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**SCULPTURE OF THE THIRD MILLENNIUM B.C.  
FROM TELL ASMAR AND KHAFĀJAH**

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SCULPTURES NOS. 1-4, 10, 33, AND 61 FROM THE SQUARE AND THE SINGLE-SHRINE TEMPLE  
OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
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SCULPTURE OF  
THE THIRD MILLENNIUM B.C.  
FROM  
TELL ASMAR AND KHAFĀJAH

*By*  
HENRI FRANKFORT



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This volume is one of a group planned to present as a whole the work of the Oriental Institute's 'Iraq Expedition in the Diyālā region. The proposed titles are:

Four Ancient Towns in the Diyālā Region  
Private Houses and Graves in the Diyālā Region  
The Temple Oval at Khafājah (*OIP* LIII)  
Pre-Sargonid Temples in the Diyālā Region  
The Gimilsin Temple and the Palace of the Rulers at Tell Asmar (*OIP* XLIII)  
Old Babylonian Public Buildings in the Diyālā Region  
Sculpture of the Third Millennium B.C. from Tell Asmar and Khafājah (*OIP* XLIV)  
Cylinder Seals from the Diyālā Region  
Pottery from the Diyālā Region  
Weights from the Diyālā Region  
Miscellaneous Objects from the Diyālā Region



## PREFACE

The work of several members of the 'Iraq Expedition is embodied in this volume.

At Tell Asmar Mr. Seton Lloyd was in charge of the excavations at the time when the sculptures were discovered. They were photographed by Mrs. Rigmor Jacobsen.

At Khafājah the majority of the sculptures were found while Mr. P. Delougaz was in charge. The sculptures of the first season at this site were discovered and photographed by Dr. Conrad Preusser; in the second season Dr. Neilson C. Debevoise was responsible for photography, in the third season Dr. C. W. McEwan, and in the fourth Count Alexander zu Eltz, to whom the majority of the photographs are to be credited. Of the fifth season only a few discoveries, photographed by Mr. Leslie Grant, are included. The photographs for Plates 28, 84 *A*, and 115 *E* were made at the 'Iraq Museum at Baghdad and are reproduced by the courtesy of the Director of Antiquities. Plates 70 *I-K*, 103, and 115 *A-C* are after photographs made at the Oriental Institute in Chicago.

The frontispiece is reproduced after a watercolor painting by Miss G. Rachel Levy, who also assisted the writer in arranging the plates. Miss Mary A. Chubb contributed the catalogue and greatly assisted throughout in the preparation of the material for publication. Dr. Adolph A. Brux, assistant editorial secretary of the Oriental Institute, put the writer under obligation by making some valuable suggestions and offering assistance in various ways while this volume was passing through the Institute's editorial department and through press.

A preliminary analysis of Early Dynastic sculpture was published in the *Burlington Magazine* LXVI (1935) 110-21. The author has re-used certain portions of that study.

The plates are no doubt the most important part of a volume such as this. The individual sculptures have therefore been reproduced in as large a size as the space on each plate permitted. Readers seeking to know the actual sizes of the sculptures, the strata in which they were found, or other details regarding them will find these in the catalogue in chapter viii, where we have offered such information as is not evident from the illustrations and added references to all pages where the work in question has been mentioned. Attention is here called to a change in the designations of the building levels since the publication of our preliminary reports. While the excavations were in progress the building levels were of course numbered from the top down. Now, however, the numbering is made to correspond to their actual succession. Sin Temple II of the preliminary reports has thus become Sin Temple IX; Sin Temple III has become Sin Temple VIII; etc. Similarly Temple Oval I and III have become Temple Oval III and I respectively.

The typescript of this volume was completed by the end of 1935; practical reasons unfortunately prevented the inclusion of the sculptures found in subsequent seasons at Tell 'Aqrab. These will therefore be published in our proposed volume entitled *Miscellaneous Objects from the Diyālā Region*.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AAA* Annals of archaeology and anthropology (Liverpool, 1908—)
- AOF* Archiv für Orientforschung (Berlin, 1923—)
- JEA* Journal of Egyptian archaeology (London, 1914—)
- OIC* Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute communications (Chicago, 1922—)
- OIC* No. 13 Frankfort, Henri; Jacobsen, Thorkild; and Preusser, Conrad. Tell Asmar and Khafaje. The first season's work in Eshnunna, 1930/31 (1932)
- OIC* No. 16 Frankfort, Henri. Tell Asmar, Khafaje, and Khorsabad. Second preliminary report of the Iraq Expedition (1933)
- OIC* No. 17 Frankfort, Henri. Iraq excavations of the Oriental Institute, 1932/33. Third preliminary report of the Iraq Expedition (1934)
- OIC* No. 19 Frankfort, Henri, with a chapter by Thorkild Jacobsen. Oriental Institute discoveries in Iraq, 1933/34. Fourth preliminary report of the Iraq Expedition (1935)
- OIC* No. 20 Frankfort, Henri. Progress of the work of the Oriental Institute in Iraq, 1934/35. Fifth preliminary report of the Iraq Expedition (1936)
- OIP* Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute publications (Chicago, 1924—)
- RA* Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale (Paris, 1884—)





## I

## INTRODUCTION

## SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE SCULPTURES

About 3000 B.C. the human figure was for the first time sculptured in the round in stone for a monumental purpose. This was an entirely new departure. There have been no connecting links, be it in intermediate scale or in similarity other than the inevitable one of general form, between the small predynastic figurines of clay, bone, or ivory and the new stone statues of from one- to three-quarters life size.

Of the two centers of civilization in the pre-Greek world, Egypt demonstrates more clearly than Mesopotamia the rise of this conception in art. The emergence of monumental sculpture appears there as but one aspect—a manifestation in the artistic sphere—of that general and unprecedented unfolding of culture which finds political expression in the unification of the country under the First Dynasty. The contemporary developments in Mesopotamia are less easily recognizable and must, in any case, have been of a more complex nature. For the absence of natural boundaries and the proximity of many semicivilized, expansive peoples made foreign influence, whether by peaceful penetration or by hostile incursion with accompanying paralysis of indigenous development, a preponderating factor in Mesopotamian history. Cultural development in Mesopotamia was, therefore, along lines entirely unlike the straightforward course of its history in Egypt, which, ensconced between the desert abodes of powerless populations, supplies the classical example of autonomous organic growth.

And yet, beneath the apparent contrasts, there exists a strong parallelism between the progressive achievements in both the African and the Asiatic foci of ancient Near Eastern civilization. Indeed, we so often perceive similar results attained at about the same time that it is legitimate in each instance to inquire whether the original impetus to invention was not imparted by one center to the other.

As regards the introduction of monumental sculpture, the question of origin is as yet unanswerable, though the discovery in the Indus Valley of statuary which resembles in some respects protodynastic Egyptian and in others Early Dynastic Mesopotamian work suggests that in this field, too, mutual contact furthered the development of each.<sup>1</sup> Our recent discoveries in Iraq have, at any rate, largely elucidated the Mesopotamian achievement. Tell Asmar and Khafājah have yielded more pre-Sargonid sculpture than all other sites taken together. Some of these works are in an exceptional state of preservation, and the relative age of the majority is well established. The artistic development thus revealed seems to point back to the very beginning of monumental sculpture in Mesopotamia.

For the present we must, of course, consider this achievement as independent of, though contemporary with, the parallel development in Egypt. If we have nevertheless devoted somewhat more space to comparisons with Egyptian art than the reader may at first deem justifiable, it is to bring out the significance which the works here published possess in a wider context than that of Mesopotamian archeology. Our understanding of the phenomenon of art itself is bound to grow wider and deeper when a pre-Greek school other than the Egyptian becomes thoroughly known.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the writer's survey in Kern Institute (Leyden), *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* VII (for 1932; Leyden, 1934) 1-12, esp. pp. 10 f.

It is now widely recognized that the 5th century B.C. presents an unparalleled break in the history of art. It introduced perspective in drawing and relief, and organic instead of geometric unity in sculpture in the round—interrelated innovations which are opposed to the ideoplastic summation of the pre-Greek creative process.<sup>2</sup> For in adopting perspective the artist makes his picture a function of the position from which he observes—"function" to be taken in the mathematical sense as denoting the interdependence of two variable quantities. The Greek draftsman thus establishes the unity of his representation by the one act of his choice of standpoint. Similarly, the Greek sculptor gives unity to his work by fulfilling the single requirement that it represent an *organic* whole, in which, again, all parts are functionally related.

This singular achievement of Greece cannot be undone. Not only has it exercised its influence ever since in Europe, where it was studied afresh in the early Renaissance and held in its spell, negatively as it were, post-impressionist art with its conscious withdrawal from perspective and organic form, but it is also likely to make itself felt anywhere at any moment, as happened, for instance, at Benin in West Africa in the 16th century and in the Far East at the end of the 19th.

The ability to represent nature spontaneously in nonperspective, nonorganic forms has certainly been regained in recent years by western artists. Nevertheless, it is difficult to realize that before the 5th century B.C. such renderings prevailed without any known alternative because the notions of visual reality and organic unity were both nonexistent. The study of pre-Greek art therefore presents a subject of exceptional interest, not only from the historical point of view of the archeologist but also for the understanding of the phenomenon of art itself.

Now hitherto pre-Greek art has almost always connoted Egyptian art. The reasons for this are both historical and accidental. Archaic Greek art is obviously indebted to Egypt for some of its formulas, and besides, no other center of ancient Near Eastern civilization has up to now produced anything like the wealth of achievement discovered in Egypt. It is therefore of the utmost importance that we are able to place Mesopotamian work from the formative early centuries of the 3d millennium B.C. beside contemporary Egyptian sculpture, in order that what is truly "pre-Greek" and therefore of general significance in each may be distinguished from what are merely national peculiarities.

#### CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE DISCOVERY

All of the sculptures published in this volume were found in temple ruins, with the exception of four pieces (Nos. 90, 159-60, and one fragment of 189) discovered in house areas. A detailed account of the temples and their stratification will be given in other volumes of this series,<sup>3</sup> and to them we refer the reader who is desirous of verifying the evidence upon which the following summary is based, so far as it is not already offered in the preliminary reports.<sup>4</sup>

The sculptures from Tell Asmar were discovered in a temple (Fig. 1) which had been founded toward the end of the Jamdat Naṣr period (before 3000 B.C.) and had remained in use down to the dynasty of Sargon of Akkad (about 2500 B.C.). An inscribed copper bowl, some cylinder seals, and a few relief plaques, taken in conjunction with material found in private houses near by, define with some precision the character of the main god worshiped there. Known under various names, such as Abu, Ningishzida, Ningirsu, Ninurta, Tammuz, and perhaps

<sup>2</sup> It is the merit of Heinrich Schäfer to have drawn this distinction between Greek art and its derivatives on the one hand and all schools of art unaffected by Greek influence on the other; cf. his *Von ägyptischer Kunst* (3. Aufl.; Leipzig, 1930). For a discussion of the limitations of his method see the writer's article "On Egyptian art," *JEA* XVIII (1932) 33-48.

<sup>3</sup> See list on back of title-page.

<sup>4</sup> *OIC* Nos. 13, 16, 17, 19, and 20.

## INTRODUCTION

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Ninazu, he is the personification of the generative forces of nature.<sup>5</sup> His sanctuary was founded upon an accumulation of the debris of poor huts and dwellings rising for about 3 meters above virgin soil. In the first part of the Early Dynastic period (Early Dynastic I) this small shrine was rebuilt on a somewhat larger scale, though it still retained its modest proportions and possessed only one sanctuary. Three subsequent rebuildings—reckoning only the major reconstructions—fall within the same age; during this same time six lesser renewals also occurred and left their traces in well marked floors (cf. Fig. 1). We have designated the temple of this entire period as the “Archaic Shrine.” It contained no sculpture, though fragments of stone vases were found in it and also some clay figurines of nude women. For the rest, it yielded only pots, beads, and cylinder seals, and the same applies to the earliest sanctuary, that of the Jamdat Nasr period.

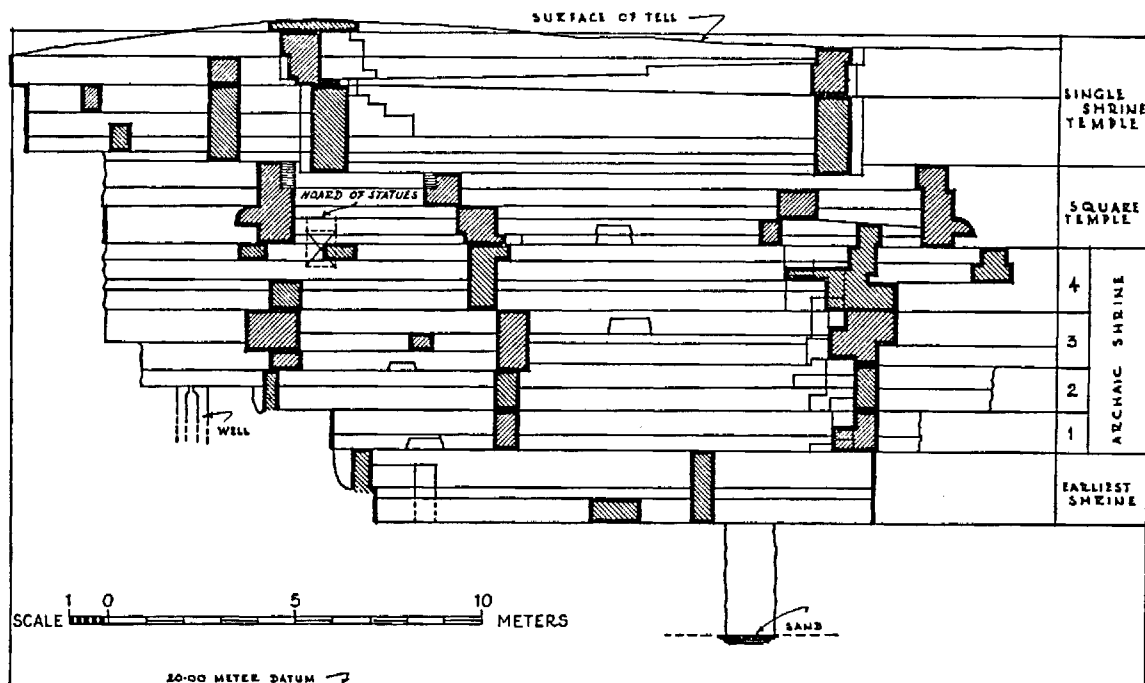


FIG. 1.—WEST-EAST SECTION THROUGH THE ABU TEMPLE AT TELL ASMAR. SCALE, ABOUT 1:200

In the second part of the Early Dynastic period (Early Dynastic II) the whole temple was replanned and was provided with three sanctuaries instead of one (Fig. 2). Because of the characteristic shape of this temple we have called it the “Square Temple.” Five successive floor levels indicate four reconstructions, none of them very thorough. Beneath the third floor level of Shrine II (Figs. 1 and 2) a hoard of statues was discovered (Pls. 1-12, 13 *E* and *G*, 14-27, and 43 *C-D*).<sup>6</sup> The statues had been carefully stored in an oblong cavity about 0.60 m. deep dug in the ground beside the altar. The three largest (Pls. 1-5 and 9) had been placed there first and the others then carefully piled one upon another. The pressure of the soil during five thousand years caused considerable damage. Its force may be gauged by a glance at Plates 15 *A* and 17 *B*, where the pattern from the dress of an adjacent figure has been actually impressed upon the stone of the statue. It is therefore not surprising that heads, feet, arms,

<sup>5</sup> For a fuller statement see *OIC* No. 17, pp. 47-55; cf. also Mrs. E. Douglas Van Buren, “The god Ningizzida,” *Iraq* I (1934) 60-89. On Ninazu see *OIC* No. 13, pp. 55-59.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *OIC* No. 19, p. 13.

## SCULPTURE FROM TELL ASMAR AND KHAFAJAH

and parts of the trunks of most of these figures were cracked or severed. However, at the time of burial, during or after the second reconstruction of the Square Temple, all of the figures but one (the kneeling figure of Pls. 26 and 27) had been complete and in an excellent state of preservation. They had obviously acquired sanctity by their dedication to the gods and, when no longer required, had been carefully deposited within the shrine. One would like to think that they were thus hidden as a precaution in time of siege or during some other disturbance. But

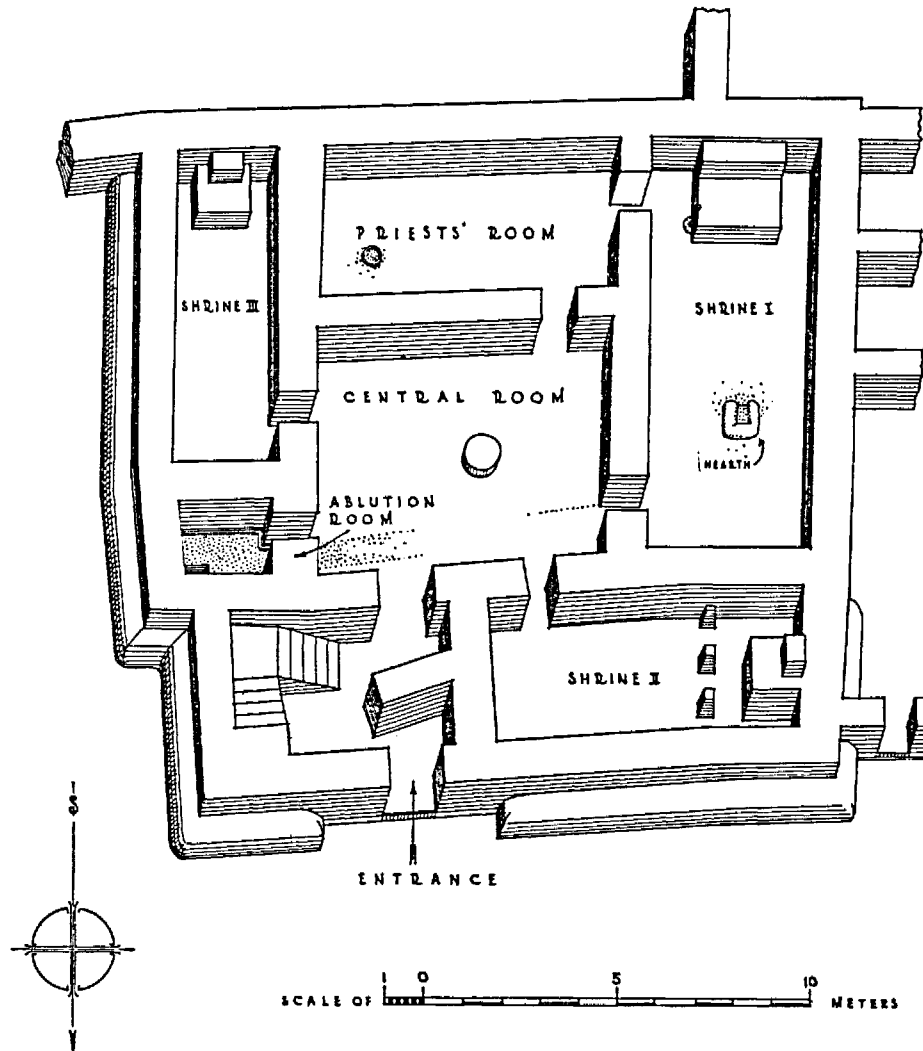


FIG. 2.—THE SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR IN ISOMETRIC PERSPECTIVE. SCALE, 1:200

for this supposition to be probable, signs of subsequent destruction and of an interval of desertion of the temple would be required to explain why the statues were not dug up again and reinstated in their shrine after the danger had passed. We find, however, that the Square Temple had been in use continuously; no evidence of a complete rebuilding nor any trace of damage by fire or otherwise could be found. We must therefore suppose that at the time of the second reconstruction not only the framework of the Square Temple but also its equipment had been overhauled and renewed. In Shrine I (cf. Fig. 2), at the same level, a corresponding deposit was found,<sup>7</sup> containing stone vases, inlays, amulets, seals, beads, and a copper mirror—objects

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *ibid.* pp. 23-31.

## INTRODUCTION

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which can best be explained as votive offerings, especially to a goddess. These had likewise been buried at the time of a reconstruction, for they were found partly beneath the floor, partly inside the brickwork of the renovated altar.

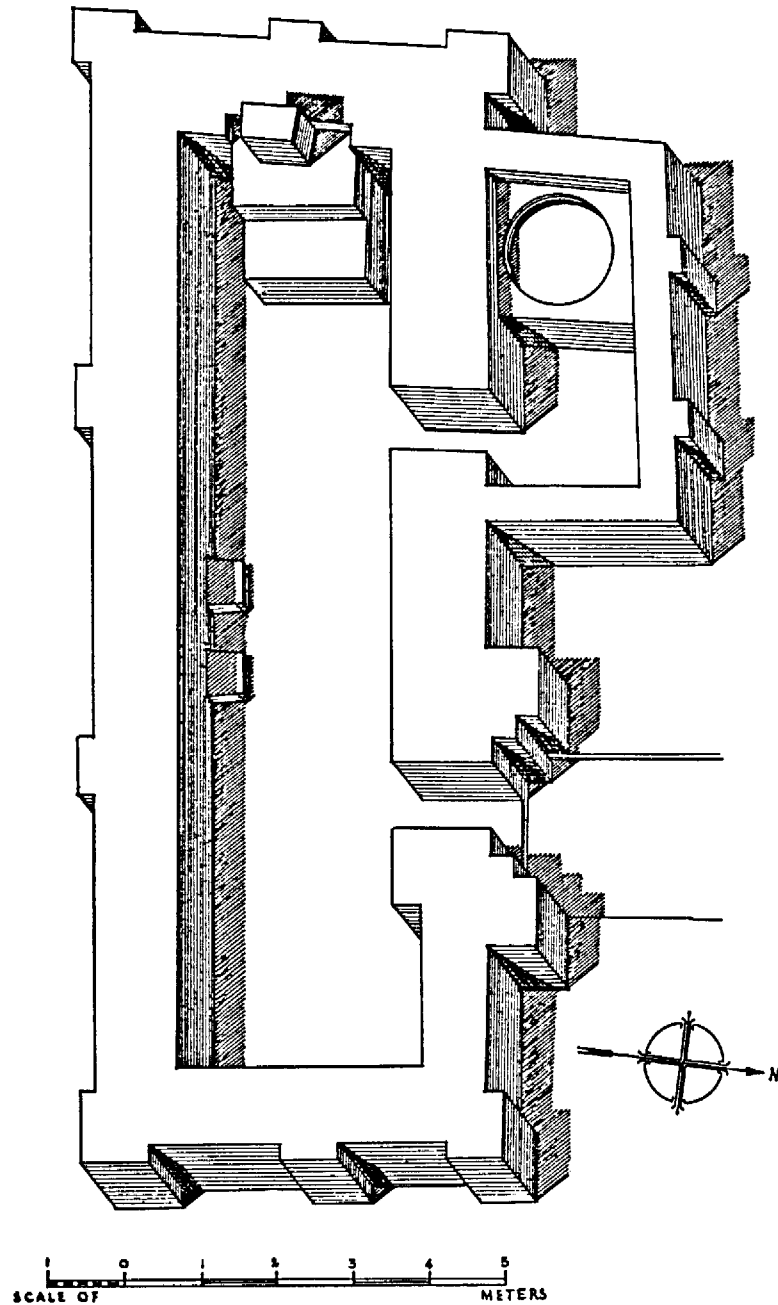


FIG. 3.—PROJECTED PLAN OF THE EARLY DYNASTIC SINGLE-SHRINE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR. SCALE, 1:100

After the fourth reconstruction of the Square Temple, a complete replanning took place. This time the scope of the building was much reduced. It consisted at first of a small single-room shrine with an inclosed forecourt, but was very soon rebuilt somewhat more substantially. Throughout its history, however, it possessed one sanctuary only. This "Single-Shrine Temple" (Fig. 3), belonging to Early Dynastic III, underwent three minor reconstructions,

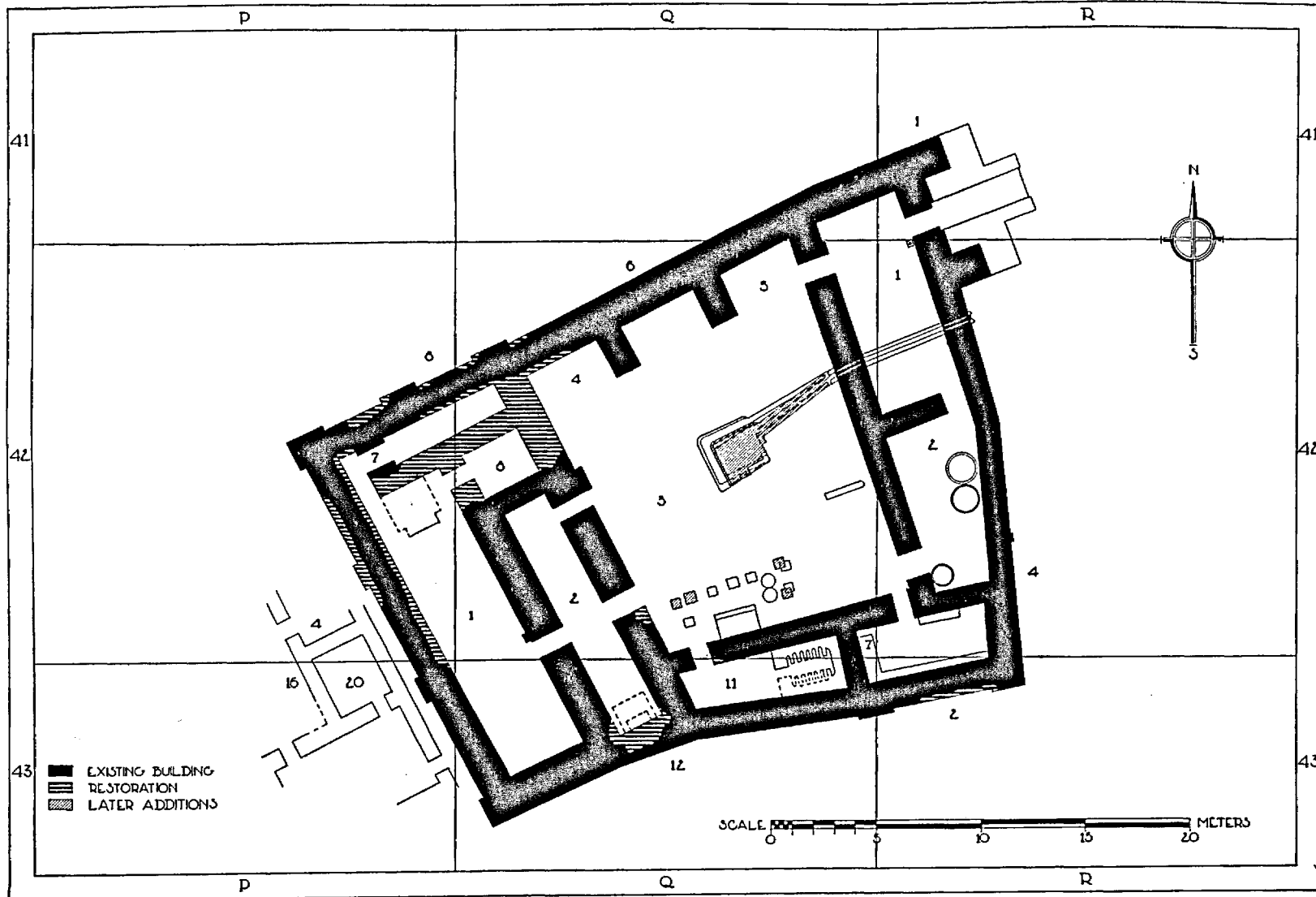


FIG. 4.—PLAN OF SIN TEMPLE IX AT KHAFĀJAH. SCALE, 1:300

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which can be traced by distinct floor levels. The sculpture found in these levels<sup>8</sup> had evidently been discarded because it had become damaged (Pls. 62 *E-G* and *L-N*, 63, and 97). Most of it was found outside the shrine proper, buried in the spacious forecourt which occupied the remainder of the sacred precincts that had once been fully covered by the larger Square Temple. For our present purpose this fact is of no consequence, for the levels of the forecourt can easily be synchronized with the floors of the shrine. In fact, one half of the relief of Plate 106 was found within the shrine, underneath the main floor, and the other half in the forecourt lying beside some statues; though the two halves of the relief fit well, they are differently weathered.<sup>9</sup>

In its last stage the Single-Shrine Temple was rebuilt of flat bricks; it continued in use into Akkadian times, when it underwent one more rebuilding of which we have knowledge.<sup>10</sup> The floor belonging to the Akkadian period is partly denuded, and the relief of Plate 112 *B*, which was found upon it, lay only a few centimeters below the surface of the mound. The level of the walls of the Third Dynasty of Ur near by makes it unlikely that much is lost by denudation.

At Khafājah we penetrated to the stratum of the Uruk period, where, at 30.50 meters above datum, we reached water level and were prevented from continuing excavation down to virgin soil.<sup>11</sup> The temple, which, according to the inscription on Urkisal's statue (see p. 11 and Pls. 48-50), was dedicated to the moon-god Sin, had existed already in the Jamdat Naṣr period. At that time it contained one sanctuary with rooms adjoining it. In Early Dynastic I it was entirely rebuilt on a larger scale and contained henceforward two sanctuaries and a large courtyard (Fig. 4).

At the beginning of Early Dynastic II, when the Square Temple at Tell Asmar succeeded the small Archaic Shrine of the preceding age, a similarly bold architectural plan was realized at Khafājah. The Sin Temple was completely rebuilt, though without any very great change in plan or scope, and, in addition, another great temple was founded a little way toward the southwest. The plan of the new temple precinct is without parallel:<sup>11a</sup> a double inclosure wall following an oval-shaped alignment surrounds an artificial platform which no doubt supported a temple (Fig. 5). We have called this building complex the "Temple Oval." An inscribed macehead<sup>12</sup> suggests that the mother goddess Inanna was worshiped there. Between the inner and outer inclosure walls, at the northwest corner, a subsidiary sanctuary existed, complete with forecourt, shrine, and altar, which we have called "House D" in our preliminary reports.

Both the Sin Temple and the Temple Oval were rebuilt during Early Dynastic III. Fragments of vases inscribed by Rimush, a son of Sargon of Akkad, suggest that here, as at Tell Asmar, the sanctuaries continued in use into Akkadian times; but the denudation of the ruins is such that no architectural remains of this latter period have been preserved. Not only the foundations but also the reconstructions of the temples were executed in plano-convex bricks and belong, therefore, to the Early Dynastic period.

Another result of this far-reaching denudation of the Khafājah site is the uncertainty attaching to the stratification of a number of pieces of sculpture coming from the last two rebuildings of our temples. These pieces may belong either to the earlier or to the later half of Early Dynastic III. The large majority of our statues, however, was found in the Second Temple Oval and in Sin Temple IX, the latter, though built in Early Dynastic II, having continued in use into the beginning of Early Dynastic III before being rebuilt as Sin Temple X. They occurred in groups. One group was located in a room (N 44:1 of Fig. 5) of the series

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *ibid.* p. 7.<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*<sup>10</sup> Cf. *OIC* No. 17, p. 40.<sup>11</sup> Cf. *OIC* No. 20, p. 25.<sup>11a</sup> Since this was written members of the Expedition have discovered that a similar plan was used for the temple of al-Ubaid. See Delougaz, "A short investigation of the temple at al-Ubaid," *Iraq* V (1938) 1-11.<sup>12</sup> *OIC* No. 13, p. 111 and Fig. 54.

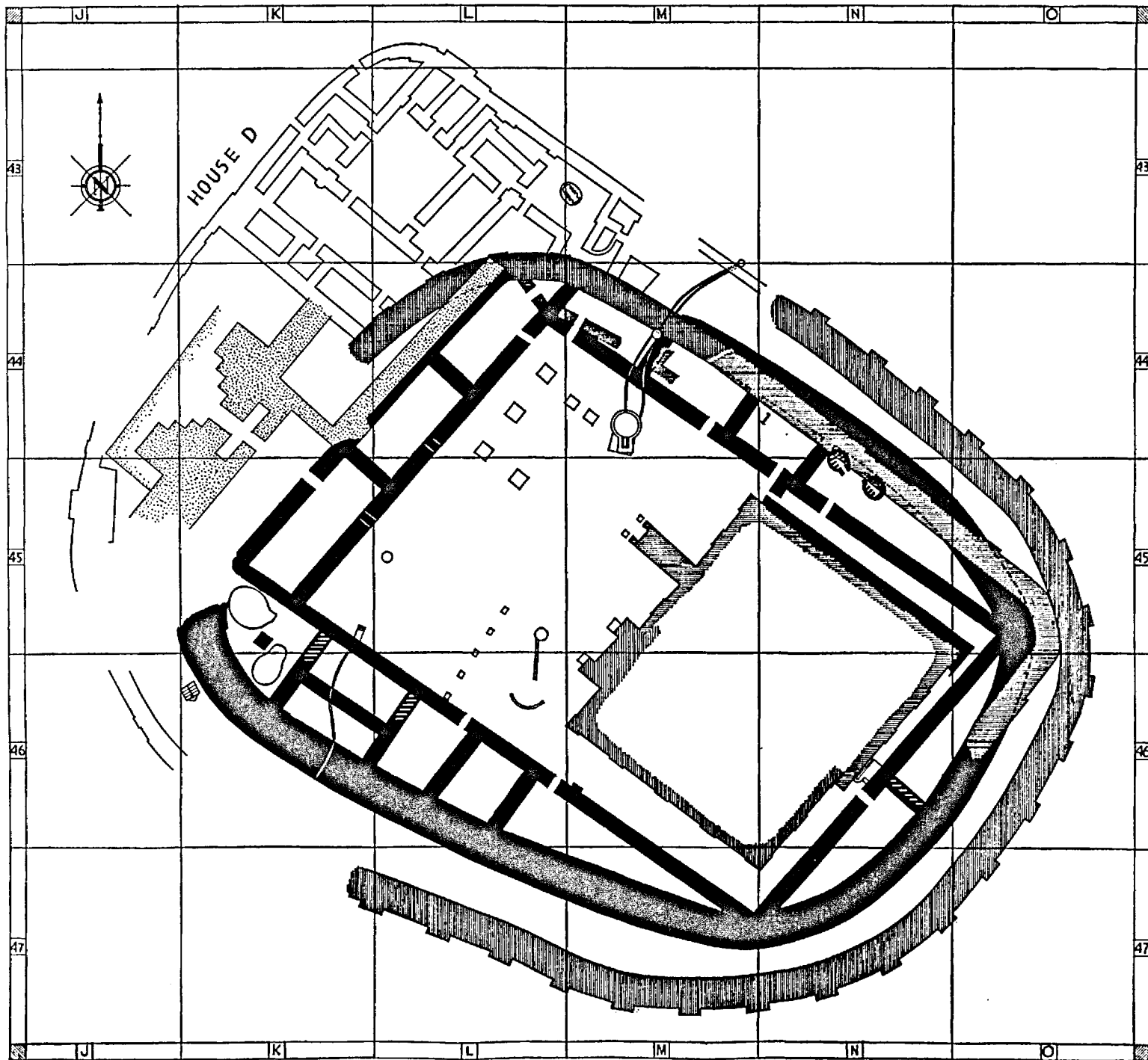


FIG. 5.—PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OVAL AT KHAFĀJAH. SCALE, 1:600



## INTRODUCTION

which surrounds the temple platform and its forecourt in the Temple Oval; another appeared in the central court (L 43:3) and the shrine (L 43:4) of the subsidiary sanctuary ("House D")

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE							
		TELL ASMAR	KHAFĀJAH			OTHER SITES	
		Abu Temple	Temple Oval	House Area		Sin Temple	
				Floors	Number of Graves		
EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD	EARLY DYNASTIC III	SINGLE-SHRINE TEMPLE	III				KISH: CEM. "A"; LAGASH: DYN. OF URNANSHE; UR: ROYAL TOMBS AND 1ST DYN.
			II	2		X	ASSUR H/G; FĀRAH: TEXTS; KISH: PALACE OF MOUND "A"; MARI
	EARLY DYNASTIC II	SQUARE TEMPLE	I	3-6	39	IX-VIII	FĀRAH: THE MAJORITY OF THE SEAL IMPRESSIONS
	EARLY DYNASTIC I	ARCHAIC SHRINES I-IV		7-11	15	VII-VI	KISH: CEM. "Y"; AL-UBAID: "LATER CEMETERY"; UR: TABLETS AND SEAL IMPRESSIONS FROM S.I.S. IV-V; WARKA: PART OF STRATUM I IN P XIII
	JAMDAT NAŠR PERIOD	EARLIEST SHRINE		12-13		V-IV	
		3 METERS OF HOUSE DEBRIS			M. 33.80		
	URUK PERIOD	VIRGIN SOIL	AT M. 32.50 : TABLET WITH NUMERALS AS AT URUK IV AT M. 31.00 : GRAY URUK WARE			AT KISH & FĀRAH* THE SETTLEMENTS DO NOT ANTEDATE THE JAMDAT NAŠR PERIOD	
		WATER LEVEL FEB. 1935	AT M. 30.50 : WATER LEVEL FEB. 20, 1935				

\* SAOC No. 4, p. 50 and Table I.

on Fig. 5) placed between the inner and outer inclosure walls of the Temple Oval; and a third group was found in the central court and in some rooms to the east of it in the Sin Temple. Unfortunately the levels dated to Early Dynastic II, which at Tell Asmar gave us our hoard of

statues in the Square Temple, produced at Khafājah but few sculptures, and these, on the whole, of an inconclusive character. The ruins belonging to this period, namely those of the First Temple Oval and of Sin Temple VIII, contained mainly amulets and vases of stone and pottery, which, however, suffice to establish the required synchronism with Tell Asmar. The results of our stratigraphical observations and of a number of similarities between our discoveries and those made elsewhere are embodied in the table on page 9.

#### ORIGINAL POSITIONS AND PURPOSES OF THE SCULPTURES

##### HUMAN FIGURES

Neither the architectural features of the ruins nor the locations in which our statues were discovered permit us to draw definite conclusions as to the places they originally occupied. We may, however, in our attempt to interpret such evidence as we possess, accept the guidance of Andrae's discoveries at Assur. There the Early Dynastic town had been destroyed, and the objects found in the Ishtar Temple of layer "G" were discovered just as they had been left after the sack of the city. Andrae suggests, with a high degree of probability, that the statues found lying on the floor were originally placed on the low brick bench built along the walls.<sup>13</sup> At Khafājah, in a room of Sin Temple IX (Q 42:7), a similar low bench was built along the walls, and whitewashed plaster which had covered it could still be recognized.<sup>14</sup>

Below the floor fragmentary statues had been buried, and it is likely that these had stood on the bench when they were still in use. In the shrine itself (Q 42:1) no architectural features were discovered which pointed to a place for the statues, unless it be assumed that they stood on the square elevation built against the narrow northwest wall. It is, however, generally believed that this elevation served as support for the cult statue of the god. If we do not want to assume that the other statues were crowded round it and yet on the analogy of Assur wish to assign them to a place in the actual shrine, we must imagine them placed along the walls upon the mats or rugs which covered the floor. The room with the bench (Q 42:7) would in that case have been a storeroom for those statues which were not placed in the immediate presence of the god—for want of space, or because their donors lacked sufficient means or importance, or because the donors' descendants had failed to continue the requisite contributions. For we know from the inscriptions on Gudea's statues (see below) that definite offerings were instituted when one of his statues was set up in the temple, and a similar, if more modest, arrangement must have been made by commoners or officials who could afford to have their effigies made and placed in the temple. The storeroom might then be considered as a halfway house or "limbo" between celestial display of the statues in the sanctuary proper and infernal oblivion through burial after having been discarded altogether.

It is possible, of course, that statues were placed elsewhere in the temple, in anterooms or in large open courts, where a light shelter of matting would provide sufficient protection against the weather and yet leave no trace for us to recognize. Such a position is, in fact, indicated for Statue B of Gudea, which was found near a well in Court A of the Palace in Telloh (Tell Lūh, ancient Lagash)<sup>15</sup> and bears the injunction (B vii 55) that it be set up at a "water place"<sup>16</sup>—a statement reminding us forcibly of the circular wells found in the court of the Temple Oval<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> W. Andrae, *Die archaischen Ishtar-Tempel in Assur* (Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, "Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen" XXXIX [Leipzig, 1922]) pp. 32 f. and Pls. 3 and 6.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *OIC* No. 19, p. 42.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. E. de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée* (Paris, 1884–1912) II, Plan A.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften* ("Vorderasiatische Bibliothek" I 1 [Leipzig, 1907]) pp. 72 and 73.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *OIC* No. 19, p. 35 and Fig. 36.

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and in the Sin Temple. A number of square bases which appear in our plans of these courts are not likely to have supported statues, since those which were completely preserved, with their plastering intact, have domed tops.

The circumstances at Tell Asmar are similarly unproductive of information regarding the position of the sculptures in the temples there. In the Single-Shrine Temple two square bases, one or two bricks high, were built up against the south wall of the shrine.<sup>18</sup> One would suppose that the more important statues found a place on these elevations<sup>19</sup> while others stood on the floor. In the earlier Square Temple no supports were observed. The few separate bases in the Single-Shrine Temple might, therefore, form an intermediate stage between the original practice of placing all statues on the ground and that observed at Assur, where benches for statues were built along most of the walls of the shrine. In any case, the evidence from Tell Asmar and Khafājah, as far as it goes, does not conflict with that from Assur.

The purpose of the statues is indicated by the inscriptions which a few of them carry on their shoulders. We possess three statues with such inscriptions from Khafājah, the inscription of one (Pl. 71) being illegible, that of the second (Pls. 48–50), in Dr. Thorkild Jacobsen's translation, reading: "Urkisal, *šangu*-priest of Sin of Akshak, son of . . . .ti, p a š e š, (to) Sin has presented (this)." The inscription of the third statue (Pl. 71a C–D), also in Dr. Jacobsen's translation, reads: "Urninkilim, bencher." Inscriptions on other statues from Mesopotamia show that they too had been presented to deities. The inscriptions on the statues of Gudea, for example, are very explicit on this point; they indicate clearly that the purpose of such statues was to remind the god of his devotee, whose effigy was perpetually before him. Thus Gudea says on Statue B (vii 24 f.): "May the statue to my king (i.e., the god) speak."<sup>20</sup> The proper names of his statues were often prayers, parenthetically mentioning a specific act of devotion which entitles him to the god's gratitude. Thus Statue B was called: "To my king, whose temple I have built; let life be my reward" (B vii 14–18).<sup>21</sup> Statues M and N,<sup>22</sup> the inscriptions of which are identical except for the name, were called "It offers prayers" and "May Geshtinanna regard me with favor" respectively.<sup>23</sup> It is natural to assume that the same motives prompted less exalted personages likewise to place their statues in the presence of the god. In any case there can be no doubt that the vast majority of our statues represent devotees of the god in whose temple they were found. The variety in size and quality and also the large number of the sculptures show clearly that not only rulers, as is sometimes said, but other classes of the population as well provided the temple with sculptural embellishments of this type.

## MYTHOLOGICAL FIGURES

Among our sculptures are a few figures that cannot be explained satisfactorily as representations of ordinary mortals. To begin with, they are not statues in the narrow sense at all, but are designed to carry or support objects and must therefore be considered as parts of the temple furniture. Under this heading come the kneeling figure of Plates 26–27 and the copper figures of Plates 98–103. All these figures served as supports. The large copper statue of

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *OIC* No. 17, p. 45 and Figs. 36 and 38.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.* p. 23.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* frontispiece.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> In designating these two statues by letters we follow S. Langdon (Royal Asiatic Society, *Journal*, 1927, p. 766), who refers to them as "M (Scheil)" and "N (Copenhagen)." Text and translation of M are given by J. V. Scheil in *RA* XXII (1925) 42 f.; those of N by Thureau-Dangin, "Statuettes de Tello," *Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres* (Fondation E. Piot), *Monuments et mémoires* XXVII (Paris, 1924) 103 f.

<sup>23</sup> This conception survived in Assyrian times, as is attested by an inscription of Ashurbanipal, which Thureau-Dangin (*RA* XXXI [1934] 139) translates: "J'installai ma statue royale . . . , pour être le solliciteur de ma vie, devant les dieux en qui je mets ma confiance." Using this instance to explain the function of Early Dynastic statues, Thureau-Dangin adds: "On le voit, la statue est destinée à faire office d'orant perpétuel."

Plates 98–101 has a four-armed claw fixed to the top of the head, on which a bowl could be placed; and the two smaller statues of Plates 102–3 show traces of a similar attachment. The headdress of the kneeling figure of Plates 26–27 is hollowed out in the manner of a candlestick; the rim, however, is broken off, so that we cannot judge the original shape.<sup>24</sup> The outstanding feature which distinguishes these four figures from other contemporary sculptures in the round is their nudity, for statues regularly show clothed figures even when the men are beardless and bald. It is true that nude men—priests—appear sometimes on reliefs, especially when pouring libations before the gods. But these shaven priests on reliefs are not to be associated with our bearded long-haired figures, each of whom, moreover, wears a girdle, an article of dress never shown in ordinary use. The extraordinary slenderness of the copper figures forms a further contrast with the usual sculptural rendering of human beings in Mesopotamia. But these very features connect our supports with the heroic figures whose combat with beasts is the favorite theme of Early Dynastic and Sargonid seal-cutters. And these heroes of mythology, whatever their true nature may have been, were hardly conceived of as ordinary mortals. They are, however, distinguished by the slenderness of their figures; they are nude; and they wear the multiple girdle.

Conclusive proof that we are justified in connecting the four pieces of temple furniture with the mythology underlying the seal designs is provided by a beautifully carved but damaged alabaster statue from Umma (Pl. 115 *E*), recently exhibited in the 'Iraq Museum in Baghdad. It bears an inscription on the right shoulder just as our large copper figure does, though the latter is too much corroded to yield a legible text. It possesses the same slenderness of build as our copper statues, and thereby proves that this feature is not due to a greater liberty enjoyed by the metal-caster than the stonecutter. It is, moreover, nude but for the multiple girdle. The head is too much damaged to allow one to judge whether it was designed as a support; but the nudity, the slenderness, and the girdle link this figure inseparably with our supports on the one hand and with seal designs on the other. The latter connection is, in fact, particularly strong in the case of the statue from Umma, for it represents none other than the bull-man who appears together with anthropomorphic heroes in the animal combats of the seals. The head of the Umma statue is shaped like the front of a bull, and on either side there is a large round hole where a horn of lapis lazuli, gold, or copper had been inserted. The legs below the knees may likewise have been shaped like those of a bull, for the thighs, which alone are preserved, show dowel holes for the lower legs, which were perhaps made of copper so as to suggest the difference in color between the hairy surface of a bull's legs and the human skin of the thighs and body above. Beard and locks also were made of another material and fitted with copper rivets onto the stone; the holes, containing remains of the rivets, are clearly visible round the mouth and on the chest. A similar rivet in the lowest part of the back served, no doubt, to fix a bull's tail to the alabaster. Finally, the Umma figure resembles the bull-men of the seals in being ithyphallic.

In the light of the preceding we may, therefore, state that the sculptures to be found in Early Dynastic temples represented not only male and female worshipers but also mythological figures of a semihuman or perhaps semidivine nature, which formed part of the temple furniture and served especially as supports upon which bowls or other objects used in the ritual could be placed before the gods.

