THE PALACE OF SARGON, KING OF ASSYRIA

LE PALAIS DE SARGON D'ASSYRIE

THE PALACE OF SARGON, KING OF ASSYRIA

MONUMENTAL WALL RELIEFS AT DUR-SHARRUKIN, FROM ORIGINAL DRAWINGS MADE AT THE TIME OF THEIR DISCOVERY IN 1843-1844 BY BOTTA AND FLANDIN

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adaptation into French by Annie Caubet

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Dedicated to my mother
for her lasting patience

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABREVIATIONS

AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
Luckenbill, ARAB	D.D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1926-1927 ; reprinted New York: Greenwood, 1968)
Bagh Mitt	Baghdader Mitteilungen
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BMRAH	Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire
JA	Journal asiatique (4th Series)
JANES	Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University.
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
Loud, *Khorsabad. I*	G. Loud, H. Frankfort, and T. Jacobsen, *Khorsabad. Part I. Excavations in the Palace and at a City Gate*, Oriental Institute Publications 38 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1936)
Loud and Altman, *Khorsabad. II*	G. Loud and B. Altman, *Khorsabad. Part II. The Citadel and the Town*, Oriental Institute Publications 40 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1938)
Pillet, *Khorsabad*	M. Pillet, *Les découvertes de V. Place en Assyrie*, (Paris : Editions Ernest Leroux, 1918)
Pillet, *Un pionnier*	M. Pillet, *Un pionnier de l'Assyriologie: Victor Place*, Cahiers de la Société Asiatique 16 (1962)

Pottier, *Catalogue*	E. Pottier, *Catalogue des antiquités assyriennes*, 2nd ed., Musée National du Louvre (Paris : Musées Nationaux, 1924)
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale
RlA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie
TCL	Textes cunéiformes du Louvre
Winckler, *Sargon*	H. Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons...*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1889)
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutchen Orient-Gesellschaft

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PREFACE

In 1843-1844 Paul Emile Botta, French consul at Mosul, inaugurated at the village of Khorsabad the first French archaeological excavation in the Near East. In 1847 the public opening of the Assyrian rooms in the Musée du Louvre marked the first stage in the discovery of the ancient civilization of the Near East by Europeans. One cannot measure the exploits that represent the exploration of Mesopotamian sites by the pioneers of archaeology in that land, the Englishman Austen Layard and the Frenchmen Botta and Place; one is astonished at the speed which brought to light the immense structures at Khorsabad, scrupulously drawn and restored on paper by a talented artist, E. Flandin; at the efficiency that guided the choice of certain reliefs – the most representative – and these were removed and transported at some perilous cost via the Tigris River and by sea to France. Thereafter, some months were required for the installation of the spectacular finds in the rooms of the Louvre, visual proof of a civilization that previously was only remotely known and echoed in the Bible. Admirably, only several years of labor were necessary for the realization of an exemplary and sumptuous publication in which the drawings of Flandin, made at the site, were rendered in a wonderful series of engraved plates: Paul Emile Botta and Eugène Flandin, *Monument de Ninive,* 5 vols., (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1849-1850). This publication immediately revealed to the learned community at-large the results of the first explorations. Comparison with the similar labors conducted by the British enabled one to realize that the ancient ruin protected by the village of Khorsabad was not Nineveh, the last Assyrian capital, as the excavators believed, but the city of Dur-Sharrukin, founded by Sargon II.

If, a long time afterwards, the British Museum paid homage to Sir Austen Layard, the originator of its Assyrian collection and the discoverer of Nimrud and Nineveh, the Musée du Louvre has still not honored Botta nor his successor, Victor Place, with the recognition that is their just tribute in return for their efforts. The present work partially fulfills this function.

The palaces of Nimrud and Nineveh were the subjects of the same publication; this was not the case for Khorsabad. The latter site, explored by P.E. Botta and E. Flandin in 1843-1844, was re-excavated by V. Place in 1852-1854. Place, in turn, published the three volumes of *Ninive et l'Assyrie,* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1867-1870). Meanwhile, the ruins had been "exploited" to some extent and some of the antiquities from Khorsabad had been dispersed throughout the world, before the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago was able to renew explorations at the site in 1927: the two volumes devoted to the work, *Khorsabad,* Oriental Institute Publications 38 (1936) and 40 (1938), do not resume the study of the collection of monuments that were exposed at the site. Therefore the present

work provide a complete study of the sculptures that ornamented the city of Sargon II: their original placement, their present location, and an essay on the organization and significance of the decorations. For this undertaking, Dr. Albenda relies upon the original drawings executed by Botta and (later) Flandin at the moment of the first discoveries. This collection of drawings, furnishing views of the site, plans, sculptures as discovered, and "restorations" done with admirable skill, is presently preserved in the Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris. The drawings serve to establish the engraved plates as the definitive work of 1849-1850 and, notwithstanding their minutiae, retain all the spontaneity of an original document; here, their photographic reproduction permits one to evaluate the variations between the extant reliefs, the original drawings, and the engraved plates.

This study on Khorsabad will restore to honor the study of a period of Assyrian art relatively neglected. On the other hand, since the discoverers of the site were French, to whom a just recognition is once more made, and since the major portion of sculptures is presently preserved in the Musée du Louvre, it would seem necessary to publish this work in the series established by the Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations (ADPF) for french and foreign archaeology, of which the exploration of Khorsabad constitutes in some way the bulletin of a birth.

A. CAUBET

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF EXPLORATION AT KHORSABAD

The prelude to the history of excavations at Khorsabad begins appropriately in the early 19th century when Claudius James Rich was appointed by the East India Company as resident in Baghdad. He served in this capacity from 1808 to 1821, when he died of cholera.[1] His leisure time was spent in the investigation of antiquities of Babylonia and Assyria, and in his published accounts he describes the site of Nineveh from personal observations. Rich discovered a number of bricks inscribed with cuneiform inscriptions which he copied, and even a few fragments of Assyrian sculpture. He remarks that some years before 1820, when he visited the site, an immense stone block was dug out of one mound on the northern limits of the ancient enclosure wall of Nineveh, on which were sculpted the figures of men and animals. Rich adds that the stone block was soon afterwards cut into small pieces for repairing the buildings at Mosul and irretrievably lost. [2] Many years later the Englishman Austen Henry Layard made inquiries regarding this tale. An aged man who said he was responsible for cutting the stone block led Layard to a high mound into which a trench was dug. It revealed the fragments of two colossal figures. Several years afterwards Layard explored this whole area which he identified as a gateway. The outer entrance was found to contain a pair of huge winged human-headed bulls, behind each of which was a frontally-faced winged figure.[3]

English interest in learning more about the geography of Mesopotamia led the British government to authorize an expedition in 1829. The purpose of this expedition was to explore the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, and to discover whether a route of steam navigation from Mesopotamia to India was practical. The command of the expedition was entrusted to Colonel F. R. Chesney who, some years later, published a narrative of the expedition.[4] In

[1] Claudius James Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan and on the Site of Ancient Nineveh*, 2 vols. (London : Duncan, 1836). 1 : xxvi-xxvii.

[2] Ibid., 2: 36-39.

[3] Austen Henry Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, 2 vols. (New York: Putnam, 1849), 1: 131; idem, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, (London: Murray, 1853), pp. 120-122. This entrance was afterwards identified as the Nergal Gate. In 1941 another pair of winged human-headed bulls was uncovered in the same area ; J.P.G. Finch, "The Winged Bulls at the Nergal gate of Nineveh," *Iraq* 10 (1948), pp. 9-18. For the probable solution to the archaeological puzzle presented by Finch, compare Layard's plan of the Nergal gate with the plan of the Khorsabad gateway explored by Place: Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 122; Victor Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, 3 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Imperiale, 1867-70), 3: pls. 11-13. Layard had fully explored two courts but, originally, there must have been three courts.

[4] F. R. Chesney, *The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris, carried on by Order of the British Government*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1850; reprinted New York: Greenwood, 1969).

order to carry out this survey which lasted from 1835 to 1837, two iron steam-vessels were constructed, each having its own allotment of officers and men. Chesney's published work gives an account of the voyage, as well as a geographical and historical sketch of the countries with which the rivers Euphrates and Tigris have been intimately connected from the earliest times. The Assyrian ruins of Nimrud (Kalhu), Nineveh, and Ashur are briefly mentioned.[5] A member of this expedition was William Francis Ainsworth, who served as surgeon and geologist. A few years later he was placed in charge of another expedition sent by the Royal Geographical Society and the Society For Promoting Christian Knowledge.[6] Ainsworth reached the city of Mosul in 1840. Shortly thereafter he explored the ruins of Nineveh, including the mound of Kuyunjik ("Little Lamb"), and traced the walls of the ancient city. Ainsworth notes that he discovered the ruins of palaces, temples, and citadels. In the same year Ainsworth met Layard and a travelling companion named Mitford. These men joined Ainsworth's small group that travelled to visit the ruins of Kalah Sherghat (Ashur) and Hatra.[7] On another occasion Ainsworth travelled a route that brought him close to the village of Khorsabad.[8]

Two years after Ainsworth's exploratory activities at Nineveh, a similar undertaking was pursued by Paul Emile Botta. He had been appointed French consul to Mosul in the beginning of the year 1842, an assignment for which he was well-suited. Botta was a specialist in Arabic, and as a young man he undertook a two-year journey by ship around the world to collect plants for the Musée d'Histoire Naturelle de Paris. Still later, Botta embarked on a voyage to Egypt, Yemen, and Lebanon for a similar purpose.[9] Once his duties in Mosul commenced, Botta was persuaded by his friend, Jules Mohl, a member of both the Société Asiatique and the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in Paris, to make some archaeological explorations in the neighborhood. Botta initially chose the mound on which the village of Nebi Yunus was built; there, Rich had found inscriptions set into the walls. However, it was on the mound of Kuyunjik where Botta began his researches in December 1842. In the course of three months numerous fragments of bas-reliefs and cuneiform inscriptions were unearthed, but nothing which Botta considered to be of consequence. He therefore decided to investigate the source of two large inscribed bricks brought to him some months earlier by an inhabitant of Khorsabad, and sent two workers to the village. The village is located about eighteen kilometers northeast of the city of Mosul and only twelve kilometers from the river Tigris. Several days later one workman brought the information that some figures and inscriptions had been dug up. The workmen had been fortunate to commence their excavation in that part of the mound where the monuments were in a relatively good state of preservation. Botta had only to follow the walls which had already been laid bare.[10]

In a letter dated 5 April 1843, Botta announced to Mohl the results of his first operation at Khorsabad and sent him a plan of all the reliefs that had been exposed (see plate 1), as well as drawings of the bas-reliefs. This letter was presented to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, and was subsequently printed in the *Journal asiatique*.[11] Four

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[5] Ibid., 1: 20-22, 119-120, map VI.

[6] William Francis Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia.* 2 vols. (London: Parker, 1843), 1 : 1-2.

[7] Ibid., 2: 147-179.

[8] Ibid., 2: 119-120.

[9] Paul Emile Botta, *Relation d'un voyage dans l'Yémen entrepris en 1837 pour le Museum d'Histoire Naturelle de Paris,* with an introduction: bibliography notice by Charles Louis Levavasseur, (Paris: E. de Soye et Fils, 1880).

[10] Paul Emile Botta and Eugène Flandin, *Monument de Ninive,* 5 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1849-1850), 5: 5-10. These events are recounted in detail by Joseph Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces. The Discoveries of Botta and Layard, Applied to the Elucidation of the Holy Writ,* (London: Office of the Illustrated London Library, 1852), chap. II: 7-26.

[11] Jules Mohl, contributor, "Lettres de M. Botta sur ses découvertes à Ninive," *Journal asiatique,* Fourth Series, vol. 2 (1843), (5 Avril 1843), pp. 61-72.

additional letters to Mohl accompanied by drawings and plans were inserted in the same journal.[12] With the support of Mohl and other influential individuals, the French government placed at Botta's disposal a generous sum of money to further his exploration at Khorsabad. Botta in the meantime had to contend with a number of obstacles. One obstacle was the marshy environment of Khorsabad. Another was the unfavorable disposition of the local authorities which forced the suspension of further exploration, until the French ambassador in Constantinople obtained the orders which effectively prevented further annoyance. A further obstacle was that the village of Khorsabad was built over the monument it was decided to lay bare. By special agreement the inhabitants were authorized to sell their houses and to relocate themselves temporarily at the foot of the mound.[13]

Botta had asked for a draftsman and, at the suggestion of the Académie, a young artist named Eugène Napoléon Flandin was selected to proceed to Khorsabad to copy the sculptures already found and any which might yet be discovered. Some years earlier, Flandin had been employed jointly with the architect Pascal Coste by the French government on a similar mission in Persia, which resulted in a magnificent publication of their efforts.[14] Flandin reached Mosul by the 4th of May 1844, and nothing now prevented the resumption of the excavations, which continued uninterrupted until the end of October in the same year. During these months numerous chambers covered with stone reliefs and, in some places, with inscriptions were unearthed. In the beginning of November, Flandin returned to France to submit his work to the Académie. It responded favorably and rewarded Botta and Flandin by publishing the results of their labors in a series of folio volumes.[15]

After Flandin's departure from Mosul, Botta had to complete his copies of the cuneiform inscriptions, and was left alone to prepare and pack those sculptures chosen for sending to France. Difficulties had to be overcome in the conveyance of the blocks from Khorsabad to Mosul and thence to Baghdad, where they remained for almost a year.[16] These sculptures were placed under the protection of M. Loewe-Weimars, consul of France. From Baghdad the sculptures were transported to Basra, put on the vessel *Cormoran* and shipped to France, finally arriving at the port of Le Havre in December 1846. By order of the Ministry of the Interior, Botta was there to supervise the transport of the sculptures by barge to the city of Paris, where they were deposited without incident in February of 1847.[17] By that time the ancient site at Khorsabad had already been abandoned, and remained generally neglected until French explorations were officially renewed in 1852 by the newly appointed consul to Mosul, Thomas Victor Place.

In the intervening years between the first and second official French expeditions to Khorsabad, a number of reliefs ranging from whole subjects to small fragments were taken away from the site for the benefit of foreigners, presumably with the labor of local

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[12] Letter 2 (2 Mai 1843): ibid., pp. 201-214 ; letter 3 (2 Juin 1843): *JA* 3 (1844), pp. 91-103; letter 4 (24 Juillet 1843): ibid., pp. 425-435; letter 5 (31 Octobre 1843): *JA* 4 (1844), pp. 301-314. These letters were subsequently published in a single volume; see Jules Mohl, *Lettres de M. Botta sur ses découvertes à Khorsabad, près de Ninive,* (Paris: Imprimerie Royal, 1845). The book includes Flandin's report to the Minister of the Interior (27 March 1844). An english translation of this volume was also prepared, with some modifications; see *Illustrations of Discoveries at Nineveh; Consisting of Forty-Nine Plates of Sculptures and Inscriptions on Ancient Assyrian Monuments,* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1850).

[13] See above n. 10.

[14] Eugène Flandin and Pascal Coste, *Voyage en Perse,* 6 vols. (Paris: Gide et J. Baudry, 1840-41). The well-executed original drawings of Flandin, presently unpublished, are kept in the Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France (MS.2733).

[15] See above n. 10.

[16] For a description of the accomplishment of this difficult task, see Adrien de Longpérier, *Notice des antiquités assyriennes, babyloniennes, perses, hébraïques exposées dans les galeries du musée du Louvre,* 3rd ed., (Paris: Vinchon, Imprimeur des Musées Impériaux, 1854), pp. 10-12. A modified version is reprinted in Ed. Pottier, *Catalogue des antiquités assyriennes,* 2nd ed., Musée National du Louvre (Paris: Musées Nationaux, 1924), pp. 16-19.

[17] Ibid.

inhabitants. These sculptures eventually found their way into the collections of museums and private individuals. One notable group reached the British Museum through purchase in 1847 (see below), while other pieces of sculpture entered various museums many years later through bequests and gifts. Among the European visitors to the ancient site during the years of abandonment in the 1840s was Alexander Hector, a long-time resident of Baghdad. A decade earlier he had served as an officer of the British Euphrates Expedition to Mesopotamia.[18] In a letter dated June 1845 and addressed to a friend, Thomas Stirling, Hector describes his visit to Khorsabad. He writes that he examined the excavations and the more he looked at the remaining sculptures, the more he was struck with astonishment as he thought of the ages that had passed since they were executed and buried. Hector then goes on to describe the sculptures in some detail.[19] Hector probably re-visited Khorsabad on at least one other occasion – and there may have been more – since it was through him that a consignment of sculptures was transferred to Stirling, and eventually sold to the British Museum. [20] Furthermore Layard, who at the time was excavating the ancient sites of Nimrud and Nineveh, briefly mentions in his publication that in late December 1847 he travelled to Baghdad with "Mr. Hector, a gentleman from Baghdad, who had visited me in Nimrud."[21] Hector's continued interest in obtaining Near Eastern antiquities is divulged in a letter written several years later, in February of 1855, by Colonel Henry Creswicke Rawlinson to William Loftus, in which the consignment and shipment of sculptures from Nimrud and Nineveh were discussed. Mentioned therein is Hector's offer to take the rejected sculptures from these two sites and to give them to the British Museum on payment of the actual expense of transport.[22]

Another person who deserves mention is Layard, the excavator of Nimrud and Nineveh during the years 1846 to 1851.[23] He examined the site of Khorsabad on two separate occasions, in August of 1846 and again in November of 1849. During his first visit Layard observed that "since Botta's departure the chambers had been partly filled up by the falling in of trenches; the sculptures were rapidly perishing; and shortly, little will remain of this monument. Scarcely any part of the building had escaped the fire which destroyed it, and consequently very few sculptures could be removed."[24] On his second visit he reports further, that "the sculptures in the palace itself had rapidly fallen to decay, and of those which had been left exposed to the air after M. Botta's departure scarcely any traces remained. Some, however, had been covered up and partly preserved by the falling in of the high walls of earth forming the sides of the trenches."[25] It was during this second visit that Layard examined a small building previously excavated by Botta and identified by him as a temple. Layard

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[18] Chesney, *Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris,* 1: xiii.

[19] Ibid., 2: 136, n. 3.

[20] Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces,* p. 295. On pp. 7277-78 (19 June 1847) of the 'Extracts from Minutes of the British Museum Trustees' Standing Committee' is the following information: "Mr. Hawkins laid before the Trustees a letter dated 18th. inst. from Mr. Stirling, offering for sale a number of Sculptures from Khorsabad excavated by Mr. Hector, a merchant settled at Baghdad... Mr. Hawkins further stated that he was informed by Mr. Stirling that Mr. Hector had in his possession or at his command other Sculptures too bulky to be removed without a reasonable prospect of remuneration, and he recommended that a communication should be opened with Mr. Hector with a view to obtaining the whole produce of his excavation... The Trustees conferred with Mr. Hawkins, and authorised the purchase of the Sculptures at the price named." The information was kindly provided by the Bibliographical Information Service, the British Library.

[21] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains,* 1: 61. Hector corresponded with Layard as early as 1842. A perusal of Hector's letters, now preserved in the British Library, confirms that these men were on friendly terms. On several occasions Hector assisted Layard in matters dealing with the transport of sculptures from Nimrud and Nineveh. See British Museum, *Layard Papers, Correspondence 1838-47,* vols. XLV-XLVII (Additional Ms. 38,975-38,977): letters dated 21 July 1842, 8 Oct. 1842, 17 April 1844, 19 Feb. 1845, 6 Aug. 1845, 5 Aug. 1846, 28 Oct. 1846, 14 April 1847.

[22] Richard D. Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (668-627 B.C.),* (London: British Museum Publications, 1976), p. 20, n. 10.

[23] A good account of the events surrounding Layard's explorations is given in Barnett's volume, ibid., pp. 3-5.

[24] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains,* 1: 35.

[25] Idem, *Nineveh and Babylon,* p. 131.

describes the building as entirely constructed of black marble, and it stood on a platform that was remarkable for a cornice of gray limestone carved around the four corners. Several days before Layard's arrival at Khorsabad one of his workmen, sent to clear the platform of earth and other debris, discovered two bas-reliefs sculptured in black stone. On these slabs were represented hunting scenes.[26]

Layard acknowledges that while detained in Constantinople between the years 1842 and 1845 he was able to follow Botta's progress. He wrote to Botta during the latter's brief period of exploration at Kuyunjik and called his attention to the mound of Nimrud. Layard was allowed to see Botta's letters and drawings as they passed through Constantinople and was therefore among the first who learned of Botta's success at Khorsabad. Layard probably also examined the drawings prepared by Flandin before they were published as engravings, since he mentions in his publication that he had seen the latter's portfolio.[27]

Of the French expeditions to Mesopotamia which came after Botta's exploration, one was a scientific undertaking, known as the Expédition Scientifique en Mésopotamie. It lasted from 1851 to 1854 and was conducted by Fulgence Fresnel, consul to Baghdad, with the assistance of the architect Félix Thomas and the orientalist Jules Oppert.[28] The discoveries made by this expedition may have contributed to the decipherment of cuneiform, but whatever ancient monuments may have been procured for the Louvre were lost in the shipwreck of 1855 (see below). Meanwhile Victor Place, consul to Mosul, was assigned to continue the excavations of Botta and this lasted from 1852 to the start of 1854.[29] He expanded the area of exploration at Khorsabad and brought to light considerable information pertaining to the architectural planning of the site. This is demonstrated by the several excellent drawings prepared by Félix Thomas and reproduced in the publication that followed.[30] Thomas had served for about three months as architect at Khorsabad, and upon his return to Paris in 1853 he brought a collection of small objects found at the site and these were subsequently deposited in the Louvre.[31] Another person who worked with Place was Gabriel Tranchand, a civil engineer and a personal friend. He took quantities of photographs at Khorsabad and at other ancient sites (Kuyunjik, Maltai, Djigan, etc.), utilizing both daguerreotype and a new process termed "calotype".[32] Engravings were made of several photographs showing views of Khorsabad and sculptures discovered at the site. These engravings augmented the illustrations in Place's publication. Many years afterwards Maurice Pillet located a large group of Tranchand's original photographs showing the sculptures, and some of these were subsequently published but others were lost again.[33]

An unfortunate accident deprived France of the major finds from Khorsabad which Victor Place had assembled. The bulk of sculptures from the site was packed by the end of 1854 and sent to Baghdad. In May 1855 these cases together with others from the Fresnel mission in Baghdad, and sculptures from Nimrud and Nineveh destined primarily for the Musée du Louvre and the Berlin Museum – a total of about 235 cases – left for Basra. From there, the French vessel *Manuel* was to convey the consignments from Khorsabad, Nimrud,

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[26] Ibid., pp. 131-132.

[27] Idem, *Nineveh and its Remains*, 2: 247. Layard was in Paris in 1848; see British Museum, *Layard Papers*, vol. XLVIII (MS. 38,978), f. 375.

[28] Pottier, *Catalogue*, p. 20.

[29] For a detailed account of Place's exploration activities at Khorsabad, see Maurice Pillet, *Khorsabad. Les découvertes de V. Place en Assyrie*, (Paris: Editions Ernest Leroux, 1918). For a comprehensive description of Place's professional career, including the events surrounding his excavations at Khorsabad, see idem, *Un pionnier de l'assyriologie: Victor Place*, Cahiers de la Société Asiatique 16 (1962).

[30] Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, vol. 3.

[31] Pillet, *Un pionnier*, p. 53. For an inventory of the small objects, see idem, *Khorsabad*, pp. 80-85.

[32] *Khorsabad*, pp. 77-78, 114-115; *Un pionnier*, pp. 105-106, 114-115.

[33] *Un pionnier*, pls. 1-26.

Nineveh, and other sites to Le Havre. On 21 or 23 May 1855, the boat and several rafts transporting the crates to Basra were attacked by rebellious Arabs and plundered. Most of the cases sank in the river Chatt-el-Arab three miles north of Qurnah but over a wide area. Nonetheless some eighty cases escaped the shipwreck, as well as two large sculptures now displayed in the Louvre.[34] The termination of exploration at Khorsabad by Victor Place marked the cessation of European work at the site.

American interest in the site of Khorsabad began some seventy years later. In 1927 Edward Chiera, a scholar of ancient Near Eastern languages in the employ of the Oriental Institute, the University of Chicago, undertook a season of excavation at the site of Nuzi. While working at the site, he was informed that an inscribed stone had been unearthed by the natives near the palace mound at Khorsabad. Upon completing his season of excavation at Nuzi, Chiera conducted a preliminary investigation of Khorsabad. Chiera had his workmen explore the area of the palace which was at that time being used as a stone quarry by the inhabitants of the surrounding villages. In one place fragments of reliefs were lying about on the surface, and after very little digging part of a wall once carved with reliefs was found. A villager led Chiera's workmen to a cache of sculptures which had been intentionally re-buried in the previous century. Chiera also purchased from the natives several stone fragments, on one of which the head of an Assyrian official was carved. These discoveries led to the decision to organize the Khorsabad expedition of the Oriental Institute, the University of Chicago.[35] Henri Frankfort served as director of the expedition when actual excavations began two years later, in the area of court VIII (Botta's facade n). Several chambers of the palace were also explored, including rooms 7, 10, 12, and possibly portions of rooms 6 and 11. In several places the reliefs were found to be badly damaged by fire which destroyed the palace and it was decided to leave the stone slabs *in situ*. The better preserved reliefs were removed, packed, and shipped either to the Oriental Institute in Chicago or else to the Iraq Museum in Baghdad. During this and succeeding seasons (1929/30, 1931/32, 1933/34) the Khorsabad expedition, later led by Gordon Loud, investigated court VII (throneroom), the temple complex, several large residences situated within the outer enclosure wall of the city, and two gateways. The final reports appeared in the publications of the Oriental Institute.[36]

No further large-scale excavations at the site of Khorsabad have been made to the present time.[37] In reviewing the past discoveries, it should be remembered that from the outset exploration was motivated by a desire to unearth the surviving material remains produced by the original inhabitants. The French were primarily concerned with assembling cuneiform inscriptions, as these were necessary for the decipherment of the ancient language and also furnished the means to better understand the history of the Assyrians in biblical

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[34] Pillet lists the cargo from Baghdad as follows: 2 winged bulls, 2 winged genies, 41 cases from the Fresnel Mission in Babylonia, 80 (?) cases destined for the Berlin Museum, 84 cases belonging to Place, 26 cases for the Louvre. Fortunately for the British Museum, separate arrangements had been made for transporting its consignment of 52 cases to Basra, and these cases reached their destination safely. Of the 80 surviving cases taken on the vessel *Manuel*, 2 contained Place's personal belongings, and 26 were destined for the Louvre. The latter included 16 cases of antiquities from Nimrud and Nineveh offered by the British officials. See : Pillet, *Khorsabad*, pp. 25-30, 52-55; idem, *Un pionnier*, pp. 81-84.

[35] Gordon Loud, Henri Frankfort, and Thorkild Jacobsen, *Khorsabad. Part I. Excavations in the Palace and at a City Gate*, Oriental Institute Publications 38 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1936), pp. 12-14.

[36] Gordon Loud and Charles Altman, *Khorsabad. Part II. The Citadel and the Town*, Oriental Institute Publications 40 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1938). For the preliminary report, see Henri Frankfort, "Tell Asmar, Khafaje, and Khorsabad. Second Preliminary Report of the Iraq Expedition," *Oriental Institute Communications* 16 (1933), pp. 80-102.

[37] Salvage work at the site was undertaken in 1938 and 1939, under the direction of the Director-General of Antiquities of Iraq. At that time the wall reliefs from room 11, the doorway connecting rooms 6 and 11, and the huge sculptures from Gate A (discovered by the Oriental Institute expedition), were removed and transferred to the Iraq Museum. Albert R. Al-Haik, *Key Lists of Archaeological Excavations in Iraq, 1842-1965*, (Coconut Grove, Florida: Field Research Projects, 1968), pp. 56-57. More recently, a small temple was exposed and excavated. Fuad Safar, "The Temple of Sibitti at Khorsabad," *Sumer* 13 (1957), pp. 219-221.

times. The unique and spectacular appearance of the art works discovered at Khorsabad justified the formation of a representative collection to be brought back to France, despite the hardships attending their removal and transfer from the site to Baghdad, thence to Basra, and eventually to Paris. It is unfortunate that the majority of reliefs was left exposed to the elements, either because they could not be moved or were found in poor condition; certainly, it was impossible for all or most of the orthostats to be taken away. This action doomed the carved orthotstats to certain rapid erosion and eventual destruction. It must be acknowledged, nonetheless, that the financial and technical resources available to the 19th century excavators were limited. Furthermore, a total lack of interest in these discoveries was shown by the local officials and higher authorities. Because of this attitude it was unlikely that any effort would be made to protect the many orthostats still *in situ*. The situation did not alter over the years, and one expressed concern of Chiera was to salvage whatever reliefs remained rather than allow them to be burned for lime or else used by the natives for some mundane purpose.[38]

Studies on select subjects pertaining to the art from Khorsabad have been made in the past, and a number of surviving sculptures have been cited and illustrated in publications dealing with the art, culture, and history of the Neo-Assyrian empire. However, no full-scale investigation of all the wall reliefs unearthed at Khorsabad has been made till now. The present volume endeavors to provide the framework for attaining this goal, particularly as it will help focus upon the creative achievements of the period. It is evident that the wall reliefs from the city of the Assyrian king, Sargon II, contain a wealth of historical information and a variety of religious and secular themes which necessarily required different pictorial solutions. Concerning the creation of the wall reliefs it may be asked whether a single, coherent concept underlay all their subjects, and whether the planning and placement of the various scenes were arbitrary or were related in some way to the function of the room or particular exposure in which they occur. Another question that needs to be answered is how the scenes in the palace were to be perceived and "read" once they were designed and executed; for example, was there a starting point in the narrative scenes, or a central subject with ancillary motifs in other compositions? The explanations to these and other questions should lead to a better comprehension of the artistic production associated with the reign of Sargon II.

In this book the study of the monumental arts from Khorsabad relies primarily upon the original drawings of Eugène Flandin, published here for the first time. Over the years the whereabouts of these drawings was forgotten. Following a suggestion by Dr. Julian E. Reade, after some months of investigation during the years 1979 and 1980, the present writer located the drawings in the Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France*, preserved in two folio volumes where they had been carefully assembled by Flandin (see his title pages, plates 5 and 6). The drawings are in pristine condition but the papers on which they appear show signs of aging. The excellent but delicate condition of these drawings has made it imperative that they be published without delay. The present writer also located in the same library some of the original sketches of Paul Emile Botta, previously unpublished. These drawings accompanied Botta's first two letters to Jules Mohl. It should be noted that Botta's sketches are much finer than the simplified versions which appeared in the *Journal asiatique*. These drawings are likewise published in the present volume for the first time (plates 1-4). In addition to the original drawings, reference is made to the published engravings in Botta's volumes when necessary. Although Flandin must have supervised the production of the

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[38] Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, p. 13.

* Note of the Editors : the drawings are filed under the name of Flandin in the library, and available to authorized persons.

engravings, occasional differences are discernible and where this occurs it is not always clear which version is the more accurate. It does seem, however, that Flandin's immediate observations were recorded in the original drawings, while a carefully prepared rendering of the evidence was put forth in the engravings.

The extant carved orthostats and smaller fragments are also given consideration in the present study. These reliefs form the basis for understanding the sculptural style and the technique of manufacture. However, the surviving reliefs are scattered among different museums, and a fair amount of them are presently in storerooms or else exhibited but unpublished. For these reasons a descriptive catalogue of all the known extant reliefs is appended at the end of the book (chapter IX). After examining many of the sculptures, it became clear to the present writer that it would be invaluable to have the bas-reliefs reproduced in one place. Therefore many reliefs, as well as previously unpublished photographs taken of orthostats at the time of their discovery at Khorsabad, are illustrated in this book. Finally, several of the original drawings contain epigraphs. These inscriptions furnish essential information concerning the identifications of the places which are depicted on the bas-reliefs. A special chapter is devoted to the translation and discussion of the epigraphs (chapter VII). This chapter has been ably written by Christopher B. F. Walker.

CHAPTER II

THE ARCHITECTURAL SETTING OF THE WALL RELIEFS

The present study focuses primarily upon the sculptural arts produced for the city of Dur-Sharrukin which the Assyrian King, Sargon II (721-705 B.C.), ordered to be built. This investigation is generally restricted to the large groups of stone reliefs that lined certain walls within the city. Past explorations at the village of Khorsabad – where the ancient city lay buried – have produced material evidence to show that select places throughout the city were adorned with painted decorations,[1] glazed polychrome bricks,[2] metalwork,[3] sculptures in the round,[4] and large-scale wall reliefs. Where the wall reliefs were found closely associated with one or more of the other art forms, the former had prime importance. This is seen, for example, in each of the city gateways explored by Victor Place; there, the band of glazed brick decoration over the door remained supplementary to the large sculptures framing the same entrance.[5] Furthermore, there is ample evidence that the bas-reliefs themselves were enhanced with polychrome, at least on some portions of the carved surfaces.[6] With few exceptions the vast quantities of decorated stone orthostats recovered

[1] Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, 3:pl. 32; Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, pp. 23, 67-71, pls. I-III, figs. 81-82; Loud and Altman, *Khorsabad. II*, chap. V: 83-86, pls. 31 A-D, 32 A, 43, 88-90; Pillet, *Un pionnier*, p. 50.

[2] See plates 150-151; Place, ibid., 3: pls. 14-17, 23-24, 27-31; Loud, ibid., pp. 92-97, figs. 100, 104-106; Loud and Altman, ibid., p. 41.

[3] Place, ibid., 3:pls. 72-74; Loud, ibid., pp. 97-98, figs. 111-112; Loud and Altman, ibid., pp. 43-44, pls. 41 A-B, 49-50. An Assyrian letter and Sargon's annals record the making of metal decorations for the city of Dur-Sharrukin. The objects include column bases in the form of lions, and copper and silver plating which overlaid doors of temples. See: Leroy Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire*, 3 vols. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1930-1936), 2: n°. 452; David Daniel Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1926-1927; reprinted New York: Greenwood, 1968), 2:paras. 97, 100.

[4] For terracotta figurines, see present volume plates 146-147 and figures 95-97. For statues associated with temples, see: Pillet, *Un pionnier*, figs. 12-19; Place, ibid., 3:pl. 31 bis; Loud, ibid., pp. 98-99, figs. 107-108, 111-112; Loud and Altman, ibid., p. 95, pls. 45, 47-48; Eva Strommenger, *Die Neuassyrische Rundskulptur*, Abhandlungen Der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft Nr. 15 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1970), pp. 23-24. Mention should also be made of the discovery of several fragmentary bas-reliefs, one of which belonged to a wall decoration and two others formed part of the throne base. See Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, pp. 58-60, 65, figs. 72, 79-80.

[5] Place, ibid., 3: pls. 11-12; Pillet, ibid., figs. 7-9.

[6] Several of Botta's and Flandin's drawings show details in color. Place also mentions that a number of sculptures were found with colors still adhering to them. See: Place, ibid., 1: 58; Pillet, ibid., p. 51. The colors applied to the sculptures were black, white, red, blue, and possibly green. In addition to these colors, yellow – and certainly green – were included for wall paintings and painted bricks. Color has been added to one of Tranchand's calotypes showing a slab carved with the figure of a wingless genie; see Archives Nationales F^{21} 546, pl. 35 bis. These colors are: black on the hair, beard, and sandals; red on fillet and flowering branch; blue on rosettes attached to the fillet.

from Khorsabad showed figural motifs. Certain subjects seem to have been allocated specific locations, and the subject matter on other bas-reliefs was arranged in pre-determined fashion. These general observations suggest that the content of the wall reliefs was decided upon during the time when the creation of the Assyrian city was in the planning stage. Once the intended placement of the wall reliefs was finalized, their actual production could have been carried out while the various structures were under construction, or shortly thereafter.[7]

This chapter will consider the ways in which the wall reliefs fitted into the overall architectural scheme of Dur-Sharrukin. The sculptures fall into two categories, according to their location and content. The reliefs in the first category were designed to appear as an integral part of entrances and certain walls, and their subject matter had religious or symbolic meaning. The reliefs in the second category lined the lower portions of entire wall surfaces of many chambers within the palace and some areas of the outer facades (courts), and their subject matter described contempory events. In several places the two categories of wall reliefs were arranged alongside one another, suggesting that in each of these instances there was an interaction of visually defined expressions. The subjects comprising each of the two categories of carved decoration are dealt with at length in later chapters.

The discussion of the wall reliefs in their architectural context is preceded by a brief survey of the data derived from ancient accounts explaining the founding of Sargon's new city. This survey should provide a useful framework for better understanding the extent to which the monumental wall reliefs expressed visually the intended ideas of their creators. The survey is followed by an account of the published reports describing the discovery and exploration of the city in modern times. This account is especially important since the known surviving reliefs are no longer *in situ* and are dispersed among various museums as isolated sculptures. Some of these bas-reliefs are reduced to small fragments. Other reliefs were unfortunately lost during transport, while the vast majority were left in place and are re-buried or perhaps no longer exist. In addition to the extant sculptures, there is the pictorial record. The earliest pictorial record showing the wall reliefs *in situ*, or strewn on the ground nearby, comes from the nineteenth century sketches of Paul Emile Botta and drawings of Eugène Flandin. For the most part, these drawings remain our only source of information as to the original placement of the vast quantities of sculptures that were unearthed on the palace mound. The architectural drawings and photographs of later date made by Félix Thomas and Gabriel Tranchand respectively, and reproduced as engravings in Place's publication, supply essential data concerning the carved decorations in other parts of the Assyrian city which were unexplored by the first excavators. To these sources of information must be added the photographs taken by members of the Oriental Institute expedition, showing groups of surviving reliefs still in place on the walls or scattered upon the ground in fragments. Notwithstanding that much material is available for study, there are still unresolved questions concerning the planning of the carved wall decorations and their appearance upon completion. Despite the gaps of information that still persist, the reconstruction of the wall reliefs to their original positions – a feat already accomplished in the pictoral record – makes it feasible to formulate some conclusions concerning the meanings underlying the subject matter carved on them.

The Founding of Dur-Sharrukin

Historically, the founding of a new city by an Assyrian king was a rare occurrence, and throughout the centuries most royal building projects were confined to the construction or

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[7] For evidence that the orthostats were carved after they had been set in place, see Loud, *Khorsabad. I.* p. 39.

restoration of temples, palaces, and city walls. Shalmaneser I (1274-1245 B.C.) is credited with building the city of Kalhu (Nimrud).[8] This city was eventually abandoned, and centuries later it was rebuilt by Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.), who settled therein peoples from the lands he conquered.[9] Another Assyrian king who founded a city was Tukulti-Ninurta I (1240-1208 B.C.). He chose an unoccupied area a little north of the city of Ashur, on the opposite bank of the Tigris, where he established a new royal city and cult center and named it Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta ; the city also contained his palace situated on a newly erected terrace.[10] Sargon II also built his new city at a previously unoccupied location, and named it Dur-Sharrukin.[11]

Texts commemorating the founding of Sargon's new city give a precise account of the several stages of planning and construction necessary for its completion, as well as a description of the elaborate feast that was held shortly afterwards. The sequence of these stages may be summarized as follows :

(1) Decision to create a new city. According to the texts this momentous resolution originating from Sargon himself was duly granted divine sanction.[12]

(2) Designing the city. Sargon asserts that he planned its construction over a period of time, and the site he chose was the village of Magganubba situated at the foot of Mount Musri, some distance north of Nineveh. In addition to the designing of the city, a new canal had to be dug in order to make the city habitable.[13]

(3) Land purchase and organization of the labor force. The displaced local inhabitants were compensated for their land, either through payment in silver or copper, or else field for field in nearby locations. The large work force required for the many building activities consisted of foreigners from captured lands, who afterwards had to settle within the city under the supervision of Assyrian officials and scribes. Furthermore, there are documents which disclose that Assyrian military forces and civilian populations from Assyrian cities also contributed their labor.[14]

(4) The construction of the city and its important structures. First, the foundation platform for the city was laid. This took place in year 5 of Sargon's reign (717 B.C.).[15] Thereafter shrines for the deities, a palace for the royal dwelling place, and a *bit hilani* were erected. The structures were made of brickwork and different woods, and great slabs of limestone portraying in relief cities defeated in battle were set around the walls. In addition, protecting deities constructed out of great blocks of stone were set up by the entrances. A

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[8] This information is recorded in the texts of the later Assyrian king, Ashurnasirpal II. Albert Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions,* Records of the Ancient Near East, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972, 1976), 2: paras. 653, 671, 677-679, 689. The texts of Shalmaneser I make no mention of Kalhu, but do state that he rebuilt a palace, gates, and temples in Ashur and Nineveh; ibid., 1: paras. 393-394, 398. For the archaeological evidence for an early occupation, see "Kalhu" in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 5 (1980), p. 320 (para. 34).

[9] Grayson, ibid., 2: paras. 653, 671, 677-679,689.

[10] Ibid., 1: paras. 767-770, 777-780, 785-787. For a description of the excavations made at this site, see Walter Andrae, *Das Wiedererstandene Assur,* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1938; 2d. ed. rev. by Barthel Hrouda, Munchen: C. H. Beck, 1977), pp. 174-179.

[11] Luckenbill, *ARAB,* 2: paras. 83, 119. On the meaning of the king's name, see E.A. Speiser, "Ancient Mesopotamia," in Robert C. Dentan, ed. *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), p. 69, n. 92. Henry Creswicke Rawlinson learned that the Syrians called the site of Khorsabad *Sar'oun* (in Syriac): see Botta's fourth letter to Jules Mohl (24 July 1843).

[12] Luckenbill, Ibid., 2: paras. 72, 83, 98, 102, 105, 108, 120. Special support was given by Shaushka, the goddess of Nineveh, the "master builder of the land." The methods by which divine sanction was ascertained are described by Speiser, "Ancient Mesopotamia," pp. 60-62.

[13] Luckenbill, ibid., 2: paras. 83, 119. Portions of large conduits were exposed by Victor Place; see Pillet, *Khorsabad,* pls. 19-22.

[14] Luckenbill, ibid., 2: paras. 102, 119, 120. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence,* 1: n°s 484-486, 705; 2: n°s 813-814. Problems related to the construction of the city are revealed in several letters; see n°s 705, 1432, 1442.

park of trees and plants imported from the mountains and regions to the west, and described as "likened unto Mount Amanus", was laid out at the side of the city.[16]

(5) Sacrificing and feasting. After the city and palace were completed, the gods of Dur-Sharrukin were brought into their new temples and shrines. This occurred in year 15 of Sargon's reign (707 B.C.).[17] The king then made appropriate sacrifices before the deities. Once settled in the royal residence, Sargon prepared a banquet accompanied by music for the benefit of vassal princes, Assyrian governors, and various Assyrian nobles and officials, all of whom brought rich gifts to the king. The city was inaugurated in year 16 of Sargon's reign (706 B.C.).[18]

Sargon credits his superior intelligence for his ability to establish a new city.[19] But aside from his presumed wisdom, two major objectives that Sargon achieved during his reign enabled him to plan and complete his master design for a new city. One objective was the strengthening of Assyrian's position in the economic and political affairs of Western Asia, an undertaking which really began in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B.C). This strong position made it possible for Sargon to amass the kinds of goods and materials necessary for the royal building operations.[20] The other objective was the controlling of extensive foreign territories through military conquest. The success of these military campaigns made it possible for subjugated peoples to be deported to Assyria and compelled to carry out Sargon's building operations.[21]

Furthermore, the Assyrian king must have relied upon the capabilities of his court advisors and local governors for the actual supervision of the royal works. The large-scale representations of high-ranking Assyrian officials standing before the person of the king, a subject which recurs several times on the wall reliefs of the palace, may be a visual means of acknowledging the king's debt to them for overseeing the completion of Dur-Sharrukin and administering governmental matters which made the royal projects possible. One of the Assyrian officials was Tab-shar-Ashur, who was the architect of Dur-Sharrukin and holder of the office of *abarakku* or royal treasurer.[22] Two other officials who can be identified by name are Nabu-Shallim-Shunu, the *tupšar šarri* or king's scribe, and Sinahuṣur, the *sukallu* or vizier. The former authored the text recounting the events of Sargon's eighth campaign in 714 B.C.,[23] and the latter was a full brother of the king, owner of residence L in the new city, and commander of the king's elite troops.[24]

The inscriptions dealing with the construction of the new city and palace conclude with Sargon's appeal to the gods for long life and prosperity, and to future kings to restore the ruins of the city. In 705 B.C. Sargon went on a military campaign and died in battle.[25] The

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[15] Hayim Tadmor, "The Campaigns of Sargon II of Assyria: A Chronological-Historical Study," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 12 (1958), p. 94.

[16] Luckenbill, *ARAB*, 2: paras. 73-74, 83-85, 97, 100, 105, 110.

[17] Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), p. 96.

[18] Luckenbill, *ARAB*, 2: paras. 72, 74, 87, 94, 98: Tadmor, ibid., p. 97.

[19] Sargon equates himself with the sage, Adapa. Luckenbill, ibid., 2: paras. 105, 119.

[20] The expansion of Assyrian colonization and domination began in the ninth century B.C. For example, see Hayim Tadmor, "Assyria and the West: the Ninth Century and Its Aftermath," in Hans Goedicke and J.J. Roberts, eds., *Unity and Divers ty. Essays in the History, Literature and Religion of the Ancient Near East*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), pp. 36-48. The strengthening of contacts with Egypt was made in Sargon's reign; see idem, *JCS* 12 (1958), pp. 34-35, 84. Sargon's entry into the city of Babylon encouraged the sending of tribute from the lands of Cyprus, Dilmun, and Phrygia. Luckenbill, ibid., 2: paras. 70-71. From this, one may surmise that Assyria gained a measure of control over the more distant trade routes. On the subject of items sent in trade, see A. Leo Oppenheim, "Essay on Overland Trade in the First Millennium B.C.," *JCS* 21 (1967), pp. 235-254.

[21] Luckenbill, *ARAB*, 2: para. 122.

[22] J.V. Kinnier Wilson, *The Nimrud Wine Lists. A Study of men and administration at the Assyrian Capital in the Eighth Century B.C.*, (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1972), p. 36; A.T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923; reprinted 1975), pp. 269, 271. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), p. 85.

[23] Kinnier Wilson, ibid., p. 36 ; Luckenbill, *ARAB*, 2: para. 178.

[24] Kinnier Wilson, ibid., p. 37; Luckenbill, ibid., 2: para. 154; Loud and Altman, *Khorsabad, II*, p. 104.

[25] Luckenbill, ibid., 2: paras. 101, 113-115; Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, p. 267; Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), p. 97.

still unfinished city was generally abandoned by his son and successor, Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.), who established his own royal city at Nineveh which had been occupied from much earlier times. There, Sennacherib had his own sumptuous palace built and also expanded the area of the city.[26] Except for some minor rebuilding known to have occurred in several areas of the palace,[27] Dur-Sharrukin was neglected by later kings to the end of the Assyrian empire.

Explorations at Khorsabad

Information pertaining to the ancient Assyrian city buried beneath the modern site of Khorsabad is known essentially from three campaigns of excavation undertaken in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The main purpose of these explorations was to locate whatever material remains of the ancient city still survived. Of the considerable quantities of finds that were unearthed, only a small portion could be removed from the site. Fortunately, the excavators made a permanent record of their discoveries by means of written descriptions, drawings, architectural plans, hand-copies of cuneiform inscriptions, and – when this method became available – photography. These records disclose that the excavators gave special attention to three important features of the ancient city : the architectural design, the works of art intimately linked with the architecture, and the cuneiform inscriptions carved upon the decorated stone blocks and threshold slabs. Each succeeding campaign of exploration furnished additional data on aspects of these features.

First Campaign

The initial discovery of the ancient city on the mound of Khorsabad was made in 1843 by laborers in the employ of Paul Emile Botta, French consul to Mosul. Sporadic exploratory work continued for several months thereafter, during which time several walls faced with carved reliefs were exposed. At the very outset of his excavations, Botta devised a system of recording the major finds in sequence by assigning each section of a wall a Roman numeral. When several walls were found to enclose a chamber, the latter was likewise numbered in the order of its discovery. Doorways and exterior walls labelled "facades" were each assigned a letter of the alphabet. This system of identification was used in Botta's letters to Jules Mohl, in which the first discoveries are described, illustrated, and located in several plans drawn for this purpose.

Six months of continuous exploration at Khorsabad followed in 1844, from May through October. During that time Eugène Flandin, the artist assigned to the site, made careful drawings of the bas-reliefs. He also drew groundplans and elevations of the many chambers that were unearthed, and these show the exact location and condition of the wall reliefs. The recording system introduced by Botta was essentially maintained in Flandin's work where the individual stone blocks are numbered consecutively within each chamber. The task of hand-copying the cuneiform inscriptions carved on pavement slabs and upon the wall reliefs was undertaken by Botta. The primary objective of the excavation was to locate and uncover all those chambers of the ancient Assyrian structure that contained carved orthostats and inscriptions. When Botta decided that these had been fully revealed, further work ceased. The information gathered from this first phase of exploration was subsequently published in a handsome series of folio volumes.

The discoveries of Botta and Flandin were substantial but incomplete. Concerning the architecture and art of the ancient city, their major discoveries include : the line of the city

[26] Ibid., 2: paras. 363-371, 372-378, 382-395, 407-416.
[27] Loud, *Khorsabad.I*, pp. 62-64, figs. 75-77.

enclosure wall which still lay buried under mounds of earth ; the layout of one area or wing of the palace situated upon a high mound ; the carved orthostats lining all the walls of the exposed chambers and entrances ; the still surviving portion of a large, detached building ; the finds of smaller objects of diverse function and material. Finally, Botta accomplished the difficult task of transporting from the site a representative selection of sculptures whose combined weight was many tons.[28] These art works eventually reached Paris and are now in the Musée du Louvre.

Years 1845 to 1852

Sporadic explorations were carried out at Khorsabad, between the years 1845 and 1852. No systematic records were kept by the several individuals who are known to have investigated the site. There is no way of learning the full extent of what was uncovered and the only sources available, regarding some of the sculptural finds, are personal letters and documents related to the sale of bas-reliefs. One of the first Europeans to visit Khorsabad after Botta's departure was Alexander Hector. This visit took place in June 1845, and several years later Hector sold a collection of bas-reliefs to the British Museum. The reliefs were mostly fragments taken from orthostats previously exposed by Botta. Austen Henry Layard's first visit to Khorsabad in August 1846 was brief. Upon his return to the site in November 1849, Layard explored the detached building. Much of his published account of this building is based upon the discoveries of Botta and the drawings of Flandin. In September or October 1848 M. Guillois, the French consul to Mosul, dug at Khorsabad on a low hill situated below the palace terrace. He exposed part of a gate lined with colossal sculptures. Shortly afterwards Guillois was replaced by M. Gillet as French consul but, nonetheless, he was still able to sell the huge sculptures that decorated the gate.

Second Campaign

Full-scale exploration at Khorsabad was resumed in January 1852 by Victor Thomas Place, the newly appointed French consul to Mosul. His work at the site continued until the start of 1854. Place expanded the area of exploration on the mound begun by Botta by following the lines of the walls. He discovered that the palace complex originally extended across the entire surface of the high terrace, and that its basic plan consisted of numerous chambers arranged around different courts. Other important discoveries made by Place were the statues and the polychrome brick designs along the outer walls of several structures which he identified as the harem quarters. Place also cleared one or more gateways leading into the city.[29]

Throughout this period of exploration, Place sent progress reports to the Minister of the Interior, at the Direction des Beaux Arts in Paris. In a late report no. 49, dated 18 July 1854, Place summarized at length the results of his efforts.[30] He believed he had exposed the entire palace complex, which comprised four parts: the palace proper, the observatory (ziggurat), the harem (temple complex) and the dependencies. Place adds that the palace proper included all the parts decorated with reliefs, from the area explored by Botta to the great hall of the dependencies. The palace consisted of 4 courts and 41 chambers, 14

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[28] Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 5:14-16. Flandin personally selected and detached from the walls a large number of sculptures destined for Paris, many more than are actually in the Louvre. A large winged bull in one piece had to be abandoned in the plain a short distance from the site, and a colossal figure of a hero grasping a lion remained on the ground near the modern village of Khorsabad. Pillet, *Un pionnier*, pp. 3-4.

[29] See above, notes 2 and 4.

[30] Only select portions of this and other reports have been published in Pillet's volumes. It is a desideratum to have all the reports dealing with Khorsabad published in full. Place's reports are kept in the Archives Nationales (Paris), in two large boxes identified, respectively, F[21]546 and F[21]547.

discovered by Botta and 27 by Place.[31] Accompanying report no. 49 was a plan of the excavated site with the legend, translated as follows: "the part painted in black was excavated by Botta; Place's are colored in red and carmine; the blue borders which frame most chambers indicate the bas-reliefs, more or less preserved, which covered them; the walls of enameled bricks accompanying the statues are traced in yellow". Unfortunately, neither this plan nor any of the earlier plans can be found among Place's reports now kept in the Archives Nationales. Moreover the original drawings which Place's draftsman, Félix Thomas, made while he was at Khorsabad, and which he brought to Paris upon his return in 1853, cannot be located. It may be supposed, nonetheless, that the above-mentioned plan served as the basis for the groundplan prepared years later by Thomas and reproduced in Place's folio volume.

The apparent loss of Place's original plans leaves unresolved a matter of some consequence. In the descriptions of the discoveries at Khorsabad contained in his reports, Place gave numbers and sometimes letters to newly exposed entrances and rooms which had sculptures or other noteworthy finds. These designations do not necessarily coincide with the room numbers cited in the publication, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*. There are several probable reasons for these discrepancies. Firstly, having lost his field notes in the shipwreck of 1855, Place relied upon the sketches which Thomas took to France and the reports which were sent to the Minister of the Interior. Moreover, the frequent changes of consulate posts kept Place from completing the text of his work until 1866, when he was in Paris.[32] Secondly, many of the bas-reliefs selected by Place for shipment to Paris were likewise lost in the shipwreck of 1855. Among them were: two stone blocks, each depicting a pair of Assyrian attendants (with traces of color); two stone blocks, each depicting a pair of human figures with cuneiform inscriptions carved across their garments; one block depicting the Assyrian king (with traces of color).[33] Therefore, Gabriel Tranchand's calotypes of several bas-reliefs were used for the engravings reproduced in *Ninive et l'Assyrie*. A number of these photographs were published many years afterwards.[34]

Third Campaign

In 1927, after a gap of seventy-five years, a sounding was made at Khorsabad. This work was done by Edward Chiera, after he had completed a season of excavation at Nuzi. The results of this sounding led to the third phase of full-scale exploration. It was carried out in the years 1929-1934 by the Iraq Expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. This expedition re-excavated several parts of the palace complex and unearthed previously unexplored areas of the ancient city. The results were instructive. In one instance the so-called "harem quarters" of the palace proved to be a series of temples.[35] Several private residences with elaborate room arrangements were discovered near the base of the mound on which the palace stood.[36] The expedition also exposed a number of gateways.[37] In one of these gates the monumental stone sculptures were found intact. Within the palace area, quantities of wall reliefs still surviving in fragmentary but adequate condition were also

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[31] Place also sent progress reports to Jules Mohl. These letters are now kept in the Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France (MS 2982, nos. 291-304). In one of these letters, dated 5 Aug. 1854 (no. 303), Place mentions that he discovered 92 rooms and 160 doors.

[32] Pillet, *Un pionnier*, pp. 88-89, 99.

[33] Place's report no. 31, dated 13 May 1853 ; Pillet, *Khorsabad*, pp. 89-90.

[34] Pillet, *Un pionnier*, figs. 20, 24, 25.

[35] Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, chap. IV : 80-128.

[36] Loud and Altman, *Khorsabad. II*, pp. 65-72.

[37] Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, chap. I : 1-11 ; Loud and Altman, ibid., pp. 53-54, pls. 7, 9-10, 46, 70.

recovered. Photographs were taken of many of the sculptured finds still *in situ*, a procedure which seemed sufficient since most of these wall reliefs had previously been discovered and recorded by Botta and Flandin.

An important contribution of this third expedition was the recovery of architectural information pertaining to the residential quarters of high-ranking officials, the complex of temples adjacent to the palace, and a secondary palace (palace F).[38] Based upon the data gathered from all three campaigns at the site, the Oriental Institute expedition was able to reconstruct the master architectural plan of the ancient city of Dur-Sharrukin.[39] This plan consisted of the following main units: (a) the area within the city enclosure wall; (b) the area within the inner city wall. This area contained private residences and the high mound on which were the palace, Nabu temple, shrines, and other buildings; (c) palace F; (d) remainder.

The Placement of the Wall Reliefs

The specific places known to have been adorned with sculptured orthostats are the gates of the city enclosure wall, the gates of the inner city wall, the palace doorways, all the chambers within one wing of the palace, and the detached building on the palace mound. Each of the places where carved decorations occur is described below. These descriptions furnish a means to learn the conditions under which the sculptures were discovered and, further, how they were originally displayed in their architectural setting. The starting point for most of the descriptions is the information gathered from Botta's accounts and the original drawings of Eugène Flandin. This information is followed by descriptions of additional discoveries known to have been made by Victor Place and the Oriental Institute expedition. Plate numbers cited at the head of each section refer to the relevant drawings reproduced in this book.

City Enclosure Wall *(Plates 8-10)*

Flandin drew a topographical plan of Khorsabad in which he traced the ancient city wall still buried under mounds of earth rising above ground. The corners of the city wall were oriented to the four cardinal points, and its sides measured 1750 by 1650 meters, enclosing an area that exceeded two and a half square kilometers. Flandin observed that on each of the four sides of the ancient city wall were small conical mounds containing brick fragments. He concluded that in these mounds were the towers of the wall. Eight conical mounds appear in his drawing of the topographical plan, plus a ninth located a short distance beyond the north corner of the wall. An exploratory trench was dug into the conical mound nearest the east corner of the wall. This revealed two parts of a wall composed of large stones and mudbricks. The first part, labelled A in the drawing, was actually the end of a wall measuring 14 meters wide that had survived to a height of 3 meters. The exterior part of the surviving wall was faced with stones of irregular shape. Quoins were substituted at the extreme end. There was no evidence that these stones had been cemented in place. Twelve courses of mudbrick work still remained above this stone structure which was probably the foundation. The nearby wall, labelled B in the drawing, had a foundation of irregularly-shaped stones and upon it were set two rows of vertically aligned stone blocks, followed by a row of stones set horizontally. No further searches along the ancient city wall were made by Botta, nor recorded by Flandin.

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[38] Loud and Altman, ibid., pp. 75-78, pl. 75.

[39] Ibid., pl. 69.

Explorations along the ancient city enclosure wall were continued by Victor Place. He uncovered several portions and all four corners of the wall. These exposed areas showed that the outer face of the wall had rectangular buttresses set at regular intervals. Place identified seven gates and assigned a number to each. His published plan indicates that all these gates were cleared. Gate 1 on the northeast side may have been partially exposed. Gate 3, situated on the southeast side, was extensively examined and recorded in *Ninive et l'Assyrie.*[40] This gate consisted of a series of three open courts, one behind the other. Each of the doorways which connected the courts was arched and decorated with a band of glazed polychrome bricks. The passage connecting the first and second courts was lined with huge stone reliefs, two to a side. The bas-reliefs consisted of a pair of winged human-headed bulls facing onto the first court, followed by a pair of four-winged genies with frontal faces, each of whom holds a cone and bucket. Each of the subjects was carved from a stone block some 4 meters high. The winged human-headed bull and the four-winged genie presently on display in the Louvre (AO 19859 and AO 19863) come from the inner portal of gate 3.[41]

During the 1929 season of work, the Oriental Institute expedition excavated the mound of gate 7. Two doorways of the gate were uncovered, and these had plain stone orthostats forming a kind of revetment for the mudbrick wall. The inner doorway showed evidence that it was arched, like the outer doorway. In gate 7 many glazed brick fragments were found, indicating applied decoration, but none in position. No sculptural remains were encountered. The excavators noted, too, that this gate had been blocked, perhaps soon after it was built.[42]

Inner City Wall *(Plate 9)*

Below the high mound on which the 19th century village of Khorsabad stood are several low hills. In Flandin's topographical plan, these hills are described as probably being in some way associated with the high mound. However, the preserved drawing gives no indication that Botta dug into any of the low hills. This suggests that one group of monumental bas-reliefs now in the British Museum (BM 118808 and BM 118809) was unknown to Botta and Flandin. These sculptures were taken from Khorsabad sometime between 1846 and 1849, the two years in which Layard visited the site. A letter dated 10 October 1848 and written to Layard by Matilda Rassam, wife of the English vice-consul at Mosul, states the following:

"We went to see a small mound just behind Khorsabad. Gullois dug there and found two most beautiful lions and two giants one to each lion. They are really splendid in the best preservation possible, but I fearing they will not remain so very long as they are not very far from the village and quite exposed to the sun rain and everything else that will destroy them. I wish you could take possession of them and indeed I think the mound must contain more that these two lions and I believe it must be the same that M. Botta used to speak so much about."[43]

The information contained in Mrs. Rassam's letter confirms that some exploratory work at Khorsabad was conducted after Botta's departure to France in 1845, and this led to the discovery of the stone monuments. The "lions" and "giants" may actually be winged human-headed bulls and winged genies, respectively. In his publication, Layard remarks that:

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[40] Tranchand's photographs seem to indicate that two city gates were cleared, at least partially. Compare figs. 7 and 8 in Pillet, *Un pionnier.*

[41] These sculptures are not contiguous blocks. Their respective companion pieces were lost in the shipwreck of 1855.

[42] Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, pp. 10-11.

[43] British Museum, *Layard Papers*, vol. XLVIII (MS 38,978), p. 188.

"Since my first visit to Khorsabad, the French consul at Mosul had sold to Col. Rawlinson the pair of colossal human-headed bulls and winged figures, now in the great hall of the British Museum. They had stood in a propylaeum, about 900 feet to the south-east of the palace, within the quadrangle, but not upon the artificial mound. In form this small building appears to have been nearly the same as the gateway, in the walls of Kuyunjik, and like it was built of brick and panelled with low limestone slabs."[44]

Henry Rawlinson's correspondence with Layard clarifies the events leading to the purchase of the huge sculptures. In a letter dated 8 November 1848, Rawlinson writes that the French consul "Guillois at Mosul has offered me a pair of the big Khorsabad bulls and I think I shall take them."[45] Rawlinson adds the following information in another letter, dated 20 December 1848, "I have bought Botta's two colossal Bulls, found somewhere between Khorsabad and the river, and Rassam is now cutting them into pieces so as to admit of their being got on a raft."[46] Still later, in a letter dated 25 April 1849 (Baghdad), he writes, "the pair of Khorsabad bulls and figures are now here. One of the bulls is in very fine condition but the others are terribly battered (?) so thoroughly, so indeed that I hardly think they are worth sending to London."[47] These sculptures were subsequently purchased by the British Museum.

In the course of expanding the areas of exploration during the years 1852-1853, Place excavated one of the low hills recorded in Flandin's topographical plan. According to the groundplan in *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, several rooms of a building were exposed but no enclosure wall was encountered. The recovery of the inner city wall, identified as the "citadel wall", was made by the expedition of the Oriental Institute. It contained two main entrances, labelled gates A and B. In the former gate the excavators uncovered large sculptures lining the entrance. On each of the two lateral walls were a winged human-headed bull and a two-winged genie with frontal face. These reliefs were found still in place and preserved in excellent condition (IM 72128, IM 72129, IM 72130, IM 72131). Gate B was aligned so that it faced the front of the palace mound, but it lacked sculptured orthostats. The excavators surmised that the bas-reliefs which belonged here were those acquired by the British Museum in 1849.[48]

The Palace Terrace *(Plates 7-8, 11-15)*

Botta first visited the site of Khorsabad in 1843 and found that it occupied a high mound. Beneath the modern village lay the ruins of the ancient city. After much political maneuvering, Botta was able to effect the temporary removal of the village to a location near the base of the mound. Flandin arrived in the following year, and among the drawings he made was a pencil sketch depicting the village of Khorsabad and its surroundings from a distance, as one approaches this region on the road from Mosul. A second, more carefully prepared pen and ink rendering gives four views of the village occupying the mound, each one drawn from a different direction so as to present a picture-in-the-round of the landscape. These two drawings show that the mound had an irregular contour due to the effects of erosion. The mound was T-shaped and measured about 300 meters by 300 meters at the widest points. It inclined gradually upwards along a southeast to northwest axis. On its uppermost summit was a large modern edifice. The village proper was situated near the center of the mound. This information is also indicated in Flandin's topographical plan of the ancient site.

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[44] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 131-132.
[45] British Museum, *Layard Papers*, vol. XLVIII, pp. 193-194.
[46] Ibid., pp. 228-229.
[47] Ibid., p. 318.
[48] Loud and Altman, *Khorsabad. II*, pp. 53-54.

At the southwest end of the mound a small section was cleared. It revealed an exceptionally high retaining wall, some 15 meters in height, faced with many courses of neatly trimmed rectangular stone blocks. In each course the stones were arranged in a pattern of stretchers and headers. According to the information in Flandin's drawing, behind this wall were heaps of earth. By exposing this retaining wall, Botta furnished evidence to prove that the mound had been artificially constructed, at least in certain parts.

A trench dug into the center of the southeast side of the mound revealed a large entrance 4.50 meters wide, which was labelled facade A in Flandin's drawing. Each door jamb had a winged human-headed bull facing outwards, and in Flandin's drawing these creatures are reconstructed to a height of 5.80 meters. In front of this entrance was a large walkway, some 15 meters in depth, paved with baked bricks. A stone revetment protected its outer edge. To the right of the door were fragments of stone orthostats that lined the wall. These were found *in situ* or scattered on the ground. A restored elevation of this wall showed that it had been faced with three huge stone blocks on which a heraldic composition was carved. This composition consisted of two winged human-headed bulls with frontal faces, each turned outwards in opposite directions, flanking a bearded person (hereafter hero) grasping a small lion. The last two figures were likewise depicted with frontal faces. Flandin's isolated rendering of the hero grasping a lion illustrates the bas-relief from this wall presently displayed in the Louvre (AO 19861).

About a decade later, Place cleared the same outer wall across its entire length. In his publication, *Ninive et l'Assyrie,* this wall was shown to have contained three gates, marked M', M, M", that provided access to the palace terrace. A pair of winged human-headed bulls, facing outwards, lined the jambs of each doorway. The walls flanking the central gate, marked M, displayed a heraldic composition, like that illustrated by Flandin. Still visible above these carved orthostats was a pattern of fluting imitating a row of engaged columns.[49] The walls flanking gates M' and M" were reconstructed as being plain. Place identified central gate M as the one first cleared by Botta.[50] This identification presents a problem deserving comment. Flandin's drawing depicts the bas-reliefs in fragmentary condition, some fallen to the ground. Moreover, by the time of Place's excavation, the hero with the lion was already in the Louvre. In all probability the gate actually cleared by Botta was the one to the left, marked M' in Place's published plan.[51] Furthermore, Place's original description of his finds along the terrace wall, which he later described as the "grande facade", is contained in his report no. 30 to the Minister of the Interior, dated 12 May 1853. It states that the grand facade has three gateways numbered 1, 2, and 3. In front of the door numbered 1, he continues, are two stones, each bearing a person strangling a lion, but they are detached and broken into a thousand fragments. Those from door numbered 3 represent a similar subject and are intact. Place adds that the motif is the mutilation of a lion, and the lion represents the emblem of a vanquished nation. Finally, Place remarks that an analogous subject was found by Botta.

Place's report, together with the evidence presented in the published elevation of the terrace wall and Flandin's drawing of facade A, suggests that at least two gates (M', M) were flanked by a colossal heraldic composition. It may be that, originally, there was a

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[49] Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, 2: 48-52; 3: pls. 19-21. For a discussion of this elaborate architectural decoration at Khorsabad, see Loud and Altman, ibid., pp. 37-39. Second millennium B.C. Assyrian structures at Tell al Rimah utilized a similar feature. See: David Oates, "The Excavations at Tell al Rimah, 1964," *Iraq* 27 (1965), pp. 69-70, pls. XIII-XIV; idem, "The Excavations at Tell al Rimah, 1965", *Iraq* 28 (1966), pp. 123-132, pl. XXXI, a; idem, "The Excavations at Tell al Rimah, 1966" *Iraq* 29 (1967), pp. 78-80, pls. XXII-XXIII.

[50] Place, ibid., 1: 90-91; 2: 22-23.

[51] Based upon the measurement of one re-exposed doorway, members of the Oriental Institute expedition concluded that the other two doorways never existed; see Loud and Altman, *Khorsabad. II*, p. 55. This conclusion dismisses the evidence furnished by both Botta and Place.

heraldic composition on each side of all three gates of the terrace wall. Such an arrangement would conform to the Assyrian preference for balanced symmetry. The visual effect produced by the repetition of the huge composition would have been even more splendid than the version given in Place's publication.

Botta conducted extensive exploration at the northwest end of the mound. There, many chambers faced with carved orthostats were exposed. The bas-reliefs covered entire walls of several courts, doorways, and room interiors to a height of 3 meters, and in several places to a height of 5 meters. This area of the mound proved to be the northwest wing of the palace. Place continued the line of exploration previously begun by Botta, until virtually the entire groundplan of the palace and its attendant edifices was delineated. Place also discovered additional chambers in the palace lined with carved orthostats but, unfortunately, many of his descriptions pertaining to these sculptures are worded in general terms.

Flandin's expressed task was to make a careful record of all that was discovered, and for a first-hand pictorial description of what Botta unearthed on the palace terrace we must now turn to the original drawings. As the material is quite extensive, it is fortunate that we can rely upon the effective recording system first devised by Botta and continued by Flandin for identifying the various chambers and individual stone blocks. It should be pointed out, however, that Place demonstrated that the exterior walls traced by Botta actually formed outer courts, and in his publication a Roman numeral is substituted for Botta's label of "facade." Where this occurs, Place's numeral is cited within a parenthesis.

Some preliminary remarks concerning the subject matter of the stone reliefs may be useful at this juncture. The sculptures designed especially for exterior walls and connecting doors of the palace consisted mainly of winged human-headed bulls, heroes, and winged genies. These subjects were identical to those that decorated the gateways and select areas of the city enclosure wall, inner city wall, and terrace wall. In addition, there were bird-headed winged genies and wingless genies. All these subjects fitted neatly into the wall spaces allocated for the stone blocks on which the figures were carved, and this demonstrates that there was a working relationship between architect and master sculptor. Other groups of bas-reliefs displayed on the exterior walls of the palace consisted of large-scale representations of persons in processions. Similar compositions occurred in several chambers of the palace. The stone blocks were each 3 meters high, and the human figures carved on them reached nearly to the tops of the orthostats. The exceptional height of the persons made the displays of processions readily noticeable, especially when viewed from a distance. In several rooms of the palace, the compositions on the large orthostats were divided into two continuous friezes, each displaying contemporary events. Each register was approximately 1.20 meters high and a band of inscription, about 0.60 meters high, separated the two friezes. The diminished heights of the compositions in these registers made it more likely that the spectator would examine them at close range.

Decorations on the Exterior Walls of the Palace

Facade n (court VIII) *(Plates 16-25)*

The longest exterior wall faced with bas-reliefs exposed by Botta was that labelled the northeast side of facade n. Actually, it was only the right-hand side of a wall that was originally much longer. The wall measured 69 meters in length, from the point on the left side where excavations ceased when no additional sculptures were encountered to the corner on the right side. Two doorways were exposed. However, Place's published plan includes a third door along the same wall. This third door was re-cleared by the Oriental Institute expedition, at which place the bases and lower parts of two winged human-headed bulls were

found.[52] The central and more imposing door, marked g, was set in a recess formed by two projecting buttresses. A colossal winged bull facing onto the court lined each jamb of the door. Each creature was restored to a height of 5.60 meters. Each narrow side of the projecting buttresses was faced with a stone block on which a four-winged genie was carved. The stone blocks lining the front of the two projecting buttresses had fallen to the ground. These blocks were restored and showed that the front of each buttress had a composition of a hero grasping a small lion and standing between two winged human-headed bulls moving in opposite directions. Each of these heraldic compositions was about 4 meters high. The door on the right-hand side of the wall, marked f, was lined with a pair of winged human-headed bulls. Each creature was 3.50 meters high. Immediately to the right of this entrance, the bas-reliefs on the exterior wall showed a four-winged genie followed by a wingless genie, both facing the door. After these guardian figures were two court attendants standing behind the figure of the Assyrian king. The three persons turned to the right. This group was followed by a long procession of Assyrian attendants, advancing from right to left.

Perpendicular to this wall was another wall identified as the southeast side. Its single exposed door, marked C, was lined with winged human-headed bulls. The narrow walls framing the door were faced with small wingless genies arranged in tiers. At each side of the door was a projecting buttress. Each narrow side of the buttress nearest the door had a stone block on which a wingless genie was carved. The stone blocks lining the front of each buttress displayed the Assyrian king, turned away from the door, and facing him were court officials in a line. The bas-reliefs on the main wall to the left of door C showed a procession of Assyrian attendants and foreign tributaries advancing towards the king. The bas-reliefs on the main wall to the right of door C illustrated the transport of timber by sea.

Room 10 *(Plates 26-34)*

Entrance C of the southeast wall led into a long corridor, labelled room 10. Its parallel walls were entirely covered with stone blocks. Each of these blocks was 3 meters high. The blocks on each wall were divided into two friezes of carved subjects separated by a wide band of an inscription. The upper and lower registers on both walls displayed processions of foreign peoples from different regions of Western Asia. At the head of each procession was an Assyrian attendant. The four processions moved away from facade n. At the end of this corridor was another pair of winged human-headed bulls. These creatures lined the jambs of door d which opened onto facade N.

Facade N (court III) *(Plates 35-40)*

Room 10 led into an open area, marked facade N, where two long walls set at right angles were exposed, but neither to its entire length. One wall was labelled the northeast side, and it had three entrances providing access to the interior (doors Q, M, P). The central door, marked M, was the most prominent. It was lined with winged human-headed bulls, each restored to a height of 5 meters. At each side of the door was a projecting buttress. The front of each of the two buttresses was lined with a pair of winged human-headed bulls with frontal faces, set back-to-back. The lateral doors, marked Q and P, lacked the winged bulls. Instead, each door jamb had a two-winged genie followed by a wingless genie. A two-winged genie flanked each of the two entrances. On the left side of door Q and on the right side of door P, the two-winged genie was followed by a wingless genie. In every instance the genies on the northeast wall faced one of the doors.

To the right of door P, the northeast wall continued a little further. Perpendicular to this wall was another wall, labelled the southeast side. It projected a short distance into the open court. The bas-reliefs that still survived on this wall displayed the Assyrian king facing right, surrounded by his court officials.

[52] Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, pp. 60, 65.

The second long wall in facade N was labelled the northwest side. This wall had three entrances (doors p, d, Z). The central door led into room 10, door p on the left led into room 14, and door Z on the right led into room 9. The decorations on the parts of the wall flanking entrances p and Z consisted of four-winged and wingless genies. To the left of door p, the wall projected slightly into the court. Still evident on this part of the wall were fragments of orthostats depicting the Assyrian king and officials.

In the course of recording the wall decorations *in situ* and in restored condition, Flandin also prepared a number of drawings which showed the elevation of select walls from different chambers laid out in continuous fashion, so that the bas-reliefs appeared contiguous. One of his more remarkable renderings is the pen and ink work depicting the carved orthostats on the northeast sides of facade n, room 10, and facade N, along an axis marked a-b. This axis reached an estimated length of 135 meters. Actually, the panorama is a pictorial summary of what was recorded in greater detail in the individual drawings. Nonetheless, this example facilitates the viewing at a glance of an entire range of walls covered with bas-reliefs of monumental size, a visual feat which in reality is impossible to accomplish. For this reason, the panorama-type of drawing is invaluable.

Northwest side *(Plate 41)*

Flandin made another drawing which depicts three panoramas. The panorama at the bottom of the paper shows the northwest wall of the palace, labelled side N-O. But where the exterior wall may have once been, only heaps of earth remained. Flandin traced, instead, the sculptures surviving along the opposite walls of the interior rooms, leading from facade N through several rooms to side K, at a point where the building ceased. The panorama in the center of the paper shows the sculptures *in situ* traced along an axis marked a"-b", commencing with the bas-reliefs on the northwest wall of facade N, through door M, past several rooms and door F, and finally terminating at a low mound upon which a detached building (monument x) had been exposed. This view encompassed a total length of 160 meters. In the panorama shown at the top of the paper, Flandin outlined the stone blocks restored to the walls, but omitted the decorations carved upon them. Comments written in pencil describe the subjects on some of these stone blocks.

Facade L (court I) *(Plates 42-55)*

Still another panorama continues and completes the exterior walls of the palace exposed by Botta. The elevations in this drawing are labelled side K, facade L, and facade m, along an axis marked a'"-b'" that was 128.60 meters long. The southeast and southwest walls of facade L were decorated with two processions of Assyrian attendants advancing toward the double image of the Assyrian king who faced each procession, respectively. The king appeared on the front of each projecting buttress flanking an imposing central door, marked F The jambs of this entrance were lined with winged human-headed bulls. The decorations on the angle walls framing this door consisted of bird-headed and wingless genies. The two lateral doors, marked B and C, lacked the winged bulls. An identical subject was carved on stone blocks lining their door jambs, and this consisted of a bird-headed genie followed by a wingless genie.

The northwest wall of facade L was cleared to a length of about 38.50 meters. It revealed two entrances, marked V and b. The jambs of these doors were lined with winged human-headed bulls. Possibly there were two minor doors on the same wall, but these may have actually been destroyed sections of the wall. The subject matter of the bas-reliefs on the northwest wall continued the procession of Assyrian attendants seen on the southwest wall.

Facade m (court VI) *(Plates 56-59)*

Immediately beyond entrance V, the mound of earth was left uncleared until another entrance was encountered, which led into an area labelled facade m. Portions of three walls were explored, and these were labelled southeast, southwest, northwest. Each of these walls contained a centrally placed entrance (doors g, k, j). Winged human-headed bulls lined the jambs of these entrances. The narrow walls framing the doors were carved with figures of wingless genies arranged in triple tiers. Numbers of stone blocks were recovered, some *in situ* and others fallen to the ground. The subjects displayed on these slabs were the king and an attendant, four-winged genies, wingless genies and, in one instance, a wingless genie holding a goat.

Place opened a trench on the fourth side of this court. He located an entrance faced with winged human-headed bulls, and marked it door H. He noted that between these bulls was a large pavement slab covered with an inscription. In the same alignment framing the door were two stones, each having three small figures of wingless genies. To the side of door H, Place discovered a total of five human figures on the wall, each about 3 meters high. These figures consisted of a richly ornamented royal personage, two persons holding plants (wingless genies ?), and two Assyrian attendants. However, Place considered the great find in this area to be the two "grand" winged genies which lined another door of this chamber and replaced the bulls (point j in his plan, now missing).[53] Place's discoveries in facade m (court VI) make it possible to reconstruct the original design of this court. Each of its four walls contained a centrally placed door lined with winged human-headed bulls that turned onto the open court. The subjects of the bas-reliefs which covered the walls were probably processions of Assyrian attendants advancing toward the king. Figures of winged and wingless genies comprised part of the wall decorations.

Monument x (the detached building) *(Plates 60-62)*

Parallel to the southwest wall of facade L and some fifty meters into the court, Botta excavated an isolated structure which he called monument x. Much of the edifice had been destroyed due to erosion in this area of the mound. What still survived were a portion of a platform or podium, a staircase, and fragments of bas-reliefs. The groundplan of this structure indicates that a rectangular building may have once stood upon the high podium whose remaining outer dimensions were 21.50 meters at the left-hand side (southeast) and 22.60 meters at the front (northeast side). We may estimate that the northeast side of the podium originally reached a total length of 45 to 50 meters. The podium was 1.82 meters high, and it was faced with carefully shaped limestone blocks. These dressed stones produced a distinctive profile in which several architectural elements were combined ; these were a fillet, scotia, torus, vertical tangent, and narrow plinth.

Access to the top of the podium was by a broad staircase composed of four steps on three (?) sides, and it was probably centered on the northeast side of the structure. The stair treads were made of black stone. Imbedded in two separate areas of the floor upon the platform were small, irregular-shaped stones, creating a mottled mosaic effect.[54] At one end of the chip pavement nearest the staircase a square slab, trimmed and raised along the edges, was set into a shallow recess in the floor. In its center was a projecting circular object. This object proved to be the lower part of a column on its pedestal.[55] Four fragments of bas-reliefs

[53] Report no. 26, dated Mossul 8 May 1853. These sculptures were among the consignment destined for Paris.

[54] In the Aegean sphere, chip pavements first occur in Greek structures of early fourth century B.C. date; see Katherine M. D. Dunbabin, "Technique and Materials of Hellenistic Mosaics," *American Journal of Archaeology* 83 (1979), pp. 268-270.

[55] Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 5: 53-55. Botta mentions the finding of a capital, crudely worked and its four sides ornamented with palm branches. He was not certain that it was ancient; therefore, no sketch of this object was made. Place discovered a column four meters high in passage 47, leading into court x. The measurements of its parts were as follows: rounded base, 0.674 meters; shaft 2.52 meters; capital 0.590 meters, and band under the capital 0.132 meters. Cited in report no. 49, dated 18 July 1854. An illustration is given in Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, 3: pl. 35. The Oriental Institute expedition unearthed cushion-shaped column bases in residence K; see Loud and Altman, *Khorsabad. II*, pls. 32 b, 48, nos. 15-17.

made of black stone (limestone) gave evidence that the chip pavements had been surrounded by walls faced with carved orthostats. These four slabs were discovered in upright position on two sides of the floor nearest the staircase. One pair of reliefs was contiguous and depicted the lowermost portions of two wingless genies flanking a flowering shrub.

Place accepted Botta's identification of this isolated building as a temple or throneroom. Several renderings of this building appear in Place's publication, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*. These drawings include a groundplan based upon Flandin's drawing, a restored groundplan in which the broad staircase leads into a four-columned hall surrounded by several symmetrically arranged rooms, and two elevations giving some idea of how the edifice may have originally appeared. Place thought that the style of the building was derived from Egyptian prototypes. It is more likely, however, that the groundplan of the detached building originates from Near Eastern prototypes ; this structure must be identified with the *bit hilani* which Sargon had constructed at the side of his palace.[56] A pictorial version of a similar columned building constructed for the Assyrian king's use occurs among the wall reliefs in room 7 (see plate 89).

From the same building Place recovered a bas-relief in black stone which depicts several men hunting in a wooded area (see figures 77-78). This subject is similar to that carved on the orthostats discovered some years earlier by Layard's workers (see figure 76). Both groups of sculptures may have originally decorated the same room in the detached building. In this building and in other rooms of the palace explored by Place were found quantities of rough and dressed black stones, and several orthostats carved with figural motifs. Of the latter, one represented an Assyrian attendant and several others depicted foreigners in a procession, each person carrying a model of a city (see figure 79). Place conjectured that these black stone slabs were intended for the detached building.[57] He also surmised that the detached building was still under construction when it was destroyed.

[56] Place, ibid., 2: 36-38, 149-151; 3: pl. 37 bis. Henri Frankfort, "The Origin of the Bit Hilani," *Iraq* 14 (1952), pp. 120-131.

[57] Place's report no. 26, dated 8 May 1853, states that reliefs in basalt stone (black limestone), carved with figures of men, were found in the temple area. His report no. 49, dated 18 July 1854, states that he discovered basalt reliefs similar to those from the temple in rooms 24 and 28, certainly not in their original positions. At point L, an area identified by Place as a workshop, were found fragments of basalt. In Place's publication, the locations where sculptures in black stone were discovered are given as the temple and room 99. Tranchand's photographs of several of these sculptures were reproduced as engravings. See: Place, ibid., 2: 92-93, 150; 3: pl. 48,1-3; Pillet, *Un pionnier*, fig. 24; Archives Nationales, F[21]546, pls. 12-13. In his first letter to Jules Mohl (5 April 1843), Botta mentions the finding of several sculptured fragments in black limestone, of delicate workmanship. The 1930 daybook of the Oriental Institute expedition records two black basalt fragments of reliefs, showing parts of winged figures (field card numbers DS 49 and DS 50).

CHAPTER III

SCULPTURES DESIGNATED RELIGIOUS AND SYMBOLIC

There seems to have been a formula which pre-determined the placement of certain sculptures displaying religious and symbolic motifs. Generally, these art works decorated the lateral walls of an inner portal or passageway and specific areas of various walls, particularly those areas which flanked or framed a door. The arrangement of the subjects in relation to their location was oftentimes symmetrical. This scheme enhanced the sense of unity between architecture and sculpture. The integration of architecture and sculpture occurred in certain doorways and gateways. In these locations the huge stone blocks shaped into winged human-headed bulls, supporting the arched opening and vaulting, functioned as posts. The subjects designated religious and symbolic, and described in this section, are: the winged human-headed bull, hero grasping a lion, winged genie, winged bird-headed genie, wingless genie, stylized tree, king with officials (on door jamb), Assyrian soldier (on door jamb).

Winged Human-headed Bull

Plates 14-17, 19, 26, 35-36, 41-43, 51-52, 55-58, 80, 110.

Extant reliefs: Musée du Louvre AO 19857, AO 19858, AO 19859, AO 19860; British Museum 118808, 118809; Oriental Institute Museum A 7369; Iraq Museum 60978, 72128, 72129. See figures 1-6.

Bibliography: Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, 3: pls. 11-13, 19-20; Archives Nationales, F^{21}546, report no. 23; Pillet *Un pionnier*, figs. 6-10; Loud, *Khorsabad.I*, figs. 67, 71; Loud and Altman, *Khorsabad.II*, pls. 9-10, 39 D-E, 46 A-B.

Original locations: facade A (doors on terrace wall); facade L (doors F, V, b); facade m (doors g, j, k, H [?]); room 4 (door I); door connecting court VII and room 24; door connecting court VII and room 27; inner city wall (gates A and B[?]; city wall (gates 1[?] and 3) ; palace E (door to throneroom).

In his publication, Victor Place states that twenty-four pairs of winged human-headed bulls were exposed. To this total may be added the two winged bulls in the British Museum,

and the additional pairs unearthed by the Oriental Institute expedition. [1] The large quantity of winged human-headed bulls discovered at the site of Khorsabad, all carved in colossal size, confirms the importance of this subject for the decoration of gateways and portals within the capital city. Observable among the several winged animals still surviving in various museums is their unity of style and proportion. From this, we may surmise that several master patterns were prepared (front, profile, and back views), and these were used by the stonecutters for the production of the individual sculptures. The minor variations that occur among the extant examples betray an individuality of handiwork belonging to the various teams of artisans assigned to do the carvings. [2]

One of the very first sculptures of a winged human-headed bull unearthed by Botta was that lining the right-hand side of entrance F, leading from facade L (court I) into room 2. Flandin made two pencil sketches showing the side and front views of the bas-relief, and these drawings are dated "Mai 17,44" and "Mai 19,44", respectively. The artist carefully recorded the exact condition of the large sculpture which, despite its destroyed upper part and badly damaged surface, still retained some noteworthy details. Perhaps compensating for these sketches which depicted a winged human-headed bull in inferior condition, Flandin made additional drawings of two other winged bulls. These animals were among several pairs discovered a short time afterwards in facade m (court VI). The front view showed the winged human-headed bull situated on the left-hand side of entrance g, along the northwest wall, and the profile view belonged to the animal found on the opposite wall of the same passage. These two pencil sketches are superb renderings of a winged human-headed bull restored to its original, pristine condition. Flandin must have been acutely aware of the elegance, grandeur, and power simultaneously conveyed by the carved subjects. These meanings are expressed in the last two drawings through the use of precise but delicate contour lines, subtle modeling heightened by contrasting light and shadow, and a meticulous rendering of the many details that ornamented the sculptures.

The winged human-headed bull is carved from a single block of stone originally square in shape and about 1.30 meters wide. Depending upon where the sculpture was placed, the block varies in height from 3.50 to 5.80 meters. The winged bull is invariably shown standing upon a low platform carved from the original block of stone. At the back and side where it appears almost freed from the solid block, the animal is carved in relief to a depth of about 24 to 30 cms. At the front, the entire width of the stone block is utilized for carving the animal in the round (head, body, forelegs, pedestal). It may be noted that once the sculpture was set up in the portal, the forepart of the animal invariably projected beyond the line of the flanking wall. This method of placement is an artistic device which releases the winged bull from the strictures of the stone block and enables it to appear free-standing to anyone approaching the sculpture. However, the background surrounding the animal remains solid and, as a consequence, the stone block presents two distinct views of the winged human-headed bull. Viewed from the side the animal is drawn in profile and moves at a slow gait. Its front and back legs closest to the spectator go forward, while the furthest ones go back. This particular stance is the same for all representations of the winged bull. It is evident, therefore, that paired bovine animals flanking the inner passage of gates and exterior portals leading into various chambers were conceived as mirror images. Viewed from the front the winged human-headed bull stands at rest. In this instance two legs are displayed. In keeping with earlier Assyrian traditions, the winged human-headed bull is

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[1] The Oriental Institute uncovered winged bulls in the following places: two doors leading into court VII (throneroom), gate A of the inner city wall, a door leading into the throneroom of palace F. The lowermost portion of one winged bull flanking entrance C, leading from facade n (court VIII) into room 10, was also uncovered; see Oriental Institute photograph 17596.

[2] Waterman, *Royal Correspondence*, n° 758; Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, p. 274.

actually carved with five legs.[3] Between the legs of the creature, at the side only, the stone was used for the carving of an inscription. There is one known instance where the back of the stone block was likewise used for a similar purpose (A 7369).

The designing of the winged human-headed bull is based upon a strict mathematical scheme which gives to the bovine creature its distinctive quality of harmony and serenity, reinforcing its role as divine protector reserved especially for the Assyrian king and his royal abode. For example, the front view relies upon a bilateral division of the body along its entire length. This symmetry is made from an imaginary line which begins in the space between the hooves, and continues through the rows of ringlets and curls on the dewlap and beard, the small waves of hair above the brows, and finally to the rosettes and feathers ornamenting the tall headdress, where it ceases. A similar system of ordered divisions and sub-divisions was utilized for the carving of details in the side view.

The animal's body is always carved in high relief, and its musculature and rib cage are modelled with great care. The visible wing of the bull, originating from the outer line of ringlets decorating the dewlap, covers the animal's shoulder and arches gracefully above the entire body. The wing is composed of two horizontal rows of long feathers that extend from the shoulder of the wing, and at the front are rows of small feathers aligned vertically. Beneath the bull's wing a wide band of compact ringlets extends across the entire back and terminates at the tail head, at which juncture a large curl emerges. Attached to this band of ringlets is a subsidiary one that covers the upper hip. Wide bands of ringlets also decorate the chest and dewlap, belly, and thigh of the winged bull. Finally, a decorative arrangement of curled hair is given to the switch of the tail.

The band of ringlets covering the chest and dewlap of several extant winged human-headed bulls display minor but interesting differences in the decoration. There may be six curls to a line twisting outward in groups of three (AO 19858), or seven (IM 72128 and IM 72129), eight (BM 11808) or ten (BM 118809) curls to a line twisting in the same direction. Another variant displays the curls in each line arranged three to a side and in the center the interlocking strands of hair simulate a woven pattern (AO 19859 and A 7369).[4]

The facial features of the winged human-headed bull are modelled with precision. Thick raised brows arch to meet just above the ridge of the nose. Heavy lids surround each eye. Its iris is delineated and gives to the face a penetrating expression. The long beard is composed of ringlets covering the cheeks and chin, from which there extend corkscrew-shaped curls arranged in three or four layers. Each curl terminates in one or two ringlets. Above the gracefully shaped full lips is a small moustache. On each side of the head the long wavy hair extends to the shoulder, where it terminates in six or seven rows of ringlets. The taurine ears are ornamented with pendant earrings. The headdress consists of a tall polos cap decorated at the top with a row of small feathers. It is embellished with rows of small rosette bracteates and two or three pairs of horns.

An important variant of the winged human-headed bull is the winged bull with frontal face. Except for this aspect of the animal, there are no other changes in its representation. In this version, the chest of the bovine creature is undifferentiated to the level of the bearded head which simply shifts at right angles to face the spectator when the side view of the animal is seen. This variant of the winged bull was set up as an antithetical pair in three areas on the palace terrace: the main outer wall of the palace complex, facade n (court VIII), and facade N (court III). One example of this type survives (A 7369).

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[3] For a discussion of this subject, see Tariq Madhloom, *The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art*, (London: Athlone Press, 1970), pp. 94-98.

[4] Earlier versions of this decorative detail appear on several extant winged human-headed bulls taken from the palace of Ashurnasirpal II in Nimrud. These sculptures are in the Bristish Museum (BM 118872) and the Metropolitan Museum of Art (32.143.1).

Hero Grasping a Lion

Plates 14-17.

Extant reliefs: Musée du Louvre AO 19861, AO 19862. See figures 7-8.

Original locations: facade A (flanking doors on terrace wall); facade n (slabs 45, 55).

In his letter to Jules Mohl, dated 18 August 1844, Paul Emile Botta wrote that the bas-relief of a man holding a lion was found in an entrance 194 meters from the line of the palace. This entrance was labelled A in Flandin's drawing, and is most probably identical to the gate of the outer wall of the palace terrace which Victor Place marked M' (see chapter II). This sculpture has fortunately survived (AO 19861), and is 4.70 meters high. Two distinct aspects of the human figure are combined. From the waist up the person is posed frontally, and the lower part of the body is turned in profile, to the spectator's left. The right leg is positioned back and the left leg is positioned forward. On the feet are sandals which cover the heels. The human figure is carved from the background in high relief and stands upon a platform. At the level of the eyes, the head rises above the edge of the stone block, a device which conveys the impression of sculpture in the round. Heavy masses of wavy hair curve back to cover both ears and a cluster of three large, thick curls falls upon each shoulder. The frontal face and beard are similar in appearance to those on the winged human-headed bulls. The hero is attired in a short-sleeved shirt and a knee-length tunic. A narrow cloth bordered with knotted fringes overlaps the tunic at the front and falls pendant. Attached to the lower corner of the narrow cloth is an elaborate tassel. It is made from four strands of rope knotted near the bottom where the wavy ends are loose. The person is adorned with jewelry. Each arm has a spiral armband and a bracelet decorated with a large rosette disk. The hero holds in his lowered left hand a curved knife or sickle sword. Its handle has a calf's head finial. At the same time, the hero grasps a lion firmly to his body with his right hand. Drawn in much smaller scale, the feline creature turns its head frontally and snarls feebly as it attempts to free itself from the hero's tight grip. This defensive action is indicated by the animal's hind legs which push against the hero's body, and by its claws which project from the open paws.

A second colossal figure of a hero is preserved (AO 19862). This bas-relief was taken from the northeast wall of facade n (court VIII), a short time after it was excavated by Botta. The pose of the person carved on this stone block is similar to the preceding example, but there are important distinctions between the two human figures. Firstly, in this example the wavy hair on each side of the head falls to the level of the shoulders, where it flares slightly outward and terminates in five rows of ringlets. This hairstyle is similar to that found on the winged human-headed bulls, and is the characteristic Assyrian hairdo of Sargon's reign. Secondly, the costume is different. It consists of an outer shawl worn obliquely over the body to cover the person's right shoulder and left leg to the ankle. The shawl is covered with long flounces across the middle, and flounces of shorter length trim the entire garment. Along the upper front edge of the shawl are two bands of decoration. Along its lower front edge is a double rope terminating at each end in a knot and two tassels. On the underside of the shawl is a row of tassels at the bottom. Beneath the shawl is a knee-length tunic with tassels at the bottom. One end of the tunic is wrapped obliquely across the front of the body to form a second row of tassels.

The style of jewelry worn by this hero is similar to that which adorns the preceding human figure. Interestingly, the decoration on the bracelet of the left hand does not consist of the rosette ; instead, the head of a dragon emerges at each end.[5] This bracelet does not

[5] This may be the serpent-monster, *mušḫuššu*, symbol of the Babylonian god Marduk. *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* 10, p. 270. This detail fits into the historical data. King Sargon II entered the city of Babylon, where he performed the New Year's Feast and resided for a short time. Luckenbill, *ARAB* 2: paras. 35, 38-39, 70, 184.

appear in Flandin's drawing which gives examples of armbands and bracelets depicted on the bas-reliefs (see plate 139). As for the lion held firmly by the hero, its pose is nearly identical to the animal which appears on the preceding stone block. This lion raises its head, stares forward, and bares its teeth. Its animated expression conveys a hint of defiance.

The combination of a hero grasping a small but active lion to his body and two flanking winged human-headed bulls which stride in opposite directions is rare in Assyrian art. It occurs for the first time at Dur-Sharrukin. This group of four figures – all with frontal faces – forms a heraldic composition which must convey special meaning. A discussion of this composition is given in chapter VI: *Aesthetic Appreciation.*

Winged Genie

Plates 4, 16, 19, 35-40, 43, 56, 71, 92, 135.

Extant reliefs: (winged genie with frontal face:) Musée du Louvre AO 19863, British Museum 118808, 118809, Iraq Museum 72130, 72131; (four-winged genie:) Musée du Louvre AO 19864, AO 19865, AO 19880, AO 22197, Iraq Museum 60973; (two-winged genie:) Musée du Louvre AO 19866. See figures 3-4, 9-14, 86-87.

Bibliography: Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, 3: pls. 12-13, 47; Pillet, *Un pionnier*, figs. 20, 23 ; Loud and Altmann, *Khorsabad.II*, pls. 9-10.

Original locations: (winged genie with frontal face:) inner city wall (gates A and B[?]), city wall (gates 1 [?] and 3); (four-winged genie:) facade n (slabs 39-40, 43-44, 48-49, 53, 59), facade N (slabs 24-25), facade m (slabs 3, 14, door I[?]), door X (connecting rooms 6 and 11); (two-winged genie:) facade N (slabs 5-7, 20-22, 30), doors P and Q (connecting facade N and room 8), door S (connecting rooms 5 and 8), door p (connecting facade N and room 14).

Two types of this guardian figure are known at Dur-Sharrukin: the two – or four-winged genie with frontal face, and the two– or four-winged genie with profile face. Each of these versions is described separately.

No rendering of a winged genie with frontal face occurs among Flandin's original drawings. Thus, this version was unknown to Botta. Two stone blocks in the British Museum (BM 118808 and BM 118809) show two-winged genies with frontal faces. These slabs were probably taken from the inner passage of a gate of the inner city wall – labelled gate B by the Oriental Institute expedition – several years after Botta left Mosul in 1845 (see chapter II). These guardian figures were originally situated on opposite walls, and turned in the same direction. Each genie holds a cone in the raised right hand and a handled bucket in the lowered left hand. From the waist up the genie is shown frontally. The remainder of the body is depicted in profile view. The near and far legs are positioned back and forward, respectively. Although the genies were designed to be aligned opposite each other, they are not entirely mirror images of one another. Each frontal head displays the standard Assyrian features and hairdo found on the winged human-headed bulls. The tall headdress is rounded at the top and decorated at the sides with two pairs of horns. The costume consists of an outer fringed shawl worn obliquely over the body to cover either the right shoulder and left leg or the left shoulder and right leg, depending upon the direction which the genie turns. Beneath this garment is a tasseled, knee-length tunic. On the feet are sandals which cover the heels. A pair of wings emerges at the back of the genie. The upper wing is smaller and curves upward, and terminates just below the edge of the stone block. It is partially hidden behind the lower and much longer wing, which curves downward to the level of the calves. The arrangement of the feathers on each wing is similar to that shown on the wing of the human-headed bull.

In another gate of the inner city wall, labelled gate A, a second pair of two-winged genies with frontal faces was discovered *in situ* by the Oriental Institute expedition. These guardian figures are depicted in much the same way as the previous examples, except that

three pairs of horns embellish the conical headdress (IM 72130 and IM 72131). A variant of the winged genie with frontal face was unearthed by Victor Place in one or more gates of the city enclosure wall. A bas-relief taken from gate 3 and exhibited in the Louvre depicts a winged genie similar to those mentioned previously (AO 19863). A striking difference, however, is that two pairs of wings emerge at the back. This winged genie is armed with a small dagger tucked into the belt at the waist.

The winged genie with frontal face was restricted to the gateways of the outer and inner city walls. It was placed immediately behind a winged human-headed bull, and formed part of a sculptural group set up on opposite jambs of the same doorway. In each instance the body of the winged genie turned outwards. This guardian figure, together with the winged human-headed bull with which it was intimately associated, functioned as protector of the inner passageway. By means of its frontal face, the winged genie confronted any person who passed through the one or more courts comprising the gateway.

The winged genie with profile face recurred in select places throughout the palace, both on exterior walls and in doorways. The direction towards which the figure turned, right or left, depended upon its position in relation to a particular door. Four-winged and two-winged genies were not interchangeable, as only one type was chosen for the decoration of specific walls and inner doors. The evidence from Flandin's drawings indicates that in most cases these winged genies were paired and either faced each other and flanked a door, or were placed on the door jambs and faced the same direction.

Bas-reliefs of large four-winged genies appeared on the exterior walls of several courts and in doorways. Individual stone blocks carved with this figure were set at the sides of projecting buttresses in facade n (court VIII) where, in each instance, the winged genie faced onto the court. In facade N (court III), four-winged genies flanked entrance z (leading into room 9), and elsewhere on the same wall was a four-winged genie among those figures facing towards entrance n (leading into room 14). In facade m (court VI) were stone blocks carved with four-winged genies, but as most of the orthostats in this court were destroyed it is not known whether these sculptures formed paired groups. Within the complex of rooms explored by Botta, a pair of four-winged genies decorated entrance X, connecting rooms 6 and 11. Carved upon each stone block lining the door jambs was a four-winged genie followed by a wingless genie. All the guardian figures faced toward room 6. Victor Place mentions that he discovered large bas-reliefs displaying four-winged genies in a portal located in the area of facade m (court VI). One of these reliefs is illustrated in his publication. The published version is based upon a calotype of the original sculpture taken by Gabriel Tranchand, but one detail is different. In the calotype the conical headdress worn by the winged genie terminates in a point, whereas in the published drawing it is surmounted by a *fleur de lis* emblem. Moreover, the tips of the two horns on the cap actually project slightly forward.

Two-winged genies flanked door n (leading into room 13) on the northwest wall in facade N (court III), and doors P and Q (leading into room 8) of the northeast wall in the same court. Furthermore, each jamb in these three doors showed a two-winged genie facing towards the court. Within the chambers explored by Botta, the only place where a two-winged genie followed by a wingless genie occurred is on the stone blocks lining the jambs of door S, connecting rooms 5 and 8. Both paired groups faced toward room 8. Small sculptures of two-winged genies sometimes decorated the narrow walls framing a door. At these times the two-winged genie was combined with other genies and aligned in two or three tiers. Unfortunately, in the original drawings these decorations are rather sketchy. It is therefore difficult to determine how this genie and others fitted into the overall decorative scheme planned especially for the doors. Depictions of two-winged genies occurred in the lower parts of two-tiered decorations lining the narrow recesses of doors P and Q of facade N (court III). Two-winged genies may also have appeared among the small sculptures which originally framed the doors in facade m (court VI).

In summary, except for the number of its wings, the representation of a winged genie facing right or left is essentially the same. Its general appearance and costume are standardized and differ little from the winged genie with frontal face. Among the minor differences between the two types of genies is the headdress. When worn by genies with profile face, the cap is surmounted by a *fleur de lis* emblem. Another difference is the handled bucket held in the lowered left hand. Its shape and decoration vary somewhat among the known representations. The wings of the genies are always shown emerging from the back, so that it is impossible to learn how these appendages are attached to the body. A four-winged genie shows two wings spread out equidistant on either side of the body, as if viewed from the front, and a two-winged genie shows two wings on one side of the body, as if folded back. It is unclear whether there was any special significance given to the number of wings possessed by a genie.

Winged Bird-Headed Genie

Plates 4, 36, 39, 43, 53-54, 56, 110.

Extant relief: Musée du Louvre AO 19867. See figure 15.

Original locations: facade N (slabs 8, 19); doors B and G (connecting facade L and room 2); facade L (slabs 14, 19); facade m (slabs 7, 10).

Among the initial sketches made by Botta in 1843 were two that depicted bas-reliefs showing the lower portions of persons (plate 4). In each drawing one person was clad in a knee-length tunic. At the waist was a broad belt. The person was winged and held a bucket in his lowered left hand. The heads of both winged figures were found in poor condition and, therefore, Botta did not include them in his sketches. Behind each winged figure was a person attired in a long garment. The two stone blocks sketched by Botta had lined the jambs of door B on the southwest wall of facade L (court I). At the opposite end of the same wall was another door, marked G. The orthostats on the jambs of this portal depicted the same subject, namely, a winged figure with bird's head followed by a wingless genie. The two stone blocks carved with these figures were better preserved. Their discovery must have impressed Flandin, since he made a detailed drawing of each example. Unfortunately, these orthostats no longer exist.

The bird-headed genie has two wings emerging from its back. In its raised right hand is a cone and in its lowered left hand is a handled bucket. Each of Flandin's two drawings shows the bird's head depicted in profile, and the configuration is the same. It consists of a flattened crown, a large round eye displaying three small petal-like feathers at the auricular corner, and a long bill showing an overhang upper beak. The bird of prey most probably represents an eagle. The elaborate hairdo covering the head is composed of a continuous row of upright feathers and curls at the base, gradually decreasing in size from the forehead to the nape. At the side are three layers of curls twisted into corkscrews. Around the throat is a choker composed of a single large bead in the shape of a pomegranate attached to a thick string, or else linked to a strand of alternating round and oval beads. On each arm of the bird-headed genie is a spiral armband and a bracelet displaying a rosette bracteate. The genie's costume consists of a short-sleeved blouse and a knee-length tunic which, interestingly, lacks the tassels generally found attached to garments worn by other guardian figures. Bands of concentric squares trim the neck, the sleeves of the blouse, and the bottom of the tunic. Encircling the waist is a wide belt partially decorated at the front with an open net-like material. From below the belt a long fabric falls pendant over the skirt and terminates into four thick ropes knotted together and ending in long, loose threads. The pendant cloth is covered with a pattern of concentric squares and has, at one side, a border of small tassels. The genie is barefooted.

Near each side of door F in facade L (court I) was a projecting buttress. On each of these buttresses, the side wall closest to door F was faced with a large orthostat depicting a

winged bird-headed genie. Each of these genies, as well as the two pairs on the lateral walls of doors B and G, was oriented towards the open court. Thus, the three entrances of the southwest wall of facade L that led into room 2 were protected by genies with bird heads, behind whom appeared wingless genies (in doors B and G). Bird-headed genies were also displayed near other doors. Several of Flandin's drawings indicate that small orthostats carved with winged bird-headed genies lined the narrow walls framing door P of the southwest wall of facade N (court III), and doors g and k in facade m (court VI). Although the information is meagre, it seems that when several figural subjects were combined to form an arrangement of sculptures in two or three tiers on either side of the door, the sequence from top to bottom was a winged bird-headed genie, a two-winged genie, and a wingless genie. A small orthostat carved with a winged bird-headed genie, probably taken from one of the entrances in facade m (court VI), is extant (AO 19867). The guardian figure turns to the left. In nearly every respect it displays the main features illustrated in Flandin's drawings. A noteworthy aspect of this stone block is that the carving was never completed. The stone surface reveals the several stages required for the completion of a bas-relief, ranging from the incised outlines to the chiseling away of the surface and finally to the modelling of details.

Wingless Genie

Plates 3-4, 16, 19, 35-37, 43, 52-54, 56, 59, 62-63, 71, 73, 80, 92, 106, 110, 131.

Extant reliefs: Musée du Louvre AO 19862, AO 19870, AO 19871, AO 19872, AO 19917; British Museum 118813, 118814, 47-7-2, 23; Oriental Institute Museum A 7370; Hermitage Museum n° 7, n° 8; Museo Civico di Archeologiá Ge 2; Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire 0.48; Prince of Wales Museum F 13. See figures 16-24, 86-87.

Bibliography: Archives Nationales, F[21]546, pls. 35-35 bis; Pillet, *Un pionnier*, fig. 21.

Original locations: (genie holding goat:) facade m (slab 4), door Z (connecting facade N and room 11); (genie holding plant:) facade n (slabs 5, 9-10, 13-14), facade N (slabs 5, 22-23), facade L (slab 15), facade m (slabs 1-2, 6-7, 10-11, 13-14, 17-18, 20, 23); room 4 (slabs ?, 10), room 8 (slabs 9, 15[?]-16, 19-20, 31[?]; doors B and G (connecting facade L and room 2) door y (connecting rooms 6 and 9), door Z (connecting facade N and room 9), door S (connecting rooms 5 and 8), door A (connecting facade L and room 1), door 1 (connecting rooms 13 and 14) ; detached building (slabs 1-2).

The guardian figure most widely represented on the exterior walls and inner portals of the palace is a genie without wings. In several places the wingless genie stands behind a winged genie, suggesting that in the religious sphere he ranks second to winged guardian figures. In other places the wingless genie is positioned on either side of a stylized tree or is represented singly in the inner portals. Small orthostats carved with figures of wingless genies were likewise set into the narrow walls framing various doors.

In every known instance the appearance of the wingless genie is the same. He is portrayed with a long, square beard composed of corkscrew curls and ringlets. His hairdo has rows of wavy strands ending in six or seven lines of ringlets on each shoulder. A fillet encircles his head. It is constructed from strands of fabric twisted into oval-shaped sections whose ends form a short tassel at the back. The fillet is embellished at the front with a large rosette bracteate and two smaller versions are attached at the side. The ear is ornamented with a pendant earring. The costume consists of a short-sleeved blouse and a knee-length tunic with tassels at the bottom. Occasionally the garment is trimmed with decorated bands. In several representations, a wide belt encircles the genie's waist. Over this costume is an ankle-length shawl worn obliquely to cover the near leg and the far shoulder (but see plate 54), where the upper end hangs over the back. The shawl is designed to curve up at the front

front to below the hip, thereby exposing part of the tunic and the far leg. Long, loose fringes cover the shawl from the shoulder to the level of the hips. A second row of fringes of shorter length lines the bottom of the garment. Open sandals are worn on the feet.

Whether he is turned to the right or to the left, the wingless genie displays the same pose. His bent right arm is raised and the palm is open. This action is probably a gesture of salutation or blessing. In his lowered left hand is a three-branched plant with flowers. The flowers have been identified as opium poppies or pomegranates.[6] There is one known example where the flowering branch held by the genie consists of an open lotus between closed buds (AO 19872). The same figure also clasps a small goat or ibex to his chest. This stone block came from a wall in facade m (court VI). The representation of a wingless genie holding a small goat recurs on the two orthostats lining the jambs of door Y, leading from facade N (court III) into room 9. Each genie turns towards facade N. In these instances the genie lacks the plant and instead raises his right hand.

Stylized Tree

Plates 62, 73, 76, 80, 131, 135.

Extant relief: Musée du Louvre AO 19869. See figure 20.

Original locations: room 4 (slabs 3, 7, 19); room 8 (slabs 10, 14, 27, 30) ; room 14 (slab 8); door 1 (connecting rooms 13 and 14); detached building (slabs 1-2).

The orthostats which lined the jambs of door 1, connecting rooms 13 and 14, depicted two human figures flanking and facing a stylized plant motif, generally identified by modern writers as a "sacred tree." At the time of their discovery, two-thirds of the block numbered 1 and the lowermost portion of the block numbered 2 still survived. As no enlarged drawing was made of the better preserved example, we must rely upon Flandin's small sketch for whatever information is forthcoming. To judge by their costumes and the absence of wings, the two persons must be wingless genies, and possibly each holds a flowering branch. The stylized tree consists of a central pole with horizontal ring-like elements at the bottom, middle, and top. Oblique lines originating from the tree post radiate and crisscross one another in a regular pattern.

The stylized tree motif reappeared in rooms 4, 8, and 14 of the palace, where it functioned as decoration for the corners. In these chambers the plant motif was not directly related to the large-scale human figures carved on the adjoining orthostats. In room 4 the fragmentary angle slabs 5, 7, and 19, were still *in situ*, and these displayed stylized trees. The fourth corner of this chamber no longer existed at the time of excavation. In room 14 where only two corners were cleared – the remainder of the room had eroded away – angle slab 4 was entirely missing, and only the lower portion of slab 8 remained *in situ*. This angle stone did show part of a stylized tree. The tree motif was better preserved in room 8, where it was still in evidence in each of the four corners. Angle slab 14 was discovered nearly intact; yet, only the left side of the stylized tree is illustrated in a drawing which includes two Assyrian attendants belonging to the adjoining stone block. The reason for the partial representation of the tree is that the right side is a mirror image. Therefore, the stylized tree can be easily restored to its original appearance by repeating the left side in reverse. In Flandin's drawing the outer edge of the angle stone has a narrow vertical band, curved at the top, probably to simulate an upright stele. The stylized tree appears within the space

[6] For opium poppy, see: Louis Speleers, "Le personnage aux pavots", *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* 10 (1938), pp. 133-135; R.S. Merrillees, "Opium Trade in the Bronze Age". *Antiquity* 36 (1962), pp. 287-292; idem, "Opium Again in Antiquity, "*Levant* 11 (1979), pp. 167-171. For pomegranate, see: Emanuel Bonavia, *The Flora of the Assyrian Monuments and Its Outcomes*, (Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1894), pp. 12-13, 55-58; Abraham D. Krikorian, "Were the Opium Poppy and Opium Known in the Ancient Near East?," *Journal of the History of Biology* 8 (1975), pp. 95-114.

delineated by the narrow band. The main feature of the tree is the vertical pole down its center. A large palmette attachment covers the post in three places: the base, center, and top. The flower on this decorative attachment displays nine petals of graduating size that radiate from an arched center. Three ring bases support the flower and rising over them are four stem terminals. The two inner ones curl up and the two outer ones curl down. Emerging from behind the post is an orderly network of twisting and overlapping ropes. At its extremity a palmette garland encloses the tree. Each small flower is a replica of the larger version.

Victor Place mentions that he discovered intact an angle stone displaying a sacred tree. Gabriel Tranchand took a photograph of an angle stone after it had been removed from its original location, probably for shipment to Europe. A drawing made from this photograph was published in Place's volume.[7] Stylistically, the tree carved on this orthostat is identical to those appearing on the bas-reliefs found in the palace of the ninth century B.C. king, Ashurnasirpal II, in Nimrud. Therefore, the photograph from which the published drawing was made must be one of several that Tranchand took of sculptures discovered at Nimrud, when he visited the site.

Another version of the stylized tree was carved on two contiguous orthostats that lined the central hall of the detached building. Only the lower portions of these slabs were found *in situ*. One slab is restored to show the tree and a wingless genie with a horned cap (!) in their entirety. The subjects carved on these two slabs consist of two wingless genies flanking a stylized tree. The trunk of the tree rests upon a circular pedestal from which three fronds spread out. The tree post is plain, except for a raised rib down its center. From each side near the base of the tree post, rope-like branches undulate upward. Each branch supports a flower displaying three tear-drop petals set atop a flat disk. Higher up on the tree post two branches curve downward and these, too, support identical flowers. Additional flowers grow along the sides of several branches. The depiction of this plant is unique. More likely it represents a flowering shrub rather than the traditional sacred tree motif. Unfortunately, the flower cannot be identified, but it may have been a recent import into Assyria. The attractiveness of a shrub covered with these flowers may have inspired its inclusion in a religious scene.[8]

Assyrian King with Officials

Plates 80, 92-93.

Original locations: door E (connecting rooms 2 and 5); door U (connecting rooms 5 and 8); door T (connecting rooms 4 and 8).

In several doorways of the palace, the lateral walls were lined with orthostats depicting the person of the king and two Assyrian officials. The appearance of this subject is exceptional, since religious themes were otherwise chosen for the decoration of inner portals. The composition is discussed in this section because of its location and, too, it did not constitute part of the narrative scenes carved on the adjoining walls. The composition showing the king with two Assyrian officials decorated the jambs in three doors. These were door E, connecting rooms 2 and 5; door T, connecting rooms 4 and 8; and door U, connecting rooms 5 and 8. In each portal the bas-reliefs were designed to show the identical figures on

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[7] In this report n°. 49, dated 18 July 1854 (p. 22), Place writes that in room 13 he found the angle stone discovered by Botta. In his publication, Place records the finding of an angle stone in another room (33?). *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, 1: 66-67, 3: pl. 49, 2. Tranchand's calotype of the angle stone illustrated in Place's volume is reproduced in Pillet, *Un pionnier*, fig. 25.

[8] Bonavia identifies this shrub as a conventional fir tree. *Flora of Assyrian Monuments*, p. 58. For representations of plants in Assyrian Art, see: ibid.; Pauline Albenda, "Grapevines in Ashurbanipal's Garden", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 215 (1974), pp. 5-7; idem, "Assyrian Carpets in Stone," *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University* 10 (1978), pp. 1-34.

the opposite walls facing the same direction. In door E the king faced towards room 2, in door T the king faced towards room 4, and in door U the king faced towards room 5. None of the orthostats was discovered completely intact. The stone block from door E, numbered 2, was reproduced in a separate drawing. We may assume that the other orthostats were nearly identical, except when the right or left side of the person was depicted.

On slab 2 from door E, many areas on the surface of the stone were damaged, and all the heads of the three human figures were destroyed. The costumes of these persons, as well as their accouterments, stress their individual identities. In the center stands the Assyrian king, facing right. His raised right hand has the palm open, probably as a gesture of salutation. In his lowered left hand is a flowering branch. It is mostly destroyed but enough remains to reveal a pomegranate or poppy between two open lotuses. The king's costume is of a style invariably worn by Sargon II in formal scenes. This consists of a long dress reaching to the ankles. At the bottom of the garment is a band of rosettes inscribed in squares, from which there extend knotted and beaded tassels. The fabric of the dress is richly ornamented with the repeated motif of a rosette-in-a-square, and even smaller rosettes serve as fillers between the squares. Over this long dress the king wears a large mantle with curved corners. The ends of the mantle meet along the side of the body, while the tapered upper end hangs forward over the far shoulder. The outer edge of the mantle is embroidered and fringed. The fabric of the mantle is ornamented with rows of small squares in which a rosette and simplified citadel alternate. On the king's feet are sandals. The king's weapon consists of a long sword in its scabbard kept at the waist, the lower end extending behind the body. The scabbard is embellished with two small confronting lions modelled in relief, their heads turned outward and their mouths opened wide.

Behind the king stands an Assyrian attendant, facing right. Both arms are raised. The right hand is clenched and the left hand clutches a long, folded cloth. His costume is the standard type worn by court attendants. This consists of a long dress extending down to the ankles. At the bottom is a row of knotted and beaded tassels. Over the dress is a shawl worn obliquely to cover the left shoulder. The shawl is composed entirely of long flounces arranged in two layers. The curved upper layer has along the outer edge four bands of trim decorated with a continuous motif of a rosette-in-a-square. The lower layer hangs down across the width of the dress, to the level of the knees.

Facing the king is the third person. He stands with one hand extended forward, while the other hand rests upon the pommel of his sword. Except for some minor but important differences, the costume of this person is similar to that worn by the Assyrian attendant. One difference is the diadem – no longer extant – whose long ribbons fall pendant behind. The lower edge of each ribbon terminates in a decorated band and loose threads. The diadem is an item of dress indicating high rank in the Assyrian court.[9] In addition, a wide baldric is worn obliquely over the person's chest. It is decorated with numerous studs forming circles and connecting lines. This strap most probably supports the long sword encased in its plain scabbard. The inclusion of the baldric as part of the costume may indicate that the person holds high military rank.

Assyrian Attendant

Plates 63, 71.

Bibliography: Oriental Institute photograph 17446 (door jamb in room 12).

Original locations: door Y (connecting rooms 6 and 9); door e (connecting rooms 11 and 12).

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[9] It is argued that this person is the crown-prince or *mār šarri*. See: Julian E. Reade, "The Neo-Assyrian Court and Army: Evidence from the Sculptures," *Iraq* 34 (1972), p. 93; "Kronprinz" in *RlA* 6 (1982), pp. 248-250.

In two places within the palace, the single figure of an Assyrian attendant was placed upon each jamb of the inner portal. These were door Y, connecting rooms 6 and 9, and door e, connecting rooms 11 and 12. The paired attendants in doors Y and e turned toward room 6 and 11, respectively. Each of these portal figures probably belongs to a separate procession among the several that were depicted on the adjacent walls of rooms 6 and 9. Each attendant is attired in the standard costume associated with the court official. His military character is evidenced by the mace held in the lowered right hand and by the bow balanced over the left shoulder. The quiver is visible under the right shoulder.

CHAPTER IV

SCULPTURES DESIGNATED DESCRIPTIVE

The archaeological evidence shows that within the complex of rooms and courts discovered by Botta was a profusion of sculptural decoration. Nowhere were the walls left plain.[1] Individual stone blocks measuring about three meters high and two meters wide lined all the walls of the various exterior facades and interior chambers. All the stone blocks were utilized for the compositions of whole subjects. The themes chosen for the carved decorations were selective and centered around the person of the Assyrian king, Sargon II. In compositions describing a single activity king Sargon, as the central figure, appears once. Where episodes in a sequence are combined into a composition, the king may appear several times. However, the king is represented only once in a given episode. The figure of the Assyrian king is absent only when extensive portions of wall reliefs belonging to the same composition were discovered missing (for example, rooms 1, 3, 14). On the wall reliefs king Sargon is invariably depicted standing. He faces one or more persons in presentation and processional scenes, and stands in his chariot in scenes of battle and the hunt of small animals. The king's actions vary according to the content of the scene in which he is depicted, from raising his hand in salutation to shooting with a bow and arrow. He holds a variety of objects. These include a long staff, a spear, and a flowering plant.

The descriptive themes found on the wall reliefs can be divided into two main categories: formal processions and presentation scenes, and narrative scenes. In the first category the emphasis is upon depictions of Assyrian court officials (facades n, N, L, rooms 9, 12, 14), foreign tributaries (facade n, rooms 6, 10, 11), and captives (rooms 4, 8). In these compositions the human figures are drawn nearly to the full height of the stone blocks. The background is void of ancillary motifs. In a few places a carved inscription extends across the slab, covering a portion of the human figure. In the second category the emphasis is upon descriptions of events related to warfare (rooms 1, 2, 3, 5, 13, 14). Occasionally, there are descriptions of peaceful activities related to banqueting (rooms 2, 7) and the hunt of small animals (room 7, detached building). In these compositions architectural, landscape and seascape elements are often included to localize the region where the actions unfold. The identifications of several foreign cities are made possible by the inclusion of captions carved

[1] In his report no. 49, dated 18 July 1854, Place writes that the palace comprised all the sculptured parts, from Botta's excavations to the grand hall of the dependency. The groundplan reproduced in Place's publication shows those chambers containing wall reliefs, as far as room 37, outlined. See *Ninive et l'Assyrie* 3: pl. 3.

upon them (see chapter VII). The depiction of the subject matter in the the second category is smaller in height. This is achieved by dividing the stone blocks into two registers of decoration, each register measuring about 1.20 meters high, separated by a band of inscription measuring about 0.60 meters high.

Several chambers in the royal residence were re-excavated by the Oriental Institute expedition, as well as by the Department of Antiquities of the Republic of Iraq. Photographs taken at the time of these explorations record the finds of sculptures still *in situ* or fallen to the ground. Quantities of the sculptures, mostly in fragmentary condition, were left in place while others were removed. A number of sculptures taken from the site have been restored and these are exhibited in the Iraq Museum and the Oriental Institute Museum. In this chapter the subject matter designated descriptive is discussed in the following sequence: Assyrian officials advancing to the king; foreign tributaries advancing to the king; foreign captives presented to the king; hunting in the royal park; banqueting; warfare. Note: the order of the descriptions of the individual slabs forming a unified composition is from left to right.

Assyrian Officials Advancing to the King

Room 9 *(plate 63)*

Extant relief: British Museum 118823. See figure 74.

Room 9 was nearly square in plan. Starting from door Z, leading into facade N, two processions of Assyrian attendants advance toward the king, facing right. The king appears on slab 8 on the northwest wall, directly opposite the door. The attendants are beardless and pose with clasped hands. One procession moves counterclockwise past door Y, along the southeast, northeast, and northwest walls. It is led by a high-ranking bearded official who faces the king and raises his right hand in salutation. King Sargon holds a long staff in his right hand and a flowering plant in his left hand. Behind the king stands a fan bearer. The second procession moves clockwise along the southwest wall; however, only the lowermost portions of the stone blocks were discovered still in place. In this chamber slab 3 was drawn intact but plain. Entirely missing were two slabs between those numbered 5 and 6, and angle stone 9. On the floor in front of slab 5 was a large stone showing the depression into which a tub may have been set.

Room 12 *(plate 64)*

Oriental Institute photographs 17426, 17445, 17446, 17447, 17448, 17470, 17471. See figures 80-82.

Room 12 was one and a half times longer than it was wide. Starting from door e, leading into room 11, two processions of Assyrian attendants advance toward the king. He appears on slab 8 on the southwest wall, directly opposite the door. One procession moves counterclockwise along the northeast and northwest walls. However, all the reliefs comprising this procession were found damaged or destroyed. The procession is led by a high-ranking bearded official who faces the king and raises his right hand in salutation. The king repeats the gesture and holds in his lowered left hand a flowering plant. Behind him stands an attendant with clasped hands. The second procession moves clockwise along the southeast wall. All the slabs are intact and show beardless Assyrian attendants who clasp their hands. In this chamber angle stone 6 was drawn intact but plain, and angle stones 10 and 14 were completely destroyed.

This room was re-excavated by the Oriental Institute expedition.[2] Photographs taken of the bas-reliefs disclose that only the lowermost portions of the human figures survived and these had broken into many fragments. Several discoveries were made that differ from the information contained in Flandin's drawing of this chamber, just described. Firstly, the Assyrian king actually turns to the left. Thus, on slabs 7 to 9 the direction towards which each person faces is the reversal of that shown in Flandin's drawing. In addition, the king holds a long staff which is omitted in the drawing. Although the upper portion of slab 8 was destroyed, there is no evidence that the king holds a flowering plant. Secondly, in one area of the floor was a large stone showing the depression into which a tub may have been set. This detail does not appear in Flandin's drawing. Thirdly, on the northwest wall was a shallow recess and here slab 12 was originally placed. The new data furnished by the Oriental Institute expedition confirm that the groundplan and carved decoration of room 12 were essentially identical to those of room 9, with the exception of a second door.

Room 14 *(plate 135)*

In this room the stone blocks lining the northeast wall and an adjacent block on the northwest and southeast walls, respectively, displayed a procession. The upper portions of these blocks were missing. Horizontal lines drawn across the lower part of each person on slabs 3, 5, 7, 9, indicate an inscription. The composition is centralized. The movement is from both sides to the center, where the royal person is displayed.

On the northwest wall is slab 3. On slab 3 two Assyrian attendants advance to the right. Slab 4 (angle stone) is missing. On the northeast wall is slab 5 which shows two persons turned to the right. One person holds a mace and carries a quiver over his shoulder, and the other person holds a folded cloth. These persons are identified, respectively, as the arms bearer and the fan bearer. On slab 6 two persons face each other. The person at the left is the Assyrian king, identified by his costume. In his lowered left hand is a flowering plant. The person at the right turns to the left. On slab 7 two attendants turn to the left. These persons each have a sword at their waists. The first person lowers one hand. Slab 8 (angle stone) is missing. On the southeast wall, slab 8 shows part of a stylized tree. To the left of door n, leading to facade N, is slab 9. On slab 9 an attendant turns to the left. His hands are clasped at the waist.

Facade n, northeast wall *(plates 16-18)*

Oriental Institute photographs 17453, 17454, 17461, 17462, 17518, 17523, 18416, 22592. See figures 34-37, 44.

Extant reliefs: Musée du Louvre AO 1432, AO 7375, AO 22196; Oriental Institute Museum A 7366, A 7367, A 7368; Iraq Museum 18628, 18629, 18630, 18631; Private collection A.089. See figures 40-43.

To the right of door f the stone blocks lining the northeast wall of facade n numbered fifteen (slabs 40-25). Slabs 40-39 were entirely missing from the wall. Slabs 35, 34, 26 were intact and showed human figures turned to the left. Slab 25 was intact but undecorated. The remainder of the stone blocks had broken away, with the exception of their lowermost portions which were still in place. Flandin reconstructed the carved decorations lining the northeast wall, based upon the large fragments that were discovered on the ground nearby. According to Flandin's restoration of the decoration on this wall, the composition consists of a long procession of Assyrian attendants advancing from right to left, to the Assyrian king. Behind the king stand two more attendants. The long line of human figures is composed of

[2] Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, pp. 20-28, figs. 23-27.

three groups. The first group stands behind the king (slabs 38-37). The second group is led by a high-ranking official (on slab 36). The leader of the third and largest group is an attendant who poses with one arm raised over his back and the other arm lowered (on slab 33).

This wall was re-cleared by the Oriental Institute expedition. It made several discoveries pertaining to the sculptures from this area. Slab 25 was intact and undecorated. Slab 26 was mostly intact, and its decoration was the same as that drawn by Flandin. Slab 37, containing the figures of the Assyrian king and an attendant, had been sawed off cleanly and taken away. Of the slabs that remained in place, these showed little more than the feet of the human figures. Many slabs in fragmentary condition were discovered at a considerable distance from their original locations. Several of these slabs can be assigned a position on the northeast wall, in accordance with Flandin's drawing. These are: slab 27 = figures 34 (left) and 35, slab 28 = Oriental Institute Museum A 7367, slab 30 = Iraq Museum 18629, slab 32 = figure 44 (right), slab 33 = Oriental Institute Museum A 7366, slab 36 = figure 40 (left) and Oriental Institute Museum A 7368. It may be recalled that slabs 34 and 35 appear in Flandin's drawing as still *in situ*. Three fragments of reliefs showing human heads may belong to these slabs. Two heads, Musée du Louvre AO 1432 and Private collection A.089, are assigned to slab 34 and the third head, Musée du Louvre AO 22196, is assigned to slab 35. Another head, Musée du Louvre AO 7375 should also be assigned a position on the northeast wall. Other slabs can be fitted into the decorative scheme only if they are substituted for stone blocks appearing in Flandin's drawing. These are: slab 29 = Iraq Museum 18628 (?), slab 31 = Iraq Museum 18631 (?). No position can be assigned to Iraq Museum 18630. It is possible that several slabs discovered by the Oriental Institute expedition belong to another wall in the vicinity of the northeast wall.

The descriptions of the slabs on the northeast wall of facade n follow Flandin's drawing. Slab 40 is undecorated. On slab 39 is a four-winged genie, facing left. On slab 38 are two persons. One person is a wingless genie who is associated with the winged genie. The second person faces right. He is armed with weapons, and is identified as an arms bearer. On slab 37 are two persons, facing the same direction. One person holds a fan and a long folded cloth. He is identified as a fan bearer. In front of him is the Assyrian king. The king holds a staff in one hand and rests the other on the pommel of his sword. On slab 36 are two persons, facing left. One person is a high-ranking official who raises one hand in salutation. Behind him is an attendant who extends his right hand forward. On slabs 35-34 are four attendants, all of whom turn to the left. Three persons clasp their hands, while the fourth person extends his right hand forward and holds two long sticks in his left hand. On slab 33 are two attendants. One person clasps his hands, and the other person raises his right hand and lowers his left hand. The extant relief (A 7366) confirms that the back view of the second person is depicted, in contrast to what appears in Flandin's drawing. On slab 32 is an attendant armed with a bow, quiver, mace, and sword. He is followed by an attendant who holds a handled lion's head situla in each hand. On slab 31 are two attendants, each armed with a sword and a spear held upright. On slab 30 two attendants carry a large table over their shoulders. On slabs 29-28 are three attendants who clasp their hands, and a fourth attendant who extends both arms. On slabs 27-26 are three attendants, each of whom carries a large vessel with both hands.

Facade L *(plates 1, 42-50, 55)*

Extant relief: Musée du Louvre AO 19873, AO 19874, AO 19875, AO 19878, AO 19879, AO 19881, AO 19882, AO 19883, AO 19884, AO 19893, AO 19919; British Museum 118811, 118812, 118820, 118822, 118826; Metropolitan Museum of Art 33.16.2. See figures 61-65, 68-72.

The stone blocks which were discovered lining the walls and doorways of facade L numbered forty-five. Of this number, twenty-seven belonged to processional scenes. Three processions decorated facade L. Starting with slabs 4-1 on the southeast wall, one procession moved away from facade L and continued along wall K (slabs 1-3). Only the feet of the human figures were preserved on the fragmentary stone blocks in place. It was not at all certain what was originally represented on these blocks. No restoration was made. A second procession appeared on the southwest wall. Advancing from left to right, it went past door B and ceased at door F (slabs 5-13). The lower parts of the stone blocks remained in place, and these showed the feet and garments of human figures. On the ground nearby were the fallen slabs. Flandin made a reconstruction of this procession.

Slab 5 is an angle stone and undecorated. On slabs 6-7 three attendants clasp their hands. On slab 8 a foreign tributary holds a model of a city in his left hand and clenches his raised right hand. He wears a cap with pointed tip. Over his long garment is a coat with rounded corners. On slab 9 an attendant holds a long stick. Slab 10 was not restored. On slab 11 two attendants clasp their hands. On slab 12 a high-ranking official faces the king. He extends his right hand downward and rests his left hand on the pommel of his sword. The Assyrian king, facing left, holds a long staff upright in his right hand and rests his left hand on the pommel of his sword. On slab 13 two attendants stand behind the king. They are identified, respectively, as the fan bearer and the arms bearer.

The third procession advances from right to left, along the northwest and southwest walls. Where the procession originally ended is unknown. It started at door F and went past doors c and G (slabs 20-36). With one exception, slabs 20-36 were discovered intact. Flandin made individual drawings of eleven of these bas-reliefs of which many are preserved in the Louvre. He also made individual drawings of slabs 34-35, as restored.

On slab 20 two attendants turn to the right. The objects which they hold identify them, respectively, as the arms bearer and the fan bearer. On slab 21 is the Assyrian king, facing right, who holds a long staff upright in his right hand and rests his left hand on the pommel of his sword. A high-ranking official faces the king and raises his right hand in salutation. It may be observed that the four persons displayed on slabs 20-21 are nearly mirror images of those shown on slabs 12-13. Slab 22 was destroyed and not restored. On slabs 23-24 are two attendants who clasp their hands at their waists. On slab 25 an attendant raises his right hand and lowers his left hand. Under his shawl is a sword attached to a baldric embellished with studs. On slab 26 are two attendants, each of whom carries a vessel in the right and left hands. One person holds round bowls with everted rims and the other person holds handled lion's head situlae. Both attendants are armed with swords. On slab 27 two attendants carry over their shoulders a wheeled throne connected to a long pole terminating in a horse's head. The chair is decorated with a figure of a horse and a row of deities. These attendants are armed with swords. On slab 28 two attendants grip a high-backed chair. This item of furniture is decorated with small figures of deities. On slab 29 two attendants carry a large cone-footed table. This item of furniture is decorated at the side with a pair of deities whose arms are held upright and between them is a long fluted rod on which are six rings, each in the shape of overhang-petals. On slab 30 two bearded soldiers carry a chariot, intended to be drawn by four horses. Each soldier is armed with a sword attached to a baldric embellished with studs. On the northwest wall is slab 31. On slab 31 a bearded soldier stands on the far side of four caparisoned horses and guides them forward by the reins. On slab 32 an attendant holds a large vessel with an animal-headed bottom. Slab 33 was intact but not illustrated. Slabs 34-36 showed the feet of persons turned to the left. Individual drawings made of slabs 34-35 show four attendants, each of whom carries a large object. Two persons carry a wide lion's paw-and-cone-footed table or bed over their shoulders. A third person carries a small cone-footed table, and the fourth person carries a large round bowl with everted rim. The last two items probably belong together. Slabs 43-45 were lost.

Facade N *(plate 37)*

In two places on the exterior walls forming facade N were found portions of processions. The southeast wall projected a short distance into the court. It was lined with four stone blocks carved with human figures. From left to right these blocks are numbered 4-1. Two of the stone blocks (slabs 4 and 2) were set into shallow recesses. Flandin restored the reliefs on this wall in a drawing. On slabs 4-3 two attendants turn to the right. They are identified, respectively, as the arms bearer and the fan bearer. Slab 2 was much wider than the other stone blocks. It was set into one of the recesses. The slab displays the Assyrian king turned to the right. He holds a flowering plant in this lowered left hand and raises his right hand. Facing the royal figure is a high-ranking official who repeats the king's gesture. On slab 1 an attendant faces left and clasps his hands. Since slab 1 formed the end of the narrow wall, it may be assumed that the procession continued along the northeast wall which unfortunately no longer survived.

The northwest wall of facade N, to the left of door p, projected a short distance into the court. The front of this wall was faced with two stone blocks, mostly destroyed (slabs 32-33). The lower parts of three persons were still visible. Flandin restored the stone blocks in a drawing, according to which on slab 32 two attendants turn to the left, while on slab 33 the Assyrian king turns to the right. He raises his right hand and rests his left hand on the pommel of his sword. Slabs 32 and 33 seem to be restored incorrectly. More likely, the king turns to the left and behind him are, respectively, the fan bearer and the arms bearer. No stone blocks remained in place beyond slab 33, since the wall no longer survived. One may surmise that originally this wall was decorated with a procession advancing to the Assyrian king.

Foreign Tributaries Advancing to the King

Facade n, southeast wall *(plates 19-25)*

Oriental Institute photographs 17454, 17455, 17522, 17596, 18396, 18397, 18399, 18401, 18402, 18403, 18404, 18405, 18413. See figures 26-29.

Extant reliefs: Musée du Louvre AO 7374, AO 19887, AO 19889, AO 19890, AO 19891, AO 19894, AO 22195; Bristish Museum 118816, 118818, 118827, 118828, 118830; Oriental Institute Museum A 7358, A 7359, A 7360; Iraq Museum 18627, 72127/2-1; Nergal Gate Museum (register number unavailable). See figures 25, 30-33, 38-39.

The southeast wall of facade n contained an important doorway, labelled C. On either side of this door was a procession advancing to the Assyrian king who, in each instance, turned away from the entrance. To the left of the entrance, the stone blocks lining the wall were discovered intact (slabs 24-15). To the right of the entrance, the stone blocks lining the wall were discovered fallen to the ground, except for their lowermost sections (slabs 8-1 and three unnumbered slabs). Flandin made a drawing of this wall in which the decorations on the stone blocks were restored. He also made individual drawings of nine of the bas-reliefs.

The Oriental Institute expedition re-cleared the left side of the southeast wall of facade n, as far as door C. The stone blocks lining this section of the wall were discovered still in place, although the heads and upper portions of the human figures had disappeared. Photographs taken of these slabs disclose that the decorations matched Flandin's drawings, except for some minor details. Several stone blocks were restored and are exhibited in one of the following museums : Iraq Museum, Oriental Institute Museum, Nergal Gate Museum. The present locations of the remainder of the stone blocks are unknown.

One procession advances from left to right (slabs 24-15). Slabs 24-20 depict foreign tributaries. They are similar in their representations. Each person has a short pointed beard and a small moustache. On each man's head is a cap with a wide brim and seams, hereafter described as a turban. Short strands of twisted hair emerge below the cap at the back. The garment consists of a long dress decorated with a scalloped trim. On the feet are high boots

with horizontal straps. On slab 24 a handler holds the reins of two horses which are richly caparisoned. On slab 23 a handler holds the reins of two horses which are richly caparisoned. On slab 22 each of the two tributaries carries a large sack over his shoulders. On slab 21 each of the two tributaries holds a hemispherical bowl in the right and left hands. On slab 20 each of the two tributaries holds a model of a city in the right and left hands. Slabs 19-18 depict three Assyrian attendants. One person raises his right hand over his back and lowers his left hand. The other two persons clasp their hands. Slabs 17-16 depict four attendants. Two persons clasp their hands. The third person raises his right hand and rests his left hand on the pommel of his sword. The fourth person is a high-ranking official. He stands at the head of the procession and faces the king. He lowers his right hand and rests his left hand on the pommel of his sword. On slab 15 two persons turn to the left. The first person is the Assyrian king. He holds a flowering plant in his lowered right hand and raises his left hand in salutation. Behind the king is the fan bearer.

The second procession advances from right to left (slabs 8 – and unnumbered). On slab 8 two persons turn to the right. One person is the fan bearer. He stands behind the Assyrian king who raises one hand in salutation and rests the other on the pommel of his sword. Slabs 7-6 depict four attendants, all of whom turn to the left. The first person faces the king. He is a high-ranking official. His right hand is lowered and his left hand rests upon the pommel of his sword. The second person raises his right hand and rests the left hand on the pommel of his sword. The third and fourth persons clasp their hands. Slab 5 depicts a wingless genie, facing left. Slabs 4-1 and three unnumbered slabs depict the land and sea transport of lumber. On slab 4 the lower half of the scene was drawn as discovered, while the upper half was restored. Two rows of laborers haul wooden beams to the left, with the aid of long ropes. Slab 3 shows a seascape which terminates at a coast. Within the sea are a variety of sea creatures and a merman, facing left. Slab 2 continues the seascape showing oared ships laden with lumber. Within the sea are a winged bull, facing left, and a citadel on an island. Slab 1 continues the seascape showing oared ships laden with lumber. Within the sea are a winged human-headed bull and a merman, both facing left, and a citadel on an island. The first unnumbered slab is restored. It depicts oared ships arranged in four tiers and moving in two directions. Long beams are attached to ships moving to the left. The sea fills the entire surface of the stone block. The second unnumbered slab was not restored. The lowermost portion of the slab still survived. Several lines on this slab delineate the lower part of an oared boat. The third unnumbered slab was not restored. However, one drawing of a bas-relief, not assigned a position, may belong to this slab. It depicts four rows of laborers hauling lumber from a mountainous region. All these persons advance to the left.

Room 10 *(plates 26-34)*

Oriental Institute photographs 17619, 18379, 18380, 18384, 18387, 18389, 18390, 18394, 18422, 18430, 18732, 18733, 18734, 18737, 18738, 18740.

Extant reliefs: Musée du Louvre (slab 2:) AO 19918, (slab 3:) AO 1433, AO 19895, AO 19899, (slabs 6-7:) AO 19887, (slab 10:) AO 1434, (slab 11:) AO 20218, (slab 12:) AO 19896, AO 19897, AO 19922, (slab 13:) AO 19898; British Museum (slab 1:) 118832, (slab 3:) 118836, (slab 10:) 118833, (slab 11:) 135992, (slab 12:) 118834, (slab 13:) 118810; Oriental Institute Museum (slabs 2-3:) A 7363, unregistered 4, (slab 4:) A 7365, (slabs 5-6:) A 7362, (slab 7:) unregistered 1, 2, 5, (slab 9:) unregistered 9, 10, (slab 11:) unregistered 7, (slab 13:) unregistered 3, 8, 11, (slab 14:) A 7364, unregistered 6, (slab 15:) A 7361; Metropolitan Museum of Art (slab 12:) 33.16.1; Musée Borely (slab 14:) 1520. See figures 45-60.

Entrance C led into room 10, a long corridor connecting facades n and N. The stone blocks lining the northeast and southwest walls were divided into two registers of decoration separated by a band of inscription. The upper and lower registers on each wall showed processions of foreign tributaries moving away from facade n, toward facade N. These lines of marchers may have continued the two processions which appeared on the southeast wall of

facade n.[3] A total of sixteen stone blocks lined both walls of room 10. With the exception of slab 16, Flandin made a drawing of each stone block showing the decorations in the upper and lower registers as they appeared at the time of their discovery. In the present volume plates, several drawings of the bas-reliefs on the northeast wall of room 10 have been incorrectly matched and labelled. The correct sequence of the stone blocks numbered 1 to 8 appears in *Monument de Ninive,* and the descriptions given below follow the published sequence, as follows: slab 1 = plate 27 (left); slab 2 = plate 28 (left); slab 3 = plate 28 (right); slab 4 = plate 30 (left); slab 5 = plate 27 (right); slab 6 = plate 29 (left); slab 7 = plate 29 (right); slab 8 = plate 30 (right).

Room 10 was re-cleared by the Oriental Institute expedition.[4] It took photographs of the stone blocks still surviving in place or close by. The photographs confirm the correct positions of the eight stone blocks lining the northeast wall (slabs 1-8), which are the same as those found in *Monument de Ninive.* The groundplan and elevation of the northeast and southwest walls prepared by the expedition show that only the lower registers of the stone blocks remained in place. In many instances their upper portions were destroyed. On slabs 5 and 7, each lower register had been completely cut away, but the upper register of each of these slabs was recovered by the expedition. An important find was the lower register of slab 16 whose surface had broken into many fragments. On this slab two horses are depicted being led forward; their handler appears on slab 15. Many of the large fragmentary slabs from room 10 were restored and are exhibited in the Oriental Institute Museum. Still other slabs and smaller fragments which had been taken away in the nineteenth century are now kept in several museums.

Northeast wall, lower register. The procession consists of men and horses advancing to the right. At the head of the line is an Assyrian attendant. The foreigners are generally similar in appearance, although differences do occur. Each person is bearded. His hair is short in length and shaped into corkscrew curls arranged in rows. A narrow band encircles the head. In some instances two vertical curls cover the headband at the front. Each person wears a simple knee-length dress. At the waist is a banded belt from which a small object, possibly a toggle, is suspended. Over this dress is a cloak made of sheep's fur or spotted leopardskin. High boots with upturned toes cover the feet. The straps are tied either horizontally or in zigzag fashion. The procession is composed of eight individual groups of men and horses. Each group has a leader distinguished by his long beard, either straight or pointed. He is followed by the handler of one or two horses. This person is armed with at least one spear. All the horses are richly harnessed. Their gaits are steady but varied. Several animals rear up in halting actions.

On slab 1 is a handler, partially hidden by the horse which he controls. In front of the animal is a leader who raises both clenched hands to the level of his face. On slab 2 is a handler, partially hidden by the horse which he controls. In front of the animal is a leader who raises both clenched hands to the level of his face. On slab 3 is a handler who turns his head back as he urges a horse forward. He is preceded by a leader who raises both hands to the level of his face. In front of him is a handler who holds the reins of a horse, while a companion grips the animal's mane to steady its movement. On slab 4 is a leader who raises both hands to the level of his face. He is preceded by two men and two horses striding side by side. One person grips the reins of one animal and the other person steadies the second animal. On slab 5 is a leader who raises both hands to the level of his face. He is preceded by a handler who twists his upper torso around to face two horses in an attempt to control their unsteady actions. On slab 6 are two foreigners and two horses. One person is a leader. He holds a model of a city in his left hand and raises his clenched right hand to the level of his face. He is preceded by the second person, partially hidden by one horse, who turns his

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[3] Pauline Albenda, "A Mediterranean Seascape from Khorsabad", *Assur* 3/3 (1983), pp. 32-34.

[4] Loud, *Khorsabad. I,* pp. 40-45, figs. 48-55. In this publication, the labelling of the northeast and southwest walls is reversed.

head back to face the second animal. On slab 7 are three foreigners. One person is a handler who attempts to control the actions of a horse, depicted on the adjacent slab. The second person is a leader who holds a model of a city in one hand and raises the other hand to the level of his face. The third person leads two horses tied together by ropes. On slab 8 are two persons. One person is a leader. He holds the model of a city in his left hand and clenches his right hand to the level of his face. He is preceded by a beardless Assyrian attendant. This person raises his right hand back over his shoulder and holds one (?) stick in his lowered left hand.

Southwest wall, lower register. The procession consists of foreign tributaries and horses advancing to the left. At the head of the line is an Assyrian attendant. The procession is composed of eight individual groups of foreigners and horses. Each group has a leader distinguished by his long beard, a handler for the animals, and two horses which are richly caparisoned. The foreigners are similar in appearance to those represented on the lower register of the opposite wall.

On slab 9 a beardless Assyrian attendant turns his head back to face the procession. He raises his right hand and lowers his left hand. On slab 10 a leader raises both hands to the level of his face. He is followed by a handler who holds a whip in the right hand and grips the reins of a horse in the left hand. The second horse is probably tethered to the first animal. Partially hidden by both horses is a person who grips two spears with both hands. On slab 11 a leader raises both hands to the level of his face. He is followed by a handler who extends one hand while, at the same time, grips the reins of a horse in the other hand. The second horse is probably tethered to the first animal. Following this group is a leader posed with both hands raised to the level of his face. On slab 12 a handler grips a spear in one hand and leads a pair of horses. Partially hidden by the animals is a leader who raises both hands to the level of his face. After him come a pair of horses and a handler partially hidden by the animals. Immediately behind this person is a leader who raises both hands to the level of his face. On slab 13 a handler leads a pair of horses. Partially hidden behind the animals is a leader who raises both hands to the level of his face. He is followed by a handler who grips a spear in one hand and holds the reins in the other hand. On slab 14 are two horses. After these animals comes a leader who raises both hands to the level of his face. He is followed by a handler who grips two spears in one hand and the reins in the other hand. On slab 15 is a pair of horses partially hidden by a leader who raises both hands to the level of his face. After this group comes a foreigner who grips a spear in his right hand and lowers his left hand. Above the heads of these persons is a large arched recess cut into the stone, possibly a slot for a door bolt. Two small holes appear to the right of this deep opening. Slab 16 was not drawn (but see above).

Northeast wall, upper register. The procession consists of men and animals advancing to the right. At the head of the line is an Assyrian attendant. The procession is composed of seven individual groups. Each group has a leader who is distinguished by his long beard, a distinctive cap, the gesture of the clenched right hand raised to the level of his face, and the model of a city held in the left hand. All the other foreigners have short pointed beards. The costumes worn by the foreign tributaries show two styles mixed within the groups. The first style consists of a short-sleeved shirt and a knee-length tunic decorated with a band of small dots at the bottom. Overlapping the tunic at the front is a long fringed fabric reaching to the calves. A wide belt partially covered with a net-like fabric encircles the waist, and a thin strand serves as clasp. On the feet are strapped sandals. The second style of costume consists of a long dress reaching to the ankles. The bottom of the garment has a trim of looped tassels attached to a narrow band decorated with a line-and-dot or double zigzag pattern. Over this dress is a short-sleeved coat with curved ends. It is edged with looped tassels attached to a narrow decorated band. The coat is kept open down its entire length. The headcovering consists of a turban. On the feet are plain footcoverings.

On slab 1 the upper portion was destroyed as a result of surface damage. Two persons appear on this slab. They are attired in a knee-length tunic and on their feet are strapped sandals. On slab 2 are five persons. The upper portions of the three persons on the left were destroyed as a result of surface damage. The person on the left is attired in a knee-length tunic and on his feet are strapped sandals. He is preceded by a leader. This identification is made possible by the partially intact model of a city which he holds. It is not known what the person who precedes the leader carries. This person is preceded by another who balances a sack over his shoulders. He is preceded by a person who holds a hemispherical bowl in each hand. On slab 3 are four persons. The person on the left is a leader. His distinctive headdress consists of a round cap with tip that falls back. He is preceded by a person who balances a sack over his shoulders. He is preceded by two persons, each of whom holds a hemispherical bowl in the right and left hands. On slab 4 are four persons. The person on the left is a leader. His distinctive headdress consists of a round cap with nipple-shaped tip. He is preceded by a person who balances a sack over his shoulders. The sack is tied with cord near its opening. The two persons who precede him each hold a hemispherical bowl in their right and left hands. On slab 5 are five persons, four of whom belong to the same group since they all wear similar knee-length tunics. The person on the left is a leader. His distinctive headdress consists of a round cap with side-seams and pointed tip, from which a small tassel is suspended. He is preceded by a person who balances a sack over his shoulders. The two persons who precede him each hold a hemispherical bowl in their right and left hands. They are preceded by a person who is a leader. On his head is a turban. On slab 6 are three persons and three camels. At the left are three dromedary camels, two of which are female and the third has a band around its neck, from which a small object is suspended. Partially hidden behind the camel is a handler attired in a simple short tunic. He urges the animals forward with the aid of a stick. The camels are preceded by a person who holds a hemispherical bowl in each hand. He is attired in a knee-length tunic, and his feet are bare. He is preceded by another person who holds a hemispherical bowl in each hand. On slab 7 are six persons. The heads of three individuals on the right were destroyed as a result of surface damage. The person on the left holds a hemispherical bowl in each hand. He is preceded by a person who holds a large model of a city in both hands. He is preceded by a leader. His distinctive headdress covers the head to the nape and comes to a point at the top, where it falls back. He is preceded by a person who balances a sack over his shoulders. He is preceded by two persons who each hold a hemispherical bowl in their right and left hands. On slab 8 are two persons. The heads of both persons were destroyed as a result of surface damage. One person is a leader. He is preceded by an Assyrian attendant, who holds a pair of long sticks in his left hand and lowers his right hand.

Southwest wall, upper register. In this register, the upper portions of the bas-reliefs were mostly destroyed as a result of surface damage. It is therefore difficult to know the number of individual groups in the procession. All the human figures wear identical costumes which consist of a coat worn over a long dress reaching to below the calves. At the bottom of the dress is a band of decoration similar to those found on the garments worn by the foreign tributaries on the upper register of the opposite wall.

On slab 9 is an Assyrian attendant. On slab 10 six persons advance in close formation. Their bodies are destroyed from the waist up. On slab 11 are five persons, mostly destroyed from the waist up. The second person extends his arm, over which is a large fabric. The fourth person raises both hands to the level of his face. The fifth person twists the upper part of his body back to face two horses depicted on the adjacent slab. He holds the reins in his left hand and a whip in his right hand. On slab 12 are two richly harnessed horses. The upper parts of their heads are damaged. Partially hidden behind the animals is a person who raises both hands to the level of his face. After him come three persons who advance in close formation. The first two persons each carry a model of a city in both hands. On slab 13 are five persons who advance in close formation. The first person raises his hands. The second

and third persons each carry a model of a city in both hands. The fourth person raises both hands. The fifth person is intact. He carries a model of a city in both hands. On slab 14 are four persons, all of whom are destroyed from the waist up. On slab 15 are three persons, mostly destroyed. Slab 16 was not drawn.

Room 6 *(plates 65-70)*

Extant reliefs: British Museum 118824, 47-7-2, 28; Iraq Museum 60972/3-1, 60974/6-1; Bucharest Musée National des Antiquités n°. 1. See figures 83-85.

Room 6 was four times longer than it was wide. The stone blocks lining the walls were intact. The heads on several human figures had been cut away. Three separate processions, each composed of Assyrian attendants and foreign tributaries advancing to the king, lined the walls of this chamber. The four angle stones forming the corners of the room (slabs 13, 17, 32, 36) were undecorated but did not interrupt the continuity of the compositions. The room had four doors leading into other chambers. The wall to the right of door Y, leading into room 9, began a procession that ceased at door X, leading into room 11. The wall to the right of door X began a second procession that ceased at door H, leading into room 2. The wall to the right of door H showed the end of a third procession that went past door U, leading into room 5, and ceased at the opposite end of the same wall, to the left of door Y.

Each of the three processions conforms to a standard arrangement. At the start of the procession is the Assyrian king, behind whom are the fan bearer and the arms bearer. Facing him are Assyrian attendants who number five or seven. After them come the foreign tributaries who number either four, seven, or ten, so as to fill the space allocated to each procession. The foreign tributaries wear nearly identical costumes which consist of long dresses reaching to the ankles. Across the bottom of each dress is a narrow band of a zigzag pattern, to which triangular fringes are attached. Over the dress, a short-sleeved coat with straight corners is kept open at the front. Its outer edge has a continuous decorated trim and large scalloped fringes. Each tributary wears a turban, and on his feet are plain boots. Flandin's drawings of individual stone blocks reveal, however, that there were notable differences in the costumes of some tributaries. On slabs 6-8 the persons have belts at the waist. On slab 29 the two foreigners are without caps and, instead, each person wears a narrow headband. Their hairstyle consists of rows of corkscrew-shaped curls arranged obliquely. At each person's waist is a banded belt. Attached to the corners of the coats worn by these two foreigners are small single or two-tiered tassels.

This chamber was explored by Victor Place. In his report no. 49 (18 July 1854) he writes that large quantities of sculptures, some fallen to the ground, were in a good state of preservation. Place observed that the sculptures were decorated with inscriptions on the robes, arms, and ornaments, as " one always sees at Nimrud". All the well-preserved sculptures showed vivid colors in black, blue, and red, on the hair of the beard and on the garments. Place mentions, too, that he discovered two eunuchs (Assyrian attendants) whose heads were cut away, showing colors on the weapons, shoulder-belts, and sandals. Place also extracted and prepared for transport to the Louvre one slab carved with a person bearing an inscription on his robe.[5] It was among the sculptures lost in the shipwreck of 1855.

The Oriental Institute expedition did not identify this room among the several that were explored in 1929. At that time, room 11 was exposed and room 12 was cleared. In 1938 the Department of Antiquities of the Republic of Iraq cleared the southwest wall and the northwest wall to the left of door X. It also cleared doorway X (slabs 1 and 2), and a portion of the southeast wall in room 11. Photographs taken of these walls furnish information pertaining to the sculptured blocks. In room 6 the stone blocks were discovered still in place and intact to the height of the shoulders of the human figures. No carved inscriptions appeared on these slabs. The Iraqi excavators made two discoveries not indicated in

[5] Pillet, *Un pionnier*, p. 52.

Flandin's drawing. In the ground in front of slab 14 was a square hole for small figurines, and in front of door Y was a threshold slab.

First procession (southwest and northwest walls). The movement is from right to left, to the Assyrian king. On slab 2 in doorway Y is an arms bearer. The lower half of slab 14 is intact. On this slab is the fan bearer, facing right. On slab 15 is the Assyrian king, facing the same direction. He raises his right hand in salutation and in his lowered left hand is a flowering plant. On slab 16 are two Assyrian officials, facing left. The first person raises his right hand and rests his left hand on the pommel of his sword. The second person clasps his hands. On slabs 17-20 are six persons. Five of them are Assyrian attendants who clasp their hands. The last person is a foreign tributary. He may hold an object, but it is indistinguishable. On slabs 21-22 are three tributaries. The first person holds a model of a city in both hands. The second and third persons each hold a handled lion's head situla in their right and left hands.

