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Symbols of Prehistoric Mesopotamia



Frontispiece: Late Polychrome Jemdet Nasr Vase; No. 6093 of the Nies Babylonian Collection; published with permission of the Yale Babylonian Collection (see also Figs. 727 and 728). Color photograph by John Hill.

SYMBOLS OF
PREHISTORIC MESOPOTAMIA

by Beatrice Laura Goff



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TO FREDERICK AND LAURA GOFF

ABBREVIATIONS

- AAA* University of Liverpool, *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*.
- AASOR* *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*.
- AfO* *Archiv für Orientforschung*.
- AJ* *Antiquaries Journal*.
- AJA* *American Journal of Archaeology*.
- AJSL* *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*.
- Andrae, *Die ionische Säule* W. Andrae, *Die ionische Säule, Bauform oder Symbol? Studien zur Bauforschung*, 5 (Berlin, Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1933).
- ANET* James B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1955).
- Barton, *Royal Inscriptions* George A. Barton, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1929).
- BASOR* *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*.
- BN, Delaporte Louis Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux et des cachets assyro-babyloniens, perses, et syro-cappadociens de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, Leroux, 1910).
- CAM* Ann Louise Perkins, *The Comparative Archeology of Early Mesopotamia*, SAOC, 25 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1949).
- CT* British Museum, Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum* (London, British Museum, 1896–1923) Parts 1–37.
- Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, 1914 Antonius Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum* (Rome, Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1914).
- Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, 1950 Anton Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum* (Rome, Verlag des päpstl. Bibelinstituts, 1950).
- Deimel, *SL* Anton Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexikon* (Rome, Verlag des päpstl. Bibelinstituts, 1925–1937).
- Delougaz, *Pottery* Pinhas Delougaz, *Pottery from the Diyala Region*, OIP, 63 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1952).
- Delougaz, *Pre-Sargonid Temples* Pinhas Delougaz and Seton Lloyd, *Pre-Sargonid Temples in the Diyala Region*, OIP, 58 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1942).
- DP* Allotte de la Fuÿe, *Documents présargoniques* (Paris, Leroux, 1908–1920).

- Eisen, *Seals, Moore* Gustavus A. Eisen, *Ancient Oriental Cylinder and Other Seals with a Description of the Collection of Mrs. William H. Moore*, OIP, 47 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1940).
- Fara* 1, 2, 3 Anton Deimel, *Die Inschriften von Fara*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 40, 43, 45 (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1922-24). [*Fara* 1: "Liste der archaischen Keilschriftzeichen." *Fara* 2: "Schultexte aus Fara." *Fara* 3: "Wirtschaftstexte aus Fara."]
- Fö. Wilhelm Förtsch, *Altbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte aus der Zeit Luganda's und Urukagina's*, Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der k. Museen zu Berlin, 14 (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1916).
- Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals* H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, Macmillan, 1939).
- Frankfort, *Strat. Cyl. Seals* H. Frankfort, *Stratified Cylinder Seals from the Diyala Region*, OIP, 72 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1955).
- Heinrich, *Fara* Ernst Heinrich, *Fara, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Fara und Abu Hatab, 1902/03* (Berlin, Vorderasiatische Abteilung der staatlichen Museen, 1931).
- Heinrich, *Kleinfunde* Ernst Heinrich, *Kleinfunde aus den archaischen Tempelschichten in Uruk*, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka, 1 (Berlin, Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, 1936).
- ILN *Illustrated London News*.
- JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
- JCS *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*.
- JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.
- JPOS *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*.
- JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
- KAR Erich Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, 1, 2, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 28, 34 (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1919, 1920).
- Lloyd and Safar, *JNES*, 2 (1943) Seton Lloyd and Fuad Safar, "Tell Uqair," *JNES*, 2 (1943), 131-158.
- Louvre, Delaporte Louis Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres, cachets, et pierres gravées de style oriental*, Musée du Louvre, 1, 2 (Paris, Librairie Hachette, 1920, 1923).
- Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr* Ernest Mackay, *Report on Excavations at Jemdet Nasr, Iraq*, Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropology Memoirs, 1, 3 (Chicago, Field Museum of Natural History, 1931).
- Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 (1933) M. E. L. Mallowan, "The Prehistoric Sondage of Nineveh, 1931-32," *AAA*, 20 (1933), 127-181.
- Mallowan, "Arp." M. E. L. Mallowan and J. Cruikshank Rose, "Excavations at Tall Arpachiyah, 1933," *Iraq*, 2 (1935), 1-178.

- Mallowan, *Iraq*, 3 (1936) M. E. L. Mallowan, "The Excavations at Tall Chagar Bazar, and an Archaeological Survey of the Ḥabur Region, 1934-5," *Iraq*, 3 (1936), 1-86.
- Mallowan, *Iraq*, 8 (1946) M. E. L. Mallowan, "Excavations in the Balih Valley, 1938," *Iraq*, 8 (1946), 111-159.
- Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947) M. E. L. Mallowan, "Excavations at Brak and Chagar Bazar," *Iraq*, 9 (1947), 1-266.
- MJ* University of Pennsylvania, *Museum Journal*.
- MLC* Edith Porada, *The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, 1, Plates, Text, Bollingen Series, 14 (Washington, D.C., Pantheon Books, 1948).
- MVAG* *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft*.
- Nik.* Mikhail V. Nikol'skiĭ, *Dokumenty . . .* (St. Petersburg, Golike and Vil'borg, 1908).
- OIC* University of Chicago, *Oriental Institute Communications*.
- OIP* University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications.
- OLZ* *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*.
- Osten, *Seals, Brett* Hans Henning von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mrs. Agnes Baldwin Brett*, OIP, 37 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1936).
- Osten, *Seals, Newell* Hans Henning von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell*, OIP, 22 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1934).
- Parrot, *Tello* André Parrot, *Tello* (Paris, Albin Michel, 1948).
- RA* *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*.
- RTC* François Thureau-Dangin, *Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes* (Paris, Leroux, 1903).
- SAK* F. Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, 1, 1 (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1907).
- SAOC* University of Chicago, Oriental Institute, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization.
- Starr, *Nuzi* Richard F. S. Starr, *Nuzi*, 1, 2 (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1937, 1939).
- STH* Mary Ina Hussey, *Sumerian Tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum*, Part 1, Harvard Semitic Series, 3 (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1912).
- Tell Halaf, 1* Max von Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf, 1*, Die prähistorischen Funde, edited by Hubert Schmidt (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1943).
- Telloh, 1* H. de Genouillac, *Fouilles de Telloh, 1*, Époques présargoniques (Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1934).
- Tepe Gawra, 1* E. A. Speiser, *Excavations at Tepe Gawra, 1*, Levels 1-8 (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935).

- Tepe Gawra, 2* Arthur J. Tobler, *Excavations at Tepe Gawra, 2, Levels 9-20* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950).
- TSA* H. de Genouillac, *Tablettes sumériennes archaïques* (Paris, Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1909).
- UE, 1* H. R. Hall and C. Leonard Woolley, *Al-'Ubaid, Ur Excavations, 1*, Publications of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1927).
- UE, 2* C. Leonard Woolley, *The Royal Cemetery, Ur Excavations, 2*, Publications of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia (New York, 1934).
- UMBS* University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum, Publications of the Babylonian Section.
- UVB* (Erster, etc.) *vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen*, vols. 1-11 (1929-40), in *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Klasse*; vols. 12- (1956-), in *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*.
- Van Buren, Symbols of the Gods* E. Douglas Van Buren, *Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art*, *Analecta Orientalia*, 23 (Rome, Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1945).
- VAT* Vorderasiatische Abteilung, Tontafeln.
- VR* Anton Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel* (Berlin, Gebr. Mann, 1940).
- ZA* *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*.
- ZDMG* *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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FIG. 5 Hassunah Standard Painted-and-Incised Ware: published with permission of the Directorate General of Antiquities of the Republic of Iraq. Originally published in *ibid.*, pl. xvi, no. 2.

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FIG. 6 Charles Leslie in Robert J. Braidwood and others, "Matarrah," *JNES*, 11 (1952), p. 61, fig. 24, no. 3.

FIG. 7 *Ibid.*, fig. 24, no. 1.

FIG. 8 *Ibid.*, fig. 24, no. 4.

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FIG. 9 Edna Tulane in Robert J. Braidwood and others, "New Chalcolithic Material of Samarran Type and Its Implications," *JNES*, 3 (1944), A Repertoire of the Available Motifs in the Samarran Painted Style, following p. 72, no. 25.

FIG. 10 *Ibid.*, no. 70.

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FIG. 12 *Ibid.*, no. 68.

FIG. 13 *Ibid.*, no. 3.

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- FIG. 136 Incised and Appliqué Decoration on Ubaid Ware; Tepe Gawra: *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. CXXXII, no. 234.
- FIG. 137 Painted Ubaid Ware; Tepe Gawra: *ibid.*, pl. CXXXVII, no. 295.
- FIG. 138 Plant Designs on Ubaid Ware; Tepe Gawra: *ibid.*, pl. CL, nos. 470-472.

- FIG. 139 Painted Ubaid Ware; Arpachiyah: Mallowan, "Arp.," fig. 34, no. 3.
- FIG. 140 Birds in a Vine Design on Ubaid Ware: Tepe Gawra: *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. CL, no. 460.
- FIG. 141 Painted Ubaid Ware; Tepe Gawra: *ibid.*, pl. CXXXIV, no. 252.
- FIG. 142 Painted Ubaid Ware; Mefesh: published with permission of F. Seirafi, Director of the Department of Antiquities, Aleppo, Syria.
- FIG. 143 Painted Ubaid Ware; Tepe Gawra: *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. CXXXVI, no. 280.
- FIG. 144 Painted Ubaid Ware; Arpachiyah: Mallowan, "Arp.," fig. 35, no. 3.
- FIG. 145 Quadruped with U-shaped Body Design on Ubaid Ware; Tepe Gawra: *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. CL, no. 462.
- FIG. 146 Painted Ubaid Ware; Tepe Gawra: *ibid.*, pl. CXXX, no. 204.
- FIG. 147 Incense Burner; Tepe Gawra, Ubaid Period: *ibid.*, pl. CXXXII, no. 228.
- FIG. 148-a Panel Designs of Fig. 148-b: *ibid.*, pl. CXXXIX, no. 309.
- FIG. 148-b Painted Ubaid Ware; Tepe Gawra: *ibid.*, pl. LXXVIII, a, b.
- FIG. 149 Stone Kohl Vessel; Tepe Gawra, Ubaid Period: *ibid.*, pl. xcv, d, no. 2.
- FIG. 150 Painted Ubaid Ware; Tepe Gawra: *ibid.*, pl. LXXV, a.
- FIG. 151 Eridu-Hajji Muhammed Ware; Abu Shahrain (Eridu): E. Douglas Van Buren, "Discoveries at Eridu," *Orientalia*, N.S. 18 (1949), pl. vi.
- FIG. 152 Representational Designs on Eridu-Hajji Muhammed Ware; Hajji Muhammed: Charlotte Ziegler, *Die Keramik von der Qal'a des Hağgi Mohammed*, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka, 5 (Berlin, Gebr. Mann, 1953), pl. 37, d, nos. 147-151.
- FIGS. 153-160 Geometric Designs on Eridu-Hajji Muhammed Ware; Hajji Muhammed:
- FIG. 153 *Ibid.*, pl. 17, a.
- FIG. 154 *Ibid.*, pl. 37, c, no. 91.
- FIG. 155 *Ibid.*, pl. 37, c, no. 112.
- FIG. 156 *Ibid.*, pl. 37, d, no. 130.
- FIG. 157 *Ibid.*, pl. 37, b, no. 56.
- FIG. 158 *Ibid.*, pl. 37, b, no. 72.
- FIG. 159 *Ibid.*, pl. 37, b, no. 52.
- FIG. 160 *Ibid.*, pl. 37, b, no. 53.
- FIG. 161 Motifs on Ubaid Ware in the South: *CAM*, fig. 10.
- FIG. 162 Painted Ubaid Ware; Uqair: published with permission of the Directorate General of Antiquities of the Republic of Iraq. Originally published in Lloyd and Safar, *JNES*, 2 (1943), pl. xxv, no. 1.
- FIG. 163 Painted Ubaid Ware; al-Ubaid: UE, 1, pl. XLIX, no. T.O. 517.
- FIG. 164 Painted Ubaid Ware; Telloh: *Telloh*, 1, pl. 26, no. 2.
- FIG. 165 Painted Ubaid Ware; Telloh: *ibid.*, pl. 27, no. 1.
- FIG. 166 Painted Ubaid Ware; al-Ubaid: UE, 1, pl. XLIX, no. T.O. 516.
- FIG. 167 Painted Ubaid Ware; al-Ubaid: *ibid.*, pl. xvi, nos. 1843, 1584, 1596, 1870, 1849.
- FIG. 168 Painted Ubaid Ware; al-Ubaid: *ibid.*, pl. xvi, nos. 1841, 1836, 1838, 1839.
- FIG. 169 Painted Ubaid Ware; Telloh: *Telloh*, 1, pl. 4*, no. TG 5758.
- FIG. 170 Painted Ubaid Ware; Telloh: Parrot, *Tello*, fig. 8.
- FIG. 171 Painted Ubaid Ware; Telloh: *Telloh*, 1, pl. 34, no. 2, c.
- FIG. 172 Painted Ubaid Ware; Uqair: published with permission of the Directorate General of Antiquities of the Republic of Iraq. Originally published in Lloyd and Safar, *JNES*, 2 (1943), pl. xxv, no. 4.
- FIG. 173 Painted Ubaid Ware; Uqair: *ibid.*, pl. xix, a, no. 4.
- FIG. 174 Painted Ubaid Ware; Uqair: *ibid.*, pl. xix, a, no. 1.
- FIG. 175 Painted Ubaid Ware; Telloh: Parrot, *Tello*, fig. 8.

- FIG. 176 Seals with Geometric Designs; Telloh, Ubaid Period: *ibid.*, fig. 7, *i, j, k*.
- FIGS. 177-202 Seals and Seal Impressions; Tepe Gawra, Ubaid Period (with the exception of Figs. 183 and 191, from the Gawra Period):
- FIG. 177 *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. CLVIII, no. 8.
- FIG. 178 *Ibid.*, pl. CLIX, no. 17.
- FIG. 179 *Ibid.*, pl. CLIX, no. 24.
- FIG. 180 *Ibid.*, pl. CLIX, no. 29.
- FIG. 181 *Ibid.*, pl. CLX, no. 35.
- FIG. 182 *Ibid.*, pl. CLX, no. 39.
- FIG. 183 *Ibid.*, pl. CLX, no. 42.
- FIG. 184 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXI, no. 52.
- FIG. 185 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXI, no. 58.
- FIG. 186 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXI, no. 62.
- FIG. 187 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXII, no. 67.
- FIG. 188 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXII, no. 75.
- FIG. 189 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXII, no. 76.
- FIG. 190 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXIII, no. 83.
- FIG. 191 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXIII, no. 82.
- FIG. 192 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXVII, no. 133.
- FIG. 193 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXIII, no. 91.
- FIG. 194 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXIII, no. 92.
- FIG. 195 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXIV, no. 94.
- FIG. 196 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXIV, no. 95.
- FIG. 197 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXX, no. 179.
- FIG. 198 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXIV, no. 102.
- FIG. 199 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXIV, no. 103.
- FIG. 200 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXVI, no. 126.
- FIG. 201 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXV, no. 105.
- FIG. 202 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXX, no. 173.
- FIG. 203 Seal; Mefesh, Ubaid Period: Mallowan, *Iraq*, 8 (1946), pl. xxiv, no. 1.
- FIG. 204 Seal; Nineveh, Ubaid Period: Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 (1933), pl. LXIV, no. 9.
- FIGS. 205-208 Female Figurines from the North; Tepe Gawra, Ubaid Period:
- FIG. 205 *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. CLIII, no. 5.
- FIG. 206 *Ibid.*, pl. CLIII, no. 7.
- FIG. 207 *Ibid.*, pl. CLIII, no. 8.
- FIG. 208 *Ibid.*, pl. CLIII, no. 4.
- FIGS. 209-215 Animal Figurines from the North; Tepe Gawra, Ubaid Period:
- FIG. 209 *Ibid.*, pl. LXXXII, *b*, no. 2.
- FIG. 210 *Ibid.*, pl. LXXXII, *a*, no. 1.
- FIG. 211 *Ibid.*, pl. CLIV, no. 18.
- FIG. 212 *Ibid.*, pl. LXXXIII, *c*.
- FIG. 213 *Ibid.*, pl. CLIV, no. 19.
- FIG. 214 *Ibid.*, pl. CLIV, no. 13.
- FIG. 215 *Ibid.*, pl. CLIV, no. 15.
- FIG. 216 Bird Figurines from the North; Arpachiyah, Ubaid Period: Mallowan, "Arp.," fig. 46, nos. 1, 2.
- FIGS. 217-221 Human Figurines from the South; Ur, Warka, Abu Shahrain, Ubaid Period:
- FIG. 217 C. Leonard Woolley, *The Development of Sumerian Art* (London, Faber and Faber, 1935), fig. 6, *f, h*.

- FIG. 218 C. Leonard Woolley, "Excavations at Ur, 1929-30," *AJ*, 10 (1930), pl. XLVIII.
- FIG. 219 Heinrich in *UVB*, 8 (1936), pl. 47, b.
- FIG. 220 *Ibid.*, pl. 47, k.
- FIG. 221 E. Douglas Van Buren, "Discoveries at Eridu," *Orientalia*, N.S. 18 (1949), pl. VIII.
- FIG. 222 Animal Figurines from the South; Uqair, Ubaid Period: Lloyd and Safar, *JNES*, 2 (1943), pl. XVIII, nos. 1, 3, 6, 9, 10, 11.
- FIGS. 223-230 Beads and Pendants; Tepe Gawra, Ubaid Period:
- FIG. 223 *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. CLXXI, nos. 13-16.
- FIG. 224 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXXI, no. 5.
- FIG. 225 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXXII, nos. 25, 26.
- FIG. 226 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXXIII, no. 35.
- FIG. 227 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXXIII, no. 40.
- FIG. 228 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXXIV, no. 54.
- FIG. 229 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXXIII, no. 44.
- FIG. 230 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXXIV, no. 60.
- FIGS. 231, 232 Spindle Whorls; Tepe Gawra, Ubaid Period:
- FIG. 231 *Ibid.*, pl. CLV, no. 25.
- FIG. 232 *Ibid.*, pl. LXXXV, no. 2.
- FIG. 233 "Eye" Symbol with One Volute; Tepe Gawra, Ubaid Period: *ibid.*, pl. CLVII, no. 67.
- FIG. 234 Crude Anthropomorphic Clay Cones; Tepe Gawra, Ubaid Period: *ibid.*, pl. LXXXIV, b.
- FIG. 235 Model Boat; Abu Shahrain, Ubaid Period: Van Buren in *Orientalia*, N.S. 18 (1949), pl. IX.
- FIG. 236 Northern Temple, Tepe Gawra; Ubaid Period: *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. XII.
- FIG. 237 "Censer" from Temple 6, Abu Shahrain; Ubaid Period: published with permission of the Directorate General of the Department of Antiquities of the Republic of Iraq. Originally published in Lloyd and Safar, "Eridu, A Preliminary Communication on the First Season's Excavations, January-March, 1947," *Sumer*, 3 (1947), fig. 5.
- FIG. 238 Temple 8, Abu Shahrain; Ubaid Period: Lloyd and Safar, "Eridu, A Preliminary Communication on the Second Season's Excavations, 1947-48," *Sumer*, 4 (1948), pl. VI.
- FIG. 239 Ubaid II Ware; Ur, Uruk Period: Woolley in *AJ*, 10 (1930), pl. XLV, facing p. 332.
- FIG. 240 Cylinder Seal with Reclining Bull on Top; Jemdet Nasr Period: Louvre, Delaporte, 2, pl. 63, no. 3, a (A. 25).
- FIG. 241 Cylinder Seal with Reclining Ram on Top; purchased in the neighborhood of Warka, Uruk Period: *VR*, fig. 29, a.
- FIGS. 242-246 Cylinder Seals and Seal Impressions Picturing Ritualistic Offerings; Uruk Period:
- FIG. 242 *MLC*, pl. 1, no. 3.
- FIG. 243 Marion F. Williams, "The Collection of Western Asiatic Seals in the Haskell Oriental Museum," *AJSL*, 44 (1928), no. 67.
- FIG. 244 Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. v, c.
- FIG. 245 Schott in *UVB*, 5 (1933), pl. 22, a.
- FIG. 246 *Ibid.*, pl. 22, b.
- FIGS. 247-251 Cylinder Seals Picturing the Feeding of the Temple Herd; Uruk Period:
- FIG. 247 Published with permission of the Yale Babylonian Collection. Originally published in James B. Nies and Clarence E. Keiser, *Historical, Religious, and Economic Texts and Antiquities*, Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies, 2 (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1920), pl. LXXVI, e (NBC 2579).
- FIG. 248 E. Douglas Van Buren, "The Ear of Corn," *Analecta Orientalia*, 12 (1935), 333, fig. 8.
- FIG. 249 Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pl. 17, b.
- FIG. 250 Louvre, Delaporte, 2, pl. 69, no. 8, b (A. 116).

- FIG. 251 Van Buren in *Analecta Orientalia*, 12 (1935), 334, fig. 9.
- FIG. 252 Seal Impression Picturing the Byre for Cattle; Warka, Uruk Period: Schott in *UVB*, 5 (1933), pl. 25, *d*.
- FIG. 252-a Modern Reed House in Umm al-Barar (between Diwaniyah and Kufa).
- FIG. 253 Cylinder Seal Picturing Shepherds Tending Sheep; Berlin Museum, Uruk Period: *VR*, fig. 4.
- FIG. 254 Cylinder Seal Picturing Animals and Grain; Uruk Period: Louvre, Delaporte, 2, pl. 63, no. 4 (A. 26).
- FIG. 255 Seal Impression Picturing Animals and Grain; Warka, Uruk Period: H. J. Lenzen, "Die Tempel der Schicht Archaisch IV in Uruk," *ZA*, N.F. 15 (1949/50), fig. 18.
- FIG. 256 Cylinder Seal Picturing Animals and Rosettes; University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Uruk Period: Leon Legrain, *The Culture of the Babylonians from Their Seals in the Collections of the Museum*, UMBS, 14 (Philadelphia, University Museum, 1925), pl. v, no. 53.
- FIGS. 257-261 Cylinder Seals and Seal Impressions Picturing Animal Conflict; Uruk Period:
- FIG. 257 Schott in *UVB*, 5 (1933), pl. 24, *e*.
- FIG. 258 *Ibid.*, pl. 29, *d*.
- FIG. 259 *Ibid.*, pl. 24, *a*.
- FIG. 260 BN, Delaporte, pl. 1, no. 2.
- FIG. 261 Frankfort, *Strat. Cyl. Seals*, pl. 7, no. 36.
- FIGS. 262-264 Seal Impressions Picturing Human Conflict; Warka, Uruk Period:
- FIG. 262 Schott in *UVB*, 5 (1933), pl. 23, *a*.
- FIG. 263 *Ibid.*, pl. 23, *b*.
- FIG. 264 *Ibid.*, pl. 23, *d*.
- FIGS. 265-268 Seal Impressions with Especially Realistic Details; Warka, Uruk Period:
- FIG. 265 *Ibid.*, pl. 24, *c*.
- FIG. 266 *Ibid.*, pl. 24, *d*.
- FIG. 267 *Ibid.*, pl. 24, *b*.
- FIG. 268 *Ibid.*, pl. 25, *a*.
- FIGS. 269, 270 Cylinder Seal and Seal Impression with the Cult and the Care of the Herd Juxtaposed; Uruk Period:
- FIG. 269 (Rolling of fig. 241): *VR*, fig. 29, *b*.
- FIG. 270 Beatrice L. Goff and Briggs Buchanan, "A Tablet of the Uruk Period in the Goucher College Collection," *JNES*, 15 (1956), fig. 4.
- FIG. 271 Cylinder Seal Picturing the Care of the Herd under Attack; Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell, Uruk Period: Osten, *Seals, Newell*, pl. xli, no. 695.
- FIG. 273 Seal Impression Picturing Animals and Varied Symbols; Warka, Uruk Period: Lenzen in *ZA*, N.F. 15 (1949/50), fig. 16.
- FIGS. 272, 274-280 Cylinder Seals and Seal Impressions Picturing Animals in Antithetical Arrangements; Uruk Period:
- FIG. 272 Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. iii, *b*.
- FIG. 274 *MLC*, pl. ii, no. 5
- FIG. 275 Williams in *AJSL*, 44 (1928), no. 6.
- FIG. 276 Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. iv, *l*.
- FIG. 277 Schott in *UVB*, 5 (1933), pl. 26, *c*.
- FIG. 278 *Ibid.*, pl. 26, *d*.
- FIG. 279 Eisen, *Seals, Moore*, pl. 1, no. 1.
- FIG. 280 Schott in *UVB*, 5 (1933), pl. 26, *b*.
- FIGS. 281-285 Cylinder Seals and Seal Impression Possibly Reflecting Myths; Uruk Period:
- FIG. 281 Osten, *Seals, Newell*, pl. xxxix, no. 669.
- FIG. 282 *VR*, fig. 30.

- FIG. 283 *MLC*, pl. II, no. 4, *a*.
 FIG. 284 Schott in *UVB*, 5 (1933), pl. 28, *a*.
 FIG. 285 Andrae, *Die ionische Säule*, pl. IV, *a*.
 FIG. 286 Alabaster Vase; Warka, Uruk Period: Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pl. 2.
 FIG. 287 Clay Amulets, Imitations of Objects Used in Daily Life; Warka, Uruk Period: Jordan in *UVB*, 2 (1930), fig. 41, p. 47.
 FIG. 288 Reclining Bison Amulet; Collection of Dr. Rudolf Schmidt, Soleure, Uruk Period: Elie Borowski, *Cylindres et cachets orientaux conservés dans les collections suisses*, 1 (Ascona, Switzerland, Éditions Artibus Asiae, 1947), pl. I, no. 1.
 FIG. 289 Reclining Calf Amulet; Collection of Dr. Rudolf Schmidt, Soleure, Uruk Period: *ibid.*, pl. I, no. 2.
 FIG. 290 Temple C; Warka, Eanna, Level 4*a*, Uruk Period: Lenzen in *ZA*, N.F. 15 (1949/50), pl. 2.
 FIG. 290-a Temple D; Warka, Eanna, Level 4*a*, Uruk Period: *ibid.*, pl. 2.
 FIG. 291 Temple on the "North-South Terrace"; Warka, Eanna, Level 4*b*, Uruk Period: *ibid.*, pl. 1.
 FIG. 292 Mosaic on Temple Walls; Warka, Eanna, Level 4*b*, Uruk Period: Heinrich in *UVB*, 4 (1932), pl. 7.
 FIG. 293 Face of Landing before the Pillar Terrace; Warka, Eanna, Level 4*b*, Uruk Period: *ibid.*, pl. 9, *b*.
 FIG. 294 Plan of Painted Temple; Uqair, Uruk Period: Lloyd and Safar, *JNES*, 2 (1943), pl. v.
 FIG. 295 Frescoes of the Painted Temple; Uqair, Uruk Period: *ibid.*, pl. XII.
 FIG. 296 Altar Frescoes of the Painted Temple; Uqair, Uruk Period: *ibid.*, pl. x.
 FIGS. 297-319 Signs Used on Tablets from Eanna, Level 4, Warka; Uruk Period:
 FIG. 297 A. Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk*, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka, 2 (Berlin, Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, 1936), Zeichenliste, no. 35.
 FIG. 298 *Ibid.*, no. 44.
 FIG. 299 *Ibid.*, no. 52.
 FIG. 300 *Ibid.*, no. 73.
 FIG. 301 *Ibid.*, no. 79.
 FIG. 302 *Ibid.*, no. 83.
 FIG. 303 *Ibid.*, no. 88.
 FIG. 304 *Ibid.*, no. 139.
 FIG. 305 *Ibid.*, no. 189.
 FIG. 306 *Ibid.*, no. 192.
 FIG. 307 *Ibid.*, no. 208.
 FIG. 308 *Ibid.*, no. 244.
 FIG. 309 *Ibid.*, no. 213.
 FIG. 310 *Ibid.*, no. 216.
 FIG. 311 *Ibid.*, no. 21.
 FIG. 312 *Ibid.*, no. 526.
 FIG. 313 *Ibid.*, no. 388.
 FIG. 314 *Ibid.*, no. 389.
 FIG. 315 *Ibid.*, no. 428.
 FIG. 316 *Ibid.*, no. 453.
 FIG. 317 *Ibid.*, no. 469.
 FIG. 318 *Ibid.*, no. 753.
 FIG. 319 *Ibid.*, no. 841.
 FIG. 320 Monochrome Spouted Jar; Sin Temple 3, Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period: Delougaz, *Pottery*, pl. 19, *h*.
 FIG. 321 Spout Decorated with Snakes in Relief; Asmar, Jemdet Nasr Period: *ibid.*, pl. 92, *c*.

- FIG. 322 Seven-spouted Pot; Sin Temple 4, Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period: *ibid.*, pl. 24, *e*.
- FIG. 323 Four-lugged Jar; Agrab, Jemdet Nasr Period: *ibid.*, pl. 22, *c*.
- FIG. 324 Fragmentary Cylinder Seal; found in debris of the Third Dynasty of Ur, Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period: Lenzen in *UVB*, 7 (1935), pl. 25, *e*.
- FIG. 325 Bird Vase; Small Temple 6, Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period: Delougaz, *Pottery*, pl. 7, *a*.
- FIG. 326 Bull Vase; Sin Temple 4, Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period: *ibid.*, pl. 25, *b*.
- FIG. 327 Polychrome Theriomorphic Vase; Sin Temple 5, Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period: *ibid.*, pl. 133, *c*.
- FIG. 328 "Censer"; Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period: *ibid.*, pl. 24, *a*.
- FIG. 329 Monochrome Painted Four-lugged Jar; Sin Temple 1, Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period: *ibid.*, pl. 28, *a*.
- FIG. 330 Monochrome Painted Four-lugged Jar; Sin Temple 1, Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period: *ibid.*, pl. 28, *b*.
- FIG. 331 Monochrome Painted Four-lugged Jar; Uqair, Jemdet Nasr Period: Lloyd and Safar, *JNES*, 2 (1943), pl. xxiii.
- FIG. 332 Monochrome Painted Spouted Jar; Earliest Shrine of the Abu Temple, Asmar, Jemdet Nasr Period: Delougaz, *Pottery*, pl. 3, *As*. 34:246.
- FIG. 333 "Palm" Motif on Monochrome Painted Jar; Jemdet Nasr, Jemdet Nasr Period: Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, pl. LXVIII, no. 2.
- FIG. 334 Monochrome Painted Four-lugged Jar; Uqair, Jemdet Nasr Period: published with permission of the Directorate General of the Department of Antiquities of the Republic of Iraq. Originally published in Lloyd and Safar, *JNES*, 2 (1943), pl. xxvii, no. 3.
- FIG. 335 Monochrome Sherd; Jemdet Nasr, Jemdet Nasr Period: Field and Martin, "Painted Pottery from Jemdet Nasr, Iraq," *AJA*, 39 (1935), pl. xxxiii, no. 5.
- FIG. 336 Monochrome Painted Four-lugged Jar; Sin Temple 3, Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period: Delougaz, *Pottery*, pl. 29, *a*.
- FIG. 337 Sherd with Animal Design; Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period: *ibid.*, pl. 4, Kh. IX 198.
- FIG. 338 Eight-pointed Stars on Monochrome Painted Jar; Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period: *ibid.*, pl. 134, *d*.
- FIG. 339 Pentalphas on Monochrome Painted Jars; Jemdet Nasr, Jemdet Nasr Period: Field and Martin in *AJA*, 39 (1935), pl. xxxiii, no. 3.
- FIG. 340 Early Polychrome Vase; Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period: Delougaz, *Pottery*, pl. 1.
- FIG. 341 Late Polychrome Jemdet Nasr Ware; Khafajah: *ibid.*, pl. 6.
- FIG. 342 Late Polychrome Jemdet Nasr Ware; First Temple Oval, Khafajah: *ibid.*, pl. 5.
- FIG. 343 Late Polychrome Jemdet Nasr Ware; Khafajah: *ibid.*, pl. 35, *b*.
- FIG. 344 Superimposed Birds on a Sherd; Agrab, Jemdet Nasr Period(?): *ibid.*, pl. 133, *i*.
- FIG. 345 Bichrome Four-lugged Jar; Uqair, Jemdet Nasr Period: Lloyd and Safar, *JNES*, 2 (1943), pl. xxiv, *a*.
- FIG. 346 Polychrome Jemdet Nasr Ware; Jemdet Nasr: Field and Martin in *AJA*, 39 (1935), pl. xxxi.
- FIGS. 347, 348 Cylinder Seals Picturing Pairs of Human Figures Offering Gifts; from the Sammelfund, Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period:
- FIG. 347 Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pl. 18, *b*.
- FIG. 348 *Ibid.*, pl. 18, *c*.
- FIGS. 349-356 Cylinder Seals Picturing "Pigtailed Figures"; Jemdet Nasr Period:
- FIG. 349 Woolley, "Excavations at Ur, 1929-30," *AJ*, 10 (1930), pl. XLVI, *d*, facing p. 333.
- FIG. 350 *MLC*, pl. III, no. 8.
- FIG. 351 *Ibid.*, pl. III, no. 7.
- FIG. 352 Louvre, Delaporte, 2, pl. 69, no. 9 (A. 117).
- FIG. 353 *MLC*, pl. III, no. 16.

- FIG. 354 Louvre, Delaporte, 2, pl. 69, no. 5 (A. 114).
 FIG. 355 *MLC*, pl. III, no. 14.
 FIG. 356 Louvre, Delaporte, 2, pl. 69, no. 4 (A. 113).
 FIGS. 357-359 Cylinder Seals and Seal Impressions Picturing Byres for Cattle; Jemdet Nasr Period:
 FIG. 357 Heinrich in *UVB*, 9 (1937), pl. 31, a.
 FIG. 358 Frankfort, *Strat. Cyl. Seals*, pl. 6, no. 33.
 FIG. 359 *VR*, fig. 6.
 FIG. 360 Cylinder Seal Picturing the Feeding of the Temple Herd; Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period: Frankfort, *Strat. Cyl. Seals*, pl. 6, no. 34.
 FIGS. 361-371 Cylinder Seals with a Shrine as Central Motif; Jemdet Nasr Period:
 FIG. 361 Andrae, *Die ionische Säule*, pl. IV, b.
 FIG. 362 *MLC*, pl. v, no. 24.
 FIG. 363 Osten, *Seals, Newell*, pl. IV, no. 28.
 FIG. 364 Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pl. 19, c.
 FIG. 365 *MLC*, pl. v, no. 22.
 FIG. 366 Frankfort, *Strat. Cyl. Seals*, pl. 80, no. 854.
 FIG. 367 Louvre, Delaporte, 2, pl. 64, no. 1 (A. 31).
 FIG. 368 Frankfort, *Strat. Cyl. Seals*, pl. 4, no. 12.
 FIG. 369 *Ibid.*, pl. 19, no. 201.
 FIG. 370 *Ibid.*, pl. 84, no. 880.
 FIG. 371 Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. VII, h.
 FIG. 372 Cylinder Seal Picturing Animals and Grain; Fara, Jemdet Nasr Period: *VR*, fig. 14.
 FIG. 373 Cylinder Seal Picturing Animals in an Over-all Design; Telloh, Jemdet Nasr Period: *Telloh*, 1, pl. 39, no. 1.
 FIG. 374 Cylinder Seal Picturing Animals and Trees with Curving Branches; purchased in the Neighborhood of Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period: *VR*, fig. 10.
 FIGS. 375, 375-a Seal Impression and Cylinder Seal Picturing Animal Conflict; Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period:
 FIG. 375 Heinrich in *UVB*, 9 (1937), pl. 30, e.
 FIG. 375-a Published with permission of the Deutsches archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Baghdad. Originally published by Lenzen in *UVB*, 16 (1960), pl. 25, a.
 FIGS. 376-378 Cylinder Seals with the Cult and the Care of the Herd Juxtaposed; Jemdet Nasr Period:
 FIG. 376 Frankfort, *Strat. Cyl. Seals*, pl. 6, no. 32.
 FIG. 377 Louvre, Delaporte, 2, pl. 63, no. 2 (A. 29).
 FIG. 378 Frankfort, *Strat. Cyl. Seals*, pl. 20, no. 214.
 FIGS. 379, 380 Seal Impressions with the Sacrificial Cult Suggested Abstractly; Ur, Jemdet Nasr Period:
 FIG. 379 L. Legrain, *Archaic Seal Impressions*, Ur Excavations, 3 (London and Philadelphia, British Museum and the University Museum, 1936), pl. 14, no. 276.
 FIG. 380 *Ibid.*, pl. 14, no. 277.
 FIGS. 381-387 Cylinder Seals Picturing Quadrupeds and Other Fauna; Jemdet Nasr Period:
 FIG. 381 *VR*, fig. 12.
 FIG. 382 Frankfort, *Strat. Cyl. Seals*, pl. 78, no. 843.
 FIG. 383 Louvre, Delaporte, 2, pl. 61, no. 10 (A. 6).
 FIG. 384 Eisen, *Seals, Moore*, pl. 1, no. 3.
 FIG. 385 *VR*, fig. 46.
 FIG. 386 *Ibid.*, fig. 45.
 FIG. 387 *Ibid.*, fig. 43.

- FIG. 388 Cylinder Seal Picturing Antithetical Arrangements of Animals; Jemdet Nasr Period: Louvre, Delaporte, 2, pl. 64, no. 9 (A. 41).
- FIG. 389 Seal Impression with Grottesque Design; Level C of the Anu Ziggurat, Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period: Heinrich in *UVB*, 9 (1937), pl. 30, h.
- FIGS. 390-392 Cylinder Seals with Prominent Solar Forms; Jemdet Nasr Period:
- FIG. 390 Frankfort, *Strat. Cyl. Seals*, pl. 21, no. 219.
- FIG. 391 *MLC*, pl. IV, no. 21.
- FIG. 392 No. 5989 in the Nies Babylonian Collection at Yale University. Published with permission of the Yale Babylonian Collection.
- FIGS. 393-395 Cylinder Seals Picturing a Tree Rising from the Top of a Mountain; Jemdet Nasr Period:
- FIG. 393 Frankfort, *Strat. Cyl. Seals*, pl. 10, no. 76.
- FIG. 394 *Ibid.*, pl. 80, no. 853.
- FIG. 395 Osten, *Seals, Brett*, pl. II, no. 16.
- FIG. 396 Cylinder Seal Picturing a Varied Collection of Animals; British Museum, Jemdet Nasr Period: Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. VI, b.
- FIG. 397 Cylinder Seal with an Early Example of the Flowing Vase; Kish, Jemdet Nasr Period: Henri de Genouillac, *Premières recherches archéologiques à Kish*, Fouilles françaises d'el-'Akhymer, 2 (Paris, Édouard Champion, 1925), pl. XIII, no. 15.
- FIGS. 398-412 Cylinder Seals with Geometric Designs; Jemdet Nasr Period:
- FIG. 398 *MLC*, pl. VII, no. 33.
- FIG. 399 Louvre, Delaporte, 2, pl. 61, no. 11 (A. 4).
- FIG. 400 Louvre, Delaporte, 1, pl. 14, no. 2 (S. 28).
- FIG. 401 *MLC*, pl. VII, no. 34.
- FIG. 402 *Ibid.*, pl. VII, no. 39.
- FIG. 403 *Ibid.*, pl. VII, no. 40.
- FIG. 404 *VR*, fig. 58.
- FIG. 405 Louvre, Delaporte, 1, pl. 1, no. 10 (T. 6).
- FIG. 406 *VR*, fig. 49.
- FIG. 407 *Ibid.*, fig. 53.
- FIG. 408 Louvre, Delaporte, 1, pl. 1, no. 15 (T. 1).
- FIG. 409 Frankfort, *Strat. Cyl. Seals*, pl. 30, no. 297.
- FIG. 410 *Ibid.*, pl. 23, no. 241.
- FIG. 411 *Ibid.*, pl. 11, no. 84.
- FIG. 412 *VR*, fig. 48.
- FIGS. 413-416 Cylinder Seals with a Combination of Geometric and Representational Designs; Jemdet Nasr Period:
- FIG. 413 Frankfort, *Strat. Cyl. Seals*, pl. 10, no. 78.
- FIG. 414 *Ibid.*, pl. 15, no. 132.
- FIG. 415 *MLC*, pl. VI, no. 32.
- FIG. 416 Frankfort, *Strat. Cyl. Seals*, pl. 8, no. 49.
- FIGS. 417-425 Stamp Seals; Jemdet Nasr Period:
- FIG. 417 Borowski, *Cylindres et cachets orientaux*, pl. 1, no. 5.
- FIG. 418 Heinrich in *UVB*, 8 (1936), pl. 50, a.
- FIG. 419 Heinrich in *UVB*, 9 (1937), pl. 29, d.
- FIG. 420 Heinrich in *UVB*, 8 (1936), pl. 50, g.
- FIG. 421 Published with permission of the Chicago Natural History Museum. Originally published in Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, pl. LXXIII, nos. 12, 13.

- FIG. 422 Borowski, *Cylindres et cachets orientaux*, pl. 1, no. 3.
- FIG. 423 Osten, *Seals, Brett*, pl. 1, no. 1.
- FIG. 424 *Ibid.*, pl. 1, no. 2.
- FIG. 425 Osten, *Seals, Newell*, pl. II, no. 20.
- FIG. 426 Cylinder Seal with Inlaid Triangles around the Top; Sin Temple 2, Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period: Delougaz, *Pre-Sargonid Temples*, fig. 11, *b*, p. 16.
- FIG. 427 Stamp Seal; Collection of Mrs. William H. Moore, Jemdet Nasr Period: Eisen, *Seals, Moore*, pl. II, no. 12.
- FIGS. 428-438 Animal Amulets; Jemdet Nasr Period:
- FIG. 428 Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pl. 11, *b*.
- FIG. 429 *Ibid.*, pl. 9, *e*.
- FIG. 430 *Ibid.*, pl. 12, *i*.
- FIG. 431 *Ibid.*, pl. 13, *b*.
- FIG. 432 *Ibid.*, pl. 13, *c*.
- FIG. 433 *Ibid.*, pl. 13, *d*.
- FIG. 434 Heinrich in *UVB*, 8 (1936), pl. 50, *c*.
- FIG. 435 Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pl. 13, *i*.
- FIG. 436 Lenzen in *UVB*, 7 (1935), pl. 24, *e*.
- FIG. 437 *Ibid.*, pl. 23, *g*.
- FIG. 438 *Ibid.*, pl. 24, *b*.
- FIGS. 439, 440 Human Figures as Amulets; Jemdet Nasr Period:
- FIG. 439 Gaston Cros, *Nouvelles Fouilles de Tello* (Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1910), p. 78.
- FIG. 440 Published with permission of the Chicago Natural History Museum. Originally published in Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, pl. LXXIV, no. 6: 3315.
- FIG. 441 "Eye" Symbols; Sin Temple 4, Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period: Delougaz, *Pre-Sargonid Temples*, fig. 24, p. 28.
- FIG. 442 Pendants in the Shape of Crescents; Sin Temples 1 and 3, Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period: *ibid.*, fig. 6, p. 13.
- FIG. 443 Beads Strung with Bull Amulet Pendants; Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period: *ibid.*, fig. 32, p. 37.
- FIG. 444 Marble Female Head; Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period: Lenzen in *UVB*, 11 (1940), pl. 1.
- FIG. 445 Hunting Scenes on Basalt Stela; Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period: Heinrich in *UVB*, 5 (1933), pl. 12, *a*.
- FIG. 446 Kneeling Bearded Figure; Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period: Julius Jordan, *Uruk-Warka nach den Ausgrabungen durch die Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 51 (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1928), pl. 93, *d*.
- FIG. 447 Grotesque Figurine; Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period: Frankfort, "Progress of the Work of the Oriental Institute in Iraq, 1934/35," *OIC*, no. 20 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1936), fig. 57, *b*, p. 72.
- FIG. 448 Female Statuette; Sin Temple 4, Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period: Henri Frankfort, *More Sculpture from the Diyala Region*, OIP, 60 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1943), pl. 1, *b*.
- FIG. 449 Grotesque Figurine; Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period: Frankfort, *OIC*, no. 20, fig. 57, *c*.
- FIGS. 450-456 Animal Figurines; Jemdet Nasr Period:
- FIG. 450 Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pl. 4, *b*.
- FIG. 451 *Ibid.*, pl. 6, *a*.
- FIG. 452 No. 2549 of the Nies Babylonian Collection. Published with permission of the Yale Babylonian Collection. Originally published in Nies and Keiser, *Historical, Religious, and Economic Texts and Antiquities*, pl. LXXII, *m*.

- FIG. 453 No. 2261 of the Yale Babylonian Collection. Published with permission of the Yale Babylonian Collection. Previously published in Henri Frankfort, *The Birth of Civilization in the Near East* (Garden City, New York, Doubleday Anchor Books, 1956), fig. 17.
- FIG. 454 Jordan in *UVB*, 1 (1929), pl. 18.
- FIG. 455 Guennol Collection (Mr. and Mrs. Alastair Bradley Martin), on loan to the Brooklyn Museum. Published with permission of Alastair Martin. Originally published in Edith Porada, "A Leonine Figure of the Protoliterate Period of Mesopotamia," *JAOS*, 70 (1950), fig. 4.
- FIG. 456 Woolley in *AJ*, 10 (1930), pl. xli, b.
- FIG. 457 Stone Artifacts Simulating Buildings; Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period: Heinrich in *UVB*, 8 (1936), pl. 48, b, k, l, m, n.
- FIGS. 458, 459 Shell and Bone Beads; Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period:
 FIG. 458 Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pl. 31, no. W 14766 h.
 FIG. 459 *Ibid.*, pl. 31, no. W 14636 e.
- FIGS. 460, 461 Ornamental Fragments; Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period:
 FIG. 460 *Ibid.*, pl. 33, a-e.
 FIG. 461 *Ibid.*, pl. 32, a.
- FIG. 462 Bone Pins; Telloh, Jemdet Nasr Period: *Telloh*, 1, pl. 34, no. 3, a, e.
- FIG. 463 Diorite "Hand"; Fara, Jemdet Nasr Period: published with permission of Erich F. Schmidt. Originally published in Erich Schmidt, "Excavations at Fara, 1931," *MJ*, 22 (1931), pl. xxvi, no. 3.
- FIG. 464 Spindle Whorl; Jemdet Nasr, Jemdet Nasr Period: published with permission of the Chicago Natural History Museum. Originally published in Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, pl. lxxiv, no. 9: 3085.
- FIG. 465 Limestone Vase; Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period: Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pl. 24, b.
- FIG. 466 Limestone Vase; Ur, Jemdet Nasr Period: C. Leonard Woolley, "The Excavations at Ur, 1933-4," *AJ*, 14 (1934), pl. xlv, no. 2: U. 19378.
- FIG. 467 Alabaster Dove; Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period: Jordan in *UVB*, 3 (1932), pl. 18, a.
- FIG. 468 Alabaster Lamp; Ur, Jemdet Nasr Period: Woolley in *AJ*, 14 (1934), pl. xlviii, no. U. 19745.
- FIG. 469 Green Stone Vase; Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period: Delougaz, *Pre-Sargonid Temples*, fig. 98, p. 104.
- FIG. 470 Alabastrine Limestone Sculptured Trough; said to have been discovered at Warka, now in the British Museum, Jemdet Nasr Period: H. R. Hall, "An Early Sumerian Sculptured Trough," *British Museum Quarterly*, 3 (1928/29), pl. xxii, at p. 39.
- FIG. 471 Sculptured Vase; Louvre, Jemdet Nasr Period: André Parrot, *Archéologie mésopotamienne*, 2 (Paris, Albin Michel, 1953), pl. iv, facing p. 224.
- FIG. 472 Fragmentary Vase of Hard Gray to Black Stone; acquired by purchase, but probably from Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period: Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pl. 25, c.
- FIG. 473 Fragmentary Vase of Bituminous Limestone; Sammelfund, Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period: *ibid.*, pl. 25, b.
- FIG. 474 Steatite Bowl; Ur, Jemdet Nasr Period: C. Leonard Woolley, "Excavations at Ur, 1931-2," *AJ*, 12 (1932), pl. lxxviii, following p. 390.
- FIG. 475 Stone Vase; Sammelfund, Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period: Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pl. 22, a.
- FIG. 476 Fragmentary Alabaster Vase with Ram as Support; Ur, Jemdet Nasr Period: Woolley in *AJ*, 14 (1934), pl. xlviii, no. U. 19426.
- FIG. 477 Double Jar of Alabaster with Four Couchant Bulls as Support; Fara, Jemdet Nasr Period: Heinrich, *Fara*, pl. 23.
- FIG. 478 Vase of Bituminous Limestone; Sammelfund, Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period: Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pl. 27, b.
- FIG. 479 Vase of Hard Gray Stone; Sammelfund, Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period: *ibid.*, pl. 26.
- FIG. 481 Mosaic in Niche Wall; Eanna, Level 3c, Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period: Lenzen in *UVB*, 7 (1935), pl. 16, a.

- FIGS. 480, 482-486 Wall Ornaments; Eanna, Level 3*b*, Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period:
 FIG. 480 Jordan in *UVB*, 2 (1930), fig. 20, p. 33.
 FIG. 482. *Ibid.*, fig. 22, p. 33.
 FIG. 483 *Ibid.*, fig. 19, p. 32.
 FIG. 484 *Ibid.*, fig. 23, p. 34.
 FIG. 485 *Ibid.*, fig. 29, p. 38.
 FIG. 486 *Ibid.*, fig. 30, p. 38.
- FIG. 487 Plan of Anu Ziggurat at Warka, Levels B-C; Jemdet Nasr Period: *CAM*, p. 112, fig. 14.
- FIG. 488 Plan of Sin Temple 2; Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period: Delougaz, *Pre-Sargonid Temples*, pl. 2, *b*.
- FIG. 489 Reconstruction of the North End and Altar of the Sanctuary of Sin Temple 2; Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period: *ibid.*, fig. 10, p. 15.
- FIG. 490 Decorated Sherds; Level 11, Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period: *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. LXXIX, *b*.
- FIG. 491 Incised Jar Fragment; Level 9, Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period: published with permission of the American Schools of Oriental Research. Line drawing published in *ibid.*, pl. CXLVII, no. 428.
- FIG. 492 Painted Vase; Level 11, Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period: *ibid.*, pl. CXLVI, no. 408.
- FIG. 493 Painted Sherd; Level 11, Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period: *ibid.*, pl. CLII, no. 522.
- FIG. 494 Painted Vase; Level 10, Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period: *ibid.*, pl. CXLV, no. 398.
- FIG. 495 Painted Bowl with Modeled Figures; Level 9, Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period: published with permission of the American Schools of Oriental Research. Originally published in *ibid.*, pl. LXXX, *c*.
- FIG. 496 Incense Burner; Level 11, Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period: *ibid.*, pl. CXLVIII, no. 435.
- FIGS. 497-509 Stamp Seals and Impressions with Geometric Designs; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period:
 FIG. 497 *Ibid.*, pl. CLVIII, no. 7.
 FIG. 498 *Ibid.*, pl. CLIX, no. 20.
 FIG. 499 *Ibid.*, pl. CLIX, no. 22.
 FIG. 500 *Ibid.*, pl. CLIX, no. 30.
 FIG. 501 *Ibid.*, pl. CLX, no. 36.
 FIG. 502 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXI, no. 53.
 FIG. 503 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXI, no. 56.
 FIG. 504 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXI, no. 61.
 FIG. 505 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXII, no. 66.
 FIG. 506 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXI, no. 55.
 FIG. 507 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXI, no. 59.
 FIG. 508 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXII, no. 73.
 FIG. 509 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXII, no. 74.
- FIGS. 510-512 Stamp Seal and Impressions Picturing Single Human Figures; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period:
 FIG. 510 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXII, no. 77.
 FIG. 511 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXIII, no. 81.
 FIG. 512 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXIII, no. 85.
- FIGS. 513, 514 Seal Impressions with Erotic Designs; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period:
 FIG. 513 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXIII, no. 86.
 FIG. 514 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXIII, no. 87.
- FIGS. 515-517 Seal Impressions and Seal with Possible Cult References; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period:
 FIG. 515 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXIII, no. 89.
 FIG. 516 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXIV, no. 93.
 FIG. 517 *Ibid.*, pl. CVI, no. 39.
- FIG. 518 Seal Picturing Dancing Man and Animal; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period: *ibid.*, pl. CLXIV, no. 96.
- FIGS. 519-523 Seals and Impressions Picturing Single Animals; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period:
 FIG. 519 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXV, no. 113.

- FIG. 520 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXVI, no. 120.
 FIG. 521 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXVI, no. 127.
 FIG. 522 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXVI, no. 129.
 FIG. 523 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXVII, no. 135.
- FIGS. 524-530 Seal Impressions and Seal Picturing Animals in Pairs; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period:
 FIG. 524 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXVIII, no. 146.
 FIG. 525 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXVIII, no. 148.
 FIG. 526 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXVII, no. 142.
 FIG. 527 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXVIII, no. 153.
 FIG. 528 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXVII, no. 144.
 FIG. 529 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXVIII, no. 149.
 FIG. 530 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXVIII, no. 152.
- FIGS. 531-535 Seal Impressions Picturing Several Animals; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period:
 FIG. 531 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXVIII, no. 155.
 FIG. 532 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXIX, no. 158.
 FIG. 533 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXIX, no. 166.
 FIG. 534 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXIX, no. 165.
 FIG. 535 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXIX, no. 161.
- FIG. 536 Seal Impression Picturing Animals' Heads; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period: *ibid.*, pl. CLXIX, no. 168.
 FIG. 537 Seal Impression Picturing a Vulture Ready to Strike an Ibex; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period: *ibid.*, pl. CLXX, no. 175.
 FIG. 538 Seal Impression Picturing a Pair of Fish; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period: *ibid.*, pl. CLXX, no. 177.
 FIG. 539 Seal Impression Picturing Copulating Snakes; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period: *ibid.*, pl. CLXX, no. 178.
 FIG. 540 Seal Impression Picturing a Scorpion; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period: *ibid.*, pl. CLXX, no. 184.
 FIG. 541 Seal Impression Picturing Animals; Nineveh, Gawra Period: Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 (1933), pl. LXV, no. 33.
 FIG. 542 Stamp Seal Picturing Five Hinds Reclining amidst Trees and Shrubs; Brak, Gawra Period: Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), pl. XIX, no. 17.
 FIG. 543 Seal Impression with Rosette; Nuzi, Gawra Period: Starr, *Nuzi*, 2, pl. 55, o.
 FIG. 544 Cylinder Seal Picturing a Ritual Scene; Billa, Gawra Period: Andrae, *Die ionische Säule*, pl. IV, c.
 FIG. 545 Male Figurine; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period: *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. CLIII, no. 10.
- FIGS. 546, 547 Animal Figurines; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period:
 FIG. 546 *Ibid.*, pl. CLIV, no. 20.
 FIG. 547 *Ibid.*, pl. CLIV, no. 21.
- FIGS. 548-551 Beads and Pendants; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period:
 FIG. 548 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXXI, no. 11.
 FIG. 549 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXXII, no. 21.
 FIG. 550 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXXIV, no. 57.
 FIG. 551 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXXIV, no. 58.
- FIG. 552 Stone Pendant in the Form of an Acorn; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period: *ibid.*, pl. CLXXIV, no. 59.
 FIG. 553 Rosette; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period: *ibid.*, pl. CVI, no. 44.
- FIGS. 554, 555 Gold Rosettes; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period:
 FIG. 554 *Ibid.*, pl. CLXXV, no. 76.
 FIG. 555 *Ibid.*, pl. CVII, no. 53.
- FIG. 556 Gold Crescent; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period: *ibid.*, pl. CVIII, no. 61.
 FIG. 557 Ivory Pin; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period: published with permission of the American Schools of Oriental Research. Originally published in *ibid.*, pl. CV, no. 29.

- FIG. 558 Electrum Wolf's Head; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period: *ibid.*, pl. LIX, *b*.
- FIG. 559 Terra-cotta Spindle Whorls; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period: *ibid.*, pl. CLV, nos. 43-46.
- FIG. 560 Black Steatite Kohl Vases; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period: *ibid.*, pl. CLXXX, nos. 65, 66.
- FIG. 561 Stone "Eye" Symbols; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period: *ibid.*, pl. LII, *b*.
- FIG. 562 Double-horned Clay Object; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period: *ibid.*, pl. CLVII, no. 69.
- FIG. 563 Clay Object Surmounted by a Flattened Knob; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period: *ibid.*, pl. CLVII, no. 68.
- FIG. 564 Bone Tubes; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period: *ibid.*, pl. CLXXXII, nos. 6-10. Photographs reproduced with permission of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
- FIG. 565 Plan of Temple of Level 9, Tepe Gawra; Gawra Period: E. Bartow Muller and Charles Bache, "The Prehistoric Temple of Stratum IX at Tepe Gawra," *BASOR*, no. 54 (1934), fig. 9, p. 13.
- FIG. 566 Podium in the Central Room, Temple of Level 9, Tepe Gawra; Gawra Period: published with permission of the American Schools of Oriental Research. Originally published in *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. xxix, *a*.
- FIG. 567 Shrine above a Tomb in Level 10, Tepe Gawra; Gawra Period: *ibid.*, pl. III.
- FIG. 568 Ninevite 5 Painted Vase; Level 7, Billa: E. A. Speiser, "The Pottery of Tell Billa," *MJ*, 23 (1933), pl. XLVIII, no. 2.
- FIG. 569 Ninevite 5 Painted Vase; Nineveh: Hamilton in R. Campbell Thompson and Hamilton, "The British Museum Excavations on the Temple of Ishtar at Nineveh, 1930-31," *AAA*, 19 (1932), pl. LVII, no. 5.
- FIG. 570 Ninevite 5 Painted Vase; Nineveh: *ibid.*, pl. LIII, no. 5.
- FIG. 571 Ninevite 5 Painted Vase; Trial Trench at Level 7, Tepe Gawra: *Tepe Gawra*, 1, pl. xxix, *a*.
- FIG. 572 Ninevite 5 Painted Vase; Nineveh: Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 (1933), pl. LV, no. 2.
- FIG. 573 Ninevite 5 Painted Sherd; Nineveh: *ibid.*, pl. LVIII, no. 11.
- FIG. 574 Ninevite 5 Painted Sherd; Nineveh: Hamilton in *AAA*, 19 (1932), pl. LIX, no. 29(?).
- FIG. 575 Ninevite 5 Painted Vase; Nineveh: *ibid.*, pl. LIX, no. 25.
- FIG. 576 Ninevite 5 Painted Sherd; Nineveh: Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 (1933), pl. LVI, no. 10.
- FIG. 577 Ninevite 5 Painted Vase; Nineveh: Hamilton in *AAA*, 19 (1932), pl. LVI, no. 3.
- FIG. 578 Ninevite 5 Painted Vase; Level 7, Billa: Speiser in *MJ*, 23 (1933), pl. XLVIII, no. 1.
- FIG. 579 Ninevite 5 Painted Sherd; Nineveh: Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 (1933), pl. LVII, no. 20.
- FIG. 580 Ninevite 5 Painted Sherd; Nineveh: Hamilton in *AAA*, 19 (1932), pl. LIX, no. 12.
- FIG. 581 Ninevite 5 Painted Sherd; Nineveh: Hutchinson in R. Campbell Thompson and Hutchinson, "The Site of the Palace of Ashurnasirpal at Nineveh, Excavated in 1929-30 on behalf of the British Museum," *AAA*, 18 (1931), pl. xxxiii, no. 5.
- FIG. 582 Ninevite 5 Painted Sherd; Nineveh: Hamilton in *AAA*, 19 (1932), pl. LIX, no. 1.
- FIG. 583 Ninevite 5 Painted Sherd; Nineveh: *ibid.*, pl. LIX, no. 13.
- FIG. 584 Ninevite 5 Painted Sherd; Nineveh: *ibid.*, pl. LIX, no. 15.
- FIG. 585 Ninevite 5 Painted Sherds; Nineveh: *ibid.*, pl. LIX, nos. 18, 24.
- FIG. 586 Ninevite 5 Incised Sherd; Nineveh: Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 (1933), pl. LXII, no. 21.
- FIG. 587 Ninevite 5 Incised Vase; Yarimjah: *ibid.*, pl. LXIII, *b*.
- FIG. 588 Ninevite 5 Incised Sherd; Nineveh: *ibid.*, pl. LXIII, no. 1.
- FIG. 589 Ninevite 5 Incised Vase; Nineveh: Hamilton in *AAA*, 19 (1932), pl. LVIII, no. 16.
- FIG. 590 Ninevite 5 Incised Sherds; Level 6, Billa: Speiser in *MJ*, 23 (1933), pl. LXX.
- FIG. 591 Designs on Cylinder Seals and Seal Impressions; Nineveh, Ninevite Period: Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 (1933), pl. LXV, nos. 14-16, 19, 21-32, 34-36.
- FIG. 592 Designs on Seal Impressions; Nineveh, Ninevite Period: *ibid.*, pl. LXVI, nos. 3-26.
- FIG. 593 Cylinder Seal with Geometric Design; Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period: *Tepe Gawra*, 1, pl. LIX, no. 46.

FIGS. 594, 595 Stamp Seals with Geometric Designs; Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period:

FIG. 594 *Ibid.*, pl. LVI, no. 5.

FIG. 595 *Ibid.*, pl. LVI, no. 6.

FIGS. 596-604 Plaques and Seal Impressions Picturing Animals; Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period:

FIG. 596 *Ibid.*, pl. LVII, no. 27.

FIG. 597 *Ibid.*, pl. LVII, no. 29.

FIG. 598 *Ibid.*, pl. LVII, no. 23.

FIG. 599 *Ibid.*, pl. LVII, no. 30.

FIG. 600 *Ibid.*, pl. LVIII, no. 33.

FIG. 601 *Ibid.*, pl. LVII, no. 20.

FIG. 602 *Ibid.*, pl. LVIII, no. 34.

FIG. 603 *Ibid.*, pl. LVIII, no. 38.

FIG. 604 *Ibid.*, pl. LVI, no. 10.

FIGS. 605, 606 Seal Impressions Picturing Erotic Scenes; Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period:

FIG. 605 *Ibid.*, pl. LVIII, no. 40.

FIG. 606 *Ibid.*, pl. LV, *b*.

FIGS. 607, 608 Stamp Seals; Nuzi, Ninevite Period:

FIG. 607 Starr, *Nuzi*, 2, pl. 40, *c*.

FIG. 608 *Ibid.*, pl. 40, *y*.

FIG. 609 Cylinder Seals; Nuzi, Ninevite Period: *ibid.*, pl. 41, *c-f*.

FIGS. 610-614 Cylinder Seals; Brak, Ninevite Period:

FIG. 610 Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), pl. XXI, no. 2.

FIG. 611 *Ibid.*, pl. XXI, no. 4.

FIG. 612 *Ibid.*, pl. XXI, no. 18.

FIG. 613 *Ibid.*, pl. XXI, no. 6.

FIG. 614 *Ibid.*, pl. VII, no. 1, *b*.

FIGS. 615-617 Stamp Seals Resembling Southern Jemdet Nasr Seals; Brak, Ninevite Period:

FIG. 615 *Ibid.*, pl. XVI, no. 5.

FIG. 616 *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII, no. 13.

FIG. 617 *Ibid.*, pl. XX, no. 20.

FIGS. 618, 619 Stamp Seals Picturing Animals with Three or Five Legs; Brak, Ninevite Period:

FIG. 618 *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII, no. 7.

FIG. 619 *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII, no. 9.

FIGS. 620-622 Stamp Seals Picturing Animals in Different Arrangements; Brak, Ninevite Period:

FIG. 620 *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII, no. 21.

FIG. 621 *Ibid.*, pl. XIX, no. 12.

FIG. 622 *Ibid.*, pl. XIX, no. 6.

FIG. 623 Stamp Seal Picturing Two Fringed Triangles; Brak, Ninevite Period: *ibid.*, pl. XVIII, no. 1.

FIGS. 624-626 Stamp Seals with Geometric Designs; Brak, Ninevite Period:

FIG. 624 *Ibid.*, pl. XIX, no. 2.

FIG. 625 *Ibid.*, pl. XIX, no. 15.

FIG. 626 *Ibid.*, pl. XX, no. 28.

FIG. 627 Seal Impression Picturing a Hare; Shaghir Bazar, Ninevite Period: Mallowan, *Iraq*, 3 (1936), pl. 1, no. 9.

FIG. 628 Limestone Bead; Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period: *Tepe Gawra*, 1, pl. LXXXIII, no. 12.

FIGS. 629, 630 Toggle-pins; Shaghir Bazar, Ninevite Period:

FIG. 629 Mallowan, *Iraq*, 3 (1936), fig. 8, no. 2.

FIG. 630 Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), pl. XLII, no. 8.

FIG. 631 Faience and Glazed Steatite Beads; Brak, Ninevite Period: *ibid.*, pl. LXXXIV.

FIGS. 632-638 Pendants and Amulets; Tepe Gawra and Brak, Ninevite Period:

FIG. 632 *Tepe Gawra*, I, pl. LXXXIV, no. 6.FIG. 633 *Ibid.*, pl. LXXXIV, no. 16.FIG. 634 *Ibid.*, pl. LXXXIV, no. 3.FIG. 635 Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), pl. XX, no. 15.FIG. 636 *Tepe Gawra*, I, pl. LXXXIV, no. 17.FIG. 637 *Ibid.*, pl. LXXXIV, no. 18.FIG. 638 Published with permission of the American Schools of Oriental Research. Originally published in *ibid.*, pl. LIII, b, no. 5.

FIGS. 639, 640 Female Figurines; Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period:

FIG. 639 *Ibid.*, pl. LXXVII, no. 6.FIG. 640 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXII, no. 3.FIG. 641 Animal Figurines; Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period: *ibid.*, pl. XXXIV, c, nos. 6, 9, 10.

FIGS. 642-649 Amulets; Brak, Ninevite Period:

FIG. 642 Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), pl. XI, no. 3.FIG. 643 *Ibid.*, pl. X, no. 5.FIG. 644 *Ibid.*, pl. XI, no. 2, a.FIG. 645 *Ibid.*, pl. X, no. 2.FIG. 646 *Ibid.*, pl. XIII, no. 4, a.FIG. 647 *Ibid.*, pl. XVII, no. 1.FIG. 648 *Ibid.*, pl. XVII, nos. 25, 26.FIG. 649 *Ibid.*, pl. XVII, no. 27.FIG. 650 "Spectacle-topped Eye Symbol"; Brak, Ninevite Period: *ibid.*, pl. XXVI, nos. 11, 12.

FIGS. 651-660 "Eye" Symbols of "Standard" Type; Brak, Ninevite Period:

FIG. 651 *Ibid.*, pl. XXV, nos. 1-3.FIG. 652 *Ibid.*, pl. LI, no. 13.FIG. 653 *Ibid.*, pl. LI, no. 23.FIG. 654 *Ibid.*, p. 34, fig. 5.FIG. 655 *Ibid.*, pl. LI, no. 22.FIG. 656 *Ibid.*, pl. LI, no. 19.FIG. 657 *Ibid.*, pl. LI, nos. 35-39, 43-47.FIG. 658 *Ibid.*, pl. LI, no. 42.FIG. 659 *Ibid.*, pl. LI, no. 48.FIG. 660 *Ibid.*, pl. LI, nos. 40, 41.FIG. 661 "Eye" Symbol on Pedestal; purchased in Aleppo, of North Syrian provenance, in British Museum, Ninevite Period: *ibid.*, pl. XXVI, no. 1.FIG. 662 "Eye" Symbol on Pedestal; Brak, Ninevite Period: *ibid.*, pl. XXVI, no. 2.FIG. 663 "Eye" Symbol atop a Shrine; acquired by purchase for Berlin Museum, provenance unknown, Ninevite Period: Andrae, *Die ionische Säule*, pl. III, a.FIG. 664 Phallic Object of Gabbro; Eastern Temple, Level 8a, Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period: *Tepe Gawra*, I, pl. XLVI, b.FIG. 665 Mace Head of Red Sandstone; Brak, Ninevite Period: Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), pl. LII, no. 15.FIG. 666 Terra-cotta Cultic Object; Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period: *Tepe Gawra*, I, pl. XXVIII, a, no. 3.

FIGS. 667, 668 Double-horned Clay Objects; Brak and Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period:

FIG. 667 Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), pl. XXXIX, no. 2.FIG. 668 Ephraim A. Speiser, "Preliminary Excavations at Tepe Gawra," *AASOR*, 9 (1929), fig. 89.FIG. 669 Terra-cotta Model Chariots; Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period: *Tepe Gawra*, I, pl. XXXIV, c, nos. 1, 3, 4.FIG. 670 Terra-cotta Spindle Whorl; Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period: *ibid.*, pl. XXXVII, c, no. 5.

FIGS. 671-673 Terra-cotta Bobbins; Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period:

FIG. 671 *Ibid.*, pl. LXXIX, no. 11.FIG. 672 *Ibid.*, pl. LXXIX, no. 5.FIG. 673 *Ibid.*, pl. LXXIX, no. 7.

FIGS. 674-676 Sculptured Human Heads; Brak, Ninevite Period:

FIG. 674 Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), pl. 1, *b*.FIG. 675 *Ibid.*, pl. 11, no. 3, *a*.FIG. 676 *Ibid.*, pl. 11, nos. 1, 2.FIG. 677 Model Shoe; Brak, Ninevite Period: *ibid.*, pl. VIII, no. 6.FIG. 678 Lapis Lazuli Frog; Brak, Ninevite Period: *ibid.*, pl. IX, no. 1.FIG. 679 Black Limestone Bear; Brak, Ninevite Period: *ibid.*, pl. X, no. 10.FIG. 680 Plan of Eye-Temple, Brak; Ninevite Period: *ibid.*, pl. LVII.FIG. 681 Central Section of the Golden Frieze, Altar of Sanctuary, Eye-Temple, Brak; Ninevite Period: *ibid.*, pl. III.FIG. 682 Copper Paneling Impressed with Row of *Repoussé* Eyes; Eye-Temple, Brak, Ninevite Period: *ibid.*, pl. VII, no. 2.FIG. 683 Cones for Mural Decoration; Eye-Temple, Brak, Ninevite Period: *ibid.*, pl. XXX, nos. 9, 10, 11.FIG. 684 Stone Rosette; Eye-Temple, Brak, Ninevite Period: *ibid.*, pl. V, no. 3.FIG. 685 Terra-cotta Mural Plaque; Eye-Temple, Brak, Ninevite Period: *ibid.*, pl. XXX, no. 12.✓ FIG. 686 Stone Amulet against Lamashtu; Louvre, AO 2491: F. Thureau-Dangin, "Rituel et amulettes contre Labartu," *RA*, 18 (1921), pl. 1, no. 1.

FIGS. 687, 688 Cylinder Seals Picturing Incantations against Sickness:

FIG. 687 Bruno Meissner, "Neue Siegelzylinder mit Krankheitsbeschwörungen," *AfO*, 10 (1935-1936), 160, fig. 1.FIG. 688 Meissner, "Siegelzylinder mit Krankheitsbeschwörungen," *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft*, 8 (1934), 18, fig. 13.FIG. 689 Lapis Lazuli Seal of Marduk-zakir-shum; Esagila Temple of Marduk, Babylon: Robert Koldewey, *Die Tempel von Babylon und Borsippa*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 15 (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1911), fig. 74.FIG. 690 Lapis Lazuli Seal of Esarhaddon; Esagila Temple of Marduk, Babylon: *ibid.*, fig. 75.FIG. 691 Seal Impression on Clay Used as Jar Sealing; Babylon: Eckhard Unger, *Babylon* (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1931), pl. 26, no. 41.

FIG. 692 Fragmentary Cylinder Seal: Louvre, Delaporte, 2, pl. 93, no. 16 (A. 830).

FIG. 693 Fragmentary Cylinder Seal; Babylon, Berlin Museum: *VR*, fig. 600.

FIGS. 694-712 Cylinder Seals and Seal Impressions of the Third and Second Early Dynastic Periods:

FIG. 694 Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. XII, *c*.FIG. 695 *Ibid.*, pl. XIII, *a*.FIG. 696 *Ibid.*, pl. XII, *a*.FIG. 697 *VR*, fig. 145.FIG. 698 *MLC*, pl. XX, no. 126.FIG. 699 E. Douglas Van Buren, "An Investigation of a New Theory concerning the Bird-Man," *Orientalia*, N.S. 22 (1953), 49, fig. 4.FIG. 700 *Ibid.*, fig. 3.FIG. 701 L. Legrain, *Archaic Seal-Impressions*, Ur Excavations, 3 (Philadelphia, University Museum, 1936), pl. 51, no. 387 U. 18404.FIG. 702 Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. XV, *h*.FIG. 703 *Ibid.*, pl. XI, *h*.FIG. 704 *UE*, 2, pl. 197, no. 61 U. 11178.

- FIG. 705 Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. xiii, *h*.
- FIG. 706 Ibid., pl. xi, *m*.
- FIG. 707 Ibid., pl. xi, *d*.
- FIG. 708 Ibid., pl. xi, *l*.
- FIG. 709 Ibid., pl. xi, *j*.
- FIG. 710 Ibid., Text-fig. 28, p. 74.
- FIG. 711 *MLC*, pl. x, no. 61.
- FIG. 712 *DP*, 12, *d*.
- FIGS. 713-726 Cylinder Seals of the Akkad Period:
- FIG. 713 Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. xix, *e*.
- FIG. 714 Louvre, Delaporte, 2, pl. 71, no. 3 (A. 135).
- FIG. 715 Ibid., pl. 71, no. 9 (A. 141).
- FIG. 716 Ibid., pl. 71, no. 10 (A. 142).
- FIG. 717 BN, Delaporte, pl. vii, no. 68.
- FIG. 718 *MLC*, pl. xxix, no. 189.
- FIG. 719 Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. xviii, *k*.
- FIG. 720 Ibid., pl. xix, *a*.
- FIG. 721 *MLC*, pl. xxxvii, no. 236.
- FIG. 722 Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. xxiii, *c*.
- FIG. 723 *MLC*, pl. xxxi, no. 201.
- FIG. 724 Ibid., pl. xxx, no. 195.
- FIG. 725 Ibid., pl. xxx, no. 198.
- FIG. 726 C. J. Ball, "Glimpses of Babylonian Religion," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 14 (1892), pl. following p. 162, fig. 1.
- FIG. 727 Late Polychrome Jemdet Nasr Vase, profile view; No. 6093 of the Nies Babylonian Collection: published with permission of the Yale Babylonian Collection (see also Frontispiece). Drawing by E. P. Sullivan.
- FIG. 728 Same Jemdet Nasr Vase as Fig. 727, viewed from above. Drawing by E. P. Sullivan.

INTRODUCTION

This book is a study of symbolism as it relates to the history of religion, and is intended primarily for the use of historians of religion. For example, although the book makes use of archaeological materials, it does not attempt to report artifacts from excavations when they have no bearing on the question of symbolism, nor does it consider the shapes of pottery unless they seem to have been significant to the potter. On the other hand, it occasionally goes into detail that is not needed by the professional archaeologist in the field. Because my conclusions depend upon an adequate perspective toward a large body of material published in a wide variety of both English and foreign-language books and journals, material well known to the specialist but to him alone since the details have never been assembled, I am here presenting a survey of what of it is pertinent.

Concerned primarily with the period before there were written texts, the book is not written for the philologist. In the two concluding chapters, however, I have turned to the texts of later periods to ensure that the religious ideas which seem to me to appear in the Prehistoric Period are not more highly developed than the situation in later periods warrants. While I have made my own independent translation of a few texts, usually I have relied on the best published translations I have been able to find. In some cases I have been exceedingly fortunate to have the assistance of Professor Ferris J. Stephens of Yale. The knowledge of Sumerian and Akkadian, however, has not yet progressed to a point where scholars easily agree in the reading of texts, and the translations I present, like all translations I can find, serve simply for working convenience.

The book is also not written for the psychologist. I am not attempting to use his methods of analysis, nor am I presenting the materials in the way which might seem best to him. If, however, the art forms here assembled seem to some people a useful collection of source materials for the psychological patterns of this group of ancient people I shall be gratified.

As this investigation developed, five principles emerged which seem to me essential for a study of the significance of any symbol in any period. One must:

1. determine the dominant forms as against the relatively incidental;
2. investigate the interrelationship of these forms;
3. emphasize those forms which became a popular style;
4. examine especially the ways in which reality is distorted when a design is representational;
5. utilize the greatest circumspection in drawing inferences about early periods from knowledge about later periods.

My primary purpose in presenting so large a survey of the art forms of prehistoric Mesopotamia is based upon the first two principles: that is, *in a given period one should know what are the dominant forms as against the relatively incidental; and one must look for the interrelationship of these forms.* The book thus attempts to present a new method of studying symbolism which I have called the horizontal method, in contrast to the usual method, which I have called the vertical method. This distinction must be explained.

Ordinarily research in art symbols concentrates on separate symbols, one at a time, and traces the use of each through a series of cultures in different times and places. This may be called the vertical method of investigation. Such research is perforce selective, and it is difficult to observe by this method the relationship between symbols. For example, scholars have frequently seen implications of fertility or "life" in many of the symbols of prehistoric Mesopotamia. That these symbols often had at the same time the opposite implication of aggression or "death" has not always been recognized. When one selects materials over too wide a cultural and temporal area it is easy to miss such seeming contradictions. Yet the truth of such a paradoxical situation becomes evident as symbols are seen side by side in a single context; and the implications of this paradox are considered in this study. Thus we may say that, to evaluate the role of any symbol in a culture, a broad base of understanding of that particular culture needs to be created. The symbol needs to be seen in its own historical setting.

The horizontal method of investigation attempts exactly that task. That is, it studies all the symbols used in a given culture in a limited time. Specifically, in this book I have confined myself geographically to Mesopotamia and temporally to the Prehistoric Period. When I say Mesopotamia I am speaking in general terms, for I include also sites in northern Syria in the region of the Khabur. For the most part I do not include the contemporary material from Iran.

Since there were undoubtedly Iranian influences upon Mesopotamian culture in the Prehistoric Period my book may suffer from the omission of this material. Similar problems arise with increased force in attempting to apply the horizontal method of investigation to later periods where the influences of neighboring cultures are much more widespread. Yet the investigator is always compelled to impose limits which are physically possible while standing guard against possible errors due to these limits.

Within the field of Near Eastern symbolism it is impossible for one person to give a comprehensive survey of the art of each of the related cultures in their long historical development. Although it would be ideally desirable to broaden the base of this investigation, the narrower limits of this book, or indeed of other books which may seek to use this horizontal method, have justification. When designs are utilized in a culture with such frequency that they become a popular style, it is clear that they have been taken over not simply because they had prestige as coming from outside. They are retained because they meet the current needs of the people of the borrowing country. It is legitimate, then, to study them in whatever area they appear as factors which people have made their own. The results of an investigation of one country alone might be different from the results of

an investigation of these materials in another country, or perhaps they would be the same. I suspect that in certain ways they would be the same and in certain ways different. But it seems to me important to attempt to determine the values of symbols in a single culture, and then, if time permits, to compare results with the values in another culture.

I have said that an investigation of given symbols as used in one country may reveal certain similarities with their use in other countries with which they have had contact, but may reveal differences in other respects. This view rests upon the observations first made by Erwin R. Goodenough in his research on Jewish art. He discovered that there was continuity in the role of symbols in the emotional lives of people in different countries and at different periods of time, yet the explanations which people attached to the symbols varied markedly. For example, when the Dionysiac symbols of grapes, vine, wine, cup, and putti in the vine were taken over by Christians as well as by Jews for use on churches, synagogues, and sarcophagi, neither adopted, Goodenough believes, the rituals and myths of the cult of Dionysos. But as the Greeks found the wine a redeeming fluid, so the others used it in their own ritual. The grapes, the vine, and the cup all suggested means of gaining life, by whatever pertinent words each religion conveyed this message to its own believers. And the putti in the vine were beings who assisted the soul to the source of life (psychopomps), whether or not each religion found heroes in the myths and tales of its own people whose names could be attached to the putti for added reassurance. Thus Goodenough discovered that later people were employing the same symbols as the Greeks, but they were doing so without worshiping the gods venerated by the Greeks when they utilized the art forms. He adopted the term "value" to denote the continuing emotional impact of the symbols, which he believes persisted no matter what the different verbal explanations or myths. He uses this term without the ethical connotations which it has in the works of many philosophers, and it will be used in the same way throughout this book.

I have emphasized *the importance of studying those forms which became a popular style*, the third principle on which this investigation is based. As a result, I pay great attention not to the most beautiful pieces of art but to the designs which by repetition often seem commonplace and mediocre. Thus this method stands in contrast to that used by most art historians. The importance of studying the mediocre if it represents a popular style rests upon the belief that although in some instances people may have utilized a particular design merely because it represented a current fad, in general it is true that a design will not continue to be popular unless there is emotional power in it for many people. While I am speaking here of recurring art symbols, anthropologists who have studied cultural diffusion and social imitation have concluded that social customs are copied and retained when they meet some kind of biological or emotional need.¹

The fourth principle essential to this method has been formulated thus: *When a design is representational it should be examined especially for ways in which reality is distorted,*

1. Neal E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1941), pp. 255-73.

since the distortion seems evidence of something significant to the artist. This important clue to the significance of symbols was suggested by Erich Fromm's *The Forgotten Language*. In discussing how we create symbols in our dreams and daydreams, he pointed out that we pass over the space-time categories within which we operate in dealing with reality.² These divergences from actuality assist in expressing a central idea or emotion. Yet to concentrate on the way in which reality is distorted is just the opposite of the usual method of studying the art of antiquity. Ordinarily scholars confine themselves to seeking clues to the culture of early periods in the details that are given in representational art. I would not suggest that this method is wrong. It should be supplemented by recognizing that often early artists did not endeavor to picture the life of their time; instead, they deliberately introduced unrealistic features that are important for an understanding of early religion.

The fifth principle suggests that *the greatest circumspection should be used in drawing inferences about early periods from knowledge about later periods*. The primary source of information about a culture comes from the material produced by that culture. Only when there is clear evidence of continuity from one period to another are we justified in seeking interpretations of early cultures from later periods. I applied this principle to the question whether it is justifiable to use the Sumerian mythological texts and epic tales for an interpretation of the Prehistoric Period. After careful study of these texts, which were put in written form only eight or nine hundred years after the end of the Prehistoric Period, I decided they could not form the basis for judging the meaning of the culture of the Prehistoric Period, because the artifacts of this period gave no evidence that mythology was a dominant factor in the earliest culture. On the other hand, I turned to ritual texts of later periods because they do give interpretation of the same kind of amulets as had been found in very early cultures and which persisted in later periods. Furthermore, I examined the periods immediately following the Prehistoric Period to make sure that I had not posited a higher stage of culture for early times than the next periods warranted. I found that there was a development in religious ideas from a primitive stage in the Prehistoric Period to a higher but still anthropocentric form in the Early Dynastic Period and to a form where theological thinking was commencing in the Akkad Period.

Among the results of this research, the following are particularly important:

1. We must begin with the facts, and never get too far from them. The facts of the Prehistoric Period are simply the artifacts with their symbolic forms. Undoubtedly the people who made them told myths; but those myths we do not have, and it is extremely dangerous to substitute for them the myths which appear in writing for the first time three quarters of a millennium later. If we cannot explain the forms out of themselves, then we must leave them unexplained. History records too many cases of symbols becoming associated through the ages with deities for us to have any confidence that a later association gives an earlier meaning.

2. Erich Fromm, *The Forgotten Language* (New York, Rinehart, 1951), pp. 28-30.

2. There are three levels in the development of a symbol: a. the level where a symbol is used only because it is reassuring and there may be no explanation in words; b. the level where a symbol is accompanied by a simple explanation, but the same explanation may be attached to a great variety of symbols; c. the level where a symbol is accompanied by a more elaborate explanation which may take the form of a myth.

3. Geometric art is often in some sense symbolic.

4. The symbols have two essential functions: They are used as a means of reassurance; at the same time, they often give expression to feelings of aggression. When so used the symbols sometimes give relief but do no harm. They are sometimes used, however, as direct aggression in black magic, which seems at least in later times to have been disapproved by many people.

However far removed in time and place this study on prehistoric Mesopotamia may seem from Palestine in the Iron Age, this book is an outgrowth of my research in the religion of Palestine during the period when the Old Testament was written. In 1935 I came to Yale to help Erwin R. Goodenough in his research on Jewish art, which will culminate in eleven volumes entitled *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman World*. At first it seemed to him that it was only after the Jews had become acquainted with Greek culture that they began to use art as significant in their religion. As time went on, however, it became clear to both of us that the seals, figurines, amulets, stamped jar handles, altars, and coins which were earlier than the Greek Period presupposed some use of art by certain groups of Jews during the period when the Old Testament was being written. This was particularly true in the case of seals where the names of the owners were unquestionably Jewish. The stamped jar handles and coins supported the idea that it was not just the "lunatic fringe" but even leaders among the Jews who were using art during the pre-Greek Period in Palestine. When the emphatic denunciations against the images of Jeroboam were considered this idea seemed to be confirmed. Goodenough decided to limit his book to the Jews of the Greek and Roman Periods. I started to study the art of the earlier periods to see what new light it would throw on Israelite religion. The present book is an outgrowth of that primary task; for as I studied the symbols which the Jews of the Old Testament Period were using, I felt the need of understanding the symbols used by their neighbors. Little by little the method I have outlined above took form. I hope that in later books I may test this method in a study of other cultures which were exerting an influence upon the Israelites.

When I had completed this book I tried to make a chronological chart for the Pre-historic Period in Mesopotamia, since the names which specialists give to the various "periods" are so generally unfamiliar. However, it seemed useless to make a chronological chart in which every date had to be indicated simply by a question mark, since, while the relative dating of these periods is known, their actual dates B.C. are not known at all. The periods occurred in the order in which I have discussed them, except for the fact that the Gawra and Ninevite Periods are approximately contemporary with the Uruk and

Jemdet Nasr Periods; and their names will be found in procession in the Table of Contents. The material I am discussing presumably begins in the early seventh millennium B.C. and stops at about 3000 B.C.³ The names come from the places where artifacts of these periods were first discovered, and have no temporal significance in themselves.

Because I am writing for readers who are not necessarily specialists in the Sumerian and Akkadian languages I am avoiding the use of diacritical marks as far as possible by the use of "sh" for š, by placing no hook under the "h," and by the omission of marks for long vowels. In view of the diversity of methods which scholars use, I have decided to place both Sumerian and Akkadian phrases in italics and to use small capitals for names of signs which I wish to discuss or of whose reading I am in doubt. It was not possible to consider those scholarly publications which have appeared since 1960.

Those who have written books will readily appreciate how impossible it is to express my indebtedness to all who have contributed to the thinking of this book. Some people, however, stand out as worthy of special mention.

There are three whose importance to this study is particularly great: Erwin R. Goodenough and Ferris J. Stephens of Yale, and Moses Bailey of the Hartford Seminary Foundation. It was a privilege to see the initial stages of Goodenough's work on Jewish symbols and to learn his method as he himself evolved it. The present book by no means follows all his patterns; and he is not responsible for any of the views expressed herein; but I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to him. My debt to Ferris J. Stephens is overwhelming. When I started the book as an amateur in the field of Mesopotamian archaeology and in the languages of the country he helped me with Sumerian and Akkadian and with specific texts, and has been a never-failing resource in the midst of the multiple problems of this task. Though not as near at hand as the others, Professor Bailey has also been a tower of strength throughout the writing of this book. The stimulus I got from his classroom thirty years ago and the subsequent steady encouragement he offered through my graduate training and the years of professional work are the foundations for this study. I am indebted to him also for many specific suggestions. He has read the whole manuscript and has given me the benefit of his keen insight and scholarly judgment.

In the fall of 1957, when plans were taking shape for publication of this book, an opportunity arose to spend the winter in archaeological research in the Middle East. Thus I was able to be in Iraq during January and February of 1958. I am greatly indebted to the Department of Antiquities, under the direction of Naji al Asil, and to his staff for graciously making available to me all the facilities at their disposal. For two weeks in January I visited the Joint Expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and the American Schools of Oriental Research to Nippur. Richard C. Haines, the Director of

3. In "Near Eastern Prehistory," *Science*, 127 (1958), 1424-26, Robert J. Braidwood, on the basis of radiocarbon tests, gave it as his judgment that the early village site of Jarmo should be dated at from 7000 to 6500 B.C. The village farming communities of Hassunah and Ma-

tarrah probably were between 500 and 1000 years later, or approximately 5750 B.C. Cf. Robert J. Braidwood and Linda S. Braidwood, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch, 1: The Earlier Assemblages, Phases A-J*, OIP, 61 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1960), 504.

the expedition, Vaughn E. Crawford, the Director of the American School in Baghdad, and the members of their staff were most kind in welcoming me and explaining the results of the excavations. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Heinrich J. Lenzen and the staff of the Deutsches archäologisches Institut. They entertained me for a month at their excavations in Warka, and during all the time I was in Baghdad placed a room in the Institut at my disposal. With unfailing generosity Professor Lenzen devoted his time and knowledge to assisting me in my research. Through the kindness of Professor and Mrs. Robert M. Adams and their staff I was also permitted to visit the survey and excavations in progress in the Diyala Region under the auspices of the Oriental Institute and the Department of Antiquities.

There are many other people to whom my gratitude is great. Vaughn E. Crawford has always been ready to give me the benefit of his excellent judgment on scholarly problems. Stephen Simmons most kindly checked the translations of cuneiform texts used in Chapter 9, and read critically Chapter 10. Alice M. White of the Institute for Human Relations at Yale has advised me on matters of anthropology and psychology. Albrecht Goetze, Briggs W. Buchanan, Marvin Pope, William W. Hallo, Harald Ingholt, and Ann L. Perkins have been exceedingly helpful in answering many questions. I would also thank E. A. Speiser, Edith Porada, Irene Feltman, and Ford L. Battles for many suggestions. I would also express my appreciation to the editors of the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* for giving me permission to republish as Chapter 9 of this book the article that first appeared in vol. 19 (1956), 1-39 of their *Journal* under the title, "The Rôle of Amulets in Mesopotamian Ritual Texts."

This book would not have been possible apart from the cooperation of Yale University, which has made its facilities so readily available for my work. I cannot speak my appreciation warmly enough to those on the Yale faculty, and to the staffs of the Sterling Memorial Library and of the Yale University Press who have been exceedingly helpful to me; I should like especially to thank David Horne and Edward T. McClellan, the editors of this book. Finally I would express a most sincere feeling of gratitude to the Bollingen foundation for their very generous support.

Beatrice L. Goff
Yale University, 1960

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CHAPTER 1

The Hassunah Period

The Hassunah Period, so named from the principal site where evidence for its existence has been found, contains the earliest extensive collection of ornamented artifacts in Mesopotamia. It was confined to northern Mesopotamia, but was widespread there. Its clearest affinities were with the West, Syro-Cilicia.¹ This chapter will consider the question whether any of the designs of the art of this period had symbolic significance, and if so, what that significance may have been. To answer these questions it is first of all necessary to acquire a perspective on the habits of the period under discussion. The forms which were popular in this period must be determined, and the aims of the artists must be observed.

CHARACTER OF THE ART

The Hassunah Period was a time when stylized forms were the rule.

Pottery

On the pottery called Archaic Painted Ware and Hassunah Standard Wares the only attempt at using representational designs was the development of a "sprig" pattern (fig. 1), which may have been an attempt to represent a branch or tree. All other patterns were exclusively geometric.

On the outside of shallow bowls of the Archaic Painted Ware (fig. 2) the designs are usually set in deep bands beneath the rim, and consist of groups of oblique lines opposed to each other in what has been called an "overlapping-chevron pattern."² The inside of some of them also is painted with similar designs, or with crossed bands of cross-hatching. The necks of some vases are painted either solid or with a continuous band of interlocking triangles, filled with hatching, at right angles to each other.³ On the shoulders there are sometimes crosshatched triangles or a band of chevrons stacked one within the other, the spaces between the groups filled with similar chevrons in reverse position. In the free spaces occasionally are set smears of paint.⁴

1. Seton Lloyd and Fuad Safar, with prefatory remarks by Robert J. Braidwood, "Tell Hassuna," *JNES*, 4 (1945), 255-89, especially 261-66. See also Braidwood and Braidwood, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch*, 1,

46-99, 499-507.

2. Cf. Lloyd and Safar, pl. xiv, no. 2.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 278 f.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

The vases called Hassunah Standard Wares show three techniques of decoration. Some were incised, some painted, and on some a combination of painting and incision was used. On the incised jars (fig. 3) very commonly rows of the herringbone pattern were drawn, either vertically or horizontally,⁵ starting at the neck or the rim and extending down for some distance over the body. Crosshatched or hatched triangles sometimes were set rather irregularly around the body of the vase. On the Standard Painted Ware (fig. 4),⁶ which was a development out of the Archaic, overlapping chevrons are still the most common type of decoration, but there is a wider variety of patterns. The necks often were painted solid, or with crosshatching, or with groups of opposed oblique lines. Rows of chevrons or triangles, sometimes filled with crosshatching, sometimes painted solidly, were often placed on the shoulder. Again smears of paint frequently appear in free spaces between the triangles. On the shallow bowls of Painted-and-Incised Ware, while herringbone ornament is incised beneath the rim outside, paint decorates the rim inside. On the outside of tall-sided carinated bowls, a crosshatched painted band was placed beneath the rim and another painted band at the carination. Between the two bands were sometimes set point-scratched herringbone designs or reversing triangles of solid paint and incised hatching. Sometimes the decoration consisted of "alternate bands of incised hatching and reserved lozenges on a painted ground" (fig. 5).⁷

Apart from the few examples of the "sprig" pattern, geometric ornament alone is found on all these different types of pottery, and crosses, triangles, lozenges, and cross-hatching, in many though simple combinations, emerge as prominent motifs. Closely related to the triangle designs are chevrons and the herringbone pattern. There are zigzags and bands of wavy lines similar to zigzags.

Samarran Ware, which may have been a luxury ware within the same tradition,⁸ is also decorated with exclusively stylized patterns. Many vases utilize geometric designs alone, most commonly small patterns in a series of enclosed bands. Metopes are rare. The bands are skillfully arranged one above the other in planned patterns, often conveying a sense of movement. Sometimes there is a series of identical bands one above the other (fig. 6). At other times contrast seems intended. Thus a series of triangles arranged to point in one direction is set over against a series of wavy lines whose movement tends in the opposite direction (fig. 7). Or two horizontal bands of step designs may frame a series of steps set diagonally (fig. 8). Occasionally pots have a single broad band of decoration, usually set around the outside, but this is not common. On a few pots such bands are accompanied by other, narrow bands.

The motifs of the native pottery of Hassunah are prominent on this Samarran Ware, and they appear in more complex patterns. There are crosses (fig. 9),⁹ triangles (fig. 10),¹⁰

5. *Ibid.*, fig. 15, nos. 2-6, 8-12.

6. *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 279 f.

7. *Cf. ibid.*, figs. 13, 14 and p. 280.

8. Robert J. Braidwood et al., "Matarrah, a Southern Variant of the Hassunan Assemblage, Excavated in 1948," *JNES*, 11 (1952), 65 f.

9. *Cf.* Robert J. Braidwood et al., "New Chalcolithic Material of Samarran Type and Its Implications," *JNES*, 3 (1944), A Repertoire of the Available Motifs in the Samarran Painted Style, nos. 26, 140, 165-68, 172.

10. *Cf. ibid.*, nos. 19, 63, 66, 76.

squares (fig. 11),¹¹ lozenges (fig. 12),¹² crosshatching (fig. 13),¹³ as well as bands of horizontal, vertical, slanting, or wavy lines (figs. 14, 15, 16).

These motifs combine so that other forms emerge. Closely related to the triangles are chevrons (fig. 17),¹⁴ the herringbone pattern (fig. 18),¹⁵ and zigzags (fig. 19),¹⁶ which are extremely common. As the artists experimented with arrangements of triangles they achieved a form in which the apex of one is set against the base of the next (fig. 20),¹⁷ or in which two triangles, set point to point, are arranged in a band, each pair set at right angles to the next (fig. 21). From manipulating squares they got meanders (fig. 22).¹⁸ Closely related to the latter are step designs (fig. 23).¹⁹ From an arrangement of squares or rectangles they created a form of the cross (fig. 24). Whether it was a cross or a rosette which was uppermost in the mind of the artist seems unclear in such a form as is shown in fig. 25.²⁰ Often lozenges or triangles, zigzags, and straight or wavy lines combine in a design which has been called the "fringe" pattern (figs. 26, 27). That this was not an imitation of some article of clothing, but primarily an interesting geometric figure, seems clear, since the wavy lines which in the last examples were vertical often are set in continuous horizontal bands (fig. 28).²¹ Sometimes rows of lines or single lines are crossed by short lines in a variant of the "fringe" pattern (fig. 29).²² The interrelationship of crosses, triangles, rosettes, and stars becomes still more apparent in figs. 30²³ and 31.²⁴

From such intermingling of forms it becomes clear that no form per se stood out in the minds of the artists. The forms are related to each other so that often it is impossible to tell where one element stops and another begins.

Samarran Ware is not confined to geometric ornament. There are some representational motifs, which so far have been discovered only on deep plates (*Schüsseln*). These representational designs are not naturalistic. They are highly stylized, conformed to the geometric patterns with which they are combined.

The most striking of these representational designs is apparently intended to suggest a female figure. Such figures have been found on fragments of three plates from Samarra. They have prominent hips, narrow waists, and streaming hair. Their heads are scarcely recognizable, and all of them have outstretched arms and hands of only three fingers.²⁵ The first two of these plates have been reconstructed as in figs. 32 and 33. In both these plates the female figures are set at right angles to each other so that their bodies form a cross. Their streaming hair, however, converts the crosses into swastikas. Around the outside of fig. 33 are eight scorpions. The streaming hair of the women and the feet and tails of the scorpions, which follow closely upon each other, create a vivid impression of

11. Cf. *ibid.*, no. 151.

12. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 69, 152, 153.

13. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 113, 121.

14. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 48, 52.

15. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 47, 51.

16. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 50, 75, 76, 82-90, 99, 100, 143-148,

203, 204, 225, 226, 247, 254.

17. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 162, 178.

18. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 130, 138.

19. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 124-26.

20. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 141, 157-161, 164.

21. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 199, 202, 204.

22. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 11, 12, 15.

23. Cf. *ibid.*, no. 290.

24. Cf. *ibid.*, no. 293.

25. Ernst Herzfeld (*Die vorgeschichtlichen Töpfer-eien von Samarra, Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra*, 5 [Berlin, Reimer (Vohsen), 1930], 11) notes that the same impressionistic three-fingered hands are found on objects from Iran.

movement and vitality.²⁶ The third plate (fig. 34)²⁷ has not four but six similar female figures, arranged with heads converging in the center. Around them are six scorpions, whose tails curl, almost touching the right feet of the women, thereby preserving the unity and movement of the composition. A third zone surrounds these first two, but not enough has been preserved for description.

Miss Perkins called these female figures "women with flowing hair."²⁸ Possibly more suggestive of the mood of the design is Herzfeld's phrase, "human-shaped demons,"²⁹ for the headless creatures with streaming hair create an impression of frenzied, insane movement, as in a dance or in the fury of a storm.

Some elements of the design on these plates are retained on other sherds from Samarra, while significant details are added. In the center of fig. 35³⁰ there are no female figures, but the geometric figure of a swastika. Its arms end in three fingers, as did the arms of the "demons."³¹ Clearly, then, the three fingers of the "demons" were not accidental, but an intentional deviation from the normal on the part of the prehistoric artist. Radiating from the central swastika are five pairs of wavy lines. In the interstices between these lines are five scorpions. Another row of ornament once was outside these figures, but not enough has been preserved for identification. Around the outside of this plate was probably a row of four-petaled rosettes. In one place between the wavy lines and scorpions is a mark not readily identified, called by Herzfeld a potter's mark, "the head and forelegs of an animal."

In fig. 36 a swastika again is at the center of the plate, but around it are four water birds with long necks and wings but with short legs.³² The wings of each bird create the same feeling in the design as the wavy lines radiating from the swastika on the last example. Herzfeld thought that the wavy lines on fig. 35 resembled "Sumerian and Babylonian representations of lightning bolts or light beams."³³ Perhaps both the wavy lines and the birds are solar symbols. Each bird holds in its beak a fish, and eight fish follow each other in a circle around the outside of the design.³⁴ It is probably no accident that so prominent a place is given to the swallowing of one creature by another, a theme recurring later in many variations.

Fig. 37 shows a fragment of a large plate whose center is lacking, but on the remainder of the plate water birds swallowing fish are the main motif, again with fish swimming in a circle around the outside. On the rim of the plate is a row of triangles, and between them and the fish are three zigzag lines.

26. *CAM*, p. 7, and Leslie (*JNES*, 11 [1952], 61-63) stress the movement and the dynamic qualities of Samarran design, in contrast to Miss Tulane (*JNES*, 3 [1944], 58), who considers it static.

27. Cf. Herzfeld, p. 12.

28. *CAM*, p. 7.

29. Herzfeld, p. 11.

30. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 12 f.

31. Very like this are the swastikas of *ibid.*, pp. 16, fig. 12, and 53, fig. 105.

32. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 14. Water birds and "light beams," water birds and snakes are probably motifs on two frag-

mentary plates: *ibid.*, pp. 15 f., fig. 9; p. 15, fig. 8. Water birds without the long wings appear on *ibid.*, pp. 15 f., figs. 10, 11; p. 60, fig. 125. A similar plate was found at Baghouz. Here five birds with wings very like those on the plate from Samarra are placed in a circle around a central sun or star: Du Mesnil du Buisson, *Baghouz* (Leiden, Brill, 1948), pl. xxiv.

33. Herzfeld, pp. 12 f.

34. Representational designs appeared on five sherds from Matarrah: *JNES*, 11 (1952), fig. 12, no. 5; pl. VII, nos. 16-18, 20. A water bird swallowing a fish may appear on pl. VII, no. 18.

A group of plates uses quadrupeds for their main decoration. On one plate (fig. 38)³⁵ two animals with triangular heads are sketched opposite each other. They have goats' horns and tails ending in three strokes. They face in opposite directions, but are so closely bound together that the legs of one are used as the legs of the other. Four lines, crossed by many short lines, the same form of the "fringe" pattern which was employed for the horns of the animals, are placed obliquely around the principal design. Possibly they serve merely for filling, but, as on the plates with the female "demons," the artist seems to have devised a way to convey movement along with unity. Around the edge inside is a double row of meanders within whose smaller intervals are triangles, and within the larger, four-petaled rosettes. Around the edge outside runs a pair of parallel zigzag lines.

A similar design appears on the plate in fig. 39, where the branching horns seem intended to suggest stags. Again the artist ties the two animals together by using the legs of one for the other. The tail, though not ending in three strokes, is unnaturally long. The filling motif around this central design no longer consists of simple lines. Herzfeld reconstructed it as a series of seven-branched trees.³⁶ The antlers of the stags also are very like trees. On another plate the center consists of a tree of nine branches.³⁷

Horned quadrupeds whose bodies are shaped like triangles pursue each other in a circle on another group of plates. Especially interesting is fig. 40,³⁸ in which two such animals face in opposite directions, their bodies forming the design of triangles set point to point, familiar in purely geometric decoration. Their long tails, like those of fig. 38, end in three strokes. In the mouth of each animal is what was intended probably for a snake.³⁹ So again the artist portrays one creature devouring another. In the field are indeterminate potters' marks. In fig. 41, four similar animals, but without the snakes, are arranged in a form often called the Maltese square.⁴⁰ The center is a square made up of smaller squares. At each corner are triangles which are formed by the bodies of animals, these in turn made up of smaller triangles. Triangles very much like the ones which form the bodies of the animals on the plate shown in fig. 41 appear abstractly on the shoulder of another vase from Samarra.⁴¹

A unique jar of Samarran Ware appeared in Level 5 at Hassunah. It has a tall neck, and on its sides, partly painted, and partly in relief, is a schematized human face (fig. 42).⁴² The hair is the familiar zigzag. There are lines on the cheeks and chin which to the excavators suggested tattooing. Two rows of pendent triangles border the base of the neck. This is another example of the popularity of geometric designs even in drawing representational motifs.

From Samarra itself came a fragment of what has been called a "brazier" (fig. 43). Pro-

35. Cf. Herzfeld, pp. 17 f., fig. 15, and pl. ix, no. 15.

36. Sherds where trees (sometimes seven-branched) are the only surviving ornament are *ibid.*, pp. 25 f., figs. 34, 35, 36.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 19, fig. 18. Other variants of this animal design are found in pl. xi, no. 19, pp. 19 f.; and on p. 20, figs. 20, 21.

38. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 20.

39. Fragments of plates with this same figure of a

snake are shown in *ibid.*, p. 24, figs. 30, 31, 32.

40. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. ix, no. 23. For similar plates, see pl. xii, no. 24, and p. 21, where on the neck of each animal is a wavy line which, Herzfeld says, resembles the flying streamers of hunting animals in Sassanid times, and also pp. 21-23, figs. 25, 26, 27; p. 53, figs. 106, 107.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 72, fig. 158.

42. Cf. *JNES*, 4 (1945), pl. xvii, no. 2 and p. 281.

fessor Goetze has called to my attention that the principal design upon it may be an attempt to picture an eagle, and thus be an anticipation of the later Imdugud design. It, too, maintains a highly abstract form.

A "sprig" pattern has been noted on the native Hassunah Ware, and trees of seven or nine branches on Samarran Ware. From Arpachiyah came sherds with plant designs which Mallowan thought were of Samarran Ware. The design of fig. 44⁴³ seemed to him especially interesting since it represents a palm, whereas Arpachiyah is too far north for such trees or shrubs. On fig. 45, a plant design is drawn into the circle of rosette motifs. The interrelationship of the symbols becomes increasingly evident.

One exception to the stylized forms of the period appeared in Halaf. On the edge of a clay pot is a nude female figure molded in high relief (fig. 46).⁴⁴

Figurines and Miscellaneous Objects

Stylized forms were equally consistent in the figurines and miscellaneous objects from the earliest levels in Mesopotamia.

In pre-pottery sites east of Kirkuk the earliest use of ornament was found. It consisted of unbaked clay figurines so crude that it was impossible to determine what they were intended to represent (fig. 47).⁴⁵ From Jarmo, in levels which were somewhat later but which still predominantly preceded the introduction of pottery, other clay figurines were found. Most of these were of animals (fig. 48); there were some of human heads (fig. 49) and female figures (fig. 50).⁴⁶ Braidwood pointed out⁴⁷ that the figurine at the left in fig. 50 curiously is represented as pregnant, though no attention is paid to the breasts or the head. Bone and stone beads also were found there (fig. 51). An outstanding discovery was a stamp seal on whose face is incised a spiral motif (fig. 52). So far as I know, this design does not appear again in Mesopotamian ornament until the Ubaid Period, and then only on a few isolated sherds in Tepe Gawra. A few stone figurines and one stone phallus were discovered.⁴⁸ In Ali Agha, where a culture appeared reminiscent of Jarmo but probably somewhat later, two bone beads and several cylindrical beads were found in excavations. There were fragments of five human figurines, four of which were represented as seated, as were several at Jarmo. Only the upper part of another remained. It had a flattened head, no features, and rudimentary arms. No illustrations have yet been published.⁴⁹

Several mother goddess figurines were found in late levels in Hassunah.⁵⁰ From Halaf came three or four fragments of conical clay objects, called "post-idols," which the exca-

43. Cf. Mallowan, "Arp.," p. 165.

44. Cf. *Tell Halaf*, 1, 101 and text-fig. 1.

45. These figurines came from Karim Shahir. Remains of similar clay figurines appeared also in M'lefaat: Vivian L. Broman in Robert J. Braidwood, "The Iraq-Jarmo Project of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Season 1954-1955," *Sumer*, 10 (1954), 129.

46. Cf. Robert J. Braidwood, "A Preliminary Note on Prehistoric Excavations in Iraqi Kurdistan, 1950-

1951," *Sumer*, 7 (1951), 103.

47. *ILN*, 219 (1951), 992.

48. Robert J. Braidwood and Linda Braidwood, "Jarmo: a Village of Early Farmers in Iraq," *Antiquity*, 24 (1950), 189-95; cf. Ann L. Perkins, ed., "Archaeological News, the Near East," *AJA*, 53 (1949), 50 f.

49. Vivian L. Broman in *Sumer*, 10 (1954), 123 f.

50. Levels 4 and 5: *JNES*, 4 (1945), 269 f., 275; cf. pl. xviii, no. 2.

vators thought were human figurines,⁵¹ one which was more anthropomorphic (fig. 53),⁵² and five figurines of animals too indistinctly modeled to be identified.⁵³ At Matarrah appeared a female figurine with one breast and the head missing (fig. 54)⁵⁴ and also two fragmentary animal figurines of undetermined species.⁵⁵

Beads were found in Hassunah,⁵⁶ Samarra,⁵⁷ Nineveh,⁵⁸ Shaghir Bazar,⁵⁹ and Matarrah.⁶⁰ In the graves at Samarra they were found in such numbers and in such a relation to the bodies that they seemed to have been used both for necklaces and for ornament on garments. Hassunah and Matarrah, in addition to plain beads, yielded several which were decorated with simple incision (fig. 55).⁶¹

Forty-six spindle whorls came from Matarrah, most of them undecorated. Three whorls, however, have simple decoration. Two show circular impressions on one side (fig. 56),⁶² the third a series of lines radiating from the center hole. Many came also from Hassunah, some of clay, a few of stone. They were sometimes ornamented with paint.⁶³ One of this date was found in Halaf.⁶⁴ Miniature tools of stone were reported from Nineveh. One of them, apparently a model chisel or axe, was pierced perhaps for use as an amulet.⁶⁵

In Levels 2 and 5 at Hassunah stone beads which may have been stamp seals were found, their faces incised with simple linear designs.⁶⁶ In Matarrah, too, fig. 55 may also have been both a bead and a stamp seal.

Summary

Both the pottery and the figurines and miscellaneous objects make it clear that artists of the period preferred stylized forms. Moreover, the designs are closely related to each other. In the case of geometric designs one often cannot determine which form was of primary concern to the artist. When animal figurines are considered, the modeling is so crude that it is unclear what species of animal was intended. Whatever other conclusions are to be drawn from this situation, obviously, if there was any use of art in a sense which may fairly be called symbolic, it is to be found in this period in stylized forms. It is also clear that to no form was one specific significance attached. Each form played various roles, and different forms had similar functions.

USES OF ORNAMENTED ARTIFACTS

The pottery from the Hassunah Period comes from levels where the remains are so scanty that very little idea can be gained of its use. At first Herzfeld felt⁶⁷ that the Samarran

51. *Tell Halaf*, I, 101, text-fig. 148 on p. 96.
 52. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 101.
 53. *Ibid.*, pp. 102 f., pls. CVI, nos. 8, 10, CVII, nos. 1-3.
 54. Cf. *JNES*, II (1952), 18.
 55. *Ibid.*, plate IX, nos. 6, 7 and p. 18. A single clay horn also was found, probably broken from a figurine of a goat or sheep: *ibid.*, pp. 18 f. and fig. 17, no. 9.
 56. *JNES*, 4 (1945), 262, 269.
 57. Herzfeld, pp. 1-4.
 58. Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 (1933), 179.
 59. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 3 (1936), fig. 7, no. 18 and p. 25.

60. *JNES*, II (1952), 22 f.
 61. From Matarrah, cf. *ibid.*, pl. XII, no. 11 and pp. 22 f. From Hassunah, cf. *JNES*, 4 (1945), pl. XI, no. 2 and p. 289.
 62. Cf. *JNES*, II (1952), 18.
 63. *JNES*, 4 (1945), 269.
 64. *Tell Halaf*, I, 116, pl. CXIII, no. 30.
 65. Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 (1933), 144, pl. LXVIII, no. 41.
 66. *JNES*, 4 (1945), pl. XI, no. 2: 1 and 3 and p. 289.
 67. Herzfeld, p. 6.

pottery must have been intended primarily for purposes of burial, since the firing was so uneven that many pieces were brittle while others were porous, and hence of little practical use. Then he realized that pottery from Iran often had the same faults, yet had had long use. And in Samarra there was at least one example of such a faulty pot having been repaired. Thus he could not maintain this view. Nevertheless, some of the pottery was found in the graves there, and one plate contained the skeleton of a newborn child.⁶⁸ Also in Hassunah, while there were graves with no accompanying objects,⁶⁹ other graves contained such ornamented pots as we have seen.⁷⁰ Altogether a dozen infant burials in pottery jars of different types (coarse ware, incised jars, and jars which were both painted and incised) were found from Level 1b upward. Safar gave an illustration of a painted-and-incised jar used for this purpose (fig. 57),⁷¹ together with a local imitation of Samarran painted bowls which accompanied the body. He added that small, plain drinking cups were sometimes placed beside the bones.⁷² One tall jar contained bones of what were probably twins, and among the bones was found a small drinking cup.⁷³ Beside another infant burial within a jar was a second jar for water or food.⁷⁴ The decorated pots, therefore, were used for burials, though that was not their only use.

Since the pottery was used for domestic purposes and for burials, it is impossible to say that the ornament always had symbolic significance. On the basis of usage, however, it would be a mistake to say that it never had such significance. At least when it was used for burials the designs may have been symbolic.

From the figurines it is clear that ritual in which figurines were potent objects was important in this early period. Some of the beads, it is true, may have served simply for ornament, but, because they were so numerous in graves, it is inherently probable that they also were thought to be potent and to have offered some means of protection to the deceased.

Thus the ornament of the period was used sometimes in situations where it was desired for its potency. In so early a culture it is impossible to be more precise.

SYMBOLIC ELEMENTS IN THE HASSUNAH PERIOD

It seems proper to suspect that the female figures on Samarran plates (figs. 32, 33, 34) represented active numina in the culture. Whether they bore names, however, is not to be ascertained. That the swastika (fig. 35) too was a potent form may be inferred, since its personification is suggested by providing it with three fingers. In addition it is highly probable that both the scorpions and the prominent pairs of wavy lines on this latter plate were potent, too. It is noteworthy that both the swastika and the wavy lines are geometric figures.

That other geometric figures in this art also were symbolic is less certain but possible.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

69. *JNES*, 4 (1945), 267, 272.

70. *Ibid.*, pp. 267 f., 272 f.

71. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 280 f.

72. *Ibid.*, pp. 267 f.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 273.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 272.

Triangles have been used for the heads or bodies of quadrupeds (figs. 38, 40, 41); on one plate quadrupeds were arranged to form a Maltese square (fig. 41); there was a human face outlined with zigzag lines (fig. 42); animal horns and trees were drawn with lines which formed the "fringe" pattern (figs. 38, 39); a plant was made to resemble a rosette (fig. 45).

In this art abstract numbers emerge as significant forms. Most prominent is the number three, which was imposed artificially on the hands of the "demons" (figs. 32, 33, 34), on the swastika (fig. 35), and on the tails of quadrupeds (figs. 38, 40). In the use of trees of seven and nine branches as central motifs on some plates (fig. 39), the numbers seven and nine were shown to be important. These numbers (three, seven, and nine) seem not to have been used accidentally or because the artists were trying to reproduce nature. In each instance the number was employed because it had special significance of some sort, however vague that significance may have been.

Again, on three plates the design presents one creature devouring another (figs. 36, 37, 40). Here, in this very early period, the motif of aggression comes to overt expression, a concept perhaps also expressed less directly by the figures of scorpions. In later periods this motif is elaborated in many different ways.

When these designs on pottery, the animal and female figurines, and the beads are said to be potent and in some sense symbolic, this statement does not necessarily imply that the men who made such patterns gave any interpretation to them. Boys and girls today gather lucky stones and lucky coins without attaching any verbal explanations to them. Throughout the history of ancient Mesopotamia amulets were used by men who felt no need to be articulate about their significance, as will become clear in Chapter 9. The significance of many of the symbolic forms, then, may have been vague in this period. Presumably men used them because they seemed lucky. Some patterns—plants, animals, and fish, for example—may have suggested food and a means of getting a livelihood. There is no reason, nevertheless, to think that men of this period knew that they selected those patterns as a means of reassurance, however probable it may seem that they did so. Similarly, when they used designs showing one creature devouring another, the significance of their choice of this pattern may not have been clear to them.

On the other hand, the later ritual texts show that objects which at times were accepted as purely lucky were used at other times with varying amounts of verbal explanation. Among the Samarran designs, those patterns which seem to have solar implications are the clearest examples of symbolism in the sense that men could put into words what the pattern meant. The swastika probably is such a pattern, for it has had solar implications in so many cultures that it is natural to guess that it had similar significance in the Hassunah Period. The wavy lines which radiate from the swastika in fig. 35 probably furnish another example. Similarly the birds with wings which perhaps suggest rays of light (fig. 36) may also be solar symbols. All such forms seem to have been employed with an awareness which may have come to verbal expression.

CHAPTER 2

The Halaf Period

Although the pottery called Halaf Ware first was discovered in the tell from which it took its name,¹ the most extensive collection was subsequently found in Arpachiyah, and confirming evidence came from adjacent sites—Nineveh, Hassunah, Tepe Gawra, and Makhmur.² Samarra is the southernmost site where Halaf Ware has been found. Farther west in the Khabur region such towns as Shaghir Bazar and Brak, which are near Halaf, have less complete and distinct caches of the pottery, and to what they have other non-Halaf elements are added. Still farther west a limited amount of the Halaf Ware came from Mefesh and Aswad,³ from Yunus, a mound near Carchemish,⁴ and from Sakce Gözü.⁵

The origin of the Halaf culture is still not known. Miss Perkins has given reasons for thinking that it originated in the Mosul region of northern Iraq.⁶ Some sherds of Halaf Ware were found in the region of Lake Van, but since the excavations there have not yet been fully reported, we do not know how many sherds there were.⁷ Whether the Halaf culture was influenced by Iran is still a matter of debate.⁸

1. Max von Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf*, trans. by Gerald Wheeler (New York, Putnam's [1933]), and *Tell Halaf*, 1.

2. *CAM*, pp. 16, 31; Mahmud El Amin and M. E. L. Mallowan, "Soundings in the Makhmur Plain," *Sumer*, 5 (1949), 146; "Soundings in the Makhmur Plain, Part 2," *Sumer*, 6 (1950), 56, 66, pls. x, xi. A preliminary report of excavations in Banahilk in the fall of 1954 states that many artifacts of the Halaf Period came to light there. Both plain and painted pottery appeared. There were stone bowls, stone beads and pendants, clay rings and ornaments, and bone gaming pieces: Patty Jo Andersen in Braidwood, "The Iraq-Jarmo Project," *Sumer*, 10 (1954), 126. Halafian sherds from Banahilk are illustrated in Robert J. Braidwood and Bruce Howe, *Prehistoric Investigations in Iraqi Kurdistan*, SAOC, 31 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1960), pl. 12 and pp. 34 f.

3. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 8 (1946), 123-129. For sites in the Sinjar district where this pottery appeared see Seton Lloyd, "Some Ancient Sites in the Sinjar District," *Iraq*, 5 (1938), 138-141.

4. C. Leonard Woolley, "The Prehistoric Pottery of Carchemish," *Iraq*, 1 (1934), 146-162. Cf. Robert J. and

Linda Braidwood, "The Earliest Village Communities of Southwestern Asia," *Journal of World History*, 1 (1953), 298.

5. J. du Plat Taylor et al., "The Excavations at Sakce Gözü," *Iraq*, 12 (1950), 87-94. The amount of Halaf pottery found in the 'Amuq sites was unsatisfactory: Braidwood and Braidwood, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch*, 1, 137-148, 507-509.

6. *CAM*, pp. 31, 43-45.

7. Edward B. Reilly, in an article entitled "Test Excavations at Tilkitepe (1937)," to which Albrecht Goetze called my attention, says, "considering the area excavated it seems that a reasonable amount of Tell Halaf pottery was discovered, and as Mallowan has pointed out [*Iraq*, 3 (1936), 3 f.] we must look to the mountains north of the steppe for the origin of Tell Halaf painted wares": *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi*, 4 (1940), 159. We may feel more assurance about this debated question when a full report has appeared.

8. Ann Perkins thinks it was not: *CAM*, p. 43. Mrs. Ziegler thinks that a common root must have existed for both the Halaf Ware and the pottery of Iran: Charlotte Ziegler, *Die Keramik von der Qal'a des Hağgi Moḥammed*, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemein-

CHARACTER OF THE ART

In the Halaf Period stylized designs continue to be overwhelmingly the most numerous, although there are occasional instances of naturalistic forms.

Pottery

An Early, Middle, and Late Phase have been distinguished in Halaf Ware by Miss Perkins.⁹

In the Early Phase the designs are for the most part confined to the outside of vases. Occasionally, however, on the inside there may be a simple band of paint to which perhaps is connected a row of scallops or wavy lines. The principal decoration is set in a broad band around the body of the vase, often bordered at top and bottom by one or more bands of solid paint. The pattern often consists of a continuous band of one motif, though it may be broken by groups of straight vertical lines into metopes which sometimes repeat the same motif, sometimes set two in alternation.

In the Middle Phase the decoration changes. Over-all patterns begin to be popular. Some horizontal bands are still used, in which case the elements of the design are more widely spaced than heretofore. Unjoined elements are common, and designs are often set in metopes. Jar necks are set off from the body by bands of paint, and the entire neck may be covered with paint. The designs occasionally are bordered by broad bands of paint.

The Late Phase is the period of beautiful and intricate polychrome vases. On jars there is still usually either a broad band of decoration or a series of narrow bands encircling the body at or near the shoulder. Shallow bowls are decorated with single broad bands, deeper bowls with an over-all pattern which covers most of the outer surface. Plates are perhaps the most striking examples of the late Halaf pottery. On the outside they are always decorated either with a single relatively broad band containing a closely knit pattern, or with a series of narrow bands containing simple motifs bordered by plain bands of paint. The main design is set on the interior. Around the rim the patterns are commonly in narrow bands as on the outside. In the center is placed a figure which unifies the whole. Most common is the rosette, though other patterns appear, as, for example, a form of the cross.

Geometric ornament is again the most prominent type of decoration. A collection of the most important geometric designs has been made by Mallowan (fig. 58). Squares, crosses, triangles, lozenges, crosshatching continue to be basic forms. There are many zig-zags and wavy lines. Circles, which appeared on a few sherds in levels of the Hassunah Pe-

schaft in Uruk-Warka, 5 (Berlin, Gebr. Mann, 1953), 56. Parrot points out that while there are synchronisms between the cultures of Iran and Mesopotamia both in the Samarran and the Halaf Ware, there are differences which make the theory of direct dependence unlikely. Instead he supposes that in both regions civilization had made marked progress at just this time, but the result was four distinct cultural forms, two in Iran (the East

and Northeast, Tepe Hissar-Sialk; the West and Southwest, Giyan-Persepolis), and two in Mesopotamia (the region of the upper Tigris, and the southern region near Eridu): André Parrot, *Archéologie mésopotamienne*, 2, *Technique et problèmes* (Paris, Michel, 1953), 165-178. See also L. Le Breton, "The Early Periods at Susa, Mesopotamian Relations," *Iraq*, 19 (1957), 84-88.

9. *CAM*, pp. 17-21.

riod,¹⁰ become popular in the Halaf Period. They may consist of a single outline of dots; or they may have solid centers with a row of dots outside; or they may be circles with a dot in the center; or perhaps the dot-centered circles may have one or more rows of dots outside (figs. 58, nos. 4, 10, 21; and 59).¹¹

These geometric forms combine to create more complex designs. Squares are arranged to form a checker pattern (fig. 58, nos. 34, 35, 37, 38). Lozenges are strung end to end to make the popular cable pattern (figs. 58, no. 24 and 60). Lozenges filled with crosshatching are popular in the early part of this period (fig. 61).¹² Sometimes dots are placed in the center of lozenges to create a form which is hard to distinguish from dot-centered circles, and which is probably only a variant of the same design (figs. 58, no. 9 and 62).¹³ Triangles may be set at right angles to each other to create the Maltese cross (figs. 63,¹⁴ 65), or, when their sides curve inward, the "concave-sided square" (fig. 64).¹⁵ From an arrangement of squares and triangles with one in-curving side comes a Maltese square (fig. 59).

Because geometric forms were dominant and geometric forms combined in complex interrelationships were very popular, one may properly doubt that the artist was thinking of any tool or naturalistic object when he set two triangles point to point (fig. 58, nos. 6–10, 14, 23). This design was already used in the Hassunah Period, where it appeared to be a geometric form. It is more developed in the Halaf Period, and, like the other geometric forms, is related to several designs. The Maltese cross is only a combination of two such forms.¹⁶ Occasionally triangles set point to point are related to the four-petaled rosette, for the field between the triangles may be a pointed arch (fig. 66, especially no. 15).¹⁷ Thus in this book the design will be called "triangles set point to point," since the varying ways in which archaeologists have described the form ("double axe," "butterfly," "oyster") obscure the central fact that it is part of the popular geometric art of this period.

Similarly in this period rosettes are part of geometric art, and their relation to any specific flower is remote. They are one of the most popular designs, and take various forms. They may have as few as four (fig. 66, nos. 3–5, 8, 11, 16) to as many as thirty-two petals. Often they are used as a central motif. A rosette of eight petals is in the center of a bowl

10. Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 (1933), pl. XLII, no. 10. Mallowan, "Arp.," p. 174. Braidwood et al., "New Chalcolithic Material of Samarran Type," *JNES*, 3 (1944), pl. VII, no. 4. Braidwood, Braidwood, Smith, and Leslie, "Matarrah," *JNES*, 11 (1952), pl. VI, no. 7 and fig. 15, no. 17.

11. Cf. Mallowan, "Arp.," pl. XVII, a; figs. 62, no. 3; 65, no. 1; 67, no. 2. *Tell Halaf*, 1, pls. XLVIII, nos. 5, 10, 12; L, nos. 1, 11; LI, no. 8; LIV, no. 6; LV, nos. 6, 7, 11, 12, 13; LVI, no. 8. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. LXVII, a, 16, b, 15.

12. Cf. *CAM*, p. 19.

13. Cf. *Tell Halaf*, 1, pl. L, no. 15.

14. Cf. Mallowan, "Arp.," fig. 60, nos. 5, 6; *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. CXIV, no. 42.

15. Cf. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pls. CXII, nos. 21, 22, CXIII, nos. 23, 24.

16. Because the form where four triangles are ranged around a central point is often popularly called the Maltese cross, this term, though technically open to

question, will be used throughout this volume.

17. Mallowan in "Arp.," p. 167, says that the design was "perhaps intended to represent double axes." In his *AAA*, 20 (1933), 156, he calls the same device "the butterfly, a common Elamite motif." Tobler, in *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 129, referring to pl. CXIV, no. 29, calls this the "double-axe motif." Schmidt, on the other hand, uses the term "spring-oyster" (*Klappmuschel*): *Tell Halaf*, 1, 38. In the 'Amuq, Phase A, roughly contemporary with the Hassunah Period, two beads appeared of the "double-ax" type with sharp edges. In one, the triangular form of the two halves is not at all apparent. In the other, it is partially suggested. Possibly these are model tools or weapons, but even if they are we are not justified in supposing that such a weapon underlay the artists' choice of triangles set point to point whenever the design appears in geometric art: Braidwood and Braidwood, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch*, 1, 62.

from Arpachiyah (fig. 67), around whose edge is also the familiar checker design of alternating crosses and crosshatching. A rosette of thirty-two petals is in the center of a bowl from Tepe Gawra (fig. 68),¹⁸ around which also are bands of crosshatching and hatched lozenges. The close relationship of rosettes, crosses, and triangles set point to point is evident on a collection of sherds from Halaf (fig. 66). An interesting variant from Brak (fig. 69) is based on a pentagon. The corners of the pentagon are marked by circles with a dot in the center. Five other such circles are placed each above the middle of a side of the pentagon. Ten triangles make a circle around these, their points forming a design very similar to the central rosettes. On either side of the tips of these triangles are other dot-centered circles. A checker design of alternating plain squares is around the rim, and of alternating plain rectangles around the pentagon. Once again triangles and rosettes are part of the same basic form. On a plate from Arpachiyah (fig. 70) a dot-centered circle is in the center of a rosette of sixteen petals, and thus it is an inherent part of the form. In a band around the plate is a checker design of four-petaled rosettes or crosses (which form is intended is not clear). Bordering the rim are four rows of circles consisting of a single row of dots. The interrelationship of these geometric forms may thus be illustrated in a great variety of ways.

Stippling, sometimes appearing in the form known as "egg and dot," is one of the most common features of Halaf Ware. It may be seen on fig. 58, nos. 6, 7, 11, 13, 17, 22, 25, 32, 34, 37, and on fig. 66, nos. 2, 3, 6, 10, 12-15. Since this is a period when designs are less often representations of objects in nature than pure linear forms it seems unjustified to seek the origin of stippling in spots on a leopard's skin.¹⁹

In one recurring design arcs of circles overlap, forming a pattern somewhat resembling fish scales (fig. 58, nos. 1, 19, 20). There is no reason to believe that a representational pattern was intended.

Again, a "fringe" design, seemingly a variant of the geometric form which had been common on Samarran Ware, is found also on Halaf vases. It appears sometimes in rows of "fringed" lines encircling the body of the vessel (fig. 71). It sometimes forms a border on triangles (fig. 72),²⁰ or on the outer edges of a Maltese cross (fig. 73), or as an edging for arcs of circles (figs. 58, no. 28 and 74). Both Schmidt and Mallowan²¹ spoke of this as the "comb" pattern, though Mallowan also thought it suggested "a rising sun with rays." A similar form with a bird above it comes from Mefesh (fig. 75). Mallowan, though doubtful of its significance, compares it to a Ninevite 5 sherd (fig. 572) which he thinks may represent "an altar with flames rising from it."²² Such examples illustrate the many ways in which a form may be employed. It is by no means impossible that a comb or a rising sun or an altar may have been intended by some of these patterns, but no one application seems valid for all. The geometric forms seem to have been of primary concern. They were basic, whatever may have been the different applications.

18. Cf. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pls. cx, nos. 11, 13, cxI, nos. 14-17, cxII, nos. 18-20. *Tell Halaf*, 1, pls. LXXXIV, nos. 2, 4, LXXXVI, nos. 1, 2, 7, xcvi, nos. 3-7.

19. Mallowan, "Arp.," p. 164; cf. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 3

(1936), 49 f. and fig. 27, nos. 1, 2.

20. Cf. *Tell Halaf*, 1, pl. LXXXIII, no. 7.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 54; Mallowan, "Arp.," p. 167.

22. Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 (1933), 171.

Some Halaf pottery had representational designs, which are neither consistently stylized nor consistently naturalistic, though stylized forms are more numerous. The figures of snakes on two sherds (figs. 76, and 78) are naturalistic. A few plants are shown in naturalistic designs (fig. 77).²³ Occasionally birds have naturalistic forms, as on a bowl from Halaf which has been reconstructed as in fig. 80. Comparable to those on Samarran Ware, these birds are accompanied by solar symbols. More often birds have highly stylized forms (figs. 79, 81). Two solar forms are inserted inconspicuously but in a way to interrupt the design among the birds on fig. 81.²⁴ Since they are intrusive, their presence is all the more significant. Other highly stylized birds appear (fig. 82). Occasionally, too, quadrupeds have naturalistic forms, though more often they are highly stylized. Among the quadrupeds on a collection of sherds from Halaf (fig. 83)²⁵ giraffes (no. 1) are drawn somewhat naturalistically and are accompanied by solar symbols. On a sherd from Arpachiyah giraffes are highly schematized (fig. 84). Bulls seems to have been intended on nos. 2 and 8 of the Halaf sherds. They are drawn in a stylized form, so it is probably significant that their sex is exaggeratedly indicated. Such details are lacking on three sherds from Arpachiyah and Shaghir Bazar (figs. 85, 86, 87). The first probably represents deer, the second an ibex, and the third an indeterminate quadruped. On all three, solar symbols accompany the animal figures.

The most common representational motif of this period is the bull's head or bucranium. Again, the forms are neither consistently stylized nor consistently naturalistic, and stylized forms are more numerous. Sometimes the bulls' heads are so stylized that they approximate a geometric form. It is by no means clear whether the stylized or the naturalistic form was the earlier.²⁶ Mallowan has attempted to show that the naturalistic forms were the earlier, and that the designs later became increasingly stylized, until they resulted in an abstract, geometric form.²⁷ His illustrations, however, are not wholly convincing.

From the earliest levels at Arpachiyah (before TT 10) comes a somewhat naturalistic drawing of a bull's head (fig. 88).²⁸ How many other specimens there are from this same stratum cannot easily be determined from Mallowan's description. But at least two other sherds are specifically assigned to this level (figs. 89, 90).²⁹ In the first, four bucrania are set at right angles to each other on the inside of a dish in a design which clearly is intended

23. Cf. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), pl. LXXX, no. 19 and p. 249.

24. A second similar bowl, but without the obtrusive solar forms, was found at Tepe Gawra: *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. cxviii, no. 62. Birds with crosshatched bodies are on a sherd from Brak: Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), pl. LXXX, no. 18; cf. also the birds on nos. 16, 17 of the same plate.

25. Cf. the animal figures from Shaghir Bazar (Mallowan, *Iraq*, 3 (1936), fig. 27, nos. 3, 5, 7, 9); and from Brak (Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), pl. LXXX, no. 14).

26. Miss Perkins recognized that quite stylized forms appeared in the earliest part of this period: *CAM*, p. 19.

27. Mallowan, "Arp.," pp. 154-164; cf. especially figs. 74-75.

28. Three naturalistic types of bucranium, set vertically on the vases, were found at Brak, together with

one sherd where the horns were more stylized and set horizontally. Mallowan did not specify whether these came from different levels: *Iraq*, 9 (1947), 249 and pl. LXXX, nos. 21-24. The artifacts from Tell Halaf are not discussed according to their strata. Several sherds show bulls' heads drawn beautifully and naturalistically, and arranged vertically around the vase. Others are more stylized: *Tell Halaf*, 1, 41 f. The only evidence for their date is the style. One might be inclined to assign the naturalistic type to the Early Phase and the more stylized forms to later levels. In Halaf, however, there are very few other designs which seem to belong to the Early Phase: *CAM*, p. 29. So these examples, though inconclusive, do not aid Mallowan's argument.

29. Cf. Mallowan, "Arp.," pp. 114, 155.

to create a cross, just as the female "demons" on Samarran plates formed a cross or swastika. In this pattern the cross is emphasized both by the arrangement of the heads and by the ears of the animals which are so drawn as to suggest that each individual head was conformed to a cross. The animal's ears on this drawing are stylized for this purpose in a way which contrasts markedly with the ears of fig. 88. On the second sherd the bucrania are in metopes around the outside of a bowl. While the form of the cross is less pronounced here, the design is still very stylized. Hence at this level the stylizations are at least as conspicuous as naturalistic representations.

From only a little later than these examples (TT 8-10) comes the vase of fig. 91,³⁰ where horns very like those of fig. 90, but which are impaled, are set horizontally in a band around the body. There is no suggestion of the animal's head or ears. In slightly later levels (TT 7-8) were found highly stylized forms where a bull's head or a mouflon's head may be intended, but the design resembles a row of lozenges; here the horns were sometimes drawn single (fig. 92),³¹ sometimes double (fig. 93).³²

Designs far less stylized than these last examples come from the latest of the Halaf levels (TT 6). On fig. 94³³ is a design comparable to fig. 89 of the very earliest level. To be sure, it is somewhat more stylized than the early example, and the horns are rendered double. The same cruciform arrangement on the interior of the bowl is preserved, however. Fig. 95³⁴ shows a vase in which a row of doubled bulls' horns is set horizontally around the outside of a plate. These horns are impaled as in fig. 91. The line which impales them in this example, however, is continuous around the plate.

These examples would seem to me, then, to suggest that there was no gradual development of design from a naturalistic to a formal geometric pattern. Indeed there is no evidence that one style preceded the other; both seem to have been contemporaneous. Furthermore, forms which are somewhat stylized seem to have been numerous at all levels. Their importance to the culture, therefore, would seem to have been greater than is usually recognized.

Some representational designs appear exclusively in stylized forms. Such a formal design has been thought to represent flowers growing between huts. Examples were found in Arpachiyah (fig. 96),³⁵ Shaghir Bazar,³⁶ and Brak.³⁷

On pottery, representations of the human figure are not common in this period, but when they appear the stylization is carried to an extreme. The clearest examples come from Halaf (fig. 97).³⁸ In no. 1, the man at the right is crouching or sitting, his hand on his knees. Before him is an unidentifiable object like lattice-work. In front of him is a

30. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 158, 163.

31. Cf. *ibid.*, no. 3 (A. 727) and pp. 132, 135, 157.

32. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 157. In Mefesh a small sherd with a design somewhat comparable to this was found immediately below Ubaid levels, thus in a level comparable to Arpachiyah, TT 6. On it was a highly stylized design consisting of a row of doubled horns, drawn in pairs back to back: Mallowan, *Iraq*, 8 (1946), 144 and fig. 8, no. 7.

33. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 114.

34. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 114, 158 and pp. 132, 134, fig. 63, no. 3 (A. 726).

35. I follow Perkins, *CAM*, p. 27, in considering this Halaf Ware because of the stippling. Mallowan had considered it Samarran Ware.

36. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 3 (1936), fig. 27, no. 14 and pp. 50 f.

37. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), pl. LXXX, no. 6.