<sup>24</sup> A cylinder seal in Berlin (O. Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder* ["Der Alte Orient" XVII–XVIII (Leipzig, 1920)] Nr. 430) shows such a support placed in front of the god and supporting bowls; but it has the shape of a goat rampant. Two goat figures from Ur (C. L. Woolley, *The Royal Cemetery* [Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia, "Ur Excavations" II (Oxford, 1934)] Pls. 87–89) may likewise have been used in this manner.

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## DIVINE FIGURES

From the earliest times of which we have knowledge the gods of Mesopotamia were conceived of in human shape. Their statues, hitherto known only from references in texts, will therefore be difficult to distinguish from those of their worshipers unless inscriptions are there to enlighten us. At Tell Asmar and at Khafājah pre-Sargonid inscriptions are exceedingly rare, and we must therefore rely on circumstantial evidence for considering two statues from the Square Temple at Tell Asmar as cult statues representing the god of fertility and the mother goddess. The best evidence is supplied by the male figure of Plates 1–3 and 5, the largest of all the statues in the hoard.

In appraising this statue we have to disregard certain intangible characteristics which put it in a class by itself in the judgment of those who have been able to study it in conjunction with its companions. When the original is exhibited in a proper context in the Baghdad Museum, these characteristics will no doubt be perceived by others also. It is, of course, too much to expect even Mrs. Jacobsen's excellent photographs to convey such subtleties as these. There are, however, two characteristics of a purely external nature which are without parallel among the Early Dynastic sculptures hitherto known. The first is the unnatural size of the eyes. This feature recurs, indeed, in a female statue which is the second-largest in the Tell Asmar hoard (Pls. 4–5), but, as far I am aware, nowhere else. The second is the relief on the front of the base of the male statue, which shows the lion-headed eagle Imdugud gliding between groups each consisting of a gazelle and a leafy branch. A similar emblematic engraving is found on the base of a female figure in the Louvre (Pl. 115 *D*), namely an eight-leaved rosette (often considered the symbol of the planet Venus) between two lions, the combination being a well known emblem of the goddess Ishtar. Legrain<sup>25</sup> has referred to the scene depicted on the support of the statue of Plate 35 as a parallel to that on our male statue from Tell Asmar; but there is obviously no connection between this ornamented support, which strengthens the weakest part of the Khafājah statue, and the label-like emblems on the bases of our statue from Tell Asmar and the Ishtar statue in the Louvre. Indeed, the back pillar of the statue on Plate 35 may imitate an elaborately decorated piece of furniture such as a stool. Some statues from Lagash (for example that of Gudea's son Urningirsu)<sup>26</sup> show a decoration on the base recalling the older "base circulaire,"<sup>27</sup> which may have served a similar purpose. But these friezes of subsidiary figures merely supply a foil for the dominating statue placed upon the stand; they heighten its impressiveness by the contrast of their diminutive scale, by the reduced corporeality of their relief, and sometimes by their servile attitudes. In other words, they serve a purely decorative purpose. They have nothing in common with the pictographic inscriptions on the front of the bases of the female statue in the Louvre and the male statue from Tell Asmar, which define the one as the statue of Ishtar and the other as that of the god of fertility.<sup>28</sup> For it is important to note that the plants and animals on the base of the Tell Asmar statue refer as definitely to a known divinity as do the lions and rosette on the base of the statue in the Louvre. The plants and animals symbolize the very god to whom the temple of Tell Asmar was dedicated. This has been established by a network of evidence so coherent and so mutually corroborative that no room for doubt seems to be left. Though this identification is of some

<sup>25</sup> *RA* XXXII (1935) 119.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Thureau-Dangin, "Statuettes de Tello," pp. 101–3 and Pls. IX and X.

<sup>27</sup> De Sarzec, *op. cit.* I 166 f. and 196–98 and II, Pl. 47:1; also G. Contenau, *Manuel d'archéologie orientale depuis les origines jusqu'à l'époque d'Alexandre I* (1927) Figs. 322–26.

<sup>28</sup> For parallel symbolic representations of gods seen in a dream see Gudea's Cylinder A iv 14—vi 13 in Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, pp. 92–95.

consequence, we need only briefly summarize the evidence for it here; for the matter has already been studied three times from different points of view. First we examined the material in its local aspect, starting from the assumption that all the evidence obtained from the temple and the contemporary private houses at Tell Asmar might be expected to produce a coherent picture of the religion of the inhabitants of Eshnunna in the first half of the 3d millennium B.C.<sup>29</sup> Then we analyzed the seal designs which had a bearing on our subject, irrespective of the sites on which they were found.<sup>30</sup> Finally we studied the decoration of all the available sculptured maceheads of the Early Dynastic period.<sup>31</sup> These three lines of investigation led to the same conclusion—a conclusion which differs, indeed, from the view generally held and is therefore not acceptable to Legrain,<sup>32</sup> but which seems to be inescapable in the light of the varied evidence to which we have referred<sup>33</sup>—that throughout Mesopotamia a god was worshiped who personified the generative force of nature. Several of his epithets, such as Tammuz, Ningirsu, Ninurta, Ningishzida, Abu, and perhaps Ninazu, enjoyed widely differing popularity in the various cities, one aspect of the god being stressed in one center while another characteristic became predominant elsewhere. In the course of time different aspects even developed into separate deities. These divergencies represent, however, a secondary development; for down to Sargonid times the monuments testify to the fundamental unity of the bearer of these appellations. The god's warlike aspect is everywhere represented by the lion-headed eagle Imdugud; associated with rams, goats, ibexes, or stags, the god represents the vitality of the animal world and, above all, of the herds ("Lord of the Sheepfolds"); holding ears of grain or a plough, he is the "Lord of Vegetation"; in the image of a snake or of a pair of copulating vipers,<sup>34</sup> the caduceus, he embodies the fertility of the earth and perhaps the immortality of the generative force of nature.<sup>35</sup>

All these aspects of the god are represented on objects found in or near the temple of Tell Asmar. There is a fragment of a stela (Pl. 112 A) showing the divine nuptials which a text from Lagash describes as taking place between Ningirsu and Bau.<sup>36</sup> In the same layer were fragments of a spouted vessel ornamented with snakes poisoning their heads on the rim of the outflow. An exactly similar vessel was found in the chapel of a private house which contained also an alabaster group depicting the snake-god and his vanquished adversary, the dragon.<sup>37</sup> The contest with a seven-headed dragon is depicted on a cylinder seal found in the same layer of the temple,<sup>38</sup> while immediately outside the temple an Early Dynastic seal impression was found

<sup>29</sup> *OIC* No. 17, pp. 47–55.

<sup>30</sup> H. Frankfort, "Gods and myths on Sargonid seals," *Iraq* I 2–29.

<sup>31</sup> *Idem*, "Early Dynastic sculptured maceheads," *Miscellanea orientalia dedicata Antonio Deimel* . . . ("Analecta orientalia" XII [Roma, 1935]) pp. 105–21.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *RA* XXXII 119, where he states: "Il serait curieux qu'un même dieu fût à l'origine du culte local dans toutes les villes." But this is exactly what seems to have been the case; and, since the Mesopotamian plain was first colonized by settlers possessed of a homogeneous culture (as the wide spread of al-Ubaid pottery shows), there seems to be no a priori difficulty in assuming that they worshiped the same gods from the beginning. When Legrain continues: "Nous pourrions alors parler des adorateurs de l'aigle, ce qui nous reporterait à un âge totémique avant l'apparition des dieux à figures humaines," we can only deplore that an abuse of terms long since corrected in the science where it originated, that of anthropology (cf. A. van Gennep, *L'État actuel du problème totémique* [Paris, 1920] pp. 166–78 and 342–52), still persists elsewhere. There is no justification for any attempt to proclaim totemism, a highly specialized religious-sociological phenomenon of definitely limited occurrence, as a general phase of human development.

<sup>33</sup> C. L. Woolley (*The Development of Sumerian Art* [New York, 1935] p. 61, n. 1) expresses his belief that all of the statues from Tell Asmar represent "human rulers, their wives and families"; but, since he states that I consider "most of them at least" to be cult figures, he can hardly have realized the exceptional character of the two statues we are discussing.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *Iraq* I 12.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *Miscellanea orientalia*, pp. 118–21.

<sup>36</sup> Gudea's Cylinder B xvi 19–xvii 4; cf. text and translation in Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.* pp. 136 f.

<sup>37</sup> *OIC* No. 17, pp. 18 f. and 50, also Figs. 44–45.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.* p. 49 and Fig. 43.

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which shows the seven-headed hydra with the more usual body of a snake.<sup>39</sup> In a building immediately adjoining the temple a service of about eighty pieces, consisting of copper vessels and knives, was hidden away in a jar built into the wall.<sup>40</sup> We know enough of the topography of Tell Asmar to say that this service derived in all probability from the adjoining temple, for no other sanctuary has been found on this part of the site. An inscribed bowl belonging to the service states that it was dedicated to "the house of Abu."<sup>41</sup> The lion-headed eagle Imdugud appears three times in a hoard of Akkadian jewelry similarly hidden in a neighboring building.<sup>42</sup> Since this figure is not known as a pendant from other sites, it is possible that the necklace of the jewelry hoard served as a distinctive ornament used in the god's service. Imdugud appears again as a pendant<sup>43</sup> and also on a cylinder seal<sup>44</sup> among the objects found in Shrine I of the Square Temple. In Shrine II, at the same level, the statue now under discussion was found (see pp. 3 f.), on the base of which (Pl. 6 A) Imdugud appears together with gazelles and plants.<sup>45</sup>

When we view in this larger context the combination of Imdugud, gazelles, and plants on the base of our statue, it becomes evident that we are justified in seeing in their juxtaposition a symbolic reference to the god to whom the temple was dedicated throughout the successive periods of its existence and that the presence of these symbols places this statue apart from all of its contemporaries. The sculptor has moreover been anxious to stress the exceptional character of this figure in a variety of ways, of which the unnatural size given to the eyes is most easily perceived. These two unparalleled features, then, explain each other: the figure is exceptionally treated because it does not represent a human being; the symbols on the base identify the statue as that of a god.

Legrain attempts to oppose our interpretation with the objection that the same group of symbols is often used decoratively on seals and hence may not be explained as referring specifically to a certain god.<sup>46</sup> If this deduction were true, one would have to deny that certain helmeted female statues should be identified as Pallas Athene by the owl and the gorgoneion, because both bird and head occur on the coins of Athens. Ancient and medieval art did, indeed, use for pure decoration motives made dear by their religious associations. But this decorative use does not diminish their symbolic significance in general nor militate against a very specific use in a particular context. Thus the Lamb of God retains its full force as a direct designation of Christ in the center of the van Eycks' masterpiece, though it was used decoratively in every branch of applied art throughout the Middle Ages. Similarly, the decorative use of the group of Imdugud between ruminants and plants in early Mesopotamian art does not vitiate the specific symbolic meaning which obviously attaches to it when it appears in a clearly determinative function, as, for example, on the base of our statue. It is true, our evidence is only circumstantial, and we cannot claim to have supplied absolute proof that the statue represents the Sumerian god of fertility. But those who would reject our view must be resigned to leave unexplained the various unparalleled characteristics of the figure, which, on our assumption, are perfectly understandable.

Our interpretation of the god's statue must in its turn support our contention that the second-largest represents the mother goddess. The statue is a clumsy piece of work, lacking the forcefulness and magnetism of its male counterpart, but it possesses otherwise the same excep-

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* p. 54 and Fig. 50.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* p. 39 and Fig. 35.

<sup>43</sup> *OIC* No. 19, Fig. 34.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 37-39.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 36 f. and Figs. 28-29.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* p. 31 and Fig. 33.

<sup>45</sup> It is unfortunate that the head is lost, but the attitude is so characteristic of Imdugud that its identity is thereby well established.

<sup>46</sup> *RA* XXXII 119: "Faut-il croire que tant de cachets particuliers sont tous dédiés au 'Seigneur de la fécondité'?"

tional characteristics. The eyes are abnormally large in relation to the face and show a similar preponderance of the black iris in the much reduced white of the eyeball. Furthermore, the base is made to serve another purpose beyond that of supporting the statue. It is cut out to receive a diminutive figure, that of a child, of which only the legs are left. These features seem to us to be fairly clear evidence that the figure represents the mother goddess with her son, the large eyes and the child fulfilling the same function here as the eyes and the Imdugud group do on the god's statue, namely that of identifying the figure.

#### CHRONOLOGY OF THE SCULPTURES

We have mentioned in an earlier section of this chapter (see pp. 3, 7, and 9) that the majority of our statues were found in groups. This circumstance is best explained by assuming that the furnishings of the sanctuaries were from time to time renewed, the old or dilapidated pieces being buried or discarded within the temple precincts. Thus we find broken and badly damaged statues spread out in a layer underneath a given floor level in the courts of the Sin Temple at Khafājah and of the Single-Shrine Temple at Tell Asmar. The hoard of statues of the Square Temple was, as we have already described (see p. 3), piled up in a small trench apparently dug for their burial. That a few isolated pieces (for instance the bull's head of Pl. 104) actually occurred inside the brickwork of walls seems to indicate that the masons, in digging foundations for one of the numerous reconstructions of these shrines, came across more ancient deposits and reburied the objects wherever most convenient in the course of their work. In the same way the occurrence of odd pieces in the filling of rooms or at the base of walls or even in less determinate places can be explained. Proof that ancient pieces were sometimes accidentally buried in much later layers is supplied by statue No. 14 (Pl. 42 *C-D*), which, minus its feet, was found at a high level, whereas the feet which fitted the body appeared lower down in the Square Temple. Such isolated statues, however, form only a minority when compared with the works found deposited together.

It is obvious that such periodical removals of old temple furnishings were not carried out with any concern for chronology, for works of very different ages were often buried together. The heterogeneity of such deposits at Susa<sup>47</sup> and Byblos<sup>48</sup> is well known; at Lagash and Khafājah it is less striking because the periods to which the different objects belong lie closer together. In fact, the frequency of ancient repairs of statues, made evident by new inserts or added dowel holes (see Pls. 61 *C* and 95 *A-B*), shows beyond a doubt that old and valued works were often retained along with recent acquisitions and might therefore be buried together with them on a later occasion. Hence in all such cases the stratification of the statues contains no clue as to the stylistic development of the sculptor's art, since early and late works are found together.

An entirely different situation prevails, fortunately, at Tell Asmar. There we found two groups of sculpture, well separated in the soil, each differing greatly from the other but nevertheless forming a homogeneous group in itself. The later in date of these two groups was deposited in the Single-Shrine Temple and belongs, therefore, to Early Dynastic III. It contained only damaged and fragmentary works (Pls. 62 *E-G* and *L-N*, 63, and 97), but their stylistic characteristics are sufficiently clear to serve as a norm by which related works can be distinguished. This is important because, as we have seen, the stratigraphy at other sites, including

<sup>47</sup> Déléation en Perse, *Mémoires* VII ("Recherches archéologiques," 2. série [Paris, 1905]) 61-130.

<sup>48</sup> *Syria* VI (1925) 16-18 and P. Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte. Quatre campagnes de fouilles à Gebeil 1921-24* (Haut-Commissariat de la République Française en Syrie et au Liban, Service des antiquités et des beaux-arts, "Bibliothèque archéologique et historique" XI [Paris, 1928]) pp. 128-30. The conclusions of Montet as to the date of the deposit are untenable: it was buried at the end of the Middle Kingdom or early in the Hyksos period.



## INTRODUCTION

Khafājah, is more equivocal. There is a considerable amount of evidence which allows us to correlate the layers in which these sculptures were found at Tell Asmar with layers that have yielded discoveries at other sites. The results of these comparisons have already been given in tabular form at the end of the second section of this chapter (see p. 9). There is no need to restate here all of the evidence. It will suffice to recall that many pieces of the temple service of copper vessels and knives discovered at Tell Asmar are inseparable from similar objects found in the so-called "royal cemetery" at Ur, on both archeological and paleographical grounds.<sup>49</sup>

The stratification of Khafājah, though less clear as regards sculpture, is, on the other hand, more detailed with respect to pottery, tools, and weapons. The similarities to finds from Ur are restricted to objects discovered in the houses between the Temple Oval and the Sin Temple and in graves dug into the ruins of these houses. The houses themselves are contemporaneous with the Third or Last Temple Oval. They belong, consequently, to the latter part of Early Dynastic III (E.D. III *b*), which immediately precedes the advent of Sargon of Akkad. These observations, based on nonsculptural material, allow us, nevertheless, to obtain a more detailed insight into its development. For the majority of sculptures from Khafājah were found in Sin Temple IX and in the Second Temple Oval, both of which antedate the "royal tombs" at Ur and therefore belong (see p. 7) to the first half of Early Dynastic III (E.D. III *a*).

This tallies with observations made at Tell al-Ḥarīrī (ancient Mari) near Abū Kamāl in Syria.<sup>50</sup> The sculptures found at this site by Professor André Parrot are certainly contemporaneous with those from Khafājah, and not only their stylistic characteristics but also the context in which they were found supports this synchronism.<sup>51</sup> The inscriptions on these statues are, however, a little more archaic than those from Ur, as Thureau-Dangin has seen.<sup>52</sup>

Summing up our results, we may state, first, that no monumental sculpture belonging to the Jamdat Naṣr period has been found; secondly, that we have a group of statues from Tell Asmar, with well marked stylistic characteristics that are still to be analyzed, which was found in the Square Temple and is to be dated to Early Dynastic II; thirdly, that we have a later style of sculpture, which is dated at Tell Asmar to the last part of Early Dynastic III and is therefore contemporaneous with the "royal tombs" at Ur, but which was already in use in the first half of Early Dynastic III, as is shown by the discoveries at Khafājah and at Tell al-Ḥarīrī (see table, p. 9).

For the older statues from the Square Temple at Tell Asmar we have, as yet, only a *terminus ante quem*: they were discovered in a stratum older than the second reconstruction of the Square Temple. But it does not necessarily follow that they were made during the time of the existence of the Square Temple—in other words, in Early Dynastic II. There is, however, strong circumstantial evidence that this was the case. For it is evident that these statues cannot have been very old when they were buried. Had they been so, their most extraordinary state of preservation, with all projections and sharp edges intact, all inlays in place, the color on hair and beard retained, would be entirely inexplicable. Furthermore, while the quality of the individual works varies greatly, identical stylistic principles underlie them all, as we shall demonstrate in the following chapter (see pp. 20–25). All evidence thus indicates that we have here a group of roughly contemporaneous works which, for a reason unknown to us, were buried soon after they had been made. There is therefore no intrinsic improbability in dating the hoard to Early Dynastic II. The preceding age, Early Dynastic I, seems to have been a short period of transition and shows no signs of material wealth.<sup>53</sup> The Jamdat Naṣr period, known

<sup>49</sup> Cf. *OIC* No. 17, pp. 37–39.

<sup>50</sup> *Syria* XVI (1935) 7–10, 12 *f.*, 20, and 22–28, though we believe A. Parrot's absolute dating to be too high; compare our article in *RA* XXXI 173–79 with Parrot's article, *ibid.* pp. 180–89.

<sup>51</sup> *RA* XXXI 177–79.

<sup>52</sup> *RA* XXXI 143.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. *OIC* No. 20, pp. 61–73.

by much richer remains, seems likewise to have produced no monumental sculpture in the round. Human figures found at Khafājah before 1936 in the Jamdat Naṣr stage of the Sin Temple and, again, in the stage belonging to Early Dynastic I were made not of stone, but of clay. Very similar figurines in clay were found at Tell Asmar in Archaic Shrine II, which also belongs to Early Dynastic I. Similarly, the corresponding layers at Kish yielded figurines made of bitumen instead of clay.<sup>54</sup> Recently, however, a small figurine of stone was found at Khafājah in Sin Temple V,<sup>55</sup> which thus dates back to the Jamdat Naṣr period. It is the earliest representation of the human form in stone, but it makes no pretense to monumentality. It is a lively portrait of a squat female, having the head a little forward, a large hooked nose, heavy breasts, and short, fat legs—a type frequently met with among the Armenians and Assyrians today. Its artistic character closely resembles that of certain predynastic or protodynastic figurines from Egypt.<sup>56</sup> In both cases we notice a vigorous characterization of salient features of the subject without the least stylistic discipline. And this comparison lends color to a supposition which appealed to me even before this figurine was found at Khafājah, namely that the hoard from Tell Asmar represents the first, or at least a very early, school of monumental sculpture in Mesopotamia. Similarly in Egypt monumental sculpture emerged some time after such figurines had been in use. The extraordinary vigor and consistency with which the statues from the hoard are carved suggest the first flush with which a newly discovered mode of expression is realized, as will be shown in chapter ii.

Stonework was of course well known in the Jamdat Naṣr period, which is distinguished at Uruk (al-Warkā) and at Ur by the excellence of its stone vessels, often carved in relief. But the stonecutters appear not to have passed beyond the scope of applied art; at any rate, we do not find monumental free sculpture in stone before we reach the time of Early Dynastic II. Hence it seems at least not rash to postulate the introduction of free stone sculpture for monumental purposes at the beginning of this period. Moreover, when we review the architectural remains, the beginning of Early Dynastic II stands out as a time of extraordinary expansion and creativeness. At Khafājah the Sin Temple was rebuilt and the Temple Oval founded. At Tell Asmar the Square Temple represents the culminating point in the history of the Abu sanctuary. The extraordinary power and inspiration which we shall recognize upon analyzing the statues of the Tell Asmar hoard and those of the earlier style at Khafājah can best be understood as part of the general intensification of cultural life to which this building activity at the beginning of Early Dynastic II testifies. The statues cannot belong to a much earlier or a much later age. It seems most sensible, therefore, to date them as we have done.

<sup>54</sup> L. C. Watelin, *Excavations at Kish* (Field Museum—Oxford University Joint Expedition to Mesopotamia IV [Paris, 1934]) pp. 9–11 and Pls. XII and XIV.

<sup>55</sup> *Illustrated London News*, Sept. 26, 1936, p. 524, Figs. 4–5.

<sup>56</sup> E.g. the six ivories of the MacGregor collection illustrated in J. Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt* (London, 1905) p. 167, Fig. 129.

## II

THE EARLIER STYLE: WORKS FROM THE  
PERIOD OF EARLY DYNASTIC II

## SPONTANEOUS STYLIZATION

A misconception commonly met with in archeological writings is the assumption that all geometric forms in art are the outcome of a process of conventionalization. The starting-point is always presumed to be a "faithful" rendering of natural objects, from which the artist moves farther and farther away, simplifying, abbreviating, or merely bungling the original designs until his drawings become unrecognizable.

Obviously, such processes do take place, and some geometrical designs have, indeed, resulted from increasing conventionalization. But it should be equally obvious that this explanation may be applied mechanically to geometric designs whenever such are encountered. The essence of the process of conventionalization is a flagging of the artistic impulse. It is, therefore, peculiarly inept to postulate the influence of conventionalism when we are confronted with an artistic manifestation of great vigor or even with a new start. In fact—and the sculptures discussed in this chapter are a case in point—a fresh outbreak of creativeness often, perhaps always, takes the form of a vigorous stylization which must for this very reason be called spontaneous. The aesthetics of the 19th century, with the naturalistic and mechanistic conception of art as "nature seen through a temperament," are no doubt to blame for the inability of many to realize how completely each artistic rendering is a translation, or how, in Cézanne's view, a work of art does not reproduce nature but represents it.<sup>1</sup> The innumerable and ever changing aspects of a natural object confront the artist with a chaos of forms. Definition, clearness, and harmony can only be achieved by bold simplifications which approximate, in a varying degree, the ultimate limit, namely purely geometrical bodies. The history of art shows naturalism, the practice of closely imitating nature rather than translating it in artistic idiom, everywhere to be a late growth—mostly carrying in itself the germs of decay—a departure from original, inspired, and forceful rendering of nature in nonnatural forms, a gradual yielding to the attraction of imitating the physical peculiarities of chosen objects.

It may be well to emphasize that this point of view is by no means dependent on a subjective appreciation of artistic phenomena, but that, on the contrary, it can be substantiated by an almost unlimited series of objective historical facts. To take an example not too far removed from our subject, we may recall how in Egypt the naturalistic position, within the limits imposed upon all pre-Greek art, was reached three times. Toward the end of the Old Kingdom plastic form was dissolved and destroyed by an excessive differentiation of the surface, caused by overemphasis of the physical qualities of various parts of the body which the sculptor evidently had observed in nature and now introduced into his work. Toward the end of the Middle Kingdom the same tendency prevailed, coupled with a psychological bias treating the face as a mirror of character. And toward the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, at Tell al-Amārnah, we note a similar phenomenon again. But we also observe how Egyptian art three times achieved regeneration by reverting to the more abstract formal language which had been

<sup>1</sup> Cézanne's dictum was: "I have not tried to reproduce nature, I have represented it"; cf. A. J. Sweeney, *Plastic Re-directions in 20th Century Painting* (The Renaissance Society of the University of Chicago, "Studies of Meaning in Art" [Chicago, 1934]) p. 42.

evolved during the first three dynasties. It requires not subjective appreciation but merely close observation to see that an approximation to geometrical forms again dominated the composition as well as the modeling of sculpture at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom (Eleventh Dynasty) and again toward the beginning and during the first few centuries of the New Kingdom, from Ahmose I down to and including the reign of Hatshepsut, likewise the short-lived revival under Seti I. We do not say, and in fact we do not hold, that the artists of these periods of regeneration were conscious of an archaizing tendency such as possessed those of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty; we merely stress the fact that three times in the history of Egyptian art a period of great achievement ended with the appearance of a relative "naturalism," and that each time the subsequent revival started with a reversion to a more abstract geometrical formal language.<sup>2</sup> Thus the history of Egyptian art provides us with a concrete example, three times repeated, of that spontaneous stylization which is also manifest in the Mesopotamian sculptures which we are studying in this chapter. These sculptures, then, constitute the Mesopotamian counterpart of that well known series of Nilotic works in which the formal language of Egypt became articulate for the first time under its first three dynasties.

#### COMMON CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STATUES FROM THE SQUARE TEMPLE

After the preceding remarks the distinctive features of the older of the two sculptural styles among our finds will be easily understood. In the statues of the Tell Asmar hoard (Pls. 1–12, 13 *E* and *G*, 14–27, and 43 *C–D*) the human body is ruthlessly reduced to abstract plastic forms. There is no question of conventionalization; on the contrary, the vitality animating this early phase of Mesopotamian art is indicated by such a degree of divergence in details that the group as a whole invites comparison with a set of musical variations on a given theme. Yet it seems that the translation of the ever changing world of appearances into the stable forms of sculpture could be achieved only by a bold grasp of essential shapes shorn of accidentals to such an extent that they approach geometrical forms. Thus the kilt is reduced to a truncated cone, tapering more or less sharply toward the top, and sometimes flattened at the sides. The bare upper part of the body is square in section, a direct translation of the primary consciousness of shape of chest, back, and flanks, which disappears later from Mesopotamian art. The chest muscles are sometimes elaborated separately (Pls. 1, 7, and 21), and in one case the back is divided by a medial groove which is a downward continuation of the groove marking the parting of the hair (Pl. 25 *C*). The hair is rendered in two strictly symmetrical halves with an unnaturally wide parting at the top and back (Pls. 1–3, 7–13, 18–20, and 25 *C*). This has the effect of setting the face off by a system of ridges—horizontal in the beard, quasi-spiraliform in the locks, and horizontal again on the sides of the skull—and thus serves as a foil to heighten the dramatic effect of the most vital part of the figure, the face. The abstract formalism of this rendering of the hair is sometimes enlivened by a superficial hatching (Pls. 7, 13 *A*, and 17), but this does not interfere with the fundamental scheme of the composition. In order fully to appreciate this composition, the side view should be taken into account (Pls. 10 and 12 *A–C*), where the silhouette of the beard merges with the other parts of the face into a series of triangles the movement of which culminates in mouth and nose.

Some forms cannot be equated with simple geometrical bodies, but their abstract character

<sup>2</sup> We cannot in this context undertake to demonstrate that the formal principles adopted in Egypt during the three stated periods of regeneration were, indeed, the same as those which were given normative value, to the exclusion of others, under dynasties I–III; but we hope that, after perusal of this volume, in which the differences between Egyptian and Mesopotamian modes of expression are often pointed out, the reader will at least recognize the individuality of the Egyptian artistic idiom.

is none the less evident, as is the case in the rendering of the chest in Plates 1 and 21-22, or in the crescent-like stylization of the cheeks in Plates 2 and 3. But one should notice also, in the last-named plates, the parts round the eyelids, where the setting of the eyes in their sockets is excellently expressed, if one would realize how directly this stylization aims at a translation of nature and how far removed we are from that slackness and lack of restraint which lie at the basis of conventionalism. There is no blurring anywhere. Clearness of form and, to a large extent, of composition also, are, in fact, the most striking characteristics of these works. It is the unwavering application of this method of translation which gives these early sculptures that unity upon which each work of art depends for its very existence. We have already seen how separate parts, such as nose, mouth, and beard, are unified by being brought into one formal scheme. We have also noticed how hair and beard serve as a foil for the center of vitality, the face. If, now, we analyze this latter feature a little further, we shall realize the unification that has been achieved even more. In almost all statues of the group the face and beard form an inverted cone; the tapering of the beard downward continues the slanting direction of the cheeks. The value of this formal scheme is evident; for it places the face's center of power, the eyes, at the most important point, the base of the inverted cone. Here, at the widest point, the eyes are set off by the smooth surfaces of cheeks and forehead and balanced by the intensified movement in the framework of hair, which curves at this very point. The chaos of visual impressions is thus mastered by the creation of a perfectly homogeneous, self-contained, and autonomous body of a different order, and there is revealed an astonishing consistency of artistic method which we must naturally assume to have been an intuitive rather than a critical, intellectual achievement of those ancient craftsmen.<sup>3</sup>

The ancient artists' strong desire for clarity of form no doubt led them to avoid gradual transitions. How abruptly the constituent parts of their statues are joined appears especially in the secondary aspects, in profile or in back view. On Plate 23, for instance, we see how cylindrical arms and conical kilt are joined but hardly connected with the square body. Yet the whole of these sharply articulated masses is harmonious, not only as a result of a well balanced composition, but also because the shapes themselves are all of the same abstract order. There is nowhere an attempt to imitate nature instead of representing it by a translation into artistic idiom. Notice, for instance, the chin of the priest's head in Plate 25 *A-B*, which has been made into a wedge-shaped projection with clearly defined edges, or see the volute of the fingers in Plate 24. In the composition as a whole and in small details such as we have just pointed out the same spirit is manifest.

After the foregoing analysis, in which reference has been made to almost all of the figures of our hoard, it seems almost superfluous to discuss the homogeneity of the group; for there can be no doubt that all of them belong to one school of art and are, therefore, roughly contemporaneous. Their intimate relationship will stand out even more strikingly after we have studied the works of the contrasting second style. There are, of course, among the statues from the Square Temple obvious differences in quality, But these should not be confused with stylistic variations, nor should they be used as a criterion of age, as is only too often done in archeological literature. It is obvious that good and bad works are produced at all times. Moreover, the appraisal of quality—in contrast to the analysis of form—is a purely subjective matter, further complicated by the fact that some are inclined to consider good work the final outcome of a long development, while others prefer to credit the first creative

<sup>3</sup> For those readers who are unfamiliar with the formal criticism of works of art we should perhaps state explicitly that our analysis of these works in no way reflects the consciousness or the aims of the artists who produced them. Those are factors which are beyond our ken, and there is no other way to understand the very considerable aesthetic achievement of the masters of the past than by analyzing, on the basis of principles discernible by us, the works they have left us.

impulse with the greatest power, only to be followed by gradual deterioration. It is therefore impossible to make differences in quality serve as chronological criteria. However, we shall be better able to appreciate the differences of quality as well as the stylistic resemblances of the works forming the Tell Asmar hoard when we pass them singly in review.

#### INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STATUES FROM THE SQUARE TEMPLE

*Sculpture No. 1 (Pls. 1-3, 5 A, 6 A, 25 C, and frontispiece).*—The exceptional size and the peculiarities of face and base of this statue were discussed above (pp. 13-15) when we interpreted it as a cult statue of the god of fertility. Here we shall consider it as one of a series of related works. There is no doubt that, properly exhibited, this statue conveys an impression of extraordinary power. The folded arms obscure a formal feature which is doubtless partly responsible for this effect: the statue does not conform with Lange's law of *Frontalität* or Schäfer's more recent law of *Richtungsgeradheit*,<sup>4</sup> for the upper part of the body turns the right shoulder forward. This twist is part of an ascending movement which culminates in the ecstatic poise of shoulders and head (Pl. 1). The tenseness of composition and the tautness of surface appear as aesthetic correlates of the religious fervor which went into the making of this statue. Then there is a difference apparent in the wearing of the hair. In the other statues the hair hangs down in two locks in front of the shoulders, generally reaching as far as the beard. The hair of the god, however, just reaches the shoulders and curves outward in all directions (Pls. 1, 5 A, and 25 C). The profile of the figure is singularly clumsy (Pl. 5 A). This is partly due to the exorbitant size of the ankles. Since a back pillar was dispensed with, the legs had to carry the full weight of the massive frame. The increase of their size was effected by adding only to their depth, so that the front view (Pl. 1) contains no abnormal feature. It seems that the sculptor relied exclusively on that aspect in calculating his effect. All sides of the statue are, however, finished with equal care, the kilt showing at the back a slit and two loops, as well as a tasseled end of the girdle (Pl. 5 A).

*Sculpture No. 2 (Pls. 4, 5 B-C, and frontispiece).*—This is a statue of the mother goddess but it is in no way the equal of that of the god. The face is merely a sloping oval in which large eyes have been imbedded and a nose and mouth have been added. There is none of the plastic definition, none of the strength of expression which characterizes the statue of the god. Nor is there any attempt to express the essentially female characteristics. The body is shaped in the same manner as the male bodies of the group, and the breasts are carelessly added as diminutive projections. Ears and hands are similarly atrophied. The ankles, however, are as gigantic as those of the god and for the same reason. The plait of hair wound round the head (cf. Pl. 82) is only summarily indicated, and the ears are wrongly placed. The garment seems to be a plaid folded double (or hemmed), coming forward over the left shoulder, then carried underneath the right arm and across the back, with the loose end coming forward over the left shoulder again and hanging straight down in front. A small figure was fixed with bitumen into the base on the left side of the statue, but only its base and feet are preserved. We have discussed the possible meaning of this statuette in chapter i (p. 16).

*Sculpture No. 3 (Pls. 7-8, 12 A and F, 13 G, and frontispiece).*—This statue shows several peculiarities. Its stone is more darkly veined than that of the others, and it is fixed upon a separate base with bitumen (Pl. 8). The small base, cut in one piece with the feet, sufficed to make the statue stand up; but it may have appeared too insignificant to give the proper impression of stability. The kilt tapers but a little, and the broad shoulders are therefore not counterbalanced by the spread of the lower edge of the garment, as is the case with most of the other

<sup>4</sup>For a discussion of these laws cf. Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst* (3. Aufl.) pp. 300-312.

statues. The effect of this is rather clumsy, especially since the feet are small. The hands and toes are rather rudimentary, but the ankles are well modeled. The legs are strengthened by a back pillar. The hand holds a cup, as is the case with the statues of the god and the goddess as well as with sculpture No. 5 (Pl. 11 *A*). Similarly, the statue shares with those of the god (Pl. 1) and the priest (Pls. 21–23) the special marking of the chest muscles. Further peculiarities are found in the eyes and in the rendering of the hair. The eyeballs are made of orange paste and are not cut from shell as the others. The hair is indicated by slashes made with a cutting tool over the usual system of ridges which render the wavy locks and the beard. Moreover, the ridges of the hair are not horizontal but slope down toward the nape of the neck—a feature found in this statue alone. The parting of the hair is even wider than that of the other statues, and the forehead is exceptionally high. The mouth is shaped somewhat more realistically than is the case on most of the other statues, where the lips are just two oblong ledges projecting from the ridges of the beard. Most of the peculiarities which we have enumerated can be summarized in the statement that the strictness of the style is somewhat relaxed. The statue is a competent but uninspired work.

*Sculpture No. 4 (Pls. 9–10, 12 B and E, 13 E, 6 B, and frontispiece).*—This is the tallest statue of the hoard after those of the gods and shows the characteristics of the earlier style in their severest form and, to the writer's mind, with great effect. The figure is very finely executed in gray gypsum, and the modeling, also of details (cf. Pl. 6 *B*), is throughout very carefully done. The thrust of the head forward (Pls. 12 *B* and 13 *E*) suggests a hunchback. In contrast with the other statues, the shins and the kilt of this one are unusually long. The square upper part of the body is set abruptly upon the sloping truncation of the conical kilt (Pl. 13 *E*). One of the fingers of the left hand is made into a volute, as is the case on Nos. 9 and 10 (cf. Pl. 24). The toes—and this is true of the fingers also—are treated as forming together one unit, the tips being filed down to a single curve and then elaborated as individual members (cf. Pl. 6 *B*). The feet are large, for there is no back pillar, but the ankles are not excessively broad; the heels are well modeled, and the feet are slightly undercut all around. Stone is left standing between the feet.

*Sculpture No. 5 (Pls. 11 and 12 C–D).*—This statue is one of the few which have pupils that are insets of stone and are not made of bitumen. In this case the pupils are of lapis lazuli. In other respects the statue is a coarse piece of work, though it obviously shows all the stylistic peculiarities met with in this hoard of statues. Particularly unfortunate is the juncture of the kilt with the upper part of the body, since it lacks the clear-cut contrast between square and circular section evident in the god's statue and in most of the other works. Here, as in the case of sculpture No. 7 (Pl. 15 *A*), a rather indefinite mass of stone fills the distance between the folded arms and the girdle. In some of the works this indefinite mass is reduced to a minimum (Pls. 9 and 14), and in the best (Pls. 20–21) the girdle is made to coincide with the arms crossed in front of the body—a procedure which, though contrary to observed reality, has the great aesthetic advantage of producing only one break in the composition, and that one clearly articulated. The ankles (Pl. 12 *C*) are of the same abnormal size as those of the god and the goddess (cf. Pls. 5 *A* and 4 *B*), because there is no back pillar to support the statue; but in this case the stone between the feet is left standing (Pl. 11). The groove in the back is carelessly gouged out and is several times wider than on the other statues. The figure holds a cup.

*Sculpture No. 6 (Pl. 14).*—This statue is remarkable for its extreme flatness, due either to the original shape of the block of stone from which it was cut or to lack of skill on the part of the cutter. The shape of body, arms, and kilt conforms in every respect to that of its companions. The same applies to the voluted finger of the clasped hand and to beard and hair, except

that the ridges of the beard are trapezoidal and not triangular in section. The pupils are smaller in relation to the eyeballs than is the case in the other statues. The well developed back pillar connecting the base with the back of the kilt continues the curve of the base upward, though its front surface behind the legs is flat.

*Sculpture No. 7 (Pls. 15 A and 17).*—Style of cutting, material, and size connect this statue with sculpture No. 8, the only female worshiper represented in the hoard. The marking of the hair, which is somewhat different from that of sculpture No. 3 (Pl. 7), and the curious kilt, with symmetrical loops drawn through the girdle at the back, deserve notice. The space between arms and girdle in the front view (Pl. 15 A) is left practically unmodeled (cf. sculpture No. 5, Pl. 11).

*Sculpture No. 8 (Pls. 15 B-16).*—This work, made of the same yellow limestone as the preceding one, offers few points of comparison with the other statues. The modeling of the face, with its cylindrical curve from side to front, and the incised line of the eyebrows connect it at least with the male figures. We shall refer to it again when dealing with the female figures from Khafājah.

*Sculpture No. 9 (Pls. 18-20 and 24 A).*—In this statue we see the early style in all its strength; most of its characteristics are therefore identical with those of works discussed above. Peculiar is the treatment of the beard, which here alone differs from that of the locks. Legs and base are missing.

*Sculpture No. 10 (Pls. 21-23, 24 B, 25 A-B, and frontispiece).*—This work excels in the balance and clarity of its composition and in the extraordinary carefulness of its modeling. The absence of hair and beard allows us to judge the solutions of sculptural problems which the other statues of the hoard did not present. The shaping of the skull and chest and the placing of the head upon the body are admirably carried out, and the obvious mastery of the sculptor over his material encourages one to believe that the expression of devout expectancy which this figure of a priest conveys to us was, indeed, aimed at by its maker. Most features of this work have already been touched upon in our discussion of the common characteristics of the statues of our hoard (see pp. 20 f.) and in the course of our individual appraisal of Nos. 3 and 5 (see pp. 22 f.). We wish once more to refer to the very original treatment of the chin (Pl. 25 A-B). The volutes at the side of the head seem to the writer somewhat unsatisfactory as renderings of the ears. The eyes have pupils of black limestone. The back pillar is a purely subsidiary feature, not connecting the curved outline of the base with that of the kilt, as in sculpture No. 6 (Pl. 14), but merely strengthening the legs. The conical kilt is appreciably flattened in front and at the back, where it shows, moreover, a curiously broken contour in profile (Pl. 22). The tip of the nose and the left elbow were somewhat crushed by superimposed statues.

*Sculpture No. 11 (Pl. 43 C-D).*—The head of this statue seems to be a makeshift that was added either because the original was damaged or because it could not be cut out of the original block of stone. Head and beard were cut to fit shoulders and chest and were secured with a peg. The work is most inadequate; but it reflects in its crude way all of the features of the other sculptures, notably so in the body with its contrast of square upper part and conical kilt. The feet are missing.

*Sculptures Nos. 12 and 13 (Pl. 13 F and A).*—These works were not part of the hoard but were found at the same level in the Square Temple and possess the same characteristics as the works discussed so far.

*Sculpture No. 14 (Pl. 42 C-D).*—This statue was found at a much higher level than the hoard; but its feet were found in Shrine II of the Square Temple, so that it must have been contemporaneous with the hoard, with which it shares all stylistic characteristics. Peculiar



only are the absence of inlays in the eyes and the material, which is alabaster. It is a coarse piece of carving.

*Sculpture No. 16 (Pls. 26-27).*—This statue formed part of the hoard. We treat it here at the end because it stands rather by itself. It was not only badly crushed when found, but the right half of the body was missing (Pl. 26 B). It had anciently been broken at the waist and had been repaired, the dowel hole being clearly visible in the remaining fragments. A certain amount of filing and reshaping must have taken place on that occasion, for the preserved half of the body cannot be fitted onto the lower part without producing a very awkward profile (Pl. 27 B). Miss M. A. Chubb modeled the missing parts for the purpose of photography after the crushed lower section had been restored with plaster of Paris, as shown in Plate 26 A.

This kneeling figure offers remarkably few points of comparison with the other statues of the hoard. In purpose as well as in subject it differs from the rest, as we have already seen (pp. 11 f.). It is a piece of temple furniture, intended to support some offering before the god by means of its hollow headdress, the two very small copper loops fixed in the girdle at the back being no doubt meant to be used in this connection. The statue represents a heroic or semi-divine mythological figure. The material differs from that of all the other statues; it is semi-translucent alabaster of a dark amber color. The treatment of mouth and eyes and the outline of the beard recall the prevalent style of the hoard, as does also the curve from the side to the front of the face. But the legs seem to be modeled with a sense for musculature and bone which is not to be found in any of the other statues from the Square Temple, although the feet of statue No. 4 (Pl. 6 B) go far in this direction. While alabaster, like marble, is much more suitable for suggesting the peculiar appearance of flesh than is the more opaque gypsum of most of the other statues, we are hardly justified in imputing to the maker of this figure, on the basis of the material used, any intentions or stylistic idiosyncracies which he may not have harbored. The best solution—though admittedly a makeshift—of the problem raised by these peculiarities would seem to be that the kneeling figure derives from another workshop, possibly not situated in Eshnunna at all. In any case, this figure is so exceptional from every point of view that it appears as a foreign body in our hoard, the homogeneous character of which, we hope, has been demonstrated in the preceding pages.

As for the differences observed within the hoard, these seem to be entirely due to variations in workmanship and quality and are, therefore, irrelevant in considering the age of the works. It is the unity of style that establishes their contemporaneous origin.

#### RELATED WORKS FROM KHAFĀJAH

It so happens that works in the style which we have been discussing have not as yet been found outside of the Diyālā territory.<sup>5</sup> This does not necessarily mean that the earlier style was restricted to the Diyālā region; for, in the first place, the number of Early Dynastic statues in the round is altogether very small; in the second place, it is not likely that the older style maintained its purity for long; and, finally, works which can only be understood as transitional between the earlier and the later style are known from various sites in southern Mesopotamia, as we shall see (cf. pp. 30 f.). So far, however, close parallels to the works comprised in the hoard of the Square Temple at Tell Asmar have been found only at Khafājah, a site on the Diyālā River about 15 kilometers east of Baghdad and about 22 kilometers southwest of Tell Asmar. While only one of these parallel sculptures (our No. 60)<sup>6</sup> was found in a layer dating

<sup>5</sup> A small head of this style in the British Museum (*British Museum Quarterly* VIII [1933-34] 41 and Pl. IX a-b) is said to have come from Khafājah.

<sup>6</sup> As may be seen from the catalogue (chap. viii), the following sculptures were found in Sin Temple VIII: Nos. 58, 60, 83, 86-88, 124, 127, 130, 133, 139-40, 145, 148, 170, and 190-91. Of these some are torsos, and others heads of women, in

back to Early Dynastic II and thus marked by position as contemporaneous with the Square Temple, the contemporaneity of a number of other pieces is nevertheless evident on stylistic grounds, and it is not difficult, after having studied the hoard from Tell Asmar, to separate the Khafājah homologues from more recent works which had been buried beside them. How it probably came about that statues of various ages were buried together has been set forth above (p. 16). The statues from Khafājah which show the earlier style are published on Plates 28–41 and 44 A–C. Although the severity of the Asmar pieces is but rarely equaled, all of the main characteristics are clearly represented. We find the same contrast of square upper part of the body and conical kilt (Pls. 28–29, 31, 35–36, and 38) and in the less successful works a confused composition such as we noticed above in the case of Nos. 5 and 7 (compare Pls. 11 and 15 A with Pls. 37 and 39). The flattening of the sides of the kilt noticed in sculpture No. 10 (Pls. 21–23) recurs in an exaggerated form in Nos. 21 and 22 (Pls. 35–36). The characteristic stylization of the chest in Nos. 1, 3, and 10 (Pls. 1, 7, and 21) is repeated, in a coarser form, in No. 23 (Pl. 37) and softened down so as to be almost unrecognizable in No. 24 (Pl. 38). The treatment of hair and beard and their function as frame and foil of the face which were noticed in the Tell Asmar sculptures are observed in Nos. 25–26 and 28 (Pls. 39 and 41). The usual rendering of the lips by means of two flat oblong ledges, and of the ears by volutes, recurs in No. 22 (Pls. 36 and 40 A). Even the rendering of the chin by a wedge-shaped projection, which we noticed in the priest's statue (Pl. 25 A–B), is seen again in the curious head No. 27 from Khafājah (Pl. 40 C–E), which originally may have possessed locks molded in bitumen, since the incised lines and the rough surface of the skull seem inexplicable on any other assumption.

Sometimes the Khafājah statues show all the characteristics of the older style in a less pronounced form. Thus the largest sculpture of the Khafājah group, No. 18 (Pls. 29, 30 C–D, and 31), has hair and beard rendered merely by incisions instead of by ridges; the kilt is not clearly conical; the feet, without force or character, are mere appendages to the obtrusive back pillar. Others, again, in each detail of modeling as well as in composition show the style of the Tell Asmar sculptures in a purer form, as for instance sculpture No. 28 (Pl. 41).

