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JOHN ALBERT WILSON & THOMAS GEORGE ALLEN · EDITORS

ANCIENT ORIENTAL
CYLINDER AND OTHER SEALS
WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE
COLLECTION OF
MRS. WILLIAM H. MOORE

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BY GUSTAVUS A. EISEN



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PREFACE

In the preparation of this publication the author's aim has been to serve two types of readers. As a publication of source material, the plates and Catalogue will be of use to the specialist, who will find there several rare or unique pieces as well as new examples of better known types of seals.

For the nonspecialist there are chapters designed to furnish a background for the appreciation of the collection. A survey of the history and religion of the makers of the seals is given in chapters i-ii. Chapter iii explains the system of classification adopted, summarizing the chief characteristics of each glyptic group, then showing how Mrs. Moore's seals fit into the general scheme. Such material is often kept to a minimum in publications of collections, and it is hoped that the more detailed treatment given here will prove useful to collectors and students.

In the Catalogue (chap. iv) a departure has been made from the practice of some writers in that references have been given to seals with similar designs published in other collections or in excavation reports. It may be objected that this comparative material is incomplete, since not all the parallels among seals have been cited, while those from other art forms—sculpture, plaques, metal work, etc.—have been omitted entirely. In spite of this objection, the comparisons cited should prove to be of some value; in certain cases they are of use for dating, and in others they are of interest for the interpretation of the design. If only a few readers are led by this means to the fascinating pursuit of the variations on a single subject or the interrelations of a group of scenes, the effort of assembling the parallels will have been worth while.

In chapter v a few subjects of special interest are discussed in some detail, though here again the treatment is not comprehensive.

The inscriptions are published in chapter vi. Some of the Pahlavi inscriptions were read by Professor Ernst Herzfeld. All the other inscriptions were studied by members of the Oriental Institute staff—Sumerian and Akkadian by Drs. I. J. Gelb and Thorkild Jacobsen, Aramaic by Dr. R. A. Bowman, South Arabic by Dr. Gelb, Pahlavi by Professor Martin Sprengling, and Egyptian by Dr. T. George Allen.

Professor King Hubbert of Columbia University assisted in determining the materials of the seals.

The illustrations of the seal designs are actual size. They were made from photographs of the impressions except in the case of the gold ring No. 183. Designations of "right" and "left" refer to the impressions.

The author wishes to express his gratitude to Mrs. Moore for the opportunity to publish her splendid collection, to Professor John A. Wilson, director of the Oriental Institute, for including this book in the series of "Oriental Institute Publications," and to Professor A. T. Olmstead for his unfailing interest in the work. He also wishes to thank Mr. Fahim Kouchakji for assistance in the preparation of the manuscript and illustrations, Dr. T. George Allen, editorial secretary of the Oriental Institute, for his supervision of the publication, and Dr. George G. Cameron and Mrs. Ruth S. Brookens of the Oriental Institute for their help in editing the manuscript.

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- XVII. UNCLASSIFIED CYLINDER DESIGNS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Bibl. nat.	DELAPOORTE, LOUIS J. Catalogue des cylindres orientaux et des cachets assyro-babyloniens, perses et syro-cappadociens de la Bibliothèque nationale (Paris, 1910).
Brett	OSTEN, H. H. VON DER. Ancient oriental seals in the collection of Mrs. Agnes Baldwin Brett (<i>OIP</i> XXXVII [1936]).
de Clercq	CLERCQ, L. C. DE. Collection de Clercq. Catalogue méthodique et raisonné. Pub. ... avec la collaboration de M. J. Ménant. I. Cylindres orientaux (Paris, 1888).
Contenau	CONTENAU, GEORGES. La glyptique syro-hittite (Haut-commissariat de la République Française en Syrie et au Liban. Service des antiquités et des beaux-arts. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique II [Paris, 1922]).
<i>Fara</i>	HEINRICH, ERNST. <i>Fara</i> . Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Fara und Abu Hatab 1902/03, hrsg. v. Walter Andrae (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Vorderasiatische Abteilung [Berlin, 1931]).
<i>Fouilles de Telloh</i>	GENOUILLAC, HENRI DE. Fouilles de Telloh I-II (Mission archéologique du Musée du Louvre et du Ministère de l'instruction publique [Paris, 1934-36]).
Frankfort	FRANKFORT, H. Cylinder seals. A documentary essay on the art and religion of the ancient Near East (London, 1939).
Hogarth	HOGARTH, DAVID G. Hittite seals, with particular reference to the Ashmolean collection (Oxford, 1920).
Legrain	LEGRAIN, LEON. The culture of the Babylonians from their seals in the collections of the Museum (Pennsylvania. University. University Museum. Babylonian section. Publications XIV-XV [Philadelphia, 1925]).
Louvre	DELAPOORTE, LOUIS J. Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des cylindres, cachets et pierres gravées de style oriental (2 vols.; Paris, 1920-23).
Morgan	WARD, WILLIAM HAYES. Cylinder seals and other ancient oriental seals in the library of J. Pierpont Morgan (New York, 1909).
Musée Guimet	DELAPOORTE, LOUIS J. Cylindres orientaux (Annales du Musée Guimet XXXIII [Paris, 1909]).
Newell	OSTEN, H. H. VON DER. Ancient oriental seals in the collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell (<i>OIP</i> XXII [1934]).
<i>OIC</i>	Chicago. University. Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute communications (Chicago, 1922—).
<i>OIP</i>	Chicago. University. Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute publications (Chicago, 1924—).
<i>OIP</i> XXVIII-XXX	OSTEN, H. H. VON DER. The Alishar Hüyük, seasons of 1930-32. Parts I-III (1937).
Southesk	SOUTHESK, JAMES CARNEGIE, EARL OF. Catalogue of the collection of antique gems formed by James, ninth earl of Southesk, K.T., ed. by his daughter, Lady Helena Carnegie (London, 1908).
Speleers	SPELEERS, LOUIS. Catalogue des intailles et empreintes orientales des Musées royaux du Cinquantenaire (Bruxelles, 1917).
<i>UE</i> II	WOOLLEY, C. L. The royal cemetery (Joint expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia. Ur excavations II [London, 1934]).
Ward	WARD, WILLIAM HAYES. The seal cylinders of Western Asia (Carnegie Institution of Washington. Publication No. 100 [Washington, 1910]).
Weber	WEBER, OTTO. Altorientalische Siegelbilder (Der Alte Orient XVII-XVIII [Leipzig, 1920]).

I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The last few years have immeasurably increased our knowledge of the ancient civilizations of the Near East. Numerous sites have been excavated in every part of the country on a scale never before attempted and with a vastly more scientific technique. A whole vista of prehistory absolutely undreamed of a few years ago has been opened up, while the eras of actual history—written history—have been magnificently illumined. The earliest known inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Sumerians and Semites alike, have now become almost familiar friends; Hittites in Asia Minor, Amorites in Syria, and the early dwellers of Iran or Persia have all but come alive to tell us what they know. The material with which the archeologist and historian must deal has thus been tremendously increased.

The specialization of our age touches archeology and history as it does everything else. No single man is capable of coping with all the new discoveries throughout this wide area. Therefore there are voluminous tomes dealing with the history of Asia Minor, others treating the cultural progress of Syria and Palestine, still others concerned with the rise of culture in Iran, and, of course, many which are limited to the story of the development of man in the Land of the Two Rivers, Mesopotamia. Consequently any historical survey, however long, must be based primarily on geography and secondarily on chronology; that is, such a survey must select in turn various geographical areas and portray the chronological sequence of events in each, but give at the same time evidence of such cultural interrelationships as are known to have existed. Such a presentation admittedly has its weaknesses, but in a book on seals it possesses distinct advantages. For, very fortunately, seals can usually be assigned to definite geographic areas (chiefly because of the preponderance of certain types in certain localities) and to well recognized chronological periods within those localities. Quite naturally, many types of seals cross over the intermittent "empire" boundaries which nature or the hand of man has set up; but the original habitat of such seals can usually be determined beyond question. This, then, will be the method pursued in the following brief survey of man's history in Western Asia.

MESOPOTAMIA

BABYLONIA

The earliest settlements of man in Mesopotamia were in the north, where his painted pottery shows a high degree of artistic development in both form and decoration. At one site we have the earliest examples of worked metal known, also the first evidence of value being placed on gold. Great skill is shown in the working of obsidian into knives, scrapers, beads, vases, and bowls, and the excavations reveal an array of stamp seals, amulets, pendants, and beads, together with terra-cotta figurines. At this time, which we may call the "Tell Halaf" period after the name of the type site, southern Mesopotamia was probably still under the waters of the Persian Gulf.

Gradually, however, the mud and silt carried by the Tigris and Euphrates rivers formed new land in the south, and in this alluvial soil there grew eventually a culture—known as the "al-Ubaid"—which apparently came down from the north and east, from the Iranian high-

lands. It was first recognized at a site in Elam, where a phase of it was called "Susa I," but its fuller history can be related only in Mesopotamia. The pottery is painted, as was that of Tell Halaf, but it is quite different. Rough stone hoes were used to till the fields, and sickles of clay, shaped like the jawbone of a cow and set with saw-toothed flakes of flint, were employed to harvest the cereals. The people, presumably dressed in sheepskin garments, imported bitumen from Hit on the Euphrates, obsidian from Armenia, and copper from Elam. The germs of many distinctive features of the later "Sumerian" culture may be found in this early period; thus it is very possible that the al-Ubaid people were the original stock out of which developed in course of time the Sumerians themselves. However, there are other indications, chiefly skeletal, pointing to Semites as the original inhabitants of the area, and archeology and anthropology must continue to work hand in hand until the problem is actually solved.

The al-Ubaid period was succeeded in time by the Uruk period, in which it would seem that a new people, perhaps from Asia Minor or across the Caucasus, brought their influence to bear upon the lowlands. A new type of chiefly unpainted pottery, with distinctive features, was at this time added to the old; transportation was entirely revolutionized through the introduction of the wheel; and furnaces were employed for baking pottery and smelting copper. Another characteristic of the period was the erection of ziggurats—structures which ever afterward mark the Sumerian temple. The earliest of these had foundations of crude mud brick with battered and buttressed sides. Within it was found a tablet of gypsum inscribed with figures and bearing the impression of a cylinder seal—the first of its kind known and widely regarded as a Sumerian invention. A later temple of the same period was an imposing complex of buildings with brick columns, half-columns, and buttresses, magnificently decorated with colored cones stuck into the walls. Within it were found clay tablets inscribed in a crude pictographic script—the earliest written language known. The figures or signs represent ideas and not sounds, but the language would seem to be Sumerian. The seals in the latter part of the period show a finer technique, and one bears the unmistakable representation of a chariot. Culture was clearly progressing at a rapid rate.

The fourth period of early Mesopotamian prehistory, known as the Jamdat Naşr, was one of increased wealth resulting from improved means of communication, regularized trade, the first use of bronze, and the more abundant use of other metal. The writing of the period, known to us from school texts and temple accounts, had rapidly developed. The signs, which were impressed into the soft clay of tablets, now took on phonetic or sound as well as word values. The artist kept stride with the times, and cylinder seals were produced in profusion.

With the end of the Jamdat Naşr period, before 3000 B.C., we pass from prehistory to history. This is in what is known as the Early Dynastic period, which can, as a result of recent work, be divided into three phases: early, middle, and late. The culture of the period seems to have reached its climax around 2700 B.C. as reflected in the finds of the "royal cemetery" at Ur. Throughout this period a series of small city-states, all under the influence of a common culture, were at war with one another. Each city—such as Ur, Lagash, and Kish—was ruled by a priest-king whose control extended only a few miles outside his own city. Long, dry lists of the names of rulers and the lengths of their respective reigns are preserved in the later literature; and, though these rulers stand on the borderline between legend and history, recent discoveries have transferred several of the supposedly legendary characters to the realm of actual history, and some lucky chance may do the same for most of the others.

Metal of all kinds was much more abundant and beautifully worked in this period. Smiths could braze and solder, and hence make filigree work. Less attention was paid to pottery, but other crafts capably performed are the inlaying of figures cut from shell or mother-of-pearl and the extensive manufacture of seals, exquisitely cut in every material from shell to lapis lazuli.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

With the rise of the dynasty begun by Sargon of Akkad, the story of whose origin reminds us so much of that of Moses, the entire land was welded into a single nation. Sargon's kingdom not only included the whole of Mesopotamia, but extended eastward into Elam and westward to the Mediterranean Sea. Trading colonies seem to have been established—probably by Assyrians—in Cappadocia in Asia Minor, while recent finds in Mesopotamia itself show commercial links with faraway India. The cylinder seals of the time, marked by the excellence of their cutting and designs and by the miniature technique of their carving, usually depict mythological scenes, many of which can be co-ordinated with the myths as revealed by the literature.

During the later years of the dynasty of Akkad a group of people from the eastern mountains descended into the lowlands. These people, known as the Guti, were ever afterward despised and vituperated by the natives of the land; this we may excuse, for during upwards of ninety years, while the foreigners overran the land, economic and administrative order was overthrown, if we may judge from the dearth of records. Apparently toward the end of this period of disorder Gudea, a prince of the city of Lagash, gives us lengthy documents telling of his achievements. Shortly afterward complete order was restored and control centralized in the famous Third Dynasty of Ur. The rulers of this dynasty expanded their kingdom far to the north, east, and west, and of all periods of Mesopotamian history this may well have been the most prosperous. Business and administrative records are extremely numerous, and the excavations at Ur itself show the city at the height of its power and glory.

With the decline and fall of Ur—at the hands of invading Elamites from the east and Amorites from the west—the country fell into a state of savage warfare among numerous petty kingdoms. Isin, Larsa, and Eshnunna in Babylonia, and Mari on the middle Euphrates, were the chief of these; and excavations of the last two have yielded many records of the time. More formidable than any of these, however, and eventually the conqueror of all, was Babylon under the great Hammurabi, whose famous code of laws has long been known. His period has left little in the way of material remains, but it is noted for its intense literary activity, much of it editorial. Myths such as the creation and flood stories, and epics such as that of Gilgamesh, were re-edited; books of omens were collected, hymns and prayers were collated, and religion was systematized. But, although this First Dynasty of Babylon lasted for about three hundred years—until 1750 B.C.—the peace of Hammurabi's later years was short-lived. Cities soon revolted, and in the south along the Persian Gulf an independent power known as the "Sealands Dynasty" established itself so thoroughly that it outlasted the dynasty of Hammurabi; another, in Elam, survived almost as long. About 1760 a raiding band of Hittites from Asia Minor entered and sacked the city of Babylon, and out of the ensuing disorder emerged the Kassites, coming from the eastern mountains.

The long years of Kassite domination are largely a blank. The very origin of the Kassites is highly dubious. However, it seems clear that they had once come in contact with a group of Indo-Iranians, from whom they borrowed the names of some of their gods. Their penetration into Babylonia was gradual and, on the whole, peaceful; but, as under the Guti, the power wielded by the central government was weakened, canals were allowed to fall into disuse, and economic deterioration resulted. From the later part of Kassite rule, beginning about 1500 B.C., come a number of economic texts and temple records and some cylinder seals. An inscription, generally written in the now long-dead Sumerian, is usually the most important element in the design of Kassite seals, and often only a single figure (worshiper or deity) appears in addition.

For over a thousand years after the advent of the Kassites, Babylonia was but a third-rate power; a brief revival under the first Nebuchadnezzar (1106–1093 B.C.) was abortive, and dur-

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ing much of the first half of the first millennium Babylonia was ruled by and for Assyria. In 626 B.C., however, a new native dynasty, the Chaldean, originated with the second Nebuchadnezzar's father. The forty-three-year reign of Nebuchadnezzar himself became one of the best known in history. His part in the capture of Jerusalem, the destruction of the temple, and the deportation of the Jews attained world fame through the spread of the Bible. From this "Neo-Babylonian" period come many thousands of business documents and temple accounts, all of which testify to the agricultural wealth and administrative efficiency of the people. Unfortunately it is difficult to distinguish Neo-Babylonian seals from those of later Assyria and even from those of the Persian period which followed. Cylinders showing divine seats upon which are symbols have often been called Neo-Babylonian, but these may well be Achaemenid. Cone stamp seals of the same shape as Assyrian ones continued to be employed, and a new type of stamp, which may have been used for weights, is duck-shaped. Finally, in 539 B.C., the Persians marched into the lowlands, and Babylonia as an independent political state ceased to exist.

ASSYRIA

As has already been mentioned, the earliest culture of Mesopotamia, the Tell Halaf, is found in the extreme north only. Thereafter Assyria, which is the general term for this area, went through practically the same periods as did Sumer and Akkad, although it was naturally open to influences which did not reach the south. The origin of the Assyrians themselves is still clothed in mystery. Unquestionably they were an amalgam of many stocks which came ultimately to assume a Semitic complexion. Apparently in the time of Sargon of Akkad, Assyrian trading colonies were established in Cappadocia. The colonists would seem to have been attracted to the region, among other things, by the silver mined in Cilicia, a metal which rapidly displaced grain as a medium of exchange. From the descendants of these immigrants have come thousands of business documents, written in what is known as the Old Assyrian (or Cappadocian) language. Cylinder seals which probably originated in Cappadocia and which were used there either by Assyrian merchants or by natives during the period of the merchants' residence are likewise called "Cappadocian." The designs are strongly influenced by Babylonia, but show modification of motives or peculiar additions in the way of figures and symbols.

The homeland of these colonists, Assyria itself, had a brief period of importance in the twentieth century, but it soon fell under the power of Babylon. With the rise of a dynasty at Mari on the middle Euphrates shortly before the time of Hammurabi, Assyria again came into prominence, but again its power waned. Assyria really came into its own only in the latter part of the second millennium, in what is known as the Middle Assyrian period. Its revival may even have been stimulated by an extensive migration of Hurrian peoples into the country. These Hurrians are mentioned by Egyptians and Hittites as living somewhere in North Syria, where there were, in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries, one or more Hurrian kingdoms. They themselves were a non-Semitic people who presumably came down from the Caucasian highlands. Thousands of texts written by them in barbarous Akkadian have been found in the ancient city of Nuzi, near modern Kirkuk, in Assyria. The cylinder seals and impressions found there are quite distinctive and belong stylistically between the Syrian and the purely Assyrian groups.

In the fourteenth century, in what is known as the "Amarna period," Assyrian kings pushed westward, sweeping back the Hurrians and Hittites, and about 1100 B.C. the first Tiglathpileser marched to the Mediterranean. The state was not yet sufficiently powerful, however, to hold permanently these quickly made gains, and it was not until the ninth century that Assyria became the dominant state in the Near East. For three centuries thereafter the his-

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

tory of all Mesopotamia is really the history of Assyria; Shalmaneser III, whose black obelisk depicts Jehu of Israel bowing before him, Tiglathpileser III, who secured Babylonia, and Sargon, who deported numerous captives from Samaria, are all names to conjure with, as are their successors Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal. In the reign of the latter, however, Assyria's star began to set, and with the capture of Nineveh in 612 by the combined forces of Medes and Babylonians came the end.

Much is known about Assyrian political history, but the day-by-day life is only imperfectly recorded, and business documents are few. Stamp seals were revived about 700 B.C. Most of them are cone-shaped, and by comparison with the cylinders the engraving of the designs is usually unbelievably crude. Many impressions from this type of seal, which remained in use in Babylonia down even to the Parthian period, are preserved on the datable tablets we do have from the time.

ASIA MINOR

The mountains which separate Asia Minor from the south and east have always been an effective barrier to the progress of culture. Hence Asia Minor remained a cultural backwater throughout the Copper Age (to 2400 B.C.) and indeed to about 2000 B.C. The outlook of the earliest cities at Troy, for instance, was to the Aegean Sea and to Europe; the central part of the plateau, on the other hand, was purely Asiatic and may have witnessed numerous invasions of peoples from the north and east, across the Caucasus. The earliest known written records come from about 2000 B.C. and are the already described Cappadocian documents. By this time both Egypt and Mesopotamia could look back on long periods of written history.

What is known as the "Old Hittite Kingdom" began in Asia Minor about the time the Assyrian merchants were colonizing certain central areas. A large part of the plateau succumbed to the rulers of this kingdom, and shortly after 1800 B.C. the Hittites, as the people called themselves, entered North Syria and captured important sites such as Aleppo. One of the sovereigns, after reconquering much of Syria, made a famous raid on Babylon, 450 miles away, thus paving the way for the subsequent rule of the Kassites there. Shortly afterward, however, this Old Kingdom comes to a close, about 1650 B.C., and for two and a half centuries there is almost total darkness.

Throughout this period of obscurity, however, it is certain that great numbers of Indo-European peoples were moving into Asia Minor. Although the newcomers were able to impart their language to a large portion of the earlier inhabitants, nevertheless they accepted almost in totality the latter's material culture. When the almost too strong light of the Amarna period reveals them to us, about 1400 B.C., we discover that they had begun to build for themselves an empire and to carry on the traditions of the Old Kingdom. The entry of one of their rulers into North Syria, at Aleppo, marked the real beginning of this empire; his successor, known as Shuppiluliuma, was obviously on equal footing with the Egyptian pharaoh with whom he corresponded and from whom he wrested the important Syrian area. Other sovereigns continued the contest with Egypt, although they were already becoming disturbed by the Achaeans, destroyers of the Cretan civilization. A very significant battle took place in 1288 B.C. between the vassal kings of the Hittites, on the one hand, and the Egyptian troops of Ramses the Great, on the other, at Kadesh in North Syria. Although Ramses claimed a mighty victory, his return to Egypt was the signal for a revolt of all Syria and much of Canaan to the south. Some years later a treaty, written in Akkadian and translated into Egyptian, terminated for a time the contest between the (at that time) most powerful states of the Orient. Still later Hattushilish of the Hittites actually journeyed to Egypt to give away his eldest daughter to Ramses as wife. Then, shortly after his reign, a revived Assyria began to penetrate into Syria, depriv-

ing the Hittite sovereigns of revenue, and the end might even then have been foretold. However, the final blow, struck about 1200 B.C., goes back ultimately to the northern tribes who later became civilized Greeks and who were driving the Aegean peoples out of their homeland. The whole northern sector of the then civilized world was menaced by invasions of the fleeing "Sea Peoples"—invasions which also drove the Philistines to Palestine. Before the trouble had subsided the Hittite Empire had disappeared. For a few more centuries peoples in North Syria, also called "Hittites" by Babylonians and Assyrians alike, developed at times comparatively powerful kingdoms, as at Carchemish and Samal, but the dominant historical note henceforth was played by Assyria.

Seals originating in Hittite territory, that is, in Asia Minor and Syria, are extremely difficult to classify because of the different racial and cultural elements to be considered. A few general statements may be made, however. The earliest seals are stamp seals, perhaps contemporaneous with the archaic ones of the Tell Halaf period in Mesopotamia. In the Copper Age the typical form is the gable-shaped stamp seal, apparently carved with a graver only. From the same period comes another kind of stamp seal with either a round or a rectangular face, bearing a design which usually consists of a cross with angles filling the blank areas, and with a simple, perforated stem as handle.

Throughout the period of the Hittite empires, stamp seals continue to be used. Their shapes vary greatly, and some have handles (usually perforated). The great majority are uninscribed. Some of them are undoubtedly contemporaneous with the previously mentioned Cappadocian seals. Cylinder seals also were used during the time of the Hittite empires, though not as commonly as stamp seals. Some of these cylinders are inscribed in Akkadian, and a very few in Hittite hieroglyphic. Hittite hieroglyphic seals are almost all stamp seals, and they do not begin to appear till the time of the New Hittite Empire and are not numerous till the post-Hittite period.

CYPRUS

Until recent years Cyprus was terra incognita in archeological matters. The Stone Age left considerable traces; but the Bronze Age, beginning about 3000 B.C., is of peculiar importance, for Cyprus was one of the chief early sources for copper. We now know that during what is called the Early Cypriote period (3000–2100 B.C.) the island was characterized by separation from Anatolian influences, chiefly in the pottery, and that in Early Cypriote III (just previous to 2100 B.C.) Cyprus stood in communication with foreign countries, particularly with Egypt. Probably this was effected through Syria, where genuine Cyprian imported goods have been found in the shape of polished red hemispherical bowls. Throughout this period the implements are of copper, and the pottery is handmade, with a polished red surface.

The relations, once begun, continued and were developed through the Middle Cypriote period, that is, from 2100 to 1600 B.C. Syria, Palestine, and Egypt show Cypriote importations, and Cyprus itself felt foreign influences in such objects as Egyptian paste beads and amulets and Syrian and Palestinian pottery of the Hyksos period. The nature of such finds in Cyprus points to the conclusion that the relations were chiefly commercial and not brought about through conquest. Cyprus stands out in this period as a country facing toward the Orient, especially toward Syria, Palestine, and Egypt; her connections with Asia Minor cannot yet be made out. On the other hand very few definite and obvious relations between Cyprus and the west—that is, the Minoan culture of the Aegean—can be observed. In this stage implements of bronze become common, and pottery of buff clay with painted geometric patterns appears alongside the previously known red ware.

The foreign relations of Cyprus during Late Cypriote times (1600–1000 B.C.) were varied and far-reaching, making the island a veritable place of exchange for different cultures. Those with

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the east, that is, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, advanced rapidly. From central Syria there are numerous finds of Late Cypriote pottery, as also from Palestine. One cannot sink a spade into a Late Canaanite stratum without finding some Cypriote wares; and all of this was imported, in spite of its great quantity—a fact again leading to the conclusion that the relations were still of a commercial nature. Late Cypriote wares appear in Egypt from the beginning of the New Empire (perhaps even earlier) and were most common during the Eighteenth Dynasty. It is in this stage that Cyprus first appears in written history. Conquered by Thutmose III, its rulers corresponded with the pharaohs during the Amarna age, and the island was still under Egyptian control under Seti I (*ca.* 1300) and Ramses III (*ca.* 1190).

These contacts naturally affected the island, and Syrian pottery was imported to Cyprus in rather large quantities in the Late Cypriote period. Although no pottery was imported from Egypt, objects of more valuable materials such as jars of alabaster and fayence and products of gold and glass were brought from the Nile Valley. Gems, both plain and engraved, appear for the first time in this period, and there are numerous examples of scarab-shaped seals of glazed steatite, fayence, and ivory, mostly of local manufacture. Nearly all scarab seals are engraved and used as bezels in finger rings. There are also cylinder seals of hematite, steatite, fayence, and even bronze. Some of the seals are genuinely Babylonian cylinders; others are imitations and may belong either to Cyprus or to the neighboring mainlands of North Syria or Asia Minor. A small but definite class of non-Babylonian seals shows Egyptian influence; on these, as on Egyptian scarabs, the engraving is wholly hand-cut. Probably they are not of Egyptian workmanship, but represent a local fabrication either in Cyprus or on the Syrian coast, where Egyptian influence was exceptionally strong from 1500 to 1200 B.C.

The Late Cypriote period likewise opened the closed door to the Aegean world. The exclusively oriental tendency was abandoned, and it is worthy of mention that from the very beginning of this period the Aegean finds in Cyprus widely exceed the Cyprian finds in the Aegean. What Cyprus gave in return for the products of Aegean art was presumably only the raw material—copper. Wares from Mycenae in Cyprus signify, however, not Greek colonization of the island but a definite orientation toward the west and a drawing into the Mycenaean sphere of commercial influence. The cylinder seals of the later stages of Late Cypriote comprise a distinct class engraved in a rich mixed style compounded of Mycenaean and oriental elements and with many traces of Egyptian influence and some affinity also with the earliest art of Assyria. The symbolic designs, which are connected with the contemporary North Syrian art, are most complicated. Gradually they degenerate and lose their symbolic meanings.

During the very last stage of Late Cypriote we get quite another picture. The island became isolated with respect to the Orient, and foreign imports from that direction almost cease. Cylinders and scarabs are replaced by conical seals like those of Asia Minor, and dress pins by fibulae. Importations from the Aegean world likewise come to a stop. A unified product arose from a combination of the Mycenaean and Cyprian cultures, and it is no longer possible to distinguish them. This combination signifies Greek colonization of the island; and one is tempted to link this up with the great national movements which, beginning with the early Iron Age, shook the world of that day, bringing to a close the Hittite Empire of Asia Minor and the Minoan and Mycenaean cultures of Crete and Greece and almost producing the ruin of Egypt. No reference to Cyprus has been found in Babylonian and Assyrian records before the reign of Sargon of Assyria, who received an embassy from the island, while the Hebrew geographers of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. reckoned it as predominantly Greek. It is certain, however, that through Greek colonization Cyprus obtained the Greek language and culture which, in spite of all foreign admixtures, have been preserved to the present day, and that after this colonization Cyprus remained for many centuries the easternmost outpost of the Greek world.

THE IRANIAN HIGHLAND ZONE

The history of the area now known as Iran and formerly as Persia really begins with Elam in the southwest, for only there have literary sources been unearthed. There was, of course, here as in Mesopotamia a long period preceding the rise of this literary activity—a period which is gradually being made known to us through excavations over the entire plateau, from the north-east not far from the Caspian Sea to the southwest. Painted pottery is characteristic for the strata of the early Copper Age throughout this immense region and would seem to precede the rise of writing, which itself comes from Elam. The time of the arrival of writing appears to be contemporaneous with the later part of the Uruk and all of the Jamdat Naşr period in Mesopotamia; although the writing itself is different from that found in the lowlands, there are definite connections indicated in the seals and seal impressions from the two areas. Then follows a period which bears the misnomer "Susa II," again one of painted pottery, but one which appears merely to continue the painted pottery styles of earlier Iran.

By 2500 B.C. at least, Elam came within the historical perspective of Babylonian dynasts, and the kings of Akkad waged constant warfare with Elamite chieftains. A break in the culture, corresponding with the influx of the Gutti into Babylonia, was followed by attempts (not always successful) of the rulers of Ur III to dominate the highland zone. This phase was ended by the Elamite capture of the last king of Ur, Ibi-Sin. Once again, after a slight interruption, Elam became important in international affairs in the years just preceding Hammurabi; the culture is known to us from hundreds of business documents, written in barbarous Akkadian and impressed with Akkadian-type seals, found at Susa. Then, with the advent of the Kassites in Babylonia, the Elamites likewise became quiescent, and for almost five hundred years nothing is heard politically or culturally of this area.

About 1300 B.C. a powerful new dynasty began in Elam. Some of its sovereigns, but principally Shutruk-Nahhunte and Shilhak-Inshushinak, give us long lists of their conquests in the central Zagros Mountains, which border Mesopotamia on the east, and even in Babylonia. Through their activities such priceless works of art as the stele of Naram-Sin, and such important monuments as the Hammurabi law code, made their way to Susa, there to be recovered by modern excavators. But once more the highlanders succumbed, and about 1130 B.C. Elam disappeared from the political horizon, never again to develop into a powerful state. To be sure, there were in Elam, from about 740 B.C. on, a number of kings who contested the Assyrian conquest of southern Babylonia; but in the later years of their history they were themselves subjected to the surging advance of Indo-Iranians who had already built up in northern and north-western Iran the Median kingdom.

How Indo-Iranians arrived in Iran is still problematical. The Kassites, as we have already seen, would seem to have had some contact with Indo-Iranians, and it is unquestionably true that Indo-Iranian overlords dominated groups of non-Semitic peoples in the Hurrian kingdoms of 1400 B.C. Perhaps both of these groups of Indo-Iranians were but advance guards of the main body which around 1200 B.C. was descending into India. At any rate, in the ninth century Iranian Medes begin to filter westward into the Zagros, there to come into contact with Assyria.

A kingdom of the Medes was not formed, however, until about 675 B.C. Though we have no documentation of it from Iran, Greek and Babylonian sources are sufficient to bear witness to its growth and the culmination of its power under Cyaxares (625–585 B.C.), who led Median forces against Nineveh in Assyria and Lydia in Asia Minor and who appears to have brought to subjection a rival kingdom ruled by successors of Achaemenes in Parsa or Persia within Iran. The Median dynasty was, however, short-lived; Cyaxares' son was himself taken captive

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by the Persian Cyrus, who shortly descended upon Babylonia to give the coup de grâce to the Chaldean dynasty of Nebuchadnezzar in 539 B.C.

Thereupon Persia expanded into the largest empire the world had yet seen. Under Cyrus' successor Egypt was conquered; with Darius began the Persian attacks on Greece and the construction of the magnificent capital, Persepolis, which is still one of the most awe-inspiring sites in the entire Near East. The attempt to secure Greece was, from the Persian standpoint, merely one to quell the incessant revolts of turbulent "barbarian" tribes on one frontier of the widespread realm. From the Greek point of view it was a battle for independence, but too long we have viewed the affair through Greek eyes. Xerxes, Artaxerxes I, and other Persian rulers continued the attempt to hold together an unwieldy empire; but, although their diplomatic skill brought many city-states in Greece and on the coastal plain of Asia Minor under political control, their cause was a lost one. With the coming of Alexander the Great from Macedonia the old Orient entered a new phase of history.

The Achaemenian Persian seals generally continue the forms and scenes of the Assyrian period, but the hero of the latter, who triumphs over ferocious monsters, now becomes the king of the empire; the motive actually represents the conquest by the light and the good of the darkness and the evil, a reflection of the religious monotheism of the Persians in which the one and only god, Ahura Mazda, adored in the glare of the purifying fire, has as antagonist the representative of the evil forces of the universe, Ahriman or the Lie. In the past it has been peculiarly difficult to distinguish Achaemenian seals—cylinders or stamps—from those of the Neo-Babylonian and Assyrian periods. Fortunately publication of selected tablets from among almost thirty thousand discovered at Persepolis, nearly all of which show impressions of one or more seals even when uninscribed, will, when accomplished, make distinction easy.

