

## THE GODLIKE SEMBLANCE OF A KING: THE CASE OF SENNACHERIB'S ROCK RELIEFS

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The deification of rulers in first-millennium Assyria is far less traceable and clear than the short-lived royal deification during the late third and early second millennium in Mesopotamia (Sallaberger 1999, 152-154; J. G. Westenholz and A. Westenholz 2006): neither were the names of the Neo-Assyrian kings prefixed with the *dingir* determinative nor were temples built for them as was the case with their predecessors. Nevertheless, indications of a process of the elevation of Neo-Assyrian kings and hints at the increased status of the Assyrian kings by lending them divine-like properties are encountered in monumental Neo-Assyrian art. As phrased by Irene Winter (1997, 376),

while in the Neo-Assyrian period the king does not *claim* to be a god, he is not averse to claims of having been divinely shaped, . . . to being seen as the very likeness of a god.

Focusing on the divine-like properties of the king as manifested in art in a Festschrift in honor of Irene Winter is, of course, not a coincidence. This issue was examined by Winter in some of her various contributions by which I was profoundly inspired. Among these are her seminal papers on Ur III glyptics (1986, 1987), on the Gudea statues (1992), and on the Neo-Assyrian royal image (1997) that initially motivated me to investigate the intricate subject of king and god in Mesopotamian art. Although I never had the opportunity to be Irene's formal student, I consider myself as one, and this contribution is a small token presented to her with love and deep gratitude.

Indeed, we can detect several artistic devices that convey a tendency to promote the monarch in Neo-Assyrian imagery. Among these pictorial means is, for example, the gradual removal of protective divinities from the proximity of the king on Assyrian wall reliefs, leaving him as the sole elevated figure within the composition and

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granting him roles previously carried out by these secondary divinities (Ornan 2005a). Another manner in which the king was elevated and was represented as if he were a god was by showing him enthroned while facing to the left—a stance usually reserved for the representation of major Mesopotamian deities—as is shown, for example, in some depictions of Sennacherib (Barnett et al. 1998, pls. 343, 412). Among these visual means of elevation we may also include the contrast in scale between the ruler and the divine presence—carved in very small emblematic form—on royal steles, where the huge gap in dimensions no doubt emphasized the status of the king to the onlooker (Ornan 2005b, 135-136).

My aim here is to shed light on yet another pictorial device for the upgrading of the royal image in official Assyrian art, namely the depiction of the ruler alongside and close to a major god in anthropomorphic shape. I maintain that this manner of representation makes use of the physical likeness between the earthly king and the heavenly one in order to elevate the former. The physical semblance emerging between king and god increased the royal image by conveying, perhaps somewhat indirectly, that the king was like a god. As will be shown, the visual similarity of god and king can be matched with some textual occurrences where, indeed, physical similarity or likeness of king and god are used in descriptions aimed at the elevation of the king.

The monuments to be examined here are Assyrian rock reliefs dated to the reign of Sennacherib, located in northern Assyria and associated with the irrigation systems built by this king, which carried water to Nineveh and probably also fed its agricultural hinterland. Of the two compositions rendered on these monuments—the king gesturing before divine symbols or venerating human-shaped deities—I will focus on the latter.<sup>2</sup> Of the four hydraulic engineering systems attributed to Sennacherib, sculpted rock reliefs were found only in association with the later two archaeologically documented systems. These rock reliefs accompanied the so-called Northern System, which carried water from northwest of Nineveh, probably using the water of the Rubar Dohuk and the Bandwai rivers, and the Khinis System situated to the north

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<sup>2</sup> A thorough discussion of Sennacherib's steles and rock reliefs depicting the king worshipping divine symbols is given by Ann Shafer who, however, does not deal with the reliefs treated here (Shafer 1998, 9, 44 n. 105, 88-89, 97-98, 284-289).

east of Nineveh (Boehmer 1997; Bagg 2000, 207-215; Kreppner 2002, 371; Ur 2005, 325-339; Wilkinson et al. 2005, 28-30).