The extant reliefs differ somewhat from Flandin's drawing. The following descriptions rely upon the photographs of the reliefs, taken in 1938. On slabs 14-17 the subjects are identical to those appearing in Flandin's drawing. The fan bearer on slab 14 is extant to the chest. On this person appear two minor details which were omitted in Flandin's drawing, and these are a sword and the left hand gripping a long, narrow cloth. On slab 15 the king survives to the level of the shoulders. The linear design on his dress beneath the long mantle consists of slightly curved rows of small concentric squares that touch one another. In his left hand the king holds a plant consisting of a closed bud between two open lotuses. On slab 16 the upper portion of the first person is destroyed and the second person survives to the level of his chin. The sword belonging to the second person terminates on slab 17 which is otherwise undecorated.

On slabs 18-22 the differences between the subjects depicted in Flandin's drawings and those represented on the bas-reliefs are remarkable. Firstly, there are five tributaries rather than four (slabs 19-22). Secondly, the sequence of objects held by the tributaries is different. On the bas-reliefs it is as follows, from left to right: person 1 = the right hand is clenched and extended forward and the left hand, probably also clenched, is raised. Person 2 = unclear. Person 3 = a handled lion's head situla is held in each (?) hand. Person 4 = a hemispherical bowl is held in each (?) hand. Person 5 = a hemispherical bowl is held in each (?) hand. Thirdly, the garments worn by these tributaries differ in several ways. The coats are open at the front, and the two exposed sides extend down over the dress and curve toward the back. A thick cloth belt encircles the waist over the coat and is tied with a single looped knot. This last item does not appear anywhere in Flandin's drawings. Fourthly, on slab 19 the Assyrian attendant standing immediately in front of the line of foreign tributaries holds two long sticks in his left hand and lowers his right hand. The attendants who precede him clasp their hands (slab 18).

Second procession (northwest, northeast, and southeast walls). The movement is from right to left, to the Assyrian king. On slab 23 two Assyrian attendants turn to the right. They are identified, respectively, as the fan bearer and the arms bearer. On slab 24 is the Assyrian king, facing the same direction. He raises his right hand in salutation and in his lowered left hand is a flowering plant. On slabs 25-28 are seven Assyrian attendants advancing to the king. Two of them are bearded. The upper portions of slabs 25-26 were destroyed, so that the heads of three persons are missing. The third through sixth persons clasp their hands at the waist, and the seventh person holds two long sticks in his left hand and extends his right hand downward. On slab 29 two tributaries each hold a model of a city in both hands. On slab 30 two tributaries each hold a handled lion's head situla in their right and left hands. On slab 31 two tributaries probably each hold a hemispherical bowl in their right and left hands. On slab 33 two tributaries each hold hemispherical bowls in their hands. On slab 34 each of two tributaries balances a large sack over his shoulders. The torso of one person is turned frontally, to reveal an open coat. The coat is tied at the waist by

a string, to which an elaborate fibula is attached. On slab 35 a tributary balances a sack over his shoulders. On slab 1 a tributary balances a sack over his shoulders.

Third procession (southeast wall). The movement is from left to right, to the Assyrian king. On slabs 2-5 are six tributaries. Two persons hold hemispherical bowls in their hands, and a third person may hold similar objects. Two other persons each balance a sack over their shoulders. The sixth person holds an unidentifiable object. On slab 6 a tributary holds a hemispherical bowl in each hand. On slabs 7-8 are four persons. Three of them are tributaries. Their heads are missing, since the upper parts of the stone blocks are broken away. The last tributary carries a tray on which are two pairs of hoop earrings. He is preceded by a tributary who carries a tray on which are two hoop earrings and two pendant earrings. He is preceded by a tributary who raises his clenched right hand and carries in his left hand a footed box decorated with large rosettes at the side (rosette bracelets?). In front of the three tributaries is an attendant who raises his right hand over his back and lowers his left hand. On slab 9 are two attendants who clasp their hands. On slab 10 are two attendants. The upper part of the stone block shows surface damage. On slab 11 are two persons, facing left. One person is the Assyrian king. He raises his hand in salutation and in his lowered left hand is a flowering plant. After the king comes an attendant identified as the fan bearer. On slab 12 is an attendant who is identified as the arms bearer. Another arms bearer appears on slab 1 in doorway Y.

Room 11 *(plate 71)*

Extant reliefs: Musée du Louvre AO 19876; Iraq Museum 60975/2-1, 60979/3-1. See figure 86.

Room 11 was nearly four times longer than it was wide. The stone blocks were intact on three walls and broken away on the fourth wall, leaving only the lowermost portions in place. Lining the walls of this chamber were two separate processions, each composed of Assyrian attendants and foreign tributaries advancing to the king. The four angle stones forming the corners of the rooms (slabs 1, 4, 14, 17) were undecorated but did not interrupt the continuity of the compositions. The room had two doors leading into other chambers. The wall to the right of door e, leading into room 12, began a procession that extended across three sides of the room (southwest, northwest, northeast walls). The fourth wall (southeast) showed an entire procession that went past door X, leading into room 6. Each procession conforms to a standard arrangement. At the start of the procession is the Assyrian king, behind whom are his personal attendants. Facing the king are Assyrian attendants. After them come foreign tributaries. Each foreign tributary wears a similar costume. The costume consists of a long dress reaching to the ankles. Over the dress is a short-sleeved coat with straight corners, kept open at the front. On the head is a turban.

The Oriental Institute expedition completely traced the walls of one room which it identified as room 11. The reliefs were intact and extended nearly to the ground surface. Typical wall slabs were examined and found to be badly damaged by fire. It was decided to abandon this room.[6] In 1938 the Department of Antiquities of the Republic of Iraq re-cleared the part of the southeast wall that was situated to the right of door X. This entrance was also completely exposed. An important discovery was the finding of the portal and inner threshold slabs still in place. The two outer blocks each had a pivot hole surrounded by three concentric borders, and the middle block had a square hole for the door bolt. The human figures carved on the stone blocks lining the southeast wall in room 11 survived to the level of the waist and, in a few instances, to the level of the head. These slabs are restored and exhibited in the Iraq Museum.

[6] Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, p. 15.

First procession (southwest, northwest, and northeast walls). The movement is from right to left, to the Assyrian king. On slab 2 in doorway e is an arms bearer. On slab 15 an attendant, facing right, is armed with bow, quiver, and mace. An identical person appears on slab 16. Slabs 18-19 show only the feet of three (?) persons turned to the right. The person on the right may be the Assyrian king. Slab 20 shows the feet of two persons turned to the left. Slab 21 is intact and displays two attendants who clasp their hands. Slabs 22-27 show only the feet of human figures advancing to the left. Foreign tributaries may have once appeared on slabs 25-27. Slabs 2-3 complete the procession.

Second procession (southeast wall). The movement is from left to right, to the Assyrian king. On slabs 5-8 are seven foreign tributaries. Two tributaries each balance a sack over their shoulders. They are preceded by one tributary who carries a model of a city in each hand, and two tributaries who carry hemispherical bowls in their hands. These persons are preceded by a tributary who raises both hands (?), and another person who carries a model of a city in a each hand. On slab 9 an attendant lowers his left hand and raises his right hand back over his shoulder. On slabs 10-11 each of four attendants clasps his hands. On slab 12 are two persons who face each other. The person at the left is a high-ranking official. He faces the Assyrian king. The king raises his right hand in salutation and holds a flowering plant in his lowered left hand. On slab 13 two attendants turn to the left. They are identified, respectively, as the fan bearer and the arms bearer. Another arms bearer appears on slab 1 in doorway e.

Turning to the extant reliefs, slabs 9-10 (IM 60979/3-1) show three attendants, facing right. The third person raises his right hand back over his shoulder and lowers his left hand. At his waist is a sword, not illustrated in Flandin's drawing. He is preceded by two persons who clasp their hands. Slab 13 (IM 60975/2-1) shows two persons, facing left. The first person is identified as the fan bearer. He holds a fan in his left hand a folded cloth in his right hand. At his waist is a sword. After him comes the arms bearer. His weapons are the bow, quiver, sword, and a long spear. At the extreme left side of the slab is the tip of a scabbard belonging to the Assyrian king, who originally appeared on the adjoining slab.

Foreign Captives Presented to the King

Room 8 *(plates 72-78)*

Extant relief: Musée du Louvre AO 19877.

Room 8 was three and a half times longer than it was wide. Three doors led from facade N into this chamber, and three additional doors led to other rooms. On the ground in front of the narrow northwest wall was a large stone slab. It was equal in width to slab 12 lining the same wall. On the ground in front of the southwest wall was a large stone slab. It was midway between doors M and Q. In its center was a circular hole. On either side of this slab was a square hole, probably for the placement of figurines. The four angle stones forming the corners of this room had stylized tree motifs (slabs 10, 14, 27, 30). The condition of the stone blocks lining the walls varied. Some were intact, others were partially destroyed, and still others were entirely missing. In Flandin's drawings many stone blocks show rows of horizontal lines extending across the human figures. These lines represent carved inscriptions. The Assyrian king appears in three places among the reliefs in room 8, and he may have originally been displayed one or two more times.

First presentation (northwest wall). The composition on the three stone blocks lining this wall is symmetrical. A separate drawing was made of each of the three slabs. The drawings disclose that many areas of the stone blocks were damaged. On slab 11 are two bearded attendants, facing right. They are each armed with a bow, quiver, and mace. Near the bottom of the stone block are rows of horizontal lines that extend across the garments of the attendants. On slab 12 are six human figures. The main figure is the Assyrian king, facing right. In his raised right hand is a spear turned downwards to touch the eye of a kneeling

captive. In his left hand are several ropes whose outer ends are tied to small rings attached to the lips of three captives. Behind the king is an attendant identified as the fan bearer. Three captives face the king, all of whom are small in stature. The first captive kneels and extends both hands in an imploring gesture. He is bald (?) and his short beard, straight at the bottom, is composed of ringlets and curls. Only the bottom of his costume survives. It has a band decorated with small crosses and a step motif. Plain fringes edge the garment. Two captives stand behind their kneeling companion, and raise their hands and implore mercy. Each captive wears a round cap, from which a short length of hair emerges at the nape. Both persons have short beards. After the captives comes a high-ranking Assyrian official. He raises his hand towards the king, and his left hand rests upon the pommel of his sword. Rows of horizontal lines are drawn in an area above the captives and upon the garments of the two Assyrians who turn toward the king. On slab 13 are two attendants, facing left. The first person keeps his clenched left hand at the waist and lowers his right hand. The second person clasps (?) his hands. Under his shawl is a sword. Near the bottom of the stone block are rows of horizontal lines.

Second presentation (northeast wall). The movement is from right to left, to the Assyrian king who, however, does not appear due to the loss of the stone blocks. Slab 15 (possibly two slabs originally) is entirely missing. It may have once contained the figures of the king and his fan bearer, both facing right. Additionally, a figure of a wingless genie may have once stood adjacent to door S, as one of a pair that flanked this entrance. On slab 16 are two persons, facing left. Their costumes identify these persons, respectively, as a wingless genie and an attendant. On slab 17 are three persons, facing left. The first person is an attendant who probably raises his right hand back over his shoulder and lowers his left hand. After him come two captives standing side by side. They are fettered and shackled. The captives are distinguished by their short pointed beards and hair of short length. Each captive wears a costume consisting of a dress that covers the knees and is belted at the waist. Over the dress is a sheep's fur cloak. On slab 18 another captive is similarly represented. He is followed by a soldier who raises his right hand and rests his left hand on his sword. The soldier's uniform consists of a knee-length tunic, decorated at the bottom with a band of rosettes. At the front of the tunic, a long flounced cloth hangs pendant between the legs. A broad belt encircles the waist. The soldier is armed with a quiver and a sword attached to a baldric. On slab 19 are two human figures. The first person, facing left, completes the line advancing to the king. He is an Assyrian soldier armed with a bow, mace, and sword attached to a baldric. The second person turns to the right, facing door U. He is identified as a wingless genie. On slabs 16-18 appear rows of horizontal lines.

Third presentation (northeast wall). The movement is from right to left, to the Assyrian king. On slab 20 are two human figures. The first person turns to the left, facing door U. He is identified as a wingless genie. The second person turns to the right. He is identified as the fan bearer. On slab 21 are four persons. The first person is the Assyrian king, facing right. Facing him are three captives, one kneeling and two standing side by side. Each of the captives raises both hands in an imploring gesture. On slab 22 are two attendants. Both are armed with swords. The second person extends his right hand downwards. The upper part of slab 23 is destroyed. Two attendants advance to the left. On slab 24 are two persons, an attendant followed by a captive who is fettered and shackled. Still visible on the captive is his costume. He wears a long dress which has, at the bottom, a band of zigzags and plain fringes. Over the dress is a fringed coat. On slab 25 a naked person lies face down and outstretched across the width of the stone block. His hands and feet are tied, presumably to the ground. Behind him stands an Assyrian soldier who places a curved knife to the captive's arm. This action may indicate that the hapless foe is flayed. Slabs 26 and 28 on the southeast wall were mostly destroyed. On each slab only the feet of a person still survived. These persons may be Assyrian soldiers. On slabs 22-26 appear rows of horizontal lines.

Fourth presentation (southeast and southwest walls). All the slabs to the left of door M and past door P were destroyed, except for their lowermost portions. Slabs 29, 31, 1-2 show the feet of human figures turned to the right. Slab 2 shows the feet of two persons standing side by side. They are fettered. These captives are peceded by a companion who kneels. The surface on slabs 3-4 was damaged. The fragmentary evidence suggests that the composition on these slabs is similar to that represented on the same wall, to the right of door M.

Fifth presentation (southwest wall). Between doors M and Q were four stone blocks displaying captives presented to the Assyrian king. On slabs 5-6 four attendants advance to the right and clasp their hands. Rows of horizontal lines appear on slab 6. The lower portion of slab 7 remained in place. It shows three captives before the Assyrian king who turns to the left. One captive kneels, and his companions stand behind him. All three captives are fettered. On slab 8 are two attendants, facing left, one of whom is the fan bearer. To the right of door Q is slab 9. It displays a wingless genie, facing left. The companion to this wingless genie may have once appeared on slab 31, to the left of door P.

Room 4 *(plates 79-83)*

Room 4 was four times longer than it was wide. In this chamber two walls survived across their entire length, as well as a small section of the third wall and a corner of the fourth wall. Three doors led to other rooms and another door led to the exterior (court II). One may surmise that originally three doors led to the same open court, similar to the number of doors found on the northwest wall of facade N and the southwest wall of facade L. Each of the three surviving angle stones forming the corners of this room had a stylized tree motif (slabs 3, 7, 19). The condition of the stone blocks lining the walls was generally poor. Only the lower portions or bases of the slabs remained intact. Flandin made individual drawings of several of the better preserved bas-reliefs. In several drawings appear rows of horizontal lines which represent carved inscriptions. Among the wall reliefs found in room 4, the Assyrian king appears three times, but certainly this number was higher.

First presentation (northwest wall). The composition on five stone blocks lining the wall to the left of door T, leading into room 8, shows a balanced arrangement of human figures. On slabs 18-17 are four persons, facing right. These persons survive only to the level of their waists. One may surmise that the person at the right side is a high-ranking official, followed by three attendants. On slab 16, the center block, are three foreign captives turned to the right. Two captives stand one behind the other. They are bound with fetters on their feet. The third captive kneels. He raises both hands in a gesture of submission. These captives wear sheep's fur cloaks over their garments and on their feet are high-laced boots. On slabs 15-14 are four Assyrians, facing left. The first person is the king, the second person is identified as the fan bearer, the third person is identified as the arms bearer, and it is uncertain who the fourth attendant represents. On slabs 18-14 are rows of horizontal lines.

Second presentation (northwest wall). The composition on the four stone blocks lining the wall between doors T and R, leading into rooms 8 and 7 respectively, shows a balanced arrangement of human figures. On slab 13 are three persons, facing right. The first person on the right side is the Assyrian king. He once held the ropes tied to the lips of three (or four) captives. Two attendants stand behind the royal person. On slab 12 are four persons turned to the left, three of whom are foreign captives. One (two?) captive kneels, and two companions stand side by side. The captives are fettered. Long ropes are tied to rings attached to their lips. The bearded captives are small in stature. Their costumes consist of long dresses and straight-cornered coats that are kept open at the front. Tassels are attached to each corner of the coats. Each captive wears a cap whose upper tip falls pendant at the back. After these captives comes a high-ranking Assyrian official. He raises his right hand forward and rests his left hand on the pommel of his sword. The weapon is attached to a baldric embellished with studs. On slab 11 are two attendants, facing left. The adjacent

slab is unnumbered. It may have once showed a wingless genie turned to the right, as one of a pair flanking door R.

The row of persons advancing to the king continues to the right of door R on the same wall. Unfortunately, in Flandin's drawing showing only the elevation of this wall, no decoration appears on slabs 10-8. However, the decorations on these three slabs are described in Botta's second letter to Jules Mohl, dated May 2nd, 1843. Botta writes that the extent of the wall (the portion to the right of door R), which he labelled wall XXVII, was nearly 7 meters. A line sketch of the bas-reliefs accompanied Botta's letter, and a simplified rendering of the sketch was published in *JA* 2 (1843), pl. XXVII, 2. This sketch shows that the line of figures, facing left, was made up of two persons to each of the three slabs. On slab 10 is a wingless genie, originally flanking door R, followed by an attendant. On slab 9 is an attendant who clasps his hands, followed by an attendant who holds one (?) long stick. On slab 8 is a captive who wears a headband, followed by a second captive. Of some importance, one of Flandin's drawings does illustrate the subjects on slabs 9-8, although no slab number appears below the drawing in the folio volume where it is kept. This omission was corrected in *Monument de Ninive.* In Flandin's drawing slab 9 is fragmentary, and only the attendant holding a pair of long sticks is depicted. On slab 8 are two captives, each of whom is shackled and fettered. Each captive wears a long dress decorated at the bottom with two bands of rosettes, to which looped fringes are attached. Encircling the waist is a banded belt from which a small object, possibly a toggle, is suspended. The coat worn over the dress curves towards the back, and is open at the front. It is edged with a decorated band and looped fringes.

Third procession (northeast wall). To the right of door D, leading into room 3, two stone blocks lined the wall. Only the lower portions remained in place. These showed two persons turned to the right, and a group of five persons turned to the left. On slab 1 are an attendant and the Assyrian king, facing right. In the space between these persons is a folded cloth, confirming the identity of the attendant as a fan bearer. Two foreign captives kneel in front of the king. They are shackled and fettered. Both captives raise their hands forward. On slab 2 are three persons. Two captives stand side by side and are fettered. They wear plain dresses reaching below the knees. After them comes an attendant. On slabs 1-2 appear rows of horizontal lines.

The presentation of captives may have continued on slabs 4-6, along the southeast wall. This conclusion is conjectural, since only the lowermost portions of the stone blocks remained in place. No decoration was drawn on these slabs. It may be noted that Botta makes no mention of these stone blocks in his second letter to Jules Mohl, to which reference was made above.

Hunting in the Royal Park

Room 7 *(plates 84-90)*

Extant reliefs: British Museum 118831; Oriental Institute Museum A 11254, A 11255, A 11256; Iraq Museum 60971/1, 60971/2, 6097/3. See figure 75.

Room 7 was small in size and nearly square in plan. A single door, labelled R, led from room 4 to this chamber. The lateral walls of this doorway were destroyed, as well as portions of the two stone blocks flanking the door. Thirteen stone slabs lined the walls of this room. Flandin made individual drawings of each bas-relief, with the exception of those which were destroyed or missing (slabs 3, part of 4, most of 7 and 9). The stone blocks were divided into upper and lower registers, separated by a wide band of an inscription indicated by horizontal lines. The narrative scenes in the upper and lower registers describe different events.

Room 7 was re-cleared by the Oriental Institute expedition. Remains of a wooden roofing beam and tracing of decayed matting provided evidence to show that this room was

originally roofed. The reliefs were found in poor condition due to deterioration and destruction caused by moisture and gypsum-burners, since they were first discovered by Botta. An interesting disclosure is a long inscription covering the backs of the slabs.[7] The reliefs from this room were removed and restored. Several are in the Iraq Museum and others are in the Oriental Institute Museum. The surviving reliefs are illustrated in an article which discusses the composition of the hunting scene.[8]

Lower register. In this register two themes are integrated into a unified composition. The themes are hunting in the royal park and the procession of the elite military troops of the Assyrian king who rides in his chariot. The movement is generally clockwise, from right to left. The composition begins to the left of door R, and continues along the four walls of the room until the right side of door R is reached. The Assyrian king is portrayed once, among the bas-reliefs which still survived.

Slabs 1-2, to the right of door R, lined the southeast wall. Slab 2 is an angle stone and continues on the southwest wall. A landscape is indicated by a line of unevenly spaced tall trees that reaches to the full height of the register. Small trees fill the spaces between the tall trees. On slab 1 two Assyrian soldiers ride on horses that gallop to the right. One animal is shown partially in front of the other. Both horses are richly harnessed. The cavalrymen are attired in short-sleeved blouses and knee-length tunics that are shorter at the front. Broad belts encircle their waists. Their legs are covered with stockings and laced boots. The rider on the left uses a three-thong whip to urge his animal forward. The rider on the right grips a long spear which has a small knob near its lower end. A whip is tucked in his belt. On slab 2 two Assyrians stride to the right. Each soldier wears a costume consisting of a blouse and a knee-length tunic. Around the waist is a broad belt, from which a long flounced cloth hangs pendant between the legs. Both soldiers are barefooted. The soldier at the right clutches a bird in his right hand and turns his head back to face his companion who holds a hare by its legs. The surface of slab 3 was entirely destroyed. The surface of slab 4 was entirely destroyed, except for the extreme right portion. Two trees appear in the background. A richly caparisoned horse turns to the right. Directly above its head stands a large bird with hooked beak, facing the same direction.

Slab 5 is an angle stone and continues on the northwest wall. The background shows several trees. The only person represented is an Assyrian soldier who leads the horse depicted on the preceding slab. Clearly visible on this person's chest is a baldric embellished with studs. On slab 6 two attendants advance to the right. Between them appear several trees of varied heights. The Assyrians are attired in the standard court costume. The attendant at the left clutches a dead hare in his right hand and a bird by its wings in his left hand. The attendant at the right clutches a dead bird in his right hand and a hare in his left hand. Slab 7 was mostly destroyed. Only the extreme right side survived. A tall tree and a short tree, completed on the adjoining slab, are drawn in their entirety. High up on the register, a bird pierced by an arrow plunges downward. Nearby appears part of a round disk or shield on which a bull charging to the left is depicted. The disk is only partially preserved. Two arrows (?) pierce the object. On slab 8 many trees fill the background. Four birds are either in flight or rest among the branches of the trees. Two soldiers turn to the left. The soldier at the left aims his arrow in its bow towards a large circular target set upon a tall pole. The target is decorated with a large rosette. The second soldier leads a caparisoned horse by the rein, and also holds a dead hare and a whip. His baldric is entirely exposed to reveal the method of attachment to the sword in its scabbard. Over his knee-length tunic is a wide fringed fabric that extends obliquely around the soldier's body. After the horse comes a third soldier who turns to the right. He balances a mace over his right shoulder and rests his left hand on the pommel of his sword. A fringed fabric is wrapped obliquely over his

[7] Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, pp. 71-78, figs. 85-89.

[8] Eleanor Guralnick, "Composition of Some Narrative Reliefs from Khorsabad", *Assur* 1/5 (1976), pp. 1-23.

knee-length tunic. One end hangs pendant between the legs and the other end is tucked under the broad belt.

Slab 9 is an angle stone and continues on the northeast wall. This slab is entirely missing, except for the base. On slab 10 the background is filled with a row of tall trees and smaller trees in the spaces between them. Three cavalrymen advance to the right. The horses gallop forward. The forelegs of each of two horses overlap the preceding animal and convey the impression that the men ride side by side. The costumes of the three riders are similar to those worn by the cavalrymen on slab 1. A notable difference is that on this slab the cavalrymen wear open sandals. The rider at the left sits on a rectangular-shaped saddle. Two long ribbons fall pendant down his back and may have been originally attached to a diadem, no longer extant. This rider may have once held his right hand upright. The middle rider sits on a saddle made of animal hide. In his lowered right hand is a three-thong whip. The rider at the right, who is beardless, grips a long spear. On slab 11 the background is filled with trees. Several birds are in flight. A chariot advances to the right. The chariot is pulled by three (?) galloping horses. A three-tiered tassel surmounts each animal's head, and terminates in a small *fleur de lis* emblem. On the cheek-strap are rosette disks. The chariot box holds three persons, one of whom is the Assyrian king. He is attired in his characteristic court costume. He raises his right hand in a gesture of salutation. In his lowered left hand is a large open lotus between two closed buds. At his side is the charioteer. Behind the king is an attendant who holds a parasol over the head of the royal person. Three soldiers walk in front of the chariot. Only the bare outline of the soldier at the left is visible, the middle soldier survives from the waist up, and the soldier at the right is intact. Each soldier wears a knee-length tunic with curved bottom. A long flounced cloth hangs pendant at the front of the tunic. Around the waist is a broad belt and over the chest is a baldric. Each of the three soldiers carries a long spear over his right shoulder.

Slab 12 is an angle stone and continues on the southeast wall. At the left side, two Assyrian soldiers complete the row of foot soldiers. Each soldier carries a mace over his right shoulder. The top of this weapon terminates in a ball surmounted by a second, smaller ball carved with animal heads around its sides. The handle of the mace terminates with a lanyard. After the soldier on the right side, the line of trees ends and in its stead appears a small body of water. In it are several fishes and two boats with horse-head prows. Near the edge of the lake or stream is an isolated building constructed on pilings. A high podium forms the base of the rectangular building. Within the large portico of the building are two columns *in antis*. Each column stands on a cushion base. The shaft is plain and the capital consists of a triple-ringed necking below a separate block carved with simplified volutes. Resting upon the block is a second, more narrow one with simplified volutes. The abacus is stepped. The roof of the building has outcurving sides and is surmounted by a row of stepped crenellations. After this building comes the start of a hill. On slab 13 is a round hill reaching nearly to the top of the register. A line of trees surrounds the hill, and two rows of trees extend across the entire front. Among the trees are birds either in flight or resting upon the ground. On the summit of the hill is a monument, probably a stone altar. It is composed of three parts: a square plinth, a narrower straight-sided shaft, and an upper overhanging section crowned with three stepped crenellations, two of which are angle stones. The shaft has flutes and the upper section shows a rectangular recess.

Detached Building

Tranchand's photograph: Archives Nationales, F^{21} 546, pl. 13. See figure 77.

Extant reliefs: Musée du Louvre AO 19886; British Museum 118829. See figures 76, 78.

Several isolated reliefs in black limestone show Assyrian soldiers in a tree-filled landscape. In 1849, two fragments forming one large stone block were discovered by

Layard's workers in the area of the detached building. These fragments arrived in England in 1851. Another relief, possibly also seen by Layard, was recovered several years later. According to the published information, this relief reached the Louvre in 1852, about the time Victor Place began his explorations at Khorsabad. However, this information must be incorrect, since Tranchand's photograph shows the relief still at the site. Internal evidence makes it likely that the British Museum and Louvre slabs belong to the same composition.

Slab AO 19886 may have originally been placed at one corner of a wall. Two trees reaching to the top of the register appear in the background. Two Assyrian soldiers advance to the right. The person at the left is beardless, and is large in stature. He wears a knee-length tunic. At the waist is a broad belt. This person aims an arrow in its bow upwards, in the direction of two birds plunging downward, one of which is pierced by an arrow. The soldier at the right is bearded and smaller in stature. He wears a knee-length tunic whose outer end is wrapped obliquely at the front, where it is edged with flounces. His legs are covered with stockings and laced boots. In his right hand, the soldier clutches by its feet a bird with outstretched wings. In his left hand is a spear that extends behind the trunk of a tree.

On BM 118829 trees of unequal heights fill the background. Many birds either fly overhead or else rest in branches of trees. Three Assyrians appear in the scene. Each person is depicted differently. At the left side a beardless attendant turns to the left. He aims an arrow in its bow upwards, and at the same time he grips a pair of arrows. His costume consists of a long dress with tassels at the bottom. A broad belt encircles the waist, but it is partially hidden by a sword in its scabbard. The weapon is attached to a baldric embellished with disks and studs. On his feet are sandals. After him comes a bearded soldier who turns to the right. He grips two arrows in his right hand and a bow in his left hand. He is clad in a short-sleeved blouse and a knee-length tunic. One end of the tunic is wrapped obliquely at the front, where it displays a fringed border. A broad belt encircles the waist. The garment is completely decorated with rows of concentric squares. After him comes a bearded soldier, facing the same direction. Over his shoulders he carries a large gazelle by its legs. In his lowered right hand is a dead hare. This person wears a wide headband. He is clad in a short-sleeved blouse and a knee-length tunic which has tassels at the bottom. One end of the tunic is wrapped obliquely at the front.

Banqueting

Room 7 *(plates 84-90)*

Upper register. In this room the upper portions of the stone blocks were partially or completely destroyed. Those reliefs whose upper registers still survived depicted scenes of banqueting. This suggests that the entire upper frieze was devoted to activities in which persons either participate in the feast or else attend to the needs of the banqueters. The former individuals sit on high chairs and the latter individuals stand nearby.

On slabs 1-2 the surface is virtually destroyed. Slab 1 shows only the feet of three persons. One individual turns to the right, to face two other individuals turned to the left. On their feet are sandals. Slab 3 is destroyed. On slab 4 the extreme right side shows traces of the feet and garment of an attendant facing right, after whom appears the bottom of a chair. On slab 5 is a lion's paw-and-cone footed table, followed by an attendant turned to the left and another attendant turned to the right. On slab 6 are the lower portions of two attendants advancing to the right. Beyond them, the surface is destroyed. On slab 7 the upper register is entirely missing. On slab 8 the lower portions of furniture and several persons still survive. From left to right, the first item consists of a table with crossed legs, each terminating in a bull's foot. Upon the table are foodstuffs. An attendant arranges

these items on the table. After him comes a cone-footed table, followed by a lion's paw-and-cone footed chair. Standing behind the chair is an attendant turned to the left. Slab 9 is destroyed. On slab 10 a large portion survives. At the left side two (?) bearded officials face left and sit side by side on cone-footed chairs. The cross-bar of each chair is decorated with continuous tied double volutes, and at each corner of the seat is a bull's head. After the banqueters comes an attendant turned in the same direction. Behind him are two seated banqueters, facing right. Each person raises to his lips a cup whose bottom terminates in a lion's head. Another seated group faces this pair and between both groups of banqueters is a tall lion's paw-and-cone footed table covered with a long cloth. Behind the second group stands an attendant who holds a flywhisk. He is followed by another attendant turned to the right. The surface of slab 11 is destroyed in many areas. The surviving portions disclose two groups of banqueters. Each group consists of two pairs of seated persons facing each other across a table originally laden with food. In their raised right hands are small cups with lion's head bases. On slab 12 are the feet and garments of three attendants advancing to the left. A flywhisk is still visible in the hand of one person. Slab 13 is destroyed.

Room 2 *(plates 109-130)*

Room 2 was four times longer than it was wide. Six doors led to other chambers and to facade L. Thirty-five stone blocks lined the walls of this room. The condition of the bas-reliefs on these blocks varied. With the exception of nine stone blocks (slabs 1, 23, 25-27, 30-32, 35), Flandin made individual drawings of the bas-reliefs in room 2. The decorations on the stone blocks lining the lateral walls of door H and blocks 1 and 4 in door B form part of the compositions in room 2. The stone blocks are divided into an upper and lower register of decoration separated by a band of inscription. The narrative scenes in the upper and lower registers describe different events. Two separate themes decorate the upper register: banqueting and warfare. The subject of banqueting extends across a portion of the southeast wall (?), the entire southwest wall, a portion of the northwest wall, and one lateral wall in door H.

Upper register (southeast, southwest, and northwest walls). On the southeast wall, to the right of door C leading to room 3, slabs 2-3 are entirely missing. Slab 4, an angle stone, is entirely missing. On the southwest wall is slab 5. It is entirely missing. Slab 6 is entirely missing, except for a fragmentary portion that shows the feet of attendants advancing to the left. Slabs 7-8 are entirely missing. Slab 9 is mostly damaged or destroyed. On this slab are seated banqueters, facing left. Behind them stands an attendant. After him come seated banqueters, facing right. On slab 10 is a lion's paw-and-cone footed table and seated banqueters, facing left. Behind this group is an attendant. After him come seated banqueters, two to a side, facing each other across a table. An attendant stands behind the seated persons at the right. The chairs have cone feet, and a bull's head projects at the front and back of each seat. The tall tables have lion's paw-and-cone feet, and one table has a central rod that extends from the underside of the table top to the lower cross-bar. Slab 11 is mostly missing. A surviving corner shows the lower portions of two soldiers facing each other, and the feet of an attendant turned to the left. On the ground between the two soldiers are two objects, possibly a helmet and a shield. Slab 12 is missing. To the right of slab 12 is door E, leading to room 5. To the right of door E is slab 13. On slab 13 the surface is damaged or destroyed in many areas. It shows a complete group of seated banqueters, consisting of two persons to a side facing each other across a table. Behind the banqueters, at each side, is an attendant who stands and faces the group. On slabs 14-15 the surface is damaged or destroyed in many areas. The surviving decoration indicates that, originally, there were three complete groups of seated banqueters and standing attendants. Each group was probably similar to that shown on the preceding slab. Slabs 16-19 continue the banquet. On slab 16 is a complete group of seated banqueters and standing attendants.

On the table between the banqueters is a round-bodied vessel with long neck, and flat breads (?). The attendant at the right grips his left wrist from below. A flywhisk is held in his left hand. On slab 17 is a similar group of banqueters, all of whom are nearly intact. These persons are bearded, and are attired in the costumes associated with the Assyrian court. Each banqueter holds a lion's head cup in his right hand. On the table between the banqueters are cut melons (?) and flat breads. At the right side, two seated banqueters turn to the right. On slab 18 is the completion of the group of banqueters, begun on the preceding slab. Each banqueter holds a lion's head cup in his right hand. On the table are foodstuffs. After the banqueters comes an attendant who stands and holds a flywhisk. Behind this person are two Assyrian soldiers who stand and face each other. Each person holds a lion's head cup in the right hand and a mace in the left hand. On the ground between them are round bowls (?) and flat breads. On slab 19 are four persons. Two soldiers stand and face each other. Each person holds a lion's head cup in the right hand and a mace in the left hand. After them comes an attendant, facing left. He holds a flywhisk. After him comes a soldier turned to the right.

On the northwest wall is slab 20. It is destroyed. To the left of door H, leading to room 6, is slab 21. On slab 21 are two musicians and the feet of a third person. They take long strides to the left. The two surviving musicians are distinctive for their short length of hair ending in a row of ringlets and their short, pointed beards. Their ears are ornamented with crescent-shape earrings. Each musician is clad in a very short tunic, and a flounced cloth hangs pendant between the legs. The musicians are barefooted. Each man plays a multi-stringed lyre that is attached to the body and neck with thin ropes. On slab 1 in door H are five Assyrian attendants. They are similar in appearance. At the left side, three attendants advance to the left. One person grips his left wrist from below. A flywhisk is held in the left hand. Two persons each hold handled lion's head situlae. Behind these attendants, two persons face each other. Between them is a huge footed cauldron. The vessel has an everted rim, and rests upon a stand with incurving sides. Near the top of the stand is wide ring shaped into an over-leaf hanging motif. The attendant standing at the left holds a handled lion's head situla in each hand, one of which is lowered into the cauldron. The attendant standing at the right is partially destroyed. He holds a handled lion's head situla in his left hand.

Warfare

Room 5 *(plates 91-103)*

Extant reliefs: British Musuem 118835; Iraq Museum 60980; Museo delle Antichità Egizie 10412. See figure 88.

Room 5 was rectangular in plan. It was a little more than three times longer than it was wide. Four doors led to other chambers. The reliefs on the stone blocks lining the walls of this room were divided into an upper and lower register separated by a wide band of inscription. Scenes of warfare were displayed on both registers. In addition, the reliefs on the lateral walls of door O belonged to the compositions in room 5. In many places the bas-reliefs were damaged, destroyed, or missing. The upper register was poorly preserved, and it is difficult to know how many episodes are shown. However, at least three episodes related to warfare can be discerned. The lower register was better preserved. It displayed seven foreign cities under direct attack by the Assyrian army. Originally, more cities may have been represented. In this room the costumes of the foreigners vary, but none show a sheep's fur cloak, a characteristic item of clothing worn by foreigners in rooms, 1, 2, 13, 14.

Upper register. One episode of warfare is described on slabs 13-5. On the southwest wall is door S, leading to room 8. To the right of door S are slabs 13-11. On slab 13 an Assyrian chariot speeds to the right. In the chariot box two persons are partially visible, who are identified as the archer and the charioteer. The galloping horses overtake a foe who

stumbles towards the ground. The foe wears a very short tunic and plain boots ending below the calves. Another foe stands and faces the oncoming chariot. Attached to this person's short tunic is a fringed cloth hanging pendant between the legs. On slab 12 is an Assyrian rider whose horse gallops to the right. The cavalryman holds a spear in his lowered right hand.

On the northwest wall, to the left of door O, are slabs 11-10. Slab 11 is an angle stone. On slab 11 a foe turns his head back, as he retreats to the right. He is portrayed with a short beard covered with ringlets, and curls of hair are exposed beneath his turban. Encircling his waist is a plain belt, from which a fringed cloth hangs pendant between the legs. This person grips a spear in his right hand. After him comes an Assyrian chariot, completely illustrated on slabs 11-10. In the chariot box three persons are partially visible: archer, charioteer, shield bearer. The shield is round. The horses gallop to the right and overtake a foe who tumbles towards the ground. After slab 10 comes door O. On slab 1 in door O, leading to room 6, two Assyrian cavalrymen advance to the right. They wear fringed garments that are shorter at the front. Their feet are covered with stockings and laced boots. These Assyrians are each armed with a spear, quiver, and sword. Each galloping horse overtakes a foe. The foe at the left tumbles towards the ground. He is distinguished by a wide headband and a curved sword at the waist. The foe at the right falls backwards. In his raised right hand is an elliptical shield with pointed tips. In his lowered left hand is a spear. On slab 2 in door O, an Assyrian chariot speeds to the right. It overtakes a foe, armed with elliptical shield and spear, who stumbles on both feet. A dead foe lies beneath the bodies of the chariot horses. At the far right two foes stand side by side and face the oncoming chariot in a counter-attack. They protect themselves with elliptical shields and prepare to throw spears. At their waists are short swords. Each foe wears a turban and is clad in a very short tunic. On their feet are plain boots. On the northwest wall, to the right of door O, are slabs 9-8. On slab 9 an Assyrian chariot speeds to the right. In the chariot box are four persons: archer, two (?) shield bearers, charioteer. The galloping horses overtake a foe who stumbles forward. The foe is armed with a spear, elliptical shield, and curved sword. His costume consists of either a headband or cap, a short-sleeved blouse, and a very short tunic. At the waist is a belt. The feet are covered with plain boots ending below the calves. Another foe plunges downwards from above, and between the legs of the horses still another foe hits the ground. On slab 8 (angle stone) two foes stand side by side and face the oncoming chariot. They protect themselves with elliptical shields and prepare to throw spears held high over their heads. Tucked into their belts are curved swords. Behind these persons is a rectangular object whose identification is uncertain (tower?).

On the northeast wall are slabs 7-5. Slab 7 is missing. (Note: in plate 96, the drawings of slabs 6-7 are pasted in reverse order). On slab 6 several soldiers in the Assyrian army advance to the left. The soldier at the left wears a helmet with side-flap. Its upper part curves forward to touch the cap, and a small globular object is attached to the crest at the back. This soldier bends forward to grab a fallen foe by his beard and thrust a sword into the latter's neck. After him come two soldiers in close formation. The first soldier holds a long shield upright and clutches a spear, while the second soldier shoots with a bow and arrow. Behind this soldier, the lower part of a long shield is visible. On slab 5 only the feet of several persons survive. The feet of three persons turned to the left represent the end of the episode. The feet of three persons turned to the right begin a second episode.

On slab 4 four Assyrian soldiers in a line advance to the right. Each soldier is clad in a short-sleeved blouse and a knee-length tunic. The costume is completely covered with small concentric squares. Encircling the waist is a wide belt, from which a long fringed cloth hangs pendant between the legs. Each soldier elevates both hands, probably to hold an object. On slab 3 several soldiers advance to the right. The person at the front of the line is an Assyrian attendant. Facing him is another person. On slab 2 a chariot turns to the left

(the royal chariot?). Behind the chariot, the forelegs of two horses are visible. Slab 1 is destroyed.

To the right of slab 1 is door E, leading to room 2. To the right of door E are slabs 25-23. In Flandin's drawing showing only the elevation of the wall, the scenes on these slabs are destroyed. In *Monument de Ninive,* slabs 25-24 are identified with two of Flandin's unnumbered drawings. On slab 25 two cavalrymen ride side by side and advance to the right. The horses overtake a foe who retreats on foot. Between the legs of the horses is a human body lying upon the ground. On slab 24 a chariot advances to the right. Slab 23 is destroyed. After slab 23, the unnumbered angle stone is missing.

On the southeast wall, the angle stone is missing. Slabs 22-20 are on the same wall. In Flandin's drawing showing only the elevation of the wall, the scenes on these slabs are destroyed. In *Monument de Ninive,* slabs 22-21 are identified with two of Flandin's unnumbered drawings. On slab 22 an Assyrian chariot speeds to the right. The horses overtake a foe who holds an elliptical shield in his lowered left hand. On slab 21 a chariot advances to the right. On the far side of the horses is a soldier who stands with one arm outstretched. Slab 20 is destroyed. After slab 20 the unnumbered angle stone is missing on the southeast and southwest walls. An adjacent slab is also missing. Slabs 19-18 are missing. To the right of slab 18 is door U, leading to room 8. To the right of door U are slabs 17-14. The reliefs on these slabs are missing.

Lower register. Slabs 2 in door O and 9-8 on the northwest wall display a unified episode. On slab 2 in door O, the royal chariot advances to the right. The horses walk at a steady gait. In the chariot box are three persons: king, charioteer, parasol bearer. The royal person is identified by his tall headdress. He wears a mantle over his dress. The king raises his right hand in salutation, and holds a bow in his lowered left hand. In front of the chariot two soldiers stand side by side. Each soldier is distinctive for the fringed fabric wrapped obliquely over the knee-length tunic. Facing them is an Assyrian soldier who grabs a captive by the beard. The soldier wears a round helmet with tall point, and he is clad in a shirt of armor, a knee-length tunic, stockings, and high laced boots. The captive has a short pointed beard. A fringed hood covers his head. The captive is attired in a long fringed dress, over which is a fringed coat. The captive's hands are shackled. On slabs 9-8 a line of captives advances to the left. The first two persons stand side by side. Each person extends his hands forward. Their costumes consist of fringed hoods whose ends hang pendant at the back, long fringed dresses, and fringed coats. They wear strapped sandals. After them comes a captive who is similarly clad. He turns his head back to face an Assyrian soldier. This soldier's costume is similar to that of his companion on the preceding slab. He holds a mace in his raised right hand and a bow in his lowered left hand. He is armed with a quiver and a sword. After him come two captive women, one behind the other. Their costumes are similar to those worn by the male captives. The first woman carries a nude child on her shoulders. The second woman clenches one hand and holds a handled skin container in the other hand. After these women come two persons who stand side by side. They may also be women. All the women are drawn smaller in height than their male companions.

On the northeast wall slabs 7-1 display attacks against cities. On slab 7 an Assyrian soldier on the extreme left side turns to the left. (Note: in plate 96, slabs 6 and 7 are pasted in reverse order). He holds a mace in his raised right hand. This person completes the line of captives depicted on the preceding slab. After him come several soldiers advancing to the right. Two soldiers walk in close formation, and are identified as an archer and a shield bearer. They are preceded by two soldiers, each armed with a spear and a round shield. One soldier wears a crested helmet. On slab 6 a city situated upon a high hill is attacked by Assyrian soldiers. An enclosure wall built at the bottom of the hill protects the upper city. This wall has at least six towers. Its central gate is arched. A battering ram breaches the enclosure wall at the right side. On the upper part of the hill is the inner city wall. This wall

has seven towers and several doors. The inhabitants wear hooded garments and shoot with bows and arrows. One soldier attacks the city from the right side. He holds a round shield in his right hand and a spear in his left hand. He wears a crested helmet. Across his chest is a double baldric attached to a disk, and at the waist is a sword. On slab 5 is the end of the spear depicted on the preceding slab. Three soldiers turn to the left. One person half-kneels and his companions stand side by side. All three soldiers shoot with bows and arrows, and each carries a quiver on his back. These soldiers are similar in appearance. They possess long pointed beards and their long strands of hair end in ringlets. Decorated narrow bands encircle their heads. The three soldiers are bare-chested and clad in very short tunics embellished with stepped patterns. Broad belts encircle their waists. On their feet are sandals. Behind these soldiers is a narrow hill. On its summit is a fortified city. Its wall has five towers. A caption at the left identifies the city (Gabbutunu). Several inhabitants stand on the wall and fight with spears. The city is attacked from the right side by two soldiers armed with round shields and spears. Underneath their feet is a wide river. Drawn in small scale is an Assyrian soldier who pierces a foe with his spear. On slab 4 are several persons in a scene of battle. The river drawn on the preceding slab extends across the entire bottom of the scene. At the extreme left side, a half-kneeling Assyrian soldier faces left and aims an arrow in its bow. Behind him stands a foe, facing right. The beardless foe is clad in a simple knee-length dress that has a banded belt at the waist. He grips a spear in each hand. In front of him, a companion stumbles to the left. This person is beardless and his hair is composed entirely of ringlets. He grips a spear in each hand. Two Assyrian cavalrymen overtake this foe. They attack with spears. Beneath the horses is a fallen foe. On slab 3 are several persons in a scene of battle. At the left side, a foe turns to the right. After him comes a companion, facing right, who grips a spear in each hand. After him comes a companion who retreats to the left. He is beardless and may be bald. He grips a spear in each hand. This person turns his head back to face Assyrian cavalrymen who attack with spears. On slab 2 four Assyrian soldiers turn to the right and attack a city situated on a hill. The last two persons are an archer and a shield bearer who holds a long rectangular shield with in-curving top. These persons are preceded by two soldiers who half-kneel side by side. One person aims an arrow in its bow, and the other person raises a round shield embellished with concentric floral and geometric patterns. The outer wall of the besieged city has a single gate and six towers. The wall is without crenellations. The defenders use spears. At the bottom of the hill, an Assyrian soldier overtakes a foe who is beardless and armed with a spear. The relief on slab 1 is destroyed.

To the right of slab 1 is door E, leading to room 2. To the right of door E are slabs 25-23. On slab 25 five soldiers turn to the right and attack. Two soldiers stand and shoot with bows and arrows. These soldiers are clad in short tunics, each of which is decorated with a step pattern. On their feet are sandals. These persons are preceded by a half-kneeling archer. In front of him are two soldiers who stand side by side and prepare to throw their spears. Each soldier carries a round shield and is distinguished by his round crested helmet. On slab 24 a city on a high hill is attacked from both sides. Soldiers use scaling ladders to breach the wall. The besieged city may have originally had six towers. Slab 23 is destroyed. After slab 23 the unnumbered angle stone is missing.

On the southeast wall the angle stone is missing. Then come slabs 22-20. On slab 22 two archers advance to the right. Upon a high hill is a city, now destroyed. Assyrian soldiers ascend ladders from both sides. Many soldiers are armed with spears and round shields. On slab 21 Assyrian soldiers turn to the left and attack. One soldier holds a long shield with in-curving top, and he is followed by an archer. These soldiers wear shirt armor. After them come two half-kneeling archers. These persons are followed by a group of three: a soldier armed with a round shield and a spear, an archer, and a shield bearer (?). After slab 20 the unnumbered angle stone is missing.

On the southwest wall the angle stone and an unnumbered slab are missing. The reliefs on slabs 19-18 are destroyed. To the right of slab 18 is door U. To the right of door U are slabs 17-14. On slab 17 is a city situated upon a wide hill. On slab 16 five or more soldiers turn to the left and attack with spears, bows and arrows. On slab 15 is a double-walled city on a wide hill. Several soldiers attack the city from the left side. In front of them is a battering ram that breaches the outer wall. On slab 14 four or more soldiers turn to the left and attack. To the right of slab 14 is door S. To the right of door S is slab 13. On slab 13 the royal chariot advances to the right. The horses walk at a steady gait. In the chariot box are: Assyrian king, parasol bearer, charioteer (destroyed). Two Assyrian soldiers walk in front of the chariot. Each soldier wears a headband and hoop earrings. The quiver on the back of one soldier has a cloth cover terminating in a tier of tassels. On slab 12 an Assyrian soldier advances to the left and leads a captive by the beard. The captive wears a fringed coat over his dress, and on his feet are laced boots. After him come another Assyrian soldier and a captive. These persons are similar to the preceding pair.

Slab 11 is an angle stone. On slab 11 two soldiers advance to the right. They are each distinguished by a short beard and long hair falling below the shoulders. These persons are bare-chested and clad in short tunics. Each person prepares to shoot with a bow and arrow. On the northwest wall is slab 10. On slab 10 a large city protected by an outer enclosure wall is built upon a high hill. A caption identifies the city (Amqarruna). Assyrian soldiers attack the city from all sides. Two soldiers are distinguished by their crested helmets with side flaps. On their chests are double baldrics with central disks. On their feet are laced boots. Two persons at the bottom of the hill are bare-chested. The defenders of the city shoot with bows and arrows. On slab 1 in door O, a long line of soldiers advances to the left. At the front of the line are two archers who stand side by side. Each person has a pointed beard and long hair tucked under the headband. They are bare-chested and clad in short tunics. Attached to each soldier's baldric is a narrow scabbard with triangular tip. After these persons come an Assyrian archer and a shield bearer. They are followed by an Assyrian soldier who holds a round shield in his right hand and a spear in his left hand. He is armed with a bow, quiver, and sword. After him come an Assyrian archer and a shield bearer. All the Assyrian soldiers wear round helmets with pointed tips and have shirt-armor reaching below the waist.

Room 3 *(plates 104-105)*

Room 3 was rectangular in plan. Only the northwest wall and a portion of the southwest wall survived. Two doors led to other rooms. The lowermost portion of four stone blocks lining the walls remained in place. The reliefs on these blocks were destroyed, with one exception. Originally, the stone blocks were divided into an upper and lower register separated by a band of an inscription. It is conjectured that at least some of the slabs showed scenes of warfare.

Lower register. On the southwest wall is door D, leading to room 4. To its left is slab 3. The entire upper part of this slab is missing. A large portion of the lower register survives. At the left side, a soldier advances to the right. Only the knee-length tunic and bare feet of this person remain. After him comes a round hill. On its summit is a huge fortified city. Along its outer wall are four or more towers. Triangular crenellations crown the top of the wall. A narrow road divides the hill into two segments. A line of trees covers the upper part, and near the bottom are small rectangular buildings. Starting from the base of the hill, a wide river curves upwards to the right and overlaps another hill where it ends in a swirl. The second hill is narrow and high. Trees grow at the base and along the sides. A tower crowned with square crenellations surmounts the hill.

Room 1 *(plates 2, 106-108)*

Room 1 was rectangular in plan. The stone blocks lining the walls that still survived were found in fragmentary condition. The reliefs on the blocks were originally divided into an upper and lower register separated by a band of an inscription. The lower register described scenes of warfare. Near each of two corners on the floor was a large stone showing the depression into which a tub may have been set.

Lower register. On the southwest wall (side "Y") are slabs 4-2. Slab 4 is destroyed. On slab 3 a citadel surmounts a hill. The scene is virtually destroyed. An Assyrian soldier, drawn on a very small scale, appears at the bottom of the hill. On slab 2 two half-kneeling soldiers face left. One person raises a round shield, and the other person holds a bow and arrow. On the northwest wall ("line e-f"), to the left of door A leading into facade L, are slabs 2-1. On slab 2 is a walled city situated on flat terrain. The top of the wall has round-topped crenellations. Several defenders appear on the wall, one of whom is armed with a spear and a rectangular shield. On slab 1 Assyrian soldiers advance to the left. Two soldiers half-kneel side by side. One soldier aims an arrow in its bow. His companion has a round shield and a spear (?). These soldiers are clad in knee-length tunics, shirts of armor, and round helmets with pointed tips and side flaps. Behind them are an archer and a shield bearer. The archer wears a long garment and a shirt of armor. The shield bearer holds a long shield reaching to the ground.

To the right of door A are slabs 9-8. Five persons advance to the right. The last person is an Assyrian soldier. In his right hand is a spear. He is clad in a knee-length tunic which has, at the front, a fringed cloth hanging pendant between the legs. He is preceded by a woman who grips a small bag in her lowered left hand. She wears a long dress which is cut higher at the front. The woman is preceded by a mother who clutches a nude child by its arms. In front of her walks a woman who carries a long, narrow sack over one shoulder. On the northeast wall (side "X") are slabs 8-6. Six persons are preserved, from the waist down. They advance to the right. Five of them are men who wear knee-length garments and boots reaching to the calves. The last man is better preserved. His boots are laced, and over his dress is a sheep's fur cloak. At his waist is a banded belt. At the front of the line is a woman.

Room 2 *(plates 3, 109-130)*

Extant reliefs: Musée du Louvre AO 1435,2-3; Musei e Gallerie Pontificie 14995. See figures 91-93.

Upper register (northwest and northeast walls). On many stone blocks lining the northwest and northeast walls of room 2, the upper register was damaged, destroyed, or missing. Flandin made individual drawings of several bas-reliefs from these walls. Several episodes were depicted. Scenes related to warfare may have originally extended from slab 2 in door H to slab 1, located to the left of door C on the southeast wall.

Slab 2 in door H displays a centralized scene. At each side, large figures of soldiers turn toward the center and assault a city situated upon a high hill. Two soldiers at the left are identified, respectively, as an archer and a shield bearer. In front of these Assyrian soldiers, a wheeled battering ram ascends an artificial ramp and breaches the wall of the besieged city. Two soldiers at the right are portrayed with long pointed beards and long hair tied up at the back. They are bare-chested. The men are armed with bows, quivers, and short swords. In front of these persons another soldier, drawn in small scale and noted for his crested helmet, also assaults the city. The outer wall of the city has six towers and an arched door. Within the city is a second wall, showing five towers and an arched door. Several defenders stand upon this wall, and they are armed with spears and rectangular shields. Their costumes includ fur cloaks. Behind the city rises a huge semi-circular mountain reaching to the top of the register. To the right of door H, on the northwest wall, is slab 22.

Six or more persons advance to the left, alongside a river filled with fishes. With one exception, they are foreign captives. The men wear sheep's fur cloaks and boots reaching to the calves. An Assyrian soldier, holding a bow in his lowered left hand, urges the captives forward. Slab 23 (angle stone) is missing.

On the northeast wall is slab 24. It is missing. After this slab comes door G, leading to facade L. On slab 4 in door G are the outlines of several persons, facing left (?). Slab 3 in door G is completely damaged. To the right of door G is slab 25. Slab 25 is damaged. Still preserved is the outline of a chariot turned to the right. Slab 26 is damaged, but still preserved are the outlines of three persons advancing to the left. The first person wears a fur cloak. Slab 27 is damaged. At the extreme left side, a person turns to the left. The upper portions of slabs 28-29 are missing, but the scenes on these slabs are continuous. Across the bottom is a wide river filled with fishes. An impressive city extends across the entire length of a low hill. Its outer wall has seven towers. Stepped crenellations crown the top of the wall and towers. Square windows pierce the walls in a regular pattern. Soldiers in a line advance from right to left and attack the city. Several soldiers half-kneel, and one soldier holds a long shield upright upon the ground. To the right of slab 29 is door F. After this door come slabs 30-33. The slabs are missing. Slab 34 is mostly missing. The still remaining lines of decoration disclose a wide river at the bottom, an artificial mound rising from right to left, towards a now missing citadel, and a small figure of a foe fallen upon the ground. To the right of slab 34 is door B. Slab 4 in door B shows the feet and bodies of three Assyrian soldiers turned to the left. Slab 1 in door B shows the feet of two attendants advancing to the right. To the right of door B is slab 35. It is destroyed. Slab 1 (angle stone) is destroyed.

Lower register. On the northwest and northeast walls, separate episodes of warfare may have once been depicted on slabs 2 in door H and 22-24, 25-27, 28-29, 30-34. On the southeast wall, slabs 2-5 illustrate an event related to warfare. Two additional episodes of warfare are depicted on slabs 6-12. Slabs 13-16, 17-19 on the southwest wall, and slabs 20-21 on the northwest wall and slab 1 in door H, each show a separate episode dealing with warfare. Generally in these episodes, either the Assyrian infantry advances from both sides towards a foreign city situated upon a hill, or the Assyrian cavalry and chariotry overtake foes on foot or on horseback. In all the battle scenes, the foes wear sheep's fur cloaks.

On slab 2 in door H, a chariot advances to the right. The horses walk at a steady gait, as the charioteer guides them forward. In front of the animals is a line of Assyrian soldiers. On the northwest wall, to the right of door H, are slabs 22-23. On slab 22 is a well-fortified, triple walled city situated on a low hill. A caption identifies the city (Kishesim). The extreme ends of the outer wall extend beyond the line of the hill to the flat terrain. A gateway between two towers appears on the left side of the outer wall. The outer wall has ten towers, the middle wall has six towers, and the inner wall has five towers. Large antlers rise upward from the innermost towers. Several defenders are armed with spears and rectangular shields. At the base of the hill are small, detached buildings. Higher up on the hill, Assyrian soldiers drawn in small scale attempt to breach the outer wall. At the left side, two Assyrian soldiers stand side by side and attack the city. Each soldier wears a crested helmet and is armed with a round shield and a spear. Slab 23 is missing, except for the lowermost portion. It shows a half-kneeling Assyrian soldier, facing left. He holds a sword in his right hand and a rectangular shield in his left hand.

On the northeast wall, slab 23 (angle stone) is missing. On slab 24 the damaged relief shows an Assyrian soldier urging a line of four captives forward, to the left. One captive carries a handled skin container in his lowered left hand and balances a sack over his left shoulder. A small nude child stands at the feet of another person. Probably, the child is being lifted off the ground. After slab 24 comes door G. Slab 4 in door G is damaged, but it may have shown captives (?). Slab 3 in door G is destroyed. To the right of door G is slab 25. On slab 25 a line of archers and shield bearers advances to the right. On slabs 26-27 the reliefs are destroyed. On slabs 28-29 Assyrian soldiers attack a city on a hill from both sides.

At the extreme left side, four foot soldiers aim their weapons toward the city. One soldier wears a crested helmet and is armed with a spear and a round shield. Three soldiers are bare-chested, and two of them stand upon a round-topped hill. At the extreme right side of the scene is a high peaked hill. A second, lower hill descends to the left and then gradually rises to form a third hill on which the fortified city is situated. Upon the second hill stand two Assyrian soldiers. At the base of the third hill, several soldiers drawn small in scale attempt to breach the wall of the city. The besieged city has an outer and an inner wall. An imposing gateway between tall towers appears on the right side of the outer wall. This wall has six towers, and the inner wall has five towers. Defenders stand upon the two walls and fight with spears and rectangular shields. To the right of slab 29 is door F. After door F come slabs 30-33. These slabs are mostly destroyed. On slab 30 only the barest outlines of persons advancing to the left are visible. On slab 33 only the barest outline of one or more persons are visible. On slab 34 an Assyrian chariot advances to the left. In the chariot box are three persons: the Assyrian king, charioteer, and parasol bearer. In front of the chariot are two foot soldiers, each of whom holds the reins of the horses. To the right of slab 34 is door B. Slab 4 in door B shows a pair of Assyrian soldiers (one is visible) on horses that stride to the left. Slab 1 in door B shows Assyrian soldiers on horses that gallop to the left. To the right of door B are slabs 35, 1 (angle stone). These slabs are destroyed. On the southeast wall, slab 1 shows a soldier on horseback turned to the left. To the right of slab 1 is door C. The reliefs lining the lateral walls of this doorway are destroyed. However, Botta's second letter to Jules Mohl mentions that there were two horsemen on each wall.

To the right of door C is slab 2. On slab 2 an Assyrian chariot moves to the right. In the chariot box stand the Assyrian king, a charioteer, and a parasol bearer. The royal person holds a bow in one hand and raises his other hand. Behind the chariot is a soldier on horseback. The rider grips a spear in his right hand. On slab 3 is an Assyrian soldier who turns to the right. On the ground in front of him is a pile of human heads. (Botta's second letter to Jules Mohl mentions that six heads were depicted.) Four persons advance to the left. They are, from left to right, an Assyrian soldier, an attendant, an attendant, an Assyrian soldier. Slab 4 (angle stone) is missing. On the southwest wall, slab 5 (angle stone) is mostly missing. The lower right corner shows the feet of two persons advancing to the left. They wear boots with upturned toes reaching to the calves. On slab 6 four Assyrian soldiers turn to the right and attack a city depicted on the adjoining slab. They consist of archers and shield bearers. One shield bearer holds a round shield decorated with concentric bands of floral patterns, and another shield bearer holds a long rectangular shield upright. On slab 7 soldiers attack a city from both sides by ascending ladders to breach the outer wall. They wear crested helmets and are armed with spears and round shields. A caption identifies the foreign city (Harhar). The city is situated alongside a narrow river. Outside the enclosure wall, bodies of the enemy are hung on poles arranged in a long line. The inner wall has nine towers and two gates. A large pillared building within the city stands at the right side. A hill rises above the fortified structures, and on its summit are several buildings with towers. On slab 8 an Assyrian chariot speeds to the left. At the side of the chariot box is a small figure of a deity who aims an arrow in its bow. The axe-shaped pole ornament displays the figure of a striding deity. A foe stands in front of the chariot, and a second foe lies beneath the legs of the horses. On slab 9 an Assyrian chariot speeds to the left. Two men stand in the chariot box: a charioteer and an archer. A long pole surmounted by a decorated disk is tied to the side of the chariot box. Between the horses is an axe-shaped pole ornament, probably attached to the yoke. These two objects are connected by a rope. The chariot horses overtake an enemy on horseback who, in turn, is preceded by a second rider. Both cavalry horses falter in their movements. On slab 10 an Assyrian chariot speeds to the left. Four men stand in the chariot box: the Assyrian king who aims an arrow in its bow, a charioteer, and two shield bearers, each of whom holds a round shield. The chariot horses overtake an enemy rider who begins to fall backwards off his animal. Three other foes fill

the space, as they plunge toward the ground. On slab 11 an Assyrian chariot speeds to the left. It overtakes an enemy rider who turns his head back to hurl a spear at the chariot. His horse stops short in its forward movement, an action vividly expressed by the bent hind legs and outflowing tail. A foe falls from above. On slab 12 an Assyrian chariot speeds to the left. Four men stand in the chariot box (only two are still extant): a charioteer, an archer, and two shield bearers. Two round shields decorated with floral motifs confirm the existence of the third and fourth persons. Attached to the chariot box is a quiver. In the space above the horses, a foe pierced by an arrow plunges downwards, and a second foe lies under the legs of the animals. The horses overtake an enemy rider who attempts to withdraw an arrow from his back. His horse begins to falter.

To the right of slab 12 is door E. To the right of door E is slab 13. On slab 13 archers and shield bearers in a line advance to the right. From left to right, they consist of a shield bearer whose round shield is decorated with concentric bands of circles, another shield bearer, an archer, a shield bearer who holds a long shield, an archer, and a shield bearer who holds a long shield upright on the ground. On slab 14 is a round hill covered with naked bodies. A curved path leads to the gateway of a triple-walled city built on the summit of the hill. The outer enclosure wall is breached by Assyrian soldiers drawn in small scale. The second wall has eight towers. The innermost wall rises within the city. The inhabitants fight with spears and rectangular shields. Three Assyrian soldiers attack the city from the left side. Two soldiers are bare-chested and the third soldier wears a crested helmet. On slab 15 is the completion of this episode and the start of another. Assyrian soldiers in a line advance to the left. They stand upon flat terrain. At the front of the line is a bare-chested soldier who half-kneels. He is protected by a shield bearer who stands behind him. After this soldier come an archer and a shield bearer who stand side by side. At the extreme right side, an Assyrian cavalryman ascends a low hill to the right. He holds a spear in his right hand and carries a bow, quiver, and sword. On slab 16 is a flat-topped hill strewn with naked bodies. Advancing to the right is the royal chariot. The Assyrian king wears the royal headdress and a mantle over his garment. In his lowered hand is a bow. The king is accompanied by a parasol bearer and a charioteer. The two horses pulling the chariot walk at a slow gait. Behind the chariot is a soldier on horseback, and in front of the chariot stands an Assyrian soldier armed with a spear, round shield, and quiver. On slab 17 is a high, flat hill. On its summit is a fortified city whose outer wall has seven towers. At the right side of the wall is a large niche, rounded at the top. Within this recess is carved a standing figure whose costume identifies him as an Assyrian king (?). Several inhabitants stand upon the wall of the city and raise their hands in despair. Naked and decapitated bodies cover the terrain. Beyond the city, at the right side, a foe on foot retreats to the left. After him come two Assyrian cavalrymen who ride side by side. Their spears pierce the body of a foe. On slab 18 the royal chariot speeds to the left, and overtakes a foe who falls backwards. The Assyrian king, identified by his tall headdress, aims an arrow in its bow. At his waist is a sword in its scabbard attached to the baldric. At the king's side is the charioteer. Behind the king stands a soldier – possibly two – with round shields. After the chariot come two foes on foot who retreat to the left. One person puts his arm around the waist of his companion for support. The companion turns his head back and attempts to fight off the Assyrians with his spear. A small shield serves to protect him. On slab 19 two Assyrians on horseback advance to the left in close formation. Each soldier raises his right arm and aims a spear at a retreating foe. One foe lies twisted beneath the feet of a horse, and another foe stumbles towards the ground. Naked and decapitated bodies are strewn upon the ground. On slab 20 a small portion of the relief survives. An Assyrian rider advances to the left. He thrusts a spear forward with his right hand. He is armed with a bow, quiver, and sword. Under the feet of the galloping horse lies a foe on his back. On slab 21 an Assyrian chariot speeds to the left. Beneath the feet of the horses are two fallen foes whose feet only still survive. Several naked human bodies cover the terrain. To the right of slab 21 is door H. On slab 1

in door H, an Assyrian chariot speeds down a hillside to the left. The chariot box holds three soldiers: a charioteer, a bowman, and a shield bearer. These persons wear round helmets with pointed tips. The chariot horses overtake a foe who falls to the ground. On the hill behind the chariot is a simplified rendering of a fortified city. The wall is crowned with square crenellations. A caption on the wall identifies the city (Bit-Bagaya). Eight flaming torches (?) on the wall project upward. The terrain is strewn with naked human bodies, several of which are decapitated.

Room 13 *(plates 131-134)*

Extant relief: Musée du Louvre AO 19892. See figure 90.

Room 13 was rectangular in plan. Only the northeast wall and portions of the northwest and southeast walls survived. One door led to another chamber. The reliefs on the stone blocks lining the walls were originally divided into an upper and lower register separated by a band of an inscription. The upper register was destroyed or missing, and only portions of the lower register were intact. Flandin made individual drawings of several of the bas-reliefs. The subjects on these reliefs suggest a general movement from right to left.

Lower register. On the northwest wall are slabs 1-2. A hilly terrain extends across the entire length of these slabs. On slab 1 is a large wagon on solid wheels. Two huge objects placed flat across the top of the wagon may be door-leaves. Several soldiers walk to the left, along the far side of the wagon. In the upper left corner is a half-kneeling soldier. On slab 2 (angle stone) two Assyrians advance to the left and stand side by side. Slab 2 is missing on the northeast wall. A hilly terrain extends across the entire length of slab 3. Five Assyrian soldiers in a line walk rapidly to the left. Their costumes are completely decorated with small concentric squares. The first soldier carries a sack (?) over his right shoulder and holds a handled round-bottom vessel in his left hand. The fourth soldier carries a shield with animal-head boss on his back. The fifth soldier balances a large footed cauldron on his shoulders. At the right side, two Assyrian attendants weigh a shallow dish and a large container possibly containing precious metal. The scale is constructed with tiers of animal-footed and cone-shaped legs. At the base of the hill directly below these persons, several soldiers use axes to cut a large statue into pieces. On slab 4 three detached buildings are displayed. At the left side is a four-storied building constructed on a hill. The lowermost wall has a row of square windows and triangular crenellations. The second, third, and fourth stories each have rectangular doors, square windows, and square crenellations. On the roof of the building is an Assyrian attendant seated upon a chair with crossed legs. He turns to the left and faces two attendants. One person holds a stylus and tablet, and the other person holds a scroll. In the center of the scene is an unusual structure drawn large in scale. It consists of a pillared hall resting upon a high podium. The walls are decorated with round shields, several of which are drawn in profile to show animal-head bosses. Flanking the central door are two statues. Behind each statue is a tall spear reaching to the roof. A large spear-shaped ornament surmounts the roof which has sloping sides. Assyrian soldiers climb up the side and upon the roof of the building, and many of them clutch one or two round shields. Above these soldiers is a caption which identifies the city (Musasir). On the ground in front of the building are two large cauldrons set into bull-footed stands. At the right side of the scene is a three-storied structure with rectangular doors. On top of the walls of the first and second stories are square crenellations, and on the third story the crenellations are triangular. Several persons clad in sheep's fur cloaks stand upon the roof. They turn to the right. Slab 5 (angle stone) is virtually missing.

Slab 5 on the southeast wall is missing. On slab 6 the royal chariot advances to the left. The horses walk at a steady gait. In the chariot box are the Assyrian king, charioteer, and parasol bearer. In front of the chariot are two soldiers who stand side by side. Behind the chariot, a cavalryman descends along the side of a hill. The person is armed with a spear,

bow, quiver, and sword. On his feet are sandals. On slab 7 two cavalrymen proceed to the left, along a hilly terrain. These soldiers are distinctive for their fringed garments which are shorter at the front. Their legs are covered with stockings and laced boots reaching to the calves. The soldiers are armed with swords and quivers. One rider guides his horse to the top of the hill. The other rider sits on a saddle decorated with tassels at the corner. Beneath his horse is a fallen foe who wears a sheep's fur cloak. On slab 8 the scene is destroyed. To the right of slab 8 is door 1, leading into room 14. To the right of door 1 is slab 9 which is mostly missing. A terrain is indicated on the remaining portion.

Room 14 *(plates 135-138)*

Extant relief: Musée du Louvre AO 1435,1. See figure 92.

Room 14 was rectangular in plan. Only the northeast wall and portions of the northwest and southeast walls survived. Two doors led to other chambers. The reliefs on the stone blocks lining the northwest and southeast walls were divided into an upper and lower register separated by a band of an inscription. On these reliefs only the lower register remained intact, and the subject matter dealt with warfare. Flandin made individual drawings of these reliefs.

Northwest wall, lower register. To the right of door 1, leading to room 13, are slabs 1-2. The reliefs depict a battle against a foreign city. At the bottom, a river extends across their entire length. On slab 1 are four persons turned to the right. Three of them are bare-chested soldiers who advance side by side. Two persons each aim an arrow in its bow, while the third person bends down to grab the head of a fallen foe and cut his throat. The hapless person sits with both feet bent under. He wears a sheep's fur cloak and boots. After this group of four persons come an Assyrian archer and a shield bearer who holds a long shield that reaches to the ground. It is curved at the top. On slab 2 a fortified city built along the side and top of a high hill is under attack. A caption carved on the wall identifies the city (Pazashi). The outer wall is breached by many soldiers and several battering rams. One battering ram moves up a ramp constructed on the left side of the hill. Two soldiers drawn in large scale are distinctive for their double-crested helmets. The defenders of the city fight with spears and rectangular shields. Several inhabitants plunge downward toward certain death. At the extreme right side of the scene is a high, irregularly shaped hill. Trees grow along its sides.

Southeast wall, lower register. To the right of door n, leading into facade N, slabs 10-13 depict scenes related to warfare. At the bottom, a narrow river extends across their entire length. On slabs 10-11 a low, hilly terrain appears above the river. On slab 10 is a large fortified camp, oval in plan. Its wall has towers at regular intervals. A wide band divides the camp into two segments. The band contains a caption (camp of Tak[lak-ana-Bel]). Within the upper segment of the camp is a large tent whose roof is open in the center. In front of the tent are two standards placed on stands, a table with foodstuffs, an incense burner, and two Assyrian attendants, facing left. Within the lower segment of the camp are tents in which men perform various tasks. To the right of the fortified camp are three persons, facing right. They consist of a soldier preceded by two scribes who stand side by side. On slab 11 persons in a long line advance to the left. Two soldiers are identified by their costumes as Assyrians. The remainder of the group are captives, several of whom have shackles on their wrists. The foreigners wear sheep's fur cloaks and laced boots. On slab 12 Assyrian soldiers attack a double-walled city situated upon a high hill. A caption identifies the city (Kisheshlu). Soldiers and battering rams ascend several ramps and breach the walls. At the right side, five soldiers turn to the left. The first person is armed with a round shield and a spear. He ascends a ramp. After him come two half-kneeling soldiers, one of whom shoots with a bow and arrow while the other holds a round shield and a spear. Behind them stand two more soldiers. At the base of the hill is a small, isolated mound on which a towered structure is built. Slab 13 is missing, except for the lower left corner.

CHAPTER V
DRAWN OBJECTS AND DIVERSE FINDS

Drawn Objects

Several drawings made by Flandin show a variety of objects depicted on the bas-reliefs. These objects are separated into different categories: jewelry, headdresses, shields, quivers, swords, spears, vessels. In each category the most outstanding examples were chosen for representation. Next to each item in Flandin's drawings is annotated the plate number in *Monument de Ninive* where it is illustrated. In the catalogue of objects described below, the present volume plate number is substituted for the publication plate number and cited in parenthesis after the respective item.

Jewelry *(plate 139)*

Three rows of objects are shown in this drawing. In the bottom row are earrings, in the middle row are bracelets, and in the top row are bracelets, armlets, fans, and a parasol. For purposes of identification, in each row the items are numbered from left to right. Bottom row: (earrings) 1 (pl. 58), 2 (pl. 59), 3 (pl. 38), 4 (pl. 45), 5 (pl. 44), 6 (pl. 73), 7 (pl. 45), 8 (pl. 48), 9 (pl. 48), 10 (pl. 48), 11 (pl. 123), 12 (pl. 54), 13 (pl. 18). Middle row: (bracelets) 1-5 (pl. 45), 6-7 (pl. 44), 8 (pl. 47), 9 (pl. 123), 10 (pl. 128), 11-12 (pl. 102). Top row: (diverse) 1 (pl. 45), 2 (pl. 123), 3 (pl. 15), 4 (pl. 108), 5 (pl. 89), 6-7 (pl. 59), 8 (pl. 97), 9 (pl. 70).

Further observations. The drawn earrings fall into two main types, each of which has a crescent-shaped upper part: earring with single pendant with or without conical tip, and triple-armed earring. A third type not illustrated in plate 139 is a crescent-shaped earring worn by a lyre-player (pl. 122). On the reliefs earrings are worn by the Assyrian king, Assyrian attendants, winged genies, wingless genies, Assyrian soldiers, and bare-chested soldiers. No foe or captive is depicted wearing earrings. In a presentation scene from room 6, two tributaries carry trays with paired earrings (pl. 67). On one tray are hoop earrings, and on the other tray are hoop and single pendant earrings. For a discussion of earrings in the Neo-Assyrian period, see: Barthel Hrouda, *Die Kulturgeschichte des assyrischen Flachbildes*, (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1965), pp. 51-52, 55-56, 122; Madhloom, *Neo-Assyrian Art*, pp. 90-92; K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Western Asiatic Jewellery. c. 3000-612 B.C.*, (London: Methuen, 1971), pp. 235-242.

The drawn bracelets fall into three main types: wide bracelet with one or more rosette attachments, open-ended bracelet with lion-headed finials, plain bracelet with or without

decoration. Armlets are spiral-shaped and open-ended, and are either plain or entirely covered with a ribbed-and-ringed decoration. One bracelet not illustrated in plate 139 is that worn by the hero from facade n (pl. 17). The extant relief (AO 19862) confirms that the finials of the open ended bracelet represent the head of a *mušḫuššu* dragon, the symbol of the god Marduk. A similar motif appears on the armlet of the same hero. Bracelets with rosette decoration are restricted to the Assyrian king, the high-ranking Assyrian official, winged and wingless genies. Bracelets with lion's head finials are worn by lower-ranking Assyrian attendants. Plainer bracelets are worn by Assyrian soldiers. Foreigners never wear bracelets, with two exceptions. Among the many peoples clad in sheep's fur cloaks, plain bracelets are worn by one group in a procession and by another group in battle (pls. 29, 121). For a discussion of bracelets and armlets in the Neo-Assyrian period, see: Hrouda, *Die Kultugeschichte*, pp. 53-54, 57-59, 123; Maxwell-Hyslop, *Western Asiatic Jewellery*, pp. 246-251.

It should be noted that the item numbered 8 in the top row of the drawing is incorrectly restored to show a fan. The object is actually a mace. Fans with decorated handles are used for the king's benefit. Flywhisks with plain handles appear in banquet scenes. An item of jewelry not included in the drawing is the fibula worn by a foreign tributary (pl. 69). It has been identified as a Phrygian type: see Oscar White Muscarella, "Fibulae Represented on Sculpture", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 26 (1967), p. 82.

Headdresses *(plate 140)*

Twelve examples of headcoverings are shown in this drawing. These fall into three main types: headbands and caps, helmets, crowns. Headband and cap: fringed hood (pl. 97), headband with decoration of concentric squares (pl. 95), plain headband (pl. 99), turban (pl. 36), fillet made of coiled spirals and tassel, and decorated with rosette bracteates (pl. 59), elaborate diadem decorated with rosette disks and long ribbons (pl. 44). Helmet: helmet with feathered single crest falling forward and a small sack-like attachment (pl. 96), round helmet with tall point (pl. 123), helmet with crest-like volute and lacking feathers (pl. 136). Crown: horned conical cap surmounted by a *fleur de lis* emblem (pl. 57), horned tall polos feathered at the top and decorated with small rosettes (pl. 57), tall cap flat at the top and surmounted by a large conical tip, and decorated with bands of rosettes and long ribbons (pl. 44).

Further observations. On the reliefs are additional examples of headdresses, not illustrated in plate 140. These include a narrow headband (pl. 68), a plain round cap (pl. 75), round cap with peak falling pendant at the back (pl. 82). In addition, distinctive caps are worn by leaders in a procession displayed in room 10 (pls. 27-30, upper register). A variant of the horned crown is a conical-shaped cap without *fleur de lis* emblem (AO 19863). For a discussion of headdresses and helmets in the Neo-Assyrian period, see: Hrouda, *Die Kultugeschichte*, pp. 41-47, 89-90, 132; Madhloom, *Neo-Assyrian Art*, pp. 37-44, 74-83.

Shields, Battering Rams *(plate 141)*

In this drawing are ten shields and two battering rams. The shields are of three main types: round shield, elliptical shield with pointed ends, siege shield. The battering rams are similar in design, except that one has a single spear-like ramming pole and the other has two spear-like ramming poles. Left to right, top row: 1 (pl. 107), 2 (pl. 112), 3 (pl. 118), 4 (pl. 122), 5 (pl. 94). Middle row: 1 (pl. 125), 2 (pl. 136), 3 (pl. 97), 4 (pl. 96), 5 (pl. 95). Bottom row: 1 (pl. 96), 2 (pl. 138).

Further observations. Additional examples of shields depicted on the bas-reliefs include a convex shield with animal head central boss (pl. 133), and a rectangular shield (pl. 125). For a battering ram with side window on its turret and riders, see pl. 136. For a discussion of

shields in the Neo-Assyrian period, see Madhloom, *Neo-Assyrian Art*, pp. 54-60. For a discussion of battering rams, see Yigael Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands. In the Light of Archaeological Study*, 2 vols. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963), 2: 314-316.

Bow and quivers *(plate 142)*

One bow and six quivers are shown in this drawing. The bow has duck head extremities. The bow string is stretched over the head and fastened at the beak. The quivers are either U-shaped and narrower at the bottom, or rectangular. Attached to one side of the rectangular quiver is a vertical rod with metal rings to carry a strap for suspension. Top row: bow (pl. 45). Middle row: 1 (pl. 45), 2 (pl. 124), 3 (pl. 102), 4 (pl. 102), 5 (pl. 134), 6 (pl. 74).

Further observations. The quiver with vertical rod is held by the arms bearer of the Assyrian king and soldiers who walk in front of the royal chariot (pls. 134, 137). A quiver with cover, carried by an Assyrian soldier, may also contain the bow (pl. 134). This example may represent a *gorytos*, a case which holds both arrows and bow. A U-shaped quiver with tassel attachment at the bottom is carried by bare-chested soldiers (pl. 136). Two methods of shooting with a bow and arrow are depicted in the drawings. The first method is to draw the bow string to the shoulder and the end of the arrow is held by the thumb and forefinger of the right hand (pl. 118). The second method is to draw the bow string to the shoulder and the end of the arrow is held between the forefinger and middle finger of the right hand (pl. 119). For a discussion of bows and quivers in the Neo-Assyrian period, see: Hrouda, *Die Kultugeschichte*, pp. 83-84; Madhloom, *Neo-Assyrian Art*, pp. 49-52, 58-60.

Weapons *(plate 143)*

In this drawing are four different kinds of weapons. These are mace (one example), sword (three examples), spear (four examples), arrow (one example). From left to right: 1 (pl. 45), 2 (pl. 44), 3 (pl. 45), 4 (pl. 95), 5 (pl. 29), 6 (pl. 119), 7 (pl. 33), 8 (pl. 125), 9 (pl. 124).

Further observations. The illustrated mace is held by the arms bearer of the Assyrian king. One Assyrian soldier holds a mace whose handle has an animal head finial (pl. 97). Another type of mace held by Assyrian soldiers has two thick rings near the top of the staff, and its lower end is provided with a lanyard (pl. 121). Victor Place discovered metal mace heads, several of which are preserved. See: *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, 3: pl. 74, 11-13; Pottier, *Catalogue*, nos 156-157. On one extant example is an inscription: "(Belonging) to Assur-sar-(u)ṣur." This translation is confirmed by Professor Cyrus H. Gordon (written communication).

The sword sheath embellished with double lions near the bottom is worn by the Assyrian king in presentation scenes. In scenes of battle, the Assyrian king uses a plain sheath (pls. 116, 129). Swords adorned with two animal heads on the chape are used by Assyrian attendants and, occasionally, by Assyrian soldiers. A spear with a small knob at the side of the shaft near the bottom is held by an Assyrian cavalryman (pl. 85) and an Assyrian soldier (pl. 96). A weapon not illustrated in plate 143 is the short curved sword or sickle sword held by the Assyrian hero (pls. 15,17). The extant reliefs confirm that a calf's head forms the finial of the handle (AO 19861, AO 19862). Another weapon not illustrated in plate 143 is a dagger used in battle. It has a long handle and leaf-shaped blade (pl. 136). For a discussion of swords, spears, and arrows in the Neo-Assyrian period, see: Hrouda, *Die Kultugeschichte*, pp. 130-131: Madhloom, *Neo-Assyrian Art*, pp. 44-49, 52-54, 60-61.

Vessels and small objects *(plate 144)*

In this drawing thirteen objects are shown. These consist of metal, skin, and terracotta vessels for holding liquids or solids, a lyre, a clay lamp, nails. The lamp and nails were

discovered in the course of excavation. The drawn objects are a small round bowl with everted lip (pl. 47), large sack (pl. 24), cauldron on stand (pl. 123), lion's head cup (pl. 121), handled lion's head situla (pl. 47), handled bucket with bird attachments (pl. 38), skin container (pl. 97), cauldron on bull-footed table (pl. 133), lyre (pl. 122), nails with flat head (found), bronze ring-headed nail (found), terracotta lamp (found).

Further observations. Not illustrated in plate 144 are other vessels. These include a handled vessel with round bottom (pl. 39), a large bowl with everted rim (pl. 50), and plain hemispherical bowls (pls. 24, 67). Another item of interest not illustrated in plate 144 is the small model of a city (pl. 24). The nails with flat heads were probably used to fix the beams to the ceilings, and ringed nails forming eyebolts were found fixed to walls (pls. 46, 49). Another found object is the large stone ring belonging to a type that was set into the pavement near doors (pls. 55-56).

Place discovered several clay and glass vessels of various shapes; *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, 3: pls. 67,1-8; 68,1-2. Several calotypes illustrate these objects; see Archives Nationales, F^{21} 546, pls. 14, 34. A clay ram's head rhyton was discovered in Nimrud. M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains*, 2 vols. (London: Collins 1966, amended impression 1975), 1: 191, fig. 124. Two handled bronze situlae, one with lion's head and the other with ram's head, were discovered in Gordion. Rodney S. Young, *Three Great Early Tumuli. The Gordion Excavations Final Reports. Volume I*, (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1981), pp. 121-123, pl. 62 C-F. Several nails from Khorsabad are kept in the Musée du Louvre; see Pottier, *Catalogue*, n°s 139, 178, 183-184. The Oriental Institute expedition discovered a stone ring extending about 30 cm. below the floor; see Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, pp. 89-92, fig. 102.

Diverse Finds

Urns and square holes *(plates 11, 145, figure 94)*

In one place on the palace mound, a long narrow trench revealed two rows of large clay urns kept upright by footed pedestals set into the ground. The urn on its pedestal measured about 1.40 meters high and 0.80 meters wide. In the drawing the urn is labelled funerary, containing human bones. A square hole is drawn in plan and elevation. These drawings illustrate the way in which the hole was constructed, then partially filled with sand, probably as a means to keep the figurine upright after it was placed into the cavity. No measurements are given.

Further observations. Place's explorations on the palace terrace disclose that these urns were cleared in the area of room 139. This room was probably a magazine for storing food. Gabriel Tranchand's calotype illustrates a row of large clay storage jars still in place (see fig. 94). In room 84 the Oriental Institute expedition uncovered large jars of pottery, within which were quantities of smaller jars. Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, pp. 86-87, fig. 97. Small square holes were found near doors in several courts (see pls. 19, 35, 37, 43, 56) and on either side of a large slab in room 8 (see pl. 72).

Terracotta figurines *(plates 146-147, figures 95-97)*

Two drawings illustrate views of five different terracotta figurines, identified as idols. Each figurine is sculpted in the round and is compact. 1. Deity, turned frontally. He wears a square polos decorated with two pairs of horns at the sides. A long beard, flat at the bottom, surrounds his lips and extends down the chest. 2. Hero with frontal face and body turned to his left. The waves of hair on the head terminate at each side in a large curl. Additional overlapping curls frame the sides of the head. The hero has a long beard that is straight at the bottom. He wears a short-sleeved blouse and a knee-length tunic. A broad belt encircles the waist. The hero uses both hands to grip a large nail upright at his side. 3.

Deity, turned frontally. He wears a round cap decorated with a pair of horns at the sides. He has a long beard. The lower part of the deity's body shows bull's feet and a long tail. The left arm extends down the side and the right arm is bent up. 4. Lion-headed person, turned frontally. The mane and ears are slightly raised from the head. The open mouth conveys a roaring expression. The right hand is held at the side and the left hand rests at the waist. 5. Demon-headed person, turned frontally. The creature has a feline face and long donkey (?) ears. It snarls with open mouth, thereby exposing its upper and lower teeth. A rectangular slab projects at each side of the head below the ear. The arms are broken away below the shoulder, and the body is worn away.

Further observations. Three of the illustrated figurines are kept in the Musée du Louvre. Figurine 1 (N 3152) is entirely painted in blue. Figurine 2 (N 8283) is one of several examples of this type that were found. Figurine 5 (N 8287) is described as a variant of the demon Pazuzu. See Pottier, *Catalogue*, nos 212-215, pl. 32. The hero with nail reflects a more ancient type, described as a "peg deposit"; see Richard S. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia*, Yale Near Eastern Researches, 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 60, 79-80, figs. 14-16. On the subject of Assyrian clay figurines, see Anthony Green, "Neo-Assyrian Apotropaic Figures," *Iraq* 45 (1983), pp. 87-96. For a discussion of Neo-Babylonian clay figurines, see Prudence O. Harper, "Five Clay Sculptures of the Neo-Babylonian Period," *Iranica Antiqua* 17 (1982), pp. 66-84.

Stone Table *(plate 148)*

Three views of a tripod table or altar carved from a solid stone block are given: plan of the circular top, elevation, plan of the triangular body inscribed in the circle. The top of the table is flat. A cuneiform inscription appears along its side. The leg forming each angle is shaped into a lion's paw, surmounting a plain round foot.

Further observations. In his first letter (April 5, 1843) Botta describes the finding of this or a similar table near the modern village. On another occasion Botta examined a second table resembling the first, but more decayed (second letter, dated May 2, 1843). The first table may be the one presently in the Musée du Louvre (AO 19900). Pottier, *Catalogue*, no 58. Two tripod tables were discovered by the Oriental Institute expedition; Loud and Altman, *Khorsabad. II*, pl. 48, 18-19. More recently, as many as fourteen tables of the same type were found during the excavation of a small temple near the palace mound. Additionally, three examples of a different kind are in the shape of an elongated bowl on a column-like base which tapers to the top. See Safar, *Sumer* 13 (1957), pp. 219-221, pls. 3-4.

Bronze lion *(plate 149)*

Two separate drawings, each rendered with exceptional care, depict the front and side views of a bronze recumbent lion on a pedestal. Rising from the animal's back is a large thick ring supported on a ringed base. The lion is posed frontally and snarls with open mouth. Its tail curves over the back.

Further observations. The bronze object is kept in the Musée du Louvre (AO 20.116). It was found fastened to the pavement in facade L. It is described as having a pin on its underside, and is not to be confused with lion weights. Pottier, *Catalogue*, no 143.

Painted Bricks *(plates 150-151)*

Two drawings depict bricks with polychrome decoration. The colors found on these bricks are white, black, yellow, green, blue, red. The subjects are fragmentary and vary: winged emblem, person in front of wing, head of Assyrian king, human foot, chariot wheel, animals, geometric motifs, rosettes, cuneiform inscriptions. In plate 151 numbers 16-17 illustrate two views of a brick resembling a half closed hand.

Further observations. The polychrome bricks are described as glazed, and many are kept in the Musée du Louvre. Small fragments of blue color are also kept in the museum. See: Longpérier, *Notice des antiquités assyriennes,* nos 70-107; Pottier, *Catalogue,* pp. 148-149, 151. In plate 150 brick number 7 (N 8080) has been published; see *Collections du Musée du Louvre, De Sumer à Babylone,* (Paris: 1979), p. 72, fig. 254. This painted brick provides evidence that life-size human figures were included in the painted decorations. Place discovered glazed polychrome bricks whose subjects were intact. Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie,* 3: pls. 14-17. One large group of glazed bricks was re-cleared by the Oriental Institute expedition; Loud, *Khorsabad. I,* pp. 92-97, figs. 105-106. Botta mentions the finding of a brick resembling a half closed hand. It was painted yellow and measured about 15 cm. The part that was thin was inserted between the roof and wall, so as to show within the chamber the rounded shape, the continuation of which formed a cornice (letter 5. dated October 31, 1843). Place discovered similar bricks with five "fingers". Several are illustrated in two calotypes; see Archives Nationales, F21546, pls 34,4, 37. The Oriental Institute expedition discovered a similarly shaped brick (DS 140). It is kept in the storeroom of the Oriental Institute Museum. This example has five "fingers", is painted white and red, and is 17 cm. in length. Its greatest thickness is 8.2 cm., and its widest part is 11.9 cm. A row of bricks resembling closed hands, which had fallen from a wall, was unearthed in the residence of Ashurnasirpal II at Ashur; see Conrad Preusser, *Die Paläste in Assur,* Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutchen Orient-Gesellschaft 66 (1955), p. 21, pls. 14 b, 17 a-b.

Small Objects *(plate 152)*

In this drawing three different objects are illustrated. These are a calf's head in metal (two views), a stamp seal impression on a clay bulla, and a small container (six views). The animal head is carefully modelled. The seal impression depicts a king on foot attacking an upright lion. Above the scene is a cuneiform inscription. The narrow container is made of stone. Three holes on the upper side were probably used to hold ink or paint. Each of the two narrow sides depicts a beardless person. Each of the two wide sides is divided into two zones of decoration. Recumbent female sphinxes decorate one side, and several goats decorate the other side.

Further observations. The calf's head finial is kept in the Musée du Louvre. It is hollow, and was probably used to decorate the end of a chair. Botta also found other fragments of this type. Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 154. The stamp seal impression is kept in the Musée du Louvre (N 8293). It is one of several of this type found by Botta (letter dated May 2, 1843). Pottier, ibid., n° 220. On the royal stamp seals of Assyria, see: A. J. Sachs "The Late Assyrian Royal Seal Type," *Iraq* 15 (1953), pp. 167-70; A. R. Millard, "The Assyrian Royal Seal Type Again", *Iraq* 27 (1965), pp. 12-16. The stone container is not listed in Pottier's catalogue and, therefore, its whereabouts is unknown. The decoration on the container is carved in relief, and its subject matter suggests that it was an import from the West. See Irene J. Winter, "Phoenician and North Syrian Ivory Carving in Historical Context: Questions of Style and Distribution," *Iraq* 38 (1976), pp. 1-22.

Metal objects *(plate 153)*

Two separate drawings illustrate three kinds of objects: socketed crescent-shaped finial (two examples), socketed spearhead (three examples), scaraboid (two views) whose flat side depicts a horse (?) and a sign (?). No measurements are given for these objects.

Further observations. A flat crescent-shaped object of bronze is kept in the Musée du Louvre. It is described as part of a circle, and was originally attached to a pole. It is identified as a military insignia. Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 159. On the subject of military and

religious standards, see Peter Calmeyer, "Zur Genese Altiranischer Motive. II. Der Leere Wagen," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* N.F. 7 (1974), pp. 74-75. Several bronze spearheads and javelinheads are preserved in the Musée du Louvre; Pottier, ibid., n° 160. For a description of javelins and spears, see Yadin, *Art of Warfare,* 1: 10. The scaraboid is not listed in Pottier's catalogue.

CHAPTER VI

AESTHETIC APPRECIATION

The planning and execution of the wall reliefs at Dur-Sharrukin were formidable undertakings. To judge by the archaeological evidence and the record preserved in the original drawings and nineteenth century photographs, much attention was also devoted to the production of wall paintings, painted patterns executed especially for ceilings, and glazed polychrome bricks set into the walls of the city gates and religious shrines. Occasionally, wall reliefs and paintings were set up in the same general area, but the full extent to which these art forms complemented one another in the overall decorative scheme cannot at present be determined. A future study of the paintings and glazed brick designs made for Dur-Sharrukin may furnish some possible answers. This chapter confines itself to the wall reliefs of the palace and focuses upon the meanings underlying their subjects.

The Grand Royal Emblem

The founding of Dur-Sharrukin inspired the creation of an elaborate heraldic motif carved in colossal scale. This heraldic motif, hereafter designated the grand royal emblem, consisted of two winged human-headed bulls moving in opposite directions and flanking a hero grasping a lion, all of which are depicted with frontal faces. It was set up in two known areas of Sargon's palace which stood on the high mound; namely, on the terrace wall fronting the palace and on the northeast wall in facade n (see plates 14-17). Additionally, a modified version of the grand royal emblem, lacking the hero, appeared on the two projecting walls that flanked the central door of the northeast wall in facade N (see plate 35). The multiple display of the grand royal emblem on the outer terrace wall was a declaration of the special character of the entire complex of structures built on the mound. On the northeast wall of facade n, the twice-repeated royal emblem formed part of a magnificent sculptural decoration that gave importance to the central doorway which led into the throneroom (court VII). On the northeast wall of facade N, the modified royal emblem was set up on the wall fronting the group of rooms that comprised the west wing of the palace, probably the residential area reserved for the king. The central door of this wall was actually the extreme end of a continuous passageway that led from facade N through rooms 4, 5, 2, to facade L (court I). At both ends of the enclosed passageway were winged human-headed bulls that faced onto the respective open courts (see plate 41), and in this way the enclosed passageway was similar to the nearby corridor, labelled room 10. Some distance into the open area of facade L was the detached building, labelled monument x, and its broad staircase was aligned directly opposite the enclosed passageway.

The motif of the royal emblem, showing a symmetrical arrangement of the winged human-headed bulls and hero, must have conveyed a special meaning. The display of the winged creatures was a prerogative of the Assyrian king. Their inclusion in the design of the royal emblem suggests that the hero is in some way associated with royalty. Two versions of the hero were displayed at Dur-Sharrukin. The first version of the hero was set up on the terrace wall. This hero is distinguished by the cluster of curls on each side of the head and by the costume that consists of a short-sleeved blouse and a knee-length tunic. Of some interest, his costume is similar to that worn by the winged bird-headed genie. Iconographically, the hero may be related to ancient types.[1] The second version of the hero was set up on the northeast wall of facade n. This hero is distinguished by the Assyrian hairdo and by the costume that consists of a flounced shawl worn over a wrap-around tunic. Iconographically, this hero is related to contemporary figures and, indeed, his costume is similar to that worn by the wingless genie. It may be that both versions of the hero represent a category of guardian figures found at Dur-Sharrukin whose divine powerful qualities reinforce the might of Assyrian kingship and the legitimate rule of Sargon II.

As for the small lion, in each instance it makes a feeble attempt to free itself from the hero's firm grip. Interestingly, the subject of a hero battling wild animals was a recurring theme as early as the fourth millennium B.C.[2] During the Neo-Assyrian period, the theme was depicted in a variety of ways on wall reliefs, in paintings, and in seal designs.[3] Most often, the Assyrian king is the protagonist against the wild animals, particularly lions. The theme was also depicted on two wall reliefs discovered in the Central Building at Nimrud, dated to the 9th century B.C.[4] Despite their fragmentary condition, the reliefs each display a heraldic composition in which a hero battles a pair of upright lions. On one relief the hero is a winged genie, and on the other relief the hero may be a wingless genie. The compositions on the two reliefs have no known parallels in contemporary Assyrian monumental art and, therefore, the treatment of the subject matter on these reliefs is exceptional.[5]

A striking difference between the above-mentioned examples of heroes battling lions and the heroes displayed at Dur-Sharrukin is that in each of the latter instances there is no battle. The outcome has been determined and the foe is vanquished. If the powerful qualities of these heroes reinforce symbolically the might of Assyrian kingship, as suggested earlier, then the snarling lions carved on a much smaller scale symbolize all those enemies whom king Sargon successfully defeated and subdued. In sum, the grand royal emblem created for Sargon's new palace proclaims the long genealogy of the Assyrian king – if this is the meaning behind the two versions of the hero – and his lasting greatness over all foes. The grand royal emblem was used in the palaces of Sennacherib[6] and Esarhaddon (680-668 B.C.),[7] the two Assyrian kings who ruled in succession after Sargon II.

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[1] Cylinder seal designs of the Akkad period provide the best parallels. See for example, Anton Moortgat, *Vordasiatische Rollsiegel. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst*, (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1940), pp. 21-22, nos. 179-182, 188.

[2] Eva Strommenger and Max Hirmer, *5000 Years of the Art of Mesopotamia*, trans. from the German by Christina Haglund (New York : Abrams, 1964), pl. 18.

[3] See: Sachs, *Iraq* 15 (1953), pp. 167-70; Millard, *Iraq* 27 (1965), pp. 12-16; Pauline Albenda, "Lions on Assyrian Wall Reliefs". *JANES* 6 (1974), pp. 1-27.

[4] Janusz Meuszyński, "Neo-Assyrian Reliefs from the Central Area of Nimrud Citadel", *Iraq* 38 (1976), pp. 39-40, 42, pls. VIII b, XI.

[5] For a survey of the motif of a figure dominating two animals in ancient Mesopotamian art, see Irene J. Winter, *A Decorated Breastplate from Hasanlu, Iran*, University Museum Monograph 39 (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1980), pp. 11-21.

[6] See: Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 135-138; Julian E. Reade, "Assyrian Architectural Decoration: Techniques and Subject-Matter", *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 10 (1979), p. 38, pl. 8 a. The rock reliefs at Khinnis-Bavian include the grand royal emblem. See: Layard, ibid, p. 214; Walter Bachmann, *Felsreliefs in Assyrien. Bawian, Maltai und Gundük*, WVDOG 52 (1927), pls. 13-15.

[7] Layard records that an inhabitant of the village of Nebi Yunus "unearthed a pair of colossal human-headed bulls, and two figures of the Assyrian Hercules slaying the lion, similar to those in the Louvre". He reports, further, that the sculptures were seized by the Turkish authorities. Layard adds that these remains probably belonged to the time of Esarhaddon. Ibid., p. 598.

Reliefs in the West Wing of the Palace

A survey of the carved wall decorations discloses that the subject matter within a given room was generally the same. The groundplan of the rooms reveals that several rooms containing similar subjects adjoined one another, and these rooms, in turn, were grouped into blocks or units. Each of the units probably formed its own decorative program. One unit consisted of rooms 6, 9, 11 and 12. Their compositions showed processions of Assyrian attendants and sometimes foreign tributaries advancing to the king. A second unit consisted of rooms 1 through 5, 7 and 8. Their compositions showed scenes of warfare and actions taken against captives. A third unit consisted of rooms 13 and 14, and possibly other rooms which had eroded away. Their compositions showed scenes of warfare against cities in the East. A fourth and fifth unit consisted of the northeast wall in facade n and the southwest-northwest walls in facade L, respectively. Their compositions showed the bringing of furniture, drinking vessels, and chariot equipment to the Assyrian king. A sixth unit consisted of the southeast wall in facade n and the two walls lining room 10. Their compositions showed processions of foreign tributaries advancing to and going past the Assyrian king.[8] It is probable that the wall decorations chosen for specific rooms or groups of rooms depended upon the activities that took place within their confines. However, it is not always clear from the archaeological evidence what, exactly, were the functions of the various chambers.[9]

Descriptive subjects centered around the Assyrian king's military accomplishments and other events related to these accomplishments. Assuredly, the organization of the subjects satisfied two requirements of the Assyrian king, Sargon II. One requirement was to furnish graphic accounts of his military compaigns. Invariably, these pictorial accounts highlighted the superiority of Assyria's military forces. The other requirement was to portray the regal person of the king, himself, as the central figure in different compositions. Invariably, the portrayals showed him triumphant over all foes, either during or after battle. In every instance, Sargon II is surrounded either by high-ranking court officials or by royal bodyguards who formed part of the king's elite troops. Thus the wall reliefs are visual and permanent records of the king's achievements, primarily in the military sphere. That the sculptural records decorated whole rooms within the west wing of the palace, requiring an ability to amass materials and a substantial work force, is one indication of the economic wealth controlled by Sargon II (see chapter II). For these reasons, and since it is highly unlikely that the carved decorations were intended to be viewed by the general populace, the subjects of the wall reliefs in the west wing of the palace should be defined as royal art.

Religious subjects in the guise of genies were restricted to the doorways where their images engendered a divine, protective atmosphere as one walked through the chambers and courts of the palace. A notable departure from the usual doorway decorations occurred in doorways T, U, E, connecting rooms 4 and 8, 8 and 5, 5 and 2, respectively. All the stone blocks were each carved with the same three persons: a fan bearer standing behind the Assyrian king and a high-ranking official facing the king (see plates 80, 92-93). These doorway reliefs seemingly have no direct relationship with the narrative and episodic scenes carved on the walls of the adjacent rooms. In rooms 2 and 5, the narrative scenes dealt with military campaigns and banqueting. In rooms 4 and 8, the episodic scenes dealt with captive rebels brought before the Assyrian king. Elsewhere on the wall reliefs of the west wing of the palace, the fan bearer, Assyrian king, and high-ranking official appear in the same order,

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[8] See the study of Albenda, *Assur* 3/3 (1983).

[9] See the suggestions of Julian E. Reade, "The Architectural Context of Assyrian Scultpure", *Bagh Mitt* 11 (1980), pp. 85-87. For a comprehens. ; study of the subject, see Geoffrey Turner, "The State Apartments of Late Assyrian Palaces", *Iraq* 32 (1970), pp. 177-213.

in scenes depicting processions of Assyrian court attendants and in scenes depicting foreign tributaries advancing to the king (e.g. in rooms 6, 9, 11, 12). These occurrences suggest that the jamb decorations of doors T, U, E, are abbreviated versions of similar themes; namely, processions and presentations. Although the fan bearer, Assyrian king, and high-ranking Assyrian official remain distant from all the actions and activities, Sargon II is presented with vivid descriptions of his past military accomplishments in the lands of the West (in room 5) and East (in room 2, and extending to rooms 1 and 3). Sargon is also presented with vivid descriptions of the harsh penalties that were imposed upon captive leaders who led the revolts against his rule (in rooms 4 and 8).

Triumphal scenes were displayed in room 7. Banqueting was the subject of the upper register, and it extended around all four walls. Many individual groups of Assyrian banqueters participate in the feast. Generally, each group is composed of six persons. Four seated banqueters are arranged in pairs and face each other across a tall table laden with foodstuffs and vessels containing liquids (?). Behind each pair of banqueters stands an attendant of lower rank who oftentimes grips a flywhisk. Although many portions of the upper register of the bas-reliefs were fragmentary or missing, nowhere in the continuous frieze is there an indication that the Assyrian king participates in the banquet.[10] Similarly, the banquet displayed on the upper register of the southwest-northwest walls in room 2 describes a victorious feast given for high-ranking Assyrian court and military officials who accompanied the king on his campaigns to the East.[11] As with the banquet scene in room 7, there is no evidence on the surviving slabs to suggest that Sargon II is present at the feast.

In the lower register of room 7 is a triumphal procession through a wooded area or forest. Probably, pine trees serve as the backdrop for the military parade, a subject which is integrated with the theme of the hunt of small animals and birds. The trees once had vivid colors, and polychrome was likewise added to at least portions of the human figures and to the horse-trappings.[12] Beyond the line of trees is an isolated columned building near a small body of water, behind which an altar is set upon a round hill. The landscape may be a small forest reserved for the king and his retinue. Leading the military parade are five of the king's bodyguards. The foot soldiers are without helmets and wear distinctive knee-length tunics, each of which is embellished with a long flounced cloth that hangs pendant at the front. Stylistically, their costumes are different from those worn by Assyrian archers and shield bearers depicted in battle scenes, as well as by auxiliaries in the Assyrian army. Each foot soldier balances either a mace or a long spear over his shoulder. After the foot soldiers comes the royal chariot. King Sargon II gestures with his right hand, which is open and raised, and in his left hand is a lotus between closed buds. The king's pose, together with the parasol bearer who stands behind him, engenders a peaceful atmosphere. But the peace that prevails is a consequence of military conquest; that is, a triumph. This concept is described in a literal way in scenes where foreign captives are brought before the Assyrian king standing in his chariot (see plates 99, 111, 129).

Behind the royal chariot are three men on horseback. The forelegs of each of the two horses on the left overlap the hind legs of the preceding animal. This implies, visually, that the three riders are alongside one another. The men wear open sandals, in contrast to the high boots and stockings worn by Assyrian cavalrymen. Therefore, these persons are not associated with the mounted guards who always accompany the Assyrian king when he travels in his chariot. Two of those cavalrymen appear at the very end of the procession (on

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[10] This would require an arrangement of the king and his personal attendants different from the other banqueters. For example, see Strommenger, *The Art of Mesopotamia*, pls. 194-195.

[11] Luckenbill, *ARAB* 2: para. 149.

[12] Traces of color still adhere to several small fragments of trees (black, blue [green originally]) and horse-trappings (red, black, blue, and white) kept in the storeroom of the Oriental Institute Museum.

slab 1). In all probability, the three men on horseback represent the Assyrians who hold the highest military rank, below the Assyrian king. The person on the left is distinctive for his diadem, whose long ribbons fall pendant down the back. In other circumstances, the person has been identified as the *turtanu*[13] or the *mār šarri*.[14] The latter identification would equate this person with Sennacherib, the crown-prince who succeeded Sargon II to the throne. The person in the center is beardless, and he holds a three-thong whip in his lowered right hand. The person on the right is also beardless, and he grips a long spear in this right hand. One of the beardless riders may be the *sukallu*, Sargon's full brother and commander-in-chief of the king's elite troops.[15] It is less certain who the second beardless rider represents, but he may be the *rab šāqi* (the "grand eunuch").[16]

Many slabs in room 7 were discovered partially or completely destroyed. It is therefore not at all certain how the parade continued along the four sides of the room. Those portions of the reliefs that were still intact displayed Assyrian soldiers and court attendants engaged in leisurely activities, such as walking their horses, shooting at targets, and carrying dead hares and birds, probably the spoils of the hunt. It has been suggested that the king in his chariot reappeared on the northwest wall, where he shoots at targets from his chariot, and again on the southwest wall, where he progresses through the forest.[17] However, the iconography showing the king in his chariot surrounded by royal guards is too extensive for the damaged space on slab 7. If Sargon II did originally appear on this slab, he was on foot, and perhaps he shoots at a stationary target or at birds in flight.[18] The king in his chariot could have been the main subject on slabs 3 and 4. It may be speculated, too, that the hunt of small animals by members of the king's retinue was the subject on these two slabs.

Sculptural Style

The better-preserved wall reliefs and fragments make it possible to comment upon the sculptural style of Sargon II. Generally, the reliefs of this period continued the Neo-Assyrian styles associated with Ashurnasirpal II and Tiglath-pileser III. In every instance the subjects of the wall decorations were raised from the background in low relief. There were exceptions to this general rule, however. Winged human-headed lions and bulls were carved in high relief. In the reign of Sargon II, high relief was used for the carving of the huge winged genies and heroes that lined select gateways and facades.

The background surrounding the figures was smooth and flat. Several extant slabs show traces of tool marks and abrasions, an indication that the final polishing stage was not reached. In some instances the roughness of the stone surface may be due to natural causes. One small fragment, on which the head of a wingless genie is carved, exhibits a preliminary stage in the carving process (figure 18). The crude and careless method of cutting the stone, and the small height of the head, suggest that this fragment is a trial piece. In contrast to this example is a slab carved with a winged bird-headed genie (figure 15). The relief is unfinished and several stages in the carving of a whole subject are clearly indicated. A sharp

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[13] Albenda, *Assur* 3/3 (1983), p. 30.

[14] See chapter III, n. 9

[15] See chapter II, n. 24. This identification is supported by the soldiers depicted in the frieze, who are identified as members of the elite troops.

[16] Top-ranking military officers were also military governors of provinces. See Kinnier Wilson, *Nimrud Wine Lists*, pp. 14-15, 35.

[17] Guralnick, *Assur* 1/5 (1976), pp. 5-6.

[18] The Assyrian king in a similar activity is reconstructed on a bas-relief of Ashurbanipal (668-627 B.C.). See Pauline Albenda, "Landscape Bas-Reliefs in the *Bit-Hilani* of Ashurbanipal", *BASOR* 224 (1976), p. 70, pl. 1.

tool was used to delineate the subject matter; chisels were used to cut the stone background to a lower level, leaving the figure in relief; and portions of the figure itself were modelled to convey a finished appearance.[19]

An important departure from earlier Neo-Assyrian sculptural styles is the refinement of drawing and proportion found on the human figures and animals. In the reign of Sargon II, contour lines are less angular and more gently curved than those used for the subject matter on the reliefs of earlier periods. Individual subjects display a compactness of form and are more slender than their counterparts of earlier date. As with earlier periods, little attention was given to anatomical features hidden beneath the garments, so that clothed human bodies are treated as broad, plain shapes. However, the carving of the exposed, fleshy portions of human figures – and animals, as well – reveals an awareness of anatomical reality, although the emphasis was upon clarity of form.

Special attention was devoted to the carving of the human head. Modelling occurs in the area of the eyes, nose, and neck. Interestingly, the drawing of the eye on the profile view of the head is nearly correct. The outer corners of the lip curve slightly upward and, consequently, the face imparts a calm, pleasant expression. An important consideration was the treatment of the hair and beard. As evidenced by the better-preserved and finished examples, the wavy lines of the hair, the corkscrew-shaped curls, and ringlets, are delineated and carved with meticulous care. Moreover, pattern and texture are emphasized in the rendering of the hair and beard, which contrast nicely with the broadly modelled surfaces of the face. Furthermore, distinctive hairstyles differentiate Assyrians and foreigners. The Assyrian hairstyle consists of regular, wavy strands of hair falling to the level of the shoulders. Each strand terminates in six or seven layers of ringlets and, together, they form a thick cluster (see figures 35-37). The peoples from the West wear turbans. Below the cap, wavy strands of hair are exposed at the front, and short vertical strands twisted into corkscrew curls cover the neck at the back (see figures 30-33). One group of Assyrian auxiliaries is noted for the long, wavy hair that extends down the back (see figure 88). The hairstyle of the peoples from the East consists of curls twisted into corkscrews arranged in rows. Similar curls cover the neck at the back (see figures 53-55).

In summation, the extant fragments and reliefs reflect the high standard of artistic achievement associated with the royal art of Sargon II. The technical skills of the stone carvers were exceptional. As mentioned in a previous chapter, the stone carvers were probably organized into small teams. Although the stone carvers must have worked from master drawings and plans, stylistic modifications are discernible among the extant reliefs showing similar subjects (compare figures 39, 43 and 40-41). But whatever individuality of handiwork may be detected among the extant sculptures, the overriding emphasis was upon a unity of concept and production.

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[19] For a study of stone working in the Persian period, see Carl Nylander, *Ionians in Pasargadae. Studies in Old Persian Architecture*, (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1970). The study of Assyrian stone working is a desideratum.

CHAPTER VII

THE EPIGRAPHS

Christopher B.F. WALKER

Eugène Flandin's copies of the epigraphs on the Khorsabad sculptures, made by him in 1844 and published as lithographs in E. Botta's *Monument de Ninive,* vols. 1 and 2 (1849), have together with Botta's drawings of the same epigraphs[1] provided the primary source for the identification of the historical campaigns illustrated on the sculptures. Botta's drawings of the epigraphs no doubt benefited from the experience which he acquired in copying all the other monumental inscriptions at Khorsabad, subsequently published in *Monument de Ninive,* vols. 3 and 4; but the comparison of the two sets of copies is not always to Flandin's disadvantage. The example of the now legendary Karl Bellino, the artist who made the first significant set of copies of cuneiform inscriptions for Claudius James Rich, Sir Robert Ker Porter and G.F. Grotefend,[2] shows how a professional artist with no previous experience of the cuneiform script can with careful study produce cuneiform copies of remarkable accuracy. In the present instance while Botta's experience has in some cases allowed him to decipher correctly damaged passages and distinguish signs from cracks or abrasions on the sculptures in other cases Botta's confident restoration can be shown to be inaccurate[3] and his spacing of the signs seems not so accurately related to the sculptures as Flandin's spacing.[4] It should however be noted that according to *Monument de Ninive* 4:i, iii, Botta's copies on pl. 180, being marked with a 'C' on p. iii, had been collated against squeezes deposited at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

The epigraphs have been edited twice before, by H. Winckler in 1889,[5] and by M. El-Amin in 1953-54. Winckler's edition omits several epigraphs and gives a quite misleading copy of one (no. 7 below). His copies are in any case derived from *Monument de Ninive* 4: pl. 180. The translation of the epigraphs given by D.D. Luckenbill in 1927[6] merely repeats Winckler's mistakes. Although I have included bibliographical references to Winckler's edition below I have not discussed his or Luckenbill's contribution in detail.

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[1] *Monument de Ninive*, 4: pl. 180.

[2] R.D. Barnett, "Charles Bellino and the beginnings of Assyriology", *Iraq* 36 (1974), pp. 5-28.

[3] E.g., no 5 below, where *ṣu* is wrongly restored for *na*.

[4] E.g., no 5 below.

[5] H. Winckler, *Die Keilschriftexte Sargons...*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1889): 1: 190-191, 2: pl. 49.

[6] Luckenbill, *ARAB*, 2: 66-67, para. 125.

El-Amin's publication[7] represents the first serious edition of the epigraphs and contains much of real value, including the first correct identifications of some of the cities mentioned in the epigraphs. I have not sought to repeat here all his arguments, many of which are spelt out at great length. He gives copies of the epigraphs as drawn by Flandin and Botta, together with his own reconstructions of the cuneiform texts, and I have referred to the latter where appropriate. El-Amin's readings of the epigraphs are taken over by J. E. Reade[8] with one exception.[9] Both El-Amin and Reade discuss the epigraphs as evidence for the course of Sargon's campaigns and the relations between the campaigns and the grouping of historical scenes in the different rooms of Sargon's Palace. These questions, which involve overall consideration of the decorative scheme of the Palace, are not taken up here, although bibliographical references are given to significant references in Sargon's historical inscriptions to the cities named in the epigraphs. The chronology of Sargon's various campaigns from the point of view of the historical texts was discussed by Tadmor in 1958,[10] but only with occasional reference to the kind of considerations raised by El-Amin and Reade.

Not all of the epigraphs copied by Flandin and Botta are represented in the drawings of Flandin published here. I give here an edition of the nine epigraphs from sculptures contained in these drawings, together with a discussion of the inscriptions on a number of other objects drawn by Flandin.

1- 9: Epigraphs

1. Plate 112 (room 2, slab 7)

Bibliography: Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive,* 1: pl. 55; 2: pl. 180, line 6; Winckler, *Sargon,* 1: 190, n° 2 II, 1; 2: pl. 49, n° 2 a; El-Amin, *Sumer* 9 (1953), p. 51.

Transliteration: URU *har!-ha-ar!*

Translation: The city of Harhar.

Commentary: By comparison with Botta's copy (*Monument de Ninive,* 4: pl. 180) Flandin's copy wrongly divides the signs *har* and *ha,* omits the vertical wedge in *har,* and has a confused rendering of the final wedges of *ar.* After a gap (slightly wider than the sign *ar*) there are traces of another sign, rather like a damaged *kum.* In *Monument de Ninive,* 1: pl. 55, these traces are simply represented by shading, and there is no hint of any continuation of the inscription in *Monument de Ninive,* 4: pl. 180. In view of the frequent occurrence on Sargon's sculptures of epigraphs containing only city names, and in the absence of a convincing restoration, it seems preferable to follow Botta and regard Flandin's traces as over-optimistic interpretation of a damaged area of the sculpture. Note also that Botta's drawing shows the inscription extending much further to the right (in relation to the five-columned portico below it) than in Flandin's drawing.

For various orthographies of the name Harhar, see S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms,* Alter Orient und Altes Testament 6 (1970), p. 51. For recent discussion of the location of Harhar in western Media, see L. Levine, "Harhar", *RlA* 4: 120-121, and J.E. Reade, "Kassites and Assyrians in Iran", *Iran* 16 (1978), pp. 137-143. Its capture in Sargon's sixth year is recounted in the Annals Inscription of room 2.[11]

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[7] Dr. Mahmud El-Amin, "Die Reliefs mit Beischriften von Sargon II in Dûr-Sharrukîn", *Sumer* 9 (1953), pp. 35-59, 214-228; idem, *Sumer* 10 (1954), pp. 23-42.

[8] J. E. Reade, "Sargon's Campaigns of 720, 716, and 715 B.C.: Evidence from the Sculptures", *JNES* 35 (1976), pp. 95-104.

[9] No. 7 below.

[10] Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), pp. 22-40, 77-100; his principal conclusions are summarized on pp. 94-97.

[11] *Monument de Ninive* 4: pl. 74, 5-7; Winckler, *Sargon* 1: 14-17, 70-72; Luckenbill, *ARAB,* 2: 6, para. 11; Arthur G. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria. Part I: The Annals,* (Paris, 1929), pp. 16-17, 96-100. Also the Display Inscription of room 10, according to which the town was renamed Kar-Sharrukin: *Monument de Ninive.* 4: pl. 147, 1-4; Winckler, *Sargon,* 1: 108-109, 61-64; Luckenbill, *ARAB,* 2: 29, para. 57.

2. Plates 125-126 (room 2, slab 22)

Bibliography: Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pls. 68 and 68 bis; 4: pl. 180, line 10; Winckler, *Sargon*, 1:90, n° 2 II, 22; 2: pl. 49, n° 2d; El-Amin, *Sumer* 9 (1953), p. 55.

Transliteration: URU⌜*ki*⌝-*še-si-im*

Translation: The city of Kishesim.

Commentary: By contrast with Botta's copy (*Monument de Ninive*, 4:pl. 180) Flandin's copies show that the sign *ki* had been damaged. The first vertical wedge of *ki*, correctly drawn by Flandin on plate 126, is drawn at an angle on plate 125. The top of the second vertical wedge appears as a slanting wedge on both plates. Although the inscription in Flandin's plate 125 is correctly lithographed in *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 68, in *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 68 bis his drawing of *ki* has been quite distorted and the *se* has been made to overlap the edge of the tower.

For variant orthographies of the name Kishesim, see Parpola, *AOAT* 6 (1970), pp. 210-211. For discussion of its location, see Reade, *Iran* 16 (1978), pp. 137-143. According to the Annals Inscription of Room 2, Kishesim was captured in Sargon's sixth year (716 B.C.) and renamed Kar-Ninurta.[12]

3. Plate 123 (room 2, slab 1 in door H)

Bibliography: Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 76; 4: pl. 180, line 9; Winckler, *Sargon*, 2: pl. 49, n° 20; El-Amin, *Sumer* 9 (1953), p. 56.

Transliteration: URU *bit-ba-ga-ia*

Translation: The city of Bit-Bagaya.

Commentary: The only difference between Flandin's copy and Botta's is that the latter wrongly omits a horizontal wedge from *ba*.

The Display Inscription of room 10 gives the name of the city as *URU bit-ba-ga-ia* and states that it was renamed Kar-Adad.[13] The Annals Inscription of room 2 gives the name as URU *bit-ga-ba-ia* and states that it was renamed Kar-Ishtar.[14] The caption copied by Flandin and Botta confirms the reading URU *bit-ba-ga-ia* but does not resolve the question of the city's new name. The content of the two inscriptions shows that the city was in the vicinity of Harhar in western Media, and was captured during the seventh campaign (715 B.C.).

4. Plate 95 (room 5, slab 5)

Bibliography: Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 89; 4: pl. 180, line 4; El-Amin, *Sumer* 9 (1953), p. 37.

Transliteration: URU *gab-bu-tú-nu*

Translation: The city of Gabbutunu.

Commentary: Flandin's copy gives URU a double final vertical wedge. Botta (*Monument de Ninive*, 4: pl. 180) shows only a single final vertical wedge and is presumably the more accurate.

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[12] *Monument de Ninive* 4: pl. 74, 2-4 (*kar-*^{d} MAŠ); Winckler, *Sargon* 1: 14-14, 67-69 (wrongly Kar-Adar); Luckenbill, *ARAB*, 2: 5, para. 10; Lie, *Sargon Annals*, pp. 16-17, 93-95. The Display Inscription of room 10 (*Monument de Ninive*, 4: pl. 146b, 11-12 (*kar-*^{d} MAŠ-MAŠ); Winckler, *Sargon*, 1: 108-109, 59-60; Luckenbill, *ARAB*, 2: 29, para. 56), gives the town's new name as Kar-Nergal, and this is supported by K.1669b (Winckler, *Sargon*, 2: pl. 45).

[13] *Monument de Ninive* 4: pl. 147, 6; Winckler, *Sargon*, 1: 107-108, 64-65; Luckenbill, *ARAB*, 2: 29, para. 57.

[14] *Monument de Ninive*, 4: pl. 74 bis, 9; Winckler, *Sargon*, 1: 18, 87; Luckenbill, *ARAB*, 2: 7, para. 14; Lie, *Sargon Annals*, pp. 20-21, 113-114.

Gabbutunu was first identified by El-Amin[15] with the Biblical Gibbethon (Joshua 19, 44; 21, 23; 1 Kings 15,27; 16, 15 and 17) on the border between the tribe of Dan and the Philistines, now Tell Melât.[16] Its capture is not recorded in the presently published inscriptions of Sargon.

The name has been read *gab-bu-ut-nu*,[17] but the general Neo-Assyrian orthographic preference for consonant-vowel syllables suggests that the reading *gab-bu-tú-nu* should be preferred.

5. Plate 98 (room 5, slab 10)

Bibliography: Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 93; 4: pl. 180, line 3; Winckler, *Sargon*, 1:190, n° 2 V, 10 (defective); 2: pl. 49, n° 2f; El-Amin, *Sumer* 9 (1953), pp. 38-39.

Transliteration: URU *'a-am-qa-ru-na!*

Translation: The city of Amqarruna.

Commentary: There are minor differences in the signs URU and *am* as copied by Flandin and Botta. More significantly the final sign *na!*, of which only five wedges are drawn by Flandin, is shown as a fully preserved *ṣu* by Botta. Given the number of attestations of the name Amqarruna in Late Assyrian historical texts[18] there can be no doubt that it is the name to be read here. Flandin's drawing suggests that the sign was damaged, and it seems likely that Botta's *ṣu* is an over-optimistic restoration. It has to be admitted that even Flandin's drawing does not fit *na* well.

Both Flandin and Botta indicate that the surface of the sculpture is damaged on the tower between *qa* and *ru*. In this space El-Amin, on the basis of the orthography *am-qar-ru-na* in the inscriptions of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, has restored *'a-am-qa-[ár]-ru-na* here. However as the writing of *qar* before a consonant in other toponyms shows,[19] the Assyrian scribes show almost total consistency in choosing the orthography *qar* rather than *qa-ar*. It seems certain therefore that the scribe who drafted the epigraph for this relief chose not to represent a reduplicated r (compare the orthography *am-qar-u-na* in the inscriptions of Ashurbanipal), and that the correct transliteration is as given above. The empty space between *qa* and *ru* is no problem; compare the writing of Kisheshlu (no. 9 below).

Amqarruna has been identified with Biblical Ekron since the decipherment of the Nineveh bull inscription of Sennacherib with its account of Sennacherib's campaign against Hezekiah of Judah.[20] Ekron is now identified with Khirbet el-Muqanna'[21] Its capture is not recorded in the presently published inscriptions of Sargon.

6. Plate 133 (room 13, slab 4)

Bibliography: Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 141; 4: pl. 180, line 7; El-Amin, *Sumer* 9 (1953), pp. 226-227.

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[15] *Sumer* 9 (1953), p. 37; see also Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), p. 83, no. 243.

[16] Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* (English edition, London 1967), pp. 151, no. 103, 377.

[17] Parpola, *AOAT* 6 (1970), p. 127.

[18] Ibid., p. 16.

[19] Ibid., pp. 284-285.

[20] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 143, 627; the inscriptions are published in H. Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* 3 (1870), pls. 12-13 (BM 118815, 118817, 118819, 118821 = 56-9-9, 202-205). See also H.F. Talbot's translation of the Taylor Prism of Sennacherib (BM 91032 = 55-10-3,1) in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 19 (London, 1862), pp. 135-181; the identification of Ekron appears on p. 146.

[21] J. Naveh, "Khirbet el-Muqanna'", *Israel Exploration Journal* 8 (1958), pp. 87-100, 165-170 (survey and discussion of the historical evidence).

Transliteration: URU *mu-ṣa-ṣir al!-me akšud* (KUR-*ud*).

Translation: The city of Muṣaṣir I besieged and captured.

Commentary: As already observed by El-Amin, Flandin's drawing as lithographed in *Monument de Ninive,* 2: pl. 141, seem to show the signs *al-me* incorrectly split by the stone-carver into four parts: DU-BAR-DIŠ-NU. The original drawing gives the element BAR a slightly different form but in other respects is adequately represented by the lithograph. Botta's drawing in *Monument de Ninive,* 4: pl. 180, disposes the spaces between the signs quite differently and gives the sign *al* in a normal form (compare the epigraph on the siege of Kisheshlu, no. 9 below). The sign DU can be transformed into *al* with the addition of a single wedge. It seems likely therefore that we should accept Flandin's indication of the spacing as correct, but follow Botta in reading DU as *al!*; the BAR is likely to be only cracks on the sculpture, as is the slanting wedge which appears to turn ME into DIŠ-NU.

The identification of the Urartian city of Muṣaṣir [22] with Mujeisir in the Bradost region of Iraq proposed by R.M. Boehmer [23] has been generally accepted. The capture of Muṣaṣir and its booty is described in graphic detail in the account of Sargon's eighth campaign (714 B.C.).[24]

7. Plate 137 (room 14, slab 10)

Bibliography: Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive,* 2: pl. 146 ; 4. pl. 180, line 13 ; Winckler, *Sargon,* 1: 191, n° 2 XIV, 10; 2: pl. 49, n° 2n; El-Amin, *Sumer* 9 (1953), pp. 216-219; Reade, *JNES* 35 (1976), pp. 89-99.

Transliteration: *uš-ma-nu šá* ˹*tàk*˺-[*lak-a-na-EN*].

Translation : Camp of Tak [lak-ana-Bel].

Commentary : Flandin's drawing shows a blank space after *tàk* without any indication of damage. However both the lithographed version in *Monument de Ninive,* 2: pl. 146 and Botta's copy in *Monument de Ninive,* 4: pl. 180, show the whole of the space to the right of *tàk* as damaged. Winckler's attempts to extract sense from the visible signs alone are entirely unsatisfactory, and the inscription must be assumed to have continued across the damaged area.

As observed by El-Amin, Botta incorrectly adds an extra vertical to *us*. The sign *tàk* is copied the same way by both Flandin and Botta. Winckler's interpretation [*sarru*]-GIN is out of the question. El-Amin's restoration ⌜¹⌝NUMUN-DÙ⌝ [LÚ *tur-ta-nu*], "Zera-ibni, the turtanu", is superficially plausible but requires that both copyists have misplaced the horizontal wedge of NUMUN and wrongly oriented the horizontal wedges of DÙ. His own copy [25] glosses over the problem of the height of the sign NUMUM. J.N. Postgate's reading [26] ⌜*tàk*˺-[*lak*-.....] fits the copies precisely and is well taken by Reade to suggest the name of Taklak-ana-Bel, the *limmu*-official of 715 B.C..[27] Although he is not yet proved to have taken part in the campaign against Kisheshlu, this remains the most plausible restoration.

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[22] For references in the historical texts, see Papola *AOAT* 6 (1970), p. 250.

[23] "Zur Lage von Muṣaṣir", *Bagh Mitt* 6 (1973), pp. 31-40; *Archaologischer Anzeiger* 4 (1973), pp. 479-521.

[24] F. Thureau-Dangin, *Textes cunéiformes du Louvre,* 3: 48-65, lines 309-414; Luckenbill, *ARAB* 2: 92-99, paras. 169-176.

[25] *Sumer* 9 (1953), fig. 16 (after p. 228), see "Beischrift mit Ergänzung"

[26] Cited by Reade, *JNES* 35 (1976), p. 99.

[27] E. Unger, *RlA* 2: 426-427.

8. Plate 136 (room 14, slab 2)

Bibliography: Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive,* 2: pl. 145; 4: pl. 180, lines 1-2; Winckler, *Sargon,* 1: 190, n° 2 XIV, 2; 2: pl. 49, n° 21; El-Amin, *Sumer* 9 (1953), pp. 219-225.

Transliteration: URU *pa!-za-š* [i] URU *hal-ṣu šá* KUR *man-na-a-a*

šá IGI *n*[*i-ri*]*–be šá* KUR! *zi-kir-ta-a-a*

Translation: The city of Pazashi (Panzish), a fortress-city of the land of Mannea which is in front of the pass leading to the land of Zirkitu

Commentary: the sign *pa* is defective in the copies of both Flandin and Botta. The missing horizontal wedge of *š*[*i*] is restored by Botta. KUR in the second line, copied as ŠE (with four wedges) by Flandin, is correctly copied by Botta. Parpola's reading of the city name as URU *un-ši*[28] cannot be faulted on orthographic grounds, but gives a name which cannot be linked to any city-name in Sargon's historical inscriptions or any other historical source.

El-Amin has very plausibly seen in *pa-za-ši* a variant of the name *pa-an-zi-iš,* a city on the border between Mannea and Zikirtu and Andia fortified by Sargon in the course of his eighth campaign (714 B.C.).[29] The interchange between *nz* and *z(z)* and the addition or omission of the final *i* pose no problems, but the vowel change *a* to *i* is slightly disconcerting. It is a reasonable assumption that Pazashi having been captured by Sargon in the course of the campaign illustrated in this relief was later turned over by him to his Mannean tributary Ullusunu and used as an outpost to keep watch on the hostile land of Zikirtu. Mitatti of Zikirtu is named as one of the leaders of the coalition against which Sargon fought in 719 and 716 B.C. (third and sixth campaigns), and in the Display Inscription[30] Sargon records handing over to Ullusunu twenty-two fortresses (*ḫalṣū*) and two fortified cities which he had seized from Ursa (Rusa I of Urartu) and Mitatti.

9. Plate 138 (room 14, slab 12)

Bibliography: Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive,* 2: pl. 147: 4: pl. 180, line 12; Winckler, *Sargon,* 1: 191, n° 2 XIV, ?; 2: pl. 49, n° 2m; El-Amin, *Sumer* 9 (1953), p. 216.

Transliteration: URU! *ki!-šeš-lu al-me akšud* (KUR!–*ud*)

Translation: The city of Kisheshlu I besieged and captured.

Commentary: As drawn by Flandin the sign URU is defective and the sign *ki* is both damaged and irregularly incised. Botta's copy normalizes both signs. KUR! is copied as NU by both Flandin and Botta, and one must suppose that this reflects a mistake by the Assyrian craftsman.

The capture of Kisheshlu, in the vicinity of Harhar in western Media, and its renaming as Kar-Nabu are recorded in the account of Sargon's seventh year in the Annals Inscription of room 2[31] and in the Display Inscription of room 10.[32]

10-14: Other Inscribed Objects

10. Plate 148 (inscribed altar)

Bibliography: Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive,* 2: pl. 157; 4: 181, n° 1.

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[28] *AOAT* 6 (1970), p. 368.

[29] Thureau-Dangin, *TCL,* 3: 14-15, lines 75-79; Luckenbill, *ARAB,* 2: 78, para. 150.

[30] *Monument de Ninive,* 4: pl. 147, 4; Winckler, *Sargon,* 1: 106, 52; Luckenbill, *ARAB,* 2: 28-29, para. 56.

[31] *Monument de Ninive,* 4: pl. 74 bis, 9-10; Winckler, *Sargon,* 1: 18-19, 87-88; Lie, *Sargon Annals,* pp. 20-21, 113-114; Luckenbill, *ARAB,* 2: 7, para. 14.

[32] *Monument de Ninive,* 4: pl. 147, 4-5; Winckler, *Sargon,* 1: 108-112, 64-65; Luckenbill, *ARAB,* 2: 29, para. 57.

The original altar is now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, numbered AO 19900. Botta, *Monument de Ninive,* 5: 171, implies the existence of other altars. Layard also reports (*Nineveh and Babylon,* p. 131), that his workmen found inscribed altars or tripods at Khorsabad. Two other altars with the same inscription are published, one in Istanbul[33] and the other coming from the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago's excavations (numbered DS 1195).[34] The text of the Louvre exemplar has been edited by Winckler and Nassouhi.[35] The following is the text of the Louvre exemplar restored from the other two examplars.

a-na ^{d}[IMIN.BI *qar-rad la ša-na-an* ^{1}] LUGAL-GI.NA *šar* KUR *aš-šur*^{ki} [ŠAKKANA] KÁ. DINGIR.RA^{ki} *šar*$_{4}$ KUR EME.KU *ù* URI^{ki} GÁ-*ma* BA-*eš*

"To the Sebettu, the hero who has no rival, Sargon, king of the universe, viceregent of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, has set up and dedicated (this altar)."

Note that the dedication to the Sebettu appears only on the Istanbul altar. In the absence of precise information on the find-spot of AO 19900 one cannot say whether it too was dedicated to the Sebettu.

The reading GÁ-*ma (iškun-ma)* was suggested by Nassouhi. For the equation GÁ = *šakànu* in lexical texts see W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handworterbuch* (3 volumes, Wiesbaden, 1959-1981), p. 1135a-(lexical section). The use of GÁ is probably a deliberate Sumerianism.[36]

11-12. Plate 151 (glazed brick inscriptions, nos. 9 and 11)

Bibliography: Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive,* 2: pl. 156, n°s 9, 11.

Two fragments of glazed bricks with inscriptions, presumably parts of a frieze. They are now preserved in Paris (Inv. Nap. 2994 and 2995). Another fragment (DS 5, now in the Oriental Institute, Chicago) was found by the Oriental Institute excavators in court VII, the throneroom of Sargon,[37] and this might have been the original location of the fragments found by Botta.[38] V. Place also mentions[39] glazed bricks and glazed inscriptions without giving precise details. The use of glazed bricks at Khorsabad is discussed by Loud and Altman[40] without reference to inscriptions.

In spite of the size and clarity of Flandin's copy the surviving fragments of text remain unintelligible. Initially one expects to find a parallel to a standard short brick or monumental inscription, but there is no apparent agreement. The various Annals texts and the Display Inscription are sources of parallels which I cannot claim to have exhausted. The relief fragment[41] found in the throneroom by the Oriental Institute excavators showing a scene from the campaign against Merodach-Baladan with part of three lines of epigraph above suggests the further possibility of a decorative scheme incorporating a non-standard text. A frieze of glazed bricks with inscription found by W. Andrae at Ashur[42] and

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[33] E. Nassouhi, *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 22 (1925), pp. 85-87.

[34] Loud and Altman, *Khorsabad.II,* p. 104, no. 3.

[35] Winckler, *Sargon* 1: 190, no. 1; 2: pl. 49, no. 1; Nassouhi, *RA* 22 (1925), pp. 87-88.

[36] Compare the standard Sumerian brick inscription of Sargon from Khorsabad, C. B. F. Walker, *Cuneiform Brick Inscriptions* (London, 1981), p. 118, no. 168.

[37] Information courtesy of J. Renger. Another fragment, DS 89, with traces of a single sign was found in Palace F.

[38] Botta in *Monument de Ninive,* 5: 171, discussed the glazed brick fragments published in ibid., 2: 155-156, without giving details of their find-spots.

[39] Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie,* 1: 89, 233-234; 2: 86.

[40] *Khorsabad. II,* pp. 14-15, 41-42; also Index, p. 113, see s.v. bricks, glazed. See also J.E. Reade, *Bagh Mitt* 10 (1979), pp. 19-20.

[41] Loud, *Khorsabad.I,* pp. 60, 129, fig. 72.

[42] W. Andrae, *Farbige Keramik aus Assur* (Berlin, 1923), pp. 11-12, pl. 6.

attributed by him to Tiglath-pileser III was subsequently attributed by E. F. Weidner[43] to Sargon on the basis of the inscription; but the latter attribution has also been queried lately.[44] The very fragmentary inscription on those bricks is of no assistance in the reading of Flandin's copy; but its historical reference to the king's passing between the mountains Nikippi and Upa[45] underlines the possibility of Flandin's fragments being part of a non-standard historical account.

13. Plate 152 (late Assyrian sealing, no. 2)

Bibliography: Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 164.

The original sealing cannot at present be located. It was stamped with the impression of a royal seal,[46] around which appears a cuneiform inscription. The inscriptions on such sealings either indicate that the object being sealed is or contains royal property, or states its contents in terms of some commodity. In the absence of the original sealing any restoration is totally speculative. One could think of restoring the visible signs at the top as *šar*$_4$ KUR *aš-šur*, "king of Assyria", but this could be completely wrong.

14. Plate 153 (stamp-seal)

Bibliography: Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 154.

The original seal cannot at present be located. It is apparently not in the Musée du Louvre. It is of a dome-backed, perhaps scaraboid, type, probably not of Assyrian manufacture but imported from the Levant. On the face of the seal above the horse is something superficially like a cuneiform sign. However it is not in fact readily identifiable, and seals of this type rarely if ever have cuneiform inscriptions. The initial resemblance to cuneiform is probably accidental.

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[43] *Archiv für Orientforschung* 3 (1936), pp. 1-6.

[44] A. Fridman, "Sargon II or Tiglath-pileser III ?", *RA* 63 (1969), pp. 172-175.

[45] Compare Thureau-Dangin, *TCL*, 3: 4-5, line 15, and 3: 66-67, line 418 (Sargon's eighth campaign); Luckenbill, *ARAB*, 2: 74, 99, paras. 142, 176.

[46] Sachs, *Iraq* 15 (1953), pp. 167-170; Millard, *Iraq* 27 (1965), pp. 12-16.

CHAPTER VIII

CATALOGUE OF ORIGINAL DRAWINGS

A. PAUL EMILE BOTTA'S ORIGINAL SKETCHES

Commentary. Sometime in the past, Botta's sketches reproduced in this volume were cut into odd shapes and permanently attached onto four sheets of paper. These papers are now kept in the Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France (MS 2995.4). The papers are in a fragile condition, and several sketches are frayed at the edges. A majority of the sketches are rendered with a lead pencil and the remainder are in pen and ink (over pencil lines?). Handwritten comments are annotated to several drawings. Each drawing shows a letter of the alphabet, probably to identify the sequence of Botta's discoveries of the bas-reliefs mentioned in his first two letters to Jules Mohl (5 April 1843, and 2 May 1843). These reliefs were found on the walls designated by Roman numerals that marked them out on the plan prepared by Botta, as follows: V, IV, III (south and southeast walls of room 1); II, I (facades L and K, surrounding room 1); X, XV, XVI, XXIII (doorway leading into room 2); XXII (west wall of room 2). The whereabouts of the additional sketches which Botta made to accompany his last three letters to Mohl – if they still exist – is unknown. This is unfortunate since many of these sketches must have had details shown in color, which Botta describes in his letters. Additionally, it is evident from Eugène Flandin's drawings of later date that many bas-reliefs suffered further erosion after many months of exposure. By the end of October 1843, Botta had exposed the walls forming rooms 1, 2, 3, a portion of room 4, and portions of facades K and L. He also cleared the passage connecting rooms 2 and 5. All these walls contained bas-reliefs. During this time Botta also copied cuneiform inscriptions that were carved across the lower portions of human figures in room 4, above the lower registers of bas-reliefs in room 2, and upon the passage pavements. Simplified line drawings of Botta's sketches were made and reproduced together with his five letters to Mohl in the *Journal asiatique*, and subsequently in the volume, *Lettres de M. Botta.*

Botta's original sketches are reproduced here exactly as they are kept in the Bibliothèque de l'Institut. For each sketch actual dimensions are given, followed by a brief description and bibliography. Note: in the descriptions given in this chapter, the direction towards which a figure turns, right or left, is always in relation to the viewer.

Plate 1

Top left: length 17.7 cm., width 16.6 cm. Pencil sketch. Two male figures walk to the right. The person on the right is a beardless Assyrian attendant attired in a long garment

and flounced shawl. At his side is a sword. In his raised left hand are two sticks positioned vertically, while his lowered right hand is open and extended forward. The attendant is followed by a bearded person who wears a cap with pointed peak and an ankle-length garment, over which is a coat with curved ends. He carries a model of a city in his left hand, while his right hand remains clenched.

The letter "v" is annotated to the drawing. The findspot of the bas-relief is wall XVII (facade L, slab 17). The relief is described as showing traces of color. *JA* 2 (1843), p. 69, pl. X; *Lettres de M. Botta*, p. 9, pl. X.

Bottom left: length 10.7 cm., width 8.2 cm. Pencil sketch. Lower part of a human figure turned to the left. The lower end of a flounced shawl is visible over a long garment decorated at the bottom with embroidery and tassels. In the corner is the number "4".

The letters "e. f. k." are annotated. The findspot is wall I or wall II (facade K or L). Each of these walls displayed four colossal human figures. *JA* 2 (1843), p. 67, pl. VIII; *Lettres de M. Botta,* p. 9, pl. VIII.

Bottom left center: length 12.2 cm., width 13 cm. Pencil sketch. Lower part of a human figure turned to the right. A long garment covers the right leg and leaves the left leg exposed to the knee, where it is covered with a fringed tunic. On the feet are flat sandals.

The letter "j" is annotated. The findspot of the relief is wall VIII (lateral wall of door A in room 1). *JA* 2 (1843), p. 66, pl. IV; *Lettres de M. Botta,* p. 7, pl. IV.

Right: length 23.5 cm., width 34 cm. Sepia ink over pencil lines. Map is labelled "premier plan des fouilles qui se rapporte la lettre du 5 Avril 1843." Dotted lines indicate the extent of the excavation. Red lines indicate the edge of the mound. Measurements and a brief description of the subject matter on the wall reliefs are given. The map shows that the initial exploration of the site occurred in the area later identified as room 1 and portions of facades K and L.

This drawing was not published by Mohl, who instead published the maps sent together with Botta's third and fifth letters. *JA* 3 (1843), p. 63, n.1 ; *Lettres de M. Botta,* pp. 4, 60.

Plate 2

Upper left: length 14.2 cm., width 23.6 cm. Pencil sketch. Assyrian soldiers advance to the left and attack a besieged citadel. On the extreme right are an archer and a shield bearer. They are preceded by a pair of half-kneeling archers. Two defenders stand on top of the citadel wall.

The letter "h" is annotated. The findspot of the relief is wall VII (slabs 3-2 in room 1). This drawing was not published by Mohl. *JA* 2 (1843), pp. 64-65 ; *Lettres de M. Botta,* pp. 5-6.

Upper center: length 12.5 cm., width 8.4 cm. Sepia ink over pencil lines. Drawing of a stone monument (altar), together with measurements. Discovered near the village which at the time was situated on the mound. This altar is now preserved in the Musée du Louvre.

Botta records that he also examined a second altar, much defaced. *JA* 2 (1843), p. 70, pl. XI; *Lettres de M. Botta,* p. 27, pl. XI.

Upper right: length 14.8 cm., width 7.5 cm. Pen and ink, and pencil sketch. A bearded Assyrian soldier turns to the left. He wears a knee-length tunic. He is armed with a sword and holds a long stick. The description explains that the person marches to the west, towards the entrance of the passage.

The letter "i" is annotated. The findspot is wall VIII (slab 4, lateral wall of door A in room 1). *JA* 2 (1843), p. 66 pl. III; *Lettres de M. Botta,* p. 7, pl. III.

Lower left: length 14.1 cm., width 24.5 cm. Sepia ink. A soldier, dressed in knee-length tunic and armed with a long spear, walks behind a procession of three women (?) and a child advancing to the right.

The letter "*b*" is annotated. The findspot is wall VI (slabs 9-8 in room 1). Mohl mentions that the head of the child was sent to him and, subsequently, it was deposited in the Bibliothèque Royal. *JA* 2 (1843), p. 67, pls. VI, XXXII; *Lettres de M. Botta,* p. 7, pls. VI, XXXII.

Lower right: length 17 cm., width 13.5 cm. Pencil sketch. Two half-kneeling Assyrian soldiers, side by side, turn to the left. One is armed with a bow and arrow, and the other raises a round shield decorated with concentric patterns. In front of these figures, a crested helmet is shown.

The letter "g" is annotated. The findspot is wall VI (slabs 1-2 in room 1). *JA* 2 (1843), p. 65, pl. II; *Lettres de M. Botta,* p. 5, pl. II.

Plate 3

Upper left: length 11.5 cm., width 22.7 cm. Pencil sketch. Lower part of six persons advancing to the right. The figure on the extreme left wears a cloak decorated with striations (sheep's fur cloak?) and boots.

The letter "a" is annotated. The findspot is wall V (slabs 8-6 in room 1). *JA* 2 (1843), p. 66, pl. V ; *Lettres de M. Botta,* p. 7, pl. V.

Lower left: length 12.5 cm., width 20 cm. Pencil sketch. Two facades separated by a corner wall. On the left side is the lower portion of a person turned to the left. He is attired in a long robe that covers the left leg. Beneath this garment is a short tunic. On the right side is an Assyrian soldier, depicted on a smaller scale. He turns to the right and grasps a long stick.

The letters "j" and "c" are annotated. The findspot is wall III (slab 3 of door A in room 1). *JA* 2 (1843), pp. 66-67, pls. IV, VII; *Lettres de M. Botta*, pp. 7-8, pls. IV, VII.

Center: length 11.7 cm., width 12.2 cm. Pencil sketch. Colors: red and blue on horse trappings. An Assyrian soldier on horseback turns to the left. He is armed with a quiver, bow, and sword. The animal is richly caparisoned. The head of a second horse, alongside that of the first, is outlined.

The letter "s" is annotated. The findspot is wall XV (slab B1 in room 2). *JA* 2 (1843), p. 209, pl. XIX; *Lettres de M. Botta*, p. 19, pl. XIX.

Right: length 15.7 cm., width 29 cm. Pencil sketch. Colors: red on the king's headdress and reins; red, blue, and black on the trappings of both horses. A chariot pulled by two (?) horses advances to the right. In the chariot box stand the king, a parasol bearer, and a charioteer. Behind the chariot is an Assyrian soldier on horseback.

The letter "p" is annotated. The findspot is wall XXII (slab 2 in room 2). *JA* 2 (1843), p. 209, pl. XVII; *Lettres de M. Botta*, p. 18, pl. XVII.

Plate 4

Above: length 17.5 cm., width 17.4 cm. Pencil sketch. Color: red on three-branched plant. Two colossal figures turn to the left. The first figure is depicted from the waist down. It is winged and dressed in a knee-length tunic embellished with a wide belt and a long cloth that falls pendant at the front. A bucket originally held in the lowered left hand is also drawn. The second person is attired in a long flounced garment that covers the left leg and part of the knee-length tunic. In his lowered left hand is a three-branched plant.

The letter "l" is annotated. The figures are described as about 3 meters high. The findspot is wall X (slab 1 in door B leading into facade L). *JA* 2 (1843), p. 204, pl. XVI; *Lettres de M. Botta*, p. 18, pl. XVI.

Below: length 14.5 cm., width 16.8 cm. Pencil sketch. Two colossal human figures turn to the right. This drawing is nearly identical to the preceding example.

The letter "t" is annotated. The findspot is wall XVI (slab 2 in door B leading into facade L). *JA* 2 (1843), p. 209, pl. XX; *Lettres de M. Botta*, p. 19, pl. XX.

B. Eugène Flandin's Original Drawings

Commentary. Generally, Flandin's drawings are arranged in the sequence in which they are first discussed in the present volume. A stylistic comparison leads one to conclude that the drawings were made on the spot or a short time thereafter, once the desired information had been assembled. To the first category belong the realistic renderings in pencil of the bas-reliefs discovered *in situ*. To the second category belong the pen and ink groundplans and wall elevations. These renderings were completed soon after the respective rooms and facades were excavated. Confirmation for this conclusion comes from two drawings dealing with room 7. One of these, a realistic drawing of a bas-relief, is dated "4 Août 44" while the other, the groundplan with wall elevations, is dated "8 août 44" (see plates 84, 88). Although Flandin added dates to only eleven of his drawings, these annotations nonetheless furnish information as to when different areas of the mound were recorded in his art works (E.g.: facade L = May; room 2 = June; room 5 = June; facade N = July (?); View of Khorsabad = July/August (?); room 7 = August). Without exception, each drawing is marked with Flandin's signature or name and the comment, "Khorsabad 44."

Other drawings which should be assigned to the second category are those depicting the subject matter restored to its original appearance (for example, pls. 15, 17, 44). Botta states in his publication that the restorations are not arbitrary but rely upon detached portions of the bas-reliefs which existed; moreover, Flandin measured small details and then made necessary calculations.[1] One may surmise that Flandin utilized special equipment to facilitate his various tasks, such as the *camera lucida* or *camera obscura* (or both),[2] especially for those drawings depicting panoramas; that is, views of long, connecting sections of sculptured walls. It is otherwise difficult to explain Flandin's remarkable ability to render in the same drawing so many details in small scale with such exactitude.

Internal evidence makes it likely that the drawings were pasted into the two folio volumes after engravings of them were made, in preparation for publication. Without exception, all the original drawings are neatly cropped along the sides, and in a few instances this has resulted in minor loss of information. Several drawings are trimmed at the top to conform to the irregular contour of the extant stone blocks. Occasionally, two drawings appear on the same page, contiguous to one another. In several places the drawings are reversed in error. A serious error occurs with the group of drawings from room 10 (pls. 27-30). The correct sequence is found in *Monument de Ninive.*

Each page in Flandin's two folio volumes is numbered. Beneath each drawing of a bas-relief is annotated its designated slab number. However, the plates of the drawings reproduced in the present volume do not show this information. Flandin numbered the slabs lining the walls of the respective facades and rooms consecutively, either clockwise (left to right) or counterclockwise (right to left). Therefore, a sequence of slab numbers cited in the text, from left to right, conforms to the order in which the bas-reliefs are aligned on the wall. Commentaries annotated to many drawings have been translated into English for the benefit of the reader, and are included in the catalogue. Many of these remarks identify architectural features and provide information to clarify details.

For each drawing, information is stated in the following sequence: dimensions of the drawing; page on which it is placed in Flandin's folio volume (1846), *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I),* or *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*; reference in the publication of Botta and Flandin (1849), *Monument de Ninive*, 5 vols.; identification and brief description of the drawing.

[1] Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 5:vi-vii. Botta states explicitly that Flandin copied the reliefs, prepared the definitive plans, and copied some of the captions on the wall reliefs; ibid., p. 12.

[2] The first instrument was a box containing a prism which reflected the image onto the paper and allowed the artist to delineate the reflected image. It was employed, for example, in the early 19th century to produce panoramas of ancient Egyptian monuments; see Catherine D. Major, "Illustrating, B.C.", *Archaeology* 24 (1971), pp. 44-51. The second instrument had been in use for several centuries. It consisted of a box with a convex lens and a ground glass. It projected an inverted and laterally reversed image of the external scene; see Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene. A Social History, 1839-1889.* (New York: Dover, 1938), pp. 4, 6.

Plate 5

Length 62 cm., width 46 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 1.

Unpublished.

Pen and ink.

Title page, hand lettered. *Plans, Coupes, Elevations & Details d'Architecture des Monumens Assyriens decouverts à Khorsabad sur Le Territoire de l'Ancienne Ninive, par Eugène Flandin.*

Plate 6

Length 62.5 cm., width 46.5 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 1.

Unpublished.

Pen and ink.

Title page, hand lettered. *BAS-RELIEFS ASSYRIENS. DECOUVERTS A KHORSABAD SUR LE TERRITOIRE DE L'ANCIENNE NINIVE, aujourdhui MOSSOUL. DESSINS ORIGINAUX PAR EUGENE FLANDIN. GRAVES DANS L'OUVRAGE PUBLIE PAR L'ETAT EN 1846.*

Plate 7

Length 26 cm., width 38.5 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 3.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 1.

Pencil sketch. Dated "30 juillet 44."

Mound of Khorsabad with village. On the left side of the drawing is a modern cemetery situated on the low, middle mound.

Plate 8

Length 32.3 cm., width 49.9 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 7.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 5.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes. In the lower right hand corner a comment written in pencil gives the scale, "0,001 par mètre".

Elevations of the mound of Khorsabad, showing the modern village. From top to bottom, four views are given from sides southeast, northeast, northwest, southwest.

Plate 9

Length 42 cm., width 57.7 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 4.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive* 1: pl. 2.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

General topographical plan. View of the enclosure wall and of the mound of Khorsabad. The dimensions of the enclosure wall are given as 1,750 × 1,680 meters. In the lower right corner of the drawing, the legend explains the lettered codes. (Translation:) " a.

Plan of the village of Khorsabad. b. Artificial mound comprising the ruins. c. Small hills which in all probability have some connection with the main mound. d. Walls with right angles. e. Conical shaped hills, probably towers. Fragments of bricks. f. Excavation by which means a wall was recognized. g. Certain traces of construction. h. Trenches. i. Traces of an embankment bordering the trenches. k. Ploughed fields. l. Fields covered with debris of bricks, much higher than terrain k. "

Plate 10

Length 32.5 cm., width 50 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 5.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 3.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

Plan, layout, elevation, and construction of the ancient wall. In the upper right corner of the drawing, the legend explains the lettered codes. (Translation:) "A. Construction of enclosure wall, composed of stones and bricks. a. Stylobate composed of large cut stones at the angles, and of small cut stones on the exterior face only. The stones do not appear to have been juxtapositioned in cement. b. Mass of twelve rows of unbaked bricks. B. Construction of cut stones, several rows thick, also set in place. c. Soil. x. Exploration trench."

Plate 11

Length 47.8 cm., width 33.5 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 6.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 4.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

Topographical plan of the mound of Khorsabad and the plan of the monument as discovered. In the lower left corner of the drawing, the legend explains the lettered and numbered codes. (Translation:) "K.L.m.n.a. Exterior facades. x. Isolated monument. y. Retaining wall. z. Trial excavation without results. 1. Interment jars. 2. Isolated doors. Note: the lines with dots indicate traces of walls without [stone] lining."

Plate 12

Length 35.6 cm., width 59.5 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 8.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 6.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

General plan of the architectural structures discovered on the mound. In the lower right corner of the drawing, the legend explains the lettered and numbered codes. (Translation:) "At the top, the Roman numbers indicate the rooms set down as discovered. K.L.N.n.m.a. Exterior parts of the monument, or facades. k. Doors. 2. Slabs with grooves for fittings. 3. Pavement slabs. 4. Exterior pavement in brick. 5. Stone with hollow in center serving to receive a hinge. 6. Retaining wall of cut stones. 7. Floor of various stones and limestone. 8. This part is covered with a layer of bitumen, which probably indicates a pavement of bricks."

Plate 13

Length 23.4 cm., width 36 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 44.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2:pl. 157.

Pen and ink.

Section of retaining wall. Above: elevation of the wall, showing rows of stones set in place. Below: plan of one row of stones, showing the method of arrangement. The note, " voir Pl. 6, no. 5", refers to *Monument de Ninive*, (but see plate 12, note 6, above).

Plate 14

Length 50.2 cm., width 36.2 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 20.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 46.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes and pencil lines.

Facade A. Three views are given. Bottom: plan of door a. Middle: actual elevation. Top: sculptures restored in place. Pavement slab in doorway shows a double column of horizontal lines, indicating a carved inscription. Height of the winged human-headed bull on the lateral wall of the door is given as 5.80 meters. Heights of winged human-headed bulls lining the facade are given as 4.90 meters.

Plate 15

Length 43.5 cm., width 21.5 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 23.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 47.

Pencil drawing (soft lead).

Facade A, slab 2. Subject matter is drawn from restored sections. Frontally faced bearded hero clutches a small lion to his body.

Plate 16

Length 51.6 cm., width 81.8 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 18.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 30.

Pen and ink. Some gray and yellow washes.

Facade n, northeast wall A-B. Three views are given. Bottom: plan of the wall, showing the sequence of slab numbers. Middle: elevation of wall A-B, showing actual condition of the stone blocks. Top: elevation showing the reconstruction of wall A-B, with slabs restored to their places. Note on the left side of the drawing states the following (translation): "f.q. are doors. Numbers 44, 48, 53, 57 are the figures on the perpendicular walls, and are the same size as the figured elevation."

