

**ELEVATIONS**

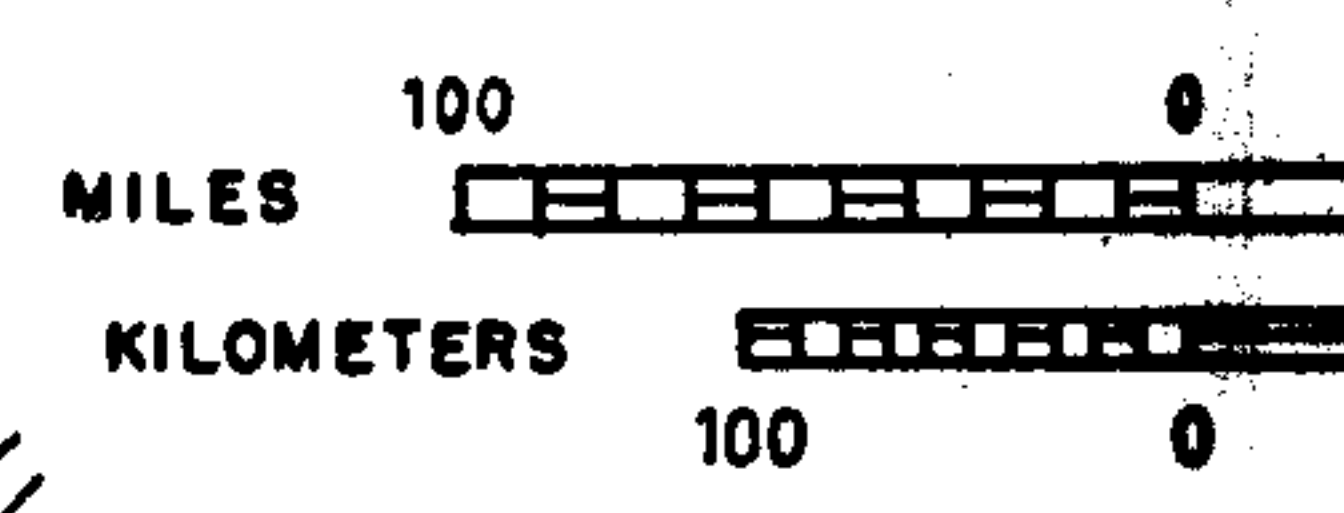
FEET	METERS
9843	3000
6562	2000
3281	1000
1640	500
SEA	LEVEL

LAGASH - *ancient name*  
 Telloh - *modern name*

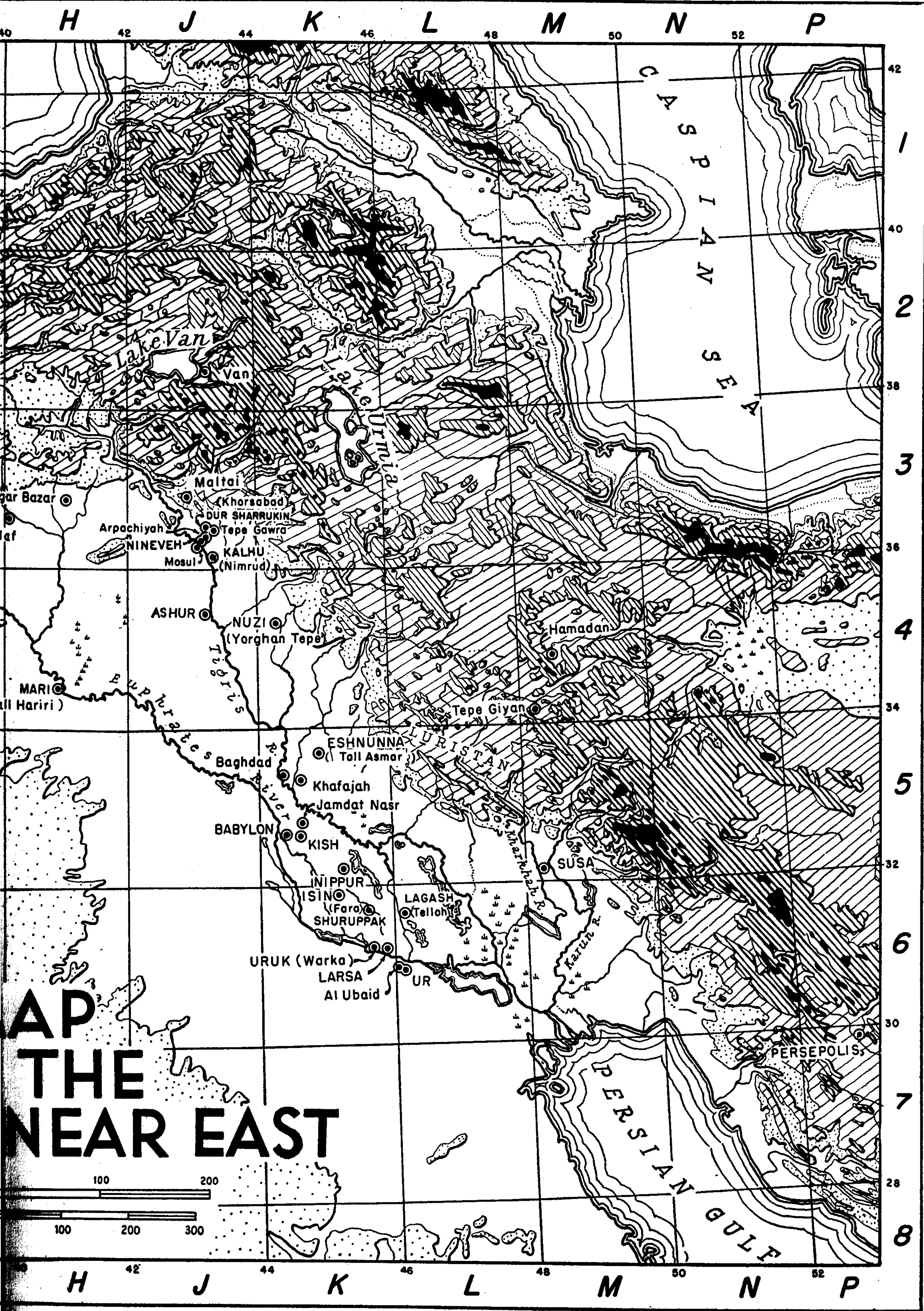
PHYSIOGRAPHY ADAPTED FROM MAP BY  
 THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
 ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

M.L. RANDOLPH

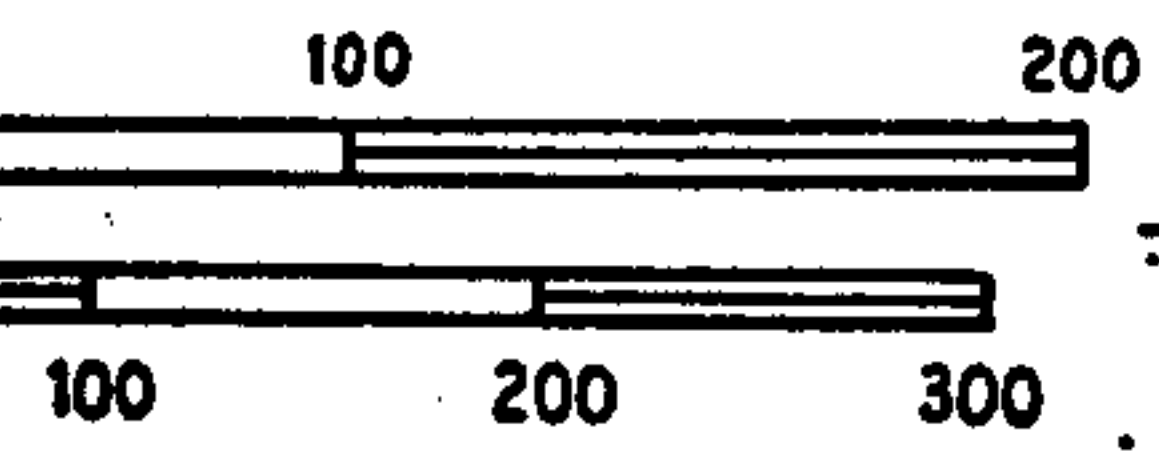
**MAP OF ANCIENT M**







# MAP OF THE NEAR EAST



Lake Van  
Van

Maltai  
(Khorsabad)  
DUR SHARRUKIN  
Tepe Gawra  
NINEVEH  
Mosul  
KALHU  
(Nimrud)

ASHUR  
NUZI  
(Yorghon Tepe)

MARI  
(Tell Hariri)

Baghdad  
ESHNUNNA  
(Tall Asmar)  
Khafajah  
Jamdat Nasr

BABYLON  
KISH  
INIPPUR  
ISIN  
(Fara)  
SHURUPPAK

URUK (Warka)  
LARSA  
Al Ubaid  
UR  
LAGASH  
(Telloh)

SUSA

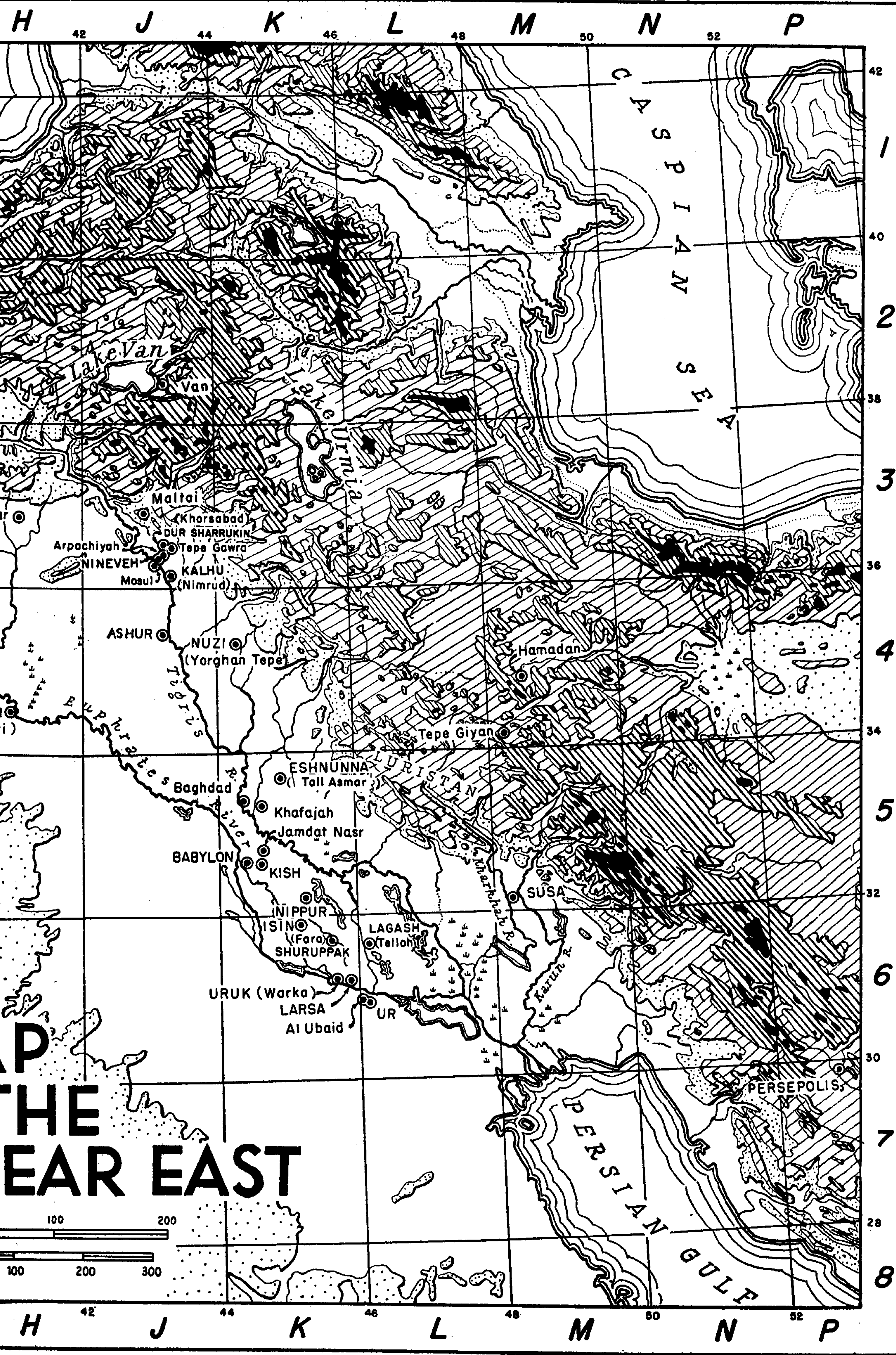
Hamadan

Tepe Giyan

PERSEPOLIS

CASPIAN SEA

PERSIAN GULF





# INDEX TO MAP

A letter with a number, following a place name, indicates the square in which a place is marked on the map. These indications are omitted in the case of the abbreviated forms and common variants of place names which have been added to the list for the reader's convenience. Some of the regions or countries not marked on the map are included in the following list with their approximate location in so far as it is known. However, no attempt has been made to indicate the extent of ancient countries in their phases of imperial expansion.

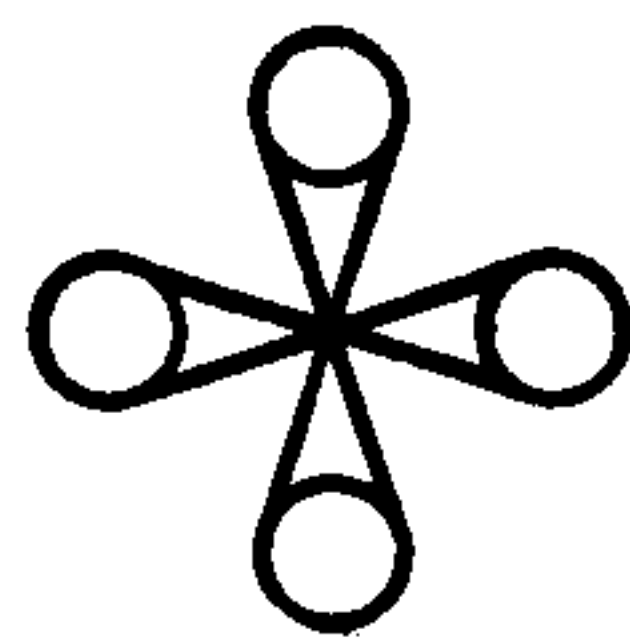
- Akkad K 5  
 ALALAKH (Atshanah) F 3  
 Alişar E 2  
 Al Ubaid L 6  
 Amarna C 8  
 Anatolia B-F, 1-3  
 Arpachiyah J 3  
 Arslantaş F 2  
 ASHUR J 4  
 Assyria J 3-4  
 Atshanah (ALALAKH) F 3  
 BABYLON K 5  
 Babylonia K-L, 5-6  
 Baghdad K 5  
 Boğazköy E 2  
 BYBLOS (Jubeil) E 4  
 Calah — *see* Nimrud  
 CARCHEMISH — *variant of* KARKEMISH  
 Çatal Höyük F 3  
 Cerablus — *variant of* Jarabis  
 Chagar Bazar — *see* Tall Chagar Bazar  
 Damascus F 5  
 Djerabis — *variant of* Jarabis  
 DUR SHARRUKIN (Khorsabad) J 3  
 Egypt C-D, 6-8  
 Elam M 5-6 (*full extent unknown*)  
 El Obeid — *variant of* Al Ubaid  
 Enkomi D 4  
 Erech — *see* Warka  
 ESHNUNNA (Tall Asmar) K 5  
 Fara (SHURUPPAK) K 6  
 Gawra — *see* Tepe Gawra  
 Gebeil — *variant of* Jubeil  
 Giyan — *see* Tepe Giyan  
 Haifa E 5  
 Halaf — *see* Tall Halaf  
 Hama F 4  
 Hamadan M 4  
 Hittite Region E-F, 2-3  
 Iran L-P, 3-5; M-P, 6-8  
 Iraq J 3; J-K 4; J-L, 5-6  
 ISIN K 6  
 Jamdat Nasr K 5  
 Jarabis (KARKEMISH) F 3  
 Jerusalem E 6  
 Jubeil (BYBLOS) E 4  
 Judaidah — *see* Tall Judaidah  
 KALHU (Nimrud) J 3  
 KANESH (Kültepe) E 2  
 KARKEMISH (Jarabis) F 3  
 Karun River M 6  
 Khafajah K 5  
 Kharkhah River L-M, 5-6  
 Khorsabad (DUR SHARRUKIN) J 3  
 KISH K 5  
 Kültepe (KANESH) E 2  
 LAGASH (Telloh) L 6  
 LARSA K 6  
 Luristan L 4-5  
 Maltai J 3  
 MARI (Tall Hariri) H 4  
 MEGIDDO E 5  
 MEMPHIS C 7  
 Mesopotamia G-J, 3-4; J-K 5; K-L 6  
 Minat al-Baida — *adjacent to* Ras Shamra  
 Mishrifah (QATNA) F 4  
 Mitanni Kingdom G-H 3  
 Mosul J 3  
 Nimrud (KALHU) (*biblical* Calah) J 3  
 NINEVEH J 3  
 NIPPUR K 5  
 NUZI (Yorghhan Tepe) K 4  
 Palestine E 5-6  
 PERSEPOLIS P 7  
 QATNA (Mishrifah) F 4  
 Ras Shamra (Ras ash-Shamra) (UGARIT) E 4  
 Senjirli — *variant of* Zincirli  
 SHURUPPAK (Fara) K 6  
 Sumer (*as distinguished from* Akkad) K-L 6  
 SUSA M 5  
 Syria F-H, 3-4; F 5  
 Tall Asmar (ESHNUNNA) K 5  
 Tall Chagar Bazar H 3  
 Tall Halaf H 3  
 Tall Hariri (MARI) H 4  
 Tall Judaidah F 3  
 Telloh (LAGASH) L 6  
 Tepe Gawra J 3  
 Tepe Giyan M 4  
 TROY A 2  
 Ubaid — *see* Al Ubaid  
 UGARIT (Ras Shamra) E 4  
 UR L 6  
 Urartu J 2 (*full extent unknown*)  
 URUK (Warka) K 6  
 Van J 2  
 Warka (URUK) (*biblical* Erech) K 6  
 Yazilikaya (*near* Boğazköy)  
 Yorghan Tepe (NUZI) K 4  
 Zincirli F 3







THE BOLLINGEN SERIES XIV





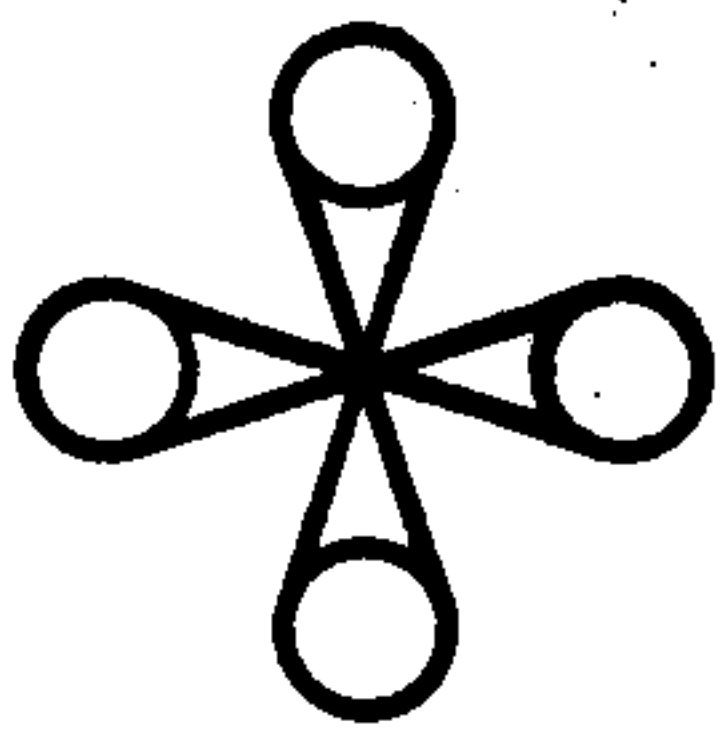




**CORPUS OF ANCIENT  
NEAR EASTERN SEALS  
IN NORTH AMERICAN COLLECTIONS**

**EDITED FOR  
THE COMMITTEE OF ANCIENT  
NEAR EASTERN SEALS**

*A PROJECT OF THE IRANIAN INSTITUTE  
THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY  
OF CHICAGO AND THE YALE BABYLONIAN COLLECTION*



**THE BOLLINGEN SERIES XIV**

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VOLUME I — TEXT

THE COLLECTION OF THE  
PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

CATALOGUED AND EDITED BY

EDITH PORADA

*WITH THE SUPPORT OF A GRANT  
FROM THE PENROSE FUND OF THE  
AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY*

IN COLLABORATION WITH

BRIGGS BUCHANAN

PREFACE BY

ALBRECHT GOETZE







## P R E F A C E

Scientific exploration of the ancient Near East is little more than a century old. The remnants of its great past had early attracted the attention of travelers. Gradually more methodic investigations were undertaken. They led finally to scientific excavations. At first little more than a hunt for buried treasures and spectacular museum pieces, excavating has long since become a very complex procedure in which the most modest find is not neglected. In the wake of such activity our knowledge of the ancient Near East has grown and deepened tremendously. The ultimate goal toward which we are striving — namely, the reconstruction of the ancient world in its essential aspects, long a utopian hope — can at last seriously be envisioned.

The development just sketched has fundamentally changed our attitude toward the remnants of ancient Near Eastern civilization that have come down to us. At first, a tablet, a figurine, a seal, even a statue appealed only to our curiosity. As long as such objects remained isolated, without background, environment, or date, they did not contribute to our understanding of the ancients and their world; they merely inspired us with awe and wonder. Decipherment of the cuneiform script which is so characteristic of ancient Mesopotamia has in the meantime resulted in a reconstruction of the political history of the country, as well as in an ever deepening insight into the ways in which its people lived and understood life. Thus the monuments can now be studied in their proper setting; order is gradually created out of chaos. All objects begin to fall in line and they can be arranged in their proper sequence to become links in a long chain of development. The further this trend leads us, the more worth while it is to make use of every small piece of evidence that comes to hand.

Among the archaeological objects that have survived, seals, small though they may be, are of special significance. They offer a promising approach to ancient Near Eastern civilization. First of all, they speak immediately to our eyes with a vividness that the written word can never attain. They place us directly in the ancient world and present to the historian of civilization information which he could not possibly acquire otherwise. Most of the scenes that are depicted on seals are religious in character; hence, seals are of great importance for the historian of religion. Finally, they offer the historian of art his most essential material. Seals are small works of art. At the same time they are preserved in sufficient numbers to take the place of the more monumental works, the majority of which have been lost. Spread out over the centuries, their changing style illustrates the unending shift in the evaluation of forms and the ever varying outlook on life brought about by political and economic developments in the course of a long history.

### *The Project of a Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*

The study of seals began in the eighties of the past century with the work of J. Ménant. In the decades that followed, which can justly be called a pioneering age, numerous catalogues of seals were published, among which those of W. H. Ward and of Louis Delaporte deserve special mention. In our own time, research has led to the comprehensive representations of H. Frankfort and A. Moortgat. A solid framework has been erected, but much detailed work remains to be done. Its success depends on having available as large a body of material as possible.



This requirement has been universally recognized and has resulted in the publication of additional catalogues in many countries of the world. It seemed not only timely, but also necessary from the scientific point of view, to make accessible to the scholar as well as to the interested layman the rich holdings of American collections. The project of a *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections* was conceived to fill this need.

As so often happens, the plan took form in several places at the same time. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago began to assemble an "archaeological apparatus" which included a record of published and unpublished seals. The Yale Babylonian Collection engaged in a survey of Near Eastern antiquities in this country and Canada which recorded seals as well as tablets. Scholars at the Iranian Institute became active along similar lines. It was mainly owing to the initiative of Briggs Buchanan of the latter institution that the efforts of these three centers of research were co-ordinated. The immediate result was the formation of a committee including A. Goetze of Yale University, chairman; H. Frankfort of the University of Chicago, vice-chairman; F. J. Stephens of the Yale Babylonian Collection, and B. Buchanan and A. L. Oppenheim of the Iranian Institute, members. The actual work of assembling the *Corpus* has been done by Edith Porada in her capacity as secretary to the Committee. The chairman feels it a pleasant duty to thank all these scholars for their patient co-operation, without which the implementation of the project would not have been possible.

#### *The Scope and Purpose of the Project*

The main purpose of the *Corpus* is the presentation of new material. The Committee intends to make available to the scholarly world, as completely as possible, the seals that are preserved in the collections and museums of the United States and Canada. Only such seals will be excluded as have previously found their place in one of the catalogues in a technically satisfactory manner. The *Corpus* will include records of both cylinders and stamps, the two main types of seals that were used in the Near Eastern world.

In order to avoid misunderstandings the Committee considers it necessary to define more precisely the term "ancient Near East" as it is used in the *Corpus*. Where is the border line to be drawn that delimits the ancient Near East from the later periods of history? What does it include in geographical terms? As to the range in time, it was felt that the Achaemenid period falls rightly within the scope of the *Corpus*. This means that Arsacid and Sassanian stamps are to be omitted. Not only would their inclusion stretch unduly the meaning of the term "ancient Near East," but the study and interpretation of these objects also presupposes competence in fields in which the archaeologist of the Ancient Near East is not ordinarily at home. As far as the territory covered is concerned, Egypt and Minoan Crete were likewise excluded. The competent treatment of such seals must be reserved to Egyptologists and classical archaeologists. However, the so-called "Graeco-Phoenician" pieces will not be omitted. Although, for their full understanding, the help of the classical archaeologist will always remain indispensable, the orientalist may make an independent contribution to their evaluation.

In accordance with the primary purpose of the *Corpus*, interpretation will be limited to a minimum. A certain amount of it has inevitably been forced upon the authors of the first volume and will undoubtedly be forced upon the authors of future volumes. No scientifically acceptable arrangement of new material can be achieved without it. The advanced stage of our knowledge makes it not only possible but imperative to choose the genetic development of seal-cutting as the main principle of presentation. The chronological principle must be combined with the geographical. The territory covered is so vast that subdivisions must be accorded



the subareas in which differing styles were created more or less independently. The assignment of an individual piece to a certain period and a certain geographic area had to be justified. Thus a kind of running commentary came automatically into being. It sketches as briefly as possible the main results of a century of scholarly attention to seals.

The material already at the Committee's disposal is so rich that hardly any known variety of seal is wanting. In consequence the *Corpus* will cover the field completely without any significant gaps. The running commentary will give the reader an up-to-date introduction to the entire field, and the reader will be able to follow the argument without being forced to have recourse to current handbooks.

Thus to the primary purpose of the *Corpus* — that is, a presentation of new material — a secondary purpose has been added, a survey of the present stage of research in ancient Near Eastern seals. Occasionally it may prove necessary to go one step further and to set up new categories; this will necessitate detailed justification.

### *The Procedure Followed*

The Committee tried to attract the attention of owners of seals, private collectors as well as museums, by the insertion of announcements in various journals and periodicals. A large number of museums was circularized by letter. The responses have been gratifying. Nevertheless there doubtless exist collections in this country of which we have not heard. The Committee will be grateful for pertinent information.

It has become standard procedure to ask co-operating institutions to send their holdings to The Asia Institute (formerly The Iranian Institute) in New York (7 East Seventieth Street), where a small laboratory has been set up. Rolling seals and photographing the impressions requires patience and skill; results are best when this work can be done without undue haste.

### *Plan of Publication*

At the present moment, as the first volume is going to press, only a tentative plan can be outlined.

This first volume, which is herewith presented, deals with the cylinders of the Morgan Library. It seemed appropriate to begin the *Corpus* with the publication of this collection for various reasons. First, it is the largest collection in this country; almost every variety of cylinder is represented in it by several examples, mostly in excellent condition. Thus the Morgan Library collection affords rare opportunities for surveying the field. Second, the collection is particularly rich in seals of the more recent periods (c. 1500–500 B.C.). This circumstance should make it possible to advance our knowledge beyond the point that has been reached heretofore. The atlas of plates was produced by Edith Porada; the text is the result of close co-operation between Miss Porada and Mr. Buchanan.

In the volumes to come the Committee intends to lay emphasis upon one or the other feature that may widen our horizon and increase our understanding. It hopes in this way to produce books that will prove interesting beyond the new material they contain. For the second volume a classification of stamp seals is planned. It will be based particularly on the extensive collection of stamps in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. The authors will be the same as of the first volume. Work on this volume has been going on for some time.

The third volume will feature certain groups of seals which are known to come from well-defined sites, mostly in the so-called "peripheral" areas. These seals will serve as a basis for the classification of a number of seals in various collections at our disposal which so far have not been assigned to any particular province or area.



The owners of several large collections have expressed the wish to have them published as units. To such collections the fourth volume will be devoted; notable among them are (in the order of their size) those of the Buffalo Museum of Science, the Yale Babylonian Collection, and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. It is planned to have at least part of the work done by scholars who are not now associated with the Committee. This procedure should bring to the fore various attitudes toward the material and divergent opinions on matters of detail.

The fifth and final volume of the *Corpus*, publication of which cannot be expected for several years, will attempt to integrate the contents of the four preceding volumes. Various indices are planned that will make it possible quickly to locate seals of uniform style and to trace individual motifs through the various periods. Discussions of subject matter are contemplated and an evaluation of the import of the new material for our understanding of ancient Near Eastern civilization is visualized. In addition, matters of technology may be taken up, and the inscriptions dealt with from the typological point of view. A critical bibliography may also be added. Henri Frankfort has promised to contribute to the fifth volume an essay on the significance of the new seals for the history of seal cutting in particular and the history of ancient Near Eastern art in general.

#### *Directives Laid Down by the Committee*

It remains to report on certain directives which the Committee thought it wise to impose upon the contributors to the *Corpus*.

As said before, all interpretation is to be kept at a minimum. The atlas, which contains photographic reproductions of the impressions, is an integral part of the project; therefore the descriptions in the catalogue can be very short. A terminology has been devised which assigns unequivocal terms to the most frequently recurring figures and objects; a glossary of these terms is printed following the Introduction.

It goes without saying that groups of seals had to be established wherever archaeological evidence and observations of a stylistic nature warranted it. However, the Committee wants it to be understood that in its opinion it is not the purpose of the *Corpus* to furnish a history of glyptic art and to express itself on the genetic relationships of the various groups. These difficult and complex problems must not be prejudged in any way. It was therefore decided to make geography the principal basis of classification. The following subdivisions were agreed upon: Southern Mesopotamia (including Assyria), Northern Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine, Anatolia, Cyprus and Iran. Within these areas the arrangement will be chronological as far as possible. The complicated interrelations between the various areas must be brought out later.

As far as absolute chronology is concerned, definite dates before the middle of the second millennium are to be avoided. For earlier periods the problem of chronology is still in flux, and any definite commitment might well necessitate confusing change later on. For the guidance of the reader a chronological chart will be attached to each volume from which the relative position of the various phases of civilization in Mesopotamia and the surrounding countries will be easily ascertainable.

A map will also be provided containing all the names that occur in the text. The spelling of geographic names has caused much deliberation. The writings of archaeologists and philologists are full of inconsistencies in this respect. Wherever a standardized orthography in the Western alphabet exists (as, e.g., with Turkish names), we have felt obliged to follow it. Great trouble arises from the transliteration of Arabic place names. We have discussed the matter with the editor of, and the contributors to, the new *Cambridge Ancient History*. Our

thanks are due them for their friendly criticism and their helpful suggestions. In certain cases we had to make independent decisions.

In closing it should be remarked that by these directives the Committee does not wish to impose undue restrictions upon the contributors to the *Corpus*; it has wished to facilitate rather than impede their work. However, it has felt it necessary to assure that amount of uniformity which the reader justly expects of a *Corpus*.

Yale University  
October 1947

ALBRECHT GOETZE





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## INTRODUCTION

The seal collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library was formed by J. P. Morgan between the years 1880 and 1910. In assembling it he utilized the services of William Hayes Ward, one of the first scholars to realize how much the study of cylinder seals could contribute to our knowledge of the ancient Near East.

In 1909 Ward published over three hundred of the seals in *Cylinders and Other Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan*, and in 1910 he made two hundred and nineteen more known by drawings in *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*. Furthermore, most of the seals in the collection appear to have been included in an exhibition held in 1914 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, for which Ward wrote a handbook. However, the latter, containing only incomplete descriptions and no illustrations, could not serve as adequate publication of the material. This left about half of the seals, including many of the finest and most interesting, unpublished. A definitive publication of the entire collection was therefore desirable.

In 1940 Dr. Edith Porada received a grant from the American Philosophical Society to undertake the preparation of such a publication. At that time Dr. Porada catalogued the collection, analyzed the evidence for the classification of the seals, and photographed their impressions.

During 1946 the present collaborators edited the material thus assembled for publication in the Bollingen Series. The aim has been to present the rich and varied material of the collection in such a manner as to make it available to the general reader who is interested in art as a form of human expression, as well as to the specialist in ancient Near Eastern archaeology and related fields. As one way of attaining this end many of the more interesting seal designs are reproduced in enlargements so that their quality can be fully appreciated.

Since an art catalogue such as this will undoubtedly be used chiefly for its illustrations, the main body of the text has been arranged so that all relevant information about any particular illustration is readily available. It would have been desirable to have the text facing the plates. Unfortunately, this was not possible since the relation of the number of seals illustrated on each plate to the amount of text above them is subject to wide variation. In order to facilitate reference from plates to text it was necessary to publish them in two separate parts. For the same reason the seals are reproduced on the plates in the same order and with the same numbers as in the catalogue, except for a few slight variations dictated by differences in the size of the photographs. Furthermore, each plate has a caption referring the reader to that section of the text in which the seals are described and discussed.

Regard for the reader's convenience has also dictated the placing of the map and of the chronological chart: the map at the front of the text volume, the chart at the end of that volume, each to open out so that they may be used with text and plates. The map is accompanied by an index, the chart by a discussion of chronology.

The first consideration in regard to the text as such was to make it as concise and clear as possible. To this end foreign and technical words and phrases have, to a large extent, been



eliminated or, if used, explained. Sumerian names are printed in the same manner as other proper names, except in the philological appendix devoted to the inscriptions. Furthermore, none of the main body of the text appears in footnotes; the only footnotes used are bibliographical references. Such references have been reduced to a minimum by eliminating the majority of those repeatedly given in standard works on glyptic art.

The references in the present work fall roughly into three categories: those citing a special work on the history and culture of a particular period; those giving the necessary documentation of points especially emphasized in the commentary on classification; and those directing the reader to discussion in other publications of individual seals in the collection. Since this collection has been one of the most important sources for the literature on cylinder seals, it is unlikely that any major publication in the field lacks a reference to one or more of the Morgan seals. In view of this fact, only that part of the literature is cited here which, in the judgment of the editors, bears directly on the classification or interpretation of a particular seal.

An effort has been made to state clearly in the text what each reference contains that is relevant to the particular point under discussion. The use of abbreviations for references has been strictly limited. The few retained, mostly pertaining to other large collections, are listed in a section after this introduction.

The main body of the text consists of a catalogue of the seals, including a commentary on their classification. The seals have been classified in regional groups with chronological subdivisions or periods; the latter in turn are divided into smaller groups, partly on the basis of style, partly, for convenience of presentation, on the basis of subject matter. Each regional group is introduced by a brief general statement on the character of its glyptic art. A more extensive treatment of glyptic style is given in the comment on each period. This section of the commentary usually includes some consideration of the historical setting and of the relationships to other styles of seal engraving. The individual seals are discussed in the smaller groups into which the periods are divided, except for the few cases where the number of seals was too small to warrant division of a period. The description of the seals follows the discussion of their classification as a group.

This arrangement permits a continuous presentation of the history of cylinder seal engraving within the various regions of the ancient Near East, as illustrated by the seals in this collection. At the same time the material is compact, because the number of seals described and discussed in any particular section has been kept at a minimum. Sometimes the description of a seal is followed by individual comment. This occurs when certain of the characteristics of the seal are unique or when its classification is in doubt.

As stated in the preface, the descriptions of the seal stones and of their designs conform to certain conventions that are detailed in the glossary which follows the introduction. The word *inscription* appearing italicized indicates the location in a design of an inscription which is otherwise treated in an appendix. The inscriptions are so segregated because they are discussed in the main body of the text only to the limited extent that they relate to the problem of classification.

After the description of a seal that has been previously reproduced elsewhere, a reference is given to the original publication; if published by Ward, to his number for it under Ward, *Morgan* or Ward, *Seal Cylinders*. A concordance of Ward's numbers with those of the present catalogue will be found at the end of this volume.

Owing to the fact that none of the seals in this collection was derived from scientific excavations, the classification of each piece had to be based on comparisons with excavated material and seal impressions on tablets. Frequently larger works of art are drawn on for support. In Ward's catalogue of the Morgan collection he refers in vague terms to the origin of a few



of the seals, undoubtedly on the basis of information received from dealers. His comments are given for what they are worth after the description of the pieces in question.

The nature of the glyptic material in this collection has, of course, affected the amount of comment concerning the different periods. The observations on the development of cylinder seal engraving in Mesopotamia down to the middle of the second millennium closely parallel those of Frankfort in his *Cylinder Seals* or those of Moortgat in his *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*. At no point has a detail been elaborately discussed and documented by references when it is believed to have been adequately treated in either of these works. However, this collection is particularly rich in seals of the second millennium made outside of southern Mesopotamia, and in Assyrian seals of the first millennium. Consequently the treatment of these groups, specifically the Cappadocian, the Syrian, the Mitannian, and the Neo-Assyrian, is more extensive and detailed than has commonly been the case. In particular the richness and variety manifest here in Syrian seals suggests that the glyptic art of that region has been too little appreciated for its distinctive qualities and for its influence on the style of other regions. The extent to which the shift in emphasis dictated by the character of this collection may affect the evaluation of the relative importance of glyptic styles can be determined only as more material is assembled.

Because comment has been largely limited to a discussion of the problem of classification, consideration of the aesthetic and sociological significance of the seals has been curtailed or eliminated. It was difficult to forgo so tempting an investigation. However, such an undertaking would not only enlarge the text to an unwieldy extent; it would also introduce questions that, it is believed, should be deferred to the index volume in the expectation that the mass of material being collected by the *Corpus* will provide a broader basis for generality. In fact, it is reasonable to suppose that certain features of the system of classification used here may have to be reconsidered at that time.

In the course of the discussion of various glyptic styles, terms have been introduced that seem to have an aesthetic import. Often the workmanship of a seal is referred to as coarse or crude. Though such statements suggest an aesthetic judgment, they are actually based on a comparative evaluation of craftsmanship in terms of a particular style of engraving. It does not follow that an object lacks beauty simply because it is crudely made. Witness the crudity of many Early Dynastic seals that yet have an intensity almost unparalleled in ancient art. This illustrates only too well how important it is to distinguish a determination of technique from the vastly more complex task of describing the elusive qualities of beauty in a work of art.

The seals of this collection exhibit a wide range of expression in their designs, utilizing abstract patterns as well as natural forms, varying from careful symmetry to wild extravagance. The more vivid designs show every evidence of conscious artistry; but many that are cursory and slipshod appear to have been made merely to satisfy the demand for seals to mark documents and property. Throughout this variety of style and purpose the spiritual background of ancient man is manifested in all the complicated phases of its development; whether dominated by a dynamic faith in magic, by a trust in simple worship, or by an elaborate devotion to the ritual and ceremony of a hierarchy of gods and kings and priests.

As yet too little is known of ancient Near Eastern civilization for the full significance of its glyptic art to be understood. The first guide to understanding — and the best — is the photographs of the seals themselves.

B. B.



## GLOSSARY

The descriptions of the seal designs are intended as a guide to the pictorial content of the seal impressions published by photographs in this work. Though some of the designs offer simple patterns, most of them have more or less elaborate scenes with conventional figures and objects. In order to avoid repetition and to keep the descriptions as short as possible, the most frequently recurring figures and objects have been given standard terms. This terminology is of necessity interpretative, since it is based on the knowledge so far accumulated about ancient Near Eastern iconography. For example, human figures are referred to as gods if they are depicted wearing a horned miter. From the beginning of the third millennium onward, this headgear with all its variations is the main distinguishing feature between deities and mortals. However, since the treatment of iconographical matter has been, as far as possible, relegated to the index volume, only terms that are commonly accepted or that render closely the factual appearance of a figure or object are used here. The following standard terms have been introduced:

### HUMAN OR DIVINE FIGURES

*deity*: a figure with horned miter

*god*: a male figure with horned miter

*goddess*: a female figure with horned miter

*worshiper*: a human figure who approaches a deity or symbol with a gesture of reverence or prayer, or with an offering in his hand

*hero*: a male figure engaged in a conflict

### COMPOSITE CREATURES

*bull-man, bird-man, etc.*: creatures which have the upper body of a man and the lower body of the animal indicated by the first word of the term

*demon*: a creature with animal head and human body, often depicted with wings, sometimes with animal paws instead of arms; usually such demons are shown acting like human beings

*griffin-demon*: with human body, but head and wings of a bird of prey

*lion-demon*: human body with lion's head, paws, and tail

*bull-demon*: human body with bull's head

*monster*: a creature composed of two or more animals but occasionally shown with human head; in general, monsters are portrayed acting like animals

*lion-headed eagle*: body, wings, and tail of a bird of prey

*griffin*: with body and tail of a lion and head and wings of a bird of prey

*sphinx*: with lion's body, wings of a bird of prey, and usually bearded human head

*human-headed bull*: with human head and bull's body

*goat fish*: with head and foreparts of a goat and body of a fish

### SYMBOLS

*ball staff*: a staff with a globe, placed in its center in the representations dating from before the end of the third millennium and appearing on the side of the staff after that time (often this object has been termed *libra*)

*crescent staff*: a crescent placed on a staff

*star spade*: star on a staff with spade- or lozenge-shaped base

*lion scimitar*: a scimitar the blade of which ends in the head of a feline animal, probably a lion, but perhaps a panther

*lion club*: a weapon composed of a mace that is flanked on either side by the blade of a lion scimitar

*sun disk*: a plain disk

*star disk*: a star encircled by a disk

*star disk in crescent*: a crescent drawn below the star disk so that the latter seems to rest on the crescent

*cross disk*: a cross encircled by a disk

*crescent disk*: a crescent the horns of which are joined by a thin line to form a complete circle

*The order of the description* of a seal design is from left to right in the photograph of the seal impression. This order is not that of the seal itself, where the directions left and right would be reversed. Sometimes, however, a description begins with the central element of a symmetrical design. The large figures of the scene are usually described first; the small objects placed in the field are last. The latter are also listed from left to right unless they are more precisely located; if they are placed one above the other, they are mentioned from top to bottom. Small objects appearing between different figures are often separated by semicolons to make their location easier. Objects or figures that appear to mark the termination of a scene are usually set off by the word *terminal*. This word is used for convenience and does not imply that such objects should be regarded only as end pieces; on the contrary, they may often be intended for repetition at the beginning of the scene and would thus also have the character of a frame. Scenes composed of small figures, usually without obvious connection with the principal scene, are referred to as *secondary motifs*.

*Borders* of the seal designs are mentioned only if they present patterns, not if they consist merely of horizontal lines.

*The attitudes* of the human and divine figures are in profile and standing unless otherwise described. Animals and monsters are usually shown rampant in the contest scenes and standing in all other scenes unless a specific indication of their posture is given. The word *reversed* is used throughout this work to indicate the posture of an animal with its forefeet on the ground and hind legs in the air.

The measurements of the seals are given in millimeters, with the height indicated first, the diameter of the end, second. In fragmentary seals where either height (H) or diameter (D) alone is determinable, only these are indicated. For seals with convex or concave sides, where the diameter of the end varies from that of the middle, the latter is given in parenthesis beside the diameter of the end.



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Ashmolean      D. G. HOGARTH, *Hittite Seals with Particular Reference to the Ashmolean Collection*, Oxford, 1920.
- Berlin          A. MOORTGAT, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst*, Berlin, 1940
- BN              L. DELAPORTE, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux et des cachets assyro-babyloniens, perses et syro-cappadociens de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1910
- Brett          H. H. VON DER OSTEN, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mrs. Agnes Baldwin Brett* (*Oriental Institute Publications*, vol. XXXVII, Chicago, 1936)
- Brussels      L. SPELEERS, *Catalogue des intailles et empreintes orientales des Musées royaux du Cinquantenaire*, Brussels, 1917
- De Clercq      *Collection de Clercq: Catalogue méthodique et raisonné* (pub. . . . avec la collaboration de M. J. Ménant), vol. I, *Cylindres orientaux*, Paris, 1888; vol. II, *Cachets, briques, bronzes, bas-reliefs*, Paris, 1903.
- Guimet        L. DELAPORTE, *Cylindres orientaux* (*Annales du Musée Guimet*, vol. XXXIII, Paris, 1909)
- Hague         J. MÉNANT, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux du Cabinet royal des médailles de la Haye*, The Hague, 1878
- Louvre        L. J. DELAPORTE, *Catalogue des cylindres cachets et pierres gravées de style oriental* (*Musée du Louvre*, vols. I, II, Paris, 1920-1923)
- Moore         G. A. EISEN, *Ancient Oriental Cylinders and other Seals with a Description of the Collection of Mrs. William H. Moore* (*Oriental Institute Publications*, vol. XLVII, Chicago, 1940)
- Newell        H. H. VON DER OSTEN, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell* (*Oriental Institute Publications*, vol. XXII, Chicago, 1934)
- Nuzi          E. PORADA, *Seal Impressions of Nuzi* (*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, vol. XXIV, New Haven, 1947)
- Philadelphia    I. LEGRAIN, *The Culture of the Babylonians: From Their Seals in the Collections of the Museum* (*University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum, Publications of the Babylonian Section*, vol. XIV, Philadelphia, 1925)
- Southesk      *Catalogue of the Collection of Antique Gems Formed by James, Ninth Earl of Southesk, K. T.* (ed. by his daughter, Lady Helena Carnegie), London, 1908
- Ur             C. L. WOOLLEY, *The Royal Cemetery* (*Ur Excavations* vol. II, London, 1934), pls. 192-216

- Walters C. H. GORDON, "Western Asiatic Seals in the Walters Art Gallery", *Iraq*, VI (pt. 1, 1939), pp. 3 ff.
- Ward, Morgan W. H. WARD, *Cylinders and Other Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan*, New York, 1909
- Ward, Seal  
Cylinders W. H. WARD, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication No. 100, Washington, 1910)
- Weber O. WEBER, "Altorientalische Siegelbilder," *Der Alte Orient*, vols. XVII-XVIII, Leipzig, 1920





## SEALS OF SOUTHERN MESOPOTAMIA AND ASSYRIA

In southern Mesopotamia, seals and the first rudimentary writing appeared with the development of urban life in the latter half of the fourth millennium B.C. Few of the early seals found in this region are examples of the stamp, the seal form that developed earliest in the Near East, according to the evidence of excavations in Iran, Northern Mesopotamia, and Syria. More numerous in the south, and more important in relation to the subsequent development of glyptic art, were the engraved cylindrical stones, known as cylinder seals. Cylinder seals remained the characteristic seal form of southern Mesopotamia until the middle of the first millennium. Stamp seals were virtually discarded in that region at the beginning of the third millennium and came into use again only at the end of the eighth century. After that time they gradually became more common and by Hellenistic times had superseded cylinder seals altogether.

The earliest use of cylinder seals appears to have been mainly for the marking of property. The seals were rolled over clay lumps that closed the mouths of jars in which commodities of various kinds were kept. The use of cylinders for sealing the tablets on which records were inscribed—the principal function of the cylinder seal in latter times—seems to have been exceptional in the earliest periods.

The cylinder seals of southern Mesopotamia were the chief models for the types produced in outlying regions. It was only in the second millennium that peripheral elements in turn began to appear to any substantial extent in the glyptic of the south. During that millennium distinctive styles arose in other regions, especially in Syria and northern Mesopotamia, with the result that the south lost its leadership. By the first millennium the focal point of glyptic art had definitely shifted from Babylonia in the south to Assyria in the north. From this stage of the development on it is impossible to treat Babylonian and Assyrian glyptic art separately. Therefore the two are here discussed in the same major section.

Cylinder seal inscriptions containing the names of historical personages, seal impressions on dated cuneiform tablets, and evidence from excavations of ancient sites, have served as the basis for the classification of the glyptic art of southern Mesopotamia in successive periods.

### CYLINDERS OF THE URUK PERIOD (1-6)

The time at which cylinder seals appeared in Mesopotamia is known as the Uruk period. The character of this period was first determined by excavations at Warka, site of the ancient city of Uruk, the biblical Erech.<sup>1</sup> There its distinctive remains were found overlying those of the earliest culture in southern Mesopotamia, the Al Ubaid painted pottery culture.

The glyptic art in Uruk cylinders is of a high quality, although there is thus far no evidence

<sup>1</sup> “[Erster, etc.] vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen,” *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Phil.-hist. Kl.)*, 1930, etc.



of a prior gradual development of seal engraving in southern Mesopotamia that would account for such an achievement.

The engraving is characterized by a strong outlining of the figures and by a deep hollowing within them; these depressions produce an appearance of plastic modeling when the seal is rolled on clay or some other pliant material. The initial hollows were made with a mechanical instrument, a bow drill (referred to here throughout as the drill). However, subsequent careful work with a pointed instrument, a graver, deleted most of the traces of these drill holes in Uruk seals.

The subjects represented on those seals are varied.<sup>2</sup> They include ritual, hunting, and battle scenes in which human figures predominate, as well as scenes in which the principal figures are wild or domesticated animals or monstrous creatures combining the forms of several animals. The arrangements of the figures show as much variation as the choice of subjects. A free treatment of the space, often including elements of landscape, alternates with strictly symmetrical composition. Often the two modes are combined, as in seal 1, where two snake-necked monsters form an ornamental motif framing scenes in which the figures and objects are distributed freely over the field.

In the present collection only seal 1 — and perhaps 2, which is badly preserved — show the characteristic style of the Uruk period. In 3–6 there is evidence of the drill in prominent parts of the design, without modification by use of the graver. This crude type of engraving became increasingly common in the Jamdat Nasr period, which followed upon the Uruk period. Seals 3–6 may therefore be regarded as representing a transition between the styles of the two periods.

Since the subjects represented on these seals vary considerably, they require individual discussion.

In 1 the scene on the right has been interpreted by Frankfort<sup>3</sup> as showing leather workers. This seems a good explanation, since the scene includes a figure wielding a mallet, an attendant bearing a skin, and a second skin and a shoe lying on the ground.

The precise meaning of the snake-necked monsters framing the scenes of 1 is not known. In contemporaneous seal designs<sup>4</sup> they appear in what seem to be merely ornamental motifs. However, it is reasonable to believe that these strange creatures originally had some mythological significance. It is possible therefore that their presence in 1 raises the import of the scenes from a secular to a religious level.

The detached animal heads placed in the upper field of 1 do not have any obvious relation to the action of the scenes. The use of these heads is typical of Uruk designs, in which not only detached animal heads but also legs sometimes occur in the field.<sup>5</sup>

Seal 2 presents one of the stock motifs of the Uruk period—a herd of cattle before a byre. The byre is topped by posts with rings on either side. A contemporary seal<sup>6</sup> shows such posts placed at either side of a shrine. They therefore appear to be the symbols of some divine power. However, the identity of the deity, if their association is with a specific deity, remains unknown.

The only unusual feature in 2 is a decorated pole in the lower field; only the top of the pole is preserved. The lozenge-like pattern may represent either the trellis work on some kind of

<sup>2</sup> A. Moortgat, "Frühe Bildkunst in Sumer," *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft*, XI. (No. 3, 1935), 78.

<sup>3</sup> H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals: A Documentary Essay on the Art of the Ancient Near East*, London, 1939, p. 20, pl. ivh (where position of scenes is reversed).

<sup>4</sup> "Fünfter vorläufiger Bericht . . . Uruk . . .," 1933, pls. 26c,d.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 24a.

<sup>6</sup> Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. iiii.



stockade or a mosaic like that used to decorate the walls of a court in the Eanna precinct in Uruk, dated in the beginning of the Jamdat Nasr period.<sup>7</sup>

Seal 3 has been interpreted by E. D. Van Buren as showing priests performing a rite before a shrine.<sup>8</sup> However, in view of our limited knowledge of ritual in the Uruk and Jamdat Nasr periods, it is difficult to judge the character of the figures with certainty, although nudity has often been taken to distinguish priests in representations of later periods.

Seal 4 presents as its central figure a cyclopic hero holding lions. The rest of the scene includes animals, pots, and other types of containers, as well as a human figure and two lion-headed eagles, all apparently meant to be within an inclosure indicated by two stockade-like frames. A related theme is found in a fragment of a vase from Khafajah.<sup>9</sup> In the latter instance the figures have all undergone some change: the cyclopic hero is replaced by a bull-man, the human figure has a kilt, the eagles have heads of birds instead of lions, the horned animals are of a different type, and the containers are omitted. Furthermore, the inclosure is somewhat transformed. Instead of being in the form of two stockade-like frames as in 4, it is continuous and encircles the lower part of the vase; this undoubtedly indicates that the scene above the inclosure was meant to be surrounded by it.

The nude bearded hero seen in 4 remained a stock figure of the Mesopotamian repertory, appearing for the most part in contest scenes. The cyclopic version of this figure in 4 is paralleled in only one other instance, an Early Dynastic seal impression from Fara (ancient Shuruppak).<sup>10</sup> A plaque from Khafajah<sup>11</sup> of some thousand years later shows a cyclopic demon whose head has the form of a sun. Because of the wide gap in time, however, there is no assurance that the hero in 4 is to be associated in any manner with this figure.

The theme of 5 is related to that of 2 by the fact that a ram and ewe, probably representative of a larger herd, are pictured with a symbol. This symbol, interpreted by Andrae as a gatepost with streamers, has been identified as the symbol of the mother goddess, since it can be shown to have developed into the name sign of Inanna, a deity who appears as a mother goddess in religious texts of later periods.<sup>12</sup>

The fragmentary seal 6 has been included here because its design seems to depict a detached animal head and leg such as occur in the designs of the Uruk period. Moreover, what remains of the engraving manifests more careful work than is usually found in the designs of the Jamdat Nasr period.

1. Greenish-black serpentine. Cylinder.  
29.5 × 25

Two columns of entwined snake-necked monsters separating design into two scenes: (1) figure cutting up (?) animal held over split post and facing figure holding mallet (?), fish between them; (2) seated figure holding stick and mallet (?) and facing figure holding animal or skin; second animal (or skin) and shoe on ground, heads of three horned animals in upper field.  
[ Ward, *Morgan* 137 ]

2. Alabaster. Cylinder, lower part broken off.  
D. 40

Upper field: two bovine animals at either side of byre topped by ringed poles. One or more stars or rosettes over back of each animal. Lower field: at left, bovine animal; at right, human (?) figure beside pole (?) marked with lozenge-like pattern.

3. Marble. Cylinder. 24.5 × 21  
Shrine; worshiper (?) holding palm leaf (?)

<sup>7</sup> "Siebenter vorläufiger Bericht . . . Uruk . . .," 1936, pl. 16a,b.

<sup>8</sup> E. D. Van Buren, "Religious Rites and Ritual in the Time of Uruk IV-III," *Archiv für Orientforschung*, XIII (1939), 45.

<sup>9</sup> *Oriental Institute Communications*, no. 19 (1935), p. 48, figs. 54, 55.

<sup>10</sup> E. Heinrich, *Fara*, Berlin, 1931, pl. 44n.

<sup>11</sup> *Illustrated London News*, Sept. 5, 1936, p. 388, fig. 3.

<sup>12</sup> Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 15.



and pot; second worshiper pouring liquid into pot before him. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 487 ]

4. Green serpentine. Cylinder, unperforated; in both top and bottom shallow central cavity and outer circle of small depressions. 50 × 40.

(a) Impression. (b, c) Seal stone.

Center: nude one-eyed hero holding two reversed lions, two more lions forming pyramid above him. Left: section of inclosure containing sheep, latter between two pots, with lion-headed eagle perched on head of sheep; basket, pouch (?), fish, and bird in upper field. Right: sheep-headed demon grasping pole of second section of inclosure; within latter,

human figure (?) with upturned curls holding in outstretched hands indefinable curved object marked by vertical incisions; lion-headed eagle above horns of sheep-demon; crib (?) in upper field.

5. Green serpentine. Cylinder, partially perforated. 16 × 13

Ewe and ram flanking plant. Terminal: post with streamer.

6. Marble. Cylinder, fragment. H. 19

Horn and detached leg above leg of animal (body broken off); ibex head above back of recumbent bull.

### CYLINDERS OF THE JAMDAT NASR PERIOD (7-45)

The Jamdat Nasr period is named after the mound in which the remains of this age were first discovered.<sup>1</sup> Jamdat Nasr seals have been found in excavations throughout the Near East. Their style seems to derive mainly from that of the Uruk period. However, the repertory has become far more limited, and the execution coarser and more careless. In general these cylinders are engraved with considerable use of the drill. Those of the present collection can be divided into four groups on the basis of subject matter and to some extent also of shape and materials, as follows: pigtailed figures in various actions (7-16), on squat cylinders of marble, serpentine, or limestone; rows of horned animals (17-28)—in 22-26 such animals appear before a shrine—on large, broad cylinders of serpentine or more often of white marble, the latter frequently stained yellow by exposure; miscellaneous animals (29-32), on seals resembling those of the first group in shape and material; patterns of various types (33-45), partly on long, thin cylinders of black serpentine or glazed steatite, partly on squat seals of marble, serpentine, or limestone.

#### PIGTAILED FIGURES (7-16)

The group involving pigtailed figures can be shown to have developed gradually from Uruk prototypes. Seal 7 exemplifies the transition. Uruk features on this seal are the bull, rendered with considerable plasticity and without pronounced use of the drill, and the mountains, rendered like those in a seal impression of the Uruk period.<sup>2</sup> However, pigtailed figures, squatting on a bench or a mat and associated with pots, are one of the most usual features of Jamdat Nasr seals. They are rendered in 7, as also in 8-16, by means of a few drill holes, with thin lines for the arms and pigtail.

The presence of cows in 7, and of a goat in a related context in 8, suggests that the function of the pigtailed figures is the preparation of dairy products, perhaps for ritual purposes. The Early Dynastic milking frieze from the temple at Al Ubaid<sup>3</sup> indicates that such a theme would be in keeping with the subject matter of Early Mesopotamian art. In those Jamdat

<sup>1</sup> E. Mackay, *Report on Excavations at Jemdet Nasr, Iraq* (*Field Museum of Natural History: Anthropology, Memoirs*, vol. I, No. 3, Chicago, 1931).

<sup>2</sup> E. Heinrich, *Kleinfunde aus den archaischen Tempelschichten in Uruk*, Berlin, 1936, pl. 15d, h.

<sup>3</sup> H. R. Hall and C. L. Woolley, *Al-Ubaid (Ur Excavations)*, vol. I, London, 1927, pl. xxxi.



Nasr seals in which the animals are omitted (9-16), the pigtailed figures with pots may perhaps be similarly interpreted. However, a different suggestion as to the meaning of these scenes has been made by Delaporte and endorsed by Herzfeld, namely, that the individuals portrayed are engaged in making pots.<sup>4</sup>

In 9 and 10 pigtailed figures appear not only with pots but also in various so far undetermined actions. Seals 11-14 present only squatting pigtailed figures with pots, in various degrees of simplification, a tendency further manifested in 15 by the omission of the pots.

In 16, the addition of what appear to be ears of grain is interesting, since this suggests an offering of farm products in general, as on a cylinder of the Uruk period.<sup>5</sup>

7. Green serpentine. Cylinder.  $21.5 \times 20$   
Two figures each squatting on bench or mat, alternating with two cows each lying on mountain, pot before each cow.

8. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $18 \times 17$   
Two figures with pot between them; above them, third figure touching indeterminate object; attendant (?) behind figure on stool with animal legs; plant (?) toward which goat is bending its head; above latter, small figure and simplified animal.

9. Pink marble. Cylinder.  $20 \times 20$   
Figure before shrine (?) containing two pots; figure on bench or mat, touched by attendant (?); pole grasped by second figure squatting on bench or mat; indefinable design. [ Ward, *Morgan* 135 ]

10. Pink marble. Cylinder.  $25 \times 25$   
Figure on bench or mat above two pots and facing four other figures; first of latter squatting on construction between two poles, other three in same posture above row of pots. Before each figure, one or two pots. [ Ward, *Morgan* 134 ]

11. Greenish-black serpentine. Cylinder.  $23 \times 23$

Seven squatting figures with pots, six of them paired vertically; between second and third pairs, seventh, larger figure, indeterminate object above it.

12. Pink marble. Cylinder.  $21 \times 20.5$   
Three figures with pots, squatting on benches or mats; pole before fourth figure.

13. Pink marble. Cylinder.  $22 \times 23$   
Three figures with pots, squatting on benches or mats. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 503 ]

14. Diorite. Cylinder.  $17 \times 17$   
Three figures (two facing) with pots, squatting on benches or mats.

15. Pink marble. Cylinder.  $20 \times 21$   
Six figures, all squatting on same bench or mat, one facing remaining five. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 502 ]

16. Pink marble. Cylinder.  $19.5 \times 21.5$   
Five figures with pots and ears of grain (?), all squatting on same bench or mat. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 502a ]

#### ROWS OF HORNED ANIMALS (17-28)

Jamdat Nasr seals bearing animal rows derive from cylinders of the Uruk period presenting the same theme. For example, 17 recalls the seals of the earlier period in its careful execution of the animal bodies, and 18 shows an Uruk feature in the antelope head placed in the field (p. 2). However, in 17 the drill is used more heavily than on characteristic Uruk seals, and in 18 the animal bodies are rendered almost exclusively by means of larger and smaller drillings in distinctive Jamdat Nasr manner.

In 19-21 a stag appears in the animal rows. In Louvre A. 28 a similar animal is depicted between two cows, each of which has a pot, presumably for milk, above its back. This seems

<sup>4</sup> E. Herzfeld, "Aufsätze zur altorientalischen Archäologie: II, Stempelsiegel," *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, V (1933), 120-121.

<sup>5</sup> Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. vc.



to indicate that in this period stags were occasionally kept in pens together with cattle and formed part of the herds.

A row of animals in conjunction with a shrine, as found in 22–25, is a typical theme of the Jamdat Nasr period. It is generally assumed that this row denotes a temple herd.

While the subject of 26 is like that of 22–25, the execution of the design, especially the forming of animal bodies by means of straight lines rather than drillings, foreshadows the style of the First Early Dynastic period. Similarly, the shallow engraving of the animal bodies in 27 and 28 reflects a transitional stage, although the seals correspond in subject and shape to those of the Jamdat Nasr period.

17. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $27 \times 23$   
Tree, with three goats (second male) approaching it. [ Ward, *Morgan* 133 ]

18. Greenish-black serpentine. Cylinder.  
 $19.5 \times 17$   
Three goats, two smaller ones above. In field: goat's head above vessel; second vessel (between second and third goat). [ Ward, *Morgan* 136 ]

19. White marble. Cylinder.  $29 \times 25$   
Two stags, three drillings before each. [ Ward, *Morgan* 131 ]

20. Greenish-black serpentine. Cylinder.  
 $25 \times 22$   
Plant, three stags approaching. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 498 ]

21. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $28 \times 25.5$   
Tree before mouflon, stag, goat. In field: scorpion, star-shaped design on pole; three star-shaped designs. [ Ward, *Morgan* 130 ]  
The mouflon is not often found on cylinders of this period. However, it appears on painted vases from Tepe Giyan (E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, London and New York, 1941, pl. xix). Since starlike designs like those in 21 occur on other vases from Tepe Giyan (*ibid.*, pl. xx), it seems possible that the seal originated in that region.

22. White marble. Cylinder.  $37 \times 33$   
Shrine before two goats placed over undulat-

ing lines. In field: two vessels, four four-pointed stars. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 488 ]

23. White marble. Cylinder.  $40 \times 35.5$   
Shrine before three goats placed over undulating lines. In field, two pots. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 490 ]

24. White marble. Cylinder.  $45 \times 40$   
Shrine before four goats (two with horns above two hornless). [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 485 ]

25. White marble. Cylinder, partially perforated.  $37 \times 33$   
Shrine before two cows. [ Ward, *Morgan* 128 ]

26. White marble. Cylinder, byre-shaped.  
H. (total) 30;  $22 \times 20$ . (a) Impression.  
(b) Seal stone.  
Shrine before two horned animals. [ Ward, *Morgan* 129 ]

The impractical shape of this stone tends to confirm Frankfort's suggestion that seals with this subject (22–26) served a dedicatory purpose. He states that such seals are especially common in the excavated temples of the period, while no seal impressions with this subject are known (*Cylinder Seals*, p. 33).

27. Drab limestone. Cylinder.  $26 \times 23$   
Two horned animals; vessel; three fishes scattered in field.

28. White marble. Cylinder.  $21 \times 14$   
Two horned animals running, oblique lines paralleling their horns and legs.

#### MISCELLANEOUS ANIMALS (29–32)

The spider in 29, the fish in 30, and the scorpion in 31 are characteristic motifs of Jamdat Nasr seals, as is also the rhomb and ladder design of 30.

It is possible that a number of these motifs are derived from the repertory of the pottery associated with the Jamdat Nasr period. In the few cases in which naturalistic forms appear in this pottery, they are, as a rule, placed in panels and rendered schematically. Thus a pot



of the Jamdat Nasr period shows a scorpion in a panel<sup>6</sup> and the effect is much the same as that produced by the design of seal 31.

29. Pink marble. Cylinder, concave sides.  
23.5 × 25(23)  
Three spider-like designs.

30. White marble. Cylinder. 29.5 × 25  
Four fishlike designs, four rhombs, two starlike designs, one vertical line, one ladder design.  
[ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 496 ]

31. White marble. Cylinder. 36.5 × 21  
Scorpion; plant. [ Ward, *Morgan* 132 ]

32. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 27.5 × 17.5  
Two facing scorpions, two birds; crescent, star in field. Crisscross pattern below. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1041 ]

Scorpions over a crisscross pattern are seen on the Jamdat Nasr seal Berlin 44, while on another Jamdat Nasr seal, Berlin 46, scorpions occur in the lower register and birds in the upper. On the basis of the evidence of these two seals, 32 may be dated correspondingly, although the rendering has greater plastic expression than is usual in seals of this type.

#### VARIOUS TYPES OF PATTERNS (33-45)

In the seals of this group, the interest of the artists appears to have been centered on decoration. The group can be divided into two classes. The first (33-40) shows patterns probably derived from weaving or mat plaiting. The design of 33 recalls a pattern that has been interpreted by Heinrich and Andrae in connection with the decoration of stone vases, as imitating the pattern used in weaving mats for covering the walls of reed huts.<sup>7</sup>

The second class (41-45) shows abbreviated forms of running horned animals, probably derived from such seals as 28.

33. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 27 × 17.5  
Zigzag formed by parallel lines. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1038 ]

34. Grey limestone. Cylinder, lower part broken off. D. 27  
Zigzag with partially crosshatched lines.

35. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 48 × 13.5  
Zigzag ladder designs forming two triangles, three drillings in each. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1037 ]

36. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 40 × 19  
Lozenges outlined by oblique bands formed of parallel lines, drillings in lozenges and within bands.

Evidence of the wide distribution of Jamdat Nasr seals is furnished by the discovery of an almost identical seal—perhaps from the same seal cutter's workshop—at Alisar in Anatolia (H. H. von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük: Seasons of 1930-1932* [ *Oriental Institute Publications*, vol. XXVIII, Chicago, 1937 ], pt. I, fig. 186e455).

37. Glazed steatite, corroded. Cylinder.  
35 × 18  
Lines suggesting triangles.

38. Black serpentine. Cylinder, partly crased.  
22 × 8.5  
Zigzag formed by ladder designs.

39. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 33 × 9.5  
Herringbone pattern. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1040 ]

40. White marble. Cylinder, lower part broken off. D. 11  
Lozenges with drillings.

41. Red marble. Cylinder, concave sides.  
21 × 15.5(12)  
Pattern formed by two simplified animals running. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1043 ]

42. Black serpentine with calcite vein. Cylinder, concave sides. 24 × 15(14)  
Same pattern as in 41.

<sup>6</sup> E. Mackay, *Report on Excavations at Jemdet Nasr*, pl. LXXX 1.

<sup>7</sup> E. Heinrich, *Fara*, p. 33.



43. Black serpentine. Cylinder, chipped at top and bottom. 24 × 10  
Pattern formed by simplified horned animals (?).
44. Black serpentine. Cylinder, chipped at top and bottom. 24 × 10

- Pattern formed by simplified horned animals (?).
45. Glazed steatite. Cylinder, lower part broken off. D. 10  
Horizontal lines with undulating lines above.

### CYLINDERS OF THE EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD (46-130)

There is nothing but archaeological evidence to indicate that the Early Dynastic period began with a time of transition and change, probably owing to foreign influences. On the other hand, texts from about the middle of the period on contain enough historical material to warrant the assertion that this is the stage at which the recorded history of Mesopotamia begins. The culture of the age can be regarded as Sumerian, since Sumerian is the language of the texts.

During the Early Dynastic period the nature of Mesopotamian glyptic changed radically, as new subject matter and methods of representation were introduced. By the end of the period the foundations had been laid for the subsequent development of the art in the south. The seals here assembled have been presented according to a division into a first, a second, and a third Early Dynastic period, as determined by the excavations at Tall Asmar and Khafajah.<sup>1</sup> The distinction between cylinders of the first and second periods can be made clearly. However, it is often more difficult to distinguish between those of the second and third periods.

### CYLINDERS OF THE FIRST EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD (46-49)

Most of the seals found in the excavations of this period present patterns composed of simplified animal and plant forms and linear designs (as in 46-48). Frankfort has coined the term "brocade style" for such designs. The occurrence of human figures in seals of this type is exceptional (46). These cylinders are long and slender, sometimes slightly barrel-shaped; the material is limestone or serpentine.

Such seals differ in shape and design from the seal impressions of this period excavated at Ur. Only 49 appears to belong to the class of seals used to make these impressions. The four-lobed flower appearing in the arc of the horns of the large kneeling ibex is a design found most frequently in seal impressions of the First Early Dynastic period from Ur. In one of these impressions the kneeling ibexes are similar to that of 49<sup>2</sup>; in another, an eagle is hovering over two ruminants<sup>3</sup> as in 49, and in a third the scheme of two rampant animals flanking a kneeling one between them recalls the composition of 49.<sup>4</sup>

46. Black serpentine. Cylinder, slightly barrel-shaped. 84.5 × 17.5(20)  
Pattern: two male figures, one of them with weapon (?), cow with plant above its back, calf, bird, fish, crescent, two oval incisions.

47. Green serpentine. Cylinder. 41 × 13  
Pattern: cow, calf, fish, rhomb, drilling; indeterminate object in sky. [ Ward, *Morgan* 138 ]

This seal has such a close parallel in a piece

<sup>1</sup> H. Frankfort, in *Oriental Institute Communications*, No. 20 (1936), pp. 35-59; P. Delougaz and S. Lloyd, *Pre-Sargonid Temples in the Diyala Region* (*Oriental Institute Publications*, vol. LVIII, Chicago, 1942), p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> L. Legrain, *Archaic Seal Impressions* (*Ur Excavations*, vol. III, London, 1936), fig. 191.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 207.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 247.



discovered at Kish (E. Mackay, *A Sumerian Palace and the "A" Cemetery at Kish, Mesopotamia* [ *Field Museum of Natural History: Anthropology, Memoirs*, vol. I, no. 2, Chicago, 1929 ], pt. II, pl. vi2), that it might be assumed that the two were made by the same seal cutter.

48. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $42 \times 10.5$   
Pattern: two running goats one above other,

simplified animal, bird or fish, two lines forming angle. [ Ward, *Morgan* 139 ]

49. Greyish steatite. Cylinder.  $31.5 \times 25$   
Two leaping ibexes, one at either side of bird of prey hovering over smaller, kneeling ibex; under legs of leaping ibex at left, second small kneeling ibex; under legs of ibex at right, large kneeling ibex with four-lobed flower below curve of its horns.

#### CYLINDERS OF THE SECOND EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD (50-62)

The glyptic style of the Second Early Dynastic period continued the tendencies of the preceding period in the effort to achieve a satisfactory decorative pattern. However, deep linear, often coarse engraving replaces the flat incisions seen on earlier seals like 46-48, and the composition of the designs changes accordingly. The animals and humans are usually pictured in half-erect postures and arranged in continuous bands in which the figures fill the entire height of the seal, all the heads being on the same level, regardless of the posture of the figure. This is well illustrated by 50, which renders the earlier subject of an animal row in the characteristic style of the Second Early Dynastic period.

The principal themes of the period are contests of demons, heroes, animals, and monsters shown in continuous friezes (51-60). Occasionally elements of the contest frieze are combined with other, perhaps mythological representations, as in 61 and 62. Banquet scenes also occur in this period; these will be treated below (105, 106) in connection with the banquet scenes of the Third Early Dynastic period.

The cylinders vary somewhat in size, the height being usually one and a half times the width. The materials are limestone, marble, calcite, shell core, onyx marble, alabaster, and lapis lazuli.

##### ANIMAL ROW (50)

50. Pale-pink marble. Cylinder.  $25 \times 20$

Four rampant bulls with plant and leaves.

##### CONTEST FRIEZES (51-60)

The friezes of this group manifest various tendencies of composition. Sometimes the frieze is continuous, but often symmetry and centered arrangement appear. For example, on 57 a lion and a horned animal are connected with a group of three other figures in such a manner as to produce an indivisible frieze. On 56, however, another group of three is transformed into a centralized symmetrical design by the addition of two identical heroes at the sides.

The same desire for balanced composition determined the postures of the individual animals and humans in the frieze. The forms of the reversed animals in 53-55, 57, 58, for example, balance the outlines of the upright heroes and rampant animals.

Though the composite monsters of 57-59 may be mythological, it is possible that the merging of human and animal forms derived from a desire of the artist to maintain the essential symmetry and compactness of the composition as a whole.

The heroes in the contests often, as in 52, wear flat caps as well as skirts tucked up above the knee to provide freedom of movement. The fact that in a contemporaneous limestone inlay from Kish<sup>5</sup> a king is similarly attired shows that such caps and skirts were charac-

<sup>5</sup> Mackay, *A Sumerian Palace and the "A" Cemetery at Kish, Mesopotamia*, pt. II, pp. 121f., pls. xxxv 2, 3, xxxvi 3.



teristic of the Second Early Dynastic period. Equally distinctive of this age is the two-pointed headdress seen in 60 and 61 and rendered on a larger scale in an alabaster plaque from Fara.<sup>6</sup>

Frequently, as in 53, 55–57, the human heroes are joined in their fight by a bull-man, who makes his first appearance in this age. It was thought by earlier Assyriologists that this bull-man could be identified with Enkidu, the friend of the epic hero Gilgamesh, while Gilgamesh himself was identified with the nude bearded hero with curls. This view has recently been reiterated by Borowsky, who suggests that, at least from the Third Early Dynastic period onward, the friezes and contest scenes in which these figures appear, are based upon the Gilgamesh epic.<sup>7</sup>

The attacking animals are usually lions, with or without manes; their victims are horned animals, chiefly of the bull, goat, and sheep species. Deep parallel lines marking animal bodies and indicating fur or hair, as in 51, 54, 58, are characteristic of this period.

51. White marble. Cylinder, only upper part preserved. D. 25

Two crossed lions, one seizing bull, one grasping mouflon. Terminal: plant.

The deep linear engraving of this seal is in keeping with the style of the period. For the large plant, parallels can be found in contemporary impressions from Fara (Heinrich, *Fara*, pls. 47i, 60g). The strictly balanced group of lions with ruminants does not appear as a sole theme in any other example of the Second Early Dynastic period. As a rule it was used in this manner only at the end of the Third Early Dynastic and at the beginning of the Akkad period.

52. White marble. Cylinder. 28 × 24

Hero grasping bull and mouflon; latter menaced by lion which is attacked by second hero with dagger. [ Ward, *Morgan* 27 ]

53. White marble. Cylinder. 28 × 23.5

Hero reversing ibex; lion attacked by bull-man with long weapon; lion reversed by bull-man. Scorpion in field. [ Ward, *Morgan* 20 ]

54. Green fluorite. Cylinder. 37 × 21

Above: hero between reversed ibexes; crossed lions; another ibex held by second hero, who is on one knee and grasps reversed ibex that initiates scene. Below: bull; lion; hero with upturned curls, grasping reversed ibex; foreparts of two ibexes merged in one trunk. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 117 ]

55. White limestone. Cylinder, slightly concave sides. 19 × 10.5(10)

Horned animal between attacking lions, one of which is held by bull-man; gazelle reversed by hero; another gazelle reversed by second bull-man, who also grasps lion that initiates scene.

56. White-and-grey marble. Cylinder.

23.5 × 12

Center: reversed bull-man between two lions, whose legs he clutches, while lions are each assailed by skirted hero. Terminal: two entwined serpents.

57. White marble. Cylinder. 29 × 23.5

Lion-headed eagle merged with reversed human, between two bull-men (in profile), one grasping reversed horned animal, which is menaced by lion that is in turn attacked by bull-man who initiates scene. [ Ward, *Morgan* 10 ]

58. Sandstone. Cylinder. 35.5 × 25

Center: demon, whose legs are two goats, reversing two lions, each of latter attacking reversed animal. Scorpion (?) in field.

59. Petrified shell. Cylinder. 30 × 14

Three demons, whose legs are foreparts of merged lions, postured as holding latter by their tails, which end in serpent heads. Middle demon rendered full face, his hair indicated by short lines; other demons in profile, demon at right having upright curls.

60. White marble. Cylinder. 26 × 16

Bull-man between ram and bull; two crossed lions, one with tail ending in serpent head, which is held by hero who grasps ram that initiates scene. Reversed dagger in field. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 150 ]

<sup>6</sup> Heinrich, *Fara*, pl. 20 f.

