





THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
ORIENTAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS  
VOLUME LXXII

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS • CHICAGO 37  
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, LONDON, N.W. 1, ENGLAND  
THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS, TORONTO 5, CANADA

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
ORIENTAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME LXXII

STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS  
FROM THE DIYALA REGION

*BY H. FRANKFORT*

WITH A CHAPTER BY THORKILD JACOBSEN



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS • CHICAGO • ILLINOIS

THIS PUBLICATION IS ONE OF A GROUP PLANNED TO PRESENT AS A WHOLE THE WORK OF THE  
ORIENTAL INSTITUTE'S IRAQ EXPEDITION IN THE DIYALA REGION • THE TITLES ARE:

FOUR ANCIENT TOWNS IN THE DIYALA REGION  
PRIVATE HOUSES AND GRAVES IN THE DIYALA REGION  
THE TEMPLE OVAL AT KHAFAJAH (OIP LIII)  
PRE-SARGONID TEMPLES IN THE DIYALA REGION (OIP LVIII)  
THE GIMILSIN TEMPLE AND THE PALACE OF THE RULERS AT TELL ASMAR (OIP XLIII)  
OLD BABYLONIAN PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN THE DIYALA REGION  
SCULPTURE OF THE THIRD MILLENNIUM B.C. FROM TELL ASMAR AND KHAFAJAH (OIP XLIV)  
MORE SCULPTURE FROM THE DIYALA REGION (OIP LX)  
STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION (OIP LXXII)  
POTTERY FROM THE DIYALA REGION (OIP LXIII)  
MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

*Library of Congress Catalog Number: 54-11976*

COPYRIGHT 1955 BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO • ALL RIGHTS  
RESERVED • PUBLISHED 1955 • COMPOSED AND PRINTED BY  
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS • PLATES PRINTED BY  
PHOTOPRESS, INC. • CHICAGO • ILLINOIS • U.S.A.

## PREFACE

THE title of this volume stresses the peculiarity of its organization. It presents the seals according to the places of their discovery and not, as is usual, in their chronological order. The great inconvenience of our method of presentation to the student of glyptic art was accepted in order to emphasize the existence of a problem which is often glossed over. For the chronological order is not a simple datum; it is a construction based upon extrinsic, stratigraphic, as well as intrinsic, stylistic, evidence. And the two by no means always coincide. The opportunity of elucidating this problem by laying before students an exceptionally rich material in a raw state seemed too rare to be missed. For we are publishing here the largest collection of seals of which the exact provenance is known—stratified from the last half of the Protoliterate period to the first centuries of the second millennium B.C.; derived from four separate sites; and thus representing four independent but parallel deposits. With the unvarnished facts of stratigraphy as the basis of our plates, the complexity of the actual distribution of remains through successive layers and the discrepancies between find-spots and styles are demonstrated *ad oculos*, and the naïve assumption that the position of an object in the soil automatically determines its date is shown up in all its inadequacy.

Our method of presentation complicates the study of related designs and obscures the course of the stylistic development through the ages. But the latter has been described in my *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939), and I have assumed here that the reader will refer to the discussions of iconography and style contained in that volume. I have, therefore, confined the descriptive text of chapters iii and iv to a bare minimum, except in dealing with the Protoliterate and Early Dynastic I periods, for which our material is unusually rich.

This volume incorporates the work of several members of the Iraq Expedition. The late Mrs. Rigmor Jacobsen made impressions and photographs of all the seals. Miss G. Rachel Levy made the drawings. Miss Mary A. Chubb undertook the elaborate work of compiling the plates and the catalogue (comprising the tables facing the plates). This was in 1938, when the first draft was completed.

In subsequent years the continued work on our materials (embodied in "Oriental Institute Publications" XLIII, XLIV, LIII, LVIII, LX, and LXIII) disclosed facts which had to be taken into account. After some initial work by Miss Caroline Nestmann, Mrs. Elizabeth Hauser, Editorial Secretary of the Oriental Institute, has devoted a great deal of energy and skill to the task of revision, a task complicated by the inability of conferring with an author no longer resident in Chicago. I want to express my obligation to her unstinted assistance.

H. F.

THE WARBURG INSTITUTE  
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON  
1 December 1951





## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS . . . . .	ix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS . . . . .	xi
I. THE RELATIVE VALUES OF STRATIGRAPHY AND STYLISTIC ANALYSIS . . . . .	1
II. THE STRATIFICATION OF THE SEALS . . . . .	7
Khafajah . . . . .	7
Tell Asmar . . . . .	9
Tell Agrab . . . . .	11
Ishchali . . . . .	11
III. THE STYLISTIC DEVELOPMENT OF MESOPOTAMIAN GLYPTIC AS ILLUSTRATED BY SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION . . . . .	12
Introduction . . . . .	12
The Protoliterate Period . . . . .	12
The Shapes of the Cylinders . . . . .	13
Designs Derived from the Uruk Style . . . . .	14
Miscellaneous Designs . . . . .	14
Temple-and-Flock Motif . . . . .	15
New Designs . . . . .	17
Drill-Hole Patterns . . . . .	17
Geometric Designs . . . . .	17
Representational Designs . . . . .	18
Transitional Seals . . . . .	19
Early Dynastic I . . . . .	21
Early Dynastic II . . . . .	24
Early Dynastic III . . . . .	28
The Dynasty of Sargon of Agade . . . . .	31
Elamite and Gutti Seals . . . . .	33
Seals from the Last Part of the Third Millennium B.C. . . . .	34
IV. THE SUBJECTS OF THE SEAL DESIGNS . . . . .	35
The Early Dynastic Period . . . . .	35
The God in His Boat . . . . .	35
Other Boating Scenes . . . . .	37
The Destruction of the Hydra . . . . .	37
Ritual Marriage . . . . .	38
Banquets . . . . .	38
Adoration and Offering Scenes . . . . .	39
Dairy Scenes . . . . .	39
The Building of the Ziggurat . . . . .	39
The Gatekeeper . . . . .	40
The Akkadian Period . . . . .	40
The Sun-God . . . . .	40
Fertility Gods . . . . .	41
The Snake-God . . . . .	42

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
The Dragon-God and the Hydra . . . . .	42
The God Ea . . . . .	43
The Myth of Zu . . . . .	43
The Goddess at the Gate and the Bull of Heaven . . . . .	43
The Goddess on a Lion . . . . .	44
Battles of the Gods . . . . .	44
The Myth of Etana . . . . .	44
Adoration and Presentation Scenes . . . . .	45
Banquets . . . . .	45
Scenes of Daily Life . . . . .	45
An Indian Cylinder Seal . . . . .	45
The Third Dynasty of Ur and the Isin-Larsa Period . . . . .	46
The First Dynasty of Babylon . . . . .	46
The Popular Style of Mitanni . . . . .	47
 V. THE INSCRIPTIONS. <i>By Thorkild Jacobsen</i> . . . . .	 48
 CATALOGUE OF CYLINDER SEALS AND IMPRESSIONS NOT ILLUSTRATED . . . . .	 53
 CATALOGUE OF LOOPS FROM CYLINDER SEALS . . . . .	 62
 INDEX OF FIELD NUMBERS . . . . .	 63
 GENERAL INDEX . . . . .	 75

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

## PLATES

- 1-2. A SELECTION OF CYLINDER SEALS ILLUSTRATING SHAPES AND SIZES  
 3-41. DESIGNS ON CYLINDER SEALS FROM KHAFAJAH  
 42-71. DESIGNS ON CYLINDER SEALS FROM TELL ASMAR  
 72-85. DESIGNS ON CYLINDER SEALS FROM TELL AGRAB  
 86-89. DESIGNS ON CYLINDER SEALS FROM ISHCHALI  
 90-92. DESIGNS ON PURCHASED CYLINDER SEALS PROBABLY FROM THE DIYALA REGION  
 93. CONTOUR MAP OF KHAFAJAH SHOWING EXCAVATED AREAS  
 94. CONTOUR MAP OF TELL ASMAR SHOWING EXCAVATED AREAS  
 95. CONTOUR MAP OF MOUND A AT TELL AGRAB SHOWING EXCAVATED AREAS  
 96. CONTOUR MAP OF EXCAVATED AREAS AT ISHCHALI

## TEXT FIGURES

	PAGE
1. STONE LOOPS FROM CYLINDER SEALS . . . . .	14
2. EARLY BROCADE STYLE CYLINDER SEAL IN THE ALLARD PIERSON MUSEUM, AMSTERDAM . . . . .	23
3. TRANSITIONAL JAMDAT NASR CYLINDER SEAL FROM FARAH . . . . .	23
4. EARLY DYNASTIC CYLINDER SEAL IMPRESSION FROM FARAH . . . . .	26
5. EARLY DYNASTIC III CYLINDER SEAL FROM THE COLLECTION OF MRS. AGNES BALDWIN BRETT . . . . .	29
6. EARLY DYNASTIC III CYLINDER SEAL FROM UR, NOW IN THE IRAQ MUSEUM AT BAGHDAD . . . . .	29

## TABLES

I. SYNOPSIS OF THE STRATIGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE DIYALA CYLINDER SEALS . . . . .	11
II. STRATIGRAPHIC CORRELATION OF ALL EXCAVATIONS ON THE DIYALA SITES . . . . .	<i>at end</i>



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>HSS X</i>	MEEK, THEOPHILE JAMES. Excavations at Nuzi. III. Old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian texts from Nuzi (Harvard Semitic series X [Cambridge, U.S.A., 1935]).
<i>JNES</i>	Journal of Near Eastern studies (Chicago, 1942—).
<i>OIC</i>	Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute communications (Chicago, 1922—).
<i>OIC No. 16</i>	FRANKFORT, H. Tell Asmar, Khafaje, and Khorsabad. Second preliminary report of the Iraq Expedition (1933).
<i>OIC No. 17</i>	FRANKFORT, H. Iraq excavations of the Oriental Institute, 1932/33. Third preliminary report of the Iraq Expedition (1934).
<i>OIC No. 20</i>	FRANKFORT, H. Progress of the work of the Oriental Institute in Iraq, 1934/35. Fifth preliminary report of the Iraq Expedition (1936).
<i>OIP</i>	Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute publications (Chicago, 1924—).
<i>OIP XXII</i>	OSTEN, HANS HENNING VON DER. Ancient oriental seals in the collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell (1934).
<i>OIP XXXVII</i>	OSTEN, HANS HENNING VON DER. Ancient oriental seals in the collection of Mrs. Agnes Baldwin Brett (1936).
<i>OIP XLIII</i>	FRANKFORT, H., LLOYD, SETON, and JACOBSEN, THORKILD. The Gimilsin Temple and the Palace of the Rulers at Tell Asmar (1940).
<i>OIP XLIV</i>	FRANKFORT, H. Sculpture of the third millennium B.C. from Tell Asmar and Khafajah (1939).
<i>OIP LVIII</i>	DELOUGAZ, PINHAS, and LLOYD, SETON. Pre-Sargonid temples in the Diyala region (1942).
<i>OIP LX</i>	FRANKFORT, H. More sculpture from the Diyala region (1943).
<i>OIP LXIII</i>	DELOUGAZ, PINHAS. Pottery from the Diyala region (1952).
<i>OLZ</i>	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (Berlin, 1898-1908; Leipzig, 1909—).
<i>UVB</i>	Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, <i>Berlin</i> . . . Vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen. Philos.-hist. Klasse. Abhandlungen (Berlin, 1930—).
<i>WVDOG</i>	Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, <i>Berlin</i> . Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen (Leipzig, 1900—).



## I

THE RELATIVE VALUES OF STRATIGRAPHY  
AND STYLISTIC ANALYSIS

AT THE risk of appearing to emphasize the obvious, I want to recall that the arranging of material remains in their proper sequence is the basic problem of archeology. Its solution must precede any attempt at evaluating the historical significance of a discovery. In Mesopotamia the conditions are more favorable for such arrangement than they are in prehistoric Europe, for example, because the continued occupation of the Mesopotamian sites has left a succession of architectural and other recognizable remains which represent a time sequence even if we cannot translate every section of it in terms of years. But the history reflected in the succession of such ruins is clearly local history. Only the coincidence of changes in many localities bears on the history of Mesopotamian culture as a whole.

Thus the question arises of how changes observed at a number of sites can be co-ordinated when no historical data (such as dated inscriptions) are available. In such cases we must evidently rely upon comparisons among the remains themselves—plans of structures, methods of building, style and nature of objects, and so on. Since the material culture of a country changes in the course of time, we assume that similar remains found at different localities belong to the same period. Hence a layer is often said to be “dated” by the objects it contains. But this procedure implies a further assumption. It presupposes that the remains upon which we base our comparisons are typical for the layers in which they occur.

In the large majority of cases both assumptions are justified. Probability itself favors them, and inscriptions found alongside other remains have often corroborated them. But exceptions do occur, and these are well explained by Mr. Delougaz:

Strictly speaking, the date of an object is the date of its manufacture rather than that of its use, and obviously most objects survive some time after having been made. When the objects in question were fragile and of no intrinsic value, as is ordinary pottery, for instance, it is unlikely that they survived very long; the difference in time may then in most cases be disregarded and the objects and building remains in which they were found be considered as contemporaneous. However, more durable objects, especially those the intrinsic value of which is not in their material but in their craftsmanship, may be used for a considerable length of time. Such objects, even when found in their proper context, that is, at the occupation level at which they were last used, may often be considerably older than the stratum in which they were found and must necessarily be dated by the earliest known occurrence of identical types.<sup>1</sup>

*In cauda venenum!* The validity of the “types” is precisely the point which must be discussed, especially in the case of cylinder seals, where our typology requires so far-reaching a correction of the data of stratigraphy as our Table I indicates.

The point at issue can best be understood if we illustrate with a concrete example the progression of archeological knowledge from the crudest simplification of the historical development toward an approximation of its complexity. In the early stages of exploration it

<sup>1</sup> *OIP* LVIII 4. Mr. Delougaz does not, of course, refer to displacements due to accidental disturbances in antiquity (such as a statue [*OIP* XLIV, Pl. 42 *c-d* and pp. 58-59] which was found in ED III context [Single-Shrine I] while the feet turned up in the Square Temple, proving the statue to date from ED II, as its style indicated; and a relief [*OIP* LX, Pl. 62 and p. 33] consisting of fragments found in Nintu Temple V and VII).

suffices to distinguish between blocks of remains representing successive periods without explaining how one could follow the other. Thus in 1932 we gave a first synthesis of the new material which had been accumulated during the preceding fifteen years by distinguishing four pre-Sargonid periods. At present this scheme has been refined to such an extent that it is hardly recognizable.

The earliest (Ubaïd) period, representing the time when the first settlers appeared in southern Mesopotamia, still stands, although at Eridu the new arrivals are now met in an earlier stage (as their pottery shows) than was known hitherto. The next (the Uruk) period has been divided. Its earliest part, which has a purely prehistoric character, retains the old name with an important variation. Hitherto the German term (Uruk) has been used; but now, in conformity with current usage, we have adopted the modern Arab form of the name and speak of the second, purely prehistoric phase of Mesopotamian culture as the Warka period. The latter part of the former "Uruk" period is now understood to comprise the dawn of history. It witnessed the introduction of writing, of settlement in cities, and of monumental art. It is combined with the third division of the old scheme (the Jamdat Nasr period) into the Protoliterate period.<sup>2</sup> The fourth and final division of the old scheme (the Early Dynastic period) has lost its last part, which is archeologically distinguishable by the absence of plano-convex bricks; this phase just precedes the reign of Sargon of Akkad and is called the Protoimperial period.<sup>3</sup> The Early Dynastic period itself is now recognized to pass through three clearly distinguishable phases, the last of which, Early Dynastic III, is known in an early (IIIa) and a later (IIIb) stage. All these distinctions are not, of course, a mere matter of terminology. On the contrary, they represent a detailed insight into the early development of Mesopotamian culture.

Of the objects which formed the typological basis of our fourfold scheme twenty years ago, some appear to have a wider range than we then knew; and all have found their places in a picture characterized by continuous shift and change, affecting different classes of remains sometimes together, sometimes separately. For instance, stone sculpture which antedates the Early Dynastic period has been found; and while the two distinct styles of Early Dynastic sculpture which we recognized in 1935 seemed then to characterize ED II and ED III respectively,<sup>4</sup> we have since been able to co-ordinate them more precisely (if less conveniently) with the stratigraphic data. It appeared that the later style was already well developed within the range of ED II,<sup>5</sup> a discovery which has a bearing on the subject of dating with which we are here concerned. For it not only shows that the phases in the history of a style need not coincide with the subdivisions which are most clearly marked in the stratification or in the architectural history of a site. It also reminds us of the fact that styles of art may differ greatly in duration. The two styles of Early Dynastic sculpture are equally

<sup>2</sup> This name was first introduced by Delougaz in *OIP* LVIII 8, n. 10: "We introduce this term to designate those cultural phases in early Mesopotamian history in the course of which writing first appeared and developed until it reached the stage in which the phonetic principle (as rebus writing) began to be employed. Stratigraphically these cultural phases roughly correspond to the Archaic Strata VII-III at Warka. . . ."

"Though 'Jamdat Nasr period' and such ensuing general terms as 'Jamdat Nasr culture' are eliminated in the new scheme, there is, of course, no reason to discontinue the use of more specific terms such as 'Jamdat Nasr polychrome ware' or 'Jamdat Nasr cylinder seals,' provided they have been clearly defined.

"The considerations that led us to introduce the new term, in spite of the inconvenience which may occasionally arise out of this departure from an accepted terminology, are rooted in our concepts of the cultural phases involved. These, however, cannot be profitably discussed without going into a detailed analysis of archeological material not pertinent to this publication. . . ."

<sup>3</sup> Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List* ("Assyriological Studies," No. 11 [Chicago, 1939]) Table II; *OIP* LXIII 105.

<sup>4</sup> See *OIP* XLIV.

<sup>5</sup> See *OIP* LX.



## RELATIVE VALUES OF STRATIGRAPHY AND STYLISTIC ANALYSIS 3

well defined and equally individual in character. But the earlier, the abstract style, possibly evolved in ED I, was characteristic for the early part of ED II. The later, realistic style, in its turn, prevailed during the latter part of ED II, throughout ED III, and into Protoimperial times, as the statue of Lugalkisalsi shows.<sup>6</sup>

As to the cylinder seals, less than twenty years ago the term "archaic and Sumerian" seemed sufficient as a label for all cylinders which were presumed to antedate the dynasty of Agade.<sup>7</sup> The same group is now divided into the categories of Uruk and Jamdat Nasr styles (each category having many subdivisions) for the Protoliterate period, the brocade style of ED I, and the distinct styles of ED II and ED III.

In elaborating these divisions of the "archaic" seals we found a starting point in the stratification of excavated and inscribed specimens; but the recognition of the styles in all their peculiarities and, after that, the explanation of their succession, became possible only when the thousands of seals of which the provenance was not known were utilized to add substance to the groups which we had distinguished and to make feasible a coherent account of the development of glyptic art. As the work proceeded, it became clear that the stratification did not always tally with the stylistic distinctions. The division of the seals over the separate layers of our sites presents an incomprehensible jumble of styles, as the plates in the present volume show. Nevertheless, it is thus that we are often able to observe a new type or style when it makes its first appearance. Furthermore, we can recognize a predominance of certain types in certain layers, such as, for instance, that of the tall geometric seals in the late Protoliterate period. Even in that case almost identical seals occur occasionally with late remains.

If pottery types survive the period of their greatest popularity we presume that they continued to be manufactured. For instance, it has recently been asserted on good grounds<sup>8</sup> that scarlet ware, which is characteristic for Early Dynastic I, was very likely produced occasionally as late as Early Dynastic II. In view of the fragility of pottery, the survival of vessels made in an earlier period is an unlikely alternative for the theory of continued manufacture. But with cylinder seals, many of which are practically indestructible, this is not the case; and corroborative evidence supports the view that they were sometimes used for a long time after they were made. For instance, one of the most striking features of Table I is the large number of Jamdat Nasr seals found in later layers. One might suggest that they were still made in Early Dynastic times, but this explanation becomes less probable if we remember that these seals of the late Protoliterate period were also more widely distributed in space than were those of any other period—occurring from Egypt to Troy, from Amorgos to Persia.<sup>9</sup> In two instances (at Susa and at Siyalk) they occur together with Jamdat Nasr tablets, so that in these cases it is certain that they were exported (and hence, *a fortiori*, made) during the late Protoliterate period. It seems likely, therefore, that this period produced an unusually large number of seals and that many of these continued in use in Early Dynastic and later times. The Old Babylonian period shows the same effects. It was an age of far-reaching trade; seals of this period are found throughout the Near East (including Egypt) and continue in use in later periods, sometimes recut to suit the new fashions of design.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> For Lugalkisalsi's figure and the related works from Mari see *OIP* XLIV 30; for his historical position see Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, Table II.

<sup>7</sup> See *OIP* XXII.

<sup>8</sup> See *OIP* LXIII 80.

<sup>9</sup> Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pp. 227-32.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 235-58. For recut Babylonian cylinders, see *ibid.* Pl. XXXI a and p. 154, n. 3.

## 4 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

Some readers may feel qualms at admitting that a not inconsiderable number of seals antedate the layers in which they are found although stratification is rightly considered to be the backbone of relative chronology. But a mechanical and wholesale acceptance of stratigraphic data would deny all rhyme or reason to the very clear stylistic differences which we observe. And these differences are objectively established facts which we must take into account no less than the facts of stratigraphy. Moreover, the facts of stratigraphy are not all of equal importance. The introduction of a new style, its first appearance, is much more significant than its continued representation among later remains, which may be due to the preservation or rediscovery of isolated specimens, or similar causes, and not mean that it was still produced at the period in which the examples were buried.

The application of stylistic criteria, in turn, requires a sifting of the material. Indifferently executed seals merely confuse the issue since their significant features, together with all others, are blurred. They can be classified only at a later stage when we can recognize in them the derivatives of the better works. Thus a continuous checking and evaluating of stylistic and stratigraphic data leads to the "chronological order" which we have made the basis of our earlier book on *Cylinder Seals*. It presents, we think, a clear case of the "circular argument" which seems to underlie all scientific reasoning.<sup>11</sup> The method must, here, as everywhere, find its justification in the "economy of hypotheses," the coherence of the resulting structure, and the completeness with which it accounts for the phenomena.

The necessity of co-ordinating stylistic and nonstylistic observations can best be grasped by considering three concrete instances in which both kinds of criteria determined our view concerning the age of the seals in question. The first of these concerns a school of glyptic which arose in Assyria after that country had established its independence. A few seal impressions of Middle Assyrian kings were known. Some seals show affinities to Kassite or Mittanian glyptic which are inexplicable if they are assigned to the first millennium B.C., as they usually have been. In my *Cylinder Seals* a Middle Assyrian style was therefore established on the basis of the data just indicated.<sup>12</sup> During the war Dr. Anton Moortgat published some dated tablets from Assur with seal impressions.<sup>13</sup> They showed that Middle Assyrian glyptic was even more brilliant and varied than had been supposed and that certain seals which I, too, had placed in the first millennium B.C. (and in one of which I had even believed to find traces of Greek influence) can now be dated with absolute confidence to the Middle Assyrian period.<sup>14</sup> Here the increase of "stratigraphic" (in the sense of extrinsic) evidence of date made it possible to widen the network of stylistic comparisons and to reconstruct a more varied, but still consistent, school of glyptic art.

The second example concerns the distribution of objects over the earlier and the later half of the Protoliterate period. In stone vases and cylinder seals a distinction can be made on stylistic grounds, and there is some stratigraphic evidence to corroborate it. For at Warka the fourth archaic layer contains seal impressions of the earlier style only. But at Warka, too,

<sup>11</sup> See Edgar Wind in *Philosophy and History: Essays Presented to Ernst Cassirer*, ed. Raymond Klibansky and H. J. Patton (Oxford, 1936) pp. 254-64.

<sup>12</sup> *Cylinder Seals*, pp. 186-89.

<sup>13</sup> *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XLVII = n.F. XIII (1942) 50-88. These tablets are now in Berlin.

<sup>14</sup> *Cylinder Seals*, Pls. XXXV c, XXXVI a-b. It is interesting now to compare the last-mentioned seal with one in *Berytus VIII* (1943-44) Pl. VI 43, where, in the musculature, the profile of the thighs, and the forward curve of the beard of a naked man, one can see a true affinity to Greek gems and black-figured vases. Other seals which can now be ascribed to the Middle Assyrian period are published in Louis Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres, cachets et pierres gravées de style oriental II* (Paris, 1923) Pl. 89: 19 (Louvre A. 708); *OIP* XXII, Nos. 685-86; William Hayes Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Washington, D.C., 1910) Nos. 698 and 700; Cyrus H. Gordon, *The Living Past* (New York, 1941) No. 29; *Iraq VI* (1939) Pls. V 33 and X 85 (Walters Art Gallery); Walter Andrae, *Die jüngeren Ischtar-Tempel (WVDOG LVIII* (1935) Fig. 8.

## RELATIVE VALUES OF STRATIGRAPHY AND STYLISTIC ANALYSIS 5

was found a hoard of objects which contained examples of both styles. It was buried in a building belonging to the latter half of the Protoliterate period<sup>15</sup> and for this reason was assigned as a whole to that part of the period. I have maintained that the evidence at our disposal suffices to prove that the objects of the alleged earlier style were survivals from the first half of the Protoliterate period. The distinction of an earlier (Uruk) and a later (Jamdat Nasr) style does not mean, as Moortgat maintains,<sup>16</sup> that we make quality the basis of chronology.<sup>17</sup> At all times good and bad works may be produced. Our No. 76, a beautiful seal, was found in the latest phase (*d*) of the Protoliterate period and shows definite stylistic characteristics—the division of the body into three parts and the circular eye—which differentiate it from the Uruk seals. In addition we observe that as a rule a certain disintegration affects the design of the Jamdat Nasr seals, whether this design was inherited from the Uruk style or newly introduced. The present book offers ample proof of that disintegration. In the case of the late Protoliterate seals, therefore, stylistic analysis, corroborated by observations in nonglyptic fields, and certain stratigraphic data (e.g. those presented in this volume) outweigh another group of stratigraphic facts (namely the discovery of a group of objects buried together at Warka).

A third example of the necessity for co-ordinating stratigraphic and stylistic arguments can be found in our subdivision of Early Dynastic glyptic. We have detailed stratigraphic data from Tell Asmar and Khafajah and much related material, of every description, from other sites. We have been able to distinguish three styles: (1) the brocade style of Early Dynastic I, in which subject matter was of little importance and the seal-cutter's concentration was bent upon producing an uninterrupted frieze with an even density of design; (2) the imaginative linear style occurring in the majority of seals from Early Dynastic II layers; this style develops into (3) the decorative relief style of Early Dynastic III. We have been able to connect this series with the preceding styles, as well as to show that its last phase contains germs of the succeeding, Akkadian, style. Moortgat, working without the benefit of our stratigraphic data and using stylistic criteria alone, distinguishes four groups. But these have very little character or coherence and no comprehensible relationship with one another or with their predecessors and successors.<sup>18</sup> He did not succeed in discovering the decisive stylistic criteria—largely because he believes (erroneously) that certain subjects ("Bildgedanken"<sup>19</sup>) are typical for given periods and also because he uses poorly and well cut seals indiscriminately in his classification.

I do not maintain that the precise period of origin of each and every seal can be established. In our plates several seals are marked Early Dynastic without further qualification.

<sup>15</sup> See Ernst Heinrich, *Kleinfunde aus den archaischen Tempelschichten in Uruk* (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, "Ausgrabungen . . . in Uruk-Warka" I [Berlin, 1936]).

<sup>16</sup> *OLZ* XLIV (1941) cols. 217–20. The impression of the Uruk seal which he depicts is an equivalent of that of Ibisin found on Cappadocian tablets, in the sense of being used long after manufacture.

<sup>17</sup> See *Cylinder Seals*, p. 30, n. 1.

<sup>18</sup> *OLZ* XLIV, cols. 219–20; see also his *Frühe Bildkunst in Sumer* (Vorderasiatisch-ägyptische Gesellschaft, "Mitteilungen" XL 3 [Leipzig, 1935]). Moortgat's first group ("Ausläufer der Djemdet Nasr-Zeit" and "Gesetzlosigkeit [SIS IV in Ur]") corresponds roughly to our ED I division; but it ignores the decisive and outstanding feature of the glyptic of that period, the introduction of a new principle of composition which reintegrates the inherited subjects, presents a clear break with the past, and lays the foundation of glyptic art for centuries to come. His second group is attached to the name of Mesilim, a king of Kish, and contains seals of ED II, but we do not know Mesilim's position in time.

Moortgat's third group ("Imdugud-Sukurru Stufe") includes seals which are often so poor that their exact affinity cannot be established; but most of those which are clear belong to ED III by our criteria. This is to be expected, for Moortgat's fourth group takes into account only the very last phase of ED III. We, too, have put the seals from this phase apart (*Cylinder Seals*, pp. 56 ff.), but only because we find in them the culmination of a development which is noticeable for some considerable time and contrasts in earlier stages with the styles of ED II and III.

<sup>19</sup> For a criticism of this ill-conceived term and some results of its use, see *JNES* IX (1950) 189–91.

## 6 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

Some of them were summarily executed; on some the subject matter was more important to the cutter than the composition, so that his aesthetic orientation was not made apparent. The development of the Early Dynastic seal designs can best be demonstrated by means of the animal or combat frieze, in which the subject is conventional and almost immaterial. When, on the contrary, the seal-cutter was bent upon rendering a story, he produced a simple, matter-of-fact statement such as might be made at any time within the Early Dynastic period. In these cases the stylistic evidence is inconclusive; and stratigraphic evidence may or may not be illuminating. For instance, our No. 465 shows two persons drinking through tubes, a subject well known from many seals in the Royal Cemetery at Ur (ED III). There the scene appears as in our No. 334. The exceptional character of our No. 465, found in the Square Abu Temple, is therefore due to its early date (ED II), just as No. 613 is unusual because it is an Akkadian rendering of the subject, and few instances of that period are known. Other versions (see pp. 38 f.) are of dubious age, for their being found in Early Dynastic III layers does not exclude an earlier date of manufacture.

And this brings us back to a matter raised in the Preface, namely the presentation of our seals in this volume. The plan of showing the seals in the sequence in which they were buried is worked out in our plates in the following manner. The seals from each site are presented in turn. First those from Khafajah, then those from Tell Asmar, then those from Tell Agrab, and finally those from Ishchali appear. These four groups are subdivided according to the particular complex of ruins in which they were found. In each of these subdivisions the seals found in the deepest layer are presented first. Within each locus of each layer the seals are arranged so that those which are stylistically the oldest are given first. Hence, the seals pictured first among those found in one layer are likely to be survivals from an earlier period, while those which characterize the epoch to which that particular layer belongs appear after the survivals. Table II will enable the reader to co-ordinate the layers of the separate sites.

## II

## THE STRATIFICATION OF THE SEALS

WE SHALL now survey the distribution of the seals in the successive layers of the various building complexes excavated at our four sites: Khafajah, Tell Asmar, Tell Agrab, and Ischali.<sup>1</sup> Table II (at end of volume) gives a correlation of all the levels, and a map of each site is included (Pls. 93-96) to show the loci referred to in the catalogues.

## KHAFAJAH (SEE PL. 93)

The earliest building of which we have extensive remains is the Sin Temple at Khafajah; and it is with the seals from this building that we begin the illustrations of seal designs (Pls. 3-92), as distinct from the illustrations of the seals themselves on Plates 1 and 2. The earliest layer of remains of the Sin Temple (Sin I), founded in phase *c* of the Protoliterate period, contained one cylinder (No. 1). Those discovered in the three subsequent stages of its existence (Sin II-IV) are depicted on Plates 3-20.

The next stage of the Sin Temple (V) presents us with an instructive change (Pls. 21-22). This stage appears as a unit in the architectural history of the shrine;<sup>2</sup> and that history, as revealed by the excavations, naturally provides the starting point for a chronological scheme in so far as it provides definite points for each renovation of the building. But in other (nonarchitectural) fields of material culture equally definite breaks may occur; and it so happens that at about the time of Sin V glyptic art underwent a profound change, when the disintegrating Jamdat Nasr styles were succeeded by the vigorous brocade style. In conjunction with other changes, for instance in the pottery, we have accepted this change of style as a criterion by which the beginning of the Early Dynastic period can be recognized. But in the Sin Temple this division happens not to coincide with an architectural rebuilding. This becomes clear when we consider the cylinder seals.

As regards the cylinders from Sin Temple V, it is clear that Nos. 216-19 and 223 belong to the various Jamdat Nasr styles in use during the late Protoliterate period and exemplified by some two hundred seals from Sin II-IV. Seal 221 can be proved to belong to the Protoliterate period (see p. 23). Seal 225 could belong to the same period or later on the basis of its find-spot, and its style is not decisive. But Nos. 220, 222, 224, and 226 obviously are of the brocade style, which is characteristic for Early Dynastic I. In the Sin Temple the first rebuilding of the Early Dynastic period (Sin VI) seems to fall a little after the emergence of the brocade style. We maintain that Sin Temple V, built in the late Protoliterate period, continued in use at the beginning of Early Dynastic I.<sup>3</sup>

Passing by Sin Temple VI for the moment, we notice that seals of the brocade style prevail in Sin Temple VII (Nos. 235-37) and occur in the contemporary houses (levels 8-7) in

<sup>1</sup> The remarks in this chapter and throughout the discussion are based on the seals and ancient impressions which are illustrated on our plates. A catalogue of seals and impressions found in the excavations but not illustrated because of their poor state of preservation is given on pp. 53-61.

<sup>2</sup> See *OIP* LVIII 31-35.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.* pp. 122-23 and cf. pp. 4-5.

## 8 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

the adjoining area (No. 291). But some Jamdat Nasr seals were preserved and occurred in these levels too (Nos. 234, 288, 290). Such survivals are quite common, as we shall see. Yet there can be no doubt that the majority of the seals from Sin Temple VII are of the type which was in use during Early Dynastic I, and the bricks used here are plano-convex.

Let us now return to Sin Temple VI, that is, the stage between Sin Temple V, where the brocade style makes its first appearance, and Sin Temple VII, where it predominates. The age of Sin VI cannot be in doubt. It belongs to Early Dynastic I, and its walls were, as was to be expected, built of plano-convex bricks. But it so happens that the one seal found there for certain (No. 227) is a survival from the late Protoliterate period and not contemporary with the building. Of the seals which in our records are not definitely assigned to either Sin Temple VI or VII (and which may, therefore, belong to either)<sup>4</sup> two (Nos. 228 and 231) are Jamdat Nasr seals and four (Nos. 229-30, 232-33) belong to Early Dynastic I.

With Sin Temple VIII (see Pls. 23-24) we come to a better known style of Early Dynastic glyptic (Nos. 244-45); the majority of the large collection of seal impressions from Farah belong to this time, Early Dynastic II. In Sin VIII, too, survivals of earlier periods occur; we find four Jamdat Nasr seals (Nos. 238-41) and two of the brocade style (Nos. 242-43).

From here onward the Sin Temple yielded but few seals; however, we may make use of those from buildings in the adjoining parts of the site—the private houses and the Temple Oval—to complete our series. Sin Temple VIII and Houses 6 were contemporaneous (see Table II).<sup>5</sup> Temple Oval I was in use while the houses were being renovated and rebuilt, throughout Houses 5 and 4. And Oval I continued in use up to the end of Houses 3. Sin Temple IX was built during the existence of Houses 4 and continued in use along with Oval I. Consequently the seals from Temple Oval I and from Houses 6-3, with the graves contained therein, are contemporary with those from Sin Temples VIII-IX (see Pls. 24-26, 29-31). Here again we find numerous survivals of the Protoliterate period (Nos. 249-52, 261, 297-301, 309-12) and of the brocade style (Nos. 256-57, 302-3, 313) besides those made during the period when these buildings were constructed, Early Dynastic II (Nos. 253-55, 258, 305-6, 308, 314).

Such seals as Nos. 260, 295, and 317 are of coarse workmanship, the like of which crops up at all times from the hands of nonprofessional cutters. They cannot be dated by intrinsic evidence; and, as they are less valuable than the products of expert seal-cutters—not only because the design is crude, but also because the material is usually cheap—they are more likely than any of the others to date from the same time as the buildings in which they were found. In earlier layers we have similar seals in Nos. 152, 159, and 215; we did not draw attention to them before, since their exceptional position was not very clear among the Jamdat Nasr designs. But from Early Dynastic II onward such seals stand out for what they are—amateurish or popular products outside glyptic tradition altogether. Later instances, or at least seals found in later layers, are Nos. 571, 678, 904, 926, 945, and 949.

Houses 3 and 2 and Temple Oval II are the best defined layers for the early part of Early Dynastic III (ED IIIa) and are the only levels which contained seals attributable specifically to ED IIIa: Nos. 273, 315, 320, 331-32. With Sin Temple X, Oval III, and Houses 1 (Pls. 24, 27, 34, 35) we reach surface levels, where the stratification loses significance to a large extent. Note, however, that even here some seals of the Protoliterate period came to light (Nos. 347, 349-50).

<sup>4</sup> This means that a decision could not be reached as to which architectural layer the objects were associated with, usually because they were found not upon floors but in debris between two building levels.

<sup>5</sup> Layer 6 of our fifth preliminary report (*OIC* No. 20, p. 40) is the 7th from the top in the final numbering, since Layer 5 of the old numbering has been found to cover two construction periods, now called Houses 6 and 5.

## THE STRATIFICATION OF THE SEALS

9

Foundations for Akkadian buildings also are situated at the modern surface of the site (in B-G 26-30; see Area 6 on Pl. 93). Of the seals from these foundations or immediately below, two are Jamdat Nasr (Nos. 378-79), eight are Early Dynastic III (Nos. 380-87), one is Akkadian (No. 388), and one (No. 389) is unrecognizable.

Plates 38-40 show seals found chiefly in unexcavated areas of Mound A—that part of Khafajah which covered the ruins so far discussed. Some seals on Plate 40 were found elsewhere at Khafajah—on Mounds B, C, and D—in ruins of the Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian periods. Plate 41 shows Khafajah seals whose find-spots are unknown.

## TELL ASMAR (SEE PL. 94)

We must now consider the parallel series of cylinder seals from Tell Asmar (Pls. 42-71). The Abu Temple, like the Sin Temple at Khafajah, was founded late in the Protoliterate period (see Table II), but it was at first an insignificant structure. The broken cylinder No. 441 was found in the Earliest Shrine, approximately on a level with Nos. 487-88 and 540, from two deep soundings<sup>6</sup> dug to the north and south of the Abu Temple (in D 15:3 and H 18:14).

Next follow the seals from the Archaic Shrine: No. 442 from Archaic Shrine I, No. 443 from II, Nos. 444-46 and probably No. 447 from III, while Nos. 448-52 are from IV. Only two of these (Nos. 447 and 450) are of the brocade style; three (Nos. 446, 449, 452) are indefinite, while the others are Jamdat Nasr seals, which must be considered as survivals. For there is no reason to consider Nos. 447 and 450 as intrusions from later layers; and, in fact, the architectural and general stratigraphic evidence confirms an Early Dynastic I date for the Archaic Shrine.<sup>7</sup>

The next stage of the sanctuary of Abu, the Square Temple, contained four survivals of the Protoliterate period (Nos. 454, 459-60, 472), six survivals of Early Dynastic I (Nos. 455, 466-69, 473), and nine seals in the new style of Early Dynastic II (Nos. 456-58, 462-65, 470-71). In addition there is one of those coarse seals which may have been cut at any time (No. 461). Five of the seals were found inside the altar of Shrine I.<sup>8</sup> They were, therefore, buried together during the building operations; yet they hail from different periods. One is of Jamdat Nasr style (No. 454), one dates from Early Dynastic I (No. 455), and three were quite recent at the time they were buried since they show the style of Early Dynastic II (Nos. 456-58). It would be impossible to find a better example of the complications which even well stratified finds contain. There is no question of any disturbance of the soil, and all the stratigraphic facts are simple and comprehensible. The majority of the objects in the deposit date from the same period as that of the building in which they were found. But among the cylinders there are two or three which are survivals, and only the comparative study of a numerous series of varied origin can reveal the fact.

In Plate 45 are shown the seals found in the higher levels of the Abu Temple. In the Single-Shrine we can distinguish three periods (see Table II); in the Early Dynastic III level (Single-Shrine I) one Jamdat Nasr seal (No. 474), one brocade style seal (No. 475), and two Early Dynastic III seals (Nos. 476-77) were found. The higher layers dated from the Protoimperial (Single-Shrine II-III) and Akkadian (Single-Shrine IV) periods. Level IV contained an Akkadian seal (No. 478), and an Early Dynastic III seal (No. 479) was found on the surface. Our records do not indicate the levels of the other seals found in the Single-Shrine—one Jamdat Nasr (No. 480), one ED III (No. 481), and one indefinite (No. 482).

<sup>6</sup> See *OIP* LXIII 27 f.

<sup>7</sup> See *OIP* LVIII 162-72 and Pl. 24.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 183.

## 10 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

To the north of the Abu Temple was a complex which we call the Northern Palace;<sup>9</sup> above it were houses of the Akkadian and later periods, while beneath the palace were houses of the Early Dynastic period (see Table II). The seals found in the Northern Palace area are shown together on Plates 46–51; Nos. 486–91 come from a sounding in this region which went down to virgin soil; they do not call for comment. Seals 492–99 were found in the earlier Northern Palace (ca. 31–34 m.; ED III). Seals 492–94 belong to the Protoliterate period, and the others to the Early Dynastic period, Nos. 495 and 499 to its latest phase. The main level of the Northern Palace (ca. 34–36 m.), representing the Protoimperial (formerly considered the end of the Early Dynastic) period, yielded Nos. 500 (Jamdat Nasr), 502–4 (ED III), and 501, which may be earlier than Early Dynastic III. The palace was covered by a layer of gray rubbish (ca. 36–37 m.), in which one ED III (No. 515) and one Akkadian (No. 516) seal turned up, as well as an impression of an Akkadian seal (No. 517). An Akkadian seal (No. 505) was found in the fill of the palace. Above the gray layer were private houses of the Akkadian, Gutium–Ur III, and Isin-Larsa periods. In these houses were found seals belonging to the Protoliterate (No. 518), Early Dynastic (No. 521), Akkadian (Nos. 519–20), and Isin-Larsa (No. 522) periods. The rest of the seals from this area were found at various levels outside the palace, and several were recovered from the dump.

We now turn to the large number of seals from the main area of private houses, south of the Northern Palace. Three Jamdat Nasr seals and an Early Dynastic specimen from the deep sounding below the houses open the series (Nos. 540–43). The others shown on Plates 52–53 came from Houses V, in which plano-convex bricks were used. There is no noticeable difference between the seals of the subdivisions *c*, *b*, and *a* of that level; most of them belong to the Early Dynastic period. Nos. 544 and 555–56 are Jamdat Nasr types; Nos. 563–64, of early brocade and ED II style respectively, also antedate the bulk of our finds. Seals 552 and 568–71 cannot be dated by their style.

Houses IV, divided into two parts (*b* and *a*), belongs to the Akkadian period. Its seals are shown on Plates 54–63. Among them are three seals of the late Protoliterate period (Nos. 572–73, 603) and eight Early Dynastic seals (Nos. 574–76, 604, 625–26, 631, 633). The ancient impression No. 701 should be mentioned here, since it names Shudurul, the last king of Sargon's dynasty. Plate 63 is completed with some Akkadian seals (Nos. 679–82) from our excavations whose exact provenience is unknown. On Plate 64 we have collected the seals of Houses III, which belongs to the end of the Guti period, and one Akkadian seal (No. 692) found in Houses II, which is dated by tablets to the Third Dynasty of Ur. Of the seals apparently used during the Guti domination, only a few (Nos. 689–91) show a modification of the Akkadian style which may be characteristic for the Guti (see p. 33). The other specimens on Plate 64 (except No. 683) are definitely Akkadian. No seals were found in Houses I, representing the Early Larsa period.<sup>10</sup>

Plates 66–67 show seals from the Gimilsin Temple and the Palace of the Rulers.<sup>11</sup> In the ruins of this complex, which was founded toward the end of the Third Dynasty of Ur and destroyed by Hammurabi, we discovered six Akkadian (Nos. 703–4, 707–8, 710, and 722) cylinders, whereas most of the others are contemporary with the building. Seal 720 is possibly a Guti seal, and No. 715 is indeterminate.

The seals found in the Southern Building and the houses below it (Pl. 68) do not call for comment. They are predominantly of the same period as the buildings.

<sup>9</sup> In our third preliminary report (*OIC* No. 17) it appears as the "Akkadian Palace," but it is now known to have originated in ED III, with its main occupation in the Protoimperial period.

<sup>10</sup> See *OIP* LXIII 114 for the division of the Isin-Larsa period.

<sup>11</sup> See *OIP* XLIII, where the seals shown on our Pls. 66–68 (except Nos. 721, 725, 728, 739) are published.



## THE STRATIFICATION OF THE SEALS

11

## TELL AGRAB (SEE PL. 95)

The excavations at Tell Agrab were not carried on for a sufficient length of time for us to uncover a long series of strata. We found an Early Dynastic temple, the Shara Temple, in which we distinguished a number of successive floors or occupations and three main divisions—surface to 34.00 m., 34.00–32.00 m., and 32.00–30.00 m.<sup>12</sup> The main part of the building (34.00–30.00 m.) belongs to Early Dynastic II; the remains of the succeeding period were denuded, and those of Early Dynastic I were touched only in the deepest layers. It is extremely interesting that in a temple built of plano-convex bricks more than sixty per cent of the seals date from the Protoliterate period (see Pls. 72–84). The trial trenches from which Nos. 891–96 (Pl. 85) derive do not allow us to say much about their stratification. The same applies, of course, to the purchased seals figured on Plates 90–92, which were said to have been found on our sites before we started excavation.