Plate 17

Length 49 cm., width 22.8 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 21.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 41.

Pencil drawing (soft lead).

Facade n, slab 46. Subject matter is drawn from restored portions. Frontally faced bearded hero clutches a small lion to his body.

Plate 18

Length 29.8 cm., width 21 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 18.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 40.

Pencil drawing (soft lead). Surface damage and breaks in the stone are shown in the drawing. In the right hand corner is added "pl. 39."

Facade n, slab 34. Two Assyrian attendants advance to the left. One person clasps his hands. The other person holds a pair of long sticks in his left hand and extends his open right hand downwards.

Plate 19

Length 35.7 cm., width 55.5 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 17.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 29.

Pen and ink. Some gray, pink, and yellow washes.

Facade n, southeast wall A-B. Three views are given. Bottom: plan of the wall, showing the sequence of slab numbers. Middle: elevation of wall A-B, showing actual condition of the stone blocks. Top: elevation showing the reconstruction of wall A-B, with slabs restored to their places. The scenes on these slabs display processions and the sea transport of timber. At the right side of the drawing, the legend explains the lettered and numbered codes. (Translation:) "5, 9, 14, 18. Perpendicular sides where the elevation has figures. a-b. Mass of wall in unbaked bricks. c. Door. In the corner near stones 18-19, pavement slabs have holes, probably destined to receive the bottom of lances belonging to guards. d. Small hole in the ground for idols; plan and section. e. Large pavement slab. f. Perpendicular section of the plan of facade A-B."

Plate 20

Length 33.6 cm., width 26.7 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 12.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 31.

Pencil drawing. Surface damage and breaks in the stone are rendered realistically. In the upper right corner is added "31".

Facade n, slab unnumbered. In *Monument de Ninive* the slab is numbered 1. Scene restored from fragments illustrates rows of men moving toward the left. They transport logs from a rocky terrain.

Plate 21

Length 32.5 cm.; width 22.3 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 13.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 32.

Pencil drawing. In the upper right corner is added "pl. 32".

Facade n, slab 1. In *Monument de Ninive* the slab is numbered 2. Seascape in which rows of ships propelled by men with oars transport timber. In the seascape are a citadel on an island, a merman, and a winged human-headed bull.

Plate 22

Length 31 cm., width 19.3 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 14.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 33.

Pencil drawing. The upper left corner of the paper is trimmed to conform to the contour of the extant stone block.

Facade n, slab 2. In *Monument de Ninive* the slab is numbered 3. Seascape showing the transport of timber. In the seascape are a citadel on an island and a winged bull.

Plate 23

Two contiguous sheets. Length (left side) 20.5 cm., (right side) 31 cm., width 48.8 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 15.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pls. 34-35.

Pencil drawing. The upper half of the sheet on the left is completely cut away.

Facade n, slabs 4-3. In *Monument de Ninive* the slabs are numbered 5-4. Seascape in which ships propelled by men with oars transport timber to a coastal area. Rows of men on land transport the timber inland.

Plate 24

Three contiguous sheets. Length 30.2 cm., width 45.5 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 16.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pls.36-38.

Pencil drawing.

Facade n, slabs 22-20. In *Monument de Ninive* the slabs are incorrectly numbered 23-21 (compare plate 19). Each drawing illustrates one person from each of the three slabs. The objects held by these persons are, respectively, a sack, hemispherical bowls, and models of cities.

Plate 25

Length 29.8 cm., width 26.7 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 17.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 39.

Pencil drawing.

Facade n, slab 23. In *Monument de Ninive* the slab is incorrectly numbered 24 (compare plate 19). Man holds the reins of two horses. All advance to the right.

Plate 26

Length 36.8 cm., width 54.2 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 35.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 122.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

Plan of room 10. Room dimensions are 25 × 3.05 meters. Three views are given. Bottom: plan. It shows the layout of the chamber, the placement of the pavement slabs, the number sequence of the orthostats lining the walls, and pavement slabs in doors C and d each carved with an inscription, indicated by horizontal lines. Middle: elevation of wall on the northeast side. The orthostats, drawn plain, are divided in the center by a continuous horizontal band that indicates a carved inscription. At each end of the wall is a winged human-headed bull (damaged) facing outwards. The horizontal lines under their bodies indicate inscriptions. On slab 1 is a rectangular groove, probably to receive the door bolt.

Top: elevation of wall on the southwest side. The orthostats, drawn plain, are divided in the center by a continuous horizontal band that indicates a carved inscription. At each end of the wall is a winged human-headed bull (damaged) facing outwards. The horizontal lines under their bodies indicate carved inscriptions. In the center of slab 15 is a large recess, curved at the top, probably to receive the door bolt. In the lower right corner of the drawing, the legend explains the lettered codes. (Translation:) "a. Pivot hole for the door. g. small conspicuous grooves in the pavement slabs of passage 10, which served as a means to fasten the bolt of the door when the entrance was kept open, along an angle of 45 degrees with the wall. y. Hole for the bolt. d. Evidently, with regard to the distance of the pivot hole (a), should be for the purpose of receiving the bolt when the door is open."

Plate 27

Two contiguous sheets. Length 30 cm., width 35.7 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 78.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pls. 123, 127.

Pencil drawing.

Room 10, slabs 1-2. In *Monument de Ninive* the slabs are correctly numbered 1 (left), 5 (right). Upper register: procession of seven men advances to the right. The last two persons are damaged from the waist up. Lower register: procession of four men advances to the right. Three horses comprise part of the group.

Plate 28

Two contiguous sheets. Length 30.3 cm., width 44.6 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II), p.* 79.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pls. 124-125.

Pencil drawing.

Room 10, slabs 3-4. In *Monument de Ninive* the slabs are correctly numbered 2 (left), 3 (right). Upper register: procession of nine persons advances to the right. The last three persons are damaged from the waist up. Lower register: procession of six men advances to the right. Three horses comprise part of the group.

Plate 29

Two contiguous sheets. Length 29.4 cm., width 47 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 80.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pls. 128-129.

Pencil drawing.

Room 10, slabs 5-6. In *Monument de Ninive* the slabs are correctly numbered 6 (left), 7 (right). Upper register: procession of nine men advances to the right. Between the last two men at the left are three dromedary camels. Lower register: procession of five persons advances to the right. Four horses comprise part of the group.

Plate 30

Two contiguous sheets. Length 31 cm., width 34 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 81.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pls. 126, 130.

Pencil drawing.

Room 10, slabs 7-8. In *Monument de Ninive* the slabs are correctly numbered 4 (left), 8 (right). Upper register: procession of six men advances to the right. At the head of the line is an Assyrian attendant. Lower register : procession of five persons advances to the right. At the head of the line is an Assyrian attendant. Two horses comprise part of the group.

Plate 31

Two contiguous sheets. Length 32 cm., width 30.5 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 82.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 131.

Pencil drawing.

Room 10, slabs 9-10. Upper register: procession of seven men advances to the left. From the waist up their bodies are no longer extant. At the head of the line is an Assyrian attendant. Lower register: procession of four men advances to the left. At the head of the line is an Assyrian attendant. Two horses comprise part of the group.

Plate 32

Two contiguous sheets. Length 31 cm., width 47.6 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 83.

Botta and Flandin, *Monuments de Ninive*, 2: pls. 132-133.

Pencil drawing.

Room 10, slabs 11-12. Upper register: procession of nine men advances to the left. The upper portions of all the figures are damaged. Two horses comprise part of the group. Lower register: procession of seven men advances to the left. Six horses comprise part of the group.

Plate 33

Two contiguous sheets. Length 32.5 cm., width 43.3 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 84.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive,* 2: pls. 134-135.

Pencil drawing.

Room 10, slabs 13-14. Upper register: procession of nine men advances to the left. Lower register: procession of five men advances to the left. Four horses comprise part of the group.

Plate 34

Length 31.5 cm., width 21.7 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 85.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 136.

Pencil drawing.

Room 10, slab 15. Upper register: procession. Lower portions of three persons are still visible. Lower register: procession. Three men and two horses advance to the left. The last person at the right side holds the rein of a horse, not shown on this slab. This detail indicates that the composition originally continued on slab 16. Above the heads of two men is a large deep opening, curved at the top. To its right are two small circular grooves, possibly for door attachments.

Plate 35

Length 37 cm., width 44.5 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 14.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 24.

Pen and Ink. Some gray, pink, and yellow washes.

Facade N, northeast wall. Length of the wall is 37 meters. Three views are given. Bottom: plan of the wall. Stone blocks are numbered in sequence, from right to left, beginning with slab 5. Middle: elevation of the northeast wall, showing actual condition of the stone blocks. Top: elevation showing the reconstruction of the northeast wall, with slabs restored to their places. The legends on the right and left sides of the drawing explain the lettered codes. (Translation:) "a. Mass of unbaked bricks, revetment for the sculptured slabs. b. Slabs covered with inscriptions. c. Pavement in baked bricks. d. Holes in the ground containing idols. e. Dotted line indicates the limit of the excavation. f. Spaces, which do not exist at the front surface, produced by the angle cuts of the slabs. g. Superimposed terrain not associated with the construction. h. Mass of foreign soil, unexcavated. k. Remains of sculptures fallen from the northeast side. (The following explains the construction of the floor in section; see top, left.) c. Floor of baked bricks. n. Layer of baked bricks covered with bitumen. m. Layer of fine sand placed between two rows of bricks. o. Soil."

Plate 36

Length 33.4 cm., width 56.2 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 16.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 26.

Pen and ink.

Facade N, northeast side. Doors P, M, Q. Three views are given. Bottom, left to right: plans of doors P, M, Q, showing the slab numbers on the lateral walls of each door. Middle, from left to right: elevation of lateral walls in doors Q, M, P, showing the actual condition of the stone blocks. Top, from left to right: elevation, showing the slabs restored in doors P, M, Q. Note on the right side of the drawing states that (translation:) "nos. 2 and 3 of door Q are similar to nos. 3 and 2 of door P; and nos. 4 and 1 door P are similar to nos. 1 and 4 of door Q. In door Q each person on nos. 4 and 3 faces the same direction as the preceding person; while in door P each person on nos. 1 and 2 faces in a direction opposite that of the preceding person." (This information may be a correction of what is illustrated.) Legend on the left side of the drawing explains the lettered codes. (Translation:) "a. Pivot holes for the door. b. Holes for the bolts."

Plate 37

Length 32 cm., width 54 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 15.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 25.

Pen and ink. Some gray, pink, and yellow washes.

Facade N, northwest wall and southeast wall. The length of the northwest side is 24.90 meters, and the length of the southeast side is 7.20 meters. The southeast wall is the continuation of the northeast wall to the right (see plate 35). It projects at right angles into the court and contains slabs 4-1. Three views of each of the two walls are given. Bottom: plan of the walls. Stone blocks are numbered in sequence. Middle: elevations of the northwest and southeast walls, showing the actual condition of the stone blocks. Top:

elevations showing the reconstruction of both walls, with slabs restored to their places. On the northwest wall the subject matter consists of figures of genies. On the southeast wall the subject matter consists of the Assyrian king and attendants. The legend on the left side of the drawing explains the lettered codes. (Translation:) "a. Section *a* is entirely destroyed. b. Hole in the ground for idols. c. Dotted line, the width of the excavation. d. This part which is destroyed along an extensive length. N° 31 is similar to n° 23."

Plate 38

Length 31.3 cm., width 25.2 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 10.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 28.

Pencil drawing (soft lead). Top left corner of the sheet is trimmed to conform to the contour of the extant slab.

Facade N, slab 24. Four-winged genie turns to the left.

Plate 39

Length 30.5 cm., width 13.5 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 11.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 27.

Pencil drawing (soft lead). In the upper right corner is added "pl. 27."

Facade N, slab 19. Stone block shows two rectangular areas arranged one above the other, and each is carved with subject matter. In the lower area is a two-winged genie who turns to the right. The figure shown in the upper area is similar, but it is destroyed from the waist up. A square hole for a projecting bolt appears just below the feet of this genie.

Plate 40

Length 30 cm., width 54.9 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 9.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 7.

Pen and ink. Some pink and gray washes.

General plan of the monument, along line a-b. The length of line a-b is 135 meters. Bottom: section along line a-b, showing actual condition of the bas-reliefs on the northeast walls of facade n, room 10, facade N. Middle: on the left side is a restoration of the lateral wall in door q, and on the right side is a restoration of the lateral wall in door M. Top: section along line a-b, showing the bas-reliefs on the northeast walls of facade n, room 10, and facade N restored to their places.

Plate 41

Length 28.8 cm., width 62.6 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 10.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 8.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

General plan of the monument, along line a"-b". Numerous comments in pencil identify the published plate numbers or subject matter of the bas-reliefs. Bottom: elevation, viewed from the exterior of the northwest side of room 4. Section extends from facade N, through rooms 4, 1, and ends at side k. This view includes the remains of the exterior walls and doors t and c. Middle: elevation of walls. Section extends from facade N (northwest

side), through door M, room 8, door E, room 2, door F, facade L (northwest side), and ends at monument x. This view includes the bas-reliefs seen through doors Z (into room 9), O and H (into room 6). The length of line a"-b" is given as 160 meters. Top: elevation, identical to middle row, showing bas-reliefs restored to their places. However, the slabs are drawn plain. In *Monument de Ninive* these slabs are filled in with subject matter.

Plate 42

Length 33 cm., width 59.3 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 11

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 9.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

General plan of the monument, along line a'''-b'''. Bottom: southwest exterior of the monument, extending from one edge of the mound to the other. On the left side are the remains of orthostats and the podium belonging to monument x. On the right side is a vertical section of the retaining wall, identified as situated opposite facade m. Middle: elevation of monument along line a'''-b''', showing actual condition of the stone blocks. This line extends from side K, through facade L, doors V and k, facade m, and ends at door g. Top: elevation along line a'''-b''', showing the bas-reliefs restored to their places. However, in facade L the slabs are drawn plain (one exception), while no slabs are outlined in facade m. The length of line a'''-b''' is 128.60 meters. In *Monument de Ninive* The slabs are filled in with subject matter.

Plate 43

Length 38.6 cm., width 58.7 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevation (I)*, p. 12.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 10.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

Facade L, southeast and southwest walls, and side K. Bottom: plan of the walls. Stone blocks are numbered in sequence, from left to right. On side K, the stone blocks are numbered from right to left. Middle: elevation of the southeast and southwest walls of facade L, showing the actual condition of the stone blocks. Immediately below are individual drawings of slabs 10, 14, 19, 23. Length of side K is 7.30 meters (slabs 1-5), and length of facade L is 32.90 meters (slabs 5-30). Top: on the extreme left side is the elevation of side K, showing the actual condition of the stone blocks. To the right is the elevation of the southwest wall of facade L, showing the bas-reliefs restored to their places. However, slabs 17-30 are drawn plain. In *Monument de Ninive* all the slabs are filled in with subject matter. The legend on the left side of the drawing explains the lettered codes and several stone blocks. (Translation:) "a. Holes in the ground containing idols. b. Large pavement slabs. Note. It is not al all certain what was represented on slabs 1, 2, 3 on the southeast side, in order for them to be restored in place. It is the same problem for side K."

Plate 44

Length 30.8 cm., width 20.7 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 3.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 12.

Pencil drawing (soft lead). Upper left side of the sheet has been trimmed to conform to the edge of the extant slab.

Facade L, slab 12. The Assyrian king stands at the right side. He turns to the left and faces a high-ranking Assyrian official.

Plate 45

Two contiguous sheets. Length 29.6 cm., width 44.9 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 4.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pls. 13-14.

Pencil drawing (soft lead). Colors: red on ribbon attached to headdress of Assyrian official, red and blue on king's sandals, black on sandals of Assyrian official. Upper part of left sheet has been trimmed to conform to the edge of the extant slab.

Facade L, slabs 20-21. Three persons in a line turn to the right. They face a person who turns to the left. From left to right, the four persons are an arms bearer, a fan bearer, the Assyrian king, and a high-ranking Assyrian official.

Plate 46

Length 29 cm., width 15.8 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens, (II)*, p. 5.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 15.

Pencil drawing. Upper left corner of the sheet is slightly trimmed.

Facade L, slab 25. An Assyrian attendant turns to the left. He raises his left hand and lowers his right hand, so that the front view of his body is revealed. Near the edge of the slab at the right side are two small circular holes, probably for nails.

Plate 47

Two contiguous sheets. Length 27.7 cm., width 46.5 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 6.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pls. 16-17.

Pencil drawing. Color: black on sandals of the first person on the left side.

Facade L, slabs 26-27. Four Assyrian attendants advance to the left. The two persons on the right are drawn on a smaller scale. The objects carried by these persons are round bowls, lion's head situlae, and a wheeled throne.

Plate 48

Two contiguous sheets. Length 27.5 cm., width 43 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 7.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pls. 18-19.

Pencil drawing. Sheet on the right side is slightly shorter at the top.

Facade L, slabs 28-29. Four Assyrian attendants advance to the left. The objects carried by these persons are a high-backed chair and a table showing lion's paw-and-cone feet.

Plate 49

Two contiguous sheets. Length 26.5 cm., width 41.5 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 8.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pls. 20-21.

Pencil drawing.

Facade L, slabs 30-31. Three Assyrian soldiers advance to the left. Two of the soldiers carry a small chariot, and the third soldier holds the reins of four horses. Near the outer edge of the slab on the right side are two small circular holes, probably for nails.

Plate 50

Two contiguous sheets. Length 29 cm., width 35.8 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II).* p. 9.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pls. 22-23.

Pencil drawing.

Facade L, slabs 34-35. In the pasteup, the stone blocks are reversed incorrectly. In *Monument de Ninive* the slabs are correctly numbered 35 (left), 34 (right). Four Assyrian attendants advance to the left. The objects they carry are a narrow table, large round bowls with everted rim, and a wide table decorated with a lion's head protome at each upper corner.

Plate 51

Two attached sheets. Length 30.5 cm., width 56 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 42.

Unpublished.

Pencil drawing (soft lead). In the lower left corner is added "17 Mai 44".

Door F, slab 2. Realistic drawing of a winged human-headed bull discovered in damaged condition. The creature strides to the right. Rows of horizontal lines are lightly drawn below its body and indicate carved inscriptions.

Plate 52

Length 43 cm., width 18.5 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 43.

Unpublished.

Pencil drawing (soft lead). In the lower right corner is added "19 Mai 44".

Door F, slab 2 (front view). Realistic drawing of a winged human-headed bull discovered in damaged condition. It is shown extant to the level of its head. On the flanking wall to the right are two wingless genies turned to the left, one above the other. The upper part of this wall is completely destroyed.

Plate 53

Length 29.5 cm., width, 24.7 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 44.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive,* 1: pl. 75.

Pencil drawing. Colors: red on flower, gray wash on arm bracelets. Upper edge of the sheet is trimmed to conform to the extant slab.

Door G, slab 2. Two figures advance to the ;ht. One figure is a two-winged bird-headed genie. The other figure is a wingless genie who holds a three-branched plant in his left hand. (Compare Botta's original sketch in plate 4).

Plate 54

Length 31 cm., width 26.7 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 45.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 74.

Pencil drawing. Colors: red on flower, gray wash on bracelets. In the upper right corner is added "pl. 74".

Door G, slab 1. Two figures advance to the left. One figure is a two-winged bird-headed genie. The other figure is a wingless genie who holds a three-branched plant in his left hand. (Compare Botta's original sketch in plate 4.)

Plate 55

Length 36.1 cm., width 54.9 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 13.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 11.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

Facade L, northwest side. Three views are given. Bottom: plan of the wall. Slabs are numbered in sequence, from 31 to 45. Middle: elevation of the wall, showing the actual condition of the slabs, many of which are strewn upon the ground. Length of the wall is 38.25 meters. Top: elevation, showing the slabs restored to their places. However, these slabs are drawn plain. Comments added in pencil identify the subject on each slab. (In *Monument de Ninive* slabs 34 and 35 are decorated.) Legend in the lower right corner of the drawing explains the lettered codes. (Translation:) "a'. Holes in the ground containing idols. b'. Ring of stone sealed in the pavement. c-a. Probable doors. d. Part of the limestone wall cut up. No sculptures. Note: bas-reliefs 43, 44, 45 are missing."

Plate 56

Length 52.3 cm., width 35 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 19.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 42.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

Facade m, sides northwest, southwest, southeast. Two views of each side are given. Bottom: plan of northwest side, showing door g and two lateral doors (unlabelled). Immediately above, the elevation shows the actual condition of this wall. Middle: plan of southwest side, showing door d. Immediately above, the elevation shows the actual condition of this wall. Top: plan of southeast side, showing door k. Immediately above, the elevation shows the actual condition of this wall. The pavement slabs in doors g, d, k, have carved inscriptions, indicated by a vertical line drawn down the center of each slab (see plans). Legend on the lower left side of the drawing explains the lettered codes and several bas-reliefs. (Translation: "Note: numbers 2, 6, 11, 13, 18 are the repetition of no. 1. a. Rings of stone. b. Holes in the ground for idols."

Plate 57

Length 47.2 cm., width 18.7 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 19.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 44.

Pencil drawing.

Facade m, slab 9. In *Monument de Ninive* the carved block is numbered door k,1. Front view of a winged human-headed bull. The creature is depicted completely intact, and the many details are rendered with extreme care.

Plate 58

Length 43.5 cm., width 45.3 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 20.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 45.

Pencil drawing. In the lower right corner is added "Khorsabad 8. 44."

Facade m, slab 2. Side view of a winged human-headed bull. The creature is depicted completely intact, and the many details are rendered with extreme care. The rows of horizontal lines beneath its body indicate carved inscriptions.

Plate 59

Length 29.8 cm., width 17.8 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II), p. 22.*

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 43.

Pencil drawing (soft lead).

Facade m, slab 4. Subject matter is drawn from restored portions. A wingless genie faces left. A small goat or ibex is clutched in his left arm. In his lowered right hand is a plant composed of an open lotus between two closed buds.

Plate 60

Length 43 cm., width 60 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 40.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 148.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

Plan, isolated monument x. Monument is situated at the exteme edge of the surviving portion of the mound. At the right side of the drawing, the legend explains the lettered codes. (Translation:) "a. Ground formed of stones and limestone. b. Fragments of bas-reliefs sculpted from black basaltic stones. c. Large slab constructed with a raised border and part of a circular pedestal in the center. d. Retaining wall of the terrace on which monument x is elevated. e. Stair of four steps. f. Traces of wall. g. Exterior pavement of bricks. h. Ground; the upper part made from the fallen large walls constructed of unbaked bricks which once formed the sides of a."

Plate 61

Length 37 cm., width 58.2 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 41.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 149.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

Elevation, isolated monument x. Three views are given. Bottom: section of the structure, seen from line 1-m on the plan (plate 60). Details include the brick pavement, four steps, profile of the platform, carved orthostats still *in situ*, square recess in floor. Length of monument, extending from the bottom step to the last upright orthostat, is 21.50 meters. Middle: elevation of the northeast side. The front left side of the podium, including a portion of the steps, is shown still intact. Length of the podium to the line of the top step is 22.60 meters. Top: elevation of the southeast side. The four steps projecting into the court and the extreme left end of the podium are shown still intact. The depth of the podium, from front to back, is 17.25 meters. Beyond the podium, the remainder of the structure is ruined.

On the extreme left side of the paper is a drawing illustrating a perpendicular section of the podium.

Plate 62

Two separate drawings. Upper: length 12 cm., width 17 cm. Lower: length 7 cm., width 15.5 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 42.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 150.

Upper drawing in pen and ink, pencil lines, and gray washes. Lower drawing in pencil lines.

Monument x. Above: perpendicular section of the retaining wall which forms the podium of monument x. The vertical outer face of this wall is constructed of three finely-hewn stones. Measurements are given for each section of the stone blocks. Below: extant lower portion of contiguous slabs 1-2 (but numbered 4-3 in plan; see pl. 60). Reliefs depict two wingless genies flanking a flowering shrub. Each person holds a three-branched plant in his lowered left hand.

Plate 63

Length 30.4 cm., width 58 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 34.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 121.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

Room 9, plan and elevations. Room dimensions are 8.40 × 9.20 meters. Center: groundplan, showing slabs numbered 1 to 12 (counterclockwise). Two stone blocks between slabs 5 and 6 are unnumbered. Each pavement slab in doors Y and Z is carved with two columns of an inscription, indicated by horizontal lines. On the floor near slab 5 is a large slab containing a tub-shaped recess. Left: three views are given. At the bottom is the elevation of the southeast side (slabs 3-1, door Z). In the middle is the elevation of the northwest side (slabs 9-6). To the left of slab 6, the missing stone blocks are unnumbered. At the top are the elevations of the lateral walls of door Z (slabs 2 and 3, 4 and 1). Right: three views are given. At the bottom is the elevation of the northeast wall (slabs 5-4, door Y). In the middle is the elevation of the southwest wall (slabs 12-10). At the top are the elevations of the lateral walls of door Y (slabs 1 and 4, 3 and 2). Subject matter on the slabs consists of two processions of Assyrian attendants advancing to the king (on slab 8).

Plate 64

Length 28.6 cm., width 49.5 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 37.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 138.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

Room 12, plan and elevations. Room dimensions are 6 × 9 meters. Center: groundplan, showing slabs numbered 1 to 15. Left: two views are given. At the bottom is the elevation of the southeast wall (slabs 1-6). At the top is the elevation of the southwest wall (slabs 6-10). Right: two views are given. At the bottom is the elevation of the northwest wall (slabs 10-14). At the top is the elevation of the northeast wall (slabs 14-15, door e, slab 1). The subject matter on the slabs consists of two processions of Assyrian attendants advancing ... the Assyrian king (on slab 8).

Plate 65

Length 27.7 cm., width 39.4 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 29.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 102.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

Room 6, plan. Room dimensions are 8.90 × 34.90 meters. Groundplan, showing slabs numbered 1 to 36. The room has four doors (Y, X, O, H). In the lower right corner of the drawing the legend explains the lettered codes. (Translation:) "a. Slab in front of door H. b. Slabs in which are the pivot holes."

Plate 66

Length 32.5 cm., width 48.5 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 30.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 103.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

Room 6, elevations. Four views are given. Bottom: southeast wall (slabs 36, 1, door H, slabs 2-5, door O, slabs 6-13). Middle: northwest wall (slabs 17-22, door X, slabs 23-32). Top: left side, southwest wall (slab 13, door Y, slabs 14-17). Right side, northeast wall (slabs 32-36). Subject matter on the slabs consists of three processions of Assyrian attendants and foreigners advancing to the king (on slabs 11, 15, 24). Corner slabs 13, 17, 32, 36 are without decoration.

Plate 67

Length 30 cm., width 49 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 63.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 104.

Pencil drawing (soft lead).

Room 6, slabs 6-8. Four men advance to the right. The heads of the first three persons on the right side are missing.

Plate 68

Length 30 cm., width 23 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 64.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 106.

Pencil drawing (soft lead).

Room 6, slab 29. Two men advance to the left. The person at the left carries a model of a city in both hands. The object held by the second person is destroyed.

Plate 69

Length 23.1 cm., width 30 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 65.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 106 bis.

Pencil drawing.

Room 6, slab 34. Two men advance to the left. One person turns his body frontally to reveal a large fibula pinned to the coat. (This object is slightly different in *Monument de Ninive*).

Plate 70

Length 30 cm., width 40.5 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 66.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 105.

Pencil drawing:

Room 6, slabs 11-12. Three persons advance to the left. They are identified as the Assyrian king, the fan bearer, and the arms bearer.

Plate 71

Length 35.6 cm., width 57.2 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 36.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 137.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

Room 11, plan and elevations. Room dimensions are 6.50 × 24.80 meters. Center: groundplan, showing slabs numbered 1 to 27. Pavement slabs in doors e and X have carved inscriptions, indicated by horizontal lines. In the middle center is the elevation of the southeast side (slabs 4-8, door X, slabs 9-14). In the top center is the elevation of the northwest side (slabs 17-27, 1). Left: two views are given. At the bottom is the elevation showing the lateral walls of door e (slabs 3 and 2, 1 and 4). At the top is the elevation showing the southwest side (slab 14, door e, slabs 15-16). Right: two views are given. At the bottom is the elevation of the lateral walls of door X (slabs 1 and 2). At the top is the elevation of the northeast side (slabs 1-4). The subject matter consists of several processions of Assyrian attendants and foreigners advancing to the king (on slabs 12, 19 [?]). Corner slabs 1, 4, 14, 17 are without decoration.

Plate 72

Length 27.5 cm., width 50.4 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 32.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 115.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

Room 8, plan. Room dimensions are 10 × 30.70 meters. Groundplan, showing slabs numbered 1 to 31. Legend in the lower right corner of the drawing explains the lettered codes. (Translation:) "a. Large slab. b. Large slab with a hole *c* in the middle. d. Holes in the ground in brick, resembling those with idols."

Plate 73

Length 34.5 cm., width 49.3 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 33.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 116.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

Room 8, elevations. Four views are given. Bottom: southwest side (slabs 30-31, door P, slabs 1-4, door M, slabs 5-8, door Q, slabs 9-10). Middle: northeast side (slabs 14-15, door S, slabs 16-19, door U, slabs 20-27). Top: at the left is the southeast side (slabs 27-28, door T, slabs 29-30). At the right is the northwest side (slabs 10-14). The subject matter consists of groups of Assyrian attendants and foreigners in the presence of the Assyrian king (on slabs 3 [?], 7, 12, 21). Many slabs have inscriptions, indicated by horizontal lines. Corner slabs 10, 14, 27, 30 are each decorated with a tree motif.

Plate 74

Length 32 cm., width 22.6 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 73.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 117.

Pencil drawing. In the upper right corner is added "pl. 117."

Room 8, slab 11. Two Assyrian attendants advance to the right.

Plate 75

Length 31 cm., width 46 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 74.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 118.

Pencil drawing.

Room 8, slab 12. Stone block is damaged, but six persons are still visible. These persons consist of Assyrian attendants, the Assyrian king, and captives.

Plate 76

Length 31.7 cm., width 30.2 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 75.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 119.

Pencil drawing.

Room 8, slab 13. Two Assyrian attendants advance to the left. Behind these persons is the left side of a large stylized tree.

Plate 77

Length 28 cm., width 45.8 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 76.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 119 bis.

Pencil drawing.

Room 8, slab 17-19. The stone blocks are damaged, but still visible is a row of five men advancing to the left. Three of them are shackled and fettered, and two others are identified as Assyrian soldiers.

Plate 78

Length 30 cm., width 36 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 77.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 120.

Pencil drawing.

Room 8, slabs 24-25. The slabs are damaged, but still visible are three persons who turn to the left. Two of them are captives and the third is identified as an Assyrian soldier.

Plate 79

Length 27.4 cm., width 50.5 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 25.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 79.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

Room 4, plan. Room dimensions are 9.40 × 37.60 meters. Groundplan, showing slabs numbered 1 to 6 (clockwise), and 7 to 20 (counterclockwise). Legend on the right side of the drawing explains the lettered codes. (Translation:) "a. Holes for the door pivots. b. Holes for the bolts. D. Door leading into room 3. I. Door (ruined) leading into a facade. R. Door (ruined) leading into room 7. T. Door leading into room 8".

Plate 80

Length 29 cm., width 50.4 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 26.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 80.

Penk and ink.

Room 4, elevations. Bottom: northwest side (slabs 19-14, door T, slabs 13-10, door R, slabs 10-7). The destroyed stone block to the right of slab 11 is unnumbered. Middle: at the left is the southwest side (slabs 20-19), followed by the northeast side (slab 7, door D, slabs 1-3). At the right is the southeast side (slabs 3-6), followed by a lateral wall of door I. Above: at the left are the lateral walls of door D (slabs 3 and 1, 2 and 4). At the right are the lateral walls of door T (slabs 2 and 1).

Plate 81

Length 19 cm., width 48.5 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 49.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 81.

Pencil drawing.

Room 4, slabs 1-2. The extant lowermost portions of the slabs depict a group of seven persons, including the Assyrian king, attendants, and captives.

Plate 82

Length 26.8 cm., width 25.7 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 50.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 83.

Pencil drawing (soft lead).

Room 4, slab 12. Five persons turn to the left, four of whom are captives and one is an Assyrian official.

Plate 83

Length 26.8 cm., width 38.5 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 51.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 82.

Pencil drawing.

Room 4, two slabs unnumbered. In *Monument de Ninive* the slabs are numbered 9 and 8. Their upper portions are destroyed. Three persons advance to the left, two of whom are captives and one is an Assyrian attendant.

Plate 84

Length 27.6 cm., width 50.6 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 31.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 107.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes. In the lower right corner is added "8 Août 44".

Room 7, plan and elevations. Room dimensions are 6.60 x 7.80 meters. Center: groundplan, showing slabs numbered 1 to 13. Lateral walls of door R are destroyed. Left: two views are given. At the bottom is the southeast side (slabs 12-13, door R, slabs 1-2). At the top is the northwest side (slabs 5-9). Right: two views are given. At the bottom is the northeast side (slabs 9-12). At the top is southwest side (slabs 2-5). In the upper register the subject matter consists of a banqueting scene. In the lower register the subject matter consists of hunting in a wooded area.

Plate 85

Length 26.4 cm., width 28 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 68.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 108.

Pencil drawing.

Room 7, slabs 1-2. Upper register: completely destroyed, except for the remains of feet belonging to three persons. Lower register: background of tall and short trees, in front of which men on horseback and soldiers on foot advance to the right.

Plate 86

Two contiguous sheets. Length 29.5 cm., width 39.7 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 69.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pls. 109-110.

Pencil drawing. Color: red on one tree trunk. In the upper right corner is added "pl. 110".

Room 7, slabs 4-6. Upper register: destroyed in many areas. Still visible are the lower portions of Assyrian attendants who turn either to the right or to the left, and legs of chairs or tables. Lower register: background of tall and short trees, in front of which are three Assyrians and one horse. All advance to the right.

Plate 87

Length 28.2 cm., width 34 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 70.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 111.

Pencil drawing. Color: red on baldric.

Room 7, slabs 7-8. Upper register: mostly damaged or destroyed. Still visible are several Assyrian attendants who stand alongside tables. Lower register: background of tall and short trees, in front of which are three Assyrians and one horse.

Plate 88

Length 30 cm., width 25.5 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 67.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 112.

Pencil drawing. Top of paper is trimmed to conform to the contour of the extant stone block. In the lower right corner is added "Khorsabad 4 Août 44".

Room 7, slab 10. Upper register: upper portion of the slab is damaged. Assyrian attendants sit upon high chairs and face each other across tables. Behind the seated banqueters stand other attendants. Lower register: background of tall and short trees, in front of which three Assyrian cavalrymen advance to the right.

Plate 89

Two contiguous sheets. Length 28 cm., width 40 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 71.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pls. 113-114.

Pencil drawing. Colors: red on king's headdress, baldrics, tree trunk; red and blue on plant held in the king's hand. Top of paper is trimmed to conform to the contour of the extant slab.

Room 7, slabs 11-12. Upper register: damaged or destroyed in many areas. Seated Assyrian banqueters hold cups with lion's head bases. Other attendants stand nearby. Lower register: procession consisting of the royal chariot and foot soldiers advances to the right. The procession is preceded by a small pond, a columned building, and part of a hill.

Plate 90

Length 26.7 cm., width 11.5 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 72.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 114.

Pencil drawing. Color: red on several fruits.

Room 7, slab 13. Upper register: completely destroyed. Lower register: continuation and completion of the small hill whose lowermost portion is destroyed. At the summit of the hill is a large monument, probably an altar.

Plate 91

Length 29.8 cm., width 52 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 27.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 84.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

Room 5, plan. Room dimensions are 7.90 x 26.50 meters. Groundplan, showing slabs numbered 1 to 25 (counterclockwise). The room has four doors (U, S, O, E). In each door the pavement slab is covered with one or two columns of a carved inscription, indicated by horizontal lines. Legend in the lower right corner of the drawing explains the lettered codes. (Translation:) "a. Pivot holes. b. Hole for the bolt."

Plate 92

Length 31.3 cm., width 50.4 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 28.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 85.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

Room 5, elevations. Bottom: at the left is the elevation of the northeast side (slabs 8-1, door E, slabs 25-23). Slabs 7, 1, 25-23 are shown without decoration as a result of surface damage. At the right is the elevation of the northwest side (slabs 11-10, door O, slabs 9-8). Middle: at the left is elevation of the southwest side (slabs 19-18, door U, slabs 17-14, door S, slabs 13-11). To the left of slab 19, the missing stone block is unnumbered. Slabs 19 and

18 are shown without decoration as a result of surface damage. At the right is the elevation of the southeast side (slabs 22-20). The slabs on this wall are shown without decoration as a result of surface damage. Top: at the left are the elevations of the lateral walls of door E (slabs 1 and 2). In the center (left) are the elevations of the lateral walls of door O (slabs 1 and 2). Slab 2 is undecorated; a comment in pencil states "voir planche 100 vain." In the center (right) are the elevations of the lateral walls of door S (slabs 2 and 4, 3 and 1). At the right are the elevations of the lateral walls of door U (slabs 2 and 1).

Plate 93

Length 27.5 cm., width 48.5 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 62.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 101.

Pencil drawing.

Room 5, slab 2 of door E. Upper portion of the slab is completely destroyed, and in other areas the slab is damaged. Two persons turn to the right and face a third person. They are identified as a fan bearer, the Assyrian king, and an official.

Plate 94

Two contiguous sheets. Length 26.5 cm., width 46.3 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 52.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pls. 86-87.

Pencil drawing. In the upper right corner is added "pl. 86."

Room 5, slabs 3-2. Upper register: mostly destroyed and damaged. Assyrian soldiers and attendants face each other. Also visible are a chariot (royal?) and two cavalrymen (?). Lower register: two battle episodes are depicted. At the right side, Assyrian soldiers attack a citadel. At the left side, two Assyrian cavalrymen advance to the left and attack foes on foot.

Plate 95

Two contiguous sheets. Length (left) 19 cm., (right) 30.5 cm., width 44.4 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)* p. 53.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pls. 88-89.

Pencil drawing. Tops of sheets are trimmed to conform to the contour of the extant slabs. In the lower right corner is added, "Khorsabad 7 juin 44."

Room 5, slabs 5-4. Upper register: the left side is destroyed, except for the lowermost portion, and the right side is damaged in many areas. Three (?) persons advance to the left, and five Assyrian soldiers advance to the right. Lower register: two battle episodes are depicted. At the right is the continuation of the battle begun on slab 3. Assyrian cavalrymen advance to the left and attack foes on foot. At the left is an Assyrian attack against a citadel. A caption in cuneiform appears on the citadel ("city of Gabbutunu").

Plate 96

Two contiguous sheets. Length (left) 29 cm., (right) 19.3 cm., width 42 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 54.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pls. 90-91.

Pencil drawing. Top of paper has been trimmed to conform to the contour of the extant slab.

Room 5, slabs 6-7. The drawings are incorrectly reversed in the pasteup. In *Monument de Ninive* the two drawings are numbered correctly. Upper register: on slab 6 Assyrian infantrymen advance to the left. Slab 7 is completely destroyed and missing. Lower register: on slab 6 an Assyrian spearman advances from the right and attacks a citadel. On slab 7 Assyrian soldiers attack the same citadel from the left side.

Plate 97

Length 29.5 cm., width 32 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 55.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 92.

Pencil drawing.

Room 5, slabs 9-8. Upper register: an Assyrian chariot advances to the right and overtakes three foes, while other foes defend themselves. Lower register: a procession of defeated men and women advances to the left.

Plate 98

Length 28.8 cm., width 28 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 57.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 93.

Pencil drawing. Top of paper is trimmed to conform to the contour of the extant slab.

Room 5, slabs 11-10. Upper register: surface is damaged in many areas. Continuation of scene from previous slab. Assyrian chariot overtakes foes in retreat. Lower register: archers and spearmen attack a city from all sides. A caption in cuneiform appears on the city ("city of Amqarruna").

Plate 99

Length 30 cm., width 37.5 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 56.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 94.

Pencil drawing.

Room 5, slabs 13-12. Upper register: damaged in many areas. An Assyrian chariot overtakes several foes on foot. Beyond this episode is an Assyrian cavalryman. Lower register : Assyrian soldiers bring captives before the Assyrian king standing in his chariot.

Plate 100

Two contiguous sheets. Length 29.6 cm., width 48.7 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 58.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pls. 95-96.

Pencil drawing. In the upper right corner of each sheet is added, respectively, "pl. 96" and "pl. 95."

Room 5, slabs unnumbered. In *Monument de Ninive* the slabs are numbered 22-21. Upper register: damaged in many areas. Assyrian chariots speed to the right and overtake foes in retreat. Lower register: damaged in many areas. Assyrian soldiers assault a citadel, now destroyed, from all sides.

Plate 101

Two contiguous sheets. Length 29.5 cm., width 45 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 59.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pls. 97-98.

Pencil drawings. In the upper right corner of each sheet is added, respectively, "pl. 98" and "pl. 97."

Room 5, slabs unnumbered. In *Monument de Ninive* the slabs are numbered 25-24. Upper register: destroyed or damaged in many areas. Assyrian cavalrymen and a chariot speed to the right and overtake foes in retreat. Lower register: archers and spearmen in the Assyrian army turn to the right and attack a citadel, now mostly destroyed.

Plate 102

Length 28.6 cm., width 29 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 60.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 99.

Pencil drawing. Top of sheet is trimmed to conform to the contour of the extant slab.

Room 5, slab 1 in door O. Upper register: two Assyrian cavalrymen speed to the right and overtake fallen foes. Lower register: seven archers and shield bearers in the Assyrian army turn to the left. They stand and attack.

Plate 103

Length 29.7 cm., width 29.7 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 61.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 100.

Pencil drawing. In the upper right corner is added "pl. 100." In the lower right corner is added "Khorsabad 6.7.^{be}44."

Room 5, slab 2 in Door O. Upper register: upper portion of the slab is destroyed. Assyrian chariot speeds to the right and overtakes foes in retreat. Lower register: the royal chariot moves to the right. In front of the chariot are several Assyrian soldiers and a captive.

Plate 104

Length 13.7 cm., width 31.2 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes Elevations (I)*, p. 24.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 78.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

Room 3, plan and elevations. Room dimensions of the extant portion are 6.90 × 3.90 meters. Center: groundplan, showing slabs numbered 1 to 4 (counterclockwise), and doors D and C. Left: elevation of the southwest side (slabs 4-3, door D, slab 2). Right: elevation of the northwest side (slab 2, door C, slab 1).

Plate 105

Length 15.5 cm., width 25.5 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 48.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 78.

Pencil drawing.

Room 3, slab 3. Entire upper portion of the stone block is destroyed. Lower register: upper part of the preserved scene is missing. An Assyrian (?) soldier advances to the right, towards a large citadel situated upon a high hill.

Plate 106

Length 33.3 cm., width 50.5 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 21.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 48.

Pen and ink. Some gray and pink washes.

Room 1, plan and elevations. Dimensions of the extant portions are 5.55 × 4.50 meters. Bottom: groundplan, in which measurements are given for different sections of the room. Depth of door A is 2.20 meters; dimensions of entrance slab are 0.90 × 2.05 meters; dimensions of the large floor slabs in each corner of the room are 1.75 × 2.10 meters; dimensions of the tub-shaped depressions in these slabs are 0.40 × 0.80 meters. Pavement slab in door A is covered with a carved inscription, indicated by horizontal lines. Middle: at the left is the elevation of the wall (side y) along line a-b (slabs 4-2, slabs 3 and 1 in door A). In the center is the elevation of the wall along line e-f (slabs 2-1, door A, slabs 9-8). At the right is the elevation of the wall (side x) along line a-b (slabs 2 and 4 in door A, and slabs 8-6). Top: (omitted in *Monument de Ninive*) at the left is the reconstructed elevation of the wall (side y) along line a-b, after the lower portion has been restored. In the center is the reconstructed elevation of the wall along line e-f, after the lower portion has been restored. At the right is the reconstructed elevation of the wall (side x) along line a-b, after the lower portion has been restored. In the lower left corner of the drawing, the legend explains the lettered codes. (Translation:) " A. Door. g. Circular cavity, probably to receive the door post (pivot hole). k. Small cavity to receive the door bolt. h. Large slab with an inscription. i. Stone slab. m. Groove fitting found in the large stone slab. x, y. Pavement of bricks. n. Dotted line indicating the limit of all traces of construction to the slope of the mound." In the lower right corner of the drawing, the legend explains the lettered codes. (Translation:) "n, r. Probable continuation of the wall. The blank portions of the slabs in all probability once existed, but were not found in the debris. They are restored in plan." (Compare Botta's original sketch in plate 1.)

Plate 107

Length 22.5 cm., width 45 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 24.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 49.

Pencil drawing.

Room 1, slabs 3-1. Upper register: destroyed. Lower register: damaged or destroyed in many areas. Assyrian soldiers attack two different citadels, one of which is now destroyed. (Compare Botta's original sketches in plate 2).

Plate 108

Length 20.5 cm., width 32.8 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (I)*, p. 25.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 50.

Pencil drawing.

Room 1, slabs 9-7. In *Monument de Ninive* the slabs are numbered 8-5. Upper register: destroyed. Lower register: upper right portions are destroyed. Procession of eleven persons advances to the right. (Compare Botta's original sketches in plates 2-3.)

Plate 109

Length 29.6 cm., width 51 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 22.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 51.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

Room 2, plan. Room dimensions are 35.50 × 9 meters. Slabs are numbered 1 to 35. The six doors are marked H, G, F, B, C, E. In the lower right corner of the drawing, the legend explains the lettered codes. (Translation:) "a. Holes for the door posts (pivot holes). b. Holes for the bolts. B.F.G. Doors leading into facade L. C. Door leading into room 3. H. Door leading into room 6. E. Door leading into room 5. The pavements of these doors are covered with inscriptions."

Plate 110

Length 30.5 cm., width 51.2 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 23.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 52.

Pen and ink.

Room 2, elevations. Four rows, from bottom to top, as follows: row 1. Elevation of the southwest side (slabs 5-12, door E, slabs 13-20). Slabs 12 and 20 are completely destroyed. Row 2. Elevation of the northeast side (slabs 23-24, door G, slabs 25-29, door F, slabs 30-34, door B, slabs 35, 1). Slabs 26-27, 31-33, 35, 1, are shown without or nearly without decoration as a result of surface damage. Row 3. Left : elevation of the lateral walls of door H (slabs 1 and 2). Left center: elevation of the northwest side (slabs 20-21, door H, slabs 22-23). Right center : elevation of the southeast side (slab 1, door C, slabs 2-4). Right: elevation of the lateral walls of door C (slab numbers are unclear). The slabs are shown plain. Row 4. Left: elevation of the lateral walls of door G (slabs 4 and 2, 1 and 3). Center: elevation of the lateral walls of door F (slabs 1 and 2). Right : elevation of the lateral walls of door B (slabs 4 and 3, 2 and 1).

Plate 111

Two contiguous sheets. Length 27 cm., width 49 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 26.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pls. 53-54.

Pencil drawing.

Room 2, slabs 2-3. Upper register: destroyed. Lower register: the royal chariot, followed by a soldier on horseback, moves to the right. Assyrian soldiers and attendants advance toward the chariot. (Compare Botta's original sketch in plate 3.)

Plate 112

Length 26 cm., width 46.7 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 27.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 55.

Pencil drawing.

Room 2, slabs 5-7. Upper register: destroyed, except for a small portion on slab 6. Assyrians advance to the left. Lower register: slab 5 destroyed, except for small portion on bottom. The feet of two persons turn to the left. Assyrian soldiers assault a fortified city. A caption in cuneiform appears within the city ("city of Harhar").

Plate 113

Two contiguous sheets. Length (left) 22.5 cm., (right) 28.5 cm., width 49 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 28.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pls. 56-57.

Pencil drawing.

Room 2, slabs 8-9. Upper register: destroyed, except for a portion on slab 9. Still visible are standing and seated persons. Lower register: Assyrian chariotry speed to the left and overtake foes on horseback and on foot.

Plate 114

Length 24.8 cm., width 22.2 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 95.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 158.

Pencil drawing.

Standard shown in plate 113, drawn to scale. Decoration consists of a symmetrical arrangement of motifs in relief.

Plate 115

Length 20 cm., width 21.7 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 96.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 158.

Pencil drawing.

Axe-shaped chariot pole ornament shown in plate 113. Decoration includes a bird-headed person.

Plate 116

Length 28 cm., width 25.2 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 29.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 58.

Pencil drawing. In the upper right corner is added "pl. 58".

Room 2, slab 10. Upper register: damaged in many areas. Assyrians stand or sit during a banquet. Lower register: damaged in many areas. The royal chariot speeds to the left and overtakes a foe on horseback.

Plate 117

Two contiguous sheets. Length (left) 28.5 cm., (right) 18 cm., width 49 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 30.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pls. 59-59 bis.

Pencil drawing. In upper right corner of drawing on left side is added "pl. 59".

Room 2, slabs 11-12. Upper register: destroyed, except for small portion on slab 11. Assyrian soldiers stand and face each other. Lower register: two Assyrian chariots speed to the left and overtake foes on horseback.

Plate 118

Length 29.7 cm., width 24.5 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 31.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 60.

Pencil drawing. Color: red on an arrow and several bows. In the upper right corner is added "pl. 60."

Room 2, slab 13. Upper register: damaged or destroyed in many areas. Assyrians stand or sit during a banquet. Lower register: damaged in many areas. Assyrian archers and shield bearers advance to the right.

Plate 119

Two contiguous sheets. Length 28.7 cm., width 49 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 32.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pls. 61-62.

Pencil drawing. Colors: occasional red on flames, headdress, bow, arrow, feather; blue on quiver.

Room 2, slabs 14-15. Upper register: damaged or destroyed in many areas. Banquet scene. Lower register: Assyrian soldiers assault a citadel. At the right side, an Assyrian cavalryman ascends a hill.

Plate 120

Two contiguous sheets. Length 29 cm., width 46 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 33.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pls. 63-64.

Pencil drawing. Colors: red on parasol, king's headdress; red and blue on details of horse trappings.

Room 2, slabs 16-17. Upper register: seated Assyrians hold small cups with lion's head bases. Lower register: the royal chariot moves to the right, accompanied by a cavalryman and foot soldiers. Assyrian cavalrymen attack foes, and nearby is a citadel.

Plate 121

Two contiguous sheets. Length 28.5 cm., width 39 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 34.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pls. 65-66.

Pencil drawing. Color: red on chariot reins, and blue on horse trappings. Upper part of the paper is trimmed to conform to contour of extant slabs.

Room 2, slabs 18-19. Upper register: Assyrians either sit or stand as they drink from small cups with lion's head bases. Lower register: the royal chariot and Assyrian cavalrymen speed to the left and overtake foes on foot.

Plate 122

Length 28.5 cm., width 27.5 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*. p. 35.

Botta and Flandin, *Momunent de Ninive*, 1: pl. 67.

Pencil drawing. Upper part of paper is trimmed to conform to contour of extant slab.

Room 2, slabs 20-21. Upper register: destroyed or damaged in several areas. Three musicians, each of whom plays a lyre, advance to the left. Bottom register: an Assyrian cavalryman and a chariot speed to the left and overtake foes.

Plate 123

Length 28.3 cm., width 27.7 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Asyriens (II)*, p. 47.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 76.

Pencil drawing. Upper part of the paper is trimmed to conform to the contour of the extant slab.

Room 2, slab 1 in door H. Upper register: five Assyrian attendants, two of whom stand on opposite sides of a large footed cauldron. Lower register: an Assyrian chariot speeds to the left and overtakes a fallen foe. Nearby is a citadel, and rising from the top of the wall are eight large torches (?). A caption in cuneiform appears on the citadel wall ("city of Bit-Bagaya").

Plate 124

Length 29 cm., width 29 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 46.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 77.

Pencil drawing. Top of paper is trimmed to conform to the contour of the extant slab. In the lower left corner is added "Khorsabad 8.7. be 44"

Room 2, slab 2 in door H. Upper register: Assyrian solders assault a fortified city. Lower register: an Assyrian charioteer guides his horses forward, to the right. Three foot soldiers precede the chariot.

Plate 125

Length 28.2 cm., width 27.2 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 36.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 68.

Pencil drawing. Upper part and lower right side of the paper are trimmed to conform to the contour of the extant slab.

Room 2, slab(s) 22. *In Monument de Ninive* the slabs are numbered 22-23. Upper register: damaged or destroyed in several areas. Captives and an Assyrian soldier advance to the left. Lower register: Assyrian soldiers assault a fortified city. A caption in cuneiform appears on the city wall ("city of Kishesim").

Plate 126

Length 25 cm., width 47 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 37.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 68 bis.

Pencil drawing.

Enlarged detail, bottom register of slab 22. (Compare plate 125).

Plate 127

Length 17.5 cm. width 19.5 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 40.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 69.

Pencil drawing.

Room 2, slab 24. Upper register: destroyed. Lower register: damaged or destroyed in many areas. A procession of six (?) persons advances to the left.

Plate 128

Length 28 cm., width 43 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 38.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 70.

Pencil drawing. In the upper right corned is added "pl. 75".

Room 2, slabs 28-29. Upper register: top portion is destroyed. Seven Assyrian soldiers advance to the left. Lower register: Assyrian soldiers assault a large city.

Plate 129

Length 27.5 cm, width 43.7 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 39.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 71.

Pencil drawing. In the upper right corner is added "pl. 71".

Room 2, slabs 33-34. Slab 33 was not reproduced in *Monument de Ninive*. Upper register: virtually destroyed. Still visible on the right side is part of a terrain. Lower register: the royal chariot moves to the left, accompanied by foot soldiers.

Plate 130

Two separate drawings. Left: length 28.5 cm., width 15.2 cm. Right: length 24.2 cm., width 19 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 41.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pls. 72-73.

Pencil drawings.

Left: room 2, slab 4 in door B. Upper register: mostly destroyed or damaged. Still visible are the lower portions of three Assyrian foot soldiers who advance to the left. Lower register: an Assyrian cavalryman advances to the left. (Compare Botta's original sketch in plate 3). Right: room 2, slab 1 in door B. In the upper right corner is added "pl. 72". Upper register: mostly destroyed or damaged. Still visible are the lower portions of two persons. Lower register: an Assyrian soldier rides a horse that gallops to the left.

Plate 131

Length 28 cm., width 50.5 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 38.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 139.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

Room 13, plan and elevations. No dimensions are given. Center: groundplan, showing the surviving walls and slabs numbered 1 to 9. Left: at the bottom is the elevation of the southeast side (slabs 5-8, door 1, slab 9). At the top is the elevation of the northeast side (slabs 2-5). Right: at the bottom are the elevations of the lateral walls of door 1 (slabs 1 and 2). At the top is the elevation of the northwest side (slabs 1-2). The pavement slab in door 1 is covered with a carved inscription, indicated by horizontal lines.

Plate 132

Length 16.3 cm., width 29 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 86.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 140.

Pencil drawing.

Room 13, slabs 1-2. Slabs are destroyed, except for portions of the lower registers. Assyrian soldiers advance to the left. They take along a flat wagon with solid wheels, upon which are two huge door-leaves (?).

Plate 133

Two contiguous sheets. Length 29.8 cm., width 47.2 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 87.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pls. 140-141.

Pencil drawing.

Room 13, slabs 3-4. Lower register: Assyrian soldiers advance to the left. Within a city containing different kinds of buildings, other soldiers and Assyrian attendants are depicted in a variety of activities. On slab 4 a caption in cuneiform appears above the scene ("city of Muṣaṣir I besieged and captured").

Plate 134

Two contiguous sheets. Length 22 cm., width 40.8 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 88.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pls. 142-143.

Pencil drawing.

Room 13, slabs 6-7. Upper register: destroyed. Several lines of decoration suggest a fortified camp. Lower register : the royal chariot, foot soldiers, and cavalrymen advance to the left.

Plate 135

Length 29.5 cm., width 56.8 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 39.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 144.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

Room 14, plan and elevations. No dimensions are given. Center: groundplan, showing the surviving walls and slabs numbered 1 to 13. The pavement slab in door p is covered with a carved inscription, indicated by horizontal lines. Left: at the bottom is the elevation of the southeast side (slabs 8-9, door p, slabs 10-13). At the top is the elevation of the northwest side (door 1, slabs 1-4). Right: at the bottom are the elevations of the lateral walls of door p (slabs 2 and 3, 4 and 1). On slabs 3 and 4 in door p, beneath the human figures are carved inscriptions, indicated by horizontal lines. At the top is the elevation of the northeast wall (slabs 4-8). A carved inscription indicated by horizontal lines appears on each lower portion of slabs 3, 5, 7.

Plate 136

Length 20.5 cm., width 37.6 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 89.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 145.

Pencil drawing.

Room 14, slabs 1-2. Upper register: destroyed. Several lines of decoration at the right suggest an artificial mound sloping upwards within a rocky terrain. Lower register: Assyrian soldiers assault a fortified city. A caption in cuneiform appears on the wall of the city ("city of Pazashi [Panzish], a fortress-city of the land of Mannea which is in front of the pass leading to the land of Zikirtu").

Plate 137

Two contiguous sheets. Length 20.5 cm., width 46.3 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 90.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 146.

Pencil drawing. Color: red on flame of incense burner.

Room 14, slabs 10-11. Upper register: destroyed. Lower register: a procession of captives and Assyrian soldiers advances to the left. Two Assyrian scribes face the procession. At the left side is an oval-shaped fortified camp. A caption in cuneiform appears across the middle of the camp (" camp of Tak [lak-ana-bel] ").

Plate 138

Length 17.5 cm., width 26.4 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 91.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 147.

Pencil drawing.

Room 14, slab 12. Upper register: destroyed. Lower register: Assyrian soldiers assault a fortified city. A caption in cuneiform appears upon the upper wall of the city ("city of Kisheshlu I besieged and captured").

Plate 139

Length 30 cm., width 44 cm.

Botta, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 48.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 161.

Pencil drawing. In the upper right corner is added "pl. 161."

Jewelry and luxury items found on the bas-reliefs. Bottom: thirteen examples of pendant and three-armed earrings. Middle: twelve examples of bracelets. Top: four example of bracelets, four examples of flywhisks, one example of a parasol.

Plate 140

Length 30 cm., width 45.8 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 49.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 163.

Pencil drawing. In the upper right corner is added "Pl. 163."

Twelve examples of headcoverings. These include horned crowns, a royal crown, diadems, helmets, cloth hood, and headbands.

Plate 141

Length 30.4 cm., width 43 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 51.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 160.

Pencil drawing.

Ten examples of shields of various shapes (round, elliptical, large upright), and two examples of battering rams.

Plate 142

Length 30.2 cm., width 45 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 52.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 159.

Pencil drawing.

Six examples of quivers, and one example of a bow. Comments indicate the artist's intention to include line drawings of swords, lances, and arrows.

Plate 143

Length 29 cm., width 39.3 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 53.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 159.

Pencil drawing.

Various weapons, including one mace, three swords, four lances, and one arrow.

Plate 144

Length 30 cm., width 33.5 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 50.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 162.

Pencil drawing. In the upper right corner is added "pl. 162."

Diverse objects depicted on the bas-reliefs, and objects unearthed in the course of exploration. In the first category are vessels (cup, handled vessels, skin containers, large cauldrons), and a lyre. In the second category are two metal nails, a bronze ring, and a terracotta lamp.

Plate 145

Length 43.8 cm., width 35.5 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 47.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 165.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

Plans and elevations of excavated urns and a deep hole for the placement of figurines. Bottom: plan of the excavated area in which the urns were discovered. Middle: elevation of the terrain showing how the urns were placed. Top: in the center is the drawing of one urn discovered in the debris. At the left is the plan of a square hole. At the right is the vertical section of a square hole containing a figurine. Legend in the lower right corner of the drawing explains the lettered codes. (Translation:) "a. Funerary urns. b. Sort of high wall faced with limestone. – The surface on which the urns rest is covered with a layer of limestone."

Plate 146

Three separate sheets. Left: length 23 cm., width 8.5 cm. Center: length 26 cm., width 13 cm. Right: length 23.5 cm., width 9.5 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 93.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pls. 153-154.

Pencil drawing.

Terracotta figurines drawn to their exact heights. Left: figurine which measures 22 cm. high. It depicts a bearded person wearing a flat-topped, horned crown. Its arms are broken off. Center: figurine which measures 23.4 cm. high. It depicts a bearded person with frontal face, whose body turns to its left. Right: figurine which measures 19.7 cm. high. It depicts a bearded person wearing a horned round cap. The visible leg is that of a hoofed animal.

Plate 147

Four separate sheets. Left: length 23.5 cm., width 9.5 cm. Left center: length 23.5 cm., width 9 cm. Right center: length 23.5 cm., width 10 cm. Right: length 23.5 cm., width 9.5 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 94.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pls. 152-152 bis-153.

Pencil drawing.

Terracotta figurines drawn to their exact heights. Left: profile view of a lion-headed person which measures 21 cm. high. Left center: profile view of the figurine illustrated in plate 146, right. It has a bull's body below the waist. Right: two drawings show the front and profile views of a figurine with lion's head and donkey (?) ears. It measures 12.5 cm. high.

Plate 148

Length 19.7 cm., width 39.3 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 43.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 157.

Pen and ink. Some gray washes.

Stone monument or altar. Left: plan of the table. Diameter is given as 0.70 meters. Center: elevation of the monument. A separate measurement is given for each portion of the vertical section of the altar. A caption in cuneiform is carved along the upper side of the altar. Right: horizontal section along line a-b (see center drawing). It shows the triangular shape of the three-footed table inscribed within the circumference of the table top. Each side measures 0.55 meters. (Compare Botta's sketch in plate 2).

Plate 149

Two separate sheets. Top: length 18.6 cm., width 11.8 cm. Bottom: length 19 cm., width 25.5 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 92.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 151.

Pencil drawing. Elsewhere on the sheet is the annotation (translation:), "this lion is in the Louvre".

Lion in bronze. Top: front view of the object, which consists of a snarling, recumbent lion upon a base. A large, heavy ring projects from its back. Bottom: profile view of the same object.

Plate 150

Length 30 cm., width 44.2 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 45.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 155.

Color washes: green, yellow, white, red, black.

Fragments of painted bricks with decorations. No scale is given. Subject matter is varied and identifiable, as follows: 1. deity in winged disk; 2. head of Assyrian king; 3. wing (tail of winged disk?); 4 head of goat; 5. within a bordered area a winged genie, facing right, who holds a cone and bucket, and part of a rosette; 6. feet of goat standing upon a rosette; 7. human foot; 8. goat flanking a rosette; 9. body of winged genie with bucket, facing left.

Plate 151

Length 30.5 cm., width 50 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 46.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 156.

Color washes: green, yellow, white, black.

Fragments of painted bricks with decorations. No scale is given. Subject matter is varied and identifiable, as follows: 1. checkered pattern, probably belonging to a garment; 2. stripe-and-box pattern, probably belonging to a garment; 3. stripe-and-box pattern, probably belonging to a garment; 4. part of a chariot wheel and quiver; 5. single row of rosettes within a band; 6. rosette inscribed in a double circle; 7. rosette within a band; 8. rosette inscribed in a circle; 9. cuneiform inscription; 10. dentil motif; 11. cuneiform inscription; 12. section of a scabbard; 13. section of a bud-and-palmette garland; 14. section of a bud-and-palmette garland; 15. section of a palmette garland bordering a stylized tree; 16. and 17. front and side views of a brick shaped to resemble what Botta describes as a "closed hand".

Plate 152

Length 26.7 cm., width 36 cm.

Flandin, *Bas-Reliefs Assyriens (II)*, p. 97.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 1: pl. 164.

Pencil drawing.

Three small objects unearthed in the course of exploration. These objects are drawn to their exact sizes. The legend in the lower right corner has been cut away, but is re-written elsewhere on the folio page. It identifies each object. Number 1. Calf's head made in repoussé, and probably used as a terminal attachment for furniture. Number 2. (Royal) seal on clay. The subject matter of the seal design consists of a man on foot grasping an upright lion by its front leg and mane. Above this scene is an inscription in cuneiform. Number 3. Object in stone probably used to contain the ink or colors employed in makeup. Each of the six sides of this object is illustrated. The top side contains three circular holes. The underside is decorated with cross-hatched lines. The first large side is divided into two zones ; the upper zone depicts upright goats with heads turned back flanking a tree, and the lower zone depicts a recumbent goat, its head turned back, displaying a large curved horn. The second large side is divided into two zones, each of which shows a recumbent female winged sphinx turned to the left. Each narrow side contains the representation of a beardless person who is dressed in a long garment and a coat with curved ends. These two figures turn to the left.

Plate 153

Two separate sheets. Left: length 19.2 cm., width 9.5 cm. Right: length 19.2 cm., width 11 cm.

Flandin, *Plans, Coupes, Elevations (I)*, p. 54.

Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2: pl. 154.

Pencil drawing.

Objects unearthed in the course of exploration. No scale is given. Left: two crescent-shaped objects, probably of metal. Below, two views of a scaraboid. Right: three spear points, showing their actual condition.

CHAPTER IX

CATALOGUE OF THE EXTANT WALL RELIEFS

Commentary. The entries in this section contain all the wall reliefs and doorway sculptures from Khorsabad known to be extant. At the present time the carved decorations do not share the same general appearance and are distinguishable in one or more of the following ways: (1) a complete subject is displayed upon an intact or nearly intact rectangular stone block. (2) The stone slab is reconstructed to its original rectangular shape and portions of the carved decoration may likewise be restored. This information is not always forthcoming from the available records, nor readily apparent by the casual viewer of the relief. (3) Several fragments belonging to the same stone block are reassembled into a coherent unit. (4) The slab or fragment was deliberately cut away from a wall relief otherwise left in place. (5) The fragment of a bas-relief was unearthed in its present condition. (6) The condition of the carved surface may range from pristine to extremely weathered. (7) Traces of polychrome are still discernible and may include one or more of the following colors: red, blue, white, black. These distinctions are not always mentioned in the brief descriptions given below for each extant relief. Many of the entries are illustrated in this volume. By assembling the photographic material in one place, a comparative study between what appears in Flandin's drawings and what is actually carved can be more readily made.

The extant reliefs are grouped together within each museum collection and are described in the order of inventory numbers assigned to them. The four major collections are listed first (Musée du Louvre, British Museum, Oriental Institute Museum, Iraq Museum). They are followed by an alphabetical listing of the cities where the remainder of the sculptures are located. When the original placement of the relief is known or can be inferred from the available evidence, specific reference is made to the original drawing illustrating the subject and reproduced in this volume. Unless otherwise stated all the reliefs are carved from either alabaster, gypsum, or limestone without further distinguishing their known varieties, since museum information is generally imprecise in this matter. A special study has yet to be made to determine the exact nature of the material from which each relief is carved.[1]

Note: in the descriptions given below, the direction towards which a figure turns, right or left, is always in relation to the spectator.

[1] A number of stone blocks from Khorsabad are identified in the publications as basalt, but the material is most probably black limestone. On the subject of the kinds of stones used for Assyrian sculptures, see: Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, 2: 244-246; Loud and Altman, *Khorsabad. II*, pp. 15-17; J. E. Reade, "Fragments of Stone Monuments," *Iraq* 43 (1981), pp. 154-155.

PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE

Commentary. Many of the wall reliefs in the museum were brought back to France after Paul Emile Botta completed his excavations at Khorsabad. These sculptures reached Paris in February 1847. Several other sculptures entered the museum collection as a consequence of explorations undertaken by Victor Place during the years 1852 and 1853. Still other isolated fragments were donated at various times by individual collectors.

A catalogue describing the Assyrian antiquities in the Louvre was prepared by Adrien de Longpérier in the 19th century; see *Notice des antiquités assyriennes.* It was largely superseded by Edmond Pottier's catalogue which appeared in 1917 (a revised edition followed in 1924): see *Catalogue des antiquités assyriennes.* This publication includes photographs of many of the larger wall reliefs from Khorsabad. For the most part, the inventory numbers cited below postdate those given in Pottier's catalogue. A number of fragments not cited in Pottier's catalogue entered the museum's collection after 1924. A pictorial essay prepared for the Musée du Louvre includes photographs of bas-reliefs from Khorsabad, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art,* 3 vols. (Paris: editions "Tel", 1936-38). Several fragments are illustrated in the 1979 exhibition catalogue, *De Sumer à Babylone.*

AO 1432

Large head of a bearded Assyrian attendant, facing left. The slab is cut away below the line of the beard. A headband is indicated in the texture of the hair. The ear is ornamented with a pendant earring. H. 0.72 m. W 0.55 m. See figure 40.

Original location: facade n, probably slab 34. See plate 16.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 47.

AO 1433

Head and torso of a bearded foreigner, facing right. He wears a sheep's fur cloak. This slab is joined to AO 19895 and AO 19899. H. 0.41 m. W. 0.27 m. See figure 47.

Original location: room 10, lower register of slab 3. See plate 28.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 51.

AO 1434

Head of a bearded foreigner, facing left. A wide band encircles the hair. Still visible is the upper part of a sheep's fur cloak. H. 0.24 m. W. 0.23 m. See figure 58.

Original location: room 10, lower register of slab 10. See plate 31.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 55.

AO 1435

Three fragments of bas-reliefs. Two are placed on a modern plaque. (1) Small head of beardless man, facing right. He wears a helmet with projecting tip and side flaps. H. 0.20 m. W. 0.14 m. (2) Small head of a man, facing right. A beard is outlined. H. 0.12 m. W. 0.11 m. (3) Upper part of a head, facing left. Wavy ridges on the stone surface indicate the hair. A narrow band encircles the head. Still visible below the ear is part of the beard. Traces of red appear on the headband. H. 0.14 m. W. 0.18 m. See figures 92-93.

Original location: (1) room 14. See plate 136. (2) Uncertain. Possibly room 2. See plates 116-117. (3) Uncertain. Possibly room 2. See plate 121.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 56.

AO 7374

Large head of a bearded Assyrian attendant, facing right. His ear is ornamented with a pendant earring. The slab is cut away around the head and beard. H. 0.70 m. W. 0.50 m. See figure 39.

Original location: facade n, possibly slab 17. See plate 19.

Bibliography: unpublished. Transferred from the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1919.

AO 7375

Large head of a beardless Assyrian attendant, facing left. A headband is indicated in the texture of the hair. The ear is ornamented with a pendant earring. The slab is cut away around the head and at the shoulder. H. 0.60 m. W. 0.45 m. See figure 43.

Original location: facade n, northeast wall. See plate 16.

Bibliography: unpublished. Transferred from the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1919.

AO 19857

Colossal winged human-headed bull, facing left. On the head is a tall headdress decorated with rosettes and a double pair of horns. The ears are ornamented with pendant earrings. Carved inscriptions appear between the legs of the animal. The sculpture was obtained from Botta's excavations. H. 4.20 m. W. 4.36 m. See figure 2.

Original location: left side of entrance d or k, facade m. See plates 56-58.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue*, n° 12, pl. 6.

AO 19858

Colossal winged human-headed bull, facing right. This sculpture may be the companion to the preceding example and originally flanked the right side of the same entrance. H. 4.20 m. W. 4.40 m.

Original location: right side of entrance d or k, facade m. See plates 56-58.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue*, n° 13, pl. 1; Editions "Tel", *Encyclopédie*, 1: 302-303.

AO 19859

Colossal winged human-headed bull, facing right. The treatment of the curls on the animal's chest differs somewhat from the previous two examples. It was obtained from Place's excavations. H. 4.25 m. W. 4.12 m. See figure 1.

Original location: right side of inner entrance in city gate 3.

Bibliography: Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, 3: pls. 11-12; Pottier, *Catalogue*, n° 14, pl. 7.

AO 19860

Fragment. Right side of a head belonging to a colossal winged human-headed bull. It shows the face, taurine ear, and portion of the headdress. Surface eroded. H. 1.17 m. W. 0.70 m.

Original location: one of several possible entrances, probably door F or V in facade L. See plates 43, 55.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue*, n° 15.

AO 19861

Colossal human figure grasping a small lion in his left arm. A sickle sword is held in his lowered right hand. Both man and animal are depicted with frontal faces. The person is clad in a knee-length tunic. H. 4.70 m. W. 1.88 m. See figure 7.

Original location: facade A. See plates 14-15.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue*, n° 16 ; Editions "Tel", *Encyclopédie*, 1: 304-305.

AO 19862

Colossal human figure grasping a small lion in his left arm. A sickle sword is held in his lowered right hand. Both man and animal are depicted with frontal faces. The person is clad in a knee-length tunic, over which is a long fringed robe. Traces of color appear on the whites of the eyes. H. 5.45 m. W. 2.08 m. See figure 8.

Original location: facade n, slab 46. See plates 16-17.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue*, n° 17, pl. 8.

AO 19863

Colossal four-winged genie with frontal face. The body is turned to the left. The genie wears a round-topped headdress decorated with two pairs of horns. In his right hand is a cone and in his left hand is a bucket. A plaster cast of an inscription carved on the back of the stone block is exhibited below the bas-relief. The sculpture was obtained from Place's excavations. H. 4.09 m. W. 2.36 m. See figure 9.

Original location: left side of inner entrance in city gate 3.

Bibliography: Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, 3: pls. 12, 47; Pottier, *Catalogue*, n° 18, pl. 9.

AO 19864

Large four-winged genie turned to the left. The stone block is broken away just above the waist and at the sides. Portions of three wings are visible. The genie wears a tall round-topped headdress decorated with two horns and surmounted by a *fleur de lis* emblem. Traces of black outline the eye and appear on the beard. This fragment may have originally belonged to AO 19880. H. 1.36 m. W. 0.87 m. See figure 11.

Original location: facade N, slab 28. See plate 37.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue*, n° 19.

AO 19865

Large four-winged genie turned to the right. The genie wears a tall round-topped headdress decorated with three horns and surmounted by a *fleur de lis* emblem. In his right hand is a cone and in his left hand is a bucket. Portions of the stone block are restored. H. 3.06 m. W. 2.14 m.

Original location: facade N, slab 25. See plate 37.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue*, n° 21, pl. 10; Editions "Tel", *Encyclopedie*, 1: 306.

AO 19866

Two-winged genie turned to the right. In his right hand is a cone and in his left hand is a bucket. His costume and headdress are similar to the preceding example. H. 0.83 m. W. 0.55 m. See figure 14.

Original location: uncertain. Possibly left of entrance g in facade m. See plate 56.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue*, n° 22.

AO 19867

Two-winged, bird-headed genie turned to the left. In his right hand is a cone and in his left hand is a bucket. The genie is clad in a knee-length tunic. The carving of the subject matter is unfinished. H. 1.15 m. W. 0.51 m. See figure 15.

Original location: uncertain. Possibly right of entrance g in facade m. See plate 56.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 23, pl. 11.

AO 19869

Bearded deity (wingless genie?) holding a triple-branched plant with flowers. Before him is an unusual flowering shrub rising from a low base. The upper half of the stone block is restored. Black limestone. H. 1.64 m. W. 1.02 m. See figure 20.

Original location: chamber of the detached building, slabs 3-4. See plate 62.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 24.

AO 19870

Large figure of a wingless genie turned to the left. His right hand is open and raised. In his lowered left hand is a triple-branched plant with flowers. A fillet decorated with several rosette bracteates encircles his head. Over his knee-length tunic is a fringed robe. The hilt of a dagger projects from the belt at the waist. Traces of color appear on the eye, hair, beard, and fillet. H. 2.56 m. W. 0.90 m. See figure 24.

Original location: facade N. See plates 36-37.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 25, pl. 12; Editions "Tel", *Encyclopédie,* 1: 309.

AO 19871

Wingless genie turned to the right. He is similar to the preceding example. Traces of red appear on the fillet and plant, and black on the hair. H. 1.10 m. W. 0.52 m.

Original location: left of entrance c in facade n, slab 13. See plate 19.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 26, pl. 13.

AO 19872

Large figure of a wingless genie turned to the left. A small ibex is held in his right arm. In his lowered left hand is a triple-branched plant terminating in a lotus between two closed buds. Traces of red appear on the fillet and plant. H. 2.68 m. W. 1.20 m. See figure 24.

Original location: Facade m, slab 4. See plate 59.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 27. pl. 12; Editions "Tel", *Encyclopédie,* 1: 308.

AO 19873

Large figure of the Assyrian king, Sargon II, turned to the left. In his right hand is a long staff. His left hand rests on the pommel of his sword. The king is attired in a long garment, over which is a mantle. Floral patterns embellish the entire costume. Traces of red appear on the crown and white on the eye. The stone block is joined to AO 19874 and AO 19875. H. 2.98 m. W. 1.22 m.

Original location: facade L, slab 12. See plate 44.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 28, pl. 14; Editions "Tel", *Encyclopédie,* 1: 311.

AO 19874

High-ranking bearded Assyrian official turned to the right. He stands with his right arm lowered and his left hand resting on the pommel of his sword. A wide diadem encircles his head. His costume consists of a long garment, over which is a fringed shawl. The stone block is joined to AO 19873. H. 2.70 m. W. 1 m.

Original location: facade L, slab 12. See plate 44.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 29, pl. 14; Editions "Tel", *Encyclopédie,* 1: 311.

AO 19875

High-ranking bearded Assyrian official turned to the left. He stands with his right hand open and raised. His left hand rests on the pommel of his sword. A wide diadem encircles his head. His costume consists of a long garment, over which is a fringed shawl. Traces of red appear on the diadem and white on the eye. The stone block is joined to AO 19873. H. 2.95 m. W. 1.06 m. See figure 62.

Original location: facade L, slab 21. See plate 45.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 30, pl. 14.

AO 19876

Two Assyrian attendants turned to the left. The first person is bearded. His ear is ornamented with a pendant earring. The second person is beardless. His ear is ornamented with a three-armed earring. Each person clasps his hands, and each carries a sword at his side. H. 2.97 m. W. 2.33 m.

Original location: probably room 11, slab 21. See plate 71.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 31; Editions "Tel", *Encyclopédie,* 1: 312-313.

AO 19877

Large figure of a bearded Assyrian soldier turned to the left. He is clad in a knee-length tunic. At the front of the tunic, a flounced cloth falls pendant between the legs. His right hand is clenched and in his left hand is a mace. A bow and quiver are carried over the left shoulder. The stone block is restored in several places. In *Monument de Ninive,* 1: pl. 30, this slab is incorrectly placed on the northeast wall of facade n. H. 2.78 m. W. 1.30 m.

Original location: room 8, slab 19. See plate 77.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 32; Editions "Tel", *Encyclopédie,* 1: 310.

AO 19878

Two beardless Assyrian attendants turned to the left. They carry a large table or bed decorated with animal-head protomes. The stone block is joined to AO 19879. H. 2.90 m. W. 1.78 m.

Original location: facade L, slab 35. This slab is nearly identical to slab 30 in facade n. See plates 16, 50.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 33; Editions "Tel", *Encyclopédie,* 1: 313.

AO 19879

Two beardless Assyrian attendants turned to the left. The first person carries a narrow table or stand. The second person holds a large round bowl in both hands. Traces of white appear on the eyes and black on the hair. The stone block is joined to AO 19878. H. 2.90 m. W. 1.74 m.

Original location: facade L, slab 34. See plate 50.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n°s 34-35, pl. 15; Editions "Tel", *Encyclopédie,* 1: 314.

AO 19880

Fragment. Lower part of a large relief showing the sandaled feet and fringed end of garment belonging to a person turned to the left. This fragment may have originally belonged to AO 19864. H. 0.52 m. W. 1 m. See figure 12.

Original location: probably facade N, slab 28. See plate 37.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 20.

AO 19881

Beardless Assyrian attendant turned to the left. His ear is ornamented with a three-armed earring. He carries a handled lion's head situla in each hand. A sword is kept at his side. The stone block is joined to AO 19882. H. 2.87 m. W. 1.25 m. See figure 63.

Original location: facade L, slab 26. See plate 47.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 36, pl. 16.

AO 19882

Two beardless Assyrian attendants turned to the left. Each person's ear is ornamented with a three-armed earring. They carry over their shoulders a high-backed wheeled chair, decorated at the side with the figure of a horse. A sword is kept at each attendant's side. The stone block is joined to AO 19881. H. 2.87 m. W. 2.43 m. See figure 64.

Original location: facade L, slab 27. See plate 47.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 37, pl. 16; Editions "Tel", *Encyclopédie,* 1: 315.

AO 19883

A bearded Assyrian soldier advances to the left and leads four horses. The legs of two animals only are depicted. The horses are caparisoned. H. 2.60 m. W. 2 m.

Original location: facade L, slab 31. See plate 49.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 38, pl. 17; Editions "Tel", *Encyclopédie,* 1: 316.

AO 19884

Two bearded Assyrian soldiers advance to the left. They balance a large chariot over their shoulders. The back view of each person is depicted, revealing the wide baldric to which a sword in its scabbard is attached. H. 2.20 m. W. 2.71 m.

Original location: facade L, slab 30. See plate 49.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 39, pl. 18.

AO 19885

A beardless Assyrian attendant turned to the right. His ear is ornamented with a pendant earring. The attendant grips a mace in his lowered right hand and a bow in his left hand. Over his shoulder is a quiver. The edges of the stone block are damaged. Black limestone. H. 1.31 m. W. 0.75 m.

Original location: found in one of the chambers. Placement was intended for the detached building.

Bibliography: Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie,* 3: pl. 48, 3; Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 40.

AO 19886

Hunting scene in a landscape with trees. Two men, clad in short tunics, hunt birds. At the left side is a person who aims a bow and arrow. At the right side is a person, smaller in height, who holds a spear in his left hand and a bird with open wings in his right hand. In Pottier's catalogue the slab is described as taken from Khorsabad in 1850, before the arrival of Victor Place, and donated to the Louvre in 1852. However, this information must be incorrect, since a calotype of the relief was taken by Gabriel Tranchand. Black limestone. H. 1.27 m. W. 1.02 m. See figures 77-78.

Original location: found in the area of the detached building.

Bibliography: Archives Nationales, F^{21} 546, pl. 13; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon,* p. 483; Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 41, pl. 19; Editions "Tel", *Encyclopédie,* 1: 318.

AO 19887

Four bearded foreigners advance to the right. They lead two horses, and the hind part of a third horse is still visible. The person on the left wears a cloak made of leopardskin, and the other three persons wear sheep's fur cloaks. Two foreigners are distinguished by their long beards and the small model of a city which each man holds. Above this scene are twelve lines of an inscription. Traces of red appear on the horse trappings. H. 1.52 m. W. 3.05 m. See figure 48.

Original location: room 10, lower registers of slabs 6 and part of 7. See plate 29. (Below the drawing, the slabs are incorrectly numbered 5 and 6).

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 42; Editions "Tel", *Encyclopédie,* 1: 319.

AO 19888

Rows of men on land haul wood and advance to the left. The stone block is reconstructed from several fragments. H. 3.02 m. W. 2 m.

Original location: facade n, slab unnumbered. See plate 20.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 45; Editions "Tel", *Encyclopédie,* 2: 5.

AO 19889

Seascape showing the transport of timber by ships. In the sea are two islands, a winged bull, a human-headed winged bull, and a merman. Portions of the stone block are restored. H. 2.93 m. W. 4.08 m.

Original location: facade n, slabs 1-2. See plates 21-22.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 43; Editions "Tel", *Encyclopédie,* 2: 2-3.

AO 19890

Seascape showing the transport of timber by ships. In the sea are aquatic lizards, serpents, murex shells, and a merman. Subject continues the scene on the preceding stone block. H. 2.83 m. W. 2.30 m.

Original location: facade n, slab 3. See plate 23.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 44; Editions "Tel", *Encyclopédie,* 2: 4.

AO 19891

Advancing to the left, groups of men on land haul logs. At the extreme left is a hill on which a road curves up. Subject continues the scene on the preceding stone block. H. 1.80 m. W. 2.45 m.

Original location: facade n, slab 4. See plate 23.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 46.

AO 19892

Fragment. Two Assyrian scribes face right and stand before a person seated on a stool. Two lines of an inscription are visible above the scene. Detail from much larger scene showing the defeat and plunder of the city of Musasir. H. 0.61 m. W. 0.47 m. See figure 90.

Original location: Room 13, slab 4. See plate 133.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 46 bis; Jean Nougayrol, "Un fragment méconnu du 'Pillage de Musasir.....'," *RA* 54 (1960), pp. 203-206.

AO 19893

Large head of a beardless Assyrian attendant, facing right. A headband is indicated in the texture of the hair. His ear is ornamented with a three-armed earring. The stone is cut away along the contour of the head and across the level of the shoulder. H. 0.54 m. W. 0.46 m. See figure 68.

Original location: facade L, possibly slab 20. See plate 45.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 48.

AO 19894

Large head of a bearded foreigner, facing right. On his head is a turban. H. 0.58 m. W. 0.51 m. See figure 33.

Original location: facade n, slab 21. See plate 24.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 49.

AO 19895

Bearded foreigner turned to the right. The rectangular slab is broken away at the waist. The person holds a spear upright in his left hand. Over his garment is a sheep's fur cloak. Traces of red are visible on the spear. This fragment is joined to AO 1433 and AO 19899. H. 0.49 m. W. 0.33 m. See figure 47.

Original location: room 10, lower register of slab 3. See plate 28. (Below the drawing, the slab is incorrectly numbered 4).

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 50; Editions "Tel", *Encyclopédie,* 1: 320.

AO 19896

Bearded foreigner, extant from the waist up. He turns to the left and raises both hands to the level of his face. A narrow cloth band encircles his head. Over his garment is a sheep's fur cloak. H. 0.43 m. W. 0.42 m. See figure 54.

Original location: room 10, lower register of slab 12. See plate 32.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 52.

AO 19897

Fragment. Head of a bearded foreigner, facing left. Two vertical curls overlap the headband at the front. H. 0.29 m. W. 0.27 m.

Original location: room 10, lower register of slab 12. See plate 32.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 53.

AO 19898

Fragment. Head of a bearded foreigner, facing left. Two vertical curls overlap the headband at the front. Still visible on the shoulder is part of sheep's fur cloak. H. 0.24 m. W. 0.23 m. See figure 53.

Original location: room 10, lower register of slab 13. See plate 33.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 54.

AO 19899

Fragment. Head and body of a horse, facing right. Traces of red and blue appear on the horse-trappings. This slab is joined to AO 1433 and AO 19895. H. 0.67 m. W. 0.49 m. See figure 47.

Original location: room 10, lower register of slab 3. See plate 28. (Below the drawing, the slab is incorrectly numbered 4).

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 57; Editions "Tel", *Encyclopédie,* 1: 320.

AO 19917

Large head of a wingless genie, facing left. The slab is cut away below the shoulder. A fillet decorated with rosette bracteates encircles his head. His ear is ornamented with a pendant earring. Traces of red appear on the fillet and black on the hair. H. 0.82 m. W. 0.79 m. See figure 21.

Original location: uncertain. Possibly facade n, slab 38. See plate 16.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 76.

AO 19918

Fragment. Head of a bearded foreigner, facing right. A curl overlaps the headband at the front. H. 0.26 m. W. 0.19 m.

Original location: room 10, lower register of slab 2. See plate 28. (Below the drawing, the slab is incorrectly numbered 3).

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 77.

AO 19919

Fragment. Two deities face each other on either side of a vertical rod supporting a table top. Both persons raise their hands to touch the underside of the table top. H. 0.24 m. W. 0.51 m. See figure 65.

Original location: facade L, slab 29. See plate 48.

Bibliography: Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 78; Musée du Louvre, *De Sumer à Babylone,* fig. 250.

AO 19922

Fragment. Head of a bearded foreigner, facing left. A headband that is wider at the front encircles his head. Still visible on the shoulder is part of a leopardskin cloak. H. 0.23 m. W. 0.20 m. See figure 52.

Original location: room 10, lower register of slab 12. See plate 32.

Bibliography: Musée du Louvre, *De Sumer à Babylone,* fig. 248.

AO 20218

Fragment. Head of a bearded foreigner, facing left. Two vertical curls overlap the headband at the front. The beard, now partially missing, may have been long and straight at the bottom. H. 0.23 m. W. 0.18 m. See figure 55.

Original location: room 10, lower register of slab 11. See plate 32.

Bibliography: Musée du Louvre, *De Sumer à Babylone,* fig. 247.

AO 22195

Large head of a beardless Assyrian attendant, facing right. His ear is ornamented with a pendant earring. Surface of the stone is weathered. Formerly in the collection of de Clercq. Donated in 1967. H. 0.58 m. W. 0.57 m. See figure 38.

Original location: Possibly facade n. See plate 19.

Bibliography: Louis Constantin de Clercq, *Collection de Clercq. Catalogue méthodique et raisonné. Antiquités assyriennes.* 2 vols. (Paris: Leroux, 1903), 2: 123, pl. 12, n° 13.

AO 22196

Large head of a beardless Assyrian attendant, facing left. A headband is indicated in the texture of the hair. His ear is ornamented with a pendant earring. Traces of black appear on the hair. Formerly in the collection of de Clercq. Donated in 1967. H. 0.54 m. W. 0.52 m. See figure 41.

Original location: possibly facade n, slab 29. See plate 16.

Bibliography: de Clercq, *Collection de Clercq,* 2: 124, pl. 13, n° 14; Musée du Louvre, *De Sumer à Babylone,* fig. 246.

AO 22197

Fragment. Lower part of the horned headdress, face, and beard of a four-winged genie, facing left. A portion of one wing is visible in front of the face. His ear is ornamented with a pendant earring. Formerly in the collection of de Clercq. Donated in 1967. H. 0.50 m. W. 0.52 m. See figure 13.

Original location: uncertain. Possibly facade N or m. See plates 37, 56.

Bibliography: de Clercq, *Collection de Clercq,* 2: 126, pl. 15, n° 16.

LONDON, THE BRITISH MUSEUM

Commentary. The majority of the reliefs and isolated fragments in the museum's collection were purchased in 1847 from Alexander Hector, an English merchant established in Baghdad. He obtained these sculptures some time after the excavations of Paul Emile Botta were concluded. Mr. Thomas Stirling of Sheffield negotiated the sale of the collection to the British Museum.

The pair of colossal winged human-headed bulls and winged genies with frontal faces were sold in 1849 by the French consul in Baghdad to Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, from whom the sculpted were purchased by the British Museum. The hunting scene sculptured in black limestone was discovered in 1849 by one of Henry Layard's overseers, in the course of uncovering the detached building at Khorsabad.

The sculptures from the Hector collection were first described by Joseph Bonomi in his publication, *Nineveh and its Palaces.* The entries in the British Museum catalogue of 1908 are restricted to those sculptures which were then on public display; see *A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities,* 2nd ed. revised and enlarged (London: Harrison and Sons, 1908). C. J. Gadd's publication, *The Stones of Assyria,* lists the above-mentioned sculptures and furnishes the current inventory numbers, as well as the numbers originally assigned to the reliefs in the Hector Collection. Of the latter group, several examples were inadvertently omitted from Gadd's work. Several of the bas-reliefs have been illustrated one or more times. Reference is made either to Sidney Smith, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum. From Shalmaneser III to Sennacherib,* (London: British Museum, 1938); or Richard D. Barnett and Amleto Lorenzini, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum,* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975).

BM 118808 (50-12-28, 3)

Winged human-headed bull and a two-winged genie with frontal face. The genie is turned to the left. In his right hand is a cone and in his left hand is a bucket. Bull: H. 4.42 m. W. 4.86 m. Genie: H. 4.13 m. W. 2.0 m. See figure 4.

Original location: left side of an inner gateway, probably gate B of the inner city wall.

Bibliography: Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon,* pp. 131-132, 640; British Museum, *Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities,* p. 20, pls. 5, 9; Gadd, *Stones of Assyria,* pp. 159-160.

BM 118809 (50-12-28, 4)

Winged human-headed bull and a two-winged genie with frontal face. The genie is turned to the right. In his right hand is a cone and in his left hand is a bucket. It is the pair to BM 118808. Bull: H. 4.09 m. W. 4.47 m. Genie: H. 4.01 m. W. 2.0 m. See figure 3.

Original location: right side of an inner gateway, probably gate B of the inner city wall.

Bibliography: Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon,* pp. 131-132, 640; British Museum, *Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities,* p. 20, pls. 5, 9; Gadd, *Stones of Assyria,* pp. 159-160.

BM 118810 (47-7-2, 24)

Fragment. Head of a bearded foreigner, facing left. Two vertical curls overlap the headband at the front. H. 0.21 m. W. 0.22 m. See figure 56.

Original location: room 10, lower register of slab 13. See plate 33.

Bibliography: Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces,* p. 301; British Museum, *Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities,* p. 20; Gadd, *Stones of Assyria,* p. 161.

BM 118811 (47-7-2, 6)

Large head of a beardless Assyrian attendant, facing right. His ear is ornamented with a three-armed earring. Still visible over the right shoulder is the strap which once held the quiver; it is embellished with a herringbone pattern, probably to indicate rope. H. 0.62 m. W. 0.50 m. See figure 69.

Original location: facade L, slab 20. See plate 45.

Bibliography: Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces,* p. 301; Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria,* p. 161; Smith, *Assyrian Sculptures,* pl. 23, d.

BM 118812 (47-7-2, 9)

Large head of a beardless Assyrian attendant, facing left. His ear is ornamented with a three-armed earring. Traces of white appear on the eye. H. 0.63 m. W. 0.49 m.

Original location: facade L, possibly slab 19. See plate 48.

Bibliography: Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces,* p. 301; Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria,* p. 161; Barnett, *Sculptures in the British Museum,* pl. 60.

BM 118813 (47-7-2, 18)

Wingless genie, facing left. His right hand is raised, and in his lowered left hand is a three-branched plant with flowers. Between the face and raised hand is a square hole in the stone. H. 1.08 m. W. 0.42 m. See figure 22.

Original location: uncertain. Originally flanked the right side of one of several possible doors. See plates 19, 36, 56.

Bibliography: Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces,* pp. 297-298; Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria,* p. 161; Smith, *Assyrian Sculptures,* pl. 28, a.

BM 118814 (47-7-2, 19)

Wingless genie, facing right. His right hand is raised, and in his lowered left hand is a three-branched plant with flowers. The slab is broken off at the genie's ankles. Immediately above the raised hand is a round hole in the stone. H. 0.91 m. W. 0.46 m. See figure 19.

Original location: uncertain. Originally flanked the left side of one of several possible doors. See plates 19, 36, 56.

Bibliography: Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, pp. 297-298; Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria*, p. 161; Smith, *Assyrian Sculptures*, pl. 28, b.

BM 118816 (47-7-2, 4)

Large head of a beardless Assyrian attendant, facing right. His ear is ornamented with a pendant earring. A band of alternating rosettes and squares encircles the neck of the garment. Traces of black appear on the hair. H. 0.64 m. W. 0.52 m.

Original location: facade n, possibly slab 16. See plate 19.

Bibliography: Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 301; Barnett, *Sculptures in the British Museum*, pl. 59.

BM 118818 (47-7-2, 12)

Large head of a bearded foreigner, facing right. On his head is a turban. Still visible is the thumb of the raised right hand and a segment of a sack once carried over the shoulders. Probably joins BM 118830 and A 7360 in the Oriental Institute Museum. H. 0.56 m. W. 0.47 m. See figure 31.

Original location: facade n, slab 22. See plate 24.

Bibliography: Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 300; Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria*, p. 161; Barnett, *Sculptures in the British Museum*, pl. 58.

BM 118820 (47-7-2, 5)

Large head of a beardless Assyrian attendant, facing right. His ear is ornamented with a three-armed earring. The stone is cut away along the edge of the face and hair. H. 0.57 m. W. 0.49 m. See figure 70.

Original location: facade L, southwest wall. See plate 43.

Bibliography: Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 301; Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria*, p. 161.

BM 118822 (47-7-2, 1 + 2)

Large relief showing figure of king Sargon II, facing right. He holds a long staff in his right hand. His left hand rests upon the pommel of his sword. Facing Sargon is an Assyrian official who raises his right hand towards the king and rests his left hand over the pommel of his sword. A diadem with long ribbon falling pendant at the back encircles his head. This item is eroded, but may have once been decorated with rosettes. The bas-relief entered the museum as many separate pieces, and these were reconnected afterwards. H. 2.90 m. W. 2.30 m. See figure 61.

Original location: facade L, slab 21. See plate 45.

Bibliography: Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, pp. 295-296; British Museum, *Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, p. 20; Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria*, p. 161; Smith, *Assyrian Sculptures*, pl. 25.

BM 118823 (47-7-2, 3)

Large relief showing a beardless Assyrian attendant facing left. A headband encircles his head. His right hand is clasped over the left. A sword projects from under his shawl. At the extreme left side of the slab is the tip of a scabbard and the end of a cloth that hangs pendant. Both items belong to a person who appeared on the adjacent slab, now missing. Restored from several fragments. H. 2.77 m. W. 0.98 m. See figure 74.

Original location: uncertain. Possibly room 9, slab 6. See plate 63.

Bibliography: Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 297; Gadd, *Stones of Assyria*, p. 161; Smith, *Assyrian Sculptures*, pl. 29,b.

BM 118824 (47-7-2, 14)

Large head of a bearded foreigner, facing left. On his head is a turban. Tip of the nose is restored. H. 0.52 m. W. 0.54 m. See figure 83.

Original location: room 6. See plates 66, 67.

Bibliography: Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 300; Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria*, p. 161; Smith, *Assyrian Sculptures*, pl. 33,b.

BM 118825 (47-7-2, 7)

Large head and shoulder of a beardless Assyrian attendant, facing left. The top of the head is broken away. His ear is ornamented with a three-armed earring. Each of three bands covering the shoulder is decorated with rosettes inscribed in squares. Traces of red on hair for a headband (?), white on the eye, and possibly black on the hair. This fragment may have been taken from a larger relief that was discovered by Paul Emile Botta in 1843. H. 0.61 m. W. 0.62 m. See figure 73.

Original location: possibly lateral wall in door D, connecting rooms 3 and 4.

Bibliography: Botta, *JA* 4 (1844), pl. 44; Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 301, fig. 176; Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria*, p. 161.

BM 118826 (47-7-2, 8)

Large head of a beardless Assyrian attendant, facing left. His ear is ornamented with a three-armed earring. The slab is cut away along the head, chin, and hair. Traces of red on hair for a headband (?). H. 0.55 m. W. 0.47 m. See figure 71.

Original location: facade L, possibly slab 24. See plate 43.

Bibliography: Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 301; Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria*, p. 161.

BM 118827 (47-7-2, 13)

Large head of a bearded foreigner, facing right. On his head is a turban. Since 1975, on loan to Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery. H. 0.57 m. W. 0.47 m. See figure 30.

Original location: facade n, slab 21. See plate 24.

Bibliography: Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 301; Smith, *Assyrian Sculptures*, pl. 32,a.

BM 118828 (47-7-2, 10 + 17)

Large head of a bearded foreigner, facing right. On his head is a turban. He holds the reins of two caparisoned horses, extant from the neck up. This relief originally consisted of

two separate fragments which were reconnected after they reached the British Museum. This relief joins IM 18627 in the Iraq Museum. H. 1.22 m. W. 1.64 m.

Original location: facade n, slab 24, See plate 19.

Bibliography: Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, pp. 299-300, figs. 177-178; British Museum, *Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, p. 20; Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria*, p. 162; Barnett, *Sculptures in the British Museum*, pl. 61.

BM 118829 (51-9-2, 34)

Relief showing three Assyrians in a forest hunting small animals and birds. The first person on the left is beardless and shoots at birds. The person in the center is bearded and holds a bow and arrow. The bearded person on the right carries a small gazelle over his shoulders and grips a hare in his lowered right hand. Black limestone. H. 1.28 m. W. 1.78 m. See figure 76.

Original location: room in the detached building.

Bibliography: Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 130; British Museum, *Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, p. 20; Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria*, p. 162; Smith, *Assyrian Sculptures*, pl. 31.

BM 118830 (47-7-2, 11)

Large head of a bearded foreigner, facing right. On his head is a turban. Still visible at the shoulder is the thumb of the right hand and a portion of a sack once carried over the shoulders. This slab joins BM 118818 and A 7360 in the Oriental Institute Museum. H. 0.61 m. W. 0.53 m. See figure 32.

Original location : facade n, slab 22. See plate 19.

Bibliography: Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 300; Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria*, p. 162; Barnett, *Sculptures in the British Museum*, pl. 64.

BM 118831 (47-7-2, 27)

Fragment. Head of a caparisoned horse, facing right. On its head is a miniature crested helmet. Its slightly open mouth exposes the animal's teeth. The branches of a small tree appear below the horse's head. Possible traces of red appear on the horse-trappings. H. 0.49 m. W. 0.33 m. See figure 75.

Original location : room 7, lower register of slab 4. See plate 86.

Bibliography: Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 299; Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria*, p. 162.

BM 118832 (47-7-2, 26)

Fragment. Head of a caparisoned horse, facing right. The plume on its head is now missing. The horse's slightly open mouth exposes its teeth. The shaft of a spear, held obliquely, extends along the side of the aninal's head. Traces of red appear on the horse-trappings. H. 0.38 m. W. 0.25 m. See figure 49.

Original location: room 10, lower register of slab 1. See plate 27.

Bibliography: Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 299; Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria*, p. 162.

BM 118833 (47-7-2, 25)

Fragment. Head of a caparisoned horse, facing left. Still visible is a person's hand holding the rein near the animal's mouth. Traces of red appear on the horse-trappings. As

this is the third fragment of a horse's head, it should be noted that Bonomi mentions only two isolated fragments showing this subject. H. 0.39 m. W. 0.36 m. See figure 57.

Original location: room 10, lower register of slab 10. See plate 31.

Bibliography: Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces,* p. 299; Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria,* p. 162.

BM 118834 (47-7-2, 22 + 29 plus additional fragments)

Parts of two slabs restored from many fragments and joined in 1971. The additional fragments are : 47-7-2, 30 + 31 + 35 + 36 + 37 + 38 + 39 + 40 + 45 + 48. The joined slabs show the feet and fringed garments of two men and the tail and hooves of several horses, all advancing to the left. Below is a band of an inscription. H. 0.86 m. W. 1.50 m.

Original location: room 10, upper register of slab 12. See plate 32.

Bibliography: Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces,* pp. 299-300; Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria,* p. 162.

BM 118835 (47-7-2, 20)

A bare-chested soldier advances to the right. A headband encircles his head. He is clad in a short tunic decorated with a step motif. He holds a bow in his left hand and two arrows in his right hand. He carries a quiver over his back. Possible traces of red appear on the headband. H. 1.24 m. W. 0.50 m. See figure 88.

Original location: room 5, lower register of slab 11. See plate 109.

Bibliography: Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces,* p. 298 ; British Museum, *Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities,* p. 20 ; Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria,* p. 162; Smith, *Assyrian Sculptures,* pl. 30, a.

BM 118836 (47-7-2, 21)

A foreigner advances to the right. He wears a long garment and a coat with curved corners. On his head is a turban, the surface of which is weathered. He carries a sack over his shoulders. H. 1.29 m. W. 0.55 m. See figure 60.

Original location: room 10, upper register of slab 3. See plate 28. (Below the drawing, the slab is incorrectly numbered 4.)

Bibliography: Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces,* p. 298; British Museum, *Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities,* p. 20 ; Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria,* p. 163; Smith, *Assyrian Sculptures,* pl. 30, b.

BM 47-7-2, 15

Fragment. Large right hand, held downward with open palm. On the wrist is an elaborate bracelet consisting of a rosette bracteate flanked by lion's head finials. In front of the hand, the tip of a scabbard is visible. To the right of the hand is the tip of a pommel (?). H. 0.50 m. W. 0.33 m. See figure 66.

Original location: uncertain. Belongs to a high-ranking Assyrian official. For another example of the bracelet, see A 7368 in the Oriental Institute Museum.

Bibliography: Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces,* p. 300.

BM 47-7-2, 16

Fragment. Large right arm bent up at the elbow, where the stone is broken away. The palm of the hand is open. On the wrist is a wide bracelet. It is decorated with horizontal

lines and several large rosettes inscribed in a double circle. H. 0.62 m. W. 0.23 m. See figure 67.

Original location: uncertain. Belongs to the Assyrian king, or to a high-ranking Assyrian official.

Bibliography: Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 300.

BM 47-7-2, 23

Small head of a wingless genie, facing right. His ear is ornamented with a pendant earring. He wears a braided fillet decorated with rosette bracteates. The right hand is raised. The relief is roughly carved and some details are incomplete. The surface of the stone shows tool marks. H. 0.23 m. W. 0.26 m. See figure 18.

Original location: unknown. Probably a trial piece.

Bibliography: Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 301.

BM 47-7-2, 28

Fragment. Lower portion of a scabbard embellished with two embracing upright lions. Each animal turns its head back and opens its mouth wide. This object originally belonged to the weapon worn by the Assyrian king. H. 0.22 m. W. 0.16 m.

Original location: uncertain. Possibly room 6, slab 11. See plate 66.

Bibliography: Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 300; J. E. Reade, "Neo-Assyrian Monuments in their Historical Context", in F. M. Fales (ed.), *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: New Horizons,* (Roma: 1981), pl. V, 10.

BM 135992 (1973-12-18, 1)

Fragment. Two overlapping human feet turned to the left. The boots have upturned toes. Beneath the feet are ten lines of an inscription. Presented by the Colchester and Essex Museum. H. 0.52 m. W. 0.42 m.

Original location: room 10, upper register, possibly slab 11. See plates 31-33.

Bibliography: unpublished.

Fragments of texts alone: BM 22466 (47-7-2, 47), BM 115034 (47-7-2, 41); BM 118835 A; 47-7-2, 32-4, 42-4, 46 + 50 + 51, 49.

CHICAGO, THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE MUSEUM

Commentary. The reliefs presently in the museum were recovered during a sounding made in 1927, and in the 1929-1934 excavations of the Oriental Institute, designated the Iraq Expedition to Khorsabad. The decorated stone blocks discovered at the site were divided between the Iraqi government and the Oriental Institute, the University of Chicago. The bas-reliefs assigned to the latter institution were taken from rooms 7, 10, and facade n. Many of these reliefs are illustrated in the publication prepared by Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, and are currently exhibited in the galleries. A number of large fragments from room 10 are packed in wooden crates in museum storage, and are presently difficult of access and unavailable for study. These reliefs had been found broken into several pieces. Still other fragments of varying size, many of which are in extremely weathered condition, are kept in the storeroom. The fragments are unregistered. Several of the large unregistered fragments are described below. In addition many small fragments, some measuring only 3 or 4 centimeters in width, are wrapped for their protection. This last group requires its own special study.

It must be mentioned that the wall reliefs from room 12 were discovered still partially intact, but left *in situ*. Photographs of these bas-reliefs appear in Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, figs. 23-26. The published photographs may be compared with plate 64 in this volume.

A 7358

Attendant leading two horses to the right. The heads of the caparisoned animals were discovered a short distance from the stone block and subsequently restored to their original place. The head of the attendant is a modern restoration. H. 2.53 m. W. 2.76 m.

Original location: facade n, slab 23. See plate 25.

Bibliography: Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, fig. 31.

A 7359

King Sargon followed by an Assyrian attendant, both facing left. The king wears a long garment, over which is a fringed mantle. His right hand is raised, and in his lowered left hand is a lotus bud between open flowers. The attendant, now lacking a head, holds a fan in his raised right hand and a long cloth in his lowered left hand. H. 2.29 m. W. 3.10 m. See figure 25.

Original location: facade n, slab 15. See plate 19.

Bibliography: Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, fig. 28.

A 7360

Lower portions of two foreigners advancing to the right. Each person wears a long garment. Its wavy hemline is decorated with long fringes. Over the garment is a long coat with square corners and scalloped fringes. British Museum fragments 118818 and 118830 may join this relief. H. 2.25 m. W. 1.83 m.

Original location: facade n, slab 22. See plates 19, 23.

Bibliography: Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, fig. 33.

A 7361

Lower portions of three men and two horses advancing to the left. One human head is partially restored. H. 1.31 m. W. 1.94 m. See figure 51.

Original location: room 10, lower register of slab 15. See plate 35.

Bibliography: Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, fig. 52, above.

A 7362

Procession of men and camels advancing to the right. The surface of the stone is weathered in several places, and the heads of the animals are now missing. The last person on the left wears a cap with seams, and carries a model of a city in one hand. The other men either carry a sack over their shoulders or hold a hemispherical bowl in each hand. Below this scene are several lines of an inscription. H. 1.65 m. W. 3.30 m. See figure 45.

Original location: room 10, upper register of slabs 5-6. See plates 27, 29. (Below the drawings, the slabs are incorrectly numbered 2 and 5, respectively.)

Bibliography: Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, fig. 55.

A 7363

Procession of four men and two horses advancing to the right. Each man wears a sheep's fur cloak over his garment and boots with upturned toes. Portions of the bas-relief, including the human heads, are restored. H. 1.26 m. W. 3.14 m.

Original location: room 10, lower register of slabs 2-3. See plate 28.

Bibliography: Loud, *Khorsabad I*, fig. 50, above.

A 7364

Procession of two men and two horses advancing to the left. Each man wears a sheep's fur cloak over his garment and boots with upturned toes. The upper part of the relief is missing, and there is surface damage. H. 1.30 m. W. 2.19 m. See figure 50.

Original location: room 10, lower register of slab 14. See plate 33.

Bibliography: Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, fig. 52, below.

A 7365

Procession of three men and two horses advancing to the right. Each man wears a sheep's fur cloak over his garment and boots ending below the knees. Above the scene are several lines of an inscription. Portions of the bas-relief are restored. H. 1.40 m. W. 2 m. See figure 46.

Original location: room 10, lower register of slab 4. See plate 30. (Below the drawing, the slab is incorrectly numbered 7.)

Bibliography: Loud, *Khorsabad I*, fig. 53.

A 7366

Two beardless Assyrian attendants, facing left. The first person clasps his right hand over the left. The second person, viewed from the back, extends his right arm up and his left arm down. Each person wears a baldric to which a sword in its scabbard is attached. Traces of red appear on the baldric. Partially restored. H. 3.08 m. W. 2.50 m.

Original location: facade n, slab 33. See plate 16.

Bibliography: Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, fig. 40.

A 7367

Two beardless Assyrian attendants, facing left. Each person clasps his right hand over the left. A long sword is kept at each attendant's side. The tip of a scabbard is visible on the left side of the relief. Partially restored. H. 3.05 m. W. 2.30 m.

Original location: facade n, slab 28. See plate 16.

Bibliography: Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, fig. 39.

A 7368

Two Assyrian attendants, facing left. The first person is bearded and around his head is a diadem decorated with rosette disks. His open right hand extends forward, and his left hand rests on the pommel of his sword. The second person is beardless. His right hand extends downward, and his left hand rests on the pommel of his sword. Partially restored. H. 3.22 m. W. 2.49 m. See figure 44 (left slab).

Original location: facade n, slab 36. See plate 16.

Bibliography: Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, fig. 38.

A 7369

Colossal winged human-headed bull with frontal face, turned to the right. The elaborate headdress shows three pairs of horns. Inscriptions appear between the feet of the

animal and on the back of the sculpture. Partially restored. H. 4.80 m. W. 4.80 m. See figure 5.

Original location: facade n, slab 45. See plate 16.

Bibliography: Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, pp. 46-55, figs. 56-57.

A 7370

Large head of a wingless genie, facing right. Around his head is a fillet decorated with rosette bracteates. Surface of the stone is worn. Purchased from local inhabitant in 1927. H. 0.76 m. W. 0.60 m.

Original location: unknown. Possibly facade n. See plate 19.

Bibliography: Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, p. 13, fig. 14.

A 11254

Relief in two registers separated by a band of an inscription. Reconstructed from numerous fragments. Above: traces of a banquet scene. Below: three men on horseback advance from left to right through a wooded area. H. 2.79 m. W. 2.51 m.

Original location: room 7, slab 10. See plate 88.

Bibliography: Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, fig. 87.

A 11255

L-shaped corner stone showing the lower register of a relief. Reconstructed from numerous fragments. Two Assyrian soldiers advance to the right. In front of them is a small building situated near the edge of a pond. Beyond the structure are trees. H. 0.98 m. W. 2.57 m.

Original location: room 7, slabs 12-13. See plates 89-90.

Bibliography: Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, figs. 83, 89.

A 11256

Relief in two registers separated by a band of an inscription. Reconstructed from numerous fragments. Above: traces of a banquet scene. Below: the Assyrian king in his chariot and soldiers on foot advance to the right through a wooded area. Lower register: H. 0.98 m. W. 2.50 m.

Original location: room 7, slabs 11-12. See plates 88-89.

Bibliography: Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, fig. 88.

Storeroom:

A number of reliefs in fragmentary condition show men leading horses. The slabs are presently packed in crates in museum storage, and are presently unavailable for study. The stone blocks belong to the lower parts of reliefs from room 10 which had two registers of decoration separated by a band of inscription. The following Oriental Institute excavation numbers identify these blocks: slab 1, 3, 8 (northeast wall); slab 25, 26, 27, (southwest wall). Dimensions for these individual slabs are presently unavailable.

Original location: room 10, slabs 1, 3, 8, 10, 11, 12. See plates 26-34.

Bibliography: Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, figs. 48-49. (In the publication, the labelling of the northeast and southwest walls is in reversed order.)

Unregistered 1

Fragment. Procession of three foreigners, facing right. Their bodies are broken off below the waist. The person at the left side, mostly missing, holds a hemispherical bowl in each hand. The person in the center holds a model of a city in both hands. The person at the right side is notable for his long beard and cap with pointed peak. He holds a model of a city in his left hand. The surface of this slab is weathered. H. 1 m. W. 1.23 m.

Original location: room 10, upper register of slab 7. See plate 29. (Below the drawing, the slab is incorrectly numbered 6.)

Unregistered 2

Fragment. Lower portion of a human figure wearing a long, fringed garment. At the bottom of the garment is a band of triple-lined zigzags. Still visible are traces of the scalloped fringes attached to the coat worn over the garment. Surface is weathered. H. 0.52 m. W. 0.40 m.

Original location: room 10, upper register of the northeast wall, possibly slab 7. See plate 29.

Unregistered 3

Fragment. Lower portions of three persons turned to the left. Their feet overlap slightly. At the bottom of each person's garment are a band of squares and long fringes. H. 0.73 m. W. 0.94 m.

Original location: room 10, upper register of the southwest wall, possibly slab 13. See plate 33.

Unregistered 4

Fragment. Lower portions of two persons turned to the right. At the bottom of each person's garment are a band of squares and long fringes. A coat edged with scalloped fringes is still visible on one person. Below the men are seven lines of an inscription. H. 0.70 m. W. 0.76 m.

Original location: room 10, upper register of the northeast wall, possibly slab 2. See plate 28.

Unregistered 5

Fragment. Lower portions of two persons turned to the right. At the bottom of each person's garment are a band of squares and long fringes. Traces of an inscription appear below the feet of these persons. Much surface damage. H. 0.80 m. W. 0.60 m.

Original location: room 10, upper register of the northeast wall, possibly slab 7. See plate 29.

Unregistered 6

Fragment. Lower portions of two persons turned to the left. At the bottom of each person's garment are long fringes. One man probably balances a sack over his shoulders. Weathered and much surface damage. H. 1.11 m. W. 0.98 m.

Original location: room 10, upper register of the southwest wall, possibly slab 14. See plate 33.

Unregistered 7

Fragment. Portions of two persons turned to the left. Weathered and much surface damage. H. 0.80 m. W. 0.82 m.

Original location: room 10, upper register of the southwest wall, possibly slab 11. See plate 32.

Unregistered 8

Fragment. Lower portions of two persons turned to the left. At the bottom of each person's garment are a band of squares and long fringes. H. 0.40 m. W. 0.54 m.

Original location: room 10, upper register of the southwest wall, possibly slab 13. See plate 33.

Unregistered 9

Bottom of the garment and the feet of an Assyrian attendant turned to the left. Below is a complete band of an inscription. The slab has a straight edge on the right side. H. 0.87 m. W. 0.81 m.

Original location: room 10, upper register of slab 9. See plate 31.

Unregistered 10

Body and feet of an Assyrian attendant turned to the left. Weathered and much surface damage. H. 0.77 m. W. 0.63 m.

Original location: room 10, lower register of slab 9. See plate 31.

Bibliography: Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, figs. 48-49.

Unregistered 11

Two contiguous fragments. Lower portions of men and horses advancing to the left. On the men's feet are high boots with upturned toes. H. 0.68 m. W. 2.00 m.

Original location: room 10, lower register of slab 13. See plate 33.

Bibliography: Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, figs. 48-49.

BAGHDAD, IRAQ MUSEUM

Commentary. Many of the reliefs presently in the museum were recovered from the 1929-34 Iraq Expedition to Khorsabad undertaken by the Oriental Institute, the University of Chicago. Many of these reliefs are illustrated in Loud, *Khorsabad. I.* In 1938, the Iraq Department of Antiquities re-cleared several walls in rooms 6 and 11, at which time the reliefs still lining the walls were taken to the Iraq Museum. Several previously unpublished photographs show these reliefs *in situ* (see figs. 84-87). General views of a number of the reliefs from Khorsabad appear in the following catalogues prepared by the Iraq Museum: Iraq Museum, *A Guide to the 'Iraq Museum Collections*, (Baghdad: Government Press, 1942); Faraj Basmachi, *Treasures of the Iraq Museum*, (Baghdad: Republic of Iraq. Directorate General of Antiquities, 1975-1976). Several reliefs from room 7 are illustrated in Eleanor Guralnick's article, in *Assur* 1/5 (1976).

IM 18627

An attendant leads a horse to the right. The head of the person was found elsewhere and restored to this relief. The head of the animal is a modern restoration. The British Museum fragment 118828 belongs here. H. 3 m. W. 2.54 m.

Original location: facade n, slab 24. See plate 19.

Bibliography: Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, fig. 32; Iraq Museum, *'Iraq Museum Collections*, fig. 104; Basmachi, *Treasures of the Iraq Museum*, p. 237, fig. 136.

IM 18628

Two beardless Assyrian attendants advance to the left. They carry a high-backed chair embellished with human figurines. H. 3 m. W. 2.34 m.

Original location: unknown. Discovered in debris in facade n. Possibly slab 29.

Bibliography: Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, pp. 15-17, fig. 44; Iraq Museum, *'Iraq Museum Collections*, fig. 103; Basmachi, *Treasures of the Iraq Museum*, p. 238, fig. 137.

IM 18629

Two beardless Assyrian attendants advance to the left. They carry a large bed or table. This item of furniture is decorated with lion's paw-and-cone feet, a double tier of deities at the outer ends, and a row of plant motifs near the top. H. 3 m. W. 2.38 m.

Original location: unknown. Discovered in debris in facade n. Possibly slab 30. See plate 16.

Bibliography: Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, pp. 15-17, fig. 41; Iraq Museum, *'Iraq Museum Collections*, fig. 102; Basmachi, *Treasures of the Iraq Museum*, p. 238, fig. 138, b.

IM 18630

Two beardless Assyrian attendants advance to the left. They carry a table. This item of furniture is decorated with lion's paw-and-cone feet and two confronting deities on either side of a vertical rod. Compare Louvre fragment AO 19919, showing part of a similar table with deities. H. 3 m. W. 2.25 m. See figure 36.

Original location: unknown. Discovered in debris in facade n.

Bibliography: Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, pp. 15-17, fig. 42; Basmachi, *Treasures of the Iraq Museum*, p. 238, fig. 138, a.

IM 18631

Two beardless Assyrian attendants advance to the left. The first person holds a long staff in the right hand and a footstool in the left hand. The second person balances the model of a city in both hands. H. 3 m. W. 2.09 m. See figure 37.

Original location: unknown. Discovered in debris in facade n. Possibly slab 31.

Bibliography: Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, pp. 15-17, fig. 43; Basmachi, *Treasures of the Iraq Museum*, p. 238.

IM 60971/1

L-shaped corner slab. Originally divided into two registers separated by a band of cuneiform inscription. In the bottom register are a row of trees and an Assyrian soldier advancing to the right. Left side: H. 1.19 m. W. 0.55 m. Right side: W. 0.54 m.

Original location: room 7, slab 5. See plate 86.

Bibliography: Guralnick, *Assur* 1/5 (1976), pl. 6.

IM 60971/2

Landscape, much damaged. Three Assyrian soldiers and a horse are depicted in front of a row of trees. The first person aims an arrow at a target, the second person leads the horse, and the third person advances to the right. H. 1.21 m. W. 2.94 m.

Original location : room 7, lower registers of slabs 7-8. See plate 87.

Bibliography : Iraq Museum, *'Iraq Museum Collections,* pl. 30; Basmachi, *Treasures of the Iraq Museum,* p. 237; Guralnick, *Assur* 1/5 (1976), pl. 7.

IM 60971/3

Two soldiers on horseback advance to the right in a wooded area. One man carries a spear. H. 1.21 m. W. 1.60 m.

Original location: room 7, lower register of slab 1. See plate 85.

Bibliography: Guralnick, *Assur* 1/5 (1976), pl. 5.

IM 60972/3-1

Three slabs depicting four persons, from left to right: (1) beardless Assyrian attendant, facing right. (2) Assyrian king, facing right. He holds a lotus in his lowered left hand. (3) Bearded Assyrian attendant, facing king. His right hand is raised and his left hand rests on the pommel of his sword. (4) Beardless Assyrian attendant, facing left. His hands are clasped. The upper part of each relief is mostly restored. H. 3 m. W. 5.04 m. See figures 84-85.

Original location: room 6, slabs 14-18. See plate 66.

Bibliography: photograhs of sculptures *in situ;* Iraq Museum, *'Iraq Museum Collections,* pl. 29; Basmachi, *Treasures of the Iraq Museum,* p. 238, figs. 133, 135-136.

IM 60973

Four-winged genie, facing left. He holds a cone in his right hand and a handled bucket in his left hand. Behind him is a wingless genie. He raises his right hand and grasps a lotus in his left hand. This plant is restored incorrectly. The upper part of the relief is restored. H. 3 m. W. 2.06 m. See figure 87.

Original location: lateral wall of door X (slab 1), connecting rooms 6 and 11. See plate 71.

Bibliography: photographs of slabs 1 and 2 *in situ* (see figure 86); Basmachi, *Treasures of the Iraq Museum,* p. 238.

IM 60974/6-1

Processional scene composed of six stone blocks. This is a continuation of IM 60972/3-1. Assyrian attendants and foreign tributaries advance to the left. The foreigners each carry either hemispherical bowls or lion's head situlae. H. 3 m. W. 11.11 m. See figure 85.

Original location: room 6, slabs 19-22. See plate 66.

Bibliography: Photograph of sculptures *in situ;* Basmachi, *Treasures of the Iraq Museum,* p. 238, figs. 133, 135-136.

IM 60975/2-1 and IM 60979/3-1

Processional scene composed of five slabs. King Sargon faces left and greets an Assyrian official, after whom come several attendants. Behind the king stands an attendant

holding a fan. Behind this person is an attendant armed with a spear, bow, and quiver. The upper part of each slab is mostly restored. H. 3 m. W. 11.08 m. See figure 86.

Original location: room 11, slabs 9-13. See pl. 71.

Bibliography: photograph of sculptures *in situ*, showing slab 9; Basmachi, *Treasures of the Iraq Museum*, p. 238, fig. 133.

IM 60978

Head of a winged human-headed bull. Restored from two fragments. The headdress is decorated with three pairs of horns and rosettes. Discovered in the debris in room 7. H. 1.15 m. W. 0.70 m. See figure 6.

Original location: uncertain. Possibly door I in room 4. See plates 41, 80.

Bibliography: Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, p. 78. Basmachi, *Treasures of the Iraq Museum*, p. 237.

IM 60980

Relief with two scenes separated by a band of an inscription. Upper register: battle in which an Assyrian chariot moves to the right. Lower register: Assyrian soldiers face left and attack the walls of a city under siege. Reconstructed from many fragments. H. 2.50 m. W. 2.41 m. See figure 89.

Original location: room 5, slab unnumbered. See plate 100.

Bibliography: Basmachi, *Treasures of the Iraq Museum*, p. 238, fig. 133.

IM 72126

Assyrian attendant turned to the left. He holds in each hand a lion's head situla. H. 3 m. W. 1.32 m.

Original location: uncertain. Discovered in debris in facade n. Possibly slab 32. See plate 16.

Bibliography: Basmachi, *Treasures of the Iraq Museum*, p. 237, fig. 133.

IM 72127/2-1

Two contiguous stone blocks. Two Assyrian officials turned to the right. The person at the left is beardless. The person at the right is bearded, and he wears a diadem whose ends hang pendant at the back. Each person carries a sword under his flounced shawl. H. 3 m. W. 3.87 m.

Original location: uncertain. Possibly facade n, slab 16. See plate 19.

Bibliography: Basmachi, *Treasures of the Iraq Museum*, p. 237, fig. 133.

IM 72128

Winged human-headed bull turned to the right. Its headdress shows three pairs of horns. H. 4 m. W. 4.25 m.

Original location: gate A, inner city wall.

Bibliography: Loud and Altman, *Khorsabad. II*, pls. 9-10, 46; Basmachi, *Treasures of the Iraq Museum*, p. 239, figs. 140-141.

IM 72129

Winged human-headed bull turned to the left. Its headdress shows three pairs of horns. H. 4 m. W. 4.25 m.

Original location: gate A, inner city wall.

Bibliography: Loud and Altman, *Khorsabad. II*, pls. 9-10, 46; Basmachi, *Treasures of the Iraq Museum*, p. 239, figs. 140-141.

IM 72130

Two-winged genie with frontal face and body turned to the right. He holds a cone in his right hand and a handled bucket in his left hand. This slab is contiguous to IM 72128. H. 4 m. W. 2.44 m. See figure 10.

Original location: gate A, inner city wall.

Bibliography: Loud and Altman, *Khorsabad. II*, pls. 9-10, 46; Basmachi, *Treasures of the Iraq Museum*, p. 239, figs. 140-141.

IM 72131

Two-winged genie with frontal face and body turned to the left. He holds a cone in his right hand and a handled bucket in his left hand. This slab is contiguous to IM 72129. H. 4 m. W. 2.25 m.

Original location: gate A, inner city wall.

Bibliography: Loud and Altman, *Khorsabad. II*, pls. 9-10, 46; Basmachi, *Treasures of the Iraq Museum*, p. 239, figs. 140-141.

RELIEFS IN VARIOUS COLLECTIONS

Commentary. The reliefs listed below are scattered among various museums. Many examples are illustrated, described, and commented upon, in one of the following publications: de Clercq, *Collection de Clercq*; Margarete Falkner, "Vier assyrische Reliefs in Marseilles," *AfO* 16 (1953): Vladimir Golenishchev, *The Imperial Hermitage: Description of Assyrian Art Treasures*, (in Russian) (Leningrad: Hermitage, 1897); Ernst F. Weidner, "Die Reliefs der assyrischen Könige," *AfO* Beiheft 4 (1939). Other reliefs are illustrated in various publications, to which full reference is made when appropriate.

BOMBAY, PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM IN WESTERN INDIA

F 13

Wingless genie turned to the right. A fillet decorated with rosette bracteates encircles his head. His right hand is raised, and in his left hand is a triple-branched plant with flowers. H. 0.97 m. W. 0.49 m. See figure 17.

Original location: uncertain. Originally flanked the left side of one of several possible doors. See plate 19, 36, 56.

Bibliography: J. E. Reade, "Twelve Ashurnasirpal Reliefs," *Iraq* 27 (1965), pp. 128-129, pl. 21,d.

BRUSSELS, MUSÉES ROYAUX D'ART ET D'HISTOIRE

0.48

Wingless genie turned to the right. A fillet decorated with rosette bracteates encircles his head. His right hand is raised, and in his left hand is a triple-branched plant with flowers. H. 0.95 m. W. 0.33 m. See figure 16.

Original location: uncertain. Originally flanked the left side of one of several possible doors. See plates 19, 36, 56.

Bibliography: Speleers, *BMRAH* 10 (1938), pp. 122-136, fig. 2; Denise Homès-Fredericq, *Galerie de l'Asie Antérieure*, (Bruxelles: 1967), p. 13.

BUCHAREST, MUSÉE NATIONAL DES ANTIQUITÉS

No. 1 (museum number unavailable)

Large head of a bearded foreigner, facing right. On his head is a turban. Measurements unavailable.

Original location: uncertain. Possibly room 6. See plate 66.

Bibliography: unavailable.

GENOA, MUSEO CIVICO DI ARCHEOLOGIA

Ge 2

Fragment. Head of a wingless genie, facing right. A fillet decorated with rosette bracteates encircles his head. H. 0.29 m. W. 0.31 m.

Original location: uncertain. Originally flanked the left side of one of several possible doors. See plates 19, 36, 56.

Bibliography: Weidner, *AfO* Beiheft 4 (1939), pp. 68-69, fig. 59.

LENINGRAD, THE STATE HERMITAGE MUSEUM

No. 7

Wingless genie turned to the left. A fillet decorated with rosette bracteates encircles his head. His right hand is raised, and in his left hand is a triple-branched plant with flowers. H. 1.06 m. W. 0.46 m.

Original location: uncertain. Originally flanked the right side of one of several possible doors. See plates 19, 36, 56.

Bibliography: Golenishchev, *The Imperial Hermitage,* pp. 35-36.

No. 8

Wingless genie turned to the right. A fillet decorated with rosette bracteates encircles his head. His right hand is raised, and in his left hand is a triple-branched plant with flowers. H. 1.06 m. W. 0.46 m.

Original location: uncertain. Originally flanked the left side of one of several possible doors. See plates 19, 36, 56.

Bibliography: Golenishchev, *The Imperial Hermitage,* p. 37.

LONDON, PRIVATE COLLECTION

A. 089

Large head of a beardless Assyrian attendant, facing left. A headband is indicated in

the texture of the hair. The ear is ornamented with a pendant earring. Recent purchase. Original owner, name withheld. H. 0.59 m. W. 0.51 m. See figure 42.

Original location: uncertain. Possibly facade n, slab 34. See plate 16.

Bibliography: unpublished.

MARSEILLES, MUSÉE BORELY

No. 1520

Fragment. Head of a bearded foreigner, facing left. A wide band encircles his head. H. 0.25 m. W. 0.19 m.

Original location: possibly room 10, lower register of slab 14. See plate 33.

Bibliography: Falkner, *AfO* 16 (1953), pp. 251-252, fig. 42.

No. 1521

Fragment. Head of a beardless Assyrian attendant, facing right. His ear is ornamented with a three-armed earring. H. 0.18 m. W. 0.17 m.

Original location: uncertain. Possibly room 2 or room 7. See plates 86 and 123.

Bibliography: Falkner, *AfO* 16 (1953), pp. 251-252, fig. 41.

MOSUL, NERGAL GATE MUSEUM

Museum numbers unavailable.

Two large reliefs restored from many fragments. Relief 1: two foreign tributaries advance to the right. Each person holds a model of a city. Relief 2: Assyrian attendant, facing right. His right hand is raised and in his left hand is a plant. This last detail is restored incorrectly. Measurements unavailable.

Original location: uncertain. Relief 1: possibly facade n, slab 20. Relief 2: possibly room 6. See plates 19 and 66.

Bibliography: unavailable.

NEW YORK CITY, THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

33.16.1

Fragment. Upper part of a relief depicting a bearded foreigner and two horses. The person holds a whip and wears a sheep's fur cloak. He leads two horses to the left. The animals are caparisoned. Traces of red and possibly ochre are visible. Formerly in the Lansdowne collection. Gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 1933. H. 0.48 m. W. 0.76 m. See figure 59.

Original location: room 10, lower register of slab 12. See plate 32.

Bibliography: Dietrich Opitz, "Relief aus der Zeit Sargon II," *AfO* 6 (1930-31), p. 126, fig. 1.

33.16.2

Large head of a beardless Assyrian attendant, facing left. His ear is ornamented with a three-armed earring. Still visible on the garment are two bands of alternating rosettes and

concentric squares. Formerly in the Lansdowne collection. Gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 1933. H. 0.55 m. W. 0.48 m. See figure 72.

Original location: possibly facade L, slab 28 or 29. See plate 48.

Bibliography: *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 28 (1933), pp. 17-24, fig. 5.

FORMERLY PARIS, COLLECTION DE CLERCQ

No. 15

Large head of a bearded foreigner, facing right. On his head is a turban. Surface of cap is worn. H. 0.50 m. W. 0.42 m.

Original location: possibly facade n, slab 20. See plate 19.

Bibliography: de Clercq, *Collection de Clercq*, 2: 125, pl. 14, n° 15.

TURIN, MUSEO DELLE ANTICHITÀ EGIZIE

10407

Fragment. Head of king Sargon, facing left. His ear is ornamented with a three-armed earring. H. 0.89 m. W. 0.52 m.

Original location: uncertain. Possibly room 6 or 11. See plates 66, 71.

Bibliography: Weidner, *AfO* Beiheft 4 (1939), pp. 56-57, fig. 48.

10408

Large head of a beardless Assyrian attendant, facing left. His ear is ornamented with a pendant earring. A headband is indicated in the texture of the hair. H. 0.62 m. W. 0.52 m.

Original location: uncertain. Possibility facade n. See plate 16.

Bibliography: Weidner, *AfO* Beiheft 4 (1939), pp. 57-58, fig. 49.

10409

Fragment. Head of a bearded Assyrian attendant, facing right. His ear is ornamented with a pendant earring. H. 0.20 m. W. 0.20 m.

Original location: uncertain. Possibly room 2. See plate 121.

Bibliography: Weidner, *AfO* Beiheft 4 (1939), p. 58, fig. 50.

10412

Fragment. Overlapping heads of two horses, facing right. The animals are caparisoned. H. 0.38 m. W. 0.31 m.

Original location: probably room 5. See plates 97, 99, 103.

Bibliography: Weidner, *AfO* Beiheft 4 (1939), pp. 58-59, fig. 51.

VATICAN CITY, MUSEI E GALLERIE PONTIFICIE

14995 (12)

Fragment. Upper part of a head of a bearded Assyrian, facing left. His ear is ornamented with a pendant earring. H. 0.15 m. W. 0.16 m. See figure 91.

Original location: uncertain. Possibly room 2 or 7. See plates 85, 87, 120-121.

Bibliography: Weidner, *AfO* Beiheft 4 (1939), pp. 32, 58, fig. 34.

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LE PALAIS DE SARGON D'ASSYRIE

ETUDE DES RELIEFS DE DUR SHARRUKIN D'APRES LES DESSINS EXECUTES AU MOMENT DE LEUR DECOUVERTE EN 1843-1844 PAR BOTTA ET FLANDIN

Pauline Albenda

Texte français établi par Annie Caubet

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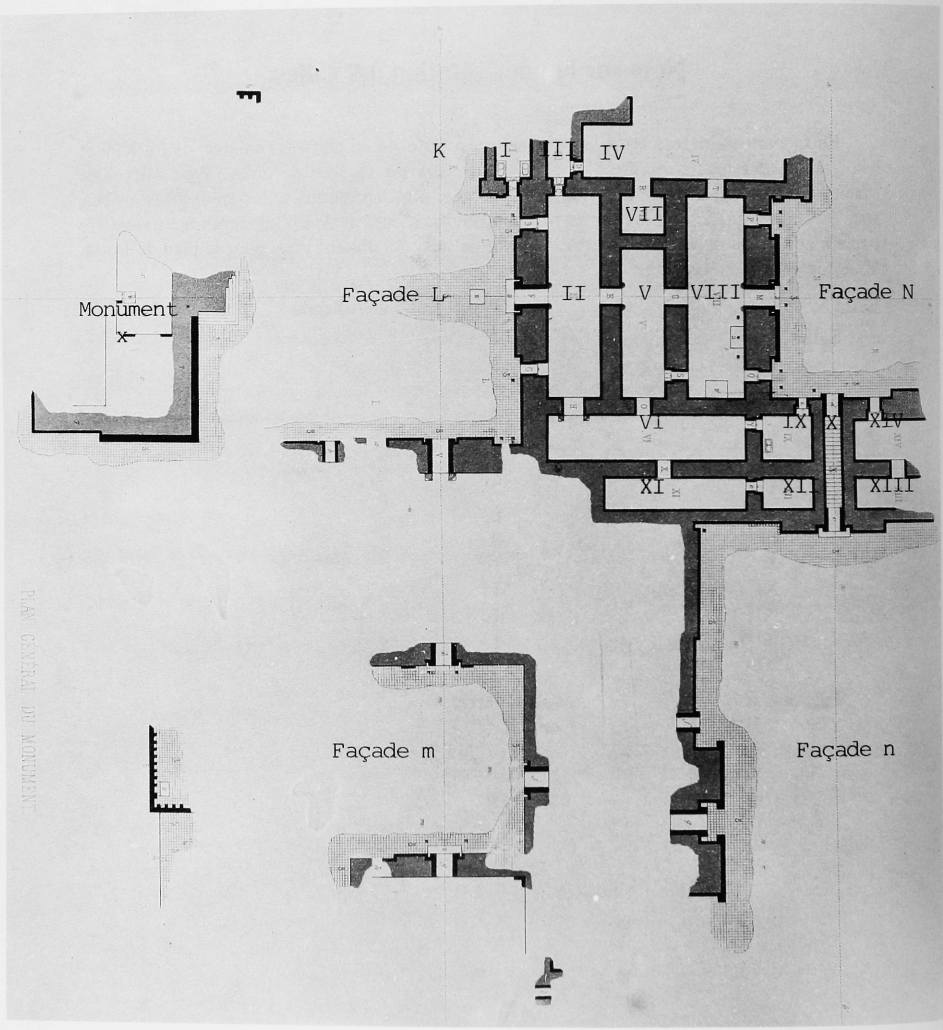
Note sur la numérotation des salles.

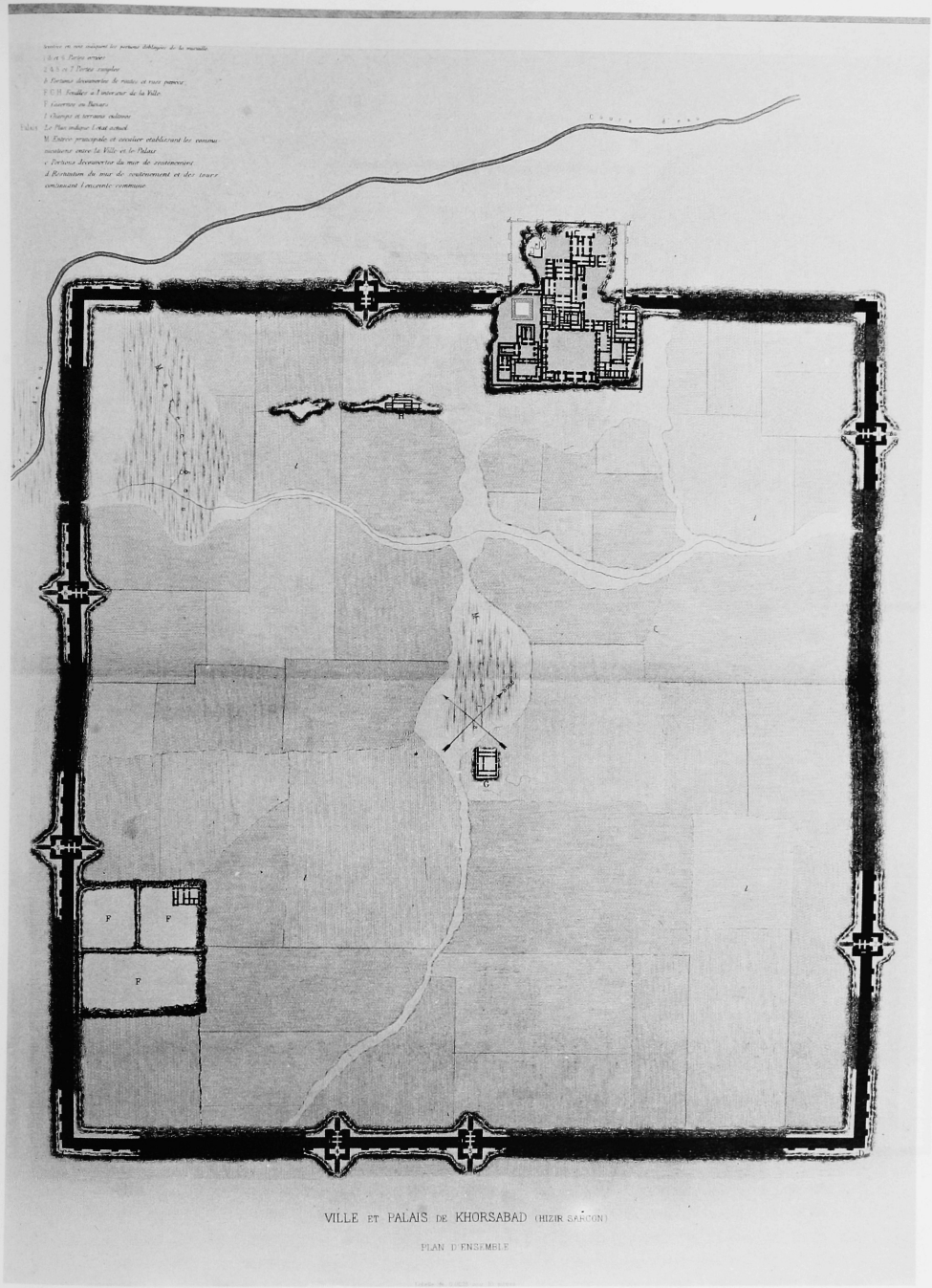
Botta avait numéroté les salles explorées en 1843-44 en chiffres romains, de I à XIV et avait donné des lettres majuscules et minuscules à ses façades de cours. Pour alléger ce système, Place, qui a décuplé la surface explorée, a numéroté les salles en chiffres arabes, tout en conservant l'ordre entrepris par son prédécesseur ; il donna en revanche un chiffre romain aux cours ou espaces interprétés comme tels : on obtient ainsi pour le plan de Botta, les équivalences suivantes :

Botta		Place, Loud et Albenda :
Salles	I	1
	II	2
	III	3
	IV	4
	V	5
	VI	6
	VII	7
	VIII	8
	IX	9
	X	10
	XI	11
	XII	12
	XIII	13
	XIV	14
Façades	A	Mur de terrasse
	K et L	Cours I
	m	VI
	N	III
	n	VIII



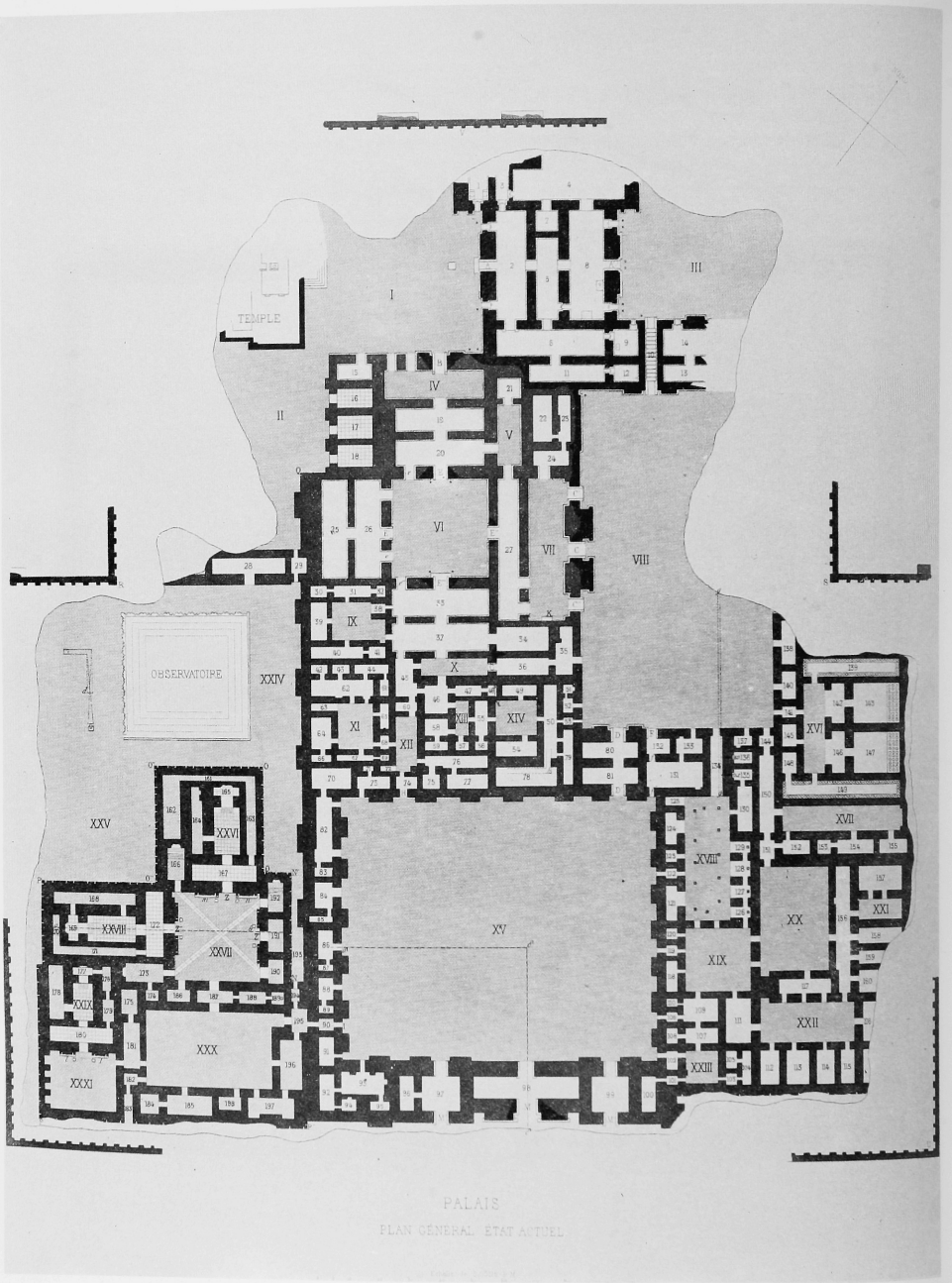
plan 1 : le palais de Sargon II, d'après Botta I, pl. 6.

map 1 : the palace of Sargon, after Botta I, pl. 6.



plan 2 : la ville et le palais, d'après Place, pl. 2.

map 2 : the city of Khorsabad and the palace, after Place, pl. 2.



plan 3 : le palais, d'après Place, pl. 3.

map 3 : the palace, after Place, pl. 3.

PREFACE

par A. Caubet.

En 1843-1844, Paul-Emile Botta, consul de France à Mossoul, inaugurait sur le village de Khorsabad les premières fouilles archéologiques françaises au Proche Orient. En 1847, l'ouverture au public parisien des salles assyriennes du Musée du Louvre présentant le fruit de ces recherches, marquait la première étape de la découverte de la civilisation de l'Orient ancien par l'Europe. On ne mesurera jamais assez l'exploit que représentait l'exploration de sites mésopotamiens par les pionniers de l'archéologie de terrain, l'Anglais Austen Layard ou les Français Botta et Place ; on s'étonnera de la célérité avec laquelle d'immenses bâtiments furent mis au jour à Khorsabad, scrupuleusement dessinés et restitués sur le papier par un artiste de talent, Flandin ; de l'efficacité qui présida au choix de certains reliefs, les plus représentatifs, pour être déposés puis transportés, au prix de quels périls, sur le Tigre et par mer jusqu'en France. Quelques mois suffirent ensuite pour la mise en place dans les salles du Louvre de ces spectaculaires témoignages d'une civilisation que l'on ne connaissait jusqu'alors que par les lointains échos de la Bible. Admirons enfin que quelques années à peine furent nécessaires à la réalisation d'une publication exemplaire et somptueuse, où les dessins effectués sur place par Eugène Flandin furent traduits en une belle série de planches gravées : Paul-Emile Botta et Eugène Flandin, *Monument de Ninive,* 5 vols., Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1849-1850. Cet ouvrage livrait immédiatement au monde savant les résultats des premières explorations. La comparaison avec les travaux menés parallèlement par les Anglais permit de s'apercevoir que les ruines qu'abritait le village de Khorsabad étaient, non celles de Ninive, dernière capitale assyrienne comme le croyait le fouilleur, mais celles de la cité de Dur Sharrukin, fondée par Sargon II.

Si le British Museum a depuis longtemps rendu hommage à sir Austen Layard, qui fut à l'origine de ses collections assyriennes et l'inventeur de Nimrud et de Ninive, le musée du Louvre n'a pas encore consacré à Botta ou à son successeur Victor Place la manifestation qui eût été le juste tribut rendu à leurs efforts. Le présent ouvrage viendra partiellement remplir cet office.

Les palais de Ninive et de Nimrud ont fait l'objet de publications d'ensemble ; ce n'est pas le cas pour Khorsabad. Le site, exploré par P.E. Botta et Flandin en 1843-1844, fut repris par V. Place en 1852-1854. Place publia à son tour les trois volumes de *Ninive et l'Assyrie* (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1867-1870). Entre-temps, les ruines avaient été quelque peu « exploitées » et des antiquités provenant de Khorsabad ont été dispersées à travers le monde, avant que l'Oriental Institute de Chicago ne reprenne l'exploration du site en 1927 : les deux volumes consacrés à ces travaux, *Khorsabad,* Oriental Institute Publication 38 (1936) et 40 (1938), n'ont pas repris l'étude d'ensemble des monuments mis au jour

sur le site ; le présent ouvrage offrira désormais un dossier complet sur les sculptures qui ornaient la cité de Sargon II, avec leur emplacement d'origine, leur localisation actuelle et un essai sur l'organisation et la signification du décor. Pour son travail, Mme Albenda est partie des dessins originaux exécutés par Botta et (surtout) par Flandin au moment des premières découvertes. Cette collection de dessins, comportant des vues d'ensemble du site, des plans, des relevés de sculptures telles qu'elles furent découvertes et des « restitutions » dont on admirera l'intelligence, est aujourd'hui conservée à la Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris. Ils avaient servi à établir les planches gravées pour l'ouvrage définitif de 1849-1850 et conservent, malgré leur minutie, toute la spontanéité du document de base ; leur présente reproduction en photographie permettra d'évaluer les quelques variantes entre les sculptures retrouvées, le dessin original et la planche gravée.

Ce dossier sur Khorsabad devrait remettre à l'honneur l'étude d'une période de l'art assyrien relativement négligée. D'autre part, les inventeurs du site étant des Français auxquels un juste hommage était encore à rendre, la majeure partie des sculptures étant aujourd'hui abritées au Musée du Louvre, il a paru nécessaire d'inscrire cet ouvrage dans les séries consacrées par les éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations (ADPF), à l'archéologie française à l'étranger, dont l'exploration de Khorsabad constitue en quelque sorte le bulletin de naissance.

REMERCIEMENTS

L'établissement du texte français et la lecture des épreuves ont été grandement facilités par mes collègues et amis, B. André-Leicknam, D. Arnaud, D. Beyer, J.-J. Glassner et F. Tallon : qu'ils trouvent ici l'expression de ma reconnaissance.

A. C.

CHAPITRE I

HISTORIQUE DE L'EXPLORATION DE KHORSABAD

Le prélude à l'histoire de l'exploration de Khorsabad commence précisément au moment où Claudius James Rich fut nommé résident de l'East India Company à Baghdad, où il exerça ces fonctions de 1808 à sa mort en 1821 lors d'une épidémie de choléra [1]. Il passait ses loisirs à explorer les antiquités de Babylonie et d'Assyrie et dans ses rapports, décrivit le site de Ninive d'après ses observations personnelles. Rich découvrit des briques inscrites en cunéiforme qu'il copia, et quelques reliefs assyriens. Il nota que lors d'une visite sur le site avant 1820, on était en train de déterrer un énorme bloc près de l'enceinte Nord de Ninive, portant un décor sculpté représentant des figures d'hommes et d'animaux. Rich ajoutait que le bloc fut peu après réduit en fragments pour servir de matériau de construction à Mossoul [2]. Des années plus tard, l'Anglais Austen Henry Layard tenta de vérifier ces dires : un vieil homme qui disait avoir participé à la destruction du bloc conduisit Layard sur un haut monticule où fut creusée une tranchée : elle révéla les fragments de deux figures colossales. Plusieurs années plus tard, Layard explora cet emplacement qu'il identifia comme une porte monumentale : dans le passage extérieur on retrouva une paire de taureaux androcéphales ailés suivis chacun d'un personnage ailé de face [3].

Le gouvernement britannique, désireux d'améliorer ses connaissances de la géographie de la Mésopotamie, autorisa une expédition en 1829 : le but en était d'explorer les fleuves du Tigre et de l'Euphrate et de vérifier si une navigation à vapeur était praticable à travers la Mésopotamie vers l'Inde. Le commandement de l'expédition fut confié au colonel F.R. Chesney, qui publia par la suite un récit de cette exploration [4], qui dura de 1835 à 1837. Deux bateaux à vapeur en fer furent construits, chacun avec son équipage et ses officiers.

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[1] Claudius James Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan and on the Site of Ancient Nineveh,* 2 vol. (Londres, Duncan, 1836). 1 : xxvi-xxvii.

[2] id., 2 : 36-39.

[3] Austen Henry Layard, *Nineveh and Its Remains,* 2 vol. (New York : Putnam, 1849), 1 : 131 ; idem, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon,* (London Murray, 1853), p. 120-122. Cette porte fut plus tard identifiée avec la Porte de Nergal. En 1941, une autre paire de taureaux androcéphales ailés fut découverte au même endroit : J.P.G. Finch, « The Winged Bulls at the Nergal gate of Nineveh », *Iraq* 10 (1948) p. 9-18. Pour une solution possible de l'énigme archéologique présentée par Finch, comparer le plan de la Porte de Nergal par Layard avec le plan de la porte explorée par Place : Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon,* p. 122 ; Victor Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie,* 3 vol. (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1867-1870), 3 : pl. 11-13. Layard avait complètement dégagé deux cours mais il devait y en avoir trois à l'origine.

[4] F.R. Chesney, *The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris carried by Order of the British Government,* 2 vol. (Londres, Longman, Brown Green and Longman, 1850 ; réédition New York, Greenwood, 1969).

L'ouvrage de Chesney donne des détails sur le voyage, avec une esquisse géographique et politique des régions avec lesquelles la Mésopotamie était en contact dans l'Antiquité. Il mentionne brièvement les ruines assyriennes de Nimrud (Kalhu), Ninive et Assur [5]. William Francis Ainsworth, en qualité de chirurgien et de géologue, faisait partie de l'expédition. Il fut chargé quelques années plus tard de la tête d'une mission envoyée par la Royal Geographical Society et la Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge [6]. Ainsworth parvint à Mossoul en 1840. Il explora ensuite les ruines de Ninive, en particulier le tell de Kuyundjik (« l'agneau »), repérant les murs de la ville. Ainsworth rapporta qu'il avait découvert les ruines de palais, de temples et de citadelles. La même année, il rencontra Layard et l'un de ses compagnons, Mitford. Ces derniers se joignirent à Ainsworth pour visiter les restes de Kalah Shergat (Assur) et Hatra [7]. Un autre trajet conduisit Ainsworth près du village de Khorsabad [8].

Deux ans après les activités d'Ainsworth, Paul-Emile Botta entreprit des recherches similaires. Il avait été nommé consul de France à Mossoul en 1842. Il était particulièrement bien adapté à ce poste : Botta était bon arabisant et il avait à son actif un voyage de deux ans autour du monde destiné à récolter des specimens botaniques pour le Museum d'Histoire Naturelle de Paris. Dans le même but, il avait aussi accompli un voyage en Egypte, au Yemen et au Liban [9]. Une fois à Mossoul, il se laissa convaincre par Jules Mohl, membre de la Société Asiatique et de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, d'entreprendre des explorations archéologiques dans la région. Botta choisit d'abord le tell sur lequel s'élevait le village de Nebi Yunus : Rich y avait trouvé des inscriptions dans des murs. Cependant c'est sur le tell de Kuyundjik que Botta commença ses fouilles en 1842. En l'espace de trois mois, il mit au jour de nombreux fragments de bas-reliefs et d'inscriptions, mais rien qu'il puisse considérer comme important. Il décida alors de rechercher l'origine de deux grandes briques inscrites qui lui avaient été apportées par un villageois de Khorsabad et envoya deux ouvriers sur ce site. Khorsabad est à environ dix-huit kilomètres au Nord-Est de Mossoul et à douze kilomètres seulement du Tigre. Au bout de quelques jours, un des ouvriers vint l'informer que l'on avait découvert des inscriptions et des reliefs figurés : les ouvriers avaient en effet eu la chance de commencer leurs tranchées dans une partie du tell où les ruines étaient en relativement bon état de conservation. Botta n'eut qu'à suivre les murs qui apparaissaient [10].

Dans une lettre datée du 5 avril 1843, Botta annonçait à Mohl les résultats de ses premières opérations à Khorsabad et lui envoyait le plan de tous les reliefs qui avaient été mis au jour (voir pl. 1) ainsi que des dessins de ces reliefs. Cette lettre fut lue à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres puis publiée dans le *Journal Asiatique* [11]. Quatre autres lettres de Botta à Mohl furent ensuite publiées dans la même revue, avec des dessins et des plans [12]. Grâce à l'influence de Mohl, le gouvernement français mit des crédits à la disposition de Botta pour la poursuite de ses fouilles. Dans l'intervalle, Botta devait faire face

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[5] Id., 1 : 20-22, 119-120, carte VI.

[6] William Francis Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea and Armenia*, 2 vol. (Londres, Parker, 1843), 1 : 1-2.

[7] Id., 2 : 147-179.

[8] Id., 2 : 119-120.

[9] Paul Emile Botta, *Relation d'un voyage dans l'Yémen entrepris en 1837 pour le Museum d'Histoire Naturelle de Paris*, avec une introduction et notice bibliographique par Charles Louis Levavasseur, (Paris, E. de Soye et Fils, 1880).

[10] Paul Emile Botta et Eugène Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 5 vol. (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1849-1850), 5 : 5-10. Ces faits sont relatés en détails par Joseph Bonomi, *Nineveh and Its Palaces. The Discoveries of Botta and Layard, Applied to the Elucidation of the Holy Writ*, (Londres, Office of the Illustrated London Library, 1852) chap. II : 7-26.

[11] Jules Mohl, « Lettres de M. Botta sur ses découvertes à Ninive », *Journal Asiatique*, 4e série, vol. 2 (1843), (5 avril 1843), p. 61-72.