A few sculptures must be considered individually. No. 17 probably represents a ruler, since the figure wears a plait wound round the head similar to that worn by Eannatum on the "stela of the vultures,"<sup>7</sup> by Lamgimari of Mari,<sup>8</sup> and by Meskalamdug as indicated by his golden helmet<sup>9</sup>—a fashion not observed among commoners, as far as we know. Moreover, the costly stone from which it is hewn is quite exceptional among our finds. The seated figure of sculpture No. 20 (Pls. 33–34) is perhaps contemporaneous with the Tell Asmar hoard; the square section of the upper part of the body, the medial groove on the back (Pl. 33 B), the shape of the cheeks (Pl. 34), and the treatment of beard and hair (cf. No. 13 on Pl. 13 A and No. 9 on Pls. 18–20) as well as the rendering of mouth and eye all point in that direction. The shape of hair and head in profile approaches that of No. 3 on Plate 8 A and of No. 60 on Plate 46 B; but since the kilt is completely covered with a pattern, a feature otherwise not known among early statues, this figure possibly belongs to the intermediate style. The stylization of the substance of the kilt tallies, however, with that of the upper part of No. 21 (Pl. 35), which presents strong affinities with the older style. Sculpture No. 21 is remarkable because the back pillar connecting kilt and base does not extend to the rear rim of the kilt but is quite flat and is ornamented on

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which, as we shall see, stylistic characteristics are not unequivocally expressed. Only No. 60 has clear characteristics; and though these are less pronounced than in the Tell Asmar statues because the piece is an altogether less vigorous work, its affinities with the hoard from the Square Temple of Abu are evident enough.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. De Sarzec, *op. cit.* II, Pls. 3 bis and 4 bis; also Contenau, *Manuel I*, Fig. 352.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Syria XVI*, Pls. VI–VII.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Woolley, *The Royal Cemetery*, frontispiece.

## THE EARLIER STYLE

three sides with a decorative design in relief. The dowel holes underneath are fitted with stone cylinders made separately and inserted into the underside of the statue.

Two heads, Nos. 22 and 27 (Pl. 40), certainly belong to the older style. We have already indicated (p. 26) that in No. 27 we have a recurrence of the curious stylization of the chin found at Tell Asmar in sculpture No. 10 (Pl. 25 *A-B*). No. 22 likewise shows affinities to the same statue, but the distinctive traits are coarsened. Thus the ridges forming the lips are placed directly on the surface of the face; in the statue from Tell Asmar they rise from a sunken plane to which the surface of the cheeks descends, so that the structure of the face is much more clearly rendered than in head No. 22. Similarly, the latter blurs the line of separation of neck and lower jaw, which the Tell Asmar statue emphasizes very definitely. The body belonging to head No. 22 (cf. Pl. 36) was found among several hundred fragments which had been in a dealer's hands since 1929. From the same source are derived Nos. 30 and 31 (Pl. 13 *D* and *B-C*), heads stolen from Khafājah before we started work, which clearly belong to the older style. Sculpture No. 32 (Pl. 44 *A-C*) likewise probably represents the older style. This statue is very much damaged by salt, but its main peculiarity remains clearly discernible. The figure has neither the combination of long locks and beard usually worn by its contemporaries nor the shaven pate of the priest, but has locks and yet is beardless. A statue from Tell Asmar, No. 33 (Pl. 44 *D-F*), which certainly belongs to the older style though it was found in later layers, shows the same characteristics. These sculptures are best considered as portraits of adolescents wearing locks like their elders but unable yet to grow a beard. Sculpture No. 32 shows supports on the outside of the legs instead of at the back as usual. The only parallel to this feature known to me is found in a rough statue from Bismāyah (Pl. 115 *B-C*), which, however, shows locks and beard.<sup>10</sup>

The Khafājah sculptures which we have just reviewed and compared with those of the Tell Asmar hoard demonstrate clearly that the style which characterizes the statues from the Square Temple at Tell Asmar is found at Khafājah also. These sculptures from Khafājah are, therefore, welcome additions to our repertoire of works of the earlier style. In fact, it is their distinctive style which has enabled us to separate them from the later works with which they were buried at Khafājah in the beginning of Early Dynastic III.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. E. J. Banks, *Bismya or the Lost City of Adab* (New York and London, 1912) p. 138.

## III

THE LATER, REALISTIC STYLE: WORKS FROM THE PERIOD  
OF EARLY DYNASTIC III

## CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEW STYLE AND ITS DEVELOPMENT OUT OF THE EARLIER

The works figured on Plates 48–55 do not merely present differences from the statuary considered thus far; they actually confront us with a complete contrast. The outstanding characteristics of the older works are not merely absent; they are replaced by their opposites. Instead of a clear and contrasting composition of sharply articulated masses we find gradual transitions and fluid forms; instead of a severe reduction of natural forms to geometrical shapes we find a detailed rendering of the physical peculiarities of the subject. Collarbones and nipples are indicated; the soft parts of the neck are contrasted with the base of the skull (Pls. 49 *A–B*, 61 *N*, 62 *H*, and 64 *J–K*); the difference in physical substance and form of forehead, nose, cheeks, and lips is expressed by a new and subtle treatment of surface. No method of modeling could differ more from the metallic tautness of surface which the older artists achieved. Far from translating organic characteristics into geometrical shapes, the artists of the later school seem fascinated by the physical characteristics of their models, and in their best works they succeed in counterbalancing the dissolution of abstract plastic form by a very sensitive adaptation of the surfaces of their material to the physical differences displayed by their subjects. We have been able in our own time to observe how art will sometimes explore certain possibilities to their extreme limits only to turn subsequently in the opposite direction. And there is no reason to doubt that the same process took place in early Mesopotamian art, since some works show the actual transition from one phase to the other.

The transitional phase is represented on Plates 45–47. On Plate 45 we have reproduced on the left (*A–C*) the bust of a man with beard and locks rendered in the old style, and next to it on the right (*D–F*) a similar subject in the transitional style. The older figure (No. 25) shows for face and beard in the front view the formula of the inverted cone in all its severity. We have seen above (p. 21) how greatly this formal scheme emphasizes the eyes as the center of expressiveness in the face. In the present case, this effect is somewhat counteracted by the absence of pupils; but, since the other figure on the plate shares this defect, a fair comparison is possible. In the later, transitional figure (No. 34) the geometrical shapes are recognizable only as a framework underneath the actual forms. The base of the inverted cone has been dissolved by the elaboration of the forehead. The two halves of the hair no longer form a balanced pattern together with face and beard but have gained an existence of their own, following the curves of the skull on the top of the head and the slope of the chest below. Not only the front view but also the profile shows this difference; the whole proportion between face and skull is altered. The beard is, moreover, divided into four vertical strands, while in all the works of the older style it is treated as one mass of wavy hair, stylized in a succession of horizontal ridges. Expressiveness and plastic clarity have been sacrificed for a greater verisimilitude.

In sculpture No. 35 (Pl. 46 *C–E*) the incipient influence of the new aesthetic orientation becomes manifest in another manner. Though the lower part of the face is missing, we are able to utilize the body for our argument. In fact, the back view alone gives an adequate impression of the fine balance in rhythmic expansion between the upper and the lower half of the figure.

On the whole, this statue retains the scheme of the older style: the broad shoulders with their smooth outline (to be contrasted with the contour of No. 38 on Pl. 51) form a fanlike end for a body narrowing down to a square section at the waist and joined abruptly to a conical kilt. But the graceful bell shape of the kilt would be unthinkable in the old style and shows how visual impressions are now turned to account and result in a new elegance.

The slender figure of No. 36 (Pl. 47) occupies a similar intermediate position between the old style and the new. In this case, however, we can consider the face as well as the body; and, though the ears are still rendered merely as volutes as in the older style, the mouth has been given the "archaic smile," and the lips are no longer mere ledges.

With the statue of Urkisal, our No. 37 (Pls. 48-50), the realistic tendency has become even more pronounced and the newer style is seen in complete ascendancy. Notwithstanding the damage suffered by this statue, enough can be seen to make it certain that the modeling of face and body aimed at a realistic rendering. Of the older, more geometrical forms nothing but the contrast between square body and conical kilt survives. The rigid groove which marks the spine of the older figures has been replaced by the gently curving planes of the shoulder blades. The baroque and restless profile of the figure was perhaps less pronounced when it was complete. It is a curious piece of realism that the kilt is undercut all around to a depth of about two centimeters, a feature recurring in sculpture No. 39 (Pls. 52-53), though in the latter case the legs are set into a more shallow dome (cf. Pl. 53 *B*).

Sculpture No. 38 (Pls. 51 and 61 *I* and *N*) is, no doubt, the most noteworthy exponent of the new style. Despite the damage which this statue has sustained, both the body, with its careful modeling of chest muscles and collarbones, and the head, with its contrasting cheeks and skull and its subtle indication of the temples, the double chin, and the folds of the throat, show a remarkable mastery of form. Very nearly its equal is No. 39 (Pls. 52-53), which is further distinguished by the peculiar combination of beard with bald head and shaven lips—a fashion known in Assur and prevalent, to the exclusion of all others, in Mari (Tell al-Ḥarīrī). The pointed ears are curious.

Differences of quality exist among the works of the later style as well as in the older school. Alongside the excellent heads (Nos. 40-41) shown on Plates 54-55 and the fine masks (Nos. 47-48) reproduced on Plate 58 *C-D* we find crude works like No. 43 (Pl. 56 *D-E*) and the repulsive head No. 54, several times repaired, given on Plate 61 *A-D*. Such a degree of inadequacy is fortunately rare. More often mediocre works occur, and then it is difficult to decide whether they belong to the older or the later style or perhaps to the intermediate stage. This uncertainty follows from the very nature of the contrast between the two styles. A work flabbily executed in the older tradition may be mistaken for an unsuccessful attempt at the softer modeling of the younger school. Such uncertainty exists, for instance, in the case of Nos. 44 (Pl. 57 *A-B*), 55 (Pl. 61 *E-H*), and 57 (Pl. 61 *O*). Sculpture No. 49 (Pl. 59), however, is shown by the treatment of cheek and double chin to be a work in the later style, although the hard green stone compelled the artist to a simplification of his modeling which suggests an earlier (transitional) work. How much the differing skill of individual artists influences the result becomes clear when we compare this sculpture with No. 42 on Plate 56 *A-C*, which was executed in a similarly hard green stone. Here the soft part round the eyes is brought into contrast on the one hand with the skull above and on the other with the firm fleshy cheeks below, and similarly in the front view the bony part of the chin stands in contrast with the full throat.

In view of the discussion in the preceding paragraphs, there can be no doubt that the small male heads from Tell Asmar reproduced on Plate 62 are representatives of the later style. This is particularly obvious in the case of head No. 63. Similarly, sculpture No. 67 (Pl. 63 *A-B*), though very badly damaged, shows in the rendering of the nipples and in the shape

of the ears indubitable affinities with the later school. The fact that these damaged sculptures can with certainty be allotted to the second style is of great value for determining the time when this later school flourished. For, while at Khafājah the sculptures of the later style were found side by side with those of the earlier, the sculptures from Tell Asmar now under consideration were completely separated in stratification from those of the earlier school, and this circumstance provides us with an objective basis for dating the realistic style well after the time when the Square Temple with its works of the earlier style had fallen into disuse.

#### RELATED WORKS FROM OTHER SITES

The same causes which left us in doubt as to the classification of some works from Khafājah affect our judgment of statues discovered elsewhere. It is certain that no works showing the older style in all its severity have been discovered outside the Diyālā region. It is equally certain that a number of works from Lagash and Assur belong to the later, realistic style. The remainder is sometimes recognizable as transitional and sometimes defies classification.

The squatting figure of Kurlil(?) from al-ʿUbaid in southern Mesopotamia<sup>1</sup> is cut in coarse-grained hard stone, and it is therefore not easy to compare it with works executed in the less refractory limestone, alabaster, or gypsum. The hard material obviously necessitated a somewhat more summary treatment of detail, and in forming our judgment we are thus in the same position as we were in the consideration of Nos. 42 and 49 (Pls. 56 A-C and 59) at the end of the previous section. The shape of the mouth and ears, however, is decisive in showing that it belongs to the later style or that it is, at the earliest, a transitional piece.

The Early Dynastic heads from Lagash<sup>2</sup> and pieces from elsewhere bought by the Louvre<sup>3</sup> all belong to the second style, including the figure of Saud, grandson of Lugalkisalsi of Uruk.<sup>4</sup> This last-mentioned figure, like those referred to in the preceding paragraph, is somewhat simplified because it is cut from hard stone; but the modeling of the cheeks, the shape of the ears, the mouth, the double chin, and the chest, and, as we shall show later (p. 35), the steep downward slope from hand to elbow establish its affinities. The two statues (a bust and a peg figure) of Lugalkisalsi of Uruk<sup>5</sup> also belong to the later style. The bust may best be compared with our No. 34 (Pl. 45 D-F), though in the former the modeling of chest, forehead, and eyes is much more detailed and advanced. The drill holes in the beard link the figures with sculptures from Tell al-Ḥarīrī displaying a similar technique,<sup>6</sup> which are contemporaneous with the majority of the finds from Khafājah and must, therefore, be dated to the first half of Early Dynastic III. The peg figure of Lugalkisalsi does not differ in essentials from the bust, though it is simpler in execution and has a lower skull. Both figures show a division of the beard into vertical strands, which, as we have seen (p. 28), comes in only with the later style. The figure of Lugaldalu of Adab,<sup>7</sup> a few fine statues which recently reached the Louvre from Susa,<sup>8</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> H. R. Hall and C. L. Woolley, *Al-ʿUbaid* (Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia, "Ur Excavations" I [Oxford, 1927]) Pl. IX.

<sup>2</sup> De Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée* II, Pls. 6:1-3; 6 bis:1 a-c; and 47:3 a-b.

<sup>3</sup> As far as I am aware, only one is published, viz. that illustrated in G. Contenau, *Les antiquités orientales*. [I.] *Sumer, Babylonie, Élam* (in Musée du Louvre, "Documents d'art" [Paris, 1927(?)]) Pl. 2.

<sup>4</sup> G. Contenau, *Monuments mésopotamiens nouvellement acquis ou peu connus* (Musée du Louvre) (Paris, 1934) Pl. II; cf. also his *Manuel* II (1931) Figs. 365-66.

<sup>5</sup> Contenau, *Monuments mésopotamiens*, Pl. I and Fig. 1, and his *Manuel* II, Figs. 379-81.

<sup>6</sup> *Syria* XVI, Pls. VIII-IX, XX, XXIV 4, and Fig. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Banks, *Bismya*, p. 193, and Contenau, *Manuel* II, Fig. 363.

<sup>8</sup> One of them is illustrated in *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art* I (1935/36) 203.

all the male statues from Assur<sup>9</sup> belong to this later style, as the reader will be able to see for himself. It is interesting that one figure from Assur<sup>10</sup> shows the profile of Urkisal (Pl. 49) but the long hair of Lugalkisalsi. Among the statues of women from Assur it is possible that one or two of the older style survived. We have, however, left the female sculptures out of account until now since they require separate treatment.

#### SCULPTURES OF WOMEN

There is good reason for considering the female sculptures by themselves. If we compare sculpture No. 8 from the Square Temple (Pls. 15 *B* and 16) with No. 66 (Pl. 62 *L-N*), which was found in a higher stratum, there is hardly any appreciable difference to be noticed. It is, of course, possible that No. 66 derives from an earlier period, just as No. 14 (Pl. 42 *C-D*) was found at the same high level but nevertheless belongs to the period of the Square Temple. But however this may be, our No. 8 does not differ from any of the female figures from Khafajah (Pls. 72-91) in a way comparable with the striking contrast in style that is to be observed in the male figures. The fact seems to be that the figures of women were not treated as a serious sculptural problem at all. They did not offer the sculptor much scope anyhow, since the greater part of the figure was swathed in a cloak which blurred outline and shape. Consequently the artists were not able to emphasize essential plastic values and had to turn to elaboration of detail. For this the cloak and the hairdress offered opportunities, but the antiplastic qualities of their substance must have had further detrimental influence. Small wonder, then, that the sculptures of women at best appear to us as no more than charming ornaments. If we except the figure of the goddess (No. 2), none of them is on a large scale. Yet even in these small and rather slight works the main tendencies of contemporary art are reflected, though we should not have recognized them if we had not had the male sculptures to serve as norms. With their help we now see that the curve of the sides of the face of No. 8 (Pls. 15 *B* and 16 *A*) has affinities with a similar feature in other statues from the hoard (e.g. Nos. 4 and 9, Pls. 9 and 18), just as the fine heads Nos. 116 (Pl. 82) and 128 (Pl. 85 *K-L*) with the soft rendering of cheeks and chin and the body of sculpture No. 111 (Pl. 79 *A-C*) are related to the realistic style of the later period. Moreover, only a few of the female figures have a well defined three-dimensional character, which is, after all, the most essential quality of sculpture in the round. Some pieces, for example Nos. 105-8 (Pls. 75-77), are hardly more than plaques, that is, reliefs worked on both sides, to which the head, modeled in the round, is somewhat incongruously added.

The proportions of the different parts of the female statues are even more unaccountable than is the case in some of the male figures.<sup>12</sup> Some heads are too large for the bodies (Pls. 74 and 84 *A*); in No. 105 (Pl. 75) the head is too small. A similar irregularity exists with regard to width and height of the figure or with respect to length of the legs shown below the garment. In fact, the sculptures of women are so lacking in style that no account of their development can be given, nor can those which have come from other sites or which have been bought from dealers be correlated with the chronology supplied by our stratification. A purely external criterion of age seems to be available in the fact that certainly no early figure, either

<sup>9</sup> Andrae, *Die archaischen Ishtar-Tempel in Assur*, pp. 62-78 and accompanying plates.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. 34 *c-e*.

<sup>11</sup> (Number not used.)

<sup>12</sup> It is therefore impossible to restore any pieces which do not actually fit together. In the museum at Baghdad a number of our figures have been completed by joining heads and bodies which are not authenticated as belonging to the same figure at all.

of man or of woman, wears the tufted or tasseled *kaunakēs* (see pp. 51–55). But this does not justify our concluding that all figures with smooth cloaks are contemporaneous with those from the Tell Asmar hoard. In any case, over against a well established stylistic norm an external criterion has the grave disadvantage of being subject to disproof at any moment by new discoveries. But internal, stylistic criteria of the sculptures of women are, as we have seen, not sufficiently distinct and unequivocal to serve as an indication of age.

#### SMALL FIGURES, FRAGMENTS, AND GROUPS

On Plates 64–71 we have assembled some large fragments, small figures, and groups. Most of these are too indeterminate to be assigned to the one style in preference to the other. But Nos. 69–70 (Pl. 64 *A–B*) and 100–101 (Pl. 70 *I–K*) clearly belong to the first style, while No. 77 (Pl. 64 *I–K*) as clearly belongs to the second. The fine statue of which the remains are shown on Plates 65 and 66 was damaged by fire. It shows the same inadequate rendering of the sitting posture as does sculpture No. 20 (Pls. 33–34); but while in the latter case this attitude dissolves in one sloping front surface, in the former we are left uncertain whether a sitting or standing figure is represented until we notice the little seat marked on the back. The same applies to the statues shown on Plates 67 and 68, with the exception of No. 83 (Pl. 67 *E*), which is given the requisite depth for a sitting posture, though its seat is as inadequate as in the other instances. But in sculpture No. 97 (Pl. 70 *F–H*) the sitting posture is executed with great fidelity and with exceptional care. It seems to represent a male figure with side locks, but beardless, and what remains of the body and kilt reveals affinities with the first style (to which the two larger figures showing this fashion [see Pl. 44] also belong), though the figure is too much damaged for us to feel certain about it. It is placed in a very natural attitude on what appears to be a faggot or a reed bundle. The attitude of the legs supplies a welcome similarity to that of a famous statue in Copenhagen<sup>13</sup> which hitherto remained so exceptional that its authenticity has been doubted. Our small figurine, which turned up in the ordinary course of work at Tell Asmar, dispels these doubts completely; and that is, of course, its greatest value. Sculpture No. 91 (Pl. 69 *E*) shows two men in a war chariot. No. 92 (Pl. 69 *G*) represents a nude servant crouching at the moment before rising with his load, which is carried by a band around his forehead—a method depicted also on the so-called “standard” from Ur<sup>14</sup> and still in use in Iraq after these five thousand years. Sculpture No. 89 (Pl. 69 *D*) shows a flat plaquelike carving of such crudity that it must be considered a pupil’s work. Sculpture No. 102 (Pl. 71) shows a badly weathered limestone figure inscribed on the right shoulder with signs which are now illegible.

The composition of groups in early art is always a matter of some interest. We found two groups consisting each of two seated figures (Pls. 68 *C, F, I*, and 69 *A–C* and *F*), and one comprising two standing figures. Though in the standing group one of the figures is almost completely lost, it is nevertheless clear that this group, as well as the one on Plate 69 *A–C* and *F*, presents simply the juxtaposition of two separate figures cut from one block. But the more explicit method of connecting figures of a group by an embracing arm, so well known in Egyptian art, where the woman’s arm usually is round the man’s body, is used by the Mesopotamian artist also, as sculpture No. 88 (Pl. 68 *C, F, I*) illustrates, although here the man’s arm is round the woman. This latter feature has a parallel at Tell al-Ḥarīrī.<sup>15</sup> The seats of these figures are summarily indicated. A fine statue from Tell al-Ḥarīrī<sup>16</sup> suggests that such seats were sometimes of wickerwork; on our statue No. 20 (Pl. 33) a wooden chair is indicated.

<sup>13</sup> Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria to 1000 B.C.* (London, 1928) Pl. IV; also Contenau, *Manuel* II, Fig. 376.

<sup>14</sup> Woolley, *The Royal Cemetery*, Pl. 91.

<sup>15</sup> *Syria* XVI, Pl. XX 2.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. VIII 2.



## THE LATER, REALISTIC STYLE

33

## ANIMAL SCULPTURE

On Plate 92 we have reproduced a few animal sculptures which once more illustrate the stylistic contrasts found to exist between the early and the late works of the Early Dynastic period in Mesopotamia. Sculpture No. 155 (Pl. 92 *A-B*), the front part of a bull which served as terminal of the armrest of a throne, was excavated in the Square Temple and therefore comes from the period of the earlier style. An old break, repaired by filing down and refixing the muzzle, makes it somewhat difficult to judge its aesthetic qualities, but the volutes of the nostrils and the rendering of dewlap and shoulders betray its relationship with the contemporary statues. While its quality is not of the best, the fact that it was found in a well stratified deposit adds to its value. The dominant tendencies of the period are more impressively embodied in Nos. 157-58 (Pl. 92 *D-E*), two figures of rams from Khafajah. In these the stylized forms are as full of vitality as in the best statues of the Tell Asmar hoard. Of the realistic style we possess no complete examples of animal sculpture. However, fragment No. 156 (Pl. 92 *C*), the muzzle of a calf, represents the later style very adequately, being modeled with great sensitiveness to express the contrasting substance of nose, lips, and cheek. We thus find in animal sculpture the same internal development of style noticed in the sculpture of human beings. At the beginning we observe the achievement of that spontaneous stylization which fixes for its guidance upon the essential forms among the chaos of visual impressions. Then we see later generations venturing on the basis thus obtained to translate by a subtle differentiation of surface the physical qualities of its subjects into stone.

## IV

## PRINCIPLE OF EARLY DYNASTIC SCULPTURE

Hitherto we have stressed the contrast between the two styles of Early Dynastic sculpture. Now we shall consider the two styles as phases of one single development. In doing so we do not mean to imply that the earlier style is a preliminary stage of an art which culminated in the production of the later, more realistic works. We desire merely to discover and to appraise the underlying principle in accord with which both the earlier and the later works developed. It is true that this development appears mainly as a change from a very abstract to a more realistic formal language. Nevertheless there are elements which are common to the earlier and the later style, and these, as we shall see, are typical of the art of Mesopotamia in all ages. A comparison with Egyptian art will best serve to make this clear.

In our Introduction (pp. 1 f.) we called attention to the fact that it is of the greatest importance to know another school of pre-Greek art besides that of Egypt, because the 5th century B.C. presents a break in the history of art and because the true nature of pre-Greek art can be better understood when we are able to discount the qualities due to national peculiarities as distinct from general factors. As an outstanding general characteristic separating pre-Greek art from that which directly or indirectly has been subject to the influence of Greek art since the 5th century, we indicated that no sculptor before the 5th century aimed at representing the human body as an organic whole. The sculptor's work must, of course, possess unity; and, since organic unity was not sought, abstract, geometric unity was his goal. In other words, the pre-Greek sculptor achieved the unity of his work by approximating the spatial arrangement of its masses as nearly as possible to some regular geometric body. And it is a highly significant fact that all sculptors of one particular civilization adhered to one and the same geometric form. This fact makes it improbable that these forms were deliberately chosen. It is true that the part played by individual genius in the creation of a national style in each of these centers of the ancient Near East cannot yet be estimated; but, since we can perceive through several successive generations how the formal ideal was more and more clearly delimited, it would seem that adherence to one particular geometric formula in preference to another proceeded from a collective aesthetic predisposition. These geometric formulas do not so much underlie all individual works of art as represent the ideal limits to which each work tends to conform as closely as its actual contents, its subject, may permit. In Egypt, for instance, it is the cube or rectangular block which is determinative. The main planes and lines of body and limbs are disposed in such a manner, at right angles or in parallels, as to suggest the squareness of a block. It is not as if the finished statue were imperfectly freed from its original mass of stone; on the contrary, its very cubism stresses the three-dimensional definition of the statue by a clearer elaboration of the co-ordinates, and thus the statue is emphatically constituted as a self-contained object in space, complete in its plastic corporeality. There is nothing of this cubism in Mesopotamian works of any period, and this difference manifests itself in a number of details. Thus we find, for instance, that the seated figure is very popular in Egypt, but not in Mesopotamia. For the bend at knees and elbows can be stylized into a right angle, which admirably stresses the cubism of the composition, and even the seat itself can be made subservient to that purpose. Already in the Old Kingdom we see the seat divested of the realistic details of legs and ornaments with which it had been rendered in earlier periods, and it appears henceforward

severely bare, as a square block of stone, at the same time providing a link with the architectural setting of the sculpture and creating a contrast with the animate form of the statue which it supports.

But in Mesopotamia the seated statue is far less common than the standing one. If the former is produced at all, its most characteristic aspects are neglected instead of being brought to aesthetic significance. A good example is shown on Plates 33-34. The seat has been reduced to a narrow strip, and the front planes of the statue, instead of being clearly articulated (as they would have been in Egypt) by the rectangular contrast of direction between chest, thighs, shins, and feet, coalesce into a wavering diagonal which continues the sloping line of the lock of hair down to the lower edge of the garment. Another type of seated figure, comparatively common in Sumerian art, is seen on Plates 67-68. One has to turn the statues around to make sure whether sitting or standing figures are intended, for the front view contains no indications whatsoever of a sitting posture.

It is thus apparent that in Sumer an entirely different ideal of form is determinative. Interest is centered in the vertical, and depth and breadth are but rarely analyzed into separate coordinates in the Egyptian manner but are conceived as one continuous curve. In other words, the geometric formula of these Mesopotamian works of art is not the cube but the cylinder or the cone; and the definition of their corporeality in space is dependent not upon the elaboration of three separate co-ordinates but on the vertical axis and the circumference or perimeter. The seated figure does not present an aspect congenial to such a tendency. And in later periods we find curious instances of the anticubistic treatment of seated figures. Thus the swans sculptured on the sides of the throne of the goddess Bau found at Ur (see Pl. 115 A) are deliberately curved round so that tails and wings form part of the back view of the statue, and heads and necks emerge in the front view. This style of decoration therefore leads the eye round the circumference instead of intensifying the contrast between the different aspects by supplying each surface with a separate self-contained design. Furthermore, hair and cloak of the goddess are rendered throughout by the same kind of engraved wavy lines so that the statue displays, especially in profile, the greatest possible extent of homogeneous surface.

Since our statues belong to the period when the national style was in course of development, they quite naturally show uncertainty. Most striking is the square section of the upper part of the body, which is found at no other time in Mesopotamia, and which contrasts markedly with the conical kilt. Similarly, a few square bases still occur, which, though they prevail throughout in Egypt, are not found in later times in Babylonia, where the corners are rounded off if the base is not entirely circular or oval. It should also be noticed how the gesture of the hands is utilized to stress the circular periphery. The drawing down of the elbows, sometimes exaggerated in the period immediately succeeding that of the earlier style,<sup>1</sup> serves the same purpose and reveals a marked strengthening of this decorative effect. Again, the continuous pattern at the lower edge of the kilt accentuates the circumference as an unbroken curve. The importance of the vertical is accentuated by the absence of any fixed proportion between the height of these statues and their greatest depth or width.

In the contrast between cube and cylinder, therefore, we possess the essential difference between Egyptian and Mesopotamian sculpture.

We have said above that these geometric forms constitute the ideal limits to which each work of art tends to conform. The traditional forms of Egyptian and Mesopotamian sculpture derive their predominance precisely from the fact that they combine, in the most satisfactory manner, the adequate representation of the subject with the closest possible approach to the

<sup>1</sup> E.g. the statue of Kuril(?) in Hall and Woolley, *Al-Ubaid*, Pl. IX, and that of Entemena in *Antiquaries Journal* III (1923) Pl. XXXI.

abstract formal ideal which prevails. And these traditional solutions were not introduced all of a sudden, but were gradually evolved by the elimination of incongruous elements during the first centuries of the 3d millennium. Thus we find that the Mesopotamian statues of the oldest style sometimes possess square bases and similar rectangular features, which never recur in later times because they are inconsistent with the prevalence of the cylindrical formula. We note a similarly increasing purity of "cubistic" forms in Egyptian sculpture. Down to the end of the Third Dynasty several attitudes were portrayed which later were not thought suitable because of their anticubistic qualities.<sup>2</sup> But in Early Dynastic Egypt the stress on three-dimensional definition makes itself felt as clearly as the predilection for cylindrical and conical forms does in the statues from the Square Temple at Tell Asmar. And just as the standing figure predominates in Mesopotamia from the beginning, so does the seated figure in Egypt. Divergences in quality are, of course, noticeable in Egypt as well as in Mesopotamia, though it is true that the tradition of the workshops was very strong in the Nile Valley and was apt to give a character of adequacy even to mediocre works. In Mesopotamia, however, the rarity and costliness of stone made even the work of pupils marketable, while at the same time limiting their opportunities of training.

If we view the stylistic development of Early Dynastic Mesopotamian sculpture in this light, it will be seen that the contrast between the two styles, great as it is, is really rooted in a common soil. For if we disregard details, the same principle of plastic composition is seen to underlie the abstract works of the first style and the realistic sculptures of the second. This foundation, which supports the whole of Mesopotamian sculpture to the end and unites our Early Dynastic statues with the well known figure of Ashurnasirpal in the British Museum,<sup>3</sup> was laid by the artists of the first style. Even the most realistic sculptures find their unity in approximation to the geometric formula which is valid for all Mesopotamian art, the cylinder or the cone; whether in detail abstract or realistic forms predominate is a question which does not affect the geometric basis of the production. Just as in the parallel development in the Old Kingdom of Egypt, so in Mesopotamia also the increased interest in the physical nature of the model, which becomes noticeable in Sumerian art in Early Dynastic III, is, in the most literal sense, only skin deep. Attention is concentrated upon peculiarities of surface, and the result is an extraordinary refinement and differentiation of surface treatment. But the ancient Near Eastern artist never conceived of his model as an organic whole and never started his composition, in the manner of the Greeks, from the parts which are functionally important. From beginning to end he built up his works ideoplastically, with reference to an ideal geometric formula. This was sometimes allowed to display its purely plastic values unmitigated by surface detail, while sometimes it was overgrown by a wealth of realistic elaboration; but it never lost its significance as the foundation of all sculptural achievement.

<sup>2</sup> This is true of the kneeling-sitting attitude of statue No. 1 in the Cairo Museum, illustrated in L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privalleuten im Museum von Kairo I* (Cairo. Musée des antiquités égyptiennes, "Catalogue général" LIII [Berlin, 1911]) Pl. I 1, likewise of the somewhat similar attitude of the figure from Hierakonpolis shown in J. E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I* (Egyptian Research Account, "Memoir" IV [London, 1900]) Pl. II, and also of the standing figure of Sepa in the Louvre (H. Schäfer und W. Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients* ["Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte" II ([2d ed.]; Berlin, [1934])] p. 227) with filling left between the legs and with staff and baton in unusual positions.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. British Museum, *The Assyrian Sculptures*, by C. J. Gadd (London, 1934) Pl. IV.

## V

## STONE AND METAL IN MESOPOTAMIAN ART

## CARVING IN STONE

In Khafājah, in a small shrine situated between the Sin Temple and the Temple Oval,<sup>1</sup> and also in Tell Asmar a number of unfinished sculptures were found which allow one some insight into the methods adopted by the Mesopotamian sculptors, especially if in addition we utilize such indications as may be derived from pieces which were anciently repaired.

We shall begin our investigation with sculpture No. 159 (Pl. 93 *A-B*) from Tell Asmar. This unfinished statue was apparently first roughly outlined upon the outside of an approximately rectangular piece of stone. Then the sculptor started to cut out such spaces as between the base and the lower edge of the kilt and the superfluous stone round the head. Though the work is only just begun, it reveals a point of great interest. The sculptor was definitely working round the edges of the stone and did not, as the Egyptians did, penetrate into the stone from front, sides, and back and thus work from four separate directions which make angles of about 90° to one another (cf. Pl. 115 *F*).<sup>2</sup> This difference in procedure is obviously related to the different geometric forms which, as we have explained in the preceding chapter, underlie Egyptian and Mesopotamian sculpture.

The cutting of heads can be followed in great detail by means of pieces from the lately discovered small shrine. The very start of the work is shown by the shapeless lump No. 163 (Pl. 94 *F*). The main features of the face are indicated by rough guiding lines: a long horizontal for the eyebrows, a short one for the root of the nose, two holes for the centers of the eyes, another horizontal for the mouth, and two verticals delimiting the space to be left uncut for the nose. If head No. 161 (Pl. 94 *A-D* and *H*) is not merely a pupil's trial piece but a normal unfinished work, it teaches us still more about the sculptor's proceedings; for it would appear that all the details were at first roughly worked out oversize, to be dressed down subsequently. The ears are enormous and uneven, and the skull shows a chisel groove from back to front (Pl. 94 *C* and *H*) which may mark the surface to which the top of the head would be dressed down. The length of the head would be preposterous unless it was foreseen that a certain depth of stone was going to be removed with the finishing of the face and back. The face shown in our photograph must then be, as it were, the sculptor's first sketch in stone, halfway between the drawing of the guiding lines on the outside of his block and the finished work.

The manner of representing the eyes on some sculptures is noteworthy. What in Nos. 58 (Pl. 61 *P-Q*), 133 (Pl. 86 *J*), and 140 (Pl. 88 *G-H*) looks like an excess of stone left standing in the eyes is obviously to be explained as an imitation in solid stone of inlaid eyes. For when we compare these eyes with those of No. 142 (Pl. 88 *L-N*), which are stone inlays, the similarity in form is at once apparent. The latter probably had pupils painted on them in black bitumen, traces of which are still visible in a case where the eyeballs are of shell (Pl. 87 *E-F*), and in fin-

<sup>1</sup> This shrine was excavated in the season of 1936/37; previously we had held it to be a sculptor's workshop (*OIC* No. 17, p. 73).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also C. C. Edgar, *Sculptors' Studies and Unfinished Works* (Cairo. Musée des antiquités égyptiennes, "Catalogue général" XXXI [Le Caire, 1906]) Pls. I 33301 and IV 33314. It is extraordinarily interesting to see how all parts such as arms, legs, etc., which were to get a rounded shape in the finished work, were kept with square edges even in comparatively advanced stages of the work.

ished form they must have looked exactly like the drilled pupils of No. 141 (Pl. 88 *J-K*). We may therefore assume that the solid stone eyes were painted in a similar way.

The repairing of damaged or broken statues appears to have been a frequent need, taxing the ingenuity of the sculptors in various ways. In the small shrine a number of burnt and badly cracked sculptures were found which had presumably been sent there for repairs. Nos. 121 and 166 (Pl. 94 *I-J*) show scalps in different stages of completion. No. 166, which is not a complete head but only a "scalp," was apparently meant to be fitted to a head that had become damaged. It was firmly fixed to a lump of bitumen, which would yield sufficiently under the stroke of the chisel to prevent the stone from cracking but would hold it while the sculptor was at work.

Sculpture No. 167 (Pl. 94 *K*) seems to have been prepared to receive a new nose, which was to be fitted into three almost adjoining dowel holes. The facial type of these people made damage to the noses of statues a frequent occurrence, and we found several sculptures where a new nose had been fitted in with bitumen, for example Nos. 23 (Pl. 37) and 54 (Pl. 61 *A-D*). Sometimes damage must have been too serious to allow of partial repair, and then a separately cut mask, such as Nos. 47-48 (Pl. 58 *C-D*), was stuck onto the head, or an entirely new head was fitted on, as was done in No. 11 (Pl. 43 *C-D*). Head No. 44 (Pl. 57 *A-B*) has at the back two holes for pegs. These holes prove that the back of the head, now missing, was already in ancient times a piece separately fitted to the skull. Some sculptures, for example Nos. 39, 104, and 173 (Pls. 95 *A-B* and 96 *E*), show by the number of drill holes how often heads or feet were broken and repaired. Often we find that these repairs were carried out in the crudest possible fashion. Statue No. 26 (Pl. 39 *B*) had been broken at the feet, and the two parts were stuck together by means of a large lump of bitumen, the purpose evidently being merely to maintain the damaged work in its place in the shrine. In other words, the repairs were often executed with a view to the magico-religious rather than to the aesthetic effect of the statue.

The frequent breakages observed were partly caused by the extraordinary risks which the early Mesopotamian sculptors took, risks which would have horrified their Egyptian colleagues. Not only are the arms always cut free, but often the legs also. We have seen how among the early sculptures from the Square Temple at Tell Asmar several show abnormally heavy ankles because otherwise the figures could not find sufficient support (cf. Nos. 1-5 on Pls. 5 and 12). More commonly a back pillar was used to assist the legs in supporting the solid robed or kilted bodies. If we remember how rigid the rules are which obtain in Egyptian sculpture, where from the Old Kingdom onward the left foot is always placed in front and stone is left standing between the leg and the back pillar, we may well be astonished at the varied solutions attempted by Mesopotamian sculptors as revealed by the bases shown on Plate 96. In *A* we see the base of a statue which did not possess a back pillar but was secured by two rods that presumably passed through the short stumps of legs into the heaviest part of the body. *B* shows two legs worked into one cylindrical column, pierced in the center to receive a similar rod. *D* has a rectangular back pillar with stone left standing between it and the feet. In *H* both feet are free, but the back pillar is of unsightly dimensions. On *F* the back pillar gracefully takes the rounded shape of the base; the right foot of the statue is attached to the back pillar, while the left one, placed in front, is free. *C* and *E* illustrate yet another solution. On each of these bases both feet are cut free, one foot standing firmly forward, but a third point of support is supplied by a diminutive back pillar. The larger of these two pieces shows by its drill holes that this method of support had not prevented breakage. Yet another method is shown on Plate 75. Here legs and back pillar are worked in one piece, the upper part of which ends in a dowel and fits into a large square hole in the bottom of the statue, where it is locked in position by a wooden peg through a hole in the rear. This case indicates that dowel holes

and drill holes need not always point to secondary repairs. Other facts, too, point in the same direction. It seems that the Mesopotamian sculptors did not attach the same value to having their statues monolithic as the Egyptians did. Thus one statue, No. 39 (Pls. 52 and 95 *A*), has been supplied with a head cut separately from the beginning. This is evident from the square dowel of stone fitted into a hole in the body, the hole in the body being cut larger to admit the thick bitumen mortar which served as cement. The head is of the same stone as the body, which makes it almost certain that they are both original. This particular statue was nevertheless much damaged later on, and additional holes were drilled, not only to connect body and base, but apparently also to secure the head more firmly by a second peg of wood fitted into holes drilled into head and body in front of the large dowel of stone and hidden from view by the beard. Moreover, a hole in the back of this statue (Pl. 52 *C*) probably served to fasten it to the wall behind or to support it with a curved rod. The rarity of stone in Mesopotamia made it imperative for the Mesopotamian sculptors to resort to patchwork when they had bungled, while a similar misfortune would have caused their Nilotic colleagues to abandon the piece and start anew; for stone patchwork is well-nigh unknown in Egypt. But even if we allow for such circumstances as the scarcity of stone in Mesopotamia, the frequency of patchwork and the unrestricted free cutting of arms and legs leave us with the impression that stone was less congenial to the Mesopotamian artist than to the Egyptian. It seems, in fact, that the former found in metal a means of expression more closely adapted to his aesthetic proclivities.

#### CASTING IN METAL

Nineteenth century practice, against which modern art reacts, obliterated the difference between sculpture and plastic, between carved and modeled work. And yet, the difference is fundamental whether, in Michelangelo's words, one works "per forza di levare" or "per via di porre."<sup>3</sup> To individuals as well as to nations one of the two methods is congenial and therefore original in its manifestations, while the other submits to the influence of the first. There is no doubt that in Egypt stone-carving was the leading craft, to which work in copper was subordinate, just as wood-carving was primary in negro Africa and determined the shape of the Benin works executed in metal. In Mesopotamia we observe that sculpture in stone, after its first independent emergence, came lastingly under the influence of work in metal.

To mention the materials and oppose stone to metal is, however, misleading, for it is not in the raw material that the main difference resides. The essential contrast between work in stone and work in metal is that the stonecutter carves his conceived figure out of the block and thus liberates it, as it were, from the stone, while the plastic artist, in modeling his work in clay or wax, adds material to an amorphous core until his work is completed. Work in metal is, indirectly, modeled. Either a wooden frame is surrounded with clay or bitumen, which is modeled into shape and over which metal foil or plates are hammered; or a full-size model of wax is prepared and a form built round it which later serves as a mold, after which the wax is melted out and the metal poured in (casting *à cire perdue*). In both cases the creation of plastic form is a matter of modeling, not of carving. Thus work in metal is modeling, ennobled by a translation from perishable wax or base clay into a choice and durable substance.

It seems that modeling came more naturally than carving to the people of Mesopotamia. For while the earliest monumental sculptures—the hoard from the Square Temple at Tell Asmar—are highly original realizations of plastic form by carving, later periods did not produce anything of equal independence, nor did they adhere to the same conception. It is true

<sup>3</sup> The question is considered in an exceedingly able study by E. Löwy, "Stein und Erz in der statuarischen Kunst," in *Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen*, 1913 (Institut für oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, "Mitteilungen" XXXIV [Innsbruck, 1913] Beiblatt) pp. 5-40.

that the formal scheme underlying Mesopotamian sculpture remained unaltered throughout its history. But the concrete embodiments of the formula, the works of art themselves, at a later date betray in their details the eye of the modeler, not of the carver. The rendering of the folds in skin and garments, for instance, differs strikingly if we compare Mesopotamian works like the diorite statues of Gudea with sculptures produced in Egypt, where carving was at all times more congenial than modeling. When in this connection we call attention to the physiological conditions of the two countries and to the significance of the fact that the predilection for modeling should prevail in an alluvial plain where clay was the only native material—used for building, for documents, and for other purposes—while the propensity for carving dominated in a narrow valley between mountains rich in a variety of excellent stone, we do not imply that the different forms of artistic expression can be explained in this manner. *Mens agitat molem*. But it is valuable to observe in this as in other aspects of culture the intimate harmony between the creations of man and his natural surroundings.

It follows from these remarks that the sculpture of Early Dynastic II, which uses forms so fully appropriate to the process of carving (Pls. 2, 10, and 21–22), occupies a singular and somewhat problematical position in the history of Mesopotamian art. This may be explained in different ways. It may be argued that the early style was introduced into Mesopotamia from abroad by people who also imported the use of plano-convex bricks as building material.<sup>4</sup> This hypothesis may be correct, but it is incapable of proof. For one thing, it is an open question whether the material civilization of Tell al-Ḥarīrī and Khafājah, which is indistinguishable from that of the Sumerian south, was not produced by Akkadians; the meager inscriptions seem to be inconclusive, except that the names are often Semitic.<sup>5</sup> And furthermore, there is obviously a tendency nowadays to overrate the efficacy of the oversimple formula which assigns certain art forms to certain national or racial groups.<sup>6</sup> Many who glibly apply this formula dispense with a formal analysis of the monuments and replace the study of the autonomous development of the arts by a timetable of migrations and invasions.<sup>7</sup>

As regards the problem of the sculptural style in Early Dynastic II, there is another explanation which is less dependent on hypotheses and which is actually urged upon us by a study of the monuments themselves. These represent, as we have seen, the first, or at least a very early, attempt at monumental work in stone. The possibilities of a new mode of expression were vigorously explored, and the consistency of the results need not astonish us. But monuments of metal were also made, concurrently or during the next period, and eventually they brought the stonecutters under their spell. We know that this happened because later stone sculpture in Mesopotamia shows, in fact, a rendering of details characteristic of modeled figures. We can explain its coming about on the assumption that modeling was pre-eminently congenial to the Mesopotamian people, so that the stonecutters experienced this proclivity no less than the

<sup>4</sup> P. Delougaz, *Plano-convex Bricks and the Methods of their Employment* . . . (The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, "Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization," No. 7 [Chicago, 1933]) pp. viii and 37 f.

<sup>5</sup> RA XXXI 140 and 182 f.

<sup>6</sup> An example is found in the forced (and mutually conflicting) attempts to explain the development of the architecture of the Old Kingdom in Egypt (the autonomous development of which is clearly discernible) by gratuitous postulates of distinctly northern and southern influences. See the conflicting conclusions of Wolf (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* LXVII [1931] 129–31) and Pflüger (*JEA* XXIII [1937] 7–9) on the one hand and of Steckeweh (*Die Fürstengräber von Qaw* [Expedition Ernst Sieglin, "Veröffentlichungen" VI (Leipzig, 1936)]) on the other.