## ISHCHALI (SEE PL. 96)

The Kititum and Shamash temples, founded in the Isin-Larsa period, may have remained in use under Hammurabi, and this would explain why seals of the style of the First Dynasty of Babylon are found in them (see Pls. 86–89). The Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian styles can, anyhow, not be distinguished sharply.

TABLE I  
SYNOPSIS OF THE STRATIGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE DIYALA CYLINDER SEALS\*

PERIOD OF FIND-SPOT	FREQUENCY OF THE VARIOUS STYLES						TOTAL
	Uruk	Jamdat Nasr	Early Dynastic	Akkadian	Ur III	Isin-Larsa and Old Bab.	
Protoliterate <i>c-d</i>	3	222					225
Early Dynastic		121	141				262
Protoimperial		4	14				18
Agade		3	10	88			101
Gutium-Ur III					6		6
Larsa and Old Babylonian		2	9	10	3	49	73

\* Based on our illustrated seals whose styles are recognizable and whose find-spots are definitely dated.

<sup>12</sup> See *OIP* LVIII 218–88.

## III

THE STYLISTIC DEVELOPMENT OF MESOPOTAMIAN GLYPTIC  
AS ILLUSTRATED BY SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

## INTRODUCTION

CONSIDERED against the background of the history of glyptic art which we have outlined in *Cylinder Seals*, the present collection stands out in three respects. In the first place, phases *c* and *d* of the Protoliterate period and Early Dynastic I are exceptionally well represented. In the second place, we gain a remarkable insight into the relation between provincial work and that produced in the great cultural centers of the south. The intricate designs of Early Dynastic II at Farah are seldom equaled among our seals, and we have several curious designs (e.g. Nos. 796-801, 821-22, 824, 831, 837) which can only be understood as somewhat clumsy provincial versions. Provincialism may likewise explain the comparative prevalence of the early Sargonid style and the scarcity of the classical Akkadian heraldic variant of the animal frieze. And, again, we find among the seals of the First Dynasty of Babylon a considerable number which deviate so far from the accepted standards that we might have classed several of them as products of the peripheral regions but for the fact that they were found at Ishchali, in the heart of Babylonia, and appear therefore merely as rustic versions of the usual themes. In the third place, our seals give an impression of the extraordinary variety in quality in each successive period, an impression which counteracts the selection inherent in the seals of private and public collections. Rough cylinders such as Nos. 150-51, 153-58, 160 (Jamdat Nasr), 269 (Early Dynastic), and 905 (Isin-Larsa) are but rarely handled by antiquity dealers.

## THE PROTOLITERATE PERIOD

The early part of this period (phases *a-b*), in which the cylinder seal and writing made their first appearance in Mesopotamia, is not represented among our finds by substantial remains. Yet Nos. 35-36 may confidently be ascribed to that time. The evidence adduced in chapter ii proves clearly enough that their occurrence in Sin Temple III, which belongs to the latter half of the Protoliterate period (see Table II), is nothing unusual. Their affinities are, however, with the Uruk rather than the Jamdat Nasr style seals.

A series of impressions found in the fourth and fifth archaic layers at Warka represents the only specimens which can be assigned with absolute certainty to the early part of the Protoliterate period. They allow us to classify a number of cylinders whose provenience is unknown and our Nos. 35-36. Neither of the latter equals the best work done at Warka. The smaller (No. 35) shows the profile of a lion, characteristic of some of the Warka seals,<sup>1</sup> but the exclusive reliance on modeling which distinguishes the finest of those seals is superseded. The details of mane and beard are brought out by incised lines. For this procedure there are parallels among other specimens which are classified as Uruk seals.<sup>2</sup> The lion on No. 36 is altogether coarser; note, for instance, the claws. The attempt to render the attitude of the beast, which, overthrown by the bull, lands on one foreleg and flings out the other to regain his

<sup>1</sup> E.g. *UVB V*, Pl. 24 b.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. V a.

balance, is remarkably bold;<sup>3</sup> and it is not surprising that the seal-cutter's ability fell short of his ambition. The bull is rendered conventionally; and the detailed resemblances to certain other seals attributed to the "Uruk" period<sup>4</sup>—modeling of the body, rendering of the eye, shape of the tasseled tail—are quite close. The execution is a little simpler, or even cruder, than that of the museum pieces with which we can compare it.

Now that the affinities of Nos. 35–36 are clearly established, it is interesting to note their isolation among our finds.<sup>5</sup> Our several hundred cylinders from the latter part of the Protoliterate period all fall within a few well defined groups which are represented throughout the country where remains of this period have been discovered. The two seals which show the Uruk style, although found in Sin Temple III, stand entirely outside the universally valid divisions of Jamdat Nasr glyptic. This isolated position in any case suggests that they are either importations or survivals; and thus our observations at Khafajah corroborate the division between Uruk and Jamdat Nasr glyptic which was made on the strength of other evidence.

The second half of the Protoliterate period presents two somewhat contradictory aspects in the field of glyptic art. No other period shows so rich a variety of shapes, and there is one group of seals with geometric designs which testify to a remarkable decorative inventiveness. But on the whole the seal-cutting is much inferior to that of the earlier part of the period. In fact, many of the seals show mere deteriorations of older (Uruk) designs. We shall therefore discuss these seals in three sections: one dealing with the shapes, another with the designs which are degenerate imitations of those of the Uruk style, and a third describing those designs which are new introductions in the latter half of the Protoliterate period.

#### THE SHAPES OF THE CYLINDERS

The oldest Mesopotamian cylinders show an unusual variety of shapes. The rolls are often larger than at any other time, measuring as much as six centimeters in height. This large type persists up to the end of the period (Pls. 1–2 *a, g, i, k, o, q*), while Plate 1 *k* shows not only the proportion (height  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 times the diameter) but also the size which is the commonest in later times. But, in addition, there are very small (*s*), very tall (*x*) or very squat (*l*) seals, concave seals (*r*), and others with curious elaborations on the top (*d*).

The attachments to or elaborations of the upper part served a practical purpose. Not all early seals were worn on a string threaded through an axial perforation; some were mounted on metal axles crowned by loops, which were occasionally shaped like animals. Plate 1 *a* shows a seal with a silver axle and a loop made in a shape commonly found on our sites (for detached loops see Fig. 1 and p. 62). The loop was often made in black or gray limestone and fixed into the seal by means of a dowel and some kind of adhesive. A broken cylinder illustrates this arrangement (Pl. 1 *f*). The perforation does not necessarily penetrate the whole length of the cylinder. Partially drilled cylinders are known so far only from the latter part of the Protoliterate period. The loops, when made separately, have often been lost; sometimes the suture is visible (when either the silver or the adhesive has left a discoloration as in *g*, when the circumference of the fixture has been outlined, or when a platform to fit it has been prepared as in *k*). Sometimes a conical piece connects the loop and the cylinder proper (*b* and *e*). This is a survival of an earlier phase when the conical piece was covered with a design in relief.<sup>6</sup> On one of our examples (*b*) this piece is covered with triangles of red and gray-

<sup>3</sup> An unpublished parallel is B.M. 119308.

<sup>4</sup> *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. V *a-b*.

<sup>5</sup> The impression No. 487 is closer to the Uruk than the Jamdat Nasr style but is too fragmentary to be discussed here.

<sup>6</sup> See Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres, cachets et pierres gravées de style oriental*, II No. A.116 (Pl. 69:8); *OIP* XXII, No. 690.

## 14 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

green limestone, fixed with a red paste, and recalls the inlaid decoration of contemporary stone vases, as does the shell ring inlaid on the underside of another seal (Pl. 1 *a*).

Certain shapes go together with definite types of design. The heavy rolls of white limestone, which continue an Uruk tradition, show a debased rendering of an Uruk theme—the sacred herd near its shrine (*g*). The slender rolls of glazed steatite bear a new decorative utilization of the geometric motif (*w*). The short, squat rolls of red, gray, or blue limestone

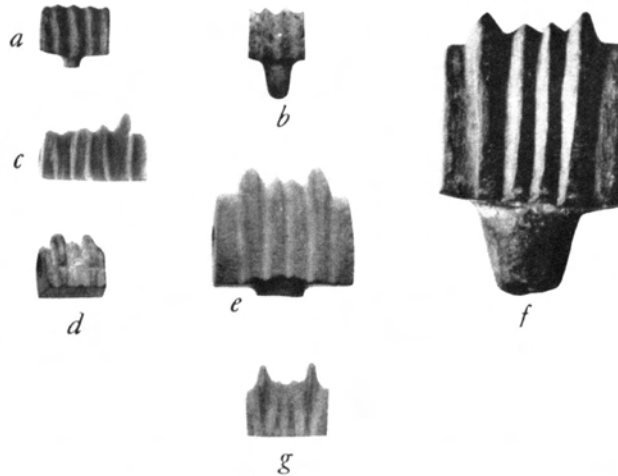


FIG. 1.—STONE LOOPS FROM CYLINDER SEALS (SEE P. 62). ACTUAL SIZE

are decorated with drill-hole designs, often representing a frieze of pigtailed women (*l*). But each class of design appears concurrently on seals of more ordinary shapes (*h*, *i*, *s*, and *u*).

## DESIGNS DERIVED FROM THE URUK STYLE

The seals which show debased renderings of older themes fall into two groups. One is formed by a heterogeneous collection of designs; the other has obtained a character of its own, though its subject is one derived from the Uruk style—namely the temple herd.

## MISCELLANEOUS DESIGNS

The seals in this group have nothing in common beyond their dependence on older inventions. On the one hand we find seals like No. 33, which are distinguished from those of the earlier part of the period by a somewhat more liberal use of the drill;<sup>7</sup> on the other hand we find inadequate engravings like No. 32<sup>8</sup> and a coarsened imitation of the modeling of the preceding age like No. 15.<sup>9</sup> The sacred herd and its byre are depicted on older and contemporaneous works, but No. 33 shows the most complete version of this subject. It is possibly intended to show the return of the herd in the evening from the grazing grounds to the byre, where the calves are seen coming forth to greet their dams. The fact that the calves are horned is curious, and even more so that both horns are shown, for the fully grown animals are drawn with the conventional single curved horn usual from the beginning of the Protoliterate period. The vessels placed near the byre are probably drinking troughs. The byre is proved to be connected with a sanctuary by the curious emblems projecting from its roof. Their exact nature is unknown, but their religious character is attested by a stela of Gudea,<sup>10</sup> as well as by their oc-

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. V *a-b*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Ibid.* Pl. III *a* and *c*.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Ibid.* Pl. III *a-b*.

<sup>10</sup> Georges Contenau, *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* I (Paris, 1927) Fig. 116 (p. 192); cf. Walter Andrae, *Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens im alten Orient* ("Studien zur Bauforschung" II [Berlin, 1930]) pp. 49 ff.

currence as emblems of the gods on seals of the Third Dynasty of Ur and the later reigns of the dynasty of Hammurabi.<sup>11</sup> Two seals of poorer quality showing the same subject are known: one in Paris,<sup>12</sup> with a loop in the form of a bull couchant, and the other in Berlin,<sup>13</sup> with an ordinary loop made, like that of the Paris specimen, in one piece with the cylinder. The subject is depicted on stone vases also.<sup>14</sup> One of these was found at Khafajah;<sup>15</sup> another, of unknown provenance, is now in Berlin.<sup>16</sup>

Our No. 32 gives the impression of a scene from nature; but it is, in fact, a variant of the scene showing the ritual feeding of the temple herd, several versions of which are known. On seals and vases of the Uruk style (of which our design is a direct descendant) rosettes represent the vegetable kingdom. They are sometimes combined to form a quasi-real flowering plant, as in our No. 32.<sup>17</sup> A more concrete rendering shows branches or ears of grain.<sup>18</sup> The rosette appears in our No. 880 together with a shrine flanked by two gatepost emblems, which are common in later times; the curious face on this seal is unique and, as yet, unexplained.

Explicit renderings of rituals with human figures were not found in the Diyala region. Of the purely decorative themes we miss the heraldic groups, but friezes of animals occur (e.g. Nos. 214, 219). The rosette used in No. 219<sup>19</sup> and the standard, dotted rosette,<sup>20</sup> and leg<sup>21</sup> used in No. 214 as filling prove the affinities of these designs. The dotted rosette recurs in the friezes of Nos. 28, 848, 851, and 858. Seal 219 shows a mountain sheep with the horizontal horns and the heavy dewlap with which it appears on Uruk seals.<sup>22</sup>

#### TEMPLE-AND-FLOCK MOTIF

In the Uruk seals appear two subjects from which the common Jamdat Nasr design showing a flock or herd near a temple derives its components. The combination is not found in the earlier period. Then we see either the temple, toward which a procession of worshipers moves with offerings,<sup>23</sup> or the sacred flock, identified by a symbol of the mother goddess. Either the flock is shown actually being fed;<sup>24</sup> or plant motifs, which in some cases are being given to the sheep or goats as fodder, appear as designs in the field.<sup>25</sup> Whenever an Uruk seal shows the temple herd beside a building, the pattern is that of our No. 33.<sup>26</sup> Yet the temple in the offering scenes on Uruk seals is the same as that which occurs together with the herd on Jamdat Nasr seals. The new combination may well be an innovation.<sup>27</sup> We discuss it here, however, rather than in the next section of this chapter, because the elements of the design are so closely connected with what went before.

The most important specimen in the Jamdat Nasr style is No. 854.<sup>28</sup> The gatepost symbols

<sup>11</sup> See *Cylinder Seals*, p. 146, n. 1, and Pl. XXX c-d.      <sup>12</sup> Delaporte, *op. cit.* No. A.25 (Pl. 63:3).

<sup>13</sup> Anton Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel* (Berlin, 1940) No. 6.

<sup>14</sup> E.g. Contenau, *Les antiquités orientales: Sumer, Babylonie, Elam* (Paris, 1928) No. 6.

<sup>15</sup> *The Illustrated London News*, Sept. 14, 1935, p. 430, Fig. 9 and color pl., Fig. 1; *OIC* No. 20, Fig. 54.

<sup>16</sup> Berliner Museen, *Berichte aus den Preussischen Kunstsammlungen LI* (Berlin, 1930) 3 (VA 7236).

<sup>17</sup> See also *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. III a.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. V d; cf. Pl. V f.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Leon Legrain, *Empreintes de cachets élamites* (France. Mission archéologique de Perse, "Mémoires" XVI [Paris, 1921]) Nos. 101 and 314.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *ibid.* No. 102; R. Ghirshman, *Fouilles de Sialk près de Kashan 1933, 1934, 1937 II* (Paris, 1939) Pls. XXXI 5 and XCVII S.1348.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. IV a.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. III a; cf. Moortgat, *op. cit.* No. 9 (probably late Protoliterate).

<sup>23</sup> *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. III d and Figs. 2-4.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. III b.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. V d.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* Fig. 5.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* Fig. 2, the two calves may be construed as representing the temple herd, but this is uncertain; and the procession toward the temple is the main subject.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *Ibid.* Pl. VII d.

## 16 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

clearly indicate that temple and herd are dedicated to the mother goddess. The wavy lines at the bottom are no mere decoration but, like similar lines on Nos. 34 and 76, represent the water which is an indispensable part of any Mesopotamian evocation of the festivals of nature. The stream recurs at the bottom of No. 853,<sup>29</sup> where temple and herd appear beside a tree on a mountain; and a pair of scorpions, symbolic for the mother goddess as Ishara, who protects and furthers human procreation, are also shown (cf. p. 38).<sup>30</sup> It is just possible that the standard in the crude design on No. 24 represents the gatepost symbol; a tree occurs, in any case, on Nos. 284 and 852.

Normally only the animals and the shrine are depicted, two animals being commonest (Nos. 41, 42, 73, 74, 203, 205, 213, 252, 807, 845). Sometimes we find four (Nos. 30, 55, 816, 825, 861), and occasionally a single one (Nos. 29, 62, 284, 786, 836, 852, 855, 859-60). Rarely there are six (No. 829), or even eight (No. 877). The rendering is usually too conventionalized for us to be certain of the species or even the genus of the animal which is depicted; cattle, goats, and stags seem to occur as well as ibexes and antelopes (see p. 18, n. 38). This variety, however, is not confined to Protoliterate seals. Since a combination of ruminant and plant or tree refers to the gods of fertility, it is apparently immaterial which plants or animals are depicted in any given instance.

Here we must append a reference to our No. 34, since its pattern contains all the elements of this class of design: the temple, the ruminants, the trees, and the stream. This design, however, is no mere repetition of a conventional theme. We are at a loss to explain exactly what is depicted; but it seems certain that the goats are approaching an ambush where a lion-headed creature—tailless and erect and thus no ordinary beast of prey<sup>31</sup>—lies in wait for them. The role of the bird-spectator is entirely enigmatic. It seems likely that the building with towers represents the temple. But towers, although they are typical of Mesopotamian temple architecture at all later times, are never shown on Uruk seals. They may be an architectural feature developed in the latter part of the Protoliterate period.

Two aspects of this group should still be mentioned. The crude and abbreviated form which the design takes in many instances raises the question of whether the simple frieze of animals (Nos. 15, 22, 23, 25, 37, 38, 43, 61, 66, 204, 206-8, 261, 266, 287, 841, 844, 851, 857-58) should not be considered as a further simplification of the same subject. Such instances as our Nos. 26, 27, 67, 72, 193, 299, and 856, where two or more goats appear together with a tree or trees, seem to support such a view. On the other hand, the frieze of animals is of common occurrence from the early Protoliterate to the end of the Sargonid period, and the seals just referred to may be simplifications of such designs as Nos. 39, 214, and 219, as well as of the temple-and-flock subjects.

The other question raised by this group of cylinders is their use. Their frequent occurrence in the temples at Khafajah and Tell Agrab contrasts with their comparative scarcity elsewhere and finds its complement in the rarity at our two temple sites of the squat seals with drill-hole designs so common at Jamdat Nasr, Telloh, Susa, and, comparatively speaking, at Tell Asmar. This difference in distribution suggests a difference of function. The squat cylinders were used in the private houses, and impressions are known. They were certainly seals. I am not aware of

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Ibid.* Pl. VII g.

<sup>30</sup> No. 853 is important, too, as a link connecting with the Jamdat Nasr glyptic a cylinder showing alongside a similar tree a monster of Indian extraction (*ibid.* Pl. VI c). The same type of tree appears on a contemporary vase from Khafajah (*OIP* LXIII, Pls. 3, above, and 30). The tree in the latter is well matched in the seal design of Moortgat, *op. cit.* No. 10.

<sup>31</sup> E. Douglas Van Buren, *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia as Represented in Art* ("Analecta orientalia" XVIII [Roma, 1939]) pp. 20 f. and Fig. 23, considers it a bear, but it resembles more closely a lion-headed monster known on Elamite seals and as a statuette now in the Brooklyn Museum (see Edith Porada in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* LXX [1950] 223-26).

impressions of cylinders with the temple-and-flock motif. It is always possible that objects shaped like seals were not actually employed as such, and many uses can be imagined for them. They might have been amulets, commemorative medals, or the like, or substitutes for sheep or kids which were to be donated to the temple. For all such objects a representation of the sacred herd would be an appropriate decoration.

#### NEW DESIGNS

##### DRILL-HOLE PATTERNS

The deterioration of the repertoire of the Uruk seals in the latter part of the Protoliterate period is apparent in two tendencies. The work with the graver becomes flat and lifeless (Nos. 32, 214, 219), and excessive use is made of the drill. Seal No. 33 is an example where the word "excessive" is hardly appropriate, though it can be seen that the main shapes have first been fixed on the cylinder by means of the drill—a feature not noticeable on most Uruk seals. In other cases it is clear that even subsequent use of the graver could not obliterate the work of the drill (e.g. Nos. 15, 30, 851).

A number of typical Jamdat Nasr designs are built up almost exclusively from drill holes; they occur mostly on the squat seals of colored limestone. This type is represented by a smaller proportion of our finds than of those at Telloh and Jamdat Nasr, but all varieties of design were found. There are women, usually pigtailed, squatting (Nos. 296, 312, 542, 756)—sometimes on couches in a row (Nos. 480, 544, 871, 929, 964), or arranged in vertical pairs of which one member is upside down (No. 819), or *tête-bêche* (Nos. 234, 264)—or standing (Nos. 227, 872). Other designs consist exclusively of drill holes. A group of one large drill hole with two smaller ones is possibly a rendering of an amphora (Nos. 195, 197–98, 263, 868), for it is sometimes held by a squatting woman in the same position as are recognizable two-handled vessels on some more carefully executed seals.<sup>32</sup> Sometimes (No. 846) it is associated with a group consisting of two drill holes and a line, which clearly renders a spouted vase (see No. 200). The meaning of these designs is obscure; and so is that of occasional variants (e.g. No. 494). It is possible that they are debased survivals of the Uruk seals on which some kind of ritual is depicted. And the monotony with which the same motifs reappear in this group would fit this explanation, but it remains entirely hypothetical.<sup>33</sup>

Another common drill-hole motif reminds one of a spider (Nos. 64, 249, 523, 817, 870, 963, 967). In some seals part or all of the design is reduced to a mere arrangement of isolated blobs and dots (Nos. 1, 17, 812, 884). A few new designs are carefully executed, although they have large drill holes as a prominent feature. They depict birds, either by themselves (No. 843) or combined with elements found on contemporary groups of seals, such as the temple (No. 201) and a geometric motif (No. 173). Birds have not so far been found on seals at other sites.

##### GEOMETRIC<sup>34</sup> DESIGNS

The most striking innovation of the Jamdat Nasr seals is the series of geometric designs which appear on tall slender cylinders made usually of glazed steatite. Some seals with this type of design are known from other sites, but they have never been found in such numbers and in such unequivocally dated contexts as at Khafajah. Though it would be redundant to describe these patterns, the shortness of our commentary should not cause the reader to overlook their merit. They are admirably suited to cover surfaces of varying extent with attractive patterns, a function which a cylinder seal should fulfill. But to make seals answer their purpose,

<sup>32</sup> *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. XXXVIII b–d and f.

<sup>33</sup> See *ibid.* pp. 35–38, where the comparative rarity in temple ruins is exaggerated to "absence."

<sup>34</sup> The term "geometric" is used quite loosely for nonrepresentational designs which it would be useless to describe in words.

## 18 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

designs should be individual and distinctive, and that these certainly are not. Nevertheless, there is great variety (see e.g. Pls. 11–15). We find rosettes of different types, framed and separated by designs of varying composition. There are zigzags, equally varied, which sometimes become wavy lines or a succession of arches, all hatched and supplemented by various fillings in the remaining spaces. Sometimes two or three motifs, each usually forming the central feature of a seal, are combined on one; thus No. 297 shows a rosette, a Maltese cross, and hatched arches of the type which we class with zigzags. Of subsidiary motifs, the drilled circle with a center dot is important (e.g. Nos. 78, 79, 81, 89, 95, 107, 117, 119, 130, 132) because it allows us to assign some foreign or exported seals to the Jamdat Nasr glyptic.<sup>35</sup>

All these designs are purely abstract. There is no trace of any imitation of natural objects; there is, in a few instances, contamination with "landscape" designs, but these designs will be considered in the next section. We shall deal also (pp. 20–21) with the disintegration products of the geometric style, which are of particular importance for dating purposes. Here we must add that the seals discussed in this section represent an entirely new departure in Mesopotamian glyptic and one which remains without parallel in later times.

Since not only the design but also the shape and material of these cylinders are distinctive, one has to reckon with the possibility of foreign origin; but nowhere are such seals found in such numbers as in the Diyala region.<sup>36</sup> The hypothesis of foreign origin is anyway abused in archeological argument for covering up ignorance and should not be adopted without cogent reason. The seal-cutters of the latter part of the Protoliterate period showed extraordinary inventiveness as regards both shapes and designs. It is true that their work is often crudely executed but there is no reason why the introduction of geometric design should not be credited to their experimental spirit.

We cannot leave this class of seals without referring to our No. 448, which shows almost the exact design of a broken cylinder found at Alishar in Anatolia and certainly imported from the south.<sup>37</sup> The Anatolian seal is of diorite, but stones other than steatite are occasionally (though rarely) used in Mesopotamia with this class of design (e.g. our No. 241).

## REPRESENTATIONAL DESIGNS

The class of tall cylinders we have just described includes a few which are decorated with plants and animals. Seal No. 76 is the outstanding example; the others appear in a state of disintegration, where the natural representations are resorbed by the geometric ornaments usual in this class.

Seal No. 76 is indistinguishable from the tall geometric seals in size and material. Its design, though exceptional, includes features known from other Jamdat Nasr seals. The wavy lines, representing water, occur in the temple-and-flock designs and on our No. 34; but they are, after all, a normal way of rendering water (see p. 16).

It is difficult to gauge the meaning of the design of No. 76. The idyllic picture of wooded mountains where goats<sup>38</sup> ruminant and kneel to drink from a brook may be a picturesque, but none the less symbolic, reference to the gods of vital force; for the study of glyptic art impresses upon us with particular insistence how many allusions which must have been clear to the ancients escape us. However this may be, there are some Uruk seal designs which show

<sup>35</sup> See *Cylinder Seals*, p. 229.

<sup>36</sup> For their distribution see *ibid.* p. 34.

<sup>37</sup> Hans Henning von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük, Seasons of 1931–32 I (OIP XXVIII [1937])* 183 and Fig. 186, No. e 455; for the westward expansion of Mesopotamian glyptic in the "Jamdat Nasr" period see Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pp. 227–32.

<sup>38</sup> We use "goat" as a convenient general term; it is fatuous to argue about the precise zoological connotation of most of the summary designs on seals, but in the case of so careful a drawing as our No. 76 it is at least likely that the horns of the upper animal have the outward curve of a mouflon ram and not the wide upright curve of the ibex.



like subjects;<sup>39</sup> and our No. 76 may therefore be regarded as a rendering, in the new medium of the tall seals, of an old theme. There are differences from Uruk seals which point consistently to a later date for No. 76: the modeling is somewhat flat, as in our No. 219; and the rendering of the animals' eyes by means of circles instead of ovals is at variance with the usage of the preceding epoch. Yet the precise observation of nature which went into the design of the kneeling goat is one with the spirit of earlier seals of the Protoliterate period. Its manifestation in a seal of the new tall type seems an argument against a foreign origin for the latter. However, No. 76 seems to be an archaism. Most of the designs of the tall seals are, in contrast, austere abstract; and the tendency toward the geometric ousted all others. We have the remaining seals on Plate 10 to prove that the "landscape" elements too were absorbed piecemeal by the prevalent geometric patterns. In No. 80 we see a goat, with mountain and tree treated uneasily as a geometric motif and surrounded with the usual filling. In No. 78 the figure of the goat is breaking up under the strain—the eye being put on a par with the other circle ornaments and the legs becoming symmetrical fill motifs beside the rosette. In No. 199 (Pl. 19) the fore part of the goat has been absorbed by the geometric figures. The "tree-on-mountain" is similarly disintegrated in Nos. 81 (Pl. 10) and 813 (Pl. 74). The disorderly design of No. 3 (Pl. 3) seems to include legs of goats, while in Nos. 54 (Pl. 8) and 82 the goats remain intact, but fragments of rosettes appear incongruously in the field.

Two other seals might be thought of as "landscape" seals since they are tall and contain plant and animal motifs (Nos. 69, 191). The method of engraving is rather different, however. Note especially that the seals discussed above (Nos. 54, 76, 80, 82; also No. 77) depict the goat's eye, even if only by a hollow in the head. Seals 69 and 191 may ultimately be proved to derive from such seals as Nos. 284 and 852; in any case they suggest a rather later stage of Jamdat Nasr glyptic. Actually No. 69 presents a well known motif. A ruminant crossing in front of a plant symbolizes the god of fertility, as shown by the relief on the base of his statue from Tell Asmar.<sup>40</sup> The ruminant with a plant occurs on both Uruk and Early Dynastic seals<sup>41</sup> and, in fact, throughout Early Dynastic art. One Jamdat Nasr seal shows this combination in connection with a shrine.<sup>42</sup> It is better, therefore, not to consider the two seals under discussion (Nos. 69 and 191) as part of the "landscape" group.

#### TRANSITIONAL SEALS

We shall now deal with a number of seals which are of exceptional interest because of their transitional character. Transitional has a double meaning in this context. Certain seals combine features of two or more of the contemporary groups of seals which we have been discussing and are transitional in that sense. Other seals show the transition from Jamdat Nasr to Early Dynastic I glyptic. They will be discussed in the next chapter.

We have already studied one transition, namely that from the earlier (Uruk) to the later (Jamdat Nasr) phase of the Protoliterate period; and in so doing we have seen that deteriorated renderings of earlier motifs form a considerable part of Jamdat Nasr glyptic. The transition at the end of the period is of a different nature. The direction of the development is reversed; the chaotic designs of the last stages of Jamdat Nasr glyptic are reintegrated by a new stylistic principle which is destined to remain of fundamental importance until the advent of Sargon of Akkad. We should therefore distinguish the latest seals of the Protoliterate period as clearly as possible from the earliest products of the new Early Dynastic orientation, since the former provide the raw material for further developments.

When we speak of the latest Jamdat Nasr seals we take the term in a stylistic and typo-

<sup>39</sup> E.g. boars in marshes (*UVB V*, Pl. 25 a).

<sup>40</sup> *OIP XLIV* 13-15 and Pl. 6 A.

<sup>41</sup> *Cylinder Seals*, Pls. V b and XIII e.

<sup>42</sup> Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, Pl. 19 c.

## 20 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

logical, rather than in a stratigraphical, sense. Conventionalized or hastily executed seals accompany the finer works at all periods. One can separate original, purposeful, clear designs from debased derivatives; and it is the latter which we designate as "later" or "latest." It is true that in a complete sequence of strata these must appear to increase toward the end of a given period; but the sequence of late Protoliterate strata at our disposal, though larger than that obtained at any other site, is insufficient to demonstrate a change in style. A perusal of our plates will show that the seals from the successive layers of the Sin Temple do not differ from one another in any marked degree; the various groups which we have discussed are everywhere represented together with some seals which, from a typological standpoint, must be called "late." Among such seals are Nos. 1-3, 6, 11, 13, 14, 17, 28, and 30.

As to the seals which are transitional in the sense that they share the characteristics of two or more contemporary groups, we may first discuss those on which occur spouted vases made simply by the addition of an incised line to a drill hole which does service for the body. Technically these vases belong on the squat seals with drill-hole designs (p. 17). But in addition we find them with animals (Nos. 24, 39, 857), with the temple-and-flock motif (No. 836), and with the temple (Nos. 12, 201). Occasionally they form the sole decoration of a seal (Nos. 2, 18, 200). Again, they appear with somewhat unintelligible motifs (No. 13) in compositions which share the absence of "subject" with the geometric designs, without, however, possessing the formal order and harmony which distinguish the latter. The vases are true products of the tendency toward disintegration which pervades all the varied glyptic of the late Protoliterate period and produces curiously jejune and meaningless late phases of each of the several classes of design.

From the temple-and-flock motif may derive combinations of fishes and plants (No. 301) and more or less recognizable fishes used as sole decoration (Nos. 182-83). Seal 75 shows a goat copied from some frieze and combined with a rosette from the geometric designs of the tall seals. Thus simple elements of different origin mingle in the "late" seals.

The geometric patterns of the tall seals become degraded into simple geometric designs which lack the elaborate harmony of the originals. There are juxtapositions of a few simple motifs, sometimes separated by vertical lines (Nos. 177-81, 184-86)—the very antithesis of the continuous pattern of the parent stock, which nowhere shows vertical breaks and continues uninterrupted over a surface of indefinite extent. A seal like No. 13 might be viewed as a descendant of either a geometric design or a design of the drill-hole vase.

The disintegration products of the geometric style are ultimately reduced to a few patterns; they become standardized. These designs occur, like the drill-hole vases, on every type of Jamdat Nasr seal. To simplify reference we shall speak of the "bundle," the "eye," and the "star" motif, meaning, respectively, a thick line with hatching on either side (two bundles appear on No. 4), an oval, either surrounded by a line (as in Nos. 49, 58, 59, 177-79) or by itself (as in Nos. 9, between the rosettes, and 174), and a drill hole with incised cross lines (Nos. 855, 859). There are certain complications, such as the two pairs of bundles on No. 19 and the two pairs of eyes on No. 20; but it would serve no useful purpose to split hairs about the exact denomination of such designs. The outstanding fact of importance is that these three simple motifs,<sup>43</sup> with their variants, dominate the late Jamdat Nasr glyptic. Inchoate as they seem, they occur in almost identical form on seals found throughout Mesopotamia and on others discovered in Syria, Iran, and Egypt but shown to be importations from the plain of the Two Rivers by the very designs we are discussing. Although they have no particular beauty or significance, they occur over and over again, either in combination or with one of them repeated several times as the sole decoration of a seal (Nos. 4, 5, 11, 16, 44-46, 48, 50, 58, 59, 144-48). In this they are similar to the drill-hole vases or even the mere drill holes which serve as decoration. We also find bundles and drill holes combined (No. 1), drill holes

<sup>43</sup> See *Cylinder Seals*, pp. 227-30; also p. 35.

(or perhaps debased spouted vases) combined with a goat (No. 56), bundles and an eye with a goat (No. 14), a bundle and eyes with a temple (No. 49), bundles and eyes with fishes and a temple (No. 863), and other combinations, even unintelligible or chaotic groups (e.g. No. 158) on a par with No. 13 (see above), which nevertheless show that the simple motifs we named are definite elements in the seal-cutter's repertoire.

There is yet another motif which is both definite and unintelligible, namely a "ladder" (as in No. 251). It seems to originate in the hatched or zigzagged bands with which the temple (e.g. Nos. 12, 31, 32) is rendered. Such an origin would explain its occasional occurrence in a vertical position (No. 221) and also its curious distribution. Unlike other fill motifs it is confined to one type of frieze. This adds to its importance, for it becomes one of the means by which we can distinguish Jamdat Nasr seals from those of Early Dynastic I. The other geometric fill motifs on late Jamdat Nasr seals are useful to us in a similar manner.

Before we discuss the transition to the earliest stage of Early Dynastic glyptic, we must, in retrospect, consider once more the Jamdat Nasr glyptic as it presents itself to us.

We notice, then, a very extensive and lively production of, on the whole, seals of low quality. There are an unparalleled variety of shapes and a curious variety in design. Further, the design differs in character from that observed at other times; for several classes of widely differing seals exist side by side. All classes of Jamdat Nasr glyptic are subject to disintegration; but hasty production of large numbers of seals may be responsible for that fate. It is remarkable how large a proportion of Jamdat Nasr seals survives among the finds of later periods, clear proof of the great number that must have been produced. In any case, disintegration of the designs is the unifying feature of all the varieties of the glyptic of the late Protoliterate period. A certain carelessness and crudity of execution distinguishes the earliest Jamdat Nasr seals from those of the early part of the Protoliterate period (Uruk style seals), and affects every innovation produced within the period. It may be that the tall seals with geometric designs represent a reaction against that tendency. Nevertheless they too deteriorate; the seals become shorter, and the designs are reduced to a few standardized geometric motifs. Another group, known so far only from the Diyala region, renders animals and plants with remarkable verisimilitude but is soon absorbed by the geometric class in a manner which is best called, again, disintegration. The drill-hole designs of women performing some ritual act and the designs of the temple herd grow crude and confused, and the standardized geometric motifs intrude upon them. In short, a general impression of chaos prevails when we attempt to consider the Jamdat Nasr glyptic as a whole.

We know the Protoliterate period to have been one of great productivity. Excellent buildings and fine stone vases appeared; writing was developed and, during the latter part of the period, was used more widely than before. The unsatisfactory character of its later glyptic art is by no means a result of stagnation and decay. It seems rather to have been caused by haste and carelessness, by a desire to produce quantity above everything else. Only by this desire can we explain the fact that the by no means negligible inventions of the geometric and "landscape" seals fell a prey to the process of disintegration which destroyed the older classes of design. The universal character of this process serves as a gauge of the power of the succeeding school, which halted it and took a direction diametrically opposed to it.

#### EARLY DYNASTIC I

It is confusing to follow the emergence of the new style through its transitional stages; for, as the changes are gradual, it is difficult to decide when we are still in the sphere of the old school and when the new tendencies have found expression. It is better to start by contrasting the fully developed brocade style<sup>44</sup> of Early Dynastic I with preceding styles.

<sup>44</sup> In this description we are making use of the account given on pp. 39-40 of *Cylinder Seals*.

## 22 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

The cylinders of Early Dynastic I retain the elongated shape (Pl. 2 *bb*) of the Jamdat Nasr geometric seals (Pl. 2 *v-x*). The subjects of the design are, at least in the Diyala region, remarkably homogeneous. Varieties which occur at Ur or Farah are represented in our finds by no more than a few examples (e.g. No. 256). The subjects fall almost without exception within the range of the simplest and most conventional scheme of composition, the animal file (e.g. Nos. 229, 232, 235-37, 242-43). Goats, stags, and cattle are depicted, with the addition of fishes and birds. But if neither shape nor subject is new, the manner in which the subject is rendered differs fundamentally from that in which live creatures are shown on the Jamdat Nasr seals. The principle of the tall geometric seals (Pls. 11-15) is now applied to a representational subject. The aim which the seal-cutters set themselves was to produce an aesthetically satisfactory pattern for the frieze, whatever the extent of the seal's impression. The motifs which had degenerated to mere scratchings or hasty scrawls on the Jamdat Nasr seals are reproduced afresh under the compulsion of a strict stylistic principle. What matters is not the reproducing of much detail or the inclusion of a variety of motifs, but rather the production of an evenly divided network of design. While the animals are sometimes substantial (Nos. 226, 313, 467, 822, 873, 885), they are, in the best examples, reduced to groups of lines which are supplemented by fishes or birds, similarly treated, and by crosses, triangles, or other geometric fill motifs. The drill is almost completely discarded. In No. 229 the engraving consists of two goats, one upright and one upside down, with a few strokes judiciously placed to carry the same weight of design across the interstices. In No. 236 there are a single bull, an inverted arch, crosses, and a fish; in No. 232 there are two goats *tête-bêche* and fishes or birds.

A comparison between Plate 2 *bb* and No. 229 on Plate 22 will explain the relation between the actual seal and its impression. The seal is very slender, and one revolution would produce about one-half of the impression shown on Plate 22; but the parts of the design curved round that small surface are dovetailed into one another in such a way as to form an even spread of linework on the cylinder surface. The balance between background and design results in a similar harmony in the impression; and since this harmony is not dependent on the subject, the impression will be aesthetically satisfactory whatever the length of the surface which has to be sealed.

The numerous fine examples of the brocade style in our collection (Nos. 229, 232, 242-43, 257, 291, 455, 469, 475, 810, 822, 894) will acquaint the reader more easily with its particular qualities than any further description could hope to do. There are some rather less successful brocade-style seals, which clearly belong to this class (Nos. 447, 874). In addition there are a number of examples whose affinities may be doubted. Some are truly transitional; on the other hand, there are a number which seem to be so crude as to defy classification but which may, nevertheless, be assigned to Early Dynastic I.

A truly transitional seal is No. 293. The spacing of the bird and goat points to the brocade style; so also does the neat precision of the drawing. But the drill holes, too massive for, and therefore unsuitable as, fill ornaments, are obviously relics of the Jamdat Nasr style; and the space between the horns of the goat and the upper wing of the bird presents a vacuum such as we do not find in the fully developed brocade style. Another seal which hovers on the dividing line between the two styles is No. 292. Its design has assumed the double row common to the brocade style but uses an over-heavy eye motif as a stopgap. In both seals the goats' bodies retain a certain substantiality. That is also the case in Nos. 466-67, the first showing traces of the ladder motif in the horns of the goats. An interesting parallel is in the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam (Fig. 2). On this seal the spacing is that of the brocade style but the eye motif is retained and the "laddering" affects both the horns and the legs of the animals. Our

## STYLISTIC DEVELOPMENT OF MESOPOTAMIAN GLYPTIC

23

No. 608 has a purely linear pattern, but it is not well spaced and retains the eye motif. The maker of No. 867 used the tall shape but did not grasp the new principle of design at all.

There is another transitional group which, if it must be assigned, should be placed with the Jamdat Nasr seals. In the first place we must mention a seal from Farah (Fig. 3) which contains the same elements as our Nos. 292 and 466—eye motif, ladder, and goats—but which is not integrated according to the compositional principle of the brocade style.<sup>46</sup> Further, we consider to be on the Jamdat Nasr side of the dividing line No. 190, with eye motif, goat, and plant; No. 221, with a double file rather than an evenly spread pattern (see also p. 21); and No. 809,



FIG. 2.—EARLY BROCADE STYLE CYLINDER SEAL IN THE ALLARD PIERSON MUSEUM, AMSTERDAM



FIG. 3.—TRANSITIONAL JAMDAT NASR CYLINDER SEAL FROM FARAH. REPRODUCED FROM HEINRICH, *Fara*, PL. 62 a

with eye motif and scorpion. The scorpion appears on several other transitional seals (e.g. Nos. 187, 192). A seal in Baghdad<sup>46</sup> shows a scorpion surrounded by a number of blobs serving as stopgaps; similar blobs occur on a seal in the Louvre,<sup>47</sup> along with birds, and also on our No. 153, from Sin Temple IV. These blobs resemble closely the centers of the bundle and eye motifs (see p. 20). The evidence is therefore consistently in favor of the Jamdat Nasr style.

There remain two groups of seals, each with a character of its own, which seem to belong to Early Dynastic I. One consists of four tall seals which show rather more varied subjects than the others (Nos. 304, 563, 821, and 882). The composition and the manner of drawing suggest the brocade style. The use of the drill for eyes, heads, noses, and hoofs is not common

<sup>46</sup> See also *OIP* XXII, No. 63.

<sup>46</sup> *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. VIII b.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* Fig. 14.

## 24 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

in the Early Dynastic period; but it is found occasionally (No. 473). There can be no doubt that even this sparing retention of the drill is a survival of Jamdat Nasr usage, for there are parallels among seals stratigraphically fixed in the Protoliterate period (Nos. 21, 42). We know from discoveries at Ur that Early Dynastic I had elsewhere a more varied repertoire than it had in the Diyala region, and Nos. 821 and 882 may be attempts to break the monotony of the animal file as a subject.

Reaction against uniformity may have given rise to the second group of seals, which are more difficult to date. They would seem to belong to that class of crude amateurish engravings which occur at all times and contain no inherent dating evidence. But some can probably be assigned to the Early Dynastic period. Seal 233 shows the goat and tree of the Jamdat Nasr style; but they are placed in the *tête-bêche* arrangement of many brocade-style seals, and the drilled eye connects this seal with the group of four seals discussed above. The manner in which the goat's head on No. 461 is engraved suggests the same date; and the human figure there connects this seal with the most interesting of the group, No. 796, which probably depicts the divine marriage found on two later Early Dynastic seals (see p. 38). Here again we believe that we have the first clumsy attempts to enrich the subjects of the seal designs; there is no connection with the composition of the brocade-style seals. Aesthetic harmony was sacrificed to the narrative. Not until the succeeding, Early Dynastic II, period was a synthesis found in which the stylistic principles of the brocade style were applied to a richer repertoire.

It should be said once again that it is not really important what view we take as regards these doubtful and transitional seals. With certain products it is not feasible to distinguish precisely the dead end at which a spent effort expires from the first fumbblings of a new attempt as yet but faintly aware of its purpose. The important matter is to recognize the profound difference between the new style in its ripe manifestations and the style which went before. Seals illustrated in this volume which are of the brocade style are Nos. 220, 222, 224, 226, 229-30, 232, 235-37, 242-43, 256-57, 291, 302-3, 313, 363, 399, 412, 435, 447, 450, 455, 466-69, 473, 475, 527, 625, 779, 785, 795, 810-11, 820, 822, 864-66, 873-74, 885, 892, 894, 898, and 976-78.

## EARLY DYNASTIC II

The seal-cutters of Early Dynastic I mastered an artistic formula commensurate with the shape and purpose of the cylinder seal. The succeeding period could attempt a more sophisticated application of that formula.

Our No. 458 is an exceptionally clear illustration of the transition from one style to the other. Its design, a frieze of lions, is purely decorative, but the animals are not reduced to mere lines. A new interest in the subject becomes manifest. Manes, faces, and ears are clearly indicated; and the beasts are even shown in action. However, this new interest in the creature serving as the subject is made subservient to the aesthetic preoccupation of the seal-cutter. Each lion closes its jaws over the leg or tail of its neighbor, and thus its animation becomes an asset to the composition of an evenly spaced and uninterrupted design.

Nevertheless, pattern-weaving no longer occupies the seal-cutter's attention exclusively. If, in No. 458, he is satisfied with an elaboration of one type of figure, he soon achieves a greater richness of repertoire without, however, abandoning the supremacy of decorative principles. Seals 254, 258, 464, 470, and 883 are the best products of the new school among our specimens. The intimate relationship between these seals and No. 458 appears, for instance, in the drawing of the large lion held by the bull-man in No. 254; this lion is rendered almost exactly like those in No. 458.