Alexander of Macedon invaded the Persian Empire at the head of a Greco-Macedonian army, and within a few years he had conquered its whole extent. In spite of the fact that the Persian power had been weakened by struggles (so common in the East) between pretenders to the royal crown and by the onslaught of nomadic tribes in the north, this conquest is still one of the great military achievements of history. However, it never resulted in that political and cultural dominance of which Alexander had dreamed, or in the empire which he was about to organize when death overtook him in Babylon in 323 B.C. What he had gained was lost almost immediately after his death. The greater part of the ancient Near East, with the exception of Egypt, came under the rule of the Seleucids, whose capital was at Antioch on the Orontes in Syria. These made numerous attempts to transplant people with Greek background to distant parts of the area in an effort to carry far and wide the spirit of Greece. To some extent their efforts were successful, but gradually the territories farthest away from the Seleucid capital gained independence. Parthian horsemen from southeast of the Caspian rode victoriously over Iran and laid the foundations for an empire which became the greatest of Rome's eastern opponents. In 141 B.C. they conquered Mesopotamia, and under their rule commerce greatly increased, while cities long desolate rose again to life. Wealthy Greek merchants, dependent on the Parthian government for protection, brought Greek culture again into play in the lowlands, and the governments of some cities preserved the pattern of the Hellenistic city-state; but much of the civilization remained rooted in the oriental atmosphere.

During the Seleucid and Parthian reigns a small seal stone set in a ring, like the Greek and Roman gems, was in great favor, as we know from a number of impressions on tablets. Other seals show a combination of the new Hellenistic culture with the old, and usually the result is appalling; the product, when not purely Hellenistic, is often a hybrid freak.

Eventually most of the Near East succumbed to an oriental reaction, for, whereas the Parthians had originally been alien to both Iran and Mesopotamia, their conquerors, the Sasanids,

came from the region around Persepolis, where ruined cities and the tombs of the great Achaemenid monarchs were a constant reminder of former Iranian glories. A second Persian empire set up by them after A.D. 226 re-established the traditions of the Achaemenids, and under energetic and able kings this middle Persian empire governed a territory nearly as large. In Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt the Eastern Roman Empire tried to hold its supremacy; but when it attempted to break into Mesopotamia its very emperor, Valerian, was captured. Later even Jerusalem surrendered to the Persians, who carried off the Holy Cross; but at the end the Persian army was decisively beaten, and, torn by inner turmoil, the empire collapsed, an easy prey to the advancing Arabs (A.D. 637 and 742).

In contrast to Seleucid and Parthian seals, some pieces of Sasanid glyptic art are masterpieces. Throughout, oriental motives triumphed; the Greek spirit of the former periods is usually lacking, although the material used for seals is mastered in the Greek manner. The typical seal is globular with an oval base—a form perhaps derived from the Assyrian “cone” seals. Toward the end of the period, however, all kinds of shapes were used. Hellenistic influence had spread from Bactria to India, where it affected Gandharan art, which with the expansion and consolidation of the Sasanid empire exerted a new influence upon the royal artisans.

II

RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND

Down to the end of Babylonian history a belief in demons played a great part in the life of the average individual. Each Babylonian believed that the chief interest of the great gods of the pantheon, aside from one or two particular deities who had his own care at heart, lay in the political state and the social order as a whole; the main deities were too lofty to be very much concerned in the life of the private citizen. To be sure, one went to the temple both as a matter of duty and also because one felt that it was better to be on the good side of those very important personages. But down through the ages continued the belief in spirits and demons who must be propitiated and exorcised.

One deity, however, received almost universal worship. Even in Stone Age times man recognized that the female was the source of all human and animal life and believed that there must be a mother goddess to explain this fact. Rude statuettes of this goddess are, therefore, abundant in every excavation and date from the dawn of prehistory. Later, men began to worship her as the goddess who brought fertility to the earth as well as to man, and nature came to be considered primarily from the standpoint of fertility. Almost every female deity became identified with this mother goddess; hence arose hundreds of names for her. She was called the "Mother of the Gods," the "Lady of the Lands," the "Lofty Princess," or, more specifically, Ninhursag or Antu or Inanna (and many other names) by the Sumerians. The commonest Semitic name was, however, Ishtar; under this name, or one of its many related forms, her worship extended over all the Semitic Near East. Actually she exercised two separate and distinct functions: first, she was the goddess of sensual love and pleasure who brought about all sexual love and desire in every being, animal or human; second, she was the goddess of war, terrible in battle. In the first of these roles, as the goddess of love and desire, she is equated with the mother goddess of the earth, who loves, according to different versions, her son, husband, or brother, but whose love brings death. Weeping and wailing, she descends to the underworld, obtains her lover's release, and returns in all joy with him to life, until her love again brings death. This of course is connected with the death of vegetation in the fall of the year, when nature, personified in the mother goddess, seems to be in mourning, and with the return of life and growth in the spring.

In central Europe today, as among all primitive peoples, men still hold autumnal sacrifices for the dying vegetation deity. Such a concept motivated the Osiris-Isis cult in Egypt. It was the motive of the Adonis-Lady ritual of Phoenician Gebal (Byblos). It lies behind rituals recently discovered at Ra's al-Shamrah in North Syria. The cult of this deity was well known in Canaan when the Hebrews arrived in the fourteenth century B.C. We take the name of the lover from the book of Ezekiel, where it is said that wailings for Tammuz were held in the north court of the Jerusalem temple in Ezekiel's day. In Babylonia the kindred name of the lover was Dumuzi, after whom a month was named—the month when weeping began.

Astronomically, Ishtar was equated with the planet Venus, a male as the morning star, a female as the evening star. Her symbol, an eight-pointed star, often occurs on the seals. In Babylonia her chief cult centered in the city of Uruk; but there were other sites where her various manifestations could be found: at Arbela as a goddess of war, at Nineveh as the mother goddess, and elsewhere in abundance.

By the time when most of our literary sources were written a well developed pantheon existed in Babylonia. In addition to Ishtar there was, first, a cosmological triad of sky, air, and earth: Anu, Enlil, and Enki or Ea. Anu was the sky-god par excellence. His name was regularly written with a sign which alone meant "god" and "heaven," though sometimes it was written with a single vertical wedge, which in the sexagesimal numerical system of Babylonia represented "60," the highest unit of the first order. In the creation story which found greatest favor among the Babylonians he was the first actual deity brought into being. His original home, like Ishtar's, was the city of Uruk, where his temple was called Eanna, the "House of Anu."

Second of the triad of cosmological deities was Enlil, the "Lord (who is the) Air." Enlil was more, however, than lord of the ethereal space. Why we know not, but he came to be regarded as the ruler of the earth, whose proclamation gave every king the right to sovereignty. Throughout Sumer and Akkad the sovereigns of all dynasties derived their authority from Enlil; hence possession of Enlil's city, Nippur, was the sacred obligation of every great dynasty. Enlil's temple in Nippur was called Ekur, the "House (which is the) Mountain (of the earth)"; that is, his temple represented the earth itself. When Marduk later became the supreme deity of Babylonia, he in turn was called the "Enlil of the Lands"; that is, Marduk had now been ordained by Enlil to exercise his control over the lands. As the god who decreed the fates for every individual, Enlil was considered hostile to man. His name could be written with the sign for "50," just as that of Anu might be written with the sign for "60."

Third of the cosmological deities was Enki, the "Lord (who is the) Earth," also called Ea. As lord of the soil and of the subsoil which gives rise to springs and fresh water he ultimately became the god of water. His original home was the southern Babylonian city of Eridu, which sank into oblivion shortly after 2000 B.C. Enki or Ea, however, continued to exist long after his city was forgotten, and was the god of wisdom and philosophy, of atonement and consecration, who taught all crafts to men. His cult was necessary to the practice of religion in every city, and consequently a temple or chapel to him could be found almost everywhere. In numerous myths he is looked upon as a benefactor of mankind; he it was who warned the Babylonian Noah of an impending flood and who taught wisdom to Adapa. His holy number was "40."

After this primary cosmological triad came another triad of deities who represented more individualized phenomena: moon, sun, and wind or storm. First of this group of three was the moon-god. One of his names in Sumerian was Nanna; another, written EN.ZU but pronounced ZUEN, gave rise to his later name, Sin. His holy number was "30," his chief city Ur, known to us as "Ur of the Chaldees." When we remember that in the Orient the sun is a fierce deity who can easily kill with his hard, brilliant rays, it is not surprising to discover that the moon-god Sin was greatly beloved.

Second in this triad was Shamash, the sun-god, known as Utu to the Sumerians. According to oriental ideas the day comes out of night; hence Shamash is often called the "son" of Sin. Every morning, it was believed, the sun-god came out of the mountain or the source of all things, hastened through the great wide spaces of the sky-sea, and then at sunset descended into the underworld. Highly honored because of his prominence in the heavens, Shamash had two aspects: first, benevolent, showing mercy to all who engaged in perilous undertakings; second, cruel, because his light is merciless and penetrates everywhere. Thus he became the supreme judge, impartial, severe, from whom nothing can be concealed. Because he sees all things, he is likewise a god of the oracles and of the seer; he it is who writes the future on the liver of the sacrificial sheep for the diviner to read. His holy number was "20," his chief city Sippar, north of Babylon.

Final member of the triad was Adad, the weather-god. As the deity of lightning, thunder,

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and tremendous rainstorms he was usually pictured with the lightning fork. Because of his severity he, as well as Shamash, was a god of oracles and decisions. His holy number was "10."

Besides Ishtar and the deities of the two triads, there were of course many other gods and goddesses in Babylonia. One modern scholar has compiled the names of more than thirty-three hundred! Some are Semitic, some Sumerian; countless others are foreigners, known to the inhabitants of the land through conquest or brought in by invaders or immigrants. Still others are merely epithets or additional names of deities with whom we are already well acquainted. But every city, town, and hamlet had its own especial god and goddess; hence we are far from having enumerated the names of the Babylonian deities when we have completed our examination of the two triads. And obviously only the more important deserve mention in this chapter.

Again among the extremely important must be mentioned deities who, like Tammuz or Dumuzi, possess a fertility significance. Such were, among others, Ningizzida, Ningirsu, and Ninurta. Ningizzida, sometimes called the father of Dumuzi, was a guard at the gate of the heavens (and also of the underworld); his constellation was Hydra, and he is often represented, on seals and elsewhere, as a serpent entwined around a staff. Ningirsu was the war-god of the city of Lagash; he is often portrayed as a lion-headed eagle with widespread wings. Ninurta, son of Enlil, was a conqueror of dragons, and was himself pictured as a dragon with numerous heads.

No less important than these was Nabu, god of wisdom and intelligence, all-wise, all-knowing. To him the later Assyrian kings were fond of ascribing not merely the understanding they possessed, but also the very thought of preserving the wisdom of the past for future generations. He was, therefore, considered to be the inventor of writing, himself a scribe and the god of scribes, and, like Enlil, the bearer of the tablet of fates. He too was connected with fertility; as the patron of agriculture, he heaped up grain in storehouses.

Shortly before the time of Hammurabi, Amorites from Syria invaded the lowlands. With them came their eponymous deity, Amurru (written MAR.TU), a West Semitic mountain- and weather-god. His consort Ashirat is quite interesting to us, for her name is connected in some manner with the asherahs or sacred poles which the Hebrews found in Canaan at their entry.

Somewhat less kindly than the last few named was Nergal, a personification of the evils which bring death to mankind, particularly pestilence and war and the destruction which accompanies war. Thus in many respects he resembles the brilliant midday sun. Originally, we are told, he lived with the rest of the gods in heaven. Because of his death-dealing powers, however, he came to be regarded as the chief god of the underworld; and so we have a myth telling of his descent to the nether regions.

Of all the deities of Babylonia and Assyria, however, the two best known are Marduk and Ashur. When we consider the importance of Babylon in later history and remember that it finally gave its name to the country itself, it is quite a surprise to discover that we have little mention of it in the period of Sumerian domination. At most, there are two or three chance references to its temple Esagila, while its chief god, Marduk, was virtually unknown. We know of but two rulers of the early city, and both were subordinate to kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur. Then we hear no more of the city until, in 2050 B.C., the First Dynasty of Babylon comes to power, and even then the city is dominated by peoples from the west. The names of the rulers are Amorite, and later omen texts make the dynasty one of Amurru. Under these rulers, however, the local deity Marduk became supreme. That, of course, is because the city of Babylon became supreme.

The name Marduk is best interpreted as "Son of the Sun"; that is, the god was in origin a

solar deity. But he became primarily a political deity, not an astronomical one, and so his solar traits slipped away. Under the kings of Babylon it was Marduk who gave the right to rule, and it was said therefore that he was the "Enlil of the Lands." Anu, Enlil, and Ea became more esoteric, more theoretical; Marduk became the actual head of the pantheon. He was the counselor who guided the decrees of Anu and the other gods. As the supreme sovereign, life and death were in his hands; blessings flowed from him, and his wrath inflicted severe punishment. Marduk's cult never led to worship outside of Babylon. One reason for this was that the empire of Babylonia was regarded simply as an extension of the city of Babylon, and Babylonia, being theoretically identified with the city, had no need of emphasizing the power of Marduk by establishing his cult elsewhere.

When the scribes of Babylon, after that city had attained some degree of eminence, redacted the early versions of the myths and legends, they naturally placed Marduk at the head of the list, or, if they could not do that, declared that he had been delegated by the other gods to the highest position. In subsequent Babylonian history no king was rightfully entitled to his throne unless he had, in the Akkadian phraseology, "seized the hands of Marduk the Lord," that is, been invested by the priests of Marduk in Babylon. Further, every New Year the gods of the heavens and the earth gathered in Babylon to renew their oaths of fealty to Marduk, and a solemn procession took place. Thus we must give to Marduk, as did the Babylonians themselves, the supreme place in the Babylonian pantheon.

In Assyria, on the other hand, Ashur played the pre-eminent role, and the very name of the land is taken from the name of the god. In origin Ashur, like Marduk, Shamash, and Nergal, was a sun-god. Somewhere he borrowed from the Egyptian Re the winged sun disk which was his symbol; and to this was added the bust of an archer, for Ashur was primarily a warrior. To the earliest Assyrian, Ashur was all that Marduk was to the Babylonian—and more. He was the war-god par excellence, who conquered peoples; but in peace he was still all-powerful. Sometimes it was recognized that he had colleagues, but they were definitely considered his inferiors. He was an isolated god, stern, forbidding—so much so that even a wife is usually missing. Actually, in many respects he was the precursor of the Hebrew Yahweh or Jehovah; both came from the desert, both were faced with an agricultural religion, and both were, at about the same period, well on the way to monotheism. Then Ashur relented, and, because Assyria was always peculiarly susceptible to influences from the south, the Babylonian Marduk became accepted as Ashur's equal.

But Ashur, like Anu, was too ethereal. Men in Assyria felt the need of deities more human than he. Hence, with the flood of Babylonian deities in the last century of Assyrian history, all possibility of monotheism disappeared. Ashur became more and more merely an abstract form of the Assyrian people, and when the empire fell he became a purely local deity.

As can easily be seen, we know much about these and countless other deities of Babylonia and Assyria. It is, then, more than passing strange that we will so rarely identify with certainty a deity represented on a seal. In part our hesitation is due to the fact that the ancients themselves almost never indicated the name of a god when he was portrayed on seals, statues, or reliefs. In spite of the importance of Marduk, for example, there are indeed few illustrations that we are sure actually represent him; and when he appears in a different pose, or with different attributes or weapons, then we are not at all certain that it is actually Marduk whom we see. Part of our inability also lies in this, that any one deity may be actually an amalgam of many others. We may be able to declare that a certain figure represents a fertility god; but which one is it? And what was the real name of the goddess who appears on numerous seals? Is she Ishtar, Ninhursag, or what not? Eventually, of course, we shall be able to identify nearly all of the deities. But such identifications will come only after scholars have concluded ex-

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haustive studies of the literature—myths, legends, historical references, and so on. Hence we beg the reader to forgive our vague references in the Catalogue to “deity with a horned crown,” a “god holding a scimitar,” and the like. We are just beginning to approach the problem, and it is certain that interpretations of wide-reaching significance will result. But at present the field is almost untouched.

No study of the religious background of Babylonia and Assyria would be complete without at least some mention of the myths and legends which formed a part of the religious literature. And, though we may rest assured that many of the scenes which appear on the seals and seal impressions are taken from this type of literature, still we are somewhat in doubt as to the identity of the characters portrayed. For let us remember that the old myths and legends have all been edited time and again. The exploits of a local god or king would tend to receive more emphasis in the city where that deity was worshiped or that king ruled. An old myth, with very few changes, may be made to honor a local king and actually appear as a new creation. Further, even in the case of Assyrian stories, or what we once thought to be Assyrian stories, ancient libraries are beginning to yield Sumerian originals. There are, for instance, at least a dozen widely differing creation myths.

It is interesting to notice that practically all the existing literature was put down in written form a century or two after 2000 B.C. This came about as a result of the endeavors of rulers of the First Dynasty of Babylon to preserve for posterity the wealth of the material, most of it written in Sumerian, that was well known in their day. But, while we know that most of the myths and legends were *written down* by 1800 B.C., how much older actually are they? Some of them had doubtless circulated by word of mouth for many centuries; others are certainly more recent and date about the time when they were put down in their present form. And throughout all those centuries separate deities and individuals were being confused or merged, so that it is sometimes impossible to disentangle them today.

The so-called “Assyrian” creation story is a beautiful example of this sort of editorial activity. In the first place, it is not Assyrian at all, but goes back thousands of years into earliest Sumerian times. It happens to be called the “Assyrian” story because it was found in the north, in what was Assyria, and because it was written in Assyrian, a language easily understood, instead of in Sumerian, which presented to the early decipherers many difficulties of interpretation. The early Sumerian form of this story ran about as follows:

Before heaven and earth were created the whole universe was an immense watery chaos divided into male and female principles, Apsu and Tiamat. All things existed, to be sure, but in such a confused state that they could not even be named. Gradually, out of this confusion, primitive divine beings took some semblance of order and shape, though even they were so chaotic in appearance that they could not be described. Only after long ages had passed did these gods begin to take a tangible shape and to act. A group of them decided to bring law and order into the chaos. Naturally, this was a bold step which aroused the sharp antagonism of Apsu and Tiamat, who thought the old order of affairs was good enough and should be continued. Out of the chaos which they personified Apsu and Tiamat created huge demons comprising parts of various animals and possessing horrible powers of destruction. The gods became frightened; the task they had undertaken threatened to be more than they had bargained for. Finally, however, one deity gripped his weapons, commanded the four mighty winds to stand by, and advanced to battle. Tiamat, the personification of Chaos, came forward and opened her mouth wide. This gave the god his chance. Immediately, he threw into her mouth the mighty winds; they pushed so hard that Tiamat’s body, which resembled that of a dragon, became so swollen she could hardly move. Thereupon the god finished her with his weapon and, after mature deliberation, split open her gigantic carcass. One portion of it he laid flat, and

it became the earth. The other half he bent over the earth, and it became the heavens. Chaos was dead, and the work of establishing order in the universe could now begin. The gods beheaded her paramour, and from the blood that came out of his body, mixed with the clay of the soil, they created mankind.

This was the primitive story. Now it is impossible to say when it originated and who was the god first to possess the transcendent might powerful enough to overcome chaos. Beyond the shadow of a doubt he was a Sumerian, and one can imagine in this important role the great deity Enlil, or perhaps Ninurta, the warrior. Possibly the name of the hero varied in each city. But centuries passed, and Marduk, the god of Babylon, became the supreme god of Babylonia. He was a new and almost unknown deity, and he certainly had no right to appropriate to himself the glory of so great a deed. But, young or not, Marduk, backed by Hammurabi's powerful armies, could now claim to be the most important god in the land. He lacked a patent of nobility, but that was given him by the theologians of the time. And so the famous old story was taken up again and given touches that made it fit the new conditions.

When the monster Tiamat came, we are told, none of the old gods whose duty it was to take up the defense of the pantheon could muster enough courage to advance against her. Finally, after all the other deities had failed to do so, young Marduk presented himself. Of course he was not fit for the battle; he was too young, he knew too little, and he had too little power. But the emergency existed, and the fate of the gods hung in the balance. So the old gods gratefully accepted Marduk as their rescuer; they endowed him with all the powers in their possession and thus enabled him to meet the enemy on even terms. He received wisdom, strength, and the power to decree fates. Thus equipped, he went into the fray and won. By this victory, on the one hand, and by the special powers which he had acquired, on the other, he was naturally fitted for his new role as head of the pantheon. Hence the old leader of the gods was deposed, and Marduk took his place.

Then centuries passed, and the power of Babylon declined. To the north, a strong Assyrian empire demanded recognition. The armies of the god Ashur marched forth to victory after victory, and presently among the theologians of Assyria the old problem of Tiamat's conquest emerged anew. They could not understand how it was that Ashur was not named in the creation story, and they decided to put him into it. They were, however, less subtle than the Babylonians and did not use the finesse that Hammurabi's theologians had employed. Like Napoleon, who decided he did not need to be crowned according to rule and who crowned himself without further ado, the Assyrian priests gave the glory to Ashur simply by taking the earlier tablets and recopying them, substituting the name of their own god for that of Marduk!

In view of such editorial activity down through the centuries, it will not seem surprising that scholars are loath to ascribe a definite name to a hero who may be overcoming a monster on a seal or a relief, even if they suspect that the scene portrayed is taken from the creation story. Actually there are only one or two scenes which can be ascribed with certainty to this myth, strange as this may appear. One relief, which shows a warrior slaying a dragon, was long thought to represent the conquest of Tiamat by Marduk; but when the scene was examined closely it was discovered that the animal was male!

The fertility cycle mentioned above, in which a god is confined in the underworld for a part of the year and is liberated by a goddess, is known to us in the myth called the "Descent of Ishtar." The story is told, perhaps by a priest, to a person who seeks consolation because a relative has departed this life. The tale begins with a description of the land to which Ishtar proceeds. It was a joyless place, where all the dead would have remained naked but for the fact that nature took care of them by covering their souls with feathers, like birds. For food there was nothing, since nothing could grow without the beneficial aid of sunshine. All they

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could eat was the clay of the ground, and more than anything else the unhappy departed souls longed for the open spaces and the beautiful sun they could see no more. Ishtar demanded entrance and threatened to force her way in. Finally the watchman, upon orders from the queen of the underworld, permitted her to pass through the seven gates, corresponding to the seven zones surrounding the earth. At each gate, however, she had to divest a part of her raiment, until at last she reached the heart of the underworld in all her glory. But productivity on the earth came to a standstill, for the goddess of fertility had left it to seek her beloved. Consequently the sun-god himself was concerned and proceeded to intervene on her behalf. By a trick he forced the queen of the underworld to release both Ishtar and her lover, and they returned to the earth, there to bring vegetation, strength, and productivity back again.

Now we may be sure that some of this cycle likewise is portrayed on the seals, but once again we are in doubt as to the exact names to be given to the participating deities. In seals of the time of Sargon of Akkad, for instance, Ninurta or Ningirsu is the one who assists in the liberation, while in later times this role is given to Nabu; in early times, also, it would seem that Marduk was the deity to be confined in the underworld, represented by a mountain, in spite of the fact that his presence there would presuppose his existence long before the Hammurabi period—an existence we have already been led to doubt. Such seeming inconsistencies are not, however, decisive, for in ancient myths we do not find the same uniformity that we strive for in our present beliefs. Variant myths, as already indicated, sprang up in different centers, and each individual was free to believe or accept whatsoever pleased his fancy. One explanation was immediately followed by others; hence we should not be surprised if the descent of Ishtar to the underworld was told in a number of different ways from that outlined above, and if another story concerning it should some day come to light. A somewhat different picture of the underworld is presented, for instance, in the myth mentioned before, which describes how it was that Nergal, a god of the heavens, descended to become ruler of the underworld.

All of the early myths have a good philosophical substratum. The Babylonians devoted a good deal of time, for example, to the problem of man's position in the universe. They knew that men and animals were closely related, and they knew also that the only real difference was that man possessed intelligence. Men and gods likewise were very much alike, for both possessed intelligence; but unlike the gods man was mortal, and therefore nearer the animals. How could such an anomalous situation have arisen? One of the explanations concerned Adapa, a fisherman on the Persian Gulf. Ea, the benefactor of mankind, took a very special liking to Adapa, we are told, and taught him a good many of the secrets known only to gods. Because knowledge, in ancient belief, carried with it power, Adapa came to be a figure that had to be respected, even a dangerous one. One day when he was fishing, the south wind, pictured as a huge bird, overturned his boat. Had he been only a man, he might have cursed the wind, and that would have ended the matter; but Adapa was more than that. He had superhuman power and wisdom and took revenge by breaking the wing of the south wind. When a number of days passed by and there was no wind from the south, the chief of the gods, Anu, found out about the incident and decided to call Adapa up to heaven and demand an explanation.

Adapa's friend, Ea, was greatly worried at this turn of affairs, for he knew that the gods would soon find out that Adapa knew too much to be a man and might, therefore, kill him. Among other things, he counseled his friend not to eat food or drink water while in heaven, for, said he, "it will be the food of death and the water of death." Thus instructed, Adapa went up to Anu, who, sure enough, soon discovered that Adapa knew too much to be a mere man. The problem was, then, what to do. Perhaps Anu was in a friendly mood; at any rate he decided that, since the job had already been nearly completed, he might as well finish it and give to this man the food of life and the water of life. This would automatically turn him into one

of the lesser gods. But when these things were offered to Adapa, he refused them, fearing death by poison. And so, after a while, Anu gave up. "Adapa," said he, "you have refused to partake of the food of life and the water of life. Go back to the earth and die." Adapa was allowed to descend to the earth and presumably led a happy life, but he became old and died just as all men do.

The creation story touches upon the same subject and explains it by inferring that in our own beings we have something of the gods. Just as in the Bible man received from God something divine in the breath that gave life to the first image of clay, so in the creation story a deity was used in the making of the first man in that he was created out of a mixture of the god's blood and earthly clay.

Episodes from one of the most completely preserved of the Babylonian myths or legends, the Gilgamesh epic, are probably portrayed on a great number of the seals, but here again it is often difficult to identify the characters involved. This epic, however, is doubly important; it tells us not only about the adventures of Gilgamesh and his friend Enkidu, but also about a mighty deluge which inundated the earth. We may, therefore, conclude our summary of the ancient myths and legends with a résumé of this very important epic.

The Gilgamesh epic takes shape as a compound of faint historical tradition and nature myths. The center of action is the ancient city of Uruk, ruled by Gilgamesh, successor of Dumuzi or Tammuz. He is a harsh ruler, and the inhabitants appeal to the gods to be relieved from his tyranny. To aid them, the wild man Enkidu is created and, seduced by the wiles of a dancing girl, is enticed into the city, where at once Gilgamesh attempts to rob him of his love. A tremendous fight ensues, succeeded by mutual admiration of each other's prowess. The two heroes become warm friends and decide to overcome a monster, Humbaba, who dwells in a forest of cedars, and to bring back cedar wood for the adornment of the city. They encounter Humbaba and, by the help of the sun-god, overcome him. But their conquest has an unexpected result: the goddess Ishtar, always an admirer of manly strength, falls in love with Gilgamesh! When he rebuffs her proposal to wed, she is insulted and begs her father Anu to make a divine bull and destroy the two heroes. This bull, capable of killing three hundred men at one blast of his fiery breath, is slaughtered by Enkidu; thus the latter incurs the wrath of the gods, and they thereupon decree his death. Gilgamesh, terrified at the thought of similar extinction, goes in search of means to effect eternal life for himself. After much adventuring he meets a goddess who makes wine and whose philosophy of life, as she gives it to him, is evidently intended to smack of hedonism. Then he meets with the boatman of the Babylonian counterpart of Noah, Ut-napishtim. The latter because of his actions during the time of the deluge had been granted eternal life; and, although it was an existence on a little island far away from everywhere, this was much to be preferred to the life of the great throng which was crowded into the underworld cave. And so Gilgamesh, in his desperation, determined to seek out Ut-napishtim and obtain from him, if possible, the means of attaining a similar fate. The way is far, and the danger is great, but after much tribulation Gilgamesh crosses the waters and comes into the presence of Ut-napishtim. From him he learns the story of the flood—a story with which everyone is familiar, for it is almost identical with the one in the Bible. We have the well known ark, covered with bitumen, and in it one particular man and his family, warned by a god—in this case by Ea—of an approaching deluge. Rains inundate the earth and kill off the population, the ark lands on a mountain, the man sends out three birds, the rescued come out and offer a sacrifice pleasing to the gods. Ut-napishtim, however, knows what is uppermost in the mind of Gilgamesh and tells him how the gods gave him, the one man saved from the flood, the gift of eternal life. But who can do this for Gilgamesh, who is so human as to be overcome by sleep? No, all Ut-napishtim can do is to tell him of a plant at the bottom of the

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sea which, when eaten, will give him sufficient strength to resist death. To obtain this plant, Gilgamesh dives into the water. Successful, he sets off home again; but while he is bathing at a chance pool a serpent comes up from the water, snatches the precious plant, and takes it away. Nothing is now left save to summon Enkidu back from the underworld. This done, he learns the sad fate of the dead; and on this somber note the epic ends.

Myths and epics such as those summarized above, when taken together with psalms and hymns, omens and oracles, incantations and magical texts, give us a picture of the religious literature of the Babylonians and Assyrians which, in its wealth of detail and varied character, is second to none. Many of the stories circulated far from their homeland also; and so we find Egyptian scribes pondering over the myth of Adapa or the descent of Nergal to the underworld, while ancient scholars of the Hittites in Asia Minor redacted into their own language the epic of Gilgamesh. Now each story represents at least one phase of an ancient philosophical belief, and as we watch its spread throughout various lands we are following the highways by which civilization spread throughout the world. It is idle at present, however, to meditate about Sumerian influence, let us say, on Greek myths and legends and on the speculations of the ancient Greek philosophers. Resemblances can already be traced, but the obvious course to pursue is to wait and first piece together and translate the early Sumerian stories. Then, when such a comparison is possible, no doubt we shall all be astonished at the results.

III

CLASSIFICATION OF THE COLLECTION

In order to classify ancient seals by periods we should first consider the usefulness of the various possible criteria for date: shape, material, technique, and sealing design.

Ancient oriental seals are of two principal types, cylinders and stamps. The former were rolled over the surface of soft clay to make an impression and for that reason are sometimes known as "roll-seals." All seals of this class are of course essentially the same in form, but there is considerable range both in the absolute dimensions and in the proportions of height to width. Furthermore, the sides of the "cylinder" may be convex or concave instead of straight. Almost all cylinders are perforated lengthwise, so that a cord might be passed through or a metal mounting attached. The stamp seals, which were simply pressed upon the clay, take a great variety of forms. The base may be round or square and the back slightly domed, gable-shaped, or flat. Many have handles of simple or elaborate form. One class of archaic stamps from Mesopotamia and Elam has the back carved in the shape of some reclining animal or of an animal head. In late periods "cone" seals and hemispherical and ring-shaped seals were common. Scarabs and scaraboids give evidence of Egyptian influence. Like the cylinders, nearly all stamp seals are perforated for suspension. In Mesopotamia both types of seals were used in the early periods; then the stamps gave way to cylinders, which long predominated. Not until late Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian times did stamp seals again occur in any quantity. From that time on, however, they increased and ultimately replaced the cylinders altogether. In Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine, on the other hand, stamp seals seem to have been used continuously, along with cylinders of domestic or Mesopotamian manufacture.

Seals were made from many materials, principally various kinds of stone but also shell, ivory, frit, and metal. Very little can be said about what varieties were used in certain periods or regions. The soft marble and shell used in the earliest periods because they were easy to work were discarded, as technique improved, in favor of harder materials. Hematite was common in the First Dynasty of Babylon and was much used also for the "Syrian" groups of cylinders. Various chalcedonies, including agate and carnelian, were popular in the later periods. Only a few metal seals have survived.

Designs were engraved and perforations drilled by means of metal tools, with which some abrasive was doubtless used in many cases. From the beginning gravers and drills were used for cutting the designs; in later times a rotating disk and a tubular drill were added to the seal-cutter's equipment. As a rule the technique of engraving is not indicative of date, though in a few cases it furnishes corroborative evidence. Seals of the "Kirkuk style," for example, exhibit a particular use of the drill and tubular drill which helps to identify them.

It should be mentioned here that the quality of a seal is ordinarily no criterion of its date. The crude and careless engraving and the simplicity of subject of poor seals make it almost impossible in many cases to recognize any of the stylistic traits of good seals of their period and so make dating very hazardous.

From the foregoing remarks it will be evident that, whereas material and technique cannot, in general, be used as criteria for dating, the shape of a seal—of a stamp seal, at least—may be sufficiently distinctive to indicate its period. The real basis of the classification of cylinders,

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however, is the sealing design. Use of this criterion requires the study of several features. The subject depicted is, of course, an important guide; but, as in any pictorial art, the composition, the style, and the conventions observed must all be considered. Combinations of characteristics—influence of an older art upon a younger, a favorite subject of one region executed in the style of another, and so on—produce innumerable variations. Considered purely as works of art, not a few seals are so splendidly designed and so well executed as to be prized for their beauty alone. Even those which are less well made, however, are of interest because of the place they fill in the development of glyptic art or because of what they may tell us of the beliefs and circumstances of the people who used them.