<sup>7</sup> E. Borowsky, *Cylindres et cachets orientaux conservés dans les collections suisses: Mesopotamie*. Berne, 1946, p. 104.



ELEMENTS OF THE CONTEST FRIEZE IN PROBABLY MYTHOLOGICAL SCENES (61, 62)

In 61 the composite monster with two-pointed headdress is comparable to the composite figures in the contest friezes of the Second Early Dynastic period, as found in 59. Though the meaning of this monster, as well as that of the rest of the scene, is enigmatic, the arrangement of the figures and their strange actions suggest that the scene may be connected with some mythological concept.

The theme of 62, in which a hero and a lion — both figures of the contest frieze — take part in the main scene, has been interpreted by Frankfort<sup>8</sup> as representing the god of fertility seated before his temple. The classification of this seal is not quite certain, because the engraving shows an application of the drill that is unusually pronounced for this period.

61. Onyx marble. Cylinder, upper edge chipped.  
37 × 24

Lion-armed demon with human torso and legs and two-pointed headdress, vase on his raised leg, dagger against his bent leg. Before him, two large scorpions; above one, small figure seated on chair; above other, two crossed lions and small scorpion on platform. [Ward, *Morgan* 16]

62. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder. 25 × 12

Horned deity (?) seated before shrine and drinking through tube from vessel; human figure prevented from drinking by lion, which is attacked by nude hero with upturned curls. Above the vessel, globes (?) and crescent moon. In sky, two entwined lion-headed snakes, one touching shrine with its head. [Ward, *Morgan* 35]

CYLINDERS OF THE THIRD EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD (63-130)

The Third Early Dynastic period can be divided into two phases, on the basis of the evidence of excavated sites such as Khafajah, Kish, and Ur.<sup>9</sup> The so-called royal tombs in the last-mentioned site mark the beginning of the later phase. This division of the period also accords with a difference in the style of those cylinders which present contest friezes, the earlier group of these (63-72) showing a lesser degree of modeling than the later (73-96). However, in regard to the friezes in which the central figure is an eagle (97-102) no such precise classification can be made. While contest friezes still predominate among the subjects of this age, ritual themes—such as banquet scenes (105-117)—chariot scenes (118, 119), and offering scenes (120-125) occur in greater numbers than before. A few cylinders bear mythological scenes (126-130). As in the Second Early Dynastic period, seals showing only rows of animals (103, 104) are rare.

The shapes of the cylinders are approximately the same as in the Second Early Dynastic period, but smaller cylinders are more numerous. The materials likewise remain largely the same, except for a few cylinders of gold and silver found at Ur.

CONTEST FRIEZES, EARLIER GROUP (63-72)

The first group of contest friezes can be assigned to the earlier part of the Third Early Dynastic period, because they correspond in style with a cylinder found in the contemporary layers at Khafajah<sup>10</sup> and with seal impressions on tablets from Fara that have been dated in this time by Moortgat.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Cylinder Seals*, p. 71, n. 1.

<sup>9</sup> H. Frankfort, in *Oriental Institute Communications*, No. 20 (1936), 39.

<sup>10</sup> *Oriental Institute Communications*, No. 17 (1934), p. 78, fig. 70, Kh. III 265.

<sup>11</sup> "Frühe Bildkunst in Sumer," *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft*, XI. (no. 3, 1935), 33.



The figures of heroes and animals in these renderings have more corporeality than in those of the Second Early Dynastic period, but not as yet the greater degree of modeling found at the end of the Early Dynastic age. The animal bodies are frequently crossed, and the hero's attack is directed toward the head of his victim rather than toward the small of its back, as is frequently the case in the designs of the Second Early Dynastic period. Animals and heroes therefore stand more nearly upright, and the friezes become more closely knit. The frequently appearing hero with stiff upright curls, or perhaps feathers, as previously found in 62, is characteristic of this group, as is also the representation of a long-haired bull-man in profile. Another distinctive feature are the lions with heads seen as if from above, which gives a more massive appearance to these beasts.

With the exception of 64 and 65, the seals in this group are crudely executed. Such lack of care in the engraving seems to have been general in this phase.

63. Alabaster. Cylinder, damaged.  $47 \times 31$   
Lion attacking hero with upturned curls, who grasps short-horned gazelle; two crossed lions, one clutching latter gazelle, other seizing second, long-horned gazelle. Lizard and dagger in field. Terminal: star crescent, scorpion, one above other. [ Ward, *Morgan* 19 ]

64. White marble. Cylinder.  $26 \times 16$   
Lion menacing bull-man who grasps ibex; gazelle held by hero with upturned curls, which are connected by snakelike line hanging down behind. [ Ward, *Morgan* 28 ]

65. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder.  $15 \times 10$   
Lion attacking gazelle, which is held by bull-man who menaces second lion; latter attacking stag held by hero with upturned curls, who clutches gazelle with other arm. Hero's curls joined by line curling upward at end. Terminal: star spade. [ Ward, *Morgan* 29 ]

66. Black serpentine. Cylinder, damaged.  
 $28 \times 15$   
Lion attacking bull; two damaged figures (probably hero and horned animal); lion walking, two lion heads and scorpion above it. [ Ward, *Morgan* 45 ]

Two or more lion heads in a row occur on several seal designs of the period, and may therefore be regarded as one of its characteristic features (Newell 73; Heinrich, *Fara*, pls. 56k, 58k [ misprinted *h* on plate ]).

67. Shell. Cylinder, unfinished (?).  $23 \times 10.5$   
Two crossed lions attacking two stags, each of which has star below head; small goat standing below horizontals, empty panel above; hero with upturned curls and arm upraised. [ Ward, *Morgan* 17 ]

68. Onyx marble. Cylinder.  $27 \times 15$   
Human figure grasping plant; crossed lions clutching ibex and gazelle. Before legs of ibex, lizard. Below head of gazelle, plant.

69. Onyx marble. Cylinder.  $27 \times 15$   
Two crossed lions, each grasping gazelle; hero with upturned curls wielding dagger and ax. Star in field. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 122 ]

70. White marble. Cylinder.  $23 \times 10.5$   
Two crossed lions each attacking horned animal, second of which is protected by hero with upturned curls.

71. White marble. Cylinder, damaged.  $38 \times 23.5$   
Center, two crossed lions each seizing horned animal; left, feline attacking first horned animal; right, hero with upturned curls and fleeced kilt, wielding weapon (?).

72. Burnt shell. Cylinder damaged.  $33 \times 19$   
Bull attacked by lion that is crossed with human-headed bull; feline stabbed by hero with upturned curls. Terminal: horizontals with empty space above and scorpion below. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 175 ]

#### CONTEST FRIEZES, LATER GROUP (73-96)

In the later group of contest friezes, the figures remain substantially the same as in the earlier, although there is a greater variety in the types of heroes. The bull-man is more often seen from the front, and the nude bearded hero with curls appears more frequently than before. The scheme of two crossed lions centrally placed, which predominated in the earlier



group, persists here; however, an equally large number of the later contest friezes have a hero in the center.

Most of these seals are more carefully executed than those of the earlier group. It is possible therefore to make finer distinctions and to date some of the cylinders more precisely, owing to their resemblance to dated seal stones or impressions of the period. Thus, 73 shows a hero with upturned curls rendered as on Ur 63, a seal found in the grave of Shub-ad, wife of Meskalamdug, the earlier of the kings identified in the royal cemetery at Ur. Seals 74-77, which show a treatment of the frieze similar to that in 73, may be assigned to the same time.

Seal 78 may be of somewhat later date, because its figures, especially the nude bearded hero, correspond with those on the impression of a cylinder of Lugalanda of Lagash,<sup>12</sup> a prince who ruled a few decades before Sargon of Akkad. Perhaps 79 was planned in the same style; however, it was never completed. Seals 80-84 probably originated in the same time, since the small figures on these seals are in the same style as those on the impression of the seal of Barnamtarra,<sup>13</sup> Lugalanda's wife.

Heroes wearing short, usually fleeced skirts do not occur on any of the royal seals of the period. The classification of 85-90 is therefore less certain than that of the seals just discussed, since our only dating criterion is provided by the rather cursory rendering of the animals. This rendering conforms in general with that of the animal forms on Ur 216, the seal of Ninturnin, wife of King Mesannipadda, who appears to have ruled in Ur a little earlier than the time of the reign of Lugalanda in Lagash. Seal 91, which like 89 shows a nude bald hero in the center of the group, should probably be assigned to the same time.

In 92 and 93, the two attacking animals are not crossed and menace only one victim. These two seals, and 94 as well, may be of somewhat earlier date, because they include the long-haired mouflon seen in the frieze of the seal from Shub-ad's grave mentioned above in connection with 73.

Seals 95 and 96, which like 94 present crossed lions and their victims in a centered, strictly symmetrical group, are too sketchy in execution to permit of precise dating.

73. White marble. Cylinder, fragmentary.  
38 × 21

Scene obliterated except for lion crossed with human-headed bull which is in grasp of hero with upturned curls. Terminal: horizontals with small gazelle above and damaged space below. [ Ward, *Morgan* 30 ]

74. White marble. Cylinder. 36 × 21.5  
Feline attacking bull with help of lion that is crossed with human-headed bull; hero with upturned curls and poised dagger. Terminal: horizontals with lion and horned animal crossed above, scorpion below. [ Ward, *Morgan* 32 ]

75. White marble. Cylinder. 41 × 25  
Leopard attacking horned animal that is assailed by one of two crossed lions, second of which attacks bull held by bull-man; between arms of latter, small feline head. Terminal:

horizontals with scorpion above and two small crossed animals below.

76. White marble. Cylinder, damaged.  
40 × 25.5

Bull-man attacking lion, which menaces one of two bulls grasped by hero; leopard attacking second bull. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 179 ]

77. White marble. Cylinder, damaged.  
42 × 25

Bull between assailing lion and leopard. Remainder damaged. [ Ward, *Morgan* 21 ]

78. Lapis lazuli, corroded. Cylinder. 30 × 15  
Human-headed bull held by nude bearded hero; bull-man holding stag, which is attacked by feline; latter menaced by hero with upturned curls. [ Ward, *Morgan* 31 ]

<sup>12</sup> Alotte de la Fuyè, *Documents présargoniques*, Paris, 1908, pl. v.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. vii.



79. Shell. Cylinder, unfinished.  $35 \times 23$   
Lion attacked by nude bearded hero; crossed human-headed bulls, one head not carved.
80. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder.  $24 \times 13$   
Nude hero with dagger and curved weapon attacking leopard that menaces stag; latter clasped by hero with upturned curls who also clasps mouflon assailed by lion. In field, *inscription*. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 29, 141a ]
81. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder.  $14 \times 9.5$   
Long-haired nude hero clasping antelope; lizard; group composed of nude bearded hero in center clasping antelope and bull, each of latter attacked by lion.
82. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder.  $17.5 \times 9.5$   
Center, nude bearded hero clasping bull and antelope each attacked by lion. Terminal: horizontals with small figure in long robe seated on stool above; recumbent ibex with star and plant below.
83. Bone. Cylinder.  $16.5 \times 10$   
Nude bearded hero crossed with bull-man; hero with upturned curls grasping stag; lion reversed by bull-man. Terminal: two small horned animals, one above other. [ Ward, *Morgan* 36 ]  
This seal should be assigned to the end of the Early Dynastic period, because the interlocked group of the frieze is broken up into several pairs of contestants, a scheme that is characteristic of seals made at the beginning of the Akkad period. Furthermore, the action of the bull-man, who stands with one foot upon the reversed lion's head while tearing the animal's legs apart, is found in only one other Early Dynastic representation (Ur 45), though it occurs often in seals of the following era.
84. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $23 \times 13$   
Nude bearded hero grasping bull; latter attacked by one of two crossed lions, second of which is attacking second horned animal. Ball staff in field. Terminal: horizontal with crescent, lion-griffin, and vessel above, bull below. [ Ward, *Morgan* 24 ]
85. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder.  $22 \times 14$   
Kilted hero with dagger and stick attacking feline; latter attacking bull that is also assailed by lion crossed with bull whose lower parts are merged with reversed feline. Terminal: horizontals with empty space above and head of human-headed bull below. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 114 ]
86. White marble. Cylinder.  $27.5 \times 18$   
Fleece-kilted hero with dagger attacking feline that menaces one of two gazelles clutched by crossed lions. Terminal: crescent and drilling above two larger drillings and two incisions.
87. Marble. Cylinder.  $27 \times 16$   
Kilted hero grasping bull that is clutched by one of two crossed lions while second lion seizes gazelle. Terminal: scorpion.
88. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder, fragment. H. 33.5  
Above: horned animals, facing. Below: remnants of contest frieze (?): head and leg of bovine, scorpion, fleece-kilted hero with weapon attacking animal.
89. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder, barrel-shaped, damaged.  $39 \times 10(13)$   
Above: center, nude bearded hero clasping two horned animals, which are attacked by two lions; terminal, lines with drillings. Below: two walking horned animals; three drillings in field. [ Ward, *Morgan* 23 ]
90. Shell. Cylinder.  $21 \times 12$   
Kilted figure beside plant; group with kilted hero in center, latter grasping two horned animals each attacked by lion. Terminal: uncertain lines.
91. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $23 \times 13$   
Center, nude hero grasping two horned animals each attacked by lion; hero with mace (?).
92. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder.  $13 \times 6.5$   
Two lions attacking reversed mouflon, while second lion is attacked by hero with fleeced kilt. Terminal: simplified scorpion (?). [ Ward, *Morgan* 33 ]
93. White marble. Cylinder.  $21.5 \times 10.5$   
Reversed mouflon attacked by two lions. Terminal: scorpion. [ Ward, *Morgan* 34 ]
94. White marble. Cylinder.  $31 \times 18.5$   
Crossed lions attacking ram and reversed mouflon. Terminal: horizontals in clear space.
95. Shell. Cylinder.  $16.5 \times 11$   
Crossed lions attacking two horned animals. Terminal: vertical bar on horizontal.
96. Shell. Cylinder.  $25 \times 13.5$   
Crossed lions attacking two bulls. Terminal: bird of prey with horizontal and drilling above, second drilling below.



### FRIEZES WITH EAGLE (97-102)

Another type of frieze characteristic of the Second and Third Early Dynastic periods presents an eagle as its central figure. Often the eagle has a lion's head, as in 101. In the present collection, the seals showing this theme all belong to the Third Early Dynastic period, with the exception of 102, which should be referred to the preceding period, in view of the linear rendering of the animals. However, no precise assignment of these seals to either the earlier or the later phase of the Third Early Dynastic period can be made here, since the arrangement of the figures in these friezes remained virtually the same throughout the entire period. Even so distinctive a feature as the merging of the bird's body and tail in a cone occurs not only in the Third (98, 99) but also in the Second Early Dynastic period (102).

97. Sandstone. Cylinder.  $29 \times 22$   
Eagle clutching two kneeling mouflons. Terminal: plant.

98. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $24.5 \times 14$   
Eagle, its body and tail merged into cone marked with herringbone pattern, clutching antelope and mouflon. Crescent (?) in sky. Terminal: plant. [ Ward, *Morgan* 11 ]

99. Burnt shell. Cylinder, damaged.  $29.5 \times 16$   
Eagle with legs and tail merged, grasping two horned animals that are in turn clutched by crossed lions. [ Ward, *Morgan* 12 ]

100. White marble. Cylinder.  $29 \times 14.5$   
Eagle clutching two kneeling goats above two

similar animals grazing. Terminal: crescent, plant, disk inclosing eight-pointed star, one above other. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 69 ]

101. Shell. Cylinder, damaged.  $48 \times 16$   
Above: lion-headed eagle clutching two horned animals; terminal, plant (?). Below: banquet scene comprising attendant behind two seated facing figures, goat at right.

102. Alabaster. Cylinder.  $37 \times 21$   
Above: ram; rampant animal; lion and bull facing; eagle with tail and legs merged in cone, clutching ram that initiates scene; over lion, arc with radiating lines. Below: two sheep approaching third standing under arch; plant. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 66 ]

### ROWS OF ANIMALS (103, 104)

Animals not engaged in contest but walking peacefully in a row do not often appear as the principal theme in Early Dynastic cylinders, although they are frequently so represented in the lower registers of the seal designs. Such rows may be survivals of the Uruk and Jamdat Nasr periods. This seems to be suggested especially by 104: both the upper and the lower registers of this seal show a shepherd driving his flock, as on the Uruk cylinder Berlin 4.

Seal 103, in which the execution is linear, should be dated in the beginning of the Third or perhaps even in the Second Early Dynastic period. Seal 104, which shows a somewhat rounded engraving, can be assigned to the later phase of the Third Early Dynastic period.

103. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $17.5 \times 7.5$   
Bird, goat, sheep.

104. White marble. Cylinder.  $26 \times 9$   
Above: herdsman driving goat; lion attacking

sheep. Below: herdsman driving goat toward plant, with unidentifiable animal beyond; star in sky. Band of oblique lines between registers. No common axis of scenes of upper and lower register.

### BANQUET SCENES (105-117)

The most frequent representation of ritual in the Second and Third Early Dynastic periods is found in the banquet scene. The ceremonial character of such scenes is indicated by the fact that they occur on votive plaques found in excavations of temples of the period.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 77.



In the scenes of the cylinders, two figures are usually seated opposite each other, drinking through tubes from a vessel placed between them, though sometimes the act of drinking is indicated by beakers held by the seated figures or being handed to them by attendants. In many instances the scene is enlarged by the presence of additional banqueters. Occasionally some of the figures can be identified as women, as for example in 105 and 106: in each of these, the figure seated at the left has a headgear that is distinctively feminine, though it differs in the two seals. Usually, however, the sex of the figures is difficult to determine, since their heads are indicated in the most cursory manner and all are dressed alike, generally in deeply fringed skirts.

The scenes are frequently engraved on seals with two registers, of which the lower may show a frieze with an eagle, as in 109, 111–114. In 101 above, this order of the scenes is reversed, the eagle frieze appearing in the upper register. Contest friezes also occur in the lower register, as in 115; frequently rows of goats or sheep appear, as in 105, 108, 116. The upper register of 116 shows a shepherd driving a sheep toward the banqueting figures, while it is probably the rest of his flock that is represented in the lower register. This may indicate that such rows should in general be taken to represent the animals consumed at the feast. A number of seals featuring banquet scenes were found in the grave of Queen Shub-ad (Ur 16–19) and also in other graves of the cemetery at Ur. Many of these seals show the action of the scene of the upper register extended to that of the lower, which indicates that there may often be a connection between the scenes in the two registers.

The seals from Ur establish a date in the Third Early Dynastic period for most of the banquet scenes in the present collection. Seals 105 and 106, however, and perhaps also 107 and 112, belong to the Second Early Dynastic period. In 105 the female figure wears a headdress from which something like a tuft of hair projects, as in a figure on an engraved limestone cup found in one of the layers of the Second Early Dynastic period at Khafajah.<sup>15</sup> Seal 106 corresponds closely with a seal from Fara (Berlin 101) dated by Moortgat in that period, and 107 has a linear execution, suggesting that this seal too was made before the Third Early Dynastic period. In the lower register of 112, the monster whose tail ends in a scorpion recalls the composite monsters of the Second Early Dynastic period; a dating in this period is also indicated by the linear execution of the design.

105. Onyx marble. Cylinder. 29 × 17.5  
Above: Seated woman, with headdress from which tuft of hair (?) projects, raising beaker; attendant touching plant before her; second attendant touching plant on stand before seated man holding beaker. Below: row of three grazing antelopes. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 94 ]

106. Onyx marble. Cylinder. 22 × 11  
Attendant standing between woman and man, seated facing, each raising beaker. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 90 ]

107. White marble. Cylinder. 24.5 × 12  
Two facing seated figures drinking from vessel through tubes; lion and horned animal crossed. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 84 ]

108. White marble. Cylinder. 40 × 12  
Above: two facing seated figures raising cups or beakers; shrine. Below: row of three walking goats; plants or branches in field. [ Ward, *Morgan* 2 ]

Eisen comments on this seal in his discussion of Moore 27, drawing attention to its striking similarity to two seals from Telloh (H. de Genouillac, *Fouilles de Telloh*, Paris, 1934, vol. I, pl. 70 bis, fig. 1 b, d).

109. White marble. Cylinder. 28.5 × 13  
Above: two figures seated on either side of gate or sideboard. Below: eagle between two reversed goats, two drillings between heads of these goats. No common axis of scenes of upper and lower register.

<sup>15</sup> *Oriental Institute Communications*, No. 19 (1935), p. 46, fig. 52.



110. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder. Fragment.  
Banquet scene (fragmentary). Between attendant and seated figure, *inscription*. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 92 ]

111. Onyx marble. Cylinder. 31 × 11  
Above: seated figure drinking through one of two tubes in vessel; attendant before figure seated opposite. Below: eagle between plant and reversed horned animal.

112. Onyx marble. Cylinder. 38.5 × 24  
Above: two seated figures drinking from tubes in vessel; third seated figure. Terminal: sideboard or gate. Below: eagle, lion-headed (?), between two small kneeling animals; large walking animal with tail ending in scorpion. No common axis of scenes of upper and lower register. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 83 ]

113. White marble. Cylinder. 23 × 9  
Above: attendant between two facing seated figures, each raising beaker; another attendant at sideboard. Below: hero defending (?) one of two antelopes clutched by eagle. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 82 ]

114. Onyx marble. Cylinder, rubbed.  
26.5 × 12.5

Above: two facing seated figures drinking through tubes from vessel; attendant standing before third seated figure. Below: eagle between two kneeling horned animals; lion-headed eagle. [ Ward, *Morgan* 4 ]

115. White marble. Cylinder, rubbed.  
25 × 11.5

Above: seated figure facing attendant; second attendant behind one of two facing seated figures drinking from tubes in vessel. Below: hero grasping bull; pair of crossed lions; another pair of crossed lions attacking two mouffons, second of which is held by hero who initiates scene.

116. Limestone. Cylinder. 22.5 × 9  
Shepherd driving sheep toward two facing seated figures drinking from tubes in vessel with crescent above it. Below: sheep and two goats walking in row; four branches or plants in field.

117. Onyx marble. Cylinder, lower part broken off. D. 17  
Attendant behind one of two facing seated figures presumably drinking through tubes from vessel; third seated figure facing another attendant. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 117 ]

#### CHARIOT SCENES (118, 119)

Although chariot scenes are not obviously ritual representations, two such scenes (118, 119) are treated here because one of them (118) presents a banquet theme in its upper register. Perhaps this seal combines in a simplified manner the two scenes appearing separately in the two large panels of the standard of Ur,<sup>16</sup> which have been interpreted as showing a battle and the subsequent victory banquet. Instead of portraying the actual combat, however, the lower scene of 118 seems to represent the return of warriors laden with booty. An episode of battle is possibly the subject of the fragmentary upper register of 119, in which a charioteer seems to be driving his horse over a fallen foe.

The contest frieze in the lower register of 119 shows the same cursory treatment as the friezes on the seal of Ninturnin (Ur 216). Seal 119 may therefore be assigned to the later phase of the Third Early Dynastic period. Seal 118 is referable to the same date because of its correspondence with the standard of Ur.

118. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 36 × 14.5  
Above: two facing seated figures drinking through tubes from vessel; third seated figure, long-haired, receiving cup from attendant. Below: two figures — second shouldering forked staff with pendant booty — behind chariot with driver and horse (?). [ Ward, *Morgan* 1 ]

119. White marble. Cylinder. 38 × 23.5  
Above: lion and reversed goat (rest erased to produce empty panel); chariot with driver and horse (?); under horse, fallen foe; before it, small figure under disk with rays. Below: bull-man holding snake and curved weapon, facing antelope; latter clutched by one of two crossed

<sup>16</sup> C. L. Woolley, *The Royal Cemetery (Ur Excavations, vol. II, London, 1934), Plates, pls. 91, 92.*



lions, second of which grasps bull while being assailed by bull-man with long spear; uncertain lines suggesting break in design; mouflon; hero

attacking lion with curved weapon. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 119 ]

#### OFFERING SCENES (120-125)

The seals in this group are varied and require individual comment.

The theme of 120 is identified as an offering scene by analogy with the clear representation of the same subject published by Frankfort,<sup>17</sup> which shows a deity holding a plant and seated behind an altar piled with loaves, with a trussed duck on top of the pile.

The scene of 121 is less explicit. That it is an offering scene becomes clear only when it is compared with a seal impression from Fara<sup>18</sup> in which a seated figure, facing a worshiper, holds a plant over an altar; a spouted vessel is placed before a second figure seated opposite. The Fara impression obviously renders an offering scene rather than a banquet, and the theme of 121 may therefore be interpreted in the same sense, although the figures are differently arranged.

Seal 122 is too badly preserved to permit of comment on the relation between its two figures. The motif could be regarded as either an offering scene or a shortened banquet scene. The scene of 123 may be intended to show a deity before her shrine, in which offerings have been deposited, while that of 124 may represent a procession toward a deity, perhaps of persons bearing offerings. An indubitable offering scene is represented in 125; here, however, the secondary scene may portray some mythological event.

Seals 120 and 125 belong to the Third Early Dynastic period. In 120 this is indicated by the round modeling of the figures, in 125 by the garment of the goddess, which seems to be made of flounced material wrapped around the body; this type of garment became common in the Akkad period immediately following. The other cylinders do not permit of a more precise dating.

120. White marble. Cylinder, rubbed.

34 × 17

Figure in fleeced skirt following driver of horned animal toward altar heaped with loaves and topped with trussed duck; behind altar, seated deity (?). In sky, scorpion, star, crescent. [ Ward, *Morgan* 14 ]

121. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder. 13 × 7

Seated figure holding plant; second seated figure, with attendant proffering cup and tube protruding from small vessel below. [ Ward, *Morgan* 3 ]

122. White marble. Cylinder. 23 × 11.5

Attendant or worshiper before seated figure; lizard and forepart of animal over scorpion.

123. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder. 13.5 × 7.5

Figure sitting before shrine in which two vessels are suspended.

124. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder. 16 × 8.5

Three figures, first holding second by hand, advancing toward seated long-haired figure.

125. White-and-grey marble. Cylinder.

26 × 16

Worshiper bringing sacrificial kid to long-haired goddess whose feet rest on kneeling animal; before her, two branches protruding from altar above vase. Secondary motif: above, two facing seated women, shrine, small animal; below, two figures in boat with bird above; facing boat, woman holding vase (?), man carrying stick with indeterminate object pendant. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 104, 1234 ]

#### MYTHOLOGICAL SCENES (126-130)

The principal mythological subject in the Second and Third Early Dynastic periods is

<sup>17</sup> Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. xvk.

<sup>18</sup> Heinrich, *Fara*, pl. 63a.



a god steering a boat that moves of its own accord (126–129). This is Frankfort's interpretation of the boat, which has a human prow manipulating a punting pole.<sup>19</sup> Scenes such as those in the lower register of 127 and 128 often appear below the god in the boat; Frankfort interprets them as depicting the building of a temple tower.<sup>20</sup>

The lower register of 129 shows a shepherd with his flock. It seems possible that there is some association between this scene and that of the god in the boat, since the god appears in combination with a related theme, a milking scene, on a cylinder from Kish.<sup>21</sup>

The mythological scene of 130, which shows a god pushing a female before a deity who holds an ax, is so far unparalleled. The style of this seal is close to that of the Akkad period, as indicated by the multiple-horned miters of the deities. Of the other seals in this group, 128 and 129, which show considerable modeling, probably belong to the later phase of the Third Early Dynastic period. Seal 126, which has a linear execution, may be earlier, while 127 is too badly preserved to permit of judgment.

126. Pinkish marble. Cylinder. 22 × 16  
Feline, with plow and cup above it, walking before boat propelled by human prow and by deity seated in its waist; crescent above feline-headed stern of boat, small bird-man with stick behind.

127. Shell. Cylinder, damaged. 41 × 26  
Above: two figures, second on one knee; animal (?); boat propelled by human prow and by deity seated in its waist; animal with vessel (?) above it, figure with arm extended over these. Below: scene of building of temple (too badly preserved for description).

128. Shell. Cylinder. 37 × 17.5  
Above: bird-man and quadruped behind boat propelled by human prow and by deity seated

in its waist; scorpion as terminal. Below: row of six figures each holding brick (?) aloft, two facing figures raising brick (?) above pile; attendant before seated figure drinking through tube from vessel. No common axis of scenes of upper and lower register. [ Ward, *Morgan* 8 ]

129. White marble. Cylinder. 21 × 12  
Above: human prow propelling boat that has god seated in its waist, barely visible. Before boat, animal and vessel. Below: herdsman driving three goats. [ Ward, *Morgan* 7 ]

130. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder. 18 × 9.5  
God holding mace (?) head downward and pushing female toward enthroned god who brandishes ax and shoulders mace; attendant behind throne.

## CYLINDERS OF THE AKKAD PERIOD (131–252)

After the middle of the third millennium B.C. the Akkadians, who were Semites, established supremacy, under the leadership of their king, Sargon, over the country previously dominated by Sumerians. Semites had been living in Mesopotamia, however, before this sudden rise of Akkadian power. Hence there was no sharp break in the cultural development. The great change in art, from linear to plastic design, came by gradual stages, although apparently within a short span of time. Furthermore, a different treatment of space developed, since more room was needed for the often violent action of the muscular figures of the Akkad designs. This development is reflected in the modifications of the scheme of the contest frieze, which follow one another in more or less chronological order, as follows: connected groups (131–139); separate groups (140–158); two pairs of contestants (159–170).

<sup>19</sup> Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pp. 67 f.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>21</sup> Mackay, *A Sumerian Place and the "A" Cemetery at Kish, Mesopotamia*, pt. II, pl. XL15.



Among the subjects of the Akkad seals, animal contests (131-170) occur in about equal number with mythological representations (171-240). The latter have been arranged in groups featuring contest friezes with participating gods and battles of the gods (171-177), the sun god (178-194), the water god (195-206), gods of vegetation and of animals (207-215), the snake god (216-219), the weather gods (220-221), the winged gate (222-233), miscellaneous scenes (234-240).

Ritual scenes of offering and presentation relating to a specific deity are classified with the mythological representations focusing about the given deity. For example, the scene of offerings to the sun god (190) is included among other scenes featuring this god. Those ritual scenes, however, which depict offerings and presentations to unidentified deities (241-247) have been placed in a separate group of ritual representations, like the banquet scenes (248-252).

The dimensions of the seals are approximately the same as in the Second and the Third Early Dynastic periods, but their sides are often concave; this shape is found especially in seals of the fully developed Akkad style.

The materials used include shell core, serpentine, marble, limestone, lapis lazuli, jasper, and rock crystal.

#### CONNECTED GROUPS (131-139)

The seals reflecting the transition from Early Dynastic to Akkad style still utilize the Early Dynastic group showing a hero in the center protecting ruminants against attacking lions. The characterizing feature of these cylinders appears in the postures of the animals, which have been aptly described by Moortgat<sup>1</sup> as producing violent zigzag lines. Sometimes, as in 137 and 138, the second lion is omitted. When the symmetry of the scheme is thus broken, the tendency of the Akkad artists toward realism comes to expression.

Another Early Dynastic contest group—two crossed lions with their victims—rendered with the modeling characteristic of the Akkad period, is found in 139.

131. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 27.5 × 16  
Hero with mace; group composed of hero in center clasping two horned animals, with attacking lion at either side. Terminal: tree. [ Ward, *Morgan* 25 ]

132. White marble. Cylinder. 19.5 × 10.5  
Group with hero in center clasping goat and antelope; attacking lion at each side. Star spade and snake in field. [ Ward, *Morgan* 37 ]

133. Grey marble. Cylinder. 22 × 12  
Group with hero in center clasping antelope and bull; attacking lion at either side.

134. Black serpentine. Cylinder, slightly concave sides. 30 × 18.5(18)  
Group with hero in center clasping two antelopes; attacking lion at either side. Terminal: crescent above star spade.

135. Shell. Cylinder. 25 × 14

Same subject as in 134. Terminal: tails of lions joined to form canopy over four horizontals and star spade.

136. Black serpentine. Cylinder, rubbed. 21.5 × 12.5  
Same subject as in 134.

137. Black limestone. Cylinder. 13 × 5.5  
Lion attacking one of two antelopes grasped by flat-capped hero.

138. Shell. Cylinder, partly perforated. 22.5 × 13  
Lion attacking antelope clasped by hero, second antelope behind hero. Terminal: plant.

139. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 24 × 12  
Centered scene: crossed lions, with crescent above and lizard below, attacking ibexes. Terminal: star in crescent over star spade. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 202 ]

<sup>1</sup> *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, Berlin, 1940, p. 21.



SEPARATE GROUPS (140-158)

In the seals deriving from the beginning of the Akkad period, the Early Dynastic frieze of closely interwoven figures gradually breaks up into two or three groups of contestants. Frequently a symmetrical effect is obtained by a duplication of the human-headed bull (147-52, 154). These scenes, as well as the other designs assembled here, show the lack of cohesion in composition that is characteristic of Early Akkad seals. Equally characteristic is the more developed modeling of the figures. Lastly, a number of details serve to distinguish this class of seals: the attitudes of the heroes and of the bull-men, who often show a characteristic flexion of the elbow in reaching toward the top of the victim's head; the lion's head frequently seen from above, as in the representations of the Third Early Dynastic period; the attire of the heroes, most often plain or fringed kilts, with flat caps or feather crowns appearing in several instances.

140. Shell. Cylinder. 30 × 18.5

Nude bearded hero protecting bull from lion that is restrained by bull-man; mouflon clasped by bearded hero. Terminal: dagger.

141. Shell, corroded. Cylinder. 36 × 22

Human-headed bull held by nude bearded hero; hero protecting bull from lion that is restrained by bull-man.

142. Shell, corroded. Cylinder. 33 × 19.5

Lion menacing bull-man who grasps second lion that attacks mouflon; hero placing his foot on head of latter.

143. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 33 × 19.5

Lion fighting bull-man; second lion attacking one of two goats held by hero wearing flat cap and kilt. Scorpion in field. Terminal: above, horizontals with star; below, small figure grasping tail of first lion. [ Ward, *Morgan* 42 ]

144. Black serpentine. 37 × 25

Nude bearded hero with mace, fighting lion; feather-crowned hero grasping bull; bull-man stabbing second lion. Terminal panel containing *inscription* over small animal leaping into bush.

A cast of this seal has been published by Legrain as Philadelphia 134, with the notation, "Gezer, Palestine, 1912 (?)."

145. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder, slightly barrel-shaped. 49 × 9.5(10)

Above: bull-man restraining lion that attacks stag held by hero wearing flat cap and kilt; lion reversed by hero in feather crown (?) and fringed kilt who steps on lion's head. Terminal: star spade. Below: lion attacking horned animal protected by bull-man; lion attacking bull held

by hero wearing feather crown (?). [ Ward, *Morgan* 22 ]

146. Light-brown chalcedony. Cylinder.

21 × 12

Hero grasping lion crossed with and held by bull-man; kilted bearded hero protecting bull from lion.

147. Shell. Cylinder. 40 × 24

Nude bearded hero grasping one of two human-headed bulls; feather-crowned hero protecting bull from lion that is restrained by bull-man.

148. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 24 × 15.5

Bull-man grasping lion that attacks nude bearded hero who holds one of two human-headed bulls, while other is held by hero with upturned curls. Terminal: horizontals separating empty space from star spade.

149. Carnelian. Cylinder. 23.5 × 13

Feather-crowned hero grasping bull; two nude bearded heroes each holding one of two human-headed bulls. Between latter, small man. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 190 ]

150. Rock crystal. Cylinder, damaged.

26 × 15.5

Bull-man grasping human-headed bull; nude bearded hero grasping second human-headed bull; one or two figures destroyed.

151. Oolitic marble. Cylinder. 31 × 20

Bull-man fighting lion; two identical heroes wearing feather crowns (?) and kilts, each attacking one of two human-headed bulls. [ Ward, *Morgan* 38 ]

152. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 37 × 24

Antelope; bull-man grasping one of two human-



headed bulls, hero holding second human-headed bull. Star spade and scorpion in field.

153. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $31 \times 19$   
Nude bearded hero between two human-headed bulls; bull-man protecting bull from lion.

154. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $35 \times 21$   
Feather-crowned hero restraining lion as it attacks one of two crossed human-headed bulls, while other is held by second feather-crowned hero.

155. Black serpentine. Cylinder, damaged.  
 $31 \times 18$   
Nude bearded hero grasping human-headed bull; bull-man, obliterated figure, lion.

156. Shell. Cylinder, concave sides.

$35 \times 19.5(18)$   
Hero in flat cap and kilt holding human-headed bull; bull-man fighting lion. Between contestant pairs, reversed gatepost. Mace in field.

157. Greenish-black and olive-buff serpentine.  
Cylinder, concave sides.  $37.5 \times 25(24)$   
Human-headed bull held by hero in flat cap and fringed kilt; similarly clad hero clasping bull. Between contestant pairs, crescent above star spade. Terminal: mace.

158. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $29.5 \times 17$   
Lion attacking bull; human-headed bull assailed by lion.

#### TWO PAIRS OF CONTESTANTS (159-170)

In the seals of mature Akkad style, the theme of contest between heroes and beasts is embodied in two pairs of fighting figures flanking a central design or the panel of an inscription. A characteristic detail of the resulting rather formal composition is the lozenge effect produced by the arms of the fighters and the legs of their victims. The nude bearded hero and the bull-man are the most common protagonists in these contests, but figures attired like human hunters often take the place of the nude bearded hero (165) or of both fighters (166, 169). In other instances two identical bull-men (167) or nude bearded heroes (168) are represented. Water buffaloes and lions are the most frequent opponents of the heroes. In these seals of mature Akkad style, lions are almost always shown in profile. The scene of 170, showing a figure pouring a libation beside the two fighting pairs, is exceptional.

159. Greenish-black serpentine. Cylinder, concave sides.  $36 \times 25(24)$   
Water buffalo subdued by nude bearded hero; bull-man fighting lion. Between contestant pairs, tree on knoll. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 177 ]

160. Greenish-black steatite. Cylinder, concave sides.  $30.5 \times 18(17)$   
Bull-man fighting lion; water buffalo subdued by nude bearded hero. Between contestant pairs, *inscription*.

161. Greenish-black serpentine. Cylinder, slightly concave sides.  $25 \times 15.5(15)$   
Lion subdued by bull-man; nude bearded hero overpowering water buffalo. Between contestant pairs, *inscription*. [ Ward, *Morgan* 42 ]

162. Dark-green and brick-red jasper. Cylinder, concave sides, damaged.  $32 \times 22(20)$   
Bull subdued by nude bearded hero; bull-man overpowering lion. Between contestant pairs, *inscription*. Terminal: kneeling mouflon. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 184 ]

163. Green serpentine. Cylinder, slightly concave sides.  $23 \times 13(12.5)$   
Nude bearded hero (in profile) subduing water buffalo; lion fighting bull-man. Between contestant pairs, *inscription* (crased).

164. Green serpentine. Cylinder, concave sides.  $28.5 \times 19.5(18)$   
Lion fighting bull-man; nude bearded hero (in profile) subduing water buffalo. Between contestant pairs, *inscription* above kneeling antelope. [ Ward, *Morgan* 40 ]

165. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder.  $27 \times 17$   
Lion fighting bull-man; hero in fillet and fringed kilt, subduing water buffalo. Between contestant pairs, *inscription*.

166. Green serpentine. Cylinder, slightly concave sides, damaged.  $27 \times 17(16.5)$   
Lion attacked by hero wearing horizontally marked headdress and tight-fitting kilt; hero in fillet, swathed kilt, and shoes with upturned toes, attacking second lion. Between contestant pairs, *inscription*.



167. White marble. Cylinder, concave sides.  
28 × 26(25)

Two contestant pairs, each consisting of bull-man fighting lion. Between pairs, *inscription* (erased). In field (later additions): standing bird, seated lion, eagle with spread wings. [ Ward, *Morgan* 44 ]

168. Black serpentine. Cylinder, slightly concave sides. 24.5 × 15.5(15)

Two contestant pairs, each consisting of nude bearded hero (in profile) fighting bull. Between

pairs, tortoise. Terminal: two facing scorpions.

169. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 20.5 × 12.5  
Lion reversed by bearded hero in fringed kilt; similarly kilted bearded hero subduing water buffalo. Between contestant pairs, *inscription*.

170. Greenish-black serpentine mottled with olive-buff. Cylinder. 27.5 × 17

Female worshiper pouring libation, hero with fillet subduing bull, small sitting lion (?) between them; lion attacked by bull-man.

#### CONTEST FRIEZES WITH DIVINE PARTICIPANTS AND BATTLES OF GODS (171-177)

The battles of gods in 173-177 constitute a well-known Akkad subject. Seals 171 and 172 are placed within this group because they show presumably divine figures in connection with a contest. Therefore the scenes depicted may be in some way related to battles of gods.

In 171, a male figure facing the contest group holds an ear of grain or a branch, which is elsewhere the emblem of a deity of vegetation (192). He has the flat cap that, like the feather crown, is usually worn by the probably supernatural heroes of contest friezes but never by human worshipers. He may therefore be a deity concerned in some manner with the outcome of the contest, despite the fact that he does not wear a horned miter.

In 172, however, a horned miter clearly distinguishes one figure as a god. The god is attacking a bull-man; this pair of antagonists appears elsewhere in scenes featuring battles of gods.<sup>2</sup> Its association with a contest frieze is paralleled on another Akkad seal.<sup>3</sup> This may support the suggestion that there is a thematic connection between the contest frieze and the battle of gods.

The awkward composition of 171 and 172 indicates that they are early Akkad seals, whereas the battles of gods depicted in the remaining seals of this group show the fully developed style of the Akkad period.

Of these, only 175 and 177 offer features not found elsewhere. Seal 175 shows an attendant apparently holding a rope with which the vanquished god is to be tied. In 177, one of the gods carries a hoe similar to that wielded by a god building a shrine in the scene of a contemporaneous seal.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that the hoe is meant to symbolize the whole theme of the building of a shrine in relation to a battle of gods, as set forth in full elaboration in the contemporaneous seal just mentioned.

171. Greenish-black serpentine mottled with olive-buff. Cylinder. 35.5 × 21

Lion attacking antelope that is held by hero wearing feather crown (?); bull menaced by lion; horizontals above mace; bearded male figure holding ear of grain or branch. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 169 ]

172. Drab-and-grey jasper. Cylinder, slightly concave sides. 36 × 25(24.5)

God with multi-horned miter attacking bull-man; feather-crowned hero protecting bull from lion; second hero, wearing feather crown (?), grasping stag. Terminal: horizontals dividing empty space.

173. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 33 × 18  
God fighting lion; second god grasping bull-man; third god attacking fourth, who appears to totter and has dropped his mace.

<sup>2</sup> Louvre A. 131; Philadelphia 150; De Clercq 181 *bis*; Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 139b.

<sup>3</sup> Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 193.

<sup>4</sup> Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. xxix.



174. Greenish-black serpentine. Cylinder.  
32 × 19  
God collapsing before another god's onslaught;  
two gods attacking between them third god,  
who has fallen on one knee and dropped his  
mace.

175. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 24.5 × 14.5  
Two pairs of fighting gods; attendant with  
long rope (?) at left of second pair.

176. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder. 18 × 9  
God on one knee attacked by second god; third  
god assailed with mace by fourth god; bull-  
man (?) fighting fifth god.

177. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder. 19 × 11  
God with hoe wrestling with second god; feather-  
crowned figure attacked by bearded hero, be-  
tween them small figure menacing hero with  
dagger. [ Ward, *Morgan* 18 ]

#### THE SUN GOD (178-194)

Among the mythological figures on Akkad seals, the most frequent is the sun god, Shamash. One of the distinctive settings in which this god appears is found in 178-186. The god, identified by his saw and usually by rays emanating from his shoulders, is shown in ascending posture either between two mountains, placing his foot on one and resting his hand on the other, or beside a single mountain on which he steps while resting his hand on a mace. Before him attendants throw open the gates of heaven. The fullest elaboration of this motif is found in 178, 179, 181-183. In 184 and 185, only one attendant and one gate are depicted; in 186, one attendant and two gates. A variant rendering of the sun god is found in 180: here he is stepping on a monster instead of a mountain, and shoulders an implement that may be a whip.

The motif of a sun god with his attendants is sometimes enlarged by the addition of other deities. Examples are: 178, in which a god, at the left of the scene, seems to be hiding a mace behind his back; 179, which shows a god approaching in a boat; and 184, in which a figure possibly representing a divine dancer stands at the right.

Worshippers are sometimes found on seals featuring the ascending sun god, as in 184. In 187, gates and attendants have been replaced by a procession of minor gods leading a worshiper. However, figures approaching the god appear more frequently when he is enthroned than when he is ascending a mountain. Such figures may be human or divine worshippers (189-194). In 192 one of the approaching gods is a vegetation deity, as shown by the fact that he bears an ear of grain or a branch, while two such ears or branches are placed beside him.

178. Black serpentine. Cylinder, concave sides,  
rubbed. 40.5 × 28(27)  
God carrying mace; sun god with rays, ascend-  
ing between two mountains; at either side, at-  
tendant opening wing of gate. [ Ward, *Morgan*  
70 ]

179. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 24 × 19.5  
God shouldering weapon and standing in boat;  
sun god with rays, holding mace (?), ascending  
between two mountains, on which rest wings of  
gate opened by two attendants. [ Ward, *Seal*  
*Cylinders* 245 ]

180. Shell. Cylinder, concave sides.  
34.5 × 19.5(18.5)  
Sun god with rays, shouldering whip (?), as-  
cending on back of monster; at either side, at-  
tendant opening wing of gate. Terminal: star

in crescent above god with clasped hands.  
[ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 249 ]

181. Black serpentine. Cylinder, slightly con-  
cave sides. 32.5 × 20.5(20)  
Sun god ascending between two mountains; at  
either side, attendant opening wing of gate.  
Terminal: horizontals with star above and  
scorpion below. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 246 ]

182. Black serpentine. Cylinder, slightly con-  
cave sides. 36 × 21.7(21)  
Same subject as in 181. Terminal: crescent  
above star spade.

183. Brownish-black steatite. Cylinder, dam-  
aged. 36.5 × 24  
Same subject as in 181. Sun god shown with  
rays. (Figure of second attendant obliterated.)



Terminal: *inscription*. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 247 ]

184. Black serpentine. Cylinder, slightly concave sides, damaged.  $28.5 \times 17(16.5)$

Worshiper carrying kid before sun god with rays ascending between two mountains; gate opened by attendant; bearded dancer holding small objects in upraised hands. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 251 ]

185. Black serpentine. Cylinder, concave sides.  $17 \times 11(10)$

Sun god with rays ascending mountain and resting one hand on mace; gate opened by attendant. [ Ward, *Morgan* 71 ]

186. Green serpentine. Cylinder.  $22 \times 13$

Attendant holding one wing of open gate; sun god with rays ascending mountain and resting one hand on mace. Terminal: empty panel. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 250 ]

187. Shell. Cylinder, concave sides.

$36 \times 21(20.3)$

Worshiper, led by minor god, following second minor god toward ascending sun god.

188. Black serpentine. Cylinder, concave sides.  $23.5 \times 14(12)$

Enthroned sun god with rays facing attendant who opens gate. Two maces in field. Terminal: plant. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 273 ]

189. Dark-green and olive serpentine. Cylinder, slightly concave sides.  $30 \times 18(17.5)$

Enthroned sun god with rays facing two minor gods, second of whom leads worshiper carrying kid. Star and mace in field. Terminal: *inscription*. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 276 ]

190. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder,  $16.5 \times 9.5$

Female worshiper with pail following male worshiper who carries kid and is being led by minor deity toward sun god with rays enthroned on mountain. Before sun god, vessel and ball staff. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 271 ]

191. Black serpentine. Cylinder, slightly concave sides.  $27.5 \times 15(14.5)$

Minor god led by another toward enthroned sun god with rays. Mace in field.

192. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $35 \times 20$

Minor god with clasped hands following second god, who carries branch or ear of grain, two similar branches or ears of grain beside him; third minor god leading second toward enthroned sun god with rays. Terminal: horizontal dividing empty space from star spade. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 274 ]

193. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $36.5 \times 22.5$

Minor god led by second who follows third toward enthroned sun god with rays; fourth minor god with clasped hands standing behind throne. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 281 ]

194. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $35.5 \times 21.5$

Minor god led by second carrying stick, who follows third toward enthroned sun god with rays. Terminal: *inscription* (erased).

#### THE WATER GOD (195-206)

Another deity often shown on Akkad seals is the water god, Ea, who bears a vase from which two streams flow over his shoulders; usually there are fishes swimming along these streams. Seals 195-197 embody a frequent theme involving this god—that of a bird-man led captive toward the god. Seal 198 shows the captive brought hanging from a mace, while a plant—presumably stolen by him—is carried pendant from a stick in a procession led by the water god's two-faced minister. Seals 199-201 have been interpreted by Frankfort<sup>5</sup> as depicting the victory over Zu, the bird-man, with the water god receiving the joyous news.

Seal 202 shows the water god seated in his ocean chamber. Perhaps the scenes of 203 and 204 are also intended to show the god in his shrine, though this is indicated only by gateposts. In 202, 203, 205, the god is shown approached by worshipers.

195. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $31.5 \times 18$   
Water god, holding flowing vase with fishes in

its streams, enthroned in boat, with star in crescent before him in sky; minor god leading

<sup>5</sup> Seal 199 is discussed in *Cylinder Seals*, pp. 133-135 (pl. xxiii); 200, 201 are referred to in "Gods and Myths on Sargonid Seals," *Iraq*, I (1934), 28, n. 1.



bird-man by rope; second minor god holding long rope behind bird-man. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 293 ]

196. Steatite. Cylinder. 25.5 × 15.5  
Enthroned water god holding flowing vase and facing minor god who precedes bird-man tied with rope held by second minor god.

197. Felsite. Cylinder, concave sides.  
39 × 25.5(23.5)  
Worshiper carrying kid behind minor god holding mace and grasping bird-man by ear; second minor god leading bird-man by rope toward enthroned water god, who holds flowing vase with fishes along its streams. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 298 ]

198. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 32.5 × 19.5  
Enthroned water god holding flowing vase, crescent in sky before him; approaching, two-faced god preceding two minor gods, first carrying plant hung from curved stick, second carrying bird-man hanging from mace. [ Ward, *Morgan* 60 ]

199. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder. 16.5 × 10  
Worshiper carrying kid behind minor god who is pushing bird-man; second minor god standing before water god, who holds flowing vase with fishes along its streams and places foot on mountain. [ Ward, *Morgan* 78 ]

200. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 41 × 28.5  
Water god who bears on each shoulder flowing vase with fishes along its streams and stands with foot on mountain, confronting two-faced god who holds two sticks; minor god with long staff, shouldering stick, preceding bird-man pushed by bull-man (?). [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 291 ]

201. Rock crystal. Cylinder. 24.5 × 16.

Water god, holding flowing vase with fishes along its streams, standing with foot on mountain and facing minor god; god fallen on one knee under attack of one large and one small lion-headed eagle, larger held by god brandishing mace. Terminal: empty panel over small man. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 454c ]

202. Black serpentine with calcite vein. Cylinder, damaged. 30 × 19  
Worshiper; nude bearded hero holding gatepost; two-faced god reaching into frame within which water god sits enthroned, holding vase with fishes along its streams; second nude bearded hero holding gatepost. In field, *inscription*.

203. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 21 × 11  
Center: water god holding flowing vase, enthroned with star before him in sky; at either side, nude bearded hero holding gatepost; worshiper carrying kid, approaching from right. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 284 ]

204. Black and brown steatite. Cylinder.  
29.5 × 16.5  
Enthroned water god, holding flowing vase with fishes along its streams, facing two-faced god; *inscription* within frame, on which minor god carrying stick seems to rest his hand. Star in sky. Terminal: gatepost. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 238 ]

205. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 33 × 21  
Enthroned water god, holding flowing vase with fishes along its streams, facing minor god who leads worshipers. Star and crescent in sky.

206. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 29 × 16.5  
Three minor gods standing with clasped hands before enthroned water god holding flowing vase with fishes along its streams. In field: mace; star; star spade. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 283 ]

#### GODS OF VEGETATION AND OF ANIMALS (207-215)

Male and female deities associated with the cultivation of grain are represented in 207-214. The fullest characterization of them is found in 207 and 212. In these latter seals the principal deities are seated on heaps of grain; stalks of grain sprout from their shoulders and rest in their hands. In 207 a plow is carried before the deity; in 212, it is in actual use. On the remaining seals of this group, the nature of the deities is indicated in various degrees of simplification: in 209, 211, 213, only ears of grain growing from their shoulders or from their garments serve to identify them. An offering before the goddess of grain is pictured in 209, 211, 212. The gesture of the minor god standing with hands outstretched before the enthroned deity of grain in 207 and 210 is typical of scenes featuring this divinity.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Ur 355; B N 81; Louvre A. 131; De Clercq 140.



A god of vegetation and animals is represented in 215. The motif of the seal can probably be reconstructed according to the design of BN 79, which shows a ram placing its forelegs on the knees of the enthroned god, presumably to nibble from the plant he holds in his hand. The occurrence in 215 of a nude bearded hero holding a gatepost is unusual, since this hero is as a rule associated in mythological representations only with the water god.

207. Black serpentine. Cylinder, concave sides.  
35 × 25(22.5)

God with stalks of grain growing from his skirt and three other stalks in his hand, following god with plow and third god toward deity enthroned on heap of grain, who holds three stalks, while other stalks sprout from his shoulders. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 374 ]

208. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 32 × 20

Enthroned god, with streams (?) issuing from his waist and stalk of grain (?) in his hands, facing minor deity with plow followed by second god carrying stick and leading worshiper. Mace in field. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 375 ]

209. Black serpentine. Cylinder, concave sides.  
43.5 × 28(26)

Seated goddess with grain growing from her shoulders and three stalks in her hand, receiving three minor gods and worshiper carrying kid.

210. Shell. Cylinder, slightly concave sides.  
38 × 19.5(19)

Seated deity holding stalk of grain (?) and facing minor god followed by male and female worshiper.

211. Shell. Cylinder. 18 × 10

Female worshiper with pail following woman who pours libation before enthroned goddess whose shoulders sprout grain.

212. Green serpentine. Cylinder, convex sides, damaged. 30 × 18(17)

Worshiper plowing; offerings on altar before enthroned goddess who holds stalks of grain while other stalks sprout from her shoulders. Terminal: *inscription*. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 376, 1230 ]

213. Shell. Cylinder, damaged. 65 × 23.5

Above: attendant behind one of two facing seated figures. Below: gate opened (?) by attendant; seated female (?) figure with grain growing from her knees, holding cup; one figure obliterated. Both registers bordered by bands. No common axis of scenes. [ Ward, *Morgan* 5 ]

214. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 42 × 22.5

Above: seated figure facing attendant; shrine (?) between two plants, rope from shrine held by second attendant. Below: seated figure with attendant in robe sprouting grain (?); second similar pair, except that no grain appears beside attendant's robe. No common axis of scenes of two registers.

215. Drab serpentine. Cylinder, damaged.  
39 × 25

Goddess and worshiper before enthroned god, bull placing its forelegs in lap of latter; behind throne, nude bearded hero with gatepost. Small pine tree in field. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 317 ]

#### THE SNAKE-GOD (216-219)

A number of Akkadian seals feature a god the lower part of whose body is that of a snake. In 216 this god faces a goddess of vegetation. More usual, however, are scenes like those of 217-219, which show this deity receiving one or more worshipers.

216. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 32 × 21

Deity with grain sprouting from shoulder seated opposite snake-god; between them, altar with flames, star in crescent above it. Terminal: plant.

217. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 30 × 16

Snake-god without horned miter facing god-

dess (?) without horned miter who leads worshiper. Terminal: door. [ Ward, *Morgan* 86 ]

218. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 29.5 × 17

Worshiper before snake-god. Crescent in sky. Terminal: door and star spade. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 363 ]



219. Black serpentine. Cylinder, concave sides, recut. 38.5 × 20(19)  
Three worshipers approaching snake-god. Cres-

cent in sky. In field, *inscription*. [ Ward, *Morgan* 87 ]

#### THE WEATHER GODS (220-221)

Two deities who are obviously weather gods appear in 220 — a goddess holding bundles of rain, and a god in a chariot, brandishing a whip, who brings to mind thunder and lightning. A parallel exists for the goddess standing on a lion-griffin that draws the god's chariot<sup>7</sup>; however, the more frequent Akkad representations of these deities show both figures standing on such monsters.<sup>8</sup>

220. Shell. Cylinder, slightly concave sides. 33.5 × 20(19.5)  
Worshiper pouring libation over altar before goddess standing on lion-griffin that draws chariot in which weather god stands cracking whip. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 127 ]

221. Black serpentine. Cylinder, rubbed. 24 × 14  
God standing on lion-griffin; lion attacked by bull-man.

#### THE WINGED GATE (222-233)

In the seals of the present collection, the earliest representation of the winged gate is found in 222, in which the figures are rendered in the cursory manner of some of the cylinders reflecting the transition between Early Dynastic and Akkad style. In this scene two running men hold ropes attached to a winged gate on the back of a bull. Seal 223, which has a linear execution, may likewise be of earlier date than the rest of the seals of the group. In this case the bull with the gate stands before a seated figure, presumably a goddess. The remaining seals (224-233), which are executed with varying degrees of care, all show the bull kneeling. Usually a seated goddess holds one end of a cord that seems to pass through the gate, while a male attendant, who is standing or kneeling or possibly floating in the air, holds the other end. Exceptions are 224, in which the goddess holds not the rope but a cup; 229 and 230, in which the seated deity is male; and 232 and 233, which show two attendants standing on either side of the gate, touching its wings.

222. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 24 × 14.5  
Center: winged gate on bull's back; in sky on either side, nude man pulling cord attached to gate. Below, at left: figure stretching arms toward nude (?) figure in boat holding bull of central group by rope (?); behind bull, at right, kneeling calf (?). [ Ward, *Morgan* 84 ]

Kneeling bull, carrying winged gate on its back, before seated goddess who raises cup under crescent in sky. [ Ward, *Morgan* 83 ]

223. Shell. Cylinder, damaged. 25 × 16.5  
Seated figure holding cord attached to bull carrying winged gate on its back; behind bull, figure grasping its tail (?). [ Ward, *Morgan* 85 ]

225. Shell. Cylinder, damaged. 40 × 22.  
Seated goddess holding cord of winged gate that rests on back of kneeling bull; second deity, kneeling, or floating in air, grasping other end of cord and touching wing of gate.

224. Slate-olive serpentine. Cylinder. 20.5 × 11.5

226. Green serpentine. Cylinder. 31 × 19.5  
Seated goddess holding cord of winged gate that rests on back of kneeling bull; nude god raising one foot above bull's back and grasping other end of cord with both hands.

<sup>7</sup> *Antiquaries Journal*, vol. XIV (1934), pl. XLIIU.18922.

<sup>8</sup> Louvre A. 154; Berlin 233; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, room XIV, no. X.73; *Orientalia*, vol. XVI (1947) pl. ix, fig. 1.



227. Marble. Cylinder. 32.5 × 18  
Nude god on one knee, grasping one end of cord of winged gate that rests on back of kneeling bull; seated goddess holding other end of cord. [ Ward, *Morgan* 82 ]

228. Shell. Cylinder, damaged. 39 × 24  
Seated goddess, with star and crescent beside her in sky, raising hand toward one wing of gate that rests on kneeling bull before her; man on one knee touching second wing of gate and holding gate cord. [ Ward, *Morgan* 81 ]

229. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 26 × 14.5  
God kneeling, or floating in air, while holding cord of gate that rests on back of kneeling bull and touching frame of gate; seated god at right touching wing of gate, which has pendant cord.

230. Shell. Cylinder, damaged. 38.5 × 22.5  
Same subject as in 229. [ Ward, *Morgan* 79 ]

231. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 27 × 15.5  
Seated deity holding cord of winged gate that rests on back of kneeling bull; at right, attendant holding cord of gate (?). [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 354 ]

232. Shell. Cylinder, damaged. 32.5 × 17  
Center: winged gate resting on back of kneeling bull; attendant at either side, each touching wing of gate; deity at right. [ Ward, *Morgan* 80 ]

233. Dolomite. Cylinder, partly perforated. 32 × 18  
Figure with flexed knees grasping wing of gate that rests on back of bull rising (?) on its forelegs; second figure grasping bull's horn and other wing of gate; seated female raising hand under crescent. Terminal: star spade.

#### MISCELLANEOUS SCENES (234-240)

Different myths appear to be illustrated in 234-236. Seal 234, showing three nude female figures on a monster, may be regarded as a representation of some astral myth, because a contemporaneous seal<sup>9</sup> shows this monster with a body composed of stars.

The scene of 235 belongs to a group interpreted by Opitz<sup>10</sup> as illustrating a passage in the Sumerian version of the Gilgamesh epic, namely, the episode in which Gilgamesh complies with the wish of the goddess Inanna by attacking the demons occupying her tree.

Seal 236 probably illustrates the myth of Etana, the shepherd king who flew to heaven on the back of an eagle to obtain the plant of birth for his childless wife.

The scenes of 237 and 238 depict offerings to deities. The divinity of 237 is characterized by the weapons sprouting from her shoulders as the war goddess usually identified as Ishtar. The deity in 238 may be the same goddess, since she is seated on a lion, and lions occur on the throne of the war goddess in another Akkad seal.<sup>11</sup> Seal 239 has been interpreted by Frankfort<sup>12</sup> as showing the sun god rising and "the Mother-Goddess and her infant." Seal 240, which cannot be related to any specific mythological concept, seems to depict a deity in a boat, raising a cup.

234. Black serpentine. Cylinder, damaged. 37.5 × 33  
God leading monster; in sky over its head, star in crescent; on its back, three nude female figures in profile; behind it, small kneeling figure.

235. Green serpentine. Cylinder. 23 × 13  
God with rays tearing branches from tree bent to ground and forming inclosure for seated

deity; worshiper at right. [ Ward, *Morgan* 89 ]

236. Black serpentine. Cylinder, concave sides. 36.5 × 28(26)  
Man astride eagle in sky over two sitting sheep dogs, shepherd standing behind each dog — shepherd at left holding whip and pail, shepherd at right resting on stick and followed by ram

<sup>9</sup> Iraq Museum, IM 3528 (unpublished).

<sup>10</sup> D. Opitz, in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, VIII (1932-1933), 329-331.

<sup>11</sup> Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 407.

<sup>12</sup> *Cylinder Seals*, p. 130.



and three sheep; above this group, crisscrossed rectangle and two men, each on one knee, with large vessel between them. In sky, crescent, small vessel, and large vase (beside eagle). [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 392 ]

237. Shell. Cylinder, only upper part preserved. D. 25.5

Worshiper carrying kid and led by minor goddess toward war goddess, whose shoulders sprout maces and scimitars. Terminal: *inscription* (fragmentary). [ Ward, *Morgan* 90 ]

238. Shell. Cylinder, rubbed, top broken off. D. 22

Short-skirted man carrying kid and following

female (?) worshiper with offering who is led by minor deity toward goddess enthroned on lion. Above lion's head, crescent and bird; below it, scorpion.

239. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 32.5 × 28.5  
Sun god resting hand on mace, placing foot on mountain; worshiper holding strainer over tall vessel before seated goddess with cup who holds infant in her lap. Crescent and star in sky. Terminal: *inscription*. [ Ward, *Morgan* 88 ]

240. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 24 × 14  
Boat containing seated deity (?), standing attendant, nude man rowing. Crescent in sky.

#### SCENES OF OFFERING OR PRESENTATION TO UNIDENTIFIED DEITIES (241-247)

The few Akkad scenes showing minor gods introducing worshipers to deities (241-244) set the pattern for the worshiping scenes of the following age. Scenes showing worshipers standing before a deity without an intermediary (245-247) are rare in this period and later.

241. Green serpentine. Cylinder, concave sides. 22 × 12(11)

Worshiper led by god carrying stick; second god carrying stick and extending hand over altar toward enthroned deity who holds cup. Star in crescent in sky.

242. Black serpentine. Cylinder, fragmentary. H. 28

Worshiper led by goddess following minor god toward enthroned deity.

243. Shell. Cylinder. 32.5 × 18.5

God with clasped hands behind enthroned goddess who faces second god with clasped hands, latter holding stick and followed by worshiper. Crescent in sky. [ Ward, *Morgan* 51 ]

244. Shell. Cylinder, concave sides. 35 × 21(19.5)

Enthroned goddess facing minor god (?) who leads worshiper. Crescent in sky. Terminal: plant.

245. Black serpentine. Cylinder, concave sides. 37 × 25(23)

Enthroned goddess with mace facing worshiper who carries kid and pours libation over flaming altar; behind him, two female worshipers, one with pail, other with arm upraised supporting object on palm of her hand. Star and crescent in sky. Terminal: plant. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 215, 1244 ]

246. Black serpentine. Cylinder, concave sides. 24 × 14.5(13)

Deity enthroned before altar with flaming lamp (?), facing male and female worshiper. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 218, 1231 ]

247. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder. 16.5 × 10

Female worshiper with pail following second woman, who pours libation over altar before enthroned god. Crescent in sky. Terminal: tree.

#### BANQUET SCENES (248-252)

Banquet scenes, which occur so frequently on Early Dynastic seals, are found on only a few Akkad cylinders. In the latter the banqueting figures are occasionally identified as deities by their horned miters (248, 249), whereas in the earlier renderings the character of the figures remains undetermined. Even in 250, in which the figures do not wear horned miters, they are characterized as superior beings by their seats: the female personage sits on a stool fashioned with what appear to be bull's legs, the male personage on a throne shaped like a shrine.



Seal 251 has been included here because the arrangement of its figures corresponds with that in the banquet scenes. However, the seated persons seem to be holding sticks or bands rather than drinking tubes.

Seal 252 shows an unusual figure, a servant fanning the drinking female figure. An attendant similarly occupied is depicted in an Early Dynastic banquet scene found in the grave of Queen Shub-ad (Ur 18, upper register). The design of 252 therefore appears to be genuine, despite the fact that the faces of the figures suggest some recutting in modern times.

248. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $21 \times 13.5$   
Two seated deities drinking through tubes from vessel between them. Star and crescent in field.

249. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $30 \times 21$   
Center: god and goddess (?) drinking through tubes from vessel between them; two attendants at each side. Terminal: plant. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 87 ]

250. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $35 \times 21$   
Female attendant behind seated woman raising cup, male attendant supporting elbow of man seated opposite, likewise raising cup; second male attendant at right. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 224 ]

251. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $36 \times 21$   
Man seated, facing male attendant; vertical line; female attendant facing seated woman. Each seated figure holding stick (?). Terminal: gatepost.

252. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $30 \times 19$   
Female figure with pail behind second female figure facing woman seated at table, who raises cup while being fanned (?) by female attendant standing behind her. Crescent and plant in field. Terminal: star spade. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 223 ]

### POST-AKKAD CYLINDERS (253-267)

The end of the Akkad dynasty was brought about by the invasion of the Gutians, a people coming from the northeastern mountains. This political catastrophe caused a temporary eclipse of Akkadian art in all but a few centers of Mesopotamian culture, among which the southern city of Lagash (modern Telloh) is best known. The mark of these events appears in the majority of the seals of this period found in excavations. They present a disintegrated Akkad style employed often with a coarseness of execution that may be a reflection of peripheral influences. Only a few seals of this period show a continuation and further development of the Akkad tradition.

Since the specific features of this group have not been defined in the pertinent literature, the reasons for the present classification of these seals are here given in detail.

Seal 253 must have been made when the influence of the Akkad period was still predominant, because its enthroned god faces right. In Akkad designs there seems to be no convention in this respect; on seals of the following period, however, it is exceptional for an enthroned god to face right. The Sumerian inscription, however, shows that the seal was made after the fall of the Akkad dynasty, when Sumerian became once more the official language of the country. A Post-Akkad dating is furthermore indicated in view of the fact that the worshiper is beardless, as in later representations, whereas on seals of the Akkad period, worshipers are bearded.

Seals 254-261 are distinguished by their deeply incised engraving, which is most obvious in the human faces. The subjects of these seals are all derived from Akkad designs depicting worship of deities. Ritual scenes with female participants, who are undifferentiated except



by their actions (255–259), are more numerous than ritual scenes in which the principal figure is distinguished as a deity by being rendered with a horned miter (254, 260, 261). Of the deities so depicted, however, only the sun god in 254 can be clearly identified. In 260 the divinity seated on a bird, probably a goose, may be the goddess Baba, whose animal was a goose. This is the identification suggested by Moortgat for Berlin 273 which shows a goddess similarly seated. That seal is dated on the basis of its Sumerian inscription as having been made after the Akkad period, a fact that suggests a similar dating for 260. The subject of 261 may be a disintegrated version of the theme of the water god with gatepost bearers, as on the Akkad seal 203.

The birds in the lower registers of 258 and 260 are one more reason for giving a Post-Akkad date to these cylinders, because such birds occur also on cylinders such as Newell 218, which are characterized as Post-Akkad because of their Sumerian inscriptions.

Seals 262 and 263 are included here even though they do not show the deeply incised engraving characteristic of the group: the fact that they retain Akkad features but lack the modeling and cohesion of the earlier designs may serve to classify them as Post-Akkad. In 262, in which a contest scene is depicted, the hero's hair, brushed up in a curl at the back, conforms with the typical Akkad coiffure. In 263 the presence of what seem to be one male and one female worshiper may indicate that the scene is to be regarded as a disintegrated shorter version of such Akkad offering scenes as that of 245. There is no Akkad precedent, however, for the appearance of a walking goat in such a context.

Seals 264–266, each of which presents a frieze with an eagle in the center, are characterized as Post-Akkad stones by their deeply incised engraving. Moreover, the eagle in 264 and 265 corresponds with a similar figure in Berlin 247, a seal showing in its lower register the birds found to be distinctive of Post-Akkad cylinders (258, 260).

Of this group, 267 is the only seal that shows a continuation of Akkad style. It is included here because of its Sumerian inscription, which is typically Post-Akkad. The subject of the seal, a lion-headed eagle clutching animals, is an Early Dynastic theme found especially on the monuments of Lagash, where it still persisted in Post-Akkad times. For example, the theme is treated in a manner similar to that of this seal, but with lions replacing the ibexes, on a stele of Gudea,<sup>1</sup> a ruler of Lagash in the latter part of the Post-Akkad period. It seems possible, therefore, that 267 was made at Lagash in or about the time of Gudea.

One other seal of the present collection that can be similarly dated (274) will be treated in connection with the cylinders of the Third Dynasty of Ur, among which it belongs stylistically.

253. Black serpentine. Cylinder, concave sides.  
26 × 13(12)

God with plow, enthroned, receiving goddess leading worshiper. Terminal: *inscription*.

254. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder. 23 × 12  
Worshiper carrying kid and led by goddess toward sun god with rays whose foot is placed on mountain. In field: crescent, ball staff. Terminal: small pine tree. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 260 ]

255. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 23.5 × 15  
Worshiper led by goddess (?) toward enthroned goddess (?) with star in sky before her.

256. Black serpentine. Cylinder, fragment.  
H. 26

Enthroned female personage, with star in sky before her, raising cup (?) with help of female attendant; arm of obliterated third figure. Terminal: tree.

257. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 20 × 10  
Two women with clasped hands before enthroned female figure. In field, large ear of grain.

258. Flint. Cylinder, lower edge chipped.  
29 × 9.5  
Above: enthroned female figure receiving three

<sup>1</sup> G. Cros, *Nouvelles fouilles de Tello (Mission française de Chaldée)*, Paris, 1910, pl. VIII 3.



other female figures; star spade as terminal. Below: three birds, three four-pointed stars.

259. Burnt shell. Cylinder.  $42 \times 15$   
Woman with pail, second woman with clasped hands, third woman supporting arm of enthroned female figure. Below: three scorpions, two of them facing.

260. Greenish-black serpentine. Cylinder, barrel-shaped.  $50 \times 9(10.5)$   
Above: female worshiper led by woman carrying flowing vase toward goddess enthroned on back of bird with indeterminate object before her; terminal comprising crescent, second indeterminate object, scorpion, one above other. Below: three swans in water, indeterminate objects in sky. [ Ward, *Morgan* 145 ]

261. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $18 \times 9$   
Center: god enthroned on platform, flanked by two nude bearded heroes, each bending one knee and holding gatepost.

262. Hematite. Cylinder.  $17.5 \times 10$   
Long-haired nude hero on one knee before one of two goats that flank crossed lions.

The fact that the material of this seal is hematite, which came into prevalent use only at the beginning of the second millennium B.C., raises

the question of possibly later dating for this piece.

263. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder.  $9 \times 6$   
Woman (?) and man, each with hand raised, following goat with bird and fish (?) above it. [ Ward, *Morgan* 120 ]

The fact that in this scene the woman, if it is a woman, precedes the man, is unique, since female figures usually follow the male ones.

264. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $23 \times 11$   
Eagle grasping at one side man seated on ground, at other kneeling centaur. In field: star; crescent; *inscription*.

265. Greenish-black serpentine. Cylinder.  $26 \times 13$   
Undulating crosshatched line with eagle above and crosshatched triangle below. [ Ward, *Morgan* 141 ]

266. Greenish-black serpentine. Cylinder.  $22 \times 11$   
Same subject as in 265, with crescent (?) beside eagle.

267. Dark-grey steatite. Cylinder.  $30 \times 17$   
Lion-headed eagle clutching hindquarters of two ibexes. Terminal: *inscription*. [ Ward, *Morgan* 13 ]

## CYLINDERS OF THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR (268-295)

After an interval of about one century, the domination of the Gutian foreigners was broken and the region of their conquest came once again under the rule of a Mesopotamian dynasty, the Third Dynasty of Ur. The era embracing the reign of Gudea of Lagash and the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur is often referred to as the Sumerian renaissance, since the texts of this time were again written in Sumerian and the country, especially its southern part, Sumer, enjoyed a spectacular revival.

The seals of this era exhibit in general better engraving than those of the Post-Akkad period. They were executed with instruments even finer than those of the Akkad period, though the resultant more delicate modeling lacks the vigor of the earlier period.

In subject matter these seals continue the tendency of the Post-Akkad period toward limiting the varied repertory of the Akkad period. Most of the cylinders of the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur show ritual scenes (274-294). These preserve with only minor changes the patterns evolved in the Akkad period and retained in Post-Akkad times. The few contest scenes here assigned to the Third Dynasty of Ur (268-273) follow the scheme of three figures that appears to have been favored by Post-Akkad seal cutters, as indicated by its appear-



ance on seals showing a survival of Akkad designs in debased form,<sup>1</sup> in particular on a cylinder found in Post-Akkad layers at Tall Asmar.<sup>2</sup>

The stone listed as 295 is included among the cylinders of this period because its inscription can be reconstructed to contain the name of Shulgi, the second king of the Third Dynasty of Ur. However, it has no pictorial design, and is therefore to be classified as an inscribed bead rather than a cylinder.

The seals of this period are generally smaller than those of the Akkad period but are similar in shape, often having concave sides. An innovation of the period shows the metal caps in which the seals were sometimes set imitated in the stone itself (278, 287). Serpentine and steatite were the materials most frequently employed, lapis lazuli was popular for the seals of officials, and hematite, which was to become the principal material for seals in the following centuries, was also used.

#### CONTEST SCENES (268-273)

The contest scenes of the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur are characterized by a scheme of three figures, usually one victim between two assailants. A distinctive feature is the appearance of the lion-griffin as the object of assault (268-270). Furthermore, these scenes frequently include small, probably symbolic designs that are in no apparent relation to the principal theme—for example, the crescent, offering table, and bird in 268.

The classification of 268 is fixed beyond doubt by its inscription, which belongs to the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur; equally certain is the classification of 269, which has as its terminal a globe staff, a characteristic feature of seals of this time. The assignment of 270-273 to this period is questionable, however, since it is based only on the fact that their scenes embody the scheme of three figures.

268. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 31 × 17  
Bull-man fighting lion-griffin that is in grasp of nude bearded hero. In field: crescent; offering table; bird. Terminal: *inscription*. [Ward, *Morgan* 46 ]

269. Black-and-brown serpentine. Cylinder.  
23 × 11.5  
Center: lion-griffin, reversed, attacked by hero and god (?) who brandishes curved weapon. Bird in field. Terminal: globe staff.

270. Sea-green limestone. Cylinder. 25 × 13.5  
Center: lion-griffin attacked by two heroes, each wearing cap (?). Terminal: dwarf below scorpion, beside snake.

In general the bowlegged dwarf does not appear earlier than the Isin-Larsa period, which followed the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur.

This seal may therefore be of slightly later date than its present classification indicates.

271. Black and dark-green serpentine. Cylinder. 23 × 11.5  
Center: lion attacked by god in crosshatched garment and by hero with high square cap and crosshatched garment hanging down between his legs.

The attire of the figures is exceptional and suggests peripheral origin.

272. Rock crystal. Cylinder. 18 × 9.5  
Center: lion attacked by two nude bearded, long-haired heroes.

273. Hematite. Cylinder. 16 × 9.5  
Center: bull seated on its haunches, attacked by two lions in similar posture. Terminal: lizard above crescent staff.

<sup>1</sup> Philadelphia 72,133; Berlin 172, 174; others.

<sup>2</sup> H. Frankfort and others, *The Gimilsin Temple and the Palace of the Rulers at Tell Asmar* (Oriental Institute Publications, vol XLIII, Chicago, 1940), p. 215, fig. 101c.



RITUAL SCENES (274-294)

The type of scene most frequently found on cylinders of the Third Dynasty of Ur shows a minor goddess leading a worshiper by the hand toward an enthroned deity (277-287), who is more often female than male. Usually the throne resembles a shrine. This scheme is derived from such Akkad seals as 190, with the difference that now the enthroned deities are rarely identified by the objects they hold or by other distinctive features of their appearance. A crescent is usually placed in the sky before the enthroned deity; often a bird or some other animal appears near the knees of the figure.

