

## CHAPTER XIX

### THE EPIGONOUS ARTS OF WESTERN ASIA IN THE FIRST MILLENIUM

#### “LATE HITTITE” PLANT ORNAMENT

With the exception of the well defined traditions of Assyria, the art of western Asia provides a number of difficult problems. There are no distinct geographical and political units yielding objects decorated in specific styles. Although it is possible, for example, to distinguish a characteristic Phoenician style that presumably spread from a focus along the coast of southern Syria, almost none of the objects in question are found in their homeland. They must be identified by their style and collected from an enormously far-flung area, stretching from Spain in the west to Assyria in the east. Fortunately, the stylistic features distinguishing objects of this group are very clear. This is not true in the case of monuments, long attributed to the “Late Hittites,” found in the Habur valley and north Syria. This is the area where Mitanni had been the principal power in the Sixteenth and Fifteenth Centuries B. C.; it was now broken up into a number of small states in which Aramaeans and people who wrote in “hieroglyphic Hittite” were playing predominant roles. A certain amount of detailed information concerning these kingdoms is available, chiefly from Assyrian records and from some local inscriptions, but the “hieroglyphic Hittite” texts have not yet been used for historical purposes. Control of the Habur valley and north Syria, the outlets to the Mediterranean, was essential to the Assyrian empire. As its power grew, Assyria was, therefore, incessantly engaged in subduing and pacifying the north Syrian kingdoms. Only Urartu, the sole successor of the Hurrian states of the Second Millennium B.C., was able for a time to challenge the Assyrian hegemony in this area.<sup>1</sup> Many important problems remain unsolved. The identity of the users of “hieroglyphic Hittite,” their relationship with the Indo-European-speaking Hittites of the Second

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<sup>1</sup> A. Goetze, *Chetiter, Hurriter und Assyrer* (Oslo, 1936), p. 104. I. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians* (Chicago, 1944), p.9f. Cf. discussion by Sidney Smith, “The Greek Trade at Al Mina,” *AJ*, XXII (1942).  
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Millennium B. C. and with contemporary Aramaeans are all questions lacking definite answers.

Such, then, is the political background of the so-called "Late Hittite" art of northern Syria and Mesopotamia. There is clearly no good basis for this term; it is by no means certain that the "Hittites" of the First Millennium B. C. were directly related to the creators of the Hittite empire. Moreover, the population of northern Syria and Mesopotamia was of far too diverse composition to justify the application of a single ethnic designation to the monuments of this area. If, despite this, we continue to use the term "Late Hittite" here, it is only because no better terminology is at present available.

The character of the artistic products of northern Syria and Mesopotamia is now greatly changed. Those elements of Mitannian culture - seals and the late variety of painted pottery - which, after the political disappearance of Mitanni, survived until 1200 B. C., are completely absent. The Second Millennium B.C. sources of plant ornament are replaced by stone sculptures, supplemented by ivories and miscellaneous objects that can be correlated with the larger works. These have been found at a number of ancient sites, the most important being Carchemish, Sendschirli, Sakje-Geuzi, and Tell Halaf. No other excavation, however, has produced as controversial material as the last-named site. One of the most important buildings there, the so-called "Temple palace" built by Kapara, son of Hadianu, had an imposing entrance on its north side. Three caryatids, two gods and a goddess mounted on lions and a bull, carried the lintel. Two winged sphinxes flanked the entry, and two large orthostats (showing a human-headed, winged bull, a deer hunt, "Teshup," and a striding lion) adorned the facade. Large griffins form the jambs of a door leading into an inner hall of this hilani structure.<sup>2</sup> Two other large groups of Tell Halaf sculptures consists of the "small orthostats," one hundred and eighty-seven in all, lining the southern, back wall of the same "Temple-palace."<sup>3</sup> These illustrate a variety of subjects.

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<sup>2</sup> M. F. von Oppenheim, *Der Tell Halaf: Eine neue Kultur im ältesten Mesopotamien* (Leipzig, 1931), pp. 78, 80, 82 (plans); Pls. VII-XV. (referred to subsequently as *Tell Halaf*)

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 97, 140-185; Pls. XVI-XXXIX.

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They are, on the whole, especially those involving human subjects, far cruder than the large orthostats of the facade, but belong to the same style, as is apparent in the peculiar stylization of the animals.<sup>4</sup> In addition to the sculptures of the hilani, scattered examples occurred elsewhere on the site. Two seated “goddesses,” found in a “mud-brick massif,” were, according to Oppenheim, placed above “shaft graves” containing gold ornaments and pottery of the “Kapara” period.<sup>5</sup> This “brick massif” was adjacent to the south gate of the citadel, which was protected by sculptures of scorpion men.<sup>6</sup> Outside the acropolis, close to the southern gate of the town, a “cult-room” built by Kapara contained a double statue representing two seated figures and another of a single male.<sup>7</sup>

These are the works which have been the center of intensive discussion, greatly handicapped throughout by the absence of a complete publication . Although Oppenheim’s amazing claim that the Tell Halaf sculptures were only reused by the Aramaean ruler Kapara (whom he dated to 1200 B. C.), but had originally belonged to the level of the prehistoric Halaf culture, is not usually accepted and no unanimity of opinion has yet been reached.<sup>8</sup> The most recent solution to the vexed problem, that of R. A. Bowman, has demonstrated that an Aramaic inscription on a small limestone altar from the “Kapara level” must be dated to the last half of the Ninth or the beginning of the Eighth Century B. C. for epigraphical reasons.<sup>9</sup> In addition, R. J. Braidwood has listed a number of comparisons between the “Kapara level” and the latter part of the Amuk Q phase, ca. 850-600 B. C.<sup>10</sup> Accordingly we may consider that the position of the Kapara level is established. This

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<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 189-193; Pl. XLII, b.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 186-188; Pls. XLI, XLII, a.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 193-197; Pl. XLV.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. D. G. Hogarth, *Kings of the Hittites* (London, 1926), pp. 52-53 (earliest date - Eleventh Century B. C.). K. Galling, “Archäologischer Jahresbericht,” ZDPV, LV (1932), p. 244 (Eleventh-Ninth Century B. C.). G. Contenau, *La Civilization des Hittites et des Mitanniens* (Paris, 1934), pp. 117-120 (13th Century B. C.). E. Herzfeld, “Der Tell Halaf und das Problem der hettitischen Kunst,” AMI, VI (1934), 112 ff. (Third Millennium B. C.). A. Goetze, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-93 (Kapara - 12th Century B. C.; sculptures presumably somewhat older).

<sup>9</sup> R. Bowman, “The Old Aramaic Alphabet at Tell Halaf,” AJSL, LVIII (1941), pp. 359-364.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 364-366. Cf. also K. Galling, *op. cit.* p. 243, who in 1932 had already dated the three “shaft graves” of Tell Halaf around 900 B. C. and placed Kapara in the Ninth Century B. C.

does not automatically determine the date of the sculptures, since the excavator has insisted that they are reused, giving as proof the injured state of many of the monuments, the confused order in which the small orthostats were set up, and the way in which they were forced to fit their positions in the wall, as well as the placing of inscriptions without regard to the reliefs. Such facts do not make it necessary to assume that the sculptures are much earlier than Kapara. That ruler had rebuilt the "Temple-palace," apparently raising the platform some six meters, but he followed the earlier ground plan.<sup>11</sup> The sculptures he reused may have been those of his immediate predecessors and cannot, in any case, be dated earlier than the general range of late Ninth to early Eighth Centuries B. C. established by Bowman and Braidwood for the Kapara stratum.

Important evidence corroborating this conclusion can be drawn from the comparisons of the Tell Halaf sculptures with the "Late Hittite" works of northern Syria, with Assyrian sculptures, and with various small objects. This is not the proper place for a detailed study of this sort, involving correlations with Syrian sculptures which, in themselves, constitute a debatable subject. Our only aim is to determine the approximate date of the Tell Halaf sculptures in order that we may place the plant motives used in their proper context. For this purpose it will be sufficient to indicate briefly some of the affinities of the Tell Halaf sculptures.

One of the most striking results of iconographical studies of these monuments and of the "Late Hittite" works from north Syria has been the demonstration of the importance of motives previously characteristic of Mitannian glyptic. Bullmen or griffins support a winged sun disc.<sup>12</sup> A pair of bullmen appear, but with spears instead of sun standards.<sup>13</sup> Running, curly-locked figures master animals.<sup>14</sup> Sphinxes confront one another above

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<sup>11</sup> *Tell Halaf*, pp.282 f.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Pls. VIII, b; XXXVII, a. Cf. D. G. Hogarth *et al*, *Carchemish* I, (London, 1914), Pl. B, 12 (stair) (referred to subsequently as *Carchemish*). . *Orient-Kom, Sendschirli* I (Berlin, 1903-1943), Pl. XLIII, right (east side, outer gate). Referred to subsequently as *Sendschirli*

<sup>13</sup> *Carchemish*, Pl. B, 14, b.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. B, 10, a (south wall of stair case court). *Carchemish* II, Pls. B, 25, 26, a (Hadad statue base). *Sendschirli* III, Pl. LXIV, top.

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their prey.<sup>15</sup> Monsters with one or two lion heads, sometimes holding up helpless victims, are reminiscent of groups on Third Syrian seals.<sup>16</sup> The presence of such motives has been used as proof that the monuments in question must be products of “Hurrian,” i. e.

Mitannian culture.<sup>17</sup> However, identity in general motive does not prove contemporaneity. In dealing with the cylinder seals of the Second Millennium B. C., we have already seen examples of the migration of themes from one cultural and chronological period to another. Although the Tell Halaf and north Syrian works are not Mitannian, it is clear that the Mitannian repertory contributed to their development.

This was by no means the only source used by the epigonous sculptors of the First Millennium B. C. An important role was played by themes derived from the monuments of the Hittite empire. In addition, the latest group of sculptures from Carchemish, Sendschirli and Sakje-Geuzi betray strong signs of Assyrian influence, both in subject and style.<sup>18</sup> For example, Barrekub of Sendschirli (ca. 725 B. C.) is shown in court scenes aping those of Assyrian palace walls. The king may hold a waterlily flower,<sup>19</sup> or palmettes



Fig. XIX.1



Fig. XIX.2

<sup>15</sup> *Carchemish I*, Pl. B, 15, a.

<sup>16</sup> *Sendschirli I*, Pls. XCIV, XCV. *Tell Halaf*, Pl. XXXIII, A. *Sendschirli III*, 225, Fig. 128.

<sup>17</sup> Goetze, *op. cit.*, pp. 81ff.; 91 ff. Contenau, *op. cit.*, p. 120. A. Moortgat, *Die Bildende Kunst des Alten Orients und die Bergvolker* (Berlin, 1932), pp. 67f.

<sup>18</sup> E. Pottier, *L'Art Hittite I* (Paris, 1926).

<sup>19</sup> *Sendschirli IV*, Pl. LXVI

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of Assyrian form (Fig. XIX.1).<sup>20</sup> A similar palmette appears on a fragmentary pyxis from Carchemish (Fig. XIX.2). Another Assyrianizing relief from the time of Barrekub shows a queen seated at table, holding a waterlily.<sup>21</sup> This slab is rather reminiscent of Assyrian reliefs such as that of Assurbanipal and his wife banqueting amid the palace garden, but is also comparable to certain later “Canaanite” ivory carvings. The Tell Halaf sculptures are somewhat older than the Eighth Century B. C. reliefs just cited, and accordingly do not show as much Assyrian influence. However, one orthostat carved with a seated figure sniffing a flower, despite its crudity, is comparable to the Sendschirli slab.<sup>22</sup> In addition, other small orthostats from Tell Halaf, though too crude to have any stylistic features derived from Assyria, represent themes that apparently come from that country’s repertory. The fisherman seated with his rod, the gufa,<sup>23</sup> the camel rider,<sup>24</sup> and possibly even the figure thrusting his sword into a rampant lion,<sup>25</sup> have Assyrian parallels.