In the application of these criteria to the classification of the seals by periods certain arbitrary decisions are involved. The majority of pieces cause no difficulty. We can say immediately that this mythological subject is Akkadian, while that presentation scene belongs to the Third Dynasty of Ur, and that the man wearing the headdress known as the *cidaris* is an Achaemenian king. But we are attempting to identify the style and period of each individual seal, and not every seal shows the fully developed style of any one period. Some are transitional, and there is often no way of knowing whether these belong to the earlier or the later of two periods. Others may be said to be transitional in space rather than in time. It may be almost impossible, for instance, to determine whether a particular seal is a late example of the style of the First Dynasty of Babylon or belongs to the "Kirkuk style."

Another problem which has to be settled arbitrarily is the placing of classes of seals which fall outside the Mesopotamian development. Leadership in glyptic art, as in any other, was usually centered in certain areas—in Babylonia for a long time, later in Assyria. Meantime the surrounding regions depended in part on imported seals and in part on the products of native craftsmen, who in the main copied the subjects of the imported seals but made certain adaptations and used somewhat different styles of engraving. Occasionally, however, some peripheral region developed a style of its own. Syria, for example, during much of the second millennium B.C. produced a distinctive, if not original, glyptic by combining elements from other regions, notably Babylonia and Egypt, in a characteristic manner; it is interesting to note that the Babylonian motives are always drawn from the repertoire of the First Dynasty, even during the period of Kassite rule.

Now the placing of such peripheral groups in our discussion is not altogether easy. We might, perhaps, attempt a strictly chronological arrangement of all the seals. But that would not always be possible and in any case would cloud the development from one period to another in Mesopotamia. The order used by many authors places the Anatolian and Syrian seals between the Kassite and the Assyrian groups, and this has certain advantages. However, it, too, tends to obscure the Mesopotamian picture. To avoid this difficulty we have followed the regional arrangement used in our historical introduction and have traced Mesopotamian glyptic from beginning to end before taking up the outside groups of seals. Though this solution is not ideal in every respect, it is hoped that it will prove reasonably satisfactory.

THE MESOPOTAMIAN DEVELOPMENT

Standards of glyptic art were on the whole set in Mesopotamia. A long and continuous development of styles can be traced there, whereas no other region presents so complete and consistent a picture. We have therefore called this main development "Mesopotamian," in spite of the fact that the term is somewhat inexact. The latest of our "Mesopotamian" seals, for example, are those of the periods of the Persian empires—Achaemenian, Parthian, and Sasanian; but they carry on the Mesopotamian tradition and should be considered in that light. Among the seals from the earliest "Mesopotamian" periods, some individual pieces may actually have

come from Elam, but the types they represent are as much Mesopotamian as Elamite. The convenience and essential correctness of the term thus commend its use, and seals Nos. 1-114 are designated as "Mesopotamian."

Until very recent years it has not been possible to assign pre-Akkadian seals to specific periods. A few seals, such as the three naming Lugalanda of Lagash, could be dated. But on the whole it was necessary to refer to pre-Sargonid seals by such terms as "Sumerian" and "Archaic." Recent excavations in Iraq have improved this situation. The excavated material is not fully published, however, and much of that which is published is scattered in preliminary reports in periodicals. Then, too, it is not always easy to correlate the terminology of one excavator with that used by another. The student and collector will therefore welcome Frankfort's new handbook, *Cylinder Seals*,¹ which presents the characteristics of the various periods in an easily usable form. The reader will frequently be referred to it for fuller information, especially when certain typical designs of a period are not represented in this collection, for the following discussion of styles is limited to the features illustrated by Mrs. Moore's seals and does not attempt to cover the whole field.

URUK PERIOD

The cultural period named for the ancient city of Uruk (biblical Erech, modern Warka) was first defined at Warka by Dr. Julius Jordan. Among the remains found in deposits of this period were fragmentary seal impressions, very important for us because they permit the dating of various fine cylinders in the collections. The characteristics of these cylinders are fully discussed by Frankfort² and need not be repeated here, as there is only one seal of the Uruk period in this collection (No. 1). Its design consists of three fabulous monsters, each with two winged lions' bodies and a single human head with ass's ears. The tails cross and curve, balancing the rhythm of the double bodies. These particular creatures have not appeared elsewhere, but other monsters are known in the Uruk period, especially on Elamite seals of that time. The design of this seal is clearly related to several from Warka and Susa which show heraldic groups of lions with tails crossed or intertwined³ or two lion-bodied creatures with long, serpent-like necks which intertwine.⁴

JAMDAT NAŞR PERIOD

The Uruk period was followed by a stage of culture called after the site of Jamdat Naşr, not far from Kish. Improvement of writing and increase of trade brought about a greater use of seals. Their designs are not as well cut as those of the Uruk period seals, some even being made very crudely with the drill. On the other hand, the shapes and materials of Jamdat Naşr cylinders are extremely varied. Nos. 2-8 represent several of the shapes and designs in use at the time.⁵

One type of Jamdat Naşr seal is short and measures about the same in height and diameter. The sides are often concave. Drill holes and a few engraved lines make up the rough designs, which generally consist of seated or standing human figures engaged in various activities. No. 2 is a good example. By analogy with other seals of this type we may perhaps assume that the columns of four globes separating the figures each represent two vessels. The pig-

¹ Published in London, 1939. Professor Frankfort kindly permitted the use of his page proofs while this manuscript was being prepared for printing, thereby making possible several improvements in the classification of the present collection.

² *Op. cit.* pp. 15-29.

³ *Ibid.* Pl. IV e, from Warka; Ward Nos. 1217-18, from Susa.

⁴ Frankfort Pl. IV d and f, from Warka.

⁵ See *ibid.* pp. 30-38 for fuller discussion of Jamdat Naşr glyptic.

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tails are usual, and this position of the arms is found frequently. To the same group belongs No. 3, though its spidery pattern occurs less often than the human figures.

Nos. 4–5 are large, thick cylinders on which most of the design was made with a drill and only a few lines were added with a graver. No. 4 depicts a herd of horned animals. No. 5 more specifically shows animals beside the temple to which they belong. A spouted pot is seen above one of the animals.

Other seals of this period are long and thin and have decorative, often purely geometric designs. In No. 6 the motives—a goat and leaves—are drawn from nature, but they are used for their decorative value. Although such stylized treatment of animals and plants is found on seals from Elam,⁶ it cannot be limited to that region, for it is known in Mesopotamia also.⁷ A purely ornamental design is seen on No. 7. Rather more typical of the geometric designs of the period are the pieces shown in Frankfort Plate VI *e–i*.

The attribution of No. 8 to the Jamdat Naṣr period is plausible but may be incorrect. The simple design of twelve fish swimming in one direction cannot be considered definitely characteristic of any one period. But the short, thick shape of the cylinder and the occurrence of similar designs at the site of Jamdat Naṣr favor attribution to this period.

EARLY MESOPOTAMIAN STAMP SEALS

Plate II shows a group of stamp seals more interesting for the carving of their backs than for their sealing designs. Indeed the latter are so crude—being usually no more than a few drill holes scattered at random or combined to suggest an animal or two—that there is some doubt whether these objects really were used as stamp seals. Some of them may have served only as pendants or amulets. The backs are carved in the shapes of reclining animals (Nos. 9–12), less commonly of animal heads (No. 13). Still more rare is No. 14, in the form of the upper part of a human being, shown in profile. The person is beardless, has long hair dressed in a braid, and wears a round cap with upturned brim.

EARLY DYNASTIC I

Among the material remains of the cultural period succeeding that of Jamdat Naṣr have been found objects inscribed with the names of early rulers, some of whom were known from the Sumerian King List. Hence this culture belongs to historical times and is called “Early Dynastic.” In spite of wars among the small city-states, the Early Dynastic period seems to have been one of considerable prosperity; it includes, for example, the rich finds of the “royal tombs” at Ur. Though the culture is fairly homogeneous throughout the period, it can be divided into three phases: Early Dynastic I, II, and III.

The contribution of the First Early Dynastic period to glyptic art is the development of what Frankfort has aptly called the “brocade style.”⁸ In it the whole surface of the seal is filled with an even and well balanced pattern which shows no break when the seal is rolled out more than once. A file of animals usually forms the basis of such a pattern, the animals often being reduced to mere lines and placed upside down if need be; fish, birds, and simple geometric motives are used as fillers to make a balanced design.

No. 15 is transitional in style between the Jamdat Naṣr and the First Early Dynastic periods. The animals are somewhat simplified, and the space above them has been filled with a fish, a reversed bull’s head(?), and a spouted pot. The lower part of this design gives the effect of a “brocade” pattern, characteristic of Early Dynastic I; but this is not apparent in the upper

⁶ The Louvre parallels cited in the Catalogue are all from Susa except Pl. 1, No. 14.

⁷ No. 6 has a close parallel in Frankfort Pl. VI *j*, from Khafājah; and Louvre Pl. 1, No. 14, is from Tellah.

⁸ Frankfort, pp. 39–43.

part of the cylinder. The spouted pot is at home in the Jamdat Naṣr period, as was mentioned in connection with Nos. 2 and 5.

No. 16, on the other hand, shows a continuous and even linear pattern. Although animals can no longer be recognized in this particular example, its connection with the "brocade-style" seals cited in the Catalogue is evident.

EARLY DYNASTIC II

In the second phase of the Early Dynastic period the seal-cutters turned from the purely decorative brocade patterns to scenes in which human or half-human beings struggle with beasts of prey; but they did not relinquish the continuous frieze. For the sake of the composition animals are sometimes rendered with two bodies and a single head or the reverse, and other fantastic but decorative creatures are represented. The bull-man now appears, a graceful figure shown with head in profile and a single horn curving forward. A large number of seal impressions and some seals of the Second Early Dynastic period come from Farah.⁹

There is no seal of Early Dynastic II in Mrs. Moore's collection unless it be No. 17. This remarkable seal is certainly not typical, if one is to take the Farah sealings as standard. It may, however, be a provincial product of the period. The striped decoration of the animals' bodies occurs on some Early Dynastic II seals.¹⁰ The reclining beast with large beard and globes across the top of the head is obviously a human-headed bull, in spite of the lack of horns. But the human-headed bull seems not to appear on other seals until the Third Early Dynastic period! Is the one on No. 17 an earlier, less standardized form?

EARLY DYNASTIC III

Friezes of struggling heroes and animals or of animals only continued to be popular in the Third Early Dynastic period.¹¹ The figures become more substantial and show more modeling than those of the Second Early Dynastic style. Animals stand on their hind legs, and their bodies cross one another to continue the chain unbroken. No. 18 shows a compact frieze of herbivores attacked by beasts of prey, and Nos. 19–20 each include a hero. No. 19 exemplifies the interest in decorative effect, as opposed to subject matter, which is frequently seen in this period. The original sense of the scene—a hero defending the flocks against wild beasts—is forgotten, and the hero actually assists one of the lions in attacking a stag. Two magnificent human-headed bulls complete the frieze. No. 20 is not as well composed as No. 19, but it exhibits many unusual and interesting details, such as the hair and skirt of the hero and the chainlike beards of the human-headed bulls. On No. 21 a human-headed bull is attacked by a leopard, an animal which seems to be typical of the Third Early Dynastic period. Though the last two seals were never inscribed, they serve to illustrate the typical placing of the inscription in this period. The continuous frieze must be interrupted as little as possible, and the inscription is accordingly placed on the upper half of the seal only, with some small figure or figures below. Ordinarily the signs are not inclosed in a regular panel but are bordered at the bottom only by two or three straight lines.

Nos. 22–23 are transitional in style and might be assigned either to this period or to the Akkadian. On No. 22 the lion with head in profile and the nude hero with face in front view suggest the Akkadian period, although this hero does appear late in the Third Early Dynastic period. On the other hand, the composition points to an Early Dynastic date, and the human-

⁹ *Fara*, Pls. 46–59. See Frankfort, pp. 46–50, for fuller discussion of the seals of Early Dynastic II.

¹⁰ E.g. *Fara*, Pl. 55 f; Newell No. 81.

¹¹ Frankfort discusses the style of Early Dynastic III on his pp. 50–57, the subjects of Early Dynastic seals (i.e., those of Early Dynastic II–III) on his pp. 58–79.

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headed bull occurs frequently on seals of Early Dynastic III and only rarely on those of the Akkadian period. The figure of the bull-man is curious. Had he been drawn with only one horn showing he would be the usual Early Dynastic bull-man. In spite of the two horns, however, he looks earlier than the bull-men of Nos. 31 and 33 because of his long hair and the simplified rendering of his face. On No. 23 heroes and animals are in contest, but they are widely spaced and fall into two groups instead of interlocking in a frieze. This composition approaches that of the Akkadian style, which usually shows but two pairs of contestants (cf. Nos. 30-34). On the other hand, the lion's head is seen from above, as is usual in Early Dynastic III seals, not in profile, as in Akkadian times. The hero in the flat cap and the little goat standing beside a tree also suggest the earlier period, the animal recalling the "ram caught in a thicket" from Ur.¹²

No. 24 is of such careless workmanship that it is impossible to place it with certainty. However, it seems to fit into this period.

A popular subject in the Third Early Dynastic period is the banquet scene or symposium. There are generally two seated persons, probably human beings rather than divinities; they are served by one or more attendants, as on Nos. 25-26, or drink through tubes from a large vessel placed between them.¹³ The roughly engraved head with large eye (sometimes called "bird head") and the deeply fringed skirt are typical. These banquet scenes often occupy the upper register of a seal, while the lower register may contain musicians, attendants bringing food, or an animal group as on No. 26.

No. 27 has a tree and a temple in its upper register and a file of horned animals resting among plants in the lower register. This undoubtedly belongs to Early Dynastic III, for a seal in the Morgan collection and two from Telloh¹⁴ are almost identical with it, except that the tree is replaced by seated figures of the type represented in the banquet scenes.

The upright and reversed eagles of No. 28 may belong to this period but are not distinctive enough to be dated with certainty.

AKKADIAN PERIOD

Akkad, the city of Sargon the Great, gives its name to the period following the Early Dynastic. At this time the Semitic element of the population assumed a greater importance, as is witnessed especially by the change in the written language from Sumerian to Semitic Akkadian. Changes in seals are noticeable too. The continuous friezes of struggling beasts and heroes which were so popular in the Early Dynastic period disappear in Akkadian times. In their place we find scenes of combat between a single hero and a single animal. There are usually two, sometimes three, pairs of contestants. The two groups are separated, and the figures are modeled with considerable care and attention to detail. By far the most common heroes are the bull-man Enkidu (Nos. 31-33) and the nude hero generally identified as Gilgamesh (Nos. 29-30). The latter is shown with face in front view and has three curls at each side of his head and a full beard; he sometimes wears a triple girdle. Several other heroes are represented in Mrs. Moore's collection. On No. 30 there is a hero wearing shoes with upturned toes and apparently a headdress, but otherwise seemingly nude, and on No. 33 the human fighter wears a round cap and perhaps a short skirt. Nos. 31-32 show a short-skirted hero who looks back over his shoulder while grappling with a water buffalo. The attack of these four heroes is stereotyped; each grasps the beast by one foreleg and pushes its head back with the other hand. On No. 34 there are two pairs of animals. Nos. 22-23, which show both Akkadian and Early Dynastic features, are discussed above.

¹² *UE* II 264-66 and Pls. 87-89.

¹³ E.g. Newell No. 39.

¹⁴ The first three seals cited under No. 27 in the Catalogue.

Since there is no longer a desire to produce an unbroken frieze of figures, the inscription does not have to be worked into the design but can appear in a separate panel. It has been pointed out that in the fully developed Akkadian style the two pairs of contestants evidently were designed as heraldic supporters of the "shield" formed by the inscription.¹⁵ This point is illustrated by Nos. 32–33. No. 29 also shows it, once we realize that the thin, unfinished figures must have been added later in the place intended for an inscription. No. 30 does not give quite the same effect, for there the lion grasps the bull's tail, thus connecting the two pairs of figures, and the single line of inscription leaves extra space between the heroes which is rather inadequately filled by a star and crescent.

A nude hero with full beard and with three curls at each side of his head, identical in appearance with the hero called "Gilgamesh," appears four times on No. 35, kneeling and holding a gatepost.

Deities appear frequently on Akkadian seals, in mythological or ritual scenes. They usually wear a *kaunakēs* and a horned crown. Though some must remain anonymous, others are distinguished by some attribute: the sun-god by rays, vegetation deities by stalks of grain, the goddess of battle by war clubs, and so on. Mythological scenes are not entirely unknown in the Third Early Dynastic period, but their great popularity and wide variety come in the Akkadian period. Presentation scenes, in which a worshiper is brought before a god, occur with some frequency in Akkadian times and become almost the exclusive subject of seals of the Third Dynasty of Ur.

No. 36 shows a seated goddess holding in check a bull which kneels before a winged gate. Though this scene and variants of it occur frequently, the meaning is still doubtful.

A battle between two groups of gods is depicted on No. 37. The occasion for the conflict and the identity of the combatants are no longer known, though they must have been familiar at the time the seal was made. The dating of this seal to the Akkadian period seems correct on stylistic grounds, though other factors complicate the situation. The seal was excavated at Kish, where it was found in the burial of a woman (No. 306) in the "red stratum." The "red stratum" is contemporaneous with the "A" cemetery at Kish and so is assigned to Early Dynastic III, but whether the graves belong to the same period or to the Akkadian is not quite clear. In the final report all the graves in that level seem to be attributed to Early Dynastic III,¹⁶ whereas a preliminary report expressly states that this particular grave was Akkadian.¹⁷ The latter statement is the one accepted here. The seal unfortunately is without close parallels; but the costumes and the subject both seem to fit the Akkadian repertoire. It should perhaps be noted, however, that the space left for the inscription is treated in the manner of Early Dynastic III (cf. Nos. 20–21).

We may question whether the battle scene on No. 38 is connected either with that on No. 37 or with scenes in which sun-gods, distinguished by their rays, vanquish nude gods like those on our seal.¹⁸

No. 39 shows a captive bird-man being brought for judgment before Ea, who is distinguished by the flowing vase which he holds. The bird-man is probably to be identified as Zu.

Shamash, with rays emanating from his shoulders, is seen on Nos. 40–42. Whether there is a

¹⁵ J. Ménant, *Les pierres gravées de la Haute-Asie. Recherches sur la glyptique orientale* I (Paris, 1883) 79; Frankfort, pp. 84 f.

¹⁶ L. Ch. Watelin and S. Langdon, *Excavations at Kish* IV (Paris, 1934) 49–51.

¹⁷ Langdon, "Excavating Kish: The cradle of civilization, 1927–28," *Art and Archaeology* XXVI (1928) 155–68, esp. pp. 163–65.

¹⁸ E.g. Bibl. nat. Nos. 68–70.

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mythological background for these scenes we cannot say; the fact that the "worshippers" of Nos. 40-41 are divinities suggests such a possibility for those seals at least. Comparison with a seal from Tell Asmar¹⁹ shows that the small figure at the end of the procession on No. 40 should be turned around to serve as an attendant of the sun-god. Why the attendant on No. 41 should be represented with streams is not clear, but it may be pointed out that another seal of this group²⁰ has two fish beside the sun-god, as though he were Ea. The representation of the complete balance on No. 42 is, to the best of the author's knowledge, unique.

No. 43 is a stamp seal, a form rarely used in the Akkadian period. Its date is certain, however, because of the representation of Ishtar, the goddess of battle, with weapons at her shoulder. A worshiper stands before the goddess. The worship of deities is seen on Nos. 44-46 also. No. 44 has various indications of Akkadian date—the shape of the horned crowns, the styles of hairdress, and the attitude of the last figure. No. 46 is of rather poor workmanship, and No. 45 is badly worn, but it is likely that these seals are Akkadian.

The human figures in the upper register of No. 47 resemble those on Nos. 43-44 and thus permit us to assign the seal to this period. The hero and animals of the lower register recall scenes of the Early Dynastic period.

With considerable hesitation No. 48 is included here. A few scenes of daily life occur on Akkadian seals, chiefly on the small number of seals illustrating the story of Etana and the eagle;²¹ but it must be admitted that No. 48 does not resemble them very closely.

THIRD DYNASTY OF UR

The term "Third Dynasty of Ur" is here used arbitrarily for a glyptic style which began before that dynasty and continued after it. It is used because the height of this style seems to belong to the Third Dynasty of Ur, as shown by the names on some of the seals and by seal impressions appearing on the numerous documents of the period; also because it is convenient—more convenient, for example, than "Ur-Isin-Larsa period" or the like. The city of Ur under the five kings of its Third Dynasty maintained a position of dominance in Mesopotamia for about a century. For many years previously—indeed since the later years of the dynasty of Akkad—the land had been under the rule of the hated Gutian barbarians, though some of the southern cities, such as Lagash, had apparently enjoyed considerable independence. Following the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur there was an era of strife between the city-states until the land was once more unified by Hammurabi of Babylon.

The great variety of the Akkadian repertoire is no longer found in the glyptic of the Third Dynasty of Ur. Animal contests and mythological themes are discontinued, and the presentation scene becomes the standard subject instead of one of many. The engraving is often of excellent quality. In the presentation scene a seated god receives a worshiper accompanied by a minor goddess; the latter leads her protégé by the hand or stands behind him and raises both hands in supplication. The field may be quite plain, as in Nos. 49 (perhaps unfinished?) and 52, or may contain one or more filling motives, as in Nos. 50-51. Usually there is an inscription (Nos. 50-53), but occasionally some design is substituted. No. 54, for example, has this space divided into two registers by a zigzag line. In the upper there seem to be two crossed bulls supporting a staff with a crescent at the top; at each side there is a tree or branch. In the lower register two bull-men hold spears.

No. 55 is unusual in cutting and composition. There is no worshiper, and the standing deity raises only one hand, supporting that arm with the other hand. A bird with spread wings appears in the field.

¹⁹ Frankfort Pl. XVIII f.

²⁰ Bibl. nat. No. 72.

²¹ Cf. Ward Nos. 391-96.

FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON

With the First Dynasty of Babylon we come to a period familiar to everyone through its best known ruler, Hammurabi. As we have pointed out above, the monotonous and almost indistinguishable presentation scenes of the Third Dynasty of Ur continued in use for a time after the end of that dynasty; they are even found occasionally in the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon. Seal designs of this period, however, are much more varied than were those just preceding. Where the conventional presentation ritual is depicted, several other figures or filling motives may be added. Often the chief god is standing, and the "introducing" goddess faces him, while the worshiper is not figured at all, though his name appears in the inscription. Again, even the great god is missing, and one or two of the supplicant goddesses face the inscription. In contrast to these simple designs with emphasis on the inscription, other seals show several standing figures—deities, worshipers, heroes—and the intervening spaces are filled with symbols, small animals, and the like. The number of possible combinations is, of course, practically unlimited. The figures and filling motives are ordinarily unrelated, and, while certain gods and emblems can be readily identified, it is useless to seek a meaning for the design as a whole. Such seals usually are not inscribed.

No. 56 shows a worshiper presenting a small animal to Ishtar, while a goddess in horned crown and *kaunakēs* stands behind him with both hands raised in supplication. The last figure, familiar from the Third Dynasty of Ur, appears frequently on seals of the First Dynasty of Babylon and on seals influenced by that style. The representation of Ishtar stepping on a lion, wearing quivers full of arrows and carrying an emblem and a scimitar, is typical for this period.

On No. 57 a bearded god wearing a short mantle and carrying a scimitar stands between two supplicant goddesses, and a small nude female figure appears in the field. Though the name Shamash is written beside the god, there is no certainty that it is meant to identify the figure. The usual representation of Shamash in this period is seen on Nos. 58–59. In each case the god holds his saw and steps with one foot upon an abbreviated mountain, while a worshiper brings a small animal as offering. Other figures on No. 58 are a supplicant goddess, a nude female figure, this time normal in size, and a small *kaunakēs*-clad figure. It may be that this seal was made somewhere outside of Mesopotamia proper. Peculiarities in the engraving of the nude figure and in the costumes, especially that of the worshiper, and the crowding of the field remind us of the Cappadocian style. On No. 59, in addition to Shamash and the worshiper, there appear a pair of figures who seem to be wrestling and a god who carries a scimitar and resembles the god on No. 57. One of the wrestlers is a bull-man, with his bull's horns replaced by an elaborate horned crown, and the other is a lion-man.

No. 60 shows a god slaying a human victim, while an attendant, with pail and sprinkler, and a long-robed figure look on. A similar god and victim are to be seen on No. 61. Adad and a supplicant goddess face an inscription on No. 62; the space between their backs is filled by a kneeling nude hero swinging a lion over his head. The lightning fork and bull of Adad are seen again on No. 63, where a god holding a ring stands between two worshipers. Nos. 64–66 are examples of the simpler type of composition. On Nos. 64–65 a supplicant goddess faces a god who carries a mace. The former seal is perhaps unfinished, since there is no inscription or other design. No. 66 shows two supplicant goddesses facing a panel of inscription; a small animal supporting a crook appears in the field.

KASSITE PERIOD

The dynasty of Hammurabi was succeeded by a Kassite dynasty, about which we know very little. Seals of the style of the First Dynasty doubtless continued to be made for a time. How-

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ever, there are some seals which can be distinguished as Kassite. These are marked by simplicity of design and emphasis on the inscription, features which have already been noted in such First Dynasty seals as Nos. 65–66. In the Kassite style the inscription is generally longer and frequently takes the form of a prayer, written in Sumerian, instead of naming the owner of the seal. The accompanying design may be as simple as the panel of four decorative motives on No. 70, but more often one finds a single figure, seated or standing, as on Nos. 67–68, or sometimes two or more standing figures, as on No. 69. Various subsidiary designs—rhombs, flies, rosettes, the equal-armed “Kassite” cross, seated dogs, antelopes, and so on—may be added. In representing the human figure the artist improved on nature in the manner of a modern fashion illustrator, making it taller and more slender than in life. The engraving is shallow, so that on the impression the figures appear in low relief with very little surface modeling.

It should be mentioned that a few late Kassite cylinders display a different type of scene, symmetrically composed and excellently modeled.²² These are closely related to such Middle Assyrian seals as No. 71, described below.

ASSYRIAN PERIOD

In the Old Assyrian period seals of Babylonian types seem to have been used. With the rise of Assyrian power in the latter part of the second millennium B.C. (p. 4), however, comes the beginning of that rich and varied glyptic which we know as “Assyrian.” A comparatively small number of seals may be attributed to the Middle Assyrian period. These show dependence upon Kassite and also upon Mitannian traditions,²³ but there is a freshness and liveliness of treatment; even strictly symmetrical scenes usually have considerable vitality because of the naturalistic modeling of the figures. The present collection includes two Middle Assyrian seals and a provincial imitation of that style. On No. 71 two beasts of prey dispute for a mountain goat; a star appears above this group, while a bird and a flower complete the scene. The composition is well balanced and the modeling vigorous. No. 72 shows a tree between two horned animals; a bird appears in the field, and rows of crosshatched triangles form borders at top and bottom. The composition is not strictly symmetrical, for one animal is rampant while the other leaps away from the tree, head downward. In contrast to the natural modeling of No. 71, this seal is linear in style. No. 73 is said to have been found in Syria. Nevertheless, since it manifestly imitates the Middle Assyrian style, it is included here rather than with the Syrian seals. The pair of rampant ibexes, the bird beneath them, the “Kassite” cross, and even the large, awkwardly drawn bird above find parallels on Middle Assyrian seals.²⁴ The winged demon holding aloft a nude man seems to be unique. The composition is well balanced, but the fine modeling of No. 71 is replaced by linear decoration.

Among the later Assyrian cylinders there is much variety in technique and subject. Many seals are engraved in a shallow, linear style (e.g. Nos. 76–77 and 81). On others the figures are deeply cut, though with little surface modeling (e.g. Nos. 83–85); the drill was used extensively on such seals for decorative effect. Subjects include hunting scenes, heroes fighting with animals or monsters, animals alone, men or animals standing beside a sacred tree, and worship of deities. The winged disk, sometimes with the bust of Ashur added, and the sacred tree are often seen. Stars, crescents, the seven dots representing the Pleiades, rhombs, and fish are used as fillers on many seals. The emblem of Marduk, already figured on a few seals of the First Dynasty of Babylon, appears more frequently now, often associated with the emblem of Nabu. Antithetic groups are very common but do not exclude free compositions.

²² E.g. Bibl. nat. No. 301.

²³ In *Cylinder Seals*, pp. 186–90, Frankfort has traced the development of the Middle Assyrian style.

²⁴ Cf. Frankfort Pl. XXXI *i* and *l*.

Hunting scenes are depicted on Nos. 74–75. The latter is so carelessly cut that strictly one cannot speak of its “style” at all, but it seems likely that it should be included here. No. 74, on which all the available space is evenly filled, shows two bowmen hunting animals and birds; two plants suggest the landscape. Animals and heavenly bodies make up the decorative designs on Nos. 76–77.

Conflict between heroes and animals or monsters is a favorite subject in Assyrian glyptic. The hero generally is bearded and wears a long robe open in front, and he frequently has four wings. He fights with either one or two animals—such as lions, bulls, antelopes, and even ostriches—or monsters. The latter include sphinxes, griffins, dragons, and numerous other composite creatures. In general they seem to represent hostile or evil spirits, though specific identifications cannot be made. Nos. 78–79 show winged heroes fighting with two sphinxes and two antelopes respectively, and on stamp seal No. 91 a hero holds two winged ibex-like monsters with human faces. Another type of hero appears on No. 80 holding an animal by one hind leg and seemingly rescuing it from a lion. He stands in front view and wears a short skirt with the ends of a sash hanging down in back.

No. 81 presents a common scene in which two people stand beside a table or altar, one holding a fan, the other a bow. The emblems of Marduk and Nabu appear below a star. Less common is the scene on No. 82, which shows the worship of Ea, enthroned atop his goat-fish. Behind him is a priest wearing a fish robe and carrying a pail and sprinkler. Another priest or a worshiper stands before an altar in front of the god. On Nos. 83–84 there is a deity surrounded by a nimbus decorated with globes. Two worshipers approach on No. 83. On No. 84 the deity stands between a worshiper and a scorpion-man who carries a pail and sprinkler.

Two seals, Nos. 85–86, illustrate the winged disk above a sacred tree, a popular motive on Assyrian seals. The bust of Ashur appears in the disk. On No. 85 a bull-man stands at each side touching a wing with one hand. This scene is apparently related to those on stamp seal No. 92 and on several cylinders (see Catalogue for references), where two bull-men actually stand under the disk and support it with both hands. These, as well as the single hero on No. 87, remind us of the later Atlas. On No. 86 a priest in a fish robe stands at one side of the tree, and a long-robed figure and a second priest in a fish robe stand at the other. The two fish-priests, though each carries a pail in one hand, do not hold the customary sprinklers but simply raise the free hand.

Other priests in fish robes appear on Nos. 87–88, in each case attending a central figure—a long-robed, bearded hero supporting a winged disk on No. 87 and a nude, four-winged female figure on No. 88. No. 89 shows a seated figure before an altar and a standing priest wearing a peaked cap and holding a wig. No. 90 is an unusual seal with a crowded design. A bearded figure is seated before a highly conventionalized sacred tree, and a peculiar winged creature (not a disk) appears not above the tree but to one side. A second bearded figure stands upon a crouching bull and faces the emblem of Marduk, which is held by a rampant lion with a single long horn.

ASSYRIAN OR NEO-BABYLONIAN STAMPS

In late Assyrian times stamp seals reappeared, and from then on they became increasingly popular. Precise classification of these seals is not possible at present. Assyrian stamps cannot be separated from those of the Neo-Babylonian period, and, on the other hand, “Neo-Babylonian” stamps seem to have continued in use in the Persian period. The stamps are usually roughly conical or pyramidal in shape, with round, oval, or eight-sided bases; they are perforated near the top, the bore running parallel to the base. Nos. 91–94 are representative. The subjects of Nos. 91–92 are found on cylinders also (e.g. Nos. 78–79 and 85). No. 93 is an ex-

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ample of a very common design, a worshiper standing before emblems of the gods. The goat-fish and ram-headed mace of Ea are represented on No. 94. Nos. 95–96 seem to be provincial imitations of the Assyrian style. The scene of a worshiper before an altar on No. 96 is common enough,²⁵ but the worshiper's dress is not Assyrian, while the animal above the altar seems out of place. The god with a nimbus on one side of the disk-shaped seal No. 95 is similar to those on cylinders Nos. 83–84. The composite creature on the other side is unusual even in a period noted for the designing of fantastic beings; it may represent a confusion of two more standard monsters (cf. Catalogue).

NEO-BABYLONIAN CYLINDERS

As in the case of the stamps, it is often impossible to distinguish between late Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian cylinders. Our attribution of seals to one or the other of these periods must therefore be considered rather arbitrary. A few seals which are beautifully designed and cut but lacking in force are generally considered to be Neo-Babylonian, and it is on such grounds that Nos. 97–99 are so classified. On No. 97 a winged hero holds a lion by one forepaw; the lion's back forms a graceful curve. An antithetic group of ibexes beside a sacred tree decorates Nos. 98–99.

An unusual cylinder which is perhaps to be assigned to the Neo-Babylonian period is No. 100. A seated figure is attended by two standing ones, while the figure of a god with widespreading wings appears above. A kneeling nude hero swings a bull above his head.

ACHAEMENIAN PERIOD

Many Achaemenian seals continue the subjects and compositions of Assyrian and Babylonian glyptic, making only minor changes in details and in costume. Others, however, bear witness to an important new element, the influence of Greek art. No. 101 provides an apt illustration of the first tendency. The winged genius of Nos. 78–79 has become the king, and the animals have assumed a new pose, but the composition is the same. Other seals which depend upon older traditions use antithetic groups, replacing the sacred tree by a fire altar or the half-figure of a god. The Greek influence is apparent in Nos. 102 and 106. In the former the Persian king is slaying a Greek warrior. No. 103 shows two soldiers, a Greek carrying a shield and spear and a Mede with bow and arrow. The king is sometimes pictured hunting in his chariot, as on the well known cylinder of Darius.²⁶ In No. 106 two hunters are pursuing game, the one in the upper register running to the left, the other to the right. Other treatments of the hunt appear on No. 104, where a man on horseback spears a wild boar, and on No. 105, where a hunter on foot spears a boar among the reeds. The latter seal seems to be of provincial workmanship.

