

FEZ, DIADEM, TURBAN, CHAPLET: POWER-DRESSING AT THE ASSYRIAN COURT

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the evolution and political significance of the principal types of headgear seen in illustrations of the Assyrian court.

INTRODUCTION

It is a pleasure to contribute a paper in honour of a Parpola brother. The interests of Simo and Asko in Assyria and India overlap with mine, and I have been lucky enough to work with both, admiring their liberal scholarship and enjoying their hospitality. Simo himself I first encountered in the shape of the book entitled *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms* (Parpola 1970a), whose appearance suddenly meant that those of us concerned with geography no longer had to hold hundreds of place-name references in their heads. Since 1987 the series *State Archives of Assyria* which Simo initiated has greatly clarified our perceptions of the Neo-Assyrian world.

Simo asked me to help enliven the *State Archives* with illustrations of ancient narrative scenes and suchlike. Illustrations can help explain the often fragmentary written records, but they too can be misleading or misinterpreted. They are not, and were never intended as, naturalistic representations of what was seen or assumed by the person who made the original designs from which the sculptor or artist worked; they also incorporate anomalies some of which must be mistakes. Understanding such illustrations can be a challenge. To take a painful example, the so-called White Obelisk from Nineveh is covered with important or unique images, but it was carved from poor-quality limestone; details of the carving were perhaps once embellished with plaster and paint which have not survived; it was probably displayed in the open in antiquity and consequently weathered; careful drawings of it were made on paper soon after excavation in 1853, but are not entirely reliable; the surface of the stone has deteriorated since it was drawn; and despite a fine study by Unger (1932), the

monument has never been adequately published as a whole with both large-scale photographs and thorough informed discussion of all the images, let alone the text and context. Additionally, although it can most probably be dated, because of an eponym's name and other criteria, to the reign of Assurnasirpal I (1049–1031 BC), as first shown by Unger and confirmed by others including at some length myself (Reade 1975), one could use similar arguments to advocate Aššur-nadin-apli (c. 1196–1193 BC), while there are still occasional assertions that it belongs in the reign of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 BC). In other words the non-specialist can know neither where to find adequate relevant information nor whether that information can be trusted. The White Obelisk deserves to be published in full all over again by a competent scholar, and regrettably the same applies to other groups of Assyrian sculptures and paintings; one day this may all be on the internet, but it is taking a long time.

The current paper deals with one modest category of evidence, mainly the significance of elite headgear at the Assyrian court. I am concerned not with typology but with what typology can tell us; for details we can consult such authorities as Boehmer (1981) on hats in general, or Hrouda (1965a: 43–45, Taf. 5–6) or Madhloom (1970: 74–76) on royal hats. Nor am I concerned with rituals, a subject discussed extensively by Magen (1986) and Reade (2005); in any case kings were often bareheaded in the presence of god. The question is whether any further insight into Assyrian attitudes, politics and history can be obtained by revisiting this evidence, viewing it not by theme (Reade 1972) but by date. It then falls into about eight phases.

PHASE 1: TUKULTI-NINURTA I, C. 1200 BC

The hat of Tukulti-Ninurta I (c. 1233–1197 BC), or at least one of the kinds of hat he wore, may be shown on a fragmentary carved lid of black stone, discussed in detail by Opitz (1941), **Fig. 1**. He gives its provenance as Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta, which is often quoted, but the excavation number indicates Assur, where it was found on the site of Tukulti-Ninurta's New Palace (Moortgat 1969: 119). A scene of massacre in the upper register has a quasi-Egyptian style, which dates the lid in or after the fourteenth century when ample goods and stylistic models travelled east from Egypt. A late example of the style is found on a seal-impression, showing a bareheaded man or king hunting in a chariot, from an archive that concerned Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur, king about 1133 BC (Weidner 1936; Moortgat 1969: Pl. O.9; Pedersén 1985: 63–64).

A lower register of carving on the lid includes two hats. Each has the shape of a truncated cone, much like a fez or tarbush; it is unclear whether there is a slanting line, across the fez, which would indicate a brim turned back upwards on itself or conceivably an outer diadem, as on some other fezzes. The left-hand man is bearded



Fig. 1. Carved lid from Assur, with men in fezzes in lower register.

and holds a bowl; because of his position and attitude, he is surely a king pouring a libation. Something is carved behind his shoulder; Opitz took it to be a chair-back, but perhaps it is one of the royal ribbons as worn by later Assyrian kings, a pair of long strips of material, fringed at the end, that were attached to the back of the fez and hung down the shoulders on either side. The right-hand figure is then either the king's chariot-driver, or the king represented a second time in the same composition, like Tukulti-Ninurta I in a scene of worship (Magen 1986: Taf. 7.1). So, if this lid shows a king of Assyria, his royal hat was or could be a flat-topped fez, while a similar fez may have been worn by other men at court such as his chariot-driver.

Tukulti-Ninurta I and a senior eunuch are represented on a seal-impression from Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta (Fischer 1999: 129, Abb. 1; 2004: 103). The king has the ribbon at his back, but his hat, which must have been extremely difficult to draw, appears so complicated that it is tempting to speculate the carving had irregularities masking a simpler fez with slanting brim. The eunuch's "hair-band" is also hard to understand, while another seal in the group shows a bearded official with a pointed cap (Fischer 1999: 131, Abb. 2): evidently a range of headgear was current.

PHASE 2: TIGLATH-PILESER I, C. 1100 BC

We have one definite representation of Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076 BC), in a rock carving made around 1100 BC. He wears a hat which is nearly a cylindrical *polos* but does have the slight upwards taper of a fez, **Fig. 2**; narrow bands along top and bottom are evidently decoration, with no brim, and something hanging down his back must be intended as the ribbon. This carving was cut on an irregular cliff-face by someone awkwardly balanced above water, so that the work is poor, details are uncertain, and the reproductions of it listed by Börker-Klähn (1982: 177) are alarmingly divergent.

Unger (1926: 102, Abb. 33) even refers to Tiglath-pileser's hat as having a cone on top, but he seems to be contradicted by the very photograph he is citing, although the stone is uneven; maybe he assumed



Fig. 2. Tiglath-pileser I wearing fez or *polos*, with ribbon on back of shoulders.

there must have been a cone because this was later to become a standard feature of the Assyrian royal fez. It would not have been surprising, as Fischer (2004: 103) has published a drawing of a seal-impression from Assur, dated roughly to the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I, which already shows someone wearing a tall banded fez with a small lump on top; it is a cult scene involving a goddess, and the wearer may be a queen or female acolyte rather than the eunuch proposed by Fischer.