Associated with the Northern System are three groups of rock reliefs. The most northern and the better preserved one consists of four reliefs sculpted on cliffs on the bank of the river Rubar Dohuk opposite Maltai (Bachmann 1927, 23-27, pls. 25-32; Boehmer 1975; Börker-Klähn 1982, 210-211, nos. 207-210; Bagg 2000, 211; Ur 2005, 327-328). Three worn reliefs are located at Faida, situated some fifty kilometers north of Mosul, on the main road to Zacho at the northeastern side of Jebel el-Qosh, southeast of Girrepan (Reade 1978, 159-162; Börker-Klähn 1982, 208, nos. 200-201; Boehmer 1997; Bagg 2000, 210-211; Ur 2005, 328-330). A curved rock relief was also found at Širu Maliktha, situated some ten kilometers east of Faida. The theme depicted on the latter monument does not adhere, however, to the veneration of human-shaped deities discussed here as it presents the more common Neo-Assyrian theme of a royal worship before divine symbols (Reade 1978, 164-165; 2002, 309; Börker-Klähn 1982, 208-209, no. 202; Boehmer 1997; Shafer 1998, 327-329; Bagg 2000, 211; Ur 2005, 330-331).

While the reliefs of the Northern System are attributed to the reign of Sennacherib only on stylistic grounds, the attribution of the Khinis System's single group of reliefs to Sennacherib is confirmed by the so-called Bavian Inscription, which summarizes the accomplishments of the four hydraulic systems of Sennacherib and, in particular, tells about the construction of the Khinis System and the sculpted monuments that adorned it (Jacobsen and Lloyd 1935, 36-39; Frahm 1997, 151-154).<sup>3</sup> The report about the hydraulic activities of Sennacherib is followed in the Bavian Inscription by its main theme, which describes in an unusual literary form the flooding of Babylon and its devastation in 689 by Sennacherib (Hallo 2003, 305 and see below). The Bavian Inscription is related to fourteen rock reliefs carved on a western cliff within a gorge at Bavian; the three that illustrate Sennacherib

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<sup>3</sup> The detailed report of the Bavian Inscription accords well with other inscriptions of Sennacherib, who expanded the literary scope of the Assyrian military exploits to include building and technological achievements in a way never previously recorded in Assyrian royal propaganda (Tadmor 1999, 61). The importance of the building activities carried out during the reign of Sennacherib is also made clear by the construction works depicted on wall reliefs in the Southwest Palace at Nineveh (Russell 1991, 94-116).

with anthropomorphic deities are dealt with here.<sup>4</sup> These well preserved reliefs are found on the bank of the Gomel River, some sixty kilometers northeast of Mosul, opposite the village of Khinis located on the western bank of the river (Börker-Klähn 1982, 206–208, nos. 186–188; Ur 2005, figs. 15, 16).

The interest in these particular monuments of Sennacherib lies in their thematic deviation from other Assyrian rock reliefs and steles. In contrast to the common pictorial theme depicting Assyrian rulers worshipping divine symbols on Assyrian monuments, including those of Sennacherib himself, the above-mentioned rock reliefs show the king gesturing in front of human-shaped deities (Börker-Klähn 1982, 207; Ornan 2005b, 79–86). The question then is why Sennacherib discarded the royal veneration of divine symbols more common in Neo Assyrian art in favor of the adoration of anthropomorphic deities for these monuments. The iconographic modification reflected on these rock reliefs deserves a special examination since, as noted above, the representation of (small) divine emblems with the king on Neo-Assyrian monuments is one of the pictorial means used for the exaltation of the royal image, and it seems inconceivable that Sennacherib would have abandoned this kind of propagandistic message.

Winter (1982, 367) offers some explanation for the unique presentations depicted on these works of art, in which she deals with the impact of the western territories conquered by Assyria on some pictorial and architectural Assyrian constructs. She suggests that the theme in question, in particular the display of deities on animals and fantastic quadrupeds, was one of the motifs the Assyrians borrowed from Syrian iconography. Indeed, it is not only the representation of deities on animals, but also their very representation in anthropomorphic shape that can be considered as an inspiration of Syrian imagery, since this was the common manner prevalent in Syria during the late second and early first millennium. The representation of deities on animals reflects artistic traditions already encountered in Syria at least as early as the Late Bronze Age and in particular in thirteenth century Hatti (Winter 1982, 367; Ornan 2005b, 75–79; Collins 2005, 15–22,

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<sup>4</sup> A similar theme was also probably depicted on the so-called Great Rider relief (Bachmann 1927, 16–21, pl. 20; Börker-Klähn 1982, 206, no. 186) where two large figures of an Assyrian king facing each other can be traced. Above these figures is a small row of deities mounted on beasts. The positioning of the two probable royal figures recalls the compositions rendered on the other nearby rock reliefs discussed below.