Further indication of the late date of the Tell Halaf sculptures is yielded by the occurrence in dated contexts of objects decorated by animals bearing the peculiar stylization characteristic for Tell Halaf. The bodies are not modeled; all the details are represented by incision. Peculiar flame-shaped elements portray the muscles of hind legs. A toothed line borders the back. Lions’ manes are shown by geometric tufts and bands of hatched triangles (Figs. XIX.3, XIX.4, XIX.5). This unusual stylization of animals’ bodies is not paralleled on the sculptures from north Syrian sites, but on certain small objects, some of which were excavated long before the discovery of Tell Halaf. Among the ivories found by Loftus in the southeast palace built by Assurnasirpal II (883-859 B. C.) at Nimrud, the ancient Calah, are three pyxides showing sphinxes (Fig. XIX.5), men battling griffins and

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<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. LXVII.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. LIV.

<sup>22</sup> *Tell Halaf*, Pl. XXXVIIIm, A.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XXIX, A, B.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XXI, A.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. XXI, B.

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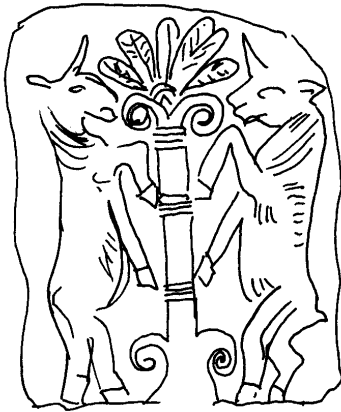


Fig. XIX.3



Fig. XIX.4

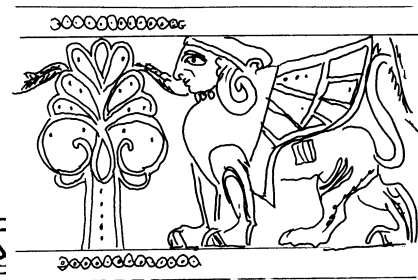


Fig. XIX.5

a lion hunt from a chariot.<sup>26</sup> As Barnett has pointed out, the animals on these ivories bear the same characteristic marks as those of the Tell Halaf sculptures. In addition, Ingholt has published flat plaques showing bulls, griffins, and lions in combat (Fig. XIX.4),<sup>27</sup> found in Level E at Hama, which is dated by the excavator ca. 750-720 B. C. They belong to this same group. One of the Hama ivories and two of the Nimrud ones possess an identical species of pinnate-leaved accessory vegetation.<sup>28</sup> The range given to these ivories is wider than that assigned to the “Kapara levels” by Bowman. However, Bowman’s date of the last half of the Ninth or the beginning of the Eighth Century B. C. falls in the middle of the general range of the ivories, ca. 883-720 B. C. They do, therefore, provide important corroborative evidence as to the approximate date of the Tell Halaf sculptures.

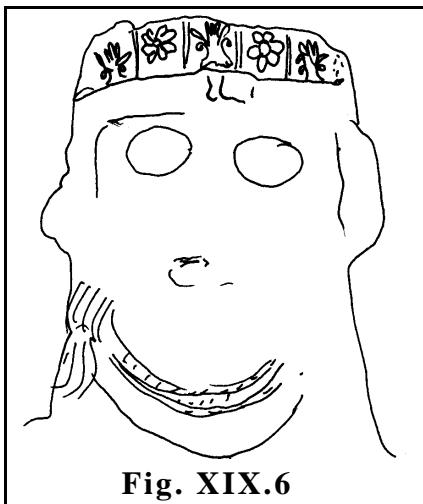
Aside from the ivories, some evidence is to be gleaned from bronze bowls found in the northwest palace at Nimrud. This was built by Assurnasirpal II, but the objects found

<sup>26</sup> R. D. Barnett, “Nimrud ivories and the Art of the Phoenicians,” *Iraq*, II (1935), pp. 195f. ; Pl. XXVI,2 = Poulsen, “Zur Zeit bestimmung der Enkomi funde,” *JdI*, XXVI (1911), 226, Fig. 10. 229, Fig. 14.

<sup>27</sup> E. Fugman, I Thursen, *Hama* (Copenhagen, 1848-) Pl. XXXIV, 15. H. Ingholt, “The Danish Excavations at Hama on the Orontes,” *AJA*, XLVI (1942), 474 and n. 5, 475 Fig. 13.

<sup>28</sup> Antecedents for this feature may possibly be found on certain ivories of the late Second Millenium B. C.; cf. Meg. Iv., Pls. XVII, 110; XLVII, 220; BMExCyprus, Pl. I, middle (end of Enkomi gaming board). In fact, certain of the Enkomi ivories, the gaming board and the mirror handles (*Ibid.*, Pls. I, II) - are to be considered ancestral to these Hama and Nimrud ivories cited, as Poulsen, *op. cit.* and Barnett, *op. cit.*, p. 196 have pointed out. It is possible that the gaming board displays the beginnings of the stylization of animals so characteristic for Tell Halaf, but this cannot be proved. Despite the fact that the Tell Halaf qorks are closely related to the “Late Hittite” sculptures of north Syria, the animals of the latter school are not stylized in a manner comparable to the Tell Halaf types. It is tempting, therefore, to guess that this style

there apparently belong to the reign of Sargon II (721-705 B. C.) who restored the palace. The lions on one bowl show the peculiarities of the Tell Halaf animal style,<sup>29</sup> which must be a criterion distinguishing a specific school that produced, not only monumental art, but also characteristic small objects.<sup>30</sup> Further proof as to the reality of this “Syrian” school is offered by another bowl from Nimrud which bears a theme discussed by Moortgat and Barnett.<sup>31</sup> Its central medallion is filled by two figures in profile who with one arm hold prisoner a central, frontal figure, and with the other thrust daggers into their victim’s head.<sup>32</sup> The same composition, differing only in minor details, occurs on one of the small orthostats of Tell Halaf.<sup>33</sup> An earlier example of the motive, composed in a somewhat different manner, was found at Carchemish.<sup>34</sup> The theme was probably characteristic for the north Syrian area;<sup>35</sup> its appearance on a bronze at Nimrud is a further indication that the traditions of the sculptures were also used in applied art.



**Fig. XIX.6**

The southeast palace built by Assurnasirpal II at Nimrud has yielded at least one other type of small object related to the Tell Halaf sculptures. A series of small female heads carved in ivory, which are matched by two fragments found at Tell Halaf itself in one of the “shaft graves” dating to the time of Kapara, resemble closely the great goddess who served as one of the caryatids of Kapara’s “temple-palace” (Fig. XIX.6).<sup>36</sup>

was in great part conditioned by a tradition developed in the minor arts. In the absence of more evidence, however, it is dangerous to indulge in too much speculation. (Cf. Barnett, *op. cit.*, p. 193).

<sup>29</sup> Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh* (London, 1853), II, Pl. LXIV. Cf. Barnett, *op. cit.*, 195 f.

<sup>30</sup> This is Barnett’s “Syrian style” of ivories (*Ibid.*, pp. 191ff.)

<sup>31</sup> Moortgat, *op. cit.*, p. 59. Barnett, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

<sup>32</sup> Layard, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXV.

<sup>33</sup> *Tell Halaf*, Pl. XXXVI.

<sup>34</sup> *Carchemish I*, Pl. B, 15, b.

<sup>35</sup> This group also occurs on a Phoenician bowl from the Nimrud hoard, Barnett, *op. cit.*, p. 203, Fig.

7. We may consider this, not as a proof of the unreality of a “Late Hittite” complex, but as an indication that there were contacts between the two contemporary Asiatic schools.

<sup>36</sup> Barnett, *op. cit.* Pl. XXV, 2 = D. G. Hogarth, *British Museum Excavations at Ephesus: The Archaic Artemisia* (London, 1908), Pl. XXIX, 2-4, 8. *Tell Halaf*, Pl. LIX, 2, 3 and p. 18; frontispiece.

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The modeling, general cast of the features, and the prominent necklaces are all the same. Although the details of the headdress may vary, some of the Nimrud heads wear the cylindrical crown or polos that appears on both goddesses and gods at Tell Halaf. Such sculptures must represent the monumental work of the same artistic cycle from which the Nimrud ivories were derived.<sup>37</sup>

In this brief review of the Tell Halaf sculptures and their historical position, we have tried to bring out three main points. First of all, the later Ninth and early Eighth Centuries B. C. are established as the date of the “Kapara” stratum, in which the sculptures were found. In the second place, these works, even if not prepared by Kapara’s own workmen, must fall within the chronological range of the “Kapara levels.” Confirmation of this claim was derived from connections with small objects dated from the Ninth to the Eighth Centuries B. C. and belonging to the same artistic school. In the third place, some indication was given of the sources of the Tell Halaf carvings. They evidently form a late collateral branch of north Syrian sculpture. Like that group, the Tell Halaf work has derived a great deal from the Mitannian cycle of motives,<sup>38</sup> but added to such elements a number of other themes, some of which were borrowed from Assyria. It is now time to determine what contribution the plant motives of the Tell Halaf sculptures and related objects can make to the general picture just sketched.

Variations of the same design decorate a number of the small orthostats of the “temple-palace.” Fig. XIX.3 illustrates the best example. Despite its unfamiliar and degraded aspect, this “tree” is in reality derived from Assyria. It is nothing but the central core of Assyrian hybrids such as Figs. XVI.71 and XVI.106 with all the subsidiary features removed. Such sources explain the post-like trunk and horizontal ribbing of the Tell Halaf design. Aside from the simplification of the motive, the only noteworthy features are the accentuated pinnate foliage of the palmette crown and the pair of stems with

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<sup>37</sup> The resemblance has been noted already by Barnett (Barnett, *op. cit.*, p. 194f.)

<sup>38</sup> As we have already noted, this gives no reason for assuming that any of the Tell Halaf or north Syrian works is itself Mitannian or Hurrian.

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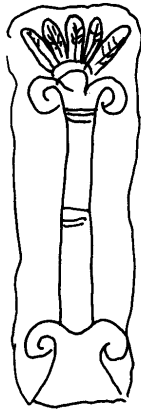


Fig. XIX.7

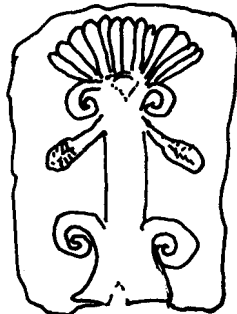


Fig. XIX.8

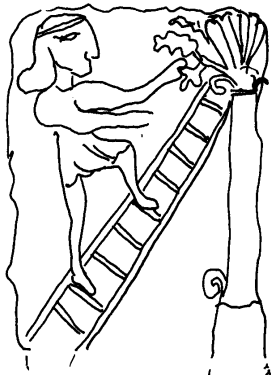


Fig. XIX.9

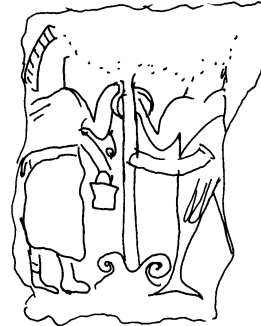


Fig. XIX.10

ends bordered by small obovate lobes. At least two other examples of this type of plant were found at the site (Fig. XIX.7),<sup>39</sup> and a third appears on a block apparently excavated by Oppenheim at Ras el Ain.<sup>40</sup> Fig. XIX.8 is slightly different in that the stem falling from the corners of the South-flower perianth suggest date clusters. On one Tell Halaf slab this artificial plant form is definitely regarded as a natural tree; in Fig. XIX.9 a man balances himself on a ladder as he seizes the irregular foliage (?) added to the normal crown.<sup>41</sup> The Assyrian connections of this group of motives are emphasized by a coarsely carved and badly damaged orthostat where such a plant is attended by a winged genius of obviously Assyrian derivation (Fig. XIX.10).