[12] Lettre 2 (2 mai 1843) : id., p. 201-214 ; lettre 3 (2 juin 1843) : JA 3 (1844), p. 91-103 ; lettre 4 (24 juillet 1843) : id., p. 425-435 ; lettre 5 (31 octobre 1843) : JA 4 (1844), p. 301-314. Ces lettres furent ensuite rassemblées en un volume, voir Jules Mohl, *Lettres de M. Botta sur ses découvertes à Khorsabad, près de Ninive* (Paris, Imprimerie Royale, 1845). Ce recueil comporte le rapport de Flandin au Ministre de l'Intérieur (27 mars 1844). Une traduction anglaise de ce volume fut publiée avec quelques modifications : *Illustrations of Discoveries at Nineveh ; Consisting of Forty-Nine Plates of Sculptures and Inscriptions on Ancient Assyrian Monuments*, (Londres, Longman, Brown, Green and Longman, 1850).

à un certain nombre d'obstacles : le principal était la région marécageuse qui entourait Khorsabad. Un autre fut la mauvaise volonté des autorités locales, qui entraîna l'arrêt des travaux jusqu'à ce que l'ambassadeur de France à Constantinople ait obtenu les ordres nécessaires à la poursuite des fouilles. Dernier obstacle, le village moderne de Khorsabad était construit sur les ruines que l'on voulait mettre au jour. Par un accord spécial, les habitants furent autorisés à vendre leurs maisons et à se reloger provisoirement au pied du tell [13].

Botta avait demandé que l'on envoie un dessinateur, et, à la suggestion de l'Académie, le jeune artiste Eugène-Napoléon Flandin fut choisi pour se rendre à Khorsabad afin d'y dessiner les sculptures déjà mises au jour et celles que l'on espérait encore trouver. Quelques années plus tôt, Flandin avait participé avec l'architecte Pascal Coste à une autre mission archéologique française, en Perse cette fois, d'où ils rapportèrent une superbe publication [14]. Flandin parvint à Mossoul le 4 mai 1844. Rien ne faisait plus obstacle à la poursuite des travaux qui continuèrent sans interruption jusqu'à la fin d'octobre de cette même année. Durant ces longs mois, de nombreuses salles ornées de reliefs, parfois d'inscriptions en pierre, furent dégagées. Au commencement de novembre, Flandin revint en France et soumit son travail à l'Académie, qui le reçut favorablement et publia en une série de volumes *in* F^o l'œuvre de Botta et Flandin [15].

Après le départ de Flandin, Botta compléta les copies de ses inscriptions cunéiformes. C'est à lui qu'incomba le soin d'expédier les sculptures choisies pour être envoyées en France. Il eut de nombreuses difficultés à vaincre pour assurer leur transfert de Khorsabad à Mossoul puis de Mossoul à Baghdad, où elles restèrent près d'un an [16]. Elles furent placées sous la responsabilité de M. Loewe-Weimars, consul de France. De Baghdad, elles furent transportées jusqu'à Bassorah, embarquées sur *Le Cormoran* et expédiées en France : elles arrivèrent au port du Havre en décembre 1846. Botta fut chargé par le Ministère de l'Intérieur de superviser leur transfert par péniche jusqu'à Paris, où elles parvinrent sans incident en février 1847 [17]. Pendant ce temps, le site antique de Khorsabad était abandonné, et fut négligé jusqu'en 1852, lorsque le nouveau consul de France, Thomas-Victor Place, reprit l'exploration pour le compte de la France.

Durant l'intervalle entre les deux missions françaises, un certain nombre de reliefs furent prélevés sur le site, probablement par les villageois, pour être vendus aux touristes. Ces fragments sont aujourd'hui conservés dans des collections privées ou des musées. Un lot important parvint au British Museum en 1847, d'autres suivirent au hasard de dons et legs. Parmi les visiteurs européens sur le site dans cet intervalle, figure Alexander Hector, résident à Baghdad : il avait servi dix ans plus tôt comme officier dans l'expédition Britannique sur l'Euphrate [18]. Dans une lettre de juin 1845 adressée à un ami, Thomas Stirling, Hector décrivit sa visite à Khorsabad : il avait examiné ce qui apparaissait des sculptures et plus il les regardait, plus il était frappé à la pensée des siècles écoulés depuis qu'elles avaient été exécutées puis enfouies. Hector donnait ensuite quelques détails [19]. Il retourna sur le site au moins une fois, si ce n'est plus, car ce fut par son entremise qu'un nouveau lot d'antiquités

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[13] Voir plus haut note 10.

[14] Eugène Flandin et Pascal Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, 6 vol. (Paris, Gide et J. Baudry, 1840-1841). Les dessins originaux de Flandin, encore non reproduits, sont également conservés à la Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France (MS 2733).

[15] Voir ci-dessus, note 10.

[16] Pour une narration de cette difficile réalisation, voir Adrien de Longpérier, *Notice des antiquités assyriennes, babyloniennes, perses, hébraïques exposées dans les galeries du musée du Louvre*, 3e éd. (Paris, Vinchon, Imprimeur des Musées Impériaux, 1854), p. 10-12. Une version un peu différente parut chez Edmond Pottier, *Catalogue des antiquités assyriennes*, 2e éd., Musée National du Louvre (Paris, Musées Nationaux, 1924), p. 16-19.

[17] Id.

[18] Chesney, *Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, 1 : xiii.

[19] Id., 2 : 136, note 3.

fut envoyé à Stirling puis vendu au British Museum [20]. D'autre part, Layard, qui à cette époque faisait des fouilles sur les sites de Nimrud et de Ninive, rapporta brièvement dans sa publication, avoir fait le trajet de Baghdad en décembre 1847 avec « M. Hector, de Baghdad, qui m'avait rendu visite à Nimrud » [21]. L'intérêt d'Hector pour l'acquisition d'antiquités apparaît encore dans une lettre écrite en février 1855 par le colonel Henry Creswicke Rawlinson à William Loftus, où il est question de l'envoi de sculptures de Nimrud et de Ninive : Hector proposait de recueillir les sculptures laissées pour compte de ces deux sites et de les donner au British Museum contre remboursement des frais de transport [22].

Il faut également mentionner Layard, qui fouillait à Nimrud durant les années 1846 à 1851 [23]. Il put examiner le site de Khorsabad à deux reprises, en août 1846 puis en novembre 1849. Lors de sa première visite, il remarqua que « depuis le départ de Botta, certaines salles avaient été partiellement comblées par l'effondrement des tranchées ; les sculptures se détérioraient rapidement ; bref, il resterait bien peu de ce monument. Pratiquement nulle partie du bâtiment n'avait échappé à l'incendie qui l'avait détruit, par conséquent peu de reliefs pouvaient être déposés » [24]. Lors de sa seconde visite, il ajoutait que « les sculptures du palais se détruisaient rapidement et qu'il ne restait que peu de traces de celles laissées exposées à l'air après le départ de Botta. Certaines cependant avaient été réenfouies par l'effondrement des hautes parois de terres formant la limite des tranchées » [25]. C'est durant cette seconde visite que Layard examina un petit bâtiment déjà mis au jour par Botta et identifié comme un temple par ce dernier. Layard décrit cette construction comme entièrement édifiée en marbre noir, reposant sur une plate-forme pourvue d'une corniche de calcaire gris sculptée aux angles : des ouvriers, envoyés quelques jours plus tôt pour nettoyer cette plate-forme de ses débris, avaient découvert deux bas-reliefs en pierre noire : sur ces dalles étaient figurées des scènes de chasse [26].

Layard rapporte que durant son séjour à Constantinople entre 1842 et 1845, il put suivre l'évolution des travaux de Botta ; il lui écrivit durant la brève campagne accomplie par Botta à Kuyundjik pour attirer son attention sur le tell de Nimrud. Layard put consulter les lettres et les dessins de Botta à leur passage à Constantinople et il fut donc parmi les premiers à être informé des découvertes de celui-ci à Khorsabad. Il put sans doute aussi prendre connaissance des dessins préparés par Flandin avant leur gravure en vue de publication, car il mentionne dans son livre qu'il a pu voir le carton à dessin de Flandin. [27].

Parmi les missions françaises en Mésopotamie qui succédèrent à celle de Botta, il faut mentionner l'Expédition Scientifique en Mésopotamie : elle dura de 1851 à 1854 sous la

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[20] Bonomi, *Nineveh and Its Palaces*, p. 295. Dans les pages 7277-78 (19 juin 1847) des « Extracts from the Minutes of the British Museum Trustees' Standing Committee » se trouve l'information suivante : « M. Hawkins a présenté aux trustees une lettre datée du 18 courant émanant de M. Stirling, offrant de vendre un certain nombre de sculptures de Khorsabad découvertes par M. Hector, commerçant installé à Baghdad... M. Hawkins a ajouté qu'il était informé par M. Stirling que ce M. Hector avait en sa possession ou à sa disposition d'autres sculptures trop massives pour être transportées sans une perspective raisonnable de rémunération et il a recommandé d'entrer en contact avec M. Hector afin d'obtenir l'ensemble du produit de ses fouilles. Les Trustees, après consultation de M. Hawkins, ont autorisé l'achat des sculptures au prix demandé ». Cette information m'a aimablement été communiquée par le Bibliographical Information Service, British Library.

[21] Layard, *Nineveh and Its Remains*, 1 : 61. Hector était entré en correspondance avec Layard dès 1842. La consultation de ses lettres, aujourd'hui à la British Library, confirme que les deux hommes étaient en termes amicaux. A plusieurs reprises, Hector avait assisté Layard pour le transport des sculptures de Nimrud et de Ninive : voir British Museum, *Layard Papers*, Correspondance 1838-47, vol. XLV–XLVII (additionnal Ms 38, 975-38, 977) lettres du 21 juillet 1842, 8 octobre 1842, 17 avril 1844, 19 février 1845, 6 août 1845, 5 août 1846, 28 octobre 1846, 14 avril 1847.

[22] Richard D. Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (668-627 B.C.)*, (Londres, British Museum Publications, 1976), p. 20, note 10.

[23] Voir un bon récit de l'exploration de Layard dans Barnett, id., p. 3-5.

[24] Layard, *Nineveh and Its Remains*, 1 : p. 35.

[25] Id., *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 131.

[26] Id., p. 131-132.

[27] Id., *Nineveh and Its Remains*, 2 : 247. Layard était à Paris en 1848 : voir British Museum, *Layard Papers*, vol. XLVIII (Ms 38, 978), f. 375.

direction de Fulgence Fresnel, consul à Baghdad, assisté de l'architecte Félix Thomas et de l'orientaliste Jules Oppert [28]. Leurs découvertes ont contribué au déchiffrement du cunéiforme mais les antiquités qui auraient dû parvenir au Musée du Louvre disparurent dans un naufrage en 1855 (voir plus loin). Pendant ce temps, Victor Place, consul à Mossoul, reçut l'ordre de poursuivre les fouilles de Botta, ce qu'il fit de 1852 au début de 1854 [29]. Il élargit la surface d'exploration du site et apporta de nombreuses informations sur l'organisation de l'architecture, comme le montrent les remarquables relevés exécutés par Félix Thomas, parus dans la publication qui suivit [30]. Thomas avait travaillé trois mois comme architecte à Khorsabad et à son retour à Paris, il rapportait une collection de petits objets qui fut ensuite déposée au Louvre [31]. Gabriel Tranchand, ingénieur civil et ami de Place, participa aussi aux travaux. Il prit de nombreuses photographies à Khorsabad et sur d'autres sites antiques, Kuyundjik, Maltai, Djigan etc., utilisant aussi bien le daguerréotype qu'un nouveau procédé, le « calotype » [32]. Des gravures furent exécutées d'après ces photographies pour figurer dans la publication de Place. Bien des années plus tard, Maurice Pillet put localiser un groupe de photographies originales de Tranchand montrant des sculptures : quelques-unes furent alors reproduites, mais la plupart furent de nouveau perdues [33].

Un malheureux accident priva la France des chefs-d'œuvre réunis par Place : la plupart des sculptures furent emballées fin 1854 et expédiées à Baghdad. En mai 1855, ces caisses, ainsi que d'autres provenant de la mission Fresnel à Baghdad et des sculptures provenant de Nimrud et Ninive, destinées au Louvre et au Musée de Berlin, en tout 235 caisses, quittèrent Baghdad en direction de Bassorah où le bateau français *Manuel* les attendait pour les conduire au Havre. Le 21 ou 23 mai 1855, le bateau, ainsi que plusieurs radeaux transportant les caisses, furent attaqués par des Arabes insoumis et pillés. La plupart des caisses furent englouties dans les flots du Chatt el Arab, au Nord de Qurnah, sur un assez vaste espace. Environ 80 caisses échappèrent au naufrage, ainsi que deux sculptures monumentales, aujourd'hui au Louvre [34]. La fin des travaux de Victor Place à Khorsabad marque l'arrêt des activités européennes sur ce site.

Les Américains commencèrent à s'intéresser à Khorsabad quelque soixante-dix ans plus tard. En 1927, Edward Chiera, spécialiste des langues orientales anciennes à l'Oriental Institute de Chicago, entreprit une saison de fouilles sur le site de Nuzi. Durant ce séjour, il fut informé que des indigènes avaient mis au jour une pierre inscrite près du tell du palais à Khorsabad. A la fin de sa campagne de fouille, Chiera exécuta un sondage préliminaire à cet emplacement. Il porta l'effort de ses ouvriers dans la région du palais qui était alors utilisée comme carrière de pierre par les villageois des environs. En un endroit, des fragments de reliefs gisaient en surface et il ne fallut que peu de dégagement pour faire apparaître un mur autrefois couvert de sculptures. Un villageois montra à Chiera un dépôt de sculptures qui avaient été cachées lors des fouilles du siècle dernier. Chiera put aussi acquérir plusieurs fragments en pierre dont l'un montre une tête de dignitaire assyrien. Ces découvertes

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[28] Pottier, *Catalogue*, p. 20.

[29] Pour un récit détaillé des activités de Place à Khorsabad, voir Maurice Pillet, *Khorsabad. Les découvertes de V. Place en Assyrie*, (Paris, éd. Ernest Leroux, 1918). Pour la carrière de Place, y compris ses travaux à Khorsabad, voir du même, *Un pionnier de l'assyriologie : Victor Place*, Cahiers de la Société Asiatique, 16 (1962).

[30] Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, vol. 3.

[31] Pillet, *Un pionnier*, p. 53. Pour l'inventaire des petits objets, voir du même, *Khorsabad*, p. 80-85.

[32] *Khorsabad*, p. 77-78, 114-115 ; *Un pionnier*, p. 105-106, 114-115.

[33] *Un pionnier*, pl.1-26.

[34] Pillet donne la liste du chargement depuis Baghdad : 2 taureaux ailés, 2 génies ailés, 41 caisses de la mission Fresnel en Babylonie, 80 (?) caisses destinées au musée de Berlin, 84 caisses appartenant à Place, 26 caisses pour le Louvre. Heureusement pour le British Museum, un accord séparé avait été conclu pour le transport de 52 caisses à Bassorah ; ces caisses sont parvenues à destination. Des 80 caisses subsistantes embarquées sur le *Manuel*, 2 contenaient des affaires personnelles de Place et 26 étaient destinées au Louvre. Parmi ces dernières, 16 contenaient des antiquités de Nimrud et Ninive offertes par les autorités anglaises ; voir Pillet, *Khorsabad*, p. 25-30, 52-55 ; *Un pionnier*, p. 81-84.

amenèrent l'Oriental Institute de Chicago à organiser à Khorsabad une expédition archéologique [35].

Henri Frankfort en prit la tête lorsqu'elle entreprit les travaux deux ans plus tard dans la région de la cour VIII (façade n de Botta). Plusieurs salles furent aussi dégagées, les salles 7, 10, 12 et en partie les salles 6 et 11. En maints endroits les reliefs étaient très endommagés par l'incendie qui avait détruit le palais, et il fut décidé de laisser les dalles *in situ*. Les reliefs les mieux préservés furent déposés, emballés et expédiés soit à l'Oriental Institute, soit à l'Iraq Museum de Baghdad. Durant les saisons suivantes (1929/1930, 1931/1932, 1933/1934), l'expédition de Khorsabad, désormais dirigée par Gordon Loud, dégagea la cour VII ou salle du trône, le complexe sacré, plusieurs résidences situées dans l'enceinte extérieure de la ville et deux portes monumentales. La publication finale parut dans les éditions de l'Oriental Institute [36].

Il n'y a pas eu jusqu'à présent d'autre fouille archéologique notable sur le site [37]. Lorsque l'on passe en revue les découvertes antérieures, il convient de garder à l'esprit le fait que ces expéditions étaient motivées par le désir de retrouver des témoignages matériels conservés depuis l'antiquité. Les français étaient surtout intéressés par les inscriptions cunéiformes, nécessaires à la compréhension des textes anciens et à la connaissance de l'histoire assyrienne aux temps bibliques. L'apparition spectaculaire d'œuvres d'art découvertes à Khorsabad fournit un prétexte à la formation de collections représentatives à rapporter en France, malgré les énormes difficultés inhérentes à leur transfert du chantier à Baghdad et de là à Bassorah puis Paris. Il faut regretter que la plupart des reliefs fussent abandonnés aux éléments, parce qu'ils ne pouvaient être déposés ou parce qu'ils étaient déjà en mauvais état : il n'était en effet pas possible de tout déposer. Ils furent donc soumis à l'action d'une rapide érosion et souvent détruits. Il faut reconnaître cependant que les moyens techniques et financiers au XIXe siècle étaient limités. Les autorités locales ne manifestèrent pas le moindre intérêt : cette attitude empêcha que l'on prît la moindre mesure conservatoire *in situ* : la situation ne changea pas plus tard et l'une des préoccupations majeures de Chiera fut de sauvegarder tous les reliefs possibles pour empêcher les villageois de les brûler dans des fours à chaux ou de s'en servir à tout autre usage [38].

Des études particulières dédiées à l'art de Khorsabad ont déjà été entreprises, et nombre de sculptures qui subsistent ont été mentionnées ou reproduites dans des publications sur l'art, la culture ou l'histoire de l'empire néo-assyrien. Aucune étude d'ensemble de tous les reliefs de Khorsabad n'avait cependant jamais été tentée. Le présent ouvrage s'efforce d'en fournir le cadre et voudrait mettre l'accent sur la force créatrice de cette période. Il est clair que le décor des murs de la cité du roi Sargon II devrait livrer un trésor d'informations historiques, par l'emploi de thèmes variés, religieux ou narratifs, qui a dû nécessiter diverses solutions formelles. On peut se demander, à propos de la création de ces reliefs muraux, si un concept unique et cohérent a présidé à leurs sujets, si l'emplacement et l'organisation des diverses scènes étaient arbitraires ou liés par exemple à la fonction d'une salle ou d'une partie de salle. La question se pose aussi de savoir comment les décors du palais étaient « lus » et compris une fois exécutés et mis en place : y avait-il par exemple un point de départ

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[35] Gordon Loud, Henri Frankfort et Thorkild Jacobsen, *Khorsabad.* Part I. *Excavations in the Palace and at A City Gate,* Oriental Institute Publications 38 (Chicago, University of Chicago, 1936) p. 12-14.

[36] Gordon Loud et Charles Altman, *Khorsabad.* Part II. *The Citadel and the Town,* OIP 40 (Chicago, University of Chicago, 1938). Voir le rapport préliminaire de Henri Frankfort, « Tell Asmar, Khafaje and Khorsabad. Second Preliminary Report of the Iraq Expedition », *Oriental Institute Communications* 16 (1933), p. 80-102.

[37] Des travaux de sauvetage ont été entrepris sur le site en 1938 et 1939 sous la supervision du Directeur Général des Antiquités de l'Irak. A cette date les reliefs de la salle 11, le passage entre les salles 6 et 11 et les monumentales sculptures de la porte A (découverte par l'expédition de Chicago) furent déposées et transportées au musée national. Albert R. Al-Haik, *Key Lists of Archaeological Excavations in Iraq, 1842-1965,* (Coconut Grove, Floride : Field Research Projects, 1968), p. 56-57. Plus récemment, un petit temple fut dégagé, Fuad Safar, « The Temple of Sibitti at Khorsabad », *Sumer* 13 (1957), p. 219-221.

[38] Loud, *Khorsabad. I.*, p. 13.

pour la lecture des scènes narratives, existait-il une scène principale avec des tableaux annexes ? Une réponse à ces diverses questions devrait conduire à une meilleure compréhension de cette production artistique associée au règne de Sargon II.

Dans ce livre, l'étude des œuvres monumentales de Khorsabad repose principalement sur les dessins originaux d'Eugène Flandin, reproduits ici pour la première fois. La localisation de ces dessins avait été oubliée avec les années. A la suggestion de Julian E.Reade, après quelques mois de recherches en 1979 et 1980, l'auteur a pu les retrouver à la Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France où ils sont conservés dans deux albums *in F°* réunis par Flandin lui-même (voir page de titre, pl. 5 et 6). Les feuilles sont en excellente condition, mais le papier trahit son âge ; leur état impeccable mais délicat rend nécessaire la publication immédiate de ces dessins. L'auteur a également trouvé dans la Bibliothèque de l'Institut certains des croquis originaux de Botta, jusqu'ici inédits. Ces dessins accompagnaient les deux premières lettres de Botta à Jules Mohl : il faut remarquer que ces feuilles sont beaucoup plus précises que les versions simplifiées reproduites dans le *Journal Asiatique.* Ils sont ici reproduits tels quels pour la première fois (pl. 1-4). Pour chaque dessin original, la référence à la planche gravée parue dans la publication de Botta sera indiquée si nécessaire. Bien que Flandin ait probablement supervisé l'exécution des gravures, de légères différences sont perceptibles et dans ce cas, il n'est pas toujours aisé de déterminer la version la plus exacte. Il semble cependant que les observations immédiates de Flandin aient été enregistrées dans le dessin, alors que pour la gravure, l'accent a été mis sur un rendu plus soigné des restes figurés.

Cette étude s'est attachée également aux orthostates et fragments sculptés subsistants. Ces reliefs sont la base de la compréhension du style et de la technique du décor. Cependant, les morceaux survivants sont éparpillés entre divers musées, beaucoup sont conservés dans des réserves, ou bien sont inédits. Pour ces raisons, il a paru utile de joindre un catalogue descriptif des sculptures actuellement localisées (chapitre IX). Après examen des œuvres, il est apparu que la reproduction de tous les reliefs dans un même ouvrage se révèlerait précieuse. C'est pourquoi reliefs aussi bien que photographies inédites prises au moment de la découverte ont été reproduits dans ce livre. Enfin, certains dessins comportaient des copies d'inscriptions ; celles-ci fournissent des informations essentielles pour l'identification des lieux représentés sur les reliefs : un chapitre spécial consacré aux épigraphes est ici dû aux soins de Christopher B.F. Walker (chapitre VII).

CHAPITRE II

LES RELIEFS DU PALAIS DANS LEUR CONTEXTE ARCHITECTURAL

Cet ouvrage est axé sur l'étude de la sculpture créée pour la cité de Dur-Sharrukin, construite sur l'ordre du roi assyrien Sargon II (721-705 av. J.-C.). Cette étude sera généralement limitée au grand ensemble de reliefs en pierre destinés à parer les murs à l'intérieur de la cité. Les fouilles anciennes de Khorsabad, sous lequel se trouve enfouie la ville antique, ont montré que certains emplacements étaient décorés de peinture [1], d'autres de briques à glaçure [2] polychrome, de feuilles de métal [3], de sculptures en ronde bosse [4], enfin de reliefs à grande échelle. Lorsque ces reliefs ont été retrouvés associés à l'une ou l'autre forme de décor, ils avaient la prééminence : on peut s'en convaincre par exemple dans chaque porte dégagée par Victor Place : là, un bandeau de briques à glaçure ne vient qu'en complément des grandes sculptures encadrant le passage [5]. Il y a d'ailleurs de nombreux exemples de polychromie sur les reliefs eux-mêmes, au moins en partie [6]. A quelques exceptions près, la majeure partie des orthostates sculptés mis au jour à Khorsabad portait un décor figuré. Certains motifs semblent avoir été destinés à des emplacements particuliers et le sujet d'autres dalles semble avoir été choisi selon un plan préétabli. Ces observations générales tendraient à suggérer que les scènes décrites sur les murs avaient été décidées dès le moment de l'établissement des plans de la cité nouvelle. Une fois l'emplacement des reliefs

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[1] Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, 3 : pl. 32 ; Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, p. 23, 67-71, pl. I-III, fig. 81-82 ; Loud et Altman, *Khorsabad. II*, chap. V : 83-86, pl. 31 A-D, 32 A, 43, 88-90 ; Pillet, *Un pionnier*, p. 50.

[2] Cf. pl. 150-151 ; Place, ibid., 3 : pl. 14-17, 23-24, 27-31 : Loud, ibid., p. 92-97, fig. 100, 104-106 ; Loud et Altman, ibid., p. 41.

[3] Place, ibid., 3 : pl. 72-74 ; Loud, ibid., p. 97-98, fig. 111-112 ; Loud et Altman, ibid., p. 43-44, pl. 41 A-B, 49-50. Une lettre assyrienne et les annales de Sargon relatent la fabrication du décor métallique de la cité de Dur-Sharrukin ; ces objets comportaient des bases de colonnes en forme de lion, des revêtements en cuivre et en argent pour les portes des sanctuaires. Voir Leroy Waterman, *Royal Correspondance of the Assyrian Empire*, 3 vol. (Ann Arbor : University of Michigan Press, 1930-1936), 2 : n° 452 ; David Daniel Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, 2 vol. (Chicago : University of Chicago, 1926-1927 ; reed. New York : Greenwood, 1968), 2 : § 97, 100.

[4] Pour les figurines de terre cuite, voir ici planches 146-147 et figures 95-97. Pour des statues associées aux temples, voir Pillet, *Un pionnier*, fig. 12-19 ; Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, 3 : pl. 31 bis.

Cf. ici même, p. 33 note n° 4 ; il faut mentionner aussi la découverte de plusieurs bas-reliefs fragmentaires dont l'un provient d'un mur et deux de la base d'un trône : voir Loud, *Khorsabad. I* p. 58-60, 65, fig. 72, 79-80.

[5] Place, op. cit., 3 : pl. 11-12 ; Pillet, op. cit, fig. 7-9.

[6] Plusieurs dessins de Botta et Flandin donnent des détails en couleurs. Place mentionne que certaines sculptures avaient encore de la peinture : voir Place, op. cit. 1 : 58 ; Pillet, op. cit., p. 51. Les couleurs étaient le noir, le blanc, le rouge, le bleu et peut-être le vert. Dans certains cas, du jaune et du vert faisaient partie du décor de peintures murales et de briques à glaçures. Un des calotypes de Tranchand montrant une dalle sculptée d'un génie ailé a été colorié : voir Archives Nationales F^{21} 546, pl. 35 bis. Ces coloris sont noir pour la tête, la barbe et les sandales, rouge pour le bandeau et le rameau végétal, bleu pour les rosettes du bandeau.

déterminé, leur exécution pouvait avoir été entreprise pendant que s'élevaient les divers bâtiments ou peu après [7].

Ce chapitre est consacré au mode d'insertion des reliefs dans l'organisation architecturale d'ensemble de Dur-Sharrukin. Les sculptures peuvent être classées en deux catégories, selon leur sujet ou leur emplacement. Dans le premier groupe, les reliefs faisaient partie intégrante d'une porte ou de certains murs, les sujets étaient alors religieux ou symboliques. Dans le second groupe, les reliefs paraient la partie basse des parois sur toute leur longueur, dans des salles du palais et sur certaines façades extérieures, dans les cours : leur sujet était alors narratif, relatant des événements contemporains. Dans certains cas, on retrouve ces deux catégories de reliefs côte à côte, ce qui suggère qu'à chaque fois s'exerçait une mutuelle influence d'expression visuelle. Les sujets représentés dans chacune des catégories de reliefs seront traités dans un chapitre différent.

La discussion du contexte architectural sera précédée d'un bref examen des données tirées des sources textuelles relatives à la fondation de sa nouvelle cité par Sargon. Cet examen voudrait contribuer à une meilleure appréciation des buts recherchés dans le domaine de l'expression par les créateurs des reliefs. Viendra ensuite un sommaire des rapports publiés donnant descriptions des découvertes par les archéologues. Ce résumé est spécialement important dans la mesure où les sculptures ne sont plus à leur emplacement primitif et sont aujourd'hui dispersées et isolées. Certaines sont réduites à de minces fragments. D'autres ont malheureusement été perdues durant leur transport, et la majorité de celles laissées sur place ont été réenfouies et peut-être détruites.

Aux reliefs existants s'ajoutent les témoignages graphiques. Les plus anciens, montrant les dalles *in situ* ou tombées près de leur emplacement original, sont dus aux dessins du XIXe siècle par Paul-Emile Botta et Eugène Flandin. Dans la plupart des cas, ces deskns demeurent notre unique source d'informaion quant à l'emplacement d'origine d'un très grand nombre des sculptures découvertes sur le site du palais. Les relevés d'architecture et les photographies exécutées plus tard par Félix Thomas et Gabriel Tranchand, reproduits dans l'ouvrage de Place en gravure, apportent des données essentielles pour le décor d'autres parties de la ville assyrienne, laissées intactes par les premiers fouilleurs. A cela il faut ajouter les photographies prises par l'expédition de l'Oriental Institute de Chicago, qui montrent des groupes de reliefs encore en place sur les murs ou tombés à côté. Nonobstant l'abondance du matériel survivant, il y a encore de nombreuses questions sans réponse concernant l'organisation d'ensemble du décor et son aspect primitif. Malgré ces lacunes, une restitution des reliefs dans leur position d'origine, déjà tentée par les archives graphiques permettra de formuler quelques conclusions relatives à la signification du décor de Khorsabad.

LA FONDATION DE DUR-SHARRUKIN

Du point de vue historique, la création d'une cité nouvelle par un roi assyrien est un événement rare ; à travers les siècles, la plupart des constructions royales se bornaient à l'édification ou la restauration de temples, palais et murailles. Salmanazar I (1274-1245 av. J.-C.) est réputé avoir fondé la cité de Nimrud-Kalhu [8]. Cette ville fut plus tard abandonnée puis reconstruite bien plus tard par Assurnasirpal II (883-859), qui y installa des peuples

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[7] Les orthostates ont été probablement gravés sur place, voir Loud, *Khorsabad.I*, p. 39.

[8] Cette information est transmise par les annales du roi Assurnasirpal II, Albert Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, Records of the Ancient Near East, 2 vol, (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1972, 1976) 2 : § 653, 671, 677-679, 689. Le texte de Salmanasar I ne mentionne pas Kalhu mais spécifie qu'il a reconstruit un palais, des portes et des temples à Assur et Ninive : op. cit., 1 : § 393-394, 398. Pour les restes archéologiques d'une occupation plus ancienne, voir « Kalhu » dans *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 5 (1980), p. 320 (§ 34).

déportés de pays qu'il avait conquis [9]. Tukulti-Ninurta I (1240-1208) lui aussi fonda une cité nouvelle, choisissant pour cela une région inoccupée au Nord d'Assur, sur la rive opposée du Tigre ; il nomma cette cité Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta et y établit sa capitale et le centre religieux ; un palais fut élevé sur une terrasse édifiée à cet effet [10]. Sargon II choisit lui aussi un site encore inoccupé et baptisa sa fondation Dur-Sharrukin [11].

Les textes commémorant la fondation de sa nouvelle capitale par Sargon donnent des informations précises sur les divers stages d'élaboration et de construction nécessaires à son achèvement, ainsi qu'une description des fêtes qui y furent célébrées à cette occasion. On peut résumer la suite de ces étapes comme suit :

1) Décision de créer une cité nouvelle. Selon les textes, cette décision revient à Sargon lui-même et reçut comme il se doit l'approbation divine [12].

2) Planification. Sargon atteste avoir réfléchi au plan de la cité pendant une certaine période et le site choisi était le village de Magganubba, au pied du mont Musri, à quelque distance au Nord de Ninive. Un nouveau canal fut creusé pour rendre la ville habitable [13].

3) Achat de terres et organisation du travail des ouvriers. Les villageois déplacés reçurent des indemnités pour leurs terres, soit en argent ou en cuivre, soit en terres sur un autre emplacement. La main-d'œuvre considérable qui était nécessaire pour l'exécution d'aussi importants travaux, consistait en étrangers importés de pays conquis, qui s'installèrent ensuite dans la ville sous l'autorité des scribes et fonctionnaires assyriens. Des documents montrent que l'armée assyrienne et des populations civiles venues d'autre cités assyriennes ont contribué aux travaux [14].

4) Construction de la ville et de ses principaux bâtiments. Tout d'abord fut établie une plate-forme servant de fondation à la cité, en l'an 5 du règne de Sargon (717) [15]. Vinrent ensuite les sanctuaires pour les dieux, le palais pour la résidence du roi et un *bit hilani*. La construction était de brique et de différentes essences de bois ; de grandes dalles de calcaire montrant les cités vaincues furent dressées autour des parois des salles. Des divinités protectrices faites de grands blocs de pierre furent installées près des portes. Un parc d'arbres et de plantes importées des montagnes et des provinces de l'Ouest, « à l'image du Mont Amanus », fut planté contre la ville [16].

5) Sacrifices et fêtes. Lorsque la cité fut achevée, les dieux de Dur-Sharrukin furent apportés dans leurs nouveaux sanctuaires, en l'an 15 du règne de Sargon II (707 av. J.-C.) [17]. Le roi fit alors les sacrifices appropriés devant eux. Une fois installé dans sa résidence, le souverain offrit un banquet accompagné de musique à ses princes vassaux, ses gouverneurs assyriens, des nobles et des dignitaires, qui tous apportèrent de riches présents. La ville fut inaugurée en l'an 16 de Sargon (706 av. J.-C.) [18].

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[9] Grayson, ibid., 2 : § 653, 671, 677-679, 689.

[10] Ibid., 1 : § 767-770, 777-780, 785-787. Pour la description des fouilles sur ce site, voir Walter Andrae, *Das Wiedererstandene Assur.* (Leipzig : J.C. Hinrichs, 1938 : éd. rev. Barthel Hrouda, Munchen : C. H. Beck 1977), pp. 174-179.

[11] Luckenbill, *ARAB* 2 : § 83.119. Sur le nom du souverain, voir E.A. Speiser, « Ancient Mesopotamia » in Robert C. Dentan, éd. *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East*, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1955), p. 69, n 92. Henry Creswicke Rawlinson aurait appris que le nom syriaque de Khorsabad était *Sar'oun* : 4e lettre de Botta à Jules Mohl (24 juillet 1843).

[12] Ibid. 2 : § 21, 72, 83, 98, 102, 105, 108, 120. La déesse de Ninive Shaushka intervient particulièrement, voir Speiser, « Ancient Mesopotamia » pp. 60-62.

[13] Luckenbill, ibid. 2 : § 83, 119. Des fragments de canalisations furent mis au jour par Victor Place ; voir Pillet, *Khorsabad*, pls. 19-22.

[14] Luckenbill, ibid. 2, § 102, 119, 120. Waterman, *Royal Correspondance*, 1 : n° 484-486, 705 ; 2 : 813-814. Les problèmes relatifs à la construction de la ville apparaissent dans plusieurs lettres, voir n° 705, 1432, 1442.

[15] Hayim Tadmor, « The Campaigns of Sargon II of Assyria : A Chronological-Historical Study » *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 12 (1958) p. 94.

[16] Luckenbill, *ARAB*, 2 : § 73-74, 83-85, 97, 100, 105, 110.

[17] Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), p. 96.

[18] Luckenbill, *ARAB*, 2 : § 72, 74, 87, 94, 98 ; Tadmor, ibid. p. 97.

Sargon attribue à son intelligence supérieure la réussite de l'établissement de la nouvelle cité [19]. A cela il faut ajouter l'accomplissement de ses deux principaux objectifs, qui lui a permis de venir à bout de son projet : le premier objectif était de renforcer la situation économique et politique de l'Assyrie en Asie occidentale, selon un dessein entrepris dès Tiglat-Pileser III (745-727 av. J.-C.). Cette situation permit à Sargon d'accumuler les denrées et des matériaux indispensables à ses projets de construction [20]. Le second objectif était de contrôler de grands territoires étrangers par opérations militaires. Le succès de ses campagnes guerrières rendit possible l'assujettissement de populations destinées à la déportation pour l'exécution des travaux [21].

Le roi dut s'entourer de conseillers de cour et de gouverneurs locaux pour l'aider dans ses réalisations. Les images à grande échelle de nombreux dignitaires assyriens, qui reviennent souvent dans le décor du palais, sont peut-être une manière visuelle de reconnaître la part de ces personnages dans la création de Dur-Sharrukin et dans l'administration des affaires du gouvernement indispensables à ces projets. Parmi ces fonctionnaires assyriens, on connaît Tab-shar-Assur, architecte de Dur-Sharrukin, investi de la charge de *abarakku* ou trésorier royal [22]. On peut encore identifier deux fonctionnaires, Nabu-Shalim-Shunu, qui était *tupšar šarri* ou scribe royal et Sinahuṣur qui était *sukallu* ou vizir. Le premier a signé un récit rapportant les évènements de la 8e campagne de Sargon en 714 [23], le deuxième était frère du roi, propriétaire de la résidence L dans la nouvelle cité et commandant des troupes d'élite royales [24].

Les inscriptions relatives à la construction de la ville et du palais se terminent avec une imploration de Sargon aux dieux, leur demandant longue vie et prospérité, et une prière aux rois de l'avenir pour qu'ils restaurent la cité si elle venait à tomber en ruines. Sargon mourut en 705 au cours d'une bataille [25]. La ville inachevée fut dans l'ensemble abandonnée par son fils et successeur, Sennacherib (704-681) qui établit sa capitale à Ninive, d'occupation bien plus ancienne. Il y construisit son propre palais et agrandit la ville [26]. A l'exception de constructions mineures en quelques parties du palais [27], Dur-Sharrukin fut négligée par les règnes suivants jusqu'à la fin de l'empire assyrien.

LES FOUILLES DE KHORSABAD

Les informations relatives à la ville assyrienne enfouie sous le village moderne de Khorsabad proviennent essentiellement des trois campagnes de fouilles entreprises au XIXe siècle et au début de ce siècle. Le but principal de ces fouilles était de vérifier l'existence de

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[19] Sargon s'identifie au sage, Adapa. Luckenbill, ibid, 2 § 105, 119.

[20] L'expansion de la colonisation assyrienne et de son hégémonie débuta au IXe s. av. J.C., voir Hayim Tadmor, « Assyria and the West : The Ninth Century and its Aftermath », Hans Goedicke – J.J. Roberts, éditeur, *Unity and Diversity Essays in the History, Literature and Religion of the Ancient Near East,* (Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), p. 36-48. Le renforcement des contacts avec l'Egypte se fit sous le règne de Sargon : *op. cit., JCS.* 12 (1958), p. 34-35, 84. L'entrée de Sargon dans la ville de Babylone entraîna l'envoi de tributs par les pays de Chypre, Dilmun et la Phrygie, Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, 2 : § 70-71. On peut en conclure que l'Assyrie contrôlait les routes commerciales. Sur les denrées faisant l'objet d'échanges commerciaux, voir A. Leo Oppenheim, « Essay on Overland Trade in the First Millennium B.C. », *JCS. 21 (1967), p. 235-254.*

[21] *Luckenbill, ARAB,* 2 : § 122.

[22] J.V. Kinnier Wilson, *The Nimrud Wine Lists. A Study of men and administration at the Assyrian Capital in the Eighth Century B.C.* (London : British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1972), p. 36 ; A.T. Olmstead *History of Assyria* (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1923 ; reed. 1975), p. 269, 271. Tadmor, *JCS.* 12 (1958), p. 85.

[23] Kinnier Wilson, ibid., p. 36 ; Luckenbill, *ARAB,* 2 : § 178.

[24] Kinnier Wilson, ibid., p. 37 ; Luckenbill, ibid., 2 : § 154, Loud-Altman, *Khorsabad II,* p. 104.

[25] Luckenbill, ibid. 2 : § 101, 113-115 ; Olmstead, *History of Assyria,* p. 267 : Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), p. 97.

[26] Luckenbill, ibid. 2 : § 363-371, 372-378, 382-395, 407-416.

[27] Loud, *Khorsabad I,* p. 62-64, fig. 75-77.

restes de l'ancienne cité. De l'ensemble considérable de matériel mis au jour, seule une partie put être emportée. Heureusement les fouilleurs enregistrèrent leurs découvertes sous formes de descriptions, dessins, plans, copies d'inscriptions cunéiformes et, quand cela fut possible, photographies. Ces archives montrent que les fouilleurs se montrèrent particulièrement attentifs à trois facteurs principaux : l'organisation architecturale, les œuvres d'art en relation avec l'architecture et les inscriptions cunéiformes gravées sur les dalles sculptées et les seuils. Chaque saison de fouilles apporta ainsi sa moisson supplémentaire d'informations concernant l'un ou l'autre de ces aspects.

Première campagne

La découverte initiale du site sous le tell de Khorsabad fut faite en 1843 par des ouvriers travaillant pour Paul-Emile Botta, consul de France à Mossoul. L'exploration sporadique se poursuivit durant plusieurs mois avec le dégagement de plusieurs murs parés de reliefs sculptés. Dès le début de ses travaux, Botta mit au point un système d'enregistrement des principales trouvailles dans leur séquence en attribuant à chaque segment de mur un chiffre romain. Lorsque les murs déterminaient une salle, cette salle recevait à son tour un chiffre romain. Passages et murs extérieurs furent baptisés « façades » et reçurent une lettre de l'alphabet. Ce système d'identification fut utilisé dans les lettres de Botta à Jules Mohl qui sont les premiers rapports décrivant, illustrant et localisant les découvertes au moyen de plans.

Suivirent six mois de travaux à Khorsabad en 1844, de mai à octobre. Durant cette période, Eugène Flandin, artiste envoyé en mission pour aider Botta, exécuta des dessins précis des bas-reliefs. Il donna aussi des plans et élévations de nombreuses salles dégagées, et ces plans montrent la localisation précise et l'état de conservation des murs avec leurs reliefs. Le système d'enregistrement inauguré par Botta fut dans l'ensemble maintenu par Flandin, qui numérota chaque bloc à la suite dans chacune des salles. C'est Botta qui se chargea de faire les copies des textes cunéiformes gravés dans les pierres de seuil et sur les parois. L'objectif premier était de dégager toutes les salles contenant des inscriptions et des orthostates sculptés. Lorsque Botta estima avoir rempli ce but, il cessa ses opérations. Les informations glanées durant ce premier stade de l'exploration de Khorsabad furent ensuite publiées dans une belle série de volumes *in F°*.

Les découvertes de Botta et Flandin étaient considérables mais insuffisantes : en ce qui concerne l'art et l'architecture de la ville, elles révèlent le contour du mur d'enceinte, demeuré encore enfoui sous les décombres ; le plan d'une partie du palais située sur un monticule élevé ; les orthostates sculptés ornant les salles et portes dégagées par eux ; une partie d'un bâtiment de grande taille, qui subsiste encore ; la mise au jour de nombreux petits objets d'usage et de matériaux variés. Enfin, Botta vint à bout du difficile transport d'une sélection de sculptures, pesant plusieurs tonnes [28] ; ces œuvres parvinrent à Paris et figurent désormais dans les collections du Musée du Louvre.

1845-1852

Des fouilles sporadiques eurent lieu à Khorsabad entre 1845 et 1852. Aucun compte systématique n'a été tenu des activités de diverses personnes qui sont réputées avoir exploré le site. Il n'est pas possible de savoir l'étendue de ce qui fut alors dégagé et les seules sources disponibles sur les trouvailles de sculptures consistent en lettres personnelles et en documents

[28] Botta et Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 5 : 14-16. Flandin procéda lui-même au choix et à la dépose d'un certain nombre de sculptures destinées au Louvre, beaucoup plus qu'il n'en parvint finalement à Paris. Un grand taureau monolithe dut être abandonné dans la plaine à courte distance du site et une figure colossale de héros maîtrisant un lion fut laissée au village de Khorsabad, voir Pillet, *Un pionnier*, p. 3-4.

relatifs à la vente d'œuvres d'art. L'un des premiers européens à visiter Khorsabad après le départ de Botta fut Alexander Hector : sa visite eut lieu en juin 1846 ; quelques années plus tard Hector vendit une collection de sculptures au British Museum : il s'agissait surtout de fragments déjà dégagés par Botta. La première visite d'Austen Henry Layard remonte à août 1846. Revenant en novembre 1849, il explora le « bâtiment isolé ». La plupart de ses rapports publiés sont fondés sur les découvertes de Botta et les dessins de Flandin. En septembre et octobre 1848, le consul de France à Mossoul, M. Guillois, fit des fouilles sur un monticule peu élevé en contrebas de la terrasse du palais. Il dégagea partiellement une porte décorée de sculptures. Il fut remplacé par M. Gillet comme consul mais put vendre les monumentales sculptures provenant de cette porte.

Seconde campagne

Les fouilles proprement dites furent reprises à Khorsabad en janvier 1852 par Victor Thomas Place, récemment nommé consul de France à Mossoul. Il poursuivit ses travaux jusqu'en 1854, et élargit la surface explorée par Botta en suivant la ligne des murs. Il s'aperçut que le complexe du palais s'étendait sur toute la surface de la terrasse haute, notant que le plan consistait en une série de salles s'ouvrant sur des cours. Parmi ses découvertes notables, il faut mentionner des statues et des décors de briques autour du mur extérieur de plusieurs constructions qu'il identifia comme des Harems. Place dégagea aussi une ou plusieurs portes donnant passage sur la ville [29].

Durant ses travaux, Place envoyait des rapports au ministère de l'Intérieur, Direction des Beaux-Arts, à Paris. Dans un rapport récent, n° 49 daté du 18 juillet 1854, Place donnait une synthèse de l'ensemble de ses activités [30]. Il avait la conviction d'avoir mis au jour la totalité du complexe du palais, qui se composait de quatre parties : le palais proprement dit; « l'observatoire » (ziggourat), le « harem » (complexe du temple) et les dépendances. Place ajoute que le palais s'étendait sur toutes les parties décorées de reliefs, depuis la région dégagée par Botta jusqu'aux dépendances. Ce palais comptait 4 cours et 41 salles, dont 14 découvertes par Botta et 27 par lui [31]. Joint au rapport n° 49 se trouvait un plan de la surface explorée avec la légende suivante : « les parties en noir ont été fouillées par Botta. Celle de Place sont en bleu et carmin ; les bandes bleues qui encadrent la plupart des salles indiquent les reliefs, plus ou moins bien conservés, qui les couvraient ; les murs de briques émaillées accompagnant les statues sont dessinées en jaune ». Malheureusement, ni ce plan ni aucun autre plan plus ancien n'a pu être retrouvé dans les rapports de Place conservés aujourd'hui aux Archives Nationales. Les dessins originaux exécutés par le dessinateur de Place, Félix Thomas, qu'il rapporta à Paris en 1853, n'ont pu être localisés. On peut supposer cependant que ces plans ont servi de base à celui exécuté par Thomas pour être reproduit quelques années plus tard dans le volume de Place.

La perte des documents originaux de Place laisse sans réponse un problème important. Dans sa description des découvertes de Khorsabad, Place donnait des chiffres et parfois des lettres à des passages et des salles qui comportaient des sculptures ou d'autres trouvailles notables. Cette désignation ne correspond pas toujours avec celles employées dans sa publication définitive *Ninive et l'Assyrie*. Il y a plusieurs raisons possibles à ces divergences : tout d'abord, Place avait perdu ses notes de chantier dans le naufrage de 1855, il devait donc se fier aux dessins de Thomas et aux rapports envoyés au ministère de l'Intérieur. De plus, de

[29] Voir ci-dessus, notes 2 et 4.

[30] Les volumes de Pillet ne publient qu'en partie ce rapport et les autres. Il serait souhaitable de reproduire *in extenso* tous les rapports concernant Khorsabad. Ceux de Place sont conservés aux Archives Nationales (Paris) dans deux boîtes F^{21} 546 et F^{21} 547.

[31] Place envoya aussi des rapports préliminaires à Jules Mohl. Ses lettres sont aujourd'hui à la Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France (MS 2982, n° 291-304). Dans l'une de ses lettres, datée du 5 août 1854 (n° 303), Place mentionne avoir découvert 92 salles et 160 portes.

fréquents changements dans ses postes de consulats empêchèrent Place d'achever son texte avant 1866, une fois de retour à Paris [32]. D'autre part, nombre de reliefs expédiés par Place à Paris furent également perdus dans le naufrage de 1855 : parmi ceux-là mentionnons : deux blocs montrant des dignitaires assyriens, avec traces de polychromie ; deux blocs avec chacun une paire de personnages portant des inscriptions cunéiformes en travers de leur vêtement ; un bloc représentant le roi, polychromé [33]. Les calotypes de Tranchand furent utilisés pour le procédé de reproduction en gravure employé pour la publication. D'autres photographies furent exploitées plus tard [34].

Troisième campagne

En 1927, après un intervalle de soixante-dix ans, un nouveau sondage fut pratiqué à Khorsabad, sous la direction d'Edward Chiera, qui venait de terminer ses travaux à Nuzi. Les résultats de cette investigation conduisirent à une exploration sur une vaste échelle, conduite en 1929-1934 par l'Oriental Institute de Chicago. Cette mission remit au jour plusieurs parties du complexe palatial dégagées au siècle dernier et entreprit la fouille de régions nouvelles de la cité. Les résultats furent instructifs. Par exemple le soi-disant « harem » du palais se révéla être une série de temples [35]. Plusieurs résidences privées agencées selon des plans élaborés furent exposées à la base du monticule supportant le palais [36]. Plusieurs portes furent aussi dégagées [37] ; l'une d'elles conservait encore intact son décor sculpté. Dans le palais lui-même, de nombreux fragments de reliefs muraux purent être récupérés. La plupart des sculptures furent photographiées *in situ*, procédé qui parut suffisant dans la mesure où elles avaient déjà été découvertes et enregistrées par Botta et Flandin.

L'un des apports notables de cette expédition réside dans les informations apportées sur le quartier résidentiel des dignitaires de haut rang, le complexe sacré adjacent au palais et un palais secondaire (palais F) [38]. Avec les données rassemblées au cours des trois campagnes sur le site, l'Oriental Institute put procéder à une reconstitution de l'organisation générale de l'architecture du site de Dur-Sharrukin [39]. Cette organisation comportait les éléments suivants : a) espace compris dans l'enceinte de la ville ; b) espace compris dans l'enceinte intérieure ; là se trouvaient les résidences privées et le haut monticule supportant le palais, le temple de Nabu, des sanctuaires et diverses constructions ; c) le palais F ; d) autres.

EMPLACEMENT DES RELIEFS

Les emplacements spécifiques dont on sait désormais qu'ils étaient porteurs d'orthostates sculptés étaient les portes de l'enceinte de la ville, les portes de la cité intérieure, les entrées du palais, toutes les salles de l'une des ailes du palais et le bâtiment isolé sur le tell du palais. Ces emplacements sont décrits ci-dessous, avec une relation des circonstances dans lesquelles les sculptures ont été découvertes et une restitution de leur disposition précise. Le point de départ pour ces descriptions sera tiré des rapports de Botta et des dessins de Flandin.

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[32] Pillet, *Un pionnier*, p. 88-89, 99.
[33] Rapport de Place, n° 31, daté du 13 mai 1853 : Pillet, *Khorsabad*, p. 89-90.
[34] Pillet, *Un pionnier*, fig. 20, 24, 25.
[35] Loud, *Khorsabad I*, chap. IV : 80-128.
[36] Loud-Altman, *Khorsabad II*, p. 65-72.
[37] Loud, *Khorsabad I*, chap. I : 1-11 ; Loud et Altman, ibid., p. 53-54, pl. 7, 9, 10, 46, 70.
[38] Loud et Altman, ibid. p. 75-78, pl. 75.
[39] Ibid., pl. 69.

Suivront les mentions de découvertes supplémentaires dues à Victor Place ou à l'Oriental Institute. Les numéros de planches en tête de chaque section renvoient aux dessins en rapport publiés dans le présent ouvrage.

L'enceinte de la ville. *(planches 8-10).*

Flandin a dessiné un plan topographique de Khorsabad dans lequel il donne le tracé des murs de la cité enfouis sous des monticules de sable. Les angles sont orientés aux quatre points cardinaux et les côtés mesurent 1 750 par 1 650 mètres, enfermant un espace de plus de 2 km² et demi. Flandin nota que sur chacun des côtés se trouvait un monticule conique contenant des fragments de brique : il en conclut qu'il s'agissait de tours : huit monticules coniques sont portés sur son plan topographique, un neuvième est situé à quelque distance de l'angle Nord. Une tranchée fut pratiquée dans le monticule proche de l'angle Est : elle révéla deux fragments d'un mur de grands blocs de pierre et de brique crue. La première partie, marquée A sur le dessin, était en fait la tête d'un mur mesurant 14 m de large, conservé sur une hauteur de 3 mètres. Ce qui restait de sa face extérieure était paré de pierres de formes irrégulières. Ces pierres ne semblent pas avoir été jointoyées en place. Il restait encore douze rangs de brique crue au-dessus de la structure de pierre, qui devait être en fondation. Le mur voisin, marqué B sur le dessin, était fondé en pierres irrégulières sur lesquelles se trouvaient deux rangs de dalles verticales, suivies d'un rang de blocs horizontaux. Botta ne poursuivit pas ses recherches du côté de l'enceinte.

L'exploration du mur d'enceinte fut reprise par Victor Place. Il dégagea les quatre angles et quelques longueurs de parois. Les surfaces exposées montraient une maçonnerie renforcée de pilastres régulièrement disposés. Place identifia sept portes qu'il numérota. Toutes ont été dégagées d'après ses plans. La porte 1 sur le côté Nord-Est dut être en partie exposée. La porte 3, sur le côté Sud-Est, fut minutieusement examinée et décrite dans *Ninive et l'Assyrie* [40]. Elle consistait en une série de trois cours ouvertes, l'une derrière l'autre. Chaque passage communiquait avec les cours par une voûte décorée de briques à glaçure. Le passage entre la première et la seconde cour était paré de grands reliefs de pierre, deux par côté : ils représentaient une paire de taureaux ailés androcéphales regardant vers la première cour, suivis d'une paire de génies ailés de face, chacun tenant un cône et une situle. Chaque bloc mesurait quelque 4 mètres de haut. Les taureaux et les génies, actuellement présentés au Louvre (AO 19859 et AO 19863) viennent du passage intérieur de la porte 3 [41].

En 1929, l'expédition de Chicago fouilla le tell de la porte 7. Deux passages furent mis au jour ; ils étaient décorés d'orthostates non sculptés formant un revêtement à la paroi de brique crue. Le passage intérieur présentait des traces de voûte, de même que le passage extérieur. De nombreux fragments de brique à glaçure furent retrouvés dans la porte 7, mais jamais en place : ils attestent cependant l'existence d'un décor de brique appliquée. Aucun décor sculpté ne fut retrouvé. Les fouilleurs notèrent que le passage avait été bouché, peut-être peu de temps après l'achèvement de la construction [42].

L'enceinte intérieure. *(planche 9)*

Sous le monticule élevé du village moderne de Khorsabad, se trouvaient plusieurs collines plus basses. Dans le plan topographique de Flandin, ces collines sont décrites comme probablement associées au tell principal. Il ne semble pas cependant que Botta ait tenté de

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[40] Les photographies de Tranchand semblent indiquer que deux portes furent dégagées au moins partiellement. Comparer fig. 7 et 8 dans Pillet, *Un pionnier*.

[41] Ces sculptures n'étaient pas jointives ; les dalles qui leur étaient respectivement contiguës furent perdues dans le naufrage de 1855.

[42] Loud, *Khorsabad I*, p. 10-11.

les explorer ; on peut en conclure qu'un groupe de reliefs aujourd'hui au British Museum (BM 118808 et BM 118809) était resté inconnu de Botta et Flandin. Ils furent emportés de Khorsabad dans les années 1846 ou 1849, années durant lesquelles Layard visita le site. Une lettre du 10 octobre 1848, envoyée par Layard à Matilda Rassam, épouse du vice-consul anglais à Mossoul, précise : « Nous sommes allés voir un petit monticule derrière Khorsabad. Gullis y a fait des fouilles et découvert deux superbes lions et deux géants maîtrisant des lions. Ils sont vraiment splendides et en très bon état de conservation mais je crains qu'ils ne le demeurent pas longtemps car ils ne sont pas loin du village et sont exposés au soleil et à la pluie qui va les détruire. J'aimerais que vous puissiez en prendre possession ; en fait je pense que ce monticule doit contenir autre chose que ces deux lions et je pense qu'il s'agit de ceux dont M. Botta nous parlait tant » [43]. Les informations fournies par la lettre de Mme Rassam confirment que des fouilles furent conduites après le départ de Botta pour la France en 1845 et qu'elles amenèrent la découverte de ces monuments de pierre. Les « lions » et « géants » sont peut-être les taureaux ailés et les génies ailés. Dans son livre, Layard remarquait :

« Depuis ma première visite à Khorsabad, le consul de France à Mossoul a vendu au col. Rawlinson une paire de taureaux ailés de taille colossale et des génies ailés, aujourd'hui dans le grand vestibule du British Museum. Ils se tenaient dans des propylées, à 900 pieds au Sud-Est du palais, dans un quadrilatère, mais pas sur une colline artificielle. La forme de ce petit bâtiment rappelle celle d'une porte de l'enceinte de Ḳuyundjik et comme elle, il était construit en brique avec des panneaux de dalles basses en calcaire » [44].

La correspondance entre Henry Rawlinson et Layard éclaire les circonstances qui amenèrent l'achat de ces sculptures. Dans une lettre du 8 novembre 1848, Rawlinson écrit que le consul de France « Guillois à Mossoul m'a offert une paire des grands taureaux de Khorsabad et je pense que je vais les accepter » [45]. Rawlinson ajoute dans une missive du 20 décembre 1848 « j'ai acheté deux taureaux colossaux de Botta qui ont été trouvés entre Khorsabad et la rivière et Rassam est en train de les découper pour pouvoir les faire tenir sur un radeau » [46]. Le 25 avril 1849, de Baghdad, il écrivait « la paire de taureaux et de génies de Khorsabad est arrivée. L'un d'eux est en bon état mais les autres sont terriblement usés et je me demande s'ils valent la peine de les envoyer à Londres » [47]. Ces pierres furent par la suite acquises par le British Museum.

En élargissant le champ de ces explorations durant les années 1852-1853, Place fouilla l'un des monticules signalés sur le plan topographique de Flandin. Selon son relevé de *Ninive et l'Assyrie,* plusieurs salles d'un bâtiment furent mises au jour mais on ne rencontra pas de mur d'enceinte. C'est à l'expédition de Chicago que l'on doit la restitution du mur d'enceinte intérieur, identifié au « mur de la citadelle ». Il comportait deux entrées principales, intitulées portes A et B. Dans la première, les fouilleurs découvrirent de grandes sculptures ornant le passage. Sur chacun des murs latéraux se trouvaient un taureau ailé androcéphale et deux génies ailés de face. Ces reliefs furent retrouvés encore en place et sont bien conservés (IM 72128, IM 72129, IM 72130, IM 72131). La porte B était disposée de façon à faire face à la façade du palais, mais n'était pas décorée d'orthostates. Les fouilleurs assurèrent que les bas-reliefs qui devaient s'y trouver étaient ceux acquis par le British Museum en 1849 [48].

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[43] British Museum, *Layard Papers*, vol. XLVIII (MS 38,978), p. 188.
[44] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 131-132.
[45] British Museum, *Layard Papers*, vol. XLVIII, p. 193-194.
[46] Ibid, p. 228-229.
[47] Ibid, p. 318.
[48] Loud-Altman, *Khorsabad II*, p. 53-54.

La Terrasse du palais *(planches 7-8, 11-15)*

Lorsque Botta se rendit pour la première fois à Khorsabad, il observa que le site occupait un large tell. Sous le village moderne devaient se trouver les ruines de la ville. Après maintes démarches politiques, il put obtenir le déplacement du village vers une zone située au pied du tell. Flandin arriva l'année suivante et parmi ses dessins figure une vue au crayon montrant l'agglomération et ses environs vus d'une certaine distance, lorsque l'on approche par la route de Mossoul. Un second croquis plus fini, à l'encre, montre quatre aspects du village sur le tell, chacun pris dans une direction différente de façon à se présenter comme une vue générale en trois dimensions du paysage. Les dessins rendent compte du contour irrégulier du tell, dû à l'érosion ; il était en forme de T, mesurant environ 300 mètres de côté en ses points les plus éloignés. La pente s'inclinait selon un axe Nord-Ouest Sud-Est. Au sommet se trouvaient des constructions modernes. Le village lui-même était installé au cœur du tell. On retrouve ces indications dans le plan topographique de Flandin.

On dégagea un bâtiment dans la partie Sud-Ouest du tell : il révélait des murs exceptionnellement bien conservés sur près de 15 mètres de haut, parés de plusieurs assises de blocs rectangulaires soigneusement taillés en pierre. Pour chaque assise, les pierres étaient assemblées en carreau et boutisse. Selon le dessin de Flandin, derrière ce mur se trouvaient des amas de terre. En dégageant ce mur de soutien, Botta apporta la preuve que la terrasse était construite artificiellement, au moins en partie.

Une tranchée creusée au centre de la limite Sud-Est du tell révéla une grande porte de 4,50 m de large, marquée A sur le dessin de Flandin. Chaque montant de porte était décoré d'un taureau ailé androcéphale regardant de face et le dessin de Flandin les restitue sur une hauteur de 5,80 mètres. Face à ce passage se trouvait une allée de 15 mètres de long, pavée de brique cuite. Un revêtement de pierre protégeait les bords extérieurs. A droite de la porte, des fragments d'orthostates décoraient le mur. Ils furent trouvés *in situ* ou épars sur le sol. Une restitution de ce mur fit apparaître une composition sur trois grands blocs représentant une scène héraldique : deux taureaux androcéphales ailés, la tête de face, étaient tournés dans deux directions opposées, vers l'extérieur ; ils étaient flanqués d'un personnage barbu (nommé ici héros) maîtrisant un petit lion. Les deux dernières figures étaient également représentées de face. Le dessin de Flandin montre le détail d'un des héros au lion aujourd'hui conservé au Louvre (AO 19861).

Dix ans plus tard, Place dégagea ce même mur extérieur sur toute sa longueur. La publication *Ninive et l'Assyrie* fait apparaître que ce mur comportait trois portes marquées M', M et M", qui donnaient accès à la terrasse du palais. Une paire de taureaux androcéphales ailés, regardant vers l'extérieur, encadrait chaque passage. Les murs flanquant le portail central M portaient une scène héraldique comparable à celle reproduite par Flandin. Un motif de cannelures imitant des colonnes engagées était encore visible au-dessus des orthostates[49]. Les murs flanquant les passages M' et M" étaient unis. Place identifiait le portail central M avec celui dégagé par Botta[50]. Cette identification soulève quelque difficulté : le dessin de Flandin montre que le relief était fragmentaire, avec des morceaux tombés au sol. A l'époque de la fouille de Place, le héros maîtrisant le lion se trouvait déjà au Louvre. Il est probable que le portail découvert par Botta était en réalité celui marqué M' sur le plan publié par Place[51]. La description originale par Place de ses découvertes le long du mur de la terrasse, qu'il identifia ensuite comme la « grande façade »,

[49] Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, 2 : 48-52 ; 3 : pl. 19-21. Pour une discussion du décor architectural de Khorsabad, voir Loud-Altman, ibid, p. 37-39. Sur un emploi identique dans l'architecture assyrienne au IIe millénaire à Tell al Rimah, voir David Oates *Iraq* 27 (1965), p. 69-70, pl. XIII-XIV ; 28 (1966), p. 123-132, pl. XXXI, a ; 29 (1967), p. 78-80, pl. XXII-XXIII.

[50] Place, ibid., 1 : 90-91 ; 2 : 22-23.

[51] En se fondant sur les dimensions d'une des portes redégagées, les membres de l'expédition de Chicago conclurent que les deux autres portes n'avaient jamais existé : voir Loud et Altman, *Khorsabad II*, p. 55. Cette conclusion tient pour nulles les observations apportées par Botta comme par Place.

apparaît dans son rapport n° 30 au ministère de l'Intérieur, en date du 12 mai 1853 : il y est précisé que la grande façade avait trois portes 1, 2 et 3. En face de la porte 1 se trouvaient deux pierres, montrant un personnage étranglant un lion, tombées du mur et brisées en de nombreux fragments. Celles de la porte 3 représentaient un sujet semblable et étaient intactes. Place ajoutait que le motif représentait la mutilation d'un lion, emblème d'une nation vaincue. Enfin Place notait que Botta avait retrouvé un décor semblable. Son rapport ainsi que les témoignages présentés dans l'élévation qu'il publia de la terrasse et dans le dessin par Flandin de la façade A suggèrent qu'au moins deux des portes (M' et M) étaient flanquées d'une composition héraldique. Il y en avait peut-être aussi une troisième, donc une par porte du mur de terrasse. Un tel dispositif serait conforme au sens assyrien de la symétrie. L'effet visuel produit par la répétition de cette monumentale composition devait être impressionnant ainsi que le suggère la restitution proposée par la publication de Place. Botta poursuivit l'exploration intensive de la partie Nord-Ouest du tell, exposant de nombreuses salles décorées d'orthostates ; ces reliefs couvraient tous les murs de plusieurs cours, portes et salles intérieures jusqu'à une hauteur de 3 mètres, parfois 5 mètres. Cette région du tell s'avéra être l'aile Nord-Ouest du palais. Place continua les explorations entreprises par Botta jusqu'à obtenir un plan d'ensemble de la totalité du palais avec ses constructions afférentes. Il découvrit aussi des salles décorées d'orthostates dans le palais lui-même, malheureusement la plupart des descriptions qu'il en donne sont superficielles.

La tâche de Flandin était de donner un compte rendu précis de toutes les découvertes, et pour un rapport fidèle des trouvailles de Botta sur la terrasse du palais, nous devons aujourd'hui nous tourner vers les dessins originaux de Flandin. Comme le matériel est abondant, il est heureux que l'on puisse se fier au système d'enregistrement mis au point par Botta et poursuivi par Flandin pour l'identification des salles et des blocs sculptés. Il faut remarquer cependant que Place put démontrer que les « murs extérieurs » relevés par Botta étaient en fait des cours et sa publication substitue des chiffres romains aux dénominations de « façades » par Botta. Le numéro de Place sera ici indiqué entre parenthèses quand l'occasion s'en présentera.

Il convient de donner ici quelques observations préliminaires concernant les sujets des blocs sculptés. Les reliefs destinés aux murs extérieurs et aux passages dans le palais, sont décorés principalement de taureaux, de héros et de génies ailés. Ces sujets sont identiques à ceux des portes monumentales du mur d'enceinte de la ville, du mur d'enceinte intérieur et du mur de la terrasse. Il y avait aussi des génies ailés à tête d'oiseau et des génies sans ailes. Tous ces motifs s'agençaient précisément dans l'espace du mur destiné à être recouvert de sculptures, ce qui montre une collaboration étroite entre l'architecte et le maître sculpteur. D'autres groupes de bas-reliefs placés sur les murs extérieurs du palais montraient des processions de personnages. De telles compositions se retrouvent en plusieurs salles du palais. Les blocs avaient 3 mètres et les personnages représentés faisaient presque toute la hauteur des dalles. La taille exceptionnelle des figurants dans les processions attire immédiatement l'attention, surtout lorsqu'on les voit de loin. Dans plusieurs salles du palais, la surface des grands orthostates était divisée en deux frises continues portant chacune des évènements contemporains. Chaque registre mesurait environ 1 m 20 de haut et une bande inscrite de 0,60 m séparait les deux frises. La taille plus réduite des panneaux devait permettre au spectateur de les examiner de plus près.

Les murs extérieurs du palais

Façade n (cour VIII) *(planches 16-25)*

Le plus long mur extérieur décoré de reliefs mis au jour par Botta est celui de la face Nord-Est de la façade. Il s'agissait en fait d'une portion d'un mur à l'origine beaucoup plus long. Botta dégagea deux portes. Le plan publié par Place en comporte

une troisième. Cette dernière fut refouillée par l'expédition de Chicago et c'est de là que viennent les bases de deux taureaux[52]. La porte centrale, plus imposante, marquée g, était resserrée entre deux contreforts. Un taureau ailé faisait face à la cour sur chaque jambage de porte, et la hauteur primitive était de 5 m 60. Sur les petits côtés des contreforts se trouvait un génie à deux paires d'ailes. Les blocs décorant la face de ces contreforts étaient tombés ; après restauration, ils révélèrent une scène montrant un héros maîtrisant un lion debout entre deux taureaux ailés androcéphales en sens divergeant. Ces scènes mesuraient 4 m de haut. La porte marquée f présentait une paire de taureaux ailés de 3 m 50 de haut. Juste à droite, le mur extérieur était décoré de génies à deux paires d'ailes suivis du génie aptère, tous face à la porte. Suivaient des acolytes derrière le roi assyrien ; en tout, trois figures tournées vers la droite, précédant une longue procession de fonctionnaires assyriens venant de la droite vers la gauche.

Le mur perpendiculaire à celui-ci fut identifié au côté Sud-Est. La seule porte dégagée, marquée C, était décorée de taureaux ailés androcéphales. Les encadrements de porte étaient décorés de registres de petits génies aptères. Les pilastres de part et d'autre du passage portaient un génie sans ailes sur les petits côtés. Sur la face se trouvait le Roi, tourné le dos à la porte et face à un défilé de courtisans. A la gauche de la porte C, une procession de dignitaires et de tributaires étrangers se dirigeait vers le Roi. Le bas-relief du mur principal à droite de la porte C illustrait le transport maritime du bois.

Salle 10 *(planches 26-34)*

L'entrée C dans le mur Sud-Est menait à un long corridor, intitulé salle 10. Ses murs parallèles étaient entièrement couverts de dalles. Chacune mesurait 3 m de haut, elles étaient séparées en deux, de manière à former deux frises séparées par une large bande d'inscriptions. Les registres supérieurs et inférieurs montraient des processions de peuples étrangers de diverses régions d'Asie Antérieure. En tête se trouvait un dignitaire assyrien. Les quatre processions se dirigeaient à rebours de la façade n. A chaque extrémité était placée une paire de taureaux ailés androcéphales, qui encadraient la porte d ouvrant sur la façade N.

Façade N (cour III) *(planches 35-40)*

La salle 10 ouvrait sur un espace ouvert, la façade N, où deux murs perpendiculaires furent dégagés partiellement. L'un, côté Nord-Est, avait trois portes donnant vers l'intérieur (portes Q,M,P). La principale, M, est au centre : elle était encadrée de taureaux de 5 m de haut, et de contreforts ; leur face portait un décor de paires de taureaux ailés dos à dos, la tête de face. Les portes latérales Q et P n'avaient pas de taureaux, mais un génie à deux paires d'ailes suivi d'un génie aptère figurait sur chaque jambage. Les deux passages étaient encadrés par des génies à deux paires d'ailes. A gauche de la porte Q et à droite de la porte P, ces figures étaient suivies d'un génie aptère.

A droite de la porte P, le mur Nord-Est se poursuivait jusqu'à un mur perpendiculaire intitulé côté Sud-Est, faisant saillie dans la cour. Les bas-reliefs qui subsistaient montraient le Roi regardant à droite entouré de courtisans.

Le second mur de la façade N est indiqué côté Nord-Ouest. Il avait trois portes (p,d,Z). Celle du centre donnait dans la salle 10, p à gauche menait salle 14 et Z à droite ouvrait sur la salle 9. Une partie de l'encadrement des portes p et Z consistait en génies à deux paires

[52] Loud, *Khorsabad I*, p. 60, 65.

d'ailes et génies aptères. A gauche de la porte p, le mur formait saillant dans la cour : on peut encore reconnaître des fragments d'orthostates représentant le Roi et des courtisans.

Tout en relevant le décor des murs *in situ* et en proposant des restitutions graphiques, Flandin préparait aussi des élévations des murs de diverses salles contiguës, de façon à faire apparaître l'ensemble du décor sculpté en frise. L'un de ses dessins le plus remarquable est la feuille à l'encre montrant le côté Nord-Est de la façade n, avec la salle 10 et la façade N, selon un axe a-b : cet axe représente environ 135 m. Ce panorama est un résumé pictural de ses dessins de détails, destiné à donner une vue d'ensemble rapide de série de murs recouverts de reliefs de très grande taille, impossible à réaliser autrement que sur le papier.

Côté Nord-Ouest *(planche 41)*

Flandin a réalisé un autre dessin donnant trois panoramas : en bas, le mur Nord-Ouest du palais ; seuls subsistent des amas de terre où devait se trouver le mur extérieur, et Flandin l'a remplacé sur son dessin par les sculptures conservées des murs intérieurs des salles adjacentes, de la façade N jusqu'au côté K, où l'édifice s'arrête. Le panorama au centre de la feuille montre les sculptures *in situ* selon un axe a"-b" depuis le mur Nord-Ouest de la façade N, à travers la porte M, plusieurs salles et la porte F et se termine sur un monticule bas où un bâtiment isolé (monument x) avait été découvert. La vue comprend une longueur réelle de 160 m. Enfin le panorama en haut de la feuille montre une restitution des blocs à leur place primitive sur le mur, sans donner le détail de la décoration sculptée. Des commentaires au crayon décrivent simplement le sujet de chaque bloc.

Façade L (cour I) *(planches 42-55)*

Un panorama développe les murs extérieurs du palais mis au jour par Botta. L'axe a", b", (côté K, façade L, façade m) dessiné en élévation, mesurait 128,60 m de long. Les murs Sud-Est et Sud-Ouest de la façade L étaient décorés d'une procession de dignitaires assyriens se dirigeant vers une double image du Roi regardant symétriquement chaque procession. Le Roi est figuré sur la face des contreforts encadrant la monumentale porte centrale F ; les jambages de ce passage étaient ornés de taureaux ailés, les murs de refend enfermant la porte, de génies à tête d'oiseaux et de génies sans ailes. Les portes latérales B et C n'avaient pas de taureaux ailés. Leurs jambages portaient le même motif de génies à tête d'oiseau suivis de génies aptères.

Le mur Nord-Ouest de la façade L fut dégagé sur une longueur de 38,50 m. Il comportait deux entrées, V et b, décorées de taureaux ailés. Il y avait peut-être deux autres portes secondaires sur le même mur. Les scènes sculptées du mur Nord-Ouest représentaient une procession de dignitaires assyriens, suite de celle du mur Sud-Ouest.

Façade m (cour VI) *(Planches 56-59)*

Derrière l'entrée V, les terres ne furent pas retirées jusqu'à la porte suivante, menant dans un espace intitulé façade m. Trois murs en furent partiellement dégagés au Sud-Est, Sud-Ouest et Nord-Ouest. Chacun avait une porte centrale (g,k,j) avec des taureaux ailés sur chaque jambage. Les murs de refend encadrant les passages étaient décorés de triple registres de génies sans ailes. Beaucoup de blocs furent récupérés, soit *in situ* soit par terre. Leurs sujets représentent le Roi et un acolyte, des génies à deux paires d'ailes, des génies sans ailes et un génie sans aile tenant une chèvre. Place pratiqua une tranchée dans le quatrième côté de cette cour, repérant une entrée H décorée de taureaux ailés. Il nota qu'entre ces taureaux se trouvait une dalle de pavage couverte d'inscriptions. Encadrant les portes et à l'alignement des murs étaient représentées trois petites figures de génies sans ailes sur deux blocs symétriques. A côté de la porte H, Place mit au jour un total de cinq personnages chacun de 3 m de haut : il s'agissait d'un personnage royal en riche costume, de deux figures portant des végétaux (génie sans ailes ?) et de deux acolytes assyriens. Place

considérait comme la trouvaille la plus importante deux « grands » génies ailés encadrant une autre porte là où l'on attendrait des taureaux (point j sur son plan aujourd'hui disparu) [53].0. les découvertes de Place sur la façade m (cour VI) permettent de restituer l'organisation primitive de cet ensemble : chaque mur était pourvu d'une porte centrale avec des taureaux regardant vers la cour. Les bas-reliefs qui l'entouraient montraient une procession dirigée vers le Roi ; des figures de génies faisaient partie de la composition.

Monument x (bâtiment isolé) *(Planches 60-62)*

Botta fouilla une structure isolée, parallèle au mur Sud-Ouest de la façade L, à 50 m à l'intérieur de la cour. La plus grande partie en avait été détruite par l'érosion. Il en subsistait une portion de plate-forme ou podium, une volée de marches et des fragments de reliefs. Le plan donne sa forme rectangulaire aux dimensions extérieures de 21,50 m pour le côté Sud-Est et de 22,60 m pour la face (Nord-Est). On peut supposer que la longueur originale du podium devait atteindre 45 à 50 m. Celui-ci, haut de 1,82 m, était paré de blocs de calcaire soigneusement taillés, créant un profil où se retrouvent divers motifs architecturaux : scotie, tore, plinthe. On accédait au sommet du podium par un large escalier de quatre marches, probablement au centre du côté Nord-Est de la structure. Les marches étaient de calcaire noir. Noyées dans le plancher supérieur de la plate-forme se trouvaient deux espaces en petites pierres d'appareil irrégulier, donnant l'impression d'une mosaïque [54]. Contre ce pavement, près de l'escalier, une dalle carrée, aux parois ravalées, était insérée dans une cavité du sol. Au centre saillait un objet circulaire : il s'agissait de la base d'une colonne sur un piédestal [55]. Quatre fragments de bas-reliefs en calcaire noir montraient que cet espace pavé avait été fermé par des orthostates : quatre dalles étaient encore en place de part et d'autre de l'escalier ; deux d'entre elles conservaient le bas de deux figures de génies sans ailes flanquant un buisson de fleurs.

Place acceptait l'identification de Botta qui voyait dans cette construction un temple ou une salle du trône. Il en donna plusieurs vues dans *Ninive et l'Assyrie,* parmi lesquelles est incorporé un dessin d'après Flandin, un plan restitué montrant un escalier menant à un hall de quatre colonnes entouré de salles symétriques. Deux élévations donnaient une idée de l'aspect primitif de l'édifice. Place pensait que le style en était dérivé de modèles égyptiens. Il est plus vraisemblable cependant qu'il trouve son origine dans des prototypes du Proche-Orient : il faut y reconnaître le *bit hilani* construit par Sargon à côté de son palais [56]. Une version picturale d'un bâtiment pareillement orné de colonnes apparaît dans un relief de la salle 7 (planche 89). Toujours dans cet édifice, Place découvrit un relief de pierre noire représentant plusieurs chasseurs dans une région boisée (figures 77-78). Ce sujet est à rapprocher de ceux des osthostates découverts quelques années plus tôt par les ouvriers de

[53] Rapport n° 26 du 8 mai 1853. Ces sculptures faisaient partie du contingent destiné à Paris.

[54] Dans le monde égéen, des mosaïques de petites pierres apparaissent dans des demeures grecques du IVe siècle av. J.C., voir Katherine M.D. Dunbabin, « Technique and Materials of Hellenistic Mosaics », *American Journal of Archaeology* 83 (1979), p. 268-270.

[55] Botta et Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 5 : 53-55. Botta mentionnait la découverte d'un chapiteau grossièrement façonné dont les quatre côtés étaient décorés de feuilles de palmier. Il n'était pas certain de son antiquité, et donc aucun dessin n'en fut fait. Place mit au jour une colonne de 4 m de haut dans le passage 47 donnant sur la cour x ; voici les dimensions de ces différents éléments : base circulaire, 0,674 m ; fût, 2,52 m ; chapiteau 0,590 m, bandeau autour du chapiteau 0,132, d'après le rapport du 18 juin 1854. Voir l'illustration dans Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, 3 : pl. 35. L'expédition de Chicago mit au jour des bases en coussinet dans la résidence K, voir Loud et Altman, *Khorsabad II*, pl. 32 b, 48, n° 15-17.

[56] Place, ibid, 2 : 36-38, 149-151 ; 3, pl. 37 bis. Henri Frankfort, « The Origin of the Bit Hilani », *Iraq* 14 (1952), p. 120-131.

Layard (figure 76). Les 2 groupes de sculptures peuvent provenir de la même salle. D'autres pierres noires plus ou moins bien taillées ont été mises au jour dans le monument x et dans d'autres salles du palais ainsi que plusieurs orthostates à motifs figurés. L'une représente un acolyte assyrien, d'autres montrent des étrangers en procession, chacun portant un modèle réduit de ville (fig. 79). Place concluait que ces blocs de pierre noire étaient destinés au monument x [57]. Il pensait également que ce monument était inachevé lorsqu'il fut détruit.

[57] Dans son rapport n° 26 du 8 mai 1853, Place notait la découverte de reliefs en basalte (en fait en calcaire noir) décorés de personnages, dans la région du temple. Dans son rapport n° 49 du 18 juillet 1854, il rapportait l'apparition de reliefs en basalte semblables aux précédents dans les salles 24 et 28, sans doute pas en place. D'autres fragments furent retrouvés au point L, zone identifiée par Place comme un atelier. Dans sa publication, Place indiquait comme origine des reliefs de basalte le temple et la salle 99. Les photographies par Tranchand de plusieurs de ces sculptures ont été reproduites en gravure, voir Place, *op. cit.*, 2 : 92-93, 150, 3 : pl. 48, 1-3. Pillet, *Un pionnier*, fig. 24 ; Archives Nationales, F^{21} 546, pl. 12-13. Dans sa première lettre à Jules Mohl (5 avril 1843) Botta mentionnait l'existence de plusieurs reliefs en calcaire noir d'un travail délicat. Le journal pour 1930 de Chicago mentionne deux fragments en basalte, représentant des personnages ailés (fiche de chantier n° DS 49 et 50).

CHAPITRE III

RELIEFS A DECOR RELIGIEUX OU SYMBOLIQUE

Une formule préétablie semble avoir présidé à l'emplacement de sculptures porteuses de décors religieux ou symboliques. Dans l'ensemble ils étaient disposés sur les parois latérales des portes intérieures et sur des zones spécifiques des longs murs, en particulier celles qui encadraient les portes. L'arrangement des motifs en relation avec leur emplacement était la plupart du temps symétrique. Cette disposition mettait l'accent sur l'impression d'unité entre l'architecture et son décor sculpté. L'intégration de l'un à l'autre se remarque particulièrement dans les portes où les grands blocs en forme de taureaux ailés supportaient le passage voûté.

Taureaux androcéphales ailés

Planches 14-17, 19, 26, 35-36, 41-43, 51-52, 55-58, 80, 110.

Reliefs subsistants ; Musée du Louvre AO 19857, AO 19858, AO 19859, AO 19860 ; British Museum 118808, 118809 ; Oriental Institute Museum A 7369 ; Iraq Museum 60978, 72128, 72129, cf. figures 1-6.

Bibliographie ; Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, 3, pl. 11-13, 19-20 ; Archives Nationales, F 21 546, rapport n° 23 ; Pillet, *Un pionnier*, fig. 6-10 ; Loud, *Khorsabad I*, fig. 67, 71 ; Loud – Altman, *Khorsabad. II*, pl. 9-10, 39 D-E, 46 A-B.

Localisation : façade A ; façade L (portes F, V, b) ; façade m (portes g, j, k, H[?] ; salle 4 (porte I) , porte entre cour VII et salle 24 ; porte entre cour VII et salle 27 ; mur intérieur de la ville (portes A et B[?] enceinte (portes 1 (?) et 3) ; palais F (porte de la salle du trône).

Dans sa publication, Place rapportait que vingt-quatre paires de taureaux ailés avaient été dégagées. A ce total il faut ajouter les deux taureaux du British Museum et la paire retrouvée par l'expédition de Chicago [1]. Leur grand nombre et leur taille colossale confirme

[1] L'expédition de Chicago a découvert des taureaux dans les deux portes ouvrant sur la cour VII (salle du trône), la porte A de l'enceinte intérieure et une porte ouvrant sur la salle du trône du palais F. Le bas du taureau de la porte C, façade n (cour VIII) donnant sur la salle 10, fut également dégagé (Photographie Oriental Institute 17596).

l'importance de ce motif dans le décor des portes de la ville et du palais. On peut remarquer l'unité de style et de proportion entre les différents exemplaires subsistants. On peut en conclure que plusieurs cahiers de modèles pour les vues de face, de profil et de dos avaient été préparés et qu'ils avaient été utilisés par les sculpteurs au cours de l'exécution. Les variantes mineures entre chaque œuvre peuvent être attribuées aux diverses équipes préposées à la réalisation [2].

Le premier taureau ailé mis au jour par Botta provient de la partie droite de la porte F, ouvrant sur la salle 2 depuis la façade L (cour I). Flandin a exécuté deux croquis au crayon pour en montrer la face et le profil, datés « mai 17, 44 » et « mai 19, 44 ». L'artiste a soigneusement noté l'état de la sculpture qui, malgré sa surface usée et la disparition de la partie supérieure, conservait encore maints éléments importants. Flandin ajouta deux autres taureaux ailés choisis parmi ceux découverts quelques jours plus tard dans la façade m (cour VI). La vue de face montre le taureau sur le côté gauche de la porte g et une partie du mur Nord-Ouest, le profil représente le taureau placé sur la face opposée du même passage. Ces deux dessins au crayon offrent un admirable rendu de taureaux reconstitués dans leur état primitif. Flandin était parfaitement conscient de l'élégance et de la puissance de ces sculptures, comme le prouvent les deux dernières feuilles où contours et modelé sont mis en valeur par un contraste de lumière et d'ombre et un minutieux souci du détail dans l'ornement.

Les taureaux ailés sont taillés dans un seul bloc, à l'origine d'environ 1,30 m de côté, sur une hauteur d'environ 3,50 à 5,80 m selon leur destination. Ils sont debout sur une plate-forme prise dans le même bloc. Sur les côtés et à l'arrière, le relief est pratiquement libre, sur une profondeur de 24 à 30 cm. Pour la vue de face, toute la largeur de la pierre a été employée pour sculpter en ronde bosse la tête, le poitrail, les pattes et la plate-forme. Une fois mis en place dans le passage, l'avant-train du monstre forme toujours une saillie en avant de la ligne du mur. Ce dispositif donnait une impression de figure en ronde-bosse détachée de la paroi. Cependant le champ de la sculpture restait plein, ce qui a pour résultat d'offrir deux visions bien distinctes : de profil, l'animal est représenté marchant à pas lents, les pattes situées au premier plan toujours dirigées vers l'avant, celles au second plan toujours vers l'arrière.

Cette attitude se retrouve identique sur toutes les figures de taureaux. Les paires d'animaux encadrant les passages étaient donc vues comme des images dans un miroir. La vue de face les montre à l'arrêt, avec deux pattes visibles. Conformément à une tradition assyrienne, les taureaux sont donc représentés avec cinq pattes [3]. Entre ces pattes, sur la paroi de profil, le champ de la pierre recevait une inscription. On connaît un exemple où la paroi arrière a été également utilisée pour y graver une inscription (A 7369).

La composition du motif des taureaux ailés est fondée sur un schéma strictement mathématique qui lui donne ses qualités d'harmonie et de sérénité, appropriées à leur rôle de protecteurs divins du roi assyrien et de sa demeure. Ainsi, la vue de face est calculée sur une division bilatérale de la longueur totale du corps. L'axe de symétrie passe par une ligne imaginaire commençant entre les sabots, continuant dans les rangs de boucles des fanons et de la barbe, les ondulations de la chevelure sur le front, pour s'arrêter aux rosettes et aux plumes de la haute coiffure. Un axe analogue a servi pour la face latérale.

Le corps est toujours sculpté en haut relief, la musculature et la cage thoracique soigneusement indiquées. L'unique aile visible, partant des boucles extérieures des fanons, couvre l'épaule et s'incurve gracieusement au-dessus du dos. Cette aile est composée de deux rangées horizontales de plumes longues partant des épaules ; sur le devant se trouvent des

[2] Waterman, *Royal Correspondance*, n° 758 ; Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, p. 274.

[3] Voir Tariq Madhloom, *The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art*, (Londres, Athlone Press, 1970), p. 94-98.

rangées de petites plumes verticales. Sous l'aile, un bandeau de boucles compactes décore toute la longueur du dos et se termine au départ de la queue, où émerge une grande boucle. Partant de ce bandeau, un autre couvre le haut de l'épaule. De larges panneaux de boucles couvrent le poitrail, les fanons, le ventre et la cuisse. Enfin le bout de la queue est également bouclé.

Les panneaux de boucles décorant le poitrail et les fanons de certains taureaux subsistants présentent d'intéressantes mais minimes variantes : les rangs de mèches peuvent présenter six boucles enroulées dans le même sens par groupe de trois (AO 19858) ou sept (IM 72128, IM 72129), huit (BM 118808) ou dix (BM 118809), toutes dans le même sens. Une autre variante montre trois boucles de part et d'autre d'un motif central simulant la vannerie (AO 19859 et A 7369) [4].

Les traits du visage sont modelés avec précision : les sourcils épais sont arqués et se rejoignent au-dessus du nez. Les paupières sont épaisses. L'iris est dessiné et procure son expression pénétrante au visage. La longue barbe bouclée couvre les joues et le menton, d'où partent de longues mèches en tire-bouchon s'étageant sur plusieurs rangs. Chaque mèche se termine par une boucle enroulée. La bouche gracieusement modelée est surmontée d'une fine moustache. De part et d'autre du visage, des pans de longs cheveux ondulés descendent aux épaules et se terminent en boucles. Les oreilles des taureaux sont ornées de pendants. La coiffure comporte un haut polos entouré de plumes courtes, des rangs de petites rosettes appliquées et deux ou trois paires de cornes.

Une variante importante représente le taureau avec la tête tournée de face. A part cette partie du corps, il n'y a pas d'autre changement dans le traitement de ce monstre : le poitrail est traité comme dans les exemples ci-dessus, la tête pivotant simplement de façon à faire face au spectateur alors que le corps est de profil. Ces variantes, conçues en paires antithétiques, ont été découvertes en trois endroits du palais : mur principal extérieur du complexe palatial, façade n (cour VIII) et façade N (cour III). Il en subsiste un exemplaire (A 7369).

Le héros maîtrisant un lion

Planches 14-17.

Reliefs subsistants : Louvre AO 19861, AO 19862. Figures 7–8.

Emplacement d'origine : façade A (encadrant les portes sur le mur de la terrasse), façade n (dalles 45, 55).

Dans une lettre du 18 août 1844 à Jules Mohl, Botta rapportait la découverte d'un relief montrant un homme tenant un lion dans une porte à 194 m de la ligne du palais. Cette entrée, A sur le dessin de Flandin, doit probablement être identifiée avec celle du mur extérieur à la terrasse du palais indiquée M' par Place. Cette sculpture nous est parvenue (AO 19861) et mesure 4,70 m de haut. Elle combine deux aspects : le haut du personnage jusqu'à la taille est représenté de face, le bas est vu de profil, tourné vers la gauche du spectateur. La jambe droite est en arrière, la gauche en avant. Les pieds sont chaussés de sandales qui masquent les talons. La figure se détache du fond en haut-relief et se tient debout sur une plate-forme. A partir des yeux, la tête dépasse du cadre supérieur de la dalle, ce qui donne une impression de ronde-bosse. Une épaisse chevelure bouclée couvre les oreilles et retombe aux épaules en trois grosses boucles de chaque côté. Le visage et la barbe sont en apparence assez semblables à ceux des taureaux. Le héros est vêtu d'une tunique à manches courtes qui lui va aux genoux. Un châle étroit bordé d'une frange de noeuds passe

[4] Des versions plus anciennes de ce détail décoratif apparaissent sur les taureaux mis au jour dans le palais d'Assurnasirpal II à Nimrud ; British Museum (BM 118872) et Metropolitan Museum (32.143.1).

sur sa tunique et retombe en pan. De l'extrémité tombe un gland décoré, fait de quatre cordons nattés dont les extrémités flottent librement. Le personnage porte de nombreux bijoux ; à chaque bras, un anneau en spirale sur les biceps et un bracelet décoré d'une grande rosette au poignet. Dans sa main gauche baissée, le héros tient une arme recourbée, ornée d'une tête de veau comme manche. Dans l'autre, il étreint fermement le lion contre son corps. Ce lion, d'une échelle bien plus réduite, tourne la tête vers le spectateur et ouvre la gueule en une faible menace tout en essayant de se libérer de la poigne du héros : à cet effet, les pattes postérieures sont représentées arc-boutées contre le corps de son adversaire, avec les griffes dehors.

Un deuxième colosse a été conservé (AO 19862). Il provient du mur Nord-Est de la façade n (cour VIII) et fut déposé peu après avoir été découvert par Botta. L'attitude est semblable à celle du relief précédent, avec quelques importantes variantes : ici les cheveux tombent aux épaules en s'écartant du visage pour se terminer en cinq rangs de boucles. Ce traitement de la coiffure est identique à celui des taureaux ailés et paraît caractéristique de l'époque de Sargon. Le costume est différent : un châle oblique part de l'épaule droite et tombe jusqu'aux chevilles en couvrant la jambe gauche. De longues mèches laineuses en occupent le centre, des mèches plus courtes décorent le reste de ce vêtement. La bordure supérieure comporte un double cordon terminé à chaque extrémité par un noeud et un gland. La bordure inférieure est soulignée d'un rang de glands. Sous le châle, une tunique arrêtée aux genoux est bordée à sa base de glands ; un pan de la tunique est drapé autour du corps et forme un deuxième rang de glands.

Les bijoux portés par ce personnage sont analogues à ceux du premier ; cependant le bracelet n'est pas décoré d'une rosette, ici une tête de dragon apparaît à chaque extrémité [5]. Ce bracelet n'est pas repris dans le dessin où Flandin a donné des exemples d'anneaux de bras et de bracelets d'après les reliefs (planche 139).

Le lion maîtrisé par ce héros est pratiquement identique au précédent : il lève la tête, regarde vers le spectateur et montre les crocs, dans une expression de défi. La combinaison du héros maîtrisant un lion, minuscule mais combatif et de deux taureaux androcéphales ailés partant en directions opposées, est rare dans l'art assyrien. Elle apparaît à Dur-Sharrukin pour la première fois. Cet ensemble de quatre figures, faisant toutes face au spectateur, forme une composition héraldique dont la signification devait être précise. Elle sera discutée chapitre VI.

Le génie ailé.

Planches 4, 16, 19, 35-40, 43, 56, 71, 92, 135.

Reliefs subsistants : (génie à visage frontal) : Musée du Louvre AO 19863, British Museum 118808, 118809, Iraq Museum 72130, 72131 ; (génie à quatre ailes) : Musée du Louvre AO 19864, AO 19865, AO 19880, AO 22197, Iraq Museum 60973 ; (génie à deux ailes) : Musée du Louvre AO 19866, voir figures 3-4, 9-14, 86-87.

Bibliographie : Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, 3 : pls. 12-13, 47 ; Pillet, *Un pionnier*, figs. 20, 23 ; Loud-Altman, *Khorsabad. II*, pls. 9-10.

Emplacement primitif : génie ailé à visage frontal : mur intérieur de la ville (portes A et B[?]), mur de la ville (portes 1[?]) et 3) ; (génies à 4 ailes) façade n (dalles 39-40, 43-44, 48-49, 53, 59), façade N (24-25), façade m (3, 14, porte I[?]), porte X (entre salle 6 et 11) ;

[5] Il s'agit peut être du dragon *mušḫuššu*, symbole du dieu babylonien Marduk, voir *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, 10, p. 270. Ce détail correspondrait à un fait historique, le roi Sargon II ayant pénétré dans Babylone, où il présida aux fêtes du Nouvel An et où il résida quelques temps, Luckenbill, *ARAB* 2 : § 35, 38-39, 70, 184.

(génie à deux ailes) façade N (dalles 5-7, 20-22, 30), portes P et Q (entre façade N et salle 8), porte S (entre salles 5 et 8), porte p (entre façade N et salle 14).

On connaît deux types de cette figure de gardien à Dur-Sharrukin : le génie de face à une ou deux paires d'ailes et le génie de profil à une ou deux paires d'ailes. Ils seront ici décrits séparément.

Flandin n'a pas donné de dessin de génie ailé de face ; ce type était donc inconnu de Botta. Les blocs aujourd'hui au British Museum (BM 118808 et 118809) ont dû être retirés de l'intérieur d'une porte dans le mur d'enceinte interne, porte B de l'expédition de Chicago, après que Botta eut quitté Mossoul en 1845. Ces génies gardiens étaient primitivement disposés sur des murs opposés, regardant dans la même direction. Chacun tient un cône dans la main droite levée et une situle dans la main gauche. Le haut du corps jusqu'à la ceinture est représenté de face. Le reste du corps est de profil. La jambe au premier plan est en avant, celle au second plan vers l'arrière. Bien que destinées à se répondre symétriquement, ces images ne sont pas vues comme dans un miroir. Chaque tête porte l'arrangement de cheveux déjà observé sur les taureaux androcéphales. La haute coiffure arrondie au sommet est ornée de deux paires de cornes. Le costume est un châle frangé porté en oblique, couvrant soit l'épaule gauche et la jambe droite, soit l'épaule droite et la jambe gauche, selon l'orientation du génie. Sous le châle, une tunique frangée de glands tombe aux genoux. Les sandales cachent les talons. Une paire d'ailes émerge du dos ; l'une s'incurve vers le haut, se terminant juste sous le sommet du bloc. L'autre est arrondie vers le bas jusqu'aux chevilles et cache en partie l'aile supérieure. L'organisation des plumes est analogue à celle des taureaux ailés.

Une autre porte de la muraille intérieure, porte A, a livré une deuxième paire de génies à deux ailes, retrouvée *in situ* par l'expédition de Chicago. Elle est assez analogue à la première, sauf que trois paires de cornes enrichissent leur coiffure (IM 72130 et IM 72131). Une variante du génie ailé frontal a été retrouvée par Place en une ou plusieurs portes de la muraille extérieure. Un génie provenant de la porte 3 est aujourd'hui au Louvre (AO 19863), et présente cette différence que deux paires d'ailes sortent de son dos. Il est armé d'un petit poignard passé dans sa ceinture.

Les génies frontaux semblent avoir été réservés aux portes des murailles (intérieure et extérieure). Ils étaient disposés immédiatement derrière les taureaux et formaient un ensemble décorant les jambages de porte. Leur corps est toujours tourné vers l'extérieur. Avec les taureaux, ces génies gardiens faisaient partie de la protection du passage intérieur. Par leur orientation frontale, ils se dressaient devant toute personne empruntant le passage.

Les génies ailés de profil ont été disposés à des emplacements spécifiques dans tout le palais, aussi bien sur les murs extérieurs que dans les passages. Leur orientation, vers la droite ou vers la gauche, dépendait de leur position par rapport à la porte. Les génies à une ou deux paires d'ailes n'étaient pas interchangeables et un type précis avait été choisi pour le décor de murs ou de passages particuliers : d'après les dessins de Flandin, dans la plupart des cas, ces génies étaient groupés par paires : tantôt ils se faisaient face, sur un même côté de la porte, tantôt ils se trouvaient sur les jambages, tournés dans le même sens. De grands génies à quatre ailes figuraient sur les murs extérieurs des cours et dans les passages. Des blocs isolés portant cette image étaient insérés sur les côtés des contreforts en saillie de la façade n (cour VIII), le génie tourné chaque fois vers la cour. Dans la façade N (cour III), les génies à quatre ailes flanquent la porte z menant vers la salle 9 ; sur le même mur un autre est représenté parmi les personnages tournés vers la porte n donnant sur la salle 14. Sur la façade m (cour VI), les orthostates décorés de génies à quatre ailes sont trop détruits pour que l'on sache s'ils étaient groupés par paire.

Dans les salles dégagées par Botta, une paire décorait la porte X reliant les salles 6 et 11 : un génie à quatre ailes est suivi par un génie sans ailes sur chaque jambage. Tous sont tournés vers la salle 6. Place mentionne la découverte de figures semblables dans un passage

situé façade m (cour VI). L'une d'elles est reproduite dans sa publication, d'après un calotype pris sur l'original par Gabriel Tranchand : un détail diffère : dans le calotype, la coiffure conique portée par le génie se termine en pointe, tandis que dans la gravure publiée, elle se termine par un emblème en fleur de lys.

Des génies à deux ailes encadraient la porte n (menant à la salle 13) dans le mur Nord-Ouest de la façade N (cour III), ainsi que les portes P et Q (ouvrant salle 8) du mur Nord-Est dans la même cour. Sur chaque jambage était en outre un génie à deux ailes tourné vers la cour. Parmi les salles explorées par Botta, le seul exemple présentant la séquence génie à deux ailes – génie sans ailes, apparaît dans les jambages de la porte S (reliant les salles 5 et 8) ; chaque paire était tournée vers la salle 8. Des figures plus petites de génies à deux ailes décoraient parfois l'étroit encadrement de porte. Elles étaient alors combinées avec d'autres types de génies et regroupées sur plusieurs registres. Malheureusement les dessins originaux n'en donnent qu'une traduction esquissée : on ne peut savoir si ces images s'intégraient alors dans le programme spécialement destiné aux portes. Des génies à deux ailes se retrouvent sur le registre inférieur des parois du passage resserré des portes P et Q, façade N (cour III). D'autres décoraient peut-être les portes de la façade m (cour VI).

En résumé, à part le nombre des ailes, les images de génies ailés tournés à droite ou à gauche sont essentiellement identiques. Leur aspect général et leur costume est standardisé, sans grandes variantes avec les génies de face. Ces différents types se distinguent par la coiffure : les génies de profil ont un bonnet surmonté de la fleur de lys. La forme et le décor de la situle tenue dans la main gauche varient également d'une figure à l'autre. Les ailes sont toujours représentées sortant du dos, sans que l'on puisse voir le mode d'attachement. Les génies à quatre ailes ont des ailes étalées symétriquement de chaque côté du corps, comme vues de face ; ceux à deux ailes sont figurés avec les ailes sur un seul côté, en vue de profil. On ne sait si une signification particulière s'attachait au nombre des ailes.

Le génie ailé à tête d'oiseau.

Planches 4, 36, 39, 43, 53-54, 56, 110.

Relief subsistant : Louvre AO 19867. Voir figure 15.

Emplacement d'origine : façade N (dalles 8, 19) ; portes B et G (reliant façade L et salle 2) ; façade L (dalles 14, 19) ; façade m (dalles 7, 10).

Parmi les premiers dessins exécutés par Botta en 1843, deux montrent le bas de sculptures représentant des personnages (planche 4), habillés d'une tunique tombant aux genoux, ceinturée. Ces personnages étaient pourvus d'ailes et tenaient une situle dans la main gauche baissée. Les têtes étaient très endommagées et Botta n'en a pas donné de croquis. Derrière chaque personnage se tenait un autre vêtu d'une tunique longue. Ces fragments provenaient des jambages de la porte B sur le mur Sud-Ouest de la façade L (cour I). A l'opposé de ce même mur se trouvait une autre porte, G ; ses orthostates portaient le même sujet, mieux conservé : un génie à tête d'oiseau, ailé, était suivi d'un génie sans ailes. Cette découverte dut impressionner Flandin car il fit un dessin de chaque exemplaire ; malheureusement les reliefs ont disparu.

Le génie à tête d'oiseau possède deux ailes sortant de son dos. Dans sa main droite levée, il tenait un cône, dans la main gauche baissée, une situle. Chaque dessin de Flandin montre la tête de profil, dans la même orientation : le crâne est aplati, l'œil large et rond est pourvu de plumes en forme de pétales à l'angle externe, le bec est grand et crochu : il s'agit d'un rapace, probablement un aigle. La coiffure élaborée surmontant la tête est composée d'une couronne de plumes verticales posée sur des boucles de taille décroissant du front vers la nuque. Sur les côtés, trois rangs de boucles sont enroulés en tire-bouchon. Autour du cou, un collier composé d'une perle centrale en forme de grenade attachée à un cordon épais ou d'un rang de perles rondes et ovales alternées. Une spirale entoure le bras, le bracelet de poignet

est décoré d'une rosette. Le vêtement consiste en une tunique à manches courtes et arrêtée aux genoux, non décorée des glands que l'on rencontre chez les autres génies-gardiens. Un galon de spirales carrées entoure le cou, les manches et le bas de la robe. La ceinture large est en partie décorée d'une sorte de filet. De la taille tombe un élément terminé par quatre nœuds à franges, décoré d'un motif de spirales carrées et galonné sur un côté. Les pieds sont nus.

De chaque côté de la porte F dans la façade L (cour I) se trouvait un contrefort. Les parois latérales de ce contrefort du côté du passage étaient parées d'orthostates décorés de ces génies. Comme ceux des portes B et G, ils étaient tournés vers la cour. On en trouve près d'autres portes : plusieurs dessins de Flandin en montrent sur les petits orthostates encadrant les murs de refend de la porte P dans le mur Sud-Ouest de la façade N (cour III) et des portes g et k, façade m (cour VI). Bien que les informations soient rares, il semble que lorsque plusieurs motifs figurés étaient combinés en deux ou trois registres de part et d'autre d'une porte, la séquence du haut vers le bas présentait des génies à tête d'oiseau, puis les génies ailés, puis les génies sans ailes. Un petit orthostate portant un génie à tête d'oiseau provient probablement de l'un des passages de la façade m (cour VI) (AO 19867) : il est tourné à gauche et témoigne des principaux traits illustrés par Flandin. Il est remarquable en cela qu'il est inachevé ; la surface montre les divers stades de complétion du relief, depuis le contour simplement incisé jusqu'au modelé achevé en passant par le dégrossissage au ciseau.

Le génie sans ailes ou génie aptère.

Planches 3-4, 16, 19, 35-37, 43, 52-54, 56, 59, 62-63, 71, 73, 80, 92, 106, 110, 131.

Reliefs subsistants : Musée du Louvre AO 19862, AO 19870, AO 19871, AO 19872, AO19917 ; British Museum 118813, 118814, 47-7-2, 23 ; Oriental Institute Museum A 7370 ; Hermitage Museum n°. 7, n°. 8 ; Museo Civico di Archeologia Ge 2 ; Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire 0.48 ; Prince of Wales Museum F 13. Voir figures 16-24, 86-87.

Bibliographie, Archives Nationales, F [21] 546, pls. 35-35 bis ; Pillet, *Un pionnier*, fig. 21.

Emplacement primitif (génie tenant une chèvre) : façade m (4), porte Z (entre façade N et salle 11) ; (génie tenant une plante) : façade n (5, 9-10, 13-14) ; façade N (5, 22-23) ; façade L (15) ; façade m (1-2, 6-7, 10-11, 13-14, 17-18, 20, 23) ; salle 4 (?, 10) ; salle 8 (9, 15[?]-16, 19-20, 31[?]) ; portes B et G (entre façade L et salle 2) ; porte y (entre salles 6 et 9) ; porte Z (en façade N et salle 9) ; porte S (entre salles 5 et 8) ; porte A (entre façade L et salle 1) ; porte 1 (entre salles 13 et 14) ; bâtiment isolé (1-2).

Ce type de génie gardien est surtout représenté sur les murs extérieurs et les portes intérieures du palais. En plusieurs endroits, il apparaît derrière un génie ailé, suggérant son rang secondaire dans la hiérarchie. Ailleurs, il est placé de part et d'autre de l'arbre stylisé, ou bien isolé, à l'intérieur d'un passage. De petits orthostates décorés de cette figure étaient également disposés sur les murs de refend encadrant diverses portes.

Le génie aptère est représenté toujours de la même manière : il possède une longue barbe carrée composée de boucles enroulées et de mèches, ses cheveux sont agencés en plusieurs rangs de mèches ondulées terminées par des boucles, tombant jusqu'aux épaules. Un bandeau entoure son front, en cordons tressés se terminant par un gland à l'arrière et décoré sur le front d'une grande rosette entre deux petites. Des pendants chargent ses oreilles. Le costume consiste en une tunique, à manches courtes, s'arrêtant aux genoux, frangée de glands en bas. Parfois le vêtement est orné de bandes décorées. Dans plusieurs cas, le génie porte une ceinture. Par-dessus la tunique un châle tombant aux chevilles est posé en oblique et cache une jambe et l'épaule opposée (sauf planche 54), d'où il retombe dans le dos ; ce châle est relevé par-devant pour laisser apparaître la tunique et l'autre

jambe. De longues franges le bordent depuis l'épaule jusqu'à la hanche. Un deuxième rang de franges plus courtes se trouve dans la partie basse du tissu. Les pieds sont chaussés de sandales ouvertes.

Qu'il soit orienté vers la droite ou vers la gauche, le génie aptère a toujours la même attitude : son bras droit replié est levé, la paume ouverte. La main gauche baissée tient une plante fleurie à trois rameaux. Les fleurs ont été identifiées avec des pavots d'opium ou des grenades [6]. Dans un exemple, il s'agit d'une fleur de lotus encadrée de boutons (AO 19872). Le génie tient parfois une petite chèvre ou ibex contre sa poitrine, c'est le cas de ceux provenant de la façade m (cour VI). De même sur deux orthostates parant les jambages de la porte Y, façade N (cour III), ouvrant sur la salle 9 : chaque génie est tourné vers la façade N. Dans ces exemples, il ne tient pas de végétaux.

L'arbre stylisé

Planches 62, 73, 76, 80, 131, 135.

Relief subsistant : Louvre AO 19869. Voir figure 20.

Emplacement primitif : salle 4 (dalles 3,7,19) ; salle 8 (dalles 10,14,27,30) ; salle 14 (dalle 8) ; porte 1 (entre salles 13 et 14) ; monument isolé (dalles 1-2).

Les orthostates des jambages de la porte 1 (entre salles 13 et 14) portaient deux personnages encadrant un arbre stylisé, du type généralement identifié chez les auteurs contemporains avec « l'arbre sacré ». A l'époque de leur découverte, les deux tiers du bloc 1 et le bas du bloc 2 subsistaient. Flandin n'en donna pas de dessin détaillé, simplement un croquis d'où l'on peut tirer cependant ces informations : les deux personnages, à en juger d'après leur costume et l'absence d'ailes, semblent être des génies aptères, chacun portant probablement un végétal fleuri. L'arbre stylisé est composé d'un tronc central d'où partent des éléments annulaires horizontaux, à la base, à mi-hauteur et au sommet. Des lignes obliques issues du tronc s'entrecroisent en un motif régulier.

L'arbre stylisé apparaît aussi dans les salles 4, 8 et 14 du palais, servant de décor aux angles. Dans ce cas, l'arbre stylisé n'est pas associé aux personnages des orthostates voisins. Dans la salle 4, les dalles d'angles fragmentaires 5, 7 et 19 étaient encore en place. Le 4e angle était détruit au moment des fouilles. Dans la salle 14, seuls deux angles furent dégagés, le reste de la salle était érodé : l'orthostate de l'angle 4 manquait et il ne restait que le bas de la dalle 8 encore en place. Le motif de l'arbre était mieux conservé dans la salle 8, qui en conservait des fragments aux quatre angles. La dalle 14 était à peu près intacte ; seule sa partie gauche figure sur un dessin à côté de l'image de deux dignitaires assyriens appartenant au bloc contigu. Le motif de l'arbre étant rigoureusement symétrique, la partie droite de cette dalle peut être aisément restituée sur le dessin de Flandin, qui a représenté la bordure externe de la pierre avec une bande verticale arrondie vers le haut, simulant une stèle dressée. L'arbre stylisé apparaît dans l'espace limité par cette bande. Le tronc vertical au centre est pourvu de palmettes à la base, à mi-hauteur et au sommet. Ces palmettes sont composées de 9 pétales de taille décroissante, rayonnant à partir d'un élément incurvé. Trois bases en anneau supportent ces palmettes et au-dessus s'élèvent quatre tiges : celles du

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[6] Sur le pavot et l'opium, voir : Louis Speleers, « Le personnage aux pavots », *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* 10 (1938), p. 133-135 ; R.S. Merrillees, « Opium Trade in the Bronze Age », *Antiquity* 36 (1962), p. 287-292 ; idem, « Opium Again in Antiquity, « *Levant* 11 (1979), p. 167-171. Sur les grenades, voir : Emanuel Bonavia, *The Flora of the Assyrian Monuments and its Outcomes*,Westminster : Archibald Constable, 1894), p. 12-13, 55-58 ; Abraham D. Krikorian, « Were the Opium Poppy and Opium Known in the Ancient Near East ? », *Journal of the History of Biology* 8 (1975), p. 95-114.

centre sont retournées vers le haut, celles des bords sont repliées vers le bas. Derrière le tronc apparaît un motif régulier de cordes entrelacées formant un filet limité par une guirlande de palmettes, réductions de celles de la plante centrale.

Victor Place mentionne la découverte d'une pierre portant un arbre stylisé intact. Gabriel Tranchand fit une photographie d'une de ces pierres d'angle une fois déposée, probablement pour être expédiée à Paris. Un gravure faite d'après cette photographie parut dans la publication [7]. Stylistiquement, l'arbre de cette dalle est identique à ceux que l'on rencontre dans les bas-reliefs du IXe siècle exécutés pour Assurnasirpal à Nimrud : il est probable que l'arbre reproduit par Tranchand était en fait un de ceux découverts à Nimrud, site qu'il avait visité. Une autre version de l'arbre apparaît sur deux orthostates contigus dans le vestibule central du bâtiment isolé. Seules les parties basses furent trouvées en place. Une des dalles est restituée : le dessin montre l'arbre et deux génies sans ailes avec bonnet orné de cornes (!). Le tronc central repose sur une base circulaire d'où jaillissent trois rameaux. Ce tronc est uni, sauf pour un bourrelet au centre. De la base poussent des deux côtés des branches onduleuses en forme de cordes, chacune portant une fleur aux pétales en gouttes sur un disque. Du haut du tronc sortent deux branches incurvées vers le bas, portant des fleurs identiques. Le traitement de cet arbre est unique : il semble plutôt évoquer un buisson fleuri que l'arbre sacré traditionnel ; il n'est malheureusement pas possible d'en identifier l'espèce, mais il s'agissait peut-être d'une importation récente en Assyrie : la séduction d'un tel buisson en fleur aurait pu inspirer son intégration à une représentation religieuse [8].

Le Roi avec ses dignitaires.

Planches 80, 92-93.

Emplacement primitif : porte E (reliant les salles 2 et 5), porte U (reliant 5 et 8), porte T (reliant 4 et 8).

Les parois latérales de plusieurs portes du palais représentaient le Roi accompagné de dignitaires assyriens. Ces exemples sont exceptionnels, dans la mesure où des sujets religieux étaient normalement choisis pour les portes intérieures : c'est pourquoi ce type de composition est abordé ici ; il ne semble pas faire partie des scènes narratives des murs voisins. Il apparaît sur les portes E, T et U ; dans chaque cas, les figures vues comme dans un miroir sur des parois opposées regardent toutes dans la même direction : vers la salle 2 pour la porte E, vers 4 pour la porte T et vers 5 pour la porte U. Aucun orthostate mis au jour n'était intact. Le bloc n° 2 de la porte E a fait l'objet d'un dessin à part. Nous pouvons estimer que les autres devaient être à peu près identiques ou symétriques.

La dalle 2 de la porte E était partiellement érodée et les trois têtes détruites. Le costume comme l'attitude des personnages met l'accent sur leur personnalité : au centre le Roi, tourné à droite. Sa main droite est levée, paume ouverte, peut-être dans un geste de salut. Sa main gauche baissée tient un rameau fleuri, très abîmé, mais dans lequel on peut reconnaître une grenade ou un pavot entre deux lotus. Le costume du Roi est celui que Sargon porte sur toutes ses images officielles : une longue robe lui descend aux chevilles, elle est décorée au bas d'un galon de rosettes inscrites dans des carrés, d'où tombent des glands de cordons de perles noués. Le tissu de la robe est richement décoré d'un semis de rosettes dans des carrés,

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[7] Dans son rapport n° 49 daté du 18 juillet 1854 (p. 22), Place rapportait qu'il avait trouvé dans la salle 13 la pierre d'angle mentionnée par Botta. Dans sa publication, il décrit une autre pierre d'angle dans une autre salle (33 ?) : *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, 1 : 66-67, 3 : pl. 49, 2. Le calotype de Tranchand gravé dans le volume de Place est utilisé par Pillet, *Un pionnier*, fig. 25.

[8] Bonavia identifie ce buisson avec un sapin, *Flora of Assyrian Monuments*, p. 58. Pour des représentations de végétaux dans l'art assyrien, voir *id.* et Pauline Albenda, « Grapevines in Ashurbanipal's Garden, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 215 (1974), p. 5-7 ; idem, « Assyrian Carpets in Stone », *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University* 10 (1978), p. 1-34.

avec des rosettes plus petites comme remplissage. Dessus, le Roi porte un châle aux angles arrondis, dont les extrémités se rejoignent sur ses flancs, tandis que la partie plus étroite tombe sur l'épaule en retrait. La bordure en est frangée et brodée. Le tissu est orné de rangées de petits carrés à rosette alternant avec un motif de tours stylisées. Les pieds sont chaussés de sandales. Le Roi est armé d'une longue épée dans un fourreau passé dans la ceinture, la pointe dépassant derrière le corps. Ce fourreau est orné de deux lions affrontés en relief, la tête tournée vers l'extérieur et la gueule grande ouverte.

Derrière le Roi se tient un dignitaire tourné à droite, les deux bras levés. Son poing droit est fermé et dans la main droite, il tient une serviette repliée. Le costume est celui que portent tous les dignitaires de la cour, avec une longue robe descendant aux chevilles, bordée en bas d'un rang de glands de perles tressées. Par-dessus, un châle est porté en oblique, couvrant l'épaule gauche et composé de longues mèches laineuses sur deux rangées. Celle du haut, ondulée, est bordée vers le haut d'un galon décoré de rosettes inscrites dans des carrés. Celle du bas couvre toute la largeur du corps et s'arrête aux genoux.

Face au Roi se tient le troisième personnage, une main tendue vers l'avant, l'autre reposant sur la poignée de son épée. A part quelques différences mineures, son costume est le même que celui de l'autre dignitaire. Mais le diadème, aujourd'hui disparu, avait de longs flots de rubans tombant en arrière, aux extrémités terminées par un galon décoratif et des franges. Ce type de diadème indique le rang à la cour [9]. Il porte en outre un grand baudrier en travers de la poitrine, décoré d'un semis de boutons dessinant des cercles sécants. L'adjonction du baudrier dans le costume de cour est peut-être une indication du caractère militaire du personnage.

L'acolyte assyrien.

Planches 63, 71.

Bibliographie : Photographie Oriental Institute 17446 (jambage de la porte, salle 12).

Emplacement primitif : porte Y (reliant les salles 6 et 9), porte e (reliant les salles 11 et 12).

En deux endroits dans le palais, une figure isolée, dite ici l'acolyte assyrien, était disposée sur chaque jambage d'une porte intérieure (dans la porte Y et la porte e formant paire), tournée respectivement vers la salle 6 (porte Y) et la salle 11 (porte e). Ces figures appartenaient cependant probablement à l'une des processions qui se déroulaient sur les murs des salles 6 et 9.

L'acolyte est revêtu du costume de cour habituel, son caractère militaire est indiqué par la masse d'armes qu'il tient dans sa main droite baissée et par l'arc suspendu à son épaule gauche. Le carquois apparaît sous l'épaule droite.

[9] On pense parfois que ce personnage est le prince héritier ou *mâr šarri*, voir Julian E. Reade, « The Neo-Assyrian Court and Army : Evidence from the Sculptures », *Iraq* 34 (1972), p. 93 ; « Kronprinz », *RLA* (1982), p. 248-250.

CHAPITRE IV

RELIEFS A SCENES NARRATIVES

Les découvertes archéologiques montrent que dans le complexe de salles et de cours découvert par Botta se trouvait un grand nombre de panneaux sculptés : les murs n'étaient jamais laissés nus [1]. Chaque dalle mesurait environ trois mètres de haut, et leur ensemble formait un parement continu appliqué contre les murs à l'intérieur des salles comme sur les façades des cours. Les thèmes choisis s'organisent autour de la personne du roi Sargon II. Dans les scènes relatant une activité précise du Roi, celui-ci n'apparaît qu'une fois, en figure centrale. Lorsqu'une suite d'épisodes est combinée, le Roi peut figurer à plusieurs reprises, mais une seule fois par épisode. Il n'est absent que lorsque des panneaux manquent dans une série (par exemple salles 1, 3, 14). Le Roi est toujours représenté debout, tourné vers un ou plusieurs des personnages venant en tête des scènes de procession, ou bien en char pour les tableaux de batailles ou de chasse. Ses gestes varient selon l'action, et vont de la main levée en signe de salut à l'arc brandi tirant une flèche. Le Roi tient des objets divers, souvent une longue canne, ou une lance, ou un rameau fleuri.

On peut diviser les scènes narratives en deux groupes : dans le premier, l'accent est mis sur la description des dignitaires de la cour (façades n, N, salles 9, 12, 14), les tributaires étrangers (façade n, salles 6, 10, 11) et les captifs (salles 4, 8). Dans ces panneaux, les personnages occupent presque toute la hauteur de la pierre, le champ est vide de motifs secondaires ; parfois une inscription court en travers de la dalle, passant par-dessus certains des personnages. Dans la seconde catégorie, l'accent est mis sur la narration de scènes de guerre (salles 1, 2, 3, 5, 13, 14). Quelques scènes montrant des activités pacifiques apparaissent parfois : banquet (salles 2, 7) ou chasse de petit gibier (salle 7, bâtiment isolé). Dans ce type de composition, le paysage est alors évoqué pour permettre l'identification des lieux où se déroule l'action. La localisation de plusieurs cités est rendue possible par l'adjonction de légendes inscrites (chapitre VII). Dans ce groupe de panneaux, l'échelle des sujets est plus réduite, par division en deux dans le sens de la hauteur du champ de la pierre ; chaque registre mesure alors environ 1,20 m de haut, avec une bande centrale inscrite de 0,60 m.

Plusieurs salles du palais furent redégagées par l'expédition de Chicago ou par le Service des Antiquités de l'Irak. Les photographies prises à cette époque constituent notre source d'information pour l'emplacement des reliefs.

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[1] Dans son rapport n° 49 du 18 juillet 1854, Place note que le palais comprenait tous les blocs sculptés depuis ceux des fouilles de Botta jusqu'au grand hall des dépendances. Le plan reproduit dans la publication de Place indique l'emplacement des reliefs, jusqu'à la salle 37, au moyen d'un double trait. Voir *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, 3 : pl. 3.

Procession de dignitaires assyriens devant le Roi.

Salle 9 *(planche 63)*

Relief subsistant : British Museum 118823. Voir figure 74.

La salle 9 était à peu près carrée. En partant de la porte Z, qui donne sur la façade N, deux processions s'avancent vers le Roi, tournées à droite. Le Roi figure sur la dalle 8 du mur Nord-Ouest, en face de la porte. Les dignitaires sont imberbes, les mains jointes. Une des processions se dirige en sens inverse des aiguilles d'une montre au-delà de la porte Y, le long des murs Sud-Est, Nord-Est et Nord-Ouest. Elle est menée par un personnage de haut rang qui fait face au Roi et lève la main droite en signe de salut. Sargon tient une longue canne dans la main droite et un rameau fleuri dans la gauche. Derrière lui, se tient un porteur de chasse-mouches. La deuxième procession se dirige en sens inverse le long du mur Sud-Ouest. Il n'en reste que le bas des pierres. Dans cette salle, la dalle 3 a été représentée par Flandin intacte mais sans décor. Deux dalles manquaient entre les dalles 5 et 6 et la pierre d'angle 9. Sur le sol devant 5 se trouvait une grande pierre avec une dépression, peut-être pour l'insertion d'une baignoire.

Salle 12 *(planche 64)*

Photographies Oriental Institute 17426, 17445, 17446, 17447, 17448, 17470, 17471. Voir figures 80-82.

La salle 12 était une fois et demie plus longue que large. En commençant par la porte en donnant sur la salle 11, deux processions s'avancent vers le Roi, figuré sur la dalle 8 du mur Sud-Ouest, face à la porte. La procession en sens inverse des aiguilles d'une montre s'étendait sur les murs Nord-Est et Nord-Ouest, mais la plupart des blocs étaient en ruine. En tête venait un dignitaire barbu, face au Roi, levant la main en signe de salut. Le Roi lui rend son geste et tient dans sa main gauche un rameau fleuri. Derrière lui se tient un acolyte, les mains jointes. La deuxième procession s'étend en sens inverse sur le mur Sud-Est. Toutes les dalles en sont intactes et montrent des dignitaires imberbes, mains jointes. La pierre d'angle 6 a été dessinée intacte et sans décor ; les pierres d'angles 10 et 14 étaient détruites.

Cette salle fut redégagée par l'expédition de Chicago [2]. Les photographies montrent que seules ont été conservées les parties basses des reliefs, cassés en de nombreux fragments. Plusieurs découvertes donnent des indications différentes de celles de Flandin (ci-dessus) : tout d'abord, le roi Sargon est en fait tourné vers la gauche : ainsi sur les dalles 7 et 9, l'orientation des personnages est l'inverse de celle donnée par Flandin. De plus le Roi tient une canne, omise dans le dessin. Il ne semble pas qu'il portait un rameau fleuri. D'autre part, une pierre pourvue d'une dépression a été retrouvée sur le sol, et ce détail ne figure pas chez Flandin. Enfin sur le mur Nord-Ouest, était pratiquée une niche peu profonde dans laquelle se trouvait la dalle 12. Ainsi les fouilles de Chicago permettent de constater que le plan et la décoration de la salle 12 était essentiellement analogues à ceux de la salle 9, avec l'adjonction d'une seconde porte.

Salle 14 *(planche 135)*

Une procession se déroule sur les murs Nord-Est et une dalle des murs Nord-Ouest et Sud-Est ; le haut manque. Des lignes horizontales en travers des personnages sur les dalles 3, 5, 7 et 9 indiquent que Flandin avait noté des inscriptions. La composition est centrée, le mouvement dirigé des deux côtés vers le milieu où se trouve placé le Roi.

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[2] Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, p. 20-28, fig. 23-27.

La dalle 3 sur le mur Nord-Ouest, montre deux dignitaires à droite. La dalle d'angle 4 manque. La dalle 5 sur le mur Nord-Est porte deux personnages à droite : l'un tient une masse d'armes et porte un carquois sur l'épaule ; l'autre tient une serviette repliée ; ces deux fonctionnaires sont identifiés comme le porteur d'armes et le porteur de chasse-mouches. Sur le panneau 6, deux personnages face à face, à gauche le Roi, tenant un rameau fleuri dans la main gauche baissée. La dalle 7 porte deux dignitaires tournés à gauche, chacun avec une épée dans la ceinture. Le premier baisse une main. La dalle 8 manque. La dalle 8 du mur Sud-Est montre un arbre stylisé. A gauche de la porte n, donnant sur la façade N, la dalle 9 porte un dignitaire à gauche, mains jointes à la taille.

Façade n, mur Nord-Est *(planches 16-18)*

Photographies Oriental Institute : 17453, 17454, 17461, 17462, 17518, 17523, 18416, 22592. Voir figures 34-37, 44.

Reliefs subsistants : Musée du Louvre AO 1432, AO 7375, AO 22196 ; Oriental Institute Museum A 7366, A 7367, A 7368 ; Iraq Museum 18628, 18629, 18630, 18631 ; collection privée A. 089. Voir figures 40-43.

15 panneaux décorent le mur Nord-Est de la façade n à droite de la porte f (n° 40-25). Les n° 40-39 manquaient. Les dalles 35, 34 et 26 étaient intactes, avec des personnages à gauche ; 25 était intacte, sans décor. Les autres étaient détruites, sauf dans quelques parties basses encore en place. Flandin donne une restitution du décor du mur Nord-Est en s'aidant des fragments retrouvés sur le sol : selon lui, la scène représentait une procession tournée vers la gauche, devant le Roi. Derrière le Roi, deux dignitaires. La série de personnages était organisée en trois groupes, le premier situé derrière le Roi (dalles 38-37), le second était mené par un dignitaire (dalle 36) ; le chef du troisième groupe est figuré une main levée au-dessus de son dos, l'autre bras baissé (dalle 33).

Cette paroi fut redégagée par l'expédition de Chicago. Elle découvrit la dalle 25 intacte, sans décor. 26 était en grande partie intacte et le décor correspond aux indications de Flandin. 37, avec le Roi et un acolyte, avait été sciée et emportée. Les dalles encore en place ne montraient plus que les pieds des personnages. Beaucoup de fragments furent retrouvés assez loin de leur emplacement primitif. On peut en replacer dans le mur Nord-Est, conformément au dessin de Flandin : dalle 27 : figure 34, (gauche) et 35 ; dalle 28 : Oriental Institute Museum A 7367 ; dalle 30 : Iraq Museum 18629 ; dalle 32 : figure 44 (droite) ; dalle 33 : Oriental Institute Museum A 7366 ; dalle 36 : figure 40 (gauche) et Oriental Institute Museum A 7368. Sur le dessin de Flandin, les dalles 34 et 35 étaient encore en place. Trois fragments de reliefs avec des têtes humaines en proviennent peut-être : deux têtes, Louvre AO 1432 et collection privée A.089, reviennent à la dalle 34 ; la troisième, Louvre AO 22196, à la dalle 35. Une autre tête, Louvre AO 7375 a pu aussi être replacée dans le mur Nord-Est. D'autres peuvent se substituer à la reconstitution de Flandin : dalle 29 (Iraq Museum 18628 ?), dalle 31 (Iraq Museum 18631 ?). On ne peut replacer la dalle Iraq Museum 18630. Il est possible qu'un certain nombre des blocs découverts par l'expédition de Chicago appartiennent à un autre mur que le Nord-Est.

La description des panneaux du mur Nord-Est suit la reconstitution de Flandin : 40, sans décor. 39 : génie à quatre ailes, à gauche ; 38, deux personnages : un génie sans ailes du type associé normalement au génie ailé et un personnage à droite, armé, peut être un porteur d'armes royal. 37 : deux personnages, à gauche ; l'un porte une serviette pliée et un chasse-mouches, insigne de sa fonction. Face à lui se tient le Roi, tenant une canne, la main appuyée sur son épée. 36 : deux personnages à gauche ; l'un, un dignitaire de haut rang, lève la main en signe de salut. Derrière lui un acolyte tend la main droite. 35-34 : quatre dignitaires à gauche. Trois joignent les mains, le quatrième tend la main droite et tient deux longues cannes dans la gauche. 33 : un personnage mains jointes, un autre main droite levée. Le relief subsistant (A 7366) montre que le dos du deuxième est figuré, contrairement à ce

qu'indique le dessin de Flandin. 32 : un acolyte armé d'un arc, carquois, masse-d'armes et épée, suivi d'un autre portant une situle en forme de tête de lion dans chaque main. 31 : deux hommes armés d'une épée et d'une lance tenue debout. 30 : deux porteurs, une table sur les épaules. 29-28 : trois personnages mains jointes, un quatrième tend les deux bras. 27-26 : trois porteurs de grands vases.

Façade L *(planches 1, 42-50, 55).*

Reliefs subsistants : Musée du Louvre AO 19873, AO 19874, AO 19875, AO 19878, AO 19879, AO 19881, AO 19882, AO 19883, AO 19884, AO 19893, AO 19919 : British Museum 118811, 118812, 118820, 118822, 118826 : Metropolitan Museum of Art 33.16.2. Voir figures 61-65, 68-72.

45 dalles paraient les murs et les portes de la façade L. 27 portaient des scènes de procession, en trois groupes. Sur le mur Sud-Est, les dalles 4-1 montraient une suite de personnages qui se poursuivait sur le mur K (dalles 1-3). Il ne reste que les pieds des personnages sur les blocs en place. La restitution des scènes n'est pas assurée et Flandin n'en a pas proposé. Une deuxième procession de la gauche vers la droite se déroule sur le mur Sud-Ouest, à travers la porte B jusqu'à la porte F (dalles 5-13). La base des blocs était en place, avec les pieds et le bas des robes des personnages. Certaines dalles étaient tombées sur le sol. Flandin a proposé une restitution de cette scène.

Dalle 5 : pierre d'angle non décorée. 6-7 : trois acolytes mains jointes. 8 : tributaire étranger tenant un modèle de cité dans la main gauche et fermant son poing droit. Il est coiffé d'un bonnet pointu. Sur son vêtement long est passé un châle aux extrémités arrondies. 9 : acolyte portant une longue canne. 10 : non restituée. 11 : deux acolytes mains jointes. 12 : haut dignitaire face au Roi, tendant la main droite, la main gauche étant posée sur la garde de son épée. Le Roi, qui regarde vers la gauche, tient haut sa canne dans la main droite et appuie la main gauche sur la garde de son épée. 13 : deux acolytes derrière le Roi, le porteur d'armes et le porteur de chasse-mouches.

La troisième procession, dirigée vers la gauche, se déroule sur les murs Nord-Ouest et Sud-Ouest. On ne sait où elle se terminait à l'origine. Elle débute porte F, traverse les portes c et G (dalles 20-36), elle était intacte sauf une des dalles et Flandin donna des dessins de détail de onze dalles, aujourd'hui au Louvre et des dalles 34-35 restaurées.

20 : deux acolytes à droite, identifiés par leurs accessoires avec le porteur d'armes et le porteur de chasse-mouches. 21 : le Roi, à droite, tenant haut sa longue canne, la main gauche sur la garde de son épée. Face à lui, un haut dignitaire lève la main droite. Les quatre personnages des dalles 20-21 sont comme les images dans un miroir de ceux des panneaux 12-13. 22 : détruite, non restituée. 23-24 : deux acolytes mains jointes à la taille. 25 : acolyte main droite levée ; sous son châle, il porte une épée et un baudrier orné de boutons. 26 : deux acolytes portant des vases dans chaque main : l'un présente des bols à lèvre évasée, l'autre des situles en forme de tête de lion. Tous les deux sont armés d'une épée. 27 : deux acolytes portant sur leurs épaules un trône, monté sur roues, pourvu d'un timon dont l'extrémité se termine en tête de cheval. Le trône est orné de petites figures, un cheval et un rang de divinités. Ces acolytes sont armés d'une épée. 28 : deux personnages chargés d'une chaise à haut dossier, également décorée de figurines de divinités. 29 : deux acolytes portent un guéridon au pied conique, orné sur les côtés de deux divinités aux bras levés ; au centre se trouve un petit pilier cannelé pourvu de six anneaux en forme de pétales. 30 : deux soldats barbus portent un char destiné à être tiré par quatre chevaux. Chacun est armé d'une épée attachée à un baudrier orné de boutons. 31 : sur le mur Nord-Ouest : un soldat barbu menant quatre chevaux caparaçonnés par les rênes. 32 : un porteur de grand rhyton à tête d'animal. 33 : dalle intacte sans décor. 34-36 : pieds de personnages à gauche. Un dessin de détail des dalles 34-35 montre quatre acolytes ; deux portent une table ou un lit à pied de

lion, un autre apporte un guéridon à pieds coniques, le dernier transporte un grand vase à bord évasé. Ces deux derniers objets étaient sans doute destinés à former une pièce de mobilier composite.

Les dalles 43-45 ont disparu.

Façade N *(planche 37)*

Les murs extérieurs de la façade N comportaient deux processions : l'une se trouvait sur un mur de refend Sud-Est paré de quatre dalles décorées, numérotées 4-1 de gauche à droite. Les dalles 4 et 2 se trouvaient dans un redan. Flandin a donné une restitution de ce mur : 4-3 : deux acolytes à droite, le porteur d'armes et le porteur de chasse-mouches. 2 : dalle beaucoup plus large que les autres, ajustée dans un redan : le Roi à droite tient un rameau fleuri dans la main gauche baissée et lève la main droite. Devant lui un dignitaire de haut rang répète ce geste. 1 : acolyte de face, mains jointes. La dalle 1 formant l'extrémité de ce mur de refend, on peut penser que la procession continuait sur le mur adjacent Nord-Est, qui a malheureusement disparu.

Le mur Nord-Ouest de la façade N, à gauche de la porte, formait un autre refend. La face du mur portait deux dalles (32-33), en partie détruites : il en reste la base des personnages. Flandin a proposé une restitution, avec deux acolytes sur la dalle 32 et sur 33, le Roi, tourné à droite, main droite levée, main gauche sur la garde de son épée. La restitution de 32-33 paraît fautive : il semble plus vraisemblable que le Roi soit tourné à gauche avec derrière lui, le porteur de chasse-mouches et le porteur d'armes. Il ne subsiste pas de dalle en place au-delà de 33, le mur ayant disparu. Il est possible qu'à l'origine une procession face au Roi ait trouvé place sur cette paroi.

Procession de Tributaires étrangers devant le Roi

Façade n, mur Sud-Est *(planches 19-25)*

Photographies Oriental Institute 17454, 17455, 17522, 17596, 18396, 18397, 18399, 18401, 18402, 18403, 18404, 18405, 18413, voir figures 26-29.

Reliefs subsistants : Musée du Louvre AO 7374, AO 19887, AO 19889, AO 19890, AO 19891, AO 19894, AO 22195 ; British Museum 118816, 118818, 118827, 118828, 118830 ; Oriental Institute Museum A 7358, A 7359, A 7360 ; Iraq Museum 18627, 72127/2-1 ; Nergal Gate Museum (sans n° d'inventaire), voir figures 25, 30-33, 38-39.

Le mur Sud-Est de la façade n comportait une entrée principale, C. De chaque côté s'avançait une procession, tournée face au Roi et dos à la porte. A gauche, les dalles étaient intactes (25-15). A droite, elles étaient tombées à terre, laissant en place leur base (8-1 et trois dalles sans numéro). Flandin a dessiné une restitution de ce mur ainsi que des relevés individuels de neuf reliefs. L'expédition de Chicago a redégagé la partie gauche du mur jusqu'à la porte C. Les dalles furent retrouvées en place, avec quelques disparitions dans les têtes. Les photographies prises alors concordent avec le dessin de Flandin, à l'exception de quelques détails. Quelques pierres furent restaurées et envoyées dans les musées de l'Oriental Institute, Chicago, l'Iraq Museum et le Nergal Museum. La localisation des autres fragments est inconnue.

Une procession est tournée de la gauche vers la droite (24-15). Des tributaires semblables sont figurés sur 24-20 : ils portent une barbe courte et pointue, une petite moustache et sont coiffés d'un bonnet à coutures et large bord, que l'on appellera turban. De petites mèches de cheveux bouclés paraissent sur la nuque. Leur vêtement est une longue tunique bordée d'un galon à motif de coquilles Saint-Jacques. Ils sont chaussés de bottines à boucles horizontales. 24 : un serviteur tient les rênes de deux chevaux richement harnachés. 23 : même sujet. 22 : deux tributaires portant un grand sac sur leurs épaules. 21 : deux tributaires portant dans chaque main un bol hémisphérique. 20 : deux tributaires offrant un

modèle de cité dans chaque main. 19-18 : dignitaires assyriens, l'un lève la main au-dessus de l'épaule vers l'arrière. Deux autres ont les mains jointes. 17-16 : quatre dignitaires ; deux ont les mains jointes. Le troisième lève la main droite et pose la gauche sur la garde de son épée. Le quatrième est de plus haut rang, il se tient face au roi en tête de la procession, levant la main droite, tenant la gauche sur la garde de son épée. 15 : le Roi, tenant un rameau fleuri dans la main gauche, levant la main droite ; derrière lui, le porteur de chasse-mouches.

L'autre procession se dirige de la droite vers la gauche (dalles 8-1 et sans munéro). 8 : le porteur de chasse-mouches derrière le Roi, une main levée, l'autre sur la garde de son épée. 7-6 : 4 dignitaires à gauche. Le premier est le dignitaire de haut rang, face au Roi, levant la main droite et posant la gauche sur la garde de son épée. Le second fait le même geste. Les deux autres joignent les mains. 5 : génie sans aile, à gauche. 4-1 et trois dalles sans numéro représentent le transport de bois de charpente par mer. Flandin a dessiné le bas de 4, conservé et restitué la partie haute. Deux files d'ouvriers tirent le bois vers la gauche à l'aide de longues cordes. 3 : scène maritime avec une côte. Dans les flots, divers animaux marins et une sirène mâle, à gauche. 2 : suite du paysage marin, avec des bateaux à rames chargés de bois. Dans les flots, un taureau ailé à gauche, et une citadelle sur une île. 1 : suite du même paysage avec bateaux à rames chargés de bois, taureau ailé androcéphale et sirène mâle, toujours à gauche, et citadelle dans une île. La première dalle sans numéro est restituée : bateaux à rames sur quatre registres, se dirigeant dans deux directions. De longues poutres sont arrimées aux bateaux dirigés à gauche. La mer est parsemée de rochers. Il restait la base du deuxième bloc sans numéro. Flandin n'en propose pas de restitution ; on voit vers le bas l'esquisse d'un bateau à rames. La troisième dalle sans numéro n'est pas restituée. Cependant un dessin sans localisation peut lui revenir et montre quatre registres d'ouvriers descendant des troncs d'une région montagneuse, vers la gauche.

Salle 10 *(planches 26-34)*

Photographies Oriental Institute 17619, 18379, 18380, 18384, 18387, 18389, 18390, 18394, 18422, 18430, 18732, 18733, 18734, 18737, 18738, 18740.

Reliefs subsistants : Musée du Louvre (dalle 2 :) AO 19918, (3 :) AO 1433, AO 19895, AO 19899, (6-7 :) AO 19887, (10 :) AO 1434, (11 :) AO 20218, (12 :) AO 19896, AO 19897, AO 19922, (13 :) AO 19898 ; British Museum (1 :) 118832, (3 :) 118836, (10 :) 118833, (11 :) 135992, (12 :) 118834, (13 :) 118810 ; Oriental Institute Museum (2-3 :) A 7363, sans numéro d'inventaire 4 (4 :) : A 7365, (5-6 :) A 7362, sans numéro d'inventaire 1, 2, 5, (9 :) sans numéro d'inventaire 9, 10, (11 :) sans numéro 7, (13 :) sans numéro 3, 8, 11, (14 :) A 7364, sans numéro d'inventaire 6, (15 :) A 7361 ; Metropolitan Museum of Art (12 :) 33.16.1 ; Musée Borely (14 :) 1520, voir figures 45-60.

L'entrée C donnait dans la salle 10, sorte de long corridor reliant les façades n et N. Les dalles parant les murs Nord-Est et Sud-Ouest étaient divisées en deux registres séparés par une bande horizontale d'inscriptions. Sur chaque mur les deux registres montraient des processions de tributaires étrangers venant de la façade n en direction de la façade N : elles continuaient peut-être les défilés figurés sur le mur Sud-Ouest de la façade n [3]. Au total, la salle 10 comportait 16 dalles, que Flandin a toutes dessinées à l'exception de 16, montrant la base des pierres telle qu'elle était conservée et restituant la partie haute. Dans le présent volume de planches, plusieurs dessins de reliefs du mur Nord-Est de la salle 10 ont été fautivement rassemblés et identifiés. La suite correcte des dalles 1-8 se trouvent dans *Monument de Ninive*, dans l'ordre suivant : dalle 1 : planche 27 (gauche) ; 2 : planche 28 (gauche) ; 3 : planche 28 (droite) ; 4 : planche 30 (gauche) ; 5 : planche 27 (droite) ; 6 : planche 29 (gauche) ; 7 : planche 29 (droite) ; 8 : planche 30 (droite).

La salle 10 fut redégagée par l'expédition de Chicago [4]. Les photographies prises des dalles encore en place ou tombées non loin montrent que les emplacements sont bien ceux

[3] Pauline Albenda, « A Mediterranean Seascape from Khorsabad », *Assur* 3/3 (1983), p. 32-34.

[4] Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, p. 40-45, fig. 48-55. Dans cet ouvrage, la numérotation des murs Nord-Est et Sud-Ouest est inversée.

publiés dans *Monument de Ninive*. D'après les plans et relevés de Chicago, seul le registre inférieur était encore en place. La plupart du temps le registre supérieur avait été détruit. Sur les dalles 5 et 7, le registre inférieur avait été emporté mais celui du haut a pu être retrouvé par l'expédition. Les fragments du bas de 16, montrant deux chevaux menés par un palefrenier représenté sur la dalle 15, ont pu aussi être alors identifiés. De nombreux fragments de la salle 10, restaurés, sont aujourd'hui exposés au Musée de l'Oriental Institute. D'autres, qui avaient été emportés au XIXe siècle, sont dispersés dans de nombreux musées.

Mur Nord-Est, registre inférieur (dalles 1-8).

Procession d'hommes et de chevaux vers la droite. En tête, un dignitaire assyrien. Les étrangers sont en général semblables, avec quelques variantes. Ils sont barbus, les cheveux courts agencés en boucles concentriques, serrés par un bandeau autour du front. Parfois deux boucles verticales tombent par-dessus le bandeau sur le front. La tunique est simple, arrêtée aux genoux. Par-dessus est jeté un manteau de peau de mouton ou de fourrure tâchetée de léopard. A la taille, une ceinture d'où pend un petit objet, peut-être une agrafe. Les chaussures sont de hautes bottes à bouts retournés, lacées horizontalement ou en zig-zag. La procession se compose de huit groupes, conduits chacun par un personnage à longue barbe, suivi d'un palefrenier menant un ou deux chevaux. Le palefrenier est armé au moins d'une lance ; les chevaux sont richement harnachés, avec des attitudes variées, certains se cabrent.

Mur Sud-Ouest, registre inférieur (dalles 9-16).

Procession de tributaires étrangers et de chevaux, vers la gauche. En tête, un dignitaire assyrien imberbe. On distingue huit groupes dirigés par un chef à longue barbe, suivi de palefreniers menant des chevaux harnachés. Leur costume est identique à celui des tributaires du mur opposé.

Mur Nord-Est, registre supérieur.

Procession d'hommes et de chevaux dirigée vers la droite, en sept groupes. En tête, le chef reconnaissable à sa longue barbe, la main droite levée à hauteur du visage, la gauche portant un modèle de cité. Tous les autres tributaires ont une barbe courte et pointue. Leurs costumes appartiennent à deux catégories. Le premier comporte une tunique à manches courtes arrêtée aux genoux, bordée en bas d'un galon à pois. Sur le devant de la tunique est posé un long châle frangé descendant aux chevilles. La ceinture large en partie décorée d'un motif en filet est fermée par un mince lien. Les pieds sont chaussés de sandales. La deuxième catégorie de costume consiste en une tunique longue tombant aux pieds, le bas garni de festons tombant d'un galon décoré de zig-zag ou de perles et pirouettes. Un court manteau aux extrémités arrondies est bordé de festons attachés à un galon décoré. Ce manteau est laissé ouvert sur toute sa hauteur. La tête est coiffée d'un turban, les pieds chaussés de souliers unis. Dalle 1 : la haut est détruit. Deux personnages en tunique courte, chaussés de sandales. 2 : 5 personnages, le haut des deux premiers est détruit. Celui de gauche est vêtu d'une tunique courte et chaussé de sandales. Il est précédé d'un chef reconnaissable au modèle de cité en partie intact dans sa main gauche. Devant lui un personnage, devant encore un homme portant un sac sur l'épaule, précédé d'un tributaire portant un bol hémisphérique dans chaque main. 3 : quatre tributaires, à gauche un chef avec son bonnet rond à bout retombant, précédé d'un porteur de sac et de deux porteurs de bols hémisphériques. 4 : quatre personnages, un chef, un homme portant un sac fermé par une corde et deux porteurs de bols. 5 : quatre hommes en tunique courte et un chef, avec un bonnet rond cousu sur les côtés et bout pointu d'où tombe un gland. 6 : trois dromadaires, dont deux femelles ; le troisième porte une bande autour du cour d'où tombe un pendentif. Leur chamelier est vêtu d'une tunique courte unie et les excite de sa badine. Devnt lui, un porteur de bols en tunique courte, pieds nus, précédé d'un autre porteur de bols. 7 : six personnages, dont un

bols, un personnage portant un modèle de cité dans chaque main, un chef coiffé d'un bonnet pointu couvrant la nuque, un porteur de sac, précédé de deux porteurs de bols. 8 : un chef précédé d'un dignitaire assyrien tenant deux baguettes dans la main gauche.

Mur Sud-Ouest, registre supérieur.

Les parties hautes ont été érodées. Il est parfois difficile de compter le nombre de personnages dans chaque groupe. Tous portent le même costume, un manteau sur une tunique longue descendant au-dessous des chevilles. A la base, un galon décoré semblable à ceux des tributaires du registre supérieur du mur opposé. 9 : dignitaire assyrien. 10 : six personnes en groupe serré, le buste détruit. 11 : cinq personnages, le haut détruit. Le second lève la main droite recouverte d'un châle, le quatrième lève les deux mains au visage, le cinquième se retourne vers les chevaux, figurés sur la dalle adjacente. 12 : deux chevaux richement harnachés. Leurs têtes sont endommagées. Derrière, un tributaire lève les deux mains au visage, suivi de deux porteurs de modèles de cité et d'un personnage. 13 : cinq tributaires : l'un lève les deux mains, il est suivi de deux porteurs de modèles de cité, le quatrième lève les mains. Le dernier, intact, porte un modèle de cité dans chaque main. 14 : quatre tributaires, le haut détruit. 15 : trois personnages en grande partie détruits. 16 : non dessiné.

Salle 6 *(planches 65-70).*

Reliefs subsistants : British Museum 118824, 47-7-2, 28 ; Iraq Museum 60972/3-1, 60974/6-1 ; Bucarest, n° 1. Voir figures 83-85.

La salle 6 était quatre fois plus longue que large. Les dalles parant ses murs étaient intactes, mais les têtes de plusieurs personnages avaient été découpées. Trois processions, composées d'un dignitaire assyrien suivi de tributaires étrangers se dirigent vers le roi. Les dalles d'angle (13, 17, 32 et 36) étaient sans décor. La salle s'ouvrait par quatre portes ; la paroi située à droite de la porte Y ouvrant sur la salle 9 portait une procession s'arrêtant porte X, ouvrant sur la salle 11. A droite de la porte X, une deuxième procession se poursuivait jusqu'à la porte H donnant sur la salle 2 ; enfin à droite de la porte H, la troisième file franchissait la porte U donnant sur la salle 5 et revenait à gauche de la porte Y.

Ces processions suivent une ordonnance identique : au début, le roi assyrien, suivi de son porteur d'armes et de son porteur de chasse-mouches. Face au Roi, cinq ou sept dignitaires assyriens. Viennent ensuite les tributaires étrangers, quatre, sept ou dix, de façon à remplir l'espace alloué à chaque procession. Les tributaires sont revêtus d'un costume identique, une longue tunique descendant aux chevilles, bordée en bas d'un galon décoré en zig-zag, retenant une frange de triangles. Sur la tunique, un manteau à manches courtes et extrémités droites, ouvert par devant, soutaché d'un motif de coquilles Saint-Jacques. Les tributaires sont coiffés du turban et chaussés de bottes unies. Le dessin de Flandin fait apparaître cependant un certain nombre de variantes dans le costume de certains tributaires : sur les dalles 6-8, une ceinture, pour 29, deux personnages sans bonnet, remplacé par un étroit bandeau sur des boucles rondes agencées en oblique ; ils arborent en outre une ceinture rayée et leurs manteaux sont bordés d'un ou deux rangs de glands.

Cette salle fut explorée par Victor Place. Dans son rapport n° 49 (18 juillet 1854) il décrit le bon état de conservation des sculptures, même celles tombées au sol. Il note que les inscriptions sont gravées en travers des robes et des ornements, « comme à Nimrud ». Les sculptures les mieux conservées gardaient des traces de couleurs vives, noir, bleu et rouge, sur les barbes et les vêtements. Il rapporte que deux « eunuques » (fonctionnaires assyriens), dont les têtes avaient été emportées, avaient des armes, des courroies et des sandales colorées. Place déposa, en vue de son transport au Louvre, une dalle portant un personnage avec inscription gravée sur la robe [5], qui fut perdue dans le naufrage de 1855. L'expédition

[5] Pillet, *Un pionnier*, p. 52.

de Chicago ne put retrouver cette dalle lors de ses travaux en 1929, lorsque furent dégagées les salles 11 et 12. En 1938, le département des Antiquités de l'Iraq nettoya les murs Sud-Ouest et Nord-Est à gauche de la porte X, le passage de la porte X (dalles 1 et 2) et une partie du mur Sud-Est dans la salle 11. Des photographies furent prises à cette occasion : les dalles étaient encore en place dans la salle 6 et intactes jusqu'à hauteur des épaules des personnages ; elles ne portaient pas d'inscriptions. Les fouilleurs du Service des Antiquités découvrirent en outre des détails absents des dessins de Flandin : devant la dalle 14, le sol comportait une cavité carrée destinée à des figurines et devant la porte Y se trouvait une pierre de seuil.

Murs Sud-Ouest et Nord-Ouest. Première procession.

La direction va de la droite vers la gauche, au devant du Roi. Dalle 2, porte Y est le porteur d'armes. 14 : la base est intacte et montre le porteur de chasse-mouches, à droite. 15 : le Roi, à droite, levant la main droite, main gauche baissée tenant un rameau fleuri. 16 : deux dignitaires assyriens à gauche. 17-20 : cinq dignitaires assyriens mains jointes, et un tributaire étranger, portant un objet indistinct. 21-22 : un tributaire portant un modèle de cité, deux autres portant des situles en forme de tête de lion dans chaque main.

Les reliefs qui subsistent montrent quelques variantes par rapport au dessin de Flandin ; en voici la description d'après les photographies de 1938 : 14-17 : même sujet que le dessin de Flandin ; le porteur de chasse-mouches est conservé jusqu'à la taille, mais il porte en outre une épée et sa main gauche tient une étroite serviette repliée, absents du dessin de Flandin. 15 : le Roi est conservé jusqu'aux épaules. Le décor de son vêtement consiste en bandes ondulées de spirales carrées. Dans la main gauche, il tient un bouton de fleur entre deux lotus ouverts. 16 : le haut est détruit en partie, le deuxième personnage est détruit jusqu'au menton ; son épée se termine sur la dalle suivante, autrement sans décor. 18-22 : les différences entre Flandin et les photographies de 1938 sont notables : ainsi de gauche à droite sur les photographies : personnage 1 : main droite tendue poing fermé, main gauche, probablement aussi fermée, levée ; 2 : peu clair ; 3 : une situle en forme de tête de lion dans chaque main (?) ; 4 : bol hémisphérique dans chaque (?) main ; 5 : bol hémisphérique dans chaque (?) main ; les vêtements sont assez différents : manteaux ouverts par-devant, les côtés tombant sur la tunique, avec les extrémités arrondies vers l'arrière. Une épaisse ceinture drapée ferme ce manteau avec un nœud simple, détail qui n'apparaît nulle part chez Flandin. Enfin sur la dalle 19, le dignitaire assyrien en tête de la procession de tributaires tient deux badines dans la main gauche et baisse la main droite. Les dignitaires qui le précèdent (dalle 18) ont les mains jointes.

Murs Nord-Ouest, Nord-Est et Sud-Est : seconde procession.

La procession se dirige de la droite vers la gauche en direction du Roi. Dalle 23 : tournés à droite, le porteur d'armes et le porteur de chasse-mouches. 24 : le Roi, à droite, levant la main droite, la main gauche baissée tenant un rameau fleuri. 25-28 : sept dignitaires assyriens tournés vers le Roi ; deux sont barbus. Les têtes sur les dalles 25-26 sont détruites. Les trois suivants ont les mains jointes, le septième tient deux badines dans la main gauche et tend la droite, tournée vers le bas ; 29 : deux tributaires portant un modèle de cité dans chaque main. 30 : deux tributaires portant une situle à tête de lion dans chaque main. 31 : deux tributaires tenant des bols hémisphériques. 33 : même sujet ; 34 : deux tributaires portant des sacs sur l'épaule. L'un d'eux est vu de face, montrant un manteau ouvert serré à la taille par un lien et une fibule élaborée. 35 : tributaire portant un sac sur l'épaule ; 1 : même sujet.

Mur Sud-Est. Troisième procession.

Procession de la gauche vers la droite, en direction du Roi. Dalles 2-5 : six tributaires, deux portant des bols hémisphériques, un troisième un objet indistinct, deux portent des sacs sur l'épaule, le sixième porte un objet indistinct. Dalle 6 : tributaire portant des bols hémisphériques. 7-8 : trois tributaires, dont les têtes sont détruites. Le premier lève sa main

droite fermée et porte dans la gauche une boîte à piedestal décorée de rosettes (bracelets de rosettes ?) ; puis un porteur de plateau sur lequel sont posées des boucles d'oreilles à pendentifs et à anneaux ; le dernier tributaire porte un plateau supportant deux paires de boucles d'oreilles en anneau. A leur tête se tient un dignitaire assyrien levant la main droite au-dessus de son épaule, main gauche baissée. Dalle 9 : deux fonctionnaires, mains jointes. 10 : deux fonctionnaires, les têtes manquent ; 11 : deux personnages vers la gauche, le Roi, main droite levée, main gauche baissée portant un rameau fleuri, est suivi de son porteur de chasse-mouches ; 12 : le porteur d'armes. Un autre porteur d'armes apparaît sur la dalle 1 dans la porte Y.

Salle 11 *(planche 71)*

Reliefs subsistants : Musée du Louvre AO 19876 ; Iraq Museum 60975/2-1, 60979/3-1. Voir figure 86.

La salle 11 est quatre fois plus longue que large. Les dalles étaient intactes sur trois parois, la quatrième ne conservant que les bases en place. Deux processions comportaient chacune des dignitaires assyriens et des tributaires étrangers s'avançant vers le Roi. Les quatre dalles d'angle (1, 4, 14, 17) étaient sans décor. Deux portes conduisaient vers la salle 12 (porte e) et 6 (porte X). A droite de la porte e, une procession s'étendait sur trois côtés de la salle (murs Sud-Ouest, Nord-Ouest et Nord-Est). Le quatrième, Sud-Est suffisait à contenir une procession s'étendant au-delà de la porte X. L'agencement du défilé est stéréotypé : vient d'abord le Roi et ses acolytes personnels. Face à lui, des dignitaires assyriens, suivis des tributaires, tous vêtus du même costume : une longue tunique tombant aux genoux est couverte d'un manteau aux manches courtes et extrémités droites, ouvert par-devant. Ils sont coiffés du turban.

L'expédition de Chicago a entièrement relevé le tracé des murs de la salle identifiée avec la salle 11. Les reliefs étaient intacts, conservés presque sous la surface. Certaines dalles furent examinées et trouvées très endommagées par l'incendie. L'expédition décida donc d'abandonner le dégagement de cette pièce [6] En 1938, le département des Antiquités de l'Irak en redégagea la paroi Sud-Est, à droite de la porte X, exposant totalement cette entrée, ce qui amena la mise au jour des pierres de seuils intérieur et extérieur encore en place. Chaque bloc externe comportait encore la cavité de la crapaudine, entourée de trois cercles concentriques. Sur le bloc central se trouvait une mortaise pour l'encastrement du verrou. Les reliefs sculptés sur les parois de la salle 11 étaient conservés jusqu'à hauteur de la taille, parfois de la tête des personnages ; ces dalles, restaurées, sont conservées dans l'Iraq Museum.