38. Cf. *Tell Halaf*, 1, 42 f.

second man with raised hands. The lower part of this man's body and a third figure behind him are destroyed. No. 2 shows three walking or dancing figures, with a fourth almost completely destroyed behind them. In place of heads these figures have high headdresses or possibly streaming hair, as on the vases from Samarra. A peculiar feature is what resembles flaring skirts at their feet. Perhaps the designer was giving an impressionistic rendering of a long torso and pronounced hips and legs. Schmidt thinks a tail is intended by the dividing line of the "skirt" of the right-hand man, and that possibly this is a Silenus-like figure; but such a form is far from clear to me. Nos. 3 and 4 are two views of a pot which again is indistinct.³⁹ The left-hand view shows a man standing with arms raised before a wheel or a rosette within a circle. At the left and above the "wheel" is an almost obliterated quadruped. Possibly the group represents a man in a two-wheeled chariot, as Schmidt suggests on the basis of early seals from Susa;⁴⁰ but this appears doubtful, if, as it seems to me, the quadruped faces the man. Three additional scenes, only partially extant, are in metopes around the pot. In the first, toward the right, is what Schmidt thinks is a great chair, apparently empty. Before this is a horned quadruped whose rear parts are lost because of a break. In the left corner of the scene is latticework. Next to this scene a man stands in front view, arms raised. At his left is a smaller figure of a man, hands also raised. Since his feet are not placed levelly on the ground, it should perhaps be inferred that he is dancing. In the last metope, given very indistinctly in Schmidt's outline drawing, and only at the far left of the photograph, Schmidt thinks he sees a seated human figure turned toward the left. Before him is an object of which only the upper part is preserved. Another object, sketchily indicated, may be a musical instrument like a harp. None of these objects is clear to me on the reproductions.

The human figures, if that is what they are, from other sites are formalized to an extreme. For example, the "fringe" pattern, when found on a sherd from Nineveh (fig. 98), was thought to be the prototype of the dancing figures of fig. 97, no. 2.⁴¹ Similar are the geometric forms of figs. 99, 100, 101,⁴² which may be Samarran designs or derivatives from them. If these geometric forms do represent human figures, clearly, as Mallowan saw, there is no development from a naturalistic to a stylized form. He was perplexed because the development which he thought appeared in connection with the bucranium was not confirmed for human figures. He attempted to solve this difficulty by suggesting that there might have been "restrictions attaching to the representation of the human figure [which] caused it to appear comparatively late in the development of design."⁴³ On the contrary, there apparently were no restrictions in the Hassunah Period which kept artists from

39. Further drawings are given in text-fig. 6 and pl. x, no. 7, but they add little to the photographs.

40. Louvre, Delaporte, 1, pl. 32, nos. 8 (S. 456), 9 (S. 457) and p. 56.

41. Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 (1933), 153.

42. Cf. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 3 (1936), 49, 52. No. 24 here is very like no. 1 of the preceding figure, but they are separate sherds. Mallowan expresses his satisfaction that

nos. 21 and 22 represent the human figure in a "comparatively naturalistic manner." This seems to him to lessen the difficulty he had felt because the usual development from naturalistic to stylized forms did not appear for the human figure. But these designs are still so formalized that to me it seems that his problem remains.

43. Mallowan, "Arp.," p. 170.

painting demonic figures on Samarran vases. I have questioned whether there was a development from naturalistic to stylized forms in connection with the bucrania. Such a development does not seem to me to be shown by the stratigraphy. Since it clearly did not take place with human figures, it is reasonable to conclude that no such gradual development of design from a naturalistic to a stylized form took place in Mesopotamia. Naturalistic and formal designs are often contemporaneous in the Hassunah and Halaf Periods, but the formal designs are more numerous. The earliest art known emphasizes abstract design.

Figurines

For the figurines of the Halaf Period the same variation in style is apparent. A few are somewhat naturalistic; some are more stylized; and some are extremely stylized.

This variation is especially clear for the female figurines, which are more numerous than any other type in the Halaf Period. Some of the more naturalistic are shown by Schmidt in a collection from Halaf (fig. 102). While modeling is used to some extent for breasts, arms, and legs, less attention is usually paid to the head. At times the head is only a protuberance. Hence even these figures are quite stylized. Much more stylized is a group of figurines from Arpachiyah (fig. 103). At times they are so highly stylized that they resemble Mycenaean figurines called "fiddle-idols" (fig. 104). Here a triangle has been superimposed on the human form.

On two figurines the pelvis was outlined with an incised triangle (fig. 105).⁴⁴ Thus it is clear that in these instances the meaning of the triangle was "fertility." On the shoulder of a figurine from Arpachiyah a Maltese cross was painted in red (fig. 106).⁴⁵ The excavators recognized that this had religious significance, though what specific meaning was intended is not to be ascertained. The eye was exaggerated on one figurine from Tepe Gawra (fig. 107).⁴⁶ Mallowan suggests that this feature was selected because it was the most prominent feature to be seen peering through the veil. Since none of these figurines is highly naturalistic, it seems more logical to relate this eye to the circle or lozenge with central dot, which it closely resembles. Whether or not the abstract designs of dot-centered circles or lozenges are related to the eye, however, it is certain that the eye was potent in the rituals of ancient Mesopotamia, and this is probably one reason for the presence of the eye on this figurine.

One minute male figurine of alabaster was found at Arpachiyah. Mallowan describes it thus:⁴⁷ "It stands no more than 17 mm. high (less than $\frac{3}{4}$ inch); the head has slanting eyes cut as deep furrows, and a prominent nose, and though it is hard to base an aesthetic judgement on so small a figure, there is little doubt that the head is Sumerian in character; each arm is held against the waist, and the right arm holds an offering."

All the animal figurines are highly stylized. A few are modeled with sufficient care so

44. Cf. *ibid.*, fig. 52, no. 3 and pl. x, no. 920.

45. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 81.

46. Cf. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), 205.

47. Mallowan, "Arp.," p. 99.

that they have been said to be bulls (fig. 108),⁴⁸ but most of them are too roughly modeled to be identifiable.

Amulets, Beads, Seals, and Their Impressions

Many beads of this period had geometric forms. In a collection from Arpachiyah (fig. 109)⁴⁹ the lozenge was popular. There were also circles, triangles set point to point, and a truncated Maltese cross. In another collection from a different part of Arpachiyah Mallo-
wan has shown (fig. 110) drop pendants, circular forms, a Maltese cross, and a form shaped like a spatula. To these were added linear markings. From other sites similar forms appear. A few beads were described as coming from Nineveh and Shaghir Bazar.⁵⁰ Pendants, most of which bore linear designs, came from Tepe Gawra. Combined with the linear decoration at times were drill holes. Two were plain.⁵¹ One was shaped in an odd way which Tobler thought might have had "magical, religious, or ritual significance."⁵² The execution of the linear designs varied, but some were drawn with great care (fig. 111). Similar pendants came from Shaghir Bazar, and there they seemed to Mallo-
wan to have been used both as pendants and stamp seals.⁵³ One of these is incised with a six-pointed rosette (fig. 112). On a pendant from Tepe Gawra is a swastika (fig. 113). From Halaf came three pendants in crescent shape, two of them decorated with painted lines.⁵⁴ A fourth is said to have been shaped like a miniature chisel, though perhaps only a triangular form was intended.⁵⁵

Some of the beads had representational forms. Three ducks from Arpachiyah (fig. 109) were highly schematized. In fig. 110 are shown a hand, a miniature sickle, a bull's head,⁵⁶ and a hut with bending ridge pole. To all of these shapes, without exception, were added incised linear markings. In addition there was a boar's head, which also had linear markings, a fly,⁵⁷ and two incised objects which Mallo-
wan suggested resembled inflated water skins.⁵⁸ If water skins are what is intended perhaps these amulets are the prototypes of the symbol used occasionally on cylinder seals in the Uruk Period. A bull's hoof with long tang perforated for suspension is of a shape which makes it appear also phallic (fig. 110, no. 17). Other phallic amulets were found in the excavation.⁵⁹

Both representational and geometric designs appear on the seal impressions Mallo-
wan shows from Arpachiyah, though the geometric designs are as numerous as the repre-
sentational (fig. 114).⁶⁰ The linear designs are like those we have seen on pendants and may have been made by pendants. On no. 616 are three impressions of a geometric design

48. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 88. *Tell Halaf*, 1, pls. cvi, nos. 5, 7-16, cvii and pp. 102-104.

49. Cf. Mallo-
wan, "Arp.," pp. 95-98.

50. Mallo-
wan, *AAA*, 20 (1933), 179; *Iraq*, 3 (1936), fig. 7, nos. 11, 30, 31.

51. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pls. xcii, b, 1, 4, 8; CLXXII, nos. 17, 18, 19, 30, 31; CLXXIII, no. 32; CLXXIV, nos. 49, 55.

52. *Ibid.*, pl. CLXXIV, no. 52.

53. Mallo-
wan, *Iraq*, 3 (1936), fig. 7, nos. 4, 6, 12, 17 and p. 25.

54. *Tell Halaf*, 1, pl. xxxvii, nos. 1-3 and p. 114.

55. *Ibid.*, pl. xxxvii, no. 9 and p. 115. Other similar

forms seem to have been found in Arpachiyah: Mallo-
wan, "Arp.," fig. 50, nos. 10, 11.

56. Two other heads of cows or bulls, one incised with rectilinear lines on the under-side were found in Shaghir Bazar: Mallo-
wan, *Iraq*, 3 (1936), fig. 7, nos. 26, 33.

57. Mallo-
wan, "Arp.," p. 96, fig. 51, no. 9, and pl. vii, a, no. A. 568.

58. *Ibid.*, fig. 51, nos. 22, 23 and p. 97.

59. *Ibid.*, pl. vii, a and p. 96.

60. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 98.

which Mallowan describes as "rayed suns." On no. 609 is a figure of a boar. In Tepe Gawra also there was a seal impression which bore a linear design.⁶¹ A seal found in Halaf (fig. 115)⁶² was inscribed on both surfaces. On one side was a linear design, on the other a quadruped.

With beads and seals, as with pottery and figurines, the stylized form was clearly most important in the Halaf Period. Although some representational forms were used, to many of those, even if they were occasionally naturalistic, incised linear markings were added. Again the evidence demonstrates the dominance of stylized design.

USES OF ORNAMENTED ARTIFACTS

It is impossible to say in what way much of the pottery was used. Four vases from Arpachiyah were found together, broken, on the ground along with ribs of sheep. Mallowan says, "There is little doubt that the entire group was a votive deposit, deliberately smashed and buried in the ground; a token of some magico-religious ceremony."⁶³ Thus these vases had been used in a cult. The ornament on this important group of vases, however, was extremely simple. There was only egg and dot stippling or a cable pattern of running lozenges with central dots (figs. 116, 117, 118). A similar cache consisting of "two pots [was] found deposited together against the outside face of the wall of [a] tholos" (fig. 119).⁶⁴ This too was thought to be a votive deposit. The design of the first is described as "a row of impaled oblique chevrons," that of the second as "parallel horizontal ripples." Again the ornament on a cultic object is simple geometric design. Many other pots came from graves.⁶⁵ Admittedly, similar pottery served domestic purposes; yet one should not overlook the fact that geometric designs were most desired by men of this period, and sometimes such forms appear in settings where it would be natural for them to have been potent and thus symbolic.

The purpose of the figurines is also unknown. It has often been suggested⁶⁶ that the female figurines served as an aid in parturition. This view is supported by the frequent emphasis on pregnancy and by the fact that some figures squat on little stools, as women of antiquity did during childbirth (fig. 120). Here, as always, a single interpretation for symbols is unjustified. Such may have been one use of the figurines, while there may have been many others. One figurine with an incised pubic triangle comparable to fig. 105 came from a collection of cultic objects in stone and bone in Arpachiyah. These objects included the male figurine of alabaster previously described,⁶⁷ five models of human finger-bones in stone and one genuine finger-bone, and a miniature steatite trough bowl. All of these were found together at one end of a room in a house, and Mallowan considered them "a set of ritual figures, the equivalent perhaps of a set of Chinese altar-pieces."⁶⁸ This group of objects serves a useful purpose in preventing too narrow a definition of the

61. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. clviii, no. 11 and p. 177.

62. Two other seals are reported from Halaf, one with linear markings, the second with a rosette: *Tell Halaf*, 1, pl. xxxviii, nos. 11, 15 and p. 118.

63. Mallowan, "Arp.," p. 136.

64. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 126 f.

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 122 f.

66. E.g. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 163; Mallowan, "Arp.," pp. 79-82; Mallowan, *Iraq*, 3 (1936), 20.

67. P. 17.

68. Mallowan, "Arp.," pp. 99 f.

role of figurines. The incised pubic triangle might suggest that they were used in a "fertility cult"; but "fertility cult" is a broad term covering many types of religious beliefs and practices. In dealing with a period which is prehistoric, details cannot be filled in solely from a knowledge of what a fertility cult was like in Mesopotamia many centuries later.

There is frequent difficulty in differentiating the functions of amulets, beads, and seals. In some circumstances any one of these objects may have been used for its potency, while in other circumstances it would have been used as an ornament. Moreover, a single object may have been used at the same time as both, for these roles are not mutually exclusive.

It has already been noted that Mallowan thought that some of the pendants had been used as stamp seals. He was brought to this conclusion because clay impressions of seals were found which reproduced such patterns as had appeared on the pendants. He goes so far as to say that the impressions "prove conclusively that [the pendants] were used as seals."⁶⁹ Thus he brings the pendants, seals, and probably the beads which were so closely associated with them, into the category of amulets. Chapter 9 will show that the ritual texts confirm the use of such objects as amulets throughout Mesopotamian history.

SYMBOLIC ELEMENTS IN THE HALAF PERIOD

In this study of the Halaf Period evidence has been accumulating to show that stylized designs consisting of both representational and geometric elements should be considered symbolic. The implications of this conclusion will be considered more fully later. Some preliminary considerations may be suggested here.

At first sight it might be thought that the bucranium, for example, would have its greatest power as a symbol when it was presented in a naturalistic form, and that it would be less significant when it was stylized. This inference, however, is probably quite mistaken: a naturalistic design suggests a particular object rather than a class or pattern; in symbolism, concern is focused on the form underlying some aspect of experience, not on an individual illustration of the pattern. Consequently, when the trend to naturalistic style develops, elements are frequently introduced, though they may depart from naturalism, to focus attention on the underlying pattern whose significance is important to the artist. The cross became no more symbolic when the Renaissance painters made it realistic.

This use of schematization to comprehend and express form appears on every level of human experience. Mrs. Langer has shown⁷⁰ from children's play how their symbolic gestures become less imitative the better they are understood. If the purpose of play, she says,

were, as is commonly supposed, to *learn by imitation*, an oft-repeated enactment should come closer and closer to reality, and a familiar act be represented better than a novel one; instead of that we are apt to find no attempt at *carrying out* the suggested actions of the shared day-dreams that constitute young children's play.

"Now I go away"—three steps away from the center of the game constitute this proc-

69. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

70. Susanne K. Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key*, (New York, New American Library, 1949), pp. 126 f.

ess. "And you must be crying"—the deserted one puts her hands before her face and makes a little pathetic sound. "Now I sew your fairy dress"—a hand with all five fingertips pressed together describes little circles. But the most convincingly symbolic gesture is that of eating. Children are interested in eating, and this much-desired occasion arises often in their games. Yet their imitation of that process is perhaps their least realistic act. There is no attempt to simulate the use of a spoon or other implement; the hand that carries the imaginary food to the mouth moves with the speed of a short clock-pendulum, the lips whisper "B-b-b-b-b." This sort of imitation would never serve the purpose of learning an activity. It is an abbreviated, schematized form of an action. Whether or not the child could perform the act is irrelevant; eating is an act learned long ago, sewing is probably a total mystery. Yet the imitation of sewing, though clumsy, is not as poor as that of the banquet.

The better an act is understood and the more habitually it is associated with a symbolic gesture, the more formal and cursory may be the movement that represents it.

In literature, the author likewise has as his goal the expression of a significant pattern in human experience. Frye⁷¹ has pointed out that in myth there are comparatively few realistic details, and structure is isolated. In realistic fiction, however, the same structure is there but devices must be used to make the structure seem plausible. To these devices he has given the name "displacement." "Myth, then," he says, "is one extreme of literary design; naturalism is the other, and in between lies the whole area of romance, using that term to mean . . . the tendency . . . to displace myth in a human direction and yet, in contrast to 'realism,' to conventionalize content in an idealized direction."

In music, Frye also points out,⁷² most composers have confined themselves to conventional forms. While some musicians have introduced external sounds cleverly imitated, these innovations have had only limited acceptance. People do not believe "that these imitations are prior in importance to the forms of music itself, still less that they constitute those forms."

Similarly in the Hassunah and Halaf Periods in Mesopotamia artists instinctively turned by preference to stylized forms. We may feel confident that they were doing so with a vague sense of reassurance which sometimes was and sometimes was not expressed in words. The amulets attest that they felt confidence in powers surrounding them.

That fertility was in the foreground of their thought is clear from the incised pubic triangle on female figurines (fig. 105). It is expressed also in the figures of bulls on some sherds which, though stylized, yet show the sex of the animals (fig. 83). Confirmatory evidence is also supplied by phallic amulets and a bull's hoof which was at the same time distorted so that it had the shape of a phallus (fig. 110).

In the Halaf Period there is no such direct expression of aggression as was found in the Hassunah Period. Whether it is to be understood in the art must remain in doubt. Nevertheless it is possible that the idea found indirect expression in the contrast in color which

71. Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 136.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

was carefully planned, especially by Halaf artists of the end of the period. For example, on the bowl of fig. 70 the variations in color are described by Mallowan as follows:⁷³

The design is polychrome, done in a black and red lustrous paint with the addition of dull white on a smooth, burnished, light buff clay. The centre-piece consists of a sixteen-petalled rosette, the petals in black paint, and outlined by the light buff body clay on a red ground. There is a small corolla consisting of concentric circles of the body colour on a black ground. The lower portion of the sides of the bowl has a chequer pattern in black and red, with white quatrefoils on the black squares: the chequer pattern is separated from the centre-piece by a ring of finely drawn solid running lozenges done in red on a buff ground; another of these rings of red lozenges separates the chequer design from the upper sides of the bowl, where we have four rings of circles, each circle done in a minute dot stipple with a very fine brush. The outside of the bowl has a diagonal diaper pattern; the triangles are done in solid red and black paint alternately, and separated by a reserve of the lighter body clay.

The artists of this period, then, planned their firing of the bowls so that precisely the colors they desired would result, and so that the colors would stand out with distinctness. They worked for contrast in a way that artists of the preceding and following periods did not.

This interest in contrast of color is exemplified also by what was probably a vase in form of a dove which was found at Arpachiyah (fig. 122).⁷⁴ The vase was of buff clay, but the wings were painted black by way of contrast.

Likewise a necklace which was found in Arpachiyah (fig. 121) conforms to the same pattern. There was a group of roughly lozenge-shaped obsidian black beads separated by groups of three cowrie shells filled with red paint. With them was a single pendant of plain gray stone. Evidently contrasting red and black was a recurring characteristic of this period which was deeply desired.

The significance of such patterns can only be dimly discerned and it is impossible to determine whether it came to verbal expression. Probably there was little clarity of expression in this period. Nevertheless, as in the Hassunah Period, perhaps the solar aspects of their religion were so consciously recognized that people found words to talk about them, though these words, whether or not they took the form of myth, were presumably on a very simple level far removed from the myths known at about 2000 B.C. Solar forms appeared with quadrupeds (figs. 83, 85, 86, 87) and birds (figs. 80, 81). That the dot-centered circle, so common in the geometric art of the period, was sometimes a solar form becomes explicit in figs. 58, no. 33 and 123,⁷⁵ where it is surrounded by rays. Three geometric forms on a seal impression from Arpachiyah (fig. 114, no. 616) seemed to Mallowan so clearly solar that he called them "rayed suns." On one pendant was a swastika (fig. 113). Thus in the darkness which surrounds the Prehistoric Period because of the lack of contemporary texts, solar forms provide the greatest illumination.

73. Mallowan, "Arp.," p. 111.

and Warka.

74. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 87 f. Mallowan notes that objects of this type also are found in Anatolia, Crete, Egypt, Susa,

75. Cf. *Tell Halaf, I*, pl. LV, nos. 2, 3, 4 and p. 39.

CHAPTER 3

The Ubaid Period

In both the northern and southern parts of Mesopotamia archaeological remains of the Ubaid Period have been found. During the Hassunah and at least the early parts of the Halaf Period the southern region probably was too damp to be habitable. Gradually soil was deposited by the recurring floods of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers so that the swamps began to dry up and agriculture became possible in the South in the Ubaid Period.

The sites in the North in which Ubaid remains were found are substantially the same as those for the Halaf Period. Tepe Gawra has by far the most extensive material. Ubaid Ware has also appeared in most of the other sites excavated in the Mosul area, in Makhmur, and westward as far as the Syrian border.¹ A variant form came from Syria.²

In several sites in the South (Abu Shahrain [Eridu], Hajji Muhammed, the Ur-Ubaid 1 Level at Ur, at Nippur, in the vicinity of Kish, and at 'Usaila, eight kilometers northwest of Eridu³) pottery has been found which attests the presence of people who preceded the appearance of the fully developed Ubaid culture. There has been no consensus of opinion concerning the origins and affiliations of these people. Partly on the basis of the stratification which could be observed at Abu Shahrain, and partly on the basis of the designs and forms of the pottery, Lloyd and Safar thought that three distinct phases could be recognized: 1, an early, "Eridu" phase (Levels 19-15); 2, a Hajji Muhammed phase (Levels 14-12), which constituted a link between the "Eridu" and the Ubaid phases; and 3, a Ubaid phase (Levels 12-6). The "Eridu" phase they attributed to an independent group who had been familiar with the Halaf culture in the North and had borrowed details from them, but had developed such unique features that it seemed probable they were a vigorous and creative people whose culture was fully fledged when they arrived

1. El Amin and Mallowan, "Soundings in the Makhmur Plain," *Sumer*, 5 (1949), 146; 6 (1950), 56, 65 f., pl. x. It appeared in the Sinjar district: Lloyd, "Some Ancient Sites in the Sinjar District," *Iraq*, 5 (1938), 134-142. It has been found in the caves of Baradost in the Kurdish mountains: Fuad Safar, "Pottery from Caves of Baradost," *Sumer*, 6 (1950), 120; and by a Japanese expedition in Telul ath-Thalathat, 60 kilometers west of Mosul: Namio Egami, "The Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Telul ath-Thalathat," *Sumer*, 13 (1957), 5-22; *Telul Eth Thalathat, The Excavation of Tell II,*

1956-1957, 1 (Tokyo, The Yamakawa Publishing Company, 1959).

2. *CAM*, p. 96. In the 'Amuq, pottery comparable to Ubaid Ware appeared in substantial amounts in Phase E: Braidwood and Braidwood, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch*, 1, 175-204, 511 f. See also the Ubaid Ware at Sakce Gözü: Taylor, Williams, and Waechter, "The Excavations at Sakce Gözü," *Iraq*, 12 (1950), 96-99.

3. Joan Oates, "Ur and Eridu, the Prehistory," *Iraq*, 22 (1960), 48.

in this region and who continued a virile people until supplanted by the Ubaid inhabitants.⁴ Both Mrs. Oates⁵ and Mrs. Ziegler⁶ have demonstrated convincingly that there is more continuity in form, material, and designs in the three phases than the views of Lloyd and Safar recognized. Mrs. Oates thinks that all constitute different phases of a unified Ubaid Period. Mrs. Ziegler combines phases 1 and 2 in a single Hajji Muhammed phase, which she distinguishes from the later Ubaid phase. The Ubaid culture, however, seems to her to represent no new invasion of people, but an impoverishment of the Hajji Muhammed culture. It is obvious that no decision on these questions can be reached prior to the publication by Safar of the Eridu pottery. Only the Hajji Muhammed pottery is available for study at the present time. This is comparable to at least the pottery called phase 2 at Eridu, and in this book it will be described as Eridu-Hajji Muhammed Ware.

Reports have been published of the finding of Ubaid remains in the South at eleven sites: Abu Shahrain, Ur, al-Ubaid, Warka, the nearby village of Raidau Sharqi, Hajji Muhammed, Tellah, Uqair, Agrab, Asmar, and Khafajah.⁷ In only the first two has the stratification been clearly distinguished. In Levels 7 and 6 at Abu Shahrain, Ubaid pottery alone was found. There were additional Ubaid sherds in Levels 8 to 14, though Eridu-Hajji Muhammed Ware also appeared. Ubaid pottery came from the Ur-Ubaid 2 and 3 Levels at Ur.

Because of its distribution in both northern and southern Mesopotamia it is evident that the Ubaid culture was more widespread than any culture seen so far, or in any subsequent period until the time of the Assyrians. The source of this culture was Iran.⁸ Yet in spite of all the vigor which must have been required to overpower so wide a territory, the material remains of this people are poorer than those of the Halaf Period.

CHARACTER OF THE ART

Although the character of the art is very different from that of the Halaf Period, it is still predominantly stylized, with only occasional naturalistic forms.

Pottery

Northern Mesopotamia

The clearest stratification of Ubaid remains in northern Mesopotamia was seen in Tepe Gawra and Arpachiyah. In Tepe Gawra Levels 19 to 12 produced Ubaid remains. In Arpachiyah they came from Levels TT 1 to 4, and especially from the cemetery on the western side of the mound.⁹

4. Seton Lloyd and Fuad Safar, "Eridu, a Preliminary Communication on the Second Season's Excavations, 1947-48," *Sumer*, 4 (1948), 122-125.

5. Oates, pp. 32-50.

6. Ziegler, *Die Keramik von der Qal'a des Hağgi Muhammed*, pp. 54-57.

7. *CAM*, pp. 73 f. For Ubaid remains from Agrab, Asmar, and Khafajah see Delougaz, *Pottery*, pp. 29, 75,

77 f. and pls. 17, a, b, c; 63, nos. 71, 72; 64, nos. 66 (?), 67, 71, 72.

8. *CAM*, p. 96. Le Breton has given an admirable discussion of the interrelationships between the painted pottery of Susiana c and d and the Mesopotamian Ubaid Ware: "The Early Periods at Susa," *Iraq*, 19 (1957), 88-93.

9. Mallowan, "Arp.," pp. 11-13.

Most of the pottery throughout the period bears monochrome painted decoration. In Tepe Gawra monochrome patterns alone appear. In the early part of the period, however, polychrome patterns still continue in Nuzi, Shaghir Bazar, and Halaf.¹⁰ These disappear in the latter part of the period.

The syntax of designs on Ubaid pottery is very different from the designs on Halaf Ware. The decoration is set primarily on the upper half or shoulder of the vases (fig. 125).¹¹ No longer is most of the surface covered. Designs are simpler and the elements spaced farther apart than in the Halaf Period. The painted decoration often brings out the open jar surface as an integral part of the design instead of relying on repetition and the development of intricate patterns. Yet artists of the Halaf Period occasionally employed this technique also, as when quatrefoils were left as a pattern on the body clay after a concave-sided square or a Maltese cross was rendered around it in paint (fig. 66, nos. 1, 5, 12).¹² When, as in some cases, this technique produces two designs instead of one, it seems to represent greater skill on the part of the artist.

From a collection of the most prominent motifs arranged by Miss Perkins (fig. 124) it will be seen that geometric designs are still the dominant style. The basic forms continue to be zigzags, triangles, chevrons, crosses, squares, crosshatching, lozenges, and circles; but there are variations in their use. For example, oblique lines, arranged in sets of parallels (fig. 124, no. 13), or with the space between them filled with crosshatching (fig. 126),¹³ may produce a zigzag pattern. A series of pendent triangles is often interrupted by a blank space before the design is resumed (fig. 124, no. 15, and fig. 127).¹⁴ These interrupted patterns appear also with zigzags (fig. 128),¹⁵ with both triangles and zigzags (fig. 129), and with chevrons (fig. 130).¹⁶ Chevrons are sometimes impaled, forming a design which has been called "arrows," but which probably is a variant of a geometric form (fig. 124, no. 3). A new form has often been termed the "ladder" pattern (fig. 124, nos. 24, 31), but one should not allow descriptive terms to mislead, for these too seem to be experiments with basic linear forms.

In their novel arrangements, Ubaid artists continued to produce closely interrelated patterns. For example, while the space between two rows of opposing scallops may sometimes be filled by hatching, in a pattern used also by Halaf artists (fig. 124, no. 19),¹⁷ it may equally well be filled with solid color (fig. 131).¹⁸ In either case, it is unclear whether scallops, wavy lines, or a series of arcs of circles were of primary concern to the artist. Similarly, the "cable" pattern (fig. 124, no. 29) is constructed of four impaled circles or eight oppos-

10. *CAM*, pp. 55, 58. I say early, for such pottery is from the early Ubaid Period in Shaghir Bazar. It is not clear in the other two sites from what levels the polychrome pottery comes.

11. Cf. E. A. Speiser, "Closing the Gap at Tepe Gawra," *Asia*, 38 (1938), pl. at p. 536, fig. 4. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pls. LXXII, a, 3; c; LXXIII, c; LXXIV, b, 1, 8, 9, 11, 19, 20; LXXVI, b, 17; LXXVII, a, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12; b, 16, 17.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 134. Cf. Mallowan, "Arp.," p. 121, fig. 60, no. 3.

13. Cf. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. CXXV, no. 147.

14. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. CXX, nos. 83, 84, 85.

15. Cf. *ibid.*, pls. CXXI, no. 95, CXXIV, no. 126. Mallowan, "Arp.," fig. 29, no. 6.

16. Cf. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pls. CXXIV, no. 127, CXXX, no. 207.

17. E.g. the vase from Arpachiyah: Mallowan, "Arp.," fig. 38, no. 1.

18. Cf. *ibid.*, figs. 34, no. 6; 36, no. 3.

ing scallops, whichever way one may wish to view it. The "cable" pattern was common earlier in the Halaf Period (figs. 60, 118). The Maltese cross is a continuing form, but it is now circumscribed by a circle (fig. 124, no. 34). Rosettes are uncommon in the Ubaid Period, but a few examples are set in medallions on the sides of a vase (fig. 132).¹⁹ Two triangles, opposed by their long sides instead of their points, form a square (fig. 124, no. 36). This design is only a variant of the triangles set point to point which were popular in the two preceding periods. The invention of this form supports the view that none of these designs attempts to imitate a naturalistic form but all are basically geometric.

On three sherds from Tepe Gawra (fig. 133)²⁰ were spirals, which puzzled the excavators because they are so rare prior to the Hurrian Ware of the second millennium B.C.

Toward the end of the period, in Level 13 at Tepe Gawra,²¹ ribbed, incised, and appliqué decoration was used for a few vases. Such techniques became common only in the Gawra Period.²² Geometric designs alone were used on most examples (figs. 134, 135). Sometimes a series of parallel lines appeared, encircling the pot, or short lines were arranged in oblique, horizontal, or vertical groups. Sometimes the lines were arranged in a herringbone pattern, or in wavy or zigzag lines or festoons. Crosses and crosshatching appear.

An exceptional pot which utilized this technique was thought by the excavators possibly to reflect "the worship of a sun- or moon-goddess." The central figure is a large circle from which radiate rays. Above is a crescent, below two conical projections possibly representing breasts (fig. 136).²³ The naturalistic features here are reduced to a minimum.

In the Ubaid Period, bucrania, which were so popular in the Halaf Period, disappear. Plant forms, birds, quadrupeds, fish, a sanctuary entrance, and human figures are the representational forms used; and all appear chiefly in stylized forms, though occasional examples are more naturalistic. The most popular of these designs are plants. The "sprig" pattern (fig. 124, no. 23) is especially common. A bowl from Tepe Gawra (fig. 137)²⁴ shows how strongly it was influenced by the familiar zigzag pattern. More naturalistic forms, however, appear on three sherds from the same site (fig. 138). "Flowers" are also numerous (fig. 124, no. 39).²⁵ The three petals which are conventional for these forms recall the three fingers of the demonic figures and the quadrupeds' tails ending in three tufts on Samarran plates. All are instances of imposing the abstract number three on representational designs. Leaves which are more naturalistic are set at a diagonal (fig. 124, no. 30) on bowls at Arpachiyah (fig. 139) and Tepe Gawra.²⁶ Possibly the formal design of fig. 124, no. 4, called by Miss Perkins a "heart,"²⁷ was based on a leaf pattern. If so, when compared with fig. 124, no. 5, the influence of triangles is evident.

19. For further examples of the cable pattern cf. *ibid.*, pp. 140 f., figs. 59, nos. 2-4; 66, no. 1; 67, no. 1. For rosettes cf. Starr, *Nuzi*, 2, pl. 48, *ee, ff, gg*; and some unusual examples in Level 13 at Tepe Gawra: *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. CL1, nos. 503, 504, 512.

20. Cf. E. A. Speiser, "Three Reports on the Joint Assyrian Expedition," *BASOR*, No. 66 (1937), 11 f., fig. 7.

21. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 141.

22. P. 126.

23. Cf. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 145.

24. Cf. *ibid.*, pls. CXXVIII, no. 184; CXXXIII, nos. 243, 244; CXXXVI, no. 275; CXXXVII, no. 294; CXXXIX, nos. 310, 311.

25. E.g. from Tepe Gawra (*Tepe Gawra*, 2, pls. CXXIX, no. 198; CL, nos. 464, 465, 466, 467, 468) and from Mefesh (Mallowan, *Iraq*, 8 [1946], pl. xxvii, no. 3; fig. 7, nos. 1, 4).

26. Cf. Speiser's chart (*BASOR*, no. 66 [1937], 11, fig. 7) and *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. CL, no. 469.

27. *CAM*, p. 91.

On a unique sherd from Tepe Gawra birds are perched in a vine (fig. 140). Similar motifs occur elsewhere only much later. This design is somewhat naturalistic. Other Ubaid figures of birds are highly stylized. Ducks in a metope bordered by crosshatching appear on a bowl from the same site (fig. 141).²⁸ Storks or cranes feeding are shown on a vase from Mefesh (fig. 142).²⁹ They are set in metopes around the body of the vase, their bodies filled with crosshatching, and separated by panels of crosshatching. Above the head of each bird is a row of four small triangles, the significance of which is not evident. On one outstanding burial urn is a stylized series of long-legged birds alternating with quadrupeds against a background studded with stars or suns (fig. 143).³⁰ From this multiplicity of solar forms accompanying water birds and quadrupeds it may be inferred that these representational figures are in the orbit of solar ideas. On a bottle from Arpachiyah (fig. 144) were the figures of a bird and fish, with three vertical rows of zigzag between them. A fragment of an unpainted vase shaped like a bird was found in Ubaid levels at Halaf.³¹

There were few sherds with representations of fish alone or quadrupeds alone. An apparently naturalistic representation of a leopard was found modeled and painted on the base of the interior of a bowl from Tepe Gawra.³² Its head was missing, but the excavators judged that it must have been raised perpendicular to the base of the vessel. Two quadrupeds with U-shaped bodies of a style more common in the South at this period came from the same site (fig. 145).³³ Too little is preserved of the one sherd decorated with fish alone to determine whether it is naturalistic or stylized.³⁴

In the Halaf Period an amulet appeared in the form of a house with gabled roof and bending ridgepole (fig. 110, no. 11). Possibly this is a representation of a sanctuary, though the buildings which seemed to the excavators most likely to be sacred in this period were circular structures or tholoi. Mallowan thought that one design of the Halaf Period (fig. 96) represented flowers growing between huts. Although this design did not reproduce the appearance of a contemporary shrine, possibly it was a formalized design suggesting a sanctuary entrance. In the Ubaid Period a design which has been thought to be architectonic, that is, suggested by current structural features, recurs on a group of objects. In each case there is a rectangle or panel, which presumably represents the door, and above it a triangle. Two of these objects (figs. 146, 147)³⁵ were found in the Eastern Temple of Level 13 at Tepe Gawra. On the first, the design is repeated four times around the beaker, alternating with rows of small leaves. The second is an incense burner, and the design recurs seven times. In both cases the location in which the objects were found makes it probable that they were used in the cult, and that the decoration upon them was symbolic. The sevenfold repetition of the design around the incense burner was probably inspired

28. Cf. the fragments in the upper left corner of Speiser's chart (*BASOR*, No. 66 [1937], 11, fig. 7) and *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pls. LXXIV, b, 5, 12 (cf. p. 134); CXLIX, nos. 444-446; CL, no. 463.

29. Cf. line drawing of this vase in Mallowan, *Iraq*, 8 (1946), fig. 7, no. 6, facing p. 140, and the discussion on pp. 142 f. A sherd from a similar vase was found in Brak: Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), pl. LXXX, no. 18.

30. Cf. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. LXXIX, e.

31. *Tell Halaf*, 1, 92, fig. 136; cf. also the similar vase from Arpachiyah: Mallowan, "Arp.," fig. 42, no. 14, and p. 75.

32. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. CXXXV, no. 265 and p. 148.

33. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. CL, no. 461, where the rear end of a quadruped appears. For contemporary forms from the South see p. 33.

34. *Ibid.*, pl. LXXV, c.

35. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. LXXXVIII, d and pp. 144 f.

by a reverence for the number seven, which was superimposed on trees on Samarran plates. A third vase of the Ubaid Period (fig. 149) was found in Level 12 at Tepe Gawra where there were no sacred buildings. The small fragment was not made of pottery but was part of a stone kohl vase. Enough was preserved to make it probable that originally there were three doors, the triangle rising above the central door. If so, this would be an important prototype of the later threefold temple entrance persisting through temple and church architecture to modern times. It is also another illustration of the way the sacred number three is imposed abstractly on different kinds of objects.

Several reasons may be given for concluding that these designs are not copies of any particular building, but instead present a generalized pattern suggesting a sanctuary because such a form had come to be recognized as sacred. First, in the Ubaid Period the dominant style is not imitative but stylized. So it is improbable that the artists were trying to picture the sanctuary where these vases were found. Second, it is significant that the third vase came from a level where there were no temples. Tobler has tried to overcome this difficulty by supposing that it actually originated in Level 13 and was carried on to a later level. His suggestion seems unnecessary, especially since in the third place, the shrine entrance is a symbolic form which becomes popular in later periods. On cylinder seals of the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr Periods it is very common. Thus these forms may be considered as early stylized examples of a design which later is popular.

Human figures are represented on two bowls from Tepe Gawra, and in both cases the design is highly schematized. The first (fig. 150)³⁶ is one of a class of bowls evidently intended to be viewed upside down, since only thus is the decoration in proper position. The design consists of a human figure, with arms raised, advancing to the right. The hands have three fingers, in accordance with the convention followed by early, stylized Mesopotamian art. Since the man's knees are bent, apparently to indicate motion, the excavators suggested that he is engaged in a ritual dance. Before him is a vertical line, the significance of which is obscure, and to the right of this a series of impaled circles. Since the bowl is broken, it is impossible to determine whether another figure may have been on the opposite side. Under the man's feet is a wavy line, serving as a border for a broad band of paint. Between this and the rim of the bowl is an edging of small triangles.

While the second bowl (figs. 148-a, 148-b)³⁷ at first glance appears to mark an innovation in naturalistic designs, since for the first time it presents what Tobler calls a "landscape," it is far more stylized than has been heretofore observed. The upper two-thirds of the bowl is divided into twelve panels. Linear patterns alone are found in ten of them. Of the two remaining panels, the one which is fragmentary pictures two horned animals (ibexes?) facing away from a long line of herringbone ornament with a thick central vein. Tobler takes the central vein to represent a river, and supposes that the small lines making up the herringbone ornament are either wadis or perhaps a means of emphasizing the

36. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. LXXV, *b* and pp. 134 f.

37. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 150 f.

river line. The background of this scene is filled in with wavy lines, for which Tobler gives two alternate explanations: they may be fill-ins, or possibly they represent details of the landscape not now understood.

Down the middle of the twelfth panel runs a thick, wavy line, again embellished with short oblique strokes which make it resemble herringbone ornament. This Tobler assumes to be another river. At the left stands a crudely drawn human figure holding an indeterminate object. On the right are two animals, a large one with horns and two humps, and a small one with a raised tail. Triangles are drawn along both sides of the panel; and additional triangles and small dots are set in free spaces. This scene seems to Tobler to represent a hunter with his dog attacking a horned animal who flees for safety to the hills, represented by triangles.

That this twelfth panel represents a hunting scene seems very probable. But Tobler is much less convincing when he goes on to suggest that the ten panels which contain only geometric designs were actually intended to be representations of "different kinds of terrain such as rolling plains, mountains, deserts, and marshes." Although he realizes that some of the panels are comparable to the abstract designs on pottery, because two panels are filled with crisscrossed lines in no order, because the rivers of the two panels which have clear-cut representational designs are distinctly different, one straight, the other meandering, and because in the hunting scene the triangles representing mountains are different in height, he believes the artist must have had a particular region in mind which he was reproducing as a sort of map. That the ten panels which supplement the pictorial scenes are representational, however, seems unlikely because the pictorial scenes themselves are highly schematized. It is an open question whether the pictorial panels or the geometric panels were the most important. It is very possible that the geometric forms set the theme for the whole. Triangles are the most important motif on this vase. They appear on two panels where there is no other form, and in a third where they are combined with crosshatched lozenges. They are the most prominent form also on the hunting panel. A row of them forms the left border of this panel, while triangles of varying size form a partial border on the right side. Tobler calls these triangles mountains, perhaps correctly, though the humps on the horned animal have the same form. In other words, the elements of this scene are made up far more completely of geometric forms than at first appears. Since this is true, it becomes probable that the two panels with representational designs did not picture a particular hunting scene or a familiar landscape. This bowl shows the first example of what later becomes a popular design, whether a man pursues animals or one animal attacks another. Such designs become so numerous and at times grotesque in their details that one may infer that the artist's interest was not in picturing an enjoyable occupation, though of course men did engage in hunting. Because of the persistence of this design in many periods and the ingenuity artists displayed in producing varied forms, it is likely that hunting scenes were a means of giving expression to deep-seated feelings of aggression, like the movies of cowboys and the capture of bandits in our

culture. In the three geometric panels where triangles are an especially prominent form, the design is arranged to create a feeling of sharp contrast. This sense of contrast is probably not accidental. The artist may well have set these panels beside the hunting scene as a less direct way of saying the same thing. Hence the vase is to be classed with other stylized designs of the Ubaid Period. Both the hunting scene and those geometric designs which are arranged to produce a feeling of contrast are to be grouped with earlier designs in the Hassunah and Halaf Periods where feelings of aggression come to overt expression.

Southern Mesopotamia

ERIDU-HAJJI MUHAMMED WARE

Abu Shahrain provided the most clearly stratified environment for Eridu-Hajji Muhammed Ware. In Abu Shahrain the pottery from Temples 6 and 7 was typical Ubaid Ware. Commencing in Temple 8 new characteristics emerged, though there was still much Ubaid Ware. The number of typical Ubaid sherds was reduced throughout the temples of Levels 12 to 14. In Levels 16 to 18 no Ubaid Ware was present; instead the ware in some respects resembled Samarran and Halaf Ware, though technically it was unlike them.³⁸ Mrs. Van Buren has shown a collection of this pottery from Abu Shahrain (fig. 151).³⁹ In Hajji Muhammed, though six distinct levels could be traced, there was no distinction between the kinds of pottery that appeared in each level. There were many different kinds of sherds, but all kinds came in all levels.⁴⁰

None of the Eridu-Hajji Muhammed Ware has a naturalistic design. All pieces are very stylized. A few sherds bore representational designs (fig. 152)⁴¹: rows of trees, a hand of six fingers, a curiously stylized representation of a horned animal, perhaps a goat, and what have been taken to be birds on the basis of designs from Iran. All the rest are geometric.

The syntax of this ware varies.⁴² On some sherds the decoration consists of simple horizontal bands, on others of rich patterns. Alongside simple forms are ranged sometimes variations of the same pattern, sometimes contrasting patterns. At times the designs are set around the edge or in zones around the body of the vase, at other times as a pattern covering the whole surface of the vase. The interior of the vases, especially, may be completely covered with a painted design. In a few cases, the designs are in metopes, or a particular element appears as a central feature, the latter principally on the bottoms of vases. Occasionally one piece may be cut out of a continuous pattern. This device is less surprising when used on the sides of a vase, but it is unexpected on the bottom.

Among the patterns common to both Eridu-Hajji Muhammed Ware and Halaf Ware, the following appear especially distinctive: a checkerboard design of squares filled with

38. Lloyd and Safar, "Eridu," *Sumer*, 4 (1948), 123-125.

39. Cf. E. Douglas Van Buren, "Discoveries at Eridu," *Orientalia*, N.S. 18 (1949), 123 f. No decision can be reached about distinctions between pottery from Abu Shahrain and Hajji Muhammed until Safar's book on

Abu Shahrain has been published.

40. Lenzen in *UVB*, 11 (1940), 27.

41. Cf. Ziegler, *Die Keramik von der Qal'a des Hağgi Muhammed*, pp. 47 f.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 15 f.

crosshatching alternating with triangles set point to point;⁴³ an over-all pattern of quatrefoils;⁴⁴ rows of circles surrounded by dots.⁴⁵ There are three different patterns of the rosette, so popular on Halaf Ware. The first form which is most clearly Halafian appears on ten sherds in the Berlin Collection.⁴⁶ There were two instances of the Maltese square.⁴⁷

On the other hand, certain characteristics of Halaf Ware do not appear. There are no polychrome designs, and little use of stippling.⁴⁸ There are no examples of overlapping arcs of circles resembling fish scales, or of "fringe" designs. The few representational patterns are much less skillfully drawn than on most Halaf sherds. Bucrania, which are so common on Halaf pottery, do not appear.

Similarities to Ubaid Ware, which also utilizes primarily monochrome painted pottery, are numerous. Many of the designs are spaced farther apart than Halafian patterns, and are more like those on Ubaid pots. The artists who made the new ware were especially fond of combining the painted design and the unpainted surface in the decorative plan, as were also Ubaid artists. Many of the zigzag patterns closely resemble Ubaid usage.⁴⁹ There is a design of triangles opposed by their long sides.⁵⁰ A series of oblique parallel lines is set in a zigzag pattern.⁵¹

Among the patterns which appear only in this Eridu-Hajji Muhammed Ware may be mentioned the arrangement of triangles, perhaps originally forming an eight-petaled rosette, set as central motif on the bottom of a vase (fig. 153).⁵² The trapezoids set beside small triangles in the free spaces are a curious detail of this design. Arcs of circles of varying size are set together in novel patterns (fig. 154).⁵³ There are over-all patterns of lozenges (fig. 155),⁵⁴ and rows of pointed ellipses bordered by broad bands of paint (fig. 156). A bold combination of triangles and zigzags (fig. 157) seems to be a magnification of a pattern used by both Halaf and Ubaid artists.⁵⁵ The same might be said of such pointed arches as appear in fig. 158,⁵⁶ or of the zigzag in fig. 159. Other novel uses of the zigzag pattern occur (fig. 160).⁵⁷

SOUTHERN UBAID WARE

In Southern Ubaid Ware representational designs are rare. Most of the patterns are geometric. A collection of the principal geometric designs has been made by Miss Perkins in fig. 161. The interrupted designs found commonly on Ubaid vases in the North are not present in the South.⁵⁸ There are many examples of wavy lines or scallops, which in

43. *Ibid.*, pl. 37, a, no. 23.

44. *Ibid.*, pl. 37, c, no. 87.

45. *Ibid.*, pl. 37, d, no. 137.

46. *Ibid.*, pl. 37, d, nos. 138-140 and pp. 45 f.

47. *Ibid.*, pl. 37, d, no. 143; cf. pl. 5, g, h, k, and p. 46.

48. One piece has dots of paint on the surface of triangles: *ibid.*, pl. 37, a, no. 34; cf. Lenzen in *UVB*, 9 (1937), pl. 39, d.

49. Ziegler, pl. 37, b, nos. 46-50.

50. *Ibid.*, pl. 37, a, no. 30.

51. *Ibid.*, pl. 37, c, no. 100.

52. Cf. *ibid.*, pls. 17, b, 37, d, nos. 141, 142 and p. 46.

53. Cf. *ibid.*, pls. 4, c, 22, a, b, 37, c, no. 92. Lenzen in *UVB*, 9 (1937), pl. 37, a.

54. Cf. Ziegler, pl. 37, c, nos. 110, 111.

55. *Ibid.*, pl. 37, b, no. 55.

56. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. 37, b, no. 71. Five sherds used this new pattern.

57. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. 37, b, nos. 54, 64.

58. *CAM*, pp. 90-94.

some cases can hardly be distinguished from zigzags.⁵⁹ While the Halaf potters too had used such lines, they preferred the clear zigzags with their angular patterns (fig. 58, no. 22). Cable designs, familiar from early periods, are common and are executed with a series of variations. They may have dot centers; they may be impaled, or filled with crosshatching or with solid paint. Often such a design resembles a row of running lozenges.⁶⁰ Another familiar device, especially popular in Ubaid times in the South, is the use of metopes, frequently employed to set off groups of zigzag or wavy lines or crosshatching. The lines may be either horizontal or vertical (fig. 162).⁶¹ The North had far fewer examples of this technique. Miss Perkins⁶² uses the words "free elements" to describe the collection of dots, crosses, little "V"s, short zigzags, which appear commonly without a frame on Ubaid pots (fig. 163).⁶³ Sometimes the Ubaid artists simplified their designs to the point where they used only thick bands of paint, as on a pot from Telloh (fig. 164).⁶⁴ They employed triangles simply and boldly, as on a pot from al-Ubaid (fig. 166).⁶⁵ This pot also exhibits the fondness of the Ubaid artists for setting motifs on a diagonal. A single triangle is so set in one metope, two opposing triangles in another, thus becoming a lozenge. Large curved chevrons appear (fig. 165).⁶⁶

All the representational designs I have seen are schematized. There are a few leaves, which are set sometimes close together (fig. 167),⁶⁷ sometimes in rows (fig. 168).⁶⁸ On a striking sherd from Telloh (fig. 169)⁶⁹ one is set at a diagonal in a metope; another pictures what Parrot thought was a palm branch (fig. 170).⁷⁰ Bird designs comparable to those in the North are found at Telloh (fig. 171)⁷¹ and Uqair (fig. 172).⁷² Only from these latter

59. Delougaz, *Pottery*, pl. 17, a. R. Campbell Thompson, "The British Museum Excavations at Abu Shahrain in Mesopotamia in 1918," *Archaeologia*, 70 (1920), 122, fig. 10, nos. A.S. 56, A.S. 671, A.S. 98, A.S. 673, A.S. 63, A.S. 59. Safar in "Eridu," *Sumer*, 3 (1947), fig. 4, no. 1. UE, 1, pls. xv, nos. 1742, 1868, 1878, xviii, no. 1598, xix, nos. 1882, 1916. C. Leonard Woolley, *The Development of Sumerian Art* (London, Faber and Faber, 1935), fig. 4 (top right). *Telloh*, 1, pls. 3*, no. TG 5685; 28, no. 1; 31, no. 1, d. Lloyd and Safar, *JNES*, 2 (1943), pls. xx, a, 1, b, 3, 9, 10, XXI, a, 8. C. Leonard Woolley, "Excavations at Ur, 1929-30," *AJ*, 10 (1930), pl. XLVI, c, at p. 333. Von Haller in *UVB*, 4 (1932), pls. 16, d, 17, a, b.

60. Von Haller, in *UVB*, 4 (1932), pls. 16, d, 17, b. Thompson, p. 122, fig. 10, nos. A.S. 79, A.S. 101, A.S. 67, A.S. 102; p. 123, fig. 11, no. A.S. 78, xiv, 1:8', xii, 1:17'. *Telloh*, 1, pl. 32, no. 2, g. Lloyd and Safar, *JNES*, 2 (1943), pl. xx, a, 5, b, 14. UE, 1, pls. xvii, nos. 1628, 1629, 1631, 1691, 1695, 1812, xix, no. 1882.

61. Cf. Lloyd and Safar, *JNES*, 2 (1943), pls. xx, a, 8; b, 7; XXI, a, 8; xxv, nos. 6, 7. Von Haller in *UVB*, 4 (1932), pl. 16, b. Thompson, p. 121, fig. 9, A.S. 89; p. 122, fig. 10, A.S. 92; A.S. 97; A.S. 666; A.S. 667. *Telloh*, 1, pl. 27, no. 3; pl. 30, no. 2, a, b, e; pl. 31, no. 2, g, j, c; pl. 32,

no. 1, e, i; no. 2, f. Delougaz, pl. 64, no. 67.

62. *CAM*, p. 83.

63. Cf. UE, 1, pls. xviii, nos. 1548, 1542, 1851, 2064, xix, nos. 1616, 1634. Woolley, *The Development of Sumerian Art*, fig. 2, a. Thompson, p. 121, fig. 9, A.S. 86, A.S. 80. *Telloh*, 1, pl. 30, nos. 1, 2, f, pl. 32, no. 2, b. Lloyd and Safar, *JNES*, 2 (1943), pl. xix, b, 4, 21. Von Haller in *UVB*, 4 (1932), pl. 16, c.

64. Cf. Lloyd and Safar, *JNES*, 2 (1943), pls. xix, b, 1, 2, xx, b, 1.

65. Cf. UE, 1, pls. xvi, no. 1822; XLIX, no. T.O. 254. Woolley, *The Development of Sumerian Art*, fig. 2, a.

66. Cf. UE, 1, pl. xv, nos. 2070, 1861, 2218, 2069. Lloyd, "The Oldest City of Sumeria," *ILN*, 213 (1948), 305, fig. 11 (upper right).

67. Cf. Thompson, p. 122, fig. 10, A.S. 104.

68. Cf. UE, 1, pl. xvi, nos. 1842, 1826.

69. The same sherd is pictured also on *Telloh*, 1, pl. 29, no. 2, c.

70. Cf. Parrot, *Tello*, p. 36. A similar sherd was found in Warka: Jordan in *UVB*, 3 (1932), pl. 22, b, no. 10090 c.

71. Cf. *Telloh*, 1, pl. 2, a.

72. Cf. Lloyd and Safar, *JNES*, 2 (1943), pl. xix, a, 6-9, 11, 13.

sites up to the present have come sherds with designs of quadrupeds. Two metopes still remain on a fragment from Uqair; in the first is a bird, in the second a quadruped with horns resembling trees (fig. 174).⁷³ This quadruped, like several others, has a U-shaped body; the body of another is a crosshatched rectangle (fig. 173).⁷⁴ Fish appear on two sherds from Telloh (fig. 175).

Seals

While the evidence for seals varies markedly from site to site, for what reason is not known, seals continued to be used during the Ubaid Period. Only eight seals were found in all the southern sites (one from Uqair, and seven from Telloh). The three which Parrot found in recent excavations have alone been illustrated. They bear simple linear designs (fig. 176).⁷⁵

In the North, almost six hundred were found in the total excavation of Tepe Gawra, the majority coming from this period.⁷⁶ Some came from Ubaid levels in Arpachiyah, though Mallowan thought most of them were seals made in the Halaf Period and carried over into the later culture.⁷⁷ A few from Nineveh, uncovered in the transitional strata between Levels 2 and 3, belonged to this period.⁷⁸ One interesting gable seal was found in Mefesh (fig. 203).

At Tepe Gawra geometric designs are the most popular, though some which are representational occur and become more numerous in Level 12, the last of the Ubaid levels.⁷⁹

The importance of the geometric form appears in the shape of the seals and the designs upon them. Some seals are hemispherical, some gabled (i.e. triangular), a few are rectangular, while others conform less to the geometric type.

The familiar basic geometric forms recur frequently on the seals or seal impressions, and Tobler has classified them in a useful way. First are "crisscrossed designs," wherein crosshatching appears, but with a number of variations (e.g. fig. 177). In the "quartered-circle designs," of which he says there were "dozens of examples," the cross takes central place, but the four quarters it creates may be filled in a great variety of ways: for example, with chevrons (fig. 178), with parallel lines forming a series of squares (fig. 179), or with triangles, while the arms of the cross are embroidered with a design resembling the herringbone pattern (fig. 180). The motif which in this book is called dot-centered circles Tobler calls "center-point designs." On these Ubaid seals, from the central dot radiate rays (fig. 181). Hence this pattern may be related to the other designs on pottery and seals which have appeared to be solar, though Tobler does not mention this possibility. In his "center-line designs," the face of the seal is bisected by a single center line. It may join

73. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. xix, a, 2, 3, 5, 10, 12. For other instances where stags' horns are approximated to trees see pp. 5, 37, 48, 130. At Telloh quadrupeds with U-shaped bodies appeared on two sherds: Parrot, *Tello*, fig. 8.

74. Cf. Lloyd and Safar, *JNES*, 2 (1943), pl. xix, a, 15.

75. Cf. *CAM*, p. 87; Lloyd and Safar, *JNES*, 2 (1943),

149; *Telloh*, 1, 10 f.

76. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 175.

77. Mallowan, "Arp.," p. 91.

78. Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 (1933), 135-138 and pl. LXIV.

79. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 177 f.

opposing groups of chevrons (fig. 182); or lines may branch from it to make the familiar herringbone pattern (fig. 183).⁸⁰ The latter begins to resemble the "sprig designs," which is Tobler's next classification. In fig. 184 the likeness to a branch is unmistakable. In his "chevron-center designs," leaves emerge on either side of the centrally placed chevron (fig. 185), yet, as Tobler saw, the linear form is dominant. A central square is formed by "inverted quadrantal arcs" in his "designs of segmented circles" (fig. 186). There are a number of examples of four-petaled rosettes or "quatrefoil designs" (fig. 187). The surface of one seal is covered with dots made by a drill (fig. 188).

Most of the representational designs are stylized, and those bearing human figures are no exception. Less than thirty-five seals or seal impressions showing representations of the human figure were found in Ubaid levels. Four of them had only a single figure, which was highly stylized.⁸¹ For example, on fig. 189 the man's torso was suggested by a triangle; the arms were chevrons, and whatever he carried was pictured by a triangle. On another example a chevron represented what was carried. On a third seal the object carried was pictured by a hatched ellipse, which Tobler thought was intended for a sack. In all of these designs the man's head was indicated by a single, oblique line. Since all these features conform to the pattern of stylized art, this line representing the head can hardly be considered a naturalistic detail making the figure bird-headed. Tobler suggests that the man carrying the sack may represent a sowing scene, but many other interpretations are possible.

The fourth seal impression where a single human figure appears (fig. 190), found in Level 12, is of unusual interest. The head of the man in this design also is rendered by a single oblique stroke. One arm is raised holding what Tobler suggests may be an animal's leg. A large triangle is below him. At his left⁸² is a disk, at his right, an impaled triangle, or spear, or arrow. Below the disk is what Tobler thinks may be a horned altar. An impression very like it (fig. 191)⁸³ came from Level 11a, just after the close of the Ubaid Period. The "horned altar" is given with more detail here. The sides are fluted and there is a horizontal slab across the top, on which are set the "horns" and a triangle. Also on this example the man stands before it and behind him is a fragmentary object, apparently an animal. The spear or arrow of the design of fig. 190 is lacking. It appears, however, on another seal from Level 13 (fig. 192),⁸⁴ where it is above a horned animal, probably an ibex, which also is accompanied by a small disk and what resembles the apex of a triangle. The scene represented in fig. 191 Tobler thinks "may represent a temple worshiper approaching the altar with an offering." He feels assured of symbolic meaning from the association of triangle, disk, and horned altars on the two seals, although with present evidence the meaning is obscure.

The "horned altars" of these seals need further consideration. So-called horned altars

80. This particular seal came from Level 11, but Tobler says (*ibid.*, p. 181) that "this pattern is found in Strata XIII through X."

81. *Ibid.*, pp. 182-185. The four Ubaid seals with a single human figure are shown in pls. CLXII, no. 76, one

unillustrated but identical with no. 77 (from levels of the Gawra Period), no. 78; CLXIII, no. 83.

82. The right of the seal impression.

83. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 183.

84. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 187.

appear here, but insofar as I know have not been found again in Mesopotamia until levels dating from many centuries later. In Assyrian levels six thirteenth-century objects, called by Andrae "Symbolsockel," were found in or near the Ishtar temple at Assur. These seem comparable to "horned altars." The protuberances at their corners vary greatly in shape. Andrae notes that sometimes they resemble cushions, sometimes blanket rolls, again genuine volutes, or abstract geometric forms. Thompson discovered a "horned altar" in excavating the temple of Nabu in Nineveh. If Albright is correct, this dates from the Early Iron Age, a statement which may be doubted, since, as he says, it resembles Hellenistic altars.⁸⁵ Horned altars become common in Crete in the middle of the second millennium.⁸⁶ In Crete the evidence makes it fairly certain that the projections at the corners of the altars were intended for bulls' horns. In Palestine such altars have been found in levels of the Early Iron Age and were called "horned altars," a term which reflects the presence of animal and probably bull symbolism.⁸⁷ Yet in this Ubaid Period in Mesopotamia the symbol of the bull popular in the Halaf Period had fallen into disuse. No bulls appear on pottery of this period. On seals, the ibex or gazelle, the dog or saluki are common,⁸⁸ but not the bull. Animal figurines in the form of a bull have been found in the South, but only three examples have so far appeared in northern sites.⁸⁹

Altars, but without horns, are found on other seals from Tepe Gawra of the Gawra Period (fig. 512).⁹⁰ One of these is rectangular, and is hatched. These are not the first altars which have appeared in the symbolism. One was found on a sherd of the Halaf Period at Mefesh (fig. 75). This is in the form of two triangles set point to point. On the top is "fringe" which Mallowan thought represented flames. Above it is a bird. Another example

85. Walter Andrae, *Die jüngeren Ishtar-Tempel in Assur*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 58 (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1935), 57-76, pls. 29, 30, figs. 21-23, 26-31. James B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1954), nos. 576, 577 and p. 319. R. Campbell Thompson, "The Excavations on the Temple of Nabû at Nineveh," *Archaeologia*, 79 (1929), pl. LVI, no. 335 and p. 108, D 7. [William Foxwell Albright], Book Review: Harold M. Wiener, *The Altars of the Old Testament*, JPOS, 9 (1929), 52; *The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim*, 3 The Iron Age, AASOR, 21, 22 (New Haven, 1943), 28-30. On an Early Dynastic III seal from Mari is a form which perhaps could be interpreted as a "horned altar" on which was set a bull's head or crescent, though this is far from certain. Parrot was more inclined to think that the whole was a schematized rendering of a human-headed bearded bull: André Parrot, *Studia Mariana* (Leiden, Brill, 1950), pl. IV, M. 545 and p. 117. Barrelet, on the other hand, considered it an altar decorated with the head of a bull: Marie-Thérèse Barrelet, "Taureaux et symbolique solaire," *RA*, 48 (1954), 21 f.

86. Arthur J. Evans, "Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 21 (1901), 135-138; Arthur Bernard Cook, *Zeus*, 1 (Cambridge, The Univer-

sity Press, 1914), 508; Edith H. Hall, *The Decorative Art of Crete in the Bronze Age* (Philadelphia, John C. Winston Co., 1907), p. 41. An example has been found in Almeria in the south of Spain: Cook, p. 508, and Joseph Déchelette, *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique, celtique, et gallo-romaine*, 2 (Paris, Picard, 1910), 476, who cites doubtful examples from other regions. It is possible, though still most uncertain, that some objects found in Alishar Hüyük in Anatolia by the University of Chicago expedition were horned altars. Schmidt so takes them: Erich F. Schmidt, *The Alishar Hüyük, Seasons of 1928 and 1929*, OIP, 19 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1932), 202, cf. fig. 261. Von der Osten later called them "pottery andirons or spit-supports": Hans Henning von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük, Seasons of 1930-32*, OIP, 28 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1937), 207, 270. These date from the Copper and Early Bronze Periods.

87. Albright, *The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim*, 3, 28. I Kgs. 1:50, 51; 2:28; Ez. 43:15, 20; Exod. 27:2; 29:12; 30:2, 3, 10; 37:25, 26; 38:2; Lev. 4:7, 18, 25, 30, 34; 8:15; 9:9; 16:18.

88. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 185-190.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 197. Tobler considered these "a cultural survival from Halaf times into the succeeding period."

90. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. CLXIII, no. 84.

of the same form came from later levels at Nineveh (fig. 572). A very similar design has appeared on plates from Halaf (figs. 72, 73). When the significance of such designs on Halaf plates was discussed it seemed probable that these forms had different applications. "Fringed" triangles appeared significant to the Halaf artists, but it was the geometric form which was primary. Triangles could be applied to altars, but that was not their only application.

We return to the altars on the Tepe Gawra seals. Here are three triangles, set at the corners and in the middle of the altar, as well as triangular shapes at the end of the "arrow" on one seal, and as a form in itself beside the altar on both seals. Since there is no other evidence of the persistence of bull symbolism in this period it would probably be a mistake to see the "horns" as evidence for it. Much more probably the triangles on these altars are another instance of the symbolism attaching to the triangular form, as on the altars from Mefesh and Nineveh. Only this time they are placed on top of the altar, while the altar is rectangular. It should not be assumed, therefore, that later instances of horned altars lacked connection with bull symbolism. On Halaf sherds the bucranium was associated with the cross or lozenge to achieve richer values than from either symbol alone. Such enrichment of symbols occurred many times through the centuries. When later in Palestinian altars a schematized form of what they had come to call "horned altars" appears, it is very probable, however, that the value of the triangles they placed at the corners was still highly important to them.

The characteristics of stylized art are so apparent on the other designs where human figures are represented that it is perilous to go too far in drawing conclusions about whatever ritual lies at the basis of these designs. A jar is in central place in fig. 193, while a man on either side stirs its contents. The heads of the men are only protuberances. The size of the jar is so exaggerated that attention is clearly focused upon it and its contents. In later periods the vase becomes an important symbol. This is an anticipation of its later use. On three seals or impressions men are probably represented as dancing. The first two of these (figs. 194, 195) are highly schematized. In fig. 194 the bodies are triangles and the heads oblique lines. The body of the man in fig. 195 is also a triangle, and he has hands of three fingers, in accordance with an established tradition of stylized Mesopotamian art. The third seal (fig. 196) appears to be a mixture of schematized and naturalistic art. On the one hand the body is a triangle, and set abstractly in the field are four-petaled rosettes and a quadruped. On the other hand, a headdress is indicated on this example, and possibly also on the impression of fig. 195; and Tobler has drawn the legs and arms of the man on fig. 196 as though the muscles were rendered more naturalistically. The object is small, so one wonders whether this indication of form is as real as it seems. Whether this seal belongs to the stylized or naturalistic group of designs is important, because it has sometimes been thought on the basis of these headdresses and the oblique lines used for heads on figs. 189, 190, 194, that priests in this period used masks in the ritual. Only figs. 195, 196 would seem to support such a conclusion. The evidence seems to me indecisive. It is not clear whether the artists who made these designs were or were not trying to

picture men wearing masks in a ritual dance. Tobler suggested that the man in fig. 195 may have been intended to be ithyphallic. This is by no means clear to me, but if so, this aspect of the design, which thus brought "life" or fertility to overt expression, may have been the most important element. Another fragmentary impression (fig. 197)⁹¹ where copulating snakes are shown beside a nude (female?) figure may have similar implications. The possibility that the snake whose head in this impression approaches the buttocks of the human is a fertility symbol is strongly supported by an impression of the Gawra Period (fig. 514), where a snake is set abstractly alongside a man and woman in sexual intercourse. Hence it is also possible that the artists who made the designs of figs. 193, 195, 196, and 197 were less interested in suggesting ritual than they were in drawing forms which meant "fertility," in whatever specific application.

Human figures appear with quadrupeds on three, or perhaps four, other seal impressions (e.g. fig. 198).⁹² In two of the designs a human figure with triangular body, head which is an oblique line, and hands with three fingers, stands in the midst of a circle of wild animals. A circle of animals is represented on the third seal impression, but the man is above them. On the fourth example the circle of animals is clear, but the design is less carefully rendered, and if a human being ever appeared it cannot now be recognized in the lines of the impression. On all of these impressions where the human body is rendered, its schematized form confirms the fact that they belong in the category of stylized art. It becomes less probable, therefore, that any of them pictures a man engaging in ritual. This conclusion is further supported by the fact that the animals are not such domesticated animals as were commonly used in the cult, but wild animals. The circular form in which the animals walk may well have been influenced by the circular form of the seals themselves, which again may have been influenced by such forms in geometric art. Thus once more a linear form may have been imposed on a representational pattern.

On some seals and seal impressions animals alone appear. A solar form accompanies a horned animal on one seal (fig. 199). On other examples (figs. 200,⁹³ 201) the animals are set in relation to herringbone and tree designs much as were the animals on Samarran plates. In fig. 200 the antlers of the stag are made like trees, as were the antlers of some animals on the plates. Hence the stylized forms of the early period continue. A significant juxtaposition of two animals, a fish, and two vultures appears on the seal of fig. 202.⁹⁴ Above the back of each animal is a vulture, wings spread, ready to attack. Here as in earlier instances, an artist who utilized stylized forms has introduced the idea of aggression overtly into his design.⁹⁵

The same idea may appear indirectly in the very fact that the only animals used for seal designs in this period are wild animals, with the single, significant exception of the

91. For the interpretation of entwined snakes as snakes copulating, cf. E. Douglas Van Buren, "Entwined Serpents," *AfO*, 10 (1935/36), 53-65; *Symbols of the Gods*, pp. 40-42; H. Frankfort, "Gods and Myths on Sargonid Seals," *Iraq*, 1 (1934), 12.

92. Cf. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pls. CLXIV, nos. 100, 101;

CLXIX, no. 162.

93. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. CLXVI, nos. 124, 128 and p. 186.

94. Three fish appear on one seal: *ibid.*, pl. CLXX, no. 176.

95. A scorpion may be a symbol of aggression on another seal: *ibid.*, pl. CLXX, no. 182.

saluki, the hunting dog.⁹⁶ In the Halaf Period the bull's head was a common symbol. There were amulets in the form of a bull's head or a bull's hoof. Domesticated sheep appear on seals only in later periods.⁹⁷ In the Ubaid Period these forms appear only on figurines (figs. 214, 215).⁹⁸ If this selection of the hunted animal seems indirectly to suggest aggression, as the combination of such animals with vultures in fig. 202 suggested aggression more directly, there is no reason at the same time to doubt that these animals also suggested fertility, as is commonly supposed. Of that implication the combination of animal and tree designs is good evidence (figs. 200, 201). The validity of supposing that the same design may have opposite implications will be discussed later.⁹⁹

On a seal from Mefesh (fig. 203) which has the "gabled" or triangular form, a stag is represented as having three legs. One with five legs comes from Nineveh (fig. 204). Similar three- and five-legged animals recur on seals from the Ninevite Period in Tepe Gawra and Brak. Thus it is clear that these deviations from normal were not due to inadvertence on the part of the prehistoric artist. They were a way in which he imposed abstract form on representational designs.

Figurines

Northern Mesopotamia

Two groups of female figurines have been found in Ubaid levels in Tepe Gawra, both somewhat stylized, though one group is better modeled than the other. Both types were found to be contemporary with each other. There was no trend from a more naturalistic to a more stylized form, or vice versa.¹ For example, from Level 19 came an extremely stylized figurine (fig. 205).² Only less stylized are figurines from Levels 15 (fig. 206) and 13 (fig. 207), the latter from a temple. In Level 13 the end of the period is approaching but they are still highly stylized. Thus the stylized form is not confined to an early date but remains popular while figurines are popular. Female figurines go out of fashion by the end of the Ubaid Period.

On the most highly stylized figurines the head is indicated only as a short projection, the breasts are prominent but not exaggerated, but the hips and knees are greatly increased in size (fig. 206). The shape thus assumes an approximately triangular form, as was true for certain figurines from the Halaf Period. The breasts are exaggerated and the

96. The saluki appears on seals from Tepe Gawra: *ibid.*, pls. CLXIV, no. 99; CLXVI, no. 130.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

98. Two well carved stone bulls' heads and one of terra cotta which had evidently served as amulets were found in Ubaid levels at Tepe Gawra. "The first of these was found below the floor level of Stratum XVIII, but above the walls of XIX; consequently, it most probably belongs to the upper stratum. [The second], on the other hand, was found in Stratum XVI, as was the terra cotta specimen": *ibid.*, p. 197. In spite of the presence

of these objects, which Tobler considered "a cultural survival from Halaf times," it is clear that the Ubaid culture in general turned away from the bull symbol. Our picture of the culture becomes only the more life-like if the clarity is somewhat blurred by a few exceptions.

99. Pp. 55 f.

1. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 163-165.

2. Cf. the highly stylized figurine from Level 19 shown in *ibid.*, pl. LXXXI, d, 5. On its chest a "V" is incised in double lines.

knees reduced in size on the figurines which are better modeled (fig. 208). Most of the examples in the latter group have a painted skirt held up by two straps suspended from the shoulders. The straps cross on the back and between the breasts. From Arpachiyah came examples approximating the second type.³ Single figurines were found in Mefesh and Brak which are comparable to the southern type.⁴

A large proportion of the animal figurines are so roughly modeled as to be unidentifiable. To Tobler this seemed perplexing if they were to be used in the cult. He expressed his perplexity thus: "If these objects had been made with the view to substituting them for actual animals in religious rites or practices it could most certainly be expected that enough skill would have been exercised to differentiate the model of a sheep, for example, from that of a goat, cow, or other animal, an expectation that is not borne out by the objects themselves."⁵ Furthermore, since one infant's grave in Level 17 contained both the figurine of a mouflon and a rattle, he concluded that most of the animal figurines served as toys. However, among many peoples the rattle is not a toy but a ceremonial object to frighten away demons or ghosts or help measure rhythm.⁶ It is more probable that the figurines were not substitutes for sacrificial offerings in the temples, but were amulets useful to individuals for different purposes. The poor modeling of these animals so that their species could not be recognized may be explained in another way. Just as the geometric designs were interrelated both in form and meaning, so the animals of different species were also. Gazelle, ibex, mouflon, bull—the artists recognized the same complex symbolic values in each. In any given case, of course, it is possible that the indifferent modeling should be attributed to a lack of skill in the artist. Yet when the majority of such figurines are too indistinctly modeled to permit identification another explanation seems demanded. It is because lack of concern for the species forms a pattern in this period that it becomes a significant factor.

Of the animals which can be recognized, some represent wild animals. The mouflon (fig. 209), wild ass (fig. 210), perhaps a gazelle (fig. 211), and leopard (fig. 212) were found at Tepe Gawra. The dog appeared both there (fig. 213) and in Nineveh.⁷ These examples correspond with the designs most popular on the seals. Tobler, however, reported finding numerous sheep figurines (e.g. figs. 214, 215).⁸ Fig. 215 is the first example we have seen of a girdled animal. Tobler thinks the painted lines may be "ownership marks." In Level 13, the most prolific in animal figurines, "most . . . are either sheep or are unrecognizable."⁹ If the Ubaid people employed some domestic animal figurines, our earlier view that ani-

3. Mallowan, "Arp.," fig. 45, nos. 2, 4, 5. Mallowan (pp. 81-87) takes no. 2 to be from the Halaf Period, though Perkins lists this with others which she thinks should be considered from the Ubaid Period because they "were found in Ubaid context": *CAM*, p. 60.

4. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 8 (1946), pl. xxvi, no. 2 and p. 159. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), pl. liv, no. 9 and pp. 214 f. Mallowan compares this with figurines from Warka.

5. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 165.

6. Sir James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed. (New York, Macmillan, 1935), 1, 263; 3, 58; 7, 13, 15; 9, 286; 10, 28, 52.

7. Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 (1933), pl. lxxii, no. 11 and p. 147.

8. Cf. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. cliv, no. 17 and p. 166.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 166. For three amulets in the form of a bull's head from Tepe Gawra see p. 38, n. 98.

imals connected with the hunt were most popular with them is still tenable. The popularity of one form, clearly established, does not preclude the usefulness of other symbolic forms.

Several figurines in the form of birds were found in Arpachiyah (fig. 216), and one in Tepe Gawra, the latter not illustrated.¹⁰ These examples were thought to be doves.

Southern Mesopotamia

A very few of the Ubaid female figurines found in Ur are somewhat naturalistic (fig. 217).¹¹ The great majority found in Ubaid levels in the South are carefully modeled grotesques (fig. 218). The bodies are well shaped. The hands either are set at the waist or hold infants; but the backs of the heads of the adults are elongated in a high dome, and the heads of the infants are flat and fan-shaped. The faces are reptilian, the eyes long and slanting. A series of incised triangles outlines the pubes, and on several figurines, linear painted decoration is added. For example, wavy lines are drawn across the shoulders of a fragmentary specimen (fig. 219), and a series of chevrons down the leg of a third fragment (fig. 220). Such figurines as these have been found at Ur (e.g. fig. 218), at Warka (e.g. figs. 219, 220), at al-Ubaid,¹² Uqair,¹³ Telloh,¹⁴ and Abu Shahrain.¹⁵ Woolley was impressed by the skill with which the bodies were modeled and thus concluded that the distortion of the heads and faces was intentional, and not due to the artists' lack of ability. He suggested that the figurines might represent "some kind of half-human demon."¹⁶ He felt confident that they had religious significance.

Heretofore the artists who produced stylized forms have combined geometric designs with each other or have superimposed geometric on representational forms. In these southern Ubaid figurines the painted linear ornament may be a way of adding a potent design to a representational figure. More than that, however, these artists produced abstract forms by combining two representational figures with each other. The result to modern eyes is repellent. Even though modern taste is no criterion by which to judge the taste of Ubaid artists, it still is probable that this combination of forms was intended to suggest greater power and frightfulness. Yet the figurines probably were not intended as symbols of aggression and terror alone. Since the pubes is emphasized by the incised triangles, and since many hold infants in their arms, it is clear that fertility or "life" was equally important in the symbolism. Once more it becomes evident that a single figure may represent opposite ideas at one and the same time.

10. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 167.

11. Cf. Woolley, *The Development of Sumerian Art*, pp. 37-39.

12. UE, 1, pl. XLVIII, nos. T.O. 405, T.O. 407. On the second of these a cable pattern with central dots is drawn down the side of the leg.

13. Lloyd and Safar, *JNES*, 2 (1943), pl. XVIII, nos. 4, 8, 12. Down the leg of the last is drawn a zigzag.

14. *Telloh*, 1, pl. 12, nos. 1, 4, a, 6. Parrot, *Tello*,

fig. 7, f, l, m.

15. Miss Perkins (*CAM*, p. 84) thinks the "animal's leg" pictured by Thompson in *Archaeologia*, 70 (1920), 121, fig. 9, and described on p. 124, may have been such a figurine. Another was found in Temple 6 by recent excavations (Lloyd and Safar, "Eridu," *Sumer*, 3 [1947], 104).

16. Woolley in *AJ*, 10 (1930), 338.

Two male figurines comparable to the female grotesques have been found at Abu Shahrain (e.g. fig. 221),¹⁷ and a third at Warka.¹⁸

The animal figurines which were found at most of the southern Ubaid sites were crudely modeled. To some of them painted lines were added, as to the grotesque human figurines (e.g. fig. 222). Among the animals which could be recognized, bulls came from Warka¹⁹ and Telloh,²⁰ a humped bull, leopard, and possibly a camel also from Warka, though no other camel has been found at so early a date,²¹ sheep, a fox, and a bison from Telloh,²² what was possibly a porcupine from Abu Shahrain,²³ and a bird from al-Ubaid.²⁴

The bulls which appeared in Warka and Telloh were the most surprising, since, aside from these examples, the bull has rarely appeared in the ornament of this period. These bull figurines are not sufficiently numerous in either site to establish them as a popular form. Nevertheless, their occurrence here is a useful reminder that caution should be exercised in denying the power of a symbol in a given period for lack of evidence. Clearly, since other symbols are more common in Ubaid times, it was they which had more meaning in the period. Yet the bull and such domestic animals as the sheep were used.

Beads, Amulets, and Miscellaneous Objects

Few representational forms were employed for the ornament of the beads, pendants, amulets, and varied small objects in both northern and southern Mesopotamia. Stylized forms were the rule, and most decoration was geometric.

Most of the beads were plain, but a small number in Tepe Gawra were ornamented with crosshatching and herringbone designs (fig. 223);²⁵ and one was shaped like a lozenge and decorated with dot-centered circles (fig. 224). Beads, often with linear markings, were found also in Arpachiyah,²⁶ al-Ubaid, Telloh, and Ur.²⁷

17. Cf. Lloyd in *ILN*, 213 (1948), 303, fig. 1. Hall reported the discovery of a similar figurine at the site much earlier: H. R. Hall, "Ur and Eridu: The British Museum Excavations of 1919," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 9 (1923), 191 f., fig. 7. Heinrich and Falkenstein speak of figurines "von Menschen" picked up at Raidau Sharqi: *UVB*, 9 (1937), 35. They do not show pictures of them or describe them. In the earlier excavations at Warka a collection of "male" figurines was discovered and pictured (Jordan in *UVB*, 3 [1932], pl. 21, c). They are quite like others discovered by Parrot in the later excavations at Telloh (*Tello*, p. 38 and fig. 7, d). Parrot distinguishes them from female figurines because they are drawn very schematically, with no anatomical details. Even the heads are but slight projections. In *UVB*, 8 (1936), 50, Heinrich also suggested that such figurines as fig. 47, a and c were males. Although the figurines from Warka and Telloh lacked indications of sex, their bodies were cylindrical or cone-shaped, their arms only rudimentary stumps, and their facial features indistinct. It is true that on the female figurines

usually at least the breasts are exaggerated. In view of the tendency to stylized forms in all kinds of art in the Ubaid Period, including figurines from northern sites, the absence of anatomical details does not seem to me to establish that these figurines are male. See especially *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pls. LXXXI, d, 4; CLIII, nos. 7, 8.

18. Heinrich in *UVB*, 8 (1936), pl. 47, g.

19. Jordan in *UVB*, 3 (1932), pl. 21, b.

20. *Telloh*, 1, 8.

21. Heinrich in *UVB*, 8 (1936), pl. 46, e, g, f and p. 50.

22. *Telloh*, 1, 8; Parrot, *Tello*, p. 38.

23. Thompson, p. 124, fig. 9.

24. *UE*, 1, pl. XLVIII, no. T.O. 369.

25. Cf. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. CLXXI, nos. 8, 10 and p. 193.

26. Mallowan, "Arp.," pl. VII, b, fourth row and p. 98.

27. *UE*, 1, 52, 153, pl. XII, no. 10. *Telloh*, 1, 11. Woolley in *AJ*, 10 (1930), 336.

In the North pendants were often strung with the beads and were closely related to them in function. Such pendants were unreported in the South, though one V-shaped amulet with incised zigzag markings was found by Parrot at Telloh.²⁸ Some of the pendants were plain, but many were decorated with crossed lines, at times poorly, at other times well executed (fig. 225).²⁹ Occasionally linear designs were combined with drilled ornament, as on one pendant where rosettes were set in the spaces marked off by a cross (fig. 226).³⁰ On a few pendants animal figures were worked with a drill, all schematically rendered (fig. 227).³¹ Some pendants were made in probably significant shapes, whether they were merely unusual (fig. 228), or whether they pictured a human figure or an animal (figs. 229, 230).³²

In the early part of the Ubaid Period at Tepe Gawra spindle whorls were found, some of which bore no decoration, while others had nicked edges. By the end of the period spindle whorls were ubiquitous and undecorated whorls a rarity. A six-petaled rosette was incised on one (fig. 231), a crudely drawn horned animal on another (fig. 232), and painted decoration, which does not show in the illustration, appeared on a third.³³ Both undecorated spindle whorls and some with simple incised decoration were found in other sites in both North³⁴ and South.³⁵

Decoration which was formalized appeared on a variety of other small objects. For example, at Tepe Gawra a band of zigzag between two bands of paint was set on an object of uncertain use, shaped like a nail.³⁶ Objects shaped like crude cones, some of them slightly bent, were common in Tepe Gawra³⁷ and Arpachiyah.³⁸ Fourteen of them took the form of crude representations of human figures (fig. 234).³⁹ Some of the cones, Mallowan suggested, may have been weights. Others have been thought to be gaming pieces, though Miss Perkins was more inclined to view those resembling human figures as stylized figurines. Possible gaming pieces appeared in Arpachiyah in Halaf levels.⁴⁰ From the Early Dynastic Period gaming boards seem to have been used as a means of divination.⁴¹ If these, then, were gaming pieces, they may have been used in some form of cult. Five examples of what have been called "eye" or "hut" symbols came from Ubaid levels in Tepe Gawra. The significance of such objects will be discussed in the chapter on the Ninevite Period. Here it suffices to note their appearance at this early time and that two of the examples, one from Level 16, the other from Level 12, had only one ring or volute (fig. 233),⁴² thus possibly suggesting that they had another function. The other three were of

28. Parrot, *Tello*, p. 38, fig. 7, h.

29. Cf. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pls. CLXXII, nos. 20, 22-24, 27-29, CLXXIII, nos. 46, 47, CLXXIV, no. 48, xci, b, 3 and pp. 194, 196.

30. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. CLXXIII, nos. 33, 38.

31. Cf. the horned animals of *ibid.*, pls. xcii, b, 5, CLXXIII, no. 39.

32. Cf. *ibid.*, pls. xcii, c, 4 (both bulls), CLXXIV, no. 61.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 168, pl. LXXXV, 8.

34. Mallowan, "Arp.," p. 88, fig. 49, nos. 15, 16; Starr, *Nuzi*, 1, 13; Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 (1933), pl. LXIX, nos. 11-16.

35. Thompson in *Archaeologia*, 70 (1920), 124, pl. x, b. UE, 1, pl. xv, no. 1 and p. 50. Lloyd and Safar, *JNES*, 2 (1943), 149.

36. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. CLVI, no. 54 and p. 169.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 170, pls. LXXXIII, b; LXXXIV, b, c; CLVI, nos. 51-53, 55-58; CLXXIX, no. 51.

38. Mallowan, "Arp.," fig. 49, nos. 13, 14 and p. 88.

39. Cf. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. LXXXIII, b.

40. Mallowan, "Arp.," p. 99.

41. Van Buren, *Symbols of the Gods*, pp. 54, 112. C.

J. Gadd, "Babylonian Chess?" *Iraq*, 8 (1946), 66-72.

42. Cf. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. LXXXVI, a, 6.

the common type with two volutes. In Tepe Gawra a hammer-like object of uncertain use which might have been a model tool or perhaps the top of a staff or wand was painted with light green or perhaps originally bistre bands.⁴³ Disks which may have been model wheels were decorated with brown painted lines around the rims. On one was the suggestion of spokes.⁴⁴ Two clay model knives were found in al-Ubaid, one decorated with a painted linear design.⁴⁵ A scale weight from Tepe Gawra was shaped like an animal or bird.⁴⁶ In al-Ubaid was found a human hand carved in obsidian, hollowed out like a spoon. Its purpose is unknown, though Woolley suggested that it might have been a toilet article.⁴⁷ Small black steatite ointment or kohl vases were decorated with crosshatching or the herringbone pattern.⁴⁸ From Level 13 at Tepe Gawra, where only a temple area was found, came a rectangular tablet incised with crosshatching and a fragment of limestone molding decorated with a herringbone pattern.⁴⁹ Bone playing pipes or flutes were incised with chevrons.⁵⁰ One was under the head of a child less than ten years old who had been buried in an urn. Tobler thinks the chevrons were intended "to afford a grip for the thumbs," but while that may be true, they may at the same time have offered potency. Clay cones such as later were used for wall mosaic came from southern sites.⁵¹ Those from al-Ubaid were painted red and black. None has been found *in situ*.

In Uqair, al-Ubaid, and Abu Shahrain model boats were found which seem naturalistic. The boat from Abu Shahrain (fig. 235)⁵² had a curved bow and stern, a socket for the mast, and holes to which stays could be attached. Since it came from a man's grave, it probably served as an amulet for controlling in some measure the fears of death. This is the first appearance of what later becomes a familiar symbol on cylinder seals.

Painted Wall Decoration

In a house from Level 16 at Tepe Gawra, which, insofar as the excavators could determine, did not serve any religious function, was found the earliest example of painted wall decoration.⁵³ On a background of white plaster were painted alternating rows of red and black lozenges. The contrast in color seemed to the excavators very effective. In Level 13 also some walls of the Eastern and Central Temples were painted red and reddish-purple.⁵⁴ Only low sections were preserved. Since there were graceful floral designs on contemporaneous painted pottery, it was thought possible that the upper sections of the temple walls might have been decorated with foliage patterns, although such speculations cannot be proved. Since the Level 16 house cannot be shown to have served other than secular purposes the symbolic character of the ornament cannot be pressed.

43. *Ibid.*, pl. CLV, no. 23 and pp. 167 f.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

45. *UE*, 1, pl. XLVI, no. 2, T.O. 41 and p. 152.

46. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. CLXXIX, no. 54 and pp. 206 f.

47. *UE*, 1, 153.

48. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. CLXXX, nos. 63, 64 and p. 208.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 210.

50. *Ibid.*, pls. CLXXXII, nos. 11-15; XCIX, *b*, *c*, 2, *d* and p. 215.

51. Thompson in *Archaeologia*, 70 (1920), pl. x, *b*. *UE*, 1, 153 f. *Telloh*, 1, pl. 44, no. 1, *a-d*. Woolley in *AJ*, 10 (1930), 336. Jordan in *UVB*, 3 (1932), 20, 28.

52. Cf. Lloyd in *ILN*, 213 (1948), 303, fig. 4. For the boats from Uqair and al-Ubaid see Lloyd and Safar, *JNES*, 2 (1943), 153, pl. XXII, *a*, 6. *UE*, 1, 163, pl. XLVIII, no. T.O. 532.

53. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 40.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

Temple Architecture

In both northern and southern Mesopotamia during the Ubaid Period great skill was used in developing temple architecture. The men of this period were much more creative as architects than as craftsmen producing pottery, seals, figurines, and other ornamented objects. No painted or sculptured temple decoration has been preserved, though the plain painted walls of some rooms of the Eastern and Central Temples in Level 13 at Tepe Gawra raised the possibility that there had been designs on the upper sections which are now lost.

Symbolism is used in Ubaid temples in three ways. It appears in the construction of niches, in the imposition of the sacred number three in different ways upon the buildings, and also in the orientation of the corners of the temples to the cardinal points of the compass. In the North, since all of these characteristics are found in the Northern Temple of Level 13 at Tepe Gawra, this temple is chosen for illustration (fig. 236).⁵⁵ Doubly-recessed niches appear also on the Eastern and Central Temples of that level, but they were less completely preserved.⁵⁶ The doubly-recessed niches were used on both the outside and inside walls of the Northern Temple. The building was 12.25 meters long and 8.65 meters wide. Its corners were oriented to the cardinal points of the compass. In the center of each of its long sides was a large, deep niche, which did not extend fully to the inner walls, but left an air space between them. A doubly-recessed pier made of double pilasters was in the center of the great niche facing the courtyard, while at its corners were quarter pilasters. On the western, southern, and eastern outer walls of the building and in all but Room B of the interior, doubly-recessed piers and quarter pilasters were used to form niches in a well-planned decorative effect. Decoration, however, does not appear to have been the sole purpose of niches. Since they are not found on secular buildings, they seem symbolically to mark structures as "sacred."

Quite as important as the niched decoration is the tripartite form of the Northern Temple. This form had been anticipated in a far less clear way by the temples of Levels 19 and 18 at Tepe Gawra.⁵⁷ In the Northern Temple the center is a long nave along whose broad walls are flanking rooms connected with the main sanctuary by wide entrances. The nave and flanking rooms thus divide the structure longitudinally into three parts, so imposing the sacred number three on the building. The main door to the temple seems to have been through Room A. It is placed in such a way that anybody entering faces an obstructing wall. He must turn first left, then right, to enter the sanctuary. Then he must face right again, that is to the east, to face the center of worship. This location of the door, it has been thought, was made intentionally to protect the sanctity of the most sacred area.⁵⁸

55. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 30-32.

56. *Ibid.*, pl. x1 and pp. 30-36.

57. *Ibid.*, pls. xx, xix and pp. 43-47.

58. Temples of this plan have been termed the "around-the-corner type" by Valentin Müller, "Types of Mesopotamian Houses," *JAOS*, 60 (1940), 151-180. By Andrae they were called the "Herdhaus" type, since it

was assumed that the plan originated from a desire to have the hearth, and the seat of the lord of the house, nearby it, in the warmest place, as far from the door as possible: W. Andrae, *Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens im alten Orient* (Berlin, Hans Schoetz, 1930), p. 18.

When the Ubaid peoples were well established in the South at Abu Shahrain, that is, in Levels 8, 7, and 6, temples were built which were ornamented with niches, constructed in the tripartite form, and whose corners were oriented to the cardinal points of the compass. The temples of each of these levels differed from each other in certain details, but they were the same in these three respects. Since, furthermore, the temple of Level 8 was constructed so that the wall behind the altar was artificially divided into three sections by the placing of "false doors" at either side of the altar, that plan is chosen here for illustration (fig. 238). Temple 8 was placed on a platform which recalls the terraces of the later temples, as was Temple 11 which preceded it.⁵⁹ One approached the building presumably by a stairway to the platform, and found the principal entrance in the middle of the long southeast side. Then, as in the Northern Temple at Tepe Gawra, it was necessary to turn to face the center of worship. The main sanctuary was a long central room flanked on either side by rows of adjoining rooms. Thus it had the tripartite form. The altar was against the wall at the southwest end, and short walls projected from the sides of the court toward the altar, so that the altar stood in a sort of niche. An offering table was in the middle of the floor toward the northeast. On the outside of the wall behind the altar was an elaborate outer niche decorated with buttresses; on the inside of that wall the excavators tell us that "false doors" stood on either side of the altar, though they show only one on their plan. These doors, which had no utilitarian purpose, served, together with the altar, to mark a triple division of the most sacred part of the building. A votive jar full of fish bones stood in one of these false doors, other remnants of fish bones in the opposite door. The votive jar within this false door was decorated with simple geometric ornament.⁶⁰

USES OF ORNAMENTED ARTIFACTS

In regard to Ubaid pottery, the same variation in function appears as was observed in earlier periods. Some decorated vases may have had only domestic use. Others were used with burials. Many of the latter were filled with the remains of grain or animal bones for the nourishment of the deceased. Some of these were found at the mouths of the skeletons.⁶¹ Toward the end of the Ubaid Period vases were used to enclose the body, forming what is known as "urn burials."⁶² These were most popular for children, though five adults were also found buried in this way. Some of the urn burials appear to have come from sacrificial rites, while others were the result of a high infant mortality rate.⁶³ Two noteworthy instances of urn burial are the jars of fig. 143 and figs. 148-a, 148-b, the former decorated with alternating water birds and quadrupeds against a background of stars or suns, the latter the famous "landscape" jar. In such a setting symbolic meaning in some

59. *CAM*, p. 87; Lloyd and Safar, "Eridu," *Sumer*, 4 (1948), pl. vi and pp. 119 f.

60. The excavators say that the vessel was "tortoise-shaped," like those illustrated on *ibid.*, pl. vii, but they do not make it clear which of the two on that plate came from this location. Both have simple linear decoration. See also Lloyd and Safar, *Eridu, Sumer*, 3 (1947), 104.

61. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 115.

62. *Ibid.*, pp. 107 f. Urn burials were found also in Ubaid levels of Arpachiyah (Mallowan, "Arp.," p. 39, no. G. 22), Nineveh (Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 [1933], 163 and pl. LI, no. 12. These jars are unornamented.), and Nuzi (Starr, *Nuzi*, 1, 14).

63. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 103 f.

sense becomes highly probable. From the temples of Abu Shahrain came many vases which the excavators thought had contained votive offerings, and which were typical Ubaid Ware.⁶⁴ Again similar vases have appeared in other sites in secular surroundings. Three "censers" which were strictly ritualistic objects, however, were found in Temple 6 at Abu Shahrain. A reconstruction of one of them is given in fig. 237. As on the censers from Tepe Gawra, triangular openings are prominent. The design on the body consists of four horizontal rows of large triangles in metopes, divided by two vertical rows of chevrons. Below is a wavy line. In the level where these were found, bones of fish and small animals appeared, residue from temple offerings.⁶⁵ It is clear, therefore, that there was a well-organized cult. Because of the fish bones it has been suggested⁶⁶ that already Enki, god of fresh waters and later city god of Eridu, was being worshiped. The fish has appeared as a persistent symbol from early cultures, so in view of the lack of literary evidence it remains only a possibility that a god of that name had taken form.

Seals and their impressions were found in Tepe Gawra in increased numbers in Level 13 where only temples appeared. It was thought that they had been affixed to temple offerings. Yet in Level 12, where no religious buildings at all were found, there were even more.⁶⁷ From these facts it would be wrong to infer that the seals had only secular or commercial functions and were not used for their potency. The term secular had little meaning in antiquity. Potency was sought in all the affairs of daily routine, profound or trivial.

In both North and South, figurines were found in occupational areas, graves, and temples. We have observed above that they were probably likewise utilized, not in the formal, group cult but as amulets in rites for the needs of individuals. If priests were called in to assist the individuals they may sometimes have recognized that the potency of one animal was similar to that of another, so it was not important to have the species identified. Sometimes, however, they may have selected one from a stock of undifferentiated animals, and by pronouncing over it the name they chose to give, adapted it for the immediate purpose. Similarly with human figurines; if a person wished to cast a spell over a particular friend or enemy, or if the aid of a powerful demon were sought, any available figurine could be named. It did not need to have physical resemblance to the person or demon represented.

In Tepe Gawra beads were rare in occupational levels, though of the beads which were engraved, most came from occupational areas. The great majority of beads were plain. Beads were most common in graves. In one grave from Level 18 they were at the wrists, ankles, and pelvis of the buried child. Thousands came from the necropolis of Level 12. Many were found in the temples of Level 13.⁶⁸ In a grave at Abu Shahrain black and white beads lay across the shins of a woman and seem to have formed a six-inch fringe on her

64. Lloyd and Safar, "Eridu," *Sumer*, 3 (1947), 104.

65. Many fish bones were found also in Temples 8 and 7.

66. *CAM*, p. 88.

67. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 175 f.

68. *Ibid.*, pp. 192 f.

skirt.⁶⁹ We have said before that beads were often strung with amulets and can be scarcely distinguished from them. Their occurrence in such numbers in graves and temples supports this view. Whatever popularity beads enjoyed as ornaments, this use does not preclude their also having had potency.

Some spindle whorls were found in early Ubaid levels at Tepe Gawra. Fifty came from Level 13 where temples alone covered the excavated area. In Level 12 where there were no temples whorls became ubiquitous.⁷⁰ Why they were so common in a temple area the excavators could not explain, nor can the role of the decoration be determined.

It may be reiterated here that if there were actual gaming pieces among the objects discovered in Ubaid levels, they may have been utilized for divination. Thus they may be considered in a sense cultic objects.

SYMBOLIC ELEMENTS IN THE UBAID PERIOD

The dominance of stylized forms throughout the Ubaid Period is a factor of central importance. It is natural for scholars to attempt to discover designs which throw some light on occupations or ritual in a period when texts are completely lacking. Nevertheless, the artists of this period seldom turned to naturalistic forms, so it is highly dangerous to study their designs as though they were reproductions of scenes familiar to them. The presence of an altar on fig. 190 establishes the fact that there was a sacrificial cult; but the human figure is not standing before it, as he does on fig. 191 of the Gawra Period. Similarly, an offering scene in fig. 193 is suggested only by allusion. The same may be said of any festival in which dancing celebrants took part (figs. 194, 195, 196). The Ubaid seals, therefore, shed little light on their period through direct representations of customs.

It is proper to question whether the stylized forms were prompted by a real desire to use schematized art or whether the artists wished to be naturalistic but lacked the ability to draw realistic forms. Since men of the prehistoric periods did devise and execute beautiful and intricate designs and combinations of color, it is logical to conclude that they could have drawn more naturalistic scenes if they had wished to do so. Evidently this was not their wish. The schematized form was satisfying to them.⁷¹

69. Lloyd, "The Oldest City of Sumeria," *ILN*, 213 (1948), 303 f., fig. 7. Only a few had been found in the site in earlier soundings: Thompson in *Archaeologia*, 70 (1920), 124 and pl. ix.

70. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 168.

71. Mallowan seems to concur in this point of view. In discussing the high degree of conventionalization in modeling female figurines where even the head is reduced to a stump he says ("Arp.," p. 80): "Although the artist of this period [Halaf] would no doubt have found some difficulty in modelling the human head, yet it is most likely that failure to represent the head was due not to inability, but to custom, which forbade him to represent it. In the first place, his superb artistry in

other directions, in the representation, for example, of animals, shows that he had the ability to model natural forms; that he could model a human head is directly proved by a minute example of an alabaster figurine of the Tall Halaf period found in the burnt house, where the head is very well represented; but it is significant that the head is that of a male, and not that of a female; cf. Plate x, 921." I should doubt that the reluctance to draw a realistic head centered alone in female heads. We have seen that on seals and painted pottery male heads are as schematically rendered. It is rather the influence of geometric form, of abstract design, which seems to me to bring lack of realism.

The implications of symbolic forms in the Ubaid Period have seemed to be complex. Often when light was thrown on the significance of forms the same form seemed to be both a "life" symbol and a symbol of aggression. This seemed to be true of the animals whose association with tree designs (figs. 174, 200, 201) brought them into the circle of fertility ideas. On two seals a direct expression of aggression was associated with them: on fig. 202 where vultures attacked two animals, and on fig. 192 where above an ibex was a spear or arrow. Only less obvious is the idea of aggression implied in the fact that the hunting dog and wild animals, that is, the animals which are hunted, are those exclusively selected for representation on seals, and very popular as figurines. In this period the hunting scene makes its first appearance on the "landscape" jar (figs. 148-a, 148-b), where it is a direct expression of aggression. "Life" seems expressed directly by the snakes on the seal impression of fig. 197. On southern female figurines it was emphasized by the infants held in the mothers' arms and by the pelvic triangles; frightfulness or aggression was expressed by the grotesque heads (fig. 218). The triangle on these figurines clearly signified fertility. Since it was the form singled out for emphasis on the "landscape" jar it may well have signified aggression there. It also was emphasized on the seal of fig. 190, where it formed the tip of a spear or arrow and where three triangles were placed on top of an altar, the center of the sacrificial cult. When triangles are thus associated with the cult, insight is offered regarding some of the religious values of this period. These geometric forms have not appeared as "life" symbols alone or as "death" symbols alone. Perhaps in this period, as later with the Christian cross, life and death were mysteriously united.

There is ample evidence that the sun continued to play an important role in Ubaid culture. On one pot perhaps was a crude, stylized representation of a sun- or moon-goddess (fig. 136). Solar forms were abundant on one urn where they were combined with birds and quadrupeds (fig. 143). On seals solar forms appeared either alone (fig. 181) or in combination with other figures (figs. 196, 199). Tobler has directed attention to the large number of graves, temples, and tholoi which were concentrated on the eastern edge of the mound at Tepe Gawra. It seemed possible to him that the East had already assumed symbolic significance.⁷²

72. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 125.

CHAPTER 4

The Role of Abstract Art in Early Mesopotamia

Hitherto, studies in the history of symbolism have rarely been concerned with the existence of symbolism in abstract art, whether by abstract art is meant representational designs which have been stylized or pure geometric forms. Commonly books confine themselves to description of such art, as, for example, in Anna O. Shepard's analysis of the geometric design on the pottery of North American Indians.¹ This study is an aid to classification and stresses the importance of symmetry in geometric design, yet it does not investigate any possible role of these forms in the emotional lives of the people. That they played some role is emerging in the present study. Such conclusions need further consideration before an investigation can be attempted of a period which preferred more naturalistic forms.

To avoid misunderstanding, it should be emphasized that in calling stylized forms symbolic no precise verbal interpretation of the symbols is necessarily implied. By symbol I mean a form which refers to something other than itself, but not, like a sign, with a precise denotation. A cross when used beside a road directs a driver to caution because a crossroad lies ahead. A cross in a textbook of arithmetic means "multiply." In both these instances the cross is not a symbol but a sign. A cross when used as a symbol, however, has no single explanation. While for some people words can help explain its meaning, its real significance lies too deep for words. It is concerned not with denotation but with connotation, and deals with the realm of values, a word used in a significance explained in the Introduction to this book. The role of symbols in giving expression to complex feelings will be discussed later in this chapter. Here we only desire to point out that symbols in prehistoric Mesopotamia, as in modern civilizations, often were used without precise definition of meaning, and often also by people who were only following their impulses in using what they had found to be helpful forms. By way of analogy one may observe that men came to fire pottery early and became so skillful that they could adjust their pigment and heat to achieve desired effects. In the present day highly developed principles have been worked out to control these processes. In early periods men achieved satisfactory re-

1. "The Symmetry of Abstract Design with Special Reference to Ceramic Decoration," *Contributions to American Anthropology and History*, 9, No. 47 (Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1948), 211-293.

sults without being so analytic in their methods. Similarly they found out that artistic designs had potency without being analytic about their psychological processes. To suppose, as is common among scholars, first, that designs are "purely decorative" because their potency was discovered only by a process of experimentation, and second, that their use on domestic even if also on ritualistic objects precludes any element of potency or symbolism, seems an amazing error. Why should there not have been wide use of designs which were found helpful?

It is clear in both the Halaf and Ubaid Periods that some decorated objects served for domestic purposes, but it is equally clear that objects with precisely similar decoration were utilized in some form of cult.

In the Halaf Period, as has been said above, four vases with geometric ornament from Arpachiyah were found together deliberately broken beside ribs of sheep, a reflection of a religious ceremony. Two other vases with similar geometric decoration were against the wall of a tholos. More were found in graves. In two of the graves Mallowan thought it possible that the pots had been smashed at the time of interment.² These pots bore typical Halaf ornament. Three miniature vases in one of the graves were unpainted. A possible objection might be raised that such plain ware lessens the probability that the geometric designs on other vases had symbolic significance in any sense. Since "lucky" stones are sometimes completely plain and at other times have potent signs on them, this argument loses its cogency. Pottery was also found in graves of the Halaf Period in Shaghir Bazar.³

In the Ubaid Period in Arpachiyah⁴ houses and graves contained the same kind of pots. Indeed some which were found in the graves seem to have been used for so long a time in the homes that they had been broken and repaired before they were placed in the graves. There were plain vases and vases decorated with geometric designs. The better specimens were found not in graves but in what the excavators thought were votive deposits.

In Tepe Gawra toward the end of the Ubaid Period a number of large pots were used for burial urns.⁵ Plain pots were more numerous than those which were decorated, but a considerable number of the latter were found, at times decorated with simple geometric designs, at times with more elaborate decoration. The beautiful jars of figs. 143 and figs. 148-a, 148-b are illustrations of this latter group. Tobler was convinced that some of the pots had been used first as cooking pots in the homes and had been taken for the burials only after they had had long use.

All the finds from Level 13 of Tepe Gawra came from temples.⁶ Again both unpainted and painted jars appeared, the latter decorated primarily with geometric designs. One vase (fig. 146) may have been intended to represent a sanctuary entrance. Another (fig. 136) may have reflected "the worship of a sun- or moon-goddess." On an incense burner from this level (fig. 147) were seven "doors" topped by triangular windows.

2. Mallowan, "Arp.," pp. 42 f.; cf. G 54 and G 58.

3. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 3 (1936), 59.

4. Mallowan, "Arp.," pp. 34 f., 65.

5. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 148 f.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 140-145.

Beads were found in larger numbers in the graves of Tepe Gawra than in occupational areas. They were common also in the temples of Level 13.⁷ In Arpachiyah they appeared both in graves and in residences. Especially fine beads came from a notable house of the Halaf Period, which Mallowan calls "the burnt house," apparently the home of a potter.⁸ Closely related to the beads and often strung with them were pendants, some plain, some decorated with geometric designs. A few pendants either were made in significant shapes or were decorated with representational figures.⁹ Mallowan came to the conclusion that these pendants were used as seals. They thus are to be classed as amulets; and the designs upon them are to be studied as potent forms whether they are geometric or representational figures.

In the Halaf and Ubaid Periods both naturalistic and highly stylized figurines of humans were used. In Arpachiyah it seemed clear that some of the female figurines had been used to aid in childbirth. Because a male and female figurine occurred in a collection of cultic objects it was clear that they had also served wider ritualistic purposes.¹⁰ In Tepe Gawra female and animal figurines came from occupational and temple areas. One animal figurine was found in a child's grave.¹¹

In the South typical Ubaid pottery was found both in occupational areas and in the temples. Three censers which were strictly ritualistic objects came from Temple 6 at Abu Shahrain. Both the openings for the incense and the ornament on the sides featured triangles. A jar full of fish bones was found in a false door at one side of the altar of Temple 8. The false door was one of a pair which, together with the altar, created a triple division of the rear wall. The complex amalgam of symbols in which this vase appeared contributed to its sanctity. The decoration upon it was simple geometric ornament.¹²

In the graves of southern cities of the Ubaid Period beads were found. Female figurines came from both houses and graves. One such object appeared in Temple 6 at Abu Shahrain.¹³ Models of boats were found in graves.

There is no question that much of the pottery had had long use in the homes. Some of the ornamentation, therefore, may have had no great significance. On the other hand, because very similar pottery was used in ritual and, more important, because it bore the same kind of patterns which contributed potency to contemporary beads, pendants, and seals which were used as amulets, it cannot be inferred that designs on pottery were never symbolic.

A large area of uncertainty, therefore, exists. There is good reason to accept the view that the ornament used in these early periods, whether geometric or representational, was often in some sense symbolic. When it is found on amulets this is clearly true. The ornament may less often have been symbolic on vases. Since individuals used private rites for

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 192 f.

8. Mallowan, "Arp.," pp. 97 f.; cf. pp. 16 f.

9. Pp. 18, 42.

10. Pp. 19 f.

11. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. CLIV, no. 12 and pp. 165 f.

12. Pp. 45 f.

13. Lloyd and Safar, "Eridu," *Sumer*, 3 (1947), 104.

many facets of daily life, pots which had had long domestic use cannot be eliminated from the class of objects whose decoration may have contributed potency. Some designs may have even been intended to protect the dishes from breaking. There is thus a large group in which no decision can be reached as to the relative probability of whether the designs were or were not symbolic.

As with the Samarran Ware, there were also objects in the Ubaid Period whose decoration was so striking that it probably had symbolic meaning. The figures on one vase from Tepe Gawra (fig. 136) the excavators thought possibly were derived from "the worship of a sun- or moon-goddess." On one bowl the design was set so that it could only be seen when the bowl was upside down (fig. 150). It pictured a man apparently in a ritual dance. Ritual also seems reflected, though schematically, on seals showing a large vase, or men dancing, or possibly sacrifice. While these objects support the conclusion that men of the Halaf and Ubaid Periods were in the habit of using decoration with symbolic intent, because they are unique they are less significant than the material studied above. More important are the classes of objects which were used repeatedly.

The implications of these conclusions, only starting to unfold, are by no means clear. They doubtless go far beyond the scope of a historical study into a psychological field. It will remain for psychologists to pick up the facts observed here and aid in interpretation. The present book can make only a few suggestions.

The art of these periods is highly abstract. The abstraction appears sometimes in the use of pure geometric designs, sometimes in the combination of geometric and representational figures. Sometimes it delights in abstract numbers, as when the numbers three, five, or seven, are imposed artificially on representational forms.

Illustrations of such types of design have been given above. Here the material reported earlier may be classified. This study has emphasized that geometric art is characterized by the blending of forms so that often no one form stands out distinctly. This appeared in the Hassunah Period. It is just as obvious during the Halaf and Ubaid Periods. Triangles, zigzags, chevrons, the herringbone pattern, crosses, rosettes, triangles set point to point, dot-centered circles, lozenges with dots within them—these forms and more combine in various patterns. It is often impossible to tell whether triangles or zigzags or crosses or rosettes were of primary concern to the artist.

Many occasions have been noted of the combination of geometric forms with representational figures. There is the "fringe" pattern, which sometimes merged with other geometric forms such as the Maltese cross or arcs of circles (figs. 73, 74), but which sometimes seems to have been used with a representational design. For example, Mallowan was inclined to think that in some instances combs were intended, or perhaps "a rising sun with rays." On one sherd from the Ninevite Period a "fringe" pattern, he thought, was set on top of an altar to suggest the flames rising from it.

Triangles are sometimes imposed on leaves, and sometimes used to represent mountains. Quadrupeds are drawn with U-shaped bodies. Triangles are set above "doors" in what may represent a sanctuary entrance. Bucrania may take the form of a cross. A row of

bucrania or heads of moufflons may resemble running lozenges. Seals are often shaped according to a geometric form. Sometimes they are hemispherical, or gabled (i.e. triangular); or they may be rectangular. On seals a popular design is the herringbone pattern, which at times resembles a "sprig," and again is used for the antlers of a stag. When men are pictured on seals their torsos are sometimes drawn as triangles, with the arms as chevrons. On one seal (fig. 190) an impaled triangle seems to represent a spear or arrow, and other triangles rest on top of an altar.

On several vases of Samarran Ware numbers were imposed artificially on representational designs. Artists particularly of the Ubaid Period carried on that fashion. They drew flowers of three petals, men with hands of three fingers, and animals with three or five legs. They set three doors on a vase, seven doors on an incense burner, and imposed a tripartite form on their temples in both North and South. One should not infer in any of these cases that they were trying to reproduce specific flowers, men, animals, or a particular sanctuary. The emphasis of the period was not on the particular object, but on the pattern.

When we say that the art is abstract, we mean that the same "values" are found in a number of different art forms so that there is a relation between the forms, although as concepts the "values" are independent of the forms.¹⁴ Thus the word "whiteness" is abstract because it connotes an idea found in paper, or cloth, or snow, but which as idea is independent of them. Similarly a triangle may connote "life" whether it is inlaid in the forehead of a bull, whether it outlines the body of a stag, is incised on the pelvis of a figurine, or whether it is part of geometric design on a vase.

These abstract forms suggest an emotional experience which men of the period had found to be general. When the forms are combined either with each other or with representational art, they serve two main functions. In the first place, they may take a picture which could be conceived as representing a specific object, a particular deer, for example, and by making it schematic they may convey the idea that there is general application, in other words that it has symbolic meaning. So the quadrupeds with triangular bodies on the Samarran plates are shown to be symbolic by their schematization.

Contrary to what one might at first suppose, however, such distortion of a representational design presents truth more adequately than a pattern exactly reproducing nature. This is because an exact imitation of nature is often so complex that it recalls supplementary associations which we have had with the designs. There is danger that thoughts and feelings may be roused which would obscure the essential content of the form.¹⁵ So mathematicians draw triangles, squares, and circles to demonstrate the propositions of geometry. If they were to supplement those forms with lights and shadows to make an artistic picture, their demonstrations would be far less clear.

In the second place, a geometric form may be added to a form already recognized as

14. Susanne Langer has defined "abstraction" in both art and logic as "the recognition of a relational structure, or *form*, apart from the specific thing (or event, fact, image, etc.) in which it is exemplified": "Abstraction in Science and Abstraction in Art," *Structure,*

Method, and Meaning, Essays in Honor of Henry M. Sheffer (New York, Liberal Arts Press, 1951), p. 171.

15. Susanne K. Langer, *Feeling and Form* (New York, Scribner's, 1953), pp. 49-52.

symbolic. Its function then may be to intensify the power of a dominant idea, or to focus attention on particular aspects when a symbol is complex.

That the symbols reinforce each other and intensify the power of a dominant idea follows in part from the fact that the value of all the symbols is substantially the same. This has seemed to be true because the artists kept so few distinctions of form. Goodenough had already reached this conclusion in his work on symbols.¹⁶ This fact, however, should have been apparent long ago from the Christian use of religious symbols. Take bread, water, and wine, for example. In the Fourth Gospel Jesus is "the water of life," "the bread of life," and "the true vine." The gospel is not trying to say different things about Jesus, but the same thing in a number of ways. The different stories in which Jesus fulfills these roles reinforce the essential idea that to the Christian he is the source of life, of union with God, of immortality.

The triangle incised on the pelvis of figurines in early Mesopotamia is the symbol whose meaning is perhaps most obvious. That the symbols generally represent "life" is apparent also from other indications. The sex of bulls was exaggerated on the sherds of fig. 83. Snakes were shown copulating (fig. 197). Men were drawn dancing and in an attitude which Tobler thought was intended to be ithyphallic (fig. 195). Some of the female figurines held infants in their arms (fig. 218).

The implications of such symbols in a culture which has left no writing of any kind cannot be learned with any precision. That sexual symbols always spoke directly of sexual activity can by no means be concluded. That they never spoke of sex is also most unlikely. Nor can it be assumed that symbols which have no obvious reference to sex are to be set aside from this great group of "life" symbols. Erotic desires have such power over men that people rarely look at them squarely. Far more commonly they cover them and refer to them by allusion. For example, the wild animals on vases and seals of these early periods may have been far more than the animals prehistoric men hunted in the hills near their homes. Such gazelles have been used in Mesopotamian art from the earliest times down to the present day when a gazelle is set on some of the currency of Iraq. A modern Iraqi could only tell one of my friends that it was placed there "because it looked pretty"; but there must have been a far more profound motivation to keep people utilizing the symbol through six thousand years.

The "life" symbols, then, clearly spoke of erotic desires but they went far beyond that. They spoke of the craving for food and for the means of getting food. Plants, domestic animals, and birds may in part reflect this craving directly.

Furthermore, the term "life" must not be limited by these obvious implications or a great part of the usefulness of these designs will be missed. Even though not all the human problems of that ancient period can be recovered, it is obvious that the primary role of the

16. Erwin R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, Bollingen Series, 37 (New York, Pantheon Books, 1954), 4, 42 f., 54 f.

“life” symbols was to offer reassurance. They would surely have given aid in sickness, protection against death, against enemies, against evil demons. They would have rendered aid in love affairs, in marital problems, in the domestic situations around the house and the farm. These suggestions are not based on theory alone, but on a knowledge of the way amulets were used in later times.¹⁷ All of these factors add content to what is meant when we say the designs gave reassurance. They can be only suggestive, however, of the broad area of living in which the “life” symbols gave comfort. In actual practice symbols must have meant far more.

They meant more especially because they were complex. It is probable that no one of the symbols is exclusively a “life” symbol. Clearly the triangle is not, for it appears in fig. 190 as the tip of the slaying weapon and on top of an altar. Its role here has been called the motif of aggression or “death.” It seems to recur in the hunting scene of fig. 148-b, where again triangles are the dominant pattern in the accompanying geometric design. The motif of aggression is also expressed directly in fig. 202, where vultures are ready to attack two ibexes, and in the figures of water birds swallowing fish on Samarran plates (fig. 36). Just as many symbols suggest “life” only by allusion, so also do they suggest aggression. There can be less certainty of any indirect reference. Probably, however, the wild animals who were so often hunted fall in that class, and also the figurines of southern Mesopotamia with their grotesque, repulsive heads. Perhaps when men of the Halaf Period took pains to bring out contrast in color they were indirectly expressing feelings of aggression, since we know color played an important role in their rites. These latter suggestions, however, must remain only hypothetical. They only derive probability because symbols, whether directly or indirectly, seem to express this theme.

To say that the symbols were so complex that the same form might represent both reassurance and aggression or “life” and “death” is to approach the primary role of the symbols. This is the reason why in many situations they are superior to words. Mrs. Langer has put her finger on the basic reason for the superiority of art to language when she distinguishes between what she calls “presentational” and “discursive” symbolism.¹⁸ Language is what is called “discursive” because its units of meaning are permanent and can be combined into larger units. “It has fixed equivalences that make definition and translation possible.” It is more precise than wordless symbolism. Wordless symbolism, on the other hand, cannot be translated and does not permit definitions within its own system. Art symbols fall in the category of wordless symbols and are one form of “presentational” symbolism. They are ambivalent, as words cannot be,¹⁹ and for that reason often are superior to words.

In many situations our emotions are ambivalent. Joy is mingled with sadness, courage with fear, love with hate. The most poignant experiences of our lives leave us speechless.

17. See Chapter 9.

18. *Philosophy in a New Key*, pp. 78 f.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

When parents lose a beautiful child, words offer no adequate reassurance. Similarly when a friend for whom we have deeply cared injures us permanently we cannot find words to relieve our pain. Before a beautiful sunset, or the discovery of a shared love, or the finding of a new truth we are still with awe. We cannot speak of the ineffable. In such experiences we turn to the symbols of our religious faith which are adequate for our needs precisely because they are ambivalent. The bread of which we partake at the communion service symbolizes not only Jesus as the "bread of life," but it represents "his body broken for you." The wine not only represents Jesus as "the true vine," but it is his "blood shed for many for the remission of sins." The cross speaks not alone of the mystic's hope of union with God and of immortality, but it represents the tragedy of Jesus' suffering and death. In the quiet of the communion service or in the extremity of a great grief our hearts are fed by these symbolic forms which, because they speak of opposite ideas at one and the same time, are capable in some measure of reconciling the irreconcilable.

One reason for the helpfulness of these symbols, then, is because they provide a means of catharsis in the midst of emotional storm. Nevertheless, they play a far greater role than that, for great art does not arise out of emotional storm. Mrs. Langer has explained that their purpose is "to give us an insight into what may truly be called the 'life of feeling,' or subjective unity of experience."²⁰

In part they help us to view our situation in the light of whatever may be the universals of our time. Our problems become not unique experiences but experiences which take on a new coloring in the light of greater understanding. In the present day we draw upon the resources of the world's great faiths and the learning of the universities. In Mesopotamian culture there were also periods when religion and science served similar purposes. The men of prehistoric Mesopotamia need not be supposed to have developed a system of philosophy, however. The symbols of their religion would have spoken to them of a living, vibrant world around them, of a world of spirits responsive to their actions and capable of making unexpected good gifts. True, the spirits were capable of being capricious, and of bringing unexpected misfortune; but it was very reassuring to men to know that they could cope with the spirits because they had symbols which were sanctioned by the best knowledge of the priesthood.

Another function of the symbols is to bring us to a sense that our experience is shared by others. It is for this reason that private symbols are not very effective. The symbols that endure are the symbols that unite men in a fellowship of people near and far. There were very few private symbols in prehistoric Mesopotamia. Most of the designs on vases, seals, or amulets were sanctioned by long tradition. They were reassuring because they were forms which men of their own day and their ancestors had found useful. This sense of continuity was so important that it served to perpetuate much the same kind of amulets through many generations of Mesopotamian history.

There is nothing in the art of these early periods to suggest that the traditions of the priesthood were emphasizing mythology. It has already been pointed out in Chapter 1 that

20. *Feeling and Form*, pp. 126, 145 f.

the ritual of Mesopotamia often deals with amulets whose significance was recognized without being committed to words. Even when some words begin to be used, distinctions commonly are slight.²¹ In these periods the art gives little indication that more elaborate explanations were used. The symbols are so interrelated that to attribute any of these symbols to one individual god rather than to another seems unwarranted. Animal figurines are often so poorly modeled that the particular kind of animal in mind seems of no consequence. On the pottery there is often doubt whether a bull's head or the head of a mouflon is intended. Tree shapes blend into solar or geometric forms. Geometric forms blend one into another. In neither pottery, figurines, nor seals is there evidence of myths which have so crystallized that deities stand out with definite characteristics and functions. This is not to say that there were no myths or deities in a primitive form. Undoubtedly there were; but they do not seem to have been so important in the culture that they called forth in the popular mind a particular art type as representing them. Thus the symbols of the Hassunah, Halaf, and Ubaid Periods appear as part of a complex grouping of symbols, not as emblems of one or more solar deities.²² In other words, these symbols were effective for the people of Mesopotamia apart from mythological explanations. Often in later periods art and myth come together. Especially in this early period and often later they functioned independently.

21. See Chapter 9.

22. Max von Oppenheim has attempted to show that in the Halaf Period the bucranium was an emblem of Teshup, tree forms of Hepet, and solar symbols emblems of the sun god: "Die Embleme der subaräischen Hauptgottheiten auf der Buntkeramik des Tell Halaf

und das Alter der Tell Halaf-Steinbilder," *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*, 2 (Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1939), 613-16. It seems to me that he has not reckoned with the factors I have just pointed out, and with the possibility that a symbol has potency without verbalized meaning.

CHAPTER 5

The Uruk Period

After the Ubaid Period, southern Mesopotamia took the lead culturally for many centuries. Chapters 5 and 6 will describe the ornament of the South in the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr Periods, which in some respects are interrelated. Then Chapters 7 and 8 will deal with the northern ornament in the Gawra and Ninevite Periods, which are roughly contemporary with them.

Uruk is the ancient name of modern Warka.¹ Two great shrines were discovered in the heart of this city, one known as the Eanna precinct, a shrine in later times, at least, of the goddess Inanna. In the Seleucid Period the other was the temple of Anu, the god of heaven, and his wife Antum. In these two sections of the city the German excavations found stratified levels which in this period could be more readily distinguished than in any other mound so far explored. The evidence even at Warka, however, is not sufficiently clear to enable scholars to agree which levels should be attributed to the Ubaid, Uruk, and Jemdet Nasr Periods respectively. Because the end of the Uruk Period was a most creative age and some of its developments were continued and expanded in the Jemdet Nasr Period, scholars from the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago have adopted for this time span the term Protoliterate, as giving appropriate recognition to the continuity. In spite of many elements of continuity, there were, nevertheless, significant changes in the culture of the South between the Uruk and the Jemdet Nasr Periods. To give due place to these changes this book will retain the older terminology of Uruk and Jemdet Nasr Periods. The term Uruk Period will refer to Levels 12 to 4 of the Eanna precinct and Levels X to G of the Anu ziggurat at Warka. The term Jemdet Nasr Period will be applied to Levels 3 and 2 of the Eanna precinct and Levels F to B of the Anu ziggurat.²

1. The excavations at Warka, carried on during eleven winters between 1928 and 1939 and continued since the war, are described in separate reports here abbreviated as *UVB*, 1, etc., see list of Abbreviations, p. x. A brief summary of the discoveries has been given by E. Walter Andrae, "Vorderasien ohne Phönikien, Palästina und Kypros," *Handbuch der Archäologie*, ed. by Walter Otto, 1 (Munich, C. H. Beck, 1939), 652 f., 655-660. See also the description of the period by Viktor Christian, *Altertumskunde des Zweistromlandes*, 1 (Leipzig, Karl W. Hiersemann, 1940), Text, 104 f., 113-122.

2. For different points of view on this problem see:

Jordan in *UVB*, 3 (1932), 35 f. Heinrich in *UVB*, 4 (1932), 6-22. Christian, pp. 104, 113. Parrot, *Tello*, p. 42. H. J. Lenzen, "Die Tempel der Schicht Archaisch IV in Uruk," *ZA*, N.F. 15 (1949/50), 1-20; "Zur Datierung der Anu-Zikkurat in Warka," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 83 (1951), 17, 23. Delougaz, *Pre-Sargonic Temples*, p. 8, n. 10. *CAM*, pp. 97-161. Robert J. Braidwood, *The Near East and the Foundations for Civilization* (Eugene, Oregon, Condon Lectures, Oregon State System of Higher Education, 1952), pp. 37-40. The German scholars have assigned a late date to all the objects which came from a large col-

CHARACTER OF THE ART

For the first time in the Mesopotamian sites so far excavated the art of the period was predominantly naturalistic. Stylized forms continued to a lesser extent alongside the naturalistic designs, but they were confined to a very small quantity of pottery, to decorations on the temples, and to the robes of important officials.

Pottery

Uruk Ware had appeared in Warka before the close of the Ubaid Period in Eanna, Level 14, and it continued until Level 4.³ The surface of some of the vases was decorated by combing, or by incisions made with the fingernail or wedge-shaped implements. The designs created were exclusively geometric. The number of decorated vases, however, was small. Uruk Ware was usually plain.

A revival of Ubaid Ware appeared in Eanna, Level 12. In each subsequent level through Level 7 a few similar pieces were found. Then, although isolated fragments occurred in the remaining levels through Level 2, the excavators thought they were merely pieces reused from older levels. Similar pottery came from levels of the Uruk Period in Ur and Telloh. While this revival represented in many ways a return to the style of the Ubaid Ware, there were such differences that it has been called Ubaid II Ware. Whereas Ubaid Ware had used black paint, both red and black were used on Ubaid II Ware. The workmanship on this ware was more careful. The whole surface of the vase was often decorated. Almost all the designs were geometric (fig. 239),⁴ but one fragment from Warka showed a crudely drawn fish or pig.⁵

The pottery which has just been described came from the early part of the Uruk Period. These were years of uninspired art. Toward the end of the period, and especially in Levels 5 and 4 of the Eanna precinct at Warka new creative energy was released which produced three outstanding developments: the invention of the cylinder seal, the development of temple architecture, and the invention of writing.

Cylinder Seals

By quantity as well as quality the seals show themselves to have been of foremost concern to the artists of the Uruk Period. These are not stamp seals, such as have appeared in the preceding periods, but cylinder seals, often rolled over the clay which sealed jars to guarantee the closing. In this early period there were various devices for suspension.

lection called the Sammelfund. Because of their naturalistic style many scholars have thought that some of them were made in the Uruk Period and preserved as heirlooms until the Jemdet Nasr Period. For an evaluation of these views see Appendix A.

3. Von Haller in *UVB*, 4 (1932), 31, 37-45.

4. Cf. Woolley, "Excavations at Ur, 1929-30," *AJ*, 10 (1930), pl. XLVI, a-c; *The Development of Sumerian Art*,

fig. 4 and p. 37. These examples come from Ur. For others from Telloh cf. Parrot, *Tello*, fig. 9; *Telloh*, 1, pls. 34, no. 1, 2*, nos. 5190, 5397, 5440. For examples from Warka cf. von Haller in *UVB*, 4 (1932), pls. 17, d, s, t, u; 18, A, i'-n'; B, a-h, a'-c'; C, q', r', t'; D, w'.

5. Jordan in *UVB*, 3 (1932), pl. 22, c, no. 9678; von Haller in *UVB*, 4 (1932), pl. 18, B, i.

At one end a loop might be cut from the same piece as the stone, or a conical piece might be left at the end to connect loop and cylinder. On a few seals this conical piece was ornamented by a design in relief.⁶ Sometimes this extra piece for suspension was cut in ornamented form, as on a seal of the Jemdet Nasr Period in the Louvre (fig. 240), where a reclining bull is pierced transversely. Or the cylinders might be mounted on metal to the top of which was fixed a loop or animal pierced for suspension (e.g. fig. 241).⁷ Again a loop might be cut from a separate piece of stone and then attached to the cylinder by inserting a dowel into the partially bored surface. Such seals hung vertically from a string, and were worn often as a pendant around the neck or attached to a bracelet.⁸ These devices for suspension are an indication of date. They were used in the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr Periods, but not later.

The designs on cylinder seals of the Uruk Period are naturalistic, but only in a limited sense. The forms of men, animals, and ritualistic objects are modeled with realism. At the same time, no form appears as a picture of a particular man, animal, or cultic object. All represent a class of objects. The arrangement of forms also seems intended to represent a pattern, but never a particular landscape or a particular human action, whether the design pictures the care of the animals, or human conflict, or a ritualistic act. One might say that the artists seemed intent on conveying ideas, rather than on picturing the particular, if this statement did not seem to imply that the artists were able to put the significance of the ideas into words. Of that there is very little indication. Perhaps one might better say that they were creating reassuring impressions. They seem to have selected familiar objects in their environment which were calculated to give the impression of fertility, or of aggression and might, and to have presented them in different arrangements. Thus in spite of the naturalistic style, the art is basically abstract. Some of the same techniques for making it abstract are used as during the earlier periods. And the motifs of fertility and of aggression are as constant in this art and presented with as great complexity as they were in the earlier periods.

Ritual forms the subject of one of the largest groups of designs in this period. It appears in various forms. The chief officiant in the cult is a bearded male whose hair is caught in a great roll at his neck. On his head is a flat cap resembling a turban. He wears a skirt covered with crosshatching which has a broad band of trimming down the center of the front and around the bottom. Sometimes, but not always, this figure is accompanied by a second male who is close shaven, with hair falling down his back. He is clad in a short skirt which, like the garment of the bearded figure, is adorned with crosshatching. Who these figures represent is by no means certain. Since the bearded male has no individualistic features, and since the same figure appears on a basalt stone of the Jemdet Nasr Period, presumably this is a type figure and not a portrait of a well-known man. Because he stands before prisoners in scenes of conflict, and because in the Early Dynastic Period the ruler wore his hair in the same style as this figure, Frankfort supposes with much probability

6. Louvre, Delaporte, 2, pl. 69, no. A. 116. Osten, *Seals, Newell*, no. 690. Frankfort, *Strat. Cyl. Seals*, p. 13.

7. Cf. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. 1, b.

8. For a fuller treatment see *ibid.*, pp. 6 f., and UE, 2, 247 f.

that he is the king. On some seals nude male figures appear who are clean shaven. Frankfort thinks that they are priests.⁹

Ritualistic offerings are the subject of some of the designs. At times the shrine at which the ceremony took place is pictured (e.g. fig. 242). At times it is omitted (e.g. figs. 244,¹⁰ 243¹¹). Geometric ornament such as appears on the sanctuary of fig. 242 is in accordance with the decoration which has been found on mosaic of temples in Warka. The bearded figure and his long-haired companion are shown with a varied assortment of offerings on fig. 244. There are baskets of fruit or vegetables, leafy sprigs above them, goblets on raised bases, vases in animal form, T-shaped indeterminate objects which Frankfort thought were low food tables, and what we shall call beribboned standards, apparently a cultic standard from which a pennant fluttered.¹² All of these offerings are shown in pairs. In addition, the long-haired figure holds a spouted vase, and around the baskets are indistinctly drawn objects which may be flowers or meat. The two human figures and the large group of objects presented in pairs on this seal are examples of a convention of the Uruk Period comparable to the earlier convention of drawing human figures with three fingers, or animals' tails ending in three tufts. As the numbers three, five, or seven were imposed in various ways on earlier designs, so the number two was imposed in the Uruk Period. That the numbers three and seven continued to be important in the Uruk Period may perhaps be inferred from the triple entrance and the seven niches of the shrine pictured in fig. 245.¹³ The bearded figure and his long-haired companion stand at this entrance. On the seal of fig. 243 three men are engaged in ritual before what may be a fire. Above the "fire" is a vase, significantly decorated with crosshatching. It is interesting that on this small seal surface the artist thought it worthwhile to include the linear decoration on a ritual vessel. Longer processions of nude figures bring offerings to a sanctuary on other seal impressions (e.g. fig. 246).¹⁴

The feeding of the temple herd was probably also considered a ritualistic act. It is repre-

9. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, p. 22.

10. Cf. R. Heidenreich, "Adoration von Symbolen auf einem hocharchaischen Siegel," *ZA*, N.F. 7 (1933), 200-208, pl. I, no. 1. This seal is now in the Dresden Museum. It was bought in Mesopotamia, of unknown provenance. The familiar pair of human figures appears again in a design which came from Level C of the Anu ziggurat. The smaller wears or carries on his head a three-pointed symbol. Behind them is a pair of ringed poles: Heinrich in *UVB*, 9 (1937), pl. 30, f and p. 26.

11. Cf. Frankfort, pl. III, c and pp. 20, 30, who thinks this has "the incipient style of Jemdet Nasr." A seal noted in the Morgan Library Collection catalogue, by Edith Porada, was considered by Mrs. Van Buren a preparation for sacrifice, by Frankfort a picture of a leather-worker's shop: *MLC*, pl. I, no. 1 and pp. 2 f.; E. Douglas Van Buren, "Religious Rites and Ritual in the Time of Uruk IV-III," *AfO*, 13 (1939-41), 44 and fig. 13 on p. 39; Frankfort, pl. IV, h and p. 20. On new seal impressions found in 1957-58 at Warka a design was discovered clearly depicting men with offerings beside

the same grotesque quadrupeds with intertwined serpents' necks as appeared on the seal in the Morgan Library Collection. The excavators concluded that Mrs. Van Buren had been correct in her inference about the nature of the design on the seal in the Morgan Library: Lenzen in *UVB*, 16 (1960), pl. 30, d.

12. This is often called the Inanna sign. For a discussion of its significance see pp. 84-87.

13. Cf. Lenzen in *UVB*, 4 (1932), pl. 15, e, f and pp. 28, 30; and in *ZA*, N.F. 15 (1949-50), pl. 6, no. 21. See also the fragmentary impressions where only a portion of the shrine is preserved: *UVB*, 5 (1933), pl. 22, d and pp. 42, 45. Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pl. 19, i and p. 31. *VR*, pl. 1, no. 3 and pp. 4, 85.

14. Cf. Lenzen in *UVB*, 4 (1932), pl. 15, b, c, d and pp. 28-30; Frankfort, p. 20, text-figs. 3, 4. Similar scenes may have lain behind the fragmentary impression published by Lenzen in *UVB*, 11 (1940), pl. 38, d, e, f and p. 25 and the damaged seal of Osten, *Seals, Newell*, pl. VII, no. 61 and p. 19.

sented with increasing abstraction on several seals. On the first, the two familiar male figures feed leafy branches to three pairs of animals (fig. 247).¹⁵ These animals are varied, but probably in age and sex, not in species. By showing pairs of bulls, cows, and calves the artist schematically suggested a herd. On the second, the bearded man alone appears, holding out eight-petaled rosettes to two sheep. Behind the sheep is a pair of antithetical beribboned standards, beyond them another pair of sheep and a single beribboned standard (fig. 248).¹⁶ On a similar seal (fig. 249),¹⁷ taken by Bohtz to be of the Jemdet Nasr Period, but by Mrs. Van Buren to be of the Uruk Period, both familiar male figures again appear. The first holds out two ears of corn to a pair of sheep, while another large ear grows in front of him. Behind the sheep is a beribboned standard. Again, on a fragmentary seal from the Louvre (fig. 250)¹⁸ the male figures are in the act of feeding ears of corn to animals, though the figures of the animals are now missing. Behind the attendant is a beribboned standard. On yet another we see four identical groups, each consisting of a pair of eight-petaled rosettes on interlaced stems, flanked by antithetically arranged sheep feeding on them (fig. 251).¹⁹ Each of these seals seems intended to represent the feeding of the herd. The first is by far the more realistic, though even there the animals are carefully arranged in pairs. The second and third reduce the number of animals in order that beribboned standards may be added. On the last there is nobody to feed the sheep, but the design heightens the sense of contrast by setting both rosettes and sheep in antithesis to each other. The rosettes which take the place of grain on figs. 248 and 251 recall the solar rosettes of earlier periods. This link with earlier symbolic forms probably indicates that there were solar elements in the religion of the Uruk Period. Since the rosettes represent a deviation from the more realistic grain on which the animals were fed in figs. 247, 249, and 250, their appearance must be recognized as significant.²⁰

The feeding of the herd is not only a ritualistic act, it is basically the means by which the herd was made to prosper. Thus the fertility of the herd and coincidentally the prosperity of the community were indicated by such scenes. Similar ideas underlie scenes picturing the byre where the animals are kept (e.g. fig. 252).²¹ In fig. 252 two calves emerge from the byre, and at either side is a beribboned standard. This standard demonstrates that to men of the Uruk Period the enclosure where the animals were kept was a sacred area. Below is a row of mature animals. On another seal (fig. 253)²² shepherds with whips and staves or spears tend their sheep, pictured in two long rows of overlapping animals.

