrian troops defending Nineveh itself may well have been demoralized before the siege began, for throughout the reigns of Assur-etil-ilani and Sin-shar-ishkun they must have been aware of the progressive defection of all the old cities of Babylonia. R. Campbell Thompson, *A Century of Exploration at Nineveh* (1929), p. 137, accounts these two kings 'of little importance'. Text describing the fall of Nineveh, see D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of the Chaldean Kings*, lines 43–5 on pp. 58–60. There is no doubt that Balawat (Imgur-Bel), the country seat of the kings of Calah, 12 miles north-east of it, was sacked at about the same time, for burnt tablets, including several of the late 7th century B.C., were found by our expedition in 1956–7, cf. M. E. L. Mallowan, *Twenty-Five Years of Mesopotamian Discovery*, pp. 79–80. These tablets and dockets, BT20–36, BT100–40, were first examined by Miss Barbara Parker and published by her in *Iraq* XXV, p. 86–103. BT34, dated by the *limmu* Assur-mât-tuqqin (reign of Sin-shar-ishkun) probably belongs to the year 624 B.C.

389 31 My estimate for the circuit, about $4\frac{3}{4}$ miles, is approximately correct, see p. 82, but the precise measurement must await the completion of a contour survey.

389 32 The evidence was not decisive, for we observed no bending or buckling of the pavement, such as was detected, for example, in the Burnt Palace, at an earlier period, see *Iraq* XIV, p. 24. Earthquakes were recorded by the Assyrians, see *Iraq* IV, 186–8.

390 33 Quoted from D. Oates, *Iraq* XXIII.

391 34 Quoted from D. Oates, loc. cit.

391 35 *N & B*, p. 176*f*.

392 36 Quoted from D. Oates, loc. cit.

392 37 ND9902–4, 9910–11, 9915.

395 38 *Iraq* XXIII, p. 13.

395 39 The largest of them, ND6235, measured 66 × 42 cm. with 39 lines on obverse and 36 lines on reverse. Some had suffered from exposure to damp.

396 40 *N & B*, pp. 198–200.

396 41 A. Godard, *Le Trésor de Ziwiyè*, fig. 15.

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396 42 *Met. Mus. Bulletin*, April 1952, Charles Wilkinson, 'Some New Contacts with Nimrud and Assyria', p. 233, illustration at bottom right-hand corner.

396 43 Layard, *Mons.* I, pls. 6, 8. See also R. D. Barnett in *Iraq* XVIII, 'The Treasure of Ziwiye', p. 111*f.*, for general discussion and references.

396 44 Prototypes of the ivory trees occur in the middle Assyrian period, 14th–13th centuries B.C., at Assur, cf. *WVDOG* 66, taf. 25–6.

397 45 References to beds and couches, *CNI*, p. 117*f.* and drawing of Assur-banipal's couch on p. 118. 9th century B.C. couch of king of Hamath, cf. L. W. King, *Balawat*, pl. lxxvii. The resemblances of the metal plaques in room NE26 to those found by Layard in room AA of the N.W. Palace may also give grounds for the supposition that the couch is not likely to have been made later than the last quarter of the 8th century B.C. For reference to the date of Layard's finds, see ch. X, pp. 151 and 162: the large quantity of metal and other objects found by him may represent the remains of a treasure which had originally been accumulated by Sargon, see also ch. IX, p. 143 and note 39.

400 46 ND10025, which mentions horses from Samaria; ND10047 and probably ND10048.

401 47 See Gadd, *Stones of Assyria*, p. 128. Originally set up in the temple of Ishtar Belit-mâti within the akropolis. Good photograph, *AAAO*, pl. 82.

401 48 J. V. Kinnier Wilson in *Iraq* XXIV, pp. 90–115.

401 49 Mentioned by Assur-nasir-pal on his sandstone stela outside the N.W. Palace, *Iraq* XIV, p. 30.

401 50 Illustrated in *N & B*, p. 195.

403 51 *Iraq* XXI, p. 102.

404 52 D. Stronach in *Iraq* XX, pl. XXXVI, nos. 5–7, illustrates this series; two other specimens were found in room NE26 and have been described in the text. It is interesting to compare the bronze plaques from Nimrud with the series of Orientalizing lead plaques from Sparta: over 100,000 votives were found there, previously discussed in note 21, ch. XIII. See '*The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta*', ed. R. M. Dawkins, *Hellenic Studies Supplementary Paper No. 5* (1929), p. 249*f.* and pl. clxxix*f.* These and others from the neighbourhood date from the end of the 8th century B.C. onwards; they were made locally and, together with numerous ivories from the sanctuary of Artemis, provide interesting evidence for the spread of Oriental fashions and techniques, modified to suit Greek tastes. As regards the ivories, strong connections with the Levant are most obvious during the middle of the 8th century. In what is known as the First Style, a little before 740 B.C., the modelling is rudimentary, in low relief; small panels attached to fibulae were set within a raised border decorated with guilloche designs reminiscent of many Nimrud ivories. About 700 B.C. a refinement of carving is obvious and subjects based on Oriental prototypes assume a Greek guise, wholly Greek in the 7th century. In Sparta, at all events in the Artemis sanctuary, ivory disappears after 600 B.C., a time when that commodity was becoming very rare. It seems reasonable to suppose that some Oriental craftsmen may have found their way to Sparta in the 8th century B.C., and then have introduced new fashions, but from the outset the craftsmen were influenced by their environment and the milieu in which they lived, for the designs always have a Greek touch which as time goes on becomes

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wholly emancipated from its originally Oriental inspiration. One of the Spartan plaques, op. cit. pl. xcii, no. 3, c.740 B.C., can be very closely matched at Gordion, in Asia Minor.

407 53 See D. Stronach, *Iraq* XX, pl. xxxiii, no. 7, and p. 171. The north side of Fort Shalmaneser was riddled with arrows, a few of which were hooked. It is probable that these arrows were fired by Median archers, for, as we have seen, the capture of Calah may have been a Median operation. It is relevant to note here that this hooked type of arrow later became a standard issue to the Achaemenian army, which was composed of Medes as well as Persians.

407 54 Published by J. B. Segal, *Iraq* XIX, p. 139, with further comment by W. F. Albright in *BASOR*, no. 149, p. 33*f.*, who proposed a date of between 725–675 B.C. for it. In so far as the archaeological evidence goes I would favour a date nearer to the end of the 7th century B.C., for the sherd lay in ash above a trodden level that represents the latest occupation of the building, but it is also true that archaeologically any date prior to 612 B.C. warranted by the script is possible.

407 55 Burnt bricks stamped with a bull and inscribed with the name of Sargon were found at Khorsabad, cf. *OIP* XL, pl. 65 and p. 14. In the Nabu temple at Nimrud there were some burnt bricks stamped with a dragon, e.g. ND6215 with a seven-line inscription recording that it was made by Assur-etil-ilani for the Nabu Temple; dimensions were 32·5 cm. × 8·5 cm. Burnt bricks stamped with a lion 35 cm. square were found both in SW3, 4 and in the Residency of Fort Shalmaneser, but they were not inscribed.

408 56 See the list of numbers in note 19 to p. 384 above.

409 57 But we cannot be certain if this room SW6 was still in use in 614 B.C., for it was the only one in this wing untouched by fire.

411 58 *Iraq* XXI, p. 104.

413 59 See also ch. IX, p. 162–3 and note 49 for similar evidence from the akropolis.

414 60 See Appendix II, account by C. Wales of the methods used for lifting the panels in the field.

415 61 Compare with this a collection of fragments of engraved glass, ND10250, found in SW37.

416 62 Detailed account of this room and constitution of the debris, see D. Oates, *Iraq* XXIII, pp. 3–5.

417 63 See ch. XVII, p. 595 for comment on the inscribed ivory ND10359.

421 64 See note 21 above.

421 65 Other business documents written in the reign of Sin-shar-ishkun, found in Fort Shalmaneser include: ND7000, delivery of armour, from SE1; ND7001, similar to above, from SE1; ND7002, contract, SE1; ND7004, surety, SE1; ND7010 concerning delivery of wheat witnessed by persons who appear to bear Egyptian names, sealed with stamp depicting Harpocrates seated on lotus flower as in *N & B*, p., 156 from SE8; ND7054, docket, deliveries of wheat and fodder, from SE1; ND7066, loan, from SE14, q.v. in text; ND7067, sealed with impressions of merman followed by walking man and person wearing fish costume, from SE10; ND7072, court case, from S10; ND7074, loan of grain dated to *limmu* Bel-iqbi, 616 B.C., from S10; ND7085, court proceedings, 623 B.C., from S10; ND7086, envelope, 615 B.C., from S10; ND7087, loan of silver, 619 B.C., from S10; ND7088, letter concerning loan of silver by a female scribe, 615 B.C., from S10; ND7090, loan of silver, 615 B.C. from S10.

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422 66 *ASBM* pl. xvii.

423 67 D. Oates, *Iraq* XXI, p. 111.

423 68 *Iraq* XXI, p. 130*f*., 'Late Assyrian Pottery from Fort Shalmaneser', pls. xxxv–xxxix.

423 69 ND7891–5, 7897–9, 7901.

423 70 ND7846–7, 7901.

424 71 See ch. XIII, p. 226–7.

426 72 For detailed discussion of types of metal-weapons, armour and other fittings see the selection, mostly from Fort Shalmaneser, in *Iraq* XX, p. 169*f*, pls. xxxii–xxxvi, article by David Stronach entitled 'Metal Objects from the Excavations at Nimrud'. General information concerning armour, including Assyrian-type scale armour or *lamellae*, see Bengt Thordeman, *Armour from the Battle of Wisby*, vol. I (Stockholm).

426 73 A similar bead, ND9900, was found in the surface soil of NE2, but dated to the tenth year (712 B.C.).

427 74 See also *Iraq* XXI, pl. xxxii*a*.

427 75 *Iraq* XXI, p. 133, note 7 and pl. xxxiv.

430 76 Compare the technique of the repoussé and gadrooned bowls from the north Syrian cemetery of Deve Hüyük, C. L. Woolley in *AAA* VII, pl. xxi, probably of the early 6th century B.C., therefore later than the Nimrud specimen.