The same type of ritual scene was used earlier on the seals of Gudea of Lagash and of his officials. Seal 274 is an example of the latter. The main difference between this seal and those assigned to the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur consists in its larger size and in the bolder modeling of its figures. Seals 275 and 276 show the same features and may therefore also be dated in the time of Gudea. A further distinctive feature of 274 and 275 is the fact that the worshipers are depicted with hair on their heads (the figure in 274 is also bearded); in the later seals the worshipers are usually bald-headed and clean-shaven. The three instances in which the worshipers are not bald-headed but wear caps (290, 291, 294) are exceptional. The appearance of this type of headgear which is marked by vertical ridges in 290 and 294, and which became a common feature of Isin-Larsa glyptic, may be due to peripheral influences, since similar caps are frequently depicted on seals from Susa of about the same time (Louvre S. 500-502, etc.).

In this collection, only a few cylinders of the period show variation from the scheme described above. In 286 and 287, a minor goddess is added to the scene, and in 288 and 289 a worshiper approaches the deity without an intermediary.

Representations of gods in ascending posture are rare in the designs of this period. In 289 the god in this posture is holding a curved weapon; this, if meant to be a saw, would indicate that the sun god is here depicted. In 290 the god in ascending posture has been identified by Frankfort as Abu, or Ninurta, because he holds a plow and an object that may be a lion-headed club, both of which are emblematic of this deity.<sup>3</sup>

A new feature of the seals of the Third Dynasty of Ur, as contrasted with those of the Akkad period, is the figure of a king who, in the manner of a god, receives a worshiper introduced by a minor deity (291-294). This representation originated because the kings of this dynasty were deified during life. Details that differentiate the representations of the deities of the pantheon from renderings of a deified king are the latter's attire — a fringed cloak and a round cap with upturned brim — and his throne, which is a stool, apparently upholstered, and covered with a flounced material or perhaps fur. Gods, in contrast, wear horned miters and flounced robes and sit on thrones shaped like shrines. Furthermore, the king always holds a cup, whereas the god as a rule merely raises his hand in a welcoming gesture.

274. Green serpentine. Cylinder. 35 × 20  
Bearded worshiper led by minor goddess toward  
enthroned goddess. Terminal: *inscription*.  
[ Ward, *Morgan* 52 ]

The fact that the worshiper has the shaggy hair and beard associated with Akkad designs may be due to some survival of Akkad tradition in Lagash, where a similar headdress has been found in one of the portrayals of Ur-Ningirsu, Gudea's son (V. Christian, *Alttertumskunde des*

*Zweistromlandes*, Leipzig, 1940, vol. I, pl. 420:1). In another instance, however, Ur-Ningirsu is shown clean-shaven and wearing a cap below which no hair appears, this probably being meant to indicate that the head is shorn (*Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, Ed. TEL, I, 240-241 A-D). Such a representation would conform to the usual style in Sumerian figures.

<sup>3</sup> Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 146 (pl. xxvh).



275. Greenish-black serpentine. Cylinder.

36.5 × 20

Worshiper led by minor goddess toward enthroned goddess with crescent before her. Terminal: *inscription*.

The coiffure seen on the worshiper here, recalling that of a medieval page, occurs very rarely in contemporaneous cylinders. Perhaps it denotes a certain rank held at this time by Akkadians, since in both this seal and in Brett 50, which shows a worshiper with similar head-dress, the inscription mentions an official with an Akkadian name.

276. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 27 × 14

Same subject as in 275. Crescent and altar before goddess. [ Ward, *Morgan* 53 ]

277. Drab jasper. Cylinder, concave sides.

32 × 20(19)

Worshiper led by minor goddess toward enthroned god; before latter, star disk in crescent, staff, vase. Terminal: *inscription* in panel over kneeling bull. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 308 ]

278. Rock crystal. Cylinder; at each end, boss formed of concentric rings. H. (total) 31; D. of rings, 17; seal design, 15 × 13

Same subject as in 277. Crescent before god. Terminal: *inscription*. [ Ward, *Morgan* 68 ]

279. Rock crystal. Cylinder, damaged.

25.5 × 15

Same subject as in 277. Crescent before god. Terminal: *inscription*.

280. Rock crystal. Cylinder, damaged.

25 × 14.5

Same subject as in 277. Terminal: *inscription*

281. Rock crystal. Cylinder. 26 × 12

Same subject as in 277, except that god faces right. Terminal: *inscription*.

The unskilled engraving of this seal, and the fact that the enthroned god faces right, suggest peripheral origin.

282. Greenish-black serpentine. Cylinder, damaged. 27.5 × 15

Worshiper led by minor goddess toward enthroned goddess; before latter, crescent and bird. Terminal: *inscription*.

283. Shell, corroded. Cylinder. 20 × 11

Same subject as in 282. Crescent before goddess. Terminal: *inscription*.

284. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 27 × 14.5

Same subject as in 282. In field: ball staff; lion-headed eagle and bird (before goddess). Terminal: *inscription*. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 230 ]

285. Greenish-black serpentine. Cylinder.

23 × 13

Same subject as in 282. In field: scorpion (before worshiper); crescent and bird (before goddess). Terminal: *inscription*. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 232 ]

286. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 28 × 13

Worshiper led by minor goddess toward enthroned goddess; second minor goddess behind throne. Before enthroned goddess, crescent. Terminal: snake.

287. Hematite. Cylinder; at each end, boss formed of concentric rings. H. (total) 27;

D. of rings, 13; seal design, 15 × 11.5

Suppliant goddess following worshiper who is led by minor goddess toward enthroned goddess holding vase. Terminal: *inscription*.

288. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder. 17 × 9

Worshiper before enthroned god. Terminal: *inscription*. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 311 ]

289. Hematite. Cylinder. 18 × 7

Worshiper with clasped hands before sun god holding saw (?) and placing foot on mountain. Seated deity (later carved in place of erased inscription).

290. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder. 28 × 16

Goddess behind worshiper who pours libation over one of three altars before god holding plow, shouldering indeterminate object, and placing one foot upon mountain. Crescent in sky. Terminal: *inscription*. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 379, 1239 ]

291. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder. 27 × 14

Worshiper with clasped hands before enthroned king holding cup. In field: crescent; bird. Terminal: *inscription*.

The unusually large size of this seal, as well as the bold modeling, suggests that the stone belongs to the early part of the period (see comment on 274).

292. Black steatite. Cylinder. 25 × 13.5

Worshiper led by minor goddess toward enthroned king holding cup. In field: scorpion; star disk in crescent. Terminal: *inscription*. [ Ward, *Morgan* 61 ]



293. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder, fragment.  
28 × 14.5  
Same subject as in 292 (worshiper obliterated).  
Star disk in crescent in sky. Terminal: *inscription*.

294. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged. 18.5 × 11  
Worshiper and interceding deity (obliterated)  
before enthroned king holding cup. Crescent in  
sky. Terminal: *inscription*.

Despite the fact that this seal has an inscription corresponding with those of the Third

Dynasty of Ur, it is possible that it should be assigned to the Isin-Larsa period, not only because the worshiper wears the cap described on p. 35, but also because his mantle, instead of being fringed, has a flat border like that of the mantle of the worshiper on the seal of King Bur-Sin of Isin (Berlin 255).

*INSCRIBED BEAD (295)*

295. Carnelian. Bead, fragment, barrel-shaped.  
*Inscription*.

### CYLINDERS OF THE ISIN-LARSA PERIOD (296-314)

The kingdom of Ur collapsed under foreign onslaught just as the empire of Akkad had fallen two hundred years earlier. The breakdown of consolidated power left a number of separate city-states that engaged in wars with one another. Among these minor states, Isin and Larsa were predominant down to the time when Hammurabi of Babylon created a new central power.

The cylinders found in the strata of the Isin-Larsa period by the excavators of Tall Asmar (ancient Eshnunna) bear coarsened renderings of the presentation scenes of the Third Dynasty of Ur.<sup>1</sup> However, these seals represent only one aspect of the seal engraving of the period. Another aspect appears in some of the seal impressions on the almost contemporaneous tablets of the Assyrian merchant colonies in Anatolia and on tablet impressions dated in the reigns of the kings of Babylon preceding Hammurabi. The style exemplified by these impressions continued as the ruling form of glyptic art during and after the time of Hammurabi. Since it is as yet difficult to distinguish between earlier and later cylinders of this type, they have been classified together as cylinders of the First Dynasty of Babylon. Therefore the seals assembled here as belonging to the Isin-Larsa period represent only that aspect of the period which was exemplified in Tall Asmar.

These Isin-Larsa seals are often deeply incised; especially characteristic are the grooved lines creating the impression of vertical ridges on the caps worn by the figures in many instances.

The themes of these cylinders include various types of worshiping scenes. Seals 296-305 depict worship of a figure rendered like the deified kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur, with the difference that the figure is now often seated on a temple throne, earlier reserved for gods of the pantheon. Consequently the figure may here represent not a deified king but a major deity. A variant of this theme appears in 306 and 307, in which the recipient of worship is clad like the figures just discussed and likewise holds a cup, but is shown standing up. Worship of deities, characterized as such by their horned miters, is portrayed in 308-312.

In 313 and 314, the worshiper appears to address himself to the symbol placed in the center of the scene rather than to the figure at the other side of the symbol. The prominence given to a symbol or ritual object in such scenes may be significant, in view of the fact that standards and small, probably apotropaic objects were increasingly used by the seal cutters of this time.

<sup>1</sup> Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 147. pl, xxvii-c.



Seal 296, for example, shows a lion-club standard; 297 and 298, a standard in the form of a lion scimitar; 306, a crescent staff with pendant flags.

Among small objects in the field, the combination of vessel and ball staff appears most frequently. These two objects are usually placed in a juxtaposition suggesting some relation between them (299, 302, 304, 308-310). Their association in this manner persists up to the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon. In contrast to the treatment of the ball staff in its few earlier representations (84, 190), the ball appears from now on at the side rather than in the center of the staff. Drillings apparently placed at random in the field (297) are also frequent in Isin-Larsa seals.

A bowlegged dwarf, a common feature in the glyptic of the First Dynasty of Babylon, appears as a full-sized figure in 298, and as a small element in the field of 302.

Cylinders of Isin-Larsa type are generally medium-sized or small. The materials commonly used are hematite, serpentine, and limestone.

296. Green felsite. Cylinder.  $25 \times 15$

Two worshipers before enthroned deified king or god holding cup. In field: crescent; curved weapon (?). Terminal: lion-club standard. [ Ward, *Morgan* 55 ]

297. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  $24 \times 13$

Male figure surrounded by drillings; before him, lion scimitar and ball staff; two worshipers facing enthroned deified king or god holding cup, crescent before him. [ Ward, *Morgan* 69 ]

298. Hematite. Cylinder.  $15.5 \times 8.5$

Bowlegged dwarf before lion scimitar; two worshipers facing enthroned deified king or god holding cup, crescent before him.

299. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  $14 \times 8$

Nude male figure and worshiper facing enthroned deified king or god holding cup. In field: ball staff; crescent and vessel (before seated figure). Terminal: *inscription*.

300. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $15.5 \times 9$

Male figure following worshiper who is led by female figure toward enthroned deified king or god holding cup.

301. Hematite. Cylinder.  $21 \times 12$

Bull-man and hero wrestling; suppliant goddess and worshiper before enthroned deified king or god holding cup. In field: *inscription*; crescent (before seated figure).

Classification of this seal as belonging to the Isin-Larsa period is based on the fact that the king or god is seated on a temple throne. However, the contestants, as well as the suppliant goddess, are figures usually found on seals of the fully developed style of the First Dynasty of

Babylon. The seal may therefore be of later origin.

302. Hematite. Cylinder.  $21 \times 12$

Worshiper led by minor goddess toward enthroned deified king or god holding cup. In field: vessel and ball staff; crescent and bowlegged dwarf (before seated figure). Terminal: *inscription*.

303. Yellowish limestone. Cylinder.  $21 \times 12$

Same subject as in 302. Crescent and bird staff before seated figure. Terminal: tree.

304. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $23 \times 13$

Same subject as in 302. In field: star; snake; crescent and bird (before seated figure). Terminal: rampant goat between ball staff and vessel.

305. Greyish-black serpentine. Cylinder.

$21.5 \times 11.5$

Male figure with scimitar and curved implement, facing enthroned deified king or god holding cup with crescent before him. Terminal: bird over turtle; plant in stand; ball staff.

306. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder.  $9.5 \times 6.5$

Worshiper led by minor goddess toward deified king or god holding cup, with crescent and bird before him. Terminal: crescent standard with pendant flags. [ Ward, *Morgan* 119 ]

307. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  $20.5 \times 9$

Worshiper and figure in bordered shawl facing deified king or god with mongoose before him. Terminal: reversed male figure.

While the worshiper of this seal is rendered as on other Isin-Larsa seals, and the figure receiving worship corresponds with a similar figure in 306, the shawled figure and the mongoose,



both of which are often found on seals of the fully developed style of the First Dynasty of Babylon, may indicate that the stone should be dated later.

308. Hematite. Cylinder.  $21 \times 9$

Minor goddess and figure with weapon over shoulder facing goddess. In field: drilling; vessel above ball staff; crescent and crook (before goddess).

The presence of the crook, which is typical of the fully developed style of the First Dynasty of Babylon, suggests a later dating for this seal.

309. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $28 \times 18.5$

Worshiper led by minor goddess toward enthroned goddess. In field: vessel; crescent and ball staff (before seated goddess). Terminal: lion-headed eagle over scorpion. [ Ward, *Morgan* 54 ]

310. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $22.5 \times 11.5$

Worshiper led by minor goddess toward enthroned goddess, crescent and vessel before her. Terminal: crescent above two birds, ball staff and scorpion below them.

311. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $19 \times 9$

Seated deity facing worshiper.

The classification of this seal is not certain, because neither the theme nor the workmanship is sufficiently characteristic to permit of assign-

ing it to a definite date between the Post-Akkad period and the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

312. Hematite. Cylinder.  $22 \times 12$

Worshiper before enthroned god who holds ring and staff; before latter, star disk in crescent above spade; short-skirted worshiper facing god who holds plant over star and places foot on mountain.

The classification of this stone is based on the fact that the star depicted in the lower part of the field is found in a similar position on Isin-Larsa cylinders from Tall Asmar (Frankfort and others, *The Gimilsin Temple and the Palace of the Rulers at Tell Asmar*, p. 216, fig. 102g; p. 217, fig. 103h). On the other hand, a later dating may be called for owing to the presence of the spade, symbol of Marduk, which is not found in any other instance dating earlier than the latter part of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

313. Brown marble. Cylinder, damaged.

$17.5 \times 10$

Center: bird bearing crescent staff, between worshiper and goddess. Terminal: *inscription*.

314. Greenish-black serpentine. Cylinder.

$16.5 \times 7$

Center: tree between worshiper and figure with clasped hands.

## CYLINDERS OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON (OLD BABYLONIAN CYLINDERS) (315-567)

The point of separation between the Isin-Larsa period and the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon is historically placed at the time when Hammurabi, fourth king of that Amurrite dynasty, established a centralized rule over the several Mesopotamian city-states. The infiltration of the Semitic Amurrites into Mesopotamia, which had begun before the end of the Third Dynasty of Ur, thus culminated in the temporary unification of the country under Amurrite rule. Old Babylonian, the Akkadian dialect of Babylonia, was decreed the official language of the country by Hammurabi, but it is difficult to determine at what date prior to this time it had come into general use in Mesopotamia.

The term Old Babylonian is here also applied to the glyptic style of the period. Like the language, the style became prevalent before the time of Hammurabi. This is clearly demonstrated by Moortgat's tabulation of the subject matter of dated seal impressions of the First Dynasty,<sup>1</sup> which indicates that there was a basic continuity of style from the time of the kings before Hammurabi to the end of the period.

<sup>1</sup> Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, pp. 32 f.



A number of Old Babylonian seals perpetuate the presentation and worshiping scenes of the Third Dynasty of Ur; 315–332, for example, show worship of an enthroned king or god; 333–346 depict worship of an enthroned deity. A dated seal impression portraying worship of an enthroned king or god was found on a tablet of Sumu-la-ilu (Louvre A. 477 B), second king of the First Dynasty of Babylon, who preceded Hammurabi by about a century. Moreover, such scenes also appear in impressions of Old Babylonian style on tablets of the Assyrian merchant colonies in Anatolia, which may be contemporaneous with the reigns of the earlier kings of the First Dynasty.<sup>2</sup> Therefore these themes can be regarded as belonging to the beginning of the Old Babylonian epoch. Often the only feature distinguishing seals of this group from those of the Third Dynasty of Ur is an Old Babylonian inscription, since they were cut with a technique similar to that of the earlier epoch and have much the same designs.

In addition to such scenes of worship and presentation in the tradition of the Third Dynasty of Ur, Old Babylonian cylinders present a number of themes that were used throughout the period. These include contest scenes involving two pairs of contestants (347–353) or contest friezes and groups taken from these and used with other motifs (354–370). More frequent, however, is the representation of gods with various emblems, who are usually shown standing and receiving worship from human or divine figures. The deities so portrayed are the war goddess (371–378) and the war god (379); the god with a lion scimitar (380–386); gods with various emblems (387–393); the sun god (394–426); the god with a mace as the principal figure of the scene (427–462) or before other deities, probably as a lesser figure (463–475); the weather god (507–516); the god with a crook (517–524); and unidentified deities (525–538). Another frequent subject of the period is that of two suppliant goddesses facing an inscription (558–567).

Many of the contest scenes and of the representations of certain deities such as the war goddess, the god with a lion scimitar, and the sun god, appear on the best-executed seals of the First Dynasty of Babylon. These may represent the mature style of the period.

Other deities such as the weather god on a bull and the god with a crook, as well as the figure referred to as the nude female (476–506), are depicted mostly on seals that show cursory engraving and, as a rule, overcrowding with small designs. On seals of this type are found also most of those miscellaneous scenes which are here assembled under the group designation of male figures in various actions (539–557). Most of these inferior seals may be of later date than the better-executed ones, since the end of the period saw a considerable deterioration of glyptic art, owing partly to the influence of coarse peripheral styles.

The repertory of small, probably apotropaic designs in the field is greatly enlarged in Old Babylonian seals, though their use varies: in scenes showing two figures accompanied by an inscription they are employed with relative frugality, in most other scenes they appear in larger numbers. The more distinctive of the designs so used will be mentioned as they appear in the groups discussed below.

Old Babylonian seals show on the whole fewer inscriptions than those of the Third Dynasty of Ur. Only in those groups in which the subject matter is relatively uniform do inscriptions occur frequently—as in the groups featuring an enthroned king or god, an enthroned deity, the god with a mace, or suppliant goddesses.

The seals dating from the beginning of the period are in general medium-sized. Those assigned to the end of the period comprise very small examples as well as medium-sized and

<sup>2</sup> H. de Genouillac, *Céramique cappadocienne* (*Musée du Louvre, Dept. des antiquités orientales. Sér. archéologique*, vol. I, Paris, 1926), vol. I, pl. A6; A. T. Clay, *Letters and Transactions from Cappadocia* (*Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies*, vol. IV, New Haven, 1927), pl. 81d; others.



large seals; in these last, the size seems to have been devised to accommodate extended inscriptions.

The material of most of the seals of this period is hematite, except for those showing suppliant goddesses and an inscription; the latter pieces are usually made of jasper or other colorful stones.

*WORSHIP OF AN ENTHRONED KING OR GOD (315-332)*

Old Babylonian seals depicting worship of a figure rendered like that of the deified king on seals of the Third Dynasty of Ur can be differentiated from the latter by the fact that the interceding goddess usually stands with hands raised in supplication behind the worshiper instead of leading him by the hand. There are also differences in the attire of the figures: the worshipers wear bordered instead of fringed mantles; though most of them are bald, some wear caps, which are occasionally vertically ridged as in Isin-Larsa seals. Furthermore, the garb of the interceding goddess often shows the addition of a ribbon falling down her back.

As has been suggested in relation to the designs of the Isin-Larsa period, the meaning of the enthroned figure may have changed, especially since the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon were not consistently deified. The figure may therefore represent some major god of the pantheon instead of a deified king.

Additional figures often appear. In 323-325 these additional figures may be attendants, perhaps connected with the act of worship. Other figures, however, like the pair of contestants in 320 and 321, or the sun god of 327 and the weather god of 331, do not seem to be associated in any manner with the main scene.

Of the small designs placed in the field, the ball staff and vessel (320, 321, 329), the drillings (316, 320), the object that is possibly a shepherd's crook (332), and the bowlegged dwarf (326), have been encountered on Isin-Larsa seals. Among the innovations in the present group are the detached human head (326) and the animal, perhaps a mongoose, usually placed at the knee of the enthroned figure.

315. Hematite. Cylinder.  $26 \times 14$   
Suppliant goddess and worshiper before king or god holding cup and enthroned on stool. In field: ball staff; crescent above mongoose (before king or god). Terminal: *inscription*. [ Ward, *Morgan 64* ]

316. Hematite. Cylinder.  $24 \times 13$   
Same subject as in 315. In field: cluster of three drillings and ball staff; star disk in crescent above mongoose (before king or god). Terminal: *inscription*. [ Ward, *Morgan 63* ]

317. Rock crystal. Cylinder.  $23 \times 17$   
Same subject as in 315. Crescent in sky. Male figure (carved later in place of erased inscription). [ Ward, *Morgan 66* ]

318. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder, rubbed.  $25 \times 14$   
Same subject as in 315. Terminal: *inscription*.

319. Black serpentine. Cylinder, rubbed.  
 $27.5 \times 16$   
Same subject as in 315. Terminal: *inscription*.

320. Hematite. Cylinder.  $27 \times 15.5$   
Same subject as in 315, with addition of hero struggling with goat at left. In field: three drillings; vessel above ball staff; star disk in crescent above mongoose (before king or god). [ Ward, *Morgan 62* ]

321. Hematite. Cylinder.  $24 \times 14$ .  
Same subject as in 315, with addition of bullman and lion at left. In field: vessel above ball staff; star disk in crescent (before king or god).

322. Fine-grained igneous rock, badly weathered. Cylinder; at each end, boss formed of concentric rings. H. (total) 33.5; D. of rings, 18.5; seal design,  $19.5 \times 15.5$   
Same subject as in 315, with addition of bowlegged dwarf over indeterminate animal at right. Terminal: *inscription*. [ Ward, *Morgan 56* ]

323. Hematite. Cylinder.  $20.5 \times 11$   
Same subject as in 315, with addition, behind throne, of male figure carrying curved weapon.



In field: star disk in crescent; vessel above loop staff; *inscription*. [ Ward, *Morgan 65* ]

324. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder.  $20 \times 9.3$

Same subject as in 315, with addition of male figure at left. In field, star disk in crescent and mongoose (before king or god). [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders 333* ]

325. Hematite. Cylinder.  $24 \times 13.5$

Same subject as in 315, with addition of male figure behind throne. In field: ball staff; crescent; mongoose (behind throne). Terminal: pointed gatepost.

326. Hematite. Cylinder.  $27 \times 16$

Same subject as in 315. In field: human head above bowlegged dwarf; star disk in crescent above mongoose (before king or god). Terminal: *inscription*.

327. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  $22 \times 11$

Same subject as in 315, with addition, behind throne, of sun god with saw, placing foot on mountain. In field: star above ball staff; crescent and plow (before king or god).

328. Hematite. Cylinder.  $23.5 \times 13$

Same subject as in 315. In field: vessel, lion scimitar, ball staff, one above other; crescent above mongoose (before king or god). Terminal: *inscription* (erased).

329. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  $24 \times 15.5$

Same subject as in 315. In field: vessel above ball staff; crescent. Terminal: *inscription* above dog.

330. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  $23 \times 14$

Worshiper led by goddess toward enthroned king or god. In field: ball staff; crescent above vessel (before king or god). Terminal: *inscription*.

331. Hematite. Cylinder.  $23 \times 13$

Weather god; two worshipers before enthroned king or god with cup. In field: star; crescent above mongoose on pole (before king or god). [ Ward, *Morgan 98* ]

332. Greenish-black serpentine. Cylinder, damaged.  $26.5 \times 15$

Same subject as in 331. In field: small worshiper above indeterminate object; crescent above crook (before king or god). Terminal: *inscription*.

#### WORSHIP OF AN ENTHRONED DEITY (333-346)

A number of Old Babylonian seals, in depicting a minor goddess leading a worshiper by the hand toward an enthroned deity (333-339), preserve the scheme used for this subject in the Third Dynasty of Ur. However, the inscriptions, as well as the details of dress mentioned above in relation to scenes portraying worship of an enthroned king or god, serve to distinguish these seals as Old Babylonian. On the other hand, some seals with the same subject show the interceding goddess standing behind the worshiper (340-344).

Seal 345 displays the unusual motif of a suppliant goddess standing alone before an enthroned deity. In contrast to this, 346 presents a subject often used in the seals of the period—a worshiper bringing a kid in his arms as an offering, with a suppliant goddess following. Only the worshiper's garment, a shawl instead of the usual mantle, is an exceptional feature. The additional figures—a pair of standard bearers in 345, and a wrestling bull-man and a nude bearded hero in 346—are stock motifs of Old Babylonian seals.

Of the small designs, only the seated dog in 343 has not so far been encountered in the Old Babylonian seals of this collection.

333. Pink marble. Cylinder.  $22 \times 13.5$

Worshiper led by goddess toward deity seated on temple throne. In field: vessel above ball staff (?); crescent above mongoose (before enthroned deity). Terminal: *inscription*.

334. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  $22.5 \times 11$

Same subject as in 333, except that enthroned

deity holds staff (?). Crescent (?) in sky. Terminal: *inscription*.

335. Hematite. Cylinder.  $24 \times 14$

Same subject as in 333. In field: vessel above ball staff; crescent. Terminal: *inscription*.

336. Hematite. Cylinder.  $21 \times 11$



Same subject as in 333. In field: vessel above ball staff; crescent. Terminal: *inscription*.

337. Hematite. Cylinder.  $20 \times 11$   
Same subject as in 333. In field: vessel above ball staff; crescent. Terminal: *inscription*.

338. Hematite. Cylinder.  $17 \times 8.5$   
Same subject as in 333, with addition of male figure behind enthroned deity. Crescent in sky.

339. Hematite. Cylinder.  $22.5 \times 15$   
Same subject as in 333, with addition, at left, of lion placed between drillings. In field: vessel above ball staff; crescent above crook (before enthroned deity).

340. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder.  $21 \times 11$   
Suppliant goddess and worshiper before god holding rod, who is enthroned on upholstered stool. Crescent in sky. Terminal: *inscription* (erased). [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 326 ]

341. Rock crystal. Cylinder.  $23 \times 12$   
Suppliant goddess and worshiper before god seated on temple throne behind altar. In field: mongoose; *inscription*.

342. Hematite. Cylinder.  $20 \times 9$   
Suppliant goddess and worshiper before deity seated on temple throne. In field: vessel above ball staff; crescent above mongoose (before enthroned deity). Terminal: *inscription*.

343. Onyx marble. Cylinder.  $29 \times 17$   
Same subject as in 342. Before enthroned deity, crescent above crook. Terminal: bowlegged dwarf and seated dog under *inscription*. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 313 ]

344. Hematite. Cylinder.  $15 \times 8.5$   
Same subject as in 342. In field: ball staff; crescent above vessel (before enthroned deity). Terminal: *inscription*.

345. Hematite. Cylinder, scratched.  $22 \times 12$   
Suppliant goddess before enthroned deity; gatepost held by nude bearded hero and bull-man (?). In field: crescent; *inscription*.

346. Hematite. Cylinder, chipped.  $25 \times 14$   
Suppliant goddess and worshiper carrying kid before enthroned deity holding rod; bull-man and nude bearded hero wrestling. In field: human head above priest with pail and sprinkler; *inscription*.

#### TWO PAIRS OF CONTESTANTS (347-353)

Two pairs of fighting figures flanking either a central design or the panel of an inscription constitute a motif derived from the Akkad period. This motif continued in use through the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur<sup>3</sup> into the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon. However, in contrast to the Akkad renderings, which generally vary the figures, Old Babylonian cylinders show identical pairs, each pair consisting of a bull-man and a human-headed bull. Frequently a lion club stands between the pairs (347-349, 353). When there is an inscription, it usually reads "Shamash," "Aya," or merely "Shamash." It is possible that such an inscription is used with these scenes because the bull-man and the human-headed bull are often associated with the sun god, Shamash, on seals of the period.<sup>3a</sup> It must be mentioned, however, that seals with entirely different scenes have an identical inscription—for example, 539 and 542 below. A ball staff, a vessel, and a mongoose are often placed in the field in seals of this group. The addition of other figures to the principal scene—such as the nude bearded hero holding a flowing vase in 353—is unusual.

347. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  $25 \times 15$   
Two contending pairs, each composed of bull-man fighting human-headed bull, lion club between pairs. In field: vessel; ball staff. Terminal: *inscription* above standing dog.

348. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  $26 \times 17$   
Same subject as in 347. Between contestant

pairs, lion club. In field: ball staff; mongoose. Terminal: *inscription*.

349. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  $25 \times 16$   
Same subject as in 347. Between contending pairs, lion club. In field, mongoose. Terminal: *inscription* above ball staff.

<sup>3</sup> Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 144, text fig. 39.

<sup>3a</sup> Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 161.



350. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  $24 \times 17$   
Same subject as in 347. In field: ball staff; vessel. Terminal: *inscription*.

351. Hematite. Cylinder.  $22.5 \times 15$   
Same subject as in 347. Between contending pairs, mongoose. In field, scorpion. Terminal: lion club.

352. Hematite. Cylinder.  $18.5 \times 10$   
Same subject as in 347. Between contending pairs, mongoose. In field, five concentric drillings.

Concentric drillings in the field occur likewise in an impression on a tablet of the time of Samsu-iluna, Hammurabi's successor, which shows similar pairs of fighters (Louvre A. 540 C). Thus a corresponding date is suggested for this seal.

353. Hematite. Cylinder.  $24 \times 16$   
Same subject as in 347, with addition, at right, of nude bearded hero bearing flowing vase. Between contending pairs, lion club. In field: mongoose; vessel. Terminal: bowlegged dwarf above ball staff.

#### CONTEST FRIEZES; GROUPS FROM THESE USED WITH OTHER MOTIFS (354-370)

Stylistically the Old Babylonian contest friezes present an attempt to revive the scheme of such scenes used in Early Dynastic and Akkad cylinders. Most of the Old Babylonian friezes are composed of several pairs of fighters, a device employed only at the beginning of the Akkad period and then discarded, probably because of the lack of cohesion in such designs. Precisely such an effect was produced by the Old Babylonian engravers, despite their frequent attempt to create cohesion by overcrowding the scenes.

However, while the arrangement of the Old Babylonian contests is similar to that used in the earlier period, the introduction of new figures, especially in 359-369, indicates that such contests had acquired new significance. The new figures include a goat seated upright on a knoll and attacked by a lion or lion-griffin or both, and a man on one knee at the mercy of similar assailants. A lion-headed demon with tail, paws, and wings also appears in the role of attacker (360).

In the Assyro-Babylonian literature of a subsequent era, the lion-griffin is identified with the constellation *u<sub>1</sub>.ka.du<sub>8</sub>.a* and associated with Nergel, god of the nether world.<sup>4</sup> It seems likely therefore that the lion and lion-demon, which alternate with the lion-griffin as attackers, were also associated with this god and that these contests picture an assault of Nergal's forces upon their victims. The appearance in these friezes of the nude bearded hero and the bull-man, may be due to their survival from earlier contest scenes.

In 367-370, contest groups are represented in connection with other figures. In 367 a god holding a lion scimitar faces in the direction of a nude female. This god, as will be explained below (p. 47), is believed to be Nergal. At the right of the group there is a lion attacking a goat on a knoll. Perhaps the two groups have a relation in meaning. The goat may here be associated with Gula, goddess of healing, since the constellation of this goddess was usually referred to as *enzu*, the goat<sup>5</sup>, though her specific animal was the dog. If the nude female can also be associated with Gula in this context, it may be that she is depicted before Nergal to counteract the attack of Nergal's substitute, the lion, on Gula's substitute, the goat.

The weather god on a bull between the pairs of contestants in 368 may likewise have some connection with the main theme, because the lion-griffin, before its appearance in the contest groups and its association with Nergal, accompanied the weather god, as in the Akkad seal 220.

In regard to 369, it has not been possible to determine how the offering presented to a god with a ring relates to the contest group. However, in 370 the figure of the war goddess placed

<sup>4</sup> A. Schott, "Das Werden der babylonisch-assyrischen Positionsastronomie und einige seiner Bedingungen," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXXVIII (1934), 320.

<sup>5</sup> E. F. Weidner, "Eine Beschreibung des Sternenhimmels aus Assur," *Archiv für Orientforschung*, IV (1927), 84, Z. 14-16.



horizontally over the figures of the contest frieze may have some bearing on the scene, since the war goddess is occasionally replaced by the war god, presumably Nergal (379 below).

354. Hematite. Cylinder.  $23 \times 12$   
God with mace; gazelle held by nude bearded hero; pole raised by bull-man; bull reversed by nude bearded hero; lion assailing bull-man.

355. Hematite. Cylinder.  $20.5 \times 12$   
Nude bearded hero grasping lion that attacks goat while lion-griffin, also attacking goat, is restrained by bull-man. In field, three drillings. Terminal: lion scimitar.

356. Hematite. Cylinder.  $20.5 \times 11$   
Lion-griffin attacking goat which is protected by bull-man; lion attacking bull. Terminal: crescent above scorpion.

357. Hematite. Cylinder.  $19.5 \times 11$   
Lion-griffin attacking goat, which is also assailed by lion that is in turn assailed by hero with ridged cap. Terminal: crescent above bowlegged dwarf. [ Ward, *Morgan* 47 ]

358. Hematite. Cylinder.  $20 \times 10$   
Center: lion attacked by hero wearing cap and by bull-man holding lion scimitar. In field: vessel above bowlegged dwarf; dog balancing crook. Terminal: lion club between small worshiper and ball staff. [ Ward, *Morgan* 26 ]

359. Hematite. Cylinder, chipped.  $22.5 \times 14.5$   
Nude bearded hero wrestling with bull-man; goat sitting on knoll, with lion-griffin attacking; man on one knee assailed by lion. In field: fish; human head; *inscription*. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 454 b ]

360. Hematite. Cylinder.  $28.5 \times 14$   
Lion-demon lifting small goat; lion assailing bull-man; man on one knee, attacked by lion-griffin. In field: fox; dog balancing crook; star disk in crescent; *inscription*. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 453 c ]

361. Hematite. Cylinder.  $24.5 \times 12$   
Nude bearded hero reversing lion; second nude bearded hero stepping on reversed bull; goat sitting on knoll, with lion-griffin attacking. [ Ward, *Morgan* 48 ]

362. Hematite. Cylinder.  $26 \times 13.5$   
Bull-man fighting lion; nude bearded hero on one knee, poised on back of second lion and holding third lion behind his head; man on one knee

on knoll, with lion-griffin attacking. [ Ward, *Morgan* 49 ]

363. Hematite. Cylinder, rubbed.  $19 \times 11.5$   
Lion-griffin attacking man on one knee; goat seated on knoll between two lions.

364. Hematite. Cylinder.  $20 \times 11$   
Sitting goat between attacking lion-griffin and lion; nude bearded hero stepping on reversed bull.

365. Hematite. Cylinder.  $20 \times 12$   
Lion approaching goat; nude bearded hero attacking lion that in turn assails goat seated on knoll, which is also attacked by third lion.

366. Hematite. Cylinder.  $21 \times 11$   
Lion and lion-griffin grappling, fish-monster with bird head between them; bull-man holding standard of cross disk in crescent. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 454 a ]

A bull-man with a similar standard occurs in an impression on one of the tablets of the Assyrian merchant colonies in Anatolia (J. Lewy, *Tablettes cappadociennes* [ *Musée du Louvre, Dept. des antiquités orientales, Textes cunéiformes*, vol. XXI, Paris, 1937 ], ser. 3, pt. 3, fig. 23). The top of that standard, a disk inclosing a cross, is the typical sun disk of the glyptic found in such impressions (see 844-849 below). The balanced composition of the scene in 366, however, as well as the fine engraving, has led to the classification of this seal as Old Babylonian.

367. Hematite. Cylinder.  $22 \times 12$   
Nude female, god in ascending posture holding lion scimitar; lion assailing goat seated on knoll. In field: crescent above crook; bird.

368. Brown jasper. Cylinder.  $18 \times 10$   
Seated goat attacked by lion; man on one knee attacked by lion-griffin. Between pairs, small weather god holding lightning fork and standing on kneeling bull.

369. Hematite. Cylinder.  $22 \times 11$   
Worshiper carrying kid before god in ascending posture holding ring; man on one knee between attacking lion-griffin and lion. [ Ward, *Morgan* 77 ]



370. Hematite. Cylinder. 24 × 11  
Goat between two bull-men. Above, placed horizontally: war goddess, with arrows over her

shoulders, holding scimitar and lion club. In field, *inscription*. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, 418 ]

*THE WAR GODDESS (371-378) AND THE WAR GOD (379)*

The war goddess Ishtar, first pictured on Akkad cylinders, as in 237, appears in numerous Old Babylonian seal designs. The main difference between the Akkad representations and those of the present group is that in the latter the weapons no longer sprout from the shoulders of the goddess but are transformed by a more literal realism into arrows contained in two quivers slung over her shoulders, and into a lion club held in her hand. With the same hand the goddess often grasps the rein of the crouching lion on which she places her foot (372). In her other hand she holds a scimitar. She is always seen full face. Often, as in 371-374, 377, there stands before her a figure referred to as the god with a mace (p. 51). This figure is frequently followed by a suppliant goddess. Sometimes the war goddess is approached by a worshiper carrying a kid (375, 378) or raising his arm in prayer (376).

As regards small designs in the field, those in 374 are unusual in that the enthroned king or god is used as a small figure, and the ram's head on a staff is a rare occurrence. Other interesting designs are the fish-monster in 377 and the two dogs in the lower register of the secondary motif of this seal. One of the dogs is apparently barking at the other, while the latter balances a crook. Lastly, 378 bears designs not hitherto encountered in the seals of this collection—a crescent stand, a vase with three leaves protruding, and rosettes in the sky.

Seal 379 shows a male deity resembling the war goddess except for the fact that his head is in profile and the quivers with arrows are omitted. Since the lion club is known from inscrip-tional evidence<sup>6</sup> to have been also the weapon of Nergal, the latter may be the god who replaces the war goddess on this seal.

371. Dark-green jasper. Cylinder. 32.5 × 19.5  
Suppliant goddess and god with mace before war goddess. Terminal: *inscription*. [ Ward, *Morgan* 91 ]

372. Hematite. Cylinder. 27 × 15  
God with mace, war goddess. In field, star disk in crescent. Terminal: *inscription*.

373. Hematite. Cylinder, slightly concave sides. 28.5 × 16.5(16)  
Suppliant goddess, god with mace, war goddess.

374. Hematite. Cylinder. 24.5 × 12  
Suppliant goddess, god with mace, war goddess. In field: small enthroned king or god; ram's head on staff. Terminal: *inscription*.

375. Hematite. Cylinder. 24 × 14  
Worshiper carrying kid before war goddess, suppliant goddess behind her. Terminal: *in-scription*.

376. Hematite. Cylinder. 25.5 × 12

Worshiper, war goddess, second deity.

377. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged. 26 × 14.5  
Suppliant goddess, god with mace, war goddess. In field: human head above blurred object; star disk in crescent and fish-monster (before war goddess). Secondary motif: above, two priests each with pail and sprinkler, facing; below, dog standing as though barking at seated dog balancing crook.

378. Hematite. Cylinder, chipped. 24.5 × 14  
God with mace facing suppliant goddess; worshiper carrying kid before war goddess. In field: vessel above ball staff; rosette above nude female; second rosette above vase with three leaves protruding; crescent stand above crook.

379. Hematite. Cylinder. 24 × 13  
Suppliant goddess and worshiper before god holding lion club, scimitar, and rein of lion on which he steps; attendant holding indeterminate object behind god. In field, vessel above ball staff. [ Ward, *Morgan* 93 ]

<sup>6</sup> F. Thureau-Dangin, "Un acte de donation de Marduk-zâkir-šumi," *Revue d'assyriologie*, XVI (1919), 140.



THE GOD WITH A LION SCIMITAR (380-386)

The god holding a scimitar ending in the head of a lion (380) is held to portray Nergal, god of the nether world. This identification is based mainly on the inscription glorifying Nergal that here accompanies the figure. Inscriptions as specific and lengthy as this one are infrequent on seals of the First Dynasty of Babylon, and it is therefore highly probable that in 380 the figure stands for the god to whom the inscription pertains. Moreover, the presence of a lion-headed monster in the scene seems to confirm the identification, since this creature always appears as an assailant of human figures or animals, and, as has been suggested in relation to contest scenes (p. 44), probably represents one of Nergal's destructive minions.

The scene of 381 includes a lion-demon about to stab a man, and that of 382 depicts two figures apparently killing a third: these themes may refer to activities of Nergal and his associates, and on this basis the deity with scimitar appearing in these scenes may be identifiable with that god. In regard to 382 this suggestion is perhaps confirmed by the fact that the deity has a lion scimitar before him.

It may also be Nergal who is represented in 383, where the god holds a lion scimitar, and in 384, where the figure stands beside such a scimitar. In 385 the principal deity faces a bull-man carrying a kid, as in 384; for this reason the seal has been placed in the present group. However, the god's emblem has been obliterated and his identity is therefore uncertain. Since occasionally a bull-man appears before the sun god in a similar context (Berlin 385), it is possible that it is the latter deity who is depicted here. Such an alternation of Shamash and Nergal is entirely conceivable, since these two gods occasionally seem to appear in juxtaposition, as is suggested in the case of 395 below.

Seal 386 shows a bull-eared god who is apparently wrapped in rope coils—perhaps to signify inclosure in a sarcophagus—and holds a lion scimitar in each hand. Indication that such inclosure represents a sarcophagus appears even more clearly in a number of clay plaques from Larsa and Telloh. For this reason Parrot identifies the god thus associated with death as Nergal.<sup>7</sup>

Notable among the small figures and designs on these seals is the goat-fish on which the goddess of 381 is standing. This monster is occasionally seen on Old Babylonian seals and appears in a single instance on a cylinder of the Third Dynasty of Ur.<sup>8</sup> Seal 383 shows in the field a demonic mask, an object that appears infrequently. The fly and porcupine of 386, however, belong to the regular repertory of Old Babylonian seals.

380. Hematite. Cylinder. 26 × 14  
God in ascending posture holding lion scimitar and facing suppliant goddess; lion-demon lifting small goat while standing above bowlegged dwarf. Terminal: *inscription*.

381. Hematite. Cylinder. 22.5 × 13.5  
Lion-demon brandishing dagger and holding reversed man; worshiper facing god armed with scimitar; goddess standing on goat-fish and holding flowing sprinkler under fish. In field: crescent above ball staff; indeterminable animal. [ Ward, *Morgan* 95 ]

The thickset figures of this seal recall those on

an impression of the time of Sumu-la-ilu, second king of the First Dynasty of Babylon (Louvre A. 477), which bears a similar scene. Seal 381 may therefore be a product of the same time.

382. Grey felsite. Cylinder. 24 × 13  
Hero in bordered garment, armed with curved weapon and spear, attacking fallen man; laying hand on latter's head, hero armed with bow; worshiper facing god who holds scimitar, between them star above lion scimitar. In field, fish. [ Ward, *American Journal of Archaeology*, V (1889), 34, fig. 6 ]

<sup>7</sup> A. Parrot, in *Syria*, XV (1934), 382.

<sup>8</sup> Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. xxvd.



This seal may be of the same date as 381, since it shows similarly thickset figures.

383. Hematite. Cylinder.  $25 \times 14.5$   
Nude male figure wearing necklace and following suppliant goddess before god with lion scimitar; two priests, each with pail and sprinkler — second priest wearing long mantle. In field: demonic mask, rosette, star disk, another rosette. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 437 ]

384. Hematite. Cylinder.  $24.5 \times 14$   
Nude bearded hero with flowing sprinkler, sup-

pliant goddess, and bull-man carrying kid before god with large lion scimitar behind him.

385. Hematite. Cylinder.  $25 \times 14$   
Suppliant goddess and bull-man carrying kid before god in ascending posture.

386. Hematite. Cylinder.  $21 \times 9$   
Bull-eared god wrapped in rope coils (?) and holding lion scimitar in either hand; nude female; priest with pail and sprinkler before god with scimitar. In field: fly above fish; lightning fork; vessel above ball staff; porcupine. [ Ward, *Morgan* 118 ]

#### GODS WITH VARIOUS EMBLEMS (387-393)

Among the Old Babylonian seals that appear to represent the mature style of the period, there are a number that picture a god placing one or both of his feet upon a snake-dragon (387-390). From the First Dynasty of Babylon on (possibly even before that) this dragon was the emblem of Marduk, chief god of the Babylonian pantheon. Hence the god with the dragon is assumed to be Marduk.

In 387 and 388, the god stepping on the dragon rests his hand on a scimitar. In 389 and 390 he is enthroned with his feet on the back of the dragon and appears to hold a rod. Such a rod, together with a ring, appears in the hands of a number of apparently different gods on Babylonian seals. For example, the two objects are held by the enthroned god in 391. This deity may be the sun god, since the latter appears without his saw but with a rod and ring in the relief on the stele bearing Hammurabi's code.<sup>9</sup> This suggestion is possibly confirmed by the appearance in 391 of a bull in the sky and of another under the feet of the deity, since this animal is frequently depicted in association with the sun god on Old Babylonian seals (398, 399 below).

A god holding only a ring is seen in 392 and 393. It is possible that the ring alone stands for ring and rod, but it is equally possible that the ring when used alone has a different significance.

387. Hematite. Cylinder.  $25.5 \times 13.5$   
God with mace facing suppliant goddess; worshiper before god who has one foot on dragon and leans on scimitar. In field: crescent above lightning fork; vessel above ball staff; star disk in crescent above sitting lion-demon.

388. Hematite. Cylinder.  $21 \times 10$   
Two minor deities before god with scimitar standing on dragon. In field, star above mongoose. Terminal: lion scimitar. [ Ward, *Morgan* 92 ]

389. Hematite. Cylinder.  $28 \times 14.5$   
God with mace facing suppliant goddess; god on temple throne with rod in hand and feet on

crouching dragon. In field: vessel above ball staff; crook.

390. Brown hematite. Cylinder.  $21 \times 9$   
God with mace facing suppliant goddess, disk in crescent above small man between them; god enthroned on stool with rod in hand and feet on crouching dragon, star before him. Terminal: *inscription*.

391. Hematite. Cylinder, chipped.  
 $23.5 \times 12.5$   
Suppliant goddess and worshiper before god with rod and ring on temple throne, his feet on kneeling bull; goddess (full face); god holding vase with three leaves protruding. In field: nude male figure; bull (in sky); star disk in crescent

<sup>9</sup> *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, I, 258A, 259C.



above goat sitting on platform behind throne; nude female. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 327 ]

The double pleats in the robes of the deities resemble corresponding details in impressions on tablets of the time of Hammurabi and of Samsuiluna, his successor (Louvre A. 527 J, E; Louvre A. 553 A, E). A similar dating is therefore suggested for 391.

392. Hematite. Cylinder. 23.5 × 11.5

Suppliant goddess and worshiper before god with ring in ascending posture; behind latter, priest with pail and sprinkler. Star disk in crescent in sky.

393. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder, damaged. 24 × 11  
Suppliant goddess and worshiper before god with ring in ascending posture. In sky, star disk in crescent. Terminal: *inscription*.

#### THE SUN GOD (394-426)

The major deity most often represented on Old Babylonian seals is the sun god, Shamash. The representation is usually the same as in the Akkad period: the god is holding a saw and placing one foot upon a mountain. However, the rays usually emanating from his shoulders in the Akkad designs are omitted in the Old Babylonian version.

On most of the best-executed seals of this group the god faces a worshiper carrying a kid, behind whom stands a suppliant goddess (394, 395, 397-400); the offering worshiper is omitted in 401, the suppliant goddess in 396 and 402. This basic motif is usually enlarged by the addition of other figures. However, there are very few clues regarding the relation of these additional figures to the principal theme. In 395 a god with lion scimitar faces a priest with pail and sprinkler. The god with lion scimitar has been identified with the god of the nether world, Nergal (p. 47). Possibly, therefore, this seal pictures the sun god in juxtaposition to the god of the nether world. A similar juxtaposition of these two deities is found in Louvre A. 362, in which the god of the nether world is even more surely identified by his bull's ears. Seal 396, which shows, beside the theme of worship of the sun god, a god holding a plain scimitar and facing a priest, may represent a less explicit rendering of the same idea.

There may be some significant relation between the sun god and the goddess standing with clasped hands at the left in 399. The same goddess appears again in 400, in which she is shown holding a sprinkler, and also in 401 and 402. She is distinguished by her miter, which has only one pair of horns and a rectangular top, while the miter worn by other deities has multiple pairs of horns forming a cone. This goddess is not found on seals that do not feature the sun god. Her identity is unknown.

Three more seals executed in the best style of the period and featuring the sun god deserve special mention. In 403, under the sign for god, in the place where the name of the deity is usually found, the symbol of the weather god Adad appears instead. In 404 and 405 a male worshiper is joined by a worshiping figure, possibly female, standing behind the sun god in 404 and at the left in 405. If these figures are women, the representation is exceptional, since female worshipers are rarely depicted in Old Babylonian seals.

Seals 406-409 show the frequent theme of a male worshiper with a kid in his arms followed by a suppliant goddess as he approaches the sun god. No other figures are added to these scenes. Furthermore, the engraving does not have the high quality of that in the preceding series. Seal 409 especially may belong to the end of the period, for it has small figures evidencing use of the drill; this is a style of execution first appearing at that time.

Seals 410-417 picture the sun god with one or more worshipers, often accompanied by other figures. With the exception of 413, these seals are among the coarse and perhaps late products of the period. Seals 418-420 are equally coarse. Seal 418 shows a priest with pail and sprinkler instead of a worshiper before the god; 419 and 420 present a figure in the same position, clad like the priest but holding a curved object, perhaps a knife.



In 421–424 the sun god faces the god with a mace. Of these seals, 421 is executed in the best style of the period, 423 and 424 are perhaps late or peripheral products. In 425, which is badly preserved, the figure facing the sun god has a large lion scimitar behind him and may therefore be identifiable as the god of the nether world.

The scene of 426 has an exceptional feature. The sun god holds his saw in such a way as to separate the signs for his name, Shamash, from those for the name of his consort, Aya.

394. Hematite. Cylinder. 24 × 13

God with mace facing female figure; suppliant goddess and worshiper carrying kid before sun god, who holds saw over lion club. In field: two globes; star; sun disk in crescent.

395. Hematite. Cylinder, chipped. 26 × 15.5

Suppliant goddess and worshiper carrying kid before sun god, who steps on kneeling human-headed bull; priest with pail and sprinkler on platform, facing god who holds lion scimitar and leans on second scimitar, lion club before him. In sky, star disk in crescent.

396. Hematite. Cylinder. 21.5 × 12

Worshiper carrying kid before sun god; priest with pail and sprinkler before god with scimitar. In sky, sun disk in crescent.

397. Hematite. Cylinder. 26 × 15

Two nude bearded heroes, one stepping on reversed lion, other grasping it; suppliant goddess and worshiper carrying kid, both facing sun god. In sky, star disk in crescent.

398. Hematite. Cylinder. 26 × 15

Bull-man and nude bearded hero wrestling, goat-fish between them; suppliant goddess and worshiper carrying kid before sun god. In field: sitting goat; bull (in sky).

399. Hematite. Cylinder. 25 × 13.5

Goddess with clasped hands, suppliant goddess, and worshiper carrying kid before sun god; goddess (full face). In field: star; demonic mask above priest with pail and sprinkler; bull, human head, *inscription*, one above other (before sun god): star disk in crescent above sitting goat.

The double pleats in the robes of the deities on this seal and on 401 are similar to those seen in 391 above, for which a dating in the time of Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna has been suggested.

400. Hematite. Cylinder. 21 × 11

Goddess with sprinkler, suppliant goddess, and worshiper carrying kid before sun god; priest

with pail and sprinkler. In field: trident above nude female; star disk in crescent above bird (before sun god); crook (before priest). [ Ward, *Morgan* 76 ]

401. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged. 28.5 × 16

Goddess with clasped hands, suppliant goddess, and female deity before sun god (not in ascending posture); nude bearded hero with flowing vase. In sky, star disk in crescent.

The robes of the deities have double pleats as in 391 and 399.

402. Hematite. Cylinder. 27 × 16

Bearded deity facing similar figure; goddess with clasped hands and worshiper in flounced robe carrying kid before sun god (not in ascending posture). In field: star disk in crescent above nude female; bull-man's head above head of nude bearded hero; human head above small male figure posed like god with mace; goat-fish above porcupine (before sun god).

403. Hematite. Cylinder. 22 × 10

Priest with pail and sprinkler, suppliant goddess, both facing sun god. In sky, star disk in crescent. Terminal: (in place of inscription) sign for god above lightning fork on bull.

404. Hematite. Cylinder. 22 × 10

Worshiper carrying kid before sun god; female worshiper (?).

405. Hematite. Cylinder. 17.5 × 8

Female (?) and male worshiper before sun god, who holds saw over sitting monkey. Crescent in sky. [ Ward, *Morgan* 73 ]

406. Hematite. Cylinder. 23.5 × 14.5

Suppliant goddess and worshiper carrying kid before sun god. In field: vessel above ball staff. [ Ward, *Morgan* 72 ]

407. Hematite. Cylinder, fragment. H. 23

Worshiper carrying kid before sun god.

408. Hematite. Cylinder. 23 × 12

Suppliant goddess and worshiper carrying kid



before sun god. In field: porcupine above fish; star disk in crescent.

409. Hematite. Cylinder.  $20 \times 10$   
Suppliant goddess and worshiper carrying kid before sun god. In field: rosette above crook. Terminal: *inscription* in panel over lion.

410. Hematite. Cylinder.  $25.5 \times 12$   
Suppliant goddess and worshiper facing sun god. Crescent in sky. Terminal: *inscription* (erased).

411. Diorite. Cylinder.  $25 \times 14.5$   
Same subject as in 410. In sky, star in crescent. Terminal: *inscription* in panel above dog. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 262 ]

412. Hematite. Cylinder.  $24 \times 15$   
Same subject as in 410, with addition of attendant behind sun god. In field: ball staff; three drillings. Secondary motif: above, three walking men; below, sitting goat between attacking lions.

413. Hematite. Cylinder.  $25 \times 12$   
God with scimitar and mace, god with mace, and worshiper before sun god. In field: crescent staff with pendant flags; star.

414. Hematite, stained with copper. Cylinder.  $32 \times 18$   
Two worshipers, second carrying kid, before sun god. In field: porcupine above lightning fork; fish-monster with human head and arm above mongoose (before sun god); large lion scimitar. Terminal: *inscription*.

415. Rock crystal. Cylinder.  $25 \times 11.5$   
Two worshipers before sun god. In field: crescent above bowlegged dwarf. Terminal: *inscription*.

416. Hematite. Cylinder.  $2.15 \times 12$   
Priest with crook following worshiper before sun god.

417. Hematite. Cylinder.  $22 \times 11$   
Worshiper before sun god. Terminal: *inscription*.

418. Felsite. Cylinder.  $21 \times 11.5$

Worshiper following priest with pail and sprinkler before sun god. In field: porcupine above fish; human head (before sun god).

419. Limonite. Cylinder.  $25 \times 15$   
Nude female; worshiper and priest who holds knife (?) before sun god.

420. Hematite. Cylinder.  $15 \times 5.8$   
Nude female; priest holding knife (?) before sun god.

421. Hematite. Cylinder.  $24.5 \times 14$   
Suppliant goddess and god with mace before sun god. In field: human head above crook; priest with pail and sprinkler above monkey (before sun god). Secondary motif: above, lion attacking man on one knee, with man brandishing weapon at right; below, two bull-men holding lion-club standard. [ Ward, *Morgan* 74 ]

422. Hematite. Cylinder.  $23 \times 11$   
God with mace before sun god; behind latter, goddess and priest with pail and sprinkler. In field: porcupine above lion-headed fish-monster (before sun god); fly (?); three drillings, fox (before priest). Secondary motif: above, sitting goat assailed by lion; below, male figure before nude female.

423. Hematite. Cylinder.  $18.5 \times 9.5$   
Nude female; god posed like god with mace, facing sun god. In sky, star disk in crescent. Terminal: *inscription*.

424. Hematite. Cylinder.  $22 \times 12$   
Deity (?) carrying kid, following god with mace before sun god. In field; kneeling bull above mongoose; star disk in crescent.

425. Hematite. Cylinder.  $18 \times 9.5$   
Large lion scimitar; figure leaning on scimitar and holding staff (?) before sun god, fly (?) between figures.

426. Hematite. Cylinder.  $24.5 \times 11$   
Nude female; worshiper before deity; sun god (not in ascending posture) holding his saw between signs of *inscription*. In field: spade; mongoose. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 426 ]

#### THE GOD WITH A MACE (427-462)

The dominant protagonist in the seals of this group is a male figure holding a mace. He wears a splayed beard, a round cap with upturned brim, and a bordered shawl. His weapon, usually held head downward, is not as clearly distinguishable on the cylinder seals as in the



portrayals of him on the fronts of contemporaneous clay chariots.<sup>10</sup> The superior role in which this figure commonly appears—often facing a goddess who seems to be addressing her supplication to him—indicates that he must be regarded as either a king or a god. The fact that he usually wears a cap, like that of Hammurabi on his stele, rather than a horned miter, suggests that he is a king and not a deity. In 429, however, the figure is shown with a horned miter, indicating that this personage might also be regarded as divine. This does not necessarily conflict with the assumption that the figure stands for a king, since in Old Babylonian texts, terms indicating divinity are sometimes used in reference to a king. However, the general uniformity in the rendering of the figure with a mace from the beginning to the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon may imply that it represents a king as such rather than any specific ruler. In any case, the difficulty of arriving at a precise determination of the character of this personage, as well as the fact that he appears with all the dignity and in the exalted position of a major deity, makes it seem advisable to follow Frankfort's designation, "the god with the mace," throughout the present text.

As far as possible, the best-executed seals have been placed first in the group; listed last are those showing cursory execution, which often results in the omission of such a characteristic detail as the god's mace (447, 459, 462).

On most of the seals the god faces a suppliant goddess. Occasionally a second suppliant goddess appears (430–432). Various other figures may be added to such scenes. In 427, for example, there are a nude bearded hero with a sprinkler and, as a separate group, a male figure with bow and scimitar facing a worshiper.

The fragmentary seal 428 is listed in sequence with 427 because in this instance too the scene presents both the nude bearded hero (here with flowing vase) and the god with mace, although not the god but the hero seems to be the principal figure, since he is the recipient of an offering.

In 430 a god holding a scimitar and standing on a lion is placed at the left of the group comprising the god with a mace standing between two suppliant goddesses. As suggested in the discussion of the contest friezes and of the god with a lion scimitar, the deity holding a scimitar and associated with a lion may be Nergal.

Occasionally a worshiper (460, 461) and sometimes figures taken from the contest scenes (434, 435, 462) are added to the combination of god with mace and suppliant goddess. The majority of the seals of the group, however, picture the pair without additions or with only small-sized figures or emblems between or beside them. For example, 440 has the goat and lion-griffin of the contest frieze, and 441 has the goat. A small nude female also appears occasionally in this subordinate position (434, 442–444). Of the emblems used, the crook is the most frequent (451–456).

On one seal (455), the god holds not a mace but a scimitar. The piece is nevertheless included here because the posture of the figure, as well as the kneeling gazelle supporting a crook before the god, conforms with the characteristics of such typical seals of this group as 452.

427. Hematite. Cylinder. 23 × 12  
Nude bearded hero with sprinkler; god with mace facing suppliant female; nude (?) worshiper facing male figure armed with bow and scimitar and placing his foot on kneeling gazelle. In field: bull (in sky); star above

small worshiper; star disk in crescent above goat.

428. Hematite. Cylinder, fragment. D. 10.5  
God with mace; worshiper carrying kid before nude bearded hero who holds flowing vase.  
Terminal: *inscription*.

<sup>10</sup> E. D. Van Buren, *Clay Figurines of Babylonia and Assyria* (Yale Oriental Series, Researches, vol. XVI, New Haven, 1930), figs. 302–304.



429. Hematite. Cylinder, fragment. H. 25  
Suppliant goddess; god with mace wearing  
horned miter. Terminal: *inscription*. [ Ward,  
*Morgan* 103 ]

430. Hematite. Cylinder. 21.5 × 11.5  
God with scimitar standing on lion; god with  
mace between two suppliant goddesses.

431. Hematite. Cylinder. 27.5 × 15  
God with mace between two suppliant god-  
desses. In field, crescent above crook. Ter-  
minal: *inscription*.

432. Hematite. Cylinder. 22 × 10  
Same subject as in 431. In field: star above  
priest holding pail and sprinkler.

433. Hematite. Cylinder. 23.5 × 12  
God in short garment; goddess; god with mace  
facing suppliant goddess. In field: vessel, fish,  
ball staff, one above other; goat-fish above  
fish-monster with human head and arm; star  
beside mace above mongoose; star disk in  
crescent, vessel with three leaves (?) protrud-  
ing, lion-headed fish, one above other.

434. Hematite. Cylinder. 27.5 × 16  
Nude bearded hero and bull-man wrestling;  
god with mace facing suppliant goddess. In  
field: porcupine above sitting goat; human  
head; star disk in crescent above small nude  
female. Terminal: *inscription*.

435. Hematite. Cylinder. 25 × 11.5  
God with mace facing suppliant goddess, lion  
club between them; lion attacking goat that is  
protected by bull-man. Terminal: porcupine  
above *inscription*.

436. Black jasper. Cylinder. 30 × 14  
God with mace facing suppliant goddess.  
Terminal: *inscription*.

437. Smoky quartz. Cylinder, chipped.  
26.5 × 13  
Same subject as in 436. Terminal: *inscription*.

438. Hematite. Cylinder. 24 × 11  
Same subject as in 436. Terminal: *inscription*  
(erased).

439. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 28 × 11  
Same subject as in 436. Terminal: *inscription*.

440. Hematite. Cylinder. 24.5 × 13  
Same subject as in 436. Between god and god-  
dess, demonic mask above goat assailed by

lion-griffin. Terminal: *inscription*. [ Ward,  
*Seal Cylinders* 454 ]

441. Hematite. Cylinder. 29.5 × 16.5  
Same subject as in 436. In field: two drillings  
above three; star disk in crescent, frog on  
staff, sitting goat, one above other; reversed  
bowlegged dwarf above spade and crook.  
Terminal: *inscription* (illegible, possibly  
forged).

442. Hematite. Cylinder. 24 × 12  
Same subject as in 436. Between god and god-  
dess, star disk in crescent above small nude  
female. Terminal: *inscription*.

443. Rock crystal. Cylinder, fragment.  
27.5 × 14  
Same subject as in 436. Between god and god-  
dess, scorpion above crook, small nude female  
under bend of crook. Terminal: *inscription*.  
[ Ward, *Morgan* 106 ]

444. Hematite. Cylinder. 23 × 9  
Same subject as in 436. Between god and  
goddess, star disk in crescent above small nude  
female. Terminal (all figures reversed): small  
male figure above bend of crook, which is beside  
bowlegged dwarf, mongoose above latter.

445. Hematite. Cylinder. 28 × 15  
Same subject as in 436. Between god and god-  
dess, lizard, crook (?), mongoose, one above  
other. Terminal: *inscription*. [ Ward, *Morgan*  
105 ]

446. Hematite. Cylinder. 27.5 × 13.5  
Same subject as in 436. Between god and  
goddess, lightning fork on kneeling bull. Ter-  
minal: *inscription*.

447. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 25 × 11  
Same subject as in 436 (god's mace omitted).  
Between god and goddess, lightning fork. Ter-  
minal: *inscription*.

448. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 29 × 13  
Same subject as in 436. Scorpion behind god-  
dess. Terminal: *inscription*.

449. Hematite. Cylinder, chipped. 28 × 13  
Same subject as in 436. In field: indeterminate  
objects. Terminal: *inscription*.

450. Hematite. Cylinder. 32 × 15  
Same subject as in 436. Between god and god-  
dess, crescent above spade. Terminal: *inscrip-  
tion*.



451. Hematite. Cylinder.  $30 \times 14$   
Same subject as in 436. In field: human head above mongoose; reversed robed figure above bowlegged dwarf; sun disk in crescent above crook; vessel, ball staff, fish, one above other. Terminal: frog above pole topped by globe.

452. Hematite. Cylinder.  $26.5 \times 15.5$   
Same subject as in 436. Between god and goddess, star disk in crescent above gazelle supporting two crooks. Terminal: *inscription* (erased).

453. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  
 $28 \times 15$   
Same subject as in 436. In field: dog; crook. Terminal: *inscription*.

454. Hematite. Cylinder, fragment.  $25 \times 12$   
Same subject as in 436 (god with mace obliterated). In field: disk in crescent; ram on platform, carrying crook on its back.

455. Hematite. Cylinder, fragment.  $31 \times 15$   
Figure in attire and posture of god with mace, but armed with scimitar, facing obliterated figure (suppliant goddess). Between figures, star disk in crescent above kneeling antelope carrying crook on its back.

456. Hematite. Cylinder.  $22.5 \times 9$   
Same subject as in 436. Between god and goddess, star disk in crescent above crook. Terminal: *inscription*. [ Ward, *Morgan* 102 ]

457. Hematite. Cylinder.  $25 \times 11$   
Same subject as in 436. Between god and goddess, scorpion above bowlegged dwarf. Terminal: *inscription*.

458. Brown jasper. Cylinder.  $29.5 \times 15$   
Same subject as in 436. Between figures, lion club. Terminal: *inscription*.

459. Hematite. Cylinder.  $30 \times 14$   
Same subject as in 436 (god's mace omitted). Terminal: *inscription*.

460. Rock crystal. Cylinder.  $20 \times 9$   
Worshiper and god with mace facing suppliant goddess.

461. Hematite. Cylinder.  $22 \times 9$   
Worshiper in short garment and god with mace facing suppliant goddess. Between latter pair, sign for god, mace, fly, one above other. Terminal: crescent above lightning fork.

462. Hematite. Cylinder.  $15 \times 6.5$   
Hero with weapon, attacking lion; figure posed like god with mace, facing suppliant goddess. Between latter pair, rosette above spade.

This seal should possibly be dated later than the Old Babylonian period, since it is smaller than the usual type of Old Babylonian cylinder and the figure of the hero attacking a lion is rendered with great freedom of movement. Both these features are found in seals of northern Mesopotamia of the fifteenth century.

#### THE GOD WITH A MACE BEFORE ONE OF VARIOUS DEITIES (463-475)

In the scenes of this series, the god with a mace, instead of being the principal deity as he seems to be in the designs of the foregoing group, stands before one of various deities, apparently in a secondary position. He also appears in this manner on seals previously described—in 371-374, 377 before the war goddess, in 421, 422, 424 before the sun god.

The seals of the present group vary considerably in subject matter and style. Many of them are so carelessly executed that the god's mace is omitted (464, 466, 467, 469, 473-475). In such cases it is a question whether the figure posed like the god with a mace is actually meant to represent the latter or whether the posture of this god was also ascribed to other deities. Some other god may be implied especially in those scenes which show not only omission of the god's mace but also replacement of his characteristic cap by a simplified horned miter (466, 469, 473, 475).

Seals 463-466 have small figures forming secondary motifs beside the main scenes. All or part of the figures of these secondary motifs are reversed. Since this feature is especially common in the glyptic of the regions around Mesopotamia, it seems possible that these four seals are all peripheral products. This may account for the unusual occurrence of a god with fishes in 463, and of a god with a snake before him in 465, as well as for the rendering of the two principal figures in 466 so that they face in the same direction instead of toward each other.



In 464 the three principal figures are compatible with Babylonian usage, since in the scenes of the group next to be discussed, a nude female often stands beside the god with a mace, while the latter faces some other deity. However, the prominence of drill work in the main figures of 464, as well as the crosshatching of the sheep in the secondary motif, indicates non-Babylonian origin.

Seal 467 also deserves special mention, because here the principal deity holds a whip over his shoulder; there is no parallel for this in Old Babylonian seals. The dancers in the lower register of the secondary motif are figures often found in the later seals of the period.

463. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  $23 \times 13$   
Suppliant goddess and god with mace facing god who holds two fishes by a cord (?). In field: porcupine above small deity; monkey. Secondary motif: above, priest facing god in ascending posture; below (all figures reversed), sitting goat beside two animals or monsters, one above other. [ Ward, Morgan 75 ]

464. Hematite. Cylinder.  $24.5 \times 12$   
Nude female; figure posed like god with mace, facing god in ascending posture who holds lion club. In field: crescent stand, fish, lightning fork, one above other; mace; ball staff above vessel (reversed). Secondary motif (all figures reversed): above, sheep facing small mongoose; below, enthroned figure holding crook and facing priest (?).

465. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  $29 \times 13$   
God with mace facing deity, between them star disk in crescent, snake, goat-fish. Secondary motif: above (all figures reversed), enthroned deity with staff (?) between two figures (one partly obliterated), each on one knee; below, vessel above ball staff, bowlegged dwarf, two facing male figures holding sprinkler between them (one figure partly obliterated).

466. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $31 \times 18$   
Figure posed like god with mace; deity with clasped hands. In field: vessel above ball staff; scorpion above crook that rests on back of kneeling gazelle. Secondary motif: above, bowlegged dwarf, nude female, crook between them; below (all figures reversed), similar female and dwarf, between them fly above crescent.

467. Limonite. Cylinder.  $27 \times 10$   
Suppliant goddess and figure posed like god with mace facing deity who shoulders whip (?),

monkey before latter. Secondary motif: above, bowlegged dwarf facing small male figure; below, two dancers holding hands.

468. Carnelian. Cylinder.  $27 \times 9.5$   
Suppliant goddess and god with mace before third deity. Terminal: *inscription*.

469. Hematite. Cylinder.  $28 \times 13$   
Two deities, second posed like god with mace, before third deity. Terminal: lion club, dog balancing crook.

470. Hematite. Cylinder.  $20 \times 9$   
Deity with upraised hand and god with mace before third deity. Crescent in sky.

471. Flint. Cylinder.  $28 \times 15$   
Figure with staff and god with mace before third deity. In field: uncertain object; crescent above mongoose. Terminal: man on one knee between attacking lions (superimposed upon partially erased *inscription*).

472. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  $22 \times 10$   
God with mace before deity. In field: small male figure; crook.

473. Flint. Cylinder.  $21 \times 10$   
Figure posed like god with mace facing deity, scorpion over raised hand of latter. Terminal: staff, lightning trident.

474. Hematite. Cylinder.  $21 \times 7$   
Figure posed like god with mace, facing deity: between them, crescent above crook. Terminal: lion club.

475. Hematite. Cylinder.  $23 \times 9$   
Figure posed like god with mace, facing deity: between them, crescent above fly.

#### THE NUDE FEMALE (476-506)

A number of cursorily engraved seals are classified as a group primarily because they all show the nude female occasionally encountered in the better-executed Old Babylonian seals.



In such cylinders, however, she appears, with few exceptions (367, 386 above), as one of the small figures in the field (378, 400, 402 above), whereas in the seals of the present group she always has the size and position of a major figure. She is invariably represented in frontal view, though sometimes her head is turned to the side. Her hands are clasped or hold her breasts; in a few instances she stands on a platform or dais (480).

The nude female appears together with any one of a number of different figures or groups of figures. Frequently she stands beside the group in which the god with a mace faces a suppliant goddess (476-481). In 482 she is placed between these two, recalling those scenes in which she appears as a small figure in a similar position (434, 442-444 above). In 483 and 487 she is depicted beside the god with a mace, who is facing an unidentified deity. The figure beside the nude female in the similar scenes of 484-486, 488, 489 may also be the god with a mace, though the mace is omitted, possibly through carelessness on the part of the engraver. In 490 the nude female stands beside a worshiper, the latter facing a god in ascending posture whose emblem has been obliterated. In 491 and 492 the god's emblem is a lion club, in 493 it is a scimitar, in 494 a large lion scimitar. In each case the god depicted may be Nergal, as previously suggested (p. 47).

In 495-498 the nude female appears in scenes in which the principal deities cannot be identified. In 499-502 she is the recipient of worship, which probably indicates that she is a deity. This suggestion appears to be confirmed in 502 by her headgear, since it resembles a horned miter.

In 503-506 the figure is presented beside a bull and lightning fork, the symbols of the weather god.

Since the nude female appears in association with such a variety of figures and symbols, it is difficult to determine her precise significance for the glyptic artists of the period.

476. Hematite. Cylinder. 20.5 × 9  
Nude female; god with mace facing suppliant goddess. In field: vessel above ball staff; crescent above fly.

477. Hematite. Cylinder. 26.5 × 14.5  
Same subject as in 476. In field: ring in crescent, omega-shaped object, porcupine, one above other. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 425 ]

478. Hematite. Cylinder. 19 × 8.5  
Same subject as in 476. In field: human head above sitting lion. Terminal: lion club.

479. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 24 × 11.5  
Same subject as in 476. In field: disk in crescent. Terminal: *inscription*.

480. Hematite. Cylinder. 26 × 10  
Same subject as in 476, except that nude female stands on platform. In field: tree above bow-legged dwarf; crescent above small robed figure; fish above lion scimitar; lion club beside rosette above monkey, all above standing dog. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 428 ]

481. Steatite. Cylinder, damaged. 29 × 14.5

Same subject as in 476, with addition, at right, of nude bearded hero holding flowing vase. In field: fly above snake. Secondary motif: above, man on one knee attacked by lion-griffin; below: two men (partly obliterated).

482. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged. 23 × 10  
God with mace and nude female facing suppliant goddess; behind latter, star in crescent above small male figure holding lightning trident and standing beside lion scimitar and *inscription*. In field: fly; vessel.

483. Hematite. Cylinder. 22 × 10  
Nude female; god with mace, facing deity. [ Ward, *Morgan* 113 ]

484. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged. 23 × 10  
Nude female; figure posed like god with mace, facing deity.

485. Hematite. Cylinder. 20 × 9  
Same subject as in 484. In field: lion club; sitting goat beside hand standard.

486. Hematite. Cylinder. 18 × 10  
Same subject as in 484, with addition, at right,



of attendant holding star standard. In field, crescent above mongoose.

487. Felsite. Cylinder.  $15 \times 5$

Nude female; god with mace facing deity (?) who wears ridged cap instead of horned miter. In field: four-pointed star above crook; crescent. Terminal: mace standard.

488. Hematite. Cylinder.  $17.5 \times 8$

Same subject as in 484 (head of nude female in profile). In field: vessel above ball staff; disk in crescent above mongoose. Terminal: mace standard.

489. Hematite. Cylinder.  $18 \times 10$

Figure posed like god with mace before deity; attendant with curved weapon; nude female (head in profile). In field: crescent stand above fly; star above goat's head on stand ending in goat foot.

490. Hematite. Cylinder.  $28 \times 11$

Nude female; worshiper before deity in ascending posture.

491. Hematite. Cylinder.  $21 \times 10$

Nude female; worshiper before deity in ascending posture who holds lion club and scimitar. In field: indeterminate object above bowlegged dwarf. Terminal: crescent staff.

492. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  $16 \times 7$

Nude female; worshiper before deity in ascending posture who holds lion club (?). In field, fly.

493. Hematite. Cylinder.  $21.5 \times 10$

Nude female, figure holding curved object before god with scimitar. In field: vessel above ball staff; lightning fork. Terminal: crescent standard with pendant flags between spade and fish (?) above mongoose.

494. Hematite. Cylinder.  $22 \times 11$

Nude female (head in profile); figure posed like god with mace before deity who reaches toward lion scimitar. In field: vessel above ball staff.

495. Hematite. Cylinder.  $22.5 \times 9.5$

Nude female; goddess with clasped hands, worshiper, both facing god in ascending posture. In field: star; crescent staff with pendant flags and small trident base.

496. Hematite. Cylinder.  $19 \times 10$

Nude female; worshiper before deity. In field:

vessel above ball staff; lion club; crescent above crook; bird above bowlegged dwarf. [ Ward, *Morgan* 114 ]

497. Hematite. Cylinder.  $17 \times 7$

Nude female, with arms upraised, facing god in ascending posture who holds plant; bull-man and nude bearded hero wrestling. In field: fish; vessel above ball staff.

498. Dark-red hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  $18 \times 8.5$

Worshiper before deity; nude female. In field: fish (?); crescent. Secondary motif: lion-griffin placed horizontally above two facing seated sphinxes.

499. Hematite. Cylinder.  $17 \times 8$

Worshiper in short garment, before nude female; between them, crescent above lion scimitar. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 423 ]

500. Hematite. Cylinder, upper part broken off. D. 9

Nude female; worshiper in short garment. In field: mace; spade; crescent staff above crook and hand standard.

501. Hematite. Cylinder.  $20 \times 7$

Figure posed like god with mace, facing nude female; worshiper. In field: human head (?); vessel above ball staff. Terminal: crook.

502. Felsite. Cylinder.  $26 \times 12$

Deity with clasped hands, deity (?) in short garment, third deity, nude female in horned miter (?) (head in profile), all facing deity who touches nude female and shoulders staff (?). In field: crescent staff above mongoose; vessel above ball staff.

503. Hematite. Cylinder.  $24 \times 12$

Nude female facing toward bull carrying lightning fork; to left bowlegged dwarf facing lion club. Crescent and star in sky. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 424 ]

504. Hematite. Cylinder.  $22 \times 12$

Nude female; kneeling bull carrying lightning fork; figure posed like god with mace; sign for god above bowlegged dwarf facing worshiper.

505. Green jasper. Cylinder.  $32 \times 15$

Suppliant goddess before kneeling bull carrying lightning fork, fish above latter; nude



female facing two deities, first holding staff. In field: mongoose above bowlegged dwarf; fly (?) above fish. [ Ward, *Morgan* 115 ]

506. Amethyst. Cylinder.  $18 \times 7.5$   
Nude female above bull carrying lightning fork; worshiper. Terminal: *inscription*.