A tablet, found at Assur and dated around the time of Tiglath-pileser I (Pedersén 1985: 47, 50, no. 62), had been impressed with a cylinder-seal the design on which showed a bearded worshipper with ribbons at his back, presumably the king. Different drawings of what seems to be the same impression are available,

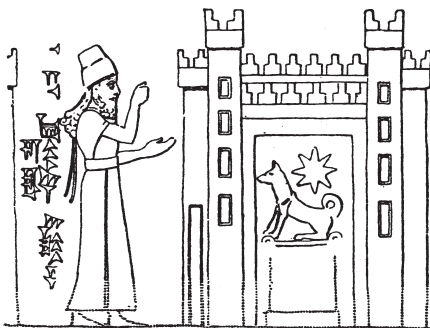


Fig. 3. Assur seal-impression, with king wearing *polos* and ribbons: drawing published by Andrae (cf. Fig. 4).

Fig. 4. Assur seal-impression, with king wearing *polos* and ribbons: drawing published by Moortgat (cf. Fig. 3).



Figs. 3–4, demonstrating how hard it can be to draw such things, but the man is clearly wearing a flat-topped *polos* or tall fez. This was either encircled by an outer diadem, or provided with a wide upturned brim.

PHASE 3: ASSURNAŠIRPAL I, C. 1045 BC

Abundant evidence for Assyrian court protocol appears in scenes on the White Obelisk (Sollberger 1974: Pls. XLII–XLVIII), probably carved early in the reign of Assurnasirpal I (1049–1031 BC). In nearly all the scenes, which show a wide range of subject-matter, the king can readily be identified through his place in the composition. When details are clear, he is wearing a fez. It is topped by a small knob or cone, and there is a slanting line indicating either an upturned brim or an outer diadem higher in front than behind. At least once, in the lower half of **Fig. 5** where the king is driving a chariot, the ribbon hangs down behind his shoulders; this is not seen on other figures.

Many courtiers on the White Obelisk are wearing flat-topped fezzes; every clearly drawn fez, as in the upper half of Fig. 5, seems to have the line of a diadem or upturned brim across it. Because at a later date Assyrian and indeed Babylonian priests wore fezzes or more elaborate hats derived from them (Magen 1986: Taf. 22.4; Reade 2005: 38–48), without diadems or brims, it has



Fig. 5. Detail of White Obelisk. Above: king and courtiers, wearing fezzes. Below: king in chariot, wearing fez with cone on top and with ribbon behind shoulder.

been proposed that the officials wearing fezzes on the White Obelisk were performing priestly functions (Unger 1938: 205). This cannot be right, as too many different kinds of people wear the fez and their activities are too various. For example, the upper half of Fig. 5 shows an early version of what became, in the ninth-eighth centuries, the classic reception scene of king with personal attendants around him and high officials in front. Here the king is on the right. Facing him are first his personal attendant who is a eunuch with a towel, then a bearded man with a bow who is either an official or a bodyguard, and then, probably, an official who is a eunuch. The next figure, who may or may not be bearded, is raising an arm to introduce a foreigner into the king's presence, as if he controlled access to the king; in later centuries the reception scene always has a eunuch raising his arm in this position. All the Assyrians here are wearing fezzes, but they are hardly performing priestly functions. Another proposal (Paley 1976: 29), that only eponyms were entitled to wear the fez, is not easy to verify or refute.

PHASES 1–3: COMPARATIVE BABYLONIAN EVIDENCE

Rows of bearded figures, presumably officials or courtiers although their status cannot be determined, were shown in paintings of the thirteenth-twelfth century found at Kassite Dur-



Kurigalzu (Taha 1946: 81–82, Pls. XII–XIV); some wore simple diadems or headbands, others fezzes, **Fig. 6**. The fezzes were recorded as painted white. Taha's drawing is admittedly "slightly reconstructed", and Tomabechi (1983: 129–131) has shown that it is inaccurate. Since the upper parts of the painting must have been the least well preserved, possibly these fezzes too had lines across them, and had been provided with upturned brims.

A fez with upturned brim is worn by a bearded man on a *kudurru* dated by Seidl (1989: 25, 79, no. 20) roughly to the reign of Melišipak, Kassite king of Babylon (c. 1176–1162 BC), **Fig. 7**; the man is officiating at an incense-altar, probably in front of a seated god. The original publication called this man a *grand prêtre*

Fig. 6. Kassite wearing fez in Dur-Kurigalzu wall-painting.

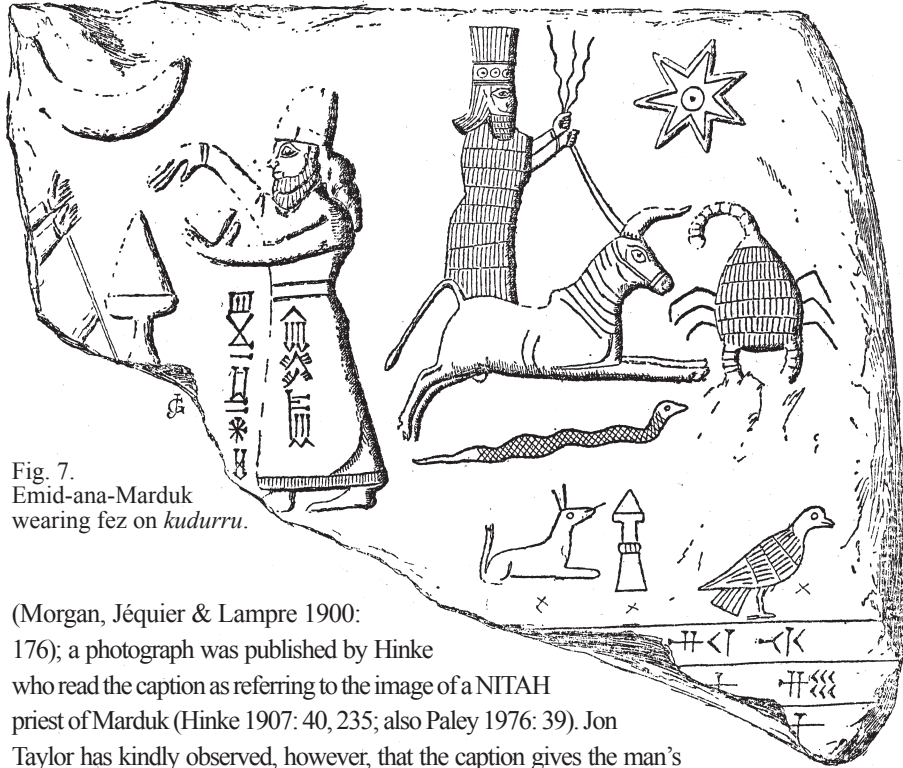


Fig. 7.
Emid-ana-Marduk
wearing fez on *kudurru*.