38-42). Western influence is not the only possible explanation for these representations. The tradition of rendering deities in human form was well rooted, of course, in Mesopotamia from the Old Akkadian period until the mid-second millennium, and thus the appearance of anthropomorphic deities on monuments dating to the reign of Sennacherib can be viewed as a reintroduction, in a sense a revival of old themes generated by the encounter of Assyrian artists with western models. However, the anthropomorphic form selected for the depiction of the divine on the discussed monuments of Sennacherib should be regarded as a unique artistic expression when compared to other monumental Assyrian works of art of the first millennium.

A reexamination of these rock reliefs of Sennacherib reveals that, in spite of the fact that they diverge from other monumental displays then current, they nevertheless fit the official Assyrian propaganda that exalted the king. Moreover, it can be argued that the incentive for the adoption of the anthropomorphic rendering of deities was to bring together divine and royal images in order to increase the status of the king by demonstrating his physical proximity to the gods and, more importantly, his likeness to the divine. The depiction of a deity and a ruler side by side was probably intended to evoke the idea that god and king not only looked the same but also shared similar characteristics. The intention to elevate the king by visually comparing him to a god is demonstrated by the nuances shown in the four compositional layouts selected for the monuments in question.

In the first type the king is shown twice, on either side of a row of deities. This type was selected for the two relief groups of the Northern System: the reliefs at Faida and Maltai. Of the three ill-preserved reliefs found at Faida, two depict a procession of six human-shaped deities (Reade 1978, 161-162; Boehmer 1997, 248). Four almost identical and much better preserved rock reliefs were found at Maltai (figure 1; Boehmer 1975; Börker-Klähn 1982, 210-211, nos. 207-210). They present the small figure of Sennacherib as a worshipper facing right towards a line of five large figures of gods and two goddesses mounted on animals and fantastic beasts. An identical figure of the king, facing left, is depicted at the end of the row of deities creating a composition of divine figures flanked by two identical, antithetically-placed royal figures; I refer to this format as an "antithetical layout."

The message is rather clear here and conveys that the king is the only human who is shown in the presence of the great gods of Assyria.

Although he does not stand on a beast as the crowd of deities, his similarity to the gods is implied by the fact that he too carries an attribute in his right hand. This lofty rank of the king is further enhanced through two rather subtle, yet sophisticated, pictorial devices. One is the distinction between the seven deities and the single worshipper, which emphasizes the latter. The second is by applying an element of surprise that makes the royal figure even more noticeable. At first glance the spectator may perceive the figure of the king shown on the right as one of the deities since he turns to the same direction as they do, and only then, it seems, does the onlooker realize that the last figure of the divine row in fact depicts the king again.

The emphasis on the king is accentuated even more on the Maltai rock reliefs in his reappearance, although in miniature dimensions, in more than one recurrence of the theme. The worshipping ruler is seen within the ring held by the three first deities: Aššur, Ninlil and Sin. This unique display of the king is also repeated on the Khinis Great Relief (Boehmer 1975, 47-49, 51; Bachmann 1927, pls. 9-12).<sup>5</sup> The manner in which the king is shown in these instances—as a small figure “decorating” an object held by a deity—is rather unique, since customarily the situation is reversed. In Assyrian imagery it is usually the king who is adorned with the emblems of the divine presence—diminutive godly symbols worn as protective jewels by the king (Winter 1997, 372; Ornan 2005b, 142-143). By this rendering the physical nexus of the king to the gods is strongly demonstrated. Furthermore, it may be conjectured that by integrating the royal figure within a divine attribute he could have been perceived as if he were a secondary supernatural protective divinity. This suggestion seems plausible since on the support of Ninlil’s throne at Maltai, the royal figures reappear alongside benevolent demons (Bachmann 1927, pl. 29, relief II; Boehmer 1975, 49).