PARTHIAN AND SASANIAN PERIODS

The seals of Parthian and Sasanian times were stamps and ring gems, the cylinder having gone out of use. Though much remains to be learned about these late seals, certain criteria for dating have been established.²⁷ In general the stamps took the shape of a flattened globe, truncated to give an oval base (e.g. Nos. 112 and 114), or that of a hemisphere with round base. In the Sasanian period the back of the seal was often decorated with a floral motive or other design (e.g. Nos. 110–11). The engraving technique varied; many of the Parthian seal designs

²⁵ E.g. *Bibl. nat.* Nos. 562–71; Newell No. 477.

²⁶ Frequently published; see e.g. Ward No. 1104; Weber No. 506; Frankfort Pl. XXXVII *d.*

²⁷ The following discussion relies to a considerable extent upon N. C. Debevoise, "The essential characteristics of Parthian and Sasanian glyptic art," *Berytus* I (1934) 12–18; also upon H. H. von der Osten, "The ancient seals from the Near East in the Metropolitan Museum," *Art Bulletin* XIII (1931) 221–41.

include groups of straight lines,²⁸ possibly produced by use of a wheel, whereas the Sasanian figures are more rounded and naturalistic. Subjects include human beings (either a bust or a full-length figure), animals, birds, fabulous creatures, and—on Sasanian seals—flowers and a distinctive symbol or monogram.²⁹ Floating ribbons, pairs of wings, crescents, and stars serve to embellish the design or to fill space, and a Pahlavi inscription or a border of dots may surround the main figure. Nos. 108–14 may be assigned to the Sasanian or late Parthian period. No. 107 shows a different style of engraving and is perhaps earlier than the others. The poorly written Pahlavi inscription may have been added at a later date.

NON-MESOPOTAMIAN SEALS

Seals Nos. 115–86 are assumed to have been made outside Mesopotamia. Most of them exhibit non-Mesopotamian³⁰ characteristics. Almost all of them come from regions west and north of Mesopotamia, that is, from Anatolia and Syria, Palestine, and perhaps Cyprus. They belong to that great class of seals which has been labeled “Hittite,” “Syro-Hittite,” “Syro-Cappadocian,” and the like. Since “Syro-Cappadocian” glyptic is a hybrid product of Mesopotamian and other influences, it cannot be expected to show a homogeneous development like that traced in Mesopotamia. Moreover, our knowledge of it suffers from lack of dated and stratified material. Nevertheless a few groups can be separated, and some transition from one to another can be observed. Frankfort’s treatment of the cylinders of the second millennium B.C.³¹ seems the best to date and has in general been followed in our discussion. Objection might be raised to the geographic limitation implied in his nomenclature: First, Second, and Third *Syrian* groups; but the terms are useful and there is no need at the moment for introducing yet another set of names.

STAMP SEALS

We have already mentioned (p. 20) that stamp seals were used continuously in this area along with cylinders. Though our discussion on the whole has been limited to the seals in Mrs. Moore’s collection, it may be well in the case of these stamps to note some types not represented there.

Comparatively little is known about the classification of the stamp seals. They are small, and the designs are usually simple—a cross with inscribed angles, an animal or two, a bird, a human figure, or an ornamental design. Shapes are more varied than among cylinders and in some cases are useful for dating, though the simpler forms seem to persist through long periods. However, we may mention a few of the principal varieties.³²

From early levels in Syria and Anatolia come stamp seals with low gable-shaped or domed backs, perforated beneath the gable or parallel to the design. The design generally consists of one or two animals, roughly engraved, or of lines crossing or forming angles; occasionally human figures are represented.³³ To this class belong Nos. 115–18.

Beginning at least as early as the gable-shaped stamps and continuing well into the first millennium B.C. are seals with handles—long or short, simple or elaborate, but practically always

²⁸ E.g. Debevoise, *op. cit.* Pl. I 5–8.

²⁹ No example of a monogram occurs in this collection, but see von der Osten, *op. cit.* Nos. 88–98, or Newell Nos. 599–606 for typical examples.

³⁰ Cf. remarks on our use of the term “Mesopotamian” on pp. 21 f.

³¹ Frankfort, pp. 235–91.

³² Hogarth, pp. 18–23, has described and illustrated the chief forms, mainly on the basis of seals purchased in Syria. The principal forms of seals excavated at Alishar Hüyük in Central Anatolia are published by H. H. von der Osten, *OIP* XXX, Fig. 271.

³³ See Hogarth, Figs. 8–11 and Pls. III–IV; *OIP* XXX, Fig. 271, Nos. c 1225, c 1839, and e 728.

perforated near the top. A simple stalk or stem, whether long or short, can hardly be used as evidence for dating, since such handles were probably made at all periods. On the other hand, more elaborately fashioned handles of the types Hogarth calls "knobs" and "hammers"³⁴ can apparently be assigned—in Anatolia at least—to von der Osten's "period of the Hittite Empires," about 2000–1200 B.C., and we may hope eventually to date some of the finest examples more closely. The bases of such seals are round, rectangular, triangular, or trifoliate. In many cases the design is bordered by a guilloche or a rope pattern. There are but three stamps with handles in Mrs. Moore's collection, and at least two of these do not permit of dating. No. 119, which is pyramidal in shape and has a loop handle perforated the short way, looks early but is not necessarily so. Its geometric design is without exact parallels, but related designs are found at Alishar Hüyük from the Chalcolithic period to the end of the first millennium B.C. No. 120 is a "freak" form; the top of its handle is carved in the shape of a monkey's face. The design on the base is rather obscure but seems to represent the head of an ostrich. No. 121 is a bronze seal with an unusual handle. The worn design represents a winged figure apparently similar to those on cylinders of the Second Syrian group.

"Discoïd" seals with convex faces, generally called "bullae," seem on the whole to belong to the post-Hittite period.³⁵ They are usually engraved on both faces with Hittite hieroglyphs, though occasionally human figures and animals appear. Actual disks, engraved on both faces, seem to be contemporaneous with the bullae. Their designs, however, are usually ornamental.³⁶ Another type, which seems to be related to the bullae or the disks or both, is hemispheroidal, with engraving on both base and back.³⁷

An important variety of stamp seal is the scarab, whose home is in Egypt. Its back is in the shape of a beetle, and the base is covered with Egyptian hieroglyphs, often with an ornamental border. Actual Egyptian scarabs and local imitations are found in many places outside Egypt, though they are naturally most numerous where Egyptian influence was strongest. They are, for instance, found in great quantity in Palestine.³⁸ Scaraboids—seals of the same general shape as scarabs but lacking the beetle design—are likewise numerous and widespread. Two seals which imitate Egyptian designs are Nos. 122–23. The former is a scaraboid with smooth domed back; misshapen Egyptian hieroglyphs appear on the base. The design of No. 123 also is derived from Egypt. The back of this seal is covered by a remarkable bronze mounting in the shape of the head and shoulders of a woman. Both of these seals may well have been made in Palestine or Syria.

No. 124 is a scaraboid with just a suggestion of a beetle design on the back. The design on the base is entirely un-Egyptian. A bull and a cow suckling her calf stand back to back with heads reverted. Above them there is a tiny human figure. The composition is reminiscent of one on a Cretan seal,³⁹ though much more crudely engraved.

Scaraboids Nos. 125–26 have simple and rather common designs—an animal and a branch or scorpion. Their backs are carved in the shape of human heads, the hair or headdress indicated by crosshatching. The closest parallels seem to be a few scaraboids with Negro heads on the back,⁴⁰ but the heads on Nos. 125–26 are not Negroid.

³⁴ Hogarth, Figs. 18 and 20.

³⁵ *Ibid.* Fig. 23 and Pl. X; *OIP XXIX*, Fig. 476.

³⁶ *OIP XXIX*, Fig. 478, top two rows.

³⁷ Hogarth, Figs. 24 and 106.

³⁸ See e.g. Alan Rowe, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals and Amulets in the Palestine Archaeological Museum* (Le Caire, 1936).

³⁹ Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos IV* (London, 1935) Fig. 515, which shows two cows.

⁴⁰ Louvre Pl. 104, Nos. 15 and 18; British Museum, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc. I*, by H. R. Hall (London, 1913) Nos. 1238–41, 1884, and 2535.

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CAPPADOCIAN CYLINDERS

The so-called "Cappadocian" tablets—records of the Assyrian merchant colonies in Cappadocia early in the second millennium B.C.—frequently bear seal impressions. As one would expect, many of these impressions are of Mesopotamian cylinders, but others seem to have been made by seals of Cappadocian manufacture. Though the latter show dependence upon Mesopotamian glyptic, they have several distinctive features, among which may be mentioned the crowding of the field with small motives and the general angularity of the figures. Another feature, which is not limited to Cappadocia but at least is non-Mesopotamian, is a bull idol with a cone upon its back (e.g. No. 128). Actual cylinders of this Cappadocian style are known. Those in the present collection are Nos. 127–28.⁴¹

FIRST SYRIAN GROUP

Syrian seals of the first centuries of the second millennium B.C. clearly show their dependence upon the contemporaneous Mesopotamian glyptic, that of the First Dynasty of Babylon. The main figures are often thoroughly Babylonian, while the secondary ones are mostly non-Mesopotamian. Among the secondary motives are antithetic groups of lions, griffins, or sphinxes, the last often wearing the uraeus. In addition such Babylonian motives as the monkey and the arm of a balance occur. Guilloches are used as borders or to divide part or all of the seal into registers.

Babylonian influence is strong in No. 129. The nude hero with streams, the god who resembles those on Nos. 57 and 59 except that he does not hold a scimitar, and the *kaunakēs*-clad supplicant goddess are all familiar figures on seals of the First Dynasty of Babylon. The deity within a shrine supported upon the back of a bull is, however, a non-Mesopotamian motive.

Although No. 130 looks much like a Babylonian seal, the costume of the god and the addition of wings to the sun disk are non-Mesopotamian. Winged disks, evidently borrowed from Egypt, occur with some frequency on seals of the Second Syrian group and on Mitannian and Assyrian seals, but it is surprising to find a winged disk on a seal as early as No. 130.⁴² This seal is furthermore interesting because it very probably belonged to the daughter of a king. The inscription reads, "Matrunna, daughter of Aplahanda, servant girl of (the goddess) Kubaba." As Dossin has pointed out,⁴³ it is highly probable that Aplahanda, the father of the owner, is Aplahanda, king of Carchemish. If this is true, the seal can be dated to approximately the time of Hammurabi; for Aplahanda carried on correspondence with Iasmah-Adad of Mari, a son of Shamshi-Adad I of Assyria,⁴⁴ and the latter was a contemporary of Hammurabi.⁴⁵

The worn condition of No. 131 makes interpretation difficult, but the two large figures appear to be good Babylonian types. The one on the right is clearly two-faced and therefore may well be the attendant of Ea (cf. No. 39). The obscure object held by the other figure could be a vase with streams, appropriate to Ea. The two pairs of lions separated by a guilloche are Syrian.

On No. 132 may be seen an emblem or weapon topped by a human head. This appears on a

⁴¹ See also No. 58, which has some features suggesting the Cappadocian style.

⁴² For another First Syrian seal with a winged sun disk see Frankfort Pl. XLI c.

⁴³ Georges Dossin, "Aplahanda, roi de Carkémiš," *Revue d'assyriologie* XXXV (1938) 115–21, esp. pp. 115 f.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p. 116.

⁴⁵ F. Thureau-Dangin in *Revue d'assyriologie* XXXIV (1937) 135–39; W. F. Albright in *American Schools of Oriental Research, Bulletin* No. 69 (1938) pp. 18 f.

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few other seals (see references in Catalogue), all of which seem to belong to the First Syrian group. Two of these show the same female worshiper whom we see on No. 132.⁴⁶

No. 133 is attributed to this group primarily because the sphinx and griffin wearing uraei on their heads seem to belong to the early period. The date of No. 134 is uncertain. No. 135 is probably to be assigned to this period, although we cannot be sure. Parts of some other seals which can be attributed to the First Syrian group⁴⁷ resemble this seal, though there are fewer rows of small motives. No. 136 is similar to No. 135.

SECOND SYRIAN GROUP

Seals of this period are heterogeneous and varied, yet the group as a whole has a character of its own. There is, of course, no sharp break between the First and Second Syrian groups, but the latter is distinguished by a predominance of native subject matter over that derived from Mesopotamia and by the introduction of some new figures and the wider use of certain subsidiary motives of the first group. The Mesopotamian scheme of composition is rarely retained, and such individual figures as are kept are frequently changed in appearance (e.g. the worshiper and supplicant goddess on No. 137).

This development is not surprising, for Babylonia had by this time fallen prey to invading Hittites and Kassites and was in no position to exert a strong influence upon her neighbors. Indeed, such Babylonian motives as continued in use on seals of the Second Syrian group are those of the First Dynasty, not those of the contemporaneous Kassite period. But, since these First Dynasty motives had to be derived from earlier Syrian seals, they were farther removed from the originals than were the Babylonian designs of the First Syrian group.

Among the very popular figures on seals of the Second Syrian group are winged deities, weather-gods in short skirts and spiked helmets, a goddess removing her garment, a figure with crossed legs, and pairs of figures wearing cloaks with heavy borders. Small seated figures, usually in pairs, and rows of three or four small running men also may be mentioned. A winged disk supported by a decorated staff is sometimes seen. Not new in this period but very common is the division of a part of the seal by a guilloche, an animal or a pair of animals appearing in each register. Winged bird-headed demons, griffins, and sphinxes are often represented. Round caps with upturned brims and high pointed, conical, or rounded headdresses are worn, and various headdresses with attached horns are used by certain gods.

It may be well to repeat that no attempt has been made to arrange these seals chronologically *within* their groups. Though a few pieces might be roughly dated, many others cannot be placed on the basis of our present knowledge. Consequently, the order of Nos. 137-67 has been determined solely by considerations of subject matter, composition, and convenience and is entirely arbitrary.

Figures borrowed from Mesopotamia are represented on Nos. 137-40 and 142 and perhaps on No. 141. A Babylonian supplicant goddess faces a worshiper on Nos. 137-38, and on No. 142 two such goddesses—this time in typical form—face a kilted figure who stands under an arch of ankhs. The central person on No. 139 is a Mesopotamian nude hero with streams issuing from his shoulders. On No. 140 the seated god in *kanakēs* and round cap is evidently Ea, for he holds a flowing vase. The bald-headed worshiper with clasped hands on No. 141 may well be derived from Mesopotamia, and possibly the same is true of the worshiper on No. 140, though the emblem he holds and the shorter skirt do not fit such an origin.

Such small motives as the arm of a balance (Nos. 140 and 150-51) and the sun disk set in a

⁴⁶ Ward No. 1017; Newell No. 312. She is also on Newell No. 340, which belongs to the First Syrian group.

⁴⁷ Newell No. 312; Bibl. nat. No. 444; Hogarth No. 152.

crescent (Nos. 137, 139, 141, 150, and 159) also come from the Babylonian repertoire, as does the monkey on No. 137.

Egyptian influence is apparent in the use of the ankh (Nos. 137, 142-43, and 159-60), in the principal figures on No. 144 (probably meant for Osiris and Toeris), in the kilted figure on No. 142, in the goddess on No. 160, in the attendant on No. 141, and perhaps in the attendant and in the staff of the worshiper on No. 140. Sphinxes, winged disks, and the vulture of No. 150 must derive ultimately from Egypt.

Except for the two large figures, No. 138 is entirely un-Mesopotamian. The small seated figure holding a vase, the griffin, and the winged, bird-headed demon are found on several other seals of the Second Syrian group (cf. references in Catalogue). The double eagle occurs frequently in Anatolia (cf. references in Catalogue under No. 135). The two figures facing the nude hero on No. 139 have many parallels on seals of this period.

The popular motive of a horizontal guilloche separating two animals is found on Nos. 139-40, 146-47, and 149-51. On No. 142 two sphinxes appear in the upper register and two lions disputing over an antelope in the lower. No. 143 shows two griffins(?) facing a tree(?) above a guilloche and four short-skirted men below it. Three rosettes in a guilloche frame separate a pair of small seated figures from a pair of sphinxes on No. 153.

The composition of No. 143, with the main part of the design bordered by guilloches and the rest of the space divided by a guilloche, is found in the First Syrian group also. The heavy borders of the cloaks worn by the seated deity and the male worshiper, the high rounded headdress of that worshiper, and the hood worn by his feminine companion seem more characteristic of the second group, as do the four little men. Three small, short-skirted, running men appear on Nos. 144, 156, and 158, and No. 145 has three small, long-robed figures.

On No. 144 a grotesque figure perhaps intended for the Egyptian hippopotamus-goddess Toeris, but winged like Isis, appears before the seated god Osiris.

There are winged deities on Nos. 145-50. Nos. 146-47 evidently represent the same god, for the costumes are identical; the only difference is that the god on No. 146 holds a battle-ax and spear in one hand, whereas the figure on No. 147 is unarmed. Perhaps the winged figure on No. 148 was meant for the same deity. The relationship of the winged deities on Nos. 145 and 149 to each other and to the one represented on Nos. 146-47 is problematical. The two winged figures facing each other across an altar on No. 150 seem unrelated to any of the others.

No. 147 shows another god who appears frequently on seals of this group—a weather-god in short skirt and horned headdress, wearing a long pigtail curling at the end, who holds a mace in one hand and a battle-ax, a curved weapon, and the halter of a bull in the other. He sometimes appears without the bull.

Two figures in cloaks with heavy borders face each other on No. 152, each raising one hand. One wears a round cap with upturned brim and holds a spear, while the other seems to be bare-headed. The same pair, but without the spear, is seen on No. 154. Two small figures on No. 152 seem about to fight. Each wears a pigtail and a cap with a small projection at the top. These details as well as the pose invite comparison with a Mitannian seal in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.⁴⁸

No. 153, which is beautifully cut, though unfortunately chipped at the top, shows a winged disk supported by a beaded staff. At each side stands a figure wearing a cloak with heavy borders and a round cap with upturned brim and holding a crooklike emblem. No. 154 likewise has a winged disk upon a beaded staff. A long-robed figure stands at each side.

A goddess removing her garment is seen on Nos. 155-56 and perhaps on the carelessly cut

⁴⁸ See Frankfort Pl. XLII c and p. 267.

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No. 157. On No. 155 a winged, bird-headed demon kneels before her, and a griffin, a scorpion, and two birds occupy the field. On No. 156 the goddess stands upon a bull and is faced by a figure wearing a short cloak and holding a crook(?).

A weather-god kills a serpent on Nos. 158–59. On the former he stands upon two mountains. He wears a pigtail with curled end and a spiked helmet with a horn in front. With one hand he brandishes a mace and with the other holds a battle-ax as well as the spear which he thrusts into the mouth of the serpent. No. 159 is so worn that few details can be seen, but the god does hold a mace in one hand and a spear in the other. On No. 158 there is a sun disk in a crescent supported by a decorated staff. Beside this, on a low dais, stands a nude female figure with head and feet in profile. The three small running men have been mentioned above. A curious figure with wings and crossed legs appears on No. 159 and is known on a few other seals of this period (see Catalogue) and on a boundary stone also.⁴⁹

On No. 160 a god(?) wearing a short skirt and a conical headdress and carrying a misshapen ankh(?) seems to embrace the Egyptian goddess Hathor, who wears a long robe and her usual headdress, the sun disk between cow's horns. A rampant antelope stands so close to the god(?) as to suggest that it is his attribute. A second group shows a short-skirted god(?) swinging a mace, about to kill a kneeling victim.

Nos. 161–67 are tentatively assigned to the Second Syrian group but may belong to some other.

The Mitannian and Kirkuk-style seals next described are related to the Second Syrian group and might even be considered specializations of it.

MITANNIAN CYLINDER

For a brief period during the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C. there flourished the kingdom of Mitanni, centered in the Khabur Valley. It was influential in Syrian politics and seems to have controlled Assyria for a time. Apparently the ruling class was Indo-Iranian and the population mainly Hurrian. The seal impression of a Mitannian king, Shaushattar, differs sufficiently from seals of the Second Syrian group to suggest that a few fine seals should be designated as "Mitannian."⁵⁰ Such cylinders are characterized by symmetrical horizontal composition and by the free treatment of the height of the seal. A good example is No. 168. There a tree rises above the heads of two rampant winged griffins. At each side is a small *kaunakēs*-clad figure—perhaps the Babylonian supplicant goddess—turned away from the tree so as to face a god who holds a rope tied round the neck of one of the griffins. The two gods stand above three rosettes in a guilloche frame. A lion appears below the griffins.

KIRKUK-STYLE SEALS

Cylinders of a certain style are frequently referred to as of "Kirkuk type" because the same style is represented by seal impressions on tablets from Nuzi in the vicinity of modern Kirkuk. The seals themselves are widely distributed, having been found from Iran to Palestine. Frankfort calls such seals "popular Mitannian," partly on stylistic grounds and partly because Nuzi was apparently included in the Mitannian kingdom for a time.⁵¹ The use of the name "Mitannian," with its essentially political connotations, for such a widespread group of seals may be questioned, however. Until more is known through excavations in Mitannian territory, it seems preferable to retain the established and noncommittal term "Kirkuk style."

⁴⁹ British Museum, *Babylonian Boundary-Stones and Memorial-Tablets in the British Museum*, by L. W. King (London, 1912) Pl. XXX.

⁵⁰ These are discussed in detail by Frankfort, pp. 273–78.

⁵¹ Frankfort, pp. 182–85 and 278–83.

Seals of this group are related to, and roughly contemporaneous with, those of the Second Syrian group. One mark of the Kirkuk style is the extensive use of the drill and the tubular drill. The branches of trees end in globes, the sun disk becomes a rosette of globes, and garments are decorated with rows of tiny dots. Animals are engraved in a characteristic way with drill holes for snout and feet, at the end of the tail, and at the joints. The tubular drill was used to make rows of circles which took the place of guilloches, to mark the eyes of animals, to make part of a sacred tree, and so on.

Mesopotamian figures and motives of the First Dynasty of Babylon can be recognized on these seals, together with Syrian elements such as the griffin. Conventionalized trees are often figured, frequently with animals grouped symmetrically around them. Antelopes are seen rampant or reclining with heads turned backward. The repertoire is rather small, however, and the Kirkuk-style seals are distinguished more by their technique than by their subject matter.

No. 169 has been included here because of the cutting technique employed. The drill was rather extensively used on some late seals of the First Dynasty of Babylon, however, and it is possible that No. 169 should be attributed to that group. The composition—a worshiper facing a god with a seven-headed club, a supplicant goddess facing a god in short mantle and round cap, and star, sun, and arm of a balance in the field—is Babylonian. But the costumes and appearance of the figures, especially the treatment of the faces and of the arms and legs, are un-Babylonian.

No. 170 is badly worn. There are a long-necked monster with bird's head (a chair?), a figure apparently seated on it, a standing figure, and a tree of characteristic type.

No. 171 shows two standing figures seemingly intended for Babylonian supplicant goddesses. Their elaborate horned crowns have become high pointed turbans, and their robes are plain; but the long ribbon extending down the back (cf. No. 56) is preserved. Between the goddesses are a cuneiform sign and a rosette of globes. Behind them a lion attacks an antelope.

The animals and monsters of Nos. 172-74 illustrate the "Kirkuk" technique of engraving. On No. 174 two reclining antelopes turn their heads backward to face a sacred tree which resembles a candelabrum.

THIRD SYRIAN GROUP

A comparatively small number of cylinders may be classed in a Third Syrian group and dated approximately to the period of Hittite political domination in Syria. Among these are the so-called "Cypriote" cylinders,⁵² some of which may have been made in Cyprus, though others come from the mainland. Other seals of the Third Syrian group show earlier motives in disintegrated forms. Animal-headed demons and hunters holding small game are found in this group, and a bull's head appears frequently, though it is not limited to this period.

No. 175 may be compared in subject with seals of the Second Syrian group (see Catalogue), but its execution suggests the later period. No. 176 has three unrelated figures: a kneeling hunter with bow and arrow, a demon with two animal heads, and a nude female figure beneath a winged disk. On No. 177 there is an animal-headed demon holding a scimitar and a small animal. No. 178 shows a seated deity wearing a horned headdress and two standing figures holding animals upside down. This seems to be a "Cypriote" seal,⁵³ though it is not as well cut as most. The debased hunting scene of No. 179 may be tentatively assigned to the Third Syrian group.

⁵² E.g. Einar Gjerstadt, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition I* (Stockholm, 1934) Pl. 67, Nos. 3 and 12; Frankfort Pl. XLV *g* and *i*.

⁵³ Cf. esp. Frankfort Pl. XLV *i*.

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EGYPTIANIZED CYLINDERS

We have noted Egyptian influence on Syrian seals as manifested in the presence of various Egyptian gods, in the use of the ankh and the uraeus, and in certain details of costume and the like. Some cylinders, probably made in Palestine or perhaps in Syria, show a much stronger Egyptian influence; they imitate Egyptian figures and/or inscriptions and show a minimum of other motives. There are three such cylinders in this collection, Nos. 180–82. The first two are inscribed in Egyptian, though the hieroglyphs as written give no determinable meaning. No. 180 has in addition a line of cuneiform.

MINOAN SEALS

No. 183 is a gold signet ring bearing a double ax and bull's head resting upon a shrine or an altar in the shape of a building façade. At each side stands a priestess, nude to the waist and wearing a full, flounced and fringed skirt. The ring seems to be of Middle Minoan III or Late Minoan I date.⁵⁴ No. 184 is an ellipsoidal whorl engraved on one side with an octopus, a leaping bull, a labyrinth design, and a bud(?). The schematized representation of the octopus suggests a Late Minoan date.⁵⁵ The fine cylinder No. 185, on which a man leads a bull across a field indicated by two conventionalized plants, is without close parallels, for the cylinder form was very rarely used by Minoan seal-cutters.⁵⁶ However, the narrow waist and muscular body of the man, as well as his leggings and armlets, suggest that the seal should be included in this group. The references cited in the Catalogue point to a Late Minoan I date as the most probable.

HELLENISTIC(?) CYLINDER

The charming Eroses of No. 186 are quite unexpected on a cylinder seal. Playful, childlike figures of this type are frequent on Hellenistic gems.⁵⁷

UNCLASSIFIED SEALS

A few seals which defy classification in any of the groups discussed above are grouped in Plate XVII. In a few cases parallels can be cited or suggestions offered as to possible affinities. The row of waterfowl in the upper register of No. 188 recalls better executed designs some of which seem to belong to the Third Early Dynastic period⁵⁸ and some to the Akkadian.⁵⁹ No. 194 resembles, on the one hand, a cylinder bought in Syria and classed by Speleers as "Syro-Hittite"⁶⁰ and, on the other hand, a seal excavated in the "royal cemetery" at Ur.⁶¹ Possibly material from stratified excavations will some day permit at least a tentative dating of others.

⁵⁴ Cf. H. T. Bossert, *Alt Kreta; Kunst und Kunstgewerbe im ägäischen Kulturkreise* (Berlin, 1921) Figs. 249 f and h and 250 g.

⁵⁵ Such conventionalized octopi are found on Late Minoan II pottery; see Evans, *The Palace of Minos* IV 305–10.

⁵⁶ According to Evans, *op. cit.* p. 497, cylinders were first produced in Crete during the Late Minoan Ia period.

⁵⁷ E.g. A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen; Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im klassischen Altertum* (Leipzig und Berlin) Pls. XXXIV 47, 49–50, and 52–53 and XXXV 46.

⁵⁸ *Fouilles de Telloh* I, Pl. 69, Nos. 1 b and g and 2 c.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* Pl. 70, No. 2 b; Newell No. 218; Louvre Pl. 75, Nos. 1–2; Ward No. 408.

⁶⁰ Speleers, p. 215, No. 484.

⁶¹ *UE* II, Pl. 192, No. 5.

IV

THE CATALOGUE

The order of the seals is determined by the classification system described in chapter iii. All discussions of date are confined to that chapter, but the period designations are repeated in the Catalogue for convenience.

In the description of each seal the first paragraph gives material, shape, size, owner's accession number, and period. If the seal has been published previously, the reference is included in the first paragraph. In the measurements of cylinders the first number represents the height, the second the diameter. All the cylinders in this collection are perforated lengthwise.

The second paragraph describes the design. The use of "right" and "left" refers to the design as it appears on the impression, not on the seal.

If parallels for all or part of the design are known, they are listed in a third paragraph (cf. Preface). For the most part they are drawn from the publications cited in the List of Abbreviations. In some cases illustrations published by Ward, Weber, and Frankfort are quoted in preference to, or in addition to, the original publication, since these studies are more likely to be available to the general reader.

MESOPOTAMIAN SEALS

1. Obsidian. Cylinder seal. 28×24 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 8. Uruk period.

There are three identical double-bodied monsters. The hindquarters are those of lions with powerful claws and long curved tails; the single upper part has wings and a human head with ass's ears. The tails cross one another.

Cf. discussion on p. 22.

2. Marble. Cylinder seal. 16×16 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 122. Jamdat Naşr period.

Four persons with arms outstretched are seated on benches or mats. The three larger figures wear their hair in pigtails. Columns of globes separate the three groups. Most of the design was made with a drill.

Cf. E. Mackay, *Report on Excavations at Jemdet Nasr, Iraq* (Field Museum of Natural History, "Anthropology, Memoirs" I 3 [Chicago, 1931]) Pl. LXXIII 9 and 24; *Fouilles de Telloh I*, Pl. 40, Nos. 2 a-c, and Pl. 41, Nos. 1 and 2 a, d, and f; *Fara*, Pl. 64 d-g and m (Weber No. 426); Louvre Pl. 32, Nos. 4-6, and Pl. 69, Nos. 1-4; Newell Nos. 29-30.

3. Marble. Cylinder seal with deeply concave sides. 15×18 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 123. Jamdat Naşr period.

Three spidery designs, much abbreviated.

Cf. *Fouilles de Telloh I*, Pl. 41, Nos. 2 c and e; *Fara*, Pl. 68 q (Weber No. 580); Louvre Pl. 21, Nos 5-6 (Susa).

4. Marble. Cylinder seal. 34×29 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 4. Published, while in the Fahim Kouchakji collection, by L. Delaporte in his "Les pierres gravées de l'Asie antérieure," *Formes*, Dec., 1929, Pl. 1, No. 6, opp. p. 16. Jamdat Naşr period.

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The scene represents a herd of long-horned and short-horned animals leisurely traveling in one direction. Most of the design was made with a drill.

Cf. No. 5; Mackay, *Report on Excavations at Jemdet Nasr*, Pl. LXXIII 1, 3, and 17-18; *Fouilles de Telloh I*, Pl. 69, No. 3; *Museum Journal XXII* (1931) Pl. XXIII, bottom (Farah); de Clercq Nos. 1-2; Newell Nos. 24 and 27-28.

5. Marble. Cylinder seal. 30×24 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 70. Jamdat Naşr period.

Two animals stand before a temple. A spouted pot and two globes appear in the field. Most of the design was made with a drill.

See references for No. 4.

6. Shell. Cylinder seal. 41×15 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 121. Jamdat Naşr period.

Deeply veined leaves, an ibex or goat with enormous curved horns, and small triangles are combined in a decorative pattern.

Cf. Frankfort Pl. VI *j*. For the leaves cf. Louvre Pl. 1, No. 14, and Pl. 18, Nos. 16 and 21. For the animals cf. Louvre Pl. 24, No. 12, Pl. 25, No. 9, Pl. 26, No. 6, and Pl. 27, No. 1; de Clercq No. 27 (Weber No. 568).

7. Steatite. Cylinder seal. 40×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 1. Jamdat Naşr period.

A geometric design.

Cf. Mackay, *Report on Excavations at Jemdet Nasr*, Pl. LXXIII 8; *Fara*, Pls. 69 *l-m* and 70 *f-g*; *Fouilles de Telloh I*, Pl. 39, Nos. 5 *b* and *d*.

8. Marble. Cylinder seal. 25×25 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 107. Jamdat Naşr period.

The design shows twelve fish, all swimming in one direction.

Cf. Mackay, *Report on Excavations at Jemdet Nasr*, Pl. LXXIII 5, 20, and 23; *Fouilles de Telloh I*, Pl. 40, Nos. 1 *a* and *e*; Louvre Pl. 21, Nos. 1-2.

9. Marble. Seal in the form of a crouching bull, perforated up and down. About 50×30 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 104.

Twelve circular pits, made with a drill, are arranged in four rows.

Other seals in animal forms, with simple drilled designs, are published in *Fouilles de Telloh I* 43 and Pls. 36 and 38; Louvre Pls. 1-2, 22-23, and 61-62; Newell Pl. II; Brett Pl. I; Speleers, pp. 83 and 89-90.

10. Marble. Seal in the form of a crouching bull, perforated up and down. 15×12 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 89.

Two animals form the design.

See references for No. 9.

11. Marble. Seal in the form of a crouching bull, perforated up and down. 35×22 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 103.

Two animals, facing in opposite directions and placed one above the other, were made by means of the drill alone.

See references for No. 9.

12. Marble. Seal in the form of a crouching cow with head free; back perforated. 50×35 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 106.

Two grooves running the length of the rectangular base are the only "design."