#### THE WEATHER GOD (507-516)

In Old Babylonian representations the weather god, Adad, is usually shown standing on a bull and holding a lightning fork; often he also holds the bull's rein. This portrayal is probably related to the somewhat similar representation in the glyptic of the Assyrian merchant colonies in Anatolia (p. 107).

The style of the Old Babylonian seals bearing this figure indicates that it appeared in the repertory at a relatively late date. Seals 507 and especially 508 show coarse engraving; 511 and 514 exemplify prominent effects of the drill, and 512, as well as 513, evidences marked use of the cutting disk. All these are features prevalent at the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon. Moreover, 509, 510, 512, 514 may be of other than Babylonian origin. Seal 509 resembles a seal<sup>11</sup> showing worshipers clad in garments like those of figures in the seals of the Assyrian merchant colonies in Anatolia. Seal 510 resembles others of these seals in its deeply incised engraving. Seal 512 has in its inscription a name conforming with names used in Nuzi in northern Mesopotamia. The large bowlegged dwarf in 514 has no Babylonian parallel and likewise points to foreign origin.

Usually the weather god faces a worshiper. In 510 and 511 a nude female appears beside the god. This arrangement parallels the portrayals in which the nude female is placed beside the symbols of the weather god (503-506 above) and indicates that she was often associated with that deity.

Seal 516 has been included in the group featuring the weather god because the latter's symbol—a trident—appears conspicuously in relation to the principal deity and may be intended as his symbol. The trident is exceptionally placed in an object that seems to be a sheath.

Although the seals of this period usually depict the weather god with a bull and a lightning fork, the presence of a lion-griffin in the secondary motif of 516 shows that the earlier association of the weather god with a lion-griffin, as found in Akkad seals (220 above), was occasionally retained in the Old Babylonian period (see also discussion of 368).

507. Hematite. Cylinder.  $21.5 \times 13$   
God with mace facing suppliant goddess; weather god. In field: frog. Terminal: *inscription* (two columns in field). [ Ward, *Morgan* 99 ]

508. Hematite. Cylinder.  $25 \times 9.5$   
Worshiper in short garment before weather god. Terminal: *inscription*.

509. Hematite. Cylinder.  $25 \times 12.5$   
Lion attacked by bull-man; worshiper before weather god (bull's rein missing); female (?) deity.

510. Hematite. Cylinder.  $23 \times 11$   
Deity facing weather god, who brandishes

weapon; nude female. In field: man on one knee above mongoose; star. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 458 ]

511. Hematite. Cylinder.  $21 \times 8$   
God with mace facing deity who holds staff; weather god (bull's rein missing); nude female. In field; star above fish; spade.

512. Amethyst. Cylinder.  $18.5 \times 9.5$   
Weather god (bull's rein missing), before him sun disk in crescent above spade. Terminal: *inscription*.

The inscription of this seal not only contains a name that conforms with names found in Nuzi, but also carries over from one line to the next—a feature observed in inscriptions on

<sup>11</sup> Collection of the University of Illinois, to be published in a subsequent volume of the Corpus.



seal impressions from Nuzi but not in those of Old Babylonian cylinders.

513. Hematite. Cylinder.  $23 \times 12$   
Worshiper before weather god, who stands with one foot on bull. Star in sky. Terminal: *inscription*.

514. Hematite. Cylinder.  $20 \times 9$   
Large bowlegged dwarf before god standing on bull and holding spear and bull's rein. Between figures, crescent staff. Terminal: mace stand-ard, snake.

#### THE GOD WITH A CROOK (517-524)

The figure of a god holding a crook, and often shown stepping upon a kneeling gazelle, has been identified by Frankfort as that of the god Amurru.<sup>12</sup> The name of this god occurs frequently in the inscriptions of Old Babylonian seals; occasionally it is found on seals depicting the god with a crook (518, 520, 523). While the inscription of a seal rarely serves to identify the god depicted on it, the group here described presents a sufficient number of instances in which figure and inscription appear together to suggest such an identification.

In 517, 518, 523 the god wears the usual horned miter of deity. In 519 his headgear looks like a round cap, while in 520, 522, 524 it resembles a top hat. So far as is known, the latter headdress appears on no other Old Babylonian figure.

In the first cylinder in the group (517) the figures of the main scene are executed with the care generally associated with the mature style of the Old Babylonian period. But subsidiary figures (which are carved over vertical lines doubtless meant to frame an inscription) manifest the deep, crude engraving found in seals from Susa (Louvre S. 495-512). It seems likely therefore that the subsidiary scene of 517 was added later by a peripheral engraver. Seal 522 is carefully engraved and may therefore belong to the mature phase of the period. In the remaining seals, very small size or extremely cursory engraving indicates a date late in the period.

517. Pink marble. Cylinder, damaged.  
 $29 \times 16$   
Nude female; nude bearded hero holding flowing vase; god with crook stepping on kneeling gazelle. In field: demonic mask; star disk in crescent. Secondary motif (engraved over vertical lines): two dancers above two facing male figures, one of latter holding human head, small bowlegged dwarf at right — entire group above rider on horse; beside column of figures thus formed, two kneeling animals facing, above two figures each with shield and dagger (?) and resting on one knee, entire group in turn above second, larger rider on horse. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 211 ]

518. Hematite. Cylinder.  $26.5 \times 11$   
Worshiper facing god with crook who steps on kneeling gazelle. Terminal: *inscription*.

515. Hematite. Cylinder, partly recut.  
 $23 \times 14$   
Weather god in ascending posture. (Remainder of design recut.)

516. Hematite. Cylinder.  $18 \times 10$   
Suppliant goddess and god with mace before deity who touches (?) lightning trident placed in sheath (?). In field: human head above bowlegged dwarf; crescent. Terminal: above, deity facing male figure; below, two reversed lion-griffins with fish (?) between them.

519. Hematite. Cylinder.  $15 \times 8.5$   
Bull-man and nude bearded hero wrestling; suppliant goddess before god with crook who places foot on kneeling gazelle. In field: priest with pail and sprinkler, above fly; small man on one knee; vessel above ball staff; crescent.

520. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  $17 \times 9.5$   
God shouldering crook and holding second crook; female (?) figure pouring libation before deity. In field: bird above crook; star disk in crescent. Terminal: *inscription*.

521. Hematite. Cylinder.  $25 \times 11$   
Suppliant goddess (?) and worshiper before god with crook who places foot on kneeling gazelle; bird before god. [ Ward, *Morgan* 116 ]

<sup>12</sup> *Cylinder Seals*, p. 164.



522. Rock crystal. Cylinder, damaged.  
29 × 16  
Suppliant goddess (?), god with mace (?), and worshiper (?) before god with crook. In field: mongoose. Terminal: *inscription*. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1314 ]

523. Hematite. Cylinder, fragment. 21 × 11  
God with crook over shoulder. Terminal: *inscription*.

524. Hematite, corroded. Cylinder. 29 × 14  
Worshiper in short garment before god with crook; female (?) worshiper.

#### UNIDENTIFIED DEITIES (525-538)

In this group of seals, most of which are coarsely executed, the principal figure is a deity represented either without emblem or with an emblem that is not sufficiently distinctive for identification. Only a few of these seals present features worth mentioning.

Seal 525 shows a god touching a kid that is being offered to him by a worshiper. This gesture is not paralleled in other Babylonian representations and suggests that the piece is of late origin. This is also indicated by the elongation of the figures. In 526 the god seems to be holding a curved weapon, which may, however, be the sun god's saw in a cursory rendering. In that case the seal would have to be classified among those depicting the sun god.

In 528 the pouring of a libation before the god with a scimitar is somewhat exceptional, since this ritual act is not often portrayed on seals of this period.

Another noteworthy feature is the knifelike object held by a figure possibly representing a priest (534, 535). A similar figure, also bearing such an object, has been encountered in 419 and 420. In the latter representations this figure faces the sun god.

The crescent standard occurs frequently on Old Babylonian seals that show cursory engraving. It is uncertain whether it was intended in 536 to identify the deity standing beside it as the moon god, Sin, especially since the symbol of the weather god, a lightning fork on a bull, appears behind the figure in question.

Lastly, 538 is unusual in that it shows a seated deity, a feature not often found in seals originating at the end of this period.

525. Hematite. Cylinder. 25 × 12  
Worshiper carrying kid that is touched by god in ascending posture; nude bearded hero with sprinkler. Star disk in crescent in sky. Terminal: *inscription*.

526. Hematite. Cylinder. 22.5 × 12  
Worshiper led by goddess toward god in ascending posture who holds curved weapon. In field: dog balancing crook; vessel above ball staff; crescent.

527. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged. 28 × 15  
Suppliant goddess and worshiper before god in ascending posture who leans on scimitar. In field: vessel; crescent above crook. Terminal: *inscription*.

528. Hematite. Cylinder. 15 × 8.5  
Priest with pail and sprinkler; worshiper pouring libation before god who leans on scimitar. In field: four-pointed star; porcupine. [ Ward, *Morgan* 94 ]

529. Hematite. Cylinder. 21 × 11  
Suppliant goddess and worshiper before deity in ascending posture. In field: vessel above ball staff; crescent above mongoose. Terminal: crook.

530. Hematite. Cylinder. 19 × 7  
Worshiper led by goddess toward god in ascending posture with mongoose before him. Terminal: *inscription*.

The fact that the heads of the worshiper and the goddess show use of the drill may indicate that this seal should be dated after the Old Babylonian period and classified as an early Mitannian seal.

531. Hematite. Cylinder. 22 × 9.5  
Suppliant goddess and worshiper facing god in ascending posture who holds staff.

532. Hematite. Cylinder. 28.5 × 14.5  
Worshiper carrying kid before deity; between them, two bowlegged dwarfs, one above other;



figure in short garment. Terminal: *inscription*.  
[ Ward, *Morgan* 117 ]

533. Hematite. Cylinder.  $22 \times 10$   
Worshiper, deity with clasped hands, second  
worshiper, all before deity. In field: vessel above  
ball staff; bull above mace; crescent, fly, mon-  
goose one above other.

534. Hematite. Cylinder.  $20 \times 10.5$   
Priest (?) with knife (?) following worshiper  
before goddess with clasped hands. In field:  
crook; crescent (?).

535. Hematite. Cylinder.  $16 \times 9$   
Priest with knife following worshiper before

goddess holding sprinkler. In field: bowlegged  
dwarf beside mongoose; crook; fly.

536. Hematite. Cylinder.  $23 \times 12$   
Figure in short garment facing deity, between  
them crescent standard with small trident base,  
beside latter, crook and mongoose. Terminal:  
bull with lightning fork on its back.

537. Hematite. Cylinder.  $16 \times 7$   
Two worshipers before deity. Terminal:  
*inscription* (illegible, possibly forged).

538. Hematite. Cylinder.  $23.5 \times 13.5$   
Figure posed like god with mace before seated  
deity. Terminal: *inscription*.

#### MALE FIGURES IN VARIOUS ACTIONS (539-557)

In the designs of this group the principal figures, often recipients of worship, wear instead of the horned miter of divinity only round, often vertically ridged caps. Whether or not a number of these figures are nevertheless to be regarded as representing deities remains uncertain. In some cases, especially in 543, the composition suggests a dating at the beginning rather than at the end of the Old Babylonian period, since the theme of a goddess leading a worshiper by the hand is often found on seals of the Isin-Larsa period.

In 539-542 the principal figure is a man in a short garment and a ridged cap, holding a cup, while worshipers and goddesses stand before him. Seals 543 and 544 show a figure likewise holding a cup but clad in a long pleated robe resembling a garb often worn by deities. In 545 the crook placed before the figure in long robe and ridged cap may have been intended to associate him in some manner with Amurru. In 546-550, however, the principal figure is entirely without distinguishing attributes.

Seals 551-554 present only rows of figures that may be worshipers. Such rows of worshipers occur frequently in the glyptic of the northwestern periphery of Mesopotamia and may derive from this region.

In 555 and 556 the principal figures are dancers; this is unusual, since dancers occur as a rule only as subsidiary figures. In 577, similarly, the figure receiving worship, and thus identifiable as principal in the scene, is apparently the bowlegged dwarf who is usually a subsidiary figure.

539. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder.  $19.5 \times 8.5$   
Female worshiper facing male cup-bearing  
figure; suppliant female. In field: crescent  
above omega-shaped design; crook. Terminal:  
*inscription*.

540. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder.  $22 \times 10$   
Suppliant goddess and worshiper before cup-  
bearing figure. In field: vessel above ball staff;  
human head. Terminal: *inscription* (one sign  
in field).

541. Hematite. Cylinder.  $16 \times 8.5$   
Lion-griffin holding pole; priest with pail and

sprinkler following worshiper before cup-  
bearing figure; crescent above mongoose before  
latter.

542. Hematite. Cylinder.  $13.5 \times 7$   
Worshiper led by goddess toward cup-bearing  
figure. Terminal: *inscription*.

543. Buff limestone. Cylinder.  $23 \times 13$   
Figure led by second figure toward cup-bear-  
ing figure. In field: lion scimitar; vessel above  
ball staff; crescent above mongoose.

544. Hematite. Cylinder.  $14 \times 8.5$   
Two facing figures; cup-bearing figure. In



field: crescent above mongoose; vessel above ball staff. Terminal: *inscription*.

545. Hematite. Cylinder.  $20 \times 10$   
Suppliant goddess and worshiper in short garment facing figure in ridged cap and long pleated robe; before latter, crescent above crook. Terminal: lion-headed eagle above dog. [ Ward, *Morgan* 107 ]

546. Hematite. Cylinder.  $18 \times 9$   
Worshiper and priest with pail and sprinkler before figure in ridged cap and pleated robe. In field: vessel above ball staff.

547. Hematite. Cylinder.  $16 \times 7$   
Two worshipers, second in short garment, before figure in ridged cap and pleated robe.

548. Hematite. Cylinder.  $17 \times 8$   
Goddess and worshiper in short garment facing figure in ridged cap and pleated robe.

549. Hematite. Cylinder.  $15 \times 9$   
Figure posed like god with mace, facing figure in ridged cap and flounced robe; worshiper (?); lion attacking seated goat. Crescent in sky.

550. Hematite. Cylinder.  $19 \times 10$   
Man on one knee between attacking lions; figure posed like god with mace before figure in ridged cap and flounced robe, crescent between them.

551. Steatite. Cylinder.  $21 \times 11$   
Three men, first holding crescent standard, advancing toward dog balancing crook. Star in lower field.

552. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $16 \times 9.5$   
Two walking male figures, second posed like god with mace.

553. Hematite. Cylinder.  $21 \times 12.5$   
Two walking male figures. Terminal: *inscription*.

554. Black Serpentine. Cylinder.  $18 \times 8$   
Worshiper led by goddess (?) following nude male figure. In field: two drillings; ball staff; crescent above vessel.

555. Black steatite. Cylinder.  $21 \times 12$   
Two dancers holding hands over vessel; crescent above bowlegged dwarf; male figure holding cup.

556. Hematite. Cylinder.  $15 \times 11$   
Two dancers holding hands; seated goat between two attacking lions. In field: porcupine above fly; star disk in crescent above fish.

557. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $20 \times 12$   
Large dog balancing crook (?) and facing bull with mongoose (?) above its back; suppliant female figure before bowlegged dwarf. Terminal: lion scimitar.

#### SUPLIANT GODDESSES (558-567)

The motif presenting an inscription to which two suppliant goddesses appear to address themselves in prayer occurs in the earlier part of the First Dynasty of Babylon. Impressions of such seals are found on tablets from Larsa antedating the time of Hammurabi.<sup>13</sup> However, the motif continued in use throughout the Old Babylonian period. This is demonstrated by the seals here assembled, of which 558, 559, 561-563 are carefully carved and probably belong to the earlier part of the period, whereas 560, 564, 565 show crude cutting and probably derive from the latter part. The most rudimentary seals of this class frequently show only one goddess before the inscription (566, 567).

This group of seals bridges the transition from the Old Babylonian style to that of the Early Kassite period, when inscriptions became the most prominent part of seal designs.

The colorfulness of the materials used for seals of this type—they are made largely of jasper and similar stones—tends to counterbalance the monotony of design.

558. Hematite. Cylinder.  $28 \times 13$   
Two suppliant goddesses, one at each side of *inscription*. [ Ward, *Morgan* 108 ]

559. Hematite. Cylinder.  $33 \times 15$

Same subject as in 558 (*inscription*). In field: two bowlegged dwarfs, one above other.

560. Shell. Cylinder.  $26 \times 12$   
Same subject as in 558 (*inscription*). In field:

<sup>13</sup> Louvre A. 489 E; Louvre A. 491 A (no illustration).



reversed male figure above second male figure; lion club above dog balancing crook.

561. Green-and-white jasper breccia. Cylinder.  $32.5 \times 19.5$   
Same subject as in 558 (erased inscription). [ Ward, *Morgan* 111 ]

562. Jasper breccia. Cylinder, damaged.  $35 \times 19.5$   
Same subject as in 558 (*inscription*). [ Ward, *Morgan* 112 ]

563. Green-and-red jasper breccia. Cylinder.  $29 \times 15.5$   
Same subject as in 558 (*inscription*). [ Ward, *Morgan* 109 ]

564. Diorite. Cylinder.  $35.5 \times 19$   
Same subject as in 558 (*inscription*). [ Ward, *Morgan* 110 ]

565. Red-and-yellowish jasper. Cylinder.  $26 \times 14$   
Same subject as in 558 (*inscription*).

566. Rock crystal. Cylinder.  $27 \times 14$   
*Inscription*; suppliant goddess at right.

567. Blue-and-yellow jasper breccia. Cylinder, damaged.  $23 \times 13.5$   
Same subject as in 566 (*inscription*).

### KASSITE CYLINDERS (568–591)

The end of the First Dynasty of Babylon repeated the old pattern of Mesopotamian history. As had happened before, foreign invaders weakened the central power, and finally one of the alien elements, Kassites from the northeast, achieved domination in the country. The dynasty they founded ruled over Babylonia for about four centuries.

The glyptic art produced during the Kassite rule in Babylonia comprises an earlier and a later stage. Seals 568–585 represent the earlier stage. Most of the designs of this group show elongated figures and extensive inscriptions containing prayers. This style seems to have evolved at about the beginning of the Kassite period.<sup>1</sup> The phase of transition from Old Babylonian designs to Kassite cylinders of this type is clearly marked by pieces like 568 and 569. The style is therefore referred to as Early Kassite, despite the fact that it appears to have survived into the later centuries of Kassite rule. This is indicated by the names of the Kassite kings found in some of the inscriptions, as for example in 577, which mentions Burnaburiash, a fourteenth-century king.

Seals 586–591 constitute a less homogeneous group. They belong mostly to the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, perhaps even to the twelfth century. These seals are therefore classified as of Late Kassite style.

While the Early Kassite style replaced the Old Babylonian in the south, a new style, the Mitannian, was evolved in the north. This style will be discussed later (p. 138), but it must be briefly mentioned here, since Mitannian influence can be discerned in Early Kassite cylinders, such as 585, and even more clearly in Late Kassite seals, such as 586, 587, 590, 591.

A very characteristic difference between Kassite and Mitannian seals lies in the fact that the latter are much smaller than the former. Furthermore, while Kassite engraving shows a sparing use of fine drilling, the latter technique predominates in Mitannian seals. These Mitannian features are obvious in 585. Others appear in 586–591: for example, the composition of 586 takes in the entire height of the seal, as frequently occurs in Mitannian glyptic.

Lastly, the almost complete change of subject matter—from ritual scenes in the Old

<sup>1</sup> E. Herzfeld, "Die Kunst des zweiten Jahrtausends in Vorderasien," *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, VIII (1937), 105.



Babylonian period to scenes with a presumably sacred tree, animals, monsters, huntsmen, and heroes in most Mesopotamian seals of the latter part of the second millennium—can be traced to Mitannian influence.

The Early Kassite seal stones are generally of more than usual height, in order to accommodate the lengthy inscriptions; the later cylinders vary in size. Often Kassite seals are set in gold caps decorated with triangles of gold granulation. A number of cylinders show borders of crosshatched triangles (580, 591) imitating the design produced by the rolling of such gold-capped seals on clay.

The material of the cylinders is usually some colorful stone like jasper, jasper breccia, or feldspar.

#### EARLY KASSITE CYLINDERS (568–585)

The change from Old Babylonian to Kassite style occurred gradually within the last decades of the First Dynasty of Babylon. Some of the seal impressions of the end of the Old Babylonian period correspond with the designs of such transitional examples as 568 and 569, which are classified here as Early Kassite.

For instance, Louvre A. 573, an impression from the time of Samsu-ditana, last king of the First Dynasty of Babylon, bears a motif almost identical with that of 568, which shows a figure in the posture of the Old Babylonian suppliant goddess but lacking horned miter and flounced robe. Moreover, in both the Louvre impression and 568 the inscription contains a lengthy prayer.

Louvre A. 567, which is dated in the time of Ammi-ditana, the third from last king of the First Dynasty of Babylon, shows a figure wearing a round cap like that of the standing bearded personage of 569. However, the elongated figures of 569 correspond with those of characteristic Early Kassite cylinders; this may afford sufficient justification for classifying 569 as transitional, even though it has an Old Babylonian inscription.

The fully developed Early Kassite style is exemplified by 570–583. In addition to the features already mentioned, Early Kassite seals are characterized by the apparel of the figures, especially by the diadem with its distinctive bulge at the front (571, 572). Later, in Neo-Babylonian glyptic, the frontal bulge is transformed into a point, as in the diadem of the genius in 747 below. The mantles, usually showing narrow borders, are also characteristic. They either envelop the figure completely or open in front, revealing part of the undergarment (570, 574). Where the undergarment is visible, the tassels of the girdle appear between the legs of the figure. Such tasseled girdles occur also in Mitannian and Assyrian designs and are an unfailing criterion for a dating in the latter half of the second millennium.

In the repertory of the Early Kassite seals, two male figures occur very frequently: one holds a scimitar (570–573), the other raises a hand in worship (573, 574, 576, 577, 579). The figure with a scimitar may be a king or a god; the worshiping figure likewise may be human or divine. If the worshiper is intended as divine, he may be replacing the suppliant goddess of Old Babylonian seals.

Certain small designs placed in the field are characteristic of Early Kassite seals. These include a cross (570, 583), a rhomb (582–584), shapes of various small creatures such as the fly (571, 573), the grasshopper (574), the frog (574), and plant motifs such as the ear of grain (583).

A number of noteworthy features are found in this group. Seal 574 shows a divine or human hunter, a figure common throughout the art of the hill country of northern Mesopotamia. Before the enthroned god in 575 there appears a female worshiper; this figure is



rare in Old Babylonian designs but becomes more frequent in Early Kassite scenes. Seal 581 presents the first known rendering of the man with a fish mask, probably a priest, who appears frequently in Assyrian and Babylonian glyptic of the first millennium.

Seal 584 may be of somewhat later date than most of the seals of this group, because the figures are engraved with considerable use of a cutting disk; this type of execution will be referred to hereafter as the cut style. It seems to have originated in Babylonia in the latter half of the second millennium and to have remained a specifically Babylonian style until the latter part of the eighth century (p. 88).

Seal 585 has been mentioned above (p. 63) as exemplifying certain Mitannian features. Another possibly Mitannian element in this seal is the monkey held by a rope, which is apparently depicted on an indubitably Mitannian seal (1025 below).

568. Green feldspar. Cylinder.  $20 \times 10$   
Suppliant female and small nude female, *inscription* between them.

569. Red jasper. Cylinder, chipped.  $32 \times 18$   
Bearded god (?) and worshiper facing enthroned male figure holding cup (?). Terminal: *inscription*.

570. White-and-brown jasper. Cylinder.  
 $26.5 \times 12$   
Figure with scimitar facing cross above nude female; *inscription*. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 538 ]

571. Milky chalcedony. Cylinder.  $35.5 \times 16$   
Figure with scimitar; behind figure, fly; *inscription*. [ Ward, *Morgan* 121 ]

572. Bluish jasper. Cylinder.  $30 \times 11.5$   
Figure with scimitar; *inscription*. [ Ward, *Morgan* 123 ]

573. Green feldspar. Cylinder, damaged.  
 $27 \times 13$   
Figure with scimitar facing worshiper; between them, fly, two kneeling horned animals, one above other. Terminal: *inscription*.

574. Rock crystal. Cylinder, damaged.  
 $33 \times 12$   
God with antelope and bow facing worshiper; between them, grasshopper above frog. Terminal: *inscription*. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 528 ]

575. Iron-stained jasper. Cylinder, damaged.  
 $32.5 \times 16$   
Female worshiper facing god who holds vase (?) and is seated on throne supported by two kneeling human-headed bulls. Terminal: *inscription*, one line carried into field. [ Ward, *Morgan* 125 ]

576. Black-and-brown jasper. Cylinder, chipped.  $35.5 \times 16$   
*Inscription*; worshiper. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 518 ]

577. White-and-brownish chalcedony. Cylinder, chipped.  $34.5 \times 15$   
*Inscription*; worshiper. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 40, 512 ]

578. Green feldspar. Cylinder, upper part broken off. D. 14  
*Inscription*; worshiper (?).

579. Green feldspar. Cylinder.  $30 \times 14$   
God or worshiper; *inscription*. [ Ward, *Morgan* 122 ]

580. Black jasper. Cylinder, only bottom preserved. D. 17  
*Inscription*; border of crosshatched triangles.

581. Flint. Cylinder, lower part broken off. D. 15  
Figure with fish mask, holding crook; *inscription*.

582. Dark-brown chalcedony. Cylinder, upper and lower edges broken off. D. 15  
*Inscription*; rhomb.

583. Pink marble. Cylinder.  $20 \times 12$   
Worshiper before cross, rhomb, and ear of grain. Terminal: *inscription*.

584. White paste. Cylinder, damaged.  
 $41 \times 16$   
Kneeling horned animal above bearded sphinx, both before worshiper or god. Two rhombs in upper field. Terminal: *inscription*. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1927c ]



585. Drab-and-bluish jasper breccia. Cylinder. 25 × 14  
Two facing figures, between them bird and

monkey, latter tied to rope held by second figure; third figure holding scimitar and facing *inscription*.

#### LATE KASSITE CYLINDERS (586–591)

The first four seals of the present group (586–589) are engraved in the style that prevailed in Assyria in the fourteenth century B.C. They show the same delicate modeling of the figures as the seals of that style, and a somewhat similar treatment of the space. It seems likely, therefore, that they date from the same time.

Seals 590 and 591 are engraved with a linear technique like that appearing in seals discovered at Warka and Babylon in Kassite layers of about 1300 B.C. or earlier (Berlin 561, 563). This technique appears to have been used very rarely in contemporaneous Assyrian cylinders, although it became the basis of the linear style of the Assyrians in the ninth and eighth centuries.

While the classification of 590 and 591 as Kassite seals therefore needs no further justification, it is necessary to present in detail the reasons for assigning 586–589 to the Kassite rather than to the Assyrian glyptic of the period.

Seals 586 and 587 each bear a lengthy inscription of the type mentioned above as characteristic of earlier Kassite seals. Moreover, 586 presents in its fish-men with flowing vases a theme that appears to be specifically Kassite, since it occurs in two Kassite seal designs<sup>2</sup> and is not found on contemporaneous Middle Assyrian cylinders. Seal 587 has an Assyrian motif—a tree between two animals—but above this motif appears a row of rhombs that are typically Kassite.

Seals 588 and 589 both present ritual themes. Although such themes occur occasionally on Assyrian cylinders of the thirteenth century, certain details of 588 and 589 possibly mark them as of Kassite origin. Seal 588 shows a horse's head on a pedestal and a bird on a pole; these are found elsewhere only on a Babylonian boundary stone.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, the garment of the worshiper resembles the apparel of the figures on an indubitably Kassite cylinder.<sup>4</sup>

In 589 the figure standing with raised weapon behind the altar—and possibly representing a god or king—wears a cap with pendant tassel that is typically Babylonian; for example, such a cap is worn by King Marduk-apal-iddina II as portrayed on a boundary stone<sup>5</sup> of his time, the end of the eighth century. Furthermore, the cross in the field is a common Kassite design and may indicate Kassite origin, although such a cross occurs in a similar scene found in a contemporaneous seal impression from Ashur.<sup>6</sup>

586. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder. 41 × 16  
In each upper corner: reversed vase spouting streams along which two fishes swim toward each other above, two others toward center below. Center: figure on one knee, holding vase that emits two streams converging in another vase below. In each lower corner: fish-man holding flowing vase. Terminal: *inscription*.

587. Black-and-red jasper. Cylinder.  
25.5 × 11.5  
Two facing ibexes rampant, over tree; three rhombs above. Terminal: *inscription*.

588. Milky chalcedony. Cylinder. 31 × 13  
Worshiper throwing incense on flaming altar; behind altar, crescent standard before canopy

<sup>2</sup> Philadelphia 539; Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 654.

<sup>3</sup> L. W. King, *Babylonian Boundary-stones and Memorial-Tablets in the British Museum*, London, 1912, pl. xc.

<sup>4</sup> C. H. Gordon, *The Living Past*, New York, 1941, seal 28 (opp. p. 130).

<sup>5</sup> W. Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients (Die Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. II, Berlin, 1925), p. 487.

<sup>6</sup> A. Moortgat, "Assyrische Glyptic des 13ten Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. XLVII (1941), fig. 69.



over horse's head on pedestal and bird on pole. Star in sky. [ Ward, *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. III (1887), pl. VII<sup>2</sup> ]

589. Hematite. Cylinder, lower edge broken off. D. 12

Worshiper stretching hand toward flame on altar; behind altar, figure holding weapon in each hand. Star, sun, and crescent in sky. Terminal: tree between cross and loop (detail of broken-off design).

590. Greenish-black serpentine. Cylinder. 31 × 15

Mouflon rampant, over tree, facing figure with standard (?). Cross and bird in sky. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1071 ]

591. White marble. Cylinder. 35 × 14

Center: sacred tree between bull and lion-griffin, both rampant, bird below each. In field: six-pointed rosette above rhomb; five-pointed rosette. Borders of crosshatched triangles. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 665 ]

### MIDDLE ASSYRIAN CYLINDERS (592-609)

The emergence of the Assyrians in the fourteenth century B.C. as a political power in the north foreshadowed the ascendancy that culminated in the world empire of the first millennium. That phase of Assyrian history which falls into the latter half of the second millennium is called the Middle Assyrian period, to distinguish it from the Old Assyrian period (early part of second millennium) and from the Neo-Assyrian period (first third of first millennium).

At the beginning of the Middle Assyrian period a specifically Assyrian style appears in the seal designs. Most of the subjects associated with this style are contest scenes. They derive from the repertory of Mitannian glyptic, which prevailed in all of northern Mesopotamia, including Assyria, after about 1500 B.C.

The Mitannian seals, however, are engraved with considerable use of the drill and of cutting disks, which produces mannered designs. Middle Assyrian seals, on the other hand, show careful modeling of the figures. Furthermore, the birds, trees, and other forms that in the Mitannian designs often appear to have been placed at random in the field, are transformed by the Assyrian artists into elements of a landscape.

The realistic tendency and the treatment of landscape in the work of Middle Assyrian artists give rise to questions as to the relations between their art and other styles besides the Mitannian. The style of Middle Assyrian seals is curiously reminiscent of the Akkad style of a thousand years earlier. However, the Assyrian realism and use of landscape parallel similar tendencies in the contemporary art of Egypt and of the Aegean regions. The aesthetic predilection of the time may have been responsible for the fact that Middle Assyrian art reflects that stage of the Mesopotamian tradition—the art of the Akkad period—in which the tendency to realism was most pronounced.

The evolution of the Middle Assyrian style was gradual. Pieces like 592-595, which probably date from the fourteenth century B.C., show greater dependence on Mitannian designs, smaller figures, and more delicate modeling than 596-605, which belong to the thirteenth century. Seals 606-609, which were probably made in the time from the twelfth to the tenth century, show larger figures and heavier modeling than the thirteenth-century group.

Small sizes prevail in Middle Assyrian seals at the beginning of the period and larger ones toward the end. In general the cylinders are very slender. The materials commonly used are chalcedony, agate, chert, marble, jasper, and occasionally hematite.



#### MIDDLE ASSYRIAN CYLINDERS OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY B.C. (592-595)

A fourteenth-century dating is indicated for 592 by the fact that the design retains many Mitannian features. There is still a considerable use of the drill, the composition takes in the entire height of the seal, and certain figures—the kneeling bulls, the sphinx, and the griffin—are taken over almost unchanged from Mitannian seal designs.

Seal 593, which has a vertical composition similar to that of 592, may, if it is genuine, be similarly dated.

Dating of 594 in the fourteenth century is indicated by its similarity to a seal impression of that time (Weber 316a). In each instance a decorative motif is formed by using the wings of the lion-griffins to frame a palmette tree. In the scene of the impression the shoulder feathers of the lion-griffin's wings are indicated by drillings. This distinctive detail (which appears to derive from Mitannian designs), though it is lacking in 594, does appear in 595. Furthermore, the delicate modeling of the latter seal indicates that it belongs to the fourteenth-century group of Middle Assyrian cylinders.

It may be noted that in 595 the tip of the second horn of the bull is indicated; thus the bull's head is shown in a quasi three-quarter view. While such three-quarter profiles remain unparalleled in Mesopotamian designs, they occur frequently in contemporary Aegean art.

592. Rock crystal. Cylinder, chipped.

27 × 13

Center: hero grasping lion at either side, each lion on back of kneeling bull. Above each lion, bird of prey; below first lion, kneeling antelope; over whole group, winged sun disk. Terminal: bird of prey between female sphinx and griffin, each monster resting hind foot on one lion of main motif, other hind foot on small antelope, while forefeet of both monsters rest on crown of palmette tree. [ Ward, *Morgan* 165 ]

593. Red-greyish-drab jasper. Cylinder, damaged. 36 × 15

Winged hero (?) standing on two kneeling mouflons, with each hand holding bull by hind leg; leaping dog in upper field at left. [ Ward, *Morgan* 157 ]

The theme of this seal closely parallels the central motif of Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 713. The cursory execution of 594, as well as the unusual feature of the leaping dog, gives reason for suspecting that this seal presents a forgery of the design of the Ward cylinder.

594. Yellowish chert. Cylinder. 24 × 11.5  
Two lion-griffins attacking bull between them. Terminal: palmette tree. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 698 ]

595. Colorless chalcedony. Cylinder. 20 × 10  
Walking bull with its tail grasped by griffin-demon on one knee, whose other hand touches same bull, thus initiating repetition of scene. In field, *inscription*. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 636 ]

#### MIDDLE ASSYRIAN CYLINDERS OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY B.C. (595-605)

Moortgat has published seal impressions from Ashur, with examples of seals of similar design in various collections, including most of the cylinders of the present group.<sup>1</sup> The characteristics of the group as analyzed below are also to be found in the seal impressions. Because of this correspondence, the seals here assembled can be dated as of the thirteenth century B.C., since the seal impressions occur on tablets bearing records of two Assyrian kings of that time.

On these seals the designs no longer fill the entire surface of the cylinder as in the preceding group. Consequently there is more space around the figures, so that in certain instances, notably 599 and 601, an atmospheric effect is produced.

<sup>1</sup> Moortgat, "Assyrische Glyptik des 13ten Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XLVII (1941), 50-88.



The repertory of designs is relatively small. Recurring elements are: the familiar figure of the probably supernatural nude bearded hero, from this period onward often clad in a kilt (596, 597); a presumably human male figure likewise wearing a kilt, invariably portrayed with the tassels of the girdle falling between his legs (599, 600); the lion-griffin (596, 598) and the lion (602–605), usually in the attacker role; the ibex (596, 597, 600, 605), the bull (598, 604), the mouflon (599, 602), and the stag (601, 603), usually appearing as victims; birds of prey swooping downward (603). Often landscape is indicated by means of a mountain marked by a scaled pattern and surmounted by a tree (600, 601, 603). A tree with a globular crown and crooked trunk is particularly characteristic, although the pine tree also occurs (602). A thistle-like plant frequently appears (599, 603).

Palm trees marked with volutes are found in 596 and 597. This use of volutes recalls Mitannian designs, though in the latter the tree as a whole always conveys an impression of artificiality, whereas on the Middle Assyrian seals it has the appearance of a natural tree merely ornamented with metal bands.

A somewhat exceptional feature is found in 598, in which a worshiper kneels below a winged sun disk on a stand. Such sun disks on stands occur frequently in Mitannian glyptic (see 1047 below), and it may be assumed that the motif is derived from some such Mitannian example. The fact that the kneeling posture was prescribed in connection with some Kassite prayers<sup>2</sup> may account for the position of the worshiper. However, it is noteworthy that here he seems to be floating in the air in an attitude recalling some renderings of the figure holding a rope that hangs from a winged gate on such seals of the Akkad period as 225.

596. Pink chert. Cylinder, lower part broken off. D. 15

Lion-griffin in grasp of bearded hero brandishing ax. Terminal: tree with volute below branches; monkey perched at top, eating fruit; ibex at left, bird of prey at right. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 571 ]

597. Red-and-grey jasper. Cylinder. 29 × 12

Bearded hero (full face), dagger in each hand, standing between two ibexes that jump away from him, each toward tree that is flanked by them as scene repeats.

598. Hematite. Cylinder. 43 × 16

Lion-griffin attacking bull fallen on its forelegs; star and sun (?) in sky; behind bull, winged sun disk on stand or altar, kneeling worshiper below. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1100 ]

599. Grey agate. Cylinder, damaged. 31 × 13

Hero with curved sword attacking fallen mouflon; between them, thistle-like plant, star with rays above. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1069 ]

600. Pink-and-white chert. Cylinder. 32 × 14.5

Ibex, hero grasping second ibex and spearing it—both ibexes jumping toward tree on mountain, which they flank at either side as scene repeats. Star, crescent, and sun in sky. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1130 ]

601. Milky chalcedony. Cylinder. 30 × 10  
Tree on mountain beside three shoots, with bird on one of them; stag leaping down from mountain. [ Ward, *Morgan* 280 ]

602. Banded agate. Cylinder. 28 × 12  
Lion attacking fallen mouflon; star in sky. Terminal: tree.

603. Pink chert. Cylinder. 30 × 13  
Lion attacking stag that is ascending mountain on which are tree and two plants. Bird of prey in sky. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1066 ]

604. Mottled red jasper. Cylinder. 31 × 15  
Lion attacking bull that is plunging to its forefeet. [ Ward, *Morgan* 282 ]

605. Greyish-green chert. Cylinder, partly broken off. 35 × 15  
Two lions fighting over kneeling mouflon. Crescent and large star in sky. In field, *inscription*.

<sup>2</sup> A. L. Oppenheim, "Die Akkadischen Personennamen der Kassitenzeit," *Anthropos*, XXXI (1936), 475.



MIDDLE ASSYRIAN CYLINDERS FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE  
TENTH CENTURY B.C. (606-609)

Seals 606-609 may be assigned to a date later than the thirteenth century for varying reasons. The hero represented in 606 and 607 wears a fringed mantle over his kilt, as do most of the Assyrian heroes of the first millennium. No hero thus attired appears in the thirteenth-century seal impressions published by Moortgat. We may therefore assume that the mantle was added to the attire of the Assyrian hero only after that time. Furthermore, the griffin-demon and griffin in 608 bear on their heads tall crests similar to those borne by a griffin and by griffin-demons in two Middle Assyrian seal impressions of the twelfth century.<sup>3</sup> Lastly, the figures in these seal impressions are as large as those in 608 and 609.

In the seals of this group the realistic effect of landscape often achieved in seals of the preceding group is lost. This is due not only to omission of the explicit elements of a natural setting but even more to the larger proportions of the figures, which destroy the feeling of surrounding space. The movement of the figures, however, is often more violent than before, especially in 606, in which a pursuit of ostriches is depicted.

In 607 and 608, both of which picture a bull calf lying between two contestants, the composition is more formal. The scheme used here—that of two fighting figures with a third between them—was preserved in Neo-Babylonian seals of the first millennium (p. 91) but discarded by Neo-Assyrian seal cutters.

As to the significance of the unusual scene of 608, it may be mentioned that Assyrian texts<sup>4</sup> refer to a divine bull as the son of Shamash, the sun god. Furthermore, Frankfort has interpreted the griffin as an equivalent of the angel of death<sup>5</sup> and the griffin-demon as its antithesis—the latter having potency to ward off the griffin, since it is equipped with the most characteristic features of its monstrous and evil opponent. The scene in 608 may therefore symbolize a struggle between the forces of life and death, in which the imperiled bull stands for a manifestation of the sun.

The interpretation of the griffin as an equivalent of the angel of death may furnish an explanation for the scene of 606, which shows a winged hero pursuing ostriches, usually regarded as harmless animals. Nevertheless the Assyrians may have seen an earthly counterpart to the supernatural griffin in this bird, because of its size and because it lives in the desert, which was believed to be an abode of the dead.

Seal 609 presents an even more unusual theme in the griffin-demon breaking a branch from a tree. In Neo-Assyrian glyptic and monumental art, griffin-demons are often portrayed in the action of fertilizing the female blossoms of the date palm with spathes that are generally regarded as containing the pollen of this plant. It seems possible that the griffin-demon here is picking off a branch for the purpose of securing such male flowers.

606. Grey marble. Cylinder. 31 × 14  
Winged hero brandishing sword and grasping  
ostrich in flight; beside latter, smaller ostrich.  
In field, *inscription* (erased). [Ward, *Seal  
Cylinders* 587]

607. Carnelian. Cylinder. 32 × 13  
Winged lion-griffin attacked by hero with  
curved sword; kneeling calf under monster.  
[Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 572]

<sup>3</sup> E. Weidner, "Aus den Tagen eines assyrischen Schattenkönigs: iv, Die Siegel Ninurta-tukul-Assurs und seiner Frau Rîmeni," *Archiv für Orientforschung*, X (1935-1936), 50, figs. 5-8.

<sup>4</sup> L. Malten, "Der Stier in Kult und mythischem Bild," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, XI.III (1928), 98f.

<sup>5</sup> H. Frankfort, "Notes on the Cretan Griffin," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XXXVII (1940), 121.



608. Milky chalcedony. Cylinder.  $42 \times 16.5$   
Griffin poised in menace over kneeling calf and  
held by foreleg in grasp of griffin-demon armed  
with dagger. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 634 ]

609. Red sard. Cylinder.  $38 \times 15$   
Griffin-demon tearing branch from tree. Ter-  
minal: *inscription*. [ Ward, *Morgan* 160 ]

The name Ashur-iddin in the inscription of  
this seal has been regarded by Herzfeld ("Die  
kunst des zweiten Jahrtausends in Vorderasien,"

*Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, IX  
[1938], 31, fig. 102. n. [96]) as referring to  
the Assyrian year official of 882 B.C. Herz-  
feld has accordingly dated 609 as belonging  
to the ninth century B.C. However, since Ashur-  
iddin is a frequently appearing Assyrian name,  
stylistic reasons for classifying the seal as be-  
longing to the end of the Middle Assyrian period  
have outweighed the argument for dating it on  
the basis of its inscription.

## NEO-ASSYRIAN AND NEO-BABYLONIAN CYLINDER AND STAMP SEALS (610-811)

From the beginning of the ninth to the end of the seventh century B.C., the Assyrian empire dominated western Asia. Assyrian power reached its first peak under Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.) and his son Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.). A period of comparative weakness followed. However, Assyrian imperialism resumed its expansion under Tiglath-pileser III (744-727 B.C.) and Sargon II (721-705 B.C.), to attain its greatest height in the reign of Esarhaddon, Sargon's grandson (680-669 B.C.).

Little is known of the contemporary history of Babylonia, but conditions appear to have remained more or less stagnant there from the end of Kassite rule, about 1180 B.C., to the time of the final domination by Assyria from about 730 B.C. onward.

The fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C. marks the end of the Assyrian empire. From then on, for about seventy years, most of Mesopotamia was part of the Neo-Babylonian empire created by Nabopolassar and Nebuchadrezzar.

To some extent the development of glyptic art in Mesopotamia reflects these historical processes. However, before such relations can be determined, it is necessary to consider the character of the art in itself.

Excavations, as well as the evidence of cylinders inscribed with the names of officials, show that two different styles—a linear and a drilled technique—were used in Assyria in the ninth and eighth centuries.

Linear-style seals were deeply engraved by use of a pointed tool on relatively soft materials such as serpentine, steatite, marble, and limestone, or on frit, which was cut before it hardened. The subjects of linear-style seals include contests (610-626), scenes with monsters and animals (627-639), scenes centering about a sacred tree (640-649), scenes pertaining to various rituals (650-658), chariot scenes (659-663), a king with a cup (664-672), ritual repasts (673-677), worship of deities (678-685), and mythological scenes (686-689).

Drilled-style seals (690-723) were carved with predominant use of the drill on hard, semi-precious stones like chalcedony and agate. The drill was employed especially for certain effects, such as the rendering of stars to portray gods in their astral splendor—the major subject matter to which the style was applied.

Archaeological evidence for the classification of contemporaneous ninth- and eighth-century Neo-Babylonian seals is almost completely lacking. Stylistic considerations, however, suggest that the Babylonian seal cutters of the time favored the cut style first encountered



in this collection in the Kassite seal 584. The subjects of cut-style seals (724–746) correspond largely with those of the Assyrian linear-style seals.

In addition to using the cut style, the Neo-Babylonian engravers appear to have perpetuated the modeled style of Middle Assyrian cylinders. Since this style is found in some Late Kassite seals, its appearance in Neo-Babylonian times may represent further local development. All of these Neo-Babylonian modeled-style seals depict contests (747–752).

In Assyria a modeled style reappeared at the end of the eighth century, and this style dominated glyptic art in both Assyria and Babylonia during the seventh century. However, the other styles of engraving continued in use to a limited extent. The subjects of these modeled-style seals are contests (753–769) and ritual scenes (770–780).

After the fall of Assyria the predominant style of the Neo-Babylonian empire continued the modeled tradition, but with a change of subject matter. In contrast to the variety of scenes comprised in the preceding styles, late Neo-Babylonian seals (781–788) usually portray only a worshiper before symbols. The fact that such symbols are usually placed on altars resembling temples is perhaps an indication of a continuity of local tradition, since the chief precedent for such a representation is to be found in the designs on Kassite boundary stones.

This development of Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian glyptic art can be related in its various phases to the history of the period. Thus, the apogee of the linear and the drilled style of Assyria in the ninth century coincides with the great artistic activity sponsored by Ashurnasirpal II and especially manifested in his reliefs. In much the same way the development of the modeled style at the end of the eighth and during the seventh century reflects the impetus given to the arts by Sargon II and his successors.

The supreme development of artistic expression apparently in correlation with the climax of political power in Assyria contrasts vividly with the relative stagnation of art and society in Babylonia. Despite this stagnation, however, it is possible that the appearance of the modeled style in Assyria should be ascribed to the influence of Babylonia, where such a style had persisted. In any case, the general uniformity of glyptic style in Assyria and Babylonia at the end of the eighth and during the seventh century reflects the influences of the political fusion of these two regions under Assyrian domination.

At the end of the eighth century, stamp seals (789–811) gradually began to replace cylinder seals. In general the style and the subjects of these stamp seals conform with those of the Assyrian seals of modeled style and of the late group of Neo-Babylonian seals, in that they present contest themes or motifs of worshipers before symbols. Often symbols alone are pictured. The shape of these stamp seals is conical or pyramidal, with rounded top; often the seal has an octagonal base.

The materials of Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian cylinder and stamp seals are hard, semiprecious stones such as chalcedony and agate, with the exception that linear-style seals, as noted above, were made of relatively soft materials.

#### LINEAR-STYLE CYLINDERS (610–689)

The linear effect produced by the designs of this group resembles the treatment in such Late Kassite seals as 590 and 591. It seems likely that the Neo-Assyrian engravers adopted a linear technique from the Kassites, since only very few Middle Assyrian seals of linear style are known (Berlin 591, 593, 594). Moreover, in these Middle Assyrian seals the clearly defined figures give a realistic impression, while the Neo-Assyrian seals of linear style share with the Kassite a decorative, pattern-like effect. Furthermore, both of the latter groups



employ a wealth of miscellaneous elements displayed conspicuously in the field. In Neo-Assyrian renderings, some of these, like the plants and the astral designs, are placed naturalistically on the ground or in the sky. Others, such as the fish or the rhomb, are fitted into the available free space; yet they are placed so prominently and in such proximity to the principal figures that some relation to the main theme is strongly suggested.

Most Neo-Assyrian linear-style seals date from the ninth or eighth century B.C., as proven by the excavations in Ashur.<sup>1</sup> However, a few of the examples in the present collection are of later origin. These will be discussed below in connection with the groups to which they belong.

In general, some indication of the date of a linear-style cylinder is given by its size. The earlier seals are taller than the later; those of the time of Ashurnasirpal II (Berlin 637, 638), which are among the earliest, are the tallest.

#### CONTESTS (610-626)

The subject most frequently encountered in the contest scenes of linear-style seals is that of an archer poised on one knee and aiming at a monster (611-616) or at a bull (617, 618). Occasionally his bow is replaced by a scimitar (619). Usually a plant detail derived from the date palm appears between the archer and his victim, though it is sometimes placed at the end of the scene, as in 615 and 619. The plant detail is generally a shoot of the palm; in 611 it is a palmette. The rosette in 618 may likewise be a plant motif, since this design is probably derived from rosettes composed of stylized leaves like those seen on the murals of Nimrud.<sup>2</sup>

In Assyrian art, both monumental and glyptic, a sacred tree, composed chiefly of elements of the date palm, plays a predominant role. It seems possible therefore that the plant elements in these scenes are meant to symbolize the sacred tree and that the contest signifies a defense of the tree by the archer.

Though usually the element placed between the archer and his victim is a plant detail, a rhomb sometimes appears in this position (615, 619). In 616, moreover, there is a fish beside the plant, in 617 a stylus. The relation of these objects to the scene remains undetermined, however, since their specific meaning in this context is as yet unknown.

The scene of 610 differs from the representations just discussed in showing a griffin-demon as the archer, and, instead of a plant, a small bird between the two principal figures. The divergence from the usual scheme may be due to the fact that the seal was made earlier than the others of the group. This is suggested by its large size. Moreover, the incised chevron borders framing the scene have a parallel in the ornamentation of robes in the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II.<sup>3</sup> It seems likely therefore that 610 dates from the earlier part of the ninth century B.C.

Seal 611 is also of large size, has a similar chevron border, and hence may be dated in the same time. However, it presents a more usual treatment of its subject than 610, except for the fact that a genius wields the bow and arrow.

Seals 612-619, all of medium size, are examples of the most common rendering of hero and victim. They can be dated about 800 B.C., because of their close resemblance in subject and rendering to Berlin 639-644, which were so dated by Moortgat on the basis of relevant archaeological evidence from Ashur. Seals 620-626, on the other hand, which present a heterogeneous group of contest scenes, probably vary considerably in date.

Seals 620-623 each show a standing archer aiming at his quarry. Of these seals only 623,

<sup>1</sup> Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, pp. 68-73.

<sup>2</sup> A. H. Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, London, 1849, pl. 87.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 43: 2, 4, 5, 7.



made of burnt clay, can be approximately dated. Its rendering of the archer corresponds with that in Berlin 696, a frit seal dated by Moortgat about 800 B.C.

The modeling apparent in 621 may indicate that it was made far later, in the time of the modeled-style cylinders of the latter part of the eighth century. This may account for the deviation from the usual rendering of the motif: the plant detail is omitted, and the fish between the figures appears no more conspicuously than any other object in the field.

Seal 624 may be of about the same date as 621, since the plumes and the rest of the trappings on the horse, as well as the tail tied in a short loop, are characteristic of the time of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.), as may be seen in a colored-enamel painting<sup>4</sup> that has been dated as of the period of this king.<sup>5</sup>

It is certain that a late date must be ascribed to 625; though executed in the linear style, it presents a hero with two victims—a motif characteristic of modeled-style seals from the time of Sargon II onward.

Seal 626 is unusual in both subject and rendering; it displays the curious theme of a hero pursuing an ostrich with a club, and may be of peripheral origin, since borders similar to that of this design are found, according to Herzfeld, on seals from Luristan.<sup>6</sup>

610. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $46 \times 16.5$   
Dragon attacked by griffin-demon on one knee, wielding bow and arrow. Between figures, bird. In sky: star, crescent, six scattered globes; three wedges (one under dragon, two before demon). Chevron borders. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 574 ]

611. Black serpentine. Cylinder, rubbed.  
 $45 \times 17.5$   
Sphinx standing over plant and assailed with bow and arrow by genius on one knee. In sky: crescent; three wedges (two behind sphinx, one before archer). Rhomb on ground. Chevron borders.

612. Black serpentine. Cylinder, damaged.  
 $33 \times 14$   
Female sphinx attacked by archer on one knee, plant between them. In sky, crescent, star, small cross (?).

613. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $35 \times 12$   
Male sphinx attacked by archer on one knee, plant between them. In sky: star; crescent; rhomb (below wing of sphinx). [ Ward, *Morgan* 150 ]

614. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $29.5 \times 12.5$   
Same scene as in 613. [ Ward, *Morgan* 151 ]

615. Dark-brown steatite. Cylinder.  $25 \times 11$   
Archer on one knee attacking sphinx, rhomb between them. Terminal: crescent above plant.

616. Brownish-black serpentine. Cylinder.  
 $31 \times 13$   
Archer on one knee attacking winged bull, plant and fish between them. In sky, five globes, crescent, star. Wedges scattered in rest of field.

617. Brown-and-black steatite. Cylinder.  
 $33 \times 14$   
Archer on one knee attacking bull as it plunges forward. Between figures, three wedges joined above stylus and plant. Over back of bull, rhomb. In sky, crescent, star.

618. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $24 \times 12$   
Same subject as in 617. Rosette between figures, plant behind bull. In sky, crescent, star, seven globes.

619. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $30 \times 13$   
Hero on one knee, armed with scimitar, grasping leg of bull as it turns its head toward plant; between figures, rhomb. In sky, crescent, seven globes, star.

<sup>4</sup> W. Andrae, *Coloured Ceramics from Ashur*, London, 1925, pl. 6.

<sup>5</sup> E. Weidner, "Assyrische Emailgemälde vom achten Feldzuge Sargons II," *Archiv für Orientforschung*, III (1926), 1–6.

<sup>6</sup> Herzfeld, "Die Kunst des zweiten Jahrtausends in Vorderasien," *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, IX (1938), 65.



620. Black serpentine. Cylinder, convex sides.  
29 × 8.5(9.5)  
Archer attacking winged bull, plant between them. In sky, crescent, star. [ Ward, *Morgan* 152 ]

621. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 29.5 × 13  
Stag plunging forward and attacked from rear by archer, fish between them. Behind archer, three wedges. In sky, seven globes, star, crescent.

622. Greenish-black serpentine. Cylinder.  
33.5 × 13  
Archer attacking standing lion, plant between them. In field, star or rosette (over lion). [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1085 ]

623. Burnt clay. Cylinder. 25 × 13  
Monster with bull's head and scorpion body attacked from rear by archer. Between figures,

plant, single wedge beside it. In sky, seven globes, crescent, triple wedge. Terminal: plant with two shoots.

624. Black limestone. Cylinder, convex sides.  
18 × 6.5(8)  
Horse carrying archer, who turns to attack winged bull rampant over bird. Under horse's head, head of slain figure; under horse's body, headless corpse. Crescent in sky. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 628 ]

625. Black serpentine. Cylinder, damaged.  
30 × 14  
Center: hero grasping two goats. Terminal: star above tree.

626. Steatite. Cylinder. 30 × 11  
Bird pursued by hero with club (?). In field: eight scattered wedges, two three-pointed designs. Striped horizontal borders.

#### MONSTERS AND ANIMALS (627-639)

A number of linear-style cylinders depict monsters or lions attacking horned animals (627-631); others show monsters and animals calmly walking in a row (632), or only monsters walking (633, 634). These seals constitute a relatively uniform group and can be dated on the basis of Berlin 647, which belongs to about 800 B.C., according to Moortgat, and shows the same type of scene in comparable execution.

Seal 634 is an exception: though contemporaneous with the other pieces of this group, it is made of frit and shows the typical use of parallel lines found on seals of that material.

In 635 and 636, the principal figure is a bull. In 635 the animal is charging at a rosette; this theme probably represents an abbreviation of such contest scenes as that of 618. Since the renderings of the bull in 635 and 618 are almost identical, a dating in correspondence with that of the latter seal, in the ninth or in the earlier part of the eighth century, is indicated for 635. In 636 the bull is leaping toward a spade, the symbol of Marduk, while other symbols are placed in the field. Neither the subject nor the execution is paralleled in other linear-style seals, and the date of 636 therefore remains undetermined. However, it should be noted that the bull's leap toward an object resembles the action portrayed in the Late Kassite seal 590, though the manner of the rendering in 636 is much more schematic.

The theme of animals flanking the sacred tree occurs in only a few linear-style seals (637, 638), though the motif is frequently found in the borders of robes on the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II.<sup>7</sup> A ninth-century dating for 637 and 638 is indicated by the correspondence with these reliefs and confirmed by the rendering of the tree in both seals, since it resembles the treatment in such ninth- or eighth-century cylinders as Berlin 673-675.

Seal 639, which presents the unusual subject of a bull-man and a standing bull at either side of the sacred tree, may be of far later date, because it differs from all early linear-style cylinders in regard to the shape of the tree.

627. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 30 × 11.5  
Dragon menacing mouflon as it plunges for-

ward. In sky, crescent, seven globes. Three wedges scattered in rest of field.

<sup>7</sup> Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, pls. 44: 4, 45: 3, 50: 6.



628. Black serpentine. Cylinder, slightly convex sides.  $31 \times 13.5(14)$

Griffin menacing mouflon (?) as it plunges forward. In sky, crescent, star, seven globes.

629. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $30 \times 11$

Mouflon plunging forward, attacked by lion. In sky, crescent, seven globes, star. Three pairs of wedges in rest of field. [ Ward, *Morgan* 179 ]

630. Frit, with remains of drab glaze. Cylinder.  $25 \times 12$

Mouflon plunging forward, menaced by lion, plant between them. In sky: star; seven globes, wedges and lines (before mouflon).

631. Black serpentine. Cylinder, damaged.  $21 \times 25.5$

Same subject as in 630. In sky, seven globes, crescent.

632. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $24 \times 12$

Bull plunging forward, followed by sphinx, plant between them. In sky, star, crescent.

633. Brownish-black serpentine. Cylinder.  $30 \times 13$

Two walking human-headed birds. In sky, star, crescent. Pair of wedges in field.

634. Green-glazed frit. Cylinder.  $25 \times 11$

Bull-headed bird and human-headed bird walking. In sky, star, crescent.

635. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $15.5 \times 9$

Charging bull, rosette before it. Seven globes in sky. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1092 ]

636. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $32 \times 12$

Bull leaping toward spade. In field, fish, cross, scorpion, rhomb, inverted crescent, star.

637. Greenish-black serpentine. Cylinder.

$34 \times 11$

Two mouflons flanking tree, winged sun disk above. In sky, two wedges, star, crescent, fish, bird.

638. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $26 \times 15$

Two bulls flanking tree. Terminal: star above rhomb.

639. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $28 \times 15$

Bull-man and bull flanking tree.

#### THE SACRED TREE WITH A WINGED SUN DISK AND WORSHIPERS (640-649)

In many linear-style seals the sacred tree, composed chiefly of stylized elements of the date palm, is made the center of the scene. Above it is a winged sun disk from which streams of water are falling. Two worshipers, kneeling or standing at either side of the tree, grasp these streams. That streams and not bands were originally implied by this design is indicated by the earliest known example featuring the subject, Newell 416, which is probably a Late Kassite piece, in view of its large size and border of triangles. This seal shows streams issuing from hands that extend from the sun disk and flowing into two vases on the ground.

Seal 640 portrays the worshipers wearing peaked miters; this is the characteristic headgear of Assyrian kings. The two kneeling figures may therefore be regarded as a twofold rendering of the king. This theme is found in the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, the occurrence of the chevron border noted above (p. 73) as distinctive of seals of the ninth century B.C., indicates a corresponding date for 640. Seal 641, portraying winged genii, shows the same type of border and may be similarly dated.

In contrast to 640 and 641, in which the two figures of the king or two genii flank the tree in kneeling posture, the motifs of 642-645 depict the usual type of Assyrian worshiper, who stands upright. It seems likely that 642 and 643, in each of which there is a palmette executed as carefully as in 640, are earlier than 644 and 645, which present a more cursory rendering of the tree.

In 646 and 647 the motif of worshipers and sacred tree appears in the upper register, together with the figure of a king or officer making a libation. The scene in the lower register of 646, showing two bulls charging at a rosette, is comparable to that in 635. The lower register

<sup>8</sup> Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, pl. 39A.



of 647, however, presents a worshiper standing before a cow that suckles a calf while being mounted by a bull. This scene suggests a rural ritual connected with animal husbandry.

Seal 648 presents a somewhat debased rendering of the usual theme of this group. Only one worshiper and part of a stream are depicted; the second worshiper is replaced by an animal. This cylinder should probably be dated in the latter part of the eighth century, when linear-style seals were executed more and more carelessly.

Seal 649 is probably of even later origin, because the tree is rendered as on the modeled-style cylinders 772 and 774. The robes of the worshipers have rows of horizontal fringes like those on a stele from Susa<sup>9</sup>; this suggests that 649 may have originated in that region.

640. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $40 \times 14$   
Tree flanked by two kneeling kings, each grasping one of two streams falling from winged sun disk above. Terminal: star in crescent above tree. Chevron borders. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 666 ]

641. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $36.5 \times 13$   
Tree flanked by two kneeling genii, each grasping one of two streams falling from winged sun disk above tree. Chevron borders.

642. Blackish-brown serpentine. Cylinder.  $29 \times 10$   
Tree flanked by two worshipers, each grasping one of two streams falling from winged sun disk above tree. Terminal: star above plant. Hatched borders.

643. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $25 \times 11$   
Same subject as in 642. Terminal: star above plant with three shoots.

644. Yellow marble. Cylinder.  $37 \times 14$   
Same subject as in 642. Terminal: star above plant with two shoots. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 667 ]

645. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $19.5 \times 9$   
Same subject as in 642. Seven globes in sky. Terminal: star over tasseled spade.

646. Iron-stained jasper. Cylinder, chipped.  $44 \times 17.5$

Above: attendant before king or officer who leans on bow and raises cup; in addition, same subject as in 642. Below: rosette between two charging bulls. Terminal: seven globes, rhomb, two crossed wedges, one above other. [ Ward, *Morgan* 149 ]

647. Black serpentine. Cylinder, chipped.  $43 \times 18.5$

Above: same subject as in 642; in addition, stand with vessels before king or officer with cup and bow, star above plant behind him; crescent and seven globes in sky. Below: worshiper before cow suckling calf and mounted by bull; tasseled spade before kneeling bull. In sky: crescent; wedge; star, seven globes; indeterminate sign (before worshiper). [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 669 ]

648. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $38.5 \times 14$   
Tree flanked on left by worshiper with stream flowing from his hand, on right by rampant mouflon. Above tree, winged sun disk. In sky, star, crescent, wedge, seven globes. Terminal: stylus.

649. Greenish-black serpentine. Cylinder.  $30 \times 14$   
Tree with winged sun disk above it, flanked by two worshipers. Beside central tree, indefinable design and small tree. Terminal: large tree.

#### SCENES PERTAINING TO VARIOUS RITUALS (650-658)

The cylinders of this group vary considerably in subject and execution and must therefore be discussed individually.

Seal 650 bears two motifs, a contest scene and, in addition, the theme of a worshiper under a sun disk with streams. This combination of a contest scene with a ritual theme is unusual. The large size of the seal suggests a dating in the early ninth century B.C.

<sup>9</sup> *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, vol. I, pl. 270 B.



In 651 a kneeling bull appears below the sun disk instead of the usual sacred tree. The worshiper at the right holds one of the streams of the sun disk, while the worshiper at the left raises his cup for a libation; this constitutes a ritual scene unparalleled elsewhere.

The scene of 652 presents a worshiper beside a gate, probably a temple gate. A similar motif appears on a seal impression of the Middle Assyrian period.<sup>10</sup> The engraving in 652 is less clear-cut than in other linear-style seals of the ninth or eighth century. However, Guimet 117, which shows the same scene as 652, even to the rhomb beside the worshiper, is carved in the usual manner. Hence both 652 and Guimet 117 are probably to be dated in the ninth or eighth century.

In 653 the usual worshiper is omitted. The scene portraying a man plowing may nevertheless have a ritual significance; perhaps, like 647 above, it depicts a rural ritual, in this case connected with agriculture. The deep cutting conforms with that of such ninth- or eighth-century stones as Berlin 682, and the seal may be of similar date.

Seal 654 has been included here even though it is not certain that the man with a bird and a mouflon before him is meant for a worshiper. Consequently the ritual character of the scene remains in question. The seal does not conform in its engraving with any of the dated linear-style seals and its date is therefore uncertain.

Seals 655 and 656 are smaller than is usual in this group and probably date from the end of the eighth century or from the seventh, since they show worshipers with symbols, a subject prevalent in the late drilled-style seals of that time (see 711, 712 below).

Seals 657 and 658 each present a procession of worshipers, a subject not found in other Assyrian cylinders but frequently seen in the earlier glyptic designs of the Old Assyrian merchant colonies in Anatolia and of Syria. It seems possible therefore that these two seals were engraved in the linear style in a locality beyond the borders of the Assyrian empire.

650. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 45 × 17.5  
Winged sun disk with streams that inclose worshiper who faces spade on stand with rhomb above; sphinx in grasp of genius with scimitar, antelope plunging forward between them. Star and crescent in sky.

651. Brown limestone. Cylinder. 31 × 15  
Two worshipers flanking winged sun disk over kneeling bull, first worshiper holding cup, second grasping stream that falls from sun disk. In field, crescent, two wedges. Terminal: star above stylus.

652. Drab limestone. Cylinder. 34 × 12  
Worshiper before gate of temple (?), rhomb beside him.

653. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 37 × 16.5  
Man prodding ox with which he is plowing; before ox, plant. In sky, crescent, star, seven globes. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 372 ]

654. Reddish frit. Cylinder. 29 × 10  
Bird above small kneeling animal before mouflon followed by worshiper (?); before latter, crescent, star, five globes, one above other.

655. Brown limestone. Cylinder. 21 × 10  
Six globes over fish, crescent above stylus, tasseled spade on stand, all faced by worshiper.

656. Drab-and-yellowish marble. Cylinder. 17.5 × 11  
Stylus and tasseled spade on stand before worshiper; behind him, plant, kneeling mouflon with star above it.

657. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 19 × 10  
Tasseled crescent staff before priest (?); two attendants carrying offerings in their raised hands, indeterminate object before each.

658. Hematite. Cylinder. 16 × 8  
Vessel on stand, four figures approaching. Rows of wedges in field.

<sup>10</sup> W. Andrae, *Die jüngeren Ishtar Tempel in Assur* (58. *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der deutschen Orientgesellschaft*, Leipzig, 1935), p. 16, fig. 3.



### HUNT AND BATTLE FROM A CHARIOT (659-663)

A light two-wheeled chariot, of the type used in the hunt and in battle, first appears in Syrian and Mitannian seals of about the middle of the second millennium (for example, in 971 and Nuzi 910). While in these earlier representations the figure in the chariot cannot be identified, the hunting reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II always show the king as the archer, standing in a chariot driven by a charioteer. Since the scenes on the cylinder seals picturing this subject are closely patterned after those of the reliefs, it seems possible that the archer of the seals should also be identified as a king, though he is only rarely depicted with a headgear that suggests a royal miter (BN 368).

Seals 659 and 660 correspond most closely with reliefs of Ashurnasirpal. The chariots are rendered with the characteristic spear protruding at the back, the two crossed quivers at the side, the yoke ending in a bird's head, and the six-spoked wheel. In 659 a fallen bull lies under the horse, as in one of the Ashurnasirpal reliefs.<sup>11</sup> The same motif may be intended in 660, though here the bull is standing and the forelegs of the horse are carved across its neck. The usual pair of figures, archer and charioteer, appears in 660, while 659 shows only an archer. The relations with the Ashurnasirpal reliefs are sufficient to establish a date early in the ninth century for 659 and 660. Moreover, the chevron borders in 659, as well as the large size of both seals, are characteristic of early linear-style seals.

The scenes of 661-663 are probably peripheral renderings of the same theme. In 661 and 662, there are wedges forming a dentated border in the lower part of the seal, a feature found in cylinders made in the regions to the west and northwest of Assyria.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, the fallen foe under the horse's feet seen in both 662 and 663 is rendered with awkward lines, indicating the hand of an engraver unfamiliar with this subject.

659. Drab-pink frit, with remnants of reddish-drab glaze. Cylinder, damaged. 43 × 13  
Horse-drawn chariot with archer. Under horse, fallen bull. Crescent in sky. Chevron borders.

660. Brownish-black steatite. Cylinder.  
40 × 16  
Horse-drawn chariot with charioteer and archer. Under horse, standing bull. Crescent and seven globes in sky.

661. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 22 × 10  
Bull fleeing before horse-drawn chariot with archer who aims at two birds, one small, one

large, latter over horse. Star and crescent in sky. Line of wedges on ground.

662. Black limestone. Cylinder. 35 × 14  
Horse-drawn chariot with archer (?). Under horse, fallen foe; before it, star. Wedge-pattern border.

663. Pink marble. Cylinder. 34 × 11  
Horse-drawn chariot with charioteer, cord hanging from chariot and held by attendant. Under horse, fallen foe with bird of prey on his arm. Crescent and six globes in sky.

### THE KING WITH A CUP (664-672)

In the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II, the king is often portrayed in the act of raising a cup while leaning on his bow. This may be a gesture preceding a libation, since a later king, Ashurbanipal, is represented in one instance with a cup, from which he is pouring an offering over dead lions.<sup>13</sup> However, as there is no earlier example of such a libation, it is also possible that the king's gesture of raising a cup is in itself a complete ritual act, perhaps a mute invocation.

<sup>11</sup> Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, pl. 11.

<sup>12</sup> D. G. Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, Oxford, 1920, p. 79, figs. 87, 88.

<sup>13</sup> Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients*, 559.



Among the cylinders presenting this theme, 664 is the only example in which a royal miter clearly characterizes the figure with a cup as a king. In 667 the figure wears a pointed cap, but this may be a soldier's helmet rather than royal headgear. All other seals show the figure bareheaded. It is therefore conceivable that a high-ranking officer is here represented. However, since only the king is shown with a cup in the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal, it is equally possible that it is the king who is portrayed in these seals.

The figures in 664 correspond more closely in posture with those in a section of a scene depicting the receipt of tribute on the obelisk of Ashurnasirpal I,<sup>14</sup> a king of the eleventh century B.C., than with those in any scenes in the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II. Therefore 664 should probably be dated before the time of the latter king.

The scenes of 665–672 each comprise only two figures, those of a king and an attendant. The latter is swaying a fan or fly whisk over a vessel set in a stand (665–671). In 672 the vessel appears at the end of the scene instead of on the table that here replaces the stand. Since the treatment of the subject is similar in all these seals, the chevron borders of 665 and 666 may indicate a ninth-century dating for these cylinders, as in the case of 610 above. An even more definite criterion for dating, however, is provided by the spiked shield on the attendant's back in 666, 667, and 672. This shield is of a type found only on the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II and on the bronze gates made in the time of his son, Shalmaneser III.<sup>15</sup>

664. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $43 \times 13$   
Attendant with fly whisk before king with cup and bow; second attendant with indeterminable object before him, raising parasol (?) over king; third attendant with staff; crescent in sky. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 728 ]

665. Greenish-black serpentine. Cylinder, damaged.  $38 \times 10$   
Attendant with fan and towel facing king (?), who holds cup and bow; between them, stand with vessel. Crescent and two drillings in field. Terminal: star above plant with two shoots. Chevron borders. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 729 ]

666. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $38 \times 13$   
Same subject as in 665, attendant holding fly whisk instead of fan. Crescent in sky. Terminal: star above plant. Chevron borders. [ Ward, *Morgan* 147 ]

667. Black serpentine. Cylinder, convex sides.  $37 \times 12(14)$   
Same subject as in 665. Globes in field. Terminal: crescent above plant with four shoots. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 727 ]

#### RITUAL REPASTS (673–677)

Seals 673–675 each depict a seated figure raising a cup before a table spread with a repast, while an attendant waves a fly whisk or provides some other service in connection with the

668. Greyish-drab limestone. Cylinder.  $29 \times 10.5$

Same subject as in 665. Terminal: crescent above plant with three shoots.

669. Black serpentine. Cylinder, rubbed.  $23.5 \times 9.5$

Same subject as in 665. Star in sky. Terminal: star in crescent above plant.

670. Black serpentine. Cylinder, convex sides.  $33 \times 11(12)$

Same subject as in 665, with positions of figures reversed. Terminal: two wedges above plant. Hatched borders. [ Ward, *Morgan* 146 ]

671. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $28 \times 12$   
Same subject as in 665. Crescent in sky. Terminal: star above tasseled spade on stand.

672. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $27 \times 12$   
Same subject as in 665, with table replacing stand with vessel. Terminal: crescent above vessel with two tubes.

<sup>14</sup> E. Unger, "Der Obelisk Ashurnasirpal's I," *Mitteilungen der altorientalischen Gesellschaft*, vol. VI, no. 1–2 (1932), pl. xivD4.

<sup>15</sup> H. Bonnet, *Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients*, Leipzig, 1926, p. 195, fig. 94.



meal. In 676 the figure seated before a stand is clearly characterized as a king by his head-gear. Perhaps this indicates that in those seals in which the seated personage does not wear a royal miter, he is nevertheless to be regarded as a king. Assyrian texts indicate that a meal such as appears in these scenes could be a royal ritual. Sometimes the repast is presented in detail, as in 673; on other seals it is symbolized by a single item—often a fish (674, 675).

Seal 677 is included in this group because it shows an attendant before a table. However, an incense burner replaces the seated figure. The seal may date from the end of the eighth century or from the seventh century B.C., because a relief of Ashurbanipal<sup>16</sup> pictures a table and an incense burner similarly placed.

673. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 26 × 13  
Attendant with fan facing king (?) with cup who is seated before table spread with cloth and bearing heap of loaves, box, and bowl. Terminal: crescent above plant.

674. Black limestone. Cylinder. 45 × 14  
Attendant holding fish over table at which king (?) with cup is seated. In field, two wedges, crescent, star. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 736 ]

675. Black serpentine. Cylinder, rubbed and damaged. 28 × 13  
Attendant before stand with vessel; fish on table before king (?). Scroll borders.

676. Black serpentine. Cylinder, lower part broken off. D. 14

Attendant with towel, second attendant with fly whisk and towel, both facing king with cup who is seated before table spread with cloth; behind king, third attendant with fly whisk. Crescent and star in sky. Terminal: gate or building.

677. Black limestone. Cylinder, rubbed. 28 × 13

Figure extending hand over table placed before flaming stand. Terminal: star over demirosette.

#### WORSHIP OF DEITIES (678-685)

Relatively few linear-style seals depict worship of deities. As part of the act of worship, in 678, 680, 681, the worshiper seems to be throwing incense into the flames of an altar before the deity.

In 678 the deity is seated in a high-backed chair. However, the more usual renditions of worshiping scenes in this style show the deity standing in a nimbus of stars (679-683). It seems likely that the deity here depicted is Ishtar, since a star nimbus seems to be among the specific attributes of this divinity in her manifestation as the predominant star goddess (p. 84).

Seals 678 and 679 are larger than the others of this group and may therefore belong to the early part of the ninth century. Moreover, in 678 the winged genius holding a pollen basket corresponds with numerous representations in the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II, while in 679 the nimbus of the deity is rendered by means of short hatches producing outlines that resemble the rays of the winged sun on a glazed brick slab (orthostat) of Tukulti-Ninurta II, father of Ashurnasirpal II.<sup>17</sup>

Seals 680-683 are smaller and show the nimbus of the deity by means of long hatches. They may be dated in the ninth or eighth century B.C., since Berlin 658, a seal corresponding closely in subject and engraving with 681, was found in the uppermost layer in the excavation of some late Assyrian tombs at Ashur.

The motif of 684, showing a worshiper between two deities, appears frequently in drilled-style seals (694, 697) but is rarely seen on linear-style pieces. No precise date can be assigned to this fragment.

<sup>16</sup> Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients*, 559.

<sup>17</sup> Andrae, *Coloured Ceramics from Ashur*, pl. 8.



A somewhat unusual representation is seen in 685, on which two worshipers appear one at either side of a god in a nimbus. The nimbus is rendered by means of small hatches, as in 679, suggesting a date early in the ninth century for this piece, although it is far smaller than the other seal stones assigned to this time.

678. Red steatite. Cylinder, rubbed and damaged.  $35 \times 14$

Worshiper with towel (?) before enthroned deity, between them, stand with flame; behind throne, genius with pollen basket. Crescent and star in sky. Terminal: spade.

679. Black serpentine. Cylinder, rubbed and damaged.  $33 \times 14$

Worshiper with towel before deity in nimbus, between them crescent over altar.

680. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $27 \times 13$

Worshiper with towel before deity in nimbus, between them flaming altar. Behind deity, rhomb. Terminal: seven globes and star above tasseled spade.

681. Greenish-black serpentine. Cylinder, convex sides, damaged.  $23.5 \times 12(11)$

Worshiper before deity in nimbus, between them flaming altar. Crescent in sky.

682. Greenish-black serpentine. Cylinder, rubbed.  $28 \times 18$

Deity in nimbus facing worshiper, between them tasseled crescent staff on altar. Terminal: tasseled spade on stand.

683. Black serpentine. Cylinder.  $31 \times 13$

Worshiper before deity in nimbus, between them crescent above stylus. Terminal: tree with winged sun disk above it.

684. Greyish-green serpentine. Cylinder, lower part broken off. D. 13

Goddess with ring, worshiper, both facing god with ax. Crescent and seven globes in sky. Terminal: star above stylus.

685. Dark-brown serpentine. Cylinder.  $18 \times 9$

Two worshipers flanking small deity standing in nimbus. Crescent in sky. Terminal: star over plant. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1134a ]

#### MYTHOLOGICAL THEMES (686-689)

Only two indubitably mythological motifs are found on Neo-Assyrian cylinders: one is that of an attack upon a nude bearded hero (686), the other that of an attack by a god upon a monster (688, 689).