431 77 B. B. Piotrovsky and others, *Ourartou Neapolis des Scythes Kharezm* fig. 10, for illustration of the helmet, and text p. 50*f*. A bronze quiver of King Sarduris was similarly decorated with Assyrian-style chariots and horseman. Short account and summary of these excavations with good illustrations of other objects by G. R. Meyer, in *Wissenschaftliche Annalen* Heft VI/12 (1957), p. 834–51 'Die Sowjetischen Ausgrabungen in Teschebaïni und Ir(e)pûni'. See also Barnett and Watson in *Iraq* XIV, p. 139, fig. 15, pl. xxxii. See *CAH* III, p. 175, for relations between Assyria and the kingdom of Van. In this connection it is relevant to recall that an inscribed tablet ND2490 found in ZT4 (the chancery of the N.W. Palace) mentioned *inter alia* gold and silver vessels, as well as copper and iron. The majority of the documents in this room were written in the reigns of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon, and it may well be that the silver goblet and bowl found in Fort Shalmaneser had once been a part of the treasure to which this document refers.

431 78 Chronological list of Urartian kings, see N. Adontz, *Histoire d'Arménie* p. 193, with slight differences from the scheme proposed by Lehmann-Haupt.

431 79 F. Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième Campagne de Sargon*, p. 61, lines 383–8.

431 80 Op. cit. p. 81, lines 66–7.

431 81 Detailed discussion of the relevant Etruscan ivories by W. Llewellyn Brown, *The Etruscan Lion*, pp. 1–26, and note especially pl. iii, ivory bangle with lion-head terminals from near Tivoli, discussed on p. 20. Gold clasp with lions' heads found in the Barberini tomb: see Curtis *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, V, pl. i and pl. ii, figs. 1–4.

431 82 N. Adontz, *Histoire d'Arménie*, p. 91*f*.

432 83 Type of sphinx, see *CNI*, pl. i, A.4, probably from room A of the N.W. Palace as stated on p. 15, and if so part of Sargon's collection—a pointer to the date of the fine ivory from Fort Shalmaneser which, however, might have been made later.

433 84 *Iraq* XXI, p. 117*f*. and pl. xxix.

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433 85 Compare the figures of the courtiers on the stone reliefs from Khorsabad, now in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad. Tariq el Madhlum has noted in his study of Assyrian art that the sandals depicted on reliefs of the 9th century 'show a heel-piece which stretches about three-quarters of the length of the foot. This type is different from that used in the time of Sargon and later, where the heel-piece covers only the heel.'

434 86 *Iraq* XVI, p. 153*f*.

434 87 Identified by Dr Hans Helbaek in a letter dated July 20th 1959 as follows: Sample A from S10. Millet with a few grains of hulled barley and wheat, probably emmer. Sample B also from S10. Mostly emmer, one spikelet for proof. Further, a few club wheat and a few hulled barley. The identification of millet is of particular interest because it disposes of a doubt concerning a sample discovered in the houses on the akropolis: room 19 of TW53, cf. p. 187. This apparently is the first occasion on which this cereal has been identified in Assyria, and it seems to be rarely mentioned in the literature. R. Campbell Thompson, *Dictionary of Assyrian Botany*, 108, SHE *arzik*, *duhnu*, *Panicum miliaceum*, L., millet, the *Mishn dōhan*.

434 88 See ch. XII, house no. 3.

434 89 G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *The Assyrian Laws*, *passim*.

435 90 J. Černý, *Egyptian Religion*, p. 71.

436 91 G. Contenau, *La Civilisation Phénicienne*, p. 191; and see article by R. A. Green in *The Listener*, September 10, 1959.

436 92 References to Bes in Egypt, see D. Oates, *Iraq* XXI, pp. 120–1, note 35.

436 93 This was repaired and reconstructed by Miss M. Howard in the Institute of Archaeology.

436 94 *CNI*, pl. xviii.

437 95 Botta et Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, pl. 28, and ch. XVII, pp. 476 and 574 for detailed descriptions, and references to the parallels at Sultantepe.

440 96 The objects found in room S42 were as follows: ND9203, triangular copper fibula in upper debris; ND9290, similar copper fibula with two cross-hatched mouldings on each arm, found with ND9207, four copper bracelets, in lower mass grave. ND9313, circular button seal, green serpentine, designs star and ibex. ND9315, scaraboid, blue faience, design swimming bird (?), two lines representing water (?), winged disc, probably from lower grave; ND9319, scaraboid, faience, originally green glazed, engraved on base *Nwb-ḥtp*, probably a good wish —'gold (and) peace'. The exact drawing of the hieroglyphs suggests that the object is genuinely of Egyptian manufacture. If so, probably of the Saite period c.663–525 B.C., or a little earlier, found with the lower burials, at same level as ND9320, scaraboid of white paste inscribed with Egyptian hieroglyphs *nfr ḥrw* (??) —*s*—'may her day (?) be good', perhaps a good wish. If of Egyptian make, probably Saite, and ND9321, scaraboid inscribed *ih.t*—'wealth', if Egyptian, perhaps Saite. ND9324, oval stamp seal, paste engraved with design of ostrich facing right, lower levels; ND9326, scaraboid white yellow paste, rough markings of head and wings, incised cross on base, not of Egyptian manufacture; ND9327, miniature Pazuzu-head of burnt paste, pierced for suspension, found on the floor together with ND9330, another Pazuzu, suspension-ring attached, engraved with ibex and globe on base; ND9332, amulet of brown paste representing an eye infilled with white paste, from upper fill. ND9333, yellow paste twelve-petalled rosette, slotted and pierced at the back; this specimen is interesting because comparable to sets of

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black, white, and yellow faience rosettes ND911, 912 (specimens in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and British Museum); the latter from the '1950 building' on the east side of the akropolis are rather larger in size: the smallest specimens there measured 3 cm. across whereas this one measures 2 cm. For illustrations of the previous set see *ILN* July 29, 1950, and references to their context in *Iraq* XII, p. 174. The rosettes in the 1950 building were associated with faience flower stalks of a kind found in the Kushite horse-graves at El Kurru, e.g. in the grave of the horse of the Pharaoh Shabako (715–703 B.C.) and of Shebitku (703–691 B.C.), see Dows Dunham, *The Royal Cemeteries of Kush*, pls lxvii–lxix, and we need now have little doubt that the parallels from Nimrud date from that period onwards, more especially since in the Administrative Building skeletons of equids were found. The prototypes for the rosettes, however, are very much older since they first appear at Assur in the middle Assyrian period, and at Tell Amarna in Egypt. ND9335, Pazuzu head of green glaze; ND9337, amulet, white paste *wedjat* eye—'eye of Horus' with lower burials; ND9339, miniature sheep, black haematite (?); ND9340, miniature figurine, originally glazed blue, of a goddess, perhaps Isis, head missing, certainly Egyptian, from just above pavement level; ND9395, bone comb; ND9497, steatite scarab, glazed, well carved, design *was* sceptre, a '*hst*' vessel and a couchant human-headed sphinx crowned with a sun-disc flanked by *uraei* with lower burials; ND9498, Bes amulet, warrior-type, bronze, from lower burials; with ND9499, scaraboid, paste *was* sceptre design; ND9508, alabastron with lugs on either side of body, upper fill; ND9013, clay bowl, found on the floor; ND9014, clay bowl 1 metre above floor.

440 97 The following are the principal objects found sporadically in rooms S45–71 of the Residency. Here most of the contents had been abstracted: what was recovered agreed in character with the various classes of objects already noted from rooms S38–S44. Room S45, ND9206, copper bracelet with animal-head terminals (flat head and horns), at pavement level; ND9317, cylinder seal, yellow paste, design: crescent on staff with tassels, cobra, ear of corn, from surface fill; ND9331, amulet, blue glazed paste, in shape of crescent. S46, ND9227, gold ear-ring, crescentic, with gold wire soldered to under-side, on floor. S50, ND9204, triangular copper fibula (type III 6) with ribbed mouldings, top soil. S53, ND9341, basalt gaming pieces. S54, ND9215, iron arrowhead. S60, ND9214, copper boss with catch on the under-side found on floor; ND9338, blue faience amulet in shape of tanged incantation tablet, upper debris. S64, ND9205, triangular iron fibula (similar to ND9201 found in room S41); ND9218, iron knife with tapered recurved blade and short square sectioned tang, found on floor; ND9445, sun-dried clay, bearded spearman, inscribed on each arm: 'come in, peaceful *rābis*' on right, 'go out evil *rābis*' on left; traces of white plaster which originally covered the figure, and ND9446, similar figure identically inscribed: the two were found in boxes at south-east and south-west corners of the room respectively. S67, ND9272, iron sword, fragment; the blade has a prominent cylindroid mid-rib and the hilt is flanged on each side; length as preserved 27·6 cm. S70, ND9509, the fragments of a white paste strip, inlaid with *cloisonné* rosettes flanked by opposite pairs of kneeling *apkalle* figures, inlay of wings and clothing in green and blue paste petals. The *cloisons* are of gold, width of strip 2·6 cm., length of

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largest fragment 5·7 cm., sub-surface soil. S71, ND9263, copper pin with rolled head and lunate copper ear-ring, sub-surface.

440 98 See note 21 to p. 386.

440 99 See the detailed account by D. Oates in *Iraq* XXI, p. 122 and note 37. In the account given in *Iraq* XXIII, p. 10, however, he thinks that the fallen wall in each case is more likely to have been due to deliberate destruction, since a mass grave found in S42 appears to be chronologically associated with this phenomenon in Fort Shalmaneser.

441 100 *Sumer* XI (1955), p. 111*f.*

441 101 *MVAG* XLI, 3, p. 59*f.*

442 102 Preliminary report in *Iraq* XXV, pp. 6–37.

443 103 The north wall of the throne-room was protected against erosion by a sloping revetment at its base a metre high.

443 104 Comparable with the city walls of the Persian period at Gordion, which were estimated by Rodney S. Young as 13 metres high, *AJA* 66, (1962) p. 157. At Nimrud the throne-room walls may have stood even higher for if, as seems likely, the roof of the great hall commanded a view across the southern plain it would have overtopped the south external wall of the fortress (see note 22 to p. 106). There remains, however, a doubt as to whether the additional thickness on the north side of the throne-room can be attributed to Shalmaneser III in spite of the fact noted by Oates that the paving bricks in the courtyard run up to its face and not under it, for the 9th and 7th century bricks are very similar in dimension and it is often difficult to distinguish between them. But if, as is reasonable to suppose, T2, 4 and 5 were part of the original layout and not the work of Esarhaddon, then the north walls of T1, 7 and 8 may be entirely 9th century work.