(Morgan, Jéquier & Lampre 1900: 176); a photograph was published by Hinke who read the caption as referring to the image of a NITAH priest of Marduk (Hinke 1907: 40, 235; also Paley 1976: 39). Jon Taylor has kindly observed, however, that the caption gives the man's name, Emid-ana-Marduk, and Irving Finkel has remarked that this may be a hitherto unnoticed Kassite king; indeed there do not seem to be any *kudurru* altar scenes in which the officiant can be identified as someone other than a king. The name of Emid-ana-Marduk was used by royalty, since one of the three men of this name listed by Clay (1912: 72; Torczyner 1913: 64–65) was a son of one of the kings called Kurigalzu

(possibly c. 1322–1298 BC). Emid-ana-Marduk has no title on the *kudurru*, but it could have been written in the broken area following his name. Two other *kudurrus* do show a king, Melišipak, in front of an altar (Seidl 1989: Taf. 11a–b); he is wearing a fez with a more prominent upturned brim, Fig. 8, which was interpreted by Unger (1938: 205) as



Fig. 8. Melišipak wearing fez on *kudurru*.

a combination of fez and helmet. On another *kudurru*, also ascribed roughly to the reign of Meliṣipak (Seidl 1989: 28–29, Taf. 14, no. 30), the officiant's hat is an eroded 'konische Kappe'.

Elamites destroyed the Kassite dynasty in the mid-twelfth century. Then, in or about the reign of Marduk-nadin-aḥḥe (c. 1101–1084 BC), there is evidence for three different royal hats. One is a cylindrical *polos*, slightly convex on top; its side is decorated with bands of feathers at the top and of apotropaic rosettes at the base (Seidl 1989: Taf. 27a); the king wearing this *polos* has his left arm raised, as if worshipping. The king can also carry a bow and arrows: then he either wears a *polos* which is similar but has a small rounded knob projecting upwards, like the top of a helmet, **Fig. 9**; or he wears a plainer hat, the top of which is missing but which may have been rounded, while its base has an upturned brim (Lambert 1981: 185, Fig. 5). The first of these hats was clearly based on the *polos* worn by gods, such as that on the right side of Fig. 7, and the other two also somewhat resemble the hats of gods, such as two on a Middle Assyrian royal seal (Parpola & Watanabe 1988: 28), but without the horns. In much the same way Assyrian queens wore mural crowns that had previously been worn, with horns, by goddesses (e.g. Boehmer 1981: 206–209, nos 72, 88). The *polos* remained in use at Babylon into the reign of Nabû-apla-iddina (c. 887–855 BC). This

latter wore in addition another type of hat, a conical cap with a heavy ribbon attached behind, **Fig. 10** (also Brinkman & Dalley 1988: 93–94), which thereafter continued in standard use until the Persian conquest of 539 BC.



PHASES 1–3: ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA

The evidence is sparse and fragile. New discoveries, especially more legible seal-impressions from places like Dur-Katlimmu, will change the picture. Nonetheless there are instructive similarities in

Fig. 9. Marduk-nadin-aḥḥe wearing *polos* with conical top on *kudurru*.



Fig. 10. Eunuch introducing Assurbanipal's general after the fall of Babylon; loot includes the conical Babylonian royal hat, with heavy ribbon.

the two sets of evidence, Assyrian and Babylonian, and the hats may reflect developments at both courts.

First, there is the use of the fez, a distinctive type of headgear. Its use is not confined to the real world, as it is worn by at least one god on a *kudurru* dated roughly to Melišipak (Seidl 1989: 27, Abb. 3); also Collon (1998: 27), to whom I owe this reference, has published a cylinder-seal that shows the fez worn by a hero fighting an ostrich, but she agrees that it may be modern rather than Assyrian. The fez was a standard form of headgear at Babylonian and Assyrian courts. While flattish caps had been worn not infrequently by people represented in art in Babylonia before 1500 BC, no such straightforward antecedents have been observed for the fez. This suggests that it was introduced from elsewhere. Paley (1976: 29, 40), after considering whether the fez might have been Babylonian, offered the alternative that it was Assyrian and had been adopted in Babylonia after Tukulti-Ninurta I's conquest of Babylon in the late thirteenth century. On the other hand the Kassites, whose homeland was in the mountains to the north-east of Babylonia and whose rulers established the kingdom of Karduniaš including Dur-Kurigalzu and Babylon, surely possessed their own forms of dress, which could well have included the fez (warm in winter). The first archaeologist to work in Assyria even remarked that the royal fez, in shape if not in material, "ressemble exactement aux bonnets actuels des Persans" (Botta & Flandin

1850: V, 84), though he might also have commented on the pointed felt caps worn in the Nestorian communities. The ruling families of Babylonia and Assyria were intermarrying with each other from at least the late fourteenth century on, long before Tukulti-Ninurta I, and were still doing so in the eleventh century. Assyria's initial status in this relationship was subordinate; many Assyrians were troubled by a sense of cultural inferiority with regard to Babylon, hence Tukulti-Ninurta I's "babylonism" (Fisher 2004: 102). So it seems more likely that the fez was an element of Kassite royal and court dress which travelled from Babylonia to Assyria, just as much later, in the ninth-eighth centuries, when Assyria was dominant, kings of less powerful states such as Suḫu, Šadikanni and Sam'al adopted Assyrianizing dress including royal headgear.

Secondly, kings in both kingdoms display a range of hats. In Assyria there is the fez, the tall fez resembling a *polos*, and either of these with a conical top; in Babylonia there is the fez, the *polos*, the *polos* with a conical top, and the conical cap. It seems unlikely that there was any parallel to later Sasanian practice, whereby each new king had his own version of a traditional crown, and the variations need to be explained somehow. A simple explanation, in Assyria, is that the fez was the normal royal headgear, and that taller versions of it were used on some ceremonial occasions. The same could apply in Babylonia, where there is the additional possibility that some post-Kassite kings associated the fez with Kassite dress and opted for something different.

By the mid ninth century both kingdoms had settled for their own distinctive royal hats, the Assyrians for the fez with a conical top and the Babylonians for the conical cap. While Moortgat (1969: 124) called the Assyrian version the "cap of the Babylonian kingdom", there does not seem to be evidence for it being worn by a Babylonian whereas there is now the possible Assyrian precedent (Fischer 2004: 103). On the other hand there were close relations between the two kingdoms in the early eleventh century. Around 1090 BC Tiglath-pileser I captured Dur-Kurigalzu and Babylon, while his son Aššur-bel-kala (1073–1056 BC) reportedly appointed the next Babylonian king, Adad-apla-iddina (c. 1070–1049 BC), married his daughter, and took her home with a vast dowry (Grayson 1975: 165). So the Assyrian king will have been aware of current fashions. Since the Babylonian on Fig. 9 is carrying weapons, the cone on top of his *polos* may indicate or symbolize the presence of a conical helmet inside it, and the Assyrian royal hat too could have copied this, amalgamating fez and helmet, as advocated by Paley (1976: 30–31).

At the historical stage represented by the White Obelisk, the king in his court was still presented as *primus inter pares*, first among equals, rather than as a monarch (Moortgat 1969: 125). This was still the Middle Assyrian kingdom first described by Weidner (1936): the king was surrounded by noble members of a hereditary oligarchy, who recorded titles and parentage on their eponym stelas (Andrae 1913);

there were powerful eunuchs too, but relatively few. Nobles, eunuchs and servants could all wear fezzes. The king was distinguished by the cone on his fez, and perhaps by other elements of his dress such as colour. His physical appearance on most of the White Obelisk panels, however, does not yet suggest the *numen* and exceptional status attributed to Assyrian kings both in their bombastic official records and in other sculptured monuments, such as Aššur-bel-kala's Broken Obelisk (e.g. Reade 2005: 37, fig. 5), which present him as viceroy of Assur.