The first theme is probably derived from representations of the slaying of the giant Humbaba by the heroes Gilgamesh and Enkidu, as portrayed on an Old Babylonian plaque,<sup>18</sup> on which Humbaba is rendered as a monster. In the melting pot of Mitannian glyptic, however, the rendering of this monster became confused with that of the nude bearded hero.<sup>19</sup> This modification seems to have been taken over by the Assyrians in such seals as 686, on which the victim is clad in a crosshatched garment, or Berlin 608, on which he appears nude, as in older representations.

The motif of 687, which shows the heads of a bearded hero and of a lion-griffin, may be meant to symbolize a contest between these two mythological characters, as fully rendered in realistic fashion on Middle Assyrian pieces like 596. The detached head of a bearded hero is frequently found in Mitannian seal designs (Nuzi 774-776), though Neo-Assyrian cylinders so far as now known fail to provide a parallel. On the other hand, the head was used in Neo-Assyrian times as a decoration; it appears on the back of a chariot in a scene on one of the bronze bands of the gates of Shalmaneser III.<sup>20</sup>

Mitannian relations can also be established for 688, on which a god appears to be attacking

<sup>18</sup> D. Opitz, "Der Tod des Humbaba," *Archiv für Orientforschung*, V (1928-29), 205.

<sup>19</sup> E. Porada, *Seal Impressions of Nuzi*, New Haven, 1947, p. 60.

<sup>20</sup> L. W. King, *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser*, London, 1915, pl. xix (lower register, extreme right).



a bull-headed serpent. In a seal impression from Nuzi (Nuzi 738) a similar serpent rears before a weather god standing on a lion-griffin. Another god is thrusting two daggers into the serpent's body from behind. Though in 688 the god running on the outstretched coils of the serpent seems to be wielding a dagger, the usual Neo-Assyrian treatments of this theme show the deity with the lightning trident of the weather god.<sup>21</sup> It must remain a question whether the god in 688 also stands for the weather god.

In 689 the god's victim is not a serpent but the lion-griffin, which appears as the antagonist of heroes from the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur onward. In the discussion of the Old Babylonian contest frieze (p. 44) it has been suggested that the lion-griffin is to be regarded as a creature of Nergal, god of the nether world. In relation to Neo-Assyrian representations, Schott similarly suggests that the lion-griffin represents a constellation associated with Nergal or equivalently used for this deity, while the god pursuing the lion-griffin is to be regarded as some still unidentified astral deity.<sup>22</sup> However, it must be mentioned that on a relief of Ashurnasirpal II,<sup>23</sup> the god pursuing the lion-griffin holds the lightning fork of the weather god. It is possible therefore that the deity depicted in 689 is the weather god.

686. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 35.5 × 15.5  
Two figures attacking bearded hero with curls;  
female figure with upraised arms. Terminal:  
plant. [ Ward, *Morgan* 171 ]

687. Brown jasper. Cylinder. 25 × 13  
Head of nude bearded hero; crescent above  
spade on stand; head of lion-griffin; star above  
lozenge. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 645 ]

688. Greenish-black serpentine. Cylinder.  
17 × 11  
On outstretched coils of horned serpent: run-  
ning god who holds globe in one hand and with  
other thrusts dagger into mouth of serpent as it  
rears its head toward him; running figure with  
globe; walking figure with ring. Before running  
god, rhomb. Before second figure, four globes.

Before walking figure, plant growing through  
serpent's tail. Behind tip of tail, second plant.  
Crescent in sky. [ Ward, *Morgan* 156 ]

"This cylinder was obtained by the Rev.  
Frederick Williams, an American missionary in  
the region of Mosul. He bought it from an  
Arab, who had just come over the river from  
Layard's diggings near Mosul in 1857"  
(Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, p. 201).

689. Steatite. Cylinder. 37 × 15  
God with sword and quiver striding over out-  
stretched bull-headed dragon and aiming with  
star-studded bow at lion-griffin that menaces  
tree. In sky: winged sun disk, crescent, star.  
Fish, two rhombs (behind god). [ Ward, *Seal  
Cylinders* 565 ]

#### DRILLED-STYLE CYLINDERS (690-723)

Drilled-style cylinders are here divided into an earlier group (690-703), dated approximately in the ninth or eighth century B.C., and a later group (704-723), belonging probably to the seventh century.

##### EARLY DRILLED-STYLE CYLINDERS (690-703)

The principal subject of this group is that of a worshiper standing before deities (691-703). The appurtenances of the latter, especially their miters, bows, and sword sheaths, are decorated with stars, which are often indicated by globes. The deity, when female, sometimes appears in a nimbus of such stars (691, 698). Besides this subject a divine archer, pursuing a

<sup>21</sup> Berlin 680, 681; A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1929, p. 431, fig. 239b.

<sup>22</sup> "Das Werden der babylonisch-assyrischen Positions-Astronomie . . .," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXXVIII (1934), 320.

<sup>23</sup> A. H. Layard, *A Second Series of the Monuments of Nineveh*, London, 1853, pl. 5.



lion-griffin—as in 689, a linear-style seal—is occasionally represented on cylinders of the drilled style (690).

The early drilled-style treatment of the objects in the field is very much like that in the linear style, except that the spade, symbol of Marduk, which is usually tasseled, occurs with relatively greater frequency. Often it appears together with the stylus or wedge, symbol of Nabu (692).

A dating in the ninth or early eighth century B.C. can be established with some certainty for these seals, because the inscriptions of a number of comparable early drilled-style cylinders<sup>24</sup> contain names of Assyrian high officials that also appear in Assyrian year lists.

The earliest seal of this group is probably 691. It is large and shows considerably more modeling than the others, indicating a lingering influence of Middle Assyrian glyptic. A date not later than the early part of the ninth century is suggested by the coiffures, which show curls sticking out at the back as on figures in reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II, instead of resting on the shoulders as they do in figures on the reliefs of later kings. In 691, furthermore, the two small deities in the sky, each placed in a nimbus of stars, recall a Middle Assyrian seal impression<sup>25</sup> picturing a deity in this manner. However, the rendering of the goddess, who is surrounded by stars and holds a star scepter, is an innovation of the Assyrian engravers of the first millennium. Undoubtedly this figure is to be identified with Ishtar, the major star goddess of the Assyrians. While the representation of Ishtar in a nimbus of stars is found in other drilled-style seals (698) and also in linear-style pieces (679–683 above), the characterization of the god in 691 remains unique. He holds a stylus or double wedge, emblem of Nabu, god of writing; this symbol is usually placed in the field before a deity.

Seals 692–695, all of which portray worship of deities, resemble in their general rendering the dated seals of this style, most of which belong to the end of the ninth or the beginning of the eighth century—for example, BN 354, the seal of Ashur-bel-usur (about 804 B.C.), or Berlin 596, the seal of an officer of Mannu-kima-Ashur (about 793 B.C.).

Seals 696–698 are probably somewhat later in date, since their execution is more cursory. This is especially obvious in the rendering of the stars, which are merely indicated by globes. The same rendering can be observed in 699–701, which, however vary from the previously described stones in presenting a deity, probably a goddess, seated before a table decked with a repast. The back of the chair in which the figure sits is decorated with stars, indicated by globes in the same manner as on the chair of a goddess in the rock relief at Maltaï,<sup>26</sup> which dates from the time of Sennacherib (704–691 B.C.). Seals 699–701 may therefore be assigned to approximately the same period.

Seals 702 and 703 are probably of similarly late date. They not only show a greater degree of modeling, as an influence of the modeled style of the latter part of the eighth century, but also present some details of design suggesting such a date. The representation of the god with lightning fork on a bull in 702 recalls the portrayal of Adad in a relief from Arslantaş<sup>27</sup> dated at the end of the eighth century; moreover, the bull's shoulder muscles are in both instances indicated by a roll. The Aramaic inscription of the seal may also point to such a date, since Aramaic inscriptions do not occur before that time. However, it is possible that the inscription was inserted after the seal was in use. The crossed mouflons in 703 are not found in characteristic drilled-style seals of the ninth and early eighth century,

<sup>24</sup> E. Unger, in *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, Berlin, 1926, vol. IV, pt. 2, p. 372.

<sup>25</sup> Andrae, *Die jüngeren Ischtartempel in Assur*, p. 29, fig. 8.

<sup>26</sup> W. Bachmann, *Felsreliefs in Assyrien* (52. *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der deutschen Orientgesellschaft*, Leipzig, 1927), pl. 29, relief II.

<sup>27</sup> F. Thureau-Dangin and others, *Arslan Tash*, Paris, 1931, *Atlas*, pl. II 1.



though they appear on an Assyrian modeled-style seal of the latter part of the eighth or of the seventh century.<sup>28</sup>

690. White chalcedony. Cylinder. 20 × 11  
Worshiper holding lion-griffin that is attacked by divine archer striding over outstretched winged bull; figure on one knee, holding globe under winged sun disk. Seven globes in sky. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 566 ]

691. Carnelian. Cylinder. 39 × 18  
Worshiper facing god with stylus on dragon and goddess with star scepter in nimbus of stars on lion-griffin. In sky, seven globes; two small deities, each in nimbus of stars. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 760 ]

692. Bluish chalcedony. Cylinder. 28 × 13  
Worshiper facing spade and stylus placed on platform and god armed with bows and sword who stands holding ax. Crescent in sky. Terminal: star and other linear cuttings (carved later in place of erased inscription).

693. White chalcedony. Cylinder, chipped. 32.5 × 16

Worshiper with bird facing god with mace on platform—before god tasseled spade on stand, behind him rampant ibex; female (?) worshiper facing goddess with ring on platform, rhomb between them. Each of deities armed with bows and sword. In sky, seven globes, star, crescent.

694. Pink-and-white chalcedony. Cylinder. 34 × 16

Goddess with ring and scimitar, seated on star-studded throne placed on lion (?); worshiper facing god armed with bows and sword who stands on bull and holds ax. Before goddess, rhomb. Behind god, tasseled spade. Winged sun disk and crescent in sky. [ Ward, *Morgan* 170 ]

695. Brownish chalcedony. Cylinder. 32 × 14  
Goddess with ring on platform behind god with mace on platform, both armed with bows and sword and facing worshiper. Before goddess, tasseled spade. Between god and worshiper, rhomb. Crescent and star in sky. Terminal: seven globes above ibex. [ Ward, *Morgan* 172 ]

696. Greyish chalcedony. Cylinder. 33 × 16  
Worshiper facing goddess armed with bows and sword who stands on platform and holds ring, between them winged sun disk above tasseled

spade. Before goddess, rhomb; behind her, stylus and mouflon (?). In sky, crescent, star, seven globes.

697. Ivory-yellow chert. Cylinder. 32 × 15.5  
Bull-man, goddess armed with bows and sword and holding ring, worshiper, all facing god with rays projecting from his waist and lightning bundle in his hand. In field: seven globes above bull's head; goat's head; crescent above tasseled spade. Terminal: winged sun disk above tree mounted (?) on horned animal.

698. Ivory-yellow chert. Cylinder, fragment. D. 13

Female (?) worshiper before goddess in nimbus; behind goddess, crescent staff and god in winged sun disk. Seven globes in sky.

699. White chalcedony. Cylinder. 23 × 13  
Goddess with ring on star-studded chair, facing worshiper; between them, winged sun disk above table with cloth and loaves. Behind goddess, rhomb. Crescent in sky. Terminal: star above tasseled spade on stand. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 746 ]

700. Yellowish chalcedony. Cylinder. 39 × 18  
Same subject as in 699, with ring (?) of goddess indicated by two straight lines. Cloth and bird on table. Seven globes in sky. Rhomb in field. Terminal: star above tasseled spade. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 742 ]

701. Brownish chalcedony. Cylinder. 20 × 8.5  
Worshiper before flaming altar placed beside table with cloth and pile of loaves, at which goddess is seated. Seven globes in sky. [ Ward, *Morgan* 177 ]

702. Carnelian. Cylinder. 24 × 12  
Two griffin-demons holding pail and date spathe; between them, worshiper facing god on bull who holds lightning fork, point downward. In sky, crescent, seven globes, star. Terminal: inscription. [ Ward, *Morgan* 270 ]

703. Carnelian. Cylinder. 17 × 10  
God with ax facing worshiper; between them, ball staff. Star and seven globes in sky. Terminal: crossed mouflons with forked tongues. [ Ward, *Morgan* 212 ]

<sup>28</sup> Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. xxxva.



### LATE DRILLED-STYLE CYLINDERS (704-723)

In the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. the drilled style appears chiefly in cursorily engraved stamp seals; to some extent, however, it is found also in cylinder seals dating up to the time of Ashurbanipal, as exemplified in the seal of Nergal-etir, the astrologer of that king.<sup>29</sup> Occasionally the seals of this group have a composition or subject matter that recalls earlier glyptic groups (713, 715, 721). It seems possible that such seals were made in provinces of the Assyrian empire where earlier artistic concepts had survived.

Late drilled-style cylinders often depict one or two worshipers before symbols (704-715), among these the sacred tree (705, 707-709). A few of these seals deserve special mention.

In 704 the top of the worshiper's head is marked with a large oval drilling and his beard with a sequence of smaller drillings that start directly under the nose, with no indication of lips. In these details it resembles the features of corresponding figures in Nergal-etir's seal. Furthermore, the long, thin horns and slender neck of the monster in 704 are like those of the goat-fish in Nergal-etir's seal.

In 708 the pomegranate-like design at the ends of the branches of the sacred tree is similar to that used to indicate stars in the nimbus on 704. This similarity in details of design suggests a similar dating for the two seals. An exceptional feature in 708 is the fact that a sphinx seems to be assailing a worshiper, though probably the ultimate object of the attack is as usual the tree.

In 713 a worshiper stands before a lion attacking a winged bull, while the field is crowded with symbols. The design has been executed almost entirely with use of the drill. This method of engraving, and the packed composition of the scene, are reminiscent of north-Mesopotamian cylinders of the second millennium like 1040 and 1045 below, though 713 differs considerably in subject and in the rendering of its details.

Seal 714, which shows far more modeling than any of the other seals in this group, presents the unusual action of a worshiper grasping the pole of a gate such as appears in Louvre A. 678. The upper part of the gate bears the motif of a hero between two ibexes. This serves to date the seal late in the eighth or in the seventh century, since the motif of a hero between symmetrical animals prevailed from the time of Sargon II onward.

Equally unusual is the theme of 715. While this cylinder corresponds with the late drilled-style seals of Assyria in engraving, its scene portrays the adoration of a bull on an altar, a subject never found in Neo-Assyrian representations, though common in the glyptic of the Old Assyrian merchant colonies in Anatolia. It seems possible therefore that the seal was made under the influence of Assyrian art in a region where this subject had survived.

In a few of the cylinders of this group there are no worshipers (716-718). However, the nonhuman elements featured in the designs are probably symbolic, since similar elements seem to have such significance in scenes that do include a worshiper.

Seal 718 is engraved on the base as well as on the sides and may therefore be considered intermediate in form between the stamp and the cylinder seal. Such intermediate pieces occur quite often among Achaemenian seals (832, 838, 839) but very rarely among Assyrian stones.

Some late drilled-style cylinders have contest scenes (719-723). Seals 719 and 720 present a cursory rendering of the archer pursuing a lion-griffin, as in 689, which belongs to the linear style, and 690, which is of early drilled style. Seal 721 is engraved with the same accentuated use of the drill as 713, producing a maze of glittering shapes on the chalcedony surface.

The modeling apparent in 722 may be due to the fact that the subject, a hero beside a

<sup>29</sup> E. Unger, *Assyrische und babylonische Kunst*, Berlin, 1927, p. 124, fig. 72.



tree, in the act of attacking a bull and ramming his foot into the animal's back, is derived from Assyrian modeled-style seals of the latter part of the eighth or of the seventh century B.C., as for example BN 328.

Seal 723 is so cursorily engraved that it cannot be precisely classified, though the angular shapes of the figures recall late cut-style seals like 741-746 below.

704. Orange chert. Cylinder, lower part broken off. D. 13

Two worshipers, one at either side of deity in nimbus above head of dragon (?). In sky, crescent, star, seven globes.

705. Milky chalcedony. Cylinder, chipped. 32 × 18

Two worshipers, one at either side of deity who appears in nimbus above tree. Before second worshiper, indefinable lines. Rhomb in field. Terminal: seven globes above tasseled spade on stand.

706. Yellowish chert. Cylinder, scratched. 21 × 11.5

Two worshipers, one at either side of tasseled crescent staff on stand. Star in sky. Bull's head and rhomb in field. Terminal: winged sun disk above mouflon (?).

707. Orange chert. Cylinder. 29 × 18.5

Ibex and worshiper at either side of tree with winged sun disk above it. In field, star, crescent, seven globes above rhomb and fish.

708. Grey chert. Cylinder, partly broken off. 29 × 11

Tree with worshiper before it. Behind worshiper, rampant sphinx. Crescent in sky. In field: globe topped by cross, ball staff (?).

709. White chalcedony. Cylinder. 20 × 11

Tree on knoll with winged sun disk above it; worshiper facing tree. Before worshiper, seven globes. In field, star and crescent above table spread with cloth, rhomb and fish beside it.

710. Grey chert. Cylinder. 21 × 12

Worshipers at either side of crescent staff on stand between ibex and fish. Winged sun disk in sky.

711. White chalcedony. Cylinder. 30 × 13

Worshiper before tasseled crescent staff on stand, star above his hands, fish below. Behind crescent staff: cross topped by globe, rhomb, ball staff, one above other; winged sun disk above stylus and tasseled spade, each on stand; seven globes.

712. White chalcedony. Cylinder. 29 × 14

Worshiper facing scorpion-man, between them tasseled crescent staff on kneeling lion-griffin. Terminal: winged sun disk, rhomb, fish, one above other.

713. Grey-and-pink chert. Cylinder seal. 28 × 10

Worshiper before kneeling winged bull that is attacked by lion. In upper field: star, rhomb, fish, one above other; winged sun disk; crescent above bull's head; eight globes, scorpion, goat's head, one above other. [ Ward, *Morgan* 260 ]

714. Milky chalcedony. Cylinder, convex sides. 25 × 7(12)

Gate (?) indicated by two poles—each topped with small globe over large drilling—with joining crossbar, below latter trident and crook, above it two kneeling ibexes held by hero on one knee; pole at right grasped by worshiper. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 637 ]

A modern duplication of this seal, in the Archaeological Museum, Florence, has been published by L. J. Delaporte (*Arethuse*, IV [ 1927 ], pl. VIII, no. 26).

715. Hematite. Cylinder. 23 × 11

Two worshipers facing bull on altar with star above it; third worshiper behind bull.

716. Milky chalcedony. Cylinder. 15 × 8

Tree with winged sun disk above it; bull approaching. Star in sky. Terminal: crescent, seven globes, rhomb, one above other.

717. White-and-yellowish chalcedony. Cylinder. 19 × 12

Tree; three globes beside crescent, rhomb, fish, one above other; winged sun disk above indefinable design comprising seven globes.

718. Cylinder, engraved convex base, with suspension loop (partly broken) cut in seal stone. H. (total) 21. 15 × 10. (a) Impression of side. (b) Impression of base

Side: starlike design on pole mounted on base; tree (?); table with star above it; seven globes. Base: two sphinxes (?).



719. Bluish chalcedony. Cylinder.  $27 \times 13$   
Archer in assault on lion-griffin menacing tree that has winged sun disk above it. Before archer, rhomb; behind him, table. Cross-shaped object in sky. [ Ward, *Morgan* 154 ]

720. Dull carnelian. Cylinder.  $18 \times 8$   
Archer attacking lion-griffin, rhomb between them. Beside lion-griffin, star and fish.

721. Pinkish chalcedony. Cylinder, convex sides.  $25 \times 13(15)$   
Above: monster, ibex (?), kneeling bull with tasseled spade on its back, second monster, fish. In field: three globes above rhomb; bull's head; star beside crescent with two globes in its arc.

Below: god with star-studded weapons, holding bird; winged sun disk over cow with suckling calf; small animal; god on kneeling bull facing worshiper, ball staff in upper field between them. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 24 ]

722. Dull carnelian. Cylinder.  $20 \times 10$   
Hero with scimitar attacking bull as it leaps toward tree. Above tree, god in winged sun disk; before tree, monkey. In sky: cross-shaped object topped by globe; crescent. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 626 ]

723. Banded agate. Cylinder.  $25 \times 10$   
Plant; approaching lion attacked by hero. Crescent in sky. Two stars in field.

#### CUT-STYLE CYLINDERS (724-746)

Cylinders of the cut style are characterized by the extreme shallowness of their engraving. In this technique, the area to be occupied by the figure or object was prepared by grinding; then the details of the design were articulated by means of narrow incisions made with a rotating cutting disk. Curves were avoided as far as possible. Where a curve was needed, it was indicated by joining two incisions in a shallow angle, or by drawing with a graver after the rest of the design was completed. Occasionally a fine drill was used for specific details.

The cut style is first encountered in this collection in the Early Kassite seal 584. Most of the seals of this style, however, date from the first millennium. They can be divided into an earlier group, dated approximately in the ninth or eighth century B.C. (724-733), and a later, belonging probably to the seventh and sixth centuries (734-746).

#### EARLY CUT-STYLE CYLINDERS (724-733)

The two principal themes of early cut-style seals—archer and quarry (725), or two worshipers flanking a sacred tree (726-730)—involve subjects found also in the linear style. The general similarity in subject matter in the two styles suggests a ninth- or eighth-century classification for this group of early cut-style seals, since this is the dating established for most of the cylinders of linear style (p. 73).

Certain deviations from Assyrian linear-style representations, however, indicate that the early cut-style seals were made not by Assyrian but by Babylonian engravers. In 725, the archer wears a horned miter; in linear-style seals, on the other hand, this figure is bareheaded. Moreover, in contrast to cut-style designs, linear representations usually show the worshipers standing beside the tree, while only genii (641) or a king (640) is portrayed in a kneeling posture. In the single cut-style example in which two figures flanking the tree do stand upright (726), one wears the Kassite feather crown of the Babylonian gods. Furthermore, there is no known parallel in contemporary Assyrian art for the stag assailed by a griffin, as in 724.

Seals 731 and 732 present variations of these themes. In 731 only one worshiper is represented; in 732 a bird and an ibex replace the worshipers beside the tree. Seal 733 shows two bird-men facing, as in the linear-style seal Berlin 710. It is possible that the rhomb placed between the bird-men in 733 replaces the tree, as suggested above in the case of 615 and 619.



724. Carnelian. Cylinder.  $31 \times 14$   
Fallen stag attacked by griffin. In field, crescent,  
star.

725. Milky chalcedony. Cylinder.  $35 \times 16$   
Archer on one knee, attacking griffin that stands  
over plant. In field, rhomb, two pairs of wedges,  
fish. In sky, winged sun disk, seven globes,  
crescent, star.

726. Brown chert. Cylinder, damaged.  
 $47 \times 17$   
God and worshiper grasping streams that fall  
from winged sun disk above tree. Above wor-  
shiper, seven globes. Terminal: star, crescent,  
two indeterminable cuneiform signs, one above  
other. [ Ward, *Morgan* 161 ]

727. White chalcedony. Cylinder.  $30 \times 13$   
Two kneeling worshipers, with hands extended,  
one at either side of tree with winged sun disk  
above it. Terminal: crescent, two horizontals,  
rhomb, one above other.

728. Pink chert. Cylinder, convex sides.  
 $37 \times 12(14)$

Same subject as in 727. Terminal: crescent,  
star, rhomb, one above other.

729. Red-and-grey chert. Cylinder.  $27 \times 12$   
Same subject as in 727. Terminal: crescent  
above star.

730. White chalcedony. Cylinder.  $23 \times 12$   
Same subject as in 727.

731. Milky chalcedony. Cylinder.  $41 \times 17$   
Kneeling worshiper with hand extended toward  
tree with winged sun disk above it. Terminal:  
crescent, seven globes, four-pointed star, fish,  
one above other.

732. Yellowish chalcedony. Cylinder.  $27 \times 11$   
Tree between large bird and ibex. Terminal:  
crescent above rhomb.

733. White-and-brownish chalcedony. Cylin-  
der, convex sides.  $26 \times 10(12)$   
Two bird-men facing, rhomb between them.  
Terminal: crescent above seven drillings, star.

#### LATE CUT-STYLE CYLINDERS (734-746)

While it has seemed possible to assign early cut-style seals to Babylonian glyptic, later seals engraved in this style cannot with equal assurance be so classified, since they may have been made in either Babylonia or Assyria.

Seals 734-739 show the influence of the modeled style that prevailed in both regions in the latter part of the eighth century B.C. In 737-739 the incisions are made with varying depth, and this produces some illusion of plasticity in the design. There is a range of subjects: 734 shows genii beside a tree; 735-737 portray contests; 738 and 739 present sphinxes beside the sacred tree. Among the seals depicting contests, 735 presents the favorite scheme of Assyrian seal cutters from the time of Sargon onward—a hero with two monsters or animals.

Seal 740 is included in this group because it shows a tree resembling that in 738. The engraving of this seal, however, is executed with much more care than that of the other seals of the group, and the subject—a griffin with an indefinable animal above it—remains unparalleled.

Seals 741-746 depict monsters in violent pursuit of animals or other monsters. This motif may have somehow survived from Mitannian glyptic, since seal impressions from Nuzi show similar designs (Nuzi 592, 593). Two seals of the first millennium showing the same motif have been found in Babylonia (Berlin 623, Louvre T. 241), but none so far in Assyria. This suggests that 741-746 are possibly of Babylonian origin. Moreover, the winged goat of 746 is a typically Neo-Babylonian monster.

734. White chalcedony. Cylinder.  $22 \times 12$   
Two genii flanking tree with winged sun disk  
above it.

735. Milky chalcedony. Cylinder.  $23.5 \times 10$   
Hero grasping two sphinxes. Crescent in upper

field, fish and rhomb in lower. Terminal: winged  
sun disk.

736. Grey chert. Cylinder.  $19 \times 9$   
Hero facing lion-griffin.



737. Carnelian. Cylinder.  $22.5 \times 11$   
Sphinx held by hero with scimitar. Terminal:  
winged sun disk above rhomb.

738. Yellowish-and-green chalcedony. Cylinder.  $24 \times 12$   
Sphinx seated before tree.

739. Greenish chalcedony. Cylinder.  
 $23.5 \times 11.5$   
Female and male sphinx, each holding paw over  
spade on platform between them. Crescent and  
star in sky.

740. Rock crystal. Cylinder, damaged.  
 $16 \times 7.5$   
Tree approached by griffin; above latter, in-  
definable monster.

741. Red-and-yellowish jasper. Cylinder.  
 $33 \times 10$

Lion-griffin pursuing two animals, second of  
which is horned. [ Ward, *Morgan* 180 ]

742. Carnelian. Cylinder.  $23 \times 11$   
Lion-griffin pursuing bull. Star and crescent in  
sky. Rhomb and bird's head (?) in lower field.

743. Yellowish chalcedony. Cylinder.  $22 \times 9$   
Unrecognizable animal pursued by lion-griffin.

744. Greenish-black steatite. Cylinder.  
 $20 \times 8$   
Griffin pursuing winged bull, four-pointed star  
between them. Crescent in sky.

745. Green chalcedony. Cylinder.  $28 \times 12$   
Lion-griffin pursuing goat. Above and below,  
borders of scroll pattern and drillings. Ter-  
minal: palm tree hanging from upper border.

746. White chalcedony. Cylinder.  $26 \times 11$   
Griffin pursuing winged goat. Crescent and star  
in sky.

#### MODELED-STYLE CYLINDERS (747-788)

The cylinders of modeled style in the present collection are arranged according to subject matter—contests (747-769) and ritual scenes (770-788). The contest scenes have been divided into an earlier and a later group. This division rests chiefly on stylistic grounds. The earlier group (747-752), comprising cylinders for which a Neo-Babylonian classification is suggested, seems to reflect influence of the Middle Assyrian modeled style, while the later group (753-769) illustrates the specific character of the Neo-Assyrian modeled style of the late eighth and of the seventh century B.C., though in some cases a seal included in this grouping may have been made in Babylonia.

On the other hand, ritual scenes of the modeled style can be dated with more assurance and divided according to the time of their origination. The earlier group—ritual scenes of the late eighth and of the seventh century (770-780)—comprises mainly Assyrian cylinders that manifest the same stylistic tendencies and are of about the same time as the late contest scenes of the modeled style. The later group—ritual scenes of the sixth and fifth centuries (781-788)—contains cylinders bearing scenes of worship produced in Babylonia after the fall of Assyria.

#### EARLY CONTEST SCENES (747-752)

Neo-Babylonian engravers of the first centuries of the first millennium perpetuated the modeled style of the Middle Assyrian period<sup>30</sup> in such seals as those of the present group. All of these cylinders picture a hero attacking an animal or a monster, with the exception of 749, which shows the pursuit of a lion by a centaur armed with bow and arrow, a subject derived from Kassite glyptic.<sup>31</sup>

The most characteristic feature of these seals is the violence of movement in the designs. Distinctive details are the posture of the hero, who places his foot on his victim (747, 748,

<sup>30</sup> E. Porada, "Suggestions for the Classification of Neo-Babylonian Cylinder Seals," *Orientalia*, XVI (1947), 145-165.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 153.



750–752), the posture of the victim, which has its head turned backward, one forefoot raised, and its hindlegs spread far apart (749, 752), and the scheme of the composition, which consists of three figures, the central figure being a victim (747, 748). A detail found only in 747, but nonetheless characteristic of Neo-Babylonian cylinders, is the winged hero's diadem, which has a point in front. This diadem may be a development from Kassite diadems, such as those in 571 and 572.

The seals of this group have been designated as of early-modeled style because they seem to continue some of the traditions of the Middle Assyrian modeled style. However, the actual dating of the individual seals presents considerable difficulty, owing to the paucity of comparative archaeological material from Babylonia. Only 747 may be of a date as early as the ninth century; this is suggested by the similarity of the hero's coiffure to the headdress of Marduk on a lapis lazuli staff of that time.<sup>32</sup> On the other hand, 750 may be of later origin, dating from the latter part of the eighth or from the seventh century B.C., since it closely resembles the modeled-style Assyrian cylinder BN 328. The seal is included in the present rather than in the next group because the rendering of the griffin is comparable to that in Berlin 611, a seal found in a Neo-Babylonian layer in Warka. Furthermore, the winged hero of 750 places his foot on his victim in the posture that is characteristic in the seals of the present group. This is also true of the hero in 751. However, an unusual feature in the latter seal is the elaborate coiffure of the female genius. This is of a type found on a relief from Susa<sup>33</sup> but not in contemporary Babylonian or Assyrian works of art. Therefore it is possible that 751 originated in Elam. Seal 752 again shows the typical Neo-Babylonian posture for a hero. Moreover, the hero in this seal wears a short kilt, which seems to be characteristic of Neo-Babylonian representations (p. 92).

747. Carnelian. Cylinder, partly preserved copper setting on top and bottom. 38.5 × 18  
Winged hero with scimitar holding reversed bull as he confronts attacking lion. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 615 ]

748. White chalcedony. Cylinder. 27 × 12  
Two nude winged heroes, each with foot on collapsing bull, sphinx above latter. At right (beside arm of hero), star over which coarse line has been added by later engraving. Other later additions: crescent, second star, plant. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 635 ]

749. Banded agate. Cylinder, convex sides. 30 × 9(11)  
Centaur with bow and arrow attacking winged lion. In field, star, crescent, fish (below centaur), scattered globes. Borders of scroll pattern with drillings, blossom composed of

globes pendant from upper border. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 631, 632 ]

750. Dark-grey chert. Cylinder, damaged. 24 × 9  
Winged hero with scimitar attacking griffin, rhomb before latter. Terminal: crescent, seven globes, sitting dog, one above other.

751. Drab-and-reddish marble with grey vein. Cylinder. 27 × 12  
Female genius on one knee, raising hand toward winged sun disk and facing stag grasped by hero with scimitar. Seven globes and crescent in sky. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 638 ]

752. Olive-green limestone. Cylinder. 22 × 12  
Attendant carrying slain animal; mongoose(?); hero attacking fallen lion(?). Star in sky.

#### LATE CONTEST SCENES (753–769)

In the time of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.), contest scenes executed with realistic modeling appear on Assyrian cylinders. This style of engraving, and the comparatively free movement

<sup>32</sup> E. Koldewey, *Die Tempel von Babylon und Borsippa* (15. *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der deutschen Orientgesellschaft*, Leipzig, 1911), Bl. 8, fig. 74.

<sup>33</sup> *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, II, 45c.



of the figures in the scenes, relate these cylinders to the earlier modeled-style group to which Babylonian origin has been imputed. It seems possible therefore that the reappearance of modeling is due to Babylonian influence, though it is also conceivable that the increased realism prevailing in the reliefs of Sargon and his successors effected a change in Assyrian glyptic from linear and drilled to modeled style.

The most frequent scheme in these contest motifs is that of a symmetrical group with a central hero grasping two rampant animals or monsters (753–762, 769). This scheme differs from that in most of the contest scenes on cylinders dating from the fifteenth century to the time of Sargon. In such earlier representations the hero is usually depicted charging his antagonist with a weapon. However, those of the present group revert to the scheme of the Akkad period, in which the heroes vanquish the beasts with their bare hands. This return to ancient tradition may be accidental, or it may reflect a conscious attempt on the part of the artists, at the prompting of Sargon, to revive the style associated with his great namesake, Sargon of Akkad.

Seal 763 varies the symmetrical scheme by portraying the hero with two different victims, and 764 by showing him in the act of overpowering three victims at once.

A few of the seals of this group are probably of Neo-Babylonian rather than of Assyrian origin. This seems possible in regard to 756, in which the winged hero has a diadem pointed in front like that of the winged hero in 747. In 761 the hero wears a kilt instead of a fringed mantle. This kilt seems to be characteristic for the figures of Neo-Babylonian rather than of Neo-Assyrian cylinders, since it is found in seals with Neo-Babylonian inscriptions, such as Berlin 732. Seal 762 may be classified as Neo-Babylonian because the hero's head is rendered much like those of the sphinxes in 761.

Another version of the contest theme shows a hero attacking a single monster, as in 765–768. It is possible that these seals also are of Neo-Babylonian origin, since a number of cylinders with Neo-Babylonian inscriptions bear similar scenes.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, in 768 the hero wears a typically Babylonian kilt, like that of the protagonist in 761.

In 769 the delicate, flat engraving of the goats resembles that in seal impressions of the Achaemenian period on tablets from Nippur (Philadelphia 846, 847). It is possible therefore that this seal should be referred to Achaemenian glyptic, though its theme—a hero grasping animals—conforms with the predominant motif of the late Neo-Assyrian seal cutters.

753. Carnelian. Cylinder. 21 × 11  
Hero grasping two winged bulls; lightning bundle (?) on ground. Terminal: crescent above lightning fork.

754. Colorless chalcedony. Cylinder.  
33.5 × 11.5  
Hero grasping two bulls.

755. Red-and-grey chalcedony. Cylinder.  
36 × 19  
Hero grasping two bulls. Terminal: lamp on tripod.

756. White chalcedony. Cylinder. 30 × 15  
Winged hero grasping two winged bulls. Ter-

minal: crescent.

757. Mottled white-and-green siliceous stone.  
Cylinder. 33 × 16  
Hero grasping two male sphinxes. In field: cross topped by globe; rhomb. Terminal: plant. [ Ward, *Morgan* 155 ]

758. Olive-buff chert. Cylinder. 23.5 × 11  
Winged hero grasping two female sphinxes.

759. Yellowish chert. Cylinder. 31 × 16  
Hero grasping two ostriches. Fish and rhomb in field. Terminal: winged sun disk, star, stylus beside tasseled spade, one above other. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 590 ]

<sup>34</sup> Southesk Qc 25; Louvre A. 716; others.



760. Brown-and-grey jasper breccia. Cylinder. 29 × 14

Same subject as in 759. Star and crescent in sky. Terminal: stylus beside spade, each on stand. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 591 ]

761. White chalcedony. Cylinder. 33 × 14.5  
Winged hero grasping two male sphinxes. Star and crescent in sky. In field: small dog; large dog; ball staff. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 606 ]

762. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder, lower part broken off. D. 18

Hero grasping two lions; peacock (?). In field, inscription. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1208 ]

763. White chalcedony. Cylinder, lower part broken off. D. 16

Hero grasping ostrich and female sphinx. Winged sun disk and star in sky.

764. White chalcedony. Cylinder. 24 × 12  
Hero grasping large kicking bird with either hand and stepping on third. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 596 ]

765. White chalcedony. Cylinder. 31 × 14  
Bull in grasp of winged hero with scimitar. Crescent in sky.

766. Carnelian. Cylinder. 34 × 15  
Lion in grasp of hero with scimitar. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 623 ]

767. White chalcedony. Cylinder. 25 × 12  
Winged hero grasping female sphinx. Crescent in sky.

768. White chalcedony. Cylinder. 25.5 × 12  
Hero with scimitar attacking lion-griffin. In field: pair of wedges above stylus and spade on platform; crescent (above lion-griffin); fish and rhomb (below lion-griffin); star above bird eating fruit (?). [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 580 ]

769. Banded agate. Cylinder, convex sides. 26 × 7 (12)

Hero grasping two goats. Crescent in sky.

#### RITUAL SCENES OF THE LATE EIGHTH AND OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY B.C. (770-780)

The central element of the ritual scenes of 770-775 is the sacred tree. In these designs it is rendered in three different ways, namely: with graceful streamers and volutes (770); within a net of lines that may connote irrigation canals surrounded by shoots (772, 773); and realistically as a palm tree (774, 775). In 770 two genii, each with palm spathe and pollen basket, flank the tree. In 771 only one such genius appears, while in 772, 773, 775 the function of the genii appears to have been taken over by fish-men each holding a pollen basket but no palm spathe.

In 770-773 the gesture of the genii and the fish-men implies that the main theme of these seals (especially 770, 773) is the act of pollination of the sacred tree. In 774 and 775 the tree, while still the central element, possibly appears in the scene merely because it is somehow related to the deities pictured beside it. It must be noted, however, that in 775 pollination is implied by the gesture of a fish-man who stands behind the worshiper.

The figure of a god in a winged sun disk above a tree (773) has been interpreted by Frankfort as standing for Ashur hovering over his symbol, the sacred tree. The winged disk with one god in the center and two more above the wings (771, 772) is regarded by the same writer as representing the triad of the great gods, Anu, Enlil, and Ea, with Ashur taking the place of Enlil.<sup>35</sup>

The subject in 776 and 777, a ritual repast, is derived from linear-style seals such as 673-676; that in 778, a hunt from a chariot, from linear-style seals such as 659 and 660.

Seals 770-777 may with certainty be classified as Neo-Assyrian cylinders of the latter part of the eighth and of the seventh century. For example, in 770 the genii correspond in posture and garb to genii in the murals of Sargon II<sup>36</sup>; in 773 the attire of the hero

<sup>35</sup> *Cylinder Seals*, pp. 207, 214.

<sup>36</sup> G. Loud, *Khorsabad*, pt. II (*Oriental Institute Publications*, vol. XL, Chicago, 1938), pl. 89.



attacking an ostrich resembles even more closely that of other genii in these reliefs<sup>87</sup>; in 774 the god wears a miter with trifoliate crest like those on statues of semidivine personages in the palaces of Sargon and Sennacherib<sup>88</sup>; finally, in 775 the worshiper parallels in coiffure and garment the worshiper in a fragmentary seal found at the Sennacherib level in Ashur (Berlin 751).

The robe of the worshiper in 775 suggests Babylonian influence in that it has folds at the back as in garments seen on Neo-Babylonian seals (784 below), and in that the fringe appears only at the bottom of the robe instead of being drawn over the hip as in earlier Assyrian representations like 644. The attendants in 776 are similarly clothed, suggesting that both 775 and 776 were made in or after the time of Sargon, when marked Babylonian influence modified even the type of dress worn at court. Seal 777, which has the same subject as 776, though rendered with less detail, may be similarly dated.

It is possible that 778 is not of Assyrian origin, since its flat engraving conforms more closely to cut- than to modeled-style technique. Moreover, the posture of the bull with its forelegs in the air and its head turned backward approximates more nearly that of the bull in the cut-style seal 742 than that found in any Assyrian renderings of bulls either on seals or in reliefs. It seems likely therefore that this seal was made by a Babylonian engraver.

Seal 779, which is almost certainly Babylonian, differs in subject from the seals just described. It presents a worshiper before a goddess. The worshiper wears the Babylonian robe with folds at the back, and the goddess wears the Kassite feather crown of the Neo-Babylonian deities. This goddess is probably Ishtar, as may be inferred from the fact that she is standing on her emblematic lion. The cactus-like plant in 779, which occurs also in 780, may be a typical feature of Neo-Babylonian seals.<sup>89</sup> For this reason 780, which shows two sphinxes flanking such a plant, is classified in sequence with 779.

770. White chalcedony. Cylinder. 39 × 17.5  
Two genii, each with date spathe and pollen basket, one at either side of tree. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 694 ]

771. Black-and-grey chalcedony. Cylinder, damaged. 27 × 15  
Genius with date spathe and pollen basket; tree with god in winged sun disk above it, kneeling figure on each wing of disk, bull-man supporting each wing below; worshiper at right. Star and seven globes in sky. Terminal: peacock. [ Ward, *Morgan* 163 ]

772. Bluish chalcedony. Cylinder. 27 × 15  
Worshiper beside tree with god in winged sun disk above it, head of god rising from each wing of disk, bull-man supporting each wing below; at right, fish-man with date spathe. Star and crescent in sky. In field, cross-shaped object topped by globe. Terminal: stylus. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 686 ]

773. Carnelian. Cylinder, damaged. 37 × 17

Hero with bow and quiver, holding scimitar and grasping ostrich as it kicks at him; female (?) worshiper with cupped hands behind fish-man with pollen basket beside tree. Above tree, god in winged sun disk; at other side of tree, second fish-man with pollen basket. Star in sky. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 687 ]

774. White chalcedony. Cylinder. 34 × 16  
Goddess with ring before tree with winged sun disk above it; at other side of tree, god with ax followed by worshiper who has four globes along front of his robe. Seven globes and crescent in sky. Before god, fish. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 680 ]

775. Dark-grey felsite. Cylinder. 35 × 16  
Fish-man with pollen basket and date spathe following worshiper who faces deity enthroned before tree with winged sun disk above it.

776. Brownish chalcedony. Cylinder. 27 × 12  
Attendant waving palm whisk over table decked with cloth and cup before seated king (?) rais-

<sup>87</sup> *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, I, 307.

<sup>88</sup> M. P. E. Botta and M. E. Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, Paris, 1849, vol. I, pls. 25-28.

<sup>89</sup> Brussels no. 477; Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 612; De Clercq 335.



ing cup. Behind king, second attendant with fan and towel. In sky, wedge, winged sun disk, star, crescent. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 741 ]

777. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder, upper part broken off. D. 7

Two attendants, second with fan (?), facing king (?) enthroned before table spread with cloth.

778. White chalcedony. Cylinder. 23 × 10  
Rampant bull fleeing before two horses drawing chariot bearing charioteer and archer.

Bird and star in sky. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1088 ]

779. Olive-buff chert. Cylinder. 20 × 10  
Worshiper holding pail and raising two sticks (?) before goddess with scimitar standing on lion and holding latter by looped rein. Between figures, crescent over cactus-like plant. Star in sky. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 466 ]

780. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder. 21.5 × 10  
Two sphinxes flanking cactus-like plant. [ Ward, *Morgan* 167 ]

#### RITUAL SCENES OF THE SIXTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES B.C. (781-788)

Most of the seals of this group show a worshiper standing before divine symbols. The Babylonian origin of these cylinders is well attested by the appearance of the same theme, similarly rendered, in seal impressions on Neo-Babylonian tablets. The earliest of these date from the time of Nebuchadrezzar II, in the earlier half of the sixth century B.C., the latest from the time of Darius II,<sup>40</sup> at the end of the fifth century. In contrast to the manner in which Assyrian worshipers are postured, the worshiper in this group of seals is depicted as gesturing with one hand only. Moreover, his garment has folds at the back and fringe only at the bottom (781, 784, 785).

The symbols approached by the worshiper are often placed on stands shaped like temples. Celestial symbols, such as the lunar crescent, are placed on a curious object, perhaps a stone, that rests on such a stand (781). Occasionally the worshiper stands before a symbolic figure, such as a scorpion-man (784) or a fish-man (785)—appearing on a line that probably indicates a platform rather than on a stand.

Seal 787 is somewhat unusual in that it shows the worshiper facing left instead of right, which is the usual orientation. Furthermore, the genius standing beside the bull has no parallel on Neo-Babylonian seal stones, and the engraving of the piece is extremely coarse. The seal may therefore be of foreign origin.

Seal 788 shows two symbolic figures, a fish-man and a goat-fish, without a worshiper. While such symbolic figures frequently occur without worshipers on stamp seals, they are rarely so found on cylinders.

781. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder. 39 × 18  
Worshiper before two altars. On first altar, crescent mounted on stone (?), on second, sitting dog. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 552 ]

782. Milky chalcedony. Cylinder. 34 × 16  
Worshiper before two platforms. On first platform, spade and stylus, on second, sitting dog. Star in sky.

783. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder. 35 × 16  
Winged sun disk above goat-fish on platform behind worshiper who faces scorpion-man on second platform. [ Ward, *Morgan* 277 ]

784. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder. 41 × 17  
Worshiper facing altar that supports goat-fish carrying on its back ram-headed crook ending in fork (?); two scorpion-men, facing, on platform. Crescent in sky. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 557 ]

785. Banded agate. Cylinder, convex sides. 39 × 10(17)  
Worshiper before fish-man on platform. Crescent in sky. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 658 ]

786. Yellow-and-brown chalcedony. Cylinder. 17 × 11

<sup>40</sup> Ménant, *Les pierres gravées de la Haute-Asie: Recherches sur la glyptique orientale*, pt. 2, Paris, 1886, p. 131.



Worshiper facing winged sun disk above plant;  
altar supporting spade and stylus.

787. Drab limestone. Cylinder. 19 × 11  
Genius with pail before kneeling winged bull  
with lightning fork on its wings. Behind bull,

worshiper; before latter, cross-shaped object  
topped with globe.

788. Yellow chert. Cylinder. 20 × 10  
Goat-fish held by fish-man. Terminal: star and  
crescent above fish.

### NEO-ASSYRIAN AND NEO-BABYLONIAN STAMP SEALS (789-811)

Stamp seals were common in Mesopotamia in the earliest periods. In the south, where the cylinder seal predominated, stamps disappeared after the Jamdat Nasr period, but they were apparently not entirely replaced by the cylinder in the north. During the late phase of the Neo-Assyrian empire, stamp seals again came into general use in Mesopotamia, and in the time of the Neo-Babylonian empire they outnumbered cylinder seals.

The earliest seals of this group can be dated in the eighth century, on the basis of a comparison with cylinder seals of that time. Such a dating is supported by the archaeological evidence from Khorsabad, site of Dur Sharrukin, the city built by Sargon II, where a number of stamp seals have been found.<sup>41</sup> This evidence is revealing in a further respect. A number of the stamp seals from Khorsabad are not Mesopotamian but Syrian or Palestinian. This gives strong ground for ascribing the origins of the Neo-Assyrian stamp seal to western influences. Furthermore, the conical shape usually given to these stamps may derive from a shape used somewhat earlier in Syria.<sup>42</sup> Thus the introduction of the stamp seal in Assyria in the first millennium appears to have coincided with the westward expansion of the empire in its late phase.

The stamp seals of the present collection that can be related to Neo-Assyrian cylinders (789-794) have been grouped as Neo-Assyrian, even though it is possible that some of them were not made in Assyria. The remainder (795-811) have been classed as Neo-Babylonian, because many seal impressions of corresponding style and subject have been found on Neo-Babylonian tablets of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. In these impressions a relatively uniform style persists, though the dates of most of the tablets reach well into Persian times (for example, Philadelphia 965-969), and Persian seal impressions also appear on them.

This Neo-Babylonian group comprises seals of modeled (795-803) and of drilled style (804-811). Seals of the latter type especially have been found throughout western Asia. Since the simple designs they bear could easily be imitated, it is possible that in many cases they were made in the places where they have been discovered. It may be, therefore, that not all of the seals here classified as Neo-Babylonian were actually produced in Babylonia.

These stamps are sometimes made of chert; usually chalcedonies of various colors are employed, though blue tones predominate. In shape the seals are generally conical or pyramidal, with rounded top, and often with convex base. They are perforated at the top to receive the bar of a metal setting.

### NEO-ASSYRIAN STAMP SEALS (789-794)

This group comprises stamps cut in three different Assyrian styles—linear (789, 790), drilled (791, 792), and modeled (793, 794). Because of their diversity these seals are discussed individually.

In 789, the design on the base shows a worshiper before a table decked with a ritual repast,

<sup>41</sup> Loud, *Khorsabad*, pt. II, pl. 58:96-112; Louvre K. 8-17; Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, vol. II, pl. 154:2.

<sup>42</sup> Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, pp. 85 f.



as in the scenes on linear-style cylinders like 673. However, instead of the seated figure that in 673 is taken to be a king, a mace appears behind the table. This treatment corresponds with that in Brussels 465, in which a mace, probably a royal symbol, appears in the king's chair. A dating for 789 is suggested by reference to a cylinder from Khorsabad<sup>43</sup> that can probably be dated as of the time of Sargon II, that is, late in the eighth century B.C. In the Khorsabad cylinder a different symbol, the crescent staff, appears behind the table, where it is presumably substituting for a deity, as the mace may be substituting for a king in 789 and in the Brussels seal.

The scene on one side of 789 shows a dragon under a spade and stylus, symbols of Marduk and Nabu. The dragon is probably to be regarded as supporting the symbols, for this clearly appears in similar scenes on the sides of stamp seals of modeled style (Louvre A. 731a; BN 620c). The other side of 789 bears a cow with suckling calf, an old Mesopotamian motif<sup>44</sup> that has only one exact parallel among Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian seals, namely, on a stone discovered by Layard at Nineveh.<sup>45</sup>

Seal 790, which shows linear engraving, is probably of non-Assyrian origin, since the portrayal of the worshiper in striding posture, with his shoulders in frontal view, is unlike the Assyrian rendering of worshipers; the latter stand with their feet close together, and are seen entirely in profile. The seal may be Syrian or Palestinian, since it has an Aramaic inscription and a scaraboid shape. These features, however, do occasionally occur in Assyrian and Babylonian glyptic, from the latter part of the eighth century on; the appearance of such inscriptions is explained by the fact that Aramaic had come into use at this time in both Assyria and Babylonia.

In 791, which is definitely Assyrian, though scaraboid in shape, the worshiper and the deity in a nimbus are figures already encountered in similar renderings in such drilled-style seals as 691 and 698. The modeling of these figures in 691 is believed to reflect a lingering of Middle Assyrian influence (p. 84), but in 791 such modeling as is apparent suggests rather the influence of the modeled style of the latter part of the eighth century.

Seal 792, which is executed by means of coarse drilling, shows a goddess seated on a chair the back of which is decorated with stars as in drilled-style seals (699–701) that have been dated late in the eighth or in the seventh century (p. 84). A similar representation is found on a stamp seal from Nineveh.<sup>46</sup> However, the motif of a dragon supporting the throne of the goddess as in 792 is rare (Louvre A. 731b).

Seals 793 and 794, both executed with careful modeling, can be related to modeled-style cylinders. Seal 793 presents bull-men supporting the winged sun disk as in 771, though in 793 there is no god in the disk or on its wings. However, an impression of a stamp seal from Nineveh<sup>47</sup> shows a bull-man resembling those of 793 and a human figure supporting a disk in which a god does appear. Classification of 793 as of Assyrian origin is therefore indicated. Seal 794 shows gods on the winged sun disk as in 772. The lotus replacing the tree below the sun disk in 794 occurs in Assyrian seals of the end of the eighth century, as evidenced by a cylinder of that time.<sup>48</sup> The worshipers in 794 wear the typically Assyrian fringed mantle seen in 691–696. It seems likely therefore that this seal is Assyrian rather than Babylonian, though the worshipers are making the Babylonian gesture of worship, with

<sup>43</sup> Loud, *Khorsabad*, pt. II, pl. 57:88.

<sup>44</sup> E. D. Van Buren, *Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art* (*Analecta Orientalia*, vol. XXIII, 1945), pp. 36–39.

<sup>45</sup> Layard, *A Second Series of the Monuments of Nineveh*, pl. 69:28.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 69:32.

<sup>47</sup> J. Ménant, in *Archives des Missions scientifiques et littéraires*, ser. 3, 1882, p. 387, fig. 25.

<sup>48</sup> A. H. Layard, *Discoveries among the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, London, 1853, p. 160.



only one hand raised, instead of gesturing with both hands as is usual in Assyrian representations.

789. Black serpentine. Stamp, conical, with rounded top and slightly convex base.  $17.5 \times 15 \times 12$ . (a-c) Impressions. (d) Seal stone

(a) Base: table decked with repast, mace at left; worshiper at right, rhomb behind latter. Star and crescent in sky. (b) Side: cow with suckling calf. Crescent and star in sky. (c) Side: dragon under tasseled spade and stylus. [ Ward, *Morgan* 287 ]

790. Brownish steatite, flecked with red and black. Stamp, scaraboid.  $9 \times 16 \times 13.5$ .

(a) Impression. (b) Seal stone  
Worshiper. Before him, bird above plant; behind him, Aramaic *inscription*. [ Ward, *Morgan* 284 ]

791. Pink chalcedony. Stamp, scaraboid.  $9 \times 24.5 \times 19.5$ . (a) Impression. (b) Seal stone

Goddess in nimbus facing worshiper. [ Ward, *Morgan* 283 ]

792. Grey chert. Stamp, conical, with

rounded top and slightly convex oval base.  $20.5 \times 12.5 \times 10.5$ . (a) Impression. (b) Seal stone

Goddess holding ring (?) and seated on chair with star-studded back, supported by dragon. Before goddess, four-pointed star. [ Ward, *Morgan* 309 ]

793. Bluish chalcedony. Stamp, pyramidal, with rounded top and slightly convex octagonal base.  $27 \times 20.5 \times 14.5$ . (a) Impression. (b) Seal stone

Two bull-men, one at each side of tree, supporting winged sun disk above it. [ Ward, *Morgan* 297 ]

794. Bluish chalcedony. Stamp, conical, with rounded top and slightly convex oval base.  $27.5 \times 19.5 \times 15.5$

Two worshipers, one at either side of lotus blossom. In sky, winged sun disk with god in center and head of deity above each wing. In field: crescent above cross-shaped object topped by globe; star above rhomb. [ Ward, *Morgan* 303 ]

#### NEO-BABYLONIAN MODELED-STYLE STAMP SEALS (795-803)

A large number of Neo-Babylonian stamps executed with careful modeling present a subject found also in the ritual scenes of modeled-style cylinders of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., namely, a worshiper standing before symbols (795a, 796-798). Usually the symbols are placed on altars, as in the cylinder seal 781. The symbols most often so used are the stylus of Nabu and the spade of Marduk. Seal 799 shows these symbols on an altar, with no worshiper present. A lamp, symbol of the god of fire, Nusku, is also frequently found; it is usually placed not on an altar but on a distinctive stand, generally ending in bull feet (795, 796, 798). In one instance (795) the stand is placed on a low altar. A scorpion-man replaces the symbols in 800, as in the cylinder seal 783.

Occasionally the sides of such seals are also engraved: 795 bears a sitting dog, symbol of the goddess Gula, as seen also in the cylinder seal 781. Cuneiform inscriptions sometimes occur, as on one side of 795 and in 799.

Seals 801-803 bear only symbolic figures, all previously encountered on cylinders. The scorpion-man of 801 has been seen in 783 and 784; the fish-men of 802 occur also in 785; the goat-fish of 803, pictured with a ram-headed crook ending in what appears to be a fork, tallies with a similar figure in 784.

795. Translucent chalcedony. Stamp, pyramidal, with rounded top and slightly convex octagonal base.  $31.5 \times 24 \times 13$   
(a-c) Impressions. (d) Seal stone.

(a) Base: worshiper before spade on altar and lamp on stand on second, lower altar. Crescent in sky. (b) Side: dog sitting on platform. (c) Side: *inscription*. [ Ward, *Morgan* 300 ]



796. Bluish chalcedony. Stamp, pyramidal, with rounded top and slightly convex octagonal base.  $23 \times 19 \times 10$

Worshiper before lamp on stand. [ Ward, *Morgan* 286 ]

797. Blue chalcedony. Stamp, pyramidal, with rounded top and slightly convex octagonal base.  $21 \times 17.5 \times 12.5$

Worshiper before stylus on altar. Crescent in sky. [ Ward, *Morgan* 307 ]

798. Yellowish chalcedony. Stamp, pyramidal, with rounded top and slightly convex octagonal base.  $26 \times 12.5 \times 20.5$

Worshiper before stylus on altar and lamp on stand; behind worshiper, cross-shaped object topped by globe. Crescent in sky. [ Ward, *Morgan* 305 ]

799. Blue chalcedony. Stamp, conical, with rounded top and oval base.

$21.5 \times 15.5 \times 12.5$

Spade and stylus on altar, *inscription*. [ Ward, *Morgan* 295 ]

800. Lapis lazuli. Stamp, conical, with rounded top and slightly convex circular base.  $25 \times 20$

Worshiper before scorpion-man. Crescent in sky. [ Ward, *Morgan* 302 ]

801. Bluish chalcedony. Stamp, conical, with rounded top and slightly convex oval base.  $29.5 \times 22.5 \times 16$

Scorpion-man before altar. Crescent in sky. [ Ward, *Morgan* 291 ]

802. Bluish chalcedony. Stamp, pyramidal, with rounded top and slightly convex octagonal base.  $20 \times 18 \times 9$

Two fish-men, facing, each holding flowing vase. [ Ward, *Morgan* 296 ]

803. Bluish chalcedony. Stamp, conical, with rounded top and slightly convex oval base, damaged.  $25 \times 18 \times 20$

Goat-fish under ram-headed crook ending in foot (?). In field, rhomb (before goat-fish). [ Ward, *Morgan* 292 ]

#### NEO-BABYLONIAN DRILLED-STYLE STAMP SEALS (804-811)

The principal subject of the modeled-style stamps—a worshiper before an altar supporting symbols—is also rendered in a coarse drilled technique (804-809). As in modeled-style stamps, the symbols used include the lamp on its characteristic stand (804), and, most frequently, the spade and stylus, usually placed on an altar (804-808). Sometimes a globe replaces the triangular top of the spade (804). The plant in 808 is probably an abbreviation of the rendering of the lotus seen in 794. Stars appear more frequently in stamps of drilled (805, 807, 809, 810) than of modeled style. In 810 a star takes the place of symbols and altar. A cross-shaped object topped by a globe occasionally occurs (810, 811); its meaning is not clear.

Occasionally drilled-style stamps portray other subjects, such as a deity in a crescent (811).

The only seal of this group that bears engraving on the side of the cone is 806, which shows a winged bull walking.

804. Greyish chert. Stamp, pyramidal, with rounded top and slightly convex octagonal base.  $32.5 \times 24 \times 17.5$

Worshiper before altar supporting spade (?), stylus, and lamp on stand. Crescent in sky. [ Ward, *Morgan* 299 ]

805. Translucent chalcedony. Stamp, pyramidal, with rounded top and slightly convex octagonal base.  $20 \times 16 \times 11.5$

Worshiper before altar supporting spade and stylus. Star in sky. [ Ward, *Morgan* 293 ]

806. Blue chalcedony. Stamp, pyramidal, with rounded top and slightly convex octagonal base.  $25 \times 21 \times 12.5$

(a) Base: worshiper before stylus and spade.  
(b) Side: winged bull walking. [ Ward, *Morgan* 285 ]

The base of this seal may have been recut, since the head of the worshiper is far more clearly defined than is usual in this style, while the only implication of an altar is a horizontal line drawn through the symbols.



807. Yellowish chalcedony. Stamp, conical, with rounded top and slightly convex oval base.  $19 \times 15.5 \times 12$

Altar supporting stylus and spade, stand (?) before it; worshiper (facing altar). Star in sky. [ Ward, *Morgan* 306 ]

808. Yellowish chalcedony. Stamp, pyramidal, with rounded top and slightly convex octagonal base.  $21.5 \times 20 \times 13.5$

Stylus and spade on altar above lotus blossom (?); worshiper (facing altar). Crescent in sky. [ Ward, *Morgan* 304 ]

809. Bluish-greyish chalcedony. Stamp, pyramidal, with rounded top and slightly convex octagonal base.  $20 \times 12.5 \times 8$

Worshiper before table with star above it. [ Ward, *Morgan* 301 ]

810. Yellowish limestone. Stamp, conical, with rounded top and slightly convex oval base.  $23 \times 19 \times 16.5$

Worshiper, one star above and one below his upraised hand; behind him, cross-shaped object topped by globe. [ Ward, *Morgan* 310 ]

811. Translucent chalcedony. Stamp, conical, with rounded top and slightly convex oval base.  $24.5 \times 18.5 \times 14.5$

Figure standing on crescent. Before figure, mace (?); behind figure, cross-shaped object topped by globe. [ Ward, *Morgan* 298 ]



## SEALS OF IRAN

Excavations in various sites in the highlands of modern Iran have unearthed a few coarsely made cylinders and a large number of stamp seals.<sup>1</sup> The situation is quite different, however, as regards the part of Iran adjacent to southern Mesopotamia. Here, in the valleys of the Kharkhah and Karun rivers, lay ancient Elam, a region in close cultural relation with Babylonia from early times. This is demonstrated by the fact that the cylinder seal, the characteristic Mesopotamian art form, was likewise produced in Elam from the Uruk period onward, as appears from excavations at Susa.<sup>2</sup>

The present collection contains no indubitable example of Iranian seals from the highlands or from Elam dated earlier than the Achaemenian period. However, two cylinders (1022 and 1023 below) that have been included in the Mitannian group are probably of Elamite origin; these are treated in connection with Mitannian glyptic because seal impressions of the same type have been found at Nuzi in northern Mesopotamia (Nuzi 613, 614).

<sup>1</sup> D. E. McCown, *The Comparative Stratigraphy of Early Iran* (*Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, vol. XXIII, Chicago, 1942), *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> References listed in the bibliography of the catalogue of the Newell Collection (p. 180).

### ACHAEMENIAN CYLINDER AND STAMP SEALS (812-843)

The Persian dynasty of the Achaemenids established its dominance over the Medes and Persians in 550 B.C., when Cyrus overthrew the Median king, Astyages. The Persian empire was further extended in 539 B.C., when Cyrus defeated Nabonidus, last ruler of the Neo-Babylonian empire, and Babylonia became a satrapy of the Achaemenian realm. However, as Frankfort has stated: "Mesopotamian art had developed a setting appropriate for its royalty; and the Persians borrowed this. The Achaemenian palaces, like those of Mesopotamia, were built on large artificial terraces; their gates were guarded by winged demons and human-headed bulls."<sup>1</sup>

So too in glyptic art the Persians adopted ancient Mesopotamian tradition. The stylistic relations between Achaemenian and Mesopotamian seal designs will be discussed below. However, it may be mentioned here that in the Persian empire the cylinder, the predominant seal form of Mesopotamia, seems to have been employed mainly for official purposes. Private individuals appear for the most part to have used stamp seals.<sup>2</sup>

A few of the cylinders seals in this collection may be of earlier origin than the seals of fully developed Achaemenian style. They have been classified as a Proto-Achaemenian group, although there is considerable uncertainty in regard to the dating of them (812-816).

The fully developed style in Achaemenian cylinders (817-829) continued the Neo-

<sup>1</sup> "Achaemenian Sculpture," *American Journal of Archaeology*, L (1946), 6.

<sup>2</sup> A. Moortgat, "Hellas und die Kunst der Achaemeniden," *Mitteilungen der altorientalischen Gesellschaft*, II (no. 1, 1926), 18.



Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian patterns of the modeled style. The major changes pertain to costume and to the representation of the hero of the contest scenes, who is identified by his attire as a king.

A small group of cylinders of mixed style (830-839) present hunting and battle scenes that show the influence of Greek art (830-834), as well as scenes in which the principal figures are animals (835-839); one of the latter (837) likewise manifests Greek influence.

The situation differs as regards stamp seals produced in the Achaemenian empire (840-843). A large number of these, especially those made in Asia Minor, were not only strongly influenced by Greek art but in many cases probably cut by Greek engravers.<sup>3</sup> Of the present collection, however, only 842 and 843 show such influence.

#### PROTO-ACHAEMENIAN CYLINDERS (812-816)

The seals of this group vary somewhat from those classified as typically Achaemenian. In 812, which shows a rider pursuing a deer, the horseman is depicted not in typical Achaemenian headgear but with his hair in a fillet. Furthermore, the tail of the horse is not tied in a loop as in Achaemenian designs. The horse and rider correspond with representations of Elamites in the battle relief of Ashurbanipal.<sup>4</sup> Possibly, therefore, this seal should be classified as Elamite, especially since it has an Elamite inscription. It was probably made before the Achaemenian period, since an impression with a related subject was found on a tablet from Susa (Louvre S. 555) dating in the period of Sargon II and his successors.

Seal 813 may likewise be classified as Elamite, since its subject—a kneeling archer aiming at a mouflon—is not found in Achaemenian representations. Walters 95, which presents the same subject, has an Elamite inscription and shows the archer in the same attire as the horseman in 812. Seal 814 offers a coarsened rendering of the theme of 813 and may be similarly classified.

Seals 815 and 816, though they show marked affinities with Achaemenian cylinders, nevertheless differ from the latter in such a manner as to suggest that they were made before the Achaemenian style was fully developed. In seal 815 the opponent of the typically Achaemenian horned lion-griffin is a bareheaded hero wearing a garment that leaves one knee bare and curves back like the mantle of the hero in the Neo-Assyrian cylinder 755. In typical Achaemenian seal stones, however, the opponent of monsters is invariably a king, characterized as such by his crown and by his wide, flowing garments draped in folds. In 816, the king is depicted as usual with a crown, but wearing a fringed mantle reminiscent of Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian representations.

812. White chalcedony. Cylinder, damaged.  
33 × 16

Hunter on horse, hurling spear at antelope.  
Terminal: *inscription*. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders*  
1079 ]

813. Dull carnelian. Cylinder. 20 × 10  
Archer on one knee, aiming at mouflon that  
leaps toward tree. Star in lower field.

814. Yellowish chert. Cylinder, damaged.  
16 × 8.5

Archer on one knee, aiming at horned animal.  
Crescent in sky.

815. Banded agate. Cylinder, convex sides,  
chipped and scratched. 25 × 11(12)  
Hero with scimitar attacking bull-horned lion-  
griffin.

<sup>3</sup> M. A. Richter, "The late Achaemenian' or 'Graeco-Persian' Gems," *Hesperia (Sheer Memorial Number)* to be published.

<sup>4</sup> A. Paterson, *Assyrian Sculptures: Palace of Sennacherib*, The Hague, pls. 62-64.



816. White chalcedony. Cylinder.  $21 \times 9$   
King with mace (?) attacking ibex. Behind  
king, part of second ibex (possibly of later cut-

ting). Terminal: *inscription*. [ Ward, *Morgan*  
271 ]

#### ACHAEMENIAN CYLINDERS OF FULLY DEVELOPED STYLE (817-829)

The fully developed Achaemenian style perpetuates Mesopotamian tradition in its principal motifs and in its arrangements of figures.

Seals 817 and 818 feature the winged sun disk that plays such a large role in Assyrian designs. However, the sphinxes supporting the disk in 817, and the birds below the disk in 818, have not previously appeared in these positions. The god in a crescent disk, occurring in both 817 and 818, likewise appears for the first time in the Achaemenian period.

Seals 819-825 show the motif most frequently encountered in Achaemenian cylinders—that of a king holding at bay or subduing two monsters or lions, rendered in a symmetrical composition recalling the Assyrian cylinders 753-763. The king wears the billowy Persian garments in all of these scenes, except for the occurrence of the fringed Assyrian mantle in 822. As has been suggested in regard to 816, this mantle may indicate that 822 is an earlier seal. Seals 824 and 825 show the king standing on two sphinxes, as in seal impressions found in the treasury of Persepolis,<sup>5</sup> dating from the time of Darius and Xerxes.

Seals 826-829 differ from 819-825 in that the composition of their scenes is freer, although the king remains the principal figure. The kicking lion of 826 and 828 has no Assyrian parallel but corresponds with a similar animal in a relief from the palace of Darius at Persepolis.<sup>6</sup>

817. Banded agate. Cylinder, convex sides.  
 $26 \times 8(10)$

Two crowned sphinxes supporting winged sun  
disk above crescent disk inclosing crowned god.  
[ Ward, *Morgan* 275 ]

818. Mottled red jasper. Cylinder.  $26 \times 13$   
Two birds flanking crescent disk inclosing  
crowned god. Winged sun disk in sky. Ter-  
minal: plant. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1134 ]

819. Greyish-pink limestone. Cylinder, incom-  
pletely perforated.  $29 \times 13$   
King grasping two lions.

820. Greyish-pink limestone. Cylinder.  
 $35 \times 15$   
King grasping two winged bull-dragons that  
have lion heads and bird claws. [ Ward, *Seal*  
*Cylinders* 1122 ]

821. Jasper. Cylinder.  $27 \times 12$   
King grasping two goat-horned winged lions.

822. Carnelian. Cylinder.  $27 \times 12$   
King grasping two winged bulls. Terminal:

stand supporting vase with plant; bird flying  
toward latter. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1115 ]

823. Greyish-brown limestone. Cylinder.  
 $24 \times 9$

King grasping two lions. Terminal: bird above  
tree.

824. Eyestone. Cylinder, damaged.  $32 \times 15$   
King standing on two crouching sphinxes and  
holding in each hand lion suspended by hind leg.  
Terminal: palm tree, winged sun disk above it.  
[ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1109 ]

825. Basalt. Cylinder.  $24 \times 12$   
King standing on two crouching crowned  
sphinxes and holding with each hand lion sus-  
pended by hind leg. Winged sun disk in sky.  
Terminal: bird on tip of tree. [ Ward, *Seal*  
*Cylinders* 1111 ]

826. Basalt. Cylinder, scratched.  $29 \times 12$   
King with dagger attacking lion. Terminal:  
bird on tip of pine tree. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders*  
1107 ]

<sup>5</sup> *Oriental Institute Communications*, no. 21 (1939), p. 39, fig. 23, PT 4 801.

<sup>6</sup> F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Berlin, 1922, pl. 17.



827. Rock crystal. Cylinder.  $26 \times 12$   
Lion-griffin attacked by king with weapon. Terminal: plant.

828. Brownish-reddish limestone. Cylinder.  
 $23 \times 9$   
Lion menacing antelope; king aiming with bow

and arrow at former. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1129 ]

829. Greyish-pink limestone. Cylinder.  
 $28 \times 12$   
King aiming with bow and arrow at lion that menaces antelope between them. Two arrows in flight (toward lion).

#### ACHAEMENIAN CYLINDERS OF MIXED STYLE (830-839)

Seal 830 introduces a group of stones that present Greek elements (830-834). In 830 the king's garment is a Greek chiton; further, he is attended in the hunt by a figure rendered in a typical Greek posture, with legs far apart and torso turned sideward, so that the axis of the body is shifted to the side. This attendant is attired in the Scythian garb portrayed on Attic red-figured vases dating from 550 to 450 B.C.<sup>7</sup> It seems likely therefore that Greek examples influenced the design of this seal.

Greek elements appear also in 831 and 832, each of which pictures a hunting scene in which the protagonist is attired like the archers of the king's bodyguard in the colored-enamel reliefs of Susa.<sup>8</sup> The arrangement of the figures in 831, which shows a dog partly hidden by a huntsman, presents a rare attempt to render in realistic perspective two figures of different type standing beside each other. There is a comparable rendering of such figures in a Greek vase painting of the fifth century.<sup>9</sup> In 832 the archer on one knee exemplifies a characteristic posture of ancient Mesopotamian art. However, the figure is rendered here with the knee off the ground, as on coins of Greek workmanship, like those of the satrap Tissaphernes,<sup>10</sup> dating around 400 B.C.

Though Greek soldiers appear in the battle scene of 833, the arrangement of the figures in a row and their rigid postures reflect Mesopotamian tradition rather than Greek influence. In 834, on the other hand, the free-striding soldier is gracefully drawn in a Greek manner. Furthermore, the figures of the scene move against the spacious background common in Greek art.

Seals 835-839 present animals as their principal subjects. Although 835 has no parallel among Achaemenian designs, it is included here because the lions, in respect to their erect posture as well as the linear treatment of their muscles, resemble the animals in contest scenes of the fully developed Achaemenian style. Though the arrangement of animals in tiered rows found in 836 is likewise unparalleled, the boars of this seal often appear in Achaemenian glyptic (831).

Seal 837 recalls Greek gems of the fifth century in its exquisite engraving and spacious background. It can be dated in that period by analogy with a seal impression on a tablet of the time of Darius and Xerxes (Philadelphia 833).

The rows of winged bulls in 838 and 839, both coarse seals, are not typical Achaemenian subjects. These seals have been classified as Achaemenian because they correspond in form with 832: in all three instances there is an engraved base and a suspension loop cut into the seal stone instead of an axial perforation.

<sup>7</sup> A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold (cont. by F. Hauser), *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Munich, 1909, *Plates*, pl. 81.

<sup>8</sup> Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, pl. 38.

<sup>9</sup> Furtwängler and Reichhold, *op. cit.*, pl. 52.

<sup>10</sup> Moortgat, "Hellas und die Kunst der Achaemeniden," *Mitteilungen der altorientalischen Gesellschaft*, II (no. 1, 1926), 24, pl. XIII, fig. 2.



830. Grey limestone. Cylinder.  $26 \times 12$   
King aiming with bow and arrow at antelope that is menaced by dog before it and archer behind it.

831. Basalt. Cylinder, horizontal perforation.  $28 \times 11$   
God in winged sun disk above boar confronting hunter with spear in his hand, quiver on his back, and dog beside and partly hidden by him. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1064 ]

832. Brownish-grey limestone. Cylinder, engraved base, with horizontal perforation through top.  $28 \times 11$   
(a) Side: lion menacing antelope; archer aiming at lion. Crosshatched border above scene, pierced by openings of seal perforation. (b) Base: lion with head turned back.

833. Carnelian. Cylinder.  $23 \times 10$   
Captive led by warrior who faces second, kneeling captive and enemy soldier whom he is spearing. In field, Aramaic *inscription*. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1053 ]

834. Carnelian. Cylinder.  $22 \times 11$

Warrior on horseback, spearing enemy armed with shield and spear. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1055 ]

835. Greyish-brown limestone. Cylinder.  $20 \times 9$   
Fallen stag flanked at either side by attacking lion. Crescent in sky.

836. Rock crystal. Cylinder.  $30 \times 13$   
Four tiered rows of five walking boars each. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1030 ]

837. Brownish chalcedony. Cylinder.  $25 \times 13$   
Bull walking. [ Ward, *Morgan* 281 ]

838. Felsite. Cylinder, engraved base, with suspension loop (broken) cut in seal stone.  $19 \times 11$   
(a) Side: two winged bulls walking. (b) Base: bull (?).

839. Grey marble. Cylinder, approximately conical, engraved base, with suspension loop (broken) cut in seal stone.  $20 \times 12$   
(a) Side: two winged bulls walking. (b) Base: indefinable animal.

#### ACHAEMENIAN STAMP SEALS (840-843)

Of the four Achaemenian stamp seals in the present collection, 840 and 841 perpetuate Mesopotamian tradition in their rigidly symmetrical and centralized composition. Strictly speaking, 840 can be classified as Achaemenian only because its motif—two animals or monsters flanking a tree—does not occur on late Neo-Babylonian cylinders, while it is found in seal impressions of unquestionably Achaemenian style (Philadelphia 850). Seal 841 is more definitely characterized as Achaemenian by the fact that it shows a censer between two scorpion-men. This censer, which seems to be covered with a lid attached to the stand by means of a chain, is a typically Achaemenian ritual object often depicted in Achaemenian cylinders.<sup>11</sup>

Seals 842 and 843 clearly show deviation from the Mesopotamian practice that prevailed in the beginning stage of the Achaemenian empire. Though a lion attacking a bull (842) or a goat (843) is one of the stock motifs of Mesopotamian art, the theme became stereotyped after the Middle Assyrian period, and the lifelike representation found in 842 is matched only in Greek gems of the sixth and fifth centuries.<sup>12</sup> In 843 the subject is rendered with far less expression.

The latter seal is notable for two reasons: it is made of dark-green glass, a very unusual material, and the crosshatched section below the animals has parallels only in Greco-Phoenician glyptic.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. xxxvii; *Philadelphia* 984.

<sup>12</sup> A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, Berlin, 1900, vol. I, pls. viii 44, xi 22-24.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. vii 34, 41, 42, 51, xv 1-8, 11, 16, 24.



840. Blue chalcedony. Stamp, conical, with rounded top and slightly convex oval base.

30 × 22 × 18

Tree with crescent above, goat at either side.

[ Ward, *Morgan* 289 ]

841. Blue chalcedony. Stamp, conical, with rounded top and slightly convex oval base.

22.5 × 16.5 × 11

Two winged scorpion-men with bird feet, one at either side of censer. [ Ward, *Morgan* 290 ]

842. Milky chalcedony. Stamp, pyramidal, with rounded top and slightly convex octagonal base.

22.5 × 16.5 × 11

Lion attacking bull. [ Ward, *Morgan* 308 ]

843. Dark-green glass. Stamp, conical, with rounded top and circular base.

24.5 × 21.5  
Goat attacked by lion. Crosshatched section below. [ Ward, *Morgan* 294 ]



## SEALS OF ANATOLIA

The characteristic seal of Anatolia is the stamp, as is clearly shown by the great preponderance of stamp seals over cylinders in excavations in that region. Cylinders were commonly used only in the first quarter of the second millennium B.C. in the Assyrian merchant colonies of eastern Anatolia.