The position of the head in line with the body is unusual; ordinarily the head is turned, as in Nos. 9-11. But an almost identical piece from an Early Dynastic level at Khafājah (Kh. IV 278) is now in the Oriental Institute Museum (A 12374). Since the design on the base is very rudimentary, No. 12 may have been used only as an amulet, not as a seal.

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13. Marble. Seal in the form of a bull's head, perforated from back of head to neck. 30×35 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 105.

The design seems to represent an eagle.

Seals in the form of an animal's head are rare but not unknown; cf. Louvre Pl. 22, Nos. 8 and 14-15, and Pl. 62, No. 2; Legrain Nos. 1c-d; Newell No. 21.

14. Marble. Seal in the form of a human bust. 18×15 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 124.

Seven small circular pits constitute the sealing design.

15. Basalt. Cylinder seal. 40×9 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 7. Transitional between Jamdat Naşr period and Early Dynastic I.

A herd of ibexes or goats is represented. Above them are a spouted pot, a fish, and an uncertain design which looks like a bull's head upside down.

Cf. E. Mackay, *Report on the Excavation of the "A" Cemetery at Kish, Mesopotamia*, Part I (Field Museum of Natural History, "Anthropology, Memoirs" I 1 [Chicago, 1925]) Pl. VI 2; Morgan No. 138.

16. Serpentine. Cylinder seal. 32×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 2. Early Dynastic I.

A linear pattern covers the whole surface of the seal evenly.

For other "brocade-style" seals see *OIC* No. 20, Figs. 52-53.

17. Chalcedony. Cylinder seal. 30×20 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 12. Early Dynastic II?

A human-headed bull without horns but with an enormous beard rests on the ground. Before him stands a large horned animal with a long tail. Above are a lamb(?) and a boar. In the field is a rosette.

18. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder seal. 31×12 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 160. Early Dynastic III.

A group of rampant animals is so designed as to form an endless frieze. Two lions, their bodies crossed, attack two horned animals, between which is a lioness(?).

19. Marble. Cylinder seal. 45×31 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 13. Early Dynastic III.

A nude hero holds by tail and horn a stag which is attacked by a lion. Behind the hero another lion attacks a bull. Two human-headed bulls, crossing the lions, complete a well balanced—and beautifully carved—frieze. At either side of the hero a small animal fills the space behind the arched back of the bull and the stag respectively.

Cf. the three cylinders of Lugalanda of Lagash in Allotte de la Fuÿe, *Documents présargoniques* I 1 (Paris, 1908) Pls. V, VI (Weber No. 165), and VIII (DP 13); also *ibid.* Pls. VIII (DP 24) and IX-X (Weber Nos. 162-64); *Fara*, Pls. 42-45 (Pl. 42 c-d also in Weber, Nos. 106 and 105); *UE* II, Pl. 207, No. 214; Louvre Pl. 112, No. 2.

20. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder seal. 38×22 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 170. Early Dynastic III.

A short-skirted hero with face in front view stands between a bull and a lion; the bull is being attacked by a second lion, while the lion next to the hero attacks a human-headed bull. The latter is crossed by a similar creature, and a smaller pair of human-headed bulls appears below the space reserved for an inscription. A tiny lion fills the space between the hero and the large lion.

Very similar is a Metropolitan Museum cylinder published by Ward (No. 189) and Weber (No. 169). For the hero cf. also *UE* II, Pl. 205, No. 169.

21. Steatite. Cylinder seal. 25 mm. h. Mrs. Moore's No. 18. Early Dynastic III.

A rampant lion attacks a rampant goat, behind which is an upright scorpion below two horizontal lines. The space above the lines was meant to contain an inscription. A

human-headed bull, set across the lion, is opposed to a rampant leopard; between them is a small, long-horned quadruped, head down.

Other examples of the spotted beast may be seen in *Fara*, Pl. 42 *e*; Brett No. 26; Bibl. nat. Nos. 3-4; de Clercq No. 21; Louvre Pl. 31, No. 10, Pl. 50, No. 2, and Pl. 68, No. 2; Morgan No. 21.

22. Serpentine. Cylinder seal. 26×14 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 120. Early Dynastic III or early Akkadian.

A lion attacking a bull is in turn menaced by a bull-man who holds a large dagger. A bearded nude hero with face in front view fights a human-headed bull.

For the bull-man cf. Newell No. 103.

23. Jadeite? Cylinder seal. 30×20 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 161. Early Dynastic III or early Akkadian.

Two heroes, one bareheaded or wearing a round cap, the other wearing a flat cap, are shown in contest with beasts. The first holds a knife ready to kill a bull which is attacked by a lion. The hero in the flat cap engages another bull. Between the two heroes are a rampant wild goat and a tree or plant.

For the hero in the flat cap cf. *UE* II, Pl. 205, Nos. 171-72 and 174-75, and Pl. 208, Nos. 231-32. For the other hero cf. perhaps *ibid.* Pl. 208, No. 228.

24. Marble. Cylinder seal. 30×15 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 157. Early Dynastic III?

Two heroes are defending a horned animal and a kneeling human figure against the attack of a lion.

Cf. perhaps *UE* II, Pl. 202, No. 127 A.

25. Marble. Cylinder seal. 23×13 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 9. Early Dynastic III.

A so-called "symposium" or feast is shown. Two seated personages hold triangular beakers, evidently just brought to them by the two standing servants.

Cf. *Fara*, Pl. 63 *b*, *c*, and *n*.

26. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder seal. 34 mm. h. Mrs. Moore's No. 125. Early Dynastic III.

The upper register shows a so-called "symposium" or feast. Two seated personages and a standing attendant wear long skirts with fringed edges. The seated figures face each other, their backs to an altar or table on which is an 8-shaped object, and hold oblongish objects in their lifted hands. In the lower register an eagle seizes two crouching horned animals, between which there seems to be a plant.

Cf. *Fara*, Pl. 65 *a*; *UE* II, Pl. 195, No. 35, and Pl. 211, No. 286; Newell No. 39; also the related scenes in *UE* II, Pls. 193-95 and 200.

27. Marble. Cylinder seal. 35×14 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 6. Early Dynastic III.

Two registers are separated by two lines. In the upper register are a tree and a temple. In the lower register two horned animals are kneeling among plants.

Morgan No. 2 and *Fouilles de Telloh* I, Pl. 70 bis, Nos. 1 *b* and *d*, are similar but have seated figures in place of the tree. The upper register of *ibid.* No. 2 *b* and both registers of *UE* II, Pl. 212, No. 298, have files of animals among plants.

28. Marble. Cylinder seal. 25×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 11. Early Dynastic III?

Two eagles with spread wings are represented, one upright and one upside down. A crescent appears above the wing of one.

Cf. *Fouilles de Telloh* I, Pl. 69, Nos. 1 *d* and 2 *b*; *ibid.* II, Pl. 116, No. 1 *c*; Newell Nos. 53-55; Morgan No. 141.

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29. Jadeite? Cylinder seal. 28 mm. h. Mrs. Moore's No. 14. Akkadian.

Two nude heroes engage a lion and a bull, both rampant. Two human figures faintly indicated with thin lines seem to have been left unfinished. One raises his arms, while the other grasps the lion. Between the two men a stalk with a star-shaped head is faintly outlined.

Cf. Morgan No. 44; Bibl. nat. No. 34; de Clercq No. 48.

30. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder seal. 20 mm. h. Mrs. Moore's No. 153. Akkadian.

A nude hero in full face engages a lion and breaks its back with his foot. Another hero, shown in profile and wearing shoes with upturned toes, struggles with a rampant bull. Between the heroes are a star, a crescent, and a panel containing a single line of inscription.

For the shoes with upturned toes cf. de Clercq No. 54; Bibl. nat. No. 29; Newell No. 96; Louvre Pl. 49, No. 11.

31. Serpentine. Cylinder seal. 25×16 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 15*a*. Akkadian.

A hero wearing a short skirt fights with a water buffalo, while a bull-man grapples with a lion. The two heroes stand back to back but turn their heads toward each other; they are separated by two large scorpions.

Cf. Brett No. 42, with two scorpions; Bibl. nat. No. 28, in which a snake, a scorpion, and an eagle separate the figures.

32. Jasper. Cylinder seal. 35×25 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 185. Akkadian.

A bull-man with face in front view struggles with a lion, while a short-skirted hero, looking backward, fights with a water buffalo. A lion stands below a panel intended to contain an inscription.

For the small animal below the panel cf. Frankfort Pl. XVI *f* (from Tell Asmar); Louvre Pl. 66, No. 15; Newell No. 95; Brett No. 41. For the short-skirted hero cf. No. 31.

33. Quartz. Cylinder seal. 30×20 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 162. Akkadian.

A bull-man struggles with a lion. A second hero, who seems to wear a round cap, is conquering a water buffalo. Between the two groups is a panel in which the owner's name is inscribed.

Cf. Legrain Nos. 139-40; Bibl. nat. No. 27; Morgan No. 40; Newell Nos. 100 and 103; Louvre Pl. 49, Nos. 8 and 11.

34. Quartz. Cylinder seal. 30×20 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 187. Akkadian.

There are two groups of rampant animals. In each a lion attacks a wild goat.

35. Jasper. Cylinder seal. 28×15 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 109. Akkadian.

Four identical nude heroes kneel, each holding a doorpost. Above are a vase with streams, a fish, a crescent, and a sun disk; the doorpost below the crescent is marked by a wavy band (a snake?). There are two lines of cuneiform inscription, one partly obscuring the crescent, the other below the fish.

For the nude hero holding a doorpost cf. Frankfort Pl. XVIII *k*; Louvre Pl. 72, No. 13, and Pl. 73, No. 4; Weber No. 396.

36. Steatite. Cylinder seal. 16×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 115. Akkadian.

Before a seated deity is a winged gate with a bull kneeling before it. A rope attached to the bull's horn is held by the deity.

Cf. Legrain Nos. 162-63; Morgan No. 83; Weber No. 387. Related scenes showing the winged gate and bull but varying in composition are to be seen in Louvre Pl. 4, Nos. 8-9, and Pl. 72, Nos. 4-5; Morgan Nos. 79-82 and 84-85; Legrain No. 161; Bibl. nat. No. 77; Musée Guimet Nos. 31-32; Newell No. 648; Weber Nos. 388-89; Frankfort, *Tell Asmar, Khafaje, and Khorsabad* (OIC No. 16 [1933]) Fig. 28, No. As. 31-279.

37. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder seal. 28×16 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 152. This cylinder was excavated at Kish by the Field Museum-Oxford University joint expedition to Mesopotamia. It was found in burial No. 306 in the "red stratum." It has been published in *Illustrated London News*, June 2, 1928, p. 991; *Art and Archaeology* XXVI (1928) 163-65 and Fig. 11, bottom; Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, *Journal*, 1930, Pl. XI 1; *Archiv für Orientforschung* VI (1930/31) Pl. IV 3; *ibid.* VII (1931/32) Pl. V 5; L. Ch. Watelin and S. Langdon, *Excavations at Kish* IV (1934) p. 50 and Pl. XXXIV 3. The seal seems to be Akkadian, though there is some question about the stratigraphy (cf. p. 26).

Eight gods are engaged in a fight to the death. According to their dress they may be divided into two groups, four wearing skirts marked by deep vertical pleats and four in skirts with several rows of flounces. The second group is being defeated, for three have fallen or are falling to the ground. However, one of the gods in a pleated skirt is being menaced by another who is similarly dressed and who swings a mace. All the gods wear elaborate horned crowns characterized by high conical centers. Above one of the fallen gods are three horizontal lines which form the lower border of a space evidently reserved for an inscription.

Similar horned crowns and a pleated skirt with tucked-up kilt may be seen on Bibl. nat. No. 68.

38. Black marble. Cylinder seal. 26×15 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 188. Akkadian.

Four nude gods are fighting. Two swing maces and are vanquishing the others. One of the latter has dropped his broken mace, while the other falls to one knee as his adversary seizes his beard and jerks his head back. The head of one god has been obscured by a chip, but he probably wore a horned crown with conical center like those worn by the other three. A star and two short lines appear in the field.

Cf. Bibl. nat. Nos. 65-70; Frankfort Pl. XXII b; *UE* II, Pl. 214, No. 356.

39. Marble. Cylinder seal. 33 mm. h. Mrs. Moore's No. 16. Akkadian.

A bird-man, held captive by a god, is being brought before Ea to be judged. Ea holds a vase from which streams of water fall. The accuser is a god with two faces who stands with folded arms awaiting the decision of the judge.

Cf. Bibl. nat. Nos. 74-75; Legrain Nos. 174-75 and 178; Morgan Nos. 60 and 78; Louvre Pl. 73, Nos. 2 and 5-6; Weber Nos. 397-400 (397 and 400 are Bibl. nat. Nos. 74-75).

40. Jadeite? Cylinder seal. 30×21 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 16a. Akkadian.

Shamash, with rays emanating from his shoulders, is seated on a throne divided into nine squares. He wears a *kaunakēs* and an elaborate horned crown and holds his saw. Three gods wearing horned crowns approach, the first with left forearm extended horizontally, the second leading the third. A small figure at the end of the procession wears no horned crown.

Cf. Louvre Pl. 5, No. 1; Bibl. nat. No. 72, where six large gods and a small one approach the seated Shamash; Frankfort Pl. XVIII f; our No. 41.

41. Black marble. Cylinder seal. 45×30 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 191. Akkadian.

Shamash is seated on a throne divided into nine squares. He wears a *kaunakēs* and an elaborate horned crown. Five rays emanate from each shoulder, but he does not hold his

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saw. Behind him stands a small attendant, a god with streams issuing from his shoulders, above whom there is a two-line inscription. Shamash is approached by four gods, all wearing elaborate horned crowns and pleated skirts. The first, a solar deity with rays on his shoulders, leads the second by the hand. The third carries a mace over his shoulder and raises the other hand. The fourth has his hands folded at his waist.

Cf. No. 40 and references cited there.

42. Marble. Cylinder seal. 20×13 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 108. Akkadian.

Shamash, seated before an altar, holds the saw; from his shoulders issue the usual sun-rays. Before him stands a person holding in his raised left hand a pair of scales. This person is followed by another, who carries a goat as an offering. A smaller person behind the others holds a knife(?) over an altar(?), perhaps waiting to perform a sacrifice. At the end of the scene are two badly worn cuneiform signs.

To the best of the author's knowledge, this is the only representation of the balance with scalepans in Mesopotamian glyptic.

43. Gray marble. Stamp seal with loop handle and rectangular base. 19×20 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 28. Akkadian.

A seated goddess wearing a *kaunakēs* and a simple horned crown receives a worshiper who wears a fringed garment and whose hair is in a long queue caught up in a loop. The clubs at her shoulder and the eight-pointed star in the sky identify the seated deity as Ishtar.

Some other seals showing deities with weapons at their shoulders are Louvre Pl. 71, No. 1; Morgan No. 90; Legrain No. 184; *Museum Journal* XX (1929) Pl. XXXV 72. Frankfort, *Tell Asmar, Khafaje, and Khorsabad*, p. 52, mentions two stamp seals of similar shape; one (As. 31-221, Fig. 27) shows a worshiper before a deity, while the other (Fig. 32) has a design of concentric squares.

44. Quartz. Cylinder seal, broken at bottom. 22×18 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 16b. Akkadian.

A seated deity wearing a *kaunakēs* is separated by an altar(?) from four standing figures. The first two wear pleated garments; the robes of the other two are plain except for a band of trimming around the neck and down the front. The seated deity and the first two standing figures wear horned crowns and have their hair in a long tress falling below the shoulder. The other two lack the horned crown, and the last figure wears the hair in a queue caught up in a loop.

The last figure probably carried a pail or basket; cf. Frankfort Pl. XXIV *f*; also *UE* II, Pl. 214, No. 353; Newell No. 668; Louvre Pl. 50, No. 5.

45. Steatite. Cylinder seal. 28×15 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 17. Akkadian.

A seated deity receives a minor deity who introduces a worshiper. Behind the latter is a bird(?) or perhaps a stalk of grain. Before the seated deity is a tall vessel with a spout.

46. Marble. Cylinder seal. 41 mm. h. Mrs. Moore's No. 15. Akkadian.

The design shows a seated deity wearing a long garment and apparently a horned crown; the left hand is raised but seems to be empty. Two persons approach with their right hands extended. Behind the deity stands an attendant. There is a two-line inscription.

47. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder seal. 33×7 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 20. Akkadian.

In the upper register stand five persons, all in the same attitude and all dressed alike in garments reaching a little below the knees. The hair is worn in a queue caught up in a

loop. In the lower register a nude hero stands between two rampant horned animals, each attacked from behind by a lion.

For the lower scene cf. Louvre Pl. 65, No. 16, and Pl. 66, No. 1; Bibl. nat. No. 19; Brett No. 43; *UE* II, Pl. 203, No. 145, and Pl. 204, No. 158. For the figures in the upper register cf. the last figure on No. 44 and the worshiper on No. 43.

48. Jasper. Cylinder seal. 25×15 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 116. Akkadian?

In the upper register are a herder in a knee-length tunic and a row of sheep. The lower register shows a farmyard with sheep, ducks, and a flying bird. A man in a short tunic, squatting on the ground, and a man in a long garment, sitting on a stool, are both occupied with dressing sheep.

49. Quartz. Cylinder seal. 21×11 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 23*b*. Third Dynasty of Ur.

A seated deity receives a minor deity who leads a worshiper by the hand. None of the figures wears a horned crown. Perhaps the seal is unfinished.

50. Jadeite? Cylinder seal. 28×18 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 19. Third Dynasty of Ur.

A goddess in horned crown and *kaunakēs* leads a protégé by the hand, introducing him to a deity in horned crown and *kaunakēs* who is enthroned on a two-tiered platform. In the field are a sun disk set in a crescent, a spread eagle, a crane, a scorpion, a rampant goat, and a small figure in a *kaunakēs*. A lion crouches below the three-line inscription.

Cf. *Fouilles de Telloh* II, Pl. 116, No. 3; Louvre Pl. 75, No. 26, and Pl. 76, No. 6; Newell Nos. 117, 121, 124, 128, 132, and 140.

51. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 29×16 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 23*a*. Third Dynasty of Ur.

A bearded god wears a round cap with upturned brim and a long, fringed mantle; he is seated on an upholstered stool which rests upon a platform. He seems to hold a small cup. A goddess in horned crown and *kaunakēs* introduces her protégé, a bearded man in round cap and long mantle, whom she leads by the wrist. In the sky is a crescent; behind the god, an inscription in one line.

52. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 26×15 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 22. Third Dynasty of Ur.

A bearded god wearing a round cap with upturned brim and a long, fringed mantle is seated on an upholstered stool; he holds a small cup. A goddess wearing a *kaunakēs*, a long ribbon hanging down the back, and a horned crown stands with lifted hands behind a worshiper. The latter is beardless and apparently bald; he wears a long robe similar to that of the god and has his hands folded. There are two lines of inscription.

Cf. Louvre Pl. 50, Nos. 10, 12, and 14, and Pl. 77, Nos. 1-23; de Clercq Nos. 113-20 and 125-30; Bibl. nat. Nos. 103-20; Legrain Nos. 296-98, 304, 309-12, 315-17, and 323; Morgan Nos. 62-66; Newell Nos. 173-74 and 178; Brett Nos. 46 and 49.

53. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 22×13 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 171. Third Dynasty of Ur.

A bearded god wears a round cap with upturned brim and a long, fringed mantle; he is seated upon an upholstered stool which rests upon a platform. A goddess in *kaunakēs* and horned crown stands with lifted hands behind a worshiper who wears a long robe similar to that of the god and has his hands folded. The worshiper appears to be bearded and to wear a round cap. There is a crescent in the field. At the end of the scene is a two-line inscription.

Cf. No. 52 and references cited there.

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54. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 25×15 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 23. Third Dynasty of Ur.

The presentation scene is almost identical with that on No. 52, but the god is here enthroned on a platform. In the field is a sun disk set in a crescent. In place of an inscription there are designs in two registers, separated by a zigzag line. At the top there seem to be two crossed bulls supporting a crescent standard and each facing a tree. In the lower register two bull-men hold spears.

For the presentation scene cf. No. 52 and references cited there. For the crossed bulls and crescent standard cf. Legrain No. 282.

55. Black marble. Cylinder seal. 28 mm. h. Mrs. Moore's No. 21. Third Dynasty of Ur.

A deity wearing a *kaunakēs* and a simple horned crown is enthroned on a low platform. A standing deity in similar costume faces the seated deity. In the field is a bird, probably an eagle, with outspread wings. There is a three-line inscription.

56. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 27×14 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 172. First Dynasty of Babylon.

A bearded worshiper wearing a long mantle and a round cap with upturned brim offers a small animal to Ishtar. A supplicant goddess wearing a *kaunakēs*, a long ribbon hanging down the back, and a horned crown stands behind the worshiper. Ishtar stands with one foot upon a lion. She holds a scimitar and an emblem with two prongs ending in animal heads and wears quivers full of arrows.

Some other seals showing Ishtar are Bibl. nat. Nos. 224–34; Louvre Pl. 80, Nos. 18–20 and 24–25; Newell Nos. 205, 215–16, 218, 220, and 225.

57. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 25×15 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 183. First Dynasty of Babylon.

A bearded god wearing a mantle over a short skirt and holding a scimitar stands between two supplicant goddesses wearing the usual *kaunakēs* and horned crown. In front of the god stands a small nude female figure in front view, her hands clasping her breasts. A sun disk set in a crescent, a goat-fish, and the name of the god Shamash appear in the field.

For the small nude figure cf. Louvre Pl. 80, No. 10, and Pl. 81, Nos. 13, 18, and 28; Bibl. nat. Nos. 166 and 235; Newell Nos. 246–47, 250, and 252; Brett No. 62; Legrain Nos. 385 and 389; she also occurs full size on No. 58 and on numerous other seals of this period. For the god with the scimitar cf. No. 59.

58. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 18×8 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 158. First Dynasty of Babylon.

A worshiper offers a small animal to Shamash, who holds his saw and steps with one foot upon an abbreviated mountain. Behind the worshiper stands a supplicant goddess in horned crown and *kaunakēs*. Behind Shamash is a nude female figure in front view, her hands clasping her breasts; she stands upon a tiny dais. In the field appear the arm of a balance, a comb-shaped vase, a sun disk set in a crescent, a second vase(?), a small figure in horned crown and *kaunakēs*, and three globes.

For Shamash cf. No. 59; Louvre Pl. 78, Nos. 13–15, Pl. 80, Nos. 4–12 and 21–23, and Pl. 82, Nos. 8 and 12; Bibl. nat. Nos. 143–44, 160, 164–78, and 189–92; Newell Nos. 182, 188–89, 192, 198, 206, 217–18, and 224. For the nude female figure cf. Louvre Pl. 81, Nos. 20–24, and Pl. 82, Nos. 8–9, 12, 18, and 20–21; Bibl. nat. Nos. 177–78, 182, 186, 222, and 251; Newell Nos. 226, 243–44, 248, 251, 254–59, and 261; also the smaller representation on No. 57 and references cited there.

59. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 25×12 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 163. First Dynasty of Babylon.

A worshiper in a long mantle offers a small animal to Shamash, who stands with one foot

upon an abbreviated mountain and holds his saw in one hand. Between them is the head of Humbaba. Behind the worshiper's head is a small lion. A bearded god in a short mantle holds a scimitar. He seems to watch a lion-man and a bull-man who are wrestling. In the field between the god and the lion-man appear a recumbent ram, a walking bull, and a fish; between the wrestlers are a turtle(?) and a fly.

For Shamash cf. No. 58 and references cited there. For the god with the scimitar cf. No. 57. For the lion-man cf. Morgan No. 49; Contenau No. 125. For the Humbaba head¹ cf. Bibl. nat. Nos. 166 and 487; Louvre Pl. 51, No. 19, Pl. 81, No. 14, and Pl. 114, No. 4 c.

60. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 14×8 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 50. First Dynasty of Babylon.

A god swings a scimitar over his head and spears a falling victim, who grasps at the spear. Behind the god stands an attendant in a knee-length garment, who holds a misshapen sprinkler and pail. Behind him stands a long-robed figure raising one hand.

For the god destroying a human victim cf. No. 61; Legrain Nos. 441, 443, and 445; Bibl. nat. Nos. 241-42; Weber No. 288; Musée Guimet No. 66. For the attendant with sprinkler and pail cf. Bibl. nat. Nos. 137, 162, 167, 173-74, 212, 229, 233, 241, and 254; Newell No. 155.

61. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 17×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 53. First Dynasty of Babylon.

A god stands over a falling victim whom he is in the act of slaying by means of a knife and a three-headed club. In the field are two fish. The vertical axis of the design runs around the cylinder.

Cf. No. 60; Legrain Nos. 441 and 443; Bibl. nat. Nos. 241-42.

62. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 25×15 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 164. First Dynasty of Babylon.

A supplicant goddess wearing a *kaunakēs*, a long ribbon, and a horned crown stands before a three-line inscription, at the other side of which Adad appears, stepping with one foot upon a bull which he holds by a rope and carrying a lightning fork. A nude hero kneels and swings a lion over his head.

For the nude hero and lion cf. Bibl. nat. No. 434. For Adad cf. *ibid.* Nos. 244-51 and Legrain No. 460.

63. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 22×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 20a. First Dynasty of Babylon.

A bearded god wearing a horned crown and a *kaunakēs* and holding a ring stands between two worshipers or attendants. A statue of a bull supporting a lightning fork upon its back stands on the ground. In the field are a rosette of globes, a star, a vase, the arm of a balance, and a fish.

For the bull supporting a lightning fork cf. Louvre Pl. 79, No. 28, Pl. 81, No. 9, and Pl. 83, No. 28; Bibl. nat. Nos. 148, 204, and 255; Newell No. 184; Brett No. 70.

64. Jadeite. Cylinder seal. 30 mm. h. Mrs. Moore's No. 27. First Dynasty of Babylon.

A god in short mantle and round cap with upturned brim holds a mace in his left hand. Before him stands a goddess in horned crown and *kaunakēs*, her hands raised in supplication.

Some other seals showing these two deities are to be seen in Louvre Pls. 81-82; Bibl. nat. Pls. XV-XVI; de Clercq Pls. XIX-XXI; Legrain Pl. XXII; Newell Pl. XVIII. In most of these there are additional figures, inscriptions, or filling motives.

¹ For discussion of this head and representations of it on plaques see e.g. F. Thureau-Dangin, "Humbaba," *Revue d'assyriologie* XXII (1925) 23-26, and *Fouilles de Telloh* II 49 f. and Pl. 97.

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65. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 25×11 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 71. First Dynasty of Babylon.

A god in short mantle and round cap with upturned brim holds a mace in his left hand. Before him stands a goddess in horned crown and *kaunakēs*, her hands raised in supplication. There is an inscription in three lines.

Cf. No. 64 and references cited there.

66. Black marble. Cylinder seal. 30 mm. h. Mrs. Moore's No. 26. First Dynasty of Babylon.

Two supplicant goddesses stand facing a three-line inscription. On a platform before one of them stands a small statue of an animal supporting a crook.

Cf. Louvre Pl. 84, Nos. 8–12, esp. No. 9; de Clercq Nos. 243–45; Newell Nos. 260, 262–63, 265, and 661; Morgan Nos. 109–10 and 112; Brett No. 78.

67. Milky chalcedony. Cylinder seal. 34×14 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 182. Kassite.

A long-robed figure with one hand raised stands facing a six-line inscription. In the field is a plant or tree.

Cf. Bibl. nat. No. 295; Newell Nos. 268 and 274–76; Legrain No. 544; de Clercq Nos. 259 and 261; Louvre Pl. 51, No. 23; Morgan No. 122; our No. 68 and references cited there.

68. Milky chalcedony. Cylinder seal. 30 mm. h. Mrs. Moore's No. 165. Kassite.

A solitary bearded figure stands with one hand raised before an eight-line inscription.

Cf. de Clercq Nos. 260, 260 bis, 260 ter, 262, and 267; Newell Nos. 274–76 and 662; Louvre Pl. 84, No. 15, and Pl. 85, No. 1; Legrain No. 531; Musée Guimet No. 95.

69. Turquoise. Cylinder seal. 30×16 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 110. Kassite.

The design shows two standing figures in the same pose, the left arm bent over the waist and holding a stick or mace, the right arm hanging down and holding a scimitar. Both figures are clad in long garments; one wears a conical headdress, the other a lower and more rounded headdress. In the field are three reclining goats with heads turned backward and a bird. There are five lines of unintelligible "inscription."

Cf. Bibl. nat. No. 294; de Clercq No. 266; Morgan Nos. 121 and 123.

70. Red jasper? Cylinder seal. 39×18 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 159. Kassite.

There are four like objects, possibly flies or bees, in a panel and an inscription in nine lines.

For the fly or bee as it usually appears on Kassite seals see e.g. Louvre Pl. 51, No. 22; Morgan No. 121.

71. Carnelian. Cylinder seal. 31×11 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 84. Middle Assyrian.

Two horned(?) lions are disputing for a mountain goat. In the field are a sunflower, a descending bird, and a star.

For the symmetrical composition and the modeling cf. Bibl. nat. No. 301 (Kassite) and Southesk Pl. VII Qc 10–11 (Frankfort Pl. XXXI *l* and *i*).

72. Gray marble. Cylinder seal. 35×12 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 61. Middle Assyrian.

A sacred tree appears between two horned animals, one rampant, the other leaping away. In the sky is a bird. The design is bordered at top and bottom by rows of cross-hatched triangles.

Cf. Louvre Pl. 85, No. 13; Bibl. nat. No. 305; Newell No. 417; Weber No. 480.

73. Marble. Cylinder seal. 51×21 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 81. Provincial imitation of Middle Assyrian style.

There are two groups. In one a large vulture is seen above two rampant ibexes, and under them is a bird standing between two small globes. Below the ibexes are three fish

swimming in the same direction, and below the vulture's head is a small bird. In the other group a winged demon holds aloft a man. The demon stands on the heads of two crouching lions. A rosette and a "Kassite" cross appear in the field.

Cf. No. 71 and references cited there. For the demon possibly de Clercq No. 357 should be compared.

74. Felsite. Cylinder seal. 50×18 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 62. Assyrian.

A hunting scene is represented. A large and a small bowman pursue two horned animals and three birds. Two plants suggest the landscape. In the sky are a crescent, two globes, seven dots representing the Pleiades, a large star, and a wig. Rows of triangles form borders at top and bottom.

Archers appear frequently in Assyrian glyptic; but the archer is sometimes a superhuman being, and his quarry is frequently a monster; cf. e.g. Louvre Pl. 86, Nos. 8-20, and Bibl. nat. Nos. 309-16. Our seal, in contrast, suggests a real hunt.

75. Steatite. Cylinder seal. 22×14 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 68. Assyrian?

A man on horseback and another on foot both hold spears ready to throw at wild asses(?). One of the asses(?) has been struck by a spear. In the lower field appear a smaller animal, a crescent, and two stars. Both men are nude, but the one on foot wears a headband.

76. Marble. Cylinder seal. 15×9 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 73. Assyrian.

A bull kneels in adoration before a sun disk in the form of a wheel. Above are a crescent and a constellation of seven or more stars.

Cf. Louvre Pl. 85, No. 11; Newell No. 413; Hogarth No. 226; Morgan No. 149, lower register.

77. Serpentine. Cylinder seal. 29×14 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 72. Assyrian.

Two antelopes appear, one with head turned backward. Above one is a crescent, above the other a winged disk from which two lines descend to the ground.

Cf. Louvre Pl. 89, No. 12; Newell No. 408; Bibl. nat. No. 310.

78. Milky chalcedony. Cylinder seal. 14×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 75. Assyrian.

A four-winged human figure holds at each side a winged sphinx. In the field are a rhomb and a fish.

Cf. No. 79; Legrain Nos. 612-14 and 619-20; Louvre Pl. 87, No. 6; Newell Nos. 420 and 425; de Clercq Nos. 323-24.

79. Chalcedony. Cylinder seal. 26×14 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 76. Assyrian.

A four-winged human figure holds a horned animal at each side. Between the animals is a tree, and in the field there is a fish.

Cf. No. 78; Bibl. nat. No. 319 (Weber No. 333); Legrain No. 605.

80. Agate. Cylinder seal. 26×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 151. Assyrian.

A hero takes an animal from a lion which grasps it by the scruff and tail. In one hand the hero holds a weapon, and with the other he grasps one of the hind legs of the animal. He is dressed in a short skirt, ending above the knees, and the ends of a sash fall down behind. His head is in front view, and he has three curls on each side and a beard.

Cf. Southesk Pl. VIII Qc 26 (Weber No. 344); Weber No. 270; also Newell No. 686, which may be a forgery.

81. Marble. Cylinder seal. 25×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 78. Assyrian.

In the center is a table or altar on which stands an ovoid vase with narrow neck and wide rim. To the left stands a person holding a large fan, and to the right is a person who

holds a bow with his left hand and seemingly a bird in his right. Behind the figures, under a large eight-pointed star, stand the emblems of Marduk and Nabu.

Cf. Newell Nos. 397-99, 402, and 405-6; Bibl. nat. Nos. 342-46; Louvre Pl. 87, No. 18, and Pl. 88, No. 1; Weber No. 465.

82. Serpentine. Cylinder seal. 40×15 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 79. Assyrian.

Ea is seated on a high-backed throne which is supported by his animal, the goat-fish. He holds a staff and ring. In front of him is a tall, narrow altar, perhaps with burning offering, before which stands a priest or worshiper. At one side of the altar is the emblem of Nabu; at the other are a rhomb and several small wedges, possibly cuneiform characters. Behind Ea stands a priest wearing a fish robe and carrying a pail and sprinkler. In the sky are a crescent, seven dots representing the Pleiades, a bird, a ten-pointed star, and a winged disk with central globe.