<sup>7</sup> As regards historical conclusions which may be derived from a change of style in works of art, I would state, in the words of another: ". . . ich möchte nicht versäumen zu betonen, dass das Wichtigste, was wir nach dieser Richtung hin von der Kunstgeschichte erwarten können, aus ihren eigenen Aufgaben, aus der Beobachtung der künstlerischen Bestrebungen und Ausdrucksmittel in ihrer immanenten und autonomen Entwicklung erfließen muss." These words were written not by an extremist of the "formalist" school of philosophy of art but, on the contrary, by Max Dvořák, *Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte* (2d ed.; München, 1928) p. 49. The italics are mine.



metal-workers. In the first expansion of their new adventure—the making of statues—the sculptors realized in this work the potentialities of technique and material, but subsequently they moved in the direction indicated by great works in metal which exemplified a more congenial order of plastic forms.<sup>8</sup>

This view requires to be substantiated by reference to extant works in metal illustrating the high quality of modeling in Mesopotamia. Now metal works of all periods are comparatively rare, since the metal can be re-used. If allowance is made for this fact, a remarkable number of metal works of the highest aesthetic merit have come down to us. We need but recall here the most impressive head of Mesopotamian art, the bearded head of a ruler found at Nineveh;<sup>9</sup> likewise the beautiful statue of Queen Napirasu from Susa;<sup>10</sup> the votive figures which Hammurabi dedicated in Larsa and which were recently acquired by the Louvre;<sup>11</sup> an equally fine standing figure of a four-faced god from Ishchāli with an accompanying seated figure of a four-faced goddess, bought for the Oriental Institute<sup>12</sup> because they had been stolen from the site before our work at Ishchāli was begun; and some works of equally high artistic merit among the riches from the tombs of Ur.<sup>13</sup>

Our own metal figures from Khafājah, Nos. 181–83 (Pls. 98–103), are not less outstanding. In one respect they are of even greater importance, for they are the first figures in metal known thus far to come from the Early Dynastic period. It is not possible to be certain whether they are contemporary with the earlier or with the later style, because the corrosion makes it well-nigh impossible to judge the surface treatment. The back view of the large human figure (Pl. 101) shows a treatment of the muscles of calf and thigh which rather recalls the later, realistic style, as does also the springy pose with slightly flexed knees. Such a pose would in any case have been impossible for a stonecutter of the earlier period to render, and we have, moreover, no nudes in stone with which to compare this figure except a bull-man from Umma (Pl. 115 *E*), which shows the same type of lithe body and resembles works of the earlier style of stone sculpture. The supporting bases of our copper statues are almost identical with the copper support of a stone vase from Kish<sup>14</sup> which resembles a stone vessel from the Square Temple so closely that we may consider it contemporaneous with the earlier of our two styles of sculpture in stone; and this may give a clue to the date of our copper statues. The earlier period would also tally well with the fact that two copper supports, each ending with a claw similar to that on the head of our large copper figure, were in 1934/35 found in Graves 12 and 15 at Khafājah, which are situated in Layers 5 and 6 belonging to Early Dynastic II.<sup>15</sup> To the same period seem to belong the tombs at Kish in which were found the stone vase with copper support already mentioned and a copper support mounted on the back of a frog.<sup>16</sup> The sketches of these tombs<sup>17</sup> do

<sup>8</sup> It is, perhaps, not superfluous to state that we do not claim that the ancient artists were conscious of any stage in this evolution. And furthermore, we hope not to be misunderstood now when we say, in Löwy's words, that stone in Egypt, metal in Mesopotamia, was "das der Formvorstellung entsprechende Mittel." We would therefore apply to the first centuries of the 3d millennium B.C., which constituted the formative phase of Egyptian and Mesopotamian art, Löwy's further statement: "So treiben die Fähigkeiten des Materials und der künstlerischen Volksanlage durch Jahrhunderte wahlverwandtschaftlich zu einander, bis sie zuletzt zusammentreffen" (Löwy, *op. cit.* p. 21).

<sup>9</sup> *Iraq* III (1936) 104–10 and Pls. V–VII.

<sup>10</sup> Schäfer und Andrae, *Die Kunst des Alten Orients* (1934) p. 507; Contenau, *Manuel* II, Fig. 633.

<sup>11</sup> Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres (Fondation Piot), *Monuments et mémoires* XXXIII (1933) 1–10 and Pls. I–II; also *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art* I 261.

<sup>12</sup> Museum Nos. A 7119–20, which will be published in *Miscellaneous Objects from the Diyālā Region*, another forthcoming "Oriental Institute Publication."

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Woolley, *The Royal Cemetery*, Pls. 87–89 and 107–20.

<sup>14</sup> Watelin and Langdon, *Excavations at Kish*, Pl. XXI 2.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *OIC* No. 20, p. 46 and Fig. 37.

<sup>16</sup> Watelin and Langdon, *op. cit.* Pl. XXX 1.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* Figs. 4 and 4 bis on pp. 21 and 25.

not allow one, however, to judge the characteristics of their pottery sufficiently to date them on typological grounds.

The casting of our copper statues (Nos. 181–83) is not perfect, though the workmanship is highly remarkable if we consider the composition of the metal. An analysis by Professor Cecil H. Desch reveals that it is almost pure copper (copper, 99 per cent; tin, 00.63 per cent; lead and iron, traces; nickel, nil). Faults such as show in the back of the right calf of No. 181 (Pl. 101 *A*) were filled out with lead. The inscription on the back of this figure is too much corroded to be legible. The purpose of these statues was, as we have seen above (pp. 11 f.), to support certain offerings before the god. The two smaller figures, Nos. 182–83 (Pl. 102), still show on their heads the stumps of broken-off claws presumably similar to the one preserved on the head of the large statue, No. 181. The persons represented are likely to be mythological heroes and not ordinary mortals. Their nudity, their girdles, and the exceptional way of dressing the hair—two dangling side locks with shaven poll, or short locks reaching not quite to the shoulders, as in the case of the kneeling figure from the Tell Asmar hoard—may all thus be explained.

The fine bull's head, No. 184 (Pl. 104), is from every point of view a more easily understood work. The uncouth shape of the neck suggests that it was fitted not onto a bull's body but onto the wooden sound box of a harp, of which we have several examples from Ur.<sup>18</sup> Our bull, however, shows a decidedly more abstract, less realistic type of design. The spoon-shaped ears, mounted on stems, and especially the volutes of the nostrils remind one of the earlier style of stone sculpture, while the mother-of-pearl triangle inlaid in the forehead connects with the bull protoma found in the Square Temple (Pl. 92 *A–B*) and with one bull's head found at Ur which differs markedly from all the others.<sup>19</sup> Our bull's head had been built into a wall of Sin Temple IX at Khafājah and must therefore date at least from Sin Temple VIII, which is contemporary with the Square Temple at Tell Asmar. The head was certainly cast *à cire perdue*; the horns and most of the muzzle are solid; the eyes are of lapis lazuli and shell, set in bitumen.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Woolley, *The Royal Cemetery*, Pls. 107–11 and 114–19, esp. that shown on Pls. 116–17.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *ibid.* Pls. 116–17. The lyre also to which this head belonged showed some unusual features (*ibid.* p. 126), and I should think it to be older than the bulk of the objects found in the cemetery. Even so, this bull's head is at the earliest a transitional form, showing a wealth of detail (e.g. the curls on the crown and the folds on the ears and round the eyes) which contrasts with the stark simplicity of the head from Khafājah.

## VI RELIEFS

The classification of reliefs with sculpture is a tradition that has prevailed ever since the Greeks made depth an element of their design. But such classification is hardly appropriate to the reliefs of the ancient Near East, for in them the third dimension plays no part at all; they show neither a series of successive planes between surface and background, nor figures moving inward or outward. Relief in the ancient Near East is simply glorified drawing, made more clear and permanent by being cut in stone. The figures are to all intents and purposes flat, and their contour is formed by a vertical edge. Thus the figures are left standing as essentially flat designs with background cut away. Considered as works of art, the reliefs have nothing in common with the works discussed in the preceding chapters. There is neither internal (stylistic) nor external (stratigraphical) evidence which would enable us to establish the relative age of our reliefs, except that No. 200 (Pl. 112 *B*) is most probably Akkadian. The others must be taken as roughly contemporary and as probably belonging to Early Dynastic III. It is true that Nos. 190–91, 193 (Pl. 109 *A–B* and *D*), and 194 (Pl. 110 *A*) were found at somewhat lower levels than the others, but their style of drawing is neither more nor less rudimentary than that of the others. However, plaque No. 201 (Pl. 114), which was found in the uppermost layers of the town site of Khafājah and which resembles those erected by Urnanshe at Lagash, proves that this style was not local or confined to the south; hence the more elaborate plaques which we are discussing would seem to be older and to belong to the earlier part of Early Dynastic III (E.D. IIIa) or perhaps even to the last part of Early Dynastic II.<sup>1</sup>

The scheme of decoration used on these plaques is remarkably uniform. The square is divided into three horizontal strips or registers; in the middle strip only the two outer sections are available for decoration, the center being reserved for a square or circular perforation through which the plaque was no doubt fixed to the wall.

The design gives in most cases a straightforward narrative; purely decorative considerations play a subordinate part. If two similar animals occupy the middle strip, they either face each other, as on No. 194 (Pl. 110 *A*), or they turn away from each other, as on Nos. 186 and 188 (Pls. 106 and 108 *A*). Similar, purely decorative considerations no doubt account for the placing of the main figures in the uppermost strip more or less on the edge of the relief in a position facing each other, as on Nos. 185–87 (Pls. 105–7). Some order is furthermore created by the isocephaly predominating in each strip. Rarely, as on Plate 106, does the decorative arrangement prevail over the narrative function of the design.

The narratives of these reliefs are remarkably similar. They may be summed up as accounts of feasts. As a rule, the banquet is represented at the top while the cause of the rejoicings is indicated at the bottom. The preparations for the feast, or at least the bringing of the very substantial provisions which it required, appear in the middle. Variations in the scheme occur. On No. 185 (Pl. 105) some of the frolicking has penetrated into the bottom strip, where the dignified bearded figure in the middle of the preserved portion strangely disports itself, dancing a "hornpipe" to the tones of a harp. It remains uncertain whether the missing right half of that strip contained a reminder of the feast's occasion or merely another part of its program. On

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that the well known fragment from Ur was found in circumstances which leave its date entirely undecided. Cf. Woolley, *The Royal Cemetery*, p. 377 and Pl. 181.

the fragments of No. 189 (Pl. 108 *B*) a wrestling bout seems to be represented.<sup>2</sup> On No. 193 (Pl. 109 *D*) the bottom register as well as the top one is devoted to the drinking scene. On No. 186 (Pl. 106), on the contrary, this scene is confined to the top register, while the other two are filled with animals, which, according to No. 187 (Pl. 107), served as fare at the banquet.

Our own reliefs would not entitle us to interpret the lowest strip as commemorating the cause of the rejoicings. However, there can be no doubt that on the much more explicit mosaic "standard" from Ur<sup>3</sup> the representations are to be read from the bottom upward. For there we see on one side a battle taking place in the lowest strip, captives being taken in the middle register, and their presentation to the ruler in the uppermost strip. On the other side we see booty being brought at the bottom, provisions in the middle, and the banquet taking place at the top. We may, therefore, without prejudging the question whether or not the "standard" and the reliefs reflect the same, or the same kind of, celebration, assume that on our reliefs likewise the three strips of figures—the means by which the Early Dynastic artists told their stories—are meant to be read from the lowest upward.

But do the reliefs commemorate the same, or the same kind of, celebration as the Ur "standard"? At first sight it seems difficult to separate the mosaic "standard" from our relief No. 187 (Pl. 107); and if the "standard" commemorates a historical event, for example the victory of a ruler of Ur over his enemies, it is tempting to see in our plaque a similar memorial of a ruler of what is now Khafājah. But then the same explanation would have to apply to Nos. 188 (Pl. 108 *A*) and 192 (Pl. 109 *C*); for in all these cases we find the empty chariot at the bottom, where it must then be presumed to represent by itself the action depicted on the "war" panel of the Ur "standard" and, more particularly, the ruler's victorious return from battle. It seems hard to deny the same interpretation to the coarse relief No. 194 (Pl. 110 *A*) also, where the feet of a chair and of its occupant—all that remains of the top strip—suggest that there again the familiar banqueting scene was depicted, while in the lowest strip a file of bearded warriors takes the place of the chariot as symbol of the return after victory. The fragments of No. 189 (Pl. 108 *B*), whether they belong to one relief or not, show again the same motives for the uppermost and middle parts, though on the lowest strip wrestlers appear to take the place of the usual chariot. The wrestlers, however, can hardly be in earnest; they are probably the equivalent of the dancers in No. 185 (Pl. 105), contributing to the entertainment and not reminding us of war. In this way we could consider all the reliefs discussed so far as plaques or stelae of victory. We might press the point yet further and include fragments Nos. 190–91 (Pl. 109 *A-B*) on the assumption that the campaign took place on the west side of the Tigris or even beyond the Euphrates, in which case the energetic rowers in the lowest strip would be more appropriate than a chariot to commemorate the campaign.<sup>4</sup>

There is, of course, no necessity to assume a priori that all these reliefs should be interpreted in one and the same way. Urnanshe commemorates on one of his plaques the founding of a

<sup>2</sup> A fragment in the Louvre (Contenau, *Monuments mésopotamiens*, Pl. IX *b*) had reached the hands of dealers by 1930. It came from Khafājah and may belong with some of the fragments of Pl. 108. Only part of the first servant, a harpist, and a female servant of the top portion are preserved.

<sup>3</sup> Woolley, *op. cit.* Pls. 91–92.

<sup>4</sup> These fragments resemble some pieces from Fārah (E. Heinrich, *Fara. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Fara und Abu Hatab 1902/03*, hrsg. von W. Andrae [Berlin, 1931] Pl. 21 *a-b*) as closely as our Pl. 107 resembles a fragment from Ur (cf. Woolley, *op. cit.* Pl. 181, and *OIC* No. 13, pp. 96 f. and Figs. 44–45). Compare also notes 11 and 12 on p. 45 of the present volume for a piece from Susa and another from Fārah. These similar fragments show that Sir Leonard Woolley's assumption (*op. cit.* p. 377) that the Ur fragment was an importation from northern Mesopotamia cannot be upheld.

new temple;<sup>5</sup> other plaques from Lagash,<sup>6</sup> Ur,<sup>7</sup> and Nippur<sup>8</sup> show libations before gods; others again from Susa<sup>9</sup> and Lagash<sup>10</sup> bear purely decorative designs. But it seems out of the question to apply such a range of possible interpretations to the closely interrelated plaques from Khafājah, which in their different ways depict one single theme. And this theme is purely conventional. If we interpret it in the usual way, it would imply not only that a number of separate victories at what is now Khafājah had been commemorated with but slight variations, but even that at other sites plaques of the very same kind were erected after a successfully concluded war.

We have already mentioned (p. 44, n. 4) that the fragment from Ur did service in restoring our relief No. 187 (Pl. 107). Other fragments equally similar to our own were found at Susa<sup>11</sup> and at Fārah.<sup>12</sup> It would be very odd if the rulers of all these cities had celebrated their victories by erecting almost identical plaques. Not only so, it would require the assumption that at Khafājah alone nine victories led to the erection of plaques so much alike that they gave no hint as to the distinctive features of each individual historical event. This would be completely at variance with the usage of admitted memorials of victorious wars, such as the "stela of the vultures" and probably the mosaic "standard" from Ur. Moreover, we have evidence from Khafājah of two stelae depicting victories in a similar manner. Both are almost completely lost. Fragment No. 196 (Pl. 110 C) is all that survives of one; of the other we have only the fragments of No. 207 (Pl. 113). But on all these monuments the actual waging of war is illustrated in some detail. Even if we were to allow for the abbreviation which the subject had to undergo to be fitted onto the smaller reliefs, it strikes us as almost cynical that the ancient rulers should have referred to their battles merely by the empty chariots or boats at the bottoms of the plaques and should have devoted most of the space (in the cases of Nos. 185–86 [Pls. 105–6] all of the space) to the banquet following the victory.

It is for these reasons that we have from the first doubted the correctness of the generally accepted interpretation of such reliefs.<sup>13</sup> If the banquet takes pride of place on them, then it must be the banquet which requires commemoration. If almost identical reliefs were made at Ur, Susa, Fārah, and Khafājah, they must have commemorated not historical occurrences, which are essentially individual and without exact parallel, but events which really took place in a similar manner in all of these Mesopotamian cities, that is, religious festivals. We know of at least one festival which was followed by a great banquet, and we know also that in much later times this very festival was celebrated in almost identical manner in most of the large cities. That was the New Year's festival. The absence of information does not, of course, prove that there were no other religious celebrations at which a banquet took place. But it should be noted that the texts of Gudea imply that the banquet of the New Year's festival took place after the consummation of the marriage of the god and the goddess, and that upon this union the fertility of crops and herds in the ensuing year depended.<sup>14</sup> Consequently the feasting was particularly appropriate on New Year's Day, when abundance had *de facto* been insured by the divine nuptials and it behooved the devotees to partake of the riches thus newly vouchsafed them.

<sup>5</sup> Contenau, *Manuel I*, Fig. 348.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* Fig. 354.

<sup>7</sup> *Antiquaries Journal VI* (1926) Pl. LIII a.

<sup>8</sup> Schäfer und Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients* (1934) p. 470.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. C. J. Gadd, *History and Monuments of Ur* (London, 1929) p. 31. Woolley, *op. cit.* p. 377, even suggests tentatively that the plaque depicted the overthrow of the 1st dynasty of Ur.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Statues E vi—vii 21 and G iii 5—vi 19 as well as Cylinder B v 9–18 and xvi 19—xvii 4 in Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.* pp. 80 f., 84 f., 126 f., and 136 f.

<sup>9</sup> Contenau, *Manuel I*, Figs. 315–16.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* Fig. 350.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* Fig. 317; cf. our Pl. 108 B.

<sup>12</sup> Heinrich, *op. cit.* Pl. 21 c.

It is not difficult to explain either the war chariot or the boat as playing a part in the celebrations which preceded the banquet. It is true, we have to base our interpretation on late texts; but it can be shown that these texts are based on very ancient beliefs which were already in Akkadian times reflected in the seal designs.<sup>15</sup> The chariot could be accounted for in several ways; one, for which there is late textual evidence in a commentary from Assur on the ritual commemorating the death and resurrection of Bēl, is that it represents the wildly speeding, driverless chariot sent during the festival of the New Year to the house of sacrifice and signifies the disappearance of the god (Bēl).<sup>16</sup> Similarly, the boat may symbolize the god's journey in a boat during his procession in the New Year's ritual to the house of sacrifice,<sup>17</sup> or it may be interpreted in several other ways. The wrestling scene of Pl. 108 *B* may render the mock fight which took place when the god was liberated from his mountain grave.<sup>18</sup>

I do not deny the hypothetical character of these explanations; but even if they should prove incorrect, the main thesis, namely that these reliefs commemorate not historical (and therefore unique) events but ritual (and therefore recurring) celebrations which took place in various cities in approximately the same manner, would remain unaffected.

There is yet other evidence which seems to me to support this thesis. If we compare the banquet on our reliefs with that on the mosaic "standard" from Ur, there are two differences worth noting; these concern the company as well as its equipment. On the "standard" the banqueters are all men. It is, as one would expect, a gathering of the ruler with his counselors or commanders. The reliefs, however, consistently show two banqueters only, and these are a man and a woman. While on the "standard" each member of the company holds a cup in the right hand and nothing in the left, those on the reliefs each hold a cup in the right hand and in the left an object which has been variously interpreted as an ear of grain or as a bunch of dates.<sup>19</sup> This latter object is rendered in very different ways, sometimes as a heavy object which may be a bunch of dates (Pls. 81 *A*, 67 *F*, and 70 *D*), sometimes so as to suggest a palm branch (Pls. 81 *B* and 67 *A*), and, in the clearest rendering of all, rather like a branch of some flowering plant (Pl. 65). Such variations demonstrate how rash it is to consider even carefully executed works as exact representations. For this big branch shows merely the conventional form in which plants were rendered throughout Early Dynastic art, for instance, whenever animals and plants were shown together (Pl 6 *A*).<sup>20</sup> On a limestone plaque in the Louvre<sup>21</sup> a priest is shown pouring libations before a goddess in front of whom a vase is placed containing an upright branch of the same conventional shape, while two "bunches of dates" hang over the rim of the vessel. It is therefore certain that different kinds of plants were used and, furthermore, that they were used in connection with the gods. For our present purpose it is immaterial what precisely these objects represent. Some part of a living plant is all that would be needed to be appropriate at celebrations in honor of a fertility god. The most important fact about such branches is, however, that they are found also in the hands of statues which were placed in the temple itself. This certainly speaks in favor of our view that ritual celebrations are depicted on the reliefs. Cups are found also in the hands of four statues from

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *Iraq* I 6 and 21-29.

<sup>16</sup> S. Langdon, *The Babylonian Epic of Creation* (Oxford, 1923) p. 49, l. 66, also pp. 50 f. and 56, par. 30.

<sup>17</sup> Thureau-Dangin, *Rituel accadiens* (Paris, 1921) pp. 88 and 146-48.

<sup>18</sup> Langdon, *op. cit.* p. 49, l. 69.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Mrs. Van Buren's article in *AAA* XVII (1930) 39-56; but note that the palm tree does not bear fruit north of Baghdad, so that bunches of dates would not be available everywhere.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. also the innumerable engraved shell inlays on harps and gaming-boards from Ur (Woolley, *op. cit.* Pls. 96-97 and *passim*), an engraved stone plaque from Nippur (Contenau, *Manuel* I, Fig. 339), and similar objects from elsewhere.

<sup>21</sup> Contenau, *Manuel* I, Fig. 354; *idem*, *Monuments mésopotamiens*, Pl. V a.

the Square Temple at Tell Asmar, two of which we consider to represent the god and the goddess.<sup>22</sup>

The identity of the man and the woman on the reliefs remains uncertain. Are they the donor and his wife, or the god and the goddess, or the priest and the priestess who act the parts of the god and the goddess? Again, the answer to this question does not affect in any way our main conclusion, which is based on the observation that the main figures of the reliefs differ from those on the secular "standard" and hold objects found also in the hands of statues in the temple.

One final question must, however, still be answered. If these reliefs depict an annually recurring or, in fact, any regular religious celebration, what can have been the reason that the plaques were made in some cases and not in all? Once more the representations themselves seem to supply an answer. We have seen that either the feasts as such (Pls. 105, 108 *A*, and 109 *D*) or the animals that were eaten (Pl. 106) tend to take up a large proportion of the available space. Plaque No. 197 (Pl. 111 *A*), which is of schistlike stone and requires completion by inlays of shell or mother-of-pearl, seems to serve no other purpose than to enumerate three kinds of game or goats. It appears likely to me that these reliefs are meant to commemorate the bounty of some rich member of the community who accumulated merit by defraying the costs, or part of the costs, of the celebration. We know from Gudea's texts that the whole of the population took part in the celebration,<sup>23</sup> and we may suppose that the statues of worshippers holding cups and branches represent the donors while participating in the celebration of what certainly was—if, indeed, the New Year's festival was intended—the most joyful event in the god's annual cycle. Nothing would be more natural than that those who contributed handsomely should wish to leave some permanent record of a meritorious act as ephemeral as the providing of fare. There is no doubt that these plaques were set up in temples; it seems to me at least very probable that they commemorated acts of devotion consisting of contributions to the celebration of the god's festival. This view is supported by a contemporary text which mentions the purpose of a similar monument. As stated above (p. 45), a number of plaques are known which are identical in shape with those discussed here but show a different decoration. One of these is inscribed with a statement that it was given "as a support for a mace."<sup>24</sup> Maces are well known votive offerings to the gods,<sup>25</sup> and we have, therefore, proof that such pierced square plaques were indeed used to commemorate devotional gifts.

Plaque No. 200 (Pl. 112 *B*) stands by itself. It was found on the latest floor level but one of the Single-Shrine Temple and is most likely of Sargonid workmanship. Neither the rendering of the woman's coiffure nor the attitude of the man nor the way in which he wears his hair has Early Dynastic parallels. The figures do not possess any distinctive marks; hence it remains uncertain whether they are a human couple who have made a joint presentation to the divinity, or whether one of them, perhaps the male figure, represents a god. If the latter should be the case, the ax may be the attribute of Tishpak-Teshub, with whom the god of Eshnunna became identified in Akkadian times.<sup>26</sup> An interesting feature is the decorative frame of bitumen into which triangles of mother-of-pearl have been fixed.

Besides the plaques we have found three fragments of reliefs of a different nature. Fragment

<sup>22</sup> It is interesting to observe that the two standing figures on Pl. 81 each hold only a plant and thus form counterparts of the standing statues which hold only a cup, while the figure on Pl. 65 (cf. Pl. 66) and the statues reproduced in Banks, *Bismya*, p. 138, and in *AAA* XVII, Pls. IX and X, show both used together.

<sup>23</sup> E.g. Cylinder B xvii 1—xviii 7; cf. Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.* pp. 136–39.

<sup>24</sup> The plaque of Dudu, Contenau, *Manuel* I, Fig. 357; the text is given in Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.* pp. 34 f., i.

<sup>25</sup> One from Khafājah, dedicated to Inanna, is illustrated in *OIC* No. 13, Fig. 54; many others are known.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *OIC* No. 13, pp. 51–59.

No. 196 (Pl. 110 *C*) once formed part of a battle scene. Plate 113 shows the sad remains of stela No. 207, which must have been an equivalent of the "stela of the vultures." Like that famous monument, the stela from Khafājah was smashed by a conqueror, perhaps by Sargon of Akkad. But whoever he was, he destroyed more thoroughly than the victor of Lagash. Of the figure of the ruler who erected the stela only three fragments (*A*, *C*, and *D*) remain. The existence of a second frieze of figures is attested by fragments *A* and *B*, while it remains uncertain whether the feet above the dividing ridge on *B* belong to the same band as the figure of the governor of Khafājah (*A*) or perhaps to an intermediate row. The ribbed helmet in fragment *A* deserves attention; whether the kilt below (*D*) belongs to the same figure remains, of course, uncertain. Fragment *H* shows the kilt tucked up in the girdle (see p. 55). Fragment *F* shows in its right half parts of the body and wing and one leg of a bird of prey, while the left half shows the tail which fits onto the other fragment and also the bare foot of an upstanding figure. Here again we are reminded of Eannatum's stela with the vultures feeding on the dead, the latter being buried by barefooted soldiers. Fragment *E* may or may not belong to this stela. If it does, the same would apply to flake No. 196 (Pl. 110 *C*).

Relief No. 199 (Pl. 112 *A*) is made up of two fragments of yet another type of stela. The fragments do not actually fit, but they certainly belonged to the same object. The large hole damaging a stooping figure is, of course, secondary; and the state of preservation of the relief is so bad that without the aid of two cylinder seals figuring the same subject<sup>27</sup> it would have been difficult to make anything of this representation. The couch, with legs shaped like those of a bull, is at any rate clear. Over it a garment or rug is thrown which is rendered in the same manner as the tasseled or tufted garments of the period (cf. p. 54, n. 30). Upon the couch is a supine figure, characterized by its coiffure as female. Above this figure a parallel design indicates the body of a second figure, with head raised in order to make it recognizable behind the first. This raised head seems to be entirely shaven, and the second figure is thus characterized as male. At the foot of the couch, leaning toward and touching it, is a figure with the familiar bird-head profile. The two cylinder seals referred to repeat this group identically: the couch has bull's feet and the two figures are much more clearly drawn, above or beside each other. That nuptials thus represented belong to the sphere of ritual cannot be proved; but it is at least likely because of the presence of a third figure and the prevalence of religious representations among the seal designs. We are therefore inclined to interpret this scene as the annual union of the god and the goddess of fertility in the presence of an officiating priest.

<sup>27</sup> One of these is illustrated in *OIC* No. 17, Fig. 42; the other has the field number Kh. II 41.



## VII DRESS

### HAIRDRESS

#### MEN

It is a priori not improbable that the different ethnic elements which make up a national community should in some way distinguish themselves by peculiarities of fashion in dress. The population of modern Iraq presents a case in point. Furthermore, it has become increasingly clear that the complicated mixture of ethnic elements in Iraq at the present day finds a fairly close parallel in ancient times. Eduard Meyer's interpretation of the monuments as representing Semites with beards and Sumerians as clean-shaven<sup>1</sup> has long been recognized as too simple. From the Uruk period onward we find both types side by side, and it seems that difference in dress is due to difference of professional function rather than of racial custom.<sup>2</sup> An Early Dynastic cylinder seal (As. 32:495)<sup>3</sup> shows a shaven priest introducing a bearded worshiper into the presence of a god.

Of the statues published in this volume, those which are carved in the earlier style are most easily explained in the manner just indicated. Most of them have beards and long locks, while only one of those found at Tell Asmar—No. 10 (Pls. 21–23)—shows a shaven head and face. At Khafājah only Nos. 22 and 23 (Pls. 36–37) are shaven.

Among the works executed in the later style there is a decided preponderance of shaven heads and faces. In fact, the only bearded figure is No. 39 (Pls. 52–53), and in this one case we may perhaps admit local influence or ethnic fashion. For the statues from Tell al-Ḥarīrī<sup>4</sup> show that there the beard was regularly grown while lips and skull were shaven. A well known Early Dynastic figure from Assur<sup>5</sup> as well as our No. 39 might, therefore, represent men originating from the middle Euphrates region. And yet we know that there was no complete change in fashion between Early Dynastic II and III such as our statues in the later style (where shaven faces and bald heads form a strong majority) would lead us to postulate. Certainly the rulers in this later age often wore long hair and beards. We have several statues of Lugalkisalsi of Uruk,<sup>6</sup> one of Lamgimari from Tell al-Ḥarīrī,<sup>7</sup> and an anonymous figure from Susa<sup>8</sup> to prove this. Over against these we find Lugaldalu of Adab<sup>9</sup> completely shaven, while Eannatum on the "stela of the vultures"<sup>10</sup> appears to wear long hair but has no beard. One wonders whether the hair was natural or whether perhaps, in view of their priestly functions, some rulers (cf. p. 12) shaved head and face and, in deference to secular tradition, wore wigs when they exercised secular functions. This latter assumption would explain the golden "helmet" of Meskalamdug from Ur, which, as an object of gold foil, could not, of course,

<sup>1</sup> *Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien* (Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Klasse, "Abhandlungen," 1906) p. 43; cf. also his *Geschichte des Altertums* I 2 (5. Aufl.; Stuttgart und Berlin, 1926) pp. 436–39.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *AOF* IX (1933–34) 129.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Syria* XVI, Pls. VIII–IX, XX 1, XXI 2, and XXIV 3–4.

<sup>5</sup> Andrae, *Die archaischen Ishtar-Tempel in Assur*, Pls. 30–31.

<sup>6</sup> Contenau, *Manuel* II, Figs. 379–81.

<sup>8</sup> *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art* I 203.

<sup>7</sup> *Syria* XVI, Pls. VI–VII.

<sup>9</sup> Contenau, *Manuel* II, Fig. 363.

<sup>10</sup> De Sarzec, *op. cit.* II, Pl. 3 bis; also Contenau, *Manuel* I, Fig. 352.

afford protection to its wearer and must therefore have served another purpose. The holes along its edge suggest that it was provided with a lining. We cannot therefore explain it as a piece of funerary equipment, though it was found in a tomb. It must have served a living person, perhaps in lieu of a wig.<sup>11</sup>

The reliefs show that not only the rulers continued to wear beards and locks in Early Dynastic III. Of the figures shown on plaque No. 185 (Pl. 105), only the main personage, seated and drinking, is represented as bald and with shaven face. All the others are bearded and wear locks. Among the servants both fashions seem to occur side by side, for No. 188 (Pl. 108 A) shows at least the harpist as beardless, probably with hair close-cropped; and similarly the first servant on No. 189 (Pl. 108 B) may perhaps be beardless. Two beardless figures with locks are shown on fragment No. 194 (Pl. 110 A) also, but in both cases the drawing is so coarse that we cannot be sure that a definite fashion is depicted. We may be dealing with simple omissions. The type of the beardless face with locks is clearly represented on the "base circulaire" from Lagash by the figure holding the lance<sup>12</sup> and also, among our own statuary, by Nos. 32-33 (Pl. 44), which we have considered as representing beardless youths.<sup>13</sup> Very unexpected is the evidence of a moustache on statue No. 9 (Pls. 18-20). Here the beard is hatched all over, and the same hatching occurs on the upper lip. The wearing of a moustache contrasts with general Mesopotamian usage at all periods. While in the case of our other statues it could easily be maintained that the bituminous pigment had spread from the beard over the upper lip when the statues were buried in the soil, the carving of the upper lip of No. 9 makes it certain that in this case at least a moustache was intentionally marked. Most of our other statues are ambiguous in this respect. Plates 42 C, 43 A-B, and 46 A-B show that the upper lip was sometimes shaven. If these variations reflect ethnic differences analogous to some variations in modern Iraq, we have no clue to their interpretation.

The right-hand figure in stela No. 201 (Pl. 114) seems to be wearing a fur cap or turban, perhaps similar to those frequently represented from the time of Gudea onward. The bareness of the neck and the proximity of the hatching to the eyes excludes, in any case, the possibility that natural hair is represented.

The fact that a certain variety occurs in the fashions of the Early Dynastic period does not, however, explain the complete reversal of the proportion between bearded and clean-shaven figures which takes place toward the end of that period. The best explanation—which cannot, of course, be verified—seems to be that laymen increasingly copied the usage of priests. We know from the prolonged study of the Lagash tablets by Professor Deimel and his pupil Dr. Anna Schneider<sup>14</sup> that in Early Dynastic times the social and economic life of the community was closely bound up with its central shrine. We also know that the political and economic powers in the city-states became more and more secularized as time went on. It would not be unusual if the decreasing influence of religious tenets in public life was accompanied by an increase of outward signs of piety in the personal life of the individual.

#### WOMEN

The hairdress of the women shows somewhat greater variety than that of the men and seems, moreover, to vary more from place to place. The principle applied in the coiffure of

<sup>11</sup> Cf. AOF IX 129.

<sup>12</sup> De Sarzec, *op. cit.* II, Pl. 47:1; also Contenau, *Manuel* I, Fig. 324.

<sup>13</sup> The view of Mrs. Van Buren (*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* XXXIX [1936] col. 686) that sidelocks are invariably a sign of divinity is shown to be untenable by the statues which we are discussing in this chapter; in fact, I do not know on what evidence it could ever have been held.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. A. Schneider, *Die Anfänge der Kulturwirtschaft. Die sumerische Tempelstadt* (Plenge, "Staatswissenschaftliche Beiträge," Heft IV [Essen, 1920]) esp. p. 4.

most of our female statues is clearly shown on Plate 82. The hair is parted in the middle (*D*) and braided into a number of small plaits; these in their turn are plaited together to form a heavy pigtail, and the latter is then wound round the head, counterclockwise, the end, after a full turn, being tucked underneath the base of the pigtail at the back and drawn through horizontally across the head toward the left. Sometimes the component plaits of the heavy pigtail are left unbraided at its end and lie side by side across the head (Pl. 88 *F*). The hair of the two female statues of the Tell Asmar hoard, Nos. 2 and 8 (Pls. 4, 5 *B-C*, 15 *B*, and 16), is similarly dressed. In the small head No. 61 (Pl. 62 *A-D*) the parting in front is marked by the insertion of a narrow strip of mother-of-pearl; the hair at the back of the head was no doubt rendered by molded and incised bitumen, some of which still adheres to the rough stone core. On Nos. 106 and 111 (Pls. 76 and 79 *A-C*) and in most of the heads on Plates 83-86 we see exactly the same fashion as on the large head No. 116 (Pl. 82); No. 111 (Pl. 79 *B-C*) shows a hairpin stuck into the hair at the back—no doubt of the common type with a globular head of lapis lazuli. The same feature appears clearly on No. 117 (Pl. 83 *A* and *D*), where the rendering is otherwise more summary. In some cases it looks as if the separate plaits of hair were drawn over a high support, such as a comb, before being wound round the head in one pigtail (Pls. 74, 87 *C-D* and *F*, and 90 *A, C, F, J*, and *L-O*). A variant is introduced by letting the side locks hang down on either side of the face (Pls. 85 *A-D* and 86 *A-D* and *J-M*). At other times some of the side locks seem plaited and curved back over the ear (Pls. 82 and 85 *G*). The hair on the neck is sometimes neatly trimmed into a row of locks (Pl. 74 *C*). The two little pigtails on the back of statue No. 105 (Pl. 75 *C*) may be the ends of a long plait, not, in this case, tucked away underneath the main coil. But apparently the plaits on this head are not gathered into a pigtail at all but come down the head as separate plaits, the two long ones in the middle extending down the back, with a coil of cloth(?) around the head holding the plaits in position. Statues of later date illustrating a similar style may be found, for example, in the Louvre.<sup>15</sup> The coiffure of head No. 131 (Pl. 86 *E-H*) is less clear, partly, no doubt, because it is incomplete. Perhaps we find indicated here the use of a hair net, which Andrae surmised in the case of some statues found in Assur but of which we found no trace otherwise. Nos. 145-46 (Pl. 89 *G-J*) show, unexpectedly, bobbed hair. The hairdress of Nos. 103 and 137 (Pls. 72-73 and 87 *G-H*) is unusual in that it seems to be a turban of finely woven cloth swathed round the head. The hair itself seems to protrude from beneath at the ears and near the forehead. A similar style is noticeable on some heads stolen from Khafājah before 1930 and now partly in dealers' hands or in the British Museum and in the Louvre. This fashion is the prevalent one at Assur<sup>16</sup> as well as at Tell al-Ḥarīrī,<sup>17</sup> and these women may therefore have come to Khafājah from the north, even as the man on Plate 52 (see p. 49).

#### COSTUME

As regards the costume of Early Dynastic times, one important conclusion may be drawn from our discoveries: the *kaunakēs*,<sup>18</sup> the heavy garment covered with tufts or tassels, which has been thought to be characteristic of the entire period, was introduced only in its latter part (E.D. III). It does not occur among the statues of the Square Temple at Tell Asmar or

<sup>15</sup> Cf. L. Heuzoy, *Catalogue des antiquités chaldéennes: Sculpture et gravure à la pointe* (Paris, 1902) Nos. 28 and 89 (pp. 145 f. and 226-29).

<sup>16</sup> Andrae, *op. cit.* p. 11, however, explains it differently.

<sup>17</sup> *Syria XVI*, Pl. XXV 3-4.

<sup>18</sup> *Καυνάκης* or *γαννάκης*, which, according to S. Langdon (Royal Asiatic Society, *Journal*, 1920, pp. 326-29), is from *guennakku* or *guannakku*, a Babylonian loanword from Sumerian *gú-èn* or *gú-an-na*, the designation for the heavy flounced or tasseled mantle.

among their contemporaries from Khafājah.<sup>19</sup> Though this observation rules out certain alternative explanations of the *kaunakēs*, much uncertainty still attaches to the problem of pre-Sargonid dress. This is partly due, no doubt, to the liberty which the sculptor enjoyed when rendering details of secondary importance. Since misunderstanding was excluded for his time and age, he seems to have been free to develop his stylizations in a manner which may or may not be aesthetically significant, but which makes it extremely difficult for us to reach a conclusion as to the nature of the originals rendered by him. The extent of our perplexity will become evident when we pass in review the varieties met with in these works.

## MEN

The shape of the kilt or skirt worn by the men seems, on the whole, to have remained the same throughout a considerable period. The hoard from Tell Asmar shows uniformly a skirt reaching halfway down the calves; it is provided with a slit at the back behind the left hip, where it is closed with two or five loops (Pls. 5 *A* and 13 *G*), and it is held up by a tasseled girdle. But the method of rendering the material changes as time proceeds, and our problem is to discover whether these differences are based on changes of fashion or merely of aesthetic convention. It seems likely that the presence or absence of slit or tasseled girdle is rather a matter of the amount of care expended on the work than of the use of different kinds of garments. But such is hardly the case with the variant renderings of the lower edge of the skirt. Statue No. 3 (Pl. 8) shows merely straight lines. Nos. 1, 4, 6, and 18 (Pls. 1, 9, 14, and 29) show a grouping of lines into pointed tufts or tassels. A more summary rendering appears in Nos. 9 and 22 (Pls. 19 and 36). The same style, simplified yet further to a pointed, leaf-shaped tab with a groove in the middle, appears on statue No. 5 (Pl. 11), and it is likely that the broad pointed tabs of Nos. 10, 17, 23, 25, and 35 (Pls. 21, 28, 37, 39 *A*, and 46 *C-E*) are a yet further simplification.

Already in the case of Nos. 4 and 24 (Pls. 9 and 38) the "fringe" had become so large as to cover more than half of the kilt. Can the kilt of statue No. 7 (Pls. 15 *A* and 17) represent the same kind of garment? Here, moreover, a curious symmetrical device is visible at the back, which seems connected with the girdle (Pl. 17). In statue No. 20 (Pls. 33-34), which may belong to the transitional period (see p. 26), we notice for the first time the kilt completely covered with a small design. This is not properly the "Zottenrock," "tasseled skirt," *kaunakēs*, or whatever name may be given to the garment entirely covered with tufts or tassels which is commonly found on Early Dynastic sculpture. On the contrary, the pattern on No. 20 is so flat and triangular that it could easily be interpreted as a patterned woven material were it not for the succeeding figure No. 21 (Pl. 35), where a stylization of tufts seems the most likely explanation of the design. The "fringe" on Nos. 1-10 from the Tell Asmar hoard has on No. 21 been magnified to such an extent that it occupies two-thirds of the kilt, while yet the design, but for its size, is identical with the simple "fringe" seen, for instance, on statue No. 4 (Pl. 9). We must remember, however, that the design of the "fringe" had already encroached upon the height of the kilt in Nos. 4 and 24 (Pls. 9 and 38); statue No. 26 (Pl. 39 *B*) shows a similar design without the additional wrap round the waist. In statue No. 11 (Pl. 43 *C-D*) the "fringe" design even reaches the girdle. In view of all of these variations in the skirts of the statues of the earlier style we must admit our inability to decide whether one or more types of garments were worn, and one or more materials used. It is certain that a smooth kilt with some kind of fringe is the most usual type of dress, and that this is rendered in a variety of ways, since we have seen that there are intermediate stages connecting all these designs so

<sup>19</sup> A possible exception may be the seated figure of Pls. 33-34, which does not, however, show the proper *kaunakēs* with successive rows of tufts or tassels. The statue may, moreover, belong to the transitional style, as we have seen (p. 26).

closely among themselves as to suggest a number of variations in the rendering of one and the same object. Only statue No. 7 (Pls. 15 *A* and 17) does not fit in well with this view.

As to materials, the small patterns of Nos. 20–21 (Pls. 33–35) suggest, as we have remarked, a difference of a nature not noticeable in any of the remaining statues. In the later style, the fringed skirt continues in use but becomes rare in sculpture in the round. In reliefs it still prevails. In the statues, however, we now find the true *kaunakēs* with its several layers of superimposed tassels or tufts. The interesting point about this innovation is the undeniable resemblance to the earlier garment in the rendering of the tassels. If we may venture to interpret these designs at all, it seems certain that the *kaunakēs* is merely covered over the whole of its surface with such a “fringe” as is visible at the lower edge of the kilt on Plates 9, 14, and others. On our reliefs the *kaunakēs* is rendered only on Plate 109 *D*, where the rough hatchings over the whole of the surface indicate the tassels. For the rest, the fringed skirt is shown, sometimes complicated by a design reminding us of our statue No. 7. But whereas in the round, as seen in that statue (Pl. 17), this design is shown in its true position at the side, it appears on the reliefs as if worn in front, according to well known rules of ideoplastic drawing. It is seen on Plate 105 on the first servant at the top and on the dancer at the bottom. The charioteers on our reliefs, like the one on the fragment from Ur, wear a strange triangular piece in front or at the side of their kilts (Pls. 107 and 109 *C*), though otherwise the kilts resemble the type just mentioned.

#### WOMEN

The earliest statues of women (Pls. 4, 5 *B–C*, 15 *B*, and 16) show a smooth garment, thrown forward over the left shoulder, then drawn across the chest and under the right arm, then across the back and forward again over the left shoulder. It is a piece of cloth, either folded double or with a hem along the edge. There is no fringe at all. We have seen (p. 31) that the statues of women cannot well be divided into an earlier and a later group; it is possible, and even likely, that the smooth shawl remained in use beside the tasseled shawl which appears in Early Dynastic III (Pls. 72–73 and 80). The smooth shawl seems to be held together over the left breast either by a stitch or by a pin, for the line of the hem or double edge suggests some means of fastening it (Pls. 74–75 and 78). The designs of the tufts take extraordinary dimensions on some of the smaller flat figures (Pls. 76–77) and, found by themselves, would never have suggested the tasseled or tufted appearance of the more usual version as seen, for example, on Plate 80.<sup>20</sup>

#### INTERPRETATION

If we exclude the curious skirt of statue No. 7 (Pls. 15 *A* and 17) and the corresponding designs on the reliefs, we find that the remainder of our figures render one type of garment for men and one type for women.<sup>21</sup> The interpretation of these garments is difficult; the crux lies in the different renderings of the material of which these garments are made.

The women's cloak is not found represented before the Early Dynastic period. As regards

<sup>20</sup> There is no reason to see in this dress a sign of divinity, as does Mrs. Van Buren in *AAA XVIII* (1931) 70–78, nor can the two small figures of seated women, both headless, described by her (*ibid.* pp. 63–78) be compared with the statues of gods discussed above (pp. 13–16). The dairy utensils which are indicated on the back and sides of these small figures serve perhaps the same purpose as the cup and branch sometimes held by seated figures. In any case they have nothing in common with the crestlike designs appearing on the front of the base of the statue of Ishtar in the Louvre and on the front of the base of the statue of Abu from Tell Asmar.

<sup>21</sup> There seems to be no distinction in dress as regards rank or function of the wearer. On the seal from Tell Asmar referred to on p. 49 the god, the priest, and the worshiper all wear the *kaunakēs*. Mrs. Van Buren (*AAA XVII* 48–56) thinks that the tasseled skirt was reserved for rulers only, but we certainly have it on some statues, such as that of Ebiḫil of Tell al-Ḥarīrī (*Syria XVI*, Pl. VIII), which show by their inscriptions that they represent officials, not rulers.

the men's garment, the same kind of skirt appears, smooth, on seal impressions from the late Uruk or early Jamdat Naṣr period (Uruk IV) and crosshatched on some contemporaneous cylinder seals,<sup>22</sup> where a double line along the bottom edge and along the slit seems to indicate a hem rather than a fringe. In the Jamdat Naṣr period we find the same kind of skirt, covered with crosshatching on the Blau monuments<sup>23</sup> and smooth on the lion-hunt stela from Uruk.<sup>24</sup> The crosshatching seems to survive into Early Dynastic I, as appears evident from the "personnage aux plumes" from Telloh.<sup>25</sup> We notice, therefore, that no work in the round shows crosshatching, and that in the drawings on seals and reliefs it may merely serve to differentiate the material of the skirt from the bare body, without conveying any information as to the nature of the material. But since on the cylinder seals the limbs are shown through the skirt, it seems in any case certain that a fine woven stuff and not a heavy fleece is intended. In Early Dynastic II, when the tasseled skirt appears, we have in our female statues Nos. 2 and 8 (Pls. 4, 5 B-C, 15 B, and 16) definite evidence that woven material was then used for garments. Moreover, the Copenhagen squatting statue<sup>26</sup> shows the fringe of its garment stylized in such a way that we seem able to recognize it as a loose fringe stitched onto the woven material.<sup>27</sup> In the light of this historical perspective Léon Heuzey's brilliant first attempt<sup>28</sup> to explain the *kaunakēs*, the dress of the succeeding period of Early Dynastic III, gains considerably in probability, and indeed it seems to me that his identification of the tasseled garment with the *kaunakēs* of Julius Pollux and of Aristophanes<sup>29</sup> can now be accepted with considerable confidence as correct. At a time when this garment, entirely covered with rows of tassels, was considered typical of the *earliest* period of Mesopotamian culture, surmise found unlimited scope for interpretation. Now we know, however, that it was adopted only in the last centuries before Sargon of Akkad's accession, at a time when woven material had already been in use for many centuries. It is therefore more than unlikely that at that time a reversal to primitive modes of dress, such as fleeces or reed skirts, should have taken place.<sup>30</sup> On the contrary we must assume that in some way a tufted or tasseled woven material was produced that resembled a fleece sufficiently for the conventional rendering of this material to be occasionally applied to a sheep or goat—a resemblance explicitly referred to in the classical authors quoted

<sup>22</sup> *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete* XLI (n.F. VII [1933]) Pl. I 2b (Louvre A.116); J. B. Nies and C. E. Keiser, *Historical, Religious and Economic Texts and Antiquities* ("Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies" II [New Haven, 1920]) Pl. LXXVI e; H. H. von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell* (OIP XXII [Chicago, 1934]) No. 669; A. Nöldeke, E. Heinrich, and E. Schott, *Fünfter vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft in Uruk unternommenen Ausgrabungen* (Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Klasse, "Abhandlungen," 1933, Nr. 5 [Berlin, 1934]) Pl. 29 a.