Whereas all the rock reliefs of the Northern System display a similar layout, the reliefs of the Khinis System represent three different compositions. An abbreviated version recalling the antithetical layout of the reliefs of the Northern System is rendered on the so called Great Relief (figure 2; Bachmann 1927, 7-10, pls. 8-9; Jacobsen and Lloyd 1935,

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<sup>5</sup> According to Boehmer (1975, 47) a royal image was also depicted within the ring held by the god on the heavily reconstructed mural from room 12 of Residence K at Khorsabad (Loud and Altman 1938, 84-85, pls. 31, 88, 89).

pl. 33; Börker-Klähn 1982, 206-207, no. 187). Here only the figures of Aššur and Ninlil mounted on beasts and facing each other are shown and, similar to the longer version of Maltaï, two identical figures of Sennacherib flank the scene. Although the compositional correspondence to the reliefs of the Northern System is apparent, the reduced number of major deities here implies the added importance of the king since his figure is one of only a select few to be represented and, furthermore, displayed in the company of Aššur and Ninlil, the supreme divine pair.

Another type of the antithetical layout typified, in this case, by an inverted positioning of the royal and divine figures within the composition, is represented on the side relief of the solid natural block found partly sunk in the Gomel River, which formed part of the "Gate" monument at the canal head of the Khinis System (figure 3; Bachmann 1927, 14-16, pl. 15; Jacobsen and Lloyd 1935, pl. 34A; Börker-Klähn 1982, 207, no. 188). Here it is the worshipping royal figure that occupies the central place whereas the two deities, Aššur (on a *mušhuššu* and a lion griffin) and Ninlil (on a lion) are shown flanking the king on either side. Similar to the above noted compositions, the "Gate" side relief also lacks total symmetry since the three participants are shown in profile and a slight emphasis towards the figure of Aššur is insinuated by the king looking in that god's direction. This pictorial encounter of Sennacherib with Aššur and Ninlil is shown here in the upper register of two scenes. The lower register shows a huge hero-like frontal figure holding a sickle sword in his right hand and a small lion in his left. At his two sides are two large *aladlammus* depicted in profile and looking outward. The entire scene and in particular the hero grabbing the lion brings a palatial entrance to mind such as façade "n" of the palace of Sargon at Khorsabad (Albenda 1986, pls. 16-17). However, it seems that the combination of the two registers here was not aimed at alluding to Sargon's palace but rather, again, at elevating the king. The scheme of (two) registers one above the other is a known ancient Near Eastern pictorial means for describing three dimensional architectural elements in a two-dimensional articulation: the lower register presents the outer part of the building, at times, the entrance, while the upper register stands for its inner and most important architectural component (compare to the Mari wall painting, Barrelet 1950, 19-20). The godly presence in the upper register of the side relief of the Khinis System Gate hints, then, at a shrine

in which the focus of attention is the king who occupies the central place. This central positioning of the king almost directly above the hero grabbing the lion on the lower register creates as yet another visual simile, which grants the king a heroic supernatural quality.

A complete symmetrical layout of the theme of Sennacherib and the gods is achieved on the front relief of the above-mentioned “Gate” block of the Khinis System canal head. The lower right side of this carved panel of the block “Gate” is sunk into the river. The head and front legs of a frontal-looking *aladlammu*, whose body is engraved on the lower right part of the “Gate” side relief, is shown on this front panel. This protective hybrid is matched with another *aladlammu* sculpted on the right side whose body is presumably found on a third relief, now hardly traceable, carved on a third panel of the “Gate” block (figure 4; Bachmann 1927, 16, pl. 17; Jacobsen and Lloyd 1935, pl. 34B; Börker-Klähn 1982, 207, no.188 right). Similar to the compositions of the Northern System and the Khinis Great Relief, the double figure of the king is also depicted on both sides of this front panel of the “Gate” block. It is worth mentioning that this type of the antithetical layout is echoed in seventh century Neo-Assyrian royal correspondence where one finds several references to the positioning of two royal figures on either side of the images of major deities such as Bel in the cella at the city of Aššur, Ištar at Arabela, Sin at Haran or Tašmetu at Borsippa (Cole and Machinist 1998, xiv). The siting of the royal figure on either side of a god or group of gods reflected through texts and pictures further accentuates the promotion of the king since it reiterates a known Mesopotamian construct of placing a pair of minor divinities on either side of a major deity; thus, the possibility that the king could have been perceived as a minor divinity is more than plausible (for example, the Well Relief from the city of Aššur; Orthmann 1975, pl. 194).