PHASE 4: ASSURNAŠIRPAL II – SHALMANESER III, C. 865–825 BC

The next development in protocol represents a significant enhancement in visible royal status. Two glazed tiles from the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884 BC), each of which shows a bareheaded Assyrian charioteer, leave the status of the fez uncertain (Andrae 1925: Pls. 7–8). Narrative scenes made for Assurnāširpal II (883–859 BC) and Shalmaneser III (858–824 BC), however, distinguish in several ways between the king and his entourage (Reade 1981: 152). Most prominently the king wears a fez, while ordinary Assyrian courtiers do not, **Fig. 11**; the one exception is a priest (e.g. Reade 2005: 42, Fig. 10), whose fez is flat-topped, sinuous-sided like those of later Assyrian priests, and has no upturned brim.

Many fine and detailed images of this type of royal fez are available, made between the reigns of Assurnāširpal II and Adad-nerari III (810–783 BC), and it

Fig. 11. Libation scene. Left: Assurnāširpal II with two servants; he wears a fez with conical top, and ribbon at back. Right: crown prince wearing diadem and ribbon at back, followed by eunuch with turban. All three also wear tassels as necklace counterweights.



probably continued in use into the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 BC). The proportions of different fezzes vary (e.g. Börker-Klähn 1982 II: Abb. 134–136, 161–165); it looks as if, as suggested for the Middle Assyrian period, the king tended to use a taller fez when performing ritual. A common feature is that the outer diadem or upturned brim, which as on the White Obelisk is higher in front than behind, is protected by rosettes. The top of the fez is framed by a decorated band, and the cone on top can be decorated too. The ribbons behind the king's shoulders are clearly attached at the back of the fez. There is also some record of colour. A surviving sculpture of Assurnāṣirpal has part of the front and side of the brim painted red (Kinnier Wilson 1962: 92, Pl. XXXIb). Reade (1963: 43) describes a Shalmaneser III fez depicted on glazed bricks as white with black outlines, "with a green six-petalled rosette on its front and a plain white band hanging down behind". The absence of red on these bricks is perhaps because, in the ninth century, the Assyrians were unable to create a reliable red glaze.

One other bearded man, who is usually located first in line before the king, has exceptional headgear, Fig. 11; he is manifestly second in importance to the king. He wears a diadem, with ribbons attached, which is much like the diadem or upturned brim that forms the lowest element of the king's fez. This figure, largely unchanged, is also present in illustrations from the reign of Tiglath-pileser III until that of Esarhaddon (680–669 BC); whether his equivalent had appeared wearing a fez on the White Obelisk cannot be determined (e.g. Sollberger 1974: Pls. XLVI–XLVII, panels A2, D4). Since a study by Reade (1982) it has become conventional and convenient to call this figure the crown prince, which will nearly always be effectively correct, although we do not know when the formal status of crown prince, *mār šarri ša bēt rēdūti*, was introduced. In the ninth century, under Assurnāṣirpal II and Shalmaneser III, the man in the diadem was surely in practice one of the king's sons, first Shalmaneser and then Aššur-da''in-aplu, since both must have played leading roles during their fathers' reigns; the same applies to the man in the diadem from the reign of Tiglath-pileser III on. Eighth-century evidence, however, discussed below, suggests that the diadem could be worn by the senior member of the king's household even if this person was not himself crown prince.

Another type of headgear also appears, a variety of turban, headcloth or bandanna since a knot or fold is occasionally visible at the front; it is tied around the head and covers more of the back of the hair than the front, **Figs. 11–12**. The discussion of this item by Reade (1972: 95), who was slightly misled by thinking of it as a headband, provides references but conflates evidence from the ninth and eighth centuries. In the ninth century the turban is usually worn by a eunuch whose status is independently demonstrated by the position he occupies: when not engaged in warfare, he stands with folded hands second in line before the king, next to the crown prince. More than one eunuch in line before the king could wear this turban,



Fig. 12. Submission scene. Left: Shalmaneser III with two guards: he wears a fez with conical top, and ribbon. Right: crown prince wearing diadem but with ribbon omitted, followed by eunuch wearing turban.

but not all qualified. Those who did not included, besides the king's personal servants, the eunuch who is regularly seen waving an arm to introduce processions into the royal presence; the latter does once wear the turban on the Black Obelisk, c. 825 BC, but this monument is unreliable, presenting other anomalies including the crown prince without a ribbon at his back (Börker-Klähn 1982 II: 152 A 1, 152 D 2). Most ninth-century bearded courtiers in line before the king are bareheaded, but a few, on the Black Obelisk and on Shalmaneser's Nimrud throne-base, wear the turban; perhaps the person who carved them copied the feature from neighbouring eunuchs. If so, we could postulate a ninth-century rule, not strictly observed on the sculptures, whereby turbans were reserved for a few eunuchs of very high status such as the *turtānu*, or for royal siblings.

In any case, by late in the reign of Assurnasirpal II at the latest, this type of turban had replaced the fez for some courtiers, particularly eunuchs, as a mark of exceptional status. Such a conspicuous change could have been gradual or sudden, by royal decree. It can only be dated approximately, as occurring after the time of the White Obelisk in the eleventh century. It may be linked, however, with other political developments. It seems unlikely that there were major innovations during the period of struggle and isolation through which Assyria passed before the accession of Aššur-dan II (934–912 BC). He and his immediate descendants, however, to judge by their achievements, were strong men interested in reestablishing Assyrian

power, and they will also have been interested in extending royal privileges and influence. Another, related, development is the process by which the old noble families, who had once dominated the internal structures of society, were elbowed aside by the growing corps of royal eunuchs, administrators answerable to the king. These eponyms, on their stelas (Andrae 1913), no longer give their parentage.

The source of all the eunuchs is arguable. The best theory known to me is that they were drawn from the ranks of superfluous royal male children born to concubines (Guild 1989: 17–23). This would help explain why, at the end of the reign of Shalmaneser III, they were able to take such a substantial degree of power into their own hands (Reade 1981: 156–159; Grayson 1993), and why, at least in the seventh century, some of them had royal aspirations: thus at one stage it seemed possible that the chief eunuch might seize the throne (Parpola 1993a: 143), and Sin-šumu-lešir briefly succeeded in doing so in 627 or 626 BC.

PHASE 5: BELU-LU-BALAṬ – ŠAMŠI-ILU, C. 815–750 BC

There is little evidence from this period; royal fezzes are known, but no turbans. The rules on headgear may not have changed between Phases 4 and 6, but two items deserve attention.