Cf. Louvre Pl. 88, No. 10; Bibl. nat. No. 361.

83. Smoky chalcedony. Cylinder seal. 15 mm. d. Mrs. Moore's No. 181. Assyrian.

A god surrounded by a nimbus with balls is approached by two worshipers. In the field are a winged disk, a crescent, a rhomb, a fish, a six-pointed star, and seven dots representing the Pleiades.

Cf. de Clercq No. 326 bis; Newell Nos. 442 and 444; also our No. 84.

84. Agate. Cylinder seal with gold mounting. 25×12 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 142. Assyrian.

A god is shown surrounded by a nimbus with balls. Before him stands a supplicant and behind him a scorpion-man with pail and sprinkler. At the end of the scene are a crescent and the emblem of Marduk decorated with tassels. A tall wedge, the emblem of Nabu, stands before the worshiper, and in the sky are seven globes representing the Pleiades.

Cf. Weber No. 257; Louvre Pl. 88, No. 8; Bibl. nat. No. 356; Legrain No. 584.

85. Milky chalcedony. Cylinder seal. 30 mm. h. Mrs. Moore's No. 143. Previously published as Ward No. 685. Assyrian.

A bull-man stands at each side of a sacred tree above which is Ashur in a winged disk. A small animal—dog or monkey—sits at each side of the tree. A four-winged bearded figure wearing a long robe and a crown topped by a star holds the head of a horned animal in each hand. In the field appear a star and a crescent.

Two bull-men supporting a winged disk with the bust of Ashur appear on Ward Nos. 683-84 and 686; cf. also Louvre Pl. 88, No. 2, where a single bull-man supports a disk containing the half-figure of a god.

86. Lapis lazuli. Cylinder seal. 34×14 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 82. Assyrian.

Ashur in a winged disk appears above a sacred tree. At one side stands a priest in a fish robe who carries a pail in one hand and raises the other. At the other side of the tree stand a long-robed figure raising one hand and a second priest wearing a fish robe.

Cf. Ward No. 687; Louvre Pl. 90, No. 4 (Ward No. 689); Bibl. nat. No. 384.

87. Carnelian. Cylinder seal. 22×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 145. Previously published by V. Scheil in *Revue d'assyriologie* XVI (1919) 109 f. Assyrian.

A bearded, long-robed figure in front view raises both hands to support a winged disk. On the ground at each side is a vase from which streams are flowing. A priest wearing a fish robe and holding a pail and sprinkler stands on a low dais at each side of the central group. In the field are a star and crescent.

A kneeling figure supporting the winged disk may be seen on Ward Nos. 655-56 and Frankfort Pl. XXXIV b.

88. Serpentine. Cylinder seal. 30×13 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 80. Assyrian.

A nude, four-winged goddess or demon is attended by two priests who wear fish hoods and carry pails and sprinklers. In the field are an eight-pointed star and a crescent.

Cf. de Clercq No. 355; also the nude, four-winged female figures *ibid.* No. 334 (Weber No. 47); *Bibl. nat.* No. 612; Newell No. 432.

89. Carnelian. Cylinder seal. 27×11 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 86. Assyrian?

A beardless, long-haired figure wearing a crown and holding a short staff is seated before an altar. A worshiper(?) wearing a peaked cap and holding a wig stands at the other side of the altar. In the field is an arching shelter(?) over a small tree(?).

Somewhat similar are Ward Nos. 722 and 721, though in those the seated figure is bearded. For the altar cf. Weber Nos. 466 and 472. For the wig cf. No. 74.

90. Agate. Cylinder seal. 28×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 117. Assyrian?

There are two groups. A seated person faces a sacred tree which rests on a high support. Above is a winged creature which seems to have a bee's head and long antennae and is apparently meant for a winged disk. Just below this is a fish. In the other group a long-robed figure standing on a bull faces the emblem of Marduk, which is held by a horned lion. The bull appears to be tethered to the Marduk emblem, and a dagger(?) is seen above its head. In the sky are seven globes, not arranged in the usual fashion, and a star.

91. Chalcedony. Stamp seal with two convex oval faces, one of which is engraved. 24×21 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 146. Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian.

A bearded hero in a long robe open in front separates two winged ibex-like monsters with human faces and long tails.

For similar monsters cf. Louvre Pl. 89, No. 18, and Pl. 91, Nos. 18 *a* and 24.

92. Serpentine. Pyramidal stamp seal with oval base. 16×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 154. Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian.

Two nude bull-men without horns support a winged disk, which here probably represents the whole sky. Between the bull-men is a tree.

Cf. Morgan No. 297; Louvre Pl. 91, No. 18 *e*; Musée Guimet No. 142.

93. Milky chalcedony. Pyramidal stamp seal with rounded top and eight-sided base. 20×14 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 97*a*. Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian.

A priest or worshiper stands before an altar or support on which rest three divine emblems: a beaded staff with short rays near the top (probably meant for the lamp of Nusku), the emblem of Marduk, and the emblem of Nabu.

For these particular emblems cf. *Bibl. nat.* No. 586; Morgan No. 299; Newell No. 488; Louvre Pl. 54, Nos. 24–25. Similar stamps with other combinations of emblems are very numerous.

94. Chalcedony. Conical stamp seal with rounded top and oval base. 17×12 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 155. Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian.

A ram-headed mace, the emblem of Ea, rises above a goat-fish, the animal emblematic of Ea. Above is a crescent, and below is a rhomb.

For the ram-headed mace and goat-fish cf. Louvre Pl. 54, No. 30, and Pl. 90, No. 9; *Bibl. nat.* No. 564; Brett No. 144; Morgan No. 292.

54 ANCIENT ORIENTAL SEALS OF THE MOORE COLLECTION

95. Marble. Disk-shaped seal engraved on both faces. 18×15 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 102. Said to have been found at Ra's al-^cAin on the Khabur in Syria. Provincial Assyrian?
- On one side of the seal is a god surrounded by a nimbus. On the other side is a winged monster with human head, the body and tail of a fish, and two legs with lion's(?) paws.
- For the god cf. Legrain No. 580; Bibl. nat. Nos. 351-52 and 524; Newell No. 442; Louvre Pl. 88, No. 7; de Clercq No. 308. Possibly the monster represents a confusion of the scorpion-man (e.g. Newell No. 438; Bibl. nat. Nos. 387-88; Morgan Nos. 290-91) and the fish-man (e.g. Bibl. nat. No. 543 a; Brett No. 140), a confusion which would not be surprising if this is a provincial seal.
96. Marble. Pyramidal stamp seal with rounded top and eight-sided base. Mrs. Moore's No. 97. Said to have been found at Ra's al-^cAin on the Khabur in Syria. Provincial Assyrian?
- A person wearing a high conical headdress is standing before an altar. In the field are an animal and a globe.
97. Carnelian. Cylinder seal. 24×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 74. Neo-Babylonian.
- A winged human figure grasps a rampant lion by its forepaw and in his other hand holds a scimitar. Behind the animal's head is an inscription.
98. Agate. Cylinder seal with very narrow bore. 42×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 144. Neo-Babylonian.
- At each side of a sacred tree stands a rampant ibex with head turned backward.
- Similar designs appear on cylinders No. 99 and Newell No. 458 and on stamp seals Bibl. nat. No. 536 a, Legrain Nos. 846-47, and Morgan No. 289.
99. Chalcedony. Cylinder seal. 30×15 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 77. Neo-Babylonian.
- A winged disk appears above a sacred tree. At each side of the tree is a rampant ibex with head turned backward. The design fills only about half the available space.
- Cf. No. 98 and references cited there.
100. Agate. Cylinder seal. 38×16 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 83. Neo-Babylonian?
- A beardless figure in a round cap is seated below the winged figure of a god. Behind him stands a bearded attendant holding a forked standard. Before the seated figure appear a standing bearded man wearing a long robe and peaked cap and a kneeling nude man holding a bull over his head. Above the bull there is a cross, and behind the kneeling figure is an Aramaic inscription. At the end of the scene is a standard decorated with globes.
101. Agate. Cylinder seal. 32×15 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 10. Achaemenian.
- A Persian king holds two lions at bay.
- Cf. Louvre Pl. 52, Nos. 16-17, and Pl. 90, Nos. 13 and 18; Bibl. nat. Nos. 393-94; Newell Nos. 454-55; Speleers, pp. 219 f., Nos. 555, 707, 550, and E. 3077.
102. Milky chalcedony. Cylinder seal. 22×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 118. Previously published in A. U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* IV (London and New York, 1938) Pl. 124 D. Achaemenian (Greco-Persian).
- A Persian king advances with a bow in his left hand and a long spear in his right, in the act of striking a Greek hoplite; the latter tries to ward off the blow with his raised right arm as he falls backward to the ground. Behind the king is a date palm with two clusters of fruit.
- The style of this seal is more Greek than oriental, suggesting that the seal may have been made by a captive Greek artist. With this may be compared two cylinders in the Ermitazh in Leningrad and one in

the British Museum. One of the Leningrad cylinders (see A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen* [Leipzig und Berlin, 1900] p. 121, Fig. 84; also G. Perrot and C. Chipiez, *History of Art in Persia* [London and New York, 1892] Fig. 226) shows a Persian king with bow and spear attacking a Greek warrior armed with a spear and a round shield; a second Greek warrior lies on the ground; above the scene a winged disk appears. The second, oriental in style, is the so-called "Zvenigorodsky cylinder" (Furtwängler, *op. cit.* p. 119, Fig. 79; Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.* Fig. 218; A. S. Strelkov in American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology, *Bulletin V* [1937—] 20, Fig. 3). Here the king spears a kneeling enemy who wears a crown suggestive of the double crown of Egypt. The Persian king leads four captives, and behind them appears a palm tree. The British Museum seal (Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art IV*, Pl. 124 A) shows a Persian soldier striking with a spear at a Greek soldier. A winged disk appears above them.

103. Pumice. Cylinder seal. 20×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 87. Achaemenian.

There are two warriors, one with bow and arrow, the other with shield and spear. The latter wears a Greek helmet and a short tunic, while the former seems to wear Median dress.

104. Agate. Cylinder seal. 22×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 119. Previously published in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art IV*, Pl. 123 O. Achaemenian.

A Persian noble on horseback is spearing a charging wild boar.

Cf. Bibl. nat. No. 404; de Clercq No. 362 bis (Weber No. 522); Weber No. 524.

105. Marble. Cylinder seal. 25×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 88. Achaemenian.

A hunter is attacking a wild boar among the reeds. He holds a spear in his right hand and a cloth(?) in his left.

Cf. Frankfort Pl. XXXVII f; Bibl. nat. No. 405.

106. Bone. Cylinder seal. 40×30 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 186. Achaemenian (Greco-Persian)?

There are two registers, each showing a hunter with a spear running in pursuit of three animals. The scenes go in opposite directions and do not end at the same place.

As in the case of No. 102, the style is more Greek than oriental. The liveliness and movement of this seal are equaled but rarely, e.g. on de Clercq No. 362.

107. Carnelian. Gem seal. 20×20 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 149. Parthian.

The head of a bearded man is shown in profile. Before the face is a star. The border is a poorly cut Pahlavi inscription.

108. Milky chalcedony. Gem seal. 20×20 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 150. Sasanian.

The bust of a bearded man shows his head in profile; his hair is long and bunched at the back of the neck; he wears an earring. Across the bosom of his tunic are three stars. In the field are a star and a crescent, and a Pahlavi inscription forms a border over the top of the portrait.

Cf. Louvre Pl. 111, No. 46; Newell No. 617.

109. Carnelian. Flattened globular seal with oval base. 15×12 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 101. Sasanian.

The bust of a woman with head in profile is bordered by a Pahlavi inscription.

110. Carnelian. Flattened globular seal with oval base. The back is decorated with two large lotus flowers in relief. 25×20×24 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 147. Sasanian.

A woman or goddess wears a decorative headdress and a long tress of hair down the back. She holds a flower in her right hand and in her left the end of her shawl. A Pahlavi inscription forms a border.

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111. Hematite, highly polished. Flattened globular seal with oval base. The back is decorated with two lotus themes. 15×10×11 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 148. Parthian or Sasanian.
A mythical bird with two combs forms the design. In the field are a crescent and a star.
112. Agate. Flattened globular seal with oval base. 20×14 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 100. Parthian or Sasanian.
A zebu or humpbacked bull is surrounded by a beaded border.
Cf. Legrain Nos. 789-90; Louvre Pl. 55, Nos. 57-61, and Pl. 110, Nos. 17-18; Newell Nos. 564-66.
113. Quartz. Flattened globular seal with oval base. 17×12 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 100a. Parthian or Sasanian.
A reclining zebu has attached to its horn a rope which is coiled over its body.
114. Agate. Flattened globular seal with oval base. 25×17 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 99. Sasanian.
The design shows a spray of a considerably generalized flowering plant.
Cf. Legrain No. 747; Morgan No. 322; Louvre Pl. 55, No. 7, and Pl. 108, Nos. 24-28; Newell No. 609; Brett No. 154; also Speleers, pp. 224-25, No. 658.

NON-MESOPOTAMIAN SEALS

115. Steatite. Stamp seal with low gable-shaped back and nearly circular base. 52×45 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 90.
The design shows a long-necked animal with head turned backward. Around the edge are chevrons and short lines.
Cf. Louvre Pl. 99, Nos. 17 and 21; Hogarth No. 68; *OIP* XXVIII, Fig. 186, No. c 1839.
116. Steatite. Stamp seal with low gable-shaped back and rectangular base. 70×50 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 91.
Two deer in archaic style.
Cf. Hogarth No. 70; Legrain Nos. 512-14; Louvre Pl. 99, Nos. 23 b and 24; *OIP* XXVIII, Fig. 186, No. c 1225.
117. Steatite. Stamp seal with low gable-shaped back and rectangular base. Mrs. Moore's No. 92.
Two bulls are placed back to back.
Cf. Hogarth No. 101.
118. Steatite. Stamp seal with low gable-shaped back and rectangular base. 44×32 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 93.
Two human figures are apparently dancing.
Cf. Hogarth Nos. 50, 73, and 77.
119. Steatite. Pyramidal stamp seal with loop handle and rectangular base. 30×26 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 111.
The design is composed of two series of parallel lines which meet in a V at one end and cross at the other end.
There are no exactly parallel designs in the French collections, the nearest being Louvre Pl. 98, No. 9 b. Cf. also *OIP* XXX, Fig. 272, top two rows.

120. Marble. Stamp seal with handle in the form of a monkey's head. Mrs. Moore's No. 94.
The head of an ostrich(?).
121. Bronze. Stamp seal with unusual handle, ending in a loop, and oval base. 40×16 mm.
Mrs. Moore's No. 98.
A winged figure.
122. Quartz. Scaraboid; back high and rounded; oval base. 24×17 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 140.
At the base is a sun disk from which rise two misshapen uraei. Above are an ankh and a falcon with a sun disk above and a beetle below him. The whole would represent a wish for "life" for an unidentifiable beneficiary.
123. Fayence. Scarab(?) set in a bronze mounting in the form of the head and shoulders of a woman; loop for suspension on top of the head. 25 mm.; height of mounting, 25 mm.
Mrs. Moore's No. 139.
The deeply carved base shows a bird with spread wings, a pair of spread wings alone, another kind of bird with spread wings between two seated birds(?), and Horus as falcon between two uraei.
124. Quartz. Scaraboid with simplified markings suggesting wings and head of beetle. 20×16 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 141.
A cow and a bull with short horns stand with heads turned to face each other. The cow is suckling a small calf. A tiny human figure stands above the backs of the large animals.
Cf. Evans, *The Palace of Minos* III, Fig. 210; *ibid.* IV, Fig. 515.
125. Steatite. Scaraboid with back shaped as human head; perforated lengthwise. 19×15 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 95.
Above a kneeling bull is a palm leaf.
Other scaraboids with human heads carved on the backs are Louvre Pl. 104, Nos. 15 and 18; Hogarth No. 292; British Museum, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc.* I, by H. R. Hall (London, 1913) Nos. 1238-41, 1884, and 2535. For the design cf. Hogarth Nos. 279-81, 284-87, and 291-93.
126. Steatite. Scaraboid with back shaped as human head; perforated lengthwise. 15×11 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 96.
A horned animal stands over a branch or scorpion; behind the animal is a scorpion.
Cf. No. 125 and references cited there.
127. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 20 mm. h. Mrs. Moore's No. 127. Cappadocian.
A deity wearing a round cap and a *kaunakēs* is seated on an upholstered stool. He receives two deities in horned crowns who stand before him with hands lifted. Behind them a weather-god stands on a kneeling bull. He wears a pointed headdress and holds in his left hand a battle-ax and a rope which is fastened to the bull's horns; his right arm is raised. In the field are a fish, a human head, a vase, the arm of a balance, and a sun disk set in a crescent.
128. Jade. Cylinder seal. 22×15 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 44. Cappadocian.
A seated deity holding a cup receives a goddess who wears a horned crown and leads a worshiper by the hand. Between the two deities are an altar and a bull idol with a cone

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on its back. A monkey and a design which seems to consist of two birds' heads appear before the worshiper. The rest of the field is crowded with the severed heads of five humans and six animals and with two animals and two small persons, all four horizontal, one above another. Also in the field are a globe set in a crescent, a snake, and a fly.

129. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 22×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 176. First Syrian group.

A god wearing a short mantle with decorated edges faces a supplicant goddess in horned crown and *kaunakēs*. Between them is a rosette of globes set in a crescent. Behind the god is a nude hero with face in front view; streams, indicated by dots, appear to issue from his arms and fall into vessels at either side of him. Behind the goddess is a bull supporting a shrine within which appears a small *kaunakēs*-clad figure with one hand raised.

A nude goddess within a shrine supported by a bull appears on Bibl. nat. No. 457 and Ward No. 930; a winged nude goddess, on Ward No. 939a. For the nude hero with streams represented by dots cf. Frankfort Pl. XXX f; Newell No. 204.

130. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 24×12 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 131. Found at Ra's al-Shamrah, Syria, in 1928, before the beginning of the recent excavations there. Mentioned by Charles Vroilleaud in *Syria* X (1929) 308 and in his *Mission de Ras-Shamra. I. La légende phénicienne de Danel* (Paris, 1936) pp. 2 f. and by W. F. Albright in *Archiv für Orientforschung* V (1928/29) 229. Discussed by René Dussaud in *Babyloniaca* XI (1929-30) 166-68 and Pl. IV 1 and by Georges Dossin, "Aplaḥanda, roi de Carkémiš," *Revue d'assyriologie* XXXV (1938) 115-21, esp. 115 f. First Syrian group.

A Babylonian interceding goddess in *kaunakēs* and horned crown stands before a bearded god who wears a long mantle over a short skirt or tunic. Between them appear a winged sun disk, a fish, and a monkey. There is a three-line inscription.

131. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 19×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 42. First Syrian group.

A deity wearing a *kaunakēs* and holding an indistinct object in one hand faces a two-faced deity who is likewise clad in a *kaunakēs* and who raises both hands. Between the deities are faint traces of designs, of which only the guilloche at the top can be recognized. The remaining space contains two pairs of seated lions separated by a guilloche.

132. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 16×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 133. First Syrian group.

A woman wearing a *kaunakēs* and an elaborate coiffure or wig stands before an emblem or weapon with a human head at the top. The emblem rests upon the back of a crouching lion and is surmounted by a bird. In front of the woman there is a vase, and behind her head is the arm of a balance. In the remaining space appear a kneeling hunter, a lion, and a winged griffin.

For the emblem and the figure wearing the wig(?) cf. Newell Nos. 164 and 312; for the emblem with other figures cf. Ward Nos. 840, 932, and 1017.

133. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 15×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 55. First Syrian group.

A hunter carries a curved weapon and a spear. In the field are a swan, a horned animal, a star, a lion, a griffin, an eagle, and a sphinx. The griffin and the sphinx each wear a uraeus.

134. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 22×11 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 132. First Syrian group?

The design is essentially in two registers, although there is no dividing line. In the upper register is a bird with outspread wings; on its head are a disk and crescent(?) above ram's horns(?). At each side of the bird appear a star and a squatting monkey. The re-

maining space in the upper register is filled by a sphinx which is treading upon two serpents; above the back of the sphinx is an animal head. In the lower register, below the bird, is a two-faced figure with streams issuing from his shoulders. At each side is a nude kneeling figure who holds a plant in one hand and a spear in the other. Between their backs stands a nude figure with the head of a horned animal; he carries a mace(?) horizontally.

Cf. perhaps Morgan No. 206.

135. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 19×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 37. First Syrian group?

The design is in five horizontal lines. The top row consists of human heads, the second of crouching hares and lions. These two rows are broken by a group of three larger figures, a double eagle and two rampant gazelles. The third line is a guilloche of two strands with central globes. The fourth and fifth rows are upside down. In the fourth there are crouching lions and human heads. The fifth row is made up of animals seated in human fashion.

Cf. No. 136; Hogarth No. 152; Bibl. nat. No. 444; Newell No. 312; Brett No. 92. For the double eagle cf. No. 138; Louvre Pl. 99, Nos. 8 and 10, and Pl. 101, No. 1; Hogarth No. 192; *OIP* XXIX, Fig. 249, Nos. c 385 and b 1854, and Fig. 254, No. e 333.

136. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 15×6 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 113. First Syrian group?

Two registers are separated by a guilloche with central globes. The upper register contains two birds, two resting animals, and a scorpion. In the lower row are two-legged, wingless dragons and a horned animal.

Cf. No. 135; Speleers, pp. 215 f., No. 483b.

137. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 20×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 166. Second Syrian group.

A worshiper faces a figure who seems to be derived from the Babylonian supplicant goddess. Between them are a sun disk set in a crescent, an ankh, a monkey, and a guilloche. Behind the goddess are two small human figures below a lion.

138. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 16×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 168. Second Syrian group.

A worshiper confronts a goddess who wears a *kaunakēs* and horned crown and raises both hands. Between these figures is a star. A kneeling winged demon with bird's head faces a double eagle. Above, a small figure holding a jar is seated before an altar on which stands a larger jar of the same type; at the other side of the altar sits a winged griffin.

For the small seated figure cf. the pair of small figures on No. 153. For the double eagle cf. No. 135 and references cited there. For the winged demon cf. No. 155; Louvre Pl. 96, No. 20; Newell No. 311; Bibl. nat. No. 483; Ward No. 920. For the griffin cf. Nos. 151, 155, 158, and 162.

139. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 21×12 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 39. Second Syrian group.

A Mesopotamian nude hero with streams issuing from his shoulders stands between two men wearing cloaks. One has a high conical headdress and holds a spear, while the other wears a round cap and holds an unrecognizable weapon(?). In the field are a sun disk set in a crescent and a star. At the end of the scene a winged sphinx, a guilloche, and an antelope are arranged one above another.

Cf. Frankfort Pl. XLIV m.

140. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 23×14 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 47. Second Syrian group.

A seated bearded god wearing a *kaunakēs* and a round cap with upturned brim holds in his right hand a vase from which flow two streams. Before him stands a beardless person holding a staff. A goddess(?) stands behind the seated god, extending her right arm

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over him. In the field behind the god is the arm of a balance; before him is an altar. At the end of the scene a lion is separated by a guilloche from a rhomb and a crouching quadruped (or possibly a hare, with the "rhomb" as its ear?).

141. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 18×11 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 184. Second Syrian group.

A seated man wearing a tall double crown and holding a slender pitcher is attended by an Egyptianized lady holding a flower and a staff(?) and by a bald-headed and beardless man standing with hands folded. A sun disk set in a crescent appears in the field, and at the end of the scene there is a scorpion between two guilloches.

Cf. Newell No. 319.

142. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 25×13 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 48. Second Syrian group.

A Babylonian supplicant goddess in horned crown and *kaunakēs* appears at either side of a kilted figure standing under an arch composed of ankhs. In the field are two winged sphinxes facing each other, a double guilloche, and two lions standing over a dead antelope.

For a similar arch see Brett No. 88.

143. Hematite. Cylinder seal, chipped at the top. 25×15 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 38. Second Syrian group.

Two worshipers, a man and a woman, approach a seated deity. The man wears a cloak and a high headdress, the woman a long dress and a hood or shawl over her head. Between the two worshipers are an ankh and a bird or fish. This scene is bordered above and below by guilloches. On the remainder of the seal a guilloche separates four small, short-skirted figures from two griffins(?) facing a sacred tree(?). Before the small figures are a fish and a bird.

For the small figures cf. Nos. 144, 156, and 158; Louvre Pl. 96, No. 10; Newell No. 311; Hogarth No. 168; also the long-robed figures on our No. 145. For the hood worn by the woman cf. Newell No. 321.

144. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 18×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 190. Second Syrian group.

A grotesque figure which may be meant for the Egyptian goddess Toeris stands before the seated god Osiris. The goddess has the head and body of a hippopotamus(?), the hind legs and tail of a lion, and wings in place of forelegs or arms. Behind Osiris are three small, short-skirted men beneath a guilloche.

For the small figures cf. No. 143 and references cited there.

145. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 20×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 35. Second Syrian group.

A deity holding a curved weapon is seated before an altar. At the other side of the altar stands a winged deity wearing a horned headdress and a long skirt open in front and holding a straight and a curved weapon. Behind him are three small, long-robed figures below a winged sphinx. Behind the seated deity stands an attendant.

For other winged deities cf. Nos. 146-50. For the small figures cf. the short-skirted small figures on Nos. 143-44, 156, and 158.

146. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 19×8 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 36. Second Syrian group.

A winged deity wearing a short skirt with long fringe and holding a spear and a battle-axe faces a person in a high conical headdress and a cloak. In the field are a hare(?), a guilloche, and a lion which possibly is swallowing a human being.

For the winged deity cf. No. 147 and perhaps No. 148; Newell Nos. 322 and 324-28; Morgan No. 252. For a lion swallowing a human being cf. Newell No. 147.

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147. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 24×11 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 30. Second Syrian group.

A winged god wearing a short skirt with long fringe faces a god in a short skirt who has a long pigtail and who holds a mace in one hand and in the other a battle-ax, a curved weapon, and the halter of a reclining bull. Both gods wear horned headdresses. In the remaining space are a hare, a guilloche, and a winged griffin.

Cf. Newell Nos. 324 and 327; Brett No. 94; Ward Nos. 891-92; Bibl. nat. No. 490.

148. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 20×9 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 189. Second Syrian group?

The design is crudely cut, mainly with a drill, and may be unfinished. The central figure is a winged god who wears a short skirt with long fringe. Before him stands a short-skirted figure with arms raised, holding two weapons in one hand and one in the other. Another person stands behind the winged figure. In the field between the first two is a bird.

If this seal is unfinished, it may have been intended to represent the two figures seen on No. 147. On the other hand, the drill technique suggests that it may be a rough Assyrian seal (cf. Nos. 78-79).

149. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 16×9 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 112. Second Syrian group.

A winged deity wearing a long skirt open in front is approached by two worshipers, one in a short skirt, the other in a long garment. In the field is a scorpion. At the end of the scene appear a bird, a guilloche, and a horned(?) animal.

150. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 20×12 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 34. Second Syrian group.

Two winged deities or demons stand facing each other across an altar. One wears a long robe trimmed with fringe at the bottom; the other, a skirt with four tiers of pleats or fringe. Behind the latter stands a worshiper. A vulture, a double guilloche, and a cow suckling a calf appear behind the worshiper. In the field are two small vases, the arm of a balance, a star, and a sun disk set in a crescent.

For the vulture cf. e.g. Frankfort Pl. XLIV *m*; Bibl. nat. No. 481.

151. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 20×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 46. Second Syrian group.

A deity(?) in a *kaunakēs* stands between two long-robed supplicants whose long hair falls over their shoulders. At one side of the deity is a hand; at the other the arm of a balance and a star appear. At the end of the scene are a horned animal, a guilloche, and a winged griffin.

152. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 15×7 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 174. Second Syrian group.

Two figures in cloaks with heavy borders stand facing each other, each with one hand raised. One wears a round cap with upturned brim and holds a spear with the point resting on the ground; the other seems to be bareheaded. An eight-pointed star appears between them. Another group consists of two small figures who confront each other as if in argument or ready to fight. Each wears a pigtail and a cap with a small globe at the top. Guilloches appear above and below this pair.

For the large figures cf. No. 154. For the small pair cf. Frankfort Pl. XLII *c*.

153. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 27×13 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 31. Second Syrian group.

A standard decorated with globes and topped by a shallow crescent supports a winged disk; the disk itself is a rosette of globes. On either side, in adoration of the standard, is a person wearing a cloak with heavy borders and a round cap with upturned brim and holding a tall crook with both hands. In the other part of the design two crouching winged

sphinxes face each other. Above them are three rosettes set in a guilloche frame. At the top two seated figures face each other, and at either side of them is a bird.

Very similar is a cylinder in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, which has been frequently published (see e.g. Ward No. 868; Weber No. 483; Contenau No. 189; Frankfort Pl. XLII *e*). For the standard cf. also *Bibl. nat.* No. 435 and *Southesk* No. Qd 5 (Frankfort Pl. XLII *i* and *k*); Morgan No. 225. For the rosettes cf. No. 168; Louvre Pl. 96, No. 19; Newell No. 341. For the small seated figures cf. Hogarth No. 153; *Bibl. nat.* No. 451; Louvre Pl. 95, No. 24, and Pl. 97, No. 4; Newell No. 297.

154. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 20×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 40. Second Syrian group.

A beaded staff supports a winged disk. At each side of the standard stands a person in a long dress who raises one hand to touch the staff. A second scene shows two persons in cloaks with heavy borders facing each other, each with one hand raised.

For the standard cf. No. 153 and references cited there. For the second pair of figures cf. No. 152.

155. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 15×7 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 49. Second Syrian group.

A winged demon with bird's head kneels before a goddess who draws aside her garment to expose her nudity. Two small birds, a large scorpion, and a winged griffin appear in the field.

The goddess and kneeling demon appear on Ward No. 920 also; for the goddess cf. Ward Nos. 912-19 and Brett No. 90; for the demon cf. our No. 138 and references cited there.

156. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 20×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 177. Second Syrian group.

A goddess removing her garment stands upon a bull. Facing her is a person wearing a conical headdress and a short cloak and holding a crook(?). Behind the goddess are three small, short-skirted figures below a pair of birds.

For the goddess cf. No. 155 and references cited there. For the small short-skirted figures cf. No. 143 and references.

157. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 18×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 179. Second Syrian group?

The seal is carelessly engraved but seems to show the same goddess removing her garment who is depicted on Nos. 155-56. It is possible, however, that a winged figure was intended instead. A walking human figure and a seated lion (or dog?) face the goddess(?), and a human head in profile is seen in the field.

158. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 20×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 33. Second Syrian group.

A nude woman with head in profile stands on a dais beside a sun standard. In front of her are a star and a small vase. A god standing on two mountains holds a mace in one hand and with the other holds an ax and pushes a spear into the mouth of a serpent. Three small men in single file appear below a winged griffin.

A god killing a serpent is seen on No. 159 also. For a god similarly dressed and standing on mountains see Newell No. 303 and Morgan No. 229. For the small figures cf. No. 143 and references cited there.

159. Steatite. Cylinder seal. 25×11 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 29. Second Syrian group.

A god wearing a high peaked headdress advances with weapons raised against a huge serpent. Beside the serpent stands a winged figure with crossed legs. A seated deity seems to watch the contest. In the field are a sun disk set in a crescent and an ankh.

For the god killing a serpent cf. No. 158. For the cross-legged figure cf. Ward Nos. 954-55.

160. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 21×9 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 32. Second Syrian group.

A god(?) wearing a short skirt and a conical headdress with horns and carrying a misshapen ankh(?) seems to embrace the Egyptian goddess Hathor, who wears a long robe

and her characteristic headdress, the sun disk between cow's horns (borrowed and worn by Isis also). A rampant horned animal stands behind the god(?). A second group shows a short-skirted figure swinging a mace, about to slay a kneeling human being. Above the latter appears a lion upside down.

For the costume of the goddess cf. perhaps J. Ménant, *Les pierres gravées de la Haute-Asie; recherches sur la glyptique orientale* II (Paris, 1886) Fig. 112.

161. Steatite. Cylinder seal. 25×13 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 65. Second Syrian group?
The seal is considerably worn. Two figures wearing high pointed headdresses face each other; between them are a cylindrical object and a seated cat. Of a second pair of human figures one seems to be a nude woman with long hair. In the field are a fringed crescent, a fish or plant(?), a globe on a short staff, and a scorpion.
162. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 10 mm. d. Mrs. Moore's No. 114. Second Syrian group?
A lion and a winged griffin sit facing each other, a hare between them. Behind them is a small tree or plant.
163. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 15×7 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 43. Second Syrian group?
A man wearing a round cap and a long cloak with heavy borders is surrounded by real and fantastic animals—goats, hares, scorpions, and griffins. The design fills all the available space.
164. Steatite. Cylinder seal. 26×11 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 59. Second Syrian group?
A guilloche with large globes in the loops forms a frame around the scene. Three people are dancing, while a fourth seems to play some stringed instrument. A large branch separates the musician from the others, and a smaller branch appears between two of the dancers.
165. Limonite. Cylinder seal. 19×9 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 52. Second Syrian group?
Between two bands of connected spirals with centered dots are a lion, a bird, and a scorpion.
Cf. Newell No. 351.
166. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 15×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 134. Second Syrian group?
A kneeling nude man holds a spear with point resting on the ground. Before him is a seated ibex or goat with head turned backward. In the field are a star, a fish, a hare, a dagger(?), a bird, and an animal's head.
167. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 16×8 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 136. Second Syrian group?
Two rows of scorpions are separated by a row of tiny fish(?).
168. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 29×12 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 173. Previously published as Ward No. 1015a. Mitannian.
A tree or plant rises above a pair of winged griffins. Below the griffins is a lion. At each side of the tree a small figure wearing a *kaunakēs* and probably a horned crown stands in the attitude of the Babylonian supplicant goddess. These two figures turn their backs to the tree, and each faces a god who wears a short skirt with long fringe, an elaborate headdress with horns at the edge and several projections on the crown, a pigtail, and a crook. These two gods stand above three rosettes in a guilloche frame, and each holds a curved weapon(?) and a rope attached round the neck of one of the griffins.

169. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 26×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 24. Reproduced by Delaporte in his "Les pierres gravées de l'Asie antérieure," *Formes*, Dec., 1929, Pl. 4, No. 4, and credited (p. 17) to the then owners, Kouchakji Frs. Kirkuk style.

There are two groups, separated on the one side by three globes, on the other by a star and two globes. In one a supplicant goddess in a long dress with beaded edges confronts a god in a short dress. Between them are the arm of a balance and a rosette of globes. The other group consists of a worshiper facing a god who holds a seven-headed club.

For the god with the seven-headed club cf. *Bibl. nat.* Nos. 148, 154, and 439; Louvre Pl. 78, Nos. 21-22; Newell No. 652. For the god in short dress and the supplicant goddess cf. Nos. 64-65, which show the typical appearance of the pair on seals of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

170. Pumice. Cylinder seal. 26×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 69. Said to have been found at Ra's al-^cAin on the Khabur in Syria. Kirkuk style.

The worn design shows a person who seems to be seated on a chair in the shape of a long-necked monster with a bird's head. A standing human figure and a tree with seven short branches ending in globes complete the design.

For similar trees see Hogarth No. 231; Newell Nos. 289-90; Louvre Pl. 119, No. 5 *a*. For animal-shaped chairs on seals of other periods cf. Louvre Pl. 5, No. 8; Frankfort Pl. XXVII *i*.

171. Lava. Cylinder seal. 25×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 25. Kirkuk style.

Two figures in high pointed headdresses and long robes stand facing each other with hands raised; a long streamer hangs down the back of each figure. Between them appear the cuneiform sign meaning "god" or "heaven" and a rosette of globes. To the side are two rampant animals, a lion and a gazelle.

For the human figures and for the style of the animals cf. Frankfort Pl. XLIII *d* (from Megiddo). For the animals cf. an impression on a Kirkuk tablet, Louvre Pl. 119, No. 6.

172. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 20×9 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 51. Kirkuk style.

Between two standing persons appear a winged lion(?) attacking a standing antelope and, above, a reclining winged griffin and a reclining antelope with head turned backward. Behind the backs of the persons are two globes and a fish, and other globes appear in front of one of them.

173. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 17×8 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 54. Kirkuk style.

The design shows a person kneeling in the midst of real and fantastic animals, including griffins, a monkey, a lion, and a goat.

Cf. Louvre Pl. 96, Nos. 7-8.

174. Quartz. Cylinder seal. 16×8 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 45. Kirkuk style.

A conventionalized sacred tree is surrounded by various animals: two antelopes, a bull, a lion, and a duck. In the field are a star and a crescent.

For similar trees see Louvre Pl. 97, Nos. 10 and 24; *Bibl. nat.* No. 468; Legrain No. 597; Newell Nos. 360 and 364; Weber No. 267.

175. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 16×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 178. Third Syrian group.

The poorly cut design is divided into two panels by rope patterns. In the larger panel there are two seated figures holding small vessels. They are attended by a standing figure, and before one of them appears an uncertain object, possibly a monkey. Two lions recline back to back below this group. The other panel, which is damaged, contains a nude female figure with head in profile.

For the nude figure cf. No. 158. For the other group cf. Hogarth No. 153.

176. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 18 mm. h. Mrs. Moore's No. 167. Third Syrian group.
A kneeling hunter holds a bow and arrow, and a game bag (or possibly a quiver) hangs down his back. Before him stands a demon with two animal heads, who holds a staff in each hand. To his left is a dagger(?) and to his right an ankh. A nude female figure faces the demon; over her head is a winged disk and over one shoulder a star.
177. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 18×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 41. Third Syrian group.
An animal-headed demon holds an animal by the tail with his left hand and a scimitar with his right. Two persons approach the demon, the second holding a spear and a scimitar. Behind the demon is a kneeling or running figure. In the field are a bird, a lion or dog, an animal head, and perhaps another object which is obscured by a chip at the top of the cylinder.
178. Hematite. Cylinder seal. 25 mm. h. Mrs. Moore's No. 175. Third Syrian group.
A seated deity wearing a horned headdress with a globe at the top is approached by two standing figures who hold animals by their hind legs. The first wears a headdress like that of the seated deity and holds a horned animal. The second is bareheaded and carries a lion. In the field are a winged griffin, stretched out upon the ground, two smaller animals, an eight-pointed star or rosette, a small globe set in a crescent, and a goat-fish(?).
Cf. Weber No. 486 (Frankfort Pl. XLV *i*).
179. Marble. Cylinder seal. 27×11 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 67. Third Syrian group?
A crudely engraved hunting scene shows a bowman in a chariot followed by a man on foot. Above a deer is another man, who holds a club. There is a scorpion in the field.
180. Basalt. Cylinder seal. 20×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 138. Egyptianized cylinder.
In the center is a papyrus plant(?) which seems to have assumed the role of a sacred tree; at each side of it stands a falcon-headed god (Horus?). In the field at each side are an Egyptian *ḏd*-sign ("duration") and a crescent. There are two lines of inscription, one in cuneiform and one in hieroglyphic, one of which may have been meant as a translation of the other.
181. Carnelian. Cylinder seal. 26×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 137. Egyptianized cylinder.
The surface of the seal is divided into three bands, and the vertical axis of the design runs around the cylinder. One band is crosshatched. In another appear two gazelles, carved in outline, and three plants. The third band contains a meaningless grouping of Egyptian hieroglyphs.
182. Steatite. Cylinder seal. 31×15 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 64. Egyptianized cylinder.
There are two panels separated by groups of three lines and bordered at top and bottom by two lines. One panel contains a long-robed figure holding a flail and a crook, the symbols of Osiris. In the field is a flower(?). A winged falcon-headed deity (Horus?) with pendant uraeus occupies the other panel. The two figures are by no means as Egyptian as their attributes.
183. Gold (.998 fine). Signet ring; the sides of the ring are decorated with fleurs-de-lis. 25×31 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 60. Middle Minoan III-Late Minoan I.
On the bezel are engraved a bull's head and a double ax above a shrine or altar from each corner of which issues a stalk of grain. At either side stands a female figure in a flounced and fringed skirt, raising her hands in homage or in the performance of some

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rite. Below the scene is a crosshatched base, and each end of the oval is decorated with short, roughly horizontal lines set off from the scene by a long, slightly curved line.

For a somewhat similar composition see Evans, *The Palace of Minos* III (London, 1930) Fig. 89 (Bossert, *Alt Kreta* [Berlin, 1921] Fig. 250 g).

184. Serpentine. Ellipsoidal whorl, perforated vertically. 35×35 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 58. Late Minoan?

At the top is seen an octopus, at the bottom a leaping bull. At one side is a labyrinth design, at the other a bud(?). Two concentric circles border the perforation.

185. Steatite. Cylinder seal. 20×11 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 57. Late Minoan I?

A man apparently nude except for leggings and armllets leads a bull over a field in which there are two conventionalized plants. The scene is bordered at top and bottom by pairs of lines and at the side by a rope pattern between two lines.

For the leggings cf. e.g. Evans, *The Palace of Minos* II (1928) Figs. 132 and 516; *ibid.* III (1930) Figs. 158 and 160 (latter=*ibid.* IV, Fig. 23); *ibid.* IV (1935) Fig. 552. For bulls with forward-curving horns see e.g. *ibid.* III, Figs. 75 and 158-60. A man holding an ox by a rope appears *ibid.* IV, Fig. 536.

186. Carnelian. Cylinder seal. 30 mm. h. Mrs. Moore's No. 169. Hellenistic?

Three nude Erotes advance to the right as in a dance. Each is winged and wears a fluttering scarf. The leader plays a double flute, which he holds in both hands. The second Eros carries a torch over his right shoulder and raises his left arm. The third likewise raises his left arm, while on his right shoulder he carries a lecythus.

UNCLASSIFIED SEALS

187. Jasper. Cylinder seal. 37×8 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 5.

An ibex or antelope is followed by an animal without horns, perhaps a lioness, above which are a deer and a bird(?). Six globes and a six-pointed star appear in the field, and possibly there are one or two snakes in the worn section in front of the deer.

188. Steatite. Cylinder seal. 39×15 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 63.

A band of mimosa(?) branches separates two registers. In the upper are waterfowl. In the lower register, facing the opposite way, are a man, a bull, and a hornless animal; above the back of the bull is a bird.

189. Steatite. Cylinder seal. 30×13 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 66.

An object represented by crossing vertical and horizontal lines and an animal lying on its back occupy the lower part of the seal. Above are a man, a goat, and two other animals. Two globes appear in the field.

190. Marble. Cylinder seal with slightly concave sides. 38×25 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 128.

A man stands in adoration before a tree and turns his back to a post on which a bird is seated. Another man holds a spear resting on its tip. Behind him are three segmented vertical bars resting upon five similar horizontal bars. An L-shaped figure of the same nature divides the field, in which appear an animal, a scorpion, two birds, and a sun disk within a crescent.

191. Calcareous shale. Cylinder seal. 50×26 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 3.

A man wearing a feather headdress leads a bull by means of a stout twisted rope with rings attached to its ends. The smaller ring passes through the bull's nose, while the

larger ring, which the man holds, was perhaps used for passing over a post. A large eagle upside down appears in the field.

192. Steatite. Cylinder seal. 20×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 56.

Above an eagle is a large eight-pointed star. To the right is a seated deity with one hand raised, before whom appear a large fish(?) and a star or cross with wedge-shaped arms. Behind the deity stands a man, either nude or wearing a very short tunic, who holds a knife. Each figure wears a close-fitting cap with a large feather or tassel attached. In the field are four wedges.

193. Basalt? Cylinder seal with very narrow bore. 15×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 135.

A stag is followed by a lion. Above them are a scorpion, a globe with fanlike rays ending in globes, and several small ovals, some of them grouped into a larger object.

194. Agate. Cylinder seal. 20×15 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 129.

There are two registers, each containing a row of resting quadrupeds with large ears and long horns.

195. Limestone. Cylinder seal. 28×14 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 180.

There are four nude figures clasping one another's hands as in a ring dance. Between them appear various objects—five wedges and two stars, a sun disk set in a crescent and a horned animal, two globes and two branches, and a larger globe and two branches.

196. Marble. Cylinder seal. 21×10 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 85.

A man wearing a short skirt and holding a three-headed club and a boomerang is shown in front view, surrounded by animals. There is a crane above his head. A horned animal and a swan are separated by a tree from a rampant lion, a resting lion or other large quadruped, a centipede(?), a cricket, a huge fly(?), and a small bird.

197. Marble. Cylinder seal. 19×6 mm. Mrs. Moore's No. 126.

A standing person, apparently a woman, grasps with one hand a standard above which is perched a bird and holds some small object in the other. In the field are another bird and a quadruped.

Cf. Speleers, p. 209, No. 486.

198. Marble. Cylinder seal with rounded edges and concave ends. 20 mm. h. Mrs. Moore's No. 130.

A dance(?) is performed by four persons clad in flounced dresses, no two of which are alike. At one side is an animal placed vertically. In the field are groups of balls, vertical lines crossed by horizontal bars, and paired lines or wedges. In the sky are a crescent and star.

Closely related in style is Speleers, p. 227, No. 416.

V

NOTES ON THE DESIGNS

DEITIES

The identification of the deities pictured on the seals presents a number of problems, which vary from period to period. Since the deities were anthropomorphic, it is sometimes impossible, especially in the earliest periods, to distinguish them from human beings. It seems certain that the earliest human figures in Mrs. Moore's collection, those on No. 2, of the Jamdat Naṣr period, are mortals rather than gods. In the Third Early Dynastic period the seated figures in the symposium or feast scenes (Nos. 25–26) may perhaps be deities but more likely are human beings. In the Akkadian period and later this distinction becomes easier, for there is a special headdress, the horned crown, which is reserved for deities. It may be a simple cap with one pair of horns attached, as on No. 44, or an elaborate headdress with four pairs of horns, as on Nos. 37, 52, 56, etc. Its usefulness for our purpose is limited only by the fact that not all deities wear it.

To identify beings that are surely divine with the gods and goddesses known from literary sources is likewise not always possible. In chapter ii we have seen that, on the one hand, many of the gods have complex characters—combining solar and fertility aspects, for example—and, on the other hand, several local deities may actually be almost identical with one another in spite of their different names. As a result there are many cases where we cannot be positive that we are choosing the right name for a deity even when certain attributes show us something of his nature. Worse than that, several deities are depicted with no distinguishing attributes at all, or at least with none which we can recognize.

Nevertheless, there are certain deities whom we do feel justified in naming because of some distinguishing feature. In the Akkadian period and again in the First Dynasty of Babylon there are a fair number of these. Some of them we shall find again on seals of the various Syrian groups, though we cannot be sure that they retained the same names. The seals attributed to the Third Dynasty of Ur are more difficult. Stereotyped presentation scenes (Nos. 49–54) are the general rule. Ordinarily the god is not characterized in any way that we can recognize¹ unless the small designs occasionally appearing in the field were meant to serve that purpose or the inscription gives a clue. The latter is not often true; but seals of princes or officials may make reference to a god, and in such cases it is possible to assume that the god and the owner of the seal (as the worshiper) are then portrayed on the seal. In some such cases the "god" seems to be a deified king, the official's sovereign or the overlord of an *ishakku*; for example, a seal impression in the University of Pennsylvania Museum is believed to show "the divine Gimil-Sin,"² a king of the Third Dynasty of Ur, while another shows "the divine Ibi-Sin,"³ his son.

EA AND HIS ASSOCIATES

Ea or Enki, god of earth and water, is identified on the seals by two streams which spring from his shoulders or from a vase held in his hand. No. 39 shows him judging a captive bird-

¹ As exceptions some of the Lagash sealings may be mentioned; see e.g. T. 103, T. 105, T. 108, and T. 110, Louvre, pp. 11–13.

² Legrain No. 287. The king's name is better read as Shu-Sin.

³ *Ibid.* No. 284; more fully published in Leon Legrain, *Historical Fragments* (Pennsylvania. University. University Museum. Babylonian Section, "Publications" XIII [Philadelphia, 1922]) pp. 34–41 and photographic Pl. I.

man, probably Zu. The two-faced god acting as accuser has been identified as Usmu, minister of Ea.⁴ The appearance of the small god who serves as attendant to Shamash on No. 41 is that of Ea; yet it is unthinkable that Ea himself should serve in such a capacity. Even if we were to call the sun-god "Marduk" instead of "Shamash," it is hardly satisfactory to find Ea, the father, serving Marduk, the son.⁵ Perhaps some minor water-god was intended, though more likely the representation is due to confusion on the part of the artist. We have mentioned above (p. 27) that in a similar scene the sun-god is depicted with the fish belonging to Ea as well as with his own rays.

Whether he was still called Ea we cannot say, but a god very like the one on No. 39 appears on No. 140, a seal assigned to the Second Syrian group. He wears the round cap with upturned brim which became popular in the Third Dynasty of Ur rather than the horned crown of No. 39; otherwise he is much the same. His attendant, however, is a slightly Egyptianized figure standing behind his throne, and a worshiper appears before him. A badly worn seal of the First Syrian group, No. 131, may perhaps show Ea and Usmu; one figure is two-faced, and the other may possibly hold a flowing vase.

Ea is seen again on Assyrian seal No. 82. There he holds a staff and ring instead of a flowing vase, but his identity is made evident by the goat-fish supporting his throne. The goat-fish appears on a stamp seal also (No. 94) with a ram-headed mace, an emblem of Ea, above it.

A minor deity or semidivine being associated with Ea is a nude figure who holds a flowing vase or has streams issuing from his shoulders. In appearance he is the same as the nude hero frequently identified as Gilgamesh; his head is in front view, and he wears three curls at each side and a full beard. This figure is represented in the present collection only on seals of the First and Second Syrian groups, Nos. 129 and 139. In the former the streams are indicated by dots. Possibly a confusion of this figure with the two-faced attendant of Ea produced the nude, two-faced being with streams issuing from his shoulders on No. 134, a curious and unusual seal which may belong to the First Syrian group.

SHAMASH

One of the deities we may venture to name is the sun-god, who is pictured with rays emanating from his shoulders and carrying a saw in one hand. Though there were other solar deities, we may feel fairly safe in calling him "Shamash." Many seals show him as the rising sun, emerging over the mountains of the East and through the gates of the morning to begin his daily journey across the sky.⁶ In Mrs. Moore's collection, on Nos. 40-41, we see him receiving other deities. The leader on No. 41 must be some minor solar deity, a servant of the great god, for he likewise has rays on his shoulders. No. 42 bears an unusually interesting scene. Shamash is seated before an altar. Two men approach, the first holding a balance with the scalepans clearly indicated,⁷ the second carrying a goat. A smaller figure may be a priest holding a knife and waiting to perform the sacrifice at a small altar before him. The scene is apparently unique, and its meaning is not clear. However, since we know that certain useful inventions, such as writing, were supposed to have been presented to mankind by one or another of the gods, it is just possible that we have here a representation of Shamash giving the balance to man. In any case the balance, as a symbol of justice, is appropriate to this god, who was the supreme judge.

⁴ See E. Douglas Van Buren, *The Flowing Vase and the God with Streams* (Berlin, 1933) pp. 11 f.

⁵ Cf. Frankfort Pl. XVIII *k* and de Clercq No. 143, scenes which Frankfort describes (pp. 102 f.) as showing Ea worshiped by Marduk.

⁶ Examples of this scene are Louvre Pl. 71, Nos. 3-4 and 7; Bibl. nat. No. 71; Ward Nos. 244-58.

⁷ Cf. the discussion of the so-called "libra" on p. 79.

Was Shamash represented on seals of the Third Dynasty of Ur? Possibly the sun disk on No. 54 is intended to designate him, just as the crescent in the field on Nos. 51 and 53 may accompany Sin, the moon-god. On Nos. 58–59, of the First Dynasty of Babylon, a worshiper presents an offering to Shamash. The god no longer has rays on his shoulders, but he carries the saw and steps with one foot upon a small “footstool,” a symbol of the mountain over which he rose as the morning sun on Akkadian seals.

ISHTAR

On No. 43, an Akkadian seal, there is a seated goddess with weapons at her left shoulder. She is Ishtar as goddess of battle. In this particular case we may assume that the eight-pointed star in the field has reference to her, for it appears to represent the planet Ishtar (Venus). On No. 56, of the First Dynasty of Babylon, Ishtar is seen again in her warlike aspect. Quivers full of arrows appear at both shoulders, she holds a scimitar and an emblem decorated with two prongs ending in animal heads, and she steps upon a lion.

It is still questionable whether Ishtar is represented on the seals in her other aspect, as mother goddess or goddess of love. Some scholars have seen her in the nude female figure shown in front view and with hands clasping her breasts on numerous seals of the First Dynasty of Babylon (e.g. Nos. 57–58), while others have maintained that this figure can be no more than a priestess, possibly the one who was sent to entice Enkidu to Uruk according to the Gilgamesh epic. In the absence of convincing proof for either contention, we have simply referred to this personage as a “nude female figure.” Similar doubts may arise as to the character and identity of the nude female figures on Syrian seals (Nos. 155–58). Those removing their garments on Nos. 155–57 apparently represent a goddess, for they seem to be worshiped in each case. The one on No. 158, however, could well be a priestess.

ADAD OR TESHUB

Adad, the weather-god, is seen on No. 62. He steps with one foot upon a crouching bull, which he controls by a rope, and holds a lightning fork. No. 63 shows a statue of the bull supporting the lightning fork on its back; this is, of course, an emblem of Adad, but whether it means that the figure to the left of the bull represents that god is very doubtful. A similar weather-god, possibly to be called “Teshub” in this case, appears on No. 127, a Cappadocian cylinder. He stands upon a kneeling bull, which he holds by a halter, and carries a battle-ax.

NERGAL

On Nos. 60–61, of the First Dynasty of Babylon, a god is killing a falling human being. The representations differ slightly: on No. 60 the god swings a scimitar over his head and slays his victim with a spear; the weapons on No. 61 seem to be a dagger and a three-headed club. It is likely that this god who destroys a human victim is Nergal, god of pestilence and death.

AMURRU(?)

A god who appears frequently on seals of the same period is seen on Nos. 64–65. He wears a round cap and a short mantle and carries a mace. The supplicant goddess usually accompanies him, as she does here. Another representation of this pair, in which many details have been misunderstood, occurs on the “Kirkuk” cylinder No. 169. Many scholars, perhaps rightly, identify this god as Amurru (MAR.TU). On the other hand, since the figure concerned appears so often, it may, like the seated figure on seals of the Third Dynasty of Ur, represent several different gods.

NOTES ON THE DESIGNS

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ASHUR

The bust of Ashur in a winged disk appears on Assyrian seals Nos. 85–86. A similar figure of questionable identity appears on No. 100.

MARDUK, NABU, AND NUSKU

These gods are frequently represented by their emblems on Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian seals (cf. pp. 78 f.).

EGYPTIAN DEITIES

Attempts were made to depict Egyptian deities on some Syrian seals. Osiris appears on Nos. 144 and 182. A grotesque figure on No. 144 may represent the hippopotamus-goddess Toeris, though she has here acquired wings. Perhaps the goddess Hathor is shown on No. 160. Falcon-headed figures on Nos. 180 and 182 may be meant for Horus, and this god may appear as a falcon on No. 123.

HEROES AND DEMONS

Conflicts between heroes and animals were the delight of seal-cutters in both Early Dynastic and Akkadian times, though they handled the theme in different ways, as we have seen (pp. 24–26). Later on, even into Neo-Babylonian times, individual figures or pairs of figures from the early repertoire were repeated occasionally, but nearly always they were of secondary importance. A new type of hero, frequently winged, dominates one or two animals on Assyrian seals, and the king sometimes takes his place in Achaemenian glyptic.

In the early periods there are several types of heroes, of whom Mrs. Moore's collection shows good samples. One is seen on No. 19—a nude, beardless man with wild, unruly locks or possibly a feathered headdress.

The heroes on Nos. 31–32 are alike in pose and seemingly in dress and appearance also. The short skirt is the only garment worn, unless the slight projection at the forehead indicates some kind of cap. The beard is short and straight. A similar figure with short beard and short skirt stabs a bull on No. 23. Still another short-skirted hero may be represented on the chipped seal No. 33; he wears a simple round cap or perhaps just a band around his head. The hero fighting a bull on the worn seal No. 30 has shoes with upturned toes and apparently a round cap, but seems otherwise nude.

A second hero on No. 23 has a long beard, a flat cap, and perhaps a short skirt. He has frequently been called the "Kish hero," a designation which has little to recommend it. The numerous representations of this hero from the "royal cemetery" at Ur cited in the Catalogue under No. 23 should make it clear that he does not belong exclusively to Kish.

A curious figure appears on No. 20. His skirt is short and seems to be held by a triple girdle. His head is in front view, and his beard is curled. The headdress, if such it be, widens toward the top and might possibly be the same as that worn by the so-called "Kish hero"; but the wavy horizontal lines on it suggest, instead of such an interpretation, a mass of unruly hair.

Most popular of the heroes, both with the Akkadian artists and with modern writers, are the nude hero and the bull-man; in these many scholars have seen Gilgamesh and Enkidu, the hero of the great Gilgamesh epic and the wild man who became his fast friend (cf. p. 18). The former is depicted nude or wearing a triple girdle; his face is in front view, his full beard carefully curled, and his hair arranged in three curls at each side of his head. His identification as Gilgamesh may be justified in such scenes as Nos. 22 and 29–30, where he fights with rampant beasts. But we have seen (p. 69) that figures identical in appearance with this one sometimes hold a flowing vase or have streams issuing from their shoulders and seem to be associ-

ated with Ea. Again, we find figures who look the same holding gateposts, as on No. 35, and we have no reason to call them "Gilgamesh." Apparently, then, at least three different beings of heroic or semidivine nature are made to look exactly alike on the seals! Though this may at first seem surprising, it actually is but another instance of conventions such as were used in picturing gods also. On Akkadian seals, for example, imagine the Ea of Morgan No. 60 without his streams and compare him with the seated god on Morgan No. 59; or imagine the Shamash and the Ea of Frankfort Plates XVIII *h* and XXI *e* respectively without their attributes. It would be just as sensible to give one name to all these gods as to call all the nude figures of a certain type "Gilgamesh," no matter what their occupation or attributes.

On No. 62, a seal of the First Dynasty of Babylon, there is a nude hero kneeling and swinging a lion over his head. He, perhaps, has as much right to be called "Gilgamesh" as have the heroes on Nos. 22 and 29-30. A kneeling nude hero on No. 100 holding a bull over his head is quite different from the one on No. 62.

Though the Assyrian heroes are in general different from those on earlier seals, there is one on No. 80 who reminds us of the "Gilgamesh" figure. His head is in front view, showing three curls at either side. He holds a weapon in one hand and seems to be rescuing a small animal from a lion. However, he wears a short skirt and a sash with long ends.

The bull-man (Nos. 22 and 31-33) has the hindquarters of a bull and the upper body and head of a man, with bull's ears and horns. On the earlier seals his appearance is not standardized; he is sometimes drawn with head in profile, only one horn showing, his long hair falling below his shoulders and forming a curl at the end,⁸ again in full face with both horns visible,⁹ and so on. In the Akkadian period he commonly appears as on No. 32, with head in front view, showing both horns and his full curly beard, though he is still shown in profile at times, as on Nos. 31 and 33. In the profile view on No. 22 his long hair is shown, but both horns are visible.

On later seals the bull-men change somewhat. Those on No. 54, of the style of the Third Dynasty of Ur, are not very much different from the one on No. 32; but the points of their horns have been drawn together in a way to suggest the horned crown worn by deities. On No. 59, of the First Dynasty of Babylon, the bull-man actually does wear an elaborate horned crown in place of his own horns, though the bull's ears are still visible. It is interesting to note that the head of the lion-man on that seal is just the same. The bull-men on the Assyrian (or Neo-Babylonian) seals Nos. 85 and 92 have completely human heads, with beards and hair in good Assyrian style. Those on No. 85 wear round caps with three projections at the top, while the others seem to have simple round caps.

In the earlier scenes (Nos. 22 and 31-33), where the bull-man fights with lions, it may be justifiable to call him "Enkidu," for the Gilgamesh epic states that on the way to Uruk Enkidu helped his hosts, who were shepherds, by killing the lions which were destroying their sheep.¹⁰ But the bull-man on the seals, like the nude hero, has other occupations; when he is engaged in them we have no reason for calling him "Enkidu." On No. 54 two bull-men hold spears; a bull-man wrestles with a lion-man on No. 59; and on Nos. 85 and 92 two such figures support a winged disk.

An interesting and rather rare figure is the lion-man, who wrestles with the bull-man on No. 59. The legs and tail are those of a lion, while the upper body also may be meant for that of a lion, for the zigzag lines across the shoulder and chest strongly suggest a mane. The head, as mentioned above, is the same as that of the bull-man on this seal.

⁸ E.g. Weber Nos. 164 and 188; Frankfort Pl. XIII *d* and *f*.

⁹ E.g. Weber Nos. 177 and 188; Frankfort Pl. X *g*.

¹⁰ R. Campbell Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamesh, a New Translation . . .* (London, 1928) p. 17.

A new treatment of the conflict between heroes and animals is found in the Assyrian period. The "hero" (or perhaps "genius" or even "god") wears a short tunic and over it a long robe open in front and leaving one leg bare while covering the other; his curled hair reaches to his shoulders, and his beard also is curled. Frequently he is winged (Nos. 78-79 and 97). He sometimes holds a scimitar and attacks a single animal, as on No. 97. Rather more often he holds two animals or monsters, as on Nos. 78-79 and 91. His adversaries are often composite creatures which probably represent various evil spirits but are at the same time very decorative. No. 101 shows an Achaemenian treatment of this theme, which differs from the Assyrian in the dress of the "hero"—now the king—and in the pose of the animals but is essentially the same composition.

To attempt to make clear distinctions between "heroes" and "demons" or "genii" on the seals is scarcely feasible. Because of their appearance, however, we have called a few creatures "demons." One of these is the strange winged being on No. 73, a seal imitating the Middle Assyrian style. He stands on two lions and holds aloft a nude man.

The scorpion-man with pail and sprinkler on No. 84 might also be included in this class. He has the legs and feet of a bird and a scorpion sting, while his upper body is human; like the bull-men of No. 85, he has curly hair and beard and a round cap with three projections at the top. Another form of the scorpion-man, which does not appear in this collection, shows him with a scorpion's body, a bird's legs and wings, and a human head.¹¹

On Nos. 138 and 155 of the Second Syrian group appear creatures with human bodies, wings, and birds' heads, which we have called "demons." The same designation seems plausible for the animal-headed figures on Nos. 134 and 176-77.

ANIMALS AND MONSTERS

Lions, bulls and other horned animals, birds, fish, and scorpions appear frequently on the seals, and there is no need to enumerate all of them here. Some, however, seem to have important or unusual functions which set them apart from the rest. Special mention may be made of the bull on No. 36, which kneels before a winged gate and is held by a goddess, for the scene obviously has some mythological significance.

Bulls, like some other animals, were associated with certain deities. At least from the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon a bull appears with Adad, the weather-god. On No. 62 the god steps upon the animal, and on No. 63 the bull serves as a support for the lightning fork. A similar weather-god, possibly Teshub, stands on the back of a bull on No. 127, a Cappadocian cylinder, while yet another god holds the halter of a bull along with a battle-ax and a curved weapon on No. 147, of the Second Syrian group. A bull on No. 129, of the First Syrian group, seems to support a shrine in which stands a *kaunakēs*-clad deity. On No. 156, of the Second Syrian group, a goddess removing her garment appears to stand upon the back of a walking bull. An Assyrian seal, No. 90, shows a long-robed bearded figure standing upon the back of a reclining bull and adoring the emblem of Marduk. The bull appears to be tethered to the base of the emblem, and a dagger-like object is seen above its head.

On No. 54 two crouching crossed bulls seem to support a crescent standard. Since the seal is of the style of the Third Dynasty of Ur, we cannot but recall that Sin was the moon-god and the god of Ur and also that he was called the "young bull of Enlil."

On Cappadocian seals (e.g. No. 128) there appears a curious, squarish figure of a bull, often with a cone upon its back, which is generally assumed to be an idol.

¹¹ E.g. Bibl. nat. Nos. 387-88; Newell Nos. 438 and 515; Morgan Nos. 290-91.

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Zebus or humpbacked bulls appear on Nos. 112–13, stamp seals belonging to the Parthian or Sasanian period.

A lion is associated with Ishtar, who steps upon it, on No. 56, of the First Dynasty of Babylon. An emblem or weapon surmounted by a human head appears on No. 132, of the First Syrian group; it rests upon the back of a crouching lion, and a bird seems to have alighted on top of it. Lions are frequently seen preying on other animals, rarely on men. No. 146, however, may show a lion devouring a human being.¹²

In the lower register of No. 26 (Early Dynastic III) an eagle with outspread wings seizes a reclining horned animal with each talon. It is not surprising that such an effective heraldic group was often repeated, sometimes with the lion-headed eagle, Imdugud, replacing the real eagle. Groups of the latter sort have been called the "coat-of-arms of Lagash"; but they, like the "Kish hero," are found widely distributed and cannot be assigned to one city. A similar group is seen cutting across the top two registers on No. 135, a seal tentatively assigned to the First Syrian style. Here a double eagle appears between two rampant animals. The double eagle is figured on No. 138 also.

Serpents are being killed by gods on Nos. 158–59, of the Second Syrian group, whose scenes must have a mythological meaning.

In addition to picturing real animals the seal-cutters invented many fantastic combinations, some no doubt to illustrate mythological characters or good and evil spirits, others perhaps to suit their fancy and for decorative effect alone. Thus the winged, double-bodied monsters of No. 1 may or may not have represented some specific though imaginary being, but they are indubitably decorative.

A favorite in the Third Early Dynastic period is the human-headed bull (Nos. 19–22), at his most magnificent in No. 19. The same creature, but without horns, is seen on No. 17, a seal tentatively attributed to the Second Early Dynastic period; there he rests upon the ground in company with other animals instead of assuming his usual rampant pose.

The goat-fish or capricorn is associated with Ea. It supports his throne on No. 82 and his ram-headed mace on No. 94. On Nos. 57 and 178 it appears in the field.

Sphinxes are found on many Syrian and Assyrian seals. They have lions' bodies and human heads and are frequently winged. In the Syrian groups they are generally seated (e.g. Nos. 139 and 153), sometimes walking (No. 134). On Assyrian seals sphinxes appear rampant as adversaries of a long-robed hero (No. 78).

Griffins have lions' bodies, birds' heads, and wings. They are very popular on seals of the Syrian groups (e.g. Nos. 133, 138, 162, and 178) and on the related Mitannian (No. 168) and "Kirkuk" (Nos. 172–73) seals.

On "Kirkuk" seal No. 170 a monster with an animal's body, a long neck, and a bird's head seems to serve as a chair.

Assyrian seal No. 91 shows two ibex-like monsters held by a long-robed hero; each has the body and horn of an ibex, wings, and a human head.

A lion with a long horn holds the emblem of Marduk on No. 90.