Even these few examples show great variety. Yet, when we attempt to render in words what the vast majority of Early Dynastic II seals represent, we find that a single formula

sums up their subjects. They depict the defense of flocks and herds against beasts of prey. The enemy of the ruminants is the lion, their usual defender the bull-man—a curious creature combining with the human face, arms, trunk, and posture the horns, tail, and hind legs of a bull. Three types of actors, in a never-changing relationship, form all the material for the narrative of these seals. Their ability to create an impression of richness and variety in spite of the monotony of subject derives from the formal qualities of the friezes. For while the subject is always the same, the manner in which it is rendered varies in almost every instance. Take No. 883. Two lions stand over the body of a goat; each is restrained by a bull-man. The pairs, bull-man and lion, are symmetrical in every detail. Their number is immaterial to the narrative; and, in fact, reduplication is merely a requirement of composition. Other seals show three bull-men against two lions,<sup>48</sup> one bull-man against one lion,<sup>49</sup> or two lions against one bull-man.<sup>50</sup> In our No. 464 two bull-men dispose of one lion, while a bull's head represents the lion's late victim; a second group of three consists of a bull-man holding two bulls by the beard, a group occurring with variations in Nos. 457, 489, and 944. Seal 489 shows in addition two bull-men fighting two lions, while a cub seems to be seizing the tail of one bull-man. In No. 258 a pair of crossed lions is restrained by a naked figure on one side and a bull-man on the other. The bull-man holds a third lion, inverted, by the hind legs, although it bites his leg. The naked figure holds the beard of one of a pair of crossed bulls, next to which appear two writing signs balancing the inverted lion.

A mere reading of the descriptions emphasizes the part which considerations of decoration play in the composition of these designs; and the more we analyze them, the greater that role appears to be. Notice on No. 883 how the helpless figure of the goat is disposed so that its two front legs bridge the gap between the lions' heads, while its head and horn balance its hind legs. Similarly, an eagle is inserted on the opposite side of the cylinder, where the two bull-men almost touch below but leave a vacant space above. It is clear that there would be no point in looking for mythological or any other bases aside from the requirements of composition to explain such groups.

We have interpreted the bull's head of No. 464 as that of the lion's victim, and this interpretation is confirmed by clumsy provincial renderings such as No. 800, where not only a ram's head but also the hindquarters of a hoofed animal appear above the main figures as proof of the depredations of the lions. Nevertheless, in the finer examples, such as Nos. 457 and 464, the main function of the head seems to be to fill an open space with an appropriate motif. The adjoining group in No. 464 is supplemented by a few stalks of plants which serve the same purpose.

With the crossed animals of Nos. 258 and 470 it is even clearer than it is with the designs on the other seals that the interweaving of the single elements into a continuous pattern is the aim of the artist. It is interesting to note how well he succeeds in No. 470 and how cleverly the inevitable hiatus caused by the writing in No. 258 is minimized by the disposition of the adjoining figure. It also deserves notice that throughout the design of this period the figures maintain their traditional role as friend or foe of the ruminants—this in contrast with the succeeding era, whose friezes, upon analysis, often disclose a senseless melee.

In Early Dynastic II certain originally separate elements occasionally coalesce. We have among our finds three excellent examples of this process (Nos. 254, 330, and 498). In each of them appears a creature with human upper part, but his legs are two lions whose tails end in snakes which threaten his head. This creature was not invented in the Diyala region since it is found elsewhere in Mesopotamia,<sup>51</sup> a product of a curiously alive but mainly graphic

<sup>48</sup> *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. XI c.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. XI b.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. XI g.

<sup>51</sup> See *ibid.* p. 49.

## 26 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

imagination that delighted in creating intricate harmonies of design. The presence of this monster in the frieze does not strike one as strange; it is not even conspicuous. It is really a "ligature," a concentrated pattern of the same order as the remainder of the frieze.

It has been maintained that the Early Dynastic friezes, even in their origin, are no more than decorative patterns.<sup>52</sup> That this view is an exaggeration is proved by some cylinders from Tell Agrab (Nos. 799–801); these are provincial renderings of the usual frieze. Their makers were unable to match the elegance and precision of their southern contemporaries but made up in vigor and in verisimilitude what they lacked in sophistication. Their efforts throw an interesting sidelight on some of the more accomplished works.

One of these is our No. 883. The lion-and-goat group is sometimes modified. On a seal from Farah the goat is inverted and has two heads, which fill the spaces on either side beneath the sloping bodies of the lions (Fig. 4). In our No. 799 a similar composition appears, but it is given a more realistic character. The two animals which fill the space between the sloping bodies of the two bull-men are almost complete. They are also different from each other; and the group now shows the lion being dragged away from its victim. The general arrangement of the figures is in accordance with the principles of Early Dynastic glyptic; they fill the cylinder with an

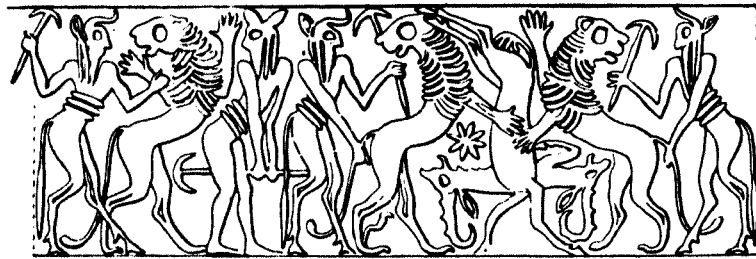


FIG. 4.—EARLY DYNASTIC CYLINDER SEAL IMPRESSION FROM FARAH. REPRODUCED FROM HEINRICH, *Fara*, PL. 46 f

uninterrupted band of design, and the two mouffons upon a mountain, fitting in between the two bull-men, form a purely decorative motif.

Similarly, No. 801 differs from the run of contemporary seals.<sup>53</sup> The fill motifs—calf's head and plant—are identical with those found at Farah and elsewhere; but the main group is a good deal more true to nature, with the bull sunk down on its knees under the weight of the lion.<sup>54</sup>

Our No. 800 is yet further emancipated from the mannerisms of the period. On the right is a remarkable rendering of a lion springing upon its prey. The actual moment of onslaught is shown, with the beast holding on with both forepaws. (One can make out four claws of the left paw beside the right paw, on the back of the bull.) With one hind leg placed upon the bull's neck, the lion is trying to secure its position as a prelude to mangling its victim with its jaws. The action of the bull is similarly well observed; it is attempting to steady itself and shake off the attacker (note lifted foreleg and position of head and neck). This scene is clearly a breaking-away from stylistic convention on the part of the seal-cutter. Yet the conventions assert themselves by the presence of the ram's head in the field and by the unnatural attitudes

<sup>52</sup> Ludwig Curtius, *Studien zur Geschichte der altorientalischen Kunst*. I. "Gilgamisch" und "Heabani" (K. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Munich, Philos.-philol. und hist. Klasse, "Sitzungsberichte," 1912, 7. Abh. [München, 1912]).

<sup>53</sup> A symmetrical, purely decorative treatment of the same subject in the usual ED II style is found in Leon Legrain, *Archaic Seal-Impressions* ("Ur Excavations" III [London, 1936]) Nos. 215, 217 (Pls. 11, 45).

<sup>54</sup> The rendering of the bull-man fullface is rare in ED II, but see our No. 799 and Ernst Heinrich, *Fara* (Berlin, 1931) Pl. 51 g, i, and m.



of the animals in the second group. Here the lion assumes a pose which is quite common on more sophisticated seals (e.g. No. 883). The bull, too, is conventionally drawn passant. It seems as if the local craftsman, dissatisfied with his imitation of the fashionable attitudes, let himself go in drawing the first-described group, irrespective of contemporary usage. It should, perhaps, be said explicitly once more that the usual stylized designs could never have developed out of such realistic groups, and that the latter are, as it were, translations back into reality of the usual designs. For we know that the stylistic principles of the usual groups of Early Dynastic II already prevailed in the brocade style of Early Dynastic I. An archaistic seal like No. 800 reveals the subject which is disguised in the more artful compositions.

Seal 308, from Khafajah, seems to be yet another provincial version of the usual scene. The spidery kneeling figure and the ram(?) are least misplaced in an Early Dynastic II context. The only seal resembling it somewhat is in itself problematical.<sup>55</sup> It was called "Elamite" by Delaporte, for no apparent reason except that rough seals were usually considered of Elamite origin in earlier publications. On the top of the cylinder is a plastic figure of a cow suckling a calf—an unparalleled feature, a remnant perhaps of the animal-shaped loops cut in one piece with the cylinder in the Protoliterate period. But the heads of the lions in the seal design show the habitual Early Dynastic II profile, and the symmetrical group of two lions with their prey between them recalls Early Dynastic II seals such as our Nos. 456 and 798, where the lions and the goat form an antithetic group in a more or less primitive manner. We notice on No. 798 that an animal and a plant are used as stopgaps beneath the lions' bodies. Above are running animals. These lions, like the bull passant on No. 800,<sup>56</sup> belong not really in balanced compositions such as we have been discussing but rather in the simpler scheme of the animal file.

The simple file of animals remained in use at all times (Nos. 307, 462, 797, 831). In ED II it shows the influence of the more usual contemporary seals in two ways. Sometimes the attack of a beast of prey is added to the frieze (Nos. 800, 824,<sup>57</sup> 837). Occasionally we find not only the common stopgaps (e.g. No. 849) but even a balanced composition—the antithetic group (Nos. 564, 839)—instead of the file with its stress on a single direction.

The animal file represents a decorative scheme of greater simplicity than the friezes with balanced groups. When the file includes the attack of a beast of prey, as in No. 824, it may be considered as a design in which the narrative element outweighs decorative considerations. This is likewise the case with subjects such as men feasting (No. 465) or a boating scene (No. 366). Such subjects are not common, and, even when they are depicted, some sort of decorative order is imposed upon the design. The antithetic group of No. 465 is perhaps the simplest way to render this particular scene, but the disposition of the eagle and the star there and of the mouflon head and the plant in No. 824 show the predominance of the stylistic principles of the period. Scenes which leave the scope of the animal frieze are, however, comparatively rare in Early Dynastic II. The most extraordinary example in our collection is No. 484, with two figures wearing horned crowns, one apparently seated in the boat with human prow (similarly crowned), which appears with the sun-god in the succeeding era. This earlier—if it is earlier—instance remains quite obscure; perhaps it belonged to ED III.

A few remarks on individual figures must be appended here. Besides the bull-man, there occur certain anthropomorphous figures whose nature is difficult to establish. Sometimes they are naked male figures with two projections on their heads (Nos. 255, 258). Copper statues

<sup>55</sup> Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres, cachets et pierres gravées* II, No. A.832 (Pl. 49:1).

<sup>56</sup> The bull in No. 800 recalls the usual representation in the Protoliterate period (e.g. No. 36), but the absence of the spearhead-shaped tassel on the tail and the "openwork" of the joints of the hind legs betray the Early Dynastic period, while the lions in the two schools of engraving have nothing in common.

<sup>57</sup> The curious attitude of the attacked goat on No. 824 is used in similar scenes in Scythian and Sasanian art and appears even in the sculptured capitals of Romanesque cathedrals.

## 28 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

from Khafajah and Tell Agrab and a relief from Farah suggest that these projections represent tufts of hair.<sup>58</sup> The figure may be either human or mythological; it is, in any case, unlikely that the projections represent the crown of divinity, since this has a different contour (see Nos. 484, 511).

A tall human figure with his kilt tucked into his girdle to free his legs for action is peculiar to the second phase of the Early Dynastic period (Nos. 305, 457, 489, 944) but reappears in Sargonid times; he generally wears a flat cap. Sometimes he aids the bull-man against the lions (No. 305). The fringed or tasseled kilt, considered so often the hallmark of Early Dynastic art, is rare on seals before Early Dynastic III. We find it on Nos. 246 and 271.

On No. 471 the human legs and tucked-in kilt are strangely combined with a bird with spread wings and claws, which appears in the characteristic attitude of the lion-headed eagle Imdugud. Unfortunately our fragment is too badly damaged to show the head. We may have here an ideogram parallel to the serpent-man and the bird-man which we shall meet on Akkadian seals—graphic devices by which a divine creature symbolized by a certain animal is identified.

On No. 456 we see an apparently human figure defending the flock all alone. Note again that we should say no more than this; it would be wrong, for instance, to say that he attacks one of a pair of lions which have killed a goat. The beast is duplicated in order to form with the goat a balanced group which produces a fine continuous pattern on the circumference of the seal, the only hiatus being filled by the upper part of the human figure and two drill holes with traces of cross lines—an exceedingly rare survival of the star motif of Jamdat Nasr seals (see p. 20). The squat shape of the seal also recalls the earlier period.

No. 244 is remarkable, and its stratification establishes its date fairly unequivocally. It shows a snake coil and a scorpion. The head of the snake is at the right-hand bottom corner, and its tail below on the left side. The design is known in Akkadian and Early Dynastic III times. Finally we should mention here the very remarkable seal No. 879, which may belong to Early Dynastic II.<sup>59</sup> Seals from this period shown on our plates are Nos. 244-46, 253-55, 258, 271, 275, 279-80, 282, 305-8, 314, 321, 330, 345, 358, 366, 456-58, 462-65, 470-71, 489, 498, 564, 797-801, 824, 831, 837, 839, 849, 875, 883, 944, and possibly 879 and 881.

## EARLY DYNASTIC III

It so happens that the style of Early Dynastic III is not well represented among our seals, especially in its most advanced stage of development. We must refer, therefore, to the description in *Cylinder Seals* and picture here a seal from the collection of Mrs. Agnes Baldwin Brett (Fig. 5) and one in the Iraq Museum (Fig. 6). In *Cylinder Seals* we have contrasted the linear and imaginative style of Early Dynastic II with the decorative relief style of Early Dynastic III. The contrast "imaginative" and "decorative" concerns of course only the relative importance of these tendencies in the glyptic art of the two periods. We have seen how very important decorative considerations were in the earlier friezes; but nevertheless the original relationship between the combatants remained the same and corresponded with the original meaning of the group. In Early Dynastic III, types of figures are introduced which

<sup>58</sup> See *OIP XLIV*, Pls. 98-103; *OIP LX*, Pls. 56-57 (No. 307); Heinrich, *Fara*, Pl. 20 f.

<sup>59</sup> It happens that the characteristic seals of ED II are sometimes called "Farah seals." It is true that a majority of the seal impressions found at Farah show characteristic ED II designs. But the finds at Farah contain remains of earlier and later periods as well; and, moreover, the term is apt to be confusing because the tablets from Farah belong to ED IIIa. This is shown by resemblances pointed out first by A. Falkenstein in *Archaische Texte aus Uruk* (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, "Ausgrabungen . . . in Uruk-Warka" II [Berlin, 1936]) p. 22 with n. 2. He refers to seals of Moortgat's Imdugud-Sukurru type (Heinrich, *Fara*, Pl. 42 c-d) which show the lion head viewed from above and the naked curly-haired man and are therefore clearly seals of ED III by our criteria. One of them (d) names a man, Urtur, who is also named in the tablets.

## STYLISTIC DEVELOPMENT OF MESOPOTAMIAN GLYPTIC

29

have nothing to do with the original theme. Wild animals, such as the stag, the ibex, and the leopard, and also the human-headed bull, whose role is problematical, appear. What, for instance, are we to make of the frieze of No. 353, where a naked hero holds a lioness by the hind leg and a bull by the foreleg and where, moreover, the bull seems to be threatened by the bull-man? But then the friezes at this time are even less suitable for consideration from the point of view of meaning than those that went before. To this extent they are more exclusively decorative.

Composition is simplified in Early Dynastic III. Its devices are practically confined to crossing the figures, although, for the sake of variety, a victim is sometimes turned upside down (No. 503). The ingenious groups and patterns of the earlier period disappear. Closeness of texture is sought rather than even and balanced division; with this in view the artists drew



FIG. 5.—EARLY DYNASTIC III CYLINDER SEAL FROM THE COLLECTION OF MRS. AGNES BALDWIN BRETT  
REPRODUCED FROM *OIP* XXXVII, PL. V 39



FIG. 6.—EARLY DYNASTIC III CYLINDER SEAL FROM UR, NOW IN THE IRAQ MUSEUM AT BAGHDAD (NO. 14589)

the figures as vertically and as broadly as possible. The human-headed bulls appear always in fullface; and the lion head is no longer shown in profile, but the massive fullface, or rather top, view of head and mane is used. There is consequently neither need nor room for fill motifs. A group which illustrates well the contrast between the two periods is that containing a figure between two friendly animals. In No. 255, for instance, the animals are well separated from the hero in the middle; in Figure 5 the man presses the animals against his side, so that the three figures form a solid mass.

The greater compactness of the group goes together with a greater massiveness of the individual figures, and this has its correlate in a more thorough modeling of these figures. The designs of Early Dynastic II consist exclusively of lines and flat planes. In the succeeding period this is no longer the case. There is true relief, the depth of the design becoming a vehicle of expression. Compare the fullface views of the inverted lion and the monster on No. 254 with that of the lion on the later seal shown in Figure 6. This change occurred gradually; and the extremes reached at Ur in the royal cemetery, for instance, are absent in the Diyala region. Our Nos. 335, 549, and 576 are the most fully developed in the direction of true model-

## 30 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

ing; and in No. 335 the bodies of the naked hero and the girdled bull which he protects are very flat indeed. It is characteristic that the drill is used again on crudely executed seals (e.g. Nos. 495, 506), after having been little used all through Early Dynastic I and II, when the purely linear style of engraving prevailed. Seals of the first part of the third Early Dynastic period (ED IIIa) show remarkably flat engraving; three of these seals, from Khafajah (Nos. 320, 332) and Tell Asmar (No. 502), resemble one another so closely that we may speak of a local school, characteristic for the Diyala region at that time. Yet certain peculiarities, like the purely linear tail of the lion, clumsily added to the body, occur identically in more developed designs such as Figure 6. The latter represents the very last stage of Early Dynastic glyptic, in which the continuous frieze has been dissolved into a series of unconnected groups. This is probably due to the fact that the figures had acquired mass and could not, therefore, be interlaced or crossed without either needing greater depth of relief than was compatible with the practical use of the cylinder or, alternatively, resulting in inconsistent and confused designs.<sup>60</sup> As before, these various stylistic qualities are less pronounced in the cases of seals showing scenes other than the animal frieze. The number of such seals is comparatively large during Early Dynastic III.

We have said already that the man dressed in a fringed or tasseled kilt occurs rarely before Early Dynastic III, when he appears in various scenes, such as Nos. 315 and 334, and quite commonly defending the flock against lions (as in Nos. 374, 633). He is always beardless and bald-headed (at least no hair is indicated). Another figure, naked and beardless but with curly locks, is shown (e.g. No. 273). This man is not known in ED II. In No. 273 he appears alongside the lion shown with head in profile—an unusual view for ED II. Seal 273 is therefore truly transitional. The incipient plasticity of the figures and the dotted manes of the lions, paralleled on some indubitably ED III seals,<sup>61</sup> mark it as belonging to the later period. A figure who appears in Early Dynastic II is the kilted male with flat cap. He disappears in ED III and comes into prominence again in Sargonid times. The nature of all these personages remains problematical.

An eagle occurs as a convenient stopgap, sometimes combined with a wavy band (No. 416; also Nos. 323, 384, and perhaps 749), conceivably developed out of a boat.<sup>62</sup> An eagle or the lion-headed eagle Imdugud is often shown between two ruminants, which it usually holds with its claws (Nos. 352, 371, 400, 420, 524, 566; also No. 683, which is probably Akkadian), a combination of symbols referring to the god of fertility which is even now spoken of as a "coat-of-arms," although its universal occurrence and great variety should long since have discredited an interpretation based on the knowledge of forty years ago.

To characterize in a few words the style of the Early Dynastic seal-cutter, we may say that he combined a disregard for reality and the limitations of nature with a fantastic imagination and a strong sense of decorative values. It is fatuous to inquire into the exact relationship between the various figures on his seals. Clearly the artist was not interested in that aspect of his subject but was preoccupied with producing a closely interwoven pattern. It is characteristic that his designs do not offer a clear-cut limit at either end. In accordance with the shapes of the objects upon which they are carved, and perhaps also in view of the use to which these cylinders were put, the designs are composed as continuous friezes; and any hiatus is avoided throughout. The subordination of every detail to the requirements of decorative effect creates friezes possessing the charm of a fairy tale. The composite monsters which inhabit them do not appear incredible or even less real and alive than the men and animals who are their companions.

<sup>60</sup> For a further discussion of this change, see *Cylinder Seals*, pp. 50-57.

<sup>61</sup> E.g. Heinrich, *Fara*, Pl. 45 f.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. our No. 416 with Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux . . . de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1910) No. 54.

Early Dynastic III seals pictured on our plates are Nos. 272-73, 315-16, 320, 322-23, 331-35, 344, 351-53, 360, 362, 367, 370-72, 374-75, 380-87, 392, 400, 416-20, 428, 436, 476-77, 479, 481, 485, 495, 499, 502-4, 506-8, 512-13, 515, 521, 524, 528-29, 548-51, 553-54, 565-66, 574-76, 604, 633, 758-59, 914, 923-24, and 979-80.

#### THE DYNASTY OF SARGON OF AGADE

There is a complete contrast between the fully developed Akkadian seal designs and the styles successively adopted in Early Dynastic times. We notice here an instance of that reversion to an opposite extreme which sometimes occurs when art has explored one mode of expression to its farthest limit. The interweaving of figures into friezes was practiced in Early Dynastic times with great virtuosity and with a repeated change of method, so that the possibilities of this type of design were fairly well exhausted. The Akkadian period favors the rendering of isolated figures in all their concrete detail. Continuous friezes are replaced by single, well limited scenes. A single impression gives all there is to know of an Akkadian cylinder, whereas the unrolled frieze with the rhythm of recurring motifs is an essential part of the beauty of an Early Dynastic seal. This development, as well as certain other innovations which we shall study presently, is the result of a change in the artist's viewpoint. The direction of his interest has shifted from decorative and imaginative values to the rendering of the concrete; and clearness of representation now seems to be his first requirement. The new viewpoint has led to a reduction of the number of figures used in any one scene and to a wider spacing, making for clearness but destroying the continuity characteristic of the old frieze. The new interest in the concrete enhances the substantiality of the single figures but, in doing so, often destroys the decorative harmony of the design. Intricacy of pattern gives way to clearness of narrative. The fairy-tale figures of the Early Dynastic friezes are replaced by earthly creatures flaunting their physical power. Grim struggles take the place of the graceful and fantastic intertwinings of the previous age.

The outstanding characteristic of the Akkadian style is its emphasis on concrete detail. The physical characteristics of single figures are carefully rendered, and their actions are obviously depicted with an attempt at verisimilitude. This interest in corporeality explains why the figures are now modeled in relief instead of being rendered by abstractions of line, as on Nos. 254 and 258; or by flat surfaces, as on Nos. 320 and 332. This change,<sup>63</sup> in its turn, affects the composition, for figures rendered in relief cannot be made to cross without producing a disharmonious massiveness at the points of intersection, a fault which might actually affect the practical usefulness of the seal, since clay is apt to adhere to the seal when the engraving goes beyond a certain depth. But even continuous friezes composed of figures in juxtaposition (as distinct from figures which intersect) become less common in Akkadian times (Nos. 622-24). Since attention is centered on particularities, the individual figures and their actions are isolated and not made subservient to the composition of a continuous frieze. On the contrary, the peculiarly Sargonid scheme of composition is the heraldic antithesis of two pairs of struggling figures. In the best seals an inscribed panel occupies the center of this balanced composition (No. 984). It is in keeping with the extreme scarcity of early written documents on our sites that this, the most usual type of Akkadian seal, is hardly represented at all. But the groups usually shown flanking the inscribed panel may also appear in simple juxtaposition (Nos. 653, 671, 686, 688).

The figures used in these new designs derive largely from the older repertoire, but there is less variation than before. Most common of all is a nude male figure of heroic bearing, who finds a fitting foil in a semibestial companion, the bull-man. In the mature style both turn

<sup>63</sup> It begins just before the end of ED III; see my *Cylinder Seals*, pp. 50 ff.

## 32 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

their faces toward the spectator, as on No. 670, which represents a perfect synthesis of the new and the old manner. The two pairs of combatants flank an uninscribed panel. On the other side of the cylinder they are as carefully dovetailed as were the figures of the Early Dynastic continuous friezes. Human figures, or at least figures differing from the stereotyped hero shown fullface with beard and locks, do occur; sometimes they wear kilts, sometimes flat caps, sometimes turbans (e.g. Nos. 377, 421, 663); a kilted flat-capped figure is depicted in ED II also (but not in ED III). Occasionally the human-headed bull is retained, but the other Early Dynastic monsters are discarded. The leopard has disappeared, and the various wild goats and antelopes are exceedingly rare. The lion and the bull are common, and the bison (No. 761) and the water-buffalo (Nos. 663, 668, 761) appear as variants of the earlier aurochs-type bull. The posturings of these beasts are expressive of the fierceness of the struggles in which they are involved. Thus the tortuous attitude of the lion on seals of Early Dynastic III—with body in profile and head seen from above—is displaced by the simple profile in which the snarling mouth and ineffectual paws express the power of the beast as well as the completeness of its defeat (Nos. 668, 670).<sup>64</sup>

The new tendencies are noticeable from the beginning of the period; in fact they supply the criterion by which we distinguish Sargonid from Early Dynastic seals. But at first they are expressed in traditional forms. Our No. 622 is a good example of early Sargonid style. The retention of the ibex and of the plant and star as fill, the clinching gesture of hero and bull-man, the faces in profile, the curiously undulating contour of the lion (though its face is in profile), and the dovetailing of the figures into a continuous frieze—all these features are in keeping with Early Dynastic tradition. They occur on a seal of a servant of Sargon's daughter, which supplies external evidence of the date of this stage of the stylistic development.<sup>65</sup> The contrast with No. 670, an example of the mature style, speaks for itself. It is curious to note how numerous are seals of the early or transitional type among those found in our excavations. Yet we know that within Sargon's lifetime the change in style was completed; for a seal in the mature Sargonid style<sup>66</sup> belonged to another servant of the king's daughter, who had no doubt been installed by her father as high priestess in the important southern city of Ur.

We must therefore assume either that all the transitional seals found by us belong to the early part of Sargon's reign, or—and this is more probable—that the seals from the provinces did not always get beyond this early stage, in which the new style was but imperfectly freed from the strong Early Dynastic traditions of composition. Thus we find asymmetrical groups, practically friezes of five figures, occurring in Nos. 581, 623, 646, and 656. In No. 624 an eagle fills the gap between two antithetic bulls in an approved Early Dynastic manner. In No. 601 we find a man protecting two goats against lions and in No. 910 two lions driven from a victim, subjects which are common on Early Dynastic seals but very rare indeed in Sargonid times.

In describing the style of the combat frieze we accounted for the large majority of Early Dynastic seals. Among the Akkadian seals a much smaller proportion is decorated with groups of struggling men and beasts. On the other hand we find that ritual and mythological scenes and even scenes of daily life, which are relatively rare in Early Dynastic times, are common in the Akkadian period. This change in subject matter is clearly caused by the same fundamental difference in approach which underlies the stylistic changes already described. A love for the concrete made the Akkadians prefer sacred or secular events to designs of merely

<sup>64</sup> A rare exception is Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux . . . de la Bibliothèque nationale*, No. 24.

<sup>65</sup> See *Cylinder Seals*, pp. 80–84.

<sup>66</sup> C. Leonard Woolley, *The Royal Cemetery* ("Ur Excavations" II [London, 1934]) seal No. 309 (p. 358 and Pl. 212).

decorative value or vague symbolic association.<sup>67</sup> Even if the same subject is treated, the manner of its rendering is vastly different. The designs on Nos. 331 (ED IIIa) and 621 (Akk.) represent the god in his boat; the designs differ only in the subsidiary motifs added to the main elements. The god (definitely characterized as the sun-god on the Akkadian seal) holding the steering oar of the boat with its human-shaped prow and the plow, vase, and quadruped, which are essential to this scene, occur on both seals. But we must notice how the Akkadian seal-cutter has carefully delineated every distinctive detail, how his figures stand out from the background.<sup>68</sup> The Early Dynastic artist, on the other hand, achieved even here a textile effect equal to that of the animal friezes. In their styles the two seals are representative, as comparison with other renderings of the theme will show.<sup>69</sup>

The purely narrative seals of the Akkadians (e.g. Nos. 609, 619, 621) are among the very best that they produced, while those of the Early Dynastic period (e.g. Nos. 318, 334, 340-41) are markedly inferior to the contemporary friezes in workmanship.

#### ELAMITE AND GUTI SEALS

We must mention here one class of seals which was found in Protoimperial and Akkadian layers but retains some features of the Early Dynastic combat frieze. These seals depict a horned or long-haired man and double-forequartered animals (Nos. 514, 558, 567, 596-97, 599, 629, 748). In design and material they resemble so closely seals found in Elam and Assur<sup>70</sup> that all were probably made in the same place; and Elam suggests itself as being the most likely center of manufacture and distribution. They exhibit clearly the characteristics of seals made on the periphery of Mesopotamia by people who were imbued with Mesopotamian tradition without having completely assimilated it.<sup>71</sup>

We are fortunate in being able for the first time to designate certain seals as products of the barbaric Guti, who overran Mesopotamia during the concluding reigns of the Sargonid dynasty and terrorized and dominated the country for nearly a century. Certain seals executed in a vigorous linear style were found in Houses III at Tell Asmar. This layer lies between an Akkadian stratum and one dated to the Third Dynasty of Ur by the tablets found therein. Since the Akkadian layer contained seal impressions bearing the name of Shudurul, the last king of Agade, our Houses III must be assigned to the Guti period. Most of the seals found there are of Sargonid manufacture or, at least, maintain the Akkadian tradition without modification (see Pl. 64). Three seals, however (Nos. 689-91), though clearly rendering subjects known in Akkadian times, do so in a manner for which there is no parallel in certified Akkadian seals. Normally we would consider them peripheral seals—seals made somewhere on the periphery of Mesopotamia during Akkadian times. Since they were found at Tell Asmar, however, among the remains of a period in which people from the periphery occupied the plain of the Two Rivers, it is the foreign origin of their makers rather than a foreign center of manufacture which accounts for their peculiarities. Other seals, like Nos. 676-77, may be Guti seals or merely Akkadian seals simplified in a manner which became popular in Guti times.

<sup>67</sup> It would be as rash to assert that the struggling groups of the animal friezes are entirely free of religious symbolism as it would be to attempt to draw a specific meaning from them. There is no doubt, however, that decorative considerations were decisive in the conception of the actual designs and that religious significance, if present at all, made itself felt as overtones of the decorative harmonies.

<sup>68</sup> Allowance must be made for the chipping of the seal's surface behind the head of the quadruped in the boat, so that the plow is damaged.

<sup>69</sup> See below, pp. 35-37, and *Cylinder Seals*, Pls. XIV k, XV j and n, XIX f.

<sup>70</sup> Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres, cachets et pierres gravées de style oriental I* (Paris, 1920) Pl. 29:6-17; Andrae, *Die archaischen Ishtar-Tempel in Assur* (WVDOG XXXIX [1922]) Figs. 64-65.

<sup>71</sup> For this question, which is of paramount importance for the classification of seals from Western Asia, see *Cylinder Seals*, pp. 224-27.

## SEALS FROM THE LAST PART OF THE THIRD MILLENNIUM B.C.

Of the rich repertoire of the Sargonid seal-cutters little survived by the end of the third millennium. One single ritual scene, a worshiper approaching a god and introduced or supported by an interceding deity, is used almost exclusively. The Third Dynasty of Ur rendered this scene with a certain refinement (No. 709). In the Isin-Larsa period a standardized low-grade production of seals prevailed (see Pl. 68). We found a number of these, which can now be distinguished from those of the preceding age as well as from those of the First Dynasty of Babylon. The latter was a period of limited regeneration; its seal designs can match neither the fine decorations of Early Dynastic times nor the varied scenes of the dynasty of Akkad. But the quality of the cutting improves considerably (Nos. 432, 770, 957); and while coherent scenes remain rare (Nos. 903, 907), an attempt, at least, is made to create distinctive designs, be it only by the combination of unconnected groups and figures (No. 770). Our material from the last part of the third millennium does not justify detailed or lengthy discussion here. Our finds include an impression (No. 942) which shows one instance of the remarkable attempts at the rendering of spatial depth found occasionally on seals of this time and culminating in the rendering of an enthroned god in full front view.<sup>72</sup> In our impression the leg on which the hero stands cuts across the figure of the lion which he subdues.

The distinction between the styles we call Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian respectively is, of necessity, fluid and somewhat arbitrary. Babylon rose to power together with Isin and Larsa, and there is no reason to expect that seals cut at Larsa under Rimsin differed from those cut at Babylon under Hammurabi. In fact, the characteristic innovations can be traced as early as Sinmuballit's reign, and to some extent even in Sumalailum's reign, when Babylon was not yet the main city of Mesopotamia.

In the history of Mesopotamian glyptic the seals of the First Dynasty of Babylon are of great importance since Kassites, Syrians, and Mitannians developed the Babylonian tradition in widely divergent ways without breaking away from it completely. This aspect of the Old Babylonian style<sup>73</sup> falls, however, quite outside the scope of this publication, since we found only one seal of these later schools (No. 427). Thus the post-Sargonid seals represent an anti-climax in the present discussion of our discoveries. Such interest as they possess centers in the subject matter, to which we shall now turn.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.* p. 245, n. 5.

<sup>73</sup> See *ibid.* pp. 147-55.



## IV

## THE SUBJECTS OF THE SEAL DESIGNS

CONCEIVING Mesopotamian glyptic as a succession of schools, we are presenting what might be called the "contents" of the seal designs period by period. But it is a mistake to think that most subjects have a limited range in time. The very conditions of life in Mesopotamia suggested certain motifs (such as the defense of the flock) to the seal-cutters of all periods; cultural continuity determined the uninterrupted employment of other themes, such as the presentation scene, where a worshiper is introduced to one of the main deities by his personal gods. Hence it is never the subject but always the manner in which it is treated, the style, which determines the age of a seal. In the preceding chapter we have compared the treatment according to the styles of the Early Dynastic and Akkadian periods, respectively, of such subjects as the god in his boat and the combat frieze. These themes are sufficiently complex to bring out the aesthetic idiosyncracies of their makers and hence the period to which they belong. Simpler subjects, such as the common succession of animal figures, are less revealing. Among them distinctions can be made on grounds which are technical rather than stylistic. So in No. 28 we see the drilled circle with center dot and the rosette of drill holes and in Nos. 15, 22-24, etc. the drill-hole technique—features which would establish these as Jamdat Nasr seals even if they had not been found in late Protoliterate layers. Seal No. 25 (related to Nos. 26-27) shows the animals' legs folded under their bodies. This position recurs in Nos. 460, 793, and 830, and hence these too belong to the late Protoliterate period, though they were found together with Nos. 462, 797, and 831, respectively, which are proved by the way in which they are rendered to belong to ED II.

## THE EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD

The brocade style, ignoring narrative and therefore practically without subject, separates the themes of the Uruk and Jamdat Nasr seals from those of the succeeding ages. We have described (pp. 23 f.) how Early Dynastic I saw some crude attempts to enrich the repertoire. A new start was made in Early Dynastic II, when the frieze of struggling figures—based on the theme of the defense of the flock against beasts of prey—was introduced, although the decorative principle evolved in the preceding period was rigorously maintained; and these friezes remained the main subject of the seals throughout the Early Dynastic period.

However, a number of other subjects were occasionally depicted; and in so far as they are represented among our discoveries we shall now pass them in review.<sup>1</sup>

## THE GOD IN HIS BOAT

Mythological scenes are exceedingly rare in Early Dynastic glyptic; the picture of the sun-god in his boat is the only one of which several versions are preserved. We have already described its main elements (p. 33) and emphasized the two different manners in which the theme is rendered by Early Dynastic and Akkadian seal-cutters, respectively. We should here compare the various Early Dynastic versions which we possess.

<sup>1</sup> Many of the seals do not require discussion; the reader will find descriptions of all seals in the tables printed opposite the plates.

## 36 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

We have discussed elsewhere in detail the curious ambiguity inherent in this scene;<sup>2</sup> it presents us with a sun-god associated with chthonic symbols like the snake and with others pertaining to the fertility of the earth. Our earlier tentative explanation that a Sumerian chthonic deity was interpreted by the Akkadians in terms of their own religion, in which the sun-god played a predominant part, may well prove to evade the issue. It has been pointed out<sup>3</sup> that in Gudea's dream the chthonic god Ningishzida appears in the guise of the sun-god. It may be, therefore, that the Sumerians themselves combined the solar and the chthonic spheres in a manner which remains obscure to us.

We must now describe the peculiarities of the designs showing the god in his boat which are found in our collection of Early Dynastic seals (Nos. 267, 270, 306, 331, 339, 354, 383[?], 499, 513, 551, 895). Only one of these (No. 354) characterizes the god in the boat as the sun-god; but in another Early Dynastic rendering<sup>4</sup> rays issue from the god's shoulders, and he holds the saw with which the sun-god, as the highest judge, "cuts decisions." His character seems, therefore, well established. Furthermore, the close similarity of all the main elements of the designs to such Akkadian renderings as our No. 621 corroborates our view. The god wears the horned crown of divinity, and so does the anthropomorphous prow of his boat. The latter is shown with a long pigtail, and conveys that the boat is no mere human's craft but has a numen of its own and is self-propelled.

Of the three attributes which are characteristic of our scene—plow, vase, and quadruped—the plow is present in all instances; its curious snakelike shaft in No. 267 is not without parallel and may be significant.<sup>5</sup> The vase is always recognizable, even if only as a drill hole above the quadruped. The quadruped, however, varies. On No. 306 it may be a human-headed lion.<sup>6</sup> A true lion can be recognized on Nos. 354 and 499 and is suggested by the mane on Nos. 267 and 339 (and possibly No. 895). But an indefinite creature appears on No. 331, while that on No. 270 is too much blurred to be recognizable.

As to the secondary motifs, the most interesting is the scorpion-man of No. 499,<sup>7</sup> since we know this creature from the Gilgamesh Epic as a guardian of the mountains of sunrise and sunset. He is, therefore, definitely connected with the sun. Since the moon and a star are shown on Nos. 331 and 354, we may tentatively suggest that a nightly journey of the sun-god is depicted. The plant and the snake of No. 339 and the regularly recurring plow suggest that this nightly journey takes the sun underneath or through the earth, possibly establishing the connection with the earth's fertility which this scene seems to possess. In this connection it is regrettable that No. 306 is so roughly made. Underneath the stern of the boat we notice a seated figure, and we may recall that the goddess of fertility appears beside the sun-god's boat in Akkadian seals.<sup>8</sup> But our No. 306 is quite confused around and above the seated figure. The object underneath the boat is a fish. On No. 331 there is a bird above the quadruped: a

<sup>2</sup> *Cylinder Seals*, pp. 67-70, 95-98, 108-10.

<sup>3</sup> See Ivan Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East* (Uppsala, 1943) pp. 18-22. His use of the term "high god" seems to me to reduce that term to a meaningless label. André Parrot, *Studia Mariana* ("Documenta et monumenta orientis antiqui" IV [Leiden, 1950]) p. 115, points out that in many instances the god in the boat has no rays at his shoulders. He proposes to see in him a chthonic god.

<sup>4</sup> *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. XV n.

<sup>5</sup> See *ibid.* p. 108.

<sup>6</sup> This variety is not found in our Early Dynastic examples unless one wishes to use that designation for the quadruped with round head on No. 306 on the grounds that its neck possesses, apparently, a kind of fringe recalling the lion's mane; cf. No. 354 and *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. XV n.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *ibid.* Pl. XV j. The gesture of the hands in our No. 499 proves the creature to be the scorpion-man and not an ordinary scorpion.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. XIX e, f.

## THE SUBJECTS OF THE SEAL DESIGNS

37

bird is found also in mythological plowing scenes.<sup>9</sup> Other motifs such as Imdugud holding a goat and crossed animals in No. 499 seem to be space-fillings derived from the animal frieze. The desire for a proper filling of available space also apparently led to the insertion of a prostrate goat in front of the quadruped on the same seal. But it remains possible that these elements of the animal frieze are somehow relevant to the sun-god's journey without our being able to recognize their significance.

## OTHER BOATING SCENES

Other boating scenes may possibly represent variants of the theme just discussed, but since the secondary features differ we must at present assume that they render another mythological subject. On No. 484 the boat with the human-shaped prow recurs, possibly with a god seated in it. Another horned figure, nude and therefore presumably not divine, appears in the field, while underneath the boat are some motifs about the meaning of which it seems useless to speculate. But a most extraordinary scene appears on No. 366. The human-prowed boat is steered by a god, as is the case when the sun-god is pictured. But here we note another figure, with a flat cap and pigtails, who seems to hold a punting pole. And in front of him there appears a seated figure whose bald head and tasseled skirt establish his humanity beyond a doubt. There is only one human being known to have boarded a boat in the company of an immortal, and that is Gilgamesh when he visited Utnapishtim. The object which the seated human figure on our seal holds in his hand might be "the plant of great renown that makes old men young" which Gilgamesh found when diving from the boat. We cannot, however, prove that his visit is pictured here.<sup>10</sup>

Seal 879 is another remarkable and early instance of a god in a boat which is not, at present, explicable.

On No. 346 the central figure in the boat wears a beard and long hair tied up at the back of his head, in these particulars resembling representations of rulers on Uruk and Jamdat Nasr seals<sup>11</sup> and on Early Dynastic monuments. There is no reason to see in him a deity, nor is his boat self-propelled. It lacks the human-shaped prow and is punted by the central figure and two attendants. The figures in the boats of Nos. 283, 324, and 823 remain enigmatic; No. 283 may show a figure drinking through reeds from a jar like the one on No. 545.

## THE DESTRUCTION OF THE HYDRA

Seal impression No. 497 shows the destruction of the Hydra as an incidental part of a frieze consisting mostly of scorpions. These, as well as the snake in the uppermost register, are relevant in as much as the slayer of the Hydra is a chthonic god (cf. p. 36). The contrast between our Akkadian cylinder No. 478 and this sealing is again characteristic for the two periods to which they belong. On the one hand is a clear account of the monster's defeat, on the other an incidental reference in a decorative frieze. The sealing shows the Hydra in the form adopted in Greece (see p. 42). The victor, who merely holds in his hands two severed heads (corresponding to the two stumps shown at the top of the Hydra) does not wear the crown of divinity; however, the somewhat rubbed ancient sealing hardly allows us to be dogmatic about such details. Wear and age may also be responsible for the unusual features which appear in our drawing of the quadruped next to the Hydra; it is fortunate that the monster itself is unmistakable.

<sup>9</sup> See *ibid.* Pls. XI j, XX a and pp. 69, 108.

<sup>10</sup> For another possible rendering of this theme see *ibid.* p. 67 and Pl. XI m.

<sup>11</sup> See *ibid.* p. 22.

## RITUAL MARRIAGE

It is possible to assume that the two figures on the couch in Nos. 340 and 559 represent humans and that no ritual significance attaches to the scene. The figures underneath the couch, however, make this interpretation doubtful. The dog of No. 340 refers to Gula, and the scorpion of No. 559 to Ishara. Both are aspects of that great goddess of fertility whose union with a male god, consummated at the New Year's festival, insured the prosperity of the community; for the fertility of nature depended upon this act. The jar with two projecting drinking tubes appearing on No. 559 may refer to the wedding feast, in which the whole population, according to Gudea's texts, took part. In another description of this ritual,<sup>12</sup> in which King Idindagan impersonates the god, explicit mention is made of the purification of the divine couple. The personage standing beside the couch on our seals may represent the priest who performed these duties. He may also be the "temple overseer" of an Assyrian account of the sacred marriage of Nabu and Tashmetum at Borsippa. It is said explicitly that, beginning with the second day, the temple overseer stayed in the bedchamber all the time that the two deities remained there.<sup>13</sup> It is possible that an older version of the subject is seen on our No. 796. The only other rendering of this scene occurs on a fragment of a relief found in the Single-Shrine of the Abu Temple at Tell Asmar.<sup>14</sup>

## BANQUETS

In judging the nature of the feasts depicted on the seals, one is hampered by the fact that ritual feasts may well have assumed the forms of secular ceremonies. There is no reason why one should wish to exclude a priori the possibility that secular celebrations are represented among the seal designs. On the other hand, there is positive proof that some of the feasts are of a ritual or even of a mythological nature. On No. 901, for example, a god, assisting at the building of a temple tower, drinks through a tube. On No. 915 too a crowned deity (and perhaps a second one) drinks through a tube from a jar. Moreover, the banquet is a standard motif on plaques which were dedicated in temples throughout Mesopotamia and which, therefore, certainly commemorate some ritual celebration which recurred in identical form on many occasions.<sup>15</sup> The celebrants, however, are human; at least we do not find attributes of divinity on most of our plaques and seals (e.g. No. 358).

In our No. 465 we have the earliest instance of the banquet scene. Later versions of the symposium are shown on Nos. 316, 334, 351, 358-59, 415-16, and 485.

The curious scene of No. 278 may belong here. Two figures squat beside a large jar, and one of them seems to be holding a cup. The plant motif appearing in front of that figure reminds one of the branches or flowers which are shown in the hands of seated statues of the period. These statues are also equipped with drinking vessels.<sup>16</sup> The cylinder itself, made of alabaster, deeply cut but without drill holes, seems of Early Dynastic date. But the subject has closer parallels among Jamdat Nasr than among Early Dynastic seals, though the modes of representation are different.<sup>17</sup>

Seals 283 and 545 seem to show seated figures in a boat drinking. If the lower register of No. 382 shows a seated figure drinking from a jar through a tube while two standing figures

<sup>12</sup> Edward Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts* (Crozier Theological Seminary, "Babylonian Publications" I [Upland, Pa., 1924]) No. 1 v 14 ff. Dr. Thorkild Jacobsen has kindly put his translation of this text at my disposal.

<sup>13</sup> Robert H. Pfeiffer, *State Letters of Assyria* ("American Oriental Series" VI [New Haven, 1935]) No. 215.

<sup>14</sup> *OIP* XLIV, Pl. 112 A.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 43-47.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 46 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. XXXVIII b-f.