A fragmentary stone vessel bears an inscription stating that it was dedicated to the god Nergal by the *turtānu* Belu-lu-balaṭ (Curtis & Grayson 1982: 87, 91–93, Pls. II.4, IIIb); Grayson wrongly dated the piece to Shalmaneser III, but Belu-lu-balaṭ was *turtānu* during 814 under Šamši-Adad V (823–811 BC). Small-scale carving of modest quality on the vessel includes a formal composition with two kneeling figures facing one another across a statue or symbol which itself is lost, **Fig. 13**. The figure on the right is bearded and wears the familiar fez, with ribbon, and royal ritual robe; he is undoubtedly the king. The figure on the left seems bearded, with broadly similar dress and ribbon behind his shoulders, like the king, but close study reveals that the top of his head is rounded as if he is wearing a diadem but no fez. It seems unlikely that he is either the king without his fez, or the crown prince, as

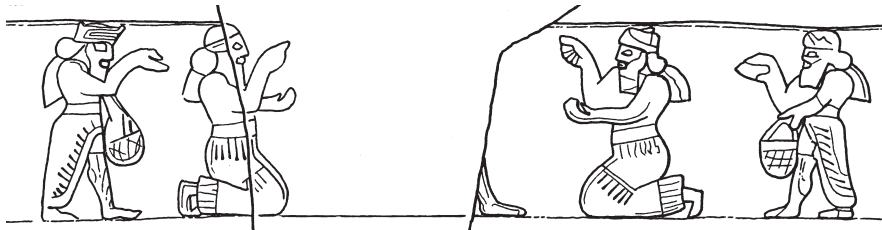


Fig. 13. Carved vessel fragment from Tarbišu. Magical spirits flank men kneeling before a lost image. Right: Šamši-Adad V, wearing fez with conical top and ribbon. Left: bearded person with diadem and ribbon, perhaps Belu-lu-balaṭ, the *turtānu*.

the next king, Adad-nerari III, was probably a child under his mother's wing at the time of his succession. It seems much more likely that the lefthand figure is Belu-lu-balaṭ the *turtānu*, who actually dedicated the vessel, in which case a *turtānu* was sometimes entitled to wear the ritual robe and diadem with ribbons, and Belu-lu-balaṭ was either a bearded man or a eunuch shown as bearded. There are too many imponderables to base conclusions on this item, but it relates to the next.

Three bronze coffins were found in the antechamber of Royal Tomb III at Nimrud (Muzahem & Amer 2000: 115–117). Bones in the coffins had originally been buried elsewhere and were very confused; they were identified as belonging to several men, women and children, with no mention of eunuchs who were perhaps not considered (Schultz & Kunter 1999: 124–125). Associated finds included the stamp-seal of *Ha-ma-a*, queen of Shalmaneser IV (Muzahem & Amer 2000: 399, pic. 183), for the full names on which I am indebted to Farouk al-Rawi, and the cylinder-seal of a royal eunuch of Adad-nerari III (Muzahem & Amer 2000: 396, pic. 180; Abdulillah 1990: 481). The places where these remains had previously been buried had probably been in the Palace of Adad-nerari, which must have adjoined or impinged on the area where Tiglath-pileser III began building a new palace for himself about 728 BC, and the latter will have needed to remove and rebury the contents of recent burials encountered on the site. Now, among the finds was a gold bowl inscribed with the name of Šamši-ilu and incised with symbols, probably lion and scorpion hieroglyphs which refer to an Assyrian king and queen

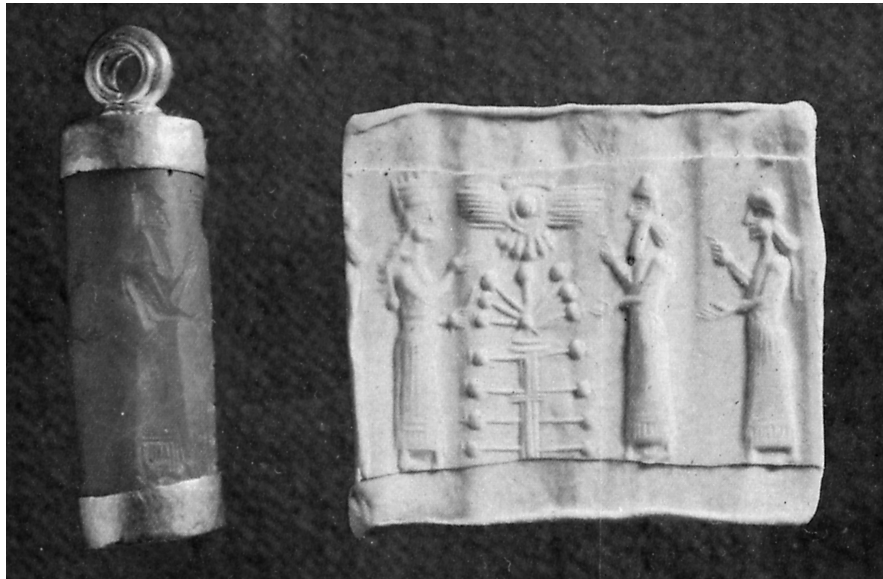


Fig. 14. Seal from Nimrud, with impression. Left: queen and king on either side of sacred tree with winged disc above. Right: eunuch with ribbon, perhaps Šamši-ilu, the *turtānu*.

(Muzahem & Amer 2000: 363, pic. 152; Abdulillah 1990: 482). This must be the famous Šamši-ilu who held the office of *turtānu* in four reigns, from some time before 782 until 752 BC or later, and who must have been for a long time the most powerful individual in the realm. There is then a fair chance that he was buried here, together with his seal.

A handsome cylinder-seal made of red stone with gold fittings from Tomb III has a unique theme (Muzahem & Amer 2000: 397, pic. 181), **Fig. 14**. It represents the king and queen on either side of a sacred tree with a winged disc above it; the king has his fez, the queen her mural crown. Behind the king is a beardless figure, a court eunuch. A ribbon hangs down this man's back; while it can be hard to distinguish between ribbons and the large counterweights for necklaces that were sometimes worn, this item is too long to be simply a counterweight. The top of his head is unclear, but he must be wearing a diadem to which the ribbon was attached. This person must also be the owner of the seal, which belongs in a family of seals of eighth-century court eunuchs (Watanabe 1993), but it has no inscription in the cuneiform script. The winged disc, with Šamaš as god, might qualify as a rebus writing for Šamši-ilu, but this element of the design is commonplace. Perhaps the theme of a eunuch wearing a diadem with ribbon, in the presence of both king and queen, was so special that no inscription was required. This could well be the expected seal of Šamši-ilu, who will then have worn the diadem and ribbon in his capacity as *turtānu*, albeit not crown prince.