Murs Sud-Ouest, Nord-Ouest et Nord-Est : première procession.

Le mouvement se dirige de la droite vers la gauche, où se trouve le Roi. Dalle 2 dans la porte e : le porteur d'armes. Dalle 15 : acolyte à droite, armé d'un arc, d'un carquois et d'une masse d'armes. 16 : même sujet. 18-19 : pieds de trois (?) personnages à droite. Celui de droite est probablement le Roi. 20 : pieds de deux personnages à gauche. 21 : dalle intacte : deux dignitaires mains jointes. 22-27 : pieds de personnages à gauche, peut-être des tributaires sur les dalles 25-27. 2 et 3 complètent la procession.

Mur Sud-Est : seconde procession.

Le mouvement est de gauche vers la droite, où se trouve le Roi. 5-8 : sept tributaires étrangers, deux portant un sac sur l'épaule, précédés par un porteur de modèle de cité et deux porteurs de bols hémisphériques. A leur tête, tributaire levant les mains et tributaire portant un modèle de cité. 9 : dignitaire assyrien levant la main droite au-dessus de son épaule. 10-11 : quatre dignitaires assyriens mains jointes. 12 : un haut dignitaire à gauche,

[6] Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, p. 15

face au Roi, levant la main droite et tenant un rameau fleuri dans la gauche. 13 : deux acolytes à gauche, le porteur d'armes et le porteur de chasse-mouches. Un autre porteur d'armes apparaît sur la dalle 1, porte e.

Les reliefs subsistants 9-10 (IM 60979/3-1) montrent trois dignitaires à gauche. Le troisième lève la main au-dessus de son épaule. A sa ceinture, une épée, non figurée sur le dessin de Flandin. 13 (IM 60975/2-1) montre le porteur d'armes à gauche, avec arc, carquois, épée et lance, derrière le porteur de chasse-mouches avec son éventail et une serviette pliée. Tout à fait à gauche apparaît le bout du fourreau de l'épée du roi, qui devait figurer sur la dalle adjacente.

Prisonniers étrangers présentés au Roi.

Salle 8 *(planches 72-78)*

Relief subsistant : Musée du Louvre AO 19877.

La salle 8 était trois fois et demie plus longue que large. Trois portes lui donnaient accès depuis la façade N, trois autres portes ouvraient sur des salles adjacentes. Sur le sol près du petit côté Nord-Ouest se trouvait une grande dalle de même largeur que la dalle 12 encore en place sur la paroi. Une autre gisait devant le mur Sud-Ouest, entre les portes M et Q ; pourvue d'une cavité circulaire en son centre, elle comportait aussi de chaque côté une cavité rectangulaire, probablement pour y placer des figurines. Les quatre dalles d'angle de la salle 8 étaient décorées d'arbres stylisés (10, 14, 27, 30). L'état de conservation des reliefs était inégal, les uns intacts, d'autres partiellement détruits, d'autres disparus. Le dessin de Flandin montre des hachures horizontales, représentant des inscriptions, en travers des personnages. Le Roi apparaît trois fois, mais à l'origine il devait figurer encore une ou deux fois.

Mur Nord-Ouest : première procession.

La composition, sur les trois dalles parant ce mur, est symétrique. Flandin a donné un dessin séparé pour chaque pierre, largement érodée par places. 11 : deux acolytes à droite, armés de l'arc, du carquois et d'une masse d'armes. A la base des blocs, des hachures indiquent la présence d'inscriptions en travers des vêtements. 12 : six personnages, dont le Roi, à droite ; dans sa main droite levée, il brandit une lance dont la pointe vient toucher l'oeil d'un captif agenouillé. Dans sa main gauche, il retient plusieurs liens dont les extrémités vont s'enrouler autour d'anneaux passés dans la lèvre de trois captifs. Derrière le Roi se tient son porteur de chasse-mouches. Devant le Roi se tiennent trois captifs, de petite taille. Le premier, à genoux, tend les bras dans un geste implorant. Il est chauve (?) avec une courte barbe bouclée à la naissance, droite à la pointe. Il ne survit que la base de son vêtement, décoré d'un galon à motifs de croix et de marches, avec une frange unie. Derrière ce personnage, deux autres captifs debout, mains levées. Ils portent un bonnet rond, d'où les cheveux courts tombent sur la nuque, et arborent de petites barbes. Derrière les captifs, vient un haut dignitaire assyrien, levant la main droite vers le Roi, la gauche sur le pommeau de son épée. Des hachures indiquant des inscriptions figurent au-dessus des captifs et en travers du costume des assyriens tournés vers le Roi. 13 : deux acolytes à gauche, l'un main gauche fermée posée à la taille, main droite baissée ; l'autre, mains jointes (?), porte une épée passée sous son châle. Hachures d'inscriptions près de la base du bloc.

Mur Nord-Est : seconde procession.

La procession se déroule de la droite vers la gauche, en direction du Roi, qui devait se trouver, avec son porteur de chasse-mouches sur la dalle manquante 15. De plus une figure de génie sans ailes devait encadrer la porte S. Dalle 16 : génie sans ailes et acolyte, à gauche. 17 : un acolyte levant probablement la main droite au-dessus de l'épaule, suivi de deux captifs, liés ensemble par les pieds et les mains. Ils portent une petite barbe et des cheveux courts ; leur tunique leur couvre les genoux, une ceinture leur serre la taille. Par-dessus se

trouve un manteau de peau de mouton. 18 : un captif, figuré de façon identique, suivi d'un soldat, main droite levée, main gauche sur la garde de son épée. Son uniforme consiste en une tunique arrêtée aux genoux, décorée au bas d'un galon de rosettes. Par-devant pend jusqu'aux jambes un manteau laineux. La ceinture est large. Le soldat est armé d'une épée retenue à un baudrier et porte un carquois. 19 : deux personnages dont le premier termine le défilé face au Roi : il s'agit d'un soldat assyrien, armé d'un arc et d'un carquois, avec une épée retenue par un baudrier. Le deuxième personnage, tourné à droite, face à la porte U, est un génie sans ailes. 16-18 : hachures indiquant des inscriptions.

Mur Nord-Est : troisième procession.

Le mouvement est dirigé de la droite vers la gauche, vers le Roi. Dalle 20 : génie sans ailes à gauche, vers la porte U. Le porteur de chasse-mouches, à droite. 21 : le Roi, à droite. Devant lui, trois captifs, l'un agenouillé, les deux autres debout côte à côte ; tous lèvent les bras en un geste d'imploration. 22 : deux acolytes armés d'une épée. 23 : le haut est détruit ; deux acolytes à gauche. 24 : un acolyte suivi d'un captif aux pieds et aux mains liés, vêtu d'une longue tunique décorée au bas d'un galon de zig-zag et de franges unies. Sur la tunique est passé un manteau frangé. 25 : un personnage nu et ligoté étendu face contre terre sur toute la largeur de la dalle ; derrière lui, un soldat assyrien pose un couteau contre le bras du captif, indiquant peut-être que le malheureux va être écorché. 26-28 : sur mur Sud-Ouest sont en grande partie détruites, seuls subsistent les pieds des personnages, peut-être trois soldats assyriens. Des hachures indiquant la présence d'inscriptions ont été indiquées sur les dalles 22-26.

Murs Sud-Est et Sud-Ouest : quatrième procession.

Toutes les dalles à gauche de la porte M et au-delà de la porte P ont été détruites, à part leur partie basse. Dalles 29, 31, 1, 2 : pieds de personnages tournés vers la droite. 2 : pieds de deux personnages côte à côte, ligotés, précédés d'un captif agenouillé. 3-4 : surface érodée. Il s'agit probablement d'une scène identique à celle du même mur, à droite de la porte M.

Mur Sud-Ouest : cinquième procession.

Quatre dalles entre les portes M et Q. 5-6 : quatre dignitaires mains jointes, tournés vers la droite. Inscription sur la dalle 6. 7 : la base était en place : trois captifs devant le Roi, tourné à gauche. Le premier est agenouillé, les autres debout, tous sont ligotés. 8 : deux acolytes à gauche, dont le porteur de chasse-mouches. 9 : à droite de la porte Q ; génie sans ailes, tourné à gauche. Son pendant devait se trouver sur la dalle 31, à gauche de la porte P.

Salle 4 *(planches 79-83)*

Cette salle était quatre fois plus longue que large. Deux murs subsistaient sur toute leur longueur, ainsi qu'une partie d'un troisième et l'angle du quatrième. Trois portes ouvraient sur des salles adjacentes, une porte donnait sur l'extérieur (cour II) : on peut penser qu'à l'origine le passage vers cette cour se faisait par trois portes, le même chiffre que celui du mur Nord-Ouest de la façade N et le mur Sud-Ouest de la façade L. Sur les pierres d'angles se trouvait un arbre stylisé (3, 7, 19). Les reliefs étaient mal conservés, intacts seulement à la base. Flandin a fait un dessin des mieux préservés, indiquant sur plusieurs des hachures pour représenter des inscriptions. Le Roi apparaît quatre fois, mais il devait à l'origine figurer sur d'autres dalles.

Mur Nord-Ouest : première procession.

Une composition symétrique occupe cinq dalles à gauche de la porte T ouvrant sur la salle 8 : 18-17 : quatre personnages, tournés à droite, conservés jusqu'à la taille, probablement un dignitaire de haut rang suivi de trois fonctionnaires. 16 : dalle centrale ; deux captifs debout, ligotés aux pieds, derrière un captif agenouillé, levant les bras. Ils portent un manteau de peau de mouton par-dessus leur tunique et sont chaussés de bottes lacées.

15-14 : le Roi, à gauche, suivi du porteur de chasse-mouches, du porteur d'armes et d'un troisième acolyte. 18-14 : inscriptions.

Mur Nord-Ouest : deuxième procession.

Composition symétrique sur quatre dalles entre les portes T et R ouvrant sur les salles 8 et 7. Dalle 13 : le Roi, à droite, tenait des liens passés dans les lèvres de trois ou quatre captifs. Derrière lui, deux acolytes. 12 : vers la gauche, trois captifs, un (ou deux ?) à genoux, deux debout ligotés, des cordes passées dans un anneau fixé dans la bouche. Ils sont barbus, de petite taille, vêtus d'une tunique longue et de manteaux à bords droits ouverts par-devant, des glands tombant de la pointe. Ils sont coiffés de bonnets à pointe retombant vers le dos. Derrière les captifs vient un dignitaire assyrien de haut rang, levant la main droite, la gauche posée sur la garde de son épée. 11 : deux acolytes, à gauche. La dalle suivante, sans numéro, portait peut-être un génie sans ailes, d'une paire encadrant la porte R.

La file de personnages dirigée vers le Roi se poursuit au-delà de la porte R sur le même mur, malheureusement le dessin de Flandin ne donne pas le décor de cette paroi (10-8). Elle est cependant décrite par Botta dans une lettre à Jules Mohl datée du 2 mai 1843 : Botta rapporte que la longueur du mur (à droite de la porte R), numéroté mur XXVII, était de près de 7 mètres. Un croquis accompagne la lettre, reproduit dans JA 2 (1843), pl. XXVII, 2 : la paroi comportait quatre dalles portant chacune deux personnages. 10 : génie sans ailes, d'une paire encadrant la porte R, suivi d'un acolyte. 9 : acolyte mains jointes, suivi d'un autre portant une baguette (?). 8 : captif coiffé d'un bandeau, suivi d'un deuxième. Un dessin sans numéro de dalle de Flandin représente ce sujet. L'omission de numéro a été corrigée dans *Monument de Ninive*. Dans le dessin de Flandin, la dalle 9 est fragmentaire, montrant seulement un acolyte tenant une paire de baguettes. 8 : deux captifs, ligotés, vêtus de longues tuniques au bas décoré de rosettes et de franges annelées. Une ceinture leur serre la taille, d'où part un objet, peut-être une agrafe. Par-dessus la tunique est passé un manteau arrondi vers l'arrière, ouvert par-devant, bordé d'un galon frangé.

Mur Nord-Est : troisième procession.

Deux blocs à droite de la porte D ouvrant sur la salle 3, sont conservés dans leurs parties basses seulement. 1 : le Roi et le porteur de chasse-mouches, identifié par sa serviette pliée, tournés à droite. Deux captifs étrangers ligotés et menottés sont agenouillés face au Roi, levant les bras. 2 : deux captifs ligotés côte à côte, vêtus d'une tunique arrêtée sous les genoux, sont suivis d'un dignitaire assyrien. Sur les dalles 1 et 2 se trouvaient des inscriptions. La scène se poursuivait probablement sur les blocs 4-6, sur le mur Sud-Est ; il ne reste que la base des pierres. Botta ne fait pas mention de ces reliefs dans sa lettre à Jules Mohl citée ci-dessus.

La chasse dans le jardin royal

Salle 7 *(planches 84-90)*

Reliefs subsistants : British Museum 118831 ; Oriental Institute Museum A 11254, A 11255, A 11256 ; Iraq Museum 60971/1, 60971/2, 60971/3. Voir figure 75.

La salle 7 était de petite taille et presque carrée. Une seule porte, R, ouvrait sur la salle 4. Les murs d'encadrement de cette porte étaient détruits, de même que des parties des jambages. Treize orthostates paraient les murs. Flandin a fait des dessins de tous sauf ceux qui étaient trop détruits ou manquants (3, fragment de 4 et 7, 9). Les orthostates étaient divisés en deux registres séparés par une bande d'inscription, indiquée sur le dessin par des lignes horizontales. Les scènes des registres superposées sont différentes.

La salle 7 fut redégagée par l'expédition de Chicago, qui découvrit des traces de poutres et de nattes indiquant que cette salle était pourvue d'un plafond. Les reliefs furent retrouvés

dans de plus mauvaises conditions de conservation après avoir été exposés par Botta. La découverte d'une longue inscription au dos des orthostates constitua un apport nouveau [7]. Les reliefs furent déposés et restaurés, puis partagés entre Baghdad et Chicago. Les reliefs ont fait l'objet d'une publication particulière relative aux sujets de chasse [8].

Registre inférieur.

Ce registre intègre deux thèmes différents en une composition unique, la scène de chasse dans le parc royal et un défilé des troupes d'élite de l'armée assyrienne devant le Roi, monté sur son char. La direction générale va dans le sens des aiguilles d'une montre, de gauche à droite, en commençant à la gauche de la porte R, couvrant les quatre parois jusqu'au retour à droite de cette porte. Le Roi apparaît une fois parmi les reliefs subsistants.

1-2, à droite de la porte R, mur Sud-Est ; 2 est une pierre d'angle se poursuivant sur le mur adjacent. Quelques lignes d'arbres irrégulièrement espacés indiquant un paysage occupent toute la hauteur du registre. Des arbres plus petits occupent l'espace entre les grands. 1 : deux soldats assyriens à cheval, au galop vers la droite ; les deux bêtes sont richement harnachées. Les cavaliers sont vêtus de tuniques à petites manches, à jupe plus courte par-devant, serrée par une ceinture. Leurs jambes sont protégées par des bas et des bottes lacées. Le cavalier de gauche excite sa monture avec un fouet à trois queues, celui de droite brandit une lance pourvue d'un pommeau ; un fouet est passé dans sa ceinture. 2 : deux soldats assyriens marchant à droite, vêtus d'une tunique arrêtée aux genoux, ceinturée, un châle laineux suspendu à la taille leur descend entre les jambes. Ils sont pieds nus. Celui de droite tient un oiseau dans la main droite et tourne la tête en arrière vers son compagnon qui tient un lièvre par les pattes. 3 : surface détruite. 4 : surface en partie détruite, à droite se voient deux arbres à l'arrière-plan, un cheval harnaché passe à droite, au-dessus de sa tête vole un oiseau de proie au bec crochu. 5 : pierre d'angle se poursuivant sur la paroi suivante. Plusieurs arbres à l'arrière-plan. Un soldat assyrien mène le cheval figuré sur la pierre précédente. Son baudrier est décoré de boutons. 6 : deux serviteurs passant à droite, devant des arbres de taille variée. Ils portent le costume de cour habituel. Celui de gauche tient un lièvre mort dans la main droite et un oiseau retenu par les ailes dans la gauche. Le serviteur de gauche fait l'inverse. 7 : surface en partie détruite. A droite, un grand et un petit arbre, dont le dessin se poursuit sur la dalle suivante. En haut du registre un oiseau percé d'une flèche tombe ; non loin, reste d'un disque ou bouclier, décoré d'une scène montrant un taureau chargeant à gauche ; deux flèches (?) sont fichées dans ce disque. 8 : nombreux arbres dans l'arrière-plan, avec des oiseaux volant ou posés sur les branches. Deux soldats à gauche ; l'un vise de son arc une cible circulaire posée sur un mât et décorée d'une rosette ; l'autre soldat mène des chevaux harnachés par les rênes, tout en portant un fouet et un lièvre mort. Son baudrier montre un dispositif d'attache de l'épée au fourreau. Par-dessus sa tunique courte, il est couvert en oblique d'un manteau large et frangé. Un troisième soldat suit le cheval ; il porte une masse d'armes sur l'épaule droite et pose la main gauche sur le pommeau de son épée. Le même manteau frangé posé en oblique pend entre ses jambes, une extrémité étant passée dans la ceinture. 9 : pierre d'angle, détruite dans sa partie haute. 10 : arbres grands et petits à l'arrière-plan. Trois cavaliers à droite ; les chevaux sont lancés au galop. Le costume des cavaliers est identique à celui des soldats de la dalle 1, avec cette différence que dans ce cas, ils sont chaussés de sandales ouvertes. Celui de gauche monte une selle rectangulaire. Deux rubans flottent dans son dos. Le suivant possède une selle faite d'une peau de bête, il brandit un fouet à trois queues. Le cavalier de droite, imberbe, tient une lance. 11 : des arbres occupent l'arrière-plan, avec des oiseaux en vol. Un char s'avance vers la droite, tiré par trois chevaux au galop, tous empanachés d'un ornement à trois étages terminé en fleur de lys ; leurs mors sont décorés de rosettes. Dans le char, le Roi et deux

[7] Loud, *Khorsabad. I*, p. 71-78, fig. 85-89.

[8] Eleanor Guralnick, « Composition of Some Narrative Reliefs from Khorsabad », *Assur* 1/5 (1976), p. 1-23.

serviteurs. Le souverain porte le costume de cour caractéristique ; il lève la main droite et tient dans la gauche une fleur de lotus épanouie entre deux boutons. A son côté se tient le conducteur de char, derrière lui un porteur de parasol abritant la tête de son maître. Trois soldats précèdent le char ; ils sont vêtus de tuniques courtes à bord arrondi, et d'un châle laineux avec une ceinture et un baudrier. Ils sont armés d'une lance portée sur l'épaule droite. 12 : dalle d'angle. A gauche, deux soldats assyriens complètent la scène précédente. Ils sont pourvus d'une masse d'armes dont le corps est surmonté d'un élément globulaire décoré de têtes d'animaux et le manche est terminé par une lanière. A droite de la dalle, les arbres font place à un cours d'eau, où sont figurés des poissons et deux bateaux à proue en forme de tête de cheval. Près du bord de l'eau, un bâtiment est élevé sur pilotis, la base étant formée d'un haut podium surmonté d'un portique avec deux colonnes *in antis*. Ces colonnes ont des bases en forme de coussinet, un fût lisse et un chapiteau à volutes au-dessus d'une moulure triple, l'abaque est à degrés. Le toit du bâtiment couronné de merlons, s'incurve vers l'extérieur. 13 : une colline arrondie occupe toute la hauteur du registre, et des arbres sont disposés tout autour et en deux rangées au centre, avec des oiseaux en vol. Au sommet se trouve un édifice, peut-être un autel, composé d'une plinthe carrée, d'un fût cannelé plus étroit et vertical et d'un couronnement plus large et crénelé.

Le bâtiment isolé

Photographie de Tranchand : Archives Nationales F [21] 546, pl. 13. Voir fig. 77.

Reliefs subsistants : Louvre AO 19886 ; British Museum 118829. Voir figures 76,78.

Plusieurs reliefs isolés en calcaire noir montrent des soldats dans un paysage d'arbres. En 1849, des ouvriers de Layard en découvrirent deux fragments dans la zone du bâtiment isolé. Un autre, découvert plus tard, a peut-être été vu aussi par Layard. Ce relief est supposé avoir été acquis par le Louvre en 1852, au moment où Victor Place commençait ses activités à Khorsabad. En fait, les photographies de Tranchand montrent que le relief était encore en place à cette date. Nous voudrions montrer que le relief du Louvre et celui du British Museum appartiennent à la même composition. AO 19886 était sans doute placé à un angle. Deux arbres à l'arrière-plan occupent toute la hauteur du champ. Deux soldats s'avancent vers la droite. Celui de gauche est grand, imberbe, vêtu d'une tunique courte ceinturée. Il vise de son arc tendu vers le haut deux oiseaux qui tombent, l'un d'eux déjà percé d'une flèche. Le soldat de droite, plus petit et barbu, porte une tunique courte drapée en oblique par-devant et frangée de longues mèches ; il est chaussé de bottes lacées et de bas. Dans la main droite, il tient par les ailes un oiseau. Dans la gauche, une lance. Sur le relief BM 118829, le champ est occupé par des arbres de tailles diverses, en arrière-plan à deux Assyriens. L'un, imberbe, bande son arc vers la gauche, tout en tenant deux flèches dans les mains. Il est vêtu d'une tunique longue galonnée au bas, ceinturée, en partie cachée par une épée dans son fourreau, suspendue à un baudrier décoré de disques et de boutons. Derrière lui, un soldat barbu, tenant des flèches et un arc, se dirige vers la droite ; il est vêtu d'une tunique à manches courtes descendant aux genoux, drapée obliquement par-devant avec une frange au bas et ceinturée. Cette tunique est semée d'un motif de carrés emboîtés. Vient ensuite un soldat barbu portant une gazelle sur les épaules, tenant un lièvre dans la main droite ; il est coiffé d'un large bandeau et vêtu d'une tunique courte décorée d'un galon de glands, drapée en oblique.

Le Banquet

Salle 7 *(planches 84-90)*

Registre supérieur.

Les parties hautes des dalles de cette pièce ont été en grande partie détruites. Les reliefs survivants montrent des scènes de banquet, on peut en déduire que toute la frise représentait

des participants et des serviteurs s'activant pour les besoins du banquet. Les banqueteurs sont assis sur des chaises, les serviteurs sont debout.

Dalles 1-2 : partiellement détruites. 1 : pieds d'un personnage à droite, face à ceux de deux personnages à gauche, chaussés de sandales. 3 : détruite. 4 : pieds et bas de la robe d'un serviteur à droite, puis une chaise. 5 : table à pied en forme de pattes de lion, un serviteur à gauche, un serviteur à droite. 6 : bas de deux serviteurs à droite. Surface détruite au-delà. 7 : détruit. 8 : bas d'une table à pieds croisés, pattes en formes de sabots de bovidé. Sur la table, des mets, agencés par un serviteur. Puis un guéridon à pied conique, à côté d'une chaise à pieds en forme de pattes de lion. Derrière la chaise, un serviteur à gauche. 9 : détruit. 10 : deux dignitaires barbus à gauche assis près d'un guéridon à pied conique, sur des chaises dont l'entretoise est décorée d'une double rangée de volutes et d'une tête de taureau aux extrémités. Vient ensuite un serviteur à gauche, suivi de deux banqueteurs assis à droite, chacun portant à ses lèvres une coupe à base en forme de tête de lion. Un autre groupe de personnages assis fait face à celui-ci, séparé par un guéridon à pieds en forme de pattes de lion recouvert d'une nappe tombante. Au-delà du deuxième groupe, un serviteur portant un chasse-mouches, suivi d'un serviteur à droite. 11 : surface érodée. On voit encore deux groupes de banqueteurs consistant chacun en deux personnages assis face à face de part et d'autre d'une table chargée de mets, levant dans la main droite une coupe à base en forme de tête de lion. 12 : pieds et bas de la robe de trois serviteurs à gauche. L'un tient un chasse-mouches. 13 : détruit.

Salle 2 *(planches 109-130)*

La salle 2 était quatre fois plus longue que large. Six portes ouvraient sur les salles adjacentes et la façade L. 35 dalles en paraient les murs, de conservation variable. Flandin a donné des dessins de chaque sauf neuf (1,23,25-27,30-32,35). La composition d'ensemble comprenait aussi les dalles des murs de refend encadrant la porte H ainsi que les dalles 1 et 4 encadrant la porte B. Les orthostates étaient divisés en deux registres séparés par une bande horizontale inscrite. Les scènes des registres supérieur et inférieur sont différentes ; deux thèmes occupent la bande du haut, le banquet et la guerre. Le banquet s'étendait sur les parois Sud-Est, Sud-Ouest et Nord-Ouest, ainsi que sur un des murs de refend de la porte H.

Registre supérieur (murs Sud-Est, Sud-Ouest et Nord-Ouest) :

A droite de la porte C ouvrant sur la salle 3 dans la paroi Sud-Est, les dalles 2-3 manquent. 4 : pierre d'angle, manquante. Mur Sud-Ouest, dalle 5, manquante. 6 : manquante, sauf un fragment montrant les pieds d'un serviteur à gauche. 7-8 : manquantes. 9 : très détruite. Des banqueteurs sont assis, à gauche. Derrière eux, un serviteur, puis des banqueteurs assis, à droite. 10 : banqueteurs à gauche et table à pieds en forme de pattes de lion. Derrière, un serviteur, puis des banqueteurs se faisant face deux par deux de part et d'autre d'une table. Un serviteur se tient derrière le groupe de droite. Les chaises ont des pieds en forme de cônes ; des protomés de taureaux décorent les extrémités du siège ; les tables assez hautes ont des pieds en forme de pattes de lion ; une des tables est pourvue d'un support central relié à une entretoise. 11 : manquante, sauf dans un angle, le bas de deux soldats face à face et les pieds d'un serviteur à gauche. Par terre, deux objets, peut-être un casque et un bouclier. 12 : manquante. La porte E, ouvrant sur la salle 5, se trouve entre les dalles 12 et 13. 13 : surface très érodée : des banqueteurs se faisant face deux par deux de part et d'autre d'une table. Derrière chaque groupe se tient un serviteur. 14-15 : très érodées. Il y avait peut-être trois groupes de banqueteurs et de serviteurs, semblables aux groupes précédents. 16-19 : suite du banquet. 16 : même sujet que sur 13. Sur la table, un vase à panse globulaire et des pains plats (?). Le serviteur de droite tient un chasse-mouches. 17 : même sujet. Les personnages sont barbus, vêtus du costume de cour assyrien ; ils portent à leurs lèvres une coupe en forme de tête de lion. Sur la table, des melons (?) coupés et du pain plat. A droite commence un groupe de deux banqueteurs, qui se poursuit sur la dalle 18 :

banqueteurs devant une table chargée de mets, suivis d'un serviteur portant un chasse-mouches, suivi de deux soldats face à face, portant des coupes en forme de tête de lion et une masse d'armes. A terre entre eux, des bols globulaires (?) et des pains plats. 19 : deux soldats, avec les mêmes accessoires, puis un serviteur portant un chasse-mouches, puis un soldat à droite. Mur Nord-Ouest, dalle 20 : détruite. Après la porte H, ouvrant sur la salle 6, dalle 21 : deux musiciens passant à grandes enjambées à gauche. Leurs cheveux sont portés courts, terminés en boucles, leurs barbes pointues, leurs oreilles ornées d'anneaux, leurs tuniques sont très courtes, sous un châle laineux pendant. Les musiciens, pieds nus, jouent d'une lyre à nombreuses cordes suspendue à leur cou par une fine courroie. Porte H, dalle 1 : cinq serviteurs identiques, à gauche, trois sont tournés vers la gauche. L'un, tenant son poignet, porte un chasse-mouches ; deux portent des situles en forme de tête de lion. Puis deux se font face de part et d'autre d'un chaudron sur un haut support incurvé, avec une anse annulaire décorée d'un motif de pétale pendant. Le serviteur de gauche porte une situle à tête de lion dans chaque main, et abaisse l'une des situles dans le chaudron. Celui de droite, en partie détruit, portait des vases identiques.

La guerre

Salle 5 *(planches 91-105)*

Relief subsistant : British Museum 118835 ; Iraq Museum 60980 ; Museo delle Antichità Egizie 10412. Voir figure 88.

La salle 5 était un peu plus de trois fois plus longue que large, avec quatre portes. Les dalles étaient divisées en deux registres par une bande horizontale inscrite. Des scènes de guerre apparaissaient sur les deux registres. Les murs de refend encadrant la porte O faisaient partie de la même composition. Les reliefs étaient très endommagés, surtout le registre supérieur ; cependant, on peut encore distinguer trois épisodes principaux. Le registre inférieur montrait le siège de sept cités, peut-être plus à l'origine. Dans cette salle, le costume des étrangers varie, aucun ne porte le mantelet de peau de mouton caractéristique des tributaires figurés dans les salles 1,2,13 et 14.

Registre supérieur.

Premier épisode sur les dalles 13-5. A droite de la porte S ouvrant sur la salle 8, sont les dalles 13-11. 13 : un char assyrien lancé au galop à droite. Dans la caisse, deux personnes sont à peine visibles, le conducteur et un archer. Les chevaux rattrapent un ennemi qui trébuche ; celui-ci est caractérisé par une tunique très courte et des bottes unies. Un autre ennemi fait face au char ; il est vêtu de la tunique courte et d'un châle frangé pendant entre les jambes. 12 : cavalier assyrien au galop vers la droite, tenant une lance dans la main droite.

A la gauche de la porte O dans le mur Nord-Ouest, se trouvaient les dalles 11-10. Dalle d'angle 11 : ennemi reculant vers la droite, la tête tournée, avec une barbe courte et bouclée et des boucles de cheveux sous un turban. De sa ceinture pend un long châle frangé. Il tient une lance. Vient ensuite un char assyrien, complété sur la dalle 10. Dans la caisse du char un conducteur, un archer et un porteur de bouclier rond. Les chevaux, lancés au galop vers la droite, dépassent un ennemi trébuchant. Porte O, ouvrant sur la salle 6, dalle 1 : deux cavaliers assyriens à droite, vêtus de tuniques frangées plus courtes par-devant et chaussés de bottes lacées et de bas. Ils sont armés d'une lance et d'une épée avec fourreau. Les chevaux dépassent chacun un ennemi ; celui de gauche trébuche ; il porte un large serre-tête et une épée courbe passée dans la ceinture. Celui de droite tombe en arrière. Il tient un bouclier elliptique aux extrémités pointues et une lance. Porte O, dalle 2 : un char assyrien au galop à droite, dépassant un ennemi armé du bouclier elliptique et d'une lance. Un ennemi mort gît sous les pattes des chevaux. A l'extrême-droite, deux ennemis côte à côte font front à l'assaut du char, en se protégeant de leurs boucliers elliptiques et en brandissant leur lance. Dans leur ceinture est passée une épée courte. Ils sont vêtus d'une tunique très courte, chaussés de

bottes unies et coiffés d'un turban. A droite de la porte O, dalles 9-8. 9 : char au galop à droite ; dans la caisse, quatre soldats : un archer, deux porteurs de bouclier, le conducteur. Les chevaux atteignent un ennemi qui trébuche ; il est armé du bouclier elliptique, de la lance et d'une épée courbe et vêtu de la tunique courte ceinturée ; autour de sa tête, un turban. Un autre ennemi semble plonger d'en haut, un autre gît sous les pattes du cheval. 8 : dalle d'angle : deux ennemis côte à côte font front à l'assaut du char, comme sur la dalle 2. Derrière eux, un objet rectangulaire indéterminé (une tour ?). Mur Nord-Est, dalles 7-5. 7 : manque (noter que dans la planche 96, les dessins des dalles 6 et 7 ont été collés dans l'ordre inverse). 6 : soldats assyriens marchant à gauche. Celui de gauche arbore un casque à pans latéraux, avec une crête recourbée vers l'avant et pourvue d'un pendentif rond. Le soldat se penche pour empoigner un vaincu par la barbe et lui passe son épée en travers de la gorge. Suivent un soldat portant un bouclier long et une lance et un archer tirant une flèche. Derrière, on aperçoit un fragment d'un bouclier long. 5 : seuls subsistent les pieds de trois personnages vers la gauche, qui terminent cette scène, et de trois personnages vers la droite, qui entament l'épisode suivant. 4 : quatre Assyriens alignés vers la droite, vêtus de tuniques tombant aux genoux, parsemées d'un motif de carrés emboîtés. Une double ceinture retient un châle frangé pendant sur les jambes. Tous ces soldats lèvent les bras, sans doute pour tenir un objet. 3 : plusieurs soldats en ligne vers la droite, à leur tête se trouve un serviteur, avec un autre personnage face à lui. 2 : un char tourné vers la gauche, peut-être le char royal. Derrière ce char, pattes de chevaux ; la scène se poursuivait sur la dalle 1, détruite. Après la dalle 1, la porte E ouvrait sur la salle 2. A droite de la porte E, dalles 25-23. Le dessin de Flandin n'en donne que les grandes lignes, le relief ayant disparu. Dans *Monument de Ninive*, les dalles 25-24 ont été identifiées avec deux dessins sans numéro de Flandin. 25 : deux cavaliers côte à côte, à droite, atteignent un vaincu qui fuit à pied. Entre les pattes des chevaux gît un vaincu mort. 24 : char vers la droite. 23 : détruit. La dalle d'angle qui suit 23 manque.

Sur le mur Sud-Est, la dalle d'angle manque, les dalles 22-20 sont détruites d'après le dessin de Flandin qui n'en donne que les grandes lignes. Dans *Monument de Ninive,* les dalles 22-21 ont été identifiées avec deux dessins de Flandin sans numéro. 22 : un char vers la droite, poursuivant un ennemi se protégeant d'un bouclier elliptique. 21 : un char à droite et un soldat étendant un bras. 20 : détruite. La dalle d'angle sans numéro manque. Sur le mur suivant Sud-Ouest, la première dalle après l'angle manque, 19 et 18 aussi. Vient ensuite la porte U ouvrant sur la salle 8. Les reliefs des dalles 17-14 à droite de la porte U manquent également.

Registre inférieur.

Un même épisode court sur les dalles 2 (porte O) et 9-8 sur le mur Nord-Ouest. 2 : le char royal, portant le Roi, le conducteur et un porteur de parasol. Le monarque est reconnaissable à sa haute coiffure ; il porte un manteau sur une tunique, lève la main droite et tient un arc dans la main gauche. Devant le char se tiennent deux soldats, portant un châle frangé par-dessus leur tunique. Venant à leur rencontre, un soldat assyrien empoigne un vaincu par la barbe. L'assyrien est revêtu d'une cotte de mailles sur une tunique aux genoux, un casque rond à haut cimier, des bottes lacées sur des bas. Le captif a une barbe pointue, porte un capuchon frangé et une longue robe frangée sous un manteau également frangé. Ses mains sont retenues dans des liens. 9-8 : ligne de captifs avançant vers la gauche. Les deux premiers, côte à côte, tendent les mains en avant. Ils sont vêtus d'une tunique, d'un manteau et d'un capuchon frangés, chaussés de sandales à lanières. Le captif suivant, dans le même costume, se retourne pour faire face à un soldat assyrien, porteur d'une masse d'armes, d'un arc, d'un carquois et d'une épée. Viennent ensuite deux femmes captives, dans le même costume que celui des vaincus ; l'une porte un enfant nu sur ses épaules ; l'autre transporte un sac de cuir. Deux autres personnages suivent, peut-être aussi des femmes, représentées de plus faible taille que leurs compagnons.

Mur Nord-Est, dalles 7-1 : sièges de cités. 7 : soldat assyrien à gauche (NB sur la pl. 96, les dalles 6 et 7 ont été rétablies dans l'ordre inverse). Il porte une masse d'armes ; ce personnage met fin à la scène représentant un défilé de captifs sur les dalles précédentes. Après lui viennent plusieurs soldats tournés à droite. Un archer et un porteur de bouclier sont précédés par deux soldats portant une lance et un bouclier rond ; l'un deux est coiffé d'un casque à crête. 6 : attaque d'une ville située sur une montagne par des soldats assyriens. La cité est protégée par un mur comportant au moins six tours enfermant la base de la montagne, avec une porte centrale voûtée. A droite, un bélier s'ouvre une brèche dans la muraille. Le mur intérieur, situé au sommet, comporte sept tours et sept portes. Il est défendu par les habitants qui tirent à l'arc ; ils sont coiffés de capuchons. Un soldat assyrien attaque la cité sur la droite ; il est armé d'un bouclier rond, d'une lance et d'un casque à crête, un double baudrier orné d'un disque barre sa poitrine, une épée est passée dans sa ceinture. Dalle 5 : suite de la lance du relief précédent. Trois soldats assyriens à gauche, tirent à l'arc, l'un a mis un genou en terre. Ils sont vêtus de la même manière, avec la même barbe pointue, les mêmes cheveux longs terminés en boucles sous un bandeau décoré, la poitrine nue sur une large ceinture retenant une très courte jupe ornée d'un motif en escalier. Ils sont chaussés de sandales. Plus loin, une cité fortifiée de cinq tours s'élève sur une petite colline ; une inscription permet de l'identifier (Gabbutunu). Les habitants debout sur la muraille combattent avec des lances les assaillants, deux soldats à droite armés de lances et de boucliers ronds. A leurs pieds coule une rivière. Un Assyrien dessiné à plus petite échelle transperce un ennemi de sa lance. 4 : scène de combat près de la même rivière qui s'étend en travers de tout le relief. A gauche, un Assyrien genou à terre tire une flèche vers la gauche. Derrière lui, un ennemi, à droite, imberbe, vêtu d'une tunique courte ceinturée, portant une lance dans chaque main. Un de ses compagnons, atteint par deux cavaliers assyriens, tombe ; un autre gît sous les pattes des chevaux. 3 : suite des combats. A gauche, un ennemi tourné à droite, suivi d'un autre, portant une lance, puis d'un troisième reculant vers la gauche ; celui-ci semble imberbe et chauve. Il porte une lance dans chaque main et se retourne pour faire face à des cavaliers assyriens qui attaquent à la lance. 2 : attaque d'une cité sur une colline par quatre soldats assyriens : l'un porte un bouclier rectangulaire au sommet incurvé, deux soldats tirent à l'arc en mettant un genou à terre et levant un bouclier rond décoré d'un motif floral concentrique. La cité est entourée d'un mur non crénelé, pourvu d'une porte et de six tours. Les défenseurs sont armés de lances. Au pied de la colline, un Assyrien abat un ennemi imberbe tenant une lance. 1 : relief détruit. Après la porte E, ouvrant sur la salle 2, se trouvaient les dalles 25-23. 25 : cinq soldats à droite : deux tirent à l'arc debout, ils sont vêtus de tuniques courtes et chaussés de sandales. Devant eux, un archer un genou à terre, puis deux soldats debout brandissant des lances. Tous portent un bouclier rond et un casque à crête arrondie. 24 : une cité sur une colline est attaquée sur deux côtés par des soldats utilisant des échelles de siège. 23 : détruit. Pierre d'angle sans numéro détruite. Mur Sud-Est, pierre d'angle manquante. Dalle 22 : deux archers à droite, une cité (effacée sur le relief) s'élève sur une colline ; elle est attaquée par des soldats montés sur des échelles, armés de lances et de boucliers ronds. 21 : soldats assyriens attaquant vers la gauche ; l'un tient un bouclier rectangulaire à sommet incurvé ; vient ensuite un archer, vêtu comme le précédent d'une cotte de mailles. Deux autres archers tirent en mettant un genou à terre, et sont suivis d'un soldat avec bouclier et lance, d'un archer et d'un porteur de bouclier (?). La dalle d'angle manque.

Sur le mur Sud-Ouest, la dalle d'angle et la suivante manquent. Les reliefs de 19 et 18 sont détruits. Après la porte U se tenaient les dalles 17-14.17 : cité sur une colline. 16 : au moins cinq soldats à gauche attaquent à la lance et à l'arc. 15 : cité entourée d'un double mur sur une large colline, attaquée par plusieurs soldats pratiquant une brèche à l'aide d'un bélier. 14 : soldats attaquant à droite. Après la porte S, dalle 13 : le char royal au pas à droite ; dans la caisse se tiennent le Roi, un porteur de parasol et le conducteur (effacé). Deux soldats à pied précèdent le char. Ils sont parés de bandeaux de tête et de boucles

d'oreilles, leurs carquois sont recouverts d'une pièce de tissu bordée de glands. 12 : un soldat assyrien à gauche tire un captif par la barbe. Ce prisonnier porte une robe couverte d'un manteau frangé et des bottes lacées. Derrière se trouve un autre groupe identique. Dalle d'angle 11 : deux soldats à droite, torse nu sur une jupe courte, arborant barbe courte et cheveux longs, s'apprêtent à tirer une flèche. Mur Nord-Ouest, dalle 10 : une cité protégée par un mur sur une colline est identifiée par une inscription (Amqarruna). Des soldats l'assiègent de tous côtés ; ils portent des casques à crête et pans latéraux, leurs baudriers doubles sont décorés d'un disque. Ils sont chaussés de bottes lacées ; deux, au pied de la colline, sont torse nu. Les défenseurs de la ville assiégée tirent des flèches. Porte O, dalle 1 : une ligne de soldats avance vers la gauche. En tête, deux archers côte à côte, avec une barbe pointue et les cheveux longs sous un bandeau, torse nu sur une jupe courte. Leur baudrier maintient un fourreau à bout triangulaire. Viennent ensuite un archer, un porteur de bouclier, un soldat portant un bouclier rond et une lance, avec un arc, un carquois et une épée. Il est suivi d'un autre archer et d'un porteur de bouclier. Tous les soldats sont coiffés de casques ronds à cimier pointu et sont protégés par des cottes de mailles.

Salle 3 *(planches 104-105)*

La salle 3 était rectangulaire, il n'en subsistait que la paroi Nord-Ouest et une partie du mur Sud-Ouest. Deux portes ouvraient sur des salles adjacentes. La base de quatre dalles était encore en place et les reliefs ont disparu, à une exception près. A l'origine, les blocs étaient divisés en deux registres séparés par une bande d'inscription. On peut restituer des scènes de guerre sur une partie au moins des reliefs.

Registre inférieur.

Mur Sud-Ouest, à gauche de la porte D ouvrant sur la salle 4, dalle 3 : toute la partie supérieure manque. Sur la partie basse, on voit à gauche, un soldat passant à droite, vêtu d'une tunique au genou et pieds nus. Sur une colline s'élève une vaste cité fortifiée, avec au moins quatre tours su son mur d'enceinte, défendu par des créneaux triangulaires. Une route étroite coupe la colline ; la moitié haute est boisée d'une ligne d'arbres, le bas est construit de bâtiments rectangulaires. A la base de la colline coule une rivière qui se dirige vers la droite jusqu'à une autre colline, haute et étroite, couverte d'arbres à la base et surmontée d'une tour crenelée.

Salle 1 *(planches 2, 106-108)*

La salle 1 était rectangulaire. Les blocs qui subsistaient étaient en fragments. Les reliefs étaient divisés en deux registres par une bande horizontale inscrite ; le registre inférieur montrait des scènes de guerre. Près de deux des angles se trouvait une large pierre avec une dépression dans laquelle pouvait avoir été sertie une baignoire.

Registre inférieur.

Mur « Y » ou Sud-Ouest, dalle 4 : détruite. 3 : très effacée ; une citadelle sur une colline avec un soldat assyrien à petite échelle au pied. 2 : deux archers un genou en terre, l'un tenant un bouclier rond au-dessus de sa tête. Mur Nord-Ouest (« e-f »), à droite de la porte A ouvrant sur la façade L, dalle 2 : cité entourée d'une muraille en terrain plat. Les créneaux sont de forme arrondie ; derrière, apparaissent les défenseurs, l'un d'eux portant une lance et un bouclier rectangulaire. Dalle 1 : deux soldats un genou en terre, l'un d'eux lève un bouclier l'autre tire une flèche. Ils sont vêtus de tuniques aux genoux et de cottes de mailles, leurs casques sont ornés de cimiers pointus et de pans latéraux. Suivent un archer en tunique longue et cotte de mailles, et un soldat portant un long bouclier tombant jusqu'à terre. A droite de la porte A, dalle 9-8 : cinq personnes à droite ; en dernier, un soldat assyrien tenant une lance, vêtu d'une tunique aux genoux, recouverte d'un châle frangé. Devant lui, une femme tenant un sac dans la main gauche, vêtue d'une robe coupée en biais,

et une mère portant un enfant nu dans les bras ; devant encore, une femme porte un long ballot sur l'épaule. Mur Nord-Est (« X »), dalles 8-6 : six personnages sont conservés jusqu'à la taille, en direction de la droite. Cinq hommes portent des tuniques aux genoux et des bottes. Le dernier porte des bottes lacées, une tunique et un manteau de peau de mouton. En tête vient une femme.

Salle 2 *(planches 3, 109-130)*

Reliefs subsistants : Louvre AO 1435, 2-3 ; Musei e Gallerie Pontificie 14995. Voir figures 91-93.

Registre supérieur (murs Nord-Ouest et Nord-Est).

La plupart des reliefs du registre supérieur de ces parois était endommagé. Flandin a fait des dessins de détails de plusieurs. Les scènes de guerre s'étendaient probablement de la dalle 2, porte H jusqu'à la dalle 1, à gauche de la porte C.

Porte H, dalle 2 : scène centrée : de part et d'autre d'une cité bâtie sur une colline, des soldats figurés à grande échelle attaquent. A gauche, un archer et un porteur de bouclier ; un bélier monté sur roue passe sur une rampe artificielle et pratique une brèche dans le rempart. Deux soldats à droite, torse nu et parés d'une barbe pointue et de cheveux longs noués dans le dos, sont armés d'arcs et carquois, avec une épée courte. Devant, un soldat figuré à plus petite échelle se porte aussi sur la cité ; son casque est pourvu d'une crête. La forteresse est défendue par un mur extérieur comportant six tours et une porte voûtée ; le mur intérieur a cinq tours et une porte semblable, les défenseurs sont armés de lances et de boucliers rectangulaires ; leur costume comprend un manteau de peau. Derrière la ville s'élève une montagne dont l'arrondi atteint le haut du registre. A droite de la porte H, sur le mur Nord-Ouest, dalle 22 : des captifs s'avancent en file vers la gauche, le long d'une rivière remplie de poissons ; ils portent des manteaux de peau de mouton et des bottes hautes. Un soldat assyrien, portant un arc, les pousse en avant. 23 : pierre d'angle, manquante. Mur Nord-Est, 24 : manque. La porte G ouvre sur la façade L. Porte G, dalle 4 : contours de plusieurs personnages à gauche. Porte G, dalle 3 : détruite. 25, à droite de la porte G : très détruite ; contour d'un char à droite. 26 : endommagée ; contours de trois personnages à gauche, le premier portant un manteau de peau de mouton. 27 : détruite, sauf à gauche, un personnage tourné vers la gauche. 28-29 : partie haute manquante, on voit encore une scène continue : au premier plan, une grosse rivière remplie de poissons. Une vaste cité s'élève sur une colline basse, protégée par un mur extérieur pourvu de sept tours et éclairé par des fenêtres carrées régulièrement espacées. Une file de soldats s'avance de la droite vers la gauche à l'assaut de cette ville ; plusieurs mettent un genou à terre, l'un porte un bouclier long tombant jusqu'à terre. Après la porte F, les dalles 30-33 manquent, 34 est presque entièrement détruite : en bas coule une rivière, devant une butte artificielle élevée devant une citadelle (détruite) ; un ennemi mort gît sur le sol. Dalle 4 dans la porte B : trois soldats assyriens à gauche. Porte B, dalle 1 : pieds de deux serviteurs à droite. A droite de la porte B, dalle 35 manque. Dalle 1 d'angle détruite.

Registre inférieur.

Divers épisodes de guerre devaient être figurés sur les dalles 2, porte H et 22-24, 25-27, 28-29 et 30-34 des murs Nord-Est et Nord-Ouest. De même sur les murs Sud-Est, dalles 2-5 et 6-12. Une scène de guerre apparaît aussi sur les reliefs 13-16, 17-19 du mur Sud-Ouest, 20-21 du mur Nord-Ouest et dalle 1 de la porte H. On y voit en général des soldats assyriens à pied se portant à l'assaut de villes édifiées sur des collines, ou bien la cavalerie et les chars assyriens abattant des ennemis. Tous les ennemis sont vêtus de peau de mouton.

Porte H, dalle 2 : un char attelé de chevaux avançant au pas vers la droite. Devant les chevaux, une ligne de soldats assyriens. A droite de la porte H, dalles 22-23 : Une cité fortifiée par un triple mur, identifiée par l'inscription (Kishesim). Les côtés du mur extérieur

s'étendent au-delà de la colline ; à gauche, une porte entre deux tours. Le mur extérieur est pourvu de dix tours, le deuxième mur six, celui du centre cinq. Des bois de cerfs sont plantés dans les parois des tours centrales. Les défenseurs sont armés de lances et de boucliers rectangulaires. A la base de la colline se trouvent de petits bâtiments isolés. Plus loin, des soldats assyriens figurés à plus petite échelle tentent de forcer le mur extérieur. Deux autres attaquent à gauche ; ils sont armés de casques à crête, d'une lance et d'un bouclier rond. 23 : détruite, sauf la base, montrant un soldat un genou à terre, tenant une épée et un bouclier rectangulaire. Dalle d'angle 23 : manque. 24 : relief endommagé ; un soldat assyrien pousse en avant quatre captifs, à gauche. L'un des prisonniers porte une outre de peau dans la main gauche et un ballot sur l'épaule. Un enfant nu se tient aux pieds d'un des personnages, on l'enlève du sol. Porte G, dalle 4 : relief endommagé ; peut-être des captifs. Porte G, dalle 3 : détruite. A droite de la porte, dalle 25 : soldats portant des lances ou des arcs, avançant vers la droite. 26-27 : reliefs détruits. 28-29 : des soldats assyriens assiègent une cité ; à gauche quatre fantassins pointent leur lance vers la droite. L'un d'eux porte un casque à crête, trois sont torse nu, deux sont juchés sur un monticule. A droite, une montagne escarpée s'appuie contre une colline plus basse qui se poursuit en une troisième sur laquelle est élevée une cité fortifiée. Sur la deuxième colline se tiennent deux Assyriens. Au pied de la troisième, des soldats figurés à plus petite échelle tentent de forcer les murailles de la ville. Celle-ci comporte deux murs d'enceinte, le mur extérieur est pourvu d'un portail imposant entre deux tours, et six tours ; le mur interne est renforcé par cinq tours. Des défenseurs se tiennent sur les murailles et sont armés de lances et de boucliers rectangulaires. La porte F suit la dalle 29. A droite les dalles 30-33 sont très détruites. 30 : contours d'un personnage à gauche. 33 : contours d'autres personnages, à peine visibles. 34 : char assyrien passant à gauche. Dans la caisse, le Roi, le conducteur et un porteur de parasol. En avant du char, deux soldats à pied tiennent les rênes des chevaux. A droite de la dalle 34 se trouve la porte B. Porte B, dalle 4 : deux cavaliers assyriens au galop vers la gauche. Porte B, dalle 1 : même sujet. Dalles d'angle 35 et 1 : manquantes. Mur Sud-Ouest, 1 : cavalier à gauche. A droite de cette dalle se trouve la porte C, dont les reliefs sont détruits. La seconde lettre de Botta à Jules Mohl mentionne la présence de deux cavaliers sur ces orthostates.

A droite de la porte C, dalle 2 : un char passant à droite. Dans la caisse, le Roi, un conducteur et le porteur de parasol. Le monarque tient un arc dans une main et lève l'autre. Derrière le char, un cavalier tenant une lance. 3 : cavalier à droite. Sur le sol devant lui se trouve une pile de têtes coupées (six selon la même lettre de Botta). Deux soldats et deux serviteurs se dirigent vers la gauche. Dalle d'angle 4 : manquante. Mur Sud-Ouest, dalle 5 d'angle : en grande partie manquante. On voit encore des pieds chaussés de souliers à bouts retournés, vers la gauche. 6 : quatre soldats, portant des arcs ou des boucliers, assiègent une ville figurée sur la dalle suivante. L'un des boucliers est rond avec un motif floral concentrique, un autre est rectangulaire et très haut. 7 : des soldats appuient des échelles de siège aux murs d'une cité, identifiée par une inscription (Harhar), située près d'une rivière. A l'extérieur des murailles, les cadavres d'ennemis sont pendus à des potences alignées. Le mur intérieur comporte neuf tours et deux portes. Un grand bâtiment à colonnes s'élève au-dessus de la forteresse, à droite. Derrière s'élève une montagne dont le sommet est couvert de constructions tourelées. 8 : un char au galop vers la gauche. Le côté de la caisse porte une divinité figurée à petite échelle, tirant à l'arc. Le timon est orné d'une figure de divinité marchant. Un ennemi se tient devant le char, un autre gît sous les pattes des chevaux. 9 : char assyrien passant au galop vers la gauche. Dans la caisse, le conducteur et un archer. Un brancard surmonté d'un disque est fixé au côté du char. Le timon est décoré d'une enseigne en forme de hache. Le char atteint un ennemi à cheval précédé d'un autre ; tous deux trébuchent. 10 : char assyrien au galop à gauche. Dans la caisse, le Roi, tirant à l'arc, deux porteurs de bouclier rond et le conducteur. Le char atteint un ennemi tombant de son cheval tandis que trois autres sont précipités à terre. 11 : char assyrien au galop à gauche poursuivant un cavalier ; celui-ci se retourne pour lui lancer une javeline, en arrêtant net son

cheval en un mouvement rendu de façon expressive par l'attitude des pattes cabrées et de la queue soulevée. Un ennemi est précipité à terre. 12 : char assyrien au galop vers la gauche, dans la caisse, le conducteur, un archer et deux porteurs de boucliers ronds, ornés de motifs floraux. Un carquois est fixé au char. Au-dessus des chevaux, un ennemi percé d'une flèche tombe, un autre gît sous les pattes des animaux. En avant, un ennemi à cheval tente d'extraire une flèche de son dos, tandis que son cheval trébuche.

A droite de la dalle 12 se trouve la porte E. A droite de la porte E, dalle 13 : ligne d'archers et de porteurs de boucliers vers la droite. Le premier soldat porte un bouclier rond décoré de cercles concentriques, le troisième un bouclier long, le cinquième un bouclier long tombant jusqu'au sol. 14 : une colline arrondie couverte de cadavres nus. Un chemin sinueux conduit à une cité pourvue d'une triple enceinte construite au sommet. Le mur extérieur est battu en brèche par un soldat assyrien figuré à petite échelle. Le second mur possède huit tours, le mur intérieur est garni de défenseurs armés de lances et de boucliers rectangulaires. Trois soldats assyriens se portent à l'assaut sur le côté gauche, deux sont torse nu, le troisième porte un casque à crête. 15 : suite du même épisode et début d'un nouveau. Une file de soldats, précédée par un Assyrien torse nu mettant un genou en terre, marche vers la gauche en terrain plat. Le deuxième soldat protège le premier de son bouclier, il est suivi d'un archer et d'un porteur de bouclier côte à côte. A droite, un cavalier assyrien escalade une colline basse en se dirigeant vers la droite. Il est armé d'une lance, d'un arc, d'un carquois et d'une épée. 16 : une colline au sommet aplani est parsemée de cadavres nus. Le char royal s'avance vers la droite. Le monarque porte la couronne royale et un manteau sur sa tunique ; dans sa main gauche, un arc ; avec lui, le conducteur du char et le porteur de parasol. Ses chevaux sont au pas, précédés d'un fantassin portant lance, bouclier rond et fourreau ; derrière le char suit un cavalier. 17 : une cité fortifiée s'élève au sommet d'une montagne haute à sommet aplani. Le mur extérieur est défendu par sept tours, avec à droite une grande niche au sommet arrondi, dans laquelle se tient une figure identifiable grâce à son costume comme l'effigie du Roi assyrien (?). Les habitants debout sur le mur de la cité lèvent leurs bras au ciel ; des cadavres nus et décapités jonchent le terrain. A droite, derrière la ville, un ennemi fuit à pied, poursuivi par deux cavaliers assyriens transperçant un ennemi de leur lance. 18 : le char royal au galop à gauche terrasse un ennemi qui tombe en arrière. Le Roi, portant une haute coiffure, tire à l'arc ; une épée dans son fourreau est passée dans sa ceinture et attachée à un baudrier. A côté du monarque, le conducteur, derrière lui un ou deux porteurs de boucliers ronds. Derrière le char, deux ennemis s'enfuient vers la gauche, l'un soutenant l'autre en lui passant le bras autour de la taille. Un petit bouclier les protège. 19 : deux cavaliers assyriens vers la gauche en formation serrée, levant une lance contre un ennemi en fuite ; un vaincu gît tordu sous les pattes des chevaux, un autre trébuche. Des cadavres nus et décapités jonchent le sol. 20 : un fragment du relief subsiste : un cavalier assyrien à gauche jette sa lance du bras droit ; il est armé d'un arc, d'un carquois et d'une épée. Sous les pattes de son cheval est étendu un vaincu. 21 : char assyrien au galop vers la gauche ; sous les pattes de chevaux gisent deux ennemis abattus, dont ne subsistent que les pieds. Des cadavres nus sont épars sur le sol. A droite de la dalle 21 se trouve la porte H. Porte H, dalle 1 : char assyrien descendant une colline vers la gauche. Dans la caisse, le conducteur, un archer et un porteur de bouclier, portant des casques ronds à cimier pointu. Le char atteint un ennemi qui tombe. Sur la colline derrière le char, contours simplifiés d'une cité fortifiée d'un mur crénelé de merlons carrés. L'inscription l'identifie (Bit-Ba-gayal). Huit torches enflammées (?) sont plantées dans le mur. Le terrain est jonché de cadavres nus, dont plusieurs décapités.

Salle 13 *(planches 131-134)*

Relief subsistant : Louvre AO 19892. Voir figure 90.

La salle 13 était rectangulaire, il n'en survivait que les parois Nord-Est et Nord-Ouest, et une partie de Sud-Est. Il n'y avait qu'une porte. Les reliefs sur les orthostates étaient à

l'origine divisés en deux registres séparés par une bande horizontale d'inscriptions. Le registre supérieur manque, seules des portions du registre inférieur sont intactes : Flandin en a donné des dessins de détail. L'organisation de la scène est en général de la droite vers la gauche.

Registre inférieur.

Mur Nord-Ouest, dalles 1 et 2 : un paysage de collines s'étend sur les deux reliefs. Un chariot à roues pleines est chargé d'objets plats, peut-être des vantaux de portes. Plusieurs soldats marchent à gauche. En haut à gauche, un soldat un genou à terre. La dalle 2 est une pierre d'angle : deux soldats assyriens côte à côte avancent à gauche. La partie en retour sur le mur Nord-Est est détruite. 3 : suite du paysage de collines. Cinq soldats assyriens en marche rapide vers la gauche. Leur vêtement est parsemé d'un motif de carrés imbriqués. Le premier porte un sac (?) sur l'épaule droite et transporte un récipient à fond rond par son anse dans la main droite. Le quatrième Assyrien porte un bouclier décoré d'un umbo en forme de tête d'animal. Le cinquième tient un grand chaudron en équilibre sur les épaules. A droite, deux serviteurs pèsent un objet en forme de disque et un grand récipient contenant peut-être un métal précieux. La balance est constituée par des montants en forme de pieds d'animaux. Au bas de la colline, des soldats mettent une grande statue en pièce avec des haches. 4 : trois bâtiments isolés : à gauche, sur une colline, une structure à quatre étages, celui du bas étant pourvu d'ouvertures carrées et de créneaux triangulaires. Les trois autres étages sont pourvus d'une porte rectangulaire, de fenêtres carrées et de créneaux carrés. Sur le toit, un fonctionnaire assis jambes croisées sur un siège, fait face à deux autres personnages, dont l'un tient une tablette et un stylet, l'autre un rouleau. Au centre du relief se trouve une salle hypostyle sur un haut podium ; les parois sont ornées de boucliers ronds, certains figurés de profil montrent un umbo en forme de tête d'animal. De part et d'autre de la porte se trouvent deux statues, placées devant une lance dont le sommet atteint le toit. Le toit lui-même, à côtés inclinés est surmonté d'un ornement en forme de lance. Des soldats assyriens en escaladent les parois, parfois en s'agrippant aux boucliers fixés aux murs. L'inscription permet d'identifier la cité (Muṣaṣir). Devant le bâtiment sont posés deux grands chaudrons montés sur supports à sabots de bovidés. Enfin à droite du relief, une construction à trois étages est pourvue de portes rectangulaires et de créneaux, carrés aux deux premiers étages, triangulaires en haut. Plusieurs personnages vêtus de peaux de bêtes se tiennent sur le toit, regardant à droite. La dalle 5 d'angle est détruite. 6 : le char royal au pas à gauche. Dans la caisse, le Roi, le conducteur et un porteur de parasol. Devant le char, deux soldats côte à côte, derrière, un cavalier descendant un terrain en pente, armé d'une lance, d'un arc avec un carquois et d'une épée. Ses pieds sont chaussés de sandales. 7 : deux cavaliers à gauche sur un terrain montueux ; ils portent un vêtement à franges coupé en biais par-devant, leurs jambes sont protégées par des bas et des bottes lacées hautes. Ils sont armés d'épées et de carquois.L'un mène son cheval vers le sommet d'une colline ; l'autre est assis sur une selle décorée de glands aux angles. Sous les pattes de son cheval gît un ennemi mort, vêtu d'un manteau de peau de mouton. 8 : relief détruit. A droite, porte l ouvrant sur la salle 14. A droite de la porte l, dalle 9 très effacée : restes d'un terrain montueux.

Salle 14 *(planches 135-138)*

Relief subsistant : Louvre AO 1435, 1. Voir figure 92.

La salle 14 était rectangulaire. Il en reste le mur Nord-Est et une partie des murs Nord-Ouest et Sud-Est. La salle comportait deux portes. Les orthostates des murs Sud-Est et Nord-Ouest étaient divisés en deux registres par une bande horizontale inscrite. Seul le registre inférieur, relatant des scènes de guerre, subsistait ; Flandin en a donné des dessins de détail.

Mur Nord-Ouest, registre inférieur.

A droite de la porte l venant de la salle 13, se trouvaient les dalles 1-2 : En bas, une rivière traverse tout le relief. Dalle 1 : des soldats tournés à droite ; trois sont torse nu, ils tirent à l'arc tandis que l'un d'eux tranche la gorge d'un ennemi tombé à terre : celui-ci, les pieds repliés sous son corps, est vêtu d'un manteau de peau de mouton et chaussé de souliers. Viennent ensuite un archer et un soldat portant un long bouclier descendant jusqu'au sol et arrondi au sommet. 2 : siège d'une cité bâtie sur le flanc et le sommet d'une montagne. L'inscription donne le nom de la ville (Pazashi). Le mur extérieur est battu en brèche par de nombreux soldats et plusieurs béliers dont l'un est disposé sur une rampe construite à gauche. Deux soldats figurés à plus grande échelle arborent des casques à double cimier. Certains des défenseurs sont précipités du haut des murs. A l'extrême droite du relief, une hauteur escarpée et irrégulière est plantée d'arbres.

Mur Sud-Est, registre inférieur.

A droite de la porte n ouvrant sur la salle N, les dalles 10-13 portent des scènes de guerre. Une rivière traverse l'ensemble du tableau. 10-11 : un paysage de collines comporte un camp fortifié ovale, défendu à intervalles irréguliers par des tours ; une bande portant une inscription divise le camp en deux parties (camp de Tak[lak-ana-Bel]) : en haut, une grande tente dont le toit est ouvert au centre ; devant la tente, deux enseignes dans des supports, une table chargée de mets, un brûle-encens : deux serviteurs assyriens à gauche. En bas, des hommes occupés à diverses besognes dans les tentes. A droite du camp fortifié, un soldat et deux scribes côte à côte. 11 : un défilé de captifs gardés par deux soldats assyriens. Les prisonniers sont parfois ligotés, ils portent des manteaux de peaux de mouton et de hautes bottes lacées. 12 : attaque d'une cité fortifiée par deux murs d'enceinte, identifiée par une inscription (Kisheshlu). Des soldats munis de béliers escaladent des rampes pratiquées contre les murs. A droite, un groupe de cinq soldats tournés vers la gauche : le premier porte une lance et un bouclier rond. Derrière lui, deux soldats mettent un genou à terre, l'un tire à l'arc, l'autre tient un bouclier rond et une lance. Derrière eux, deux autres soldats. A la base de la colline, un bâtiment isolé s'élève sur un monticule. 13 : manque.

CHAPITRE V

DESSINS DE FLANDIN REPRESENTANT DES DETAILS D'OBJETS DIVERS

Plusieurs dessins de Flandin représentent des détails d'objets figurés sur les reliefs : ces objets comprennent bijoux, coiffures, boucliers, carquois, épées, lances, récipients. Flandin a sélectionné les plus représentatifs ; les dessins sont accompagnés du numéro de planche de *Monument de Ninive* dans laquelle ils sont reproduits ; ici, la numérotation de planche du présent ouvrage a été substituée à l'ancienne et figure entre parenthèses après chaque objet.

Bijoux *(planche 139)*

Ce dessin montre trois rangées de bijoux : en bas des boucles d'oreilles, au centre des bracelets, en haut des bracelets, des éventails et un parasol. Les objets sont numérotées de gauche à droite.

En bas : (boucles d'oreilles) 1 (pl. 58), 2 (pl. 59), 3 (pl. 38), 4 (pl. 45), 5 (pl. 44), 6 (pl. 73), 7 (pl. 45), 8 (pl. 48), 9 (pl. 48), 10 (pl. 48), 11 (pl. 123), 12 (pl. 54), 13 (pl. 18). Au centre : (bracelets) : 1-5 (pl. 45), 6-7 (pl. 44), 8 (pl. 47), 9 (pl. 123), 10 (pl. 128), 11-12 (pl. 102). En haut (divers) : 1 (pl. 45), 2 (pl. 123), 3 (pl. 15), 4 (pl. 108), 5 (pl. 89), 6-7 (pl. 59), 8 (pl. 97), 9 (pl. 70).

Les boucles d'oreilles sont de deux sortes, toutes avec un anneau supérieur en forme de croissant : les boucles avec un seul pendentif, avec ou sans bout conique ; et les boucles à trois branches. Il en existe un troisième type non dessiné, en forme de croissant, porté par un joueur de lyre (pl. 122). Les personnages figurés avec des boucles d'oreilles sont le Roi, les serviteurs ou fonctionnaires assyriens, les génies ailés et les génies sans ailes, les soldats assyriens et les soldats torse nu. Aucun ennemi ou captif n'en porte. Dans une scène de présentation, salle 6, deux tributaires apportent des boucles sur un plateau (pl. 67) ; sur les boucles d'oreilles d'époque néo-assyrienne, voir Barthel Hrouda, *Die Kulturgeschichte des assyrischen Flachbildes* (Bonn, Rudolph Habelt, 1965), p. 51-52, 55-56, 122 ; Madhloom, *Neo Assyrian Art*, p. 90-92 ; K.R. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Western Asiatic Jewellery. c. 3000-612 B.C.* (London : Methuen, 1971) p. 235-242.

Il y a trois principaux types de bracelets sur les dessins de Flandin : des bandeaux avec une ou plusieurs rosettes, des anneaux ouverts à extrémités en forme de tête de lion et des bracelets unis. Les anneaux portés autour des biceps sont en spirale ouverte, unis ou décorés. Flandin n'a pas reproduit le bracelet porté par un des héros de la façade n (pl. 17) : Le relief subsistant Louvre AO 19862 montre que cet anneau ouvert est terminé par des têtes de

dragon mušḫuššu, symbole du dieu Marduk ; le même motif reparaît sur l'anneau porté au biceps par ce personnage. Les bracelets décorés de rosettes sont réservés au Roi, aux dignitaires de haut rang et aux génies. Les soldats portent des bracelets plus simples, les étrangers n'en portent pas à deux exceptions près : un groupe de personnages vêtus de manteaux de peau de mouton dans une scène de procession de tributaires, et un autre, avec le même costume, dans une scène de guerre (planches 29 et 121). Voir Hrouda, op. cit. p. 53-54, 57-59, 123 ; Maxwell-Hyslop, op. cit. p. 246-251.

L'objet n° 8 dans la rangée du haut a été restauré par erreur comme un éventail : il s'agit en réalité d'une masse d'armes. Les éventails à manches décorés sont réservés au Roi. Les chasse-mouches à manche uni apparaissent dans les scènes de banquet.

Flandin n'a pas dessiné la fibule portée par un des tributaires (pl. 69), que l'on a identifié à une fibule de type phrygien, voir Oscar White Muscarella, « Fibulae Represented on Sculpture », *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 26 (1967), p. 82.

Coiffures *(planche 140)*

Flandin a montré douze exemples de coiffures, entrant dans trois catégories : les bandeaux et bonnets, les casques et les couronnes. Bandeaux et bonnets à bord frangé (pl. 97), ou décorés de cercles imbriqués (pl. 95), bandeaux unis (pl. 99), turban (pl. 36), ruban de spirales et de glands, décoré de bractées (pl. 59), diadème orné de rosettes et de rubans flottants (pl. 44). Casques : avec cimier de plumes retombant vers l'avant (pl. 96), casque rond à pointe (pl. 123) casque avec crête enroulée (pl. 136). Couronnes : bonnet conique pourvu de cornes surmonté d'un motif en fleur de lys (pl. 57), *polos* muni de cornes et de plumes, décoré de petites rosettes (pl. 57), haute coiffe à sommet plat surmontée d'un gland conique, décorée de bandes de rosettes et de rubans flottants (pl. 44).

Les reliefs offrent d'autres types de coiffures non illustrés en détail par Flandin. Notons un bandeau étroit (pl. 68), un bonnet rond uni (pl. 75), un bonnet rond à bout retombant en arrière (pl. 82). Les personnages qui viennent en tête des processions portent un bonnet qui les caractérise dans la salle 10 (pl. 27-30). La tiare à corne a une variante conique sans gland en fleur de lys (AO 19863). Voir Hrouda, op. cit. p. 41-47, 89-90, 132 ; Madhloom, op. cit. p. 37-44, 74-83.

Boucliers et béliers *(planche 141)*

Les dix boucliers reproduits ici appartiennent à trois types : les boucliers ronds, ceux qui ont une forme elliptique et des extrémités pointues, enfin les boucliers de siège. Les deux béliers illustrés sont identiques, l'un est pourvu d'un seul axe, l'autre de deux axes de poussée. De gauche à droite, en haut : 1 (pl. 107), 2 (pl. 112), 3 (pl. 118), 4 (pl. 122), 5 (pl. 94) ; au centre, 1 (pl. 125), 2 (pl. 136), 3 (pl. 97), 4 (pl. 96), 5 (pl. 95). En bas : 1 (pl. 96), 2 (pl. 138).

D'autres types de boucliers figurant sur les reliefs comprennent des exemples d'armes convexes à umbo en forme de tête d'animal (pl. 133), ou rectangulaires (pl. 125). Un bélier comporte une tour de siège pourvue de fenêtres et montée par des assiégeants (pl. 136). Sur les boucliers, voir Madhloom, op. cit. p. 54-60 ; pour les béliers, voir Yigael Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands in the Light of Archaeological Study*, 2 vol. (New York : Mc Graw-Hill, 1963), 2 : 314-316.

Arcs et carquois *(planche 142)*

L'arc ici reproduit est orné de têtes de canard aux extrémités, la corde est enroulée autour de la tête et fixée dans le bec. Les carquois sont soit en forme de U, plus étroits en bas

qu'en haut, soit rectangulaires. Sur un côté est passée une tringle verticale pourvue d'anneaux de métal permettant de suspendre le carquois. En haut : arc (pl. 45). Au centre, 1 (pl. 45), 2 (pl. 124), 3 (pl. 102), 4 (pl. 102), 5 (pl. 134), 6 (pl. 74).

Le carquois pourvu d'une tringle latérale est réservé au porteur des armes du roi et aux soldats qui précèdent le char royal (pl. 134, 137). Le carquois à couvercle contenait probablement aussi l'arc (pl. 134) : il s'agit peut-être d'un exemple de *gorytos* ou étui pour l'arc et les flèches. Les carquois en forme de U, plus étroits en bas et décorés d'un élément formé de glands, sont l'apanage des soldats torse nu (pl. 136). Flandin a illustré deux techniques de tir à l'arc : dans la première, la corde est tendue à hauteur des épaules et la flèche maintenue entre le pouce et l'index de la main droite (pl. 118). Dans la seconde, la flèche est tenue entre l'index et le medius de la main droite (pl. 119). Sur les arcs et carquois, voir Hrouda, op. cit., p. 83-84 ; Madhloom, op. cit., p. 49-52, 58-60.

Armes *(planche 143)*

Flandin a donné un exemple de masse d'armes, trois types d'épées, quatre lances et une flèche. De gauche à droite, 1 (pl. 45), 2 (pl. 44), 3 (pl. 45), 4 (pl. 95), 5 (pl. 29), 6 (pl. 119), 7 (pl. 33), 8 (pl. 125), 9 (pl. 124).

La masse d'armes est celle du porteur des armes du Roi. Un soldat assyrien est figuré avec une masse à manche terminé par une tête d'animal (pl. 97). Il existe un autre type de masse d'armes, pourvue de deux anneaux épais au sommet du manche et d'une courroie à la base (pl. 121). Victor Place a découvert plusieurs masses d'armes en métal dont certaines sont conservées : voir *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, 3 : pl. 74, 11-13 ; Pottier, *Catalogue*, nos 156-157. L'une d'elles porte l'inscription « (appartenant à) Assur-sar-(u)ṣur », traduction confirmée par Cyrus H. Gordon (comm. écrite).

Le fourreau d'épée orné de deux lions à son extrémité inférieure appartient au roi qui l'arbore dans les scènes de présentation. Au combat, le monarque utilise un fourreau uni (pl. 116, 129). Les épées ornées de deux têtes d'animaux sur la garde sont portées par les fonctionnaires assyriens, quelquefois par des soldats. La lance pourvue d'un bouton latéral à la base est tenue par un cavalier (pl. 85) et un soldat assyrien (pl. 96). Flandin n'a pas illustré l'épée courte et incurvée en faucille que tient le héros (pl. 15, 17). Le relief subsistant montre le détail des têtes de veau modelées sur la garde (AO 19861, AO 19862). Manque aussi le poignard de combat, avec sa lame longue en forme de feuille (pl. 136). Sur les épées et les lances, voir Hrouda, op. cit., p. 130-131 ; Madhloom, op. cit., p. 44-49, 52-54, 60-61.

Récipients et petits objets *(planche 144)*

Flandin a sélectionné treize objets en métal, cuir ou terre cuite, destinés à contenir des liquides ou des solides, plus une lyre, une lampe de terre cuite et des clous. La lampe et les clous furent mis au jour durant les fouilles. Bol rond à lèvre évasée (pl. 47), sac (pl. 24), chaudron sur son support (pl. 123), gobelet en forme de tête de lion (pl. 121), situle en forme de tête de lion (pl. 47), seau avec des attaches d'anses en forme d'oiseaux (pl. 38), outre en peau (pl. 97), chaudron sur une table à pieds en forme de sabots de bovidés (pl. 133), lyre (pl. 122), clous à tête plate (objet découvert en fouille), clou à tête annulaire en bronze (objet de fouille), lampe (objet de fouille). Bien d'autres récipients figurent dans les reliefs ; notons les vases à fond rond et anse (pl. 39), un grand bol à lèvre évasée (pl. 50), des bols hemisphériques sans décor (pl. 24, 26). Remarquons aussi parmi les objets intéressants non illustrés ici, la maquette de cité (pl. 24). Les clous à tête plate provenaient peut-être de la charpente et les clous à tête annulaire ont été trouvés en place dans les murs où ils servaient d'anneaux de fixation (pl. 46, 49). Parmi les objets de fouille, il faut signaler l'anneau de pierre, appartenant à un type d'anneaux placés dans les sols près des portes (pl. 55-56).

Place a mis au jour plusieurs récipients de céramique ou de verre, de formes diverses : *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, 3 : pl. 67, 1-8 ; 68, 1-2. Ils ont été reproduits dans plusieurs calotypes (Archives Nationales, F 21 546, pl. 14, 34). Comparer avec un rhyton en forme de tête de bélier provenant de Nimrud : M.E.L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and its Remains*, 2 vol. (Londres : Collins 1966, 2e éd. 1975), 1 : 191, fig. 124. Deux situles en bronze, à tête de lion et à tête de bélier, viennent de Gordion, Rodney S. Young, *Three Great Early Tumuli. The Gordion Excavations Final Reports.* Vol. I (Philadelphie, The University Museum, 1981), p. 121-123, pl. 62 C-F. Le Louvre conserve plusieurs des clous retrouvés à Khorsabad : Pottier, *Catalogue,* nos 139, 178, 183-184. L'expédition de Chicago a mis au jour un anneau de pierre placé environ 30 cm sous le sol : Loud, *Khorsabad. I.* p. 89-92, fig. 102.

Urnes et cavités carrées *(planches 11, 145, figure 94)*

Une tranchée pratiquée dans le tell du palais a révélé deux rangées d'urnes de terre cuite disposées sur des piédestaux fichés en terre. Chacune mesurait environ 1,40 m de haut avec son support, sur 0,80 m de diamètre. Dans son dessin, Flandin a indiqué qu'il s'agissait d'urnes funéraires, contenant des ossements humains. Il donne aussi le plan et la section d'une cavité carrée, montrant comment la cavité a été partiellement remplie de sable pour maintenir droite la figurine de terre cuite qu'elle était destinée à contenir.

Les travaux de Place ont fait apparaître que ces urnes venaient de la région de la salle 139. Il s'agissait plus vraisemblablement de magasins pour le stockage des denrées. Un calotype de Tranchand montre une rangée de grandes jarres encore en place (fig. 94). Dans la salle 84, l'expédition de Chicago a découvert de grandes jarres en céramique, dans lesquelles se trouvaient encore des récipients plus petits : Loud, *Khorsabad, I,* p. 86-87, fig. 97. Quant aux cavités carrées, plusieurs ont été repérées à côté de portes dans les cours (pl. 19, 35, 37, 43, 56) et de part et d'autre d'une grande dalle dans la salle 8 (pl. 72).

Figurines de terre cuite *(planches 146-147, figures 95-97)*

Deux dessins montrent cinq figurines de terre cuite identifiées comme des effigies divines. Elles sont modelées en ronde bosse et pleines. 1 : dieu vu de face, portant un polos pourvu de deux paires de cornes. Sa barbe longue et droite entoure la lèvre et descend jusqu'à la poitrine. 2 : héros la tête de face sur un corps vu de profil à gauche. Ses cheveux sont terminés par de grandes boucles, des boucles encadrent son visage, également barbu. Il porte une tunique à manches courtes qui lui descend aux genoux, retenue par une large ceinture. Des deux mains, il tient un clou à la verticale. 3 : dieu vu de face. Sa tiare ronde est munie d'une paire de cornes. La barbe est longue. Il est pourvu de pieds de taureau et d'une longue queue. Le bras droit est replié, le gauche tombe le long du corps. 4 : personnage à tête de lion, vu de face, la gueule ouverte, la crinière légèrement hérissée. Le bras droit tombe le long du corps, le gauche est posé sur la taille. 5 : démon vu de face, à tête de félin et longues oreilles (d'âne ?). La gueule ouverte découvre les crocs. Une protubérance rectangulaire est disposée de chaque côté de la tête sous les oreilles. Les bras sont cassés, le corps a perdu son modelé.

Trois de ces figurines sont conservées au Louvre : 1 (N 3152) est peinte en bleu. 2 (N 8283) fait partie d'un type retrouvé à plusieurs exemplaires. 5 (N 8287) semble une variante du démon Pazuzu : voir Pottier, *Catalogue,* nos 212-215, pl. 32. Le héros tenant un clou remonte à des prototypes anciens, celui des figurines de fondation : voir Richard S. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia,* Yale Near Eastern Researches, 2 (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1968), p. 60, 79-80, fig. 14-16. Sur les figurines de terre cuite neo-assyriennes, voir Anthony Green, « Neo-Assyrian Apotropaic Figures », *Iraq* 45 (1983), p. 87-96. Voir aussi Prudence O. Harper, « Five Clay Sculptures of the Neo-Babylonian Period » *Iranica Antiqua* 17 (1982), p. 66-84.

Table en pierre *(planche 148)*

Flandin a donné trois vues d'une table monolithe : plan du dessus, élévation et vue du support triangulaire. Une inscription court sur le dessus. Les pieds sont en forme de pattes de lion posées sur une boule unie.

Dans sa première lettre du 5 avril 1843, Botta décrit cette table ou un meuble identique, découverte près du village. Plus tard, il put en examiner une autre, plus endommagée (deuxième lettre, 2 mai 1843). La première est peut-être celle du Louvre (AO 19900) : Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 58. L'expédition de Chicago retrouva deux guéridons tripodes : Loud et Altman, *Khorsabad, II,* pl. 48, 18-19. Plus récemment, pas moins de quatorze de ces guéridons furent mis au jour durant la fouille d'un petit temple près du tell du palais, plus trois d'un type différent en forme de vasque ovale sur colonnette effilée, voir Safar, *Sumer* 13 (1957), pp. 219-221, pl. 3-4.

Lion en bronze *(planche 149)*

Flandin a exécuté deux dessins très soignés, de face et de profil, de ce lion couché sur un piédestal. Un épais anneau sort du dos de l'animal, qui rugit. Cet objet est aujourd'hui au Louvre (AO 20.116). Il fut trouvé fixé au dallage de la façade L, muni d'un tenon sous le ventre, qui empêche de l'identifier comme un poids, voir Pottier, *Catalogue,* n° 143.

Briques polychromes *(planches 150-151)*

Deux feuilles représentent des briques à décor polychrome : blanc, noir, jaune, vert, bleu et rouge : les motifs sont fragmentaires et variés : emblème ailé, personnage devant une aile, tête du Roi assyrien, pied humain, roue de char, animaux motifs géométriques, rosettes, inscriptions cunéiformes. Pl. 157, n°s 16-17 montre deux vues d'une brique figurant peut-être une main à demi-fermée.

Ces briques polychromes sont recouvertes de glaçure et beaucoup sont encore au Musée du Louvre, ainsi que des pains de pigments bleus ; voir Longpérier, *Notice des antiquités assyriennes,* n°s 70-107 ; Pottier, *Catalogue,* pp. 148-149. Pl. 150 brique n° 7 (N 8080) figure dans l'exposition *Collections du Musée du Louvre. De Sumer à Babylone* (Paris, 1979), p. 72, fig. 254. Cet exemplaire montre que des figures de grande taille étaient incluses dans la décoration picturale. Place a découvert des briques à glaçure dont le décor était intact : *Ninive et l'Assyrie,* 3 : pl. 14-17. Un groupe de briques décorées fut remis au jour par l'expédition de Chicago : Loud, *Khorsabad, I,* pp. 92-97, fig. 105-106. Botta mentionne une brique en forme de main à moitié fermée, peinte en jaune et mesurant environ 15 cm, la partie la plus étroite était insérée entre le plafond et le mur, la partie ronde visible formant par la répétition des briques identiques une sorte de corniche (lettre 5 du 31 octobre 1843). Place découvrit des briques identiques « avec cinq doigts ». Plusieurs sont reproduites dans les calotypes de Tranchand : Archives Nationales F ^{21} 546, pl. 34, 4, 37. L'expédition de Chicago découvrit une brique de même forme (DS 140), conservée dans le fonds de l'Oriental Institut Museum : cet exemplaire a « cinq doigts » peints rouge et blanc et mesure 17 cm de long par 8,2 par 11,9 cm. Une rangée de briques ressemblant à des mains fermées a été retrouvée dans la résidence d'Assurnasirpal II à Assur : voir Conrad Preusser, *Die Paläste in Assur,* Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichigungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 66 (1955), p. 21, pl. 14 b, 17 a-b.

Petits objets *(planche 152)*

Flandin a donné des dessins de détails de trois objets, une tête de veau en métal, une impression de cylindre sur une bulle d'argile et un petit étui. Le cylindre représente un roi combattant un lion cab-é. Au-dessus de la scène se trouve une inscription cunéiforme. L'étui est en pierre, pourvu de trois trous près de son sommet, probablement pour contenir de

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l'encre ou de la peinture. Sur chaque petit côté est représenté un personnage imberbe, les longs côtés sont divisés en deux zones, décorées de sphinx couchés sur une face et de chèvres sur l'autre face.

Le pommeau en forme de tête de veau est conservé au Louvre : il est creux et devait servir à décorer un siège. Botta a trouvé d'autres fragments d'objets de ce genre, voir Pottier, *Catalogue*, n° 154. L'impression de cylindre est aussi au Louvre (N 8293), c'est l'une des empreintes retrouvées par Botta (lettre du 2 mai 1843), voir Pottier, *Catalogue*, n° 220. Sur les cylindres royaux néo-assyriens, voir A.J. Sachs, « The Late Royal Seal Type Again », *Iraq* 15 (1953), p. 167-170 ; A.R. Millard, « The Assyrian Royal Seal Type Again », *Iraq* 27 (1965), p. 12-16. L'étui en pierre n'est pas catalogué par Pottier et sa localisation actuelle est inconnue. Le motif décoratif rappelle celui d'importations du Levant, voir Irene J. Winter « Phoenician and North Syrian Ivory Carving in Historical Context : Questions of Style and Distribution », *Iraq* 38 (1976), p. 1-22.

Objets de métal *(planche 153)*

Deux dessins illustrent trois types d'objets : deux bouterolles en forme de croissant, trois pointes de lances à douille, deux vues d'un scaraboïde : sur le plat de ce dernier, un cheval (?) et un signe (?). Il n'y a pas d'indication de dimensions.

Le Louvre conserve un objet plat en forme de croissant, identifié comme une enseigne militaire, Pottier, *Catalogue*, n° 159. Sur les enseignes militaires et religieuses, voir Peter Calmeyer, « Zur Genese Altiranischer Motive. II. Der Leere Wagen », *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, N.F. 7 (1974), p. 74-75. Le Louvre conserve plusieurs pointes de lances : Pottier, *Catalogue*, n° 160. Voir aussi sur ce point Yadin, *Art of Warfare*, 1 : 10. Le scaraboïde n'est pas catalogué par Pottier.

CHAPITRE VI

IMPORTANCE ESTHETIQUE DES RELIEFS DE DUR-SHARRUKIN

Le programme et l'exécution des reliefs de Dur-Sharrukin représentaient une entreprise colossale. A en juger par les témoignages archéologiques et les archives des premiers fouilleurs, dessins ou photographies, ce programme laissait aussi une grande place au décor peint, pour les murs ou les plafonds, ainsi qu'aux panneaux de briques à glaçure destinés aux portes de la ville et aux sanctuaires. Dans quelques cas, les reliefs sculptés et les peintures étaient destinés aux mêmes locaux, mais dans quelle mesure ces deux formes d'art décoratif se complétaient ne peut être à présent parfaitement apprécié. Une étude approfondie des briques à glaçures et des peintures de Dur-Sharrukin devrait permettre dans l'avenir de préciser ces points. Le présent chapitre est principalement axé sur les reliefs du palais et leur signification.

Le motif royal emblématique.

La fondation de Dur-Sharrukin a été l'occasion de l'élaboration d'un motif décoratif composite exécuté à dimensions colossales : ce motif, que l'on désignera ici sous le nom de motif royal emblématique, comprend une paire de taureaux ailés androcéphales dirigés en sens opposé, jouxtant chacun un héros maîtrisant un lion vu de face. Ils étaient disposés en deux endroits du palais de Sargon érigé sur un haut monticule, sur le mur de la terrasse face au palais, d'une part ; vers le mur Nord-Est de la façade n (voir planches 14-17), d'autre part. Une version modifiée de ce motif royal, sans le héros au lion, apparaît aussi sur les murs de refend encadrant la porte centrale du mur Nord-Est de la façade N (planche 35). Cette parade répétée du motif emblématique sur les parois externes était en quelque sorte une affirmation du caractère particulier de tout le complexe de bâtiments érigés sur le monticule. Sur le mur Nord-Est de la façade n, le motif deux fois répété s'intègre à une grandiose décoration sculptée qui donne toute son importance au porche central ouvrant sur la salle du trône (cour VII). Sur le mur Nord-Est de la façade N, le motif simplifié prend place sur la paroi fermant un ensemble de salles constituant l'aile Ouest du palais, probablement la partie résidentielle réservée au monarque. La porte centrale de ce mur constitue en fait l'aboutissement d'un passage menant de la façade N à la façade L à travers les salles 4, 5 et 2 : aux deux extrémités de ce passage se trouvaient des paires de taureaux ailés regardant chacune de ces cours (voir planche 41) ; de cette manière, ce passage est comparable au couloir voisin, numéroté salle 10. Un peu plus loin dans la façade L se trouvait le bâtiment isolé, ou monument x, dont l'escalier principal faisait exactement face au passage situé entre une des paires de taureaux.

Le motif royal emblématique, avec sa disposition symétrique de taureaux androcéphales ailés et de héros, devait être porteur d'une signification particulière. La présentation de ces monstres ailés semble avoir été une prérogative du roi assyrien et leur inclusion dans le motif à côté du héros indique que ce héros est d'une certaine manière associé à la personne royale. Il existe deux versions du héros à Dur-Sharrukin : la première, disposée sur le mur de soutènement de la terrasse, est caractérisée par la présence d'un flot de boucles encadrant le visage et par le costume, une tunique à manches courtes : il convient de remarquer que cette tunique est la même que celle que portent les génies ailés à tête d'oiseau. Le héros semble hérité d'une tradition iconographique ancienne [1]. La seconde version était disposée sur le mur Nord-Est de la façade n : cette fois le héros porte la coiffure assyrienne et un vêtement consistant en une tunique drapée recouverte d'un châle laineux ; l'iconographie est inspirée de représentations contemporaines et ce costume est identique à celui des génies aptères. Il se peut que les deux versions du héros représentent des catégories de personnages-gardiens dont les qualités divines renforcent le pouvoir du Roi assyrien et le règne légitime de Sargon II.

Si l'on examine le petit lion maîtrisé par ce héros, on constate qu'il fait de faibles efforts pour se libérer de l'éreinte. Il faut noter que le sujet du héros combattant des animaux sauvages revient souvent dans l'art mésopotamien dès le IVe millénaire [2]. Durant la période néo-assyrienne, ce thème emprunte diverses formes, en peinture murale, sur des reliefs ou des sceaux-cylindres [3]. Dans la plupart des cas, c'est le Roi assyrien lui-même qui prend la place du héros, en particulier dans les combats contre des lions. Le thème revient aussi sur deux reliefs découverts dans le bâtiment central de Nimrud, daté du IXe s. [4] Malgré leur état fragmentaire, ces panneaux permettent de reconnaître une composition héraldique faisant s'affronter un héros et deux lions cabrés.

Dans un cas, le héros est un génie aptère, dans l'autre, peut-être un génie aptère. Cette disposition précise n'a pas, à notre connaissance, de parallèle dans les arts monumentaux assyriens et le traitement du sujet paraît exceptionnel [5]. La différence principale entre ces deux morceaux et les motifs de Dur-Sharrukin est que dans le cas de Khorsabad, il n'y a pas à proprement parler de combat, l'issue en ayant déjà été résolue, et la bête vaincue. Si l'impression de puissance que dégagent les héros devait renforcer le pouvoir du monarque assyrien, alors le lion rugissant, figuré à petite échelle, devait symboliser tous les ennemis assujettis et soumis. En résumé, le motif royal emblématique créé pour le nouveau palais de Sargon proclame la longue lignée du souverain (si c'est bien là la signification des deux versions du héros) et sa puissance durable exercée sur tous ses ennemis. Ce motif fut par la suite utilisé pour les palais de Sennacherib [6] et d'Assarhaddon (680-668) [7], les deux successeurs de Sargon II.

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[1] Les meilleurs parallèles se trouvent dans les sceaux-cylindres, voir par exemple Anton Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst*, (Berlin : Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1940), p. 21-22, n°s 179-182, 188.

[2] Eva Strommenger – Max Hirmer, *5000 Years of the Art of Mesopotamia*, traduit de l'allemand par Christian Haglund (New York, Abrams, 1964), pl. 18.

[3] Voir : Sachs, *Iraq* 15 (1953), Millard, *Iraq* 27 (1965), p. 12-16 ; Pauline Albenda, « Lions on Assyrian Wall Reliefs », *JANES* 6 (1974), p. 1-27.

[4] Janusz Meuszyński, « Neo-Assyrian Reliefs from the Central Area of Nimrud Citadel », *Iraq* 38 (1976), p. 39-40, 42, pls VIII b, XI.

[5] Sur le motif du personnage maîtrisant des animaux, voir Irene J. Winter, *A Decorated Breastplate from Hasanlu, Iran*, University Museum Monograph 39 (Philadelphia : The University Museum, 1980), p. 11-21.

[6] Voir Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 135-138 ; Julian E. Reade, « Assyrian Architectural Decoration : Techniques and Subject-Matter », *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 10 (1979), p. 38, pl. 8 a. Le relief rupestre de Khinnis-Bavian présente le motif royal emblématique, voir Layard, op. cit., p. 214 ; Walter Bachmann, *Felsrelief in Assyrien. Bawian, Maltai und Gundük*, WVDOG 52 (1927), pl. 13-15.

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Les reliefs de l'aile Ouest du Palais.

L'examen des reliefs montre que le sujet des représentations à l'intérieur d'une même pièce est en général homogène. Le plan des salles montre que plusieurs pièces décorées des mêmes sujets se suivent, et que ces salles sont groupées en différentes sections du palais, chacune ayant probablement son propre programme décoratif : une de ces sections comprend les salles 6, 9, 11 et 12, montrant des processions de serviteurs assyriens et de tributaires s'avançant vers le Roi. Un deuxième groupe, comportant les salles 1 à 5, 7 et 8, montre des scènes de guerre et la prise de captifs. Puis les salles 13, 14 et peut-être d'autres salles détruites, étaient ornées de sièges de villes orientales. Un quatrième et un cinquième groupe comprenaient le mur Nord-Est de la façade n et les murs Nord-Ouest et Sud-Ouest de la façade L respectivement ; on y voit la parade du mobilier, de la vaisselle de banquet et de l'équipement de char du monarque. Le mur Sud-Est de la façade n et la salle 10 formaient une autre section montrant des processions de tributaires étrangers devant le Roi [8]. Il est possible que la décoration choisie pour chaque salle soit en relation avec les activités qui y prenaient place, mais les témoignages archéologiques ne sont pas clairs quant aux fonctions des diverses salles [9].

Les scènes narratives sont centrées sur la personne du Roi dans ses exploits militaires ou ses autres activités. Il semble assuré que l'organisation des sujets décoratifs devait satisfaire deux impératifs du monarque Sargon II :

L'un était de fournir un récit graphique des campagnes militaires, mettant bien entendu en valeur la supériorité de l'Assyrie. L'autre était la mise en scène de la personne royale, comme figure pivot de chaque composition : le Roi apparaît invariablement en triomphateur, durant ou après la bataille. Il est toujours entouré de dignitaires de haut rang ou de gardes de ses troupes d'élite personnelles ; ainsi les reliefs muraux constituaient une chronique permanente et visuelle des hauts faits du Roi, spécialement dans le domaine militaire. Le fait que ces chroniques figurées aient occupé des salles entières dans l'aile Ouest du palais, nécessitant d'énormes moyens en main d'œuvre et en matériaux, constitue une bonne indication de la prospérité économique à la disposition de Sargon II (voir chapitre II). Pour ces raisons, comme de plus il est peu probable que les salles décorées aient été destinées à être visibles pour le *vulgum pecus* il conviendra de définir les reliefs sculptés comme participant d'un art royal.

Les sujets religieux, sous la forme de figures de génies, étaient réservés aux portes : leur image conférait une atmosphère de protection divine au passage à travers salles et cours. Il convient de noter cependant une exception notable au système décoratif des portes dès les passages T, U, E, reliant les salles 4 et 8, 8 et 5, et 5 et 2 : les jambages portaient tous trois personnages : un porteur de chasse-mouches se tenant derrière le monarque et un dignitaire de haut rang faisant face au Roi (voir planches 80, 92-93). Le sujet de ces portes n'a pas en apparence de lien avec celui des murs des pièces adjacentes ; dans 2 et 5, il s'agit de campagnes militaires et de banquets, dans les salles 4 et 8, des captifs sont amenés devant Sargon. Partout ailleurs dans l'aile Ouest du palais, le porteur de chasse-mouches, le Roi et le dignitaire de haut rang apparaissent dans le même ordre, dans des scènes figurant des processions de serviteurs et fonctionnaires assyriens ou des tributaires s'avançant vers le roi (par exemple salles 6, 9, 11 et 12). On peut se demander si le motif des portes T, U et E ne constitue par un résumé de scènes analogues, à savoir des processions ou présentations. Tandis que le groupe du porteur « chasse-mouches, Roi et dignitaire de haut rang » demeure à distance de toute action, Sargon au contraire est figuré de façon très vivante dans les

[8] Voir Albenda, *Assur*, 3/3 (1983).

[9] Voir les suggestions de Julian E. Reade, « The Architectural Context of Assyrian Sculpture », *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 11 (1980), p. 85-87. Pour une étude exhaustive de la question, voir Geoffrey Turner, « The State Apartments of Late Assyrian Palaces », *Iraq* 32 (1970), p. 177-213.

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scènes d'exploits militaires dans les royaumes de l'Ouest (salle 5) ou de l'Est (salle 2, s'étendant dans les salles 1 et 3). Il apparaît aussi avec beaucoup de réalisme dans les tableaux montrant les dures représailles exercées contre les chefs des vaincus révoltés contre son pouvoir (salles 4 et 8).

La salle 7 montrait des scènes triomphales : des banquets occupent le registre supérieur autour des quatre murs, en nombreux groupes composés normalement de quatre banqueteurs se faisant face, de part et d'autre d'une table chargée de mets, et servis par des domestiques, qui agitent souvent des chasse-mouches. Une grande partie de ce registre supérieur est détruite, mais il ne semble pas que le Roi participe en personne au banquet [10]. De même dans la salle 2, murs Sud-Ouest et Nord-Ouest, un banquet figuré au registre supérieur est offert aux dignitaires de haut rang et aux officiers qui ont accompagné le roi dans des campagnes des territoires orientaux [11] : là non plus, il ne semble pas que le monarque assiste à la fête.

Sur le registre inférieur de la salle 7, une procession triomphale se déroule dans un paysage boisé : les pins devaient servir d'arrière-plan au défilé militaire, auquel sont intégrés des scènes de chasse aux oiseaux et autre petit gibier. Les arbres étaient autrefois rehaussés de couleurs vives ; les personnages au moins en partie et les harnais des chevaux étaient également polychromés. Derrière la ligne d'arbres sont représentés un bâtiment isolé pourvu de colonnes au bord d'un petit lac et un autel sur un monticule : il s'agit peut-être d'un parc boisé réservé au monarque et à sa suite. En tête du défilé viennent les gardes personnels du Roi, sans casque et vêtus de tuniques caractéristiques, recouvertes d'un châle laineux dont un pan retombe par-devant : ce costume est différent de celui des soldats porteurs de boucliers ou archers représentés dans les scènes de combat ou même de celui des auxiliaires de l'armée assyrienne. De plus les gardes portent sur l'épaule une masse d'armes. Ils précèdent le char royal dans lequel Sargon fait un signe de la main droite ouverte tandis que sa main gauche tient une branche de lotus : l'attitude du Roi, comme le porteur de parasol qui l'abrite, confèrent à la scène une atmosphère paisible, mais d'une paix qui découle d'opérations militaires : il s'agit bien d'un triomphe. Cette conception est décrite de façon littérale dans les scènes où l'on voit des captifs traînés devant le Roi debout dans son char (planches 99, 111, 129). Le char royal est suivi de trois cavaliers, chevauchant de front et vus en perspective. Ils sont chaussés de sandales, alors que les cavaliers assyriens portent normalement des bottes et des bas ; ces cavaliers ne doivent pas être assimilés à la garde montée qui accompagne le Roi lors de ses déplacements en char ; deux d'entre eux apparaissent à l'extrême fin de la procession (dalle 1) : il s'agit probablement de militaires du grade le plus élevé, juste en dessous du Roi. Celui de gauche porte un diadème particulier, avec des rubans flottants. Dans d'autres circonstances, ce personnage a été identifié comme le *turtanu* [13] ou le *mār šarri* [14], ce qui dans ce cas permettrait d'identifier le prince héritier Sennacherib qui devait succéder à Sargon II. Les deux autres cavaliers sont imberbes : il s'agit peut-être du *sukallu*, frère de Sargon et commandant en chef des troupes d'élite royales [15], et du *rab šaqi* (grand eunuque) [16].

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[10] Cela demanderait une disposition différente du roi et des ses acolytes par rapport aux banqueteurs. Voir par exemple Strommenger, *The Art of Mesopotamia*, pl. 194-195.

[11] Luckenbill, *ARAB* 2 : § 149.

[12] Des traces de couleurs sont encore visibles sur des petits fragments d'arbres (noir, bleu, qui était à l'origine vert) et de harnais de chevaux (rouge, noir, bleu et blanc) conservés à Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum.

[13] Albenda, *Assur* 3/3 (1983), p. 30.

[14] Voir chapitre III, note 9.

[15] Voir chapitre II, note 24. Cette identification repose sur les soldats de cette frise, que l'on identifie comme appartenant aux troupes d'élite.

[16] Les officiers de haut rang étaient aussi gouverneurs militaires de province, voir Kinnier Wilson, *Nimrud Wine Lists*, p. 14-15, 35.

De nombreuses dalles de la salle 7 étant partiellement détruites, on ne peut savoir comment le défilé se poursuivait sur les quatre parois. Les parties intactes montrent des soldats et des serviteurs assyriens vaquant à des occupations paisibles, en train d'exercer leurs chevaux, tirant à la cible, portant des oiseaux et des lièvres, probablement du tableau de chasse. On a supposé que le Roi pouvait figurer sur le mur Nord-Ouest, où il tirerait à la cible depuis son char et sur le mur Sud-Ouest, où il s'avancerait dans une forêt [17]. Cependant les figurations du monarque dans son char, entouré de sa garde, sont normalement trop grandes pour pouvoir prendre place dans les lacunes de la dalle 7 : si Sargon devait apparaître sur ce panneau, c'est probablement à pied, tirant sur une cible ou visant un oiseau en vol [18]. Le Roi en char a pu figurer sur les dalles 3 et 4, mais ces reliefs pouvaient ne représenter que la chasse au petit gibier par la suite royale.

Style des sculptures.

Les reliefs les mieux préservés permettent d'apprécier la qualité du style des sculptures du palais de Sargon II. Dans l'ensemble, elles poursuivent la tradition associée aux décors exécutés par Assurnasirpal II et Teglath-Phalasar III : ici comme là, le relief ne se détache que très légèrement du fond ; il y a quelques exceptions cependant à cette règle générale : les lions et taureaux ailés androcéphales sont exécutés en haut-relief : il semble que sous le règne de Sargon, le haut-relief ait été choisi pour le traitement des génies ailés et des héros disposés sur certaines portes et façades. Le champ autour des motifs est lisse et plat. Quelques dalles conservées montrent des traces d'outils et des marques de polissage, qui attestent que la finition n'a pas été achevée. Dans certains cas cependant, l'aspect rugueux de la pierre est peut-être dû à des causes naturelles. Un fragment représentant la tête d'un génie sans ailes met en évidence les étapes préliminaires de l'exécution (fig. 18) : la petite échelle de la tête comme la grossièreté du modelé font penser qu'il s'agit d'une œuvre d'essai. Par contraste, le génie ailé à tête d'oiseau (figure 15), montre comment l'ensemble du sujet a été ébauché : un outil pointu a permis de tracer le coutour, le champ a été descendu au ciseau, laissant la figure en relief ; certaines parties de la figure avaient commencé à être définitivement modelées.

Par rapport aux traditions artistiques néo-assyriennes antérieures, le raffinement du dessin et des proportions constitue une étape nouvelle : à l'époque de Sargon II, les silouhettes des sujets humains ou animaliers sont moins anguleuses, plus adoucies qu'auparavant, le canon est à la fois plus compact et plus élancé. Comme naguère, les détails anatomiques cachés sous le vêtement sont négligés, les corps habillés étant traités comme des ensembles plats ; en revanche, le rendu des chairs exposées, qu'il s'agisse des hommes ou des animaux, révèle une connaissance approfondie des réalités anatomiques, simplifiées dans un souci de clarté de la forme. Le rendu du visage humain semble avoir particulièrement retenu l'attention des sculpteurs, le tour des yeux, le nez, le cou sont soigneusement modelés ; il convient de noter que le dessin de l'œil en profil est pratiquement correct. Les commissures des lèvres sont légèrement relevées, ce qui confère aux traits une expression calme et agréable. Les cheveux et la barbe sont particulièrement importants : comme le prouvent les sculptures conservées, les ondulations de la chevelure, les boucles enroulées, les petites mèches, ont été dessinées et gravées avec le plus grand soin ; l'attention portée à l'organisation et à la texture du système pileux contraste plaisamment avec le visage modelé par grands plans. Le style de coiffure permet d'autre part de reconnaître les Assyriens des

[17] Guralnick, *Assur* 1/5 (1976), p. 5-6.

[18] On peut restituer la figure du monarque dans la même activité sur un bas-relief d'Assurbanipal (668-627), voir Albenda, « Landscape Bas-Reliefs in the Bit Hilani of Ashurbanipal », *BASOR* 224 (1976), p. 70, pl. 1.

[19] Pour l'étude de la sculpture à l'époque perse, voir Carl Nylander, *Ionians in Pasargadae, Studies in Old Persian Architecture* (Uppsala : Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1970). L'étude de la sculpture assyrienne est encore à faire.

étrangers : ceux-là se distinguent par leurs cheveux en vagues régulières ondulant jusqu'aux épaules, se terminant par une masse de petites boucles enroulées (figures 35-37) ; les peuples des pays occidentaux montrent sous un turban, des mèches ondulées sur le front et des mèches courtes, verticales sur la nuque, terminées par de petites boucles en tire-bouchon (figures 30-33). Certains auxiliaires assyriens se caractérisent par leurs longues chevelures tombant dans le dos (figure 88). Les peuples soumis vers l'Orient sont coiffés de rangées de boucles en tire-bouchon (figures 53-55).

En résumé, les reliefs conservés permettent de juger du haut niveau artistique atteint sous le règne de Sargon II. L'habileté technique des sculpteurs est remarquable. Comme on l'aura vu dans un chapitre précédent, ces sculpteurs étaient probablement organisés en équipes, travaillant sans doute sur des cartons ; cependant de légères différences d'exécution sont perceptibles entre divers motifs identiques (comparer les figures 39, 43 et 40-41). Mais au-delà des variations individuelles, ce qui frappe c'est l'étonnante unité de conception et de réalisation.

CHAPITRE VII

LES INSCRIPTIONS

Christopher B.F. WALKER

Les copies d'épigraphes des reliefs de Khorsabad, exécutées par Eugène Flandin en 1844 et reproduites en lithographie dans l'ouvrage de Botta, *Monument de Ninive,* vol. 1 et 2 (1849) nous apportent, avec les dessins par Botta de ces mêmes épigraphes [1], la source principale d'information sur les campagnes historiques illustrées par ces reliefs. Les dessins de Botta ont évidemment bénéficié de l'expérience acquise en copiant toutes les inscriptions monumentales de Khorsabad, publiées par la suite dans *Monument de Ninive,* vol. 3 et 4 ; mais la comparaison entre les deux groupes de dessins n'est pas toujours au détriment de Flandin. De même, l'exemple du désormais légendaire Karl Bellino, le premier artiste à offrir une série de copies fiables d'inscriptions cunéiformes pour Claudius James Rich, Sir Robert Ker Porter et G.F. Grotefend [2] montre comment un artiste professionnel, sans expérience préalable du cunéiforme, peut parvenir à en faire des copies d'une remarquable exactitude. Dans le cas présent, si l'expérience de Botta lui permettait dans certains cas de déchiffrer des passages usés ou de faire la différence entre des signes et des ébréchures de la surface, dans d'autres, les restitutions de Botta peuvent apparaître inexactes [3] et l'emplacement des signes pas aussi fidèlement en rapport avec celui des reliefs qu'il ne l'est dans le rendu par Flandin [4]. Il convient de remarquer cependant que, si l'on en croit *Monument de Ninive,* 4 : I, III, les copies par Botta de la planche 180, marquées « C » p. III, ont été collationnées d'après des estampages déposés à la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Les épigraphes ont été publiées à deux reprises, par H. Winckler en 1889 [5] puis par M. El-Amin en 1953-54. L'édition de Winckler omet plusieurs épigraphes et donne une copie erronée de l'une d'elles (voir n° 7 ci-dessous). Ses copies sont de toutes façons dérivées de *Monument de Ninive* 4 : pl. 180. Les traductions par D.D. Luckenbill en 1927 [6] reprennent les erreurs de Winckler. Bien que j'ai inclu les références bibliographiques à l'édition de Winckler, je n'ai pas repris la contribution de Luckenbill en détail. L'ouvrage d'El-Amin [7]

[1] *Monument de Ninive,* 4 : pl. 180.

[2] R.D. Barnett, « Charles Bellino and the beginnings of Assyriology » *Iraq* 36 (1974), p. 5-28.

[3] Par exemple n° 5 ci-dessous, où le *su* est fautivement restauré en *na*.

[4] Par exemple n° 5 ci-dessous.

[5] H. Winckler, *Die Keilschriftexte Sargons...* 2 vols, (Leipzig, 1889) : 1 : 190-191 ; 2 : pl. 49.

[6] Luckenbill, *ARAB,* 2 : 66-67, § 125.

[7] Dr. Mahmud El-Amin, « Die Reliefs mit Beischriften von Sargon II in Dûr-Sharrukin », *Sumer* 9 (1953), p. 35-59, 214-228 : idem *Sumer* 10 (1954), pp. 23-42.

représente la première publication sérieuse des épigraphes, et comporte entre autres contributions précieuses, la première identification correcte de certaines des cités mentionnées dans les inscriptions. Je n'ai pas cherché ici à reprendre tous ses arguments qu'il a parfois formulés avec tous leurs développements. Il donne des copies des épigraphes dessinées par Flandin et Botta en même temps que ses restitutions des textes cunéiformes, et j'y renvoie lorsque c'est nécessaire. Les lectures d'El-Amin ont été reprises par J.E. Reade [8], à l'exception d'une [9]. El-Amin aussi bien que Reade abordent la discussion des épigraphes comme des témoignages du déroulement des campagnes de Sargon et du lien unissant ces campagnes avec l'organisation des scènes narratives des salles du palais de Sargon. Ces problèmes, qui impliquent une évaluation d'ensemble du programme décoratif du palais, ne sont pas abordés ici ; cependant les références bibliographiques permettent de se reporter aux inscriptions historiques de Sargon concernant les noms de cités mentionnées dans les épigraphes. La chronologie des diverses campagnes de Sargon révélée par les textes historiques a été discutée par Tadmor en 1958 [10], mais avec seulement quelques rares références aux considérations soulevées par El-Amin et Reade. Toutes les épigraphes copiées par Flandin ne figurent pas dans les dessins de Flandin reproduits ici. Je donne les neuf épigraphes copiées sur des sculptures dont nous avons les dessins, avec une discussion des inscriptions portées sur des objets reproduits par Flandin.

1 – 9 Les épigraphes.

1. Planche 112 (salle 2, dalle 7).

Bibliographie : Botta et Flandin, *Monument de Ninive,* 1 : pl. 55 ; 2 : pl. 180, ligne 6 ; Winckler, *Sargon,* 1 : 190, n° 2 II, 1 ; 2 : pl. 49, n° 2 a. El-Amin, *Sumer 9* (1953), p. 51.

Transcription : URU *har !-ha-ar !*

Traduction : La cité de Harhar.

Par comparaison avec la copie de Botta (*Monument de Ninive,* 4 : pl. 180), celle de Flandin sépare par erreur les signes *har* et *ha,* omet le trait vertical du *har* et donne une organisation confuse de la fin du *ar.* Après un manque (un peu plus large que le signe *ar*), se trouvent des traces d'un autre signe peut-être un *kum* effacé. Dans *Monument de Ninive,* 1 : pl. 55, ces traces sont rendues par des hachures et il n'y a pas d'indication que l'inscription se poursuit dans *Monument de Ninive,* 4 : pl. 180. Les épigraphes de Sargon ne donnant qu'un nom de ville isolé sont fréquentes ; en l'absence d'une restitution convaincante, il semble préférable de s'en tenir à la proposition de Botta et de considérer les traces de Flandin comme une interprétation trop optimiste de la partie usée de la sculpture. Noter aussi que le dessin de Botta montre que l'inscription se poursuit beaucoup plus vers la droite (en rapport avec le portique à cinq colonnes au-dessous) que dans le dessin de Flandin.

Sur diverses orthographes du nom de Harhar, voir S. Porpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms,* Alter Orient und Altes Testament 6 (1970), p. 51. Pour une discussion récente de la localisation de Harhar en Médie occidentale, voir L. Levine, « Harhar », in *RLA 4 :* 120-121 et J.E. Reade, « Kassites and Assyrians in Iran », *Iran* 16 (1978) pp. 137-143. La capture de cette cité par Sargon lors de sa sixième année est relatée dans l'inscription des Annales, salle 2 [11].

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[8] J.E. Reade, « Sargon's Campaigns of 720, 716, and 715 B.C. : Evidence from the Sculptures », *JNES* 35 (1976), p. 95-104.

[9] No. 7 ci-dessous.

[10] Tadmor, *JCS.* (1958), p. 22-40, 77-100 ; ses conclusions principales sont résumées p. 94-97.

[11] *Monument de Ninive* 4 : pl. 74, 5-7 ; Winckler, *Sargon* 1 : 14-17, 70-72 ; Luckenbill, *ARAB,* 2 : 6, § 11 ; Arthur G. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria. Part I : The Annals* (Paris, 1929), p. 16-17, 96-100. Voir aussi l'inscription des Fastes, salle 10, selon laquelle la cité fut rebaptisée Kar-Sharrukin : *Monument de Ninive* 4 : pl. 147, 1-4 ; Winckler, *Sargon,* 1 : 108-109, 61-64 ; Luckenbill, *ARAB,* 2 : 29, § 57.

2. Planches 125-126 (salle 2, dalle 22).

Bibliographie : Botta et Flandin, *Monument de Ninive,* 1 : pl. 68 et 68 bis ; 4 : pl. 180, ligne 10. Winckler, *Sargon,* 1 : 190, n° 2 II, 22 ; 2 : pl. 49, n° 2 d ; El-Amin, *Sumer* 9 (1953) p. 55.

Transcription : URU[*ki*]*še-si-im*

Traduction : Cité de Kishesim.

Contrairement à la copie de Botta (*Monument de Ninive,* 4 : pl. 180), le dessin de Flandin montre que le signe *ki* est abîmé ; la barre verticale du *ki,* correctement reproduite par Flandin planche 126, est dessinée inclinée sur la planche 125. Le sommet de la seconde barre verticale apparaît de travers dans les deux planches. Bien que l'inscription de la planche 125 de Flandin soit correctement lithographiée dans *Monument de Ninive,* 1 : pl. 68, le dessin du *ki* est déformé *op. cit.* pl. 168 bis et le *še* déborde sur la limite de la tour. Pour diverses orthographes du nom de Kishesim, voir Parpola, AOAT 6 (1970), pp. 210-211. Pour la localisation, voir Reade, *Iran* 16 (1978), pp. 137-143. Selon l'inscription des Annales de la salle 2, Kishesim fut prise lors de la sixième année de Sargon (716 av.) et rebaptisée Kar-Ninurta [12].

3. Planche 123 (salle 3, dalle 1 dans la porte H).

Bibliographie : Botta et Flandin, *Monument de Ninive,* 1 : pl. 76 ; 4 : pl. 180, ligne 9 ; Winckler, *Sargon,* 2 : pl. 49, n° 20 ; El-Amin, *Sumer* 9 (1953), p. 56.

Transcription : URU *bit-ba-ga-ia*

Traduction : Cité de Bit-Bagaya.

La seule différence entre le dessin par Flandin et la copie par Botta est que ce dernier a omis une barre verticale dans le signe *ba.*

L'inscription des Fastes de la salle 10 donne le nom de cette cité sous la forme URU *bit-ba-ga-ia* et précise que la ville fut rebaptisée Kar-Adad [13]. L'inscription des Annales salle 2 donne la forme URU *bit-ga-ba-ia* et le nouveau nom Kar-Ishtar [14]. L'indication copiée par Flandin et Botta permet donc de confirmer la lecture URU *bit-ba-ga-ia* mais ne résout pas la question du nouveau nom de la ville. Les deux inscriptions font apparaître qu'elle se trouvait au voisinage de Harhar en Médie occidentale et fut capturée au cours de la 7e campagne (715 av.).

4. Planche 95 (salle 5, dalle 5).

Bibliographie : Botta et Flandin, *Monument de Ninive,* 2 : pl. 89 ; 4 : pl. 180, ligne 4 ; El-Amin, *Sumer* 9 (1953), p. 37.

Transcription : URU *gab-bu-tú-nu*

Traduction : Cité de Gabbutunu.

La copie de Flandin met une double barre verticale à la fin de URU. Botta n'en montre qu'une et est probablement plus exact.

Gabbutunu fut identifiée par El-Amin [15] avec la Gibbethon biblique (Josué 19, 44 ; 21, 23 ; I Rois 15, 27 ; 16, 15 et 17) et se trouve à la frontière entre la tribu de Dan et celle des

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[12] *Monument de Ninive* 4 : pl. 74, 2-4 (*kar-^{d}MAŠ*) ; Winckler, *Sargon* 1 : 14-14, 67-69 (comme Kar-Adar) ; Luckenbill, *ARAB,* 205, § 10 ; Lie, *Sargon Annals,* p. 16-17, 93-95 ; L'inscription des Fastes, salle 10 (*Monument de Ninive,* 4 : pl. 146b, 11-12 (*kar-^{d}*MAŠ.MAŠ) ; Winckler, *Sargon,* 1 : 108-109, 59-60 ; Luckenbill, *ARAB,* 2 : 29, § 56), donne comme nouveau nom Kar-Nergal, ce que confirme K. 1669B (Winckler, *Sargon,* 2 : pl. 45).

[13] *Monument de Ninive* 4 : pl. 147, 6 ; Winckler, *Sargon,* 1 : 107-108, 64-65 ; Luckenbill, *ARAB,* 2 : 29, § 57.

[14] *Monument de Ninive,* 4 : pl. 74 bis, 9 ; Winckler, *Sargon,* 1 : 18, 87 ; Luckenbill, *ARAB,* 2 : 7, § 14 ; Lie, *Sargon Annals,* pp. 20-21, 113-114.

[15] *Sumer* 9 (1953), p. 37 ; cf. Tadmor, *JCS.* 12 (1958), p. 83, n° 243.

Philistins, à l'emplacement actuel de Tell Melât [16]. La prise de cette cité n'est pas mentionnée dans les inscriptions de Sargon connues à ce jour.

Le nom parfois a été lu *gab-bu-ut-nu* [17] mais l'orthographe assyrienne suggère de préférence la lecture avec la séquence consonne-voyelle *gab-bu-tú-nu.*

5. Planche 98 (salle 5, dalle 10).

Bibliographie : Botta et Flandin, *Monument de Ninive,* 2 : pl. 93 ; 4 : pl. 180, ligne 3 ; Winckler, *Sargon,* 1 : 190, n° 2 V 10 (fautive) ; 2 : pl. 49, n° 2 f ; El-Amin, *Sumer* 9 (1953), pp. 38-39.

Transcription : URU *'a-am-qa-ru-na* !

Traduction : Cité d'Amqarruna.

Il y a des variantes mineures dans les copies par Flandin et Botta des signes URU et *am.* Le signe final *na* dont Flandin ne donne que 5 barres, est un *ṣu* entier chez Botta. Vu le nombre de mentions du nom Amqarruna dans les textes historiques néo-assyriens [18], il ne peut y avoir de doute sur la présente lecture. Le dessin de Flandin montre que le signe était sans doute usé et le *ṣu* de Botta est peut-être une restauration un peu hardie. Il faut admettre que même le dessin de Flandin ne constitue pas un bon *na.* Flandin comme Botta indiquent une usure de la surface entre les signes *qa* et *ru.* Dans cet espace, El-Amin, sur la base de l'orthographe *am-qar-ru-na* dans les inscriptions de Sennacherib et d'Asarhaddon, restitue *'a-am-qa-*[*ar*]*-ru-na.* Cependant, comme l'écriture de *qar* devant une consonne dans d'autres toponymes le montre [19], les scribes assyriens ont toujours préféré l'orthographe *qar* au lieu de *qa-ar.* Il semble donc certain que le scribe qui a fourni le patron de l'épigraphe pour ce relief ne voulait pas d'un redoublement du r (comparer l'orthographe d'*am-qar-u-na* dans les inscriptions d'Assurbanipal) et que la transcription correcte est celle donnée ci-dessus. L'espace vide entre deux signes est banal, comparer avec l'orthographe de Kisheshlu (n° 9 ci-dessous).

Amqarruna a été identifiée avec l'Ekron biblique depuis le déchiffrement d'un taureau de Sennacherib provenant de Ninive et relatant la campagne de ce roi contre Ezechias de Juda [20]. Ekron est désormais identifiée à Khirbet el-Muqannâ [21]. La prise de cette cité n'est pas mentionnée dans les textes historiques connus de Sargon.

6. Planche 133 (salle 13, dalle 4).

Bibliographie : Botta et Flandin, *Monument de Ninive,* 2 : pl. 141 ; 4 : pl. 180, ligne 7 ; El-Amin, *Sumer* 9 (1953), p. 226-227.

Transcription : URU *mu-ṣa-ṣir al* ! - *me akšud* (KUR-*ud).*

Traduction : La cité de Musasir, je l'ai assiégée et capturée.

Comme l'avait fait observer El-Amin, le dessin lithographié de Flandin dans *Monument de Ninive,* 2 : pl. 141, semble montrer les signes *al-me* fautivement coupés par le sculpteur en quatre parties : DU-BAR-DIŠ-NU. Le dessin original donne à l'élément BAR une forme

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[16] Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* (édition anglaise, London, 1967) pp. 151, n°s 103, 377.

[17] Parpola, *AOAT* 6 (1970), p. 127.

[18] Ibid., p. 16.

[19] Ibid., p. 284-285.

[20] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon,* p. 143, 627 ; les inscriptions sont publiées par H. Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* 3 (1870), pls. 12-13 (BM 118815, 118817, 118819, 118821 = 56-9-9, 202-205). Voir aussi la traduction par H.F. Talbot du prisme Taylor de Sennacherib (BM 91032 = 55-10-3,1), *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 19 (London, 1862) p. 135-181. L'identification avec Ekron apparaît p. 146.

[21] J. Naveh, « Khirbet el-Muquanna^{c} », *Israel Exploration Journal* 8 (1958), p. 87-100, 165-170 (discussion des témoignages historiques).

légèrement différente mais est dans l'ensemble correctement reproduit par le lithographe. Le dessin par Botta dans *Monument de Ninive*, 4 : pl. 180 place les espaces entre les signes de façon très différente et rend au signe *al* sa forme normale (comparer avec l'épigraphe du siège de Kisheshlu, n° 9 ci-dessous). Le signe DU peut être transformé en signe *al* par l'addition d'une seule barre. Il semble donc préférable d'accepter les indications de Flandin comme plus fidèles en ce qui concerne l'espacement des signes, mais de suivre Botta dans sa lecture de DU comme *al !* Le signe BAR n'est probablement qu'une fissure de la pierre, et l'inclinaison de la barre qui transforme le ME en DIŠ-NU semble aussi accidentel.

L'identification de la cité urartéenne de Muṣaṣir [22] avec Mujeisir au Nord de l'Irak proposée par R. M. Boehmer [23] a été généralement acceptée. La prise de Muṣaṣir et son butin sont décrits en détail dans le récit de la huitième campagne de Sargon (714) [24].

7. Planche 137 (salle 14, dalle 10).

Bibliographie : Botta et Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2 : pl. 146 ; 4 : pl. 180, ligne 13. Winckler, *Sargon*, 1 : 191, n° 2 XIV, 10 ; 2 : pl. 49, n° 2n ; El-Amin, *Sumer* 9 (1953), p. 216-219 ; Reade, *JNES* 35 (1976), p. 98-99.

Transcription : *uš-ma-nu-šá* [*tak*] - [*lak-a-na-EN*].

Traduction : camp de Tak[lak-ana-Bel].

Le dessin de Flandin montre un vide après *tàk,* sans indication de manque. Cependant la version lithographiée parue dans *Monument de Ninive*, 2 : pl. 146 et la copie par Botta dans *Monument de Ninive,* 4 : pl. 180 montrent tout l'espace à droite du signe *tàk* comme érodé. Les tentatives de Winckler pour tirer un sens des seuls signes visibles n'étant pas satisfaisantes, il faut assumer que l'inscription devait se poursuivre à travers la partie vide.

Comme l'a fait observer El-Amin, Botta a ajouté fautivement une barre verticale au signe *uš.* Son signe *tàk* est copié comme chez Flandin. L'interprétation de Winckler *šarru*]-GIN est hors de question. La restitution d'El Amin[1] NUMUN-DU[LU *tur-ta-nu*], « Zera-ibni, le turtanu », est dans l'ensemble plausible mais demande que les deux copistes aient mal placé la barre horizontale de NUMUN et la barre horizontale du DU. Sa propre copie [25]IN0 escamote le problème de la hauteur du signe NUMUN. La lecture de J.N. Postgate [26]7. [1] tàk] -[lak...] correspond parfaitement aux copies et est justement reprise par Reade pour suggérer l'identification de Taklak-ana-Bel, le dignitaire *limmu* de l'année 715 [27]. Bien qu'il ne soit pas prouvé que ce personnage ait pris part à la campagne contre Kisheshlu, cette restitution reste la plus plausible.

8. Planche 136 (salle 14, dalle 2).

Bibliographie : Botta et Flandin, *Monument de Ninive,* 2 : pl. 145 ; 4 : pl. 180, lignes 1-2 ; Winckler, *Sargon,* 1 : 190, n° 2 XIV, 2 ; 2 : pl. 49, n° 21 ; El-Amin, *Sumer* 9 (1953), p. 219-225.

Transcription : URU *pa !-za-š*[*i*] URU *hal-ṣu-šà* KUR *man-na-a-a šà* IGI *n* [*i-ri*]-*be šá* KUR ! *zi-kir-ta-a-a.*

Traduction : La cité de Pazashi (Panzish), cité fortifiée du pays de Mannea qui est en face de la passe menant au pays de Zirkitu.

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[22] Pour les textes historiques, voir Parpola *AOAT* 6 (1970), p. 250.

[23] « Zur Lage von Muṣaṣir », *Bagh. Mitt.* 6 (1973), pp. 31-40 : *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 4 (1973) pp. 479-521.

[24] F. Thureau-Dangin, *Textes cunéiformes du Louvre*, 3 : 48-65, 309-414 ; Luckenbill, *ARAB* 2 : 92-99, § 169-176.

[25] *Sumer* 9 (1953), fig. 16 (p. 228), « Beischrift mit Ergänzung ».

[26] Reade, *JNES* 35 (1976), p. 99.

[27] E. Unger, *RlA* 2 : 426-427.

Le signe *pa* est mal dessiné dans les copies de Flandin et Botta. La barre horizontale manquante du *š* [*i*] est restituée par Botta. KUR à la seconde ligne, copié ŠE avec quatre barres par Flandin, est copié correctement par Botta. La lecture par Parpola [28] du nom de cité URU *un-ši*, quoique correcte du point de vue orthographique, ne peut être mise en relation avec aucun nom mentionné dans les textes historiques de Sargon ou toute autre source.

El-Amin voit de façon plausible en *pa-za-ši* une variante du nom *pa-an-zi-iš*, ville située entre Mannea, Zikirtu et Andia, fortifiée par Sargon lors de sa huitième campagne (714) [29]. L'échange entre *nz*|et|*z*|*z*| et l'adjonction ou omission du *i* final ne pose pas de problème, mais le changement de voyelle de *a* en *i* est quelque peu déconcertant. On peut raisonnablement assumer que Pazashi, ayant été prise par Sargon au cours de la campagne représentée sur ce relief fut ensuite remise par lui à son tributaire Ullusunu de Mannea pour l'utiliser comme un avant-poste destiné à surveiller le pays hostile de Zikirtu. Mitatti de Zikirtu est nommé comme l'un des meneurs de la coalition montée contre Sargon ; il fit campagne contre cette coalition en 719 et 716 (troisième et sixième campagnes) ; dans l'inscription des Fastes [30], Sargon rapporte avoir remis à Ullusuni vingt-deux forteresses (*halṣū*) et deux cités fortifiées qu'il avait prises sur Ursa (Rusa I d'Urartu) et Mitatti.

9. Planche 138 (salle 14, dalle 12).

Bibliographie : Botta et Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2 : pl. 147 ; 4 : pl. 180, ligne 12 ; Winckler, *Sargon*, 1 : 191, n° 2 XIV, ? ; 2 : pl. 49, n° 2m ; El-Amin, *Sumer* 9 (1953), p. 216.

Transcription : URU ! *Ki !-šeš-lu al-me akšud* (KUR !-*ud*).

Traduction : La cité de Kisheshlu, je l'ai assiégée et capturée.

Le signe URU dessiné par Flandin est incorrect ; son *ki* paraît à la fois abîmé et incisé irrégulièrement. La copie de Botta normalise les deux signes. KUR ! est copié comme un NU par Flandin et Botta et l'on peut se demander s'ils ne se font pas le reflet d'une faute du graveur assyrien. La capture de Kisheshlu, au voisinage de Harhar en Médie occidentale, ainsi que le nouveau nom de Kar-Nabu donné à cette cité, sont rapportés dans les Annales de Sargon pour sa septième année dans la salle 2 [31] et dans l'inscription des Fastes, salle 10 [32].

10 – 14 : Autres objets inscrits.

10. Planche 148 (autel inscrit).

Bibliographie : Botta et Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2 : pl. 157 ; 4 : 181, n° 1.

L'autel lui-même est aujourd'hui conservé au Musée du Louvre, AO 19900. Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, 5 : 171, fait allusion à l'existence d'autres autels. Layard rapporte aussi (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 131), que ses ouvriers trouvaient des autels inscrits ou des trépieds à Khorsabad. Deux autels avec la même inscription sont publiés, l'un à Istamboul [33], l'autre provenant des fouilles de l'Oriental Institute de Chicago (n° DS 1195) [34]. Le texte de l'exemplaire du Louvre a été édité par Winckler et Nassouhi [35]. Nous donnons ci-dessous une restitution du texte de l'autel du Louvre complété par les deux autres :

a-na ^{d}[IMIN. BI *qar-rad la ša-na-an* ^{1}]LUGAL – GI.NA *šar*$_4$ KUR *aš-šur*^{ki} ŠAKKANA KÁ-DINGIR.RA^{ki} *šar*^{4} KUR EME.KU *ù* URI^{ki} GÁ-*ma* BÁ-*eš*.

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[28] *AOAT* 6 (1970), p. 368.

[29] Thureau-Dangin, *TCL*, 3 : 14-15, 75-79 ; Luckenbill, *ARAB*, 2 : 78, § 150.

[30] *Monument de Ninive*, 4 : pl. 147, 4 ; Winckler, *Sargon*, 1 : 106, 52 ; Luckenbill, *ARAB*, 2 : 28-29, § 56.

[31] *Monument de Ninive*, 4 : pl. 74 bis, 9-10 ; Winckler, *Sargon*, 1 : 18-19, 87-88 ; Lie, *Sargon Annals*, pp. 20-21, 113-114 ; Luckenbill, *ARAB*, 2 : 7, § 14.

[32] *Monument de Ninive*, 4 : pl. 147, 4-5 ; Winckler, *Sargon*, 1 : 108-112, 64-65 ; Luckenbill, *ARAB*, 2 : 29, § 57.

[33] E. Nassouhi, *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 22 (1925), pp. 85-87.

[34] Loud – Altman, *Khorsabad. II*, p. 104, n°. 3.

[35] Winckler, *Sargon* 1 : 190, no 1 ; 2 : pl. 49, no. 1 ; Nassouhi, *RA* 22 (1925), pp. 87-88.

« Pour le Sebettu, le héros sans rival, Sargon, roi de l'Univers, vice-régent de Babylone, roi de Sumer et d'Akkad, a élevé et dédié (cet autel). »

Il convient de noter que la mention du Sebettu n'apparaît que dans l'autel d'Istamboul. En l'absence de provenance précise de AO 19900, on ne peut dire si cet autel était aussi dédié au Sebettu.

La lecture GÁ-*ma (iškun-ma)* a été proposée par Nassouhi. Pour l'équation GÁ = *šakànu* dans les textes lexicaux, voir W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (3 vol., Wiesbaden, 1959-1981), p. 1135a (section lexicale). L'usage de GÁ est probablement une affectation délibérée [36].

11-12. Planche 151 (inscriptions des briques à glaçure, nos 9 et 11).

Bibliographie : Botta et Flandin, *Monument de Ninive,* 2 : pl. 156, nos 9 et 11.

Ces deux fragments de briques à glaçures inscrites font probablement partie d'une frise et sont aujourd'hui conservées à Paris (Inv. Nap. 2994 et 2995). Un autre fragment (DS 5, aujourd'hui à Chicago, Oriental Institute) fut retrouvé par les fouilleurs de Chicago dans la cour VII, salle du trône de Sargon [37] et c'est peut-être la localisation d'origine des fragments de Botta [38]. V. Place mentionne également [39] des briques à glaçures inscrites sans donner beaucoup de précision. L'emploi de ces briques à glaçure est discuté par Loud et Altmann sans référence aux inscriptions [40].

Malgré la taille et la clarté des copies de Flandin, les lambeaux de textes restants demeurent illisibles. On s'attendrait à y trouver un parallèle dans une inscription standard sur brique ou sur pierre : les divers textes des annales et l'inscription des Fastes pourraient fournir des parallèles. Le fragment de relief [41] découvert dans la salle du trône par l'expédition de Chicago, montrant une campagne contre Mérodach-Baladan avec les restes d'une inscription de trois lignes, suggère l'existence de motifs décoratifs portant des textes autres que les inscriptions standard. Une frise de briques glaçurées inscrites trouvée par W. Andrae à Assur [42] et attribuée par lui à Teglath-Phalasar III fut ensuite rendue par E.F. Weidner à Sargon [43] sur la base du texte ; mais cette dernière identification a été récemment contestée [44]. L'état très fragmentaire de l'inscription sur ces briques ne peut aider à la compréhension des copies de Flandin ; cependant la référence historique au passage du roi entre les monts Nikippi et Upa [45] renforce la possibilité que les reliefs de Flandin fassent partie d'un texte non standard.

13. Planche 152 (empreinte de cylindre néo-assyrien, no 2).

Bibliographie : Botta et Flandin, *Monument de Ninive,* 2 : pl. 164.

L'objet n'a pas été localisé à ce jour ; cette empreinte porte un sceau royal [46] autour duquel est gravée une inscription. Ce genre d'inscription indique que le contenu (ou le contenant) est propriété royale, ou énumère des biens. En l'absence de l'empreinte originale,

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[36] Comparer l'inscription sumérienne sur les briques de Sargon à Khorsabad, C.B.F. Walker, *Cuneiform Brick Inscriptions* (London, 1981), p. 118, no 168.

[37] Information aimablement communiquée par J. Renger. Un fragment, DS 89, portant des traces d'un signe isolé a été trouvé dans le palais F.

[38] Botta in *Monument de Ninive,* 5 : 171, mentionne les fragments de briques glaçurées publiés, ibid., 2 : 155-156, sans donner de précision sur la provenance.

[39] Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie,* 1 : 89, 233-234 ; 2 : 86.

[40] *Khorsabad. II,* p. 14-15, 41-42 ; cf. Index, p. 113, *s.v.* « bricks, glazed ». Voir aussi J.E. Reade, *Bagh. Mitt.* 10 (1979), p. 19-20.

[41] Loud, *Khorsabad I,* p. 60, 129, fig. 72.

[42] W. Andrae, *Farbige Keramik aus Assur* (Berlin, 1923), p. 11-12, pl. 6.

[43] *Archiv für Orientforschung* 3 (1936), pp. 1-6.

[44] A. Fridman, « Sargon II or Tiglath-pileser III ? », *RA* 63 (1969), p. 172-175.

[45] Comparer Thureau-Dangin, *TCL,* 3 : 4-5, ligne 15, et 3 : 66-67, ligne 418 (Huitième Campagne de Sargon) ; Luckenbill, *ARAB,* 2 : 74, 99, § 142, 176.

[46] Sachs, *Iraq* 15 (1953), p. 167-170 ; Millard, *Iraq* 27 (1965), p. 12-16.

il semble hasardeux de tenter une restitution du texte : on pourrait identifier certains signes au sommet comme *šar*$_4$ KUR *aš-šur*, « roi d'Assyrie », mais cela est complètement hypothétique.

14. Planche 153 (cachet).

Bibliographie : Botta et Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, 2 : pl. 154.

Le cachet original n'a pas été localisé et ne semble pas conservé au Musée du Louvre. Il s'agit d'un scaraboide en dôme, probablement non assyrien et importé du Levant. Sur la face, au-dessus du cheval, apparaît un signe ressemblant à du cunéiforme. Ce signe n'est cependant pas identifiable et les sceaux de ce type portent rarement une inscription cunéiforme.

CHAPITRE VIII

CATALOGUE DES DESSINS ORIGINAUX

A – DESSINS DE PAUL-EMILE BOTTA

Les dessins de Botta reproduits dans le présent ouvrage ont été à un moment quelconque découpés et contrecollés sur quatre feuilles de papier. Ces feuilles sont conservées à la Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France (MS 2995.4). Elles sont en condition de conservation moyenne, certains croquis sont déchirés sur les bords. La plupart sont exécutés à la mine de plomb, quelques-uns à l'encre de Chine et au pinceau (sur crayon ?). Des annotations sont portées sur plusieurs des dessins. Tous portent une lettre de l'alphabet, probablement destinée à identifier l'emplacement des découvertes de Botta dans ses premières lettres à Jules Mohl (5 avril et 2 mai 1843). Ces reliefs proviennent des murs numérotés en chiffres romains sur le plan de Botta : V, IV, III (murs Sud et Sud-Est de la salle 1) ; II, I (façades L et K, à côté de la salle 1) ; X, XV, XVI, XXIII (porte donnant sur la salle 2) ; XXII (mur Ouest de la salle 2). La localisation des dessins qui devaient accompagner les autres lettres de Botta à Jules Mohl est inconnue : cette disparition est d'autant plus regrettable que plusieurs de ces dessins devaient comporter des indications de couleurs, que Botta mentionne dans ses lettres. Il apparaît de plus d'après les dessins de Flandin exécutés un peu plus tard que l'érosion a endommagé plusieurs de ces reliefs après leur mise au jour. A la fin d'octobre 1843, Botta avait dégagé les murs des salles 1, 2, 3 et partiellement 4, ainsi que des fragments des façades K et L. Il avait aussi fait apparaître le passage reliant les salles 2 et 5, et tous ces murs étaient ornés de reliefs. En même temps, Botta copiait les inscriptions cunéiformes courant sur le bas des figures de la salle 4, celles du registre inférieur de la salle 2 et celles du dallage des passages. Des traductions simplifiées en contour des dessins de Botta furent reproduites, ainsi que ses lettres à Jules Mohl, dans le *Journal Asiatique* et dans un volume réuni par la suite, *Lettres de M. Botta.* Les dessins de Botta sont ici reproduits tels qu'ils apparaissent à la Bibliothèque de l'Institut. Les dimensions sont données pour chaque croquis, avec une brève description et la bibliographie.

B – DESSINS D'EUGENE FLANDIN

Dans l'ensemble, les dessins de Flandin sont présentés dans la séquence où ils sont discutés dans le présent ouvrage. Une analyse stylistique permet de les classer selon qu'ils ont été exécutés *in situ* ou un peu plus tard, après organisation des informations nécessaires. A la première catégorie appartient le rendu naturaliste au crayon des bas-reliefs en place.

Les autres comportent des plans et des élévations à l'encre et à la plume, qui n'ont pu être terminés qu'après complet dégagement des salles ou façades. Deux dessins concernant la salle 7 confirment ces observations : l'un est un croquis naturaliste d'un bas-relief, daté « 4 août 1844 », l'autre, un plan avec élévation, est daté du « 8 août 44 » (voir planches 84, 88). Bien que Flandin n'ait daté que onze de ses dessins, ces indications nous apportent des renseignements sur les dates de ses relevés exécutés sur les différentes parties du site (ainsi : Façade L : mai ; salle 2 : juin ; salle 5 : juin ; façade N : juillet (?) ; vues de Khorsabad : juillet-août ; salle 7 : août). Tous les dessins sans exception portent le nom ou la signature de Flandin, avec le commentaire « Khorsabad 44 ».

Certains dessins, relevant de la deuxième catégorie, représentent les bas-reliefs et les parois restitués dans leur apparence d'origine (par exemple pl. 15, 17, 44). Botta assure dans la publication que ces restaurations ne sont pas arbitraires mais reposent sur des fragments détachés ; de plus, en mesurant les détails et en se livrant à des calculs de dimensions [1] Flandin parvenait à des appréciations. On peut supposer qu'il utilisa un équipement technique particulier, comme la *camera lucida* ou la *camera obscura* ou les deux [2], particulièrement pour les panoramas ou vues de longues parois adjacentes mises bout à bout. Il serait difficile sans cela de s'expliquer la remarquable précision du rendu des détails.

Il semble que les dessins ont été collés en deux volumes in F° après que les gravures en vue de leur publication aient été tirées. Tous les dessins sans exception sont soigneusement coupés sur les bords, et dans certains cas, quelques annotations ont été enlevées. Certaines feuilles sont recoupées en haut en suivant le contour irrégulier de certains blocs. Quelquefois, deux dessins sont fixés sur la même feuille ; dans certains cas, l'ordre a été inversé par erreur : l'une des erreurs les plus importantes se trouve dans un groupe de dessins pour la salle 10 (pl. 27-30) ; la séquence correcte se trouve dans la publication, *Monument de Ninive.*

Toutes les pages des deux volumes sont numérotées. Sous chaque dessin de bas-relief, se trouve le numéro du bloc (qui n'apparaît pas sur les planches photographiques du présent ouvrage). Flandin a numéroté les dalles parant les murs des façades et des salles à la suite, soit de gauche à droite, soit de droite à gauche. Pour chaque dessin, la page où il se trouve dans les in F° de Flandin est donnée, suivie de la référence à la page dans la publication de Botta (1849) *Monument de Ninive,* avec identification. Les annotations de Flandin ont été traduites dans la version anglaise.

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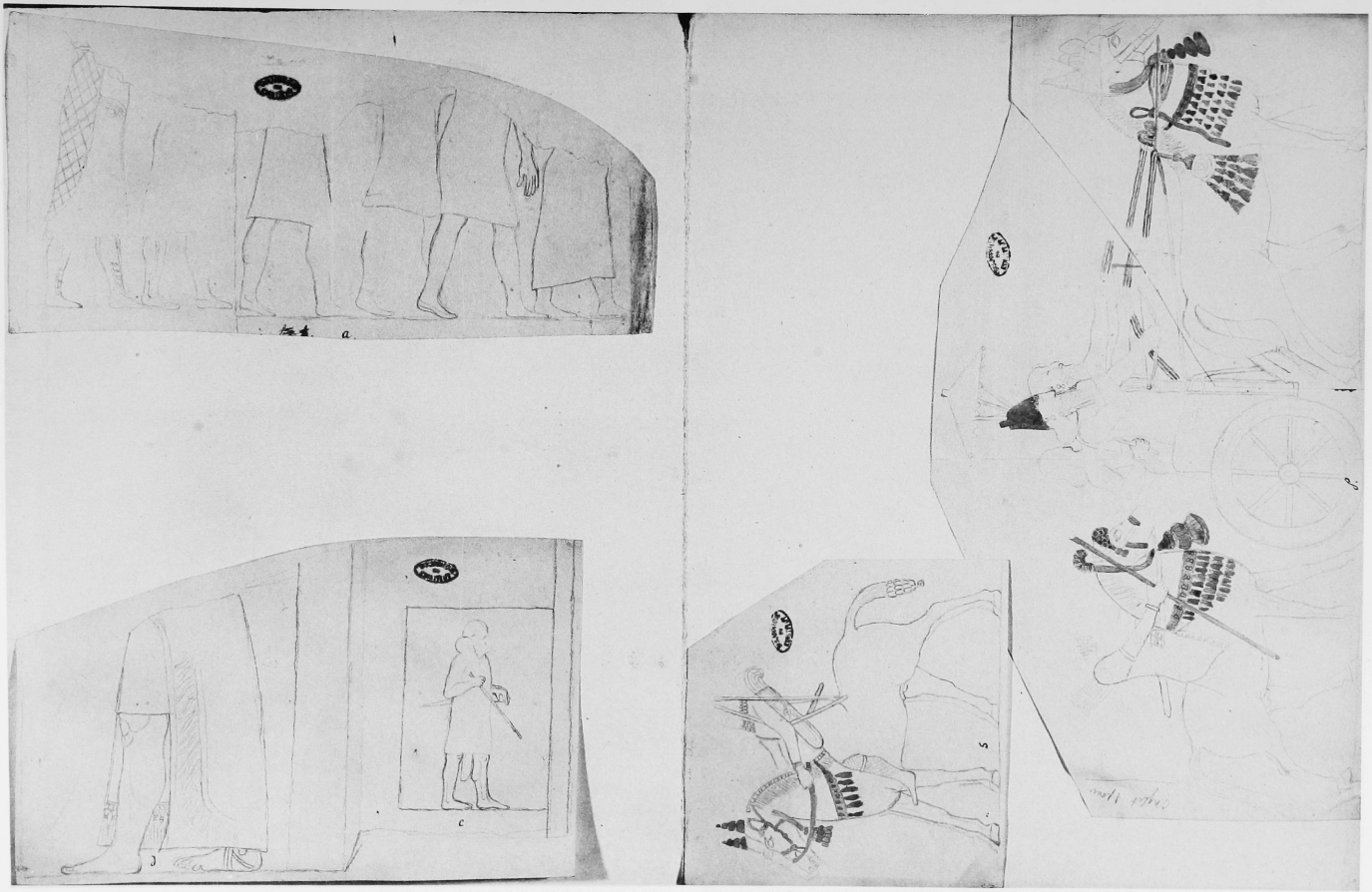
[1] Botta et Flandin, *Monument de Ninive,* 5 : VI-VII. Botta rapporte explicitement que Flandin a copié les reliefs, préparé les plans définitifs et copié un certain nombre d'inscriptions : op. cit., p. 12.

[2] Sur la *camera lucida,* voir Catherine D. Major, « Illustrations , B.C. », *Archaeology* 24 (1971), p. 44-51. Pour la *camera obscura,* voir Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene. A Social History, 1839-1889* (New York : Dover, 1938), p. 4, 6.