15. Cf. Frankfort, pl. v, *d* and pp. 20 f.

16. Cf. Frankfort, pl. v, *i*. There is considerable doubt whether these two seals belong to the Uruk or to the Jemdet Nasr Period.

17. Cf. C. Helmut Bohtz, *In den Ruinen von Warka* (Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1941), p. 48, fig. 22; Van Buren, "The Ear of Corn," *Analecta Orientalia*, 12 (1935), 327. On the top of this seal is a reclining bull. I do not know what the second man carries. Heinrich does not mention this detail.

18. Cf. Andrae, *Die ionische Säule*, pl. II, *d*; Van Buren, p. 327, fig. 1.

19. Cf. Osten, *Seals, Newell*, pl. xli, no. 690, *a, b* and p. 85; Frankfort, p. 18.

20. For an evaluation of Van Buren's view that rosettes are always a symbol of the mother goddess and ears of corn a symbol of her consort see pp. 85 f.

21. Cf. Frankfort, pp. 20 f., text-fig. 5; *MLC*, pl. 1, no. 2.

22. Cf. Frankfort, pl. v, *e* and p. 21.

While the actions essential to a productive herd were suggested by such designs as have just been described, the prosperity of the community was pictured more abstractly by designs showing animals and grain, the two chief products of the agricultural economy. Cattle and grain appear on a seal of unknown provenance, now in the Louvre (fig. 254),²³ where the modeling is especially well done. Goats and grain were pictured on another less well-executed impression (fig. 255) from Warka. The design of a seal from Nippur is much like the last two, but above the backs of the cattle are not ears of grain but solar rosettes (fig. 256).

So far the most obvious implication of the Uruk seals has been fertility or "life." On a large group of seals aggression or "death" is pictured directly. This motif sometimes is presented with no complicating details, as on fig. 257,²⁴ where herbivorous animals of varied species are pursued by carnivorous animals, or on fig. 258, where goats are attacked by eagles. On one seal from the Diyala Region a single mighty lion is shown facing right.²⁵ That the artist was not merely thinking in a limited way of conflicts of animals but about a threat to the welfare of the community is suggested by a design where an ear of corn is set beside the bull who is under attack (fig. 260).²⁶ The ear of corn from the point of view of realism would not be menaced by the lion, but the artist presumably was not in fear of an actual attack by lions. This design represented figuratively a general pattern of danger. On some seals the motif of aggression is combined with other details which probably are derived from the sacrificial cult. So in fig. 259²⁷ the artist shows a calf (?) and bull pursued by a lion and dog, while set abstractly in the field are a bull's leg, a goat's head, and two indeterminate objects which may be skins for holding milk or water. When the severed parts of animals and the skins for fluid are associated with an overt picture of aggression, it is probable that some of the religious implications of the sacrificial cult are revealed. Men not only offered gifts in hope of securing the gods' favor, the rites were themselves symbols which represented the impact which life and death make upon us, leaving us in a world where hope and fear are inextricably united.

A seal from the Diyala Region (fig. 261) shows the bull, who is commonly the victim in scenes of animal conflict, acting as aggressor. One wonders whether to the artist this did not suggest the victim's, and perhaps by transferral, his own ultimate triumph.

On three seal impressions from Warka the conflict is not between animals but humans

23. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. v, b and pp. 23 f. Schott in *UVB*, 5 (1933), pl. 29, c and p. 53. Otto Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1920), 1, 127 f., 2, no. 534. On No. 5988 of the Nies Babylonian Collection a bull with an ear of corn rising above its back stands before a tree: E. Douglas Van Buren, "Mesopotamian Fauna in the Light of the Monuments," *AfO*, 11 (1936-37), 9, fig. 10.

24. Cf. the impression of Schott in *UVB*, 5 (1933), pl. 25, b and pp. 46 f.

25. Frankfort, *Strat. Cyl. Seals*, pl. 7, no. 35. A much less clear expression of this same theme may appear in

a design from Eanna, Level 4 at Warka. Three slanting rows of animals climb mountains. The first row consists of goats, the second row of lions, and the third of ibexes. The mountains are more naturalistic than on the "landscape" jar of the Ubaid Period (Figs. 148-a, 148-b), but they preserve the triangular form: Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pl. 15, d; cf. h and pp. 32 f.

26. Cf. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. v, a and p. 24.

27. Cf. Frankfort, pl. iv, a and p. 24. Lenzen in *ZA*, N.F. 15 (1949/50), pl. vi, no. 19 and p. 7; and the seal shown in pl. v, no. 13.

(figs. 262, 263, 264).²⁸ In figs. 262 and 263 the bearded figure stands with a long staff or spear in his hand before a group of prisoners held in submission by nude guards. On the small fragment of fig. 264, which is all that has survived of another impression, a figure who carries a bow and perhaps a lance can be discerned. In none of these scenes is the battle itself pictured, nor is any background supplied to identify either the victor or the prisoners. On the one hand conflict in general, on the other hand success in it appear as the theme. These designs, like the scenes of animal conflict on the seals of figs. 257 to 261, may be the way men represented in symbols the fights they had to face in life, whether in actual battles which they hoped to win, or in the difficulties of daily living.²⁹

On a few seal impressions the conflict of animals is pointed up by realistic details new to Mesopotamian art. So in figs. 265 and 266 the hair on the necks of the dogs is on end; and the contours and muscles of the animals on fig. 267 serve to exaggerate their might and thus the intensity of their fight. To Schott, who published these seal impressions, such lifelike details represented a laudable attempt at realism which the artists soon forgot. With these details he classed the leafy branches alongside the swine on fig. 268,³⁰ which were thought also by Frankfort to express "a rudimentary feeling for landscape, in the sense that the animals' environment is indicated."³¹ But this association of the swine with leafy branches seems comparable to the animals above whose backs rose grain or rosettes (figs. 254, 255, 256). In other words, the branches are an abstraction to reinforce the fertility implications of fig. 268. Similarly, the details which at first sight appear to move in the direction of realism on figs. 265, 266, 267 are carefully selected to make the conflict more evident. They by no means remove the seals from the realm of symbolism, but actually put in italics the aspect on which they would lay emphasis.

It is probable that few of the designs already described were intended to suggest either fertility alone or aggression alone. In the Uruk Period, as also in earlier periods, the significance of the designs was usually complex. The complexity is especially evident on a group of seals where, to designs representing the care of the herd, are added abstract sym-

28. Cf. Lenzen in *UVB*, 4 (1932), pl. 15, *a* and p. 28. Jordan in *UVB*, 2 (1930), 44 f., and figs. 34, 35. On the impression of *UVB*, 5 (1933), pl. 23, *b* the prisoners appear to be behind the bearded figure, but of course this is only because of the way in which the seal was rolled.

29. A fourth seal impression has sometimes been thought to picture a charioteer in military conflict, but Van Buren has shown that it is much more probably a preparation for a religious rite: Lenzen in *UVB*, 4 (1932), pl. 14, *c-g* and pp. 28 f. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, p. 22. Van Buren in *AfO*, 13 (1939-41), 44.

30. Leafy branches appear beside a swine(?) on another impression from Eanna, Level 4: Lenzen in *ZA*, N.F. 15 (1949-50), fig. 14 and p. 7. On seal impressions of the same date discovered in 1957-58 in Warka, a boat carrying men fishing in the marshes is pictured beside a hunter with his bow, standing before a bush. Behind

the hunter is a second bush, and above it an animal whose head is now destroyed. The excavators called attention especially to the artist's success in picturing landscape. It may be noticed, however, that both the realistic fishing scene and the hunting scene bring to overt expression themes which were expressed indirectly in earlier periods. In this period the realistic details enhance the significance of the design, which may in part have been intended to help the owner secure food, in part, however, may have given expression to his might as a skillful fisherman and relentless hunter. Cf. Lenzen in *UVB*, 16 (1960), pl. 31, *h* and pp. 48, 54.

31. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, p. 24. He refers also to his pl. v, *f* (from Louvre, Delaporte, 1, pl. 26, no. 7 [S. 324] and p. 46) for another illustration of an attempt to render landscape, a seal which Delaporte had ascribed to the Akkad Period.

bols suggesting the sacrificial cult. In the center of a seal in the Berlin Museum which was purchased in the neighborhood of Warka (fig. 269)³² is the bearded figure. He holds two branches of a tree which spread out at either side, blossoming forth in eight symmetrically arranged eight-rayed rosettes. On either side rams feed on the rosettes. Thus far the symbols correspond to the familiar group picturing the care of the temple herd. The remaining symbols in the design, however, are related to the sacrificial cult. There is a pair of beribboned standards, a pair of goblets on high bases, and in the field above a small sheep. This design is markedly unrealistic in combining the sacrificial ritual and the care of the herd. Its symbolic force, however, is for that reason all the greater since presumably these unrealistic details point to the slaughter of the animals so carefully tended and thus combine "death" with "life" symbols.

A design in which the cult and the care of the herd are similarly juxtaposed appears in a seal impression found on a tablet of the Uruk Period in the Goucher College Collection (fig. 270). Whereas in fig. 269 the care of the herd was given the central place, in fig. 270 the chief emphasis is laid upon men bringing offerings to the shrine. In the upper register two men can be seen beside the shrine, which is flanked by beribboned standards. One carries a girdle. What the second carries is now lost. Before them is a large basket, with an indistinct circular object above it. Two cultic objects are next, the second being clearly a beribboned standard. Beyond this is a byre or byre-like altar, with the heads of calves(?) emerging at either side. The lower register is indistinct. Three volutes are clear, and probably belonged to beribboned standards. Beside one of them is also a bovine figure which clearly is a theriomorphic vase. It is possible that the head of another horned animal can be discerned beside a fourth beribboned standard. This is the only representation I know in this period where a byre, if that is what this is, is explicitly rendered alongside the shrine where sacrifices are offered, though the presence of the shrine and byre are suggested by inference in fig. 269. The symbolic values of the two seals seem closely parallel.

On another unique seal (fig. 271)³³ a lion attacks a cow which is giving birth to a calf, but above the cow a herdsman aims a spear at the lion. In the field behind the herdsman a severed bull's head³⁴ is set abstractly. It would be hard to find a more suitable direct expression of fertility than the calving cow of this seal. If the cow is under attack, the symbolism is not lessened but increased, for a threat to the welfare of the herd is thereby expressed. A happy outcome of the conflict is foreseen since the herdsman is there to protect the cow. That this scene is to be understood figuratively is made clear by the severed

32. Cf. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. III, a and pp. 17 f. Andrae, *Die ionische Säule*, pl. v and pp. 25 f., 36 f. Schott in *UVB*, 5 (1933), pl. 29, a and pp. 52 f. Ernst Walter Andrae, "Tier-, Baum-, Haus-Symbole im Alten Orient," *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 13 (1937), 243 f., fig. 1. For this and other related seals, cf. E. Douglas Van Buren, "Representations of Fertility Divinities in Glyp-

tic Art," *Orientalia*, N.S. 24 (1955), 345-348.

33. Cf. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, p. 22, n. 1. Von der Osten had considered this seal a forgery, but Frankfort thought that he was mistaken.

34. Frankfort calls it (I think mistakenly) an antelope's head.

bull's head in the background. This bull's head recalls the sacrificial cult, which seems to have given expression to ideas of "life" and "death" through its ceremonies just as the art did in its designs.

To the same group of symbols belongs a series of more abstract designs (e.g. fig. 273).³⁵ Here animals and leafy branches are pictured beside cultic vases, full cornucopias, and skins for fluid. Thus whether directly or by implication a popular group of designs of the Uruk Period represented "life" and "death" motifs by associating the products of agriculture with renunciation of them in the cult.

The designs just described present ideas of fertility and aggression with varying degrees of directness. The same concepts are probably expressed more abstractly on other seals by employing different devices.

Antithetical arrangements are among the most popular devices. On fig. 272 two rams confront each other on opposite sides of a pair of copulating snakes. Above and between them is an eight-petaled rosette. Grappling at the backs of the rams is an eagle, his wings outspread. In this design the copulating snakes are overt fertility symbols. The eagle grappling at the backs of the rams directly expresses aggression. The rosette is a familiar solar symbol. So the complex features which have appeared commonly in the designs of this period are present. Presumably the antithetical arrangement of the rams is a device to enhance some aspect of this pattern. One may guess that the confrontation of two male beasts in this instance expresses aggression. In the earlier parts of this book it became evident that a design does not always maintain the same meaning, and it is important to bear that fact in mind in studying antithetical arrangements.

A different implication seems suggested on a seal from the Pierpont Morgan Library Collection (fig. 274) where a ram and ewe stand on opposite sides of a seven-branched tree. Behind one of them is a beribboned standard. Similarly on a seal from the Haskell Museum (fig. 275) a beribboned standard is in central place. Set antithetically on each side is either a tree or a gigantic ear of corn. To right and left of this group is a partially destroyed animal which Mrs. Van Buren thinks can be distinguished as a ewe and ram.³⁶

In fig. 272 the antithetical animals were of the same sex and species. In figs. 274 and 275 they were of the same species but of opposite sex. In fig. 276³⁷ an antithetical arrangement is made of animals of the same sex but of different species. On the right is a gigantic lion in quasi-human form holding two small bulls by the scruff of the neck. On the left is a comparable gigantic bull, holding with his forefeet two small lions in submission. Lions and bulls have appeared commonly as attacker and victim. Here the two groups are set over against each other with the situations completely reversed in each. One can hardly avoid the conclusion that the artist who designed this seal consciously aimed at presenting paradox. The paradox appears both in the contrast of the two major groups and within

35. Cf. Lenzen in *ZA*, N.F. 15 (1949/50), pls. 5, no. 15 and 6, no. 17. The cult is represented only by a beribboned standard on one seal from the Sammelfund at Warka where such a standard is placed behind two ewes and a ram: Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pl. 19, a and p. 30.

36. Van Buren in *Analecta Orientalia*, 12 (1935), 328 f.

37. This seal is not from Mesopotamia but from the neighboring country of Elam.

each separate group. The mighty lions confront each other but are controlled by the towering bull, and the two struggling bulls are held by the power of the great lion.

The imposition of one representational form on another is a further popular device of the period. The quasi-human forms of the large lion and the large bull in fig. 276 to some extent exhibit this device, although the human elements of the torsos of these animals are not fully developed. On three designs (figs. 278,³⁸ 277,³⁹ 279) this technique produces more grotesque effects. The central figures of fig. 278 consist of two quadrupeds with long intertwined necks like serpents' necks ending in lions' heads. They are flanked by a pair of reclining bulls, with a branch rising above the back of the right-hand animal. The intertwining of snakes is commonly taken to represent copulation. Thus fertility or "life" seems one meaning intended by the artist. But the heads become heads of lions, the animal chiefly pictured as attacker in scenes of conflict. So "life" seems represented by the copulating snakes and by the bull and related tree, and aggression by the lions' heads and probably by the antithetically paired animals. In a similar design the quadrupeds of fig. 277 are intertwined until the foreparts of their bodies are fused into one. The heads are those of snakes, not lions. Two-handled amphorae are set on either side. Again in fig. 279 the design pictures creatures whose hindquarters are lions but whose forequarters are fused into one. Each creature is winged, has a single head which is human, but ass's ears. On a fourth impression (fig. 280)⁴⁰ four lions form a continuous frieze. Each is arranged antithetically not only with relation to the animal before him but also to the one behind. Both their paws and tails cross. A band of ladder-work goes from back to tail of one pair of lions. Between the heads of another pair is what is taken as an amphora. Directly below the crossed feet of both pairs is a bird. In this design the ladder-work is a geometric form imposed on the representational design to bind together the separate elements. The crossed tails and the crossed paws of the lions serve also to emphasize the interrelationship of the parts. The antithetical arrangement is an aspect of this attempt to show unity along with diversity. So also in figs. 277, 278, and 279 the antithetical arrangements, the intertwined necks of the animals on two of the designs, and the fusion of the bodies of some of the animals serve the same purpose. Each of these designs in some respects seems to signify fertility, in others aggression, but at the same time devices are used to suggest a total picture of unity.

Whether myths underlie the designs on any of the seals of the Uruk Period is very uncertain. The designs most probably embodying a myth are five (figs. 281,⁴¹ 282,⁴² 283, 284,⁴³ 285⁴⁴). On fig. 281 the familiar pair of male figures brings offerings to a shrine which

38. Cf. Frankfort, pl. iv, *d* and pp. 24 f. Lenzen has published two other similar impressions from Warka: *ZA*, N.F. 15 (1949/50), figs. 10, 11 and pp. 6 f.

39. Cf. Frankfort, pl. iv, *f* and pp. 24 f. From Eanna, Level 4 came also two other impressions with animals arranged antithetically: *UVB*, 5 (1933), pl. 26, *a*, *f* and pp. 44, 48.

40. Cf. Lenzen in *UVB*, 4 (1932), pl. 14, *a* and pp. 27,

29. Frankfort, pl. iv, *e* and pp. 24 f.

41. Cf. Frankfort, p. 19 and text-fig. 2.

42. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. iii, *e* and p. 20. Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pl. 17, *a*.

43. Cf. Jordan in *UVB*, 2 (1930), 51, fig. 44; Frankfort, p. 25.

44. Cf. Schott in *UVB*, 5 (1933), pl. 29, *b* and pp. 52 f.; Frankfort, p. 20, n. 1.

once again is decorated with linear designs: chevrons, crosses, squares, circles, hatching, and crosshatching. The principal offering which the bearded man presents seems to be a mutilated lion.⁴⁵ The second man carries an exaggeratedly large necklace, which is perhaps not merely an offering but a piece of equipment useful in the ritual. A pair of sheep stands behind, each one flanked by stalks of barley. Sacrifice is here the center of attention; but it is doubtful whether this is a realistic picture, for the sacrificial animal would ordinarily have been one of the domestic herd.⁴⁶ If this is a lion, it is the creature which on the seals of this period clearly rates as the most ferocious known, here mastered and brought to the shrine. This is much more than an everyday sacrifice. Among many peoples a familiar class of mythical tales represents the hero overcoming a ferocious beast and receiving from some deity or king his reward. Such a story possibly, though by no means surely, underlies this seal design.

On fig. 282 the bearded figure stands on a boat whose prow and stern end in leafy branches and which is piloted by two nude attendants. Behind him is a structure decorated with linear designs which might be either an altar or a shrine. In front of him is a bull on whose back is a perplexing structure which probably is a portable pedestal.⁴⁷ To its top are fixed two beribboned standards. The scene with one or more gods or priests in a boat recurs from this time on. It appears on two seals of the Jemdet Nasr Period (e.g. fig. 367), on a seal from Billa of the Gawra Period (fig. 544), and as a very common design in the Early Dynastic⁴⁸ and Akkad Periods.⁴⁹ In the later periods other elements are added to this basic design. The implications of the pattern will be discussed in Chapter 10. At least by the Akkad Period it is highly probable that it was associated with a rudimentary mythology of some sort. Nevertheless, it is also true that irrigation canals and the boats on them were of primary importance to the early cities; and it is inherently probable that rites should have developed around them. The scene on fig. 282, then, may reflect current ritual, like many other designs of the period. It is not impossible that some myth now unfamiliar to us was also associated with it, though what it was cannot be determined.

Similarly on fig. 283 a myth may underlie the unique one-eyed hero in the center, who

45. Von der Osten calls it "a long-horned animal," but Frankfort seems to be right when he says, "The build of the body is that of a feline, and I can see no trace of horns. Perhaps the rope, by which the animal is carried and which seems to be tied round his muzzle, was mistaken for horns." We might add that the long, curled tail is a lion's tail and would never be used for bulls or goats or sheep or deer. Van Buren also considers this a lion: *Analecta Orientalia*, 12 (1935), 329 and fig. 3.

46. We know little about the use of predatory animals in the sacrificial cult. Bones of the foreparts of a leopard and a young lion were used as a foundation sacrifice in the east corner of the White Temple in Warka (p. 117). The entrails of lions seem sometimes to have been examined in determining omens: Friedrich Blome, *Die Opfermaterie in Babylonien und Israel* (Rome, Pont. Institutum Biblicum, 1934), p. 93, §90. Blome feels that it is uncertain whether lions were actu-

ally sacrificial animals, since ordinarily the gods desired only a man's property as gifts. However, he considers it possible that sometimes they were (cf. p. 115, §112). We may conclude that such offerings were at least uncommon.

47. The same form has been found on other objects, one of them a fragmentary seal in the Newell Collection (Osten, *Seals, Newell*, pl. III, no. 22 and p. 16). It has sometimes been interpreted as an abbreviated ziggurat or a terrace for a temple (Andrae, *Die ionische Säule*, p. 39; *CAM*, p. 136), or "perhaps an altar in the shape of a temple tower" (Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, p. 20). Yet in this period the temples had not begun to take the form of ziggurats or temple towers. There were, however, pedestals approached by steps inside the temples, though no portable pedestal has survived. Some such portable ritualistic object seems here implied.

48. Pp. 242-244.

49. P. 255.

holds in either hand the hind feet of the lions he has overpowered. Two other antithetical lions form what is almost a triumphal arch over his head. On either side of him are enclosures. In the center of the one at the left are the branching horns of a sheep, above which hovers what Miss Porada assures us is a lion-headed eagle,⁵⁰ ready to attack. On both sides is a vase. A composite figure with human body and sheep's head grasps the pole of the enclosure on the right, while above him hovers a second "lion-headed eagle." A grotesque figure stands within the enclosure, grasping an indeterminate object in his outstretched hands. A large rectangular form not yet identified⁵¹ is in the field. In the upper field at the left stand abstractly a basket, "pouch(?)," fish, and bird. Miss Porada observes that our only parallel to the cyclopic figure comes from Early Dynastic levels at Fara. All one can say, therefore, is that here again the obvious motifs combine fertility symbols with those of aggression, and the hero has clearly been victorious in his struggle. What tale this illustrated is not known.

From Level 5 at Warka, and so of slightly earlier date than many others, came the impression of fig. 284. In the center is a grotesque quadruped with stag's head and antlers at both ends of its body. Between the heads is another horned animal with outspread legs.⁵² Aggression is suggested by the lion in the upper left field whose paw is outstretched to claw at the antlers. At the stag's right is a large amphora. Another vase can be seen below the belly of another animal farther at the right. Whether this design is simply a collection of abstract symbols representing a combination of ideas of fertility and aggression, or whether it illustrates a story cannot now be said. It is included at this point only because the grotesqueness of the pattern suggests that a tale may underlie it. Grotesquerie, however, is no sure indication of mythology.

On similar grounds fig. 285 may be classed as possibly embodying a myth. In the center of this seal is a lion with forepaws raised, a gesture often of attack. There is nothing here, however, for him to attack;⁵³ and the gesture almost looks like one of adoration since on his back is a pedestal in three stages, comparable to the pedestal on the back of a bull in fig. 282. This pedestal also has beribboned standards at either end, and between them stands the familiar bearded figure, facing in the same direction as the lion. As the paws of the lion are raised, so are the hands of this bearded figure, one would think in a gesture of worship. Two large beribboned standards are directly before this central group. Between them and the central group, in the upper field, are two T-shaped objects.⁵⁴ Behind the group is a fragmentary object not now clear. As familiar to the ritual of the period as

50. This is the earliest instance I know of the attacking eagle with the lion's head, the Imdugud bird. In the Uruk Period the eagle commonly is presented without composite form. There are, however, so many composite figures among the antithetically placed animals that we are prepared to find also the Imdugud eagle. Frankfort says, "The lion-headed eagle, threatening the lion, is not known on seals of ascertained Uruk age": *Cyl. Seals*, p. 32. Perhaps he overlooked this example, or perhaps he was not sure that the bird on this seal had that form.

51. Miss Porada calls it a "crib(?)."

52. Similar animals with outspread legs, called by Legrain frogs, appear on two seal impressions from Ur, probably from the Jemdet Nasr Period: L. Legrain, *Archaic Seal-Impressions*, Ur Excavations, 3 (New York, 1936), pl. 15, nos. 282, 283.

53. Schott in *UVB*, 5 (1933), 53 states that below his raised paws is an object which might be a lion's head. This is not clear to me in the photograph. I see only an irregularity on the clay.

54. P. 61.

processions must have been, according to the seal impressions, it is hard to suppose that this scene pictures a rite since lions are not readily tamed for such participation. This may be a collection of purely abstract figures. On the other hand, it seems possible that these figures illustrate some myth not now known.

The Alabaster Vase

While, as has been said,⁵⁵ the pottery of this period was for the most part undecorated, a notable vase of alabaster (fig. 286)⁵⁶ was decorated with designs which closely parallel those of the cylinder seals. This vase was found not far from the Sammelfund of Eanna, Level 3,⁵⁷ so the conclusion that it comes from the Uruk Period must be based on its style, not on the place where it was found. It seems originally to have been one of a pair, for a fragment duplicating one portion of this vase now exists in the Berlin Museum.⁵⁸ The decoration falls into four continuous bands. At the bottom are two rows of abstract figures. First is a row of alternating palms and ears of corn or barley above two wavy lines which have been thought to symbolize water. Next comes a band of alternating rams and ewes. In this latter row the symbolism seems to include not only the idea of fertility in the domestic animals, but that of contrast implied in the alternation of sex. Whether there was a similar contrast implied in the alternation of palm and grain is doubtful.

In the two upper bands of ornament naked men walk in procession bearing gifts to a central figure. Because this central figure wears a long robe which covers the upper as well as the lower part of the body it is assumed to be female. The robe has the same band of trimming down the front and around the hem which adorned the skirt of the familiar bearded figure. The goddess or priestess or queen (it is not clear which this figure represents) stands before a pair of large beribboned standards. Behind them is apparently a collection of the gifts already presented. First comes a pair of rams on whose back is the two-stepped pedestal already seen on cylinder seals.⁵⁹ On the steps of this pedestal are a single beribboned standard and the familiar pair of male figures. The one behind holds his arms before his face, with one hand grasping the wrist of the other. The man in front stands with arms outstretched holding aloft an object which has been variously interpreted. Miss Perkins thought it was "a bowl or some such object." Heinrich, followed by Mrs. Van Buren, thought that the figure resembled the sign for EN in pictographic tablets. It is probably the ceremonial object which was the prototype of the EN sign.⁶⁰ Behind the rams are set a pair of footed vases not unlike this alabaster vase, a pair of baskets heaped high with fruit, a pair of T-shaped objects, and a pair of animal vases, the first a horned animal, the second a lion. Beside the baskets are also a pair of square objects not readily identified, a bull's head, and a rectangular object which Heinrich suggested might be a quiver.

55. P. 59.

56. Cf. Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pls. 3, 38 and pp. 15 f. Van Buren in *AfO*, 13 (1939-41), 33-37; and in *Analecta Orientalia*, 12 (1935), 328 f. H. A. Groenewegen-Frankfort, *Arrest and Movement* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1951), pp. 149-152. *CAM*, pp. 135 f. Faraj

Basmachi, "The Votive Vase from Warka," *Sumer*, 3 (1947), 118-127.

57. Heinrich, pp. 3 f.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 17, pl. 4, a.

59. Pp. 68 f.

60. See Appendix A, p. 267.

The "goddess" stands with upraised hand receiving the oncoming procession. First comes a naked figure presenting a basket like three of those in the lower row. Behind him is a figure now almost destroyed, but which seems to have worn a long ceremonial garment decorated with crosshatching and held in place by a long-tasseled girdle, the end of which is borne by a short-skirted attendant immediately behind.

This vase is as it were the cornerstone for those who consider the sacred marriage as foremost in the rites of the period. Mrs. Frankfort has well summarized this point of view:⁶¹

These are not, as has been assumed for a long time, mere offering scenes, nor do they (as in Egypt) emphasize the importance of a single historical figure; they are the monumental rendering of a supremely important but a recurring event, the sacred marriage of the goddess Inanna, by which the cycle fertility in all creatures—men, beasts, and plants—was to be ensured. In this ritual of the divine wedding of the mother goddess and her own son, the god of fertility, the latter was sometimes represented by the priest king. On the vase, the mother goddess, standing in front of her sanctuary, faces a row of tribute-bearing figures headed by a man who carries the "first fruit"; behind the symbol of the shrine is a ritual object representing the goddess and the priest or priest king who acted as substitute for the divine lover. The second band shows a continuous row of figures carrying the presents which introduce and accompany all wedding ceremony; the lower register is filled with alternate rams and ewes and underneath it are depicted plants, barley and date palm.

While this view cannot be disproven, it remains a hypothesis resting on far more shaky grounds than has usually been recognized. The beribboned standards, as will be shown below, though fertility symbols, are by no means clear-cut references to the goddess, or, when used as a pair, to her sanctuary. Since their meaning varies, one cannot start with such an assumption. Here they appear in a collection of ritual objects, most of which are shown in pairs. On the cylinder seals it became apparent that while contrast in sex seemed sometimes implied by the custom of setting symbols in pairs, as here in the row of rams and ewes, this meaning was not adequate to account for all appearances of the form. On this vase clearly such an interpretation is not adequate, since there is not only the beribboned standard but the familiar pair of male figures on the two-stepped pedestal, since the two animal vases represent a peaceful animal stalked by a lion, and since a bull's head appears among the gifts. The ornament consists of a series of symbols set in pairs, but with the pairing of different kinds. Sometimes they are of opposite sex, sometimes of the same sex, sometimes of a peaceful animal in contrast to one representing brute force, sometimes of identical objects. With this in mind, that this pictures the rite of the sacred marriage becomes not disproved but doubtful. Whatever the nature of the rite, it seems to have kept a possible loss of fertility clearly in view. Many rites beside the sacred marriage must have done this.

61. Groenewegen-Frankfort, p. 151.

Amulets, Beads, and Figurines

It is extremely difficult to determine what amulets and beads are to be assigned to the Uruk Period and what come from the Jemdet Nasr culture. Few have been uncovered where their stratum of origin is clear. It is therefore interesting to learn that in Levels 6 and 4 of the Eanna precinct in Warka some amulets were found which were tiny imitations of objects used in daily life, many perforated to be strung on a string. Among them were a flask, comb, knife, buttons, snail shells, dagger points(?), and food(?) (*Lebensmittel*) (fig. 287).⁶² It is interesting also to observe that the linear designs familiar in the Halaf and Ubaid Periods are retained on some of these Warka amulets. Similar objects came to light in Telloh and Fara.⁶³

Some graves in levels of the Uruk Period in Ur produced necklaces or armllets of beads. We are not told whether any of these were incised.⁶⁴ Many were found in the Sammel-fund in Warka, but their date is uncertain. They will be considered further below.⁶⁵

No specific examples of the animal figurines from Warka can be assigned to this period since all came from collections where it was not clear which were earlier and which later. Probably similar forms were used in both the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr Periods. Sheep and calves are the most common animals,⁶⁶ though some were too indistinctly modeled to be identified.⁶⁷ Occasionally other animals are found: the goat,⁶⁸ gazelle,⁶⁹ lion,⁷⁰ birds,⁷¹ a lion-headed Imdugud bird,⁷² a pair of fish,⁷³ a frog.⁷⁴ Parrot tells us that figurines of sheep, rams, dogs, sometimes also of shepherds(?) were found at Telloh in levels of the Uruk Period.⁷⁵

In the case of cylinder seals some could be distinguished as belonging to the Uruk Period while others seemed to be of Jemdet Nasr date because the earlier were executed with greater attention to modeling, with more care for details. Such criteria break down when applied to amulets, as we shall see.⁷⁶ Borowski has published two amulets from Swiss collections, which he believes come from the Uruk Period, though perhaps they also are of Jemdet Nasr date. The first (fig. 288) is a reclining bison. On its base is a design of four reclining animals, arranged one above the other so that each faces in the direction opposite to the next. This may have been a seal. The second (fig. 289), a reclining calf, could not have been a seal since there is no design on its base. These examples illustrate well the close relationship between amulets and seals. Not all amulets are seals, but one may be fairly confident that in this period at least most seals are amulets.

Strikingly different from earlier periods is the fact that no figurines of humans, whether female or male, were found.

62. Cf. Jordan in *UVB*, 3 (1932), 19.

63. *CAM*, pp. 145 f.; cf. Heinrich, *Fara*, pls. 34, h, 36, d, 1; *Telloh*, 1, pls. 37, no. 1, e, f, 35, no. 2.

64. Woolley in *AJ*, 10 (1930), 337, 333.

65. P. 112.

66. Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pp. 17-23.

67. *Ibid.*, pp. 23 f.

68. *Ibid.*, pl. 12, g.

69. *Ibid.*, pl. 12, e, i.

70. *Ibid.*, pl. 13, a, b.

71. *Ibid.*, pl. 13, e, c.

72. *Ibid.*, pl. 13, d.

73. *Ibid.*, pl. 13, i.

74. *Ibid.*, pl. 13, g.

75. Parrot, *Tello*, p. 44; cf. *Telloh*, 1, 37.

76. P. 106.

Temple Architecture

Symbolism was used in the temples of the Uruk Period in four ways. 1. The temples maintained the tripartite form which had been developed in the Ubaid Period. 2. Niches continued to be used as ornamentation. 3. The walls were decorated with geometric designs worked in mosaic. 4. Wall painting in naturalistic forms which probably are comparable to the designs on cylinder seals was used on the temple of Uqair.

Temple C, which was built on Eanna, Level 4a, the latest of the levels of the Uruk Period (fig. 290), had the most highly developed tripartite form. It consists of a long T-shaped hall, flanked by rooms on either side. There were five entrances on each of the broad walls of the building. To face the cult center it was necessary to pass through these entrances, through the side rooms, and turn at right angles, as in the temples of the Ubaid Period. The cult center lay just beyond the cross arms of the T. It could be entered by the single central door from the long hall, a door significantly flanked by niches. It could also be entered from rooms at either side to which entry was possible either from the arms of the T or from the rooms at the rear. It could not be entered directly from the rear. Behind this cult center was a complex of rooms which probably served for temple functionaries, not for the worshippers.

The complex of rooms at the rear of Temple C has been thought by some scholars to constitute a separate temple lying across the end of the main temple.⁷⁷ At first glance it consists of a long hall, with flanking rooms on the broad sides. Contrary to the main temple, however, it has entrances on three sides. Because of these entrances the small temple has been thought to be a "high temple" in contrast to the "deep temples" where entrance to the most sacred area could not so readily be gained.

These latter terms⁷⁸ distinguish two classes of temples in later periods. The "high temples," located on the top of the mounds, have been thought to be the abode of the deity when he first descends from heaven to earth. The doors in such temples are supposed to be for his exclusive use. There is no image, for he is supposed to be invisible. In contrast to them were the "deep temples," built at the foot of the mounds, with doors so placed that there was less direct entrance to the "holy of holies." Sometimes the doors were on the broad side of the building, as in the Tepe Gawra and Eridu temples and the temples of Level 4b in Warka. Then the worshiper could not look from the outside into the most sacred part of the sanctuary. He had to enter the building first, then turn to face the cult center. Sometimes there was a narthex on the short side so that the worshiper had to pass through this before he entered the sanctuary. Such a plan came only at a later date. The "deep temples" are supposed to be the place where the deity manifests himself to men.

When these terms are applied to temples of the Uruk Period they are used to suggest

77. André Parrot, *Ziggurats et Tour de Babel* (Paris, Éditions Albin Michel, 1949), p. 117. Heinrich in *UVB*, 6 (1935), 8; 10 (1939), 26 f.

parraku," *ZA*, N.F. 6 (1931), 1-28. Jordan in *UVB*, 3 (1932), 24-26. Heinrich in *UVB*, 10 (1939), 25 f. Andrae, *Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens*, especially pp. 1-30.

78. Albert Schott, "Akkad. $\text{š}^u/\text{huru}$, nam^a/ru und

the origin of later beliefs and practices in this early time. This would mean that already in the early period there was a considerable amount of reflection with an incipient organization of philosophical concepts. It is doubtful that this is true. A major reason against it is the fact that the middle room of the row of rooms on the inner side is the cult center for the larger temple. Thus the complex arrangement of rooms at the rear is not a distinct temple of any sort. Although Heinrich at first thought that these rooms formed a second temple, he later abandoned that view and concluded that the location and number of the doors were determined by the needs of the cult, which among other factors had to provide for processions.⁷⁹

Temple D (fig. 290-a), which was oriented at right angles to Temple C, consisted also of a T-shaped hall, with a protected sanctuary beyond the cross arms of the T. On either side of the central hall rooms opened off it so that once again it had a tripartite form. Along the whole length of the broad walls was yet another series of rooms, four of which on each wall were stairways to the roof. Three on each side were highly elaborated niches. The main entrances to the building were through one of the niches on each side.

The mosaic ornament which was popular throughout the Uruk Period has been especially well illustrated in connection with the temple on the "North-South Terrace" in Level 4*b*, which immediately preceded Level 4*a*. The temple on the "North-South Terrace" (fig. 291) had the same tripartite plan as Temples C and D, but beside it another court was added, whose walls in some sectors were decorated with mosaic. The mosaic consisted of red, white, and black cones arranged in geometric patterns of zigzags, lozenges, triangles, and diagonal bands (fig. 292).⁸⁰ Larger mosaic cones at the top of the wall apparently were all black.⁸¹ In the middle of the north end of this court two flights of steps led to a small landing, the face of which also was adorned with linear designs in mosaic (fig. 293). This mosaic came in the intervening spaces between miniature rectangular columns. The landing formed one approach to a hall which has sometimes been known as the Pillar Terrace. Access to it could also be gained from stairs at the northeast corner of the court. The hall seems clearly to have been roofed over, for there were still eight mighty pillars which had supported the roof. This is the earliest example in Mesopotamia of architecture using free-standing pillars.⁸² The pillars were decorated with black and white mosaic. Walls and engaged columns of the Pillar Terrace were also decorated with mosaic in three colors, like that of the court in front. Beyond this hall was another approximately square court which has only been partially excavated. It is by no means clear what place in the cult each portion of this complex group of buildings served.

In the so-called Painted Temple at Uqair both linear designs and naturalistic painting have been preserved. It is not certain that this temple dates from the Uruk Period, but Seton Lloyd is inclined to place it there, though he reckons with the possibility that it is

79. E. Heinrich, "Die Stellung der Uruktempel in der Baugeschichte," *ZA*, N.F. 15 (1949/50), 35-37.

80. A reconstruction of this Mosaic Court and adjoining hall has been pictured by Heinrich in *UVB*, 4

(1932), pl. 8. Lenzen has described the arrangement of the wall decoration in *ZA*, N.F. 15 (1949/50), 14 f.

81. *CAM*, p. 123. Heinrich in *UVB*, 4 (1932), 14.

82. *CAM*, p. 122.

of Jemdet Nasr date.⁸³ The temple was built on a platform 4.60 meters high, along the face of which was a row of buttresses. Above the buttresses ran five rows of mosaic cones whose heads had been dipped in black paint. The temple was built in the familiar tripartite form (fig. 294), with entrances on the broad sides. The outer walls of the building and the interior end walls of the sanctuary were decorated with doubly-recessed niches. At least one niche was behind the altar. This altar, against the northwest wall, served as the cult center here, as in Temples 8, 7, and 6 at Abu Shahrain, but not in the temples of the Eanna precinct at Warka. At its side was a platform of equal height, approached by steps. We recall the stepped pedestal on the backs of animals which was a recurrent symbol on seal cylinders and on the Warka vase.⁸⁴ It is possible that some sort of cultic platform comparable to this, though of course portable, is a prototype of the symbol. An offering table was in the center of the long hall, between the doors.

Every surviving surface of the interior of this temple bore traces of color washes or painted decoration. In the side rooms (fig. 295) a dado about one meter high was painted in a plain color, usually red. Above this was a 30 centimeter band of geometric ornament. The decoration above this varied. In some cases the geometric designs continued on toward the ceiling, in others there were human or animal figures against a white background. None of these has survived above the waistline. From the little that remains, the garments with their contrasting borders and their girdles adorned with tassels resemble those worn by the chief human figures on contemporaneous cylinder seals and the alabaster vase.⁸⁵

The decoration on and around the altar and its platform has been better preserved. In Warka such altars were not found in buildings of this period. Likewise in Uqair the altar seems not to have been used in one part of this period, since the painted ornament continued to floor level behind it.⁸⁶ Along the front of the altar was a painted design (fig. 296) very similar to that done in mosaic on the sides of the landing in the Level 4*b* temple at Warka (fig. 293). Lloyd feels that the design here makes of the altar a miniature temple.⁸⁷ It is not, however, on an altar but on a landing before a great hall when it is found in Warka. In both places the object it adorns is in a sanctuary, but in Warka the landing itself could not be a miniature sanctuary. It seems probable that while the columns and linear ornament may have come to be considered sacred because they had for long been associated with temple architecture, they do not narrow down their point of reference to mark each object they adorn as a temple. Their significance is more general. Like so many other designs they do not have specific reference, but in a vague way communicate a sense of sanctity.

The altar was approached by six steps, leading to a platform level with it at its side. The right wall of the altar was at the left of the steps, while at their right was the face of the side platform. On both these surfaces were painted mighty lions, or, since they are spotted, we might call them leopards (fig. 296). One is reclining, the other sitting. Their role is

83. Lloyd and Safar, *JNES*, 2 (1943), 146-149; cf. *CAM*, p. 131.

84. Pp. 68-70.

85. Lloyd and Safar, p. 142.

86. Lloyd and Safar, p. 142.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

evidently to serve as guards. Lions have often appeared on the cylinder seals as destructive, ferocious beasts. Now their power seems still in view, but it is turned to good account for man. Once again we have an illustration of the recurring ambivalence of symbols. The side platform was in a corner of the room. On both walls at this corner were the fragmentary designs shown above in Lloyd's illustration. Here, as in the ornament of the side rooms, linear designs accompany representational figures. Lloyd has tentatively reconstructed one of the figures as a bull. No humans are represented.

The mosaic ornament on the temples at Warka and the geometric painted designs on the temple at Uqair demonstrate the continued popularity of stylized designs in the Uruk Period. Such designs have been established by long tradition as suitable for use in the cult. Similarly, the tripartite form of the temples exhibits the interest in abstract numbers which has been continuous since the earliest period of Mesopotamian art. Alongside these stylized forms, however, naturalistic designs were used at least on the temple of Uqair. These may have been comparable to designs on cylinder seals, though too little has been preserved to make it certain. Such forms seem to have been innovations and to have had only limited use.

Development of Writing

Among the outstanding achievements of the late Uruk Period was the development of writing. Whether the men of this period themselves invented writing, or whether they borrowed it from other people,⁸⁸ they were the first of a long line of Sumerians to whom belongs the credit for making it an efficient tool for conveying thought, and who disseminated it widely. Since this book is primarily concerned with the art forms, the development of signs need not be examined in any detail. Yet the earliest signs which were used for writing in many cases approximated contemporaneous art forms, and similar trends are apparent in both these uses of symbols.

The earliest writing in Mesopotamia⁸⁹ has been found on a tablet from Kish,⁹⁰ on a collection of approximately 570 tablets from Level 4 at Warka,⁹¹ on one tablet whose provenance may be Umma,⁹² on one named the "Walters-tablet,"⁹³ of unknown origin, and on

88. Before the discovery of the large collection of early tablets from Warka there was a strong tendency to see the origin of writing either in Elam or in a prototype upon which both the Elamite and Sumerian script was dependent: Ephraim A. Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins, the Basic Population of the Near East* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930), 73-76. Because the Sumerian language is not an isolating language but polysynthetic, David argues that the Sumerians could not have invented writing themselves. He thinks they borrowed it from earlier people who perhaps were themselves dependent on a still earlier people from whom, through other intermediaries, the Chinese gained their system of writing: Antal Dávid, "Remarques sur l'origine de l'écriture sumérienne," *Archiv orientální*, 18 (1950), 48-54.

89. G. R. Driver, *Semitic Writing, from Pictograph to Alphabet* (London, Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 4.

90. S. Langdon, *Excavations at Kish, 1* (Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1924), pl. xxxi, nos. 1, 2 and pp. 99 f.

91. A. Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk*, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka, 2 (Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1936).

92. V. Scheil, "Notules," *RA*, 14 (1917), 93 f. *Fara 1*, 74, nos. 6, 7. Falkenstein, p. 67.

93. Falkenstein, p. 67; Anton Deimel, *Sumerische Grammatik*, 2nd ed. (Rome, Verlag des Päpstl. Bibelinstituts, 1939), p. 53. V. Scheil, *Textes élamitiques-sémitiques*, 1re Série, *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, 2 (Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1900), 130.

Tablet 869 of the Goucher College Collection, now in the Yale Babylonian Collection.⁹⁴ Two tablets seem to give word lists.⁹⁵ Most of them appear to be records of economic transactions.⁹⁶ Usually there is a number, followed by one or more symbols. In many cases a seal impression is added. No precise translations are possible, for too little is known about the meaning of the signs.

It is commonly stated, as Driver does, that "the character of every sign was originally pictographic."⁹⁷ The meaning of this statement is not wholly clear. It is true that some of the signs go back to representational forms, many of them the familiar symbols seen in prehistoric art. Among them are the ibex's head (fig. 297), the bucranium, but in a highly conventionalized form which seems closer to the Halaf Period (fig. 298), the boar (fig. 299),⁹⁸ birds (fig. 300),⁹⁹ possibly the snake (fig. 301), the fish (fig. 302),¹ plant forms, of which one group is the familiar trefoil (fig. 303),² the vase (fig. 304),³ the mountain (fig. 305),⁴ the solar or astral rosette (fig. 306),⁵ the beribboned standard (fig. 307),⁶ the ringed pole (fig. 308),⁷ the byre for sheep or cattle (fig. 309), the boat (fig. 310).⁸ In addition, there are other representational forms not common among early art types, as, for example, the human head,⁹ wings used abstractly,¹⁰ the hand,¹¹ the foot,¹² a head of a fox,¹³ a sign perhaps of the rising sun,¹⁴ a donkey's head,¹⁵ a dog's head.¹⁶

There is another large group of signs, however, which Driver supposes are degenerate forms of something which was originally pictographic. Many of these signs closely resemble geometric designs which have appeared in prehistoric abstract art. There are: triangles, sometimes with an added line to identify them with the vulva, sometimes appearing simply or with other variations (figs. 311, 312);¹⁷ chevrons (fig. 313); a bisected chevron (fig. 314); the lozenge, sometimes appearing simply, or with hatching or crosshatching or with an inner lozenge (fig. 315);¹⁸ a five-pointed star (fig. 316); triangles set point to point (fig. 317);¹⁹ circles, sometimes hatched, sometimes with a cross within them (fig. 318);²⁰ wavy lines (fig. 319). Many of these forms appear in combination, and there are a large number of not readily identifiable forms.

Since such a form as the circle with a cross inside has appeared many times from the early days of the Samarran Ware on, Driver will not seem convincing when he says that

94. Beatrice L. Goff and Briggs Buchanan, "A Tablet of the Uruk Period in the Goucher College Collection," *JNES*, 15 (1956), 231-235. P. 65.

95. Falkenstein, p. 43, nos. 340, 539. P. 118.

96. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-58.

97. Driver, p. 47. Cf. Geo. A. Barton, *The Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing*, Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft, 9, 1 (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1913), xiii. *Fara* 1, 9.

98. Cf. Falkenstein, Zeichenliste, no. 53.

99. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 65-72, 74-76.

1. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 84-87.

2. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 89-131 or perhaps 134. The trefoil appears in nos. 88-90.

3. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 140-175.

4. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 190 f.

5. Cf. *ibid.*, no. 193.

6. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 209-212.

7. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 245-252.

8. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 217-220.

9. *Ibid.*, nos. 1-8.

10. *Ibid.*, nos. 9-11.

11. *Ibid.*, nos. 12-15.

12. *Ibid.*, nos. 17-19.

13. *Ibid.*, no. 61.

14. *Ibid.*, nos. 194-206.

15. *Ibid.*, no. 49.

16. *Ibid.*, nos. 50, 51.

17. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 401-408.

18. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 429-436.

19. Cf. *ibid.*, no. 470.

20. Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 754-761.

this is a conventionalized picture of a sheep.²¹ To him this sign represented the face of a sheep. Deimel, however, thought it represented the sheep's rear end.²² Other scholars have taken it as the brand placed on the side of a sheep. These differences demonstrate that the way in which it represented a sheep is clear to nobody. The problem appears, however, not with the sign for "sheep" alone. Similarly an early form of the sign for the "domestic goat" was a cross placed above a lozenge, though at times the cross alone had the same signification.²³ It seems significant that these most familiar animals are represented by highly schematized forms. Such designs would appear to follow the pattern described by Mrs. Langer according to which "the better an act [or object] is understood and the more habitually it is associated with a symbolic gesture, the more formal and cursory may be the movement [or art symbol] that represents it."²⁴ In other words, it is the less familiar animals, like the wild goat and ibex, which were pictured by more representational forms. Similarly the other geometric forms seem to have their roots not in a representational design but in the abstract designs so popular in the Hassunah, Halaf, and Ubaid Periods. For some purposes, specifically for ornament on the shrines and the ritual robes, they were still desired in the Uruk Period.

Driver himself recognizes that "many signs have already [in the Uruk Period] ceased to be in any true sense pictures of the objects which they are intended to represent."²⁵ They are too uniform. So he is forced to assume that there had been a long period of development of writing before the Uruk Period. This investigation has given samples of the ornamented artifacts during the period when this development would have taken place. It has shown what kinds of symbols were used, and that it is only in the Uruk Period itself that there was a persistent attempt to make them naturalistic. Not only, therefore, is there no evidence of a long period during which men were experimenting with naturalistic forms which increasingly degenerated until they became the signs used for writing in the Uruk Period; but also it is clear that before this period naturalistic designs were less favored. Earlier symbols were predominantly conventional and abstract. So it is doubtful that there was a long period during which men were experimenting with pictorial written signs.

Driver further makes the statement that the written sign not only was an attempt originally to draw some naturalistic object (in some cases this seems to have been true), but that also it represented a distinct word or words.²⁶ It has become apparent, however, that though the natural object which the artist who used the art symbols had in mind could sometimes be determined, the values of the symbol were still in doubt. There was no simple, unvarying meaning for each symbol. The symbols were complex, ambivalent. Is

21. Driver, pp. 47, 49, fig. 24.

22. Deimel, *SL*, §537, ¶1, p. 987.

23. *Ibid.*, §76, ¶1, p. 173; §74, ¶162, p. 158.

24. P. 21.

25. Driver, p. 46. Gelb recognizes that some geometric forms served as the basis for some signs, but he seems to think that they were chiefly used for numbers and

other abstract expressions. He follows the usual trend in seeing the origin of Sumerian signs primarily in a pictographic system: I. J. Gelb, *A Study of Writing* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1952), pp. 62, 97, 99, 102.

26. Driver, p. 60, n. 3.

Driver right when he finds a distinct, clear meaning implied in the symbols when used for writing? Unfortunately the texts of Eanna, Level 4 cannot be read. By the time of the Early Dynastic Period the ideograms were clearly used with a variety of meanings. Less is known about the Jemdet Nasr Period. At this time to some signs already determinatives were added.²⁷ Whatever other roles determinatives may have had, one of their functions was to indicate the class in which a word should be placed when it had a number of possible meanings. For example, a sign which in one text was used as the name of a god in another was used for a place. Which meaning was intended was made clear by the determinative preceding or following. Determinatives came to be used for deities, cities, countries, lands, rivers, men, women, wooden objects, and so on. It is possible that already in the tablets from Eanna, Level 4 the determinative for god occurs.²⁸ Whether phonetic complements were invented as early as the Jemdet Nasr Period is less clear. At first Falkenstein thought that the sign ME was used in Jemdet Nasr texts as merely an arbitrary sign of the plural.²⁹ Later he seems to have doubted that it had reached that stage by this time.³⁰ At least one other example of a phonetic complement probably appears in the Jemdet Nasr texts.³¹ By the time of the economic texts from Fara, thus at the beginning of the Early Dynastic Period, phonetic complements were used.³² Such signs pointed to a particular reading of a sign when a number of readings were possible. They took account of the lack of precision of the ideograms, and made it clear what form was intended. Such factors seem to imply that there was ambiguity in the earliest use of symbols. To be sure, as men wished to write about more things the complexity of the signs might increase. Yet it is surely far from clear that there was any stage where the cuneiform sign stood for a single uncomplicated meaning. The history of writing records the ways in which men tried to express ideas more precisely. This seems to be not solely because their ideas became more developed but also because their system of writing needed refinement to give precision to what was at first ambiguous.

When heretofore scholars have suggested that the earliest signs used in writing represented a single meaning, it seems to me that they have fallen prey to a common temptation to simplify knowledge. We should always beware of this temptation for it frequently leads to fallacies. Few situations are simple. We must not forget that the men of the Uruk Period, who were the first to use writing insofar as we know, and who probably invented it,

27. The determinatives for god, place, fish, and wood are found: Falkenstein, pp. 35 f.; S. Langdon, *Pictographic Inscriptions from Jemdet Nasr*, Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts, 7 (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1928), vii.

28. Falkenstein, *Zeichenliste*, pp. 57 f., no. 208.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 34. It is possible that already on one tablet from Eanna, Level 4 a phonetic complement is used. Falkenstein suggests as a bare possibility that once (no. 576) the word MEN, "crown," has the syllable EN added for clarification: pp. 34, 40. Gelb adds a second even more doubtful instance where the divine name Sin is supposed to be written as SU-EN: Gelb, p. 67.

30. A. Falkenstein, *Grammatik der Sprache Gudeas von Lagaš*, *Analecta Orientalia*, 28 (Rome, Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1949), Part 1, pp. 147 f. Cf. Edmond Sollberger, *Le Système verbal dans les inscriptions "royales" présargoniques de Lagaš* (Geneva, Librairie E. Droz, 1952), p. 223. Professor Ferris J. Stephens had also come to this opinion.

31. Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk*, p. 37; Langdon, *Pictographic Inscriptions from Jemdet Nasr*, p. vii and Sign List, no. 181; Driver, p. 61.

32. Langdon, p. vii; Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk*, p. 34.

were by no means primitive men. All the evidence points to the fact that their civilization was highly developed and complex.

SYMBOLIC ELEMENTS IN THE URUK PERIOD

The naturalistic designs of the Uruk Period have been welcomed by modern scholars, who have thought that such naturalism provided a more valid source of knowledge about prehistoric cultures than stylized art. The men who have studied the designs have assumed that the artists were creating realistic pictures of religious ceremonies and of secular activities in hunting, the raising of crops, and animal husbandry. When such assumptions about the prehistoric artists have been made, however, it is because scholars have projected their own aims and the aims of modern culture upon the ancient period. In our confusing world we seek to understand. When we present a realistic picture of contemporary life it is in order that some aspect of the modern scene may be better understood. In a recent letter to the *New York Times*³³ Gerson Silverstein expressed his opposition to Herbert Read's article "In Defense of Abstract Art." Silverstein wrote, "Your article has not, I believe, presented an adequate picture of the main grievance against abstract art: the artist's inability to create an extraordinary vision out of common experience."

The ancient artists do not seem to have been attempting "to create an extraordinary vision out of common experience." Nor were they endeavoring to give meaning to their daily routine. Presumably they were not trying to help either their contemporaries or even themselves to understand their world. The art suggests that they were seeking to handle the multiple powers with which they felt themselves surrounded, that their focus was not on knowledge but on practical means of control. The naturalistic forms of the Uruk Period, therefore, seem not to have been used in any sense to produce photographic pictures of their culture or anything resembling landscapes. One may assume that they were used to strengthen potent forces which the artists wished to vitalize. Thus the artists pictured an oversimplified version of their crops and herds, perhaps using only a bull and an ear of corn to suggest abstractly the prosperous herd and bountiful crops which they desired. When they wanted strength to fight their enemies, they might picture a lion falling on a bull, so suggesting that the lion's might was comparable to theirs. Or they might simply draw a picture of conflict for the comfort which came from expressing anxiety, whatever their problems. Even the representations of contemporaneous ritual seem to be very schematized versions of what actually took place. They were presented because the rites embodied values which were the same as those contributed by the art. The hopes and fears of the age were given expression both by the ritual and art with the instinctive sense that from this would come a constructive resolution of difficulties.

The art of the Uruk Period was therefore basically abstract. It was only less abstract than the art of the periods which preceded it. The motifs dominant in the earlier periods continued unchanged. When animal and plant forms were used in earlier periods to suggest

33. *New York Times Magazine*, May 1, 1960, p. 44.

fertility they were presented schematically. In the Uruk Period animals and plants were still pictured, but they were given realistic form, evidently with the sense that their power to suggest fertility was thereby enhanced. Similarly, the conflict of animals, so prominent a theme in the Uruk Period, pictured realistically what seemed to be implied in the Ubaid Period when the animals on seals were those which were wild and therefore hunted.

At least six techniques may be listed by which Uruk artists made their art abstract:

(1) *By simplifying the realistic.* This technique had been followed by prehistoric artists of all periods. In the Uruk Period the process of simplification was less extreme than it had been earlier. The sprig pattern represented fields of grain in the Hassunah, Halaf, and Ubaid Periods. In the Uruk Period the sprig was developed into an ear of corn. Similar parallels could be made of the schematized animals of the early art and the naturalistic forms created in the Uruk Period. In every instance a single figure stood for a class of objects, and no particular plant, animal, or landscape was intended.

(2) *By making more realistic the details which the artist wished to emphasize.* On a few cylinder seals the might of attacking animals was emphasized by realistic details new in Mesopotamian art (figs. 265, 266, 267). Similarly, beside swine on one seal were branches (fig. 268). It has been said above that in no case were such details presented from an interest in reproducing contemporary scenes. They served to exaggerate the conflict or to express more adequately the fertility of the swine.

(3) *By introducing distortions of reality.* A favorite device of the Uruk artists was to associate with each other scenes which were inherently inappropriate. Most common were the juxtaposition of the care of the herd and the sacrificial cult (figs. 269, 270, 271, 273). Both motifs involved actions with diametrically opposite results and in real life would not have taken place close beside each other. Similarly, while the herd sometimes was shown eating grain (figs. 247, 249, 250), on some seals the animals unrealistically were offered rosettes (figs. 269, 248, 251). Such distortions lay emphasis on the artist's symbolic pattern. In one case, the hope for prosperity through renunciation of it seems presented. In the second case, it may perhaps be surmised that the rosettes were still solar symbols.

(4) *By setting objects abstractly beside other objects, though there is no naturalistic connection with them.* In many designs of the Uruk Period objects which seem unrelated to other parts of the design are set "in the field." For example, on fig. 271 a bull's head is behind the herdsman who protects the calving cow from a lion. On fig. 259 a goat's head, an animal's leg, and two skins for fluid are arranged abstractly around the lion, dog, and the bovine animals whom they pursue. On figs. 277 and 280 amphorae are set abstractly between the animal figures. It would be a mistake to assume that such abstract objects always had the same meaning, for symbols are ambivalent. In some instances they may have had one implication, at other times a different significance. In earlier periods it seemed that geometric designs were imposed on representational designs to emphasize the power of a dominant idea or to focus attention on particular aspects when a symbol was complex. The juxtaposition of naturalistic forms abstractly beside each other serves the same purpose.

(5) *By combining two representational forms.* This technique is only a variant of the last. When quadrupeds were given serpents' necks and lions' heads (fig. 278), or when their bodies were fused into one and their heads became heads of snakes (fig. 277), or when on lions' bodies were set a single human head but ass's ears (fig. 279), the abstract qualities of the design were exaggerated. The patterns were much closer in technique and in effect to the schematized art of the earlier periods.

(6) *By arranging symbols in pairs, which at times were set antithetically.* When artists of the Uruk Period arranged figures in pairs, they were exhibiting an interest in abstract numbers such as had persisted throughout the Hassunah, Halaf, and Ubaid Periods. The earlier artists had given more emphasis to the numbers three, five, and seven. In the Uruk Period stress on the number three still produced temples with three entrances (fig. 245) and with the tripartite form (figs. 290, 290-a, 291, 294). Greater prominence was given, however, to the number two. Just as the number three had been used with different applications, so the number two had no specific meaning. The pairing was sometimes of animals or humans of the same sex, sometimes of opposite sex. Sometimes it consisted of one animal attacking another. Again grotesques were set in antithetical arrangements. No single explanation is adequate to account for all the variations. The form can be better understood when it is viewed from the perspective of the role of abstraction in prehistoric Mesopotamian art.

It has been said above that very little evidence can be observed that men of the Uruk Period were able to explain the designs in words. This statement needs further consideration.

Of all the designs so far discovered only five can with much probability be assigned to myths, and it is uncertain whether a myth is embodied in all of them.³⁴ Furthermore, these designs are not a popular recurring pattern in the period. Thus whatever tales may underlie them, the stories do not seem to be a dominant factor in the culture or they would have been used as a theme for decoration by more people. They clearly do not mirror the familiar Sumerian myths of later texts. Parallelism between seal designs and written texts appears first in the Akkad Period. In the earlier periods the culture seems to have been in a fluid state during which myths were being formed but they had not settled into the consistent pattern which later appears in the written texts.

With these views Moortgat does not agree. In the abstract symbols on cylinder seals such as have been described above he sees an allusion to a myth of a dying and rising god who in later periods bore the name Tammuz. He has presented his ideas most comprehensively in the book entitled *Tammuz*.³⁵ He adopts the point of view of most German scholars according to which all the objects in the Sammelfund of Eanna, Level 3 are to be dated in the Jemdet Nasr Period. He does not accept the possibility that they might have been made earlier and preserved in the collection as heirlooms. Thus many of the seals which have been described above he dates in the Jemdet Nasr Period, and so he places

34. Pp. 67-70.

35. Anton Moortgat, *Tammuz, der Unsterblichkeits-*

glaube in der altorientalischen Bildkunst (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1949).

the origin of the myth of Tammuz in that period. The motifs by which Tammuz is chiefly symbolized, according to Moortgat, are these: the sacred tree flanked by antithetically placed animals; the hero fighting animals; the bull and lion in struggle; the so-called symposium or drinking scene; and the so-called animal chapel, a scene where ritual is performed by animals in imitation of humans. The first and third of these motifs have appeared on seals of the Uruk Period. The others come only in later periods. Moortgat thinks that either directly or in abbreviated, abstract form these symbols refer to a kingly shepherd who feeds the herds of the goddess Inanna, and protects them from marauding beasts. He dies and goes to the underworld, while all vegetation in the earth dies with him. The goddess follows him and finds a way to restore him to earth. Their marriage is celebrated and fertility comes to the world again. This type of myth, familiar in Greek and Roman mythology, accounts for the changes of season, and is often accompanied by rites intended to produce fertility in the fields, the herds, in men, and to assure immortality. It is clear that both the myth and the associated rites were found among the Sumerians and the later Babylonians and Assyrians. Moortgat thinks they began as early as the seals we have placed in the Uruk Period.

To substantiate this view he lays stress on the fact that these motifs are timeless (*zeitlose*). In other words, he employs the same argument we have used when we said that the motifs which are most popular, which constantly recur, must be studied first for the religious beliefs of a period. He also stresses the relationship of the motifs. They are so interrelated that they cannot be studied in isolation, but must be seen together for an adequate comprehension of the religious beliefs and practices. Again, he sees that both ideas of "life" and of "death" come to expression.

Van Buren has expressed the admiration we all must feel for much that is in this brilliant book.³⁶ But she investigates the details by which he has associated seals, graves, and other archaeological data with the Tammuz cult. From her careful analysis it becomes clear that while the art reflects a religion concerned with fertility and the protection of the flocks and herds, there is no evidence that the Tammuz cult had started at such an early date. Specifically, the extant Sumerian texts which describe Tammuz as a god of fertility, beloved of the goddess Inanna, seem not to have originated before the Isin-Larsa Period.³⁷ Of course, Moortgat recognizes that the name for the hero varied from period to period among different people; but irrespective of the name, he thinks a cult of a dying and rising

36. E. Douglas Van Buren, "Ancient Beliefs and Some Modern Interpretations," *Orientalia*, N.S. 18 (1949), 494-501.

37. To be sure, in a very indecisive passage of the *Epic of Gilgamesh* (*ANET*, p. 84, *Epic of Gilgamesh*, Tablet VI, 45-56) Tammuz is referred to as one of many lovers of Ishtar. But here scorn is heaped on Ishtar and her love affairs by the author of the *Epic*. The hymns which celebrate Tammuz come from the Isin-Larsa Period, as Moortgat himself states (Moortgat, p. 30). Heinrich Zimmern, "Sumerisch-babylonische Tammuzlieder," *Berichte der philol.-hist. Klasse der König. Sächs. Gesell-*

schaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, 59 (1907), 201-252. A text in the Yale Babylonian Collection, recently transliterated and translated by Kramer, makes it seem possible that in one version of the Sumerian epic Tammuz did not die: Albrecht Goetze, "Review of: Theodor H. Gaster, *Thespis. Ritual, Myth and Drama in the Ancient Near East*," *JCS*, 6 (1952), 99. S. N. Kramer, "'Inanna's Descent to the Nether World' Continued and Revised. First Part," *JCS*, 4 (1950), 199-214; "Second Part," *JCS*, 5 (1951), 1-17. *ANET*, pp. 52-57, especially p. 52, n. 6.

god, a god symbolized by the motifs of "life" and "death" which we have seen in the seals, came early and persisted. It emphasized belief in an afterlife, but was bitterly opposed by the Akkadians, who ridiculed it when they told in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* how Gilgamesh sought for immortality but failed to achieve it. Van Buren thinks it is just this myth of the dying and rising god for which there is no evidence in the early period. For example, such a god is never pictured directly in such dramatic scenes as the myth would have encouraged. A study of the "royal tombs" of Ur, built in the Early Dynastic Period,³⁸ shows that the elaborate ritual of these tombs does not necessarily, as Moortgat supposes, point to the re-enactment of such a myth. Moortgat makes a point also³⁹ of the plano-convex wall around Warka, built in the Early Dynastic Period. He thinks it must have been erected by the Akkadians in their antagonism to the worship at the Eanna sanctuary to show the superiority of the Sun-god Shamash. But this wall, as Van Buren says, forms no barrier against the Eanna sanctuary. It surrounds both shrines alike.

Van Buren herself finds not a myth of the dying and rising god, but the ritual of the sacred marriage of a divine bridegroom and the mother goddess mirrored in these symbols. They reflect a religion concerned not with an afterlife but with the material needs of this world. People were concerned with fertility and with protecting their flocks and herds. They worshiped the gods for what they could give in return; but while this was a materialistic point of view it was sublimated in the ceremony of the sacred marriage, which was "a fertility rite performed to obtain material benefits in this world, and had nothing to do with death and resurrection, or with any belief in a life beyond the grave."⁴⁰ She has developed this view in two principal articles, "The Ear of Corn,"⁴¹ and "Religious Rites and Ritual in the Time of Uruk IV-III."⁴² The rite of the sacred marriage seems to her implied by the divine couple who she thinks is symbolized repeatedly. The main symbol of the goddess is the beribboned standard, that of the god is the ear of corn.

Of great importance is the question, what is the significance of the beribboned standard? This symbol lies behind one of the familiar cuneiform signs, so we may start by investigating its meaning in the texts. It appears commonly in the archaic texts from Warka, but unfortunately nobody has yet been able to read them, so this use of the sign in writing contemporary with the form as a symbol in art is of less aid than one might wish. In at least two of the Warka texts, however, it is accompanied by a star which may have been a determinative, signifying that what follows is the name of a divinity.⁴³ In many cases this star is absent. This may or may not be significant. In early texts the determinative is not always used with names of gods. So it is probable that in the Uruk texts the sign sometimes stands for the name of a divinity. That it always does, may or may not be true.

In later texts, when used with a determinative, this cuneiform sign is the ideogram for the goddess Inanna or Ishtar.⁴⁴ It is often accompanied by epithets. These epithets are commonly, though less certainly, supposed to characterize the same goddess. When not

38. For Moortgat's views concerning the rites in the "royal tombs" see his *Tammuz*, pp. 53-79.

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 81-85.

40. Van Buren, p. 499.

41. In *Analecta Orientalia*, 12 (1935), 327-335.

42. In *Afo*, 13 (1939-1941), 32-45.

43. Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk*, Zeichenliste, pp. 57 f., no. 208.

44. Deimel, *SL*, §103, ¶1-7, p. 253.

accompanied by this determinative, the sign is used in these later texts with varied meanings, for example, "form," "face," "land," "foundation," or the verb meaning "to rain." It is important to notice that this sign, like the other cuneiform signs, does not have a single meaning, but must be understood in its context. In its use in the texts the sign is no exception to the other cuneiform signs, but is ambiguous out of context.

In the later texts, there was a strong tendency to conflate the various goddesses and make them aspects of the goddess Ishtar. It is open to serious doubt whether such a tendency should be pushed back into this early period. The earliest texts which permit us to see the Sumerians' attitude to their gods are the building inscriptions of the Early Dynastic Period, which will be discussed in Chapter 10. Frankfort's view that even in this early time the Sumerians worshiped one great god "who personified the generative force of nature" and one goddess, though they applied to them many names, is, as we shall see, open to question.⁴⁵ That is one reason why it is less certain that this sign, when accompanied by epithets, always, even in earlier occurrences, refers to the same goddess.

What is its use as an art symbol? Great weight is often laid on the fact that among the objects whose provenance is known, only those from the Eanna precinct in Warka bore beribboned standards.⁴⁶ From the Anu ziggurat in Warka and also from other sites came the ringed pole. On the basis of this observation Van Buren and many other scholars infer that the beribboned standard is distinctive of the goddess whose sanctuary was the Eanna region, while the ringed pole was the symbol of the divine consort whose shrine was the Anu ziggurat. Now while the provenance of some objects is known, and for the most part those support Van Buren's statement that the beribboned standard comes only from the Eanna precinct, the beribboned standard appears on enough objects whose provenance is unknown to make it unwise to draw such an important conclusion on this evidence. Furthermore, the Eanna sanctuary was by no means in the Uruk Period exclusively sacred to the goddess Inanna. In both Levels 5 and 4 there were at least two temples near each other, and these were oriented in different directions (not shown in illustrations). So it is legitimate to infer that more than one divinity was revered there. There is no indication that all the artifacts bearing the beribboned standard were found clustered around only one of these temples.

Van Buren has made an attempt to show not only that the beribboned standard is to be associated with one sanctuary but also that a particular group of symbols clusters around it.⁴⁷ This group, she thinks, designates the mother goddess, while another group, clustering around the ringed pole, designates the divine consort. The beribboned standard, sheep, and rosettes are distinctive of the goddess, the ringed pole, cattle, and ears of corn of the god. Wherever one of these symbols is found it seems to her that it is possible to assign it to the appropriate god or goddess. Also when a pair of beribboned standards appear they stand for the entrance to the goddess's sanctuary. However, a survey of the seals described above will show that sometimes sheep and sometimes cattle feed on rosettes or are

45. P. 88.

46. Van Buren, *Symbols of the Gods*, pp. 43-47.

47. In *Analecta Orientalia*, 12 (1935), 327-335.

accompanied by them,⁴⁸ and sometimes one or the other feed on or are accompanied by ears of corn,⁴⁹ or accompany the beribboned standard.⁵⁰ There is no consistency in pairing the symbols, as Mrs. Van Buren's theory would suggest. As Frankfort recognized, "In all functions, barley, rosette, and branch on the one hand, and goat, sheep, antelope, calf, or stag on the other, seem to be interchangeable."⁵¹

It is evident, then, that while in the texts the beribboned standard sometimes designated the goddess Inanna or Ishtar, it is like the other cuneiform signs in being ambiguous out of context. As for its use in art, it has often been shown that the other art symbols in this and earlier periods are interchangeable and their meaning varies. There is no reason to conclude that in the case of the beribboned standard the situation has suddenly changed. The symbols are sometimes abstract, sometimes direct presentations of an idea. Many in this period, like the vases, the baskets of fruit, the ears of corn are probably objects utilized in the current ritual. It is probable that the beribboned standard was such a ritual object. It looks like a standard which might have stood at a sanctuary entrance and been borne aloft in processions. Other objects in this and the Jemdet Nasr Period suggest such a conclusion.⁵² In itself it might not directly suggest fertility any more than the elephant and donkey today per se suggest the Republican and Democratic parties. But by long association with the parties they have come to be their symbols. So by long association with the fertility cult the beribboned standard probably came to suggest fertility. Sometimes it may be applied to the specific goddess Inanna, as has been said. What has become clear, however, is that it is highly questionable whether it always referred to this goddess. As Goodenough has said, "When we have found 'a' meaning for a symbol we have not found 'the' meaning for the symbol."

A possible parallel to the Mesopotamian beribboned standard may be found in the Hittite Telepinus Myth to which Stephens called my attention. At the close of the text the god's homecoming is described:⁵³ "A pole was erected before Telepinus and from this pole the fleece of a sheep was suspended. It signifies fat of the sheep, it signifies grains of corn (and) wine, it signifies cattle (and) sheep, it signifies long years and progeny." If this refers to a symbol like the beribboned standard, it is a fertility symbol, but with varying specific references. In the Hittite text it is not a symbol of one particular god or goddess.

Van Buren has summarized well a view commonly accepted, and which has been developed furthest by Andrae.⁵⁴ The beribboned standard, she says, "is always recognizable for what it has been explained to have been originally, the gate-post of a reed hut, made of a bundle of reeds bound tightly together, with the upper ends bent over to form a loop

48. For sheep with rosettes see Figs. 248, 251, 269, 272. For cattle with rosettes see Fig. 256, and *MLC*, pl. I, no. 2.

49. For sheep with ears of corn see Figs. 249, 273. For cattle with ears of corn see Figs. 247, 254.

50. For sheep with the beribboned standard see Figs. 248, 249, 269, 274, 275, and Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pl. 19, a. For cattle with the beribboned standard see Figs. 252, 282, and Osten, *Seals, Newell*, pl. III, no. 22. For cattle with the ringed pole see *MLC*, pl. I, no. 2. Two berib-

boned standards are atop a platform on the back of a lion on Fig. 285.

51. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, p. 21, n. 3.

52. Pp. 70, 96, 99.

53. Goetze in *ANET*, pp. 126-128.

54. Van Buren, *Symbols of the Gods*, p. 43. Andrae, *Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens im alten Orient*, pp. 49 f., 55-57; *Die ionische Säule*, pp. 10, 21-25, 36, 40-49, 55 f.

through which to slip a pole supporting the reed mat which formed the door, and with the surplus ends of the reeds left sticking out at the back, thus forming the 'streamer.'” To arrive at such an origin for the standard, Andrae searched for things it resembled in shape, following a method which seems dubious. This is the method Mallowan followed when he thought the geometric ornament of the Halaf Period was derived from patterns of woven baskets. But such a form as the triangle, we have seen, was applied to the vulva, to mountains, to the tip of a spear or arrow, to enumerate some of its applications. It is impossible to say which application is primary. In other words, it is of dubious value to search for the origin of a symbolic form in a naturalistic representation. The origin of these forms which have come to have potency is clouded in obscurity.

Van Buren also finds the divine bride and bridegroom implied in the arrangement of symbols in pairs, so common in this period.⁵⁵ Thus on fig. 244 “the cult vessels are in duplicate, two baskets piled with fruits, two tall vases, two bowls, showing that gifts were offered to the god equally with the goddess.” Again she says, “the pairing conception is . . . brought out by the whole scheme of decoration.”⁵⁶ And she uses as illustration the alternating palm trees and ears of corn on the great alabaster vase from Warka and on a mace-head in the Iraq Museum, and the alternating rams and ewes on the same great vase. What may be the god and goddess are together on a group of Jemdet Nasr seals from Warka, as we shall see.⁵⁷ Andrae likewise had observed the symbolic significance of this pairing of objects,⁵⁸ and instead of drawing her conclusion had suggested that it expressed a unity of contrasting, polar, human experience.

This arrangement of symbols in pairs has been discussed above. It is one of the most persistent forms imposed on the decoration of this period. In some cases, as for example fig. 274, and perhaps fig. 275, contrast in sex is explicitly indicated. In many others the pairs are pairs of identicals. At first glance it appears a happy explanation of the pairs on fig. 244 to see in them gifts made to the divine bride and groom. But even on that seal the pairing is carried on to include the male figures. Why is the bearded male figure so often paired with his male attendant? Why is the pairing so frequently that of one animal attacking another? How does the antithetical arrangement of grotesques fit into this picture? All of these are manifestations of the pairing conception, common not only in this period, but on through subsequent periods of Mesopotamian history. In only a selected group of cases is the rite of the sacred marriage a possible explanation. There are so many cases where it does not apply that it is clearly an error to accept this as the single explanation of the form.

It has been almost universally assumed that insofar as the figures were symbolic they represented a divinity and displayed the characteristics of that divinity. Yet the human figures on the seals appear to be abstractions, whether they picture a god, priest, or king. No specific characteristics suggest a certain deity, as on seals of a later date, or a particular ruler. It is not the human figures which Frankfort thought symbolized the gods, but such

55. Van Buren, “The Ear of Corn,” *Analecta Orientalia*, 12 (1935), 334.

56. “Religious Rites and Ritual in the Time of Uruk

IV-III,” *AfO*, 13 (1939-41), 36.

57. Pp. 95 f.

58. *Die ionische Säule*, pp. 39-45.

abstract symbols as the plants and animals. He suggested that some "personified the generative force of nature."⁵⁹ Andrae thought that the supernatural forces in the world were concentrated in male and female principles and did not take anthropomorphic form.⁶⁰ Mrs. Van Buren has pointed out, however,⁶¹ that in the Ubaid Period in Tepe Gawra there were three temples grouped around a main court on the acropolis of Level 13, and consequently it may be inferred that at least three divinities were worshiped there. When three divinities were worshiped simultaneously, clearly the religion had passed beyond the aniconic stage of worship. The deities must have possessed separate personalities, and have been worshiped in anthropomorphic form. In Levels 4 and 3 of the Eanna precinct at Warka likewise temples were erected and offerings brought to them much as tribute would have been brought to an earthly ruler.

It is evident, then, that in the Uruk Period men believed in a number of different gods whom they supposed to be quite distinct. Yet they apparently did not use any symbol to represent them. Whether the symbols were rosettes or ears of corn, beribboned standards or ringed poles, bulls or sheep, all were interrelated and often interchangeable. It was said above that the symbols of the earlier periods were so interrelated that no form could be distinguished as the emblem of a particular god. This argument is equally cogent to indicate that in the Uruk Period, too, symbols were not used to represent individual deities. While men believed in many gods, they need not be supposed to have spent much time systematizing their thoughts about them. As a hypothesis it may be suggested that this was a period when men were eager to discover and offer gifts to as many spirits and divinities as seemed likely to affect their well-being. Having performed the prescribed ritual, they carried on their daily routine without feeling the necessity of formalizing and standardizing their religious intuitions. Such a religion would be focused on solving their current problems; it would be anthropocentric, not theocentric.

If this is true, the designs of the period should not be viewed as an attempt to represent the attributes most characteristic of the divinities. Rather they seem to have been attempts to marshal the forces in the world most needed in the crises of daily life. The forces in many respects were the same as had been sought in the Hassunah, Halaf, and Ubaid Periods. People were preoccupied with hopes for fertility, the increase of their flocks and herds, growing fruit and grain, human well-being and productivity. But equally important to them were the problems involved in achieving that end, and they were undoubtedly many. The continuity in human hopes and fears produced a basic similarity in symbolic motifs. Moortgat recognized this continuity for later periods when he termed the motifs "timeless." Because the style of the three earliest periods was so different from the later style, however, he failed to see that the continuity was founded in the earliest levels of Mesopotamian culture. He spoke about the "distinctive stamping"⁶² of the earliest stages of culture, and he was correct that it does stand distinct from later periods. We know far too little about the history of these centuries to be able to account for the changes. They

59. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, p. 17.

60. *Die ionische Säule*, pp. 36, 42-45.

61. "Religious Rites and Ritual in the Time of Uruk

IV-III," *AfO*, 13 (1939-41), 32 f.

62. Moortgat, *Tammuz*, p. 27.

may have been a result of the coming of new people to the country, but we can say with emphasis that there are many other explanations possible.

We may wonder whether the changes in art types correspond to changes in theological beliefs. Is it probable that the use of abstract forms corresponded to a period when men had great fear of their gods who were remote and terrifying, while the more naturalistic forms corresponded to a period when the gods seemed more approachable, more accessible to men? Again, the changes in art types might correspond to changes in the social organization of the country. Possibly the use of more naturalistic forms represented a wider participation in organized religion.⁶³ Such suggestions seem to me at present, however, only unsupported hypotheses. We should like to find a pattern according to which particular art types correspond to certain characteristics of cultures whose religious beliefs and social organization we know. A preliminary survey of such cultures as Ralph Linton and Paul S. Wingert describe in *Arts of the South Seas*,⁶⁴ does not reveal such a pattern.

What has not been previously observed is that with all the changes in the early levels of Mesopotamian cultures there was a basic continuity. "Life" and "death" symbols were persistent, though they found different ways of expression. They were expressed, as often in human life, in three types of symbols. First there was myth, which was at a very rudimentary stage. Some myths of the gods and heroes were told, but they had not crystallized into a pattern. Second there was ritual, which was highly developed. The seals show that there were shrines and offerings of grain, fruit, fluid, and ceremonial objects. There are pictures of processions, and of the feeding of the temple herd. There is no direct evidence yet that the sacred marriage was part of the ritual, though it is not improbable that it had begun.⁶⁵ In the third place, the problems of the period found expression in art. Ritual and art in this period went hand in hand as the chief stabilizers for human emotion.

Further, as has already been said, it is probable that solar elements continued in the religion of the Uruk Period. In the earlier periods rosettes seemed to have solar significance, and solar forms appeared to be associated with birds and quadrupeds. In the Uruk Period rosettes, birds, and quadrupeds still continue to be prominent symbols, and the earlier solar ideas may have been associated with them. This study suggests that there was more continuity of religious values in prehistoric art than has usually been recognized. So, although fertility appears to be expressed more directly, the rosettes, birds, and quadrupeds probably indicate that the sun was playing an important role in the fertility cult.

63. Arnold Hauser (*The Social History of Art*, 1 [New York, Knopf, 1952] 38) suggests "that naturalism is connected with individualistic and anarchistic social patterns, with a certain lack of tradition, the lack of firm conventions and a purely secular outlook, whilst geometrism, on the other hand, is connected with a tendency to uniformity of organization, with stable institutions, and a very largely religiously orientated outlook on life." Yet for Mesopotamia he admits (pp. 64 f.) that this does not prove true.

64. Ralph Linton and Paul S. Wingert, *Arts of the South Seas* (New York, Museum of Modern Art, distrib-

uted by Simon and Schuster, 1946).

65. One seal impression from Ur which possibly, though by no means surely, is of Jemdet Nasr date shows a female figure standing beside a shrine. Nearby are numerous abstract symbols. In the upper register, among other abstract forms, is a pair of what may be human figures, seemingly in intercourse: L. Legrain, *Archaic Seal-Impressions*, pl. 20, no. 385. In southern Mesopotamia all the other instances of sexual intercourse on seals or their impressions, with which I am familiar, seem to be no earlier than the Early Dynastic Period.

CHAPTER 6

The Jemdet Nasr Period

The town of Jemdet Nasr, near Kish, gives its name to the latest of the prehistoric periods in the South, because it was there that for the first time the artifacts characteristic of this period were found. Since Mackay's epoch-making discovery,¹ however, material of the same kind, some of it far better stratified, has come to light also in Warka, Fara, Telloh, Ur, al-Ubaid, Uqair, Abu Shahrain, Khafajah, Asmar, Agrab, and in Kish.² The Jemdet Nasr Period, like the end of the Uruk Period, was an age of great creative movements. As far as is known, this culture came into being as a result of inner changes within Mesopotamia, not because of foreign influences. It was so dynamic, however, that it made an impression on other countries from Iran to Egypt, and even in Cappadocia and Troy.³

CHARACTER OF THE ART

In the Jemdet Nasr Period two types of design developed. First was the formal and geometric. Within the boundaries of the geometric patterns familiar in earlier periods, new forms evolved. The abstract art was thus not merely a retrogression to earlier forms, but a living, artistic type capable of expressing the feelings of the period. Second, naturalistic forms continued and developed. Both types of design reflected the complex strivings of the period, were sometimes used by the same artists, and thus were not the distinctive marks of two separate schools of art.

Pottery

In the early part of the Jemdet Nasr Period, as throughout the Uruk Period, most of the pottery was undecorated.⁴ Later, however, painted pottery came to be used. It was

1. Reported in Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*.

2. *CAM*, p. 97; Delougaz, *Pottery*, p. 27. Jemdet Nasr pottery from Kish has been considered by Faraj Bas-machi, "A Study in Pottery" (in Arabic), *Sumer*, 4 (1948), pl. 11 and pp. 24-26. D. B. Harden, "A Typological Examination of Sumerian Pottery from Jemdet Nasr and Kish," *Iraq*, 1 (1934), 30-44. L. Ch. Watelin and S. Langdon, *Excavations at Kish*, 4 (Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1934), 3-5, and pls. vii, nos. 3, 4, viii, no. 1. Perkins assures me that there are unpublished specimens in Chicago, but that the stratification of all the Kish material is so un-

certain that they are extremely difficult to study.

3. *CAM*, p. 161. Henri Frankfort, *The Birth of Civilization in the Near East* (New York, Doubleday, 1956), pp. 132-137; Delougaz, *Pottery*, pp. 130-134. Helene J. Kantor, "Further Evidence for Early Mesopotamian Relations with Egypt," *JNES*, 11 (1952), 239-250. Le Breton, "The Early Periods at Susa, Mesopotamian Relations," *Iraq*, 19 (1957), 94-113.

4. Delougaz, p. 34; von Haller in *UVB*, 4 (1932), 36, 43, 46; Parrot, *Tello*, p. 48; Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, p. 232.

sometimes monochrome, but more often polychrome. The polychrome ware in particular is known as the Jemdet Nasr type.

The excavators have singled out a few pottery forms in the Jemdet Nasr Period which seemed especially to belong to ritual vases and thus may be in some sense symbolic. First are those with spouts. Prototypes of these had been pictured on a seal showing an offering scene (fig. 244) and on the great alabaster vase (fig. 286) in the Uruk Period. Some of the Jemdet Nasr spouted vases were so small that they seemed impractical for domestic use.⁵ Others were larger. Those which were small or of medium size were usually plain, but many larger vases were decorated with monochrome designs. In this period polychrome designs were seldom if ever used for this type of vase.⁶ Many spouted vases were found in graves. In one grave such a vase had an alabaster cup over its mouth.⁷ In Sin Temple 3 at Khafajah one spouted vase was decorated with plain red bands (fig. 320).

From Sin Temple 4 came a vase which had seven spouts (fig. 322).⁸ The excavators thought that such seven-spouted vases might "represent the earliest versions of the seven-wicked lamp well known in the Near East in later times." In the light of this study the form seems less novel, for it is but another illustration in a new medium of the recurring desire to impose the abstract number seven on different kinds of objects. An interest in the number seven has produced seven-branched trees (fig. 39) and a shrine with seven niches (fig. 245) in the earlier art. It is the perplexing power of abstract numbers which underlies both this vase and later the seven-branched lamp.

On the spout or rim, a few vases were decorated with snakes in relief (fig. 321).

Nearly as important as the spouted vases were those with four lugs (fig. 323), which were not new in this period, nor did they end with this time. Since they were especially numerous in the Jemdet Nasr Period, were sometimes imitated in stone, and were among the very few forms borrowed from Mesopotamia by the Egyptians, the excavators concluded that they must have been of exceptional importance, whether for use in the ritual or for holding spice or incense.⁹ Four-lugged vases have been found both in houses and temples in the Diyala region. Two collections of this type of jar were found in Jemdet Nasr, so small in size that they were thought to have been models, and evidently intentionally broken.¹⁰ Both the jars and the breaking of them probably had religious significance. Delougaz discussed the purpose of the lugs and concluded that they may have been used for suspension when the jar was not too heavy. In the case of larger jars he thought that cords could have been passed through the perforated lugs and over the jars' lids to hold them firmly in place. One jar was found with its lid still in position.¹¹ Four-lugged jars sometimes were plain, but were often painted with polychrome designs. Sometimes two or three of these vases were joined by a bridge to make multiple vases.¹²

As the spouted vases marked a continuation of ritualistic objects known in the Uruk

5. *Ibid.*, p. 237.

6. Delougaz, *Pottery*, p. 37.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 37 f.

8. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 43.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

10. Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, pp. 240 f.

11. Delougaz, *Pottery*, p. 41.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

Period so also did the vases in animal form. On the same Uruk Period seal which pictured the spouted vase (fig. 244) two theriomorphic vases were in the form of horned animals. On the alabaster vase (fig. 286) the theriomorphic vases had the form of a horned animal and lion. In the Jemdet Nasr Period a fragmentary cylinder seal (fig. 324) pictured a group of ritualistic objects: a full basket, a pair of vases on a high base similar to the alabaster vase from Warka, a beribboned standard, and a vase in form of a long-necked water bird. Thus it seems legitimate to attribute theriomorphic vases to the accepted symbolism of the period. Four such vases were found in temples in Khafajah. Two were in the form of birds (e.g. fig. 325),¹³ a third in the form of a bull (fig. 326).¹⁴ What the fourth was Delougaz does not say, but he calls attention to the geometric designs which decorate it (fig. 327).¹⁵ These designs include such familiar patterns as wavy lines, lozenges, and rows of dots.

"Censers," which appeared in Tepe Gawra and Abu Shahrain in the Ubaid Period,¹⁶ are not common in the Jemdet Nasr Period. Two examples were found in different levels of the Sin Temple in Khafajah. Only the upper part of the first was discovered. The surface was whitewashed and then decorated with simple vertical lines of red and black.¹⁷ A better idea can be gained of the form of the second (fig. 328).¹⁸ The base is broken off, but in the cylindrical part that is left both rectangular and triangular apertures appear in the walls.

In the pottery of the Jemdet Nasr Period thus far continuity has been the prevailing impression. The continuity has appeared especially in the popularity of undecorated pottery and in the use of spouted and theriomorphic vases in the ritual. In this period, however, ornamented ware comes into favor again.

In the Diyala region, though not yet in other sites, the excavators have observed several stages of development. In the earlier period the patterns were simple, and there was a combination of geometric and representational forms.¹⁹ Later the pottery more widely known as Jemdet Nasr Ware developed. This was usually polychrome and had intricate geometric designs. One sherd with a vertical row of superimposed birds came in late levels.²⁰

The designs on some Jemdet Nasr monochrome pots were extremely simple, as, for example, on the spouted vase of fig. 320. More elaborate designs were sometimes used. On four-lugged jars the painting was set on the part of the body above the maximum width, and horizontal bands formed a border above and below. At the top the band was sometimes solid, but often consisted of two or more lines. When there was more than one line, vertical or oblique strokes, zigzags, or solid triangles might be set between two of them. Below each lug a motif divided the body into four metopes which were filled with various designs.²¹

On some of the monochrome pottery geometric designs alone are used. For example, on a

13. Cf. *ibid.*, pls. 25, a, 27 and p. 43 f.

14. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. 26 and p. 43.

15. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 44. In some respects the short strokes of paint seem to him to resemble the design on the much earlier theriomorphic vase from Arpachiyah which suggested to Mallowan a hedgehog: "Arp.," pl. v, a and p. 88.

16. Pp. 27, 46.

17. Delougaz, *Pottery*, pl. 4, Kh. IX, 49; cf. pl. 17, d and pp. 34 f., 42. This came from debris below Sin Temple 1.

18. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 42. This came from Sin Temple 3.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-48.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-51.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 44 f.

pot from Sin Temple 1 at Khafajah (fig. 329)²² a strip of herringbone ornament is below each lug. The metopes between these strips are filled with symmetrical geometric designs in three panels, the panels being separated by two vertical lines. In the first panel the design consists of triangles set point to point, those at the top and bottom being arranged horizontally, the middle pair vertically. The second panel is filled with diagonal checkers. The third panel has two pairs of triangles set point to point, both pairs this time set vertically. In the Jemdet Nasr Period triangles set point to point are popular forms, both in horizontal and vertical arrangements.

On other monochrome pots both geometric designs and representational figures are used. Most familiar are the trees, which sometimes are drawn schematically (fig. 330), but often have curving branches with even suggestions of leaves on the branches (fig. 331).²³ A beautiful example of the tree, in metopes separated by vertical rows of lozenges, came from the Earliest Shrine of the Abu Temple at Asmar (fig. 332). One sherd from Jemdet Nasr may have been intended to represent palm leaves (fig. 333). The trees are an amazing attempt at naturalism in a milieu which is prevalingly conventional and abstract. Birds also appear on several vases. Four of them are on a pot from Uqair (fig. 334).²⁴ From the mouth of each extends a wavy line, the significance of which is not clear. The design appears again on a sherd from Jemdet Nasr (fig. 335). Lloyd thought a theriomorphic vase might be intended with water pouring from the spout. It seems also possible that the bird is represented as holding a snake in its beak. One example of what has been taken to be a snake alone was found on a sherd from Jemdet Nasr.²⁵ Another characteristic of the vase from Uqair should be noted. The birds are set in pairs on opposite sides of the shoulder of the vase, and between the pairs on either side are three crosshatched triangles. The rhythm of alternating motifs is lacking here, as often on Jemdet Nasr vases. A tree and bird appear side by side on a vase from Sin Temple 3 at Khafajah (fig. 336). From Khafajah came a fragmentary vase (fig. 337),²⁶ where animals appear in the metopes.

Forms that Delougaz calls "six- or eight-pointed stars," but that strongly resemble motifs that seemed to have solar implications in the Halaf Period, appear on two sherds (e.g. fig. 338).²⁷ Very possibly they have solar implications here also. On monochrome vases at Jemdet Nasr "stars" in the form of pentalphas occur (fig. 339).²⁸ What difference in significance there may be between the pentalphas and the six- or eight-pointed "stars" is not clear.

A few jars had incised ornament, though they are comparatively rare. The designs are simple linear forms comparable to many carried out in paint on other vases (fig. 323).²⁹

Polychrome pottery was more common in the Jemdet Nasr Period than monochrome ware. From debris which was even lower than Sin Temple 1 at Khafajah came the "censer" painted in vertical lines of red and black already described.³⁰ One of the most beautiful

22. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 44 f. A second pot with simpler geometric patterns came from Sin Temple 3 (pl. 28, c).

23. Cf. Delougaz, *Pottery*, pls. 29, b, 30 and pp. 45 f. Henry Field and Richard A. Martin, "Painted Pottery from Jemdet Nasr, Iraq," *AJA*, 39 (1935), pl. xxxiii, no. 4 and p. 319.

24. Cf. Lloyd and Safar in *JNES*, 2 (1943), pl. xxiv, b and p. 154. A similar bird with crosshatched body prob-

ably was on a sherd from Khafajah: Delougaz, *Pottery*, pl. 134, c.

25. Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, pl. lxxviii, no. 1.

26. Cf. Delougaz, pl. 31, a and p. 46.

27. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. 31, c, c'.

28. Cf. Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, pl. lxxviii, nos. 8, 11.

29. Cf. Delougaz, *Pottery*, pls. 17, h-l, 22, b and p. 39.

30. P. 92.

vases found at Khafajah (fig. 340)³¹ came from the same location. Over a cream-buff slip the whole surface of the jar was painted a dark purple-red, except for four spaces on the shoulder. Here a design was worked out in brown-black paint against the cream-buff background. The design consisted of four roughly rectangular panels, each divided by bands into one broad triangle and two narrow ones. A red-brown paint was used to fill the broad triangles with crosshatching.

The polychrome pottery most typical of the Jemdet Nasr Period had much more intricate designs, usually confined to the shoulder of the vase while the rest of the body was either unpainted or colored a solid red. The majority of the designs were exclusively geometric and set in vertical panels radiating from the neck onto the shoulder. These panels or metopes were usually separated by plain bands of paint. Often the design thus created divided the circle into four or multiples of four. For example, a band of cross-hatching flanked by two bands of paint on one vase (fig. 341)³² is repeated four times so that it makes the form of a cross. Two other designs bisect the angles formed by this cross. First is a series of triangles set point to point in a vertical line, this central row being flanked on either side by a herringbone pattern. In the second a double row of triangles is set point to point, but this time arranged horizontally. On either side of this central design are rows of a checkerboard pattern. The over-all design is symmetrical, but also varied and interesting. It is a good example of the skill with which Jemdet Nasr artists employed a limited repertoire of designs in varied ways. Another beautiful Jemdet Nasr polychrome vase with a symmetrical geometric design is shown in the frontispiece of this volume and described in Appendix B.

Symmetry is lacking in the over-all design of fig. 342, though the composition of each panel carries out the principles of repetition and balance. The zigzag and scallops are arranged in patterns new in the Mesopotamian repertoire. Also two sides of each lozenge, arranged in rows, are prolonged to give a new form of the herringbone pattern. Basically, however, the elements of the design are familiar, and the interrelation of these elements is as evident as it was in earlier periods.

While geometric designs are most popular, some of the polychrome pottery has representational designs. A formalized plant design accompanies a geometric pattern on one vase from Khafajah (fig. 343). At the left is what Delougaz thinks may be a scorpion or a bird. On a small fragment from Agrab (fig. 344)³³ is set a row of superimposed birds. A bird with a fish in its beak appears in one metope, two fish caught on a line in another, on one badly damaged pot from Uqair (fig. 345). Both these forms recur on an elaborate polychrome vase from Jemdet Nasr (fig. 346),³⁴ together with a number of other significant representational forms. In the metope at the far left is a gazelle suckling its young. Next come

31. Cf. *ibid.*, pls. 18, *a*, 133, *a* and p. 35. Other early vases which have much in common with this one are shown in pl. 18, *b-d*.

32. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. 35, *a* and pp. 48 f.

33. Similar panels of birds have appeared on sherds from Jemdet Nasr: Field and Martin in *AJA*, 39 (1935), pl. xxxiv, nos. 3, 5 and p. 319. A bird may be intended

by the figure in pl. xxxiv, no. 8.

34. The fragments of this vase were published earlier by Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, pl. LXXX, nos. 1-3. Cf. the sherds with animal figures on pl. LXXX, no. 4, LXIX, nos. 2-4, and one from Fara 1: Erich Schmidt, "Excavations at Fara, 1931," *MJ*, 22 (1931), pl. xxiv, no. 4.

two scorpions.³⁵ In two adjoining metopes appear large "eyes." Then follow the two fish on a line. The next figure is what the excavator called an "unidentified representation," but which somewhat resembles the shrine entrances pictured on seals from Warka. If this is what it is, the prominent acroterium at the right is interesting, for such acroteria are common in later times. Next we see a metope in which are two birds, the larger with a fish in its beak, as on fig. 345, the smaller with what looks like a ladder rising from its back. Last is another gazelle suckling its young.

By way of summary it may be said that though the ornamented pottery of the Jemdet Nasr Period is predominantly abstract, the art represented a vital movement. New geometric designs were created which sometimes were asymmetrical. On the monochrome pottery the geometric forms were sometimes combined with naturalistic representational figures. These included naturalistic trees, trees with birds in the branches, and probably a bird with a snake in its beak. On polychrome ware such an overt picture of fertility was presented as a gazelle suckling its young; and at the same time there were direct pictures of aggression in a bird with a fish in its beak, and fish on a line.

Cylinder Seals

The trends seen in the Jemdet Nasr pottery appear also in the glyptic. There is continuity in both form and design along with marked changes, which are usually in the direction of greater abstraction. Cylinder seals which were made early in the period cannot be distinguished from those which came later. Hence it is impossible to tell whether the seals which used more naturalistic forms came shortly after the close of the Uruk Period and were influenced by its preference for naturalistic designs and whether only gradually geometric designs resumed their popularity. The change in the art is clear, but it cannot be diagrammed neatly.

On five major groups of Jemdet Nasr cylinder seals ritual is pictured directly. First is a series of five seals,³⁶ on all of which a pair of human figures appear. In the seals of the Uruk Period the pairs of human figures were usually thought to be male, though a female figure appeared on the alabaster vase (fig. 286). Here one seems to be male and one female, since the latter wears a long garment covering the upper part of her body and her hair falls in a long strand down her back. On at least two of the seals she wears a headdress with two points or horns. Who these figures signify has been a matter of debate. To Heinrich and Frankfort³⁷ the female seems to be the mother goddess, the male a human worshiper. To Van Buren,³⁸ however, the pair are the mother goddess and her consort. That the male is not a human worshiper, the female a goddess is shown, however, it seems to me, by the fact that

35. A scorpion is on a sherd from Fara: *ibid.*, pl. xxiv, no. 5 and p. 213.

36. Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pls. 17, d, 18, a-d and pp. 29 f. Four of these were discovered in the Sammelfund of Eanna, Level 3 at Warka. The fifth is BM 116721. See the similar seal, Montserrat no. 15, published by Mrs. Van Buren, "Religious Rites and Ritual in the Time of Uruk IV-III," *AfO*, 13 (1939-41), fig. 5 on p.

35. Here the beribboned standard is lacking, but the two figures stand before two vases and a basket.

37. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, p. 32.

38. "The Ear of Corn," *Analecta Orientalia*, 12 (1935), 327-335. For the view that a sequence of ceremonial acts is depicted on these seals cf. Van Buren, "A Ritual Sequence," *Orientalia*, N.S. 25 (1956), 39-41.

he precedes her and has his back to her on fig. 347. In the other four seals they stand on opposite sides of the two great central baskets. The full baskets seem to hold the focus of attention on all five seals. They are not new, but appeared in offering scenes on the seal of fig. 244 and the alabaster vase (fig. 286). In both those instances, however, the baskets and their contents were drawn in more detail and other ritual gifts were illustrated along with them. In the Jemdet Nasr seals the only other objects shown are held by the two figures. The female holds the beribboned standard, the male an ear of corn on the seal of fig. 347 and on one of the others.³⁹ There are variations on the three other seals. Neither figure holds anything in one instance, though there is a beribboned standard behind and between them.⁴⁰ In another instance the female holds the beribboned standard, the male holds an object resembling a mace, which is sometimes assumed to be a schematized rendering of the ear of corn, though there is no assurance that this is correct.⁴¹ In the last instance (fig. 348) the male holds the ear of corn but the female probably has something else in her outstretched hand. The beribboned standard is lacking.

In view of the uncertainties concerning the interpretation of the beribboned standard in the Uruk Period, we shall be slow in accepting these seals as direct pictures of the sacred marriage, as Van Buren supposes. It is worth mentioning that the beribboned standard seems not to be the most essential feature of the seals, since once it is omitted. The full baskets, which appear on all five seals, are far more stressed. As has already been said, this standard does not unequivocally name the female as Inanna, but, like the baskets, may be suggesting the more general ideas involved in "fertility" or "life" quite as well. Here is a collection of ritual objects, once more set in pairs, with the human beings also set in pairs. The human figures may have been intended for divinities, but equally possibly for priest and priestess, or king and queen. These seals are reproductions of some contemporary ritual, as fig. 244 of the Uruk Period and fig. 324 of the Jemdet Nasr Period were, though in fig. 324 the human figures are lacking. The sacred marriage is only one of many possible forms of the ritual that must be kept under consideration. Not until the Early Dynastic Period is there clear evidence of its existence in the South.⁴² It would not be wise to assert categorically that it did not exist now, or that these seals do not have to do with that rite, but a number of alternatives must be kept under consideration. Whatever the ritual was, here it is far more abbreviated than on the seals of the Uruk Period. That is an important characteristic of the Jemdet Nasr Period.

Second is a group that has been called by Porada "pigtailed figures."⁴³ The central figure on this class of seals is a human figure with a long strand of hair hanging down its back, sometimes standing but usually sitting on a low bench or mat. There have been many suggestions as to what these signify. They have been thought to be spinners,⁴⁴

39. *Ibid.*, pl. 17, *d*.

40. *Ibid.*, pl. 18, *a*.

41. *Ibid.*, pl. 18, *d*.

42. P. 89, n. 65.

43. *MLC*, pp. 4 f., pl. III, nos. 7-16. Frankfort lists fourteen seals of this character which came from the

Diyala region: *Strat. Cyl. Seals*, p. 17. Cf. E. Douglas Van Buren, "The Drill-Worked Jamdat Nasr Seals," *Orientalia*, N.S. 26 (1957), 289-305.

44. R. Heidenreich, "Zur Deutung einiger archaischer Siegelbilder," *OLZ*, 29 (1926), 625-627.

partly on the basis of a clear relief from Elam, dating from the late Assyrian Empire,⁴⁵ partly on the basis of a Jemdet Nasr seal from Ur where a loom may be represented at the right (fig. 349).⁴⁶ It is dangerous to use a single late relief to interpret this early design, which does not persist beyond the period; further, this explanation by no means takes account of all forms of the design. Again, the figures have been thought to represent potters,⁴⁷ since pots, and especially the spouted pot, which has seemed to be a popular ritualistic form, frequently appears with them. With a good deal more probability the scenes have been taken as ritual scenes, though there are varied opinions as to what aspect of the ritual is intended. Very likely this group of seals pictures ritual of different sorts, all carried out in contemporary ceremonies. Porada suggests as one form of ceremony the preparation of dairy products in connection with the temple herds, since cows reclining on top of mountains appear on one seal (fig. 351) and a goat on another (fig. 350).⁴⁸ Whether it is the care and preparation of the milk or a simple libation scene which is in view in fig. 352⁴⁹ is hard to determine. Here an attendant pours fluid from one vase into a cup held by the seated "pigtailed figure." Behind the "pigtailed figure" is a shrine with two entrances. A similar figure holding a comparable cup is placed in the field above a row of six vases. Three other vases are also in the field. Both grain and vases are shown with the "pigtailed figures" on fig. 353; so offerings of both kinds of farm products seem intended. Not only offering scenes, however, but also processions appear in such a scene as fig. 354.⁵⁰ For the most part in the Jemdet Nasr Period the processions familiar in the Uruk Period have disappeared, but not entirely.⁵¹ Here "pigtailed figures," holding staves or spears or some other ceremonial object, like those seen in fig. 246, march one behind the other.

When Porada calls these "pigtailed figures," she avoids the question whether they are male or female. Often they are taken to be women,⁵² for a long strand of hair hung down the back of the female figure of the preceding group of seals. Still, it is not certain, for the bearded man's companion on the seals of the Uruk Period often had a long strand of hair hanging down his back (figs. 244, 249, 250, 281). All of these seals are rendered so schematically that details of dress and bodily form are indistinct. The instrument employed for cutting the stone is commonly a drill, which is especially characteristic of this period. The resulting designs lack careful modeling, and are usually schematized; so

45. J. de Morgan, G. Jéquier, and G. Lampre, *Recherches archéologiques*, 1re Série, *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, 1 (Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1900), pl. XI, facing p. 160.

46. Cf. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. VIII, *d* and p. 37. Osten, *Seals*, *Newell*, pl. IV, no. 31.

47. Ernst Herzfeld, "Aufsätze zur altorientalischen Archäologie, II. Stempelsiegel, C. Die sumerische Familie," *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 5 (1933), 120 f.

48. On a Jemdet Nasr seal from Warka (Schott in *UVB*, 5 [1933], pl. 27, *a*) these "pigtailed figures" are accompanied by a form resembling the "skin for fluid"

on seals of the Uruk Period: Fig. 259, and Lenzen in *ZA*, N.F. 15 (1949/50), pls. 5, no. 13 and 6, nos. 17, 20.

49. Cf. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pp. 36 f., text-fig. 12. A "pigtailed figure" sits on a couch beside a shrine, with spouted pots nearby, on the seal of text-fig. 13.

50. Similar processions appear in Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, pl. LXXIII, no. 24. Frankfort, pl. VIII, *e*. *VR*, pl. 7, no. 40 and p. 88.

51. For another procession in the Jemdet Nasr Period see p. 99, Fig. 361.

52. Frankfort, p. 36. In *VR*, pp. 87 f., Moortgat considers them men.

questions as to the sex of the figures or the nature of the ceremonies cannot be satisfactorily answered.

The trend to geometric design can be seen in fig. 356, where two of the "pigtailed figures" face each other at the left across a triangle at either side of whose apex are two tiny balls. Between the low seats is a similar triangle, this time reversed. At the right another "pigtailed figure" sits between two spiders, which are a common Jemdet Nasr motif. When we discussed the significance of the triangle in the Ubaid Period⁵³ its complexity was evident. The values of this seal may be equally complex. If the "pigtailed figures" are officiants in the ritual of the fertility cult they would suggest "fertility." Not only the triangles, however, but also the spiders are part of this design; at least in later proverbs they appear as creatures lying in wait to trap the unwary,⁵⁴ and so are at times malevolent. Thus, as often, ideas of "life" and "death" seem combined on this cylinder, although the ideas may not have been put into words. They might more precisely be expressed as feelings of comfort and frustration or perhaps of aggression. An extremely simplified form of this design is found in fig. 355.⁵⁵ Since it is one of a class whose popularity shows its vitality in this period, there is no reason to suppose that this lacked the potency of those which were better executed.

Third is the group picturing byres for cattle, familiar from the Uruk Period. Six examples of this type of design have been found. The byres are of three different types. Two seals from Warka which the excavators thought bore the same design (e.g. fig. 357)⁵⁶ show two reed huts constructed with the reeds projecting in five strands at the top. From each hut a calf emerges. On either side and above are the rest of the herd. There are three examples of seals where the hut is shaped like a dome (e.g. fig. 358).⁵⁷ In the example shown, three sets of ringed poles rise from the roof. In each of the other examples only one ringed pole is set in the center of the roof.⁵⁸ A second ringed pole and six vases, presumably designed to hold the milk which the herd produced, are shown on the example from the British Museum. The third type of byre, more like a fenced-in enclosure, was found on a seal from the Berlin Museum (fig. 359).

Fourth is the motif picturing the feeding of the temple herd, which has been found on a seal from Khafajah (fig. 360).⁵⁹ Here a pair of goats feed on leafy branches which are proffered by a nonhuman figure. Van Buren thought it a bear; Frankfort described it as a "tailless lion or bear." Perhaps it is intended as a grotesque. It seems to have a human body, hoofs, and a head which is indistinct but in some respects resembles a ram's head.

53. P. 48.

54. B. Landsberger, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien nach der 14. Tafel der Serie Har-ra hubullu*, Abhandlung der philol.-hist. Klasse der Sächsischer Akademie der Wissenschaften, 42, no. 6 (Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1934), 137, quotes the proverb of KAR 174, IV 23 ff.: "The spider weaves a net against the fly, the lizard lies above the net in ambush(?) against the spider."

55. Another example in which the "pigtailed figures" and pots approximate linear designs is given by Schott in *UVB*, 5 (1933), pl. 27, b and p. 51.

56. Cf. Heinrich in *UVB*, 9 (1937), pl. 31, b and p. 26.

57. Cf. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. vi, a. Delougaz, *Pre-Sargonid Temples*, p. 16, fig. 11, a.

58. One from the Louvre: Louvre, Delaporte, 2, pl. 63, no. A. 25. The second from the British Museum: no. BM 128844, cf. Van Buren in *AfO*, 13 (1939-41), fig. 10 on p. 38.

59. Cf. E. Douglas Van Buren, *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia as Represented in Art*, *Analecta Orientalia*, 18 (1939), pl. v, no. 23 and p. 20. Frankfort, "The Origin of Monumental Architecture in Egypt," *AJSL*, 58 (1941), pl. 1, b at p. 338; *The Birth of Civilization in the Near East*, fig. 42.

Behind this figure is a tree with curving branches like those on Jemdet Nasr vases, and with a bird in the branches. Behind the animals is a shrine, above whose roof rise three interesting structures which Frankfort called "towers," but which Heinrich thought were shelters to protect stairways to the roof from the summer heat and the winter rains.⁶⁰ The figures stand on a pair of wavy lines, frequently supposed to represent water. The nature of the large central figure which I have suggested is a grotesque is of course not certain, nor is his role. It is possible that instead of being the officiant who offers food to the other animals he, like them, is feeding on the plant he holds. Whether this is true or not, it is clear that the scene pictures animals feeding, but, rather than beside a byre, beside a shrine. Here, therefore, two ceremonies are contemplated at the shrine, both the feeding of the herd and at the same time sacrifice. The wavy lines which symbolize water, the tree, the bird in the tree, the feeding of the animals, then, are fertility symbols. The location of the scene at a shrine, and perhaps the central grotesque, like the grotesques of the Ubaid Period, are symbols of "death." The design represents both the sacrifice of the animals and coincidentally their nurture. This mystery of life has come to seem ever foremost in the ideas of the art and ritual of ancient Mesopotamia.

Fifth are seals on which a shrine is the central motif. A shrine has already appeared on two seals, one where a "pigtailed figure" is participating in a ceremony beside it (fig. 352), the second where a grotesque feeds leafy branches to two animals (fig. 360). A procession of men bearing cultic objects before a shrine is pictured in fig. 361,⁶¹ a seal in the Berlin Museum. Marching before the shrine are three men. The first is clad in a short skirt and carries a staff in his hand. The second and third are naked, and have in their hands a standard which recalls the beribboned standard. The top of the first standard is damaged. The top of the second has two volutes comparable to the single volute of the beribboned standard at either end of a crossbar. What relation such a form has to the beribboned standard cannot be said. The two are by no means identical, but we may well reflect on their similarity.⁶² One, or perhaps two birds are set above the shrine.

While these are direct presentations of current ritual, the more common group of symbols beside the shrine suggests ideas only by allusion. Most common of all are the animals, either alone, as in fig. 362,⁶³ or accompanied by a plant,⁶⁴ or by vases (fig. 363),⁶⁵ or by fish,⁶⁶ or by vases and a plant (fig. 364), or by a vase and solar symbols (fig. 365).⁶⁷ On one seal from the Louvre two horned animals and a beribboned standard appear be-

60. Ernst Heinrich, *Bauwerke in der altsumerischen Bildkunst* (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1957), pp. 44-47.

61. On two tablets from Jemdet Nasr fragmentary seal impressions perhaps picture a human figure in some now undecipherable ceremony standing beside a shrine: Langdon, *Pictographic Inscriptions from Jemdet Nasr*, pls. xiv, no. 45, xviii, no. 64. Cf. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, p. 32, n. 6.

62. Amiet thinks the forms on top of each standard are reflections of the Egyptian *mḥ* and *ka* signs, and an evidence of Egyptian influence in Mesopotamia: Pierre Amiet, "Glyptique susienne archaïque," *RA*, 51 (1957), 128 f.

63. Cf. *MLC*, pl. vi, no. 26. Osten, *Seals, Newell*, pl. III, no. 24. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. vii, i; Louvre, Delaporte, 2, pl. 63, no. A. 30 and p. 98. *VR*, pl. 2, no. 7.

64. Osten, *Seals, Newell*, pl. iv, no. 27 and p. 16. Louvre, Delaporte, 1, pl. 3, no. T. 25.

65. Cf. Eisen, *Seals, Moore*, pl. 1, no. 5. Osten, *Seals, Brett*, pl. II, no. 12. Legrain, *The Culture of the Babylonians from Their Seals*, pl. iv, no. 50. Nies and Keiser, *Historical, Religious and Economic Texts and Antiquities*, pl. LXXIV, g.

66. Osten, *Seals, Newell*, pl. III, no. 25 and p. 16.

67. Cf. *MLC*, pl. v, no. 23. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. vii, g, h.

side a shrine.⁶⁸ Similar to the latter is fig. 366, where three horned animals stand before a shrine which is flanked by beribboned standards. Beneath the feet of the animals, as also beneath the feet of the animals on fig. 365, are wavy lines symbolizing streams of water.

The most interesting feature of another seal from the Louvre is the boat which Delaporte assures us has a serpent's head at the prow and a serpent's tail at the stern, and which accompanies three animals standing or reclining at the side of the shrine (fig. 367). Within the boat is a person or animal. This design appears comparable to the figures in a boat on fig. 282 of the Uruk Period. The boat there, however, had prow and stern in the form of leafy branches. At that time we suggested that the scene might reflect some form of ritual connected with the irrigation canals. Here perhaps such ritual is associated also with the sacrificial cult at the shrines, which is pictured by the sanctuary doors and the animals.⁶⁹

At times the animals are lacking, and beside the shrine stand vases (fig. 368),⁷⁰ or a large bird with spread wings flanked by vases (fig. 369).⁷¹ On one large seal from Khafajah (fig. 370)⁷² the shrine has central place, and on either side are ringed poles. It stands in a kind of broad arch, above which are set three eight-petaled rosettes unusually well drawn for the Jemdet Nasr Period. In the angles formed by the meeting of the ends of the arch is a sketchily drawn face with staring eyes and arched eyebrows. Most of the designs are drawn schematically, with little attention to detail. This trend is carried to an extreme when, as Frankfort thinks, the façade of the shrine is suggested only by a ladder design (fig. 371).⁷³

It will be recalled that in the Uruk Period the prosperity of the community was suggested by designs picturing animals and grain. Artists of the Jemdet Nasr Period continue similar forms, but the style is different. Either the design as a whole is more stylized, or stylized forms are combined with forms which are naturalistic. For example, cattle and grain are shown on the Jemdet Nasr seal of fig. 372,⁷⁴ as they were during the Uruk Period in fig. 254; but all the forms in fig. 372 are rendered much more schematically than the forms of fig. 254. At times quadrupeds may be rendered so abstractly that they form an over-all design (e.g. fig. 373).⁷⁵ On the other hand, the plants on fig. 374 have curving branches which resemble naturalistic plant forms on the monochrome pottery, while the horned animals are more stylized than comparable animals on seals of the Uruk Period.

Animal conflict, familiar from the Uruk Period, is the subject of a Jemdet Nasr seal from Level C of the Anu ziggurat at Warka (fig. 375), but it is suggested only indirectly.

68. Louvre, Delaporte, 2, pl. 63, no. A. 27 and p. 98. Frankfort, pl. vii, *d*. Frankfort thinks that the small figures behind one of the horned animals were added to the seal in Early Dynastic times: p. 33, n. 1.

69. On the upper register of another seal from the Louvre three persons sit in a boat whose prow and stern terminate in an animal's head and tail. Accompanying this boat are the figures of a lion falling upon a bull. In the lower register a sacrifice is performed before a sanctuary: Louvre, Delaporte, 2, pl. 70, no. A. 125.

70. Cf. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. vii, *f*.

71. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. vii, *h*.

72. Cf. Frankfort, "The Oldest Stone Statuette ever Found in Western Asia," *ILN*, 189, 1 (1936), 525, fig. 15.

73. Cf. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. viii, *i, j*. Schott in *UVB*, 5 (1933), pl. 28, *e*. Telloh, 1, pl. 39, no. 3, *c*. Borowski, *Cylindres et cachets orientaux*, pl. ii, no. 8. Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pl. 19, *b*.

74. Cf. Van Buren in *AfO*, 11 (1936-37), 9, fig. 10 and p. 7.

75. Cf. Heinrich, *Fara*, pl. 69, *b*. *VR*, pl. 11, fig. 70.

Two rows of animals walk toward the left. Above are lions, below bulls. Following every two pairs of animals is a figure which perhaps was intended for a tree. More explicit is the design set in three registers on a very large cylinder seal from the Eanna district at Warka. In the lower register two lions pursue two bulls, walking toward the left. The middle register is less clear. Two horned animals (antelopes?) and two hunting dogs appear, with an additional indistinct object behind one of the dogs. The top register, which was most damaged, seems to have consisted of three large vultures watched by a crouching hunter, ready with his bow. What may be flying(?) birds are in the field (fig. 375-a).

Comparable to seals of the Uruk Period where animals of the sacred herd were pictured beside symbols reflecting the sacrificial cult is a seal (fig. 376) where a goat, erect on its hind legs, and a ram feed upon three six-petaled rosettes which grow on a tree beside a shrine. The implications of this seal are much like those of fig. 269 of the Uruk Period, but this Jemdet Nasr design contains less detail. The same ideas are presented more abstractly on other seals (e.g. figs. 377, 378).⁷⁶ In fig. 377 vases are set above animals and plants. In fig. 378 a severed leg, a triangle, and a solar symbol are associated with the same motifs. The severed heads of animals take the foremost position on two seal impressions from Ur (figs. 379, 380). Along with them are set a rosette, a crescent, and what looks like a broken vase. Thus the sacrificial cult is suggested abstractly, and its affiliation with solar and perhaps lunar ideas is also indicated.

A still more abstract rendering of contemporary ideas occurs when not only quadrupeds but also other fauna are the main subject of the design. Only cattle may appear, as on a seal from the Berlin Museum (fig. 381);⁷⁷ or similarly only birds (fig. 382),⁷⁸ or fish (fig. 383),⁷⁹ or spiders (fig. 384).⁸⁰ That each of these designs had complex implications can only be guessed. The complexity is more evident when a row of birds is set in the upper register, a row of scorpions in the lower (fig. 385),⁸¹ or when snakes alternate with scorpions (fig. 386). On the latter seal the snakes are drawn in a maze-like design which approximates geometric ornament. On a seal in the Berlin Museum a pair of copulating snakes are set beside two scorpions, a single snake, and four unidentified objects (fig. 387).⁸² Here the association of motifs of fertility and aggression is especially evident.

The antithetical arrangements of animals, familiar in the Uruk Period, carry on into

76. Cf. Frankfort in *OIC*, no. 20 (1936), p. 36, fig. 28, Kh. V 308. *MLC*, pl. IV, no. 18.

77. Cf. Eisen, *Seals, Moore*, pl. 1, no. 4. Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, pl. LXXIII, nos. 1-3, 17-19; Delougaz, "A Short Investigation of the Temple at al-'Ubaid," *Iraq*, 5 (1938), 6 and pl. IV, no. 1.

78. Cf. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. VII, j.

79. Cf. Louvre, Delaporte, 1, pls. 21, no. S. 176, 49, no. D. 1. *Telloh*, 1, pl. 40, no. 1, a and e. Eisen, *Seals, Moore*, pl. 1, no. 8. André Parrot, *Glyptique mésopotamienne, Fouilles de Lagash (Tello) et de Larsa (Senkereh) (1931-1933)* (Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1954), pl. 1, no. 4.

80. Cf. *VR*, pl. 8, nos. 41, 42. *MLC*, pl. VI, no. 29.

Parrot doubts that these are spiders, but suggests as a possibility that they are "disks surrounded by raised arms": *Tello*, p. 49.

81. Cf. the scorpions on Borowski, pl. II, nos. 9, 10. On one seal also it is possible that birds in flight pursue fish: *VR*, pl. 8, no. 47.

82. Moortgat suggests (*ibid.*, p. 88) that the unidentified objects may be tadpoles. An abstract group of human figures and animals with no apparent relation to each other is pictured on a seal found in the layers between Levels C and D of the Anu ziggurat at Warka: Heinrich in *UVB*, 8 (1936), pl. 49, a and p. 52. *CAM*, p. 139.

the Jemdet Nasr Period, though there are fewer examples. Most beautiful and familiar is the seal now in the Louvre (fig. 388),⁸³ on which the design pictures two pairs of lions with long, intertwined snakes' necks and with crossed tails held aloft. Between the raised tails are great lion-headed eagles, their wings widespread—typical Imdugud birds. On a seal impression from Level C of the Anu ziggurat at Warka (fig. 389) is a curious design which Miss Perkins thought represented a grotesque human figure grasping the handles of a tall, two-handled vase.⁸⁴

Solar forms have become evident on a number of the seals already described. They are an important element in the period. Such symbols take the form of a four-pointed rosette on fig. 390,⁸⁵ and even more explicitly a dot-centered circle with rays on fig. 391. On the latter seal three such forms appear and a fourth is set on top of a pole. These solar forms accompany three quadrupeds, a growing plant, and a scorpion. Thus they provide the background in which fertility symbols are set.

How completely solar and fertility symbols are one in this period becomes explicit on a hitherto unpublished limestone seal, no. 5989 in the Nies Babylonian Collection at Yale (fig. 392). Here three pairs of horned quadrupeds appear walking toward the left. Each pair is separated from the next by a pole on top of which is a five-pointed rosette. The rosette at the far right is imperfectly formed, because the seal-cutter, who evidently cut the animals first, did not allow sufficient room for the fifth petal in front of the animal's nose.⁸⁶ The rosette-topped poles seem especially significant. Like the pole of fig. 391, the two at the right at ground level end in a sphere, with what significance we cannot say. Of special importance, however, is the fact that the two poles at left and right are budded, while that in the middle is plain. It seems clear that these objects, solar though fig. 392 shows them to be, were at the same time identified with a tree. It is possible that standards comparable to these were actually utilized in the ritual of Jemdet Nasr times. Or these may have been only an art form. In either case their significance seems clear. They place the ideas of the fertility cult in a cosmic setting by blending solar and fertility ideas into one.

In the Jemdet Nasr Period the designs on other cylinder seals suggest that the cosmic significance of the solar ideas is more appreciated than hitherto. Three instances of a tree rising from the top of a mountain, a design which later becomes familiar, appear for the first time. One is a seal from Khafajah (fig. 393),⁸⁷ where an animal is shown drinking from a stream, while before him is the tree on the mountain. On a seal from Agrab (fig. 394) a sanctuary entrance appears with an indistinct symbol on the door. Beside it are three goats, two scorpions, and a lizard. Between these two groups of fauna a tree full of fruit grows from a mountain. Beneath the fauna and mountain a wavy line suggests a stream of water. Again on fig. 395⁸⁸ the same motif recurs, accompanied by a series of animals, one of which resembles an elephant. This elephant suggests the possibility that

83. Cf. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. v, h.

84. *CAM*, p. 140.

85. Cf. Frankfort in *OIC*, no. 20 (1936), 36, fig. 28, Kh. V 259.

86. The three dark spots below the lower animals are breaks in the stone, not part of the design.

87. Cf. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. vi, d.

88. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. vi, c.

there has been some connection with India. Such a connection would not seem improbable in a period when there are many indications that the influence of the Jemdet Nasr culture has reached Egypt.⁸⁹ Since the artist pictured the elephant with horns, thus apparently relying only on hearsay, the connection, though real, would seem to be still slight.⁹⁰

On still another seal the artist has assembled a varied collection of animals (fig. 396). There are lions, bulls, several varieties of horned animals, two kinds of vultures, and also what looks like a branch of fruit. An assemblage of carnivorous animals and ruminants is no longer surprising, nor is their meaning perplexing. What is unusual is the studied attempt to give many different kinds of animals, and the fact that for the first time on this seal and fig. 395 the animals are shown with two horns, drawn as though the animals were seen in full face, but still set upon heads in profile. Yet another experiment produced what Van Buren has pointed out is a very early example of the flowing vase (fig. 397).⁹¹ On this fragmentary seal the vase, which is so popular a motif in later periods, stands on the ground, with a human figure on one side and two rows of animals on the other. The artists seem to be picturing things newly heard about in Mesopotamia, and they appear ready to experiment with forms.

One of the most numerous groups of Jemdet Nasr cylinder seals consists of geometric designs. The designs include zigzags (fig. 398),⁹² wavy lines (fig. 399),⁹³ crosshatching (fig. 400),⁹⁴ zigzags outlined with crosshatching (fig. 401), the herringbone pattern (fig. 402), or a row of lozenges (fig. 403)⁹⁵ or of rosettes (fig. 404). The cable pattern recurs (fig. 405),⁹⁶ with the boss in the center of the ellipses so emphasized that the form resembles an eye. Often these "eyes" appear abstractly (fig. 406),⁹⁷ or they may be the center from which "rays" radiate to right and left (fig. 407).⁹⁸ This latter form seems only a variant of the first. Triangles are common motifs. On fig. 408 they are arranged in what to our eyes is a T-shape, but which, beside the panels of hatching, seemed to the men of the Jemdet Nasr Period as a novel geometric design.

There were many beautiful and complex arrangements of geometric figures in this period. The artists seemed to delight not in imitating familiar objects, but in creating interesting geometric patterns. Triangles, rosettes constructed from them, the Maltese

89. P. 90, n. 3.

90. Stuart Piggott has analyzed the evidence from Indian sites pointing to a connection between Sumerian culture and India. While there seem to be some connections between the Zhob culture and Hissar 1, the correspondence of the Zhob culture with Mesopotamia is only very vague. In the Harappa culture, however, the connections are much more evident. This culture seems to be no earlier than the Early Dynastic Period. It is at this time, Piggott thinks, that trade between the two countries became an important factor: Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric India to 1000 B.C.* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, Penguin Books, 1950), pp. 89-213; "Dating the Hissar Sequence—the Indian Evidence," *Antiquity*, 17 (1943), 169-182.

91. Cf. Van Buren, *Symbols of the Gods*, p. 125.

92. Cf. Louvre, Delaporte, 1, pl. 13, nos. S. 12-15.

93. Cf. *ibid.*, 2, pl. 61, no. A. 3.

94. Cf. *ibid.*, 1, pl. 14, no. S. 27.

95. Cf. *VR*, pls. 9, nos. 50-52; 10, nos. 60, 61, 64. Louvre, Delaporte, 1, pl. 14, nos. S. 36, 39. Heinrich, *Fara*, pls. 69, o; 70, b, e, h, i, k, l, m, o, p, q, s.

96. Cf. Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, pl. LXXIII, no. 8. Borowski, pl. II, no. 11. Parrot, *Tello*, pl. II.

97. Cf. *VR*, pl. 10, nos. 54, 56.

98. Cf. Louvre, Delaporte, 1, pl. 1, no. T. 7. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pls. VII, c, VIII, a; in *OIC*, no. 20 (1936), 37, fig. 29, Kh. V 344. Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, pl. LXXIII, nos. 5, 6, 22. Lenzen in *UVB*, 11 (1940), pl. 37, a, b, f.

cross, and semicircles were arranged in the pattern of fig. 409.⁹⁹ The familiar triangles set point to point recur in fig. 410, along with a rosette and a dot-centered circle. A row of triangles beside a rosette (fig. 411)¹ is arranged so that the point of one triangle bisects the broad side of the one before it. Rosettes, dot-centered circles, and Maltese crosses are associated in fig. 412.²

On some seals geometric designs are combined with representational figures. Since such abstract designs appeared to have complex symbolic values in the early prehistoric art, there is no reason to doubt that the Jemdet Nasr seals also had similar complex values. An animal with long horns stands between two rosettes and two leaves on one seal (fig. 413).³ That fertility is implied in such a combination seems obvious. Moreover, the wild animal, which in other situations seemed at times to be a symbol of "life" and at times of "death," is here made into a solar symbol by virtue of its head which is a dot-centered circle.⁴

The mountain has taken its place in this period as one of the popular symbols. Therefore it seems legitimate to suggest that in the design of fig. 414⁵ the semicircles outlined in hatching are probably mountains. If this is true, it is interesting that they also seem to be designated as solar by the series of dot-centered circles in their depths. At first glance such a suggestion might appear fantastic in a period when geometric designs are the rule. In this case, however, the design recurs in the Early Dynastic Period on both ends of the "Standard" from the "royal tombs" of Ur.⁶ On the "Standard" the semicircles are mountains up which animals climb, and there are also circles concealed in their depths.

Water birds, scorpions which confront each other, a rosette, and crescent form the upper register of one seal, while the lower register is filled with crosshatching (fig. 415). On another is a shrine, and beside it are three "eyes" and one rayed "eye" (fig. 416).⁷ Usually the shrine has been accompanied by a representational figure suggesting some aspect of the sacrificial cult. This design is much more abstract. Exactly what was implied cannot be determined. Perhaps the rayed "eye" is primarily solar. The shrine itself, the center of the fertility cult, the place of offerings and sacrifice, probably suggested multiple associations. The significance of this group of figures would then have many facets. If so, however, it would be true to human experience.

Stamp Seals and Amulets

The trends which have appeared on Jemdet Nasr pottery and cylinder seals take an interesting new course on stamp seals and amulets. True, on many stamp seals the designs are made with a drill. If a representational figure is intended it is cursorily rendered, as on fig. 417,⁸ where two quadrupeds are set end to end one above the other. Somewhat

99. Cf. Frankfort in *OIC*, no. 20 (1936), 37, fig. 29, Kh. V 156; and *Cyl. Seals*, pl. vi, e.

1. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. vi, g.

2. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. vi, f.

3. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. vi, j. See also the combination of leaves, triangles, and rosettes whose centers are dot-centered circles in Louvre, Delaporte, *r*, pl. 1, no. T. 2.

4. Similar values may be expressed by a design in

which dot-centered circles are set below two quadrupeds: *VR*, pl. 4, no. 25.

5. Cf. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. vi, h.

6. *UE*, 2, pl. 93.

7. Cf. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. vii, b.

8. Cf. Heinrich in *UVB*, 8 (1936), pl. 50, e. Parrot, *Tello*, fig. 12, *i'*, *k'*, pl. II. Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, pl. LXXIII, no. 14.

better rendered is a seal from the debris between Levels C and D of the Anu ziggurat at Warka (fig. 418).⁹ Most of the space is filled by a long-horned animal, but two indeterminate objects appear above him. In the same location in Warka another stamp seal was found (fig. 419) on which a scene of aggression, a carnivorous animal, perhaps a dog,¹⁰ falling on a ruminant is twice rendered. The style of the two latter seals only differs from the first in degree. There is still no attention to details or to modeling. Among the stamp seals a number use strictly geometric designs, such as crosshatching (fig. 420)¹¹ and the cross (fig. 421).¹² Or they may employ a group of drill holes arranged in no orderly pattern (fig. 422).¹³

Thus far the familiar schematized patterns continue. There is, however, a notable difference. While some of these stamp seals (e.g. fig. 417) have merely a domed upper side, the top of others (e.g. fig. 422) is carved in the shape of an animal. That such figures of animals on top of seals were confined to the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr Periods has already been observed.¹⁴ In the Uruk Period animals were set on top of cylinder seals with such well-cut representational designs as figs. 241 and 282, where the animals on top were a ram and a bull respectively. A Jemdet Nasr cylinder seal on whose top is a reclining animal is fig. 374. The seal design is a familiar representational pattern; none of the Jemdet Nasr cylinder seals whose designs are geometric to my knowledge has such an animal on top. Consequently it is surprising to see the number of cases in which the tops of stamp seals are carved in the shape of an animal. Most are reclining quadrupeds. There are bulls (fig. 422), jackals or foxes, and lions.¹⁵ But there are also birds, such as the eagle (fig. 423),¹⁶ or an eagle devouring a smaller bird (fig. 424), or a tiny human figure (fig. 425).¹⁷ In most of these cases the design on the base is very schematic, while the animal on top is delicately carved with considerable attention to detail.

Thus on stamp seals of the Jemdet Nasr Period two differing trends in art meet on the same object. The bases continue the fashion for highly schematized designs, while the animals on top are carved delicately and naturalistically. Reference might be made in passing to one Jemdet Nasr cylinder seal from Khafajah where the opposite is true. The seal design is representational (fig. 376), while set in unusual fashion around the top are inlaid triangles (fig. 426).¹⁸ In some of the stamp seals, as in fig. 427, the design on the base is so

9. Quadrupeds appear on two very large stamp seals of the late prehistoric period now in the Iraq Museum: F. Basmachi, "Two Stamp Seals, the Largest Specimens in the Collections of the Iraq Museum," *Sumer*, 13 (1957), 58.

10. *CAM*, p. 139.

11. Cf. Lenzen in *UVB*, 4 (1932), pl. 13, *b* and p. 28. Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, pl. LXXIII, no. 15.

12. Cf. the curvilinear forms of *ibid.*, pl. LXXIII, no. 25, and Heinrich in *UVB*, 8 (1936), pl. 50, *h*.

13. Cf. Heinrich in *UVB*, 8 (1936), pl. 50, *f*. Parrot, *Tello*, fig. 12, *j'*.

14. P. 60.

15. Osten, *Seals*, *Brett*, pl. 1, nos. 4, 5. Eisen, *Seals*,

Moore, pl. II, nos. 9, 10, 11. Osten, *Seals*, *Newell*, pl. II, nos. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 (jackal or fox), 19 (jackal or fox). All of the foregoing except the jackals or foxes are said to be bulls. Louvre, Delaporte, 1, pl. 2, nos. T. 15 (fox), T. 16 (fox); 2, pl. 61, nos. A. 7 (leopard), A. 14 (cow), A. 11 (cow); pl. 62, nos. A. 20 (bison), A. 15 (cow), A. 13 (lioness), A. 12 (lioness), A. 17 (feline), A. 19 (panther). C. Leonard Woolley, "Excavations at Ur, 1931-2," *AJ*, 12 (1932), pl. LXX, no. 1 and p. 380 (dog or fox).

16. Cf. the bird in Louvre, Delaporte, 2, pl. 61, no. A. 1.

17. Cf. Eisen, *Seals*, *Moore*, pl. II, no. 14.

18. Cf. Frankfort, *Strat. Cyl. Seals*, pls. 1, *b*, 6, no. 32.

simple it is possible that the object never served as a seal, but may have been employed solely as an amulet. We have said before that the early seals were amulets, though not all amulets were seals; so to come upon this close connection between the Jemdet Nasr stamp seals and amulets is not surprising.