<sup>23</sup> L. W. King, *A History of Sumer and Akkad* (London, 1916) pl. opposite p. 62. The servant or priest has a smooth skirt; but, since it does not show the vertical slit, this may be a simplified design.

<sup>24</sup> Nöldeke, Heinrich, and Schott, *op. cit.* Pl. 12.

<sup>25</sup> Contenau, *Manuel I*, Fig. 321.

<sup>26</sup> Contenau, *Manuel II*, Fig. 376.

<sup>27</sup> This disposes of Andrae's objection (*op. cit.* p. 14) to Heuzey's explanation. It is not necessary to assume that the fringe consisted of the wool threads; it may have been a separately manufactured feature. The successive layers of tassels on the *kaunakēs* proper cannot in any case have consisted of the wool threads of the material.

<sup>28</sup> "Une étoffe chaldéenne (le kaunakès)," *Revue archéologique*, 3. série, IX (1887) 257-72.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 259-62.

<sup>30</sup> The idea that the tasseled garment represented a fleece was held for several years by Andrae, but was finally rejected by him (*Andrae, op. cit.* p. 12); it was upheld by Opitz (*AOF VI* [1930-31] 19-21 and *VII* [1931-32] 225) on the basis of a stylization of a goat's fleece, and by myself because of the modern use of a sheepskin coat worn either with the leather or with the fleece outward (*AOF IX* [1933-34] 130). As Heuzey (*op. cit.* p. 262) pointed out, this double usage applies also to the *phlocata* of the Balkans, a material often mistaken by travelers for a fleece (*ibid.* p. 259). The use of the tasseled material to cover couches, mentioned in the Greek sources which Heuzey quotes, is well illustrated by our relief No. 199 (Pl. 112 A) and by cylinder seals (e.g. Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder*, No. 430). Andrae (*op. cit.* p. 14) suggests garments of woven material with leaves of sedge fastened to it as being the most probable explanation.

by Heuzey<sup>31</sup> and strikingly executed in lapis lazuli and white shell in the case of the two goat statuettes from Ur<sup>32</sup> cited by Opitz (cf. p. 54, n. 30).

It is possible that the skirts with fringes were made of the same material as the tasseled skirts but worn with the smooth side outward, so that the tassels projected only along the lower edge or the vertical slit.<sup>33</sup> It is furthermore possible that our figure No. 7 (Pl. 17) and the figures on plaque No. 185 (Pl. 105) wear a garment consisting, at least in front, of loose tabs or strips reaching from girdle to lower edge, thereby allowing greater freedom to the legs. If this is indeed the case, we are reminded here of the inlaid figure of a man from Kish who drives a prisoner in front of him and has a part of his skirt tucked into his girdle<sup>34</sup>—a fashion shown also on cylinder seals belonging to Early Dynastic II, one of which was actually found in Shrine I of the Square Temple at Tell Asmar.<sup>35</sup> In all of these cases we get the impression, however, that the skirt consists, in its lower half, of loose strips all around—an interpretation which could apply also to the skirts of Nos. 21 and 24–26 (Pls. 35, 38, and 39 *A–B*). And yet, as we have seen, these skirts are connected through a number of intermediate stages with others that clearly consist of smooth material with merely a fringe at the lower edge.

The interpretation of these garments thus meets with the same difficulty as was encountered in the case of the plants held by some figures (see pp. 46 f.). Several methods have been suggested by which the material of the tasseled skirts could have been produced. It may have been a combination of weaving and knotting; it may have been the forerunner of the pile carpets of the east, but of thinner and more pliable texture. But all such attempts to discover a detailed actuality behind these stylizations are bound to be inconclusive. For the renderings of these and other details do not merely aim at verisimilitude, but in the hands of artists often develop, independently of their meaning, into pure design.

<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 260.

<sup>32</sup> Woolley, *The Royal Cemetery*, Pls. 87–89.

<sup>33</sup> So already Andrae, *op. cit.* p. 14.

<sup>34</sup> E. Mackay, *A Sumerian Palace and the "A" Cemetery at Kish, Mesopotamia* (Field Museum of Natural History, "Anthropology, Memoirs" I 2 [Chicago, 1929]) Pl. XXXV 2–3.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *OIC* No. 19, p. 31 and Fig. 33, lower right.

## VIII

### CATALOGUE OF SCULPTURES

Sculpture No.	Plate	Page	Description	Material*	Inlays
1	Frontispiece, 1-3, 5 A, 6 A, 25 C	3, 13, 15, 20-23, 26, 38, 40, 46, 52-53	Standing male figure holding cup; on front of base antithetical group of two couchant gazelles with plants across background; between them a bird with spread wings	Veined gypsum; hair and beard colored with bitumen	Eyeballs of shell; iris of black limestone; all fixed with bitumen
2	Frontispiece, 4, 5 B-C	3, 13, 20, 22-23, 31, 38, 51, 53-54	Standing female figure holding cup; base grooved to receive miniature figure of which legs only are preserved	Same	Same
3	Frontispiece, 7-8, 12 A, F, 13 G	3, 20, 22, 24, 26, 38, 52	Standing male figure holding cup; statue fitted with bitumen to separate base of white limestone	"	Eyeballs of yellow paste set in bitumen
4	Frontispiece, 6 B, 9-10, 12 B, E, 13 E	3, 20, 23, 25, 31, 38, 40, 52	Standing male figure	"	Eyeballs of shell set in bitumen; pupils of black limestone
5	11, 12 C-D	3, 20, 23- 24, 26, 38, 52	" " "	"	Eyeballs of shell set in bitumen; pupils of lapis lazuli
6	14	3, 20, 23- 24, 52	Standing male figure holding cup	Mottled gypsum; hair and beard colored with bitumen	Eyeballs of shell set in bitumen
7	15 A, 17	3, 20, 23- 24, 26, 52-53, 55	Standing male figure	Yellow limestone	One eyeball of shell
8	15 B, 16	3, 20, 24, 31, 51, 53-54	Standing female figure	" "	Eyeballs of shell
9	18-20, 24 A	3, 20-21, 23-24, 26, 31, 50, 52-53	Standing male figure; feet missing	White gypsum; hair, beard, and moustache colored with bitumen	Eyeballs of shell set in bitumen; one pupil of black limestone
10	Frontispiece, 21-23, 24 B, 25 A-B	3, 20-21, 23-24, 26-27, 40, 49, 52	Standing male figure; head and face clean-shaven	Veined gypsum	Eyeballs of shell set in bitumen; pupils of black limestone
11	43 C-D	3, 20-21, 24 38, 52	Standing male figure; feet missing	Limestone	—
12	13 F	20, 24	Male head	Gypsum	Eyeballs of shell set in bitumen
13	13 A	20, 24, 26	Fragment of male head	Alabaster	One eyeball of shell; pupil of black limestone

\* No absolute accuracy of terminology is claimed.

† B=Baghdad; C=Chicago. Oriental Institute Museum. Museum numbers are added if available.



## CATALOGUE OF SCULPTURES

57

Sculpture No.	Height (Centimeters)	Locus	Height above Datum Level or Depth as Indicated (Meters)	Building or Area	Field No.	Museum†	Remarks
1	72	D 17:9	31.85	Square Temple, Shrine II	As. 33:446	B	Probably cult figure of the god Abu
2	59	"	"	Same	As. 33:445	B	Probably cult figure of the mother goddess
3	48.5	"	"	"	As. 33:444	B	
4	55	"	"	"	As. 33:450	C A 12331	
5	48.5	"	"	"	As. 33:447	C A 12330	
6	41	"	"	"	As. 33:448	B	
7	34	"	"	"	As. 33:438	C A 12328	
8	34	"	"	"	As. 33:451	B	
9	29	"	"	"	As. 33:414	C A 12329	
10	40	"	"	"	As. 33:449	C A 12332	Probably figure of priest
11	23	"	"	"	As. 33:439	B	
12	5.7	D 17:6	"	Square Temple	As. 33:306	C A 12325	
13	12	E 17:20	"	Square Temple, Shrine III	As. 33:441	C A 12326a	

## SCULPTURE FROM TELL ASMAR AND KHAFĀJAH

Sculpture No.	Plate	Page	Description	Material*	Inlays
14	42 C-D	16, 24, 31, 50, 53	Standing male figure	Alabaster	————
15	43 A-B	50	Standing male figure, upper half	"	Lost
16	26-27	3-4, 11-12, 20, 25	Two fragments of kneeling figure; right half of upper part missing; lower part crushed; two small copper loops at back of girdle; top edge of head piece broken; traces of repairs	"	"
17	28, 30 A-B	26, 52	Standing male figure with plait wound round head; feet lost	Black stone with small white crystals	One eyeball of shell; pupil lost; the other eye restored
18	29, 30 C-D, 31	26, 52	Standing male figure; parts of shoulders, chest, flank, and elbows missing	Gray stone	Lost
19	32	26	Male head	" "	————
20	33-34	26, 32, 35, 52-53	Seated male figure	Limestone	Lost
21	35	13, 26, 52-53, 55	Standing male figure with decorated support	Yellow stone	————
22	36, 40 A-B	26-27, 49, 52	Standing male figure; feet lost	Limestone	One eyeball of shell
23	37	26, 38, 49, 52	Standing male figure; feet lost; head separate and fixed to body with bitumen; nose inserted separately and fixed with bitumen; separate head and nose indicate ancient repairs	"	Unpierced eyeballs of shell set in bitumen
24	38	26, 52, 55	Standing male figure; head and feet missing	"	————
25	39 A, 45 A-C	26, 28, 52, 55	Standing male figure; feet missing	"	Unpierced eyeballs of shell set in bitumen
26	39 B	25, 38, 52, 55	Fragment of standing male figure; lump of bitumen joining feet to body indicates ancient repair	"	————
27	40 C-E	26-27	Male head	"	One eyeball of shell

## CATALOGUE OF SCULPTURES

59

Sculp- ture No.	Height (Centimeters)	Locus	Height above Datum Level or Depth as Indicated (Meters)	Building or Area	Field No.	Museum†	Remarks
14	20	E 17:11	33.75	Single-Shrine Temple, forecourt	As. 33:75	C A 12322	
		feet found in D 17:9	31.85	Square Temple, Shrine II	As. 33:281		
15	13.1	D 17:9	31.85	Square Temple, Shrine II	As. 33:440	B	
16	21	"	"	Same	As. 33:443	B	
17	32 (to bot- tom of kilt)	R 42:2	39.00	Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 269	B I.M. 20083	Head and frag- ments of arms found in 1933; body bought in 1929. Probably a ruler
18	73.5	Q 42:3	39.67	" " "	Kh. IV 107	C A 12440	
19	12.5	K 46:8	0.30 down	Temple Oval near southwest gateway	Kh. I 536	B	
20	37	Q 42:3	39.67	Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 110	B	
21	20.3	Q 42:7	39.03	" " "	Kh. IV 243	B	
22	34	"	"	" " "	Kh. IV 299	C A 12413	Head found 1933; body bought
23	33	"	"	" " "	Kh. IV 251	B	
24	30.5	"	"	" " "	Kh. IV 248	C A 12436	
25	19.5	"	"	" " "	Kh. IV 295	C A 12345	
26	22	Q 42:3	39.67	" " "	Kh. IV 106	B	
27	6.4	Q 42:7	39.03	" " "	Kh. IV 298	C A 12432	

## SCULPTURE FROM TELL ASMAR AND KHAFĀJAH

Sculpture No.	Plate	Page	Description	Material*	Inlays
28	41	26	Male bust	Alabaster	Lost
29	42 A-B	—	Headless standing male figure	White veined gypsum	—
30	13 D	27	Male head	Limestone	Lost
31	13 B-C	27	" "	"	"
32	44 A-C	26-27, 32, 50	Standing male figure, beardless, with locks; supports on outer sides of legs; feet lost	"	"
33	Frontispiece, 44 D-F	27, 32, 50	Male figure, top half, beardless, with locks	Limestone; hair colored with bitumen	"
34	45 D-F	28, 30	Male figure, top half	Limestone	—
35	46 C-E	28, 52	Standing male figure; lower half of face missing	Limestone; hair and beard colored	One eyeball of shell set in bitumen; pupil filled with bitumen
36	47	28-29	Standing male figure	Gypsum	One unpierced eyeball of shell
37	48-50	7, 11, 28-29, 31	Standing male figure; inscription on right shoulder	Limestone	—
38	51, 61 I, N	28-29	Male bust	Gypsum	Lost
39	52-53, 95 A	16, 28-29, 38-39, 49, 51	Standing male figure, baldheaded, bearded	Alabaster	"
40	54	28-29	Male head	Limestone	Eyeballs of shell; one pupil of lapis lazuli
41	55	28-29	" "	"	One eyeball of shell set in bitumen; fragments of lapis lazuli on eyebrows
42	56 A-C	29-30	" "	Green stone	—

## CATALOGUE OF SCULPTURES

61

Sculpture No.	Height (Centimeters)	Locus	Height above Datum Level or Depth as Indicated (Meters)	Building or Area	Field No.	Museum†	Remarks
28	13	N 44:1	0.19 below sand	Temple Oval II	Kh. I 280	C A 9049	
29	14.5	E 17:11	33.75	Single-Shrine Temple, fore-court	As. 33:111	C A 12317	
30	10	—	—	—	—	C A 9303	Purchased
31	13	—	—	—	—	C A 9302	"
32	27	K 46:6	39.28	Temple Oval	Kh. IV 35	B	
33	10.9	D 17:6	31.85	Square Temple	As. 33:280	C A 12312	
34	10	Q 42:7	39.03	Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 249	C A 12340	
35	47	Q 42:7 (head found at Q 42:3)	"	" " "	Kh. IV 237	C A 12434	
36	29	Q 42:7	"	" " "	Kh. IV 261	B	
37	60	Q 42:3	39.67	" " "	Kh. IV 126	B	
38	9	Q 42:4	39.69	" " "	Kh. IV 151	C A 12387	Head found 1933; body bought
39	29	Q 42:3	39.67	" " "	Kh. IV 116	C A 12335	Statue found 1933; feet bought
40	5.5	N 44:1	0.35 under top of <i>libn</i>	Temple Oval II	Kh. I 219	C A 9057	
41	13	"	0.03 under sand layer	" " "	Kh. I 279	C A 9055	
42	7.4	K 45:3	39.42	Temple Oval I, above north-west gateway	Kh. II 100	B	

## SCULPTURE FROM TELL ASMAR AND KHAFĀJAH

Sculpture No.	Plate	Page	Description	Material*	Inlays
43	56 <i>D-E</i>	29	Male head	Alabaster	—
44	57 <i>A-B</i>	29, 38	" "	Limestone	Eyeballs of shell
45	57 <i>C-D</i>	—	Male head; left side missing	"	Lost
46	58 <i>A-B</i>	—	Male head	"	Eyeballs of shell set in bitumen; pupils of bitumen
47	58 <i>C</i>	29, 38	Fragment of male head	"	—
48	58 <i>D</i>	29, 38	Face fitted in antiquity to male head	"	—
49	59	29-30	Male head	Green stone	—
50	60 <i>A-C</i>	—	" "	Limestone	Eyeballs of shell set in bitumen
51	60 <i>G-H</i>	—	Male head; traces of bitumen on neck	"	Lost
52	60 <i>D-F</i>	—	Male head; traces of bitumen on top of head	"	"
53	60 <i>I-J</i>	—	Male head	"	"
54	61 <i>A-D</i>	16, 29, 38	Male head; separately inserted nose broken off	"	Eyeballs of shell; one iris of faience; all set in bitumen
55	61 <i>E-H</i>	29	Male head	"	Eyeballs of shell set in bitumen
56	61 <i>J-M</i>	—	Male torso	Shell	Lost
57	61 <i>O</i>	29	Male head	Alabaster or feldspar	"
58	61 <i>P-R</i>	25, 37	" "	Limestone	—
59	61 <i>S</i>	—	" "	"	Lost
60	46 <i>A-B</i>	25-26, 28, 50	" "	"	"
61	Frontispiece, 62 <i>A-D</i>	51	Female head	Limestone; bitumen on fringe of hair; hair at back of head modeled in bitumen	Strip of mother-of-pearl in parting of hair; eyes lost

## CATALOGUE OF SCULPTURES

63

Sculpture No.	Height (Centimeters)	Locus	Height above Datum Level or Depth as Indicated (Meters)	Building or Area	Field No.	Museum†	Remarks
43	7.5	Front of platform	Surface	Temple Oval III	Kh. III 1394	B	
44	9.1	R 42:1	39.08	Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 323	B	
45	13.5	K 46:6	—	Temple Oval III-II	Kh. IV 33	C A 12418	
46	4.5	Q 42:2	39.84	Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 53	B	
47	8	K 46:7	—	Temple Oval III	Kh. IV 87	C A 12409	
48	6	Q 42:4	—	Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 129	B	
49	10	J 45:3	38.33	Temple Oval III	Kh. IV 52	B	
50	4.5	M 45:2	0.45 down	Temple Oval II-I	Kh. I 168	B	
51	6	Q 42:7	39.21	Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 212	C A 12426	
52	6.5	M 44:5	0.45 down	Temple Oval II	Kh. I 158	C A 9056	
53	5.5	L 46:6	—	Temple Oval I	Kh. IV 16	B	
54	5.5	L 43:4	0.80 under top of wall	Temple Oval III, "House D," Room XVIII	Kh. I 594	B	
55	4.5	"	Same	Same	Kh. I 589	C A 9051	
56	3.4	"	—	"	Kh. I 595	C A 9053	
57	3	L 43:1	0.40 under top of wall	Temple Oval II, "House D"	Kh. I 604	C A 9054	
58	2.7	Q 42:7	38.01	Sin Temple VIII	Kh. IV 467	B	
59	3.2	L 43:4	0.90 under top of wall	Temple Oval III, "House D"	Kh. I 578	B	
60	9.5	Q 42:7	38.60	Sin Temple VIII	Kh. IV 445	B	
61	5	D 17:6	31.85	Square Temple	As. 33:307	B	

## 64 SCULPTURE FROM TELL ASMAR AND KHAFĀJAH

Sculpture No.	Plate	Page	Description	Material*	Inlays
62	62 <i>E</i>	7, 16, 29	Male head	Limestone	Lost
63	62 <i>F-G</i>	7, 16, 29	" "	"	_____
64	62 <i>H-I</i>	28	" "	"	Lost
65	62 <i>J-K</i>	---	" "	"	"
66	62 <i>L-N</i>	7, 16, 31	Female head	"	"
67	63 <i>A-B</i>	7, 16, 29	Standing male figure; badly damaged	Gypsum	"
68	63 <i>C-D</i>	7, 16	Headless standing female figure	"	_____
69	64 <i>A</i>	32	Headless standing male figure; one leg and both feet missing	Limestone	_____
70	64 <i>B</i>	32	Fragment of standing male figure; head and body above waist as well as legs and feet missing	"	_____
71	64 <i>C</i>	32	Headless standing male figure; legs and feet missing	"	_____
72	64 <i>D</i>	32	Lower half of male figure	"	_____
73	64 <i>E</i>	32	Same	"	_____
75	64 <i>F</i>	32	Skirt	"	_____
76	64 <i>G-H</i>	32	Headless female statue	"	_____
77	64 <i>I-K</i>	28, 32	Standing male figure; one foot and part of base and back pillar broken away	"	_____
78	65-66	32, 46	Skirt of seated figure	"	_____
79	67 <i>A</i>	32, 35, 46	Fragment of seated female figure	"	_____
80	67 <i>B</i>	32, 35	Headless seated female figure holding cup and plant; right arm and feet missing	"	_____
81	67 <i>C</i>	32, 35	Headless standing female figure	"	_____
82	67 <i>D</i>	32, 35	Headless seated female figure holding plant; lower legs and feet missing	"	_____
83	67 <i>E</i>	25, 32, 35	Headless seated statue	"	_____
84	67 <i>F-G</i>	32, 35, 46	Headless seated female statue holding cup and plant	"	_____



## CATALOGUE OF SCULPTURES

65

Sculp- ture No.	Height (Centimeters)	Locus	Height above Datum Level or Depth as Indicated (Meters)	Building or Area	Field No.	Museum†	Remarks
62	3.7	D 17:12	35.00	Single-Shrine Temple	As. 33: 500	B	
63	3.8	D 17:8	32.90	Same	As. 33:200	B	
64	5.5	—	—	—	—	C A 9304	Purchased
65	4.2	—	—	—	—	C A 9305	"
66	5.7	D 17:8	32.30	Single-Shrine Temple	As. 33:137	C A12326	
67	25	E 17:11	33.75	Same	As. 33:77	B	
68	28	"	"	"	As. 33:110	C A 12327	
69	34.5	Q 45:4	41.25	Small Shrine	Kh. III 1002	C A 11453	
70	31	"	"	" "	—	B	
71	31	"	"	" "	Kh. III 1008	B	
72	31	"	"	" "	Kh. III 1006	B	
73	15	"	"	" "	Kh. III 918	B	
75	14	"	"	" "	Kh. III 1007	B	
76	21	Q 42:7	39.03	Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 245	C A 12338	
77	13.3	"	41.25	Small Shrine	Kh. III 923	B	
78	31	Q 45:4	"	" "	Kh. III 1001	B	
79	12.8	K 45:2	39.43	Temple Oval II	Kh. II 138	B	
80	11.8	—	—	—	—	C A 9319	Purchased
81	11.2	—	—	—	—	C A 9810	"
82	9.5	—	—	—	—	C A 9374	"
83	10.3	R 42:2	38.77	Sin Temple VIII	Kh. IV 321	B	
84	4.9	M 47:1	—	Temple Oval III	Kh. II 244	B	

## SCULPTURE FROM TELL ASMAR AND KHAFĀJAH

Sculpture No.	Plate	Page	Description	Material*	Inlays
85	67 <i>H-I</i>	32, 35	Headless seated female statue holding cup and plant	Limestone	—
86	68 <i>A, D, G</i>	25, 32, 35	Lower half of seated statue	"	—
87	68 <i>B, E, H</i>	25, 32, 35	Lower part of seated female(?) statue	"	—
88	68 <i>C, F, I</i>	25, 32, 35	Headless seated man and woman, the man's right arm being around the woman's shoulder	"	—
89	69 <i>D</i>	32	Seated statue	"	—
90	69 <i>A-C, F</i>	2, 32	Pair of seated figures holding cups	"	—
91	69 <i>E</i>	32	Pair of seated figures in chariot; greater part of chariot missing	"	—
92	69 <i>G</i>	32	Squatting figure with load	"	—
93	69 <i>H</i>	32	Lower half of statue	"	—
94	69 <i>I</i>	32	Headless statue; part of base and feet missing	"	—
95	69 <i>J</i>	32	Same	"	—
96	70 <i>A</i>	32	Headless female statue; legs and feet missing	"	—
97	70 <i>F-H</i>	32	Headless figure seated on bundle of reeds(?); feet missing	"	—
98	70 <i>B-C</i>	32	Standing group; one figure headless, of the other only the lower part preserved	"	—
99	70 <i>D-E</i>	32, 46	Headless standing female statue holding cup and plant	"	—
100	70 <i>I-J</i>	32	Standing male statue; head, arms, legs, and feet missing	"	—
101	70 <i>K</i>	32	Headless standing female statue; legs and feet missing	"	—
102	71	11, 32	Headless standing male statue; base and feet badly damaged; inscription on right shoulder	"	—
102a	71a <i>A-B</i>	—	Male head	"	—
102b	71a <i>C-D</i>	11	Headless standing male statue; legs, feet, and base missing; inscription on left side of skirt	"	—
103	72-73	31, 51, 53	Standing female statue	"	Lost

## CATALOGUE OF SCULPTURES

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Sculpture No.	Height (Centimeters)	Locus	Height above Datum Level or Depth as Indicated (Meters)	Building or Area	Field No.	Museum†	Remarks
85	6	L 43:4	—	Temple Oval III, "House D"	Kh. I 617	C A 11452	
86	6.5	R 42:2	38.77	Sin Temple VIII	Kh. IV 356	B	
87	6.5	Q 42:2	38.75	" " "	Kh. IV 307	C A 12336	
88	7.3	R 42:2	38.77	" " "	Kh. IV 354	B	
89	10.7	Q 45:4	—	Small Shrine	Kh. III 920	C A 11458	
90	7.9	O 44:8	—	House area, walled quarter	Kh. III 179	C A 11625	
91	5.2	R 42:4	—	Sin Temple VIII, entrance	Kh. V 78	C A 17044	
92	7.3	Q 42:11	36.70	Sin Temple VII	Kh. V 209	B	
93	6.3	D 17:8	33.00	Square Temple, Shrine I	As. 33:268	B	
94	5.4	"	"	Same	As. 33:209	C A 12257	
95	7.5	"	"	"	As. 33:210	B	
96	9	D 17:9	31.85	Square Temple, Shrine II	As. 33:427	C A 12313	
97	7.3	D 17:15	31.20	Outside Square Temple	As. 33:630	B	
98	7.4	D 17:1	33.00	Single-Shrine Temple	As. 33:32	C A 17135	
99	13	E 17:11	33.75	Outside Single-Shrine Temple	As. 33:109	B	
100	20	—	—	—	—	C A 9295	Purchased
101	20	—	—	—	—	C A 9306	"
102	17.5	L 44	On top of but-tressed wall	Temple Oval II-I	Kh. I 428	B	
102a	6	P 42:7	—	Sin Temple VIII	Kh. IV 58	C A 12425	
102b	13	Q 42:7 (floor III)	—	Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 242	C A 12333	
103	41.5	Q 45:4	—	Small Shrine	Kh. III 1000	C A 11441	

## SCULPTURE FROM TELL ASMAR AND KHAFĀJAH

Sculpture No.	Plate	Page	Description	Material*	Inlays
104 +151	74, 90 <i>J</i> , 95 <i>B</i>	16, 31, 38, 51, 53	Standing female statue	Limestone	Lost
105	75	31, 38, 51, 53	“ “ “	“	Eyeballs of shell set in bitumen; pupils of bitumen
106	76	31, 51, 53	Standing female statue; flat body; right arm missing	“	Lost
107	77 <i>A-C</i>	31, 53	Headless standing female statue; flat body; feet, base, and part of back pillar missing	“	—
108	77 <i>D-F</i>	31, 53	Headless standing female statue; flat body; right arm, legs, and feet missing	“	—
109	78 <i>A-C</i>	31, 53	Headless standing female statue; legs and feet missing	“	—
110	78 <i>D-F</i>	31, 53	Headless standing female statue; legs and feet damaged	“	—
111	79 <i>A-C</i>	31, 51	Standing female statue; lower part of skirt in back and at right missing, as also legs and feet	“	Lost
112	79 <i>D-E</i> , 90 <i>C</i>	31, 51	Female head	Alabaster	Eyeballs of shell set in bitumen
113	80	31, 53	Headless standing female statue	Limestone	—
114	81 <i>A</i>	31, 46	Headless standing female statue holding plant; lower left part of skirt as well as legs and feet missing	“	—
115	81 <i>B</i>	31, 46	Headless standing female statue holding plant; legs and feet missing	“	—
116	82	22, 31, 51	Female head; nose missing	Limestone, with bitumen on hair	Eyeballs of shell; pupils of lapis lazuli
117	83, 90 <i>I</i>	31, 51	Female head	Limestone	One eyeball of shell
118	84 <i>A-C</i>	31, 51	Headless standing female statue; feet missing; restoration shown in <i>A</i> made in Baghdad at Iraq Museum	“	—
119	84 <i>F-G</i> , 90 <i>M</i>	31, 51	Female head	“	Lost

## CATALOGUE OF SCULPTURES

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Sculp- ture No.	Height (Centimeters)	Locus	Height above Datum Level or Depth as Indicated (Meters)	Building or Area	Field No.	Museum†	Remarks
104 +151	36.5	{ Q 42:7 (body) R 42:2 (head)	{ 39.03 39.00	Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 300	C A 12412	
105	21.6	Q 42:7	39.03	" " "	Kh. IV 250	C A 12346	
106	14.9	R 42:2	39.00	" " "	Kh. IV 303	B	
107	30.8	Q 42:7	39.03	" " "	Kh. IV 252	B	
108	24.5	R 42:2	"	" " "	Kh. IV 302	B	
109	23.4	Q 42:7	"	" " "	Kh. IV 253	B	
110	30.5	Q 42:3	38.94	" " "	Kh. IV 262	C A 12435	
111	20.9	Q 42:7	39.03	" " "	Kh. IV 247	B	
112	4.8	"	"	" " "	Kh. IV 288	B	
113	24	Q 42:3	39.67	" " "	Kh. IV 115	B	
114	13	R 42:2	38.77	Sin Temple VIII	Kh. IV 364	B	
115	11.3	"	"	" " "	Kh. IV 359	C A 12341	
116	8	Q 42:7	39.03	Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 365	C A 12431	
117	9.7	"	"	" " "	Kh. IV 294	B	
118	36.7	"	"	" " "	Kh. IV 240	B I.M. 19659	
119	11	Q 42:3	39.69	" " "	Kh. IV 152	B	

## SCULPTURE FROM TELL ASMAR AND KHAFĀJAH

Sculpture No.	Plate	Page	Description	Material*	Inlays
120	84 <i>D</i>	31	Fragment of female head	Alabaster	————
121	84 <i>H</i> , 94 <i>I</i>	38	Male head; back unfinished	Limestone	Lost
122	84 <i>E</i>	31	Headless female statue; right arm, lower legs, and feet missing	Gypsum	————
123	85 <i>A-B</i>	31, 51	Female head	Limestone	Eyeballs of shell; pupils of lapis lazuli
124	85 <i>C-D</i>	25, 31, 51	“ “	“	One eyeball of shell with pupil of lapis lazuli
125	85 <i>E-F</i> , 90 <i>D</i>	31, 51	“ “	“	Lost
126	85 <i>G-H</i> , 90 <i>H</i>	31, 51	“ “	“	One eyeball of shell with pupil of lapis lazuli; other eye restored?
127	85 <i>I-J</i>	25, 31, 51	“ “	“	Lost
128	85 <i>K-L</i> , 90 <i>K</i>	31, 51	“ “	Alabaster	Eyeballs of shell set in bitumen
129	86 <i>A-B</i>	31, 51	“ “	Limestone	Unpierced eyeballs of mother-of-pearl
130	86 <i>C-D</i> , 90 <i>A</i>	25, 31, 51	“ “	“	Lost
131	86 <i>E-H</i>	31, 51	“ “	“	————
132	86 <i>L-M</i>	31, 51	“ “	“	Lost
133	86 <i>I-K</i>	25, 31, 37, 51	“ “	“	————
134	87 <i>A-B</i> , 90 <i>N</i>	31, 51	“ “	“	Lost
135	87 <i>C-D</i> , 90 <i>O</i>	31, 51	“ “	“	“
136	87 <i>E-F</i> , 90 <i>F</i>	31, 37, 51	“ “	“	Unpierced eyeballs of shell set in bitumen
137	87 <i>G-H</i> , 90 <i>G</i>	31, 51	“ “	“	Eyeballs of shell set in bitumen

## CATALOGUE OF SCULPTURES

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Sculpture No.	Height (Centimeters)	Locus	Height above Datum Level or Depth as Indicated (Meters)	Building or Area	Field No.	Museum†	Remarks
120	5.6	Q 42:2	38.75	Sin Temple VIII	Kh. IV 312	B	
121	12.5	Q 45:4	—	Small Shrine	Kh. III 1017	C A 11454	
122	20.5	—	—	—	—	C A 9375	Purchased
123	6.9	Q 42:7	39.03	Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 366	C A 12430	
124	3.2	R 42:2	38.77	Sin Temple VIII	Kh. IV 349	B	
125	3.6	Q 42:7	39.03	Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 292	C A 12376	
126	3.9	"	"	" " "	Kh. IV 286	B	
127	4	R 42:2	38.77	Sin Temple VIII	Kh. IV 346	C A 12388	
128	7.4	Q 42:7	39.03	Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 293	B	
129	7	Q 43:11	39.67	" " "	Kh. IV 66	C A 12427	
130	7	R 42:2	38.77	Sin Temple VIII	Kh. IV 347	C A 12429	
131	4.9	L 43:4	0.75 under top of wall	Temple Oval III, "House D," Room XVIII	Kh. I 562	C A 9050	
132	4.9	Q 42:3	38.94	Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 265	B	
133	3.9	Q 42:7	38.60	Sin Temple VIII	Kh. IV 452	B	
134	5	R 42:2	39.60	Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 342	C A 12428	
135	5.2	Q 42:7	39.21	" " "	Kh. IV 214	B	
136	5	Q 42:7	39.03	" " "	Kh. IV 289	C A 12337	Upper part of body belonging to this head was found in R 42:3 but is not illustrated
137	5.5	R 42:2	39.00	" " "	Kh. IV 341	B	

## SCULPTURE FROM TELL ASMAR AND KHAFĀJAH

Sculp- ture No.	Plate	Page	Description	Material*	Inlays
138	88 A-C, 90 L	31, 51	Female head	Limestone	One eyeball of shell set in bitumen
139	88 D-F	25, 31, 51	" "	"	Eyeballs of shell set in bitumen
140	88 G-I	25, 31, 37	" "	"	————
141	88 J-K	31, 38	" "	"	Eyeballs of shell set in bitumen
142	88 L-O	31, 37	" "	"	Unpierced eyeballs of shell set in bitumen
143	89 A-B, 90 P	31	" "	"	Lost
144	89 C-F	31	" "	Alabaster	"
145	89 G-H	25, 31, 51	" "	Limestone	"
146	89 I-J	31, 51	" "	"	"
147	89 K-M	31	" "	"	————
148	89 N-P	25, 31	" "	"	Lost
149	90 B	31	" "	"	"
150	90 E	31	" "	"	————
151			Head belonging with No. 104, <i>q.v.</i>		
151a	91 A-C	—	Female head	Limestone	————
151b	91 D-F	—	" "	"	————
152	91 G-H	—	Upper half of a male figure	Alabaster	————
153	91 K-L	—	Male figure	Limestone	————
154	91 I-J	31	Headless fragment of nude female	Alabaster	————



## CATALOGUE OF SCULPTURES

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Sculpture No.	Height (Centimeters)	Locus	Height above Datum Level or Depth as Indicated (Meters)	Building or Area	Field No.	Museum†	Remarks
138	5.5	Q 42:4	39.67	Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 131	C A 12424	
139	3.5	Q 42:7	38.60	Sin Temple VIII	Kh. IV 453	B	
140	2.5	R 42:2	38.77	" " "	Kh. IV 418	B	
141	5.8	Q 42:3	38.94	Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 268	B	
142	4.1	L 43:4	0.85 under top of wall	Temple Oval III, "House D," Room XVIII	Kh. I 597	B	
143	6.7	R 42:4	—	Street outside Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 335	C A 12433	
144	4.7	L 43:4	0.40 under top of pedestal	Temple Oval, "House D," Room XVIII	Kh. I 586	C A 9052	
145	4.2	Q 42:7	38.60	Sin Temple VIII	Kh. IV 451	C A 12411	
146	3.7	"	39.21	Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 216	C A 12410	
147	3.8	R 42:1	39.08	" " "	Kh. IV 466	B	
148	3.7	Q 42:7	38.60	Sin Temple VIII	Kh. IV 450	C A 12404	
149	4.6	Q 42:3	38.94	Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 266	B	
150	6.4	Q 42:7	39.03	" " "	Kh. IV 287	B	
151							
151a	3.5	R 42:2	38.77	Sin Temple VIII	Kh. IV 352	C A 12389	
151b	3.5	"	"	" " "	Kh. IV 351	C A 12403	
152	7	N 44:1	0.33 under sand	Temple Oval II	Kh. I 255c	C A 9033	
153	9.7	M 44:2	On bitumen of round basin	Temple Oval II-I	Kh. I 85	C A 9019	
154	6.3	L 43:4	1.00 under top of wall	Temple Oval III, "House D"	Kh. I 602	C A 9018	

## SCULPTURE FROM TELL ASMAR AND KHAFĀJAH

Sculp- ture No.	Plate	Page	Description	Material*	Inlays
155	92 A-B	33, 42	Front part of a bull	Limestone	Eyeballs of shell set in bitumen; pupils of bitumen; mother-of-pearl triangle in forehead
156	92 C	33	Muzzle of a calf	Alabaster	—
157	92 D	33	Ram	Mottled green and black stone	—
158	92 E	33	Ram; stained with bitumen	Red limestone	—
159	93 A-B	2, 37	Trial piece	Alabaster	—
160	93 C-D	2	Headless standing figure holding plant and cup(?); trial piece	Limestone	—
161	94 A-D, H	37	Unfinished male head	"	—
162	94 E	—	Male head	"	Lost
163	94 F	37	Unfinished head	"	—
164	94 G	—	Male head	"	—
166	94 J	38	Back part of male head; lump of bitumen attached	"	—
167	94 K	38	Male head	"	Lost
168	95 C	—	Feet of a statue	"	—
169	96 A	38	Rectangular base of a statue with two dowel holes and spaces marked for feet; corners of base rounded	"	—
170	96 B	25, 38	Rectangular base of a statue with feet and legs; dowel hole in center	"	—
171	96 C	38	Rectangular base of a statue with feet and stub of back pillar; corners rounded	"	—
172	96 D	38	Rectangular base of a statue with feet and part of rectangular back pillar; corners rounded	"	—
173	96 E	38	Rectangular base of a statue with feet and stub of back pillar; numerous dowel holes indicate ancient repairs	"	—

## CATALOGUE OF SCULPTURES

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Sculpture No.	Dimensions (Centimeters)	Locus	Height above Datum Level or Depth as Indicated (Meters)	Building or Area	Field No.	Museum†	Remarks
155	9.5 high	D 17:8	32.00	Square Temple, Shrine I	As. 33:278	B	
156	6	" J 45:4	38.33	Temple Oval III	Kh. IV 86	C A 12381	
157	5	" Q 42:7	39.03	Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 280	B	
158	8.5	" —	—	—	—	C A 9299	Purchased
159	17	" J 21:1	Floor 4a	House area	As. 32:622	C A 11422	
160	9.2	" K 21:10	" "	" "	As. 32:812	B	
161	4.8	" Q 45:4	41.25	Small Shrine	Kh. III 971	C A 11442	
162	7.3	" "	"	" "	Kh. III 1019	B	
163	6.8	" "	"	" "	Kh. III 1004	C A 11589	
164	4.5	" "	"	" "	Kh. III 1012	B	
166	10.5	" "	"	" "	Kh. III 1018	C A 11455	
167	9	" "	"	" "	Kh. III 1021	B	
168	16×7	K 46:6	39.28	Temple Oval III-II	Kh. IV 29	B	
169	6×6×2.5	E 17:11	33.75	Single-Shrine Temple, fore-court	As. 33:734	B	
170	4.3×3×2.9	Q 42:2	38.75	Sin Temple VIII	Kh. IV 308	B	
171	3×2	E 17:11	33.75	Single-Shrine Temple, fore-court	As. 33:735	B	
172	5×4×2	"	"	Same	As. 33:736	B	
173	11×11.5×7	Q 42:3	39.67	Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 124	B	

## SCULPTURE FROM TELL ASMAR AND KHAFĀJAH

Sculpture No.	Plate	Page	Description	Material*	Inlays
174	96 <i>F</i>	38	Oval base of a statue with feet and part of semicircular back pillar	Limestone	————
175	96 <i>G</i>	38	Rectangular base of a statue with feet; corners rounded; dowel hole in center	"	————
176	96 <i>H</i>	38	Rectangular base of a statue with feet and part of a huge rectangular back pillar	"	————
177	97 <i>A</i>	7, 16	Rectangular base of a statue with feet and part of rectangular back pillar; corners of base rounded	"	————
178	97 <i>B</i>	7, 16	Round base of a statue with feet and rounded back pillar	"	————
179	97 <i>C</i>	7, 16	Fragment of round base of a statue with part of feet	"	————
180	97 <i>D-E</i>	7, 16	Fragment of base of a statue with one foot and part of back pillar; also fragment of arm	"	————
181	98-101	11-12, 41-42	Support in the shape of a nude male figure; claw for holding bowl(?) on head	Copper	————
182	102 <i>A-C</i> , 103	11-12, 41-42	Support in the shape of a nude male figure; claw on head broken off	"	————
183	102 <i>D-F</i>	11-12, 41-42	Same	"	————
184	104	16, 42	Bull's head	"	———— Eyeballs of shell; pupils of lapis lazuli; on forehead a triangular piece of mother-of-pearl; all set in bitumen
185	105	43-45, 47, 50, 53, 55	Square plaque with three rows of reliefs; square hole in center; lower right corner missing	Limestone	————
186	106	7, 43-45, 47	Square plaque with three rows of reliefs; square hole in center; lower left corner missing	"	————
187	107	43-45, 53	Rectangular plaque with three rows of reliefs; square hole in center; left half of bottom row missing	"	————
188	108 <i>A</i>	43-44, 47, 50	Three fragments of square plaque with three rows of reliefs	"	————

## CATALOGUE OF SCULPTURES

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Sculpture No.	Dimensions (Centimeters)	Locus	Height above Datum Level or Depth as Indicated (Meters)	Building or Area	Field No.	Museum†	Remarks
174	12 (diam.) ×8	Q 42:3	39.67	Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 125	B	
175	6×4×2.5	E 17:11	33.75	Single-Shrine Temple, forecourt	As. 33:737	B	
176	9.5×13×6	Q 42:3	39.67	Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 123	B	
177	13.5×20	D 17:2	35.00	Single-Shrine Temple	As. 32:1387	B	
178	21 (diam.)	D 17:1	34.50	Same	As. 32:1176	B	
179	25 (diam.)	E 17:12	"	"	As. 32:1213	B	
180	13.5×10.5 (base) 14×14 (arm)	D 17:2	35.00	"	As. 32:672	B	
181	55.5	M 47:1	0.25 deep near inner wall	Temple Oval III	Kh. I 351a	B	
182	41	"	Same	" " "	Kh. I 351b	C A 9270	
183	41.5	"	"	" " "	Kh. I 351c	C A 9271	
184	11.7	Q 42:3	39.70 (in wall)	Sin Temple IX	Kh. V 154	B	
185	20 square	R 42:2	39.00	" " "	Kh. IV 273	C A 12417	
186	22 square	D 17:1	34.50	Single-Shrine Temple and forecourt	As. 33:25	B	
187	32×29.5	K 43:3	—	Temple Oval III, "House D," Room IX	Kh. I 400	B	
188	23 square	—	—	Sin Temple VIII, entrance	Kh. V 35	B	

## SCULPTURE FROM TELL ASMAR AND KHAFĀJAH

Sculpture No.	Plate	Page	Description	Material*	Inlays
189	108 B	44, 46, 50	Five fragments of square plaque with three(?) rows of reliefs	Limestone	————
190	109 A	25, 43-44	Fragment of plaque with reliefs	"	————
191	109 B	25, 43-44	Fragment of lower right corner of plaque with reliefs	"	————
192	109 C	44, 53	Fragment of lower left corner of plaque with reliefs	"	————
193	109 D	43-44, 47, 53	Fragment of right half of plaque with three rows of reliefs; round hole in center	Green schist	————
194	110 A	43-44, 50	Three fragments of plaque with three rows of reliefs	Limestone	————
195	110 B	—	Fragment of plaque with rows of reliefs	"	————
196	110 C	45, 48	Fragments of a relief plaque	"	————
197	111 A	47	Four fragments of left half of rectangular plaque with three rows of reliefs; round hole in center	Bituminous stone	————
198	111 B	—	Fragment of relief plaque	Same	————
199	112 A	14, 48	Two fragments of a rectangular plaque with three rows of reliefs; round hole in center not original	Limestone	————
200	112 B	7, 43, 47	Square plaque with two figures in relief; square hole in center	"	Triangular pieces of shell set in bitumen border
201	114	43, 50	Fragments of square inscribed plaque with two figures in relief; square hole in center	"	————
202	115 A	35	Statue of goddess Bau from Ur		
203	115 B-C	27	Headless statue from Bismāyah	Limestone	————
204	115 F	37	Unfinished work of an Egyptian sculptor		
205	115 D	13	Statue of Ishtar		
206	115 E	12, 41	Statue from Umma	Alabaster	
207	113	45, 48	Fragments of inscribed stela	Limestone	————

## CATALOGUE OF SCULPTURES

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Sculpture No.	Dimensions (Centimeters)	Locus	Height above Datum Level or Depth as Indicated (Meters)	Building or Area	Field No.	Museum†	Remarks
189	About 28 square	{ Q 45:4 " " " "	41.25	Small Shrine	{ Kh. III 906 Kh. III 1009 Kh. III 1015	B	
		{ Q 42:7 K 42:2	39.03	Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 239		
			—	House area II	Kh. III 583		
190	10.5×8.5	R 42:2	38.77	Sin Temple VIII	Kh. IV 392	B	
191	8×5.7	"	"	" " "	Kh. IV 389	B	
192	13×9.5	Q 43:11	39.67	Sin Temple IX	Kh. IV 133	C A 12392	
193	18×10	N 45:3	40.35	Temple Oval III	Kh. II 245	C A 11587	
194	20.5×16.5 (complete)	{ D 17:7 D 17:9 " "	32.30 32.45 31.85	Square Temple Square Temple, Shrine II	{ As. 33:102 As. 33:350 As. 33:435	B	
195	23.6×13.5	L 43:8	1.10 under surface	Temple Oval III, "House D"	Kh. I 565	C A 9059	
196	16.6×6.5	M 45:2	—	Temple Oval II-I	Kh. I 126	C A 9273	
197	40.5×25 (complete)	{ K 44:2 K 45:4 M 44:4 M 44:5	—	Temple Oval III-II, at northwest gateway	{ Kh. III 1136 Kh. III 1170 Kh. I 195 Kh. I 632	B	
198	21×19	N 45:2	—	Temple Oval II	Kh. I 226	B	
199	28×22 (complete)	{ E 17:12 D 17:1	35.00 34.50	Single-Shrine Temple	{ As. 32:930 As. 32:1178	B	
200	14 square	D 17:1	36.60	Same	As. 32:800	C A 11410	
201	30×30	Various	—	Near Small Shrine	Kh. III 1207	B	
202						B	
203	7 high	—	—	—	—	C A 177	
204						Cairo	
205						Louvre	
206						B	
207	22.5×14.5	J 44:1	38.25	Temple Oval, near northwest gateway	Kh. II 51	B	