445 105 *Iraq* XXV, pp. 48–69.

445 106 *Ugaritica* III, pl. vi. Phraseology concerning treaties and the shaking and striking of hands, see M. Munn-Rankin in *Iraq* XVIII, p. 86.

450 107 The purpose of the reliefs on the throne-base was to illustrate the king at the conclusion of his triumphs in peace and in war. It is reasonable to assume that his feats of arms would have been depicted in the paintings around the walls of the room in a fashion similar to that which illustrated him on the gates of Balawat, where he was several times represented as leading his troops into battle, in the campaigns against Urartu, Hamath, Arame and other places, e.g. pls. xli, lii, lxix, lxx, lxxiv; the phraseology of the annals also makes it clear that he was an active warrior. See *Til Barsip*, pl. liii, illustrating mural paintings of Assur-bani-pal engaged in the chase.

452 108 *Iraq* XXV, p. 81–5.

454 109 *Iraq* XXV, p. 38–47.

454 110 A. Parrot, *Mission Archéologique de Mari*, vol. II, *Le Palais*, *Peintures Murales*, pls. viii, ix and pl. A.

455 111 W. Andrae, *Coloured Ceramics from Assur*.

455 112 G. Contenau, *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale*, II, fig. 648, p. 932–3.

455 113 *AAAO*, pl. 188B.

455 114 Koldewey, *Babylon* (translated by Johns), fig. 26 and *AAAO*, pl. 122.

456 115 *OIP* XL, p. 75*f.*, and pl. 75.

456 116 *N et A* I, 64–6.

461 117 Oates in *Iraq* XXIV, pp. 10–11, ascribes this operation to the Babylonians, who are known to have been operating in the north at the end of the 7th century B.C., on the grounds that there is insufficient evidence that the

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Medes had at that time the technical ability required for sapping operations. On the other hand they could easily have learnt this method of attack from their collaboration with the Babylonians. We need not assume that the final demolition of this gate involved any considerable ingenuity: indeed there was probably little opposition.

463 118 This hypothesis agrees with evidence from a fragment of a pottery storage bin, to which Oates has called attention, particularly in *Iraq* XXIV, p. 9, where he has noted that the impressed rosettes depicted on the battlements, perhaps representing glazed bricks, may each have comprised three courses of brickwork. If so I would estimate that the bottom step of each castellation stood not more than about 1 metre above the *chemin de ronde*.

464 119 It is hoped that in a future number of *Iraq* J. Orchard will publish the detailed description of the excavations which he conducted at the south end of Fort Shalmaneser. My account of the South Gate and of Esarhaddon's gate and corridors is based on lengthy reports which he sent me after the close of the work in 1963. Fortunately, I was able to revisit the site once again and to inspect the imposing stretch of this great stone façade which was an appropriate finale to the prolonged operations at Nimrud.

464 120 See ch. X, [87] and p. 149.

466 121 Best preserved along the south flank of the western mound of the Tulul el 'Azar, but towards the outward face of the revetment erosion had pared down the mud brick to about 2½ metres. The maximum height of the ashlar masonry substructure was about 2½ to 3 metres. At some points therefore the extant height of the walls amounted to about 10 metres.

467 122 *Iraq* XIV, p. 56, l. 49.

467 123 The best known example of an Assyrian river-gate is one at Assur, see *WVDOG* 23, pp. 20–7, the Gurgurri gate which gave access to an arm of the Tigris but was built at some distance from it. See also W. Andrae, *Das Wiederstandene Assur* p. 142*f* and A66.60. In this connection, it is interesting to recall that Esarhaddon recorded in the Negub tunnel inscription, published by Layard, that he repaired and cleared the ancient canal which Assur-nasir-pal had dug 'to connect the fields of Calah with the waters of the Zab.' See R. Borger, *AfO* IX, 'Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien,' para 23, Kalah p. 35.

467 124 Detailed recordings of the levels at the south end of Fort Shalmaneser were made by Mr Jeffery Orchard who has kindly communicated them to me as follows: 'The gradient of the upward incline from R2 to the eastward end of R5 was 1 metre in 6·70 metres. After this, with the passage-way's turn to the left (north) into R6, the ascent steepened slightly to a gradient of 1 metre in 4·40 metres. Upon entering the 'Painted Gallery', R7, the passageway levelled off, its floor being 11·29 metres above the level of the outer sill of the Esarhaddon door aforementioned. From the north doorway of R7 the floor of the passage-way must presumably have sloped downwards into R8, at an incline closely similar to that employed between R2 and R5, namely 1 metre in 6·70 metres. From R8 it passed out through a final doorway, barred by a single-leaf door, into the Great Parade Ground situated on the west side of Fort Shalmaneser returning to the doorway between R7 and R9, this must presumably have been accomodated with an upward sloping door-sill, since the floor level of R9 (and similarly S57) stands about 35–40 cm. above that of R7. After passing through R9 and S57, which were both brick-paved, the passage-

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way came to an end in S68. How the descent to the general level of courtyards S and T was managed is somewhat problematical, for since the difference between the floor level of S57 and the two courtyards is a matter of some 2 metres, either a flight of steps or a ramp must have been employed. Personally, I am more in favour of a ramp, since we found no evidence whatsoever to suggest a flight of steps, whereas we did find a downward-sloping strip of Esarhaddon brick pavement immediately to the south of the east door of S57. Granted the limits of S68 and the possibility that a ramp existed, its gradient could easily have been closely comparable to the 1 metre in 6·70 metres employed for the upward ascent between R2 and R5, while still leaving some nine to ten metres of level pavement between its termination and the east wall of S68.' The sharp rise at the south end of Fort Shalmaneser is apparently from the fact that the vertical interval between the level of the outer sill of the Esarhaddon door, R1 and the level of the pavement on the platform of Courtyard T outside the glazed panel entrance to T3 is no less than 8.64 metres.

467 125 *Stones of Assyria*, end plan.

Chapter XVII

472 1 *PEQ* 1958, pp. 65–7.

472 2 C. K. Wilkinson, 'Treasure from the Mannean Land', *Met. Mus. Bulletin*, April 1963, p. 286.

472 3 Assur-nasir-pal describes ivories as 'mounted' (*ih-hu-za-te*), that is overlaid with gold, in an inscription on the Kurkh Monolith (*LAR* I, para. 501) and although there appears to be no specific reference to *tamlu*, filling or incrustation, it is possible that he was referring to that technique. See also the inscription on the Great Monolith (*LAR* I, para. 492). We cannot therefore prove that Assur-nasir-pal referred in writing to '*cloisonné*' like Adad-nirari III, who undoubtedly does so, nor can we assume that his ivories were in the 'Phoenician' or Egyptianizing manner. Any ivories attributable to him are Assyrian, both in style and in content. For the relevant inscription of Adad-nirari, see *Arslan-Tash*, p. 139.

472 4 *LAR* II, para. 138.

472 5 Ch. X, [93].

472 6 Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 450, gives 689–664 B.C. as the date of Taharqa, but R. A. Parker, *Kush* 8 (1960), pp. 267–9, appears to have stronger arguments for justifying the dates here quoted.

473 7 See discussion of the problems in *AAAO*, pp. 175, 179, 191, 256.

473 8 *AAAO*, p. 190, 192, and see discussion on p. 469.

474 9 See also *AAAO*, p. 260, note 150.

474 10 The name was identified by R. D. Barnett, see *Iraq* XXV, p. 81*f.* and see also ch. XVII, note 209 to p. 595 and ch. XVI, p. 452 and [372].

474 11 Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 448. See also P. Montet, *Osorkon II*, p. 11; *Les Constructions et le Tombeau de Psousennès à Tanis*, p. 37*f.*

475 12 For the most recent discussion of the Tuna vases and related material see *JEA* 49, December 1963, G. A. D. Tait on 'The Egyptian Relief Chalice.' Cartouche alleged to give the name of Sheshonk I, cf. loc. cit. p. 113 fig. 4,

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Chalice XVI. For the Berlin Chalice XXXII, alleged by Czerny to give the name Sheshonk II, see p. 124; other authorities would propose Sheshonk III (c.823–772 B.C.) possibly the son of Takelothis II and Queen Karoma, see T. H. G. James in *BMQ* vol. XXVIII, nos. 3–4, Winter 1963–4, 'Egyptian Composition Vessels with Relief Decoration', pp. 74–77 and fig. 1. It should be noted that Tait thinks of the Hermopolis and Tuna vases as inspired by Phoenician ivory-work, but here I disagree, for as we have seen, the Phoenician-style ivories found at Samaria and Nimrud do not appear to date earlier than the upper half of the 9th century B.C. We have however demonstrated elsewhere (p. 494) that some motifs on these ivories can be paralled on carvings of the 12th century and earlier from sites in the Levant, for instance Enkomi and Fakhariyah.

475 13 *Samaria*, loc. cit. pl. ii, no. 2 and pl. iii, no. i.

476 14 The sack is mentioned in II *Kings* xv, xxix. See also *Hazor*, *Excavation of a Biblical City*, *an Archaeological Expedition*, p. 3, and illustrated ivories nos. 35, 36, 39, 40.

476 15 A series of finely carved ivories discovered by Tahsin Özgüç was illustrated by him at the Assyriological Rencontre in London in 1963 and are now being published. See *Anatolia* VII, pls. xvi, xvii. Some of them can be closely matched by discoveries at Nimrud, some may be regarded as Urartian in style, others of Syrian or even Assyrian origin. See also [575], ND10328, and ch. VIII, notes 15 and 16.

476 16 Rodney S. Young, 'The 1961 Campaign at Gordion', *AJA* 66, 1962, pp. 153–68 and pls. 46–7 and fig. 26.

476 17 The presumed dates are 694 B.C. according to Eusebios and 676 B.C. according to Julius Africanus. Rodney S. Young in a letter to me dated 11 March 1964 writes: 'my growing conviction is that the earlier date becomes increasingly more harmonious.'