In the present collection, seals of possibly Anatolian origin are exemplified only by cylinders that are believed to be products of these colonies, except for 909, the latter being one of the few cylinders made in Anatolia during the period of the Younger Hittite empire (as distinguished from the Older Hittite empire), that is, in the third quarter of the second millennium.

Four metal cylinders, included in the group of miscellaneous seals, may also, in view of their material, be products of Asia Minor or of the mountain region on the east (1086, 1110–1113 below).

### CAPPADOCIAN CYLINDERS (844–908)

At a time corresponding with the latter part of the Isin-Larsa period in southern Mesopotamia, Assyrian merchant colonies flourished in Anatolia.<sup>1</sup> A large number of sealed tablets bearing records of mercantile transactions have been recovered by excavations in this region. The language of the texts inscribed on these tablets was at first thought to be Cappadocian and was only later identified with the Old Assyrian dialect of the Akkadian tongue. However, the term Cappadocian is still often applied to the tablets, to the seal impressions found on them, and to seals stylistically identical with these impressions.

While the style of some of the impressions on the tablets is early Old Babylonian, the majority present features that are more or less alien to Old Babylonian glyptic, indicating non-Babylonian and perhaps indigenous origin. One non-Babylonian feature is a statue of a bull with a pyramidal protuberance on its rump, on which often a bird is perched. Others are a procession of gods on animals and a distinctive portrayal of the weather god. The Cappadocian rendering of the weather god is to be differentiated from the usual Old Babylonian portrayal by the fact that, in addition to carrying a lightning fork in one hand, the god brandishes a weapon with the other hand or occasionally holds a weapon against his shoulder. As in many Old Babylonian designs, however, he is frequently shown standing on the back of a bull.

Another characteristic feature of Cappadocian seals appears in their inscriptions. Though the inscriptions on seals are usually engraved to be read in the impression, a number of those on Cappadocian seals are carved so that they can be read on the stone itself (868, 874, 878, 880, 892). These inscriptions are decipherable in the impressions only with the help of a mirror. Apparently the artists who cut such seals were not acquainted with the cuneiform signs; they merely engraved on the stone the literal copy of an inscription exactly as it was given to them.

Variations in engraving and, to some extent, in subject matter, make it possible to differentiate four main groups among Cappadocian seals.

The first group (844–861) is called Old Assyrian, because seals showing a similar deep,

<sup>1</sup> A. Goetze, *Kleinasien*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft; div. 3, pt. 1, vol. III, Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients, pt. 3, 1933, Munich, pp. 64–76.



angular engraving have been found at Ashur (Berlin 505, 508). The seals of the second group (862–893), called provincial Babylonian, present mainly Old Babylonian motifs, with one or more unusual details that indicate provincial workmanship. The engraving in this group is not as deep and angular as in the Old Assyrian group, though the forms are often contrived, as in the latter, by means of linear incisions marking the bodies of animals and sometimes also those of humans (886), producing an effect of striation. The third group (894–899) has been isolated on the basis of similarities with some of the Cappadocian seal impressions.<sup>2</sup> It is called Anatolian because it has certain stylistic features found also in other products of the art of Anatolia. The most striking of these is a prevalent herringbone pattern, used especially in the robes of the figures. This pattern appears in the decoration of gold vessels found in Anatolian excavations.<sup>3</sup> The engraving of the seals of this group is usually executed with great care.

The fourth group, the Syro-Cappadocian (900–908), is so named because comparable seal impressions on Cappadocian tablets<sup>4</sup> contain a large number of features found also in Syrian pieces. Seals of this Cappadocian style can be differentiated from most of the contemporaneous Syrian cylinders on the basis of their engraving, which, though it shows considerably more modeling than is found in the other Cappadocian groups, nevertheless does not attain the plastic expression nor the delicacy of Syrian designs.

Cappadocian cylinders are generally small and sometimes have concave sides. In all but a few instances, the material is hematite.

#### OLD ASSYRIAN GROUP (844–861)

Many seals in this group depict the presentation of a worshiper by an interceding goddess to an enthroned figure holding a cup (844–851). This theme, which derives from the glyptic of the Third Dynasty of Ur, was perpetuated in Isin-Larsa and early Old Babylonian cylinders. However, several features differentiate the Old Assyrian renderings from these contemporaneous south-Mesopotamian representations. Such features are the statue of a bull with a protuberance on its rump (847, 848, 851), the weather god shouldering a weapon (849, 850), animals or monsters secondary to the main scene (844–846), the sun disk inclosing a cross instead of a star, and the small v-shaped designs often placed in the sky.

The grouping of a suppliant goddess and an enthroned figure in 852 is derived from south-Mesopotamian glyptic, but the two statues of bulls are typically Cappadocian. The rendering of the scene in 853, which features a weather god on a bull, conforms to the style of the present group, though the god carries neither a lightning fork nor the weapon usually added in Cappadocian seals. This may be due to carelessness on the part of the engraver. The procession of gods on their animals in 854 has been mentioned above as a distinctively Cappadocian design.

Another typically Cappadocian subject is a procession of human worshipers (855–858) sometimes accompanied by deities (859), or of deities alone (860, 861), toward the statue of a bull. In 861 there are two such statues flanking an altar, with other animals below, a motif paralleling that of 852.

<sup>2</sup> De Genouillac, *Céramique cappadocienne*, vol. I, pls. B4, C3, 4, D4, 6; F. J. Stephens, *Old Assyrian Letters and Business Documents (Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies)*, vol. VI, New Haven, 1944, pl. LXXXI 24; others.

<sup>3</sup> R. O. Arik, *Les fouilles d'Alaç Höyük (Publications de la société d'histoire turque, ser. V, no. 1, Ankara, 1937)*, pls. CLXIX, CLXXI (colored reproduction VII).

<sup>4</sup> De Genouillac, *op. cit.*, pls. A4, C 1; Clay, *Letters and Transactions from Cappadocia*, pl. LXXXII; others.



844. Hematite. Cylinder.  $19 \times 12.5$   
Worshiper and suppliant goddess before enthroned god or king holding cup. In sky, v-shaped sign, disk inclosing cross in crescent. Terminal: pair of human-headed bulls with snake beside them.

845. Hematite. Cylinder.  $18 \times 9$   
Same subject as in 844. In sky, cross disk in crescent. Terminal: pair of human-headed bulls, with one head in common, above scorpion.

846. Hematite. Cylinder.  $19.5 \times 9.5$   
Same subject as in 844. In sky, star, cross disk in crescent. Terminal: scorpion, kneeling horned animal, crouching lion, one above other.

847. Hematite. Cylinder.  $19 \times 9.5$   
Same subject as in 844. In sky, two v-shaped signs, cross disk in crescent. Terminal: statue of bull with rump protuberance and bird upon it, above crouching lion. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 974 ]

848. Hematite. Cylinder.  $28.5 \times 15$   
Same subject as in 844. In sky, v-shaped sign, cross disk in crescent. At left, secondary motif: snake, two manikins, one above other; statue of bull with rump protuberance and bird upon it, on hatched bar above crouching lion.

849. Hematite. Cylinder.  $18 \times 9$   
Same subject as in 844, with addition at left of god holding weapon, trident, and rein of kneeling bull on which he stands. In sky, v-shaped sign, cross disk in crescent.

850. Hematite. Cylinder.  $20.5 \times 10$   
Same subject as in 844, with addition at left of god on bull as in 849, here holding lightning fork instead of trident. In sky, cross disk in crescent.

851. Hematite. Cylinder.  $20 \times 11$   
Same subject as in 844, with addition at left of second suppliant goddess. In sky, v-shaped sign, cross disk. Terminal: statue of bull with rump protuberance above kneeling horned animal. [ Ward, *Morgan* 258 ]

Ward notes that this seal is "said to have been found in Antarados, Syria" (*Morgan*, p. 111). This small coastal town has been omitted from the map.

852. Hematite. Cylinder.  $22.5 \times 12.5$   
Suppliant goddess before enthroned god or king holding cup, between them v-shaped design, cross disk in crescent, and three drillings. At left: above, altar between two facing statues of bulls, each with rump protuberance and bird upon it; below, indefinable animal, bird (?), hand (?) above crouching lion and kneeling horned animal. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 973 ]

853. Hematite. Cylinder.  $20 \times 9.5$   
Goddess, worshiper, second goddess, all facing god who stands on kneeling bull. In sky, sun disk in crescent. Terminal: snake.

854. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  $26 \times 9.5$   
God with lightning fork on indefinable animal, god with saw in ascending posture on crouching lion, god in ascending posture on kneeling bull, all facing god or king who holds cup and sits on throne supported by two crouching lions. Before second god, star above scorpion. Terminal: snake.

855. Hematite. Cylinder.  $18 \times 9.5$   
Three worshipers before statue of bull with rump protuberance, above scorpion. Two v-shaped signs in sky. [ Ward, *Morgan* 257 ]

856. Hematite. Cylinder.  $17 \times 10$   
Same subject as in 855.

857. Hematite. Cylinder.  $15.5 \times 8$   
Same subject as in 855.

858. Hematite. Cylinder.  $15.5 \times 8.5$   
Same subject as in 855.

859. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  $17 \times 8$   
Same subject as in 855, except that first and third figures are suppliant goddesses. Two v-shaped signs in sky.

860. Hematite. Cylinder.  $17 \times 9$   
Three worshiping goddesses (?) before statue of bull with rump protuberance standing on altar. [ Ward, *Morgan* 253 ]

861. Hematite. Cylinder.  $12.5 \times 7.5$   
Two worshiping deities before two facing statues of bulls, each statue over scorpion; altar between them. v-shaped sign in sky.

#### PROVINCIAL BABYLONIAN GROUP (862-893)

One or more worshipers standing with or without interceding deities before a god constitute the most frequent subject in the present group. This theme is common in Old Babylonian



glyptic. Moreover, a number of the gods represented here are characterized by the same emblems as those in Old Babylonian cylinders. In 862–864 and in 884 (upper register), the deity holds the saw of the sun god; in 865, the god holds a ring as in the Old Babylonian cylinders 369, 392, 393; in 866 and 867, the god with a mace is pictured with the same characteristics as on Old Babylonian seals such as 430–452. However, the seals of the present group can be classified as provincial Babylonian and distinguished from seals of southern Mesopotamia on the basis of certain details in the rendering of the figures, especially their garments. The latter often have shoulder straps converging at the waist, like the robe of the worshiper in 862 and that of the god in 863. Equally characteristic are the vertical lines on the brim of the worshiper's cap, as in 864, 865, and other seals of this group.

In addition to portraying gods that may be referred to Old Babylonian prototypes, the seals of this group depict gods for whom no exact parallels exist in Old Babylonian designs; among these are the weather god brandishing a weapon (867–871, 881), a deity in ascending posture holding a flowing vase (873), a god with a scimitar held upright (874, 882), and a god holding a staff topped by a small crescent (875–877).

Seals 866 and 872 are included in this group with some reservation. They present subjects not paralleled in Babylonian seals: 866 shows a god holding a monkey by a leash, and 872 has a figure with ridged cap holding a flowing vase. But while the crude engraving of these two seals relates them to the Cappadocian group, they present no other typically Cappadocian features, and it is therefore possible that they originated in some other region on the periphery of Mesopotamia.

Seal 878 presents a theme of southern Mesopotamia, the worship of an enthroned figure with a cup; yet it must be classified as Cappadocian because its impression reproduces the inscription in mirror writing, a circumstance denoted as a criterion of Cappadocian origin (p. 107). Moreover, the worshiper wears the cap with vertically striped brim that, as observed above, is characteristic of this group.

Seal 879 is included here because its subject is, as in 878, the worship of an enthroned figure with a cup. However, the animal throne surrounded by animals may be a specifically Anatolian motif, for it appears again in 894, which belongs to the Anatolian group.

Seals 880–884 present figures deriving from the Old Babylonian contest frieze. In 880, the principal actors are a lion attacking a goat and a lion-griffin menacing a man on one knee. In 881–883 the theme of contest between a lion and a man appears together with a worshiping scene. In the lower register of 884, a parallel contest group is augmented by a second figure attacking the lion.

Seals 885–891 present a completely non-Babylonian motif, worship of an animal. In 885 it is a lion, rendered as in the contest frieze of 880; in 886 it is a large ratlike animal, perhaps a mongoose; 887 shows the latter animal and an antelope; and in 888–891 the worship centers on the statue of a bull.

Seal 892, presenting only two worshipers, has been included here because its style resembles that of the other seals of the group.

The theme of 893, which portrays a figure—probably representing a deity—borne in a chariot drawn by four bulls, is a typically Cappadocian motif found in numerous impressions.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> T. C. Pinches, "The Cappadocian Tablets Belonging to the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology," *University of Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*, I (1908), 65, pl. xvii 7–12; De Clerq 284; Nuzi 977; Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 976, 979.



862. Hematite. Cylinder, lower part broken off. D. 11  
Statue of bull with rump protuberance on altar behind worshiper who faces god with saw followed by suppliant goddess. In sky, star disk in crescent, vessel, bird (before bull statue).
863. Hematite. Cylinder.  $20 \times 10.5$   
Worshiper and goddess before god with saw in ascending posture, human head before him. Terminal: *inscription*.
864. Hematite. Cylinder, lower edge chipped.  $19 \times 12.5$   
Nude bearded hero with streams; goddess and worshiper before god with saw in ascending posture, five globes over design of his head and breast. Before goddess, indefinable design. Before god, bird. In sky, star, two v-shaped signs. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 209 ]
865. Hematite. Cylinder.  $18 \times 10$   
Suppliant goddess and worshiper before god with ring in ascending posture, nude bearded hero behind him. In field: star; vessel above ball staff; sun disk in crescent above fly; five globes.
866. Hematite. Cylinder.  $25 \times 13$   
God with mace facing deity who holds monkey by rope; second deity. Before latter, porcupine above fish. Crescent in sky.
867. Hematite. Cylinder.  $19.5 \times 10.5$   
God with mace, suppliant goddess, and worshiper before god holding lightning fork and rein of bull on which he stands. Before suppliant goddess, long staff with triple crest. Terminal: three globes. [ Ward, *Morgan* 97 ]
868. Hematite. Cylinder.  $22 \times 11$   
Worshiper before god in ascending posture who holds lightning fork and brandishes unidentifiable weapon. Behind god, fish (?). Terminal: *inscription*. [ Ward, *Morgan* 100 ]
869. Hematite. Cylinder.  $22.5 \times 12$   
Goddess with crescent scepter following worshiper, both facing god in ascending posture with ax in hand who is accompanied by second god in ascending posture, holding lightning fork and brandishing unidentifiable weapon. Two ball staves in field.
870. Hematite. Cylinder.  $22 \times 10$   
Bull-man (in frontal view); suppliant goddess and worshiper before god in ascending posture who holds lightning fork and unidentifiable weapon.
871. Hematite. Cylinder.  $24 \times 13$   
Suppliant goddess and worshiper before god on bull; priest with pail standing on platform. Before goddess, fish. Before priest, mongoose; behind him, vessel above ball staff.
872. Hematite. Cylinder.  $18 \times 10$   
Figure holding vase that emits two streams, facing worshiper and priest with pail and sprinkler. Behind figure with vase, staff crooked at both ends. Crescent in sky. Terminal: *inscription*. [ Ward, *Morgan* 218 ]
873. Hematite. Cylinder.  $20 \times 11$   
Two worshipers before god in ascending posture who holds flowing vase. In field: mongoose above human head; crescent above crescent staff; star above fish.
874. Hematite. Cylinder.  $20 \times 11$   
Two worshipers before god raising scimitar. In field, single globe above three others. Terminal: *inscription*.
875. Hematite. Cylinder.  $15 \times 7$   
Worshiper led by goddess toward god wearing headgear resembling top hat and grasping crescent staff. Behind god, nude bearded hero.
876. Hematite. Cylinder.  $24 \times 12$   
Suppliant goddess and worshiper before god in ascending posture who holds crescent staff, before him star and fish.
877. Hematite. Cylinder.  $24 \times 13$   
Worshiper before deity (in frontal view) standing beside table heaped with loaves; facing table, god in ascending posture, bearing crescent scepter and ax. Behind god, in upper field, small figure with curved weapon menacing (?) hero or god with scimitar who is bringing his foot down on human victim. [ Ward, *Morgan* 216 ]
878. Hematite. Cylinder.  $22.5 \times 11$   
Suppliant goddess and worshiper before enthroned god or king with cup. In sky, cross disk in crescent. Terminal: *inscription*.
879. Hematite. Cylinder.  $24 \times 12$   
Suppliant goddess and worshiper before deity with cup seated on kneeling horned animal over two crouching lions. Before deity, kneeling stag, mongoose, fish (?), one above other; behind deity, crouching lion above small figure with cup. Before suppliant goddess, star above ball staff. [ Ward, *Morgan* 220 ]
880. Hematite. Cylinder, slightly concave sides.  $25 \times 13.5(13)$



Lion lifting goat by shoulder; man on one knee attacked by lion-griffin; worshiper, fish before him. Terminal: *inscription*.

881. Hematite. Cylinder, chipped at top and bottom.  $23 \times 14$

Worshiper (?) beside vessel above ball staff; lion attacking man on one knee before god with lightning fork. Before god, indefinable design; behind him, fish. [ Ward, *American Journal of Archaeology*, V (1889), 38, fig. 14 ]

882. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  $21 \times 10$   
Worshiper before god in ascending posture who holds scimitar; man on one knee attacked by lion.

883. Hematite. Cylinder.  $20 \times 10$

Lion attacking man on one knee, worshiper carrying kid before god in ascending posture. In sky, sun disk in crescent. [ Ward, *American Journal of Archaeology*, V (1889), 39, fig. 16 ]

884. Hematite. Cylinder.  $22 \times 10$

Above: suppliant goddess following worshiper carrying kid before god with saw in ascending posture; worshiper before enthroned deity with cup. Below: figure with one hand upraised; two goats flanking tree (?); figure grasping tail of lion menacing man on one knee. [ Ward, *Morgan* 210 ]

885. Hematite. Cylinder.  $19 \times 10$

Two worshipers before rampant lion. Terminal: *inscription*.

886. Hematite. Cylinder.  $19 \times 10$   
Mongoose before three worshipers, each on one knee.

887. Hematite. Cylinder.  $18 \times 11$

Worshiper on one knee before kneeling horned animal, plant, and mongoose. Terminal: *inscription*.

888. Hematite. Cylinder.  $14.5 \times 8$

Three worshipers before statue of bull with rump protuberance mounted on platform.

889. Hematite. Cylinder, chipped.  $15 \times 9$

Same subject as in 888. Terminal: snake.

890. Hematite. Cylinder.  $16 \times 10$

Two worshipers, each on one knee before statue of bull with rump protuberance mounted on platform. [ Ward, *Morgan* 256 ]

891. Hematite. Cylinder.  $19.5 \times 10$

Male and female worshiper at either side of statue of bull with rump protuberance and bird upon it and with two hands extending from its breast — statue placed on indeterminate design. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 968 ]

892. Hematite. Cylinder.  $18 \times 10$

Two worshipers walking. Terminal: *inscription*.

893. Hematite. Cylinder.  $23 \times 11.5$

Ladder-like reins before heads of four bulls one above other, drawing chariot that bears seated deity holding reins and whip (?). Before deity, mongoose, behind chariot two men, one above other. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 977 ]

#### ANATOLIAN GROUP (894–899)

This group can best be characterized on the basis of an analysis of 894. In this seal the figures are placed at varying levels all over the field, so that the composition pre-empted the height as well as the width of the cylinder surface, whereas in south-Mesopotamian composition the main figures are consistently arrayed along the base line. Furthermore, the figures differ in rendering and action from those of south-Mesopotamian design. Especially distinctive is the only face preserved in this seal and characterized by a long, fleshy nose, small mouth, and clearly defined eyes. In the rendering of the animal bodies, parallel ropelike lines form the trunk; other parts of the body are indicated by a change of direction in these lines. The horns of the bull are drawn in one curved line above the head; in the renderings of other Cappadocian groups, the horns are usually indicated by means of two separate lines.

For the sake of convenience, the description of the entire scene of 894 is divided according to its four themes, and the figures with their variegated actions will be treated within the framework of these themes both in the present discussion and in the catalogue description below.



In theme 1, a seated deity holds a cup into which an attendant or worshiper pours a liquid from a pitcher. This portrayal differs from all south-Mesopotamian ritual scenes of pre-Assyrian times in that the latter never depict the deity as if he were about to consume the food or drink presented to him.

In theme 2, a god holds the rein of a bull on which his foot is placed. There are numerous Syrian parallels for the nude female holding open her veil (937–941), here seen above the bull's rein.

In theme 3, the enthroned goddess holds a bird in one hand, in the other a tube protruding from a vessel. While figures drinking in this manner are not found in traditional representations dated later than the Akkad period, they do occur on a seal (Weber 418) found at Kültepe, the site of ancient Kanesh, where most of the Cappadocian tablets have been excavated. However, the motif of the goddess surrounded by animals has neither Mesopotamian nor Syrian parallels, and may therefore be specifically Anatolian.

In theme 4, the most significant features are the hands on the statue of a bull and the markings on the lion's back, which may also stand for hands. There is no parallel for the latter, but the bull with hands appears also in other Cappadocian seals (891, 895).

In 895, as in 894, the statue of the bull is placed above other animal figures. Other elements of its scene include the Old Babylonian war goddess and nude bearded hero rendered in fairly traditional manner. However, the boat with human prow and stern in which the goddess stands is unusual.

Seal 896 has a distinctively Cappadocian theme—a procession of gods on animals. As in 894, the figures are extremely tall and slender, and the horns of the bull are drawn in a single line. The latter characteristically Anatolian feature appears also in 897–899, in which worship of a statue of a bull is depicted. This manner of indicating the horns of the bull, as well as the very clearly defined engraving of these seals, may justify inclusion of them in the Anatolian rather than in the provincial Babylonian group. However, these distinctions are obviously tenuous, a fact that serves well to point up the close relations between the Cappadocian groups.

894. Hematite. Cylinder, broken at top and bottom. D. 14.5

Theme 1. God with cup on throne supported by two crouching lions, back to back; before god, altar topped with ring; in upper field, attendant filling god's cup from pitcher.

Theme 2. God placing one foot on bull that he holds by rein while resting other foot on two mountains and grasping behind him head of snake, above which is end of streamer of head-gear (fragmentary). Above bull's rein, nude female holding open her veil; below rein, bird monster.

Theme 3. Goddess enthroned on kneeling goat above two crouching lions and holding one of two tubes protruding from vessel before her. At left of vessel, indefinable object; at right, altar, hand above it. Bird perched on goddess' other hand, two more birds behind her. Entire group supported by bar ending in rearing goat

heads; bar in turn upheld by two bull-men flanking monster with two eagle heads.

Theme 4. Above: table, topped with three rings, before statue of bull with two hands extending from its breast; before legs of statue, indefinable object. Below: human figure before lion with two hands (?) rising from its back, small sphinx below arms of human figure. [ Ward, *Morgan* 255 ]

895. Hematite. Cylinder. 21 × 12

Goddess (in frontal view) in ascending posture, holding lion club and scimitar and standing in boat with human head and torso at both prow and stern; statue of bull with rump protuberance and bird upon it, and with two hands extending from its breast, standing above two crossed lions; nude bearded hero (in frontal view). Behind bull, statue, mongoose.



896. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  $24 \times 12$   
 God with staff, standing on bull, following  
 second god with spear and lightning fork, stand-  
 ing on lion—both approaching enthroned deity  
 with cup. Before latter deity, sun disk in cres-  
 cent, offering stand, indefinable design, human  
 head, one above other. Before god with staff,  
 ball staff and three globes. Terminal: statue of  
 bull with indefinable design above it, two birds,  
 two manikins; one above other.

897. Hematite. Cylinder.  $18 \times 9.5$   
 Snake; statue of bull with rump protuberance,

above crouching lion; three worshipers ap-  
 proaching. [ Ward, *Morgan* 254 ]

898. Hematite. Cylinder.  $19.5 \times 11$   
 Hero with foot on reversed lion; two worshipers  
 before statue of bull with rump protuberance  
 standing above scorpion. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 965 ]

899. Hematite. Cylinder.  $16 \times 10$   
 Four worshipers before statue of bull with rump  
 protuberance standing above scorpion.

#### SYRO-CAPPADOCIAN GROUP (900-908)

The cylinders of this group contain a number of features distinctive of Cappadocian and of Syrian glyptic, besides some Mesopotamian elements, though the latter are less prominent here than in the Old Assyrian and in the provincial Babylonian group.

Among the Cappadocian features is the statue of a bull, here depicted without a rump protuberance (902, 905). Nevertheless, this bull is probably meant to represent a statue, since it seems to be mounted on a pole in 905; in Cappadocian impressions of this style, a similarly rendered bull appears on an altar.<sup>6</sup> The figure holding a ball staff in 907 has parallels only in contemporary Cappadocian glyptic<sup>7</sup> and in a Mitannian impression of later date (Nuzi 625). The rendering of the animals in 900 by means of ropelike lines corresponds with that in 894, a Cappadocian seal of the Anatolian group. The type of ax shouldered by the seated deity in 900 appears only in Cappadocian (Weber 30) and in early Syrian designs (917). The manikin on one knee, obviously in the act of worship (902-905), is paralleled in Cappadocian seals (886, 887, 890) and impressions<sup>8</sup>; it appears only later on Syrian (942, 943) and Mitannian (1015) seals. Lastly, the standard composed of a male and female head (903), usually topped by a bird, is common to Cappadocian<sup>9</sup> and early Syrian designs (918, 919).

The specifically Syrian features of this group consist chiefly in the fact that the men have short curled hair and mantles with curved borders, and the women have long hair falling to the shoulders. Furthermore, the placing of small animals, such as hares or birds, in the field, will be found to be typical of Syrian design.

The principal Mesopotamian feature is the use of the traditional theme of worship of an enthroned deity, in flounced robe and horned miter, holding a cup (901-903, 905). Departure from Mesopotamian practice can be seen in the gesture of the worshiper (900, 906) tendering to the enthroned deity an antelope that he holds by its hind leg. This rendering is found again in the Syrian seals 910 and 937.

900. Hematite. Cylinder, chipped at top and  
 bottom.  $27 \times 16$   
 Deity shouldering ax and raising cup while

seated before table with two indefinable designs  
 and fish above it, globe below it; worshiper hold-  
 ing up animal while approaching table. Between

<sup>6</sup> De Genouillac, *Céramique cappadocienne*, vol. I, pl. A4; Lewy, *Tablettes cappadociennes*, pt. 3, fig. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Louvre A. 871; Kültepe 18 aD (unpublished seal impression).

<sup>8</sup> Clay, *Letters and Transactions from Cappadocia*, pl. LXXXII; De Genouillac, *op. cit.*, pl. c 1.

<sup>9</sup> J. Lewy, "Die Keilschriftquellen zur Geschichte Anatoliens," *Nachrichten der Giessener Hochschulgesellschaft*, VI (no. 1, 1927), pl. v.



deity and table, animal head. At left: rampant lion and gazelle, both rearing over fallen gazelle. Border of animals above and below. [ Ward, *Morgan* 184 ]

901. Hematite. Cylinder. 18 × 10  
Center: enthroned god with cup; before him, sun disk in crescent, human head; at left, crossed lions, reversed, with human head above, hare below; at right, eagle with two lion heads, above reversed hare. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 910 ]

902. Hematite. Cylinder. 18 × 10  
Enthroned god holding cup under star disk in crescent; manikin on one knee; worshiper carrying kid. Terminal: hare over back of bull (statue?) above two worshipers placed at right angles to main scene.

903. Hematite. Cylinder. 17 × 9  
Worshiper carrying kid (?) and following manikin on one knee before enthroned deity. Before worshiper, squatting monkey. Before deity, sun disk in crescent above two human heads. Terminal: standard composed of female and male head, with bird at top; beside standard, pole.

904. Hematite. Cylinder. 20 × 12  
Worshiper following manikin on one knee before enthroned deity; second worshiper facing *inscription?* In sky, star in crescent disk, four globes. [ Ward, *Morgan* 58 ]

905. Hematite. Cylinder. 20 × 11  
Bull placed over spear held by manikin on one knee and by small female with worshiping female facing entire group; god in ascending posture on lion, holding mace and facing enthroned god with cup over which snake is coiled. Before enthroned god, star in crescent, monkey above manikin on one knee, two globes. Over bull hare; before bull, altar (?). [ Ward, *Morgan* 215 ]

906. Hematite. Cylinder. 17.5 × 11  
God or hero (in frontal view) holding two weapons; altar; goddess (?) with cup, on mountain (?); two crossed antelopes over squatting monkey; worshiper tendering animal to seated deity with cup. Before deity, star disk in crescent; behind deity, ball staff. [ Ward, *Morgan* 213 ]

907. Hematite. Cylinder. 20 × 11  
Goddess, holding cup, under canopy on kneeling bull, with bird above cup, animal head below it; facing her, male figure with mace; ball staff above vessel; worshiper holding ball staff before enthroned god (full face) with cup, hare before him. [ Ward, *Morgan* 246 ]

908. Hematite. Cylinder. 12 × 8  
Four worshipers walking. Before first, fish above monkey; before second, plant; before third, ball staff; before fourth, vessel above ball staff.

## HITTITE CYLINDER (909)

A Hittite origin is indicated in the case of 909, not only by the hieroglyphs placed in the field but also by the appearance of the central figure, who probably is a king, since he carries a staff or rod curved at the end (referred to by archaeologists as the *lituus*), which is the characteristic insignia of Hittite kings.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the figure in 909 parallels in attire and attribute—a winged sun disk over his head—the king in the rock reliefs of Yazilikaya.<sup>2</sup> Since the latter have been ascribed by Bittel to the period from 1350 to 1250 B.C.,<sup>3</sup> a like dating is suggested for 909.

The fact that the piece is made of metal, a material rarely used for cylinder seals, has given rise to some suspicion concerning its genuineness.<sup>4</sup> However, numbers of Hittite stamp seals<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S. Alp, "La désignation du *Lituus* en Hittite," and A. Goetze, "The Priestly Dress of the Hittite King," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, I (1947), 164 and 184.

<sup>2</sup> K. Bittel, "Die Felsbilder von Yazilikaya," *Istanbuler Forschungen*, vol. V (1934), pl. x34.

<sup>3</sup> *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orientgesellschaft*, no. 73 (March, 1935), p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> L. Messerschmidt, in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 3d yr. (1900), p. 243.

<sup>5</sup> D. K. Hill, "The Rediscovered Seal of Tarqumuwa, King of Mera," *Archiv Orientalní*, IX (1937), 307–310, pl. xxiv; Louvre A. 1034, 1037, 1039; Ashmolean 188, 199; others.



are made of metal, and the use of it in this cylinder indicates merely that the Hittite workman employed the material and tooling with which he was familiar.

909. Layer of silver on sheet of copper, edges bent together. Cylinder.  $22 \times 9$ . (a) Impression. (b) Sealstone

God holding ax and facing Hittite king (?), who holds hieroglyph in one hand, curved staff in other, with winged sun disk above his head, bird near his shoulder; attendant (?) holding in-

definable object. Star and Hittite hieroglyphs in field. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 794 ]

Ward notes of this seal that it "is said to have been brought with a number of other antiquities from Haifa in Syria" (*American Journal of Archaeology*, IX, [ 1894 ], 361).



## SEALS OF SYRIA AND PALESTINE

The earliest seals discovered in Syria are stamps found at Tall Judaidah<sup>1</sup> in layers as early as those in which stamps were found at the north-Mesopotamian site of Tepe Gawra. Cylinders are considerably later, though a unique piece was found in an early layer at Tall Chagar Bazar.<sup>2</sup> However, the relation in time of that cylinder to the earliest cylinders found in Mesopotamia has not as yet been finally determined. In any case, the art of cylinder-seal engraving flourished and expanded in Mesopotamia in an unbroken development from the Uruk period onward, while in Syria, at least during the third millennium, the engraving of cylinders appears to have been limited to the copying of Mesopotamian designs.

A specifically Syrian style in cylinder seals emerged at the beginning of the second millennium, and only cylinders of this style can be classified with any certainty as Syrian. The characterizing features in such seals are a rounded and extremely delicate modeling, the appearance of typically Syrian costume, and the presence of Egyptian elements. A few impressions of seals in this style have been found on Cappadocian tablets.<sup>3</sup> These enable us to date the earliest distinctively Syrian cylinders approximately in the eighteenth or the nineteenth century B.C.

The style appears to have been maintained with very minor changes until the latter part of the second millennium, when the invasion of the Peoples of the Sea, in about 1200 B.C., led to an eclipse of the high standards of artistic production that had been reached in the eastern Mediterranean area. However, the Syrian glyptic style may have deteriorated even before this time. Frankfort believes that this deterioration set in about 1350 B.C., after the destruction of the Mitannian empire, and that only inferior seals were produced between 1350 and 1200 B.C.<sup>4</sup> In his chronological division of Syrian seals, he assigns such inferior seals to a third Syrian group. His second Syrian group consists of earlier seals that embody features similar to those found in the impression of Saushatar, king of Mitanni, and are therefore dated about 1450 B.C., while his first Syrian group, the earliest, includes seals in Syrian style with elements of Old Babylonian glyptic.

Frankfort's division into a first and a second group has been followed here, although the beginnings of the first group are placed somewhat earlier, in the time of the Cappadocian tablets: seals 910-936 are assigned to the first Syrian group, 937-995 to the second. Seals that might fall into Frankfort's third Syrian group, on the score of their debased rendering of Syrian motifs, have been relegated to the group of seals of uncertain provenance, since their style in all instances is mixed, and nothing is certainly known as to where the pieces of this type in the present collection were found.

While Syria attained a high degree of development of glyptic art, Palestine in general

<sup>1</sup> C. W. McEwan, "The Syrian Expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago," *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLI (1937), 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Iraq*, III (1936), 29, pl. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük: Seasons of 1930-1932* (*Oriental Institute Publications*, vol. XXIX, Chicago, 1937), pt. II, p. 208, fig. 247, e844 (right upper corner); J. Lewy, "Old Assyrian Documents from Asia Minor," *Archives d'histoire du droit oriental*, vol. I (1937), pl. IIa, b.

<sup>4</sup> Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 288.



appears to have adopted foreign styles. Most of the cylinders found in Palestine are of Syrian or Mitannian style, as may be seen by an examination of the evidence collected by Nougayrol.<sup>5</sup> Seals of Syrian style made in Palestine may perhaps be differentiated from those made in Syria on the basis of the greater prevalence of Egyptian elements in the former. Such prevalence is to be expected in view of the direct political relations of Palestine and Egypt during a large part of the second millennium. This consideration has determined the classification of 996–1001 as Palestinian seals. Palestinian origin is more certainly to be assumed in the case of those cylinders (1002) which imitate the linear style of the scarabs made in Palestine during the Hyksos period, in the first half of the second millennium, or which show extreme variations from the usual Syrian type of engraving (1003–1005).

Syrian and Palestinian cylinders of comparable style are usually made of hematite. For Palestinian cylinders of mixed style, steatite and other soft materials were often employed.

<sup>5</sup> J. Nougayrol, *Cylindres sceaux et empreintes de cylindres trouvés en Palestine*, Paris, 1939.

### CYLINDERS OF THE FIRST SYRIAN GROUP (910–936)

The classification of the cylinders of this group is based entirely on stylistic considerations. Evidence of relations with Cappadocian and with Old Babylonian designs sufficiently close to indicate a proximity in date are one factor; similar relations with the murals of Mari, a city destroyed in the thirty-fifth year of Hammurabi, are also a criterion. In the seals thus assigned to the first Syrian group a certain restraint in the modeling of the figures and a relatively simple rendering of the garments can be observed. These features are considered sufficiently characteristic to classify certain other seals as belonging to this group, even though no relation to other contemporary glyptic styles is obvious.

The subject matter of these seals is varied, and few of the scenes are alike. For convenience of presentation they are therefore more or less arbitrarily grouped according to the actions or appearance of what seem to be the principal figures. Thus, 910–914 present scenes centering about seated deities; 915–925, scenes featuring figures with standards or symbols; 926–931, scenes including Old Babylonian deities; 932–936, miscellaneous scenes.

#### SEATED DEITIES (910–914)

Seals 910–913 show worshipers before a seated deity; in 914 there is a second seated figure that may represent either a worshiper or another deity. The shape of the throne, which in 910–913 resembles that of a temple, is characteristic of scenes of the Third Dynasty of Ur and of early Old Babylonian designs; the flounced robe of the deity in 910, and his horned miter, likewise conform to Mesopotamian tradition. Perhaps an even more precise dating for the latter seal is indicated in the fact that the flounced robe is marked by the same triple or double pleats as those on robes seen in the Old Babylonian cylinders 399 and 401 and in impressions dating from the time of Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna, his successor. From Syria itself comes further evidence to confirm such a dating, since the worshiper's garment in 910 resembles that of a king in a mural from Mari.<sup>1</sup> Both the worshiper and the king wear mantles apparently bordered by fringe and draped in a curve instead of hanging down straight as in Old Babylonian representations. The curve reveals a striped undergarment that seems to fit tightly on the thighs. A feature that does not appear in the mural is the

<sup>1</sup> *Syria*, vol. XVIII (1937), pl. xxxix; p. 336, fig. 8.



upward-curving brim of the worshiper's cap. This type of brim is common in Syrian renderings (931, 946 offer good examples) and may therefore be taken as indicating Syrian origin.

Since 910 has been referred to the time of Hammurabi, 911–913, which present related subjects, may be similarly dated, though the deities are rendered not with horned miter as in 910 but with the more typically Syrian short curled hair.

The worshiping scenes of 910–913 can be differentiated from their Mesopotamian parallels by the egyptianizing character of the objects held by the enthroned deities; in 910 the figure holds a life sign, in 912 a lotus blossom, and in 911 and 913 a vase of Egyptian shape. The offering of an antelope in 910 introduces another note foreign to Mesopotamia, since there is no evidence in Old Babylonian representations to indicate that animals slain in the hunt were used as offerings. Moreover, the subsidiary scene of 910, in which attendants and animal-headed demons bring up the rest of the kill, presents a motif unparalleled in any other glyptic group.

The resemblance between the worshiper's garment in 910 and 911 and that of the king in the Mari mural may indicate that the worshiper in these scenes is to be identified as a king. The character of the worshiper in 912 and 913 cannot be determined. However, his gesture in 913, where he is shown thrusting a spear into the ground before the deity, is very distinctive. A similar gesture is made by a god in Nuzi 663 and appears later in Assyrian art—in a figure identified as the prime minister of Sargon II, in a colored-enamel painting of Khorsabad.<sup>2</sup>

Of the small symbolic designs that appear in the field in Old Babylonian seals, only the ball staff and vessel recur with any frequency in these Syrian seals. Moreover, some of the Syrian designs, such as the curved offering table with bull feet, the hand, and the bull's head in 913, and the animals one above the other in 911 and 912, are not found in the unadulterated Old Babylonian style, although they do appear on Cappadocian seals. Others of the designs are of Egyptian origin: 910 shows a winged sun disk with pendant uraeus snakes, as well as the vulture of the Egyptian goddess Mut, which is here perched on a pole carried by demons. No parallels exist in other glyptic groups for the column with a bird above it appearing in 911 and 912. Perhaps this motif served to identify the deities portrayed in these seals.

Seal 914 varies from the cylinders just described in that it presents a deity characterized by the square horned miter distinctive of Syrian goddesses (958–960 below). If the figure seated opposite this deity is a worshiper, the scene may be an abbreviated rendering of the theme of a worshiper communing with a god by drinking from a common vessel. The motif in 914 merely pictures vessels between the two figures, but in Berlin 526, on which Moortgat bases this interpretation, the figures are shown actually drinking through tubes. Thus interpreted, the scene of 914 would be a Syrian variation of the ancient Mesopotamian subject of two banqueting figures. This seal is assigned to the first Syrian group by reason of its rather linear engraving, especially in the figure of the nude female, which in regard to its outlines comes closer to a Cappadocian rendering of this subject (Weber 721) than to the rounded forms of the second Syrian group (937–946).

910. Hematite. Cylinder. 29.5 × 15  
Worshiper offering gazelle, held by hind leg, to god enthroned on platform and grasping Egyptian life sign; between figures, sun disk with pendant uraeus-like snakes. Behind throne, recumbent ibex with triple-ringed cup above it. Secondary motif: above, ibex-demon holding

hare by hind leg and winged bull-demon, both shouldering bar from which stag is suspended, with vulture perched on front tip of bar; below, two attendants carrying bar from which antelope is suspended, with ibex head impaled on rear end of bar. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 858 ]

<sup>2</sup> Loud, *Khorsabad*, pt. I (*Oriental Institute Publications*, vol. XXXVIII, Chicago, 1936), p. 95, fig. 104, côté A.



911. Hematite. Cylinder. 20 × 11

Worshiper facing deity enthroned on platform and holding vase. Before deity, hand, ball staff. Behind throne, on same platform, column topped by bird; at left of column, vessel above indefinable design. Terminal: sitting gazelle with hand above its back, over sitting antelope with blossom above its back.

912. Hematite. Cylinder. 21 × 11

Female and male worshiper facing deity enthroned on platform and holding lotus blossom. Before deity, column topped by bird. Terminal: two sitting hares, one above other. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 904 ]

913. Hematite. Cylinder. 17 × 10

Suppliant goddess following worshiper who thrusts spear in ground, both facing deity with vase, enthroned on platform. Before deity, stand with loaves above life sign. Before goddess, flaming (?) ball staff. At either side of worshiper, star in sky. Terminal: bull's head above hand. [ Ward, *Morgan* 222 ]

914. Hematite. Cylinder. 20 × 9.5

Nude female with scarf (?), behind worshiper (?) and deity seated opposite each other with vase between them, eagle above it. [ Ward, *Morgan* 57 ]

#### FIGURES WITH STANDARDS OR OTHER SYMBOLIC DESIGNS (915-925)

The classification of the seals in this diversified group is in most instances based on the occurrence of some detail of design evincing Old Babylonian or Cappadocian affiliation. Thus 915 shows, in its two bull-men with a standard, a motif found in the subsidiary scene of 421, except that the Babylonian bull-men both grasp the same standard, while those of 915 each hold a separate one. Seal 916 shows a crescent standard topped by a disk inclosing a cross; it corresponds with the standard held by a bull-man in 366, a seal classified as Old Babylonian even though it may be of provincial origin.

In 917 the large ridged caps of the figures and the linear engraving recall certain Syro-Cappadocian seals, such as 906. Seals 918 and 919 offer as a criterion for dating the standard composed of a male and female head (in 919 topped by a bird) that occurs in the Syro-Cappadocian seal 903 and in an impression on a Cappadocian tablet,<sup>3</sup> as well as on a number of seals of the first Syrian group,<sup>4</sup> but not in later glyptic.

In 920 the arrangement of the two scenes on the seal—one presenting two large figures, the other a number of smaller ones—may indicate an early date, since in seals of fully developed Syrian style the subsidiary scene is most often clearly set off from the principal theme by being arranged in two registers, usually with a guilloche between them (as in 919). Cappadocian designs like that of 894 show motifs placed beside one another much as in 920. A somewhat similar arrangement appears in 921, which also presents what may be a simplified rendering of the floral standard placed between two of the smaller figures in 920.

Seal 922 is listed with 920 and 921 because the execution of the details of its design, such as the sitting monkey, is identical with that in 920, possibly indicating that the two seals were made in the same workshop. Evidence for dating appears in 923 and 924, both of which show two men, one at either side of a standard or symbol, wearing mantles with lines of fringe drawn over the shoulders and merging at the waist, thus recalling the garb of figures in Mari murals.<sup>5</sup> Seal 925, which has a related subject, may be of later origin, since the curious gesture of the man at the left, who holds a stick across his shoulders, is paralleled in Brett 87, which is included by Frankfort in his second Syrian group.

Regarding the subject matter of these seals, little can be added beyond the details of the individual catalogue descriptions. Though many of the scenes are vividly portrayed, themes

<sup>3</sup> Lewy, "Die Keilschriftquellen zur Geschichte Anatoliens," *Nachrichten der Giessener Hochschulgesellschaft*, vol. VI (no. 1, 1927), pl. v.

<sup>4</sup> Newell 164, 312; Louvre A. 894; Walters 29; Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 932.

<sup>5</sup> *Syria*, vol. XVIII (1937), pl. xxxviii.



like that of 916, showing a nude figure with two small men, or of 917, presenting an archer and a water carrier (?), are not easily explained by what is thus far known of the spiritual culture of Syria. However, it is obvious that great importance attached to the numerous, often prominently displayed standards and symbols appearing in the seals of this group. The animals in 920 and 922 likewise seem to be treated as symbols, since they appear in positions occupied by standards or symbols in seals such as 921.

915. Hematite. Cylinder.  $21 \times 12$

Two bull-men (frontal view), each holding standard or spear; worshiper with curved staff facing nude female, between them Egyptian life sign above stand with loaves; at right, worshiper (?) in flounced robe with egyptianizing cartouche before him.

916. Hematite. Cylinder.  $18 \times 9.5$

Nude female (?) figure, holding crescent standard topped with cross disk, standing between two nude male figures—one smaller, one larger—reaching up toward her hands; nude bearded hero. Bird in sky. Terminal, in three registers, one above other: seated goat, lion, facing; two recumbent hares; bird, two monkeys. [ Ward, *Morgan* 185 ]

917. Hematite. Cylinder.  $19 \times 11$

Ibex attacked by archer; water carrier (?). Bird and animal head above water carrier's shoulders, ax with curved shaft and ball staff beside him. Fish above archer's bow. Terminal: hare, griffin, squatting manikin, one above other. [ Ward, *Morgan* 224 ]

918. Hematite. Cylinder.  $15 \times 8$

God in ascending posture facing standard composed of female and male head; female worshiper facing god with spiked helmet, between them sun disk in crescent above ball staff. Terminal: mace standard. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1017 ]

919. Hematite. Cylinder, chipped.  $19 \times 12$

Worshiper facing female figure with bird (?) perched on one hand, between them standard composed of female and male head mounted on crouching lion and topped with bird. In sky, cross disk in crescent, star, animal head. Terminal: antelope and griffin over guilloche; below latter, two seated lions, facing, human head between them. [ Ward, *Morgan* 266 ]

920. Hematite. Cylinder.  $17.5 \times 11$

Worshiper before figure with scimitar, between them bird above mongoose; two manikins—one at either side of standard ending in two lotus blossoms supporting sun disk in crescent—with hare above first manikin, bird above second; small female figure with cup enthroned on crouching lion, hand before her, animal head behind her. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 908 ]

921. Hematite. Cylinder.  $17.5 \times 9.5$

Female (?) worshiper facing figure with mace, between them vessel above ball staff; griffin over sitting lion; standard; griffin demon on one knee over sitting lion. [ Ward, *Morgan* 236 ]

922. Hematite. Cylinder.  $17 \times 9$

Deity (?) facing male and female worshiper. Behind deity, hare above mongoose; before deity, bird above antelope.

923. Hematite. Cylinder.  $17 \times 9.5$

Two facing male figures holding spear, between them star and crescent in sky, animal head and two human heads below. Beside figure at right, vessel above ball staff. Terminal: hare and sitting griffin above sitting gazelle and pawing lion.

924. Hematite. Cylinder.  $17.5 \times 9$

Two male figures facing, ball staff between them. Terminal: two birds facing above small and large griffin facing, ball staff and vessel between pairs.

925. Hematite. Cylinder.  $17 \times 8$

Deity with mace and ax standing on prostrate human figure; male figure holding stick across his shoulders; vertical guilloche; second male figure. In sky, sun disk in crescent. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 882 ]

#### SCENES INCLUDING OLD BABYLONIAN DEITIES (926-931)

Six seals of the present collection are classified under this designation because they present, in most cases, figures derived from the Old Babylonian repertory and rendered with little change. The suppliant goddess of 926, 927, 931 is an example, though in 927 and 931 she



wears the turban-like headgear seen in 878, which is a Cappadocian seal. The goddess holding a flowing vase in 928 recalls Old Babylonian representations of the water god like that in Berlin 398, notwithstanding the fact that in this Syrian rendering the sex of the deity has changed. All of the three deities in 930 are copies of Old Babylonian subjects—the sun god, the suppliant goddess, and the god with a mace—although in the present rendering the latter seems to be wearing a cap with soft brim rather than the stiff headgear of the Old Babylonian representations.

Unlike the seals described in the two preceding groups, most of the pieces of the present group display the subsidiary design as a separate motif comprising an upper and a lower register divided by a horizontal guilloche (926, 928–930). This arrangement will be found to be typical of the second Syrian group.

926. Hematite. Cylinder.  $17.5 \times 9$   
Suppliant goddess before figure with scimitar; woman or goddess who reaches into upper register of secondary motif, holding cup under monkey squatted beside griffin over guilloche above two facing seated lions. [Ward, *Morgan* 234]

927. Hematite. Cylinder.  $18 \times 11$   
Seated griffin above seated lion, former menacing hare, latter menacing reversed goat that is held by nude bearded hero; bird above monkey; suppliant goddess facing worshiper, between them sun disk inclosing globe over crescent, above monkey. [Ward, *Morgan* 221]

A seal showing identical engraving and hence perhaps made in the same workshop was found [Oriental Institute Publications, vol. XXIX], at Alishar (Von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük* p. 207, fig. 246:3103).

928. Hematite. Cylinder.  $23 \times 12$   
Female worshiper before goddess who holds vase containing plant and emitting streams that flow to vase below; behind goddess, male worshiper. Terminal: antelope attacked by bearded

sphinx above guilloche with ibex head and sitting lion beneath it. [Ward, *Morgan* 217]

929. Hematite. Cylinder.  $21 \times 10$   
Worshiper facing goddess who holds vase from which plant and two streams emerge; behind goddess, female worshiper. Terminal: sitting griffin (?), guilloche, recumbent sphinx, one above other. [Ward, *Morgan* 219]

930. Hematite. Cylinder, copper needle remaining in perforation.  $26 \times 15.5$   
God with mace and god with saw in ascending posture facing suppliant goddess. In field, star, star disk in crescent, monkey. Terminal: gazelle and pawing sphinx, both seated, above guilloche over antelope and pawing griffin, both seated. [Ward, *Morgan* 209]

931. Hematite. Cylinder.  $24.5 \times 12.5$   
Suppliant goddess facing worshiper who carries antelope by neck, second worshiper following. In sky, cross disk in crescent. Terminal: leaping griffin above sitting gazelle. [Ward, *Morgan* 214]

#### MISCELLANEOUS SCENES (932–936)

Since no common element appears in the subject matter of the seals of this group, they must be discussed individually.

Seal 932 is classified as belonging to the first Syrian group because it depicts, like 931, a figure holding an antelope by the neck. This curious motif is found later in Aegean art, as on a Mycenaean seal<sup>6</sup> and a "Melian" amphora,<sup>7</sup> probably indicating Syrian influence in the Aegean area. Seal 933 manifests the linear execution that is believed to indicate a dating earlier than that of the second Syrian group. The occurrence of griffin-demons in 932 and 933 should be noted, since this demon appears more and more frequently in Syrian

<sup>6</sup> H. Bossert, *The Art of Ancient Crete*, London, 1937, p. 233, fig. 396e.

<sup>7</sup> E. Buschor, *Greek Vase-painting*, London, 1921, pl. xxvi, fig. 52.



designs, subsequently also in the art of northern Mesopotamia at the time of the Mitannian empire, and finally in Assyria.

The scenes of 934 and 936 include monsters with lion heads and scorpion bodies, creatures that appear to be limited to seals of the first Syrian group. They occur for example in Newell 312, which has in its upper register a pole composed of a male and a female head. This pole, which has been mentioned in connection with 918 and 919, is a feature not found in seals of the second Syrian group.

Seal 935 shows a hero wearing a helmet with plumed crest; this is a figure encountered in Syro-Cappadocian designs,<sup>8</sup> which would indicate an early date for the seal.

932. Hematite. Cylinder. 20 × 11  
Armless griffin-demon facing worshiper who carries antelope by neck. Terminal: sitting lion above herringbone band over sitting griffin and antelope, facing. [ Ward, *Morgan* 182 ]

933. Hematite. Cylinder. 19 × 11  
Two armless griffin-demons, each on one knee behind female deity wearing crown of Egyptian goddess—composed of horns inclosing sun disk—and holding life sign in one hand while other hand grasps streams flowing from vase in sky; before her, figure in posture of god with mace. Three animal heads in field. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 948 ]

934. Hematite. Cylinder, fragment.  
19 × 10.5  
Indefinable monster, with bird above it, behind figure with scimitar in ascending posture. Terminal: lion with scorpion body and recum-

bent hare above band of vertical lines; below band, bird over recumbent lion. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 846 ]

935. Hematite. Cylinder. 17 × 8  
Undulating striped band dividing design into four themes: in first, three human heads, one animal head, two hands, all reversed; in second, hero with plumed helmet, holding weapon; in third, lion above gazelle, both reversed; in fourth, hare over monkey beside column of inverted crescents above guilloche. [ *Berytus*, VII, pl. viii 3 ]

936. Hematite. Cylinder. 15 × 9  
Double-headed lion-eagle and winged lion-demon on one knee, latter holding hare, above two sitting griffins with fish between them; leaping gazelle over sitting gazelle; column composed of hare and three lions with scorpion bodies.

<sup>8</sup> E. Porada, "The Warrior with Plumed Helmet: A Study of Syro-Cappadocian Cylinder Seals and Bronze Figurines," *Berytus*, VII (1942), pl. viii 1, 2.

## CYLINDERS OF THE SECOND SYRIAN GROUP (937-995)

The period during which the style of the second Syrian group flourished, about 1600-1850 B.C., was a time of great upheavals. The sack of Babylon by raiding Hittites, the overthrow of the Hyksos rule in Egypt, and the emergence and destruction of the Mitannian empire, all fell approximately within this era. The palaces of Syria nevertheless maintained their position as centers of trade and luxury, recovering quickly from wars and invasions. Through them flowed the goods, including the works of art, of Mesopotamia and Egypt and of the Aegean regions.

Even more than the preceding series, this group of seals reflects a love of decoration and rich materials. The gods and worshipers appear in elaborate settings and luxurious garb. Fastidious engraving of garments distinguishes those seals which in the details of their scenes can be related to the imprint of Saushatar,<sup>1</sup> the Mitannian king whose capital lay in

<sup>1</sup> R. F. S. Starr, *Nuzi*, vol. II, Cambridge, 1937, pl. 118r.



northeastern Syria. These seals can, on the basis of this comparison, be dated about 1450 B.C. It seems likely that such seals (955), together with others that may be similarly dated on the basis of their elaborate engraving (for example, 956–959, 966, 967, 972, 973, 980, 985), represent the height of Syrian glyptic. Seals that are more simply executed may be of earlier origin (for example, 938–941, 960–962, 964, 965), while those in which the style seems to be conventionalized are possibly to be dated later, perhaps after 1400 (for example, 963, 968, 987–995).

However, these determinations cannot be considered as final so long as most of the cylinders found in the excavations of Ras Shamra (ancient Ugarit) remain unpublished. Because of this uncertainty in regard to chronological sequence, the classification of most of the seals in this group is based on subject matter rather than on style.

The subjects are as varied as in the first Syrian group. Certain figures, though they occur in a variety of scenes, are considered distinctive enough to serve as the basis for most of the groupings presented here. Thus 937–946 feature a nude female; 947–954, one or two figures with tall oval caps; 955–957, figures with standards; 958–963, a winged deity; 964–968, a weather god; 969–972, figures—probably male—in various actions. However, 973–978 have been grouped together because they seem to depict worship of various deities, while in 979–986 the demons or monsters serve as a common denominator. Finally, 987–995 present various scenes that are treated as a group because they seem to be later, conventionalized renderings of the themes encountered in the other groups.

#### *THE NUDE FEMALE FIGURE (937–946)*

The figure of a woman lifting the ends of her veil and displaying her nudity, as found in 937–944, is differentiated from the earlier Syrian and Cappadocian representations of a nude female by a more rounded form and a more elaborate coiffure. The hair is bound up in the back, but otherwise it resembles the ornate coiffure of the goddess in an ivory relief from Ras Shamra<sup>2</sup> that reflects the feminine fashion prevailing in the Levant and in the Aegean regions around the middle of the second millennium. A dating at about this time is likewise suggested by the vase held by the enthroned figure in 937, since it corresponds in shape with a Mycenaean gold cup dated in the second half of the sixteenth century B.C.<sup>3</sup>

The role of the nude female varies. That she is a goddess is indicated by scenes in which she is being worshiped (939). The divine character of the figure is especially clear in 942–944, in which she is shown standing upon a bull; further, in 944 she appears framed by a winged canopy. However, her character cannot be precisely determined, since she appears in different relations to different figures. Sometimes she stands before an enthroned male figure who may, by the mere fact that he is seated, be characterized as a superior deity (937, 938). In 940 she appears as a small figure, probably propitious, between two persons who cannot be identified because of the incomplete state of the seal. In 941 she faces a griffin-demon reaching toward a winged sun disk. It is not certain that this juxtaposition indicates a relation between her and the demon, though a relation is suggested in the case of figures facing her in other seals, such as the weather god in 967 and 968, or the male figure in 945 and 946.

In 945 and 946, the nude female is partly clothed, but the mantle falling over one leg, far from covering her nudity, serves only to accentuate it. This is especially true in 945, where she is shown holding the mantle to one side. The male personage facing her in 946 is clad much like the worshiper in 910, in what has been judged to be royal attire (in 945 only his

<sup>2</sup> Bossert, *The Art of Ancient Crete*, p. 271, fig. 503.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 79, fig. 150.



cap is like that in 910). The fact that the nude female usually appears with a mantle in scenes in which she is associated with such a personage, for example in Louvre A. 934, may indicate that this rendering illustrates her specific aspect in relation to that figure, presumably a king.

937. Hematite. Cylinder.  $21 \times 10$

Nude goddess with opened veil; worshiper holding hare by hind leg before enthroned deity (?) with cup. In sky, star, sun disk in crescent. Fish in field. Terminal: sitting antelope above two small female figures. Upper border, three vultures with spread wings. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 917 ]

938. Hematite. Cylinder.  $17 \times 9$

Enthroned deity with vase facing nude goddess with opened veil followed by worshiper. Above either shoulder of goddess, crescent; beside her, animal head and triple-ringed cup. Before head of deity, lotus blossom. Terminal: bird above fish. [ Ward, *Morgan* 244 ]

939. Hematite. Cylinder.  $16 \times 9$

Female and male worshiper at either side of nude goddess with opened veil. Beside goddess, bird and fish. Terminal: bird above hare. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 919 ]

940. Hematite. Cylinder, upper part broken off. D. 9

Small nude goddess with opened veil standing between one large figure at left and two at right; four small marching men.

941. Hematite. Cylinder.  $17 \times 9$

Griffin-demon on one knee reaching toward winged sun disk above and facing nude goddess with opened veil, worshiper beside her. Before goddess, scorpion. Behind demon, triple-ringed cup. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 920 ]

942. Hematite. Cylinder.  $19 \times 10$

Two manikins, each on one knee, at either side of nude goddess with opened veil, standing on

kneeling bull, sitting lion pawing at second manikin. In upper field, two birds; two hares. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 916 ]

943. Hematite. Cylinder.  $21 \times 11$

Manikin on one knee before nude goddess with opened veil, standing on bull; two facing male figures, monkey between them. In upper field: bird; hare; star; ringlike sun disk in crescent. [ Ward, *Morgan* 243 ]

944. Hematite. Cylinder.  $17 \times 11$

Small nude goddess with opened veil, standing on bull, framed by winged canopy, facing figure with oval headgear holding crook. Under bull, triple-ringed cup. Star in sky. Secondary motif: two small seated figures, one at either side of offering stand with loaves, above four small marching men, first of latter holding crook. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 915 ]

945. Hematite. Cylinder.  $23 \times 11$

Male figure before goddess drawing aside her mantle, bird perched on her finger. Secondary motif: two sitting lions, facing, above guilloche; below it, ibex pawed by griffin. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 924 ]

946. Hematite. Cylinder.  $24 \times 12$

Suppliant goddess; goddess partially veiled, on platform, and small nude goddess on separate platform, both facing male figure. Before suppliant goddess, large Egyptian life sign. Crescent and vulture in sky. Secondary motif: two seated deities (?), each holding vase, one at either side of stand with loaves, entire group above two manikins, each on one knee under separate canopy; beside first canopy, vase. [ Ward, *Morgan* 245 ]

#### FIGURES WITH OVAL HEADGEAR (947-954)

In the seals of this group, the principal figures wear a type of tall oval headgear that appears also on a statue from Mishrifah (ancient Qatna).<sup>4</sup> This statue can be dated in about the middle of the second millennium, a fact confirming the classification of these seals in the second Syrian group.

Seals 947-949 each show a figure wearing this headgear and further attired in the flounced robe characteristic of Mesopotamian deity, which, as indicated by 910-913, was adopted by the Syrians for some of their gods. Therefore it seems likely that the enthroned figure in both

<sup>4</sup> *Syria*, VII (1926), pl. LXX.



947 and 948, and the standing figure at the right in 949, should be regarded as gods. Facing this figure in 949 is a personage with similar headgear but clad in a mantle that gives the impression of having rolled borders. He holds a mace, a curved weapon, and a spear; all of these are weapons that could be carried by a god or by a king. As contributing to the identification of this figure, the evidence of 950 and 951 may be cited. There in each case the figure with oval headgear is dressed in a mantle with fringed borders and a striped undergarment similar to those of the worshiper in 910 and of the king in the Mari mural. This may indicate that in 950 and 951 the figure with oval headgear portrays a king. The fact that the figure is duplicated could be due to the requirements of a balanced composition. There is support for such an assumption in Near Eastern art; for example, in a relief of Ashurnasirpal II the figure of the king is duplicated.<sup>5</sup>

The determination concerning the figures with oval headgear in 950 and 951 suggests that the personage at the left in 949 should be regarded as a king rather than a god, since his mantle is shaped like that worn by the figures in 950 and 951. The fact that in 949 the borders of the mantle appear to be rolled instead of being decorated with fringe may merely indicate that this particular garment could be either trimmed with or entirely made of varying materials. On this basis, figures wearing such a mantle together with oval headgear may tentatively be considered royal, as for example in 952 and 954.

No determination can be made, however, in regard to the figures with oval headgear in 953, since they wear long, crosshatched robes.

947. Hematite. Cylinder. 22 × 11

Female worshiper holding palm leaf (?), behind enthroned deity with oval headgear who holds cup and faces male worshiper. In field: plant; disk inclosing cross with rays in crescent; bird (at knee of deity). Secondary motif: four female (?) figures above guilloche; below latter, recumbent hare.

948. Hematite. Cylinder. 26.5 × 14

Worshiper before enthroned deity with oval headgear who holds vase. Behind throne, second worshiper. Winged sun disk in sky. In field: vulture; two wedgelike incisions. Secondary motif: one male figure, one female, crossing arms under crescent and over vase. Scroll borders above and below.

949. Hematite. Cylinder. 26 × 12

Figure with oval headgear, brandishing mace and curved weapon in one hand, holding spear in other, and facing deity with oval headgear who holds spouted vase; between them, winged sun disk, lotus blossom, altar, two wedges (?); at left of group, small goddess (?) holding hand over offering stand topped by flame (?). Terminal: sitting gazelle pawed by griffin, above guilloche; below guilloche, recumbent ibex. [ Ward, *Morgan 233* ]

950. Hematite. Cylinder. 20 × 11

Two figures with oval headgear, one at either side of altar topped by jug, above latter, star disk in crescent; at right, female (?) figure holding falcon (?) above triple-ringed cup and Egyptian life sign. Secondary motif: guilloche above goddess with Egyptian sacred ram's horns facing seated deity (?) with cup, scorpion between them. [ Ward, *Morgan 231* ]

951. Hematite. Cylinder, chipped. 27 × 12

Worshiper behind two facing figures with oval headgear who grasp standard topped by star disk in crescent. Before worshiper, rosette, bull's head, Egyptian life sign, one above other. Terminal: sitting griffin, guilloche, sitting lion, one above other.

952. Hematite. Cylinder. 23 × 11

Worshiper behind two facing figures with oval headgear; between them, star disk, altar (?). Before worshiper, indefinable object. Terminal: guilloche, scorpion, bird beside fish, one above other. [ Ward, *Morgan 232* ]

953. Hematite. Cylinder. 27 × 12

Two facing figures with oval headgear, between them winged sun disk, vase, monkey, one above other; at right, female figure holding vase and wearing crown of Egyptian goddess composed

<sup>5</sup> Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, pl. 39A.



of horns and disk, altar before her. Terminal: sitting sphinx, guilloche, walking lion, one above other. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 866 ]

954. Hematite. Cylinder, fragment. H. 17.5  
Suppliant goddess before figure with oval head-

gear, between them horned (?) bird with spread wings above sitting horned bird; beside latter, three drillings. Terminal: bird on tail of recumbent animal, guilloche, walking lion (?), one above other.

#### FIGURES WITH STANDARDS (955-957)

Seal 955 can be dated with some assurance at about 1450 B.C., since the triple-crested helmet worn by one of the heroes (probably also by the second) in the lower register corresponds with the headgear of figures shown in the act of overpowering lions in the impression of the Mitannian king Saushatar.<sup>6</sup> However, the heroes in 955 wear folded cloths around their waists, whereas those in Saushatar's seal seem to wear only girdles. In 955, the garments of the worshipers flanking the winged sun disk in the upper register are rendered with elaborate curves and careful modeling. It has been pointed out above (p. 124) that seals showing a similar rendering of garments may be dated in the time of this king.

The winged sun disk on a pillar that forms the principal motif of 955 is an innovation in Syrian glyptic probably to be referred to Mitannian influence. Frankfort suggests<sup>7</sup> that this motif in Mitannian art derives from the ethnic background of the controlling group in the Mitannian realm and expresses the Indo-European concept of a pillar supporting the sky.

Seal 956 shows female figures surrounding a standard, or perhaps a palm tree, topped by the head of a male god. Frankfort has commented on this seal<sup>8</sup> in his discussion of the sacred tree. He suggests that a relation between the god and the tree is indicated by the fact that here a head emerges from the crown of the tree, and that the tree may be a manifestation of the god.

In 957 the standard flanked by two figures is an abbreviated rendering of the lion club, one of the most frequent symbols of the Old Babylonian repertory. In this seal the blades of the lion club have become a single omega-shaped curve, and the mace is replaced by a vase. Such a metamorphosis of the emblem can also be observed in seal impressions from Nuzi (Nuzi 608).

955. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged. 22 × 12  
Design in two registers at right angles to base of cylinder. Above: two male figures, one at either side of pillar topped by winged sun disk. Below: two heroes attacking lion between them. [ Ward, *Morgan* 225 ]

956. Hematite. Cylinder. 21 × 9.5  
Hooded female worshiper following goddess with square horned miter before standard topped by head of god with spiked helmet; at right, small goddess wearing miter with bird perched on it. In field: Egyptian life sign; dagger.

Terminal: four rosettes, each encircled by arc footed with small leaflike designs, one above other beside beaded column. [ Ward, *Morgan* 241 ]

957. Hematite. Cylinder, lower part broken off. D. 11.5  
Above: two facing male figures; two gods (?) with lion-club standard between them; two goddesses, second carrying vase and shouldering plant. Below: two facing sphinxes; tail and head of lion. Guilloche between registers. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 830 ]

<sup>6</sup> Starr, *Nuzi*, vol. II, pl. 1181.

<sup>7</sup> Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 277.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 206, pl. XLIVh.



*THE WINGED GODDESS (958-963)*

A number of cylinders (958-960) picture a winged goddess holding a spear or some other weapon that indicates her martial character. That the figure represents a goddess and not a god is indicated by the headgear, a square horned miter seen only on female deities.

In 958 and 959 the goddess is attired in a tight-fitting horizontally striped skirt similar to that worn by the weather god in 964, except for the long fringe attached. In 958 she seems to clutch the headdress of a small male figure who brandishes a dagger, menacing a tall figure with oval headgear like that of the figures discussed above. Above the hand of the goddess there appears the indistinct outline of a spear. However, since the male figure facing her holds his weapon over this outline, an unprecedented rendering in such a scene, it seems likely that the artist changed the context of the scene after its outlines were drawn. The small attacking figure wears a folded cloth around his waist, like the figures in the lower register of 955.

In 959 the goddess appears to be supervising a contest between two gods, one of whom is identified by the crescent on his helmet as associated with the moon. Seal 960 shows her in a chamber formed by guilloches, while outside of this inclosure suppliant goddesses are worshipping scorpions, perhaps her symbol.

The other seals of this group, 961-963, present a winged deity who is less clearly defined. In 961 this figure, shown as receiving worship, is female, as indicated by an elaborate coiffure like that of the nude goddess in 937-946. In 962 the winged deity is portrayed in ascending posture and holding what may be a lotus blossom; this blossom may indicate that here too the deity is female, since 963 pictures a similar winged nude goddess with a comparable emblem.

Seals 958 and 959 picture elaborate garments like those in 955 and may therefore be similarly dated in the fifteenth century, while 960-962 present a simpler rendering, possibly of earlier date. The portrayal of the suppliant goddesses in 960 does not deviate greatly from Old Babylonian examples; this may support a dating of the seal near the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon. Seal 963, however, gives evidence of the cursory execution that might be expected when a long-practiced craft is disintegrating. This seal may therefore be dated later than 958 and 959, that is, after 1400 B.C.

958. Hematite. Cylinder.  $26 \times 11$   
Figure with oval headgear holding curved weapon and facing winged goddess who holds whip and restrains small male figure brandishing dagger. Above hand of goddess, vertical line suggesting discarded design originally intended as spear. Terminal: lion attacked by nude bearded hero, between one guilloche above and one below. [ Ward, *Morgan* 252 ]

959. Hematite. Cylinder.  $17 \times 8$   
Small goddess with square horned miter, holding cup; winged goddess with spear; god with helmet topped by crescent, holding mace and curved weapon and fighting god (?) who holds scimitar and ax. In field: above, bull's head; below, two Egyptian life signs. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 894 ]

960. Hematite. Cylinder.  $21.5 \times 11$

Two facing suppliant goddesses, between them, star disk in crescent, three scorpions, one above other; winged goddess with spear and scimitar in chamber formed by guilloches. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 957 ]

961. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  $19 \times 10$   
Worshiper (?) holding spear (?), behind winged goddess facing worshiper, monkey between them. Terminal: sitting griffin, guilloche, standing humped bull, one above other. [ Ward, *Morgan* 250 ]

962. Hematite. Cylinder, rubbed.  $25 \times 16$   
Worshiper (?) holding bird above horned (?) bird, before winged deity with curved weapon or papyrus blossom; second worshiper, before him bull's head above monkey. Terminal: sitting sphinx, guilloche, standing animal, one above other.



963. Hematite. Cylinder. 20 × 9  
Figure in ascending posture holding curved  
weapon and facing winged nude goddess who  
holds lotus blossom; worshiper. In field: vase;

hand; two birds; three wedgelike designs. Ter-  
minal: panel inclosing scroll pattern with leaf-  
like ornaments. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 940 ]

#### THE WEATHER GOD (964-968)

The god in 964, who wears a horizontally striped tight-fitting skirt and a horned helmet topped by a spike, is brandishing a mace in one hand while holding an ax, a bull's rein, and a snakelike object in the other. He may be identified as the weather god by reason of his ax, a typical weapon of that god not only in Syria but also in Anatolia.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, in the inscription of 964, the seal owner calls himself "servant of Adad." Since Adad was the Babylonian weather god, this association may confirm the suggestion that the deity in 964 is a weather god, despite the fact that an identification of figures in a seal on the basis of its inscription is not beyond doubt.

Seal 965 also has a god carrying an ax and an inscription containing the name of Adad. Perhaps here again the god with the ax is a weather god, though he is winged and differently attired.

Seal 966 portrays two gods clad like the weather god of 964, but each has a mantle hanging from his shoulders, and the one at the left has a long fringe on his skirt. Each of these gods holds a spear. The one at the right also grasps an object that may be a bow; a presumably similar object in the hand of the god at the left has been obliterated by a crack in the seal. The latter deity also carries a curved weapon. The weapons of these gods all appear in different other seals as appurtenances of the weather god—the spear, for example, in Newell 302 and 303 and the curved weapon in Newell 339, while the object that is possibly a bow is curved in much the same manner as the snakelike object held by the weather god in 964. This, as well as the correspondence in attire with the god in 964, indicates that the gods of 966 should be regarded as weather gods.

Indubitable renderings of the weather god are found in 967 and 968. In both these seals he is standing on mountains and brandishing a mace in one hand. In 967 he is shown holding a snake and a bull's rein in the other hand, like the god in 964, though here the snake is clearly depicted, while the third object in the same hand is a lotus blossom, not an ax. This blossom invites comparison with a relief from Ras Shamra<sup>10</sup> in which the weather god holds a spear topped with a plant element, probably a transformed lightning symbol. In 968 the god holds an ax and a cursorily rendered object that may be a curved weapon. In 967 he faces a nude goddess standing on a bull, like the female deity in 942 and 943. This representation, and a similar one in Brett 90, where, however, the nude goddess appears in a winged inclosure, suggest a connection between these two figures like that predicated in regard to the nude female and the weather god in Old Babylonian seals (p. 58). In 968 the weather god faces a female figure displaying her nudity as in 945. While it is possible that here again the latter figure is represented in an association with the weather god, it should be noted that behind her stands a male figure with oval headgear who may be a king (p. 125).

The dates of the seals in this group probably differ considerably. While 966 and 967 show the fastidious engraving that marks the height of Syrian glyptic, the simpler carving of 964 and 965 may indicate an earlier origin, and the conventionalization in 968 a later.

<sup>9</sup> Van Buren, *Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art*, p. 161.

<sup>10</sup> *Syria*, XIV (1933), pl. xvi.



964. Hematite. Cylinder. 23 × 11

God with spiked helmet, brandishing mace and holding ax, snake (?), rein of bull; before him, bull and worshiper, both on guilloche. Above bull's rein, bird; below, Egyptian life sign. In sky, seven globes, sun disk in crescent, star. *Inscription.* [ Ward, *Morgan* 238 ]

965. Hematite. Cylinder. 20 × 10

God with mace before winged deity holding ax; suppliant goddess. In field: bird; Egyptian life sign. Terminal: *inscription.* [ Ward, *Morgan* 223 ]

966. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged. 24 × 11

God with spiked helmet, holding curved weapon in one hand, bow (?) and spear in other, and facing goddess with square miter who holds vase; second god with spiked helmet, holding bow (?) and spear in one hand and facing worshiper. Star in sky. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 884 ]

967. Limonite. Cylinder. 25 × 13

God with spiked helmet standing on two moun-

tains, brandishing mace, and holding before him snake, lotus blossom, and rein of kneeling bull on which nude goddess stands opening her veil; suppliant goddess. Over shoulders of nude goddess, star, cross disk in crescent. Above bull's head, second cross disk in crescent. Above bull's tail, bird with Egyptian *atef* crown; below tail, animal head. Terminal: two female figures, guilloche, sitting lion, one above other. [ Ward, *Morgan* 237 ]

968. Hematite. Cylinder. 20 × 15

Figure with oval headgear and partly veiled goddess who holds jug, both facing god with spiked helmet who holds ax and curved weapon, brandishes mace, and stands on three mountains. At left of goddess, bull's head, hand, triple-ringed vase; at her right, bird, triple-ringed vase, monkey. Beside curved weapon of god, hand; below his pigtail, triple-ringed vase. Secondary motif: two facing seated figures filling cups from streams flowing out of vase on stand between them, guilloche, three walking figures, one above other. [ Ward, *Morgan* 229 ]

#### MALE FIGURES IN VARIOUS ACTIONS (969-972)

The themes of these four cylinders have no common feature and they are therefore discussed individually.

Seal 969 is difficult to interpret. At first glance the scene seems to depict actions, probably ritual, that involve mutilation of the male organ. However, it is also possible that the rendering is intended to portray garments like those on the murals of the tomb of Rekhmirē,<sup>11</sup> where they are worn by figures representative of north-Mediterranean peoples. Moreover, the long curls of the figures in these murals resemble the coiffure of the men in 969. Since the tomb of Rekhmirē is dated as of the time of Thutmose III or of Amenhotep, in the fifteenth century, the seal in question may likewise be of that century. On the other hand the subsidiary scene shows an ibex rendered very much like a corresponding animal on a seal found in the necropolis of Minat al Baida, which is adjacent to Ras Shamra,<sup>12</sup> in layers dated between the fifteenth and thirteenth century B.C.

Seal 970 has a ritual scene of unknown significance that substantially corresponds with the design in a cylinder seal impression found in Palestine on a jar on which there appears also the imprint of a scarab of the Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty of Egypt.<sup>13</sup> Though this evidence might suggest that 970 was made in Palestine in the early part of the second millennium, it is classified in the second Syrian group because the modeling of the figures resembles that of the worshiper offering a hare in 937, while it shows none of the egyptianizing elements that, as stated above (p. 118), may mark a seal as of Palestinian origin.

Thus also no egyptianizing elements appear in 971, which might be considered Palestinian,

<sup>11</sup> N. de G. Davis, *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē' (Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, vol. X, New York, 1935), pl. iii.*

<sup>12</sup> *Syria*, vol. XIII (1932), p. 14, pl. xi, fig. 1 (third seal from top).

<sup>13</sup> A. Rowe, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs . . . in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Cairo, 1936, pl. xxviii.4.*



since its chariot scene closely resembles those on ivories found at Megiddo.<sup>14</sup> In any case, this similarity suggests that 971 may be of the same date as the Megiddo ivories, which have been tentatively assigned to the time between 1850 and 1150 B.C.<sup>15</sup>

The principal theme of 972—two figures filling their beakers from a vase between them—is usually employed as a secondary motif on Syrian seals (968). This is also true of the row of marching men (973, 989), which is rather prominent here. Though somewhat cursorily executed, 972 should perhaps be dated in about the middle of the period, since the figures are depicted with the elaborate garments considered distinctive of that time.