The amulets of the Uruk Period, as has been said above,¹⁹ cannot be distinguished from those of the Jemdet Nasr Period. In Warka such objects were found primarily in collections where early and late material were mingled. No stylistic criteria emerged to aid in dating. The types of animal amulets most common in Warka have been listed above. There are bulls (fig. 428), rams (fig. 429), gazelles (fig. 430),²⁰ lions (fig. 431), birds (fig. 432), a lion-headed eagle (fig. 433), a frog (fig. 434),²¹ a monkey sitting on its haunches,²² a pair of fish (fig. 435). Some of these are plain, others are inlaid with stones, either scattered singly, as on the frog of fig. 436, or in trefoils (fig. 437), or four-petaled rosettes (fig. 438). One bull was made of a plate of gold over a core of asphalt.²³ This was perforated from top to bottom for suspension. In other sites similar forms appear,²⁴ together with other animals such as pigs,²⁵ dogs,²⁶ bears,²⁷ and a turtle.²⁸ There are a few human figures, such as one of indeterminate sex but large eyes at Telloh (fig. 439), and two others from Jemdet Nasr and Khafajah where a small female figure is represented with knees pressed close to the body but spread wide apart (fig. 440).²⁹ Such a pose suggests that the amulet may have been used to give aid in childbirth. Two phallic amulets came from Jemdet Nasr.³⁰ An amulet of shell in form of a claw was found in Ur.³¹ From Khafajah came a leaf-shaped amulet of lapis lazuli.³² In Khafajah and Warka were found examples of the "hut" or "eye" symbol (fig. 441),³³ which also appears in this period in northern Mesopotamia. A pendant of lapis lazuli from Warka was in the form of a vase.³⁴ Three beautiful pendants came from Khafajah (fig. 442). The first and third, from Sin Temple 1, are of stone, the second, from Sin Temple 3, of gold. All three, the excavators felt, represented crescents mounted on a shaft. In addition, the first and third are inlaid in patterns of dot-centered circles, lozenges,

19. P. 72.

20. It was thought that this amulet, which was purchased, came from a ruin in the bed of the Schatt el Ikrejim, approximately 30 km. west of Warka. Note the Jemdet Nasr stamp seal on the base. Another gazelle is shown in Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pl. 12, *e*, this time with no design on its base.

21. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. 13, *g*.

22. Heinrich in *UVB*, 8 (1936), pl. 48, *h* and p. 52; *Kleinfunde*, pl. 12, *a* and p. 24.

23. Lenzen in *UVB*, 7 (1935), pl. 23, *l* and p. 14.

24. In Telloh were found a lion, bull, fish, frog, ram, and birds: Parrot, *Tello*, pp. 51 f. A cow and fish came from Jemdet Nasr: Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, pl. LXXIV, no. 3 and pp. 275, 278. A bird came from Fara: Heinrich, *Fara*, pl. 36, *c*, 5. In Khafajah quadrupeds, birds, frogs, and fish occur, the fish being especially common: *CAM*, p. 145. Henry Frankfort, "Two Iraq Sites Over 5000 Years Old," *ILN*, 187, 1 (1935), 431, fig. 11; "The Oldest Stone Statuette Ever Found in Western

Asia," *ILN*, 189, 1 (1936), 524, figs. 1, 2.

25. *Telloh*, 1, pl. 35, no. 1, *k*. Heinrich, *Fara*, pl. 36, *c*, 8. Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, pls. LXXIII, no. 11, LXXIV, no. 5. *CAM*, p. 145.

26. Gaston Cros, *Nouvelles Fouilles de Tello* (Paris, Leroux, 1910), p. 78. Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, pl. LXXIV, nos. 2, 3. *CAM*, p. 145.

27. Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, pl. LXXIV, no. 6 (no. 3304) and p. 275. Frankfort in *OIC*, no. 19 (1935), 52, 54, fig. 61 (from Khafajah); *ILN*, 187, 1 (1935), 432.

28. *CAM*, p. 145.

29. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 147.

30. Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, pls. LXX, no. 10, LXXIV, no. 6, 3313 and pp. 274, 277.

31. C. Leonard Woolley, "The Excavations at Ur, 1933-4," *AJ*, 14 (1934), 371.

32. *CAM*, p. 147.

33. Cf. Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pl. 33, *q*.

34. *Ibid.*, pl. 30, *e* and p. 41. Cf. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), 130.

and triangles. Another amulet in form of a crescent came from Telloh.³⁵ In Sin Temple 5 at Khafajah were found two bull amulets, *in situ*, as they had been strung on the ends of two strands of beads (fig. 443).

When the Jemdet Nasr pottery was described, in many respects continuity from the Uruk Period could be observed. Undecorated pottery remained popular, spouted and theriomorphic vases still were used in the ritual. Likewise on Jemdet Nasr cylinder seals some of the designs familiar in the Uruk Period continued. There were cattle beside their byres, an attendant feeding the animals, ritual before a shrine, cattle and grain, animal conflict, the sacred herd beside symbols of the sacrificial cult, animals paired in antithetical arrangements. While strong elements of difference between the two periods existed, these aspects in which the two periods were alike are also of importance; and to them now should be added the resemblance in kind and in execution of at least the animal amulets. It has been said before³⁶ that no human figurines can assuredly be attributed to the Uruk Period.

Objects from the Jemdet Nasr Period will soon be described where the skill in execution which has come to be associated with the Uruk Period was carried to a higher point. Before these earliest instances of sculpture are considered, however, it is well to observe that they have roots in the amulets, which also are well and delicately carved.

If it were not for these amulets and the stamp seals in so many cases one with them, we might be inclined to fall into error. It would be easy to conclude that the trend to beautiful and naturalistic forms was the work of one school of artists, that the trend to schematized, abbreviated, geometric designs came from another school. From such an error these amulets and stamp seals save us; for both artistic trends appear here as the work of the same men. It seems clear that the men who desired and were capable of modeling animals in beautiful, naturalistic forms at the same time respected the potency of the highly formalized patterns they put on the base or in the inlays on the sides of the amulets. This unexpected development, though it cannot be fully explained, is apparent and must be recognized.

Sculpture

In the Jemdet Nasr Period two trends became apparent in the designs of the seals. In one, naturalistic forms were used, in the other, formalized designs. Both trends met on some objects, and are evident also on figurines. Some female figurines seek to catch the vitality of living women; but the throwback to older schematized types appears on different pieces of sculpture.

The two most important examples of monumental sculpture are naturalistic. The masterpiece of the Jemdet Nasr Period is an almost life-sized head of white marble (fig. 444),³⁷ which was found close to the northwest enclosure of the Eanna precinct. The latest artifacts of the excavation at that point were of the Early Dynastic Period. However, they

35. *Telloh*, I, pl. 35, no. 2.
36. P. 72.

37. Cf. Lenzen in *UVB*, II (1940), pls. 21, 32 and pp. 19-21.

cover a layer of clay tablets whose inscriptions can be dated in the late Jemdet Nasr Period. Embedded below these tablets was the head, face down. It is therefore clear that the head can be no later than the middle of the Jemdet Nasr Period.

There are deep holes for the eyes and the eyebrows, which make it evident that they were originally filled with inlays of other material. Since there were a number of small holes and grooves in the top and toward the back of the head, in the temples, and below the ears, the excavators thought it was probable that the back of the head and the body to which it belonged was made of another kind of material, possibly wood, stone, or asphalt. Whether the body was also overlaid with plates of metal it is not possible now to say. Some sort of headdress comparable to what was found by Woolley in the "royal tombs" of Ur³⁸ may once have been attached to the statue by means of the grooves and holes. The ears are not set in their proper position but are too high, and below them can be seen a roll, probably intended for the hair which is arranged in regular waves on the forehead and head.

The head has an individuality unknown in earlier art, as well as in any piece from Mesopotamia for a long time afterward. The eyelids, carefully modeled, are slightly irregular, the mouth not quite symmetrical. The lines from the nose to the corners of the mouth are delicately curved to enhance the expression of sadness. The chin is broad and strong, though softened by the flesh below it. Through such details the artist has conveyed the charm of some living woman, singled out from the group, and not conformed to any type.

That does not necessarily imply, however, that the head was created as a portrait of one of the artist's contemporaries. Whether or not a model was used, like the different naturalistic pictures of the Virgin in the present day, it still may have been intended as a representation of an ideal, perhaps of a goddess, or of a priestess, or a queen. Since it was not found in any definitive location, what purpose it served is not known.

Second only to the head in significance for the development of monumental sculpture is a basalt stela (fig. 445)³⁹ also found in Jemdet Nasr levels of the Eanna precinct at Warka. The alabaster vase from Warka had already shown the skill of Sumerian artists in relief; but that carving was set on an object probably of ritualistic use. The basalt stela, however, is the first instance yet found in Mesopotamia where a stone is erected solely for the sake of the scene carved upon it. Since it was not in situ no conclusion about its use can be reached from the place where it was found.

The stela as now preserved is 80 centimeters high and 57 centimeters wide, but origi-

38. UE, 2, pls. 128, 144.

39. Cf. Heinrich in *UVB*, 5 (1933), pls. 12, *b*, *c*, 13 and pp. 10-13. The basalt stela was found in Eanna, Level 3. Basmachi argues that it may have been a survival from the Uruk Period: Faraj Basmachi, "The Lion-Hunt Stela from Warka," *Sumer*, 5 (1949), 87-90. In the 1957-58 season at Warka a male statuette was found in Na XVI₂ of the Eanna district, carefully preserved in a Seleucid jug, covered like the body of a child by a second jar. The Seleucid walls at this point had

been sunk in debris of Eanna, Level 4. Thus it seemed possible to Professor Lenzen that the statuette, carved in a very naturalistic style, was made in the Uruk Period. It is better carved than the basalt stela, but presents the head and upper body of a bearded male very comparable to the figure on the basalt stela. The new piece suggests that the origin of monumental sculpture may be found in the Uruk Period, but this is still uncertain. Cf. *UVB*, 16 (1960), pls. 17, 18 and pp. 37-40.

nally may have been a meter in height. The back of the stone is still rough and unfinished, and the front on which the design is worked is also irregular. The artist, in creating his figures, followed the original lines of the block.

The design consists of two hunting scenes, one above the other. In the upper group a man thrusts a spear against the breast of a lion which is springing against him. Below, a man aims an arrow at another lion which faces him, erect on its hind feet. Two arrows already pierce its neck. Before and behind this second hunter are smaller lions, each of which has already been wounded by three arrows.

Both hunters have the same appearance, and seem to be but two representations of the same man, equipped with different weapons. His familiarity is apparent, for here is the bearded figure so common on cylinder seals of the Uruk Period, though missing on seals of the Jemdet Nasr Period. He is clad in the same long skirt with a broad hem or fringe down the side, and his hair is bound with a fillet in the same fashion. We recall the scenes on the Warka cylinder seals (figs. 262–264) where this same figure stood before prisoners or carried a bow and perhaps a lance. Such scenes seem only a step removed from the basalt stela. It has been said above⁴⁰ that the cylinder seals presented no particular hero, nor the celebration of a particular victory. On the one hand, conflict in general, on the other, success in it seemed to be in mind. The situation seems to be the same here. The type figure is shown in a conflict scene. The two episodes are not episodes in time, but suggestions of different kinds of conflict. The action of one is so close to the action of the other that together they seem to broaden the area in which the abstract idea of conflict is conceived. One wonders whether the psychology underlying this repetition of a scene in art may not have a parallel in one of the ways in which the Sumerian language forms plurals; for when it is desired to denote not merely more than one but the idea of totality the substantive is given twice.⁴¹ Similarly, when a particular word was lacking to express a collective, the Sumerians put together a feminine and masculine word, usually but not always affixed a collective ending, and from the combination suggested not a specific plural but a class of people or things.⁴² Perhaps these linguistic facts should not be pressed as parallels. However, it is clear that this bearded figure is a type carried over from earlier times. The conflict scenes belong to a class which both has antecedents and continues into later periods. So this stela emerges not as a memorial for a contemporary king or hero of special prowess, but as an abstract design which by repeating and varying the forms of conflict gives more adequate expression to the fears and hopes implied.

A smaller female figure from Sin Temple 4 at Khafajah (fig. 448)⁴³ and two fragmentary figurines from Warka, one female,⁴⁴ the second of undetermined sex,⁴⁵ are also naturalistic. The figure from Khafajah appears to reproduce the physical traits of a model, as did fig.

40. Pp. 60, 64.

41. A. Poebel, *Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik* (Rostock, 1923), p. 53.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 47 f.

43. Cf. Delougaz, *Pre-Sargonid Temples*, pp. 26, 28.

44. Heinrich in *UVB*, 8 (1936), pl. 49, *e* and p. 52. In 1958 another naked female figurine, with head missing,

was found in Jemdet Nasr levels of the Eanna district in Warka. In some respects this was naturalistic, although the workmanship was uneven: *UVB*, 16 (1960), pl. 16, *a, b, c* and pp. 37, 40.

45. Heinrich in *UVB*, 9 (1937), pl. 29, *c* and p. 25. Cf. *CAM*, p. 150.

444. Since the nose is damaged, the facial expression is different from what the artist intended; but the breasts are large and projecting, the cheeks are fleshy, the eyebrows heavy, and the head thrust forward in the natural pose of some living woman.

On the other hand, from Khafajah came also two examples of grotesque figurines (figs. 447, 449) which resemble figurines of the Ubaid Period. Their eyes are rendered by a gash across an applied pellet of clay, and they have the same beak-like nose as the earlier schematized figurines.

Another connection with earlier types is found in figurines of kneeling, bearded figures, examples of which came from both Warka and Khafajah.⁴⁶ The Warka figurines are the only ones so far published, the best preserved being fig. 446.⁴⁷ Here the figure is nude and the hands are held before the body. However, on most of the figures in Warka, as well as on the example at Khafajah, the hands are bound behind the back as were the hands of the captives on the seal cylinders of the Uruk Period (figs. 262, 263). It may be observed that in this instance, as in the case of the basalt stela, the art types continue from one period to another but not always on the same kind of objects. In the earlier period, to suggest the idea of conflict the artists presented a whole scene in which several individuals appeared, guarded by nude guards, and abased before a god or priest or king. In the Jemdet Nasr Period the figurines of captives apparently stood abstractly, yet it is probable that the same complex ideas which the seals conveyed were still inherent in these figures.

Belonging to the trend to delicate naturalistic sculpture are numerous animal figurines. Especially fine specimens of sheep came from the Sammelfund of Eanna, Level 3 at Warka (e.g. figs. 450, 451).⁴⁸ In form these are closely to be compared to the animals on the tops of seals and to the animal amulets; but they are bigger. The head alone of the animal of fig. 450 is 11 centimeters long and 7.8 centimeters wide. The animal of fig. 451 measures 9.3 centimeters long, 4.2 centimeters wide, and 10 centimeters high. Through its back is fixed a silver rod, and in its base are two holes which once seem to have served for fastening it to a stand. Something must formerly have been held on its back by means of the rod. Much like this latter animal are two others in the Babylonian Collection at Yale, one smaller (fig. 452),⁴⁹ the other larger (fig. 453).⁵⁰ Both of these objects have holes not in the base but in the back of each animal. The back of the smaller is flat and smooth. A single pair of connecting holes seems intended for a string which would have attached it to another object. Two pairs of similar connecting holes which probably served a like purpose appear on the back of the larger animal. These were not simple amulets, though they preserved the form often used for amulets. They apparently belong to a class of widely used figurines.⁵¹

46. For the Khafajah figure cf. *ibid.*, p. 147 and Delougaz, *Pre-Sargonid Temples*, p. 28.

47. Cf. J. Jordan, *Uruk-Warka nach den Ausgrabungen durch die Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 51 (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1928), pl. 94 and p. 68.

48. Other views of the same objects appear in Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pls. 8, a, 6, b, 7, b, c and pp. 17 f. Cf.

pls. 5, 7, a, 8, b. Another ram's head slightly larger than Fig. 450 was published by Lenzen in *UVB*, 7 (1935), pl. 23, h and p. 14.

49. The dimensions are 6.3 cm. in length, 2 cm. in width, and 5.1 cm. in height.

50. The dimensions are 21.8 cm. in length, 15.8 cm. in height.

51. A reclining ram, head facing forward, came from Telloh: *Telloh*, 1, pl. 7, no. 5.

Not only sheep but also bulls were represented in larger figures. Outstanding is the bull from unstratified levels of the Eanna precinct at Warka (fig. 454). Eight-petaled rosettes are inlaid on sides and nose. The horns seem once to have been made of other material. The head is modeled with special attention to the lines and the soft folds around the eyes and nose. This figurine measures 18.5 centimeters by 10.8 centimeters.

A beautifully modeled lioness(?) (fig. 455)⁵² was found at a site near Baghdad, although its original provenance is unknown. It is 8.4 centimeters tall, but originally probably was taller, for it is thought that it may have stood on legs made of metal, perhaps of silver or gold. Holes are left where once stones were inlaid for the eyes and where a mane and tail were attached.

That these figurines were not considered a class apart from ritualistic objects can be seen from a similar figurine of a wild boar found in Jemdet Nasr levels at Ur (fig. 456).⁵³ This figurine belongs in the naturalistic tradition, as can be seen from the care with which it is modeled and by the realism of the folds of the upper lip, drawn up to expose the tusks. There is no hole through its back for a support, as on the ram from Warka, but a groove along its side probably served the same purpose. In the top of its back is a "cup-like hollow with raised rim," comparable to the holes for receiving fluid in the theriomorphic vessels. In this case the hollow does not convey fluids into the interior, but serves apparently to imitate the vases commonly used in the ritual. Another figurine of a boar, at first regarded as a theriomorphic vase, was found at Jemdet Nasr.⁵⁴

Whether the stone artifacts simulating buildings (fig. 457) which were found in the debris between Levels C and D of the Anu ziggurat at Warka should be classed as monumental sculpture is uncertain. The triangular apertures in their walls do not seem large enough to permit them to have served as censers. Heinrich at first supposed that they were model temples; but because they are square in ground plan he later concluded that they could not be models of buildings, but were actually stands for ritualistic objects using architectural forms.⁵⁵ Several artifacts are represented by the fragments. The largest (*c*) is 10.8 centimeters high, so if it is a model temple it is comparable to the figurines of animals. The walls of these structures are adorned with niches separated from each other by pillars that have one or more grooves. In the back walls of the niches are horizontal moldings that seem intended to designate different stories. Three such stories appear on *c*. The doorway indicated on *b* is of especial interest, both because it is in the same location as the main entrance of the door in the temple of Level E of the Anu ziggurat and also because it has ringed poles at either side. The raised bands decorated with incised dots on *a* and *d* have been taken as possibly simulating cone mosaic.⁵⁶ The triangular windows of *c* are particularly important. They indicate the way in which the buildings were lighted and

52. Edith Porada ("A Leonine Figure of the Protoliterate Period of Mesopotamia," *JAOS*, 70 [1950], 223-226), points out that this figure shares similar features both with a bovine figurine from Warka and with leonine figures on seal impressions from Susa. She concludes that it originated in Elam but was the work of a foreign (presumably Mesopotamian) artist.

53. Cf. Woolley in *AJ*, 10 (1930), 333 f.

54. Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, pl. LXXVI, no. 2 and pp. 252, 294.

55. Heinrich, *Bauwerke in der altsumerischen Bildkunst* (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1957), pp. 48-50. Contrary to his earlier statement (*UVB*, 8 [1936], 45), he says on p. 48 that they were found between Levels B and C.

56. *CAM*, p. 154.

they show how the triangular form was preserved from the older symbolism. Whether these objects are model temples or stands for ritualistic objects fashioned in architectural forms, they have antecedents in Mesopotamian art. The shrine appeared first as an amulet in the Halaf Period (fig. 110, no. 11). In the Ubaid Period there were vases (figs. 146, 149) and incense burners using architectural forms (figs. 147, 237). The cylinder seals of both the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr Periods pictured directly the sanctuaries and their ritual. In the latter period these presentations were increasingly schematized, until once again the shrine stood, accompanied by only geometric patterns, an abstract symbol of significance when it appeared alone (fig. 416).

Whether the model boat which Perkins says was found in early levels at Khafajah⁵⁷ was large enough to be classed as monumental sculpture cannot be determined prior to its publication. She compares it to earlier models of the Ubaid Period.⁵⁸ Perhaps, then, it is to be classed as an amulet. The distinction between amulets and "monumental sculpture" is very fine. In whichever class this model is to be placed, once more it is clear that the symbol has been established as a recurrent form. It does not occur alone on amulets. The bearded figure stood on a boat on a cylinder seal of the Uruk Period (fig. 282). In the Jemdet Nasr Period a boat with serpent's head at the prow was set, together with three animals, alongside a shrine (fig. 367).

Beads and Miscellaneous Objects

The decorated beads and miscellaneous objects of the Jemdet Nasr Period have predominantly abstract designs. When beads came from the Sammelfund in Warka⁵⁹ it was impossible to determine whether they belonged to the Uruk or Jemdet Nasr Period. Those from the post holes of Level C of the Anu ziggurat were of the Jemdet Nasr Period.⁶⁰ Beads of the same date came from Ur,⁶¹ Telloh,⁶² Fara,⁶³ Jemdet Nasr,⁶⁴ and Khafajah.⁶⁵ Many of the beads were plain. A few were carved or incised (e.g. figs. 458, 459).⁶⁶ At either end of the bead of fig. 458 is an animal's head carved with open mouth to permit the passage of a cord. On fig. 459 is a pattern of zigzags.

Geometric patterns alone were used for some ornamental pieces from Warka of obscure purpose (fig. 460). Squares, triangles, and lozenges were created in contrasting colors of red, black, and green limestone and shell. Possibly they were used for inlays, or mosaic, or for beads.⁶⁷ Petals and centers of rosettes were found in black or dark blue and white (fig. 461). Red is lacking. Perhaps the rosettes served as inlay on architecture or furniture. One complete flower of carnelian may have come from a headdress such as was

57. *CAM*, p. 154.

58. P. 43.

59. Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pp. 41 f., pl. 31. Lenzen in *UVB*, 7 (1935), 14 f., pl. 24, c.

60. Heinrich in *UVB*, 9 (1937), 25.

61. Woolley in *AJ*, 14 (1934), 370 f.; 13 (1933), 382.

62. *Telloh*, 1, 44, 61 f. De Genouillac dates these in the Uruk Period.

63. Schmidt in *MJ*, 22 (1931), 214, pl. xxvii, no. 1.

64. Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, pls. lxxii, nos. 1-15, lxxiv, nos. 4, 8, lxxv, no. 2.

65. *CAM*, p. 147.

66. Cf. Schmidt in *MJ*, 22 (1931), pl. xxvii, no. 1. Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, pl. lxxiv, no. 8.

67. *CAM*, p. 153.

found in the Early Dynastic "royal tombs" of Ur.⁶⁸ A small bull's head, a bull's hoof, the leg of some animal, a single ring such as might have been part of a ringed pole, and a volute are all pieces which Heinrich considered to be decoration of buildings, furniture, or equipment.⁶⁹

From Telloh and Jemdet Nasr came pins, some with a plain head, others carved with a simple linear pattern (fig. 462).⁷⁰ A curious six-fingered object shaped like a hand, carved from diorite, came from Fara (fig. 463). Its purpose is not known.

Spindle whorls were less common in this period than earlier. From Fara came a number of them, some plain, others with serrated edges.⁷¹ Many of those from Jemdet Nasr were decorated with a rosette design. One was incised with a five-pointed star (fig. 464).

Pottery cones such as had appeared in a number of sites in the Ubaid Period came also in this period from Jemdet Nasr.⁷² They were undecorated. The excavator thought them too small for wall decoration and listed them among the "cult objects." "Gamesmen" also are said to have been found at Jemdet Nasr, here in no naturalistic forms, but exclusively geometric.⁷³ If these are really gaming pieces it is possible, as Perkins says,⁷⁴ that similar objects from Warka, Telloh, and Fara should also be considered gaming pieces.

Stone Vases

The art of the Jemdet Nasr Period is surprising in its variety. In the Uruk Period naturalistic forms had been used for designs on cylinder seals and on the great alabaster vase. In the Jemdet Nasr Period this advance was maintained on some seals but was carried to new heights on the amulets and on the pieces of sculpture which were non-utilitarian. Alongside this new creative activity there developed a preference for schematized designs and geometric patterns, which occasionally appeared as the work of the same men who delighted in naturalistic forms. Whatever the explanation of such a mingling of artistic trends, this clearly was a period of great complexity, of dynamic movements. Archaeologists, as we have said,⁷⁵ have observed the effects of this Mesopotamian culture over a wide area, in Iran, Egypt, Cappadocia, and Troy. It is interesting that so much of its complexity is mirrored in its own art.

The stone vases are another indication of the cultural complexity of this period. They are far more numerous at this time in most of the excavated sites, and especially in Ur.⁷⁶ Woolley calls attention to the scarcity of stone in southern Mesopotamia and therefore to the significance of the greatly increased number of stone vases. No less than 660 were found in the excavations at Ur. All the stone had to be imported from northern Mesopotamia,

68. Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pl. 30, c. Cf. UE, 2, pls. 136, 144.

69. Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pl. 33, p, m, l, o, n and p. 43.

70. Cf. Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, pl. LXXI, nos. 8-12 and p. 271.

71. Heinrich, *Fara*, pls. 34, g, 35, p.

72. Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, p. 277.

73. *Ibid.*, pp. 277 f., pls. LXX, nos. 18, 22, 28, 29; LXXI, nos. 19-27; LXXIV, no. 7.

74. *CAM*, pp. 153, 145.

75. P. 90.

76. Woolley in *AJ*, 14 (1934), 364-369. *CAM*, pp. 134-138. Faraj Basmachi, "Sculptured Stone Vases in the Iraq Museum," *Sumer*, 6 (1950), 165-176.

the Persian Gulf, or Iran. The tools discovered show that the vases were manufactured in southern Mesopotamia. Therefore the vases themselves, apart from the designs upon them, attest the broadened interests and skills of the men of the Jemdet Nasr Period.

Like the pottery of this period, many stone vases were undecorated or had a simple row of nicks (fig. 465), or rope moulding.⁷⁷ One jar from Ur was decorated with two rows of what Woolley called "petals" in relief (fig. 466); a vase from Khafajah was ornamented with bands of incised chevrons.⁷⁸

Comparable to the theriomorphic pottery vases was an alabaster dove from Warka (fig. 467). As one pottery vase had seven spouts (fig. 322), so a stone bowl from Ur had five spouts (fig. 468).⁷⁹ This was carved in imitation of a tridacna shell, many of which were found in graves, opened for use as lamps. The spouts of this vase probably were used for wicks, and on the under side was an animal's head, perhaps a bat.

Designs familiar on contemporary cylinder seals recur on the stone vases. Two groups of symbols are derived from the ritual.

First is the group picturing byres for cattle, of which there are three examples. On a carved stone vase from the sanctuary of the Small Temple in O 43 at Khafajah (fig. 469)⁸⁰ the byre is less domed than usual, and from its top rise three ringed poles. Two calves emerge from the byre, and at either side are two cows. Behind these cows is a tree with the curving branches and leaves familiar on Jemdet Nasr pottery. On each side stands a bird with crest erect on its head, the first bird of this type I have found in the symbolism of prehistoric Mesopotamia. A trough said to have come from Warka and now in the British Museum (fig. 470), measures 38 inches in length, 14 inches in width, and 6 inches in depth. In the center of one side is a domed byre, with eight strands of reeds divided and spread out in a sort of fan from its top. At each side of the roof are beribboned standards, in the position of acroteria, and a lamb emerges on either side. Before these lambs stand two adult sheep, a male and female, and behind them, on the side which is preserved, is another beribboned standard. We are told that there was a design on each end of the trough, presumably the same, though only one of them is shown. This consists of a pair of beribboned standards, back to back. At either side again are two identical sheep, facing away from each other, and before them two eight-petaled rosettes. The combination of a ritualistic scene having to do with the care of the temple herd and a group of symbols from that scene set abstractly is interesting but not unexpected. The familiar byre scene is only less abstract than the isolated symbols. The byre appears also on a fragmentary vase in the Louvre (fig. 471).⁸¹ All that remains of what must once have been a beautiful object shows a flat-roofed byre, with two incurving "horns" at either corner of the roof, above which rise three ringed poles. The foreparts of "calves" project from each side. Above the

77. Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pl. 24, e. Woolley in *AJ*, 14 (1934), pl. XLVII, no. U. 19401. Parrot, *Tello*, fig. 11, no. 5294.p. Miss Perkins speaks of jars of this type at Khafajah: *CAM*, p. 137.

78. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

79. Cf. Woolley in *AJ*, 14 (1934), 369. Woolley mentions but does not picture another lamp "covered all

over with a raised dot decoration, but at one end a gazelle's head has been cut in low relief."

80. Cf. Frankfort in *OIC*, no. 20 (1936), 69, fig. 54.

81. Cf. G. Contenau, *Les Antiquités orientales, Sumer, Babylonie, Elam* (Paris, Éditions Albert Morancé), pl. 6 and p. 11.

head of one calf a vase stands abstractly, and a second vase(?) is partially preserved above the second calf. A bull or cow apparently stood before the calf at the left, but only its head is now preserved.

On the second group, the shrine is a symbolic form. One vase, acquired by purchase and thought to have come from Warka (fig. 472),⁸² seemed to the excavators to have been shaped in imitation of architectural forms. There were niches, rounded surfaces comparable to pillars, and decoration upon them of inlaid lozenges and triangles. A second fragmentary vase found in the Sammelfund at Warka (fig. 473)⁸³ was decorated with ringed poles such as are often associated with the shrines. Six circles are set in pairs on either side of the grooves which represented the poles, of which two are now extant. The dot-centered circle which formed the inlay is preserved in one of the circles.

The prosperity of the community was represented on a steatite vase from Ur (fig. 474)⁸⁴ on which a row of bulls is carved in relief, ears of barley rising above their backs. A more abstract presentation of this subject was used on other vases where only bulls appeared.⁸⁵

Animal conflict was represented on a group of vases (e.g. fig. 475).⁸⁶ Two pairs of mighty lions erect on their hind feet clutch the backs of bulls around the body of this vase. Only the heads, turned outward at right angles to the body, are carefully executed. The paws are stiff and set in an impossible position, but they are both in full view, probably in order to accent their strength. Two other lions, carved in the round, stand on guard on either side of the spout. Probably there were two other similar vases at Warka, for two fragments of spouts guarded by similar lions came also from the Sammelfund.⁸⁷ Less well preserved, and also less well carved originally, is a smaller limestone bowl from Ur where lions falling on bulls appear in relief.⁸⁸ A different representation of conflict may have been given by the eagle with lion's head, the claws and wings of which Miss Perkins tells us appeared on two fragments from Khafajah.⁸⁹

The trend to abstract representation has already appeared on vases where a row of bulls formed the sole decoration. On some stone vases animals were set abstractly as supports below the vase proper. A ram was so used on a vase from Ur (fig. 476),⁹⁰ and four couchant bulls supported a double jar from Fara (fig. 477).

The geometric designs, so popular on cylinder seals, form the major decoration on

82. Heinrich attempted in *UVB*, 6 (1935), 21, fig. 3 to restore the designs of this vase.

83. A vase probably of this period from Khafajah has been thought by Delougaz to represent an elaborate model of a building. Along with some forms which may represent sides of a building are fragments of human figures and a bull. The nature of the design is obscure. Cf. Delougaz, *Pre-Sargonid Temples*, pp. 37 f., fig. 33. Frankfort in *OIC*, no. 20 (1936), 34 f., fig. 27.

84. Woolley had considered the date to be either the time of Gudea or the Third Dynasty of Ur: Woolley in *AJ*, 12 (1932), 392. Miss Perkins, on the other hand, attributes it to the Protoliterate Period: *CAM*, p. 136. Cf. the fragmentary vase in the Louvre: Parrot, *Archéologie mésopotamienne*, 2, pl. IV, facing p. 224.

85. From Ur: Woolley in *AJ*, 14 (1934), pl. XLV, no.

2, U. 20000. On an alabaster bowl probably of this date now in the Detroit Museum, Acc. no. 49.20: *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, 31 (1951/52), 62. A fragment of another bowl carved in this pattern was found in Warka in the first season of excavation: Jordan in *UVB*, 1 (1929), pl. 21, a and p. 42.

86. Cf. Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pls. 22, b, 23, a and p. 35. *UVB*, 1 (1929), pl. 21, b and p. 43. A similar vase may have come from Khafajah. It is not yet published, but see Miss Perkins' description: *CAM*, p. 138.

87. Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pl. 23, b, c.

88. Woolley, "Report on the Excavations at Ur, 1932-3," *AJ*, 13 (1933), pl. LXV, no. 1, following p. 380.

89. *CAM*, p. 138.

90. Miss Perkins speaks of a similar vase on the back of a standing animal from Khafajah: *ibid.*, p. 137.

several stone vases. Portions of the surface of the vases were cut away to permit the insertion of inlays of stone or shell, held in place by bitumen. The favorite designs were lozenges and triangles in metopes, eight-petaled rosettes, concentric circles, crosshatching, and "eyes." The decoration was sometimes simple (e.g. fig. 478),⁹¹ sometimes more elaborate (e.g. fig. 479). Both these spouted vases came from Warka. Other bowls with similar geometric inlays came from Khafajah.⁹²

Temple Architecture

The symbols considered suitable for temple ornament in the Jemdet Nasr Period were rigidly limited. They were confined to mosaic in geometric patterns, to a few plaques on which both geometric designs and formalized representational figures appeared, to niches, pillars, and buttresses for the walls, and to the imposition of the abstract number three on some buildings.

Mosaic in geometric patterns was found in Eanna, Level 3 at Warka. In this period no building in this section of Warka could be identified by its form as a temple, but the excavators recognized that the whole area constituted a sanctuary ("Heiligtum").⁹³ Mosaic seems to have been a common decoration. The mosaic found below the later ziggurat in Level 3c (fig. 481),⁹⁴ the earliest of the Jemdet Nasr Levels, was set in the back surfaces of niches which were in alternation small and large. A black and white zigzag design decorated the smaller niches, a lozenge pattern in black, white, and red the larger.

In Eanna, Level 3b, a new form of wall ornament was devised, consisting of baked clay plaques adorned with figures in flat relief and wedges inserted into the plaster much as the earlier cones had been. The designs included such geometric forms as six- or eight-petaled rosettes (fig. 480),⁹⁵ a cross (fig. 482), and squares of dot-centered circles (fig. 483), which may have been an imitation of cone mosaic but may also have been used for their geometric pattern. Three examples of the beribboned standard appeared (e.g. fig. 484).⁹⁶ There were also animal forms, the clearest being two which the excavator called agnu and sheep (figs. 485, 486).⁹⁷ The modeling of these pieces is less careful than that of contemporary amulets and pieces of sculpture. They seem more conformed to a schematized type.

The use of niches, pillars, and buttresses on buildings connected with the cult was very common in the Jemdet Nasr Period. Both types of wall ornamentation already described were associated with the use of niches. Further uses may be illustrated alongside the practice of imposing the number three on buildings. Temples of the tripartite form, traditional since the Ubaid Period, appeared in Levels E, D, C, and in the White Temple

91. Cf. the similar rosettes on the fragment of Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pl. 28, b, and a vase where rosettes are lacking on pl. 27, a.

92. Delougaz, *Pre-Sargonic Temples*, p. 30, fig. 26.

93. H. J. Lenzen, *Die Entwicklung der Zikurrat*, *Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka*, 4 (Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1941), 14 f.

94. For the mosaic in Levels 3b and 3a cf. Lenzen in

UVB, 7 (1935), 11-13, pls. 17, a, b, 18, b; *Die Entwicklung der Zikurrat*, p. 14, pl. 23, b; *UVB*, 11 (1940), pl. 23, a. *CAM*, pp. 125, 127.

95. Cf. Jordan in *UVB*, 2 (1930), p. 33, fig. 21. *CAM*, p. 126.

96. Cf. *UVB*, 2 (1930), fig. 24, no. 4999, b, and cd.

97. Parts of animals are supposed to be represented in *ibid.*, p. 38, figs. 25-28, 31.

on Level B of the Anu ziggurat at Warka,⁹⁸ and also in Sin Temples 1–5 at Khafajah.⁹⁹ The White Temple (fig. 487),¹ which was 17.5 meters wide and 22.3 meters long, stood on a socle of brick which projected 60 to 100 centimeters on all sides. The whitewash which was applied to this socle, to the floor of the temple, and to its walls was so distinctive that it suggested to the excavators the temple name. There was a long central court, flanked by a row of rooms on either side.² The outer temple walls and the walls of the court were niched. At the northeast end of the court a pedestal, approached by a flight of steps, stood in the corner. Its front wall, facing the court, was adorned with a row of niches and pillars. Presumably no pedestal was used in the building originally, for the walls of the court behind the pedestal were niched and plastered to the floor like the rest;³ but when excavated the pedestal stood before a blocked door. In the middle of the room was another rectangular pedestal with a low, projecting semicircular step. Evidences of burning made it clear that there had been burnt offerings or incense on this pedestal. The bones of what probably were a leopard and young lion had been placed at the eastern corner of the temple in a rectangular box-like depression in what seemed to have been a foundation sacrifice. Beside the corner pedestal or altar was one door; two others were on the opposite short wall, but there was no door on the long northeast wall. The principal entrance seemed to be on the long southwest side. Before it was a low, round pedestal. The worshipers who entered here had to pass through a side room before entering the long court, and then turn left to face the cult center. The doors on the short sides have sometimes been thought to make this a “high temple” in accordance with ideas of later periods.⁴ It is very probable, however, that these doors which seem to give easy access to the sanctuary were not accessible to the ordinary worshiper, but were reserved for the exclusive use of the priests and for the processions which were part of the cult. Whether or not this is true, such doors seem insufficient evidence for a theory that the prehistoric period had already developed a fairly elaborate system of philosophy, as the distinction between “high” and “deep” temples would presuppose.

Sin Temple 2 at Khafajah likewise was constructed according to the tripartite plan (fig. 488). It consisted of a long central room, flanked by smaller rooms on both sides. An altar rested on two broad platforms against the northwest wall. In this wall a doubly-recessed niche and two grooves were built, thus imposing the abstract number three on this especially sacred location (fig. 489).

Thus the symbolism embodied in temple architecture in the Jemdet Nasr Period was confined within the limits of abstract forms established in earlier times. Nevertheless, the complex culture expressed in forms of art described in the first part of this chapter made

98. Heinrich in *UVB*, 8 (1936), pl. 20, b; 10 (1939), pl. 16.

99. Delougaz, *Pre-Sargonid Temples*, pp. 8–40.

1. Cf. Jordan in *UVB*, 3 (1932), 21. Heinrich in *UVB*, 8 (1936), 31 f., 44.

2. Lenzen thinks there was no roof over the central court: *ZA*, N.F. 17 (1955), 10. Heinrich thought there

was a roof: *ZA*, N.F. 15 (1949/50), 39.

3. Heinrich in *UVB*, 8 (1936), 32. It is worth noting that a similar conclusion was reached in regard to the analogous structure in the Painted Temple at Uqair (see p. 75).

4. P. 73.

its impression also on temples in this period. The innovations came not in temple ornament, but in objects, apparently used in the cult, found within the temples, in the addition of needed buildings to make a greatly expanded temple area,⁵ and probably in a higher organization of the priesthood to use these more complex facilities.

The Jemdet Nasr Tablets

The Jemdet Nasr tablets⁶ add little to our understanding of the symbols of this period. We have already⁷ pointed to the use of determinatives and phonetic complements as an indication that the symbols which were used for writing had more than one meaning. It is always to be remembered that there are two stages in the study of every sign. First we ask what kind of object or what geometric form was intended. Very possibly these tablets might aid in clarifying an understanding of the art symbols on this level. The second and greater task, however, is to investigate what role the sign played, granting that we know what form was intended. We have seen that many designs when used in art were ambivalent. The use of determinatives and phonetic complements make it clear that, when the signs were employed in writing, there were many important shades of meaning for each one.

Like the tablets of the Uruk Period, by far the greatest number of Jemdet Nasr Tablets are economic texts; a few are word lists. One word list of the Uruk Period⁸ had a collection of words of similar shape, for example (⊖), (⊕), (⊔), (⊕). A very similar list has been found on a Jemdet Nasr tablet.⁹ Another tablet from the Uruk Period¹⁰ seems to be a collection of words of similar subject-matter. In the first column each is preceded by the numeral 1, followed by another sign accompanied by KU, the latter possibly signifying "garment." A fragment of another list, as yet unpublished, has a similar group of signs in its first column.¹¹ In the second column the sign GAL, often meaning "great" as it applies to a higher official, consistently appears, which, as Falkenstein says, may mean that this list gives names of occupations. Other tablets from the Jemdet Nasr Period¹² seem to have lists very like this tablet of the Uruk Period. There is a fish list and one where the sign UR, "dog," recurs.¹³ Such lists are not unique, but represent a class of texts continually repeated and expanded in later periods. They do not seem to have served as lists for business purposes, but were used in schools. There, however, they were not merely aids for writing, but were valued for their subject matter. They show the mind of these early Sumerians who were seeking by careful observation of concrete phenomena to establish

5. Cf. the court, passageway, and rooms along the northeast side of Sin Temple 2 at Khafajah (Fig. 488) and the elaborate complex of buildings in Eanna, Level 3 at Warka.

6. The principal collections from Warka and Jemdet Nasr have been published by Falkenstein and Langdon who also have given bibliographies which take into consideration tablets found in other sites: Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk*, see especially pp. 13, n. 2,

26, 67. S. Langdon, *Pictographic Inscriptions from Jemdet Nasr*.

7. P. 79.

8. Falkenstein, no. 539 and p. 43.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

10. *Ibid.*, no. 340 and p. 44.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

12. *Ibid.*, nos. 594, 595, W12256 and pp. 44 f.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

an intellectual pattern.¹⁴ The development of this kind of literature, which is not speculative but rigidly limited to concrete objects, seems consistent with the gradual broadening of perspective which has been observed in the art. The art too was not speculative, not concerned with mythology. It was strictly functional.¹⁵

The economic texts add little to the picture. There are accounts in which a man is named, together with the amount and kind of commodity which is due. The consumption of food on particular days is listed. There are lists of sacrifices.¹⁶ We hear of priests, but learn nothing of the organization of the priesthood. Nor is the king ever mentioned,¹⁷ and we learn nothing of political organization.

We learn of the gods Enlil and Shara,¹⁸ and possibly of Enki, Utu, Lamma, and An.¹⁹ Falkenstein finds the sign based on the beribboned standard as especially indicative that the cult of Inanna was foremost in the religion. However, not only this sign but also the ringed pole and the star which sometimes is the determinative for god are common signs in this period. He does not think the ringed pole always symbolized a particular god. The star too has a number of uses. Thus reasons are lacking why the beribboned standard should be considered an exception. That this symbol always has a specific unambiguous meaning continues to be an unsupported hypothesis.

USES OF ORNAMENTED ARTIFACTS

Indications that ornamented objects in the Jemdet Nasr Period were valued for their potency and thus for their symbolic value may sometimes be gleaned from the place where they were found.

Delougaz reported finding more fragments of pottery in temples and graves in the Diyala region than he did in houses, though some sherds came also from houses.²⁰ When found in temples and graves there is more probability that the vases had cultic use than when they were found in homes, though the possibility cannot be excluded that domestic rites were practised in the homes. In Uqair much Jemdet Nasr pottery occurred in Sounding 1 beneath the "chapel."²¹ In the Eanna precinct in Warka only a small quantity of polychrome Jemdet Nasr Ware was found,²² but more sherds came from an area of the city devoted to dwellings, not to temples.²³ A group of vases, as has been said,²⁴ may be considered cultic objects because of their shape. Some of these were ornamented, others plain. It is therefore impossible to say that decoration in this period was placed exclusively on vases intended for use in the ritual or that all ritualistic vases were ornamented. The cul-

14. Groenewegen-Frankfort, *Arrest and Movement*, p. 149.

15. Cf. Speiser's discussion of the significance of these lists in "Some Sources of Intellectual and Social Progress in the Ancient Near East," American Council of Learned Societies, Conference of Secretaries, *Studies in the History of Culture: The Discipline of the Humanities* (Menasha, Wisconsin, The George Banta Publishing Co., 1942), pp. 51-62.

16. Falkenstein, p. 48.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 57 f.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

19. Langdon, p. vii.

20. *Pottery*, pp. 34-51.

21. Lloyd and Safar, *JNES*, 2 (1943), 137.

22. Von Haller in *UVB*, 4 (1932), 36.

23. Heinrich in *UVB*, 5 (1933), 15 f.

24. Pp. 91 f.

ture pattern was not so distinct. In this period, as earlier, there seems to have been a feeling that an ornamented vase was especially suitable for ritualistic purposes. If it was good to use in the ritual, it was also good to use in the home. Whatever feeling was associated with these designs, it did not make the vases "holy" in the sense of taboo.

A large collection of seals, amulets, and pendants was found in Sin Temples 2, 3, 4, and 5 at Khafajah.²⁵ Delougaz expressed his surprise that these came from a temple instead of from graves, and suggested that instead of serving as "charms" they may have been "meant to represent and replace actual temple offerings just as the image of a person represented its donor before the deity."²⁶ However, the theriomorphic vases are similar in outer shape to animal amulets. The alabaster vase from Warka is decorated with reliefs comparable to scenes on cylinder seals. The amulets resemble monumental sculpture. There are, then, associations between seals, amulets, ritual vases, and pieces of monumental sculpture. The functions of all were not identical, but they were related. All belong to the same school of thought. Thus it is doubtful that "charms" would not have been used in a "communal" building. Just as relics, charms, and other cult objects have been used both within and outside the religious edifice in many religions in many periods, so in Mesopotamia it would have been natural for such objects to appear in the temples as well as in homes and graves.

Frankfort pointed out that the geometric designs on many Jemdet Nasr cylinder seals are so much alike that they fail to provide impressions which would be individual and distinctive, as they should be to "answer their purpose."²⁷ In saying this, he assumed that their "purpose" was to serve "as a mark of ownership."²⁸ Nevertheless, the fact that these designs are not distinctive is an important factor supporting the view that seals were used only secondarily as a mark of ownership. Their primary function was to serve as amulets.²⁹ From this point of view it is understandable that conventional and well-tested patterns were the most popular.

Most of the beads from the Eanna precinct at Warka were either strung as necklaces or woven into a sort of fabric.³⁰ In Level C of the Anu ziggurat beads were found in the postholes of the Posthole Temple.³¹ In Ur the beads were common in graves and were used for necklaces, girdles, bracelets, and anklets.³² Though these may have had use as ornaments, the location in which they were found makes it probable that they also had potency. Nobody who has seen the blue beads used sometimes for necklaces, bracelets, or anklets in modern Iraq will doubt that in antiquity beads were both apotropaic and ornamental.

The function of monumental sculpture, which appears in the Jemdet Nasr Period for the first time in Mesopotamian history, is not easy to determine. The location of only the

25. Delougaz, *Pre-Sargonid Temples*, pp. 16, 18, 26, 38.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

27. *Strat. Cyl. Seals*, pp. 17 f.

28. *Cyl. Seals*, pp. 2 f.

29. Pp. 195-210.

30. Lenzen in *UVB*, 7 (1935), 14 f.

31. Heinrich in *UVB*, 9 (1937), 25.

32. Woolley in *AJ*, 10 (1930), 337; 14 (1934), 370.

Khafajah female figure (fig. 448), of all the pieces of monumental sculpture, seemed to be significant. It came from Sin Temple 4. The other pieces were not *in situ*. It might be supposed that these pieces of sculpture were the product of a new school of artists who had discovered beauty in nature and who wished to preserve it for the sake of beauty alone. The artists do seem to have delighted in realism and to have modeled their subjects with delicacy and sensitivity. At the same time they remained within the subjects long accepted in the religion. There were the same human and animal figurines, familiar in the amulets, now appearing in enlarged forms. There were the familiar bearded figure, hunting scenes, and captives. In the boar figurine from Ur (fig. 456) the association of this object with the current ritual becomes explicit. It is not a ritualistic vase, but by the simulated spout for fluid the artist revealed that such a vase was clearly in his mind. Hence it is evident that whether or not these pieces of sculpture assumed an important role in the cult they are not a departure outside or divorced from religion. Whatever delight in beauty came to expression, it was a development within accepted patterns and with a consciousness of the relation of those patterns to religion. Indeed, the use of naturalistic animals on the tops of stamp seals with schematized designs on their bases clearly shows that the artists recognized that the forms had potency. They were not presented for sheer delight in beauty. Delight they may have given, but they were also potent forms.

SYMBOLIC ELEMENTS IN THE JEMDET NASR PERIOD

Both naturalistic and schematized designs in the Jemdet Nasr Period seem to have been considered potent. The values attached to the designs can be seen most adequately by examining the representational figures used.

On pottery, trees were drawn in a new, naturalistic form (figs. 330, 331, 332), presumably a sign that fresh attention was being paid to them; gazelles were shown suckling their young (fig. 346). Both of these designs are overt expressions of fertility. Probably scorpions and birds were also fertility symbols (figs. 336, 343, 344, 346).³³ On the other hand, the birds are seen devouring fish, and perhaps a snake, and the fish are caught on a line (figs. 334, 335, 345, 346). Hence the values seem complex, as they have before. Where the role of the symbols can be deciphered, both "life" and "death" come to expression. These have come to seem the recurring values of the symbols.

The same may be said of other artistic media in the period. Cattle are shown beside their byres both on seals (figs. 357, 358, 359) and on stone vases (figs. 469, 470, 471). Such representation of the place where the herd was nurtured represents appropriately the idea of fertility. Yet cattle very frequently are shown beside a shrine where they would represent a sacrifice, as would also the vases for fluid, grain, baskets, or fish. In this setting the figures symbolize "death" or perhaps better "life through death." Similarly, the basalt

33. One wonders whether the scorpion was not a symbol of both good and evil, as are most symbolic forms. Van Buren thinks it was primarily "a propitious

symbol of fertility and prosperity": E. Douglas Van Buren, "The Scorpion in Mesopotamian Art and Religion," *AfO*, 12 (1937-1939), 1-28.

stela on which the bearded figure aimed his spear at a lion (fig. 445), the figurines of captives (fig. 446), and the stone vases on which lions grasp the backs of bulls (fig. 475), reproduce the same symbolic values.

That solar forms appear frequently must also not be overlooked, since they are as intrinsic to some designs as are fertility symbols. For example, they occur sometimes as dot-centered circles or rosettes, which may be integrated with plant forms (figs. 391, 392), or may accompany quadrupeds (figs. 365, 378, 390), or be integrated with a quadruped (fig. 413). Quadrupeds may feed upon them (fig. 376), or they may accompany water birds (fig. 415). Rays may be added to an eye and set beside a shrine (fig. 416). Rosettes may be arranged above a shrine (fig. 370). Beside a shrine may be a bird with such widespread wings that it seems to be a solar symbol (fig. 369). A series of solar forms may be buried poetically in the depths of a mountain (fig. 414).

Thus the horizons of men were being broadened in the Jemdet Nasr Period. They were more conscious of the sun and its effect on human life than hitherto, more conscious of the mountains from behind which the sun rose. They were aware of the diversity of animals around them (fig. 396), of the existence of strange animals in other countries (fig. 395). They knew of other countries where they could get stone for ritualistic vases, and imported substantial quantities of stone. They built greatly expanded temples for their cult.

Such factors suggest that they had an increased feeling for the cosmic background behind their religion. This is not to say, however, that they were expressing this new awareness in stories which had settled into an accepted pattern. Of the development of this kind of mythology there is so far no evidence.

One may ask whether the lack of skill with which some seals are executed decreases the likelihood that they were potent. In the Jemdet Nasr Period there was an increasing trend toward abstract design. Consequently it is unwise to judge forms as without significance because they belong to a group of formalized designs. A motif which is repeated many times must be considered potent in its period whether it is well done or not. Furthermore, seals per se seemed potent to their owners.³⁴ Designs were sought not for their beauty or the skill with which they were executed but because they were believed to be effective instruments in human problems.

No symbol can be singled out in this period as representing a particular god or goddess. This is true of the beribboned standard,³⁵ which may at times refer to Inanna, while at others it suggests the general ideas involved in "life" and fertility. It is true also of such a symbol as the seven dots, which Mrs. Van Buren traces back to the Jemdet Nasr Period.³⁶ She also admits that the specific identification of these dots with the Pleiades or with other legends is late. But she thinks that this symbol is among others which may have designated a temple as dedicated to a specific deity:

Even at that early epoch temples were represented adorned with motives, such as a

34. Pp. 195-210.
35. Pp. 84-86.

36. "The Seven Dots in Mesopotamian Art and Their Meaning," *AJO*, 13 (1939-41), 277-289.

bull, a star, or a disk, which might seem to indicate the deity to whom the temple was dedicated. Our scanty knowledge of religious beliefs in the Jemdet Nasr period renders it uncertain whether a temple of ^a*Sibitti* ["apparently a deity with a sevenfold nature, or . . . a group of seven gods"] was depicted in scenes where *cervidae* approach a temple adorned with 7 or 14 dots above the door arranged in a row, or in two or three rows containing an unequal number of dots.³⁷

Mrs. Van Buren does not specify where she finds temples adorned with "a bull, a star, or a disk," and I do not know of any in the Jemdet Nasr Period.³⁸ Similarly, among her illustrations of the seven dots in this period, she seems to me unsuccessful in establishing the seven as a persistent form.³⁹ But even if in this period some examples could be found of the seven dots as a significant form, it would still remain to be demonstrated that they designated a particular deity. Ever since the Hassunah Period we have observed that there was a continuing interest in abstract numbers, among them the number seven. In this later time of renewed interest in schematized designs such an interest in numbers is to be expected. The seven spouts on a Jemdet Nasr vase (fig. 322) seem to have been attributable to this interest. No artifact has appeared where there seemed reason to associate it also with the myth of a divinity.⁴⁰ In this period not art and myth but art and ritual were partners.

It is possible that in the realistic female statues representations of specific deities have finally appeared, though their names are not known. This is not to say that the specific myths which were told at about 2000 B.C. lay behind these statues. The temples of earlier periods have shown that the Sumerians worshiped many different deities. It is not surprising if they have come to represent them in their art. But whatever colorful stories they may have told about them are not reflected in their art. None of the myths of about 2000 B.C. is anywhere reflected in the art of the Jemdet Nasr Period.

This book follows the convention which uses the term "Anu ziggurat" for the mound in Warka where in later times there was an important temple of the god Anu. As Perkins

37. *Ibid.*, p. 280.

38. What sort of figure is on the door of the shrine of the cylinder seal from Warka pictured by Lenzen in *UVB*, 7 (1935), pl. 25, *d* cannot be determined. The excavators (p. 25) were unable to distinguish it. Similar objects which the scholars did not attempt to define appear on a seal in the Morgan Collection, on one in Mrs. Moore's collection, on one from the Louvre, one from Khafajah, and on one from Agrab: *MLC*, pl. v, no. 25 and p. 6. Eisen, *Seals, Moore*, pl. 1, no. 5. Louvre, *Delaporte*, 2, pl. 70, no. A. 125. Frankfort, *Strat. Cyl. Seals*, pls. 8, no. 55, 80, no. 853. Such examples, which we are unable to identify, do not seem adequate to support her statement. If they could be identified, however, there is nothing to indicate that any symbol in this period designated a particular god or goddess.

39. Mrs. Van Buren's fig. 1 has 8 dots, not 7 above the lintel. The seal in Nies and Keiser, *Historical, Religious, and Economic Texts and Antiquities*, pl. LXXIV, *g*, to which she refers, has two rows of 10 and 5 dots respectively. The tree on pl. LXXVI, *d* is constructed of

either 8 or 9 dots, depending on whether one chooses to include the dot which forms the root. She counts only 7 of them. She includes among her illustrations the rosette sometimes of 6, sometimes of 7 dots around one in the center, and she thinks that when the form comprised 7 around the center, this extra central dot simply was not counted. Such variations seem to me, however, not to be discounted by forcing them into a preconceived pattern.

40. In Van Buren, p. 278 it is said: "These dots were in fact, at any rate in early times, representations of the seven little pebbles used in casting lots or divining the fate of individuals. They were small enough to be held in one hand, and were probably of various colours, white being lucky, while black was ill-omened as texts inform us." The texts cited were translated by Witzel: *Analecta Orientalia*, 10 (1935), 107, column II, 7-9 and p. 116; 6 (1933), 55, Reverse II, 18 and p. 67. These texts suggest the practice of divination with white and black lots, but not with a specific group of seven of them.

warns us, this term may lead to serious misapprehensions, for in the Prehistoric Period the mound was neither a ziggurat nor is there any reason to suppose that the temples upon it were dedicated to Anu. During the Prehistoric Period the mound consisted of a high platform on which a temple was placed. There were no stages which would justify the term ziggurat or step tower. As for the connection with Anu, this assumption is based on the fact that the platform of Level A, of Early Dynastic date, covers part of the site of the much later Anu temple. There is no early evidence which permits us to know what deity was worshiped here in either the Early Dynastic or Prehistoric Period.⁴¹

Similarly, there is no evidence that Sin was worshiped in the temples in Khafajah to which excavators have given this name. The name was first used because a tablet was found there bearing a dedicatory inscription at first thought to be made by a priest of Sin. Later the reading was brought in question, and it is no longer certain to what god the temple was dedicated.⁴²

41. *CAM*, p. 110; Heinrich in *UVB*, 8 (1936), 47.

42. Delougaz, *Pre-Sargonid Temples*, pp. 6, 8.

CHAPTER 7

The Gawra Period

In northern Mesopotamia the period which was roughly contemporary with the Uruk Period in the South has been called the Gawra Period because Tepe Gawra is the site from which most of our information about it comes. Too little is known about the period to make judgments about it with confidence.¹ Evidence for the existence of this culture has come from Tepe Gawra, Nineveh, Nuzi, Grai Resh, Brak, Telul ath-Thalathat, and Shanidar Cave.

Van Buren has pointed out that there are noteworthy points of continuity with earlier periods.² For example, the main entrance of the temple in Level 11a at Tepe Gawra was on the narrow side through a court or porch. The same was probably true of the Ubaid Period temples of Levels 19 and 18, but not of the Northern Temple of Level 13 or most of the temples in the South, where the principal entrance was on one of the long walls. Again, a podium was used in the temples of Levels 19 and 18, and also in temples of the Gawra Period, though not in those of Level 13. Further, one may note that many of the seals continued the style and motifs which were popular in the Ubaid Period. At the same time, Tobler has observed³ that important changes took place. The monochrome painted pottery, characteristic of the Ubaid Period, came to an end and a new type of pottery developed. New types of burial were introduced. Infants were less often buried in urns, and tombs were used for the first time. Technological changes begun in Levels 13 and 12 became established in this period. How the elements of continuity and of change are to be evaluated is not yet clear. Since the end of the Ubaid Period (Level 12) in Tepe Gawra had been marked by the destruction of the city, and since in Level 11a fortifications had been built, Tobler thought the Gawra Period must have been marked by turmoil which perhaps was due to an invasion of new migrating peoples. To Van Buren, on the other hand, it seems more likely that conditions were merely unsettled and that there was no ethnic change.

Certainly the culture of the North had its own distinctive character at this time, but with local variations from site to site. It showed relationship to the South at some points,

1. I follow Ann Perkins (*CAM*, p. 194) in considering that the Gawra Period includes: Nineveh—part of Level 3 and all of Level 4; Nuzi—Levels 9-8; Tepe Gawra—Levels 11a-8b; Grai Resh—part of Level 5 and Levels 4-2. For another view cf. Briggs W. Buchanan in his re-

view of *Tepe Gawra*, 2, in *JCS*, 6 (1952), 43-45.

2. "A Lesson in Early History: Tepe Gawra," *Orientalia*, N.S. 20 (1951), 443-452.

3. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 18.

but differed markedly from it. It showed relationship to the Ubaid Period which immediately preceded, yet again differed markedly. It appears to have been far less creative than the Uruk Period in the South.

CHARACTER OF THE ART

The art of the North in the Gawra Period was preponderantly formalized. The interest in naturalistic art which developed in the South at this time did not reach the North. Two seals from Billa and Brak are exceptions to this statement.⁴ The first may have been imported from the South at a later date. The seal from Brak is unique in the North at this period; but the naturalistic style may reflect southern influences which are numerous there in the Ninevite Period.⁵

Pottery

None of the designs on pottery of the Gawra Period were naturalistic. Ubaid Ware was discontinued, and no Ubaid II Ware was used in the North. Because some Uruk Ware was found in Nineveh, Tepe Gawra (?), Grai Resh, and Telul ath-Thalathat there must have been occasional relations with the South;⁶ but from the small number of similarities between the regions it may be inferred that the relations were not close.

In Tepe Gawra there were variations within the period.⁷ At first (Level 11a) there was little decoration, but four painted specimens showed that some ornamentation was used. The painting was confined to the upper part of the vessels and consisted of plain bands, squares divided by diagonals, crosshatching, an interrupted pattern of tiny zigzags, and dot-centered circles.⁸

In Levels 11 to 9 two new techniques of ornamentation became popular. First, incised, impressed, punctured, or appliqué decoration was used on cups and beakers, the cups being incised only.⁹ One example of this technique was discovered in Level 11a,¹⁰ but more came from the later levels. The most common designs were geometric (fig. 490)¹¹ and included rows of vertical lines made by regularly spaced punctures, impressed lozenges forming a design like crosshatching, rows of impressed triangles, rosettes, and an incised herringbone pattern. There were occasional zigzag patterns.¹² On one fragment of a cup was a row of appliqué leaves.¹³ Two rows of gazelles were incised on a round-bottomed jar, which must be inverted, base uppermost, so that the pattern can be seen (fig. 491).

4. Pp. 131 f.

5. *CAM*, p. 197, n. 299.

6. Lloyd, "Uruk Pottery," *Sumer*, 4 (1948), 42 f. One piece of Uruk Ware from Tepe Gawra was found by Lloyd in the Baghdad Museum: Egami in *Sumer*, 13 (1957), 5-11. In Shanidar Cave Uruk pottery was also found. The excavators were uncertain how much earlier the burnished ware which was found there should be dated: Solecki in *Sumer*, 8 (1952), 156 f.

7. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 151-159.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 153, pls. CXL1, no. 339; CXL11, nos. 345, 353; CXL111, no. 357.

9. There were some examples already in Level 13 (*ibid.*, p. 141), but they were few in number and such technique did not become an accepted style until this period.

10. *Ibid.*, pl. LXXIX, c and pp. 152 f.

11. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. LXXIX, d.

12. *Ibid.*, pl. LXXX, a.

13. *Ibid.*, pl. LXXIX, a, 1.

Second, painting was reintroduced on a few vases, with predominantly simple designs. There was a band of crosshatching,¹⁴ triangles filled with crosshatching (fig. 492),¹⁵ lines, dots, and random smears on the surface.¹⁶ Representational designs appeared on two sherds, a water bird on one (fig. 493), and on the other (fig. 494)¹⁷ a design about whose significance Tobler was uncertain, though he thought it probably had a religious meaning, perhaps portraying a procession. The design pictures three men, hands upraised, two of them holding branches or palms. The object held by the third is broken away. In the spaces between them are curious bipeds which may be birds. Two triangles filled with crosshatching are set on the opposite side of this vase, and between the triangles is a branch or palm. The crude drawing of these figures represents an interest in schematized and geometric patterns inherited from the Ubaid Period.

One bowl had been decorated both with paint and with crudely modeled figures (fig. 495). Round spots of reddish-brown paint covered the interior, while smears of the same color were scattered over the outside. In a semicircle below the rim on the inside were a number of crudely modeled figures. A ram can be clearly identified, and the others have been thought to represent a sheep and a dog. A central figure was broken off in antiquity. Tobler hazarded a guess that this was a shepherd and that the design had been intended for a pastoral scene.

On an incense burner from Level 11 four holes were set close together, the lower two rectangular, the upper two triangular (fig. 496). On the opposite side was a large square opening, presumably to permit a hand to be inserted while the vessel was in use. The triangular windows of this censer recall similar forms on censers of both North and South in the Ubaid Period (figs. 147, 237).

Incised lines were the only form of decoration used on pottery from Tepe Gawra, Levels 8*b* and *c*.¹⁸

The pottery from Nineveh which belongs to this period was also predominantly undecorated, though there were some examples of incised decoration.¹⁹ For some pots combed straight and wavy lines were used. On others there was hatching, crosshatching, tiny crescents, triangles,²⁰ or the cable pattern.²¹ A group of bowls which the excavators thought were for dedicatory purposes lacked decoration.²²

Seals

While there was no continuity in pottery in the North from the Ubaid Period to the Gawra Period, in Tepe Gawra the glyptic of the closing levels of the Ubaid Period persisted with few changes. In other sites the continuity is not evident.

14. *Ibid.*, pl. CXLVIII, no. 433.

15. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. CLII, nos. 521, 523-525 and p. 155.

16. *Ibid.*, pls. CXLIV, nos. 375, 383; CXLV, nos. 395, 396; CXLVII, no. 412.

17. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 155, 157.

18. Dorothy Cross in *Tepe Gawra*, I, 41 and pl. LXIII,

no. 33.

19. Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 (1933), 163-170 and pls. L-LII.

20. *Ibid.*, pl. XLIX, no. 21.

21. *Ibid.*, pl. XLIX, no. 37.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 168.

In Tepe Gawra no cylinder seals of this period were found, but stamp seals were very popular in the early part of the period. As the period drew to a close their popularity declined, even though other artifacts found in excavation attest that there was no lessening of prosperity in the community. The excavators concluded that the decrease of interest in seals reflected not a decline in culture but a shift in technological emphasis. There was primarily an internal rather than an external cause for the change.²³

Geometric designs continued to be popular, and many of the same patterns which Ubaid artists had employed were still in use in the Gawra Period. Among them was crosshatching, as in fig. 177, appearing in the Gawra Period as in fig. 497.²⁴ "Quartered-circle designs" continued popular, and some of the same variations which had been used earlier appeared in the Gawra Period. For example, the four quarters of the cross again were filled with chevrons (fig. 498), as they had been in fig. 178, or with parallel lines (fig. 499), as they had been in fig. 179. Or at times they were filled with triangles while the arms of the cross were filled with hatching (fig. 500), only a variant of fig. 180 of the Ubaid Period. The dot-centered circles from whose central point radiated rays in the Ubaid Period (fig. 181) appeared in the Gawra Period in such a form as fig. 501. Again it is probable that the design had solar significance. Among the seals with "center-line designs" the form where the center line joined opposing groups of chevrons, as in the Ubaid impression of fig. 182, did not continue in the Gawra Period; but the herringbone pattern of fig. 183 was popular in both the Ubaid and Gawra Periods. Indeed, fig. 183 is an example from the Gawra Period, shown in Chapter 3 because Tobler said that similar forms were found in Ubaid levels but he did not illustrate them. Similar to fig. 184, called by Tobler a "sprig design," was fig. 502, of the Gawra Period. The "chevron-center designs" of the Ubaid Period (fig. 185) appeared in the Gawra Period as in fig. 503. The central square formed by "inverted quadrantal arcs" (fig. 186) became in the Gawra Period the more symmetrical form of fig. 504; and the four-petaled rosettes or "quatrefoil designs" of fig. 187 appeared in the less well-executed design of fig. 505. Thus the amount of continuity between the two periods is impressive.

There are, however, a few designs which appeared only in levels of the Gawra Period. For example, there were "triangular designs" in which rows of triangles with their points opposed (fig. 506) were set across the face of the impression. Among the "designs of segmented circles," those in which the arcs formed a central triangle appeared only in the Gawra Period (fig. 507).²⁵ One design from Level 11a was thought by Tobler to resemble later representations of reed huts (fig. 508). Perhaps a five-petaled rosette was intended by a drill-hole design (fig. 509).

There were parallels also with representational figures of the Ubaid Period. All were highly stylized. On seals or seal impressions where single human figures appeared, the torsos are often drawn as triangles, with the heads as a single oblique line, as they had been in the Ubaid Period.²⁶ On one seal such a man carries an object in the shape of a hatched

23. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 175 f.

24. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. CLVIII, nos. 6, 10 and p. 179.

25. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. CLXI, no. 60.

26. *Ibid.*, pls. CLXII, nos. 77, 79, 80; CLXIII, nos. 81, 85.

The torsos of the figures on plate CLXIII, nos. 82, 84 are not triangular.

ellipse (fig. 510). Another seal with identical design was found in Ubaid levels.²⁷ A man with a triangular torso and a head drawn as an oblique line brandishes a club and wears a sash tied around his waist on a fragmentary impression of the Gawra Period (fig. 511). On two or perhaps three seals or impressions a man appears before an altar. The importance of this design has already been discussed in the chapter on the Ubaid Period.²⁸ In the Gawra Period the altar took two forms, the horned altar of fig. 191, and one rectangular in shape (fig. 512).²⁹

In this period sexual intercourse was directly pictured (fig. 513)³⁰ for the first time, and beside the erotic figures were placed supplementary forms, one or more of which may be animals' heads. In the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr Periods such forms by allusion seemed to suggest the sacrifice of the animals, and to carry the implication of "death." So the design, as often, may be a complex mingling of "life" and "death" motifs. Very similar is fig. 514,³¹ where beside the couple is a snake, set abstractly in the field. Since the sacrificial cult was the theme of the impressions of figs. 191 and 512, it is possible that these erotic scenes too were drawn from temple ritual, and are an evidence of sacred prostitution. Many other designs are pure abstractions, however, so these may simply be saying "life" in unmistakable language.

On fig. 515 an animal's head accompanies two male figures, one of whom carries a bident. Four male figures follow each other in a procession on fig. 516,³² the significance of which is not clear. Perhaps they are worshipers carrying bags on their backs as offerings to a shrine, or they may be captives with their hands tied behind them. In either case the motif recalls similar themes on seals of the Uruk Period, though here the technique is entirely different. Below the figures are two large disks and portions of rectangles and triangles. The rectangle resembles the altar of fig. 512, and similar disks and triangles accompanied a sacrificial scene on figs. 190, 191, as Tobler pointed out.³³ Possibly, then, these forms are an abbreviated way of referring to the sacrificial cult. Tobler thinks the sacrificial cult was probably also in the mind of the artist who conceived a seal from one of the tombs (fig. 517), on which a human figure with one arm raised follows a horned quadruped (perhaps a cow or a bull). Over the animal is a star or perhaps a solar form.

On a seal and a seal impression a man appears accompanied by a wild animal (e.g. fig. 518).³⁴ The man's head on fig. 518 is formed by an oblique line; his hand has three fingers in accordance with the convention which had been used in schematized art as early as the Hassunah Period. Tobler compared this figure to the dancing men on figs. 195 and 196 of the Ubaid Period, one of which may have been intended to be ithyphallic and thus a representation of fertility. There is nothing which suggests that the man of fig. 518 is ithyphallic, but perhaps as a dancing figure he too may have suggested fertility. The wild animal in this, as in earlier periods, probably suggested both fertility and "death,"

27. *Ibid.*, p. 182.

28. Pp. 34-36.

29. Whether an altar is before the man in *ibid.*, pl. CLXIII, no. 84 is not clear; cf. p. 183.

30. Cf. *Tepe Gawra*, I, pls. LV, b, and LVIII, no. 41, where a similar impression from Level 8 is pictured.

31. Cf. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. CLXIII, no. 88.

32. The excavators (*ibid.*, p. 184) thought the original seal might have had yet another male figure.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

34. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. CLXIV, no. 97 and pp. 184 f.

the latter by virtue of the underlying reference to the chase. The scene may be considered, then, a juxtaposition of abstract figures bearing the composite significance of fertility and "death."

At least fourteen examples of horned wild animals³⁵ occur on seals or impressions with the animals either shown singly or accompanied by small supplementary figures, as, for example, by a tree (fig. 519) or an animal's head (fig. 520). In fig. 521 the symbolism of the tree was intimately associated with the animal since the animal's horns are shaped like a tree. Such forms, however, are not new in this period, but serve to recall the ambivalence of the symbol which at times embodies ideas of "life," emphasized by the tree, at times of "death," emphasized by the animal's head. On two examples dogs appeared alone (figs. 522, 523). That the ferocity of the dog, and by allusion the might it symbolized, was restrained is suggested by the leash on the second of these objects. What is perhaps a reclining sheep appeared on one seal from a tomb,³⁶ and a bear was represented on another seal impression.³⁷

On twelve seals or seal impressions pairs of animals are shown together.³⁸ We recall that on seals of the Uruk Period in the South the pairing of figures was a recurrent form. It is only in this period in the North, however, that it becomes a popular form. The fact that five of these designs present a saluki with a horned animal (e.g. fig. 524)³⁹ or fox (e.g. fig. 525)⁴⁰ is interesting. Here the hunter and the hunted are juxtaposed. Yet, as in the Uruk Period, sometimes pairs of identicals are presented. In two cases there are bison (e.g. fig. 526),⁴¹ in another salukis (fig. 527), and in another sheep (fig. 528). Sheep are found also on two other impressions (e.g. fig. 529)⁴² where they stand before a U-shaped mark which Tobler thought might represent a stall. Another possibility is that the mark was a schematized representation of a shrine. If Tobler is correct that this is a stall, the byre scenes on cylinder seals of both the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr Periods in the South offer fuller instances of the same motif; if, on the other hand, this is a shrine, this theme is common in Jemdet Nasr levels in the South. On a single design the pair consists of lions, their bodies crossed, while possibly an ibex's head is in the field (fig. 530). It may be inferred, then, that no single explanation of the setting of objects in pairs is always valid; certainly not that these picture the divine bride and groom. That "death" comes to expression seems in some cases clear. That fertility or "life" is intended in some, if not in all, is equally probable.

Some seals or seal impressions picture a number of animals together. On one there is a file of three ibexes (fig. 531). Most popular are ibexes followed by salukis (fig. 532),⁴³ in one instance accompanied by three ibex heads (fig. 533). Above an ibex and two small kneeling

35. *Ibid.*, pls. CLXV, nos. 106, 108, 112, 113, 114, 115; CLXVI, nos. 116, 117, 118, 120, 125, 127; CLXVII, nos. 131, 136.

36. *Ibid.*, pl. CVI, no. 38 and p. 87.

37. *Ibid.*, pl. CLXVII, no. 137 and p. 187.

38. *Ibid.*, pls. CLXVII, nos. 142, 143, 144; CLXVIII, nos. 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 152, 153, 154.

39. *Cf. ibid.*, pl. CLXVIII, nos. 145, 147 and p. 188.

40. *Cf. ibid.*, pl. CLXVIII, no. 154 and p. 188.

41. *Cf. ibid.*, pl. CLXVII, no. 143 and p. 187.

42. *Cf. ibid.*, pl. CLXVIII, no. 150 and p. 188.

43. *Cf. ibid.*, pls. CLXVIII, no. 156; CLXIX, nos. 159, 160, 163, 164, 166.

animals are a pair of fish (fig. 534). Seven animals which may have been boars occur on another impression (fig. 535). Animals' heads alone occur on eight examples (e.g. fig. 536).⁴⁴ Vultures are ready to strike the ibexes on two impressions (e.g. fig. 537).⁴⁵ This is clearly but a variant of the ibexes followed by salukis. The design on one seal impression was a pair of fish (fig. 538). Copulating snakes appeared on two seal impressions (e.g. fig. 539).⁴⁶ On three others were scorpions (e.g. fig. 540).⁴⁷

Few seals were found in other sites. The seals that came from Nineveh appeared in levels which had been so disturbed by both ancient and modern intrusive digging that it was difficult to date them. Seal impressions, mostly from cylinder seals, were found, and a few cylinder seals themselves. They have been attributed to the Ninevite Period and will be considered later.⁴⁸ On the impression of a stamp seal (fig. 541) two animals were set one above the other, the clearer perhaps being a humped ox. This is comparable to fig. 526 from Tepe Gawra. For the most part there are few resemblances between objects from Tepe Gawra and Nineveh at this time. On an impression of a stamp seal from Nuzi (fig. 543) was a rosette of novel design. A stamp seal with indeterminate design and a seal impression with the indistinct outline of a human figure came from Grai Resh.⁴⁹ Again, there was little similarity with objects from Tepe Gawra.

A cylinder seal from Billa and a stamp seal from Brak have naturalistic designs which resemble those of the Uruk Period in the South, but which are unique in the North at this period. On the seal from Billa (fig. 544),⁵⁰ the central figure is a shrine flanked by ringed poles. Three worshipers approach it from the right, the first and third being naked, the middle clad in a short skirt decorated with crosshatching. The first carries what appears to be an exaggeratedly large string of beads, the third a comparable girdle decorated with crosshatching. Both the string of beads and the girdle are tasseled at each end. The object carefully held by the second man is not clear. Two heavy disk-like objects are on his shoulders. At the left of the shrine a boat approaches. Two naked figures pilot the boat, and an indistinct object is in the middle. Above it stands another naked figure, left hand outstretched toward the shrine. Clearly this scene pictures ritual which is comparable to scenes on cylinder seals of the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr Periods on which officiants bring offerings to shrines or stand on boats.⁵¹ The prow and stern of this boat terminate in leafy branches, as on the boat of fig. 282 of the Uruk Period. A boat is shown approaching a shrine on the Jemdet Nasr seal of fig. 367, but this was accompanied not by a procession of men but by animals, perhaps indicating animal sacrifice. The men who approach the shrine on fig. 544 are engaging in ritual other than animal sacrifice. Since they carry beads

44. Cf. *ibid.*, pls. CLXIX, no. 169; CLXX, nos. 170-172 and pp. 189 f.

45. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. CLXX, no. 174 and p. 190. In no. 174 an ibex's head appears in the field.

46. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. CLXX, no. 180 and p. 190.

47. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. CLXX, nos. 181, 183 and p. 190.

48. P. 143.

49. Seton Lloyd, "Iraq Government Soundings at Sinjar," *Iraq*, 7 (1940), pl. II, no. 5: 19, 20 and p. 16.

50. Cf. Andrae, *Die ionische Säule*, pp. 39 f. Frankfurt, *Cyl. Seals*, p. 19, pl. III, d. Andrae assigned this seal to Tepe Gawra, but Speiser, in a kind personal letter, informs me that it was found in Billa, in a level which "dates to the Middle Assyrian Period, say 1300 B.C." This only means, however, that it was used and reused for a long time. He feels confident that it originated in the Prehistoric Period.

51. Pp. 68, 99 f.

and a girdle it is unmistakable that these are cultic objects and not merely used as decoration. The exaggerated size of these beads has a parallel in the necklace of fig. 281. Frankfort raises the question of whether the heavy objects on the shoulders of the middle figure reflect the stones which were tied to the feet of Gilgamesh to enable him to attain the depths of the primeval waters in his search for the tree of life. Be this as it may, the scene does not recur in either North or South at any period. It is another of those isolated scenes which possibly reflect a myth, such as have already been noted on southern seals of the Uruk Period. How this seal reached northern Mesopotamia is not known.

On the seal from Brak (fig. 542) five hinds rest underneath trees and beside plants on which they seem to be feeding. The design is delightfully naturalistic and recalls the southern cylinder seals where animals were accompanied by trees and shrubs.⁵² Since it has stamp form but is still naturalistic it does not reflect the style of the South at this period. It is another of those unique objects which present a puzzle so far unsolved.

Figurines

In the Gawra Period female figurines were no longer used. A few did appear in Tepe Gawra, but it seemed to the excavators that they had originated in earlier periods and were intrusive in the later levels.⁵³ There was one figurine of a male, represented as ithyphallic, which is emphasized by a spot of paint at the end of the phallus (fig. 545). An Object shaped like a foot was found.⁵⁴ Whether this had been broken off a larger figure or had been made to be used abstractly could not be determined because of the condition of the object.

Animal figurines were numerous in Tepe Gawra, but all are crude. Most of those which can be identified are of sheep (fig. 546).⁵⁵ The thick wool of a figurine from Level 8c is represented by large pellets of clay along its back, a device which is not successful.⁵⁶ On one, perhaps a saluki (fig. 547), lines had been painted on the sides and around the neck. One spout for a theriomorphic vessel appeared.⁵⁷ There are no boars or pigs, no cows or bulls, no bird. One small animal figurine of copper, the species not distinguishable, was found in Nuzi.⁵⁸

Beads and Miscellaneous Objects

In the Gawra Period most of the beads from Tepe Gawra were plain, but on a few was engraved decoration (e.g. fig. 548),⁵⁹ and four were unusual in shape. There was a square with knobs at all corners, a circle, a rectangle, and a square on which an animal was engraved.⁶⁰ One shaped like a leaf came from Nuzi.⁶¹

Many of the pendants, which were often strung with the beads, were ornamented. There

52. Pp. 63 f.

53. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 165.

54. *Ibid.*, pl. CLIII, no. 11 and p. 165.

55. Cf. *ibid.*, pls. LXXXII, a, 2; c; LXXXIII, a.

56. *Tepe Gawra*, 1, pl. xxxiv, c, 8.

57. *Ibid.*, pl. CLIV, no. 22 and pp. 166 f.

58. Starr, *Nuzi*, 1, 19.

59. Cf. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pls. CLXXI, nos. 9, 12, XCII, a, 2, 4 and p. 193.

60. *Ibid.*, pl. CVI, nos. 40-43 and p. 88.

61. Starr, *Nuzi*, 2, pl. 55, g.

were linear designs (e.g. fig. 549),⁶² as in earlier periods. Some were ring-shaped,⁶³ or shaped like a spiral (fig. 550), and one was S-shaped (fig. 551). Rosettes of different shapes came from the tombs (e.g. fig. 553).

Representational forms also were used. Two pendants from Tepe Gawra were shaped like acorns (e.g. fig. 552),⁶⁴ though oaks now are known only in the mountains and highlands to the north and east. Whether then there were oaks nearby is not known. There were other pendants in the form of a vase,⁶⁵ a dog,⁶⁶ a wasp,⁶⁷ a beetle,⁶⁸ a calf's head,⁶⁹ and a hoof of a cow or bull.⁷⁰ Three were birds, two of them doves and the third perhaps a duck.⁷¹

Other ornamented artifacts which were perforated probably had been attached to clothing. Most common were rosettes (e.g. figs. 554,⁷² 555⁷³), which sometimes were designed simply, sometimes elaborated with pendent ribbons embossed with the herringbone pattern. The rosettes to which ribbons were added were not perforated, and how they were used is not known. There were twenty crescents (e.g. fig. 556). One ivory pin made of a boar's tusk was set with lozenge-shaped inlays (fig. 557). The shaft of another pin of similar material was bent in a zigzag, perhaps not to serve any decorative purpose but to make it stay in place in the hair.⁷⁴ The most unusual ornament was a delicately made electrum wolf's head, its mouth open showing teeth made of electrum wire (fig. 558).⁷⁵

In Tepe Gawra spindle whorls were common in the Gawra Period. In the early part of the period plain whorls were exceptional. After Level 11 there were fewer whorls, and more of them were undecorated. Of those which bore decoration some had short incised lines on the edge or on one surface, or there was a series of punctures, or several bosses (fig. 559). A stone spindle whorl was rectangular in shape, and across it were drawn diagonal lines.⁷⁶

In this period gaming pieces were preponderantly of stone, and consisted chiefly of spheres, disks, and hemispheres, though there were still a few terra-cotta pieces.⁷⁷ A probably complete set made of alabaster, consisting of four spheres, three hemispheres, and two hemispheres with conical knobs, was found near the hands of a child in one grave. Since objects like these were made of varying kinds of stone, whose weight differed markedly, since weights would probably have been made of a heavier stone than the alabaster of this set, and since alabaster wears and scratches easily, the excavators felt confident that this set could not be weights, and were more assured in calling them gaming pieces.

At the very end of the period, in Level 8 of Tepe Gawra, fourteen model wheels oc-

62. Cf. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. CLXXIII, nos. 37, 43 and pp. 194-196.

63. *Ibid.*, pl. CLXXIII, no. 42.

64. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. LVI, c, 3 and pp. 89, 197.

65. *Ibid.*, pl. CVI, no. 45 and p. 89.

66. *Ibid.*, pl. CLXXIV, no. 62.

67. *Ibid.*, pl. CVI, no. 46.

68. *Ibid.*, pl. CLXXV, no. 75 and p. 199.

69. *Ibid.*, pl. LVI, c, 1.

70. *Ibid.*, pl. CVII, no. 47.

71. *Ibid.*, pl. CLXXV, nos. 64-66.

72. Cf. *ibid.*, pls. LVIII, a, 2; b; LIX, a, 6-9; CVII, nos. 55-57; CVIII, no. 58; CLXXV, no. 74.

73. Cf. *ibid.*, pls. LVIII, a, 1, 3; CVII, no. 54.

74. *Ibid.*, pl. CV, no. 30 and p. 86.

75. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. CVIII, no. 65 and p. 92.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 205, pl. CLXXIX, no. 49.

77. *Ibid.*, pp. 170 f., 205.

curred. None has been illustrated from these levels, and none was found attached to any vehicle. It has been assumed, however, that they presuppose the introduction of the chariot, which was still quite uncommon, but which became typical of the civilization of later periods so that by Level 6 (the Akkad Period) sixty-three model wheels were found.⁷⁸

Two tiny ointment or kohl vases of black steatite came to light, the first decorated with a herringbone pattern, the second with three bands of crosshatching (fig. 560).

The strata at Tepe Gawra which belong to the Gawra Period produced examples of the "hut" or "eye" symbol, mostly of terra cotta but a few of stone.⁷⁹ Another example came from Grai Resh.⁸⁰ Most of these examples were hollow and had either a rounded top with two holes or a curved top forming two rings or volutes. On some examples there were faint grooves crossing between the volutes and leading diagonally to their narrow waists (fig. 561). Such objects will be discussed further when we consider the many examples found in a temple of the Ninevite Period at Brak.⁸¹ In Tepe Gawra none was found after the Gawra Period.

Clay objects with a flat base and two horn-like projections were found in the Gawra Period. Similar objects had appeared first in the Ubaid Period. One from Level 11 (fig. 562)⁸² was illustrated. Tobler says that the horns were always set, not in the center, but above the straight edge of the base. Several holes were bored in each, and on some there was a pair of diagonal holes below each horn and three such holes in front; one specimen (from Level 12, the Ubaid Period) had a pair of horizontal holes on each side. Perhaps these provided means of attaching the objects to a base or a wall. Another type of object had a solid hemispherical base surmounted by a flattened knob (fig. 563). Tobler had no idea of the purpose of either type, and grouped them together under the general heading "Cult Objects (?)."

Five bone tubes which served as flute-like instruments were found (fig. 564).⁸³ One of these was undecorated, and on a second only simple lines were incised around the surface. Deep bands of crosshatching, separated and bordered by simple lines, decorated a third. On the fourth and fifth the decoration consisted of a rectangle surmounted by a triangle, a combination which was used in the Ubaid Period on a beaker (fig. 146), an incense burner (fig. 147), and a stone ointment vessel (fig. 149). This association led the excavator to consider the triangle and rectangle significant. However, he believed that the other designs were not intended to be decorative but to provide the musician with a ribbed surface for gripping the instrument. Since the same types of design appeared on amulets which were surely potent and also on beads, it is less clear that the designs are solely utilitarian. Whatever utilitarian function they may have had, it is probable that the designs often were considered potent, and that potency was desired for almost every area of living in the prehistoric periods.

78. *Ibid.*, p. 167; cf. *Tepe Gawra*, 1, 75 f.

79. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 171-173; cf. *Tepe Gawra*, 1, 99 f. and pl. XLIV, c.

80. Lloyd in *Iraq*, 7 (1940), 19, pl. III, no. 7: 1.

81. Pp. 149-153.

82. Cf. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 173.

83. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 214 f.

Temple Architecture

Symbolism in temple architecture in the Gawra Period took three forms. The abstract number three was imposed on some buildings so that temples of tripartite form continued to be built. Niches were constructed in the walls, and the corners of some of the temples were oriented to the cardinal points of the compass.

In Tepe Gawra temples in tripartite form were found in Levels 11*a*, 11, 10, 9, 8*c*, and 8*b*. The temple of Level 9 (fig. 565)⁸⁴ embodied all three symbolic forms and will be used here as illustration. This tripartite temple measured 13 by 11.40 meters. It occupied a central place in the city, and its corners were oriented to the cardinal points of the compass. Its main entrance was on one of the short sides, and before it was a three-sided court or porch which may have been roofed but probably was open to the sky. Thus the main sanctuary was protected by a narthex. The form of the temple contrasts with that of the Northern Temple of Level 13 at Tepe Gawra (fig. 236), the temples at Abu Shahrain (fig. 238) during the Ubaid Period, and with the southern temples at Warka and Uqair (figs. 290, 290-a, 291, 294) during the Uruk Period. In those temples the principal entrance was on one of the long sides, and the worshipers had to pass through a room and turn before facing the cultic center. The use of a narthex is another means of protecting the cultic center. This form was anticipated in a less clear way in the Ubaid temples of Levels 19 and 18 at Tepe Gawra.⁸⁵ There is consequently continuity from the earlier period. In the sanctum, close to the entrance, was a roughly rectangular podium measuring 2.70 by 1.46 meters, with a maximum height of 6 centimeters. On its slightly concave top was incised a rectangle with a small projecting rectangle at one end (fig. 566).⁸⁶ The excavators suspected that a stylized human figure was intended by the shape of this podium, but it seems more probable that the projection either marked the location where a priest stood to perform a particular rite or designated the spot where some ritualistic object was to be placed. At the center of the podium were marks of fire, and around it were several layers of ashes. Doubly-recessed niches were built into the short walls at either side of the entrance court or porch. Three such niches were in each of the other three outer walls. In Room 902, one of the side rooms near the entrance, was a central wall which probably served as a support for a staircase. In this room were found many fragments of seal impressions all made from the same stamp seal (fig. 534), which Tobler thought must have belonged to an official of the temple.⁸⁷ In a later remodeling, the temple was enlarged by the addition on the northwest side of Room 904, which also had a podium against one wall, a podium which may have been in use before the room was built. Still later this room, together with all the rooms in the temple except the main sanctuary and Room 902, was blocked off. There is no evidence that the temple was desecrated at this time, but apparently it was falling into disuse as the period to which it belonged drew to a close.

Above a tomb in Level 10 a shrine was built which is unique, since no other contem-

84. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. II and pp. 7-9.

85. *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 46.

86. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 7.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 8, n. 6; Muller and Bache in *BASOR*, no. 54 (1934), 15.

porary shrine has been found which was intended to honor and protect a burial. The building (fig. 567)⁸⁸ had a well-centered entrance, flanked on both sides by a shallow reveal or niche, and its corners were oriented to the cardinal points of the compass. Inside the building, in its rear wall but a little to the north of center, was a niche which the excavators thought probably had been balanced by a second niche at the south end of this wall, though it now is destroyed. A pavement one meter thick, evidently designed to protect the tomb of the person buried beneath it from desecration, covered the floor of the shrine.

Not all the temples of Tepe Gawra in this period possessed the tripartite form. In Level 8c the Northern Shrine and the Central Shrine each consisted of a long cultic chamber whose principal entrance was on one of the long sides.⁸⁹ The entrance to the Northern Shrine opened off an anteroom, and the entrance to the Central Shrine opened off a narthex, thus in both cases protecting the sanctuary. There were niches in the walls of the buildings. A podium similar in shape to the podium in the temple of Level 9 was found in the Northern Shrine, but the corners were rounded and the edges of this podium sloped to the floor in a cyma reversa curve.

Too few remains of the Red Eye-Temple from Brak have been discovered to determine its form.⁹⁰ Only a stratum of red bricks one meter in thickness, set directly on the ground, was attributable to the Gawra Period. In Level 2 at Grai Resh a building was found whose plan resembled the tripartite form of temple architecture and whose walls were niched. Because of the diversity of storage jars, tools, and other equipment which were found within it, scholars have doubted that it was a temple.⁹¹

Tombs

Tombs seem to have been constructed in Mesopotamia for the first time in the Gawra Period. They have been found only in Tepe Gawra, where eighty tombs came to light.⁹² Since they were sunk in the ground and thus crossed a number of strata, it was not easy to determine the level to which any tomb belonged. The objects found within the tombs had fewer parallels with those found outside than was expected, so the excavators considered the possibility that the tombs were constructed by a people foreign to Tepe Gawra. They thought it more probable, however, that the bodies of the eighty-seven persons buried here represented the wealthy upper class of the population, such as priests, governing officials, and wealthy individuals.⁹³ Seven tombs were of a sacrificial character, and were sunk below temple walls or floors.

88. Cf. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 11 f.

89. *Tepe Gawra*, 1, pl. xi and pp. 24-30.

90. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), 32, 35-38, 56.

91. Lloyd in *Iraq*, 7 (1940), 15-18. *CAM*, p. 177. A building of unusual type, regarded by the Japanese excavators as a temple, was found at Telul ath-Thalathat: Egami in *Sumer*, 13 (1957), 9 f. See also Namio Egami, *Telul Eth Thalathat*, pp. 6 f., pls. xxxi-xxxvi, fig. 47.

While in this building there was a long court with an altar against its short, south wall, and rooms on either side, two of the rooms on the long east side had no door into the temple, but were entered only from the outside. The entrance, subsequently closed, had been on the long east side, in front of these rooms.

92. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 51-97.

93. *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 56 f., 67, 69 f.

Like most of the temples, the majority of the tombs were oriented with their corners to the cardinal points of the compass.⁹⁴ Most were rectangular or oblong in plan.⁹⁵ Some tombs may have had no cover, but others were roofed with covers of mud bricks, stone slabs, matting, or wood.⁹⁶ In one case the cover is especially interesting since the builder went to the trouble of creating a roof in the form of a corbeled arch.⁹⁷ Two other tombs were constructed with gabled roofs.⁹⁸ In these three cases, because extra effort was required to achieve such forms on underground structures where they would not be visible to the living, it is probable that the forms conveyed a sense of sanctity.

USES OF ORNAMENTED ARTIFACTS

What seemed to the excavators a shift in technological emphasis led to a decrease in the amount of pottery and seals used in both graves and tombs in Tepe Gawra in the Gawra Period.⁹⁹ At the beginning of the period both decorated and undecorated pots were used in the graves,¹ but as the period advanced, decorated pots became scarce. Only one is illustrated from Level 10.² Most of the pottery in graves, whether decorated or plain, was used for urn burials, a considerable number of which were sacrificial in character. Likewise in the tombs, while pottery was fairly common in Levels 11*a* and 11, only two pots were found in Level 10, one in Level 9, and none in Levels 8*c* and *b*. Only three pottery vessels from the tombs of Levels 11*a* and 11 bore painted decoration. The designs consisted of simple geometric patterns.³ Stone vessels appeared in the tombs of Levels 10–8, but they were undecorated.⁴ Three pots were found either inside the temple of Level 11 or against its wall. One of these bore simple decoration, the other two were undecorated.⁵ Most of the pottery, whether decorated or undecorated, came from occupational areas. It is impossible to determine how much potency the designs on pottery had, whatever their location. Since decoration was much less common in these periods than heretofore, one gets the impression that such symbols were less alive than they had been earlier. An incense burner was found in occupational levels.⁶ Since this clearly was a ritualistic object, the rectangular windows surmounted by triangles (forms which had seemed significant in earlier levels) may well have had symbolic significance. Such an occurrence of an obviously cultic object in an occupational area warns us against concluding too hastily that other decoration found in similar locations lacked religious significance. In most cases it is impossible to determine when the designs were considered potent and when they were not.

Most of the seals in the Gawra Period came from occupational areas.⁷ None came from graves, and only six from tombs. Of the latter, three came from tombs of Level 11, two

94. *Ibid.*, pp. 70 f. A few exceptions were noted.

95. *Ibid.*, p. 71. Three tombs were semicircular, and one elliptical.

96. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

97. *Ibid.*, Tomb G 36–32.

98. *Ibid.*, p. 75; nos. 45 and 107.

99. *Ibid.*, p. 176.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

2. *Ibid.*, pl. CXLVIII, no. 429.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 79 f.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 81–84.

5. *Ibid.*, pls. CXLIV, no. 376; CXLV, no. 391; CXLVI, no. 402 and p. 240.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

from Level 10, and one from Level 8c. The three from Level 11 bore geometric designs, one an unusual comb pattern, and two variations of the "quartered circle designs." On one seal from Level 10, cut with a drill, a man appeared, arms upraised, advancing to the left. A second seal of lapis lazuli was engraved with the reclining figure of a quadruped, perhaps a sheep. A single seal from Level 8c consisted of an ivory plaque, rectangular in shape, on which a human figure with one arm upraised followed a cow or bull over whose back was a star or solar form (fig. 517).⁸

While pottery and seals were used sparingly if at all in the graves and tombs, beads were used in great quantities. On the other hand, they were rare in occupational areas.⁹ In the tombs they were found in such locations that it was clear that they had adorned almost every part of the body. In one tomb they had been sewn to cloth in a black-and-white herringbone pattern and probably had been used as a girdle. Beads probably had been used on a girdle in a second tomb, but their arrangement in this instance was uncertain. The number of beads in single tombs varied from a few dozen to tens of thousands. The largest number found in a single tomb was 25,192.¹⁰ Beads were common but less numerous in graves.

Pendants also appeared in tombs. An acorn identical in shape with one from occupational areas (fig. 552) indicates that ornaments from occupational areas should not be lightly dismissed as "purely decorative." Ninety pendants from the single tomb of an adult in Level 10 were golden loops with a long tang pierced for suspension. They seem to have been used as a bracelet by the occupant of the tomb.¹¹ In such a location they may well have been both decorative and potent.

Rosettes found in the tombs had in some cases been attached to clothing or a head-dress.¹² A similar object was found lying on the skull in a grave from Level 11 which had contained the sacrificial burial of a child.¹³

An electrum wolf's head (fig. 558) was found against the wall of a tomb about 15 centimeters from the skull. It seems to have been the top of a rod or wand which lay on the arms of the skeleton. It is very probable that such a wand was desired for its potency.

SYMBOLIC ELEMENTS IN THE GAWRA PERIOD

Stylized designs comparable to those of the Hassunah, Halaf, and Ubaid Periods were so omnipresent during the Gawra Period that it is obvious that they were emotionally satisfying to the artists of the period. They were used on every kind of ornamented artifact both in circumstances where it would have been natural for them to have been potent and in other situations where it is less clear whether they had significance or not.

The erotic designs on seals of the period (figs. 513, 514) were a new means of expressing fertility. The animals' heads which accompanied them on fig. 513 are familiar from seals of the Uruk Period in the South. Thus the values of the design in no way deviated from

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 86 f.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 87 f.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 90 f.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

those which had appeared in North and South from the earliest stages of artistic development. "Life" and "death" symbols were still inextricably mingled.

Designs familiar from earlier periods were also used to express the same values. A dancing man was accompanied by a wild animal (fig. 518). Wild and therefore hunted animals appeared sometimes alone, sometimes accompanied by such other symbols as a tree or an animal's head (figs. 519, 520). Animals were pursued by salukis (figs. 532, 533), and along with such hunting scenes animals' heads (fig. 533) might be set. Instead of salukis vultures attacked ibexes on two impressions (e.g. fig. 537). On eight examples were set animals' heads alone (e.g. fig. 536). These designs gave special emphasis to the motif of aggression. Copulating snakes (fig. 539) emphasized the motif of fertility or "life."

In the Uruk Period a popular device for making symbols abstract was to set them in pairs, a practice which became popular in the North in this period. Sometimes the hunter and hunted were juxtaposed, as when a saluki pursued a horned animal (fig. 524) or fox (fig. 525). Sometimes the same kind of animal was set together in pairs, as for example, bison (fig. 526), salukis (fig. 527), or sheep (fig. 528). On one seal the bodies of lions were crossed, with what may have been an ibex's head in the field (fig. 530). Thus an interest in abstract numbers continued, expressed by this setting of symbols in pairs. That the number three was still important became evident since temples of tripartite form continued popular throughout the period.

Whether or not a myth underlay the unique cylinder seal found in Billa, it is evident that myths did not underlie the rest of the art of the Gawra Period. Ritual was reflected in some designs, notably where a man appeared before an altar (figs. 191, 512) and with arm raised following a cow or bull (fig. 517). Possibly the rite of temple prostitution underlay the erotic scenes to which reference has already been made (figs. 513, 514). Clearly, then, in the North as in the South at this period, art and ritual, not art and myth, were partners in the religion. The evidence which the people left behind demonstrates that they turned primarily to stylized art and to their cultic ceremonies for support and reassurance.

CHAPTER 8

The Ninevite Period

After the Gawra Period a new culture developed in northern Mesopotamia which was roughly contemporary with the Jemdet Nasr Period in the South.¹ Its characteristic artifacts have been found in Nineveh, Nuzi, Billa, Tepe Gawra, Grai Resh, Brak, Shaghir Bazar,² Nimrud,³ and Telul ath-Thalathat.⁴ How widely diffused was the culture is not known. Vessels in the form of chalices, such as are especially common in northern Mesopotamia at this time, have been found from Anatolia to central Iran.⁵ Since other features of Ninevite 5 pottery have not appeared in Iran, it is not certain that Iran's connection with northern Mesopotamia was close in this period.

Whereas the culture of northern Mesopotamia was homogeneous in the Hassunah, Halaf, and Ubaid Periods, in many respects such homogeneity was lacking in the Ninevite Period. The same kind of pottery was found throughout the area, but in other respects wide variations in types of artifacts appeared.

Communications with the South seem to have been more frequent at this time than during the Gawra Period. The South, however, does not seem to have inspired the culture, for both North and South have many characteristics bearing their individual stamp. The initiative for the communications between them seems to have been inspired from the South. Parallels to Jemdet Nasr pottery forms have appeared in the North, but no polychrome Jemdet Nasr Ware. In the North there were also animal-shaped stamp seals, cylinder seals, maceheads, and "hut" or "eye" symbols which were parallel to those of the Jemdet Nasr Period in the South. On the other hand, only a very few isolated pieces of Ninevite 5 Ware were found in the South.⁶

In Brak affinities with the South seem to have gone beyond the usual northern pattern. Pottery characteristic of the North appears, but in addition there are many kinds of objects which have their counterparts in the South, and the latest Eye-Temple is very similar to temples of the South. Brak is situated in the region of the Upper Khabur, at the junction of several roads for intercontinental travel. By one of these trade routes Brak had communication with the South during the Ninevite Period.⁷

1. The difficulties in determining dates have been described by Miss Perkins in *CAM*, pp. 194-197.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

3. Mallowan in *Iraq*, 12 (1950), 157.

4. Egami in *Sumer*, 13 (1957), 6 f.

5. Speiser, "The Pottery of Tell Billa," *MJ*, 23 (1933), 267.

6. *CAM*, pp. 195-197. H. Frankfort, "Vase," in Max Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, 14 (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1929), pl. 43, h, facing p. 86. Cf. Speiser in *MJ*, 23 (1933), 266 and *Tepe Gawra*, 1, 153, n. 14.

7. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), 48 f. Cf. *CAM*, p. 197, n. 299.

CHARACTER OF THE ART

Apart from objects which were influenced by the South, the ornamented artifacts of the Ninevite Period revealed a preference for schematized designs. In this respect they continued the policy which had prevailed from earliest times in the region, though they developed their own types of stylized design.

Pottery

Because the largest collection of the pottery characteristic of this period was found in Level 5 at Nineveh it has been called Ninevite 5 Ware. It appears in two types: painted vases and plain or incised vases. In most sites both types have been found together and are evidently contemporary. In Billa, however, painted and plain vases have alone been found in Level 7. In Level 6 painted ware is uncommon, while incised vases are the popular type.⁸

The syntax of the designs on Ninevite 5 painted vases shows great variety. Sometimes narrow horizontal bands which may be either continuous or in metopes encircle the body of the vase (e.g. fig. 568).⁹ At other times the designs are set in vertical panels (e.g. fig. 569).¹⁰ In bowls, the part above the greatest diameter is treated independently, while the lower part may be plain or may have a distinct design (e.g. fig. 570).¹¹ The most common design on the lower half of the vases is a row of concentric arcs which have been called festoons (e.g. fig. 571).¹² Occasionally the contour is ignored, but this is exceptional.¹³ The paint is applied in thick bands, and the designs are spaced close together. There is a boldness and elegance not found heretofore in Mesopotamian pottery.

The most popular designs on the painted vases were geometric, and for the most part familiar. Triangles were filled sometimes with crosshatching, sometimes with hatching. Sometimes they were set point to point, sometimes with the apex of one pointing to the base of the next. The design on one vase from Nineveh shows two triangles set point to point, with the base of one triangle "fringed" (fig. 572). Mallowan questioned whether the artist intended to represent flames rising from an altar.¹⁴ Lozenges were sometimes filled with crosshatching, sometimes with solid color. Zigzags, herringbone, checkerboard designs, groups of short wavy lines, circles, concentric circles, and ellipses also appeared. The same arrangement of triangles, apparently a variant of the Maltese cross, which had earlier come from Hajji Muhammed appears on one fragment from Nineveh (fig. 573). The usual form of the Maltese cross is found on another vase (fig. 574).

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 165 f. Speiser in *MJ*, 23 (1933), 252 f.

9. Cf. Hamilton in *AAA*, 19 (1932), pls. LIII, nos. 1, 2, 5, 7, 10, 11, 15; LIV, nos. 4, 6, 8; LV, no. 8; LVI, no. 1; LVII, no. 3. Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 (1933), pls. LIV, no. 5; LVIII, no. 10; LXI, nos. 2, 6, 9, 10, 15.

10. Cf. Hamilton, pls. LIII, nos. 3, 6, 9, 13; LVI, no. 6; LVII, no. 9. Mallowan, pls. LIV, nos. 1, 3; LX, no. 11.

11. Cf. Hamilton, pls. LIII, nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15; LIV, nos. 1, 7, 8; LV, no. 9. Mallowan, pl. LIV, no. 4. *Tepe Gawra*, 1, pl. LXIV, no. 42. Mallowan in *Iraq*,

4 (1937), fig. 25, nos. 1, 6.

12. Cf. Hamilton, pls. LIII, nos. 8, 12; LIV, no. 9; LV, nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7; LVII, nos. 1, 6, 7. Speiser in *MJ*, 23 (1933), pl. XLVIII, no. 1. Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 (1933), pl. LIV, nos. 2, 5; *Iraq*, 4 (1937), fig. 25, no. 3.

13. Hamilton, pl. LIII, no. 2 and p. 86. Cf. Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 (1933), pl. LIV, no. 3; and Speiser in *MJ*, 23 (1933), 252.

14. Mallowan, p. 171.

Representational designs often appear, and are preponderantly stylized. Most common are rows of quadrupeds with long slender necks and horns which often interlock. Between the necks and horns are set geometric patterns such as ellipses or rectangles filled with crosshatching, "fringed" lines, short zigzags, circles, and rows of dots (e.g. fig. 577).¹⁵ Triangles set point to point form the body of a goat in another application of the familiar geometric design (fig. 575). A goat is shown on one sherd suckling her kid (fig. 576). On many sherds rows of birds are shown, sometimes standing (e.g. fig. 578),¹⁶ sometimes in flight (e.g. fig. 579).¹⁷ On one sherd the birds have triangular bodies (fig. 580). Rows of fish are found (e.g. fig. 581),¹⁸ and what may be a palm appears on another sherd.¹⁹

Few of these artists made any attempt at naturalism, but when they did the forms are unconvincing. For example, birds sit on the tops of trees on one sherd (fig. 582), and fly in the midst of branches on another (fig. 583). An uprooted tree with leaves on the branches appears once (fig. 584). Goats are given slightly more naturalistic forms on two sherds (fig. 585).

Two different techniques were employed for decorating the incised ware. Often the designs were created by simple incision. At other times portions of the clay were cut away in bands or panels. The deepest of these sections were left undecorated, and those in relief were ornamented by incision or punctuation.

Again geometric designs were the most popular, and many of them had long been familiar. There were dot-centered circles, plain and hatched bands, zigzags, herringbone, crosshatching, lozenges (fig. 590). The examples shown were found at Billa. On sherds from Nineveh the triangle is prominent. Sometimes two hatched triangles are set point to point (e.g. fig. 586).²⁰ A new motif which has been called a "panel" design is very common (e.g. fig. 587).²¹ The vase in fig. 587, one of the most completely preserved examples of incised ware, came from Yarimjah, a site four miles south of Nineveh. The panel design consists of narrow bands of alternating rectangles and arches, framed with a motif called "feathering," a seeming variant of the herringbone pattern. The arches and rectangles are arranged in an over-all pattern, not set regularly above each other.

Representational designs are unusual on this type of pottery, but a few examples came from Nineveh. One depicts an ibex with long horns, his body filled with hatching (fig. 588). What is possibly a predatory animal appears on another sherd, only a fragment of which remains.²² Birds are shown on four specimens,²³ one of these being of especial interest (fig. 589), for on either side of the bird is what is taken to be a palm tree "or some

15. Cf. Hamilton, pls. LVI, nos. 2, 4, 7; LVII, no. 2; LIX, nos. 16, 18, 20, 21, 23, 25, 27. Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 (1933), pls. LV, no. 1; LVI, nos. 7-9, 11-14, 16-19.

16. Cf. Mallowan, pl. LVII, nos. 2, 5, 7, 9-16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24. Hamilton, pl. LIX, nos. 2-14.

17. Cf. Mallowan, pl. LVII, nos. 1, 6, 8, 17, 23. Hamilton, pl. LIII, no. 12. Mallowan thinks that some of the forms here called short zigzags or wavy lines were intended as birds on the wing (p. 171).

18. Cf. Hutchinson in *AAA*, 18 (1931), pl. xxxiii, no.

6. Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 (1933), pl. LVI, nos. 5, 6, 15. Hamilton, pl. LVII, no. 8.

19. Mallowan, pl. LVIII, no. 15 and p. 171.

20. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. LXII, no. 12. Hamilton, pl. LX, nos. 12, 13.

21. Cf. Mallowan, pl. LXII, nos. 2, 3, 5, 10, 11, 13, 15, 19, 21 and p. 174. Speiser in *MJ*, 23 (1933), pl. LXXI.

22. Hamilton, pl. LX, no. 38.

23. *Ibid.*, pls. LX, nos. 35-37; LVIII, no. 16.

ceremonial utensil."²⁴ Both bird and "trees" are highly schematized. The tops of the "trees" take the form of double volutes, later common on Ionic columns. This is probably the earliest instance of such a design in Mesopotamian art. Since palms do not grow in northern Mesopotamia it is surprising to find this design making its first appearance there.

Both painting and incision are found together on some vases from Level 7 at Tepe Gawra. An animal, perhaps a goat, is painted on one sherd. On another the design is very unclear, but it was suggested that it was a human figure.²⁵ Again incision and appliqué work were combined on a sherd with an incised plant and a snake modeled in the round.²⁶ A number of vases carry snakes modeled in the round, ordinarily set so that their heads hang over the rim. On one sherd a scorpion was set in relief above a cable moulding.²⁷ The handle of another consists of the head of a long-necked animal painted with dabs of brown.²⁸ A spout in the shape of a ram's head has also been found.²⁹

Seals

Many questions are raised by the diversity of seals from one site to another in the North in the Ninevite Period.

The seals from Nineveh have few connections with seals from other sites. The designs on seals and seal impressions from Levels 5 and 4 have been shown on two plates (figs. 591, 592). Almost all of them came from cylinder seals. For the most part the designs are geometric. Rosettes and wheels recur again and again. Concentric circles, lozenges, and ellipses are common. There are zigzags and triangles, hatching and crosshatching. Mingled with these patterns are a few highly schematized representational figures. Quadrupeds and scorpions each appear twice (figs. 591, no. 27; 592, nos. 5, 6, 8). Plant forms perhaps underlie the designs on two others (figs. 591, no. 16; 592, no. 12). Whether birds appear is debatable.³⁰ On one unique example (fig. 591, no. 15) a prostrate man is about to be attacked by an animal with horns and a long tail.³¹ All of these continued the abstract style of art which had been popular in the North from earliest times. In this period, however, the organization and spacing of motifs is often poor, and the forms are drawn without skill. Because the cylinder seal had not hitherto been known in the North, and because the same geometric motifs were especially popular on Jemdet Nasr seals in the South, it is commonly felt that the artists who cut the seals from Nineveh were influenced by the Jemdet Nasr culture.³² The designs on two examples would especially suggest such a conclusion (fig. 591, nos. 14, 19). Yet as far as motifs are concerned, the artists who made the remaining pieces might equally well have drawn from their own heritage as from their contemporaries in the South. The mood, organization, and techniques are very different from those of Jemdet Nasr artists. Possibly, therefore, the seal cutters of both Nineveh and the South were using the same vocabulary of designs independently, each with their own techniques.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

25. *Tepe Gawra*, I, pl. LXXVI, nos. 8, 9 and p. 45.

26. *Ibid.*, pl. LXXVI, no. 7 and p. 46.

27. *Ibid.*, pl. LXXVI, no. 11 and p. 46.

28. *Ibid.*, pl. LXXVII, no. 7 and p. 68.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

30. Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 (1933), 139; cf. Fig. 592, nos. 8, 9, 11.

31. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 140.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 138-141; *CAM*, p. 183.

The seals from the Ninevite Period in Tepe Gawra are different. Two cylinder seals were found; on one (fig. 593) is a geometric design of concentric circles and hatching which might conceivably reflect a tradition such as has just been described. The second³³ seems originally to have had a representational design made with a drill, but what the design was cannot be determined. All the others found are stamp seals.³⁴

Geometric designs appear on four stamp seals.³⁵ A wheel motif on one seal (fig. 594) is comparable to the designs on figs. 591, nos. 21, 28, 592, nos. 7, 18; on the Tepe Gawra seal it is an isolated symbol, while on the seals from Nineveh it forms part of a group. Another seal (fig. 595) bears a balanced curvilinear pattern departing from the usual conventions. The two others preserve a series of lines without a definite design.³⁶

Animals in different arrangements form the most popular subject of seal designs in Tepe Gawra. Especially common are animals arranged in pairs. This device, as in the Uruk and Gawra Periods, is not used in any single way, but is employed with different kinds of pairs. On three seal impressions the pairs are identicals (e.g. fig. 596),³⁷ set one above the other so that the design is reversible, a new device in Mesopotamian art. The animals face in opposite directions and a snake accompanies them on fig. 596. They may, however, face each other, as on fig. 597 where the head of each animal is turned back toward a vulture which attacks it. The attacking vulture is an overt symbol of aggression. Whether the pair of identical confronting animals also express the same idea, or on the contrary express fertility, or perhaps mutual support and reassurance, is difficult to determine. Other means of expressing aggression are employed, as when a ruminant is pursued by a carnivora (e.g. fig. 598),³⁸ when a hind is attacked by a snake (fig. 599), or when a pair of goats are shown with interlocking horns (fig. 600).³⁹ On two other designs a snake is set above a quadruped, and the animal on one of them is drawn with five legs (fig. 601).⁴⁰ The artist who made this abstract design turned not only to the device of setting figures in pairs, but also imposed the number five on this animal, following a convention of the Ubaid Period utilized in Mefesh and Nineveh, in accordance with which animals were drawn with three or five legs (figs. 203, 204).

Animals are set in a circular design twice (e.g. fig. 602),⁴¹ a continuation of a pattern which had been used in Tepe Gawra in the Ubaid Period.⁴² The crouching animals illustrated are probably dogs; the design of the seal not reproduced here is too indistinct for interpretation.

A more complex arrangement of animals appears four times. On one side of a seal

33. *Tepe Gawra*, 1, pl. LVIII, no. 42 and p. 126. A third cylinder seal (pl. LIX, no. 44) which came from Level 7 should be mentioned, though it is probably of later origin and intrusive in these levels (*CAM*, p. 185, n. 209). On it are two eagles with wings widespread and long tails. Between them are trees. They are separated by a long, arched festoon made of a "fringed" line. The arches Speiser (*Tepe Gawra*, 1, 126) thinks represent mountains. Similar forms had appeared on Jemdet Nasr seals.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 118–126; cf. pls. LVI–LVIII, nos. 4–41.

35. *Ibid.*, pl. LVI, nos. 4–7.

36. *Ibid.*, pl. LVI, nos. 4, 7.

37. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. LVII, nos. 26, 28 and p. 123.

38. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. LVII, no. 24 and p. 123.

39. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. LVIII, nos. 31, 32 and p. 124.

40. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. LVII, no. 21 and p. 123.

41. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. LVIII, no. 35 and p. 124.

42. P. 37.

inscribed on two faces a single animal appears, with a pair of animals, one behind the other, set on its reverse.⁴³ In the lower register of an impression a pair of cervidae stand back to back, with a predatory animal, perhaps a jackal, above them.⁴⁴ On another (fig. 603) a bull faces one lion and is attacked by another, shown clutching at his back. A snake is drawn above the whole group. On the fourth design many figures are too indistinct to be recognized, but a horned animal is clear, followed by another with shorter horns.⁴⁵ Animals are not only set in complex designs, however; often a single animal appears.⁴⁶ Most of them are cervidae (e.g. fig. 604), but a goat, a mouflon, and a hare are also found.⁴⁷

Human figures appear in Tepe Gawra on only two impressions from this period, both of these erotic scenes (figs. 605, 606).⁴⁸ The first is drawn too indistinctly to make the nature of the accompanying figures clear, though Speiser suggests that there are two smaller human figures on the sides facing right, and a quadruped in the field above. Behind the couple on the second is a snake, common on seals of this period from Tepe Gawra. One wonders whether here, and perhaps also on other contemporary seals, such a figure is not only a snake but also a representation of a phallus. Since the artists of this period used human figures only in erotic scenes it may perhaps be inferred that fertility or "life" was a pre-occupation of the period. It is possible that the scene may reflect a rite of sacred prostitution, as in the Gawra Period.

The seals from Billa have not yet been published, but it was reported that an ivory cylinder seal generally accompanied each body in the burials of Level 7.⁴⁹ The designs are predominantly but not exclusively geometric. A row of strongly stylized ibexes appears on one seal, and a wheel design on another seal was thought by the excavators to be a solar form.⁵⁰

Four cylinder seals and twenty-five stamp seals were found in Nuzi, so like Jemdet Nasr seals in the South that they might be imports. Highly stylized animals or fish were outlined on three of the cylinder seals. On the fourth three human figures were drawn, partly by incision, partly by a drill (fig. 609). Some of the stamp seals are shaped like animals, and on their bases are drill-hole designs which most often take the form of animals, though a few lack a definite pattern (figs. 607, 608).

The cylinder seals found in Brak seem to be a result of southern influences. Among the seals with geometric designs, an impaled cable pattern whose forms are much like eyes

43. *Ibid.*, pl. LVIII, no. 36.

44. *Ibid.*, pl. LVIII, no. 37.

45. *Ibid.*, pl. LVIII, no. 39.

46. *Ibid.*, pls. LVI, nos. 8-14; LVII, nos. 15-19 and p. 122.

47. *Ibid.*, pl. LVI, nos. 12, 13, 14.

48. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. LVIII, no. 41 and pp. 124 f. A third seal (pl. LVI, no. 3 and pp. 121 f.) perhaps is to be attributed also to Level 7, though it was picked up on the site prior to excavation so that its level of origin was not certain. It is described as follows: "Two human figures, vertically opposed, facing toward center. Legs spread, bent downwards at the knees. Arms bent at the elbows,

right ones up and left ones down. Left arm of upper figure crosses knee." The significance of this pose is not clear. Speiser doubts whether Fig. 606 is an erotic scene since the figure at the right seems bearded and that at the left is steatopygous. Since this pose is conventional for erotic scenes (cf. Fig. 513, from the Gawra Period; a seal from Tepe Giyan in Iran published by Herzfeld in *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 5 [1933], 87, fig. 14, no. 2362 with further references on p. 88; and a later clay relief from Fara [Heinrich, *Fara*, pl. 74, f]), Speiser's reservations seem unimpressive.

49. Speiser in *BASOR*, no. 42 (1931), 13.

50. Speiser in *BASOR*, no. 46 (1932), 6.

appears on one seal (fig. 610); on another is a row of crosses, with hatching in the spaces between them (fig. 611). On a seal and a seal impression appear "pigtailed figures" comparable to those on Jemdet Nasr seals in the South (e.g. fig. 612).⁵¹ Again a row of animals is used (e.g. fig. 613).⁵² What appears to have been intended for the façade of a temple or sanctuary (fig. 614)⁵³ is indicated by a series of panels separated by rows of superimposed triangles with the apex of each against the base of the next, a design found as early as the Samarran Ware, and also on pottery of this period.

Some of the stamp seals from Brak were clearly a result of influences from the Jemdet Nasr culture, while others were unlike them and seemed comparable to seals from Tepe Gawra in this period. Many of the stamp seals which betrayed southern influences have beautifully modeled animals on top, like their counterparts in the South. It is difficult to distinguish them from amulets, and they probably served as both seals and amulets. They will be described below in connection with amulets from Brak. The tops of some of the seals, however, are very simple. On the bases of some of these the similarity to Jemdet Nasr designs is striking, as when two animals are represented (e.g. fig. 615),⁵⁴ or a pair of scorpions (fig. 616), or a spider (fig. 617). The popularity of the spider as a symbolic motif is confined to the Jemdet Nasr Period in the South.⁵⁵ The bases of others, however, resemble designs on seals from Tepe Gawra. The most striking of the similarities with Tepe Gawra appear in animals with three or five legs. Two ibexes, each with three legs, are drawn on one seal (fig. 618), and an ibex with five legs surmounted by a snake appears on another (fig. 619).⁵⁶ On a seal impression the central figure is an ibex, and above its back upside down is a smaller animal with three legs,⁵⁷ another instance of imposing abstract numbers. Some animals are set in pairs, as on seals from Tepe Gawra. They may be identicals set above each other, the head of one at the tail of the other (fig. 620), or they may be arranged in reversible designs (e.g. fig. 621).⁵⁸ On some seals single animals appear (e.g. fig. 622).⁵⁹ On one reversible design not animals but two "fringed" triangles are set beside and opposed to one another, with what is perhaps a snake winding between them (fig. 623). The "fringe" pattern, popular in the Halaf Period, and used again on a vase of this period (fig. 572), is another example of a persistent geometric form, whatever the specific application in a given case may be.⁶⁰

Other seals from Brak with geometric designs are very like seals from Tepe Gawra of the late Ubaid and the Gawra Periods. A cross, its arms decorated with crosshatching, with the segments of the circle around it engraved with concentric arcs (fig. 624), resembles fig. 500 of the Gawra Period. A Maltese cross (fig. 626) can be paralleled with a seal from Tepe

51. Cf. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), pl. xxiv, no. 18. Mallowan has given a discussion of the significance of these figures on pp. 135 f.

52. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. xxi, no. 16.

53. On a fragmentary seal impression two men can be seen with arms upraised before three indistinct objects: *ibid.*, pl. xxiii, no. 1.

54. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. xviii, no. 19.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

56. Mallowan thinks the design on *ibid.*, pl. xx, no. 26 may also represent a cervoid(?) of three legs.

57. *Ibid.*, pl. xxiii, no. 5 and pp. 145 f.

58. Cf. *ibid.*, pls. xviii, no. 23; xix, no. 14.

59. Cf. *ibid.*, pls. xviii, no. 6; xix, no. 10; xx, no. 25; and the seal impression of pl. xxiv, no. 20.

60. *Ibid.*, pp. 122 f.

Gawra of the Gawra Period.⁶¹ One unusual design consists of a central line terminating in four spirals with wedges nearby in the field (fig. 625). The spirals on three potsherds found in Ubaid levels at Tepe Gawra are the closest parallels (fig. 133).

On other seal designs from Brak animals' heads are set abstractly.⁶² A unique seal may anticipate the grotesques of the Early Dynastic Period, for a horned animal is shown with rectangular body and heads at three, if not four, corners of the body.⁶³ Comparable to the hare on a seal of the Ninevite Period from Tepe Gawra is the hare drawn with lifelike details on a seal impression from Shaghir Bazar (fig. 627).

By way of summary it may be said that the Jemdet Nasr culture clearly exerted great influence on the seals of the Ninevite Period in Brak and Nuzi. How much influence there was in Nineveh is not clear. The seals from Nineveh seem to stand in a class by themselves. Between Tepe Gawra and Brak connections appear which are not explained by influence from the Jemdet Nasr culture. Both of these sites have seals which share common characteristics, some of which can be traced back to the Ubaid Period. In Brak still other seals resemble seals not of the Ninevite but of the Gawra Period in Tepe Gawra. How these differences are to be explained is not clear, but further excavation may assist in furnishing answers.

Beads, Amulets, and Miscellaneous Objects

Beads were numerous in the Ninevite Period. In Nineveh itself beads were larger than they had been earlier and some were made of shell. None has been illustrated.⁶⁴ Similarly, though beads were found in Nuzi, they have not been described or illustrated.⁶⁵ In Shaghir Bazar very small beads of quartz and carnelian were the most common. One double conoid bead was made of lapis lazuli, and several silver beads of spiral wire were fashioned with a ridge in the center and trumpet-shaped ends.⁶⁶

In Tepe Gawra, of all the beads, amulets, and miscellaneous objects found, beads were by far the most numerous, though there were fewer in this period than there had been earlier.⁶⁷ Most of these are unornamented, but a few are decorated with rather crude geometric designs (e.g. fig. 628).⁶⁸

Samples of both the decorated and undecorated beads which were found by the hundreds of thousands in the Gray Eye-Temple in Brak are shown in fig. 631.⁶⁹ Fluted beads resembling rosettes are common. The trilobed variety (no. 3) is also numerous, and some are segmented. Mallowan considered no. 6 a conventionalized representation of a hare. He compared it to more naturalistic amulets of hares, of which he says more than a hun-

61. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, pl. CLX, no. 33. Tobler says (p. 180) that this is the only example of the Maltese cross found on seals in Tepe Gawra.

62. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), pls. xviii, nos. 3, 14, 28; xix, no. 3; xx, no. 35.

63. *Ibid.*, pl. xix, no. 8.

64. Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 (1933), 180 f.

65. Starr, *Nuzi*, 1, 20.

66. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 3 (1936), 24, 28, fig. 8, no. 17.

67. *Tepe Gawra*, 1, 133-135.

68. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. LXXXIII, no. 6. No. 7 is a segmented barrel.

69. Cf. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), pls. xxvii, nos. 2, 3; xxviii.

dred examples were found.⁷⁰ The affiliation of beads and amulets thus seems obvious, and their roles comparable.

Pins were found at Shaghir Bazar with decorated heads. At times the decoration might be simple grooves;⁷¹ the top of one was carved in the shape of a bull's hoof,⁷² and two doves facing each other were set on the top of another (fig. 629), which was also decorated with several minute carnelian disk beads. On the top of a copper pin, whose upper portion had been flattened and perforated to permit its use as a toggle, was set the head of a horned animal (fig. 630). An ornamented copper disk was found at Tepe Gawra; on its surface the cable pattern was minutely embossed in concentric circles, between which were other circles spaced less regularly.⁷³

Both decorated and undecorated pendants were found along with the beads at Tepe Gawra. The circular incisions on one pendant were the same as had decorated a bead (fig. 632).⁷⁴ On another was crosshatching (fig. 633). A pendant of black limestone in the form of a vase (fig. 634) is perhaps comparable to an amulet shaped like a vase from Brak (fig. 635).⁷⁵ The Brak amulet is made of lapis lazuli, however, and seemed to Mallowan more like one of the same material from Warka.⁷⁶ Pendants carved as animals' heads were found in Tepe Gawra (fig. 636) and Level 5 at Nineveh.⁷⁷ On the base of a pendant whose shape was probably intended to be a dolphin is crosshatching (fig. 637).

A group of pendants, some of which were circular, others square, was found in Tepe Gawra and Brak. Their surfaces are decorated at times with hatching, at other times with crosshatching (e.g. fig. 638). Mallowan tentatively suggested that they had symbolic significance as "models of the loaves of bread or cakes dedicated to the god."⁷⁸ Because the style of many amulets in this period is naturalistic, this suggestion is not improbable. Yet, so many pendants have been decorated with linear designs because of the designs' potency, that so specific an interpretation must be received with reserve.

Only two female figurines were found in levels of the Ninevite Period in Tepe Gawra and none in Brak. Both figurines from Tepe Gawra were fragmentary. The first (fig. 639),⁷⁹ now 53 millimeters high, was found in Level 7. It shows a nude female, wearing a high necklace, holding her breasts. The second (fig. 640)⁸⁰ was picked up on the surface, so that its date is questionable. The excavators tentatively assigned it to the same period as fig. 639, since both figurines are constructed so that the space between the arm and the body is filled in. Around the shoulders and waist of fig. 640 are traces of brown paint. Both figurines are crudely modeled.

The most common animal figurine in Tepe Gawra was the sheep.⁸¹ Speiser has shown two examples of the sheep or ram, and one figurine of a bull (fig. 641). Only the bull

70. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

71. Mallowan in *Iraq*, 4 (1937), 134, fig. 12, nos. 19, 27.

72. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 3 (1936), fig. 8, no. 14 and p. 28.

73. *Tepe Gawra*, 1, pl. LXXXII, no. 28 and pp. 113, 208.

74. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. LXXXIII, no. 6.

75. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), 130.

76. P. 106.

77. Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 (1933), pl. LXXII, no. 10 and p. 148.

78. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), 40, fig. 7, b.

79. *Tepe Gawra*, 1, 64 f.

80. *Ibid.*, pp. 63 f.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

among these specimens is well modeled. In Tepe Gawra two copper serpents were found in Level 7.⁸²

A large group of amulets in Brak were strictly parallel to Jemdet Nasr models in the South. The tops of some are modeled delicately in the shape of animals, while the bases bear highly schematized designs. Others lack a design on the base. Like those from the South, the animals include bulls, rams, gazelles, lions, bears, monkeys, foxes, birds, vultures, frogs, fish, pigs, and dogs(?).⁸³ The sensitiveness with which the artists worked may be illustrated by fig. 642, where a wild ram is seen reclining. While this is one of the masterpieces of the collection, it is not an isolated piece but an illustration of the genius of the artists of the period. The underside is not illustrated, but on it are engraved two running ibexes, and above them cryptic signs, a bird, a small animal, and another undetermined sign.

While the influence of the South is clear in the amulets from Brak just discussed, others also modeled with great skill take shapes which are either not found in the South or are found in only isolated instances. A few examples of bears and monkeys have been found in the South, but they are common in Brak (figs. 643, 644). Hedgehogs are less numerous than monkeys and bears, but they appear more often in Brak than in the South (fig. 645). Hares were found rarely or not at all in the South, yet more than one hundred examples came from Brak (fig. 646) and they were used on a seal and seal impression at Tepe Gawra and Shaghir Bazar in this period. More than one hundred examples of the cypress tree (e.g. fig. 647)⁸⁴ were found in the Eye-Temple platform. Only here in Mesopotamian excavations to date has the sacred tree taken this form. About fifty seals shaped like a kidney came from Brak. On the base of many of them a combination of animal figures and indecipherable markings is engraved (e.g. fig. 648). The design on the base of the example illustrated shows the influence of Jemdet Nasr models; nevertheless, the shape, whether actually intended for a kidney or not,⁸⁵ is so far peculiar to Brak. Beads in the shape of rosettes, their undersides engraved with crude designs, were also numerous (e.g. fig. 649).⁸⁶ Mallowan compares the designs on top to spindle whorls from Jemdet Nasr, but appears not to know of any stamp seals from the South which are close parallels. Pending the results of future excavations, therefore, it seems that the artists of Brak were not merely followers of a cultural pattern but the creators of an independent movement.

“Hut” or “eye” symbols were found along with beads and amulets in the foundations of the Eye-Temple in Brak.⁸⁷ Thousands came from the earlier Gray Eye-Temple, some intact, others broken. Mallowan estimates that originally there must have been twenty

82. *Ibid.*, p. 112. These were not illustrated.

83. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), 41. For parallels from the South see p. 106.

84. *Ibid.*, pp. 118 f.

85. The form has so far not been found on earlier or contemporaneous objects. Only at a much later time is there evidence that kidneys were used in divination (*ibid.*, p. 39, n. 2). Among all the omen texts which Goetze published only one dealt with the kidneys (A. Goetze,

Old Babylonian Omen Texts, Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts, 10 [New Haven, Yale University Press, 1947], no. 41). This seems an instance where it is hazardous to search for the significance of a symbol by finding an object of similar shape. It is possible that the amulets from Brak are only an interesting geometric form, but we do well to leave their nature undetermined.

86. Mallowan, pp. 119, 122.

87. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-38, 118, 150-159, 198-210.

thousand such objects, and perhaps many more.⁸⁸ The majority were of white or black alabaster. A few terra-cotta specimens had been deliberately blackened by fire.

Mallowan called the earliest "spectacle-topped," since their most common form consists of two circles, often but not always perforated, joined by a curving frame which somewhat resembles modern eyeglasses. This pair of circles or volutes is set on top of a rounded body with flat base (fig. 650). This variety was commonly made of dark steatite, shale, or terra cotta. Limestone and alabaster specimens were rare.⁸⁹ The "spectacle-topped" symbols appear both in levels of the Gawra Period and in levels of the Ninevite Period, but are not common at any level. This form has been found also in other sites of both northern and southern Mesopotamia, but nowhere have they been numerous. In Tepe Gawra they came only from levels of the Ubaid and Gawra Periods. In the South they have been found in several sites in Jemdet Nasr levels.

Approximately 90 per cent of all the "eye" symbols in Brak were of what Mallowan calls "standard" type. This type has been found only in Brak and only in levels dated in the Ninevite Period. It consists of two naturalistic eyes surmounted by eyebrows, above a body which is usually flat, roughly rectangular, tapering somewhat toward the neck (fig. 651).⁹⁰ The eyes of this type are not perforated, and Mallowan thought that originally they were infilled with paint. To suggest the original appearance he inserted modern paint in the eyes of no. 2 on the plate. The backs of these were unfinished, whereas the "spectacle-topped" figures were finished all around.⁹¹

This "standard" type appears in a number of variations. Sometimes decoration is added, and various devices are used to suggest clothing.⁹² For example, across the body may be drawn a series of zigzags (fig. 652),⁹³ which Mallowan thinks may represent the top of a garment. In one instance a necklace is indicated (fig. 653), and on one there is a skirt.⁹⁴ Some are shown wearing hats (fig. 657). The specific significance of the different types of hats is not known. The first three resemble shapes sometimes found elsewhere on male figures, so it becomes a strong possibility that some figures are intended as males. The hat with two horns (no. 4) is comparable to the "horned" headdress on the female figure on Jemdet Nasr seals from Warka.⁹⁵ It is questionable whether the zigzag and wavy lines adorning the headgear of nos. 6, 7, 10 are eyebrows, as Mallowan supposes. They are much more like the zigzags which in a number of cases appear as decoration on a dress. They seem to be linear designs enhancing the potency of the figures. A stag attacked by a vulture on its back has been added to the front of another specimen (fig. 654) by way of increasing its potency.

In several cases the number of eyes increases. In one example there are three eyes (fig. 655), and four eyes are found on several others. They sometimes appear in a row (fig. 656).⁹⁶ In one case a hat seems to have been set on the head of the pair at the left, while the

88. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 198.

90. *Ibid.*, pp. 150, 198.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 204.

92. *Ibid.*, p. 34, figs. 1-4.

93. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. LI, nos. 14, 15, 19 and p. 198.

94. *Ibid.*, p. 34, fig. 4.

95. Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pl. 18, a, d. Perhaps it appears also on Fig. 347.

96. Cf. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), pls. xxvi, no. 13; LI, nos. 20, 21.

head at the right is uncovered (fig. 658). In other examples the individuals seem ranged one above the other (fig. 659).⁹⁷ Mallowan shows two examples from a much larger number where a mother and child are indicated (fig. 660). At times there are two children. Whether such children are thought of as held in her arms or as yet embryos in the womb is not clear. The distinction probably is unimportant for the significance of the figures. Mallowan says that on none of the objects is there any suggestion of breasts, pubes, male organs, or other details which in ancient art commonly convey the concept of nudity.⁹⁸

In two examples the "eye" symbols are shown upon a kind of pedestal (figs. 661, 662).⁹⁹ The first, an amulet which is not from Brak, is published by Mallowan from a photograph of the object in the Ashmolean Museum, but was formerly published by Hogarth.¹ It was originally purchased in Aleppo, probably of North Syrian provenance. Here two "spectacle-topped" symbols are set on what look like fluted pedestals side by side. The second (fig. 662) is a "spectacle-topped" symbol standing on a much lower pedestal, the front of which is incised with wedges. The body of the "eye" symbol itself, however, is fluted so that it has no resemblance to an anthropomorphic figure and looks more like a pillar.

Many suggestions have been offered as to the significance of the "eye" symbols.² Andrae suggested³ that the volutes are to be compared to the rings on the ringed poles which often are set above the roofs of cattle byres. The body of these symbols he thought represented the byres themselves, and the volutes at the top represented the doorposts or reed bundles at the entrance. One steatite amulet in the Berlin Museum (fig. 663) seems especially to support his view, for the base of this is obviously carved to simulate a shrine, while above it rise the now mutilated volutes. Thus he called these objects not "eye" symbols but "hut" symbols.

Mallowan has discussed this view at length,⁴ but comes to different conclusions. Indeed, the many anthropomorphic figures which have been found in Brak since the publication of Andrae's book cannot all be representations of a sanctuary and its accompanying beribboned standard or ringed pole. To Mallowan⁵ all these symbols seem emblems of the god or goddess to which the Eye-Temple was particularly dedicated. He thinks devotees brought them and offered them personally, though whether they are supposed to represent the god to whom the temple was dedicated, or whether the devotees were offering to the god likenesses of themselves he does not know. He considers them idols in abstract form, since at that time "there was a decided preference . . . for using abstract rather than anthropomorphic design for renderings of the gods."⁶ This latter view would seem to need qualification in view of the complex trends in the South in the Jemdet Nasr Period, trends which seem to have had their influence on Brak.

It will be recalled that the specimens which came from Tepe Gawra⁷ were of the "spec-

97. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 35 and fig. 6.

98. *Ibid.*, p. 198.

99. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. xvi, no. 14.

1. D. G. Hogarth, *Hittite Seals* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1921), pl. III, no. 64 and p. 29, where, as Mallowan points out, the object is wrongly said to be a gable seal. It may still be a seal as well as an amulet, but a flat seal. See Mallowan, p. 156.

2. Van Buren evaluates the different views in *Iraq*, 12 (1950), 139-146 and 17 (1955), 164-175. See also Frankfort in *JNES*, 8 (1949), 194-200.

3. Andrae, *Die ionische Säule*, pp. 30-34.

4. Mallowan, pp. 155, 203-205.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 205-210.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 153.

7. Pp. 42 f., 134; cf. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 171-173.

tacle-topped" variety. Most had a hollow, bell-shaped base. Two had only a single volute. None had decoration, but on several which came from a tomb grooves led from the volutes to the narrow waist, crossing each other. Thirty-one specimens in all came from Tepe Gawra, twenty-eight of terra cotta and three of stone. Most were made without care. None was found in a temple or shrine, and none was found in a level contemporary with those at Brak. Tobler, therefore, argues that these had a utilitarian purpose, and he suggests that they may have been loom weights. The anthropomorphic figures at Brak he is aware must be amulets, and the resemblance between them and the objects found in Tepe Gawra raises serious problems. He is inclined, however, to consider such a resemblance superficial. Provisionally he seems to conclude that their functions were different.⁸

The differences within this class of objects, however, come not merely between the anthropomorphic figures, that is, Mallowan's "standard" type, and the "spectacle-topped" form of which Tobler spoke at Tepe Gawra, examples of which also came from Brak. Other examples must also be considered: specifically, the example in the Berlin Museum on which volutes rise above a shrine (fig. 663), and those where the symbols stand on pedestals (figs. 661, 662). All have fundamental similarities coupled with striking differences.