477 18 Various dates have been proposed for the gold, ivory and other objects discovered at Ziwiye. Different styles are represented and it seems unlikely that all are of the same period. The majority of these remarkable articles was probably made between about 750 and 650 B.C. See also R. D. Barnett in *Iraq* XVIII, p. 111*f.* for a full discussion of the subject and references to an article by R. Ghirshman, 'Le Trésor de Sakkez' in *Artibus Asiae*, 1950. Interesting and important comments on the mixed art displayed in the metal-work of Ziwiye were made by Charles K. Wilkinson, 'Assyrian and Persian Art', *Met. Mus. Bulletin*, March 1955. Wilkinson acutely remarked that a golden gorget published by Godard, op. cit. fig. 10, with detail in fig. 17, 'is contemporary with the very beginnings of the interplay of Scythian and Assyrian art.' At the time of writing, it has come to my notice that many ivory fragments have recently been discovered at Hasanlu. From sketches generously sent to me by R. H. Dyson, it is obvious that while there are clearly local types, some of these ivories could have been imported from Nimrud. In a letter dated 9th December, 1964, Dyson has kindly informed me that all of them belong to Hasanlu period IV, 'certainly between 850 and 800 I would think.'

477 19 The style of the king's crown, chariot and other paraphernalia now makes me incline to this opinion as against the hypothesis made at the time of discovery, in *Iraq* XVII, p. 14.

477 20 *LAR* I, paras. 739, 740, and discussed by Thureau-Dangin in *Arslan-Tash*, p. 139. See also translation of this inscription in *ANET*, p. 281.

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478 21 Thus we may perhaps assign a set of ivory staves and knobs, found by Loftus in the Burnt Palace, to the 7th century B.C., if, as seems not improbable, the name Milkiram inscribed on one of them may be identified with that of the man who held the office of *limmu* in 656 B.C.—see ch. XI, p. 178, and for the ivories, *CNI*, p. 161, 213 and pl. lxxxvii, s292*t*.

479 22 References to earlier elephant hunts are given in E. D. van Buren, *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia*, p. 77, note 6, and to Hilzheimer's conclusion that elephants existed on the banks of the Euphrates down to about 800 B.C., note 7 with reference. *LAR* I, para. 591, tribute from the land of Musri. In addition to the elephants mentioned on the Black Obelisk, Shalmaneser III received ivory in Babylon from the Dakkuri tribe, *Sumer* VI, 1950, no. 1, para. II, 45–54; para. IV, 40–4 records the catching of 29 elephants in a trap. For Musri see *Iraq* XXIII, p. 73, note 33.

479 23 *LAR* I, para 769.

479 24 A. G. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria*, pp. 71–3.

479 25 *LAR* II, para 284.

479 26 R. Campbell Thompson, *The Prisms of Esarhaddon and of Assur-bani-pal*, p. 16, line 76.

479 27 Assur-bani-pal, *LAR* II, paras. 1016–17. No mention of ivory in connection with Esagila, Marduk and Sarpanit.

479 28 A finely carved ivory head of a female from Babylon, probably 6th century B.C., may be seen in Schäfer and Andrae, *Die Kunst des Alten Orients*, p. 529.

480 29 This, in my opinion, must be the only explanation for the remarkable conservatism of ancient motifs, and although we may admit that occasionally the artisans could have copied ancient models, this alone would not be enough to explain the wide range of traditional subjects.

480 30 See p. 574.

481 31 Ursula Schweitzer, *Löwe und Sphinx im Alten Ägypten* (1948).

482 32 A very early example of the 12th century B.C. occurs on the Enkomi casket, see *AAAO*, pl. 149.

483 33 Published by Barbara Parker, in *Iraq* XXIII, pp. 38–9. The tablet was found in ZT4 of the N.W. Palace and must have a similar date to the majority of records found there. The city referred to, however, is not necessarily Calah. See also ch. VIII, note 11 and ch. IX, note 21.

483 34 Cow and calf was a favourite theme at Arslan-Tash, loc. cit. pls. xxxvii–xliii illustrate many finely carved plaques, both solid and open-work; the subject is even more common at Nimrud, but appears to be absent from Khorsabad, Zinjirli, Hama and Samaria. It is thus possible that this was a special product of the ivory *ateliers* of Arslan-Tash and Nimrud.

483 35 P. E. P. Deraniyagala, *Some extinct Elephants, Their Relatives and the two living Species* (1955), p. 116.

483 36 *CNI*, s241, and fig. 60, p. 161 for a comparable mark.

487 37 Bossert, *Altanatolien*, no. 884, at Sakcha Gözü; and Woolley, *Carchemish* I, pl. B.12, but not carrying the bucket, perhaps earlier.

487 38 Botta et Flandin, *Mon. de Ninive* I, pl. 47 and *ASBM* pl. xxxv; the former is the 'Gilgamesh' figure holding a lion, of Sargon; the latter a warrior with lance, of Sennacherib.

488 39 Reminiscent of the trailing-coated Ionians mentioned by Homer, *Iliad* XIII, 685.

488 40 *Carchemish* III, pl. B.36c.

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488 41 Leather protectors very similar to a modern archer's equipment are carried in the left hand by an archer on a relief from Zinjirli, see *AIS* IV, taf. lxi, probably period of Bar-rekub and Tiglath-pileser III, c.730 B.C.

490 42 Botta et Flandin, *Mon. de Ninive* I, pl. 58 (crew of four); II, pl. 92 for details of equipage and yoke. Sargon's chariots no longer have 'elliptical yoke-pole' and the wheel-hubs are not reinforced. See also Bossert, *Altanatolien* nos. 764, 767 for neo-Hittite reliefs from Malatya, depicting simpler types of neo-Hittite chariots, possible 9th century B.C., and no. 862 from Carchemish, plausibly assigned to Araras c.780 B.C.

490 43 Best seen by examining the drawing in E. Pottier, *L'art Hittite* (Geuthner 1926), fig. 117, opposite p. 96, and comparing with our photograph [385].

492 44 *AIS* V, taf. 71, 72.

492 45 *ASBM* pl. ix. Another chariot scene executed for the same king comes from Arslan-Tash and is in the Istanbul Museum, cf. Contenau, *MAO* III, fig. 793, p. 1223.

492 46 The idea of reinforcing the hub with a plate and short cylindrical collars is already to be seen on the sculpture of Assur-nasir-pal II, and also appears to be represented on the Balawat Gates of his successor Shalmaneser III. This same device was also used on north Syrian chariots attributable to the 9th century: the evidence appears on sculptured reliefs at Carchemish: Bossert, *Altanatolien*, no. 862; *Carchemish* III, pls. B.41–3 from the Long Wall of sculpture, not earlier than 9th century B.C. according to Akurgal, *Späthetitische Bildkunst*, p. 142.

492 47 The single later exception, a solecism, is on the Lachish relief of Sennacherib and there obviously misapplied.

492 48 A. Godard, *Le Trésor de Ziwiyè*, fig. 84.

493 49 A. Godard, op. cit. fig. 83.

493 50 See also Charles Wilkinson, *MMBA* April 1952, p. 240, who also ascribes these Ziwiye plaques to the second half of the 8th century B.C.

493 51 *CNI*, pl. xviii, 51.

494 52 Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh* (2nd series), pl. 68, similar chariot on a bronze bowl from the N.W. Palace.

494 53 Illustrations in C. D. de Mertzenfeld, *Ivoires Phéniciens* lxix(b) (Enkomi); C. F. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* II, pls. i–viii; Howard Carter, *The Tomb of Tutankhamen*, vol. II, pl. lxii; G. Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories*, pls. 4, 32, 33.

494 54 *ASBM* pls. xxviii, xxix.

496 55 L. Delaporte, *Malatya*, pl. xxix; the statue almost certainly represents a king who was contemporary with Sargon; see note 18 to p. 383 in ch. XVI, for discussion of the evidence and references, particularly *BASOR* 162, pp. 49–50. For the arrangement of shoe-straps cf. also Sargon's Gilgamesh figure at Khorsabad, Botta et Flandin, *Mon. de Ninive* I, pl. 41.

496 56 K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop in *Iraq* XVIII, p. 166, gives this date. Illustration of the Bernadini silver bowl showing chariot drawn up into the sky in D. Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, pl. 39, no. 2, also Curtis, *MAC* vol. 3, pl. 20. Silver bowl fragments with similar scene, from Cyprus, cf. J. L. Myres, *Cesnola Handbook*, no. 4556.

496 57 *JHS*, XLVI (1926), The 'Tridacna Squamosa' by S. Sidney Smith; *ZA* 45 (1939), p. 88, 'Gravierte Tridachna-Muscheln aus Assur'; L. W. King in *JEA* I (1914), p. 237, 'Some new examples of Egyptian influence at Nineveh'.