The layout of this relief of the “Gate’s” front panel, however, diverges from all the other compositions of Sennacherib’s rock reliefs of both the Northern and the Khinis Systems, as here only one deity, most probably Aššur, is flanked by two kings, and the three figures are represented frontally, and thus a total symmetry is achieved. This symmetrical display not only acts as a pictorial device bringing the divine and royal figures closer to the spectator but also creates a sense of balance, which enhances the message that god and king are as if alike. Moreover, the similarity apparent between king and god

is even increased here by the same type and height of the pedestal selected for the divine and royal figures. While on the previous reliefs the worshipping king appropriately stands on the ground and the deities are mounted on beasts, on the front relief of the canal head “Gate” the divine and earthly participants stand on similar rectangular shaped pedestals recalling the age-old Mesopotamian sockets on which godly images were positioned (*CAD* s.v. *n medu*; *CAD* s.v. *šubtu*; Seidl 1989, 110-115), and thus the divine-like nature of the king is again suggested.

The more varied compositional repertoire representing Sennacherib and anthropomorphic deities apparent on the Khinis reliefs fits the chronological sequence offered for the Northern and the Khinis Systems. It may be postulated that the unified theme introduced during the construction of the Northern System, dated between 694-691, was further developed during the later building of the Khinis System around 688 (Bagg 2000, 208, 210) into three different pictorial layouts of Sennacherib and his gods, in which the message that the king and the god resemble one another was more forcefully suggested.

The iconographic manipulation of depictions of Sennacherib and the god, in physical proximity or with similar gestures that stressed their likeness, has some forerunners. Although divine human-shaped deities are usually missing from Assyrian palatial sculpted decoration, when occasionally they do appear, a conscious parallelism can be traced between divine and royal representations. This is manifested on the south wall of throne-room B in the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II, where the figures of Aššur and the king are rendered with a great deal of resemblance except for scale—the king is much larger than the god. For example, on upper slabs 3 and 11 the two are shown in the same position of shooting an arrow (Westenholz 2000, 116; Layard 1849, pl. 13). This kind of resemblance is also manifested on upper slab 5 and lower slab 7 of the same room, though with minor differences. While both figures hold the bow in the triumphal gesture in their left hand and extend their right arms, on slab 5 the king holds arrows while the god salutes with an open palm. Similarly on slab 7, where the king faces an official, the god wields a ring in his right arm while the king carries a bow (Layard 1849, pl. 21). The parallelism between god and king explicitly equates these two figures but at the same time implicitly raises the king, as after all, he is the larger of the two prominent figures in the scene.

It does not seem to be a coincidence that the resemblance between king and god, manifest on some of the rock reliefs of Sennacherib, was represented earlier, though in a different manner, on the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal. As Westenholz (2000, 110-111 with n. 56) points out, Ashurnasirpal was also the first king since Naram-Sin of Akkad to reuse the term *tamšīlu*, meaning semblance, which implies shared physical and possibly other properties between god and king, and the appearance of this term belongs among the characteristics of imperialistic propaganda. The comparison between the physical likeness of god and king is, for example, insinuated in Ashurnasirpal's report about the installation of the royal image in the Ninurta temple at Nimrud in front of the image of Ninurta: "I created my royal monument with a likeness of my countenance of red gold (and) sparkling stones (and) stationed (it) before the god Ninurta my lord" (Grayson 1991, 291, lines 76-78 and compare 295, lines 13-14). The red golden face of the king highlights the resemblance between god and king since a "red face" (*zīmēšu ruššūti*) was considered an exclusively divine trait (*CAD* s.v. *zīmu*; Hurowitz 2003, 105; Woods 2004, 86-86, lines 18, 44).<sup>6</sup>

The unique and conscious choice of Sennacherib to represent himself alongside human-shaped deities in order to demonstrate his *tamšīlu*—his divine likeness, can be corroborated, for example, by a textual reference found in the royal inscription K 1356. In this inscription Sennacherib tells of the pictorial heroic theme that he had commissioned for the bronze bands decorating the doors of the *akītu* house at the city of Aššur. The passage in question reads: *šalam Aššur* (AN.ŠÁR) *ša ana libbi* (ŠÁ) *Tiāmat šalti illiku* (DU-ku) *šalam Šin-ahhē-eriba* (1<sup>st</sup>XXX-PAP.MEŠ-SU) *šar* (MAN) *māt* (KUR) *Aš+šur* (line 26). According to Frahm (1997, 224) the passage describes two separate images, one of Aššur and one of Sennacherib, that were put side by side: "The image of Aššur who goes into the midst of Tiamat for battle, the image of Sennacherib, king of Assyria" (English translation by Uehlinger 2003, 292; for a different interpretation see Pongratz-Leisten 1994, 207-209). Although we do not know whether the description in K 1356 was indeed represented in an actual pictorial narrative showing Aššur fighting Tiamat, the text, nevertheless, transmits the notion of the equation between god and king and thereby matches the compositional layouts rendered