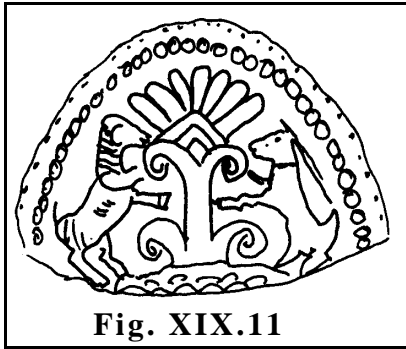
In addition to the stone carvings, the plant consisting of a straight stem with two South-flower perianths and a palmette crown occurs on a gold ornament from a “grave tower northwest of the hilani building,” dated by the excavator to the time of Kapara (Fig. XIX.11).<sup>42</sup> This design parallels Figs. XIX.3, XIX.7, XIX.8 exactly and demonstrates clearly the impossibility of dissociating the orthostats from the period of Kapara. The

<sup>39</sup> H. Danthine, *Le palmier-Dattier et les arbres sacrés* (Paris, 1937), no. 1125 (palmette foliage plain; no “fruiting” stems).

<sup>40</sup> C. Virleau, “Les Travaux archéologiques en Syrie en 1922-23,” *Syria*, V (1924), Pl. XXIX,3. It is one of several reliefs of exactly the same type as the small orthostats from Tell Halaf itself. One of these bears the name of Kapara.

<sup>41</sup> One of the Euyuk orthostats, which Hogarth dates to the Fifteenth Century B. C., displays a man ascending a diagonally-placed ladder (Hogarth, *Kings of the Hittites*, (London, 1926), pp. 16, 12, Fig. 17). It is hardly possible to determine whether Fig. XIX.9 owes anything to the Hittite relief.

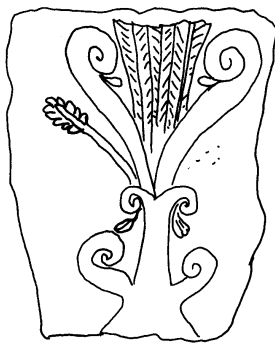
<sup>42</sup> *Tell Halaf*, pp. 219-220.



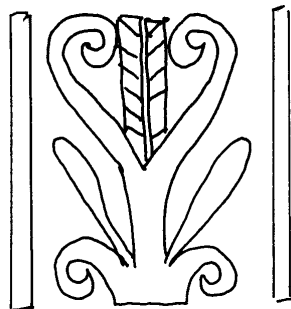
**Fig. XIX.11**

palmette crown of Fig. XIX.11 inlaid in blue and white “enamel,” compares more closely with Assyrian prototypes than does the foliage of Figs. XIX.3, XIX.7, XIX.8, XIX.9.

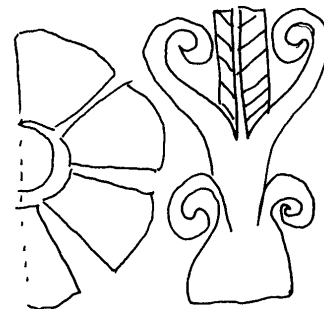
The ancestry of the second group of Tell Halaf plants, characterized by the preservation of upturning volutes, is less clear than that of the Assyrianizing plants of Figs. XIX.3, XIX.7-11. The closest comparison for the upper tier of Fig. XIX.12 is given by Nineteenth-Twentieth



**Fig. XIX.12**



**Fig. XIX.13**



**Fig. XIX.14**

Dynasty ivories from Megiddo which possess upturned volutes with drops surrounding feathery foliage (Figs. XVII.29, XVII.30). Another Megiddo ivory (Fig. XVII.28) has much the same kind of stem ending in a cluster of lobes and may be the ultimate source for the comparable stems of Fig. XIX.12. At present, it is impossible to suggest how the influence of southern Palestinian traditions of the Twelfth Century B. C. reached Tell Halaf. This is due to lack of material, rather than to any inherent improbability. Figs. XIX.13, XIX.14, patterns adorning the cylindrical tiaras of statues in the round, are variants akin to Fig. XIX.12. They possess no good parallels, but demonstrate a certain amount of originality. It is only the existence of Fig. XIX.12 which allows us to recognize with certainty the old hybrid units in the simple down and up-curving branches of Figs. XIX.13 and XIX.14.

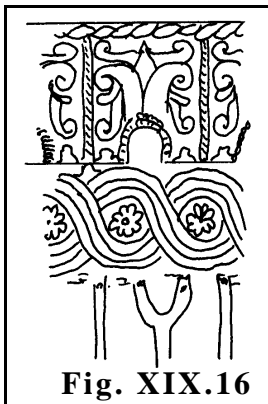
The plant adorning the polos of the caryatid goddess of the “temple-palace” facade (Fig. XIX.6) raises a difficult question. It is simple, consisting only of an upturned volute, with three palmette leaves, supported on a split South-flower perianth. The later is reminiscent of Mitannian designs with divided perianths, but the similarity is not sufficient to establish the connection definitely. There exists, however, another design, found not on a Tell Halaf sculpture, but on one of the Nimrud ivories produced by the same artistic school (Fig. XIX.15) which possesses the lateral half-volutes that first became prominent



**Fig. XIX.15**

on Mitannian seals (Figs. XIV.22). It is tempting to see in this feature a lingering trace of Mitannian traditions. However, the Middle Assyrians and Kassites had adopted such basal volutes (Figs. XVI.52, XVI.63, XVI.65, XVI.68, XVI.83), and they reappear in some Late Assyrian designs. The flattened volute of Fig. XIX.15 provides another element reminiscent of Mitannian

hybrids (Figs. XIV.15, XIV.18, XIV.20, XIV.27).



**Fig. XIX.16**

The same kind of volute appears in patterns ornamenting Eighth Century B. C. column bases found at Sendschirli (Fig. XIX.16) and Tell Tainat.<sup>43</sup> Aside from the Mitannian parallels, Fig. XIX.16 resembles one of the Megiddo ivory designs rather closely (Fig. XVII.27). Here again as in the case of Fig. XIX.12, there are no connecting links to explain the similarity and to prove that the two designs are actually related.

Aside from the flattened volute of Fig. XIX.16, that same design displays an unusual feature - the scrolls hanging below the drops - that offer a striking parallel to those on the elaborate Mitannian seal of Fig. XIV.22. Another torus on a column base from Sendschirli, possibly somewhat older than Fig. XIX.16, is decorated by two split South-flowers, joined base to base. This must be derived from Mitannian designs like Figs.

XIV.37 and XIV.38. To these examples of features inherited from Mitanni, can be added a third, found on the rim of a bowl attached to a hand carved of ivory (Fig. XIX.17).<sup>44</sup> The decoration of the rim - metopes filled by rosettes alternating with other designs - is like that of the Tell Halaf tiaras (Figs. XIX.6, XIX.13)<sup>45</sup> and may be derived from the panel compositions of the Mitannians (Fig. XIV.51).

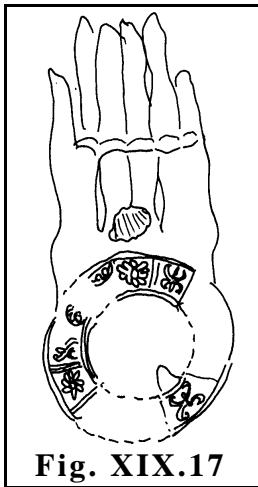


Fig. XIX.17

The figure-8 motives of Fig. XIX.17 are successors of those which the Mitannians adopted for use on their pottery and seals (Figs. XIV.67, XIV.68 and XIV.69). Despite the rather inconclusive character of these various designs when each is considered for itself, they are, when considered as a group, sufficient to demonstrate that Mitannian decorative traditions were not completely destroyed during the cataclysmic close of the Second Millennium B. C., but did contribute some elements to later ornament.

There remain two motives found on ivories carved in the Tell Halaf animal style. The plant on a plaque from Hama (Fig. XIX.4) consists of a South-flower perianth with a five-leaved crown resembling those of Figs. XIX.3 and XIX.18.

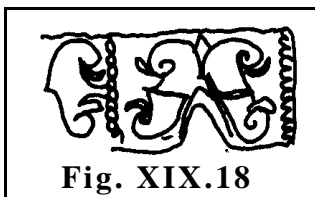


Fig. XIX.18

Comparisons for the leaves projecting from the corners of the perianth can be found, not only in Figs. XIX.12 and XIX.18, but also in the Thirteenth Century B. C. Elamite design on a stele of Untash-Huban (Fig. XVI.7). Fig. XIX.5, from Nimrud, consists in reality of the same essential pattern as the Hama “tree,” but has acquired a superficially different appearance by the lengthening of the trunk, the interior lobe of the perianth, and the absence of ribbing in the leaves.

<sup>43</sup> C. W. McEwan, “The Syrian Expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago,” *AJA*, XLI (1937), p. 15, Fig. 8.

<sup>44</sup>For a discussion of the nature of this object cf. Barnett, *op. cit.*, p. 191f.

<sup>45</sup> See also the side of a steatite dish from Carchemish where the panels are filled by rosettes only (*Carchemish II*, Pl, XXVIII, 2\*).

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Such are the plant designs which were either found at Tell Halaf itself, or can be related with products of that site. The fact that Figs. XIX.6 and XIX.16 from Sendschirli fall into this group demonstrates the close relationship of the north Syrian and north Mesopotamian traditions. The Tell Halaf monuments and the somewhat later Outer Court and King's Gate reliefs of Carchemish, the Bar Rekub sculptures from Sendschirli, and those from Sakje-Geuzi are the latest products of a school of whose origins little is yet known. Satisfactory stratigraphic criteria for dating the earlier stages of this "Late Hittite" art have either not been found or published so that stylistic analysis has had to serve as the principal tool in establishing the succession of the monuments. They have been divided into a sequence of chronological classes by D. G. Hogarth among others.<sup>46</sup> Hogarth dated his earliest series to the last century of the Second Millennium B. C.<sup>47</sup> Publication of Woolley's excavations at Atchana will shed much light on the genesis of this north Syrian sculpture, for that site has yielded an important new group of monuments, some placed by the excavator as early as the Fifteenth Century B. C.<sup>48</sup> The new Atchana works, especially the lion figures, appear to be an older stage of north Syrian sculpture than any heretofore known. Their date, when established, will do much to place the chronology of the "Late Hittite" monuments on a firmer basis. For our purposes it is sufficient to realize that the roots of "Late Hittite" sculpture extended back into the Second Millennium B. C. and drew both on Mitannian and Hittite traditions. Hogarth's dates may be accepted provisionally until all the pertinent new evidence has been evaluated.

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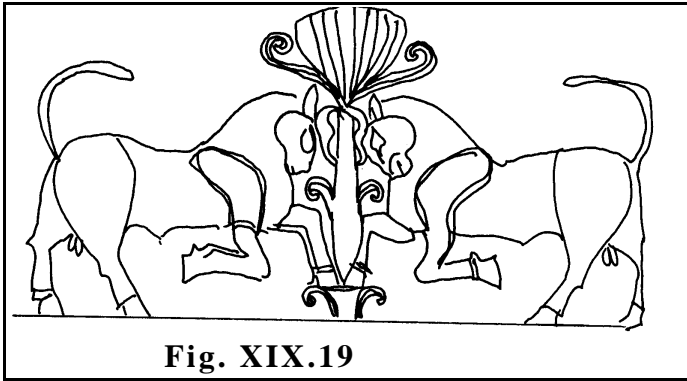
<sup>46</sup> Pottier, *op. cit.*

<sup>47</sup> Hogarth, *op. cit.*, pp.8f.

<sup>48</sup> ILN, Dec. 9, 1939, pp. 867-869; Figs. 1, 4-12.