It may be worth suggesting that perhaps the common denominator for all of them is the reverence for sacred stones which is known to have existed widely in antiquity.⁹ Often some particular stone, apart from any shape which was imposed upon it, came to be regarded with reverence. Then such stones began to be artificially shaped. They were sometimes given conical, sometimes phallic shapes. Sometimes their shapes were more highly developed. One might think that with the passing of time the simple forms would disappear and the more developed alone would persist. But there are wide variations in far later periods.¹⁰ I would not, of course, suggest that the later symbols had any direct connections with the "eye" symbols of Mesopotamia. Instead, all seem to me to be different manifestations of a practice which is too widespread to require a theory of direct influence.¹¹

8. That they are scale weights was suggested by Col. N. T. Belaiew, an authority on ancient metrology, in a conversation with Speiser. Since there are many specimens made of terra cotta, which is fragile, and since no standard of uniformity can be determined, this suggestion has been considered wrong by most scholars. Cf. Speiser in *BASOR*, no. 62 (1936), 10 f. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 172, n. 19. Mallowan, pp. 34, 155.

9. Cf. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, 1, 151.

10. Ronzevalle has described the *nefesh* stones of Syria in the Roman and Byzantine Periods: "Nefesh rupestres," *Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph*, Beirut, 4 (1910), 189-208. Some of these are cone-shaped. They are often set in a frame or arch, as are the two objects of Fig. 661. They sometimes take roughly human form: *ibid.*, p. 199, fig. 34. They seem sometimes to be phallic: *ibid.*, p. 204, fig. 45. On three Jewish lamps of the Greco-

Roman Period the sacred stone appears, set under an arch: Goodenough, 3, figs. 277, 278, 284. One of these, a lamp from the Jewish catacomb at Sheikh Ibriq, is particularly interesting, since here at the top of the stone is a single volute (*ibid.*, fig. 278), as at the top of two of the "eye" symbols from Tepe Gawra (Fig. 233).

11. It is possible that the "eye symbols" of Mesopotamia exerted direct influence on a group of "marble idols" from Kultepe published by H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien* (Berlin, Ernst Wasmuth, 1942), figs. 333-347 and p. 40. These objects sometimes have a single phallic-shaped head on which two dot-centered circles are incised, sometimes a head which is better modeled, sometimes two or three heads. Once twins are indicated on the front of the circular body. Bossert suggests a date for them at the beginning of the second millennium B.C.

To find the eye selected for particular emphasis on these objects is by no means surprising in the Ninevite Period. As Mallowan has observed,¹² the eye is so exaggerated on one figurine of the Halaf Period (fig. 107) that it is probable that even so early it was considered a potent form. On a vessel from Jemdet Nasr in the Jemdet Nasr Period two great eyes are set abstractly (fig. 346). There are many cylinder seals of the same period (fig. 407) where the eye, sometimes surrounded by rays, is prominent. These rayed eyes on the cylinder seals seem to me added evidence supporting Mallowan's suggestion that the "eye" symbols had solar implications.¹³ The wide use of this symbol on different objects and in different places weighs heavily against Mallowan's supposition that in Brak they all referred to a particular god whose emblem they were. To be sure, they did appear in large numbers in the temple there, but we have seen that there were many specimens of other types of amulets. In this period, as earlier, there is no evidence that any specific form was considered the emblem of a particular deity.

Another illustration of the varied forms which sacred stones assumed in this period is the phallic object found in Level 8a of the Eastern Temple at Tepe Gawra (fig. 664).¹⁴ It was made of a stone known as gabbro, with a quartz grain which was utilized by the sculptor to emphasize circumcision.

A set of six maceheads was found against the outer face of the wall of the Eye-Temple in Brak.¹⁵ The excavators thought they had probably been dropped by plunderers who had picked them up inside. There is a slight possibility that they had once been set on the walls as decoration. Two of them are decorated with simple vertical flutings.¹⁶ In addition horizontal ridges are added to two others. An eight-petaled rosette is carved in low relief around the top of another (fig. 665).

Some pieces are unique. A broad, square vase of limestone lightly engraved with horizontal zigzags was found in the precincts of the Eye-Temple in Brak.¹⁷ A curious elongated object, shaped like a phallus and made of terra cotta, was found in Tepe Gawra (fig. 666). Its knobbed head is pierced by a hole 13 millimeters in diameter, and its inner surface is irregularly rippled. The excavators felt confident that it had been used for cultic purposes but were unable to determine its precise use.¹⁸

In both Brak and Tepe Gawra were found other cultic objects of clay with two horn-like projections such as have appeared already in Tepe Gawra in levels of the Ubaid and Gawra Periods.¹⁹ In Brak the specimen (fig. 667)²⁰ was found in debris from the south end of the Eye-Temple platform. Its base measures 7.7 centimeters, its height 9 centimeters. Four examples came in Level 8, two in Level 7 at Tepe Gawra.²¹ One of these (fig. 668) was discovered in the central cult chamber of the Eastern Temple, in front of the entrance to one of the side rooms. This object, which was larger than the specimen from Brak,

12. Mallowan, pp. 205 f.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 209 f.

14. *Tepe Gawra*, I, 99. Cf. Speiser in *AASOR*, 9 (1929), 48 f., figs. 104, 105.

15. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), 96, 211, pls. VI, nos. 1, 2; *LII*, nos. 11, 12, 14, 15.

16. Cf. the macehead decorated with vertical flutings found in Eanna, Level 3c in Warka: Lenzen in *UVB*, 7

(1935), pl. 23, o and p. 16.

17. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), 210 f., pl. *LII*, no. 7.

18. *Tepe Gawra*, I, 49, 191.

19. P. 134.

20. Mallowan, p. 184.

21. *Tepe Gawra*, I, 73; Speiser in *AASOR*, 9 (1929), 48 and fig. 89.

measured 210 millimeters in length, with a width at the base of 225 millimeters. Two narrow holes 16 millimeters deep, were set above each other on one of the narrow sides of this object, near its base. Speiser thinks they were intended for dowel pins to attach the object to the wall. No such holes are mentioned in the specimen from Brak. All other examples from Tepe Gawra were loose in the soil, so their place of origin could not be determined. If the holes on these objects indicate that some of them were to be attached vertically to the wall, it is apparent that at least some of them were not part of altars, but served another as yet undetermined function in the cult. Mallowan has called attention to two small contemporaneous terra-cotta objects in Nuzi²² and Tepe Hissar.²³ The object from Nuzi was considered by its excavators, erroneously so in Mallowan's opinion, to be a loom-weight. The use of the piece from Tepe Hissar seemed problematical. Perhaps these are miniatures of the larger cult objects, for use as amulets. We have seen that a model of a shrine served as an amulet in the Halaf Period.

In the Ninevite Period both model wheels, such as had been found in the Gawra Period, and models of chariots themselves were discovered. Speiser says that 36 wheels and several chariots of both the two-wheeled and four-wheeled type (fig. 669)²⁴ were found. In this period the body of the two-wheeled chariot (no. 1) was open to the front so that the driver could ride there. At the back was a parapet, behind which was a step, probably intended for a warrior.²⁵ The wheels were set at the rear, directly below the parapet. The four-wheeled type seems to have been plain and long, with a slightly raised front. These models are interesting not only because they provide information about ancient vehicles but also because they suggest that these implements of war, like the shrines and the cultic objects, were also copied either for ritual use or for use as amulets.

Clay gaming pieces were discovered in Tepe Gawra,²⁶ but have not been illustrated. In Brak two black steatite studs were found whose purpose is uncertain; it has been suggested that possibly these too were gaming pieces.²⁷

150 spindle whorls were catalogued both in Level 8 and Level 7 in Tepe Gawra.²⁸ Many were decorated with such a scalloped edge as is seen on fig. 670.²⁹ Spools and bobbins which apparently were employed in weaving first were discovered in levels of the Ninevite Period,³⁰ and they became most common in the next period. Many of them had various kinds of markings about whose significance Speiser was uncertain. Such forms as appear in this period he thought might be decorative—drill holes set in pairs (fig. 671), crosses (fig. 672), and barbs (fig. 673). What seemed perplexing to him was that on similar objects in the next period the markings form seemingly meaningless patterns. He felt that they might

22. Starr, *Nuzi*, 2, pl. 39, Z₂; cf. 1, 15.

23. E. F. Schmidt, *Excavations at Tepe Hissar* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937), pl. xxvii, a, H 3670 and p. 117.

24. Cf. *Tepe Gawra*, 1, pl. lxxviii, nos. 2, 3 and pp. 73-76.

25. No. 3 lacks such a step.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

27. Mallowan, pl. liii, nos. 20, 21 and p. 212.

28. *Tepe Gawra*, 1, 78. They are said to have been common also in Nineveh in all periods: Mallowan, *AAA*, 20 (1933), 144.

29. Cf. *Tepe Gawra*, 1, pls. xxxvii, c, 1, 8; lxxviii, nos. 9, 11.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-80.

have served as a means of identification. But similarly meaningless patterns have appeared frequently on stamp seals and amulets, apparently as potent designs. By this time it should not seem surprising if people of antiquity wished to protect from mischance the handiwork on which they were bestowing such care.

Sculpture

In the North only in Brak so far have objects been found which should be termed sculpture. In a plunderer's tunnel in the platform of the Gray Eye-Temple four complete human heads or masks and fragments of several others were found.³¹ The largest is made of yellowish white alabaster, 170 millimeters high (fig. 674). The features seem set upon the surface; the eyes are large ovals, with hollowed circles to indicate the pupils, and the prominent eyebrows and nose form a continuous ridge; the mouth is small and the lips pursed; two concentric ellipses are set on the side of the head to indicate the ears. The head wears a hat shaped like a flat turban, with an inverted V cut from it in the center of the front, perhaps to receive a metal inlay. Such an inlay may have extended across the front above the eyebrows. The neck is unusually long. The whole back of the head is cut away in a vertical groove with a concave surface. There are two holes, one on either side, at the top of the head, and two more at the base. The excavators therefore thought it was originally fixed to a separate backing which might have been made of wood. Whether this was a pole, or whether the head had a body cannot be determined. There is no means of determining its sex.

A very similar head of white alabaster 92 millimeters in height (fig. 675) was found nearby. The eyes of this piece, instead of being set horizontally, slant downward and are unusually large. The chin is longer and deeper. On the head is a high conical hat. Mallowan thought that hats very like this probably adorned the two other heads (fig. 676), one made of white calcite, the other of white alabaster. The first of these has a flat, round face quite unlike the others, but the technique with which all are modeled is much the same.

As Mallowan pointed out, the carving, especially of the head of fig. 674, is bold and forceful so that an air of dignity and distinction is achieved. Yet in comparison with the alabaster head from Jemdet Nasr (fig. 444), which was contemporary with these from Brak, all of the Brak heads are much more schematized. Since the animal amulets in Brak are as delicately carved as those from the South, one would expect a similar naturalistic style in rendering human heads. Such naturalism is lacking, even though the heads are more naturalistic than the "eye" symbols.

Possibly a life-sized statue of a rather different type once stood near the altar at the south end of the Eye-Temple in Brak, for an inlaid eye socket of black steatite was found there.³²

Four model shoes also came from the gray brick stratum on the south side of the Eye-Temple platform. The largest (fig. 677)³³ measured 90 millimeters. Its toe turned up

31. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), 91-93.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 97, pl. VII, no. 3.

33. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. LII, nos. 10, 19 and pp. 99 f., 211 f.

slightly, and there were indications of a tongue and possibly of shoe laces. Because there was a partial perforation near the top, the excavators thought it might have been attached to a body. Perhaps all the shoes were votive objects. Similar shoes have been found in later levels in Cappadocia and the region of Caesarea.³⁴ Speiser has shown that shoes had symbolic significance among the Israelites of the Old Testament.³⁵

Two especially large figures of frogs (e.g. fig. 678)³⁶ and a seated bear (fig. 679) should perhaps be included in the class of sculpture. All of these are skillfully modeled and differ little from the amulets except in their size. In this they are comparable to the models of animals in contemporary levels in the South.³⁷

Temple Architecture

In Tepe Gawra the Eastern and Northern Temples and the Central Shrine were preserved in Level 8a with no changes in their structure which seem significant in terms of symbolism. The Western Temple was torn down to provide for new buildings which seemed to the excavators essentially commercial and residential. The outer walls of one of the buildings in this area were niched. A notable new building was constructed south of this and adjoining the Central Shrine. Within this building was a long hall approached by a court or porch flanked by smaller rooms at either side. In form this inner structure resembled the Central Shrine. Along the west wall of this inner structure was a vaulted hall built with true arch construction of mud brick. The excavators believed this building had been a residence.³⁸ One would infer that it belonged to a person of great importance who was thus placed in some sort of sacred setting. Evidently, in the Ninevite Period, forms which contributed sanctity to temples were considered valuable also for less sacred buildings.

The symbolic elements in temple architecture in the Ninevite Period can be seen most clearly in the Eye-Temple in Brak. These elements fall into five principal categories: 1. the walls of the temple faced the cardinal points of the compass; 2. niches continued in use; 3. the abstract number three was imposed in different ways upon the temple; 4. the sanctuary was given cruciform shape; 5. geometric ornament was used for decoration.

The platform on which the Eye-Temple in Brak was built consisted of a series of levels more than six meters in height, the result of building one temple upon the other through the years.³⁹ The earliest, dated in the Gawra Period, was a stratum of red bricks one meter in thickness, laid directly on the ground; the color of the bricks gave it the name of the Red Eye-Temple.⁴⁰ Three levels, all from the Ninevite Period, were found above this bottom stratum, each of which had its own characteristic type of bricks. Because the bricks of the first level were mostly gray in color it was named the Gray Eye-Temple. From this level most of the beads, amulets, seals, and the sculptured heads came. Second was the

34. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

35. *BASOR*, no. 77 (1940), 15-18.

36. Cf. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), pl. ix, no. 3 and p. 100.

37. Pp. 110 f.

38. *Tepe Gawra*, 1, 32-37.

39. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), 32, 35-38, 55 f.

40. P. 136.

White Eye-Temple, named from a layer of white gypsum which seemed to have been used as the finish of a pavement upon which another temple was set. It was impossible to determine the ground plan of either of these temples. The third level consisted of a layer of bricks composed of blue clay with much straw temper. On this the Eye-Temple proper rested; its ground plan appears in fig. 68o.⁴¹

As has been said above, the walls of this temple faced the cardinal points of the compass. The temple did not have as elaborate niches as the temples of the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr Periods in the South. Nevertheless, simpler niches decorated the temple's external walls and the north wall of Court No. 12 in the complex of rooms along the south side of the sanctuary. The excavators were unable to determine the purpose of this court, but thought it might have served as a secondary shrine, and that the niche in the middle of the north wall had special significance in the cult.⁴²

The temple consisted of a long central sanctuary off which rooms opened at both sides, thus imposing the tripartite form on the building. The symbolism inherent in the number three, however, was not alone expressed in this way in the Brak temple. The sanctuary measured 18 by 6 meters, three times as long as it was wide.⁴³ Furthermore, the altar, which was set in the center of the south wall of the sanctuary, was made of bricks of the same three-to-one proportions.⁴⁴ Since Ur-Bau, ensi of Lagash in the Early Dynastic Period, specified in a building inscription that the relation of the substructure and the superstructure of his temple was to be in the ratio of three to one it seems legitimate to infer that this was a symbolic pattern.⁴⁵

One entrance to the sanctuary was preserved in the short north wall. It seemed possible that a second entrance might originally have been not far from it in the same wall. The sanctuary, however, was not of easy access, for on this north side only three or four meters separated it from the edge of the temple platform. A considerable mound had accumulated from the successive rebuildings of the temple so that the platform could be approached only by a ramp or staircase, which seemed to the excavators to have been built on the south. The terrace on that side extended 40 meters beyond the south wall of the temple. The worshippers, then, would have approached the back of the temple and would have been forced to make their way to the opposite side of the building before they could gain entrance. Thus, as in earlier temples, the sacredness of the sanctuary was well protected.

Some five meters from the south wall of the sanctuary two deep niches approximately three meters square were set opposite each other in the east and west sanctuary walls.⁴⁶ In this way the sanctuary was given cruciform shape, which seemed to Mrs. Ziegler an intentional plan of cultic or symbolic significance.⁴⁷

Geometric designs decorated the altar, the walls of the sanctuary, and the outer walls of the temple. The altar was decorated with a notable five-banded frieze along its free

41. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 32 f., 36-38, 55-63; Charlotte Ziegler, "Die Tempelterrasse von Tell Brak," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, no. 82 (1950), 1-18.

42. Mallowan, pp. 58 f.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

45. Cf. Woolley in *AJ*, 6 (1926), 367; *SAK*, p. 61: Statue, Col. III, lines 4-7.

46. Mallowan, p. 57.

47. Ziegler, pp. 2, 6.

sides. The central section (fig. 681)⁴⁸ in its present form measures 1.13 meters in length, 11.5 centimeters in depth. It consists of a band of pure gold foil two centimeters wide at top and bottom, with three bands of colored stone between. The upper band is of blue limestone decorated with hollowed circles in high relief, the central band is of plain white marble, and the lower band consists of corrugated strips of green shale. Such a combination of geometric designs is familiar from both North and South and thus need not be explained as an imitation of cone mosaic. This rich frieze was originally set around the top of the altar, and the area between it and the floor was covered with whitewash, traces of which remain.⁴⁹ The eye socket previously described lay nearby, suggesting the possibility that a statue once stood above this altar.⁵⁰

A piece of copper paneling impressed with a row of repoussé eyes (fig. 682)⁵¹ was found on the floor against the south wall of the sanctuary, and strips of red limestone inlay nearby. A stone rosette (fig. 684),⁵² composed of eight petals of alternate white marble and black shale with a center of pink limestone, lay near the door to one of the side rooms. Petals of others lay on the floor at this end of the temple. Thus it was evident that the whitewashed walls of the sanctuary also were decorated with familiar geometric designs.

Rosettes similar to fig. 684 and a fragment of mosaic in red and black were found against the outer face of the south wall of the temple. Since thousands of cones which had been dislodged from their original location were found in the packing of the temple, Mallowan thought it legitimate to infer that a large part of the external walls was originally covered with mosaic. He also thought that along the south wall, which the worshipers would have seen first when they mounted the ramp, a line of rosettes surmounted the mosaic.

A mural plaque of terra cotta (fig. 685)⁵³ was found in a plunderer's tunnel on the south side of the Eye-Temple platform. Where it originally stood could not be determined, though it seems clear that it had served as wall decoration. A series of squares was marked off on the surface, and on it concentric circles were impressed, comparable to the circles of the frieze along the altar. In view of the popularity of geometric designs there seems no reason to look for more than the repetition of a familiar pattern.

A number of heavy cones which may have been used in the Red Eye-Temple of the Gawra Period were found on the western side of the sanctuary embedded in the floor. Many smaller cones were found in the filling of the Eye-Temple and its platform and on the floor of the Eye-Temple (fig. 683). The stem of the first of those illustrated was painted with a series of rings of brown paint; the top and three-quarters of the stem of the second were painted black; the stem of the third was fluted. Mallowan thought that at least some of them were intended to be inserted in the wall. Because the paint on them could not have been for decorative purposes, he pointed out that it must have had "magical" significance.⁵⁴

48. Cf. Mallowan, pls. iv, nos. 1, 3; L and pp. 93 f.

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 93, 195.

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 93 f., 97.

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 60, 97.

52. *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 95 f.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

54. *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 163-165.

Tombs

A single tomb in Level 6 at Billa is described as having a "tent-roof" of brick.⁵⁵ We recall the gabled roofs of tombs in Tepe Gawra in the Gawra Period,⁵⁶ and wonder whether this comparable form may not also have conveyed a sense of sanctity to its occupant.⁵⁷

USES OF ORNAMENTED ARTIFACTS

From the place where the decorated pottery of the Ninevite Period was found little can be learned about the way in which it was used. Crude, handmade, undecorated bowls were found all over the prehistoric section of Nineveh. Usually they were turned upside down and covered the remains of vegetable matter. It was thought that they had served cultic purposes.⁵⁸ Similar beveled rim bowls were found also in the North in Brak, Nuzi, and Grai Resh.⁵⁹ Their use, however, seems to have been widespread for they were found in many sites of the South, in Syria, Iran, and possibly even in Egypt. Some fragments of this ware were found in the earliest levels of the Eye-Temple at Brak and in the subterranean chambers beneath it. Again it is clear that however advantageous for ritualistic purposes decoration may have seemed, undecorated objects were often also used in the cult.

Most of the beads and amulets in Brak came from the Gray Eye-Temple. Mallowan thought that originally some had been deposited in the rooms of the temple.⁶⁰ When this building was destroyed or abandoned the subsequent builders considered it advantageous to leave them in place, covering them with brickwork for their own building. Furthermore, many of the beads in particular, and a few of the amulets, were actually embedded in the bricks when they were made. The number of beads and amulets found is impressive. Mallowan speaks of "many hundreds of thousands," and states:

It is no exaggeration to say that the foundations of the earlier "Eye-Temple" had literally been sown with beads and even the mud-bricks themselves contained beads within them. The fact is that at the time this temple was built, the beads which were mostly of faience and black steatite had been puddled into the clay which was being prepared for the brickwork in the lower courses of the temple walls.⁶¹

He considers that the beads were poured into the clay as part of a foundation ceremony. Thus they were not solely a means of decoration. Like so many other artifacts in antiquity, while they may have served for decorative purposes, they also had their place in the religious ceremonies.

55. Speiser in *BASOR*, no. 42 (1931), 12. *CAM*, pp. 179 f.

56. P. 137.

57. Miss Perkins speaks of the vaulted tombs in Nineveh (cf. R. Campbell Thompson in *AAA*, 19 [1932], 78-80) which sometimes are dated in the Ninevite Period. Because of the character of the building material

she is inclined to place them later, probably in the Early Dynastic Period: *CAM*, p. 179.

58. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), 221 f.; *AAA*, 20 (1933), p. 168.

59. *CAM*, pp. 165, 170 f.

60. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9 (1947), 36 f.

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 32 f.

Mallowan also thought that beads probably had played a similar role at Nineveh, where more than 10,000 had been found in a single deposit in levels which belonged either to the end of this period or to the beginning of the Early Dynastic Period.⁶² In Level 7 at Billa most of the bodies found in burials were accompanied by an ivory cylinder seal.⁶³ In Tepe Gawra the infant burials of the early part of the Ninevite Period were richly furnished with beads, but occupational areas likewise produced a sizable quantity. Fewer beads were found in Level 7, which signaled the end of the period; and in the subsequent period only a single string was found, although the site was experiencing a time of prosperity. Their presence in earlier levels, then, cannot be explained by the wealth of the community. Rather, they seem to have been desired for the potency they were thought to possess.⁶⁴

SYMBOLIC ELEMENTS IN THE NINEVITE PERIOD

Because both stylized and naturalistic forms were employed on amulets in the Ninevite Period it is clear that both types of designs were desired for their potency. Inherent in Ninevite art were the same values as had appeared in the earlier periods.

The most overt expressions of "life" or fertility come from a sherd found at Nineveh on which a goat suckles her kid (fig. 576), and on seals from Tepe Gawra on which sexual intercourse is directly pictured (figs. 605, 606). The animals, birds, and fish found on sherds, seals, and amulets in great numbers probably also had fertility implications in this period, as often earlier, although their values may have been complex.

Aggression was expressed openly on seals depicting one animal attacked by another (figs. 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 603). Scorpions (fig. 616) and spiders (fig. 617) engraved on seals, and amulets modeled as lions, bears, and vultures may have embodied primarily the same values. On a unique seal impression from Nineveh a prostrate man was shown with an attacking animal above him (fig. 591, no. 15).

The geometric forms which seemed in earlier periods to possess complex implications were still popular. Among them were dot-centered or concentric circles, rosettes, and wheels (figs. 591, 592, 593, 594), which may have reflected solar ideas. Solar ideas may also have underlain the "eye" symbols which were so numerous in the Eye-Temple in Brak and the eyes and rosettes used as decoration for the temple.

Abstract numbers were imposed on the art in different ways. Sometimes figures were arranged in pairs on seals. As in the Uruk and Gawra Periods, the pairing conception was not employed in a single way. There were pairs of identicals (fig. 620) and pairs where one animal attacked another. In a new arrangement, figures were set so that the design was reversible (figs. 596, 597, 621, 623). Sometimes the numbers three and five were imposed on animals by giving them three or five legs (figs. 601, 618, 619). The importance of the number three continued to be felt in the tripartite form of the Eye-Temple in Brak

62. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

63. P. 145.

64. *Tepe Gawra*, I, 134.

(fig. 68o), in the dimensions of the sanctuary in that temple, three times as long as it was wide, and in the use of bricks in its altar also in the proportion of three to one.

The sides of the Eye-Temple in Brak faced the cardinal points of the compass. Niches continued to impress a sense of sanctity upon buildings. And geometric forms were imposed on the Eye-Temple both by giving the sanctuary cruciform shape and by decorating the altar, the walls of the sanctuary, and the outer walls of the temple with geometric designs.

A survey of the symbolic elements utilized by men of the Prehistoric Period in Mesopotamia has revealed a basic continuity in types of design, methods employed, and values achieved. This continuity is evident in spite of the fact that successive periods possessed distinct cultures. It seems to have been due to the fact that all classes of the population, in their homes, in the graves of many classes, in tombs of the more wealthy, and in temples where the whole community held their rites, sought objects which they deemed potent. The potency had been tested by long experience, and it was made effective by cultic practices. Religion for this long period of time seems primarily to have focused on these factors which were not peripheral to the culture but of central importance. The common view that there was a dichotomy between secular life with its recourse to "magic" and religion with its accepted communal rites can no longer be maintained. All the affairs of daily life, whether of concern to the individual or to the group, seem to have been handled in prehistoric Mesopotamia through art and ritual. These symbolic aids to more effective living appear to have been the greatest source of comfort to men of the Prehistoric Period.

CHAPTER 9

The Role of Amulets in Mesopotamian Ritual Texts

Studies in symbolism face difficulties which research in other branches of the humanities at least partially escapes. They often deal with what Cumont, and after him Goodenough, called a "picture book without texts." Particularly is that true of prehistoric periods, where by definition the period is prior to the invention, or at least any extensive use of writing. Anyone who is so bold as to ask how the ornament was used at such a time must proceed with great caution.

The attempt to work at this task cautiously has led to five principles, which were discussed in the Introduction to this book. In a given period one should:

- (1) determine the dominant forms as against the relatively incidental;
- (2) investigate the interrelationship of these forms;
- (3) emphasize those forms which became a popular style, even though they are often mediocre;
- (4) examine especially the ways in which reality is distorted when a design is representational, since the distortion seems evidence of something significant to the artist;
- (5) utilize the greatest circumspection in drawing inferences about early periods from knowledge about later periods.

When patterns are singled out by such principles as particularly significant, however, interpretation cannot be extensive where texts are lacking. There is grave danger of going astray when interpretation is attempted. Some means have to be devised by which any attempts at interpretation may be subjected to controls. By way of seeking controls it may be safely assumed that the culture of the Prehistoric Period was no more highly developed than the culture which followed. Thus the artifacts and the literature of later periods should be investigated on a limited scale to keep hypotheses about the early periods within the bounds of historical probability.

The concluding chapters of this book will be devoted to this task. First, the ritual texts will be studied to observe in later periods the role of amulets comparable to those of prehistoric Mesopotamia. Second, the evidence for the origin of mythology in Mesopotamia will be investigated. For this purpose the royal building inscriptions of the Early Dynastic

Period will be studied in an attempt to determine how developed the religious ideas were in that period. Then the royal building inscriptions and cylinder seals of the period immediately following will be considered to observe what differences appeared when mythology came to the fore as a major factor in the religion.

“MAGIC” AND RELIGION

There is a contradiction between the generally accepted view of the relation between religion and magic in Mesopotamia and the way in which that knowledge is commonly applied to the artifacts brought to light by excavations. It is widely recognized that throughout Mesopotamian history the ceremonies of the official cult as well as the domestic rites constantly used practices which might be called magical.¹ At the same time, scholars are continually searching for explanations which reduce the element of magic in accounting for the artifacts that appear in excavations.

The reason for such attitudes seems to lie partly in the derogatory attitude toward magic which is customary today,² and partly in a failure to grasp the implications of the *Weltanschauung* of the people of ancient Mesopotamia.

“Magic” is a term which has often been employed in an unfavorable sense to characterize rites thought to be below the dignity of one who is intelligent. There is a strong tendency to suppose that amulets and the rites performed with them were used in prehistoric Mesopotamia chiefly in the popular cult as practiced by people outside the control of the religious leaders. The approved cult, encouraged by the ecclesiastical authorities, the more intelligent men of the day, it is thought, would have made little use of such objects and the religious attitudes which were one with them.

“Magic” has also been sharply contrasted with religion. According to the view of some scholars,³ in magic a man utilizes rites to control a world in whose order and uniformity he trusts as completely as does modern science. No spiritual or personal being needs to intervene to make these rites effective. In religion, on the contrary, man relies upon superhuman powers which he endeavors to propitiate or please.

That such a separation of religion and magic is wholly artificial in Mesopotamia has now been generally recognized. The ritual texts, as we shall see, show that rites which are often called “magical” were used by religious leaders as well as the common people. They were used for the concerns of the community as well as for the problems of individuals. The rites commonly invoked the aid of the great gods, not merely of lesser divinities who might be revered by the general populace. The rites, furthermore, were not believed to be

1. Cf., for example, Édouard Dhorme, *Les Religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie* (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1945), 258; and G. Contenau, *La Magie chez les assyriens et les babyloniens* (Paris, Payot, 1947), pp. 56 f.

2. H. Hubert and M. Mauss specifically defined magic as “*tout rite qui ne fait pas partie d'un culte organisé, rite privé, secret, mystérieux et tendant comme*

limite vers le rite prohibé”: “Théorie générale de la magie,” *L'Année sociologique*, 7 (1902/3), 19.

3. J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed., I, 220-223; King in James Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 8, 253; Marett (*ibid.*, pp. 245-247) has traced the history of the term “magic” and the problem of its definition. See also Contenau, pp. 9-43.

automatically effective. However hopeful people might be that the rites would achieve their desired end, there was still a large margin of uncertainty about their results.

The blending of religion and magic is understood better against a background of the world view of the people of ancient Mesopotamia; but there is not general agreement about the way their world view is to be described.

Eighty years ago such pioneers as E. B. Tylor, Frazer, Andrew Lang, and others described the beliefs of primitive people as animism.⁴ There are supposed to be two fundamental aspects of an animistic view of the world.⁵ First, the primitive people are supposed to look at themselves and recognize their everyday existence as active, conscious personalities, but they are supposed to believe that they are also capable of existence as souls apart from the body, as they think other people exist whom they see in dreams and hallucinations. Second, primitive people are supposed to be aware of the distinction between the animate and inanimate aspects of the world, much as we are; but they are thought to believe that many of the inanimate objects or phenomena are inhabited by souls or spirits which are as much living personalities as they are themselves.

It is about this second point that debate has centered today. There is grave doubt whether the men of ancient Mesopotamia had a clear conception of the distinction between the inanimate and animate in the world around about them. If they did not, it makes a great difference in their approach to life. How the variations in their beliefs are to be formulated, however, is not easy to determine and has been the subject of considerable discussion.

H. and H. A. Frankfort, in the first essay of *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*,⁶ attempted to describe the complex reactions of primitive people who think, not that the objects round about them are inhabited by spirits, but that the objects are in themselves living personalities. They pointed out that the relation between primitive people and the world is not the relation between "I" and "It," but the relation between "I" and "Thou." There are important conclusions to be drawn from this distinction. The relation between "I" and "Thou" has an emotional quality lacking in the relation between "I" and "It." Some aspects of such a relation can only be experienced directly and cannot be put into words, but at times they can be made somewhat articulate when "Thou" as a live presence reveals itself. Again, on the basis of a relation between "I" and "It," the "It" can be classified in a group or series, as it is by modern science; whereas a "Thou" is unique and unpredictable. So the uniformity of the natural world is not apprehended by people whose relation with the world is on the basis of "I" and "Thou." Instead, they feel themselves surrounded by a host of individual presences known only

4. E. B. Tylor, in *Primitive Culture* (London, John Murray, 1871), was the first to present a picture of primitive animism. He was followed by Frazer, Andrew Lang, and others. For a description of their views and reasons for the development in modern thought see L. Lévy-Bruhl, *How Natives Think*, translated by Lilian A.

Clare (London, Allen and Unwin, 1926), pp. 15-32.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 18 f.

6. H. and H. A. Frankfort and others, *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1946), pp. 4-6.

as they reveal themselves, and not merely understood intellectually, but experienced emotionally in a dynamic, reciprocal relationship. The world appears to such people "neither inanimate nor empty but redundant with life."⁷

Kramer thought⁸ that this formulation of the world views of the people of ancient Mesopotamia went too far in insisting that the men of this period confused the animate and inanimate. In the mythopoeic literature, he pointed out, there was "intellectual speculation on the nature of the cosmos whose component realms were viewed as inanimate physical entities and not as living 'Thou's.' Thus we find that the Sumerian thinkers assumed that before the universe came into being there existed nothing but water, that is, they postulated the existence of a primeval sea; that out of this primeval sea there somehow came into being the universe consisting of heaven superimposed over earth and in contact with it, and that later heaven was separated from earth by the atmosphere."⁹ Again, he thought that the theological concepts of the Sumerians were worked out logically on the analogy of man and his institutions. For example, the pantheon consisted of a group of living beings, man-like in form, but superhuman and immortal, who guided and controlled the cosmos in accordance with their well-laid plans and laws.¹⁰ The pantheon was organized on an analogy with the political organization of the state. Distinctions between deities who controlled different aspects of the cosmos were arrived at quite rationally.¹¹ In the third place, to answer the question what it is that keeps the cosmos functioning without conflict and confusion he thought that the Sumerians devised a "concept designated by the Sumerian word *me* whose exact rendering is still not quite certain. To judge from the various contexts, it would seem to denote a set of rules and regulations assigned to each cosmic entity and phenomenon for the very purpose of keeping it operating forever in accordance with the plans laid down by the creating deities." Kramer would follow, then, what he would call a "common-sense" approach to the *Weltanschauung* of the ancient Sumerians. The Sumerian thinkers, he believed, developed their world view by logical reasoning based on their experience with the civilized human world about them.¹² He admitted the possibility that the incantation priest and mythographer may have had views more like those described in *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, but he concluded that "there is not the slightest evidence" that the Sumerian thinkers confused the animate with the inanimate.¹³

Stephens, in the summer of 1953, wrote a letter to Kramer and to Jacobsen, one of the contributors to *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*. This letter was inspired by an article in *The Journal of Near Eastern Studies*¹⁴ in which the opposing points of view of both Jacobsen and Kramer came once more to expression. Stephens felt that there was force in the points of view of both, and that the differences, though real, were less than

7. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

8. S. N. Kramer in *JCS*, 2 (1948), 39-70.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 43 f.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 52 f.

14. *JNES*, 12 (1953), 160-188.

Kramer thought. He called attention to one factor in the Sumerian language which seems to imply that the Sumerians divided the cosmos into two categories, which were not, however, animate and inanimate objects, but personal and nonpersonal objects:

The language of any people is a reflection of their psychological processes and hence a kind of index to the nature of those processes. Recent treatments of the language have correctly emphasized a two-fold classification in the morphology with reference both to nouns and verbs. Falkenstein uses the terms *persönlich* and *sächlich* for this distinction while Sollberger uses the terms *animé* and *inanimé* for the same thing. I prefer the terms *personal* and *non-personal*. I object to *sächlich* and *inanimé* because it seems that animals are included in this class along with all inanimate objects. It seems to me that these facts about the language indicate that the cosmos of the Sumerians was classified in two categories. The classification, however, was not on the basis of living things on the one hand and inanimate objects on the other. The distinction was rather between personal beings including Gods and men over against non-personal objects. The latter class included sticks and stones, vegetation and even animals. It was, of course, understood that animals were in a different class from stones because they were alive but they could be grouped with stones because they were not *zi-ša-gál* (living spirits). A man was alive just as an animal but he was more than an animal. He was a personal being.

All this seems to me to support Kramer's contention that the ancient Sumerians did not personify all of nature; that they did not regard everything outside themselves as a "Thou"; but rather that the bulk of the cosmos was an "It" while only men and Gods were "Thou."

With this point of view Jacobsen, in his reply, came close to agreement. He distinguished, however, between the attitude of men who were in "moments of specific religious receptivity" and the attitude of the same men "in everyday secular life." In the former case all about them could become "Thou," in the latter case, "things were things to the Sumerians." His letter reads in part:

You will not have much trouble in getting me on your side. The grammatical and lexical distinction between personal and nonpersonal . . . was maintained for the pronoun and in part for the verb already by Poebel, and I was well aware of it when I wrote my section in *The Intellectual Adventure*. As you may notice, I speak about "heaven" as receding into the category of things and speak of a religious experience of "heaven" only "when the soul is open." My viewpoint is that in everyday life things were things to the Sumerians, but that in moments of specific receptivity—and only then—they may have felt the presence of a power in and under the thing. In some respects Malinowski sees very clearly when he says that magic only comes into play when man does not thoroughly control the means of what he wishes to do. Similarly, the religious awareness and religious interpretation come into play only when man feels his own powerlessness profoundly. I should therefore imagine that the

Sumerians viewed any thing or natural phenomenon as a mere thing in everyday secular life, but that they were at the same time aware that a deeper understanding penetrating to the power inherent in it was possible and that in the religious sphere—that is, when organizing their concepts of the universe in myth and religious beliefs—they drew on these rare but profounder experiences. The case is not much different from ours today. We know that water, precisely speaking, is H₂O. However, in everyday life water is water and not a scientific entity.

Thus you will see I can almost accept your formulation of Kramer's view "that the ancient Sumerians did not personify all of nature; that they did not regard everything outside themselves as a 'thou'; but rather that the bulk of the cosmos was an 'It' while only men and gods were 'Thou.'" My reservation is that in certain situations—for instance, in magic—also things such as salt, plants, and other elements used in the magic rite can become "Thou," as clearly evidenced by the incantations Falkenstein groups under his *Weihungstyp* (*Heilmittelgebete*).

These two letters, of course, were not written for publication, and therefore they only present certain aspects of the views of these scholars. I give them because they move us forward on a subject which everyone recognizes as complex and which cannot be adequately expressed in a few words.

The fact is, as Jacobsen pointed out, that under some circumstances a man will distinguish between "It" and "Thou," while in other circumstances the same man will view everything as "Thou." However, the attempts to define what factors determine his attitude run into difficulty. We may say that he views everything as "Thou" when he feels inadequate. When he is afraid or when something unpredictable occurs he turns to religion for protection. That is not the whole story. It is not alone because we feel inadequate that in our country Congress, many patriotic meetings, and each day's session of the public schools are opened with prayer. It is very common in agricultural communities to make the seasons of planting and harvest religious festivals. The most important human affairs—love, marriage, birth, death, sickness, success or failure in business—are all at times brought into the sphere of religion. Human inadequacy is a factor in only parts of this picture. While we do not need to list the added factors, much more is involved.

It is clear, however, that since all such areas of life were put under the protection of religion the distinction between the religious and secular was far from plain. In seventeenth century England a grand effort was made to put religion into control of all of life. The clergy urge us to do so today and in our idealistic moments we pay tribute to the validity of such aims; but in our daily living there is much that deserves to be called secular. A perusal of the texts of the ancient Sumerians, as we shall see, seems to show that this was not true for them. However far removed they were from the ideas of seventeenth century England, they saw the activity of gods and spirits in every facet of their daily life. Religion played a part in all aspects of their life, but this does not mean that their view of the world was therefore consistent.

Though there was little distinction between religious and secular, the lives of the Sumerians were full of conflicting interests which prevented them from maintaining a consistent world view. It is a failing of scholarship to try to simplify a problem so that it may more readily be understood. When we simplify the trends in a historical period we are apt to distort the facts so that the result is untrue. We have to reckon with the reality of consistent inconsistency. For the early Sumerians, and for ourselves also, their world view at a given moment was colored by the nature of their particular problem, by the interests of the culture in which they lived, by their own type of personality, and by many other factors which are too remote for us to recover.¹⁵

We are accustomed to thinking of the spirits which filled the world of the Sumerians as hostile and terrifying. We must not forget, however, that spirits who were capable of doing evil might be considered helpful if they could be persuaded to turn the evil against those who intended to do harm.

A basic reason for positing a world filled with personal beings seems to have been an instinctive desire to show it responsive and friendly. Such attitudes have survived far more today than we normally recognize. Almost everyone exaggerates the parallels to human behavior in animals. The Disney pictures have taken advantage of this tendency not only to construct animated cartoons, but to show photographs of water birds, seals, elk, and other creatures in their own habitat, engaged in activities which make them appear all but human. From a large number of possible scenes, the artists have selected those which seem to approximate human qualities. Yet that such parallels are not scientifically justifiable may be inferred from the writings of Julian Huxley, who said, for example, "Let us remind ourselves that the gap between human and animal thought is much greater than is usually supposed. The tendency to project familiar human qualities into animals is very strong, and colours the ideas of nearly all people who have not special familiarity both with animal behaviour and scientific method."¹⁶ The classical example of imposing human behavior on animals is *Aesop's Fables*. More recently we have seen Kenneth Graham's *The Wind in the Willows* and the works of Joel Chandler Harris and James Thurber. Advertising men have seen sales value in utilizing this tendency, as with bread wrapped with a cover on which is written "Try me toasted." Because these books are admittedly fairy stories and because nobody takes the animate nature of bread seriously is no reason to ignore the significance of the fact that people today enjoy playing with such attitudes. The significance of their enjoyment is great for the psychologist, and also for those who would come to understand and respect the men of antiquity.

The royal building inscriptions of the Early Dynastic Period, as we shall see,¹⁷ reveal that the Sumerians believed in gods of very different places and kinds. Some were gods of phenomena; there were gods of the Sky, the Storm, the Earth, the Sun, the Mountain.¹⁸

15. For a discussion of the importance of varying interests in a culture, what factors underlie these interests, and the inconsistent behavior which results, cf. Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1936), pp. 422-442.

16. *Man in the Modern World* (New York, Mentor Books, 1951), p. 19.

17. Cf. Chapter 10.

18. Pp. 235-237.

There were gods of particular cities, and of particular sanctuaries. There was a general group of Lamassu, who were good spirits but who lacked distinct personalities. It might seem justifiable to describe some of the beliefs of the early Sumerians as animism, for there were divinities who were *numina loci*. In all this variety of belief there was no attempt to bring order, to organize the gods into a pantheon. The early Sumerians were anthropocentric, not theocentric. Their attitudes were determined by their situation at a given moment and not by the necessity of conforming to a predetermined theology or mythology. Thus they may well have supposed that the ritualistic symbols they manipulated were in some sense spirits, though they did not carry their thoughts far enough to weave a story about them or to give them names.

The world view of the men of prehistoric Mesopotamia, then, I should describe as an inconsistent, inchoate collection of beliefs. It was none the less vital, for it pictured the world of every man as potentially alive and responsive to his needs and longings. It will be recognized that I differ from most scholars, who have described, on the basis of the later Sumerian myths, an ordered view of the religious beliefs and cultural patterns of the earliest period. The artifacts of prehistoric Mesopotamia give no evidence that the specific myths now known to us were circulating in this period. They suggest that whatever myths were being told were of less importance than other elements in the religion. Therefore it seems to me not justifiable to use the myths, as most scholars do, as a source for the ideas of the early cultures. But we shall discuss this aspect of the question later.

We have, then, to place the artifacts of prehistoric Mesopotamia in a setting which saw the world more than we do today as "redundant with life." When the men carried out the ritual in Mesopotamia they were not handling machines, or situations which appeared recurrent and comprehensible. They thought they were handling living beings whose reactions were unpredictable. Such beings might be directed but not controlled.

True, it was hoped that the traditional rituals handed down from earlier times might bring the desired results; and there were special groups of men, special priests who were considered the most effective in carrying out the traditions. Yet it was always possible that for some unknown reason the spirits would react unfavorably.

There were certain amulets and certain rites which seemed most effective for some situations, others for other problems. At the same time, distinctions between them seem to have been blurred, and a differentiation between what was magical and what was religious appears to have been a notion unknown in that period.

Everything was potentially charged with power, and recognizably potent objects were sought for every concern of the individual and the community. When we say this, however, we are not talking about some impersonal force such as we know in our modern electricity or radio waves. The objects in antiquity were thought to be potent because they were animate. People sought them because they wished to use friendly spirits to help them with potentially dangerous spirits.

This is not to say that what we now call "black magic" was not distinguished from other religious ritual and condemned. We see such condemnation as early as the Code of Ham-

murabi and on through later codes of law.¹⁹ But "white magic" was accepted and practiced at every level of the population and for both the individual and the community.

In this kind of setting, then, the artifacts of prehistoric Mesopotamia find their place. This kind of culture persists for years afterwards and becomes articulate in later ritual texts.

AMULETS IN PREHISTORIC MESOPOTAMIA

We may consider how some of the artifacts of prehistoric Mesopotamia fit into this background. Beads have been among the most numerous objects found, and illustrate especially well this aspect of Mesopotamian culture. They appeared in all periods in occupational areas, where they would have been used for personal adornment, whatever other uses they may also have had. However, they were even more numerous in graves. In the late Prehistoric Period they occurred also in temples.

Even before the Hassunah Period stone and bone beads were used in Jarmo.²⁰ In the Hassunah Period they were found both as necklaces and apparently sewn on garments in graves from Samarra.²¹

In the Halaf Period beads and amulets were associated in a house in Arpachiyah. Some appear to have been used in a necklace (fig. 121), others were perhaps part of a headpiece.²²

In Ubaid levels in Tepe Gawra they were rare in occupational debris, though some examples occurred. There were more in graves. In the necropolis of Level 12 they numbered in the thousands.²³ Far more of the beads were undecorated than decorated, but most of the decorated beads came from occupational debris instead of graves. In a grave in Abu Shahrain in southern Mesopotamia black and white beads lay across the shins of a woman in one grave, leading the excavators to surmise that these probably formed a six-inch fringe on her skirt.

In graves of the Uruk Period in Ur beads had been used as necklaces or armlets.²⁴ A cylinder seal of this period (fig. 281) shows that these objects sometimes were used in the cult, for an exaggeratedly large necklace is one of the gifts brought to a shrine. Whether or not a myth underlies this design is unimportant for our present purpose. The artist would not have placed the beads among the objects which figured in the cult if they had not sometimes been used in such a setting. Their exaggerated size is a factor which prevents us from minimizing their importance.

The Sammelfund in Eanna, Level 3 at Warka included a large number of beads, along with seals, amulets, and ritual vases. We do not know whether these belonged to the Uruk or Jemdet Nasr Period, nor do we know the purpose for which the collection was made,

19. S. H. Hooke, *Babylonian and Assyrian Religion* (London, Hutchinson's University Library, 1953), pp. 78 f. R. F. Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1904), §2, pp. 10 f. G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws*, 1 (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1952), 61-65; *The Assyrian Laws* (Ox-

ford, Clarendon Press, 1935), pp. 118-126.

20. P. 6.

21. P. 7.

22. Mallowan, "Arp.," p. 97.

23. P. 46.

24. P. 72.

but it may be more significant than is usually thought that they came from a room in a temple area. Some had been strung as necklaces, others had been woven together in a sort of fabric.²⁵ Also from the area of the Anu ziggurat at Warka, beads were found in the post holes of the Posthole building. Again they were in a temple, this time in what might be called its substructure. To be sure, they may have fallen there accidentally, but in view of the finds about to be mentioned in the foundations of the Eye-Temple in Brak, it is worth recording the location of the beads in Warka. In Jemdet Nasr levels at Ur the graves contained beads which had been used for necklaces, girdles, bracelets, and anklets.²⁶ Some of these were in the shape of two triangles set point to point, yet were nevertheless called beads by the excavators. In other sites objects with such a form are often considered to be amulets, another illustration of the close relationship of beads and amulets.

In the Gawra Period in Tepe Gawra²⁷ beads, though numerous before, occurred in especially large numbers. There were some in occupational areas, but in the graves and tombs they sometimes numbered from a few dozen to tens of thousands. They had been used as ornament for almost every part of the body—the skull, the neck, hands, wrists, waist, knees, and ankles. In one tomb black and white beads had been sewn on cloth in a herringbone pattern. Most beads were plain, but four from a tomb had unusual shapes. Those which were engraved came from occupational areas. An especially interesting object of this period is the cylinder seal from Billa (fig. 544), where again, as on the seal of the Uruk Period, a worshiper brings an exaggeratedly large string of beads to a shrine. Another offering presented on this seal is a comparably large girdle such as was worn by the figure clad in the long ceremonial garment on the celebrated alabaster vase from Warka (fig. 286). On this vase the importance of the girdle is stressed by having an attendant lift and carefully carry the end, following along behind. Clearly both the necklace and girdle were significant in the ritual.

Again in the Ninevite Period beads were numerous.²⁸ Speiser says that in Tepe Gawra they formed “an overwhelming majority” of all the amulets and miscellaneous ornaments found, so that “to each pendant or amulet there are thousands of beads proper.” They came from both graves and occupational areas. Most were plain, but a few were decorated with geometric designs. In Brak the foundations of the Gray Eye-Temple were “literally sown with beads and even the mud-bricks themselves contained beads within them. . . . The beads . . . had been puddled into the clay which was being prepared for the brickwork in the lower courses of the temple walls.” Mallowan assures us he is not exaggerating when he numbers them in the hundreds of thousands, and he is confident that many remain undiscovered in the soil. With the beads were amulets, some in a form which resembled the beads, so that it is not easy to say which were beads and which amulets. Some of these objects Mallowan felt had been brought by worshipers, and because of their potency had been left in place by subsequent builders when the temple was rebuilt. Others had been

25. P. 120.

26. P. 120.

27. P. 138.

28. Pp. 147, 159 f.; cf. also *Tepe Gawra*, I, 133 f.

incorporated into the very bricks themselves in some form of foundation ceremony. It is therefore fair to say that they had been used in rites not for individuals, but in connection with this outstanding building.

The occurrence of beads in prehistoric Mesopotamia has been summarized level by level, and at the same time it has been observed how closely associated with them are the amulets, which at times were less numerous, but were often found with the beads. Scholars have usually chosen to deal with such objects together because it is frequently difficult to distinguish them from each other. Hence, if the same kind of summary of the places where amulets occur were to be given, there would be much wearisome repetition. It may be well to recall some specific occasions where the association of beads and amulets is especially close. On a necklace from a house in Arpachiyah a plain pendant which may have been an amulet accompanied the beads (fig. 121). In Sin Temple 5 at Khafajah a necklace with two strands of beads was found *in situ*, and on the end of each strand was a figurine of a bull (fig. 443). We have already mentioned the collections in Eanna, Level 3 at Warka, that is, in a temple area, and in the Gray Eye-Temple at Brak. Other collections of mixed beads, seals, and figurines came from Sin Temples 3 and 4 at Khafajah.²⁹ The graves and tombs of all levels had them in a casual mingling.

It is also clear that, while the type of amulet which was most popular varied from one period to another, within the periods no particular type seemed more popular in one setting than another. Engraved beads were more numerous in occupational areas in some sites than in the graves; yet a few came from graves, and on the whole far more beads were found in graves than in occupational areas. Similarly, from the places where amulets were found, whether in homes, graves, or temples, we cannot observe differences of function. Such a factor would seem to imply that there was no fundamental distinction of function. Whatever supplementary roles each may have had, basically they all furnished potency for some area of living.

When this is said, however, we are talking in broad terms about their fundamental role. In specific situations some appear to have been considered more suitable than others. Yet the same type of amulet seems at times to have been used for one problem, at times for another. For example, the naked female figures which appeared even before the Hassunah Period,³⁰ which were especially common in all levels down to the Ubaid Period, and which occur occasionally also in later levels, seem to have been used for aid in childbirth.³¹ That this was only one role is apparent from the occurrence of one of them in a collection of cultic objects in a house in Arpachiyah.

Commonly the objects found in graves are supposed to be equipment such as the deceased used in daily life, placed near the body for use after death. This view, too, is probably only a partial explanation. It is quite true that this may have been one function

29. P. 120.

30. P. 6.

31. P. 19.

of many of these objects. More than that, however, these objects seem to have been there because they were inherently potent. In addition to the classes of amulets already discussed, the models of objects used in daily life point significantly to such a conclusion. Such objects were found in Nineveh as early as the Hassunah Period,³² and in Arpachiyah in the Halaf Period.³³ In southern sites model tools of terra cotta appeared in levels of the Ubaid Period.³⁴ In Levels 6 and 4 of the Eanna precinct at Warka—thus not in graves but in a temple area—tiny flasks, combs, knives, and perhaps even food were found, many perforated to be strung on a string (fig. 287). Similar objects were found also in Fara and Telloh.³⁵ As Woolley says,³⁶ archaeologists have been perplexed by these objects, since they have not all come from graves. Some have been found in the houses themselves. It is clear, then, that they were not used exclusively as equipment for a life after death. Such a role they may sometimes have had, but amulets may serve a variety of purposes. That their fundamental importance in ancient Mesopotamia was to contribute potency in different situations becomes ever more apparent.

Since many decorated objects have been found to be amulets, there may be a temptation to infer that in these early periods all ornament was used to contribute potency to whatever object it decorated. Such an extreme position is probably wrong because it fails to take account of what Lévy-Bruhl calls “prelogical mentality.”³⁷

From his study of other cultures Lévy-Bruhl warns that logical deductions based on resemblances are highly dangerous. A design which has one meaning in one situation will have a completely different meaning when used on another object. Thus in a tribe of central Australia a spiral or series of concentric circles incised on one object will signify a gum-tree, while the very same design on another object will indicate a frog:

To our minds, the most essential relation which a drawing bears is that of *resemblance*. Undoubtedly such a drawing may possess a symbolic and religious significance and at the same time arouse mystic ideas accompanied by strong emotions: such drawings, for instance, as the frescoes of Fra Angelico in St. Mark's, Florence. But those are features which are evoked by association of ideas and the resemblance remains the fundamental relation. On the contrary, that which interests prelogical mentality above all is the relation of the semblance, as of the object represented, to the mystic force within it. Without such participation, the form of the object or the design is a negligible factor.³⁸

Such an observation is applicable to the beads we have already discussed, and it is particularly applicable to the pottery of prehistoric Mesopotamia. There are many cases in which the same kinds of decorated pots were used in houses, graves, and in votive deposits.

32. P. 7.

33. P. 18.

34. P. 43.

35. P. 72.

36. UE, I, 151, n. 2.

37. *How Natives Think*, pp. 76 f., 117 f.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

Some of the designs on them probably were potent, but not all of them. One should avoid the conclusion that a design probably was not potent because it was found in a house. It may well have been potent there. In many cases we simply have no basis for judging whether it was or was not potent.

PRE-BABYLONIAN RITUAL TEXTS

We have tried to reconstruct the setting in which amulets were used in prehistoric Mesopotamia. The picture would be more vivid if there were contemporaneous texts to show how people thought. Only at the end of the Prehistoric Period had writing been invented, and we are not yet able to read many of the contemporaneous texts. However, ritual texts which have been preserved from later times consistently show that such a culture as has been outlined continued. We shall give illustrations, not to show exactly how the early artifacts were used, but to suggest comparable uses.

Falkenstein believes that the earliest incantation texts originated in Sumerian times and continued in use until the Third Dynasty of Ur.³⁹ Even at that early stage, however, they were not a product of popular religion,⁴⁰ but were literary creations, entrusted to certain priests who knew their proper use.

A number of these are for aid in sickness. For example, there is one which starts by recalling how Lu-Sukal, son of Gudea was healed, and then makes his case parallel to the illnesses of other people.⁴¹ If the patient is a worshiper of Ea and his goddess Geshtinanna, the incantation asks, should not he, too, be cured? This text is obviously concerned with the great gods of Mesopotamia, not with demons who are only of popular concern. A second text, for aid in rheumatism, seems to have its setting in the temple of Ea.⁴² It also invokes the gods Enki and Ninki. A third early text, to aid a man whose illness is in his head, calls upon Asar-lu-[dug?], the son of Enki.⁴³ Brummer thinks that a fourth was intended to cure not human illness but a sick calf.⁴⁴ This, too, probably was addressed to Ea. All of these, though concerned with the problems of individuals, lay those problems before the great gods of the country.

We have seen how many objects which were apparently potent came from graves. Hence an early incantation which was used in a funeral is interesting:

God, god, god, god, god, god, god,
Spirit, spirit, spirit, spirit, spirit, spirit, spirit;
Divine lord, divine Enlil,
Lord, divine Ea, brother(?)
divine Utu, house evil

39. Adam Falkenstein, *Die Haupttypen der sumerischen Beschwörung*. Leipziger semitistische Studien, N.F. 1 (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1931), 7 f.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

41. V. Scheil in *RA*, 24 (1927), 42.

42. H. F. Lutz, *Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts*, UMBS, 1, 2 (1919), no. 107, p. 64.

43. Huber in *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume* (Chicago, Open Court, 1909), pp. 219-222.

44. V. Brummer in *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, 28 (1906), 214-227. Brummer argues that this text comes from the time of Gudea.

the urn he has obtained;
 dead spirit of the dead, hearken,
 the corpse, the water of Ea
 in the abysmal abode
 have covered it high.
 out of the bounds(?)
 shall not go(?)⁴⁵

This rite is not a simple preparation of the deceased for living in a dreary Sheol, but it is intended to be something potent for handling the perplexing powers by whom the dead is surrounded, or perhaps for handling this now frightening spirit of the dead himself. Yet once again it is the well-known great gods of Mesopotamia who are invoked; and the potency of the words is enhanced by the seven-fold repetition of the words for "god" and "spirit." The number seven, which was imposed artificially on various designs in the art of prehistoric Mesopotamia, is here utilized just as abstractly in this literary form. Clearly the number seven had mysterious potency.

Legrain gives an early and fragmentary incantation which he thinks is a part of the liturgy of Ea:

Obverse
 Bent reed, reed of Engur,
 Spread offerings, away;
 Pure reed, clear cane
 away;
 great cypress, great cypress of purification
 piled up as smoke offering, away;
 Balmy cedar, balmy cedar bent,
 brought out;
 full, shall not rise,
 filled, away;
 pure place,
 , away
 for the pure place,
 has brought;
 the temple of En
 , away;
 the park the yard,
Reverse
 the enclosure they spread,

45. L. Legrain, *Historical Fragments*, UMBS, 13 (1919), no. 33, p. 66.

the abode of Apsu
 for Ea

 the stone , away,
 the
 the statues,
 Doves, birds of destiny all away;
 Seven stones they were, seven stones they were,
 Seven statues indeed, away.⁴⁶

While the other texts mentioned were concerned with rites for problems of individuals, this seems to be concerned with rites for the community. Yet the term "magical" might just as easily be applied to it. It is interesting that ritualistic objects find their place in this incantation, and they are the same as were common in early art. For example, there are trees and plants, which in art are the most common fertility symbol, here specifically reeds, the cypress, and cedar trees. Doves are given symbolic significance as "birds of destiny." Then the text speaks of sacred stones and of figurines. To both the potent number seven is attached.

The tamarisk and a ritual vase are brought into the domain of these charms in yet another early text reproduced by Lutz.⁴⁷

RITUAL TEXTS FROM THE OLD BABYLONIAN PERIOD AND 1ST MILLENNIUM, B.C.

From the Old Babylonian Period a much larger number of ritual texts has been preserved, most of them found in Nippur.⁴⁸ This period seems to have been the time when many incantations now embedded in the great series of the first millennium B.C. originated, for there are points of contact between the two. In the Old Babylonian Period, however, the ritual texts probably were in a state of flux. There are several instances in which the same text occurs in different series.⁴⁹ By the first millennium a normative sequence had been established for many of the incantations. The great series had been canonized.⁵⁰

We have seen how incantations were used in the pre-Babylonian Period both for personal concerns and for community rites. That the same is true for later periods is everywhere apparent, but one unique text makes it especially clear.⁵¹ This text gives a list of the incantations which the *mashmashu* were supposed to have in their repertoire. Now

46. *Ibid.*, no. 35, pp. 67 f.

47. Lutz, no. 123, pp. 81 f.

48. Falkenstein, p. 8.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

51. *KAR*, no. 44; translated by Zimmern in *ZA*, 30 (1915/16), 204-229.

mashmashu is the name for one class of priests, who were royal officials.⁵² They were the chief officiants in the ritual of the great gods, and were likewise the principal recourse for exorcisms or for cures of illness. As we have said, one text gives a list of rites which were the *mashmashu's* responsibility. They include rites for laying the foundation of a house, and, mentioned in the same line, the ritual of mouthwashing.⁵³ The first is sometimes for a community building, it is true, but at times also for the house of an individual.⁵⁴ The second is primarily a part of the community ritual.⁵⁵ There are rites for certain months and there are statutes of the kingship,⁵⁶ all the concern of the state, and, mentioned in the next line, a rite for rheumatism.⁵⁷ In the next four lines exorcisms of evil spirits and charms for different illnesses are listed beside each other as though there were little difference between them.⁵⁸ In succeeding lines we hear of one rite concerned with imprisonment,⁵⁹ one to inspire with courage,⁶⁰ another to quiet a little child.⁶¹ There are rites to bring about the removal of punishment and plague, rites for sacrifices,⁶² rites for the city, house, field, orchard, river, and flowers(?) of Nidaba.⁶³ There are rites to be performed when a canal(?) is dug,⁶⁴ when there is a flood, a scourge of locusts,⁶⁵ and to avoid hostile attack when one has to travel through the desert.⁶⁶ There are rites intended to purify the barnyard, presumably of evil spirits, so that the herd would not become sick.⁶⁷ There are rites for preparing sacred stones and drugs.⁶⁸ The examples selected from a much longer list will give some idea of the comprehensive nature of the priest's responsibilities. He was a royal official, responsible for the great state ceremonials; but his concerns embraced all the activities of both state and individuals. If these rites are to be called magic, then magic was practiced in the temples and palaces as well as in the homes.

The text just cited gives only titles of incantations or their opening lines. Many texts have preserved the incantations themselves, with directions for the accompanying ritual. Some of these texts will be considered: first, those dealing with rites for the community; second, those concerned primarily with the individual.

52. Walther Schrank (*Babylonische Sühnrten besonders mit Rücksicht auf Priester und Büsser*, Leipziger semitistische Studien, 3 [Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1908], 1-14, 96-98) considers the word a Sumerian equivalent for the Assyrian *ashipu*, but this is not certain; cf. Contenau, *La Magie chez les assyriens et les babyloniens*, pp. 105 f., and H. Zimmern, "Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager, Beschwörer und Sänger," in *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1901), pp. 81-95.

53. *KAR*, no. 44, Obv. line 2.

54. For the dedication of a house and city where the king Shamash-shum-ukin is concerned, cf. Lutz in *UMBS*, 1, 2, no. 124, pp. 42 f.; for the dedication of a house belonging to an individual, cf. Zimmern in *ZA*, 23 (1909), 369-376.

55. The ritual of mouthwashing is discussed by Zimmern in his *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, pp. 138 f., note e; in his article in *Orientalische*

Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet, 2 (Giessen, Töpelmann, 1906), 959-967; and by Erich Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier* (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1931), pp. 100-122.

56. *KAR*, no. 44, Obv. line 5.

57. Line 6.

58. Lines 7-10.

59. Line 11.

60. Line 14.

61. Line 15.

62. Line 20.

63. Line 21.

64. Line 22.

65. Line 23.

66. Lines 23, 24.

67. Rev. line 1.

68. Line 3.

Community Rites

For two thousand years, from the middle of the third to the middle of the first millennium B.C., the New Year's, the *Akitu* Festival, was the principal religious festival in Mesopotamia. Pallis has made the most comprehensive study of all the pertinent material,⁶⁹ drawing upon archaeological excavations of Babylon, ritual texts, and liturgical texts for his information. Much of what he describes could be used for our purpose. Three sections of the ritual, as given in Sachs' recent translation, are especially pertinent:⁷⁰

(1) For the preparatory rites of the third day, the *urigallu* priest is instructed to assemble a metalworker, a woodworker, and a goldsmith to make two images, material for which shall come from the treasury of the god Marduk. While they are working, the artisans are to be fed from the sacrificial meat offered in the temple. Precise directions are given for the images:

Those two images (which the artisans are to make) shall be seven finger(-widths) high. One (shall be made) of cedar, one of tamarisk. Four *dušū*-stones shall be mounted in settings of gold weighing four shekels. (205) [One image] shall hold in its left hand a snake (made) of cedar, raising its right [hand] to the god Nabu. The second (image) shall hold in its [left hand] a scorpion, raising its right hand [to the god] Nabu. They shall be clothed in red garments, [bou]nd in the middle [with] a palm [br]anch.

The images are to stand in a temple until the sixth day, receiving such food as is placed before the gods.

On the sixth day (of the month), when the god Nabu reaches the temple Ehursagtila, the slaughterer . . . shall strike off their heads. Then, a fire having been started (215) in the presence of the god Nabu, they shall be thrown into it.

This text gives a vivid picture of two small figurines, only seven *finger-widths* high, holding a snake and scorpion respectively, and with a symbolic palm branch forming their girdles. They are to be adorned with four *dushu* stones, about whose potency we are informed in another text.⁷¹ We are not told the meaning of these figurines, but we see them intentionally broken and destroyed in a fire. Such a process is comparable to the making and destroying of figurines to counteract the effect of "black magic" as we see it in such incantations as, for example, the series *Maqlu*.⁷² In the text quoted the rites are part of a community festival; in the series *Maqlu* the rites are for the benefit of individuals.

(2) On the fifth day various ceremonies of purification are performed. The *urigallu* priest:

shall call (340) a *mašmašu*-priest to purify the temple and sprinkle water, (taken from) a cistern of the Tigris and a cistern of the Euphrates, on the temple. He shall beat the

69. Svend Aage Pallis, *The Babylonian Akitu Festival*, Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Meddelelser, hist.-fil. Kl., 12, 1 (Copenhagen, Andr. Fred. Høst & Søn, 1926). Consult for references to earlier literature on the subject. Cf. E. Ebeling, "Kultische Texte aus Assur," *Orientalia*, N.S. 20 (1951), 399-405; N.S. 21 (1952), 129-

148; N.S. 22 (1953), 25-46.

70. A. Sachs, "Akkadian Rituals," *ANET*, pp. 331-334.

71. P. 199.

72. Pp. 184 f.

kettle-drum inside the temple. He shall have a censer and a torch brought into the temple. [He(?)] shall *remain* in the courtyard; he shall not enter the sanctuary of the deities Bel (345) and Beltiya. When the purification of the temple is completed, he shall enter the temple Ezida, into the sanctuary of the god Nabu, with censer, torch, and *egubbū*-vessel to purify the temple, and he shall sprinkle water (from) the Tigris and Euphrates cisterns on the sanctuary. (350) He shall smear all the doors of the sanctuary with cedar *resin*. In the court of the sanctuary, he shall place a silver censer, upon which he shall mix aromatic ingredients and cypress. He shall call a slaughterer to decapitate a ram, the body of which the *mašmašu*-priest shall use in performing the *kuppuru*-ritual for the temple. (355) He shall recite the incantations for exorcising the temple. He shall purify the whole sanctuary, including its environs, and shall remove the censer. The *mašmašu*-priest shall lift up the body of the aforementioned ram and proceed to the river. Facing west, he shall throw the body of the ram into the river. (360) He shall (then) go out into the open country. The slaughterer shall do the same thing with the ram's head. The *mašmašu*-priest and the slaughterer shall go out into the open country.

In this text “purifying” certainly does not have the usual significance of our English word. Water is only one of the means of “purifying” the temples. The drum is beaten. A censer and a torch are used. The doors are smeared with resin, and a ram is slaughtered. Also the text specifically says that incantations are recited for exorcising the temple. It seems clear that the incantations serve a role very similar to these other rites. The whole process of “purification” is actually a process of exorcism.

(3) On a later day of the festival the following rite is prescribed:

at *sunset*, the *urigallu*-priest shall tie together forty reeds—each three cubits long, uncut, (455) unbroken, straight—using a palm branch as the bond. A hole shall be dug in the Exalted Courtyard and he shall put (the bundle into it). He shall put (in it) honey, cream, first-quality oil. . . . He shall . . . a white bull [before the hole]. The king shall [set all this afire] with a burning reed.

Once again the reeds and the palm branch, which appeared constantly in the art of prehistoric Mesopotamia, are used in rites for which the usual description is “magical.”

The covering of the temple's kettledrum was also an occasion which called for careful performance of ritual.⁷³ The bull whose hide was to be used for the cover first had to be selected according to certain specifications. Then very elaborate rites began:

You shall lay down a reed mat. You shall scatter sand beneath the reed mat, and you shall surround the reed mat with sand. You shall set the bull on the reed mat, tying his legs with a bond made of goat's hair. (15) Opposite the bull, you shall place beer (made of) . . . , in a bronze *drum*. You shall set up [two] *egubbū*-vessels for the deities Kusug and Ningirim. You shall set up [two] stands; on each you shall place seven

73. Sachs, pp. 334–338. The following passages are excerpts from Text A.

loaves of barley bread, seven loaves of emmer bread, a paste of honey and cream, dates, and *šasqū*-flour.⁷⁴ On the bull you shall perform the rite of Washing the Mouth. You shall whisper through a reed tube into the bull's right ear the incantation entitled "*Gugal gumah u kiuš kuga.*" (10) You shall whisper through a reed tube into the bull's left ear the incantation entitled "*Alpu ilittu Zi attāma.*" You shall besprinkle the bull with cedar *resin*. You shall purify the bull, using a brazier and a torch. You shall draw a ring of *zisurra*-flour around the bull.

The slaughter of the bull and the disposal of his various parts are described. The kettle-drum is prepared for later ceremonies. A long list of deities concerned with the occasion is given. Then the text goes on:

(15) On the fifteenth day, you shall cause the bronze kettle-drum to be brought forth to the presence of the god Shamash. You shall prepare five sacrifices for the deities Ea, Shamash, Marduk, Lumha, and the Divine Kettle-Drum. You shall sacrifice a sheep and offer the thigh, the . . . , and *roasted* meat. You shall make a libation of (20) prime beer, wi[ne, and milk]. You shall perform the purifications with brazier and torch and with water from the *egubbū*-vessel. You shall recite three times (the composition entitled) "*Enki Utu . . . zadede.*" You shall cause to be performed the rite of the Washing of the Mouth . . . on it (that is, the kettle-drum). You shall anoint it with *animal fat* and filtered oil. The *kalamahū*-priest (25) shall lay . . . upon the bronze kettle-drum. You shall (then) remove the (sacrificial) accoutrements (and) shall purify it (that is, the kettle-drum) with brazier and torch. You shall grasp the "hand" of the kettle-drum (and bring it?) to the presence of the gods, setting it in (aromatic?) barley seed. You shall *perform* the lamentation (called?) "*Lugale dimmer ankia.*"

In this ritual it is specifically stated that "purification" is to be accomplished with "brazier and torch and with water from the *egubbū*-vessel." So it is clear again that the word is used for removing evil spirits, not for physical cleansing.

More than that, however, the food offerings and the animal sacrifice seem part of these rites of exorcism. This is not to say that they were not votive offerings, for they probably were votive offerings and something else as well. We see the "something else" in the number of loaves of bread which are demanded—"seven loaves of barley bread, seven loaves of emmer bread." We see it in the intermingling of offerings and sacrifice with the recitation of incantations and with the drawing of a magic circle around the bull. Whatever special role each part of this ceremony may have had, all the rites described seem to have shared a common function. All were both removing evil powers and simultaneously building a reservoir of favorable powers.

Furthermore, this text illustrates how what to us might have seemed inanimate symbols of a living presence, to the men of ancient Mesopotamia seemed living presences in themselves. The deities who are to receive the sacrifice are not merely the gods whom we

74. Some lines are omitted at this point.

know by name, but even the kettle-drum. Just as the bull figured in the rite of Washing the Mouth so also did the kettle-drum. And the kettle-drum is to be taken by the hand and led into the presence of the gods. This last statement, which is a literal translation of the Assyrian text,⁷⁵ apparently seems somewhat improbable to Sachs, for he puts in quotation marks the word for "hand," thus implying that it may mean "handle." The Assyrian word is ambiguous at this point; and perhaps in that respect it is true to the psychology of the period, which was sincerely confident that the kettle-drum was an animate being.

Similarly in ritual to be performed in a temple at Warka on special days the Scepter, the Shoe, and the Torch are treated like animate beings:

... upon ... he shall pay his respects to the Scepter, just as ... The Scepter and the Shoe shall "arise," and then the gods and goddesses shall, exactly as before, proceed before him and behind him. They shall descend to the Exalted Court and shall turn toward the god Anu. The *mašmašu*-priest shall purify the Scepter; the Scepter shall enter and be seated. The deities Papsukkal, Nusku, (5) and Sha(?) shall be seated in the court of the god Anu. Furthermore, the Shoe, the divine Daughters of Anu, and the divine Daughters of Uruk shall return, and the Shoe shall enter the Enir, the house of the golden bed of the goddess Antu, and shall be placed upon a stool.⁷⁶

The *mabhu*-priest, wearing a *sash*, shall use a *naphtha* fire to light a large torch, in which spices have been inserted, which has been sprinkled with oil, and upon which the rite of "Washing of the Mouth" has been performed. (30) He shall then face the tray, raise his hand to the deity Great Anu of Heaven, and recite (the composition beginning?) "*Kakkab Anu etellu šamāmi*." You shall (then) clear the large tray, and you shall present water (for washing) hands. The chief *ēribbīti*-priest shall take the "hand" of the torch among the *mašmašu*-priests, the *kalū*-priests, and the singers (on leaving) the temple-tower.⁷⁷

Here it is not merely the ambiguous word for "hand" which makes the symbols seem alive, but the whole ritual process in which the symbols take an active part. Farther along, in a portion of the text which I have not quoted, vessels are intentionally broken. This breaking of vessels corresponds to the breaking of figurines at the New Year's Festival, which we have already noted. Evidence of similar practices has come from excavations.⁷⁸

If such illustrations make the culture of ancient Mesopotamia seem utterly beyond our sharing, I would recall how surely our children today attribute personality to everything in their environment. Not only our children, however, have such reactions. Though we reject such attitudes with our conscious minds, we make use of them in what we call "poetry." We are apt to reconstruct the ancient world as a period in which men were surrounded by ill-defined fears. In this we are probably only partially right. People then, as now, were full of fear. But when men found life in what to us seems inanimate, they

75. Cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens* (Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1921), text following p. 2, AO. 6479, Col. III, line 26.

76. A portion of the text is omitted at this point.

77. Sachs, pp. 338 f.

78. P. 19. Cf. the broken vase pictured on a cylinder seal from Ur (Fig. 379).

often found personalities who were a comfort. The spirits were not always antagonistic.

Another parallel with our culture comes to mind. At intervals, between the musical selections on a benefit radio program sponsored by a hospital, thanks were expressed to men and women who had sent gifts. Some had simply signed their names; but others had given in memory of loved ones. Still others were sending money "for the sake of their own safe return from a journey," or "for the sake of their son's safe return from Korea." In some way it was hoped that the substantial sacrifice they were making might render their hopes more likely to be fulfilled. If to us this spirit of our friends seems a fitting expression of piety, we must accord the same respect to the men of ancient Mesopotamia and their votive gifts. In both there is an element of what the unsympathetic call "magic." We do well, however, to recognize that in both there is a complex mingling of sincere generosity, of a desire to help, coupled with deep-seated hopes and fears.

Again, most of us gain no sense of beauty or dignity from such rites as the Mesopotamian texts describe in detail. The comings and goings of the priests, the ways in which the ceremonial objects are treated, the ablutions and sprinkling of incense, seem tedious superstition. The religious values which were originally there are gone, lost in the details which were intended for the instruction of the Mesopotamian clergy. We therefore do well to observe the results when modern liturgy is reduced to instructions for the priesthood. Simply to read as texts the instructions given to a priest for celebrating Mass⁷⁹ or to those who celebrate the high Holy Days in the synagogue, gives the unsympathetic reader the same sense of confusion of motions and phrases. Only sympathy can make such texts meaningful or spiritually valuable. We shall therefore be slower to treat with condescension the Mesopotamian ceremonies whose actual color and form and movement must have clothed with life the details about which we can only read.

We might draw examples of so-called "magic" in Mesopotamia from other kinds of community rites. For example, in the ritual to be performed when a temple needed repairs, we hear of "special poems of appeasement on the Royal Fringed Garment."⁸⁰ We have for a long time felt confident that this garment had special religious significance, since it was so emphasized in the art. Here our suspicions are confirmed by the ritual.

Again, in the excavations it seemed probable that jewelry was more than ornamental, that it had some ritualistic function. We are thus interested to read that ⁸¹ "the director of the reconstruction of the temple in question shall put on clean clothes, place a *tin* bracelet on his hand, (15) take up an axe of basalt, shall *lift up* the first brick, and put (it) away in an inaccessible place." Both jewelry and axes at times were religious symbols. This, too, is not alien to our customs. Many of us watched, on television or in the movies, the priests putting a bracelet on Queen Elizabeth at her coronation. Specific words were spoken at that time to emphasize the bracelet's symbolic significance; but the words we do not recall, except to know that they were reassuring. The bracelet itself was of prime importance.

79. Adrian Fortescue, *The Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described* (London, Burns, Oates, and Washbourne, 1930).

80. Sachs, p. 340.

81. Sachs, p. 340.

The text translated by Sachs⁸² under the heading, "Daily Sacrifices to the Gods of the City of Uruk," contains specifications about ritualistic vases which may well be pertinent to this inquiry. First there are to be "five gold *sappu*-vessels which are *bound* with (strings of?) *inexpensive* stone(s)." The italics which Sachs uses for the words *bound* and *inexpensive* warn us that the meaning is in doubt; and the words "strings of" are added by Sachs to suggest a possible interpretation. For our purpose the participle *bound* is most important. This corresponds to the Akkadian *rak-s[u]*,⁸³ which Thureau-Dangin⁸⁴ translated "incrusted(?)." If this gold vase is set or inlaid with stones, it would be an interesting parallel to some of the clay and stone vases we have found in early Mesopotamia; but the word ordinarily means *bound*, as Sachs has pointed out.

Again there are to be four gold *tigidu* vessels, of which "one gold *tigidū*-vessel is *painted* with blossoms." The word *painted* is again in doubt. It corresponds to the Akkadian *she-en-di-it*,⁸⁵ about whose meaning there is great uncertainty. Thureau-Dangin did not attempt to translate the line.⁸⁶ The most important discussions of the word have been given by Dougherty⁸⁷ and Crawford,⁸⁸ and other references will be found in their volumes. From Dougherty's discussion it seems that in Neo-Babylonian times *she-en-di-it* meant *branded* or *incised*, derived from the verb *shamatu*. If this is the meaning of this text, it prescribes that a gold vessel which is incised with a floral design be used in the ritual. This would seem to have a bearing on the incised vases, even though they were of stone or clay, which have been found in early levels in settings where they seemed to have been used in ritual. Crawford, however, has shown that in Isin times SHE.GIN, the Sumerian counterpart of *she-en-di-it*, signified a commodity, weighed out to be used on leather and wooden objects, as a coloring agent or preservative. Crawford recognizes that there are nearly 1,500 years between the texts with which he is concerned and those of Dougherty. It is hard to see how the same word could have changed its meaning so radically. Possibly we are concerned with different words.

Yet another sentence speaks of a gold *tigidu* vessel which "has rope wrapped around its neck." One wonders whether this is to be taken literally as a rope, perhaps a potent knotted cord, tied around the neck. The Akkadian word here translated "rope" is the ideogram *riksu*.⁸⁹ The stone vessels which had moulded or incised ornament resembling a rope around the body come to mind.⁹⁰ It is equally possible, however, that this "rope" and the stones "bound" to the vessel mentioned above are "magical" devices actually tied around the vessels to enhance their potency. We might add that the same conclusion would be reached if these passages signified ornamentation; but in that case our parallels with the early material would be clearer.

We have only attempted to give a few illustrations from texts which are concerned with

82. *Ibid.*, p. 343.

83. Cf. Thureau-Dangin, pp. 62, 75, line 8.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

85. *Ibid.*, pp. 62, 76, line 13.

86. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

87. R. P. Dougherty, *The Shirkātu of Babylonian Deities*, Yale Oriental Series, Researches, 5, 2 (New

Haven, Yale University Press, 1923), 81-85.

88. Cf. the unpublished dissertation (Yale, 1948) by Vaughn E. Crawford, "Terminology of the Leather Industry in Late Sumerian Times," pp. 34-42.

89. Thureau-Dangin, pp. 62, 76, line 14.

90. P. 114.

community ritual of ways in which so-called "magical" rites and amulets were used in ancient Mesopotamia. It would be possible to cite many more; for example, we could quote the incantations used in times of lunar eclipse by both the king, acting for the state, and by terrified individuals.⁹¹ In one text the rites for the funeral of a king are given, and here, too, a figurine is a prominent ritualistic object.⁹² In the texts concerned with divination, priests, acting for both individuals and state, perform much the same kind of rites to the same gods. There is no relegation of "magic" to the periphery of religion.

Rites for Individual Benefit

Among the problems for which individuals turn to "magic," defense against enemies ranks high. The series *Maqlu*⁹³ and *Šurpu*⁹⁴ both are concerned with this problem, and specifically when "black magic" is supposed to have been performed. Both names signify "Burning," apparently because in the series the enemies and all pertaining to them are consigned to the fire.

In these texts it is quite clear that the "black magic" might have come from any source, whether among a man's personal family and friends or from the temple officials. The temple magicians and devotees of Ishtar are specifically mentioned.⁹⁵

In *Maqlu* figurines are referred to again and again as one of the most important instruments for both offense and defense. The injured man thinks likenesses of himself have been made to harm him,⁹⁶ so he makes figures of those he considers responsible. Some of them are of men whom he knows, but also he includes the gods who are likely to be perpetrators of evil.⁹⁷ The images are made of various substances: copper,⁹⁸ bronze,⁹⁹ dough,¹ asphalt,² grape-skins,³ clay,⁴ tallow,⁵ or clay overlaid with tallow,⁶ tamarisk and cedarwood,⁷ meal,⁸ and wax.⁹ To some of these he applies the torch and burns them.¹⁰

91. Lutz in UMBS, 1, 2, pp. 23 f.; A. T. Clay, *Epics, Hymns, Omens, and Other Texts*, Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan, 4 (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1923), 12-17; L. W. King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery* (London, Luzac, 1896), pp. 3-16, 24-29, 37-41, 74-76, 118-129; Ungnad in *Orientalia*, N.S. 12 (1943), 293 f.; Contenau, *La Magie chez les assyriens et les babyloniens*, pp. 145-147; Ebeling, *Tod und Leben*, pp. 91-96.

92. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-65; cf. Dhorme, "Rituel funéraire assyrien," *RA*, 38 (1941), 57-66.

93. Gerhard Meier, *Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû*, *AfO*, Beiheft 2 (Berlin, 1937); Knut L. Tallquist, *Die assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlû*, *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, 20, 6 (Helsingfors, 1895).

94. Erica Reiner, *Šurpu, A Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations*, *AfO*, Beiheft 11 (Graz, 1958); Heinrich Zimmern, "Die Beschwörungstafeln Šurpu," in *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1901), pp. 1-80.

95. Meier, pp. 23, lines 40-45; 31 f., lines 76-86; 33, lines 117-130; Reiner, p. 31, lines 40-49.

96. Meier, pp. 10, line 96; 12, line 131; 29 f., lines 27-47; 34, line 3; 48, lines 58 f.

97. *Ibid.*, pp. 10, lines 73-96; 12, lines 135-139; 22, line 18; 49, lines 67-70.

98. *Ibid.*, pp. 16, line 91; 58, lines 29, 30.

99. *Ibid.*, pp. 16, line 103; 18, line 134.

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 17, line 125; 58, line 31; 64, lines 184 f.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 18, line 148; 20, line 181; 58, lines 33, 35 (here overlaid with stucco); 59, lines 44, 46.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 19, line 159; 58, line 34.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 58, lines 32, 40; 59, line 48; 64, line 179.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 58, lines 28, 42.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 21, line 205; 58, line 37.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 21, line 229; 58, line 39.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 49, line 70.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 59, line 43.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 12, line 135; 33, lines 132-138; 58, lines 25-27.

Others he lays before the deity, sometimes crossing them, thus acquiring power over them.¹¹

One significance of the cross, which is very common in prehistoric Mesopotamia, thus becomes evident. Whether the crossing of these figurines refers to a mark inscribed on them or to the laying of one figurine across another, the potency of the form as a form becomes apparent.¹²

Sometimes he washes his hands over the images,¹³ or places a potent stone on their abdomen,¹⁴ or strikes them three times with a branch.¹⁵ At times he raises them aloft, first to the right, then to the left, recites an incantation, and throws them to the dogs.¹⁶ The injured man also fears that images of himself have been consigned to the power of some corpse,¹⁷ or buried in a wall, or on a doorsill, or in a gateway, or on a bridge where people might trample on them, or in a hole at a spring where people wash, or in the garden where gardeners dig.¹⁸ Or they might have been put where dogs, swine, birds, or evil spirits could eat them.¹⁹

We recall that figurines were used in the ritual for the New Year's Festival in a similar, though not precisely the same, way. The potency of all of them was clearly in mind. This latter point is the factor which seems to illuminate the use of figurines in prehistoric Mesopotamia. Just as the images of the ritual texts are not primarily representations of gods, but potent objects of practical use, so were the prehistoric figurines. The parallel cannot be carried much farther, however, for there is little to indicate the specific purpose of the prehistoric figurines.

Not only the figurines but also a large number of other objects are cited as useful amulets. Many of them are familiar in our investigation. Plants and trees, which seemed so commonplace in the art of all periods, emerged as highly popular "magical" instruments. We hear of the tamarisk, date palm, fir cones,²⁰ branches of flowers,²¹ chicory,²² cypress,²³ and a number of less clearly identified varieties. A portion of the ninth tablet of *Shurpu* catches the spirit with which these are used:

1. Incantation. Tamarisk, lone tree, growing in the high plain!
2. Your crown above—your root below—
3. your crown, above, is a tree releasing everything,
4. your root, below, is a . . . terrace,
5. your trunk is the gods.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 14, line 37; 16, line 92; 37, line 96; 49, lines 67-73.

12. The cross as a potent form also appears in the fragmentary passage: *ibid.*, p. 59, lines 60-65.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 55, lines 44-46; 63, lines 154, 159, 160-174; 64, lines 180, 182.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 64, line 179.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 64, line 181.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 64, lines 186 f.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 29 f., lines 27-32.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 30, lines 33-38.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 30, lines 43-47.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 8, lines 21-24; Zimmern, p. 29; Reiner, p. 31.

21. Meier, p. 8, line 46.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 41, lines 26 f.; 42, lines 37-43.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 63, line 172; Zimmern, p. 49.

6. . . . with bathed head,
7. you cleanse, you purify the mouth of the humans,
8. may the evil tongue stand aside!

9. Incantation. 'Purification-plant,' clean plant, growing out from the Apsû!
10. Above your crown—below your root—
11. above, your crown gives life upwards,
12. below, your root cleanses downwards;
13. may your trunk purify (everything for) the rites.
14. . . . with bathed head,
15. you cleanse, you purify the mouth of the humans,
16. may the evil tongue stand aside!

17. Incantation. Pure reed, clean reed, growing in the heart of the reed-thicket!
18. Above you sparkle, below you sparkle,
19. above (and) below you are filled with sparks;
20. above, you bring the justice of Utu,
21. below, you bring to perfection the handwashing (ceremony) of Enki.
22. With bathed head, for the releasing . . .
23. A man with bathed head speaks (thus) to you:
24. you cleanse, you purify the mouth of the humans,
25. may the evil tongue stand aside!

26. Incantation. Soap-plant, horn-like, pure mouth-wash!
27. Who, on a day of joy, has caused words of good portent (to be spoken),
28. who causes that the decisions are pronounced with a pure mouth,
29. you cool the . . . of the tongue,
30. you quiet down the . . . of the tongue.
31. [A m]an with bathed head speaks (thus) to you:
32. you cleanse, you purify [the mouth of the hu]mans,
33. may the evil [tongue] stand aside!²⁴

Not only does this text show that such plants as were part of early designs were considered potent in the incantations; here the potency is put into words. If we were to ex-

24. Reiner, *Šurpu*, pp. 45 f. See also Clay, *Epics, Hymns, Omens, and Other Texts*, pp. 43 f., and Zim-mern, pp. 45-47.

press this fact in another way we might say that plants are here considered symbols, and their symbolic significance is verbalized. At the same time, the stage where this verbalization takes place is not far above the stage where they are considered potent and no more.

Furthermore, contrary to what scholars usually expect when they deal with symbols, there is no concern here to enumerate the specific contributions which each plant is to make.²⁵ In the repetitions of reassuring words the distinctions between them fall away. By all of them a man is purified and "delivered out of all his troubles."

Once again we see that the world of antiquity was not wholly a world of fear, but that through the potency of these symbols men sought and found reassurance.

Among the other amulets which find their parallels in the art of the Prehistoric Period are boats,²⁶ hands,²⁷ and "magical" stones.²⁸ These symbols, too, are effective to control the hostile powers.

The mixture of hope and fear which is responsible for charms comes to particularly clear expression in another section of *Maqlu*:

Incantation: I make you fruitful, my self, I make you
fruitful, my body,
As Sumuqan makes his cattle fruitful,
The sheep with its lamb, the gazelle with its young, the ass
with its foal,
As the plow makes the earth fruitful, and the earth receives its
seed.
I have laid an incantation upon my self,
Let it make my self fruitful and drive the evil out.
And the sorcery from my body may
The great gods expel.²⁹

Not all the texts protecting a man from his enemies were contained in these particular series. Ebeling³⁰ has published others which contribute further details about figurines. In these incantations some are made only to be destroyed, like the figurines we saw in *Maqlu*.³¹ One figure is outlined in meal on the ground so that the enemy may exhaust his anger on it harmlessly.³² Again a figurine of a bull is to be modeled with a rider on its back. In the bull's mouth will be set a band of red wool. The rider, who represents the

25. That there is less distinction than is usually thought between symbols was discovered several years ago by E. R. Goodenough: "The Evaluation of Symbols Recurrent in Time, as Illustrated in Judaism," *Eranos-Jahrbuch*, 20 (1952), 307-309.

26. Meier, p. 26, lines 123-125, 128 f.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 27, lines 158-169; 28, lines 184-191.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 60, line 92.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 47, lines 23-30 (rephrasing by Stephen Simmons). Two similar passages are found in texts translated by Ebeling in *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, 13 (1921), 137, 141 f.

30. "Beschwörungen gegen den Feind und den bösen Blick aus dem Zweistromlande," *Symbolae . . . Hrozný*, 1, *Archiv Orientální*, 17 (Prague, Orientální Ústav, 1949), 172-211; *Aus dem Tagewerk eines assyrischen Zauberpriesters*, *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft*, 5, 3 (Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1931), 13-27. See also the article by C. Leonard Woolley, "Babylonian Prophylactic Figures," *JRAS* (1926), 689-713, with notes on texts by Sidney Smith.

31. *Symbolae . . . Hrozný*, 1, 175, 193.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 173, 179.

enemy, is to have his name written on the left side, not for purposes of precision, but because the name is per se a potent factor which can be used to work a man harm. Then bull and rider are to be buried in a river.³³ In still another text³⁴ two figurines of tamarisk wood are to represent the gods Anu and Adad. Unlike the others, these figures are preserved and set up to ward off a man's enemies.

Often human ills were attributed to evil spirits, and "magic" was directed against them. The series *utukki limnuti*, meaning "the evil spirits," is one collection of such incantations.³⁵ Another series is directed against one specific female demon, Lamashtu.³⁶

For our purposes we need not analyze the contents of these series in detail. We are concerned with the amulets which were used along with the incantations. Once again the tamarisk and other kinds of trees and plants are important tools for controlling the spirits:

Go, my son
Marduk!
Water from the asammu-vessel
Pour out.
Tamarisk and mashtakal-plant
Place on his heart.
This man atone!
Censer and torch
Cause thou to go forth.
The curse which is in the body of man
Like water
May run away!³⁷

Birds also occasionally appear:

O thou that dwellest in ruins, get thee to thy ruins,
For the great lord Ea hath sent me;
He hath prepared his spell for my mouth
With a censer for those Seven, for clear decision,
He hath filled my hand.
A raven, the bird that helpeth the gods,
In my right hand I hold;
A hawk, to flutter in thine evil face,
In my left hand I thrust forward.³⁸

33. Ebeling, *Aus dem Tagewerk eines assyrisches Zauberpriesters*, pp. 20-23.

34. *Symbolae . . . Hrozný*, 1, 176, 200.

35. Falkenstein, *Die Haupttypen der sumerischen Beschwörung*, pp. 12 f., has given a list of the texts. For translations see R. Campbell Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, Vol. 1, *Evil Spirits* (London, Luzac, 1903); Lutz in UMBS, 1, 2, pp. 35-40; Gurney, "Babylonian Prophylactic Figures and their Rituals," *AAA*, 22 (1935), 76-95.

36. Thureau-Dangin, "Rituel et amulettes contre

Labartu," *RA*, 18 (1921), 161-198; Lutz, pp. 73-81; Myhrman, "Die Labartu-Texte. Babylonische Beschwörungsformeln nebst Zauberverfahren gegen die Dämonin Labartu," *ZA*, 16 (1902), 141-200; Ungnad, "Zu den Labartu-Texten," *ZA*, 33 (1921), 69-71; Karl Frank, *Babylonische Beschwörungsreliefs*, *Leipziger semitische Studien*, 3, 3 (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1908), 73-87.

37. Lutz, p. 36; see also p. 38 and Thompson, pp. 8-11, 23, 103, 105, 119, 137.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

Then the next lines of this text bring out the significance of special robes, such as we have seen on some of the seals and vases:

With the sombre garb of awe I clothe thee,
In sombre dress I robe thee,
A glorious dress for a pure body.³⁹

As more texts appear in which trees, plants, birds, and animals were used because they were potent objects, it seems more suitable that pictures of them should have been used on pottery or seals or other amulets. Such pictures may have been decorative, but they were also charged with potency. And it is not lesser deities who are concerned with these charms, but such great gods as Marduk and Ea.

In both the series *utukki limnuti* and the series concerned with Lamashtu, more is revealed about the use of images. One mutilated passage of the former series seems to select the images in the temple as a powerful deterrent to evil spirits.⁴⁰ These appear somewhat comparable to those prescribed in the text we have already seen, published by Ebeling.⁴¹ Two sections of the Lamashtu series speak of figurines of prisoners, together with their equipment, which are to be set at the head of the sick.⁴² Again clay figures of the demon Lamashtu herself are to be made and destroyed much as were the images prescribed by *Maqlu*.⁴³ In one passage a clay ass is to be modeled, fed, and then perhaps destroyed, though the passage is mutilated before its conclusion is reached.⁴⁴ We recall that figurines of prisoners were found in Warka and Khafajah in levels dating to the Jemdet Nasr Period, and similar figures formed part of the design on cylinder seals of the Uruk Period from Warka. Figurines of what may have been demons and perhaps of an ass also occurred. Whether the prehistoric art objects are to be interpreted precisely in the light of these magical texts is a question we cannot answer. From a broader point of view, however, in the light of these texts we may safely place them in some kind of "magical" setting.

Just as in the series *Maqlu*, so also in ritual concerned with Lamashtu "magical" stones were important. We are not yet sure what kind of stones are meant by the different words used, though R. Campbell Thompson has contributed much by his studies.⁴⁵ An example of the use of such stones and also of "magical" knots is found in an incantation to aid a pregnant woman, translated by Thureau-Dangin:

Stones of white KA you will string on a band of white wool,
pusikku,⁴⁶
Five fingers between them you will attach; a cylinder seal of
haltu stone, a cylinder seal of *šubû* stone, *šû* stones male
and female at her neck you will place;

39. See also *ibid.*, p. 159.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

41. Pp. 187 f.

42. Myhrman, pp. 157, 193.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 161, 165, 195.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

45. R. Campbell Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1936); *On the Chemistry of the Ancient Assyrians* (London, Luzac and Co., 1925).

46. In other texts the word means "combed wool," but its significance in this passage is not clear.

A *šubû* stone of the right to her right hand you will attach; a
šubû stone of the left to her left hand you will attach;
 A “date stone,” a *šab* stone, a *mûšu* stone, an *ašgigi* stone to
 her waist you will attach; a *nibu* stone, a *hulûlu* stone to
 her right foot,
 A carnelian stone, a stone of lapis-lazuli, to her left foot,
 these two stones on a cord
 Of blue wool you will string; in wrappings of red wool you will
 surround them; amid the stones of the hands and feet
 a you will make. (Such is) the binding (to preserve) a
 pregnant woman from losing her child. Example of⁴⁷

The beads which were found close to every part of the body in graves take on new significance in the light of such a text, though we need not conclude that their specific role was the same. We shall return to the cylinder seals mentioned here later.⁴⁸

It is not a great step from the kind of evil spirits we have been considering to the spirits of the dead. Both Thompson⁴⁹ and Ebeling⁵⁰ have collected incantations against them. Thompson’s texts give long medical receipts of which this is one example:⁵¹

If a ghost seizes on a man, *mil’u*-salt, white *mil’u*-salt, black *mil’u*-salt, magnetic iron ore, male sulphate of iron, *šû*-stone, *Asa* (*dulcis*), *akušimanu*(?)-plant, seed of tamarisk, EL.KUL.LA-plant, MUḤ.KUL.LA-plant, fennel-root in refined oil and cedar-blood thou shalt mix, anoint him, and the hand of the ghost shall be removed.

From such “prescriptions” one gathers that the salt and plants are regarded in the same way as the “magical” *shu*-stone.

Ebeling’s texts make frequent references to such amulets as we have seen. One of his texts,⁵² though concerned also with ghosts, prescribes that images of other evil spirits be constructed. The ornament for these figurines is carefully specified. There shall be a headband, a girdle, a necklace, rings on hands and feet, and precious stones. Shoes are mentioned. The figurines are set before such great gods as Shamash, Gilgamesh, and the Anunnaki. The proper rites are performed, and incantations are pronounced to persuade the gods to keep all the evil spirits from getting loose. This text seems to imply that the ornament set on these figurines provided some means of control over them, for their names are also to be written upon them, and this at least is a common method of securing power over an enemy.

Several times images are made of the dead man.⁵³ Often they are destroyed in some way. They may be buried under a thorn bush,⁵⁴ or they may be deposited in a vase.⁵⁵ In one case

47. Thureau-Dangin, pp. 167 f. (rephrasing by Stephen Simmons). For another Lamashtu text where beads are important see Myhrman, p. 185.

48. P. 196.

49. R. Campbell Thompson, “Assyrian Prescriptions for the ‘Hand of a Ghost,’” *JRAS* (1929), 801–823.

50. *Tod und Leben*, pp. 122–156.

51. Thompson, p. 818.

52. Ebeling, pp. 122, 124–133.

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 134, 138, 149, 151.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

images of the dead man and also of the living sick man for whom the incantation is pronounced may be buried in the family's grave in the hope that they may be acceptable substitutes for the man who fears he is about to die. Again an image of the dead is placed first before the god, then buried in the grave; at the same time an image of the sick man is washed with water.⁵⁶ In yet another case,⁵⁷ an image is made of the ghost of the sick man's father. It is dressed in women's clothes and an incantation is said over it. Then those clothes are removed and clean clothes are put on in their place.

A bull's horn is utilized three times. In one text, various substances are poured into it, and it is placed in the sick man's left hand, while a torch is put in his right.⁵⁸ In the second text, seven fragments of bread are mixed with water from a well, a river, and a grave, and then poured into the horn. Other meal and bits of bread are added to the mixture. An incantation is pronounced, and the contents of the horn are poured out before the dead.⁵⁹ Again a bull's horn is filled with water from a grave, meal and bread are added to it, and the contents are poured into a hole opened toward the west.⁶⁰ A gazelle's horn is utilized once as a receptacle to receive an image of the dead. The name of the deceased is written on the image, and both horn and image are buried under a thorn bush.⁶¹ Since a gazelle's horn is not large, we might judge from this text that at least this image was very small.

Again knotted wool of various colors is bound to the forehead of the sick man to drive the ghost away from him.⁶²

Sickness was the occasion for many incantations. It was dealt with in several series, including those we have already considered; but there are some great collections devoted to it alone. The best known are entitled *asakki maršuti* ("Fever Sickness"), and *sag-gig-gamesh* ("Headache").

The physicians of the day came at times from the priesthood, and at times from secular positions.⁶³ They observed symptoms and classified diseases, taking the most prominent, though not necessarily the most significant, symptom as a starting-point. Experience had taught them the value of some remedies, but their *Weltanschauung* caused them to attribute illness to activity of hostile spirits who were unpredictable. They were thus not inclined to observe what seem to us cause and effect; and while they often used beneficial herbs and salves as remedies, they relied also upon the same kind of rites and amulets which we have seen them employing in other situations where they were controlling hostile spirits.

From the large group of medical texts at our disposal⁶⁴ we can only give a few examples which illustrate the mental outlook and the way in which some of the amulets familiar to us were used for such purposes.

56. *Ibid.*, pp. 149, 151.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 136-138.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

62. *Ibid.*, pp. 150 f.

63. Jastrow, "An Assyrian Medical Tablet in the

Possession of the College of Physicians," *Transactions of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1913), p. 368.

64. A partial bibliography of these texts has been given in Goff, "The Role of Amulets in Mesopotamian Ritual Texts," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 19 (1956), 19, n. 12.

A vivid passage from the *asakki marṣuti*, though intended as an incantation, shows us the terror caused by an epidemic in a day before the discovery of germs and contagion. We must remember that the author is not using figurative language when he speaks of Fever as roaming the streets and standing beside a man who cannot see it or sitting beside him when he cannot see it. Such words reflect what seemed the actual experiences of people who were struck down by sudden illness:

Incantation:

The evil Fever hath come like a deluge, and
 Girt with dread brilliance it filleth the broad earth,
 Enveloped in terror it casteth fear abroad;
 It roameth through the street, it is let loose in the road;
 It standeth beside a man, yet none can see it,
 It sitteth beside a man, yet none can [see it].
 When it entereth the house its appearance is unknown,
 When it goeth forth [from the house] it is not perceived.⁶⁵

The text enumerates the measures to combat such illness.⁶⁶ Among them, a suckling pig is to be killed and various parts of the creature are to be placed on the patient. The pig is to act as substitute for him. He is to be washed, and a censer and torch are to be brought near. Twice seven loaves of bread are to be prepared. All of such acts, the text assures us, are performed so that the evil spirit may stand aside and a kindly genius be present.

We might quote fully as vivid descriptions of the discomfort of headaches. Suggested remedies for both fever and headache include a sacrificial kid, which, like the pig, is considered a substitute for the patient,⁶⁷ the fat and milk of cows,⁶⁸ objects made of reeds,⁶⁹ a lighted tamarisk,⁷⁰ the knotted hair of a kid,⁷¹ certain plants and branches,⁷² milk and butter,⁷³ and again a clay figurine of the patient.⁷⁴

When a pig or kid is sacrificed for such a purpose, or when the fat of cows is to be used, it becomes clear that animal sacrifice was by no means exclusively a gift to a deity to please him. Much more was involved. Similarly, when milk and butter are specified, we are reminded of the offering scenes picturing vases which might have held such substances. Clearly, when men brought offerings, their motives were complex.

A further illustration of this point appears in a text to prevent thinning of the beard:

48. When the hair of a man's cheek falls out, the god and goddess of that man are angry with him.

49. Ritual for this: pour dates (and) A.TER-meal before the star MAḪ; set an offering of oil of . . . , honey-water (and) . . . ; sacrifice a lamb; present shoulder-flesh, fatty entrail tissue, and roasted meat; pour out a libation of beer . . . mix . . .

65. Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, 2, 11.

66. *Ibid.*, pp. 17–21.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

71. *Ibid.*, pp. 69, 71.

72. *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 95.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

(?), 𒄠.SI of ibḫu, 𒊩.MAN-plant, . . . malaḫi, with oil. Set it before the star (and) recite this incantation three times.

52. "O thou star that givest light . . . amid the heavens, surveying the world, I N., son of N., this night before thee do homage; judge thou my cause, grant thou my decision; let these herbs remove my ill." When dawn rises(?), . . . the hair of his cheek.⁷⁵

Again, in an incantation to prevent snakebite⁷⁶ a long list of useful objects is given, including plants, silver, and gold. All of these are to be spread out under the stars. Then the text goes on, "[in] the morning thou shalt set an altar in a separate place before the sun-god . . . loaves(?) seven each thou shalt place . . ." From such a text we cannot mistake the fact that the sacrificial cult was utilized as an integral part of these "magical" rites to cure sickness, though it also had other purposes.

"Magical" stones and knots were common remedies for illness. We have already seen examples of these. Another typical illustration is the following:

If a man's breast hurts him, his epigastrium burns him, his stomach [is inflamed (swollen)] . . . that man has lung-trouble, eating and drinking phlegm. For his recovery [thou shalt bray] these seven drugs: lupins . . . , *Crataegus Azarolus*(?), daisy, *kamkadu*-plant, fennel: [(and) mix (them) either] in beer or in wine; he shall drink them without a meal: thou shalt put round his neck silver-"stone," (gold-"stone"), . . . lead-"stone," [and he shall recover].⁷⁷

Again to cure illness figurines both in human or divine form⁷⁸ and in other shapes were utilized. Several texts specify the vulva and stars as effective amulets.⁷⁹

We have said that there was no distinction in antiquity between the religious and the secular. How true this is may be seen from the number of different occasions requiring the use of charms and amulets.

When a house lacked prosperity the owner would call in the services of a priest. As a part of the rites, figurines of human shape and composite creatures of various types were used. Sometimes animal figurines, such as lions, snakes, or dogs, were called for.⁸⁰

We know of a whole series of charms to help a man gain entrance to the palace or to aid one to catch the attention of the great of the land.⁸¹ The ritual which accompanies these charms makes use of rings,⁸² "magical" stones,⁸³ and shoes⁸⁴ as amulets.

75. Thompson, "Assyrian Prescriptions for Diseases of the Head," *AJSL*, 24 (1908), 344 (rephrasing by Stephen Simmons).

76. Thompson, "Assyrian Medical Prescriptions against *Šimmatu* 'Poison,'" *RA*, 27 (1930), 128. See also *AJSL*, 47 (1930), 19; 53 (1937), 233 f.

77. Thompson, "Assyrian Prescriptions for Diseases of the Chest and Lungs," *RA*, 31 (1934), 2 f. See also *RA*, 27 (1930), 127, 129, 133; *AfO*, 11 (1936/37), 338; *AJSL*, 24 (1908), 349; 47 (1930), 7, 13, 21, 24; 53 (1937), 232, 235 f.; 54 (1937), 27 f.; *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 17 (1924), 6 f., 11; Jastrow in *Transactions of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia* (1913), 376, 380 f., 386.

78. Thompson in *AJSL*, 47 (1930), 11; Zimmern,

Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion, pp. 167, 169; Ebeling in *MVAG*, 23, 1 (1918), 31-33, 36.

79. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben*, pp. 49-53; and article in *MVAG*, 23, 2 (1918), 12, 14, 16.

80. Zimmern, pp. 153-159, 163-165; Gurney in *AAA*, 22 (1935), 31-75. Animal figurines were sometimes used for sickness; cf. Ebeling in *MVAG*, 23, 1 (1918), 46. Figurines of dogs were used to dissipate the evil inflicted on a man and his house when a dog had sprinkled the man with urine: *MVAG*, 21 (1916), 17-21.

81. Ebeling, *Aus dem Tagewerk eines assyrischen Zauberpriesters*, pp. 27-44.

82. *Ibid.*, pp. 33 f.

83. *Ibid.*, pp. 34 f., 42, 44.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

Several charms had the object of quieting the baby so that he would sleep at night.⁸⁵ The ritual to accompany one of these charms reads as follows:

Ritual for this: On the head of the child you shall [lay] a
loaf of bread,
recite this incantation three times,
rub [him] from his head to his feet with it,
throw that bread to a dog,
then will the child be quiet.⁸⁶

Since the efficacy of the rite was assumed, we seem to have a tribute to the Mesopotamian baby's sense of humor, but we should not miss the importance of such items to show the ebb and flow of daily life in antiquity where big and little problems were alike problems of religious consequence. In two of the charms to quiet a restless baby Ea himself is called upon for aid.⁸⁷

Of course, problems of love and marriage were the occasion for extensive use of charms and amulets. Ebeling has collected material pertaining to this subject in his *Liebeszauber im alten Orient*.⁸⁸ We are told, for example, that if a woman desired a man, the priest should take an apple(?) or fig(?), recite a charm over it three times, then let the woman suck the juice of the fruit and the man would love her.⁸⁹ Again images of various substances are made to help a man get the wife he wants.⁹⁰ Charms are given to restore sexual potency to an older woman; and figurines of a man and woman in coitus supplement the charms.⁹¹ For increasing the potency of a man a long list of remedies is given, including "magical" stones and plants,⁹² and at times figurines.⁹³

For those who would investigate more thoroughly the use of "magical" stones in ancient Mesopotamia, the series *Lugal-e ud me-lam-bi Nir-gal* is important.⁹⁴ The purpose of the series is not yet fully understood. It consists partly of hymns to the god Ninurta, partly of epic material, and in the ninth tablet probably of a song to accompany a ritual procession.⁹⁵ In the tenth tablet begins an extensive section "establishing the fates" of twenty-six different "magical" stones. Some, like the *shammu*, the *shu*, and the *kashurra* stones, are considered unlucky.⁹⁶ It is interesting to observe how these stones were considered in this text, but this text is not necessarily determinative for the way in which they were viewed at other times. Symbols are ambivalent. If a *shu* stone was thought to be unlucky at times, we have only to recall such a text as Thureau-Dangin gave us⁹⁷ to know that at other times it was lucky.

85. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-13.

86. *Ibid.*, p. 10 (rephrasing by Stephen Simmons).

87. *Ibid.*, pp. 12 f.

88. *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft*, 1, 1 (Leipzig, Pfeiffer, 1925).

89. *Ibid.*, p. 13; cf. also p. 19.

90. *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 21.

91. *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 29.

92. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-56.

93. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

94. Samuel Geller, *Die sumerisch-assyrische Serie: Lugal-e ud me-lam-bi Nir-gál*, *Altorientalische Texte und Untersuchungen*, 1, 4, ed. by Bruno Meissner (Leiden, Brill, 1917), 255-361.

95. *Ibid.*, pp. 350-354.

96. *Ibid.*, pp. 354-357.

97. P. 189.

CYLINDER SEALS AS AMULETS

There has long been a division of opinion among scholars as to the way in which cylinder seals were employed in ancient Mesopotamia. It is clear that they functioned in business transactions to mark the ownership of property or as a sort of signature or label. They were used to protect the contents of jars. As Frankfort has said,⁹⁸ "Small and valuable objects were packed in jars; a piece of cloth or animal skin was then stretched across the opening and bound with string round the neck, and over this fastening, surrounding the neck of the vase between lip and shoulder, moist clay was laid, over which the cylinder seal was rolled in all directions . . . It was, of course, impossible to tamper with the contents of the jar without breaking the sealing." In this sense, then, it is generally agreed that they offered protection to different kinds of objects. It also seems probable, however, that they offered intangible protection since they were both economically useful and at the same time "magically" useful as amulets. They guaranteed the proprietary rights of the men who affixed them to either jars or tablets. Such scholars as Van Buren⁹⁹ and Porada¹ have expressed these views, but there is still sufficient skepticism among many people to warrant our presenting the textual evidence.

Already in this chapter it has become clear from ritual texts that a great variety of human problems were handled by recourse to amulets. That seals were often included among the amulets has not been specifically stated in the chapter since the question is so important that it warrants special treatment. We shall now review some of the situations previously discussed and the way in which seals also are mentioned in the texts.²

First, seals appear in two texts which deal with warding off a man's enemies. One of these is in the series *Maqlu*,³ where the text reads: "A clay figure. Upon a green seal cylinder you shall [inscribe(?)] her word(?)." The "her" seems to refer to the female sorcerer of the preceding verse against whose "black magic" this seal is an effective counter-agent. The Akkadian signs translated here "seal cylinder" form the well-known ideogram for *kunukku*.⁴ The text is ambiguous as to the significance of "green." It may be that a new or fresh seal is what is intended. We are instructed, then, that in order to counteract this sorcerer we should take a seal cylinder and inscribe the sorcerer's "magic" word upon it.

Ebeling has given us the second text which is intended to protect a man from his enemies:

Obverse

33. [This] you shall recite, sulphur in the *hulpaqu*
 34. throw, as soon as the reeds have caught(??) fire, you shall
 with river water

98. *Cyl. Seals*, p. 2.

99. "Amulets in Ancient Mesopotamia," *Orientalia*, 14 (1945), 18-23.

1. *Mesopotamian Art in Cylinder Seals of the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, 1947), pp. 7 f. See also the article by G. D. Hornblower, "A Temple Seal and its Connections," *Ancient Egypt* (1934), 99-106.

2. Professor A. Leo Oppenheim was very kind in giving me several references to ritual texts where the

word *kunukku* appeared.

3. Meier, p. 59, line 48. *šalam ūti ina kunukki arqi amāta-ša ta-[šá-ṭar(?)]*.

4. Cf. the cuneiform text given by Tallquist, *Die assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlu*, 2, Keilschrifttexte, p. 90; and B. Landsberger, *Die Serie "ana ittišu," Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon*, 1 (Rome, Sumptibus Pontificii Instituti Biblici, 1937), 45, pl. 3, Col. III, line 42.

35. extinguish it, afterwards you shall make a figure of his enemy
36. out of potter's clay, turn its arms to the back,
37. with a seal of *šubû*-stone and haematite [his] mouth [seal],
38. set it before Šamaš, his hands [shall he wash] over it.

Reverse

1. The following incantation three times over it [recite]:
2. Incantation: A figure of my enemy are you! The figure (is) strong(?). My *hulpaqu* is the figure []!
3. In your epigastrium have I caused paralysis to arise!
4. I have laid hold of your mouth so that it cannot say evil against me, with a [seal]
5. of *šubû*-stone and of haematite have I sealed⁵ your lips
6. [so that they may no]t bring forth my name.⁶

This text shows vividly that a clay likeness of a man regarded as an enemy was made, its arms bound behind its back, like some of the representations of prisoners we have seen in the early art. Then two seals made of particular stones were rolled across its lips so that it was unable to pronounce any "magical" words. The seals in this case were effective both as a means of sealing and clearly, since special kinds of stone were required, as "magical" agents to ensure the sealing's effectiveness.

We might have interpreted the line quoted from *Maqlu* as referring to an inscribed bead which was not fully a seal,⁷ though I think this would not have been correct. In this second text there is no question. The *kunukku* is a cylinder seal used as an amulet.

Against the demon Lamashtu we have already quoted a text where seals were listed among the amulets.⁸ The purpose of the text was to keep a pregnant woman from losing her baby. Many beads were placed at different parts of her body. Among them was a cylinder seal of *haltu* stone and one of *shubu* stone. These seals served functions quite like the other "magical" stones listed. It is legitimate to think of them as beads like the others. The point is that, according to the text just quoted, they are beads and something else as well. They are at the same time cylinder seals.

Five texts dealing with illness make use of "magical" seals. The first is concerned with aiding a woman at childbirth.

Column I:

1. . . . six times thou shalt plait (twist).
3. . . . garlic(?), **calendula*, *cannabis* . . . seven drugs for plaiting.

5. *ak-ta-nak*.

6. "Beschwörungen gegen den Feind und den bösen Blick aus dem Zweistromlande," *Symbolae . . . Hrozný*, 1, Archiv Orientální, 17 (Prague, Orientální Ústav, 1949), 193.

7. Scheil so explains the *kunukku* which appears in a bilingual lexical text giving a list of stones and ob-

jects of stone: *RA*, 15 (1918), 118. In this text the *kunukku* is on the same footing as egg-shaped beads (NA₄NUNUZ) and round or eye-shaped beads (NA₄IGI). While they are indeed parallel, each has some distinctive feature—in the case of the *kunukku*, it seems to me, the distinctive feature that it is, in addition, a seal.

8. Pp. 189 f.

5. . . . ten(?) drugs . . . (this is from a copy from Assyria).
7. . . . a seal of *ḫalti*-stone not inscribed⁹ . . . will remove(?)

Column II:

1. . . . a seal(?) of lapis, of carnelian, . . . pumice male and female, eight stones . . .
3. If a pregnant woman at her giv[ing birth] . . . When the month is fulfilled(?) . . . **solanum* . . . the charm
ZA.LA. AḪ, ditto, (= "Stir up(?), stir up(?) . . .)
7. Charm: "Stir up(?), stir up(?) . . .
8. Practical prescription for this: . . . in oil . . .¹⁰

It is evident that this text is too fragmentary to show how these seals were used, but as in the text against Lamashtu the seals seem to fill a role similar to other "magical" stones or beads. The meaning of the phrase "not inscribed" is doubtful. Cylinders are known which are completely unfinished and which were presumably ready to be worked on by a lapidary. This text might refer to one of them. Or this might suggest a cylinder seal which was partly engraved but where a space was left for an inscription. We possess seals like this also. In either case, it seems to have been used along with herbs as a potent aid in childbirth.

In the second text¹¹ a seal of *shubu* stone¹² is employed along with herbs and incantations to cure diseases of the mouth. Since the portion of the text referring to the seal is very fragmentary I shall not reproduce Thompson's translation.

A long ritual text, originally published by King¹³ and recently republished by Ebeling,¹⁴ seems to use at least one seal to cure an unspecified illness. The text lists a large number of efficacious objects, including "four gherkin amulets." Then it turns to amulets of stone:

11. . . . 1 of alabaster
12. 1 of gold, 1 of lapis lazuli, 1 of ⁴⁸*mesu* make, alabaster, gold,
13. lapis lazuli, ^{aban}*mesu* between the gherkin amulets arrange on a linen cloth.
- . . .
69. Like alabaster may my light shine, may I not have sadness!
70. Like lapis lazuli may my life be precious before you, may mercy come to pass for me!
71. As (through) gold may my god and my goddess be reconciled with me!

9. *la šatru*, which corresponds to NU.SAR.

10. K. 10507, published by Thompson in *Assyrian Medical Texts*, pl. 66, no. 4 and transliterated and translated by him in "Assyrian Prescriptions for Diseases of the Urine, etc.," *Babyloniaca*, 14 (1934), 83 f., 133-136.

11. Thompson, *Assyrian Medical Texts*, pl. 23, no. 7; *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 19 (1926), Section of the History of Medicine, p. 69.







12. ZA.SUḪ. Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian*

Chemistry and Geology (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1936), p. 91, translates this as "vitriol."

13. Leonard W. King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery* (London, 1896), §12.

14. Erich Ebeling, *Die akkadische Gebetsserie "Handerhebung,"* Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, 20 (Berlin, 1953), 75-85.

72. In the mouth of men may good befall me!
 73. Like ^{is}mesu may they remove my enemies!¹⁵

The words I have placed in italics cannot easily be translated. Ebeling is inclined to think that they all refer to some kind of wood, which he tentatively identifies as "lotus wood" (*Zürghelholz*). The ^{aban}mesu in line 13, which is the usual word for "seal," *kunukku*, he thinks is probably an error for ^{is}mesu. He recognizes, however, that possibly in this line a seal was intended; and again he suggests that a seal was possibly intended in line 73. If ^{is}mesu in line 73 signifies a seal, it seems to me that the words in all three cases probably refer to seals; and I should be inclined to consider this the most probable explanation, since the text had apparently completed its list of plants in the lines above. Whether the ^{is}mesu is a seal of wood, as I tentatively suggested before,¹⁶ cannot be proved or disproved with our present knowledge. The signs in question are  and .  is the determinative for "wood,"  the determinative for "stone."  which is clearly the expression in line 13, is the usual word for "seal," *kunukku*.  is not elsewhere known referring to a seal. It is used for a plant, *celtis australis*, sometimes translated "lotus tree."¹⁷

Whatever the ^{is}mesu may be, then, I see no reason for considering the ^{aban}mesu or *kunukku* an erroneous reading. It is listed in lines 11–13 as an amulet among other amulets. It is arranged on a linen cloth with the other amulets used in the ritual. Then in lines 69–73 the powers inherent in the amulets are put into words. Alabaster, lapis lazuli, and gold, as well as the ^{is}mesu, whose significance we do not know, all guard the man from evil, increase prosperity, lessen the consequences of sin. There seems to be no reason why we should not class the stone cylinder seal in line 13 among them. It is further noteworthy that if we are looking for clear-cut distinctions in this text between the powers attributed to different amulets we do not find such distinctions. The significance of these objects is very vague, but also very real. They are reassuring, active entities.

A list of seals and their values is given at the end of a religious text, the cuneiform copy of which was published by Ebeling.¹⁸ Porada,¹⁹ Meissner, and Budge have quoted a few lines, but otherwise I have been unable to find any translation. The first part of this tablet seems to be a medical text concerned with trouble in the arms, for in Obverse, Column II, lines 6, 7 we read: "If the tendons of a man's arm joint are paralyzed [literally, stand still], the tendons of a gazelle, spun together, shall you bring out."²⁰ Many different "magical"

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 76 f., 80 f.

16. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 19 (1956), 26.

17. Meissner in *MVAG*, 18 (1913), 38; cf. Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Botany*, p. 248.

18. *KAR*, 185.

19. Edith Porada, *Mesopotamian Art in Cylinder Seals of the Pierpont Morgan Library*, p. 7. She has called the following references to my attention: Bruno

Meissner, *Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch*, 2, Oriental Institute, Assyriological Studies, 4 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1932), 64; E. A. Wallis Budge, *Amulets and Superstitions* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1930), p. 87.

20. 6. *shumma awilum shiranu uppishu izzaz***.

7. *shirani šabiti muṭammi tushēṣṣa*.

See also Col. IV, lines 2, 6.

remedies are specified. Cords are to be drawn around his ankle.²¹ Knots are to be tied.²² “Magical” stones are to be used.²³ Perhaps a sacrifice is to be offered.²⁴ Plants and seeds of several kinds are to be utilized.²⁵

At the end of the tablet six seals made of different kinds of stone are listed. After each a statement is made about its value:

10. . . . a seal of hematite (portends) that that man shall lose what he has acquired.
11. . . . a seal of lapis lazuli (portends) that he shall have power; his god shall rejoice over him.
12. . . . a seal of crystal (portends) that he shall enlarge profits; his name shall be good.
13. . . . a seal of ZA.TU.UD.AŠ (portends) that he shall walk in joy of heart.
14. . . . a seal of green marble (portends) that (until he comes) to the grave, favor upon favor shall be bestowed upon him.
15. . . . a seal of GUG (portends) that the “persecutor” shall not be released from the body of the man.²⁶

It is not certain that these concluding six lines belong with the text of the first part of the tablet. Possibly the tablet is a school text on which the scribe wrote two different texts. Professor Stephens suspected this because there is an abrupt change in the literary form at this point, and a double line separates these last six from the preceding lines. If that is true, it is possible that these lines are a fragmentary divination text. In that case, these seals, which are designated by the familiar term *kunukku*, are ritualistic objects. Whatever their role in the first part of these broken lines, they were interpreted by the priests as indicating the god’s will. In the text previously cited a seal was rolled across the mouth of a clay figurine to seal its lips. In this text the seals were vehicles for conveying the god’s will to men, and their specific significance was put into words. In both texts the seals were instruments of the god, however varied their roles may have been. In view of all this evidence, strong arguments to the contrary would be needed to support a view that the *kunukku* was primarily and solely a secular object.

21. Lines 3, 4.

22. Line 8, Col. IV, line 10.

23. Obv. Col. III, lines 1–4; Col. IV, line 15; Rev. Cols. III, II.

24. Obv. Col. III, lines 5, 6: *ina idiq hurapi 10 hurapti tushessa*.

25. Obv. Col. III, lines 7–20.

26. Rev. Col. I, lines 10–15.

10. . . . *kunuk abanšadāni ša amēlu šuātu ša ir-šu-u ú-ḫal-laq*

11. . . . *kunuk abanukni ša bulta išū išu ihaddišu*

12. . . . *kunuk abandušū ša nēmēla i-rap-piš šumšu damiq*

13. *kunuk abanZA.TU.UD.AŠ ša ina ḫud libbi illak*

14. . . . *kunuk abanmušgarri ša ana qibiri migru u migru iššakkanšu*

15. . . . *kunuk abanGUG ša redū ina zumur amēli la iḫpaṭṭar*

Ferris J. Stephens has transliterated and translated this section for me.

If, however, more evidence to support our views is needed, it appears in two other texts. The first, translated by Ebeling, gives a treatment for rheumatism:

1. When the tendons of his leg suddenly consume him, he cannot stand and walk, (then this is) a Sa.Gal sickness of two years.
2. Draw a Lower World river of bitter corn meal, [in] the river put a Šàb.Šur reed, fill a Giš-Bar(?) with corn,
3. set (it?) on the Šàb.Šur reed, cause the patient to set himself upon it, fill a measure with bitter corn,
4. set (it) on the Šàb.Šur reed, lay his sick foot upon it, rub his foot with bitter corn dough.
- 5 and 6 [Incantation formula not understandable].
7. The cow with her horn, the mother sheep with her wool, the river of the Lower World with its bank. Command!
N N, son of N N, may become well!
End of incantation.
8. Incantation against Sa.Gal.
9. Ritual for it: This incantation shall you recite along with the wiping of the leg, that dough
10. lay in a hole in the West, with clay which is mixed with straw its opening close, with a seal of šubû stone and Kur.nu [dib] stone
11. its opening seal,²⁷ his leg purify with a torch, raise him up, grasp his hand,
12. the river of the Lower World, which you have drawn, let him step over seven times and seven times. When he steps across it shall you thus say:²⁸

This passage, a very important one, specifically states that seals of special kinds of stone, which presumably were the most effective, were rolled across clay to guarantee that the “magical” contents of a hole should not be disturbed.

Similar to this text is one against witchcraft, which was published by Lutz.²⁹ Lutz has translated the incantation itself, and the concluding lines which date the text in the reign of Shamash-shum-ukin, but for the lines which prescribe the accompanying ritual he has given no translation. The first two lines of this ritual are so difficult that I offer no suggestions for their translation, but the concluding lines are clearer:

Reverse

13. In a hole in the West lock it up, and then

27. *ta-bar-ram*.

28. Erich Ebeling, “Keilschrifttexte medizinischen Inhalts,” *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, 13 (1921), 132 f. The rest of the text has been omitted. The cunei-

form text is found in *CT*, 23, 1. See also Nougayrol in *RA*, 36 (1939), 31.

29. UMBS, 1, 2, pl. CXXVII, no. 120 and pp. 62 f. Kramer kindly enabled me to see the tablet.

14. with seals of *shubu* and *kurnu* stone you shall seal the opening.³⁰

Like the text of Ebeling, this shows that a hole was dug, "magical" substances were poured into it, and then the opening was secured by rolling two seals of special kinds of stone across it. The action prescribed in both these texts is in many respects comparable to the procedure which was followed in business transactions.

When Thureau-Dangin published the text we have quoted against Lamashtu,³¹ he also gave photographs of stones which he thought were used in similar "magical" rites to fight demons. One of these (fig. 686)³² shows on the obverse an invalid lying with knees bent and hands raised upon a couch. At the head and foot of the couch officiants stand with right hands raised. Two others are behind them. Thureau-Dangin thought the figure at the right was lion-headed. In the register above this scene a series of symbols appear. The clearest are seven stars, a winged solar disk with bird's tail and streaming "ribbons," a crescent, and horned crown. The lower register is very mutilated. The reverse presents a row of seven animal-headed demons above an inscription of which only a single line now remains.

A number of cylinder seals are known which present scenes very similar to those on this stone. A collection of such objects has been published by Meissner.³³ One of them (fig. 687), a seal now in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, has four registers, of which the three uppermost are comparable to those on the stone. The third register from the top again shows a sick man lying on a couch, with knees and hands raised. At his head an eagle(?)-headed figure waves his hand over him. Behind him stands another indistinct figure. At the foot of the couch is a standing figure, whose nature is not clear, with a tail and probably animal's feet. A horned figure, likewise indistinct, is behind him. The register above presents eight demons on either side of an incense altar. At least four of them, and probably all, are animal-headed as on the stone previously described. The uppermost register contains a series of symbols also comparable to those on the "magical" stone. There are seven stars, a crescent, and two different kinds of rosettes, as well as three less clearly defined symbols.

A second cylinder seal (fig. 688) is among the objects which were found in late levels at Halaf. Only one register appears here. Again we have a couch on which the sick man lies, this time in a ritual hut or *urigallu*. One priest kneels at the invalid's head and a second stands at his side and waves a wand over him. Outside the hut are placed some of the same symbols found in the upper register on the previous examples. There are a crescent, a rosette, and probably the seven stars. Then we see three other symbols: an "eye," a symbol common in Kassite and Assyrian Periods, as well as in prehistoric levels; a warrior holding a bow and two arrows; and lastly a dog. Since dogs have appeared abstractly on

30. Rev.

13. *ina hurri sha erib* ¹¹*shamashi pit₃-hi-shi-ma*

14. *ina* ^{ab}*an*_{ku}*nukki* ^{ab}*an*_{shu}*bi* u ^{ab}*an*_{ku}*r-ni baba ta-*
bar-ram.

31. Pp. 189 f.

32. Cf. *RA*, 18 (1921), 176 f.

33. *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft*, 8 (1934), 14-26; *AfO*, 10 (1935/36), 160-162.

prehistoric seals, we shall not follow Meissner in supposing that this is intended to present the invalid's pet.

In this late period symbols had in some cases become emblems of the gods, though a given symbol was not always the emblem of the same god. As in earlier periods, the values of the symbols were not fixed. Thus it is probable that the complex values which had come to be associated with familiar symbols through the years were reinforced when they came to represent the personalities of specific gods. Furthermore, even in a period when symbols at times were emblems of gods it need not be assumed that every time they were used they had this function. Their earlier, more abstract role probably continued alongside the other use. On these seals, whether they were used as emblems of gods or as abstract symbols, they were clearly used for their potency in the fight against demons of sickness.

It is interesting to have familiar symbols, whose potency we had already come to appreciate, placed in a setting where their specific role is clear. In addition, it is interesting to have the close parallel between the seals and the "magical" stone. If the stone was itself used, as Thureau-Dangin thinks, in rites to counter the demon of sickness, it is a probable guess that the role of the seals was the same.

All the instances we have so far given show that cylinder seals were used by individuals as amulets to aid in solving their private problems. That seals were also a part of the official rites of the community seems to be shown by other texts which are, however, so fragmentary that they do not give specific details about their use.

Seals are specified in two texts as playing a part in the New Year's Festival. In one text a seal is used in the rites of the second day.³⁴ It is mentioned along with a tiara, but the section which described the way in which both were used is broken away. A second text, recently published by Ebeling,³⁵ seems to give a seal a prominent place in a procession. First the text speaks of a message (*na-ash-pir-tu*) which comes from the outskirts of the city and is brought into the shrine of Assur. Someone causes it to sit down (*u-she-sha-ab*). A sacrifice takes place. The message is placed in specified boxes (*g/qub-ba-ni*) and the officiant goes to the inner city. Then the ritual prescribes that a seal shall come from the inner city to the *urigallu*, here apparently a standard. What the seal does is not clear, for the remainder of the text is fragmentary. When Ebeling translated the text, he took the word "message," which is the literal translation, as actually signifying "messengers," presumably because the text treats it as though it referred to personal beings. Very possibly, however, this is another instance of ritual where what seem to us inanimate objects are treated as personal beings. In that case it is probable, though not certain, since the text is fragmentary, that the seal too is a personal being, actively participating in the ritual. Whether or not I am right in this supposition, however, the text gives to the seal an important role in ritual which other columns of this tablet seem to place in the New Year's Festival.³⁶

34. Sachs in *ANET*, p. 331; Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, p. 131, line 49.

35. *Orientalia*, 22 (1953), 32-35.

36. Ebeling refers to an even more fragmentary text which has some elements in common with the one just quoted: R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*

Sidney Smith has translated a Neo-Babylonian text which again seems to place seals in a cultic setting, as objects used in shrines:

The King's order to Inurta-shar-ušur, Nabu-nadin-shum, and Marduk-eṭir. It is well with me; let your hearts rejoice within you. When you have seen (this) tablet, take no rest; that seal, whether it be of Ea of Eridu or Ea of Nimid-Lagudu, do you therefore search for either before the divine standard or before Ušur-amatsu or before the gods of the temple or among the stones, and wherever *it is*, take [it] up for me and bring it quickly.³⁷

Smith concludes from this text that "the king desired to obtain possession of a seal which was probably 'before' a divine statue or symbol. This would seem to be proof that cylinder seals were considered suitable for votive offerings to the god in his temple." Perhaps he is making too specific an inference when he concludes that the seals at these shrines were to serve as "votive offerings." In view of the other references we have examined, it does not seem to be inferring too much when we conclude that cylinder seals had some ritualistic use there.

Actual seals are known which may be comparable to the seals mentioned in this inscription. Two unusually large seals of lapis lazuli carved in relief were found in the Esagila Temple of Marduk in Babylon (figs. 689, 690).³⁸ They were part of a collection which had been made in the Greek Period, but which had come from the temple treasure. The first seal (fig. 689), twenty centimeters in height and four centimeters in diameter, had originally belonged to Marduk-zakir-shum, a contemporary of Shalmaneser III (859–824 B.C.). It bore the inscription:

1. To Marduk, the great lord, the mighty, sublime, high, lord of all,
2. lord of lords, exalted judge, who passes judgments for the people,
3. lord of lands, lord of Babylon, who dwells in the Esagila, his lord, has
4. Marduk-zakir-šum,³⁹ king of the *kiššati* [world], the majestic one, his worshiper,

(Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1892), Part I, no. 4, K. 568, see especially Rev. line 5; cf. Leroy Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire*, Part 1 (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1930), Letter 4, pp. 4 f.; Part 3 (1931), pp. 4–6. In this ritual also a seal figures prominently, if that is the correct translation of *ka-nu-ku*. The word at times seems to be used for the tablet which had been sealed, and this is the meaning which Ebeling gives to it here. So much of the text has had to be restored, however, that we can base no argument on it.

37. *JRAS* (1926), 442–446. The text is B.M. 117666,

said to be from Warka. The italics indicate a section which is grammatically difficult.

38. Cf. *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, no. 5 (1900), 4–6, 12–15. A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1929), p. 374, fig. 205. E. Unger, *Babylon* (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1931), p. 210, pl. 25, figs. 38, 39. M. Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, 4, 2, pp. 417, 421, pl. 195, a, b. Meissner in *Der Alte Orient*, 15 (1915), 75 f. Unger in *BASOR*, no. 130 (1933), 18 f.

39. Weissbach reads the name Marduk-nadin-šum.

5. so that he may live, so that it may be well for his family,
his days be long, his throne be secure,
6. so that he may strike down his enemies, and walk before
him always safely,
7. a seal [*kunukku*], of shining lapis
lazuli firmly set in fine gold,
8. an ornament of his pure neck, had made
and given.⁴⁰

The god whose image is carved in relief holds in his left hand a ring and what has been thought to be a representation of a seal.⁴¹ We are specifically told by the inscription that the seal we are describing was intended as an ornament for the god's statue, but also to be used as an amulet to bring health and prosperity to the king and his family. Yet it is called a *kunukku*.

The second seal (fig. 690), found in the same collection, was twelve centimeters high and four centimeters in diameter. It had belonged to Esarhaddon (681–668 B.C.) and bore the inscription:

To Marduk, the great lord, his lord, has Esarhaddon,⁴²
king of the *kiššati* [world], king of Ašur, given [it] so that
he may live.⁴³

Property of Marduk. I(?). Seal [*kunukku*] of Adad of the temple
Esagila.⁴⁴

Again the inscription bears witness to the fact that this is both a *kunukku* and an amulet, and adds that it had belonged to the temple.

A third seal (fig. 691)⁴⁵ which was carved in relief and therefore has been considered as belonging to the same class as the two just described, is known only from its impression, found on a piece of clay in Babylon. This impression measures 4.7 centimeters in height.⁴⁶ The excavators thought that it had served as a jar sealing. This suggestion, of course, cannot be proved, but the existence of an impression of so large a seal, and one carved in relief, makes it entirely possible that the large seals we have just described were used not only for special functions in connection with the cult, but also in a way very comparable to the ordinary smaller inscribed seals.

A fourth seal of lapis lazuli (fig. 692),⁴⁷ only the lower part of which has been preserved, is in the Louvre. This fragment measures 84 by 34 millimeters, but originally was much

40. F. H. Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 4 (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1903), 16 f.; for the cuneiform text cf. pl. 6, no. 2. Rephrasing by Dr. Stephen Simmons.

41. R. Koldewey, *Das wieder erstehende Babylon* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1913), pp. 216 f., fig. 135.

42. Weissbach reads the name Ašur-aḥ-iddin.

43. Or "for his life."

44. Weissbach, p. 17; cf. pl. 6, no. 3.

45. Cf. Jeremias, fig. 217 and p. 388.

46. Unger in *Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes*, edited by H. Th. Bossert, 3 (Berlin, Ernst Wasmuth, 1930), 359, fig. 2.

47. Cf. Unger in *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, 4, 2, p. 416, pl. 195, c.

larger. Like the others this is in relief. It had an inscription, but too little remains for interpretation.