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496	58	G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, p. 113.
496	59	For the 'Lady Sun' cf. H. L. Ginsberg in *BASOR* (1946), Supplementary Studies nos. 2–3, p. 27. Shepesh as the Gods' Torch, connected with the parched furrows, cf. *ANET*, p. 140. Another possible connection may be with the proto-Hittite sun goddess of Arinna mentioned according to R. Dussaud, *Les Religions des Hittites et des Hourrites*, p. 335 in a text from Ras Shamra under the name *shpsh 'arn*.
498	60	*Carchemish* I pl. B.11, 14. Reliefs from the Herald's Wall, which may in the opinion of some authorities belong to the period of Asadaruwas c.820 B.C., and must be contemporary with the similar figures at Zinjirli.
498	61	*AIS* III, taf. 34e, 40, 41, also Abb. 97, 124 for 9th century prototypes.
498	62	*ASBM* pl. xvii.
498	63	K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop in *Iraq* XVIII, p. 150*f.* for references, and illustrations of the Etruscan cauldron on pls. xxvii–xxix.
498	64	W. Stevenson Smith, *AAAE* pl. 178.
498	65	Botta et Flandin, *Mon. de Ninive*, vol. I, pl. 41.
500	66	Best illustration in Seton Lloyd's *Early Anatolia*, pl. 15.
500	67	Compare with this the much earlier four-winged suckling goddess found by C. Schaeffer at Ugarit, *Syria* XXI (1954) pl. viii.
500	68	The pair of birds under the throne are of particular interest because they are reminiscent of the '*cloisonné*' vultures depicted on an Egyptianizing plaque ND8065 [509].
500	69	Driver and Miles, *The Babylonian Laws*, vol. I, pp. 17–23 for discussion of the terms *kittu* and *misharu*. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième Campagne de Sargon*, p. 59, n. 9, *kippatu*, ring in the hand of the gods; *RA* XIX, 151 'circle'; *ZA* N.F. XVI, 219, name of a group of stars (Corona Borealis).
502	70	*ANET*, p. 281.
502	71	See *Syria* XXXI (1954), pl. viii. The four-winged Hathor suckling young Pharaohs is a protective figure. Perhaps the Nimrud ladies are the female equivalent of the good *Shedu*.
502	72	G. R. Meyer, 'Die Sowjetischen Ausgrabungen in Teschebaïni und Ir(e)pûni', *Wissenschaftliche Annalen*, Heft VI/12 (1957), S.840, Abb. 6, 7. The site lies near Jerewan, north of the river Aras. See also *Iraq* XII, p. 29, fig. 18 for a gold disc from Toprak Kale depicting a similar subject.
502	73	*AIS* V, p. 99, taf. 46g, 47d.
502	74	*AIS* III, taf. 37c.
504	75	*AIS* IV, taf. 54, p. 325*f.*
504	76	Good illustration in *La Syrie Antique et Mediévale Illustrée* by R. Dussaud, P. Deschamps, H. Seyrig (Geuthner, 1931), pl. 25. For the Aramaic legend inscribed on these funerary stelae see G. A. Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 186*f.* Although the written characters are considered by D. Diringer, *The Alphabet*, p. 255, to be of the 6th century, the style of the carved human figures is closely akin to that of the 8th. For illustrations of funerary stelae found in the district of Zinjirli, see *AIS* IV, Abb. 237 and 239.
504	77	*AIS* V, taf. 65–7.
506	78	Markings of the tendons on the upper part of the deer's forelegs are an 8th century trait, according to Sayid Tariq el Madhlum, and this confirms the Sargonic date proposed for the technically similar panel ND7671, [411], of which several examples were found.
506	79	*Arslan-Tash*, pl. xxxii, nos. 39, 40, 41, and 42.

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506 80 Barclay and Head, *Historia Nummorum*, p. 795 wrongly interprets the scene as the king of Egypt following the king of Persia.

506 81 *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, vol. 103 (1957), p. 20 illustrates the sceptre from Turin; p. 11 a Phoenician stele from Ras-Shamra, Ugarit of the 14th century B.C., which depicts the prototype.

508 82 *Arslan-Tash*, p. 139*f.*

508 83 *Iraq* XVIII, p. 117*f.* ND4301–4305 has a reference to 'the broad (territory of the house) of Haza'el' ([(*māt*) *bît*](m) Haza'ili), according to D. J. Wiseman 'a reflection of the impression made upon the Assyrians by the principal antagonist of Shalmaneser III', just as Israel is referred to as (*mât*)*bît*(*m*) *humri*. But if we take Sam'al as a historical analogy, more than one ruler might have borne the same name.

508 84 Three lots of ivories found at Arslan-Tash can be closely matched at other sites by carvings attributable to the time of Sargon and Tiglath-pileser III: (i) Sphinx wearing pectoral, head full face, body in profile, a stance introduced on the Khorsabad ivories which must have been made to the order of Sargon himself; compare *OIP* XL, part 2, pls. 52–4 with *Arslan-Tash*, no. 33. (ii) Ladies at the Window; cf. *OIP* loc. cit. pl. 51 with *Arslan-Tash*, nos. 45-58; both lots wear the tasselled headcloth and depict little columns in the embrasures of the windows; there are however slight differences in treatment of hair and ears perhaps indicating that the two sets may be separated by about a quarter of a century; the full rounded modelling of the faces is very similar in style; both sets may be sharply distinguished from the cruder, perhaps earlier example found at *Samaria-Sebaste* 2 pl. xiii, no. 2. (iii) Bearded men with elaborate hair-styles and long tunics, *Arslan-Tash*, pl. xxxiii, nos. 43, 44 must be related to the carvings of Bar-rekub at Zinjirli, period of Tiglath-pileser III; their rounded flowing forms, movement, style of sandals are typical of the latter half of the 8th century, not of the 9th. There is in our opinion very little ivory carving at Arslan-Tash which requires an earlier date than the one we have suggested, although the elaborate trees with tiers of volutes separating the two kriocephalic sphinxes, pl. xxvii, no. 22, would in the art of bas-relief be more typical of the 9th century. Finally it should be noted that, as Frankfort has observed, there were at Arslan-Tash more ivories than could have been accommodated by Hazael's bed—even by the two beds found there; possibly therefore loc. cit. nos. 94-6 and 101-3, which consist of palmettes, magical trees, lotus and papyrus, may have been earlier; these resemble Samarian ivories more than any of the others; but apart from them the Arslan-Tash carvings form a homogeneous collection and the majority probably belong to a single period—latter half of the 8th century, for the reasons given above.

508 85 *LAR* II, 358 and 518a.

510 86 *CNI*, pl. viii, c.48; the two ivories are illustrated side by side in *The Dawn of Civilisation* (Thames and Hudson, 1961), pp. 144, 145.

510 87 The problem of dating is however complicated by the fact that there are grounds for dating the '*cloisonné*' style at Samaria to the period of Shalmaneser III, and that the winged figures depicted on an ivory panel found there, *Samaria* 2, pl. iii, no. 1 have many points of resemblance to the Layard ivory illustrated by Barnett in *CNI*, pl. viii. Nevertheless I incline to an 8th century date for the figure from SW7 under discussion and we may draw attention to the fact that there are differences in the relative positions of the ears, and technique of cutting in the two plaques.

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If the Samaria plaque is a century earlier, then there was little appreciable change in technique for a hundred years. It is unfortunate that the Egyptian evidence also allows of some considerable latitude at this critical period. See also pp. 474–5, 513.

510 88 Barnett's attractive suggestion which he put forward with reservations in *CNI*, p. 135, 177, that we may read here the name of Ia'u-bi'di, king of Hamath, a contemporary of Sargon, is unfortunately open to doubt, and not philologically acceptable to all the authorities.

512 89 *Odyssey*, XIX, 55–7.

513 90 *AAAE*, pl. 168(A) and p. 234, Chronological Table of Dynasties on p. xxv. The problem of assigning exact dates to Pharaohs of this period is discussed by Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 333*f*. See also, however, pp. 474–5, 513 and note 100 and 137.

514 91 *CNI*, fig. 46, p. 118.

514 92 *ASBM*, pl. xlvii.

514 93 *Expedition*, vol. I, no. 3, 1959, p. 21.

514 94 Hasanlu. See however *ILN*, 27 September 1958, and 30 September 1961, where some parallels may be seen for Assyrian and Syrian-style objects not earlier than 9th and 8th centuries B.C.; especially a copper ram's head rhyton, fig. 11, and spoon or oliphant, figs. 17, 18. Drawing of the gold bowl and 'Preliminary Chronology of Solduz' see R. H. Dyson, 'Hasanlu and Early Iran', *Archaeology*, vol. 13, no. 2, 1960, pp. 118–29, with drawing of the bowl on pp. 124–5; it is interesting to compare a part of that scene—'the killing of Humbaba'—with the Nimrud ivory ND10326 [**457**] which is undoubtedly the Syrian version of the same subject.

514 95 A. Godard, *Le Trésor de Ziwiyè*, figs, 84, 85.

514 96 A. Godard, op. cit. bulls, fig. 84, lions, fig. 82.

514 97 *AIS* V, taf. 10 (a).

514 98 *Arslan-Tash*, pl. iv.

518 99 Dows Dunham, *El Kurru*, vol. I, pl. xlix, row 2, no. 1252.

518 100 The date is conjectural; Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 450, gives 751–730 B.C. and on p. 335 specifically mentions 730 B.C. as a decisive year in his reign. W. Stevenson Smith, *AAAE*, p. xxv, puts the beginning of his reign at 730 B.C., a year which may have coincided with his conquest of Egypt.

518 101 Aegis with a different form of decoration occurs on ivory sphinxes at Arslan-Tash, op. cit., pl. xxxi, but not the stylized rendering of the lion's mane.

518 102 Op. cit., pl. xxxvi, no. 62.

518 103 R. D. Barnett in *JHS*, LXVIII, 1948, p. 4 and pl. ii, for three ivory stags from Assur, Nimrud, Arslan-Tash. Compare also the voluted ivory column on ND1083 [**2**], ch. IV, p. 59.

520 104 E. D. Van Buren, *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia*, p. 48, says that *Orix Leucorix Pallas* is the best known species in Asia Minor; yet the animal's true home is in central Arabia, and it rarely wanders as far as Mesopotamia.

520 105 Another finely carved open-work panel depicting an oryx, resembling ND6314 but differing in detail, was found in room SW37, in a subsequent season, 1961; this is ND10377 (14·6 × 8·0 cm.) allocated to Baghdad.

520 106 *Arslan-Tash*, pl. xxviii.

520 107 Op. cit. pl. xli.

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520 108 *CNI*, pl. ix, where griffins rest in the branches of a tree.

522 109 *CNI*, pl. ix.

522 110 Discussed in detail in *CNI*, p. 145*f.*

522 111 *CNI*, pl. iv.

524 112 *El Kurru*, pl. lv, c. Ku. 51.19–3–992.

528 113 There are ivory lions in the round; some human figures in high relief, as well as griffins and other animals which appear to be in the round, are always in fact attached to some background, or have flattened backs.

528 114 Layard, *Mons of Nineveh*, pl. 40, drawn by Layard, buried by him, and re-exposed by the Expedition in 1952; posture of the monkeys is very similar, but the ivories can hardly be so early; the modelling of the beasts on the ivories shows much more familiarity with the subject than that of the unrealistic leonine creatures on Assur-nasir-pal's reliefs; photograph in R. D. Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs*, pl. 9.

528 115 Similarly, our ivory monkeys are altogether superior in execution to those represented on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III; cf. Layard, *Mons of Nineveh*, pl. 55.

528 116 H. Th. Bossert, *Karatepe*, pl. xvi, no. 78. See also [560], p. 588.

528 117 *Halaf* III, taf. 100.