<sup>6</sup> For the physical likeness of the king and the gods in Middle and Neo-Assyrian records see Parpola 1993, 168 n. 33 with bibliography.

on the rock reliefs of Sennacherib's water systems (Uehlinger 2003, 291). That this kind of metaphorical royal propaganda was adopted during Sennacherib's reign is reinforced by the account of the battle of Halule in 691, where the poetic language turns the earthly clash between Assyria and the Babylonian-Elamite alliance into a divine combat between a supernatural hero and monstrous rivals (Weissert 1997, 197).

Although the theme of the veneration of anthropomorphic deities also appears on some smaller works of art from the reign of Sennacherib, such as a stele and a model plaque from the city of Aššur or on the so-called Seal of Destinies of the god Aššur, its main occurrences are on the monuments accompanying the irrigation systems of Sennacherib (Börker-Klähn 1982, 209, no. 205; Andrae 1977, 230, 232, fig. 210; Wiseman 1958, 14-17; George 1986; Ornan 2005b, 81-83, figs. 98-102, 131). The fact that the veneration of anthropomorphic deities was typical of the pictorial programs accompanying the remote hydraulic systems north of Nineveh suggests that it was not widely adopted into Neo-Assyrian imagery during the reign of Sennacherib and that Sennacherib too, like other Assyrian monarchs, retained the more common subject matter of venerating divine symbols. The consistency of the move away from the display of major human-shaped deities on Sennacherib's monuments is proven by the absence of such images from the carved decoration at the Southwest Palace at Nineveh (Ornan, forthcoming).

However, that this theme played a significant ideological role within the context of Sennacherib's hydraulic systems (compare to Ur 2005, 342; Wilkinson et al. 2005, 30-32) is indicated by the fact that the Khinis monuments showing it are much larger than the accompanying small rock reliefs depicting the adoration of divine symbols (Börker-Klähn 1982, 207, nos. 189-199; Shafer 1998, 284-289). It seems that this type of subject matter, in which the elevation of the king reached its climax by the explicit demonstration of his similarity to the divine, was deliberately chosen for the representational program of the hydraulic constructions.<sup>7</sup>

The purpose of the complex water systems created by Sennacherib was not only to improve Nineveh's water supply, as is recorded in the

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<sup>7</sup> On the Assyrian control over natural water sources and its pictorial and textual use in royal propaganda, especially under Shalmaneser III, see Shafer 1998, 91-98.

Bavian Inscription, but also to enhance the irrigation infrastructure of the agricultural hinterland beyond Nineveh (Ur 2005). These engineering accomplishments of Sennacherib had, most probably, far reaching consequences for the huge population living in Assyria in the late eighth and early seventh century, as these intensive construction works improved the conditions of the population of Nineveh by ensuring its livelihood (Ur 2005, 343; Wilkinson *et al.* 2005, 26-27). I would suggest that the major change in the physical surroundings caused by the modifications of the water courses—a “divine-like” intervention in the order of nature itself—may have encouraged royal ambitions to render the figure in charge of these systems as if, indeed, he were a god. Moreover, the representation of a godlike Sennacherib fits very well the main theme of the Bavian Inscription, which as mentioned, reports the flooding of Babylon and its devastation. Such an unprecedented destructive action, whose terrible outcome haunted Mesopotamian history for generations to come, is paralleled in this inscription with the beneficial and resoration activities of Sennacherib toward Nineveh (Van De Mierop 2003). This grand scale of the manipulations of watery sources causing life or death for hundreds of thousands of people echoed mythic events and intensified the divine aspiration of Sennacherib.