## THE SUBJECTS OF THE SEAL DESIGNS

39

slaughter a wild boar, there is, again, a likelihood that a ritual or mythological scene is depicted.<sup>18</sup>

No. 367 may be mentioned in this context. It shows a woman, on the right, playing a harp which is held by a male attendant. The body of the musical instrument has the form of a bull or cow, and the keys with which the strings are attuned are visible at the upper crossbar. Unfortunately the object behind(?) the strings remains obscure, nor is it clear what the goblet-shaped object under the animal head of the lyre represents. At Ur, however, such instruments were played on the occasion of certain banquets, as seals from the royal cemetery show.<sup>19</sup>

## ADORATION AND OFFERING SCENES

The crude seal No. 511 is valuable in that it shows, in unmistakable contrast, the distinctive marks by which the seal-cutter of Early Dynastic III differentiated gods, laymen, and priests. The god is seated in front of his temple; he wears the horned crown. Of the two figures who approach him, the first, bald-headed and clean-shaven, is a priest. The worshiper, who follows the priest, is bearded, as three clear incisions show. Another scene of adoration is shown on No. 626.

The designs on Nos. 356 and 504 may represent offerings being made to gods (but see below).

## DAIRY SCENES

The last-mentioned design, No. 504, may also be considered as a secular scene; the bundle of reeds in front of the seated figure may represent the inclosure in which the flock was kept and which we find more completely rendered on certain Akkadian seals.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, dairy scenes occur on Early Dynastic seals. Our No. 315 is a fine example. One man is milking a goat, while another seems to be shaking a large suspended vessel to make butter. The line at the back of the neck of each of the animals in the lower register remains enigmatic.

## THE BUILDING OF THE ZIGGURAT

The subjects discussed so far recur in later periods; but the building of a temple tower is, with one exception,<sup>21</sup> found on Early Dynastic seals only. Our No. 758 is of particular interest because it shows a detail not usually represented. In the bottom register we see a horned, bearded, long-haired god seated upon a ram-shaped throne;<sup>22</sup> he holds up a measuring stick against which a nude figure is holding a plano-convex brick. Here, then, we have a pictorial equivalent to the statement that temples were built according to specifications received from the gods; further, we know from Gudea's texts<sup>23</sup> that the builders prided themselves on using material of the right quality and size for their temples, and that the molding of the first brick was the central feature of the foundation ceremony.

If we return to the rendering of the ceremony on our No. 758, we note that the temple tower is shown while the upper stories are being added as a whole by two figures, one nude and the other dressed in a tasseled kilt. This is, of course, an entirely ideographic rendering. It is significant for the differences in the mentalities of the Early Dynastic and Akkadian artists that the one Akkadian rendering of the theme which we possess<sup>24</sup> shows realistically how a builder

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *ibid.* Pl. XXIII *h-i* and p. 132.

<sup>19</sup> Woolley, *Royal Cemetery*, seal No. 22 (Pl. 194) and others.

<sup>20</sup> E.g. *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. XXIV *g*.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. XXII *k*.

<sup>22</sup> Such as was actually found at Ur (see Woolley, "The excavations at Ur, 1925-6," *The Antiquaries Journal* VI [1926] Pl. LIII *b*).

<sup>23</sup> Gudea Statue C, iii 1-5.

<sup>24</sup> *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. XXII *k*.

## 40 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

throws the bricks up, one by one, to a colleague standing upon the unfinished edifice, while another mounts a ladder carrying a basket of mud mortar upon his head. On our seal No. 758 the mass of workers is also represented, but by a simple row of three figures carrying building material, rendered by means of drill holes, on their heads.

Our No. 341 shows a coarse rendering of the same theme; the brick-and-mortar-carriers are omitted, but the seated god seems here, too, to measure a brick held up by a human figure. Seals 383, 513, 895, and 901 show yet other more summary renderings of the same subject, though there may be some doubt about No. 895, where the seated god holds a plant or an ear of grain and the temple tower has a different shape, approaching a triangle, and may even be a heap of grain. The triangular shape does occur, however. In our No. 901 the brick-and-mortar-carriers are depicted, and it is even possible to recognize, in the figure above the vase from which the seated god drinks, the foreman holding up a brick for his inspection. It may well be that the triangular shape is a simplification of, or is influenced by, the outline of the converging staircases. One is even tempted to see in the rectangle drawn above the temple tower on No. 901 (a feature which recurs in more than one instance<sup>25</sup>) a plan meant to remove all doubt as to the nature of the building. However, this may well be a fanciful interpretation. On the other hand, the upper register of our No. 895 shows the god in his boat (a scene often associated with the building of the ziggurat; see e.g. our Nos. 513, 551<sup>26</sup>).

## THE GATEKEEPER

On three of our Early Dynastic seals a nude, bearded, heroic figure is cut round the circumference of the cylinder (Nos. 481, 535, 757). In one case (No. 757) he holds two gatepost emblems, which identify him as the "gatekeeper" who was depicted on terra-cotta plaques buried in the corners of courtyards in order to protect them against evil spirits, as the texts inform us. One plaque shows a figure with writing on both arms. On the right we read: "Come in, Guard of Good"; on the left: "Go out, Guard of Evil." According to Ebeling the texts name such figures *talim*, "twin" or "companion."<sup>27</sup>

The nude hero, without the gateposts or with other attributes, is very common on Early Dynastic and Akkadian seals; and it is unlikely that he always represents the same personage.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, the curious way in which he is placed on these three cylinders suggests that the same—or at least closely related—ideas are expressed whenever this transverse composition of the design is preferred; consequently we have grouped these instances together.

THE AKKADIAN PERIOD<sup>29</sup>

## THE SUN-GOD

Shamash is most commonly shown rising on the mountains of the east (Nos. 402, 588, 591, 627, 650, 699). He normally holds his saw, while rays project from his shoulders and one

<sup>25</sup> E.g. *OIP* XXXVII, No. 13.

<sup>26</sup> A clearer example is *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. XIV k.

<sup>27</sup> *Archiv für Orientforschung* V (1928-29) 218 f., but his reading has been rejected by Landsberger, who substitutes *apkallu*; see Benno Landsberger, *Sam'al I* (Türkisch historische Gesellschaft, "Veröffentlichungen," VII. Serie, Nr. 16 [Ankara, 1948]) p. 95, esp. n. 227. For recently published seals showing this figure, see E. Douglas Van Buren, *The Cylinder Seals of the Pontifical Biblical Institute* ("Analecta orientalia" XXI [Roma, 1940]) No. 7, and Cyrus H. Gordon, "Western Asiatic seals in the Walters Art Gallery," *Iraq* VI (1939) Pl. IV 22; the latter certainly, the first possibly, dates from the period of Hammurabi.

<sup>28</sup> See *Cylinder Seals*, pp. 60, 86-91, and 172. The view of Moortgat that the nude hero should represent Tammuz is without foundation; see *JNES* IX 189-91.

<sup>29</sup> The text of this section is kept as succinct as possible; readers who want fuller information on any group of seals mentioned here will find the available evidence set forth in *Cylinder Seals* and, in a somewhat different form, in my "Gods and myths on Sargonid seals" (*Iraq* I [1934] 2-29).

## THE SUBJECTS OF THE SEAL DESIGNS

41

attendant or two attendants open the "portals of the sky." Occasionally a worshiper chooses this moment of sunrise for his adoration (Nos. 636, 988; also 677, perhaps of the Gutti period). Adoration by other gods is also common (Nos. 617-18). Shamash as judge or victor stands over the enemy of the gods who prays for mercy (No. 647). Sometimes he is shown destroying an enemy with his own hands (Nos. 703, 989).

We now turn to the boating scene, which is well represented among our finds. The possible meaning of this remarkable theme has been hinted at in the discussion of its Early Dynastic occurrences (p. 36). Seal 621 is our finest rendering of the subject, showing every detail with precision except where the cylinder surface, near the plow, is damaged. The large vase with its spout and handle appears between two objects which, though clearly depicted, are not recognizable to us. One is perhaps a bag of seed. The sun-god's boat has the usual anthropomorphic prow, while the stern ends in a snake's head. Behind the boat appears a goddess of vegetation. Similar additions appear on No. 516, where the quadruped (a human-headed lion), the plow, and the vase are drawn outside the boat and the boat has a stern ending in an ear of grain or some other vegetal motif. The god who follows the boat seems to carry branches or plants in both hands. Unfortunately a crack in the seal, which is made of shell, obscures this important feature. The god is not characterized by rays. Important variations appear also on No. 598, which is in an even worse state of preservation. The god is seated on a bird-shaped throne, a feature recurring on a seal in Baghdad<sup>30</sup> with a goddess of vegetation corresponding to the one in our No. 621. Moreover, the god in the boat on No. 598 has no rays or saw and holds the plow, which elsewhere appears isolated in the field of the design. A separate figure, squatting in the stern, holds the steering paddle. It may be questioned, perhaps, whether the same god is intended here; but the similarity of the boat and attributes seem to suggest it. Outside the boat we see the quadruped, possibly with a dragon head. The animal may wear a bucket at its neck and he may be guided by a leash; at least it is pictured so on some better examples.<sup>31</sup> Above it the surface is damaged, but at the top appears what looks like a bundle of branches or stalks. Finally there is the standing figure of a god. Above the boat we see a crescent.

In No. 519 the sun-god is probably Marduk assisting at, or emerging after, the destruction of the evil Zu.<sup>32</sup>

## FERTILITY GODS

This title is a conventional one which designates (somewhat unsatisfactorily) those deities who personify the generative forces of nature. It is remarkable that the "lord of sheepfolds" is not represented in our collection and that the "lord of plants" predominates in the seal designs, even as the temple at Tell Asmar was dedicated to Abu, "lord of plants."

One of the finest known renderings of the vegetal aspect of the Sumerian gods of fertility is our No. 611, where the god appears among stalks of grain. Similar stalks sprout from his hands and left shoulder. The seal is unfinished; and it remains uncertain what figure was to be represented by the very unusual personage on the extreme left. On the right we find the female counterpart of the god, a goddess with plants sprouting from her hands—a figure likewise unfinished.

The goddess is the main figure in No. 423. She is seated on a heap of grain (or perhaps on a wicker seat<sup>33</sup>); plants, probably barley, sprout from her shoulders, and she holds a plow. A kneeling figure seems to pour water in front of two approaching worshipers, one of whom carries a sacrificial kid. Behind them a god appears to introduce his protégés. His small size may be due to lack of space; it is also possible that it reflects the relationship of the mother goddess and her son Tammuz. No. 986, a much worn seal, shows the goddess on a similar seat, holding

<sup>30</sup> *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. XIX f.

<sup>31</sup> E.g. *ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> See *ibid.* pp. 134 f.

<sup>33</sup> See *OIP* XLIV 32.

## 42 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

plants, while a god, holding a plow, introduces two worshipers. The same personages may appear in No. 669. The seated goddess holds no attributes, but the star in front no doubt identifies her as Ishtar. The god who performs the introductions, however, is characterized as a fertility god by the branch which he carries.

No. 689, a Guti seal, shows the goddess again, now characterized by the date palm; a male counterpart is shown receiving a libation in front of a date palm on No. 585.

## THE SNAKE-GOD

Iconographically the snake-god must be treated as a separate deity; in reality he is, however, a fertility god in his chthonic aspect. In this form he is called Ningishzida. His usual representation, a snake combined with the upper part of a human body (Nos. 589, 606-7, 616, 638, 659), is a mere ideogram and by no means the rendering of a monstrous creature believed to exist in reality. This is proved by equivalents showing an anthropomorphic god with snakes projecting from his legs (No. 593) or with two entwined snakes—originally a pair of copulating vipers (No. 592)—or a snake coil (No. 590) appearing beside him as a mark of identification. That same god is pictured, between two snakes and with a scorpion, on No. 577, but the staff carried by the deity who introduces the worshipers remains enigmatic. The relationship between the snake-god and the fertility gods discussed above is clear from the usual association of the former with plants (e.g. Nos. 589, 659). Especially significant is No. 607, on which the snake-god, with plants before and behind him, faces a goddess holding a branch; for the "lord of plants" and the goddess of fertility appear in similar positions on a number of seals. The fire altar (Nos. 589, 592, 616, 638) seems to be peculiar to the god's chthonic aspect, however.

## THE DRAGON-GOD AND THE HYDRA

Another symbol of the gods of fertility is to be seen on Nos. 649 and 760, where a god is enthroned upon a dragon. The design on No. 760 is a clumsy, inexperienced version of the theme. The dragon is a vanquished adversary of a fertility god in his chthonic aspect and consequently appears as his adjunct or symbol. It is in this role that it is found on the famous vase which Gudea dedicated to Ningishzida.<sup>34</sup> In our impression No. 649 the dragon is of the same type as the one on the vase, and the fire altar of the snake-god appears before it. However, since the god named in the inscription is Tishpak,<sup>35</sup> the chief god of Eshnunna, it may be he who is represented here, though in the guise of Ningishzida.<sup>36</sup>

An alabaster group from Tell Asmar with a dragon sculptured on the back shows the snake-god.<sup>37</sup> The dragon resembles the Hydra of seal No. 478 in all details of shape, except for the multiplicity of the heads. This seal was found in the Temple of Abu, while the impression No. 497 was found in an Early Dynastic III level in a building near by. Miss G. Rachel Levy has shown<sup>38</sup> that there is ample evidence in Greek tradition to derive Herakles from an Oriental prototype in the nature of the Sumerian gods of fertility, and thus there can be no doubt that in Eshnunna the slayer of the Hydra was Abu. In the scene on our No. 478 the similarities to the Greek version of Herakles' exploit are striking. Just as Herakles was assisted by Iolaus, a second god helps the main protagonist, while the flames rising from the back of the monster remind us that Herakles had to resort to fire in the end.

<sup>34</sup> Léon Heuzey, *Catalogue des antiquités chaldéennes, sculpture et gravure à la pointe* (Paris, 1902) No. 125 (pp. 280-85). Mrs. E. Douglas Van Buren, in *Iraq* I 71, states that the dragon is called "lion-bird" in the inscription on cylinder seal B.M. 122125; but Dr. Thorkild Jacobsen assures me that the reading is far from certain.

<sup>35</sup> As on seals of Ilushuilia (our sealing No. 705) and Kirikiri (our No. 709).

<sup>36</sup> We would then have a parallel to No. 709, a cylinder of the style of the Third Dynasty of Ur, where Tishpak is shown with dragon heads rising from his shoulders (cf. *OIP* XLIII 183 and 203).

<sup>37</sup> *OIC* No. 17, Figs. 44-45; *OIP* LX, Pls. 70-71.

<sup>38</sup> "The oriental origin of Herakles" (*The Journal of Hellenic Studies* LIV [1934] 40-53).



## THE GOD EA

Ea, the god of the deep, is characterized by streams of water which issue from his body. The nature of these streams is often emphasized by fish which are shown swimming in them.

Ea's "secret chamber"<sup>39</sup> is not depicted on any seals found by us; once (No. 395) it is suggested by the presence of his usual doorkeeper holding the gatepost emblem—in an unusual attitude, however. Other attendants, each holding a flowing vase, appear in No. 582; they are common under the First Dynasty of Babylon but are rarely depicted before that time. Besides human worshipers (Nos. 395, 600), we find gods doing homage to Ea (No. 609); one of them carries a plow; and this feature, in conjunction with similar suggestions on other seals, indicates that Ea, too, served to some extent as an embodiment of the vital forces of nature, a characteristic that seems to have appeared as the prerequisite of divinity to the Sumerians.

A common scene, well represented among our seals, is Ea judging the bird-man (Nos. 580, 619, 655, 694). They show the usual group: the captive bird-man is brought before Ea enthroned, while (except in No. 694) the two-faced herald or minister of the god, Usmu, announces his arrival. Other seals, not represented in our collection, enable us to understand the associations which this scene evoked in the ancients. The capture of the evil power, symbolized by a bird or bird-man, is the last act preceding the liberation of Ea's son Marduk from his mountain grave; and the liberation of this god, in whom solar features and fertility traits are strangely mingled, represents the turning point in the year's cycle and the victory of the beneficial forces upon which man's prosperity depends.<sup>40</sup>

## THE MYTH OF ZU

Besides the seals showing Ea's judgment of the bird-man, there is another group, referring to the myth of Zu. In Nos. 519, 602, and 665 we see the destruction of a bird of prey; once (No. 602) he is caught in the act of damaging a tree—a feature which sometimes appears in the judgment of the bird-man and which may have played the part of the "tablets of destiny" of a later tradition.<sup>41</sup>

## THE GODDESS AT THE GATE AND THE BULL OF HEAVEN

A somewhat enigmatic scene shows a goddess holding a bull by a halter, while a winged gateway appears above the bull. Seal No. 773 gives the clearest version; the star there may identify the goddess as Ishtar.

In early versions of the Gilgamesh Epic we find that Ishtar, in her desire to punish Erech for the offensive behavior of its king toward her, asks her father Anu to loose the Bull of Heaven against the city. The bull evidently symbolizes drought, for seven lean years are said to follow his onslaught. Moreover, another seal shows heavy showers following the killing of the bull.<sup>42</sup> Anu refuses to let the Bull of Heaven go with Ishtar before she gives a pledge that she will prevent it from reaching the "Place of Sunrise," and Ishtar answers:

I am the one who commands, and heaven and earth obey;  
but if fear does not subdue him, the rein will restrain him.<sup>43</sup>

When we find on seals a goddess holding a bull by the halter near a gateway, we may well surmise, therefore, that Ishtar's beneficial restraint of the drought is pictured. However, there are several variants which are not easily explained. Among our seals we find, in the first place,

<sup>39</sup> See *Cylinder Seals*, pp. 124, 134.

<sup>40</sup> See *ibid.* pp. 95-98, 105-8, and 132-37.

<sup>41</sup> See *ibid.* pp. 134-37.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. XXII e.

<sup>43</sup> *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, neu übersetzt . . . von Dr. Albert Schott (Leipzig, 1934) p. 80, lines 22 f.

## 44 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

that the goddess is sometimes aided by male figures (Nos. 583, 983). This is a minor complication, of course; and the occasional omission of the gate (No. 637) and the characterization of the goddess as the goddess of fertility (Nos. 584, 637) are not at all difficult to understand. It seems that in No. 983 the goddess is identified as the great mother by the figure of her son, drawn in front of her, above the bull's head. On No. 697 the occurrence of a seated male figure without a crown instead of the goddess may be due to carelessness. But on No. 643 we find a symmetrical group of two kneeling male figures; and here, as in other instances, the halters seem to be attached to the gate rather than to the bull. These variants remain at present inexplicable; nor do we know whether the goddess seated near a gate without wings and not accompanied by a bull (No. 648) or the large gate in the keeping of two gods (No. 925) or the damaged design of No. 505 are in any way connected with this cycle.

## THE GODDESS ON A LION

I do not know of a parallel for No. 700, a somewhat convex seal of carnelian. In the upper register a goddess appears mounted on a lion. She is followed by a god and a man in a long gown and faced by two worshipers, a woman and a nude man. The lower register shows five worshipers.

In Akkadian times the weather-gods appear mounted on their dragons;<sup>44</sup> otherwise mounted deities are not known. Even under the First Dynasty of Babylon the animal which identifies a god serves as his footstool, not as a support upon which he stands, though here again the weather-god Adad is an exception. In Syria and Cappadocia in later times gods are commonly depicted standing on their beasts; occasionally this occurs even on the Cappadocian tablets.<sup>45</sup> It is, therefore, conceivable that our No. 700 reflects foreign influence from the northwest, especially since the Hurrian weather-god Tishpak displaced the indigenous god of fertility of Eshnunna, worshiped in his aspects of Abu and Ninazu, before or under the dynasty of Sargon of Agade. On the other hand, we know of no independent Syrian or Anatolian art or iconography earlier than the end of the third millennium B.C. It is, therefore, hard to see from what source outside Mesopotamia the goddess on the lion could be derived.

## BATTLES OF THE GODS

Some seals show gods in conflict without any indication as to the cause (Nos. 632, 634, 685, 703, 989). The rays or flames emerging from the body of the victor in some scenes (Nos. 632, 703, 989) suggest that he is the sun-god or perhaps Gibil, the fire-god. A unique scene appears on No. 403, but the seal is too much worn for us to describe accurately what is represented. A standing god spears a collapsing antagonist upon whose body a notched circle appears. The gesture of the antagonist's left arm is characteristic for a vanquished adversary, and the details which might possibly enlighten us, namely the circle and the lines below it, remain enigmatic.

Some scenes (Nos. 579, 695) could be considered variants of the animal frieze but for the fact that crowned gods take the place of the traditional nude or flat-capped hero and bull-man attacking animals.<sup>46</sup> Here again the meaning of the scenes eludes us.

## THE MYTH OF ETANA

One of our seals (No. 657) and an impression (No. 666) show Etana carried on the back of a large bird. This scene is generally considered a rendering of the myth of Etana. Usually two

<sup>44</sup> *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. XXII a and d-e.

<sup>45</sup> See *ibid.* Pl. XI. j and pp. 239-40.

<sup>46</sup> The flat cap may also be worn by mortals; but the eagle (see No. 605) seems to serve as an identification of a god, as *ibid.* Pl. XXIII a-b.

## THE SUBJECTS OF THE SEAL DESIGNS

45

dogs are shown looking up at their master disappearing in the sky, as on our No. 666; and the dairy scene of No. 657 also finds its parallel.<sup>47</sup>

## ADORATION AND PRESENTATION SCENES

A number of seals show human or divine worshipers approaching a deity who in all cases remains for us anonymous (Nos. 520, 538, 614, 628, 644, 660, 662, 664, 673, 778, 982, 987, 992). In other cases we have tentatively identified the deity on the strength of symbols which are not entirely conclusive; thus we have considered the deity in No. 577 as representing Ningishzida, a god of fertility in his chthonic aspect (see p. 42). The goddess of No. 669 we have called Ishtar. There is but little difference between these two seals and, for instance, Nos. 662 and 664. Yet the "standard" of the first-named seal and the tree of the other can hardly serve as marks of identification since they occur with the sun-god, the snake-god, and others; and the crescent is ubiquitous as a space-filler in the upper part of seal designs. The scorpion and snake also occur as space-fillers, and if we have attached a more specific meaning to them in the case of No. 577, it is only because of their accumulation around the figure of the god.

## BANQUETS

Certain scenes showing two seated figures with a servant standing between them (Nos. 586, 605, 615) are considered banquets on the strength of more elaborate renderings such as Nos. 620 and 639. The scene showing a pair of figures drinking through tubes from a large vessel placed between them recurs in Akkadian times, but on the whole it lacks detail (Nos. 578, 612-13, 687, 747, 769, 981).

One seal, however, would almost certainly reveal the occasion, or at least the character, of the celebration if it had been found undamaged (No. 587). As it is we can only observe that the participants sit under a palm tree. Whether they are gods or men and what further symbols were pictured remain obscure.

## SCENES OF DAILY LIFE

It is quite possible that several of the scenes grouped under this heading have religious implications which escape us. Thus one of the figures approaching the date palm in No. 422 carries a bucket, as do worshipers approaching deities (e.g. No. 577); yet we can do no more than call the scene a date harvest. Another seal shows a man plowing (No. 661); No. 676, which may be a Guti seal (see p. 33), shows a man driving a goat. The most striking seal in this group is No. 658, which shows the age-old subject of the defense of the flock rendered in the fresh and realistic spirit of the times. A lion is driven off in the nick of time by a herdsman with a spear, while his dog has growlingly retired before the formidable robber. The snake, between herdsman and lion, may refer to a god of fertility as protector of the flock; the rendering of the flock agrees with a general Akkadian convention.

## AN INDIAN CYLINDER SEAL

One cylinder seal from Tell Asmar (No. 642) deserves special mention, since there can be no doubt that it was imported from the Indus Valley. This conclusion, based on internal evidence, is corroborated by a number of other objects—beads, a stamp seal, inlays, fragments of pottery—found in the same Akkadian layer. We reprint here the description given in our second preliminary report:

Its material has not yet been determined with certainty, but it appears to be of glazed steatite. In only one or two instances have seals of this shape been found in the Indus Valley, where square flat stamp seals prevail. Yet the subject of our cylinder, without parallel among the thousands of known Babylonian seals, alone suffices to establish its non-Babylonian character. Moreover, no Babylonian

<sup>47</sup> See *ibid.* pp. 138 f. and Pl. XXIV h (cf. g).

## 46 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

seal of this quality shows so unbalanced a composition. The animals, foreign to the Babylonians, were obviously carved by an artist to whom they were familiar, as appears from the faithful rendering of such details as the skin of the rhinoceros (which resembles plate-armor more closely than does the skin of his companion) and the sloping back and bulbous forehead of the elephant. Certain peculiarities of style connect the seal as definitely with the Indus civilization as if it actually bore the signs of the Indus script. Such is the convention in which the feet of the elephant are rendered. A peculiar network of lines such as appears on the elephant's ear in an Indian seal [found at Mohenjo Daro in the Indus Valley] extends over the whole of his head and trunk in the Tell Asmar cylinder. The way in which the ears of the rhinoceros seem to be implanted on two little stems is also a feature connecting our cylinder with the Indus Valley seal.<sup>48</sup>

## THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR AND THE ISIN-LARSA PERIOD

Two outstanding seals (Nos. 705 and 709) of rulers of Eshnunna who lived toward the end of the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur have been discussed in an earlier publication.<sup>49</sup> There also we have said all that is required about the dull presentation and adoration scenes of the Isin-Larsa period.

## THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON

Of the seals of the First Dynasty of Babylon some show points of interest. On the whole they lack coherence. Traces of the adoration scene (e.g. No. 770) betray the origin of the school in the glyptic of the previous period; but these traces almost disappear in an accumulating of isolated figures of gods and other motifs, which often have individual charm but convey little meaning.

The traditional scene of the enthroned figure—god or king—is sometimes shown with additions by which we recognize the gods. Under the Third Dynasty of Ur we find the goat and the lion used to identify Amurru and Shamash respectively.<sup>50</sup> It is impossible to say whether or not the more obtrusive appearance of these animals in our Nos. 429–30 is due to the clumsiness of the engraver or to the fact that they play a less formal part in the scene.

A very unusual figure appears on the fragment No. 956. His helmet, possibly with cheek pieces, his ax, the bird held as an emblem, his kilt—or perhaps drawers—all suggest a possible Aegean connection, which cannot be substantiated, of course. Another figure (fragmentary) and the libra and monkey serving as space-filling are purely Babylonian.

Some mythological subjects occur, as great exceptions, on seals of the First Dynasty of Babylon. In No. 903 we have the only post-Akkadian rendering of the mother goddess having descended into the mountain grave of her son to resuscitate him.<sup>51</sup> The scene is shorn of all details which distinguish the earlier versions; the goddess, conventionally enthroned within the mountain, appears between two equally conventional figures of interceding goddesses, which are a commonplace in the glyptic of the period.

Similar conventional motifs surround the god and goddess embracing on No. 906—possibly Nergal and Ereshkigal. But, in any case, the theme is a rare one of which a presumably contemporary Syrian instance is known.<sup>52</sup> The question arises whether the lion-headed demon with the dagger, who personifies illness,<sup>53</sup> is meant to hold the human head, which appears commonly as a mere space-filler (e.g. in No. 917).

Two such demons occur in No. 907 attacked by a god with a multiple mace. It might seem that the crouching figure seeks refuge at an altar until the demons are driven off by the god, but that is probably an erroneous interpretation. The crouching figure is iconographically an

<sup>48</sup> *OIC* No. 16, pp. 51 f.

<sup>49</sup> *OIP* XLIII.

<sup>50</sup> See *Cylinder Seals*, pp. 165, 161.

<sup>51</sup> See *ibid.* p. 117–19.

<sup>52</sup> See *ibid.* Pl. XLI c and pp. 169 f., 253.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 174–77.

## THE SUBJECTS OF THE SEAL DESIGNS

47

identifying attribute of the god with the multiple mace. The meaning of the scene remains obscure.

Equally obscure is the unusual restraint to which the dragon of No. 931 is subjected. This monster appears alone on Early Dynastic seals and as attribute or vanquished adversary of the weather-god on Akkadian seals as well as on late Assyrian reliefs. On seals of the First Dynasty of Babylon he is normally shown devouring a kneeling man (No. 957) or a seated gazelle (No. 920)—in other words, victorious.<sup>54</sup>

Another seal of the period which should be mentioned is No. 917, since its inscription dedicates it to the goddess in whose temple it was found. Otherwise it is an ordinary example of the most simplified style of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

No. 426 illustrates the renewed use of the drill, which is one of the characteristics of the late style of the dynasty. The sun-god holds a staff with seven globes instead of his saw. The symbol of the sun has become a rosette of drill holes. The streams of water flowing from the hands of the nude hero<sup>55</sup> have become two lines of dots. This stage of Babylonian glyptic underlies the popular Mitannian style.

THE POPULAR STYLE OF MITANNI<sup>56</sup>

This style is represented in our finds by one characteristic cylinder (No. 427). It was found on Mound B at Khafajah (see Table II), but since other remains of the middle of the second millennium B.C. occur farther to the north on the bank of the Diyala (which has washed away all but a few of them) there is no reason to claim this style to have arisen during the period of Hammurabi's dynasty, as has been done.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>54</sup> See *ibid.* p. 174.

<sup>55</sup> See *ibid.* pp. 87-90.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 278-83.

<sup>57</sup> See E. A. Speiser in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 68 (Dec. 1937) p. 12.

## V

## THE INSCRIPTIONS

By THORKILD JACOBSEN

**T**HE transliterations and translations are given in parallel columns, with the latter at the right. In the transliterations Akkadian words are printed in italics, Sumerian words in letter-spaced roman, Sumerian signs whose reading is uncertain in small roman capitals. The following symbols are used:

<sup>d</sup>	determinative for a divine name	-	to separate signs written and transliterated in the order in which the sounds to which they correspond followed one another in speech
<sup>m</sup>	determinative for a masculine name	.	to separate signs written in an order different from, but transliterated in the order corresponding to, that in which the corresponding sounds presumably followed one another in speech
[ ]	wholly lost		
' '	partially lost		
(!?)	reading which does not agree entirely with the form of the sign or traces of the sign yet must be posited as correct on general grounds		
....	unreadable or lost signs (extent of gap not indicated)		

## KHAFAJAH

ur-dingir <sup>1</sup>	No. 258	Urdingir.
igi-bar-mu	No. 396	Igibarmu.
....	No. 432	....
ensi		<i>ishakku</i>
áš-nun-na <sup>ki</sup>		of Eshnunna
ma-nu-um-....-i-lí		Manum...ili.

## TELL ASMAR

....	No. 497	....
[...]-bil		....
....	No. 517	.....
<sup>d</sup> tíšpak		O Tishpak,
ur-sag....-LI(?)		warrior.....,
púzur-ru-um		Puzurru
dup-šar warad-zu		the scribe (is) your servant.

For a different seal bearing the same inscription see below, No. 649.

ú-dur-um	No. 593	Udurum
gal-sukkal <sup>d</sup> tíšpak		great vizier of Tishpak.

<sup>1</sup> The inscription is reversed on the impression.

## THE INSCRIPTIONS

49

	No. 609	
<i>be-li</i>		Beli
<i>mār pū(KA)-su(?)</i>		son of Pushu(?)
<i>ᵀdup<sup>1</sup>-šar</i>		scribe
<i>ᵀHAR<sup>1</sup>-TU ᵀtišpak</i>		... of Tishpak.
	No. 634	
<i>bù-ba-ᵀil?<sup>2</sup></i>		Bubail(?).
	No. 649	
<i>[ᵀt i] š p a k</i>		O Tishpak,
<i>[u r] - s a g</i>		warrior
<i>[. . .]-LI(?)<sup>3</sup></i>		....,
<i>p [ú z u r - r u - u m]</i>		Puzurum
<i>d u p - ᵀš a r<sup>1</sup></i>		the scribe
<i>w a r a d - z u</i>		(is) your servant.
	No. 650	
<i>d u . d a . u r</i>		Dudaur <sup>5</sup>
<i>d u p - š a r</i>		the scribe,
<i>d u m u š U . ḷ š<sup>4</sup></i>		son of šU.ḷš.
	No. 654	
<i>b i l<sub>x</sub>(GIŠ-BÍL) - z u m u g u l a . . . .<sup>6</sup></i>		Bilzum, <sup>7</sup> overseer of . . . .
	No. 674	
<i>. . . .</i>		. . . .
<i>iš-nun<sup>ki</sup></i>		(of) Eshnunna.
	No. 681	
<i>su-ru-uš-gi</i>		Shurushkin.
	No. 701	
<i>[š]u-dur-ùl</i>		Shudurul,
<i>[d]a-num</i>		mighty
<i>[š]ar</i>		king
<i>[a-ga]-di<sup>ki</sup></i>		of Agade,
<i>[. . .]-mah</i>		...mah
<i>[. . .]</i>		[son of . . . is his servant?].
	No. 704	
<i>u r - s [a g - . . . .]</i>		Ursag. . . .
<i>[d u] m u b e - l í - [. . . .]</i>		son of Beli. . . . <sup>8</sup>
	No. 705	
<i>[ᵀd]tišpak</i>		Tishpak,
<i>šarrum da-núm</i>		mighty king,
<i>šàr ma-at wa-ri-im</i>		king of the land of Warum,
<i>šàr</i>		king

<sup>2</sup> Same name in *HSS X xxix* (*Bù-ba-ìli*). Or should one read *bù-su(!?) -il* in both places?

<sup>3</sup> Thus more likely than *s a r* read in *OIP XLIII 183*, Date Formula 83, n. \*.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Gelb suggests *š u - i*; cf. Anton Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexikon II 3* (Roma, 1932) 354:193.

<sup>5</sup> A person of this name, perhaps the owner of this seal, is mentioned on *As. 32: T. 3*. The name occurs also on *Akkadian* tablets from Gasur; see *HSS X xxx* (under *Du-da-taš*).

<sup>6</sup> Unidentified sign.

<sup>7</sup> Same name in *HSS X xxxi* (under *Giš-bil-šu*).

<sup>8</sup> See *OIP XLIII 158*, Seal Legend 70.

[ki]-ib-ra-at ar-ba-im ilu-šu-i-lí-a wakil? <sup>9</sup> -šu na-ra-a[m] <sup>d</sup> be-la-at-te-ra-ba-an <sup>d</sup> be-la-at-[suh-nir] <sup>d</sup> a[dad?] ù [ . . . ] i- . . . ] mu-uš-t[e- . . . ]		of the quarters four; Ilushuilia his agent, beloved of Belatteraban, Belatsuhnir, Adad(?), and . . . . . . . . . . . . <sup>9</sup>
	No. 709	
<sup>d</sup> tishpak šarrum da-núm šar ma-at wa-ri-im ki-ri-ki-ri išak áš-nun-na <sup>ki</sup> a-na bi-la-la-ma DUMU-NI-šu i-qi <sub>4</sub> -iš		O Tishpak, mighty king, king of the land of Warum, Kirikiri ishakku of Eshnunna to Bilalama his son has presented (this seal). <sup>10</sup>
	No. 712	
The inscription apparently was cut by an illiterate scribe who tried to copy a seal legend of a servant of Ibalpiel (first line based on original <i>warad i-ba-al-pi-el?</i> ). No transliteration and translation can be offered.		
	No. 718	
i-ba-lu(?)-uṭ warad <sup>d</sup> šu-BU-da		Ibaluṭ(?) servant of Shu. . . .da. <sup>11</sup>
	No. 721	
šu- <sup>l</sup> ga? <sup>1</sup> - . . . . . . . .		Shu. . . . . . . .
	No. 724	
warad-[sà] išak áš-n[un <sup>ki</sup> ] ir-ra-ba-ni-a[m(?) . . . ] mār šu- <sup>d</sup> da-b[a-an] warad-[sú]		(As for) Waradsa, ishakku of Eshnunna, Irrabaniam(?) . . . . son of Shudaban (is) his servant. <sup>12</sup>
	No. 726	
ú-šur-a-wa-s[ú] išak áš-nun <sup>ki</sup> be-lí-ki-ib-ri warad-sú		(As for) Ušurawasu, ishakku of Eshnunna, Belikibri (is) his servant. <sup>13</sup>
	No. 729	
<sup>m</sup> e(?) -ki(?) - <sup>d</sup> adad mār a-ta-ta-wi-ra warad bu-kur- <sup>d</sup> eš-tar		. . . .adad son of Atatawira servant of Bukurishtar. <sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See *ibid.* p. 143, Seal Legend 6.<sup>10</sup> See *ibid.* p. 145, Seal Legend 12.<sup>11</sup> See *ibid.* p. 158, Seal Legend 68.<sup>12</sup> See *ibid.* p. 154, Seal Legend 47.<sup>13</sup> See *ibid.* p. 148, Seal Legend 21.<sup>14</sup> See *ibid.* p. 158, Seal Legend 69.



## THE INSCRIPTIONS

51

<i>bi-la-la-ma</i> <i>na-ra-am</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>tishpak</i> <i>išak</i> <i>áš-nun-na</i> <sup>ki</sup> <i>wa-zum-be-lí</i> <i>mār awil-ša-lim</i> <i>warad-sú</i>	No. 735	(As for) Bilalama, beloved of Tishpak, <i>ishakku</i> of Eshnunna, Wazumbeli son of Awilshalim (is) his servant. <sup>15</sup>
<i>i-šar-ku-bu-um</i> <i>dup-šar</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>mār nu-úr-be-lí</i>	No. 752	Isharkubum the scribe, son of Nurbeli.
<sup>d</sup> u t u <sup>16</sup> <sup>d</sup> a - a	No. 764	Utu (and?) Aia.
<i>ši-il</i> - <sup>d</sup> <i>adad</i> <i>mār pu-za-am</i> <i>warad</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>nin-é(?)</i> - . . . .	No. 768	Šiladad son of Puzam servant of Nin. . . . .
<sup>d</sup> <i>šamaš</i>	No. 772	Shamash.
<i>i-ku-pí</i> - <sup>d</sup> <i>t</i> [ <i>išpak</i> ?] <i>dupša</i> [ <i>rrum</i> ] <i>mār šár</i> -[ . . . .]	No. 777	Iku(n)pitishpak(?) the scribe, son of Shar. . . . . <sup>17</sup>
<i>a-mur-še-ri-su</i>	No. 781	Amursheri(d)su.

## TELL AGRAB

<i>i - k u - m i - š a r</i> <i>u k u - u š l u g a l</i> <i>d u m u ḫ u</i> (?) <sup>18</sup> - <i>ú r - t i</i> (?) - <i>t i</i>	No. 886	Iku(n)mishar sergeant of the king son of Hurtiti(?).
. . . . <i>d a</i> (?) . . . . <i>w a r a d š i - l u - u š - d a g a n</i>	No. 890	. . . . servant of Šilushdagan.

## ISHCHALI

<i>warad</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>tishpak</i> <i>mār a-ba-qar</i>	No. 900	Waradtishpak son of Abaqar.
<i>a-pil-i-lí-šu</i> <i>mār ša-lu-ru-um</i> <i>wardum ša</i> <sup>d</sup> MAR-TU	No. 912	Apililishu son of Shalurum servant of Amurru.

<sup>15</sup> See *ibid.* p. 146, Seal Legend 16.<sup>16</sup> The sign is peculiar; it looks like a badly shaped UD with inscribed LU.<sup>17</sup> See *OIP XLIII* 156, Seal Legend 59.<sup>18</sup> The sign could also be UŠ.

## 52 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

	No. 913	
<i>qi-ip-ti-ia</i>		Qiptia
<i>mārat</i> (DUMU-SAL) BA-AŠ(?) -NA-BI- <sup>1</sup> A? <sup>1</sup>		daughter of . . . .
NIN-DINGIR <sup>d</sup> da(?) -š <i>i</i> (?) - <i>ma</i>		priestess of . . . . .
	No. 916	
<sup>d</sup> <i>samaš</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>a-a</i>		Shamash (and) Aia.
	No. 917	
<i>ma-at-ta-tum</i>		Mattatum
<i>mārat</i> (DUMU-SAL) <i>u-bar-rum</i>		daughter of Ubarrum,
. . . . (erased)		
<i>a-na ba-la-ti-ša</i>		for her life
<i>a-na</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>ki-ti-tum</i>		to Kititum
<i>i-qi-iš</i> <sup>19</sup>		presented (this seal).
	No. 920	
<i>i-li-pa-qi-su</i> (sic)		Ilipaqi(d)su
<i>mār warad-ša</i>		son of Waradsa
<i>warad</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>nin-šubur</i>		servant of Ninshubur.
	No. 933	
AN-AN-UD(?) -NI(?) <sup>20</sup>		. . . . .

## PURCHASED SEALS, PROBABLY FROM THE DIYALA REGION

	No. 960	
[. . . .] . . . . <i>sar</i> [. . . .]		. . . .
[. . . .] . . . . [. . . .]		. . . .
<i>ia áš sa an</i> [. . . .]		. . . . .
	No. 984	
LUL-GU-AK		. . . .
KAS <sub>4</sub> -DI		. . . . .
	No. 987	
s a <sub>6</sub> - s a <sub>6</sub>		(For?) Shasha
n i n - n a - n i		his lady
u r - m e s		Urmesh.
	No. 995	
DA AN KI A <sup>1</sup> RA? <sup>1</sup>		. . . .
ŠI- . . . .		. . . .
. . . .		. . . .
. . . .		. . . . .

<sup>19</sup> The seal legend apparently originally gave also the title of Mattatum. When she decided to present her seal to Kititum, she had this line erased and the votive formula added. That the dedication formula is a later addition is clear from the different character of the writing, which is not nearly so deeply and boldly engraved as the lines of the original legend.

<sup>20</sup> A reading *anum-ilum-ba(?) -ni* might perhaps be considered.

CATALOGUE OF CYLINDER SEALS AND IMPRESSIONS  
NOT ILLUSTRATED

Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
KHAFAJAH					
Kh. VII 271	Glazed steatite seal. Geometric design including drill-hole rosette. 1.9 × 1.2 cm.	Q 42:41	Sin II	Protolit. <i>c</i>	JN
Kh. VIII 270	Limestone seal with loop. Design worn away. 3.6 × 1.8 cm.	Q 42	"	"	?
Kh. VII 182	Fragment of glazed steatite seal of tall geometric type. 3.4 × 1.6 cm.	Q 42:26	Sin III	"	JN
Kh. VII 126	Unfinished alabaster seal. Design not carved. 2.7 × 2 cm.	"	"	"	_____
Kh. VII 191	Fragment of glazed steatite seal of tall geometric type. "Tree" between loops. 2.5 × 1.8 cm.	Q 43:17	"	"	JN
Kh. VI 194	Copper seal. File of horned animals. 1.7 × 1.1 cm.	Q 42:24	Sin IV	Protolit. <i>d</i>	?
Kh. VI 195	Copper seal. File of horned animals. 1.5 × .95 cm.	"	"	"	?
Kh. VI 455	Fragment of glazed steatite seal of tall geometric type. 3.5 × 1 cm.	"	"	"	JN
Kh. VII 240	Fragment of white stone seal with top shaped like that of No. 300 (cf. Pl. 1 <i>e</i> ). 1.6 × 1.1 cm.	Dump	"	"	?
Kh. V 351	Fragment of glazed steatite seal of tall geometric type. 3 × 1.2 cm.	Q 42:19	Sin V	Protolit. <i>d</i> or ED I	JN
Kh. V 255	White stone seal, broken. Horned animal etc. 3.2 × 1.1 cm.	Q 42:15	"	"	ED I
Kh. IV 218	Black stone seal. No record of design. 1.3 × 1.1 cm.	R 42:18	Sin X	ED III	?
Kh. V 212	Limestone seal. No record of worn design. 2.6 × 1.3 cm.	O 43:21	Small Temple III	ED I	?
Kh. V 360	Alabaster seal. Indeterminate design of animals and human figures somewhat like No. 369. 2.8 × 2.5 cm.	O 43:14	Oval I	ED II	?
Kh. I 97	Alabaster seal, crushed. Very worn design including human(?) figure and plant. 3.2 × ca. 1.4 cm.	M 44:5	Oval	ED II or III	ED III
Kh. III 327-28	Fragments of two ancient impressions on clay, both from same seal. Four-wheeled chariot pulled by quadruped	M 43:6	Oval II or III	ED III	"
Kh. I 254	Frit(?) seal. Design worn away. 2.9 × 1 cm.	N 44:4	Oval III	ED III or Protoimp.	?
Kh. IV 398	Unfinished alabaster seal. Design not carved. 3.2 × 1.9 cm.	L 44:1	"	"	_____
Kh. I 534	Black clay sealing with string impressions inside; rows of concentric squares outside	_____	Oval surface	_____	?
Kh. VIII 16	White marble seal, badly damaged. Animal file. 2.3 × 1.8 cm.	Q 45:4	Nintu VI	ED II	?