A fifth seal (fig. 693) which Unger thinks belongs in this group because it is very large⁴⁸ also came from the same collection in Babylon where figs. 689 and 690 were found.⁴⁹ The figures and inscription, however, are not in relief as on the others, but are engraved negatively as on most royal and private seals. The seal is of red chalcedony and now measures five centimeters in height, 3.3 centimeters in diameter; perhaps its height was originally as great as six centimeters. Unger has restored the inscription as follows:

This
[seal]
to the god Sam[nuḥa]
“Mušeš”—[Ninurta]
[has dedicated] for [his] life.⁵⁰

“For his life” presumably was a broad term to cover all sorts of contingencies on which the safety and happiness of a man depended. It is the same phrase which appears also on the seals of figs. 689 and 690, and is common on potent, talismanic objects. Clearly this seal was such an object.

This group of five seals, it would appear, had special functions beyond the role of most cylinder seals. Perhaps they are to be compared to some of the large stone maces bearing dedicatory inscriptions to the gods. The large maces were not carried and used in the same way as smaller maces, yet they were fashioned in the likeness of ordinary maces and were in a certain sense considered as maces. So in the case of these large seals. While they were in many respects comparable to ordinary seals, they were nevertheless a special kind of seal. Similarly the group of cylinder seals engraved with scenes depicting incantations for sickness had a special role, although they were actual seals. What we are coming to realize is that there was a common factor uniting all such objects. They were amulets, whatever added functions they may have possessed in business, in medicine, or in the community ritual.

Briggs Buchanan has called my attention to a group of inscribed cylinder seals, originating in the Kassite Period, on which the inscription makes it clear that the seals were used as amulets. Legrain published one bearing an inscription which he reads as follows: “This stone seal is a deposit in Nippur.”⁵¹ At two points this reading is doubtful. The word “Nippur” may much more probably be read as *li-bu-ur*, meaning “May he grow old,” in other words, “May he live long.”⁵² Second, the significance of the word “deposit” is in doubt. The Akkadian word is *sha-ki-in*, which comes from the very common verb *shakanu*, usually signifying “to lay.” In form *shakin* could be a permansive, used here as a verbal

48. Unger in *BASOR*, no. 130 (1953), 15–21 and fig. 2.

49. *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, no. 5 (1900), 5, §14, where an unusually large seal cylinder is described.

50. Unger, p. 18.

51. L. Legrain, *The Culture of the Babylonians*, UMBS, 14 (Philadelphia, 1925), 297, no. 566.

52. For this revised reading I am indebted to Albrecht Goetze.

noun. This is apparently the way in which Legrain has taken it. It could also be an active participle in the construct state. In this latter case, the translation would be literally, "The layer of this seal, may he live long." Again the significance is not certain. It is possible that we still have a reference to a man who has "laid" the seal in a sanctuary, as Legrain would believe. Or it might refer to a man who "lays" the seal, in other words "rolls it," on clay. Or it might refer to a man who "lays" it on himself, in other words, "wears" it. It is in this latter sense that Oppenheim has read the word when it appears on a seal in the Morgan Collection: "The wearer [*ša-kin*] of this seal, Mit . . . son of Abimmuttaš, upon the word of his god Nergal may his name become agreeable, a (tutelary) god and (a) genius may he have!"⁵³ Again *shakanu* may be used in its related, but familiar meaning of "to make," or "create." Perhaps it is this latter significance which lies behind Scheil's translation of the word as "possessor" on a very similar seal: "The author (possessor) [*ša-ki-in*] of this seal, the income from his possessions may the gods Lam(?) and Šamaš increase."⁵⁴ There are eight other seals very comparable to these, none of which seems to clarify the meaning of this term.⁵⁵ We should like to find other texts where *shakanu* is used either of impressing a seal or in the sense of "to wear" something. We have seen that the usual verbs for "impressing" a seal are *kanaku* and *baramu*. The usual term for "wearing" something is *labashu*. So far I have not been able to find other instances of *shakanu* in either of these meanings. Whatever the precise significance of the term, however, it is clear that these seals were used as amulets, for the rest of the inscriptions specify the role which the seals are to play.

Comparable to these is a seal from Ishchali⁵⁶ whose inscription Jacobsen has translated: "Mattatum, daughter of Ubarrum, for her health to Kititum has presented (this seal)." One might say that this seal was a votive offering, but it would seem more correct to think of it as both a votive offering and at the same time an amulet.

On yet another of the Kassite seals a full incantation is inscribed: "Incantation: by Si[rius], by Anu, Enlil [and Ea], by Rimni . . . , by the Tigris and Euphrates, let all which is evil [be exorcised!] Incantation of ḏ. . ." ⁵⁷ This seal may be considered similar to those already described, on which a "magical" rite is being performed beside the bed of a sick person. Instead of the pictured scene, here the spoken incantation is given. The fragmentary figures also inscribed seem to be abstractions such as are found on many other cylinder seals. Again the inference is unavoidable that such an object was used to increase the efficacy of a "magical" rite.

Jacobsen⁵⁸ has published a seal impression of the Isin-Larsa Period on which the sign

53. *MLC*, p. 176, no. 571.

54. Scheil in *RA*, 13 (1916), 14, pl. III, no. 26.

55. J. Menant, *Catalogue methodique . . . des antiquités assyriennes*, Collection de Clercq, 1 (Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1888), 151, no. 259; 155, no. 264; cf. Scheil's reading of these seals in *RA*, 13 (1916), 15. Louvre, Delaporte, 2, 137, no. A. 471; 157, nos. A. 601, A. 603. BN, Delaporte, p. 167, no. 297. W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Washington, Carnegie

Institution, 1910), p. 207, no. 616; p. 216, no. 654.

56. Frankfort in *OIC*, no. 20 (1936), 83 and fig. 68 on p. 90.

57. Louvre, Delaporte, 2, 157, no. A. 602.

58. Henri Frankfort, Seton Lloyd, and Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Gimilsin Temple and the Palace of the Rulers at Tell Asmar*, OIP, 43 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1940), 156, no. 58.

for "heaven" or "god" was inscribed three times. While he agreed that the sign might have been "simply a decorative feature added to fill a space," he thought that more probably it was "considered a powerful spell and meant as a protection for the owner of the seal." He adds, "If this explanation is correct, this seal anticipates the combination of seal and amulet, frequent in Kassite times." With this inscription may be compared a black shell incantation amulet now in the Nies Babylonian Collection at Yale, published by Nies and Keiser.⁵⁹ Here the same word for "god" or "heaven" is repeated seven times. Six other signs are used in succeeding lines, each similarly repeated seven times. Then follow a few disconnected words. The reverse has for the most part been worn away. A third text which is comparable to both has been quoted above.⁶⁰ As we said there, Legrain thought that the incantation on this third tablet had been used at a funeral. These parallels make it seem much more likely that the seal which made this impression was used as an amulet.⁶¹

When Jacobsen said that this seal impression seemed to anticipate the Kassite seals, however, he seemed to presuppose that the Kassite seals we have been examining represented something essentially new in Mesopotamian culture. We have been supposing, on the other hand, that the inscriptions were merely putting into words a characteristic of seals which had been true from the very beginning. This point is of vital importance.

The ritual texts which have included seals as amulets have come from a much later time than the Kassite seals. Are we to suppose that in this respect the Kassites started a new trend in the culture of Mesopotamia which was so important that it was maintained throughout later periods? It is not ordinarily thought that the Kassites were innovators in religion. The usual view is that the Kassites brought in a new military group to control the country, but that they were careful not to interfere with the religious practices they found existing. They even attempted to assimilate their own exotic gods to the indigenous gods of Akkad and Sumer.⁶² If this is true, then we are justified in seeing much continuity in Mesopotamian culture, in spite of many changes. Scholarship in the next few years will open new vistas in the development of religion in Mesopotamia from period to period. The resulting picture, of which we can only catch glimpses now, seems to be a mixture of variables and constants. One constant, I believe, will prove to be a reliance on amulets of many types. We have examined early and late ritual texts. The variants in the way amulets were used seem to have been superficial, not fundamental. The reader will have noted by now the reappearance of the same object as an amulet under many different circumstances. This repetition is important to show the underlying continuity in the use of amulets in different periods and for different purposes. Certainly only the type of inscriptions and the particular designs which appeared on Kassite cylinder seals were new in that period,

59. James B. Nies and Clarence E. Keiser, *Historical, Religious, and Economic Texts and Antiquities*, Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies, 2 (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1920), pl. LXXI, e, Text no. 16, pp. 21 f.

60. Pp. 174 f.

61. For Kassite seals as amulets on which incanta-

tions were inscribed and on which were depicted incantation rites, cf. Van Buren, "The Esoteric Significance of Kassite Glyptic Art," *Orientalia*, N.S. 23 (1954), 33 f.

62. Dhorme, *Les Religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie*, p. 6.

and these factors seem to have been the variables from one period to another. The role of these objects as both seals and amulets remained constant.

We have seen that Marduk-zakir-shum, Esarhaddon, and Mushesh-Ninurta dedicated their seals “for their lives.” It may be well in this connection to recall the *Epic of the Slaying of the Labbu*,⁶³ where a seal is the principal weapon used by the god to kill a mythical monster. The pertinent passage has been translated by Heidel as follows:

1. [. . .] he opened his mouth and [spoke] to god [. . .]:
2. “Stir up the cloud (and) [create(?)] a storm;
3. The seal of thy life [thou shalt hold(?)] before thy face;⁶⁴
4. Attack(?) and sl[ay] the *labbu*!”
5. He stirred up the cloud (and) [created(?)] a storm,
6. The seal of his life [he held(?)] before his face,
7. He attacked(?) and [slew] the *labbu*.⁶⁵

The phrase translated here “the seal of thy life” has been translated by Jacobsen “seal of the throat.”⁶⁶ Since the word *nāpīsh-tu* can be used in either meaning we have only the context as guide. Whether this phrase describes the seal as hanging on a string around his neck, or as a seal which is dedicated “for his life,” as the inscriptions we have just seen would suggest, the epic assumes that the seal is an amulet. In itself it is considered a sufficiently potent weapon to slay the *Labbu*.

Perhaps this is the factor which throws light on three perplexing omen texts which refer to the death of Mesopotamian kings, slain by their followers through the use of seals. Two texts deal with the death of Rimush. The first reads:⁶⁷

If the “finger”⁶⁸ is like a crescent moon, it is an omen of
King Rimuš, whom his palace officials killed with their seals.⁶⁹

A second text, from the Yale Babylonian Collection, has a very similar omen:⁷⁰

If the heart is like a scrotum, it is an omen of Rimuš whom
his servants killed with their tablets.⁷¹

63. For translations, cf. Alexander Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1942), pp. 119–122. P. Jensen, *Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen*, Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, 6, 1 (Berlin, Reuther and Reichard, 1900), 44–47. L. W. King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, 1 (London, Luzac, 1902), 116–121. H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1895), pp. 417–419. For the text cf. *CT*, 13, pls. 33 f., R.M. 282, and Friedrich Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1890), p. 391.

64. *ku-nu-uk-ku na-pīsh-ti-ka i-na pa-ni-ka*.

65. Heidel, p. 121.

66. In *OIC*, no. 13 (1932), 53 f.

67. K. 1365. Cf. Weidner in *Mitteilungen der Alt-orientalischen Gesellschaft*, 4 (1928/29), 231 f. Jastrow in *ZA*, 21 (1908), 278–280; and *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 2, 1 (Giessen, Alfred Töpelmann, 1912), 392.

68. In such a context “finger” refers to a part of the liver.

69. ^{ab}*ku-nu-uk-ku-šū-nu*.

70. Goetze in *JCS*, 1 (1947), 256, no. 13.

71. *ku-nu-ka-ti-šū-nu*.

The third omen text records the death of Shar-kali-sharri:⁷²

If a weapon of the right side returns (into itself), is rented with, and is held together by cords, it is an omen of Šar-kal-šarri, whom his servants killed with their tablets.⁷³

When Goetze translated *kunukatishunu* as “tablets” he was giving his interpretation to these texts which have for long puzzled scholars. Poebel, who accepted the translation of “seals,” said, “Probably they used these cylinders for want of better weapons.”⁷⁴ Langdon, on the other hand, thought that they used seals in this period when seals were “noted for their extraordinary size and beauty.”⁷⁵ Gadd recognized that seals could hardly have been effective for stoning, so he suggested that the courtiers might have pierced the king by copper pins. At Ur seals were attached to such pins by chains, and the pins ordinarily fastened clothing.⁷⁶ When Jastrow placed the omen of Rimush alongside the *Epic of the Slaying of the Labbu* he considered the possibility that *kunukku* should be viewed as a talisman.⁷⁷ He evidently could not comprehend, however, that the ancients really took the power of talismans seriously. Thus he rejected that hypothesis and concluded that it actually was a hard object which served as a weapon. Nevertheless, we have seen that the men of Mesopotamia did indeed take seriously the power of talismans. They used them for every crisis in their lives, both among common people and among royalty, for domestic purposes and for the great ritual of the community. The series *Maqlu* and *Shurpu* are entirely devoted to advice on how to counter “black magic,” how to make use of amulets and other devices to protect oneself from amulets turned against a person by his enemies. We have seen that a seal is one of the amulets specified in such situations.⁷⁸ The omens which tell us of the deaths of these two kings seem, therefore, to be an illustration of the way seals were twice used in “black magic” to bring about death, as *Maqlu* and *Shurpu* feared might happen.

One further important question should be raised. Some objects may have a primarily utilitarian role. A stone in a boy’s pocket, for example, may be primarily useful in a game, and only secondarily a lucky piece. On the other hand, such an object as a medal of St. Christopher may be primarily a lucky piece, while any added uses, such as its value for ornament, are secondary. In which class do seals belong? Granted that they serve both as utilitarian objects and as lucky pieces, is there any way of knowing which use is primary? If an amulet is a “live” symbol, its owner rarely loses the sense of its potency, no matter how many other uses he may find for it. Did seals, then, always have some “magical” character attaching to them? Each person will have to re-evaluate the foregoing evidence

72. Goetze in *JCS*, 1 (1947), 258 f., no. 21.

73. *ku-nu-uk-ka-ti-šu-nu*.

74. A. Poebel, *Historical Texts*, UMBS, 4, 1 (Philadelphia, University Museum, 1914), 131.

75. *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 1 (Cambridge, 1923), 409.

76. C. J. Gadd, *History and Monuments of Ur* (London, Chatto and Windus, 1929), p. 96.

77. *ZA*, 21 (1908), 278–280.

78. P. 195.

for himself to find the answer. It will be remembered that large numbers of seals were found in temples as well as in graves and occupational areas. I have tried to show from the ritual texts for how many aspects of the life of antiquity seals were employed as amulets. The Kassite seals seem also very important in this connection. Their inscriptions demonstrate that they were amulets, while in other respects they conform fully to those seals which precede and follow them. The answer that I would give, then, is yes. Seals were primarily amulets, and their "magical" character contributed much to their usefulness for many occasions.

SUMMARY

The people of Mesopotamia, at least through the period of these texts, saw personal beings in many things which to us seem inanimate. They did not think of these beings as spirits inhabiting inanimate objects, but on the contrary they viewed the objects as living, active individuals who were unpredictable. Thus when we apply to their rites the word "magic" we need to revise our concept. Their rites brought help and protection from the spirits. That the rites would be effective was by no means certain, and the ordinary man looked to the priests as specialists who might be more skillful in carrying them out than he.

Second, all the affairs of living were inextricably bound up with such "magical" practices. There was no aristocracy, no priesthood, no intelligentsia who took a different view. The worship of the great gods and the domestic rites in the homes all were filled with what we should call "magic." This is as true of the sacrificial cult as of the rites to cure illness or to counter the effects of "black magic."

In the third place, we have seen different stages in the way in which amulets were used. Many of those mentioned in the ritual texts have operated on a level where verbalization is not important. They were effective agents for a particular problem. Their presence furnished reassurance. It was not necessary to say why.

At times, however, the role of these amulets was put into words. Sometimes, in an especially vague way, the amulets were dedicated "for the life" of somebody. We need not suppose that such phrases are to be taken literally to mean that they protected a man from actual death, though sometimes that may have been true. Generally speaking, the words had a much broader connotation. They provided protection from all sorts of unspecified dangers.

There are texts, however, which are more specific concerning the significance of amulets. For example, the values of particular plants and stones occasionally were put into words. It is important to notice how lacking in clarity is the distinction between different plants and different stones when these values are expressed. The words give an added sense of reassurance, but the role of one plant or stone is not very different from the role of another. Yet it is at that point that the plants and stones become symbols in the usual sense of the word. Actually, the level in which the meaning is put into words is not far above the level in which the objects were used without formulation of meaning. It thus becomes

evident why we are justified in extending our use of the term "symbol" to include both the nonverbalized and the verbalized use of amulets.

There are, then, three levels at which symbols are used: first, where they are not verbalized in any way and are used because people feel more comfortable with them, there being no necessity for an explanation of their use; second, where very general phrases are employed to give greater reassurance than the design alone offers; third, where specific values are attached to designs, expressed in only a few words, or at times developed in elaborate myths. Actually, the words are in themselves symbols in another medium, comparable to such media as music, ritual, and the dance. As such they are independent of the art forms, though both words and the art may go hand in hand. When on this third level words and art forms do stand together they reinforce each other. Even at this stage, however, the role of these symbols is far closer to the role of the completely un verbalized symbol⁷⁹ than is generally recognized. From another point of view, we are saying what artists have always known, that art speaks of the ineffable.

It will seem to most readers a long step from the kind of art which is the designer's creation of the ineffable to the use of art types as we have seen them in Mesopotamian "magical" rites. The thesis of this chapter is that this step is far less radical than is usually thought. We must not allow ourselves to take symbols less seriously because this is true. It is quite clear that when they were used in what we now call "magical" rites, they formed a highly important stabilizing factor in ancient life. Evidently, by experimentation, people had discovered that designs could be used to stabilize the emotions. The word "magic" seems to have become an unhappy symbol in our time. We must, therefore, either discipline ourselves to put aside our negative reactions to it, or we must find another word to take its place. Only so shall we be able to learn from ancient cultures what role art can have in the emotional life of a people.

79. E. R. Goodenough has discussed the importance of the un verbalized symbol in his article, "The Crown of Victory in Judaism," *Art Bulletin*, 28 (1946), 139 f.

This study has done much to stimulate the thinking of this chapter.

The Origin of Sumerian Mythology

Before the last quarter of the nineteenth century the religion of Israel was described as a homogeneous unit, with little concern for variations from one period to another. That biblical documents needed to be read in terms of their own time and place, and that a development of religious ideas could be traced, was not recognized by scholars. Then came Wellhausen and his school. As a result, it is now possible to watch the dynamic growth of Israelite and Jewish religion from its earliest beginnings in a nomadic period, through the struggles of the kingdoms at the time of the monarchy, emerging as a self-conscious unit in spite of military defeat, playing an important role in world history during the centuries that followed Alexander's conquest of the East and during the emergence of Rome as the dominating political body. The depth of appreciation of Israelite and Jewish religion that has emerged from these studies is obvious, as is the importance of the method that these scholars followed. True, we are still making improvements in the method; but that the religion of a period must be studied on the basis of the literature and archaeological remains originating in the period, not from materials which can be dated later, has become well established.

When the religion of Mesopotamia has been studied, however, less care has been observed in following the same method. There have been many reasons for this failure to watch the date of the literature. Perhaps the extreme difficulty of the Sumerian and Akkadian languages has been the major factor responsible. Scholars have had to be preoccupied with linguistic problems. Furthermore, only in the last twenty years have archaeological excavations been numerous enough to provide a good sequence of facts about the culture.

There are other psychological reasons. The position at which a given historian finds himself in his contemporary world may determine the aspects of the past which stand out conspicuously in his interpretation. If the man lives at a time when there is a general viewpoint about celestial affairs he may unconsciously view a period of the past as having a similar orderly picture, a pantheon, a consistent ritual, in general an organized faith. Of course, to turn that about, it is reasonable to suppose that the earlier thought about matters celestial may well have been as nebulous as our thought today about outer space. What if anything it contains, and what if anything the relation may be between the waves or particles we do not know. Thus the early Mesopotamian may have used words about the spirit world which yet to him were disorganized and unevaluated.

The universal custom of placing the origin of the Sumerian myths now known to us in a very early time may be criticized. By this statement I would not be understood as doubting that there were some myths being told and retold in as early a period as we can see any traces of culture. We have already shown that there may have been rudimentary myths,¹ but they seem not to have been repeated or integrated, and they do not conform to myths known in later periods. It has seemed clear that they were not of central importance in this culture, nor had they been set in patterns which were in the custody of the priesthood. When scholars assume that a long period of development preceded the writing down of Sumerian myths they are not talking about such isolated and rudimentary myths. They are assuming that the myths and epics which we now know from documents of about 2000 B.C. existed in very similar form at a much earlier date. This assumption makes it seem to them justifiable to use these later myths and epics as evidence for religious ideas of the very early periods. It is at this point that I believe they are wrong, and it becomes important to consider the whole evidence for the origin of mythology at greater length.

I have sometimes been told that when I question the validity of using late myths to illuminate religious ideas of an early period I am using the fallacious argument from silence and underestimating the importance of oral tradition. I would not for a moment doubt the important role that oral tradition plays in early cultures. I think, however, that we must find some way to establish the areas in which we may legitimately assume that oral tradition worked. In the literature or archaeology of early times we must find clues to justify attributing particular types of oral tradition to those periods. For example, it seems to me legitimate to push the origin of such ritual texts as we considered in the last chapter to the earliest levels of Mesopotamian culture. In this instance we may admit that there was an extremely long stage of oral tradition behind the earliest written ritual texts. We say this, however, because amulets comparable to those prescribed in the later ritual texts have been found even in pre-Hassunah levels. Some of the representational designs on prehistoric stamp and cylinder seals show symbols or ritual comparable to if not like that described in the texts.

Similarly, if we were to consider other cultures, we might assume a long period of oral tradition behind the writing down of the *Nibelungenlied*. We should do so because there is evidence that in the centuries before this epic took written form the European peoples were telling tales of a kind quite comparable to these Teutonic myths. It is not good method, however, to argue that because a long period of oral tradition lies behind the writing down of myths in some cultures it necessarily lies behind the writing down of myths in all cultures. The question is, what were the important factors in the life of the particular people who are being studied, in the period immediately preceding the writing down of the myths?

The artifacts of prehistoric Mesopotamia do not confirm the presence of such oral tradition as is assumed to lie behind the familiar Sumerian myths. Some of the seals of the Uruk

1. Pp. 67-70.

Period, we recall, seem to illustrate contemporaneous myths, but what were they?² There is fig. 282, in which the bearded figure stands in a boat whose prow and stern end in leafy branches. As was said above, this scene perhaps reflects some of the ritual connected with the irrigation canals which were so important to the fertility of the country. Whether a myth also underlies it cannot be confidently determined.

Again there is fig. 281, in which a bearded figure presents at a shrine a mutilated lion, and a second man proffers an exaggeratedly large necklace. Since many folk-tales tell how a hero overcomes a ferocious beast and is generously rewarded, it seems a reasonable suggestion that such a myth is pictured here.

In fig. 283 a unique one-eyed figure holds in either hand the hind feet of the lions he has killed. Whether some similar tale of a triumphant hero underlies this scene we now do not know. Nor can we be sure that the impression of fig. 284 has an underlying myth. Here is a grotesque quadruped with stag's head and antlers at both ends of its body. The accompanying figures show two other animals, an attacking lion, and two large vases.

The scene on fig. 285 shows a lion standing with forepaws raised. On his back is a platform in three stages, a beribboned standard at either end, and between them the bearded figure standing with arms raised in a gesture of worship.

Scholars who have published these seals will be quick to agree that we cannot be sure that myths lie behind any of these scenes. Whether tales lie at the basis of other designs also cannot be said. If, however, we are looking for evidence of oral tradition which might indicate the beginnings of mythology, these scenes come the closest to it of any that I have been able to find. Yet none is remotely comparable to any written Sumerian myth yet discovered, and none is repeated so that it seems to have corresponded to a tale which was currently popular in the culture.

We must, therefore, continue to ask, how far back in the culture of Mesopotamia can we find evidence of the use of the familiar Sumerian myths? This question is not concerned, let it be emphasized, with sporadic myths, but with the myths that seem to reflect the familiar pattern of later Sumerian mythology.

EARLIEST WRITTEN EPICS

It has been reported that during the 1957-58 season at Nippur one fragmentary literary tablet which mentions the name of Gilgamesh was found in fill covering the Ur III temple of Inanna. The contents of other tablets nearby show that they came from the Ur III temple. Presumably this text also came from that temple. The majority of the tablets with texts of myths and epics come from the Isin-Larsa Period, following the Third Dynasty of Ur, and from the Old Babylonian Period.³ As Kramer says, "Just as a rough point of reference . . . the actual writing of the tablets may be dated approximately 2000 B.C."⁴ From the content of earlier literature, however, it is possible to push the origin of the epic

2. Pp. 67-70.

3. S. N. Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology* (Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1944), pp. 18 f.; Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, Oriental Insti-

tute, *Assyriological Studies*, no. 11 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1939), 145.

4. Pp. 18 f.

material in these tablets considerably earlier. The Sumerian King List contains material which in Jacobsen's opinion reflects mythology, and its earliest form he dates in the reign of Utu-hegal, the king of Uruk who overthrew the foreign Gutians.⁵ Still earlier, from the time when the Gutians were in the country, it is probable that we may date the inscriptions of Gudea,⁶ and these contain numerous elements reflecting the prominence of mythology.

Literary evidence earlier than the time of Gudea, however, is of a much more doubtful character. It consists first of an archaic cylinder, in the possession of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, found long ago in Nippur, and first published by Barton;⁷ and second of the royal building inscriptions of the Early Dynastic Period.

We can say little about the Nippur cylinder because it is fragmentary and so far there has been no agreement about the reading and translation of the text. Barton called it "an incantation copied from a foundation cylinder of the time of the dynasty of Agade."⁸ Jacobsen, among other scholars, however, dated it in pre-Sargonic times.⁹ Both Jacobsen and Kramer¹⁰ think that it contains much which is of a mythological character. On an analogy with other incantations¹¹ we should not be surprised to find myths and incantations associated with each other. Yet this text, the earliest of this sort yet discovered, appears to contain a myth which, so far as I have been able to observe it, seems unlike any other hitherto known. Therefore it cannot be used as evidence that the period in which it was written was a period of great literary activity when the pattern of the well-known Sumerian myths was taking form. Rather, it is comparable to the scattered artifacts of the Uruk Period in which designs appear which seem to reflect underlying myths. But these were not repeated, and they did not correspond to later epics.

Much more important are the royal building inscriptions. Kramer thinks that an analysis of the religious concepts revealed in them supports the view that during the classical Sumerian period a large part of the epic material was created and developed.¹² He does not give that analysis, and it will be well if we investigate how much evidence of mythology there is in those inscriptions.

EPITHETS OF THE GODS IN EARLY DYNASTIC ROYAL BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS

Evidence for mythology would be expected primarily in the epithets which the Early Dynastic rulers applied to the gods. First, then, we shall consider what kind of epithets are to be found in this period. One of the earliest kings to use epithets is Urzaged. He

5. Pp. 140-147.

6. The date of Gudea is quite uncertain. For a date in the closing years of the Gutian dynasty and shortly thereafter, cf. C. J. Gadd, *The Early Dynasties of Sumer and Akkad* (London, Luzac, 1921), pp. 31 f.; Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, p. 138 and n. 10a; Parrot, *Tello*, pp. 207 f. Kramer recently has given new evidence which would place Gudea in the time of Ur-Nammu, Shulgi, or both: "Ur-Nammu Law Code," *Orientalia*, N.S. 23 (1954), 45, n. 3. Not only because of the grammar, as Falkenstein noted (Appendix to *ibid.*, p. 49), but also because the text is fragmentary, the identifica-

tion of the names with known persons which Kramer gives is uncertain.

7. George A. Barton, *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1918), no. 1, pp. 1-20.

8. *Ibid.*, "Introductory Note."

9. P. 146.

10. *Sumerian Mythology*, p. 19.

11. Otto Weber, *Die Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrier* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1907), pp. 56-63, 94 f.

12. *Sumerian Mythology*, p. 19.

styles himself king of Kish, a title which seems to mean that Kish acknowledged his suzerainty. Jacobsen has shown¹³ that he is one of several kings who sought the honor this title bestowed in preference to calling themselves king of the city which they primarily ruled. We do not know from what city Urzaged came, though Jacobsen guesses that he came from Ki-dingir. He dedicates a vase which was found in Nippur to "Enlil, king of all sovereign countries, and to Ninlil, queen of Ki-dingir, his [i.e. Enlil's] fattened cow, the wife of Enlil."¹⁴ If to us it seems curious and irreverent to call Ninlil a "fattened cow," it must be remembered that in the modern Middle East as well as in antiquity fat men and women are those most admired. Such an epithet probably suggested no art symbol, but referred to the beauty and fertility of the goddess. It is interesting that this is one of the very few texts in which the wife of a god is named.

From very early in this period comes a perplexing inscription from Lugaltarsi,¹⁵ another man styled king of Kish, but whose real home is unknown.¹⁶ He tells us that he built a wall for "Anu, king of the lands and for Inanna, the divine lady of the land."¹⁷ There is some question about this translation. First of all, Anu is not mentioned in any other known building inscription prior to the time of Lugalzagesi.¹⁸ This is not a decisive argument to show that Anu could not be mentioned, for he may have been a deity worshiped in whatever city this king ruled but less well known at this period in other parts of the country. In the inscription of Urzaged just quoted, the epithet here applied to Anu was used for Enlil;¹⁹ but there is no reason to suppose that in this early period the use of epithets had so crystallized that a given epithet would be applied to only one god. It is possible, however, that the initial *dingir*, here translated as the proper name of the god Anu, actually is a determinative and that the name which follows either is an abbreviated way of referring to Enlil or is the proper name of a god.²⁰ Second, this translation recognizes that the phrase following the name of the goddess is a descriptive epithet. The usual translation of this part of the text is "for Inanna, the queen Inanna," but such repetition is uncommon in Sumerian. It seems probable that Lugaltarsi was making the parallel between the initial god, whoever he may be, who was king of all lands, and Inanna who was the queen of the particular land of Sumer.²¹ If this reconstruction of the text is correct, it implies that Inanna is the wife of this god. If the god is Anu this text is not in accord with

13. Pp. 181 f.

14. Jacobsen "Early Political Development in Mesopotamia," *ZA*, N.F. 18 (1957), 125, n. 76, tentatively offers this new translation of a text which has long puzzled scholars. There are still difficulties, since the sign which he reads *šilam* is more like *tur*₃. For the usual translation cf. *SAK*, pp. 160 f.; and Barton, *Royal Inscriptions*, pp. 4 f.

15. *SAK*, pp. 160 f.; Barton, *Royal Inscriptions*, pp. 4 f.

16. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, pp. 181 f.

17. This translation was suggested to me by Ferris J. Stephens.

18. For a discussion of the inscription of Entemena where it is sometimes thought Anu is mentioned, cf. p. 222.

19. Enlil is also called "king of the lands" on the cones of Entemena; cf. p. 221.

20. A ⁴Lugal-kur-ra, which is similar to the ⁴Lugal-kur-kur-ra of our text appears in the god-list "An ⁴Anum": *CT*, 24, pl. 35, K. 4349, Rev. Col. X, line 12; cf. Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, 1914, p. 168, no. 1961.

21. For the *Inanna* sign in the value of *mi-im*, *ni-in*, or *mu-ush* = *ma-a-tum* = "land," cf. Deimel, *SL*, §103, ¶5, p. 253.

the later tradition, according to which she is Anu's daughter.²² If the god is Enlil, the text is not in accord with the inscription of Urzaged just quoted, where Ninlil was his wife. We shall see below that other rulers consider Inanna the wife of Dumuzi.²³ It seems clear, then, that whatever the translation of this text may be, it confirms the idea that in this period the relationships between the gods had not been fixed. If this is a reference to Anu, this one text hardly suffices to identify him as the head of what might properly be called a pantheon.

Again in Nippur was found a vase dedicated to Nintinugga by an official named Lugalezen.²⁴ This inscription is fragmentary, and its reading is doubtful. Thureau-Dangin tentatively suggested that it was to be translated: "To Nindinugga, *the mother of each [being]*, consort of [break], by Lugalezen has this been dedicated for the life of his wife and his children." The phrase in italics is in doubt. The sign following the word for "mother" has often been taken as GAR;²⁵ but while Thureau-Dangin tentatively accepted that reading, he was not sure that it was correct. The form of the sign seems to resemble SAL, the ideogram for "woman" or "wife," quite as much as it resembles GAR.²⁶ There are three economic texts only a little later than this inscription in which *ama* SAL appears as a proper name.²⁷ In these texts the words are probably an abbreviation of some longer form. They are found in the proper name *Ama-SAL-me-tug₃* on a tablet in the Harvard Semitic Museum.²⁸ The meaning of this name seems to be "the mother woman has the cultic ordinances." Again the words are found on two texts from the Nies Collection at Yale, published by G. Hackman.²⁹ The first has the proper name *Ama-SAL-KAB*, which probably means "The mother woman is strong." The second has the name *Ama-SAL-me-KAB*, "the mother woman of the mighty ordinances." In all of these instances it is probable that the expression "mother woman" is an epithet of some goddess, though not necessarily always of the same goddess. In the inscription of Lugalezen Nintinugga is called "the mother woman." Her consort clearly was specified in the original, but the name is now broken away.

When we come to the period of Urnanshe of Lagash many more inscriptions have survived. The king devotes most of them to enumerating the number of things he has built for different gods. Fourteen different gods are honored by him. In only a few instances does he use phrases suggesting underlying mythology. On a diorite plaque he has in-

22. Cf. the Assyrian version of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*: Speiser in *ANET*, p. 84, Tablet VI, line 81; Knut Tallquist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta* (Helsingfors, Societas Orientalis Fennica, 1938), p. 332.

23. Pp. 219, 222.

24. *SAK*, pp. 158 f.; Barton, pp. 8 f.

25. *SAK*, p. 158; Charles Fossey, *Manuel d'assyriologie* (Paris, Louis Conard, 1926), no. 34478; Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, 1914, p. 222, no. 2748.

26. H. V. Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions chiefly from Nippur*, The Babylonian Expedition of the

University of Pennsylvania, Series A: 1, Part II (Philadelphia, Reprint from the Transactions of the Amer. Philos. Society, N.S. 18, 3, 1896), pl. 47, no. 111.

27. *DP*, 394, Cols. II, line 6, V, line 8; 459, Col. I, line 4. *TSA*, 7, Col. VII, line 7.

28. *STH*, 1, no. 23, Obv. Col. IX, line 6.

29. George G. Hackman, *Sumerian and Akkadian Administrative Texts*, Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies, 8 (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1958), nos. 148, line 80 and 245, line 21.

scribed an incantation.³⁰ According to Jacobsen's translation the incantation invokes the holy reed whose top sprouts profusely and whose root is in the subsoil, the abode of Enki. Since it is rooted there, the idea underlying the passage is that the reed will be able to communicate with Enki and get his help. That same text calls Enki the god of Eridu.³¹

I know of only one other instance in the period of Urnanshe where an epithet is applied to a god. Lummadubni, the scribe, dedicates a bowl to Baba, who is called "the gracious lady."³²

Eannatum lived in a time when Lagash was at war with the surrounding cities, especially with Umma. The Stela of the Vultures recounts Eannatum's victories, and particularly his victory over Umma, accomplished because the king had the nets of the gods to use against his enemies. Here is a setting where there is ample opportunity for a colorful story of the way in which the gods took counsel together, recognized the iniquity of the men of Umma and came to the rescue of Eannatum; but such a story does not appear and is nowhere implied. We are told of the iniquity of the men of Umma and that Eannatum used the net of one of the gods against them. In all we hear of the net of five gods—Enlil,³³ Nin-hursag,³⁴ Enki,³⁵ Zuen,³⁶ and Utu.³⁷ The text is relatively colorless for lack of mythology. The king seems to be seeking prestige by piling up the names of the great gods who helped him.

As he honors the gods, Eannatum does not hesitate in this text to give several gods the same title, though one might expect that he would have observed distinctions among them. He calls Enki his king, though other rulers consider him king of Eridu. Utu, whose connection with Larsa he himself recognizes,³⁸ is also his king. Enlil is "king of heaven and earth." Between these gods no relationship exists. They have no consorts.

To Nanshe alone among the goddesses he applies an epithet. On a mortar inscription she is "lady of the holy mountain."³⁹ On the Stela of the Vultures he claims that Ningirsu implanted his seed in the goddess Ninhursag and it was she who bore him.⁴⁰ This story

30. *SAK*, pp. 6 f.; Barton, pp. 22 f.; Jacobsen in *JNES*, 2 (1943), 117 f. has given a translation of part of it and has listed other translations.

31. Col. II, line 8.

32. *SAK*, pp. 10 f.; Bowl B; Barton, pp. 22 f.

33. Léon Heuzey and F. Thureau-Dangin, *Restitution matérielle de la Stèle des vautours* (Paris, Leroux, 1909), pp. 51 f., Obv. Cols. XVI, lines 14 f., 17, 21, XVII, lines 16 f.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 52 f., Cols. XVII, lines 22 f., XVIII, lines 18 f.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 54, Col. XIX, lines 2, 3.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 55 f., Cols. XX, lines 1-3, 10-12, XXI, lines 5-8, XXII, lines 9 f.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 56-59, Rev. Cols. I, lines 2-4, 11 f., 25-27, 36 f., II, lines 10-12.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 58, Rev. Col. I, lines 37-40.

39. *SAK*, pp. 28 f.; Barton, pp. 44-47. This study follows the traditional custom of reading the name of this goddess as Nanshe. Recent studies, however, have shown

that at least at times she is known as Nazi. Kramer suggested in *BASOR*, Supplementary Studies, No. 1, p. 30, n. 72 that the two forms might be orthographic and phonetic variants of the same name. Cf. Hackman, *Sumerian and Akkadian Administrative Texts*, p. 13; and the unpublished dissertation at Yale of Richard L. Litke, "A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists, AN: ^aA-nu-um and AN: Anu šá amēli," Tablet III, lines 67, 68, pp. 144 f. Litke seems to think that the name should always be read Nazi. However, in the Chicago Syllabary the name is unquestionably given as Nan-she (Richard T. Hallock), *The Chicago Syllabary and the Louvre Syllabary AO 7661*, Oriental Institute, Assyriological Studies, no. 7 [Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1940], 21, Rev. line 158; cf. pl. II); so Kramer's suggestion would seem to be confirmed.

40. Jacobsen in *JNES*, 2 (1943), 119-121; cf. Heuzey and Thureau-Dangin, pp. 43-45, Obv. Cols. IV, lines 9-30, V, lines 1-15; p. 53, Col. XVIII, lines 8 f.

is focused on his own parentage, however; we do not see any particular interest in knowing that Ninhursag was Ningirsu's consort. Only Inanna, among the goddesses, has a consort, the god Lugal-x, who may be Dumuzi.⁴¹ Eannatum refers to this relationship, however, on only one line of the Stela of the Vultures. The kind of family relationships which form the essence of a developed mythology are elsewhere omitted in Eannatum's inscriptions.

At only two points does Eannatum recognize that any relationship exists between the gods. Ningirsu is once called the *ursag* of Enlil,⁴² an epithet from this time on applied by many rulers to Ningirsu. It is sometimes translated as "hero," sometimes as "warrior." If this term recalled to the hearers any mythical tales about Ningirsu's exploits in the service of Enlil we never hear about them. As the epithet is used, it seems to increase the prestige of Lagash and its rulers by clarifying the power of their own city god because of his relation to the great Enlil.

On the Stela of the Vultures it is said that Ningirsu appears to Eannatum in a dream.⁴³ The oracle simply assures him that he need not fear the intervention of Kish in his struggle with Umma. It is practical and lacks the colorful details which appear in the dreams recorded later by Gudea.

Again Zuen is described as "the mighty bull of Enlil."⁴⁴ The implication of this phrase is uncertain. Since the bull is a prominent symbol in the art of the Early Dynastic Period, this may be a place where art and myth reinforce each other. At a later time, however, Zuen (or Sin) is called the eldest son of Enlil. Utu and Inanna are his children, and his wife is Ningal.⁴⁵ None of these family relationships is suggested by Eannatum. Whatever myth was being told about Zuen as a bull in the Early Dynastic Period interested Eannatum very little.

Enki not only is one of the gods to have a net which Eannatum used, and he is not only his king, but he is also "king of the *abzu*."⁴⁶ Perhaps this phrase reflects the same ideas about the abode of Enki which we saw in the inscription of Urnanshe. In the use of the term *abzu* for the underworld we seem to have a hint that tales about it were beginning.⁴⁷ The extraordinary fact is not that such tales were beginning, but that there are so few indications of their use.

If the usual translation of the epithet which Eannatum applies to Utu were correct, we might see a possible connection with art of the period. When the king claims that Utu threw down his net against the enemies of Lagash, Utu is described as *lugal-zal* (or *ni*)-*sig₁₀-ga*. Thureau-Dangin translated this phrase, "the king with a nimbus of flames."⁴⁸

41. *Ibid.*, p. 62, Rev. Col. VI, line 8. Cf. E. Sollberger, "Le galet B d'Enanatum I^r," *Orientalia*, N.S. 24 (1955), 18, n. 2. Sollberger ("Deux pierres de seuil d'Entemena," *ZA*, N.F. 16 [1952], 12) argues that the name Lugal-x⁴¹ refers to Dumuzi. Cf. p. 231.

42. *SAK*, pp. 26 f., Small Column, Col. I, line 2.

43. Jacobsen in *ZA*, N.F. 18 (1957), 133, n. 90.

44. Heuzey and Thureau-Dangin, p. 55, Cols. XX, lines 1-3, 10-12, XXI, lines 5-8, XXII, lines 9 f.

45. Tharsicius Paffrath, *Zur Götterlehre in den altbabylonischen Königsinschriften* (Paderborn, Ferdinand Schöningh, 1913), p. 124.

46. Heuzey and Thureau-Dangin, p. 54, Col. XIX, lines 4, 20.

47. For a later myth about it see Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology*, pp. 65-68.

48. Heuzey and Thureau-Dangin, pp. 57 f., Rev. Col. I, lines 4, 12, 27; p. 59, Col. II, line 12.

Sollberger has plausibly suggested,⁴⁹ however, that *ni-sig*₁₀ is a phonetic reading of the adjective *nisig*, which means "beautiful," "sparkling." Utu, then, is simply described as "the sparkling king," which is a good description of the Sun-god, but one which carries few implications of artistic representation.

In the inscriptions of Enannatum I, brother of Eannatum, Ningirsu is again called *ursag* of Enlil,⁵⁰ and, in an attempt to claim close relationship between the god and the ruler, Ningirsu is "his king who loves him."⁵¹ He also calls a new god, NinDar, "exalted king."⁵² Inanna is once described as "queen of the lands."⁵³ These are the only epithets which are applied to the deities.⁵⁴

Jacobsen considers Enshakushanna of Uruk as a contemporary of both Enannatum I and of Entemena.⁵⁵ An inscription of this king exists in a shorter and longer version.⁵⁶ Both celebrate his victory over EnbiEshtar of Kish. It is known that Enshakushanna was not only king of Uruk, but son of a man who was king of Ur. Jacobsen has conjectured that Elulu, his father, had made him king of Uruk when the dynasty came to an end there.⁵⁷ In both versions of Enshakushanna's inscription the ruler honors Enlil alone, and in the longer version Enlil is called "king of the lands." If at this period Anu was the chief god of Uruk and Zuen the chief god of Ur, one might expect this ruler who has connections with both cities to honor them also, but he does not. We recall not only Eannatum's reference to Zuen, but also that a seal was found in Ur dating from the time of Mesannepada, which bears the proper name A-^dSin-dim.⁵⁸ So we cannot rely on the argument from silence to say conclusively that Anu was unknown in Uruk. If Sin was honored in Ur but was not mentioned by Enshakushanna, Anu may also have been honored in Uruk. He seems to have been less important there than is usually supposed.

Although many inscriptions of Entemena are known, we find few epithets of gods in them. One epithet recurs eleven times—Ningirsu is the "*ursag* of Enlil."⁵⁹ On two cones Entemena retells the story of the conflict of Lagash and Umma in the days of his grand-

49. In *ZA*, N.F. 16 (1952), 11 f.; see especially p. 12, n. 1.

50. *SAK*, pp. 28 f.

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 30 f.

52. Barton, pp. 48 f., *Pebble Inscription*, Cols. I, line 11, II, line 1.

53. *Nin kur-kur-ra*; cf. Sollberger, "Le galet B d'Enanatum I^{er}," *Orientalia*, N.S. 24 (1955), 16, Col. I, line 2.

54. Barton and Nies find an epithet attached to a god in an inscription first published in James B. Nies and Clarence E. Keiser, *Historical, Religious and Economic Texts and Antiquities*, *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies*, 2 (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1920), 15, no. 3. Cf. Barton, p. 49, no. 5. The inscription is so fragmentary that it is difficult to determine its meaning. One thing, however, is clear. The word *sa*₂ at the beginning of line 2, which both Nies and Keiser and also Barton construe as in apposi-

tion with *e*₂ ^d*Lugal-x*^k, cannot be in that construction; for if that were true *sa*₂ would have to be followed by the constructional element which now stands at the end of line 1.

55. *The Sumerian King List*, Tables I and II, pp. 183 f.

56. A. Poebel, *Historical Texts*, UMBS, 4, 1 (Philadelphia, University Museum, 1914), 151-156. Cf. Barton, pp. 6 f.; and *SAK*, pp. 156 f.

57. Jacobsen, p. 184, n. 44.

58. *UE*, 2, 330, 353, no. 228.

59. *SAK*, pp. 30 f.: Alabaster tablet, Col. I, line 2; pp. 32 f.: Doorsocket D, line 2; Doorsocket E, line 2; Doorsocket F, line 2; pp. 34 f.: Silver vase, line 2; Brick A, Col. I, line 2; pp. 36 f.: Brick B, Col. I, line 2; pp. 38 f.: Cone A, Col. I, lines 22-24. Barton, pp. 52 f.: Fieldstone, Col. I, line 2; pp. 56 f.: Brick C, Col. I, line 2; pp. 60 f.: Cone B, Col. I, line 23.

father, Eannatum. As Eannatum had told us, it was the nets of the gods which destroyed the men of Umma. In Entemena's version only the nets of Enlil and Ningirsu are employed.⁶⁰ On both his cones he speaks of Enlil as "father of the gods,"⁶¹ though no consort of Enlil or any specific children among the gods are mentioned. Coupled with this phrase is "king of the lands."⁶² One gets the impression that these are honorary titles, not colorful epithets reminding his readers of familiar myths.

The exact significance of one epithet applied by Entemena to Enlil is most uncertain. It is found on a fragment of a vase of stalagmite from Nippur.⁶³ The Sumerian text of Col. II is broken at the beginning, but it reads: 2. *a-zal-^aEn-lil-la* 3. *bur-mah* [or *maha*]⁶⁴ 4. *kur-ta mu-na-ta-e*₁₁. There are two possible translations of these lines: first, "the clear water of Enlil and the great stone vase he brought to him from the mountain/s"; or second, "the clear water of Enlil he brought to him in the great stone vase from the mountain/s." The second translation is possible only if one accepts Falkenstein's views about overhanging vowels. Falkenstein admits that there is no lexical evidence for reading the sign *maha*. It is not certain to what the "clear water" refers. The words appear again on Cones B and C of Urukagina,⁶⁵ where the water is from the irrigation canal which the goddess Nanshe is asked to fill. Again on Cylinder B of Gudea this phrase is used of waters connected with irrigation.⁶⁶ Thus our text may have to do with a river or canal which was used for irrigation. Or it may refer to water kept in a vase for ritualistic purposes. The phrase "from the mountain/s" is likewise not clear. *KUR* may mean either "mountain" or "land." Thus the text may refer to an irrigation canal coming from outlying "lands," or it may refer to a river coming down from the mountains. Furthermore, from the time of Sharkalisharri in the Akkad Period there was a temple of Enlil in Nippur known as the *E-kur*.⁶⁷ It is possible, though we have no evidence for it as yet, that such a temple existed in the Early Dynastic Period and that the water of our text referred to holy water from that temple. In the myth of "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World" *KUR* is the word for "nether world,"⁶⁸ which might suggest the interpretation, "the clear water of Enlil and the great stone vase he brought to him from the nether world." This last suggestion seems the least probable of all, since the rulers of the Early Dynastic Period appear most concerned with irrigation and with proper rites for the gods. It seems probable, therefore, that the phrase "the clear water of Enlil" either refers to an irrigation project of Entemena or to water used in some rite of the period.

60. *SAK*, pp. 38 f.: Cone A, Col. I, line 29 (Enlil); pp. 40 f.: Col. VI, lines 21 f. (Ningirsu). Barton, pp. 60 f.: Cone B, Col. I, line 29 (Enlil); pp. 64 f.: Col. VI, lines 33 f. (Ningirsu).

61. *SAK*, pp. 36 f.: Cone A, Col. I, line 3; Barton, pp. 60 f.: Cone B, Col. I, line 3.

62. *SAK*, pp. 36 f.: Cone A, Col. I, line 2; Barton, pp. 60 f.: Cone B, Col. I, line 2.

63. Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, pl. 48, no. 115. Cf. *SAK*, pp. 34 f., Barton, pp. 52 f.

64. Cf. A. Falkenstein, *Grammatik der Sprache Gudeas von Lagaš*, *Analecta Orientalia*, 28, 29, 1 (Rome, Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1949/50), 17.

65. *SAK*, pp. 54 f., Col. XII, line 44.

66. *SAK*, pp. 134 f., Col. XIV, line 25.

67. Ebeling in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, 2 (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1938), 323.

68. Cf., for example, Kramer in *JCS*, 4 (1950), 199-211; 5 (1951), 1-17, passim.

A text which appears on a number of votive cones of Entemena has sometimes been thought to refer to Anu.⁶⁹ The first seven lines of this text may be reconstructed as follows: 1. *dingir inanna-ra* 2. *dingir lugal-e₂-mush-ra* 3. *en-te-me-na* 4. *ensi* 5. *Lagasha^{ki}-ke* 6. *e₂-mush e₂ ki-aga-ne-ne* 7. *mu-ne-du*. The translation of the second line has been most discussed. Gadd thought that the name of the god should be read ^aLugal-E-Ninni (or Lugal-e-Inanna), and that he was "an obscure god to whom some references are given in Deimel's *Pantheon*, p. 166." Krückmann and Lambert⁷⁰ translated the name "Anu, king of the E-Inanna." Once more, as in the inscription of Lugaltarsi discussed above,⁷¹ part of the problem is concerned with the significance of the *dingir* sign. An important factor, however, is the translation of *Lugal-e-mush*. Literally this signifies "king of the temple of Inanna," or "king of the E-mush." When Sollberger⁷² and Falkenstein⁷³ dealt with this text, both recognized that the principal temple to be called the E-mush, or in its full form E-mush-kalama,⁷⁴ was the temple of Dumuzi in Badtibira. This fact is made certain by a text published by Poebel, which gives a list of cities and their temples.⁷⁵ Also of significance, because it confirms the conclusion that it was this temple and not a hypothetical temple at Uruk to which our text refers, is the fact that at al-Medinah, the site of Badtibira, during the winter of 1953-54, Dr. Vaughn E. Crawford found new fragments of cones bearing the same text we are discussing.⁷⁶ When, then, the text of Entemena speaks of "the king of the E-mush," it seems to refer not to Anu but to the god of this temple, namely Dumuzi. The translation of these lines, then, would be: "For ^aInanna and for ^aLugal-e-mush Entemena, ensi of Lagash, built the E-mush, their beloved temple." We should understand ^aLugal-e-mush to be an epithet of Dumuzi or Tammuz, and this is another case where, as on the Stela of the Vultures,⁷⁷ Inanna is understood to be consort of Dumuzi.

Sollberger believes that Entemena uses an epithet for Dumuzi in an inscription from the British Museum⁷⁸ which he has only recently published.⁷⁹ In this inscription Entemena dedicates a temple to Lugal-x^{ki}, whom he describes as ^a*ama ushum-gal anna*.⁸⁰ Sollberger points out that this is the only place where the full form of this epithet occurs in the Early

69. A large number of copies of this text are known: 1. published by Gadd "Entemena: A New Incident," *RA*, 27 (1930), 125 f.; 2. by Barton, "A New Inscription of Entemena," *JAOS*, 51 (1931), 262-265; 3. by Krückmann, "Zu einem Tonnagel Entemenas," *Analecta Orientalia*, 12 (1935), 200 f. De Genouillac, "Nouveaux princes et cités nouvelles de Sumer," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 101 (1930), 216-220, stated that he had acquired four cones and a brick giving the same text; one of these was in the possession of the Louvre, another in the Cinquantenaire at Brussels, and two in his own collection. The Yale Babylonian Collection has eight unpublished specimens: F. J. Stephens, *Votive and Historical Texts from Babylonia and Assyria*, Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts, 9 (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1937), 21-23. On p. 21, n. 11, Stephens refers to another in the possession of Mr. Henry A. Greene of Providence, Rhode Island, and to "a score or more" in the hands of an antiquity dealer in New York.

70. In *RA*, 42 (1948), 193. See also Charles-F. Jean, "Le dieu An à Lagaš, sous Entemena," *RA*, 44 (1950), 127-133.

71. P. 216.

72. *ZA*, N.F. 16 (1952), 11.

73. *Compte rendu de la troisième rencontre assyriologique internationale* (Leiden, Nederlandsch Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1954), p. 45. Cf. also *ZA*, N.F. 11 (1939), 181, 186; *AJO*, 14 (1941-44), 129.

74. Ebeling, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, 2, 367.

75. A. Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*, UMBS, 5 (Philadelphia, University Museum, 1914), pl. LXXXV, 157, line 5.

76. "The Location of Bad-Tibira," *Iraq*, 22 (1960), 197-199.

77. P. 219.

78. BM 115858.

79. In *ZA*, N.F. 16 (1952), 3-22.

80. Line 2.

Dynastic Period, though it is commonly applied to Dumuzi in the Isin-Larsa Period.⁸¹ A somewhat shortened form does appear in the Early Dynastic Period. *Ama ushumgal* is used both as the name of a divinity and as a proper name; and the still shorter form *ama-ushum* once appears as the name of a divinity.⁸² There have been many attempts to translate these words. Falkenstein preferred the translation "the mother is a (or the) (heavenly) dragon."⁸³ Since this phrase is often an epithet of a male divinity, such a translation seemed questionable to Sollberger. In an effort to avoid that difficulty at one time he translated it "powerful god, celestial monarch,"⁸⁴ but he later became dissatisfied with that.⁸⁵ The difficulty seems greater from our logical, modern point of view than it probably appeared in antiquity when hermaphroditic ideas came instinctively to expression without philosophical reflections upon them.⁸⁶ We shall see another instance⁸⁷ where Dumuzi has probably taken over the characteristics of an earlier divinity who may have been a goddess. Indeed the names of such gods as Ningirsu, Ninshubur, and NinDar may be other illustrations of early, unreflective hermaphroditism,⁸⁸ since the element *nin* literally means "queen" or "lady." Jacobsen perhaps lessens this difficulty by analyzing *ushum* and *gal* as two distinct adjectives and translating *ama-ushum-gal-an-ak* as "the one great source (lit. 'mother') of the date-clusters (*an:sissinnu*)."⁸⁹ At the same time he introduces new problems by taking *an* in this context to refer to the date-palm clusters.

In three texts Entemena calls Enki "king of Eridu,"⁹⁰ but he honors him in his building program. Sataran is goddess of Mesilim,⁹¹ but, because the ensi of Umma broke up a stela which was ordered by that goddess and advanced into the territory of Lagash, the men of Lagash made war upon him. It is true that the territory of Lagash was violated by the men of Umma, but Entemena seems to be incensed both at the invasion and at the sacrilege this invasion involved, since the boundaries had been set by Sataran. Gatumdug is "mother of Lagash,"⁹² but we are not told that she is consort of Ningirsu or that any of the gods are her children. Once Entemena speaks of Nanshe as Nanshe of the Sheshgar, a

81. *Ibid.*, pp. 7 f.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 7, n. 4.

83. Cf. Falkenstein in *Compte rendu de la troisième rencontre assyriologique internationale*, p. 43, who summarizes the various suggestions.

84. *ZA*, N.F. 16 (1952), 6.

85. *Orientalia*, N.S. 24 (1955), 18, n. 1.

86. See, for example, the material collected from different cultures in E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, 6, Index 1, p. 236, s.v. Hermaphroditism.

87. P. 233, n. 93.

88. E. Huber, *Die Personennamen in den Keilschrifturkunden* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1907), pp. 25 f. For Ninshubur as sometimes masculine, sometimes feminine, see p. 233, n. 96. From a later period the names Ninagal, Ninda, Ninurta, Ningishzida, and Ninkasi are probably illustrations of the same tendency. Sollberger called to my attention an article by Oppenheim (*JAOS, Supplement*, no. 10 [1950], 12, 41, n. 25). The divinities ⁴Nin.

⁴KAS.I and ⁴Siris, Oppenheim points out, are clearly established as female. Yet late priestly speculations equate ⁴Nin.KAS.I with various male deities; and when ⁴Siris is used to refer in a metonymic way to beer (Dr. Landsberger suggested such an interpretation of the name of this deity; cf. already Hrozny, *OLZ*, 5 [1902], col. 142), the cuneiform texts employ it as a masculine noun." Because at least the priestly speculations are late, Oppenheim did not infer from these facts that there was a tendency to hermaphroditism in ideas about these deities. A systematic collection of the data bearing on this problem is needed. It might appear that the priestly speculations at this point continued a very old train of thought.

89. In *ZA*, N.F. 18 (1957), 108, n. 32.

90. *SAK*, pp. 30 f.: Alabaster tablet, Col. IV, lines 5 f.; pp. 32 f.: Doorsocket F, lines 34 f. Barton, pp. 66 f.: Statue inscription, Col. II, lines 9 f.

91. *SAK*, pp. 36 f.: Cone A, Col. I, line 10. Barton, pp. 60 f.: Cone B, Col. I, line 10.

92. *SAK*, pp. 32 f.: Doorsocket C, line 2.

name which probably designates a particular temple or shrine.⁹³ These titles seem to imply that the gods have a special relation to one city; it is clear, however, that rulers of other cities pay reverence to them. Very little mythology is implied.

Lugal-kigennesh-dudud succeeded Enshakushanna as ruler of Uruk, and later became king of Ur.⁹⁴ He was a contemporary of Entemena and of Entemena's son, Enannatum II. We have few inscriptions from his time, but it is interesting that Enlil alone is honored in them, and he is called "his beloved king" and "king of the lands."⁹⁵

Lugalkisalsi was probably son of Lugal-kigennesh-dudud,⁹⁶ and like him ruled as king over both Uruk and Ur. He was the last king to rule these cities prior to Lugalzagesi.⁹⁷ His inscriptions are very similar to those of his father. Enlil is the only god mentioned, and he is called "his king" and "king of the lands."⁹⁸

On a door socket, Enannatum II of Lagash applies to Ningirsu the familiar phrase "*ursag* of Enlil."⁹⁹ This is the only epithet which he uses for the gods.

Most of the texts from the two succeeding rulers of Lagash, Ene(n)tarzi(d) and Lugalanda are accounts, so epithets are not applied to the gods in their inscriptions.

Urukagina was the last of the early rulers of Lagash. A unique tablet¹ gives his own account of his defeat at the hands of Lugalzagesi, who was at first ensi of Umma, and later king of Uruk and Ur.² The time of Urukagina is thus not far from the beginning of the Akkad Period. It is interesting to see how a change has begun in the epithets used for the gods. Still Ningirsu is the *ursag* of Enlil,³ and he is Urukagina's king.⁴ But Ningirsu also now has a sword-bearer, the god Nin-sar, who is mentioned three times;⁵ and he has a "beloved maiden," the goddess Hegir or Gangir, who is referred to twice.⁶ In addition to these epithets we hear of Ninmah "of the holy grove."⁷ This last phrase is not different in kind from epithets which have been used for other deities earlier in the period. It is a new development, however, when the relationship of other divinities to Ningirsu is carefully described. Developments of this sort presuppose a growing interest in mythology. It is just this kind of detail for which we have searched in vain in the texts of earlier rulers.

In the inscriptions of Lugalzagesi the trend which Urukagina started continued. We never hear of Ningirsu, presumably because he was principally god of Lagash. Three

93. Sollberger in *ZA*, N.F. 16 (1952), 22 f.

94. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, pp. 171 f. For the reading of the name cf. Jacobsen in *ZA*, N.F. 18 (1957), 128, n. 82.

95. *SAK*, pp. 156 f. One inscription is so broken that its contents are in doubt, but Barton may be right in attributing it to Lugal-kigennesh-dudud and in finding that on it Enlil is called "lord of heaven and earth": Barton, pp. 96 f.: Vase C; cf. Hilprecht, pl. 42, no. 88.

96. Jacobsen, *Sumerian King List*, p. 172. Jean points to the fact that Lugalkisalsi's inscriptions do not say so, and thus questions whether it is true: *RA*, 44 (1950), 130 f.

97. Jacobsen, Tables I and II.

98. *SAK*, pp. 156 f.

99. *SAK*, pp. 40 f.

1. *SAK*, pp. 56-59.

2. Jacobsen, Tables I and II, pp. 179 f.

3. *SAK*, pp. 42 f.: Stone tablet, Col. I, line 2; Doorsocket, line 2; pp. 44 f.: Cone A, Col. I, line 2; pp. 46 f.: Cones B and C, Col. I, line 2; pp. 50 f., Col. VII, line 30.

4. *SAK*, pp. 50 f.: Cones B and C, Col. VIII, line 10.

5. *SAK*, pp. 42 f.: Doorsocket, lines 21-23; pp. 44 f.: Cone A, Col. II, lines 14 f.; pp. 56 f.: Oval plate, Col. V, lines 22 f.

6. *SAK*, pp. 44 f.: Doorsocket, lines 26-28; pp. 56 f.: Oval plate, Col. V, lines 16-18.

7. *SAK*, pp. 56 f.: Clay tablet, Col. II, lines 11 f.

times, however, Lugalzagesi calls Enlil "king of the lands,"⁸ and Anu, to whom he now gives the same title, is Enlil's beloved father.⁹ In other words, here for the first time is evidence that Anu is father of other gods. Yet to speak of the gods as actually constituting a pantheon is still a dubious procedure. Larsa is called "the beloved city of Utu" in the only other relationship specified for any god. Before we can speak of a pantheon we need a more developed grouping of deities.

By way of summary, the epithets which are applied to the gods in the royal building inscriptions of the Early Dynastic Period reveal a few traces of underlying mythology, but far fewer than is usually supposed. There are not as many epithets employed as one might have expected, and the epithets show little interest in the relation of one god to another. If we ask who the wives of specific gods were in this period, we find very few inscriptions concerned with this question. First, the obscure ruler Urzaged calls Ninlil wife of Enlil.¹⁰ Second, an inscription of Lugaltarsi may indicate that Inanna was wife of Anu or Enlil,¹¹ although it is not what we should expect from later mythology. Third, there is the inscription of Lugalezen,¹² where Nintinugga is said to be the wife of some god whose name is broken away. Fourth, in the time of Eannatum and Entemena Dumuzi is consort of Inanna.¹³ In all the inscriptions that are known prior to the time of Urukagina the only other occasions where relationships between the gods are expressed are when Ningirsu is called *ursag* of Enlil,¹⁴ and when Zuen is called "the mighty bull of Enlil."¹⁵ Only Eannatum uses the latter phrase, and he uses it only on the Stela of the Vultures. It is, then, with the end of the period, in the time of Urukagina and Lugalzagesi, that an interest in showing relationships between the gods begins to develop. Still there is no interest in the wives of the gods, but in the inscriptions of Urukagina Ningirsu has a "sword-bearer" and a "beloved maiden,"¹⁶ and in the inscriptions of Lugalzagesi Anu is the father of Enlil.¹⁷

We may see, then, some use of mythology in the relationships just described. We may see other traces in the reference to Enki as ruler of the *abzu*.¹⁸ I believe it will be admitted that such instances of the presence of mythology are far less numerous than was expected before investigation, and that they do not reveal a developed, persistent pattern of myths.

ATTITUDE OF EARLY DYNASTIC RULERS TOWARD THE GODS

If this is the case, then what was the attitude of the rulers of this period toward the deities? It might properly be called anthropocentric. A large variety of objects are dedicated to the gods in an apparent attempt to solicit their favor. There are many temples, vases, canals, statues, and walls dedicated to the gods. The rulers honor not only the

8. *SAK*, pp. 152-155: Fragments of different vases, Cols. I, lines 1 f.; III, lines 7 f., 14 f.

9. *SAK*, pp. 152-155: Fragments of different vases, Cols. I, line 14; III, line 16.

10. P. 216.

11. Pp. 216 f.

12. P. 217.

13. Pp. 219, 222.

14. Pp. 219 f., 224.

15. P. 219.

16. P. 224.

17. P. 225.

18. P. 219.

special gods of their own cities, but some of the divinities of neighboring cities as well. In a large number of cases it is specifically stated that the dedication was made "for the life of" the donor or his family.¹⁹

The focus upon the ruler himself, however, is much more extreme than these factors would suggest. While epithets describing or glorifying the god are surprisingly few, as we have shown, the phrases defining the rulers' relation to the gods are many, colorful, and varied. Here is the matter which really interested the kings of this period.

As early as Mesalim the ruler is described as "beloved son of Ninhursag."²⁰ Eannatum too claims Ninhursag as mother. On the Stela of the Vultures he tells how Ningirsu implanted the seed in Ninhursag's womb and Ninhursag bore him, how the parents rejoiced over him, how Inanna took him on her arm, how Ninhursag nursed him, and how Ningirsu set his future height at 5 cubits and a span.²¹ Entemena calls himself "the son born of Gatumdug."²² This sounds as though it were intended literally, as such claims of descent from divine parentage are to be taken in Egypt. Paffrath²³ and Labat²⁴ have studied passages not only from these early kings but from many in later periods and have shown that the rulers often claim not one pair of gods as parents but several others. Eannatum himself probably claimed not only Ninhursag but also Ninki as his mother.²⁵ There is no clarity in the notions of these kings. They suggested, therefore, that formal acts of adoption underlay such passages. Jacobsen, however, reconsidered the subject²⁶ and came to the conclusion that statements about the divine lineage of kings in Mesopotamia were metaphorical. Far from claiming adopted parents, the kings were appealing to the love of the gods for "the child of their body, supposedly stronger than the love toward an adopted child." Such a metaphor, Jacobsen tells us, is still alive in Iraq. "It is not unusual

19. Cf. the inscription of Lugalezen, p. 217. See also in the time of Urnanshe: *SAK*, pp. 10 f.: Bowl B, line 6; in the time of Enannatum I: *SAK*, pp. 30 f.: Mortar, line 14; Mace-head, lines 9-11; in the time of Entemena, pp. 34 f.: Fragment of vase of stalagmite, Col. III, line 2; Silver vase, line 17; pp. 36 f.: Brick B, Col. IV, line 2; Doorsocket in Baghdad Museum, published by Sollberger in *ZA*, N.F. 16 (1952), 22-27; in the time of Urukagina, *SAK*, pp. 42 f.: Stone tablet, Col. V, line 2; in the time of Lugal-kigennesh-dudud, pp. 156 f.: Vase A, line 18; Vase B, line 7; in the time of Lugalzagesi, pp. 156 f.: Fragments of different vases, Col. III, line 37.

20. Barton, pp. 4 f.: Vase inscription, lines 3 f. For the reading "Mesalim" instead of "Mesilim" cf. Jacobsen in *ZA*, N.F. 18 (1957), 129, n. 87.

21. Jacobsen thinks this is equivalent to 6 feet 1 1/10 inches: *JNES*, 2 (1943), 119-121. He does not, however, tell us how he comes to this conclusion. Sollberger called the following facts to my attention: On the usual reckoning of 20 inches (or 49.5 cm.) to a cubit, the height would be 9 feet 2 inches. In this case the Stela would be resorting to exaggeration to make Eannatum a giant. Thureau-Dangin came to the conclusion that the sign

KUSH used here was not the measure usually reckoned as 49.5 cm., that is, the length of a person's forearm, but the shorter measure taken from a person's foot, or 33 cm. For these two forms of KUSH see Deimel, *Sumerische Grammatik* (Rome, Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1924), p. 194, and Thureau-Dangin, "L'u, le qa et la mine, leur mesure et leur rapport," *Journal Asiatique*, Series 10, 13 (1909), 79-90. Thureau-Dangin thought, therefore, that Eannatum's height was to be set at 5 feet 6 inches: "Encore la Stèle des Vautours," *OLZ*, 14 (1911), 388; and Heuzey and Thureau-Dangin, *Restitution matérielle de la Stèle des Vautours*, pp. 44 f.

22. Sollberger, "On Two Early Lagaš Inscriptions in the Iraq Museum," *Sumer*, 13 (1957), 61.

23. "Der Titel 'Sohn der Gottheit,'" *MVAG*, 21 (1916), 157-159.

24. René Labat, *Le Caractère religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne* (Paris, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1939), 53-69.

25. Heuzey and Thureau-Dangin, pp. 60 f., Rev., Col. V, lines 22 f. This passage is restored, so we cannot be certain.

26. *JNES*, 2 (1943), 119-121.

for a workman who brings a petition or complaint to his superior to introduce it with the words: "Thou art my father and my mother." ²⁷ The intention of Mesalim, Eannatum, and Entemena, then, was not to recount a legend which was current about their miraculous birth, but to appeal to the love of the gods for them in order to secure divine support and protection.

Especially interesting are the series of epithets which the rulers of the Early Dynastic Period apply to themselves. They have a series of phrases which are used over and over to glorify their close relation to the gods. For example, on six different inscriptions Eannatum regales us with such a passage as this: "Eannatum, king of Lagash, the power-endowed one of Enlil, the life-giving-milk-nourished one of Ninhursag, the good-name-designated one of Inanna, the understanding-endowed one of Enki, the heart-chosen one of Nanshe, lady . . . , the beloved of Dumuziabzu, the name-proclaimed one of Endursag, the friend-cherished one of Lugal-x who is the beloved consort of Inanna."²⁸ There are, however, variations from one inscription to another both in the order in which he arranges the epithets and in the content. It does not matter whether it is Enlil or Ningirsu who endowed him with power,²⁹ or whether it was Enlil, Endursag, or Ningirsu who proclaimed his name.³⁰ If it was Enlil who proclaimed his name, then he associates himself with the god Endursag by saying that he is Endursag's *agrig*.³¹ On Fieldstones D and E and on a Small Column he adds to his titles the phrase "the foreign-land-subduing-one of Ningirsu."³² To the king the importance of such titles seems to have been the prestige they bestowed upon himself.

Not only Eannatum, but also Enannatum I, Entemena, Enannatum II, and Lugalzagesi made use of the same or similar epithets describing their own relationship to the gods. Enannatum I is "the foreign-land-subduing-one of Ningirsu,"³³ "the heart-chosen one of Nanshe," "the name-chosen one of Inanna," "ensi whom Ningirsu had created."³⁴ Entemena is "the strength-endowed one of Enlil,"³⁵ and also, in a phrase which is new

27. *Ibid.*, p. 120, n. 13.

28. Heuzey and Thureau-Dangin, pp. 61 f., *Rev.*, Cols. V, lines 42-55; VI, lines 1-9.

29. On Fieldstones A and B and Brick A it is Ningirsu: *SAK*, pp. 20 f., Col. I, lines 7 f.; pp. 22 f., Col. II, lines 1 f.; pp. 26 f., Col. I, lines 7 f. On Fieldstones E and F and Bricks B, C, D, E, and F it is Enlil: *SAK*, pp. 24 f., Col. IV, lines 7 f.; pp. 26 f., Col. I, lines 4 f.; Barton, pp. 38 f., Col. IV, lines 6 f.; pp. 42 f.: Brick C, Col. I, lines 4 f.; Brick D, Col. I, lines 4 f.; pp. 44 f.: Brick E, Col. I, lines 4 f.; Brick F, Col. I, lines 4 f.

30. On Fieldstones A and B it is Enlil: *SAK*, pp. 20 f., Col. I, lines 5 f.; pp. 22 f., Col. I, lines 10 f. On Bricks B, C, D, E, F it is Ningirsu: *SAK*, pp. 26 f., Col. I, lines 8 f.; Barton, pp. 42 f.: Brick C, Col. I, lines 8 f.; Brick D, Col. I, lines 8 f.; pp. 44 f.: Brick E, Col. I, lines 8 f.; Brick F, Col. I, lines 8 f. On the Stela of the Vultures it is Endursag: *SAK*, pp. 18 f., *Rev.*, Col. VI, lines 4 f.

31. This is the title equivalent to the Akkadian *abarakku*. It refers to one of the temple priests, at the time of Urukagina immediately below the rank of *nubanda*. Cf. Deimel, *SL*, §452, ¶2, p. 873; Deimel in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, 1, 443; Deimel in *Orientalia*, 2 (1920), 20. On Fieldstones A and B he is Endursag's *agrig*: *SAK*, pp. 20 f., Col. II, lines 10 f.; pp. 22 f., Col. II, lines 13 f.

32. *SAK*, pp. 24 f.: Fieldstone D, Cols. I, line 6, II, line 1; Fieldstone E, Col. IV, lines 13 f.; pp. 26 f.: Small Column, Col. I, lines 9 f.

33. *SAK*, pp. 28 f.: Mortar Inscription, lines 6 f.

34. Langdon in *ZDMG*, 62 (1908), 400; cf. *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der k. Museen zu Berlin*, 1 (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1907), nos. 4, 5.

35. *SAK*, pp. 34 f.: Stalagmite Vase, Col. I, lines 5 f.; Brick A, Col. I, lines 6 f.

with him, "the scepter-endowed one of Enlil."³⁶ He is either "the great ensi," "the ensi of Lagash or Ningirsu,"³⁷ or "the name-chosen one of Ningirsu."³⁸ He is "the milk-nourished one of Ninhursag,"³⁹ "the heart-chosen one of Nanshe,"⁴⁰ "the child of Lugal-x^{ki},"⁴¹ "the understanding-endowed one of Enki."⁴² Enannatum II is "the heart-chosen one of Nanshe,"⁴³ and "the great ensi of Ningirsu."⁴⁴ Lugalzagesi carries the use of such titles to an extreme. He is "king of Uruk, king of the land." This phrase has heretofore been reserved for the gods Enlil, and perhaps Anu, alone. He is "priest of Anu, the Preeminent Man (LU₂.MAH) of Nidaba, son of Ukush, ensi of Umma, Preeminent Man of Nidaba, the favorably-viewed one of Anu, king of the lands, great ensi of Enlil, the understanding-endowed one of Enki, the name-chosen one of Utu, *sukkalmah* of Zuen,⁴⁵ *shakkanakku* of Utu,⁴⁶ the patron (U₂.A) of Inanna,⁴⁷ child-born of Nidaba, milk-nourished one of Ninhursag, Man of [the god] Mes-priest-of-Uruk,⁴⁸ . . . of [the goddess] Nin-a-sir₂-HA-du,⁴⁹ lady of Uruk, the great *agrig* of the gods."⁵⁰

These titles do not make the Mesopotamian kings of the Early Dynastic Period gods as Egyptian kings were gods; and they do not give to the kings semidivine status as Mesopotamian kings of later periods possessed. There is a gradual development in the direction of making the Mesopotamian rulers divine. By the end of the Early Dynastic Period important steps had been taken in that direction, since statues of both living and deceased kings and of other important people were placed in the temples, and offerings presented to these statues.⁵¹ Yet only in the Akkad Period were Mesopotamian kings fully recognized as gods so that Naram Sin for the first time ventured to use the determinative for god in writing his name.⁵² This development was accompanied by parallel changes in art⁵³ which made it clear that by this time mythology too had become an important element in religion. For the time of the Early Dynastic Period the royal building inscriptions show only preparations for this step.

36. *SAK*, pp. 40 f.: Cone A, Col. V, lines 22 f.; Barton, pp. 64 f.: Cone B, Col. VI, lines 3 f.

37. *SAK*, pp. 34 f.: Silver Vase, lines 8 f.; Brick A, Col. II, lines 4 f.; pp. 36 f.: Brick B, Col. II, lines 3 f.; Clay Nail, Col. I, lines 8 f.; pp. 40 f.: Cone A, Col. V, lines 28 f.; Barton, pp. 56 f.: Brick C, Col. II, lines 2 f.; pp. 64 f.: Cone B, Col. VI, lines 9 f.; Statue Inscription, Back of Statue, Col. I, line 7; Sollberger in *Sumer*, 13 (1957), 61.

38. *SAK*, pp. 40 f.: Cone A, Col. V, lines 4 f.; Barton, pp. 64 f.: Cone B, Col. V, lines 27 f.

39. *SAK*, pp. 34 f.: Stalagmite Vase, Col. I, lines 7 f.; Brick A, Cols. I, line 8, II, line 1.

40. *SAK*, pp. 34 f.: Silver Vase, lines 6 f.; Brick A, Col. II, lines 2 f.; pp. 36 f.: Brick B, Col. II, lines 1 f.; Clay Nail, Col. I, lines 6 f.; pp. 40 f.: Cone A, Col. V, lines 26 f.; Barton, pp. 56 f.: Brick C, Cols. I, line 6, II, line 1; pp. 64 f. Cone B, Col. VI, lines 7 f.; Sollberger in *Sumer*, 13 (1957), 61.

41. *SAK*, pp. 34 f.: Brick A, Col. II, lines 6 f.

42. *SAK*, pp. 40 f.: Cone A, Col. V, lines 24 f.; Barton,

pp. 64 f.: Cone B, Col. VI, lines 5 f.

43. *SAK*, pp. 40 f.: Doorsocket, lines 6 f.

44. *Ibid.*, lines 8 f.

45. For this title cf. E. Klauber, *Assyrisches Beamtentum*, Leipziger, Semitistische Studien, 5, 3 (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1910), 54-60; and Deimel, *SL*, §321, ¶4, 9, p. 559.

46. Cf. Klauber, p. 26, n. 3; Deimel, *SL*, §444, ¶35, p. 851; Jensen in *ZA*, 7 (1892), 174.

47. Deimel, *SL*, §318, ¶182, p. 551.

48. For this god cf. Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, 1914, no. 2141, p. 180.

49. Cf. *ibid.*, no. 2405, p. 197 and Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, 1950, §921, ¶622, p. 116.

50. *SAK*, pp. 152-155: Fragments of different vases, Col. I, lines 4-35.

51. Deimel, "Die Reformtexte Urukaginas," *Orientalia*, 2 (1920), 32-51.

52. H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1948), p. 224.

53. Pp. 255-258.

EPITHETS WHICH APPEAR AS NAMES OF THE GODS

We have been studying the epithets which the Early Dynastic rulers apply to the gods, and we have seen that not only are there fewer than might have been expected, but that they are not of a character to show the presence of a developed pattern of mythology. There is another place, however, where epithets appear, namely in the names of the gods themselves. Scholars have been puzzled because we seem to have not true proper names but epithets. To Landsberger this factor seemed to indicate that even in prehistoric times the Sumerians had a rich mythology.⁵⁴

When we investigate the character of the gods' names in this early period, however, no clearer evidence of the presence of mythology appears than in the epithets which the rulers applied to them. We cannot here make an extensive study of all the names used in this period as contrasted with later periods, though such a study needs to be made. To do so we should take account of the gods' names in economic texts and in personal names of the period. It will be sufficient here to make a more cursory survey centered principally in the gods' names of the royal building inscriptions.

It is quite as important to keep the *Weltanschauung* of the early Sumerians in mind in considering this question, as it was in investigating the use of amulets. That their environment was filled with living personalities comes out in those names of gods which are intelligible to us.

Just as in the case of the "magical" practices, there was a level where they paid respect to the spirits nearby without expressing clearly in words the nature of the spirits. Urnanshe records the building of the temple of Ninmarki and then tells us that he brought into the temple the Lamassu, whom he describes with a phrase now unintelligible.⁵⁵ Similarly Urukagina built a temple for "the good Lamassu."⁵⁶ The name Lamassu is not a true proper name, but a generic term for good spirits; yet in both cases the reverence paid is very similar to what was accorded the great gods of the period.

Not much above this level in clarity of thinking are those names which show that originally the gods were the *numina* of certain localities or shrines or professions. Yet some of the gods who reached the highest point in Mesopotamian religion bear names of this character.

Perhaps the most famous is Ningirsu, whose name literally signifies "Lord of Girsu."⁵⁷ For many years it was commonly supposed that Girsu was a name given to one part of the city of Lagash, and that Telloh included both Lagash as a whole and its smaller subdivision, Girsu. It has been reported that during the survey carried on during the winter of 1953-54 jointly by the Department of Antiquities in Iraq and the American School of Oriental Research in Baghdad a new brick inscription of Gudea was discovered at al-Hib-

54. Landsberger in *Islamica*, 2 (1926), 368.

55. *SAK*, pp. 4 f.: Tablet C, Col. III, lines 2-6. For my translation of the verb "brought in" see p. 232, n. 81.

56. *SAK*, pp. 56 f.: Oval Plate, Col. V, lines 20 f.

57. Tallquist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, p. 404. For

nin in the meaning of "lord" see Paffrath, *Zur Götterlehre in den altbabylonischen Königsinschriften*, p. 32; Huber, *Die Personennamen in den Keilschrifturkunden*, pp. 25 f. For the possibility that this name reflects an early unreflective hermaphroditism, see p. 223.

bah, a nearby mound, which recorded the construction of the temple Ba-gara, known to be situated in Uru-kug. Many years ago another brick inscription was found at al-Hibbah which recorded the construction of a temple of Gatumdug, "the mother of Lagash," in Uru-kug. The excavators raised the question whether Uru-kug, which means "the holy city" may not have been the sacred quarter of a city which had another name. Al-Hibbah is a very large mound; and since Gatumdug is called "the mother of Lagash" it is a reasonable guess that the name of the city was Lagash. We may also recall the inscriptions of rulers of Lagash published formerly by Messerschmidt, some of which came from Telloh, others from al-Hibbah, and still others from Surghul.⁵⁸ The situation, then, is not clear. Was Lagash the name of a city whose site is the present al-Hibbah? Was it in addition the name of a state which included several cities? If the latter is true, then Girsu, presumably the present Telloh, was a part of it. We do know that Ningirsu in the Early Dynastic royal building inscriptions was the chief god of Lagash. He was a god of war, but also a god interested in the fertility of the country. The fields called "the Gu-edin" were his "beloved region."⁵⁹ We first hear of Ningirsu on a scepter-head of Mesalim, which was found at Telloh.⁶⁰ Mesalim was not king of this city, but he seems to have found it advisable to build a temple and inscribe this scepter-head to the god of the site when he was there. The rulers of Lagash from the time of Enkhegal on consistently paid reverence to Ningirsu. Urukagina suggests that Ningirsu's influence had gone beyond his own city, for on Olive A he has inscribed the words, " 'Ningirsu speaks in the temple of Uruk good words with Baba about Urukagina' is the name of this [object]."⁶¹ Again on Cones B and C Urukagina tells us that a canal in Girsu was named "Ningirsu is leader in Nippur."⁶² Such objects would seem less designed for propaganda if they were found outside of Telloh; but both of them came from there. It is conspicuous that Lugalzagesi, who conquered Lagash, omits Ningirsu in the long list of gods whose favor he claims. Since the activity of Ningirsu is so much confined to Lagash, it therefore seems probable that for all the traits of personality which Ningirsu has begun to acquire in the Early Dynastic Period, he still approximates one of the *numina loci*, as his name suggests.⁶³

Two gods bear respectively the names Lugal-uru and a name which is sometimes read Lugal-uru₂. Since the identification of the second component is in doubt, we have been reading it Lugal-x^{kl}. Lugal-uru may be translated literally "king of the city." Lugal-x^{kl} is compounded of the word *lugal* plus a sign which perhaps is the same URU as in "Lugal-uru" with KAR₂ inserted within it. The significance of this combination is not known. Deimel raises the question whether it referred to a particular city, for example Sippar, or whether it was a special name for Lagash or Eridu, but he is unable to carry

58. *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, 1, p. v.

59. *SAK*, Eannatum, Stela of the Vultures: pp. 12 f., Cols. VI, lines 12 f.; XII, lines 2 f.; pp. 20 f., Rev. Col. XI, lines 9 f. Fieldstone A: pp. 20 f., Col. IV, lines 3 f. Fieldstone B: pp. 24 f., Col. IV, lines 7 f. Small Column: pp. 26 f., Col. II, lines 4 f.

60. *SAK*, pp. 160 f.

61. *SAK*, pp. 44 f.

62. *SAK*, pp. 52 f., Cones B and C, Col. XII, line 36.

63. Furlani gives reasons to doubt Dussaud's suggestion that there was an early myth centering round the figure of Ningirsu: G. Furlani, "Un mito di Ningirsu?" *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, 4 (1928), 126-129.

through these suggestions.⁶⁴ Sollberger is convinced⁶⁵ that Lugal-x^{ki} is an epithet of Dumuzi, applied to him in some city other than Badtibira, where he was revered as Lugal-emush.⁶⁶ This city he believes to be "a section of Lagash, whether a residential section, or a group of cultic buildings."⁶⁷ Lugal-uru may, he thinks, be an epithet of Ningirsu,⁶⁸ though he offers no argument for it. We hear of these gods as early as the time of Urnanshe, who, according to tablets found at Telloh, brought both of them into sanctuaries.⁶⁹ Since both are mentioned in one inscription it is certain that these are names for different divinities. We hear of the second most often. Eannatum calls himself "the beloved friend" of this god.⁷⁰ Enannatum I attributed his possession of the priestly and kingly power over Lagash to him,⁷¹ and built a palace for him.⁷² Entemena, who calls himself "the child . . . of Lugal-x^{ki},"⁷³ also tells of building a palace for him.⁷⁴ Urukagina grieves because his temple was burned by Lugalzagesi when he destroyed Lagash.⁷⁵ These inscriptions come from Telloh, al-Hibbah, and Ur. The inscription from Ur, however, is on a statue which was probably intended originally for Lagash. The excavators speculate that it may have been removed from there in a subsequent pillage by the men of Ur.⁷⁶ These gods, then, seem to have been worshiped in a limited geographical area. If in this period their names were epithets for two of the great gods, as Sollberger supposes, we might reasonably infer that the great gods had taken over the prerogatives of earlier divinities of specific sites.

The goddess whose name ordinarily is written Nin-esh-x also seems to be a *numen loci*. The name is probably to be translated "lady of the house (by the canal) x." The last sign has not been identified.⁷⁷ In four economic texts it appears to be used as the name of a canal.⁷⁸ We see it in a fifth text which gives a list of people connected with different fields. Here it appears to be the name of a field.⁷⁹ On a sixth text, a heptagonal cylinder con-

64. Deimel, *SL*, §43, ¶4, p. 87. Paffrath (*Zur Götterlehre in den altbabylonischen Königsinschriften*, p. 147, n. 2) points to evidence that the city was Uruk. Cf. also F. Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients*, 1 (Munich, C. H. Beck, 1904), 303-306.

65. In *ZA*, N.F. 16 (1952), 6-12, 18-21.

66. P. 222.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 18, and n. 6.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 12, n. 3.

69. *SAK*, pp. 2 f.: Tablet A, Col. V, lines 1 f.; Tablet B, Col. III, lines 2 f. In both these cases the god is Lugal-uru. In Tablet B, Col. III, lines 4 f. Urnanshe tells of bringing in Lugal-x.

70. Heuzey and Thureau-Dangin, *Restitution matérielle de la Stèle des Vautours*, p. 62, Rev. Col. VI, lines 6 f.; *SAK*, pp. 20 f.: Fieldstone A, Col. II, lines 12 f. From Telloh.

71. Langdon in *ZDMG*, 62 (1908), 400. From al-Hibbah: *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, 1, no. 4, cf. p. v.

72. Barton, pp. 48 f.: Pebble Inscription, Col. II, lines 6-8. Provenance not given: *CT*, 36, pl. 1, cf. p. 5. This god appears also in a fragmentary and obscure inscription published in Nies and Keiser, *Historical, Religious and Economic Texts*, no. 3, p. 15, and pl. v; Bar-

ton, pp. 48 f. See p. 220, n. 54. Provenance not given.

73. *SAK*, pp. 34 f.: Brick A, Col. II, lines 6 f. From Telloh.

74. *SAK*, pp. 30 f.: Alabaster Tablet, Cols. III, lines 5 f., IV, line 1; pp. 32 f.: Doorsocket F, lines 31 f. The first from Telloh, the provenance of the second unknown, but probably also from Telloh. Statue Inscription, Col. II, lines 3-5, published by C. J. Gadd and Legrain, *Royal Inscriptions, Ur Excavations, Texts*, 1, 1; Barton, pp. 66 f. From Ur.

75. *SAK*, pp. 58 f.: Clay Tablet, Rev. Col. I, lines 2 f. From Telloh.

76. Gadd and Legrain, p. 2.

77. It is *Fara* 1, 20, no. 175. Thureau-Dangin (*Recherches sur l'origine de l'écriture cunéiforme* [Paris, Leroux, 1898], no. 107) relates this sign to the ALAM sign, meaning "statue"; but this is uncertain in view of the usages we find below.

78. *DP* 105, Col. I, line 5; 405, Col. IV, line 1. *TSA* 42, F, Col. I, line 5; cf. p. 96. *Nik.* 145, Col. II, line 3; cf. Deimel in *Orientalia*, 16 (1925), 46.

79. George Reisner, *Tempelurkunden aus Telloh* (Berlin, W. Spemann, 1901), no. 141, Col. I, line 13.

taining a lexical list, it accompanies a sign for “smith” or “metal-worker.”⁸⁰ It seems reasonable to conclude, that, while it had varied meanings, like all the other cuneiform signs, its primary use was in connection with a canal. When Urnanshe tells us that he brought a goddess named Nin-esh-x into the shrine which he calls the *ki-nir*,⁸¹ it seems probable that he was speaking of a local divinity whose shrine was on the bank of a well-known canal. If we were to use other inscriptions than those strictly to be termed royal building inscriptions we should refer to Enki-pa-sir, which is probably translated “Enki of the canal Sir.” This divinity is mentioned in a list of offerings of the time of Urukagina.⁸² He seems to have been a similar local spirit who was becoming affiliated, however, with Enki.

Similar offering lists of the time of Lugalanda and Urukagina show that local spirits were being absorbed by several of the great gods. We hear of an “Enki of the *gikana*.” The *gikana* is a cultic object.⁸³ We hear of a “Nanshe of the *kisilla*,” where the *kisilla* is probably a shrine.⁸⁴ There is a “Ningirsu of the *bagara*,” *bagara* being the name of a chapel within the Eninnu temple of Lagash.⁸⁵ There is a “Dumuzi of the *gu-en*,” the *gu-en* being the throne room of the temple.⁸⁶ There is an “Inanna of the *ebgal*,” the *ebgal* also being a shrine.⁸⁷

In the royal building inscriptions again we have an “Inanna of the plain” on an inscribed plaque which seems to have originated as early as Urnanshe.⁸⁸ There is a “Dumuzi of the land” in an inscription on a gray limestone bowl of approximately the same date.⁸⁹ A “Dumuzi of the *abzu*” also occurs in several inscriptions of Eannatum and in Urukagina’s account of the destruction of Lagash.⁹⁰ Whether the *abzu* here refers to the under-

80. A. T. Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection*, Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts, 1 (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1915), pl. VIII, no. 12, Col. III, line 13; cf. p. 11. Deimel, *SL*, §338, ¶11, p. 613.

81. *SAK*, pp. 2 f.: Tablet B, Col. IV, lines 1 f. Thureau-Dangin translates this passage: “[he] chiseled (the statue of) Nin-eš-x.” The verb, however, is *tu*, which can be read as either *tud* or *tur*. If we read it *tud*, it would be equivalent to the Akkadian *aladu* meaning “beget” or “bear.” If we read it *tur*, it would be equivalent to the Akkadian *erebu* meaning “bring in.” The latter seems to me the more probable reading, not only in this line but in other passages where similar action is called for. Urnanshe tells us that he built several shrines, and he lists the divinities whom he “brings into” each. Cf., for example, *SAK*, pp. 2 f.: Tablet A, Cols. II, lines 1 f., V, lines 1 f.; Tablet B, Cols. II, lines 2 f., 5 f.; III, lines 2 f., 4 f.; IV, lines 3 f., 7; V, line 1; pp. 4 f.: Tablet C, Cols. II, lines 3 f., 5 f., 7; III, lines 1, 4–6. When he “brings them in,” he may mean that he brings in statues of them.

82. *DP* 60. Cf. Deimel in *Orientalia*, 28 (1928), 49, no. 46.

83. *TSA* 1; *RTC* 47; *DP* 43, 45 (?), 47, 53; *Nik.* 23; *Fö.* 93; *STH*, 1, 41. Deimel, *SL*, §85, ¶124, p. 204.

84. *Fö.* 116, 119; *Nik.* 26; *DP* 66. Deimel, *SL*, §461, ¶156, p. 898.

85. *TSA* 1; *DP* 45, 53. Cf. Ebeling in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, 2, 264; Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, 1914, p. 202, no. 2474. In support of the revised reading of the name of the temple formerly read *baga*, cf. the evidence adduced by Thureau-Dangin (*Les Homophones sumériens* [Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1929], p. 10) from the Chicago Syllabary that *ca* has the value *gar*.

86. Deimel, *SL*, §106, ¶72, p. 273. Cf. *TSA* 1.

87. *TSA* 1; *RTC* 47; *Nik.* 23; *DP* 45, 197; *STH*, 1, 41. For the reading *ebgal* cf. Stephens in *JCS*, 1 (1947), 270 f., and Landsberger in *OLZ*, 34 (1931), 129. Gordon has cited references for reading it *tum-ma-al* or *eb-ma-al*: *BASOR*, no. 132 (1953), 29, n. 18. Stephens seems to be right when he points out that there are two separate terms, one *ibmal*, which designates a shrine in Nippur, the other *ebgal*, which designates two shrines, one in Lagash, the other in Umma.

88. *SAK*, p. 159; Plate with hole bored through it; cf. n. 1. The text was published in Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, pl. 43, no. 94.

89. Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection*, p. 1, no. 2.

90. Eannatum—Heuzey and Thureau-Dangin, *Restitution matérielle de la Stèle des Vautours*, p. 62, Rev. Col. VI, line 3. *SAK*, pp. 20 f.: Fieldstone A, Col. II, line 9; pp. 22 f.: Fieldstone B, Col. II, line 12. Urukagina—*SAK*, pp. 58 f.: Clay Tablet, Col. V, line 9.

world or to a cultic object within temples, similar to the "sea" of Solomon's temple, is problematic. The word seems to have had both connotations in the Early Dynastic Period.⁹¹

We have spoken of a "Dumuzi of the *gu-en*," a "Dumuzi of the land," and a "Dumuzi of the *abzu*." Deimel has pointed out⁹² that these were distinct deities, since both the first and third were mentioned in the same inscriptions. It is therefore all the more clear that originally they were *numina loci*.⁹³ Since such a famous name as Dumuzi is associated with them, and since Enki, Nanshe, and Inanna are similarly associated with the spirits mentioned above, one would suppose that by this period people were beginning to be conscious of the similarities between many divinities. Ultimately this resulted in identifying many of the deities. That process was developed in conjunction with political trends to unify the country. Here we see not the fully developed ideas, but the roots from which the later ideas grew.

Igalima(k), which Jacobsen translates as "the (divine) door of the bison," is also to be associated with these deities who are affiliated with shrines or cultic objects. He is the personification of the sacred door to the holy-of-holies in the Eninnu temple in Lagash.⁹⁴ Urukagina tells us that he built a shrine for him.⁹⁵

Whether Ninmarki and Ninshubur should be added to this group of divinities who were originally *numina loci* is uncertain. The translation of the name "Ninmarki" is not known with definiteness. Perhaps Ninshubur means "lord of Shubur," though this seems to be another case where the sex of the divinity was not clearly determined.⁹⁶

91. Jensen in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, 1, 122-124; C. Frank, *Studien zur babylonischen Religion*, 1 (Strassburg, Schlesier and Schweikhardt, 1911), 211.

92. *Pantheon Babylonicum*, 1914, p. 106, no. 767. Cf. *TSA* 1, Cols. III and VIII; *DP* 53, Cols. IV and VIII.

93. This is the position that Sollberger took in *ZA*, N.F. 16 (1952), 9. In informal conversation, however, he assures me that he no longer holds this view. A text of Urbaba (*SAK*, pp. 60 f.: Statue, Col. VI, lines 9 f.) and one of Gudea (*SAK*, pp. 74 f.: Statue B, Col. IX, lines 2 f.) describe Dumuzi-abzu as *nin Kinunir*⁹⁴, translated literally, "lady of the Kinunir." Falkenstein (*Compte rendu de la troisième rencontre assyriologique internationale*, pp. 45 f.) is of the opinion that Dumuzi-abzu and Dumuzi are distinct divinities, the first a goddess of the sanctuary Kinunir, the second a god. It is true that the appellative *nin* would suggest such an interpretation. It is also true, however, that Dumuzi-abzu is specifically listed as the first of the six sons, as distinct from daughters, of Enki in the god-list "An ⁴Anum" (*CT*, 24, pl. 16, lines 30, 35; cf. Zimmern, *Der babylonische Gott Tamūz*, *Abhandlungen der philol.-hist. Kl. der k. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 27, 20 [Leipzig, Teubner, 1909], 709 f.; Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, 1914, pp. 105 f.). In spite of the fact that "An ⁴Anum" is a late text it seems a reasonable inference from this evidence that there was not logical consistency in the ancient ideas about Dumuzi and Dumuzi-abzu. There was an instinctive tendency toward hermaphroditism

which was not thought through clearly (see p. 223, n. 88). In part, however, this may have been due to an earlier stage where Dumuzi had assumed the character of earlier divinities of several different shrines, as had also such gods as Enki, Nanshe, Ningirsu, and Inanna.

94. Jacobsen in *JNES*, 2 (1943), 118 f. This name has sometimes been read Gal-alim, which Tallquist (*Akkadische Götterepitheta*, p. 309) translated "wuchtiger Wisent."

95. *SAK*, pp. 42 f.: Stone Tablet, Col. III, lines 2-4.

96. Deimel, pp. 216, no. 2648 and 220, no. 2729. I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, SAOC, no. 22 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1944), 102, n. 39. Cf. also Thureau-Dangin, *Lettres et Contrats* (Paris, Geuthner, 1910), p. 65. Kramer in *BASOR*, no. 79 (1940), 21, n. 2 shows that Ninshubur is sometimes masculine, sometimes feminine. Note particularly that Rim-Sin in some texts treats the god as masculine (Cone A and Stone Tablet A: *SAK*, pp. 216 f., 218 f.) in another as feminine (Gadd and Legrain, *Royal Inscriptions*, no. 138). The reading of the name Ninmarki is substantiated by syllabic writing in H. Zimmern, *Sumerische Kultlieder aus altbabylonischer Zeit*, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, 2 (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1912), 48, no. 53, Obv. line 6, a; cf. H. Radau, *Sumerian Hymns and Prayers to God Dumu-zi*, University of Pennsylvania, Babylonian Expedition, 30, 1 (Munich, Rudolf Merkel, 1913), 10, n. 1; Deimel, *SL*, §556, ¶389, p. 1024.

Ninmarki first appears in two inscriptions of Urnanshe,⁹⁷ who tells us that he built a temple for her. Shortly before the time of Urukagina this goddess is mentioned frequently in economic texts from Telloh, where she is one of the deities to receive offerings.⁹⁸ A priest of Ninmarki is mentioned also in a letter of the time of Ene(n)tarzi(d).⁹⁹ This priest seems to be in some part of the territory of Lagash which the Elamites had invaded, but not in Telloh. He writes to the priest of Ningirsu in Telloh to inform him that he had repulsed the invaders. We do not know from what city this letter was written, of course, but it seems to have been on the outskirts of the territory of Lagash. So Ninmarki was honored there. The goddess does not appear in economic texts of this period from Fara,¹ nor is her name known in the early texts from Ur.² It seems possible, therefore, though by no means certain, that she is a divinity of some site in the territory of Lagash.³

We know as little about Ninshubur as about Ninmarki. This god first appears in the time of Urukagina and his immediate predecessors. Urukagina on a stone tablet says: "May his god Ninshubur for his life to distant days before Ningirsu bow down."⁴ The economic texts from Telloh in this period frequently mention offerings which are made to him.⁵ Again, as in the case of Ninmarki, economic texts from Fara⁶ and the archaic texts from Ur⁷ have no mention of him.

The word Shubur does appear extensively, however, in early texts. Gelb has made the most extensive study of its significance in his *Hurrians and Subarians*.⁸ The earliest traces of the word appear in personal names of the Fara texts, where people bearing that name belong to occupations which seem to preclude classing them as anything but Sumerians. A few other examples of the word suggest that in this period it sometimes denoted either a foreign ethnic element or a profession, as in modern usage "Swiss Guards" includes men of non-Swiss origin.⁹

In the time of Lugalanda and Urukagina the word frequently appears as a personal name in almost identically the same way as in the Fara texts. In addition, Shubur also is sometimes abbreviated to su.A. People thus designated as Subarians bear good Sumerian names and even belong to the family and court of the ensi of Lagash. So again it seems

97. *SAK*, pp. 4 f.: Tablet C, Col. III, line 2; pp. 6 f.: Doorsocket, line 14.

98. Cf. Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, 1914, p. 216. *DP* 43, Col. IV; 48, Col. II; 55, Cols. I, VII; 60, Cols. I, III; 69, Cols. I, III. *TSA* 1, Col. II. *Nik.* 27, Col. II. *RTC* 39, Col. IV; 47, Col. V; 53, Col. II.

99. Allotte de la Fuÿe, 'En-e-tar-zi patési de Lagaš,' *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume* (Chicago, Open Court, 1909), pp. 125 f. Cf. Barton, pp. 66-69.

1. *Fara* 3, 44*.

2. Eric Burrows, *Archaic Texts*, Ur Excavations, Texts, 2 (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935), 19.

3. Hommel (*Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* [Munich, Beck, 1926], p. 393) considered the

possibility that *Mar* is the same city as *Ma-er*, which Fieldstone A tells us that Eannatum conquered. *Ma-er*, presumably refers to the famous Mari on the Euphrates, in recent years known through French excavations. However, it is not clear on what evidence *Mar* is identified with *Ma-er*.

4. *SAK*, pp. 42 f.: Stone Tablet, Cols. IV, line 10; V.

5. Deimel lists the references to these texts: *Pantheon Babylonicum*, 1914, p. 220, no. 2729, II, 1, second paragraph.

6. *Fara*, 3, 44*.

7. Burrows, p. 19.

8. See also Arthur Ungnad, *Subartu* (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1936).

9. Gelb, pp. 31 f.

proper to consider Shubur as sometimes an ethnic term and sometimes a professional designation.¹⁰

Gelb also points out that the location of Shubur is made more precise by an inscription of Lugalannimundu of Adab, which we know only from copies made in the Old Babylonian Period. This ruler, whose name appears in the Sumerian King List following Lugalkisalsi of Ur and Uruk,¹¹ tells how tribute was brought to him from "the Cedar Mountains . . . , *Elam^{kt}*, *Mar-ḥa-šī^{kt}*, *Gu-ti-um^{kt}*, *Su-bir₄^{kt}*, *Mar-tu*, *Su-ti-um^{kt}*, and the mountains of Eanna."¹² The order of names in this list is significant. Subartu is placed between Marhashi and Gutium, which were located to the east of Mesopotamia, and Amurru and Sutium located to the west. It is thus on the northern border of Mesopotamia.¹³

From this study of the use of the word Shubur we return to the question of what the name Ninshubur signified as a divinity revered in the Early Dynastic Period. We seem to have various possibilities to bear in mind. The god may have been the patron deity of the ethnic group or profession of whom we hear in the Fara texts and the economic texts of Lugalanda and Urukagina. Or he may have been the special god of the foreign country Subartu. It is perhaps to be suggested that both possibilities may well have been true, for they are by no means mutually exclusive. In the everyday life of the people who were bringing offerings at the time of Lugalanda and Urukagina, however, we may suppose that the vitality of this god in the life of an ethnic group or profession in their own communities was by far the more important factor.

Not only, however, were many of the divinities worshiped by the early Sumerians *numina loci* or patron saints of an ethnic group or profession. Important Sumerian gods were associated with phenomena.

Among these, Anu first comes to mind, but there is much uncertainty whether he was as important as is usually thought in the early period. Anu is the Sumerian word for "sky" or "heaven," or indeed for "God." We have seen that this deity, who is the head of the pantheon in later periods, may possibly have been mentioned in the early inscription of Lugaltarsi,¹⁴ but that there is no other direct mention of him again until the time of Lugalzagesi.¹⁵ Indirect references to him perhaps exist in names of the two kings of Ur, Mesannepada and Aannepada, and in names of the kings of Lagash, Eannatum and Enannatum I and II. It is possible that the element *an* in these names is not a proper name but the general word for "heaven" or "sky." *An* may, however, represent the god Anu. This is not surprising in the case of early kings of Ur, but it is more surprising in names of

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 32 f. Jacobsen reads Adamdun instead of the usual Elam Šubur^{kt} (Elam and Shubur) on Fieldstone A, Col. VI, line 17; the Stela of the Vultures, Rev. Col. VI, line 10; and Fieldstone D, Col. II, lines 2 f. of Eannatum: *ZA*, N.F. 28 (1957), 130, n. 90.

11. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, pp. 102 f.

12. Gelb, pp. 33 f.

13. Finkelstein has shown that in the Old Babylonian Period the term "Subarian" was used with varying im-

plications, partially ethnic but essentially as "a broad geographical designation." It referred sometimes to the East Tigris area but sometimes to a much wider territory extending roughly "from the northern borders of Elam in the East to the Amanus in Northwest Syria": "Subartu and Subarians in Old Babylonian Sources," *JCS*, 9 (1955), 1-7.

14. Pp. 216 f.

15. Pp. 222, 225.

kings of Lagash, who otherwise seem not to revere this deity. Paffrath has suggested that the use of the name may have come as a result of Eannatum's conquest of Kish and Uruk where Anu was worshiped.¹⁶ If so this assumes that the name of Eannatum was only taken by this ruler after he had carried out his military campaigns. A passage of Fieldstone A tells us that he bore also the name Lumma.¹⁷ Paffrath's suggestion may therefore be correct, although there is no certainty that it is.



Whether or not Anu played a significant role in the Early Dynastic Period, a large group of gods named for phenomena played a great role in the life of this early time. It is not necessary to document the references to them, since most of them appear over and again. There is Enlil (Lord Storm¹⁸ or Lord Air),¹⁹ Ninlil (Lady Storm or Air), Inanna (Lady of Anu or Heaven), Enki (Lord of the Earth), Ninki (Lady of the Earth), and Utu (The Sun).²⁰ Then there is Ninhursag (Lady of the Mountain). What the significance of "mountain" is in this name is open to question. Perhaps this god should have been classed with the *numina loci*. There is some possibility, however, that the name had a measure of cosmic significance as the place from behind which the sun rose or where it set. This would seem to be attested by the earliest form of the sign for "sun" (☉) commonly thought to be a picture of the sun just rising or setting behind mountains,²¹ and by designs on Jemdet Nasr seals where concentric circles, quite possibly solar symbols, are drawn within what may be mountains.²² Again there is Dumuzi, who, in some texts, Jacobsen points out, is associated with the milk and its life-giving powers,²³ in others with the date-palm tree.²⁴ He would translate the name "He Who Quickens the Young Ones." There is Nintinugga,


16. Zur *Götterlehre in den altbabylonischen Königsinschriften*, p. 17.

17. Poebel, *Historical Texts*, UMBS, IV, 1, p. 166, and n. 2. The passage is Col. V, lines 9-19.

18. Jacobsen in *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, p. 137.

19. Kramer in *JCS*, 2 (1948), 54.

20. There is considerable uncertainty about the name of the Sun-god in the Early Dynastic Period. The ideogram is ⁴UD, but there is some doubt whether this should be read ⁴Utu or ⁴Babbar. Later texts quoted by Thureau-Dangin make it clear that both readings were used at times: *Lettres et Contrats*, p. 68. We may note that on Eannatum's Stela of the Vultures, Rev. I, 39 (cf. *SAK*, pp. 16 f.; Ernest de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée* (Paris, Leroux, 1891), pl. xxxviii, Fragment D), the god's name is written  but the name of his temple is written . At first glance, this looks like a syllabic writing of the name, suggesting that the deity was called Babbar. On the two cones of Entemena, however, the evidence is clear that the deity was called Utu. In both these texts (*SAK*, pp. 38 f., Col. II, lines 14-17; Nies and Keiser, *Historical, Religious and Economic Texts*, pl. 1, lines 62-65 and p. 7) a series of shrines is listed where the word "shrine" is followed by a god's name in the genitive (*bar*₂ ⁴En-lil₂-la₂, *bar*₂ ⁴Nin-hur-sag-ka, *bar*₂ ⁴Nin-gir₂-su-ka, *bar*₂ ⁴Utu). If the

reading of the last name were "Babbar" it should be followed by a *ka*, as with the preceding names of gods. Since the suffix is lacking it obviously has been absorbed in a final vowel. The name, then, is "Utu." In the Clay Tablet of Urukagina (*SAK*, 56 f.; Thureau-Dangin in *RA*, 6 [1907], 28 f.) the god's name and the name of the temple are both used in a significant way. In Col. I, lines 12 f. we are told that the men of Umma poured out blood "in the shrine of Enlil and the shrine of Utu." In Col. II, line 6 Urukagina tells us again that he poured out blood, but this time "in the shining temple" (*e*₂-UD-UD-ra, which should be read *e*₂-*bar*₂-*bar*₂-ra). This phrase is in the locative construction, and *bar*₂-*bar*₂ is not a genitive, but an adjectival phrase clearly ending in "r." We may, then, reconsider the passage from the Stela of the Vultures. In the light of this passage it becomes probable that  was not a syllabic writing of Babbar, but a noun followed by an adjective, as in the text of Urukagina. The temple of the god Utu was therefore known in this period not by his name, but quite appropriately as "the Shining Temple."

21. Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk*, Zeichenliste, no. 194.

22. P. 104.

23. In *JNES*, 12 (1953), 166.

24. In *ZA*, N.F. 18 (1957), 108, n. 32.

whose name Deimel translates as "Lady of the Wine of the God's Festival."²⁵ Imdugud is the "Mighty Storm or Wind," Impa-e "The One Who Causes the Wind to Stream Forth."

An important question at this point is how much cosmic speculation we are justified in assuming from the very fact that gods connected with such phenomena existed. Because we find in very early art traces of reverence for such spirits we shall be slow to conclude that such reverence in and of itself presupposed cosmic speculation.

We recall that as early as the Hassunah Period there are many designs which have such solar elements as swastikas, rosettes, and light beams, to mention only a few. On the Samarran pottery are female figures, about whose significance we cannot of course know precisely. They strikingly suggest demonic spirits participating in a dance or whirling in a storm. Plant and animal shapes reflect an interest in the earth's productivity. Few would suggest, however, that in as early a period as this there were carefully formulated myths. The type of art does not reflect myths. Art motifs are exclusively formal and abstract. Even representational forms approximate geometric designs. Some of the pottery probably was used in ritual, but a distinction between domestic and ritualistic pieces cannot be drawn. Along with the pots, however, are amulets, beads, and stamp seals, which, like the designs on pots, take only schematized forms.

While the styles vary during the Halaf and Ubaid Periods, the art still is exclusively formal and abstract. Solar elements persist on many kinds of decorated objects. They are found on amulets and seals as well as on pottery. Even during the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr Periods solar elements continue on the seals. It is thus fair to say that from the earliest use of ornament in Mesopotamia to the end of the Prehistoric Period the people were preoccupied with spirits of the sun, of storms, of the earth and its productivity, just as the names of these gods would imply. That is not the same as saying that these names were used in the Prehistoric Period. There is no evidence to show either that they were or were not used.

The preoccupation of the people, however, took the form of recourse to "magic." Of this there is abundant evidence in the amulets, beads, and seals which have been found at every level. When representational designs appear they either stand abstractly²⁶ to represent an emotion or they picture ritual. There are no pictures of myths which are repeated.

One might be tempted to infer from the very fact that they personalized the spirits that they must have told myths about them. To a certain extent this may be true, but to a very limited extent. The rudimentary level at which stories were told about some spirits may be illustrated by the late incantation about ordinary kitchen salt, quoted by Jacobsen from *Maqlu*:

O Salt, created in a clean place,
For food of gods did Enlil destine thee.
Without thee no meal is set out in Ekur,

25. *SL*, §152¹, ¶5, p. 377.

26. For the significance of this term see p. 53.

Without thee god, king, lord, and prince do not smell
incense.

I am so-and-so, the son of so-and-so,
Held captive by enchantment,
Held in fever by bewitchment.

O Salt, break my enchantment! Loose my spell!
Take from me the bewitchment!—And as my Creator
I shall extol thee.²⁷

One would think from the closing lines of this section that a myth existed with Salt as the great Creator. Of course this is not true, but men who used this incantation at least for the time being sincerely thought of Salt as an animate being with special powers. In the emergency for which this incantation was intended they used colorful words to bring this being to their aid. Similar words, however, might be used about other divinities. The royal building inscriptions of the Early Dynastic Period are instructive in this regard. We have seen that the epithets for one god were about the same as for another. They glorified a particular god when they dealt with him; but there were no integrated myths.

One might ask whether the very fact that many names of gods are epithets is in itself an indication of mythology. Kramer seems to imply that this is true when he suggests that the name Enki, which is a genitive complex and an epithet, was substituted for the real name of the deity.²⁸

This suggestion seems to lose sight of the well-known fact that almost all Sumerian and Akkadian proper names are epithets.²⁹ True, a considerable group of deities mentioned in the Early Dynastic royal building inscriptions bear names whose significance is either unknown or in doubt. Among them are such important gods as Baba, Gatumdug, Nanshe, and Sin. There are also Amageshtin, Shulshagga, Endursag, Enki(n)gal, Gangir (or Hegir), Gilgamesh, Nidaba, NINDAR, NINPA, NINSAR, NinasirHADU, Sataran, Shara, Urizi, Urnun-taea, Zababa, and Zazare. Because we cannot now understand them, however, to infer that they never had significance would be a grave mistake. Only recently Landsberger has solved the riddle of the god's name which for years was given as "Dun-x." He has shown that the correct reading is Shul-utul, and that it is to be translated "Young Nobleman Shepherd."³⁰ The significance of many other names may yield to scholarly research.

Sometimes, it is true, epithets are not actual proper names, but adjectival phrases describing a god whose proper name is different. Later religious leaders attempted to simplify religion by showing that many of the older names of gods were of this character. Several names, it was thought, referred to the same god. Tallquist has gathered the work

27. *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, p. 130. This is *Maqlu*, Col. VI, lines 111–119.

28. *JCS*, 2 (1948), 55.

29. For a study of the composition of Sumerian personal names, cf. A. Poebel, *Die sumerischen Personen-*

namen zur Zeit der Dynastie von Larsam und der ersten Dynastie von Babylon, Breslau, H. Fleischmann, 1910.

30. B. Landsberger, *Die Serie Ur-e-a = náqu*, *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon*, 2 (Rome, Pontificum Institutum Biblicum, 1951), 106 f.

of these men into a useful collection in his *Akkadische Götterepitheta*. This collection, however, must be used with care. We cannot leave it out of consideration in studying the early period, but we have to recognize that the later religious leaders were influenced by a theological bias. Our problem is to know when epithets which were applied to gods were actually their proper names, and when in this early period several of them really stood for a single god.

The difficulty may be illustrated with reference to Ninmah, which has the general meaning "Exalted Lady." Was this a proper name of a goddess in the early period? In later times Ninmah, Ninhursag, Ninlil, Damkina, and Belet-ile³¹ were identified with each other. Deimel seems to feel that Ninmah and Ninlil were always identical.³² In the royal building inscriptions of the Early Dynastic Period so far discovered, however, Ninlil is mentioned only by the obscure ruler Urzaged.³³ He does not equate her with Ninmah, so to push the identification of these two goddesses back to this period seems questionable.

The identification of Ninmah and Ninhursag has more early evidence to recommend it, but this too is most uncertain. The strongest argument is found in the parallelism between a text of Entemena and one of Urukagina.³⁴ On his Alabaster Tablet, Entemena says, "For Ninhursag has he built the *gikana* of the sacred grove."³⁵ When Urukagina reports the destruction of Lagash, he says, "In the *gikana* of Ninmah of the sacred grove have they poured out blood."³⁶ Were both rulers referring to the same cultic object which had been dedicated to the same divinity? Certainly the *gikana*, whatever its nature, was not sacred alone to Ninmah or to Ninhursag. Entemena built one for Nanshe³⁷ and another for Ningirsu.³⁸ Offering lists of the time of Lugalanda and Urukagina mention one for Enki.³⁹ Therefore we cannot argue from the nature of the *gikana* that in the passages we are discussing these cultic objects are identical. As for the epithet "of the sacred grove," I know nothing to suggest that this would be applied to only one goddess. Aside from these two passages, the phrase appears also in the inscription of Entemena on Doorsocket F.⁴⁰ Lines 27–30 are fragmentary. The text reads: "27. The temple of Ninmah 28. [break] 29. [break] of the sacred grove 30. he built." Thureau-Dangin supposes that the verb "he built" originally stood in line 28. It is probable, therefore, that the building of two different structures is reported here. The temple of Ninmah is one; a separate sanctuary of some kind, now described as "of the sacred grove," is the other. There is no way of knowing whether the second sanctuary was or was not dedicated to Ninmah. Nothing associates it with Ninhursag, to whom the phrase was applied on the Alabaster Tablet. We know that groves were connected with different temples, for Deimel has collected the names of some

31. Tallquist, p. 413.

32. *Pantheon Babylonicum*, 1914, p. 215, no. 2645.

33. P. 216.

34. Paffrath, *Zur Götterlehre in den altbabylonischen Königsinschriften*, pp. 38 f., n. 7.

35. *SAK*, pp. 30 f.: Alabaster Tablet, Col. V, lines 2–5.

36. *SAK*, pp. 56 f.: Clay Tablet, Col. II, lines 10–13.

37. *SAK*, pp. 32 f.: Alabaster Tablet, Col. II, lines 5 f.; Doorsocket F, lines 17 f.

38. *SAK*, pp. 32 f.: Doorsockets A and B, lines 4 f.; E, lines 9 f.

39. P. 232.

40. *SAK*, pp. 32 f.: Doorsocket F, lines 27–30.

of these.⁴¹ It would seem probable that "of the sacred grove" might be a general phrase applicable to all of these. It is also possible that some one shrine had come to be the shrine "of the sacred grove" *par excellence*. As in so many scholarly problems, our results end in uncertainty.

That a name which has such a non-specific meaning could be used as the distinctive proper name of a god may perhaps be inferred from Mes, which simply means "Hero." Lugalzagesi calls himself "the man of Mes," when he lists the gods who protect him.⁴²

GOD LISTS IN THE FARA TEXTS

If neither the epithets which the rulers apply to the gods nor the epithets which constitute the gods' names themselves attest the presence of well-developed myths, it might be said that the lists of gods' names in the Fara texts presuppose the existence of a developed mythology. These texts from Fara are the work of schoolboys in the period immediately preceding Urnanshe.⁴³ Ten different texts give lists of gods' names. It will be remembered, however, that lexical lists were found as early as the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr Periods.⁴⁴ They were concerned with word arrangement. In addition to the lists of gods, in the Fara texts there were other kinds of lists, such as lists of priests,⁴⁵ of fish,⁴⁶ of animals and food which were ritual offerings,⁴⁷ and lists of measurements.⁴⁸ In some cases there is a miscellaneous group of objects whose only resemblance is that the ideograms end in the same sign.⁴⁹ The interest of the lists, then, seems not primarily religious but scholastic. The largest tablet which contains a list of gods starts with ten well-known names. Then there follow more than six columns of names which begin with the sign *Nin*. No pattern can be observed for the arrangement of these deities. Also, in the last fourteen columns no system of arrangement can be observed. In the nine other texts it is equally difficult to find an ordered sequence. Furthermore, there are so few relationships between these texts that seven completely independent types can be distinguished.⁵⁰ In view of this lack of systematic arrangement of the gods' names, it is therefore surprising to have Deimel say: "This important table of gods shows with certainty that the whole structure of the Babylonian pantheon is to be laid back in the prehistoric time."⁵¹ Quite the contrary, if within the city of Fara the lists of gods which were used in schools were not related to each other, and if none of them was arranged according to a genealogical pattern, there is good reason to suspect that there was not as yet any true beginning of such theological thinking as would justify use of the term "pantheon."

Deimel has listed the names of gods found in these lists alphabetically for our convenience.⁵² The names are not interrelated. Never are the gods said to be sons of some

41. *Orientalia*, 16 (1925), 54.

42. P. 228.

43. *Fara* 2, 5*.

44. P. 118.

45. *Fara* 2, 6* f.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 20*.

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 20* f.

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 21* f.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 23*.

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 7*-9*.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 8*.

52. *Fara* 2, 9*-20*.

particular god.⁵³ Several proper names are qualified by the addition of words specifying some office or profession.⁵⁴ If there were other indications that these gods were organized according to families or a hierarchy we might see these names as supporting such an organization in this period. Since there are no such indications it seems probable that these divinities are the patron saints of the designated professions in this period.

MYTHOLOGY ON CYLINDER SEALS OF THE EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD

While it is true that in the period when the texts of the Sumerian myths first appear, none of the episodes from the myths was pictured on the cylinder seals, the gods who were central figures in the myths were selected for honor in presentation scenes. Such honorific scenes are of foremost importance on the glyptic. They reflect a theocentric attitude to the gods in which an organized mythology would naturally play an important part. In the Early Dynastic Period, however, the texts have demonstrated that men were predominantly anthropocentric. In the glyptic of this period, while presentation scenes had begun occasionally to be used, they are not common, and scenes reflecting the familiar Sumerian myths do not occur.

Frankfort has given the best survey of Early Dynastic seals which may represent mythological scenes.⁵⁵ He recognizes that often a myth may be reflected when we are unable to recognize it. In other cases we may reasonably suspect that a myth is present but the details are unknown to us. At times he thinks familiar myths underlie the designs. We shall try to summarize his views.

First he describes the different naked heroes who are found on the animal frieze.⁵⁶ Fig. 694 will illustrate the curly-haired but beardless figure who is commonly on seals but who does not appear on statues. On seals he is not found before the Third Early Dynastic Period. Frankfort thinks that the long hair and lack of beard were characteristic of adolescence. They may even have been intended to suggest an unkempt shepherd boy. They would not, of course, have been desired by the upper classes who were the ones to produce the statues. The myths picture Tammuz as a youthful tender of sheep and lover of the mother goddess, so Frankfort thinks it possible that the curly-haired beardless figure represents him. He does not make the suggestion with confidence, however, since he recognizes that it may be an anachronism to look for him in the Third Millennium B.C.

53. ^aAmar-Dumu-da-x(=489)-ab(?)-unug(?), p. 10*, is probably to be rendered ^aAmar-bàn-da-x-ab-unug. ^aBil-dág-dumu-nun, p. 10*, means ^aBil-dag, princely son." ^aDumu-en . . . , p. 11*, is fragmentary. ^{ab}Dumu-sag, p. 11* means "chief son." ^aUg-su-DUMU-da, p. 12*, is to be rendered ^aUg-su-bàn-da. ^aLugal-bàn(=DUMU)-da, p. 14*, by Deimel himself is read ^aLugal-bàn-da.

54. There are ^aBan(?)-nimgir, p. 10* and ^aNin-a-nim=gir, p. 15*. *Nimgir* is the name of an office. There are ^aIgi-nagar-ki, p. 13*, ^aMe-nagar, p. 14*, ^aNagar, ^aNagar-bur, ^aNagar-gígir, ^aNagar-ḫar, ^aNagar-igi-ki, ^aNagar-é(?)-

nu-ki-sikil, ^aNagar-ka, ^aNagar-šu, ^aNagar-šu-gur, p. 15*, ^aNin-nagar, ^aNin-nagar-abzu, ^aNin-nagar- . . . , p. 17*. *Nagar* signifies "carpenter." There are ^aLama-sanga, p. 14*, ^aInanna-sanga, ^aSanga, ^{ab}Sanga-gal, ^aSanga-mes-unug, ^aSanga ^aSu-kur-ru-ḫar-tud, ^aSanga-pisàn-nad-ku(?)-ki, p. 18*. *Sanga* signifies "priest." And there are ^aUkkin-du(g), p. 12*, and ^aNin-gal-PA-ukkin or ^aNin-PA-gal-ukkin, pp. 15*, 17*. *Ukkin* signifies "assembly."

55. *Cyl. Seals*, pp. 59-74.

56. *Ibid.*, pp. 59-62.

Fig. 695 is an illustration of the long-haired and bearded naked hero who is prominent in Mesopotamian art of all periods. Frankfort argues against earlier attempts to make him represent one of the leading figures of the pantheon. This is impossible, he points out, since he appears commonly in later times as standard-bearer or attendant to one of the great gods. Heidenreich had proposed that this figure was Tammuz.⁵⁷ Mrs. Van Buren accepted his view with some modifications.⁵⁸ Frankfort, however, thinks that a group of terra-cotta plaques of late Assyrian times disposes of that possibility. The figure on these plaques represents the bearded hero, but on one arm is an inscription reading "Come in, Guard of what is good," on the other is an inscription reading "Go out, Guard of evil." Ebeling published a text which prescribes the way in which such terra cottas should be used.⁵⁹ They are intended to be buried in the corners of courtyards to protect them from evil spirits. The text names these terra cottas *talim* or "twin." This bearded hero, then, Frankfort points out, is not Tammuz but one of a pair of demons. He goes on to suggest very significantly that we should not always see in him the same demon. "It is equally possible that the Sumerians represented in this way a whole class of heroic or daemonic figures, and this is, in fact, suggested by the very varied functions later fulfilled by this figure on Akkadian seals."⁶⁰

Fig. 696 offers a good example of the Bull-man who is one of the most common figures on these seals. He has often been identified with Enkidu, companion of Gilgamesh in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*. Frankfort is more inclined to accept this identification than he was to identify the naked bearded hero.⁶¹ He is impressed, however, with the varied roles the Bull-man plays. So he thinks it possible that "several mythological figures are shown in the same guise."⁶² He discusses at greater length how far the *Epic of Gilgamesh* is reflected in the cylinder seals. We shall consider this question shortly.

Of the mythological scenes about which he is most confident, the designs representing the "god in a boat" are foremost. Frankfort thinks⁶³ it is the Sun-god who is usually intended by such a figure and that he appears in only this scene in the Early Dynastic Period. There is considerable question, however, whether Frankfort is right in so generally identifying this god with the Sun-god.⁶⁴ Parrot and Van Buren have both insisted that the god is not always the same on different seals. At least once in the Early Dynastic Period he is the Sun-god (fig. 697),⁶⁵ as Frankfort says, for not only do rays emerge from his shoulders, but he carries the saw "with which he 'cuts decisions.'" Usually, however, there

57. R. Heidenreich, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der vor-derasiatischen Steinschneidekunst* (Heidelberg, P. Braus, 1925).

58. E. Douglas Van Buren, *The Flowing Vase and the God with Streams* (Berlin, Hans Schoetz, 1933), pp. 12-16.

59. Ebeling, "Talim," *AfO*, 5 (1928/29), 218 f.

60. *Cyl. Seals*, p. 60.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-70.

64. For recent investigations of the subject, cf. André Parrot, *Studia Mariana* (Leiden, Brill, 1950), pp. 111-118; E. Douglas Van Buren, "An Investigation of a New Theory concerning the Bird-Man," *Orientalia*, N.S. 22 (1953), 50-53. Both these articles list other attempts at interpretation.

65. Cf. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. xv, n. Frankfort, on p. 68, n. 1, wisely takes exception to Van Buren's idea that these "rays" represent plants sprouting from his shoulders: "A Problem of Early Sumerian Art," *AfO*, 10 (1935/36), 240.

is no attribute to aid in identification. For example, in fig. 698⁶⁶ a deity with no distinctive characteristics sits in a boat whose prow is a human figure wielding a punting pole and whose stern is the head of a feline. Nothing indicates that the god in the boat is the Sun-god. On such a seal as fig. 699 it is unlikely that he is the Sun-god, for here a god with a flail stands in a boat whose prow ends in a serpent's head.

According to Frankfort the implications of this scene are complex. There is the daily journey of the sun by boat. Intimately connected with it, however, are such agricultural symbols as a quadruped, plow, and pot, which often accompany this boating scene. Frankfort, therefore, is inclined to accept a chthonic interpretation which would find the central idea in the importance of the sun to man's work as a husbandman.

When Parrot recognized that this figure was not always the Sun-god, he saw that a modification of Frankfort's interpretation was necessary. He therefore suggested that this scene commemorates the great advance which came in Mesopotamian history when men changed from a society of hunters and shepherds to a society of farmers. This scene represents, he thinks, the bringing of a knowledge of agriculture to men.⁶⁷

Such an interpretation, however, seems to presuppose a far greater perspective about history than is warranted in the Early Dynastic Period, and it misinterprets the role of such cylinder seals in the life of the time. These seals, as we have said,⁶⁸ were potent objects, and were used in very practical ways. Various techniques were utilized to represent the personification of the boat: the prow and stern could end in branches (fig. 282);⁶⁹ the prow could end in a human bust, the stern in a feline's head (fig. 698); and prow and stern could end in a serpent's head and tail (fig. 699). Mrs. Van Buren has reproduced for us one perplexing seal on which the boat has assumed the form of a dragon (fig. 700).⁷⁰ The boats, then, were active spirits in the daily life of these people, like many other objects which to us seem inanimate.

What connection have they, however, with the agricultural tools with which they are so often associated? One cannot help wondering, as Buchanan suggested to me, whether we should not place these symbols against the background of the constant references to canals in the royal building inscriptions of this period. Urnanshe,⁷¹ Eannatum,⁷² Entemena,⁷³ and Urukagina⁷⁴ lay great stress on the canals they have built. We may be sure that these were of the greatest moment to the fertility of the country. Without them the fields would be dry and barren. As more canals were built, more grain could be grown and more herds could be maintained. It is reasonable to assume that ritual would have embraced these

66. Van Buren has given an excellent bibliography of seals where the boat's prow terminates in the figure of a deity: *Orientalia*, N.S. 22 (1953), 50, n. 2.

67. *Studia Mariana*, p. 118.

68. Pp. 195-210.

69. P. 68.

70. This comes from La Haye, no. 62.

71. *SAK*, pp. 2 f.: Tablet A, Col. II, lines 3-7; pp. 4 f.: Tablet C, Cols. III, line 7; IV, lines 1 f.; V, lines 1-4; Tablet D, Col. III, lines 2-4; pp. 6 f.: Three-cornered

plate, Col. V, lines 3-5.

72. *SAK*, pp. 22 f.: Fieldstone A, Cols. V, lines 15-17; VII, lines 3-6; pp. 24 f.: Fieldstone B, Col. VI, lines 8 f.

73. *SAK*, pp. 36 f.: Brick A, Cols. IV, lines 2-4; VII, lines 4-7; VIII, lines 4 f.

74. *SAK*, pp. 42 f.: Fragment of a brick, Col. IV, lines 1 f.; pp. 44 f.: Cone A, Col. III, lines 5-7; pp. 46 f.: Cones B and C, Col. II, lines 8-10; pp. 54 f.: Col. XII, lines 39-44; pp. 56 f.: Oval plate, Col. V, lines 5-7.

canals and the boats which sailed upon them. We have mentioned above a number of divinities connected with canals.⁷⁵ Presumably there were rites which honored them and enlisted their aid. These seals, then, while not necessarily intended as an accurate picture of such rites, seem to me to reflect the existence of such rites. The seals, as potent objects, would have contributed to an increase in the fertility of the lands and the herds. They were used as part of a complex ritual, all of whose component parts led to the same general end. There may have been rudimentary myths connected with them, but none which were well enough integrated to survive.

As he searches for traces of mythology Frankfort selects certain designs in which he suspects that gods of fertility are represented, though he recognizes that it is not easy to distinguish them from human beings. Two examples are figs. 701,⁷⁶ and 702, in which he thinks a fertility god receiving offerings is pictured. Granted that this is true, however, it is to be observed that this does not imply that there is mythology implicit in the scenes. We have long noted that prehistoric seals give pictures of ritual, but not of myths. Similarly Frankfort thinks that both the intertwined vipers, which already appeared in the Uruk Period and which recur in this later time (fig. 703),⁷⁷ and an elaborate snake coil, which is more common in this period (fig. 704),⁷⁸ represent the chthonic god Ningizzida. However, we may well ask, first, what textual evidence there is from as early a date as this that this particular god was represented by the symbol of a snake, and second, how the use of such a symbol for a particular god would demonstrate that a myth was being told about him. We have seen that snakes were common symbols in the art of prehistoric Mesopotamia. There has been no reason to assume that they always symbolized a particular god or were a reflection of a popular myth.

Frankfort closes his section on the seals which picture mythological scenes with a general grouping of designs which do not belong in a large class but which, because of their precise detail, may represent some not clearly discerned myth.⁷⁹ He warns us that it is not easy to know when a myth may be present, so that the number of such seals may be more numerous than we recognize. Six seals in particular seem to him most likely to represent a myth. On the upper frieze of fig. 705 there is "a symmetrical pattern of two human-headed bulls recumbent on either side of a wooded mountain and attacked, the one by the lion-headed eagle Imdugud, the other by a winged lion or dragon." He wonders whether the bulls here represent the "Bull of Heaven" described in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, whose onslaught produced seven years of famine. He says, "Since Imdugud is a symbol of the god of fertility, and the winged dragon an adjunct of the Weather-god and Rain-god, our cylinder may represent a conflict between the scorching heat of Mesopotamia and the beneficial powers of spring and autumn, especially since the next figure is a combination of plant and ruminant which so often symbolizes the god of fertility." He goes on to admit his

75. Pp. 231 f.

76. Cf. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. xv, e.

77. Cf. *MLC*, I, pl. x, no. 62 and p. 11.

78. Cf. Frankfort, pl. xiv, i and p. 71, n. 2.

79. *Ibid.*, pp. 72-74.

own doubts about this interpretation, however, since similar figures of couchant bulls beside a mountain, attacked by some sort of animal, occur on other objects where their interpretation as the Bull of Heaven is doubtful. There is a good deal of confusion in the way such human-headed bulls are presented. He concludes that it is both doubtful what myth is represented here and whether there is any myth. That a myth is implicit in the lower frieze seems to Frankfort far more certain. Here is very precise and abundant detail, but detail which fits none of the myths known from the literature.

The interpretation of fig. 706⁸⁰ is likewise in doubt. Frankfort tentatively suggests that the two seated figures in the boat are Gilgamesh holding the herb of life and Utanapishtim wearing the horned crown. The man who is poling the boat he thinks is Urshanabi. Since the rest of the figures do not fit easily into the story of the *Epic* it seems, nevertheless, that we are forcing these few details into a pattern that is not obvious. Boating and stories of boating must have been very common in ancient Mesopotamia. It is quite possible that a myth underlies this design, but the specific myth would seem to be unknown to us. Similarly because wrestlers are pictured in figs. 707, and 708,⁸¹ and because Gilgamesh and Enkidu are known to have grappled with each other, Frankfort thinks it possible that these seals reflect a knowledge of the *Epic*. But wrestling is a very common element in many folk tales as well as in daily human experiences; so we are grasping at straws when we say that the *Epic of Gilgamesh* lies behind such scenes.

For the agricultural scene pictured on fig. 709, and for such animal musicians as occur on fig. 710, he has no suggestion of meaning. Both he thinks may reflect unknown myths.

To this collection of designs which possibly derive from myths we may add fig. 711, which Porada and Buchanan thought belonged in this class, though its meaning is enigmatic. Here is a demon with human torso and two-pointed headdress, but whose arms end in lions' heads. On his raised leg a vase rests; a dagger is pointed at his bent leg. Two scorpions are before him. Above one, a small figure sits on a chair. Above the other are two crossed lions and a scorpion on a platform.

This survey of designs which possibly reflect popular myths will show how tenuous are the threads which seem to connect them with any tales now known to us. In those designs where ritual is the central motif,⁸² or where intertwined snakes or the snake coil appear⁸³ I believe Frankfort is wrong in suspecting an undercurrent of mythology. In many other cases he seems to me probably right, though I cannot agree that there is much probability that these myths are now known to us.

Of great importance is the question whether the *Epic of Gilgamesh* is reflected in designs of this period. Frankfort discusses the question at length⁸⁴ and concludes that it is

80. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 67, 73 f.

81. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 66 f., 73 f.

82. Pp. 243 f.

83. P. 244.

84. *Cyl. Seals*, pp. 62-67. Borowski has given an able

defense of the view that the art designs do reflect the *Epic*: "Le Cycle de Gilgamesh," *Genava, Bulletin du Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève du Musée Ariana*, 22 (1944), 69-88.

impossible to prove either the older point of view that it was, or the more common view of the present day that it was not.