969. Hematite. Cylinder. 10 × 9

Figure with spear standing behind two facing male figures, each wearing girdle (?) with tasseled ends falling between his legs, and wielding dagger. In sky, indefinable design, star (?). Egyptian life sign in field. Terminal: recumbent ibex, guilloche, second ibex, one above other. [ Ward, *Morgan* 207 ]

970. Hematite. Cylinder. 20 × 10

Nude man before altar holding crook and facing two nude men, each carrying palm leaf. Ball staff in field. Terminal: panel inclosing scroll pattern with leaflike ornaments. [ Ward, *Morgan* 204 ]

971. Hematite. Cylinder. 18 × 9

Two horses drawing chariot with driver who holds reins and whip; two male figures following chariot, first holding spear, second holding dagger. Over reins, scorpion; below them, hand. Under horses' bellies, bird. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 980 ]

972. Hematite. Cylinder. 23.5 × 11.5

Above; worshiper behind two facing figures seated on platform and filling cups from flowing vase between them; four marching men. Below: two recumbent sphinxes, one at either side of star; man on one knee grasping bull by horn. [ Ward, *Morgan* 228 ]

#### WORSHIP OF VARIOUS FIGURES (973-978)

Absence of uniform style and theme in these seals makes individual discussion necessary.

In 973, the figure with oval headgear resembles a figure in an impression on a tablet found at Atshanah (ancient Alalakh); the seal with which this impression was made was used by a king contemporary with Saushatar. However, the seal was apparently made somewhat earlier than the time of this reign, for it is inscribed with the name of a previous king.<sup>16</sup> On the basis of this resemblance, the date of 973 probably still falls within the fifteenth century; such a dating is in any case suggested by the elaborate garments of the figures. The fact that the figure with oval headgear seen in 973 is found also on a royal seal may indicate that it represents a king.

In 974, which is of crude workmanship, the central figure may also be a royal personage, being armed and garbed like the presumably kingly figure in 958.

In 975 a similar figure appears as the object of worship. One of the worshipers has a bulbous skull, somewhat as in the rendering of the head of a small nude figure in Newell 297. Frankfort has suggested that this rendering may be due to the influence of the art associated with Akhenaten,<sup>17</sup> which would indicate a dating in the fourteenth century B.C. for 975.

Seal 976 depicts worship of a deity who is characterized by exceptionally large ears. The elaborate ornamentation on the robes of the worshipers suggests a date late in the fifteenth or in the fourteenth century, because it recalls the type of elaborately adorned garments in which

<sup>14</sup> G. Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories* (*Oriental Institute Publications*, vol. LII, Chicago, 1939), pl. 32a-c.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>16</sup> S. Smith, "A Preliminary Account of the Tablets from Atchana," *Antiquaries Journal*, XIX (1939), 40-41; pl. xviii 5.

<sup>17</sup> Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 268, pl. xliih.



Syrians are shown in the monuments of Egyptian Pharaohs from the time of Thutmose IV onward, for example in the decoration of a chariot of that Pharaoh.<sup>18</sup>

The same deity with large ears appears in the upper register of 977, not in a scene of worship but between such scenes. The double ax standing between two of the figures in the lower register may indicate Minoan influence, which was strong in Syria just after the middle of the second millennium; thus 977 is possibly to be dated in that time.

In 978 a god or king with a spear stands before two deities who appear under a double arch. Frankfort suggests that such a "double shelter" may derive from the motif of jets of water flowing from a vase like that held by two figures in a contemporary Syrian seal (Louvre A. 913), or "from the Egyptian figure holding two 'year sticks' and signifying eternity" appearing on pectorals of the Middle Kingdom that were sent to Syria as gifts to local princes, or from the decorations of a Cappadocian statue base.<sup>19</sup>

973. Hematite. Cylinder. 23 × 11

Figure with oval headgear holding spear and facing goddess with square miter who carries vase; female worshiper. Secondary motif: three marching men, guilloche above and below. [ Ward, *Morgan* 230 ]

974. Hematite. Cylinder. 17 × 9

Worshiper facing male figure with oval headgear who holds curved weapon; second worshiper. In field: star above ball staff; wedge; triple-ringed vase; second ball staff. Terminal: bird, guilloche, recumbent ibex, one above other. [ Ward, *Morgan* 251 ]

975. Hematite. Cylinder. 21 × 11

Male figure facing king or god and female figure. In field: star above bird (?); triple-ringed vase above larger vase. Secondary motif: two birds, one at each side of vase, guilloche, figure on one knee before bull, one above other.

976. Hematite. Cylinder. 17 × 10

Two worshipers, one at either side of large-eared deity (frontal view) with star over each

shoulder. At left of deity, fish spouting out line ending in knob; at right of deity, bird with crown of Lower Egypt. Terminal: falcon with spread wings, guilloche, sitting stag, one above other. [ Ward, *Morgan* 196 ]

977. Hematite. Cylinder. 21 × 11

Above: worshiper behind two figures, star above altar between latter; two facing figures; two facing suppliant goddesses; male figure holding curved weapon, ball staff before him; long-eared deity (full face). Below: two facing figures, each on one knee; two facing figures, erect; two figures before third with double ax standing before latter; two figures, between them flaming (?) ball staff, star in sky above. [ Ward, *Morgan* 211 ]

978. Hematite. Cylinder. 16 × 10

Two goddesses (?) (full face), each under wing of double arch; male figure holding spear, before him curved mace above vase. Terminal: leaping hare, guilloche, standing lion, one above other. [ Ward, *Morgan* 247 ]

#### DEMONS, MONSTERS, AND ANIMALS (979-986)

Demons frequently occur in Syrian art. They are usually portrayed with animal heads and human bodies (981-984), but also occasionally with human heads and animal bodies (979, 980). The most common are the griffin-demon (984), already encountered in seals of the first Syrian group (932, 933), and the bull-headed demon (981-983). An earlier, winged example of the latter appears in 910.

The bull-man of the Old Babylonian repertory is rarely found in Syrian seals. In 915, a seal of the first Syrian group, two bull-men grasping standards are rendered more or less according to Babylonian convention, while in 980 a single figure of this type, seemingly hornless, appears with his hair elegantly curled in Syrian manner. The latter bull-man carries a

<sup>18</sup> W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1935, pt. 2, pls. 1-3.

<sup>19</sup> *Cylinder Seals*, p. 271.



slain animal in a scene that also includes a figure grasping vanquished animals and recalling the nude bearded hero. This representation indicates that the old association of the bull-man and the nude bearded hero was occasionally revived in Syria, though 980 seems to depict a hunting scene instead of the traditional animal contest. Also, in contrast to Mesopotamian renderings, this seal shows the hero clad in a long mantle.

Syrian seals more frequently show the nude bearded hero as a water bearer with flowing vase (979), a representation for which Old Babylonian renderings like 517 above probably served as examples. Both in 979 and in the Syrian seal Berlin 545, two stars appear above the hero's shoulders, suggesting that he has some astral significance.

It seems possible that in Syrian glyptic the bull-demon could serve as a substitute for the bull-man, since 982 depicts two bull-demons holding standards, in the manner of the bull-men of 915. Pairs of bull-demons as standard bearers occur in Mitannian art; such renderings usually show the two grasping the same standard, which is often topped by a sun disk (Nuzi 819-823). A sun disk appears in much the same position in 981, though here the bull-demons hold snakes instead of standards; this role for them is unparalleled.

While no specific suggestions can be made in regard to the dating of 979 or of 981, it is probable that 980 was produced in the latter part of the fifteenth century, since it is engraved in the elaborate manner of that time. The bull-demons in the massively modeled seals 982 and 983 can be compared to those on a seal found at Ras Shamra and dated by Dussaud in the thirteenth or twelfth century B.C.<sup>20</sup>

The stag-demon of 984 is unparalleled in Syrian art and points to Hittite influence, for with the Hittites the stag assumes the role elsewhere filled by other animals as emblematic of deity.<sup>21</sup> Such influence would account also for what may be a Hittite hieroglyph in the field. However, the style of engraving is so typically Syrian that it determines the classification of the seal.

In 985 and 986 the principal elements are motifs employing animals and monsters that usually appear in subsidiary motifs. The sphinxes of 985, and the antelopes, lion, and birds of 986 represent the types of creatures most frequently so used. The beautiful execution of 985 indicates that it is a fifteenth-century product, while the summary treatment of 986 suggests a later dating.

979. Hematite. Cylinder. 18 × 13

Two winged lion-demons, one at either side of nude bearded hero with stream flowing over each shoulder, star at either side of his head. In field: hand; human head. Terminal: bird and hand before ibex above walking lion with animal head above its back. [ Ward, *Morgan* 265 ]

980. Hematite. Cylinder. 22 × 13.5

Bearded figure with curved staff facing bearded hero on one knee (shown full face) with reversed antelope in each hand, over sitting griffin that paws at bull-man carrying antelope by neck. Terminal: sitting sphinxes above curving guilloche; below latter, two facing rampant lions

with human head between them. [ Ward, *Morgan* 235 ]

981. Hematite. Cylinder. 16 × 8

Two facing bull-headed demons, each holding snake under cross disk in crescent. Terminal: rearing serpent (?) attacked by sphinx, above sphinx with horns of Egyptian sacred ram (?). [ Ward, *Morgan* 206 ]

982. Hematite. Cylinder. 18.5 × 9.5

Two facing bull-demons, each with staff topped by pennant-like design. Terminal: hare above bird. [ Ward, *Morgan* 200 ]

<sup>20</sup> R. Dussaud, "La Lydie et ses voisins," *Babyloniaca*, XI (1929), pl. iv 3 and p. 172.

<sup>21</sup> K. Bittel and H. G. Güterbock, Bogazköy (*Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* [Phil.-hist. Kl.], 1935 [no. 1]), p. 43 and n. 4; H. G. Güterbock, "Hethitische Götterdarstellungen und Götternamen", *Belleten*, VII (no. 26, 1943), 313 ff.



983. Hematite. Cylinder.  $21 \times 12$   
Bull-demon and figure with Egyptian life sign approaching two ibexes standing one at either side of kneeling bird-headed figure with headgear composed of horns inclosing disk. In field: hare's head; ibex head above vase and plant; globe beside sun disk in crescent; fish above second plant on ground; star above triple-ringed cup; hand and second triple-ringed cup above third plant on ground. [ Ward, *Morgan* 208 ]

984. Hematite. Cylinder.  $15 \times 8$   
Hare above sphinx and Hittite hieroglyph (?); stag-demon standing before winged, armless

griffin-demon on one knee. [ Ward, *Morgan* 202 ]

985. Hematite. Cylinder.  $19 \times 10$   
Two facing seated sphinxes, one at either side of winged sun disk above head of Egyptian goddess Hathor. Above wing of each sphinx, star. Terminal: hare above antelope head. [ Ward, *Morgan* 264 ]

986. Hematite. Cylinder.  $19.5 \times 8.5$   
Two birds, each with raised wing, sitting falcon (?), third bird with raised wing, all above two sitting goats—one at either side of vase—and sitting lion. In field: crescent; three triple-ringed cups.

#### MISCELLANEOUS SCENES (987-995)

Most of the seals of this group present motifs encountered earlier but rendered in these pieces with a cursory engraving suggesting that they belong to a time when Syrian glyptic had passed its apogee.

Seal 987 shows two figures seated at a table loaded with offerings as in the subsidiary scene of 946, except that here they hold crooks or lotus blossoms instead of beakers, and wear plain garments with fringe instead of flounced robes. It is not known whether these changes imply an altered significance in the figures.

Seal 988 depicts a suppliant goddess before a figure holding a crook or lotus blossom, as in 912 of the first Syrian group. The theme of 989—a figure with oval headgear at either side of a nude goddess—is perhaps to be associated with that of 944, in which, however, there is only one figure with oval headgear holding a crook, or with that of 968, in which the goddess is partly veiled and the second male figure is that of a weather god.

Seal 990 embodies Syrian elements in the garment of the worshiper, a mantle with rolled borders, and in the embracing posture of the nude goddess and the figure with oval headgear. An embracing pair is found also in Louvre A. 934, in which the male figure is attired like a corresponding personage in 946 and the goddess is partly veiled; in this context the pair are interpreted by Frankfort as a divine couple.<sup>22</sup> However, the central figure in 990, a deity with large ears, standing in full-face view, holding snakes, while his body is seemingly wrapped in snakes, recalls the Old Babylonian representation of Nergal, god of the nether world, in seals such as 386. It seems likely that here the late-Syrian engraver confused the traditional figure holding two scimitars, each ending in a feline head, with the divine snake killer or snake god holding snakes, a figure occasionally encountered in Syrian representations.<sup>23</sup>

No earlier Syrian parallels can be adduced for 991 and 992. Their theme, composed of winged figures with a tree between them, seems to have penetrated late into Syrian glyptic, perhaps under the influence of Mitannian art, in which a tree with flanking figures is so frequently featured.

Seal 993 and 994, however, present some familiar Syrian figures, but in a cursory manner. In 993 the god with bow and mace, attired like the weather god of 964 except for the fringe of his kilt, may likewise be a weather god. The appearance here of an Egyptian goddess

<sup>22</sup> Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 253, pl. XLIC.

<sup>23</sup> E. D. Van Buren, "The God Ningizzida," *Iraq*, I (1934), pl. XIb.



at the left, and of the Babylonian suppliant goddess at the right, well illustrates the mixture of influences in Syrian art. In 994 the central figure is too much mutilated for further comment; the careless rendering of the goddess at the right, who is attired like a comparable figure in 956, suggests a late dating for this seal.

Seal 995 presents the unparalleled subject of two female worshipers flanking a vessel with a star above it.

987. Hematite. Cylinder.  $29 \times 12$

Two sitting figures, each holding crook or lotus blossom, table with offerings between them. In field above, two sitting griffins, facing, with vase between them. Secondary motif: guilloche above two facing figures with crescent and wedgelike incision between them, hand above ball staff topped by flame (?) at their left, second hand at their right. [ Ward, *Morgan* 226 ]

988. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  $29 \times 16.5$

Enthroned deity holding lotus blossom (?) over triple-ringed cup and facing suppliant goddess; at knee of deity, bird. Star and indefinable design in sky. Secondary motif: two facing figures, each with triple-ringed cup, mongoose and third triple-ringed cup between them; all on platform roofing five walking figures with four vases, two wedgelike incisions, one triple-ringed cup interspersed.

989. Hematite. Cylinder.  $27 \times 14$

Two figures with oval headgear, one at either side of nude goddess with opened veil; above her, crescent, winged sun disk, and star. In field: triple-ringed cup; antelope head. Terminal: two facing seated griffins, guilloche, row of four marching men, one above other. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 912 ]

990. Hematite. Cylinder.  $27 \times 14$

Worshiper before large-eared deity wrapped in snake coils (?) and holding two snakes, between figures, sun disk in crescent, seven globes, Egyptian life sign, one above other; nude female in mantle embracing figure with oval headgear. In sky, four-pointed star (?), eight-pointed star. Terminal: column of three recumbent

animals above tree. [ Ward, *Morgan* 205 ]

991. Hematite. Cylinder.  $18 \times 8.5$

Worshiper behind two armless winged genii with tree between them. In field: vase; hand. Terminal: vertical guilloche in panel. [ Ward, *Morgan* 249 ]

992. Hematite. Cylinder.  $21 \times 12$

Worshiper behind two striding winged genii, one at either side of tree. Below hand of each genius, fish. In field, vase above triple-ringed cup. Terminal: recumbent hare above three walking figures. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 960 ]

993. Limonite. Cylinder.  $21 \times 10.5$

Goddess with crown composed of horns and sun disk, holding indefinable object in each hand, following worshiper holding spear, both facing god with spiked helmet who holds bow and mace; suppliant goddess. In field: star; Egyptian life sign. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 886 ]

994. Hematite. Cylinder, scratched.

$18.5 \times 8.5$

Male figure with curved weapon behind indeterminate figure facing female (?) figure followed by goddess with square miter. In field: ball staff; sun disk in crescent above Egyptian life sign.

995. Hematite. Cylinder, scratched.  $19 \times 10$

Two female worshipers, between them vessel with star above. Terminal: two facing recumbent sphinxes above seated antelope attacked by lion; above lion, vase; below lion, small recumbent hare; behind lion, small sitting antelope.

## PALESTINIAN CYLINDERS (996-1005)

### CYLINDERS WITH PREDOMINANTLY EGYPTIAN ELEMENTS (996-1001)

A number of seals showing the rounded modeling characteristic of the second Syrian group, but comprising a wealth of Egyptian motifs, have been classified by Frankfort as Palestinian.



Among the seals to which he suggests ascribing such origin is Newell 819, which presents "an Asiatic prince in a thoroughly Egyptianised setting."<sup>1</sup> Frankfort dates this seal in the time between the reign of Seti I and the invasion of the Peoples of the Sea, that is, between 1350 and 1200 B.C. Seal 996 closely resembles Newell 819 in the fact that it represents an egyptianized goddess facing an enthroned deity, in its rendering of the throne of that deity, and in the manner in which its guilloche is engraved. These similarities suggest that 996 may have been made in the same workshop as Newell 819, even though the enthroned figure is rendered like an Old Babylonian deity.

Seal 997 is classified as Palestinian because its two principal figures recall the portrayal—common in Egyptian art—of a goddess, possibly Isis or Hathor, who wears a similar crown composed of horns inclosing a sun disk. Furthermore, the nude male worshiper holding a palm leaf is rendered as in 970, a seal resembling an impression found in Palestine (p. 180).

In 998, strong Egyptian influence is manifest in the Horus-like figure at the left and in the figure at the right wearing the Egyptian triple crown. Moreover, the general style of its engraving, and the guilloche in its secondary motif, correspond with the features of Newell 819; this suggests that 998, like 996, may have come from the same workshop as Newell 819.

Palestinian origin is even more probable in the case of 999–1001, in view of the predominance of Egyptian elements in these seals. This pertains especially to the row of figures at the right in 999—the first rendered with papyrus-topped staff and Egyptian censer, the second with Egyptian wig and apron, and the third resembling the god Ptah. Seal 1000 presents two Horus figures with a tree between them, as well as a male figure in Egyptian apron. In 1001 the central figure wears an Egyptian apron, and there are two abbreviated Horus figures at the right.

996. Hematite. Cylinder. 18 × 10  
Goddess wearing horns of Egyptian sacred ram (?), holding censer and fan before enthroned deity on platform who holds snake and staff. Below censer, bird's head (?). Crescent in sky. Terminal (one above other): bird with spread wings, wearing double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, with blossom in each claw; guilloche; leaping bull. [ Ward, *Morgan* 227 ]

997. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged. 21 × 10  
Nude male figure with palm leaf behind two facing female figures, each with crown composed of horns inclosing disk; between them, offering stand with winged sun disk above it. Before male figure, fish. Terminal: bird with animal head under its wing, above kneeling female with Egyptian life sign beside her. [ Ward, *Morgan* 201 ]

998. Hematite. Cylinder. 20 × 10  
Winged figure, resembling Egyptian god Horus, facing worshiper and figure wearing Egyptian *atef* crown with uraeus ornament showing at bottom of skirt. Before Horus-like figure, falcon perched on Egyptian life sign. Terminal: sitting lion, guilloche, sitting antelope before re-

cumbent sphinx, one above other. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 812 ]

999. Hematite. Cylinder. 19 × 10  
Worshiper, facing male figure with papyrus staff and censer, figure with Egyptian wig and apron whose arm is grasped by Egyptian god Ptah. Above hand of worshiper, crescent. Before figure with papyrus staff, debased *djed* column and life sign. Before wigged figure, debased Egyptian hieroglyph *hp*. [ Ward, *Morgan* 197 ]

1000. Black steatite. Cylinder. 48 × 15.5  
Worshiper (?) before winged goddess, bird between them; two figures resembling Egyptian god Horus, with tree between them, each grasping shoot. Terminal: globe in crescent above Egyptian life sign. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 810 ]

1001. Hematite. Cylinder. 18 × 8  
Two griffin-demons back to back, holding Egyptian life sign between them; female figure following figure with Egyptian apron and staff before goddess with crown composed of horns inclosing disk. [ Ward, *Morgan* 199 ]

<sup>1</sup> Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 288, pl. XLIVq.



*CYLINDERS OF MIXED STYLES (1002-1005)*

Scarabs made during the Hyksos period in Palestine are marked by strong outlines filled with hatching or crosshatching. This style appears also in a few of the cylinders found in Palestinian excavations.<sup>2</sup> Since 1002 is engraved in this manner, it is classified as Palestinian of the Hyksos period. Though 1003 may be a crude example of the same style of engraving, it is characterized principally by its material, which is either bone or ivory; both of these were occasionally used for Palestinian scarabs but never for Syrian cylinders.

Seal 1004 is classified as Palestinian only because in its crude, bulbous engraving it resembles a cylinder found in Palestine,<sup>3</sup> while no other parallels are known.

Palestinian origin in the case of 1005 is indicated by the egyptianizing figures and by the Egyptian hieroglyphs in the field.

1002. Greenish-black serpentine. Cylinder.

22 × 10

Figure with exaggerated phallus (?), holding papyrus staff; debased Egyptian hieroglyphs. [ Ward, *Morgan* 194 ]

1003. Shell. Cylinder. 18.5 × 8.5

Human figure (?) and two Egyptian life signs (one reversed), each in panel.

1004. Steatite. Cylinder. 26 × 12

Walking goat and griffin followed by figure carrying spear. Above goat, bird. [ Ward, *Morgan* 203 ]

1005. Turquoise-colored frit. Cylinder, one end in gold cap. 26 × 10

Enthroned figure holding staff resembling Egyptian *was* scepter, attendant with similar staff behind throne. In field, debased Egyptian hieroglyphs. [ Ward, *Morgan* 195 ]

<sup>2</sup> Nougayrol, *Cylindres sceaux et empreintes de cylindres trouvés en Palestine*, pls. VIII TA 4 (CXXXIV); IX TA. 21 (CVII); X T.F. 2 (CXXXV).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. I A.H. 7 (CXXII).



## SEALS OF NORTHERN MESOPOTAMIA

Excavations in northern Mesopotamia, at Tepe Gawra, Arpachiyah, Nineveh, and other sites, have proven that the stamp was the earliest seal form in that region. At Tepe Gawra the relation between stamp and cylinder as regards the time in which the one or the other form predominated, was quite clearly marked. Stamp seals alone appeared below the level of Gawra VII, which seems to correspond to the Jamdat Nasr and to the beginning of the Early Dynastic period. In Gawra VII stamps and cylinders occurred together, while in the light of the evidence of higher layers, cylinders seem to have replaced stamps from that time on.<sup>1</sup>

Of the cylinders found at Tepe Gawra, those dating from the Jamdat Nasr period onward share with those from other north-Mesopotamian sites a general dependence upon southern glyptic, though crudeness of engraving and a certain number of alien features often distinguish such north-Mesopotamian seals from those produced in the south. This was found to be the case in regard to the Old Assyrian and provincial Babylonian groups of Cappadocian seals (p. 107). These examples are relevant here, because seals in the style of these groups were used not only in eastern Anatolia but also in northern Mesopotamia, as is evidenced by the seals of this type excavated at Ashur (Berlin 505-507, 508, 512, 513) and by several seal impressions from Nuzi (Nuzi 958-974).

At some unknown time after the first quarter of the second millennium, when the south began to lose its political and cultural predominance, a new glyptic style developed in northern Mesopotamia, examples of which have been found from Iran to Palestine. This style is here termed Mitannian, since it was used during a period dating roughly from the appearance of the Mitannians as rulers in northern Mesopotamia through the rise and fall of their empire, that is, from some uncertain time before 1500 to about 1350 B.C. At its height, around 1400 B.C., this empire included most of northern Mesopotamia and a good part of Syria. Sometimes this new style is called Hurrian, because the Hurrians were the predominant ethnic element in the population of the regions included in the Mitannian empire. However, since Hurrians are known to have been in Mesopotamia in the third millennium, the historical term Mitannian is preferred to the ethnic term Hurrian, because it serves better to date the style of the seals in relation to other glyptic groups.

Mitannian seals show influences deriving from all of the glyptic styles that prevailed in northern Mesopotamia and in adjacent regions in the earlier half of the second millennium, such as the Old Babylonian, the provincial Babylonian, and the Syrian. These derivative elements tend to coalesce in Mitannian glyptic; however, they are often obscured by the Mitannian method of engraving, which made extensive use of the drill and of fine cutting disks and tubes.

In the most distinctive examples of this style, natural forms are strongly stylized and decoratively arranged. However, certain Nuzi impressions show the exact opposite of this tendency in their pronounced modeling (Nuzi 726, 727, 813) and in the clear, free spacing of the elements of their scenes (Nuzi 730, 734).

Animal forms are among those most frequently rendered in Mitannian glyptic, not only

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Speiser, *Excavations at Tepe Gawra*, vol. I, Philadelphia, 1935, p. 120.



as the most usual subsidiary element, but also as principal subjects in many scenes. The decorative bent in Mitannian seal cutters found one of its most characteristic expressions in arrangements of such animal forms.

The modeling and the use of space appearing to a limited extent in a few Nuzi seals are predominant in the Middle Assyrian style, which replaced the Mitannian in the middle of the fourteenth century B.C., coincidentally with the political revival of Assyria. From that time until the fall of the Assyrian empire, north-Mesopotamian glyptic is synonymous with Assyrian.

### MITANNIAN CYLINDERS (1006-1067)

The most extensive body of Mitannian material has been found at Yorghhan Tepe, the ancient Nuzi. The seals and impressions recovered there afford the principal basis for the classification of comparable seals in the present collection.

Two styles can be distinguished among Mitannian seals, a common and an elaborate one. The common style (1006-1009) is characterized by crude drilling employed on medium-sized seals made usually of faience or glazed steatite, occasionally of hematite. The elaborate style (1010-1067) shows use of a fine drill, usually on small seals; the materials most frequently employed are hematite and semiprecious stones, such as chalcedony or jasper.

### COMMON-STYLE CYLINDERS (1006-1009)

The style found in some of the Nuzi impressions (Nuzi groups III, IV) is comparable to that in the seals of this group. It has been argued that the common style, to which these groups belong, grew out of the earlier glyptic of northern Mesopotamia, especially the provincial Babylonian.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately none of the seals here discussed directly illustrates this point.

The most frequent motif in Mitannian seals of the common style is a tree design, with the leaves usually indicated by globes. Sometimes the rendering of the tree is even more abbreviated, as in 1009, where it is composed of crossed incisions.

In 1006 a tree is held aloft by dancers rendered like gods in ascending posture. A suppliant female figure, probably a derivation from the Old Babylonian suppliant goddess, stands beside them; this would indicate that the figures holding the tree, if not superhuman, are at least engaged in a sacred ritual centering about the tree. This is probably also true of the figure with loincloth in 1007, shown in the act of grasping the tree. In 1008 and 1009, on the other hand, the figure wearing a long robe and merely standing before the tree could be an ordinary human worshiper, even though in 1009 he seems to be touching one of the branches.

It is difficult to decide whether the animals and monsters depicted in these seals are in any instance part of the principal scene, or merely subsidiary figures, as in contemporary Syrian seals. The panels framing the scenes of 1007 and 1008 may be typically north-Mesopotamian features, since the murals found in houses at Nuzi show a similarly clear-cut composition.<sup>2</sup>

While 1006-1008 correspond in a general way with Nuzi impressions, 1009 may be of later date, since the worshiper here seems to have long hair with bushy curls resting on the neck, a coiffure not found in Nuzi impressions but characteristic of Middle Assyrian renderings (599, 606, 607).

<sup>1</sup> Porada, *Seal Impressions of Nuzi*, pp. 97 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Starr, *Nuzi*, vol. II, pls. 128 H, 129 D.



1006. Frit, with residual yellow glaze. Cylinder. 15 × 5.8

Suppliant female facing two dancers who hold tree between them. Terminal: griffin above bull.

1007. Yellowish frit. Cylinder. 29 × 13.5

Figure grasping tree; kneeling horned animal on platform (?) above kneeling winged bull. Terminal: column of four stars in panel.

1008. Frit, with residual green glaze. Cylinder. 31 × 13

Worshiper facing tree and stag. Terminal: parallel zigzag lines in panel. [ Ward, *Morgan* 168 ]

1009. Frit, with residual white glaze. Cylinder. 26 × 12

Griffin and worshiper flanking tree (?). In field: two stars; crescent. [ Ward, *Morgan* 190 ]

#### ELABORATE-STYLE CYLINDERS (1010-1067)

The Mitannian elaborate style presents a far more complex picture than the common style, since several sources of influence can be discerned in it. The seals here assembled have been classified, according to the influence that seems to predominate, in the following groups; seals influenced by Old Babylonian glyptic (1010-1021); seals influenced by or perhaps belonging to Elamite glyptic (1022, 1023); seals influenced by Syrian glyptic (1024-1027); seals showing amalgamation of various styles into one that is distinctively Mitannian (1028-1067).

For convenience of treatment, the last-named group is arranged according to subject matter. It comprises composite scenes (1028-1035), scenes with drinking figures (1036-1038) and a contest scene (1039), motifs featuring animals with human figures or demons (1040-1046), scenes including a sun disk or tree or both (1047-1050), themes of winged figures with animals (1051-1058), and miscellaneous motifs (1059-1067).

#### CYLINDERS WITH OLD BABYLONIAN ELEMENTS (1010-1021)

Most of the cylinders of this group are very small and are executed with considerable use of an extremely fine drill (1010-1017). The seals exemplifying this Mitannian technique present mainly Old Babylonian figures, with some admixture of foreign features. Similar designs are found in seal impressions on Babylonian tablets of the end of the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon, as well as in a few impressions from Nuzi (Nuzi 609-612). The style of this group would appear therefore to be intermediate between the Old Babylonian and the typically Mitannian. The composition of 1010, a contest frieze, is much like that of the Old Babylonian seal 354; however, the god wearing a headdress that resembles a top hat and holding an ax differs from the Old Babylonian figure with such headgear, since the latter is pictured only with a crook in his hand (521).

Seals 1011 and 1012 present the figure of a weather god rendered much as he appears in Old Babylonian seals like 510-513. The two crossed bulls on which the second deity stands in 1011 are unquestionably north-Mesopotamian, for crossed animals occur frequently in Nuzi impressions, as in Nuzi 234-327.

In both 1012 and 1013 there is a figure holding a rod with balls, an object very frequently depicted in this type of cylinder. It probably derives from Old Babylonian glyptic, in which it occurs toward the end of the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon, though it also appears in cylinders of the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur.<sup>3</sup>

The nude bearded hero in 1013 and 1014, and the suppliant goddess in 1015, are typical Old Babylonian figures; however, 1015 also presents some non-Babylonian features, in the gesture of a god holding a scimitar upright, as found in provincial Babylonian seals like 882,

<sup>3</sup> Van Buren, *Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art*, pp. 153-155.



and in a manikin worshiping the god, a figure depicted in Syro-Cappadocian seals such as 902-905.

In 1016 and 1017 the personage holding a rod with balls is shown sitting; in 1016 he appears opposite a seated figure with a mace. The latter object does not appear in the hand of a seated figure in Old Babylonian glyptic.

Seals 1018 and 1019 differ from those just described in that they are larger and more coarsely executed. However, the general effect produced by the drill is still the same. Further, one of the gods in 1018, as well as the seated deity in 1019, like the seated figure in 1016, holds a mace.

Seals 1020 and 1021 still recall Old Babylonian designs in the general arrangement of their principal figures and in the ascending posture of the gods with emblems. However, the Mitannian elements in these seals are more pronounced; they are manifested by the small designs in the field, and in 1021 by the secondary motif and by the standard held by the god.

1010. Hematite. Cylinder.  $19.5 \times 9$

Two lions, one at either side of nude bearded hero; goat beside nude bearded hero with ball staff; snake before god or hero wearing head-gear resembling top hat and holding ax.

1011. Hematite. Cylinder.  $22 \times 11$

Suppliant woman and male deity (?), between them deity with crescent standard who stands on two kneeling bulls crossed; god brandishing indeterminate weapon and holding lightning fork, while standing on bull and facing male deity (?) with clasped hands.

1012. Hematite. Cylinder.  $20 \times 8$

Worshiper carrying kid before god who holds in one hand lightning fork and rein of bull on which he places foot, while brandishing indeterminate weapon in other hand; second worshiper before deity who holds rod with balls and ascends mountain, between them vessel above ball staff. [ Ward, *Morgan* 96 ]

1013. Hematite. Cylinder.  $20 \times 8.5$

Nude bearded hero overpowering reversed lion; god brandishing weapon and holding rod with balls while ascending mountain, facing toward female deity (?), fly (?) between them.

1014. Hematite. Cylinder.  $19.5 \times 5$

Worshiper facing god with ring who is ascending mountain, crescent staff between them; nude bearded hero (in frontal view) beside deity, ball staff between them. Between scenes, star above fly.

1015. Hematite. Cylinder.  $19 \times 7$

Suppliant goddess, worshiper, and small nude

worshiper on one knee, all before god with crook in ascending posture.

1016. Hematite. Cylinder.  $16 \times 9$

Seated figure with mace (?) facing seated figure holding rod with balls; between them, worshiper.

1017. Hematite. Cylinder.  $19 \times 9$

Deity behind enthroned deity who holds rod with balls and faces worshiper; two fighting heroes.

1018. Hematite. Cylinder.  $22 \times 9$

Worshiper before god in ascending posture who holds mace and scimitar; god in ascending posture with upraised arm, facing worshiper.

1019. Hematite, decomposed. Cylinder.

$29.5 \times 12$

Two figures grasping star-topped standard; worshiper before enthroned deity with mace.

1020. Hematite. Cylinder.  $27 \times 13$

God with lightning fork placing foot on bull and facing mace-bearing figure in ascending posture; small nude female beside vessel above antelope head; figure with scimitar facing enthroned figure, between them sun disk, lion, and ball staff. Stand (?) composed of five globes behind head of enthroned figure. Six scattered globes in field.

1021. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  $25 \times 11$

Worshiper facing god in ascending posture who holds sun-disk standard topped by pair of small wings. Secondary motif: male figure facing drilling, indefinable object, and griffin, all above guilloche; below latter, lion attacking kneeling antelope, ball staff before latter.



## CYLINDERS WITH ELAMITE ELEMENTS (1022, 1023)

Among the Elamite elements found in the seals of this group are the funnel-shaped heads of the gods and worshipers in 1022 and the row of nude female figures in 1023. The funnel-shaped head seems to be a typical Elamite rendering, since it appears in sculpture from Susa,<sup>4</sup> as well as in a seal<sup>5</sup> discovered in Luristan, a region that was perhaps once part of Elam. The only known seal besides 1023 that shows more than two nude females is Louvre D. 109, of the Dieulafoy collection, which was acquired principally in Susa and its vicinity.

While the almost abstract quality of the design in 1023 expresses one of the general tendencies in Mitannian glyptic, the rendering of the figures by means of accentuated tubular forms and juxtaposed parallel lines as found in 1023, and to a lesser extent in 1022, has no counterpart in typical Mitannian designs. Since this method of composing figures is rather common in certain seals of probably Elamite origin, as for example Guimet 93, which is from Hamadan, and Hague 13, which has a possibly Elamite inscription, it may be considered distinctive enough to indicate that 1022 and 1023 represent the Elamite aspect of Mitannian glyptic.

1022. Hematite. Cylinder. 28.5 × 12  
Worshiper carrying kid before god in ascending posture on crouching lion; second worshiper carrying kid before enthroned deity holding star scepter. Before lion, drilling. Under each kid, three horizontals.

1023. Hematite. Cylinder. 15.5 × 8  
Four nude females in facing pairs, separated by three vertical bars. Second bar topped by star with three short horizontal lines near its base.

## CYLINDERS WITH SYRIAN ELEMENTS (1024-1027)

Just as Old Babylonian elements reappear in Mitannian seals, so designs deriving from Syrian glyptic style were adapted to the Mitannian drilled technique.

Though crude, the weather god and the worshiper in 1024 can be compared to similar figures in the Syrian seal 964—the god because of his attire and posture, though the object in his hand is of uncertain nature, and the worshiper only because of his attire. The group comprising a figure with Egyptian apron facing a winged goddess recalls a similar motif in 1000, which has been classified as Palestinian of about 1350-1200 B.C. The resemblance may indicate a similar dating for 1024, despite its cursory execution, and imply that 1024 was made in Palestine, perhaps after the Nuzi age in Mesopotamia. This supposition is supported by the fact that seals of Mitannian style have been found in Palestine<sup>6</sup> and that some of them may have been manufactured there.

Seal 1025 shows a translation into Mitannian style of figures that are even more characteristically Syrian—a goddess with square miter and a figure with oval cap much as in 973, as well as a weather god with mace, snake, and ax as in 964. The tree and the rosette, however, are typically Mitannian.

The Syrian relations of 1026 are less obvious. They are chiefly manifested in the horizontally ridged kilt of the figure standing before the seated deity, which corresponds to that of the weather god in 964, and in the garment of the standing god, which consists of a horizontally ridged kilt with a long fringe, as worn by the figure at the left in 966.

In 1027, the chief Syrian elements are the thick borders of the mantles worn by the seated

<sup>4</sup> *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, I, 278, c, d, 281, c, d; II, 46, 47, a, b.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, V (1946), 258, fig. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Nougayrol, *Cylindres sceaux et empreintes de cylindres trouvés en Palestine*, pl. I A.H.1 (XXVI), A.H.2 (L), A.H.3 (LIX), A.H.4 (CXLVIII), A.H.5 (LXXXVIII), E.G.10 (XXXIV); others.



figure and by the worshiper, and the stand with loaves, which may be an abbreviated rendering of the stand between two banqueting figures in Syrian seals like 946.

The rounded engraving of 1025 and 1026 recalls that of Nuzi 637 and 663, which likewise contain Syrian elements. The gesture of the god thrusting a spear into the ground in 1027 is paralleled in Nuzi 663. Furthermore, the faces of the figures with accentuated nose and eye, and often no chin, conform more with faces in Nuzi impressions such as Nuzi 637 than with those of purely Syrian designs.

1024. Hematite. Cylinder.  $24 \times 11$   
God holding mace (?), brandishing second weapon, and facing worshiper; figure wearing Egyptian apron, holding unidentified weapon, and touching wing of goddess. Star in sky.  
[ Ward, *Morgan* 240 ]

1025. Hematite. Cylinder.  $20 \times 9$   
Goddess with cup facing figure with tall oval headgear, between them rosette and star above tree; god holding snake, ax, and mace, squatting monkey before him, scorpion behind him.  
[ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 888 ]

1026. Hematite. Cylinder.  $22 \times 9$

Enthroned god, holding staff composed of globes topped by disk in crescent, facing figure that touches god's staff; god with scimitar in striding posture, facing worshiper, between them small figure on one knee in upper field and four-pointed star in lower field. Star between scenes. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 909 ]

1027. Hematite. Cylinder, scratched.  
 $19.5 \times 9$

Enthroned goddess with vase facing worshiper, stand with loaves between them; god with spear, in ascending posture. In sky, sun disk in crescent, rosette.

#### **CYLINDERS OF DISTINCTIVELY MITANNIAN STYLE (1028-1067)** **COMPOSITE SCENES (1028-1035)**

Most of the seals of this group present combinations of different motifs arranged in typically Mitannian manner to fill the entire field. The base of the cylinder rarely constitutes the ground line for all of the figures, and even in seals in which this is apparently intended (1028, 1032-1035), the feet are erratically placed. Additional designs, usually drillings or small forms composed of these, are so numerous that they often obscure the clarity of the scene and tend to give it a decorative character, especially where the composition takes in the entire height of the seal. This impression is heightened by the insertion of scrolls or guilloches (1028, 1030, 1031) and by the more or less uniform effect of the drilled technique by which human figures, plants, and animals are rendered.

The content of the scenes remains obscure throughout, though a few interesting features may be noted, as follows: in 1028, the object held by the god facing the enthroned deity, which suggests a sling or some unusual type of container; in 1030, the small human figure, perhaps a child, seated in the lap of the enthroned deity; and in 1031 and 1033, the belt tassels hanging between the legs of the winged hero, a typical feature of heroes' garments in the second half of the second millennium, as evidenced by the Middle Assyrian cylinders 597, 599, 600.

Seal 1035 is added to this group because it has two motifs, a procession scene and a contest frieze. Its engraving, however, differs from that of the other seals of the group in that it shows less use of the drill and has sharper, finer lines. The tubular bodies of the human figures are not unlike those in a seal from Susa (Louvre S. 542).



1028. Hematite. Cylinder.  $25 \times 12$   
Seated goddess holding staff topped by rosette and facing nude god holding indeterminate object and ball staff (?), who is followed by figure with mace and two female worshipers. Before second worshiper, ball staff. In sky, star, cross disk, twist of connected spirals. [ Ward, *Morgan* 239 ]

1029. Black-and-grey marble. Cylinder.  
 $24 \times 11$   
God holding antelope by horn and facing goddess who holds bird and sits enthroned above back of bull, which is menaced by lion at either side. Foot of god on back of first lion. Above second lion, bird over tree flanked by antelope at either side. On shoulder of god, bird. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 987 ]

1030. White chert. Cylinder, damaged.  
 $35 \times 16$   
Nude winged goddess holding antelope by hind leg in either hand and standing above two crouching lions that menace animal between them (obliterated); tree with three antelopes around it, guilloche above; tripod beside worshiper, above sphinx, and before goddess holding small human figure on her lap as she sits enthroned on one of lions under winged goddess who initiates scene. Before enthroned goddess, bull's head. [ Ward, *Morgan* 176 ]

1031. Red jasper breccia. Cylinder, damaged.  
 $24 \times 10$

Genius holding two gazelles by hind leg, bird under each gazelle; facing genius, figure with curved weapon; figure on one knee, above lion, brandishing weapon and holding second lion by hind leg before him. At either side of figure with curved weapon, animal head. At either side of kneeling figure, star. Above second lion, reversed animal. All figures except genius above guilloche. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 896 ]

1032. Banded agate. Cylinder.  $19 \times 8$   
Three deities (?), second standing on two mountains, tree before first, reversed animal and two animal heads (?) before second, animal head, two fishes, and indeterminate design before third. In sky, two fishes, two horizontal lines.

1033. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  $18 \times 10$   
Sitting lion grasped by winged demon, bull's head beside latter; two male figures grasping globe-topped standard, four globes before first figure.

1034. Hematite. Cylinder.  $19 \times 8$   
Nude winged goddess; figure brandishing dagger at goat; indeterminate figure in long robe. Before goat, ball staff. Three globes in field.

1035. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged.  $18 \times 12$   
Goat in grip of one of two crossed lions, other being attacked by hero (?), three figures before enthroned figure with cup. Above lions, indeterminate design. Two globes in field.

#### DRINKING FIGURES (1036-1038) AND A CONTEST SCENE (1039)

The seals of this small group differ from those of the preceding group by reason of their even more rudimentary engraving, which is executed in such a manner that globular forms produced by the drill predominate.

Appearing at the right of the scene in 1036, and as the main theme of 1037 and 1038, are figures drinking through tubes from vessels. This ancient motif is also found in Nuzi impressions (Nuzi 18, 19, 560-563) and in the Cappadocian seal 894, indicating that the theme continued to be used in the north, though it fell into disuse in the south after the Akkad period. The winged figure in 1036 holds a ball staff, a symbol that is touched or held only in Cappadocian (907) and Mitannian cylinders (Nuzi 625).

Seal 1039 has been included in this group because its figures, like those in 1038, are rendered more or less as rectangular forms topped by globes. A contest with animals may be depicted here, even though the figures seem completely static.

1036. Hematite. Cylinder.  $17 \times 10$   
Nude winged goddess holding ball staff in one hand (other hand possibly holding second ball staff), and flanked at either side

by antelope with head on ground—lion and globe above first antelope, bird and indeterminate design above second; standing figure drinking through tube from vessel.



1037. Hematite. Cylinder.  $19 \times 9.5$   
Figure seated before stand with globe above it, drinking through tube from vessel, and faced by attendant who raises second vessel; kneeling antelope above crouching lion; bird, gazelle's head, bull's head, one above other. Above tube, rhomb; globe in sky.

1038. Hematite. Cylinder.  $20 \times 10$

Two facing seated figures drinking through tubes from vessel, attendant under tube at left.

1039. Black-and-grey limonite. Cylinder.  
 $16 \times 9$

Mouflon above standing lion; figure touching (?) lion's mouth and facing figure that holds gazelle by hind leg; to left figure with hand raised toward mouflon.

#### ANIMALS WITH HUMAN FIGURES, DEMONS, OR DEITIES (1040-1046)

In the seals of this group animals appear in various relations with human figures or lion-headed winged demons.

In 1040, the figure holding up an animal by the hind leg may be a deity, associated with hunting. The lion-headed demon in 1041, and the crude version of this figure in 1042, may stand for another deity concerned with hunting or a manifestation of such a god.

The motif occurring in both 1043 and 1044—that of a human figure placed horizontally in a field otherwise filled with animals—is occasionally found in Nuzi designs (Nuzi 587, 929). It is not possible to decide whether these human figures were merely fitted into the available space or bear some relation to the animals, perhaps as victims of attack.

In 1045 the group of two lions and a long-horned antelope strongly recalls a Nuzi impression (Nuzi 575), in which, however, the human figure is that of a man with a scimitar, perhaps a hunter, while in 1045 it is that of a nude female. The same figure appears in the very similar motif of 1046.

1040. Hematite. Cylinder.  $19 \times 9$   
Figure holding up bull by hind leg. In field: above, kneeling antelope, rosette, kneeling gazelle, bird; below, griffin, lion.

1041. Banded agate. Cylinder.  $18 \times 8$   
Winged lion-headed demon grasping horn of antelope at left and rope tying crouching lion at right. In field: above, kneeling antelope, bird, griffin, antelope head; below, kneeling antelope.

1042. Grey marble. Cylinder.  $19 \times 9$   
Winged lion-headed demon holding gazelle by hind leg; in upper field, rhomb, scorpion; in middle field, ball staff above lion; in lower field, bird beside fish and bull's head (?).

1043. Hematite. Cylinder.  $21 \times 13$   
Two facing lions raising their heads toward winged sun disk while standing over hand and prostrate human figure. In sky, disk partly

covered by crescent placed vertically. Terminal: two fishes and scorpion, one above other.

1044. Hematite. Cylinder.  $15 \times 9$   
Two lions over fallen bull; human figure placed horizontally above globe.

1045. Banded agate. Cylinder.  $16 \times 10$   
Nude female, with globe at either side, spiral above bird beside her; two sitting lions, attacking kneeling antelope between them. Hand and scorpion in upper field. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 996 ]

1046. Hematite. Cylinder.  $16 \times 11$   
Nude female beside sitting griffin; two kneeling antelopes with tree between them. Beside female, antelope's head. Beside tree, bull's head. In sky, two spirals, scorpion. [ Ward, *Morgan* 263 ]

#### SUN DISK AND TREE (1047-1050)

This small group of cylinders shows some of the variations evolved in Mitannian glyptic for the rendering of the tree and of the sun disk, winged or wingless. Such variations are important, because the tree and the winged sun disk appear later in Assyrian art, in which they are combined and rendered in a more or less stereotyped manner.



The winged sun disk on a stool seen in 1047 appears in two other Mitannian seals,<sup>7</sup> though it is not found in any Nuzi impressions. However, many of these impressions, such as Nuzi 840, show the wingless disk on a pole as in 1048. Equally typical is the rendering in 1049 and 1050, where the winged disk floats above the tree, foreshadowing the Assyrian representation of these designs.

1047. Hematite. Cylinder. 18 × 10

Two bulls with winged sun disk on stand between them; at right, second bull attacked by lion, bird between them. Below stand, antelope head, fish. Star in field. Guilloche border along base. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 989 ]

1048. Dark-green jasper. Cylinder. 20 × 11  
Sun-disk standard, between griffin and winged antelope; indeterminate recumbent animal. Fish at each side of standard. In field: nine globes;

guilloche. [ Ward, *Morgan* 261 ]

1049. Carnelian. Cylinder. 19 × 11

Winged sun disk above tree between two sitting griffins. In field, four-pointed star above kneeling bull. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 988 ]

1050. Banded agate. Cylinder. 18 × 8

Winged sun disk above tree, between two antelopes; nude winged goddess holding fish. Second fish below tree.

#### WINGED FIGURES WITH ANIMALS (1051-1058)

The figure holding up animals in 1051 seems to be an abbreviated rendering of the demon in 1030. In both cases the rendering of the hips suggests that the figure is female. It is difficult to determine whether the treatment in 1030 and 1051 indicates that the figure between animals is always to be regarded as female, even in those scenes which are so cursorily rendered that it is hard to decide whether the form is that of a demon or of a bird (1052-1058).

The subject matter and the style in the seals of this group remain without exact parallels in Nuzi impressions, though Nuzi 570 and 571 depict a winged female figure standing with animals, not holding them as in 1051, but rather in the posture of the nude female of 1045 and 1046.

1051. White marble. Cylinder. 21 × 10

Nude winged goddess holding two gazelles by their hind legs; tree with bird and fish at left, two kneeling antelopes at right.

1052. Red-and-grey agate. Cylinder. 19 × 9

Winged bird-headed demon between two leaping antelopes; hand, fish, bull's head, one above other. Star in sky.

1053. Hematite. Cylinder. 16 × 8

Winged demon between two kneeling antelopes; hand, fish, star, one above other.

1054. Hematite. Cylinder. 14.5 × 8

Winged demon between standing bull and crouching lion. Above bull, griffin. Above lion, antelope.

1055. Hematite. Cylinder. 17 × 9

Winged bird-headed demon. In field: at left, crescent and kneeling antelope above crouching lion; at right, star, fish, rhomb, one above other.

1056. Hematite. Cylinder. 16.5 × 8

Winged bird-headed demon between two kneeling antelopes; star above reversed bull's head.

1057. Hematite. Cylinder. 18 × 9

Winged bird-headed demon, rhomb, star, drilling, kneeling antelope.

1058. Brown hematite. Cylinder. 20 × 10

Winged bird-headed demon, fish at either side and one above; winged sun disk (or bird) beside hand above seven globes and lion.

#### MISCELLANEOUS MOTIFS (1059-1067)

<sup>6</sup> In 1059-1064, animals and other forms, such as a hand, a rosette, or a rhomb, are arranged more or less freely in the field. Only 1059 shows a definite composition; the motif in the

<sup>7</sup> Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XLIIb; Berlin 578.



middle of the field recalls the arrangement of three animals in 1045. Seals 1060–1064 can be compared to Nuzi 888 and 889, in which the designs likewise show no particular plan. There is no obvious meaning, and no clear decorative pattern appears.

Similarly, the various motifs that make up the designs of 1065–1067 seem to have no related significance. However, in these seals the decorative tendency of the Mitannians is expressed by arrangement of the motifs in definite patterns.

1059. Hematite. Cylinder.  $19 \times 9$

Crouching griffin attacking kneeling antelope that is menaced by lion at right. Two scorpions and frog above. Fish, hand, and scorpion below. [ Ward, *Morgan* 262 ]

1060. Hematite. Cylinder.  $19 \times 9$

Crouching griffin and lion, facing. Antelope above each.

1061. Hematite. Cylinder, rubbed.  $19 \times 10$

Upper field: globe, bird, scorpion. Middle field: hand, animal, six drillings. Lower field: two fishes.

1062. Dark-brown hematite. Cylinder.

$20 \times 10$

Upper field: fish with mace (?) poised on its back, bird, hand. Lower field: crouching lion, horizontal line, kneeling antelope. Before antelope, rosette; above lion, second rosette.

1063. Hematite. Cylinder.  $19 \times 10$

Upper field: hand, seven globes, scorpion, fish. Lower field: mouflon, antelope, fish; behind head of mouflon, seven globes.

1064. Milky chalcedony. Cylinder.  $12 \times 9$

Upper field: crescent (placed vertically), scorpion, fish. Lower field: hand, two rhombs.

1065. Shell. Cylinder.  $16 \times 8$

Upper field: row of five men. Lower field: row of three birds.

1066. Hematite. Cylinder.  $21 \times 10$

Three pairs of fishes between two crosshatched bands.

1067. Hematite. Cylinder.  $21 \times 10$

Pattern of connected spirals. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1046 ]



## SEALS OF CYPRUS

From prehistoric times on, Cyprus was a meeting point for the cultural and political influences that emanated from Anatolia, Syria, Egypt, and the Aegean regions, though the extent of this intercourse varied in different periods. Early connections with the mainland of western Asia seem to be manifested in certain stamp seals from Cyprus in the Cesnola Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The sudden appearance of cylinder seals in Cyprus in the Late Cypriote Bronze Age (about 1550–1075)<sup>1</sup> coincides with an unprecedented intensification of relations with Syria and Palestine.

The cylinders found in Cyprus can be divided into four classes. The first includes cylinders of manifestly foreign style that were imported into Cyprus. Among these, Syrian<sup>2</sup> and Mitannian<sup>3</sup> seals are the most numerous. Such imported seals, of course, can only be recognized if their provenance is known to be from Cyprus—a criterion that is not met in the case of any seals in the present collection that might be of this class. The second class consists of copies of Syrian and Mitannian models executed by Cypriote engravers; they can usually be recognized as such only in small details of design (1068–1071). The third class is made up of cylinders of a distinctively Cypriote style, in which foreign features are assimilated and specifically Cypriote traits added. Because some of the better-executed seals of this category show great care in the engraving, this class is regarded as representing an elaborate Cypriote style (1072–1074). The fourth class, consisting of seals with extremely angular designs coarsely engraved, is believed to manifest a Cypriote common style (1075–1076).

In addition to these four classes of seals, a few pieces found in Cyprus present styles that appear to have prevailed in the Aegean region. Of these, 1077 may be an example.

Since the main body of Cypriote cylinders is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and will be dealt with in volume II of the present corpus, detailed discussion of cylinders of unquestionably Cypriote style in this collection (1072–1076) will be deferred to that context, and only 1068–1071, the classification of which is in doubt, will be treated here in detail.

<sup>1</sup> Date according to E. Sjöqvist, *Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age (The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, Stockholm, 1940)*, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos Greek Etruscan and Roman in the British Museum*, London, 1926, figs. 112, 113.

<sup>3</sup> A. S. Murray, A. H. Smith, and H. B. Walters, *Excavations in Cyprus*, London, 1900, pl. iv 53, 425, 466, 606, 607, 744; E. Gjerstad and others, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, Stockholm, 1934—, vol. I, pls. CL14 (A.J.8.24), CL11 (E.2.67).



## CYPRIOTE CYLINDERS

### CYLINDERS WITH SYRIAN ELEMENTS (1068-1071)

An indication for the classification of 1068 as Cypriote is given by Ward's remark<sup>1</sup> that this seal is "said to come from Cyprus." The piece resembles Syrian seals in the modeling of its figures and in the arrangement of its design, which presents a principal scene and a subsidiary motif, separated by a guilloche. However, Ward's clue pointing to Cypriote origin is possibly confirmed by the fact that the principal motif—that of a god or hero fighting a lion—is not common in the Syrian style, and by the fact that the garment of the hero differs from the attire of Syrian figures. This garment consists of a bordered kilt, together with an upper part loosely draped over the shoulders, and is not unlike that of the hero of a scene on an ivory mirror handle found at Enkomi in Cyprus.<sup>2</sup>

The classification of 1069 as Cypriote rests on far less certain grounds. The modeling of the animals and monsters is comparable to that in the best products of Syrian glyptic. However, no seals that are definitely classifiable in the second Syrian group present a field similarly filled with animals. Small details indicating that the seal does not belong to the unadulterated Syrian style include the posture of one of the lions, which is raising its hind leg with a freedom of movement associated with Aegean rather than with west-Asiatic art, and the ring in the field, an element that never appears in truly Syrian seals, though it is often seen in Aegean pieces.<sup>3</sup> While it may be doubted that the seal is of Syrian origin, there is still a question as to whether it was made in Cyprus or on one of the Aegean islands.

Seal 1070 presents a Syrian motif, two male figures with a guilloche between them, as in 925, a seal of the first Syrian group. However, the second element of the scene, a symmetrical design consisting of a stylized tree, flanked at either side by a bird and griffin, does not conform to Syrian examples. The rather free postures of the griffins, which are reared on their hind legs, and of the birds, which are swooping downward, seem to suggest Aegean influence. However, no exact Aegean parallels can be cited, and it is equally possible that this seal should be associated with the art of a different region, namely, northeastern Syria. A seal found at Tall Chagar Bazar, which Frankfort regards as Mitannian,<sup>4</sup> shows somewhat comparable figures of griffins and birds in a symmetrical arrangement.

The classification of 1071, like that of 1070, is in doubt. Though the lion and the scorpion occur in Syrian seals, the combination of these animals with a tree does not. Moreover, the blossoms on the tree are stylized lilies—a flower frequently pictured in Cretan and Mycenaean designs. It occurs in western Asia only as a manifestation of the influence of these Aegean styles, as for example in Middle Assyrian designs of the fourteenth century.<sup>5</sup> It is not impossible therefore that 1071 represents the work of a Syrian engraver influenced by such Middle Assyrian designs.

<sup>1</sup> *Seal Cylinders*, p. 345.

<sup>2</sup> Bossert, *The Art of Ancient Crete*, p. 267, fig. 491.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 229, fig. 392f; p. 233, fig. 396c.

<sup>4</sup> *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XLIIII.

<sup>5</sup> Herzfeld, "Die Kunst des zweiten Jahrtausends in Vorderasien," *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, VIII (1937), 160.



1068. Hematite, corroded. Cylinder.

25 × 11.5

Hero with scimitar attacking lion. Secondary motif: standing bull attacked by lion above guilloche; below latter, two sphinxes attacking lion; two charging bulls, facing, placed at right angles to main motif. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1161 ]

1069. Hematite. Cylinder, damaged. 18 × 10  
Lion with raised hind leg attacking griffin with leonine body whose contorted neck is under paws of second rearing lion—griffin's head, reversed, appearing under second lion's belly. Under griffin's fore paws, fish. Above first lion,

sphinx; above second lion, parts of animal bodies, animal head, bird. In field: two rings; two leaflike designs. [ Ward, *Morgan* 181 ]

1070. Hematite. Cylinder. 26 × 11

Two facing male figures, guilloche between them; tree flanked at either side by swooping bird above and seated griffin below. [ Ward, *Morgan* 164 ]

1071. Hematite. Cylinder. 21 × 10

Tree flanked at either side by scorpion above and lion below. Star in curve of first lion's tail. [ Ward, *Morgan* 166 ]

#### ELABORATE-STYLE CYLINDERS (1072-1074)

1072. Hematite. Cylinder, gold-capped at both ends. 22.5 × 11. (a) Impression.

(b) Seal stone

Goat-headed demon in long robe, with one hand touching tree at left, with other grasping bull at right; latter also held by deity standing with spread legs and with other hand seizing goat; holding weapon (?) above goat, deity in long robe whose other hand touches tree that initiates scene. In sky, disk inclosing globe

in crescent. [ Ward, *Morgan* 191 ]

1073. Hematite. Cylinder. 24 × 10.5

Griffin-demon grasping two female sphinxes. At left of demon, small animal; at right, bull's head. Crescent in sky. Terminal: tree. [ Ward, *Morgan* 183 ]

1074. Steatite. Cylinder. 23 × 10

Seated griffin facing worshiper (?).

#### COMMON-STYLE CYLINDERS (1075, 1076)

1075. Steatite. Cylinder. 21 × 10

Lion above antelope; human figure; snake; second human figure; four globes forming square above bird. In field: three four-pointed stars; four globes. [ Ward, *Morgan* 192 ]

1076. Steatite. Cylinder. 18 × 9

Downward-pointed spear held by enthroned figure; bull's head held above bird (?) by standing figure. Terminal: spear beside snake. [ Ward, *Morgan* 193 ]

#### CYLINDER OF AEGEAN STYLE (1077)

Seal 1077 obviously comes out of an artistic sphere that is completely alien to all west-Asiatic cylinders. The stylization of the animal bodies accentuates other parts than those stressed in the abbreviated rendering of animals in Near Eastern designs. The principal lines in the rendering of the bull indicate the movement of its body and do not clearly separate the neck, trunk, and limbs. Such stylistic determinants are supported by the resemblance between the griffin in this seal and a jumping griffin made of gold foil found at Mycenae,<sup>4</sup> as well as by the signs in the field, which may be characters of an Aegean script. A seal from Cyprus in the Cesnola Collection<sup>5</sup> resembles 1077 to some degree in style. Thus it is possible that such seals were made in Cyprus. However, it is equally probable that this piece originated somewhere in the Aegean area.

<sup>4</sup> Bossert, *The Art of Ancient Crete*, p. 98, fig. 194k.

<sup>5</sup> *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Boston, 1885-1903, vol. III, pl. cxix9.



1077. Brownish hematite. Cylinder. 25 × 10  
Ibex-headed demon with upraised arms—one  
arm over dog poised to leap; leaping horned  
animal; bull brought to its knees by griffin

jumping on its back. All three animals and  
griffin placed vertically. Terminal: character  
of Aegean script (?), two globes, second (dif-  
ferent) Aegean (?) character, one above other.



## MISCELLANEOUS CYLINDERS (1078-1114)

A number of cylinders in the present collection do not fit precisely into any of the established regional groups. They are therefore grouped as miscellaneous seals. However, some of them show similarities to pieces excavated in given regions. On the basis of such comparisons, suggestions regarding the origin of some of these cylinders are offered under the individual catalogue descriptions.

The group is roughly divided on a chronological basis. Seals 1078–1094 form a relatively earlier group, comprising cylinders that probably date from the third millennium or from the first half of the second, while 1095–1114 can perhaps be dated in the later half of the second millennium or in the earlier centuries of the first.

These approximate datings are based on whatever evidence appears of relations with south-Mesopotamian cylinders, the relative chronology of which seems more or less established. In some cases, however, such a dating may not reflect the actual age of the cylinder, since motifs that were abandoned after a given period in southern Mesopotamia were frequently perpetuated elsewhere.

The data adduced in regard to 1078 may serve to illustrate this point. The motif—an animal row—unquestionably resembles that in the Jamdat Nasr seals 17–21. However, the angular execution is similar to that of a stamp seal found at Hama<sup>1</sup> in Syria in layers dated by the excavator at the end of the third millennium. It is of course possible that the seal was actually made much earlier, since similar stamp seals were found at Tepe Gawra<sup>2</sup> in stratum VIII, which has been dated as not later than the Jamdat Nasr period. It is equally possible, on the other hand, that the style of such stamp seals, and of cylinders engraved in the same way, continued to be employed for a considerable length of time.

Only two small groups within this class of miscellaneous seals merit general comment. The first (1081–1083) shows extremely angular designs, with motifs—such as the chariot scenes of 1081 and 1082 and the hunting scene of 1083—that may derive from Early Dynastic themes like those of 118 or 92. For this reason Frankfort has tentatively assigned a seal of this class (Ashmolean 15)<sup>3</sup> to the Early Dynastic or Akkad period.

The angular, rudimentary style of these seals corresponds on the one hand with that of 1078 and on the other with the common style in Cypriote cylinders (1075, 1076). This would indicate that such a style prevailed in the Levant through the latter part of the third millennium and into the earlier part of the second, perhaps beginning even earlier and persisting later.

The second of these groups (1091–1094) shows Cappadocian motifs, in a procession of figures toward an animal (1092) and in a bull statue on an altar (1094). Their engraving, though deep, as in the Old Assyrian group, nevertheless produces more rounded forms than are found in such Cappadocian seals. Moreover, the oval caps of the figures seem to be rather distinctive of the seals here assembled; unlike the oval caps characteristic of Cappa-

<sup>1</sup>H. Ingholt, *Rapport préliminaire sur sept campagnes de fouilles à Hama en Syrie*, Copenhagen, 1940, pl. XIII 8.

<sup>2</sup>Speiser, *Excavations at Tepe Gawra*, vol. I, pls. LVI 8–13, LVII 17–19, 23, 24.

<sup>3</sup>*Cylinder Seals*, p. 233 (pl. xxxixd).



docian seals, they are neither striated nor brimmed. The motif of a figure drinking through a tube from a vessel, though occasionally found in Cappadocian seals (894), seems to be far more popular in the present group. The ball staff and vessel appearing in the curve of the tube in both 1093 and 1094 give some indication for a dating, since these symbols occur together mainly in and after the Isin-Larsa period.

The fact that a number of seals manifesting this style have been found in Syria<sup>4</sup> makes it seem likely that the group was produced in that region, despite the fact that a seal resembling 1091 in motif and execution was discovered at Alishar.<sup>5</sup> The occurrence of the ball staff and vessel, as well as the relation to Cappadocian designs, argues for a dating in the time of the Cappadocian seals, that is, in the latter part of the Isin-Larsa period in Mesopotamia.

1078. Black steatite. Cylinder.  $41 \times 2$   
Three walking horned animals, star above back of one, bird above each of others. [ Ward, *Morgan* 140 ]

1079. Pumice. Cylinder.  $31 \times 12$   
Above: boat with human figure fore and aft, three plants between them; bird with spread wings. Below: stag pursued by lion, under head of latter prostrate human figure. Between registers, vertically striped band.

The linear engraving of the scenes of this seal resembles the execution of certain cylinders of the Second Early Dynastic period, such as 58 above. The boat scene, however, is like a motif impressed on a sherd from Hama found in a layer dated as of the end of the third millennium. (Ingholt, *Rapport préliminaire . . . Hama en Syrie*, pl. xxii1.) The resemblance of the human figure in the lower register to those in 1081-1083, for which a dating in the Early Dynastic or Akkad period is suggested (p. 152), possibly indicates that this seal should be similarly dated, despite its archaic engraving. At any rate, the association with Syrian designs just pointed out suggests that the cylinder originated in Syria. Therefore 1079 may be an example of the crude derivative seal designs produced in Syria in the third millennium, before an individual Syrian style developed (p. 117).

1080. Black steatite. Cylinder.  $18 \times 9$   
Two running animals, plant (?) between them. Crosshatched border above.

The animals with striated bodies found on this cylinder can be compared to those on Weber

422, a seal from Jarabis (ancient Karkemish). The upper register of Weber 422 pictures a worshiping scene in which the figures have the birdlike heads of Early Dynastic renderings. It is likely therefore that both 1080 and Weber 422 were produced in Syria in the Early Dynastic period.

1081. Black steatite. Cylinder.  $30 \times 14$   
Horse-drawn chariot with driver, followed by attendant and walking dog. Reversed animal and bird above horse's reins. Scorpion above attendant and dog. [ Ward, *Morgan* 15 ]

1082. Black steatite. Cylinder.  $28 \times 14$   
Horse (?) stepping over prostrate foe as it draws chariot with driver, followed by attendant with one foot on chariot step. Bird above reins. Second bird below attendant. Terminal: snake.

1083. Black-and-brown steatite. Cylinder.  $29 \times 11$   
Stag pursued by lion that is in turn attacked by hero. In field: fish (?); crescent; bird; plant.

1084. Marble. Cylinder.  $27 \times 15$   
Upper field: bearded hero (in profile) beside bird; indeterminate design above rosette; five horned animals rampant. Lower field: horned animal, rampant over rosette, in grasp of nude bearded hero; horned animal grasped by bull-man; three horned animals rampant above lion standing between two rosettes. [ Ward, *Morgan* 267 ]

The occurrence of a bull-man and a nude

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlf (from Tell Judeidah); M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, Paris, 1937, vol. I, pl. cxxiv 2337; Ingholt, *op. cit.*, pl. xiii6 (fragmentary).

<sup>5</sup> Von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük*, Oriental Institute Publications, vol. XXIX, Chicago, 1937, p. 207, fig. 246:3362.



bearded hero as animal conquerors may argue for a dating in the Early Dynastic or in the Akkad period, when such figures were most frequently represented in this role. However, the fact that they appear thus in 980, a Syrian seal, indicates that the bull-man and the nude bearded hero were occasionally represented in a comparable context in the Syrian glyptic of the second millennium. The fact that 1084 shows use of a fine drill, as well as the occurrence of rosettes, should perhaps be regarded as indicating Mitannian influence, which in turn would imply an origin in the fifteenth or fourteenth century. Since no parallel pieces have appeared in excavations, the classification of this stone remains in doubt.

1085. Marble. Cylinder, lower part broken off. D. 11.5

Human figure; indefinable animal; bull-man with two hind parts merged into one torso (head in frontal view); horned (?) animal; bull-man (?); second horned (?) animal attacked by one of two crossed lions.

The engraving of this seal resembles that of 1084. Moreover, an Early Dynastic feature is preserved in the bull-man with two hind parts, as exemplified in Berlin 95, a seal from Fāra. While the classification of 1085 is as uncertain as that of 1084, it may be noted that both show use of a fine drill and embody Early Dynastic or Akkad motifs.

1086. Chalcocite. Cylinder. 29 × 15

Lion attacking horned animal crossed with second lion that in turn attacks small horned animal in upper field. Terminal: indeterminate design above bird (?).

The material of which this cylinder is fashioned—a copper ore—is very rarely used for Mesopotamian cylinders, whereas a number of Hittite stamp seals are made of it. This might indicate that the piece was produced in Asia Minor. It may be dated in or after the Early Dynastic period, though the arrangement of its figures deviates from that in typical Early Dynastic contest friezes (94).

1087. Green serpentine. Cylinder. 25 × 15  
Female worshiper led by deity toward enthroned sun god with garland hanging from his arm. In field, two stars, scorpion. Terminal: plant. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 270a ]

A Syrian or Anatolian origin is predicated for this seal by the simplified rendering of the figures and by the fact that the plant shows wedge-like incisions like those marking the plant of

1083. A dating in the Akkad period is suggested by the coiffure of the worshiper, whose hair is tied up at the back of the head, like that of the women in the Akkad seal 243.

1088. Grey steatite. Cylinder. 24 × 13  
Two worshipers behind figure holding lion club (?). Terminal: scorpion above second scorpion, bird between them.

The garments and posture of the worshipers in this scene recall Isin-Larsa seals such as 296 and may indicate a corresponding date for 1088. However, the rendering of the figure shown holding an object that may be a lion club, and the subject of the scene, which appears to be a procession toward scorpions, is unparalleled. The origin of the stone therefore remains uncertain.

1089. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 18 × 8.5  
Figure with upraised arms beside bird on pole (?); kneeling human-headed bull (?). In upper field: crescent, scorpion.

If the inference that the bird is on a pole is correct, the motif suggests a relation with Isin-Larsa designs (303). On the other hand, the posture of the figure shown in frontal view with both hands raised is non-Mesopotamian. The same motif occurs in 1093, a seal assigned to the Syrian orbit (p. 155). This may suggest that 1089 is of similar origin.

1090. Marble. Cylinder, damaged. 24.5 × 11  
Kneeling bull with indefinable object on its back; standing figure; seated figure. Indeterminate designs in field.

The rudimentary engraving and the use of drillings seen in this cylinder may relate it to a piece found at Çatal Höyük, in Syria and included by Frankfort (*Cylinder Seals*, pl. XLb) among the seals of peripheral style of the early part of the second millennium. The Çatal Höyük scene likewise includes a bull, though in a clearer rendering, and the object it supports can be identified as a gate.

1091. Greenish-black steatite. Cylinder.  
20 × 11  
Kneeling antelope; human figure; kneeling lion; second human figure. Two indefinable designs, one before, one over back of lion.

1092. Black steatite. Cylinder. 19 × 10  
Seated figure drinking through tube from vessel on stand, bird above; two worshipers before kneeling horned animal with scorpion and crescent above it, star under bend of its neck.



1093. Greenish-black steatite. Cylinder.

19 × 9

Seated figure drinking through tube from vessel, with vessel and ball staff under tube; frame with horizontal bars and curved ends beside worshiper with raised hands. [ Ward, *Morgan* 148 ]

1094. Dark-green steatite. Cylinder. 25 × 13  
Bull on altar under canopy; nude worshiper with cup, facing figure drinking through tube from vessel. Under bend of tube, ball staff and vessel. Above worshiper's cup, seven globes. Crescent and star in sky. [ Ward, *Morgan* 173 ]

1095. Hematite. Cylinder. 23.5 × 12

Lion above figure on one knee; worshiper holding indefinable object in one hand and bird in other, approaching personage with large cup enthroned on two standing goats. In field, rosette, three triangles formed by drillings.

In the drillings placed in the field, and in the design of the bird, this seal resembles a piece found at Ras Shamra and included by Frankfort in his third Syrian group (*Cylinder Seals*, pl. XLV). A similar classification might be suggested for 1095.

1096. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 22 × 11  
Worshiper holding up four dead birds (?) strung on rope (?); column of six globes; small figure touched by deity who is seated on throne that has back ending in bird's head. Above arm of deity, indeterminate design. Winged sun disk in sky. Several globes scattered in field. Terminal: plant. [ Ward, *Morgan* 259 ]

The garment of the worshiper appears to have girdle tassels hanging down at the sides and between his legs, a feature that relates this seal to two cylinders found in a deposit in the necropolis of Minat al Baida, adjacent to Ras Shamra (*Syria*, vol. XII [1931], pl. III 1, middle and bottom seals). Furthermore, the treatment of the design, covering the seal with a close pattern of thin lines, corresponds with the execution of these cylinders. This might indicate that 1096 should be classified as Syrian and dated in the time of the Minat al Baida cylinders, that is, in the thirteenth century B.C.

1097. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 25 × 12  
Horned animal, globe-topped ladder design on its back; offering table, under inverted crescent between two globes, before enthroned figure holding crescent (?) staff; behind throne, attendant.

Since there are no specific parallels for this design, the classification of the cylinder is completely in doubt.

1098. Greenish-black serpentine. Cylinder.  
19 × 9

Four goats before human figure, kid under fourth goat.

Lack of parallels makes it impossible to assign a date or place of origin to this piece.

1099. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 24 × 9  
Stag before horse drawing chariot with archer aiming at bird in sky. Two indeterminate animals in field.

The animals in this scene, especially the stag, show some resemblance, in their rudimentary engraving, to animals on seals excavated in Syria, such as Ashmolean 240. Thus the possibility arises that 1099 is of Syrian origin, while the prevalence of its motif—a hunt from a chariot—in Neo-Assyrian seals such as 659–661, would suggest a ninth- or eighth-century dating.

1100. Black serpentine. Cylinder, damaged.  
49 × 16

Above: archer and charioteer back to back in chariot drawn by horse that is menaced by lion, which is in turn aimed at by archer who initiates scene. Under horse, second lion (?). Beside bow of archer, bird (?). Under first lion and above rein of horse, row of wedges. Below: tree and spiral design before winged walking sphinx followed by winged (?) stag. [ Ward, *Morgan* 153 ]

While the subject of this cylinder—a lion hunt from a chariot—resembles that of a relief of Ashurnasirpal II (Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, pl. 10), the arrangement of the figures, the dentated border, and the design of the tree all deviate from Assyrian renderings of such elements. Of these deviations, the one that furnishes some suggestion in regard to the classification of this seal is the form of the tree, which in its chandelier-like shape somewhat resembles a tree design on a cylinder found at Van (C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, "Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens," *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* [Phil.-hist. Kl.], new ser., IX [no. 3, 1907], 108, fig. 80). Hence it seems possible that 1100 originated in the region of Van, where Assyrian influence was prevalent even before the Urartian kingdom there was destroyed by Sargon II.



1101. Steatite. Cylinder, partly ground off.  
23 × 14

Four vertical columns composed of rosettes and Hittite hieroglyphs (?).

The patterns of alternating rosettes and hieroglyphs in the columns on this seal resemble the borders encircling the central motifs in Hittite stamp seals, for example Ashmolean 191. This may indicate that 1101 originated in Asia Minor in the time of the Younger Hittite empire, that is, in the fourteenth or thirteenth century B.C.

1102. Carnelian. Cylinder. 20 × 11  
Standard in form of stag-headed snake, before worshiper; behind latter, tasseled crescent staff. Hittite hieroglyphs in field. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 796 ]

The Hittite inscription on this seal contains the names of two important deities, both preceded by the determinative "god." Bossert believes that the names are Shantash and Kupapa ("Šantaš and Kupapa," *Mitteilungen der altorientalischen Gesellschaft*, vol. VI, (no. 3, 1932), fig. 19, no. 4 (text pp. 34f.); fig. 26, no. 9, text pp. 44ff.) Bossert refers to the signs of this seal as reproduced in L. Messerschmidt, "Corpus inscriptionum Hettitarum," *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, vol. V (no. 4, 1900), pl. XLII. While the interpretation of the second name is generally accepted, the first name is read by I. J. Gelb as Tarhuns (*Hittite Hieroglyphs*, II [ *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, no. 14, 1935 ], 18 f.; III [ *Studies . . .*, no. 21, 1942 ], 5, n. 2).

The Hittite hieroglyphs indicate that this seal originated in Asia Minor or Syria, the regions where these signs were used approximately from 1400 to 700 B.C. Moreover, the stag-headed snake indicates Hittite associations, since the stag played a greater part in Hittite iconography than in that of any other people (p. 133). The date of the seal may be indicated by the garment of the worshipers, which corresponds with the robe of the Babylonian crown prince, Shamash-shum-ukin, as portrayed on the stele of his father, Esarhaddon, found at Zincirli (Unger, *Assyrische und babylonische Kunst*, p. 123, fig. 68). It seems possible that this stele exercised considerable influence on the artists of Zincirli and its vicinity, which would account for the attire of the worshiper on this seal. A dating in the earlier part of the seventh century is thus indicated.

1103. Smoky topaz. Cylinder, unperforated, with suspension loop (broken off) cut in seal stone. 15 × 10

a) Side: Two winged horse-headed demons, each holding lotus blossom, at either side of sacred tree. In field: star, crescent, dagger. Terminal: pseudo-Hittite hieroglyphs above head of horned animal.

b) Base: Winged sun disk and designs as in terminal of side scene. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 795 ]

The occurrence of spurious Hittite hieroglyphs on this seal may indicate that the piece originated within the orbit of this type of sign, that is, in Syria or Asia Minor. However, the fact that these signs do not conform with the hieroglyphs found in genuine Hittite inscriptions of about 1400–700 B.C., indicates that the seal was made after the time in which these hieroglyphs were in use. Such a late dating is supported by the design of the ornamental tree, which recalls in its general effect a corresponding design on the mouth of a sheath of Scytho-Persian shape found in southern Russia by General Melgunoff (O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, London, 1905, p. 5, fig. 38). This sheath as well as other objects of similar character have been ascribed by Dalton to a time after the end of the seventh century B.C. (*op. cit.*, 2d ed., 1926, pp. 10 f.). Furthermore, the shape of 1103 conforms with that of some Achaemenian cylinders (838, 839). This is another ground for dating 1103 after the seventh and perhaps as late as the fifth century B.C.