PHASES 6–7: TIGLATH-PILESER III AND SARGON II, C. 730–705 BC

With Tiglath-pileser III there is a final change in the basic form of the royal fez. The taller variety becomes standard, with an additional decorative or embroidered band centrally placed between the topmost band and the band representing a diadem or upturned brim below, **Fig. 15**. The standard decoration on all three bands is a row of rosettes for magical protection. Two explanations for Tiglath-pileser's additional central band suggest themselves. Either he awarded it to himself in order to emphasize his legitimacy after usurping the throne in 745 BC, or he did so after his successful campaign to Babylonia in 729 BC, which led to his becoming king of Babylon. The second explanation looks much more likely to be correct: also, the fez on a royal stele of 737 BC is damaged but it is not tall, and may have two bands rather than three (Tadmor 1994: Pl. XXX). This new type of fez with three bands of decoration was retained throughout the seventh century.

The extra central band of decoration is not visible on all royal fezzes carved in Tiglath-pileser's palace and in later reigns, but, like decoration on the cone on top, it does seem to be present on all those well-preserved examples which have



Fig. 15. Tiglath-pileser III wearing fez with three bands of decoration, plain conical top and ribbon, accompanied by bareheaded charioteer and servant.

been carved with care on an adequate scale to accommodate such detail. There are also, in the later eighth and in the seventh centuries, variations in the carving of these fezzes that look superficial or fashionable. The most obvious is that the diadem or brim at the base, which had originally been higher at the front than at the back, can become level, resembling simply an attached band of embroidery; the evidence for this development does not seem to follow a consistent pattern. The decoration on the cone also varies; the most informative examples date from Assurbanipal (668–631 BC). The fez in **Fig. 16** is one of four which were carved on panels showing lion-hunts in a single room about 645 BC and which are fairly well-preserved. Despite the closely related contexts, each one of these fezzes has a different arrangement of the decoration on the cone, which virtually proves that the details are without symbolic significance.

On the other hand, for Sargon's fez, there are three colour-schemes, all probably shown in different contexts. A detailed painted version (Botta & Flandin 1850 I:

Fig. 16. Assurbanipal wearing fez with three bands of decoration, decorated conical top and ribbon, accompanied by charioteer wearing chaplet.



Pl. 12) shows the fez as white, with three red bands decorated with white rosettes. Glazed bricks show the opposite design, in which the fez is red, having three white bands decorated with yellow rosettes (Botta & Flandin 1850 II: Pl. 155.2; Albenda 1986: Pl. 150.2). There is plenty of red on a fez shown in a Til-Barsip painting of the *premier style*, probably painted about 725–720 BC although later repainting cannot be excluded (Parrot 1961a: 214, Fig. 266), but the details are unclear. Other Sargon glazed bricks, made for

temple platforms, show an overall yellow fez with blue circles decorating the upper two bands only (Place & Thomas 1870: Pl. 27). The several colours of the glazed bricks on these platforms are surprising as originally published, but Loud (1936: 96–97; Loud & Altman 1938: 41) gave the selfsame description for them and for other bricks that in his view had not deteriorated with age. On a Til-Barsip painting of the *dernier style*, which can be dated to Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal and shows another lion-hunt, the king's fez is a dingy brown all over except for the tip of the cone, and it does not even have decorated bands (Parrot 1961a: 270, Fig. 345); this is in sharp contrast to the reds and blues of the same king's robe. Perhaps this fez was once overlaid with fine colours like purple which faded. Meanwhile the ribbons, on Til-Barsip paintings of both the *premier* and the *dernier style*, are red and blue, while the one on the Khorsabad temple bricks is yellow like most of the king's robe and even his mace. This evidence implies that a king possessed fezzes with several colour-schemes, but does not demonstrate that there was a system defining when each should be worn.

From this phase there are also records of the colours of the crown prince's diadem and ribbons. Red, white and blue appear on paintings of the *premier style* at Til-Barsip (Parrot 1961a: 103–104, Figs. 112–113), with colour concentrated at the fringed end of the ribbon. On a Sargon sculpture the diadem and ribbons were red, while a row of rosettes around the diadem were either white or had lost their paint (Botta & Flandin 1850 I: Pl. 12).

The turban wound over the back of the head appears definitely on only one Tiglath-pileser III panel. A photograph (Sobolewski 1977: 235, Fig. 8) shows it worn by a eunuch standing behind the crown prince, just as in the ninth century. Alongside him, and largely obscured by him, stands a bearded official; the front of a similar turban was visible on his head according to a drawing made when the panel was in better condition (Barnett & Falkner 1962: Pl. VIII). At least two other Tiglath-pileser eunuchs seem to have had a turban which was subsequently deleted (Barnett & Falkner 1962: Pls. XXI, C), as on both the area of the hair which a turban would have covered has been carved in a different way from that on the rest of the head. Another eunuch, who follows the crown prince (Barnett & Falkner 1962: Pl. LXXXV), has a curving incision crossing his hair, as if a turban had been outlined on the stone by the man in charge but had been missed by the actual stone-cutter; or there had been a turban here too, deleted less obtrusively than the rest. A few other Tiglath-pileser III eunuchs on isolated fragmentary panels, whose hands are folded as if they are standing in front of the king, do not have turbans or signs of them. The deletions could in theory have been made at any time until Tiglath-pileser's palace was demolished in the 670s, as the rooms presumably remained available for official use even though parts of the building were never finished.

In paintings of the *premier style* at Til-Barsip (Thureau-Dangin & Dunand 1936: Pls. L, LII), the turban is worn by a eunuch certainly and, less certainly because of surface damage, by one bearded man. The Til-Barsip painting provides a colour for the turban: it is white (Parrot 1961a: 103, Fig. 113). Other eunuchs standing in front of the king are bareheaded.

There is just one known example of the turban being worn in Sargon's palace at Khorsabad, again by a eunuch following the crown prince, **Fig. 17**; its exact provenance is unsure (Room VI, panel 16?), but none of the drawings made at the time this palace was excavated show turbans like these, despite the large number of eunuchs and bearded men standing in line before the king, which suggests that they were not a common feature. Close inspection of this eunuch's head shows that his turban was at least partly recarved, with hair covering the raised section of it



Fig. 17. Eunuch of Sargon, with hair at back overrunning turban.

at the back, but the job was not finished and so it resembles a plain headband; this problem is discussed further below.

During about 730–705 BC, therefore, at any one time, the turban could be worn by at least one senior eunuch. Some other senior eunuchs did not wear it, nor did junior eunuchs. Two bearded courtiers seem to be shown wearing it. The deletion of such a specific feature as the turban at Nimrud and possibly at Khorsabad is suspicious, even though several other examples at Nimrud and Til-Barsip were untouched.

Moreover these turbans do not reappear in seventh-century illustrations. The best surviving image from Sennacherib's palace to show the traditional row of courtiers, officials or officers in front of the king includes a eunuch second in line behind the crown prince (Barnett, Bleibtreu & Turner 1998: Pl. 35). He occupies the position traditionally assigned to a eunuch wearing a turban, but is bareheaded. This is a campaign scene, however; unlike the crown prince, he is wearing a short tunic and armoured leggings, so probably would not have been wearing a court turban even if entitled to it. A sculpture of the Late Group, possibly made for Sîn-šarru-iškun (626–612 BC), shows a line of three eunuchs who look like senior officials; they are in a novel position, stationed behind the king's chariot (Barnett, Bleibtreu & Turner 1998: Pl. 189). This scene too takes place on campaign and they are wearing helmets, so whether they were entitled to special headgear at home is unknown. There is one composition, however, in which the turban would surely have appeared, if still in use in the seventh century. This is a formal Assurbanipal triumph at Nineveh, dated around 660–650 BC. The king is attended there by two rows of alternating bearded men and eunuchs, evidently the *ša-rēšāni ša-ziqnāni* of the texts, and they are all bareheaded (Starr 1990: 146, Fig. 41).