528 118 *Carchemish*, Woolley, vol. II, pls. B.23, 24, procession of figures carrying kids and goats, and vol. I, pl. B.8, figure with animal led by a string, perhaps c.780 B.C., period of Araras.

528 119 Zinjirli porters, *AIS* III, taf. 37b, late 9th century B.C.; IV, taf. 63, late 8th century B.C. Also interesting for comparison are the gold *kriophoroi* found in the Khaniale tomb, Crete, cf. *ABSA* XLIX, pl. 27 and p. 223, attributed by R. W. Hutchinson to the period 735–680 B.C., possibly Cretan work under Phoenician or Syrian influence, and more advanced in style than the Nimrud ivories.

530 119a For the documents from Babylon, see *Mélanges Dussaud* II, p. 931.

530 120 It is interesting to compare the Nimrud set of ivories in the round with the relief, open-work fragmentary plaque found at Samaria. This ivory composition represented an enthroned prince accompanied by an attendant, confronting a procession of figures which are unfortunately missing, see *Samaria* 2, pl. xi and p. 26. The form of the Samarian throne with its cushion draped over the back resembles that on the Nimrud plaque ND7671 [411] and the trunks of the lotus resemble others on the Khorsabad plaques of Sargon *OIP* XL, pl. 55. The Samaria plaque, as was noted by the authors, loc. cit. p. 26, differs in style from the remainder of the collection, and may well be later than the bulk of it —in my opinion latter half of the 8th century B.C. is the most probable date, and I would judge it to be later than the Nimrud set of figures in the round.

530 121 The following is an extract from a letter written to me by R. D. Barnett, Keeper of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, the British Museum, on 17 June 1961:

'There is a bronze figure with evidently originally coloured inlays in the Fitzwilliam from where I expect you could get a photograph. My print must be many years old. It was numbered 1226 in the MacGregor Collection, sold at Sothebys on the 26 June 1922, and it was described in that Catalogue as: "1226: a figure of a Woman, in high relief, wearing a long dress, decorated with incised ornament and bound round with a sash, the tasselled end of which hangs down in front; she wears a long

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wig and carries on her shoulders an ibex; another ibex stands behind her at her feet; the feet of the figure are missing; 9 in. high by $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. wide. The provenance of the piece is unknown, certainly somewhere in the Delta" (pl. XXXVI). By the kindness of Cyril Aldred and I. E. S. Edwards, I was put on the track of two more rather similar figures, $11\frac{1}{4}$ in. and $9\frac{1}{4}$ in. high respectively; both show Asiatic foreigners in very high relief, and were numbered 130 in the Amherst Collection sold at Sothebys on the 13–17 June 1921, and illustrated in their Catalogue on pl. III.

'Another very close to the one at the FitzWilliam, also in high relief and open-work, and perhaps identical with the second piece from the Amherst Collection, was acquired by Brooklyn, and is illustrated in Cooney's *Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art*, Brooklyn, 1956, pl. 65, no. 48a. Comparison is there made by Cooney with a somewhat similar cut-out figure showing an Asiatic tribute-bearer illustrated in Capart, *L'Art Egyptien . . . Les Arts Mineurs*, Brussels, 1947, pl. 766b. Capart's figure, however, is much flatter, but this may be because surface decoration has been removed.

'Aldred told me that he believes that all these were parts of a single object, possibly discovered by peasants in some unidentified site on the Delta, where he thinks there was a considerable centre of half Asiatic, half Egyptian workers.'

530 122 Illustrated in *WVDOG* 36, taf. 25, 26, s.30–1, the figures include a Mountain God, water issuing from him into vases, winged bulls, and trees, said to be pomegranates; they were found at the foot of the Palace of Tukulti-Ninurta I.

530 123 See Frankfort's argument on the possible differences in date of certain ivories found in the well NN of the N.W. Palace, *AAAO*, p. 260, n. 135. Criticism of Albright's dating of the Halaf monuments, see *Iraq* XIX, p. 17, note 1. Unfortunately the final volume, by B. Hrouda, *Tell Halaf* IV, 1962, *Die Kleinfunde aus Historischer Zeit* brings no fresh contribution to the stratigraphic problems; the author adheres to the high chronology. Sayid Tariq el Madhlum of the Iraq Antiquities Department has undertaken an analysis of Assyrian and Syrian iconography which has demonstrated how frequently traits on the sculpture of Tell Halaf resemble those which appear for the first time in Assyrian reliefs in the latter half of the 8th century B.C. See also ch. IX, note 22 to p. 134.

530 124 Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf* III, taf. 133.

534 125 SW12 adjacent to SW37, however, subsequently yielded some hundreds of fragments and proved to be almost equally rich.

536 126 *AIS* IV, taf. 58-61, and 67.

536 127 See *AAAO*, pl. 141.

536 128 For another prototype see also an ivory mirror handle from Enkomi, Cyprus, 12th century B.C., *AAAO*, pl. 149.

538 129 *Tell Halaf*, III, taf. 102; *Carchemish*, vol. I, pl. B.15, and *AAAO*, pl. 173, A; Layard, *Mons of Nineveh* (2nd series), pl. 65. The development of this theme in Syrian and Assyrian art and the subsequent adoption of the *knielauf* pose of runners in Greek art is the subject of an interesting discussion by Miss H. J. Kantor, in *JNES* XXI, no. 2, particularly 108*f*., with a good series of illustrations.

538 130 See *Archaeology*, vol. 13, no. 2 (1960), p. 124.

538 131 Cf. a stone carving from Zinjirli, *AIS* IV, p. 337, Abb. 249.

538 132 *CNI*, pl. lxiii, but note that the lady carries a lotus in one hand and a

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ankh in the other, and in this respect differs from the nose-pieces from Fort Shalmaneser.

538 133 Compare the much stylized design on the scarab found in the Khaniale tomb, Crete, *ABSA* XLIX, p. 218, no. 4, perhaps to be dated about the end of the 8th or early 7th century B.C. See also R. W. Hutchinson, *Prehistoric Crete* (Penguin Books, 1962), p. 334*f*. Variants of this scarab form, with different arrangement of wings occur at El Kurru, loc. cit., pls. lii, liii; some of those specimens were found in the tomb of Piankhy's queen.

540 134 Compare *AIS* V, taf. 720, an ivory from Zinjirli which closely resembles the specimen from Nimrud; Botta et Flandin, *Mon. de Ninive* II, pl. 100, for Sargon's chariot and equipage; *ASBM*, pl. ix, chariot of Tiglath-pileser III; *T. Halaf* III taf. 42 for 'Kapara' orthostat chariot and comparably simple form of bridge; *Karatepe*, Bossert, pl. xvii, no. 85, chariot relief showing disc with tassels on horse's neck and simple bridle, late 8th century B.C.; *Carchemish* III, pl. B.41, 42, B.60, basalt chariot relief from the Long Wall and King's Gate area; discussion on loc. cit. pp. 242–3, where the reliefs are assigned to the reign of Katuwas, earlier half of the 9th century B.C.; if this dating is correct the Carchemish reliefs would be the earliest direct prototype for the later derivations to which we have referred above. Lastly compare also a relief from the outer city-gate at Zinjirli in *AIS* III, taf. 39, possibly end of 9th century B.C. and contemporary with some of the carvings in the Herald's Wall at Carchemish. The Zinjirli chariot relief, however, depicts a box-like cab lacking the high, curved back which becomes common in Assyria in the middle of the 8th century B.C.

542 135 *AIS* IV, taf. 55.

542 136 *CNI* pl. ix.

542 137 The form of the boat and the symbolism of the cargo is comparable with that depicted on a pectoral from Tanis, cf. *AAAE*, pl. 168, Dynasty XXII; this pectoral appears to have belonged to a Pharaoh Sheshonk, otherwise unknown, who probably reigned before Sheshonk III, i.e. before 812 B.C., and in any case not earlier than 945 B.C. See the discussion in Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 448. If the pectoral is contemporary with the Nimrud ivory, a date not much earlier than the middle half of the 9th century B.C. is indicated.

542 138 Loud, *OIP* LII, pl. 33.

554 139 *AIS* V, taf. 67h, depicts a similar style of dress on an ivory from Zinjirli.

554 140 See appendix III for analysis of the incrustation.

554 141 Barnett, *CNI*, pl. viii, C51, cf. p. 98.

554 142 *Samaria*, 2, pl. iii, no. 1 depicts Isis and Nepthys with *djed* pillar between them; and see Arslan-Tash, pls. xix–xxv, for antithetical figures with child on lotus between them. The quotation is from *CNI*, 98.

556 143 *CNI*, p. 98.

556 144 *Samaria* 2, pl. iii.

558 145 See p. 530 and discussion in note 123 thereon.

558 146 H. Frankfort, *AAAO*, p. 260, note 135, and p. 191, in my opinion assigned too high a date for some of the 'Loftus' ivories from the Burnt Palace on account of their resemblance to the allegedly older Tell Halaf ivories. But the late W. L. Brown, in *PEQ*, 1958, reviewing R. D. Barnett's *CNI*, rightly asked whether the evidence warranted a distinction

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between the older 'more uncompromising, fierce style' of the 9th century and the 'softer, milder one in which Egyptian influence was stronger' of the later 8th century. The crux of the problem is indeed the date at which Egyptian influences first penetrated Assyria through Phoenicia. Are we justified in attributing the Egyptian-style ivories at Samaria to the latter half of the 9th century B.C., and if so how long did it take for this style to influence Assyria? See also p. 474.

558 147 The elaborate bunching of hair over the shoulders approximates to the style on Sargon's 'Gilgamesh' at Khorsabad, cf. Botta et Flandin, *Mon. de Ninive* I, pl. 41.

558 148 *ASBM*, pl. xvii, from the S.W. Palace at Nimrud, BM118905.

560 149 See Appendix 3.

560 150 Layard, *Nineveh and Its Remains*, I, p. 223.

560 151 *Samaria* 2, *Early Ivories*, pl. xv. This Nimrud ivory has been recorded in detail by Winifred Needler in the *1960 Annual of the Art and Archaeology Division, The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.*

560 152 *Arslan-Tash*, pl. xlvi, part of a bed frame.

560 153 *Arslan-Tash*, pl. xliv, fig. 47, p. 131, provides the closest parallels, and a partially similar strip is illustrated in *Samaria* 2, pl. xix, and *Carchemish* III, pl. 71. See also note 162 below.