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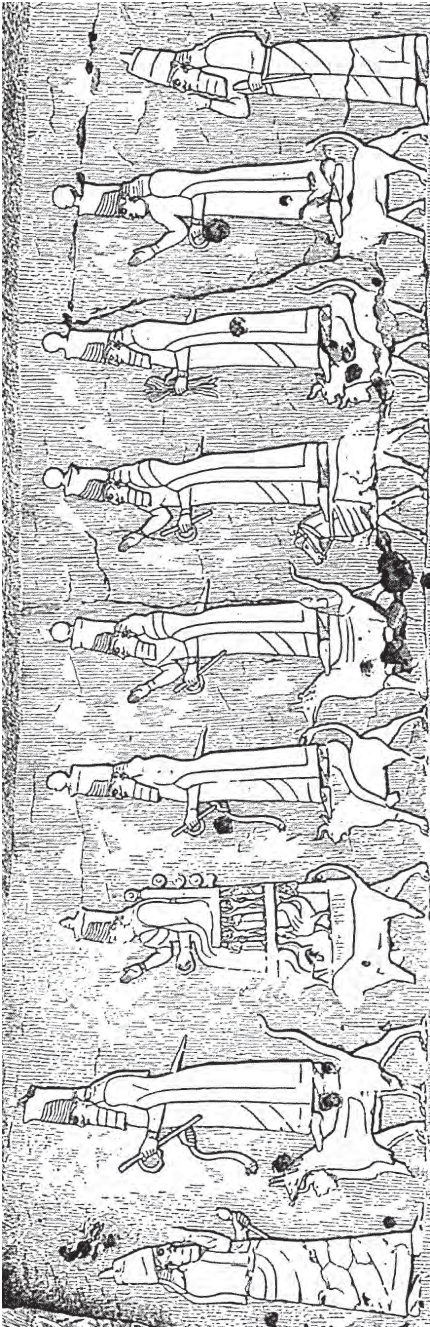


Figure 1. Rock relief from Malta, the northern hydraulic system (Thureau-Dangin 1924, 187)



Figure 2. The Great Relief, the Khinis hydraulic system (after Bachmann 1927, fig. 8, redrawn by P. Arad)

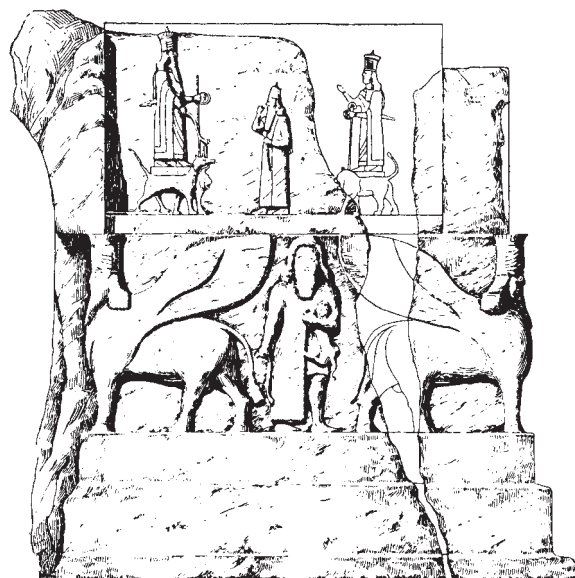


Figure 3. Side relief of the "Gate" head, the Khinis hydraulic system (after Bachmann 1927, fig. 13, middle, redrawn by P. Arad)

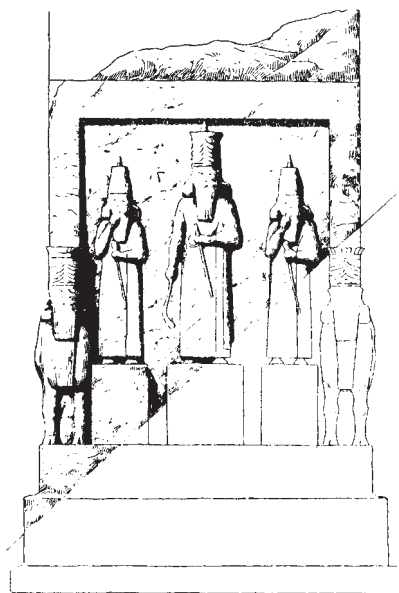


Figure 4. Front relief of the "Gate" head, the Khinis hydraulic system (after Bachmann 1927, fig. 13, left, redrawn by P. Arad)



Irene J. Winter

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