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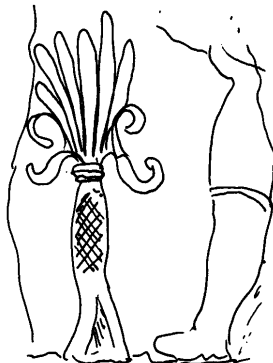
**Fig. XIX.19**

Among the earlier north Syrian carvings, only one, from the court adjoining a great staircase at Carchemish, bears a plant motive (Fig. XIX.19). It belongs to a group which Hogarth assigned

to the Tenth Century B. C. In Fig. XIX.19, from a base formed by two half volutes, there grows a central stalk, giving rise first to a South-flower perianth and, higher up, to a volute surrounding large palmette leaves. This composition as a whole is rather similar to some Mitannian designs; the chief difference is the absence of the volute. Fig. XIX.20 provides an even closer parallel than Figs. XIV.6-8. Fig. XIX.19 was found with other slabs, showing motives - a hero in *knielauf* grasping animals, caryatid griffins, bull men - which were derived from a Mitannian context. The plant of Fig. XIX.19 can be added to such themes as still another survival of Mitannian traditions.



**Fig. XIX.20**



**Fig. XIX.21**



**Fig. XIX.22**

A badly damaged orthostat in the Lyceum at Malatia, said to be from nearby Arslan Tepe (Fig. XIX.21), though of very rough workmanship, is apparently cut in much the same style as the slabs from the staircase court at Carchemish.<sup>49</sup> Two lion-headed demons holding branches flank a “tree” consisting of a trunk topped by a large spiraliform South-

<sup>49</sup> *Carchemish I*, Pls. B, 11, b; B, 14, b.  
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flower perianth and elongated obovate foliage. Although this simplified form does not correspond exactly to any Mitannian motives, it is clearly following in the tradition of the standard hybrid of the Mitannian seals. Fig. XIX.22 illustrates a third example of a “tree” with the same ultimate prototypes. The slab is from Tell Ahmar, and is both badly damaged and of coarse technique. It probably belongs to the Eighth Century B. C.<sup>50</sup> The tree is quite simple, consisting of a long thick trunk ending in a very small South-flower perianth from which rise the volute and palmette foliage. Thureau-Dangin has compared it, not only to Fig. XIX.19, but also to the “tree” of similar form on a seal in the Morgan collection (Fig. XIX.23),<sup>51</sup> which does not fit into any of the well-defined classes of Syrian sphragistic, and may well be a peripheral product of the early First Millennium B.C.

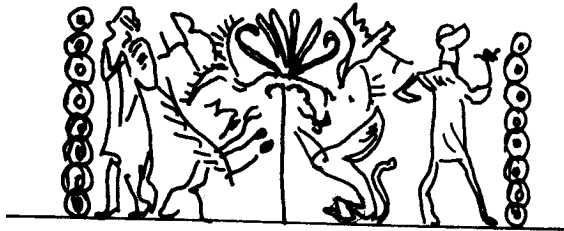


Fig. XIX.23

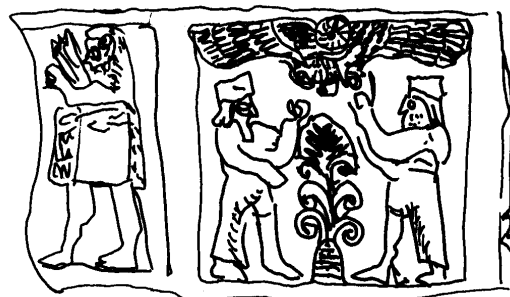


Fig. XIX.24

Aside from these slabs, only one other “Late Hittite” orthostat, an Eighth Century B. C. work from Sakje-Geuzi made under strong Assyrian influence, bears a plant motive (Fig. XIX.24). The general theme, a “tree” placed below a winged sun-disc and flanked by two attendants, was an important one in the Second Millennium B. C. (Figs. XIII.5, XIV.3). The particular variant of the motive used here appears to have originated in Assyria. The palmette-tipped streamers emerge, not from the plant proper, but from scrolls attached to the sun disc. Although this feature and the attendant genii copy Assyrian prototypes, the “tree” itself does not possess such a clear ancestry. It grows from a scaly

<sup>50</sup> According to Fr. Thureau-Dangin this stone and its companion slabs show “un mélange de traditions locales et d’emprunts assyriens. Comme l’a bien montré M. Pottier dans ses études sur l’art Hittite, l’influence assyrienne n’est pas très sensible dans l’art Hittite avant le IXe siècle. Il ne semble pas que ces orthostats puissent remonter à une date antérieure à l’an 900, et il paraît même possible qu’ils soient postérieurs à Til-Barsib.” (Thureau-Dangin, “Tell Ahmar” [Syria, X, 1929], p. 203).

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mountain peak as did numerous Mitannian and Assyrian hybrids. Neither of these groups, however, provide a precedent for the direct superposition of the three South-flowers. This design appears to be one of the most original in use in north Syria during the early First Millennium B. C. It is probably mere accident that so little evidence of its use has come down to us. Part of a throne of a large statue from Tainat, corresponding to the Amuq O phase, and belonging to the Eighth Century B. C., bears a metope filled by two directly superimposed South-flowers (Fig. XIX.25). A fragmentary steatite box from Carchemish

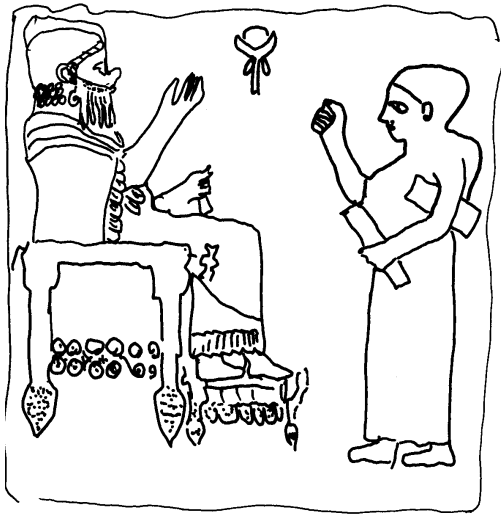


Fig. XIX.25

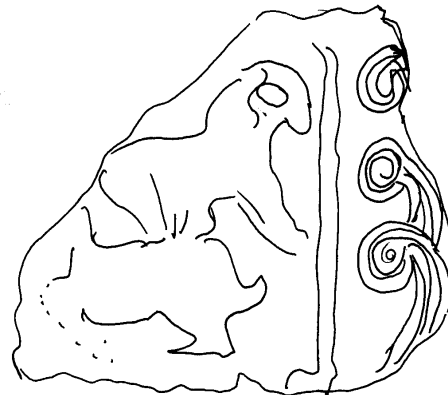


Fig. XIX.26

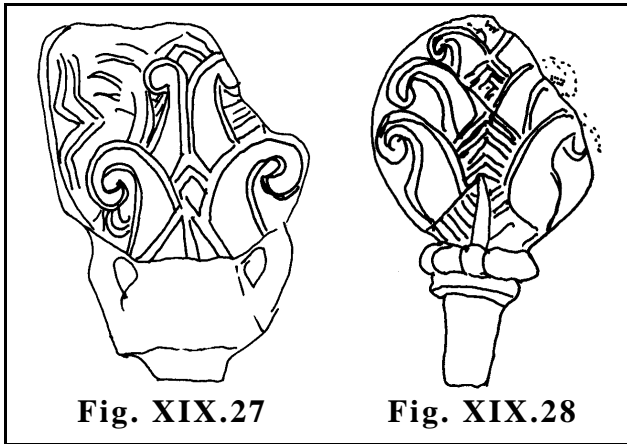
(Fig. XIX.26) and, as Prezeworski has pointed out,<sup>52</sup> an object from Mendj Khamis near Carchemish (Fig. XIX.27) bears designs closely related to the Sadje-Geuzi motive.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 201.

<sup>52</sup> S.Prezeworski, "Notes d'Archéologie Syrienne et Hittite," *Syria*, XI (1930), p. 134, n.4.

Fig. XIX.27 is an example of a series of objects that has been widely discussed.<sup>53</sup>

They have been interpreted as censers or as parts of libation pourers. Whatever their



purpose may have been, it is certain that

these objects were typical for north Syria, despite the fact that some have

been found as far south as Tell Beit Mirsim (Fig. XIX.28) and Megiddo,

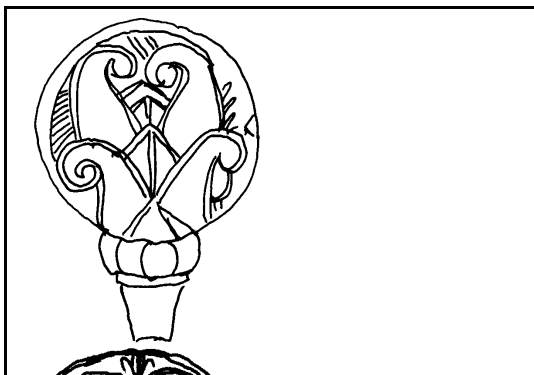
and as far east as Khorsabad. This is important, since many of these objects

are decorated by a characteristic type of

hybrid, which can be added to the scanty north Syrian vegetal repertory. The series of three superimposed South-flowers of Fig. XIX.27 is comparable to the Sakje-Geuzi slab

(Fig. XIX.24), although the hybrid units on the stone bowl have undergone more

stylization and breakdown than in the relief. Figs. XIX.29 and XIX.30 from Tainat



illustrate the treatment of a single hybrid tier.

The two halves of both South-flower perianth

and volute have become separate or almost

separate elements. Strong emphasis is placed

upon the triangular units which now show little

likeness to the triangular sheathing leaf and

obovate lobe from which they are ultimately derived. Figs. XIX.31 and XIX.32 are

fragments that probably conformed to the same single-tiered pattern as Figs. XIX.29 and

XIX.30.. Fig. XIX.31 is of interest for the preservation of four palmette leaves that are

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.133-145 and Syria, XV (1934), p.223f. See Barnett, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-192 and W. F. Albright, *The Excavation of Tell beit Mirsim III*, "The Iron Age", AASOR XXI-XXII (1941-43), pp.70-73 for discussion and reference.

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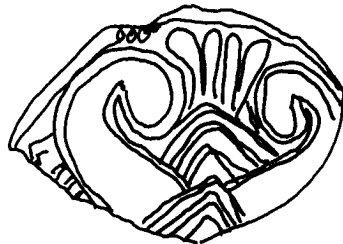


Fig. XIX.31



Fig. XIX.32

much larger than those of Fig. XIX.30. In Fig. XIX.32 drops, metamorphosed into



Fig. XIX.33



Fig. XIX.34

Tainat, is decorated with the most elaborate version of a South-flower hybrid yet to be found on such an object (Fig. XIX.33). The lower tier is surmounted by a perianth with large semicircular palmette foliage comparable to that of Figs. XIX.4 and XIX.15 or even Fig. XIX.3. Both perianth and volute are equipped with tiny drops emerging from the normal corners. This carving also provides an excellent illustration for the manner in which the interstices between the hybrid elements were arbitrarily filled by hatching (Figs. XIX.33 and XIX.34). Fig. XIX.28 illustrates a variant in which the lower tier is surmounted by two perianths decreasing in size. The end of the bowl is broken; we cannot tell whether any palmette foliage was once indicated.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>54</sup> In his discussion of this object Albright, *op. cit.*, has stated that the pattern started in New Kingdom Egypt, and spread to Syria, is exemplified in the Megiddo ivories. Fig. XIX.28 must be considerably later in the series than the Megiddo carvings; and Albright places it approximately in the Ninth Century B. C.,  
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The results of our discussion of the epigonous arts of northern Syria and Mesopotamia may be summarized under five main headings.

1) In the first place, our material is too limited to make possible a thorough and systematic treatment of the art of these areas. To a certain extent it is possible to distinguish a “northern Mesopotamian” branch of “Late Hittite” art. However, it is possibly only the scarcity of plant designs from these areas and the capricious accidents of preservation which lead us to consider certain patterns characteristic of north Syrian or of north Mesopotamia. All the products of these regions are certainly closely related.

2) In the second place, the oldest “Late Hittite” plant motive, Fig. XIX.19 with which we must associate Figs. XIX.21-23 is dependent on hybrids of the standard types found on Mitannian seals. Further traces, some more certain than others, of the use of Mitannian features are discoverable in Figs. XIX.6, XIX.15-18.