562 154 *CNI*, 86, pl. xxi.

562 155 Loud, *OIP* XL, part 2, pl. 55, nos. 60, 61, interlaced branches of stylized trees are represented in solid plaques (not *ajouré*).

564 156 Bossert, *Altanatolien*, nos. 877, 878 from Sakcha Gözü; 900 from Zinjirli.

564 157 In India, however, at the present time an ivory-worker and a stonemason may be members of the same family, as I learnt in 1960 from a craftsman in Jaipur. See ch. XVII, p. 483.

564 158 Botta et Flandin, *Mon. de Ninive* I, pls. 24, 30 show the arrangement at the gates of *lamassu* erected to the order of Sargon, with heads full-face and bodies in profile, juxtaposed with other *lamassu* of the normal type, and for similar stance on sculpture executed to the order of the same king see also *OIP* XXXVIII, fig. 56 (*lamassu*) and *OIP* XL, pl. 9D (cone smearer).

564 159 *Arslan-Tash*, pl. xxix, fragment of a large open-work plaque closely related in style; curvature of the wings, body and tail of the lion, arrangement of the plants, are similar. Compare also pl. xix, winged youths wearing the double Egyptian crown. Variants of the Phoenician type of sphinx were found by Layard in the N.W. Palace at Nimrud, cf. *CNI*, pl. i, A4.

564 160 *ASBM* pl. vi.

564 161 *Arslan-Tash*, pl. xxviii, no. 25, and pl. xxxi, no. 31.

564 162 *Arslan-Tash*, pl. xliv, no. 96, and *AAAO*, fig. 93, p. 192. See also p. 560, note 153 above.

564 163 *Samaria* 2, pl. xviii. It is interesting that this rather squat version of the palmette frieze is much closer to the type found at Arslan-Tash. The Samarian is taller and elongated, almost identical with ND10413 [572].

566 164 These dates follow Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 450; W. Stevenson Smith, *The Museum of Fine Arts Catalogue*, Boston (1952), gives 751–716 B.C. with conquest of Egypt c.730 B.C.

566 165 *Samaria* 2, pl. i, no. 2. Mr I. E. S. Edwards of the British Museum kindly informed me in a letter that the B.M. plaque 38183 'is clearly roughly of the same period as the ivories which Reisner

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found in Nubia, all securely dated to the twenty-fifth dynasty'. Since objects found in the tomb of Piankhy (751–730 B.C.), the second king of that dynasty, are closely comparable in style to that of the Nimrud ivories, this particular plaque provides further confirmation of the proposed date, the latter half of the 8th century B.C.

566 166 *Samaria* 2, pl. ii, no. 2.

568 167 *AAAO*, p. 190; *Samaria* 2, pp. 1–5, for discussion of the chronological evidence. If, as is possible, the ivories are later than there maintained, the connection with a fragment bearing the name of Osorkon II would have been fortuitous; but on the whole, the evidence favours the description of a 9th century date for some of the Samaria ivories—See p. 474 above.

568 168 Same technique for representing payprus occurs on an ivory found by Layard in room X of the N.W. Palace; *CNI*, fig. 76, p. 180 and Catalogue D.1.

570 169 *El Kurru*, vol. I, pl. lx, C.

572 170 *Arslan-Tash*, pls. xxvii–xxix.

572 171 Ursula Schweitzer, *Löwe und Sphinx im Alten Ägypten* (1948). Similar subject on a tusk found in the Burnt Palace, see *CNI*, xlii, xliii.

572 172 *Arslan-Tash*, pl. xxxi, no. 31.

572 173 Compare the caps with knobbed tops worn by Bar-rekub and his attendants, *AIS* IV, pls. 58–60; the markings of the sinews are also in the style of the 8th century, op. cit. pl. 57.

572 174 *CNI*, pl. ix, described by Barnett as in 'Phoenician style'.

574 175 *CNI*, pl. viii, C51, and p. 178.

574 176 *Samaria* 2, pl. i, no. 1.

574 177 We do not know the meaning of the gesture made by the boy who is touching his mouth with the finger. Barnett, *CNI*, p. 98, ingeniously looks for a reference in Philo of Byblos, who seems to have retained traditions of the old north Syrian pantheon, and reconstructs a cult of Mouth-the-Child, like Horus-the-Child, from references to the youngest son of Zeus and Rhea, named Mouth. But there seems no reason to admit the application of this elaborate allusion to the iconography of the ivory, any more than we need see in it a reference to the ancient Egyptian purification ceremonies which involved cleansing of the mouth, or 'opening of the mouth', for which see J. Černý, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, p. 101*f*. Equally far-fetched would be any allusion to the ceremonies observed by Esarhaddon at Karzagina in Babylon, where a new statue was reanimated and endowed with the virtue of its ancient predecessor by washing and opening of the mouth, as described on a bronze plaque depicting this king and his mother Naqi'a; see J. Nougayrol in *Syria* XXXIII (1956), p. 153. I prefer to interpret the boy's gesture as one universally understood, an injunction to silence, at an esoteric, secret ceremony, '*favete linguis*'.

574 178 *PRU* III, 1955, pp. 185–6. These objects are mentioned in an inventory of the trousseau of Queen Ahatmilku, c.1330–1310 B.C. Ivory salt-cellar (?) from Ur, see *UE* IX, pl. 19, U303.

574 179 Botta et Flandin, *Mon. de Ninive*, pl. 28.

574 180 Found by Seton Lloyd at Sultantepe, Anatolia, in room M2 on the akropolis. The ivory vessel was decorated with papyrus flowers on the rim, sphinx and lotus on the handle, cf. *Anatolian Studies* III, p. 48, fig. 8 and pl. v, description of the discovery on pp. 39–41. The context in which this and the associated objects was found appears to indicate

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a date late in the 7th century B.C., but the ivories were probably manufactured at a period considerably earlier than the destruction of the Sultantepe akropolis which doubtless fell with Harran c.610 B.C. Stone bird's-nest bowl from the same site, see *AS* IV, p. 105, fig. 3.

574 181 *Samaria-Sebaste*, vol. III, pl. xxvi, no. 3, p. 463, with references to other similar stone palettes mostly of the 7th century B.C. from Palestinian sites.

574 182 *AAAO*, p. 193 discusses and pl. 168A illustrates the plaque from Arslan-Tash. Different interpretations by Barnett, cf. *CNI*, pl. iii, C10 and p. 139.

576 183 A. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt* (translated by H. M. Tirard, 1894), has an excellent series of sketches on pp. 214–16, and on p. 296 a singer of Dyn. XX.

576 184 The two ivories are illustrated in *Arslan-Tash*, pl. xxxiii, nos. 43, 44.

576 185 A. Godard, *Ziwiyè*, fig. 88, p. 103.

576 186 *AAAO*, pl. 162, and see especially *AIS* IV, taf. 60. The style of hairdressing, clothing, and headwear on the carved orthostats from Hilani III and other buildings are strikingly similar and must surely be of about the same date as our Nimrud ivories. There is reason to believe that the corresponding figures at Zinjirli (op. cit. 58, 67) which are the most developed form of sculpture at that site, belonged to the period of Bar-rekub, c.740–730 B.C. See especially op. cit. p. 341*f.*

576 187 Compare a standing figure from Sakcha Gözü, Garstang, *The Hittite Empire*, pl. xlix, no. 1. The draped folds, the attitude of the left hand which grasps the shawl-like end of the upper garment and the arrangement of the beard are similar. The date of the sculptures of the palace portico must be the same as that of the Bar-rekub monuments at Zinjirli, i.e. c.740–730 B.C. Compare again the statue of a bearded male, *T. Halaf* III, taf. 149, a much simplified version of this figure, but there are obvious analogies.

578 188 Soundings at Tall Fakhariyah, *OIP* LXXIX, pl. 61 and p. 57*f.*

580 189 *OIP* LXXIX, nos. 48, 49, and discussion on pp. 59, 60, also pl. 68.

580 190 *AIS* V, taf. 64, 65.

580 191 *CNI*, pl. xiv, L2.

582 192 *CNI*, pl. xviii, S1.

582 193 BM132124, and see also the illustration in Olga Tufnell, *Lachish* III, pl. 41, no. 5, p. 387, there described as a helmet cheek-piece. If, as seems possible, the Lachish cheek-piece was in use at the time of Sennacherib's destruction of the city in 700 B.C. we have a synchronism which accords well with the period at which the corresponding Nimrud ivories were presumably in existence. See also the copper cheek-piece found at Zinjirli, *AIS* V, p. 111, Abb. 152; there is a sketch of the comparable object from Cyprus on the same page. For the series of Cypriot cheek-pieces see *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* IV, p. 437*f.* and figs. 25–9, and *ILN* June 2, 1962, p. 895, figs. 7–9. Bronze blinkers from Salamis, 7th century B.C.

582 194 Nose-piece from the S.E. Palace (Burnt Palace), see *CNI* pl. lxiii, S146. Photograph of the inscription on the back of ND10359 **[549]** in *Iraq* XXIV, pl. xxiii(b).

584 195 Montet, *Byblos et L'Égypte*, p. 134, fig. 59.

586 196 C. D. de Mertzenfeld, *Ivoires Phéniciens*, pl. lxxi, nos. 799, 800.

586 197 *AAAO*, pl. 150.

586 198 The parallels cited here may conveniently be seen under one cover in Cyprus, *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern*, *I*, *Das Altertum*, *Die Kunst der*

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Homerischen Zeit, von Professor Dr Franz Winter (Alfred Kröner Verlag in Leipzig), Heft IV, p. 102, 3; p. 104, 4; p. 107, 4.

586 199 *AAAO*, pl. 149 (B).

588 200 Dows Dunham, *El Kurru*, vol. I, pl. lv and catalogue of contents of Ku. 51 on p. 78.

591 201 *Samaria* 2, pls. xviii–xx. Also *Carchemish*, vol. III, pl. 71. Approximately similar stylization of a palm occurs on a silver vase, now in the Tehran Museum, said to have been found near Ziwiye, see A. Godard, op. cit. fig. 54, p. 64.

594 202 Layard, *Mons of Nineveh*, pls. 6, 8, 36 and E. F. Weidner, *Die Reliefs der assyrischen Könige* (Berlin, 1939), Abb. 95, p. 127 illustrate the difference of treatment in the 9th century; see also H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. xxxiii (a).