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Uruk, 7, 9, 30, 49; stela from —, 54; stone vessels from —, 18  
Van Buren, Mrs. E. Douglas, 3, 46, 50, 53  
vases, inscribed, 7; pottery —, 10; representation of —, 46;  
stone —, 3–4, 10, 41  
Vegetation, Lord of, 14  
Venus, 13  
vessel, spouted, 14  
vessels, 12, 14; copper —, 2, 15, 17; pottery —, 15; stone —,  
18, 41; *see also* vases  
victory plaques, 44–45  
vipera, 14  
virgin soil, 3, 7  
volute-shaped ears, 24, 26, 29; — fingers, 21, 23; — nose, 42  
votive offerings, 41, 47  
vultures, stela of, *see* “stela of the vultures”  
war, *see* battles; — chariots, *see* chariots  
al-Warkā, 9, 18; *see also* Uruk  
Watelin, L. C., 18, 41  
water level, 7  
“water place,” 10  
wax used in molding, 39  
weapons, 7, 14, 17, 47, 50  
weaving and knotting, 55  
Weber, O., 12, 54  
wells, 10  
whitewash, 10  
wickerwork represented in sculpture, 32  
wigs, 49–50  
Wolf, Walther, 40  
wood-carving, 39  
wooden chair, 32; — frame, 39; — peg, 39, *see also* dowel  
holes; — sound box, 42  
Woolley, C. L., 12, 14, 26, 30, 32, 35, 41–46, 55  
worshippers, 10–13, 22–24, 47, 49, 53  
wrestlers, 44, 46  
youths, 27, 50  
“Zottenrock,” 52





**PLATES**





1

CULT STATUE OF GOD ABU FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR

PLATE 2



1

HEAD OF CULT STATUE OF GOD ABU. DETAIL OF STATUE SHOWN ON PLATE 1



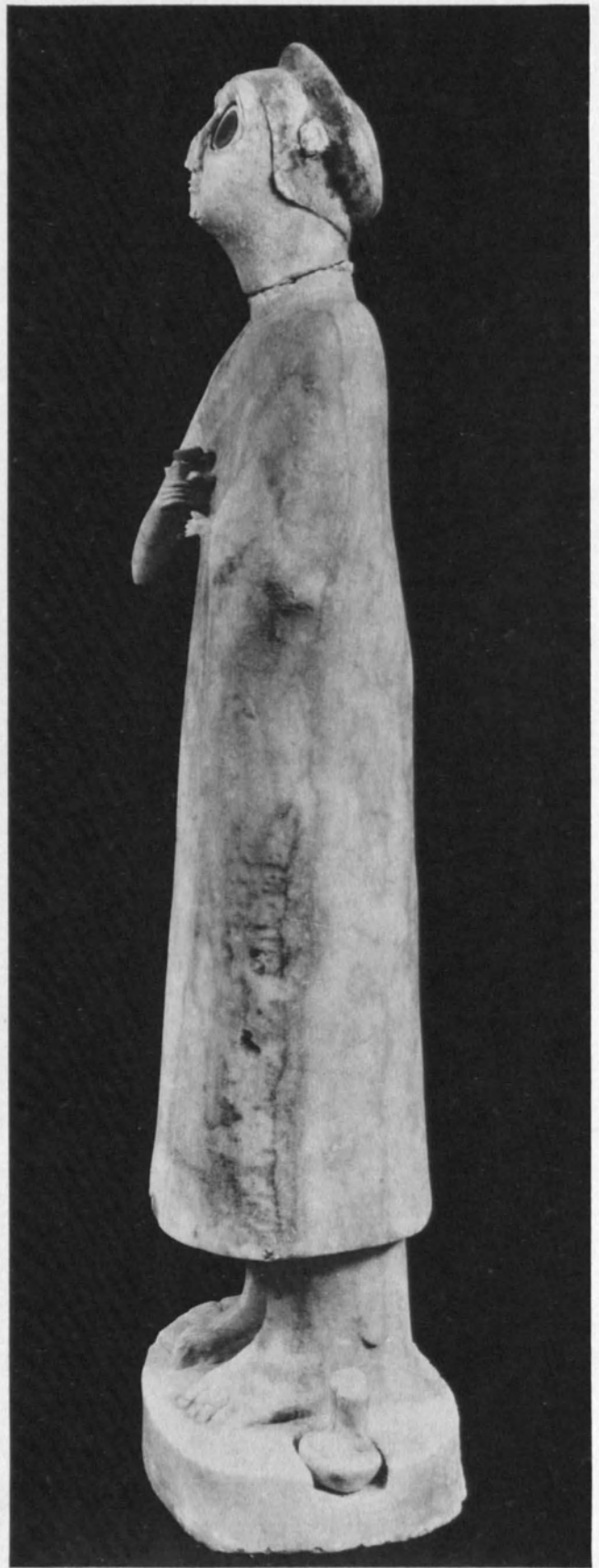
1

HEAD OF CULT STATUE OF GOD ABU. DETAIL OF STATUE SHOWN ON PLATE 1

PLATE 4



A



B

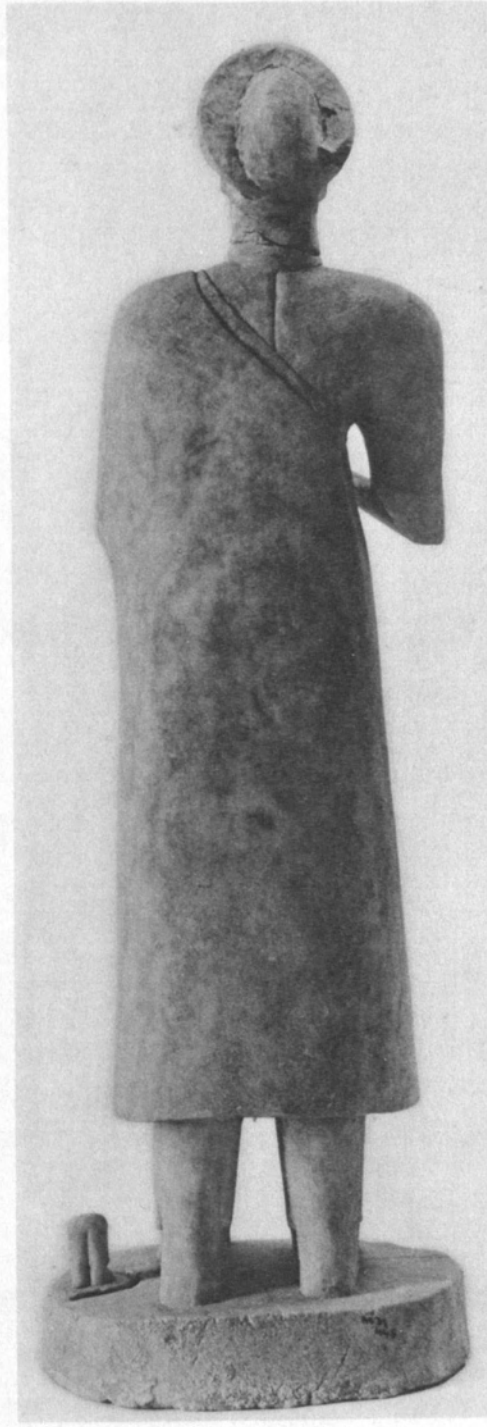
2

CULT STATUE OF MOTHER GODDESS FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR



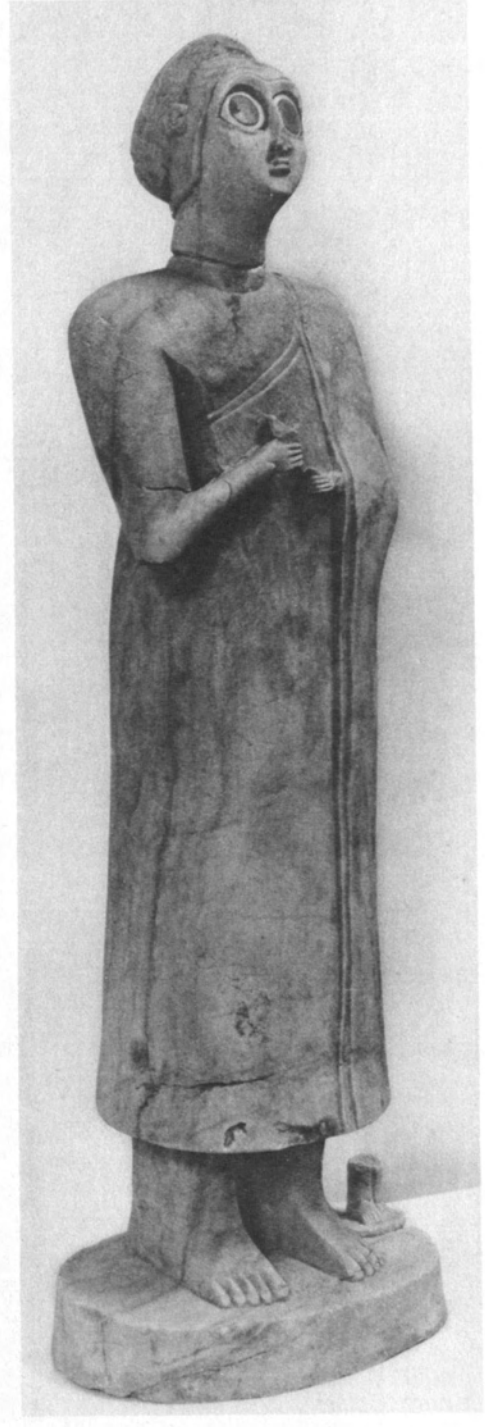
A

1



B

2



C

CULT STATUES OF GOD ABU AND OF MOTHER GODDESS FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR

PLATE 6



A

1



B

4

BASES OF STATUES NOS. 1 AND 4

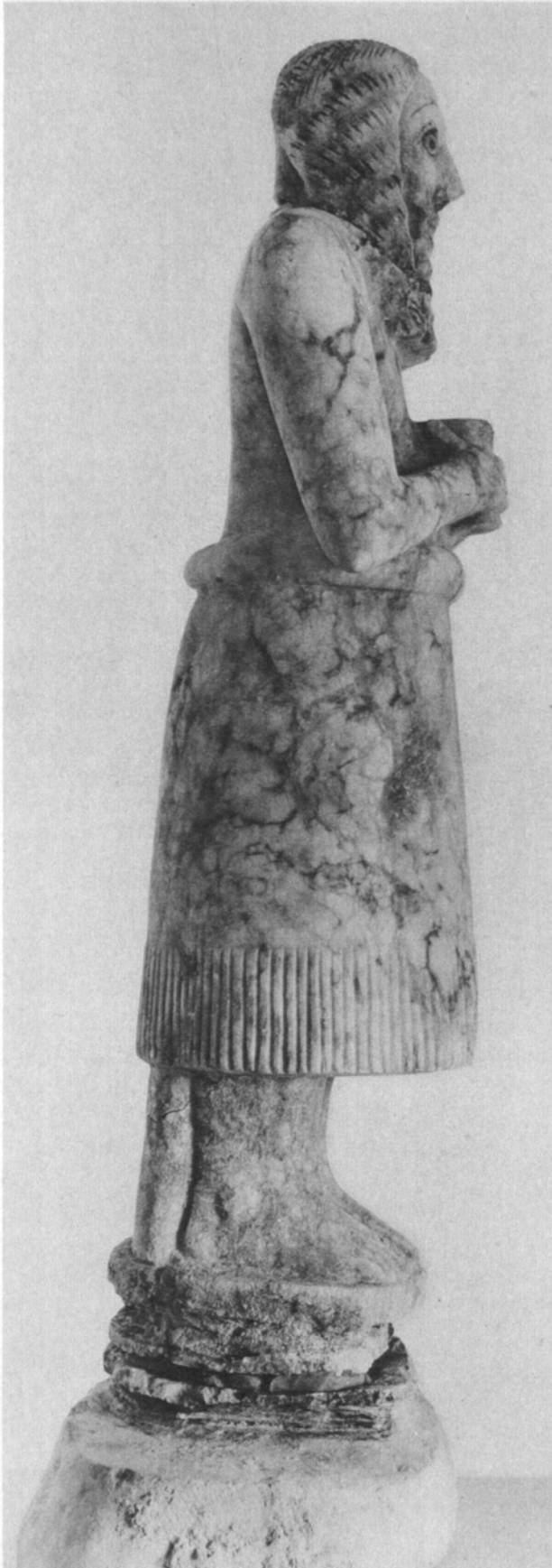




3

MALE STATUE FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR. DETAIL OF STATUE SHOWN ON PLATE 8

PLATE 8



A



B

3

MALE STATUE FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR



4

MALE STATUE FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR

PLATE 10



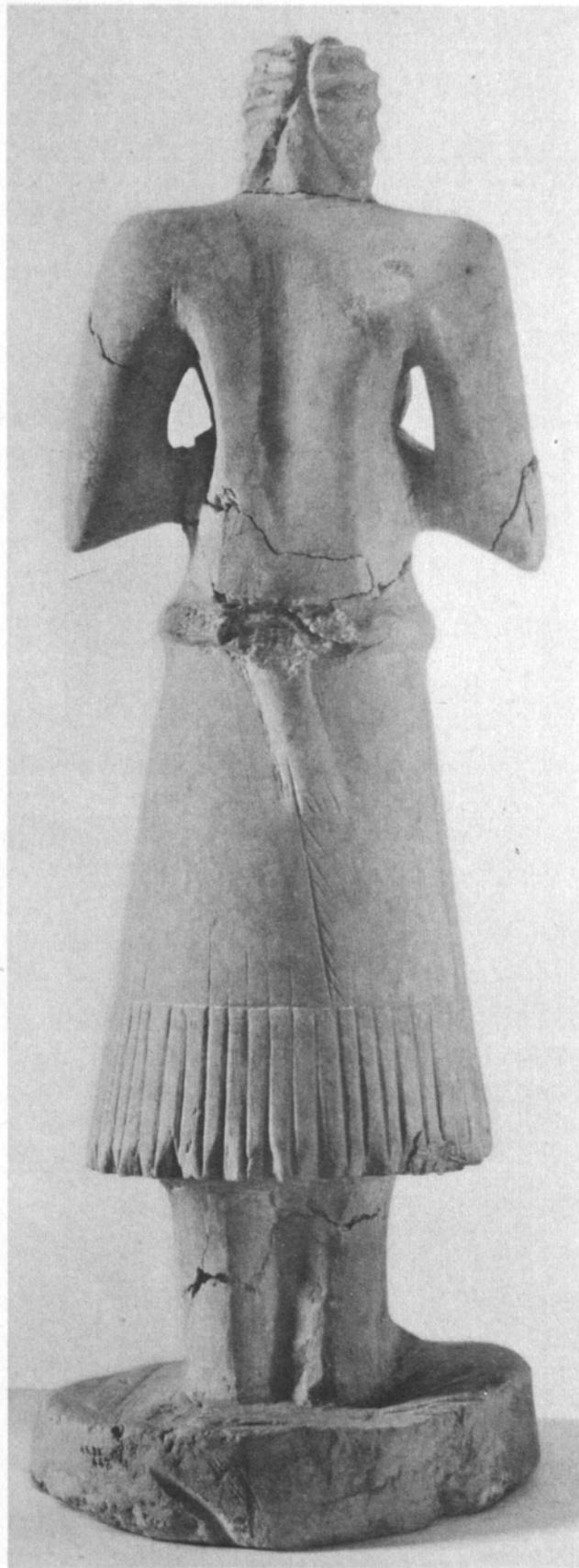
4

MALE STATUE FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR. DETAIL OF STATUE SHOWN ON PLATE 9



A

5



B

MALE STATUE FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR

PLATE 12



A 3 B 4 C 5

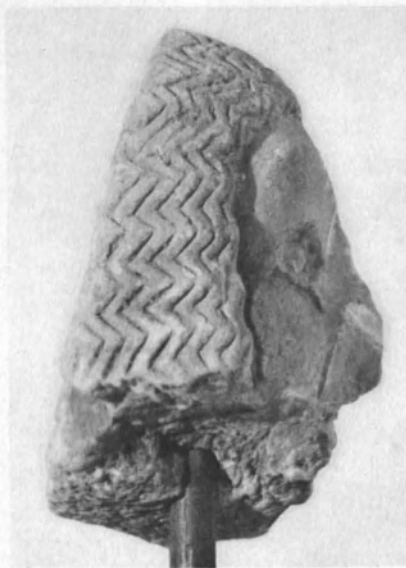


D 5 E 4 F 3

MALE STATUES FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR



A 13



B 31



C



E 4



D 30



G 3



F 12

SCULPTURES (Nos. 3, 4, 12, AND 13) FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR AND (Nos. 30-31) FROM KHAFĀJAH

PLATE 14



A



6

B

MALE STATUE FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR





A

7

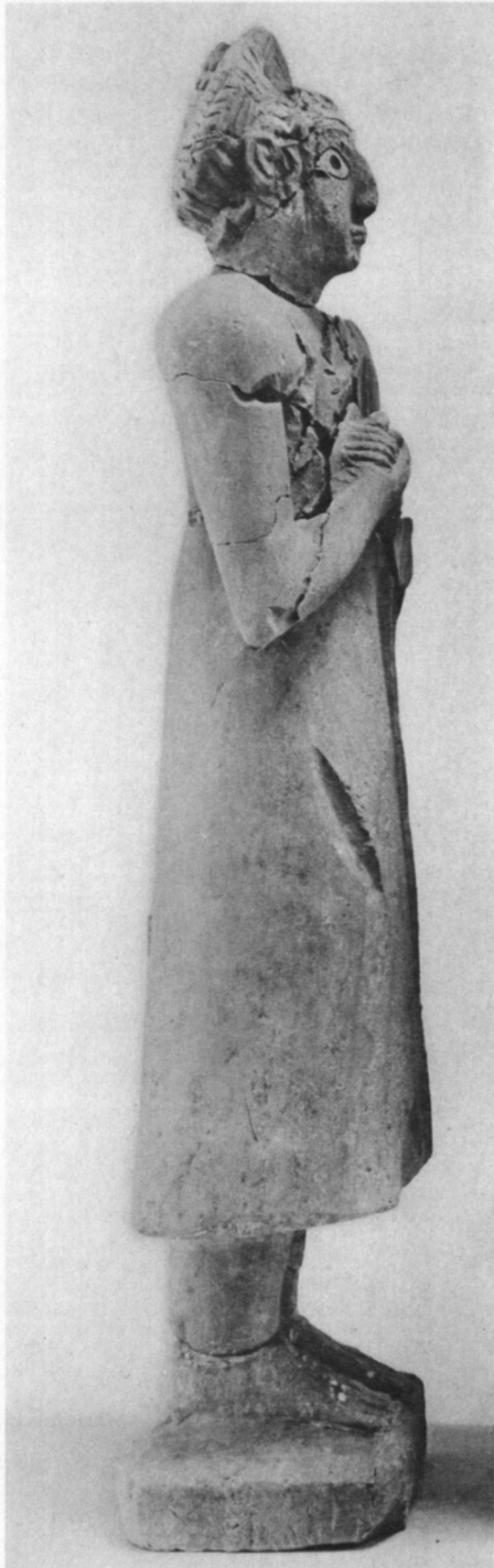


B

8

MALE AND FEMALE STATUES FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR

PLATE 16



A

8

B

FEMALE STATUE FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR



A

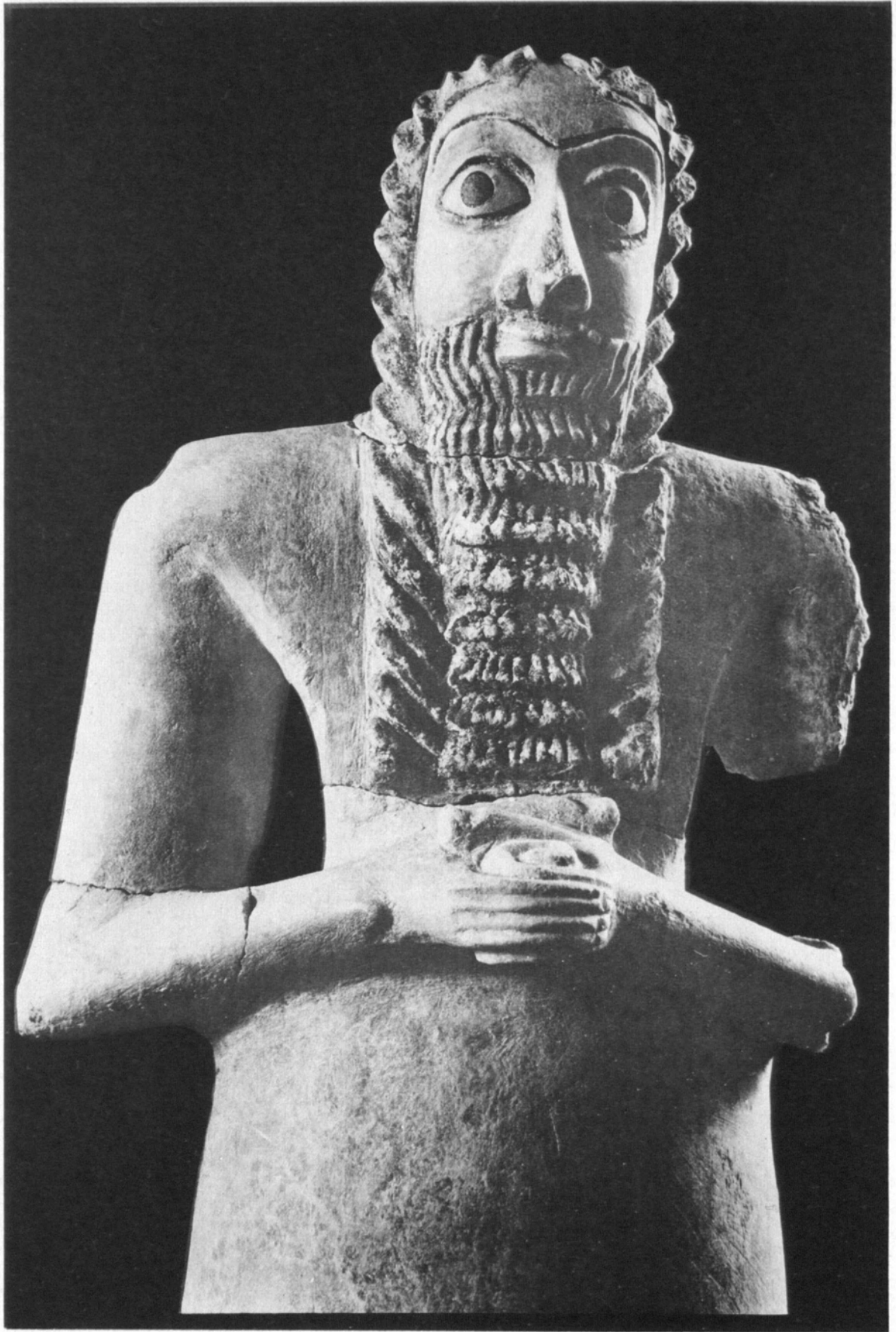
7



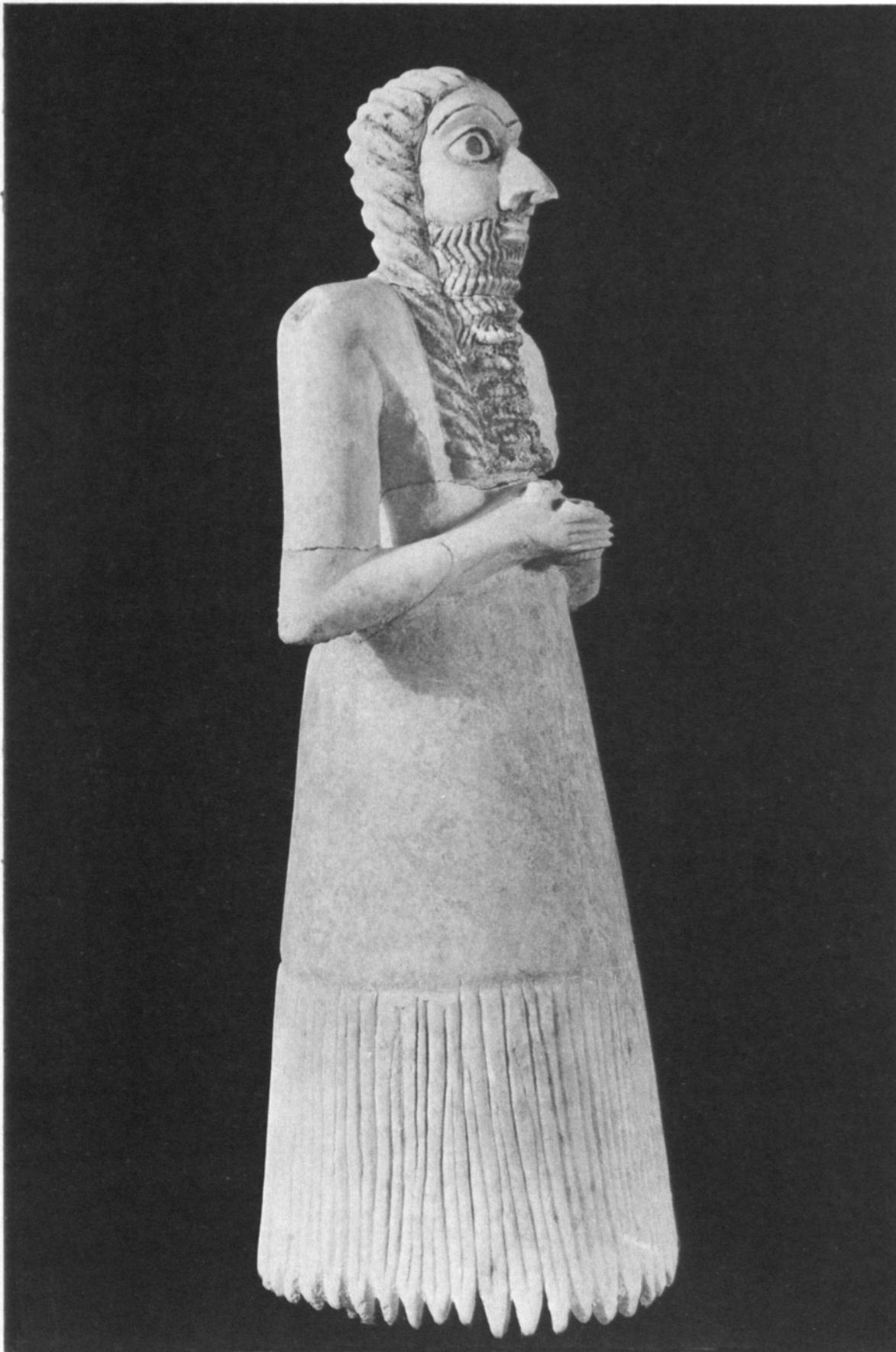
B

MALE STATUE FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR

PLATE 18

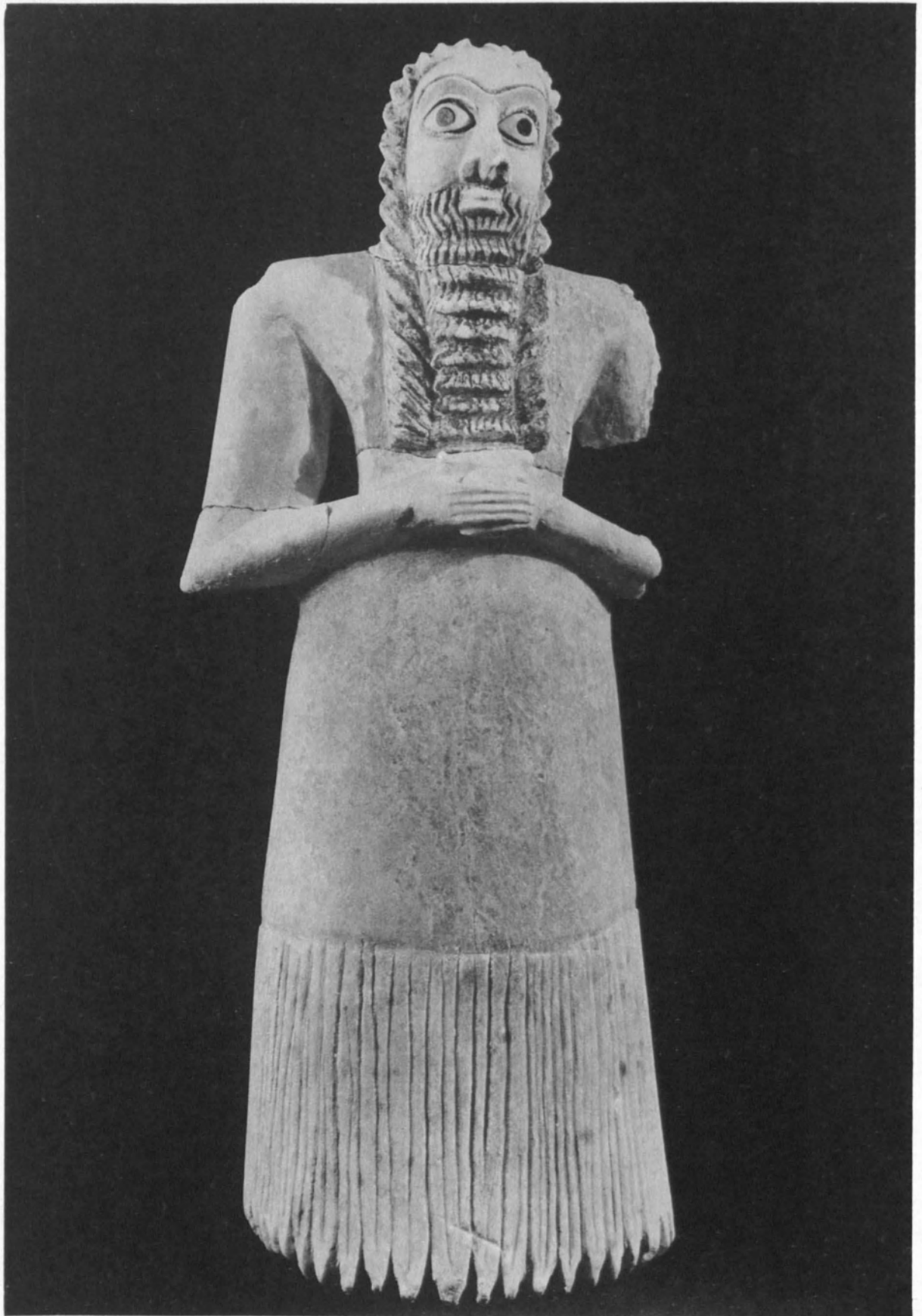


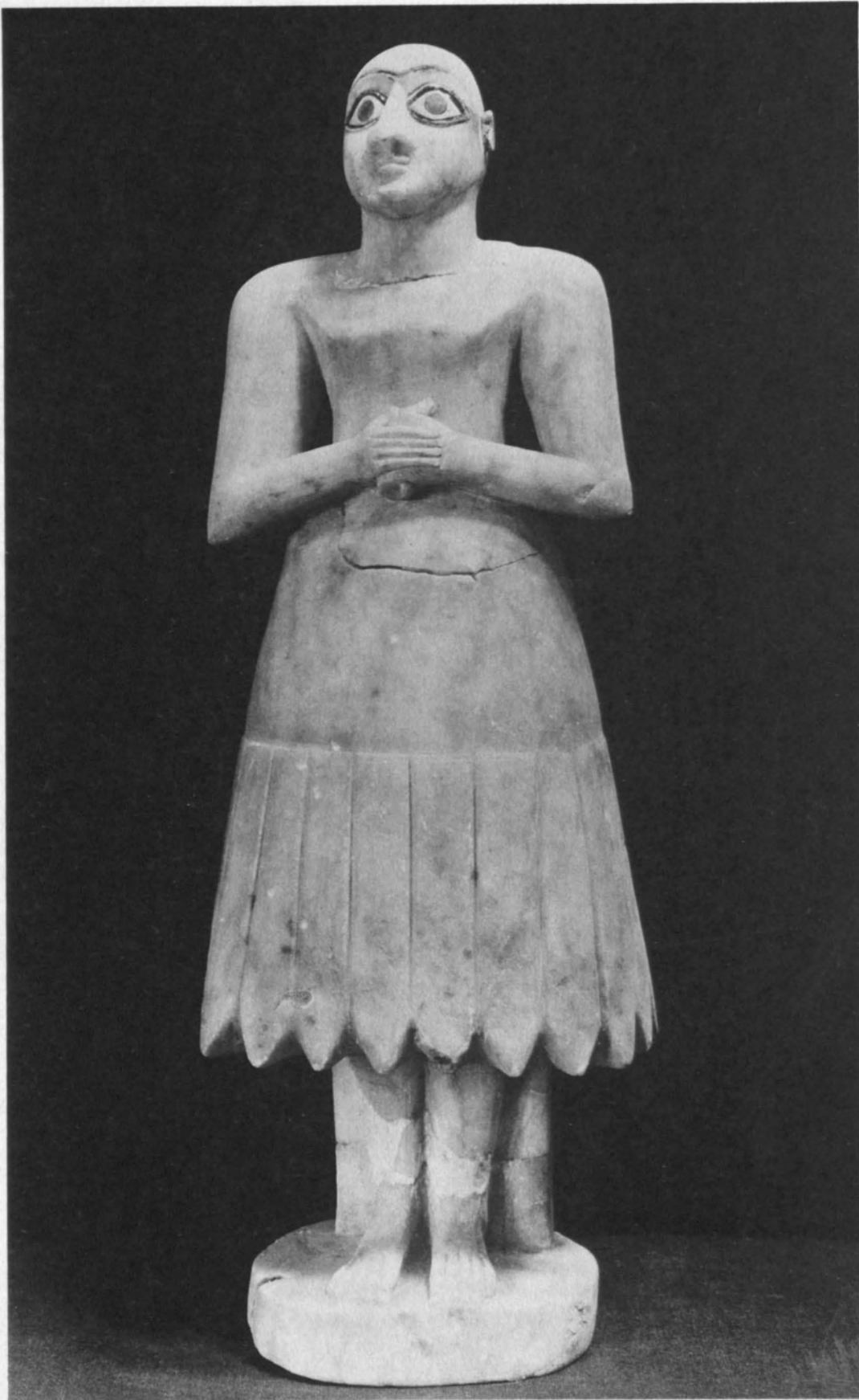
MALE STATUE FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR. DETAIL OF STATUE SHOWN ON PLATES 19 AND 20



9

MALE STATUE FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR





10

STATUE OF PRIEST(?) FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR



10

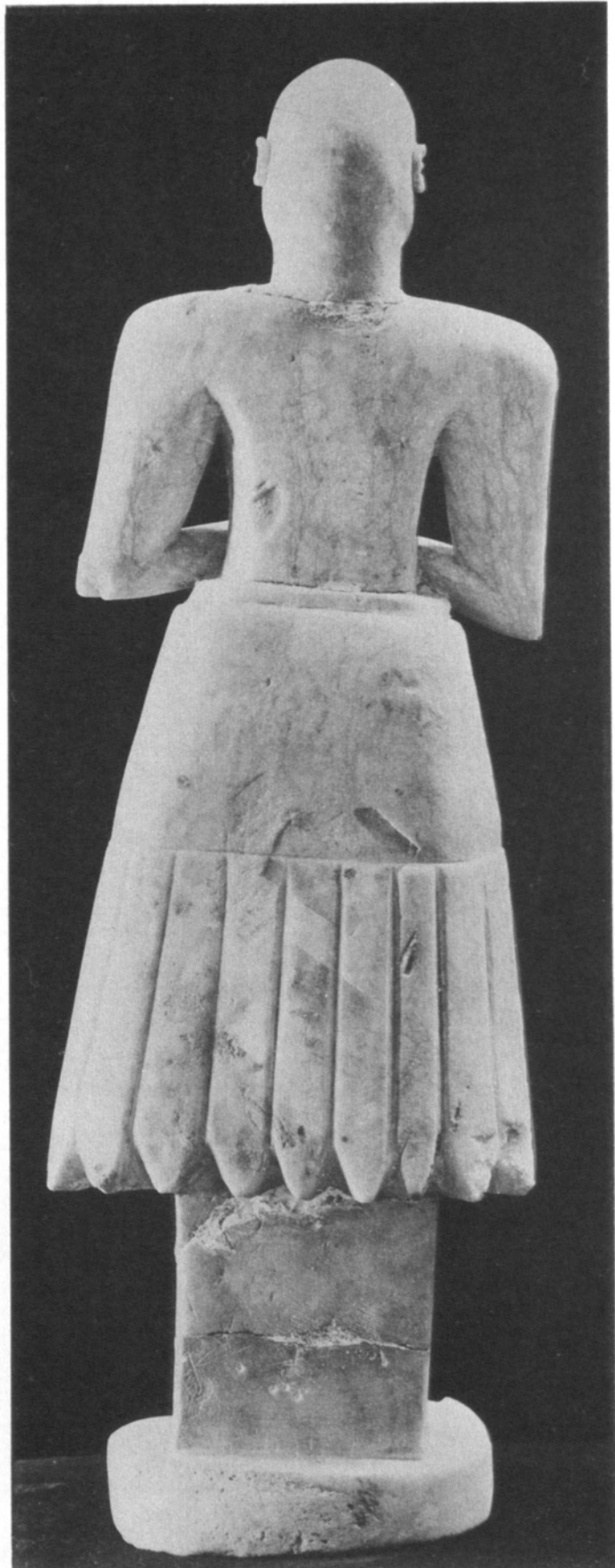
STATUE OF PRIEST(?) FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR





A

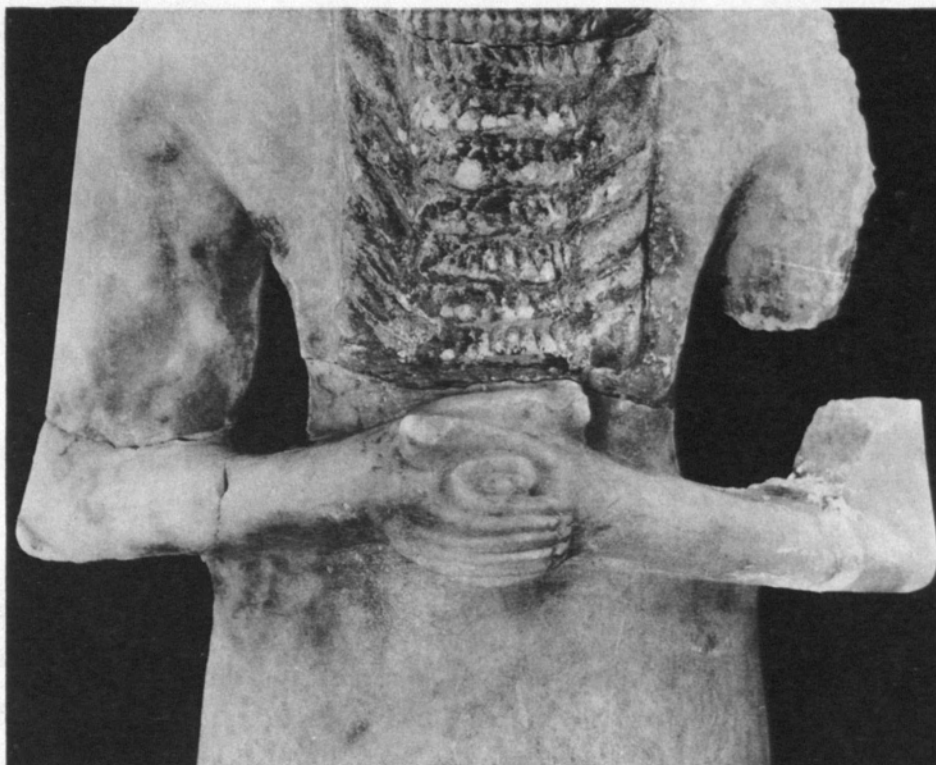
10



B

STATUE OF PRIEST(?) FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR

PLATE 24



A

9



B

10

MALE STATUES FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR. DETAILS OF STATUES SHOWN ON PLATES 18 AND 21

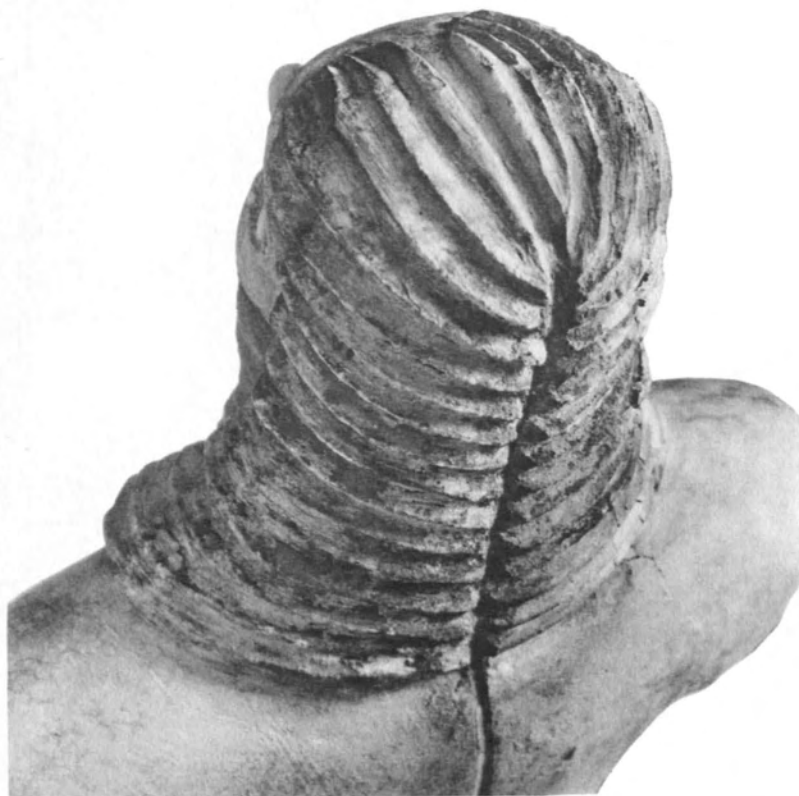


A

10



B



C

1

HEADS OF STATUES FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR. DETAILS OF STATUES SHOWN ON PLATES 1 AND 21-23

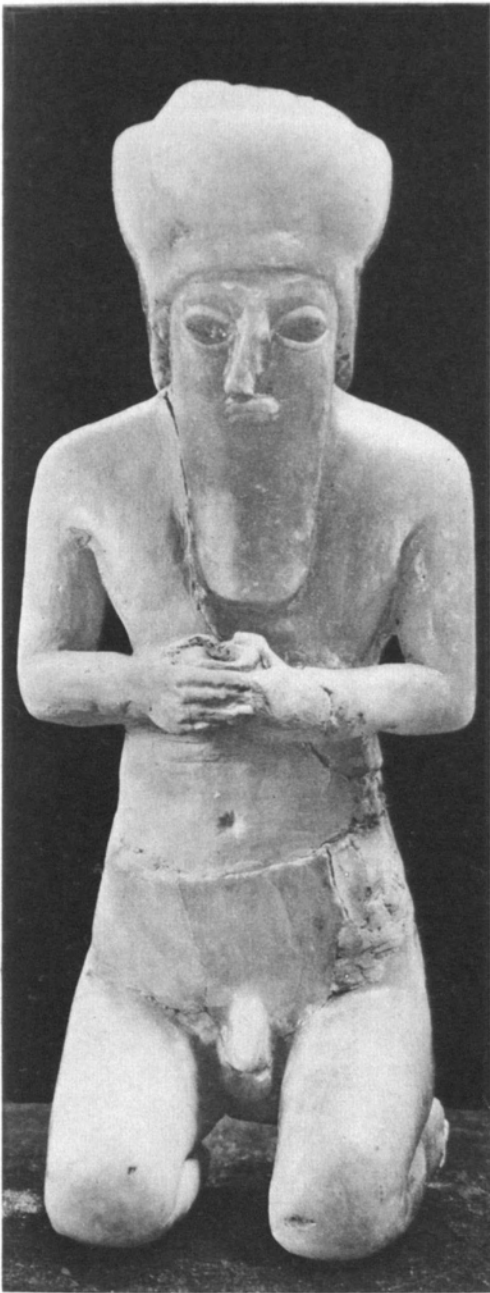


A

16

B

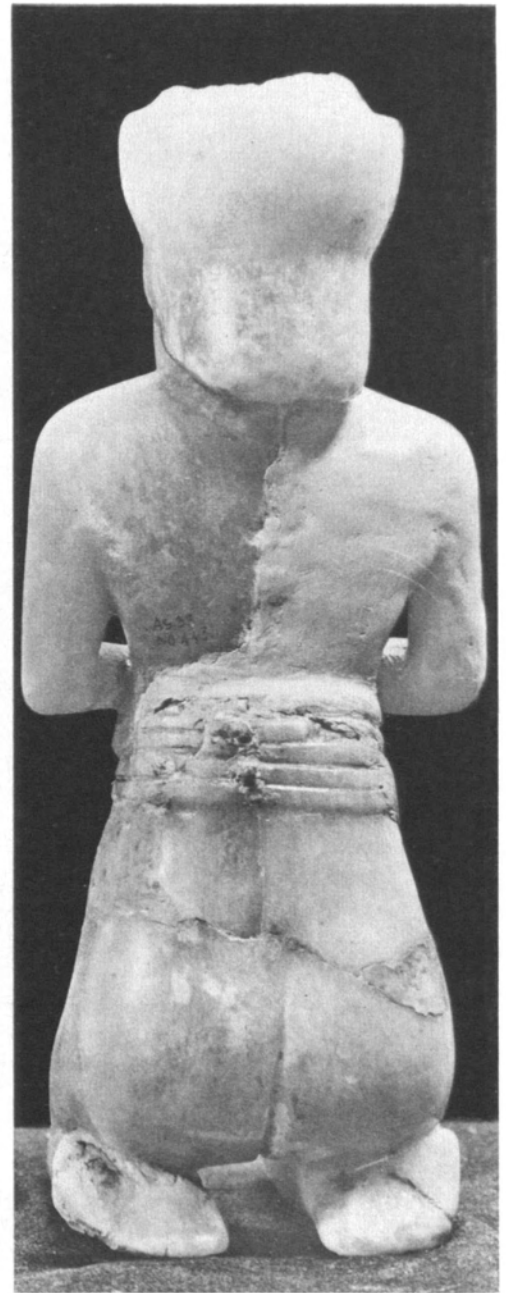
FRAGMENTS OF KNEELING FIGURE FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR



A



B



C

16

KNEELING FIGURE (RESTORED) FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR

PLATE 28



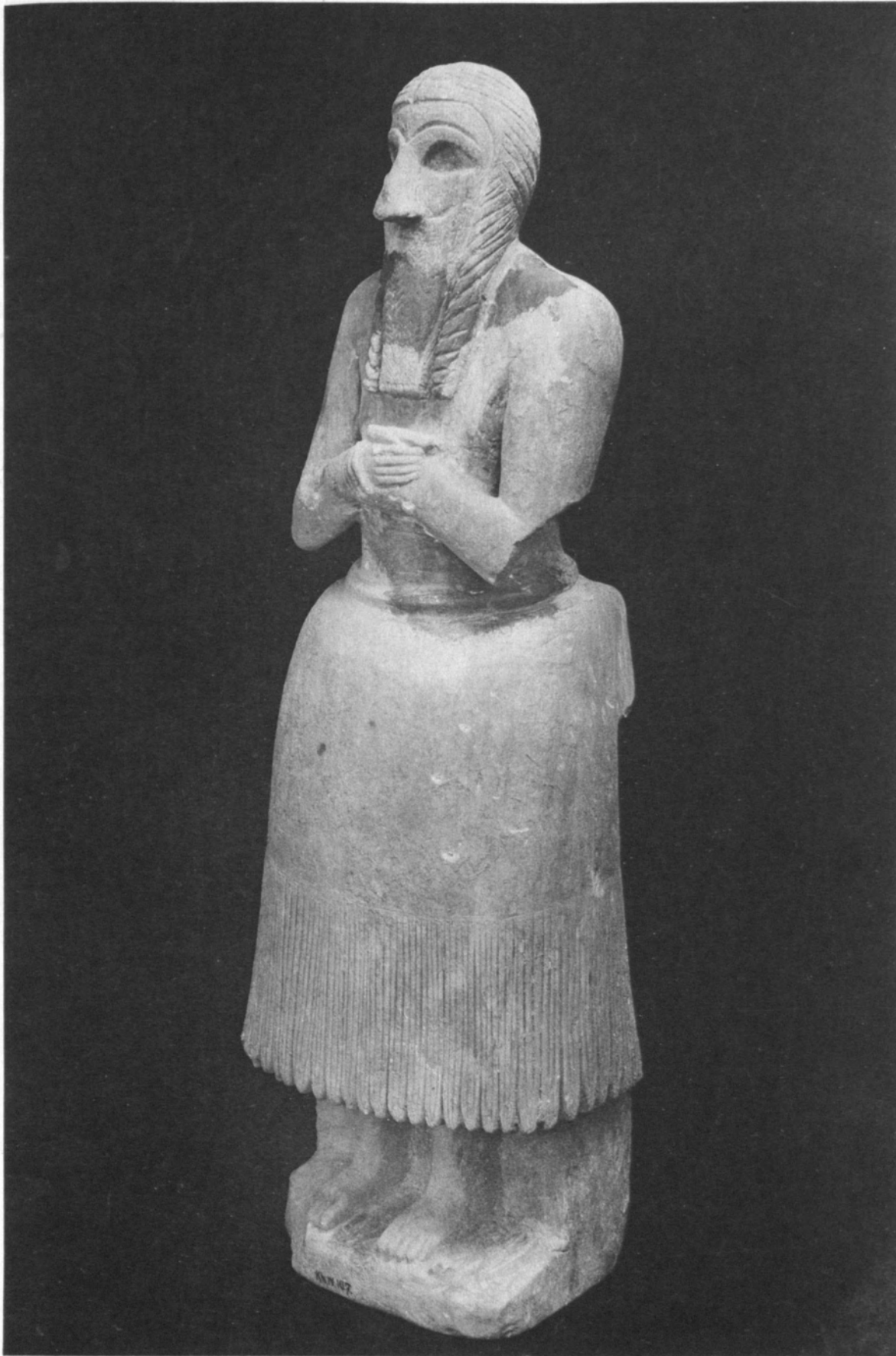
A



B

17

MALE STATUE FROM SIN TEMPLE AT KHAFĀJAH



18

MALE STATUE FROM SIN TEMPLE AT KHAFĀJAH

PLATE 30



A



B

17



C



D

18

HEADS OF MALE STATUES FROM SIN TEMPLE AT KHAFĀJAH. DETAILS OF STATUES SHOWN ON PLATES 28 AND 29





A



B

18



C

MALE STATUE FROM SIN TEMPLE AT KHAFĀJAH

PLATE 32



*B*

*A*

*C*

19

MALE HEAD FROM TEMPLE OVAL AT KHAFĀJAH



A

20

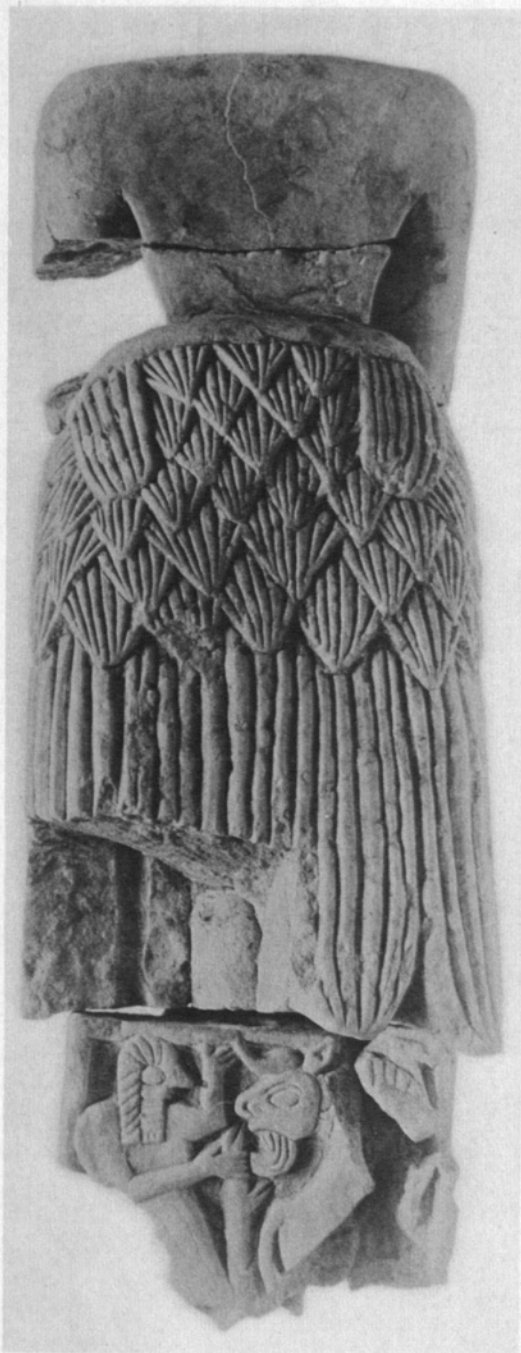


B

MALE STATUE FROM SIN TEMPLE AT KHAFĀJAH

PLATE 34

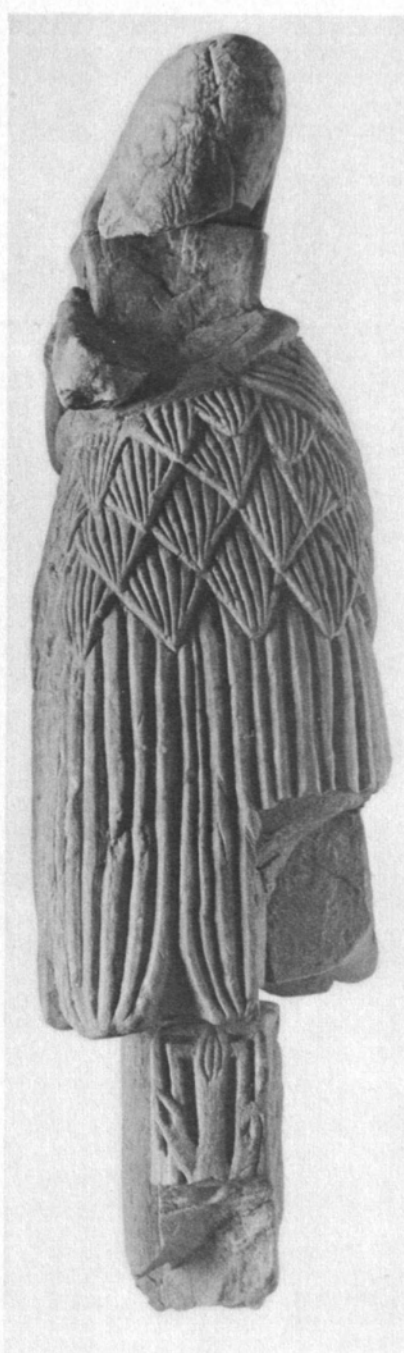




A



B



C

PLATE 36



22

MALE STATUE FROM SIN TEMPLE AT KHAFĀJAH



A



B



C

PLATE 38



A



B

24

MALE STATUE FROM SIN TEMPLE AT KHAFĀJAH





A

25



B

26

MALE STATUES FROM SIN TEMPLE AT KHAFĀJAH

PLATE 40



A



B

22



C



D



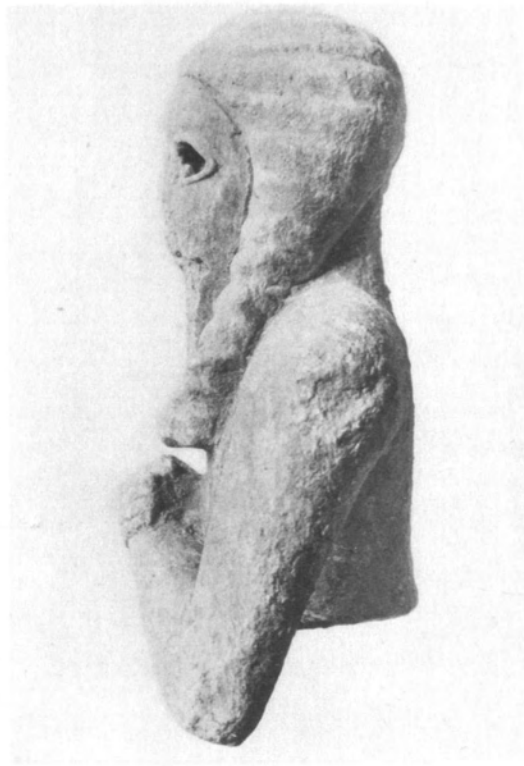
E

27

HEADS OF MALE STATUES FROM SIN TEMPLE AT KHAFĀJAH



A



B



C



D

PLATE 42



A



B

29



C



D

14



A



B

15



C



D

11

MALE STATUES FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR

PLATE 44



A



B  
32



C



D



E  
33



F

MALE STATUE (No. 32) FROM TEMPLE OVAL AT KHAFĀJAH AND FRAGMENTARY MALE STATUE (No. 33) FROM SQUARE TEMPLE AT TELL ASMAR



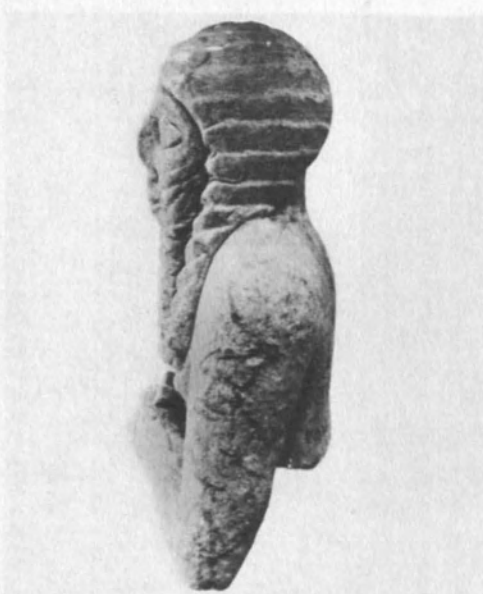
*A*



*D*



*B*



*E*



*C*

25



*F*

34

PLATE 46



A

60

B



C



D



E

35





A



B



C

36

MALE STATUE FROM SIN TEMPLE AT KHAFĀJAH



37

STATUE OF URKISAL FROM SIN TEMPLE AT KHAFĀJAH



A



B

37

STATUE OF URKISAL FROM SIN TEMPLE AT KHAFĀJAH

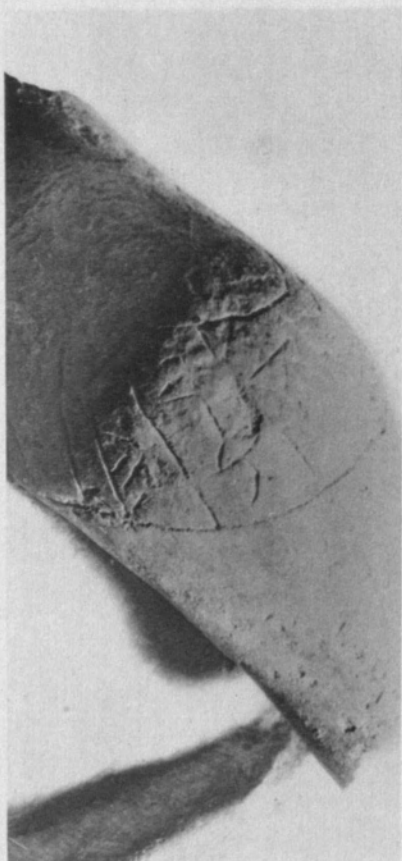
PLATE 50



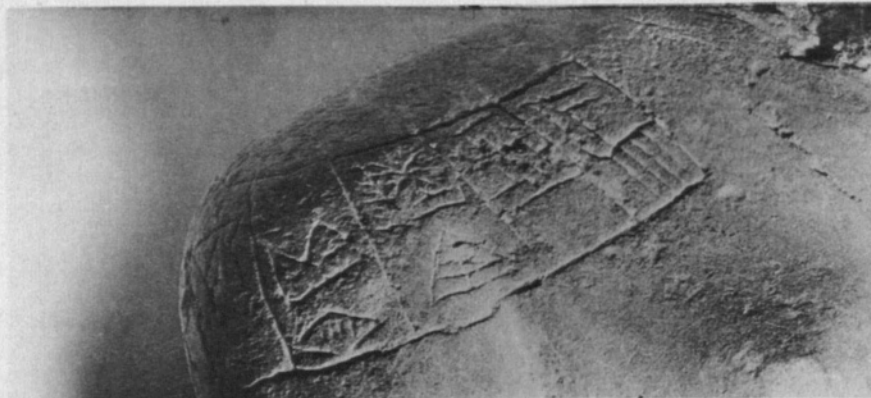
A



B



C



D



E



38

UPPER PART OF MALE STATUE FROM SIN TEMPLE AT KHAFĀJAH

PLATE 52



*A*



*B*



*C*

39

MALE STATUE FROM SIN TEMPLE AT KHAFĀJAH



A



B

PLATE 54



*A*



*B*



*C*



*D*



*E*



*F*





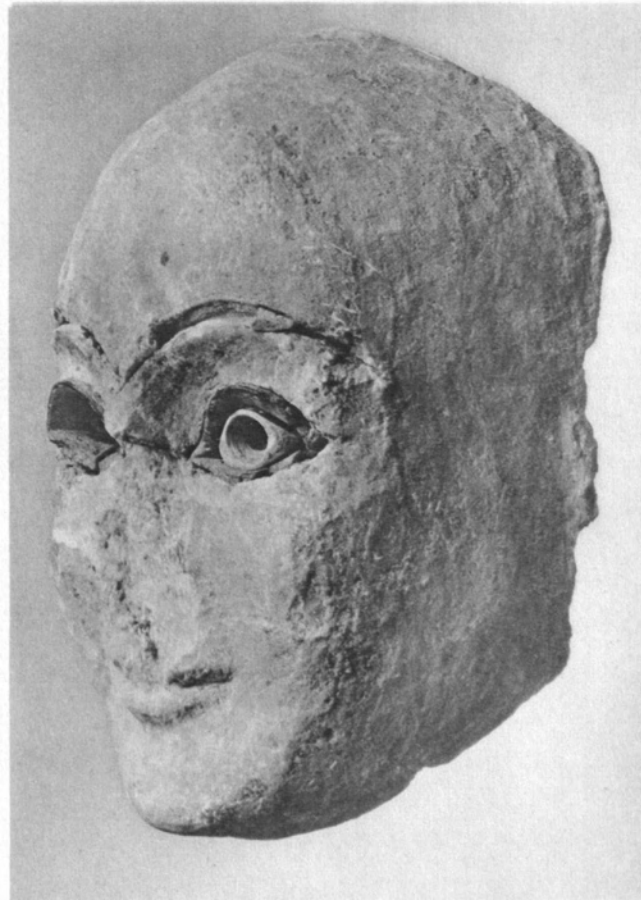
A



B



C



D

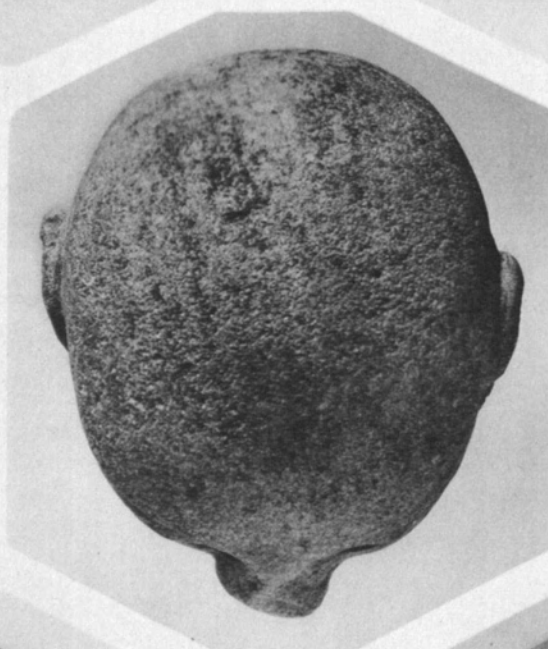
PLATE 56



A



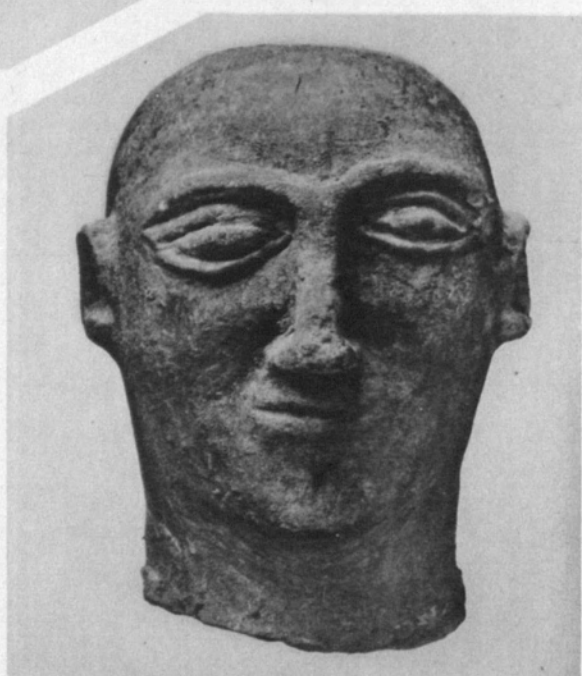
B



C  
42



D



E

43



A



B

44



C



D

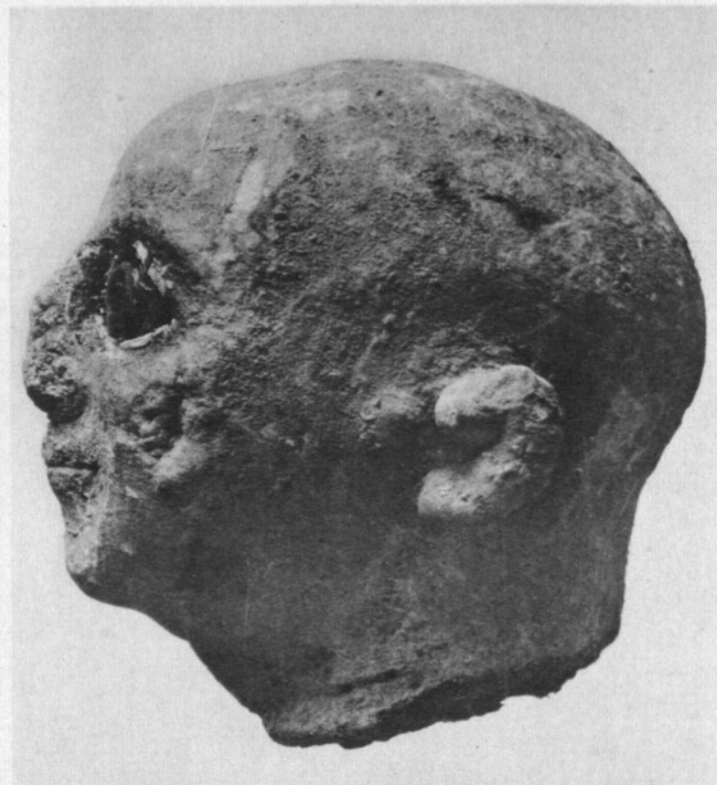
45

MALE HEADS FROM KHAFĀJAH: NO. 44 FROM SIN TEMPLE; NO. 45 FROM TEMPLE OVAL

PLATE 58



A



B

46



C

47



D

48

MALE HEADS AND FACE FROM KHAFĀJAH: NOS. 46 AND 48 FROM SIN TEMPLE; NO. 47 FROM TEMPLE OVAL



A



B



C

PLATE 60



A



B



C

50



D



E



F

52



G

51



H



I

53



J

MALE HEADS FROM KHAFĀJAH: NOS. 50 AND 52-53 FROM TEMPLE OVAL; NO. 51 FROM SIN TEMPLE



A



B



C



D

54



E



F



G



H

55



I 38



J



K



L



M



N 38

56



O 57



P



Q



R

58



S 59

MALE HEADS FROM KHAFĀJAH: NOS. 38 AND 58 FROM SIN TEMPLE;  
NOS. 54-57 AND 59 FROM TEMPLE OVAL, "HOUSE D"

PLATE 62



A

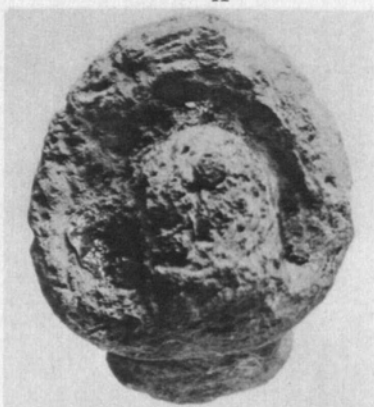


B



C

61



D

61



E

62



F

63



G



H

64



I



J

65



K



L



M

66



N

MALE AND FEMALE HEADS FROM TELL ASMAR: NO. 61 FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU; NOS. 62-63 AND 66 FROM SINGLE-SHRINE TEMPLE OF ABU; NOS. 64-65 PURCHASED





A



67

B



C

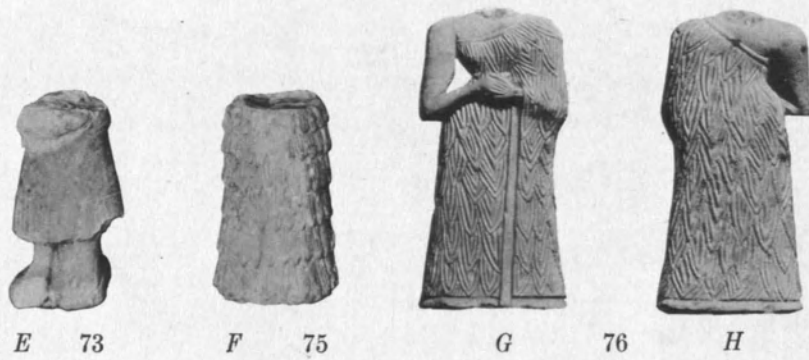
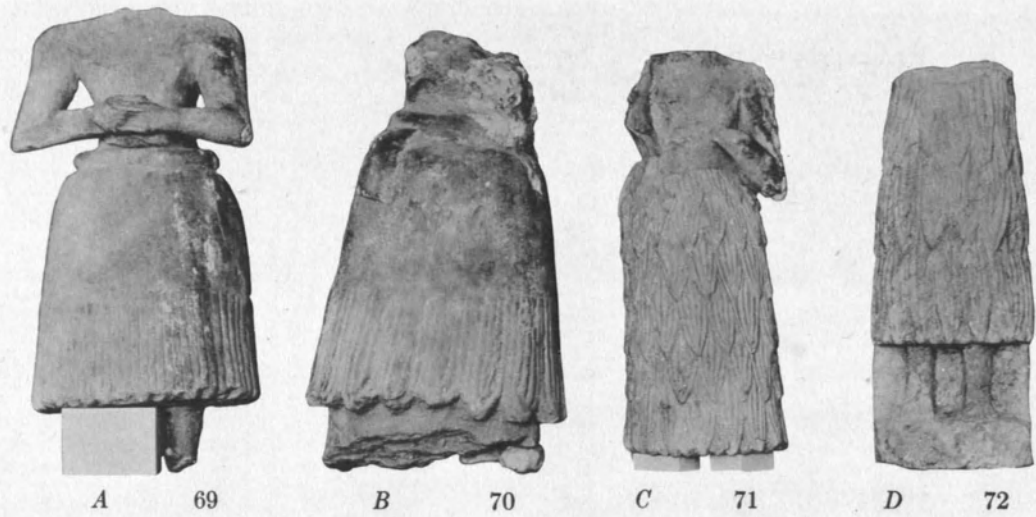


68

D

MALE AND FEMALE STATUES FROM SINGLE-SHRINE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR

PLATE 64



STATUE AND FRAGMENTS OF STATUES FROM KHAFĀJAH: NOS. 69-73, 75, AND 77 FROM SMALL SHRINE; NO. 76 FROM SIN TEMPLE



78

SKIRT OF SEATED FIGURE FROM SMALL SHRINE AT KHAFĀJAH





A

79



E

83



B

80



C

81



D

82



F

84



G



H

85



I

FRAGMENTARY STATUES FROM KHAFĀJAH: NOS. 79 AND 84-85 FROM TEMPLE OVAL; NO. 83 FROM SIN TEMPLE; NOS. 80-82 PURCHASED

PLATE 68



*A*



*B*



*C*



*D*



*E*



*F*



*G*

86



*H*

87



*I*

88



A



B  
90



C



D 89



E 91



F 90



G 92



H 93



I 94



J 95

STATUES FROM KHAFĀJAH (NO. 89 FROM SMALL SHRINE, NO. 90 FROM HOUSE AREA, AND NOS. 91-92 FROM SIN TEMPLE) AND (NOS. 93-95) FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR

PLATE 70



A 96



B 98



C



D 99



E



F



G

97



H



I

100



J

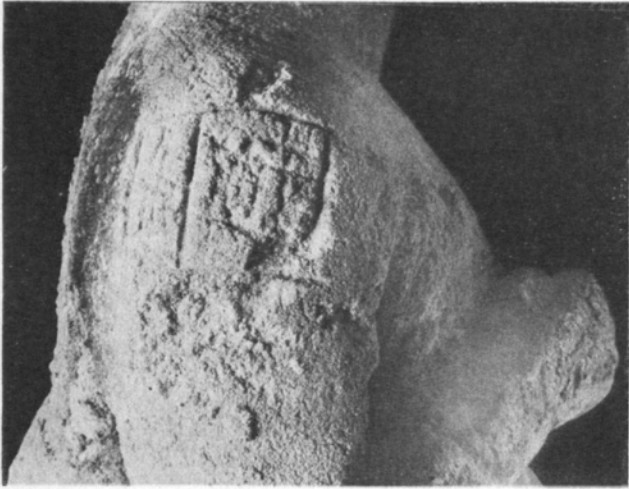


K

101

STATUES FROM TELL ASMAR AND (Nos. 100-101) FROM KHAFĀJAH(?): Nos. 96-97 FROM SQUARE TEMPLE AND Nos. 98-99 FROM SINGLE-SHRINE TEMPLE OF ABU; Nos. 100-101 PURCHASED





A



B



C



D

PLATE 71a



A



B

102a



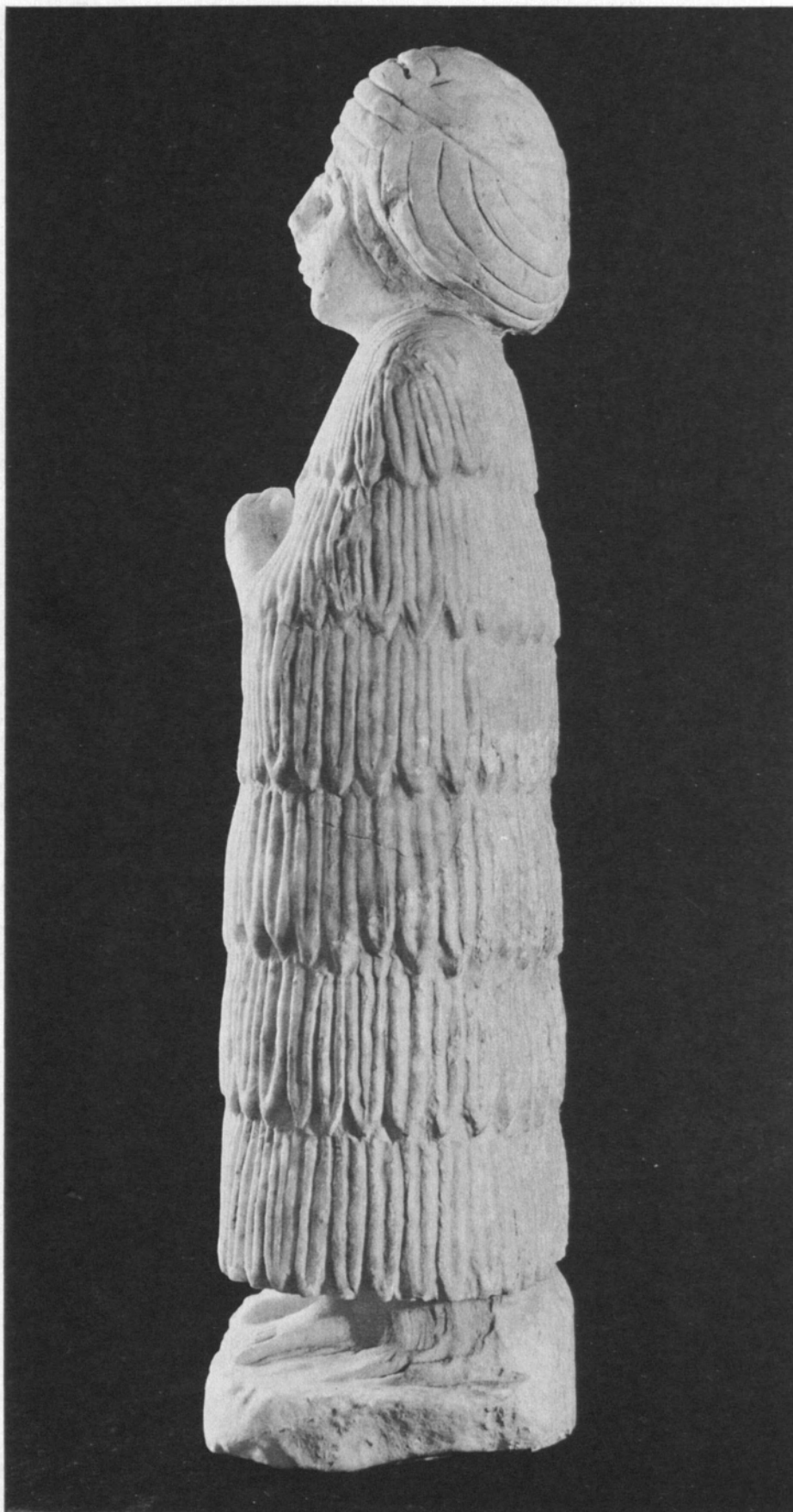
C



D

102b

MALE HEAD AND INSCRIBED MALE STATUE FROM SIN TEMPLE AT KHAFĀJAH



103

FEMALE STATUE FROM SMALL SHRINE AT KHAFĀJAH

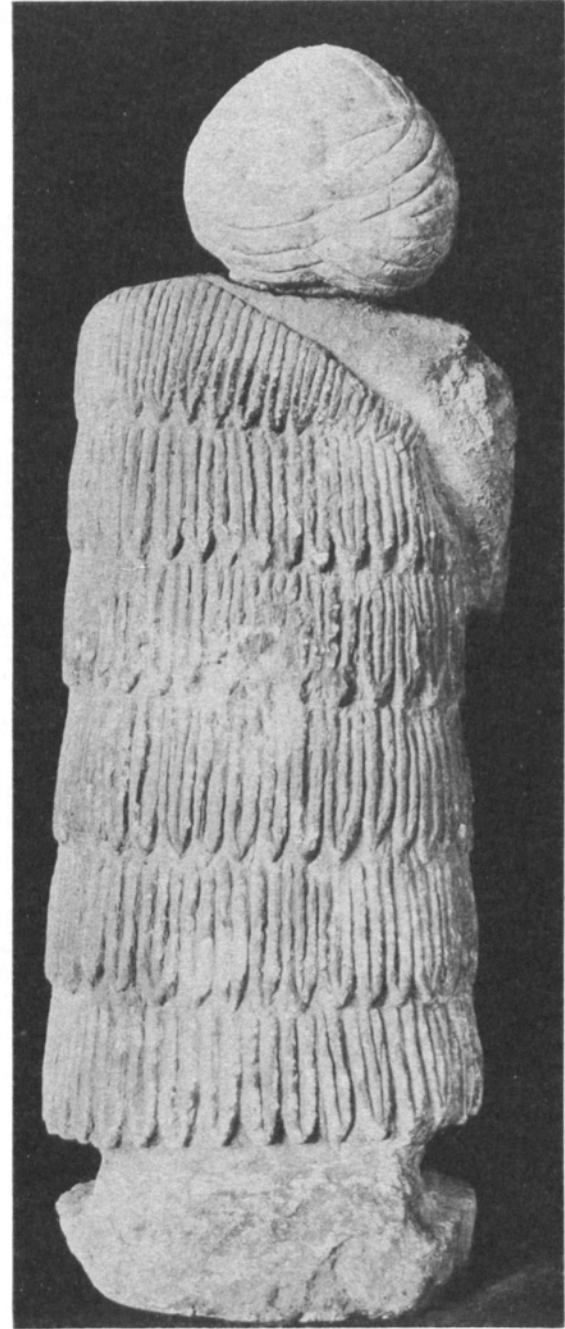


A



B

103



C

FEMALE STATUE FROM SMALL SHRINE AT KHAFĀJAH



A



B

104



C

FEMALE STATUE FROM SIN TEMPLE AT KHAFĀJAH



A



B



C



A



B



C

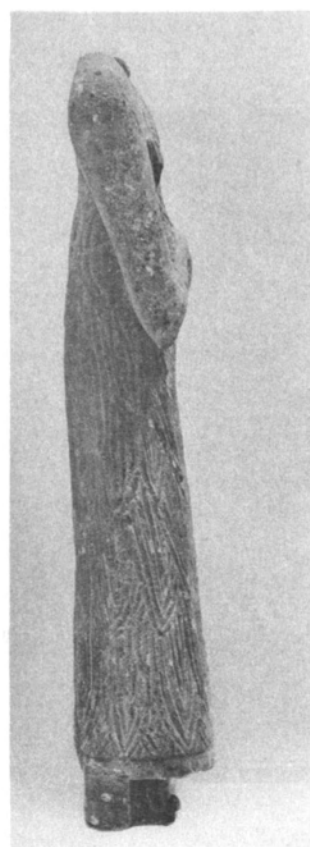
PLATE 77



A

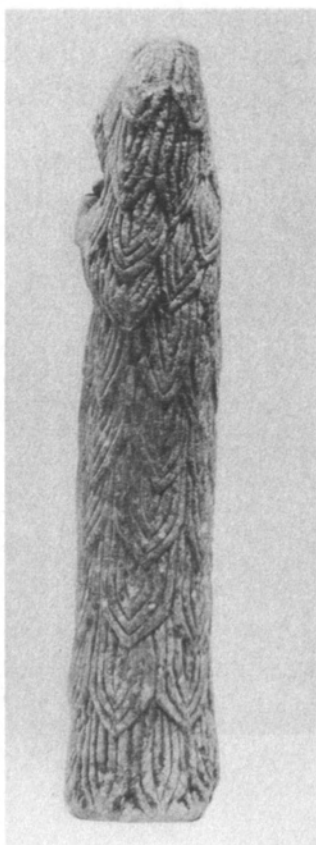


B



C

107



D



E



F

108





A



B



C

109



D



E



F

110

PLATE 79



A



B



C

111



D



E

112

FEMALE STATUE AND FEMALE HEAD FROM SIN TEMPLE AT KHAFĀJAH



113

HEADLESS FEMALE STATUE FROM SIN TEMPLE AT KHAFĀJAH

PLATE 81



A

114

B

115

HEADLESS FEMALE STATUES FROM SIN TEMPLE AT KHAFĀJAH



A



B



C



D

PLATE 83



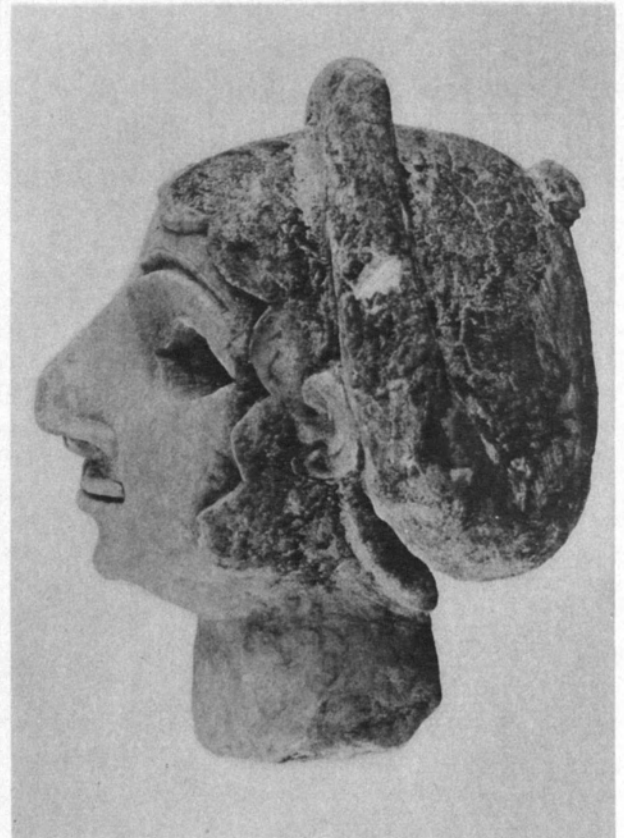
A



B



C



D



A



B



C

118



E

122



D

120



H

121



F

119



G

HEADLESS FEMALE STATUES AND MALE AND FEMALE HEADS FROM KHAFĀJAH: NOS. 118-20 FROM SIN TEMPLE; No. 121 FROM SMALL SHRINE; No. 122 PURCHASED

PLATE 85



A

123



B



C



D  
124



E

125



F



G

126



H



I



J  
127



K

128



L

FEMALE HEADS FROM SIN TEMPLE AT KHAFĀJAH



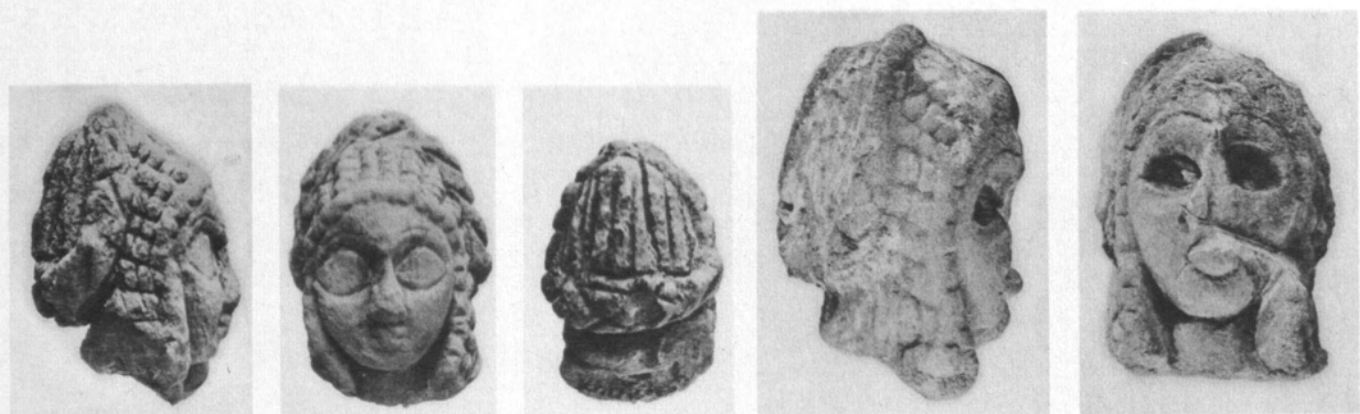


A 129 B C 130 D



E F G H

131



I J K L 132 M

133

FEMALE HEADS FROM KHAFĀJAH: NOS. 129-30 AND 132-33 FROM SIN TEMPLE;  
NO. 131 FROM TEMPLE OVAL, "HOUSE D"

PLATE 87



A



B

134



C



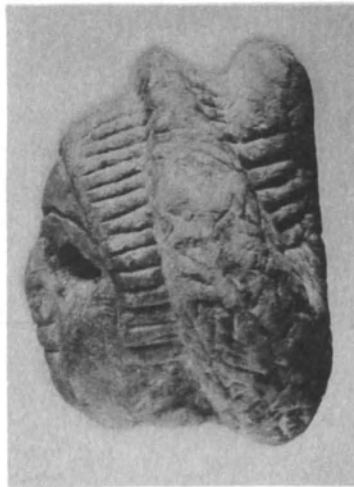
E



F

135

136



D



G



H

135

137

FEMALE HEADS FROM SIN TEMPLE AT KHAFĀJAH



A



B



C

138



D



E



F

139



G



H



J



K

141



I

140



L



M



N



O

142

FEMALE HEADS FROM KHAFĀJAH: NOS. 138-41 FROM SIN TEMPLE; NO. 142 FROM TEMPLE OVAL, "HOUSE D"

PLATE 89



A



B



I



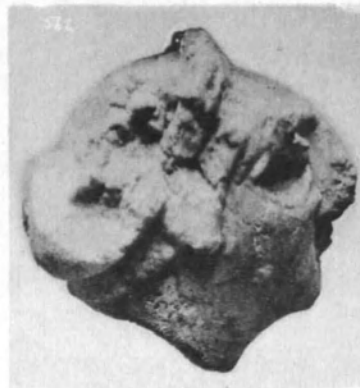
J  
146



C



D



E



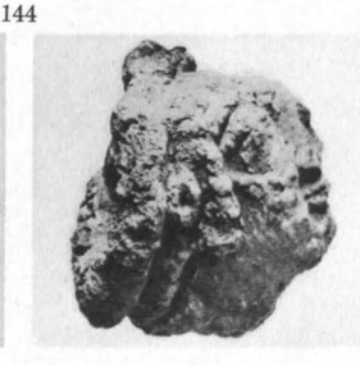
F



G



K



L  
147



M



H  
145



N

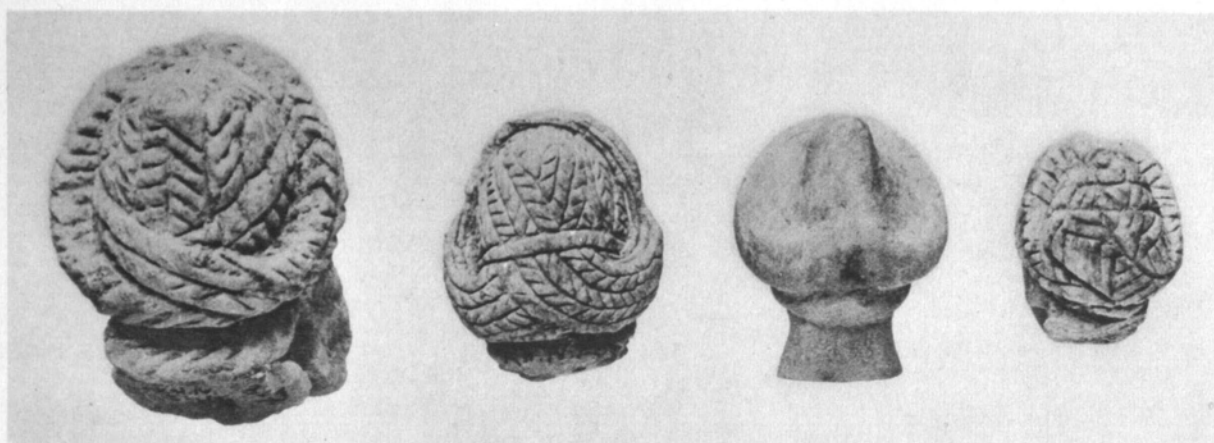


O  
148



P

FEMALE HEADS FROM KHAFĀJAH: NOS. 143 AND 145-48 FROM SIN TEMPLE;  
NO. 144 FROM TEMPLE OVAL, "HOUSE D"