## 54 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
Kh. VIII 230	Alabaster seal. Human figure between two rampant animals; horned animal. 2.9 × 2.2 cm.	Q 45:7	Nintu VII	ED II or III	ED
Kh. V 77	White stone seal. No record of design. 2.3 × 2.2 cm.	P 43:23, Grave 90	Houses 6	ED II	?
Kh. III 679	Ancient impression on clay. No record of design	K 43:8	Houses 4	"	?
Kh. III 1283	Limestone seal. No record of badly worn design. 2.1 × .9 cm.	K 42:17, Grave 130	Houses 3	ED III	?
Kh. V 51	Fragment of white stone seal. Design obscure except for six-pointed star. 2.5 × 1.7 cm.	O 43:3, Grave 133	"	"	?
Kh. V 56	White stone seal. Human-prowed boat with one figure inside and one figure outside, water below. 3.2 × 1.2 cm.	O 43:14, Grave 125	"	"	ED
Kh. III 202	Fragment of limestone seal. Animals. 2.6 × 1.7 cm.	O 42:1	Houses 3 or 2	"	?
Kh. III 750	Limestone seal. No record of very worn design. 2.3 × .8 cm.	K 42:9, Grave 167	Houses 2	"	?
Kh. III 329-35	Fragments of ancient impressions on clay, all from same seal. Quadrupeds	M 42:1	"	"	ED I?
Kh. III 119	Fragment of ancient impression on clay. Two rows of connected concentric lozenges with centered dots (cf. No. 175)	O 44:7	"	"	JN
Kh. V 7	Shell seal, broken. Upper register: seated figure; lower register: animals. 3.1 × 1.1 cm.	P 43:16	"	"	ED III
Kh. III 463	Parts of two impressions on one lump of clay. Animal friezes	P 46:4	"	"	?
Kh. III 794	Ancient impression on clay. Boating scene with two figures seated in boat	Q 45:1	"	"	ED
Kh. VIII 162	Shell seal. Crossed horned animals, one attacked by lion; second lion attacking third horned animal; two horizontal strokes below blank inscription panel. 3.1 × 2 cm.	T 45:1	"	"	ED III
Kh. III 862	Limestone seal, disintegrated. Tree or plant and two figures, possibly in boat, drinking through tubes. 3.1 × 1.6 cm.	O 44:14	Houses 2 or 1	"	ED
Kh. IX 43	Gray limestone seal, badly worn. Four rampant animals. 1.7 × .9 cm.	P 36	"	"	?
Kh. I 130	White stone seal, broken. Scene with human-prowed boat. 2.9 × 1.9 cm.	P 44:4	Houses 1	"	ED
Kh. III 42	Limestone seal. Animal frieze. 2.6 × 1.2 cm.	Q 44:4	"	"	ED III
Kh. VIII 30	Shell seal, very worn. Two crossed lions attacking two horned animals; small animal below blank inscription panel. 2.8 × 1.4 cm.	V 44	Houses 1 or above	ED III or Protoimp.	?
Kh. VIII 29	Alabaster seal. Two standing figures with plant(?) between them; seated figure. 4 × 2.3 cm.	Y 43	"	"	?
Kh. VIII 31	Shell seal. Spread eagle(?) between two quadrupeds. 1.5 × .8 cm.	Y 44	"	"	ED
Kh. I 83	Alabaster seal. Lion attacking horned animal, tree, and indistinct motifs. 2.7 × 1.9 cm.	R 45	1.80 m. below surface	—	"

## CYLINDER SEALS AND IMPRESSIONS NOT ILLUSTRATED

55

Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
Kh. I 1	White stone seal, crushed. Worn design of two quadrupeds in file. 2.5 × 1.5 cm.	H 42	Surface	—	ED
Kh. IX 17	Gray marble seal. Man between two horned animals which are attacked by two lions. 1.9 × .9 cm.	V 40	"	—	?
Kh. I 540	Ancient impression on clay. Connected lozenges with centered dots (cf. No. 175)	Mound A	"	—	JN
Kh. V 16	White stone seal. Two quadrupeds. 2.4 × 1.9 cm.	"	"	—	?
Kh. II 44*	White stone seal. Man driving ox; remainder indistinct. 3.5 × 2.1 cm.	"	"	—	Akk.
Kh. VIII 239	Serpentine seal. Quadruped and obscure motifs. 2.1 × .9 cm.	Mound B	Houses	—	JN or ED I
Kh. VIII 37	Hematite seal, chipped. Kilted figure holding weapon; god holding scimitar approached by robed worshiper. 1.7 × .9 cm. Inscription: [. . . .]a-a, ". . . . Aia."	"	Surface	—	Old Bab. (?)
Kh. VI 155	White stone seal. Unfinished design: two figures approaching seated figure. 2.8 × 1.8 cm.	Mound C	"	—	Akk.
Kh. VI 138	Gray stone seal. Unfinished design of crossed animals. 3.5 × 2 cm.	"	—	—	?
Kh. III 474	Ancient impression on clay. Design in three registers, possibly chariot scenes	Unknown	—	—	ED III
Kh. II 43*	Cream-colored stone seal, damaged. Three figures approaching seated deity. 3.5 × 1.8 cm.	"	—	—	Akk.
TELL ASMAR					
As. 33:206	Limestone seal. No record of worn design. 3 × 2.7 cm.	D 17:6	Square Temple I	ED II	?
As. 33:456	Crystal seal. Linear design. 1.9 × .6 cm.	D 17:8	"	"	?
As. 33:697	Alabaster seal. Unfinished design, with traces of horizontal lines. 2.3 × 1.7 cm.	"	"	"	?
As. 34:25	Fayence seal. Two rows of oblique lines slanting in different directions. 1.1 × 1 cm.	"	"	"	?
As. 33:508	Limestone seal. No record of design. 2.5 × 1.4 cm.	D 17:12	Square Temple II	"	?
As. 33:1	Limestone seal, broken. Irregularly crossing oblique lines. 3.5 × 2 cm.	D 17, outside door of temple	Single-Shrine I	ED III	?
As. 33:503	Fragment of ancient impression on clay (see <i>OIP</i> LXIII, Pl. 63:45, for drawing)	Sounding in D 15:3	27-26 m.	ED I	ED I
As. 32:1216	Limestone seal, broken. Single zigzag bordered above and below by double line. 1.6 × 1 cm.	D 15:7	Earlier Northern Palace	ED III	?
As. 32:1141	Frit seal, damaged. Geometric pattern like No. 862. 2.6 × 1.2 cm.	E 15:20	"	"	?
As. 32:910	Shell seal, unperforated. Design unfinished. 2.8 cm. high	E 16:16	Northern Palace, main level	Protoimp.	?

\* Purchased; said to be from Khafajah.

## 56 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
As. 32:587	White stone seal with burned spots. Small animal below blank inscription panel, rampant quadruped, kilted figure restraining lion which attacks crossed animals. 2.8 × 1.4 cm.	E 16:22	Northern Palace, main level	Protoimp.	ED III
As. 32:108	Fragment of ancient impression on clay. Two registers of lions attacking goats	F 17:6 (fill)	36.00 m.	—	ED
As. 32:739	Fragment of ancient impression on clay. Upper register: indeterminate object, blank inscription panel with frame, and quadruped; lower register: lions attacking goats	E 15	Northern Palace	—	"
As. 32:514	Frit seal. Linear design of two horned animals. 2.4 × 1.4 cm.	E 17:8	Outside Northern Palace, 35.00 m.	Proto-imp.(?)	?
As. 32:740	Fragment of ancient impression on clay. Upper register: indeterminate (mostly lost); lower register: building of ziggurat	—	Outside E. wall of Northern Palace	—	ED
As. 32:47	Gray stone seal, badly damaged. Interceding goddess introducing worshiper to seated deity; snake and indeterminate object in field. 2.5 × 1.4 cm.	E 16:11	36.25 m. (gray layer)	Early Agade	Akk.
As. 32:206	Clay seal, broken. Crosshatched pattern like Nos. 57, 788, 946. 3 cm. high	D 16	Outside Northern Palace, 36.50 m. (gray layer)	Agade	?
As. 32:829	Fragment of ancient impression on clay. Small animal below blank inscription panel; parts of two rampant animals	"	—	—	?
As. 32:830	Fragment of ancient impression on clay. Goats and tree	"	—	—	?
As. 32:182	Shell seal, surface damaged. Upper register: boating scene; lower register: three figures approaching figure seated before altar(?). 3.6 × 1.6 cm.	F 17:4	Houses above Northern Palace	—	ED
As. 31:626	Dark gray stone seal, badly chipped. Two figures approaching figure holding cup and seated in front of tree; star in field. 2.1 × 1.1 cm.	—	"	—	Akk.
As. 31:8	Bone seal, crushed. Crosshatched pattern like Nos. 57, 788, 946 but with line through center. 2.4 × ca. .9 cm.	—	Houses above Northern Palace, surface	—	?
As. 30:76	Black stone seal. Winged demon holding two kneeling goats in talons; tree in field. 1.5 cm. high.	—	Northern Palace area, surface	—	ED or Akk.
As. 31:577	Black stone seal. Two lions attacking two goats (cf. No. 610). 2 cm. high	Northern Palace dump	—	—	Akk.

## CYLINDER SEALS AND IMPRESSIONS NOT ILLUSTRATED

57

Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
As. 32:49	Fragment of shell seal. Two horned animals and parts of two attacking lions. 2.2 × 1 cm.	Northern Palace dump	—	—	Akk.
As. 34:232	Ancient impression on clay. Two leaping animals with large down-curving horns	Sounding in H 18:14	27-26 m.	ED I	?
As. 33:302	Fragment of clay sealing with partial impressions of at least two seals. Crossed lions between bull-man and nude girdled figure; crossed animals	"	31 m.	ED II	ED
As. 33:304	Limestone seal. Crosshatched pattern like Nos. 57, 788, 946. 1.5 × 1 cm.	J 19:77	Houses Vc	ED III	?
As. 33:207	Limestone seal. Geometric design like No. 163. 1.2 × 1 cm.	J 20:32	Houses Vb	"	JN
As. 32:1204	Fragment of ancient impression like No. 582	J 19:60	"	"	Akk.
As. 31:388	Limestone seal, broken. Crosshatched pattern like Nos. 57, 788, 946. 1.7 × .9 cm.	H 20:2	Houses Va	Protoimp.	?
As. 31:628	Coarse stone seal, broken. Standing deity with saw in one hand and weapon in other; two standing figures facing each other with star-topped standard between them; part of gatepost and indistinct objects (mountain?) in front of deity (cf. Ward, <i>Seal Cylinders of Western Asia</i> , No. 256). 3.2 × 1.2 cm.	G 18:11	Houses IVb	Early Agade	Akk.
As. 31:631	Shell seal, broken. Rampant lion; two girdled kilted figures subduing two human-headed bulls. 3.8 cm. high	"	"	"	"
As. 31:632	Shell seal, broken. Girdled nude hero (head lost) and flat-capped human-headed bull attacking rampant lion; another girdled nude hero, with flat cap, holding tail of upside-down lion. 3.2 cm. high	"	"	"	"
As. 31:633	Fragment of shell seal. Parts of two human-headed bulls, lion, and bull. 3.6 cm. high	"	"	"	"
As. 31:634	Shell seal, broken. Winged gate, attendant holding rope, and standing figure. <i>Ca.</i> 3.8 cm. high	"	"	"	"
As. 31:637	Shell seal, chipped. Two seated figures holding tubes which protrude from jar on stand. 3.3 × <i>ca.</i> 1.7 cm.	"	"	"	"
As. 31:638	Shell seal, broken. Two seated deities holding cups; plant in field. 3.1 cm. high	"	"	"	"
As. 31:654	Gray stone seal. Two crossed lions attacking two goats; tree in field. 1.4 cm. high	"	"	"	"
As. 32:1202	Fragment of ancient impression like No. 582	South of J 18:21	"	"	"
As. 32:1374	Fragment of ancient impression on clay. Bull-man restraining lion; horned animal	"	"	"	"
As. 32:641	Fragment of ancient impression like No. 583	J 19:37	"	"	"
As. 32:1066	Fragment of ancient impression on clay. Kilted figure, blank inscription panel, quadruped, nude standing figure, nude kneeling figure with flat cap and staff	J 19:41	"	"	"
As. 32:776	Fragment of ancient impression on clay. Entwined snakes	J 19:48	"	"	?

## 58 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
As. 33:128	Unfinished brown and white marble seal, unperforated. Design not carved. 3.4 × 2 cm.	J 21:23	Houses IVb	Early Agade	—
As. 31:286	White stone seal, broken. Very worn design possibly like No. 314. <i>Ca.</i> 3.8 × 2.9 cm.	G 18:1	Houses IVb or IVa	Agade	ED
As. 32:1047	Four fragments of ancient impressions on clay, probably No. 582	J 19:35	"	"	?
As. 31:215	Black stone seal. Single wavy line with short strokes and crescents above and below between the waves. 1 × .6 cm.	G 19:3	Houses IVa	Late Agade	?
As. 31:662	Shell seal, broken. Part of figure (probably seated), winged gate on bull, standing figure with one foot on rump of bull. 3.6 cm. high	H 18:4, in pot	"	"	Akk.
As. 31:665	Shell seal. Rampant quadrupeds in the style of No. 610. 2.2 cm. high	H 18:4	"	"	"
As. 31:609	Fragment of ancient impression on clay. Bull-man and lion combat with part of inscription frame	H 18:7	"	"	"
As. 32:213	Frit seal. Eagle between two horned animals attacking their hind quarters; human figure holding front of one of the animals; legs of human extend below base line of design. 2.2 × 1 cm.	J 18:2	"	"	Elamite
As. 32:87	Fragment of ancient impression on clay. Upper register: part of seated figure; lower register: interceding goddess and nude worshiper	J 19:16	"	"	Akk.
As. 32:410	Ancient impression on clay. Worshiper approaching seated horned deity holding cup	J 20:6	"	"	?
As. 32:682	Fragment of ancient impression on clay. Entwined snakes between two nude bearded figures	J 21:1	"	"	Akk.
As. 32:123	Small fragment of shell seal showing part of man carrying kid. 2.5 × 1.7 cm.	J 19:13	Houses IVa?	Late Agade?	"
As. 32:124	Small fragment of shell seal. Flat-capped figure in long garment carrying a bucket and preceded by robed figure probably led by interceding deity. <i>Ca.</i> 3.2 cm. high	"	"	"	"
As. 31:181	Frit(?) seal. Elamite frieze probably similar to No. 567. 2.2 × 1.2 cm.	G 19	Houses, surface	—	Elamite
As. 32:1199	Fragment of ancient impression on clay. Two nude figures, bull-man, scorpion above small jumping quadruped	Houses dump	—	—	ED
As. 32:1375	Fragment of ancient impression on clay. Two long-haired robed figures holding hands and approaching seated figure	"	—	—	Akk.
As. 34:77	Dark stone seal, very worn. Worshiper approaching seated figure. 2 × 1.4 cm. Inscription in three lines: . . . .	East Street (L 19-20)	Near surface	—	Isin-Larsa

[. . .] a-la-ti(?)



## CYLINDER SEALS AND IMPRESSIONS NOT ILLUSTRATED

59

Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
As. 30:124	Black stone seal, very worn. Interceding goddess presenting worshiper to seated deity; crescent in field. 2.4 cm. high. Inscription in three lines: . . . -GA-LUM [mār] ilu-šu-ba-ni DINGIR	North of M 31:16	Surface	————	Isin-Larsa
As. 31:630	Fragment of clay sealing with impressions of seal of Ilushuilia (see No. 705)	L 32:2	Ilushuilia	Early Larsa	Ur III
As. 31:617	Green stone seal. Unfinished design of seated figure and standing figure. 2.7 cm. high	M 32:2		Late Larsa	Isin-Larsa
As. 31:336	Fragment of black stone seal with design somewhat similar to No. 723. Worshiper before seated deity holding cup; snake, two drill holes, and crescent in field. 2 cm. high	Gimilsin Temple dump	————	————	"
As. 34:56	Eight similar impressions of seated figure	L 31	Palace of Rulers	Larsa	?
As. 31:222	White stone seal, very worn. Interceding deity introducing male worshiper to seated deity; monkey(?) in field. 2 × 1.2 cm.	Q 33:15	Houses be- low South- ern Build- ing	Early Larsa	Isin-Larsa
As. 31:259	Fragment of ancient impression on clay. Interceding goddess introducing worshiper to seated deity; snake in field	N 33:4	Southern Building	Late Larsa	"
As. 31:316	Fragment of ancient impression on clay. Seated deity, star, crescent, plant, scorpion, and indeterminate object	Southern Building dump	————	————	"
As. 33:668	Ancient impression on clay. Two seated figures drinking through tubes from jar	L 46	————	————	ED
As. 34:84	Gray stone seal, very worn. Standing figure and seated figure. 2 × 1 cm.	Area C?	1 m. below surface	————	?
As. 31:6	Ancient impression on clay. Two rampant lions attacking two rampant bulls	Unknown	————	————	Akk.
As. 31:527	Fragment of black stone seal. Robed figure before stand with palm leaf and bunch of dates (cf. Nos. 616, 723); crescent in field. 1.9 cm. high	"	————	————	Isin-Larsa
TELL AGRAB					
Ag. 35:917	Gypsum seal, damaged. Horned animal. 3.7 cm. high	N 13:1	Shara Temple, 30.30 m.	ED II	?
Ag. 36:114	Translucent white stone seal, damaged. Three horned animals. 1.8 × 1 cm.	M 14:12	Shara Temple, 31.00 m.	"	?
Ag. 36:159	Lapis lazuli seal, chipped and worn. Unrecognizable design. 2.4 × .9 cm.	"	"	"	?
Ag. 35:1043	Glazed steatite seal. Design with rosette like that of No. 256. 3.1 × 2.6 cm.	N 13:4	"	"	JN
Ag. 35:891a	White limestone seal, both ends of perforation enlarged by rubbing of string. Drill-hole quadruped (somewhat like No. 30) and shrine. 3.6 × 2.7 cm.	M 14:4	Shara Temple, 31.50 m.	"	"

## 60 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
Ag. 36:278	Fragment of ancient impression on clay. Geometric design	L 13:4	Shara Temple, 32.30 m.	ED II	?
Ag. 35:561b	Fragment of ancient impression on clay. Upper register: indeterminate (mostly missing); lower register: lion attacking collapsing horned animal, kneeling figure	M 14:5	"	"	ED
Ag. 35:561c	Fragment of ancient impression on clay. Drinking scene in two registers or impressions from two different seals; also impressions of end of seal	"	"	"	"
Ag. 35:1011	Green stone seal. Horned animal and fish. 3 × 1.1 cm.	M 12:1	Shara Temple, 32.50 m.	"	?
Ag. 35:893	Glazed steatite seal of tall geometric type. Design with hatched arches (cf. No. 297)	L 14:1	"	"	JN
Ag. 35:892	Alabaster seal, unperforated. Crisscross design. 2.1 × 1.3 cm.	"	"	"	?
Ag. 35:991	Stone seal, damaged. Horned animals and bird. 2 × 1.4 cm.	M 14:2	Shara Temple, 32.60 m.	"	?
Ag. 36:243	Unfinished aragonite(?) seal. Design not carved. 3.8 × 2.7 cm.	M 14:2, in altar	Shara Temple, 33.20 m.	"	—
Ag. 35:518	Shell(?) seal. Quadruped and crosses (somewhat like No. 237)	N 15:1	Shara Temple, 33.00 m.	"	?
Ag. 35:34	Fragment of ancient impression on clay. Upper register: two seated figures with jar and drinking tubes between them (in style of No. 334); lower register: spread eagle and quadruped (somewhat like No. 400)	L 13:1	Shara Temple, top layer	ED III	ED III
Ag. 35:1027	White limestone seal. Two worshipers approaching seated figure holding cup. 2 × 1 cm.	—	Larsa building	Larsa	?
Ag. 35:181	Limestone seal, badly damaged. Shamash between two gateposts with attendant on either side. 3.2 cm. high	O 11	Town wall, surface	—	?
Ag. 35:182	Limestone seal, surface gone. 3.1 × 1.6 cm.	"	"	—	?
Ag. 35:4	Veined black and white stone seal. Seated deity holding cup is approached by two worshipers, one holding sacrificial kid, the other with a bucket. 1.9 × 1 cm.	Unknown	Surface	—	Akk.
Ag. 35:6	Dark green stone seal, damaged. Animal frieze. 2 × 1 cm.	"	"	—	?
ISHCHALI					
Ish. 35:78	Clay seal, apparently coated with bitumen after carving. Figure seated on animal, standing figure, and snakelike monster. 1.8 × 1.2 cm.	R 29:9	Kititum I	Early Larsa	?
Ish. 35:73	Shell seal. Worn design of crossed animals. 3.8 × 2 cm.	T 32:3	Kititum II	Late Larsa	?
Ish. 34:35	Shell seal. Worn design of crossed animals attacked by lions. 3.1 × 1.8 cm.	P 29:1	Kititum III or IV	"	?

## CYLINDER SEALS AND IMPRESSIONS NOT ILLUSTRATED

61

Field No.		Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
Ish. 34:50	Shell seal, damaged. Upper register: file of horned animals; lower register: possibly building of ziggurat (seated figure and two standing figures; rest defaced). 3.4 × 1.6 cm.	Q 30:4	Kititum III or IV	Late Larsa	?
Ish. 34:47	Unfinished seal of mottled red stone. Design not carved. 2 × 1.1 cm.	Q 30:5	"	"	?
Ish. 35:34	Fragment of crystal seal with inscription. 2 × 1.6 cm.	NE corner of main court	Kititum	Larsa or Old Bab.	?
Ish. 35:25	Black stone seal. Geometric pattern. 2.3 × 1.1 cm.	Unknown	Surface	"	?

## CATALOGUE OF LOOPS FROM CYLINDER SEALS

Field No.	Material	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot
KHAFAJAH				
Kh. IX 12	White frit (cf. Fig. 1 <i>b</i> for shape)	Q 42	Sin III	Protolit. <i>c</i>
Kh. VII 55	Greenish-gray stone (Fig. 1 <i>a</i> )	Q 42:16	Sin IV	Protolit. <i>d</i>
Kh. VI 8	Black stone (Fig. 1 <i>c</i> )	Q 42:24	"	"
Kh. VI 255	Gray stone (Fig. 1 <i>e</i> )	"	"	"
Kh. VI 306	Lapis lazuli (Fig. 1 <i>b</i> )	"	"	"
Kh. VI 307	Black stone (Fig. 1 <i>d</i> )	"	"	"
Kh. VI 383	Black stone (Fig. 1 <i>f</i> )	"	"	"
TELL AGRAB				
Ag. 35:884	Black stone (Fig. 1 <i>g</i> )	M 13:4	Shara Temple, 31.50 m.	ED II

## INDEX OF FIELD NUMBERS

**T**HE serial numbers refer to the designs illustrated on Plates 3-89; Nos. 959-1002 (Pls. 90-92) represent purchased seals which have no field numbers. Page references are given for the unillustrated specimens, which are catalogued on pages 53-61, and for the seal loops (see p. 62).

The present locations of the objects which are now in museums are indicated by "B" (= Baghdad, Iraq Museum), "P" (= Philadelphia, University Museum), or accession numbers (e.g., A9116) of the Oriental Institute Museum in Chicago.

## KHAFAJAH

Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum	Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum
Kh. I	1	A9116	Kh. III	59	328
	83	A9110		60	350
	97	A9111		83	A11476
	107	A9117		89	A11474
	130	A9113		119	p. 54
	140	A9108		182	356
	142	B		199	352
	254	A9112		200	348
	349	A9173		201	347
	360	B		202	p. 54
	386	A9106		220	361
	429	B		265	332
	476	A9105		267	337
	506	A9103		279	339
	514	A9107		298	416
	517	A9102		299	323
	534	A9170		307	415
	540	A9171		309	407
	549	A9104		316	262
	587	B		317	316
Kh. II	8	B		327-28	p. 53
	36	B		329	p. 54
	41	A11490		330-35	p. 54
	43	p. 55		342	419
	44	p. 55		366	413
	45	438		446	410
	66	A11492		461	359
	99	A11494		463	p. 54
	106	397		469	408
	192	274		474	p. 55
	205	412		542	358
	267	263		543	349
	272	309		603	311
	276	267		623	345
	280	318		659	357
Kh. III	1	420		677	314
	41	351		679	p. 54
	42	p. 54		683	312

## 64 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum	Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum		
Kh. III	686	313	Kh. V	p. 54			
	693	425		56	p. 54		
	697	319		58	308	B	
	700	320		60	300	B	
	472	335		61	302	A17041	
	750	p. 54		63	409		
	751	336		77	p. 54		
	794	p. 54		95	241	B	
	860	342		99	240		
	862	p. 54		100	239	A17053	
	887	327		106	242	B	
	922	331		A11482	119	243	A17061
	940	326		A11484	123	222	B
	942	329		A11468	139	227	A17068
	949	341		B	141	315	A17069
	956	435		A11488	142-43	232-33	B
	957	418		B	144	295	A17070
	1042	424		B	149	237	A17071
	1054	283		A11478	156	297	B
	1078	301		B	162	291	B
	1086	325		A11479	163	290	A17076
	1105	310		A11467	164	293	B
	1130	333		B	170	231	B
	1131	334		A11473	175	230	B
	1145	360		A11469	176	228	A17079
	1237	322		B	181	305	B
	1238	303		B	182-83	288-89	A17080-81
	1283	p. 54			189	235	A17084
	1311	299		B	190	236	B
	1352	272		B	191	229	B
	1382	411			210	221	A17088
	Kh. IV	11		251	212	p. 53	
22		250	255	p. 53			
23		249	256	304	A17105		
64		298	259	219	B		
85		269	264	220	A17110		
90		253	265	224	B		
184		234	269	223	A17111		
218		p. 53	283	296	B		
333		245	307	213	B		
334		244	308	214	A17129		
338		254	337	216	A17694		
370		248	339	215			
381		246	340	173	A17695		
398		p. 53	341	207	B		
404		423	343	208	B		
420		344	344	211	A17696		
474		421	346	218	A17698		
Kh. V	475	256	347	162	A17699		
	1	330	348	212	B		
	7	p. 54	350	161	A17700		
	15	346	351	p. 53			
	16	p. 55	352	209			
	26	317	353	217			
	34	405	360	p. 53	A21312		
	48	307	361	259	B		

## INDEX OF FIELD NUMBERS

65

Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum	Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum	
Kh. V	363		Kh. VI	175	97	A17760
	364			176	69	B
Kh. VI	1	A17701		177	169	A17761
	2	B		178	190	B
	3	B		179	152	A17762
	8	A17704		180	113	A17763
	14	B		181	144	A17764
	16	B		182	68	
	17	A17705		183	189	A17765
	18	A17706		184	151	B
	22	B		185	146	B
	23	B		186	196	B
	24	B		187	185	A17766
	28	A17709		188-89	147-48	B
	30	A17710		190	205	A17767
	35			191	175	A17768
	36	A17712		192	157	A17769
	45			193	163	A17770
	50	B		194	p. 53	
	58			195	p. 53	A17771
	60	B		196	72	A17772
	62	A17717		197	66	B
	67	A17718		198	197	A17773
	68	B		199	177	B
	70	B		200	71	A17774
	71			202	154	B
	72	B		203	155	A17775
	73	A17719		204	188	B
	82	A17722		205	192	B
	83	A17723		206	160	A17776
126	382			207	176	A17777
127	385	B		208	187	A17778
128	379	B		209	174	B
130	386	A17746		210	156	B
131	378	B		211	166	B
136	428	A17747		212	200	A17779
138	p. 55			213	195	A17780
153	422	B		214	198	B
154	429			216	172	B
155	p. 55	A17752		217	170	
156	417	A17753		218	149	A17781
159-60	203-4	B		219	75	B
161	202	A17754		255	p. 62	A17797
162	74	B		306	p. 62	
163	194	A17755		307	p. 62	A17810
164	171	B		309	145	A17811
165	73	B		340	95	B
166	167	A17756		341	122	A17823
167	178	A17757		342	88	B
168	193	B		343	86	A17824
169	70			344	83	A17825
170	184	B		345	87	A17826
171	191	A17758		346	78	A17827
172	182	A17759		347	141	B
173	98	B		348	105	A17828
174	201	B		349	136	B

## 66 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum	Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum
Kh. VI 350	102	B	Kh. VI 442	118	A17868
351	85		443	127	
352	158	B	444	199	A17869
353	81	A17829	445	135	A17870
354	80	B	446	109	
355	89	B	447	93	B
356	84	A17830	448	110	B
357	100	B	449	108	B
358	121	A17831	450	133	A17871
359	140	B	455	p. 53	
360	132	A17832	Kh. VII 1	226	B
361	101	B	4	159	A21326
362	114	B	8	65	B
363	123	A17833	9	64	B
364	119	B	10	414	A21329
365	117	A17834	11	406	B
366	79	B	19	58	A21333
367	91	A17835	20	57	A21334
368	153	B	55	p. 62	A21351
369	142	B	60	210	A21356
370	164	B	66	286	B
381	206	A17837	70	284	B
382	67	B	90	55	B
383	p. 62	A17838	91	43	A21369
384	180	A17839	93	42	A21370
388	181	B	94	39	B
389	183	A17842	95	40	A21371
413	124	B	97	44	B
414	112	B	98	38	B
415	116	A17855	99	48	B
416	76	B	124	54	A21385
417	103	A17856	125	41	B
418	77	B	126	p. 53	A21386
419	104	A17857	127	37	B
420	96	A17858	128	49	A21387
421	120	A17859	138	Pl. 1f	B
422	130	A17860	139	50	B
423	137		154	36	B
424	134	A17861	155	56	A21396
425	92	A17862	156	52	B
426	94	A17863	157	46	A21397
427	131	B	182	p. 53	A21406
428	165	B	183	51	A21407
429	128	A17864	184	53	A21408
430	106	A17865	190	59	B
431	115	B	191	p. 53	A21412
432	107	B	206	9	B
433	138		207	7	B
434	99	B	208	5	B
435	82	A17866	209	4	B
436	150		221	47	A21425
437	126		222	35	A21426
438	125	A17867	223	45	A21427
439	90		225	2	B
440	139		231	3	A21430
441	111		232	8	A21431



## INDEX OF FIELD NUMBERS

67

Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum	Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum		
Kh. VII	233	6	A21432	Kh. VIII	166	373	B
	240	p. 53	A21436		168	371	B
	246	10	B		191	278	
	248	225	B		203	281	P
	250	432	B		222	282	B
	255	31	B		226	426	B
	256	34	B		230	p. 54	P
	257	30	B		239	p. 55	B
	258-59	22-23	A21441-42		270	p. 53	P
	260	33	B	Kh. IX	8-9	403-4	B
	261-62	16-17	A21443-44		10	279	B
	263	26	B		11	60	P
	264	25	A21445		12	p. 62	B
	265	18	A21446		13	277	P
	266	28	B		14	376	P
	267	24	B		16	401	P
	268	21	B		17	p. 55	P
	269	29	B		18	402	B
	270	20	B		25	400	B
	271	p. 53	B		26	398	P
	272	27	B		27	338	B
	273	19	A21447		40	375	B
	274	32	A21448		43	p. 54	B
	275	1	B		58	287	P
	276	11	B		79	370	P
	277-78	14-15	A21449-50		88	367	P
	279	13	A21451		92	366	B
	282	12	B		93	368	P
Kh. VIII	16	p. 53	P		94	391	P
	17	280	B		95	364	P
	29-31	p. 54	P		111	390	P
	37	p. 55	P		112	392	B
	38	399	P		113	369	B
	47	61	B		132	321	B
	48	63	P		136	306	P
	51	247	B		140	343	B
	63	62	P		141	393	P
	81	427	P		142	365	B
	113	372	P		167	285	B
	162	p. 54	B		207	374	P

## TELL ASMAR

Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum	Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum		
As. 30:	7	710	B	As. 30:	123	708	
	8	717	A8551		124	p. 59	
	11	713	A8586		1000	709	A7468
	33	714	B	As. 31:	2-3	521-22	B
	37	723	A8583		5	507	B
	38	718	B		6	p. 59	
	39	716	B		8	p. 56	A8540
	74	743	A8564		13	782	B
	75	711	B		14	744	B
	76	p. 56			19	704	A8544
	77	742	A8538		22	642	B

## 68 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum	Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum
As. 31: 24	693		As. 31: 585	518	B
25	598	A8596	596	721	A8546
30	651	B	597	781	B
31	606	B	602	687	A8580
32	604	B	609	p. 58	A8575
42	741	A8593	613	720	A8558
142	650	A8584	614	692	A8581
161	567	B	616	726	A8595
181	p. 58	A8559	617	p. 59	B
201	628	A8592	618	645	A8541
202	629	A8568	626	p. 56	A8565
205	627	A8587	627	701	
215	p. 58	A8591	628	p. 57	A8571
217	680	A8572	630	p. 59	
218	599	B	631-34	p. 57	B
220	652	A8554	636	581	A8561
222	p. 59	A8542	637	p. 57	A8569
227	597	A8545	638	p. 57	A8567
259	p. 59	A8574	639	686	B
262	531	B	640	580	B
275	681	B	641	706	B
276	585	B	649	656	A8539
277	626	A8570	652	579	B
278	679	B	654	p. 57	B
279	643	A8536	660	654	A8579
280	703	A8585	662	p. 58	B
281	607	A8543	663	655	A8562
282	605	B	664	657	B
284	603	B	665	p. 58	B
286	p. 58	A8566	668	641	B
302	630	B	670	705	B
316	p. 59		674	722	B
334	715	A8547	681	520	B
335	780	A8552	688	633	A8555
336	p. 59		811	653	B
351	737	A8549	851	648	A8553
388	p. 57	A8556	852	646	A8588
409	739	A8560	853	647	B
431	734	A8563	854	588	B
432	730	B	As. 32: 3	587	B
443	731	A8590	18	575	B
476	504	A8537	31	586	A11382A
480	779	A8594	46	519	A11416
492	735	B	47	p. 56	
493	712	A8582	49	p. 57	
505	738	B	50	516	B
527	p. 59	B	55	685	A11366
531	736	B	84	665	B
532	644	A8578	87	p. 58	
555	732	B	108	p. 56	
556	740	A8589	120	700	A11367
562	525	B	122	660	A11389
566	733	B	123-24	p. 58	
573	707	A8573	125	661	B
577	p. 56		132	659	A11360
580	634	A8557	133	515	B

## INDEX OF FIELD NUMBERS

69

Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum	Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum
As. 32: 144	560	A11387	As. 32: 670	533	A11373
174	658	A11352	678	608	A11364
182	p. 56		682	p. 58	
200	662	B	708	529	B
201	677	B	711a-b	592-93	
206	p. 56		737	494	B
213	p. 58	A11390	738	478	B
214	696	B	739-40	p. 56	
226	690	B	750	625	
249	676	A11370	759	485	
250	689	A11369	770	532	
276	683	B	776	p. 57	
277	688	A11391	781	673	B
290	501	B	795	574	
317	691	B	816	666	
354	631	B	821	577	A11350
355	682	A11386	822	576	B
362	530		823	578	
410	p. 58		829-30	p. 56	
412	632	B	840	513	
413	510	A11356	842	667	B
420	514	B	843	671	A11362
437	758	B	910	p. 55	B
455	524	A11358	934	559	B
495	511	B	950	475	B
514	p. 56	A11395	952	672	
521	684	A11385	960	562	
522	669	A11354	961	594	A11374
523	668	B	976	695	A11394
542	512	B	988	564	B
560	609	A11349	992	497	
561	664	B	1004	523	B
562	590	A11392	1024	774	
563	674	A17131	1028	570	
587	p. 56	A11376	1031	552	A11383
591	623	A11351	1040	569	
592	624	B	1047	p. 58	
593	619	B	1049	526	B
594	617	B	1050	479	A11357
595	620	B	1066	p. 57	
596	610	A11371	1101	596	B
597	612	B	1111	534	A11375
598	611	B	1115	495	A11361
599	622	B	1120	572	B
600	621	A11396	1121	595	A11377
601	616	B	1122	591	
602	615	A11397	1125	498	A11384
603	618	B	1141	p. 55	
604	613	A11359	1162	509	
605	614	B	1166	528	A11398
625	505	A11378	1167	698	B
626	502	B	1189	480	A11363
641	p. 57		1199	p. 58	
646	589	B	1200	675	
651	663	A11353	1202	p. 57	
656	555	A11372	1204	p. 57	

## 70 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum	Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum
As. 32:1209	550	A11393	As. 33: 232	546	
1216	p. 55		236	702	
1227	481		237	543	A12255
1229	584	B	248	460	B
1230	640	A11380	254	461	B
1231	637	A11365	270	462	B
1232	638	A11379	302	p. 57	A12270
1233	639	B	304	p. 57	
1234	636	A11355	312	545	
1235	565	A11381	321	549	B
1236	583	B	358	472	A12253
1237	635		372	724	
1276	582	B	380	464	A12248
1277	496	B	385	729	B
1279	500	A11368	390	756	B
1292	609	B	391	719	
1333	508	B	397	503	A12269
1354	544		398	727	
1357	482	A11388	417	489	B
1364	493	B	418	471	A12301
1370	678	A11382	454	463	B
1374	p. 57		456	p. 55	
1375	p. 58		470	763	
1384	561	A17134	471	778	B
As. 33: 1	p. 55		473	762	
3	725		503	p. 55	
4	563	B	508	p. 55	
5	571		520	601	A12263
7	568		521	602	B
45	557	A12266	522	600	A12250
46	558		562	749	A12302
83	491		581	761	A12262
88	556	B	582	759	B
97	490	B	597	760	A12252
103	517		600	757	B
104	649	B	611	469	A12254
113	670	B	663	457	B
114	573	A12251	666	456	A12267
115	527	A12264	668	p. 59	
128	p. 58	A12300	677	458	A12247
146	697		697	p. 55	
151	473	B	698-99	454-55	B
167	547	B	701	470	A12297
168	554	A12298	707	449	B
170	492		708	450	A12265
178	506	A12268	709	486	
186	548		715	448	A12296
187	566		As. 34: 1	752	B
191	499	B	2	751	A17150
193	551	B	4	476	B
204	553	B	7	477	B
205	468		9	488	
206	p. 55		10	487	
207	p. 57		14	753	B
217	542	A12249	17	750	A17151
218	474	B	18	765	B

## INDEX OF FIELD NUMBERS

71

Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum	Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum
As. 34: 21	484	A17152	As. 34: 136	694	A17176
25	p. 55		140	443	A17177
30	459		161	Pl. 2 cc	A17181
32	728	B	183	746	
36	483	A17153	184	745	
37	467	A17154	185	747	
39	465	A17155	187	748	A17187
44	466	B	214	442	
48	452	A17157	222	441	A17190
49	754	B	227	775	A17195
56	p. 59		229	541	A17196
62	451	A17158	232	p. 57	
77	p. 58		239	540	A17200
82	538	B	As. 35: 2	767	
83	768	A17162	8	766	
84	p. 59		16	776	B
91	535	B	33	783	
102	453	B	34	777	
103	445	A17166	52	764	B
104	446	B	71	771	A17896
116	447	B	72	772	B
117	537		74	770	A17898
118	536	A17171	80	769	A17899
124	444	B	85	773	B
125	539	A17172	92	755	

## TELL AGRAB

Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum	Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum
Ag. 35: 1	897	B	Ag. 35: 660	845	A18069
3	899	A17902	716	842	B
4	p. 60	A21457	730	877	B
5	898		761	881	
6	p. 60		770	878	A18106
26	885	B	775	875	B
27	884	B	776	869	
34	p. 60		793	880	B
61	867	A17910	807	870	A18117
81	824	B	808	871	B
96	862		811	873	A18119
121	882	A17932	820	872	B
159	846	B	833	886	A18126
181-82	p. 60		842	868	A18128
370	863	B	854	840	B
371	888	A17971	856	841	A18131
372	887	A17972	872	874	B
506	876		883	849	A18140
514	843	A18017	884	p. 62	B
518	p. 60		891a	p. 59	A21491
561b	p. 60	B	892-93	p. 60	
561c	p. 60	A21473	912	814	B
614	860	B	913	815	A18145
615	861	A18057	914	821	A18146
641	883	A18065	915	820	B
659	844	B	916	822	B

## 72 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum	Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum
Ag. 35: 917	p. 59		Ag. 36: 159	p. 59	A21582
918	818	B	160	792	B
919	816	A18147	243	p. 60	A21622
920	817	B	244	857	A21623
921	812	B	245	854	B
922	823	B	246	852	A21624
923	813	B	247	859	A21625
924	819	A18148	248	856	A21626
963	835	A18160	249	855	B
964	837	A18161	250	850	A21627
965	836	B	251	851	B
991	p. 60		252	858	A21628
994	848		253	853	A21629
1006	834	B	262	879	A21634
1007	833	A18180	278	p. 60	A21640
1011	p. 60		322	810	A21664
1027	p. 60		324	847	B
1036-37	838-39	B	346	807	B
1043	p. 59		364	787	B
1067	825	A18201	368	811	B
1068	784	B	371	827	A21689
Ag. 36: 1	890	A21506	372	829	A21690
2	889	B	373	832	B
28	831	B	374	830	A21691
43	802	B	388	793	A21699
44	797	A21521	395	805	B
66	798	A21533	397	828	A21704
82	785	A21538	404	786	A21708
113	794	B	414	809	A21714
114	p. 59	A21557	415	806	B
115-16	790-91	A21558-59	417	826	B
117	801	A21560	426	808	A21718
118	803	B	446-47	895-96	B
119	796	A21561	451	892	A21733
120	789	B	458	893	B
121	788	B	478	866	B
122	Pl. 1 n	B	479	864	B
149	795	A21577	484	865	A21749
155	799	B	510	894	B
156	800	A21580	512	891	A21761
157	804	A21581			

## ISHCHALI

Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum	Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum
Ish. 34: 1	957	B	Ish. 34: 45	917	B
15	946	A16966	46	901	A16975
16	948		47	p. 61	
20	947	B	48	922	B
24	932	A16968	49	925	B
25	953	B	50	p. 61	A16976
34	915	A16970	64	918	B
35	p. 60		68	903	B
36	914	A16971	69	912	B
39	923	B	72	911	

## INDEX OF FIELD NUMBERS

73

Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum	Field No.	Serial No. or Page	Museum
Ish. 34: 74	921	B	Ish. 35: 30	936	B
75	937		31	939	A17662
76	928		32	954	A17663
82	919	A16984	34	p. 61	
83	941	A16985	35	958	B
84	940	B	39	955	B
86	910	B	42	909	A17666
87	924	A16986	49	943	B
119	933	A17000	50	951	B
120	931	B	52	944	B
121	916	B	53	927	B
123	929	B	65	949	
127	908	B	67	945	B
128	902	A17003	70	905	B
129	907	A17004	71	900	A17673
Ish. 35: 4	952	B	72	913	B
5	926		73	p. 60	
6	935	B	74	920	A17674
17	950	A17655	77	942	B
24	904		78	p. 60	A17675
25	p. 61	A17658	85	930	
26	906	A17659	94	934	A17681
27	956	A17660	95	938	





## GENERAL INDEX

- Abaqar, 51  
 Abu, 41, 42, 44  
 Adad, 44, 50  
 adoration scenes, 39, 41, 45, 46; *see also* presentation scenes  
 Aegean connections, 46  
 Agade, 3, 31, 33, 44, 49  
 Agade period, *see* Akkadian period  
 Aia, 51, 52  
 Akkadian period, 5, 6, 9-12, 16, 28, 30-37, 39-45, 47  
 Alishar, 18  
 Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam, 22-23  
 altars, 42, 46  
 Amorgos, 3  
 Amsterdam, 22-23  
 amulets, 17  
 Amurru, 46, 51  
 Amursheri(d)su, 51  
 Anatolia, 18, 44  
 Andrae, Walter, 4, 14, 33  
 animals: as subjects, 6, 12, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21-27, 35; as symbols of deities, 19, 28, 30, 38, 42, 44-46; identification of —, 16, 18; *see also individual species*  
 animal-shaped seal loops, 13, 15, 27  
 antelopes, 16, 32  
 anthropomorphic god, 42  
 anthropomorphic figures, 27, 36, 41  
 Anu, 43  
 Apililishu, 51  
*apkallu*, 40  
 "archaic" seals, 3  
 arches in seal designs, 18, 22  
 Assur, 4, 33  
 Assyria, 4  
 Atatawira, 50  
 Awilshalim, 51  
  
 Babylon, 34; First Dynasty of —, 11, 12, 34, 43, 44, 46-47; *see also* Old Babylonian period  
 Babylonia, 12  
 Babylonian style, 46-47  
 Baghdad, 23, 28, 29, 41  
 bald-headed figures, 30, 37, 39  
 banquet scenes, 6, 27, 37-39, 45  
 barley, 41  
 battles, divine, 44; *see also* combat scenes  
 bear, 16  
 bearded figures, 25, 30, 32, 37, 39, 40  
 Belatsuhnir, 50  
 Belatterahan, 50  
 Beli, 49  
 Beli . . . . , 59  
 Belikibri, 50  
 Berlin, 15  
 Bilalama, 50, 51  
*Bildgedanken*, 5  
 Bilzum, 49  
 bird-man, 28, 43  
 birds, 16, 17, 22, 23, 25, 27, 30, 32, 36, 37, 43, 44, 46  
 bird-shaped throne, 41  
 bison, 32  
 boating scenes and boats, 27, 30, 33, 35-38, 40, 41  
 Borsippa, 38  
 branches, *see* plants *and* trees  
 Brett, Mrs. Agnes Baldwin, 28  
 brocade-style seals, 3, 5, 7-9, 21-22, 24, 27, 29, 35  
 Brooklyn Museum, 16  
 Bubail(?), 49  
 bucket-carrying figures, 41, 45  
 buffalo, water, 32  
 Bukurishtar, 50  
 Bull of Heaven, 43  
 bull-man, 24-29, 31, 32  
 bulls, 12, 13, 15, 22-27, 30, 32, 43, 44; *see also* human-headed animals  
 "bundle" motif, 20, 21, 23; *see also* reed bundle  
 butter-making scene, 39  
 byres, 14  
  
 calves, 14, 15, 27  
 Chiera, Edward, 38  
 chronological presentation of seals, v, 1, 4, 7  
 chthonic deities and symbols, 36, 37, 42, 45  
 Chubb, Mary A., v  
 circles: notched, 44; with center dot, 18, 35  
 coarse seals of unrecognizable style, 8, 9, 24  
 "coat-of-arms," 30  
 combat scenes, 6, 32, 33, 35; *see also* battles  
 composition of designs, 5, 6, 22-31  
 Contenau, Georges, 14, 15  
 continuity of patterns, 5, 17, 20, 22, 24, 25, 28, 30, 32  
 crescent, 36, 41, 45  
 crossed figures, 25, 29, 31, 34, 37  
 crosses, 18, 22  
 crowned figures and crowns, 27, 28, 36, 38, 44  
 curly locks, 30  
 Curtius, Ludwig, 26  
  
 daily life, scenes of, 32, 39, 45  
 dairy scenes, 39, 45  
 date palms, 42, 45  
 dating of archeological finds, v, 1-5, 8-10, 18, 19, 21-24, 28, 32, 35  
 debased designs, 13, 14, 17, 19-21; *see also* disintegrated designs  
 defense of flock, *see* flock  
 Deimel, Anton, 49  
 deities, 15, 16, 18, 19, 24, 27, 30, 33-47  
 Delaporte, Louis, 4, 15, 27, 30, 32, 33  
 Delougaz, Pinhas, xi, 1, 2, 13  
 demon, lion-headed, 46; *see also* monsters  
 disintegrated designs, 5, 7, 18, 20, 21; *see also* debased designs  
 distribution of seals, *see* dwellings *and* temples  
 divine marriage, 24, 38