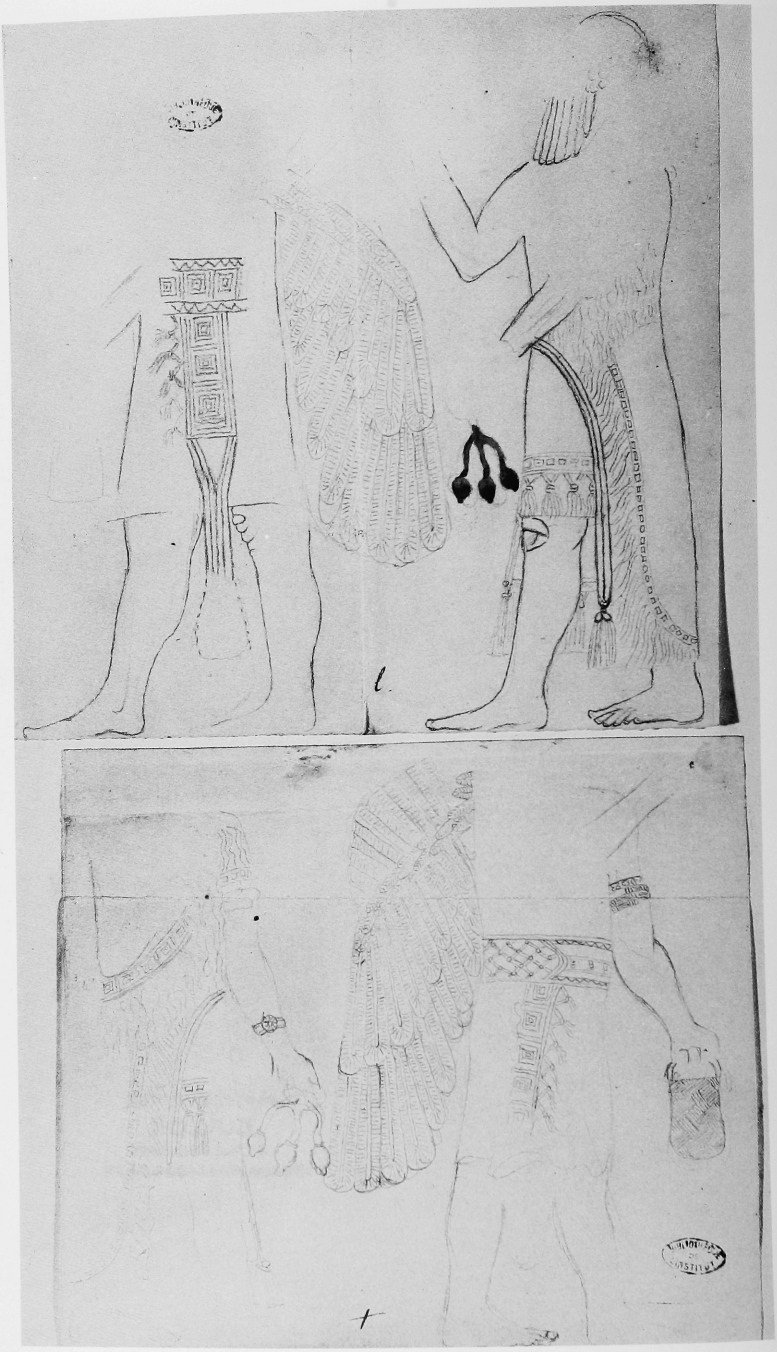
PLANCHES
FIGURES

Pl. 1 Botta. (MS 2995.4) four sketches

Pl. 2 Botta. (MS 2995.4) five sketches



Pl. 3 Botta. (MS 2995.4) four sketches



Pl. 4 Botta. (MS 2995.4) two sketches

Plans

Coupes, Elevations

& Détails

d'Architecture

des

Monumens Assyriens

découverts à Khorsabad

sur

Le territoire de l'Ancienne Ninive,

par

Eugène Flandin.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE

Pl. 5 Flandin. Title page

BAS-RELIEFS ASSYRIENS

DECOUVERTS

A

KHORSABAD

SUR

LE TERRITOIRE

DE L'ANCIENNE NINIVE aujourd'hui MOSSOUL

BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE

DESSINS ORIGINAUX

PAR

EUGENE FLANDIN

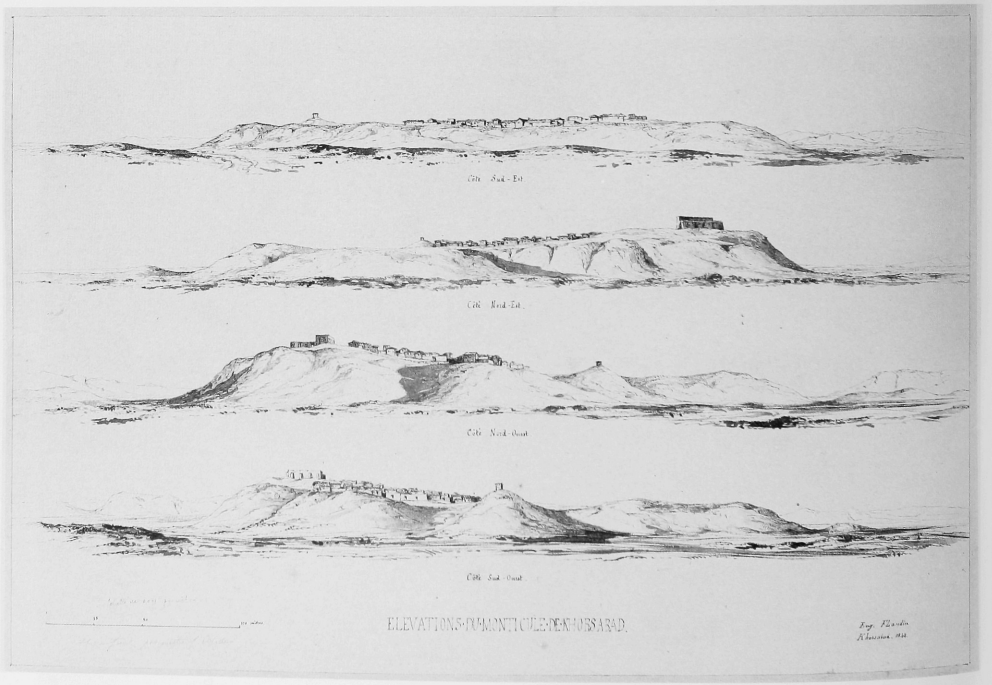
GRAVÉS DANS L'OUVRAGE PUBLIÉ PAR L'ETAT

EN

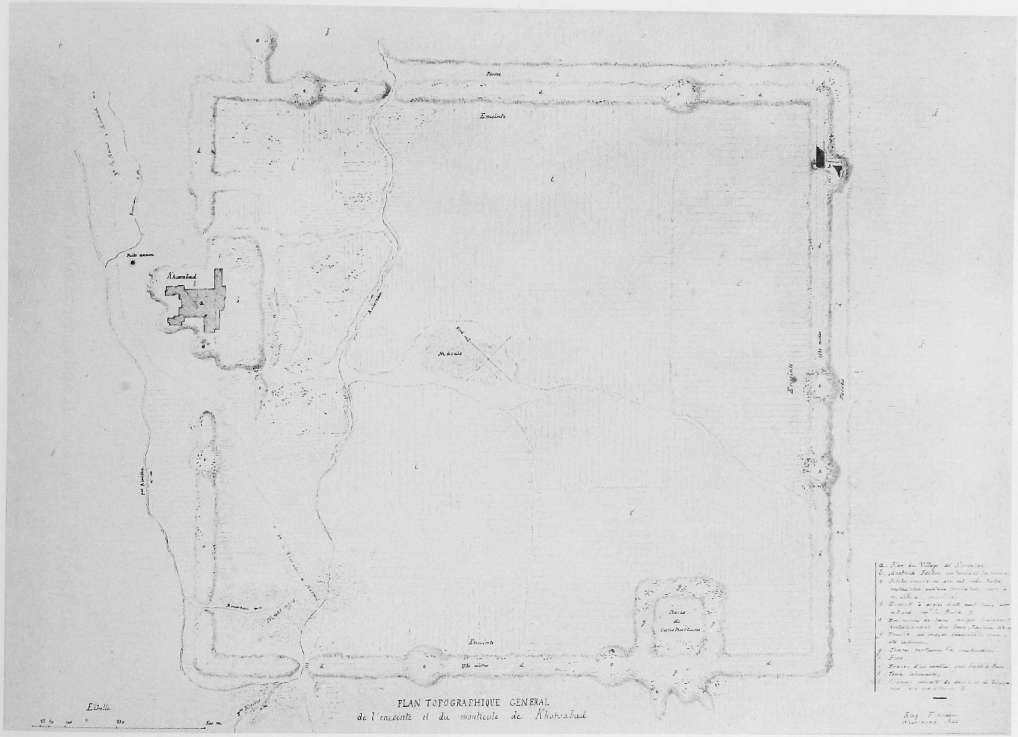
1846

Pl. 6 Flandin. Title page

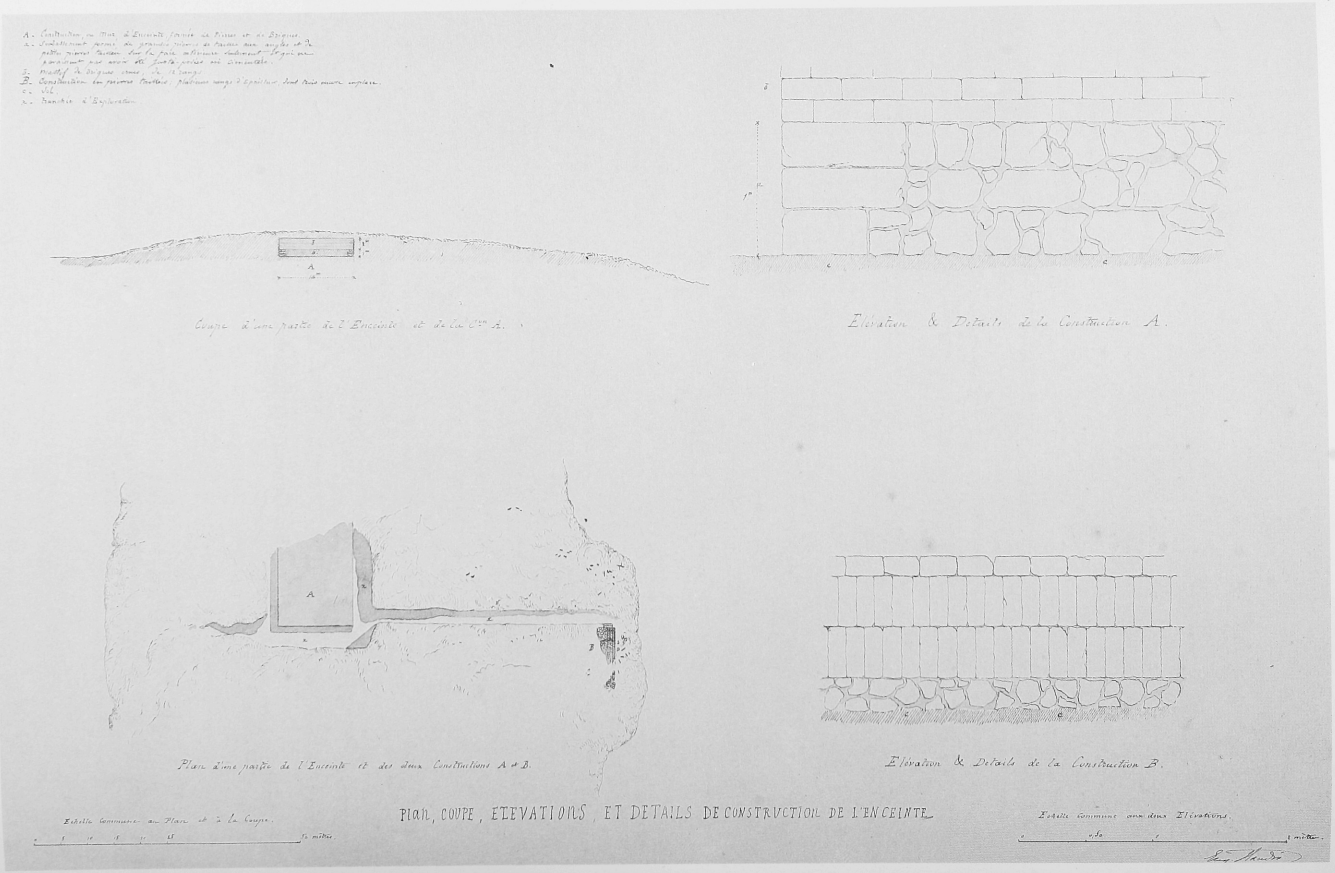
Pl. 7 Flandin. Mound of Khorsabad with village



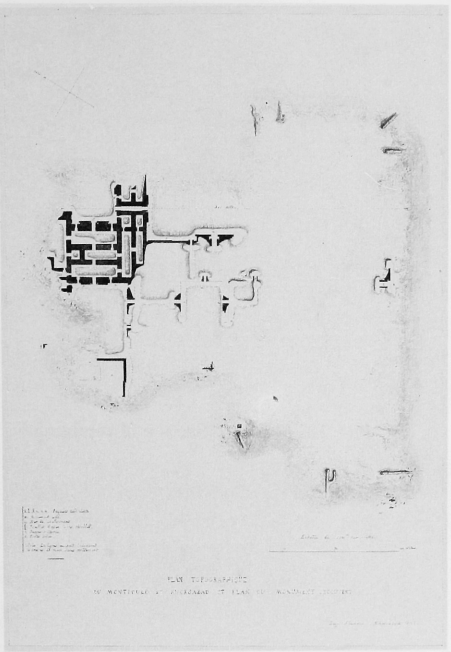
Pl. 8 Flandin. Elevations of the mound of Khorsabad



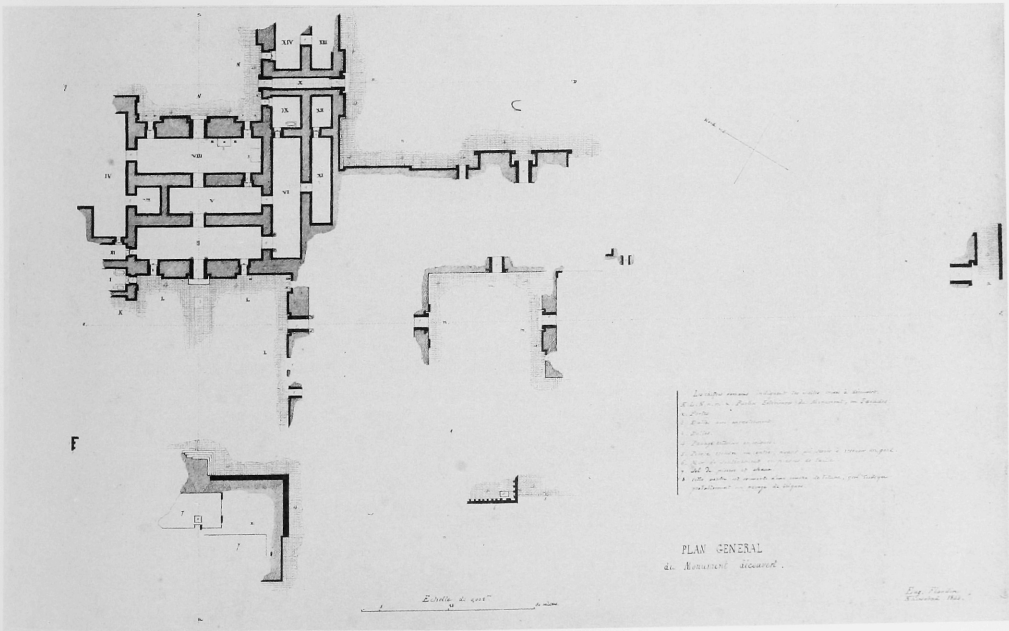
Pl. 9 Flandin. General topographical plan



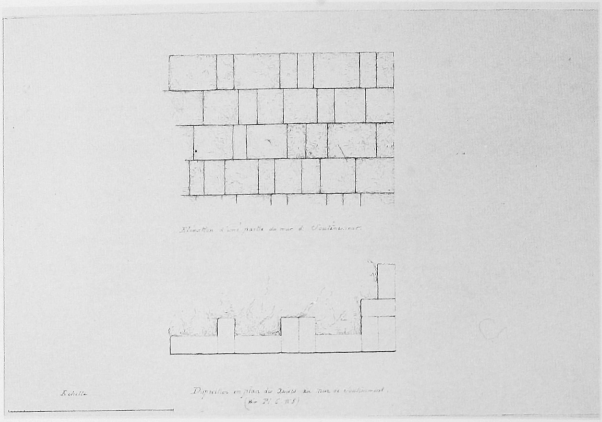
Pl. 10 Flandin. Plan, layout, and construction of the ancient wall



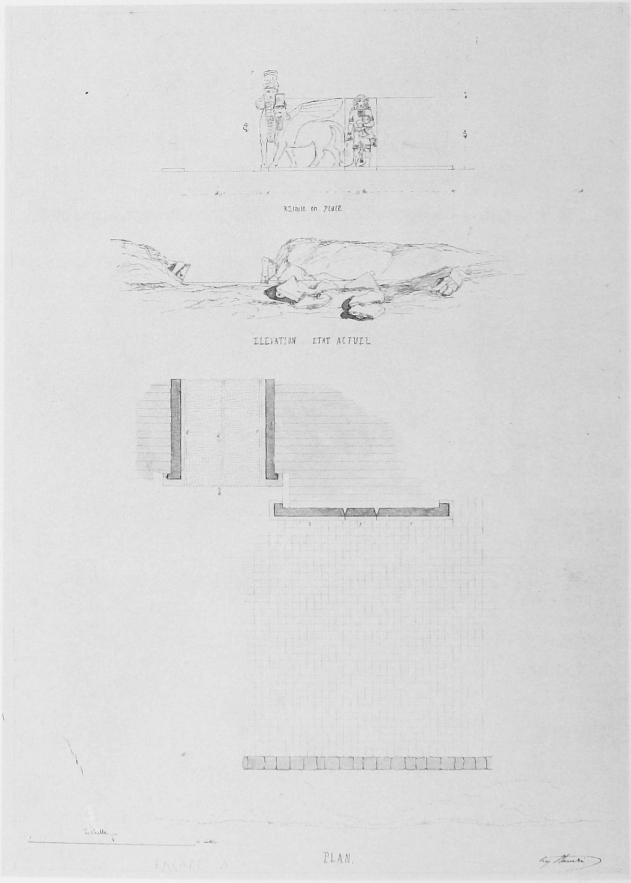
Pl. 11 Flandin. Topographical plan of the mound of Khorsabad



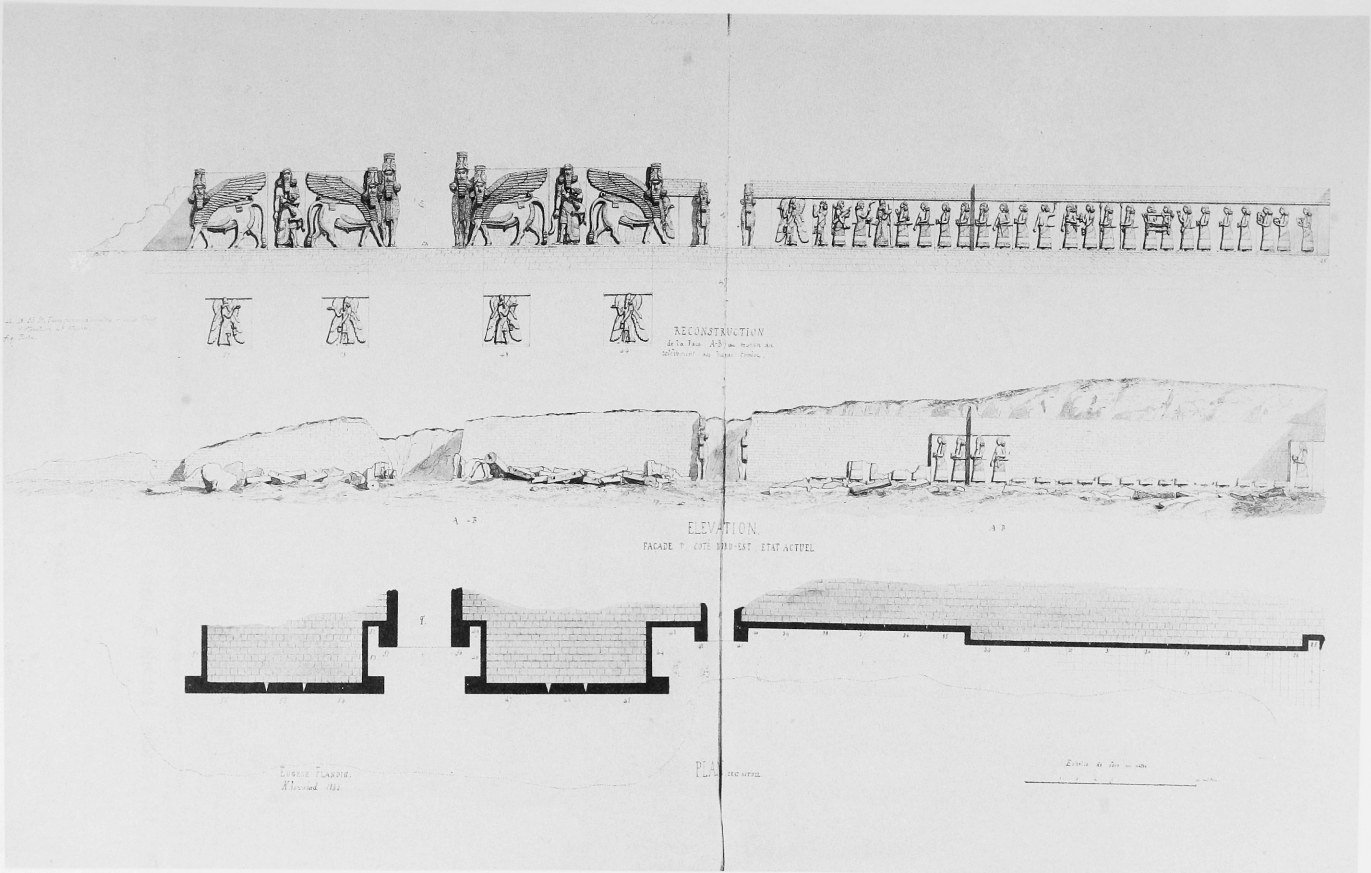
Pl. 12 Flandin. General plan of the architectural structures discovered on the mound



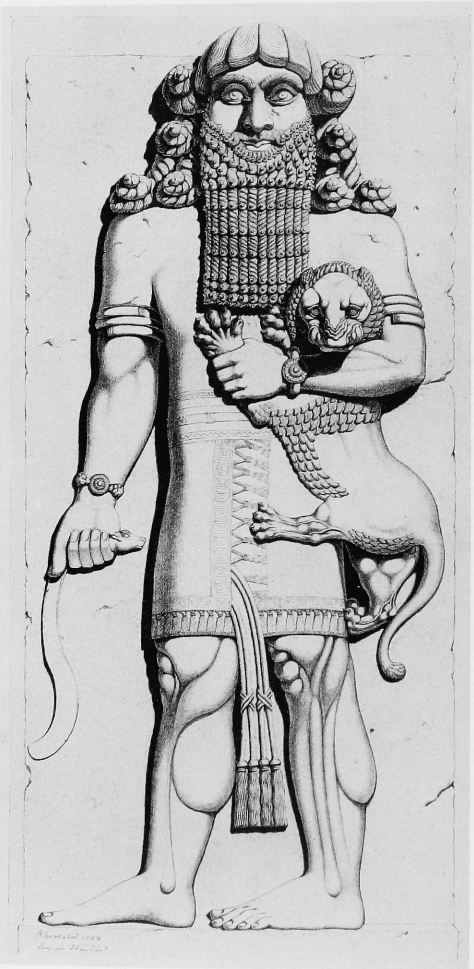
Pl. 13 Flandin. Section of retaining wall



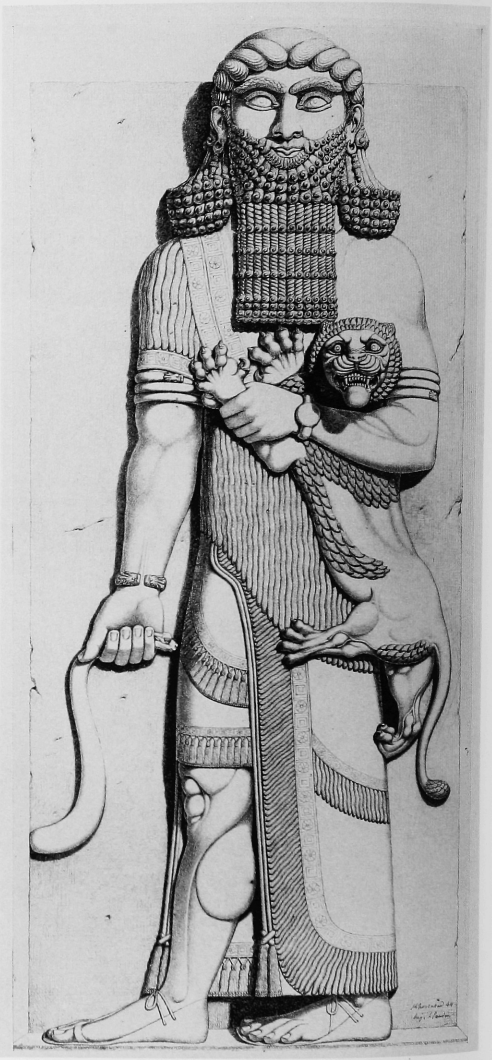
Pl. 14 Flandin. Facade A



Pl. 16 Flandin. Facade n, northeast wall A-B

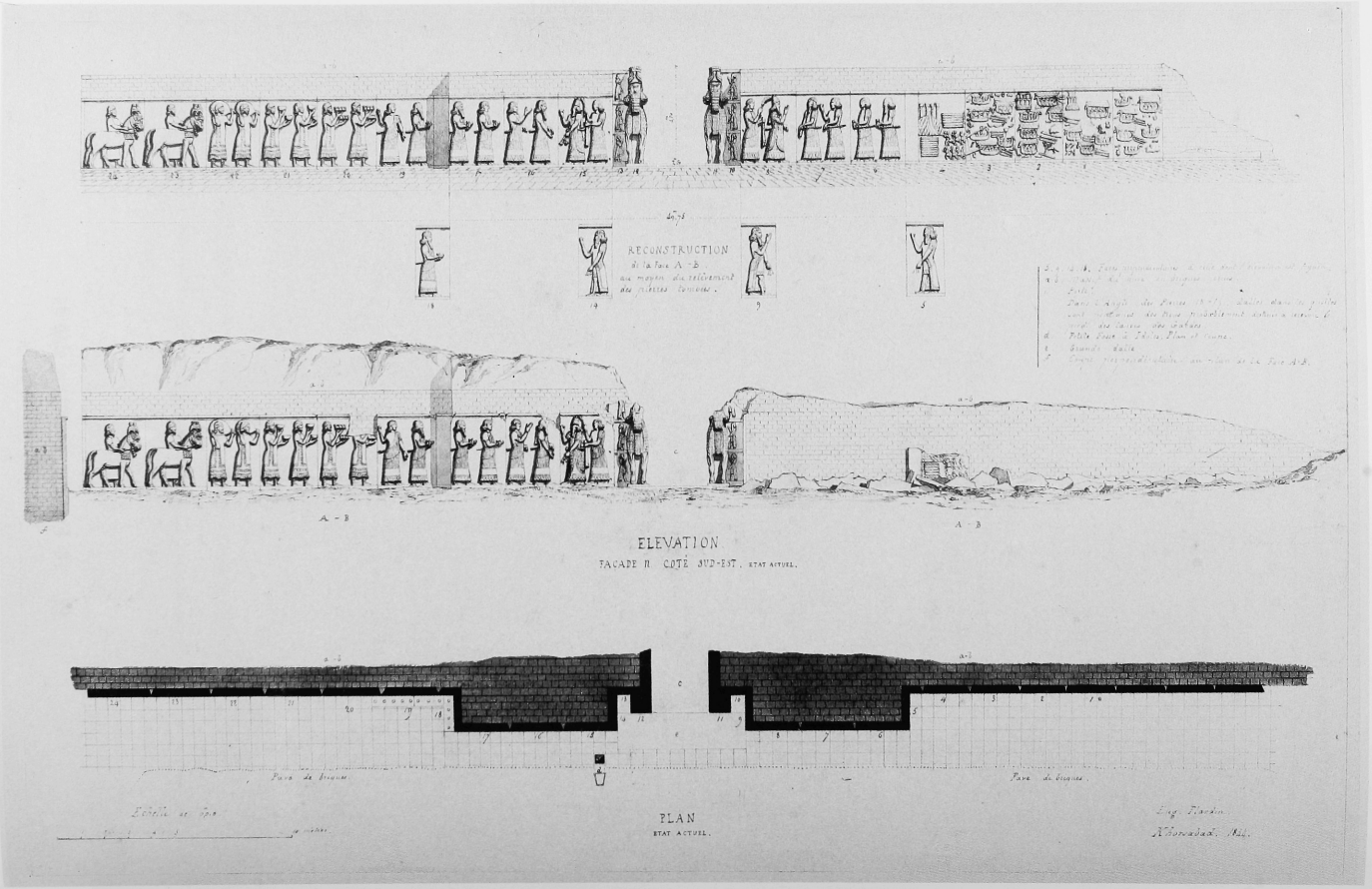


Pl. 15 Flandin. Facade A, slab 2

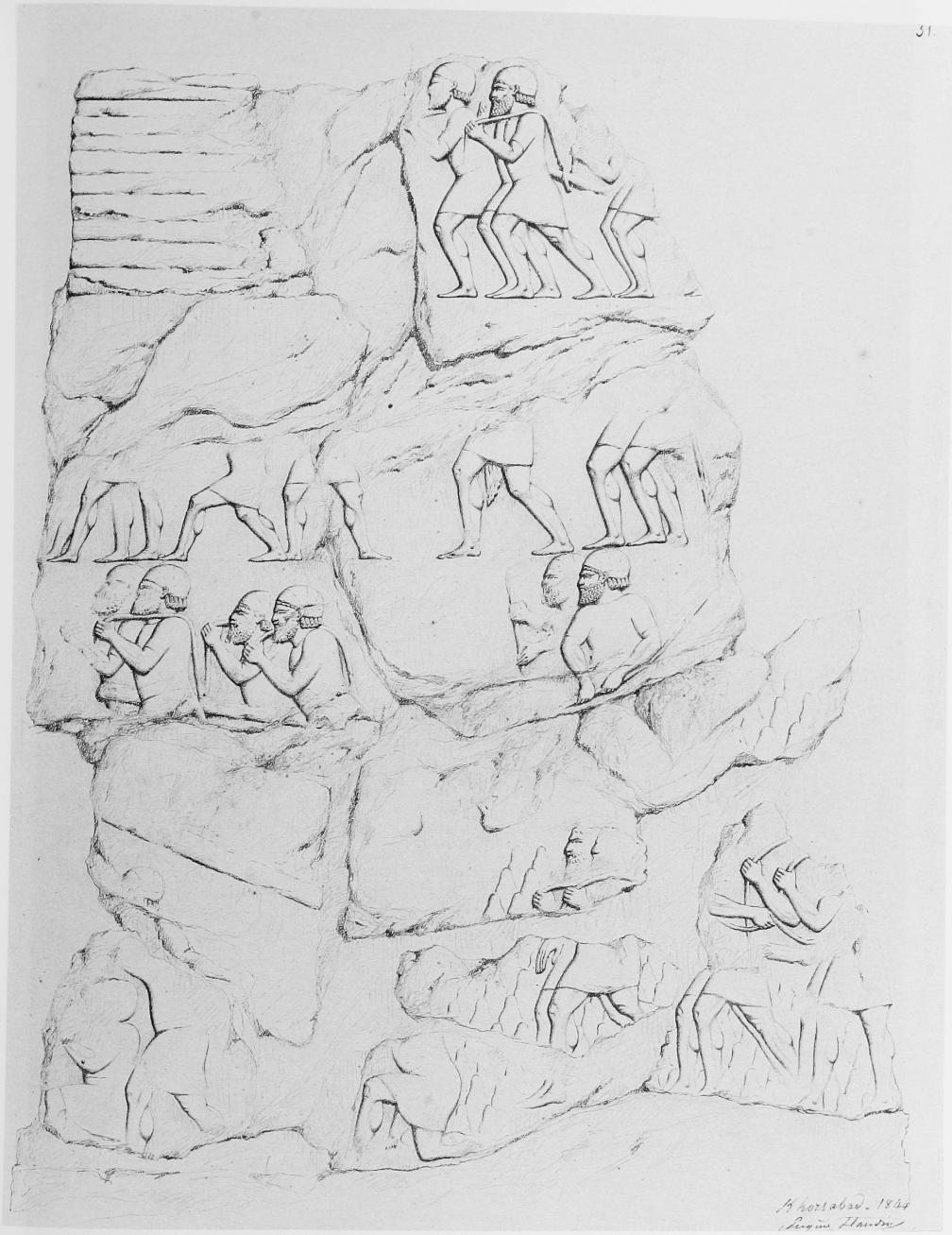


Pl. 17 Flandin. Facade n, slab 46

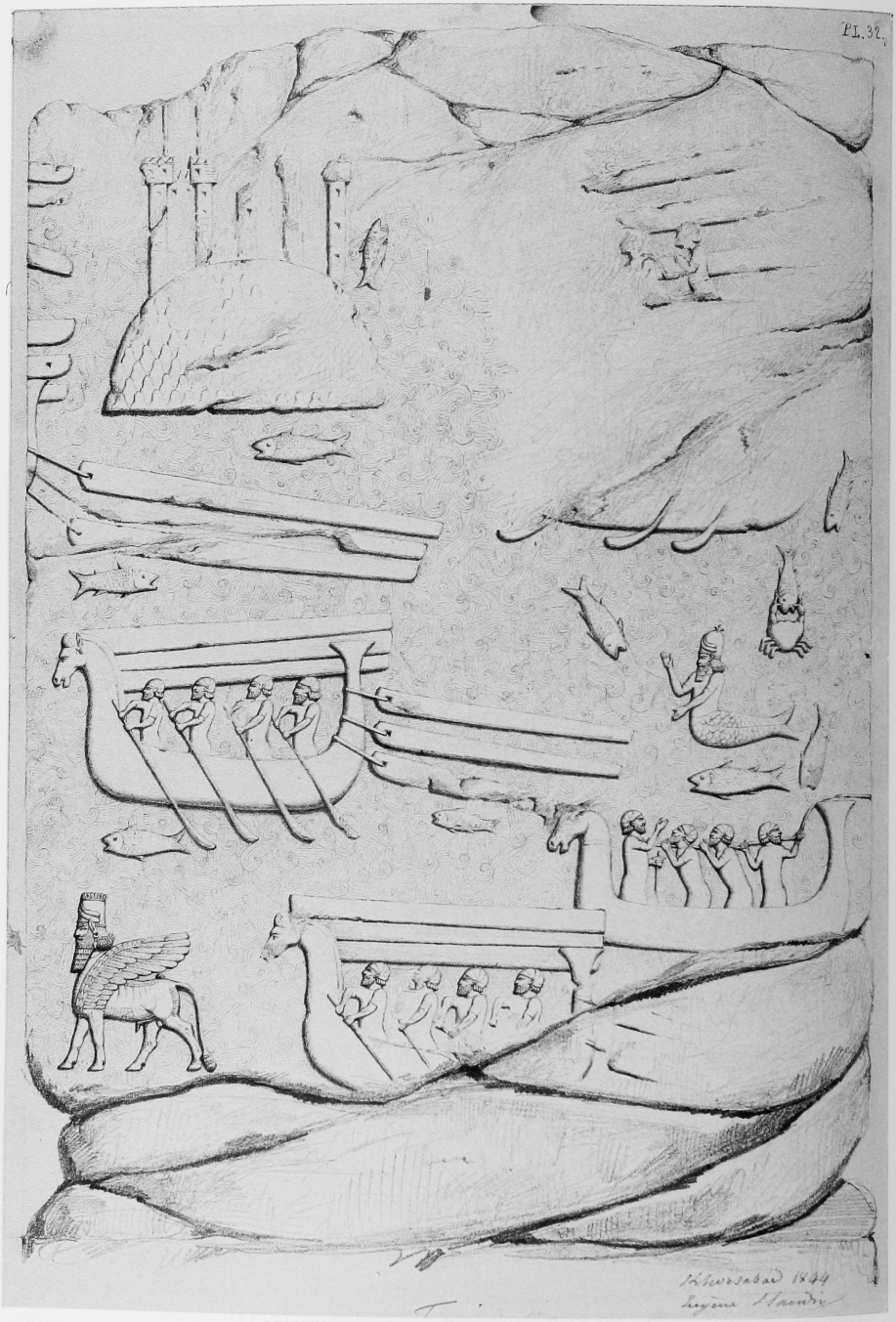
Pl. 18 Flandin. Facade n, slab 34



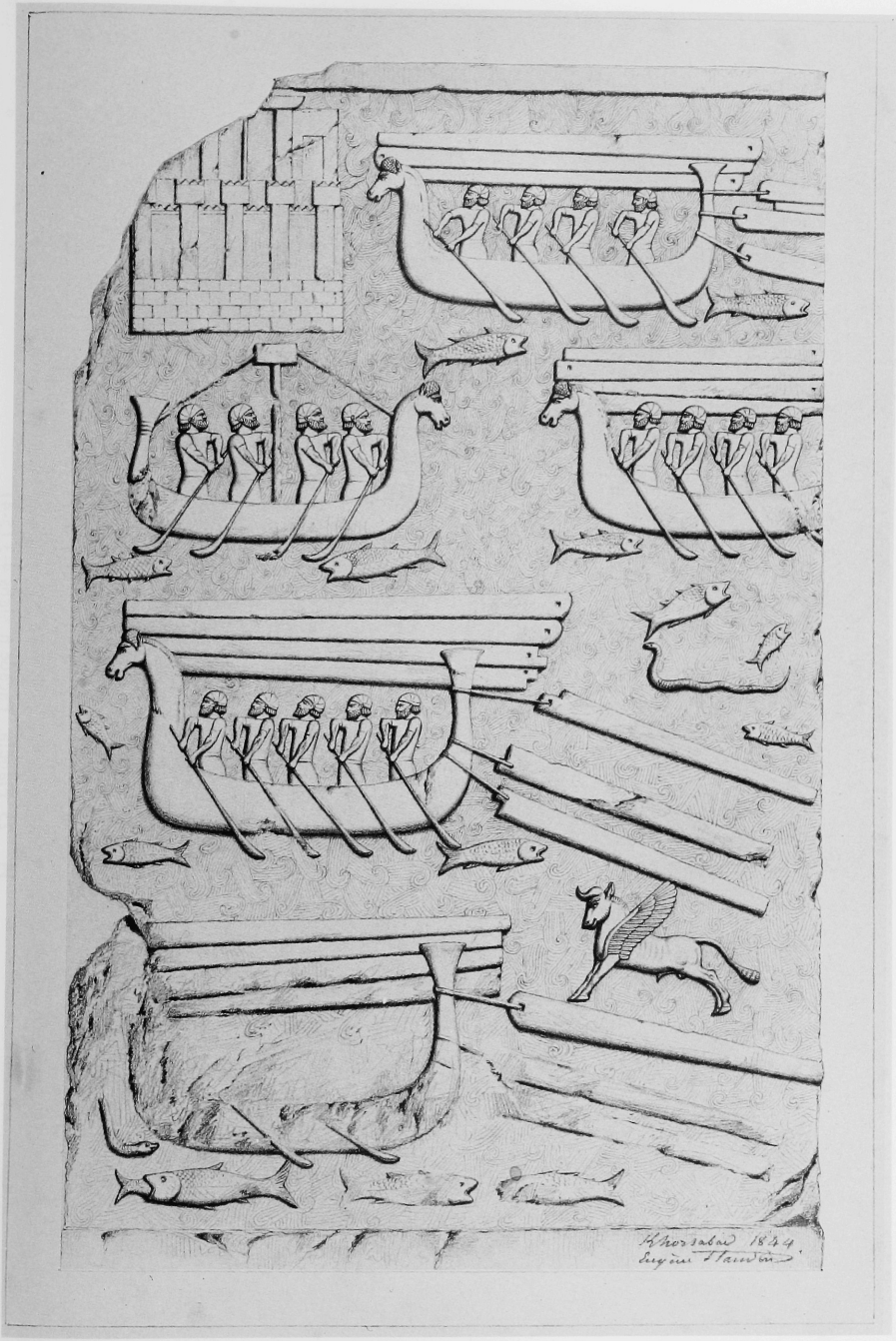
Pl. 19 Flandin. Facade n, southeast wall A-B



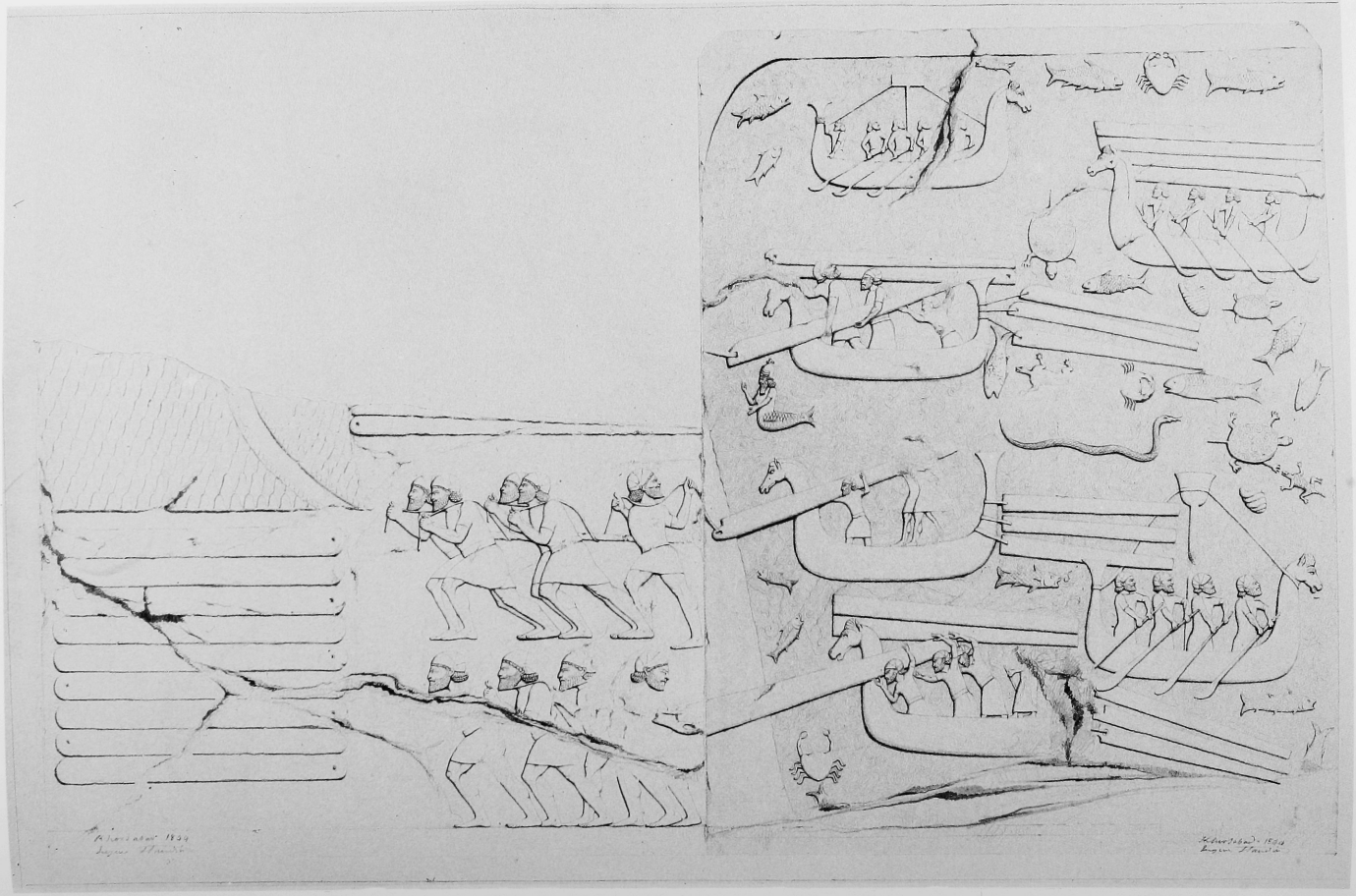
Pl. 20 Flandin. Facade n, slab unnumbered (1)



Pl. 21 Flandin. Facade n, slab 1 (2)

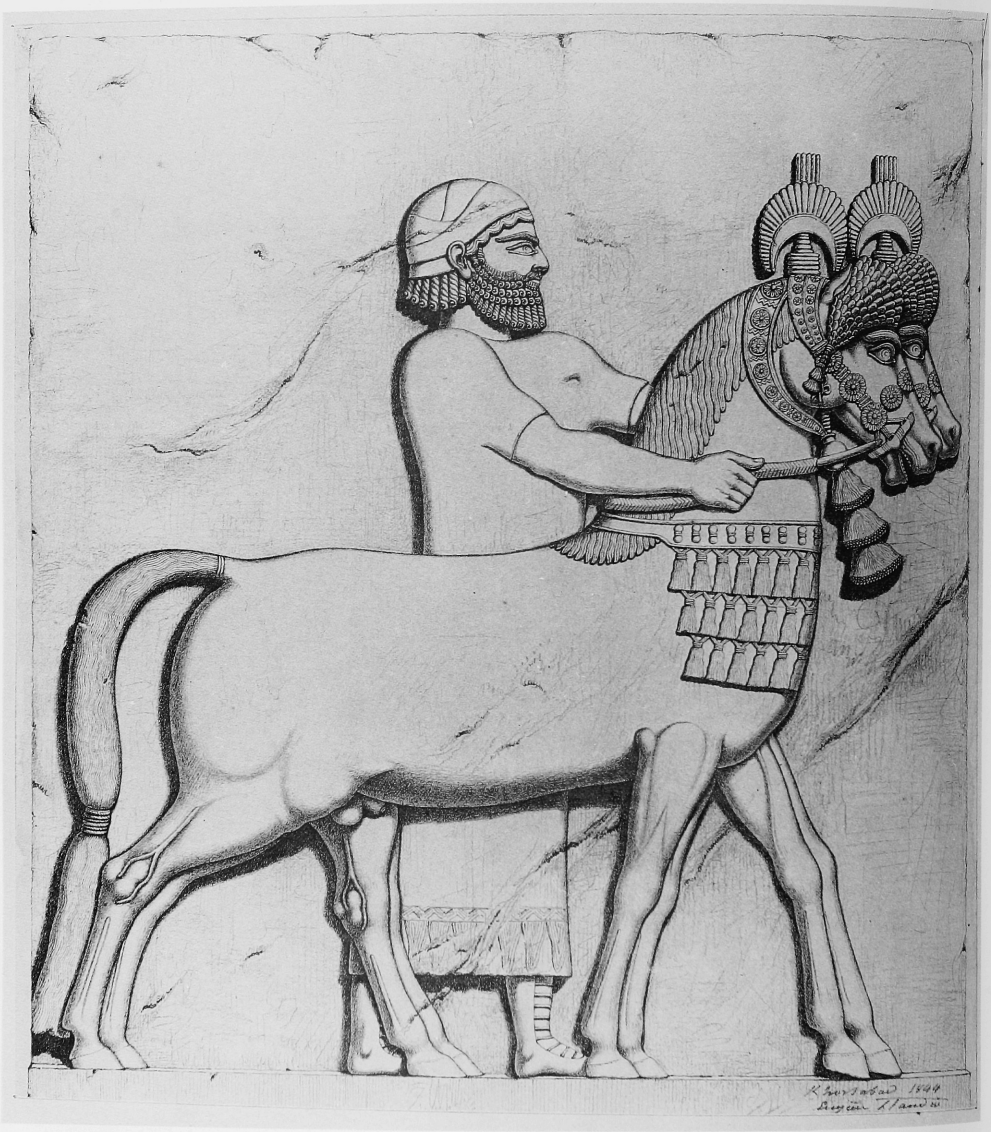


Pl. 22 Flandin. Facade n, slab 2 (3)

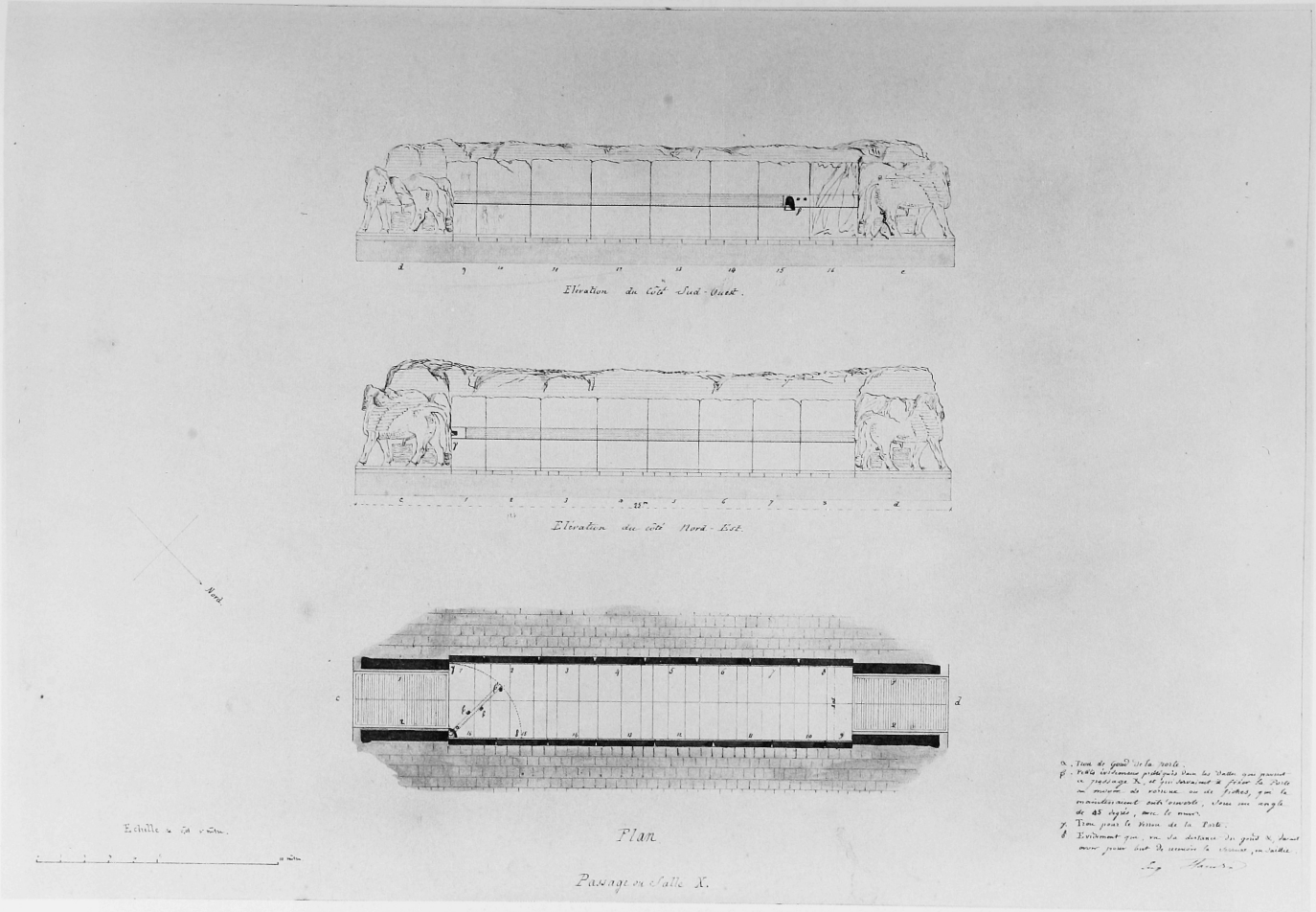


Pl. 23 Flandin. Facade n, slabs 4-3 (5-4)

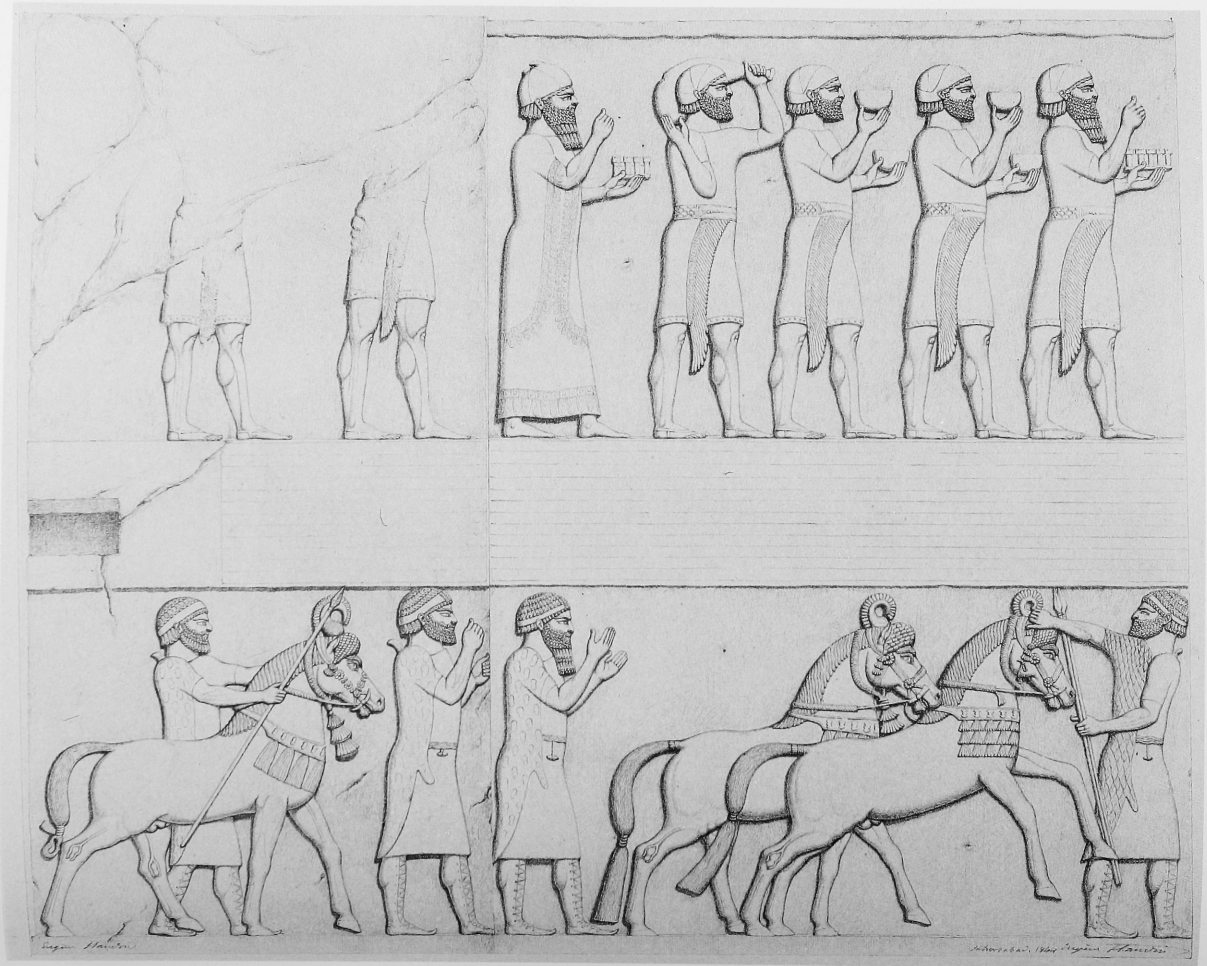
Pl. 24 Flandin. Facade n, slabs 22-20 (23-21)



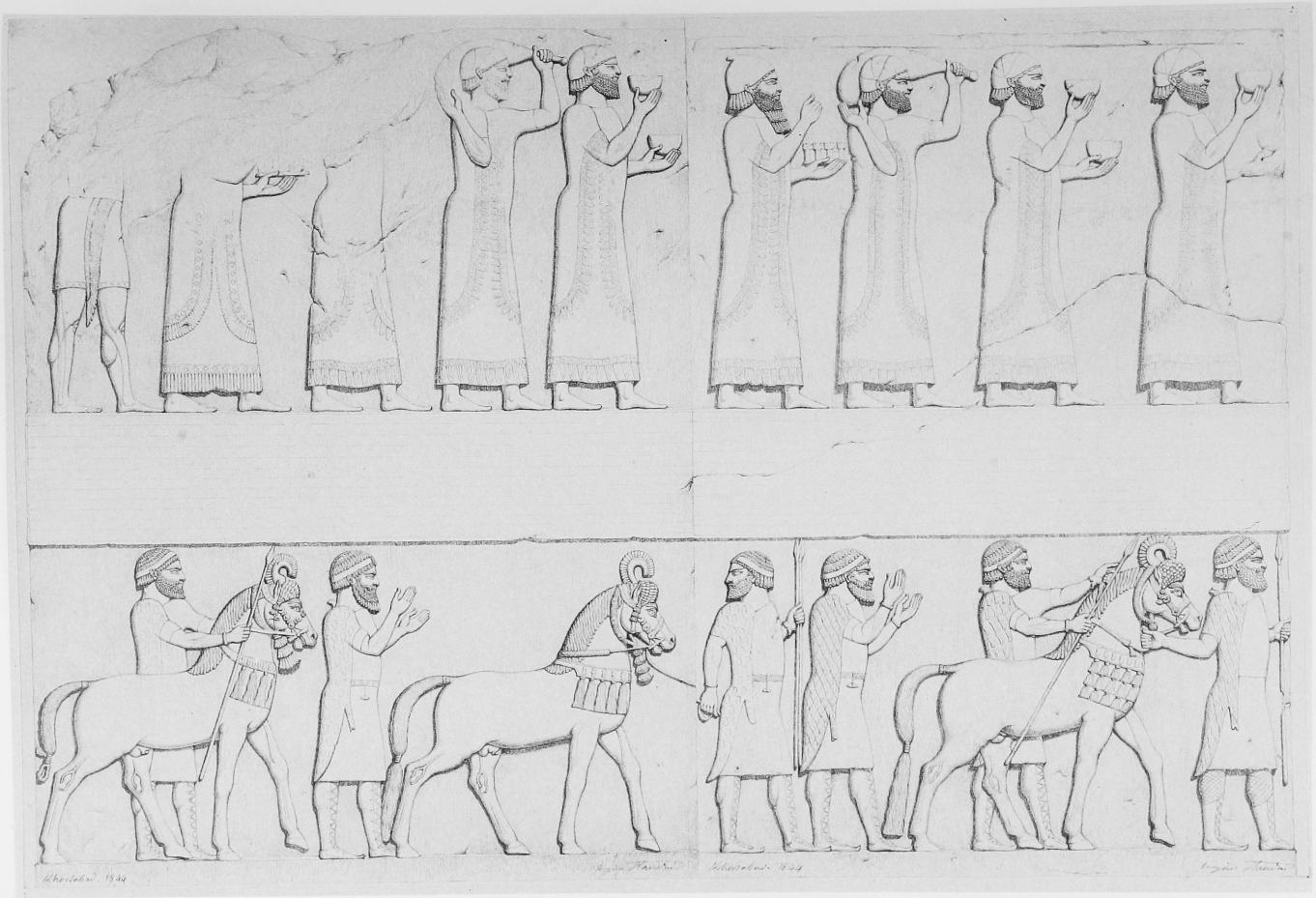
Pl. 25 Flandin. Facade n, slab 23 (24)



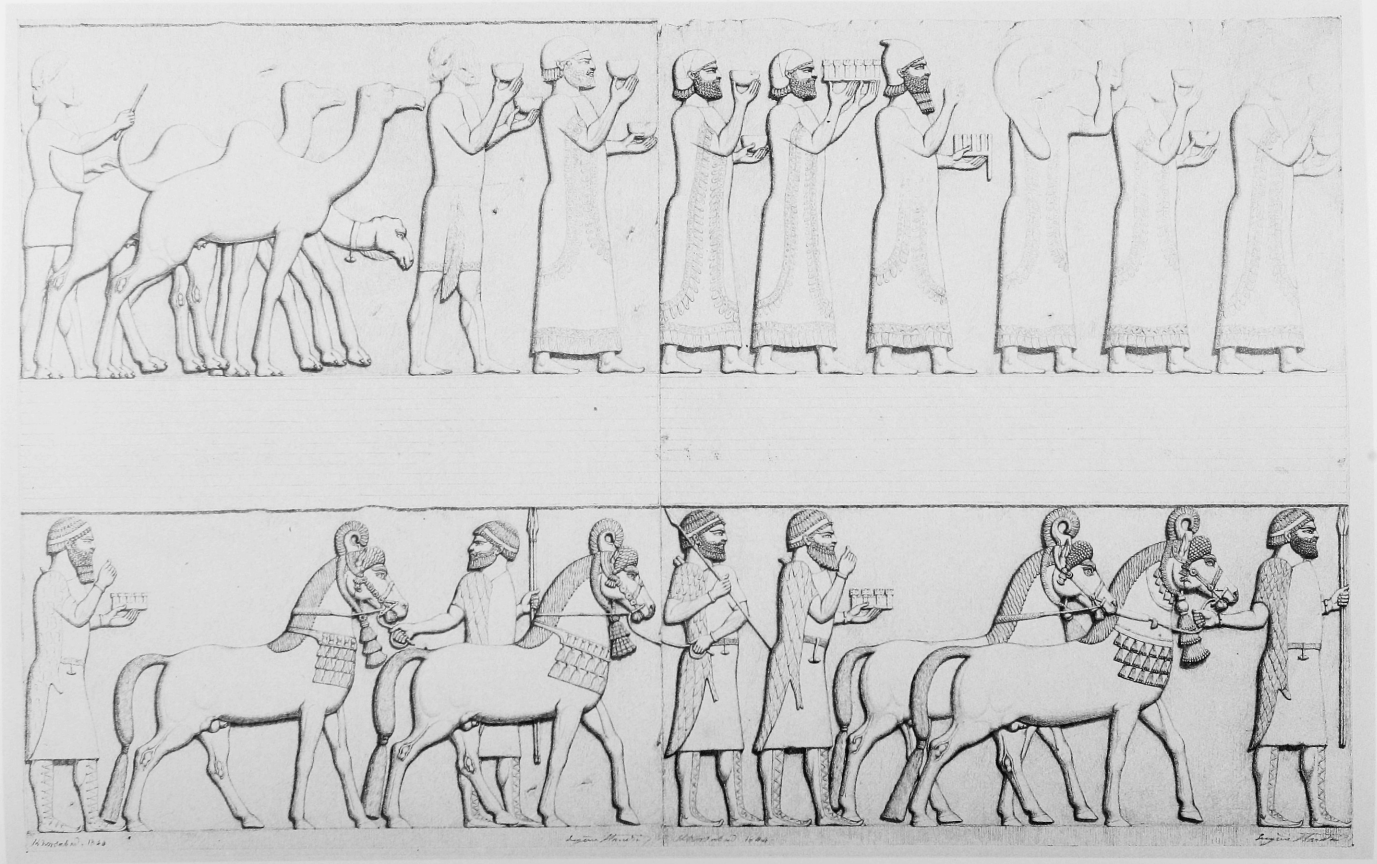
Pl. 26 Flandin. Plan of room 10



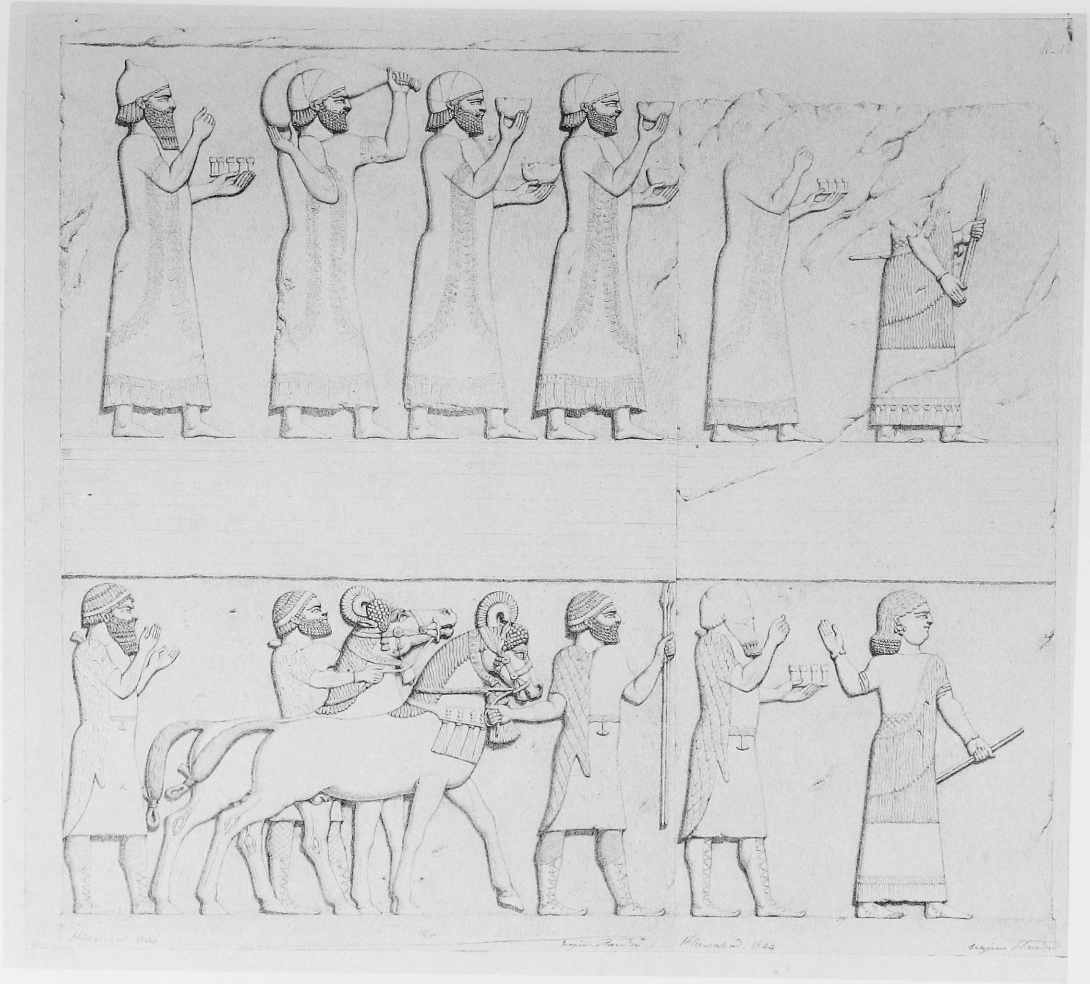
Pl. 27 Flandin. Room 10, slabs 1-2 (1, 5)



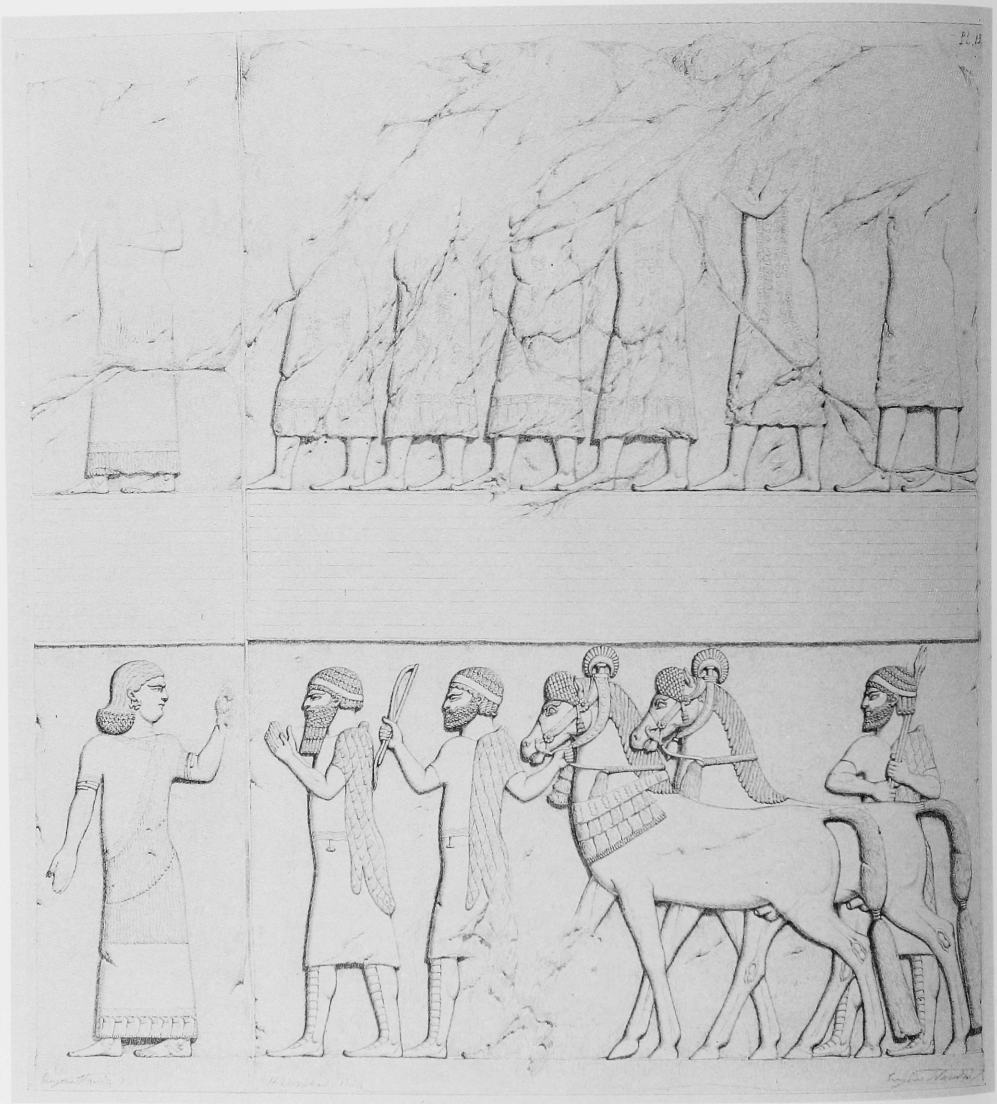
Pl. 28 Flandin. Room 10, slabs 3-4 (2, 3)



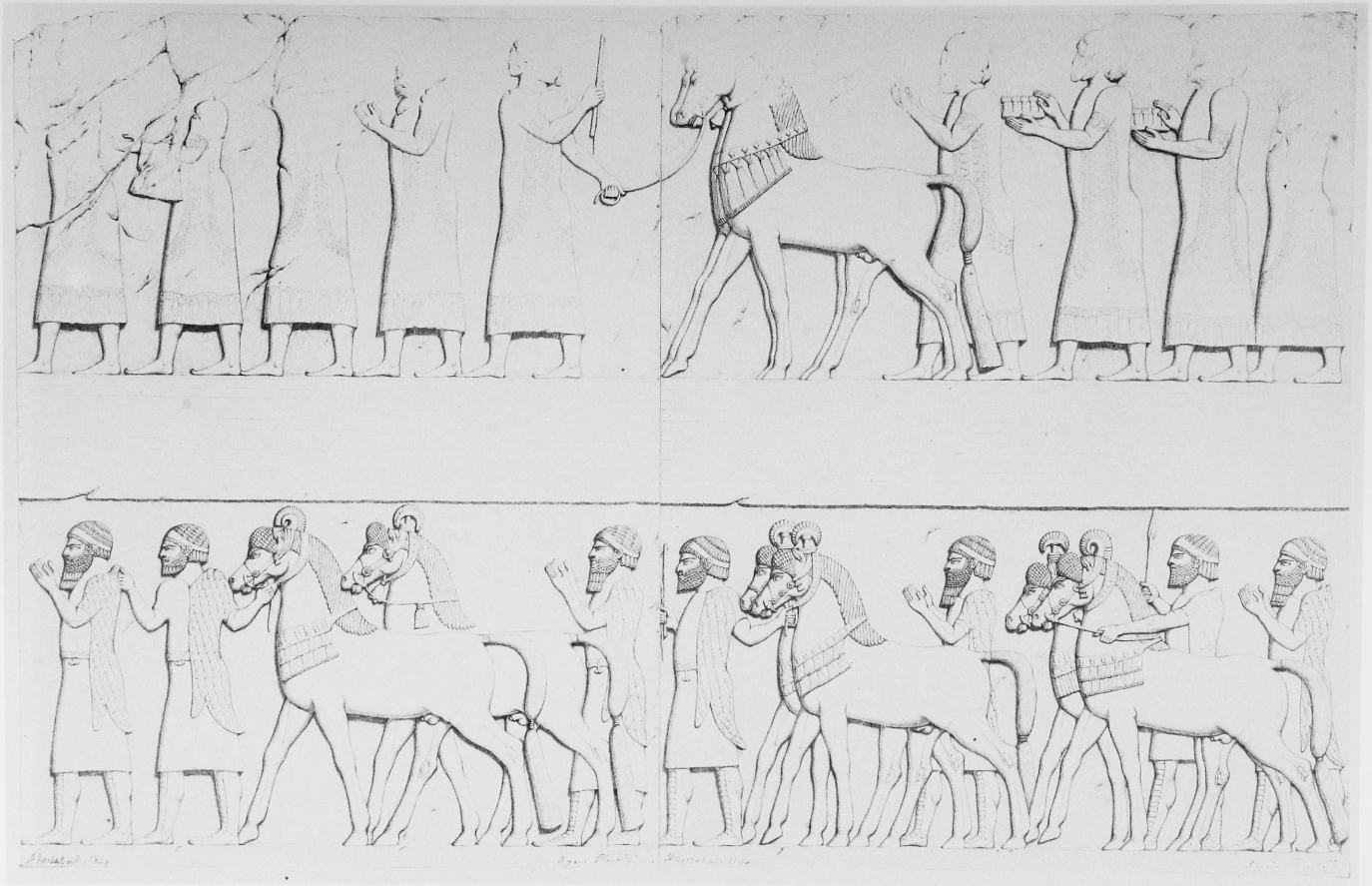
Pl. 29 Flandin. Room 10, slabs 5-6 (6, 7)



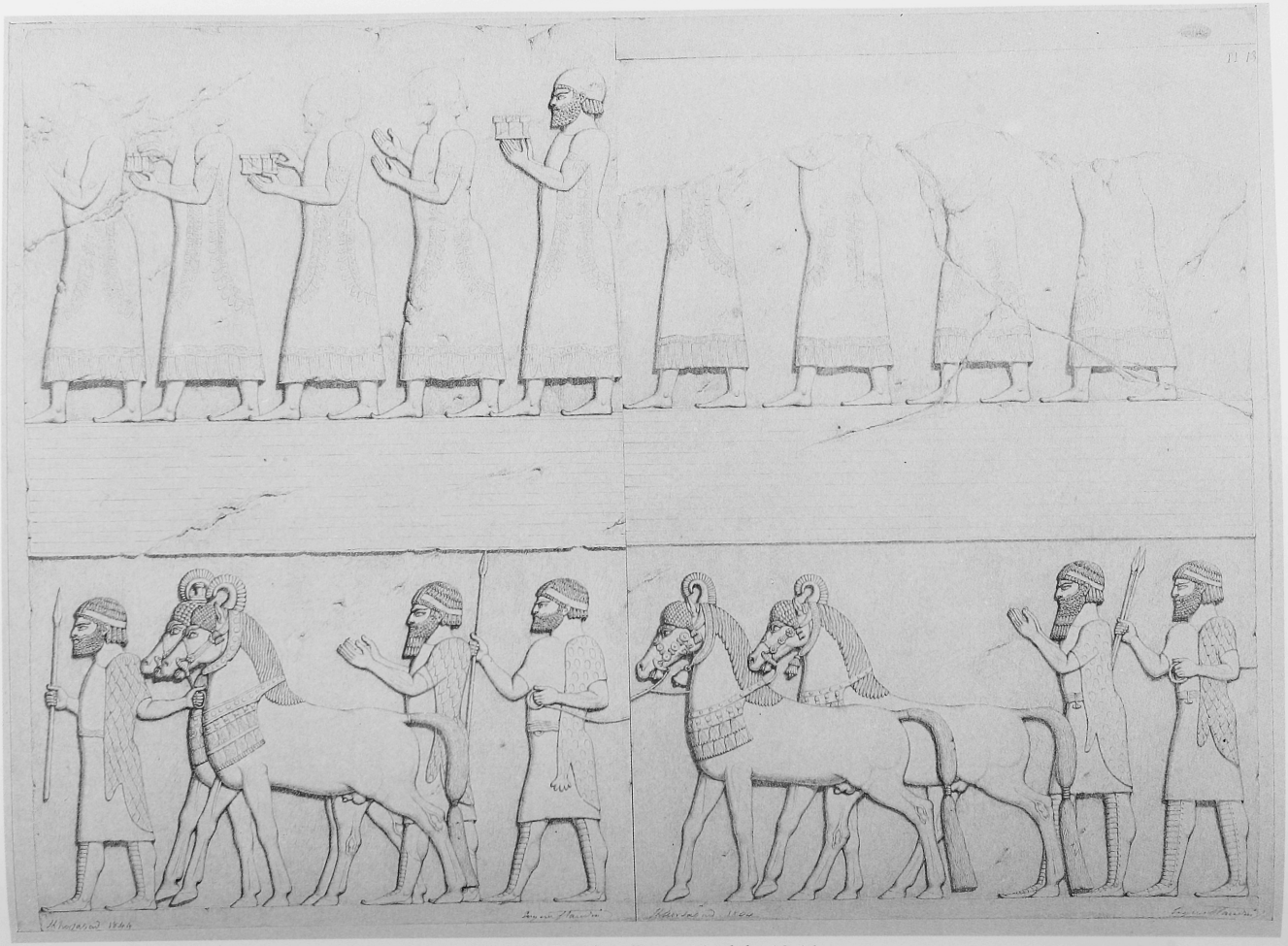
Pl. 30 Flandin. Room 10, slabs 7-8 (4, 8)



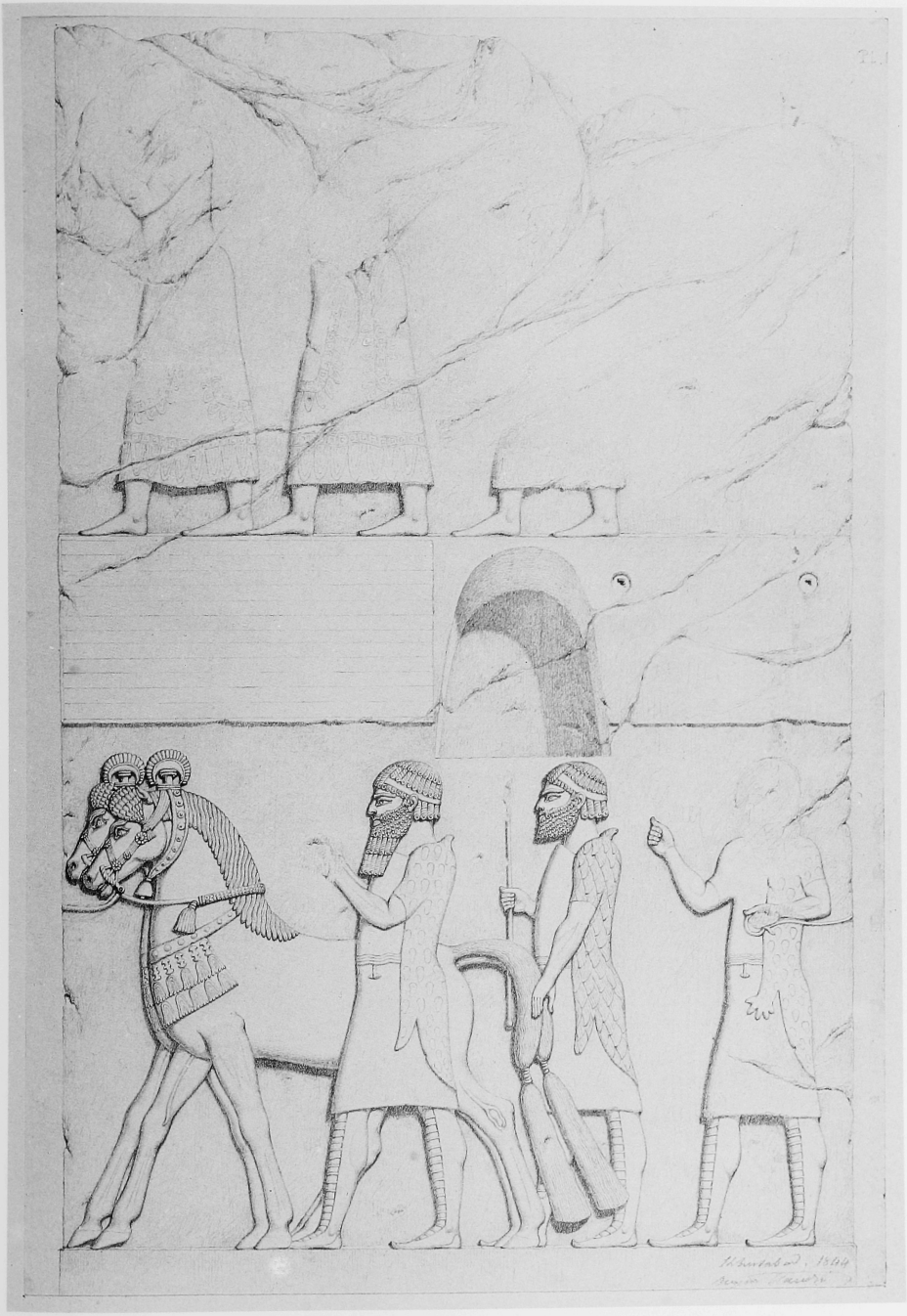
Pl. 31 Flandin. Room 10, slabs 9-10



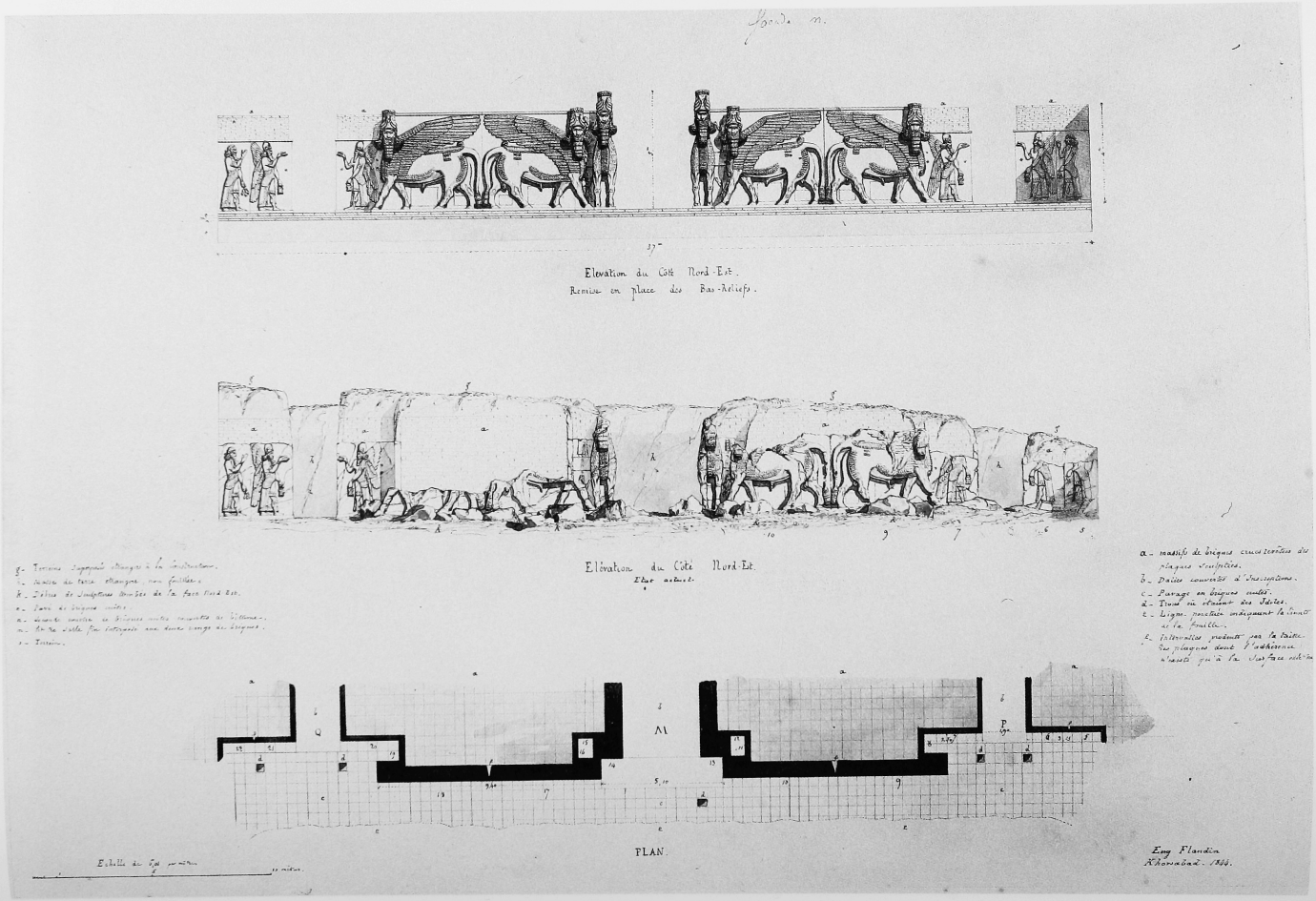
Pl. 32 Flandin. Room 10, slabs 11-12



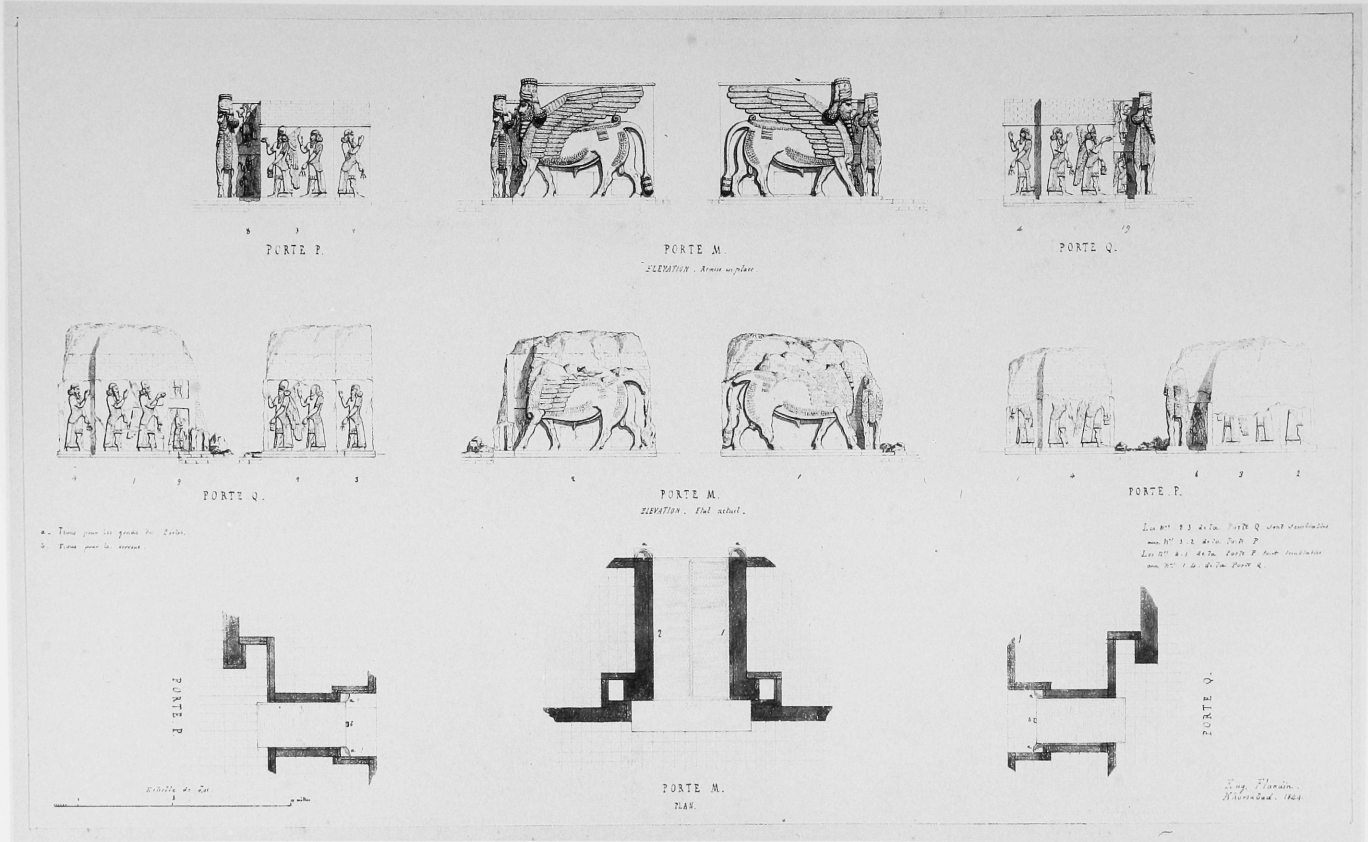
Pl. 33 Flandin. Room 10, slabs 13-14



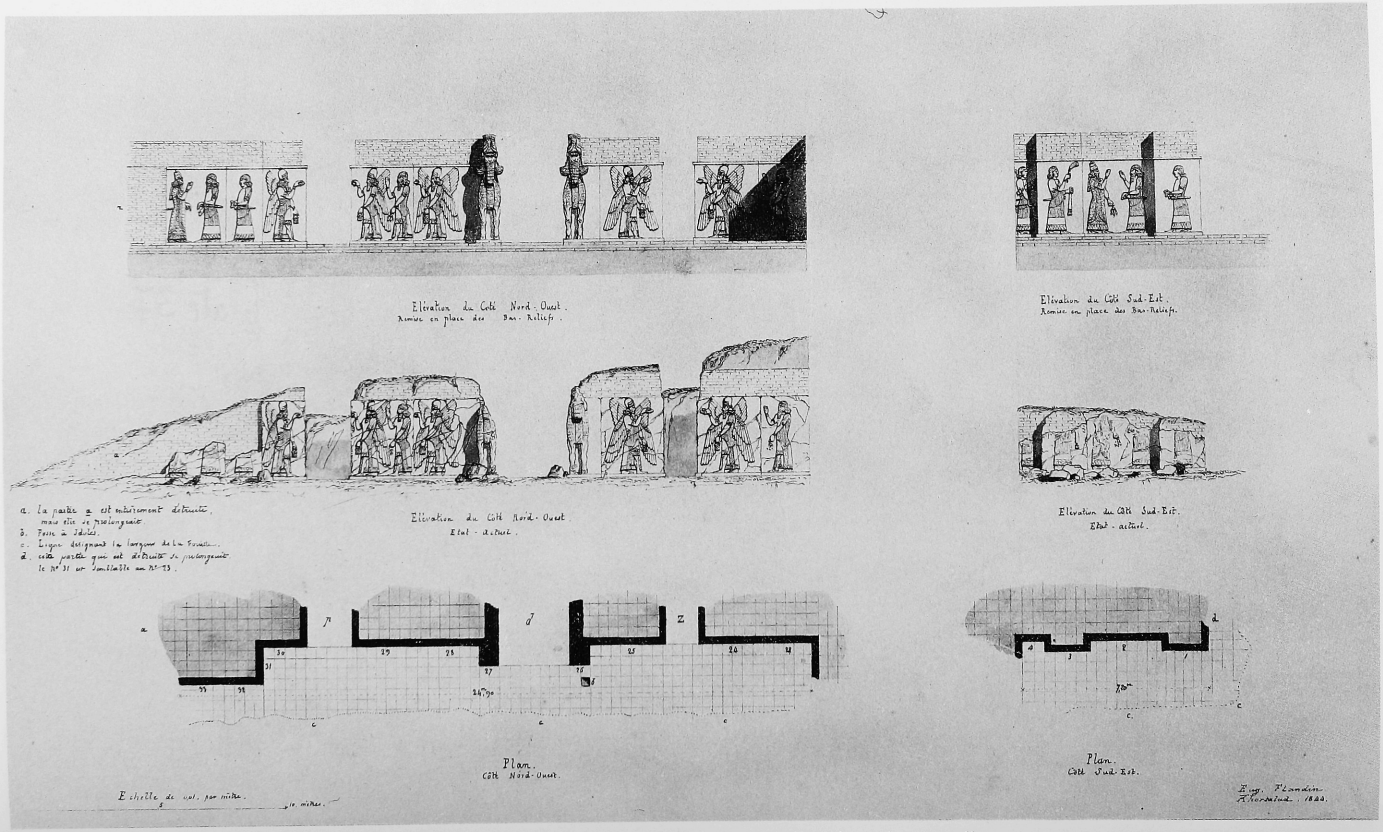
Pl. 34 Flandin. Room 10, slab 15



Pl. 35 Flandin. Facade N, northeast wall

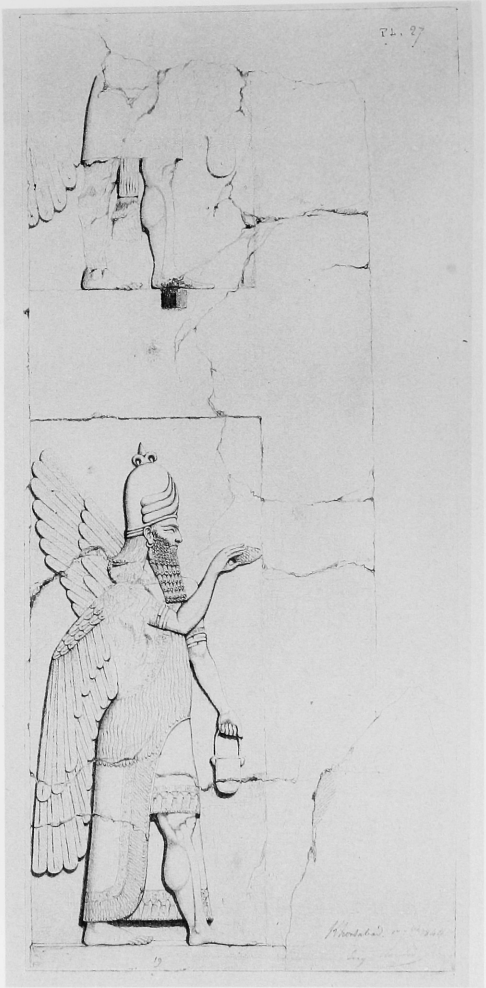


Pl. 36 Flandin. Facade N, northeast side. Doors P, M, Q

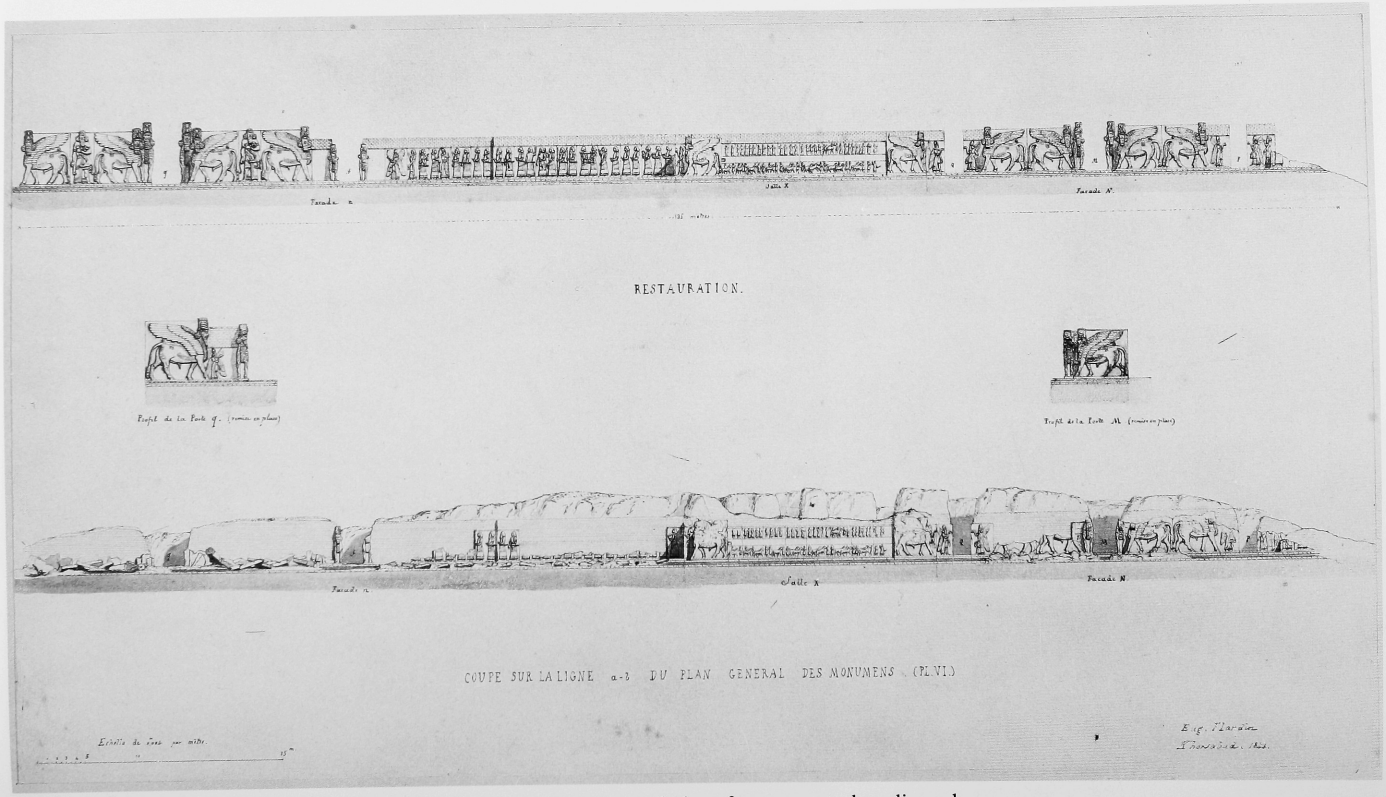


Pl. 37 Flandin. Facade N, northwest wall and southeast wall

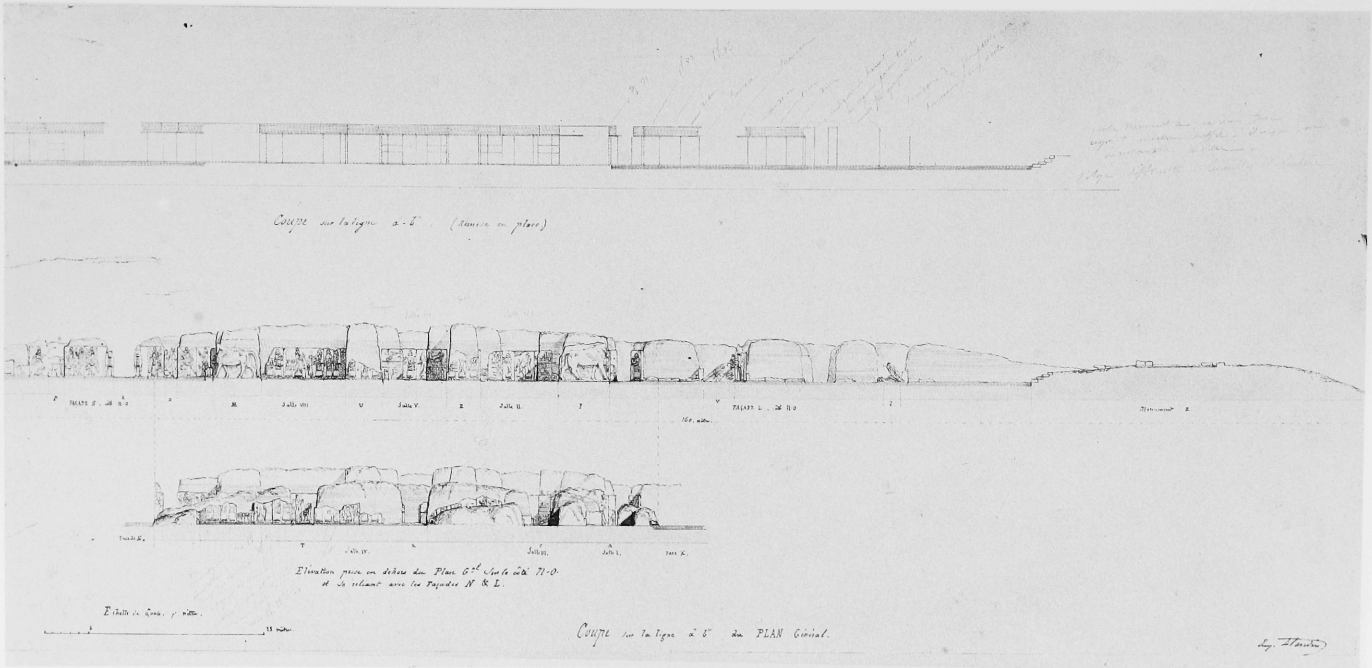
Pl. 38 Flandin. Facade N, slab 24



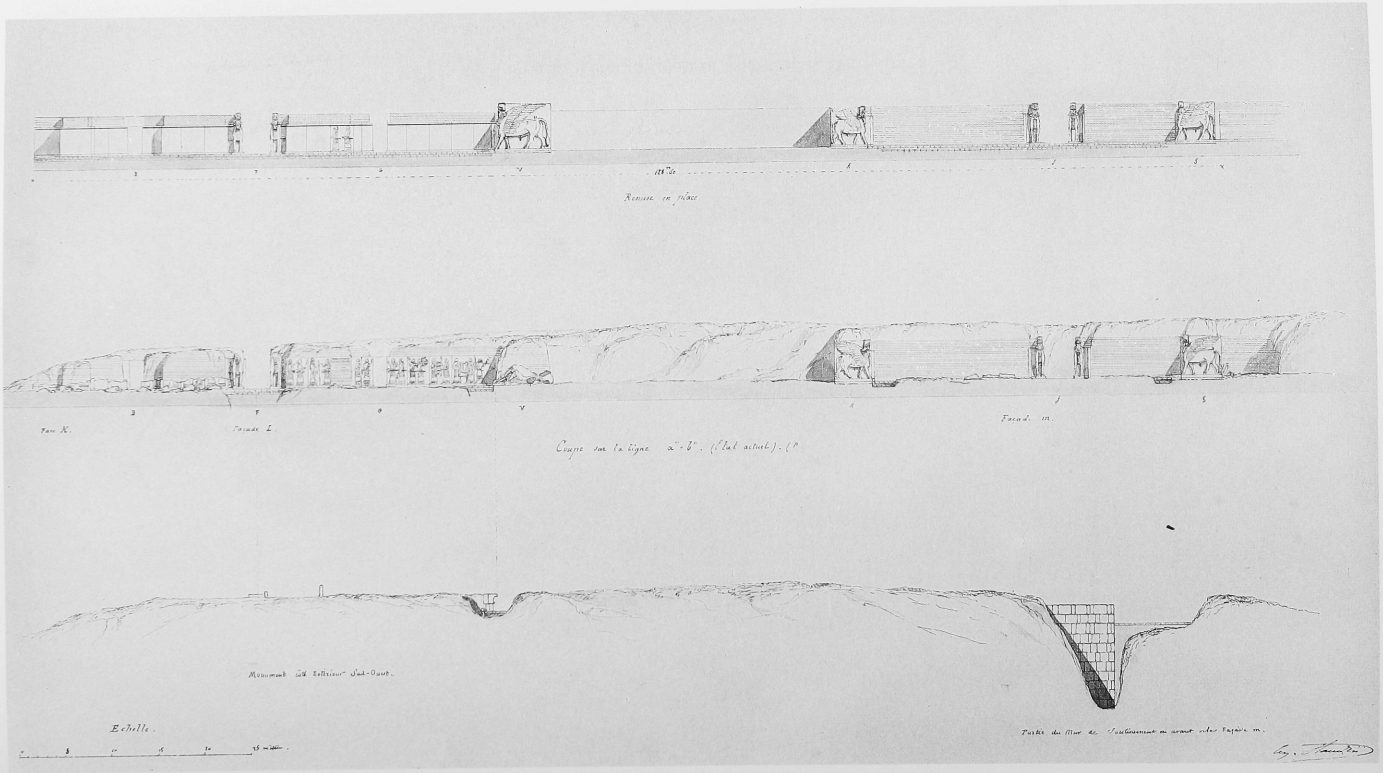
Pl. 39 Flandin. Facade N, slab 19



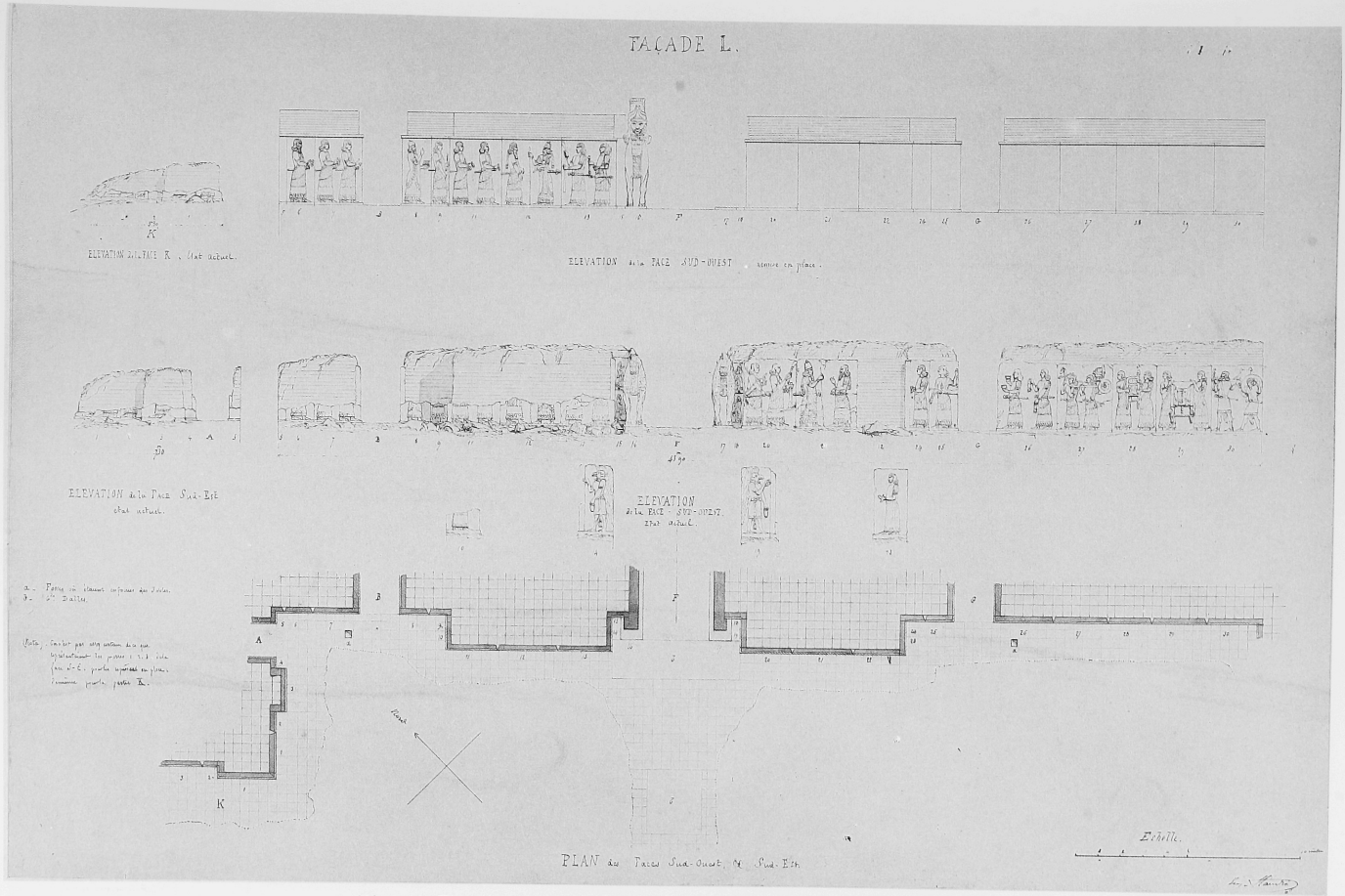
Pl. 40 Flandin. General plan of monument along line a-b



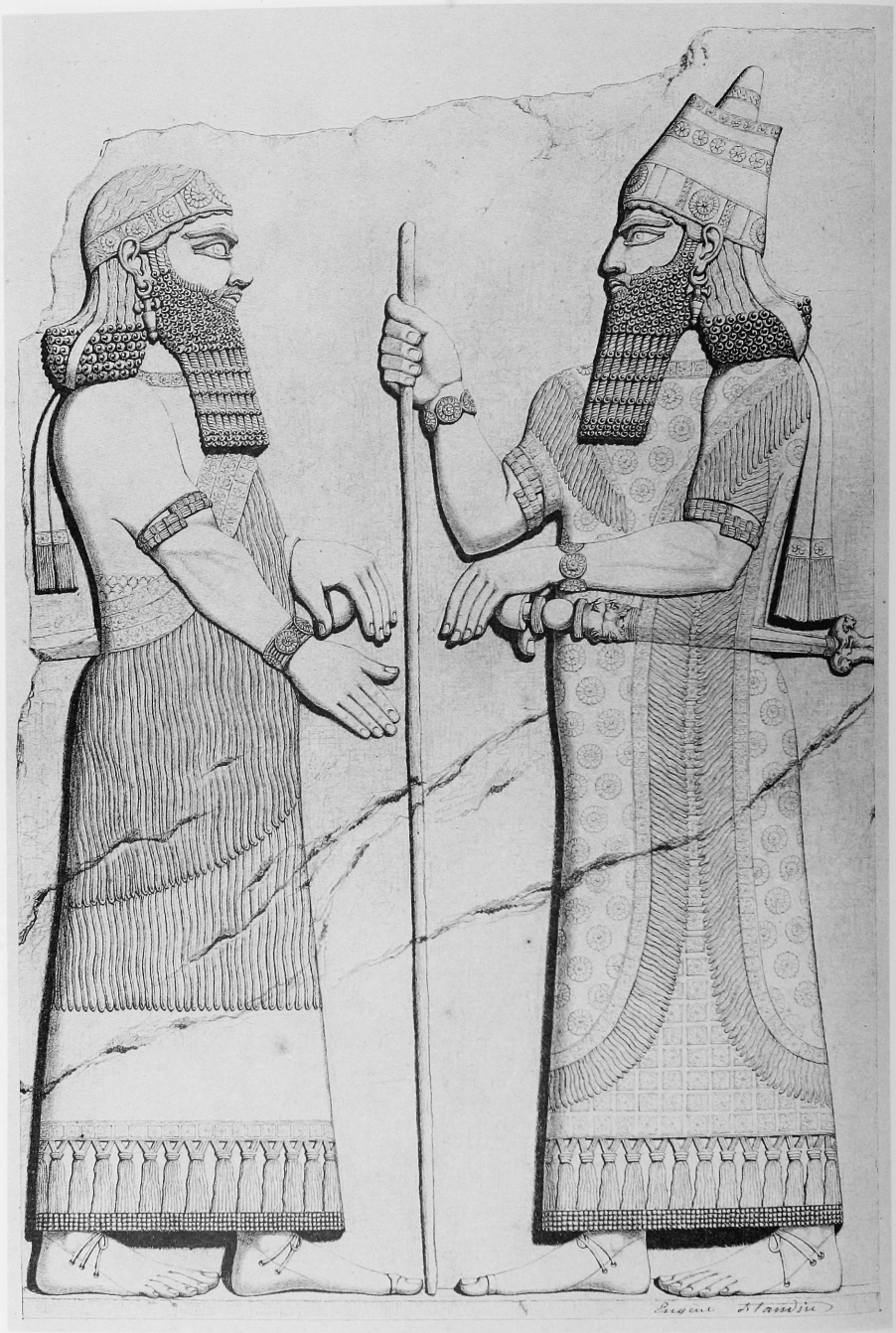
Pl. 41 Flandin. General plan of monument along line a"-b"



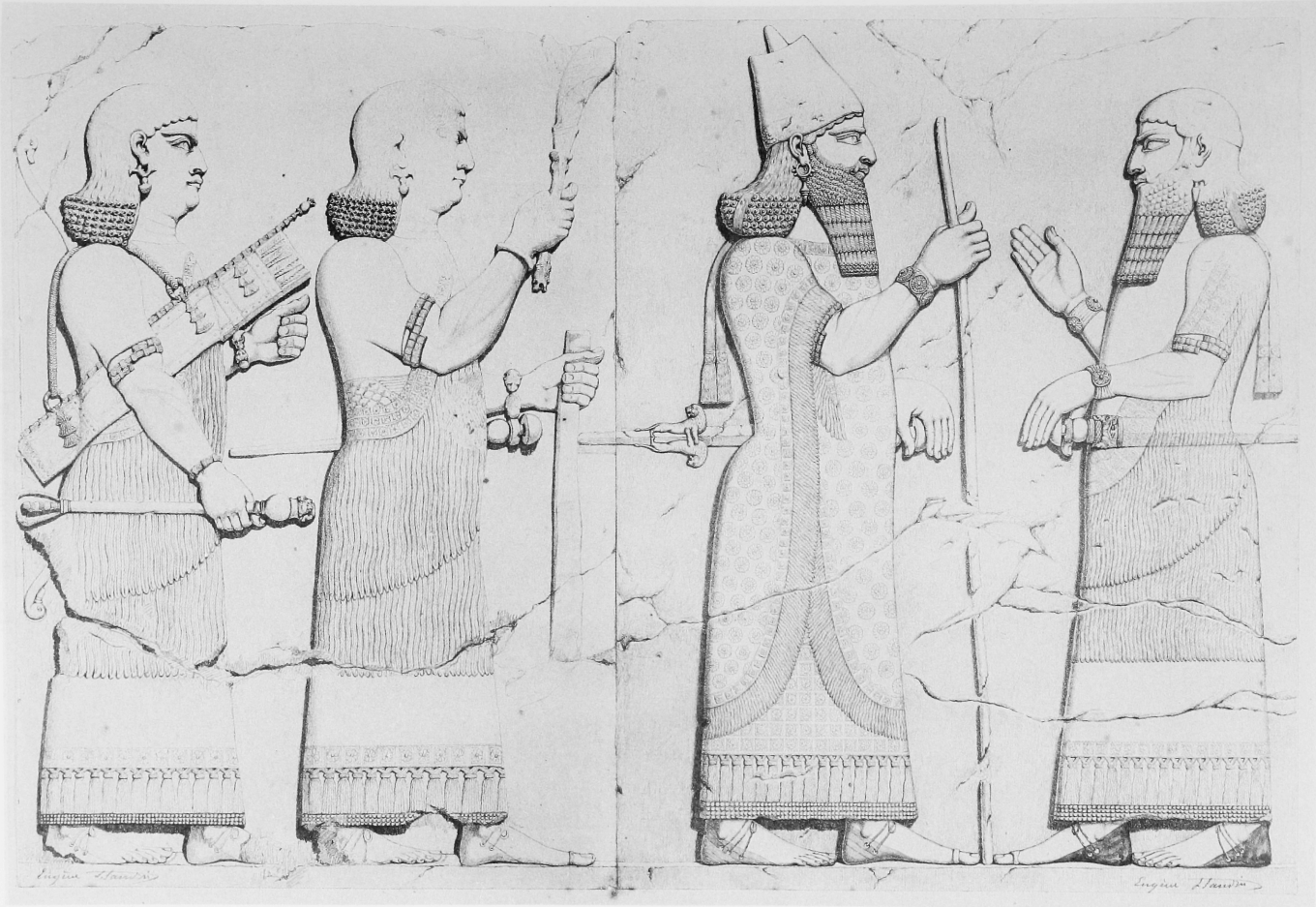
Pl. 42 Flandin. General plan of monument along line a'''-b'''



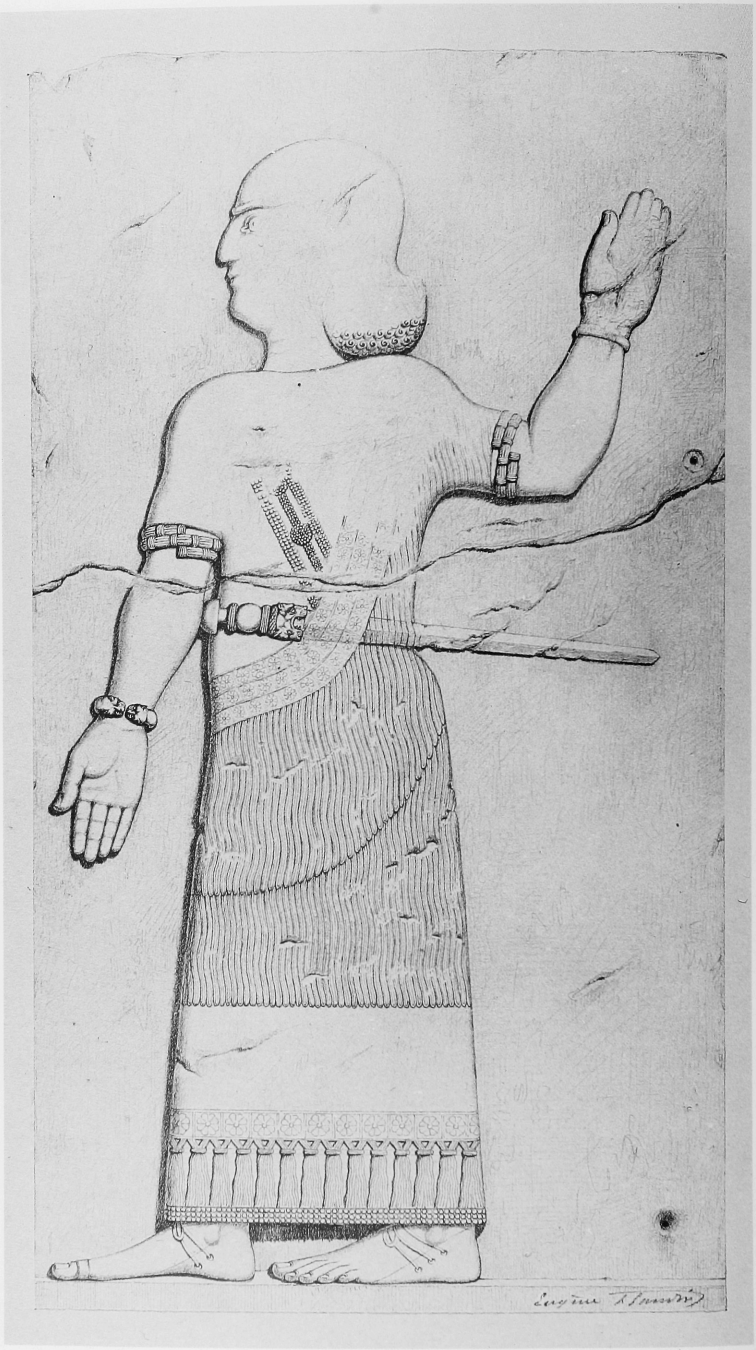
Pl. 43 Flandin. Facade L, southwest and southeast walls, and side K



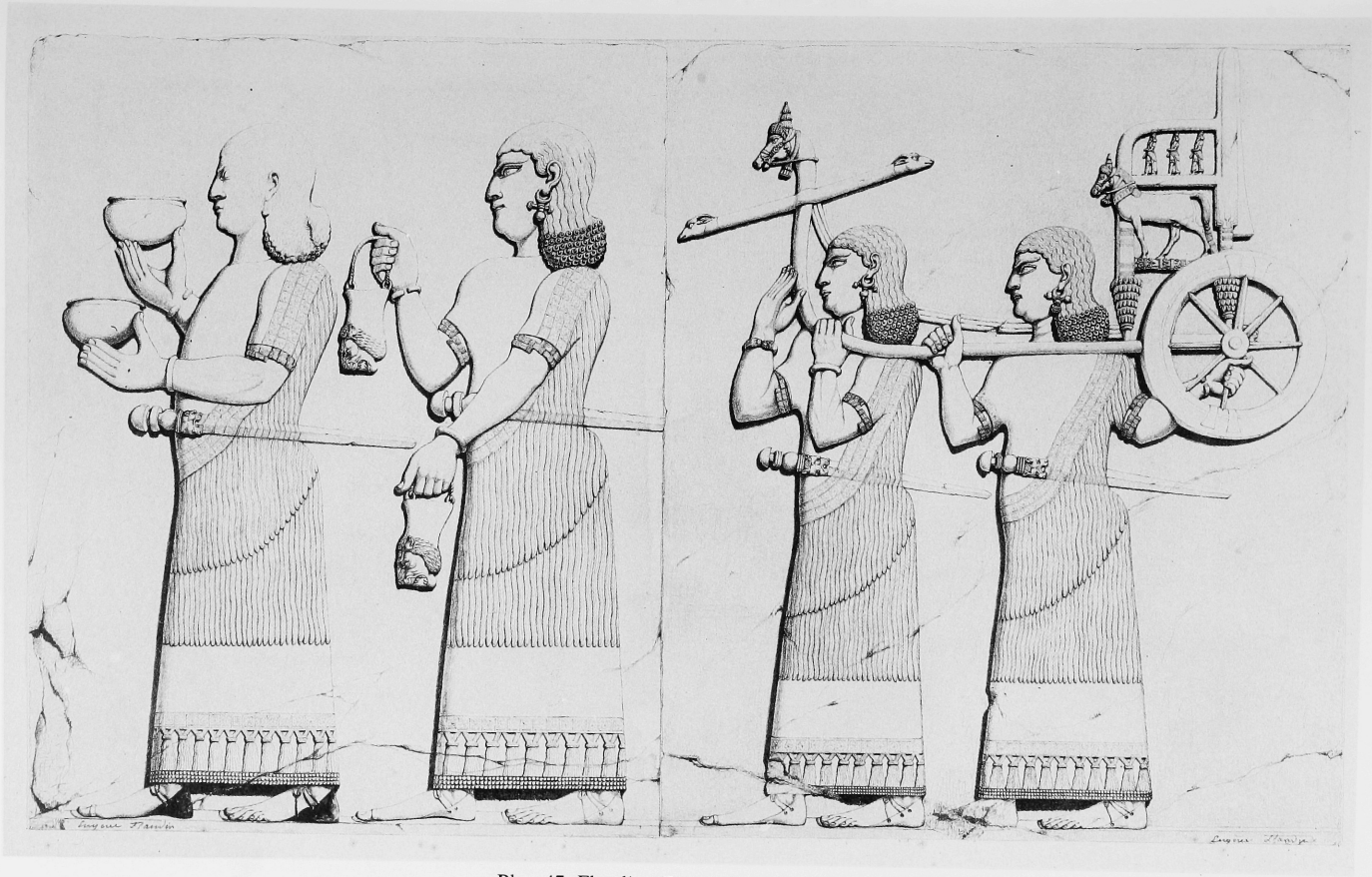
Pl. 44 Flandin. Facade L, slab 12



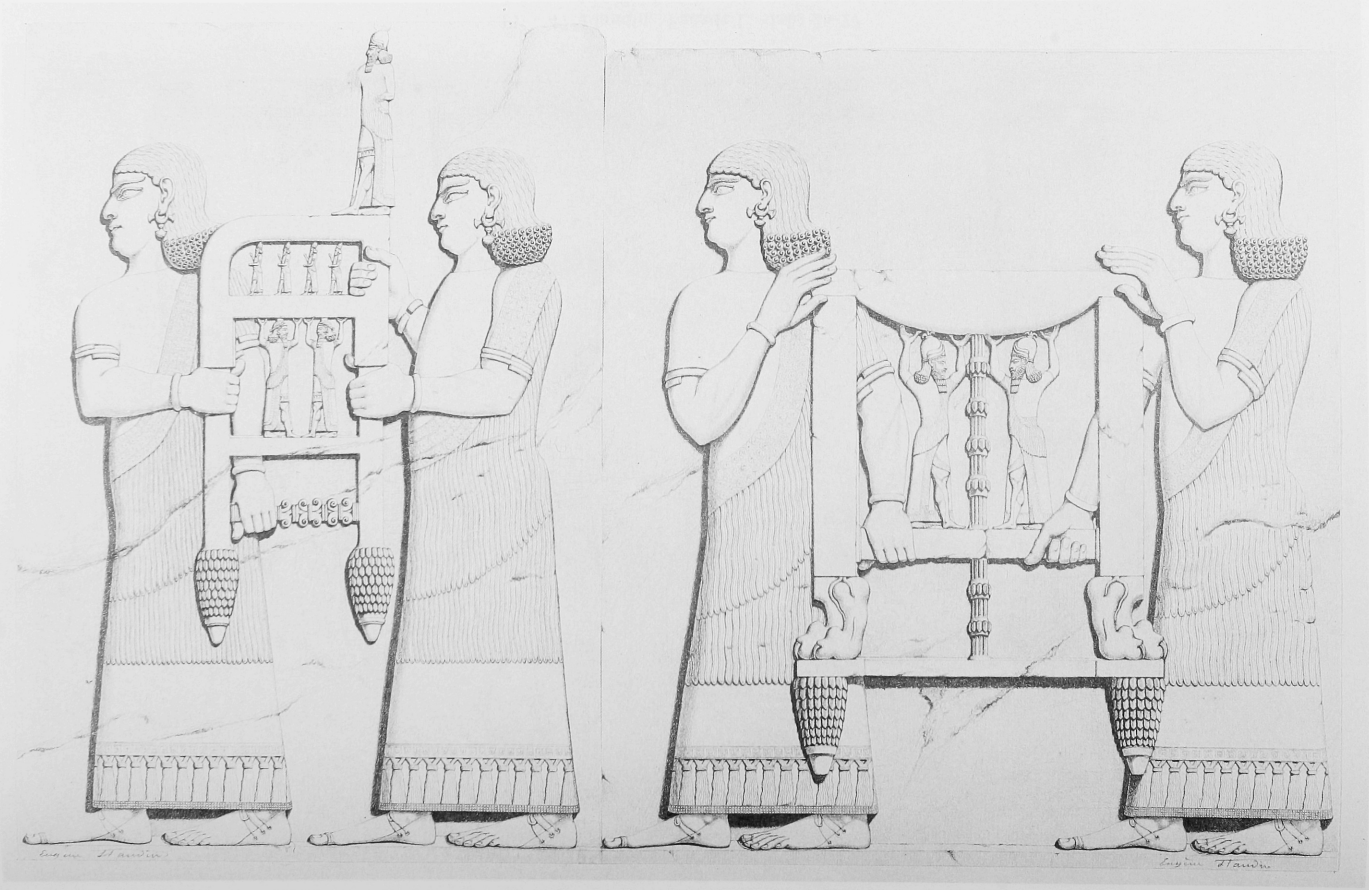
Pl. 45 Flandin. Facade L, slabs 20-21



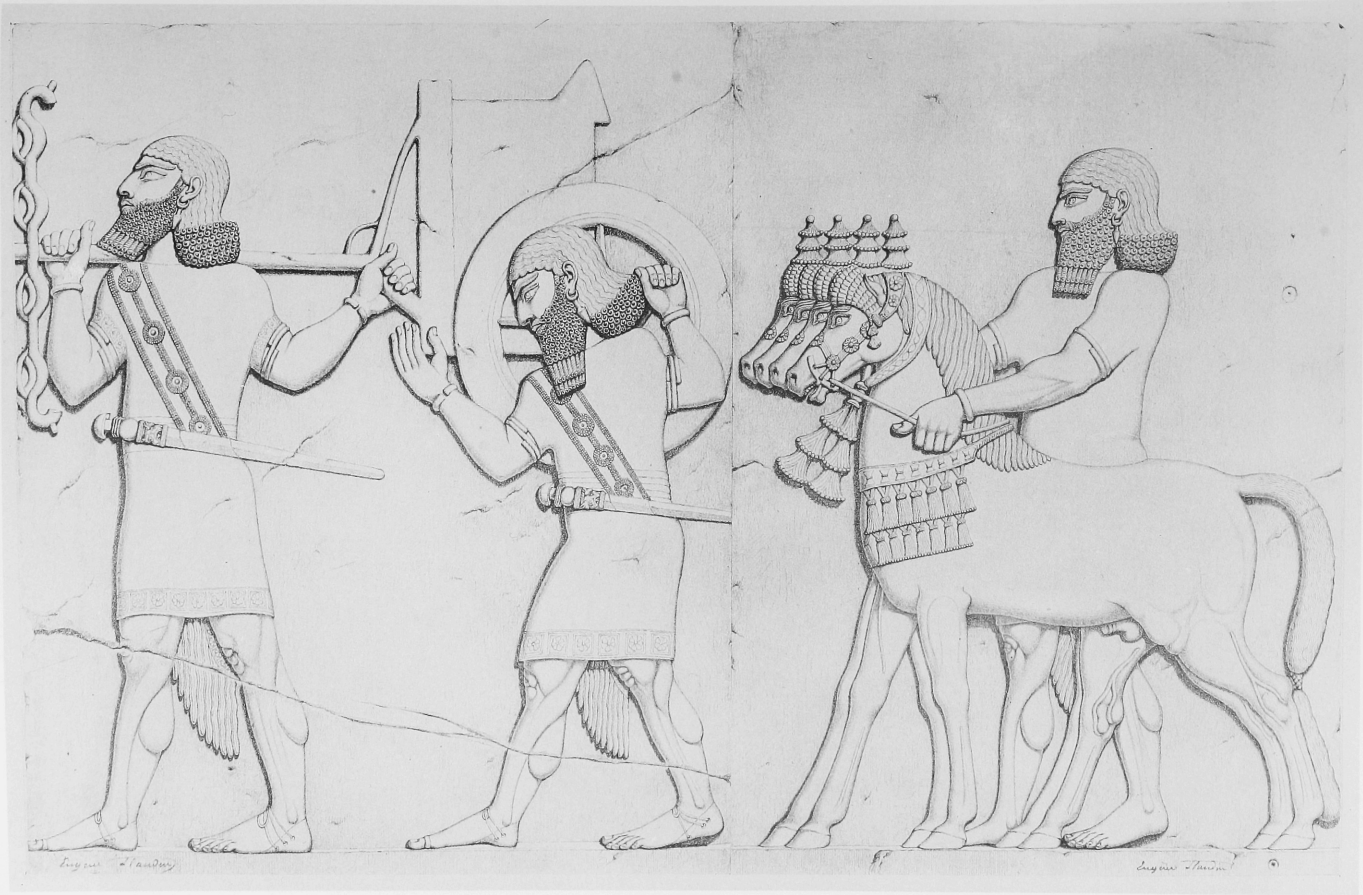
Pl. 46 Flandin. Facade L, slab 25



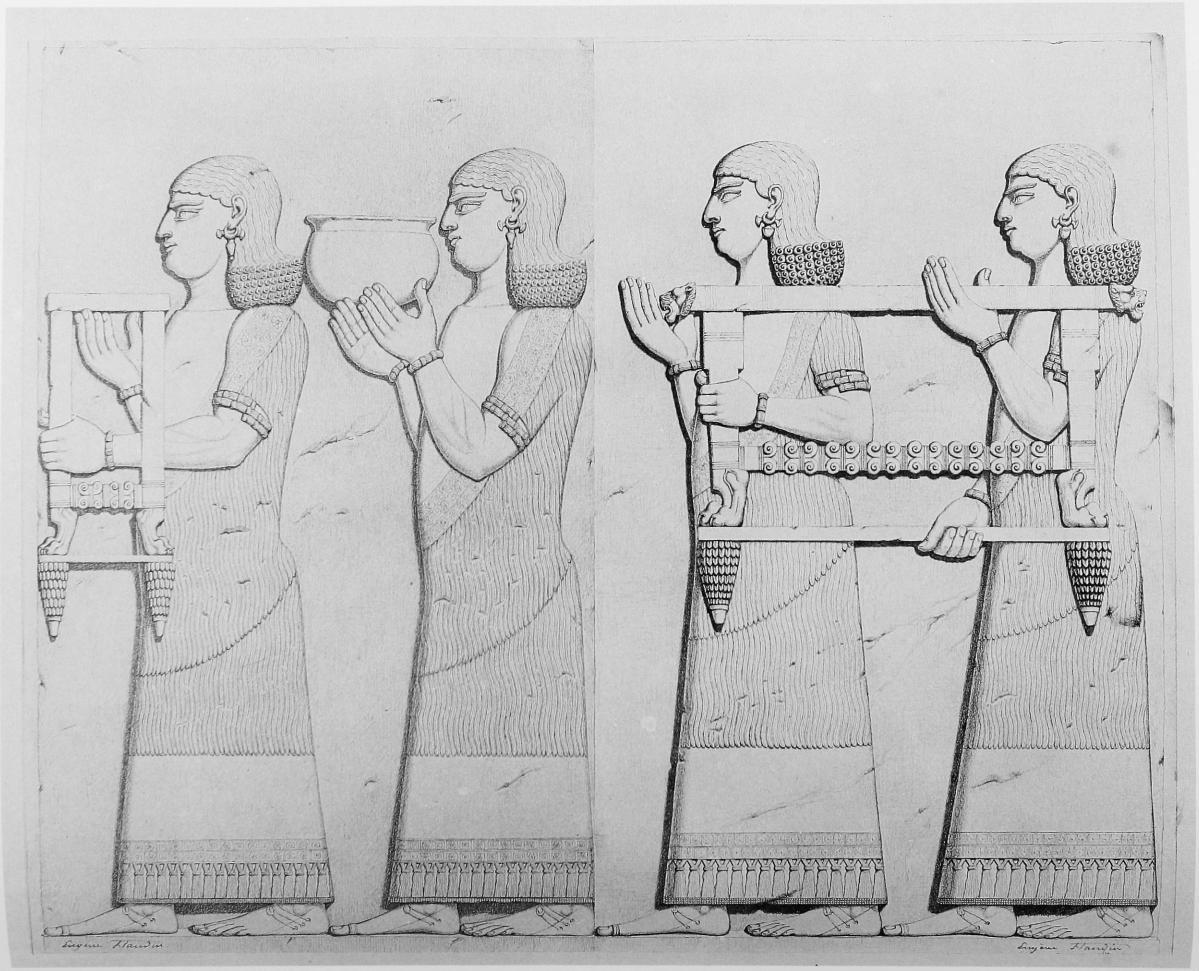
Pl. 47 Flandin. Facade L, slabs 26-27



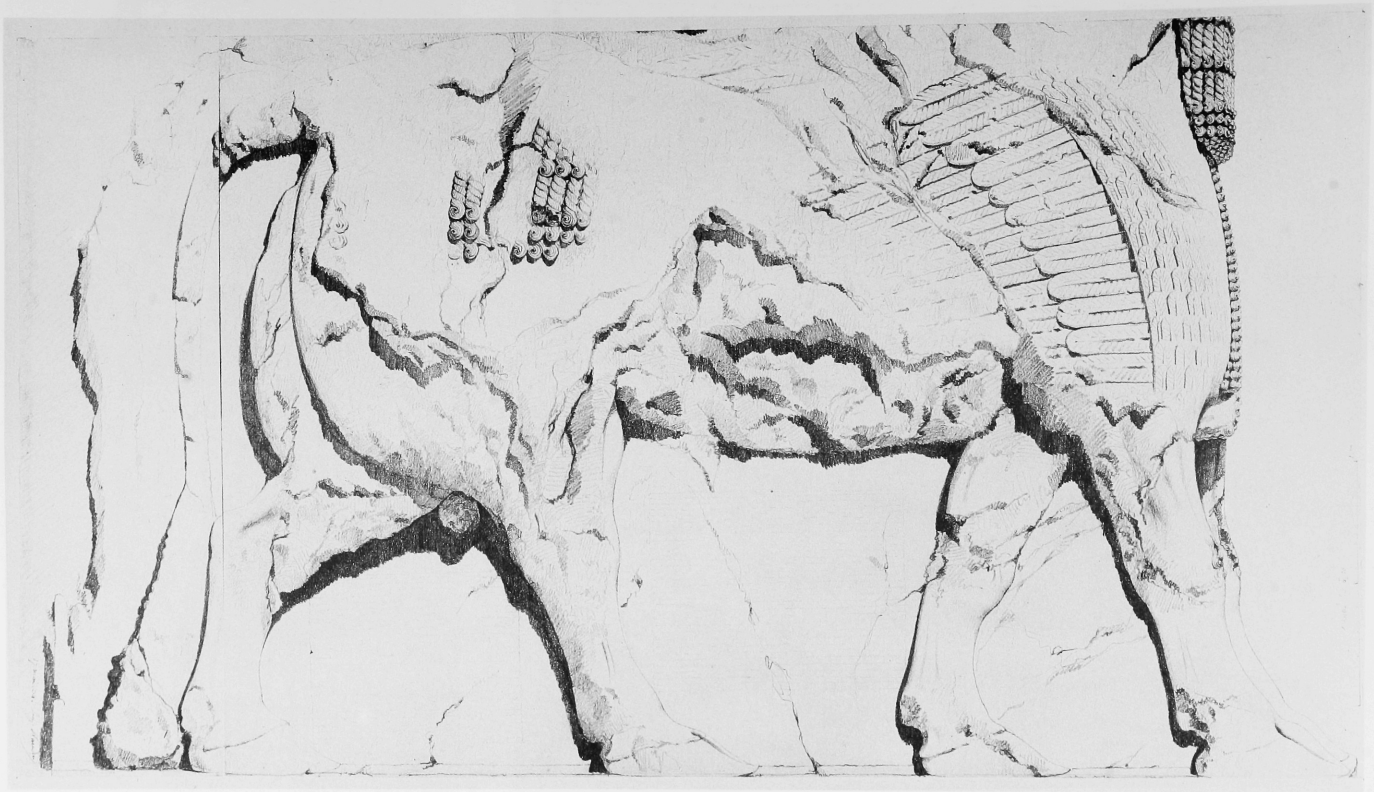
Pl. 48 Flandin. Facade L, slabs 28-29



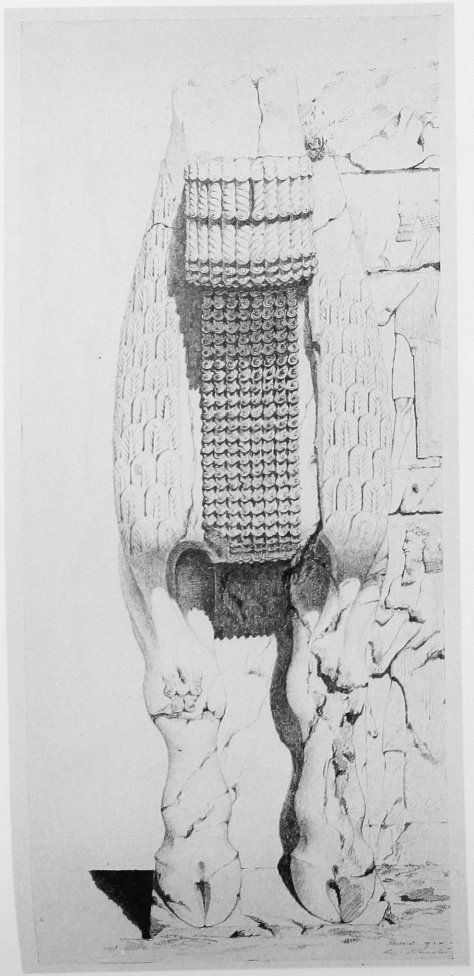
Pl. 49 Flandin. Facade L, slabs 30-31



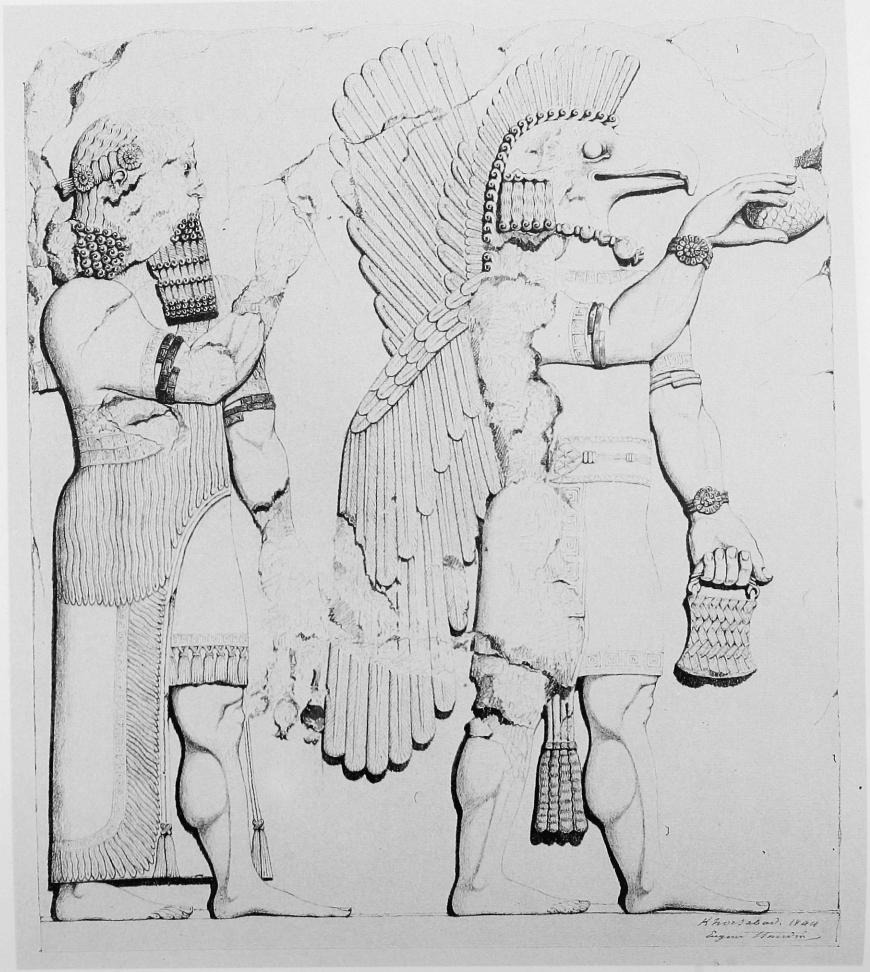
Pl. 50 Flandin. Facade L, slabs 34-35 (35-34)



Pl. 51 Flandin. Slab 2 in door F (profile view)

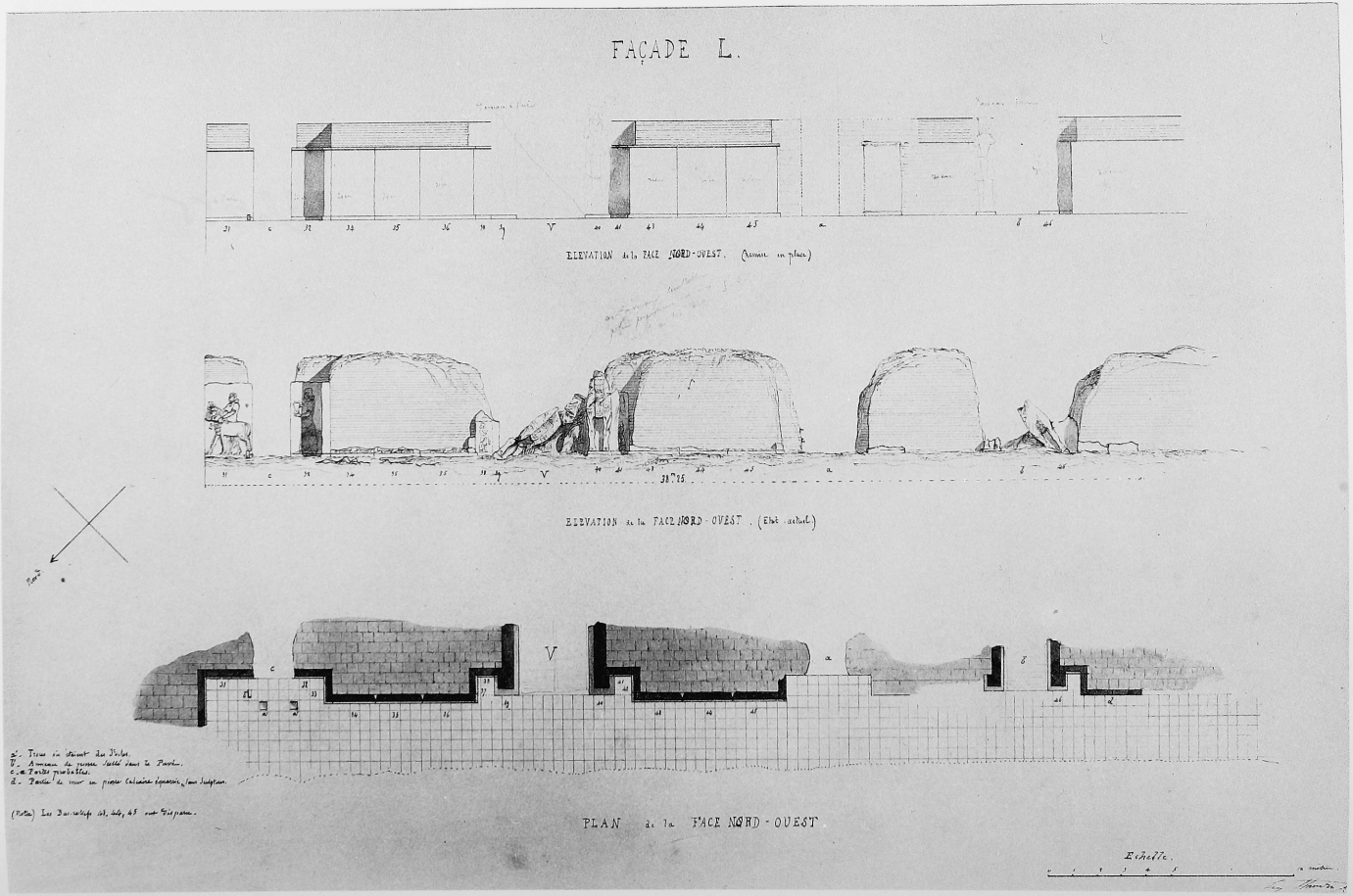


Pl. 52 Flandin. Slab 2 in door F (front view)

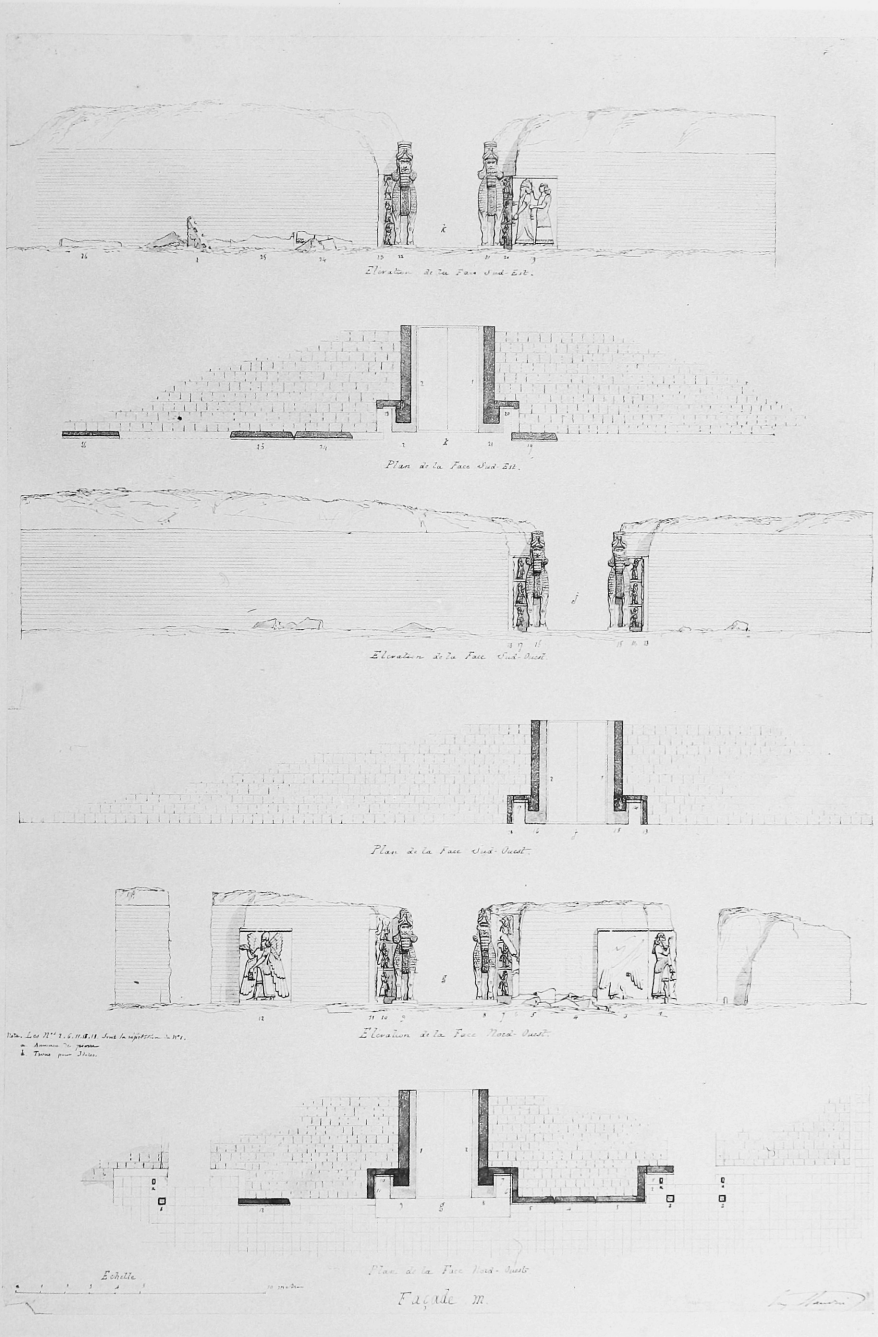


Pl. 53 Flandin. Slab 2 in door G

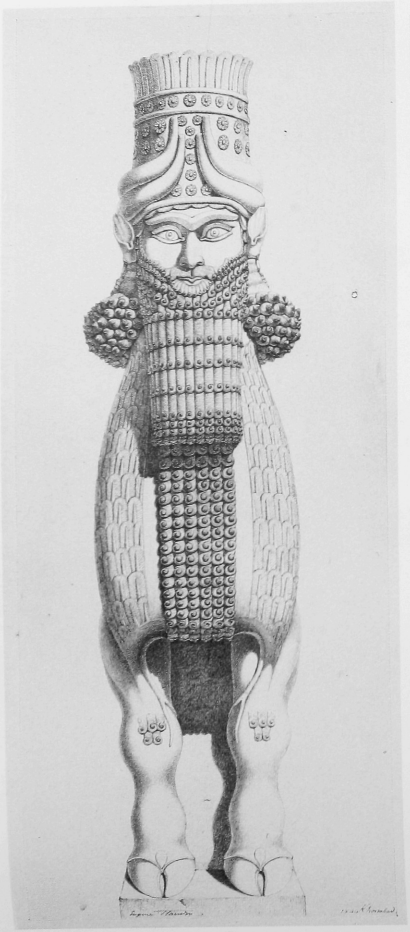
Pl. 54 Flandin. Slab I in door G



Pl. 55 Flandin. Facade L, northwest wall



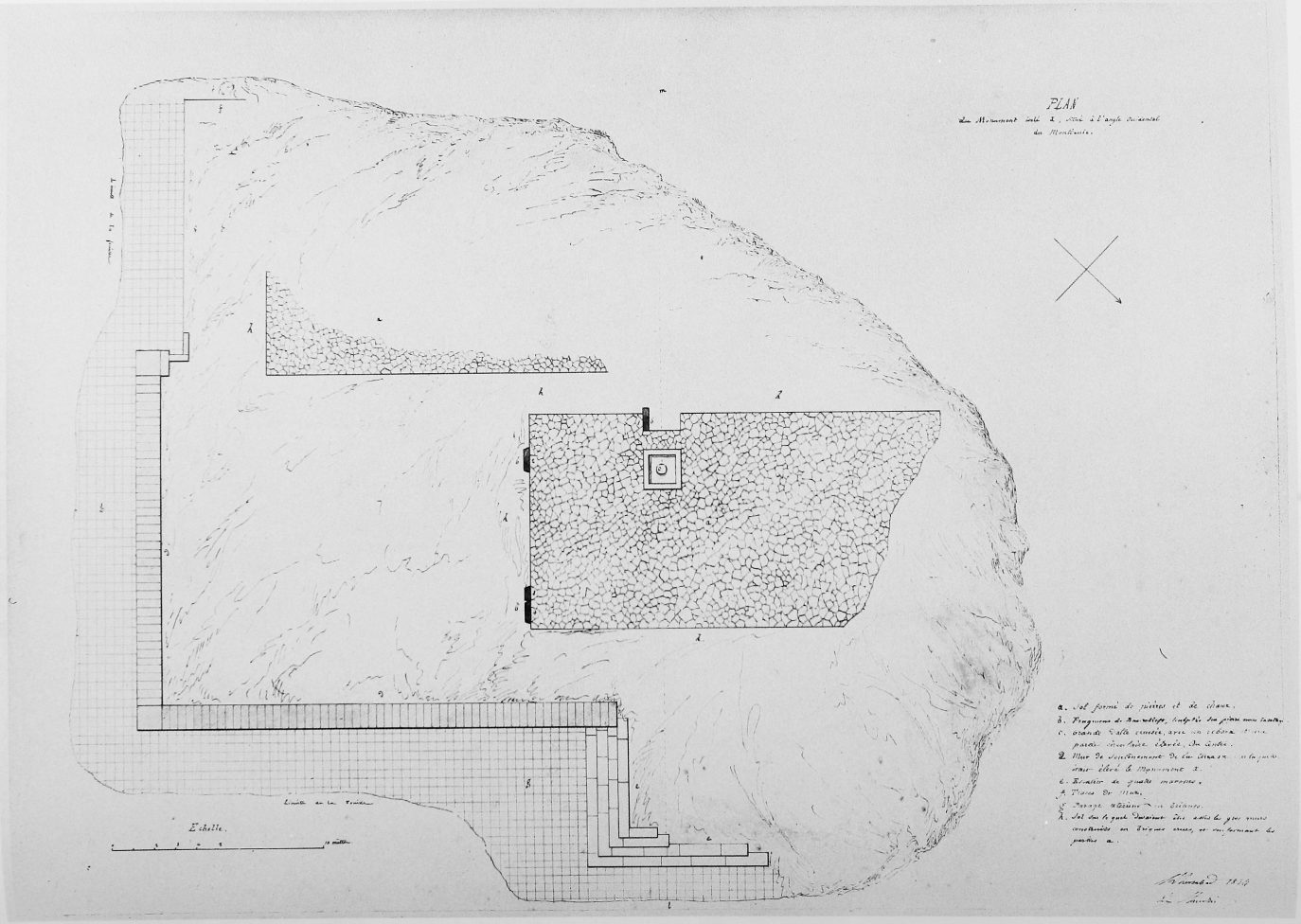
Pl. 56 Flandin. Facade m, sides northwest, southwest, and southeast



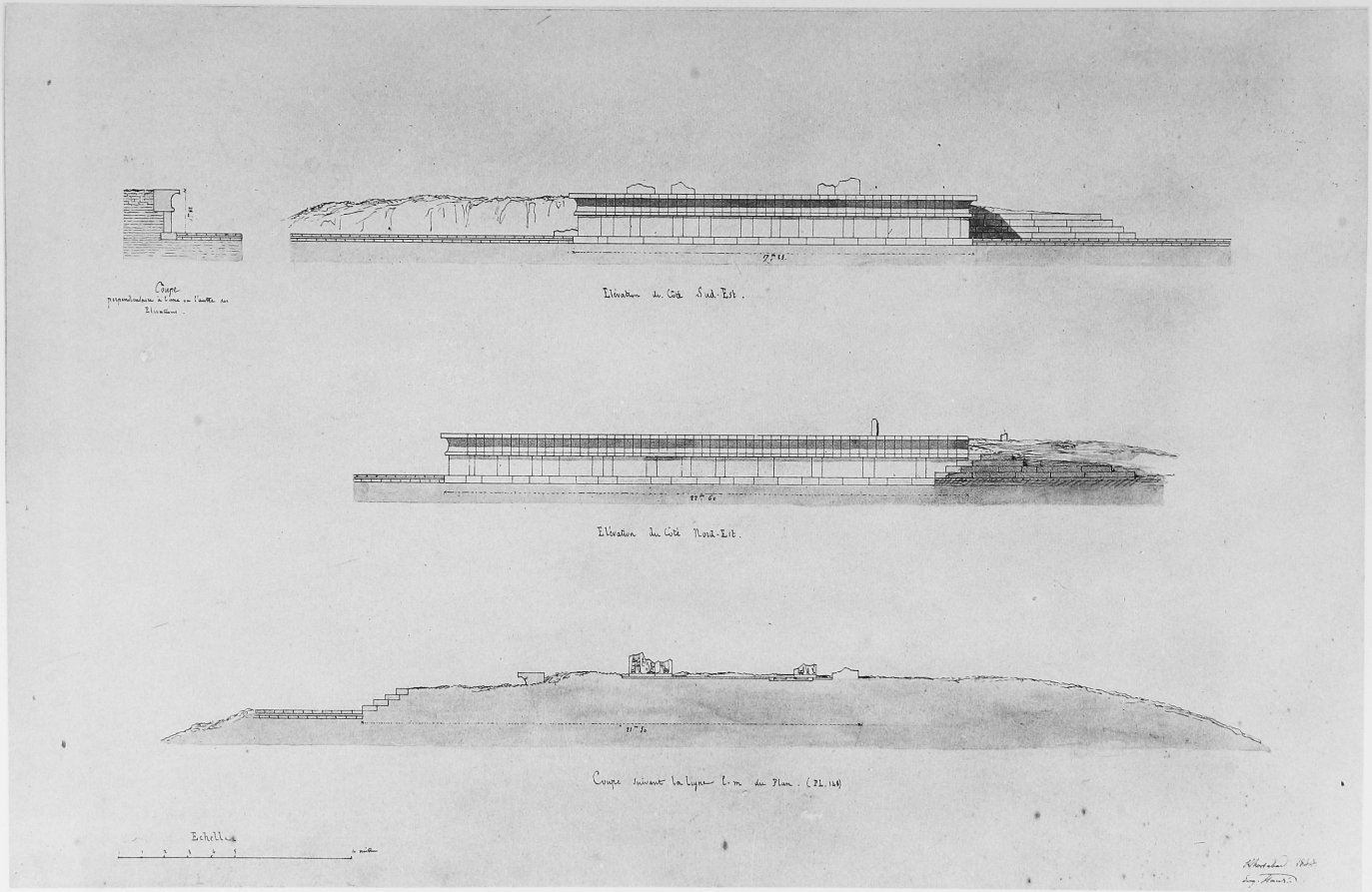
Pl. 57 Flandin. Facade m, slab 9

Pl. 58 Flandin. Facade m, slab 2

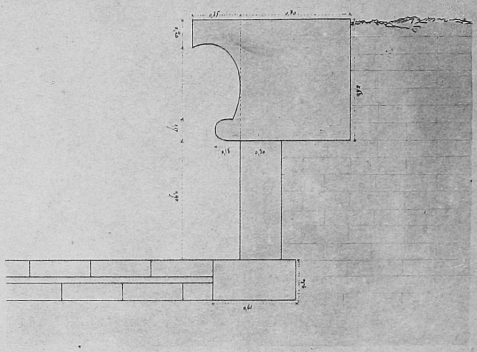
Pl. 59 Flandin. Facade m, slab 4



Pl. 60 Flandin. Isolated monument x, plan

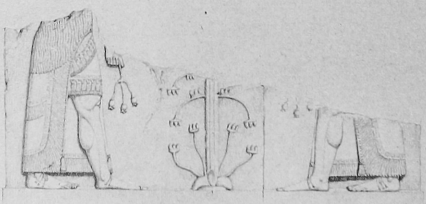


Pl. 61 Flandin. Isolated monument x, elevations

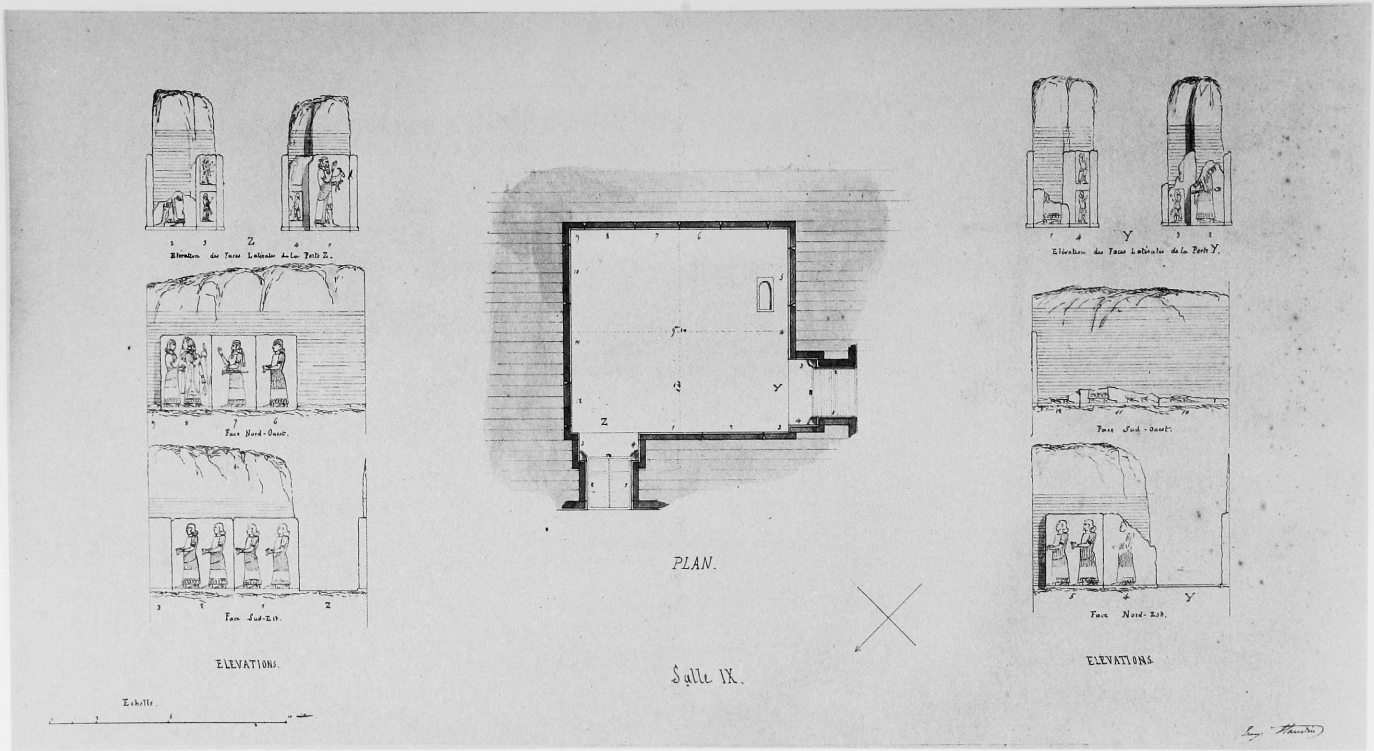


Coupe perpendiculaire au mur de soutènement de la Terrasse du Monument x. (voir Pl. 129).