A 130

B 149

C 112

D 125

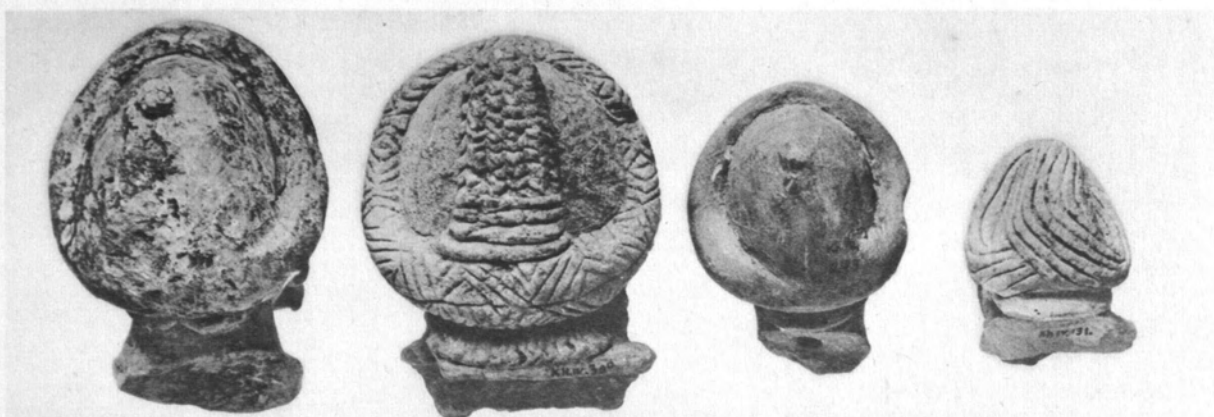


E 150

F 136

G 137

H 126



I 117

J 151

K 128

L 138



M 119

N 134

O 135

P 143

FEMALE HEADS FROM SIN TEMPLE AT KHAFĀJAH

PLATE 91



A



B



C

151a



D



E



F

151b



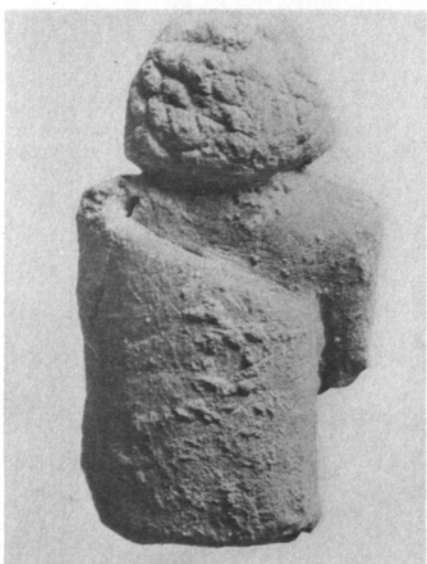
G



I

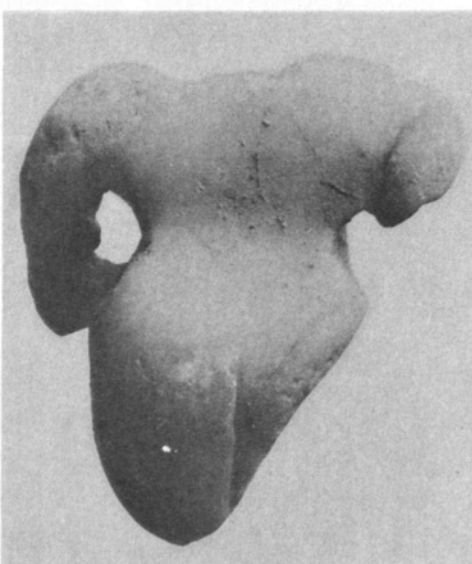


K



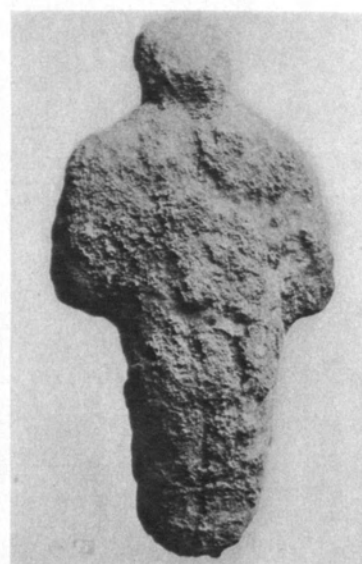
H

152



J

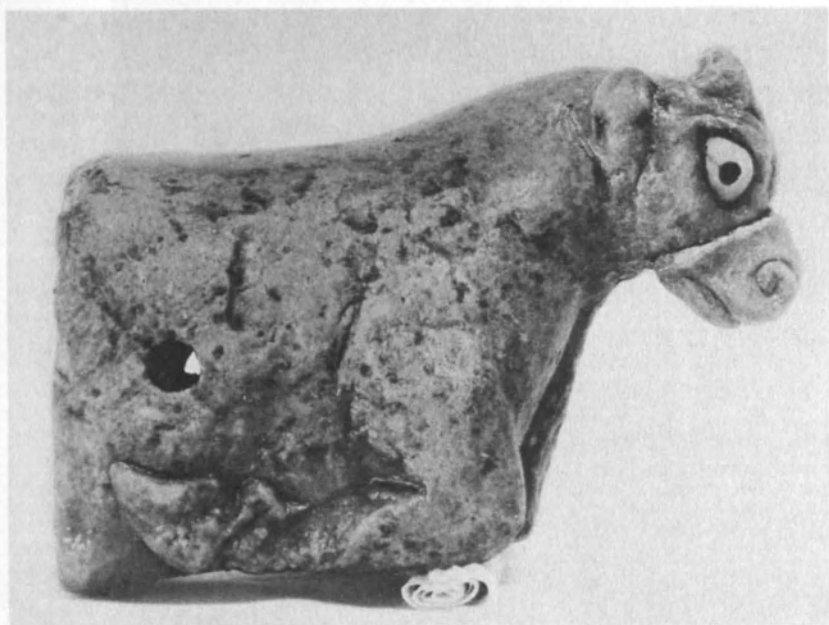
154



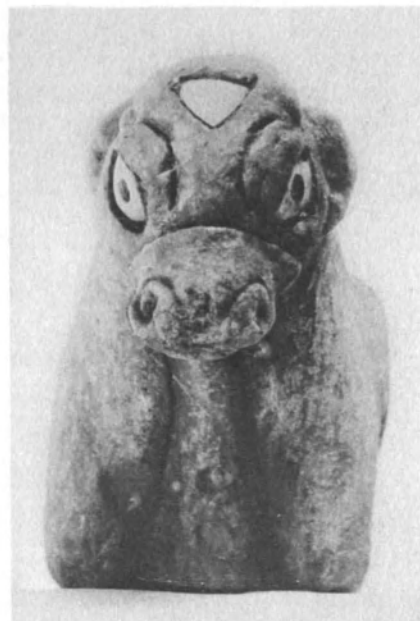
L

153

FEMALE HEADS AND FRAGMENTARY MALE AND FEMALE STATUES FROM KHAFĀJAH:  
Nos. 151a-b FROM SIN TEMPLE; Nos. 152-54 FROM TEMPLE OVAL

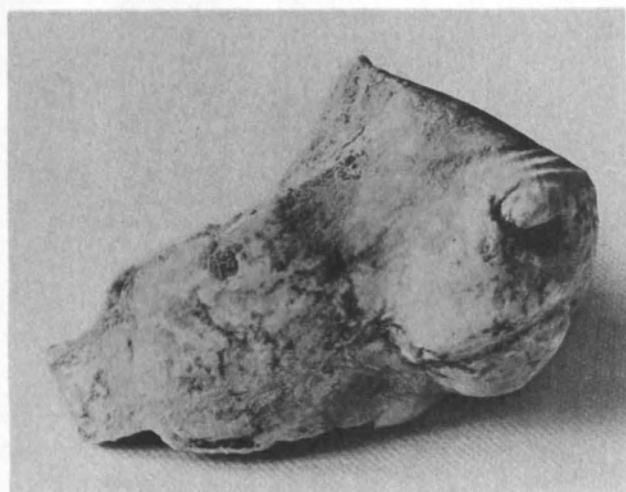


A



155

B



C

156



D

157

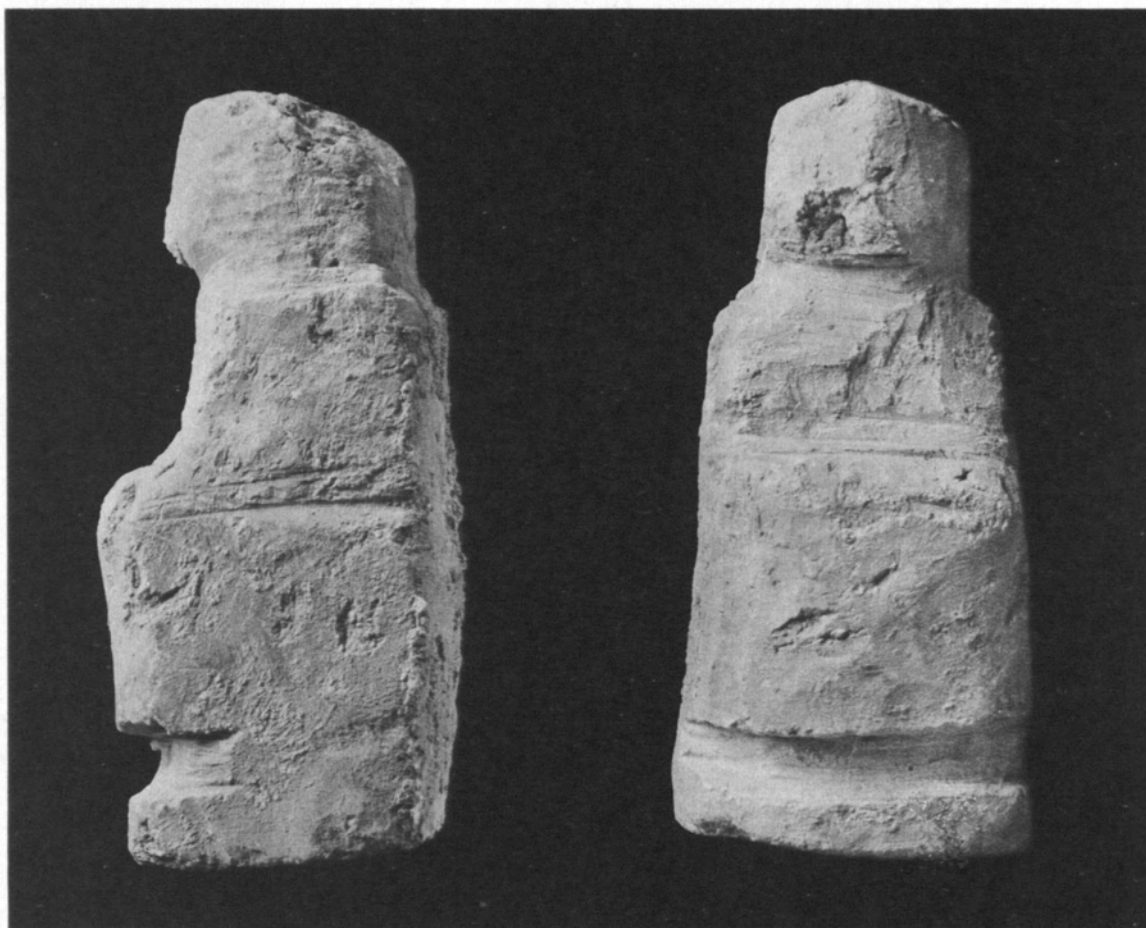


E

158

ANIMAL SCULPTURES FROM KHAFĀJAH (NO. 156 FROM TEMPLE OVAL, NO. 157 FROM SIN TEMPLE, NO. 158 PURCHASED) AND (NO. 155) FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR

PLATE 93



A

159

B



C

160

D

TRIAL PIECES FROM HOUSE AREA IN TELL ASMAR





A



B

161



C



D

161



H



E

162



F

163



G

164



I

121



J

166

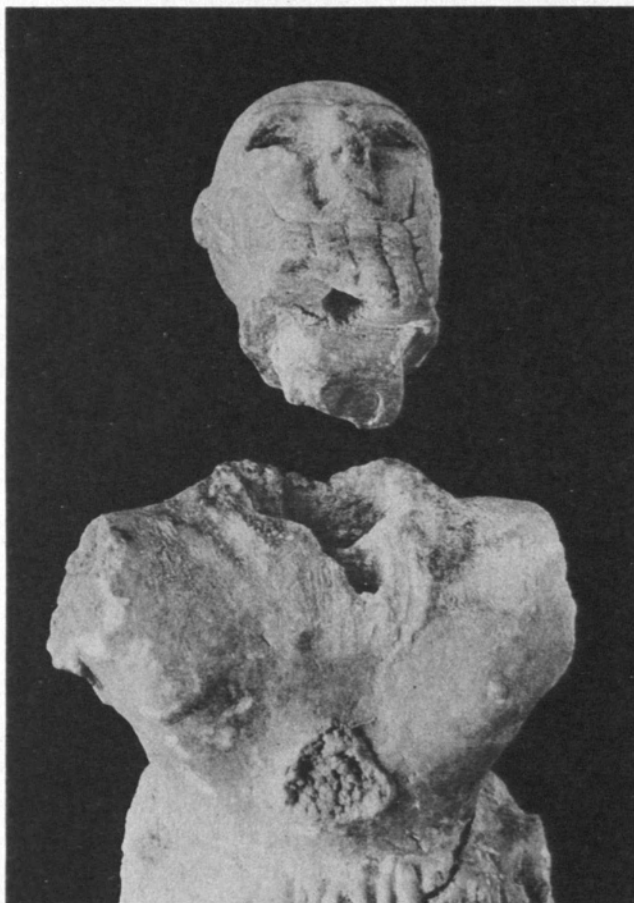


K

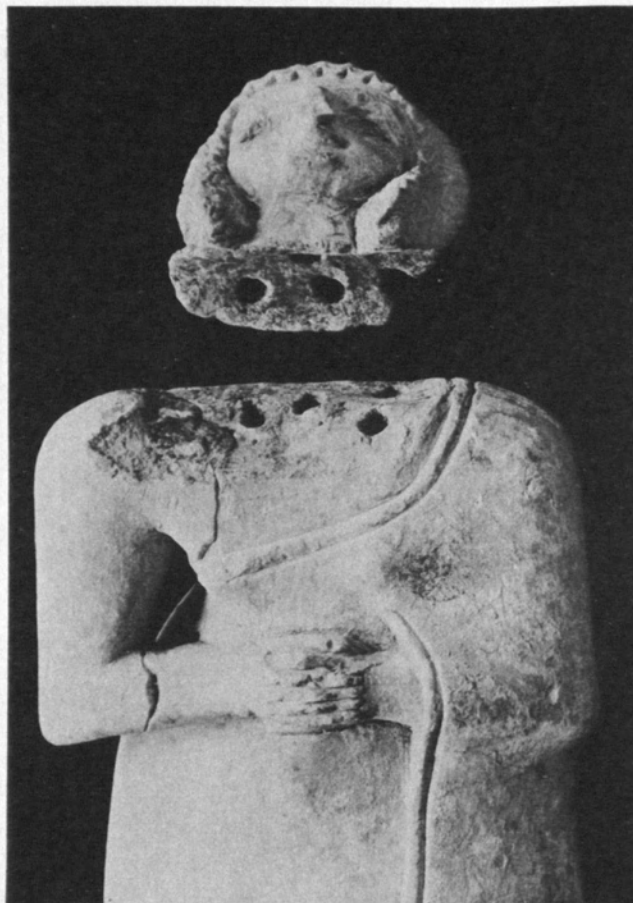
167

HEADS FROM SMALL SHRINE AT KHAFĀJAH

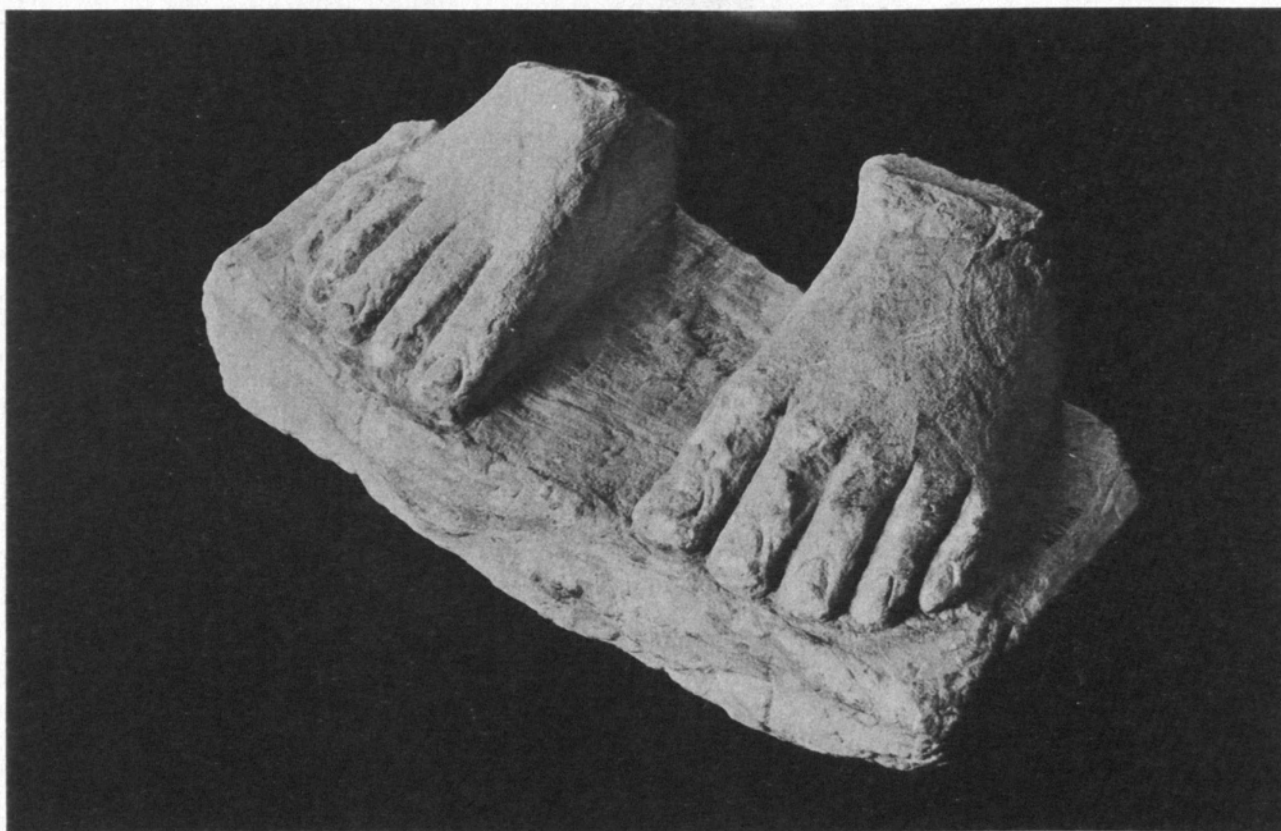
PLATE 95



A 39



B 104



C 168

STATUES FROM SIN TEMPLE AND BASE WITH FEET FROM TEMPLE OVAL AT KHAFĀJAH



A 169



B 170



E 173



C 171



D 172



F 174



G 175



H 176

BASES OF STATUES FROM SIN TEMPLE AT KHAFĀJAH AND FROM SINGLE-SHRINE TEMPLE AT TELL ASMAR

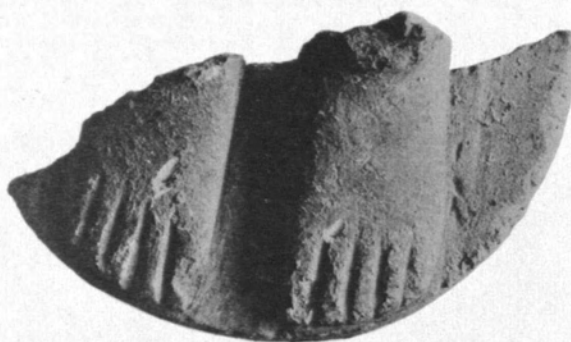
PLATE 97



A 177



B 178



C 179



D 180



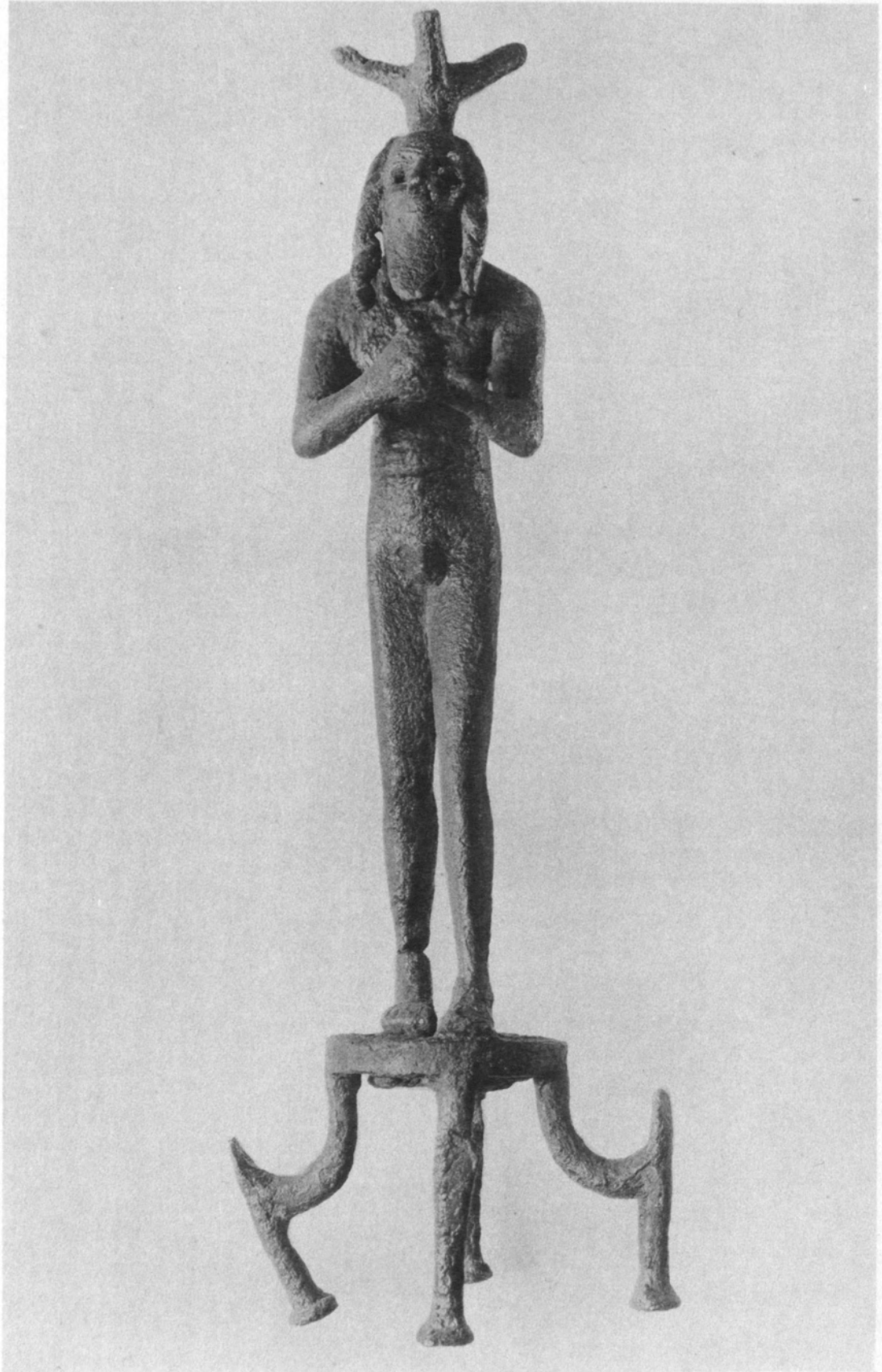
E

FRAGMENTARY BASES AND ARM FRAGMENT FROM SINGLE-SHRINE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR



181

COPPER SUPPORT IN SHAPE OF NUDE MALE FIGURE FROM TEMPLE OVAL AT KHAFĀJAH



181

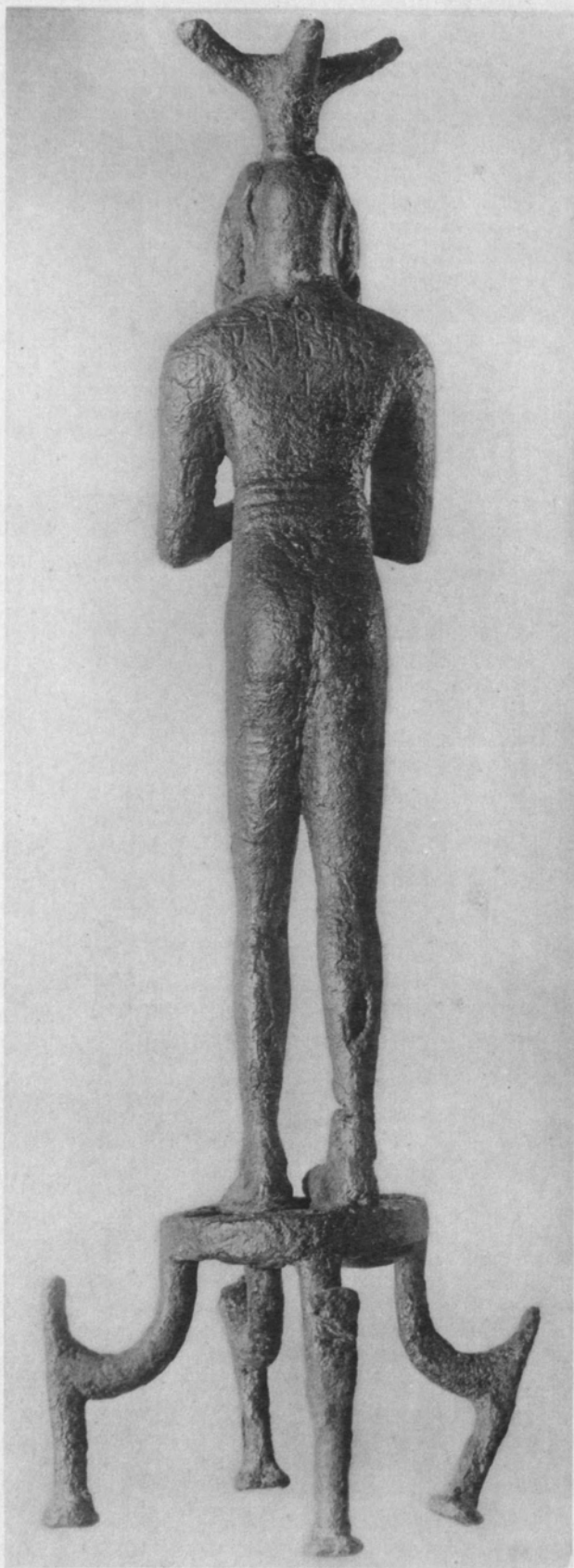
COPPER SUPPORT IN SHAPE OF NUDE MALE FIGURE FROM TEMPLE OVAL AT KHAFĀJAH



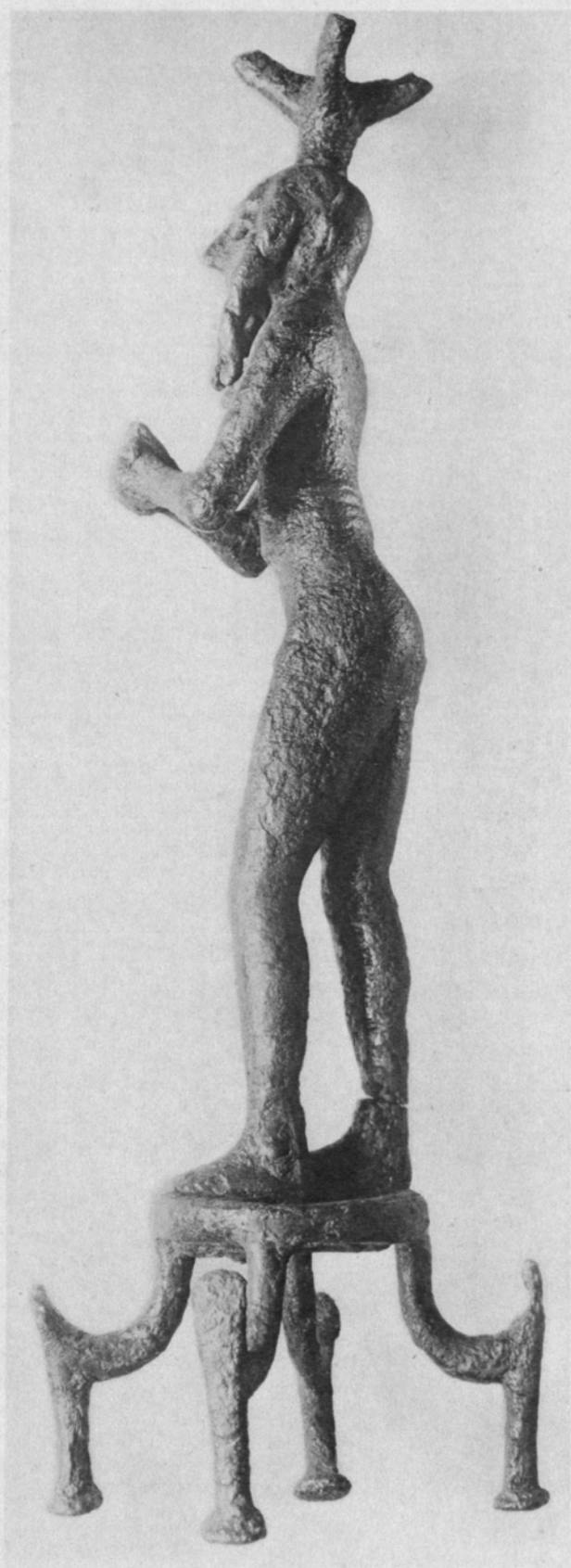
181

COPPER SUPPORT IN SHAPE OF NUDE MALE FIGURE FROM TEMPLE OVAL AT KHAFĀJAH

PLATE 101



A



B

181

COPPER SUPPORT IN SHAPE OF NUDE MALE FIGURE FROM TEMPLE OVAL AT KHAFĀJAH





*A*



*B*



*C*

182



*D*



*E*



*F*

183

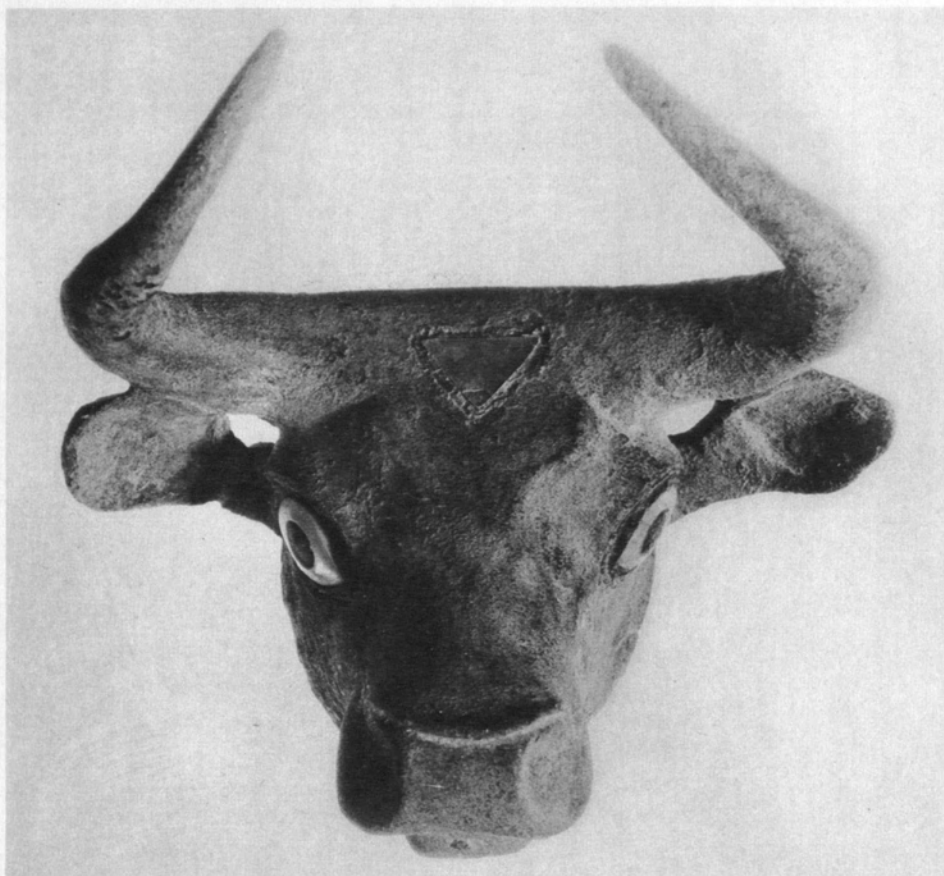
COPPER SUPPORTS IN SHAPE OF NUDE MALE FIGURES FROM TEMPLE OVAL AT KHAFĀJAH

PLATE 103



182

COPPER SUPPORT (CLEANED) IN SHAPE OF NUDE MALE FIGURE FROM TEMPLE OVAL AT KHAFĀJAH



A



B



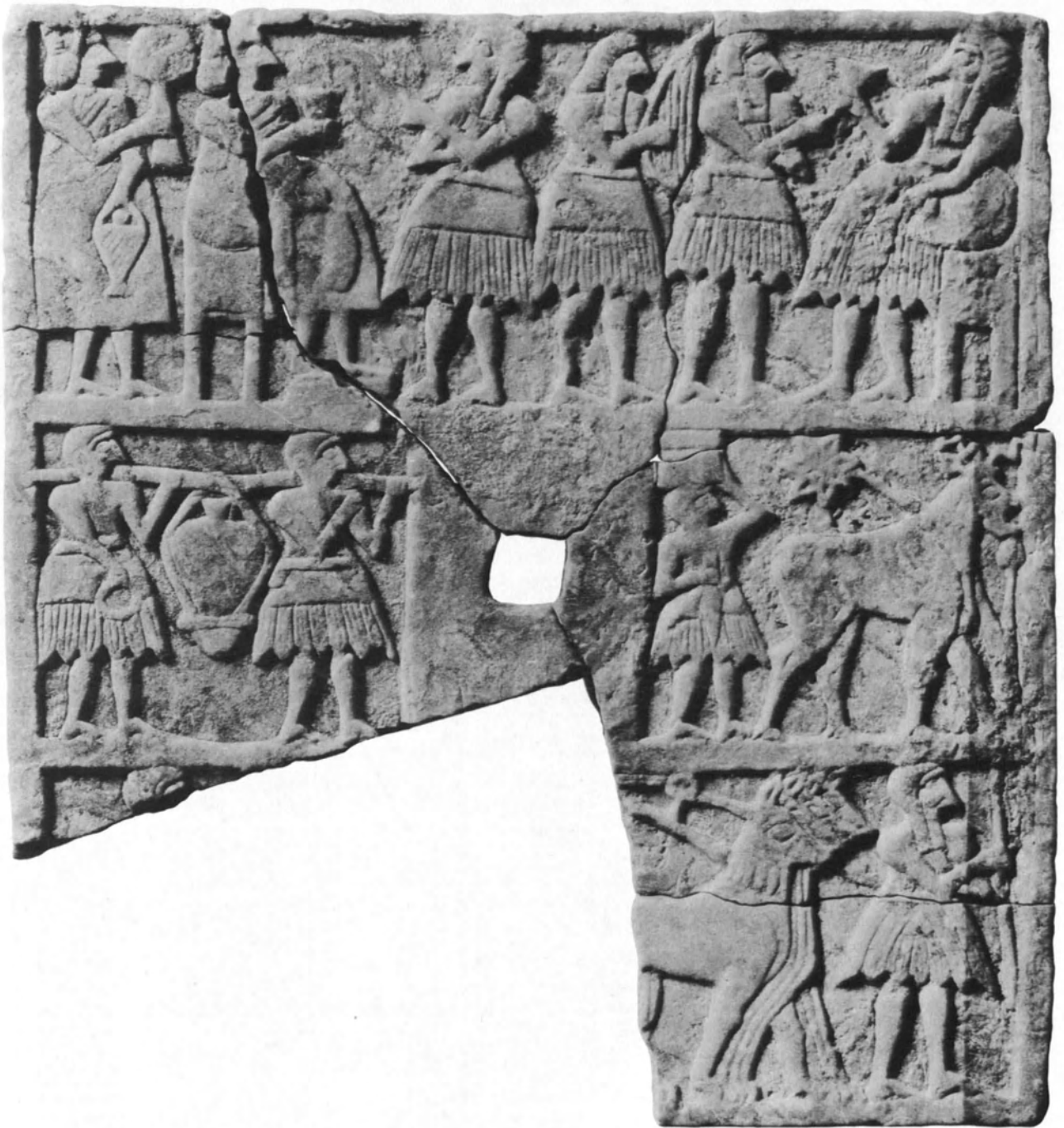
185

LIMESTONE PLAQUE FROM SIN TEMPLE AT KHAFĀJAH



186

LIMESTONE PLAQUE FROM SINGLE-SHRINE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR



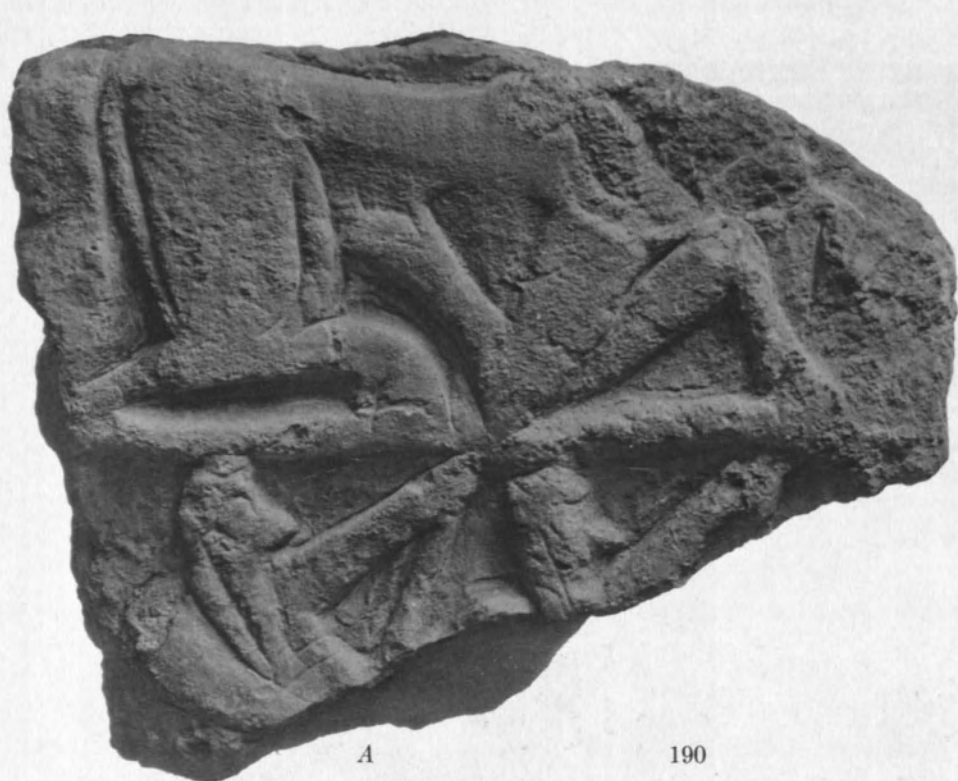
187

LIMESTONE PLAQUE FROM TEMPLE OVAL, "HOUSE D," AT KHAFĀJAH



FRAGMENTS OF LIMESTONE PLAQUES FROM SIN TEMPLE AND SMALL SHRINE AT KHAFĀJAH

PLATE 109



A

190



B

191



C

192



D

193

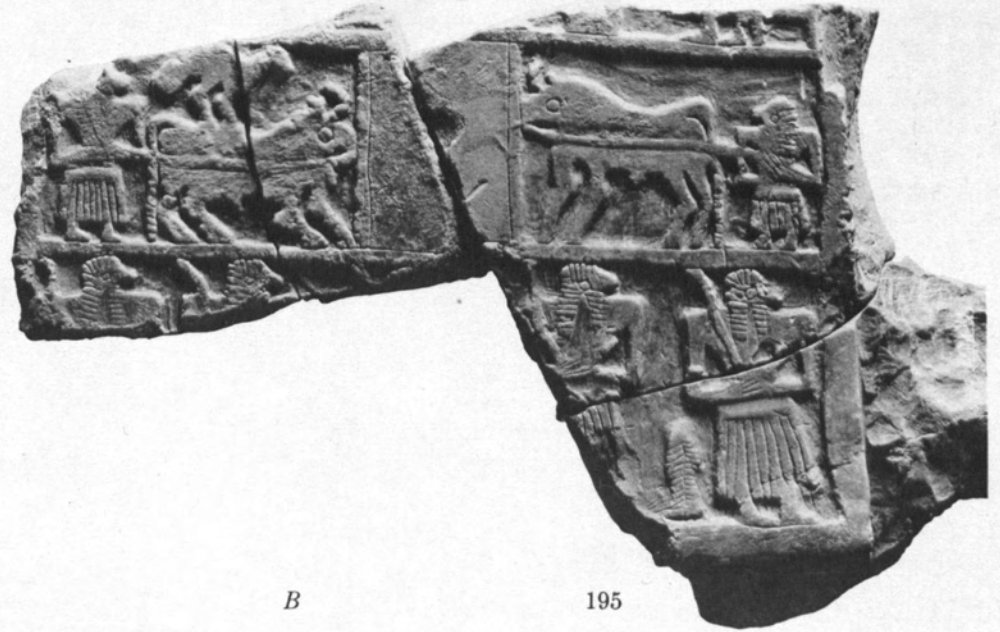
FRAGMENTS OF PLAQUES FROM KHAFĀJAH: NOS. 190-92 FROM SIN TEMPLE; NO. 193 FROM TEMPLE OVAL





A

194



B

195



C

196

FRAGMENTS OF LIMESTONE PLAQUES: NO. 194 FROM SQUARE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR;  
NOS. 195-96 FROM TEMPLE OVAL AT KHAFĀJAH

PLATE 111



A

197



B

198

FRAGMENTS OF PLAQUES FROM TEMPLE OVAL AT KHAFĀJAH



A

199

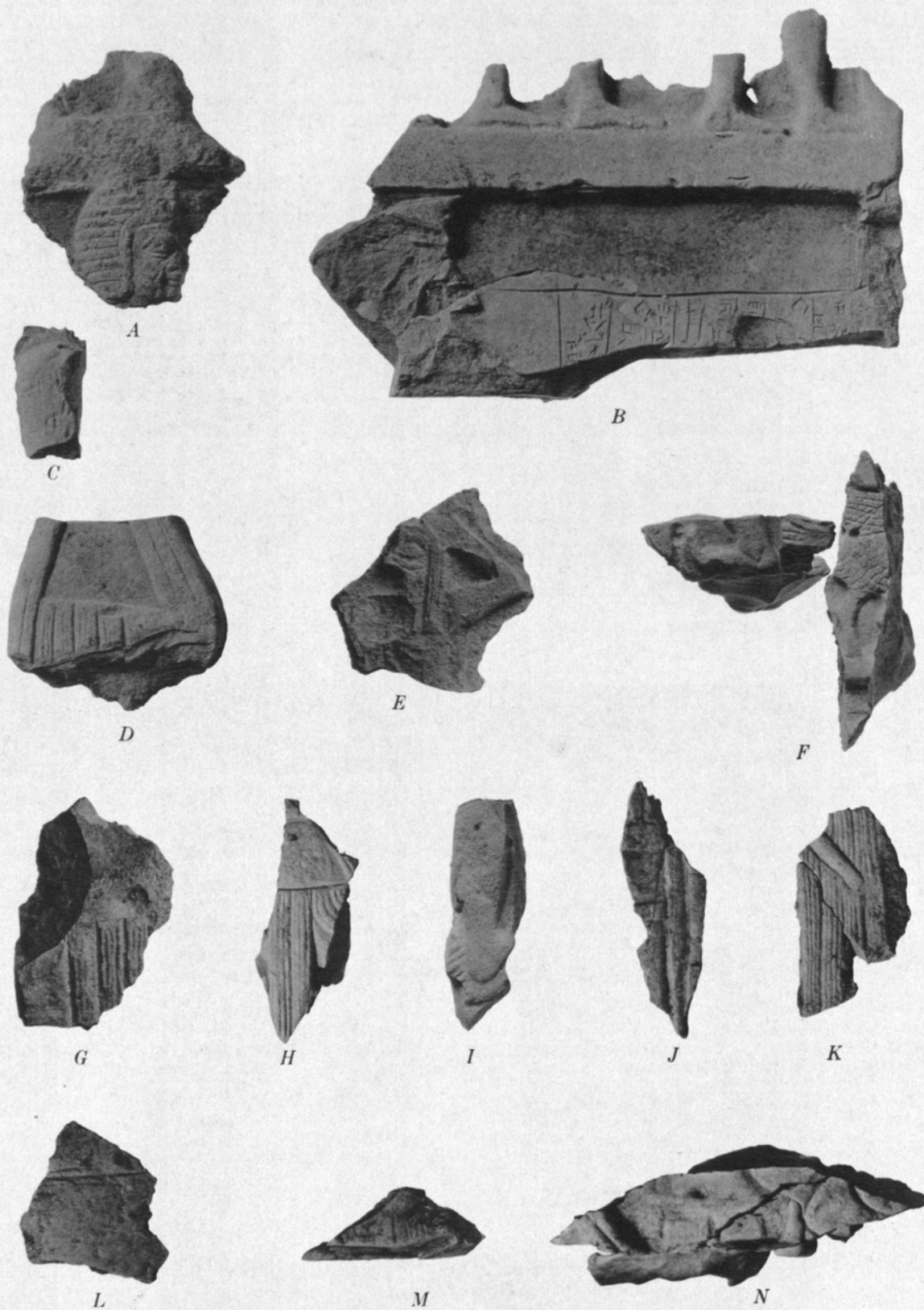


B

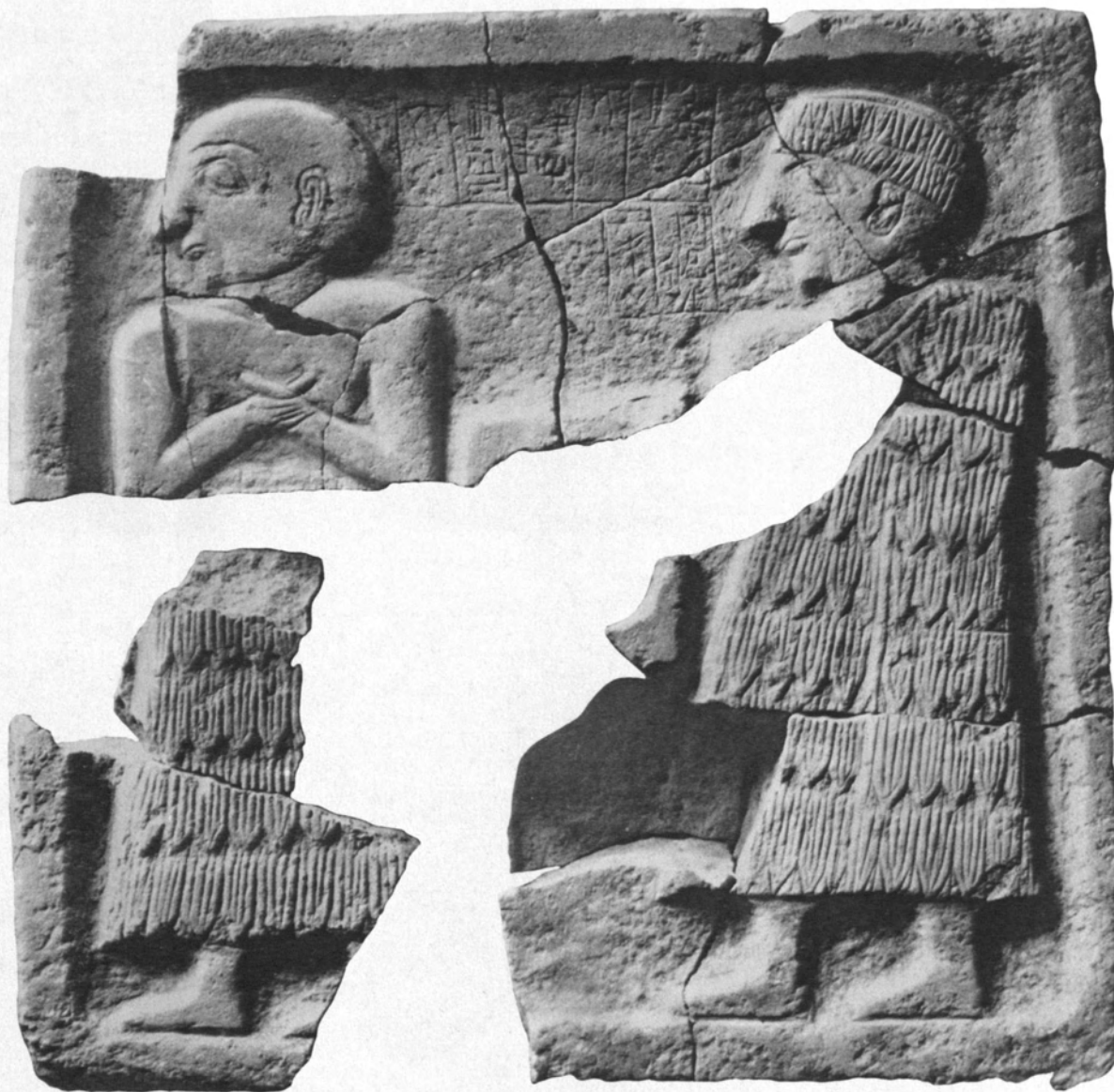
200

LIMESTONE PLAQUES FROM SINGLE-SHRINE TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR

PLATE 113



FRAGMENTS OF INSCRIBED LIMESTONE STELA FROM TEMPLE OVAL AT KHAFĀJAH



201

FRAGMENTS OF INSCRIBED LIMESTONE PLAQUE FROM KHAFĀJAH

PLATE 115



A 202



B



203

C



D 205



E 206



F 204

- A. STATUE OF GODDESS BAU FROM UR
- B-C. HEADLESS STATUE FROM BISMĀYAH
- D. STATUE OF ISHTAR IN THE LOUVRE
- E. STATUE FROM UMMĀ
- F. UNFINISHED WORK OF AN EGYPTIAN SCULPTOR