## 76 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

- divine symbols, 15, 16, 28, 30, 36, 42, 45, 47; *see also* animals as symbols of deities
- dogs, 38, 44–45
- doorkeeper of Ea, 43; *see also* gatekeeper
- dotted circles, 18, 35
- dotted rosettes, 15
- double-forequartered creatures, 33
- dragon throne, 42
- dragons, 42, 47; *see also* monsters
- drill-hole technique, 14, 16–18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 28, 30, 35, 36, 40, 47
- drinking scenes, *see* banquet scenes
- Dudaaur, 49
- dwellings, occurrence of seals in, 8, 10, 16, 33
- Ea, 43
- eagles, 25, 27, 30, 32, 44
- Early Dynastic period, v, 2–12, 19, 21–33, 35–42, 47
- Ebeling, Erich, 40
- Egypt, 3, 20
- Elamite seals, 16, 27, 33
- elephant, 46
- emblems, *see* symbols
- Engnell, Ivan, 36
- engraving, *see* incising
- Erech, 43
- Ereshkigal, 46
- Eridu, 2
- Eshnunna, 42, 44, 48–51
- Etana, 44–45
- Europe, prehistoric, 1
- evil power, symbol of, 43
- eye motif, 20–23
- eyes, rendering of, 5, 13, 19, 23, 24
- face motif, 15
- Falkenstein, Adam, 28
- Farah, 8, 12, 22, 23, 26, 28
- feasting, *see* banquet scenes
- feeding of flock, 14, 15
- fertility deities and symbols, 16, 19, 30, 36, 38, 41–45
- fill motifs, 15, 18, 19, 21, 22, 25, 26, 28, 32, 37, 45, 46
- fire altar, 42
- fire-god, 44
- First Dynasty of Babylon, 11, 12, 34, 43, 44, 46–47; *see also* Old Babylonian period
- fish, 20–22, 36, 43
- flat-capped figures, 30, 32, 37, 44
- flock: defense of —, 25, 26, 28, 30, 35, 45; feeding of —, 14, 15; — inclosure, 39; sacred —, *see* temple-and-flock motif
- friezes, *see* composition and continuity of patterns
- fringed kilt, *see* tasseled kilt
- fullface views, 29, 32, 34
- Gasur, 49
- gatekeeper, 40; *see also* doorkeeper of Ea
- gatepost emblem, 15, 16, 40, 43
- gateways, 43–44
- gazelle, 47
- Gelb, I. J., 49
- geometric patterns, 13, 14, 17–21; definition of —, 17
- Ghirshman, Roman, 15
- Gibil, 44
- Gilgamesh Epic, 36, 37, 43
- girdled bull, 30
- goats, 16, 18–28, 32, 37, 41, 45, 46
- goddesses and gods, *see* deities
- Gordon, Cyrus H., 4, 40
- grain, 15, 40, 41
- Greek connections, 4, 37, 42
- Gudea, 14, 36, 38, 39, 42
- Gula, 38
- Guti period, 10, 11, 33, 41, 42, 45
- hair, 28, 30, 32, 33, 37, 39
- halters, *see* leashed animals
- Hammurabi, 10, 11, 34, 40, 47
- harp, 39
- harvest scene, 45
- Hauser, Elizabeth, v
- heads as separate motifs, 25, 26, 46
- Heinrich, Ernst, 5, 19, 23, 26, 28, 30
- helmeted figure, 46
- Heracles, 42
- heraldic groups, 12, 15
- herd, *see* flock
- heroic figures, 25, 29–32, 34, 40, 47
- Heuzey, Léon, 42
- “high god,” 36
- horned crown, 27, 28, 36, 38
- horned figures, 33, 37, 39
- horns, rendering of, 14, 15, 22
- houses, occurrence of seals in, 8, 10, 16, 33
- human figures, 14, 15, 17, 21, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 32, 33, 37–39, 43, 44, 47; *see also* heroic figures
- human-headed animals, 29, 32, 36, 41
- human-prowed boat, 27, 33, 36, 37, 41
- Hurrian god Tishpak, 44
- Hurtiti(?), 51
- Hydra, 37, 42
- Ibalpiel, 50
- Ibalut(?), 50
- ibexes, 29, 32
- iconography, v
- Idindagan, 38
- ideogram, 42
- Igibarmu, 48
- Iku(n)mishar, 51
- Iku(n)pitishpak(?), 51
- Ilipaqi(d)su, 52
- illness, personification of, 46
- Ilushuilia, 42, 50
- imaginative style, 5, 30
- Imdugud, 5, 28, 30, 37
- imported seals, 18, 45
- impressions, 16–17, 22, 30, 31
- incising, 12, 17, 20, 22, 24, 30
- Indian influence, 16
- Indian seal, 45–46
- inscription panels and inscriptions, 31, 32, 42, 47–52; *see also* writing signs
- interceding deity, 34; *see also* presentation scenes
- Iolaus, 42
- Iran, 3, 20
- Iraq Expedition, v

- Iraq Museum, Baghdad, 23, 28, 29, 41  
 Irrabaniam(?), 50  
 Ishara, 16, 38  
 Isharkubum, 51  
 Ishchali, 6, 7, 11, 12, 51-52  
 Ishtar, 42, 43, 45  
 Isin-Larsa period, 9-11, 15, 34, 46  
  
 Jacobsen, Rigmor, v  
 Jacobsen, Thorkild, xi, 2, 3, 38, 42  
 Jamdat Nasr, 16, 17  
 "Jamdat Nasr" period, 2, 18; *see also* Protoliterate period  
 Jamdat Nasr seals, 3, 5, 7-11, 13-24, 28, 35, 37, 38  
 judges, divine, 36, 41, 43  
  
 Kassite glyptic, 4, 34  
 Khafajah, 5-9, 13, 15-17, 27, 28, 30, 47, 48  
 killed figures, 28, 30, 32, 37, 39  
 Kirikiri, 42, 50  
 Kish, 5  
 Kikitum, 52  
 Klibansky, Raymond, 4  
  
 ladder motif, 21-23  
 Landsberger, Benno, 40  
 "landscape" designs, 18, 19, 21; *see also* nature scenes  
 Larsa period, *see* Isin-Larsa period  
 laymen as characterized in seal designs, 39  
 leashed animals, 41, 43-44  
 Legrain, Leon, 15, 26  
 legs as separate motifs, 15, 25  
 leopards, 28, 32  
 Levy, G. Rachel, v, 42  
 libation scenes, 41, 42  
 libra, 46  
 linear-style engraving, 5, 13, 23, 28-30, 33  
 lion-bird, 42; *see also* Imdugud  
 lions, 12, 16, 24-30, 32, 34, 36, 41, 44-46  
 Lloyd, Seton, xi  
 long-haired figures, 33, 37, 39  
 loops of seals, 13-15, 27, 62  
 "lord of plants," 41, 42  
 Louvre, 23  
 Lugalkisalsi, 3  
  
 Maltese cross, 18  
 Manum . . . ili, 48  
 Marduk, 41, 43  
 Mari, 3  
 marriage, divine, 24, 38  
 marshes, 19  
 materials of seals, 8, 13, 14, 17, 18  
 Mattatum, 52  
 Meek, Theophile J., xi  
 Mesilim, king of Kish, 5  
 Mesopotamia, 1, 2, 16, 18, 20, 25, 33, 35  
 Middle Assyrian period, 4  
 milking scene, 39  
 Mitannian glyptic, 4, 34, 47  
 modeling, *see* relief  
 Mohenjo Daro, 46  
 monkey, 46  
 monsters, 25-28, 30, 32, 33, 37, 42, 46, 47  
  
 moon, *see* crescent  
 Moortgat, Anton, 4, 5, 15, 16, 28, 40  
 mother goddess, 15, 16, 41, 44, 46  
 mouflons, 18, 26, 27  
 mountains, 16, 18, 19, 26, 40, 43, 46  
 mounted deities, 44  
 musical scene, 39  
 mythological scenes, 28, 32, 35, 36, 38, 39, 46  
  
 Nabu, 38  
 naked figures, 25, 29-31, 37, 39, 40, 44, 47  
 narrative designs, 6, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 33  
 naturalistic rendering, *see* realistic rendering  
 nature scenes, 15, 18, 19, 26; *see also* "landscape" scenes  
 Nergal, 46  
 Nestmann, Caroline, v  
 New Year's festival, 38  
 Nin . . . ., 51  
 Ninazu, 44  
 Ningishzida, 36, 42, 45  
 Ninshubur, 52  
 notched circle, 44  
 nude figures, *see* naked figures  
 Nurbeli, 51  
  
 offering scenes, 15, 39  
 Old Babylonian period, 3, 9, 11, 15, 34; *see also* First  
 Dynasty of Babylon  
 Osten, Hans Henning von der, xi, 18  
  
 palm trees, 42, 45  
 Paris, 15, 23  
 Parrot, André, 36  
 Patton, H. J., 4  
 Persia, 3, 20  
 Pfeiffer, Robert H., 38  
 pigtailed figures, 14, 17, 36, 37  
 plano-convex bricks, 2, 8, 10, 11, 39  
 plants, 15, 16, 18-21, 23, 25-27, 36-38, 40-42; *see also* trees  
 plowing scenes, 37, 45  
 plows, 33, 36, 41-43  
 Porada, Edith, 16  
 presentation scenes, 34, 35, 44, 46; *see also* adoration scenes  
 priests, 38, 39  
 profile views, 12, 27, 30, 32  
 Protoimperial period, 2, 9-11, 33  
 Protoliterate period, v, 2-5, 7-22, 24, 27, 35  
 provincial seals, 12, 25-27, 32  
 Pushu(?), 49  
 Puzam, 51  
 Puzurum, 48, 49  
  
 Qiptia, 52  
 quadrupeds, 33, 36, 37, 41; *see also* animals  
 quality as basis of chronology, 5  
  
 ram-shaped throne, 39  
 realistic rendering, 3, 12-13, 26, 27, 30-32, 39-40  
 reed bundle, 31; *see also* "bundle" motif  
 relief designs, 5, 12-14, 19, 28-31  
 religious scenes, *see* ritual scenes  
 rhinoceros, 46  
 Rimsin, 34  
 ritual scenes, 15, 17, 21, 32, 34, 38, 39, 45

## 78 STRATIFIED CYLINDER SEALS FROM THE DIYALA REGION

- Romanesque parallels, 27  
 rosettes, 15, 18–20, 35, 47  
 rulers, representations of, 37, 46  
 ruminants, 16, 19, 25, 30; *see also* animals
- sacred herd, *see* temple-and-flock motif  
 sacrificial kid, 41  
 Sargonid period, *see* Akkadian period  
 Sasanian parallels, 27  
 saw symbol, 36, 40  
 Schott, Albert, 43  
 scorpion-man, 36  
 scorpions, 16, 23, 28, 37, 42, 45  
 Scythian parallels, 27  
 seed, bag of, 41  
 serpent-man, 28; *see also* snakes  
 Sha'lurum, 51  
 Shamash, 40–41, 46, 51, 52  
 Shar . . . . , 51  
 Shasha, 52  
 sheep, 15, 18, 25–27  
 shrines, 14–17, 19–21, 39  
 Shu . . . . , 50  
 Shu . . . . da, 50  
 Shudaban, 50  
 Shudurul, last king of Agade, 10, 33, 49  
 Shurushkin, 49  
 Šiladad, 51  
 Silushdagan, 51  
 Sinmuballit, 34  
 Siyalk, 3  
 snake-god, 42, 45  
 snakes, 28, 36, 37, 41, 42, 45; *see also* serpent-man  
 space-filling, *see* fill motifs  
 spatial depth, rendering of, 34  
 Speiser, E. A., 47  
 spider motif, 17  
 staffs, 42, 47  
 stags, 16, 22, 29  
 standards, 15, 16, 45; *see also* symbols  
 stars, 20, 27, 28, 32, 36, 42, 43  
 stratigraphic arrangement of seals on plates, v, 1, 6  
 stratigraphic evidence, use of, v, 1–9, 13, 20, 24, 28  
 stylistic evidence, use of, v, 1–7, 9, 13, 19–21, 24, 28, 32, 34, 35, 38  
 suckling calf, 27  
 Sumalailum, 34  
 Sumerian deities, 36, 41–43  
 "Sumerian" seals, 3  
 sun-god, 27, 33, 35–37, 40–41, 44, 45, 47  
 survival of seals, 1, 3–5, 8, 9, 13, 17, 21  
 Susa, 3, 16  
 suspension devices, 13, 15  
 symbols, 14–16, 28, 30, 36, 40, 42, 43, 45–47  
 Syria, 20, 34, 44, 46
- tails, rendering of, 13, 30  
*talim*, 40  
 Tammuz, 40, 41  
 Tashmetim, 38  
 tasseled kilt or skirt, 30, 37, 39
- Tell Agrab, 6, 7, 11, 16, 26, 28, 51  
 Tell Asmar, 5–7, 9–10, 16, 19, 30, 33, 38, 41–42, 48–51  
 Telloh, 16, 17  
 temple-and-flock motif, 14–18, 20  
 temples, occurrence of seals in, 7–11, 16, 17  
 temples in seal designs, *see* shrines and ziggurat  
*tête-bêche* arrangement of figures, 22, 24  
 Third Dynasty of Ur, *see* Ur III  
 thrones, 39, 41, 42  
 Tishpak, 42, 44, 48–51  
 towers, 16; *see also* ziggurat  
 transitional seals, 19–24, 30, 32  
 transverse designs, 40  
 trees, 16, 18, 19, 24, 42, 43, 45; *see also* plants  
 triangles, 22  
 Troy, 3  
 turbaned figures, 32  
 typological basis of chronological scheme, 1–5, 7–9, 19–20
- Ubaïd period, 2  
 Ubarrum, 52  
 Udurum, 48  
 Ur, 22, 24, 29, 32, 39  
 Ur III, 10, 11, 15, 33, 34, 42, 46  
 Urdingir, 48  
 Urmesh, 52  
 Ursag . . . . , 49  
 Urtur, 28  
 "Uruk" period, 2, 12; *see also* Protoliterate period  
 Uruk seals, 3, 5, 11–19, 21, 35, 37  
 uses and purposes of seals, 16–18, 30  
 Usmu, 43  
 Ušurawasu, 50  
 Utnapishtim, 37  
 Utu, 51
- Van Buren, E. Douglas, 16, 40, 42  
 vessels in seal designs, 14, 17, 20, 21, 33, 36, 38, 40, 41, 43, 45
- Waradsa, 50, 52  
 Waradtishpak, 51  
 Ward, William Hayes, 4  
 Warka, 4, 5, 12  
 Warka period, definition of, 2  
 Warum, land of, 49, 50  
 water, representation of, 16, 18, 43, 47  
 water buffalo, 32  
 wavy lines, 16, 18, 30; *see also* water  
 Wazumbeli, 51  
 wicker seat, 41  
 Wind, Edgar, 4  
 winged dragon, 47  
 winged gateway, 43–44  
 women in seal designs, 14, 17, 21, 39, 44  
 Woolley, C. Leonard, 32, 39  
 worshipers, 15, 34, 35, 41–45  
 writing signs, 25; *see also* inscriptions
- ziggurat building scene, 38–40  
 zigzags, 18  
 Zu, destruction of, 41, 43

## PLATES

	Field No.	Serial No.	Remarks	Style
a	Kh.VII 260	33	See Pl. 6 for impression and all details.	JN
b	Kh.VII 274	32	See Pl. 6 for impression and all details.	"
c	Kh.VII 128	49	See Pl. 8 for impression and all details.	"
d	Kh.VII 275	1	See Pl. 3 for impression and all details.	"
e	Kh.V 60	300	See Pl. 30 for impression and all details.	"
f	Kh.VII 138	---	Cylinder seal fragment (2.1 x 1.2 cm.); white limestone loop; note method by which loop is attached. No impression shown. Found in Q 42:26, Sin Temple III (Protolit. c).	"
g	Kh.VI 159	203	See Pl. 19 for impression and all details.	"
h	Kh.VI 170	184	See Pl. 18 for impression and all details.	"
i	Ag.36:253	853	See Pl. 80 for impression and all details.	"
j	Kh.VI 174	201	See Pl. 19 for impression and all details.	"
k	Kh.V 308	214	See Pl. 20 for impression and all details.	"
l	Kh.V 283	296	See Pl. 29 for impression and all details.	"
m	Kh.V 259	219	See Pl. 21 for impression and all details.	"
n	Ag.36:122	---	Worn cylinder seal (2.5 x 2.1 cm.); silver over bitumen core; rosette design around perforation at each end. No impression shown. Found in M 14:12, Shara Temple, 31.00 m. (ED II).	"

PLATE 1



*a*



*b*



*c*



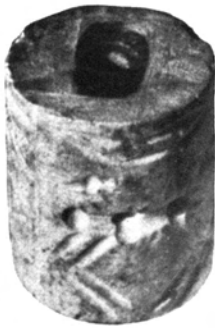
*d*



*e*



*f*



*g*



*h*



*i*



*j*



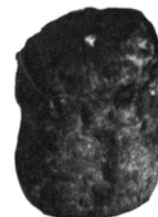
*k*



*l*



*m*



*n*

	Field No.	Serial No.	Remarks	Style
o	Ag.36:245	854	See Pl. 80 for impression and all details.	JN
p	Ag.36:262	879	See Pl. 84 for impression and all details.	ED I or II
q	Ag.35:793	880	See Pl. 84 for impression and all details.	JN
r	Ag.35:27	884	See Pl. 84 for impression and all details.	"
s	Kh.VI 428	165	See Pl. 17 for impression and all details.	"
t	Ag.35:1006	834	See Pl. 77 for impression and all details.	"
u	Kh.VI 355	89	See Pl. 11 for impression and all details.	"
v	Kh.V 95	241	See Pl. 23 for impression and all details.	"
w	Kh.VI 413	124	See Pl. 14 for impression and all details.	"
x	Ag.36:324	847	See Pl. 79 for impression and all details.	"
y	Ish.34:127	908	See Pl. 86 for impression and all details.	Bab.
z	As.34:136	694	See Pl. 65 for impression and all details.	Akk.
aa	As.31:22	642	See Pl. 61 for impression and all details.	Indian
bb	Kh.V 191	229	See Pl. 22 for impression and all details.	ED I
cc	As.34:161	---	Shell cylinder (3.2 x 1.6 cm.) mounted on pin 11.2 cm. long and .5 cm. in diameter. No impression shown because of worn condition of seal. Found in house area (in K 18?) on surface.	ED





*o*



*p*



*q*



*r*



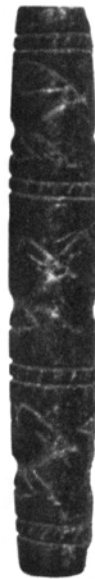
*s*



*v*



*w*



*x*



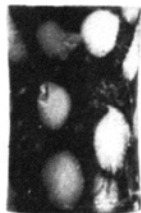
*t*



*u*



*bb*



*y*



*z*



*aa*



*cc*

No.	Field No.	Description*	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
1	Kh.VII 275	Geometric motifs and drill holes (see pp. 7, 17, 20). Green limestone; seal and loop carved in one piece (see Pl. 1 d); 2.2 x 1.2 cm.	Q 42:47	Sin I	Protolit. c	JN
2	Kh.VII 225	Spouted vases (see p. 20). Green stone; 2 x 1.2 cm.	Q 42:39	Sin II	"	"
3	Kh.VII 231	Geometric pattern (see pp. 19, 20). Frit; 5.2 x 1.6 cm.	"	"	"	"
4	Kh.VII 209	Pendant (horizontal perforation below loop); geometric pattern (see p. 20). Opaque crystal; 2.1 x 1.3 cm.	"	"	"	"
5	Kh.VII 208	Geometric pattern (see p. 20). Mother-of-pearl; 2.1 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"
6	Kh.VII 233	Geometric pattern (see p. 20). Pink stone; 1.5 x .8 cm.	"	"	"	"
7	Kh.VII 207	Geometric pattern. Frit; 2.9 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
8	Kh.VII 232	Geometric pattern. Frit; 2 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
9	Kh.VII 206	Geometric pattern (see p. 20). Frit; 2.3 x 1.9 cm.	"	"	"	"
10	Kh.VII 246	Geometric pattern. Glazed steatite; 2.5 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"

\*Dimensions are height (including loop, if any) and diameter respectively for actual seals, and height and length for ancient impressions.



1



2



3



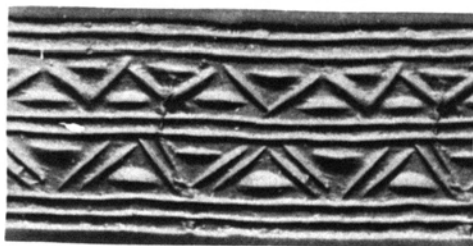
4



5



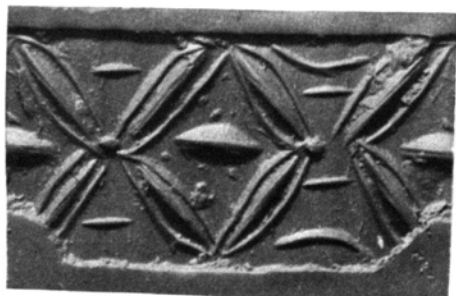
6



7



8



9

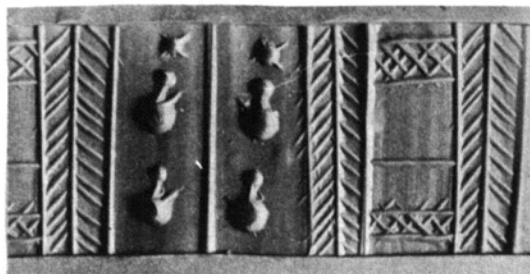


10

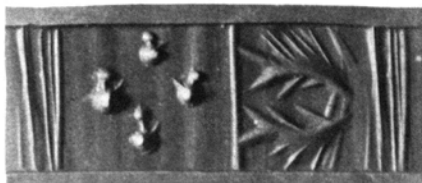
No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
11	Kh.VII 276	Geometric pattern (see pp. 20, 21). Shell; 1.7 x 1 cm.	Q 42:40	Sin II	Protolit. c	JN
12	Kh.VII 282	Spouted vases and shrine (see p. 20). Shell; 3 x 1.7 cm.	"	"	"	"
13	Kh.VII 279	Spouted vases and obscure object (see pp. 20, 21). Shell; 1.9 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
14	Kh.VII 277	Goat and geometric motifs (see pp. 20, 21). White limestone, unperforated; 1.8 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
15	Kh.VII 278	Two caprine animals and ram (see pp. 14, 16, 17, 35). Gray-green limestone; 2.8 x 2.5 cm.	"	"	"	"
16	Kh.VII 261	Geometric pattern (see p. 20). Alabaster; 4.7 x 2.1 cm.	Q 42:41	"	"	"
17	Kh.VII 262	Drill holes (see pp. 17, 20). Pink translucent stone; 2.3 x 1.9 cm.	"	"	"	"
18	Kh.VII 265	Spouted vases (see p. 20). Gray limestone; 2 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
19	Kh.VII 273	Geometric pattern (see p. 20). Gray limestone; 2 x 1.5 cm.	"	"	"	"
20	Kh.VII 270	Geometric pattern (see p. 20). Red Limestone; 1.6 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
21	Kh.VII 268	Lizard and crosses (see p. 24). Red jasper; 1.7 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"



11



12



13



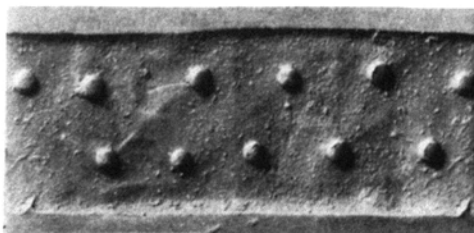
15



14



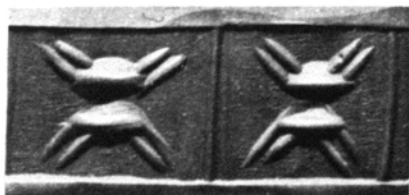
16



17



18



19



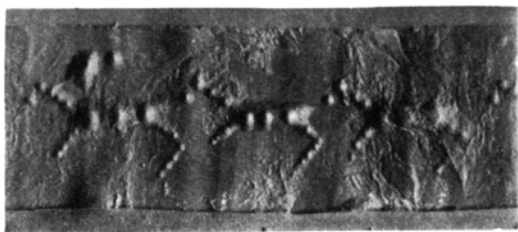
20



21

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
22	Kh.VII 258	Three goats (see pp. 16, 35). White limestone; 2.4 x 1.8 cm.	Q 42:41	Sin II	Protolit. c	JN
23	Kh.VII 259	Two goats (see pp. 16, 35). Shell; 2.3 x 1.8 cm.	"	"	"	"
24	Kh.VII 267	Two goats, spouted vases, and standard (see pp. 16, 20, 35). Alabaster; 2 x 1.7 cm.	"	"	"	"
25	Kh.VII 264	Two goats (see pp. 16, 35). Gray limestone; 1.7 x 1.3 cm.	"	"	"	"
26	Kh.VII 263	Two goats and tree (see pp. 16, 35). Gray limestone; 2.2 x 1.6 cm.	"	"	"	"
27	Kh.VII 272	Two antithetic goats and tree (see pp. 16, 35). White marble; 2.1 x 2 cm.	"	"	"	"
28	Kh.VII 266	Two goats or stags; drill-hole motifs (see pp. 15, 20, 35). Glazed steatite; 2 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
29	Kh.VII 269	Goat and shrine (see p. 16). Shell; 1.5 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"
30	Kh.VII 257	Four goats and shrine (see pp. 16, 17, 20). White limestone with remains of black loop; unperforated; 3.1 x 2.6 cm.	"	"	"	"

PLATE 5



22



23



24



25



26



27



28



29



30

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
31	Kh.VII 255	Two goats, two shrines, and geometric motifs (see p. 21). White marble; 3.5 x 2.8 cm.	Q 42:41	Sin II	Protolit. c	JN
32	Kh.VII 274	Goat on hind legs nibbling stylized tree, ram, and shrine (see pp. 17, 21). Gray-green limestone with triangular red and light gray-green limestone inlays set in red paste; shell loop (see Pl. 1 b); 4.5 x 2.4 cm.	"	"	"	"
33	Kh.VII 260	Herd near building surmounted by emblems consisting of poles flanked by two or three pairs of rings, calves emerging from building near what seem to be troughs (see pp. 14-15, 17). Gray limestone with shell rings set in top and base; silver axle and loop (see Pl. 1 a); 6 x 3.6 cm.	"	"	"	"
34	Kh.VII 256	Mythological scene: tailless lion or bear standing erect behind tree; two goats feeding at other side of tree; another tree, with bird in branches, behind monster; three-towered building with door at left side;* watercourse along bottom of scene (see pp. 16, 18). Gray limestone; 4.1 x 3.5 cm.	"	"	"	"

\*It should be noted that at Tell Asmar and Khafajah temples of the Protoliterate and Early Dynastic periods similarly have the door in a long side near a corner.





31



32



33



34

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
35	Kh.VII 222	Lion passant (see pp. 12-13). Shell; 1.9 x 8 cm.	Q 42:26	Sin III	Protolit. c	Uruk
36	Kh.VII 154	Bull throwing lion (see pp. 12-13, 27). Green stone; 3.3 x 2.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
37	Kh.VII 127	Three goats (see p. 16). Baked clay; 2.4 x 2 cm.	"	"	"	JN
38	Kh.VII 98	Two goats (see p. 16). White stone; 2.3 x 1.9 cm.	"	"	"	"
39	Kh.VII 94	Stag, ibex, bull, and ram; two stars and spouted vase in field (see pp. 16, 20). Frit; 3.2 x 2.8 cm.	"	"	"	"
40	Kh.VII 95	Two goats. White stone; loop; 3.9 x 2.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
41	Kh.VII 125	Two goats and shrine (see p. 16). Blue limestone; 2.7 x 2.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
42	Kh.VII 93	Two goats and shrine (see pp. 16, 24). White marble; unperforated; 3.3 x 2.8 cm.	"	"	"	"
43	Kh.VII 91	Two goats and geometric border at top (see p. 16). Gray-green stone; 2 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"



35



36



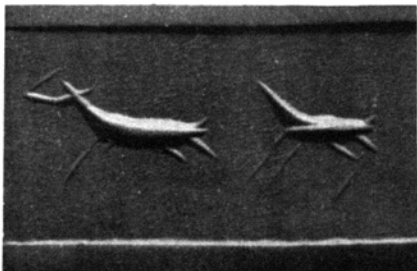
37



38



39



40



41

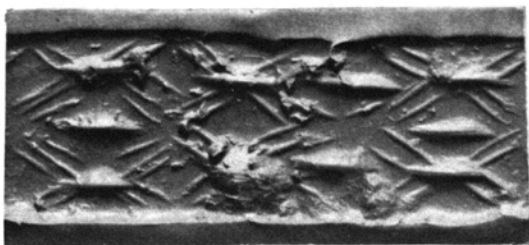


42



43

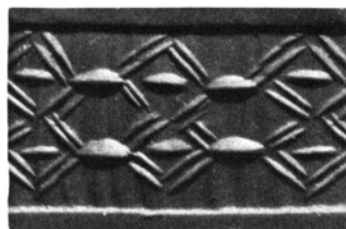
No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
44	Kh.VII 97	Geometric pattern (see p. 20). Shell; 2.7 x 2 cm.	Q 42:26	Sin III	Protolit. c	JN
45	Kh.VII 223	Geometric pattern (see p. 20). Shell; 1.4 x .7 cm.	"	"	"	"
46	Kh.VII 157	Geometric pattern (see p. 20). Gray stone; 2.3 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
47	Kh.VII 221	Geometric pattern. Shell; 1.7 x 1.3 cm.	"	"	"	"
48	Kh.VII 99	Geometric pattern (see p. 20). Dark stone; 2 x 1.6 cm.	"	"	"	"
49	Kh.VII 128	Shrine and geometric motifs (see pp. 20, 21). White marble; blue-black limestone loop (see Pl. 1 c); 2.2 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
50	Kh.VII 139	Geometric pattern (see p. 20). Red limestone; 2.5 x 1.3 cm.	"	"	"	"
51	Kh.VII 183	Geometric pattern. Frit; 1.8 x 1.3 cm.	"	"	"	"
52	Kh.VII 156	Geometric pattern. Black stone; 1.4 x .8 cm.	"	"	"	"
53	Kh.VII 184	Goat and geometric motifs. Frit; 1.1 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"
54	Kh.VII 124	One standing, one recumbent, goat and partial rosettes (see p. 19). Glazed steatite; 4.1 x 1.5 cm.	"	"	"	"
55	Kh.VII 90	Four goats and shrine (see p. 16). Frit; 3.2 x 2.5 cm.	"	"	"	"
56	Kh.VII 155	Goat and drill holes (see p. 21). Shell; 2.3 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
57	Kh.VII 20	Geometric pattern. Limestone; 2.2 x .8 cm.	Q 42:28	"	"	"
58	Kh.VII 19	Pendant; geometric pattern (see p. 20). Shell; 2.4 x 1.3 cm.	"	"	"	"
59	Kh.VII 190	Geometric pattern (see p. 20). Stone; 2.1 x 1.7 cm.	Q 43:17	"	"	"
60	Kh.IX 11	Goat and indistinct object, perhaps animal. White limestone or paste; 1.5 x 1.1 cm.	Q 42	"	"	"



44



45



46



47



48



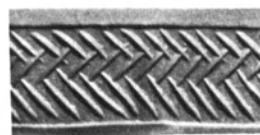
49



50



51



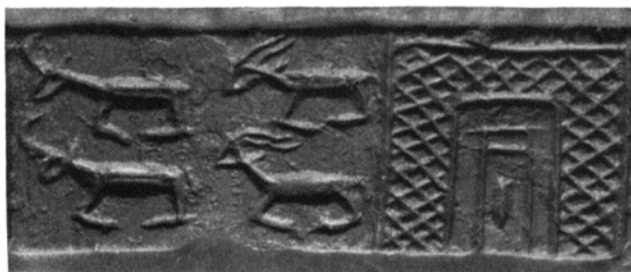
52



53



54



55



56



57



58



59



60

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
61	Kh.VIII 47	Two goats (see p. 16). White marble; 2.4 x 1.8 cm.	Q 42	Sin III or IV	Protolit. c or d	JN
62	Kh.VIII 63	Goat and shrine (see p. 16). Alabaster; 3.2 x 2.4 cm.	"	"	"	"
63	Kh.VIII 48	Geometric design. Frit (?), traces of blue glaze; 1.2 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
64	Kh.VII 9	"Spider" design (see p. 17) and fill. Steatite; 1.2 x 1.3 cm.	"	"	"	"
65	Kh.VII 8	Two goats. Gray stone; 1.7 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
66	Kh.VI 197	Two goats (see p. 16). Green stone; 1.7 x 1.2 cm.	Q 42:24	Sin IV	Protolit. d	"
67	Kh.VI 382	Two antithetic goats with tree and two crosses (see p. 16). White stone; 1.5 x 1.8 cm.	"	"	"	"
68	Kh.VI 182	Broken; goat and geometric motifs. Shell; 2 x .7 cm.	"	"	"	"
69	Kh.VI 176	Goat, plant, and geometric borders (see p. 19). Shell; 4.8 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
70	Kh.VI 169	Geometric design. White stone; 2 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
71	Kh.VI 200	Two goats and two crosses. Pink translucent stone; 2.5 x 1.8 cm.	"	"	"	"
72	Kh.VI 196	Two goats and tree (see p. 16). Gray-green stone; 2.8 x 1.3 cm.	"	"	"	"
73	Kh.VI 165	Two goats and shrine (see p. 16). White stone; unperforated; 2.3 x 1.7 cm.	"	"	"	"
74	Kh.VI 162	Two goats, shrine, and star (see p. 16). White stone; unperforated; 2.8 x 2 cm.	"	"	"	"
75	Kh.VI 219	Goat and geometric motifs (see p. 20). Gray stone; 2.3 x .9 cm.	"	"	"	"



61



62



63



64



65



66



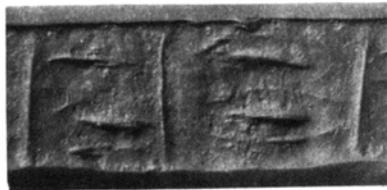
68



69



67



70



71



72



73



74



75

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
76	Kh.VI 416	Recumbent mouflon; goat kneeling to drink from stream flowing along mountain, from which grows tree (see pp. 5, 16, 18-19). Glazed steatite; 5 x 1.5 cm.	Q 42:24	Sin IV	Protolit. d	JN
77	Kh.VI 418	Goat between rosettes; geometric motifs (see p. 19). Glazed steatite; 4 x 1.5 cm.	"	"	"	"
78	Kh.VI 346	Disintegrated design of goat between geometric motifs (see pp. 18, 19). Glazed steatite; 4.5 x 1.3 cm.	"	"	"	"
79	Kh.VI 366	Two goats and geometric motifs (see p. 18). Glazed steatite; 4 x 1.5 cm.	"	"	"	"
80	Kh.VI 354	Goat and geometric motifs (see p. 19). Glazed steatite; 4.2 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
81	Kh.VI 353	Geometric motifs (see pp. 18, 19), including disintegrated rendering of mountain surmounted by tree; scorpion. Glazed steatite; 3.6 x 1.6 cm.	"	"	"	"
82	Kh.VI 435	Broken; two goats and partial rosettes (see p. 19). Glazed steatite; 2.9 x 1.3 cm.	"	"	"	"





76



77



78



79



80



81



82

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
83	Kh.VI 344	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 2.8 x 1.5 cm.	Q 42:24	Sin IV	Protolit. d	JN
84	Kh.VI 356	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 3.2 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"
85	Kh.VI 351	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 4.8 x .9 cm.	"	"	"	"
86	Kh.VI 343	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 3.4 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
87	Kh.VI 345	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 2.9 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
88	Kh.VI 342	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 3.4 x 1.3 cm.	"	"	"	"
89	Kh.VI 355	Geometric design (see p. 18). Glazed steatite (see also Pl. 2 u); 2.8 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
90	Kh.VI 439	Broken; geometric design. Glazed steatite; 2 x 1.3 cm.	"	"	"	"
91	Kh.VI 367	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 4 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
92	Kh.VI 425	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 4.8 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
93	Kh.VI 447	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 6.5 x 1.6 cm.	"	"	"	"
94	Kh.VI 426	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 5.9 x 1.4 cm.	"	"	"	"



83



84



85



86



87



88



89



90



91



92



93



94

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
95	Kh.VI 340	Geometric design (see p. 18). Glazed steatite; 4 x 1.3 cm.	Q 42:24	Sin IV	Protolit. d	JN
96	Kh.VI 420	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 3.8 x 1.6 cm.	"	"	"	"
97	Kh.VI 175	Geometric design. Shell; 4.9 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
98	Kh.VI 173	Geometric design. Shell; 4.3 x 1.4 cm.	"	"	"	"
99	Kh.VI 434	Broken; geometric design. Glazed steatite; 3.5 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
100	Kh.VI 357	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 3.7 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"
101	Kh.VI 361	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 4 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"
102	Kh.VI 350	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 4.3 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	"	"



95



96



97



98



99



100



101

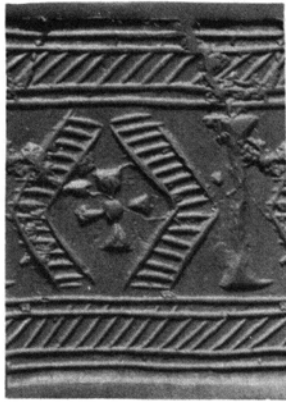


102

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
103	Kh.VI 417	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 5 x 1.2 cm.	Q 42:24	Sin IV	Protolit. d	JN
104	Kh.VI 419	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 6.7 x 1.4 cm.	"	"	"	"
105	Kh.VI 348	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 4.2 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
106	Kh.VI 430	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 5.9 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
107	Kh.VI 432	Geometric design (see p. 18). Glazed steatite; 5 x 1.3 cm.	"	"	"	"
108	Kh.VI 449	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 5.2 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
109	Kh.VI 446	Broken; geometric design. Glazed steatite; 3 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"
110	Kh.VI 448	Broken; geometric design. Glazed steatite; 3.5 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
111	Kh.VI 441	Broken; geometric design. Glazed steatite; 2 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"
112	Kh.VI 414	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 5 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
113	Kh.VI 180	Geometric design. Shell; 2 x .5 cm.	"	"	"	"
114	Kh.VI 362	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 1.8 x .8 cm.	"	"	"	"
115	Kh.VI 431	Broken; geometric design. Glazed steatite; 3 x 1.5 cm.	"	"	"	"
116	Kh.VI 415	Broken; geometric design. Glazed steatite; 2.8 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"



103



104



105



106



107



108



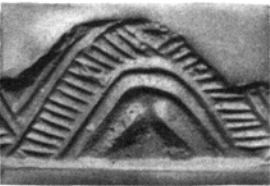
109



112



110



111



113



114



115



116

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
117	Kh.VI 365	Geometric design (see p. 18). Glazed steatite; 2.4 x .8 cm.	Q 42:24	Sin IV	Protolit. d	JN
118	Kh.VI 442	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 2.7 x .8 cm.	"	"	"	"
119	Kh.VI 364	Geometric design (see p. 18). Glazed steatite; 2.4 x .5 cm.	"	"	"	"
120	Kh.VI 421	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 4.8 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"
121	Kh.VI 358	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 2.9 x .8 cm.	"	"	"	"
122	Kh.VI 341	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 4.1 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"
123	Kh.VI 363	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 2.7 x .7 cm.	"	"	"	"
124	Kh.VI 413	Geometric design. Glazed steatite (see also Pl. 2 w); about 4.4 x 1.8 cm.	"	"	"	"
125	Kh.VI 438	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 2 x .6 cm.	"	"	"	"
126	Kh.VI 437	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 2 x .6 cm.	"	"	"	"
127	Kh.VI 443	Broken; geometric design. Glazed steatite; 1.7 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
128	Kh.VI 429	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 5.1 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
129	Kh.VI 14	Geometric design. Frit; 3.7 x .7 cm.	"	"	"	"
130	Kh.VI 422	Geometric design (see p. 18). Glazed steatite; 2.3 x .6 cm.	"	"	"	"





117



118



119



120



121



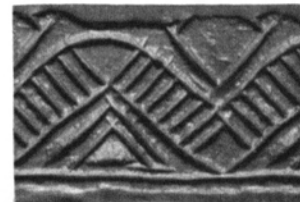
122



123



124



125



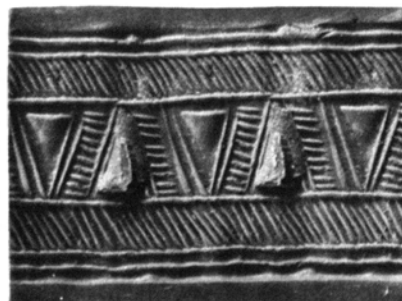
126



127



128



129



130

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
131	Kh. VI 427	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 6 x 1.2 cm.	Q 42:24	Sin IV	Protolit. d	JN
132	Kh. VI 360	Geometric design (see p. 18). Glazed steatite; 4.5 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
133	Kh. VI 450	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 5.8 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
134	Kh. VI 424	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 5.5 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
135	Kh. VI 445	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 4.3 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
136	Kh. VI 349	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 4 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"
137	Kh. VI 423	Broken; geometric design. Glazed steatite; 2.2 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"
138	Kh. VI 433	Broken; geometric design. Glazed steatite; 3 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
139	Kh. VI 440	Broken; geometric design. Glazed steatite; 2 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"
140	Kh. VI 359	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 5.8 x 1.5 cm.	"	"	"	"
141	Kh. VI 347	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 3.5 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"
142	Kh. VI 369	Geometric design. Glazed steatite; 6 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"



131



132



133



134



135



136



137



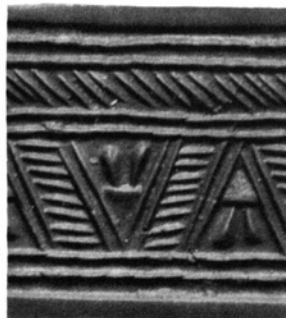
138



139



140

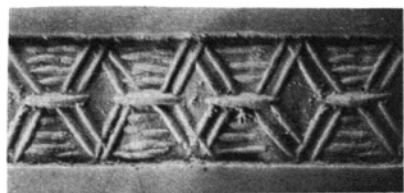


141



142

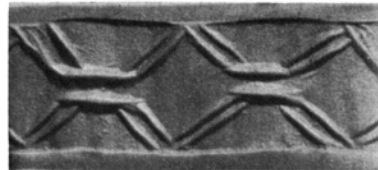
No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
143	Kh.VI 1	Geometric pattern. Frit; 1.8 x 1.4 cm.	Q 42:24	Sin IV	Protolit. d	JN
144	Kh.VI 181	Geometric pattern (see p. 20). Shell; 1.2 x .8 cm.	"	"	"	"
145	Kh.VI 309	Geometric pattern (see p. 20). White stone; 1.8 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
146	Kh.VI 185	Broken; geometric pattern (see p. 20). Shell; 1.2 x .9 cm.	"	"	"	"
147	Kh.VI 188	Geometric pattern (see p. 20). Shell; 1.5 x .5 cm.	"	"	"	"
148	Kh.VI 189	Geometric pattern (see p. 20). Shell; 1.3 x .5 cm.	"	"	"	"
149	Kh.VI 218	Geometric pattern. Pink stone; 1 x .5 cm.	"	"	"	"
150	Kh.VI 436	Broken; geometric pattern (see p. 12). Glazed steatite; 2 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
151	Kh.VI 184	Geometric pattern (see p. 12). Shell; 2 x .7 cm.	"	"	"	"
152	Kh.VI 179	Geometric pattern (see p. 8). Shell; 2.8 x .9 cm.	"	"	"	?
153	Kh.VI 368	Geometric pattern (see pp. 12, 21). Glazed steatite; 3 x 1.4 cm.	"	"	"	JN
154	Kh.VI 202	Geometric pattern (see p. 12). Pink stone; 4 x .8 cm.	"	"	"	"
155	Kh.VI 203	Geometric pattern (see p. 12). Pink stone; 3.2 x .9 cm.	"	"	"	"
156	Kh.VI 210	Geometric pattern (see p. 12). Pink stone; 2.4 x .9 cm.	"	"	"	"
157	Kh.VI 192	Geometric pattern (see p. 12). Gray stone; 1.7 x .9 cm.	"	"	"	"
158	Kh.VI 352	Geometric pattern (see pp. 12, 21). Glazed steatite; 2.4 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
159	Kh.VII 4	Geometric pattern (see p. 8). Frit; 2.9 x 1.4 cm.	"	"	"	?
160	Kh.VI 206	Geometric pattern. Pink stone; 3.2 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	JN