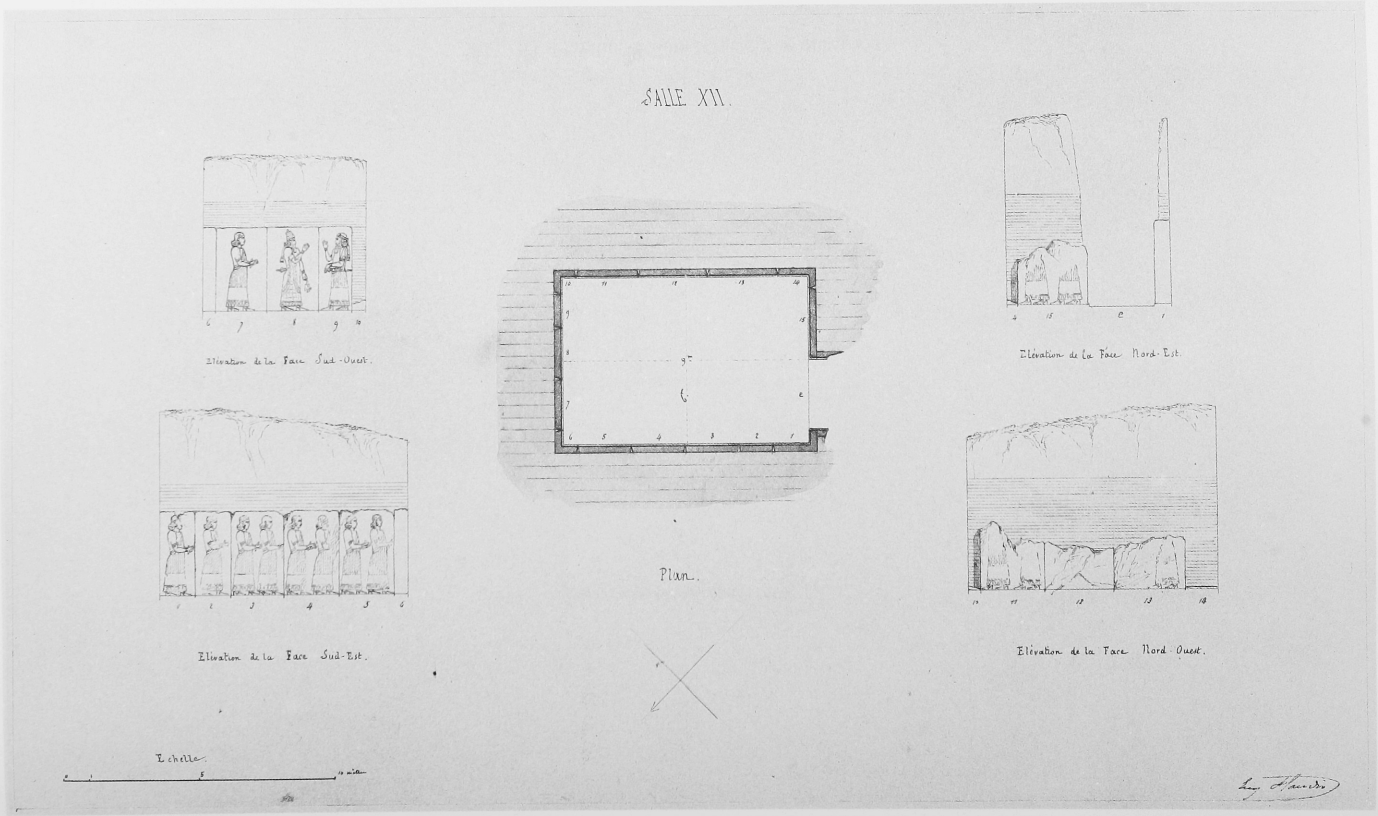
Echelle



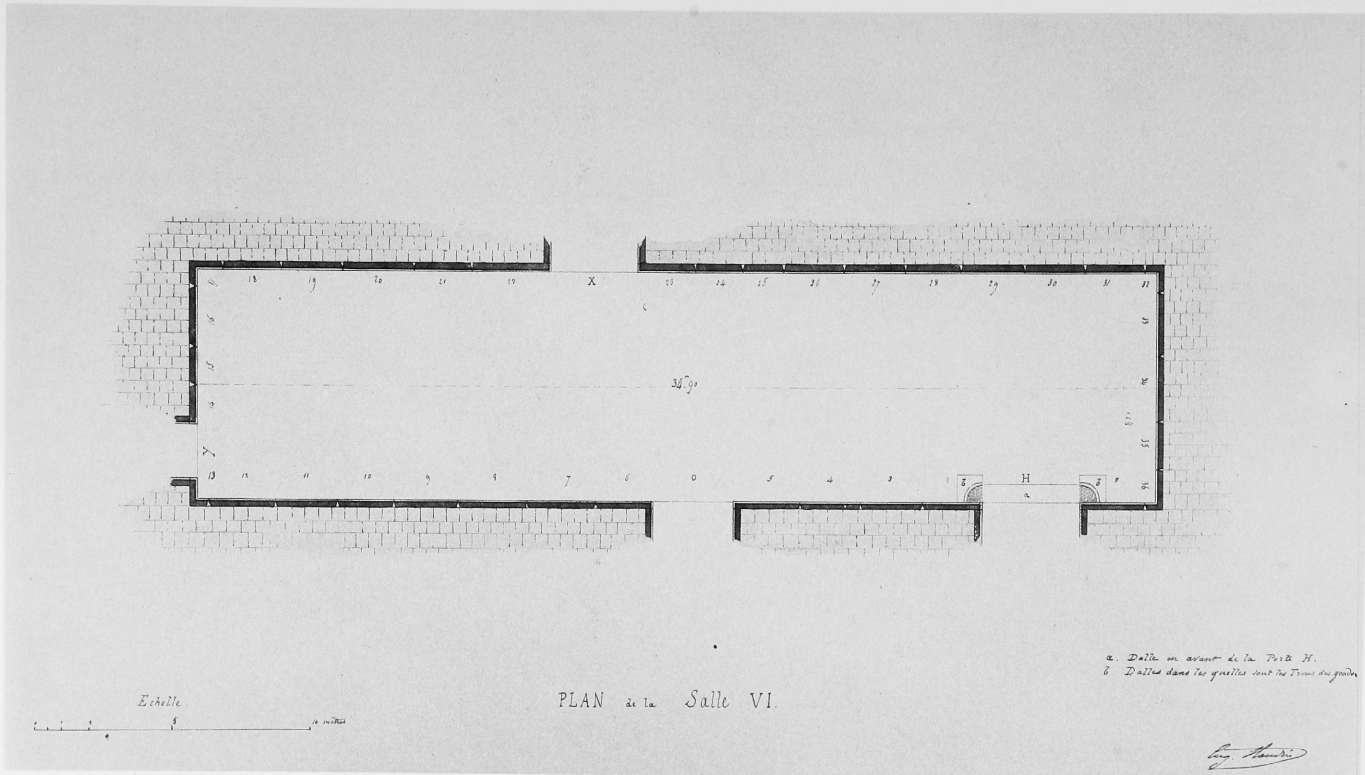
Pl. 62 Flandin. Isolated monument x, profile view and bas-relief



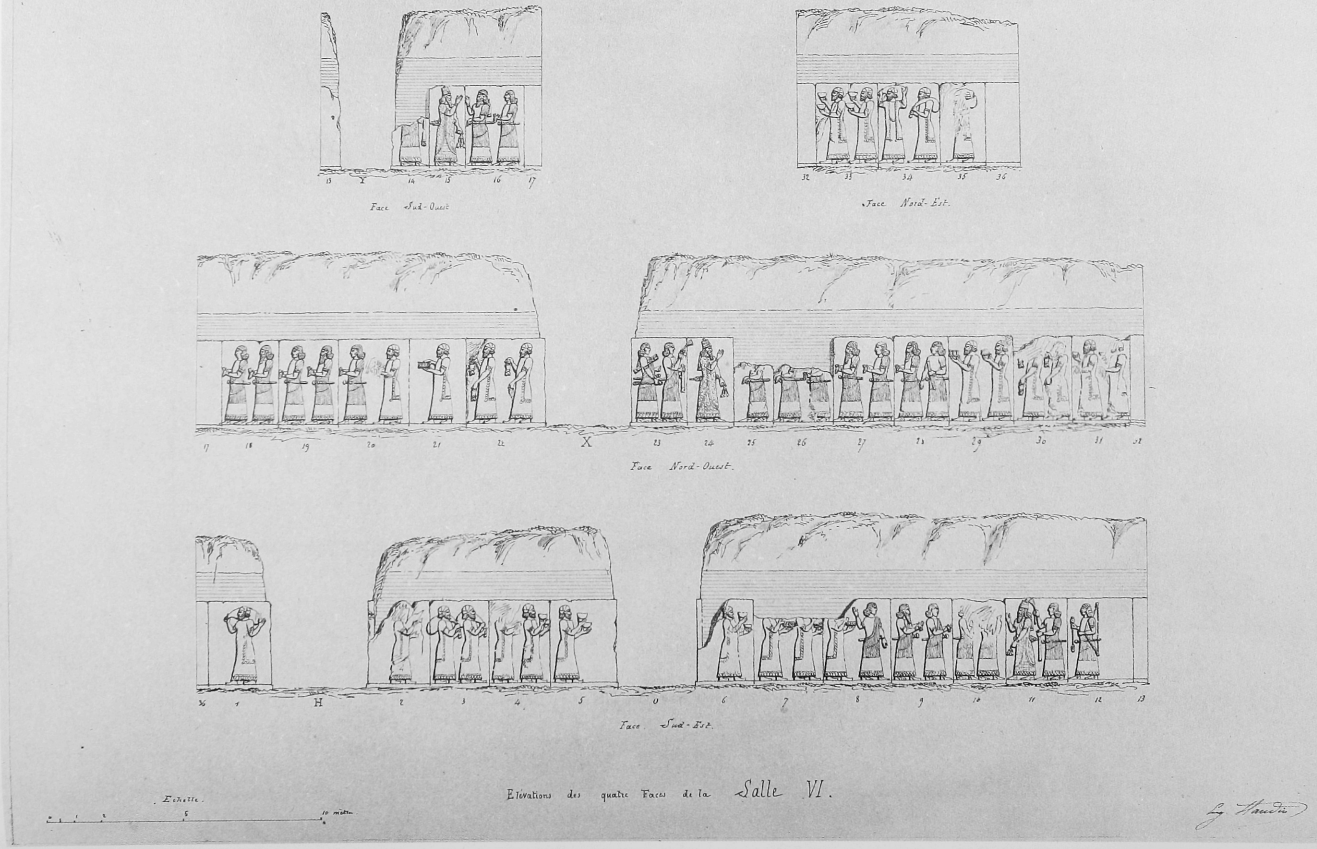
Pl. 63 Flandin. Room 9, plan and elevations



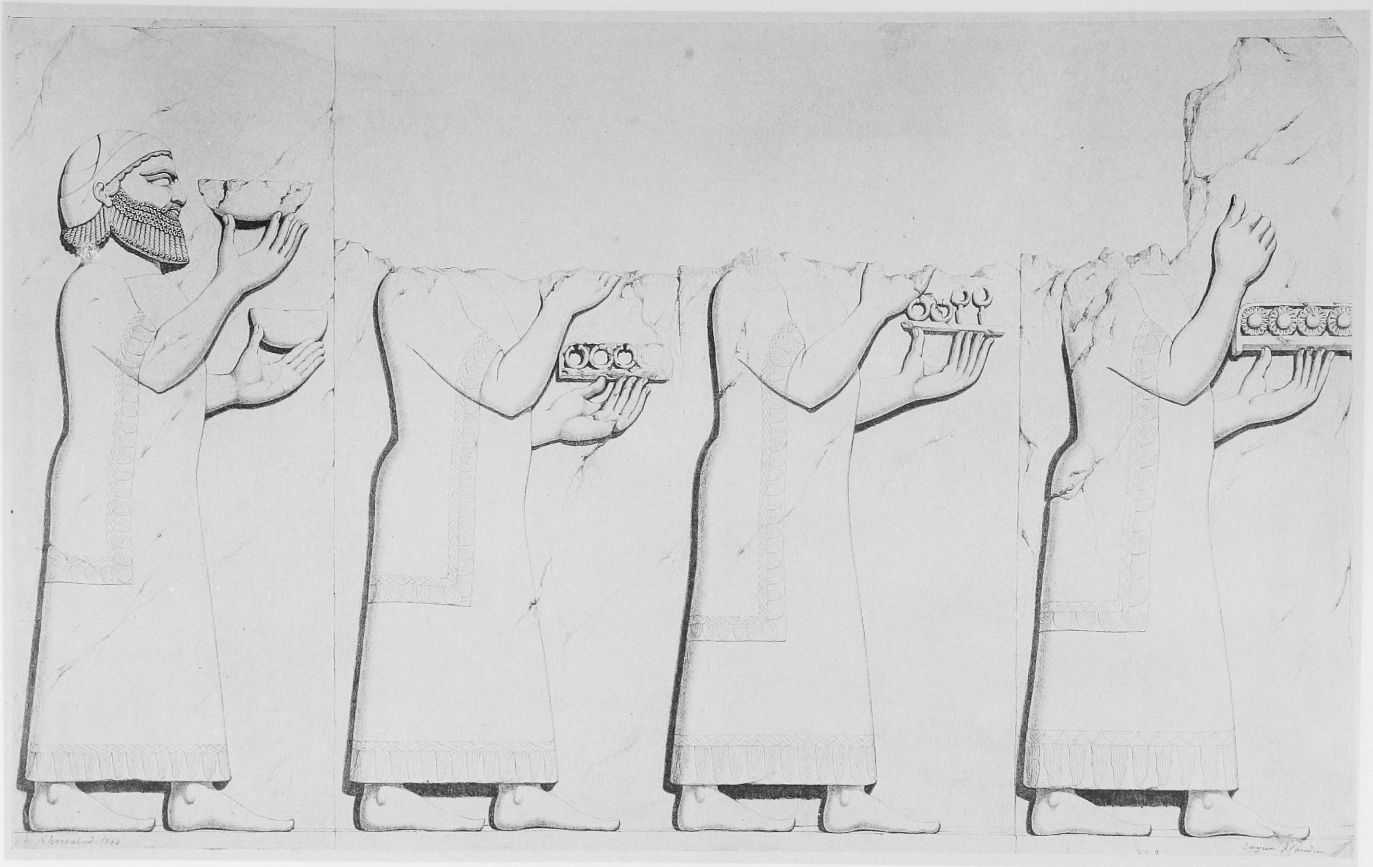
Pl. 64 Flandin. Room 12, plan and elevations



Pl. 65 Flandin. Room 6, plan

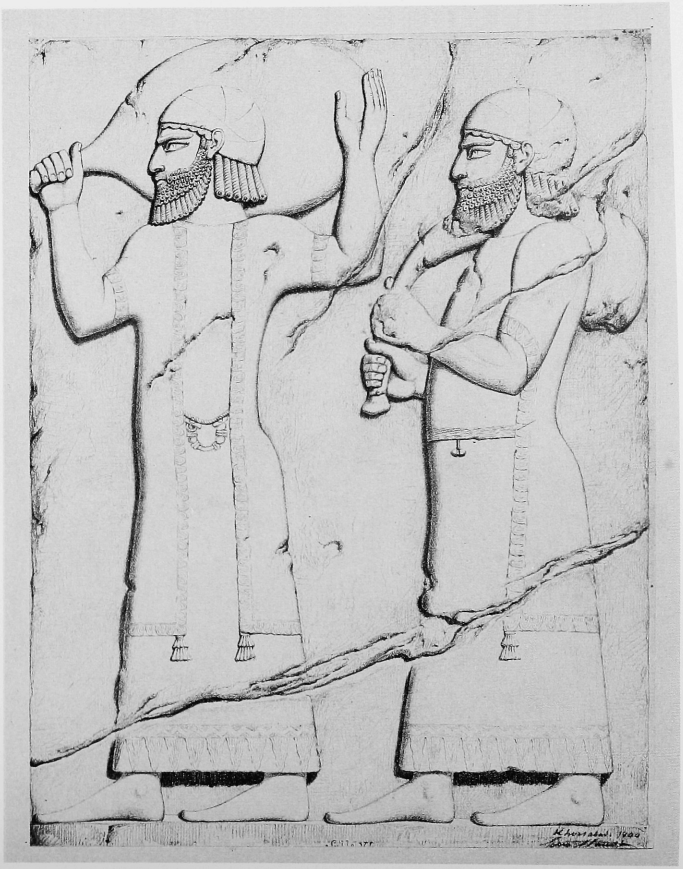


Pl. 66 Flandin. Room 6, elevations

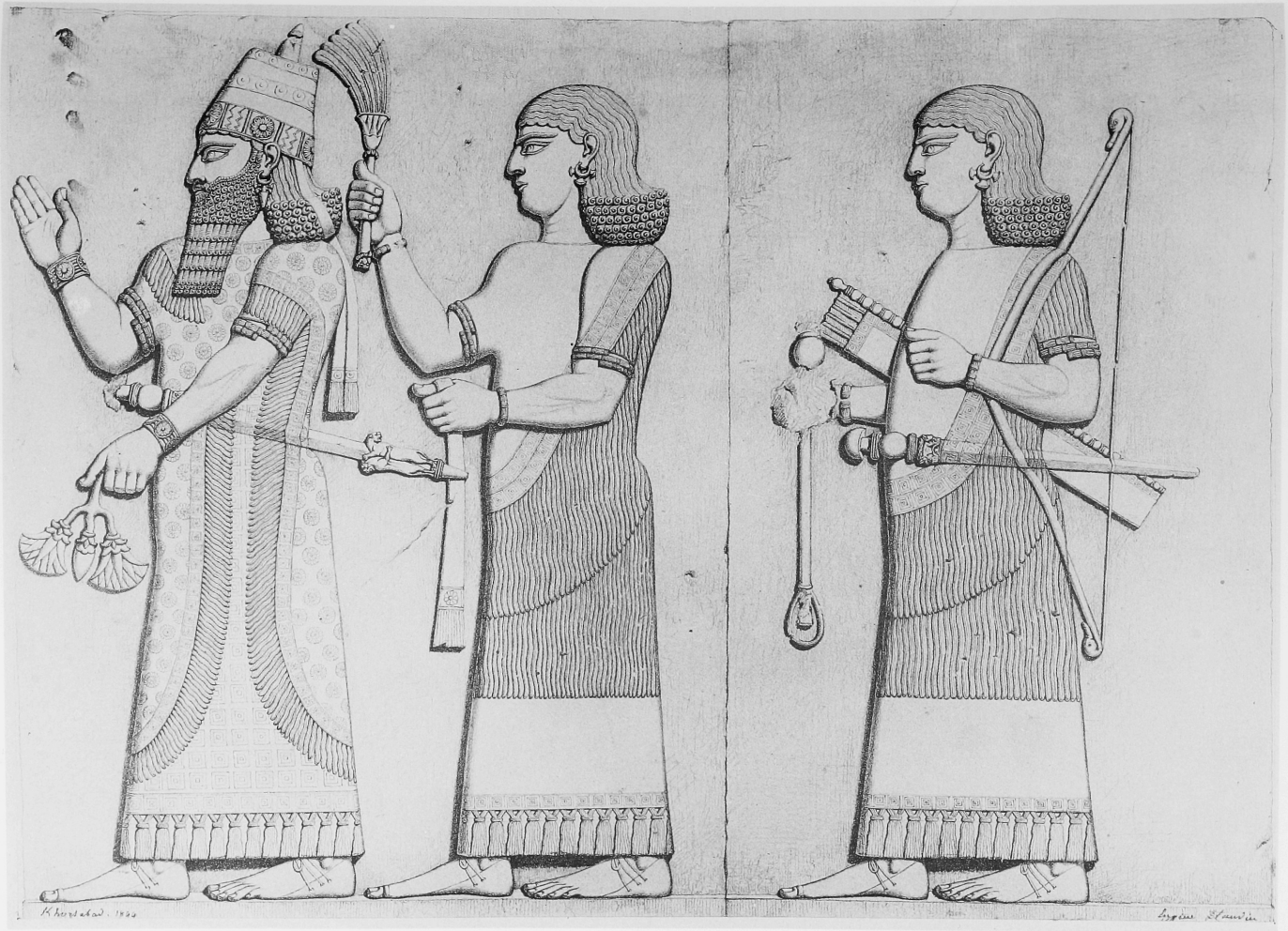


Pl. 67 Flandin. Room 6, slabs 6-8

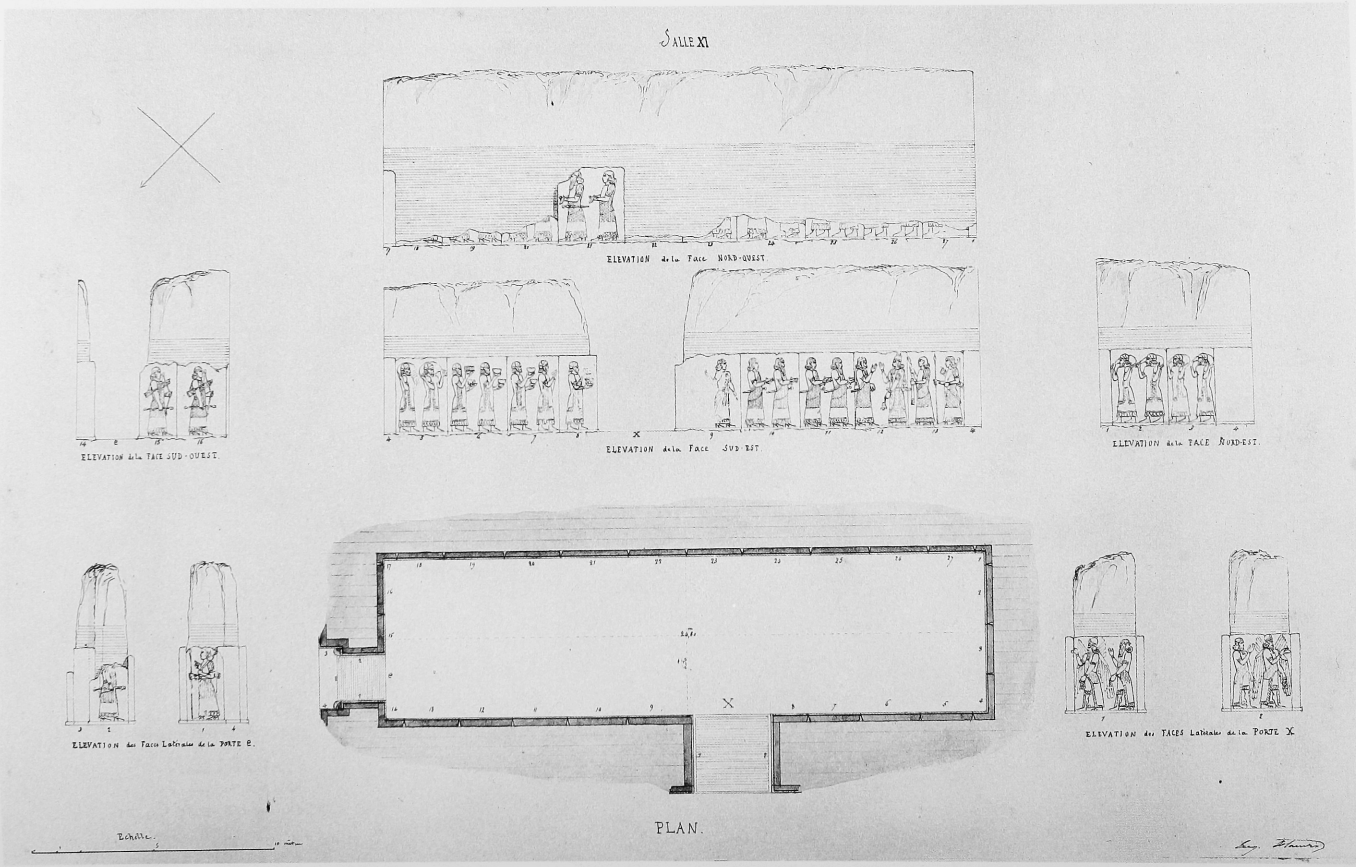
Pl. 68 Flandin. Room 6, slab 29



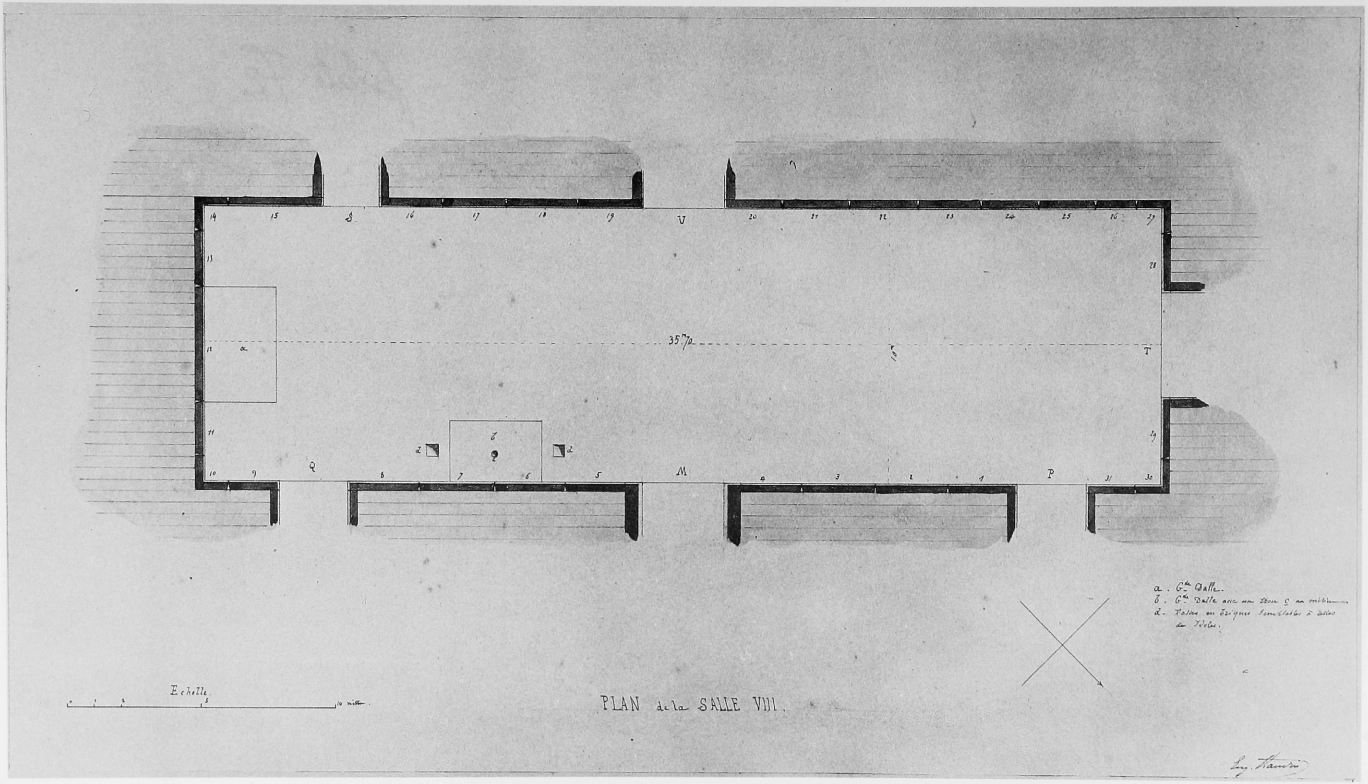
Pl. 69 Flandin. Room 6, slab 34



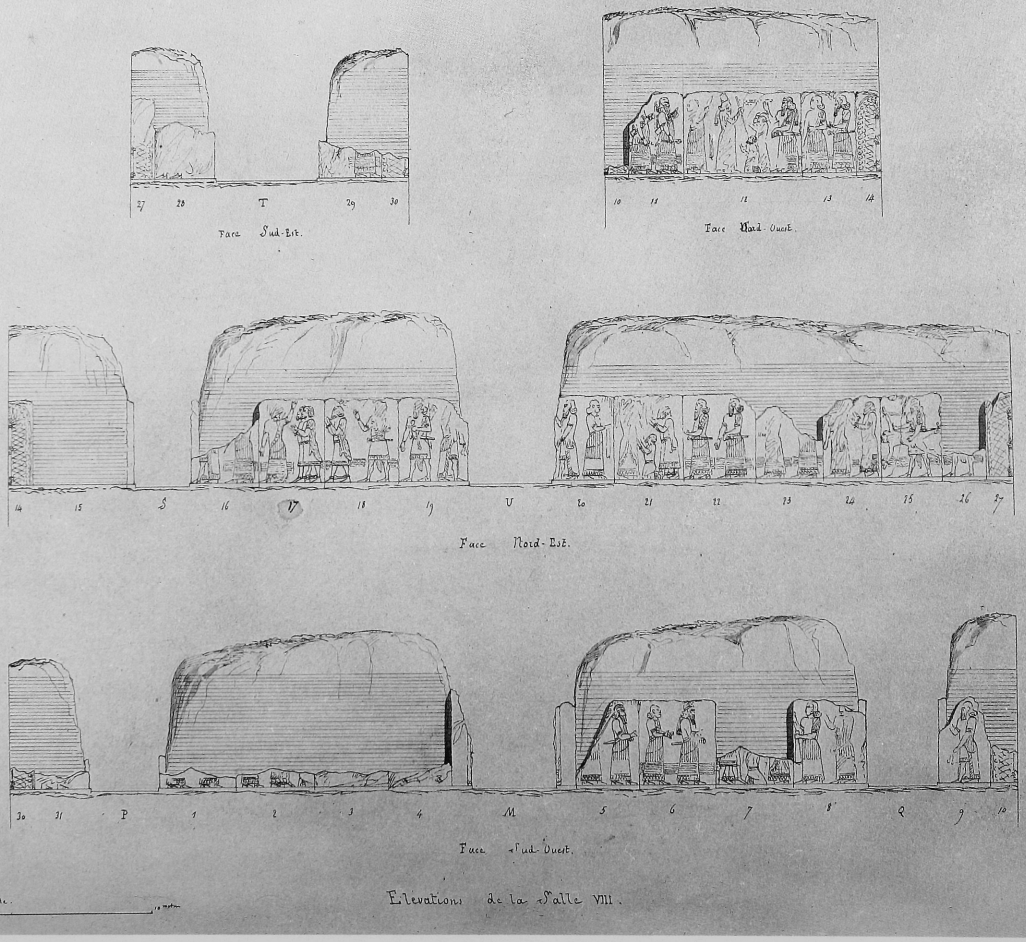
Pl. 70 Flandin. Room 6, slabs 11-12



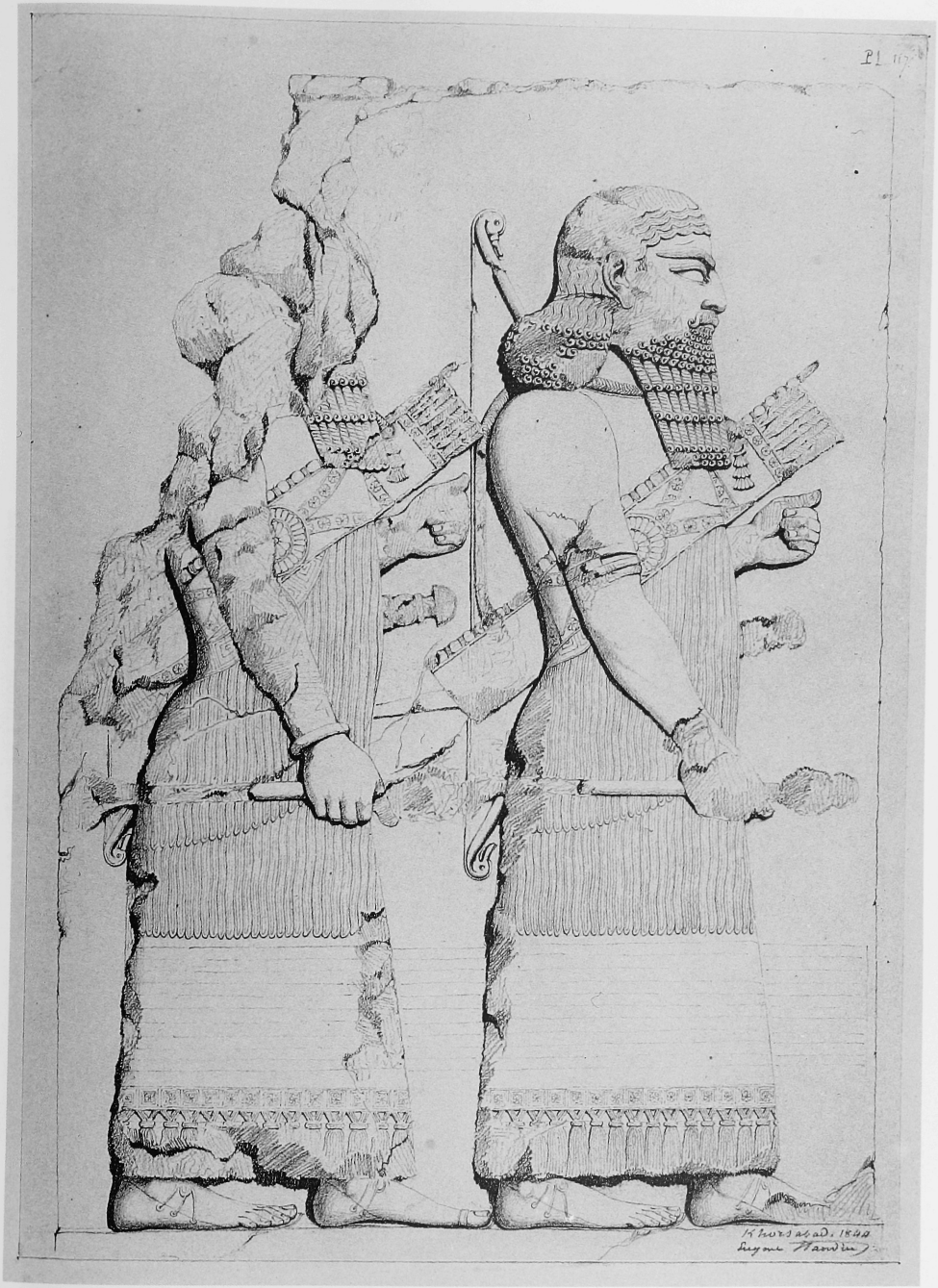
Pl. 71 Flandin. Room 11, plan and elevations



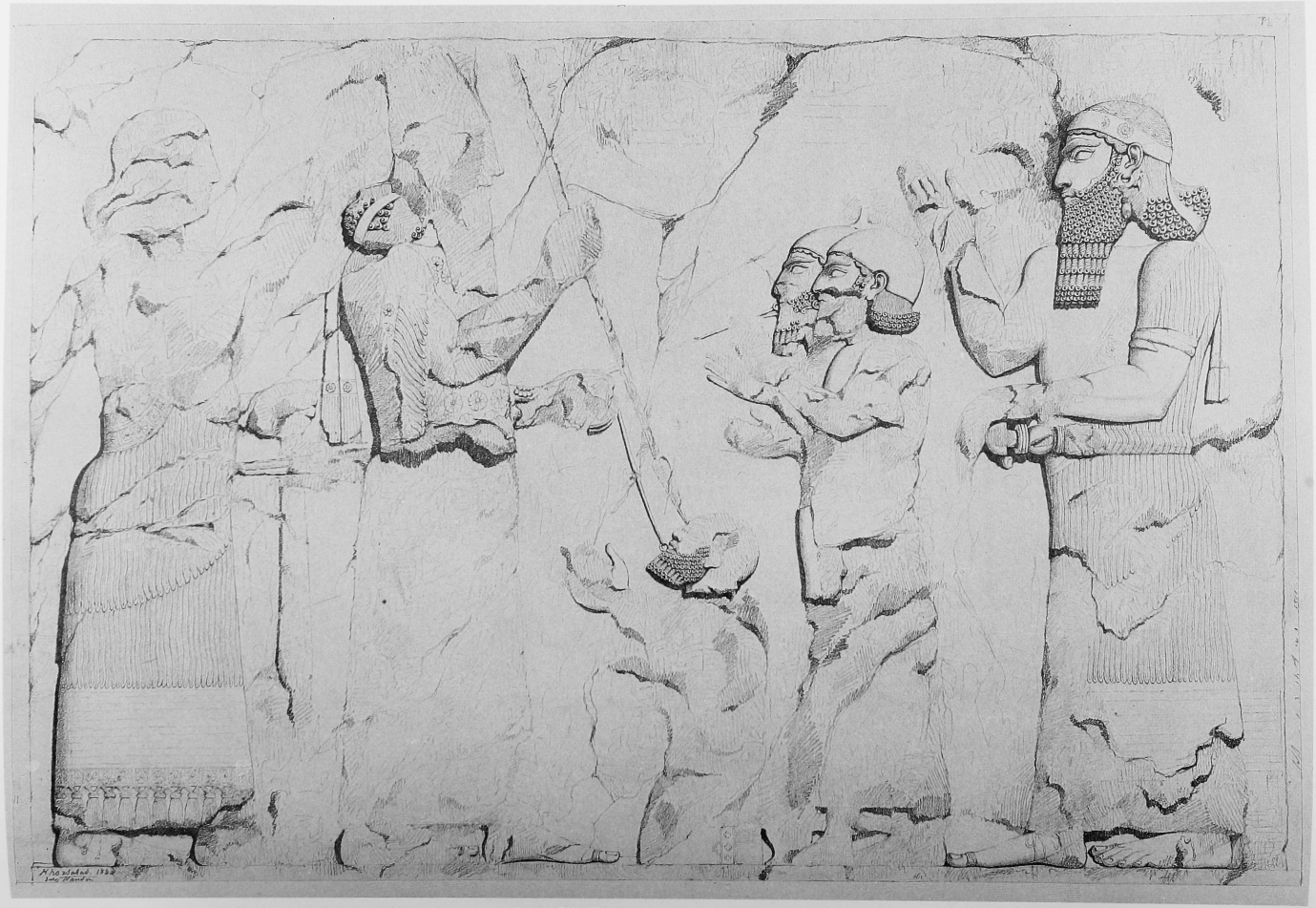
Pl. 72 Flandin. Room 8, plan



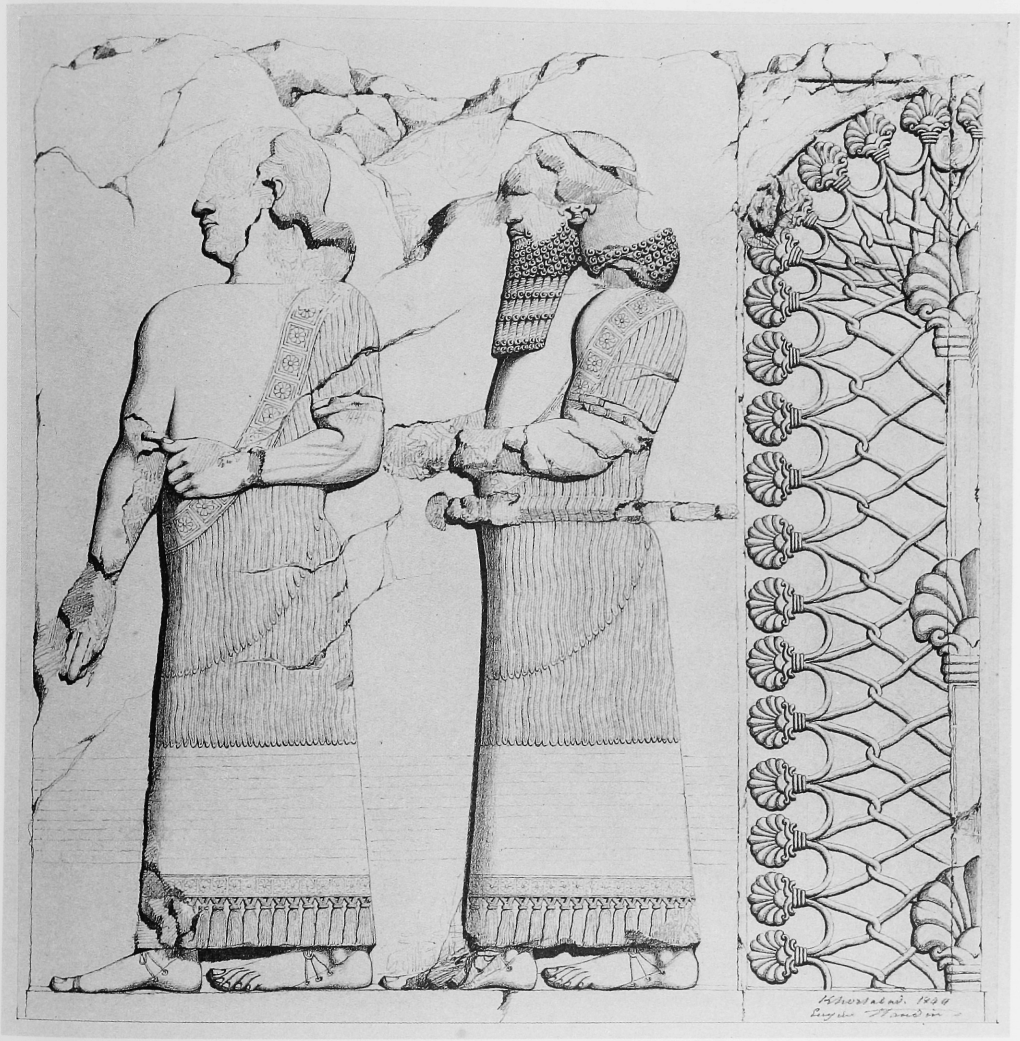
Pl. 73 Flandin. Room 8, elevations



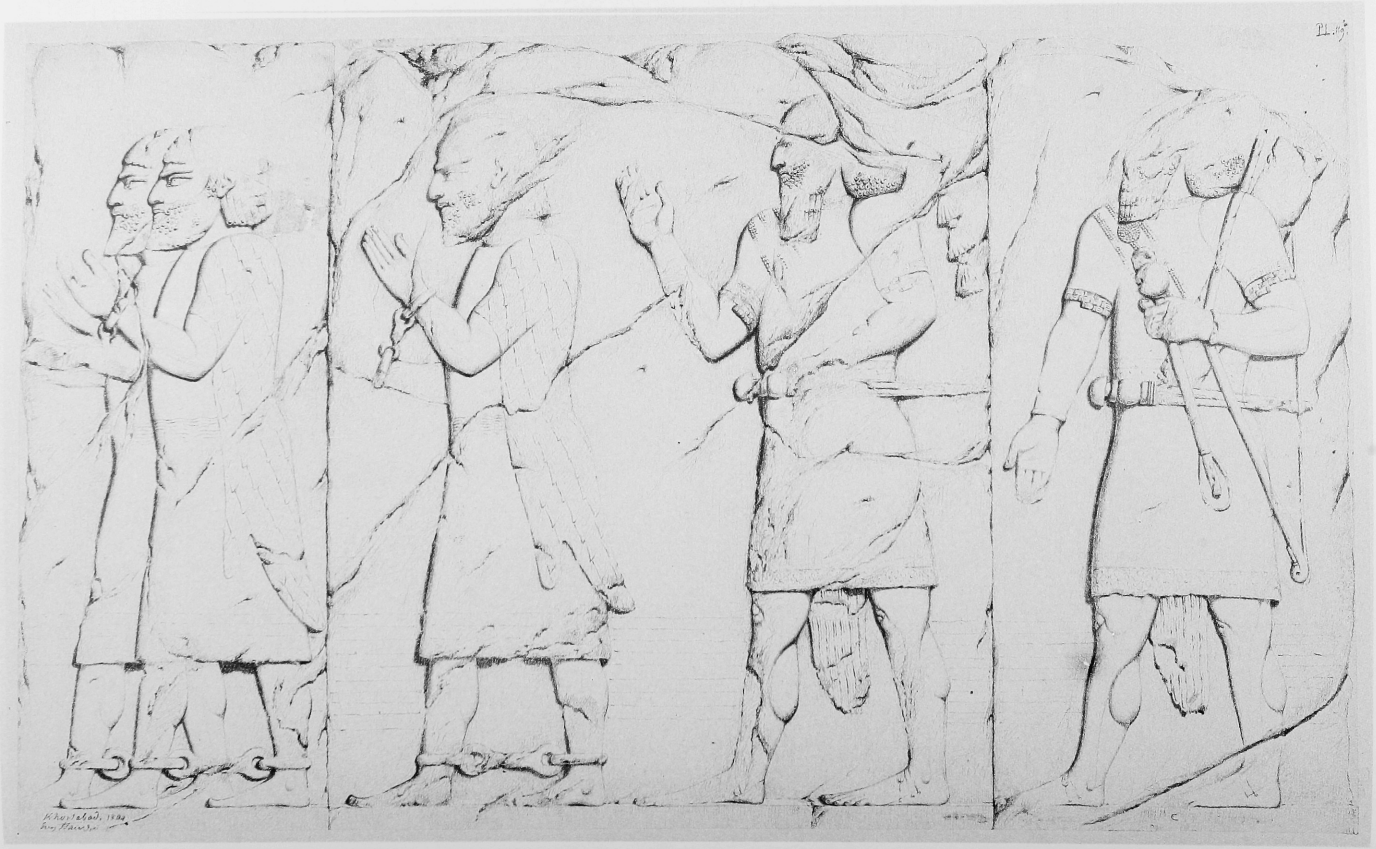
Pl. 74 Flandin. Room 8, slab 11



Pl. 75 Flandin. Room 8, slab 12

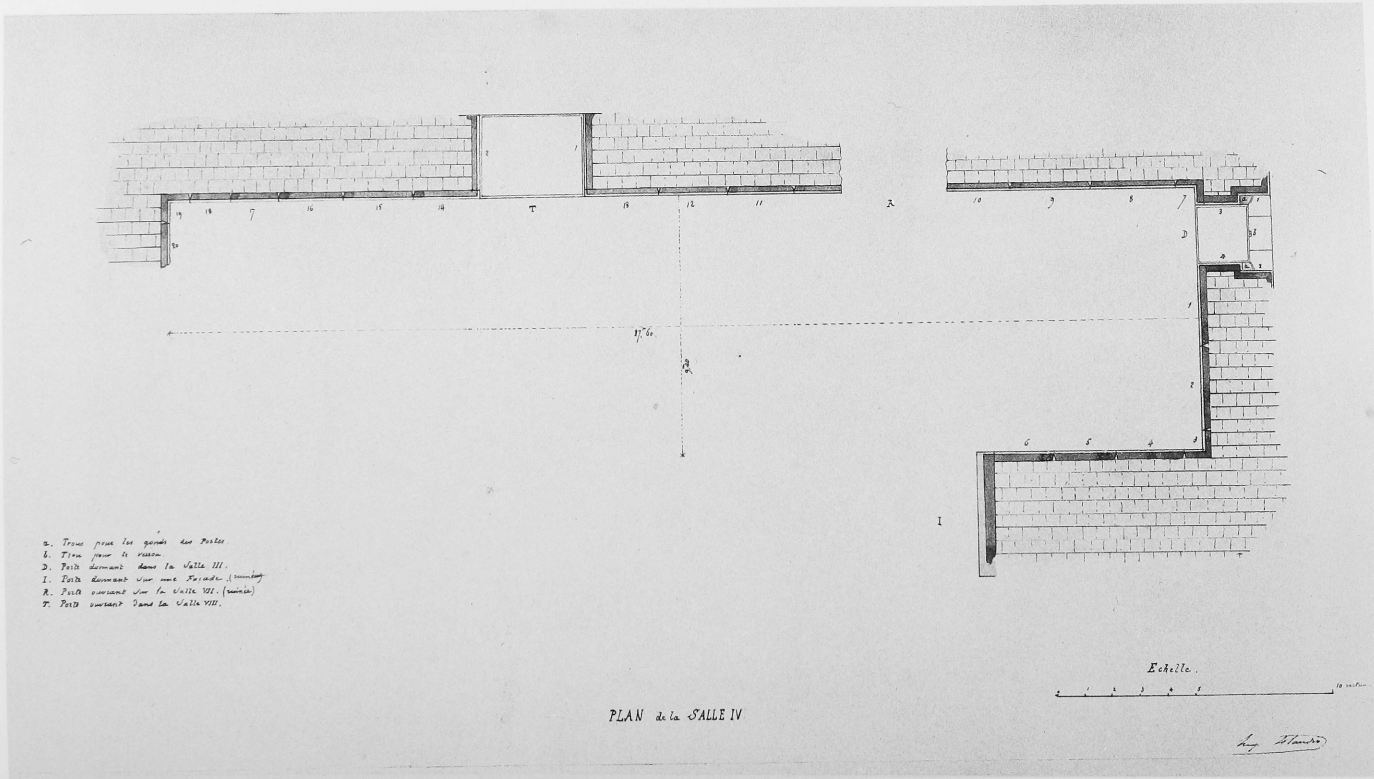


Pl. 76 Flandin. Room 8, slab 13

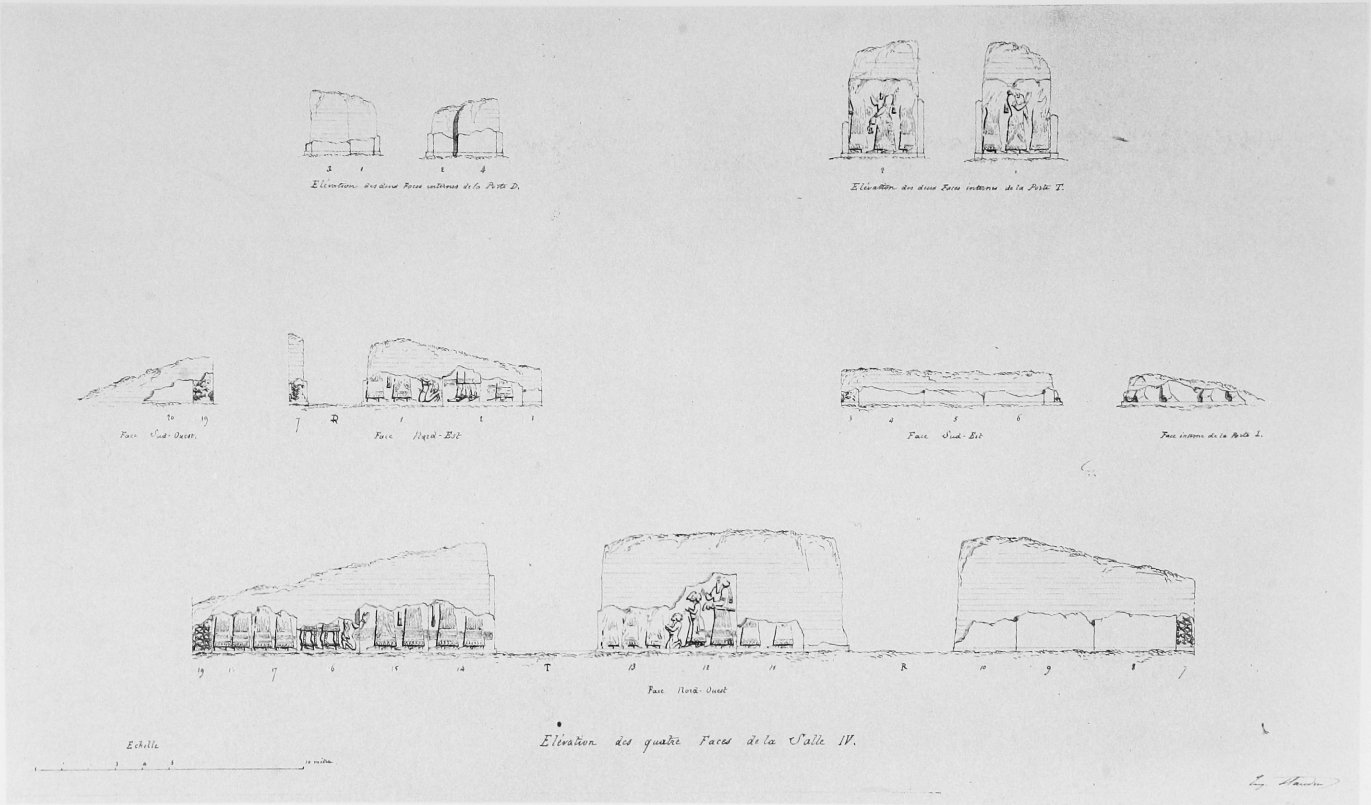


Pl. 77 Flandin. Room 8, slabs 17-19

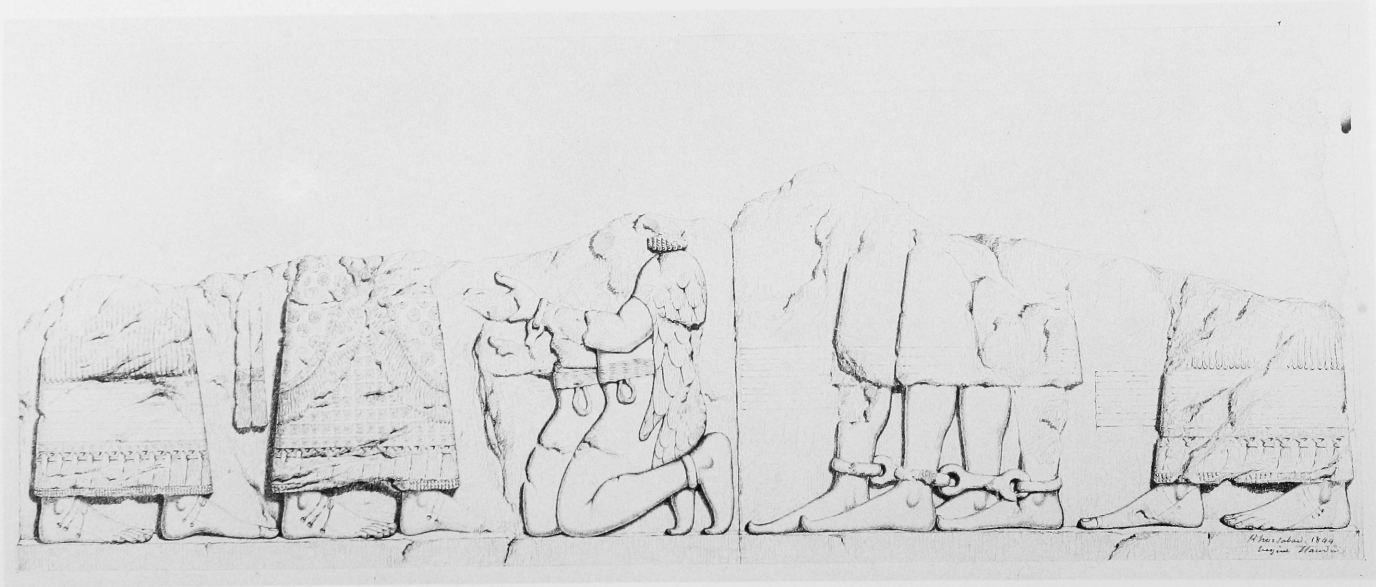
Pl. 78 Flandin. Room 8, slabs 24-25



Pl. 79 Flandin. Room 4, plan

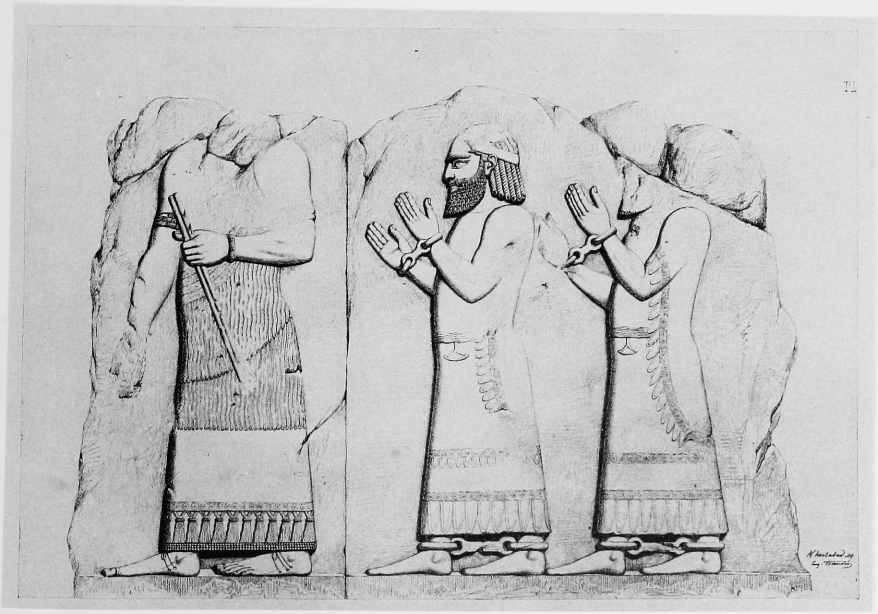


Pl. 80 Flandin. Room 4, elevations

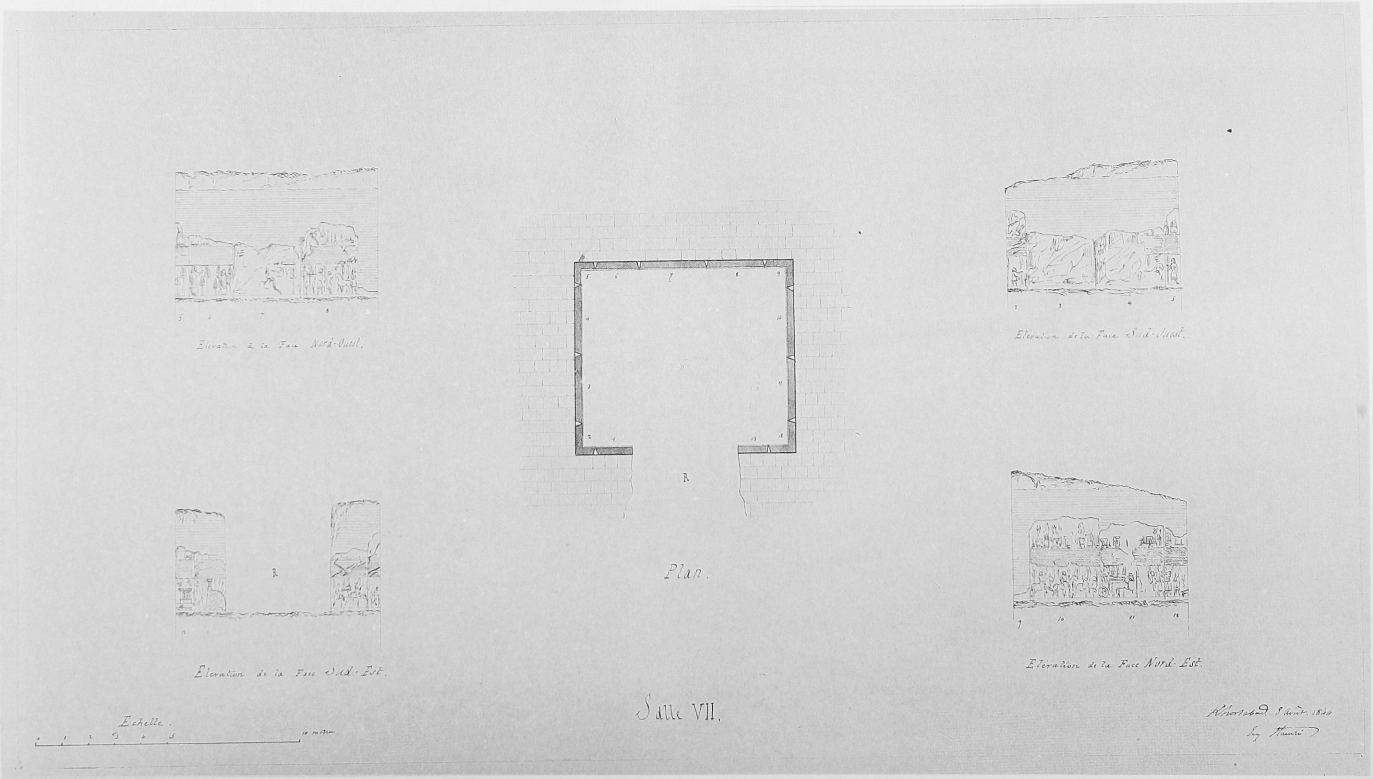


Pl. 81 Flandin. Room 4, slabs 1-2

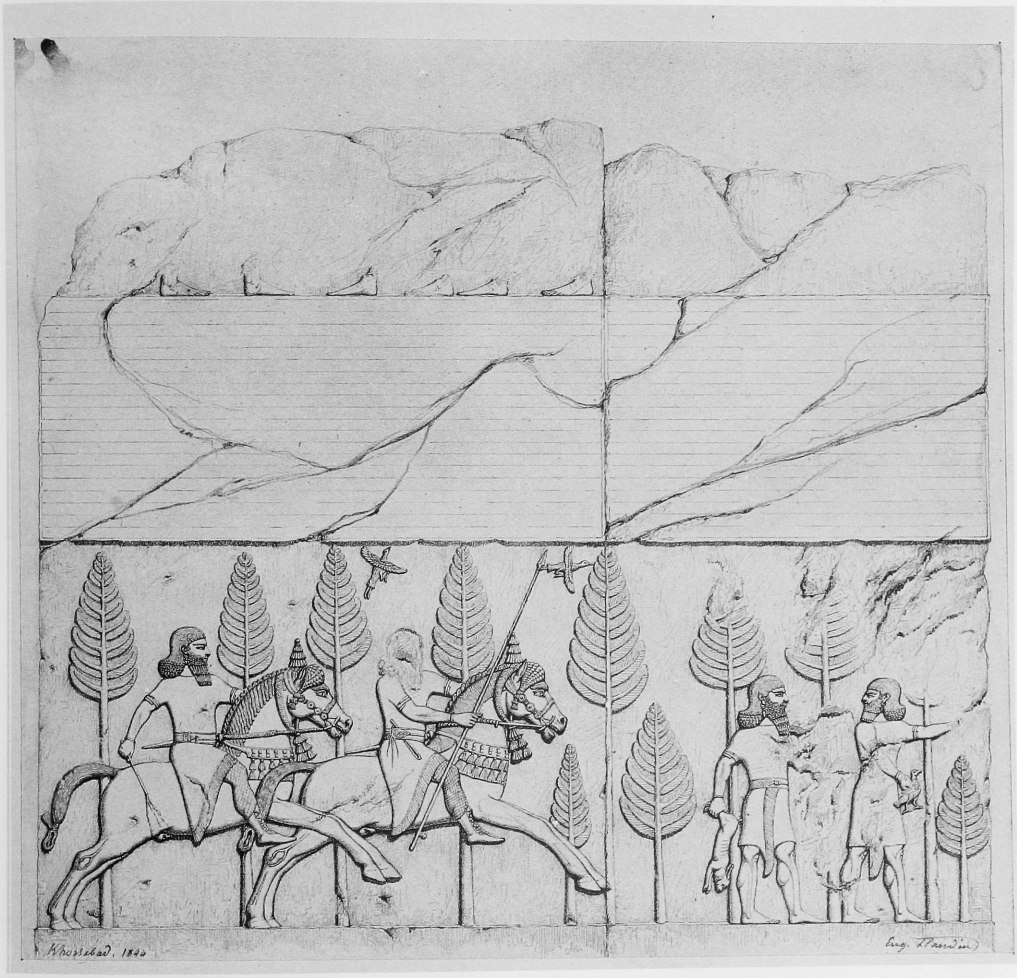
Pl. 82 Flandin. Room 4, slab 12



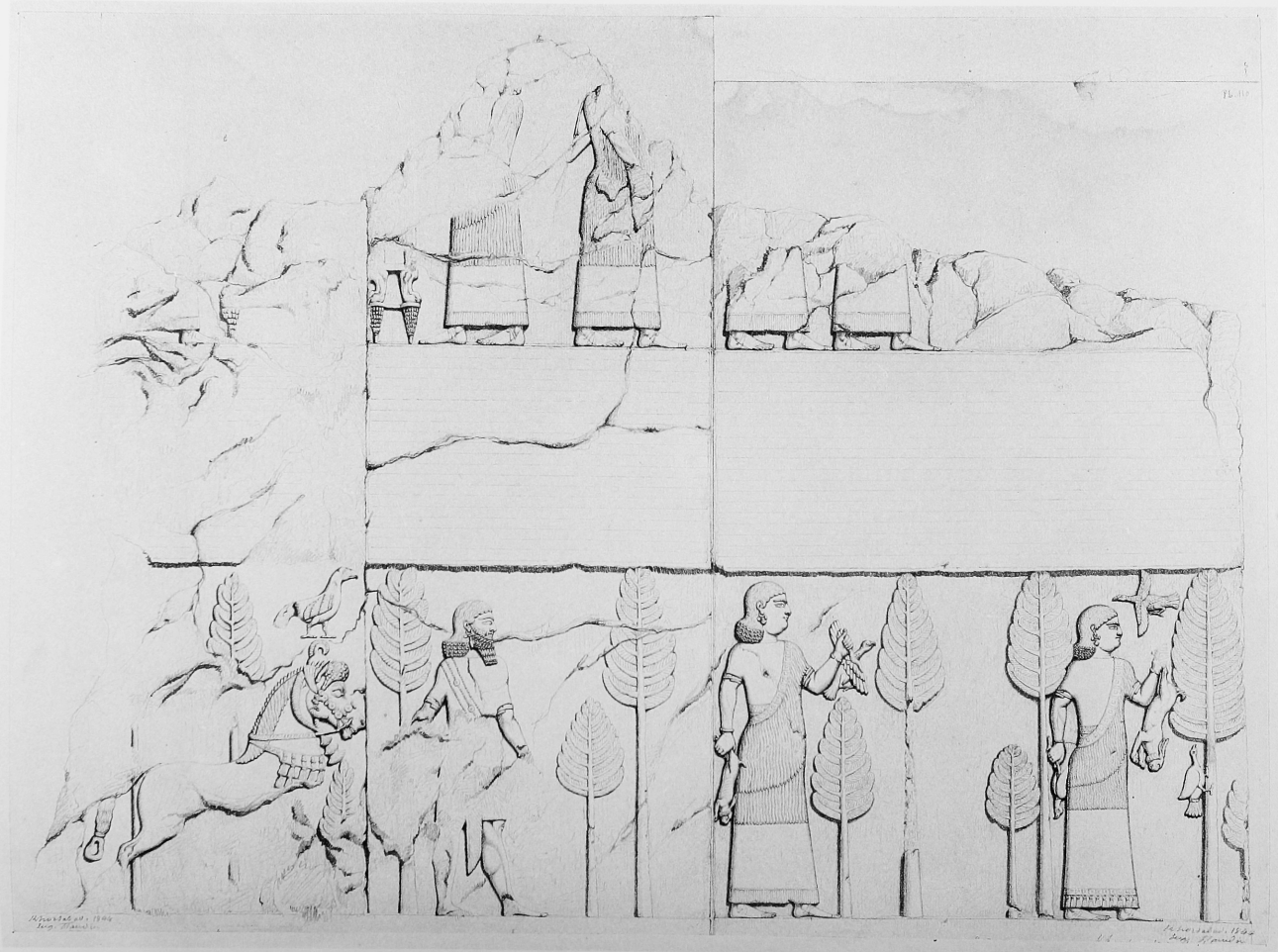
Pl. 83 Flandin. Room 4, two slabs unnumbered (9-8)



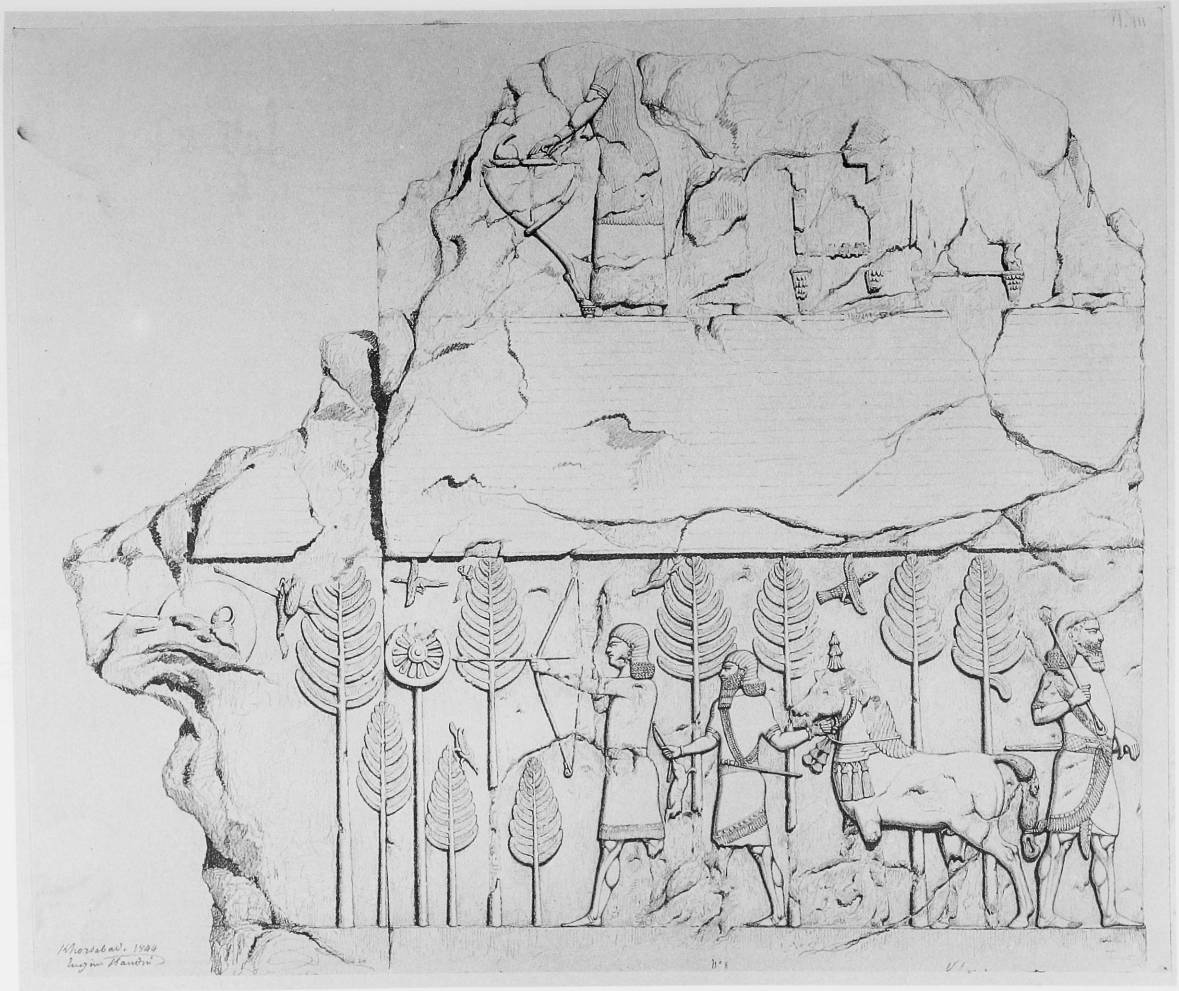
Pl. 84 Flandin. Room 7, plan and elevations



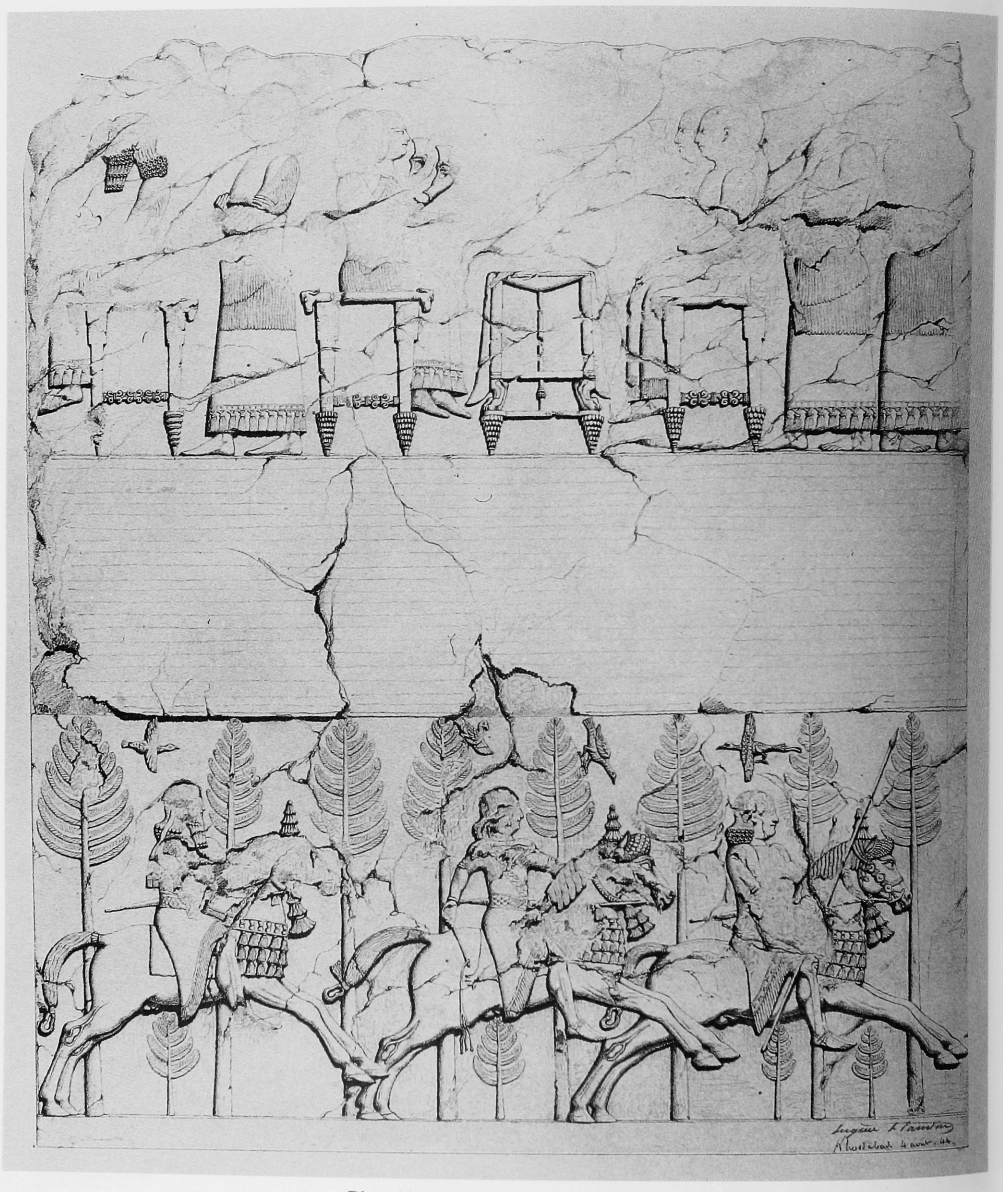
Pl. 85 Flandin. Room 7, slabs 1-2



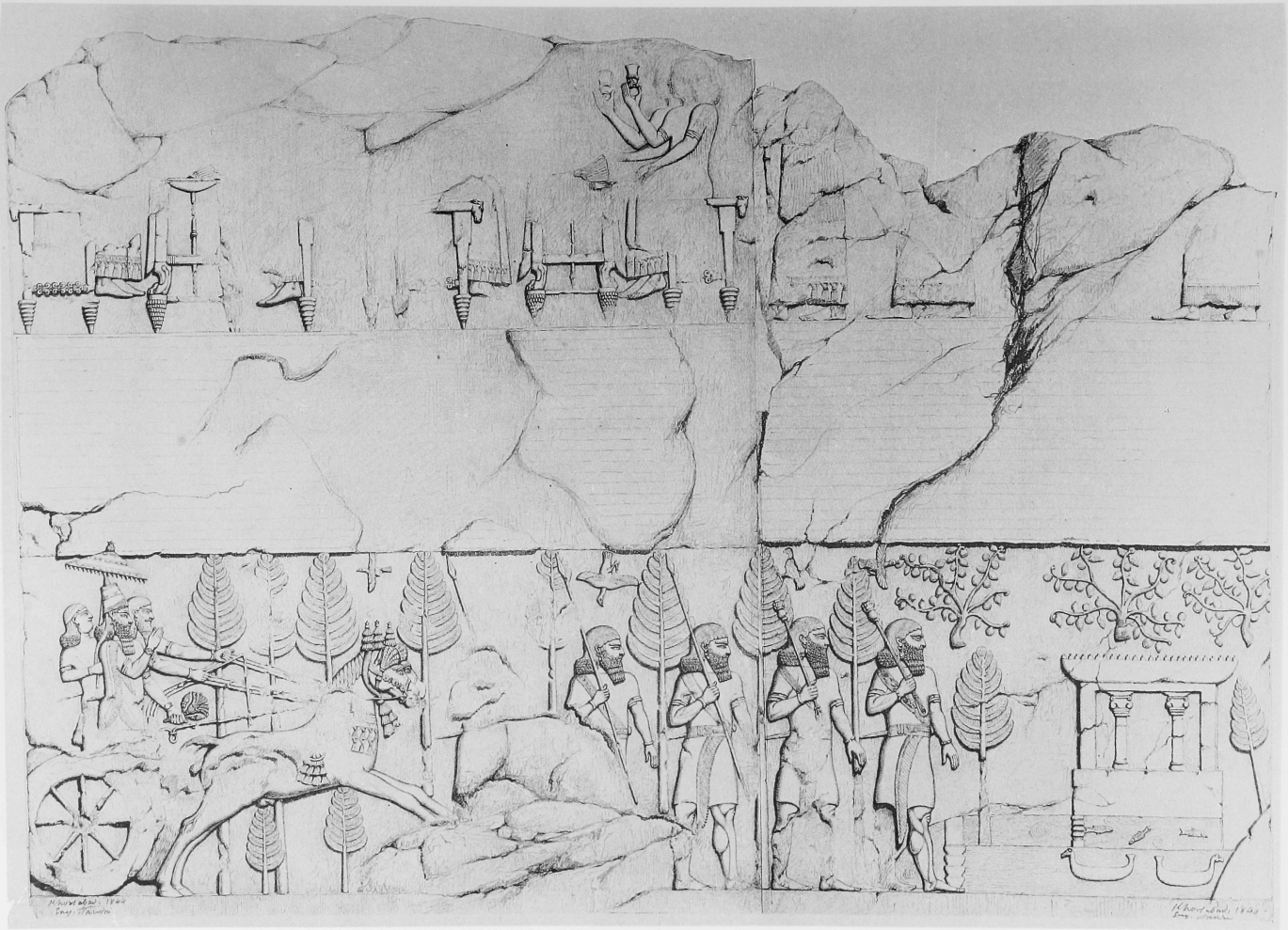
Pl. 86 Flandin. Room 7, slabs 4-6



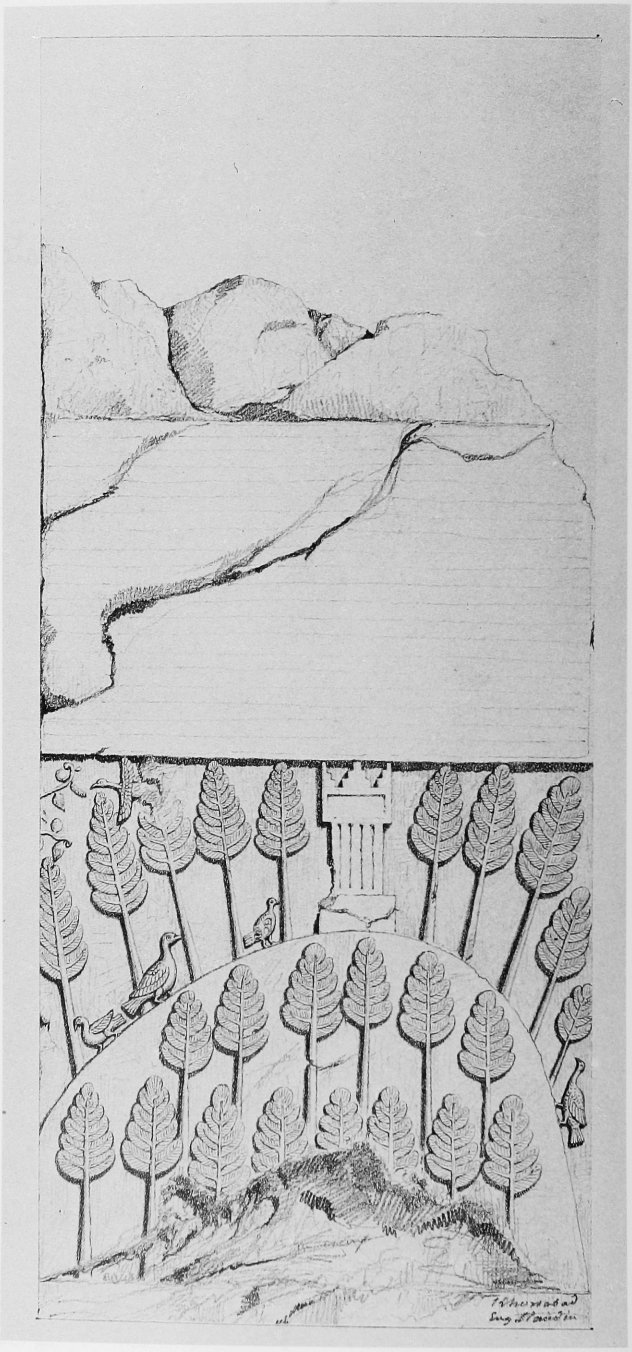
Pl. 87 Flandin. Room 7, slabs 7-8



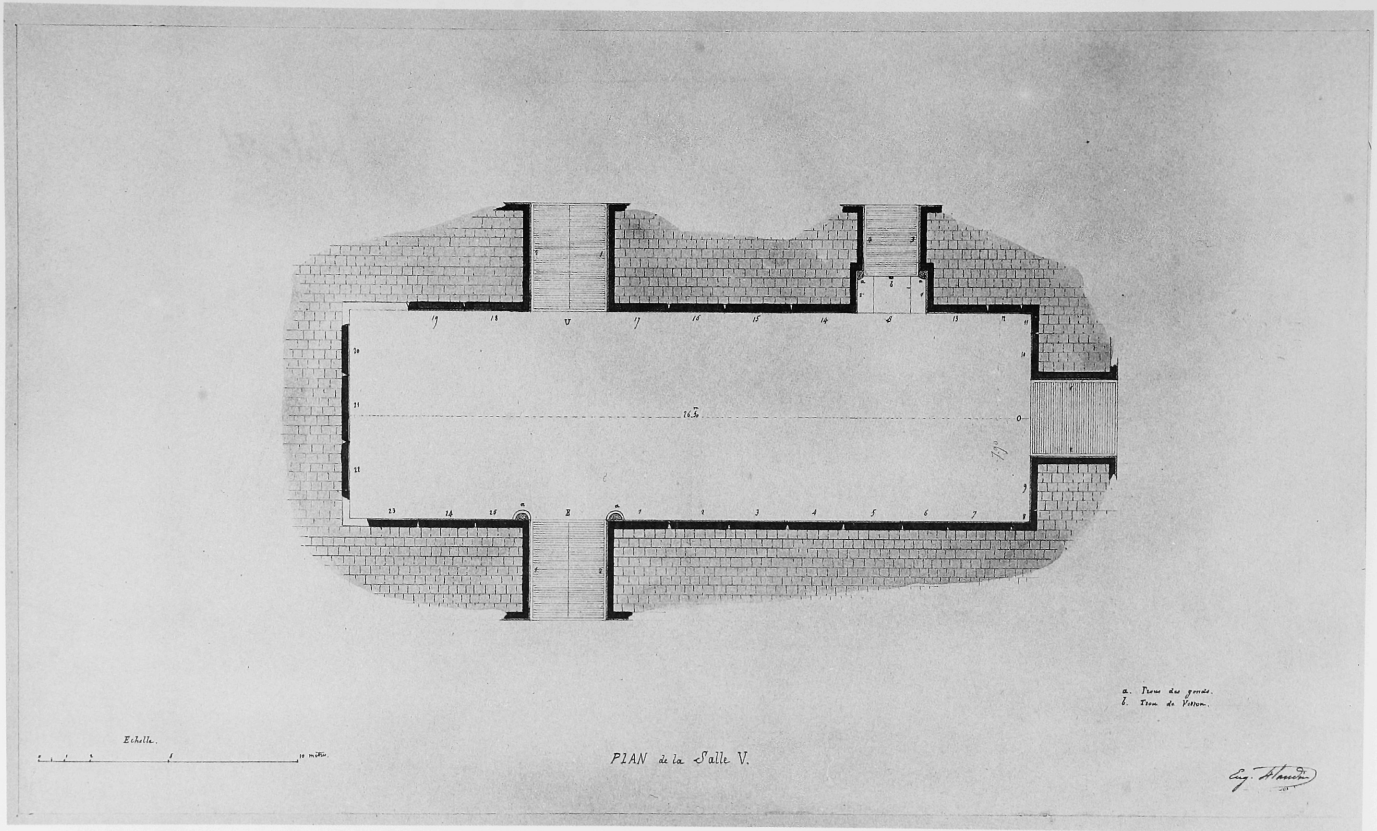
Pl. 88 Flandin. Room 7, slab 10



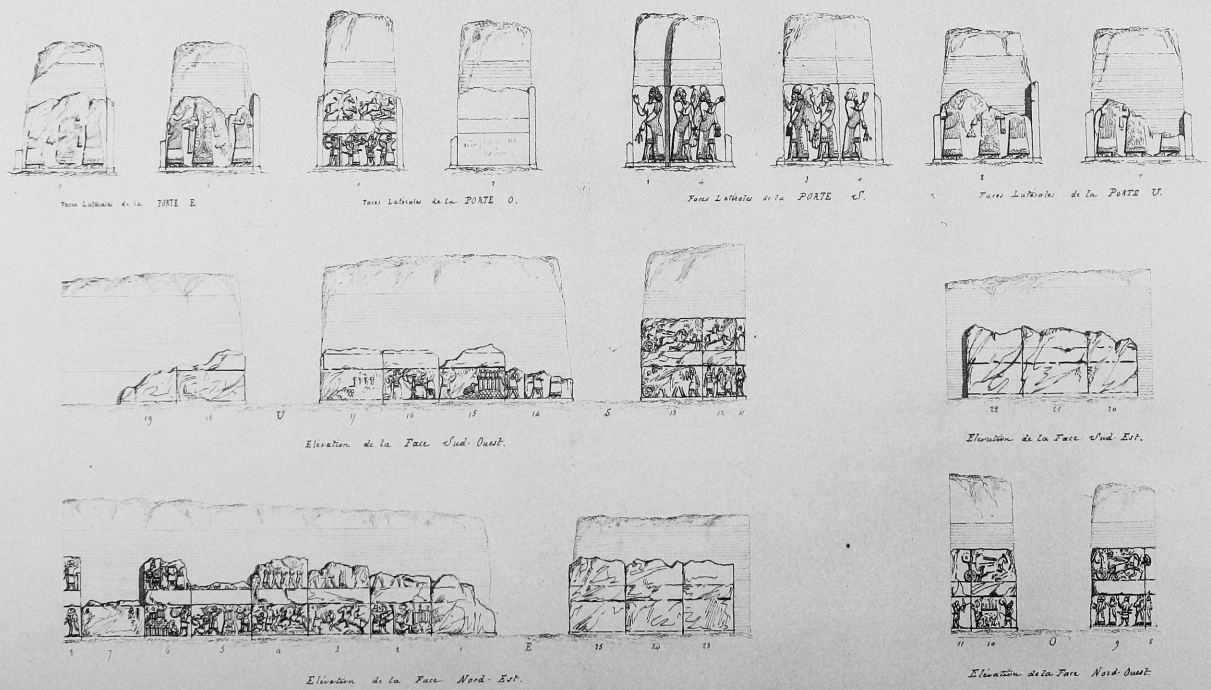
Pl. 89 Flandin. Room 7, slabs 11-12



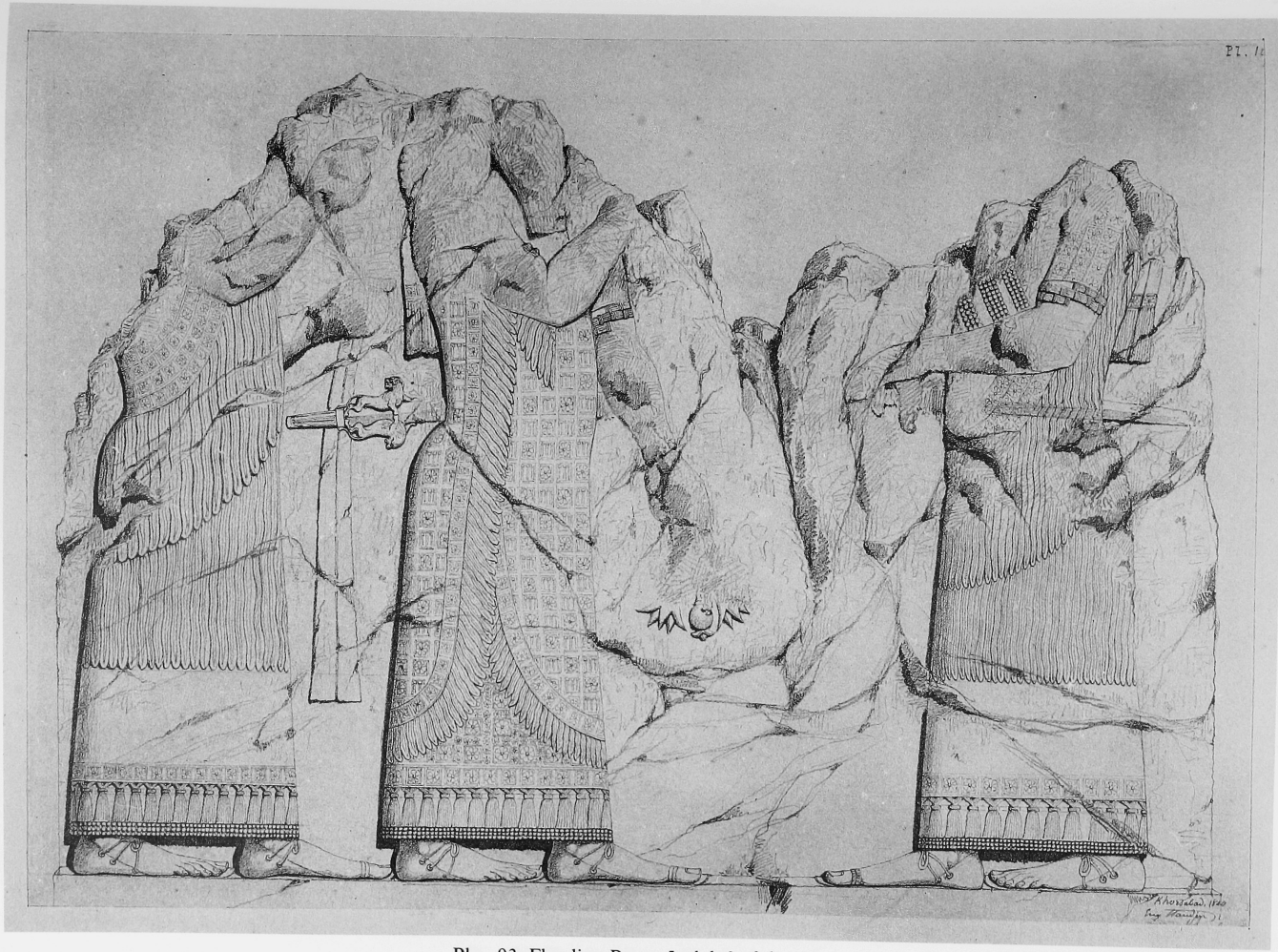
Pl. 90 Flandin. Room 7, slab 13



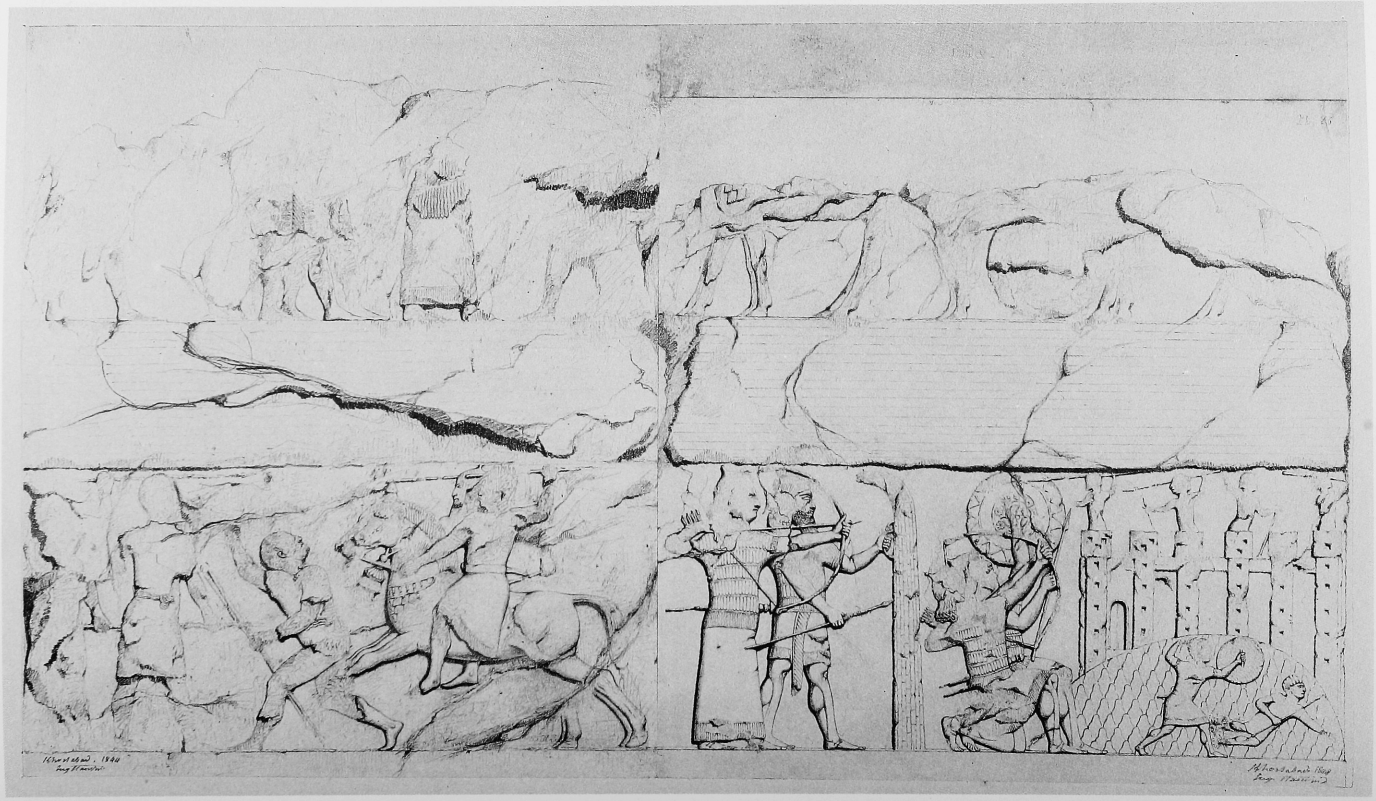
Pl. 91 Flandin. Room 5, plan



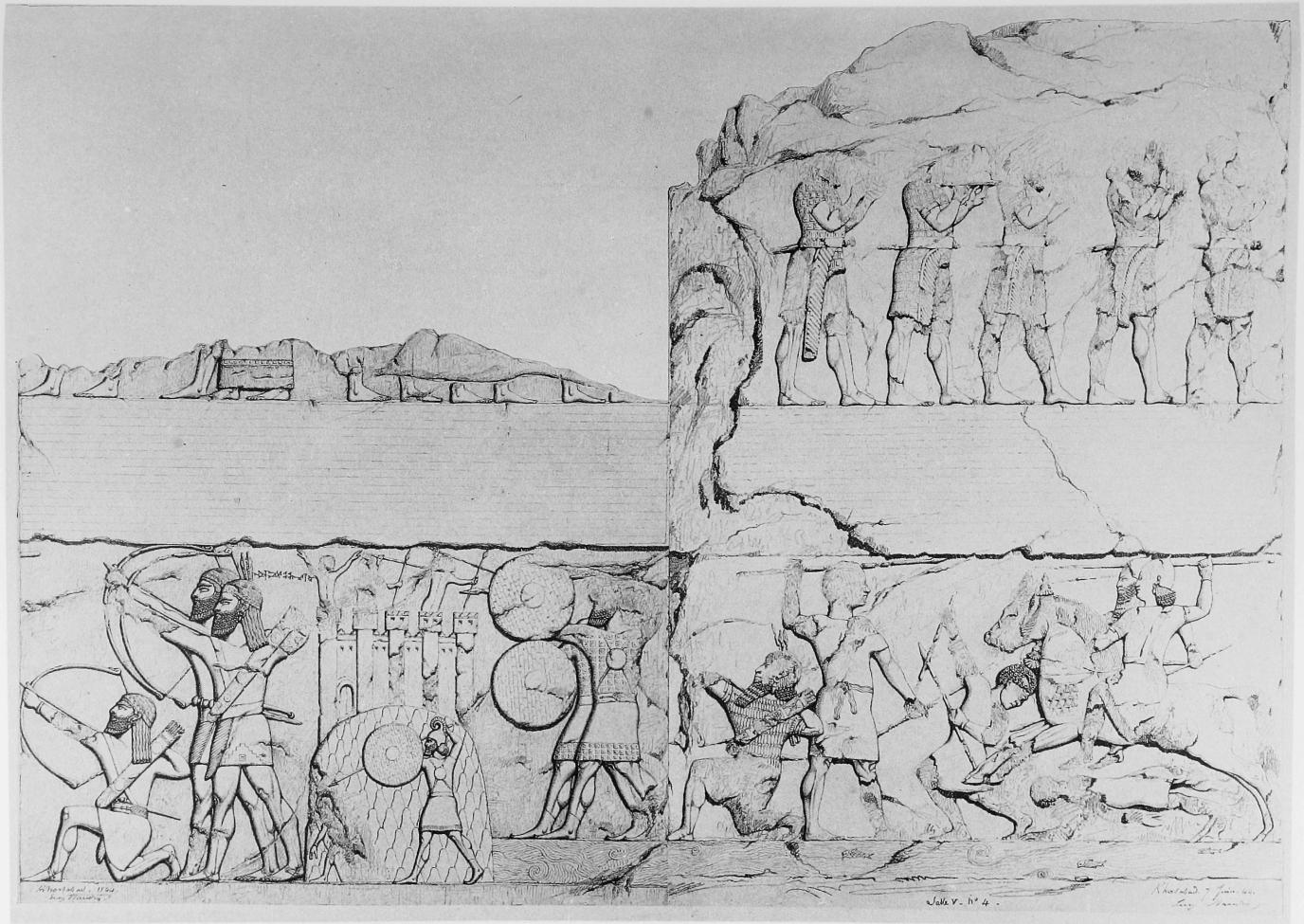
Pl. 92 Flandin. Room 5, elevations



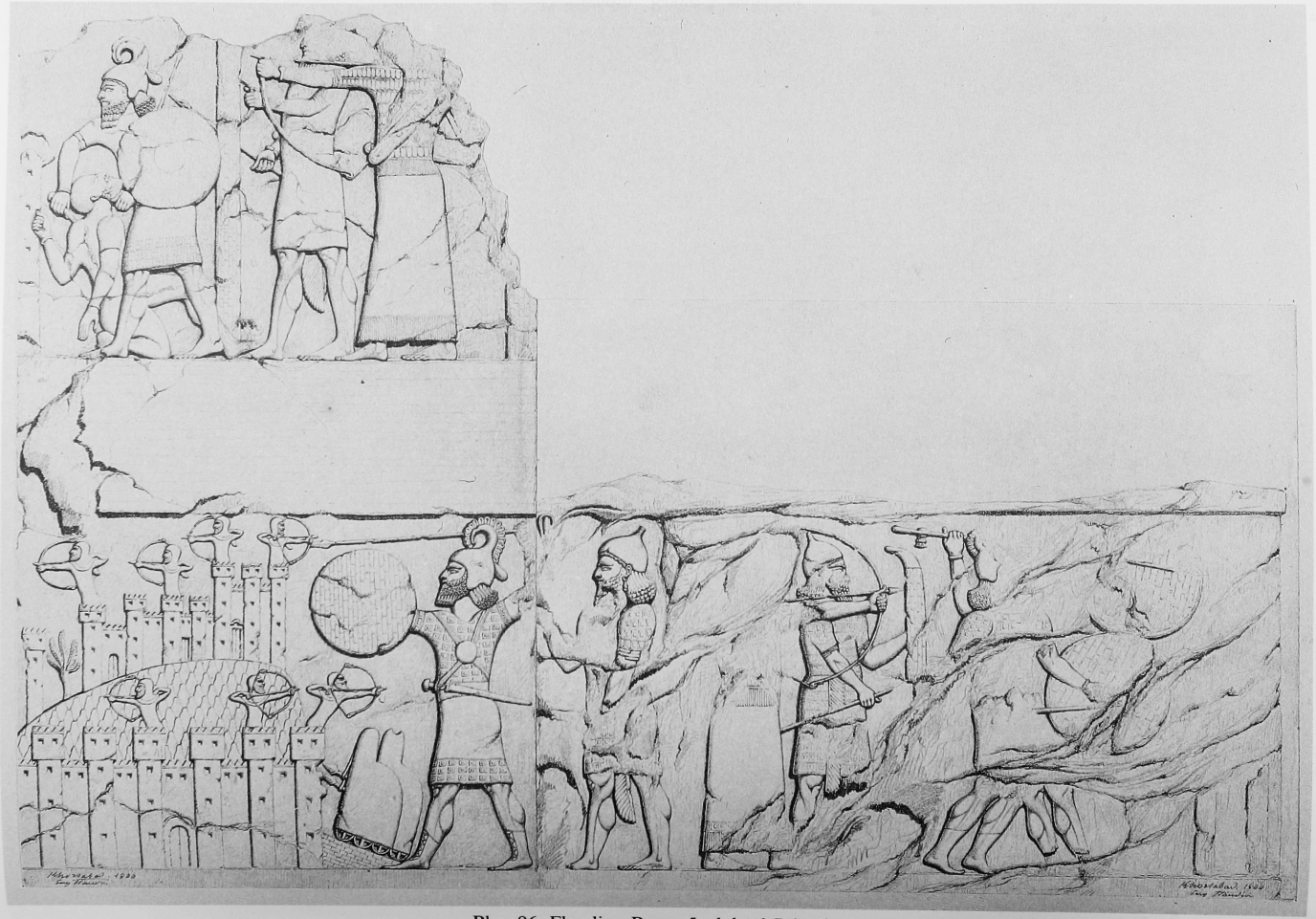
Pl. 93 Flandin. Room 5, slab 2 of door E



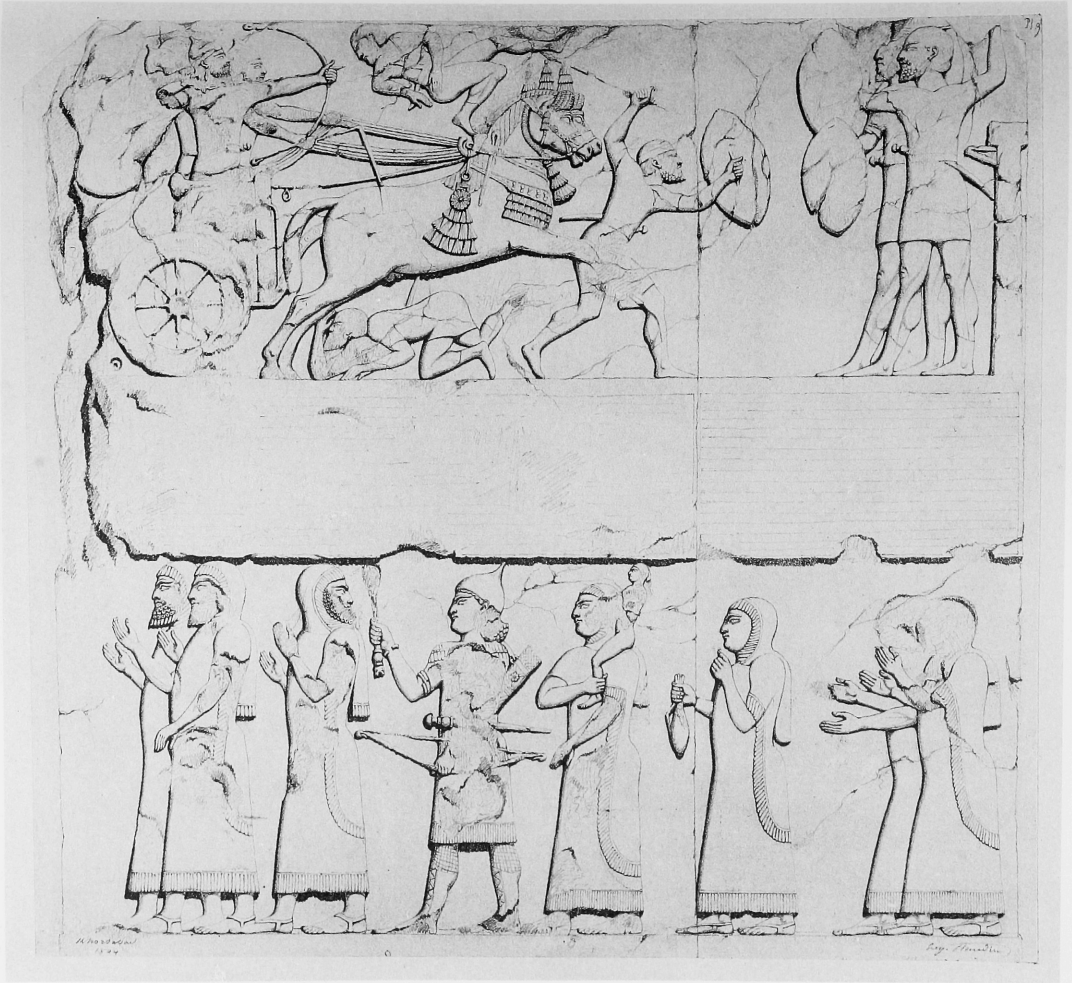
Pl. 94 Flandin. Room 5, slabs 3-2



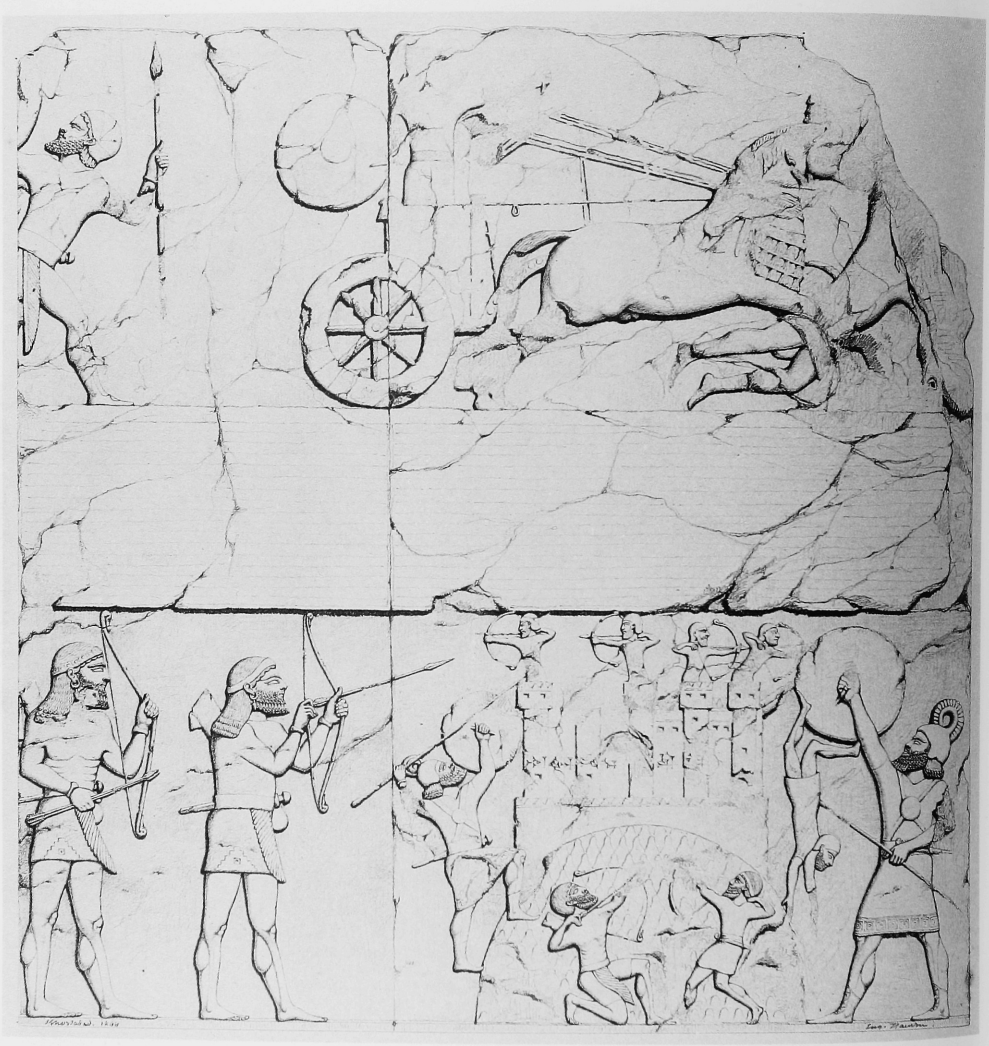
Pl. 95 Flandin. Room 5, slabs 5-4



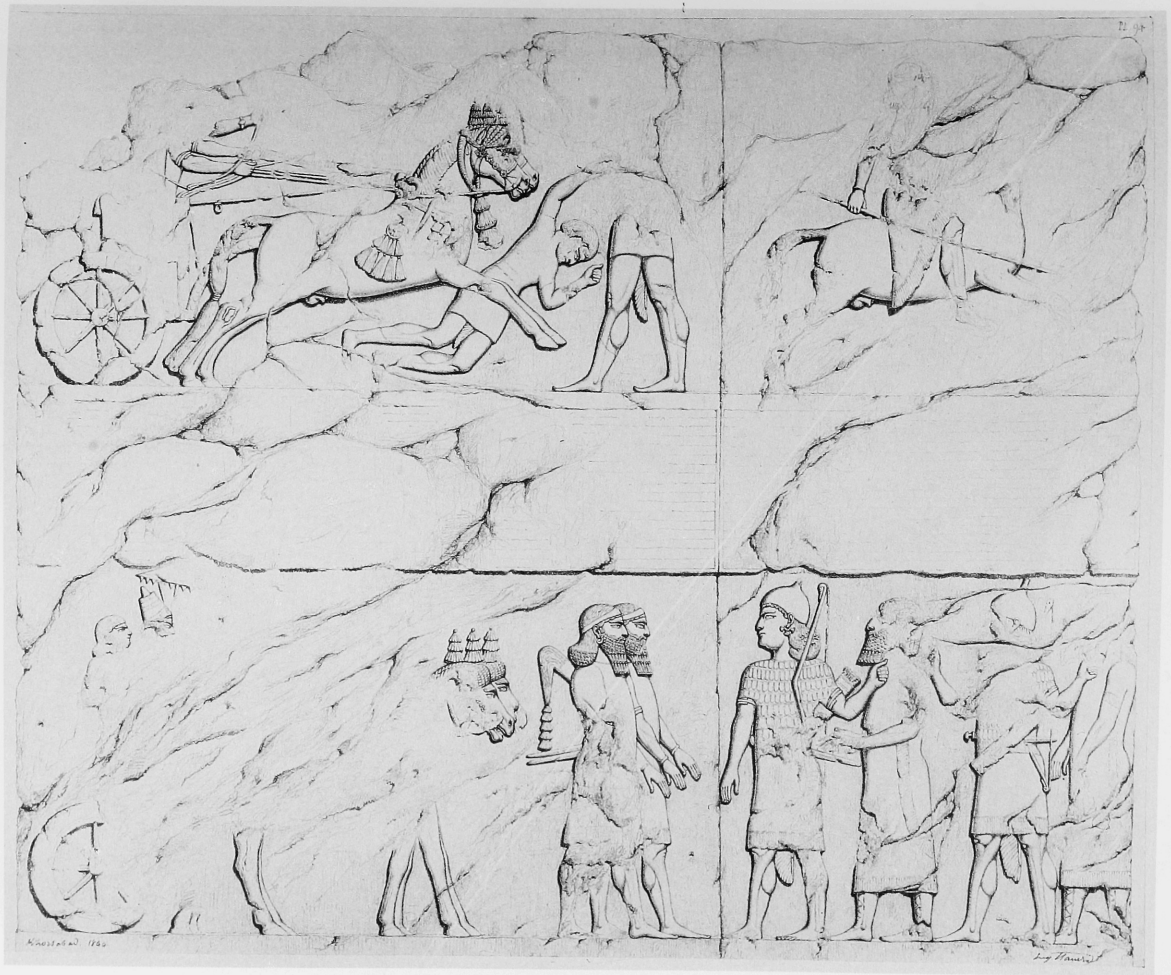
Pl. 96 Flandin. Room 5, slabs 6-7 (7-6)



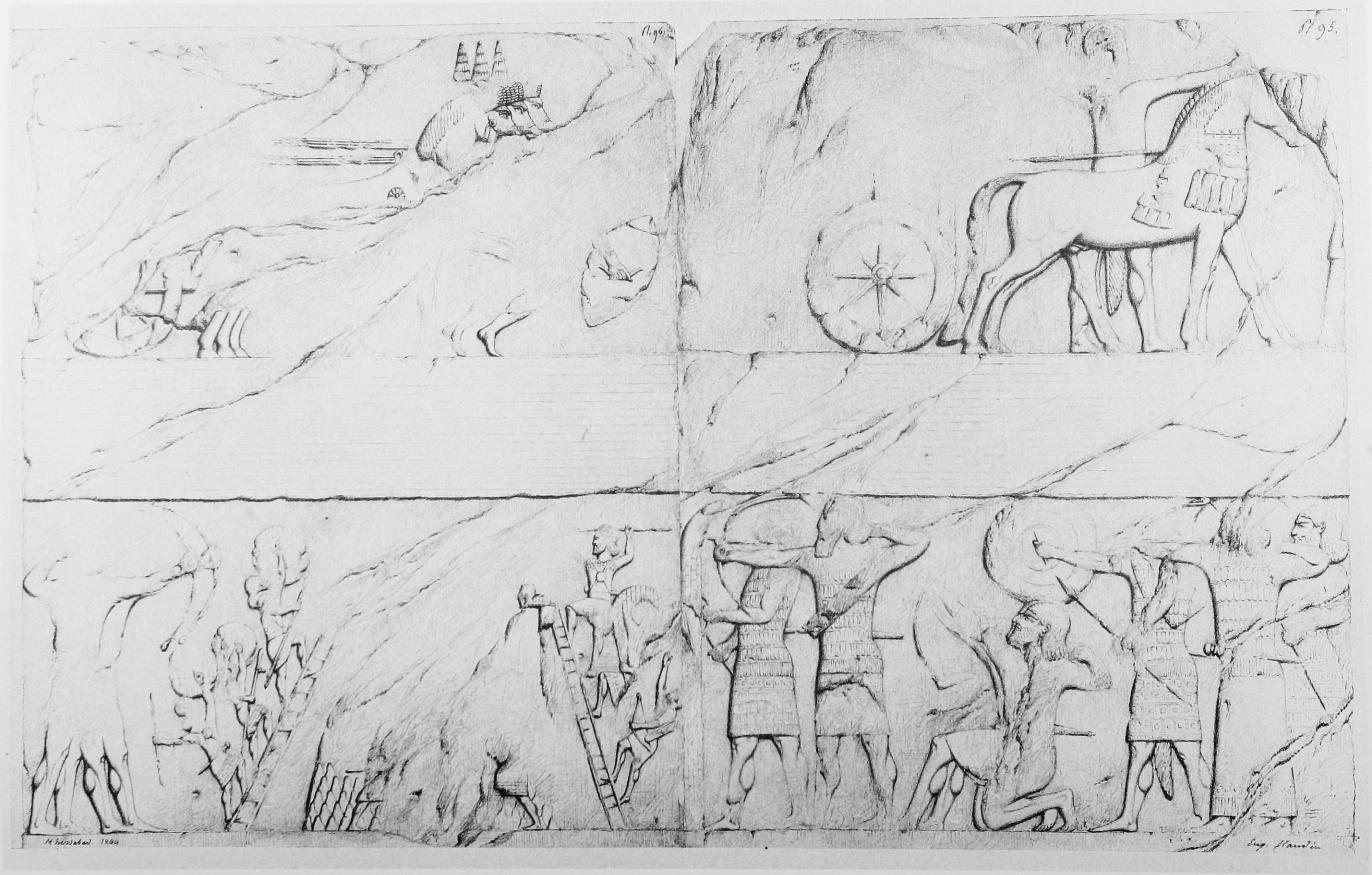
Pl. 97 Flandin. Room 5, slabs 9-8



Pl. 98 Flandin. Room 5, slabs 11-10

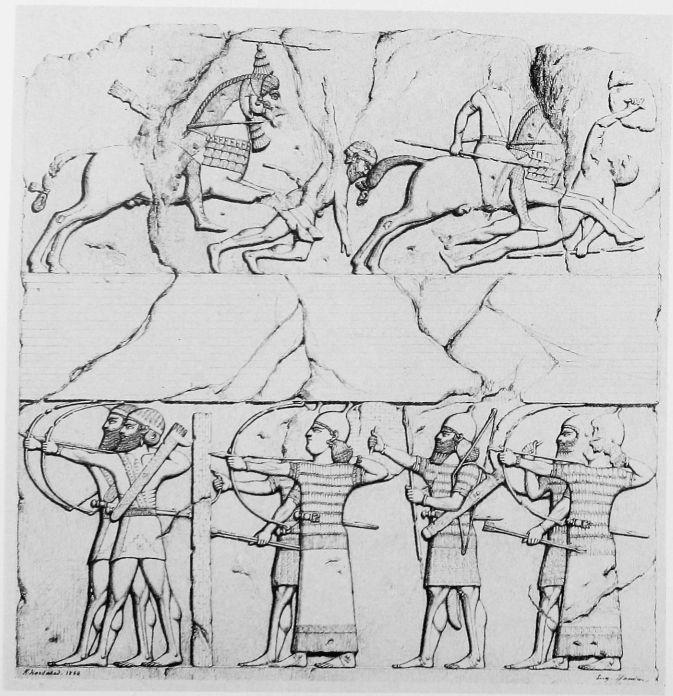


Pl. 99 Flandin. Room 5, slabs 13-12

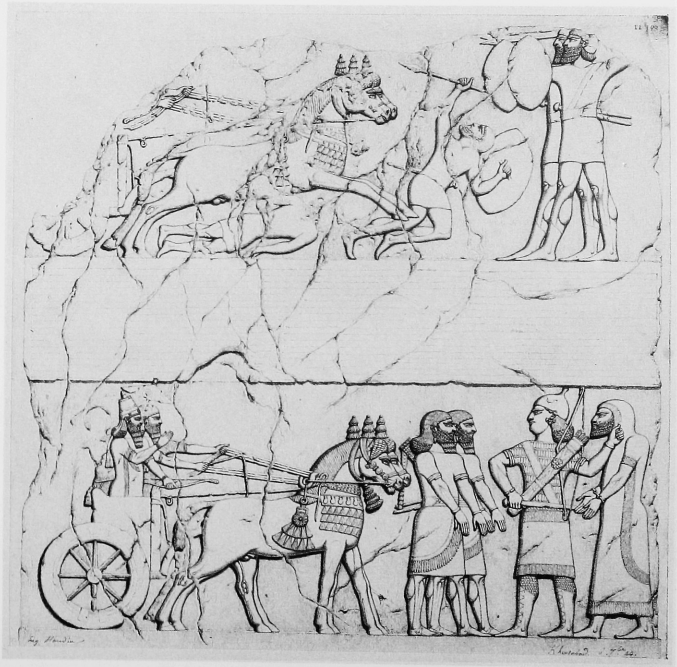


Pl. 100 Flandin. Room 5, two slabs unnumbered (22-21)

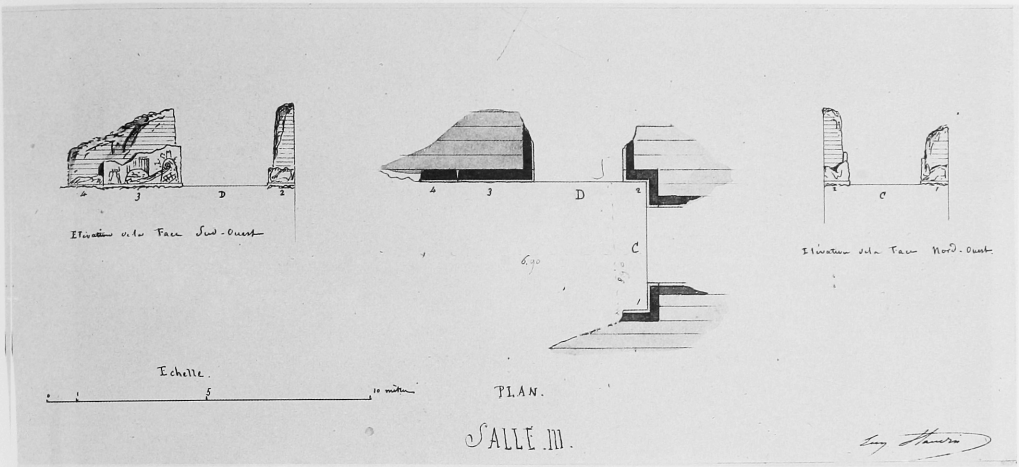
Pl. 101 Flandin. Room 5, two slabs unnumbered (25-24)



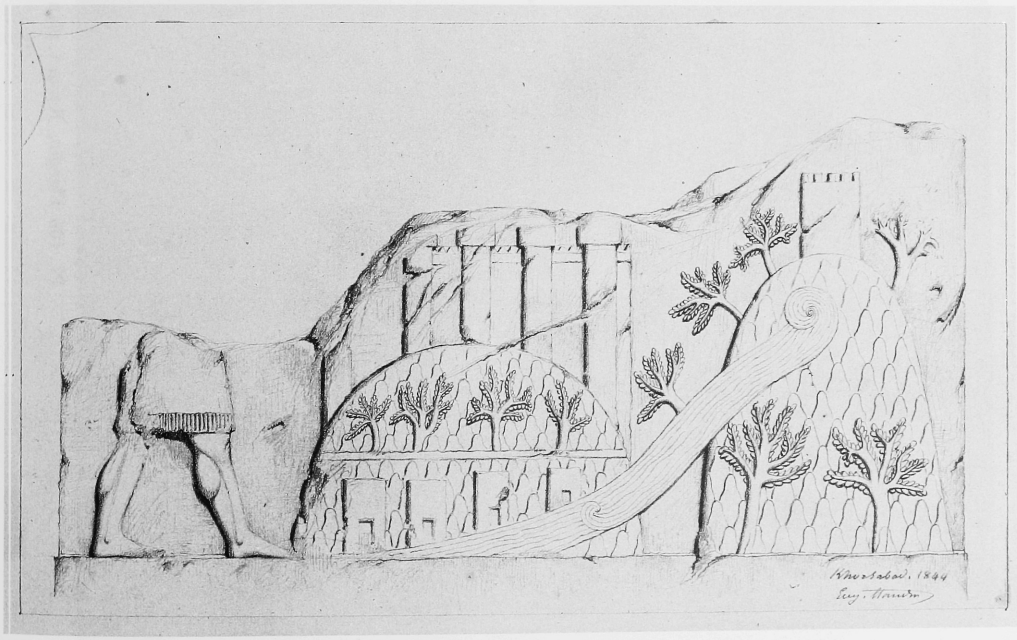
Pl. 102 Flandin. Room 5, slab 1 in door O



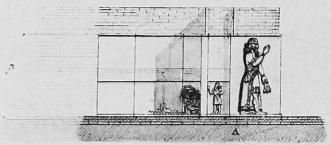
Pl. 103 Flandin. Room 5, slab 2 in door O



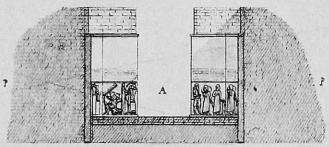
Pl. 104 Flandin. Room 3, plan and elevations



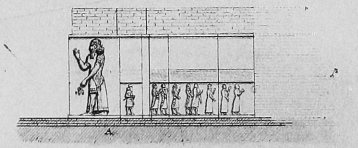
Pl. 105 Flandin. Room 3, slab 3



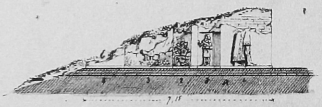
Coupe sur la ligne a-b. (côté y)
Reconstitution du mur d'après les bases retrouvées.



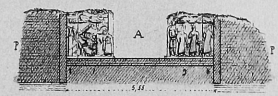
Coupe sur la ligne e-f
Reconstitution du mur d'après les bases retrouvées.



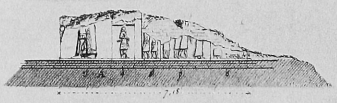
Coupe sur la ligne a-b. (côté x)
Reconstitution du mur d'après les bases retrouvées.



Coupe sur la ligne a-b. (côté y.)



Coupe sur la ligne e-f.

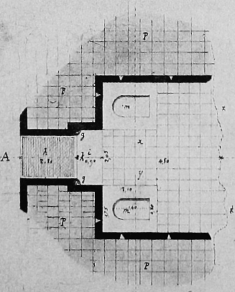


Coupe sur la ligne a-b. (côté x)

PLAN.

A. Porte.
g. Trous circulés profondément pour recevoir les grands bois portes.
k. Petit mur destiné à recevoir le vantail de la Porte.
h. Grande Salle à Inscription.
l. Salle.
m. Encadrements rectangulaires dans de grandes dalles.
x.y. Parvage de briques.
n.l. Ligne ponctuée indiquant la hauteur où a disparu toute trace de Constructions sur les bases du monticule.
B. Massif des murs en briques crues.

Echelle de 0,010 par mètre.



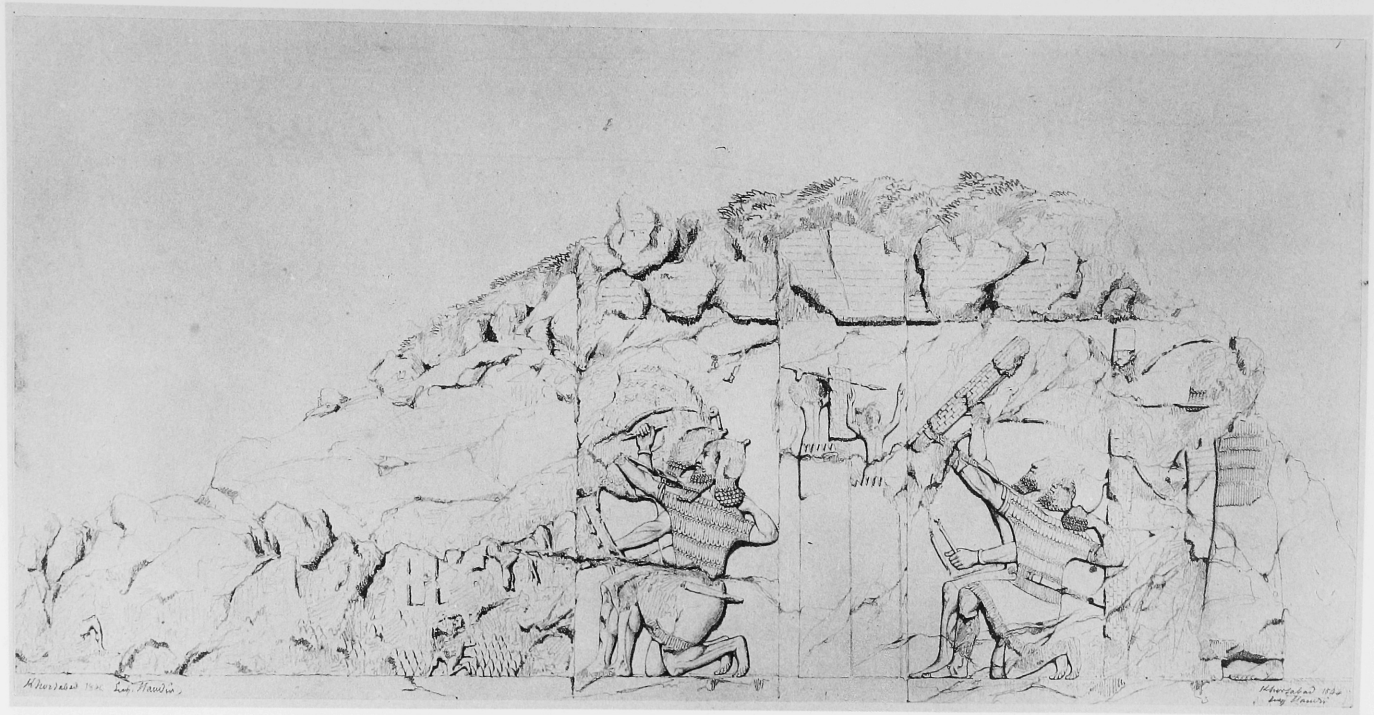
PLAN.
SALLE I

Coupes.

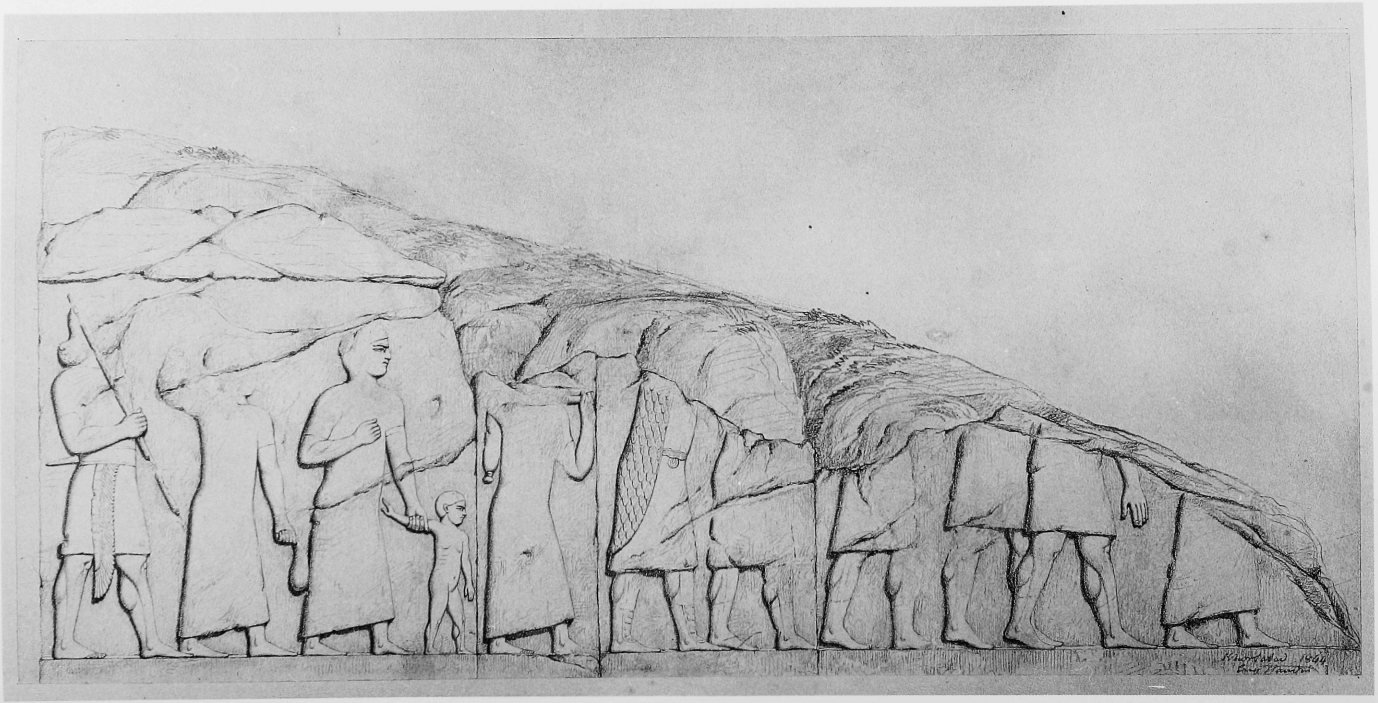
A, B. Conformation probable du mur.
Les traits de revêtement du mur restés en place sont seuls certains, les autres ne sont que ponctués d'après des débris trouvés à leur remise en place.

Engr. Flandin.
A Paris, 1844.

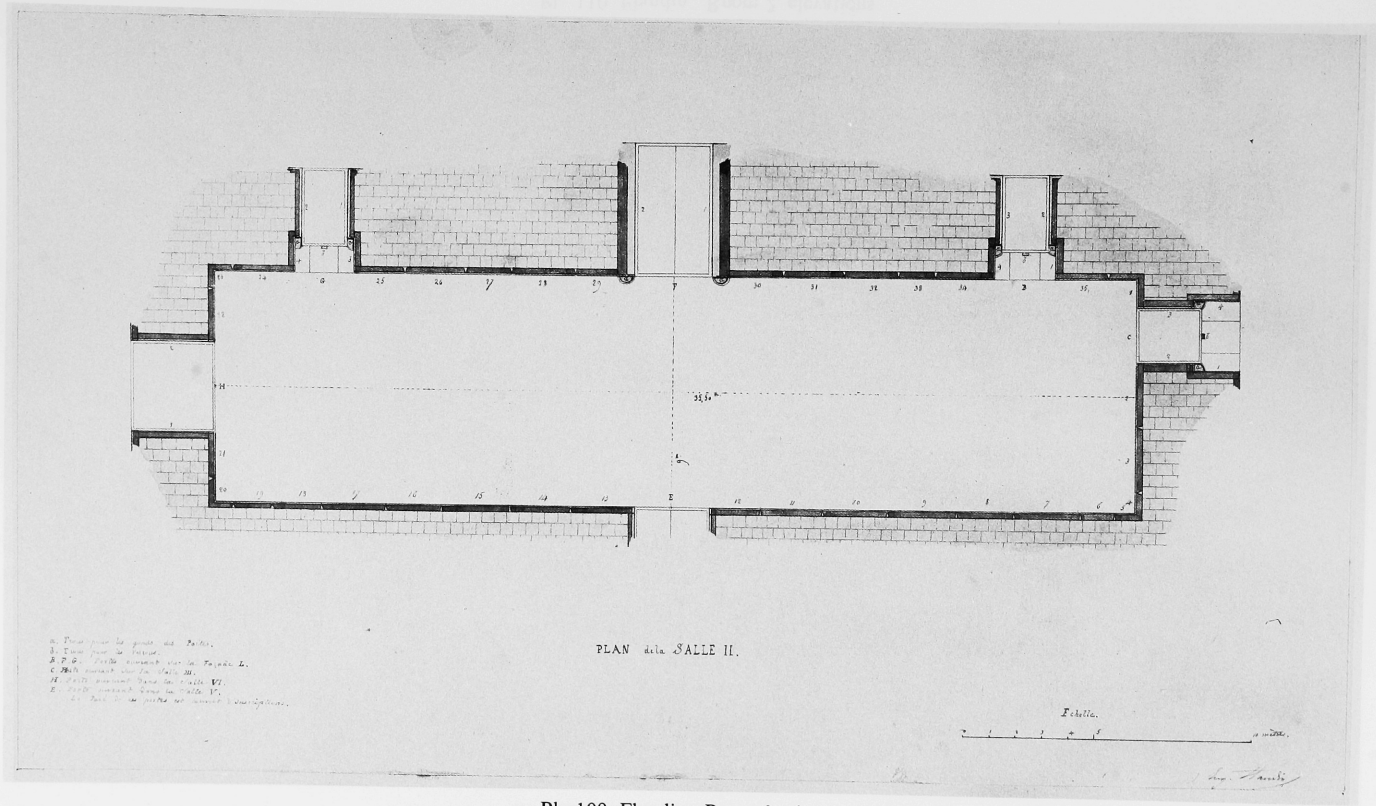
Pl. 106 Flandin. Room 1, plan and elevations



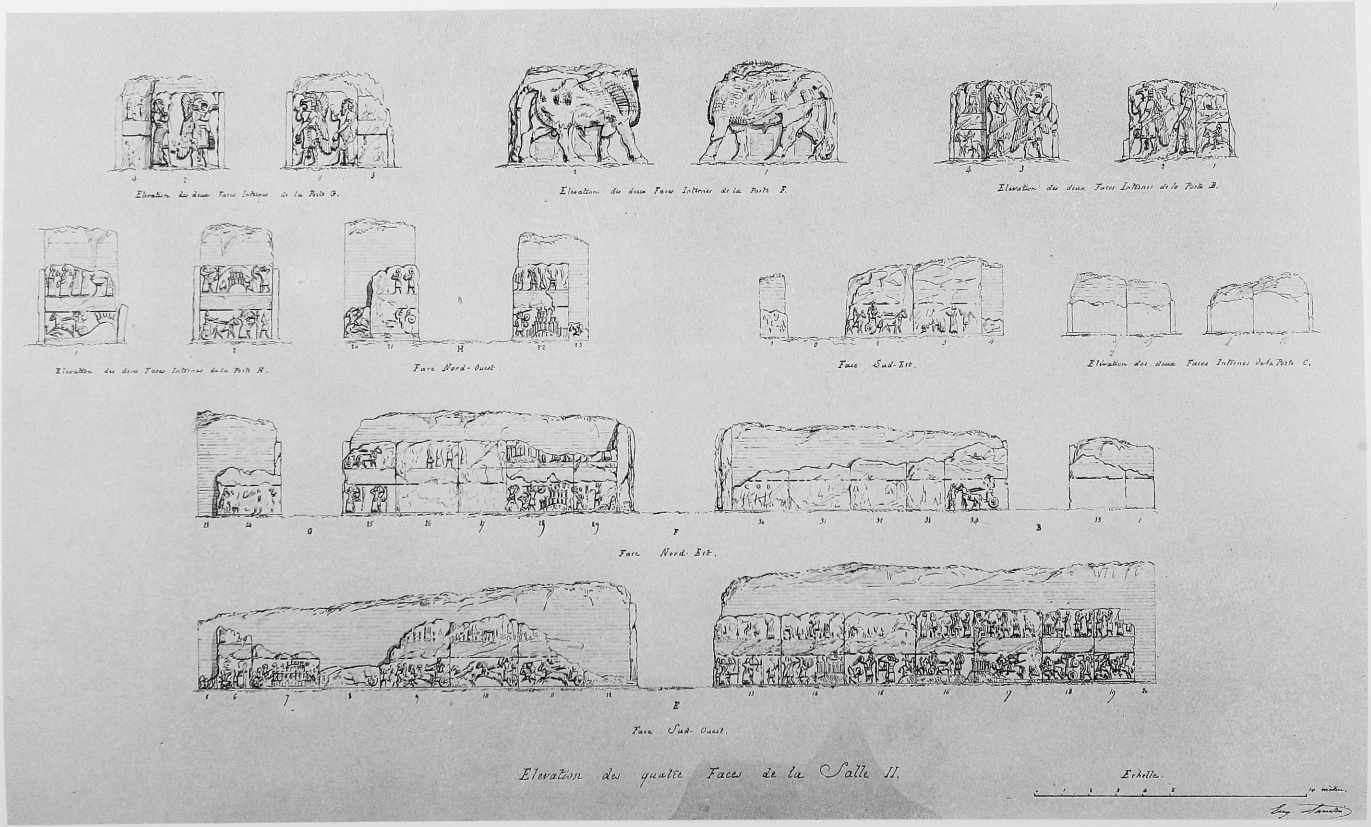
Pl. 107 Flandin. Room 1, slabs 3-1



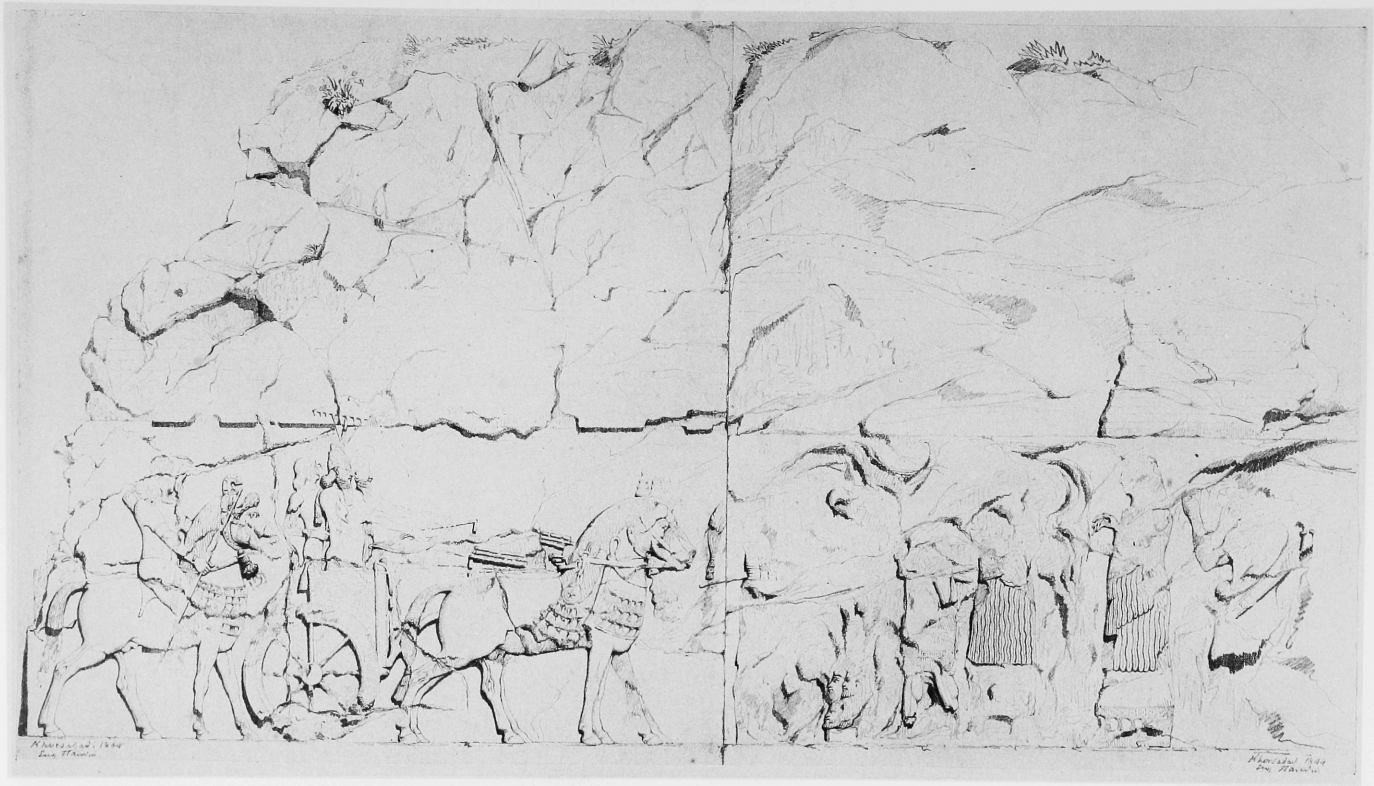
Pl. 108 Flandin. Room 1, slabs 9-7 (8-5)



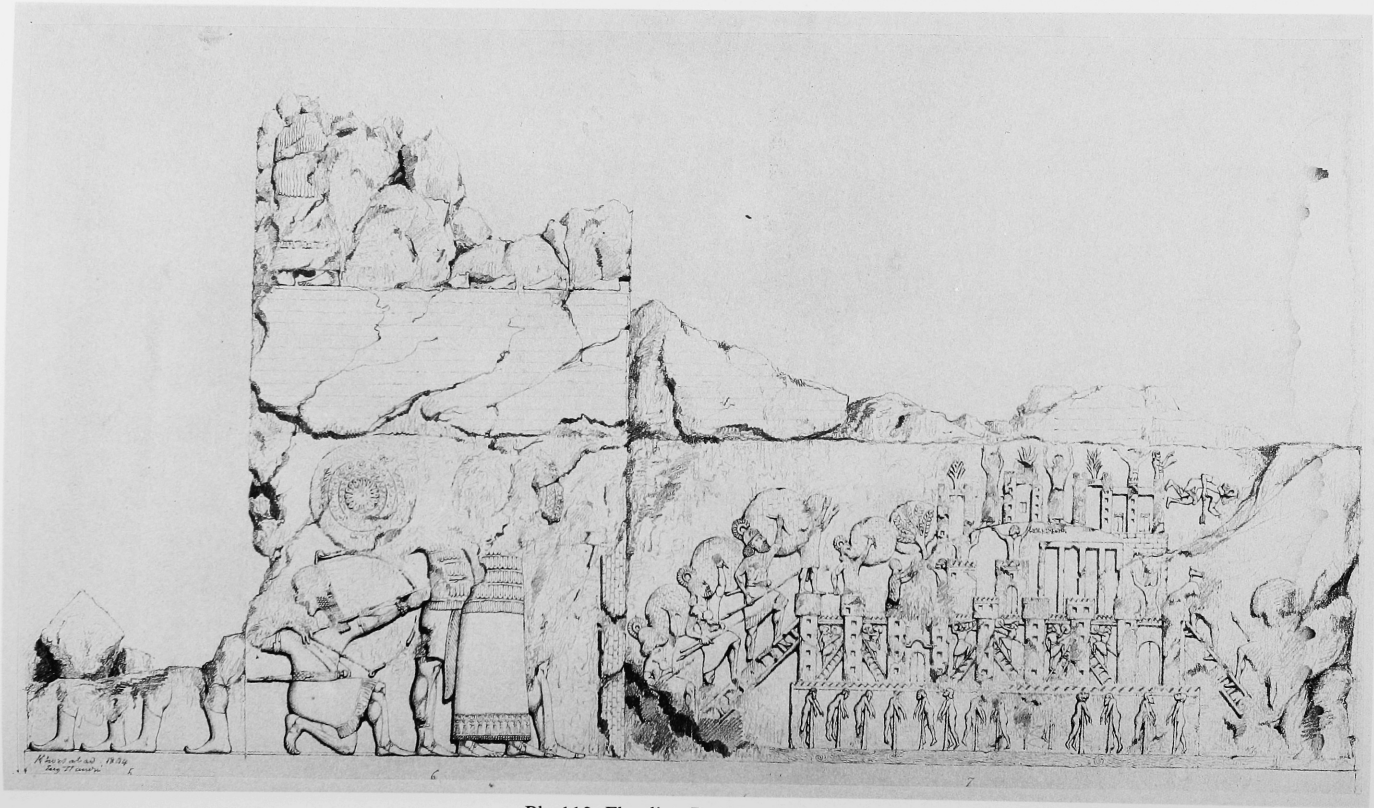
Pl. 109 Flandin. Room 2, plan



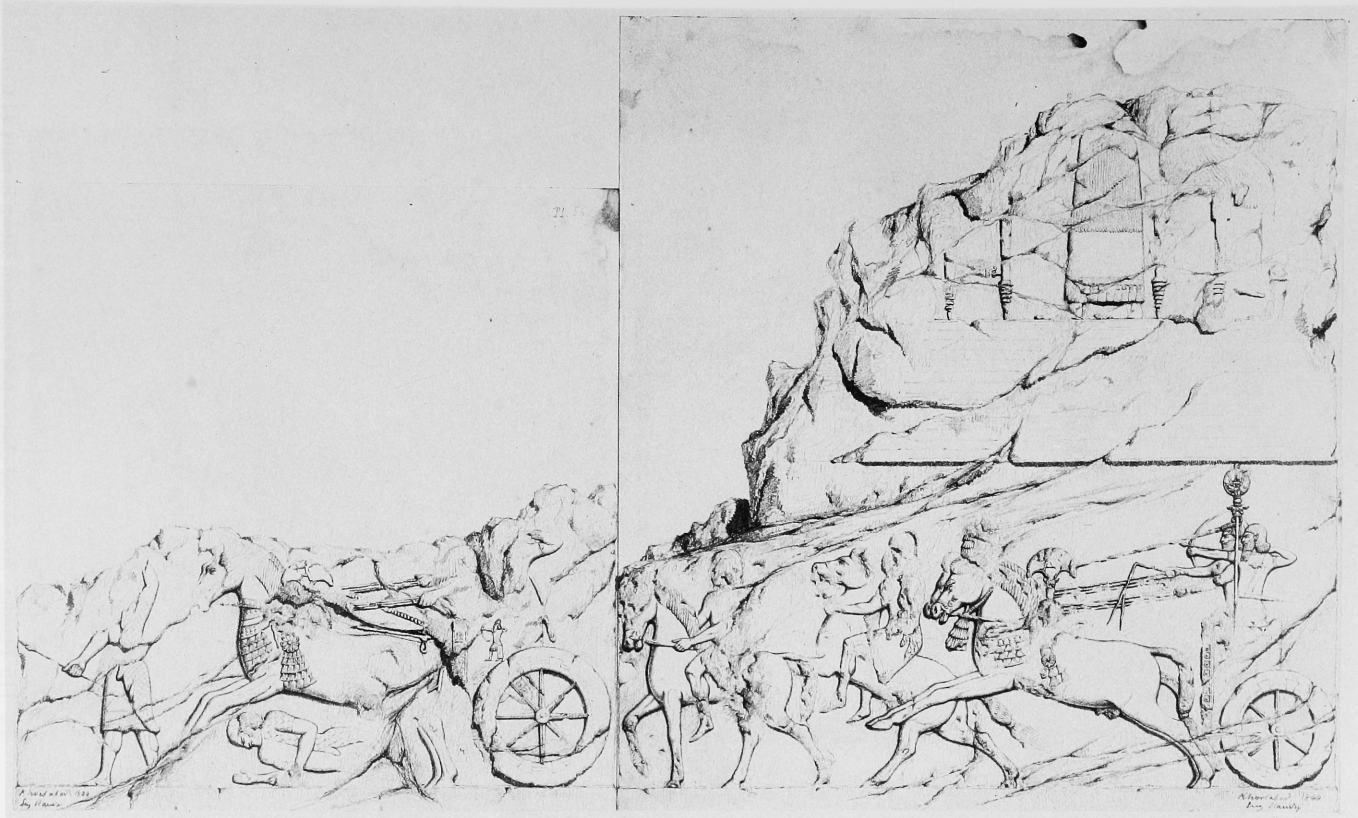
Pl. 110 Flandin. Room 2, elevations



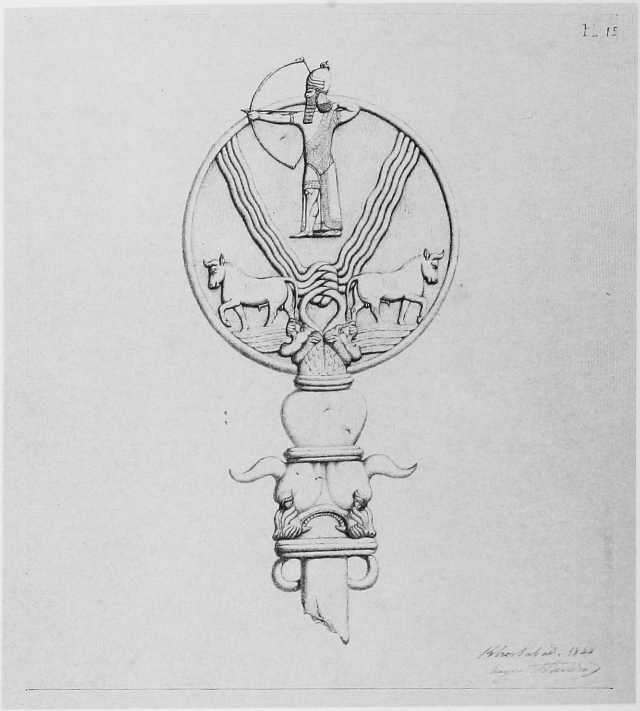
Pl. 111 Flandin. Room 2, slabs 2-3



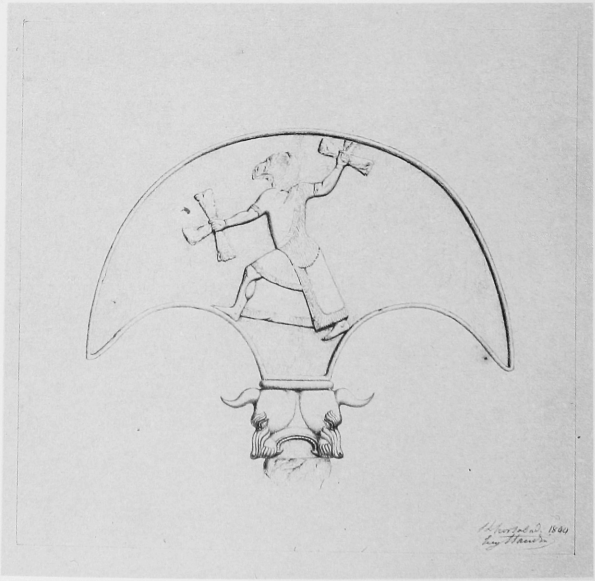
Pl. 112 Flandin. Room 2, slabs 5-7



Pl. 113 Flandin. Room 2, slabs 8-9

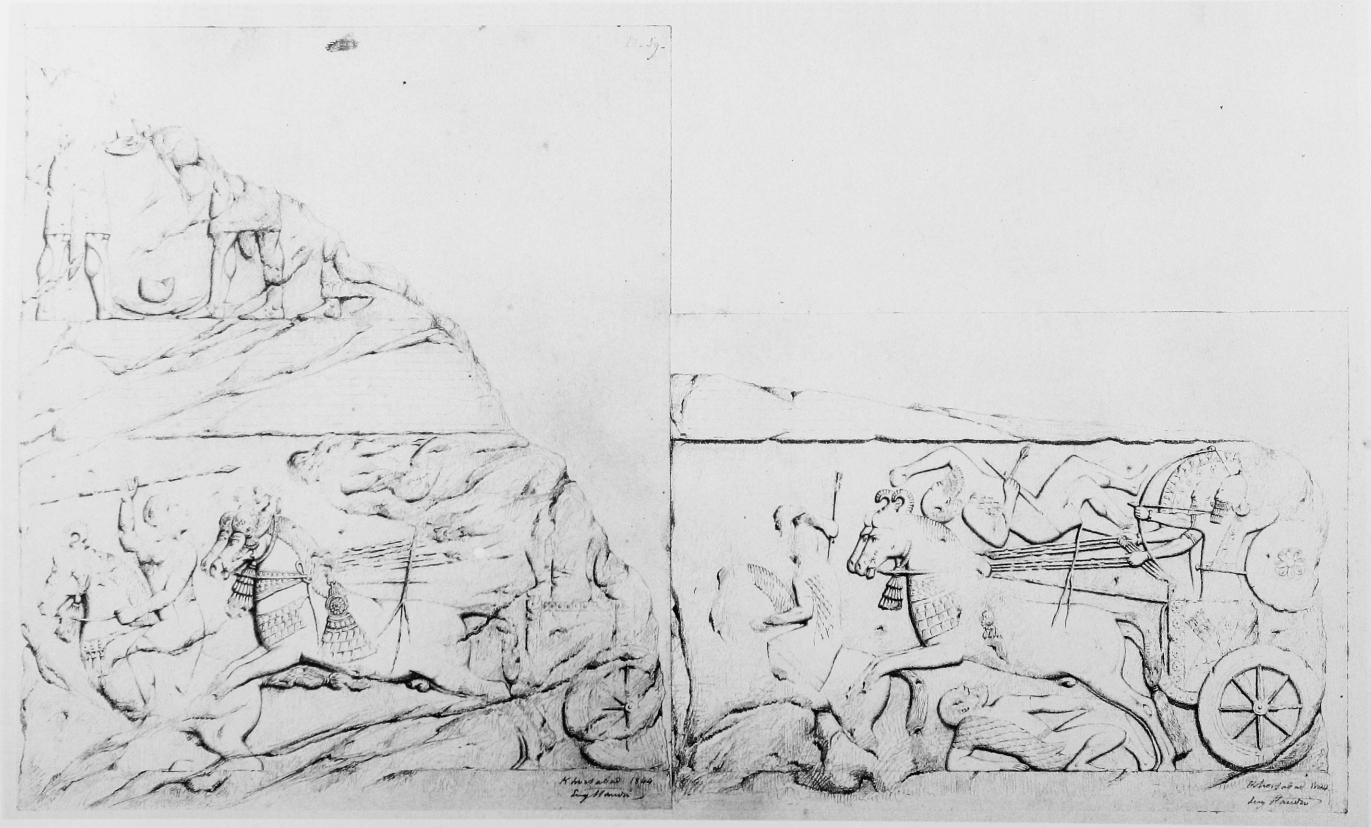


Pl. 114 Flandin. Standard shown in plate 113

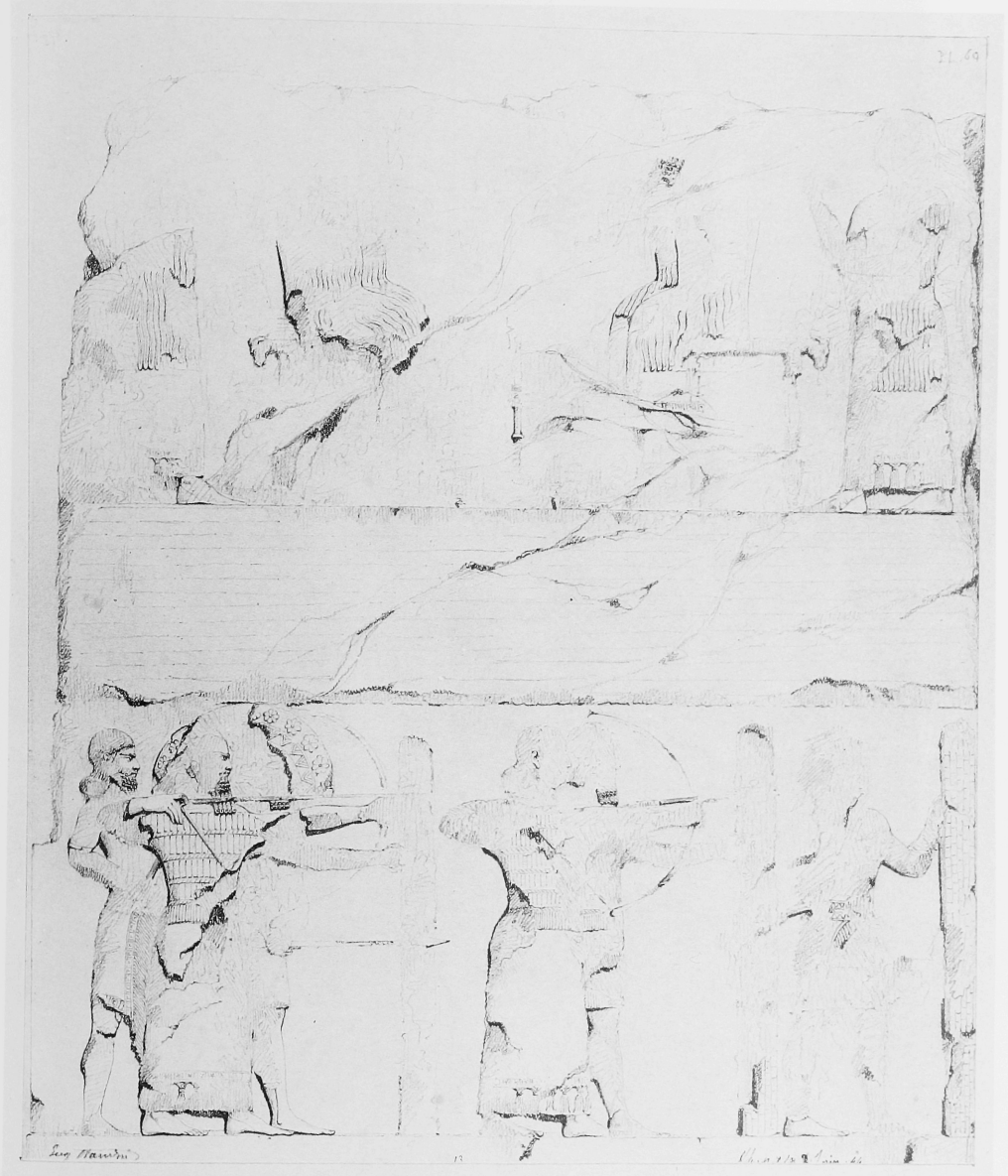


Pl. 115 Flandin. Axe-shaped chariot pole ornament shown in plate 113

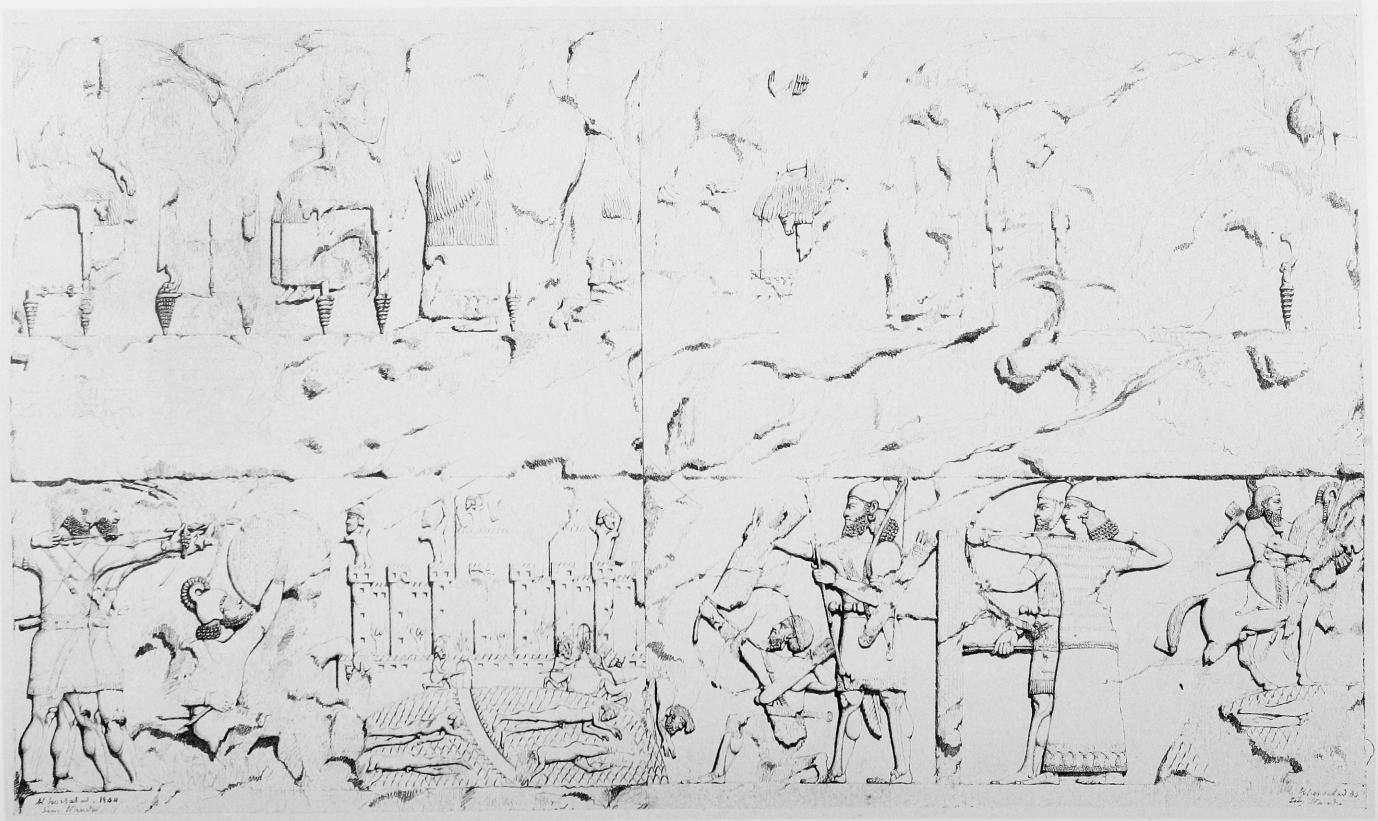
Pl. 116 Flandin. Room 2, slab 10



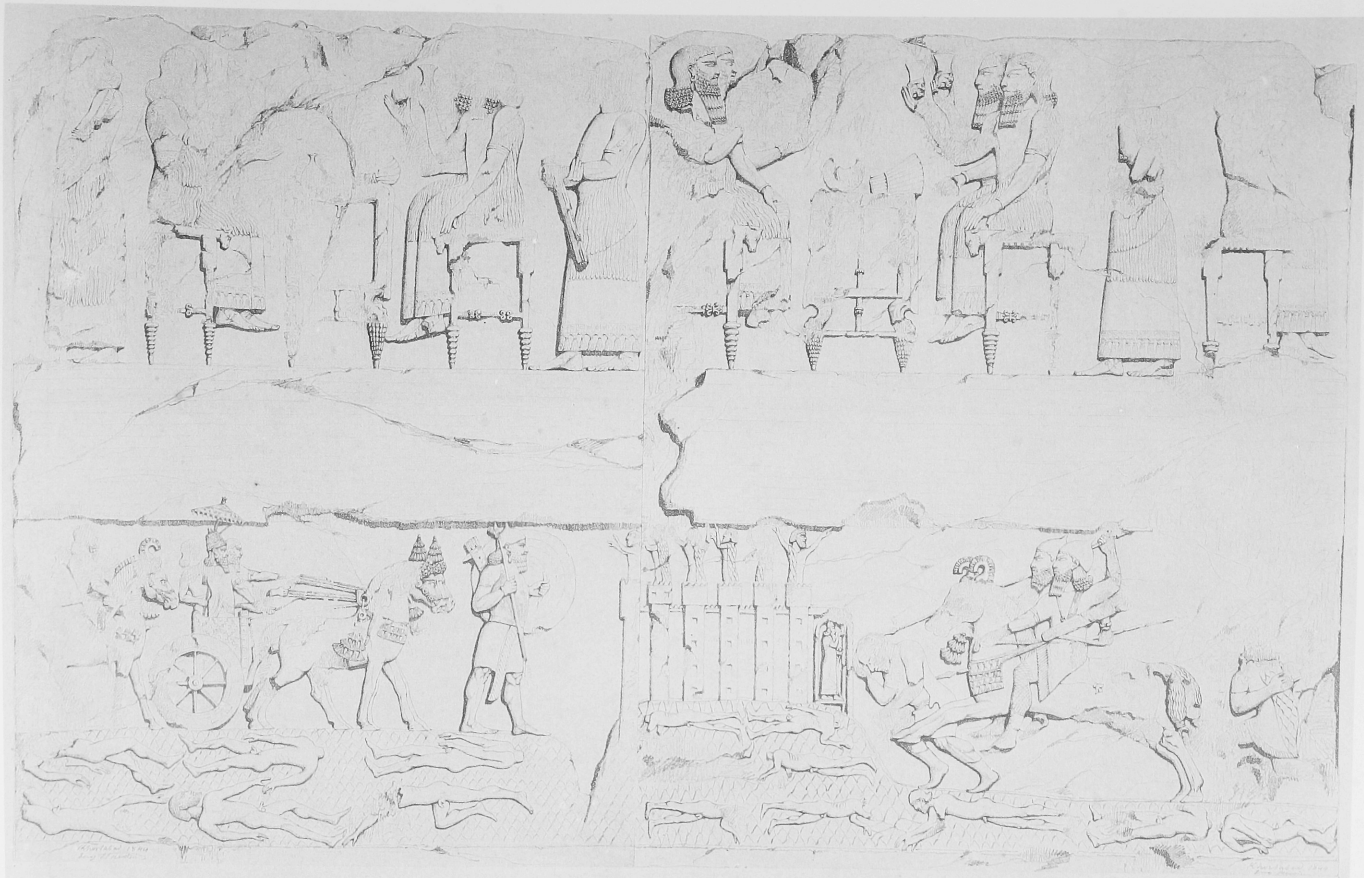
Pl. 117 Flandin. Room 2, slabs 11-12



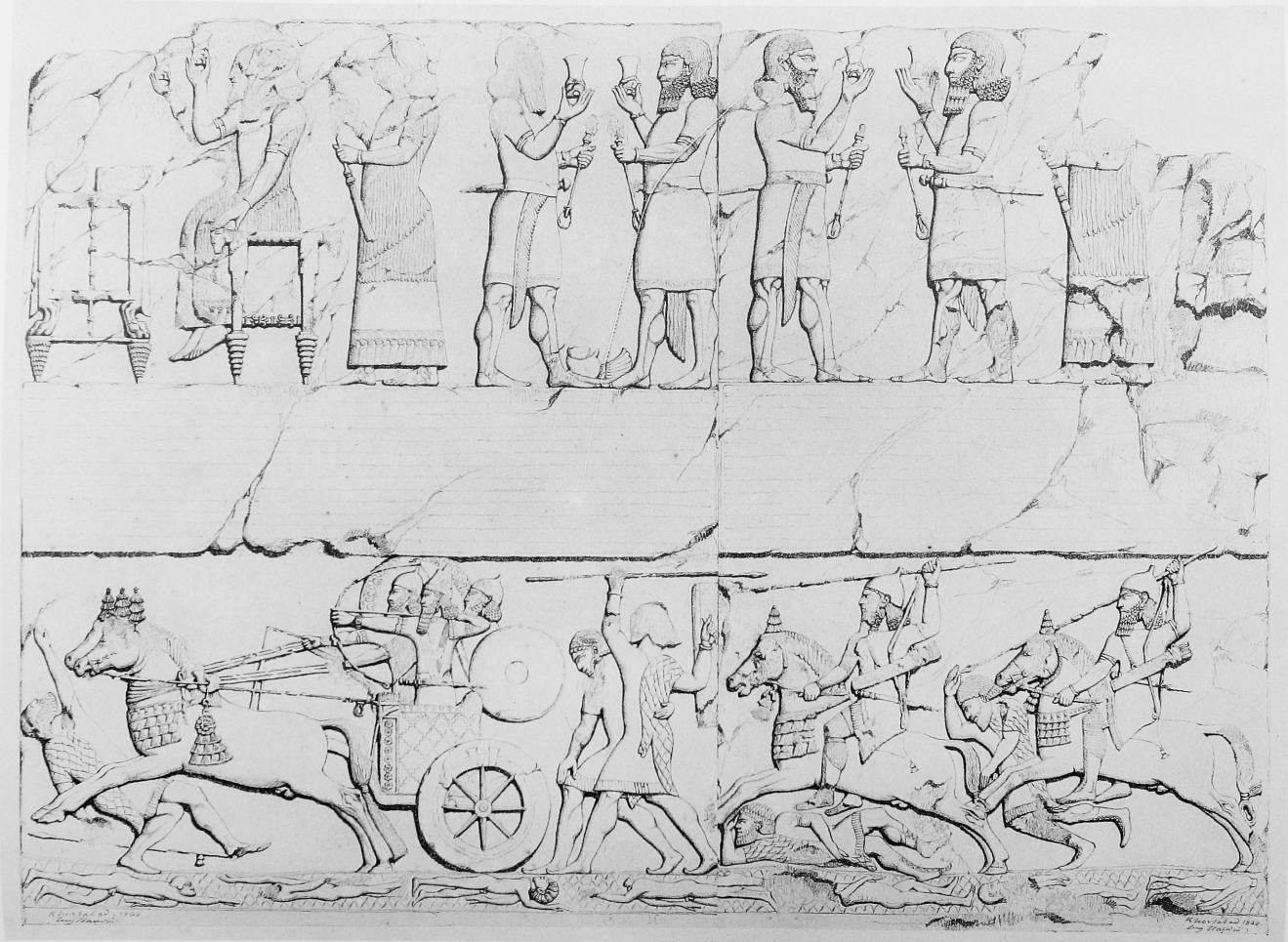
Pl. 118 Flandin. Room 2, slab 13



Pl. 119 Flandin. Room 2, slabs 14-15

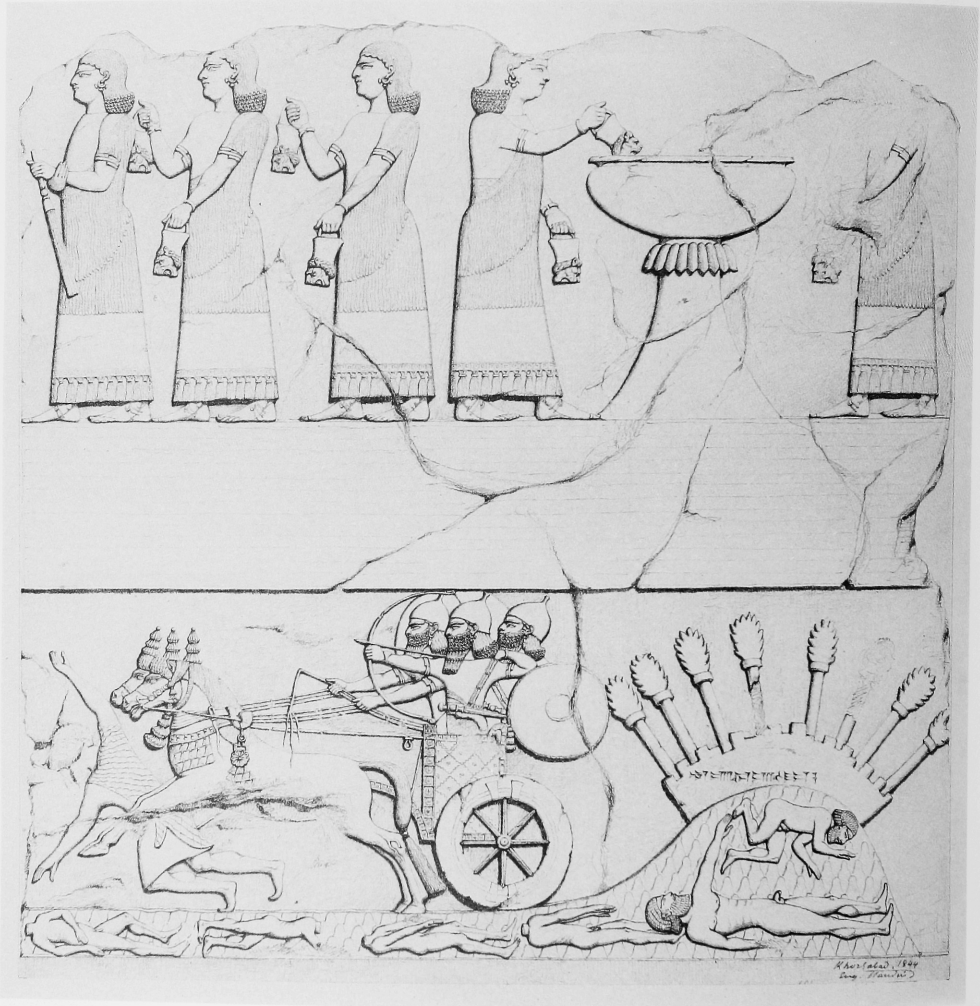


Pl. 120 Flandin. Room 2, slabs 16-17

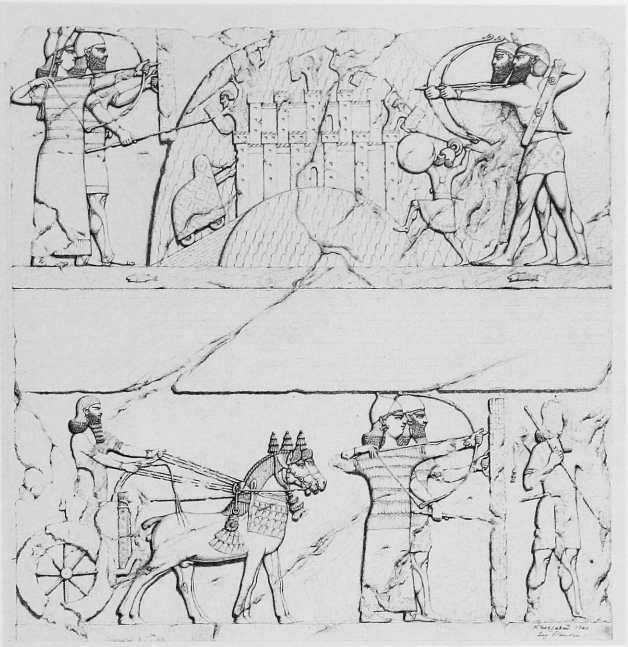


Pl. 121 Flandin. Room 2, slabs 18-19

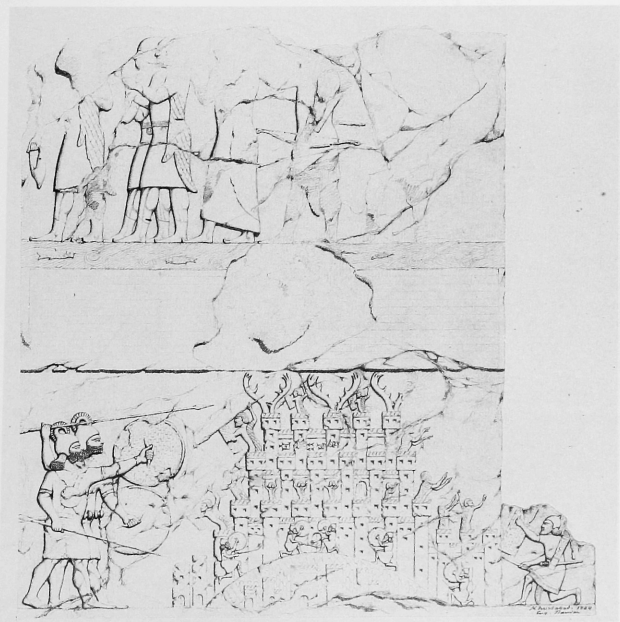
Pl. 122 Flandin. Room 2, slabs 20-21



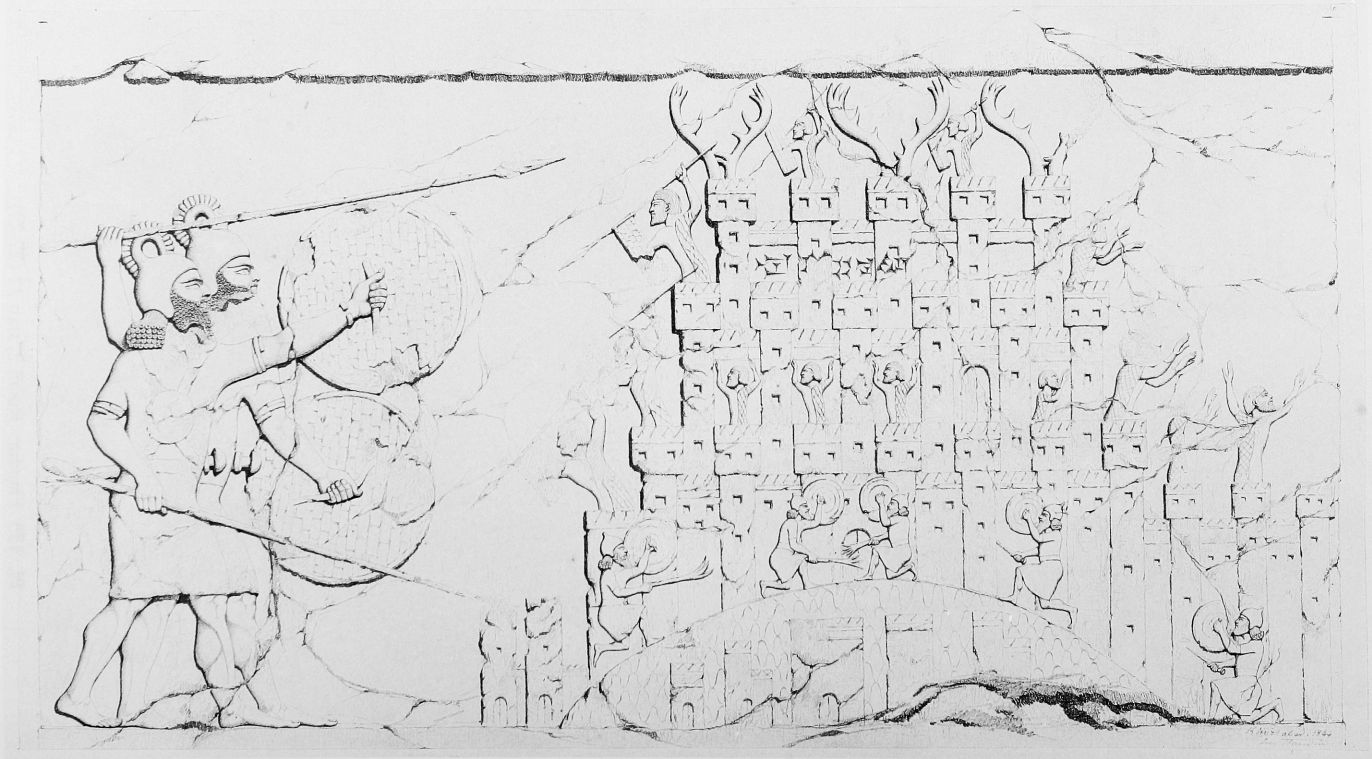
Pl. 123 Flandin. Room 2, slab 1 in door H