It is likely therefore that, at some time around 705 BC, between the carving of the stone panels in Sargon's palace and the abandonment of both Khorsabad and Nimrud as major royal residences, this distinctive turban ceased to be worn by the highest eunuch or eunuchs at court, and that the change reflected a diminution in his or their powers and privileges. Such a thing might have happened when the great reformer Sennacherib, as crown prince, was asserting himself and supplanting for instance the influence of Sin-aḫu-ušur, Sargon's trusted brother who occupied the largest house outside the royal palace (Loud & Altman 1938: 69). This hypothesis fits conveniently with the reduced status of some of the eunuchs at court that is suggested by illustrations in Sennacherib's own palace (Reade 1981: 164–165). Senior eunuchs too, as opposed to servants, are rare in Sennacherib's narrative illustrations: normally he seems to have preferred the company of bareheaded bearded men. Further evidence for this is found in two surviving panels of a Sargon hunt scene, each of which includes a small-scale bearded man who had originally been carved as a eunuch (Albenda 1986: Figs.

76–77); Shahrokh Razmjou observed this change on a panel in London, whereupon it became obvious on the other, which is in Paris.

PHASES 6–7: INAPPROPRIATE HEADBANDS

Many heads of courtiers in Sargon’s Khorsabad sculptures were recarved after completion. A long sequence of panels on Facade n showed high officials, both eunuchs and bearded men, immediately in front of the king, with junior eunuchs bringing palace furniture and other equipment; another sequence on the same facade showed the king and high officials receiving tribute-bearers. Virtually all the Assyrian men and eunuchs on this facade, so far as they are known (Loud 1936: Figs. 40–44; Albenda 1986: 156–157, Figs. 35–37, 39–43), apart from the king and crown prince, were originally carved with simple headbands. These were later cut out and replaced by hair in a slightly different style. Albenda (1986: 156–157) calls them headbands “indicated in the texture of the hair”, but this is not an artistic effect. The man originally responsible for Facade n thought or was told that everyone should have headbands, and so they were carved there, but he was deemed wrong, and the headbands were removed. The figure on the right side of **Fig. 18** needed more drastic alteration. Traces are visible of the beard, diadem or headband,

Fig. 18. Left: Sargon’s crown prince, wearing diadem and ribbon. Right: eunuch, with traces of deleted beard, headband and ribbon at back.



and ribbons with which he was originally provided, so that he was very similar to the crown prince beside him; in the process of correction he was transformed into a eunuch (Reade 2000: 609). In practice some of courtiers probably did wear headbands, which was why they were carved in this way. There must have been some latitude at times, since hair can need to be kept under control, and in narrative scenes elsewhere an attendant eunuch and two guards close to the king are shown wearing headbands while others with similar functions in other scenes are not (Botta & Flandin 1850 II: Pls. 94, 100, 113).

Another sequence of Sargon panels, on Facade L, again showed the king and high officials, both eunuchs and bearded men, with more eunuchs bringing palace furniture and other equipment. At least some eunuchs here have red lines like headbands painted across the hair (Albenda 1986: 168, Figs. 70–71, 73; also BM 118812). It is as if the same man who had mistakenly designed headbands on the Facade n figures had inspected those on Facade L, and marked headbands on them in red, with a view to recarving, because he thought they had been omitted mistakenly. In the event nothing was done: the red marks remained, however, because there was no point in removing them when the intention was to paint all the hair black.

It is not impossible that the people who carved the superfluous headbands on Facade n saw the turban on the eunuch in Fig. 17 and attempted to change it into a headband. It is also possible that the people who had the job of removing the superfluous headbands on Facade n made a mistake of their own, and began to remove the turban in Fig. 17, but were interrupted in doing so. In either case the damage to this turban would lose its potential political significance, but we would still need to account for the deletion of some Tiglath-pileser turbans.

Headbands or rather chaplets are also worn by some courtiers and soldiers in paintings of the *premier style* at Til-Barsip (Thureau-Dangin & Dunand 1936: Pls. LI–LII). The excavators noted alterations in one of these paintings in Room XLVII, with two eunuchs becoming bearded soldiers, and earrings changing their design (Thureau-Dangin & Dunand 1936: 64–65, Pl. XLIV); these alterations could have been made to conform with seventh-century practice, because the same room contains paintings of the *dernier style* on another wall. It seems unlikely, however, that the chaplets in Room XLVII represent a similar alteration to the original painting, as there are also chaplets, unusually elaborate with flaps at the back, in Room XXIV where there are no *dernier style* paintings. The Til-Barsip painters were probably recording the kind of thing they really saw, just as they recorded a type of soldier's helmet that is unknown in sculptures from the Assyrian heartland.

PHASE 8: SENNACHERIB – CYAXARES, C. 700–600 BC

The three-banded royal fez persisted through most of the seventh century, and appears in the embossed narrative decoration of a gold scabbard from the “Oxus Treasure”; there it is worn by two trousered Iranians on horseback who are shown killing lions, like an Assyrian king on a palace mural. The scabbard was once regarded as sixth- or fifth-century, but Boardman (2006) has dated it around 600 BC and revived the idea that it is Median. Barnett (1957: 76), in view of the fez, rightly suggested that one horseman should be a king, and opted for Astyages, king of Media in the sixth century. The earlier date allows us to propose instead that this is Cyaxares, who captured Nineveh in 612 BC. The scene on the scabbard, unless purely symbolic, may recall a triumphant lion-hunt on that very occasion. We do not know if the Median king continued to wear the hat afterwards.

The diadem and ribbon were still worn by the crown princes of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon. They were also sometimes worn by Assurbanipal, even when he was king, while killing animals or enjoying a picnic. The turban, as noted above, had probably disappeared: the king’s senior courtiers, both eunuchs and bearded men, are bareheaded at court. There is instead a new form of headgear, a chaplet consisting of two or more strands of cord or beads, as worn by the king’s charioteer in Fig. 16; it is entirely unlike a plain broad headband then worn by women of the royal household (e.g. Barnett 1976: Pl. LXV). Under both Sennacherib and Assurbanipal many of the mace-bearers, grooms, soldiers, and other such bearded men on the palace staff regularly wear this chaplet, though not usually eunuchs, and it is not shown as worn by ordinary people (e.g. Barnett 1976: Pls. V–VI). Probably anyone wearing the chaplet was recognised with respect in the streets of Nineveh as a member of the royal household.