143



144



145



146



147



148



149



150



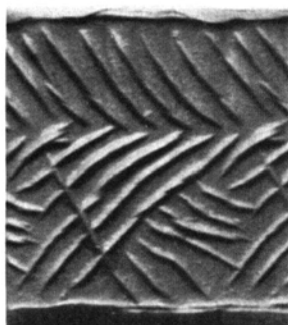
151



152



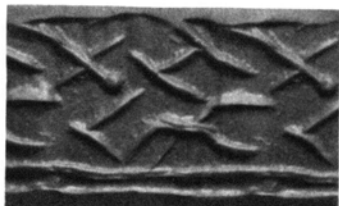
153



154



155



156



157



158



159

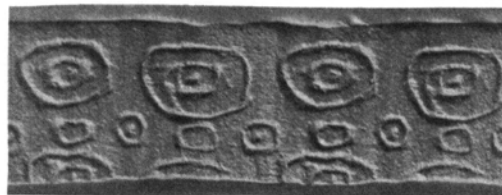


160

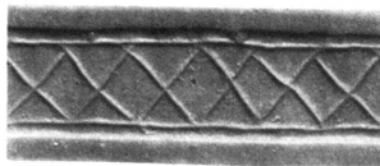
No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
161	Kh.V 350	Broken; geometric design. Gray stone; 1.7 x 1.1 cm.	Q 42:24	Sin IV	Protolit. d	JN
162	Kh.V 347	Geometric pattern. Pale gray fayence with traces of blue; 2.1 x .8 cm.	"	"	"	"
163	Kh.VI 193	Geometric pattern. Lapis lazuli; 1.4 x 1.4 cm.	"	"	"	"
164	Kh.VI 370	Geometric pattern. Glazed steatite; 1.5 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
165	Kh.VI 428	Geometric pattern. Glazed steatite (see also Pl. 2 s); 1.7 x .5 cm.	"	"	"	"
166	Kh.VI 211	Geometric pattern. Pink stone; 2.1 x .6 cm.	"	"	"	"
167	Kh.VI 166	Geometric pattern. White stone; 2 x 1.5 cm.	"	"	"	"
168	Kh.VI 16	Geometric pattern. Red stone; 2.2 x .8 cm.	"	"	"	"
169	Kh.VI 177	Geometric pattern. Shell; 4.1 x .9 cm.	"	"	"	"
170	Kh.VI 217	Geometric pattern. Pink stone; .9 x .6 cm.	"	"	"	"
171	Kh.VI 164	Geometric pattern. White stone; 2.5 x 1.8 cm.	"	"	"	"
172	Kh.VI 216	Geometric pattern. Pink stone; 1.5 x .6 cm.	"	"	"	"
173	Kh.V 340	Bird and geometric motif (see p. 17). Light gray stone; 2 x 1.5 cm.	"	"	"	"
174	Kh.VI 209	Geometric pattern (see p. 20). Pink stone; 2.6 x .9 cm.	"	"	"	"
175	Kh.VI 191	Geometric pattern. Black stone; 2.7 x .7 cm.	"	"	"	"
176	Kh.VI 207	Geometric pattern. Pink stone; 3 x .7 cm.	"	"	"	"



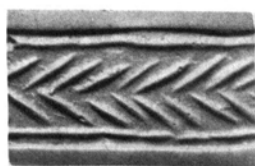
161



162



163



164



165



166



167



168



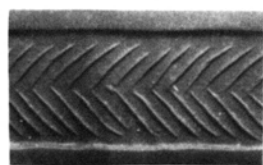
169



170



171



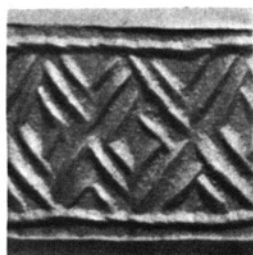
172



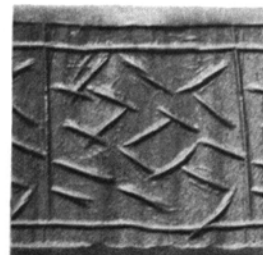
173



174



175



176

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
177	Kh.VI 199	Geometric pattern (see p. 20). Green semi-translucent stone; unperforated; 1.8 x 1.3 cm.	Q 42:24	Sin IV	Protolit. d	JN
178	Kh.VI 167	Geometric pattern (see p. 20). White stone; 1.9 x 1.5 cm.	"	"	"	"
179	Kh.VI 2	Geometric pattern (see p. 20). White stone; 1.8 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
180	Kh.VI 384	Geometric pattern (see p. 20). Green translucent stone; 1.5 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
181	Kh.VI 388	Geometric pattern (see p. 20). Red translucent stone; 1.4 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
182	Kh.VI 172	Fishes (see p. 20). Shell; 3 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
183	Kh.VI 389	Four fishes (see p. 20). White stone; 1.2 x .9 cm.	"	"	"	"
184	Kh.VI 170	Geometric pattern (see p. 20). White stone (see also Pl. 1 h); 1.5 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
185	Kh.VI 187	Geometric pattern (see p. 20). Shell; 1.1 x .6 cm.	"	"	"	"
186	Kh.VI 3	Geometric pattern (see p. 20). Red stone; 1.3 x .9 cm.	"	"	"	"
187	Kh.VI 208	Scorpion (see p. 23). Pink stone; 2.8 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"
188	Kh.VI 204	Geometric pattern. Pink stone; 3.4 x .7 cm.	"	"	"	"
189	Kh.VI 183	Geometric pattern. Shell; 1.9 x .6 cm.	"	"	"	"
190	Kh.VI 178	Goat, plant, and eye motifs (see p. 23). Shell; 3.5 x .9 cm.	"	"	"	"
191	Kh.VI 171	Goat and plant (see p. 19). White stone; 4.5 x 1.3 cm.	"	"	"	"
192	Kh.VI 205	Scorpion (see p. 23). Pink stone; 3.2 x .9 cm.	"	"	"	"
193	Kh.VI 168	Two goats alternating with two trees (see p. 16). White stone; 1.9 x 1.4 cm.	"	"	"	"
194	Kh.VI 163	Seven animals. White stone veined with brown; 2.6 x 2.2 cm.	"	"	"	"





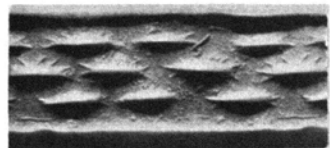
177



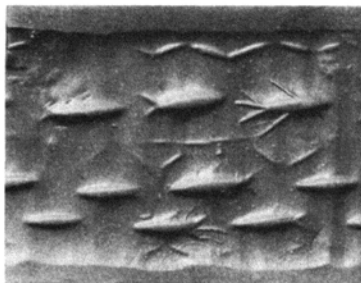
178



179



180



182



183



181



184



185



188



186



187



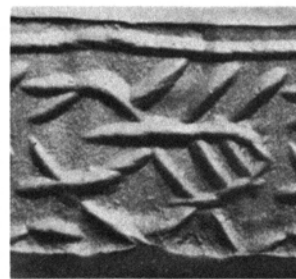
189



190



191



192



193



194

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
195	Kh.VI 213	Drill-hole design (see p. 17). Pink stone; 1.4 x 1.9 cm.	Q 42:24	Sin IV	Protolit. d	JN
196	Kh.VI 186	Spouted vases. Shell; 1 x .7 cm.	"	"	"	"
197	Kh.VI 198	Drill-hole design (see p. 17). Gray-green stone; 1.3 x 1.7 cm.	"	"	"	"
198	Kh.VI 214	Drill-hole design (see p. 17). Pink stone; 1.5 x 2 cm.	"	"	"	"
199	Kh.VI 444	Broken; goat and geometric motif. Glazed steatite; 2.2 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"
200	Kh.VI 212	Spouted vases (see pp. 17, 20). Pink stone; 1.9 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
201	Kh.VI 174	Bird, spouted vases, and shrine (see pp. 17, 20). Shell (see also Pl. 1 j); 2.5 x 1.4 cm.	"	"	"	"
202	Kh.VI 161	Goat, tree, and geometric motifs. Yellowish stone; 3.2 x 2.3 cm.	"	"	"	"
203	Kh.VI 159	Two goats, shrine, and geometric motifs (see p. 16). White stone (see Pl. 1 g for discoloration from lost loop); 3.7 x 3 cm.	"	"	"	"
204	Kh.VI 160	Three goats with plant motifs (see p. 16). White stone; 3 x 2.5 cm.	"	"	"	"
205	Kh.VI 190	Two goats and shrine (see p. 16). Black stone; 2.6 x 2.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
206	Kh.VI 381	Three goats (see p. 16). White stone; 2.6 x 2 cm.	"	"	"	"



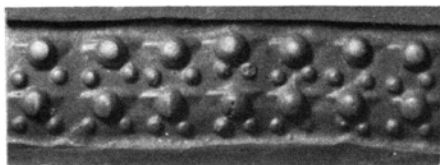
195



196



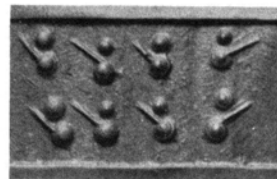
197



198



199



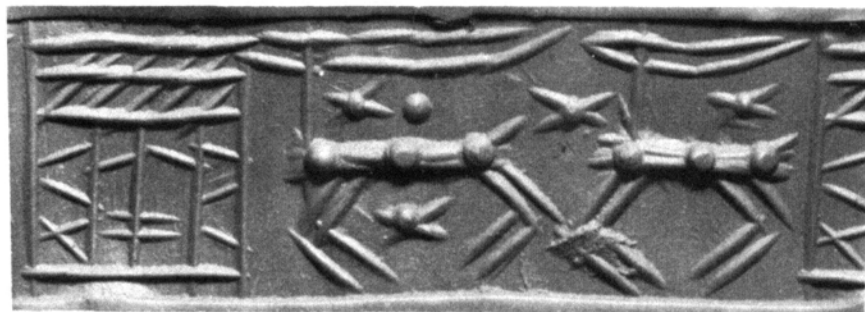
200



201



202



203



204

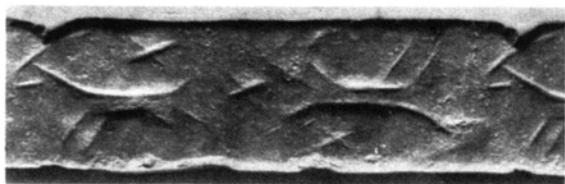


205

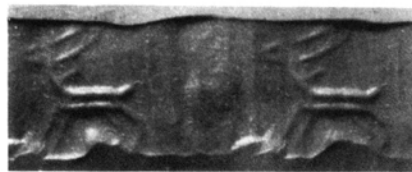


206

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
207	Kh.V 341	Two goats tête-bêche and crosses (see p. 16). White stone; 2 x 1.5 cm.	Q 42:24	Sin IV	Protolit. d	JN
208	Kh.V 343	Goat (see p. 16). Mother-of-pearl; 1.9 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"
209	Kh.V 352	Broken; geometric pattern. Shell; 1.2 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
210	Kh.VII 60	Broken; geometric design. Frit; 1.1 x .5 cm.	Q 42:16	"	"	"
211	Kh.V 344	Geometric pattern. Gray stone; 2 x 1.5 cm.	Q 42:19	"	"	"
212	Kh.V 348	Geometric pattern. White fayence; 2.4 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"
213	Kh.V 307	Two goats and shrine (see p. 16). White stone; 2.3 x 2 cm.	"	"	"	"
214	Kh.V 308	Three rams with standard, triangle, rosette, and leg (see pp. 15-17). Pale green stone (see Pl. 1 k for mark left by lost loop); 3.2 x 2.6 cm.	"	"	"	"



207



208



209



210



211



212



213



214

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
215	Kh.V 339	Geometric pattern (see p. 8). Green stone; 3.2 x 1.2 cm.	Q 42:19	Sin V	Protolit. d	?
216	Kh.V 337	Geometric pattern (see p. 7). Pink stone; 3 x .9 cm.	"	"	"	JN
217	Kh.V 353	Geometric pattern (see p. 7). White stone; 4 x 1.4 cm.	"	"	"	"
218	Kh.V 346	Geometric pattern (see p. 7). Glazed steatite, unperforated; 5.1 x 1.3 cm.	"	"	"	"
219	Kh.V 259	Mouflon, two bulls, and rosette (see pp. 7, 15-17, 19). Clay; 2.7 x 2.4 cm. (see also Pl. 1 m).	"	"	Protolit. d or ED I	"
220	Kh.V 264	Goat and fill (see pp. 7, 24). Gray stone; 3.5 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	ED I
221	Kh.V 210	Ram, bull, goat, and fish; ladder and other fill motifs (see pp. 7, 21, 23). Hematite; 5.5 x 1.2 cm.	Q 42:13	"	"	JN
222	Kh.V 123	Animal and fill (see pp. 7, 24). Green stone; 2.1 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	ED I



215



216



217



218



219



221



220



222

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
223	Kh.V 269	Geometric pattern (see p. 7). Glazed steatite; 5.5 x 1.1 cm.	Q 42:14	Sin V	Protolit. d or ED I	JN
224	Kh.V 265	Two antithetic goats and curved lines (see pp. 7, 24). Red stone; 3.3 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	ED I
225	Kh.VII 248	Geometric pattern (see p. 7). Green stone; 4.6 x 1.1 cm.	in wall	"	"	JN or ED I
226	Kh.VII 1	Ram and goat (see pp. 7, 22, 24). Green limestone; 4 x 1.3 cm.	Q 42:17, in wall	"	ED I	ED I
227	Kh.V 139	Three standing pigtailed women, each holding tall object (see pp. 8, 17). Gray-green stone; 1.7 x 1.6 cm.	Q 42:9	Sin VI	"	JN
228	Kh.V 176	Geometric pattern (see p. 8). Gray stone; 3.6 x 1 cm.	"	Sin VI or VII	"	"
229	Kh.V 191	Two goats, one upside down, and fill (see pp. 8, 22, 24). Black stone (see also Pl. 2 bb); 7.2 x 1 cm.	"	Sin VI	"	ED I
230	Kh.V 175	Goat, bull, and fill (see pp. 8, 24). Shell; 2.6 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"
231	Kh.V 170	Geometric pattern (see p. 8). Red stone; 1.2 x 1.4 cm.	R 42:9	Sin VI or VII	"	JN





223



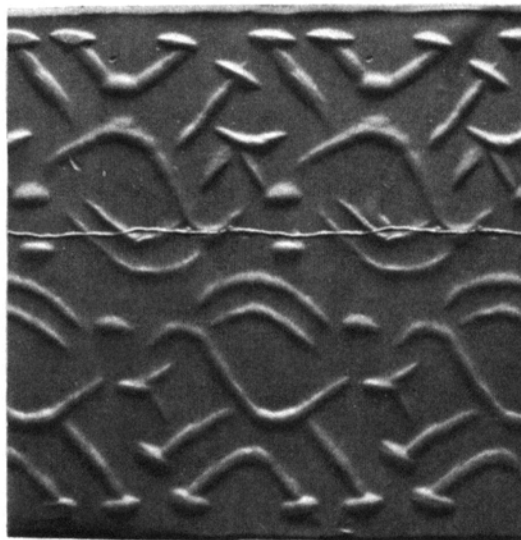
224



227



225



229



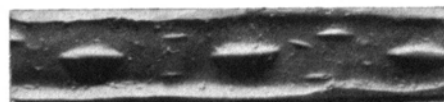
226



230



228



231

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
232	Kh.V 142	Two goats tête-bêche and fish or birds (see pp. 8, 22, 24). Green stone; 3.4 x .7 cm.	Q 42:12	Sin VI or VII	ED I	ED I
233	Kh.V 143	Two goats and two trees tête-bêche (see pp. 8, 24). Green stone; 3.3 x 1.1 cm.	Q 42:11	"	"	"
234	Kh.IV 184	Four pigtailed women tête-bêche squatting on couches (see pp. 8, 17); drill-hole fill. Pink stone; 2.1 x 2.1 cm.	Q 42:12	Sin VII	"	JN
235	Kh.V 189	Stag and goat tête-bêche, bird, and fill (see pp. 7, 22, 24). Black stone; 5.6 x .8 cm.	R 42:10	"	"	ED I
236	Kh.V 190	Bull, bird, and geometric fill (see pp. 7, 22, 24). Black stone; 2.9 x .7 cm.	"	"	"	"
237	Kh.V 149	Goat, bird, and cross (see pp. 7, 22, 24). Gray-green stone; 2.3 x .7 cm.	R 42:9	"	"	"
238	Kh.VI 30	Geometric pattern (see p. 8). Shell or frit; 1.4 x 1.3 cm.	Q 42:7	Sin VIII	ED II	JN
239	Kh.V 100	Drill holes (see p. 8). Pink stone; 1.1 x 1.3 cm.	Q 42:3	"	"	"
240	Kh.V 99	Broken; geometric pattern (see p. 8). White stone; 1.4 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"
241	Kh.V 95	Geometric pattern (see pp. 8, 18). White stone (see also Pl. 2 v); 5.6 x 1.3 cm.	"	"	"	"



232



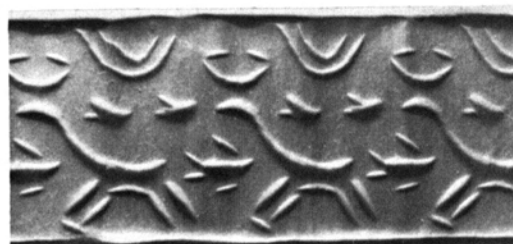
233



234



235



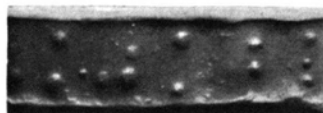
236



237



238



239

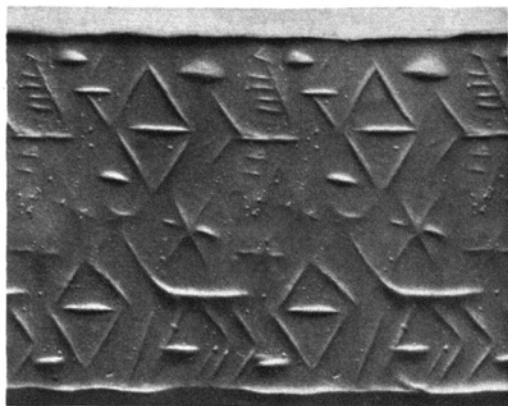


240



241

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
242	Kh.V 106	Bull, bird, and geometric fill (see pp. 8, 22, 24). Gray stone; 4.8 x .9 cm.	Q 42:3	Sin VIII	ED II	ED I
243	Kh.V 119	Goat and fill (see pp. 8, 22, 24). Gray-green stone; 4.5 x .9 cm.	"	"	"	"
244	Kh.IV 334	Snake coil and scorpion (see pp. 8, 28). Limestone; 2.4 x 1.6 cm.	R 42:4	"	"	ED II
245	Kh.IV 333	Two crossed lions attacking bull and nude bearded man with girdle, holding weapon in right hand and in the other a bull which looks back at another bearded man with girdle, who holds spear; dagger in field (see p. 8). Black stone; 2.7 x 2 cm.	R 42:2	"	"	"
246	Kh.IV 381	Man wearing fringed kilt (see p. 28) holds two bulls by the horns, the one on the left being attacked by lion crossed by another lion attacking ram; scorpion beneath lions; plant beneath ram. Serpentine; 3 x 2 cm.	"	Sin IX	"	"
247	Kh.VIII 51	Two crossed lions attacking goat and ibex (on right); scorpion and indeterminate figure. White marble; 2.1 x 1.1 cm.	Q 42	Sin IX?	ED III?	ED
248	Kh.IV 370	Two figures seated face to face with jar (?) between them; branch in field. White stone; 1.9 x 1.1 cm.	R 41:1	Sin X	ED III	"



242



243



244



245



246



247



248

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
249	Kh.IV 23	"Spider" design (see pp. 8, 17). Pink stone; 2 x 2.2 cm.	L 47:1	Oval I	ED II	JN
250	Kh.IV 22	Geometric pattern (see p. 8). Red stone; 2.4 x .7 cm.	M 44:5	"	"	"
251	Kh.IV 11	Three goats and ladder motifs (see pp. 8, 21). Red stone; 1.4 x 1.4 cm.	"	"	"	"
252	Kh.I 386	Two goats, shrine, and fill (see pp. 8, 16). White stone; 3.2 x 2.9 cm.	K 45:6	"	"	"
253	Kh.IV 90	Lion with inverted goat; antelope head and fish in field (see p. 8). Gray stone; 3 x 2.3 cm.	J 45:4	"	"	ED II
254	Kh.IV 338	Monster consisting of human upper part, his legs being lions whose tails end in snakes held in his hands; bull-man with dagger holding hind leg of inverted lion; two registers beside these figures: in the upper, crescent, star, man, two crossed lions, and scorpion; in the lower, star, crescent, crossed bull and ram, and man (see pp. 8, 24-25, 27, 29, 31). Shell; 2.8 x 1.8 cm.	L 44:5	"	"	"
255	Kh.II 36	Two groups of lion crossing goat, beards of both goats held by naked male figure; both lions attacking inverted goat (see pp. 8, 29). Gray stone; 2.8 x 1.9 cm.	L 43:10	"	"	"
256	Kh.IV 475	Man holding goat by its throat, second goat behind first, rosette, third goat, geometric fill (see pp. 8, 22, 24). Shell; 2.6 x 3 cm.	"	"	ED II or III	ED I



249



250



251



252



253



254



255



256

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
257	Kh.I 517	Bull, goat, and geometric motifs (see pp. 8, 22, 24). Black stone; 5 x 1.1 cm.	L 43:7	Oval I	ED II or III	ED I
258	Kh.I 514	Crossed bulls, one held by nude figure; crossed lions restrained by same nude figure and bull-man, who also holds third lion, inverted and biting leg of bull-man; one dagger between crossed lions and one between nude figure and lion; inscription (see pp. 8, 24-25, 27, 31, 48). Brown stone; 3.7 x 2.4 cm.	"	"	"	ED II
259	Kh.V 361	Upper register: two scorpions, crescent, drill hole; lower register: three goats and three drill holes. Shell; 2.5 x 1 cm.	J 46:1	"	"	ED
260	Kh.V 363	Geometric pattern (see p. 8). White stone; 2 x 2 cm.	"	"	"	?
261	Kh.I 587	Three goats (see pp. 8, 16). Red stone; 1.6 x 1.6 cm.	L 43:4	"	ED III	JN
262	Kh.III 316	Indeterminable design. Unbaked clay; unperforated; 3 x 1.5 cm.	L 45	Oval II	"	?
263	Kh.II 267	Drill-hole design (see p. 17). Pink stone; 1.9 x 1.9 cm.	N 44:2, in wall	"	"	JN
264	Kh.I 506	Five pigtailed squatting women partly tête-bêche (see p. 17). Pink stone; 2.4 x 2.4 cm.	L 43:9	"	"	"
265	Kh.I 429	Geometric pattern. White limestone; 2.1 x 1.6 cm.	K 43:5	"	"	"
266	Kh.I 107	Three goats (see p. 16). Pink stone; 1.5 x 1.6 cm.	M 44:4	"	"	"





257



259



258



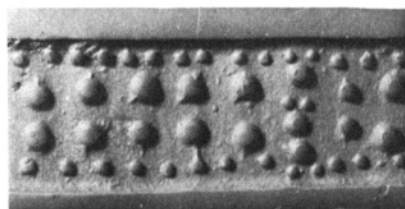
260



261



262



263



264



265



266

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
267	Kh.II 276	God in boat (see p. 36); quadruped, vase (drill-hole), and plow in field. Translucent stone; 2.3 x 1.5 cm.	West of L 45:1	Oval II	ED III	ED
268	Kh.II 66	Two pairs of crossed animals and indeterminable figure. White stone; 2 x 1.2 cm.	K 44:2	"	"	"
269	Kh.IV 85	Geometric pattern (see p. 12). White stone; 2.8 x 1.9 cm.	J 46:2	"	"	"
270	Kh.II 99	Indistinct representation of god in boat (see p. 36). White stone; 2.7 x 1.2 cm.	N 46:1	"	"	"
271	Kh.I 476	Kneeling girdled figure attacked by two lions, one held by figure wearing fringed kilt (see p. 28), who holds third lion with his other hand. Limestone; 3.6 x 2.8 cm.	K 43:2	"	"	ED II
272	Kh.III 1352	Broken; two crossed lions attacking two goats. Gray stone; 2.1 x 1 cm.	J 44:1	"	"	ED III
273	Kh.I 360	Nude curly-locked figure holding with right hand bull crossing gazelle and with left hand lion crossing goat, which is attacked by lion crossing bull; small goat underneath elbow of figure (see pp. 8, 30). White limestone; 2.6 x 1.7 cm.	L 46:4	"	"	ED IIIa
274	Kh.II 192	Geometric pattern. Black stone; 1.7 x 1 cm.	M 44:3?	Oval II or III	ED III or Protoimp.	JN
275	Kh.I 549	Indistinct frieze of crossed figures. White limestone; 3.4 x 2.7 cm.	L 43:3	Oval III	Protoimp.	ED II
276	Kh.II 8	Geometric pattern. Baked clay; 2.5 x 1.8 cm.	Unknown	Oval surface	?	?



267



268



269



270



271



272



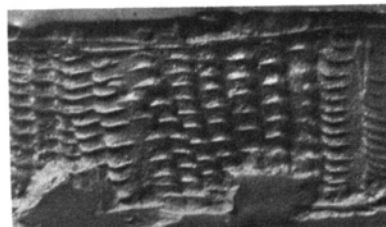
273



274



275



276

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
277	Kh.IX 13	Geometric pattern. Alabaster; 1.4 x 1.2 cm.	Q 45:12	Nintu VI	ED II	JN
278	Kh.VIII 191	Two bald-headed robed figures squatting beside large jar, one of them apparently holding cup; plant motif in field (see p. 38). Alabaster; 2.4 x 1.7 cm.	"	"	"	ED?
279	Kh.IX 10	Broken; frieze of goats crossing field. Gray-black stone; 3.8 x .7 cm.	"	"	"	ED II
280	Kh.VIII 17	Kilted figure, possibly holding two cups, standing beside jar; two other figures; crescent. Alabaster; 3.2 x 1.8 cm.	Q 45:4	"	"	"
281	Kh.VIII 203	Goat regardant and fill motifs. Gray marble; 3.4 x 1 cm.	Q 45:7	Nintu VII	"	ED I
282	Kh.VIII 222	Nude standing figure holding forepaw of rampant ruminant and muzzle of bull with head turned back; star, tree, scorpion, spiral, small goat, and dagger in field. White marble; 2.8 x 1.8 cm.	"	"	"	ED II
283	Kh.III 1054	Fragment; boat with seated figure and other objects (see pp. 37, 38). Limestone; 2.3 x 1.2 cm.	Q 45:4	"	ED III	ED



277



278



279



280



281



282

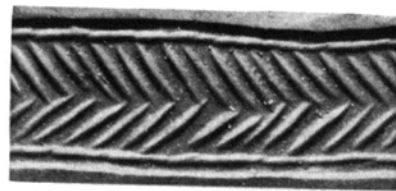


283

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
284	Kh.VII 70	Shrine, goat, and tree (see pp. 16, 19). White marble with blue limestone loop; 4.5 x 2.6 cm.	P 42:28	Houses? (below level of Sin I)	Protolit. c	JN
285	Kh.IX 167	Two panels with eye motif. Green stone; 1.2 x .8 cm.	P 43:54	Below Houses 12 (33.70 m.)	Protolit. d	"
286	Kh.VII 66	Geometric pattern. Shell; 1.9 x 1.4 cm.	P 42:50	Houses 12	"	"
287	Kh.IX 58	Two goats (see p. 16). Sandstone(?); 2.8 x 1 cm.	P 42	"	"	"
288	Kh.V 182	Geometric pattern (see p. 8). Shell; 3.2 x .9 cm.	O 43:19	Houses 8	ED I	"
289	Kh.V 183	Debased goat design. Green stone; 3.5 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	JN or ED I
290	Kh.V 163	Recumbent goat and ram (see p. 8). Black stone; 1.6 x .9 cm.	P 43:30	Houses 7	"	JN
291	Kh.V 162	Large goat and small goat tête-bêche with large goat and small bull; geometric fill (see pp. 8, 22, 24). Black stone; 5.6 x 1 cm.	P 43:31	"	"	ED I
292	Kh.VI 58	Three goats and geometric motifs (see pp. 22, 23). Frit (?); 5.5 x 1.2 cm.	P 43:20	Houses 6	ED II	JN or ED I
293	Kh.V 164	Goat, bird, and drill holes (see p. 22). Green stone; 3.2 x 1.1 cm.	P 43:23, Grave 89	"	"	"
294	Kh.V 364	Geometric pattern. Lapis lazuli; 3.6 x 1.2 cm.	P 43:23	"	"	?
295	Kh.V 144	Transverse design (see p. 8); animals, star, and crescent. Baked clay; unperforated; 2.5 x 1.8 cm.	P 42:12	"	"	?
296	Kh.V 283	Five squatting pigtailed women, four holding staff impaling globe (see p. 17). Red stone (see also Pl. 1 l); 2.2 x 2.2 cm.	N 44:6?	Houses 5?	ED II?	JN



284



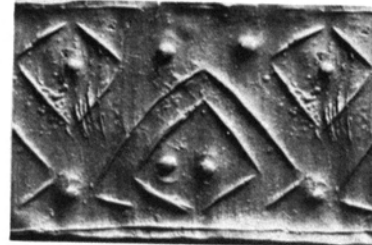
286



287



285



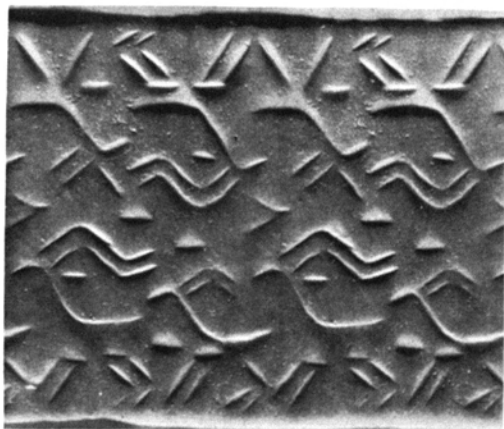
288



290



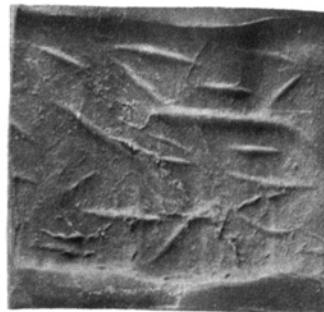
289



291



293



294



295



292



296

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
297	Kh.V 156	Geometric pattern (see pp. 8, 18). Black stone with inlays; 3.7 x 1.2 cm.	P 43:23	Houses 4	ED II	JN
298	Kh.IV 64	Geometric pattern (see p. 8). Gray stone; 4.9 x 1 cm.	P 42:4	"	"	"
299	Kh.III 1311	Two goats and tree (see pp. 8, 16). White stone; 1.5 x 1.1 cm.	J 43:5	"	"	"
300	Kh.V 60	Two goats and three fishes; hatching on conical top (see p. 8 and Pl. 1 e). White stone; 2.6 x 2 cm.	N 44:6	"	"	"
301	Kh.III 1078	Three fishes and tree (see pp. 8, 20). Gray stone; 2.1 x 1 cm.	J 42:2	"	"	"
302	Kh.V 61	Goat and geometric motifs (see pp. 8, 24). Gray stone; 2.5 x .5 cm.	N 43:6	"	"	ED I
303	Kh.III 1238	Goat and geometric motifs (see pp. 8, 24). Black stone; 2.8 x .8 cm.	K 42:7	"	"	"
304	Kh.V 256	Bull, two goats, scorpion, and tree (see p. 23). Black stone; 4 x 1 cm.	N 43:15	"	"	ED I?
305	Kh.V 181	At left, two men in tucked-up kilts (see pp. 8, 28) subduing lion; at right, similar figure and bull-man subduing second lion. Gray stone; 2.1 x 1.5 cm.	N 43:18	"	"	ED II
306	Kh.IX 136	God, holding steering oar, seated in boat with human-shaped prow; quadruped, vase (drill-hole), and plow in front; fish under boat; figure, robed like a god, seated on horizontally hatched throne under stern of boat; indistinct motifs above figure and in front of god (see pp. 8, 36). Alabaster; 4.5 x 2.8 cm.	P 45	"	"	"
307	Kh.V 48	Three ruminants (see p. 27). Green sandstone; 2 x 1.4 cm.	O 43:3?	Houses 4?	ED II?	"

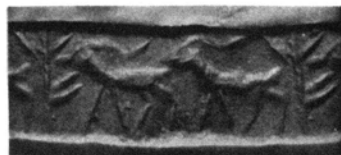




297



298



299



302



300



303



301



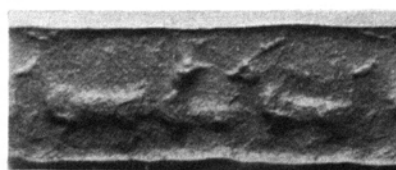
304



305



306



307

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
308	Kh.V 58	Man with dagger kneeling behind lion; ram or goat and geometric motifs (see pp. 8, 26). White stone; 3.7 x 2.9 cm.	O 43:14	Houses 4 or 3	ED II or III	ED II
309	Kh.II 272	Geometric pattern (see p. 8). White stone; 1.3 x 1.5 cm.	K 42:1	Houses 3	ED III	JN
310	Kh.III 1105	Broken; geometric pattern (see p. 8). Shell; 2.8 x 1.5 cm.	L 42:4	"	"	"
311	Kh.III 603	Geometric pattern (see p. 8). Gray stone; 1.2 x .8 cm.	K 42:2	"	"	"
312	Kh.III 683	Four squatting pigtailed women (see pp. 8, 17). Crystal; 1.8 x 1.9 cm.	K 42:9	"	"	"
313	Kh.III 686	Goat and bird (see pp. 8, 22, 24). Stone; 2.1 x .8 cm.	"	"	"	ED I
314	Kh.III 677	Frieze of lions, other animals, and humans (see p. 8). Limestone; 3.6 x 2.5 cm.	K 42:2	"	"	ED II
315	Kh.V 141	Upper register: long-haired figure with fringed kilt seated milking goat, bald figure seated churning milk in large suspended jar; lower register: two goats and ram, each in front of stalk or plant (see pp. 8, 30, 39). Shell; 3 x 1.1 cm.	N 44:7, Grave 131	"	"	ED IIIa
316	Kh.III 317	Two seated figures drinking through tubes from jar (see p. 38). Limestone; 1.2 x .8 cm.	L 42:2	"	"	ED III
317	Kh.V 26	Transverse design (see p. 8); man, goat, and other motifs. Baked clay; 2.1 x 2 cm.	P 43:21	"	"	?
318	Kh.II 280	Seated figure facing standing figure in flounced robe who holds bull's throat; another standing figure holds bull's forefoot (see p. 33). Gray stone; 1.7 x 1 cm.	K 41:1	Houses 3?	"	ED



308



309



312



310



311



313



314



317



315



316



318

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
319	Kh.III 697	Geometric pattern. Crystal; 1.8 x .9 cm.	J 42:2, Grave 126	Houses 3 or 2	ED III	JN
320	Kh.III 700	Two crossed lions attacking stag and bull, which is also beset by a great feline; scorpion and snake beneath blank inscription panel; crescent and another snake in field (see pp. 8, 30, 31). Green translucent stone; 3.2 x 2.1 cm.	J 42:2	"	"	ED IIIa
321	Kh.IX 132	Antithetic group composed of ruminant attacked by two lions, that at right restrained by nude figure, that at left by figure with tucked-in kilt; scorpion in field. Alabaster; 3.4 x 2.5 cm.	J 43	"	"	ED II
322	Kh.III 1237	Two kilted figures sitting face to face, each with attendant; vase(?) between attendants. White stone; 2 x 1 cm.	P 43:10	"	"	ED III
323	Kh.III 299	Eagle over arc (see p. 30); indistinct motif below. Limestone; about 2 x 1.1 cm.	Q 43:6	"	"	"
324	Kh.III 83	Boat with two seated figures holding oars; standing kilted figure outside (see p. 37). Limestone; 2.3 x 1.3 cm.	Q 44:12	"	"	ED
325	Kh.III 1086	Upper register: geometric pattern; lower register: two goats flanking tree. Limestone; 2.3 x .8 cm.	N 43:11	Houses 2	"	JN
326	Kh.III 940	Fragment; geometric design. Shell; 1.2 x .8 cm.	P 45:14	"	"	"
327	Kh.III 887	Geometric pattern. Limestone; 2 x .7 cm.	P 44:1	"	"	"
328	Kh.III 59	Geometric pattern. Frit; 2.6 x 1.1 cm.	O 45:3	"	"	"
329	Kh.III 942	Geometric pattern. Green translucent stone; 2.4 x 1.6 cm.	O 46, outside Oval	"	"	"



319



321



320



322



323



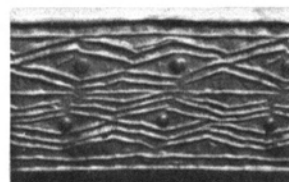
324



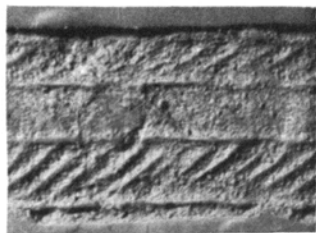
325



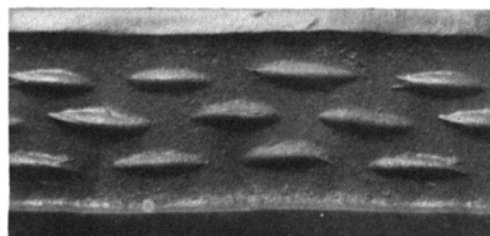
326



327



328



329

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
330	Kh.V 1	Horned girdled monster with snake-tailed lions as legs (see pp. 25-26); girdled bull-man holding bull by throat; girdled and horned naked figure attacked by two lions; dagger and antelope head in field. White translucent stone; 3 x 2.3 cm.	N 44:3	Houses 2	ED III	ED II
331	Kh.III 922	Horned long-haired god in boat holds steering oar; prow ends in human-shaped horned figure with punting pole; bird, plow, quadruped, and vase (drill-hole) outside boat; crescent, star, and five drill holes in field (see pp. 8, 31, 33, 36). Lapis lazuli; 2.2 x 1.1 cm.	P 45:14	"	"	ED IIIa
332	Kh.III 265	Goat attacked by panther, restrained by long-haired bull-man, and by lion crossing another goat attacked by another panther; scorpion beneath blank inscription panel (see pp. 8, 30). White translucent stone; 3.7 x 2.4 cm.	Q 43:2	"	"	"
333	Kh.III 1130	Fragment; upper register: antithetic group of two goats and tree; lower register: animal and inverted eagle with spread wings. Shell; 4.1 x 1.5 cm.	M 42:2	"	"	ED III
334	Kh.III 1131	Upper register: two figures seated face to face drinking through tubes from jar placed in stand, third seated figure holding cup; lower register: two figures seated face to face drinking through tubes from jar on ground, third figure seated before small table (see pp. 6, 33, 38). White stone; 2.9 x 1.4 cm.	M 42:3	"	"	"
335	Kh.III 742	Two crossed lions attacking two girdled bulls; long-haired bearded naked figure at right; indistinct object beneath blank inscription panel (see pp. 29-30). Limestone; 4.2 x 2.8 cm.	K 42:9, Grave 167	"	"	"
336	Kh.III 751	Seated figure drinking through reed; lion and man attacking inverted goat. Stone(?); 1.2 x .8 cm.	K 42:9	"	"	ED
337	Kh.III 267	Two crossed lions attacking goat and stag; bearded girdled figure behind stag. Limestone; 2.3 x 1.2 cm.	Q 43:2	"	"	"
338	Kh.IX 27	Two crossed lions attacking two goats; crescent in field. Dark gray limestone(?); 3.3 x 1.7 cm.	S 42:1, Grave 144	"	"	"



330



331



332



333



335



334



336



337



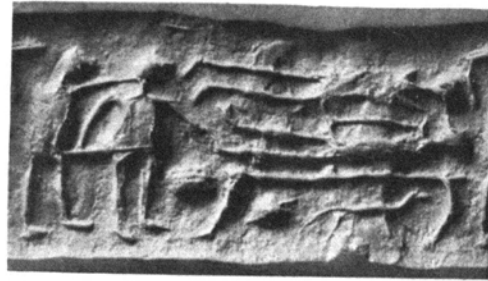
338

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
339	Kh.III 279	God in boat (see p. 36); quadruped, vase (drill hole), plow, plant, snake, and crescent in field. Limestone; 2.8 x 1.6 cm.	Q 43:2	Houses 2	ED III	ED
340	Kh.II 41	Ritual marriage: two figures approaching couch with animal legs; two figures lying on couch; dog beneath couch; two drill holes in field (see pp. 33, 38). Limestone; 3.1 x 1.9 cm.	O 44:6	"	"	"
341	Kh.III 949	Building of ziggurat: seated horned god being shown brick by kilted figure; two other kilted figures adding to three-storied structure; branch(?) in field (see pp. 33, 40). Limestone; 3 x 1.8 cm.	P 45:5	"	"	"
342	Kh.III 860	Indistinct pattern. Limestone; 3 x 1.6 cm.	P 46.4	"	"	?
343	Kh.IX 140	Male figure in kilt restraining lion following goat; heart-shaped motif over back of lion. White marble; 2 x 1.1 cm.	P 45	Probably Houses 2	"	ED
344	Kh.IV 420	Figure seated at table with attendant standing by. Shell; 1.1 x .6 cm.	R 42:5	Houses 2?	"	ED III
345	Kh.III 623	Crossed animals attacked on left side by lion, on right side by bull-man. Limestone; 2.3 x 1.4 cm.	K 42:5, Grave 168	Above Houses 2	"	ED II
346	Kh.V 15	Bearded long-haired kilted figure between two nude clean-shaven figures, all three standing in boat and using punting poles (see p. 37); possibly an eagle above animal and crouching nude human figure outside boat; dagger in field. White stone; 3.3 x 2.1 cm.	P 45:16	Houses 2 or 1	"	ED
347	Kh.III 201	Geometric pattern (see p. 8). Limestone; 2.4 x .9 cm.	P 45:12	Houses 1	"	JN
348	Kh.III 200	Indeterminable design. Limestone; 2.2 x 1.5 cm.	"	"	"	?