Pl. 124 Flandin. Room 2, slab 2 in door H

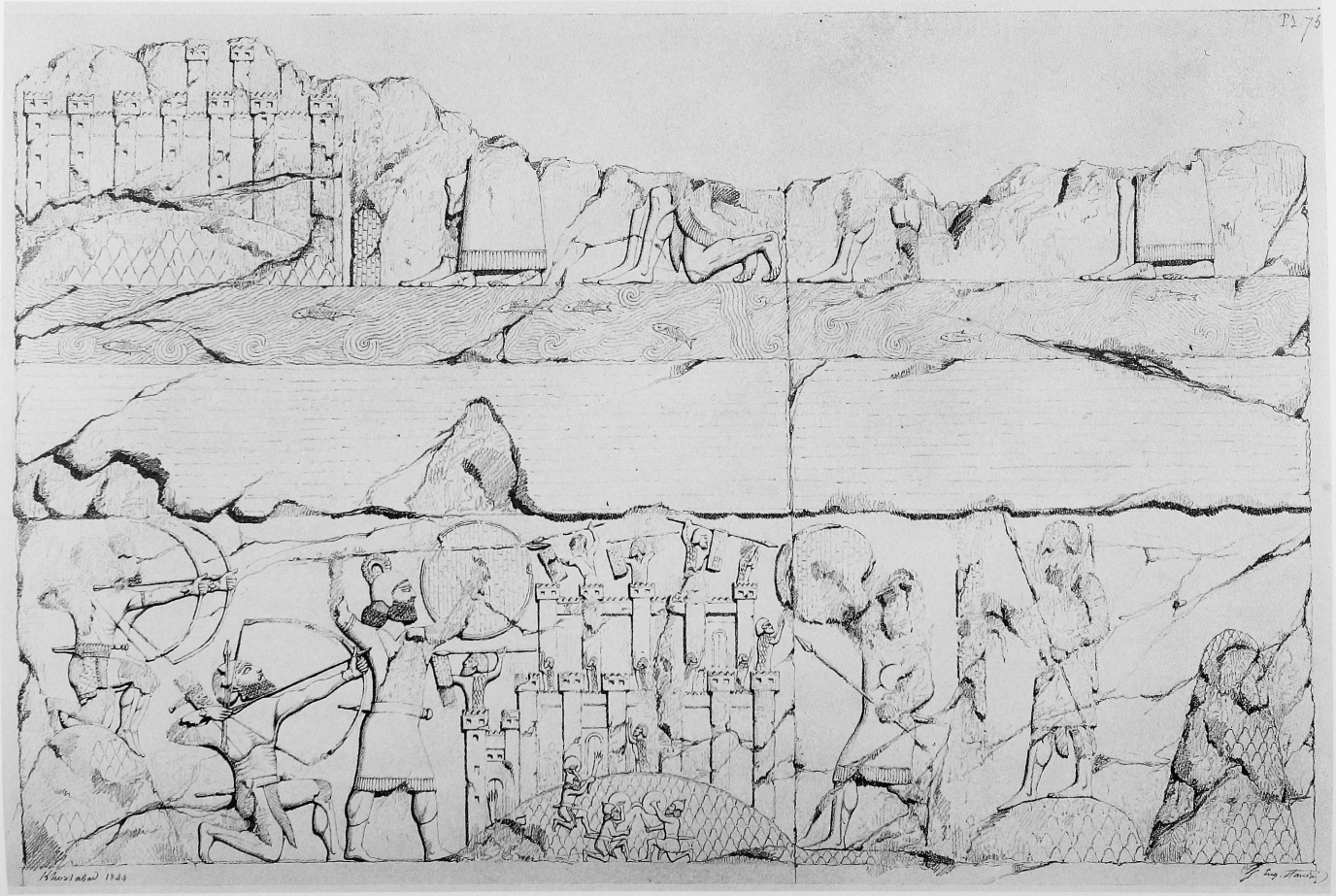


Pl. 125 Flandin. Room 2, slab 22 (22-23)



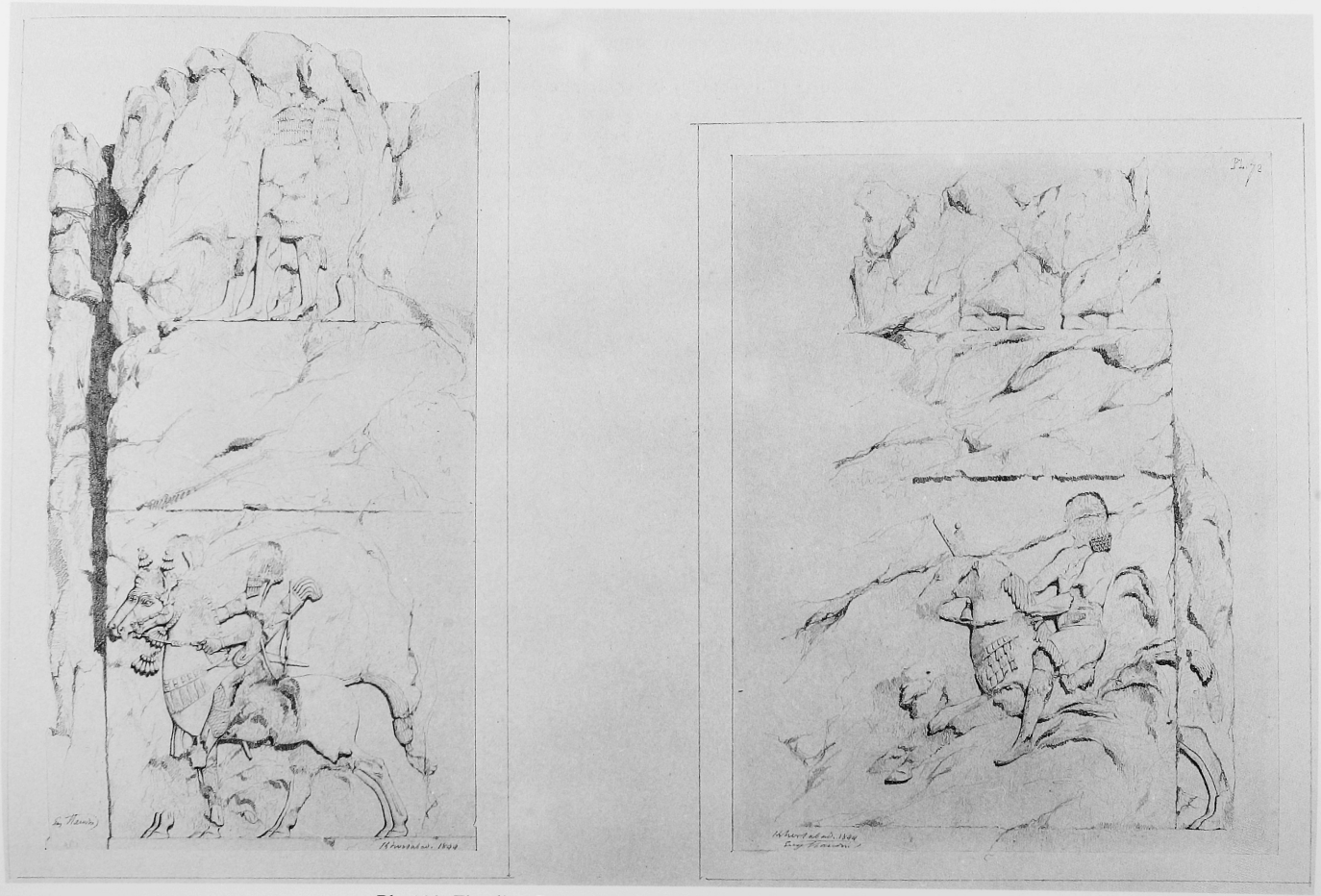
Pl. 126 Flandin. Room 2, detail of slab 22

Pl. 127 Flandin. Room 2, slab 24

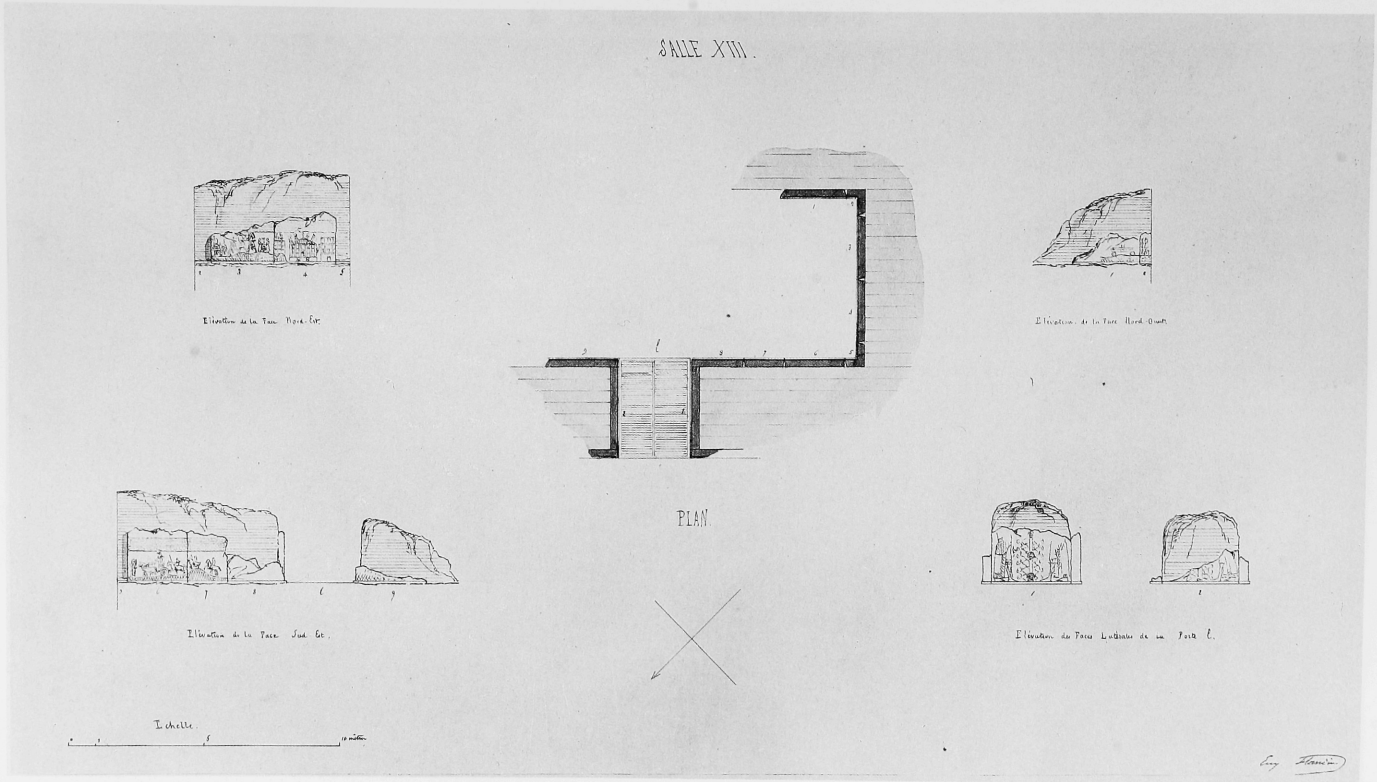


Pl. 128 Flandin. Room 2, slabs 28-29

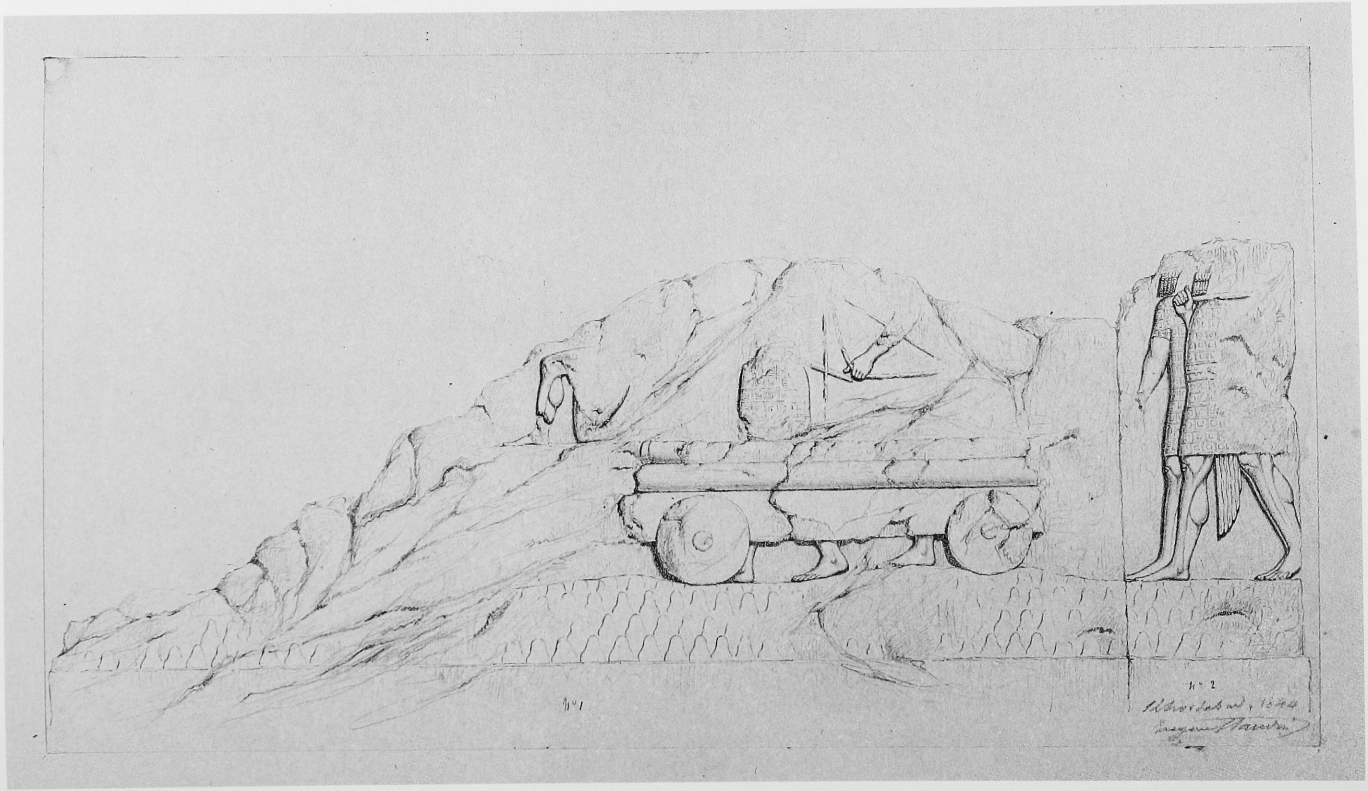
Pl. 129 Flandin. Room 2, slabs 33-34



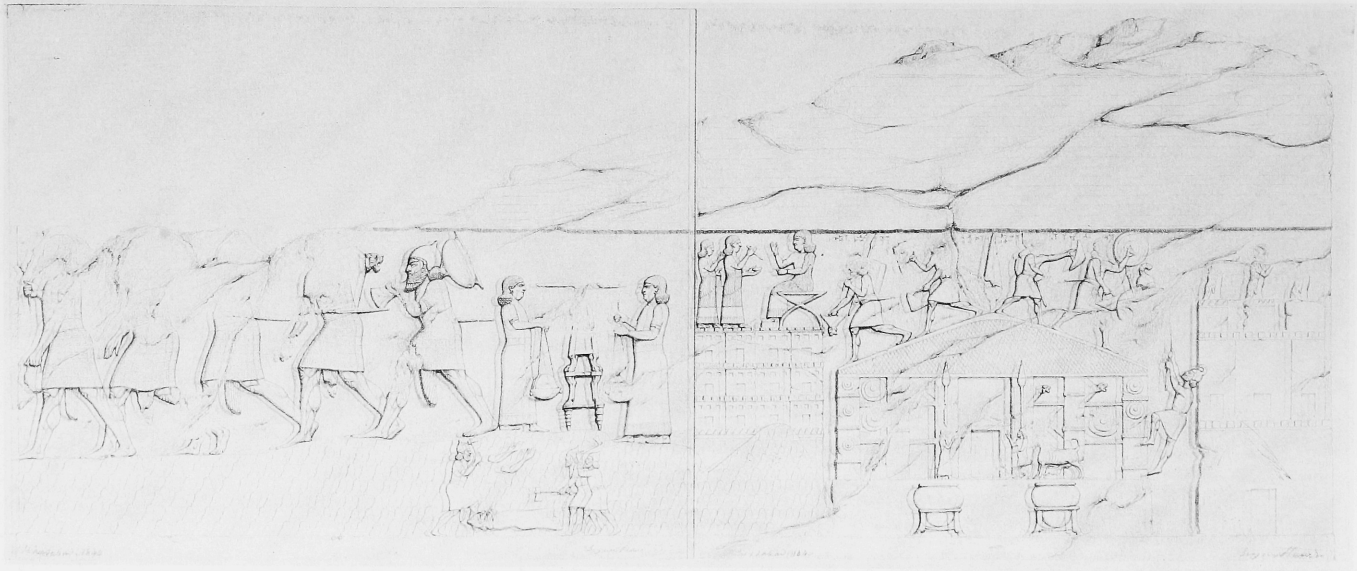
Pl. 130 Flandin. Room 2, slab 4 in door B and slab 1 in Door B



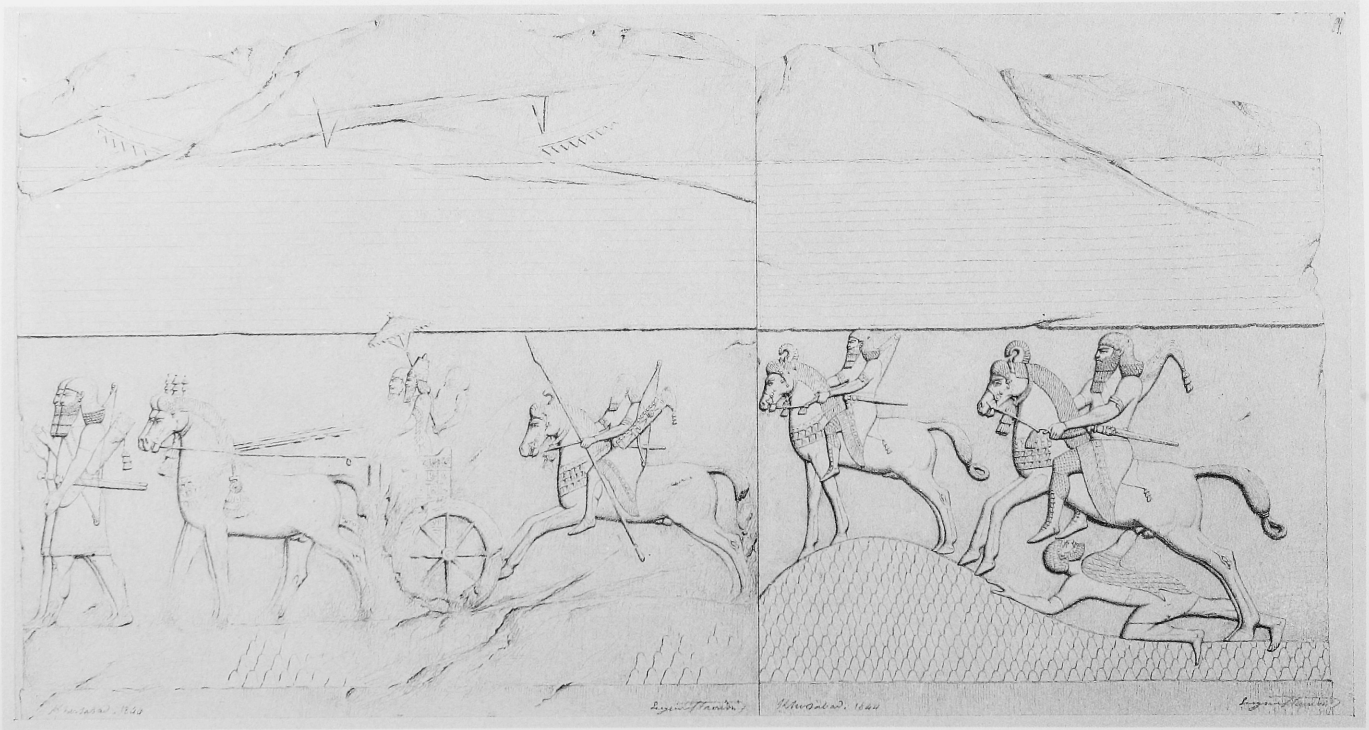
Pl. 131 Flandin. Room 13, plan and elevations



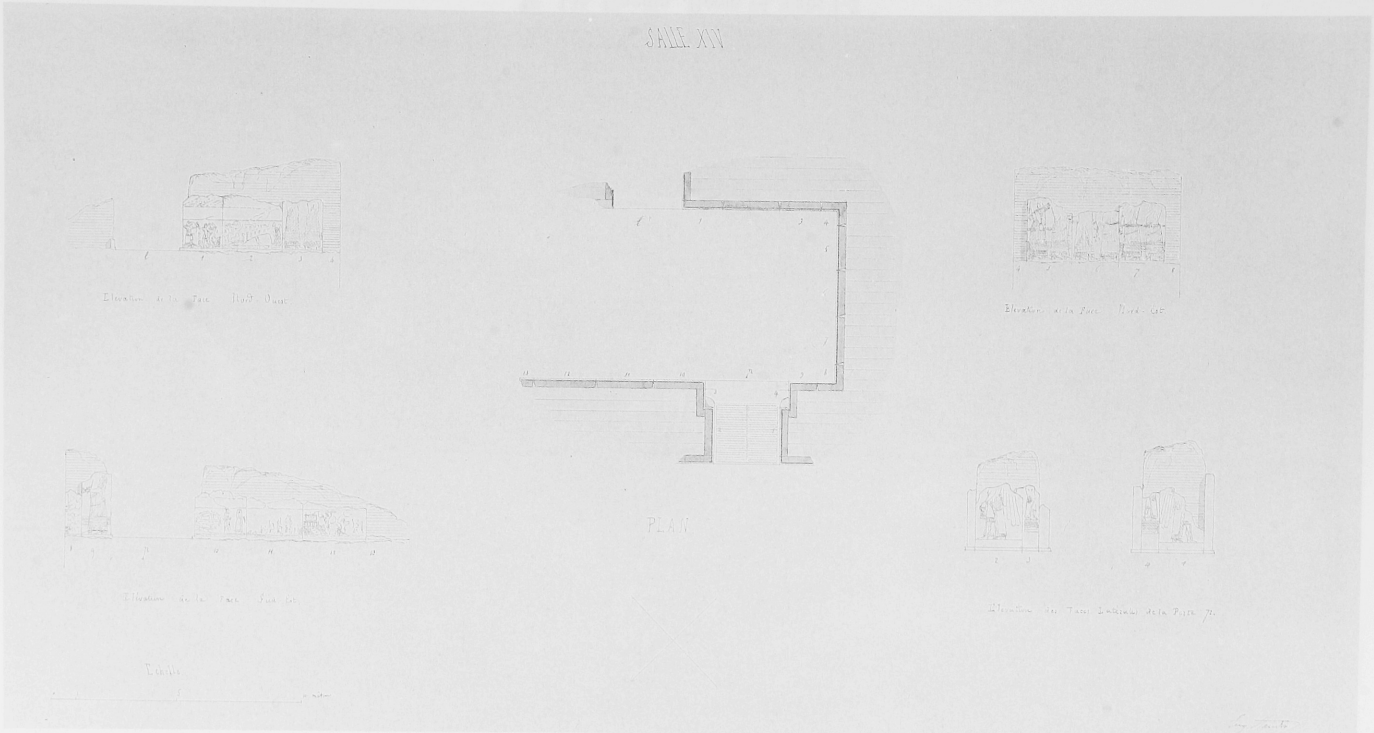
Pl. 132 Flandin. Room 13, slabs 1-2



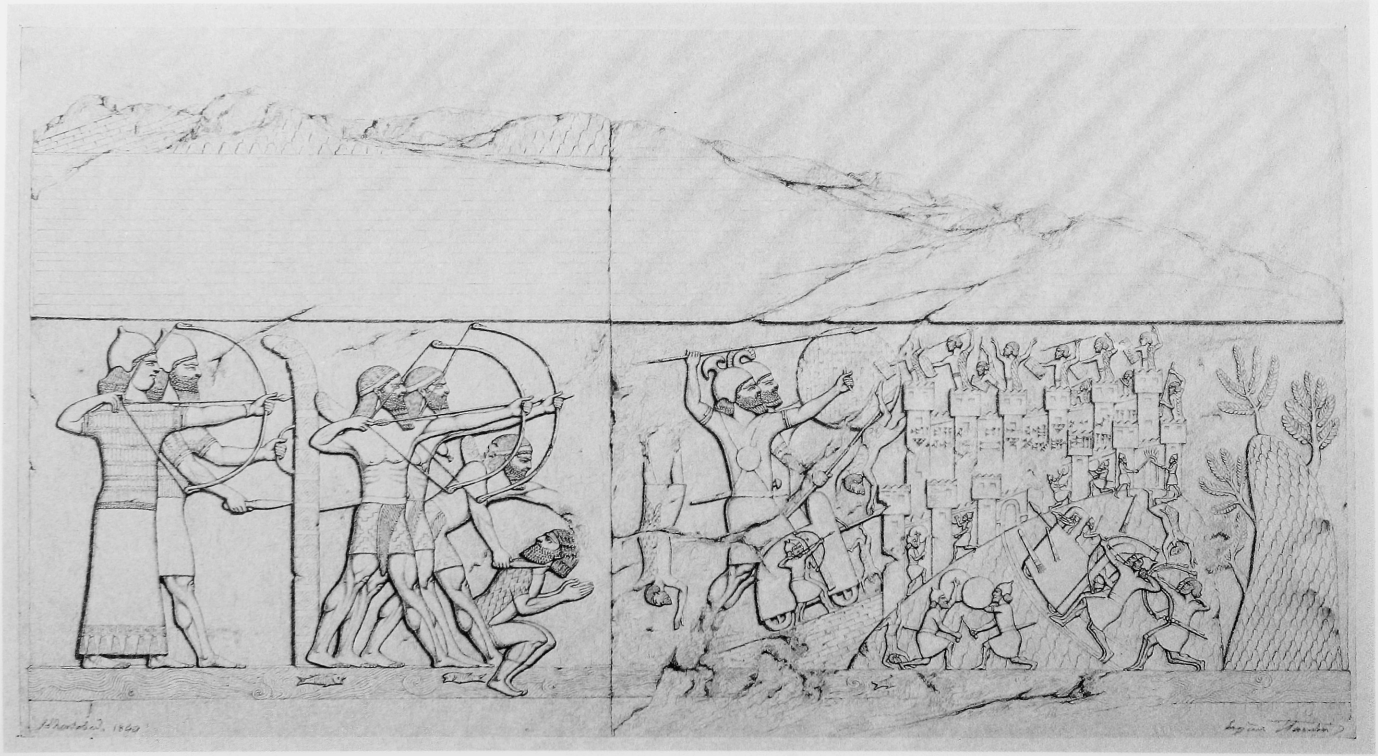
Pl. 133 Flandin. Room 13, slabs 3-4



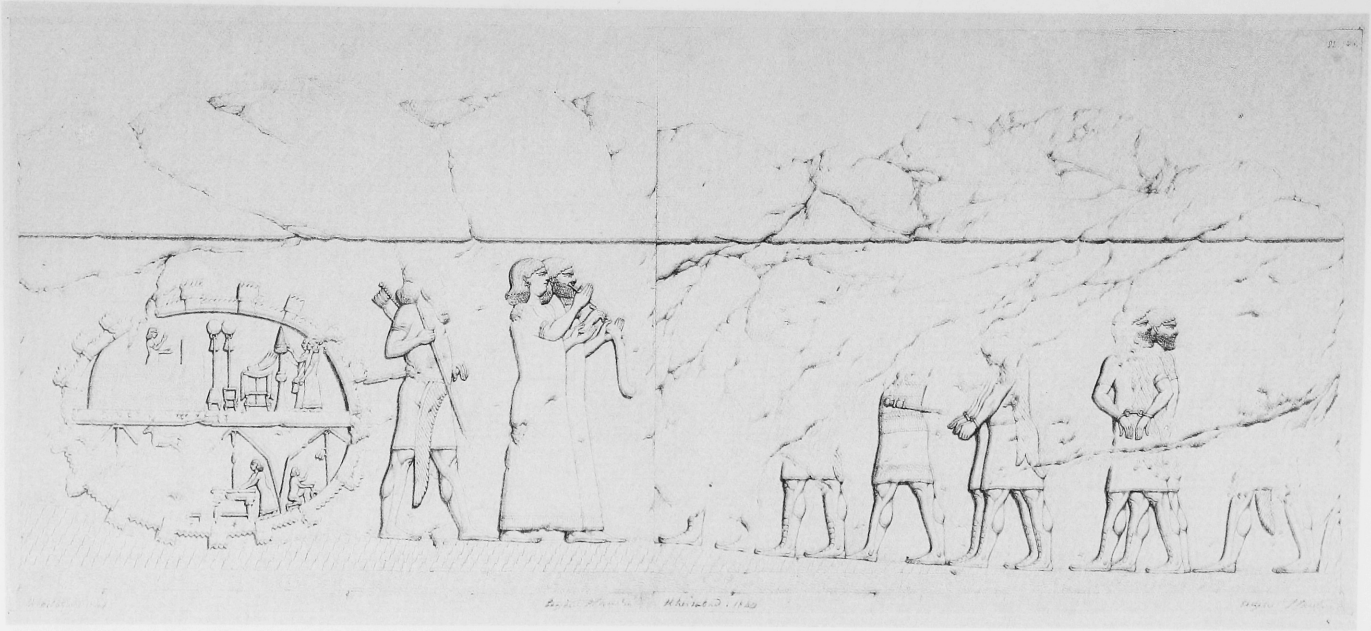
Pl. 134 Flandin. Room 13, slabs 6-7



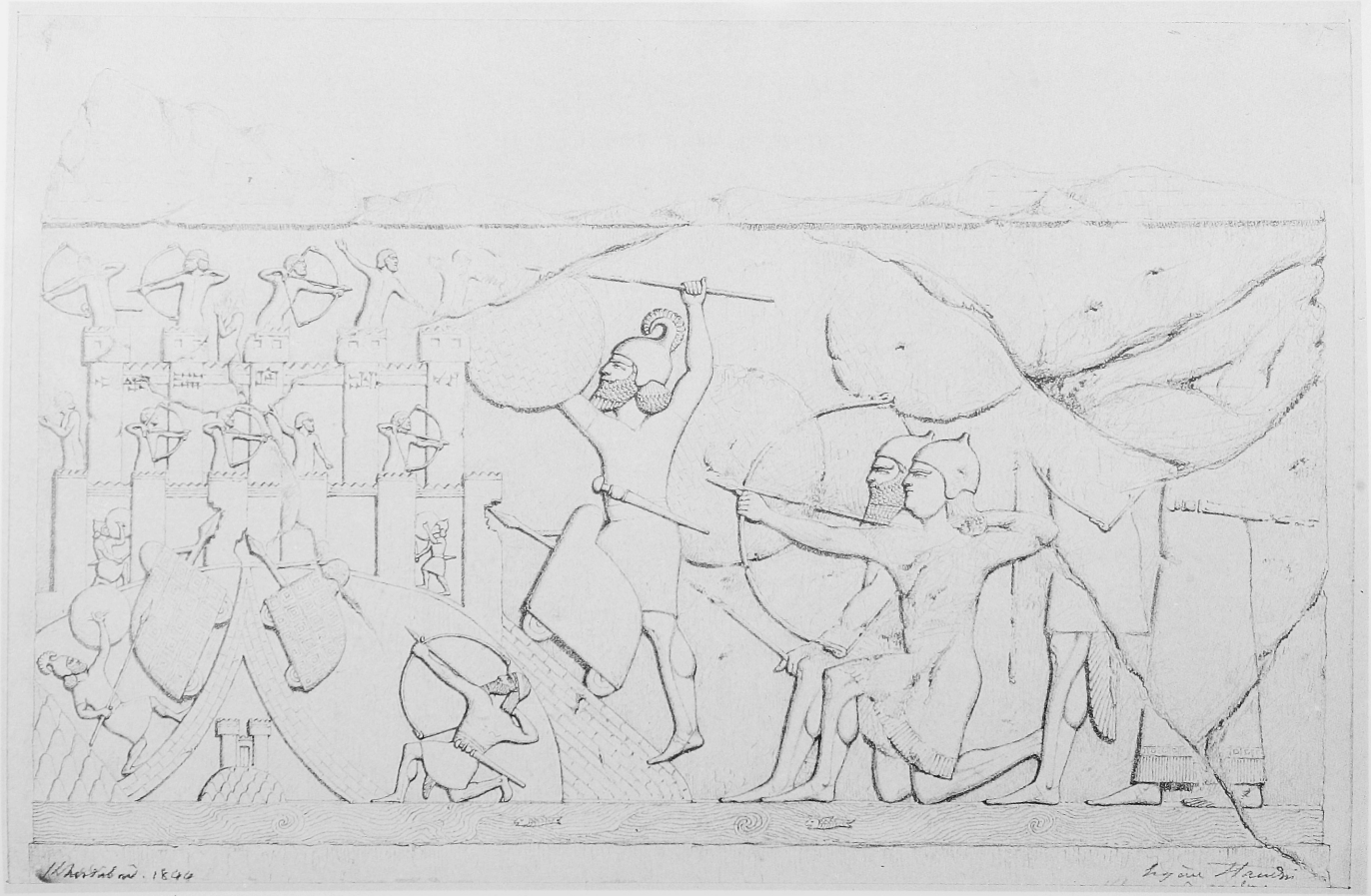
Pl. 135 Flandin. Room 14, plan and elevations



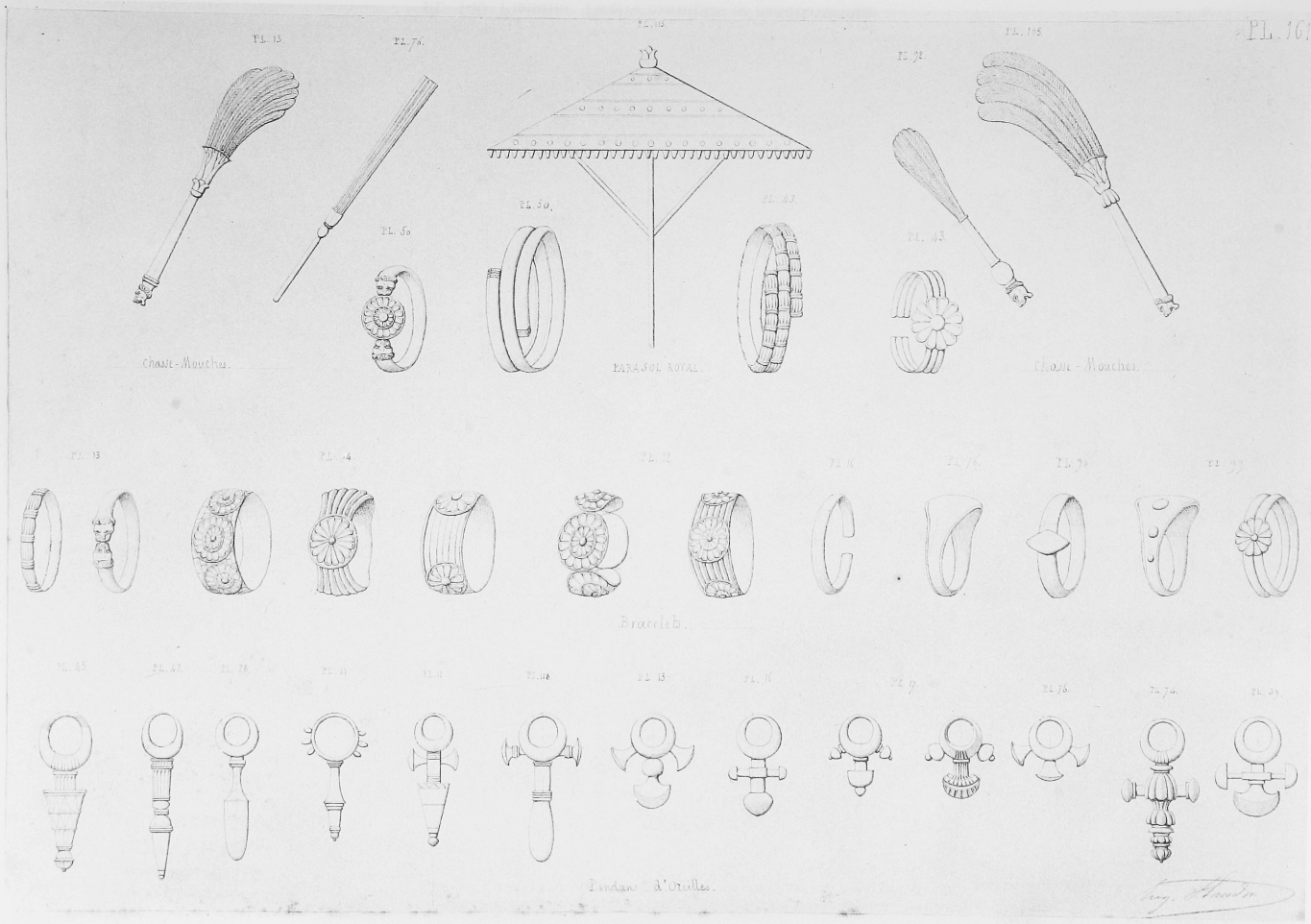
Pl. 136 Flandin. Room 14, slabs 1-2



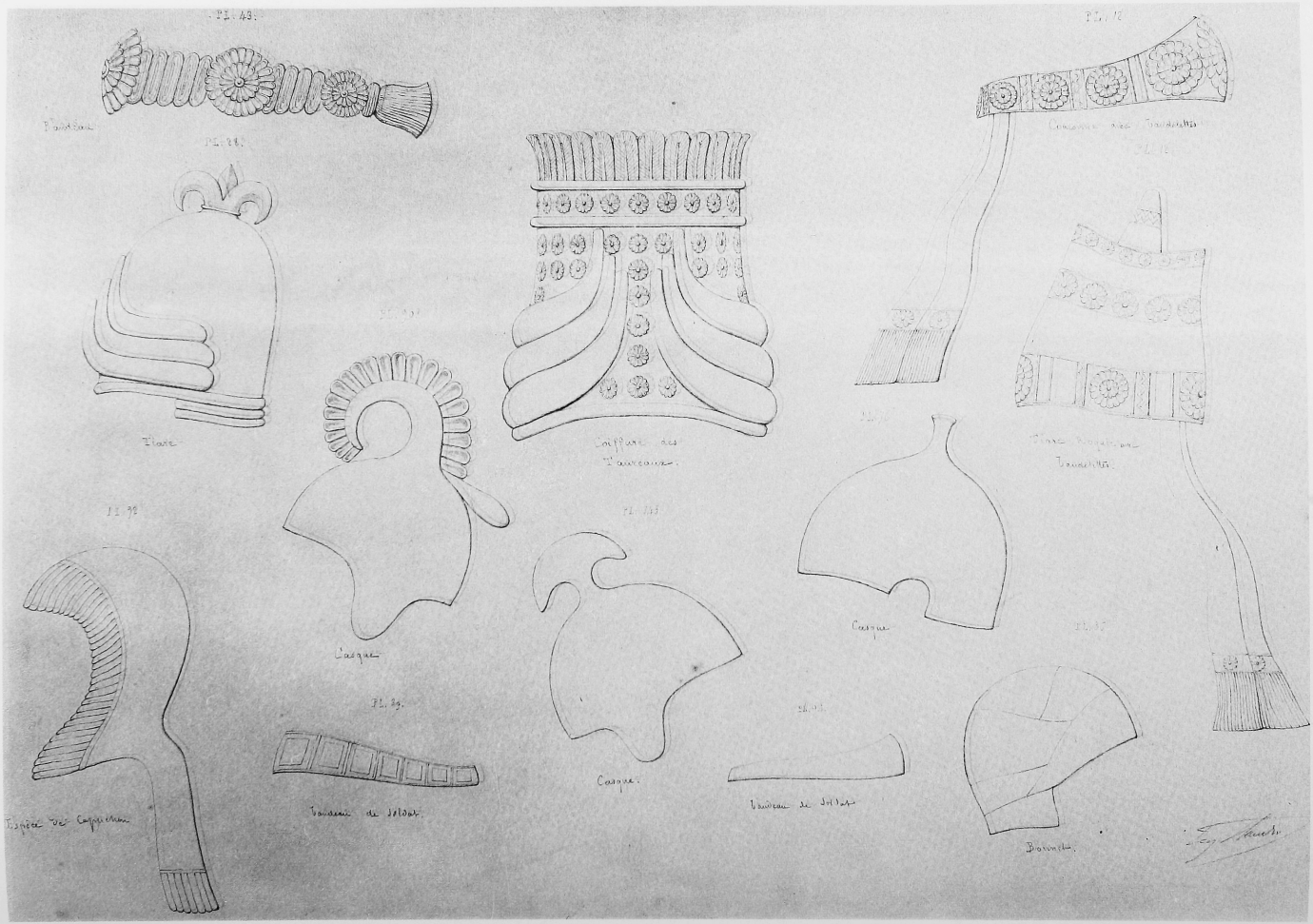
Pl. 137 Flandin. Room 14, slabs 10-11



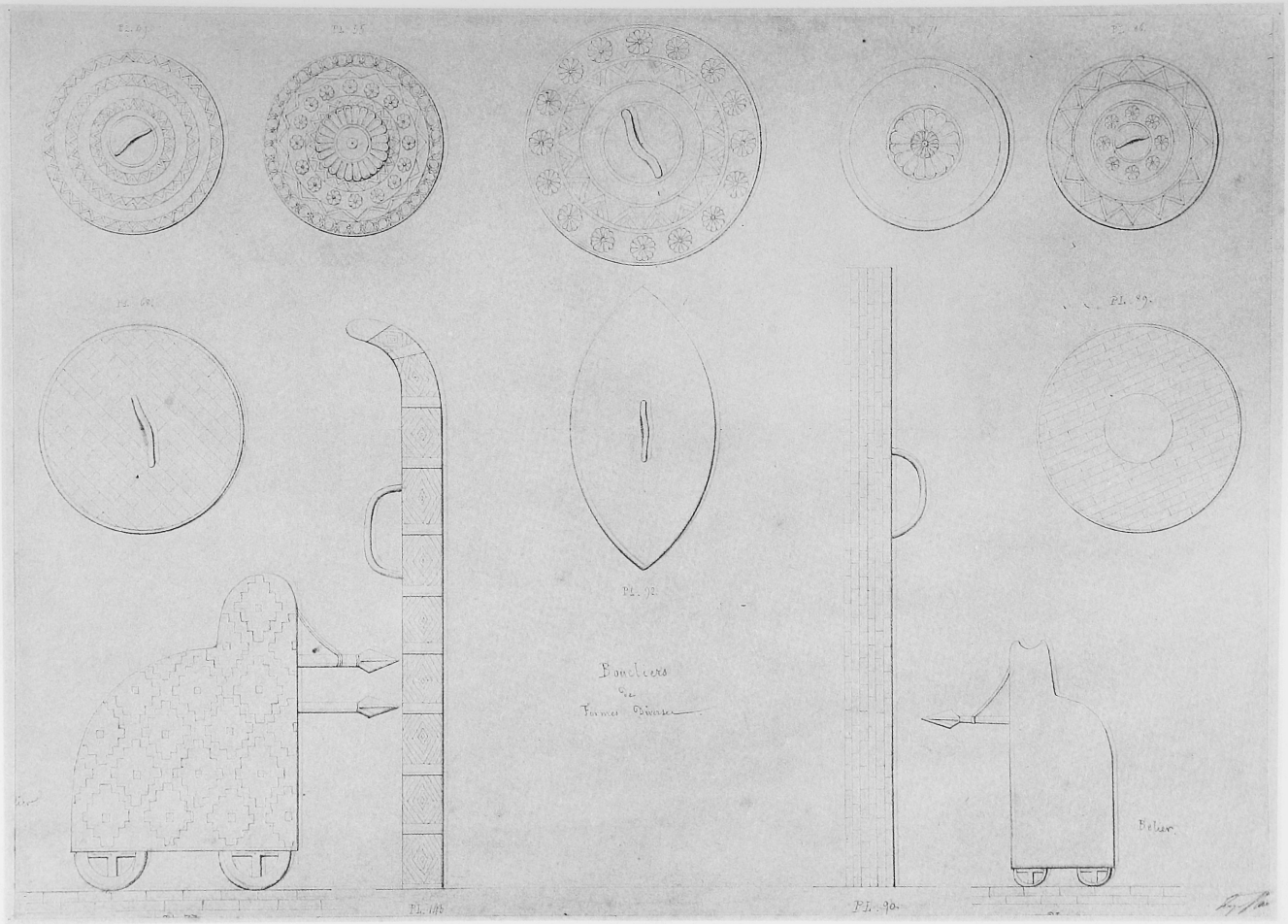
Pl. 138 Flandin. Room 14, slab 12



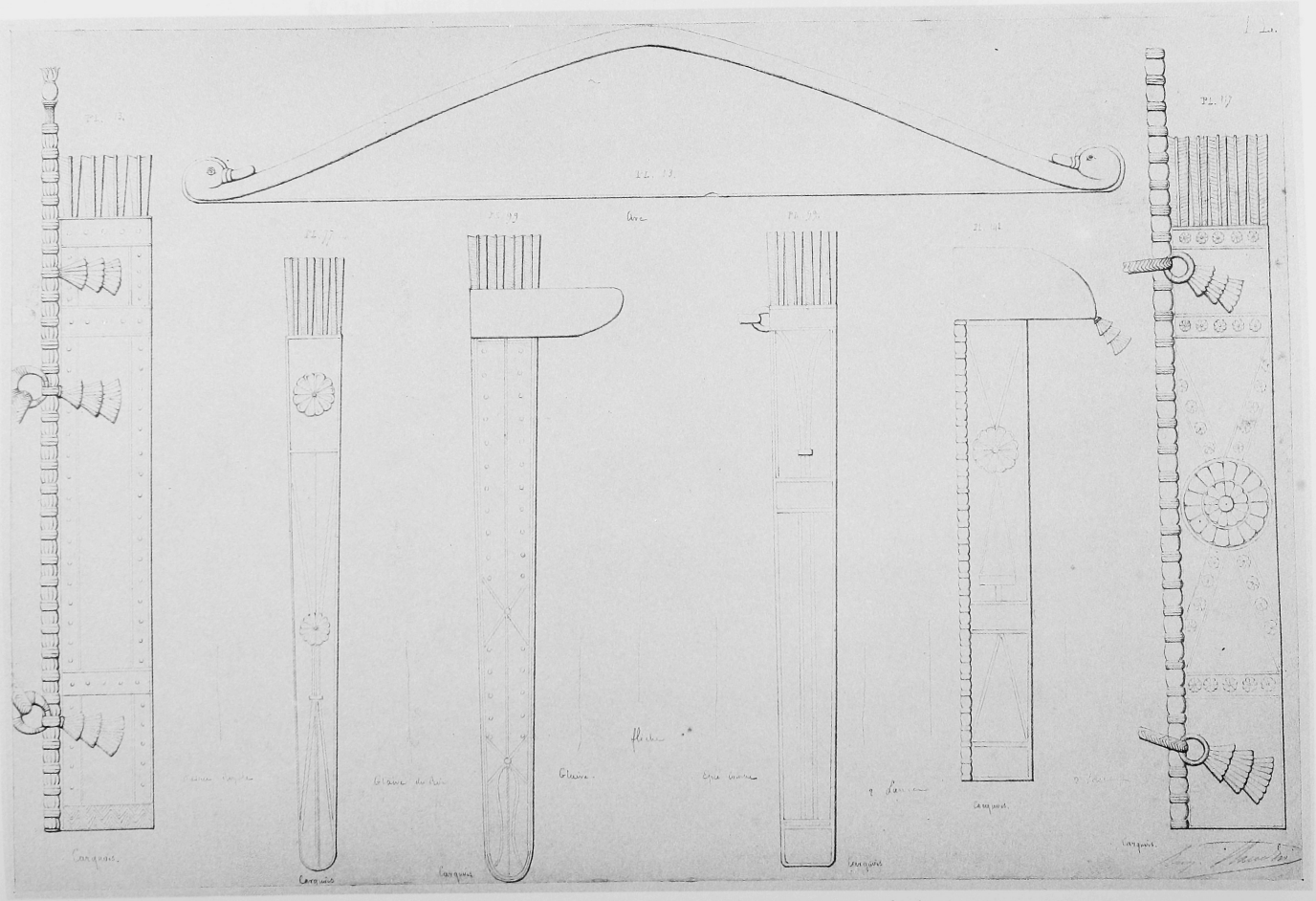
Pl. 139 Flandin. Jewelry and luxury items found on the bas-reliefs



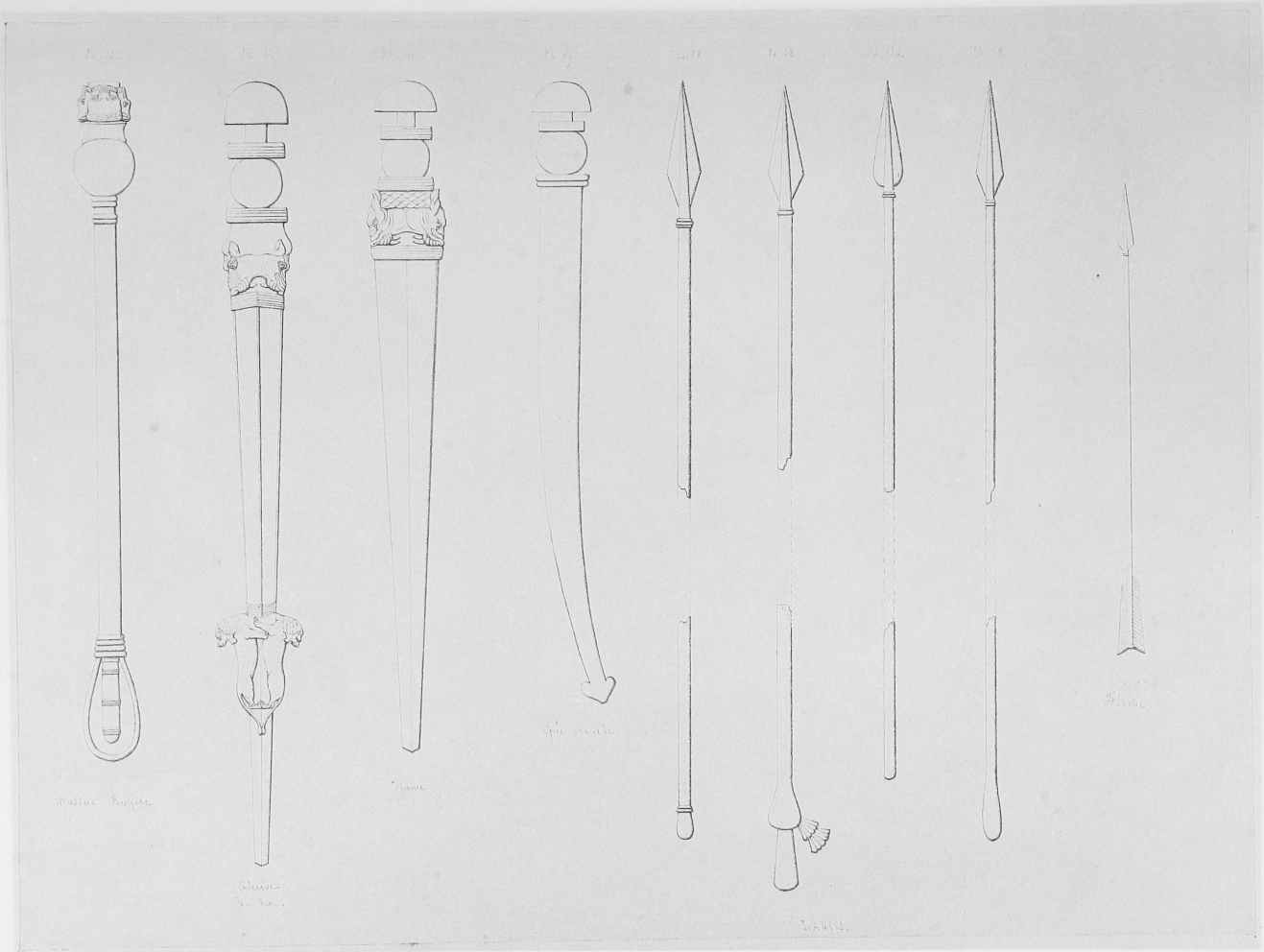
Pl. 140 Flandin. Twelve examples of headcoverings



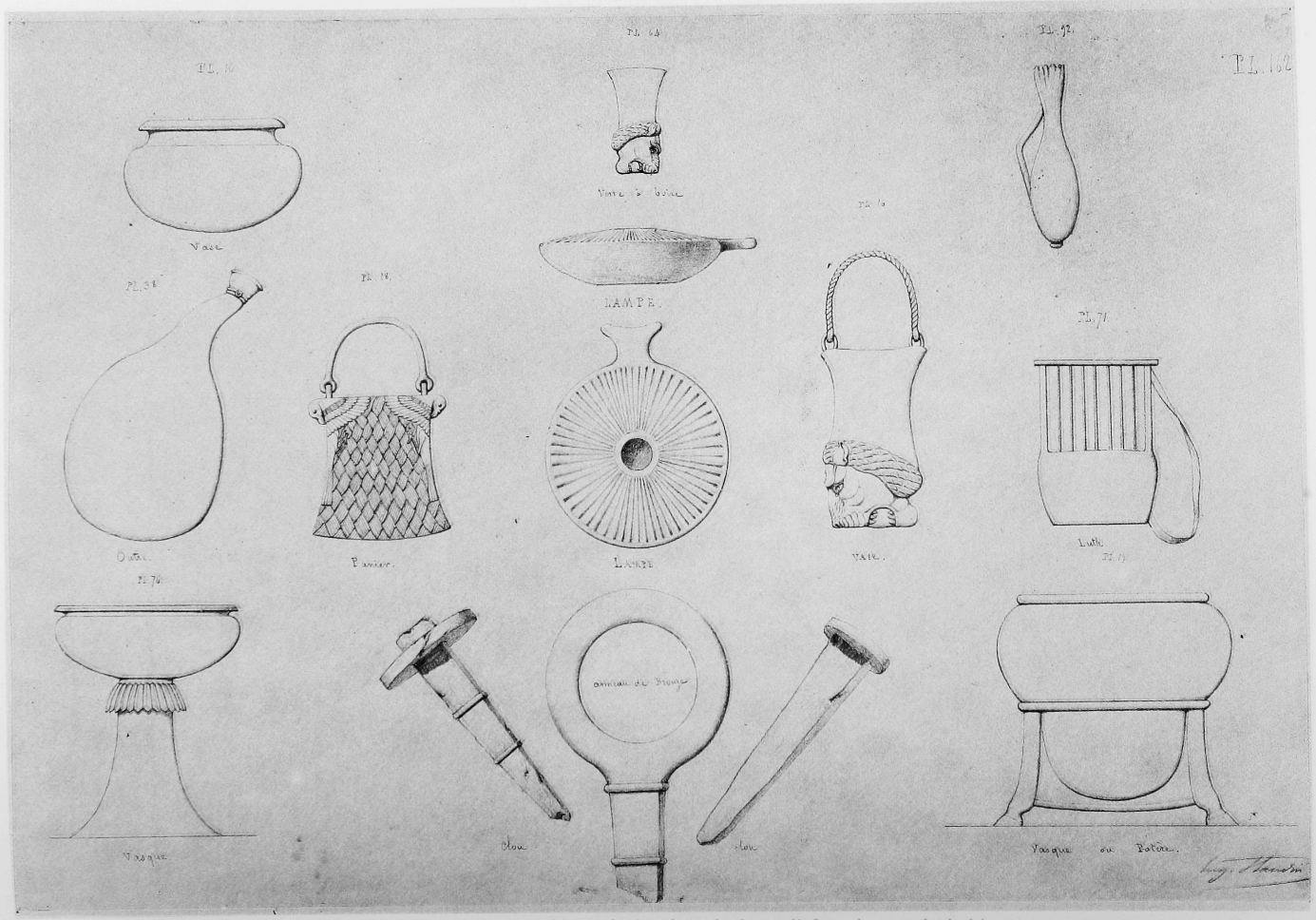
Pl. 141 Flandin. Ten examples of shields and two examples of battering rams



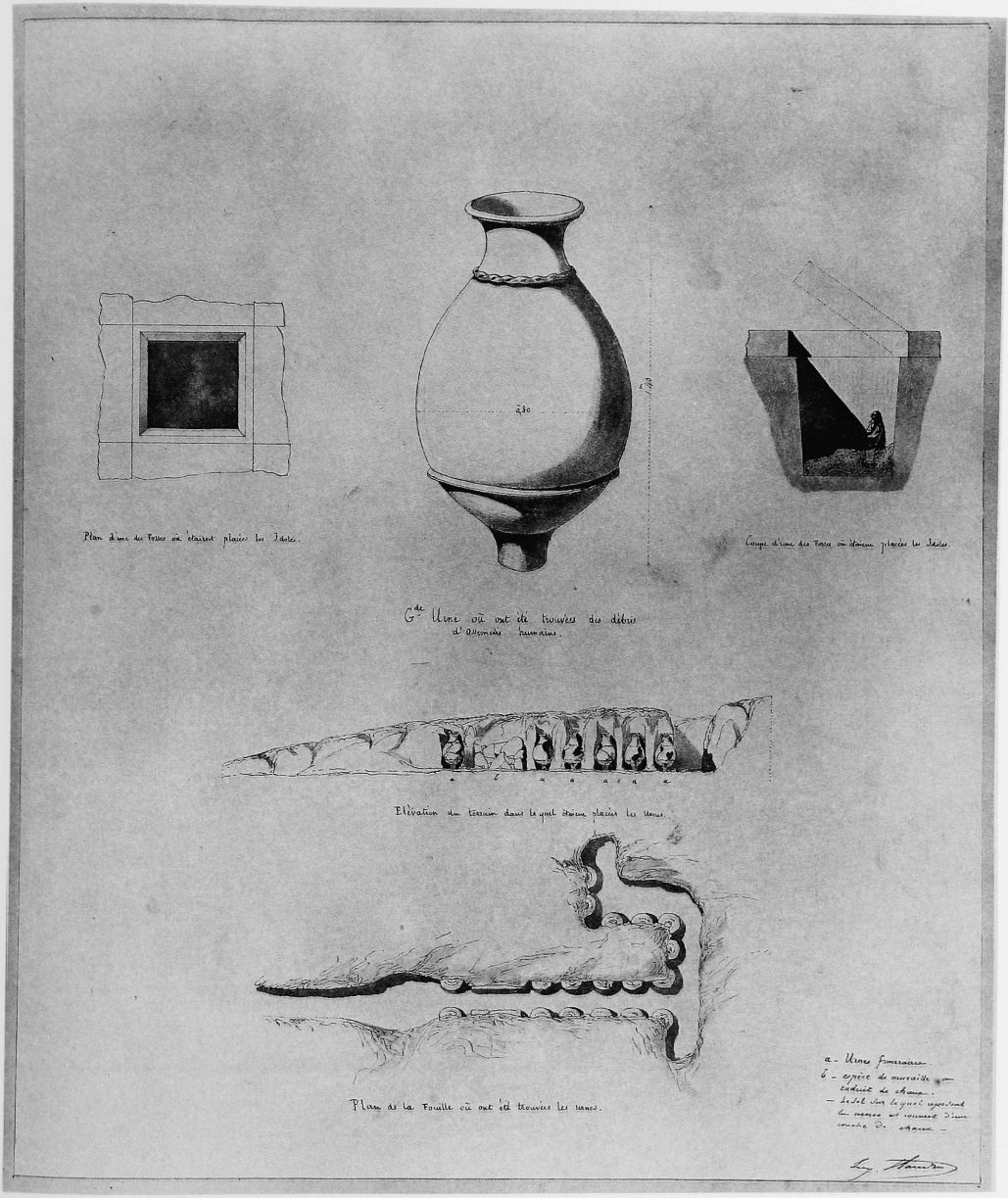
Pl. 142 Flandin. Six examples of quivers and one example of a bow



Pl. 143 Flandin. Various weapons



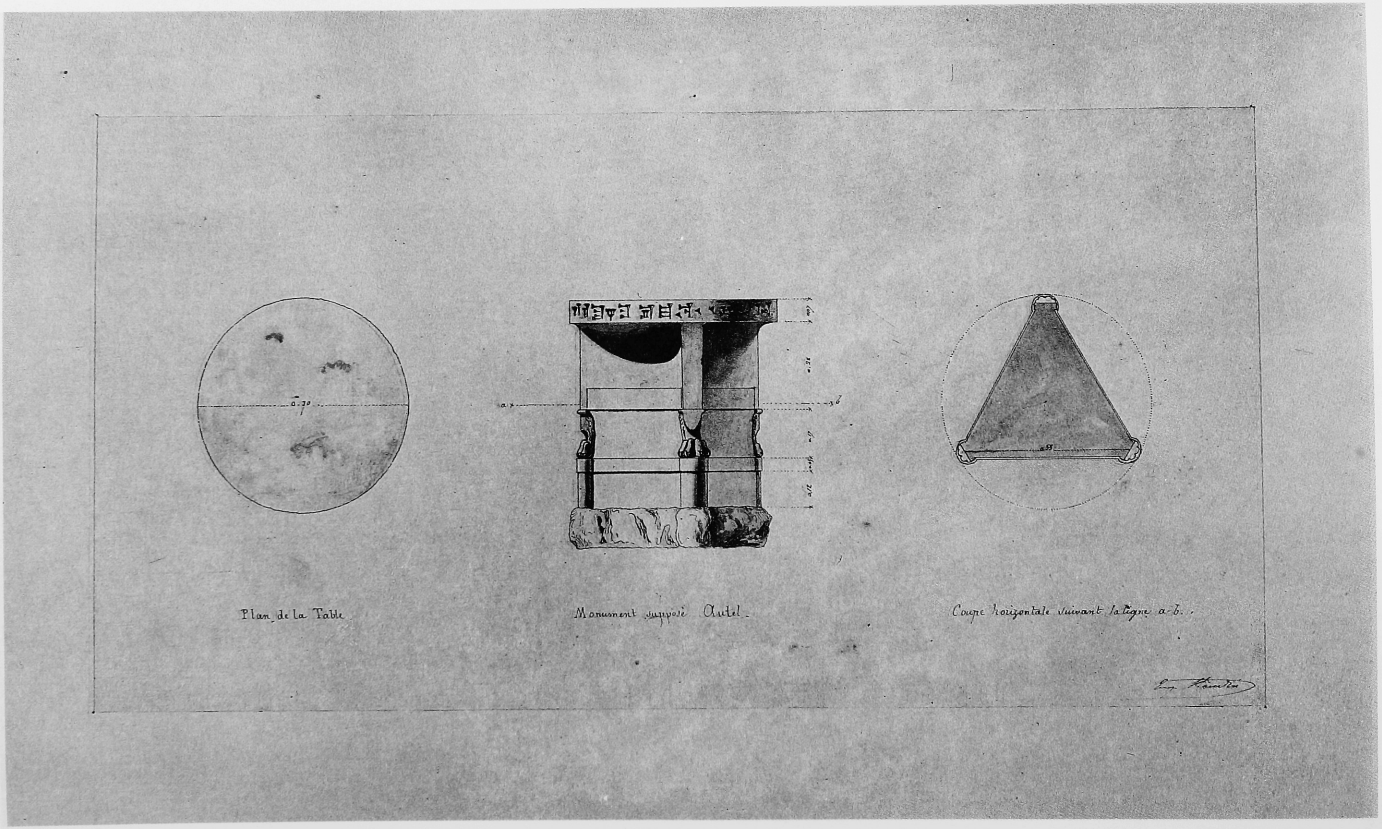
Pl. 144 Flandin. Diverse objects depicted on the bas-reliefs and unearthed objects



Pl. 145 Flandin. Plans and elevations of excavated urns and a deep hole

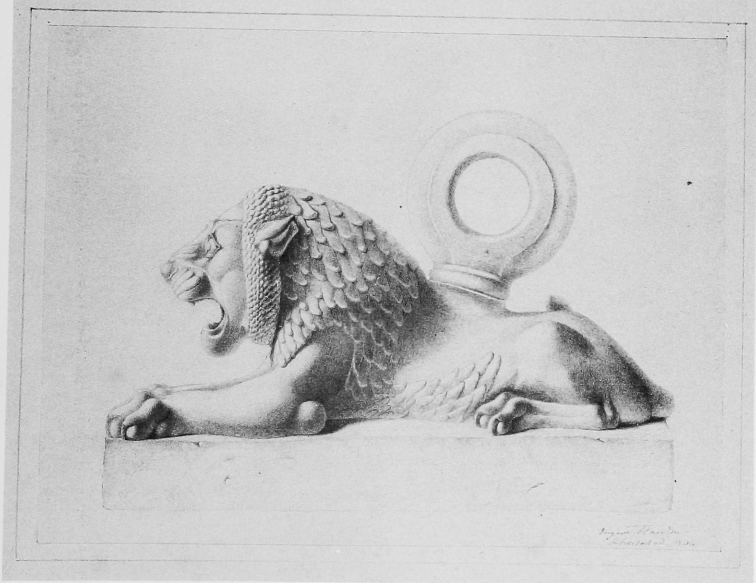
Pl. 146 Flandin. Terracotta figurines

Pl. 147 Flandin. Terracotta figurines



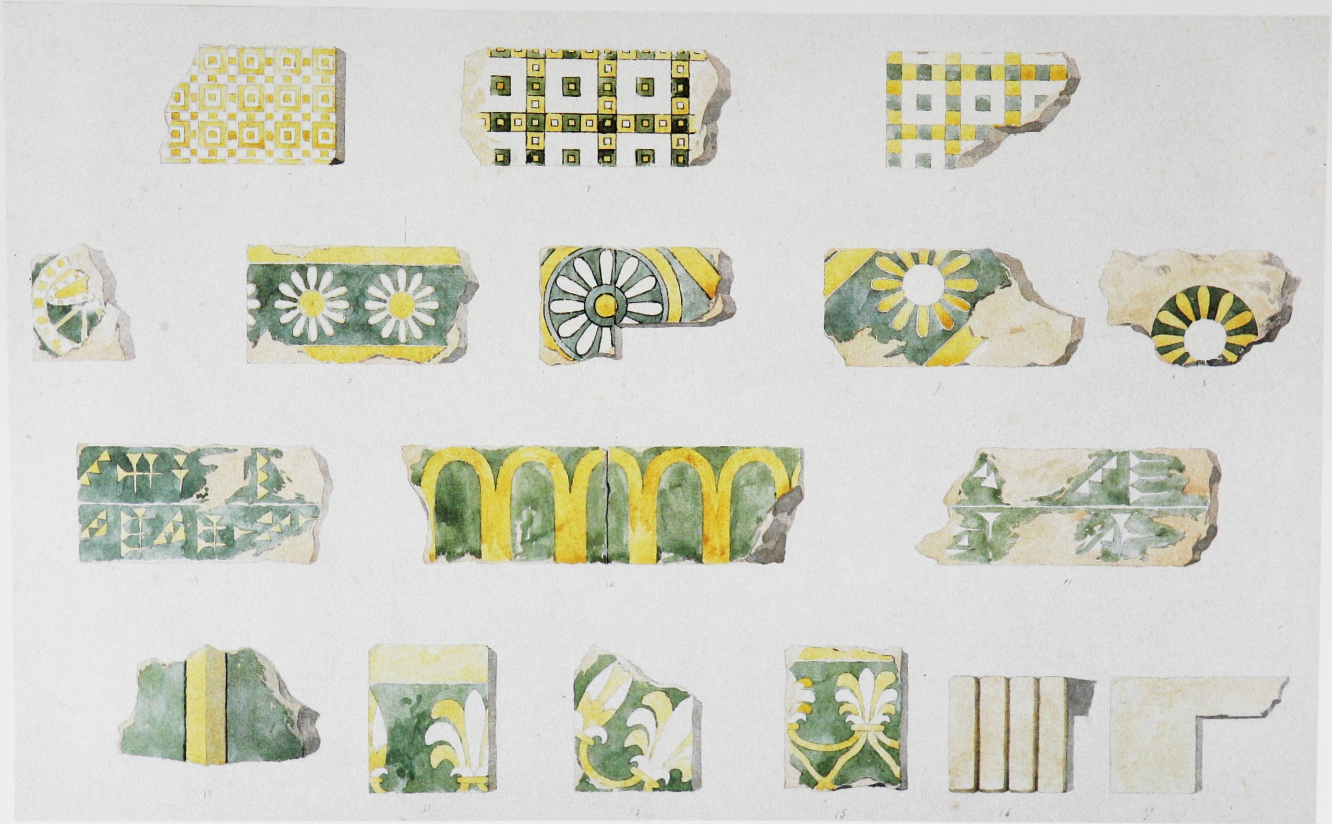
Pl. 148 Flandin. Stone monument or altar

Lion de bronze.

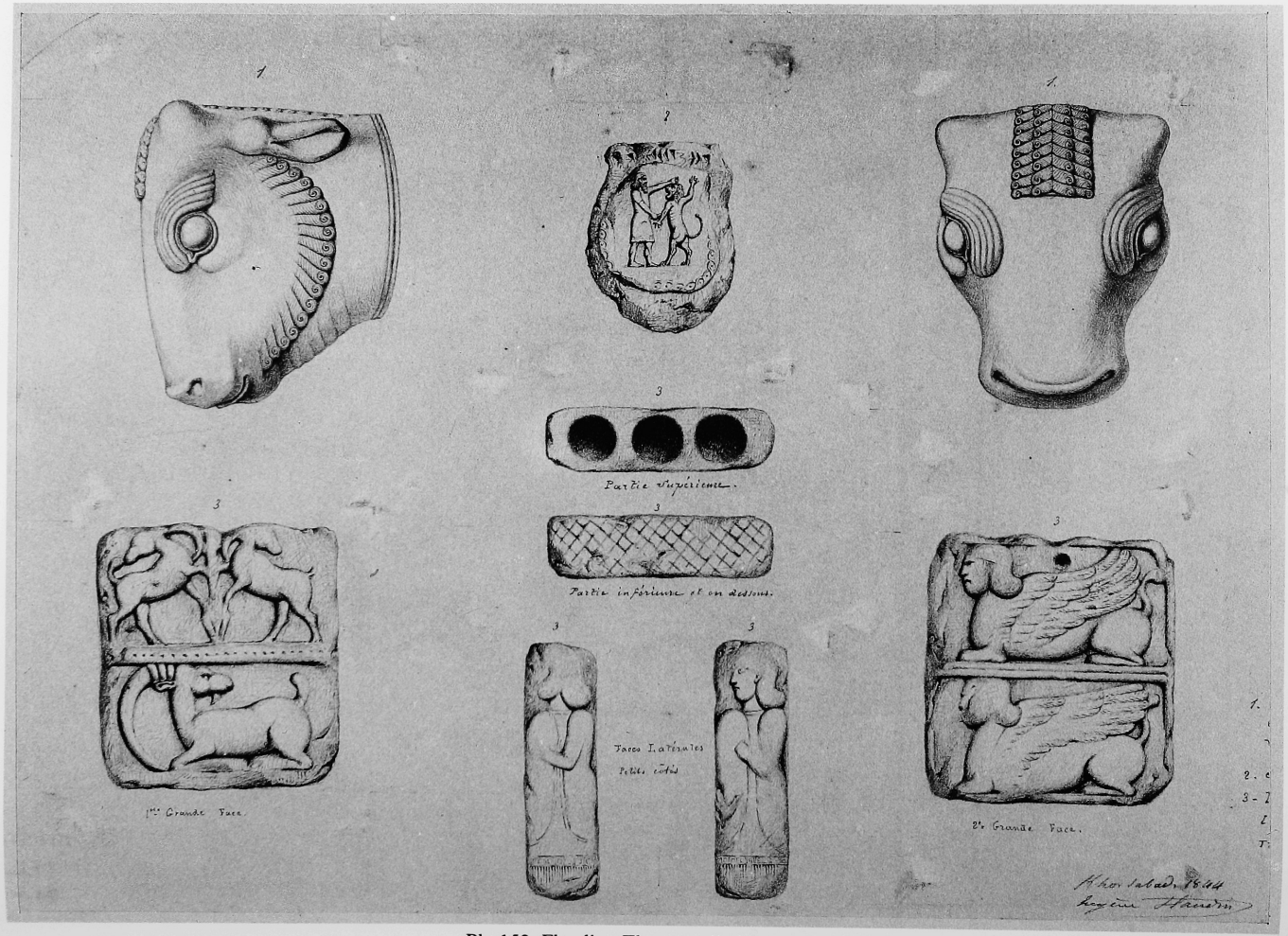


Pl. 149 Flandin. Lion in bronze

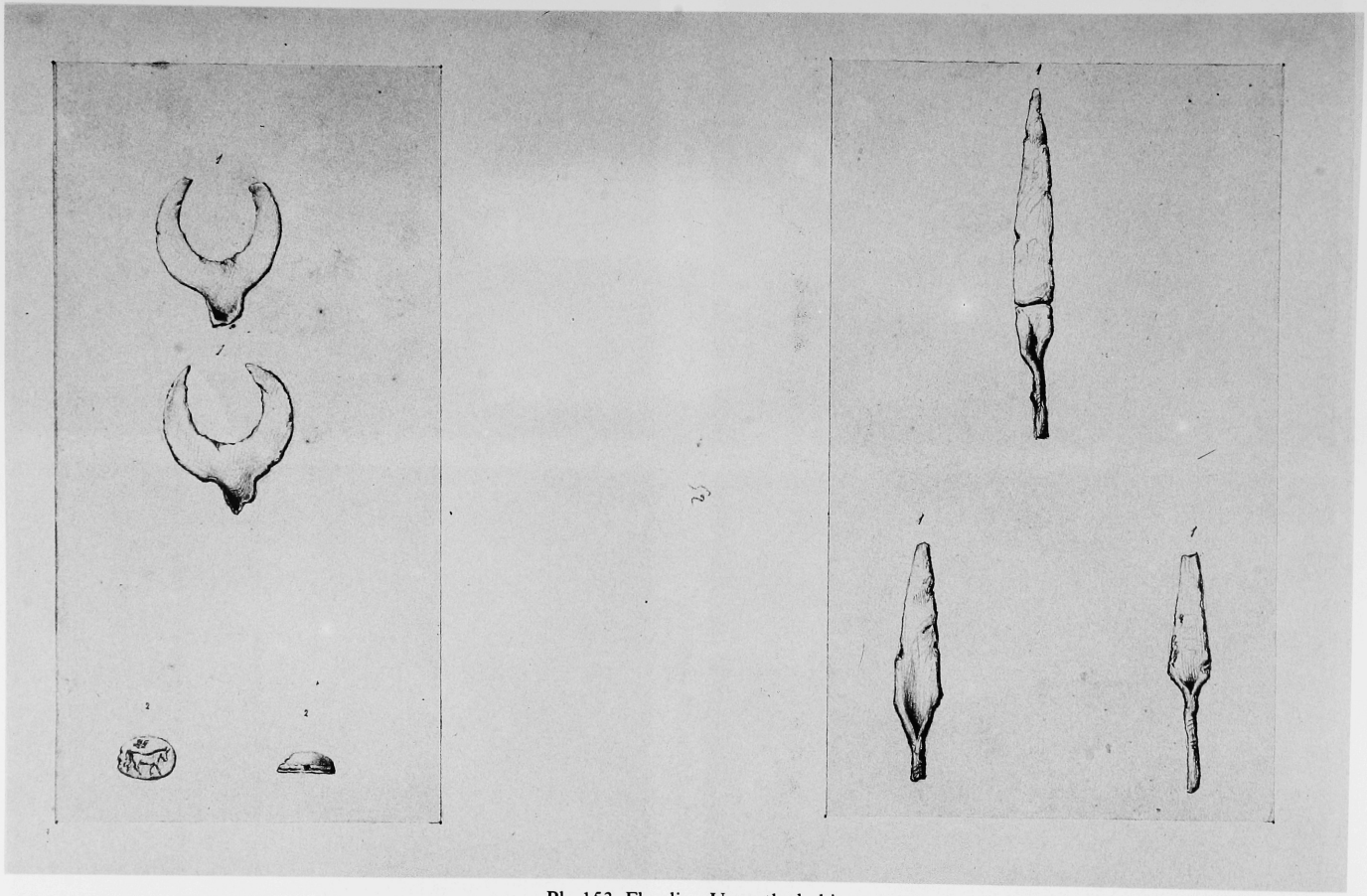
Pl. 150 Flandin. Fragments of painted bricks



Pl. 151 Flandin. Fragments of painted bricks



Pl. 152 Flandin. Three small objects



Pl. 153 Flandin. Unearthed objects

Fig. 1 Musée du Louvre AO 19859

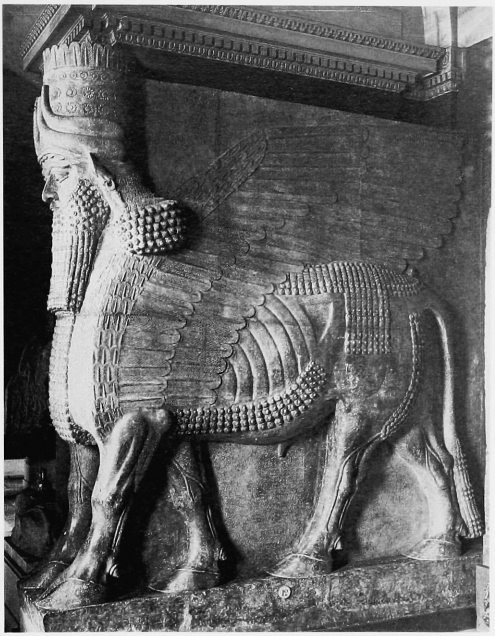


Fig. 2 Musée du Louvre AO 19857

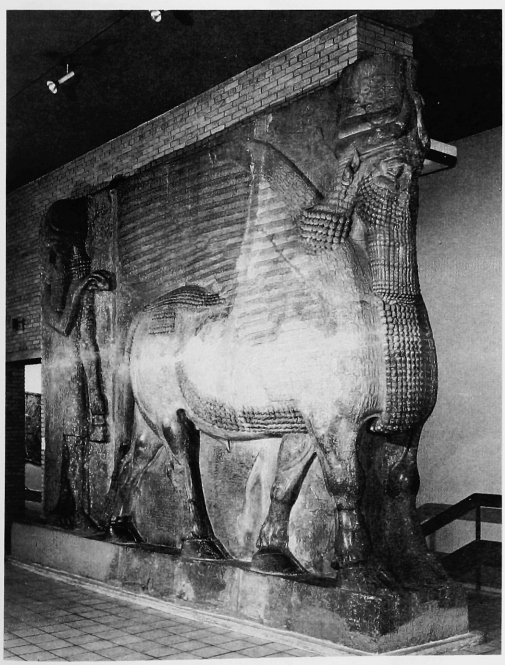


Fig. 3 British Museum 118809

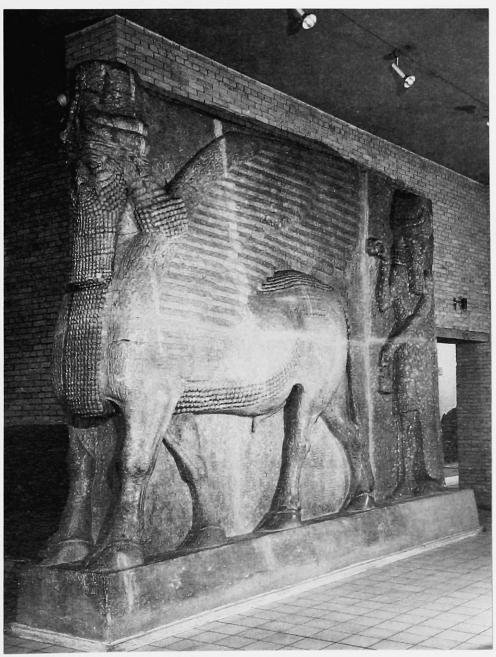


Fig. 4 British Museum 118808

Fig. 5 Oriental Institute Museum A 7369

Fig. 6 Iraq Museum 60978

Fig. 7 Musée du Louvre AO 19861

Fig. 8 Musée du Louvre AO 19862

Fig. 9 Musée du Louvre AO 19863

Fig. 10 Oriental Institute photograph 23842. (Iraq Museum 72130)

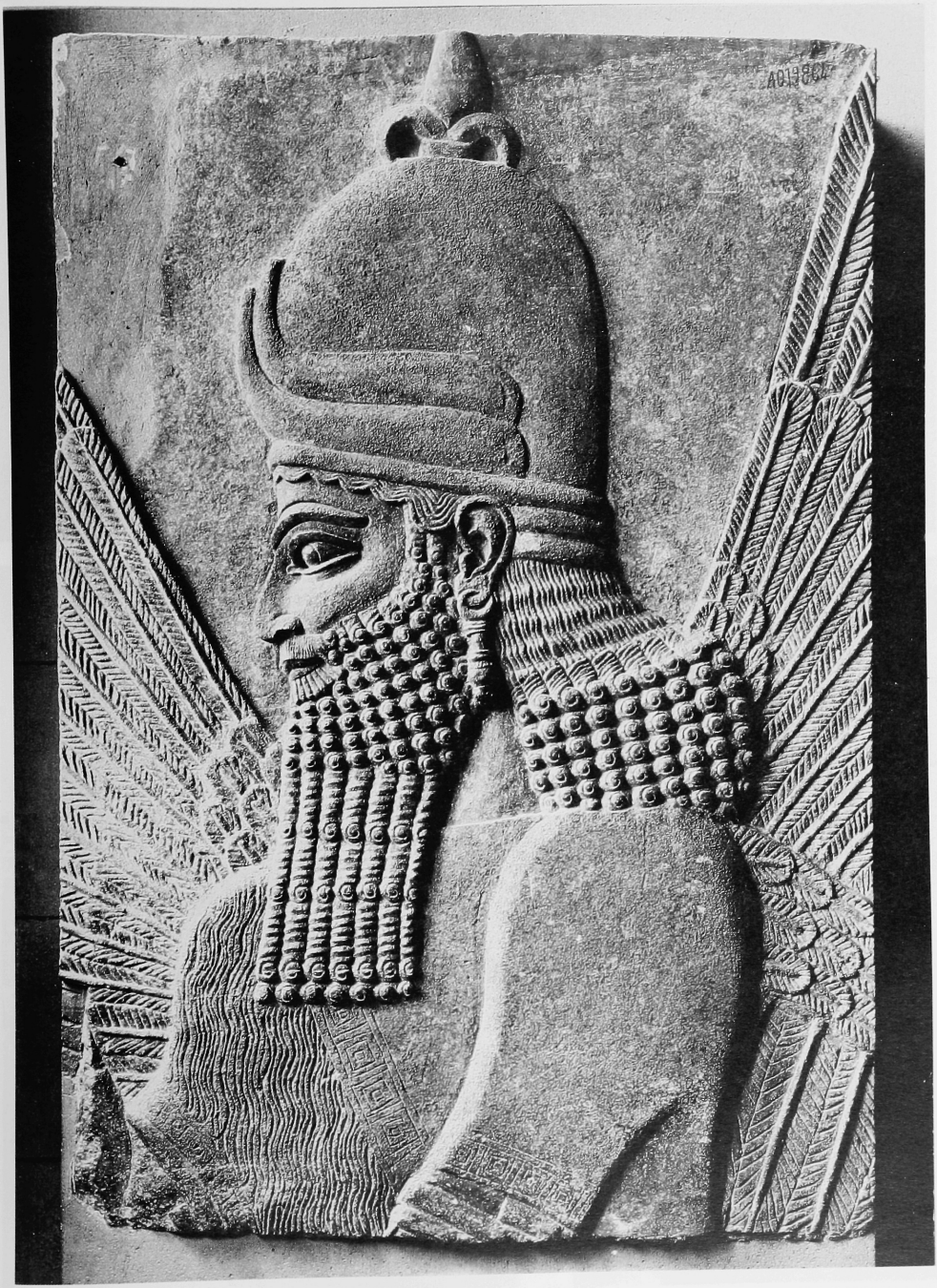


Fig. 11 Musée du Louvre AO 19864

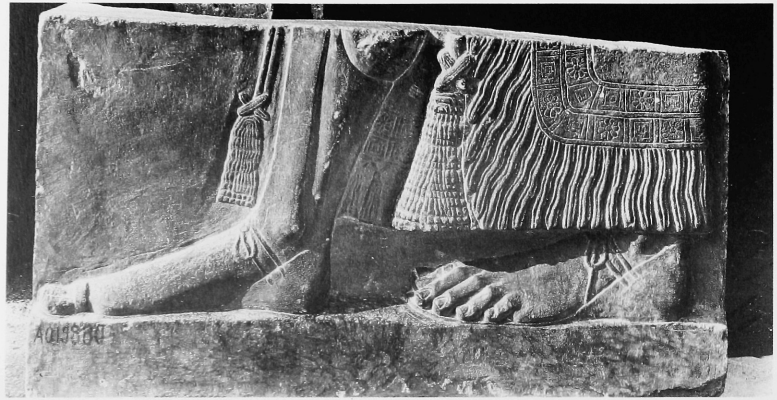


Fig. 12 Musée du Louvre AO 19880

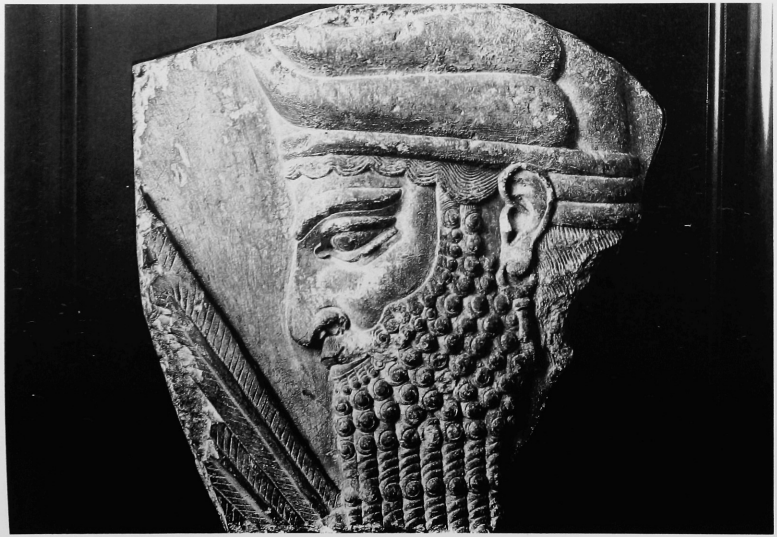


Fig. 13 Musée du Louvre AO 22197

Fig. 14 Musée du Louvre AO 19866

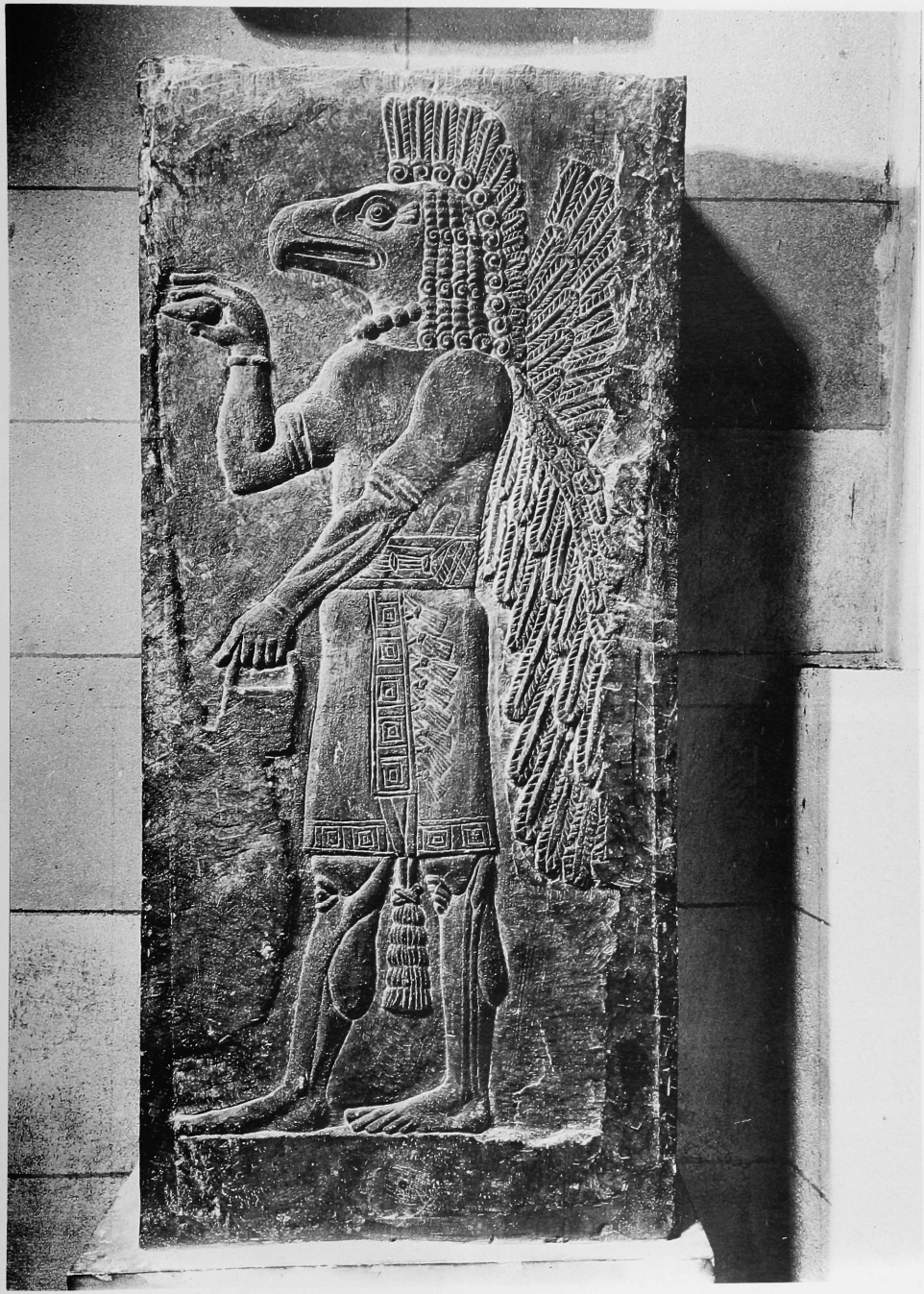


Fig. 15 Musée du Louvre AO 19867

Fig. 16 Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire 0.48

Fig. 17 Prince of Wales Museum of Western India F 13

Fig. 18 British Museum 47-7-2, 23

Fig. 19 British Museum 118814

Fig. 20 Musée du Louvre AO 19869

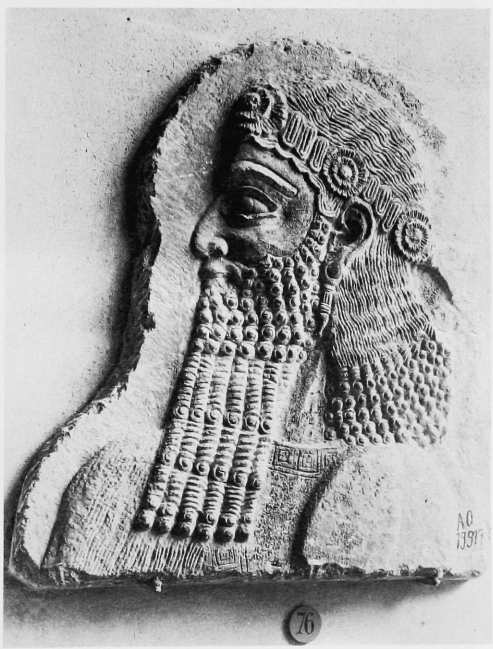


Fig. 21 Musée du Louvre AO 19917

Fig. 22 British Museum 118813

Fig. 23 Archives Nationales, F²¹546, pl. 35, Calotype

Fig. 24 Musée du Louvre AO 19872 and AO 19870

Fig. 25 Oriental Institute Museum A 7359

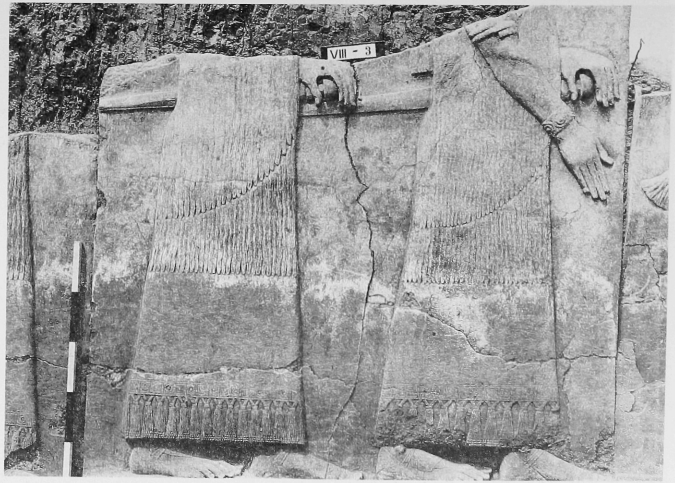


Fig. 26 Oriental Institute photograph 18403

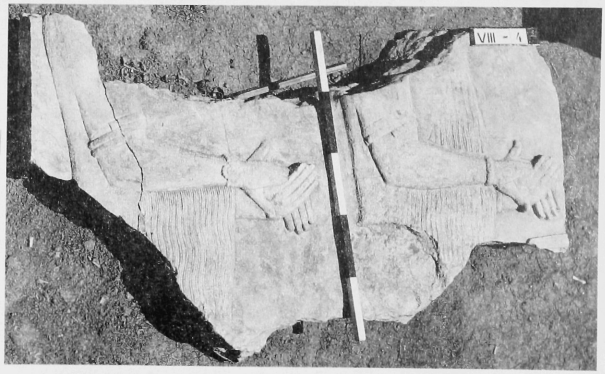


Fig. 27 Oriental Institute photograph 18413

Fig. 28 Oriental Institute photograph 18404

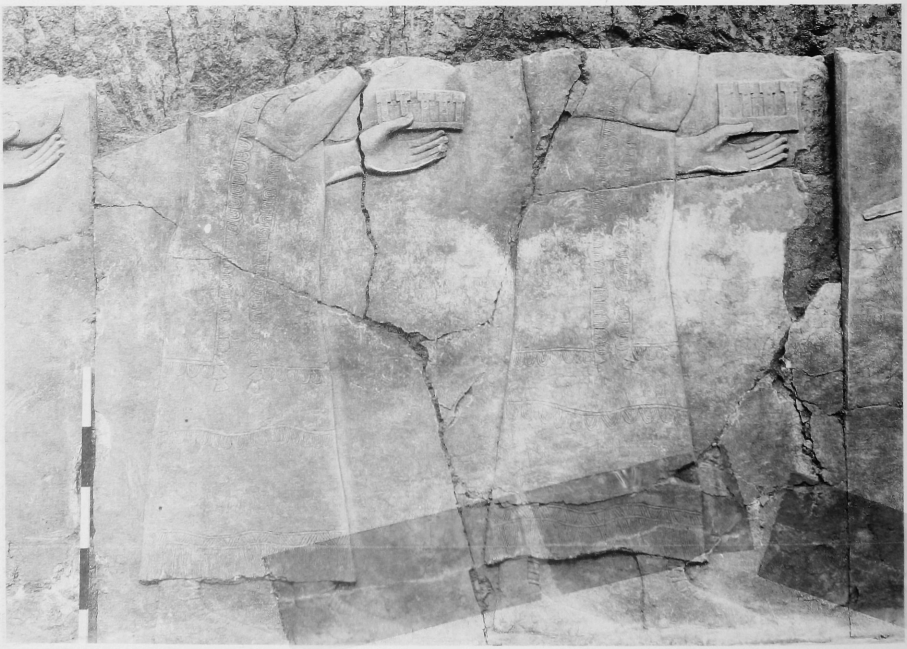


Fig. 29 Oriental Institute photograph 18405

Fig. 30 British Museum 118827

Fig. 31 British Museum 118818

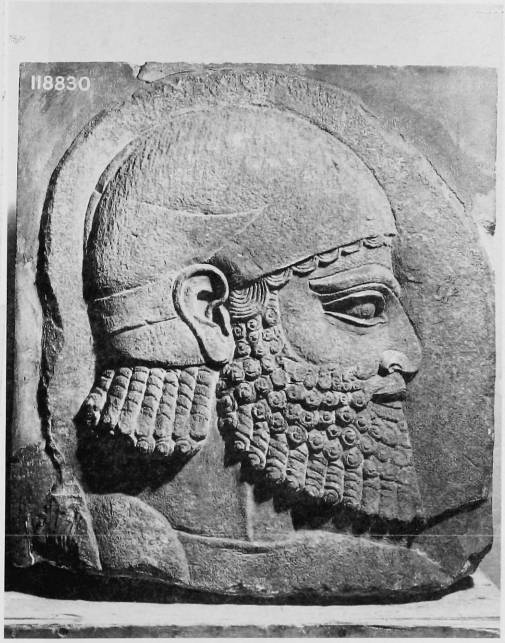


Fig. 32 British Museum 118830

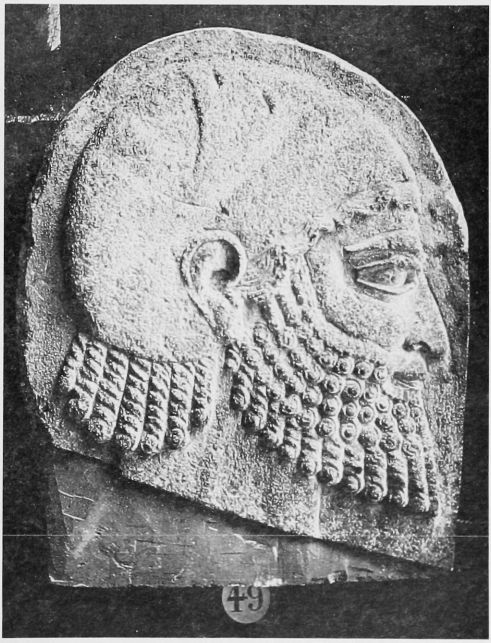


Fig. 33 Musée du Louvre AO 19894

Fig. 34 Oriental Institute photograph 17453

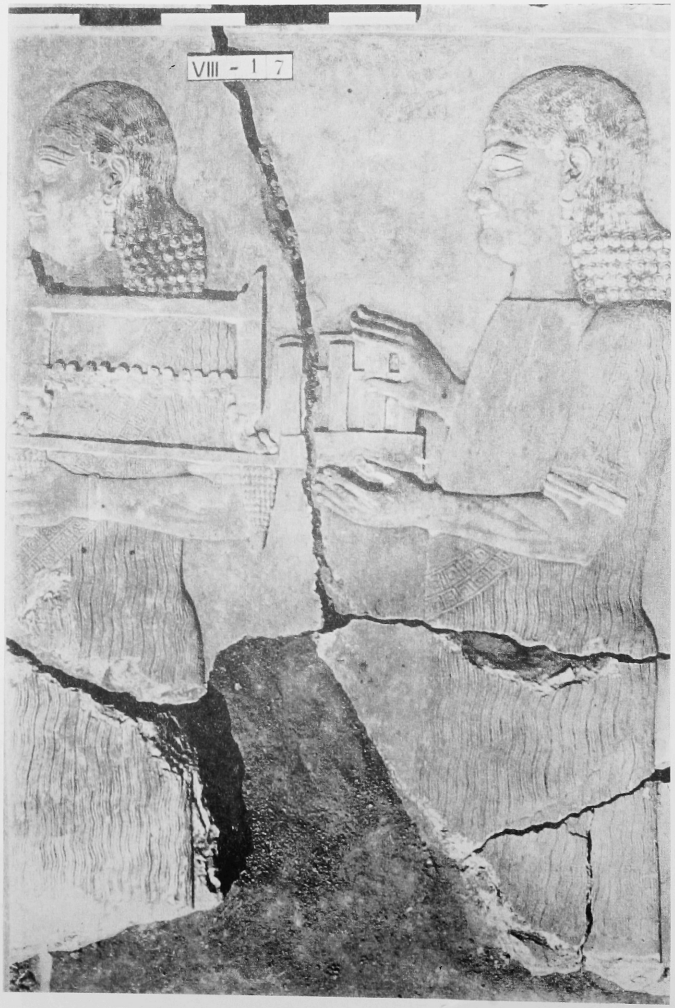


Fig. 37 Oriental Institute photograph 17462. (Iraq Museum 18631)

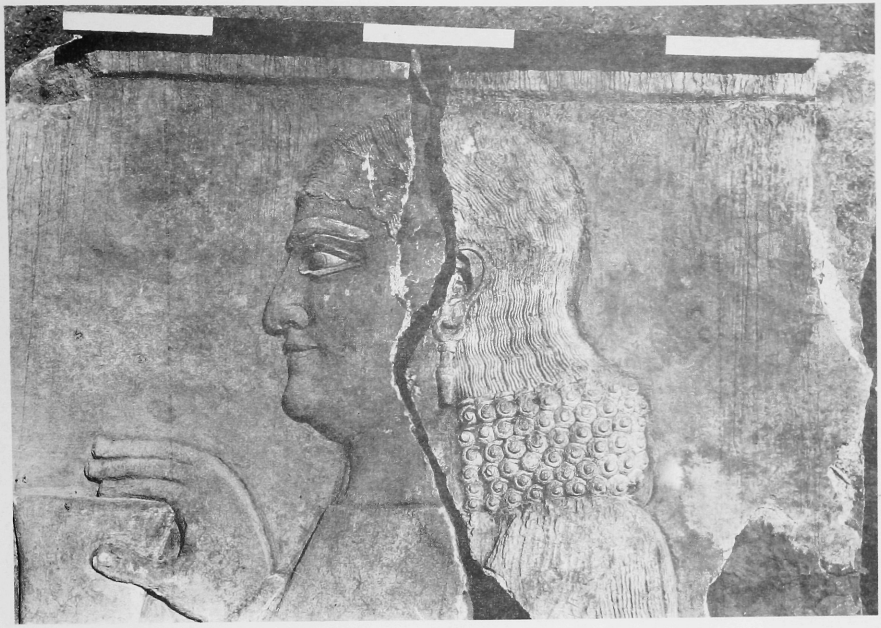


Fig. 35 Oriental Institute photograph 17523

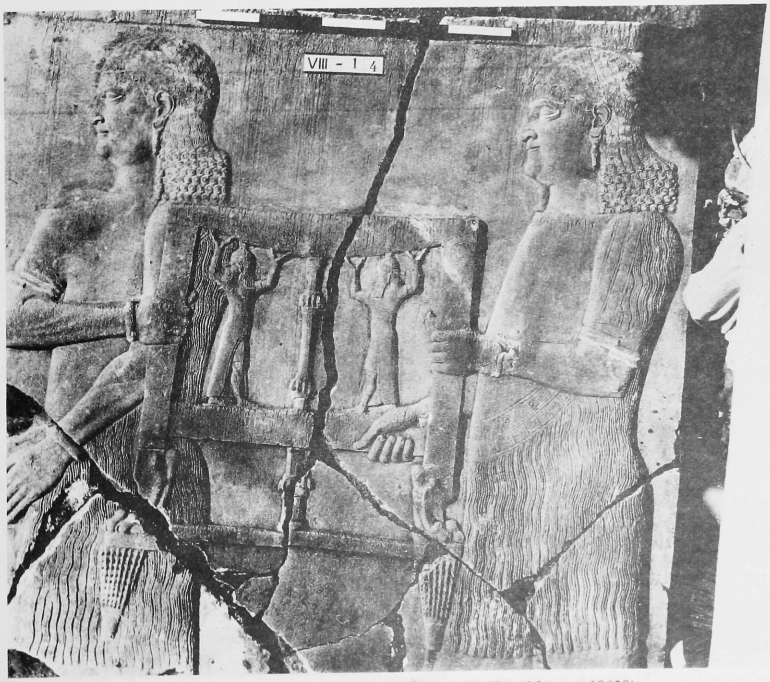


Fig. 36 Oriental Institute photograph 17461 (Iraq Museum 18630)

Fig. 34 Oriental Institute photograph 17453

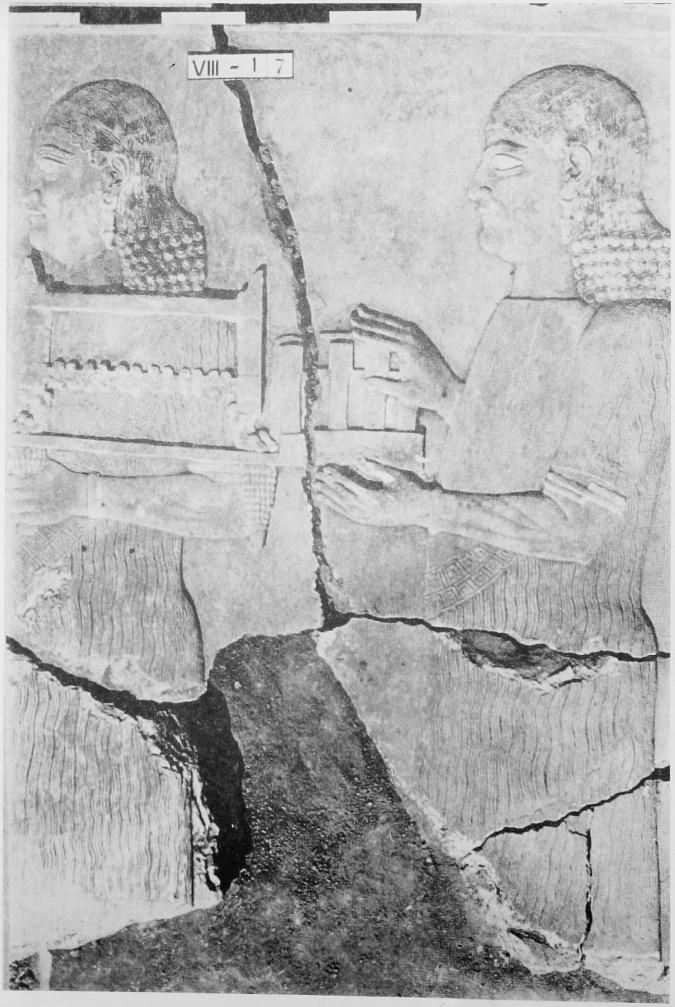


Fig. 37 Oriental Institute photograph 17462. (Iraq Museum 18631)

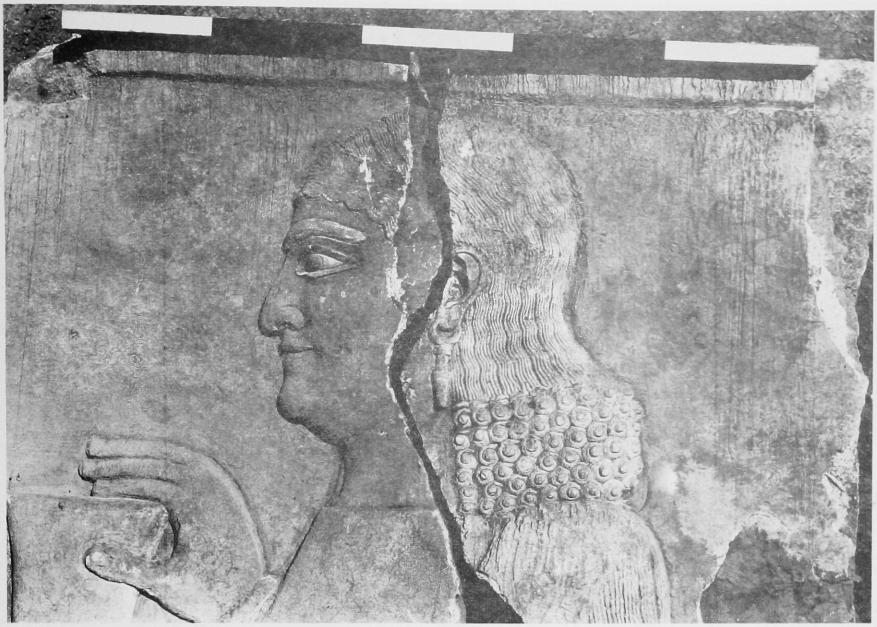


Fig. 35 Oriental Institute photograph 17523

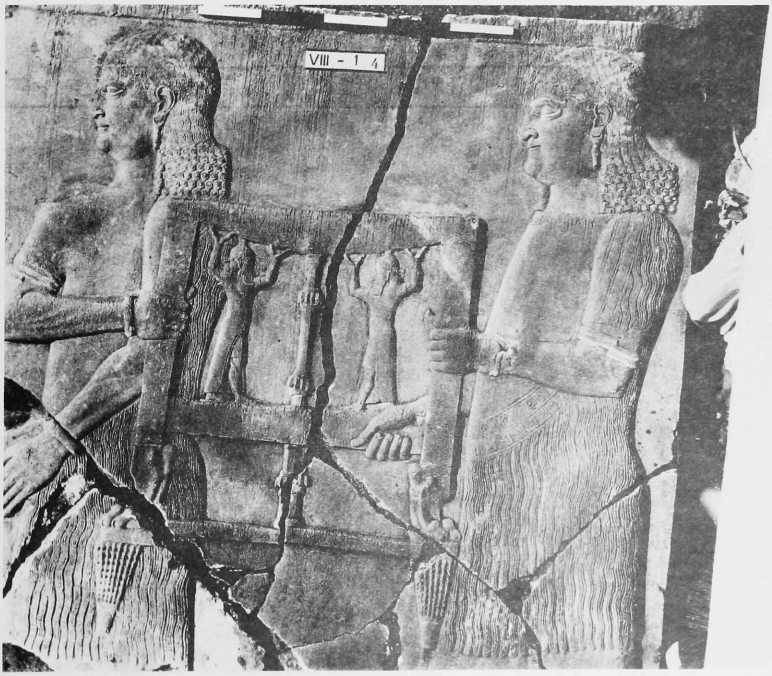


Fig. 36 Oriental Institute photograph 17461 (Iraq Museum 18630)

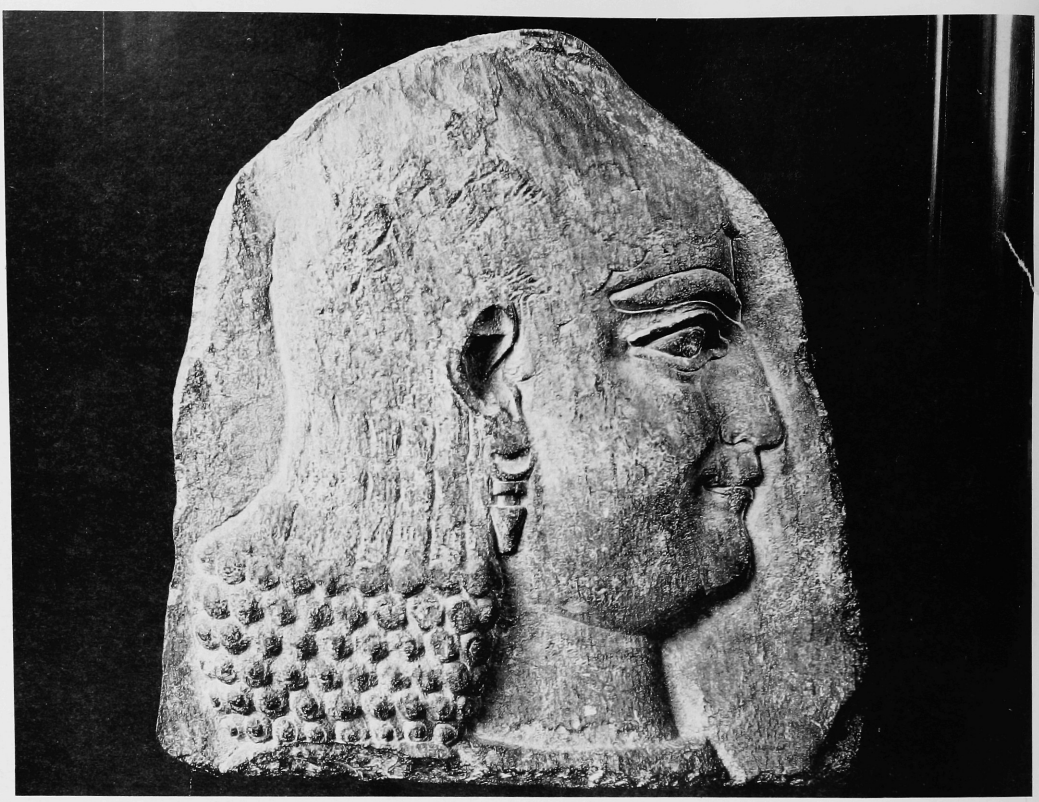


Fig. 38 Musée du Louvre AO 22195

Fig. 39 Musée du Louvre AO 7374

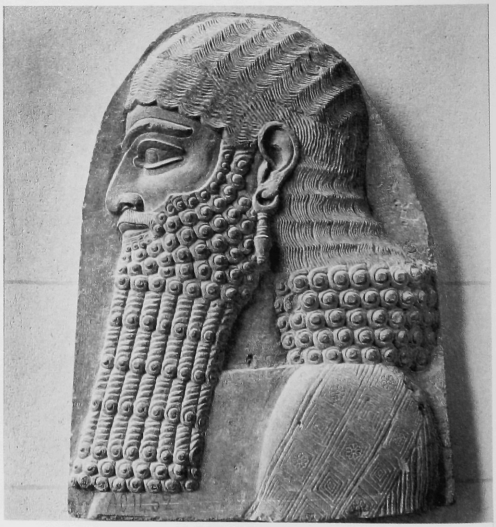


Fig. 40 Musée du Louvre AO 1432

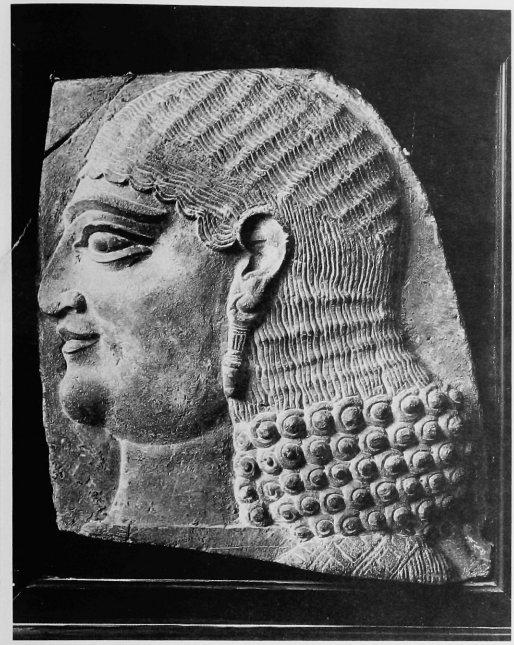


Fig. 41 Musée du Louvre AO 22196

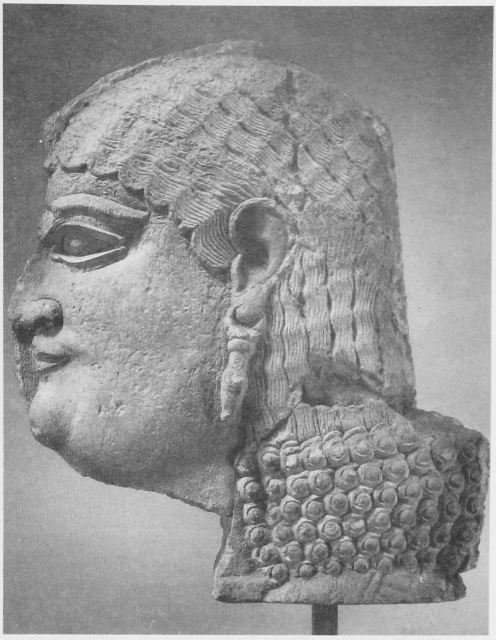


Fig. 42 Private collection A.089

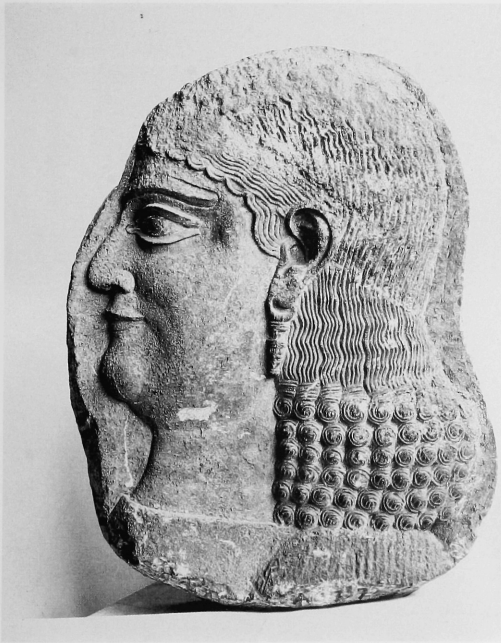


Fig. 43 Musée du Louvre AO 7375

Fig. 44 Oriental Institute photograph 17518. (Oriental Institute Museum A 7368)

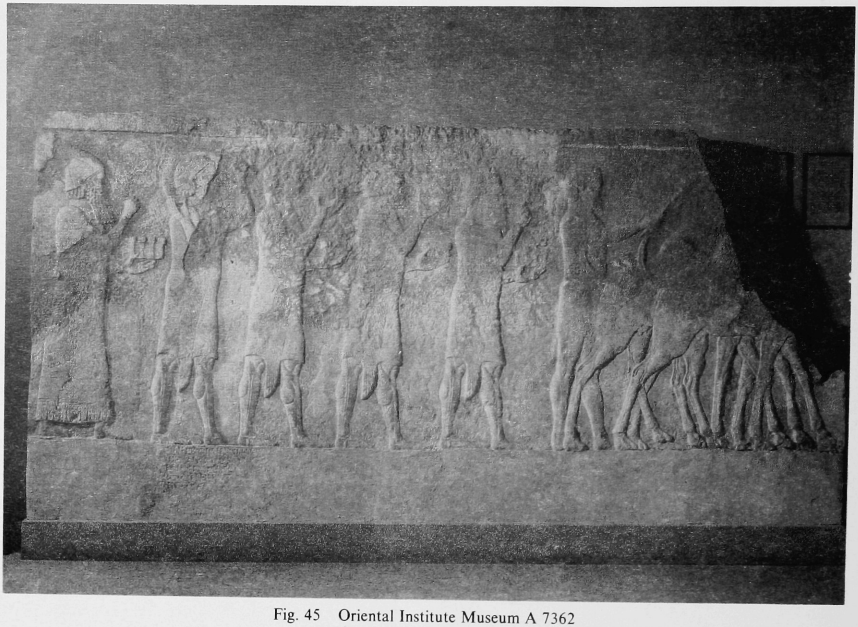


Fig. 45 Oriental Institute Museum A 7362

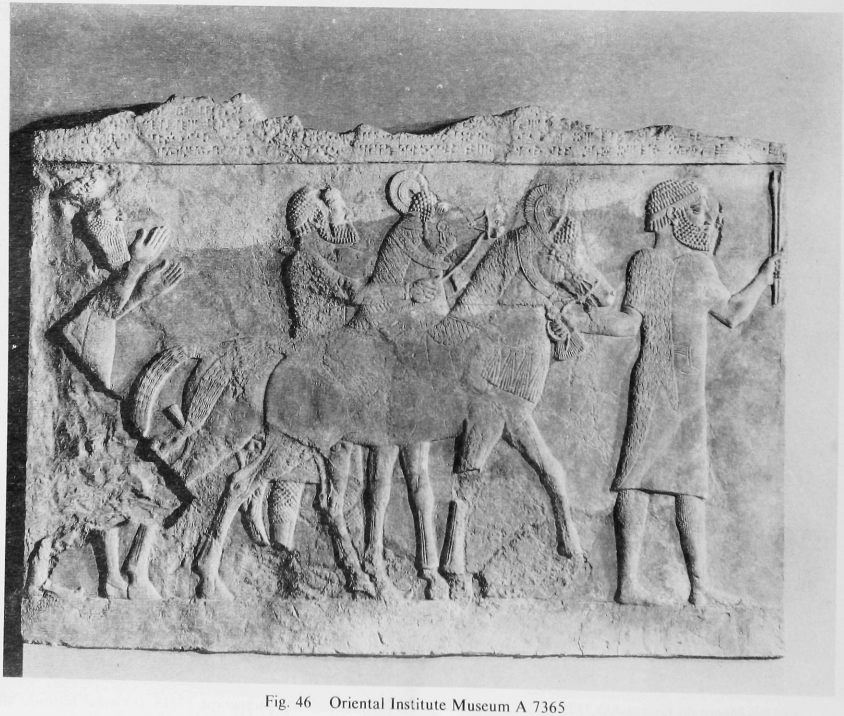


Fig. 46 Oriental Institute Museum A 7365

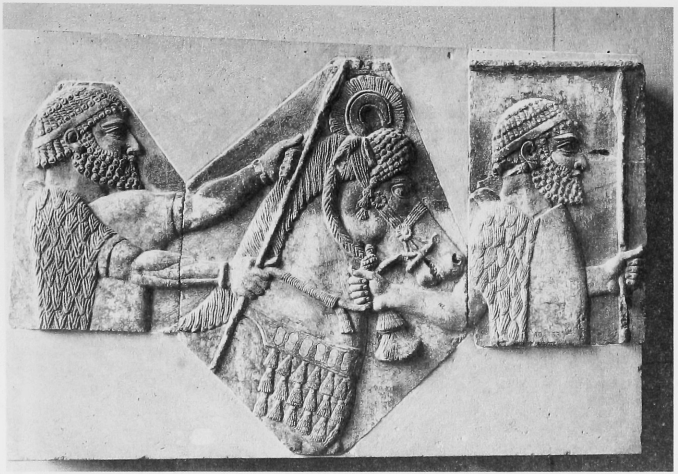


Fig. 47 Musée du Louvre AO 19895-19899-1433

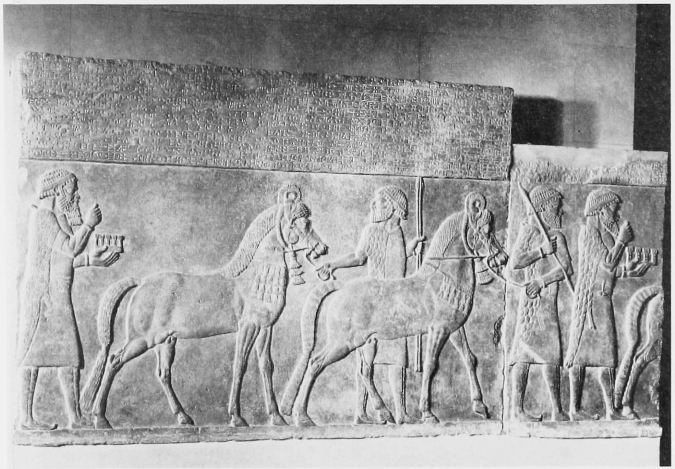


Fig. 48 Musée du Louvre AO 19887

Fig. 49 British Museum 118832

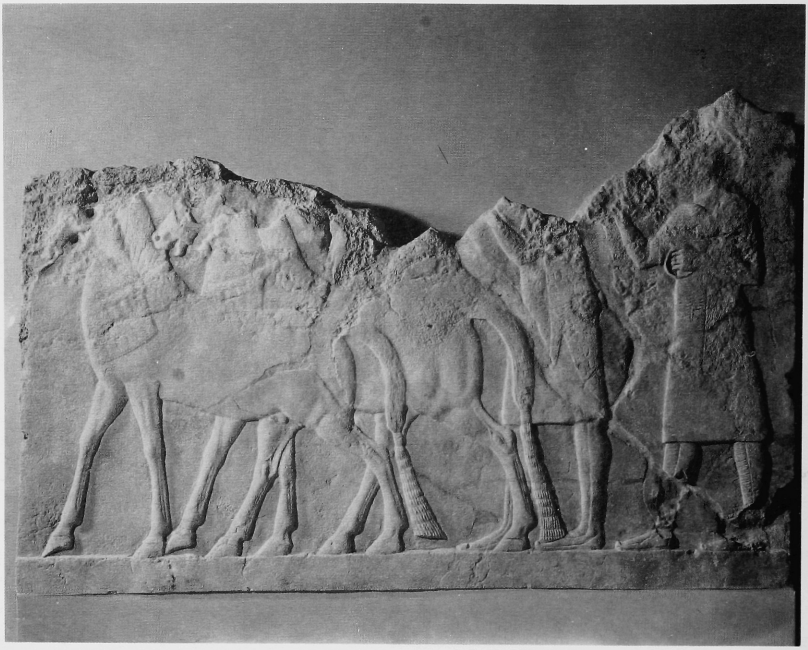


Fig. 50 Oriental Institute Museum A 7364

Fig. 51 Oriental Institute Museum A 7361

Fig. 52 Musée du Louvre AO 19922

Fig. 53 Musée du Louvre AO 19898

Fig. 54 Musée du Louvre AO 19896

Fig. 55 Musée du Louvre AO 20218

Fig. 56 British Museum 118810

Fig. 57 British Museum 118833

Fig. 58 Musée du Louvre AO 1434

Fig. 59 Metropolitain Museum of Art 33.16.1

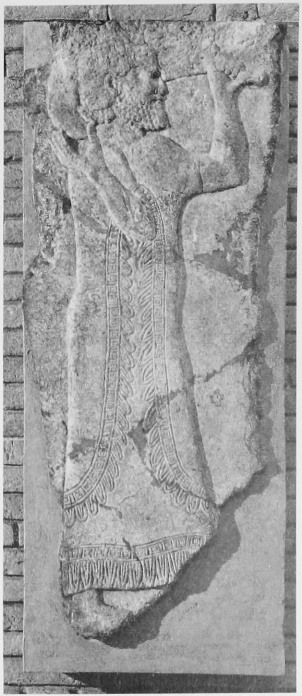


Fig. 60 British Museum 118836

Fig. 61 British Museum 118822

Fig. 62 Musée du Louvre AO 19875

Fig. 63 Musée du Louvre AO 19881

Fig. 64 Musée du Louvre AO 19882

Fig. 65 Musée du Louvre AO 19919

Fig. 66 British Museum 47-7-2, 15

Fig. 67 British Museum 47-7-2, 16

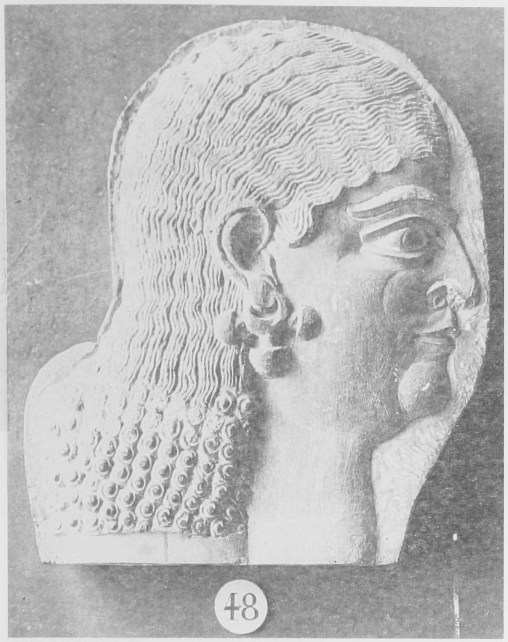


Fig. 68 Musée du Louvre AO 19893

Fig. 69 British Museum 118811

Fig. 70 British Museum 118820

Fig. 71 British Museum 118826

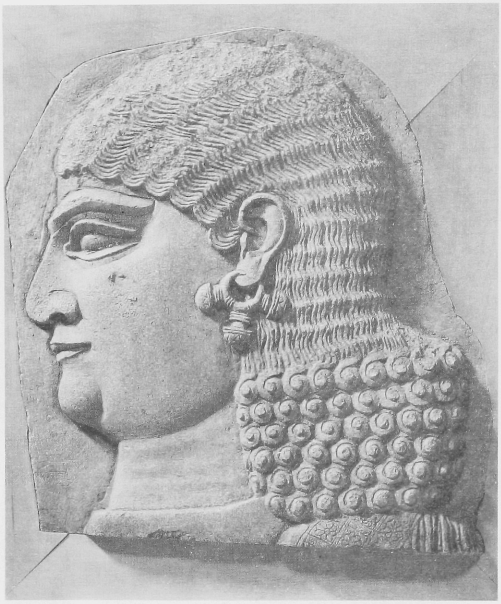


Fig. 72 Metropolitan Museum of Art 33.16.2

Fig. 73 British Museum 118825

Fig. 74 British Museum 118823

Fig. 75 British Museum 118831

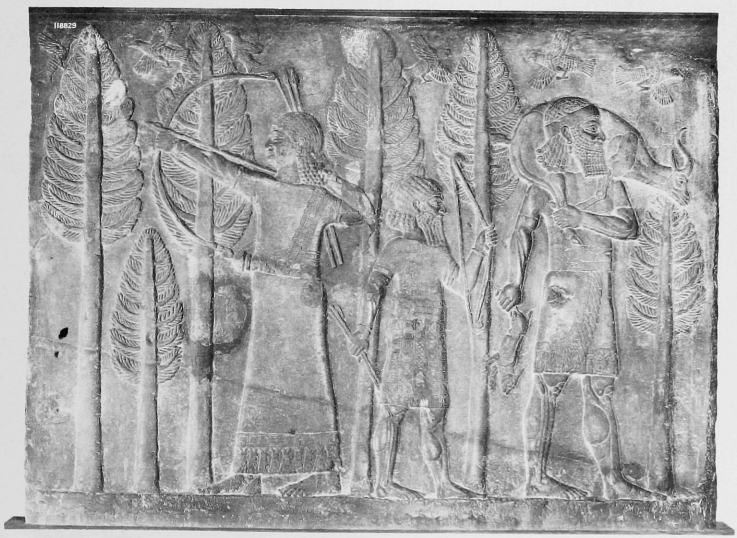


Fig. 76 British Museum 118829

Pierre de basalte trouvée sur l'emplacement du temple

Fig. 77 Archives Nationales, F²¹546, pl. 13. Calotype

Scène de Chasse
Palais de SARGON à KHORSABAD (VIIIe siècle)

Fig. 78 Musée du Louvre AO 19886

Pierre de basalte
trouvée sur l'empla-
-cement du temple.

Fig. 79 Archives Nationales, F²¹546, pl. 12. Calotype

Fig. 80 Oriental Institute photograph 17470

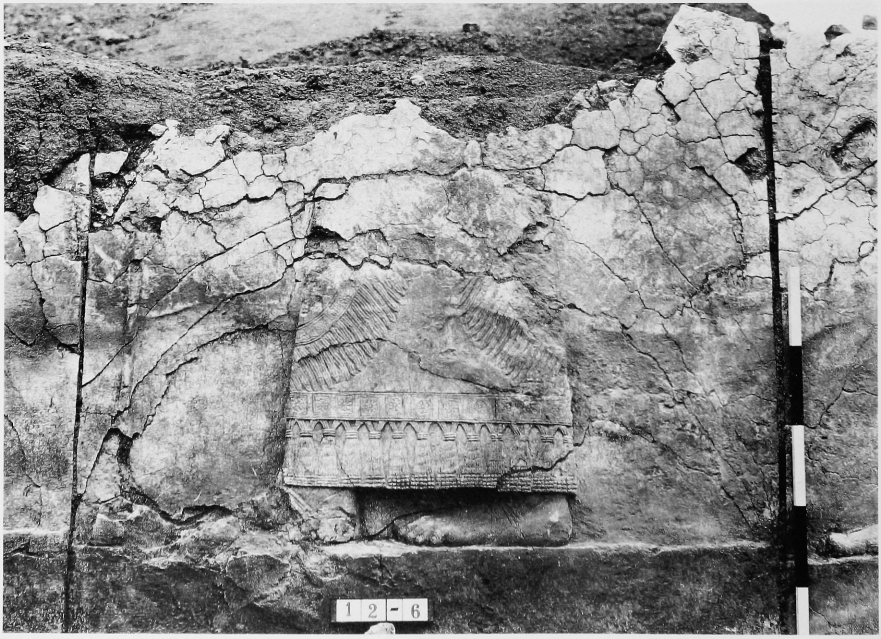


Fig. 81 Oriental Institute photograph 17445

Fig. 82 Oriental Institute photograph 17448

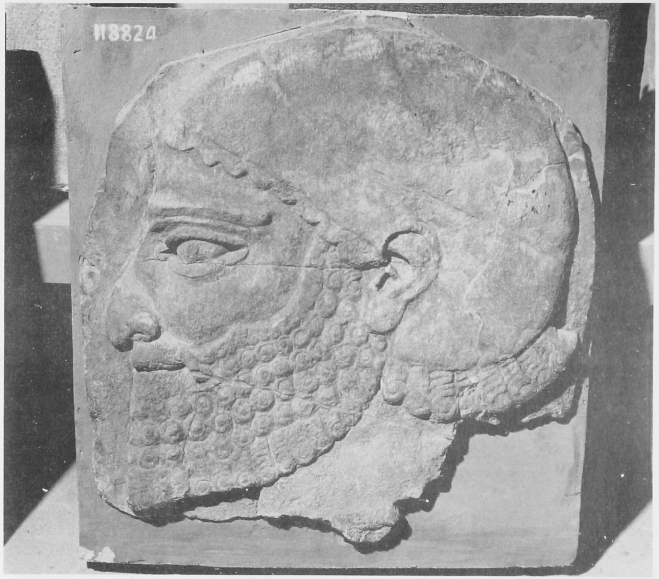


Fig. 83 British Museum 118824

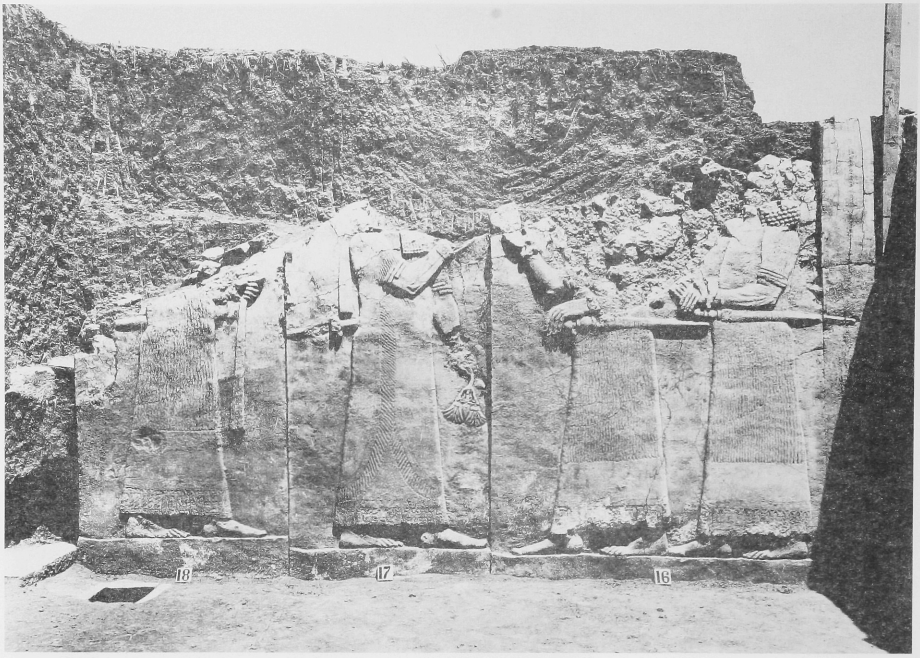


Fig. 84 Services des Antiquités en Irak. (Iraq Museum 60972/3-1)

Fig. 85 Services des Antiquités en Irak. (Iraq Museum 60974/6-1)

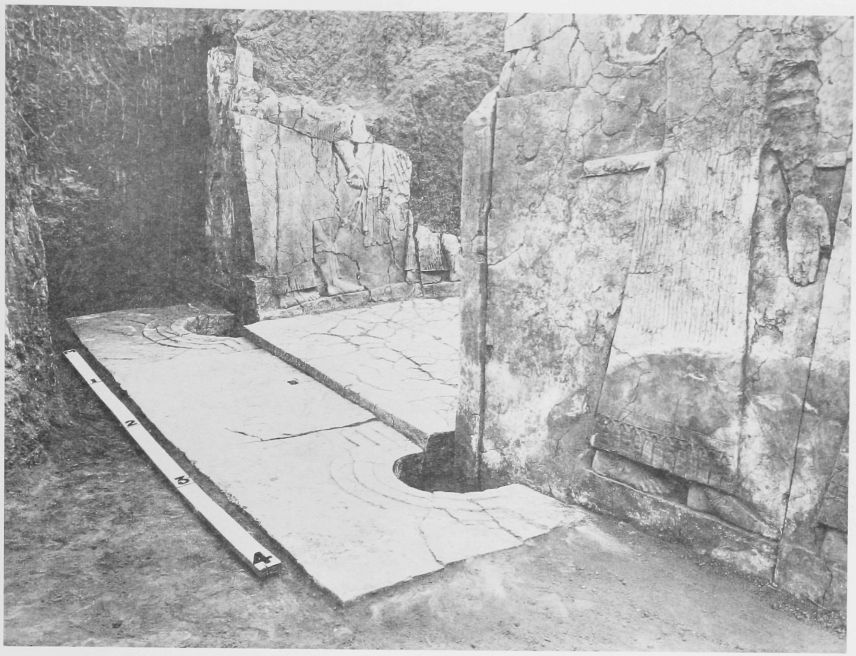


Fig. 86 Services des Antiquités en Irak. (view of slab 2 in door X)

Fig. 87 Services des Antiquités en Irak. (Iraq Museum 60973)

Fig. 88 British Museum 118835

Fig. 89 Iraq Museum 60980

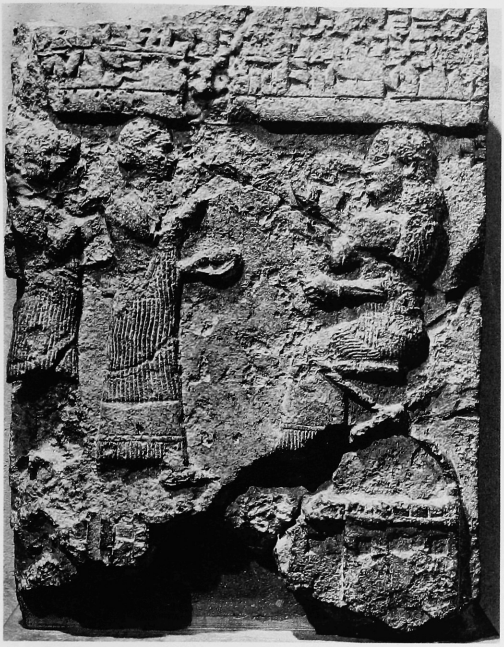


Fig. 90 Musée du Louvre AO 19892

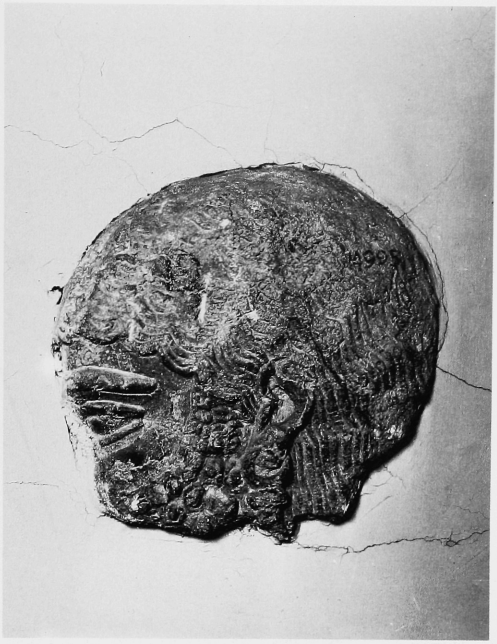


Fig. 91 Musei e Gallerie Pontificie 14955

Fig. 92 Musée du Louvre AO 1435, 1-2

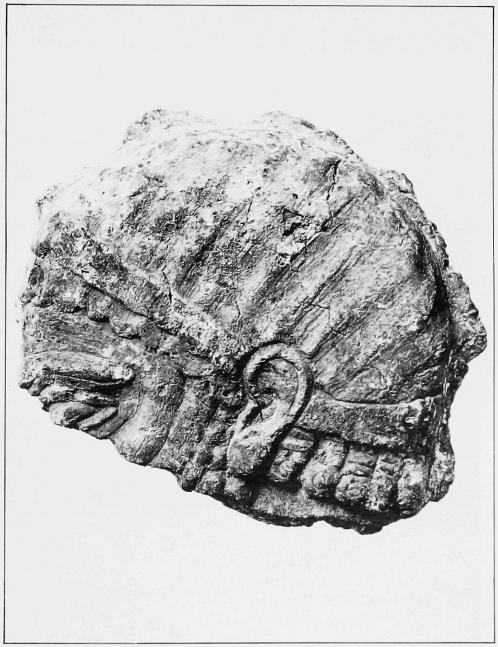


Fig. 93 Musée du Louvre AO 1435, 3

Fig. 94 Archives Nationales, F21546, pl. 11. Calotype

Fig. 95 Musée du Louvre N 8283

Fig. 96 Musée du Louvre N 3152

Fig. 97 Musée du Louvre N 8287

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