594 203 *Carchemish* I, pl. B.12.

594 204 Bossert, *Altanatolien*, no. 884, but the figure has no 'fish-tail'.

594 205 Squares on the dress, the 'fish-tail' and fringes on sculptures of Tiglath-pileser III, see *ASBM*, pls. vi, viii, ix, xiv, xviii; 'Nisroch' monument of Sargon, see Botta et Flandin, *Mon. de Ninive*, pl. 74, which also comes close in style, but is more elaborate; it has tassels, and the 'fish-tail' has become four tasselled cords. Similar hemmed border with squares, fringes, and occasionally tassels also appear on other reliefs of Sargon without 'fish-tail', see *ASBM*, pls. xxviii, xxx, xxxi; relief of Sennacherib with squares on hem and much longer hanging cords terminating in tassels, pl. xxxv; see also pl. xxxvi.

594 206 A. Godard, *Ziwiyè*, fig. 25, p. 35 for 'Nisroch' on a gold pectoral which may be nearly contemporary; G. Contenau, *MAO* IV, fig. 1211, illustrates a bronze situla of 'Luristan' type depicting a bucket-carrying 'Nisroch' with feet of a raptorial bird, but opinions differ widely about the date of these situlae, see Contenau, op. cit. p. 216*f*.

594 207 On the significance of the Assyrian cone-smearing ceremony see C. J. Gadd, *Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East* (Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1945), pp. 91–2. A similar significance may perhaps be attached to the scenes in which the Pharaoh is associated with the notched tallies of the palm-branch; the Phoenician version of this iconography occurs at *Samaria* 2, pl. ii, and on plaques found at Nimrud, ND7683 [511].

594 208 *Tell Halaf*, III, taf. 150 (a).

595 209 *CNI*, p. 135. It is, however, difficult to accept Barnett's ingenious proposition that a cartouche on one of the Nimrud ivories in the B.M. collection, *CNI*, C48, represents the name of Ia'u-bi'di, the king of Hamath, whom Sargon defeated, however attractive the synchronism may be, for too many hypothetical interchanges of sound are involved. See also pp. 508–10 and discussion in *Iraq* XXV, p. 81, which also describes the discovery in T10 of a set of shells bearing the name of Irhuleni, a king of Hamath who was a contemporary of Shalmaneser III. This additional evidence reinforces that provided by the ivory plaque, namely that some articles of furniture found in Fort Shalmaneser at Nimrud must have been booty or tribute from Hamath, acquired either by Shalmaneser himself, or more than a century later by Sargon. It would, however, be absurd to assume that all the ivories found in Fort Shalmaneser came from Hamath. For illustration and description of the Hamath ivories, see H. Ingholt, *Sept Campagnes de Fouilles à Hama*, pp. 104–5, and E.

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Fugmann, *Hama, L'Architecture des Périodes Pré-Hellenistiques*, p. 249 and discussion about the date at which the citadel was sacked (no doubt in 720 B.C.) pp. 268–9.

595 210 Similar motif on a bronze ornament from a yoke-pole at Zinjirli, cf. *AIS* V, taf. 40d, perhaps contemporary; and represented on a frontlet on the basalt head of a horse, *AIS* IV, p. 337, Abb. 249. See also the illustrations and important discussion by Helene J. Kantor in *JNES* XXI, 1962, no. 2, and the restored drawing on pl. xi of a bronze frontlet from Ta'yinat, depicting two nude females, hands holding the breasts, each figure standing on a lion's head. The lion is thus associated, but not held by the tail as on the Nimrud ivory. It may be noted that the Ta'yinat frontlet is also decorated with a figure of a hero dominating two lions and two female sphinxes. The evidence of its stratification is not very satisfactory but it is plausible to believe with Kantor that the Ta'yinat figure need not be earlier than Tiglath-pileser III, admitting the possibility that it may even belong to the early 7th century B.C. We may well allow a wide latitude of time to the production of this obviously popular figure, which admits of many differences in the details of its iconography. It may be noted that Kantor, loc. cit. fig. 13A and B, also has illustrations of bronze horse frontlets decorated with similar females from Samos and Miletus respectively. This motif was probably ultimately diffused from Syria whence it was transmitted west; Kantor has noted that the Urartian type of frontlet was altogether different in form and did not contain this type of figure decoration, loc. cit. fig. 4.

595 211 I am indebted to Mr A. R. Millard for much helpful information on this problem. Zakir's victory was dated a little before 805 B.C. by Dupont-Sommer, *Les Araméens*, p. 47, and c.803 B.C. by Sidney Smith in *CAH* III, p. 28. But it now seems safer to assume a later date, c.775 B.C., based on the synchronisms with events recorded in the Old Testament; death of Jehoahaz in 798 B.C., cf. E. R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, p. 67, 283, and II *Kings* XIII, xiv*f*. Millard, in a letter to me dated 23 September 1961, plausibly proposes: Hazael, c.843–796 B.C., Bar-Hadad, c.796–770 B.C., based on authorities cited by him in *Iraq* XXIV, pp. 41–51. But as we have explained above, p. 508, we need not necessarily associate all the ivories from Arslan-Tash with the above-mentioned Hazael.

598 212 *Iraq* XXIV, pp. 41–51.

Chapter XVIII

602 1 see also p. 605.

605 2 Partly reminiscent of an early building is the Citadel at Hazor—of the 9th–8th century B.C. See Y. Yadin *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands*, p. 372. Also *Iraq* XIX, pl. x. This building, which was stripped of its contents, has not been described in detail for little can be said about it in addition to the account given in *Iraq*, except for its partial resemblance to the building at Hazor.

605 3 H. W. F. Saggs. *The Greatness that was Babylon*, 238*f*. and especially his article in *Iraq* XXV, pp. 145–54 on 'Assyrian Warfare in the Sargonid Period'; and note 62 on p. 154. Like all intelligent peoples the Assyrians understood the value of mercy, but like any cruelly disposed character they cannot wholly be absolved from the charge of sadism which to some extent must always be a consequence of terroristic propaganda.

609 4 *N & B*, p. 200.

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Appendix I

613 1 Attention is directed to list A (p. 619) enumerating the cultivated and collected plants, and list B (p. 620) giving the names of all identified weed species.

Appendix III

623 1 *N & B* pp. 196–7.
623 2 *ibid.*
623 3 D. Barag, in *Journal of Glass Studies*, The Corning Museum of Glass, IV, 1962, pp. 9 *ff.*
623 4 P. Fossing, *Glass Vessels Before Glass-blowing*, Copenhagen, 1940, pp. 32 *ff.*
623 5 cf. G. D. Weinberg, A. v. Saldern, in *Journal of Glass Studies* I, 1959; G. D. Weinberg, in *Hesperia* XXX, 1961, pp. 380–92.
624 6 Fossing, *op. cit.* footnote, p. 104.
625 7 *Journal of Glass Studies* I, 1959, p. 24; F. Schuler, in *Archaeology*, 12, no. 1, 1959, pp. 47–52.
626 8 W. E. S. Turner, in *Journal of the Society of Glass Technology* 38, 1954, p. 446 T; D. B. Harden, in *History of Technology*, ed. C. Singer, Oxford, 1956, II, pp. 321, 336.
626 9 cf., for example, D. Dunham, *Nuri*, 1955; E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis* I, Chicago, 1953, p. 56; II, 1957, p. 108; F. v. Bissing, in *Studi Etruschi*, 1939, 1940, 1942.
627 10 *Iraq* XVII. 1955, pp. 57–68.
627 11 *Iraq* XVII, p. 60.
630 12 cf. especially those in the Metropolitan Museum, 57. 80. 18, and in the British Museum: Barnett, in *BMQ* XXVII, 3–4, 1963–4, pl. XXXII, d; p. 84.
630 13 cf. Barnett, *CNI*, pp. 51, 126.
631 14 *Journal of Glass Studies*, 1959, pp. 23 *ff.*
631 15 cf. recently T. E. Haevernick, 'Hallstatt-Tassen', *Jb. Roem.-Germ. Zentralmuseums Mainz*, 5, 1958, pp. 8–17, especially pl. 1; cf. also G. Ekholm, in *Fornvaennen*, 1958, 1–2, pp. 17–25.
632 16 W. E. S. Turner, *Iraq* XVII, p. 59; cf. Fossing, op. cit. pp. 31 *ff.*
633 17 cf. Barnett, *CNI*, pl. IX, D.9.
633 18 cf. especially Barnett, op. cit. pp. 123 *ff.*
633 19 F. Thureau-Dangin, *Arslan-Tash*, Paris, 1931, nos. 113–17.
633 20 J. W. and G. M. Crowfoot, *Early Ivories from Samaria*, London, 1938, pp. 1 *ff.*
633 21 *Iraq* XVII, pp. 59 *ff.*
633 22 For the occurrence of red glass in Egypt and the Near East, cf. Turner *ibid.*, p. 64, and E. R. Caley, *Analyses of Ancient Glasses, 1790–1957*, Corning, 1962, pp. 85–6.
633 23 *Iraq* XVI, 1954, p. 83.

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CORRIGENDA

VOLUME I

p. 258, caption 231. *The second sentence should read* 'Two figures confront the storm god Adad (?) armed with axe, standing on a bull; tree, star, fish; . . .'
p. 296, caption 272–6. *The second line should read* '. . . the mound. [274, 275, 276] were part of a collection . . .'
p. 331, note 22, line 5. *For* orthosttas *read* orthostats.
p. 334, line 7. *For* Sidney *read* Sydney.
p. 343, note 8. *The second sentence should read* 'Remoter from Urartu and Assyria than the tributary kingdoms Kummuh, Que, Tabal, Sam'al and Tuhana, . . .'

VOLUME II

p. 440, caption 366. *The end of the first line should read* '. . . at the top.'
p. 538, line 7. *The last line of the first paragraph should read* '. . . the golden bowl found at Hasanlu.'
p. 548. ND 1024 [484] *should read* '. . . carved in high relief with winged kriocephalic sphinx supported by two kneeling male figures facing right.'
p. 549, caption 484. *The second sentence should read* 'A variant of [483] and possibly from the same workshop.'

p. 239, line 9. *For* Burnt Palace *read* Governor's Palace.

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