3) A third important point is the possibility that certain characters - the flattened volute of Fig. XIX.16 and the stems ending in clusters of small, obovate lobes in Figs. XIX.3, XIX.8, XIX.12 - may have been derived from products of “Late Canaanite” craftsmen.

4) Fourthly, we have seen that some of the plant motives belonging to the later stages of “Late Hittite” art reflect Assyrian prototypes in a marked manner (Figs. XIX.3, XIX.7-12, XIX.12, XIX.1, XIX.24).

5) In the fifth place, it is important to recognize that, despite Mitannian, Assyrian, and possibly “Late Canaanite” contributions, the “Late Hittite” repertory did create a certain number of more independent designs. These are exemplified by the Sakje-Geuzi “tree” and related forms (Figs. XIX.2, XIX.24-26), as well as the patterns of Figs. XIX.12, XIX.13, XIX.14, XIX.4. Only traditional elements, however, are used in these patterns,

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presumably somewhat before the Arslan Tash ivories and considerably before Cypriote capitals such as Figs. XIX.71-73. The arrangement of all these motives in a single orthogenetic series does not seem justified. Although it is possible that the Megiddo ivories may have influenced north Syrian productions of the First Millennium B. C., this cannot be proved with certitutte. We shall see below that the Arslan Tash

which are all rather simple and far less complex than many motives of the Second Millennium B. C.

### PHOENICIAN PLANT ORNAMENT

The products of Phoenician craftsmen assume far greater prominence among small objects of western Asiatic art of the early First Millennium B. C. than do the contemporary "Late Hittite" monuments. The Phoenicians have met with varying fortunes at the hands of historians and archaeologists.<sup>55</sup> The importance of their role in historical and cultural development was first greatly exaggerated and then unduly minimized. The reality of a Phoenician artistic tradition and the magnitude of its contribution to the development of Greek art was reasserted by Poulsen in a work that has remained standard to this day.<sup>56</sup> The derivative and syncretistic nature of Phoenician art is well known.<sup>57</sup> It is our task here to display the extent of the Phoenician plant repertory and, if possible, to bridge the gap between the Phoenicians and the traditions of the Second Millennium B. C.

### THE SECOND AND THIRD SYRIAN SOURCES OF PHOENICIAN PLANT DESIGN

Despite the break in the continuity of Syrian history caused by the migrations of the late Second Millennium and the consequent gap in archaeological remains, it is evident that Phoenician plant ornaments are the direct continuations of forms in use on seals of the early Third Syrian group and on related objects. This is clearest in the case of two-tiered hybrids. Third Syrian compounds such as Figs. XIII.31, XIII.32 and XIII.37 have been but little modified on such Phoenician seals as Figs. XIX.35 and XIX.36.

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ivories and Cypriote capitals belong to the collateral Phoenician class; Fig. XIX.28 cannot be considered as an antecedent of such designs.

<sup>55</sup> For a summary of the shifting views cf. Albright, "The Role of the Canaanites in History," *Studies in the History of Culture* (1942).

<sup>56</sup> F. Poulsen, *Der Orient und die Frühgriechische Kunst*, (Berlin, 1912).

<sup>57</sup> On Phoenician art cf. the work of Poulsen cited above, and also Valentin Müller, "Das Phönische Kunstgewerbe," in Th. Bossert, *Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes IV* (Berlin, 1928-1935), pp. 142-156.



Fig XIX.35



Fig. XIX.36

A characteristic feature of Phoenician hybrids - a large semicircular volute containing one or several concentric arcs (Riegl's *schalen* palmette) has not yet fully developed. By the later part of the Ninth Century B. C., the two-tiered Canaanite tree appears in full grown Phoenician form on Fig. XIX.37, one of the ivories from the Arslan Tash hoard<sup>58</sup>, and on Fig. XIX.38, a silver bowl from Amathus dated around the Seventh Century B. C.<sup>59</sup> The gradation in form of the upturned volute on the seals of Figs. XIX.35 and XIX.36 shows clearly that the "Phoenician" or *Schalen* palmette is but a modified descendant of the old



Egyptian volute that had first been adopted by Syrian craftsmen in the Fifteenth Century B. C.

In addition to semicircular volutes, many of the Phoenician

hybrids display sinuous stems ending in papyrus, South-flowers, or small palmettes. These usually spring from the same positions as Third Syrian tendrils (Figs. XIII.30, XIII.36), that, despite their present rarity must be considered as a source from which the Phoenician craftsmen derived this character. A form such as the largest compound of the Ras Shamra bowl (Fig. XIII.36) is an excellent early example of the same love of opulent

<sup>58</sup> F. Thureau-Dangin, *Arslan Tash* (Paris, 1931), pp. 139ff.

subsidiary elaboration that is so characteristic of Phoenician products. Fig. XIX.38, aside from the tendrils which correspond to Fig. XIX.36, also has stems which grow from the tips of the uppermost volute and are grasped by attendant figures. Antecedents may be found on the Second Syrian seal of Fig. XIII.6.

Good earlier parallels for one type of subsidiary stem used by the Phoenicians are lacking. Two flowering tendrils may spring from a rather thickened South-flower stalk

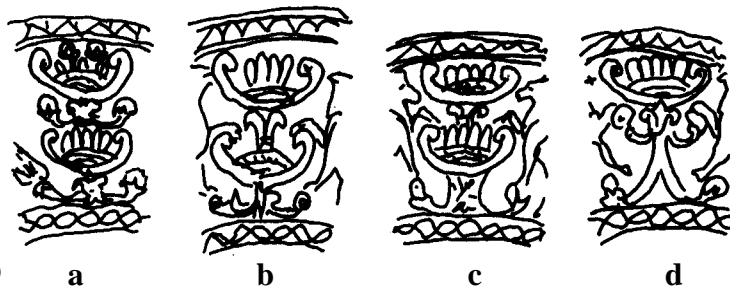


Fig. XIX.39

(Figs. XIX.39, a), or this stalk itself may be cleft, with the two ends terminating in bloom. Some of the plants of Fig. XIX.39 suggest that such patterns are simply variants in which the tendrils pendant from the lower corners of the South-flower have fused with its supporting stalk. In the present state of our knowledge it seems impossible to postulate any connection between these Phoenician designs and two much earlier Egyptian motives. One of the “baskets” represented on the tomb of Ramses III has a basal stem ending in two leafy “papyrus” tendrils (CL 119);<sup>60</sup> this is comparable to the split trunks of the Phoenician hybrids. The South-flower stalk with two lateral “daisies” on a slab from the palace of Amenhotep III (CL 114) provides an analogy for Figs. XIX.39. No intermediary examples are known, however, and any connection between these Egyptian motives and the much younger Phoenician ones must be ruled out. We must regard the use of the basal stems exemplified in Figs. XIX.39 as a minor, but independent, invention of the Phoenicians, conditioned by the general tradition of accessory vegetal tendrils inherited from Third Syrian artists.

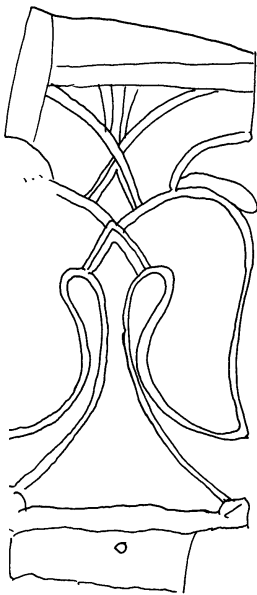
<sup>59</sup> Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection* (New York, 1914), p. 461.

<sup>60</sup> CL + number refers to Typographical Check List of South-flower Hybrids in Chapter VII.

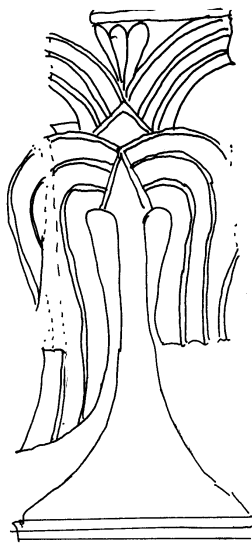
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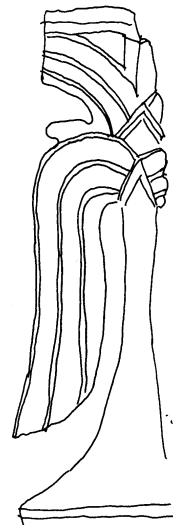
Although we possess only two features - the use of two-tiered hybrids and the prominent subsidiary tendrils - which connect up directly with earlier Syrian hybrids, these items are sufficiently important to establish the Phoenician compounds as the direct successors of the tradition prevailing in Syria during the later Second Millennium B. C. All Phoenician hybrid plant motives consist either of variants of this standard two-tiered or of designs built up by individual elements, usually semicircular volutes, dissociated from other hybrid elements.



**Fig. XIX.40**



**Fig. XIX.41**



**Fig. XIX.42**

In addition, a non-hybrid motive, the drooping palm, known in the Second Millennium B. C. on a Third Syrian seal (Fig. XV.50) and on an ivory from Tell Ajjul (Fig. XV.73), reappears on ivories from Arslan Tash (Fig. XIX.40)<sup>61</sup> and others from Samaria (Figs. XIX.41, XIX.42),<sup>62</sup> which are dated to the first half of the Ninth Century B. C. Not enough examples of the motive have survived from the Second Millennium B. C. to indicate whether it was more common in southern Canaan or in the north. It is impossible, therefore, to use this pattern as a test case to determine whether Palestine made any noteworthy contribution to the Phoenician plant repertory. We have already had

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<sup>61</sup> F. Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLIV, 94.



occasion to see that we possess but a small amount of Palestinian material (cf. Chapter XVII) and tradition of plant design more important than we now recognize may once have existed there. At present no connections between the southern Canaanite repertory, as preserved, and Phoenician design can be distinguished. On the other hand, the link between early Third Syrian motives and Phoenician decoration is extremely close.

### EGYPTIANIZING MOTIVES

We have already seen that Egyptian influence had been particularly strong in Palestine during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, so that this area could have served as the intermediary through which the Phoenician derived many of the Egyptianizing themes which constitute a marked feature of their *Mischkunst*.. Among the patterns involving plants, a group reflecting some of the characters of the Egyptian unification symbol is the most striking. On Fig. XIX.43 from an Eighth Century B. C. ivory hoard at Nimrud,<sup>63</sup> two figures in Egyptian dress stand in the attitude of Nile gods tightening the knot of a unification symbol.<sup>64</sup> In the center is a strange Phoenician substitute for the Egyptian symbol - a stalk with sinuous lateral stems and many-lobed "papyrus" heads. Despite all the Phoenician lapses, the close dependence of Fig. XIX.43 on Egyptian prototypes is clear, and is of contrasting nature to most of the Egyptianizing designs of the Second Millennium B. C. Canaanites.

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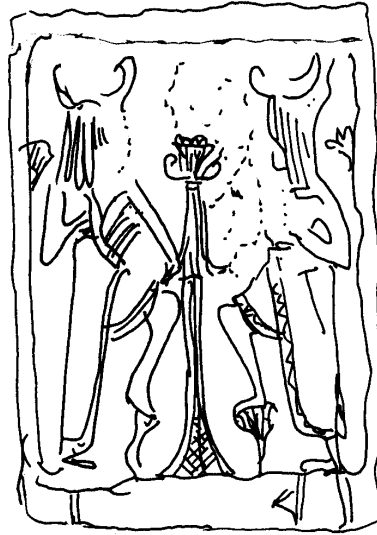
<sup>62</sup> G. Reisner et al, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria* 1908-1910 (Cambridge, 1924)(Referred to subsequently as *Samaria* ).

<sup>63</sup> Barnett (*op. cit.*, p. 185) believes that the "Layard" group of ivories from Nimrud was made sometime during the Eighth Century B. C., possibly during the first half.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. H. G. Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein* (Munich, 1929), Pls. XXVI, XXVIII, XL, XLI, LXVII.