He summarizes the most important features of the *Epic* as follows:

The Epic of Gilgamesh describes the adventures of a legendary king of Erech, and of his friend Enkidu. The latter was created by order of the gods to serve as a diversion for Gilgamesh, who was oppressing his people. And indeed the king, having found his equal, left the city to start with his comrade on a series of exploits in which their extraordinary power found full scope. They killed a monstrous demon in the wooded Elamite highlands and slew the "Bull of Heaven" sent by Ishtar to destroy the citizens of Uruk after Gilgamesh had refused to become her lover. This act of *hybris* was, however, punished by the death of Enkidu, and Gilgamesh, inconsolable, set out to discover the truth about death. He ultimately reached Utanapishtim, the Babylonian Noah, who had not succumbed to the Flood, and, when the gods discovered his survival, was removed from the earth to become immortal. Utanapishtim recounted to Gilgamesh the story of the Flood to prove that death is inescapable and that he himself had only obtained immortality by a specific act of the assembled gods. Moreover, he demonstrated that Gilgamesh, mightiest of men, was even unable to vanquish sleep. At the moment of departure he took pity on the distraught hero and indicated where in the "Ocean deep," the *primaeval* waters, grew the plant of everlasting life.⁸⁵ Gilgamesh dived and found the plant, only to be robbed of it by a serpent. As a last expedient he called up Enkidu's ghost and enquired of the nature of the hereafter. But his friend, not unlike Achilles answering Odysseus, evaded a direct reply but suggested that horror and emptiness were the essential features of his present existence. On this note of utter desolation the Epic ends.⁸⁶

This synopsis is based on the Akkadian version found on tablets in the library of Assurbanipal. Fragments of Old-Babylonian and Sumerian versions are also extant, however, so he thinks it legitimate to use the late text since the *Epic* surely goes back to the Third Millennium B.C. On the other hand, he emphasizes that any comparisons made between this text and the art are only hypothetical, for no single figure or scene in the art is accompanied by an inscription connecting it with the *Epic*.⁸⁷

Frankfort thinks that we cannot be sure that Gilgamesh himself ever appears on the seals. If he does, there is no way of distinguishing him. The hero is described as of superhuman stature, two-thirds god and one-third human. Inasmuch as the gods are pictured in human form, Gilgamesh would thus appear entirely anthropomorphic.

That Enkidu may appear on the seals seems to Frankfort, as we have said, more prob-

85. Or plant of rejuvenation. Speiser translates the passage on which this is based:

"Gilgamesh says to him, to Urshanabi, the boatman:

'Urshanabi, this plant is a plant *apart*,
Whereby a man may regain his *life's breath*.
I will take it to ramparted Uruk,

Will cause [. . .] to eat the plant . . . !
Its name shall be "Man Becomes Young in Old Age."
I myself shall eat (it)
And thus return to the state of my youth.' "

86. *ANET*, p. 96.

87. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pp. 62 f.

able. He recognizes that none of the texts explicitly states that Enkidu did not have human form. Nevertheless, he thinks that the Bull-man of the animal friezes may have been inspired by some characteristics of Enkidu of the texts.

We may consider some of the ways in which Enkidu of the texts and the Bull-man of the seals seem to correspond and the points at which they diverge. Enkidu's body was covered with hair and he had long tresses "like a woman." The Bull-man is shown with the long tress down his back, though not with a hairy body (fig. 696). Enkidu is garbed like Sumukan, god of cattle, a description whose meaning is obscure.⁸⁸ The Bull-man is shown naked. Enkidu is said to have fed on grass with the gazelles, to have mingled with the wild beasts at their watering-places. Would this have been the inspiration for showing him in art as half bull and half man? Enkidu is lured away from the beasts and he takes up his abode with a group of shepherds. There it is said that he took up weapons to hunt the lions so that the shepherds slept at night. The text reads:

He rubbed [the *shaggy growth*],
 The hair of his body,
 Anointed himself with oil,
 Became like a man.
 He put on clothing,
 He is like a groom!
 He took his weapon
 To chase the lions,
 That shepherds might rest at night.
 He caught wolves,
 He captured lions,
 The chief cattlemen could lie down;
 Enkidu is their watchman,
 The mighty man,
 The unique hero!⁸⁹

The primary theme of many of the seals is the defense of the herd against lions. The Bull-man and the bearded hero are shown over and over in this role. Does this art motif, then, reflect this passage of the *Epic*? Frankfort is inclined to think so. He is impressed also by the fact that this theme plays a subordinate part in the *Epic* and is confined to the early passages. In the main body of the story no further reference is made to this early state of Enkidu. Because those traits of the Enkidu of the *Epic* which perhaps appear in the seal designs all come from one almost self-contained episode he thinks their significance is enhanced. We do well to observe, however, that the text at this point goes out of its way to emphasize the human traits of Enkidu. He became like a man and put on clothing. The

88. Borowski considers this a euphemism to say that Enkidu is naked: p. 74, n. 15.

89. Speiser in *ANET*, p. 77.

art never shows a clothed hero fighting lions. Furthermore, it is not always clear that the Bull-man is attacking the lions. On some seals it looks suspiciously as though he were helping them.⁹⁰

From other parts of the *Epic* Frankfort finds it difficult to select details which seem to be reflected in the art.⁹¹ When Enkidu dies Gilgamesh bewails him as slayer of the wild ass and leopard. Gilgamesh himself is compared to a wild bull. Such general statements probably call to mind no artistic theme, but illustrate the valour of the heroes. Frankfort is particularly impressed by the fact that the early part of the *Epic* pictures Enkidu as a semi-human creature of the wilds performing his feats alone, while in the later parts of the *Epic* he is the companion of Gilgamesh, king of Erech (Uruk). He thinks the Bull-man of the seals is like the early Enkidu. He speculates, then:

It may well be that some author working on the *Epic* utilised the traditions of folklore concerning such a being, in creating the Enkidu of the beginning of his narrative. The section from which we have given quotations and which agrees with the seals does, in fact, seem to be woven but loosely into the fabric of the poem. The evidence appears to justify the assumption that the seal designs do depict the wild creature described as Enkidu in the First Tablet of the *Epic*. And if, at various times, Bull-men appear in Mesopotamian art and fulfil a variety of functions (as attendants for instance of the Sun-god) they may well represent survivals or elaborations of a tradition, which, though it was utilised by the authors of the *Epic*, existed independently in Mesopotamia."⁹²

This conclusion is well stated and has considerable cogency. We must recall, however, that Frankfort started his discussion by assuring us that we could never reach a firm decision on this matter. I have called attention to factors which seemed to lessen the force of some of the arguments. We might add that the Bull-man of the seals only occasionally is a lonely figure. In many cases he is accompanied by the bearded hero who is unidentified. Frankfort again raises the question of whether he is Gilgamesh, but leaves it as only a possibility which cannot be proven.⁹³ He thinks the "Bull of Heaven" may be an isolated motif which was derived from the poem, but he nowhere points to a seal where the decisive battle with this creature was fought. One would have supposed that this episode might have caught the imagination of the men of antiquity, and its absence seems significant.

To these factors, based on comparison of the text of the *Epic* and the designs appearing on the seals, other material not commonly taken into consideration needs to be added. In the extant literature of the Early Dynastic Period Gilgamesh appears surprisingly few times. One of the royal building inscriptions whose provenance is unknown reports that

90. Cf. *MLC*, pls. XII, no. 75, XIII, no. 78. Cf. Frankfort, pl. XIV, *h*, and p. 54 where the Bull-man is fighting the human hero who, if the *Epic* is supposed to be represented, would be Gilgamesh.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

92. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

93. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

an offering was made to him: "To Gilgamesh Nimgir(?)-esh₃-a(?)-tum₂ has presented it."⁹⁴ This inscription, which was found on a macehead seemingly of a period shortly before or perhaps at the same time as Urnanshe, treats Gilgamesh as a god, not as a hero. The *dingir* sign precedes his name. He is the recipient of a gift as in other inscriptions Enki or Ningirsu or Nanshe or any other of the great gods is the recipient of offerings.

Aside from this one royal building inscription I know of only fifteen other texts where Gilgamesh is mentioned in this period. In the longest list of gods from Fara his name is written ^d*Gish-pap-bi(l)-ga-mes*.⁹⁵ In the economic texts from that site he does not appear at all.⁹⁶

Deimel tells us that there are 1,575 economic texts of this period which were found at Telloh.⁹⁷ To these may be added 47 in the Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library, published by G. Hackman. On only fourteen⁹⁸ of these 1,622 tablets is there mention of Gilgamesh, although the names of other divinities recur over and again.

Five of these texts tell of offerings brought to the *gu*₂ of Gilgamesh.⁹⁹ The significance of *gu*₂ in these passages is not certain. In two texts, however, it is parallel to the phrase *gu*₂ *shu-rin-na*, which Deimel considers an offering place.¹ Such a meaning would give excellent sense for all passages where the *gu*₂ is said to belong to Gilgamesh. We seem, then, to be dealing with shrines of the god Gilgamesh. That he is a god and not a hero is indi-

94. Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection*, p. 1, no. 3; Barton, *Royal Inscriptions*, p. 13. Edmund I. Gordon suggested the reading of this name.

95. *Fara* 2, 11*. In the Fara texts the sign *bil*₂ was sometimes written *pap*+*bi(l)*: *Fara* 1, 17, no. 149. For recent etymological studies of the name "Gilgamesh" see: Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, pp. 89 f., n. 128, p. 188, n. 48. Kramer in *JAOS*, 64 (1944), 11, n. 15. Goetze in *JCS*, 1 (1947), 254. Falkenstein, *Grammatik der Sprache Gudeas von Lagaš*, 1, 8 f. Sollberger in *AfO*, 16 (1953), 230. Falkenstein thought that *GISH.BIL*₂ should be read *bil*₃ (cf. also I. J. Gelb, *Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar, Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary*, no. 2, 2nd ed. [Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1961], 84, no. 158), and as a result he restored the original reading of the name as ^dBilgamesh, which would mean "The Old One is a Hero." While Sollberger accepted the reading *bil*₃ for *GISH.BIL*₂, he offered a still further suggestion. Old Sumerian, he thought, did not tolerate a succession of consonants or vowels in the middle of the word. *Bilga*<*bilaga*, and the name was written ^d*bil*₃-*aga*_x-*mes*. *Aga*_x he finds as another value of *GIN*₂ (cf. the *BIL*₂.*GIN*₂.*MES* of texts from the time of Lugalanda). *Bil*₃-*ga-mes* and *Bil*₃-*aga*_x-*mes* would then be variant ways of spelling the same name. The translation is the same as with the reading of Falkenstein.

96. Cf. *Fara* 3, 24*. It is not readily apparent to what Lambert refers when he says (*Sumer*, 3 [1947], 131): "Ce nom est très courant à Farah; on peut l'y trouver une

trentaine de fois." The value of *mesh*₄ for *PA* rests upon the reading of the Yale Syllabary (Clay, pl. XLVII, line 253 and p. 91) and *CT*, 35, pl. 7, line 6. Both these texts are somewhat broken, but it is probable that they confirm the value *mesh*₄ for *PA* in the ideogram *PA.KASH*₄. That does not warrant us in giving *PA* that value outside of that ideogram, as Sollberger pointed out to me. Note also that Gelb has not found such a value for the sign in Old Akkadian (p. 84, no. 153). If this value of *PA* is not accepted, we must reject also Lambert's examples of the name Gilgamesh at Fara, for these have only the first element of the name without the *MES*. The first element *PA.GISH.BIL.GA* can be a name, but not the same name as *PA.GISH.BIL.GA.MES*. For the same reason we must reject the reading "Gilgamesh" as the name of one of the men bringing offerings on one of the archaic texts of Ur (Burrows, *Archaic Texts, Ur Excavations, Texts*, 2, pl. 1, no. 2 Obv., Col. II, line 3). The translation of the indistinct inscription on a statue from Umma (Seton Lloyd in *Sumer*, 2 [1946], 3; Lambert in *Sumer*, 3 [1947], 131 f.) seems to me still in doubt.

97. In *Analecta Orientalia*, 2 (1931), 71.

98. *DP* 54, 110, 218, 222, 286, 287, 332; *Fö.* 74, 124; *Nik.* 83, 266; *RTC* 58; *VAT* 4808, 4745.

99. *DP* 54, 218, 222; *Fö.* 74; *RTC* 58.

1. *SL*, §106, ¶154, p. 277. Cf. *DP* 222 and *RTC* 58, transliterated by Deimel in *Orientalia*, 2 (1920), 34-36. Cf. p. 50 for his treatment of *gu*₂ *shu-rin-na*, which he apparently would translate "shrine of the emblem."

cated by the *dingir* before his name each time it occurs. There is one exception,² but since this exception is so fully parallel in other respects to the other texts, the absence of the sign cannot be considered significant.

Eight texts tell of the offerings brought to the *e₂-e₂-bar* built for Gilgamesh.³ The significance of *e₂-e₂-bar* is uncertain, but it seems probable⁴ that it refers to a shrine of Gilgamesh lying alongside another building. In every case the name "Gilgamesh" is accompanied by the *dingir* sign.

On one last tablet Shubur the *nubanda* is said to have paid a particular amount from the *e₂-ka₂*, built for Gilgamesh.⁵ The *e₂-ka₂* seems to be the "gate shrine," that is, a shrine lying alongside a gate.⁶ Again there is a *dingir* beside the proper name.

In all of these fourteen texts not only are we dealing with such sanctuaries as are usually attributed to the gods, but these are only of secondary importance. The three different sanctuaries of which we have heard are by no means among the great shrines of the land.

One might be tempted to say that the Gilgamesh of these texts was a deified king such as we find in the King List or as the hero of the *Epic*. Deimel has made it clear that both heroes of antiquity and illustrious contemporary figures were so honored in the latter part of the period.⁷ At this time none of their names, however, was written with the *dingir* sign. Further, there is nothing to suggest that this practice was current as early as Urnanshe. Nimgir(?)*-esh₃-a(?)*-tum₂ seems to have considered Gilgamesh a divinity.

In the tablets of the Early Dynastic Period from Warka the name Gilgamesh does not appear. Because there are so few tablets no inferences can be drawn from this silence.⁸

It is quite possible that I have not found all the occurrences of the name "Gilgamesh" in the Early Dynastic texts. It seems to me highly unlikely, however, that enough additional instances will appear to alter our opinion that in this period Gilgamesh is a god of secondary importance who is honored very few times in proportion to the number of inscriptions.

It is striking, therefore, to compare this fact with the large number of scenes of contest on contemporary seals. The friezes picturing struggling animals and human or demonic beings are ubiquitous. By way of illustration we may consider a seal of Lugalanda himself (fig. 712). This particular seal is known from an impression discovered at Telloh. It was apparently considered so important that when Urukagina became king he erased Lugalanda's inscription and substituted another with his own name, for an impression was found in Telloh with identical design but bearing an inscription of Urukagina.⁹ Both

2. *DP* 222.

3. Nik. 83, 266; *DP* 286, 287, 332; Fö. 124; VAT 4808, 4745 (A transliteration of these two unpublished texts has been given by Deimel in *Orientalia*, 21 [1926], 63 f.).

4. Scholtz in *MVAG*, 39, 2 (1934), 77, 161 says that the literal translation is "Das Haus, das dem Haus an der Seite liegt." Lambert in *RA*, 47 (1953), 66 translates the phrase *e₂-bar* as "maison de côté, d'extérieur." He thinks it has a similar meaning to the *ka₂*, meaning "gate," which replaces it in *DP* 110.

5. *DP* 110.

6. Lambert, p. 66.

7. A. Deimel, "Die Listen über den Ahnenkult aus der Zeit Lugalandas und Urukaginas," *Orientalia*, 2 (1920), 32-51.

8. Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk*, pls. 64, 65, nos. 614-620; Lenzen in *UVB*, 11 (1940), pl. 38, e, no. W 17889 and p. 25.

9. Cros, *Nouvelles Fouilles de Tello*, pp. 268-270; cf. Parrot, *Tello*, p. 120.

this seal, the two other known seals which belong to Lugalanda, and also the seal of Lugalanda's wife are decorated with contest scenes.¹⁰ These seals are exactly contemporaneous with the offering lists we have just examined. Yet it is to these seal designs that scholars look primarily for representations of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*. If an epic tale were assuming an important role in the culture one would expect it to deal with gods and heroic figures who were currently prominent. We have seen from the texts that Gilgamesh was not prominent in the Early Dynastic Period. It seems highly unlikely, then, that these scenes have anything to do with the *Epic*.

True, I am neglecting the evidence of the earliest written myths when I say that Gilgamesh was not prominent in the Early Dynastic Period. The text of these myths, however, is from the Ur III and the Isin-Larsa Periods. I consider it of the utmost importance to ask, as we are doing, what conclusions we reach about the early culture if we put aside this later literature.

If we grant, then, that the contest friezes do not reflect the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, are we also to say that they reflect no myth whatsoever? Probably we cannot go as far as that. For all the similarity between the designs on these seals there is also a great variation in the detail. Many seals offer pictures of exaggerated grotesques. For example, the being which we see on fig. 711 has a human torso but arms which end in lions' heads. There are so many grotesques on seals of this period that we may reasonably infer that the seal designs reflect a belief in a variety of demons.¹¹ Very possibly specific names were given to some of these demons, though we cannot now recover them, and stories now lost were probably told about them. There is no reason to assume, however, that the same name was usually given to figures which look alike, and that the stories had any connection with each other. They represent a style in accordance with which individuals could express their aggressive instincts in socially acceptable ways. Perhaps a comparison with modern Western films is instructive. There is a basic resemblance between most Western films, but the names of the heroes and villains are varied; in most cases there is no theme which is developed from one episode to another. Similarly, in the case of the contest friezes of ancient Mesopotamia, a large number of stories may have been told centering on a variety of powerful demons. The stories may have had basic resemblances as our Western films have, but there need not have been one integral theme or the same cast of characters. There is, of course, no exact parallel between the type of stories which the seals reflect and our Western films. Both, however, arose in their own cultures in response to the need to express feelings of aggression in ways which would do no harm.

Our investigation of the cylinder seals of the Early Dynastic Period, then, has revealed a situation not unlike the situation we found in the Uruk Period. There are designs which seem to stem from contemporaneous myths. More can be found in this period than there were earlier. Yet we see no evidence that the myths which were known in a later

10. *Ibid.*, pl. 28 and pp. 117-119.

11. Whether or not the grotesques which appear in medieval art lacked meaning, as G. G. Coulton maintains

in *Art and the Reformation* (Oxford, Blackwall, 1928), pp. 331 f., nothing can be deduced from this situation for Early Dynastic art in Mesopotamia.

period originated in this time, or that any integrated epic story was playing an important role in the culture. For example, a god riding in a boat appears on a sizable group of seals, and probably reflects a rudimentary myth. We have said that while sometimes this figure was the Sun-god, he was not always the same god. Even if we were to accept Frankfort's view that it was usually the Sun-god who was pictured, however, we should not therefore see any reason to presuppose the existence of a developed myth. The Sun-god appears in later myths of different kinds where the circumstances require his presence. In Sumerian literary myths, however, he does not ride in a boat through the sky by day and through the underworld by night, as we might infer from these seals. He seems to sleep at night.¹² The Early Dynastic seals and the later myths do not correspond, and the later myths obviously cannot be used to interpret the seals. Further, from the fact that the Sun-god appeared in this one scene accompanied by symbols reflecting the cultivation of the soil we should be in no position to deduce the existence of a developed, integrated myth. The agricultural symbols may well be fertility symbols. The Sun-god may have been a colorful being sometimes associated with this group of ideas. When he is a being who is the chief actor in a developed myth, he appears not in this one scene alone but in several kinds of scenes, as we shall see in connection with the myths pictured on seals of the Akkad Period.¹³ The gods who were worshiped in the Early Dynastic Period seem to have been quite comparable to him. Men spoke of them and worshiped them in colorful ways. There was no movement to develop integrated myths.

MYTHOLOGY IN EPITHETS OF LATER ROYAL BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS

That a developed mythology, if it existed, would leave its traces in the royal building inscriptions of the Early Dynastic Period may be shown by comparing these inscriptions with others of the following periods. We cannot discuss in as much detail the later inscriptions because the material is too abundant and varied to permit comprehensive treatment in a few paragraphs. We may select some points, however, to show the significance of the different approach of men in this later period.

Particularly striking is the frequency with which the epithets show relationships between gods.

In the inscriptions of Urbaba, Ninhursag is "mother of the gods,"¹⁴ Baba is "daughter of Anu,"¹⁵ Ninmarki is "chief daughter of Nanshe,"¹⁶ and Ensignun is "tender of the asses of Ningirsu."¹⁷ Baba is Anu's daughter also on inscriptions of the reign of Nammahni.¹⁸ From the same ruler's wife we have a mace whose inscription speaks of Ningirsu's beloved son Shulshagga.¹⁹

12. Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology*, pp. 41 f.; cf. also Index, p. 125, s.v. "Utu (sun-god)."

13. Pp. 255 f.

14. *SAK*, pp. 60 f.: Statue, Col. III, line 8.

15. *SAK*, pp. 60 f.: Statue, Col. IV, lines 3-5; pp. 62 f.: Clay Nail A, lines 1-3; Stone Tablet, Col. II, lines 5-7; Vase, lines 1 f.

16. *SAK*, pp. 60 f.: Statue, Col. V, lines 8-10.

17. *SAK*, pp. 60 f.: Statue, Col. VI, lines 1 f.

18. *SAK*, pp. 64 f.: Doorsocket, lines 1-5; Statuette of a woman, Col. I, lines 1-5.

19. *SAK*, pp. 64 f.: Mace B, lines 1-3.

Anu has more than one daughter in the inscriptions of Gudea. Baba still is most frequently mentioned,²⁰ but Gatumdug also is his daughter.²¹ Ningizzida is his grandson,²² and Ningirsu is his purification priest.²³

It would seem that Enlil is primarily important to Gudea because of his support of Lagash and of Lagash's chief god Ningirsu. Many times Gudea tells us that Ningirsu is Enlil's son,²⁴ but he places no other god in a comparable relationship. Ningirsu is also Enlil's strong *ursag*, as he was in the early period.²⁵ To suggest Ningirsu's irresistible might he is said to be Enlil's hurricane,²⁶ and his loud-threatening storm.²⁷ Nanshe is said to be like Enlil in determining fates.²⁸ One would expect more interest in tracing the connection of other gods with Enlil, but such an interest does not appear.

Ningirsu himself in Gudea's inscriptions has two sons, Igalima(k) and Shulshagga.²⁹ Baba is his wife,³⁰ and Nanshe his sister.³¹ Gudea makes this statement about Nanshe clearly. His thought, however, is not clear, for he also states that Nanshe is the daughter of Eridu, in other words of Enki, not of Enlil.³²

To Gudea Nanshe is not alone daughter of Enki and brother of Ningirsu. She has a daughter, Ninmarki,³³ and a sister, Nisaba.³⁴ To Gudea Ningizzida is son of Ninazu,³⁵ and his wife is Geshtinanna.³⁶

In Cylinders A and B of Gudea the gods take a far more active part in the affairs of men than they have heretofore. We recall that on the Stela of the Vultures we looked in vain for any account of the deliberations by which the gods decided to support Eannatum in his battles or of their activity in those battles. The ruler told us that he used the nets of the gods against his enemies, but the gods played a colorless role.³⁷ There is a great contrast in the time of Gudea. On his cylinders Gudea says that Enlil has set Lagash in a special place. He has selected Ningirsu, the god of Lagash, to see that the cultic requirements are met and that the river is properly controlled for irrigation purposes. Ningirsu in his turn has picked out Gudea to carry out the divine plan. Gudea is overwhelmed by the commission and seeks the aid of Gatumdug and Nanshe. He approaches Ningirsu himself for

20. *SAK*, pp. 74 f.: Statue B, Col. VIII, lines 57 f.; pp. 76 f.: Statue D, Col. III, lines 13-15; pp. 78 f.: Statue E, Cols. I, lines 1-3; II, lines 14 f.; pp. 84 f.: Statue G, Col. II, lines 4 f.; Statue H, Col. I, lines 1-3; pp. 86 f.: Statue H, Col. III, lines 1 f.; Statue K, Col. II, lines 13 f.; pp. 110 f.: Cylinder A, Col. XX, line 19.

21. *SAK*, pp. 90 f.: Cylinder A, Col. II, line 28.

22. *SAK*, pp. 140 f.: Cylinder B, Col. XXIII, line 18.

23. Falkenstein, *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zurich, Artemis, 1953), p. 147: Cylinder A, Col. X, line 13.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 144, Col. VII, line 5; p. 146, Col. VIII, line 21; Col. IX, line 3; p. 167: Cylinder B, Col. II, line 14; p. 170: Col. VI, line 6; p. 171, Col. VII, line 5.

25. *SAK*, pp. 66 f.: Statue B, Col. II, lines 1-3; pp. 76 f.: Statue D, Col. I, lines 1-3; pp. 84 f.: Statue G, Col. I, lines 1-3; pp. 86 f.: Statue I, Col. I, lines 1-3. Falkenstein, p. 147: Cylinder A, Cols. IX, line 21; X, line 4.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 147, Col. X, line 2; p. 160, Col. XXIII, line 14.

27. *Ibid.*, line 20.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 141, Col. IV, line 9.

29. *SAK*, pp. 86-89: Statue K, Col. II, lines 15-18. Falkenstein, p. 171: Cylinder B, Col. VI, line 22.

30. *SAK*, pp. 84 f.: Statue G, Col. II, line 6.

31. Falkenstein, p. 142: Cylinder A, Col. V, line 17.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 139: Cylinder A, Col. II, line 16; p. 157, Col. XX, line 16.

33. *SAK*, pp. 74 f.: Statue B, Cols. VIII, line 67; IX, line 1.

34. Falkenstein, p. 143: Cylinder A, Col. V, line 25.

35. *SAK*, pp. 86 f.: Statue I, Col. I, lines 4 f.

36. Cf. Van Buren, "The God Ningizzida," *Iraq*, 1 (1934), 64.

37. P. 218.

instructions. The gods respond, and with their aid he builds the Eninnu. When the task is completed the gods joyfully enter the temple. In this story, contrary to what we have seen before, men are reflecting about the gods. Their attention is no longer focused exclusively on their own plans and their fears. They are no longer anthropocentric. The gods are beings whom they know and whose activities can be helpful to them.

There is also in these cylinders a beginning of rational speculative thought. Cylinder A commences with a scene like the opening of a pageant. The time is the moment when in heaven and on earth the fates were decided. Then Enlil raised to the highest rank the great divine ordinances in Lagash and selected the god of Lagash, Ningirsu, for his favorable glance. The cultic requirements which it is so important that Gudea perform and the river whose flow is so important to the land are part of the plan foreordained when the fates were decided. Gudea's commission is part of a cosmic plan.

Many illustrations could be cited to show that there is more colorful imagery in Gudea's inscriptions than in the earlier period. For example, he describes the gods whom he saw in his dream. Most elaborate is his description of Ningirsu:

In the midst of the dream there was a man. Like heaven
and earth was his extraordinary stature.
As shown by his head, he was a god.
As shown by his wings, he was Imdugud.
As shown by the blowing of his wings he was a hurricane.
At his right and left a lion reclined.³⁸

Nisaba is described in the following lines:

There was a woman, whoever she was.
Proceeding at first she made
She held in the hand a stylus of gleaming metal.
She held a heavenly star-tablet on the knees.
She took counsel thereby.³⁹

Ninduba appears thus:

There was another; he was a hero.
He was endowed with power. He held in his hand a tablet of
lapis lazuli.
Of the temple, its ground plan he made.
Before me he set a pure carrying board.
A pure brick form he made just right.
The brick of fate he laid for me in the brick form.⁴⁰

38. Cylinder A, Col. IV, lines 14-19. The translation of this and the following two passages was developed in a seminar of Ferris J. Stephens. These lines refer to Ningirsu (see Col. V, lines 13-17). Cf. translation by Thorkild Jacobsen in A. Leo Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East*, Transactions

of the American Philosophical Society, N.S. 46, 3 (Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1956), 245.

39. Cylinder A, Cols. IV, lines 23-V, line 1. Cf. also Col. V, lines 21-25.

40. Cylinder A, Col. V, lines 2-7. Cf. also Col. VI, lines 3-8.

From material such as we have described we discern new trends in Sumerian culture. Men are beginning to set their thoughts about the gods in a system. They are developing genealogies. The gods are participating in human life, although they are on a plane far above men. Men are asking questions about the gods and developing a sense of a cosmic plan. They are thinking in such colorful terms that there could be pictures of the gods in both literature and art. This is the kind of setting where not only art and ritual but also mythology go hand in hand as essentials in the religion. The mythology is not on a rudimentary level. It is part of a complex culture where speculative thought has begun.

MYTHOLOGY ON CYLINDER SEALS OF THE AKKAD PERIOD

The cylinder seals of the Akkad Period corroborate the evidence of the literature that mythology had become an important cultural factor in the years following the Early Dynastic Period. Many more of the seals in this period reflect myths than in the earlier periods. No comprehensive picture of them will be given, since to do so properly would be beyond the scope of this book, as was true also for the study of seals of the Early Dynastic Period. It is sufficient to give illustrations of some of the seals which most clearly reflect myths.

In this period the Sun-god for the first time is a prominent figure. Now more often than before he is clearly identified by the rays rising from his shoulders as the god in the boat, though there is no reason to suppose that he always bore the same name. Along with this boating scene now, as formerly, go a quadruped, a plow, and a pot (fig. 713).⁴¹ The Sun-god is shown, however, in a number of other scenes. Each of these scenes is represented not by an isolated seal but by a group of seals. Very commonly he is shown rising between two mountains or from the top of a mountain (fig. 714).⁴² Sometimes he threatens another god who collapses on top of a mountain (fig. 715),⁴³ and once that mountain seems to be aflame (fig. 716). Sometimes he fights other beings, as at the right of fig. 716 where he is attacking the Bull-man. On fig. 717 one adversary is an anthropomorphic god, whose beard he has grasped so as to lay bare the throat. At the right he appears a second time fighting a composite monster with lion's mouth and paws but human body. Often he is part of a scene where beings pay reverence (fig. 718).⁴⁴ On two seals he brings homage to a god from whose shoulders issue streams of water (fig. 719).⁴⁵

Frankfort has maintained⁴⁶ that this group of seals reflects the *Epic of Creation* and the New Year's Festival at which the *Epic* was recited. Some of the scenes seem to him to describe the sun's daily course. There are two different conceptions about this course. One (fig. 713), which appears in Egyptian and Hittite but not in Sumerian literary sources, pictures the Sun-god in a boat passing through the sky by day and through the nether-

41. Cf. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. xix, f; "Gods and Myths on Sargonid Seals," *Iraq*, 1 (1934), pl. III, e, f, g.

42. Cf. Louvre, Delaporte, 2, pl. 71, nos. 2, 4, 7, 12, 13. *MLC*, pls. xxviii, nos. 178-183, xxix, nos. 184-186. *VR*, pl. 30, nos. 219, 220. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. xviii, a.

43. Cf. Louvre, Delaporte, 2, pl. 71, no. 11.

44. Cf. *MLC*, pl. xxix, nos. 190-194. Louvre, Delaporte, 2, pl. 72, nos. 1, 2. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. xviii, f.

45. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. xviii, i.

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 95-110. *Iraq*, 1 (1934), 21-29.

world by night.⁴⁷ The other (fig. 714) pictures him at the moment of his rising from the mountains, while attendants throw open the gates.⁴⁸

On the seals where the Sun-god appears before the god with flowing streams, Frankfort is confident that the scene pictures Marduk before Ea.⁴⁹ We can never be certain, however, about the name attributed to any figure in the art unless an inscription makes it clear. It may be probable that the god with streams in fig. 719 is Ea, though that the streams so identify him in every instance is probably not true. Frankfort himself warns against supposing that the Sun-god always is the same god.⁵⁰ We have only to recall that Gudea called the Sun-god rising from the horizon his god Ningizzida⁵¹ to know how uncertain is Frankfort's identification of this god with Marduk.

To identify him with Marduk, however, or with some Sumerian prototype of him, would help to support Frankfort's view that it is the *Epic of Creation* which lies behind this whole group of seals where the Sun-god is present. The two classes which seem to him to show this epic most clearly are the designs where the Sun-god threatens a figure who collapses on a mountain (figs. 715, 716) and where the Sun-god is liberated from a mountain grave. In the former he is inclined to think that the scene pictures the destruction of Kingu, who was raised up by the primeval father Anshar to destroy all the gods. In the latter he thinks the scene pictures an episode not in the literary version of the *Epic*, but which was re-enacted at the festival.⁵² The most beautiful representation of this scene he sees in fig. 720.⁵³ Here he thinks the Sun-god is emerging from his grave, and with his return to earth vegetation comes to life, symbolized by the tree on the mountain beside the mother goddess. The bird on the right is thought to be the Zu bird, now defeated as the Sun-god returns to earth. When Van Buren considered this seal,⁵⁴ however, she saw in the god emerging from the mountain not Marduk but Adad. Kramer, on the other hand, was more inclined to think⁵⁵ that the scene was derived from the myth of "Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Nether World." He finally gave up that suggestion as improbable, but he concluded that the myth is not now known to us. We must follow in Kramer's path. While it is possible that Frankfort is right in thinking that the *Epic of Creation* lies behind the seals picturing the Sun-god, there is no reason for confidence in that suggestion. All we can do is observe that on the seals where he is pictured there is a change from the earlier periods. He is the central figure of several scenes, and these are repeated. In these scenes perhaps we behold episodes from a great drama, but if so we are only glimpsing it from afar. We cannot identify the plot or the name. We are clearly, however, closer to the period of the great epics than we have been before.

The myth of Etana, the shepherd king who was carried to heaven on the back of an eagle to obtain the plant of birth for his childless wife, may much more probably be found

47. *Cyl. Seals*, pp. 108-110.

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 98 f. Cf. Mrs. Van Buren, "The Sun-God Rising," *RA*, 49 (1955), 1-14.

49. *Cyl. Seals*, pp. 102 f.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

51. Cylinder A, Col. V, lines 19 f.

52. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pp. 96-98, 104 f.

53. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 105-108.

54. *The Flowing Vase and the God with Streams*, pp. 27-30.

55. Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology*, p. 32.

on the seals of the Akkad Period. Fig. 721, from the Morgan Collection, represents this class of seals especially well. In the sky is a man on the back of an eagle. Below are a ram, three sheep, and two shepherds with their dogs looking up at the ascending figures.

There is some probability that the myth of Zu lies behind several seals. According to this myth the Zu bird had stolen the tablets of destiny which the king of the gods had laid aside while he was bathing. This loss reduced the king of the gods to impotence. His son overcame Zu and restored the tablets to his father. On two seals the resemblance to this myth is especially close. One of these pictures a giant bird seizing a plant, and attacked by gods who have caught him in the act (fig. 722).⁵⁶ Frankfort argues with considerable weight that the plant of life was substituted by the artist for the tablets of destiny, but that both represented similar values.

Whether Frankfort is also right in finding the myth of Zu in two other classes of seals is less certain. In one group not a bird but a Bird-man is haled before the god with flowing streams. Sometimes the Bird-man is held prisoner by two guards (fig. 724).⁵⁷ Once (fig. 725) he is strung upside down and hung from a mace over the shoulder of one of the guards, while the guard in front carries uprooted plants. Frankfort, who associates this scene with that of fig. 722, says "it seems as if [these plants] were intended to explain why the Bird-man was caught."⁵⁸ Like the scenes of the god in the boat, these scenes which picture a Bird-man have recently been further investigated.⁵⁹ It seems clear that the Bird-man, who appears first in the Early Dynastic Period,⁶⁰ is likewise a figure who fits into no simple explanation or myth. In the pre-Sargonid period he is always triumphant. He often accompanies the god in the boat. At times he appears without him, but accompanied by the quadruped, the plow, and the pot which are generally associated with the figure in the boat. Such scenes also continue in the Akkad Period. There are others, however, in this period depicting the Bird-man as defeated. It is these which Frankfort connects with the myth of Zu. Amiet and Van Buren would seem to be right in questioning whether we may properly associate one aspect of the picture of the Bird-man with Zu while we do not relate to this myth the opposing aspects. Amiet attempts to explain the scenes of triumph and defeat as pictorial representations of the cycle of the seasons. When the Bird-man is led in defeat before the god with streams Amiet thinks he is brought there not for condemnation and judgment but for resuscitation. Van Buren, however, quite properly says that such scenes as figs. 724 and 725 do suggest that the Bird-man was treated with contumely by his captors. These seals do not suggest his resuscitation, but are glorying in his defeat. She points to the parallel of these scenes with the judgment of Inanna in "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World." The parallel, while interesting, seems to me, however, formal only. There must have been many myths in which a divinity committed an offense

56. Cf. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. xxiii, *g* and p. 135.

57. Cf. *MLC*, pl. xxx, nos. 196, 197, 199. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. xxiii, *e, f*. Louvre, Delaporte, 2, pl. 73, nos. 5, 6. *VR*, pl. 30, nos. 223-226. Van Buren, figs. 12-24.

58. Cf. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. xxiii, *d* and p. 134.

59. Cf. Pierre Amiet, "L'homme-oiseau dans l'art

mésopotamien," *Orientalia*, N.S. 21 (1952), 149-167; and E. Douglas Van Buren, "An Investigation of a New Theory concerning the Bird-Man," *Orientalia*, N.S. 22 (1953), 47-58.

60. Van Buren gives one doubtful example of the figure in the Jemdet Nasr Period: *ibid.*, fig. 2.

and was condemned. Some such myth probably underlies these scenes where the Bird-man is defeated. Its details, however, now escape us.

In the third group of seals where Frankfort finds the myth of Zu, a human figure is under attack and beside him are birds or bird-like creatures. One such is fig. 723, where a man has gone down on one knee under the attack of two Imdugud birds. To Frankfort the god at the right seemed to be in league with the birds.⁶¹ Mrs. Van Buren thought he was helping the fallen figure.⁶² On fig. 726 appears a similar human figure under attack. This time, instead of the Imdugud birds, an eagle or hawk strikes at him. The role of this bird seems to be the same as that of the Imdugud birds in fig. 723, yet Frankfort in this case assumes that the bird is intended by the artist to identify the victim as Zu.⁶³ Since that was not the role of the Imdugud birds in fig. 723 it is unlikely to be the role of this eagle or hawk. There is therefore serious question whether we have any means of identifying the myth to which these seals belong.

We need not go on to consider other seals of this period which reflect myths. The examples given will suffice to show that there are far more than there were in the earlier time, that they fall in classes which are repeated, and that some scenes seem to be associated with each other as different parts of a myth, though we are still unable to identify the myth.

By way of summary, then, we may state the conclusions of this chapter. Neither the epithets which the rulers applied to the gods nor the epithets which form the gods' names themselves indicate that there was any developed mythology in the Early Dynastic Period. The designs on cylinder seals of that period reveal some traces of myths, but these are on a rudimentary level. The Sun-god appears in one scene alone. The contest scenes show no clarity or consistency of presentation. The *Epic of Gilgamesh* does not appear to be represented. Only in the Akkad Period is the evidence that mythology had an important role in the culture complete. At that time we still lack texts of epics. In the building inscriptions of the rulers of that period and of the periods immediately following, however, the epithets of the gods reflect an interest in the relations of one god to another. The gods are beings interested in men and engaged in activities which are helpful to men. They have set the fates of men and work according to a foreordained plan. Alongside such inscriptions the seals of that period show that men were designing patterns in which the activities of their gods were prominent. These activities fell into scenes which were repeated. The same figure was shown in the different groups. It is evident that these scenes originated from a mental attitude which reflects on basic causes and the relation of the gods to each other. We cannot say surely that most of the epics which we know in the Isin-Larsa Period originated in the Akkad Period. We can, however, reinforce our earlier premise that there is no evidence that these epics developed in the culture which preceded the Akkad Period.

61. Cf. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, pl. xxiii, b and p. 133.

63. Cf. Frankfort, pl. xxiii, a and p. 133.

62. Van Buren, *The Flowing Vase and the God with Streams*, p. 31.

The usual descriptions of the culture of early Mesopotamia differ radically from the views maintained in this chapter. Jacobsen has outlined the development of political organization in Mesopotamia from Primitive Democracy to Primitive Monarchy, to the development of Regional Kingdoms, to Hegemony under Kings of Kish, to Primitive Empire under rulers of Akkad, to a Bureaucratic National State under the Third Dynasty of Ur, and so on to the centralized rule of the Assyrian Empire in Neo-Assyrian times.⁶⁴ He admits that his results are conjectural, as any results in this field must be, because the materials from the early periods are less adequate than the historian would wish. In the light of the difficulties of the prehistoric historian he defines his aim thus: "The best that can be attempted from [the sources] is an ordered, coherent, and meaningful account which, though openly conjectural, is consistent with the known data and in itself reasonable."⁶⁵

The sources for the earliest political forms, which he defines as Primitive Democracy, he finds in the ancient myths which we have been saying should not be used for a study of the earliest period. He justifies their use by stating that the political pattern found in them is more primitive than that found in the epics, and "it stands apart altogether from anything we know of the political organization of the country in historical times."⁶⁶ He goes on: "Since it is difficult to conceive that the original myth-makers could have depicted as setting for their stories a society quite outside their experience and unrelated to anything they or their listeners knew, and since furthermore the myths of a people usually constitute the oldest layer of its tradition, one must assume that a political setting such as occurs in these tales once existed in Mesopotamia and was later replaced by more developed political forms."

We have questioned whether it is true that the myths of a people usually constitute the oldest layer of its tradition. In the case of Mesopotamia, we have said, the evidence indicates that ritual and "magical" practices were earlier.

It is also important to question whether the political organization which Jacobsen describes as Primitive Democracy stands apart from anything we know of the political organization of the country in historical times. He himself has traced the existence of an "assembly" with powers both in the judicial field and in wider areas of government to the Akkad Period. At that time one tradition records that "the assembly deemed it within its authority to choose a king."⁶⁷ An assembly whose activities centered in judicial functions, he tells us, existed in the Assyrian merchant colonies in Asia Minor in the Isin-Larsa Period and in Babylonia in the time of Hammurabi.⁶⁸ Because much power was concentrated in the hands of the king in Hammurabi's time he thinks the existence of an assembly, as

64. "Early Political Development in Mesopotamia," *ZA*, N.F. 18 (1957), 91-140; cf. also "Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia," *JNES*, 2 (1943), 159-172. Speiser came to similar conclusions quite independently: "Some Sources of Intellectual and Social Progress in the Ancient Near East," American Council of Learned Societies, Conference of Secretaries, *Studies in the History of Culture: The Discipline of the Humanities* (Menasha,

Wisconsin, George Banta Publishing Co., 1942), p. 60.

65. *ZA*, N.F. 18 (1957), 96.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

67. *JNES*, 2 (1943), 165 and n. 35. Cf. Geoffrey Evans, "Ancient Mesopotamian Assemblies," *JAOS*, 78 (1958), 1-11.

68. *JNES*, 2 (1943), 161-165.

portrayed in the myths, represents a relic of something very old, which contradicted the trend of the period. The only alternative he sees is that the assembly might be a new idea just beginning to gain momentum; but this he feels is contrary to "the entire drift of Mesopotamian political life and thought in the historical periods."⁶⁹

It would appear, then, from Jacobsen's own evidence that an "assembly" with varying functions was definitely known in historical times and did not lie outside the experience of the men who were writing down the myths. True, in the same periods there was a trend to the concentration of power in the hands of a single individual. I should like to offer as an alternative hypothesis the possibility that in this period there may have been tension in the country between the two foci of authority, that is, between assembly and king, and that such tension may not be something new but a situation going back to very early times.

That the assembly goes back to an early period appears probable because the sign *ukkin*, meaning "assembly," is found in the archaic tablets found in Level 4*b* at Warka. The combination *gal-ukkin* meaning "usher(?) of the assembly" appears there in a list of officials, as Jacobsen has stated.⁷⁰ This combination of signs is found also in the school texts from Fara.⁷¹ In the time of Lugalzagesi, just before the Akkad Dynasty, a man is known who styles himself as "city elder," *ab-ba-uru*, and was thus a member of the assembly.⁷² Again in the Akkad Dynasty a city elder appears.⁷³

That there were kings in this early period is probable because of the pictures on cylinder seals of the Uruk Period in which prisoners are brought before the bearded figure (figs. 262, 263).

It is not easy to demonstrate that there was tension between the "assembly" and the king in the Prehistoric Period when so few texts exist and so little is known about the culture. That the country was subject to frequent conflict, however, is demonstrable. This appears not only from the pictures of prisoners on cylinder seals just mentioned, as Pinhas Delougaz pointed out to me, but also from the excavations of prehistoric sites, where one level after another in both north and south Mesopotamia gives evidence successively of different kinds of cultures. In the first eight chapters of this book we have described the changes in ornament from one period to another. It is inherently probable that the changes were not a result of peaceful evolution but were accompanied by conflict, whether between neighboring cities or between the inhabitants of one city and the inroads of nomadic peoples. Human nature being what it is, it seems to me improbable that there was ever a time, even at the dawn of history, when some people were not having more or less serious skirmishes with others. This point needs to be labored because scholars sometimes point to the first building of city walls in the Early Dynastic Period as evidence for the fact that the Early Dynastic Period was a time of great insecurity and frequent wars,

69. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

70. In *ZA*, N.F. 18 (1957), 107; cf. n. 29. Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk*, Zeichenliste no. 153.

71. *Fara 2*, nos. 33, 75, 76.

72. G. G. Hackman, *Sumerian and Akkadian Admin-*

istrative Texts, Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies, 8 (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1958), nos. 82: 1, 5, 77, 106; 86: 57.

73. *Ibid.*, no. 156: 17.

while the earlier periods, when the cities were open, were much more peaceful.⁷⁴ The Royal Building Inscriptions of the Early Dynastic Period make it clear that there were frequent wars between rival cities in the Early Dynastic Period. It is not a good argument, however, to say that because a new means of defense was invented in this period, the earlier period was any more peaceful. Because men started to fight with gunpowder in the fourteenth century, we need not conclude that the earlier years were a peaceful period.

We should not suppose that all the early skirmishes would have left remains which can be recovered in excavations. Some evidence that the transition from one period to another was accompanied by violence has survived, though the situation in a given period varies from one site to another. In Mefesh and Tepe Gawra it is probable that there was a peaceful transition from the Halaf culture to that of the Ubaid Period. In these sites for a little while the pottery, according to its style of painting and fabric, seems to be a hybrid ware.⁷⁵ However, Mallowan concluded that in Arpachiyah at this period the Halaf and Ubaid peoples never lived in harmony. With the coming of the Ubaid culture there is a complete change of material, and none of the burials suggests that there is any overlapping of the two cultures.⁷⁶ Likewise in Shaghir Bazar Level 7, within the Halaf Period, had been subjected to radical destruction, and Level 6, the latest of the Halaf levels, seemed to have been destroyed by fire. Between Level 6 and the beginning of the historical period in Level 5 there was a big gap which conformed to a time in which the whole of the region of the upper Khabur seems to have been depopulated.⁷⁷ Again, the end of the Ubaid Period in Tepe Gawra was marked by violence. The White Room complex of Level 12, the latest of the Ubaid levels, was covered with a layer of ashes. In Level 11*a*, the first of the levels from the Gawra Period, was found the Round House with its thick walls for defense. The excavators concluded that this was a period of violent change, when the town had been heavily fortified.⁷⁸

If, then, the Prehistoric Period was by no means a time of peace, the probability is that many local heroes who sought to gather power in their own hands developed to meet the emergencies. Since there is no literature from this time we can never know details about such figures. We can only speculate that strong men rose to meet particular situations. Since the Mesopotamian love of independence is ingrained from the beginning, in contrast to Egyptian culture, the authority of these men probably clashed with that of local groups who may have been organized in some kind of primitive assembly; and the weight of authority of leader or of assembly presumably varied from one set of circumstances to another.

The scribal schools which wrote down the myths lived for the most part in the Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian Periods. However, recent studies seem to show that many of these schools were independent and not controlled by the palace. Gadd thinks there were

74. Jacobsen in *ZA*, N.F. 18 (1957), 112, 120; Falkenstein, "La Cité-temple sumérienne," *Journal of World History*, 1 (1954), 807.

75. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 8 (1946), 128 f., 143.

76. Mallowan, "Arp.," p. 13.

77. Mallowan, *Iraq*, 3 (1936), 8, 16.

78. *Tepe Gawra*, 2, 18, 25, 45.

“private houses belonging . . . to the persons who functioned as headmasters there and presumably obtained some of their own living and supported their assistants out of fees and presents received from parents or patrons of the scholars.”⁷⁹ Schneider has made a study of the titles borne by the scribes at the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur.⁸⁰ This shows that the scribes did not hold major offices in politics, business, or the temples, but that they were educated men who could be employed by the greater officials in any of their work. We are asking, however, whether the Sumerian scribes who preserved the myths in writing reflect the thinking of one particular group of their time, perhaps of the palace or of the temples. It is true that the Palace at Mari, which dates from this period, seems to have had a school for scribes; but neither in the school rooms nor elsewhere in the Palace were tablets found giving texts of myths.⁸¹ Many Sumerian literary texts were acquired by purchase, so their provenance is unknown. It has been reported that a few literary tablets were found at Nippur in the 1957–58 season. These came in fill which covered the Inanna Temple of the Ur III Level, and, in the light of the other tablets found with them, seem to have been taken from the Ur III temple. The group of scribes responsible for them, therefore, would seem to come from priestly circles of the Ur III Period. The houses on “Tablet Hill” in Nippur, where the early excavations of the University of Pennsylvania found literary texts, were thought to be the Temple Library. They were separated from the temple area by the bed of an ancient canal now dry, and so the true function of these houses was not fully certain.⁸² In 1948, 1949–50, and again in 1951–52 further excavations were carried out in this area by a joint expedition of the University of Pennsylvania and the Oriental Institute. More literary tablets of the periods of Isin-Larsa and of Hammurabi were found. This time the excavators concluded that this area was not the temple library, but the residential quarter of scribes who carried on a school and who had their own libraries in their homes.⁸³ The literary texts from Kish either were found in an area where illicit digging had prevented determination of the purpose of the buildings from which they came, or they were bought back from workers in the excavation, so their actual provenance is uncertain.⁸⁴ The evidence thus accumulated is less complete than we might wish, but insofar as it goes it suggests that the scribes responsible for writing down the myths were either independent or affiliated with the priesthood. Their picture of the world of the gods, then, reflects ideals which may not have been shared by government officials.

79. C. J. Gadd, *Teachers and Students in the Oldest Schools* (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1956), pp. 25 f. See also S. N. Kramer, *From the Tablets of Sumer* (Indian Hills, Colorado, Falcon's Wing Press, 1956), pp. 3–9.

80. N. Schneider, “Der dub-sar als Verwaltungsbeamter im Reiche von Sumer und Akkad zur Zeit der 3. Dynastie von Ur,” *Orientalia*, N.S. 15 (1946), 64–88.

81. André Parrot, “Les Fouilles de Mari, deuxième campagne (hiver 1934–35),” *Syria*, 17 (1936), 21, and pl. III, nos. 3, 4, Rooms 24, 25. G. Goossens, “Introduction à l'archivéconomie de l'Asie antérieure,” *RA*, 46 (1952), 102 f. Some religious texts were found there, notably the

legend of Naram Sin and a ritual of Ishtar in Akkadian, but no myths.

82. H. V. Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands* (Philadelphia, A. J. Holman, 1903), p. 305, Plan, and pp. 511–532.

83. D[onald] McC[own], “Nippur: The Holy City,” *University Museum Bulletin*, 16, 2 (1951), 14–18; McCown in *ILN*, 220 (1952), 1084–1086; Weidner in *Afo*, 15 (1945–1951), 140 f.; 16 (1952), 134. McCown in *JNES*, 11 (1952), 175.

84. H. de Genouillac, *Premières recherches archéologiques à Kish*, 1 (Paris, Édouard Champion, 1924), 19 f.; 2 (1925), 34–44.

Jacobsen's picture of the development of political organization in Mesopotamia also gives too little weight to the central ideas brought out in Falkenstein's study of the Sumerian City Temple,⁸⁵ and in Kraus's study of the role of the temple in later periods.⁸⁶ Falkenstein thinks that, starting at least from about 3000 B.C., the City Temple was the center of civilization in southern Mesopotamia, and that it retained its position of dominance until it was replaced by the "statist" system of the Third Dynasty of Ur.⁸⁷ During that period the temple not only was the center of religious life but also the nucleus of the city-state.⁸⁸ All the agriculture was carried on for its benefit. All the people belonged to some craft or profession working for the temple. There was a large number of crafts.⁸⁹ Falkenstein seems prepared to question whether the epic traditions have transmitted a knowledge of the distant past.⁹⁰ The "ensi," who is known in texts of the protohistorical period, is the head of the city-state, and he is "the lord who established the foundation (of a temple)." The king or "great man" (*lugal*), he thinks, often had his principal residence in the temple (*é-gal* or "great house"), a word whose formation seems to be similar to the word for "king." The king, then, was head of the city-state, of the temples, and of the priests who served the temples. Falkenstein thinks that there were times when the king wished to be independent of the temple. The Early Dynastic palaces found in Kish and Eridu are the earliest buildings so far known where the temple ceased to be the residence of the king. The "reform texts" of Urukagina show that the king and his officials had arrogated to themselves temple property. Such acts were disapproved, and as a result there seems to have been tension between the king and the priesthood, though sometimes the priests also sought too much for themselves. There developed a class of people known as "subjects of the king" (*šub-lugula*) who in time of peace worked in the fields belonging to the temples, but in time of war served as the nucleus for the armed forces.⁹¹

The period which Falkenstein treats can be traced back to the Uruk Period, though the temples of that time seem also to be related in form to some known in Ubaid levels. From then until the Third Dynasty of Ur he thinks the temple was the nucleus of the state, but there was also tension of varying degrees of severity between the priests and the king and his officials. In the time of the Dynasty of Akkad there was a temporary interruption when Sargon became supreme. This did not last. At the end of the foreign domination of Gutium, Gudea established himself as king of Lagash in the old pattern of the City Temple.⁹² Falkenstein does not carry his study beyond the coming of the Third Dynasty of Ur, when he thinks the concentration of power in the hands of the king formed a new order. Kraus has described the changes which occurred in the Third Dynasty of Ur and in the Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian Periods.⁹³ In the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur, con-

85. *Journal of World History*, 1 (1954), 784-814. See Jacobsen's evaluation in *ZA*, N.F. 18 (1957), 100, n. 11; 107, n. 32.

86. Kraus, "Le Rôle des temples depuis la troisième dynastie d'Ur jusqu'à la première dynastie de Babylone," *Journal of World History*, 1 (1954), 518-545.

87. Falkenstein in *Journal of World History*, 1 (1954), 789.

88. *Ibid.*, p. 790.

89. *Ibid.*, pp. 792-795.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 795.

91. *Ibid.*, pp. 798-800.

92. *Ibid.*, pp. 788 f.

93. Kraus in *Journal of World History*, 1 (1954), 518-

centration of power in the hand of the ruler reached its highest point. Then the king was head both of the state and of the religion. He built temples and furnished their equipment. He represented the state before the gods, carrying out the rituals in one city after another. In spite of the large number of documents from this period, Kraus thinks it is not easy to be sure how the personnel of the temple fitted into this scheme. There were many people associated with the work of the temple whom we might not always call priests who should be taken into consideration. Some of these, as, for example, the "lord of the god" and the "mistress of the god," only in this period and the period following, were selected by the king. In the Third Dynasty of Ur, Kraus has the impression that the social role of the temples was less important than earlier and later, since the temples concerned themselves less with the life of the people at this time.⁹⁴ In the Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian Periods there were new trends which emphasized the independence of free men and of the religion of the individual.⁹⁵ The old unity of city and temple was dissolved. The king in the time of Hammurabi became protector of the temple, which was an entity in itself in and beside the city.⁹⁶ The essential cause of this evolution was "the coming of a new society of free bourgeois, of vassals and small farmers living on the lands belonging to the State, attached to the State by very weak bonds, but bound to the kings by their condition as subjects, the rise of a new individual religious spirit, putting each one in particular directly in communication with the gods."⁹⁷

In the light of the cultural developments which Falkenstein and Kraus describe, it is reasonable to suppose that from early times there had been tension within Mesopotamia over the focus of authority. The pendulum had swung back and forth, as now one group and then another held the greatest authority. It is probable that out of this tension developed the myths in which the world of the gods was organized in an assembly. To some groups of the period when the myths were written down this was not a new idea, or an idea known only as a relic of an almost forgotten past, but an idea which represented aspirations of current interest.

It will take a longer investigation than the present study warrants to inquire exactly what cultural factors in the later period are revealed by the Sumerian myths. We can only conclude this chapter as we began by insisting that investigations of the history of Mesopotamia, as of Palestine, should give primary attention to the artifacts and literature produced in the period studied. The myths should be studied from this point of view rather than in the hope of discovering the culture of the Prehistoric Period.

94. *Ibid.*, pp. 524-532.

95. *Ibid.*, p. 524.

96. *Ibid.*, p. 534.

97. *Ibid.*, pp. 534 f.

APPENDIX A

The Dating of Objects of Naturalistic Style in the *Sammelfund*

In the latest part of Eanna, Level 3 at Warka, a large collection of small objects was discovered, usually referred to as the "Sammelfund." It clearly came from the Jemdet Nasr Period, but it has seemed to many scholars that some of the objects whose style was most naturalistic probably were made in the Uruk Period and preserved as heirlooms in the following period.

As Lenzen discussed the matter with me in the winter of 1957-58, he said that the location from which the Sammelfund came did not seem to him to permit that conclusion. In the Jemdet Nasr Period there was a radical change in the ground plan and the location of the temples in the Eanna district. At no point was there continuity between the buildings of Eanna, Level 4 and Eanna, Level 3. Such a change seemed to Lenzen to indicate that there was a religious revolution in Warka at the close of the Uruk Period. If there was such a revolution, then, he thought, the people of the Jemdet Nasr Period would not have cherished and retained objects of the Uruk Period. Furthermore, the entrance to the building in which the Sammelfund appeared was close to the south wall of the Jemdet Nasr Temple. The Sammelfund was near the door and covered by a heap of ashes. It clearly belonged to the very latest level of the Jemdet Nasr Period; so perhaps two hundred years separated the objects in this collection from the Uruk Period.

That these objects were buried long after the Uruk Period is unquestioned. That there had been so important a religious revolution that people would have retained no cultic objects previously used is, however, by no means certain. We know that cylinder seals were invented toward the end of the Uruk Period. Writing also was invented before the end of the period. In neither case was this innovation discarded in whatever religious revolution followed.

The objects which are most in question are three cylinder seals on which the designs are worked in a naturalistic style,¹ some of the animal amulets which are delicately carved, and the big alabaster vase.² If it is concluded that these objects are of Jemdet Nasr date, however, the inference follows that from this late period also come numerous other cylinder seals of similar naturalistic style but which were acquired for museums by purchase.³

1. Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, pls. 17, *a, b*; 19, *a*. Cf. Figs. 249, 282.

2. *Ibid.*, pls. 2, 3, and 38. Pp. 70 f., and Fig. 286.

3. E.g. *VR* pls. 4, no. 26, and 5, no. 29; Heinrich, pl. 17, *c*. Cf. Figs. 247, 258, 269.

Insofar as the amulets are concerned, among which should be included the cylinder seals, the people of Mesopotamia were so conservative about retaining objects deemed to have potency that it is reasonable to assume that they valued amulets long after they were made. The form of temples and their location might change, but they clung to amulets for a long period of time. Furthermore, apart from the potency of these amulets, in a country as lacking in stone as southern Mesopotamia, the stone out of which they were beautifully carved would have had too great intrinsic value for people to have discarded them for many years.

Lenzen has studied the seal impressions which were found in different levels of Eanna, Level 4.⁴ The same seal was used to make a number of impressions on clay, and some impressions of the same seal were found in different locations. It is certainly useful to have Lenzen's statement as to where the impressions were found. When he endeavors to show that there was a development from Level 4*b* to Level 4*a*, however, he is less convincing. Characteristic of impressions which were found in Level 4*b* are processions of men bearing gifts, the bearded figure standing before prisoners, heraldic presentations of animals, and seated lions. Characteristic of impressions from Level 4*a* are heraldic animals with intertwined serpents' necks. This group seems to me only a variant form of the heraldic animals mentioned in the last grouping. Also in this level are a number of seals presenting the attack of one animal on another, and rows of mountain goats accompanied by cornucopias, leafy branches, and jars. He tells us that only once was the impression of the same seal found in both Level 4*b* and Level 4*a*; there the seal presents a bull and calf followed by a lion and dog. This is an abstract presentation of the pursuit of some animals by others such as is common in Level 4*a*. Seal impressions which are similar but not identical were found in both Level 4*b* and 4*a*: for example, heraldic presentations of animals, seated lions, and pictures of large buildings. The forms which he thinks are most distinctive for each section are: for Level 4*b*, presentations of men—in only one seal from Level 4*a* is a man presented; for Level 4*a*, pictures of the holy herd, struggling animals, and composite animals. In the pictures of the holy herd which are especially naturalistic he sees a transition to the Jemdet Nasr Period, for two of the most beautiful naturalistic seals with this scene come from the Sammelfund which he dates at that time. As a result he assigns numerous other similar seals to that period.

In evaluating this evidence, it seems to me more significant than Lenzen recognizes that there are the relationships between Level 4*b* and 4*a* which have just been described. The instances where similar motifs were used in both levels I think are more important than the fact that a few motifs were confined to a single level. Furthermore, when the style of all the seals of Level 4 is compared with the style of the Ubaid Period, the seals from Eanna, Level 4 have an amazing unity because they are so naturalistic. When the majority of the seals of the Sammelfund are studied and compared with other seals of demonstrably Jemdet Nasr date it is clear that the trend of the Jemdet Nasr Period is away from natu-

4. In *ZA*, N.F. 15 (1949/50), 5-13.

ralism. Thus whatever remnants of naturalism there may have been in the Jemdet Nasr Period, the dominant style of the Uruk Period was naturalistic, and this was true for the first time in Mesopotamian history. It would be strange if the most beautiful pieces created in the naturalistic style all came from the Jemdet Nasr Period, as the theory of the German scholars would require.

The alabaster vase (fig. 286), which came not from the Sammelfund but alongside and outside the wall of the building where the Sammelfund was discovered, is also very important for the date of the collection. This vase has been considered by many scholars one of the most important creations of the Uruk Period, retained through the years but buried in the Jemdet Nasr Period.⁵ Such a view seems impossible to the German scholars, not only for the reasons previously given, but also because one design appears on it which is like the sign for EN, meaning "lord," in the Sumerian script.⁶ Thus, it is argued, this vase could only have been manufactured in a period when people were beginning to place inscriptions on monuments, that is, in the transition to the Early Dynastic Period.

The sign in question appears in the upper row of ornament on the vase. In the central place is a female figure clad in a long skirt. Before her come men bearing offerings. Behind her are two beribboned standards and a pair of rams. On the backs of these rams are platforms on the steps of which stand two men behind whom is a beribboned standard. The man in the rear holds his hands before his face, his right hand clasping the wrist of his left. The man in front has his arms extended before him, and on them he holds an object which clearly resembles in shape the sign for EN, as it appears in the tablets of Eanna, Level 4.⁷ However, many of the signs in this, the earliest level where writing was found, are imitations of objects used in the ritual. There are plants, birds, animals, and fish which are often offerings in themselves. There are beribboned standards, ringed poles, and vases of different shapes. When these latter objects are found on cylinder seals or on this alabaster vase nobody attempts to say that the artist intended them as pictographic signs. There is no reason to conclude that this object held by the man on the alabaster vase was any different from the other objects pictured there. It is some kind of ritual object, obscure as are the T-shaped objects farther behind the man in question. It is the prototype of the EN sign, but not the EN sign. To interpret this as the EN sign leaves the question unsolved as to its significance in a place so inappropriate for an inscription.

This volume, therefore, has adopted the point of view that the alabaster vase and the cylinder seals which have the most naturalistic designs, though they came from the Sammelfund, were heirlooms, made in the Uruk Period.

5. Cf. Frankfort, *Cyl. Seals*, p. 16, n. 3.

6. Heinrich, p. 16.

7. Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk*, Zeichen-

liste, no. 383; cf. pl. 6, no. 113, which is W. 9656 cd, found in Qa XVI 2, Level 4 (see pp. 69, 74).

APPENDIX B

A Hitherto Unpublished Jemdet Nasr Vase in the Yale Babylonian Collection

Ferris J. Stephens, curator of the Yale Babylonian Collection, has very kindly given me permission to publish a complete Jemdet Nasr polychrome vase, Number 6093 of the Nies Babylonian Collection (Frontispiece and Figs. 727 and 728). From correspondence it is clear that this vase was in the hands of an antiquities dealer in New York in January 1930, and was purchased in March of that year.

The vase stands somewhat unsymmetrically on a flat base, its height on one side being 19.9 centimeters, on the other 19.4 centimeters. The maximum diameter is 22.7 centimeters, the maximum circumference 72 centimeters. At the carination also the height is somewhat unsymmetrical. On one side it stands 9.2 centimeters above the base, on the other 8.2. The neck is 3.7 centimeters in height, and it terminates in a beveled rim of 1.7 centimeters. The diameter of the mouth is 10 centimeters.¹ The jar is of a buff clay, without a slip, at least partially burnished, with a geometric design developed by dark red paint and black lines.

There are two main zones of decoration on the shoulder. The first covers half the distance between the carination and the neck, the second, half the remaining distance. Each of these is delineated at the top by a black line encircling the vase. The largest of these zones (i.e. the lower) is divided into twelve panels of uneven size. In the two largest panels on opposite sides of the jar are boxes of crosshatching enclosed by black lines. Below these, on the lower side of the carination, are horizontal bands of red bordered with black. Between the two panels of crosshatching, on either side, are panels of alternating red and buff which extend below the carination to the base of the jar. The panels are framed on either side by black lines, while added black lines of varying number are drawn vertically through the buff panels.

The second and upper zone of decoration is the most damaged section of the vase. Insofar as can be determined, around the circumference runs a row of zigzag, creating a pattern of interlocking triangles, the lower series of triangles decorated in alternation with solid red paint and crosshatching, the upper series left buff.

The neck and rim, inside and out, are painted dark red, and this paint continues on the shoulder of the jar to the second zone of decoration. The design seems to have been intended to be symmetrical, though it was not carefully executed.

1. Cf. vases of comparable form in Delougaz, *Pottery*, pl. 186, no. C.603.270; Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, pl. LXV, no. 21; Heinrich, *Fara*, fig. 29, p. 36; Erich Schmidt, "Excavations at Fara, 1931," *MJ*, 22 (1931), pl. XXIV, no. 3.

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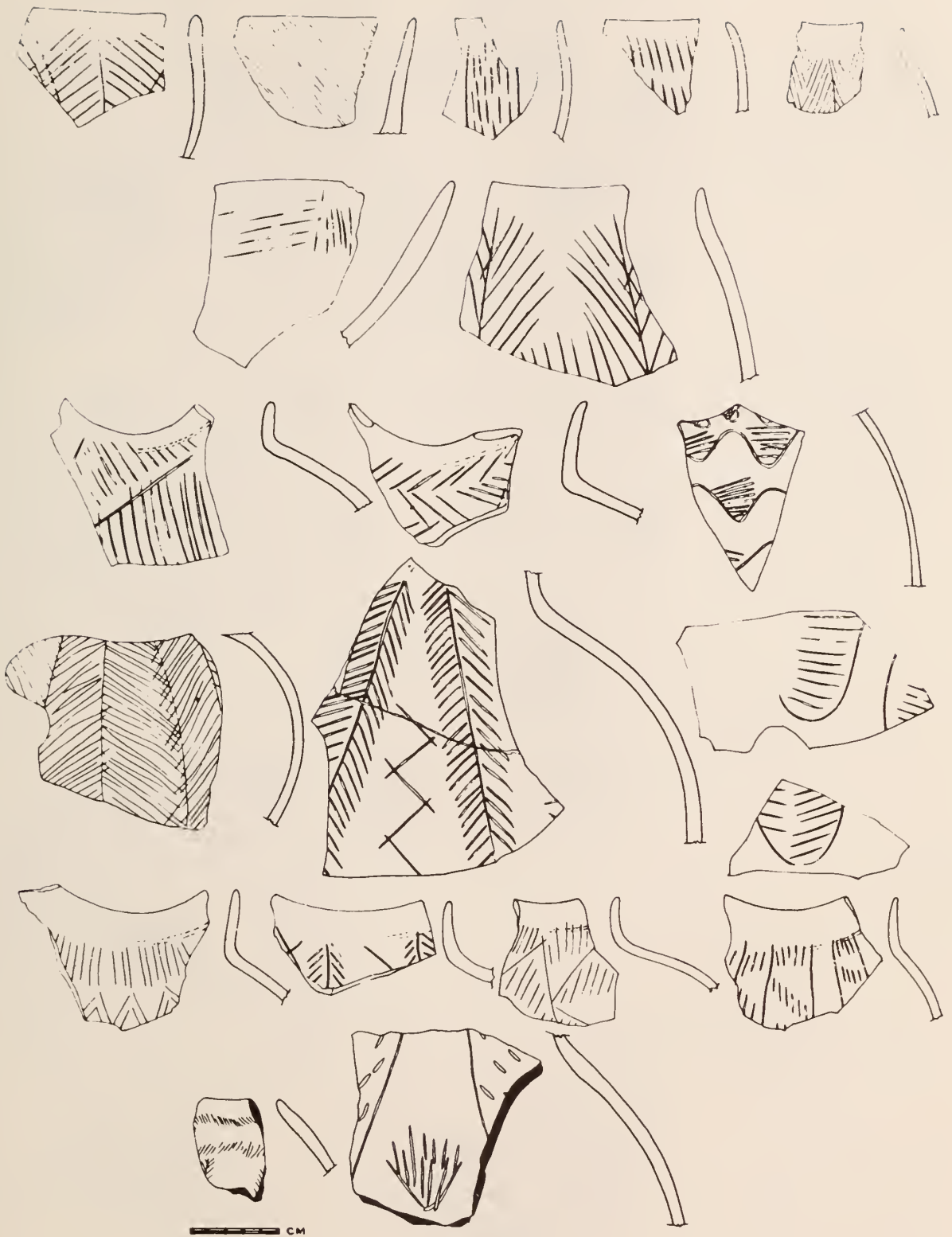


Fig. 1 Early Hassunah Standard Incised Ware

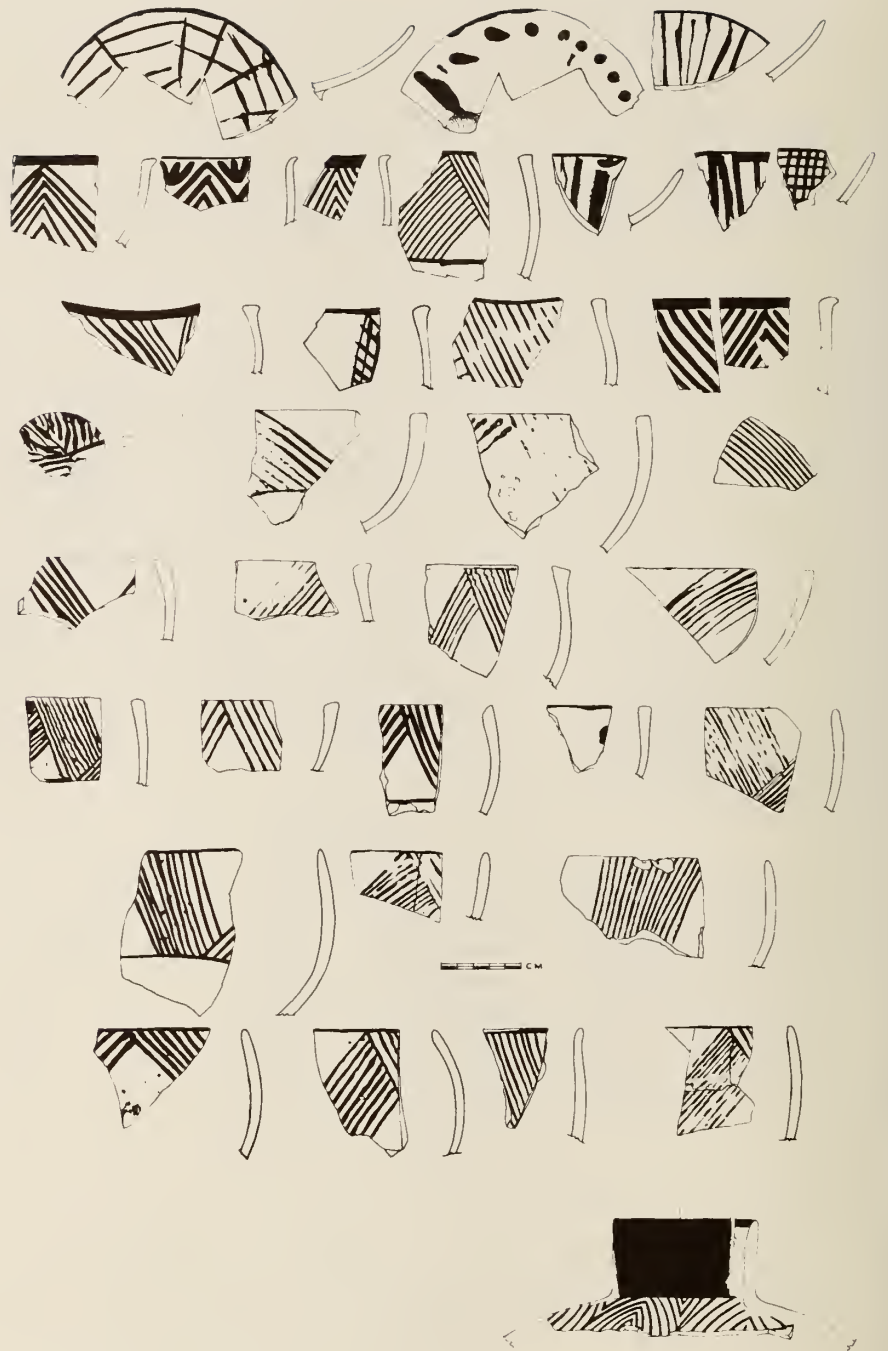
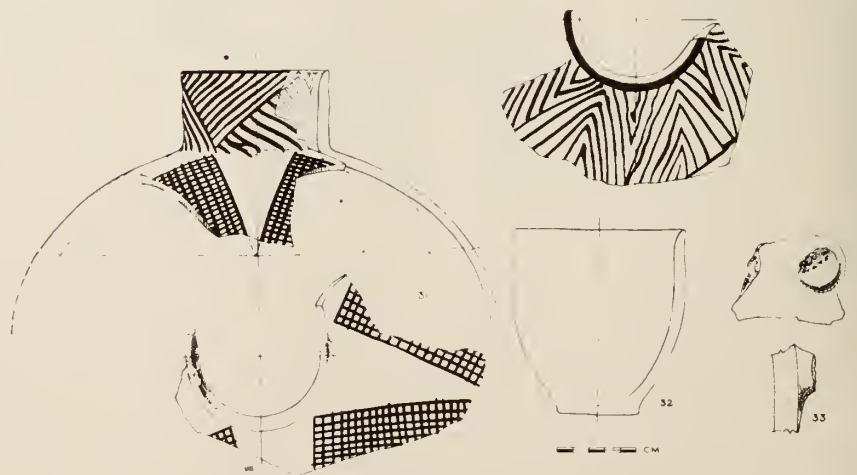


Fig. 2 Hassunah Archaic Plain, Burnished, and Painted Ware



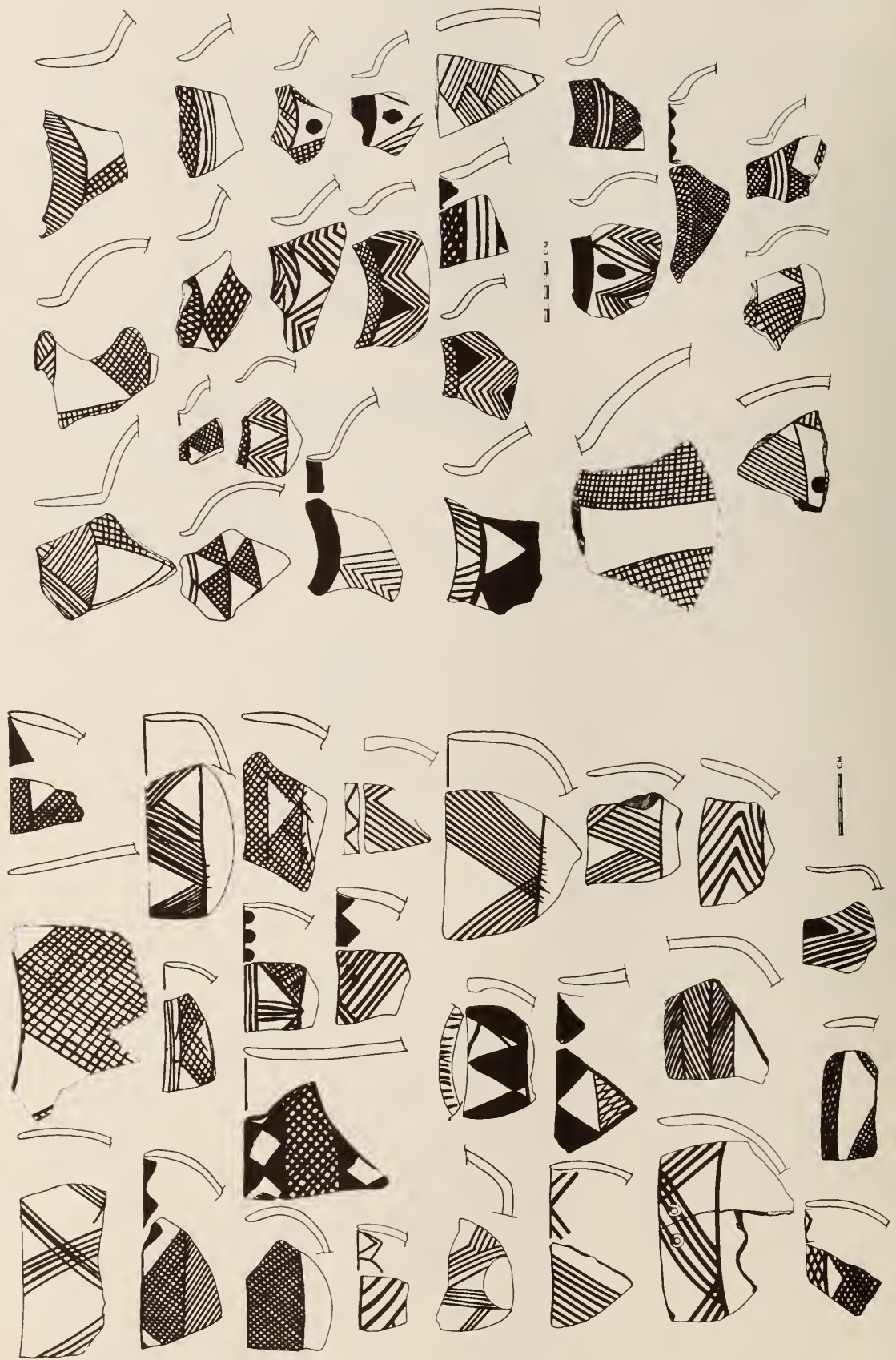


Fig. 4 Hassunah Standard Painted Ware



Fig. 5 Hassunah Standard Painted-and-Incised Ware

Figs. 6-8 Designs from Painted Bands on Samarran Ware; Matarrah



Fig. 6

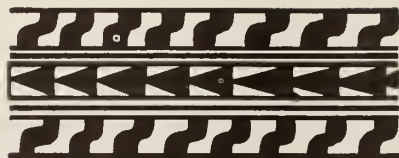


Fig. 7



Fig. 8

Figs. 9-31 Motifs in the Samarran Painted Style; Samarra, Baghouz, Nineveh

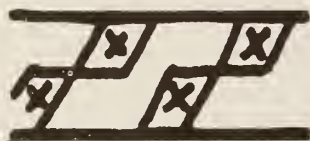


Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13

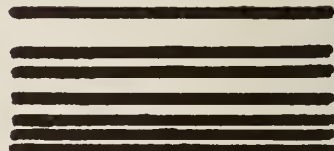


Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19

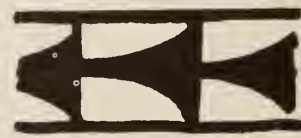


Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23

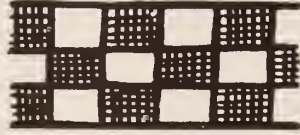


Fig. 24



Fig. 25



Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 28



Fig. 29

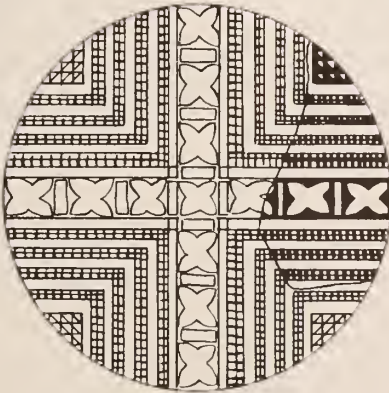
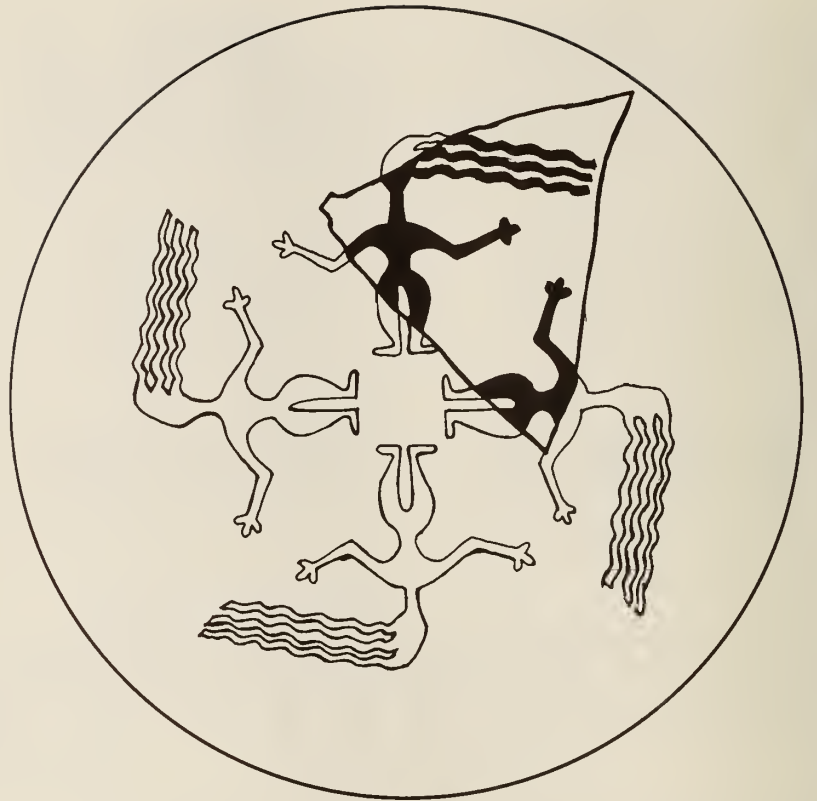


Fig. 30



Fig. 31

Fig. 32



Figs. 32-41 Samarran Deep Plates; Samarra

Fig. 33



Fig. 34



Fig. 35



Fig. 36



Fig. 37



Fig. 38

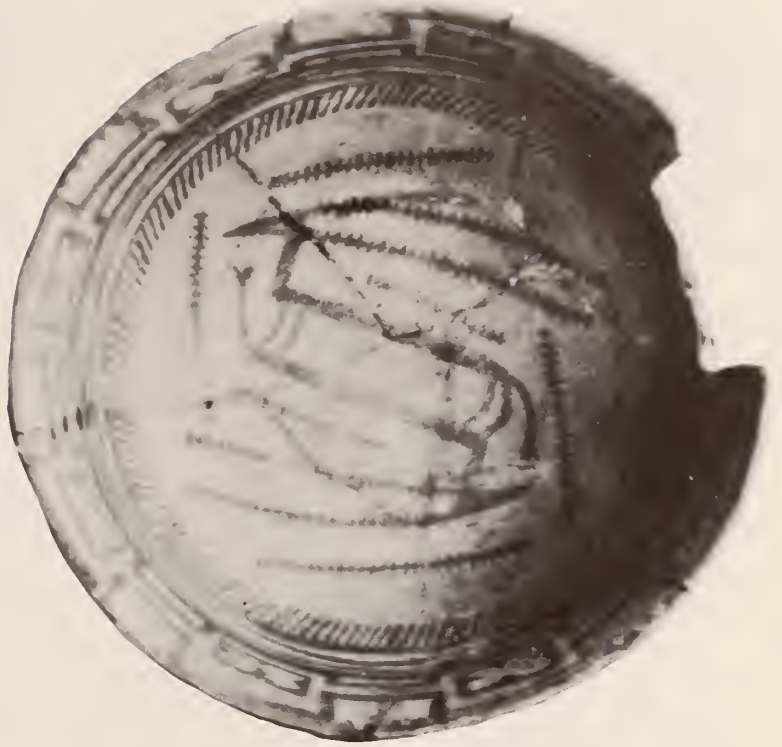


Fig. 39

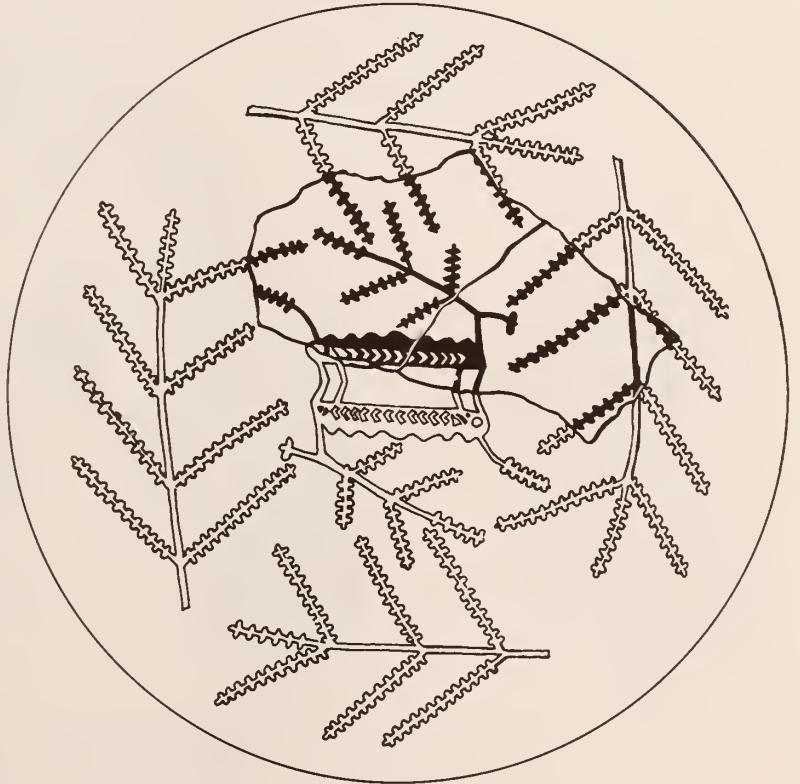


Fig. 40



Fig. 41

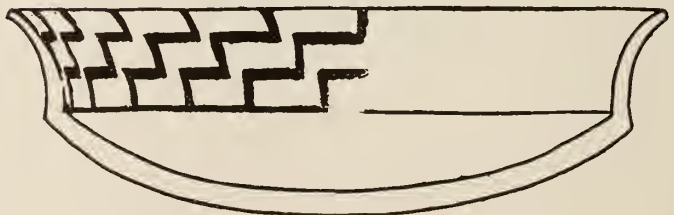
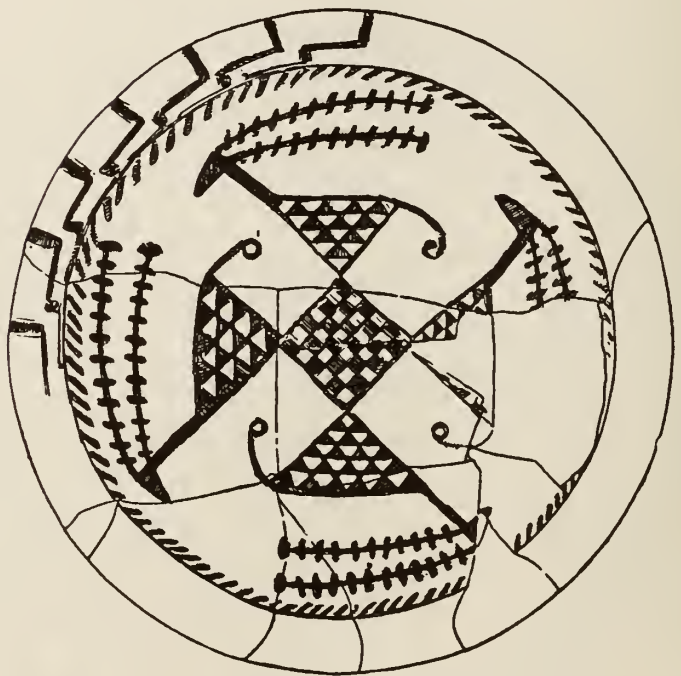




Fig. 42 Neck of Samarran Painted Jar; Hassunah



Fig. 43 "Brazier" or Pierced Foot Fragment of Samarran Ware; Samarra



Fig. 44 Design on Samarran Ware; Arpachiyah



Fig. 45 Design on Samarran Ware: Arpachiyah

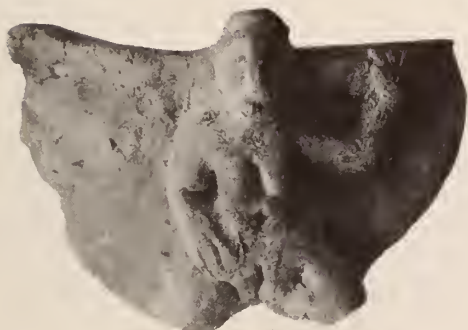


Fig. 46 Relief Figure, Pottery Jar; Halaf, Hassunah Period



Fig. 47 Unbaked Clay "Figurines"; Karim Shahir, Pre-pottery Site



Fig. 48 Animal Figurines of Unbaked Clay; Jarmo, Pre-Hassunah Levels



Fig. 49 Human Heads for Figurines of Unbaked Clay; Jarmo, Pre-Hassunah Levels



Fig. 50 Female Figurines of Unbaked Clay; Jarmo, Pre-Hassunah Levels



Fig. 51 Stone Beads and Pendants; Jarmo, Pre-Hassunah Levels



Fig. 52 Clay Stamp Seal; Jarmo, Pre-Hassunah Levels



Fig. 53 Clay Human Figurine; Halaf, Hassunah Period



Fig. 54 Clay Female Figurine; Matarrah, Hassunah Period



Fig. 55 Limestone Bead or Pendant; Matarrah, Hassunah Period

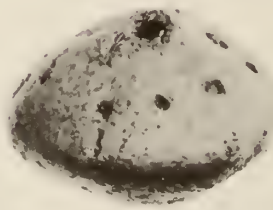


Fig. 56 Clay Spindle Whorl; Matarrah, Hassunah Period



Fig. 57 Hassunah Standard Painted-and-Incised Jar and an "Imitation Samarran" Bowl; Hassunah

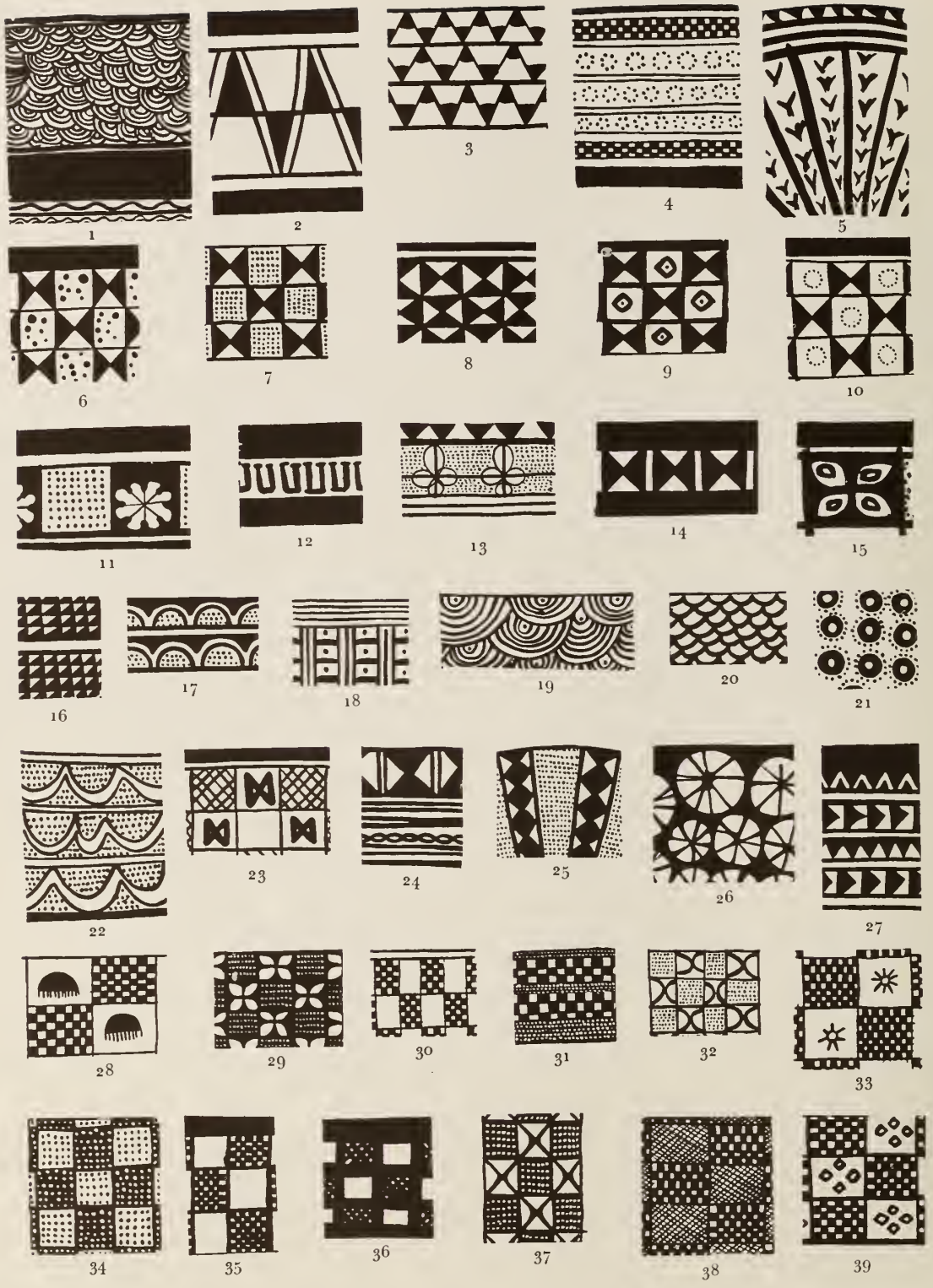


Fig. 58 Geometric Designs on Painted Pottery of the Halaf Period; Arpachiyah

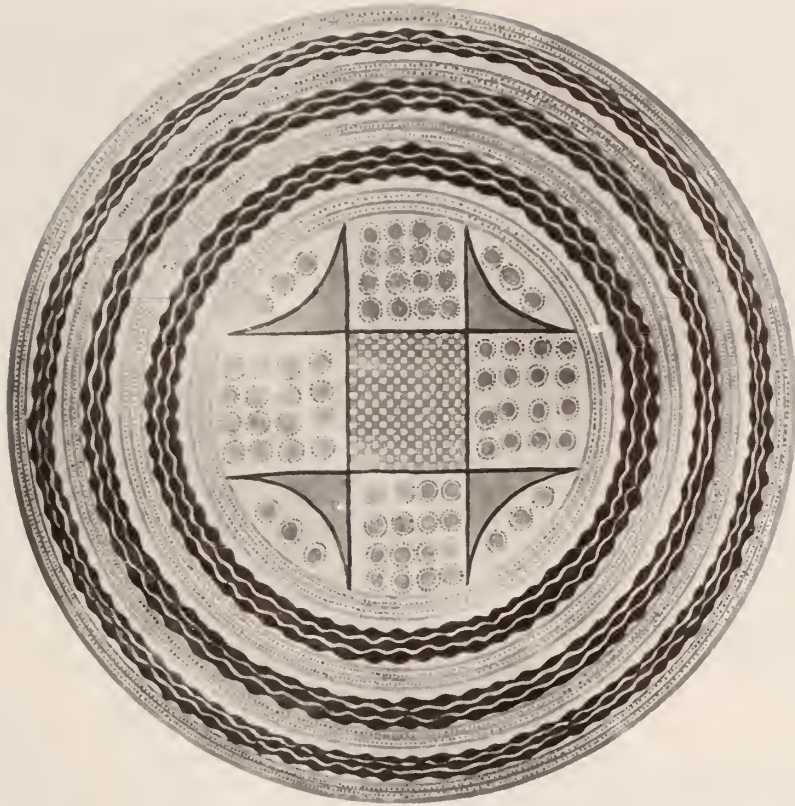
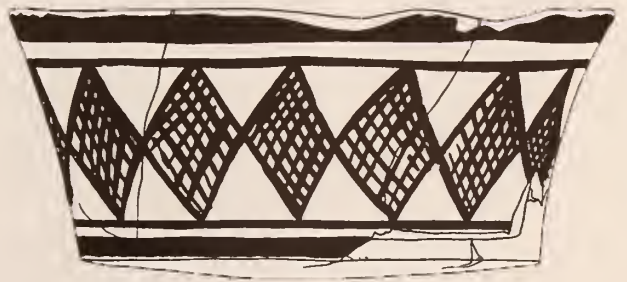
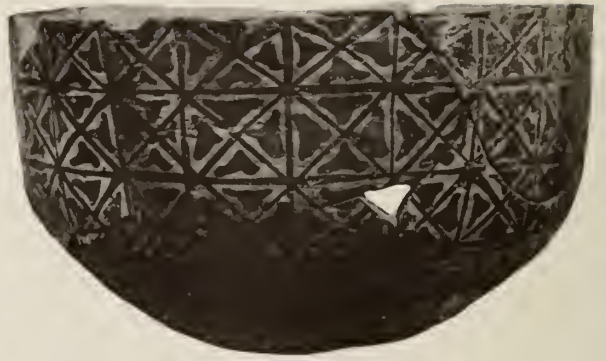


Fig. 59 Polychrome Plate; Arpachiyah, Halaf Period

Figs. 60, 61 Monochrome Painted Halaf Ware; Halaf and Arpachiyah





Figs. 62, 63 Monochrome Painted Halaf Ware; Halaf and Arpachiyah



Fig. 64 Painted Plate (interior of Fig. 95); Arpachiyah, Halaf Period



Fig. 65 Monochrome Painted Halaf Ware; Halaf



Fig. 66 Monochrome Painted Halaf Ware; Halaf

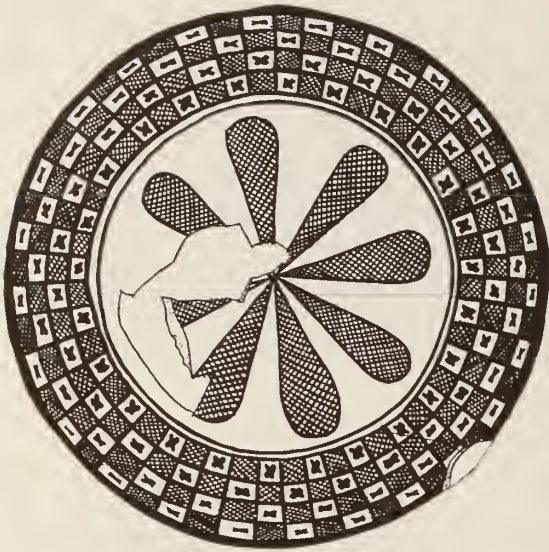


Fig. 67 Painted Plate; Arpachiyah, Halaf Period



Fig. 68 Polychrome Plate; Tepe Gawra, Halaf Period



Fig. 69 Painted Plate; Brak, Halaf Period



Fig. 70 Polychrome Plate; Arpachiyah, Halaf Period



Fig. 71 Monochrome Painted Halaf Ware; Halaf

Figs. 72-74 Painted Plates; Halaf. Halaf Period



Fig. 72



Fig. 73



Fig. 74



Fig. 75 Painted Plate; Mefesh, Halaf Period

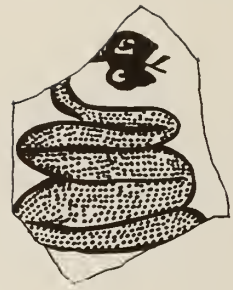


Fig. 76 Snake Design on Halaf Ware; Arpachiyah



Fig. 77 Plant Design on Halaf Ware; Shaghir Bazar



Fig. 78 Snake Design on Halaf Ware; Halaf



Fig. 79 Monochrome Painted Halaf Ware; Tepe Gawra



Fig. 80 Painted Jar; Halaf, Halaf Period



Fig. 81 Monochrome Painted Halaf Ware; Tepe Gawra





Fig. 82 Bird Designs on Halaf Ware; Arpachiyah



Fig. 83 Monochrome Painted Halaf Ware; Halaf



Fig. 84



Fig. 85



Fig. 86



Fig. 87

Fig. 84 Giraffe Design on Halaf Ware; Arpachiyah. Fig. 85 Cervidae Design on Halaf Ware; Arpachiyah. Fig. 86 Cervidae Design on Halaf Ware; Shaghir Bazar. Fig. 87 Cervidae Design on Halaf Ware; Shaghir Bazar



Fig. 88 Bucranium Design on Halaf Ware; Arpachiyah

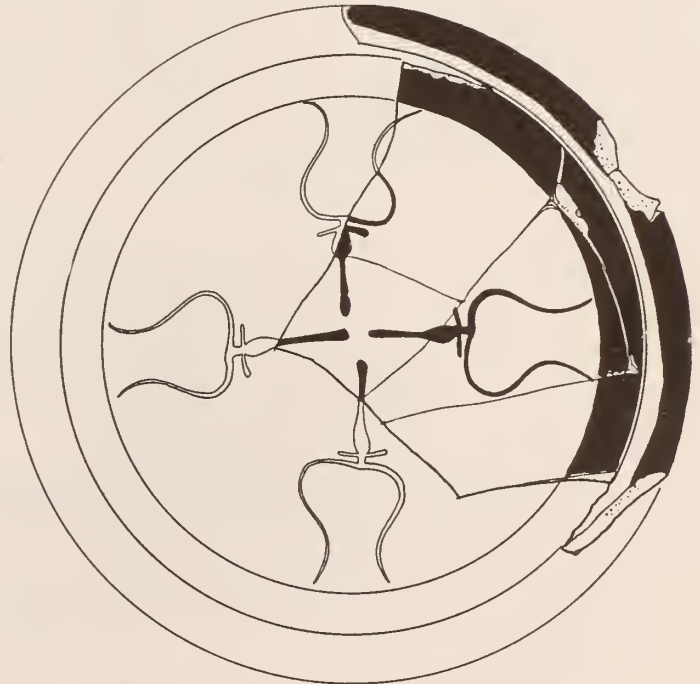


Fig. 89 Bucranium Design on Halaf Ware; Arpachiyah



Fig. 90 Bucranium Design on Halaf Ware; Arpachiyah



Fig. 91 Bucranium Design on Halaf Ware; Arpachiyah

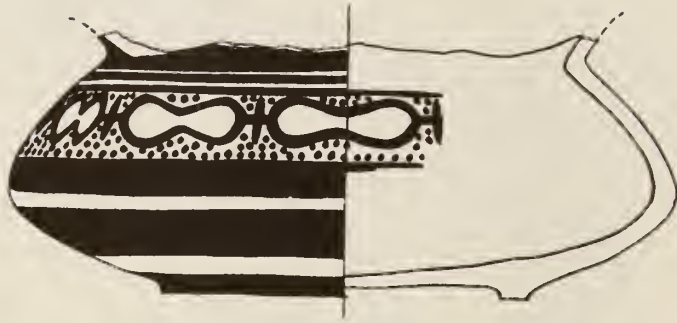


Fig. 92 Bucranium Design on Halaf Ware; Arpachiyah

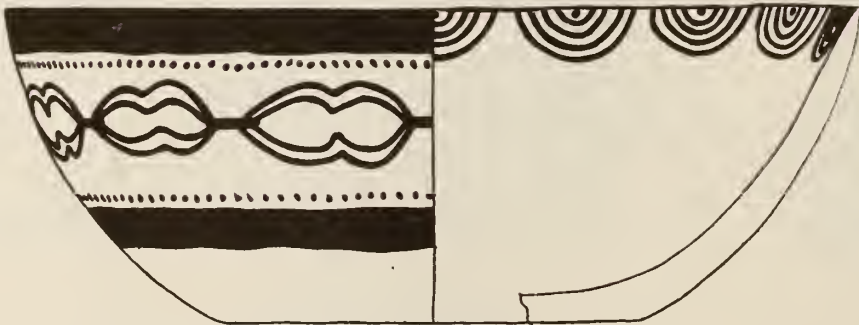


Fig. 93 Bucranium Design on Halaf Ware; Arpachiyah



Fig. 94 Bucranium Design on Halaf Ware; Arpachiyah

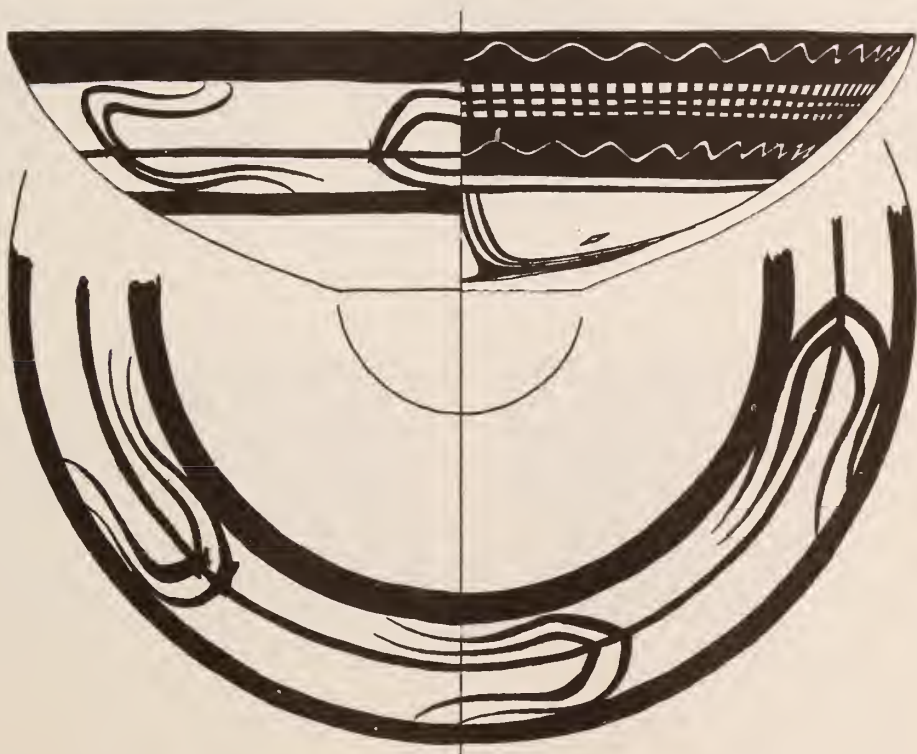
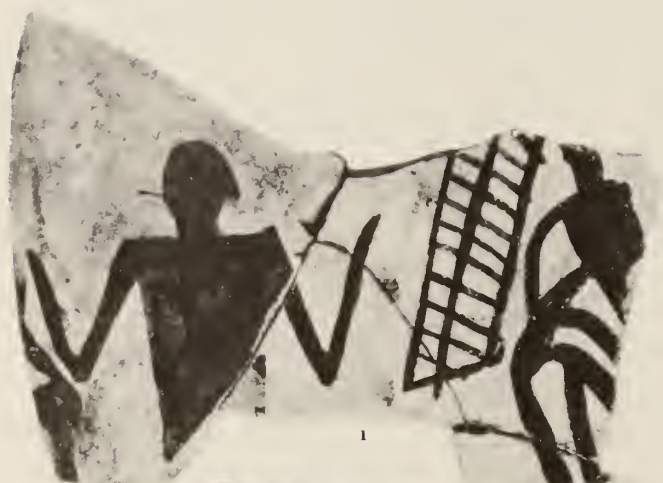


Fig. 95 Bucranium Design on Halaf Ware (exterior of Fig. 64); Arpachiyah



Fig. 96 Design on Halaf Ware; Arpachiyah



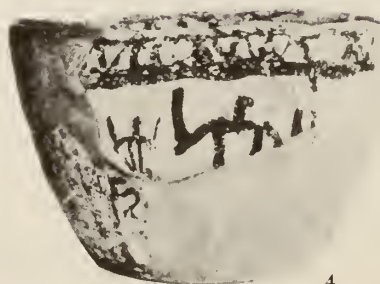
1



2



3



4

Fig. 97 Human Figures on Halaf Ware; Halaf



Fig. 98 Design on Halaf(?)
Ware; Nineveh



Fig. 99 Design on Halaf(?)
Ware; Arpachiyah



Fig. 100 Designs on Halaf(?)
Ware; Brak



Fig. 101 Designs on Halaf(?) Ware; Shaghir Bazar



Fig. 102 Female Figurines; Halaf, Halaf Period

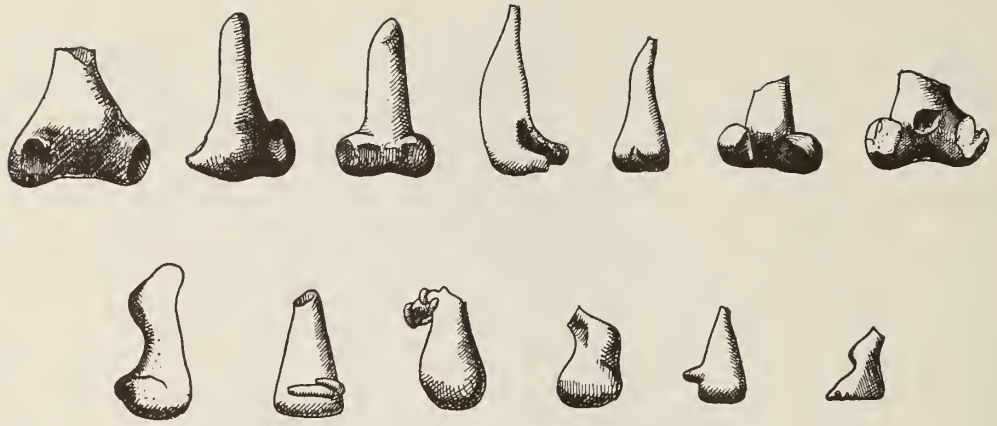


Fig. 103 Female Figurines; Arpachiyah, Halaf Period

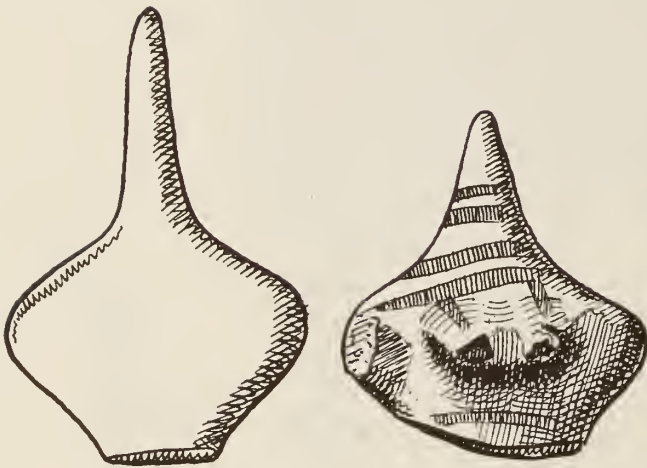


Fig. 104 Female Figurines; Arpachiyah, Halaf Period

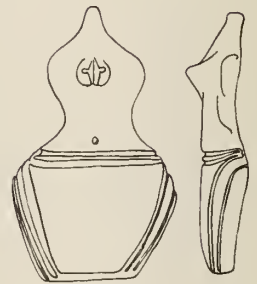


Fig. 105 Female Figurine; Tepe Gawra, Halaf Period



Fig. 106 Female Figurine; Arpachiyah, Halaf Period



Fig. 107 Female Figurine; Tepe Gawra, Halaf Period

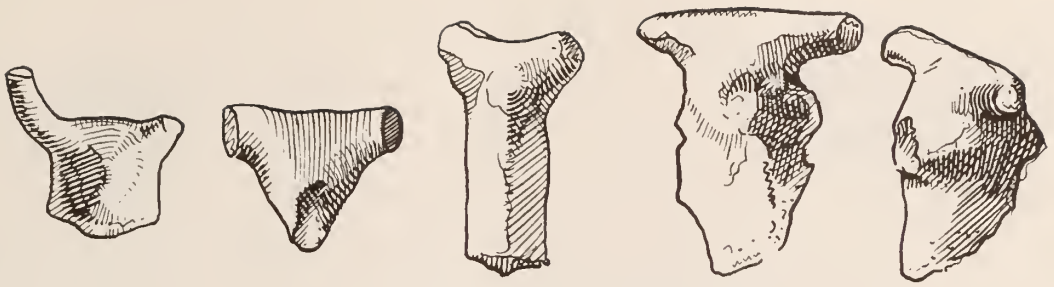


Fig. 108 Bull Figurines; Arpachiyah, Halaf Period



Fig. 109 Pendants, Beads, and Amulets; Arpachiyah, Halaf Period



Fig. 110 Amulets; Arpachiyah, Halaf Period

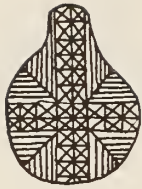


Fig. 111 Pendant; Tepe Gawra, Halaf Period



Fig. 112 Pendant; Shaghir Bazar, Halaf Period



Fig. 113 Pendant; Tepe Gawra, Halaf Period

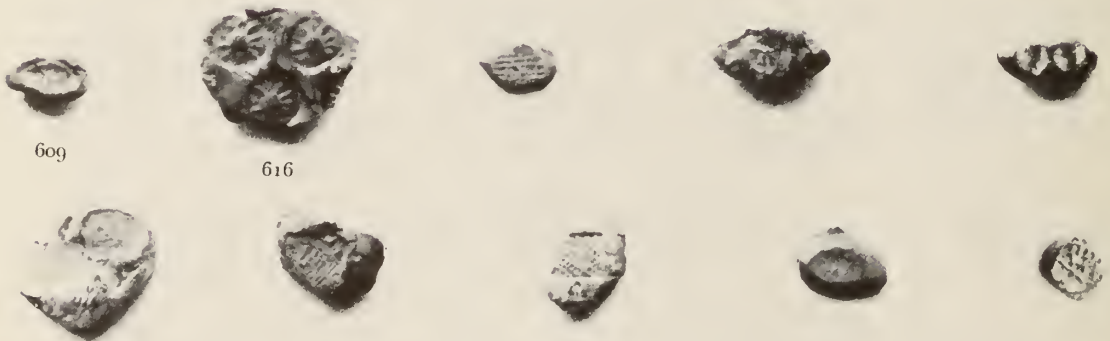


Fig. 114 Seal Impressions; Arpachiyah, Halaf Period



Fig. 116



Fig. 115 Steatite Seal; Halaf, Halaf Period

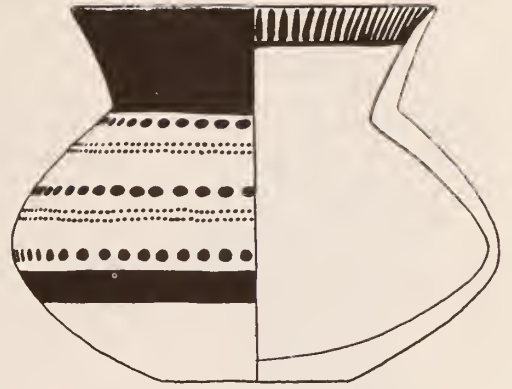
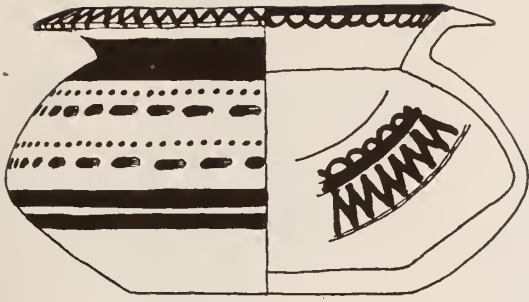


Fig. 117

Figs. 116-118 Painted Vases Used in Ritual; Arpachiyah, Halaf Period

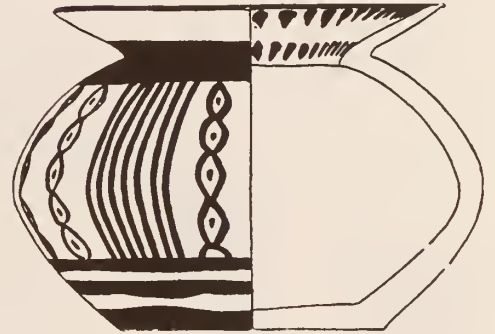


Fig. 118

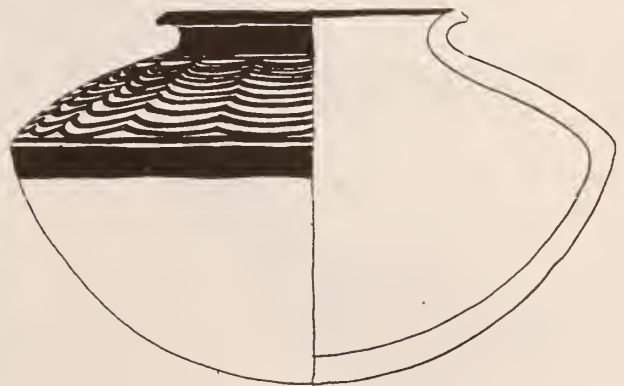
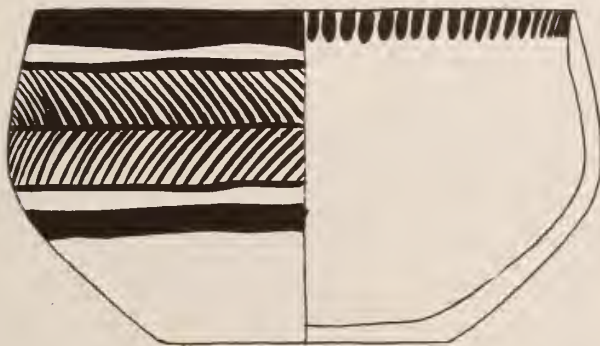


Fig. 119 Painted Vases Used in Ritual; Arpachiyah, Halaf Period



Fig. 120 Two Female Figures Seated on Stools (l. and c., front and profile; r. second figure); Shaghir Bazar, Halaf Period



Fig. 121 Necklace of Black Beads, Painted Red Shells, and Plain Gray Pendant; Arpachiyah, Halaf Period



Fig. 122 Clay Dove with Hollow Body; Arpachiyah, Halaf Period

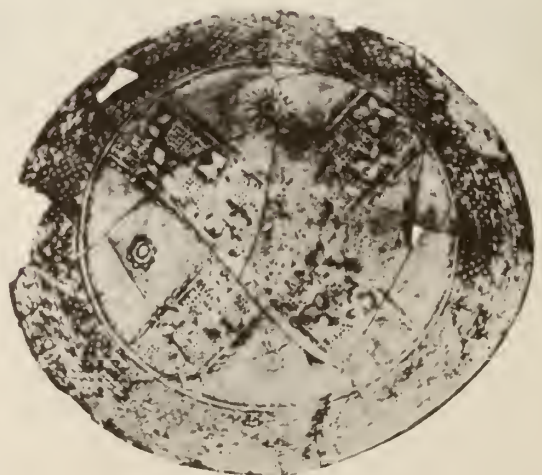


Fig. 123 Monochrome Painted Halaf Ware; Arpachiyah

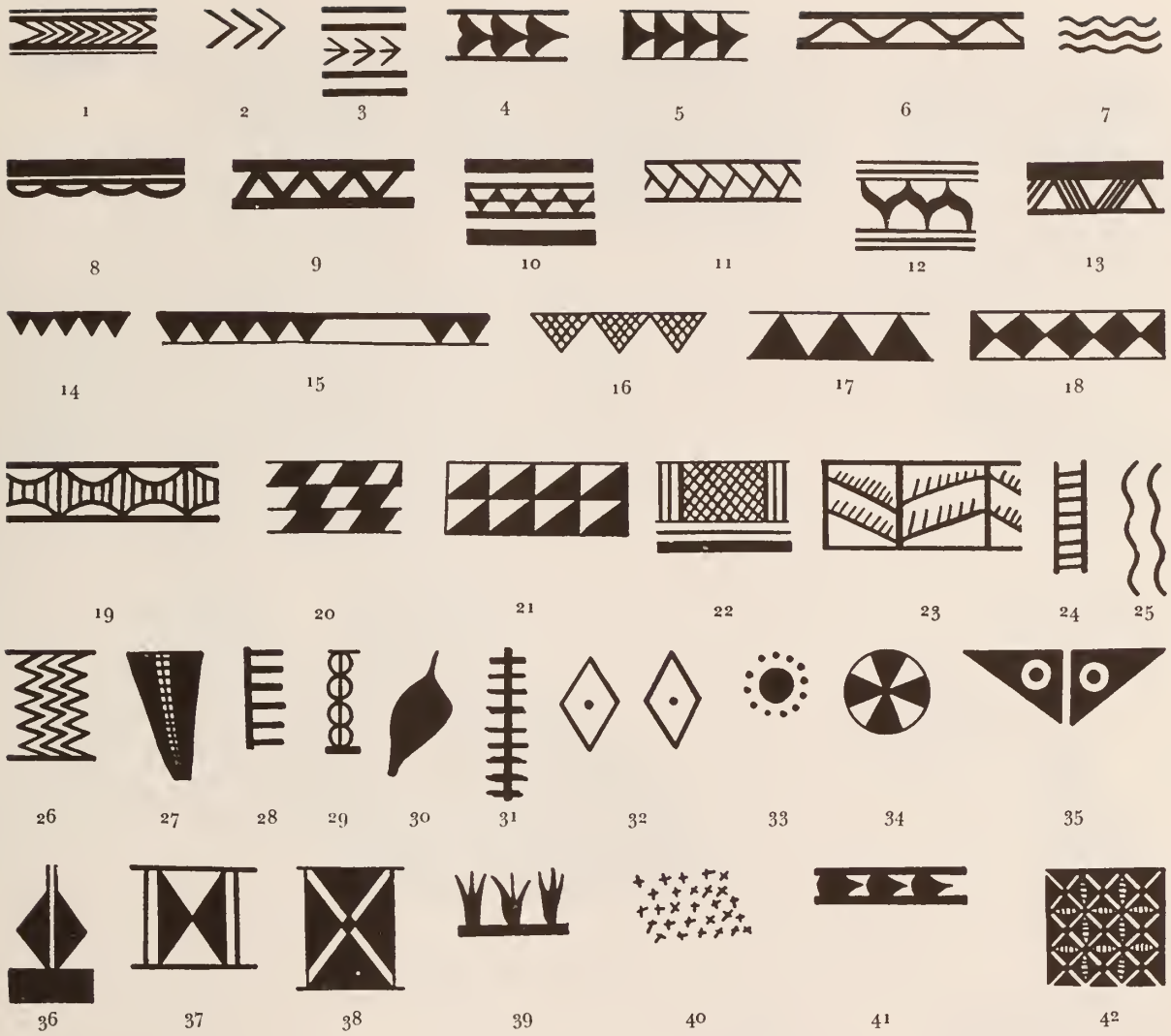


Fig. 124 Motifs on Ubaid Ware in the North



Fig. 125 Painted Ubaid Ware; Tepe Gawra

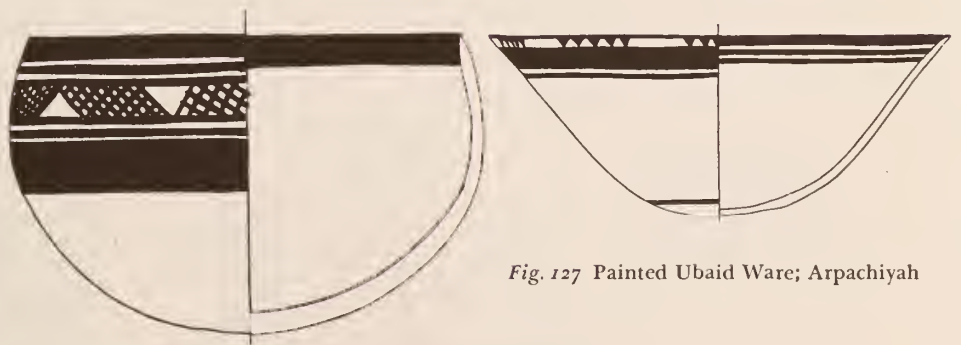


Fig. 127 Painted Ubaid Ware; Arpachiyah

Fig. 126 Painted Ubaid Ware; Arpachiyah



Fig. 128 Painted Ubaid Ware; Tepe Gawra Fig. 129 Painted Ubaid Ware; Tepe Gawra Fig. 130 Painted Ubaid Ware; Arpachiyah

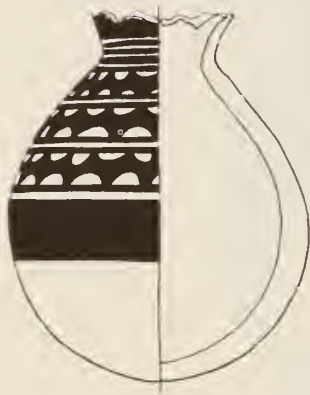


Fig. 131 Painted Ubaid Ware; Arpachiyah



Fig. 132 Painted Ubaid Ware; Arpachiyah



Fig. 133 Spiral Designs on Ubaid Ware; Tepe Gawra



Fig. 134 Incised and Combed Decoration on Ubaid Ware; Nuzi

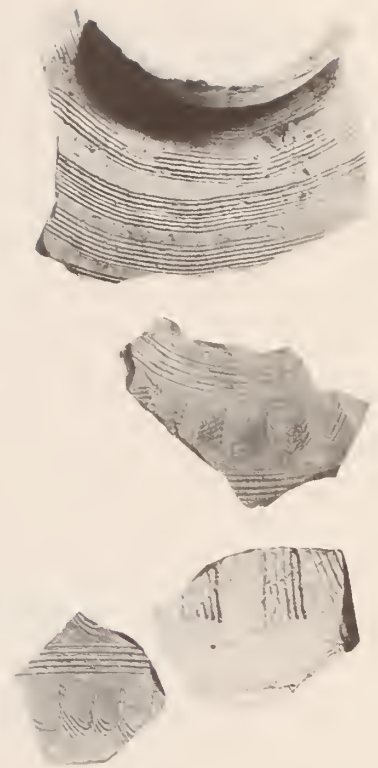


Fig. 135 Incised and Combed Decoration on Ubaid Ware; Nuzi

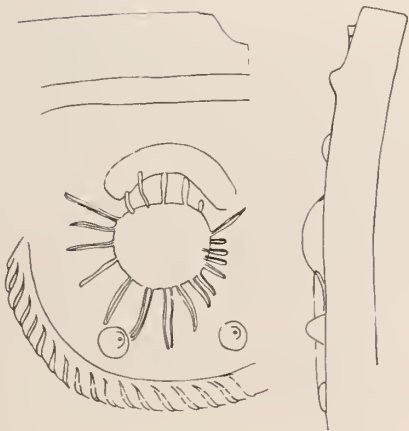


Fig. 136 Incised and Appliqué Decoration on Ubaid Ware; Tepe Gawra



Fig. 137 Painted Ubaid Ware; Tepe Gawra

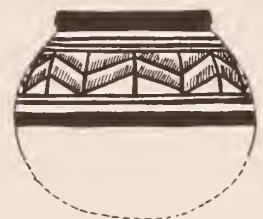




Fig. 138 Plant Designs on Ubaid Ware; Tepe Gawra



Fig. 139 Painted Ubaid Ware; Arpachiyah



Fig. 140 Birds in a Vine Design on Ubaid Ware; Tepe Gawra



Fig. 141 Painted Ubaid Ware; Tepe Gawra



Fig. 142 Painted Ubaid Ware; Mefesh



Fig. 143 Painted Ubaid Ware; Tepe Gawra

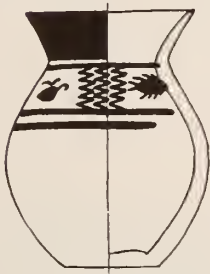


Fig. 144 Painted Ubaid Ware; Arpachiyah



Fig. 145 Quadruped with U-shaped Body Design on Ubaid Ware; Tepe Gawra



Fig. 146 Painted Ubaid Ware; Tepe Gawra

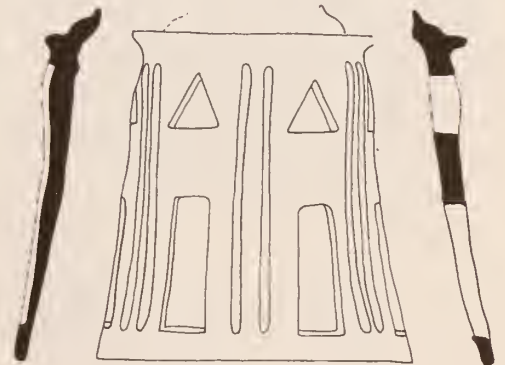


Fig. 147 Incense Burner; Tepe Gawra, Ubaid Period



Fig. 148-a Panel Designs of Fig. 148-b

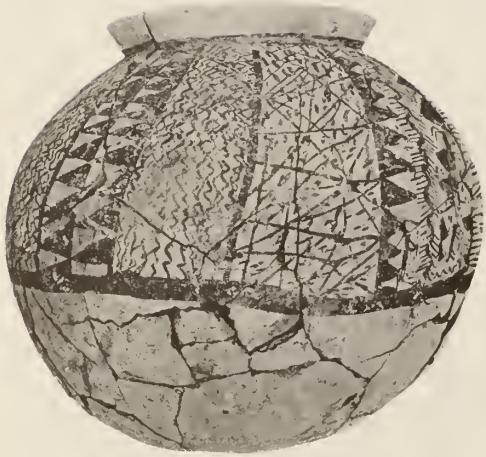


Fig. 148-b Painted Ubaid Ware; Tepe Gawra

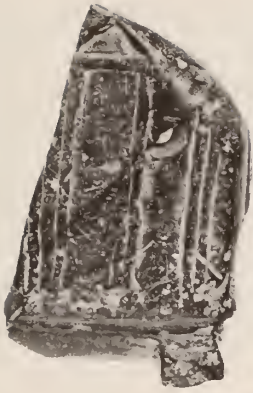


Fig. 149 Stone Kohl Vessel; Tepe Gawra, Ubaid Period



Fig. 150 Painted Ubaid Ware; Tepe Gawra



Fig. 151 Eridu-Hajji Muhammed Ware; Abu Shahrain (Eridu)

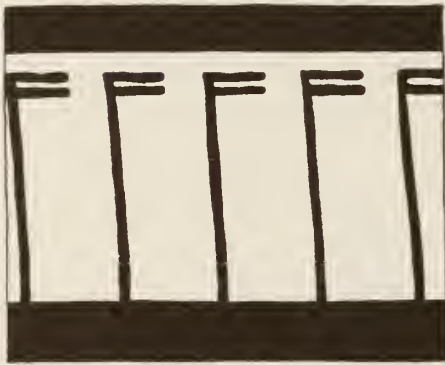
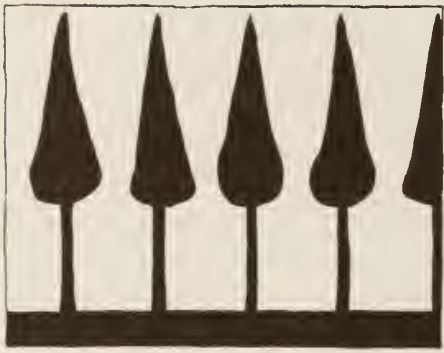


Fig. 152 Representational Designs on Eridu-Hajji Muhammed Ware; Hajji Muhammed

Figs. 153-160 Geometric Designs on Eridu-Hajji Muhammed Ware; Hajji Muhammed

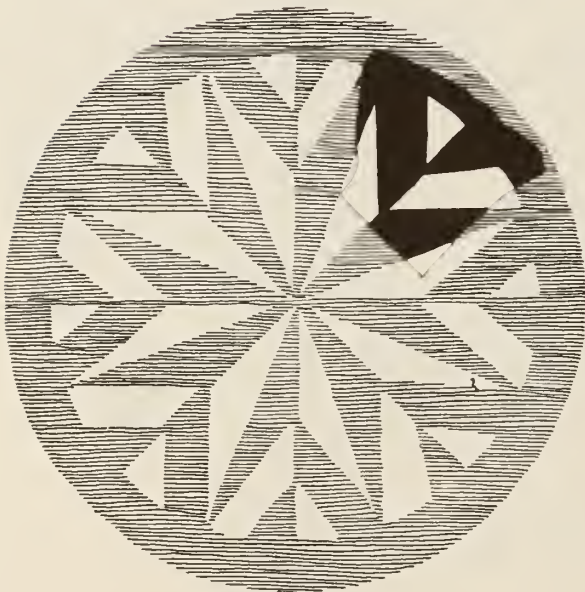


Fig. 153



Fig. 154



Fig. 155

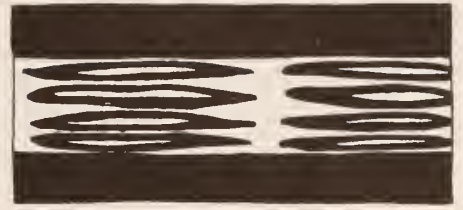


Fig. 156



Fig. 157



Fig. 158



Fig. 159



Fig. 160

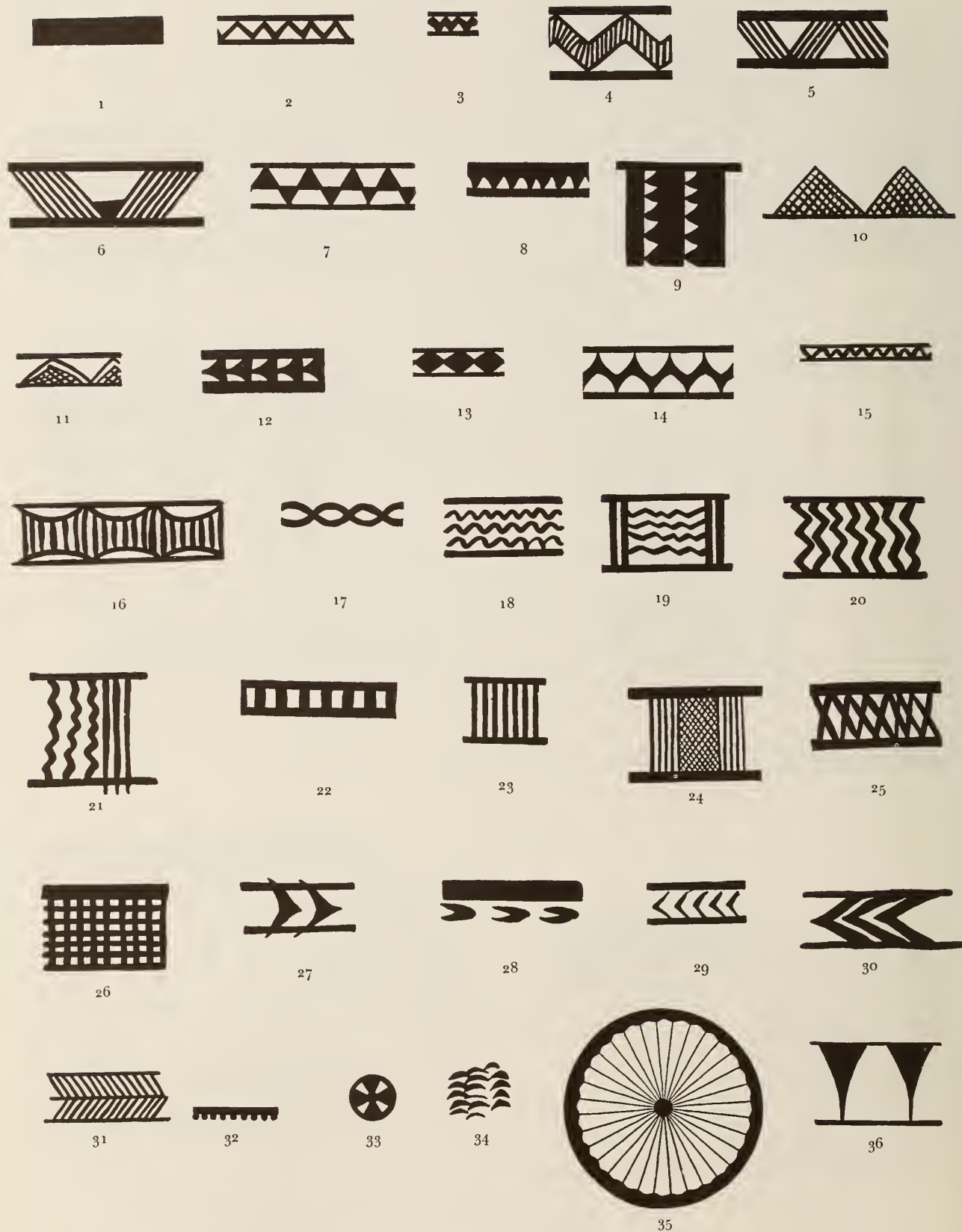


Fig. 161 Motifs on Ubaid Ware in the South



Fig. 162 Painted Ubaid Ware; Uqair



Fig. 163 Painted Ubaid Ware; al-Ubaid



Fig. 164 Painted Ubaid Ware; Telloh



Fig. 165 Painted Ubaid Ware; Telloh

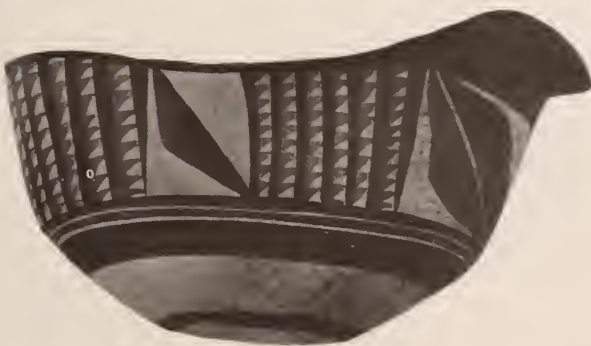


Fig. 166 Painted Ubaid Ware; al-Ubaid

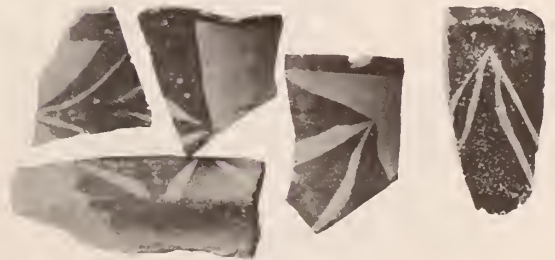


Fig. 167 Painted Ubaid Ware; al-Ubaid



Fig. 168 Painted Ubaid Ware; al-Ubaid



Fig. 169 Painted Ubaid Ware; Telloh



Fig. 170 Painted Ubaid Ware; Telloh

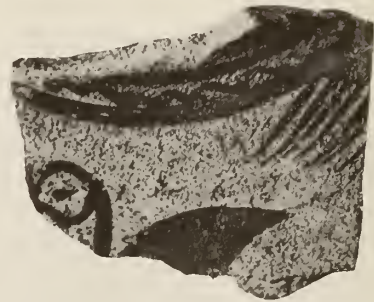


Fig. 171 Painted Ubaid Ware; Telloh

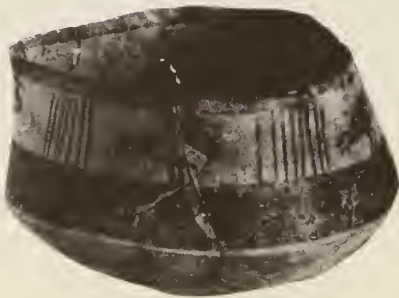


Fig. 172 Painted Ubaid Ware; Uqair



Fig. 173 Painted Ubaid Ware; Uqair



Fig. 174 Painted Ubaid Ware; Uqair



Fig. 175 Painted Ubaid Ware; Telloh



Fig. 176 Seals with Geometric Designs; Telloh, Ubaid Period

Figs. 177-200 Seals and Seal Impressions; Tepe Gawra, Ubaid Period (Figs. 183 and 191, Gawra Period)