One side of No. 95 shows a monster with the body of a fish, legs of a lion (or a bird of prey?), wings, and a human head, a combination which may have arisen through confusion of the fish-man and the scorpion-man (cf. Catalogue).

CELESTIAL BODIES

The moon is, so far as we know, always represented as a crescent. On No. 35, a well cut seal of the Akkadian period, the crescent is wide in the center, tapering at the points. More often

¹² Cf. Newell No. 147, where two men spear a lion which is devouring a man.

it is simply a curved line (e.g. Nos. 30, 51, and 77). On No. 161 there is a crescent-shaped design decorated with short rays(?).

The perfected early representation of the sun consisted of a disk with a four-pointed star inside; between the points spread wavy lines, which some have called water jets but which are probably heat or light rays (No. 35). There are many variants of this design, however, due in part at least to variations in cutting technique. On Nos. 57 and 137, for example, the star is preserved (in the form of a cross), but the rays are lacking. A Cappadocian seal, No. 127, shows the disk filled with a cross-shaped design made up of angles which occurs commonly as the sole design on stamp seals found in Anatolia.¹³ On Nos. 54 and 159 there is only a dot in the center of the disk, and on Nos. 128 and 178 the disk itself has become no more than a dot. Generally a crescent is placed below the disk.

Another design, found on seals of the "Kirkuk" and Syrian groups and a few from the First Dynasty of Babylon, may represent the sun. It is a kind of rosette consisting of a ring of small globes around a larger central globe. It is clearly meant for a sun disk on No. 129, since it has a crescent below it, and on Nos. 63 and 169, since it appears on the sky line and is associated with a star. The low position of the rosette on No. 171, however, seems unnatural for a symbol of the sun. Furthermore, a seal in another collection¹⁴ has both a sun disk and a rosette in the field, suggesting that the latter may be meant for a star. Other probable representations of the sun are the wheel on No. 76 and the fanlike design of globes and rays on No. 193. A plain globe between two uraei and a flattened form above the falcon on No. 122 are sun disks of Egyptian derivation. A decorated staff supports the sun disk on No. 158, and perhaps there is a plain sun disk on a short staff on No. 161.

Winged disks appear on seals made in Syria, Palestine, and neighboring regions, where Egyptian influence was strong, and on Mesopotamian seals of the Assyrian period and later. While the inspiration was evidently Egyptian, adaptations and variations were many. In general the winged disk does not appear earlier than the Second Syrian and Mitannian groups, that is, very roughly, the middle of the second millennium B.C.¹⁵ No. 130, however, is an exception. It belongs to the First Syrian group and can very probably be dated to about the time of Hammurabi (cf. p. 34), yet it has a disk decorated with an eight-petaled rosette and furnished with small wings. On Nos. 153-54, of the Second Syrian group, a winged disk is supported by a staff decorated with globes. No. 153 shows a crescent at the top of the staff; the disk is a rosette of globes, and there are broad horizontal wings. On No. 154 the wings are small and slant upward, and the disk rests upon rather than between them. On No. 176 of the Third Syrian group wings are added to the sun-disk-and-crescent emblem.

On Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian seals tail feathers are frequently added below the disk (Nos. 77, 82-83, and 99). No. 77 shows two lines emerging from below the wings and reaching the ground; comparison with other seals¹⁶ indicates that these are streams of water. The winged disk on No. 87 is decorated with a star and has no tail; a long-robed figure with uplifted arms supports the wings, and here again there is some connection with water, for a flowing vase stands on the ground at each side of this figure.¹⁷ On No. 92 the disk has disappeared, and only the wings and tail remain. Two bull-men with raised arms support this emblem, which probably represents the whole sky. On No. 90 an object which looks like an insect with long anten-

¹³ E.g. *OIP* XXX, Fig. 272, top row.

¹⁴ *Bibl. nat.* No. 437.

¹⁵ Cf. Frankfort's interesting analysis of this design in *Cylinder Seals*, pp. 207-15 and 275-78.

¹⁶ *Newell* No. 416; *Ward* No. 655.

¹⁷ In connection with the winged disk, hero, and flowing vase cf. *Ward* No. 656, where a kneeling hero supporting a winged disk is surrounded by a continuous stream.

nae was perhaps meant for a winged disk. For the figure of a god superimposed on the winged disk see page 71.

Stars are frequently seen on the sky line, either alone or with the sun or the moon. Six- or eight-pointed stars are the most common. The points may project from a small central globe, as on Nos. 71, 169, and 174; but this may be omitted and the several lines simply cross one another or radiate from a common center, as on Nos. 30, 63, 151, and others. On Assyrian seals Nos. 82 and 88 the points are triangular and do not touch the central globe. An eight-petaled rosette on No. 74 is probably a star. Possibly some of the rosettes of small globes described as representations of the sun were intended for stars.

An eight-pointed star, at least in some cases, represents the planet Ishtar (Venus). No. 43 shows it in front of a seated goddess whom we recognize as Ishtar by the war clubs at her shoulder.

Seven small globes occur frequently in the field, sometimes with symbols of other heavenly bodies (Nos. 74, 76, 82-84, and 90). They probably represent the constellation Pleiades. Six globes on No. 187 may have been meant for the same group.

Various designs on seals of the First Dynasty of Babylon suggest a zodiacal interpretation, but in the absence of a complete zodiac such identifications must remain conjectural. No. 59 is especially interesting since it contains several designs which look as if they might be meant for signs of the zodiac. In the field are three small animals—a lion, a ram, and a bull—in which one might see Leo, Aries, and Taurus; a fish, which could represent Pisces; and a turtle, which might possibly be meant for Cancer. The other two designs in the field, a fly and a Humbaba head, scarcely seem to permit of a zodiacal interpretation. It is just possible, however, that two of the large figures, the wrestlers, should be identified as Gemini, although they are not identical.

WATER

We naturally expect to find such an important element of earthly life as water represented or symbolized in the glyptics. Streams are generally indicated by a pair of wavy lines, occasionally by one or several lines or by rows of dots (No. 129). They issue from a vase which Ea or some equivalent deity holds on Nos. 39 and 140, while some seals in other collections show the streams springing from his shoulders.¹⁸ Fish sometimes swim along such streams, making the meaning of the design quite clear.¹⁹ Figures other than Ea, notably a nude hero with face in front view, are similarly shown with streams issuing from their shoulders (No. 139) or arms (No. 129) or with a flowing vase pressed to the chest. On No. 134 a nude, two-faced personage is shown with streams springing from his shoulders. It is interesting to note that the latter figure drops his arms at his sides, whereas those on Nos. 129 and 139 clasp their hands at the chest, as if holding a vase. The same sort of vase with streams which is held by the god or hero in larger representations and on the clearest seals²⁰ also occurs alone in the field or on the ground (Nos. 35 and 87). On No. 77 streams issue from a winged disk (see above).

VESSELS

Vessels of various shapes are held by gods and humans or stand on altars and tables or appear in the field. The combinations of large and small globes on No. 2, of the Jamdat Naşr period, are presumably crude pictures of vessels, for some similar seals have such combinations of globes with the addition of a spout.²¹ Two globes and a spout render a vessel in the field on

¹⁸ E.g. Bibl. nat. Nos. 73-75; Morgan No. 60; Louvre Pl. 73, Nos. 1 and 5.

¹⁹ E.g. Bibl. nat. No. 75.

²⁰ E.g. de Clercq No. 46.

²¹ E.g. Newell No. 29.

No. 15, and a spouted pot with more normal neck appears above the animal at the right in No. 5.

We expect to see vessels of some sort in the feast scenes on Nos. 25–26. The seated figures on No. 25 seem to hold cups. Whether the long objects on No. 26 are goblets or drinking-horns or represent some kind of food cannot be determined.

On the ground before the deity on No. 45 stands a vessel with a high pedestal base, a spherical body, a long neck, and a tubular spout rising from the shoulder. It was by comparison with such vessels that von der Osten came to suggest that the arm of a balance (the so-called “*libra*”) was a ritual vessel (see p. 79).

The vase with streams is seen on Nos. 35, 39, 87, and 140. In the best examples it has a spherical body, narrow neck, and wide, flat rim. On No. 129 the streams seem to fall into vases with spherical bodies.

An object which should be identified as a vessel appears on Nos. 58, 63, and 127. Because the hemispherical body is strongly striated, this has been mistaken for a comb. It appears most commonly high in the field and is often above the arm of a balance.

A cup is frequently held by a deity, especially in the presentation scenes of the Third Dynasty of Ur (Nos. 52 and 54).

A large jar with ovoid body, long neck, and wide rim stands on a table or altar on No. 81, which shows a scene common in the Assyrian period.

A slender pitcher is held by the seated figure on No. 141. Various small jars are to be seen on Nos. 132, 138, 150, and 158 and perhaps in the field above the small *kaunakēs*-clad figure on No. 58.

WEAPONS

Weapons are regularly carried by certain gods, and they naturally are used in hunting and battle scenes. In the Early Dynastic and Akkadian contest scenes, however, the mighty hero usually goes into the fight unarmed, subduing a lion, bull, or water buffalo without the aid of weapons. Exceptions are No. 23, where one of the heroes stabs a bull with a dagger, and No. 22, where the bull-man holds, but does not use, a large dagger. The Assyrian hero is unarmed when he subdues two animals (Nos. 78–79 and 91) but uses a scimitar when he fights with one (No. 97)—a convention evidently dictated by artistic considerations.

The fighting gods on Nos. 37–38 are armed with maces. The dropping of a broken mace is a simple yet eloquent expression of defeat. The weapons at Ishtar’s shoulder on No. 43 seem to be maces. On seals of the First Dynasty of Babylon a god in a short mantle and a round cap with upturned brim—perhaps Amurru—is regularly seen carrying a mace, as on Nos. 64–65. Gods on Nos. 147 and 158–59 of the Second Syrian group carry maces in addition to other weapons, and on No. 160 a god(?) armed with a mace is about to slay a kneeling human being. This last scene recalls No. 61, which shows Nergal, wielding a knife and a three-headed club, slaying a kneeling human victim. Since Nergal in one of his aspects was god of the scorching midday sun, the three-headed club may represent his deadly rays.

Spears are clearly used as weapons in hunting scenes (Nos. 75, 104–6, 133, and 166) and a battle scene (No. 102), by Nergal slaying a victim (No. 60), by a god killing a serpent (Nos. 158–59), and by a Greek soldier (No. 103). At other times the spear may perhaps serve as an emblem, as on Nos. 139 and 152, where it is held by a man in a cloak, and on No. 146, where it is held by a winged god. It seems even more definitely an emblem on No. 54, which shows two bull-men holding spears. The “spear” of Marduk—more likely a spade—is discussed below (pp. 78 f.).

Scimitars, sometimes called “sickle-swords,” are carried by Ishtar on No. 56, by bearded gods

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on Nos. 57 and 59, by two long-robed figures on No. 69, and by an animal-headed demon and a figure in a cloak on No. 177. They are used as weapons by Nergal on No. 60 and by a winged hero on No. 97.

Bows and arrows are used by hunters on Nos. 74, 176, and 179. A Median soldier on No. 103 carries bow and arrow, and the king on No. 102 has a bow as well as a spear. One of the figures on No. 81 holds a bow.

A small round shield is carried by the Greek soldier on No. 103.

The weather-god on No. 127, a Cappadocian cylinder, carries a battle-ax in place of the lightning fork of Adad. The winged god on No. 146 and the short-skirted gods on Nos. 147 and 158 also have battle-axes.

Throw sticks or boomerangs are seen on Nos. 133, 145, 147, and 196 and possibly on No. 139.

EMBLEMS AND SYMBOLS

For our present purposes emblems are objects which are carried by gods as identification or are set up somewhere to represent them, and symbols are small objects otherwise not easily explicable appearing in the field. There are some weapons which could be considered emblems, such as the spears held by bull-men on No. 54, the mace carried by the god on Nos. 64–65, and perhaps the scimitars carried by gods on Nos. 57 and 59. The various celestial bodies described above might be looked upon as symbols, as might some of the small animals and birds appearing in the field on seals such as No. 50.

On No. 54 a crescent is mounted on a staff and supported by a pair of crossed bulls. This is surely an emblem of the moon-god Sin.

Shamash holds a saw or toothed knife on Nos. 40, 42, and 58–59.

No. 56 shows an emblem which has been misnamed the "Babylonian caduceus" by some writers. The caduceus of Mercury was a rod with two serpents twining about it and a pair of wings at the top. A closely related design in Mesopotamian art appears on a beaker of Gudea,²² where two serpents are coiled about a rod. The emblem of No. 56, in contrast, is decorated not with snakes but with two prongs which end in the heads of panthers, lions, or dragons. Between these prongs is an object of varying shape, frequently globular, which may be a vase²³ or a macehead.²⁴ This emblem apparently does not belong to one deity alone. From his study of the boundary stones Hinke²⁵ identified it as the emblem of Ninurta (NIN.IB), whereas Thureau-Dangin²⁶ and Parrot²⁷ attribute it to Nergal. On the seals, however, it is commonly carried by the warrior Ishtar,²⁸ as on No. 56.

The two- or three-pronged lightning fork is readily recognized as an emblem of Adad, the weather-god. On No. 62 the god holds it and steps upon a bull. No. 63 shows a bull with a lightning fork resting on its back, the whole probably being a temple statue.

A ram-headed mace serves as an emblem of Ea. On No. 94 it is associated with his animal, the goat-fish.

Marduk's emblem appears as early as the First Dynasty of Babylon, but it is especially common on Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian seals. It is a staff with a triangular head (e.g. No. 84) and, not unnaturally, was at first considered a spear. However, in recent years several

²² E. de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée* (Paris, 1884–1912) Pl. 44, No. 2; for drawings see Ward No. 368c or Frankfort, Fig. 33.

²³ So, for example, A. Boissier in *Babyloniaca* IX (1926) 29–33.

²⁴ So, for example, A. Parrot in *Syria* XV (1934) 382.

²⁵ *A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadrezzar I. from Nippur* (Philadelphia, 1907) pp. 87, n. 1, and 89.

²⁶ *Revue d'assyriologie* XVI (1919) 140.

²⁷ *Loc. cit.*

²⁸ Thus also Frankfort, p. 178.

scholars have pointed out that it is more probably what the Assyrian name *marru* sometimes given it indicates, namely a spade. Thureau-Dangin even found a modern Kurd at Arslan Tash using such an implement with a triangular blade and calling it *marr*.²⁹

The emblem of Marduk is often associated with a stylus or wedge, emblem of Nabu, the god of writing. The two emblems stand on the ground (No. 84) or on a low base (No. 81). The stylus alone stands on the ground before an altar on No. 82. On No. 90 a horned lion holds the Marduk emblem, which is adored by a long-robed figure standing on a recumbent bull. No. 93 is typical of a large group of stamp seals used in late Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian times and even later. A single priest or worshiper stands before a support or altar on which rest the symbols of various gods, in this case the lamp of Nusku (a fire-god), the *marru* of Marduk, and the stylus of Nabu.

On No. 63 a deity holds a ring. This is a symbol of authority and is often accompanied by a short staff or scepter, but its use is not limited to any one deity. On No. 82 Ea holds a ring and perhaps a staff, though the latter is curved.

A crook appears on No. 66 resting on the head of a quadruped which stands on a low platform, the whole apparently representing a temple statue. The Egyptian god Osiris is seen holding crook and flail on Nos. 144 and 182. A standing figure on No. 156 holds a short crook, and the two gods on No. 168 wear crooklike objects as one would wear a sword. On No. 153 each of the figures standing beside the pole supporting the winged disk holds a long crooklike staff.

A seven-headed club is held by a god on No. 169. From his attitude it is clearly used as an emblem rather than a weapon. Whether this, like the three-headed club of Nergal on No. 61, represents the rays of the sun is uncertain.

A rod with a globe at the center of one side (the so-called "libra") appears on Nos. 58, 63, 127, 132, 140, 150-51, and 169. This is a common but problematical symbol. It occurs always in the field, never in the hand of a deity. Interpretations have varied widely. It has been explained as a door bolt, a cylinder seal, a ritual vessel, the arm of a balance, and a measuring rod. In favor of calling it a ritual vessel von der Osten cites representations of vessels of the type seen on No. 45.³⁰ Another point in favor of his view might be the frequent association of this object with the striated vase. Still, his interpretation does not seem to account adequately for the importance and popularity of this symbol. Why would so many people take pains to have pictured on their seals this particular cult object? The symbol must have had some special meaning which made it appeal to the engravers and owners of the seals.

Now two of the other explanations suggest such a meaning. The arm of a balance would naturally stand for justice, and a measuring rod could likewise symbolize justice. It therefore seems likely that one or the other of these objects is represented, and rather more probably it is the arm of a balance. There are certain objections to this view, the chief being the vertical position of the object. But No. 42 of Mrs. Moore's collection shows—for the first time, to the best of the author's knowledge—a complete balance with scalepans. It is held in the correct position before Shamash, the supreme judge, and its connection with justice is thus clearly established.

The rhomb, which appears on Nos. 78, 82-83, 94, and perhaps 140, is a fairly common symbol, occurring especially often on Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian seals. Its meaning has been widely discussed, and such varied explanations as the female sex organ and the all-seeing eye of some deity have been offered. So far no completely satisfactory interpretation has been found.

²⁹ F. Thureau-Dangin, "Marru," *Revue d'assyriologie* XXIV (1927) 147 f.

³⁰ Newell, pp. 121 f.

An equal-armed cross in outline on which seems to be superimposed a smaller cross is often called the "Kassite cross," for it appears frequently on Kassite seals. The only example in Mrs. Moore's collection occurs on No. 73, a seal imitating the Middle Assyrian style. An equal-armed cross appears on No. 100, which may be Neo-Babylonian. No. 192, a seal of uncertain affinities, shows a cross with wedge-shaped arms.

A design which seems to represent a fly or bee appears in the field on seals of the First Dynasty of Babylon and of the Kassite period. A typical example is seen between the wrestlers on No. 59. The four objects in a panel on No. 70 are possibly variants of this design.

A design in the shape of a capital omega, perhaps a wig, appears in the field on No. 74 and is held by a worshiper(?) on No. 89.

We have seen that Egyptian motives are frequently found in the glyptic art of Palestine and Syria. The Egyptian hieroglyph for "life," the ankh or "*crux ansata*," is often found in the field (Nos. 122, 137, 143, 159, and 176). On No. 160 it is held by a god(?). Ten ankhs form an arch over a kilted figure on No. 142. A similar arch appears on No. 88 of the Brett collection, but there the lowest ankhs are replaced by *dd*-signs ("duration") and a bird serves as "keystone." On No. 180 an Egyptian *dd*-sign appears at either side of a sacred tree. The flail and crook of Osiris are mentioned above.

On a Cretan signet ring, No. 183, there is a double ax above a bull's head.

VI THE INSCRIPTIONS¹

CUNEIFORM

Transliteration	Translation
30. l u g a l - i t u - d a ²	Lugalituda.
33. l u g a l - m u - z u / s u - d a	Lugalmuzuda (<i>or</i> Lugalmusuda).
35. ša-at-pum d u m u šul-lum (<i>or</i> dun-núm)	Šatpum, son of Shullum (<i>or</i> Dunnum).
41. l u g a l - b u m d u b - s a r	Lugal-bum (= Shar-Pûm?), the scribe.
42. u r - l i ³	Urli.
46. i-lul-ilum d u m u i-ti-eš-tár	Îlul-ilum, son of Iddi(n)-Eshtar.
50. u r - s a g - ù b ⁴ d u m u a-hu-ma s i b a UDU.ŠE	Ursagub, son of Ahuma, shepherd of the grain-fed sheep.
51. nu-úr-ì-lí-šu	Nûr-ilishu.
52. nu-ri-ia d u m u ti-ig-ti-gum	Nûrija, son of Tiquiqum.
53. a-lum ì r MAR.TU	Alum, servant of (the god) Amurru.
55. ⁴ m a - a n - b a (?) d u b (?) - s a r (?) d u m u l u g a l - s i g	Manba(?), the scribe(?), son of Lugalsig.
57. šamaš	(The god) Shamash.
62. li-sa-tum d u m u im-gur-ru-um ì r adad	Lisatum, son of Imgurum, servant of (the god) Adad.
65. ta-an-na-hu-un-di d u m u la-ba-a-ba ì r nè-iri-gal	Tan-Nahundi, son of Labāba, servant of (the god) Nergal.

¹ Of the cuneiform inscriptions Nos. 67–68 were read by Dr. Jacobsen, the others by Dr. Gelb. Dr. Allen examined the Egyptianized seals. The Aramaic inscription was read by Dr. Bowman, the South Arabic(?) by Dr. Gelb. Dr. Herzfeld read the Pahlavi inscriptions on Nos. 108–9, while Dr. Sprengling read those on Nos. 107 and 110.

² Symbols used are:

† Sign partly lost, but certain

() Supplied by editor

< > Emended by editor to correct ancient omission or probable error

[] Restored

/ Placed between alternative readings.

Letter-spaced roman indicates Sumerian; italics are used for transliteration of other languages.

³ Partly obliterated.

⁴ Fake reproduction from a good original?

Transliteration	Translation
66. <i>mār-a-aḥ-nu-ú(?)</i> d u m u <i>sa-ba-a-ú-um</i> i r ⁴ il-MAR.TU	Mār-Ahnú(?), son of Sabaum, servant of (the god) Il-Amurrim.
67. <i>ba-al-⁴marduk</i> d u m u ⁴ na-bi-um- <i>na-šir</i> i r ⁴ nin-siḡ ₇ ⁴ ù ⁴ nin-gal <i>nipru</i> ^{KT}	Bāl-Marduk, son of Nabium- nāšir, servant of (the goddess?) Ninsig and (the goddess) Ningal (of) Nippur.
68. ⁴ i n a n n a a - g a - d è ^{KT} g a š a n ⁶ m e - m e ⁶ a n - < k i - a > ⁷ u r ₄ - e DI-DI - z u i g i - n i r - z u ⁸ n ū r - ⁴ š a m a š m e - m e - z a ⁹ i g i z i i g i - b a r - b a ¹⁰ ḥ é - n u n n i g - t u k ḥ é - t u k u ¹¹ u ₄ d a d a g ḥ é n a m b i ¹² i n i m - g a r ḥ ú l (?) ḥ é g a r b i ¹²	(O) Inanna(k) of Agade, lady who embraces all functions <in> heaven <and on earth>, upon the one who . . . , the one who looks to thee, (namely) Nūr-Shamash, in all thy functions look steadfastly; let him acquire wealth and abundance. Bright days be . . . ; joyous thoughts be
69. Unintelligible.	
70. <i>e-ḫe-e-ru(m)</i> <i>ga-ma-a-lu</i> <i>šu-zu-ú-bu</i>	Sparing, being merciful, saving,

⁶ g a š a n is the e m e - SAL word for "lady," corresponding to e m e - K U n i n . We have—to the best of my knowledge—no authority for assuming that the sign GAŠAN could also be read n i n ; and we must therefore assume that our scribe intended to quote this title of the goddess in its e m e - SAL form, even if his reasons for so doing are not apparent.

⁶ On m e , "function" (Akkadian *paršu*), see B. Landsberger in *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung* II (1924–25) 66 f. On the plural by reduplication, involving the idea "all," see A. Poebel, *Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik* (Rostock, 1923) § 142.

⁷ Between AN and UR₄ the inscription shows traces which might represent an erasure or, more likely, efforts to add a sign forgotten by the engraver, e.g. KI. Our reading and restoration of the line, which clearly contains an epithet of Inanna(k) of Agade, is based on parallel passages where Inanna(k) is described in similar terms. Cf. e.g. E. Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts* (Crozer Theological Seminary, "Babylonian Publications" I [Upland, Pa., 1924] No. 36 obv. 3, where she is said to be a n - n a m e d í b - d í b - b é 'k i ' - a m e u r₄ - u r₄ - e , "holding many (d i b - d i b - e (d)) functions in heaven, embracing many (u r - u r - e (d)) functions on earth."

⁸ n i r is translated by Akkadian *tarāšu*, "to stretch out," "to point (toward)" (A. Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexikon* [Roma, 1930] No. 325.13). Therefore i g i - n i r is literally "to point the eyes" toward something or "to point the face" toward something (i g i has both meanings) and should be compared to Akkadian phrases such as *inên turrušu*, "to turn the eyes" toward something, "to look" to something, and *pānam tarāšu*, "to turn the face" toward something (see F. Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* [Leipzig, 1896] pp. 714 f.). Our phrase i g i - n i r - z u , representing a well known Sumerian construction—object (i g i) + nomen agentis (n i r) + a genitive (-z u)—must therefore mean "the one who points the eyes toward thee," "the one who looks to thee" (on the force of this construction see Poebel, *op. cit.* § 692; it is frequent in Sumerian seal inscriptions of the Kassite period in the phrase n i - t u k - z u , "the one who has fear in respect to thee"). As shown by the meaning i g i - n i r - z u , "the one who looks to thee," must naturally be an epithet of the owner of the seal, Nūr-Shamash, whose name appears in the next line. It therefore seems plausible that the obscure DI-DI - z u which precedes it represents another such epithet, so that we have a series of three appositions, DI-DI - z u , i g i - n i r - z u , n ū r - ⁴š a m a š , all referring to the owner of the seal.

⁹ m e - m e - z a < m e - m e - z (u) - a (Poebel, *op. cit.* § 217).

¹⁰ i g i - b a r - b a is the normal imperative "look upon," corresponding to the present i g i b a - b a r - e n , "thou lookest upon."

¹¹ ḥ é - t u k u < ḥ e - t u k - e .

¹² These apparently highly irregular forms we are unable to explain with any degree of certainty.

THE INSCRIPTIONS

83

Transliteration	Translation
šu-ul-lu-mu(?)	preserving(?),
šu-uk(?) - lu-lu	making perfect(?),
^d gu-la	(O) Gula,
ša(?) ti-di-ma	is what(?) thou knowest.
ab ^{an} kunuk ^k ku(?) - un(?) -	Seal of Kunnaĵatu(?).
na-a-a-tu(m)(?)	
130. ¹³ ma-at-ru-un-na	Matrunna,
du mu - sa l ap-la-ĥa-an-da	daughter of Aplahanda,
ge me ^d ku-ba-ba	servant girl of (the goddess) Kubaba.
180. [i] r (?) ^d a-[a(?)]	Servant of Aĵa(?).

EGYPTIAN

180. Unintelligible.
181. Unintelligible.

ARAMAIC

Facsimile	Transliteration	Translation
100. 	לשנתך	Belonging to Sin-ah-ittannu(?).

SOUTH ARABIC(?)

Transliteration	Translation
97. m n l	Mann-īl(?). ¹⁴

PAHLAVI¹⁵

Transliteration	Translation
107. apstan w(=c)l yzdan ¹⁶	Trust in the gods.
108. māhgušnasp apastān yazdān	Māhgušnasp. Trust in God. ¹⁷
109. dārā apastān	Dārā. Trust.
110. glēan duḥti gušnspi	Guljān ("Rose-Soul"), daughter of Gušnasp.

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¹³ See Catalogue for references to previous publications.

¹⁴ Cf. Mn:l in Gonzague Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques I* (Louvain, 1934) 235.

¹⁵ [Dr. Sprengling's transliterations of Nos. 107 and 110 give only the characters as written, whereas Dr. Herzfeld has vocalized the transliterations of Nos. 108-9.—Ed.]

¹⁶ The inscription may be a forgery. It is at best one of many poor examples of a motto very common on Pahlavi seals.

¹⁷ [Literally, "Trust (in) the gods"; the statement corresponds to that on No. 107 except that it omits the preposition.—Ed.]

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CYLINDER DESIGNS OF THE URUK (No. 1) AND JAMDAT NAŞR (Nos. 2-8) PERIODS. ACTUAL SIZE



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EARLY MESOPOTAMIAN STAMP SEALS WITH THEIR DESIGNS. ACTUAL SIZE



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CYLINDER DESIGNS OF THE FIRST (Nos. 15-16), SECOND(?) (No. 17), AND THIRD (Nos. 18-19) EARLY DYNASTIC PERIODS. ACTUAL SIZE



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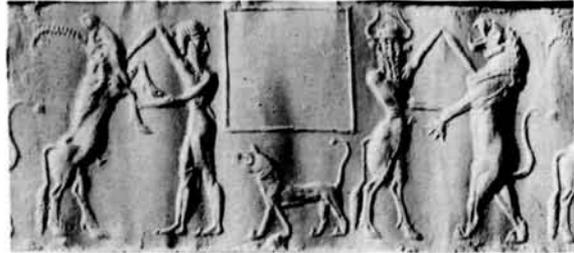
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CYLINDER DESIGNS OF THE AKKADIAN PERIOD. ACTUAL SIZE



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CYLINDER DESIGNS AND A STAMP SEAL WITH ITS DESIGN, ALL OF THE AKKADIAN PERIOD. ACTUAL SIZE



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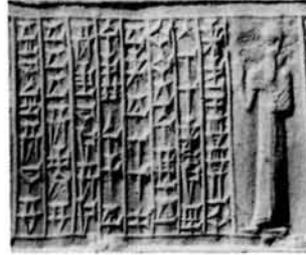


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CYLINDER DESIGNS OF THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR (Nos. 49-55) AND FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON (Nos. 56-66). ACTUAL SIZE



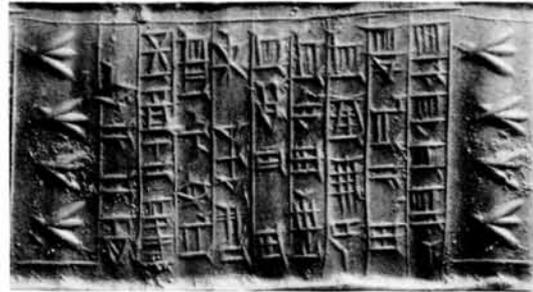
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CYLINDER DESIGNS OF THE KASSITE PERIOD (Nos. 67-70) AND OF MIDDLE ASSYRIAN STYLE (Nos. 71-73). ACTUAL SIZE



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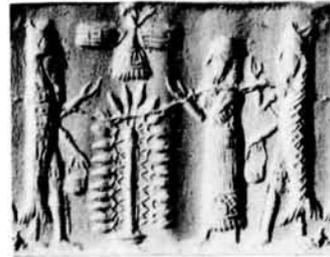
CYLINDER DESIGNS OF ASSYRIAN STYLE. ACTUAL SIZE



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CYLINDER DESIGNS OF ASSYRIAN (Nos. 85-90) AND NEO-BABYLONIAN (Nos. 97-100) STYLE AND ASSYRIAN OR NEO-BABYLONIAN STAMP SEALS WITH THEIR DESIGNS (Nos. 91-96). ACTUAL SIZE



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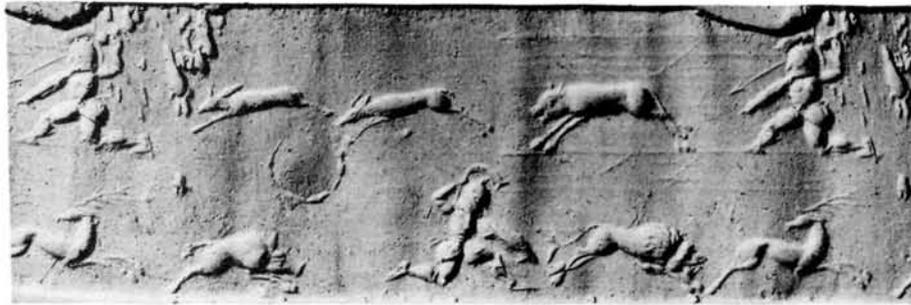
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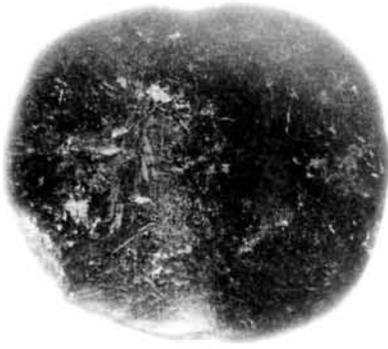


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ACHAEMENIAN CYLINDER DESIGNS (Nos. 101-6) AND PARTHIAN OR SASANIAN STAMP SEAL DESIGNS (Nos. 107-14).
ACTUAL SIZE



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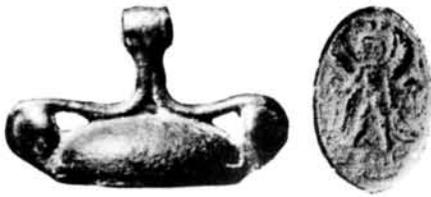


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NON-MESOPOTAMIAN STAMP SEALS AND STAMP SEAL DESIGNS. ACTUAL SIZE



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NON-MESOPOTAMIAN STAMP SEALS WITH THEIR DESIGNS (Nos. 121-26), CAPPADOCIAN CYLINDER DESIGNS (Nos. 127-28), AND CYLINDER DESIGNS OF THE FIRST SYRIAN GROUP (Nos. 129-35). ACTUAL SIZE



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CYLINDER DESIGNS OF THE SECOND SYRIAN GROUP (Nos. 155-67) AND OF MITANNIAN (No. 168) AND KIRKUK STYLES (Nos. 169-74). ACTUAL SIZE



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CYLINDER DESIGNS OF THE THIRD SYRIAN GROUP (Nos. 175-79), DESIGNS OF EGYPTIANIZED CYLINDERS (Nos. 180-82), MINOAN SIGNET RING (No. 183), DESIGNS OF A MINOAN STAMP SEAL AND CYLINDER (Nos. 184-85), AND A HELLENISTIC(?) CYLINDER DESIGN (No. 186). ACTUAL SIZE



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