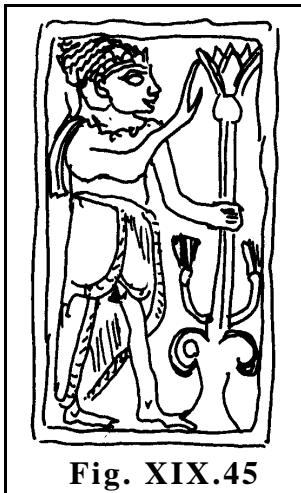


**Fig. XIX.43**



**Fig. XIX.44**

A good parallel for the Nimrud plaque is a pair from Arslan Tash (Fig. XIX.44),<sup>65</sup> where the carver has added Egyptian crowns and a swathed, Ma'at-like figure to heighten the Egyptian atmosphere of his composition.



**Fig. XIX.45**

In Fig. XIX.45 where an attendant grasps a plant while making a sign of adoration with the other hand, the plant resembles in structure those of Figs. XIX.43 and XIX.46 except for the addition of a basal South-flower.

The Arslan Tash plaques of Figs. XIX.46 and XIX.47 are typical Phoenician mixtures. In Fig. XIX.47, two goddesses, whose Egyptian derivation has been indicated by Thureau-Dangin,<sup>66</sup> flank a hybrid very similar to that of Figs. XIX.48.

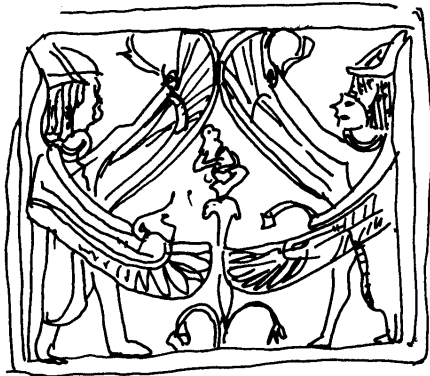
Unlike their Egyptian prototypes, who hold symbolic emblems, the goddesses on this

<sup>65</sup> Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXVI, 21; cf. pp. 99-102.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 95f.

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**Fig. XIX.46**

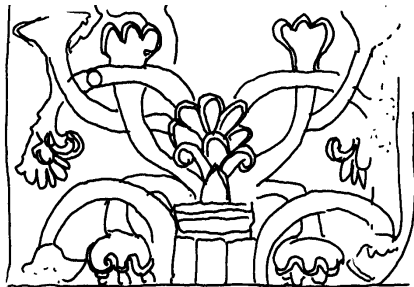


**Fig. XIX.47**



**Fig. XIX.48**

plaque grasp South-flower stems. Although the latter are not connected with the median plant, it is possible that their appearance here is a reminiscence of the unification symbol - in which there was a reason for the attendant figures to grasp stems - combined with a completely alien motive. The same may be said of Fig. XIX.46, where figures holding flowering stems appear beside a central motive showing the infant Horus crouched on a tall Papyrus stem flanked by short, downcurving stalks.<sup>67</sup>



**Fig. XIX.49**



**Fig. XIX.50**

Figs. XIX.49 and XIX.50 are very peculiar patterns. The Fig. XIX.49 is one of several fragmentary plaques found at Khorsabad in the palace of Sennacherib.<sup>68</sup> The pattern is formed by several intertwining stems ending either in papyrus, palmettes, or a scalloped element similar to that on Assyrian column bases. The lower sections of three central stems are bound together. This curious design cannot be explained. It is possible that the theme of sinuous plant stems was borrowed from the unification symbol, but this

<sup>67</sup> This was the commonest type of plaque at Arslan Tash; cf. *Ibid.* Pls. XIXa, XX, XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV.

cannot be proved. Although Fig. XIX.49 remains without a good parallel, somewhat the same impression of twining plant stems is achieved by another mysterious pattern which ornaments the base of the bull that supports one of the caryatid gods of Tell Halaf (Fig. XIX.50). The existence of two such unparalleled designs is a good indication that the full extent of the Phoenician and "Late Hittite" repertoires is still unrevealed.

Aside from the unification symbols of Figs. XIX.43 and XIX.44, the Phoenicians used a number of other vegetal motives that were originally indigenous to Egypt. By this time hypotactic arc friezes had long been acclimatized in Asia.

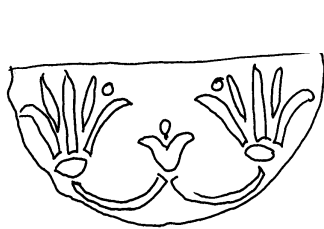


Fig. XIX.51

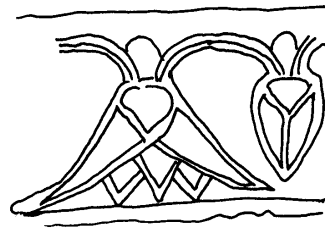


Fig. XIX.52

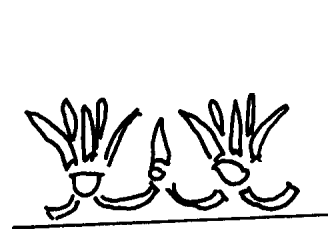


Fig. XIX.53

In Phoenician borders *Nymphaeas* and buds frequently tip the arcs (Figs. XIX.51-54),<sup>69</sup> but palmettes also appear (Fig. XIX.55). Fig. XIX.56 illustrates a form intermediate

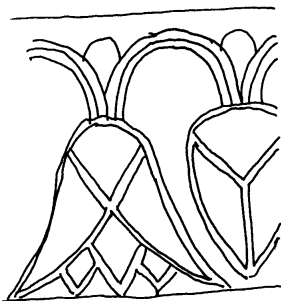


Fig. XIX.54

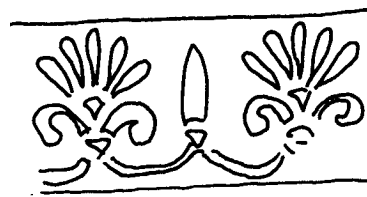


Fig. XIX.55

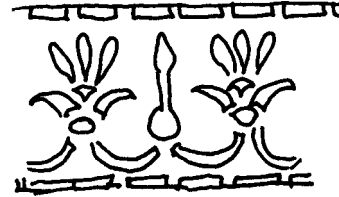


Fig. XIX.56

between a waterlily and a palmette. The most interesting point in connection with such designs is the use at Samaria of drops filling the interstices between adjoining arcs (Figs. XIX.52, XIX.54). This is a feature which had first appeared, quite suddenly, in a Middle Assyrian arc frieze (Fig. XVI.96) and on an ivory plaque from Cyprus (Fig. XVI.94). It

<sup>68</sup> C. Loud, *Khorsabad II* (Chicago, 1939) Pl. LV, 60.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. LV, 58, 59. *Samaria*, Pls. XIV.3; XVI, 1-6; cf. discussion pp. 33-34.

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was to be important in the arc friezes of later, Hellenic ornament.<sup>70</sup> Aside from the ivories, metal bowls<sup>71</sup> and Tridacna shells<sup>72</sup> were commonly decorated with arc friezes. In addition the Tridacna shells display floral elements mounted on adjoining, double stalks.<sup>73</sup> On one shell such a frieze appears to be a degenerate *khekher* ornament,<sup>74</sup> but on a bronze bowl from Nimrud a similar design hangs from the roof of a baldachin, apparently replacing the floral ornaments that were once normally found in such positions in Egypt.<sup>75</sup>

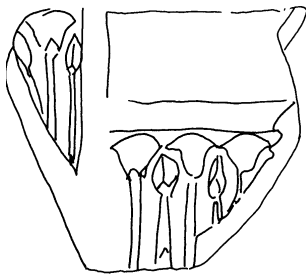


Fig. XIX.57

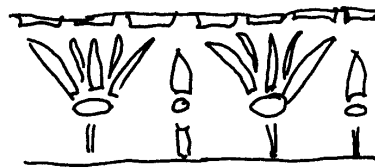


Fig. XIX.58

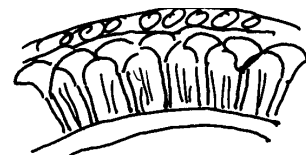


Fig. XIX.59

Besides the hypotactic design, Phoenician craftsmen sometimes borrowed from Egypt the simple paratactic frieze of straight-stemmed papyrus or Nymphaeas alternating with buds (Figs. XIX.57-59). The simple combination of a waterlily flower with two buds also makes its appearance, as a naturalistic bouquet,<sup>76</sup> filling a narrow border (Fig. XIX.60), and on Tridacna shells.<sup>77</sup> The various elements of Fig. XIX.61 can be considered as arranged according to this simple bud-flower pattern.

More interesting are some designs on bowls from Nimrud, derived from the formal bouquets of the Egyptians. Fig. XIX.62, although the most elaborate Phoenician specimen, is simple in comparison with such Egyptian prototypes as Fig. VI.24.

<sup>70</sup> *Samaria*, pp.33-34.

<sup>71</sup> Layard, *Mon. Nin.* II, Pls. LVII, A; LVIII, A, E; LXIII.

<sup>72</sup> Poulsen, *op. cit.*, p. 69, Fig. 71 (Nimrud). For discussion of tridacna shells in general cf. V. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 152

<sup>73</sup> Poulsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-71. L. W. King, "Some new examples of Egyptian influence at Nineveh," *JEA*, I (1914), Pl. XXXVI,2.

<sup>74</sup> Poulsen, *op. cit.*, p. 69, Fig. 71.

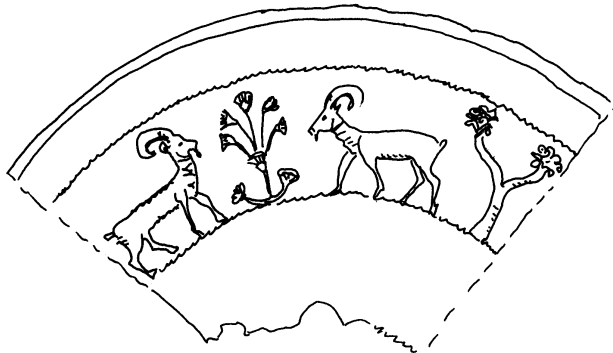
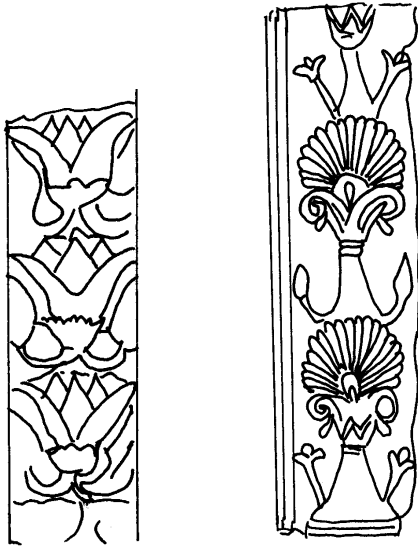
<sup>75</sup> Layard, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXIII.

<sup>76</sup> *Samaria*, Pl. XI (behind enthroned ruler).