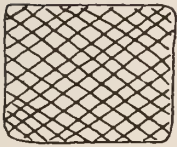


Fig. 177



Fig. 178



Fig. 179



Fig. 180



Fig. 181



Fig. 182



Fig. 183



Fig. 184



Fig. 185



Fig. 186



Fig. 187



Fig. 188



Fig. 189



Fig. 190



Fig. 191



Fig. 192



Fig. 193



Fig. 194



Fig. 195



Fig. 196



Fig. 197



Fig. 198



Fig. 199



Fig. 200



Figs. 201, 202 Seal Impressions; Tepe Gawra, Ubaid Period

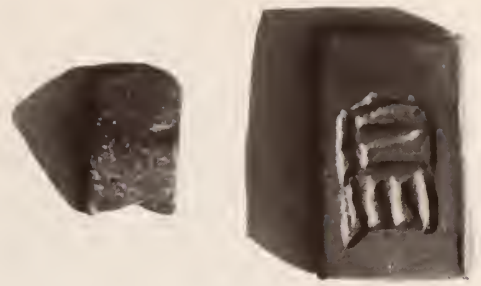


Fig. 203 Seal; Mefesh, Ubaid Period

Figs. 205–208 Female Figurines from the North; Tepe Gawra, Ubaid Period



Fig. 204 Seal; Nineveh, Ubaid Period



Fig. 205

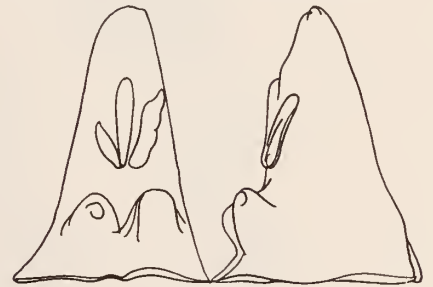


Fig. 206

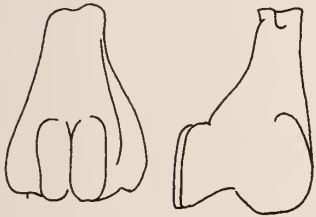


Fig. 207



Fig. 208

Figs. 209–211 Animal Figurines from the North; Tepe Gawra, Ubaid Period



Fig. 209



Fig. 210

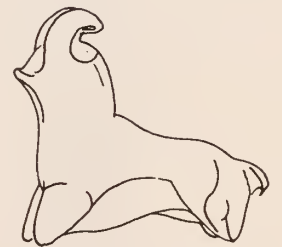


Fig. 211

Figs. 212-215 Animal Figurines from the North; Tepe Gawra, Ubaid Period



Fig. 212



Fig. 213

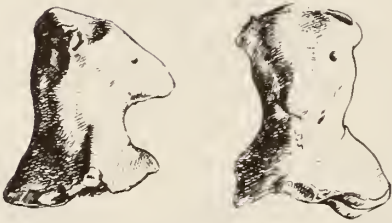


Fig. 214



Fig. 215

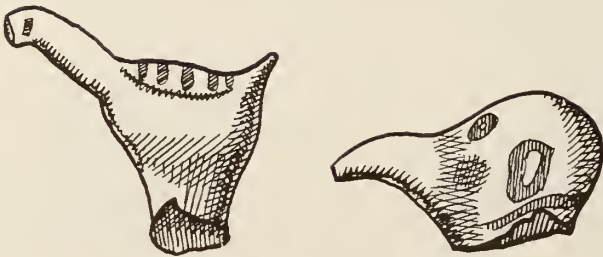


Fig. 216 Bird Figurines from the North; Arpachiyah, Ubaid Period

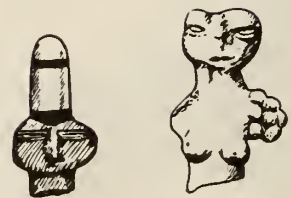


Fig. 217



Fig. 218



Fig. 219



Fig. 220

Figs. 217-220 Human Figurines from the South; Ur and Warka, Ubaid Period



Fig. 221 Human Figurine from the South; Abu Shahrain, Ubaid Period

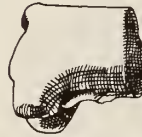
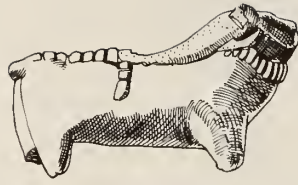


Fig. 222 Animal Figurines from the South; Uqair, Ubaid Period

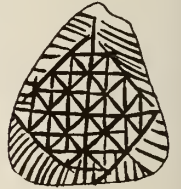


Fig. 223

Fig. 224

Fig. 225



Fig. 226

Fig. 227

Fig. 228

Figs. 223-228 Beads and Pendants; Tepe Gawra, Ubaid Period



Figs. 229, 230 Pendants; Tepe Gawra, Ubaid Period

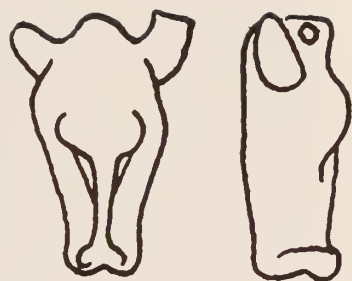


Fig. 231



Fig. 232



Fig. 233 "Eye" Symbol with One Volute; Tepe Gawra, Ubaid Period

Figs. 231, 232 Spindle Whorls; Tepe Gawra, Ubaid Period



Fig. 234 Crude Anthropomorphic Clay Cones; Tepe Gawra, Ubaid Period

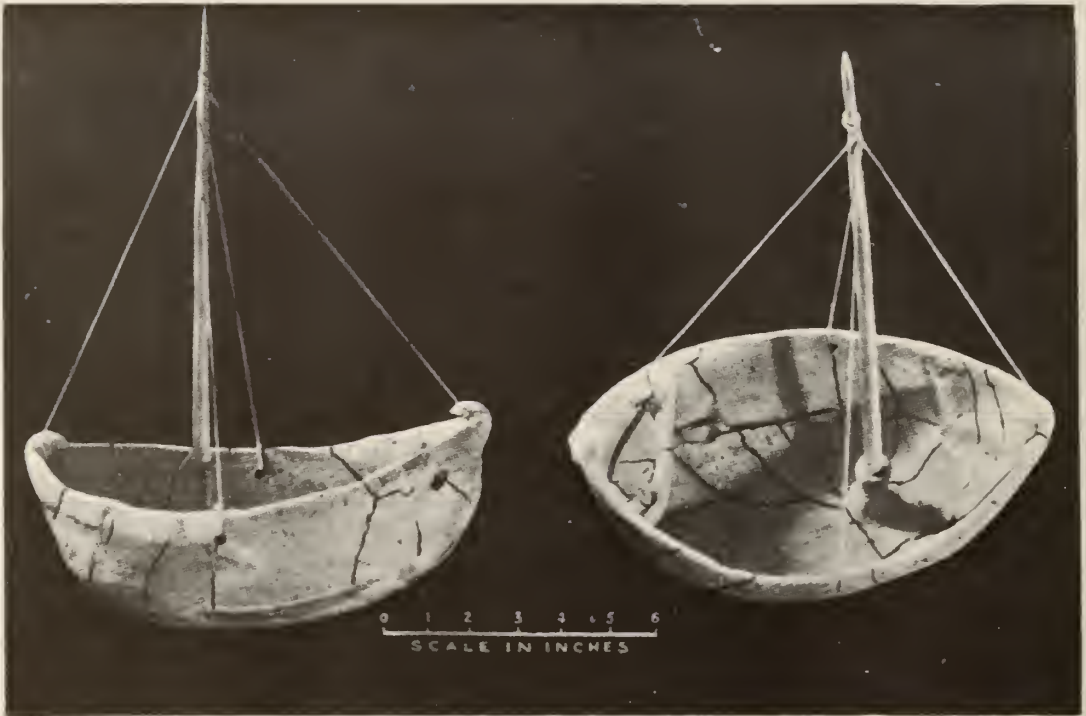


Fig. 235 Model Boat; Abu Shahrain, Ubaid Period

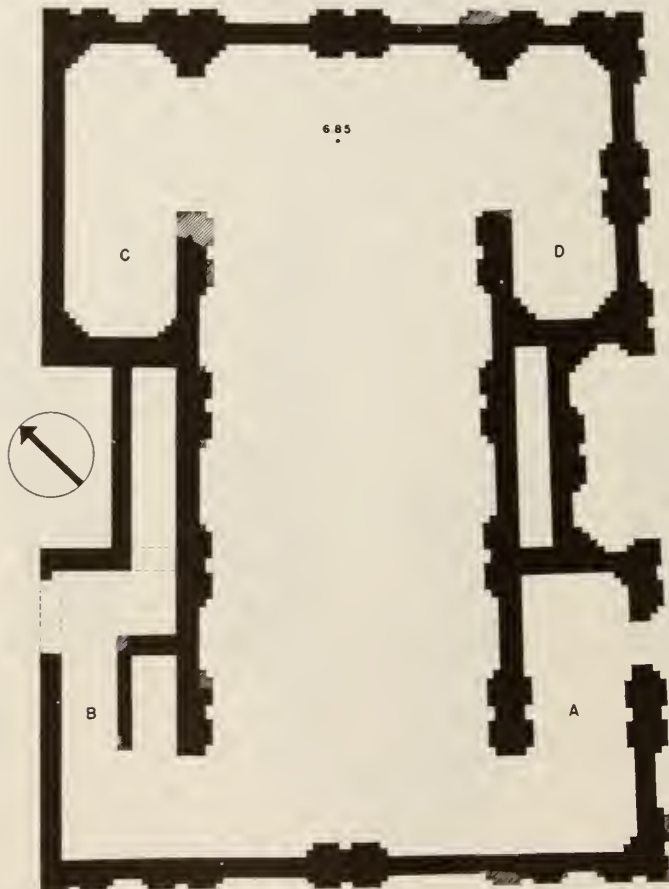


Fig. 236 Northern Temple, Tepe Gawra; Ubaid Period



Fig. 237 "Censer" from Temple 6, Abu Shahrain; Ubaid Period

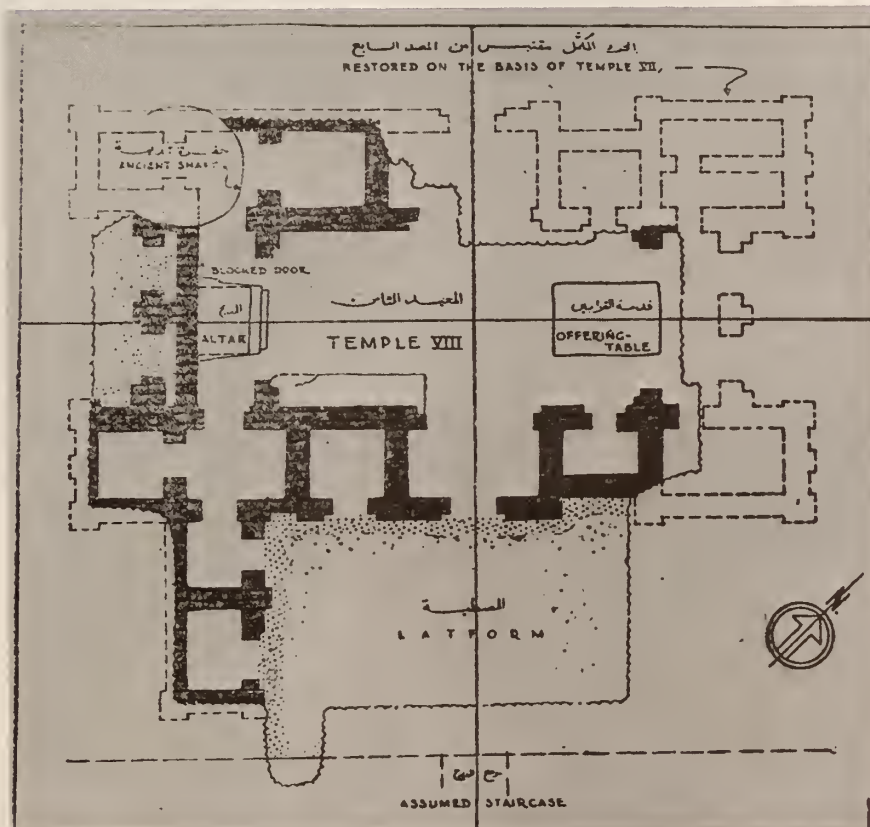


Fig. 238 Temple 8, Abu Shahrain; Ubaid Period

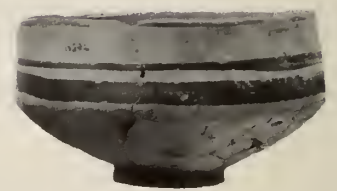
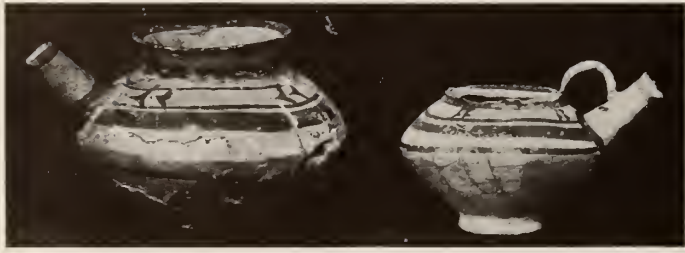


Fig. 239 Ubaid II Ware; Ur, Uruk Period



Fig. 240 Cylinder Seal with Reclining Bull on Top; Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 241 Cylinder Seal with Reclining Ram on Top; Uruk Period

Figs. 242–246 Cylinder Seals and Seal Impressions Picturing Ritualistic Offerings; Uruk Period



Fig. 242



Fig. 243



Fig. 244

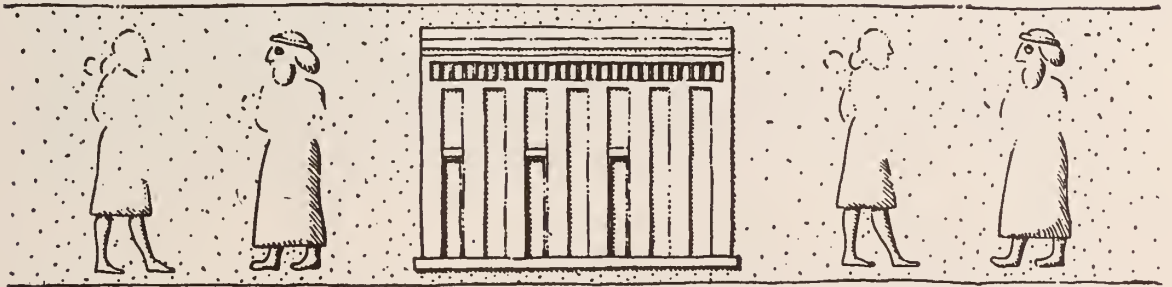


Fig. 245



Fig. 246

Figs. 247-249 Cylinder Seals Picturing the Feeding of the Temple Herd; Uruk Period

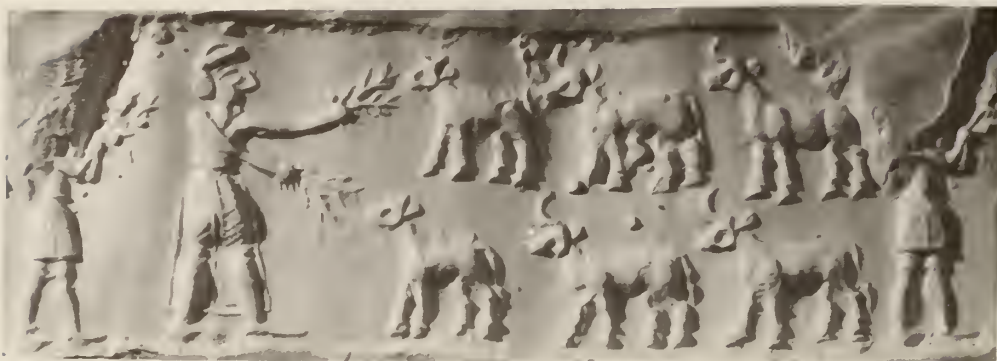


Fig. 247



Fig. 248

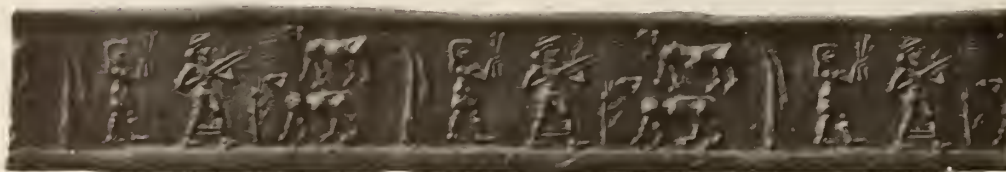


Fig. 249

Figs. 250, 251 Cylinder Seals Picturing the Feeding of the Temple Herd; Uruk Period

Fig. 250



Fig. 251

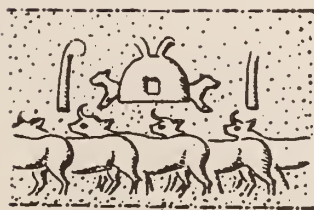


Fig. 252 Seal Impression Picturing the Byre for Cattle; Warka, Uruk Period



Fig. 252-a Modern Reed House in Umm al-Barar (between Diwaniyah and Kufa)



Fig. 253 Cylinder Seal Picturing Shepherds Tending Sheep; Uruk Period



Fig. 254 Cylinder Seal Picturing Animals and Grain; Uruk Period



Fig. 255 Seal Impression Picturing Animals and Grain; Warka, Uruk Period



Fig. 256 Cylinder Seal Picturing Animals and Rosettes; Uruk Period

Figs. 257-261 Cylinder Seals and Seal Impressions Picturing Animal Conflict; Uruk Period

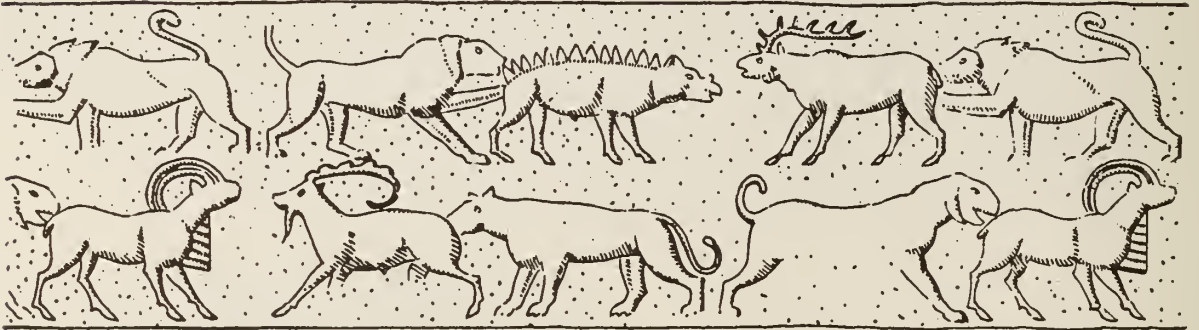


Fig. 257



Fig. 258



Fig. 259

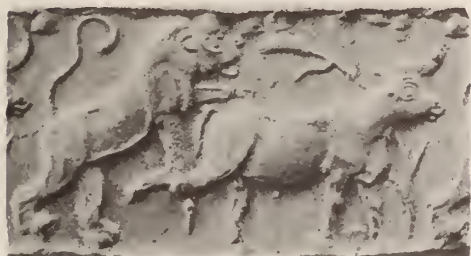


Fig. 260



Fig. 261

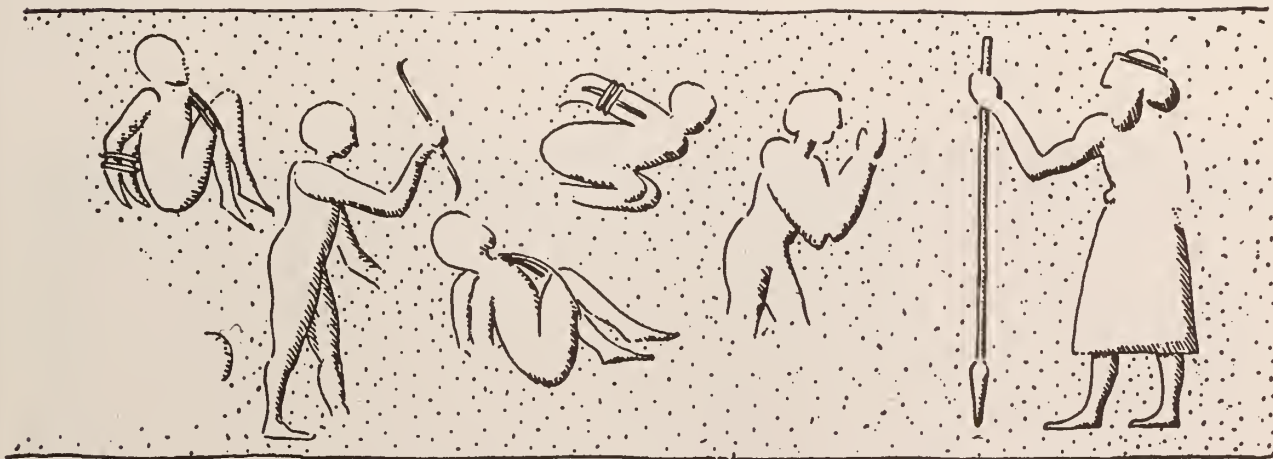
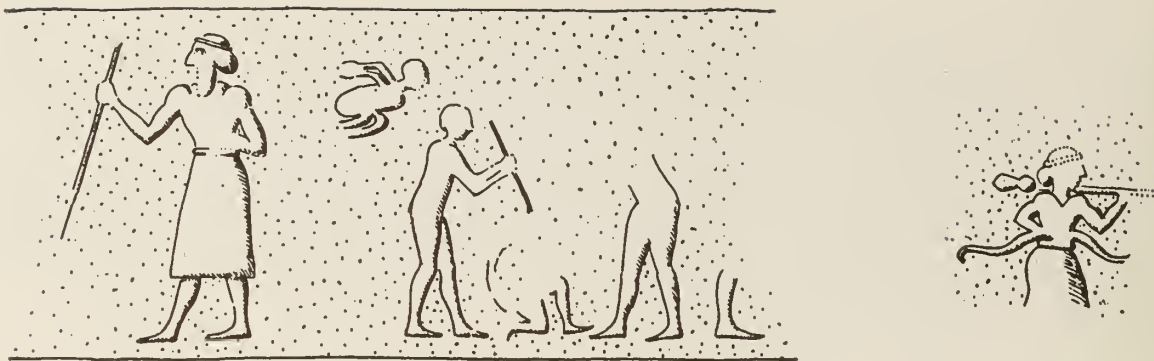


Fig. 262 Seal Impression Picturing Human Conflict; Warka, Uruk Period



Figs. 263, 264 Seal Impressions Picturing Human Conflict; Warka, Uruk Period

Figs. 265–268 Seal Impressions with Especially Realistic Details; Warka, Uruk Period



Fig. 265



Fig. 266



Fig. 267



Fig. 268



Fig. 269 Cylinder Seal (Rolling of Fig. 241) with the Cult and the Care of the Herd Juxtaposed; Uruk Period

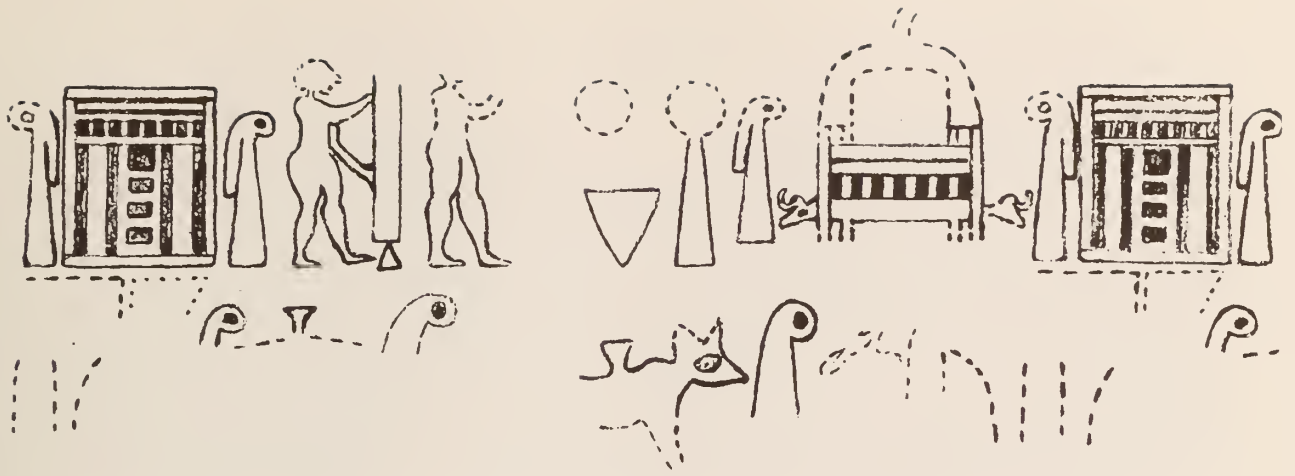


Fig. 270 Seal Impression with the Cult and the Care of the Herd Juxtaposed; Uruk Period



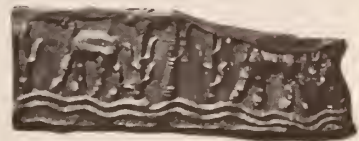
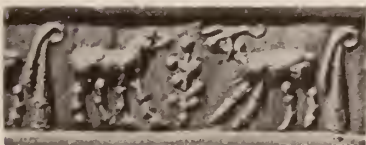
Fig. 271 Cylinder Seal Picturing the Care of the Herd under Attack; Uruk Period



Fig. 272 Cylinder Seal Picturing Animals in Antithetical Arrangements; Uruk Period



Fig. 273 Seal Impression Picturing Animals and Varied Symbols; Warka, Uruk Period



Figs. 274, 275 Cylinder Seals Picturing Animals in Antithetical Arrangements; Uruk Period



Fig. 276



Fig. 277

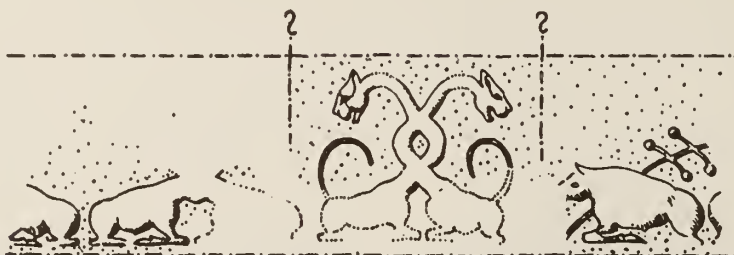


Fig. 278



Fig. 279



Fig. 280

Figs. 281-285 Cylinder Seals and Seal Impression Possibly Reflecting Myths; Uruk Period



Fig. 281



Fig. 282



Fig. 283



Fig. 284



Fig. 285



Fig. 286 Alabaster Vase; Warka, Uruk Period



Fig. 287 Clay Amulets, Imitations of Objects Used in Daily Life; Warka, Uruk Period.

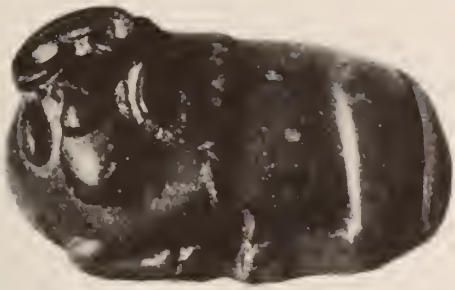


Fig. 288 Reclining Bison Amulet; Uruk Period



Fig. 289 Reclining Calf Amulet; Uruk Period



Fig. 290 Temple C; Warka, Eanna, Level 4a, Uruk Period

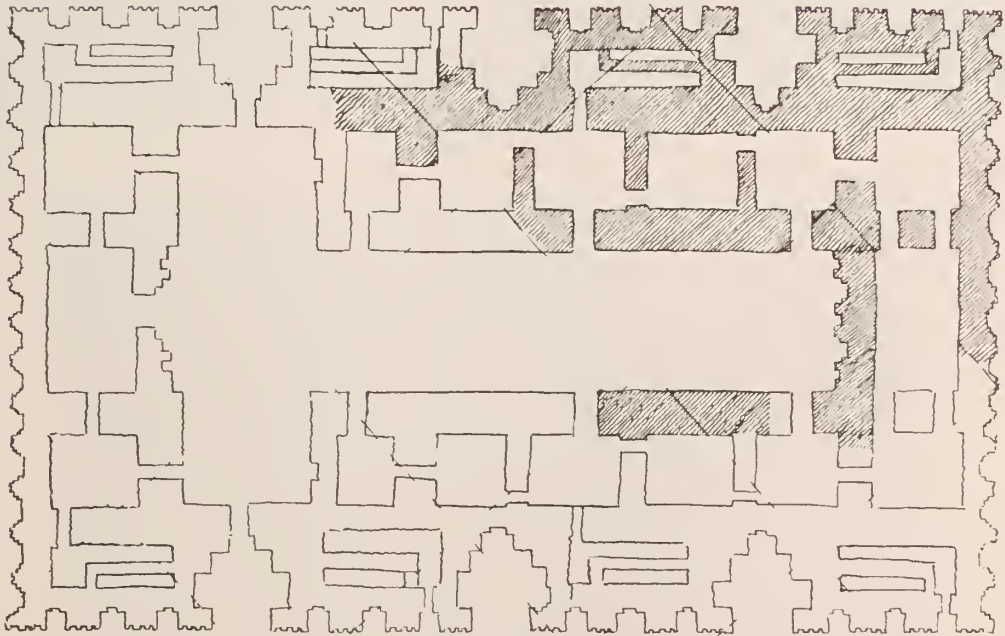


Fig. 290-a Temple D; Warka, Eanna, Level 4a, Uruk Period

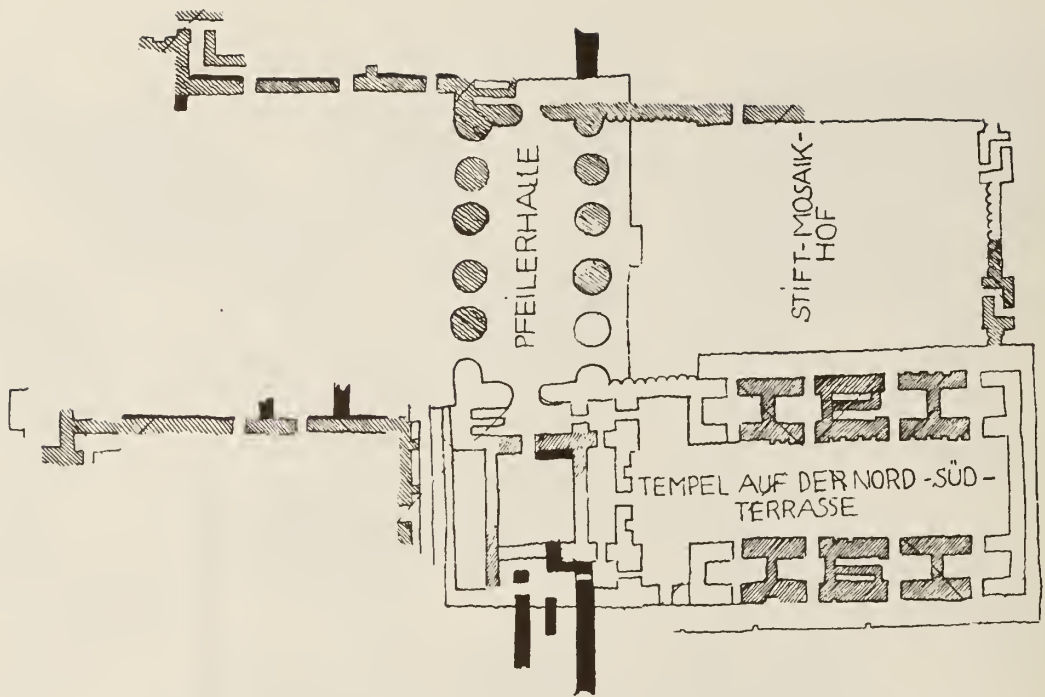


Fig. 291 Temple on the "North-South Terrace"; Warka, Eanna, Level 4b, Uruk Period



Fig. 292 Mosaic on Temple Walls; Warka, Eanna, Level 4b, Uruk Period



Fig. 293 Face of Landing before the Pillar Terrace; Warka, Eanna, Level 4b, Uruk Period

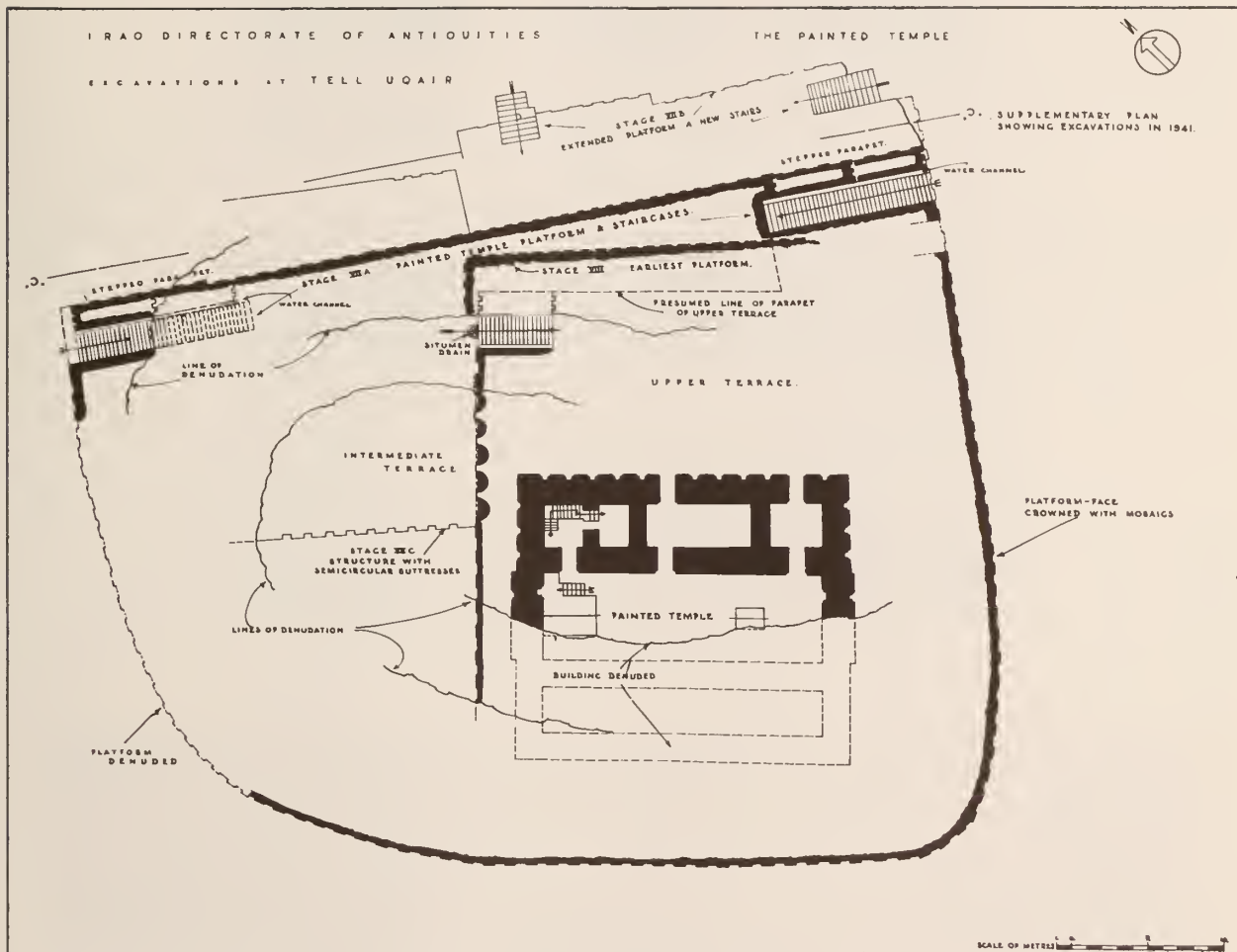


Fig. 294 Plan of Painted Temple; Uqair, Uruk Period

THE PAINTED TEMPLE, UQAIR SURVIVING FRESCOS

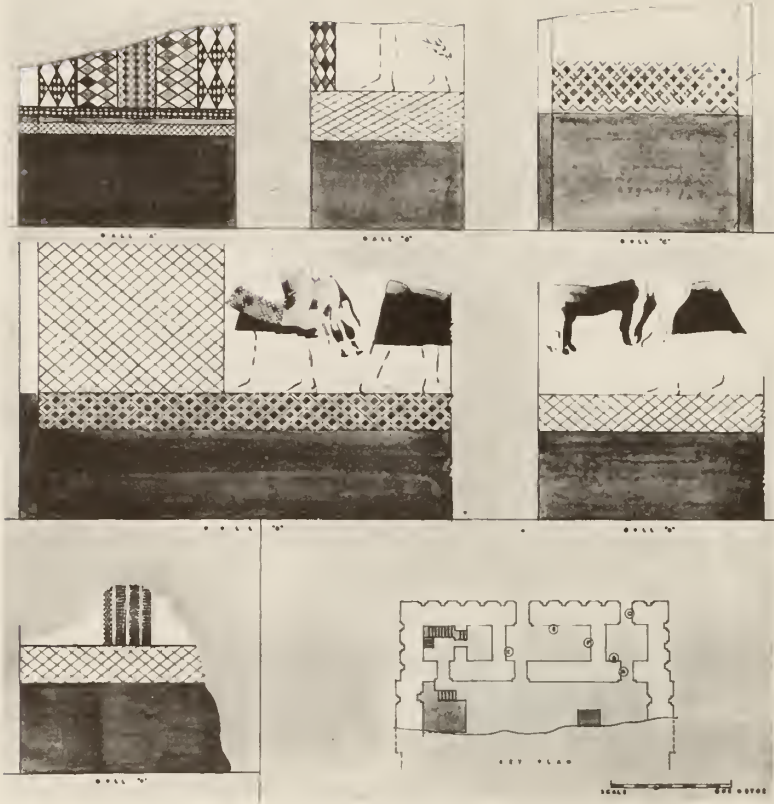


Fig. 295 Frescoes of the Painted Temple; Uqair, Uruk Period

THE PAINTED TEMPLE, UQAIR ALTAR FRESCOS

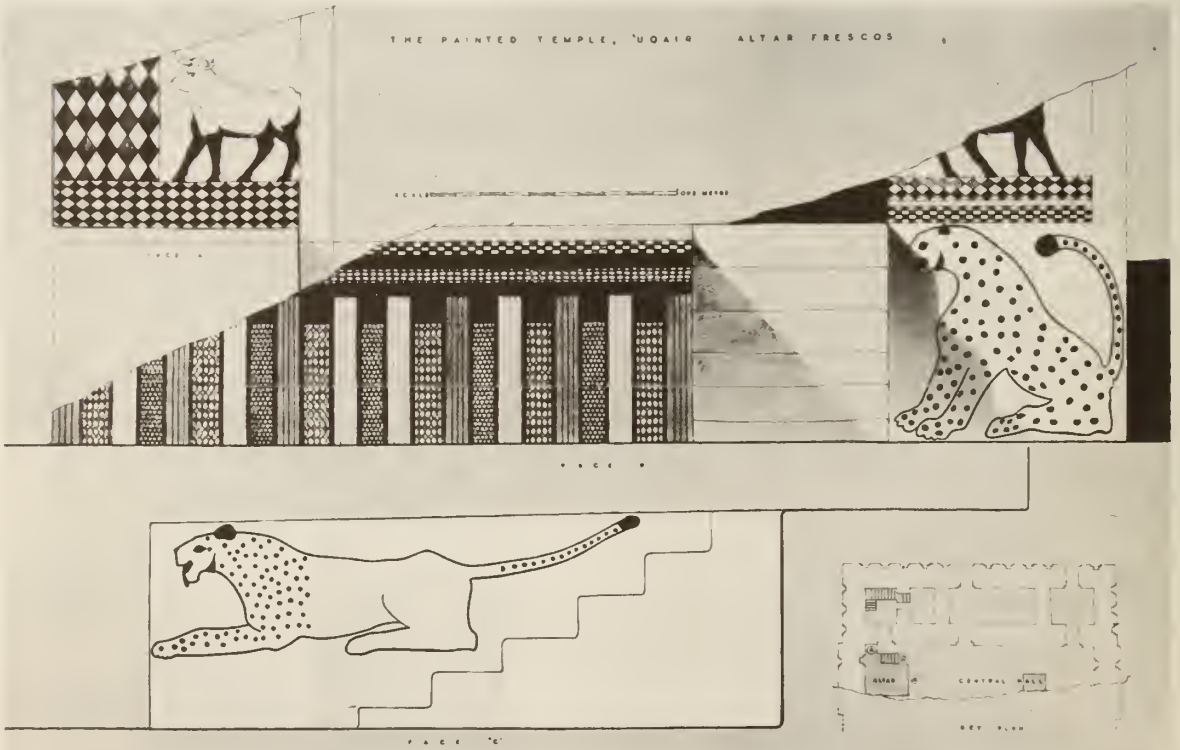


Fig. 296 Altar Frescoes of the Painted Temple; Uqair, Uruk Period

Figs. 297-319 Signs used on Tablets from Eanna, Level 4, Warka; Uruk Period:



Fig. 297



Fig. 298



Fig. 299



Fig. 300



Fig. 301



Fig. 302



Fig. 303



Fig. 304



Fig. 305



Fig. 306



Fig. 307



Fig. 308



Fig. 309



Fig. 310



Fig. 311



Fig. 312



Fig. 313



Fig. 314



Fig. 315



Fig. 316



Fig. 317



Fig. 318



Fig. 319



Fig. 320 Monochrome Spouted Jar; Sin Temple 3, Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 321 Spout Decorated with Snakes in Relief; Asmar, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 322 Seven-spouted Pot; Sin Temple 4, Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 323 Four-Lugged Jar; Agrab, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 324 Fragmentary Cylinder Seal; found in debris of the Third Dynasty of Ur, Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 325 Bird Vase; Small Temple 6, Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 326 Bull Vase; Sin Temple 4, Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period

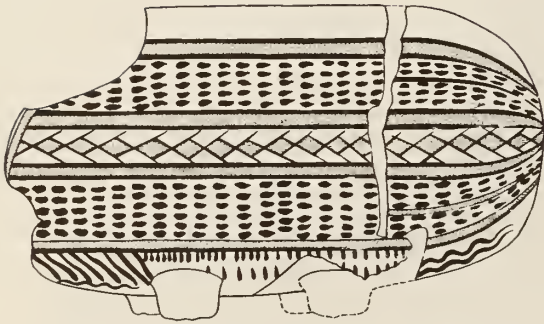


Fig. 327 Polychrome Theriomorphic Vase; Sin Temple 5, Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 328 "Censer"; Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 329 Monochrome Painted Four-lugged Jar; Sin Temple 1, Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 330 Monochrome Painted Four-lugged Jar; Sin Temple 1, Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 331 Monochrome Painted Four-lugged Jar; Uqair, Jemdet Nasr Period

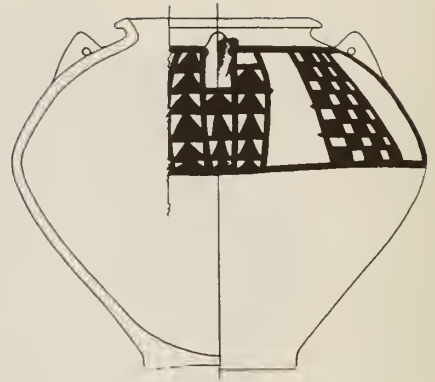


Fig. 332 Monochrome Painted Spouted Jar; Earliest Shrine of the Abu Temple, Asmar, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 333 "Palm" Motif on Monochrome Painted Jar; Jemdet Nasr, Jemdet Nasr Period

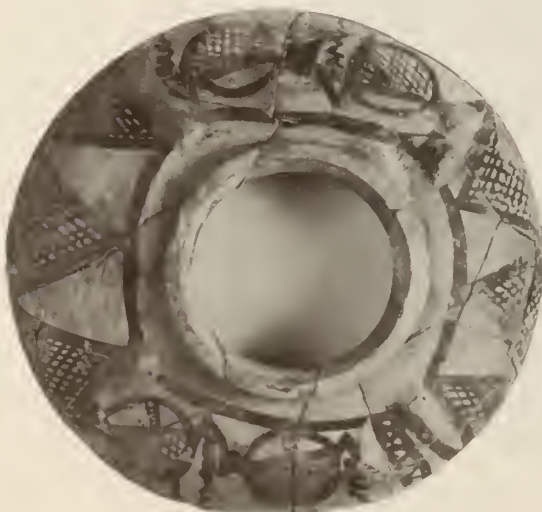


Fig. 334 Monochrome Painted Four-lugged Jar; Uqair, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 335 Monochrome Sherd; Jemdet Nasr, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 336 Monochrome Painted Four-lugged Jar; Sin Temple 3, Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 337 Sherd with Animal Design; Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period

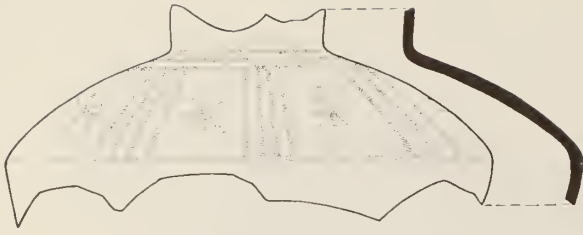


Fig. 338 Eight-pointed Stars on Monochrome Painted Jar; Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period

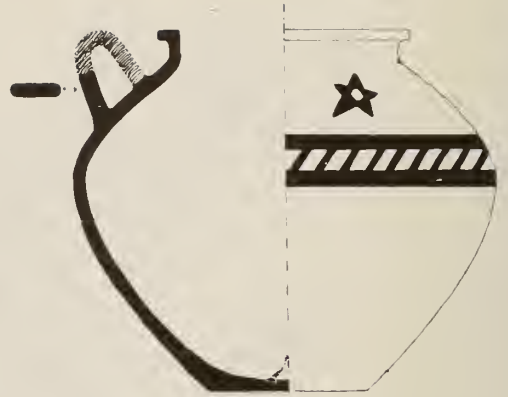


Fig. 339 Pentalphas on Monochrome Painted Jars; Jemdet Nasr, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 340 Early Polychrome Vase; Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period

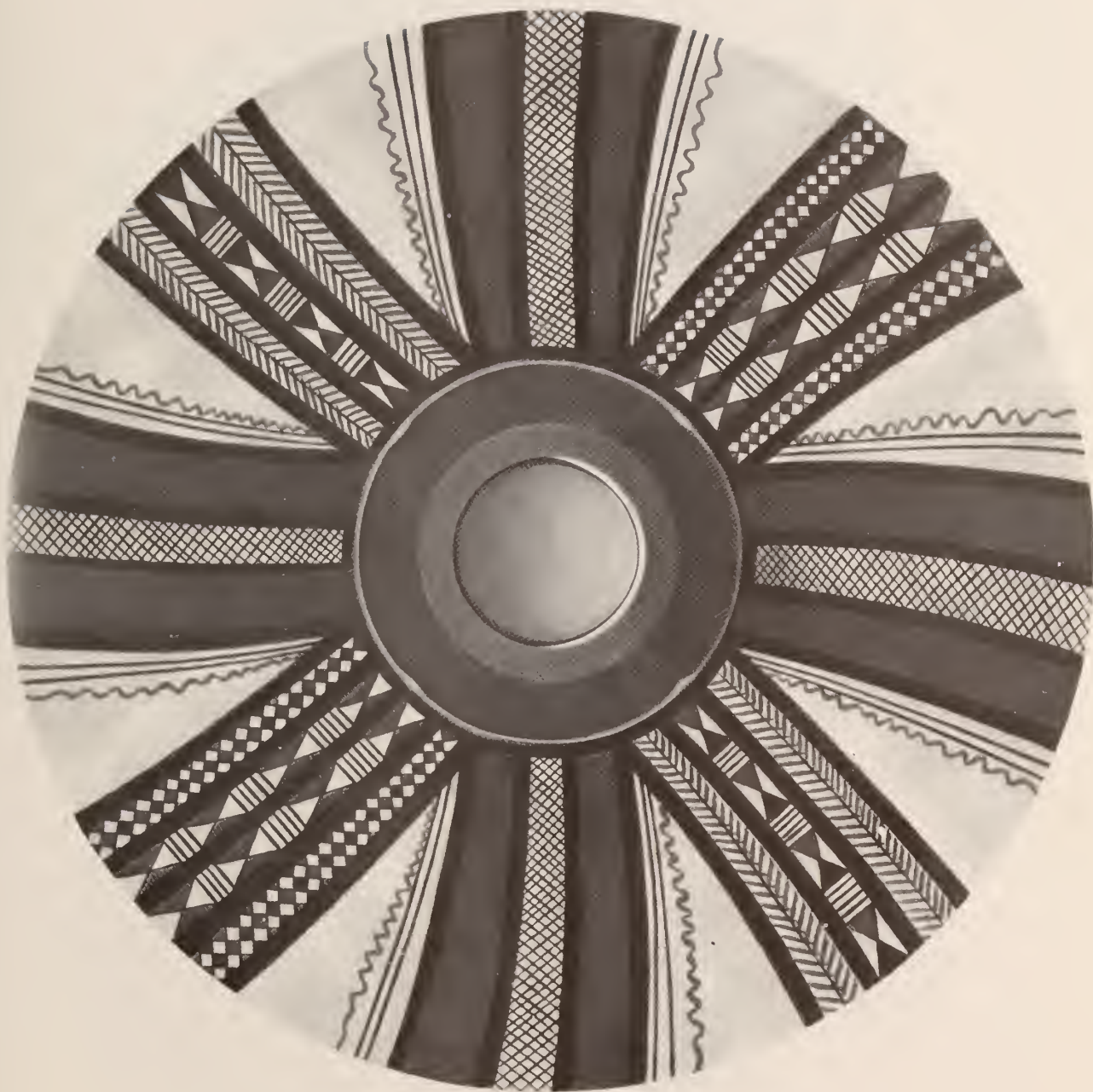


Fig. 341 Late Polychrome Jemdet Nasr Ware; Khafajah

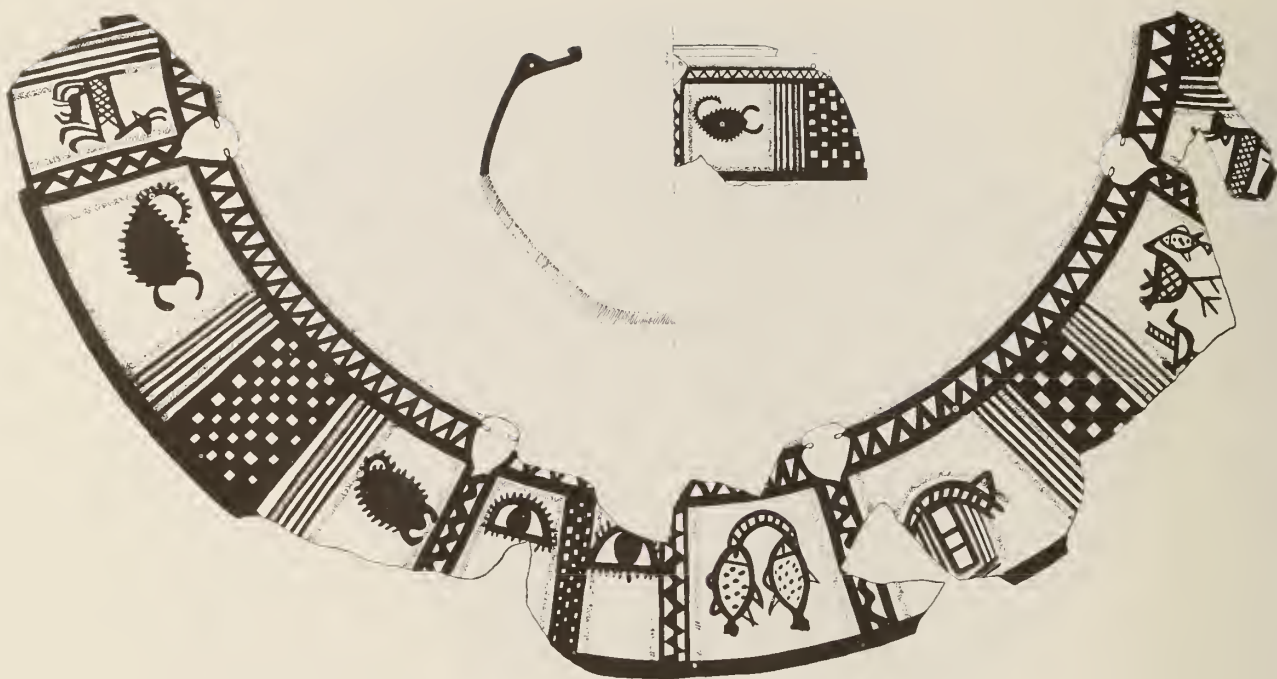


Fig. 346 Polychrome Jemdet Nasr Ware; Jemdet Nasr



Fig. 347 Cylinder Seal Picturing a Pair of Human Figures Offering Gifts; from the Sammelfund, Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 348 Cylinder Seal Picturing a Pair of Human Figures Offering Gifts; from the Sammelfund, Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period

Figs. 349–356 Cylinder Seals Picturing “Pigtailed Figures”; Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 349



Fig. 350

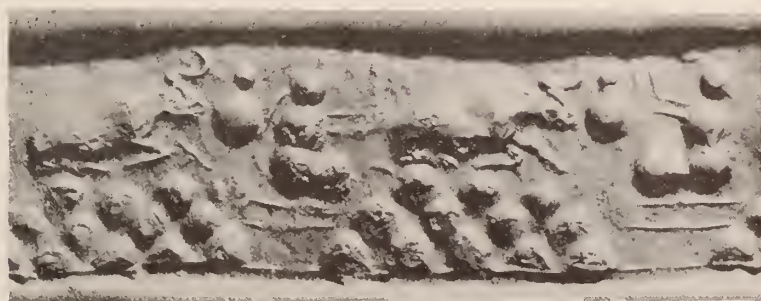


Fig. 351

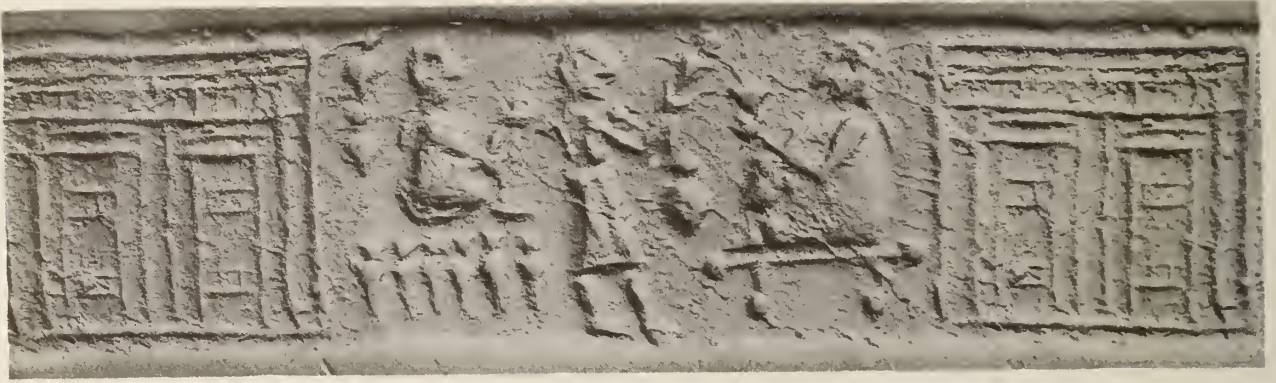


Fig. 352

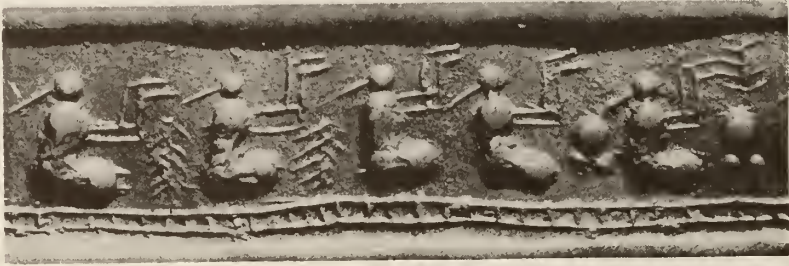


Fig. 353

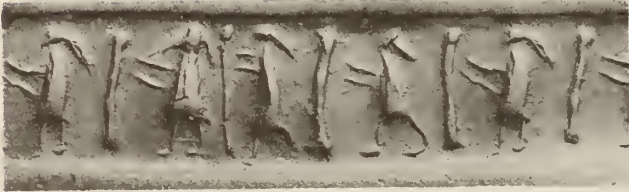


Fig. 354



Fig. 355



Fig. 356

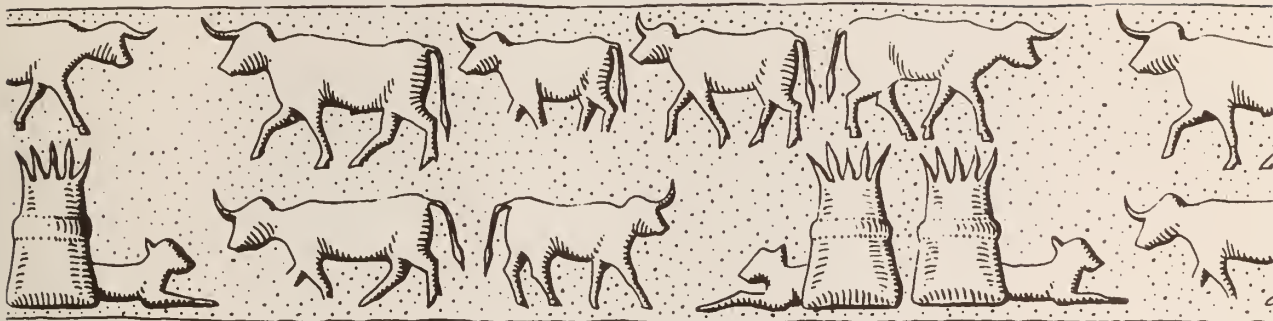


Fig. 357



Fig. 358



Fig. 359



Fig. 360 Cylinder Seal Picturing the Feeding of the Temple Herd; Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period

Figs. 361-369 Cylinder Seals with a Shrine as Central Motif; Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 361



Fig. 362



Fig. 363



Fig. 364



Fig. 365



Fig. 366

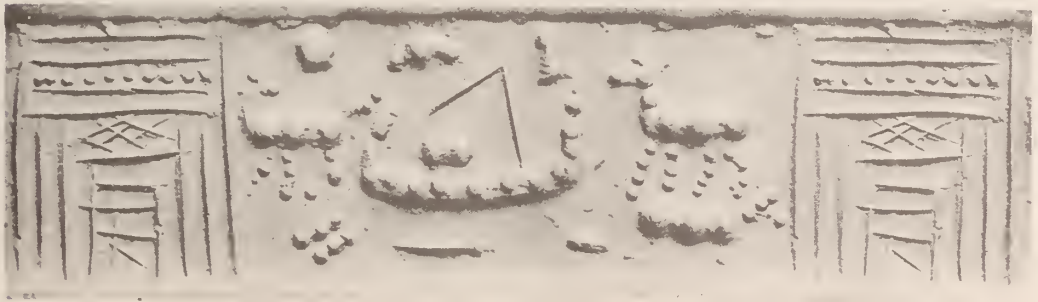


Fig. 367



Fig. 368



Fig. 369



Fig. 370 Cylinder Seal with a Shrine as Central Motif; Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 371 Cylinder Seal with a Shrine as Central Motif; Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 372 Cylinder Seal Picturing Animals and Grain; Fara, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 373 Cylinder Seal Picturing Animals in an Over-all Design; Telloh, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 374 Cylinder Seal Picturing Animals and Trees with Curving Branches; Jemdet Nasr Period

Figs. 375, 375-a Seal Impression and Cylinder Seal Picturing Animal Conflict; Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 375



Fig. 375-a



Fig. 376 Cylinder Seal with the Cult and the Care of the Herd Juxtaposed; Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period



Figs. 377, 378 Cylinder Seals with the Cult and the Care of the Herd Juxtaposed; Jemdet Nasr Period

Figs. 379, 380 Seal Impressions with the Sacrificial Cult Suggested Abstractly; Ur, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 379



Fig. 380



Fig. 381 Cylinder Seal Picturing Cattle; Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period

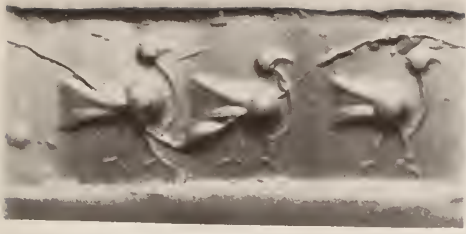


Fig. 382

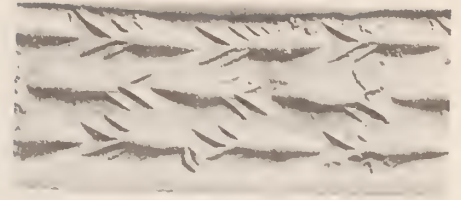


Fig. 383

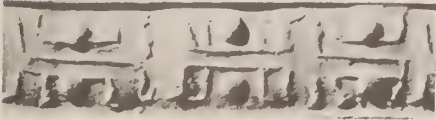


Fig. 384



Fig. 385



Fig. 386

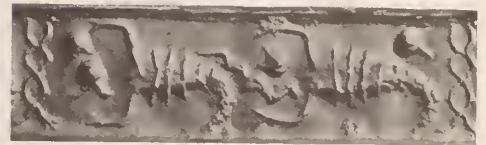


Fig. 387

Figs. 382-387 Cylinder Seals Picturing Birds and Other Fauna; Jemdet Nasr Period

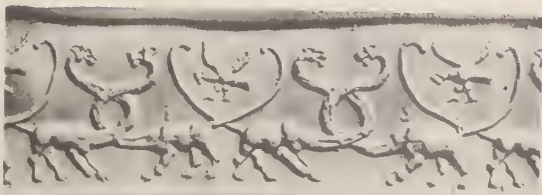


Fig. 388 Cylinder Seal Picturing Antithetical Arrangements of Animals; Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 389 Seal Impression with Grotesque Design; Level C of the Anu Ziggurat, Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period

Figs. 390-392 Cylinder Seals with Prominent Solar Forms; Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 390



Fig. 391



Fig. 392

Figs. 393-395 Cylinder Seals Picturing a Tree Rising from the Top of a Mountain; Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 393



Fig. 394

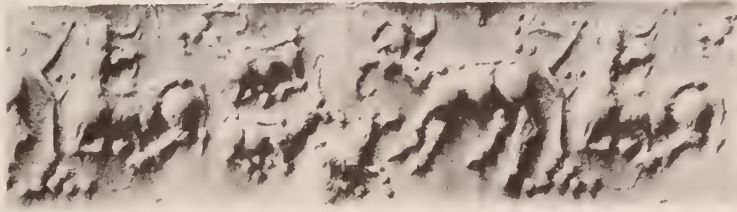


Fig. 395



Fig. 396 Cylinder Seal Picturing a Varied Collection of Animals; Jemdet Nasr Period

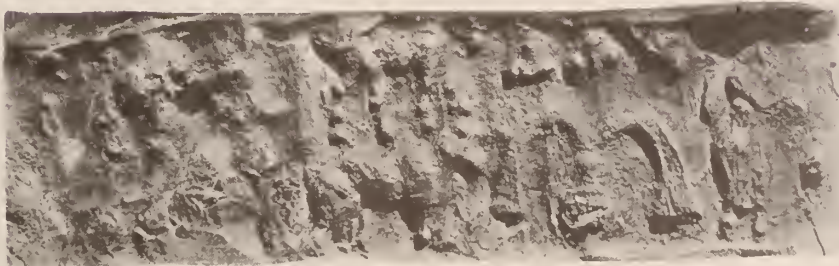


Fig. 397 Cylinder Seal with an Early Example of the Flowing Vase; Kish, Jemdet Nasr Period

Figs. 398-411 Cylinder Seals with Geometric Designs; Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 398



Fig. 399



Fig. 400



Fig. 401



Fig. 402



Fig. 403

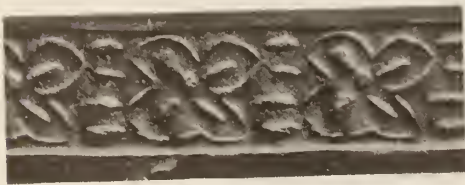


Fig. 404



Fig. 405



Fig. 406

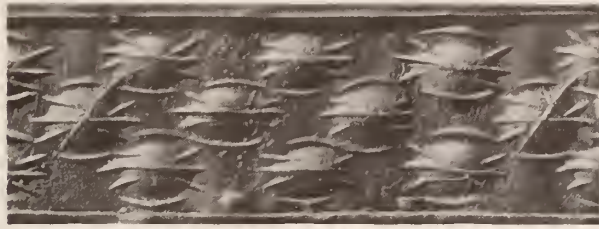


Fig. 407



Fig. 408



Fig. 409



Fig. 410



Fig. 411



Fig. 412 Cylinder Seal with Geometric Design; Jemdet Nasr Period

Figs. 413-416 Cylinder Seals with a Combination of Geometric and Representational Designs; Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 413



Fig. 414



Fig. 415



Fig. 416

Figs. 417-422 Stamp Seals; Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 417



Fig. 418



Fig. 419



Fig. 420



Fig. 421



Fig. 422



Figs. 423, 424 Stamp Seals; Jemdet Nasr Period

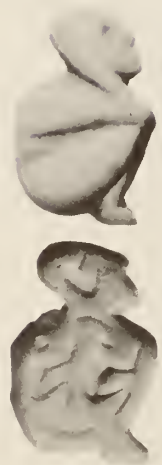


Fig. 426 Cylinder Seal with Inlaid Triangles around the Top; Sin Temple 2, Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 427 Stamp Seal; Jemdet Nasr Period

Fig. 425 Stamp Seal; Jemdet Nasr Period

Figs. 428-438 Animal Amulets; Jemdet Nasr Period

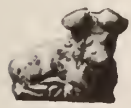
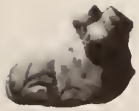


Fig. 428



Fig. 429

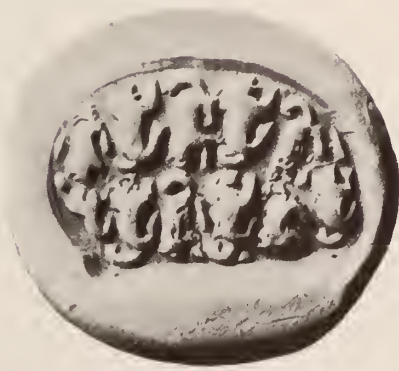


Fig. 430

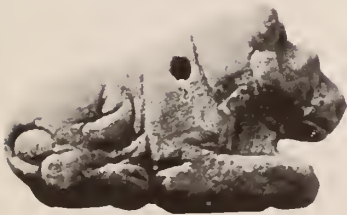
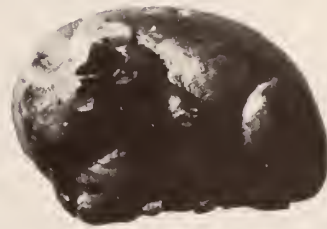


Fig. 431



Fig. 432



Fig. 433

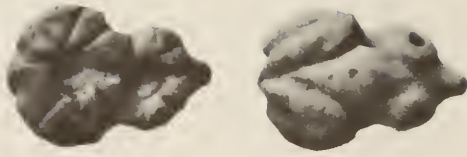
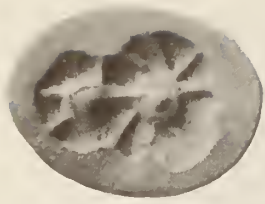


Fig. 434



Fig. 435



Fig. 436

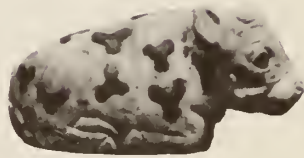


Fig. 437



Fig. 438



Fig. 439

Figs. 439, 440 Human Figures as Amulets; Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 440

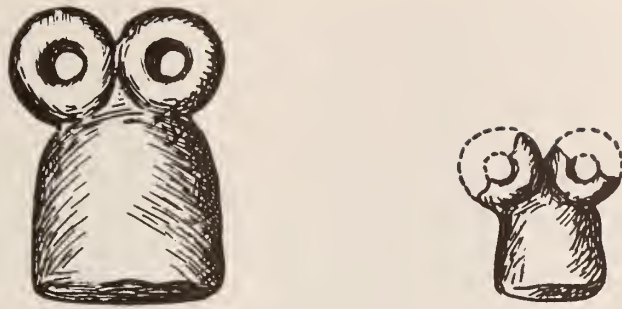


Fig. 441 "Eye" Symbols; Sin Temple 4, Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 442 Pendants in the Shape of Crescents; Sin Temples 1 and 3, Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 443 Beads Strung with Bull Amulet Pendants; Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 444 Marble Female Head; Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 445 Hunting Scenes on Basalt Stela; Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 446 Kneeling Bearded Figure; Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 448 Female Statuette; Sin Temple 4, Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 447 Grotesque Figurine; Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 449 Grotesque Figurine; Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 450 Animal Figurine; Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 451



Fig. 452



Fig. 453



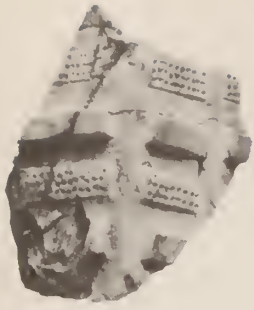
Fig. 454



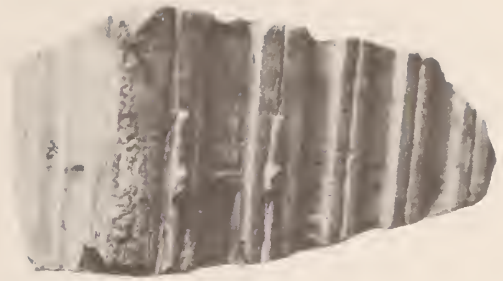
Fig. 455



Fig. 456



a



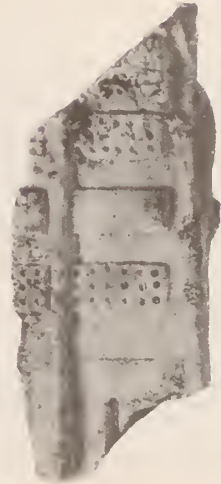
b



c



e



d



Fig. 457 Stone Artifacts Simulating Buildings; Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period

Figs. 458, 459 Shell and Bone Beads; Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 458

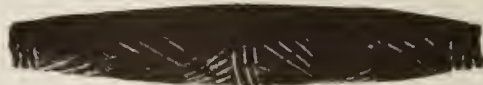


Fig. 459

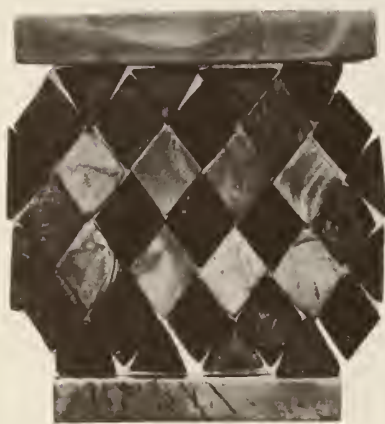


Fig. 460 Ornamental Fragments; Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 461 Ornamental Fragment; Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 462 Bone Pins; Telloh, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 463 Diorite "Hand"; Fara, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 464 Spindle Whorl; Jemdet Nasr, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 465 Limestone Vase; Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 466 Limestone Vase; Ur, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 467 Alabaster Dove; Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 468 Alabaster Lamp; Ur, Jemdet Nasr Period

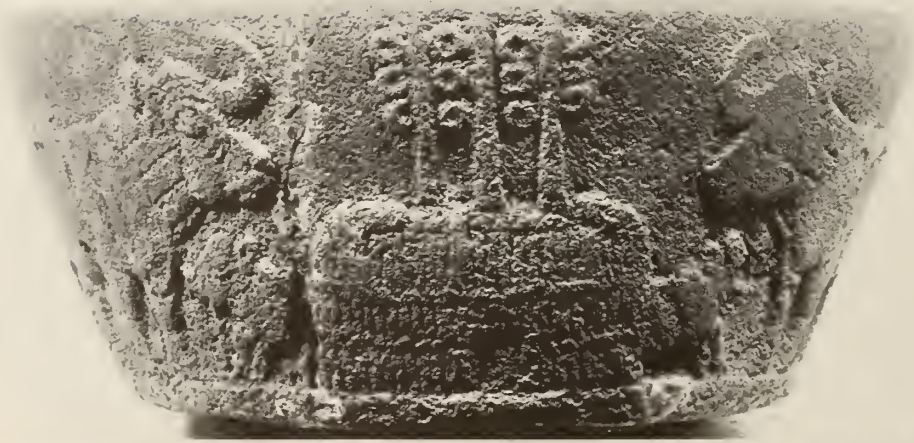


Fig. 469 Green Stone Vase; Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period

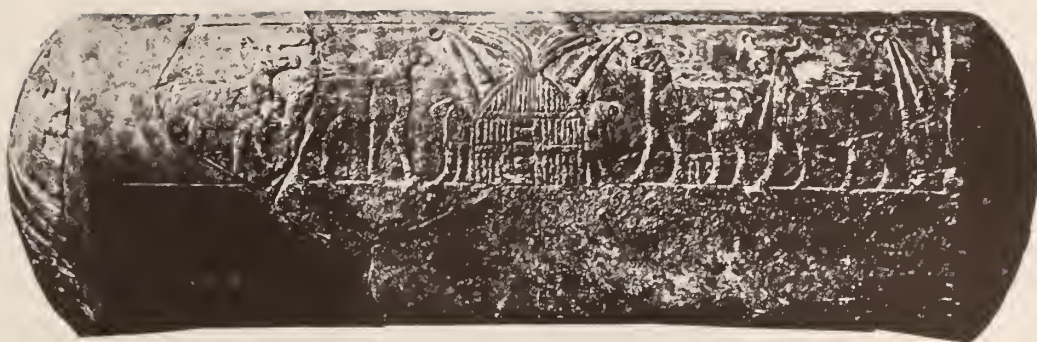


Fig. 470 Alabastrine Limestone Sculptured Trough; Jemdet Nasr Period

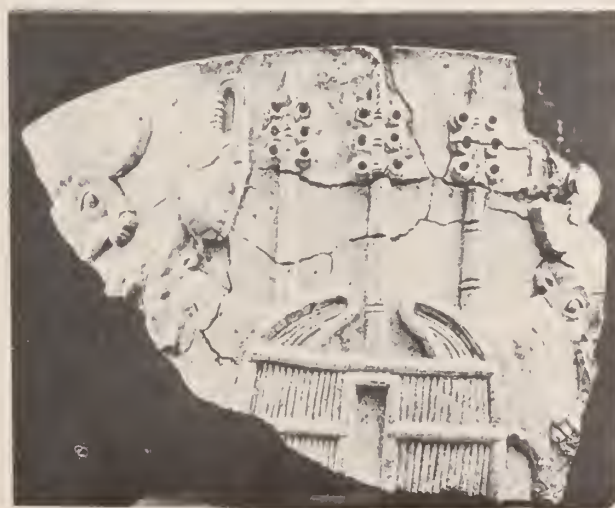


Fig. 471 Sculptured Vase; Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 472 Fragmentary Vase of Hard Gray to Black Stone; probably from Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 473 Fragmentary Vase of Bituminous Limestone; Sammelfund, Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 474 Steatite Bowl; Ur, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 475 Stone Vase; Sammelfund, Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 476 Fragmentary Alabaster Vase with Ram as Support; Ur, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 477 Double Jar of Alabaster with Four Couchant Bulls as Support; Fara, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 478 Vase of Bituminous Limestone; Sammelfund, Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 479 Vase of Hard Gray Stone; Sammelfund, Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 480 Wall Ornament; Eanna, Level 3b, Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 481 Mosaic in Niched Wall; Eanna, Level 3c, Warka, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 482

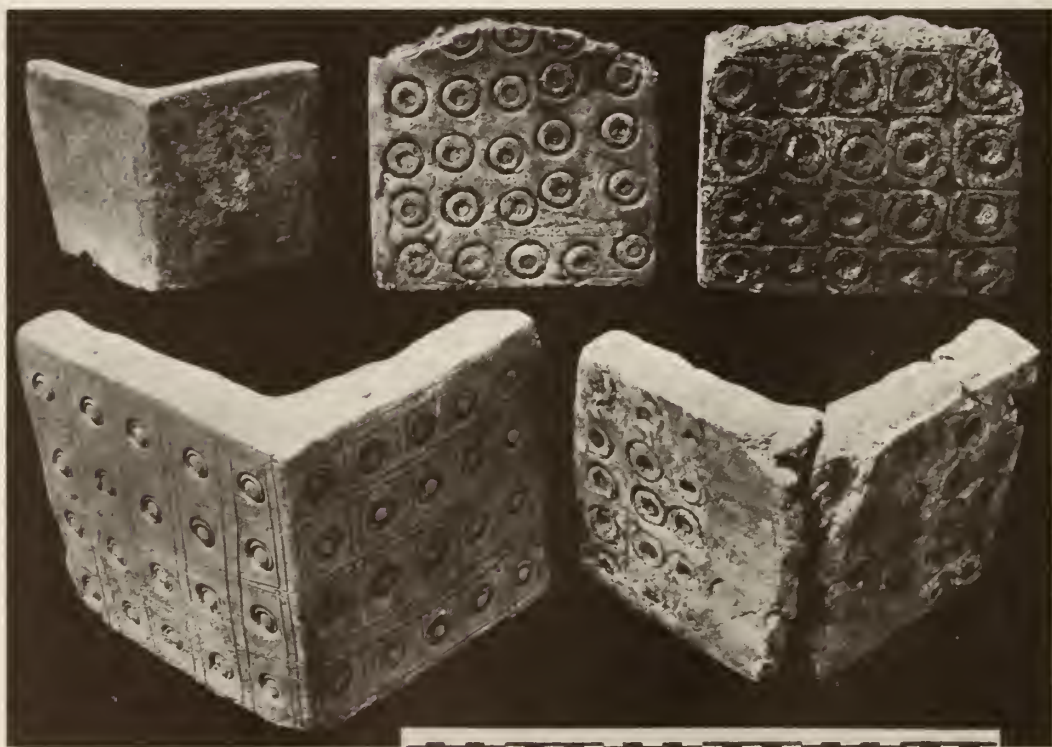


Fig. 483



Fig. 484



Fig. 485



Fig. 486

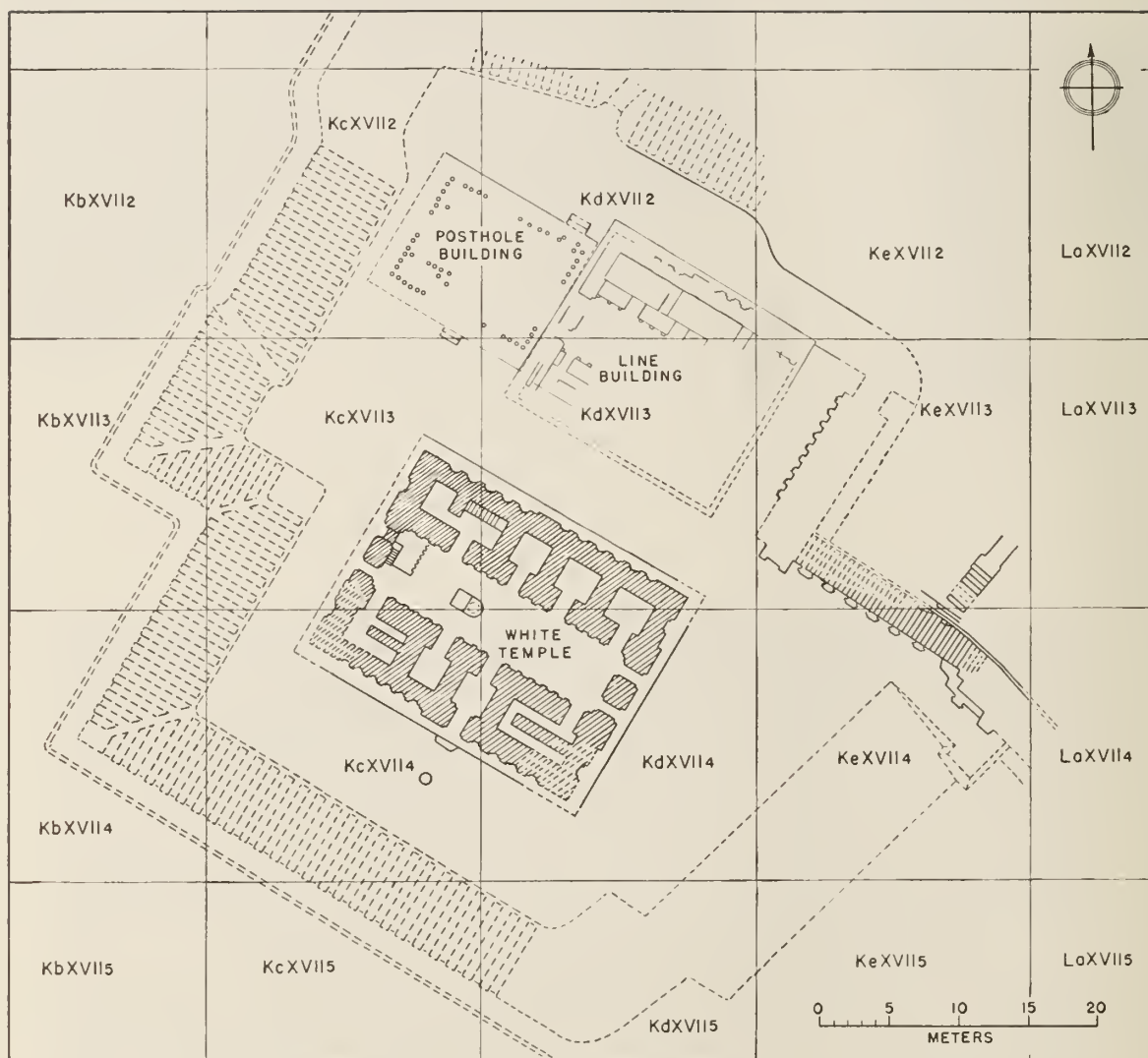


Fig. 487 Plan of Anu Ziggurat at Warka, Levels B-C; Jemdet Nasr Period

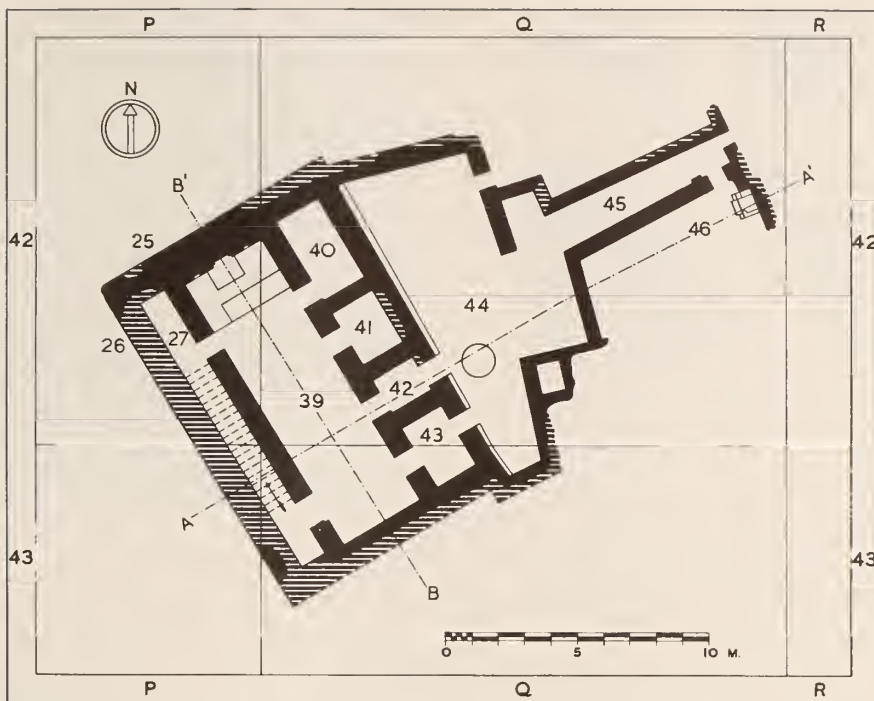


Fig. 488 Plan of Sin Temple 2; Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period

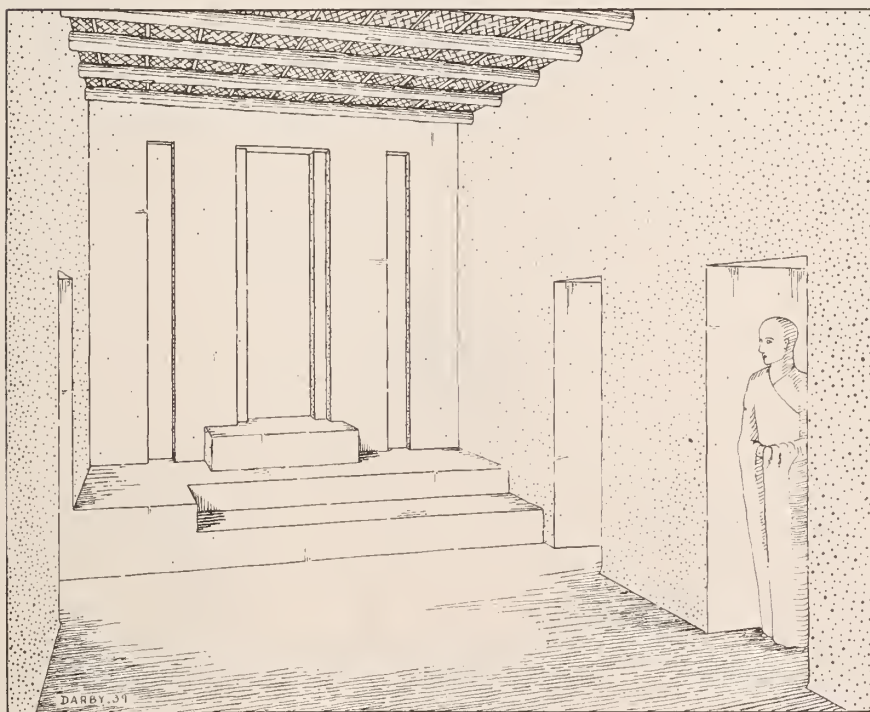


Fig. 489 Reconstruction of the North End and Altar of the Sanctuary of Sin Temple 2; Khafajah, Jemdet Nasr Period



Fig. 490 Decorated Sherds; Level 11, Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period



Fig. 491 Incised Jar Fragment; Level 9, Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period

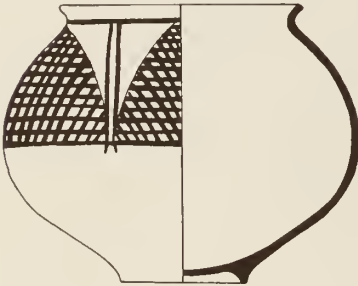


Fig. 492 Painted Vase; Level 11, Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period



Fig. 493 Painted Sherd; Level 11, Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period



Fig. 494 Painted Vase; Level 10, Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period

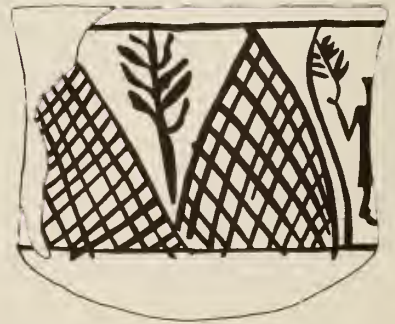




Fig. 495 Painted Bowl with Modeled Figures;
Level 9, Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period



Fig. 496 Incense Burner; Level 11,
Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period

Figs. 497-505 Stamp Seals and Impressions with Geometric Designs; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period



Fig. 497



Fig. 498



Fig. 499



Fig. 500



Fig. 501



Fig. 502



Fig. 503



Fig. 504



Fig. 505

Figs. 506–509 Stamp Seals and Impressions with Geometric Designs; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period



Fig. 506



Fig. 507



Fig. 508



Fig. 509

Figs. 510–512 Stamp Seal and Impressions Picturing Single Human Figures; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period



Fig. 510



Fig. 511



Fig. 512

Figs. 513, 514 Seal Impressions with Erotic Designs; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period



Fig. 513



Fig. 514



Fig. 518 Seal Picturing Dancing Man and Animal; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period

Figs. 515–517 Seal Impressions and Seal with Possible Cult References; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period



Fig. 515

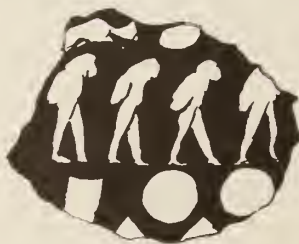


Fig. 516



Fig. 517

Figs. 519-523 Seals and Impressions Picturing Single Animals; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period



Fig. 519



Fig. 520



Fig. 521



Fig. 522

Figs. 524-530 Seal Impressions and Seal Picturing Animals in Pairs; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period



Fig. 523



Fig. 524



Fig. 525



Fig. 526



Fig. 527



Fig. 528



Fig. 529



Fig. 530

Figs. 531-533 Seal Impressions Picturing Several Animals; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period



Fig. 531



Fig. 532



Fig. 533



Fig. 534 Seal Impression Picturing Several Animals; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period



Fig. 535 Seal Impression Picturing Several Animals; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period



Fig. 536 Seal Impression Picturing Animals' Heads; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period



Fig. 537 Seal Impression Picturing a Vulture Ready to Strike an Ibex; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period



Fig. 538 Seal Impression Picturing a Pair of Fish; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period



Fig. 539 Seal Impression Picturing Copulating Snakes; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period



Fig. 540 Seal Impression Picturing a Scorpion; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period



Fig. 541 Seal Impression Picturing Animals; Nineveh, Gawra Period



Fig. 543 Seal Impression with Rosette; Nuzi, Gawra Period



Fig. 542 Stamp Seal Picturing Five Hinds Reclining amidst Trees and Shrubs; Brak, Gawra Period



Fig. 544 Cylinder Seal Picturing a Ritual Scene; Billa, Gawra Period

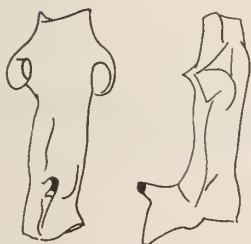


Fig. 545 Male Figurine; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period

Figs. 546, 547 Animal Figurines; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period



Fig. 546



Fig. 547

Figs. 548-551 Beads and Pendants; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period



Fig. 548



Fig. 549



Fig. 550



Fig. 551



Fig. 552 Stone Pendant in the Form of an Acorn; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period

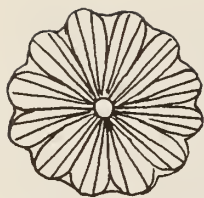


Fig. 553 Rosette; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period

Figs. 554, 555 Gold Rosettes; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period

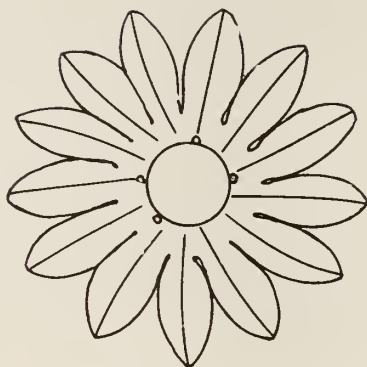


Fig. 554

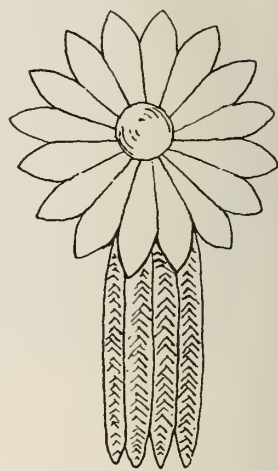


Fig. 555



Fig. 556 Gold Crescent; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period



Fig. 557 Ivory Pin; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period



Fig. 558 Electrum Wolf's Head; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period

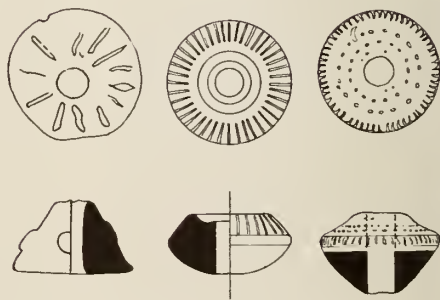


Fig. 559 Terra-cotta Spindle Whorls; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period



Fig. 560 Black Steatite
Kohl Vases; Tepe Gawra,
Gawra Period

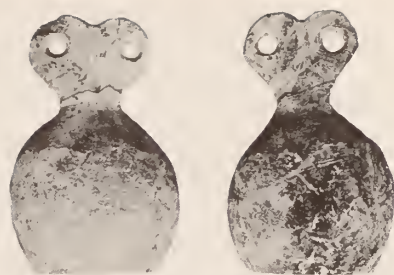


Fig. 561 Stone "Eye" Symbols; Tepe
Gawra, Gawra Period



Fig. 562 Double-horned Clay Ob-
ject; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period

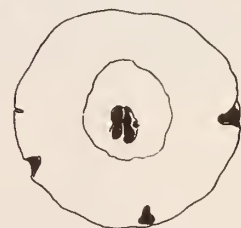


Fig. 563 Clay Object Sur-
mounted by a Flattened
Knob; Tepe Gawra,
Gawra Period



Fig. 564 Bone Tubes; Tepe Gawra, Gawra Period

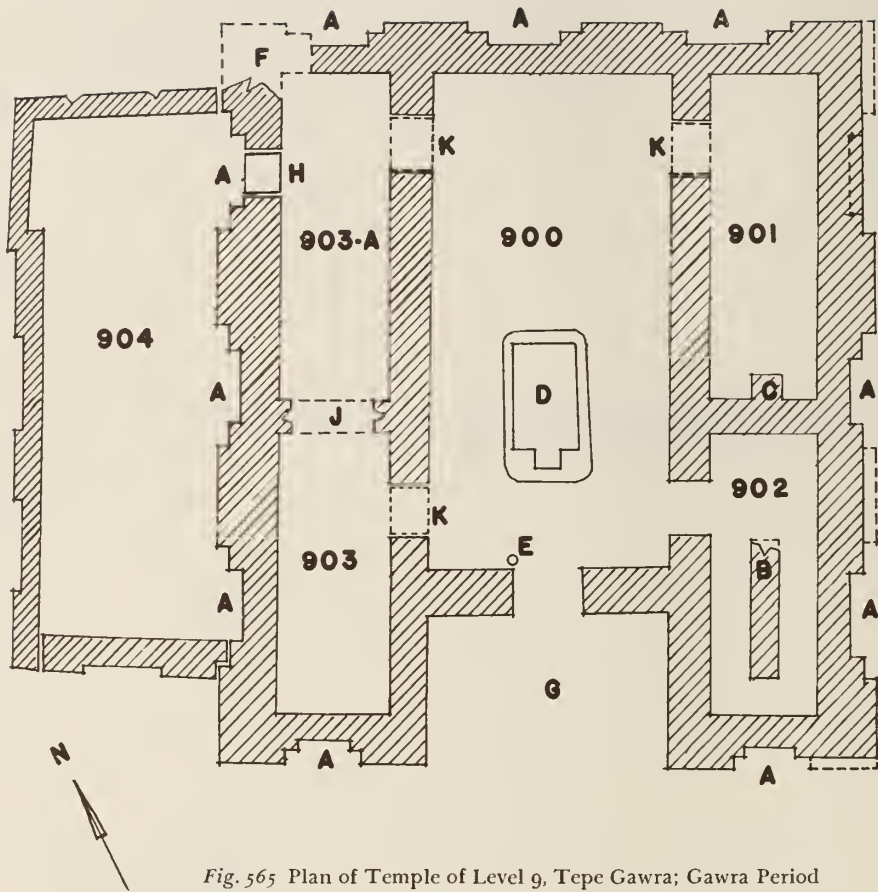


Fig. 565 Plan of Temple of Level 9, Tepe Gawra; Gawra Period



Fig. 566 Podium in the Central Room, Temple of Level 9, Tepe Gawra; Gawra Period



Fig. 567 Shrine above a Tomb in Level 10, Tepe Gawra; Gawra Period



Fig. 568 Ninevite 5 Painted Vase; Level 7, Billa



Fig. 569 Ninevite 5 Painted Vase; Nineveh

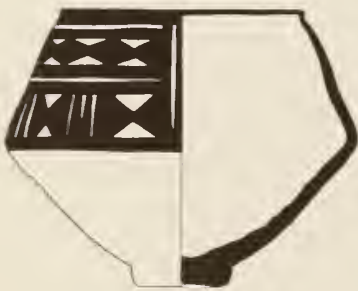


Fig. 570 Ninevite 5 Painted Vase; Nineveh



Fig. 571 Ninevite 5 Painted Vase; Trial Trench at Level 7, Tepe Gawra



Fig. 572 Ninevite 5 Painted Vase; Nineveh



Fig. 573 Ninevite 5 Painted Sherd; Nineveh



Fig. 574 Ninevite 5 Painted Sherd; Nineveh



Fig. 575 Ninevite 5 Painted Vase; Nineveh



Fig. 576 Ninevite 5 Painted Sherd; Nineveh



Fig. 577 Ninevite 5 Painted Vase; Nineveh



Fig. 578 Ninevite 5 Painted Vase; Level 7, Billa



Fig. 579 Ninevite 5 Painted Sherd; Nineveh



Fig. 580 Ninevite 5 Painted Sherd; Nineveh



Fig. 581 Ninevite 5 Painted Sherd; Nineveh



Fig. 582 Ninevite 5 Painted Sherd; Nineveh



Fig. 583 Ninevite 5 Painted Sherd; Nineveh



Fig. 584 Ninevite 5 Painted Sherd; Nineveh



Fig. 585 Ninevite 5 Painted Sherds; Nineveh

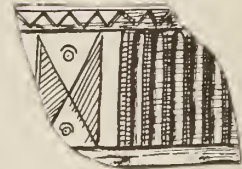


Fig. 586 Ninevite 5 Incised Sherd; Nineveh

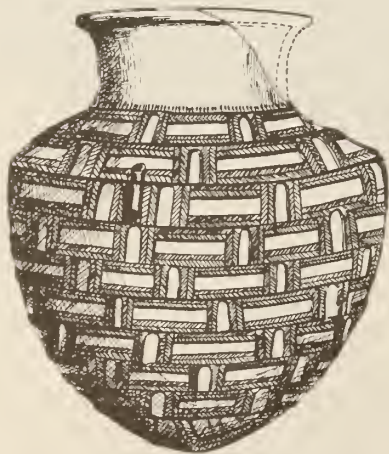


Fig. 587 Ninevite 5 Incised Vase; Yarimjah



Fig. 588 Ninevite 5 Incised Sherd; Nineveh



Fig. 589 Ninevite 5 Incised Vase; Nineveh

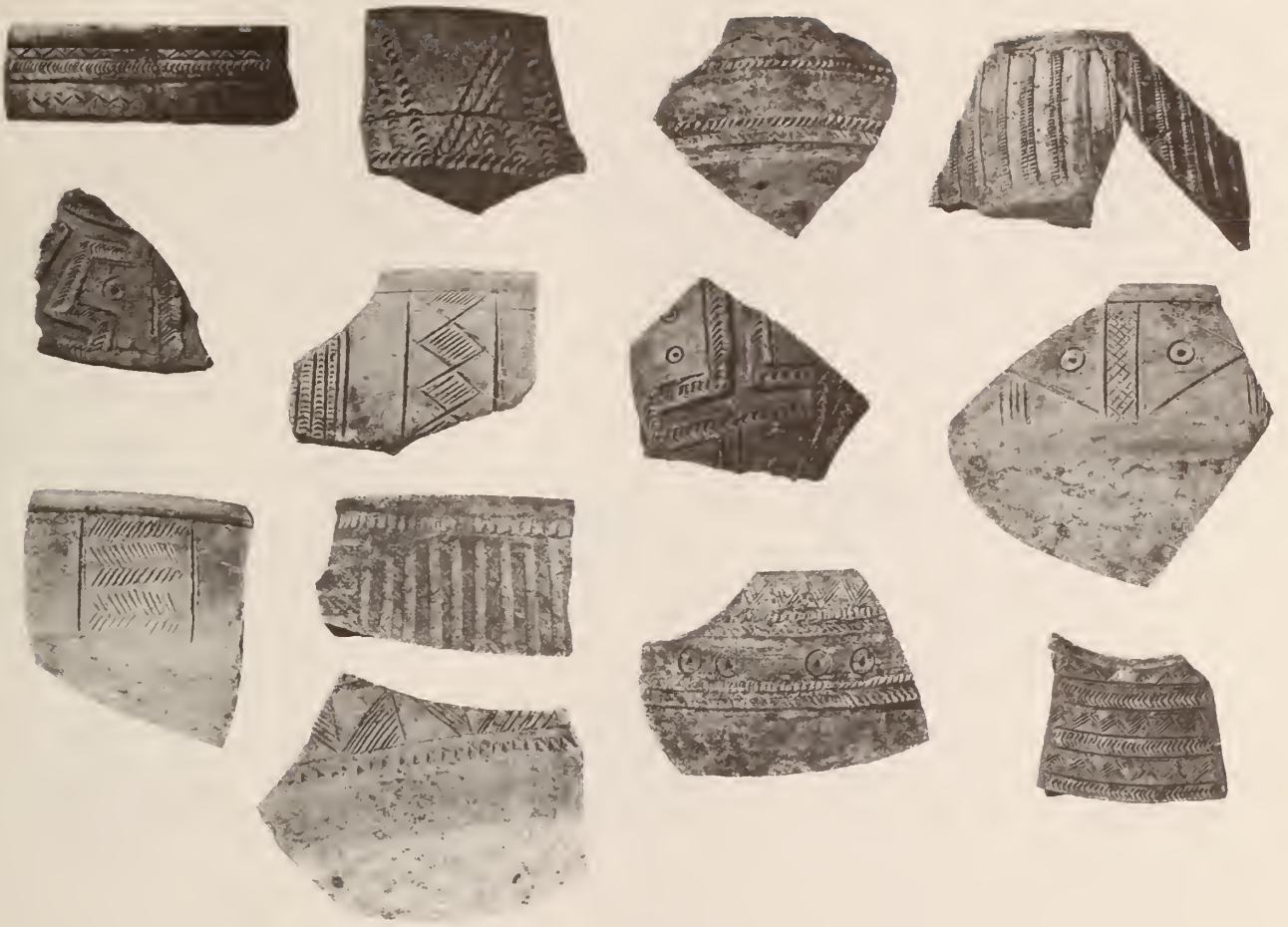


Fig. 590 Ninevite 5 Incised Sherds; Level 6, Billa



Fig. 591 Designs on Cylinder Seals and Seal Impressions; Nineveh, Ninevite Period

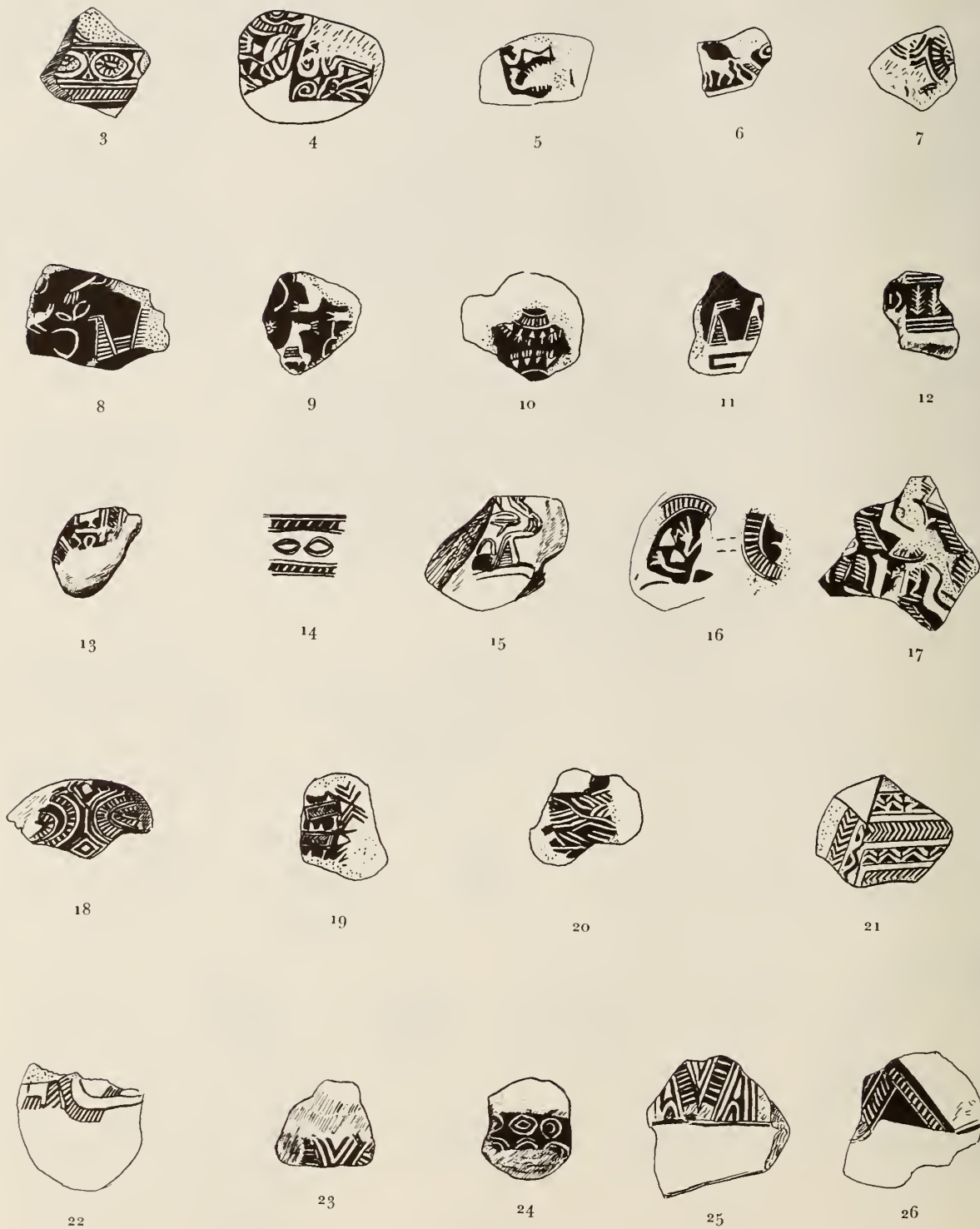


Fig. 592 Designs on Seal Impressions; Nineveh, Ninevite Period

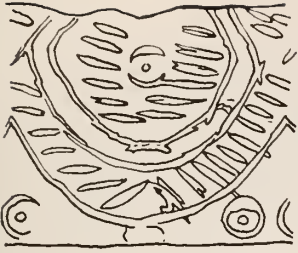


Fig. 593 Cylinder Seal with Geometric Design; Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period

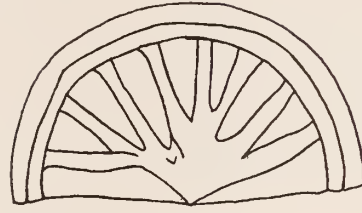


Fig. 594



Fig. 595

Figs. 594, 595 Stamp Seals with Geometric Designs; Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period

Figs. 596-601 Plaques and Seal Impressions Picturing Animals; Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period



Fig. 596

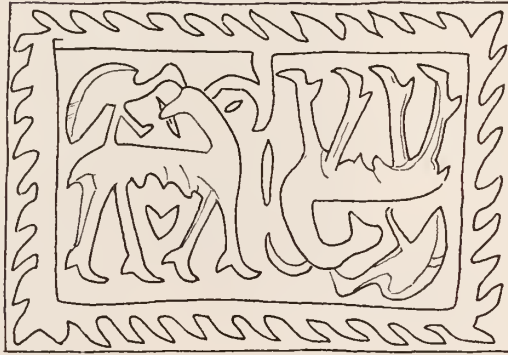


Fig. 597



Fig. 598



Fig. 599

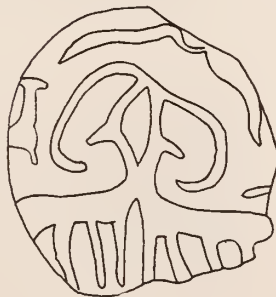


Fig. 600



Fig. 601

Figs. 602-604 Seal Impressions Picturing Animals; Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period



Fig. 602

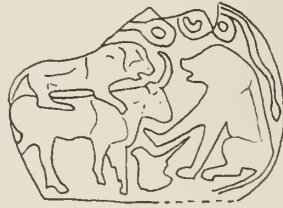


Fig. 603



Fig. 604

Figs. 605, 606 Seal Impressions Picturing Erotic Scenes; Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period

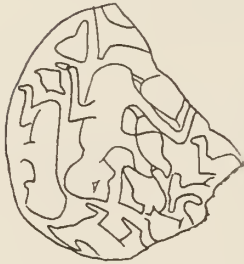


Fig. 605

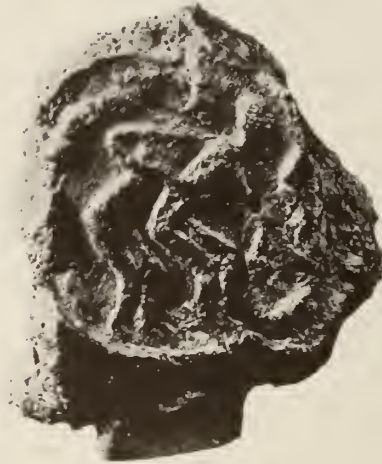


Fig. 606

Figs. 607, 608 Stamp Seals; Nuzi, Ninevite Period

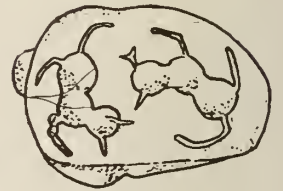


Fig. 607

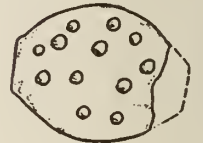


Fig. 608

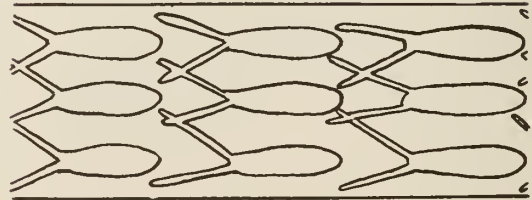
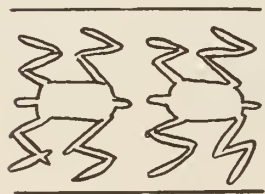
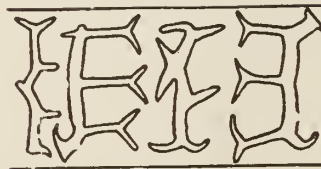
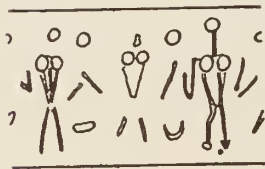


Fig. 609 Cylinder Seals; Nuzi, Ninevite Period

Figs. 610-614 Cylinder Seals; Brak, Ninevite Period

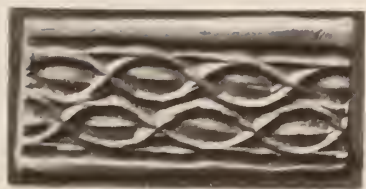


Fig. 610



Fig. 611



Fig. 612



Fig. 613

Figs. 618, 619 Stamp Seals Picturing Animals with Three or Five Legs; Brak, Ninevite Period



Fig. 614

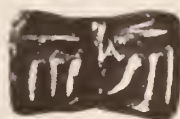


Fig. 618



Fig. 619

Figs. 615-617 Stamp Seals Resembling Southern Jemdet Nasr Seals; Brak, Ninevite Period

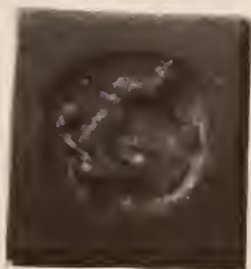


Fig. 615



Fig. 616



Fig. 617

Figs. 620–622 Stamp Seals Picturing Animals in Different Arrangements; Brak, Ninevite Period



Fig. 620

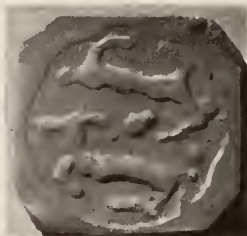


Fig. 621



Fig. 622

Figs. 624–626 Stamp Seals with Geometric Designs; Brak, Ninevite Period



Fig. 624



Fig. 625



Fig. 626



Fig. 623 Stamp Seal Picturing Two Fringed Triangles; Brak, Ninevite Period



Fig. 627 Seal Impression Picturing a Hare; Shaghir Bazar, Ninevite Period

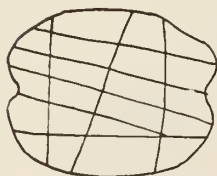


Fig. 628 Limestone Bead; Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period



Fig. 629



Fig. 630

Figs. 629, 630 Toggle-pins; Shaghir Bazar, Ninevite Period

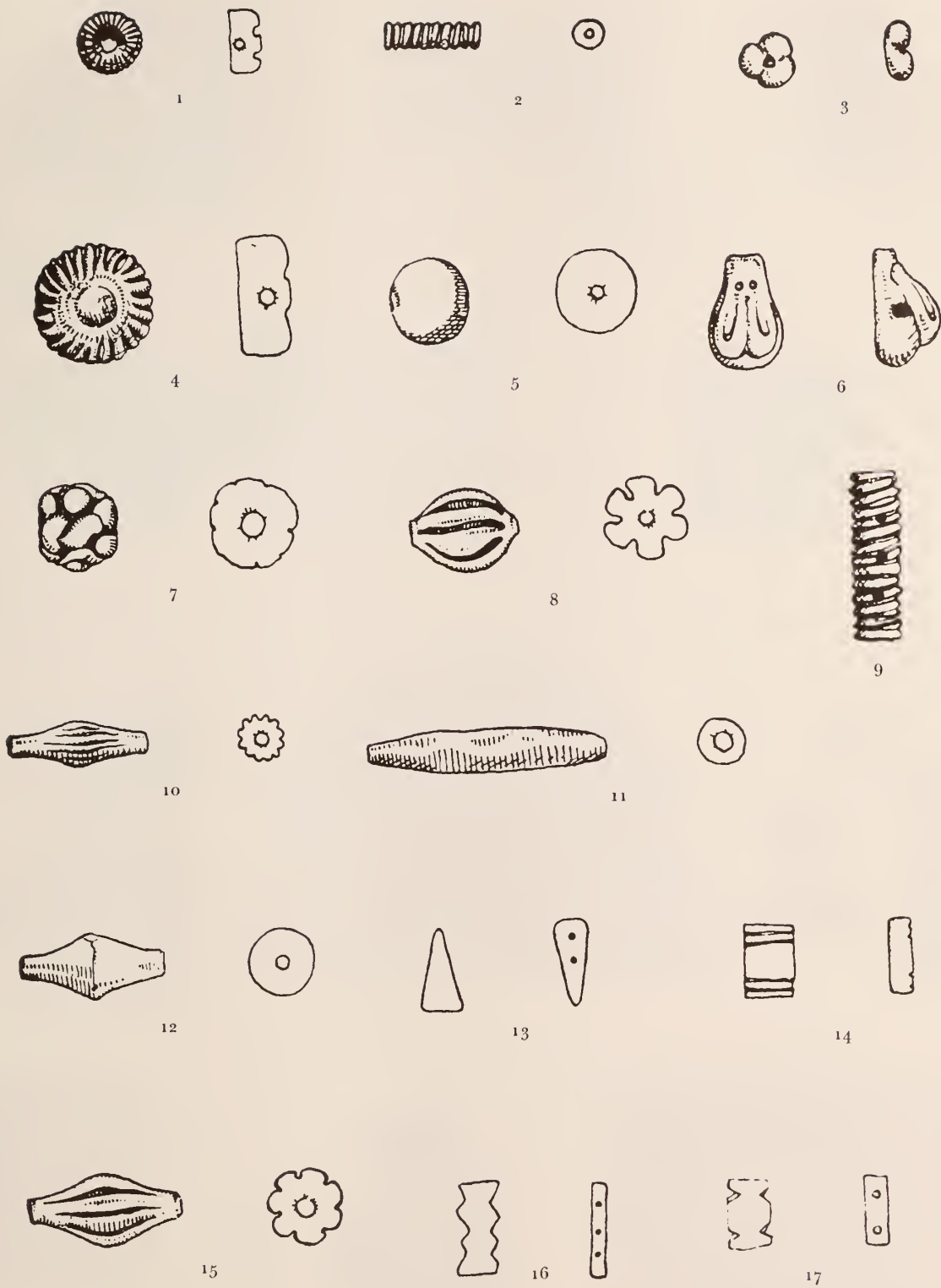


Fig. 631 Faience and Glazed Steatite Beads; Brak, Ninevite Period

Figs. 632-638 Pendants and Amulets; Tepe Gawra and Brak, Ninevite Period



Fig. 632



Fig. 633



Fig. 634



Fig. 635



Fig. 636

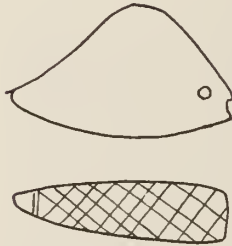


Fig. 637



Fig. 638

Figs. 639, 640 Female Figurines; Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period



Fig. 639



Fig. 640

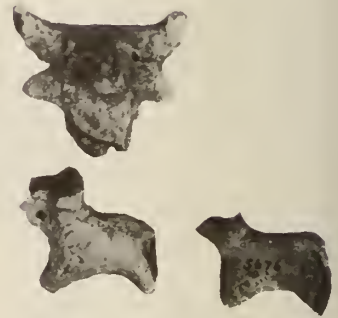


Fig. 641 Animal Figurines; Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period

Figs. 642-644 Amulets; Brak, Ninevite Period



Fig. 642



Fig. 643



Fig. 644

Figs. 645-649 Amulets; Brak, Ninevite Period

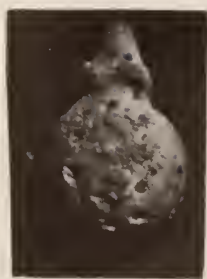


Fig. 645



Fig. 646



Fig. 647



Fig. 648



Fig. 649



Fig. 650 "Spectacle-topped Eye Symbol"; Brak, Ninevite Period



1

2

3

Fig. 651 "Eye" Symbols of "Standard" Type; Brak, Ninevite Period

Figs. 652-656 "Eye" Symbols of "Standard" Type; Brak, Ninevite Period



Fig. 652



Fig. 653



Fig. 654



Fig. 655



Fig. 656

Figs. 657-660 "Eye" Symbols of "Standard" Type; Brak, Ninevite Period



Fig. 657



Fig. 658



Fig. 659

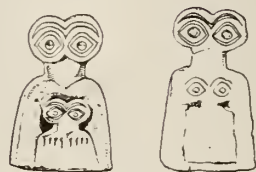


Fig. 660



Fig. 661 "Eye" Symbol on Pedestal; North Syrian, Ninevite Period



Fig. 662 "Eye" Symbol on Pedestal; Brak, Ninevite Period



Fig. 663 "Eye" Symbol atop a Shrine; provenance unknown, Ninevite Period



Fig. 664 Phallic Object of Gabbro; Eastern Temple, Level 8a, Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period

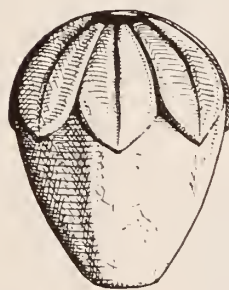


Fig. 665 Mace Head of Red Sandstone; Brak, Ninevite Period



Fig. 666 Terra-cotta Cultic Object; Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period

Figs. 667, 668 Double-horned Clay Objects; Brak and Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period



Fig. 667

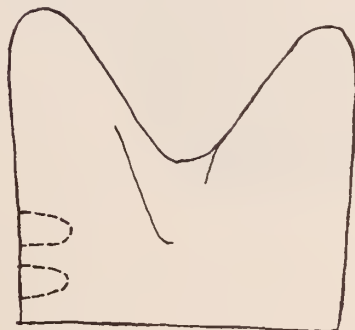


Fig. 668



Fig. 669 Terra-cotta Model Chariots; Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period



Fig. 671

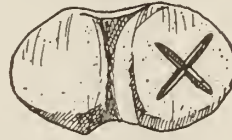


Fig. 672



Fig. 673

Fig. 670 Terra-Cotta Spindle Whorl; Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period

Figs. 671-673 Terra-cotta Bobbins; Tepe Gawra, Ninevite Period

Figs. 674, 675 Sculptured Human Heads; Brak, Ninevite Period



Fig. 674



Fig. 675



Fig. 676 Sculptured Human Heads; Brak, Ninevite Period



Fig. 677 Model Shoe; Brak, Ninevite Period

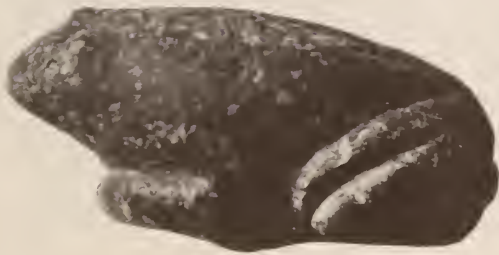


Fig. 678 Lapis Lazuli Frog; Brak, Ninevite Period



Fig. 679 Black Limestone Bear; Brak, Ninevite Period

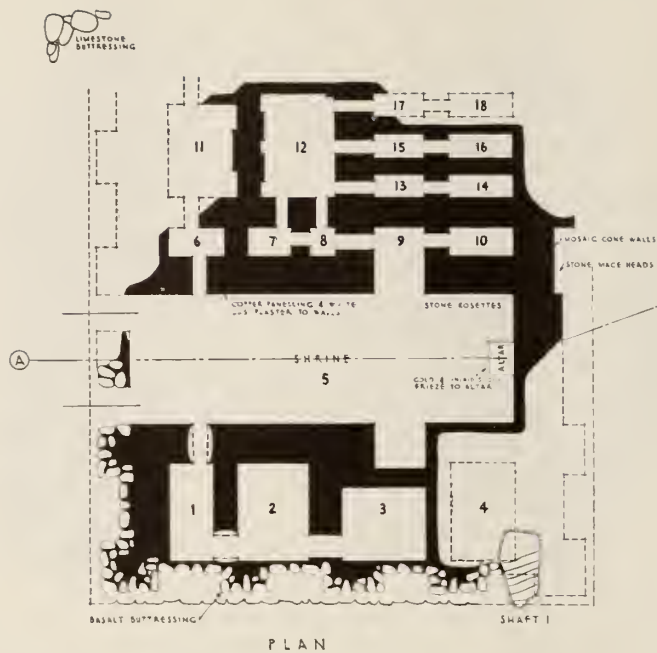


Fig. 680 Plan of Eye-Temple, Brak; Ninevite Period



Fig. 681 Central Section of the Golden Frieze, Altar of Sanctuary, Eye-Temple, Brak; Ninevite Period



Fig. 682 Copper Paneling Impressed with Row of *Repoussé* Eyes; Eye-Temple, Brak, Ninevite Period



Fig. 684 Stone Rosette; Eye-Temple, Brak, Ninevite Period



Fig. 683 Cones for Mural Decoration; Eye-Temple, Brak, Ninevite Period



Fig. 685 Terra-cotta Mural Plaque; Eye-Temple, Brak, Ninevite Period



Fig. 686 Stone Amulet against Lamashtu



Fig. 687 Cylinder Seal Picturing Incantations Against Sickness





Fig. 688 Cylinder Seal Picturing Incantations Against Sickness



Fig. 691 Seal Impression on Clay Used as Jar Sealing; Babylon



Fig. 689 Lapis Lazuli Seal of Marduk-zakir-shum; Esagila Temple of Marduk, Babylon. *Fig. 690* Lapis Lazuli Seal of Esarhaddon; Esagila Temple of Marduk, Babylon



Fig. 692 Fragmentary Cylinder Seal



Fig. 693 Fragmentary Cylinder Seal; Babylon

Figs. 694–698 Cylinder Seals of the Third Early Dynastic Period



Fig. 694



Fig. 695



Fig. 696



Fig. 697



Fig. 698

Figs. 699-711 Cylinder Seals and Seal Impressions of the Third and Second Early Dynastic Period

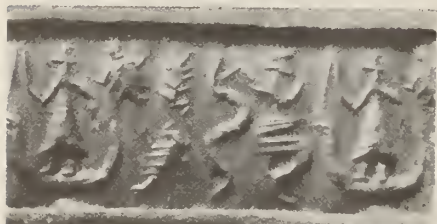


Fig. 699

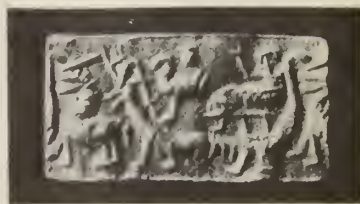


Fig. 700



Fig. 701

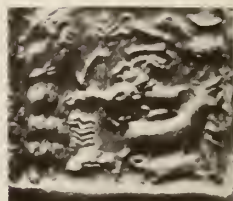


Fig. 702



Fig. 703



Fig. 704



Fig. 705

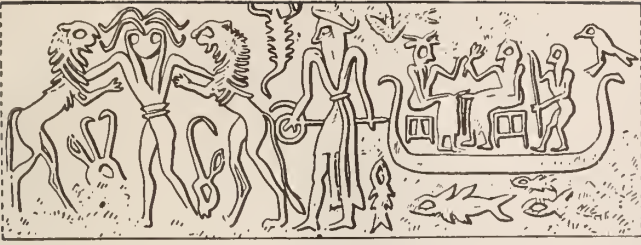


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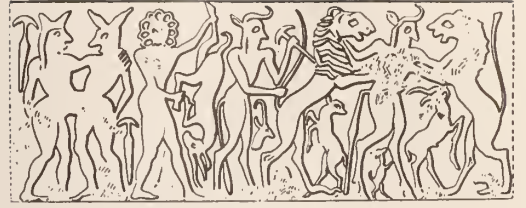


Fig. 707



Fig. 708



Fig. 709



Fig. 710



Fig. 711



Fig. 712 Impression of a Seal of Lugalanda; Telloh

Figs. 713, 714 Cylinder Seals of the Akkad Period



Fig. 713



Fig. 714

Figs. 715-717 Cylinder Seals of the Akkad Period



Fig. 715



Fig. 716

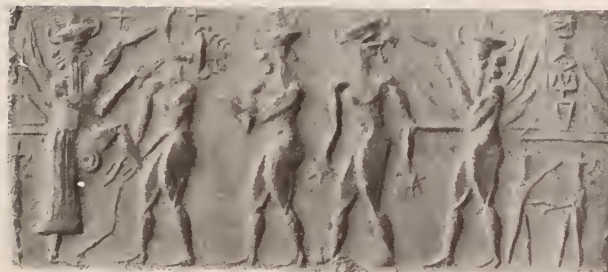


Fig. 717

Figs. 718-726 Cylinder Seals of the Akkad Period



Fig. 718



Fig. 719



Fig. 720



Fig. 721



Fig. 722



Fig. 723



Fig. 724



Fig. 725



Fig. 726

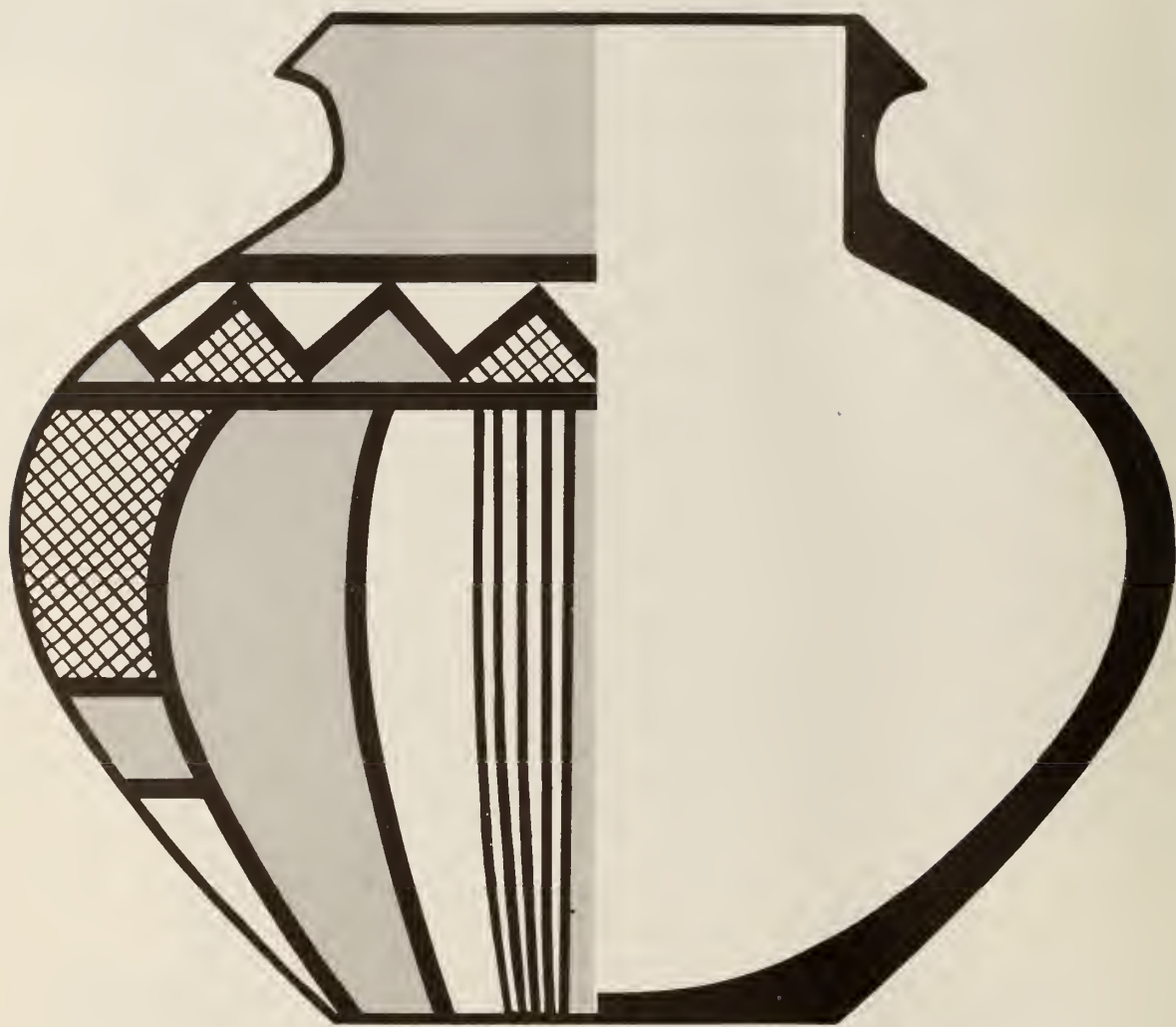


Fig. 727 Late Polychrome Jemdet Nasr Vase, profile view; No. 6093 of the Nies Babylonian Collection

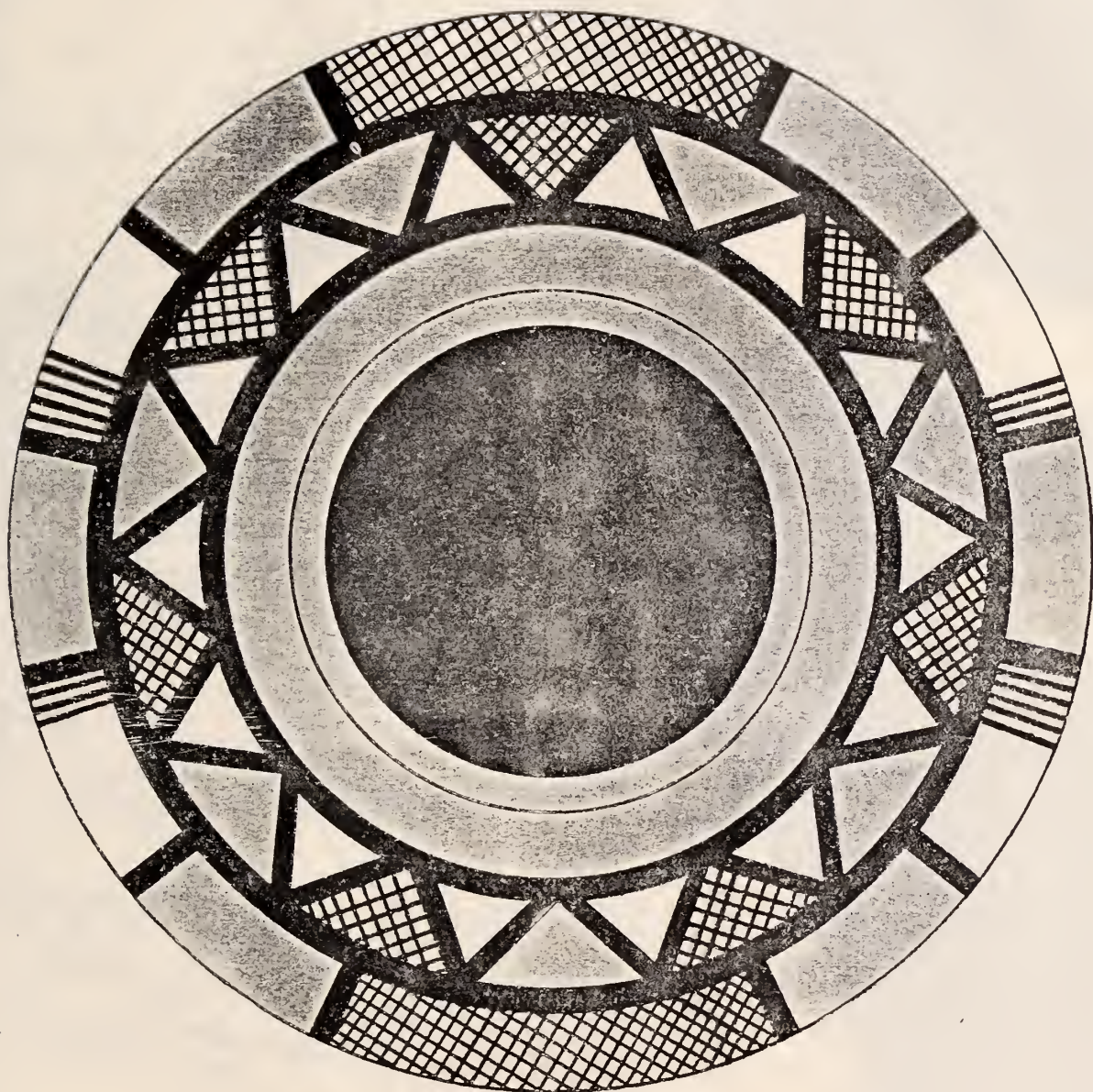


Fig. 728 Same Jemdet Nasr Vase as Fig. 727, viewed from above

34

38

Erzurum

T U R K E Y

38

Sakce Gözü

Carchemish

Halaf

Shaghir Bazar

Brak

Yunus

Mefesh

Telul ath Grai R

36

Aleppo

KHABUR

CYPRUS

Latakia

S Y R I A

Mari

Baghouz

LEBANON

Beirut

34

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Haifa

I R

32

Jerusalem

J O R D A N

ISRAEL

SAUDI ARABIA

EGYPT

7



30

34

38



U. S. S. R.

CASPIAN SEA

I R A N

Teheran

Lake Van

Lake Urmia

PERSIAN GULF

GREAT ZAB
 LESSER ZAB
 TIGRIS
 DIYALA
 EUPHRATES

Arpachiyah
 Shanidar Cave
 Tepe Gawra
 Billa
 Ali Agha
 Yarimjah
 Nimrud
 Makhmur
 Assur
 Barda Balka
 Karim Shahir
 Jarmo
 Kirkuk
 Matarrah
 Samarra
 Aswad
 Baghdad
 Asmar
 Khafajah
 Agrab
 Sippar
 Uqair
 Jemdet Nasr
 Kish
 Nippur
 Fara
 Umma
 Warka
 Telloh
 al-Hibbah
 al-Ubaid
 Usaila
 Ur
 Abu Shahrain (Eridu)
 Basrah

- 1. Raidau Sharei
- 2. Badtibira
- 3. Hajji Muhammed
- 4. Larsa



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