1104. Baked clay (?). Cylinder. 29 × 15  
Enthroned figure drinking from vase and facing attendant with fan, between them two indeterminate designs above kneeling antelope; beside latter, plant and indeterminate design. In lower field: five small vessels above offering table; two large vessels before small figure with vase. [ Ward, *Morgan* 174 ]

The scene of this seal recalls a Neo-Assyrian representation of a ritual meal, as for example in 673. However, only the shape of the fan presents an exact parallel to Assyrian designs, while the garb of the figures and the treatment of the space deviate completely. Though it is possible that 1104 presents a peripheral rendering of the Assyrian motif, it is equally possible that this cylinder, which so far remains unparalleled, is the work of a modern forger.

1105. Black serpentine. Cylinder, partly broken off. 25 × 10



Two birds flanking plant (?) above scorpion and two indeterminate designs. Terminal: column of parallel lines. Dentated border along base, border with one dent at top.

The dentated lower border of the scene of 1105 suggests an origin in the time of the Assyrian empire and in a peripheral locale, most probably Syria, where a number of seals with Assyrian motifs and comparable borders have been found (Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, p. 79, fig. 87, 88).

1106. Limestone. Cylinder.  $22 \times 10$   
Tree with leaves or fruit indicated by drillings; scorpion above bird; behind latter, indeterminate design. [Ward, *Morgan* 169]

The design of a tree on a seal found at Susa (*Revue d'assyriologie*, vol. XXVIII [1931], 44, XII) may be cited as a parallel for the tree of the present motif. This similarity could be taken to suggest that 1106 originated in Elam. The linear execution may indicate a dating in the time of the Neo-Assyrian linear style, that is, in the ninth or eighth century B.C.

1107. Serpentine. Cylinder, damaged, only lower half preserved.  $30 \times 11.5$   
Figure crouching before table; between legs of table, indefinable object above crescent staff. Terminal: staff (?). Border of triangles at base. [Ward, *Morgan* 142]

The unusual height of this seal, as well as the lower border of triangles, might suggest contemporaneity with Kassite designs, though the motif of a figure before an offering table would correspond rather with the themes of such Assyrian cylinders as 677. The crouching position of the human figure is unparalleled in Mesopotamian designs.

1108. Grey serpentine. Cylinder.  $27.5 \times 11$   
Above: three walking birds; indeterminate design. Below: fish (?), scorpion, vase (?), bird, tree, all reversed. [Ward, *Morgan* 143]

The birds in this seal resemble cranes, which are a favorite subject of Egyptian artists. The presence of this Egyptian motif might suggest that 1108 originated in Palestine. No certain dating is possible.

1109. Burnt alabaster (?). Cylinder.  $24 \times 12$   
Four fishes among flower-like designs and wedges. [Ward, *Morgan* 144]

There are no known parallels for this design.

1110. Silver. Cylinder.  $18 \times 9.5$   
Above: four kneeling animals, two rings in field. Below: eight goat heads, reversed. [Ward, *Morgan* 188]

The material of this cylinder suggests an origin in Asia Minor, since silver was occasionally employed for Hittite stamp seals and rarely used for seals elsewhere. The design is unparalleled.

1111. Copper. Cylinder.  $17 \times 8$   
Three kneeling goats, branch over back of each. [Ward, *Morgan* 187]

The material of this seal suggests origin in Asia Minor, as in the case of 1086.

1112. Copper or bronze. Cylinder.  $16 \times 9.5$   
Motif arranged vertically: three animals, second reversed.

The material of this cylinder suggests origin in Asia Minor, as in the case of 1111 and 1086.

1113. Copper or bronze. Cylinder.  $18 \times 10$   
Walking bull before three lines, one of them zigzag. [Ward, *Morgan* 189]

Like the other seals made of copper or bronze (1086, 1111, 1112), this piece may have originated in Asia Minor. However, it is not corroded like the others, and its lines are sharper; therefore it is possibly not genuine.

1114. Burnt and glazed steatite (?). Octagonal prism (engraved in position).  $23 \times 13$   
Row of five men.

Since the design appears in relief on the stone, this piece was probably meant to be used as an amulet and not as a seal. The outlines of the figures are very cursory and do not permit of conclusions as to the origin and date of the piece, though burnt and glazed steatite was frequently used for Mitannian cylinders.



## DOUBTFUL, RECUT, AND FORGED SEALS (1115-1157)

Relatively few outright forgeries have found their way into the present collection. This is largely due to the extraordinary feeling for style exercised by W. H. Ward, whose counsel determined the acquisition of most of these cylinders. The fact that any forgeries appear in the collection, which was assembled in large part before 1910, indicates that considerable forging of seals occurred in the last decades of the nineteenth century and in the beginning of the twentieth, when ancient Near Eastern seal stones had become collector's items. This is corroborated by the evidence of other collections acquired at about the same time, such as the DeClercq, which was published in 1888 and which includes a large number of spurious pieces (DeClercq 402-409, 411-414).

Forgeries were and still are being produced not only in the Near East but also in the West. In general, the Near Eastern forger can be expected to try his hand at creating an extraordinary design or inventing a new kind of script, employing Hebrew or Arabic characters in some unusual way. However, he apparently also copies designs of genuine seal stones, since the collection of the Pontifical Biblical Institute, which was acquired in Jerusalem, includes pieces that are duplicates of cylinders at present in Western collections.<sup>1</sup> It seems likely that these copies were made in the Near East by forgers who had access to the original cylinders before the latter reached Europe or the United States. This would account for the fact that two forgeries in this collection, 1148 and 1149, seem to have been copied from 826 and 831, though the designs of these seals were not available in illustration before the publication by Ward, in which both the forgeries appear. Lastly, Near Eastern forgers either recut badly rubbed genuine seals or choose for their falsifications the same types of stones that were used by ancient engravers.

Western forgers on the other hand often give themselves away by using types of stones never employed in the ancient Near East, because they are unfamiliar with the authentic material. Furthermore, Western forgers are prone to imitate the designs of seals published in catalogues, preferably those shown by drawings, since it is easier to copy from drawings than from photographs.

While two of the earmarks of forgery, unusual material and unintelligible inscription, are relatively easy to spot, the third, stylistic incongruity, is far more difficult to detect. It may arise as the result of an attempt to create a design not based on the features of an already existing seal, or in the copying or recutting of an ancient stone. In the latter case, the hand of the forger is revealed by divergences in motif and detail from the style of the period to which the seal can be related on the basis of its main theme and general rendering.

In very many cases, there is question whether an unparalleled design is really a modern creation or an example of a group previously unrepresented among seals found in excavations. The same question applies to details that seem so unusual as to suggest modern origin but that might actually be variations introduced by ancient seal cutters.

In the present collection, the doubtful seals are separated into two groups. The first com-

<sup>1</sup> E. D. Van Buren, *The Cylinder Seals of the Pontifical Biblical Institute (Analecta Orientalia)*, vol. XXI (1940), pls. iv 30-38, vi 55-60, x-xii.



prises those pieces which may be genuine despite their unusual appearance, or in which the original design can still be recognized although the stone has been recut (1115-1132). The second includes those seals which are unquestionably modern forgeries or which have been recut beyond recognition (1133-1158).

## SEALS OF DOUBTFUL DESIGN AND RECUT PIECES (1115-1132)

In most of the seals of this group, some specific style of the glyptic of Mesopotamia or its periphery has been imitated. The seals are therefore arranged according to the classification followed in the main body of the present work. Usually the general impression of the design, especially where there is a lack of sure drawing as compared with that in genuine cylinders, has led to the classification of a given stone within this group. However, tangible details that are incongruent with the style imitated are pointed out wherever possible. In the catalogue descriptions of the individual seals of this group, the style that is imitated is named in parenthesis below the general designation of subject matter replacing the usual full description, except in those cases in which the style of the seal is unparalleled.

1115. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 28 × 18  
Contest frieze.  
(Early Akkad style).

The leg of the horned animal at the left of the central hero is drawn across the latter's leg, a feature incompatible with genuine Akkad design.

1116. Pink marble. Cylinder. 32 × 20  
Enthroned god and contest group.  
(Akkad style). [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 270 ]

The god is depicted with rays as well as streams: this is an unparalleled combination of the characteristics of the sun god and water god in Akkad seals. Furthermore, the contestant at the right has a bulbous nose and thick lips similar to those on a face in a forged Sassanian intaglio (J. Menant, "Forgeries of Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities," *American Journal of Archaeology*, III [1887], 22, fig. 7).

1117. Greenish-brown limestone. Cylinder,  
concave sides. 30 × 18.5(16)  
Banquet scene.  
(Akkad style).

The figure at the left seems to be grasping a strand of his hair: this is a gesture unparalleled in Akkad designs.

1118. Shell. Cylinder. 41 × 26  
Enthroned god surrounded by divine worshipers.  
(Akkad style). [ Ward, *Morgan* 59 ]

The fact that a modern forger has been at work on this seal is obvious in the engraving of

the face of the god at the extreme right, which is superimposed on a scratch in the cylinder made probably in ancient times. Similar recutting is observable in the other figures, though the theme and arrangement of the scene are doubtless genuine and comparable to those of Akkad seals such as 193.

1119. Sandstone. Cylinder. 33 × 12.5  
Lion attacking winged bull.  
(Neo-Assyrian linear style). [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1102 ]

The rendering of the lion is unusual, since the lines indicating the ribs in linear-style designs such as 629 are here parallel with the line of the back. Furthermore, the lion is much smaller than the bull he is attacking. Both these features betray an engraver unfamiliar with Neo-Assyrian usage.

1120. Black steatite. Cylinder. 35 × 12  
Bull and griffin, facing.  
(Neo-Assyrian linear style). [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1101 ]

The outlines of the bull in this cylinder resemble those of the winged bull in 1119 and indicate that the same hand fashioned both seals. The inference that 1120 is not genuine is further substantiated by its theme, which is unparalleled in Neo-Assyrian art.

1121. Black steatite. Cylinder. 20 × 13  
Worshipers with standard.



(Neo-Assyrian linear style). [ Ward, *Morgan* 178 ]

The garments of the worshipers show a fringe terminated by a line, as in DeClerq 408, which is indubitably a forgery; the unparalleled shape of the tree provides further ground for doubting that this seal is genuine.

1122. Yellowish chalcedony. Cylinder.  
40 × 18

Worship of gods.

(Neo-Assyrian drilled style).

This seal is a copy of Berlin 605, with the difference that the action of the scene proceeds from right to left. The unusual angle formed by the worshiper's raised arm indicates a forger's hand.

1123. White chalcedony. Cylinder, damaged.  
32 × 17

Worship of deities.

(Neo-Assyrian drilled style).

The inscription, which is unintelligible, gives rise to suspicion concerning the genuineness of this seal. Furthermore, no seals of the earlier drilled style show a worshiper in a garment decorated as here with a pattern of squares with a drilling in each, though this pattern is used in designs of modeled style, as in 761. Lastly, the worshiper's hair is marked by striation, whereas drilled-style seals usually depict the hair as though it covered the head like a plain, flat cap. Only modeled-style seals, for example 761, offer parallels as regards such striated hair. It is not beyond possibility, therefore, that the incongruities in the drilled style of 1123 indicate not the hand of a modern forger but that of an engraver working in the period of the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian modeled style of the end of the eighth or of the seventh century B.C.

1124. Dull carnelian. Cylinder. 23 × 11

Winged hero with horned animals.

(Neo-Babylonian cut style). [ Ward, *Morgan* 158 ]

The horned animals are engraved in the manner of such cut-style seals as 741-746 or Berlin 35. However, these seals portray only animals in flight, usually pursued by monsters. The theme of 1124, showing a hero in the center holding two animals, corresponds rather with a favorite theme of the modeled style. Since the lines of the cut style are relatively clear, they are easily copied. Thus the unusual design of 1124 is probably the work of modern copyist.

1125. Pink chert. Cylinder. 22 × 10

Winged hero between sphinxes, all doubled in reverse so that lower half of motif represents mirror duplication of upper half.

(unparalleled style). [ Ward, *Morgan* 276 ]

1126. Brownish limestone. Stamp, pyramidal, with rounded top and octagonal base.

20 × 20 × 17

Flaming altar with figure seated before it.

(Neo-Assyrian linear style). [ Ward, *Morgan* 288 ]

An unparalleled theme and awkward cutting indicate that this seal is not genuine.

1127. Greenish-grey steatite. Stamp, with circular base, suspension loop cut in seal stone. H. (total) 24.5. 13.5 × 13.5

Hero lifting two animals by their hind legs. (Unparalleled style).

1128. Hematite. Cylinder. 20 × 10

Female with offering before gods.

(Syrian style, second group). [ Ward, *Morgan* 248 ]

A female figure carrying a kid is unparalleled, since only male worshipers are thus depicted. Furthermore, the design behind the suppliant is probably an erroneous rendering of some small object appearing in the field of a Syrian seal.

1129. Greenish chalcedony. Cylinder.

35 × 16

Gods and worshipers.

(Possibly Mitannian style). [ Ward, *Morgan* 242 ]

The style of the engraving in this cylinder recalls seals such as 1022; this may suggest that the stone is of Elamite or Mitannian origin. However, Mitannian and Elamite seals so far as now known fail to provide a parallel for the motif, in which a syrianized weather god grasps a rod with balls that is also held by a figure with scimitar.

1130. Black steatite. 29 × 12

Ibex and archer.

(Unparalleled style). [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1086 ]

1131. Hematite. Cylinder. 30 × 13

Figures with trees.

(Unparalleled style). [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 870 ]



1132. Hematite. Cylinder. 30 × 15  
Pair of scorpions, pair of goats, treelike design  
between each pair.

(Unparalleled style). [Ward, *Seal Cylinders*  
1021 ]

### FORGERIES (1133–1157)

The treatment of forgeries in the present volume conforms with that of the group of doubtful and recut seals. The most obvious reasons for considering a given seal to be a forgery are given under the catalogue description. However, in those instances in which the cylinder shows a spurious inscription in addition to unusual design, no comment is made on the latter. The same procedure has been followed where the material is unparalleled in ancient seals, since this offers sufficient indication of forgery.

1133. Onyx marble. Cylinder. 32 × 18  
Contest frieze.  
(Style of Second Early Dynastic period.)  
[Ward, *Morgan* 39 ]

The cuneiform signs on this seal are forged.

1134. Amygdaloid basalt. Cylinder. 35 × 22  
Contest frieze.  
(Early Akkad style).

The material of this piece is unparalleled.

1135. Red jasper. Cylinder. 33 × 24  
Two pairs of contestants.  
(Akkad style). [Ward, *Morgan* 43 ]

The inscription of this seal is copied from Southesk Qb 15, the paired bull-man and lion from another Southesk seal, Qa 2.

1136. Shell. Cylinder. 41 × 26  
Female figures and seated figure.

This seal is only partially recut. The two female figures appear to have been copied from a seal found at Susa (*Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, XXXV [1895], 168, fig. 2), while the seated figure of the original design has been left untouched.

1137. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder. 19 × 14.5  
Boat scene.  
(Akkad style). [Ward, *Morgan* 9 ]

The design of this seal may have been copied from Louvre A. 157. The angular engraving, especially the parallel oblique lines that mark the garments of the figures, are typical of a certain type of forgery (see for example Van Buren, *The Cylinder Seals of the Pontifical Biblical Institute*, pl. x 92–95).

1138. Grey steatite. Cylinder. 25 × 16  
Contest group; worshiper.

(No definite style). [Ward, *Morgan* 50 ]

The cuneiform inscription on this seal is forged.

1139. Light-blue glass frit. Cylinder. 25 × 16  
Worshiper with symbols.

(Early Kassite style). [Ward, *Morgan* 124 ]

In this seal the cuneiform inscription is forged and the material is unparalleled.

1140. Grey steatite. Cylinder. 36 × 12  
Offering scene.

(No definite style). [Ward, *Morgan* 268 ]

The cuneiform inscription of this stone is forged.

1141. Fossiliferous reddish limestone bearing  
shell fragments. Cylinder. 24 × 9

Figure with symbols.

(Kassite style). [Ward, *Morgan* 126 ]

The cuneiform inscription of this cylinder is forged.

1142. Pink chert. Cylinder. 32 × 11  
Hunting scene.

(Middle Assyrian style). [Ward, *Morgan*  
279 ]

The arrangement of the figures and their outlines conform in general with the corresponding features in Middle Assyrian seals, indicating that this cylinder is a recut rather than a new-carved piece. The engraving resembles that in such forgeries as 1137, suggesting that the same forger is responsible for both designs.

1143. Black limestone. Cylinder. 39 × 18.5  
Two genii with tree between them.



(Neo-Assyrian linear style). [ Ward, *Morgan* 159 ]

In addition to the awkward engraving, the presence of the birds perched on the leaves of the tree—a detail never found in genuine Assyrian cylinders of linear style—indicates that this seal is a forgery.

1144. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 30 × 13  
Worshippers with crescent standard; archer.  
(Neo-Assyrian linear style).

In genuine Neo-Assyrian renderings of worshippers beside a tree, the figure of an archer never occurs. This fact, together with the awkward rendering of the archer on this seal, is an indication of forgery.

1145. Yellow-and-drab marble mottled with red. Cylinder. 47 × 17

Two worshippers, one at each side of tree with winged sun disk above it. [ Ward, *Morgan* 162 ]

The material of this seal is unparalleled.

1146. White chert mottled with green. Cylinder. 38 × 17

Winged hero with scimitar attacking sphinx.  
(Neo-Assyrian; modeled style). [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 610 ]

The disproportionately large heads of the figures, and their crudely carved faces, are obvious indications of an unskilled forger's hand. The winged hero may have been copied from DeClercq 339, the sphinx from DeClercq 351.

1147. White chalcedony. Cylinder. 35 × 17  
Chariot scene.

(Neo-Assyrian; modeled style). [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1058 ]

The head of the archer following the chariot is engraved over the break in the seal; this indicates that the piece is a forgery, though a far more elaborate one than most. Inspiration for the elements of the design may have been obtained from various sources—from a seal like 778 for the chariot, and from one like Louvre A. 836 for the goddess, while the dragon on which she stands seems to be a simplified rendering of the monster in 691. The symbols in the sky could have been copied from Southesk Qc 22.

1148. Drab limestone. Cylinder. 29 × 12  
King menacing lion.

(Achaemenian style). [ Ward, *Morgan* 274 ]

The circle with inscribed rosette appearing below the winged sun disk in this cylinder is un-

paralleled on genuine Achaemenian seals. The figures of the king and the lion could have been copied from 826.

1149. Grey marble. Cylinder. 27 × 11  
Archer and boar.

(Achaemenian style). [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders* 1063 ]

This seal was probably copied from 831. The forger's hand is most obvious in the design of the boar's head, which is furnished with a horn, in a mistaken rendering of the ear of the boar in 831.

1150. Blue chalcedony. Cylinder. 25 × 14  
Two birds with tree between them.

(Achaemenian style).

The unparalleled rendering of the tree, which supplies the principal indication that this seal is a forgery, is probably an invention on the part of a modern seal cutter. The birds could have been copied from 818.

1151. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder. 28 × 18  
God with mace facing suppliant goddess.

(Old Babylonian style). [ Ward, *Morgan* 104 ]

This seal was copied from Hague 25. A second copy (unpublished) has been seen in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin (Vorderasiatische Abteilung).

1152. Hematite. Cylinder. 20 × 10  
Egyptianized figures with standards.

(Palestinian style). [ Ward, *Morgan* 198 ]

The cuneiform inscription of this piece is forged.

1153. Black serpentine. Cylinder. 23 × 12  
Conglomerate scene including drinking figure and genius.

(No definite style).

The inclusion of a column of quasi-cuneiform signs in the scene of this seal indicates that it is a forgery.

1154. Iron ore. Cylinder. 25 × 11  
Worshiping scene with conglomerate designs.

(No definite style). [ Ward, *Morgan* 175 ]

The material of this seal is unparalleled.

1155. Greyish serpentine. Cylinder. 27 × 14  
Two male figures with female figure between them.

(No definite style).

The inscription composed of quasi-Hebrew characters indicates that this seal is a forgery.



1156. Greenish-black serpentine. Cylinder.  
41 × 11

Inscription in columns. [ Ward, *Seal Cylinders*  
793 ]

Spurious signs, resembling Hebrew characters and other designs, make up a patently fraudulent inscription on this cylinder.

1157. Brown hematite. Cylinder, barrel-shaped. 18 × 5(6)

Goddess with wreath facing worshiper. [ Ward, *Morgan* 278 ]

This seal copies such Sassanian rock reliefs as that of the investiture of Ardashir (reproduced in F. Lajard, *Recherches sur le culte publique et les mystères de Mithra en Orient et en Occident*, Paris, 1847, *Atlas*, pl. xi). The piece is unquestionably a forgery, since cylinder seals were no longer used in the Sassanian period.







# SUMERIAN AND AKKADIAN INSCRIPTIONS

EDITED BY A. LEO OPPENHEIM

The following conventions were used in the transliteration of the cuneiform signs:

*Letter-spaced roman* indicates Sumerian, *Italics* are used for Akkadian. *Accents* and *numeral indices* in the Sumerian and Akkadian text do not indicate differences in pronunciation but refer exclusively to the spelling of the respective word.

Words or syllables in *capitals* render signs with unknown readings.

*Square brackets* indicate broken passages of the inscription, if they are empty; or restorations based upon traces on the seal, if letters or syllables appear between them.

*Round brackets* in the translation mark off additions by the editor.

*Angular brackets* indicate signs omitted by the seal cutter.

Illegible signs are rendered by "x".

The superior letter <sup>d</sup> indicates the determinative for divine persons and things, <sup>m</sup> the determinative preceding masculine personal names, <sup>ki</sup> the determinative after names of towns and countries.

The columns of the two-column-inscriptions are differentiated by a) and b).

š renders the phonem which is transcribed in the book by "sh", ḫ the phonem transcribed by "kh" (except in names like Hammurabi for which common usage has been established), and ĩ is transcribed in the book by "y", as in Aya.

No. 48 The inscription (in four lines with some isolated signs) is written in Neo-Babylonian characters, few of which can be identified.

No. 80 a) L u g a l . l ú (?) . m e [š] (?)  
[p] a d (?) . d a . n i  
b) U n u <sup>ki</sup> . g a

...  
of Uruk.

No. 110 HUL.PA  
š à . KIL

...  
...

No. 144 ĩ-lum-ba-ni  
u r . PA (?)

Illum-bani  
...

No. 160 a) *Waraz-su-ni*  
*A-di-AN*  
b) ĩ r . z u

Warazzunu,  
Adili (?)  
(is) your servant.

No. 161 N i g ĩ n . p a

...

Written over an erased inscription that is partly legible as: D [a] (?) . [ n ] i n, or: Á. [ n ] i n.

No. 162 D ù g . b ù z u r . p a l a<sub>x</sub>  
n u . b a n d à a š l a g

Dug-buzur-pala  
overseer of the fullers.



Dr. A. Goetze suggested the reading *p a l a<sub>x</sub>* for the group ŠU.NAM. Unlike A. Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexikon*, Rome 1927ff. no. 296/141, our seal omits the sign PI in *a š l a g*.

No. 164	U r . š a <sub>6</sub> d u b . s a r	Ur-ša scribe.
No. 165	U r . k u n š u t u k	Ur-kun šutuk-priest.
No. 166	L u g a l . a n . n i d u b . s [ a r ]	Lugal-an-ni sc[ribe].
No. 169	A š . š i r . g i <sub>4</sub> . m a . D U š u . i	Aš-šir-gi-ma- . . barber.
No. 188	[       ] . S E Š	. . .
No. 189	ḪAR-sa-lim <sub>x</sub>	. . -salim.

The sign LUM is here probably to be read: lim<sub>x</sub>.

No. 202	d i n g i r . G ú	god Gu.
No. 204	x-x-ni-š[u]-u[m](?) [d u m u(?)] Li-i[m(?)-x]	. . -nišum [son of] . . .
No. 212	b) [       ] . g e š t i n [ r a . g ] a b a ì r . z u	. . . [messe]nger, (is) your servant.

The first column of this inscription is missing.

No. 219	Be-lí-lí mâr Šu-AB-m[u](?)	Bêl-ili son of Šu-Ab[mu].
No. 237	Only l u g a l ("king") preserved.	
No. 239	<i>Ik-ru-ub-ili</i> mâr <i>La-lí</i>	Ikrub-ili son of Lâli.
No. 253	<i>La-ga-ti-a</i> d u m u L u g a l . <sup>d</sup> U t u	La-qâtia son of Lugal-Utu.
No. 264	TUR	. . .
No. 267	a) L ú . <sup>d</sup> Š a r á l ú . m a ḫ <sup>d</sup> Š a r á L u g a l . <sup>d</sup> S a t r a n d u b . s a r b) š a b r a ì r . z u	Lu-Šara, maḫ-priest of Šara, Lugal-Satran scribe (and) šabra-official (is) your servant.



No. 268	L u g a l . d i n g i r . m u ì r L ú . d u <sub>10</sub> . g a	Lugal-dingir-mu servant of Lu-du-ga.
No. 274	a) G ù . d é . a e n <sub>5</sub> . s i L a g a š a <sup>ki</sup> b) A b . b a d u b . s a r ì r . z u	Gudea ensi of Lagaš, Abba the scribe (is) your servant.
No. 275	Ì r - r i - b u - u m u k u š l ú . s u k k a l	Errêbum ukuš-official (and) sukkal-official.
No. 277	U r . <sup>d</sup> N u s k u d u m u K a (!) . k a d a m . k a r a	Ur-Nusku son of Kaka, trader.
Dr. A. Goetze proposed to read k a (!) instead of the s a g of the inscription.		
No. 278	I l i - m u - t a (?) - b [ i l (?) ] š a k a n . g u <sub>4</sub> (?) SAG (?) AN [                 ] B a - z i - a (?) s a <sub>12</sub> . s u [ k <sub>5</sub> ] (?) ì r . z [ u ]	Ili-muttabili(?). cattle-inspector(?) ... Bazia(?), the recorder (is) your servant.
No. 279	D a - d a - a - a mâr Šu-NI-li-li	Dadaia son of Šu . . . .
No. 280	Ì R . a <sub>11</sub> d u <sub>8</sub> (?) . é . g e š t u	Urdâ ...
No. 281	a) B i - n a - g u - u m u k u š . l u g a l b) mâr G a - a n - g a - a n u . b a n d à	Binagum ukuš-official of the king, son of Ganga, overseer.
No. 282	[                                 ] [                                 ] d u m u [                     ]	[                                 ] [                                 ] son of [                     ].
No. 283	E š <sub>4</sub> . t á r . d i n g i r . m u [                     ] - N I	Ištar-dingir-mu ...
No. 284	<sup>d</sup> Sîn - k à - š í - i d mâr Ì - l i - É - [ a ]	Sîn-kâšid son of Ili-E[a].
No. 285	U r . š a <sub>6</sub> . g a d u m u A b . b a	Ur-šaga son of Abba.



No. 287	D a . m u . <sup>d</sup> I n n i n a mâr I-šar- <sup>d</sup> Sîn warad <sup>d</sup> Tišpak .	Damu-Innina son of Išar-Sîn, servant of Tišpak.
No. 288	L ú . <sup>d</sup> B a . b a a b . d i d l i d u m u L ú . <sup>d</sup> I n n i n a	Lu-Baba, . . . tugboat-man, son of Lu-Innina.
No. 290	A-mur- <sup>d</sup> Šamaš aḫu Šuruš-kên	Amur-Šamaš brother of Šuruš-kên.
No. 291	<sup>d</sup> N a n n a . z a . m e . [ e n ] d u [ b . s a ] r mâr A-ḫu-ni	Nanna-zame[n] scribe, son of Aḫuni.
No. 292	a) <sup>d</sup> I-bi- <sup>d</sup> Sîn l u g a l . k a l a . g a l u g a l U r <sup>k1</sup> . m a b) U r . <sup>d</sup> S a k k u d ù . n u m u n ì r . z u	Ibbi-Sîn, mighty king, king of Ur, Ur-Sakkud ... (is) your servant.

The line ù . n u m u n, of unknown meaning, recurs on the seal imprint Louvre T. 177.

No. 293	a) [ <span style="float:right">]</span> [ l u g a l k a l a . g a ] [ l u g a l U r <sup>k1</sup> ] <sup>1</sup> . m a l u g a l . a n . u b . d a l i m m u . b a [ N N . <span style="float:right">]</span> [ <span style="float:right">]</span> x-x-x ì r . z u	[ N N . <span style="float:right">]</span> [ mighty king ], [ king of U ] r, king of the four rims of the world, [ <span style="float:right">]</span> [ <span style="float:right">]</span> ... (is) your servant.
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No. 294	I-din- <sup>d</sup> Sîn mâr <sup>d</sup> Adad-ra-bi	Iddin-Sîn son of Adad-rabi.
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No. 295	[ <sup>d</sup> Š U] L . g i [ l u ] g a l U r <sup>k1</sup> . m a [ l u ] g a l I M <sup>k1</sup> [ i ] n . n i . [ . ]	Šulgi king of Ur, king of IM, ...
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For the town IM<sup>k1</sup> the readings *Bît-Karkara* and M u r <sub>4</sub> have been proposed, see F. H. Weisbach in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1899 LIII 661; F. Thureau-Dangin in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 1924 XXI 56; P. Kraus in *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft*, 1932 XXXVI/1 42 and O. Krueckmann in *Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities*, Jena 1935 II/III 50 note 7.

No. 299	<sup>d</sup> Šamaš <sup>d</sup> A-a	Šamaš Aia.
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No. 301	[ <sup>d</sup> ]Šamaš <sup>d</sup> A-a	Šamaš Aja.
No. 302	En-nam <sub>x</sub> -be-lí mâr Be-li-pa-luḥ	Ennam-bêli son of Bêli-paluḥ.
No. 313	Ša-du-ì-lí	Šadû-ili.
No. 315	A-ḥu-ni mâr <sup>d</sup> Šamaš-ra-bi warad <sup>d</sup> Šamaš	Aḥuni son of Šamaš-rabi, servant of Šamaš.
No. 316	A-na- <sup>d</sup> Sin-ták-la-ku warad <sup>d</sup> Amurrim	Ana-Sîn-taklâku servant of Amurru.
No. 318	Inscription (in four lines) illegible.	
No. 319	<sup>d</sup> D u m u . z [ i .            ] [ d u m u                            ] [ i ] r ( ? ) <sup>d</sup> [                            ]	Dumuz[ i                            ] [ son of                            ], [ servan]t of the god [                            ].
No. 322	A-ba(?)-ru(?)-um mâr [x-x]-Ištar(?)	Abarum(?) son of [                            ]-Ištar(?).
No. 323	<sup>d</sup> Šamaš	Šamaš.
No. 326	I-la-an-še-me-a mâr A-bu-um-Ḥa-lu-um warad <sup>d</sup> D a . g a n	Ilân-šemea son of Abum-Ḥâlum, servant of Dagan.
No. 329	<sup>d</sup> Šamaš <sup>d</sup> A-a	Šamaš Aja.
No. 330	<sup>d</sup> Šamaš <sup>d</sup> A-[a]	Šamaš Aja[a].
No. 332	<sup>d</sup> Amur[rum] <sup>d</sup> A(!)-a	Amur[ru] Aja.
No. 333	<sup>d</sup> Sîn <sup>d</sup> N i n . g a l	Sîn Ningal.
No. 334	<sup>d</sup> Šamaš <sup>d</sup> A-a	Šamaš Aja.
No. 335	<sup>d</sup> Sîn	Sîn.
No. 336	<sup>d</sup> Sîn	Sîn.
No. 337	<sup>d</sup> Adad	Adad.



No. 341	<sup>d</sup> Šamaš	Šamaš.
No. 342	<sup>d</sup> N i n . s i . a n . n a	Ninsianna.
No. 343	<sup>d</sup> Šamaš <sup>d</sup> A-a	Šamaš Aja.
No. 344	<sup>d</sup> Šamaš <sup>d</sup> A-a	Šamaš Aja.
No. 345	<sup>d</sup> Šamaš(!)	Šamaš.
No. 346	<sup>d</sup> Šamaš <sup>d</sup> A-[a]	Šamaš Aj[a].
No. 347	<sup>d</sup> Šamaš <sup>d</sup> A-a	Šamaš Aja.
No. 348	<sup>d</sup> Šamaš	Šamaš.
No. 349	<sup>d</sup> A-a	Aja.
No. 350	[ <sup>d</sup> ]Šamaš <sup>d</sup> A-a	Šamaš Aja.
No. 359	<sup>d</sup> Šamaš	Šamaš.
No. 360	<sup>d</sup> P a . b i l . s a g <sup>d</sup> G u . l a	Pabilsag Gula.
No. 370	<sup>d</sup> Šamaš <sup>d</sup> A-a	Šamaš Aja.
No. 371	<i>Im-gur-<sup>d</sup>Sîn</i> š u t u k <sup>d</sup> N i n . l í l . l á d u m u A n . n i . b a . a b . d u <sub>7</sub> ì r <sup>d</sup> D a . m u	Imgur-Sîn šutuk-priest of Ninlil, son of Annibabdu, servant of Damu.
No. 372	<i>A-ḥa-mar-ši</i> <i>warad</i> <sup>d</sup> Ìl-Amurrim <sup>d</sup> N i n . s i . a n . n a	Aḥam-arši servant of Il-Amurri (and of) Ninsianna.
No. 374	<sup>d</sup> M a r . t u d u m u . a n . n a	Martu son of heaven.
No. 375	<i>Ib-ni-[.] -á-ku</i> <i>warad</i> <sup>d</sup> Adad	Ibni- . . . servant of Adad.
No. 380	<sup>d</sup> N è . i r i <sub>2</sub> . g a l u r . s a g š à . á š . š a (!) s a g . k a l g a b a . n u . g i <sub>4</sub>	Nergal outstanding hero, leader who does not turn back.



By a mistake of the engraver, the last sign of the second line reads "ga" instead of "ša".

No. 390	<sup>d</sup> N i n . s i . a n . n a <sup>d</sup> K a b . t a	Ninsianna Kabta.
No. 393	<i>A-ḥa-a</i> [ḥ] a l <sup>d</sup> Adad [ù] <sup>d</sup> Ša-la	Aḥâ oracle-priest of Adad [and] Šala.
No. 399	<sup>d</sup> N i n . i g i . K u l l a b ḥ a l <sup>d</sup> E n . l í l . l á	Nin-igi- Kullab, oracle-priest of Enlil.
No. 403	Sign dingir ("god") above the lightning-fork.	
No. 405	<sup>d</sup> Šamaš <sup>d</sup> A-a	Šamaš Aja.
No. 409	<sup>d</sup> Šamaš <sup>d</sup> A-a	Šamaš Aja.
No. 411	<sup>d</sup> Šamaš <sup>d</sup> A-a	Šamaš Aja.
No. 414	<sup>d</sup> Adad <sup>d</sup> Ša-la	Adad Šala.
No. 415	<sup>d</sup> Šamaš <sup>d</sup> A-a	Šamaš Aja.
No. 417	<i>Warad-Ku-bi</i> <i>mâr Ma-a-šum</i> <i>warad</i> <sup>d</sup> N è . i r i <sub>2</sub> . g a l	Warad-Kûbi son of Mâšum, servant of Nergal.
No. 423	[.] -x-tum [m]âr Šu-mi-a-ḥi-i-a warad <sup>d</sup> N i n . s i . a n . n a	[ ]tum son of Šumi-aḥia, servant of Ninsianna.
No. 426	<sup>d</sup> Šamaš <sup>d</sup> A-a	Šamaš Aja.
No. 428	<sup>d</sup> Šamaš-n[a-šir(?)] [mâ]r Be-[ ] [ta]mkârum	Šamaš-n[âšir(?)] [s] on of Be[ ], [t]rader.
No. 429	<sup>d</sup> N i n . š u b u r s u k k a l . z i a n . n a g i d r u . [kù š u . d u <sub>7</sub> ]	Nin-šubur faithful messenger of Anu, [holding in his hand the shining] staff.
No. 431	<i>I-na-pa-li-šu</i> <i>mâr I-bi-iq-A-ra-aḥ-tum</i> <i>warad</i> <sup>d</sup> Ša-ḥa-an	Ina-palêšu son of Ibiq-Araḥtum, servant of Šaḥan.



No 434	<sup>d</sup> Nin.sún <sup>d</sup> Lugal.bandā	Ninsun Lugal-banda.
No. 435	<sup>d</sup> Šamaš	Šamaš.
No. 436	<i>Na-mi-ir-tum</i> <i>mârat</i> <sup>d</sup> Šu-bu-la-na-šir <i>amat</i> <sup>d</sup> Il-Amurrim	Namirtum daughter of Šubula-nâšir, servant of Il-Amurri.
No. 437	[Z]i-im-ru- <sup>d</sup> Šam[aš] <i>mâr</i> Il-šu-ba-ni <i>warad</i> <sup>d</sup> Sîn	Zimru-Šamaš son of Ilšu-bani, servant of Sîn.
No. 439	<sup>d</sup> Nin.šubur sag.gardim.gul.an.na numun.zida ḫé.tuku(?)	Nin-šubur ... mooring-mast of heaven, may there be(?) pious offspring.

For the term *sag.gar* cf. also A. Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, Rome 1914, no. 2813. For *dim.gal* as attribute of deity cf. K. Tallquist in *Studia Orientalia*, Helsinki 1938, VII 244.

No. 440	<i>Šum-šu-li-šir</i> <i>mâr</i> La-ba-ak-ka-ši-i[d]	Šumšu-lîšir son of Laba(n)-kâšid.
No. 441	Forged inscription.	
No. 442	<sup>d</sup> Na-bi-um dub.sar sag.ila	Nabû, scribe of (E)sagila.
No. 443	AN.ma.[                    ] [d]umu <sup>d</sup> KA(?)-[                    ] ir <sup>d</sup> Da.[gan(?)]	... son of ... servant of Da[gan(?)].
No. 445	<sup>d</sup> Martu en.gal.en.gal.šè(?) me.nime.a.x	Martu to the mightiest lord, his cult ...

The difficult last line is paralleled on the seal Louvre A. 501 which is likewise damaged.

No. 446	<i>Ḫu-bu-tu-um</i> <i>mâr</i> Ib-qué- <sup>d</sup> Adad <i>warad</i> <sup>d</sup> Adad	Ḫubbutum son of Ibqu-Adad, servant of Adad.
No. 447	<i>A-pil-ì-lí-šu</i> <i>mâr</i> I-bi- <sup>d</sup> Sîn <i>warad</i> <sup>d</sup> Šul.pae.	Apil-ilišu son of Ibbi-Sîn, servant of Šulpae.
No. 448	Dingir.sag.ga <i>mâr</i> A-ḫa-am-nu-t[a] <i>warad</i> <sup>d</sup> Amurrim	Dingir-sagga son of Aḫam-nûta, servant of Amurru.



No. 449	<i><sup>d</sup>Il<sub>6</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub>-e-pí-rum</i> d u b . s a r [ <i>m</i> ]â <i>r</i> <i>La-a-lu</i> [ <i>m</i> ] [ <i>wa</i> ]rad <sup>d</sup> Šu-bu-l[ <i>a</i> ]	Ilbaba-êpirum scribe, son of Lâlum, servant of Šubula.
No. 450	[ <i>E</i> (?)]-pí- <i>ḫu-um</i> <i>mâr I-ri-ba-ma-tum</i> <i>warad</i> <sup>d</sup> Sîn	[ <i>E</i> ]piḫum son of Irîba-mâtum, servant of Sîn.
No. 453	<sup>d</sup> Ur-ma-šum- <i>ḫa-at-ni</i> <i>mâr Ib-qú-ša</i> <i>warad Anim</i> <i>u</i> <sup>d</sup> Amurrim	Urmašum-ḫatni son of Ibquša, servant of Anu and of Amurru.
No. 456	<sup>d</sup> E n . l í l <sup>d</sup> N i n . l í l	Enlil Ninlil.
No. 457	<sup>d</sup> Šamaš <sup>d</sup> A-a	Šamaš Aja.
No. 458	<sup>d</sup> I n i m . m a . n i . z i èš dingir.giš.tu <sub>12</sub> é.š u . m e . D U (!)	Inimani-zi(d) sanctuary of the merciful god, (temple) é . š u . m e . D U .
The name of this god is usually read <sup>d</sup> K a . m a . n i . z i .		
No. 459	<sup>d</sup> I š k u r d u m u a n . n a S I G . Š E Š a n . k i	Iškur son of heaven/Anu, ... of heaven and earth.
No. 468	<i>A-ḫu-lu-dá-ar</i> <i>mâr Ka-mi-sú-um</i>	Aḫu-lû-dâr son of Kamisum.
No. 479	<i>A-we-la-ni</i> [ <i>mâr</i> ] <i>A-li-wa-aq-ru-u</i> [ <i>um</i> ] [ <i>wa</i> ]rad [.] . <sup>d</sup> N i n (?) . a n . [n a]	Awêlani [son of] Ali-waqrum [ser]vant of ...
No. 482	<sup>d</sup> Šamaš <sup>d</sup> A-a	Šamaš Aja.
No. 506	<sup>d</sup> Adad <sup>d</sup> Ša-la	Adad Šala.
No. 507	<i>Ḫu-za-lum</i> <i>mâr A-bu-um-wa-qar</i> <i>warad</i> <sup>d</sup> Adad <sup>d</sup> E n . l í l	Ḫuzâlum son of Abum-waqar, servant of Adad (and) Enlil.
No. 508	I š k u r d u m u a n . n a g ú . g a l a n . k i	Iškur son of heaven/Anu, dyke-warden of heaven (and) earth.



No. 512	<i>Ì-lí-<sup>d</sup>Sî[n(?)]</i> [ <i>mâ</i> ]r(?) <i>Ar(?)</i> - <i>ma-an-n[i]</i> - <i>ša(?)</i> - <i>ar-ra</i> <i>arad</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Adad</i> .	Ili-Sîn son(?) of Armanni-šara(?),  servant of Adad.
No. 513	<i>A-ḫu-šu-nu(!)</i> <i>mâr A-we-el-ì-lí</i> <i>warad</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Adad</i>	Aḫušunu son of Awêl-ili, servant of Adad.
No. 518	<i>A-wi-il-Eš<sub>4</sub>-târ</i> <i>mâr A-li-el[la]ti<sup>ti</sup></i> <i>warad</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Ìl-Amurrim</i>	Awîl-Ištar son of Ali-ellati, servant of Il-Amurri.
No. 520	<i>Nu-ra-tum</i> <i>warad</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Ìl-Amurrim</i>	Nûratum servant of Il-Amurri.
No. 522	<i>Awêl-<sup>d</sup>Sîn</i> <i>mâr Ku-uk-ku-[]</i> <i>warad</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Lugal-banda</i>	Awêl-Sîn son of Kukku . . . , servant of Lugal-banda.
No. 523	<sup>d</sup> <i>Ìl-Amurrim</i> <i>dumuanna</i>	Il-Amurri son of heaven/Anu.
No. 525	<sup>d</sup> <i>Šamaš</i> <i>ù</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>A-a</i>	Šamaš and Aja.
No. 527	<sup>d</sup> <i>Nin.š[ubur]</i> <i>sukkalan.[na]</i>	Nin-š[ubur] messenger of heaven/Anu.
No. 530	<sup>d</sup> <i>Sîn-pa-ti-[ir]</i> <i>arad</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Adad</i>	Sîn-pâti [r] servant of Adad.
No. 532	<sup>d</sup> <i>Dagan</i> <i>giš.šir.ni sag.kal</i> <i>ni(!).zu(!).zunikalam.</i> <i>dù</i>	Dagan, his splendor is outstanding, his wisdom . . . the country.
No. 538	<i>Ib-ni-<sup>d</sup>Mar[duk]</i> <i>mâr A-pil-ì-lí-š[u]</i> <i>warad</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>É-[a]</i>	Ibni-Marduk son of Apil-ilišu, servant of Ea.
No. 539	<sup>d</sup> <i>Šamaš</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>A-a</i>	Šamaš Aja. —
No. 540	<i>A-x-il(!)-i-li</i> <i>Warad-ì-lí-šu</i>	A[ ]il-ili Warad-ilišu.

The second sign of the first line remains illegible (neither “wi” nor “bi”).

No. 542	<sup>d</sup> <i>Šamaš</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>A-a</i>	Šamaš. Aja. —
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No. 544	<sup>d</sup> Šamaš	Šamaš.
No. 553	<i>Ab-di-E-ra-ah(!)</i> <i>mâr La-i-um</i> <i>warad A-wi-il-ili</i>	Abdi-Erah son of La'ium, servant of Awîl-ili.
No. 558	<i>Na-bi-i-lí-šu</i> <i>mâr I-din-<sup>d</sup>Na-na-a</i> <i>warad <sup>d</sup>Nin.šubur</i>	Nabi-ilišu son of Iddin-Nanâ, servant of Nin-šubur.
No. 559	<sup>d</sup> En.líl.lugal Nibr <sup>ki</sup> .u[m](?) <sup>d</sup> Nin.líl.nin.[ ]	Enlil, king .. Nippur, Ninlil, lady of [ ].
No. 560	<sup>d</sup> Damu a.ba.gal. <sup>d</sup> En.líl.l[á](?) ní.tuku KA.NI.bi	Damu ... worshipper ...

Dr. A. Goetze proposes to read A.ba.gal.<sup>d</sup>En.líl.š[è] as a personal name.

No.562	<sup>d</sup> Nè.iri <sub>2</sub> .gal ur.sag níg.kaskal KA.b[a]i[g]i.zag.kešda	Nergal, warrior, ... ...
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Difficult and unusual inscription.

No. 563	<i>A-pil-i-lí-šu</i> <i>mâr <sup>d</sup>Sîn-be-el-ap-lim</i> <i>warad <sup>d</sup>I-šum</i>	Apil-ilišu son of Sîn-bêl-aplim, servant of Išum.
No. 564	<i>I-ba-šar-rum</i> <i>mâr Be-el-šu-nu</i> <i>warad <sup>d</sup>Nè.iri<sub>2</sub>.gal</i>	Iba-šarrum son of Bêlšunu, servant of Nergal.
No. 565	[Pir-ḫ]u-um <i>mâr [Ara]d-<sup>d</sup>Amurrim</i> <i>warad <sup>d</sup>Il-Amurrim</i>	[Pirḫ]um son of [Ara]d-Amurri, servant of Il-Amurri.
No. 566	<i>Be-el-ba-nu</i> <i>mârat Nu-úr-<sup>d</sup>Šamaš</i> <i>amat <sup>d</sup>Il<sub>6</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub></i>	Bêl-banu daughter of Nûr-Šamaš, servant of Ilbaba.
No. 567	<i>Ša-at-i-lí-ia</i> <i>mârat <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-da-a-a-nim</i> <i>amat <sup>d</sup>Adad</i>	Šât-ilia daughter of Šamaš-daiânum, servant of Adad.
No. 568	<sup>d</sup> Innina Kiš <sup>ki</sup> nin <sup>d</sup> Ša.[ ] a.rá.<mu>mu zu.zu ama.tu <sub>12</sub> ma.ra.ab	Innina of Kish, lady of ... who knowest my prayer have mercy on me!

The emendation in the third line was proposed by Dr. Goetze according to the wording of B.N. 293.



- No. 569 *Na-na-a*  
*mârat Zi-di-tum*  
*[am]at* <sup>d</sup>N è . i r i<sub>2</sub>. g a l  
 Nanâ  
 daughter of Ziditum(?),  
 servant of Nergal.
- No. 570 *Be-el-li-ti*  
*mâr* <sup>d</sup>Sîn-  
*na-din-šu-mi*  
*arad* <sup>d</sup>Sîn  
*ù* <sup>d</sup>N i n . m a ḥ  
 Belliti  
 son of Sîn-  
 nâdin-šumi,  
 servant of Sîn  
 and Nin-maḥ.
- No. 571 *ša-kin* <sup>aban</sup>*kunukki an-n[i]-i*  
*Mi-it-ra(?)*-UR-ši  
*mâr A-bi-im-mu-ut-ta-a[š]*  
*i-na a-ma-at i-lí-šu*  
<sup>d</sup>N è . i r i<sub>2</sub>. g a l  
*šu-um-šu li-id-mi-iq*  
*ilam* <sup>lam</sup> u <sup>d</sup>Šêdam  
*li-ir-ši*  
 The wearer of this seal,  
 Mit . . .  
 son of Abimuttaš,  
 upon the word of his god  
 Nergal  
 may his name become agreeable,  
 a (tutelary) god and (a) genius  
 may he have!
- No. 572 <sup>d</sup>N i n . é . a n . n a  
*uṣ-ri gi-mili*  
*šu-zi-bi*  
*arad pa-lí-iḥ-ki*  
<sup>m</sup>*Za-ab-rum*  
*mâr* I n . d í m . <sup>d</sup>É . [ a ]  
 Nin-Eanna,  
 protect, spare  
 (and) save  
 your worshipping servant  
 Zabrum  
 son of In-dim-E[a].

For the reading *mili* of the sign “iš” cf. I. J. Gelb in “American Journal of Semitic Languages,” 1936 LIII 44.

- No. 573 *ri-me-ni*  
<sup>d</sup>*Marduk*  
*za-ki/di-ir*  
 KUR *ba š[u]*  
 Have mercy  
 Marduk,  
 . . .  
 . . .

For the last line reference should be made to the seal B.N. 303 with the wording KUR *ba a ši*. Note also the seal de Clercq 147 with a similar inscription.

- No. 574 [E] *rêbum* <sup>um-d</sup>Šam[*aš-* ]  
*mâr Iddin-dŠ à . z u*  
*arad* <sup>d</sup>*Adad*  
*ù* <sup>d</sup>N i n . é . a n . n [ a ]  
 [E] *rêbum-Šam[ aš-* ]  
 son of Iddin-Šazu,  
 servant of Adad  
 and Nin-Eanna.

The reading of the first sign follows a suggestion of Dr. A. Goetze. If nothing is missing from the beginning of the inscription which is damaged, the reading *Nûrûm* <sup>um-d</sup>Šam[*aš-lîši(?)*] would not only be possible but also better attested.

- No. 575 *Ma-an-nu-gi-ir-dMar[duk]*  
*m á š . š u . g i<sub>22</sub> . g i<sub>22</sub>*  
*mâr* *Ì-ri-ba-dMarduk*  
*šêr* *I-si-in* <sup>k4</sup>  
 Mannu-gîr-Marduk  
 maššugigi-priest,  
 son of Irîba-Marduk,  
 offspring of Isin,



*i-li-it-t[i]*  
*Báb-ilí<sup>kí</sup>*  
*s a g . e r i š a <sup>d</sup>Marduk*  
*ù <sup>d</sup>Gu-la*

native  
of Babylon,  
a slave of Marduk  
and of Gula.

No. 576 [<sup>d</sup>Š à . z u m e . d u<sub>10</sub> m a . d a  
[.]x.x.x. s i . s á  
[.] . M I ḫ é . n u n . n a  
[in] i m . g a r n í g . s i g<sub>5</sub> . g a  
k a . z a . š è (!) g a l . b i g a r .  
b i  
*Ib-ni<sup>d</sup>Marduk mâr Li-bur-ma-tum*  
š u . d ù . d ù . z a ḫ é . n í g .  
t u k u  
n í g . s i . s á ḫ é . D U . D U  
u<sub>4</sub> . d a . r a . š è  
b á d . g a l . a . n i ḫ é . m e . e n

Šazu who [makes] come  
out correctly the "sweet" rites of the country,  
[ ] . . . abundance,  
favorable utterances  
put generously in your mouth!

(May) Ibni-Marduk, son of Libûr-mâtum,  
prosper while you point with your finger at  
him,  
may he live in righteousness;  
for all days to come  
may you be his great protective wall!

Dr. Thorkild Jacobsen has kindly contributed important suggestions towards the interpretation of this difficult text.

No. 577 <sup>d</sup>I š k u r u m u n m a ḫ . d i  
l ú š è g . š è g ḫ é . n u n  
l ú á r . n i s u d š à . t ù r  
A G A . b i <sup>d</sup>a š n a n  
r i g<sub>5</sub> . g a n í g . š a<sub>6</sub> . g a  
Ú-š i-<sup>d</sup>Š u . d u<sub>8</sub>  
*mâr <sup>m</sup>Kaš-ši-i*  
*arad Bur-na-bu-ri-ia-aš*  
*šar kiššati*

Iškur, exalted lord,  
provider of rain and abundance,  
whose fame is far(-reaching)  
womb whose . . . is the godly grain  
the pleasant gift!  
Uši-Šudu,  
son of Kaššû,  
servant of Burnaburiaš  
king of the world.

The translation of the first section of this seal follows suggestions made by Dr. Thorkild Jacobsen.

No. 578 [x-x]-ri-mat/šat-x  
[x-x]-x-x(?) <sup>d</sup>x  
[x . a] l . a l . e  
[x-x] G í r . z u<sup>kí</sup>  
[x-x]-x NíG IB  
[a m a (?) ] . t u<sub>12</sub> m e . z u

...  
...  
...  
...  
...  
...

No. 579 <sup>d</sup>S î n u m u n . g a l  
d i n g i r š à . l á . s u d  
g i š . t u<sub>12</sub> š ú b . b i  
n í g . b a . t i . l a  
ì r n í . t u k u . z u  
a m a . t u<sub>12</sub> . n a . a b  
*Bur-ru-qum*

Sîn, great lord,  
god with the merciful heart,  
who listens to prayers,  
grants life,  
upon your worshipping servant  
have mercy!  
Burruqum.

No. 580 [ ]x-š u  
[ ] <sup>d</sup>Marduk  
[ ] M I K U L Š U

...  
...  
...



	[	]	ŠU NI DA	...
	[		<sup>d</sup> N]a-na-a	...
	[		]-tum	...
No. 581	[	<sup>d</sup> [	]	...
	[		]	[
	[		]	[
		i g i . b a r	KA [ ]	...
		l ú (?) . AN	[ ]	...
		n í g . n a m . š	[a <sub>6</sub> ]	...
		i n i m š u (?)	[ ]	...
No. 582	[	n] a AN x .	[ ]	...
	[		] AN AD [ ]	...
	[		] AN IM SA <sub>5</sub> [ ]	...
	[		] . x ba/zu [ ]	...
	[		] IM [ ]	...
	[		] l ú d u <sub>10</sub> (?) n a [ ]	...
	[		] ù š a [ ]	...
	[		]	[ ]
No. 583		z i . z i . g á l		...
		n u m u n . e . d a . a š		...
		s a g . g i š		...
		l ú . à d . d a . a š		...

These lines recur on the seal De Clercq 253, on the object De Clercq II pl. C no. 7 and pl. XXV no. 12, on an unpublished pendant in the British Museum (*A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, Third Edition, London 1922 p. 167 no. 29; Br.Mus. 89904; cf. also St. Langdon *Babyloniaca*, Paris 1910 vol. III 11-12), etc. They are a quotation from a literary composition known as é n . é . n u . r ú for which should be compared the inconclusive remarks of F. Thureau-Dangin in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, Paris 1921 XVIII 195f. and of A. Falkenstein in *Die Haupttypen der sumerischen Beschwörung*, Leipzig 1931 p. 6 and p. 6 note 3.

No. 584	<sup>d</sup> U t u u m u n . g a l	Utu, great lord,
	i g i . d u <sub>8</sub> . a . n i	look friendly,
	a m a . t u <sub>12</sub> . a	have mercy!
No. 585	<sup>d</sup> U t u u m u n . g a l	Utu, great lord,
	n í g . m u z u . z u	take cognizance(?) of what is mine(?),
	a m a . t u <sub>12</sub> . a	have mercy!
No. 586	Badly damaged inscription of six lines. Only a few signs are legible.	
No. 587	Same inscription as on no. 583.	
No. 595	<sup>md</sup> A-šur-ki-mu-ia	Aššur-kimûa.
No. 605	Inscription (scattered in the field) too damaged for transliteration.	
No. 606	Inscription obliterated.	



No. 609	<i>kunuk Ti-la-a'</i> x <i>Aš-šur-iddin</i>	Seal of Tila' ... Aššur-iddin.
No. 747	šá <sup>d</sup> <i>Nabû-nâdin-šumi</i> <i>mâr</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Aš-šur-PAP . ŠI</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Nabû balâta liqêš<sup>es</sup></i>	(Belonging) to Nabû-nâdin-šumi son of Aššur-... May Nabû grant (him) life!
No. 795	<sup>d</sup> <i>Nabû-nâšir-</i> <i>napištim</i> x-x	Nabû-nâšir- napištim ...
No. 799	AN . KI[B]. MEŠ	... ...
Read perhaps: <i>Il-la[m](?)-meš.</i>		
No. 863	<sup>d</sup> <i>Šamaš</i>	Šamaš.
No. 868	<sup>d</sup> <i>Šamaš A-a</i>	Šamaš Aja.
No. 872	<sup>d</sup> <i>Šamaš A-a</i>	Šamaš Aja.
No. 874	<sup>d</sup> <i>Šamaš A-a</i>	Šamaš Aja.
No. 878	<sup>d</sup> <i>Šamaš A-a</i>	Šamaš Aja.
No. 880	<sup>d</sup> <i>Šamaš</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>A-a</i>	Šamaš Aja.
In mirror script.		
No. 885	<sup>d</sup> <i>Šamaš A-a</i>	Šamaš Aja.
No. 887	<sup>d</sup> <i>A-a</i>	Aja.
No. 892	<sup>d</sup> <i>Šamaš</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>A-a</i>	Šamaš Aja.
No. 964	<i>Nu-úr-mi-li</i> <i>mâr Ir-i-bu</i> <i>arad</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Adad</i>	Nurmu-ili son of Ir'ibu, servant of Adad.
No. 965	[D]a(?) <i>-ti-il-la</i> <i>arad</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Adad</i>	Datilla, servant of Adad.






# ELAMITE INSCRIPTIONS

EDITED BY GEORGE G. CAMERON

<p>No. 804    <sup>m</sup>Sunki-          šu-ip          šak<sup>d</sup>          Šá-maš-ad-          du . na</p>	<p>Sunki-šup           son of          Šamaš-addu.</p>
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# ARAMAIC AND SOUTH ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS

EDITED BY F. ROSENTHAL

<p>No. 702    South Arabic:</p>	<p>f r b l d          ◊ ( n r m          ʕ b r m</p>
<p>No. 762    South Arabic:</p>	<p>k  m s š l y / l t r t q d          40+) + 1191208           40+) + 1191208 </p>
<p>No. 790    Aramaic:</p>	<p>' b ( ? , r ? , d ? , n ? b d ( r ) h ( ? , s ? )          ʕ ʕ ʕ ʕ ʕ          ʕ ʕ ʕ ʕ ʕ</p>
<p>No. 816    Aramaic:</p>	<p>' ḥ m l k          א ח מ ל כ          א ח מ ל כ</p>
<p>No. 833    Aramaic:</p>	<p>k r t y ( ? ) r          40+) + 1191208          40+) + 1191208</p>



## CONCORDANCES

Concordance of numbers of seals reproduced by W. H. Ward in *Cylinders and Other Ancient Oriental Seals in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, New York, 1909, with the numbers assigned to these seals in the catalogue of the present volume (here referred to as *Corpus*, Vol. I).

Nos. 67 and 269 of Ward's catalogue are missing. Nos. 6, 127, 186, which are marked by an asterisk in the concordance below, are not reproduced by photographs. While the first two of these seals, nos. 6 and 127, could be identified from Ward's descriptions as 259 and 584 of the present catalogue, No. 186 is unidentifiable.

The earring no. 272, 273 and the Sasanian seals nos. 311-323 have not been included because such material falls outside of the scope of the present corpus.

Ward, <i>Morgan</i>	<i>Corpus</i> , Vol. I	Ward, <i>Morgan</i>	<i>Corpus</i> , Vol. I	Ward, <i>Morgan</i>	<i>Corpus</i> , Vol. I
1	118	34	93	67	missing
2	108	35	62	68	278
3	121	36	83	69	297
4	114	37	132	70	178
5	213	38	151	71	185
6*	259	39	1133	72	406
7	129	40	164	73	405
8	128	41	161	74	421
9	1037	42	143	75	463
10	57	43	1135	76	400
11	98	44	167	77	369
12	99	45	66	78	199
13	267	46	268	79	230
14	120	47	357	80	232
15	1081	48	361	81	228
16	61	49	362	82	227
17	67	50	1138	83	224
18	177	51	243	84	222
19	63	52	274	85	223
20	53	53	276	86	217
21	77	54	309	87	219
22	145	55	296	88	239
23	89	56	322	89	235
24	84	57	914	90	237
25	131	58	904	91	371
26	358	59	1118	92	388
27	52	60	198	93	379
28	64	61	292	94	528
29	65	62	320	95	381
30	73	63	316	96	1012
31	78	64	315	97	867
32	74	65	323	98	331
33	92	66	317	99	507



Ward, <i>Morgan</i>	<i>Corpus</i> , Vol. I	Ward, <i>Morgan</i>	<i>Corpus</i> , Vol. I	Ward, <i>Morgan</i>	<i>Corpus</i> , Vol. I
100	868	154	719	208	988
101	514	155	757	209	980
102	456	156	688	210	884
103	429	157	593	211	977
104	1151	158	1124	212	708
105	445	159	1143	213	906
106	443	160	609	214	931
107	545	161	726	215	905
108	558	162	1145	216	877
109	563	163	771	217	928
110	564	164	1070	218	872
111	561	165	592	219	929
112*	562	166	1071	220	879
113	483	167	780	221	927
114	496	168	1008	222	913
115	505	169	1106	223	965
116	521	170	694	224	917
117	532	171	686	225	955
118	386	172	695	226	987
119	306	173	1094	227	996
120	263	174	1104	228	972
121	571	175	1154	229	968
122	579	176	1030	230	973
123	572	177	701	231	950
124	1139	178	1121	232	952
125	575	179	629	233	949
126	1141	180	741	234	926
127*	584	181	1069	235	980
128	25	182	932	236	921
129	26	183	1073	237	967
130	21	184	900	238	964
131	19	185	916	239	1028
132	31	186*	unidentifiable	240	1024
133	17	187	1111	241	956
134	10	188	1180	242	1129
135	9	189	1113	243	943
136	18	190	1009	244	938
137	1	191	1072	245	946
138	47	192	1075	246	907
139	48	193	1076	247	978
140	1078	194	1002	248	1128
141	265	195	1005	249	991
142	1107	196	976	250	961
143	1108	197	999	251	974
144	1109	198	1152	252	958
145	260	199	1001	253	860
146	670	200	982	254	897
147	666	201	997	255	894
148	1093	202	984	256	890
149	646	203	1004	257	855
150	613	204	970	258	851
151	614	205	990	259	1096
152	620	206	981	260	713
153	1100	207	969	261	1048



Ward, <i>Morgan</i>	<i>Corpus</i> , Vol. I	Ward, <i>Morgan</i>	<i>Corpus</i> , Vol. I	Ward, <i>Morgan</i>	<i>Corpus</i> , Vol. I
262	1059	278	1157	294	843
263	1046	279	1142	295	799
264	985	280	601	296	802
265	979	281	837	297	793
266	919	282	604	298	811
267	1084	283	791	299	804
268	1140	284	790	300	795
269	missing	285	806	301	809
270	702	286	796	302	800
271	816	287	789	303	794
272	1158	288	1126	304	808
273	1158	289	840	305	0
274	1148	290	841	306	807
275	817	291	801	307	797
276	1125	292	803	308	842
277	783	293	805	309	792
				310	810

Concordance of numbers of seals reproduced by W. H. Ward in *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia, Carnegie Institute of Washington, Publication No. 100* (Washington, 1910), with the numbers of the present catalogue of the present volume. Cross references are given to seals published previously in Ward's *Cylinders . . . in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, (New York, 1909). Most of the seals not included by Ward in the latter work are listed in *Seal Cylinders* as "Metropolitan Museum," with the exception of 69 ("from a paper impression"), 139, 375 ("Amherst College"), 372 ("from a cast") and 858 ("Lajard, *Culte de Mithra, XXXVI, 13*").

The following seals listed in *Seal Cylinders* as in the J. Pierpont Morgan Library are not in that collection: 195, 233, 265, 427, 624, 745, 850, 1112, 1211, 1298, 1299.

Ward, <i>Seal Cylinders</i>	Ward, <i>Morgan</i>	<i>Corpus</i> , Vol. I	Ward, <i>Seal Cylinders</i>	Ward, <i>Morgan</i>	<i>Corpus</i> , Vol. I
24		721	92		110
25	263	1046	94		105
29		80	95	35	62
36	61	292	96	16	61
39	53	274	104		125
40		577	112	34	93
59	11	98	113	33	92
63	13	267	114		85
66		102	117		54
69		100	119		119
71	10	57	122		69
81	2	108	127		220
82		113	141 a(29)		80
83		112	146	64	64
84		107	148	30	73
87		249	150		60
90		106	169		171



Ward, <i>Seal Cylinders</i>	Ward, <i>Morgan</i>	<i>Corpus,</i> Vol. I	Ward, <i>Seal Cylinders</i>	Ward, <i>Morgan</i>	<i>Corpus,</i> Vol. I
175		72	338	98	331
177		159	352	83	224
179		76	354		231
184		162	357	79	230
185	44	167	358	85	223
187 b	26	268	359	84	222
190		149	363		218
196	21	77	364	86	217
201	45	66	368 b	118	386
202		139	368 f	205	990
209		864	372		653
211		517	374		207
215		245	375		208
218		246	376		212
223		252	379		290
224		250	392		236
225(39)	52	274	400	89	235
230		284	405	88	239
232		285	409	90	237
238		204	418		370
245		179	423		499
246		181	424		503
247		183	425		477
249		180	426		426
250		186	428		480
251		184	429	76	400
260		254	430	115	505
262		411	437		383
263	73	405	438	92	388
270		1116	440	93	379
270 a		1087	453 a	77	369
271		190	453 b	49	362
273		188	453 c		360
274		192	454		440
276		189	454 a		366
281		193	454 b		359
283		206	454 c		201
284		203	458		510
287	60	198	466		779
291		200	470 a	100	868
292	78	199	479	99	507
293		195	481	74	421
298		197	482	97	867
308		277	485		24
311		288	487		3
313		343	488		22
316	59	1118	489	128	25
317		215	490		23
326		340	492	129	26
327		391	494	130	21
330	62	320	495	132	31
331	63	316	496		30
333		324	497	131	19
334	64	315	498	133	17



Ward, <i>Seal Cylinders</i>	Ward, <i>Morgan</i>	<i>Corpus,</i> Vol. I	Ward, <i>Seal Cylinders</i>	Ward, <i>Morgan</i>	<i>Corpus,</i> Vol. I
498		20	691	162	1145
502		15	694		770
502 a		16	698		594
503		13	707	160	609
504	184	10	711	164	1070
506	185	9	712	159	1143
512(40)		577	714	159	1143
518		576	719	242	1129
522	123	572	727		667
523	121	571	728		664
528		574	729		665
537 a	125	575	730	147	666
538		570	731	146	670
552		781	734	173	1094
557		784	736		674
565		689	741		776
566		690	742		700
571		596	746		699
572		607	760		691
574		610	792	229	968
578	156	688	793		1156
580		768	794		909
587		606	795		1103
590		759	796		1102
591		760	809	197	999
596		764	810		1000
606		761	811	206	981
610		1146	812		998
615		747	814	200	982
623		766	821	199	1001
626		722	824	216	877
628		624	826	226	987
631 } 632 }		749	827	204	970
634		608	828	228	972
635		748	830		957
636		595	834	235	980
637		714	836	265	979
638		751	838	217	928
642	171	686	841	223	965
645		687	844	209	930
652	218	872	846		934
658		785	847	234	926
661	296	802	848	210	884
661 a	292	803	858		910
665		591	862	230	973
666		640	866		953
667		644	867	231	950
669		647	870		1131
677	166	1071	877	233	949
680		774	879	238	964
683	163	771	882		925
686		772	884		966
687		773	886		993
			888		1025



Ward, <i>Seal Cylinders</i>	Ward, <i>Morgan</i>	<i>Corpus,</i> Vol. I	Ward, <i>Seal Cylinders</i>	Ward, <i>Morgan</i>	<i>Corpus,</i> Vol. I
889(338)	98	331	996		1045
894		959	999	175	1154
896		1031	1005	267	1084
899(828)	228	972	1008	224	917
901	222	913	1010	196	976
903(826)	226	987	1012	207	969
904		912	1014	259	1096
905	227	996	1015	185	916
907	246	907	1017		918
908		920	1021		1182
909		1026	1023	225	955
910		901	1026(838)	217	928
912		989	1027	219	929
913	237	967	1027 c		584
914	243	943	1029	144	1109
915		944	1030		836
916		942	1037		35
917		937	1038		33
918	244	938	1039		36
919		939	1040		39
920		941	1041		32
924		945	1042	141	265
925	245	946	1043		41
926(792)	229	968	1046		1067
931(907)	246	907	1053		833
934	247	978	1055		834
940		963	1058		1147
947	182	932	1063		1149
948		933	1064		831
957		960	1066		603
958	250	961	1069		599
959	252	958	1071		590
960		992	1074	279	1142
962	203	1004	1079		812
964	157	593	1083	153	1100
965		898	1085		622
967	254	897	1086		1130
968		891	1088		778
969	255	894	1090	280	601
970	258	851	1092		635
971	253	860	1095	138	47
972	256	890	1096	15	1081
973		852	1097	281	837
974		847	1099	282	604
975	215	905	1100		598
977		893	1101		1120
980		971	1102		1119
986	176	1030	1105	274	1148
987		1029	1107		826
988		1049	1109		824
989		1047	1111		825
990	262	1059	1115		822
991	261	1048	1121	276	1125
992	188	1110	1122		820



Ward, <i>Seal Cylinders</i>	Ward, <i>Morgan</i>	<i>Corpus,</i> Vol. I	Ward, <i>Seal Cylinders</i>	Ward, <i>Morgan</i>	<i>Corpus,</i> Vol. I
1129		828	1232	53	276
1130		600	1234(104)		125
1133	275	817	1239(379)		290
1134		818	1244(215)		245
1134 a		685	1263(1145)	278	1157
1145	278	1157	1266(826, 903)	226	987
1152	271	816	1267(827)	204	970
1161		1068	1268(824)	216	877
1208		762	1294	119	306
1209	270	702	1297	277	783
1229(127)		220	1305 c	264	985
1230(376)	.	212	1308	241	956
1231(218)		246	1314		522







# CHRONOLOGICAL CHART

Our knowledge of the chronology of the ancient Near East, especially in the earliest periods, is still too meager and too uncertain for a chart of the period from before 3000 to about 300 B.C. to be more than a convenient guide.

The dating of prehistoric times, roughly before 3000 B.C., is of necessity based on archaeological observations. A comparison of the results of excavations indicates the possibility that various cultures may be of about the same time. Unfortunately, the evidence is often inconclusive. Furthermore, there is always the possibility of a time lag when similar phenomena appear at separate sites, especially when different regions are involved. For this reason the earliest periods have been related on the chart according to the comparative material presented in excavation reports without a definite indication as to date. Even this limited presentation has been handicapped by the fact that the publication of Tepe Gawra is incomplete, that of Judaidah preliminary, and that of Susa still the subject of controversy.

The situation improves considerably in the early historical period, roughly 3000-1500 B.C. The surviving documents of the great civilizations of Mesopotamia and Egypt, supplemented by evidence from surrounding countries, provide lists of rulers and records of historical events for much of this period. But any attempt to synchronize this material or to use it as the basis of an absolute chronology hinges to a large extent on the dating of the period of great ethnic movement and political disturbance in the first half of the second millennium. The dominant personality of this time in Mesopotamia was Hammurabi of Babylon; hence the dating of his reign has been regarded as decisive. In the course of time scholars have tended to lower his dates from about 2300, to about 2000, and recently to after 1800 B.C.<sup>1</sup> The necessity for this last revision has been generally acknowledged, and it is therefore used in the present chart. Subsequent revisions which reduce Hammurabi another 64 years,<sup>2</sup> or even more, have been disregarded because they are still the subject of controversy.<sup>3</sup> It is to be hoped that this important problem will be somewhat nearer solution when a revised chart is prepared for the later volumes of the *Corpus*.

The chronology of the period from 1500 to 1000 B.C. is established to the extent that approximate dates can be used with some assurance, though many gaps remain. From shortly after 1000 B.C. onward the dates of the majority of the principal figures and events are known to within a small margin of error. The precise dates cited in the text covering this period are taken from Poebel's article on the Khorsabad king-list.<sup>4</sup>

In the chart only the glyptic style is given when a reference to it was deemed sufficient to identify a period. The regions that have formed the basis for the geographical classification of glyptic art are arranged in parallel columns according to their location from east to west. This does not conform to the order of the text, in which the chief consideration was to trace the development of style from its focal point in southern Mesopotamia. Because of location Assyria appears under "North Mesopotamia" and not under "South Mesopotamia," where, owing to stylistic affiliation, it is discussed in the text. An outline of the history of Egypt has been added to this chart for purposes of reference.

<sup>1</sup> Sidney Smith, *Alalakh and Chronology*, London, 1940, p. 25; W. F. Albright, "New Light on the History of Western Asia in the Second Millennium B.C.," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 77 (Feb. 1940), 20 ff.

<sup>2</sup> W. F. Albright, "A Third Revision of the Early Chronology of Western Asia," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 88 (Dec. 1942), 28 ff.

<sup>3</sup> A recent bibliography of the problem appears in F. M. Th. Böhl's article "King Hammurabi of Babylon in the Setting of His Time (About 1700 B.C.)," *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*. Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 9 (no. 10, 1940), 347, note 14, to which must be added: Sidney Smith, "Middle Minoan I-II and Babylonian Chronology," *American Journal of Archaeology* XLIX (1945), 1 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* II (1943), 85-90



# RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF THE PRINCIPAL STYLES OF CYLINDER SEAL ENGRAVING

APPROX DATES	SUSA [IRAN]	SOUTHERN MESOPOTAMIA	NORTHERN MESOPOTAMIA [ASSYRIA]	SYRIA	ANATOLIA	EGYPT	APPROX DATES
?	SUSA I	UBAID PERIOD	GAWRA XII-XIII				?
?	SUSA B	URUK PERIOD	GAWRA VIII-XI	JUDAIDAH XIII			?
?	SUSA C (SUSAT)	JAMDAT NASR PERIOD	GAWRA VII	JUDAIDAH XII	CHALCOLITHIC AGE [ALISHAR]	PRE-DYNASTIC PERIOD	?
3000		EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD I				DYNASTY I	3000
2800	SUSA D	EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD II		JUDAIDAH XI		DYNASTY II	2800
2600		EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD III	GAWRA VI	JUDAIDAH X		DYNASTY III	2600
2400		(Sargon of Akkad)		JUDAIDAH IX	COPPER AGE [ALISHAR]	DYNASTY IV	2400
2200	Susa Ruled by Akkad	AKKAD DYNASTY	GAWRA V	JUDAIDAH IX		DYNASTY V	2200
2000	Susa Ruled by Ur	POST-AKKAD PERIOD GUTI (Gudea)	GAWRA IV	JUDAIDAH VIII		DYNASTY VI	2000
1800	Local Rulers	THIRD DYNASTY OF UR	OLD ASSYRIAN PERIOD (Sargon I of Assyria) (Ammurites in Assyria) (Shamshi-Adad)	MARI AGE	ASSYRIAN MERCHANT COLONIES (CAPPADOCIAN SEALS)	DYNASTY VII	1800
1600		ISIN-LARSA PERIOD (CONTENDING AMMURITE DYNASTIES)	GAWRA III [HURRIAN]	FIRST SYRIAN GROUP	OLDER HITTITE KINGDOM	2nd Intermediate Period [HYKSOS]	1600
1500		OLD BABYLONIAN PERIOD (1st Dynasty of Babylon (Hammurabi))	Mitannian Kingdom (Saushatar)	SECOND SYRIAN GROUP	YOUNGER HITTITE KINGDOM	DYNASTY VIII (Thutmose III)	1500
1400		EARLY KASSITE PERIOD	MIDDLE ASSYRIAN PERIOD (1) (Ashur-uballit I)	[Egyptianized Palestinian Style]		(Akhenaton)	1400
1300		LATE KASSITE PERIOD	(2) (Tiglath-pileser I)	Disruption by Peoples of the Sea		DYNASTY IX (Seti I)	1300
1200		KASSITE DYNASTY	NEO-ASSYRIAN PERIOD [Linear & Drilled Styles]			Repulse of Peoples of the Sea	1200
1100		End of Kassite Dynasty	NEO ASSYRIAN EMPIRE (Ashurnasir-pal II)			DYNASTY XX	1100
1000		Aramaeans Infiltration	(Sargon II) (Esarhaddon)	NEO-HITTITE KINGDOMS	Phrygians Dominant	decline	1000
900		NEO-BABYLONIAN PERIOD [Cut & Modeled Styles]	Modeled Style in Assyria				900
800		Glyptic Similar to Assyrian		Dominance of Assyria		Conquest by Assyria	800
700	Local Rulers Assyrians capture Susa	DOMINANCE OF ASSYRIA (Nabopolassar)					700
600	Median Dynasty (Iran)	Neo-Babylonian Stamps & Modeled Style Cylinders			Lydian Kingdom	DYNASTY XXVI [Saite]	600
500	Achaemenian (Persian) Dyn	Persian Satrapy					500
400	Achaemenian Style	(Alexander the Great)			Persian Domination	Persian Domination	400
300	(Alexander the Great)				(Alexander the Great)	(Alexander the Great)	300

↑ or ↓ indicates uncertainty

(B.B. 7/7/47)