One other feature deserves notice. Down to the reign of Sennacherib, scenes of triumph show the crown prince standing first in line before the king. There are several narrative sequences, dated around 645 BC, which show the wars of Assurbanipal. Each composition usually culminates in a procession of prisoners and booty moving towards a eunuch who waves his arm in traditional mode as he presents them to the king standing in his chariot; it is an artificial scene because the campaigns took place far away from Nineveh and Assurbanipal did not participate in many of them. Always, when the detail is clear, there is a bareheaded bearded man in court dress who leads the procession of captives forward, as in the scene recording the capture of Babylon in 648 BC on Fig. 10. This man is the magnate formally responsible for victory, but he is bareheaded; presumably this means that there was at the time no crown prince, endowed with a diadem, to take the credit. The magnate is surely waiting to be identified in that other great work of reference initiated by Simo, *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*.

CONCLUSION

The writing of this paper generated unexpected work. It was not my intention to involve Kassite kings, Middle Assyrian archives, the royal tombs of Nimrud, the reworking of sculptures, the colours of the royal fez, and the Oxus Treasure. That I have felt driven to do so offers some insight into the amount of elementary research which can occasionally still need doing in this kind of field. The closer one looks at the familiar data, the more questions and hypotheses emerge, even while the general pattern remains clear.

Royal hats used in the twelfth and eleventh centuries emphasize the intimate connections between the courts of Babylon and Assur and between gods and royalty. The fez, perhaps Kassite in origin, was worn by a god, kings and courtiers in Babylonia, and by Assyrian kings and courtiers. The *polos*, respectively with and without horns, was worn by gods and by Babylonian kings, while a hat which is either a *polos*, like a god's, or a high almost cylindrical fez, was worn in some rituals by Assyrian kings; similarly the Assyrian queen's mural hat, attested later, was based on the hat of a goddess. A version of the fez, with conical top, decorations, and ribbon attached at the back, became established as the Assyrian royal hat, reappearing after the Aramean incursions of the eleventh and tenth centuries; in the ninth century the Babylonians too settled for a single design of royal hat. Thereafter the Assyrian fez remained in principle unchanged, except that a taller version was worn in ritual contexts, until Tiglath-pileser added an extra band of decoration, perhaps alluding to his conquest of Babylon. Under Sargon there is good evidence for the colour of the hat, and at least three varieties are known. This shape of hat continued to be worn by seventh-century Assyrian kings and perhaps even, to celebrate the fall of Nineveh, by Cyaxares the Mede.

The king's deputy or second-in-command wore a diadem with ribbon attached at the back. This person is attested between the reigns of Assurnasirpal II and Esarhaddon, and will normally have been the crown prince or heir apparent. In the eighth century, however, a cylinder-seal shows the ribbon and presumably the diadem worn by a eunuch, attending on the king and queen; he is very likely the celebrated *turtānu*, Šamši-ilu.

Courtiers had worn the fez in the Middle Assyrian period, but are no longer seen to do so in the ninth century, when there is a greater visual divide between them and the king. This development coincided with and likely reflected the partial replacement of the old Assyrian nobility by the corps of royal eunuchs who in the course of this century came to dominate the empire. Some of the most important of these men wore a turban which was usually wound round the head in a distinctive fashion, so that the top of the hair was covered at the back but not at the front. It is likely that this mark of rank, if not the rank it marked, was eliminated near the end

of the eighth century. The change will have heralded Sennacherib's reform of the Assyrian administrative system.

In the sculptures of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal the king's highest ministers apart from the crown prince are seldom identifiable, and when they are identifiable they do not wear hats. In contrast the king, in his tall fez, is ever more remote and unapproachable. It is a complete contrast with the Middle Assyrian situation. The men who wore their status on their heads were now at a lower level in the official hierarchy, the soldiers and grooms of the royal guard with their distinctive chaplets.

If we compare the messages transmitted by these illustrations of ancient Assyria with other contemporary sources, we find both parallels and divergencies, with evidence for political developments which sometimes are and sometimes are not attested in other ways. In effect, the sets of data we happen to possess describe alternative universes. At one extreme there is the archaeological universe of material culture, accompanied by documents such as the letters published in *State Archives of Assyria* which refer to a real world. At another extreme there are the idealising formal documents such as royal inscriptions. The illustrations occupy an intermediate space: they are intended to represent the unreal universe of the royal inscriptions, but it was not so easy to illustrate a concept. Reality is liable to intrude, and men wear hats to which they are not entitled.

SOURCES OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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Fig. 1. Fragment of stone lid from Assur. Ass. 6050; Berlin, VA 7989 (Andrae 1977: 159, Abb. 137).

Fig. 2. Drawing of cast of Tiglath-pileser I carving at the source of the Tigris (Börker-Klähn 1982 II: Abb. 130).

Fig. 3. Drawing of seal-impression from Assur. Ass. 18771bt; Berlin, VAT 9662 + 15473 (Andrae 1977: 155, Abb. 132).

Fig. 4. Drawing of seal-impression from Assur. Ass. 18771bt; Berlin, VAT 9662 + 15473 (Moortgat 1944: Abb. 46).

Fig. 5. White Obelisk, panels B5–6, from Nineveh. London, BM 118807 (Reade 1975: Pl. XXXIb).

Fig. 6. Copy of wall-painting excavated in palace at Dur-Kurigalzu (Taha 1946: 82, Pl. XII).

Fig. 7. Drawing of Emid-ana-Marduk *kudurru* fragment from Susa. Paris, SB 3226 (Morgan, Jéquier & Lampre 1900: 176, Fig. 382).

Fig. 8. Detail of Melišipak *kudurru* from Susa. Paris, SB 23 (Seidl 1989: Taf. 11a).

Fig. 9. Detail of *kudurru* ascribed to Marduk-nadin-aḥḥe, reportedly from Babylon. London, BM 90841 (King 1912 II: Pl. LIV).

Fig. 10. Detail of Assurbanipal wall-panel from Nineveh. London, BM 124945-6 (British Museum photograph).

Fig. 11. Detail of Assurnaširpal wall-panel from Nimrud. London, BM 124533 (Factum Arte scan).

Fig. 12. Black Obelisk, panels A1–2, from Nimrud. London, BM 118885 (British Museum photograph).

Fig. 13. Fragment of stone vessel from Tarbišu. London, BM 90960 (drawing by Ann Searight).

Fig. 14. Cylinder-seal and impression from Tomb III, Nimrud. Baghdad, IM 115642 (Muzahem & Amer 2000: 397, pic. 181).

Fig. 15. Detail of Tiglath-pileser wall-panel from Nimrud. London, BM 118908 (British Museum photograph).

Fig. 16. Detail of Assurbanipal wall-panel from Nineveh. London, BM 124867 (British Museum photograph).

Fig. 17. Detail of Sargon wall-panel from Khorsabad. London, BM 118823 (British Museum photograph).

Fig. 18. Detail of Sargon wall-panel from Khorsabad. Chicago, OIM A7368 (Reade 2000: 620, Fig. 1).