<sup>77</sup> C. S. Blinkenberg, *Lindos* (Berlin, 1931),

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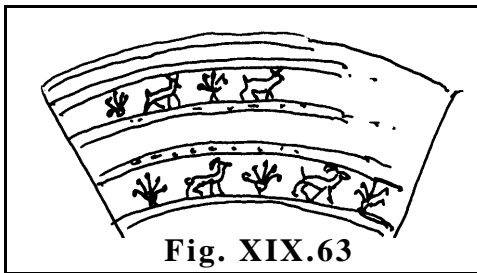
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**Fig. XIX.60**

**Fig. XIX.61**

**Fig. XIX.62**



**Fig. XIX.63**

Fig. XIX. 63 illustrates an even simpler Phoenician bouquet.<sup>78</sup>

This completes the survey of the plant designs which indicate the sources from which the Phoenicians drew. It is clear that the tradition

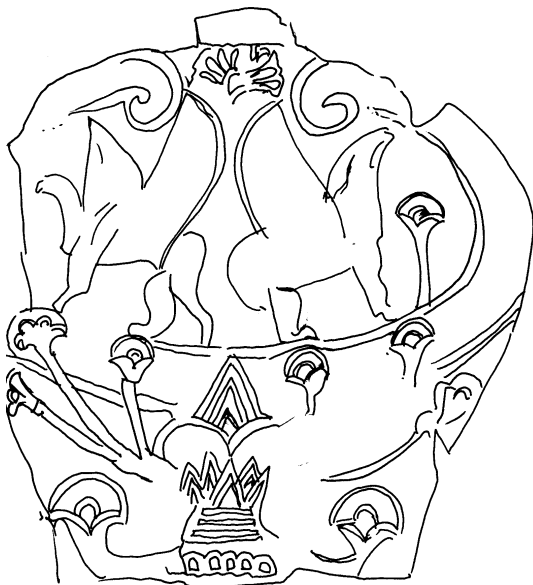
which has been designated as the “Third Syrian” provided the basis of Phoenician hybrid design. To this were added a number of Egyptianizing motives, some of which appear in Asia for the first time, while others may have been handed down to the Phoenicians by way of Nineteenth-Twentieth Dynasty Palestine. If so, they constitute the only contribution of

<sup>78</sup> Cf. also Layard, *op. cit.*, Pl. LVIII, E and probably also A.  
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the southern Canaanites which can be distinguished. Palestinian hybrid motives such as Figs. XVII.24, XVII.25 and XVII.27-33 do not appear to have any relationship with the motives of Phoenicia. Assyrian art, which made a large contribution to the representative themes of the Phoenicians, did not supply them with any important plant patterns.

#### THE REMAINING STANDARD MOTIVES OF THE PHOENICIAN REPERTORY

The Phoenician designs already dealt with have either revealed connections with the Third Syrian style or with Egyptian traditions, or have been patterns that were best discussed in connection with such motives. In addition, there exist a number of Phoenician plant ornaments which, though formed of the hybrid elements inherited from the Second Millennium B. C. do not, as a whole, correspond to any older compositions. There are, for example, a number of designs with greatly enlarged volutes.



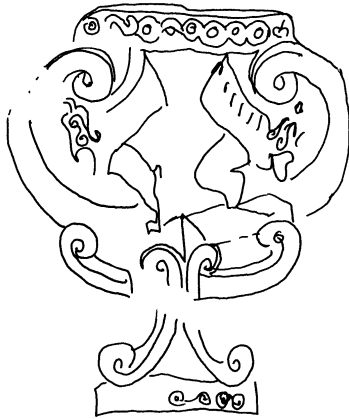
**Fig. XIX.64**



**Fig. XIX.65**

Fig. XIX.64, an ivory from Nimrud, is really a hybrid with basal shoots, but its volute has grown to tremendous size and supports two griffins. Subsidiary elaboration is provided by stems ending in small papyrus heads. A plant, considerably later in date than Fig. XIX.64,

but corresponding to it in essential composition was cut on a scarab from Tharros<sup>79</sup> in Sardinia (Fig. XIX.65). Fig. XIX.66, another ivory from Nimrud showing griffins clambering in the enlarged uppermost volute, is apparently formed of four c-shaped curves.



**Fig. XIX.66**

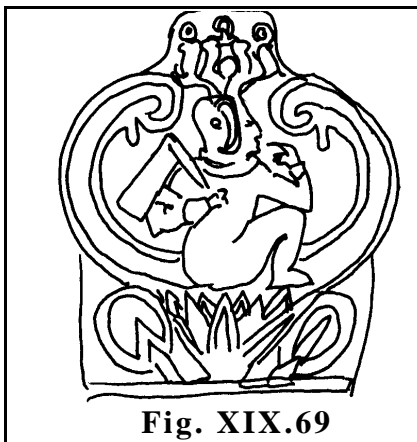


**Fig. XIX.67**



**Fig. XIX.68**

Comparison with Figs. XIX.67 and XIX.68, however, illustrates how these abstract c-curves arose from the normal hybrid elements. The upper South-flower perianth split and the resulting twinned stems coalesced with the volute of the lower tier. The disappearance of the lower South-flower completes the process. Fig. XIX.69 illustrates an unusual use of an enlarged volute, which is here separated from other hybrid elements and used as a background for the youthful Horus on a Nymphaea.



**Fig. XIX.69**

One important feature of Fig. XIX.66, the addition of a second volute placed below and in front of the large one, has not yet been mentioned. Such multiplication of the upturned volutes of a single tier is typical for a number of Phoenician hybrids, as for instance in Figs. XIX.47. An ivory tablet found at Cruz del Negro in the Los Alcores hills near Carmona in Spain, is a good specimen of an unusual motive developed by this means (Fig. XIX.70).

<sup>79</sup> Tharros was one of the Phoenician cities founded in Sardinia in the Sixth Century B. C. after much of the island had been subjected in the course of long campaigns waged by Carthaginian troops (E. Meyer,



Capitals or stelae from Cyprus provide other examples of multiple volutes springing from a single South-flower perianth, and combined with various subsidiary adornments (Figs. XIX.71-73).<sup>80</sup> These Cypriote carvings are fairly late in date.<sup>81</sup>

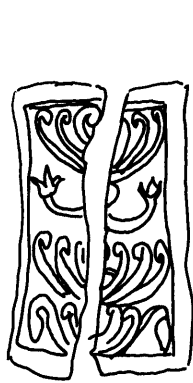


Fig. XIX.70

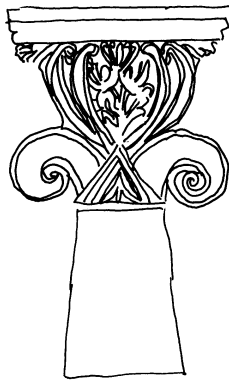


Fig. XIX.71

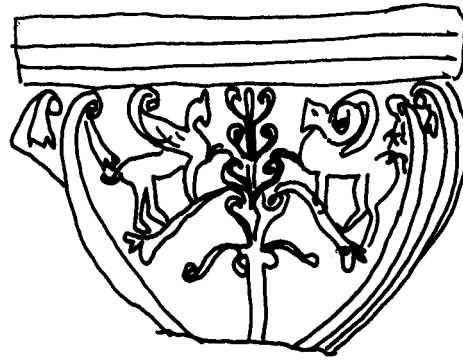


Fig. XIX.72

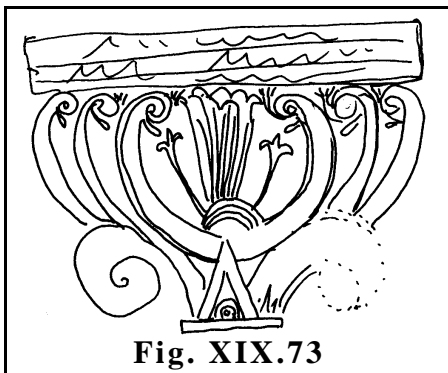


Fig. XIX.73

The designs of Figs. XIX.64-73 display the prominent part played by the volute, which remained intact even when the rest of the South-flower hybrid degenerated, as in Figs. XIX.66-68, XIX.70, and XIV.75. Often this element, together with foliage, appears alone, completely separated from the South-

flower perianth. This is the pattern that has long been known as the Phoenician palmette.<sup>82</sup>

It served as a decorative unit on a wide variety of objects. Figs. XIX.74, XIX.75 and XIX.76 illustrate its use on jewelry. Such a palmette serves as the central axis between two

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*Geschichte* III (Stuttgart, 1913-1928), p. 643f.). The objects from Tharros belong to a late period of Phoenician art.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. also Perrot and Chipiez, *The Art of Phoenicia* II, p. 119, Fig. 52 (Athieno; Louvre). Myres, *op. cit.*, pp. 284-251. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Griechische sitten und gebrauch auf Cypren*, (Berlin, 1913) Pl. LIX, 1, 2 (Idalion).

<sup>81</sup> Myres assigns Fig. XIX.71 a range of 750-500 B. C.

<sup>82</sup> Riegl, *Stilfragen*, p. 105. Goodyear, *Grammar of the Lotus* (London, 1891), pp. 261-163, included within the term more complicated patterns involving the semi-circular volutes.

goats on an ivory from Spain (Fig. XIX.77). Borders were formed by a number of examples arranged in rows.<sup>83</sup>

More important than such simple applications of the “Phoenician palmette” are those in which a number of these motives are combined into rapport patterns . The most common type was that in which the “palmettes” were arranged so that the bases of one row



Fig. XIX.74



Fig. XIX.75



Fig. XIX.76

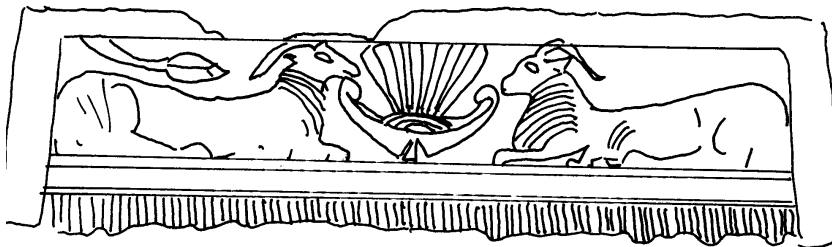


Fig. XIX.77

covered the ends of the “palmettes” below (Fig. XIX.78).<sup>84</sup> With the addition of small

<sup>83</sup> *Samaria*, Pl. II, 2. *Early Engraved Ivories* (Hispanic Society, New York, 1928), Pls. I, II, IV (all from Akcantarilla.

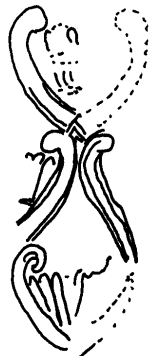
<sup>84</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, p. 132, Fig. 73 (alabaster slab; Arvad; Louvre).

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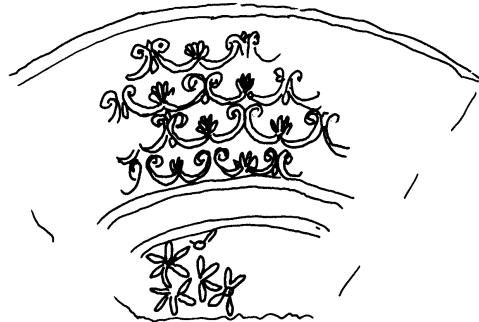
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**Fig. XIX.78**

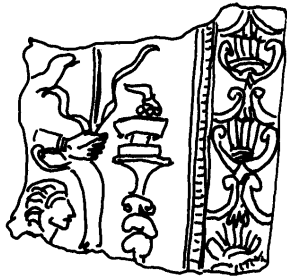


**Fig. XIX.79**

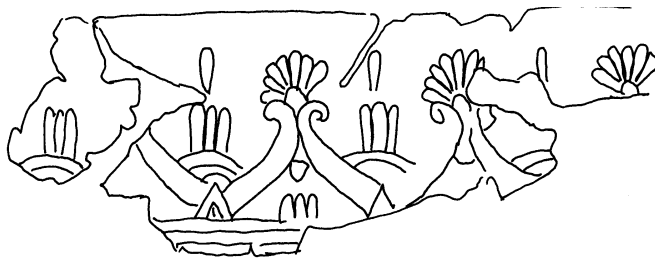


**Fig. XIX.80**

elements of triangular shape pseudo South-flowers are formed out of the adjacent ends of the volutes. Segments of such designs occur on two plaques from Samaria (Figs. XIX.79 and XIX.80), and on a relief fragment from Adlum, near Tyre (Fig. XIX.81).



**Fig. XIX.81**



**Fig. XIX.82**

“Phoenician palmettes” are adapted to a narrow, horizontal border in Fig. XIX.82, an ivory fragment from Nimrud. There, the adjoining ends of the volutes do not support a second row of “palmettes,” but provide a false South-flower perianth from which springs a fan of palmette foliage. The patterns of Figs. XIX.78, XIX.79-82 are combined on a bronze



**Fig.  
XIX.83**

bowl from Nimrud (Fig. XIX.83). On it the base of each c-volute, instead of being rounded, displays a notch bearing foliage. These notched volutes are arranged in the same manner as in Figs. XIX.78-81 with the result that their adjacent ends appear to support palmettes as in Fig. XIX.82. The lower angles between the adjacent ends of Fig. XIX.82 are filled by drops, a feature that also appears in Figs. XIX.80, XIX.81 and XIX.78, as well as in the Nymphaea friezes of Figs. XIX.52 and XIX.54 and the earlier patterns of Figs. XVI.96 and XVI.94.

There remains to be mentioned only one more important category of Phoenician plant design. The Egyptians had used, at infrequent intervals, South-flower hybrids as subsidiary elements in representative scenes (CL 85)). The Middle Assyrians had sometimes given to artificial, compound forms the role otherwise played by naturalistic trees (Figs. XVI.35, XVI.51, XVI.54, XVI.57), but it remained for the Phoenicians to make common use of hybrid motives as pseudo-naturalistic, subsidiary vegetation in scenes mainly concerned with the activities of animals or men. “Phoenician palmettes” do not seem to have been used in this manner. Fan-shaped palmettes are the elements most commonly found (Figs. XIX.59, XIX.84-86).<sup>85</sup>



**Fig. XIX.84**



**Fig. XIX.85**



**Fig. XIX.86**

<sup>85</sup> For other examples cf. *Arslan Tash*, Pls. XXVIII, 25; XXX, 28. Khorsabad, II, Pls. LII, 41, 42; LIII, 46, 47, 50; LIV, 51, 52, 56.



Fig. XIX.87

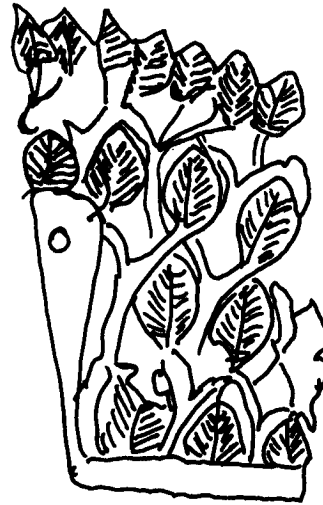


Fig. XIX.88

The flowering stems are not cast into any definite pattern, but are arranged in branching or twining manner, often fitted into whatever space is available. Sometimes simple South-flowers, similar in form to that appearing in Fig. XIX.86 were used.<sup>86</sup> Fig. XIX.87 illustrates vegetation formed by twining *Nymphaea* stems. The manner in which some of them are interlaced is somewhat reminiscent of a more complex, leafy pattern found at Arslan Tash (Fig. XIX.88), but unfortunately we do not know what the original setting of this design was.

Such then, were the main types of plant decoration used by the Phoenicians. This well-defined Phoenician repertory is strikingly different in composition and form of the individual elements from the contemporary products of craftsmen in northern Syria and Mesopotamia. Aside from the formal distinctions between the two epigonous traditions, there are other important factors. A far greater amount of Phoenician material is known, and artifacts of this type were spread far and wide around the Mediterranean world. Products of north Syrian or Mesopotamian workmen, such as the carved “censers,” ivories, or metal work reached Assyria and may also have exerted influence in Asia Minor. Far more imposing is the wide distribution of Phoenician goods. Historical traditions have

recorded the commerce and colonization of the Phoenicians at the end of the Second Millennium B. C. Cyprus became a second center of Phoenician culture. In North Africa were founded a number of Phoenician cities, among which Carthage rose to great importance at the end of the Seventh Century B.C. Strong traces of Phoenician activities remain in Spain, Italy, and on many of the Mediterranean islands, as on Sardinia, Malta, and Crete.<sup>87</sup> Even when the pressure of the Assyrians on one side and of the youthful Greek cities on the other led to the decline of the Phoenician motherland itself, colonies such as Carthage were able later to reassert Phoenician power in the west in places where the Greeks had, at least partially, displaced their semitic rivals.

Aside from north Syrian and Phoenician decoration, Asia also produced other epigonous groups of plant ornament. That in use under the new-Babylonian dynasty was directly derived from Assyrian ornament, and that of the Achaemenid Persians was developed by an art which was not only heir to all the accumulated traditions of the ancient Near East, but was also strongly affected by the development of Greek art. Neither group is important as an originative tradition. Thus it is that we have completed our task of following plant ornament in the Near East through its many centuries of development. We have reached the first tremendous division in the history of vegetal decoration - the line of demarcation which separates the tradition of the ancient Near East from that of Greece. The only plant ornaments which bridge this chasm and connect the two great traditions are those of the late Geometric and Orientalizing periods. These are the designs which must still be discussed before we may consider our task completed.

#### SOURCES FOR THE FIGURES

- XIX.1        *Sendchirli* IV, Orthostat of Barrekub  
XIX.2        *Carchemish* II, Pl XXVIII, 1 (fragment of steatite box)  
XIX.3        *Tell Halaf*, Pl. XXIV B (orthostat No. 79)

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<sup>86</sup> *Samaria*, Pls. V, 2; XIII, 5.  
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- XIX.4 *Hama*, Pl. XXXIV, 4 (Layer E)
- XIX.5 Iraq II (1935), 190, Fig. 3 (Nimrud; southeast palace; ivory pyxis)
- XIX.6 Syria, XIII (1932), Pl. XLVII (Tell Halaf; goddess from “temple-palace” facade)
- XIX.7 Danthine, No. 1129 (unpublished orthostat 114).
- XIX.8 *Ibid.* No. 1126 (unpublished orthostat No. 123)
- XIX.9 *Ibid.*, No. 1128
- XIX.10 *Ibid.* No. 1131
- XIX.11 *Tell Halaf*, Pl. III (color), 4 (gold “breast plate”)
- XIX.12 Danthine, No. 1127 (unpublished orthostat 132)
- XIX.13 *Ibid.*, No. 161 (tiara of goddess)
- XIX.14 *Ibid.*, No. 259 (tiara of god)
- XIX.15 Poulsen, p. 50, Fig. 40 (Nimrud; ivory plaque)
- XIX.16 *Sendschirli* IV, 293, Fig. 201 (pillar base; vestibule K. 1)
- XIX.17 Iraq II (1935), Pl. XXV, 4 (Nimrud, southeast palace)
- XIX.18 *Sendschirli* IV, 361, Fig. 260 (design on torus of column base, court R)
- XIX.19 *Carchemish* I, Pl. B, 13, below (court of stair way)
- XIX.20 *Revue d’Assyriologie*, XV (1918), 69 (sealing of Qaniya; Kirkuk tablet)
- XIX.21 *AJSL*, XLV (1928/29, Pl. VII (Arslan Tepe)
- XIX.22 Syria, X (1929), Pl. XXXV, 4 (Tell Ahmar; orthostat B)
- XIX.23 Ward-Morgan, 164
- XIX.24 *Hd. d. Arch.* I, Pl. CLIX, 2 (Sakje-Geuzi orthostats)
- XIX.25 *AJA*, XLI (1937), 16, Fig. 12 (Tell Tainat; fragment of throne of a statue)
- XIX.26 *Carchemish* II, Pl. XXVIII, 1 (fragment of steatite box)
- XIX.27 *Khorsabad* II, Pl. LXIV, 257 (Sargon’s palace, court XXXI., gray stone)
- XIX.28 Syria, XI (1930), Pl. XXIV, 2 (BM 116.091; steatite; Mendi Khamis)
- XIX.29 Tainat A 2028 (unpublished)

- XIX.30 Tainat B 613 (unpublished)
- XIX.31 Tainat B 291 (unpublished)
- XIX.32 Tainat B 793 (unpublished)
- XIX.33 Tainat B 651 (unpublished)
- XIX.34 Tainat B 651 (unpublished)
- XIX.35 *Mithra*, Pl. LIV, A, 3 (cylinder reproduced from a sealing)
- XIX.36 Danthine, No. 1084 (curium)
- XIX.37 Walters, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos in the British Museum*,  
' Pl. VI, 291
- XIX.38 *Handbuch der Archaeologie* I, Pl CXCIV; 1 (amathus patera)
- XIX.39 Perrot and Chipiex, *The Art of Phoenicia*, 358, Fig. 276
- XIX.40 *Arslan Tash*, Pl. XLIV, 94
- XIX.41 *Samaria*, Pl. XVIII, 2
- XIX.42 *Samaria*, Pl. XVIII, 1
- XIX.43 Iraq II (1935), Pl. XXIV, 3 (Northwest palace, Nimrud)
- XIX.44 *Arslan Tash*, Pl XXVI, 20
- XIX.45 Iraq II (1935), Pl. XXIII, 4 (Northwest palace, Nimrud)
- XIX.46 *Arslan Tash*, Pl. XIX, 1
- XIX.47 *Ibid.*, Pl. XXIV, 15
- XIX.48 *Ibid.*, Pl. XLV, 98
- XIX.49 *Khorsabad* II, Pl. LV, 60
- XIX.50 Damthine, No. 257 (Tell Halaf; design from pedestal)
- XIX.51 *Samaria*, Pl. XV, 1a
- XIX.52 *Ibid.*, Pl. XVI, 2
- XIX.53 *Ibid.*, Pl. XV, 3a
- XIX.54 *Ibid.*, Pl. XVI, 7
- XIX.55 *Ibid.*, Pl. XV, 9



- XIX.56 *Ibid.*, Pl. XV, 4a
- XIX.57 *Arslan Tash*, Pl. XLV, 102
- XIX.58 *Samaria*, Pl. XV, 2a
- XIX.59 *Nineveh* II, Pl. LVII E
- XIX.60 *Arslan Tash*, Pl. XLV, 100
- XIX.61 *Samaria*, Pl. XV, 1a
- XIX.62 *Nineveh* II, Pl. LVII, C
- XIX.63 *Ibid.*, LIX, D
- XIX.64 *Nineveh* I, Pl. XC, 21
- XIX.65 Walters, *op. cit.*, Pl. VII, 387 (Tharros, Gr. 6; 1856)
- XIX.66 *Nineveh* I, Pl. XC, 22
- XIX.67 Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, 242, Fig.168 (silver ring with gold disc, Sardinia)
- XIX.68 Ohnefalsch, Pl. LXXVII, 21, a, b
- XIX.69 *Samaria*, Frontispiece, 1
- XIX.70 Hispanic Society of America, *Early Engraved Ivories*, Pl. XXIX
- XIX.71 Ohnefalsch, Pl. CXVII, 4 (Idalion)
- XIX.72 *Ibid.*, Pl. CXVII, 7 (Idalion)
- XIX.73 *Ibid.*, Pl. LVIII, 2 (Idalion; Aphrodite Temenos)
- XIX.74 Walters, *Catalogue of Jewelry in the British Museum* (Tharros, Sardinia)
- XIX.75 Ohnefalsch, Pl. CXIII, 7
- XIX.76 Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, 243, Fig. 169 (Sardinia)
- XIX.77 Hispanic Society of America, *op. cit.*, Pl. II, 2
- XIX.78 Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, 134, Fig. 76 (Alabaster slab, Louvre)
- XIX.79 *Samaria*, Pl. XXI, 5
- XIX.80 *Ibid.*, Pl. XXI, 4
- XIX.81 Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, 138, Fig. 81
- XIX.82 *Khorsabad* II, Pl. LV, 57

- XIX.83      *Nineveh* II, Pl. LXII A
- XIX.84      *Arslan Tash*, Pl. XXIX, 26
- XIX.85      *Ibid.*, Pl XXIX, 27
- XIX.86      *Samaria*, Pl. V, 1
- XIX.87      *Ibid.*, Pl. V, 3a
- XIX.88      *Arslan Tash*, Pl. XLV, 9