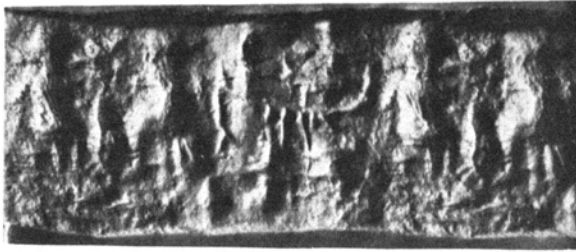
339



340



341



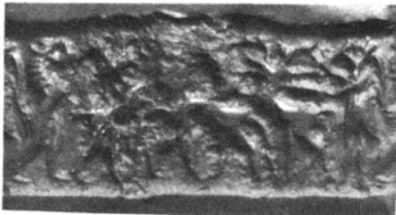
342



343



344



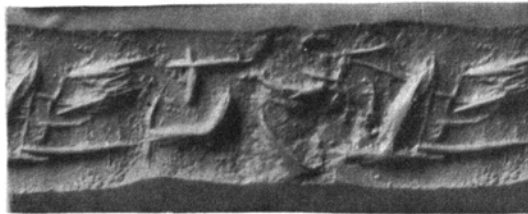
345



346

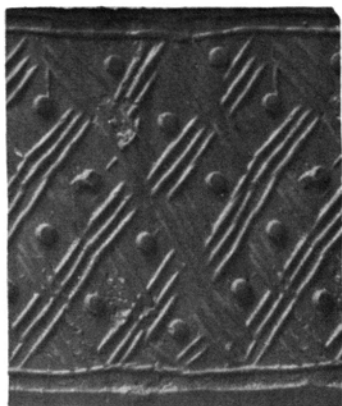


347



348

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
349	Kh.III 543	Geometric pattern (see p. 8). Bone; 4.9 x .9 cm.	P 43:14	Houses I	ED III	JN
350	Kh.III 60	Broken; geometric pattern (see p. 8). Shell with lapis lazuli inlay; 1.3 x .6 cm.	Q 44:5	"	"	"
351	Kh.III 41	Two kilted figures seated face to face drinking through tubes from jar (see p. 38). Limestone; 1.9 x 1.2 cm.	Q 44:4	"	"	ED III
352	Kh.III 199	Lion-headed eagle holding a goat in either claw (see p. 30); kneeling figure holding indistinct object; crescent and seven drill holes in field. Limestone; 2.5 x 1.4 cm.	P 44:2	"	"	"
353	Kh.I 140	Girdled bearded figure holding with left hand hind leg of inverted lioness and with right hand foreleg of bull; bull apparently threatened by bull-man with indefinable object in right hand; section in two registers: seated figure, rampant lion, and perhaps snake in upper register, human-faced bull and crescent in lower (see p. 29). Shell; 2.5 x 1.4 cm.	P 44:3	"	"	"
354	Kh.I 142	Sun-god in his boat (see p. 36); lion, plow, vase, crescent, star, and drill holes in field. Alabaster; 2.7 x 2 cm.	"	"	"	ED
355	Kh.III 89	Two crossed lions attacking two goats, one goat held by nude figure; possibly inverted goat and tortoise or lizard in field. Lapis lazuli; 2.6 x 1.1 cm.	Q 44:7	"	"	"
356	Kh.III 182	Two kilted figures approaching figure seated before table or altar (see p. 39); branch in field. Limestone; 2.7 x 1.5 cm.	Q 44:10	"	"	"
357	Kh.III 659	Geometric pattern. Black frit; 2.9 x 1 cm.	P 42:6, in robbers' hole	----	"	JN
358	Kh.III 542	Kilted bald-headed seated figure drinking through tube from jar placed on stand (see p. 38); in front, standing kilted figure pouring libation from ewer; behind, goat and ram tête-bêche. Limestone; 2.5 x 1.4 cm.	Robbers' hole (P 42:2)	----	"	ED II
359	Kh.III 461	Man and woman seated drinking through tubes from pot on stand; scorpion in field (see p. 38). White stone; 2.1 x 1.3 cm.	"	----	"	ED
360	Kh.III 1145	Lion crossing gazelle to attack bull, while gazelle is attacked by another lion, which is restrained by naked figure on right; snake in field. White translucent stone; 2 x 1 cm.	O 42:7, Grave 150	Houses I or above	ED III?	ED III
361	Kh.III 220	Lion following goat; crescent in field. Limestone(?); 1.3 x .6 cm.	P 43	"	ED III or Protoimp.	ED
362	Kh.I 349	Ancient impression on clay; three rows of motifs: lion heads, scorpions, heads of human-headed bulls; about 4.2 x 3.4 cm.	P 46	Surface	----	ED III
363	Kh.VI 28	Ram and geometric fill (see p. 24). Frit(?); 3 x .8 cm.	Q 42, outside Sin Temple	----	----	ED I



349



350



353



351



355



352



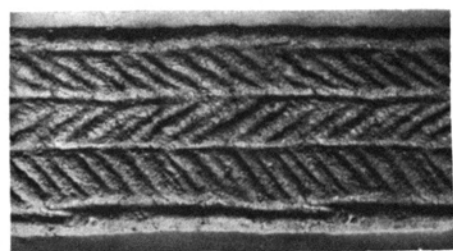
356



354



358



357



359



360



362

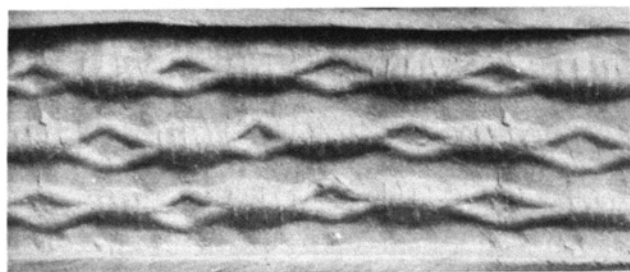


363



361

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
364	Kh.IX 95	Triple chain pattern. Light green translucent stone; 3 x 2.2 cm.	N 51	Probably Houses 2	ED III?	JN
365	Kh.IX 142	Geometric pattern. Brown sandstone; 1.3 x 1.4 cm.	Q 49	"	"	"
366	Kh.IX 92	Three figures in human-prowed boat (see pp. 27, 37): seated in front, bald-headed kilted human figure holds indeterminate object; in middle, pigtailed kilted figure with flat cap seems to hold punting pole; seated in stern, pigtailed kilted god with horned crown steers; fishes under boat; drill holes above first and third figures; three drill holes, probably stars, in front of prow. White limestone; 3 x 1.4 cm.	N 51	"	"	ED II
367	Kh.IX 88	Kilted, possibly bearded, figure holding harp with bull- or cow-shaped body for seated female musician, behind whom stands indistinct, probably male, kilted figure; drill hole before musician; obscure objects behind(?) strings and below animal head of harp (see p. 39). White marble; 2.5 x 1.4 cm.	M 51	"	"	ED III
368	Kh.IX 93	Upper register: standing male figure restraining lion attacking bull; lower register: scorpion and two animals. Shell; 2.8 x 1.1 cm.	N 51	"	"	ED
369	Kh.IX 113	Rough combination of male figure, goat, plant and indefinite motifs. Baked clay; 3 x 2.1 cm.	P 51	"	"	?
370	Kh.IX 79	Lion crossing girdled human-headed bull attacks girdled wild bull held by naked hero wearing girdle; bull-man holding front leg and horn of human-headed bull. White marble; 2.7 x 1.2 cm.	L 50	Surface	----	ED III
371	Kh.VIII 168	Scorpion and spread eagle holding two antelopes (see p. 30); file of goats below. Marble; 2.9 x 1.3 cm.	T 45, Grave 158	Houses 2?	ED III	"
372	Kh.VIII 113	Two crossed lions attacking two goats, one goat attacked by another lion; star and lizard in field. Lapis lazuli; 2.6 x 1.3 cm.	S 44	Houses 1 or above	ED III or Protoimp.	"
373	Kh.VIII 166	Goat and tree. Gray marble; 1.5 x 1.1 cm.	V 44:2, Grave 156	"	Protoimp.(?)	JN
374	Kh.IX 207	Lion, crossing partly obliterated animal, attacking goat; bald male figure with fringed kilt restraining indistinct animal (see p. 30). White limestone; 2.8 x 1.5 cm.	S 36	Probably Houses 2 or 1	ED III?	ED III
375	Kh.IX 40	Lion attacking goat crosses human-headed bull attacked by another lion, which is restrained by nude figure. Lapis lazuli; 2 x 1.1 cm.	N 36	Near surface	----	"
376	Kh.IX 14	Geometric pattern. White marble; 1.6 x 1.2 cm.	M 36	Surface	----	JN
377	Kh.VI 36	Lion attacking bull; two flat-capped men attacking two human-headed bulls (see p. 32). Black stone; 3.5 x 2.2 cm.	E 29:1, Grave 162	Houses 1 or above	Protoimp.(?)	Akk.



364



366



365



367



368



369



370



371



372



373



375



374



376



377

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
378	Kh.VI 131	Two goats (see p. 9). Shell; 1 x 1.5 cm.	B-G 26-30	Top layer	----	JN
379	Kh.VI 128	Two goats (see p. 9). Shell; .9 x 1.8 cm.	"	"	----	"
380	Kh.VI 23	Long-haired figure holding two goats, one attacked by panther restrained by long-haired bull-man; third long-haired figure holds third goat; human figure between two goats above scorpion (see p. 9). Yellow translucent stone; 1.8 x 1.2 cm.	F 28:1	"	----	ED III
381	Kh.VI 18	Upper register: eagle between two goats; lower register: indistinct but includes goats (see p. 9). Shell; 4.4 x 1.5 cm.	B-G 26-30	"	----	"
382	Kh.VI 126	Upper register: indistinct; lower register: seated figure perhaps drinking through tube from jar; perhaps two standing figures slaughtering wild boar (see pp. 9, 38-39). Shell; 4 x 2 cm.	"	"	----	"
383	Kh.VI 68	Upper register: possibly sun-god in boat; lower register: building of ziggurat (see p. 9, 36, 40). Shell; 2.5 x 1.5 cm.	"	"	----	"
384	Kh.VI 22	Eagles tête-bêche separated by wavy band (see pp. 9, 30); upper eagle holds animal. White stone; 3 x 1.7 cm.	"	"	----	"
385	Kh.VI 127	Two crossed lions attacking stag held by kilted bald figure with dagger and goat beset by panther (see p. 9). White stone; 2.8 x 1.7 cm.	"	"	----	"
386	Kh.VI 130	Human figure holding two goats attacked by two lions; one lion restrained by possibly human figure, other by bull-man (see p. 9). Black stone; 2.5 x 1.6 cm.	"	"	----	"
387	Kh.VI 35	Damaged; indistinct frieze of crossed figures (see p. 9). Shell; 3 x 1.5 cm.	G 29:2	"	----	"
388	Kh.VI 24	Two crossed lions attacking two goats (see p. 9). Black stone; 2.1 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	----	Akk.
389	Kh.VI 45	Indistinct design (see p. 9). White stone; 4 x 1.5 cm.	D 28:1	"	----	?



378



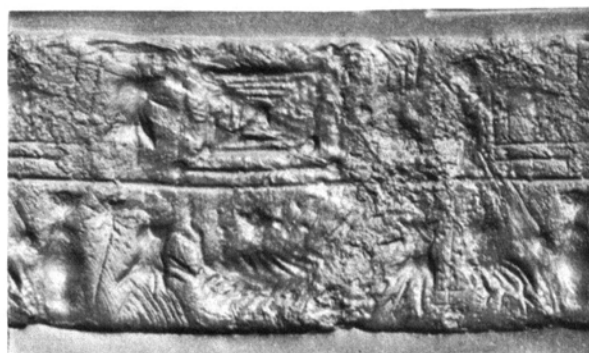
379



380



381



382



383



384



385



386



387



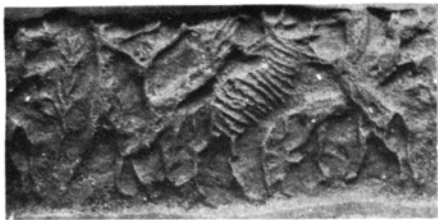
388



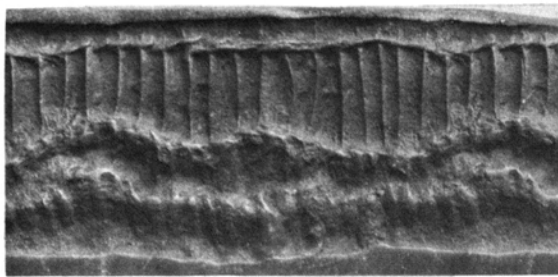
389

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
390	Kh.IX 111	Two lions attacking a sheep; one lion restrained by man while other crosses indistinct animal; tree in field. Alabaster; 2.8 x 1.8 cm.	Q 51	Houses 1?	ED III?	ED
391	Kh.IX 94	Geometric pattern. Alabaster; 3.3 x 2 cm.	Q 54	"	"	JN
392	Kh.IX 112	Upper register: blank inscription panel; kneeling nude male figure with dagger attacking goat, which is also attacked by one of two crossed lions; other lion attacking indistinct animal; lower register: two goats, one attacked from rear by lion; crescent and drill hole above attacked goat, drill hole behind other goat. Shell; 3.4 x 1.7 cm.	Q 53	"	"	ED III
393	Kh.IX 141	Two crossed lions attacking two indeterminable animals; scorpion in field. White marble; 1.7 x 1 cm.	H 41	Surface	ED III	ED
394	Kh.VI 71	Lion attacking bull; human figure holding human-headed bull; standard-like motif in field. Shell; 3.3 x 2 cm.	x 24:1	----	Agade	Akk.
395	Kh.VI 70	Minor deity introducing worshiper to Ea; nude figure holding gatepost emblem in front of Ea (see p. 43). Black stone; 2.5 x 1.4 cm.	"	----	"	"
396	Kh.VI 50	Girdled nude hero attacking water buffalo; bull-man attacking lion; inscription (see p. 48). Green stone; 2.5 x 1.5 cm.	"	----	"	"
397	Kh.II 106	Kilted figure between two animals. White stone; 1.9 x 1 cm.	L 30?	Surface	----	ED
398	Kh.IX 26	Upright figure holding two animals attacked by two lions; lion at left restrained by male(?) figure. Shell; 2.7 x 1.4 cm.	V 40	"	----	"
399	Kh.VIII 38	Goat and stag tête-bêche; lines (see p. 24). Black stone; 1.5 x .5 cm.	V 44	"	----	ED I
400	Kh.IX 25	Spread eagle between walking and recumbent goats (see p. 30). Gray marble; 2 x 1 cm.	Y 42	"	----	ED III
401	Kh.IX 16	Pair of seated deities drinking through tubes from large jar; standing deity; crescent. Shell; 2.4 x 1.5 cm.	V 40	"	----	Akk.
402	Kh.IX 18	Shamash rising on eastern mountains holds saw and mace; attendant opens gates (see p. 40). Black stone; 1.9 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	----	"
403	Kh.IX 8	Two worshipers, second carrying kid, stand behind god who spears collapsing antagonist with divine crown, notched circle on body, and indistinct lower part (see p. 44). Alabaster; 3.2 x 1.8 cm.	X 37	"	----	"
404	Kh.IX 9	Three deities approaching a fourth enthroned between star and tree. Black stone; 3.4 x 2.1 cm.	"	"	----	"





390



391



392



394



393



395



396



397



398



399



400



401



402



403

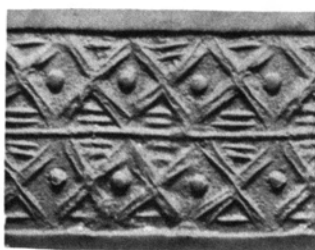


404

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
405	Kh.V 34	Two amphorae and geometric motifs. White stone; 2.8 x 1.7 cm.	Mound A	Surface	----	JN?
406	Kh.VII 11	Geometric pattern. Frit; 2.7 x .9 cm.	"	"	----	JN
407	Kh.III 309	Geometric pattern. Pink stone; 2.5 x .6 cm.	Mound A, dump	----	----	"
408	Kh.III 469	Geometric pattern. Shell; 1.4 x .7 cm.	Mound A	Surface	----	"
409	Kh.V 63	Geometric pattern. Shell; 2.3 x .7 cm.	"	"	----	"
410	Kh.III 446	Geometric pattern. Black stone; 1.4 x .6 cm.	"	"	----	"
411	Kh.III 1382	Fragment; goat. Gray stone; 1.8 x .9 cm.	"	"	----	"
412	Kh.II 205	Quadruped and bird with spread wings; crescent in field (see p. 24). Dark stone; 3 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	----	ED I
413	Kh.III 366	Two crossed lions attacking two indistinct figures, probably goats. Limestone; 2.9 x 1.3 cm.	"	"	----	ED
414	Kh.VII 10	Two crossed lions attacking two goats; tree. Alabaster; 1.6 x 1 cm.	"	"	----	"
415	Kh.III 307	Two seated figures drinking through tubes from jar (see p. 38); indistinct standing figure. Limestone; 2 x 1 cm.	"	"	----	"
416	Kh.III 298	Design divided horizontally by wavy band; above: seated kilted figure drinking through tube from pot, scorpion and crescent in field; below: eagle with spread wings (see pp. 30, 38). Limestone(?); 2.4 x 1.1 cm.	Mound A, robbers' hole	----	----	ED III
417	Kh.VI 156	Two crossed lions attacking two goats; scorpion beneath blank inscription panel. Black stone; 1.9 x 1 cm.	Mound A	Surface	----	"
418	Kh.III 957	Two crossed lions attacking two goats; scorpion in field. Limestone(?); 2 x 1 cm.	"	"	----	"
419	Kh.III 342	Two crossed lions attacking antelope and bull held by naked man; plant (?) in field. Black stone; 2.1 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	----	"
420	Kh.III 1	Asymmetrical group composed of eagle and two goats (see p. 30). Limestone(?); 1.9 x 1 cm.	"	"	----	"



405



406



407



408



409



410



411



412



413



414



415



416



417



418



419



420

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
421	Kh.IV 474	Two crossed lions attacking two rams, each held by flat-capped kilted figure (see p. 32); crescent in field. Shell; 3.7 x 2.1 cm.	Mound A	----	----	Akk.
422	Kh.VI 153	Four figures approaching date palm, foremost carrying bucket (see p. 45); hatched fill below. Shell; 4.2 x 1.8 cm.	"	Surface	----	"
423	Kh.IV 404	Adoration of fertility goddess seated on heap of grain or perhaps on wicker throne: two plants (probably barley) project from each of her shoulders, and she holds a plow; kneeling figure perhaps pouring water in front of two approaching worshipers, the second carrying kid; minor deity (see p. 41). Black stone; 3.1 x 1.8 cm.	"	"	----	"
424	Kh.III 1042	Two lions attacking two goats. Shell; 1.2 x .7 cm.	Mound A, dump	----	----	"
425	Kh.III 693	Fragment; Ishtar and unidentifiable god. Black stone; 2.1 x 1.2 cm.	Mound A	Surface	----	Old Bab.
426	Kh.VIII 226	One standing and one kneeling worshiper facing sun-god with one foot on mountain and holding staff with seven globes (see p. 47); nude hero from whose hands fall streams rendered by dots; staff with nine globes, rosette, libra, and indefinable object in field. Hematite; 2.3 x 1 cm.	Mound B, r 80	Near surface	Old. Bab.	"
427	Kh.VIII 81	Round-capped kneeling figure holding sacred tree; three goats (see pp. 34, 47). Limestone; 2.3 x 1.1 cm.	Mound B, trench in n 74-75	----	"	Mit.
428	Kh.VI 136	Fragment; goat attacked by carnivore (only face and claw remain) and panther, which is struck by long-haired bull-man. Ivory; 2.6 x 1.6 cm.	Mound C	----	Old. Bab.	ED III
429	Kh.VI 154	Enthroned figure before whom stands goat (see p. 46); behind, figure holding bird. Baked clay; 2.2 x 1 cm.	"	Surface	----	Old Bab.
430	Kh.VI 72	Figure seated on dais; lion (see p. 46) restrained by standing figure; libra in field. Soft black material; 2.1 x 1.3 cm.	Mound D	Sin Temple	Larsa	"
431	Kh.VI 73	Ishtar holding club with double panther head and scimitar steps upon lion; before her, worshiper, introducing goddess, and priest with bucket and sprinkling brush; dog with pole, fish, and indefinable object in field. Dark gray stone; 2.2 x 1.3 cm.	"	"	"	"
432	Kh.VII 250	Lower part only; god enthroned upon two lion-headed dragons; standing figure; inscription (see pp. 34, 48). Green stone; 1.4 x 1.6 cm.	"	Surface	----	"



421



422



423



424



425



426



427



428



429



430



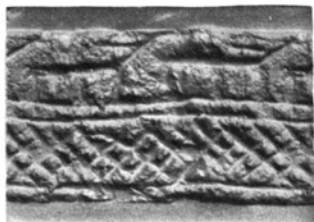
431



432

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
433	Kh.VI 83	Two goats above cross hatched band. White stone; 2.3 x 1.1 cm.	Unknown	Surface	----	JN
434	Kh.VI 82	Geometric pattern. Pink stone; 1.9 x 2 cm.	"	"	----	"
435	Kh.III 956	Goat and fill (see p. 24). Black stone; 1.9 x .5 cm.	"	----	----	ED I
436	Kh.VI 67	Two crossed lions attacking goat and bull, the latter held by kilted figure. Light gray stone; 2.7 x 1.2 cm.	"	Surface	----	ED III
437	Kh.VI 60	Lion attacking ram; flat-capped man attacking second lion; two trees in field. Black stone; 2.6 x 1.7 cm.	"	"	----	Akk.
438	Kh.II 45*	Minor deity introducing worshiper approaches deity seated before altar and probably holding two branches. Shell; 3 x 1.4 cm.	"	----	----	"
439	Kh.VI 62	Three worshipers approaching enthroned bearded god; crescent and libra in field. Black stone; 1.7 x .9 cm.	"	Surface	----	Isin-Larsa
440	Kh.VI 17	Two pairs of indistinct figures. White translucent stone; 2 x 1.4 cm.	"	"	----	?

\*Purchased; said to be from Khafajah.



433



434



435



436



437



438



439



440

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
441	As.34:222	Broken; geometric pattern (see p. 9). Shell; 2.2 x .8 cm.	D 17:34	Earliest Shrine	Protolit. d	JN
442	As.34:214	Ancient impression on clay; geometric pattern (see p. 9). 3.1 x 2 cm.	E 17:30	Archaic Shrine I	ED I	"
443	As.34:140	Geometric pattern (see p. 9). Gray stone; 3 x .8 cm.	D 17:15	Archaic Shrine II	"	"
444	As.34:124	Geometric pattern (see p. 9). Fayence; 2 x .7 cm.	D 17:31	Archaic Shrine III	"	"
445	As.34:103	Geometric pattern (see p. 9). Pink stone; 2 x 1.1 cm.	D 17:26	"	"	"
446	As.34:104	Geometric pattern (see p. 9). Pink stone; 2.2 x .8 cm.	"	"	"	?
447	As.34:116	Goat, bird, and crosses (see pp. 9, 22, 24). Hematite; 2.8 x .8 cm.	D 16:31	Almost certainly Archaic Shrine III	"	ED I
448	As.33:715	Geometric pattern (see pp. 9, 18). Gray stone; 3.9 x 1.3 cm.	D 17:16	Archaic Shrine IV	"	JN
449	As.33:707	Geometric pattern (see p. 9). Shell; 1.2 x .4 cm.	D 17:10	"	"	?
450	As.33:708	Goat and bird (see pp. 9, 24). Shell; 1.6 x .5 cm.	"	"	"	ED I
451	As.34:62	Goat, plant, and geometric motifs (see p. 9). White stone; 3.4 x 1.1 cm.	D 17:9	"	"	JN
452	As.34:48	Geometric pattern (see p. 9). Gray stone; 3.1 x .9 cm.	Under Square Temple	"	"	?
453	As.34:102	Geometric pattern. Clay; 2.7 x .8 cm.	D 17:14	Archaic Shrine	"	?





441



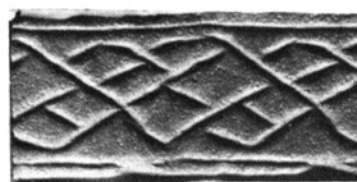
442



443



444



446



445



447



448



449



450



451

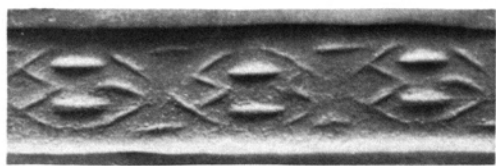


452



453

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
454	As.33:698	Geometric pattern (see p. 9). Pink stone; 1.8 x 1.4 cm.	D 17:8, in altar	Square Temple I	ED II	JN
455	As.33:699	Stag and geometric motifs (see pp. 9, 22, 24). Hematite; 3.5 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	ED I
456	As.33:666	Antithetic group of two lions attacking wounded goat, which is defended by bearded man; two "stars" in field (see pp. 9, 27, 28). Crystal; 1.5 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	"	ED II
457	As.33:663	Girdled bull-man between two bulls; human figure with tucked-up kilt; two antelope heads in field (see pp. 9, 25, 28). Serpentine; 2 x 1.5 cm.	"	"	"	"
458	As.33:677	Six interlocked lions tête-bêche (see pp. 9, 24); crescent and three dots in field. White stone; 2.6 x 2.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
459	As.34:30	Geometric pattern (see p. 9). Shell; 6.5 x 3.7 cm.	D 17:8	"	"	JN
460	As.33:248	Three recumbent animals (see pp. 9, 35). Rock crystal; 2.4 x 2 cm.	"	"	"	"
461	As.33:254	Goat, recumbent human figure, drill holes, and lines (see pp. 9, 24). Limestone; 3.4 x 2 cm.	"	"	"	?
462	As.33:270	Ram, bull, antelope, and recumbent animal (see pp. 9, 27, 35). Rock crystal; 2.8 x 2.4 cm.	"	"	"	ED II
463	As.33:454	Bull-man between two indistinct animals (see p. 9). Crystal; 1.7 x 1.3 cm.	"	"	"	"
464	As.33:380	Two bull-men attacking lion; girdled bull-man restraining two bulls; dagger, plant stalks, serpent, and bull's head in field (see pp. 9, 24-25). Shell; 2.3 x 2 cm.	"	"	"	"
465	As.34:39	Two seated figures eating or drinking on either side of stand bearing jar with drinking tubes; inverted eagle, star, and crescent in field (see pp. 6, 9, 27, 38). Alabaster; 2 x 1.6 cm.	"	"	"	"



454



455



456



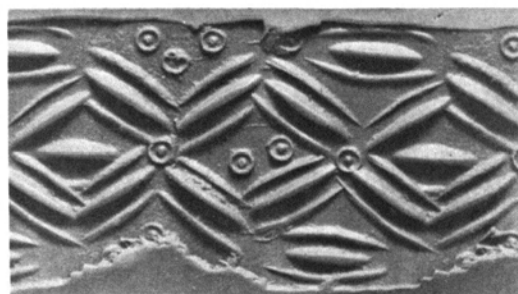
458



457



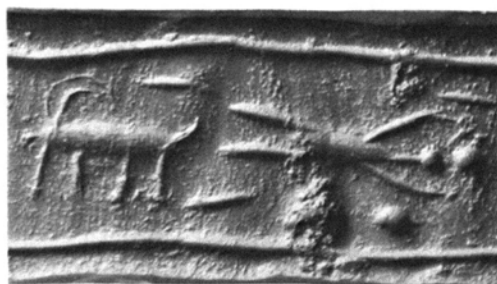
460



459



462



461



463



464



465

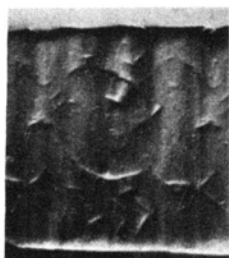
No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
466	As.34:44	Two goats and geometric motifs (see pp. 9, 22, 23). Dark green stone; 4 x .8 cm.	In west wall of Square Temple	Square Temple I	ED II	ED I
467	As.34:37	Goat and geometric motifs (see pp. 9, 22, 24). Brown translucent stone; 3.3 x 1 cm.	Beside west wall of Square Temple	"	"	"
468	As.33:205	Goat and geometric motifs (see pp. 9, 24). Hematite; 2.9 x .6 cm.	D 17:6	"	"	"
469	As.33:611	Goat and geometric motifs (see pp. 9, 22, 24). Pale green stone; 3.6 x 1 cm.	D 17:12	"	"	"
470	As.33:701	Bull-man holding ram and indefinable animal, each attacked by one of two crossed lions (see pp. 9, 24-25). Green translucent stone; 2.5 x 1.4 cm.	D 17:9	"	"	ED II
471	As.33:418	Fragment; monster, consisting of bird with spread wings and human legs, wearing tucked-up kilt and holding two animals (see pp. 9, 28). Gray-green stone; 3.5 x about 2.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
472	As.33:358	Broken; geometric pattern (see p. 9). Glazed steatite; 1.2 x 1 cm.	"	Square Temple III	"	JN
473	As.33:151	Goat, fish, bird, and geometric motifs (see pp. 9, 24). Gray stone, unperforated; 3.1 x .9 cm.	E 17:20	"	"	ED I



466



467



468



469



470



471



472



473

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
474	As.33:218	Broken; geometric pattern (see p. 9). Glazed steatite; 1.5 x 1.4 cm.	D 17:3	Single-Shrine I	ED III	JN
475	As.32:950	Two bulls tête-bêche and bird or fish (see pp. 9, 22, 24). Black limestone; 5.3 x 1 cm.	E 17:11	"	"	ED I
476	As.34:4	Indistinct design (see p. 9). Gray stone; 2 x 1 cm.	In wall above D 17:10 (34.00 m.)	"	"	ED III
477	As.34:7	Kneeling kilted bearded figure struggling with bull; lion crossing goat and devouring smaller goat; crescent and dot in field (see p. 9). Limestone; 2.3 x 1.4 cm.	"	"	"	"
478	As.32:738	Two gods spearing four-legged, seven-headed Hydra, four of whose heads hang dead and three still live and show projecting forked tongues; six tongues of flame arise from monster's back; two worshipers; star in field (see pp. 9, 37, 42). Gray stone; 3.2 x 2.2 cm.	D 17:1	Single Shrine IV	Early Agade	Akk.
479	As.32:1050	Two crossed lions attacking two goats; standing kilted figure with dagger; inverted goat head in field (see p. 9). Bone; 3.4 x 2 cm.	D 17:3	Single-Shrine, surface	"	ED III
480	As.32:1189	Three pig-tailed women squatting on couches, two spouted vases in front of each (see pp. 9, 17). Gray stone; 1.6 x 1.6 cm.	"	Single-Shrine	----	JN
481	As.32:1227	Transverse design; nude bearded figure with girdle (see pp. 9, 40). Stone; 2.9 x 1.7 cm.	North of D 17:1	"	----	ED III
482	As.32:1357	Broken; male and female cloaked figures drinking through tubes from vase; standing male figure; crescent in field (see p. 9). White translucent stone; 1.5 x 1.1 cm.	D 17:3	"	----	?



474



475



476



478



477



479



481



480



482

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
483	As.34:36	Geometric pattern. Gray stone; 1.9 x 1.4 cm.	SW corner of D 17, outside Abu Temple	31.00 m.	ED I or II	JN
484	As.34:21	Indistinct; god(?) in boat, whose prow ends in horned and bearded head; horned standing figure precedes or follows; rosette and three indistinct motifs beneath (see pp. 27, 37). Limestone; 3.1 x 1.5 cm.	"	33.50(?) m.	ED II?	ED
485	As.32:759	Two seated figures with tasseled robes drink through tubes from vase (see p. 38). Limestone; 2.9 x 1.4 cm.	D 17, north of Abu Temple	(Single-Shrine III or IV)*	Protoimp. or Early Agade	ED III
486	As.33:709	Ancient impression on clay; bull, star, and other motifs (see p. 10). 4 x 3.5 cm.	Sounding in D 15:3	25 m.	Protolit. d	?
487	As.34:10	Ancient impression on clay; reclining goat and other motifs (see pp. 9, 10, 13). 3.4 x 3.2 cm.	"	about 25 m.	"	Uruk
488	As.34:9	Geometric pattern (see pp. 9, 10). Shell; 1.5 x .7 cm.	"	"	"	JN
489	As.33:417	Human figure with tucked-up kilt holding two bulls (one tailless); two bull-men struggling with two lions; lizard and small lion in field (see pp. 9, 25, 28). Black stone; 2.9 x 2.1 cm.	"	32.50 m.	ED II?	ED II
490	As.33:97	Frieze of foreparts of goats and geometric frieze (see p. 10). Shell; 2.3 x 1.8 cm.	"	Unknown	----	?
491	As.33:83	Two crossed lions attacking two goats (see p. 10). Shell; 1.8 x .7 cm.	"	"	----	?

\*Parentheses indicate that seal was found at level of Single-Shrine III or IV but outside the temple.





483



485



484



486



487



488



489

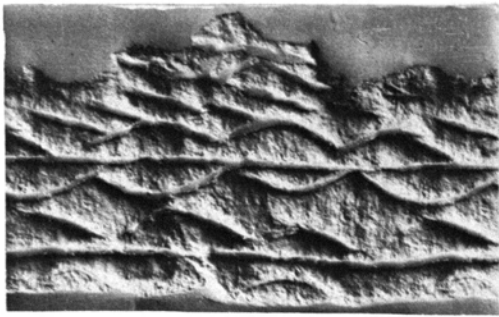


490



491

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
492	As.33:170	Broken; geometric pattern (see p. 10). Limestone; 3.5 x 1.8 cm.	E 17:9	Earlier Northern Palace	ED III	JN
493	As.32:1364	Two goats (see p. 10). Shell; 2 x .9 cm.	E 16:35	"	"	"
494	As.32:737	Seated figure and obscure objects (see pp. 10, 17). Bone; 1.4 x 1 cm.	Below E 16:16	"	"	"
495	As.32:1115	Human figure between two goats which are attacked by two great felines; indistinct figure beneath blank inscription panel (see pp. 10, 30). Shell; 3.2 x 1.6 cm.	"	"	"	ED III
496	As.32:1277	Frieze of lion and goat (see p. 10). Shell; 1.3 x .7 cm.	E 15:14	"	"	ED
497	As.32:992	Fragment of ancient impression on clay; top register: scorpions and snake; inscription; middle register: scorpions; lowest register: kneeling figure holding two severed heads of Hydra, whose other five heads are intact; quadruped and scorpions behind Hydra (see pp. 10, 37, 42, 48). About 9 x 4.5 cm.	Below E 15:1	"	"	"
498	As.32:1125	Monster with snake-tailed lions as legs (see pp. 25-26); two goats tête-bêche (see p. 10). Pink stone; 1.6 x 1 cm.	E 15:20	"	"	ED II
499	As.33:191	God in boat (see pp. 10, 36-37) whose human-shaped horned prow uses punting pole; scorpion-man (head lost) in front of god; in field, Imdugud holding goat in one claw and lion crossing bull in the other; plow, lion, and inverted goat below. Limestone; 3.2 x 2.2 cm.	E 15:19	"	"	ED III



492



493



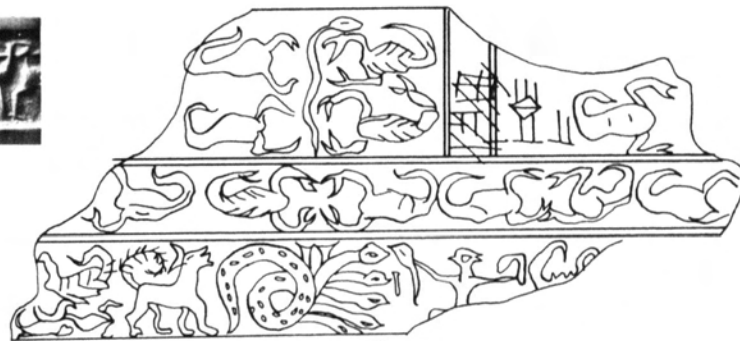
494



495



496



497



498



499

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
500	As.32:1279	Two goats (see p. 10). White stone; 2.8 x 1.3 cm.	E 14:1, east end	Northern Palace, main level	Protoimp.	JN
501	As.32:290	Lion, two goats, and branch (see p. 10). Gray stone; 1.7 x 1 cm.	E 16:20	"	"	ED
502	As.32:626	Lion attacking goat crosses human-headed bull beset by panther or lioness; scorpion beneath blank inscription panel (see pp. 10, 30). White stone; 3 x 1.7 cm.	F 15:1	"	"	ED IIIa
503	As.33:397	Two lions attacking bull, one lion crossing inverted panther and restrained by human figure; snake in field (see pp. 10, 29). Shell; 2.7 x 1.3 cm.	E 16:20	"	"	ED III
504	As.31:476	Seated kilted figure receiving goat from standing figure, bundle of reeds separating figures; crescent and star in field (see pp. 10, 39). Shell; 2.7 x 1.4 cm.	E 14:7	"	"	"
505	As.32:625	Winged gate above standing bull whose halter is held by seated deity; attendant behind deity; another figure behind bull (see pp. 10, 44). Limestone; 4.5 x 2.6 cm.	F 17:6, fill	36.00 m.	----	Akk.



500



501



502



503



504



505

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
506	As.33:178	Two crossed lions, another animal, and human figure; remainder indistinct (see p. 30). Shell; 2.5 x 1.2 cm.	E 17:21	33.00 m.	ED III or Protoimp.	ED III
507	As.31:5	Crossed lions attacking two goats; standing human figure. Black stone; 3 cm. high.	Sounding in D 14	About 33:26 m.	----	"
508	As.32:1333	Crossed lions attacking two goats; one goat attacked by third lion, which is assaulted by kilted figure with dagger and indistinct object; serpent in field. Bone; 2.6 x 1.5 cm.	"	34.00 m.	----	"
509	As.32:1162	Indistinct design. Black stone; 1.7 x .8 cm.	E 17	"	----	?
510	As.32:413	Two lions flanking two animals; geometric fill. Shell; 2.7 x 1.2 cm.	"	36.25 m.	----	Akk.
511	As.32:495	Clean-shaven kilted priest introducing bearded kilted worshiper to god wearing horned crown and seated in front of shrine (see pp. 28, 39). Stone; 2 x 1.5 cm.	E 17:9	Outside Northern Palace, 35.00 m.	Protoimp.(?)	ED
512	As.32:542	Lion crossed by goat attacks bull which is also attacked by panther or lion; lizard in field. Shell; 2.7 x 1.3 cm.	"	Outside Northern Palace, 35.50 m.	"	ED III
513	As.32:840	Ancient impression on clay cone, damaged; upper register: god in boat (partly lost); lower register: building of ziggurat (see pp. 36, 40).	F 15:9	Street outside Northern Palace, 35.00 m.	Protoimp.	"
514	As. 32:420	Elamite frieze: horned figure between two double-fore-quartered animals (see p. 33). Clay; 2.4 x 1.1 cm.	D 16:7	Outside Northern Palace, 36.00 m.	Protoimp.(?)	Elamite



506



507



508



509



510



511



512



513



514

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
515	As.32:133	Two crossed lions attacking two stags; human figure beneath crescent holding two goats (see p. 10). Stone; 3.8 x 2.2 cm.	Below F 17:4	36.25 m. (gray layer)	Early Agade	ED III
516	As.32:50	God in boat whose prow is bearded man using punting pole, stern ending in vegetal motif; god following boat apparently carries plants or branches in both hands; human-headed lion, plow, and vase (drill hole) in field (see pp. 10, 41). Shell; 3.2 x 2 cm.	"	36.90 m. (gray layer)	"	Akk.
517	As.33:103	Ancient impression on clay: inscription (same as that of No. 649) flanked by nude hero and bull-man struggling with lion (see pp. 10, 48). About 4 x 3.5 cm.	G 18:7	Gray layer	"	"
518	As.31:585	Geometric pattern (see p. 10). Fayence; 2.7 cm. high.	F 16:3	Houses above Northern Palace	----	JN
519	As.32:46	Flat-capped figure destroying bird of prey; sun-god followed by bareheaded human worshiper with battle-ax; battle-ax and eight-pointed star in field (see pp. 10, 41, 43). Gray stone; 3 x 1.9 cm.	F 17:4	"	----	Akk.
520	As.31:681	Deity enthroned before offering-stand receives three worshipers; crescent, drill hole, and two maces in field (see pp. 10, 45). Shell; 3 cm. high.	"	"	----	"
521	As.31:2	Frieze of crossed and fighting animals and human figure above row of goat and bull heads (see p. 10). Limestone; 3 cm. high.	Robbers' hole (E 16:1)	"	----	ED III
522	As.31:3	Enthroned deity holding cup receives worshiper introduced by interceding goddess; snake, crescent, eight-pointed star, and fish in field (see p. 10). Black stone; 1.5 cm. high.	"	"	----	Isin-Larsa
523	As.32:1004	Four "spider" motifs (see p. 17). Red stone; 2 x 1.8 cm.	East of F 15:9	Surface	----	JN
524	As.32:455	Imdugud with goat and scorpion on right, lion and goat on left (see p. 30); poorly rendered scorpion beneath blank inscription panel. Shell; 2 x 1.3 cm.	West of D 15:2	"	----	ED III
525	As.31:562	Broken; indistinct design. Stone; 1.6 cm. high.	F 17	"	----	?





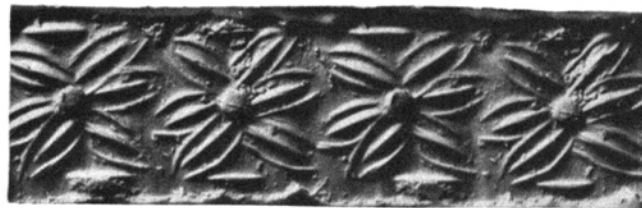
515



516



517



518



519



520



521



524



522



523



525

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
526	As.32:1049	Two goats. Limestone; 1.4 x .9 cm.	Northern Palace dump	Unknown	----	JN
527	As.33:115	Four goats, two of which are upside down (see p. 24). Black stone; 3.2 x .7 cm.	"	"	----	ED I
528	As.32:1166	Two crossed lions attacking two goats, one goat also attacked by kilted figure holding dagger in right hand and indistinct object in left; snake in field. Limestone; 2.7 x 1.6 cm.	"	"	----	ED III
529	As.32:708	Two crossed lions attacking two goats; blank inscription panel. Shell; 2.6 x 1 cm.	"	"	----	"
530	As.32:362	Three male figures carrying sticks or scimitars approach seated figure. Fayence; 1.7 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	----	Akk.(?)
531	As.31:262	Standing figure facing seated figure; indistinct objects in field. Stone; 2.5 cm. high.	"	"	----	Isin-Larsa
532	As.32:770	Geometric pattern. Limestone; 1.6 x .9 cm.	"	"	----	?
533	As.32:670	Broken; figure seated in front of tree takes food from table; standing attendant. Shell; 2.1 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	----	?
534	As.32:1111	Asymmetrical group of bird of prey holding goat in each talon. Shell; 1.4 x .8 cm.	"	"	----	?
535	As.34:91	Transverse design (see p. 40); nude bearded figure holding snake in either hand. Gray stone; 1.5 x .8 cm.	Older town wall	----	ED?	ED
536	As.34:118	Kneeling kilted male figure and two crossed lions; star in field. Hematite; 2.6 x 1.3 cm.	"	----	"	?
537	As.34:117	Broken; two crossed lions attacking two goats; crescent and indistinct object in field. White stone; 1.6 x 1.1 cm.	Larsa town wall	----	Larsa	ED
538	As.34:82	Broken; introduction of two worshipers, one carrying bucket, by minor deity to seated god (see p. 45); branch or plant in field. Hematite; 3.4 x 2 cm.	Inside Larsa town wall	----	"	Akk.
539	As.34:125	Introduction of worshiper to standing figure holding cup; lizard, libra, star, and crescent in field. Clay; 1.7 x 1 cm.	Larsa town wall	----	"	Isin-Larsa



526



527



528



530



531



529



532



533



534



536



535



537



538

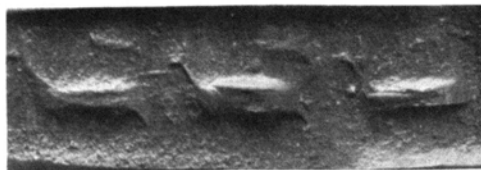


539

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
540	As.34:239	Broken; geometric pattern (see pp. 9, 10). Limestone; 1.7 x 1.1 cm.	Sounding in H 18:14	24-23 m.	Protolit. d	JN
541	As.34:229	Three goats (see p. 10). Gray-green stone; 2 x 2 cm.	"	25-24 m.	"	"
542	As.33:217	Three squatting pigtailed women, each in panel (see pp. 10, 17). Gray stone; 1.9 x 2 cm.	"	33 m.	ED II or III	"
543	As.33:237	Two crossed lions attacking two goats, one goat beset by another lion; snake in field (see p. 10). Black stone; 2.8 x 1.6 cm.	"	34 m.	"	ED
544	As.32:1354	Broken; four squatting pigtailed women (see pp. 10, 17). Stone; 2.2 x 1.3 cm.	J 19:62	Houses Vc	ED III	JN
545	As.33:312	Two seated figures, possibly in boat, drinking through tubes from pot (see pp. 37, 38). Clay; 2.9 x 1.6 cm.	J 20:40	"	"	ED
546	As.33:232	Ancient impression on clay; upper register: remains of seated and standing figures; lower register: three figures preceding chariot drawn by onager. About 3 x 4.3 cm.	J 19:41	"	"	"
547	As.33:167	Disintegrated design; upper register: two seated figures drinking through tubes from vase on stand; lower register: indistinct. Baked clay; 4 x 1.5 cm.	J 19:27	"	"	"
548	As.33:186	Disintegrated rendering of seated figures drinking through tubes. Black stone; 2.1 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	ED III
549	As.33:321	Lion, crossed by human-headed bull held by man, attacks goat; star and snake(?) in field (see p. 29). Limestone; 2.7 x 1.4 cm.	H 20:47	"	"	"
550	As.32:1209	Figure with battle-ax attacking bull(?); long-haired figure holding goat attacked by lion whose tail is held in right hand of bull-man who holds second goat in left hand. Black stone; 2.1 x 1.4 cm.	NE corner of J 19	Houses Vc?	"	"
551	As.33:193	Upper register: god in boat followed by figure; quadruped, drill holes, and indistinct objects; lower register: building of ziggurat; enthroned horned deity appraising brick; two figures adding to three-story structure, two others bringing material (see pp. 36, 40). Shell; 3.1 x 1.5 cm.	SW corner of H 20	"	"	"
552	As.32:1031	Two goats and tree (see p. 10). Gray stone; 1.7 x 1 cm.	Under G 20:2	Houses Vb	"	?
553	As.33:204	Two crossed lions attacking two goats; scorpion and plant-like motif in field. Shell; 2.4 x 1.5 cm.	J 19:27	"	"	ED III
554	As.33:168	Muddled design of two crossed lions attacking two goats; scorpion beneath blank inscription panel. Greenish translucent stone; 3.1 x 1.9 cm.	H 20:38	"	"	"



540



541



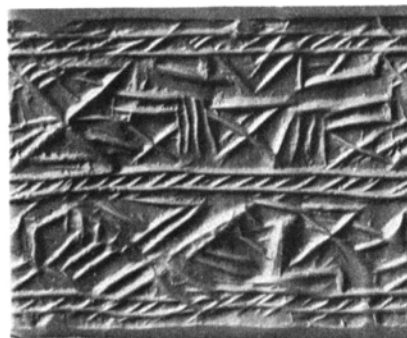
542



543



544



547



545



546



548



549



551



550



552



553



554

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
555	As.32:656	Three goats (see p. 10). Shell; 2 x 1 cm.	K 20:17	Houses Va	Protoimp.	JN
556	As.33:88	Two goats (see p. 10). Clay; 1 x 1 cm.	K 20:40	"	"	"
557	As.33:45	Indistinct; four fighting figures. Alabaster; 2.5 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	ED
558	As.33:46	Indistinct; bald-headed man between two double-forequartered animals (see p. 33). Frit; 2 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	Elamite
559	As.32:934	Ritual marriage (see p. 38); two figures lying on couch, scorpion beneath couch, standing figure beside couch; vase with drinking tubes, crescent, and five drill holes in field. Limestone; 2 x 1.2 cm.	H 19:3	"	"	ED
560	As.32:144	Inverted goat attacked by rampant and passant lions. Shell; 1.6 x .9 cm.	H 20:8	"	"	"
561	As.32:1384	Human figure holding two goats attacked by two lions, tail of one lion held by another human figure; branchlike motif in field. White stone; 2.3 x 1.4 cm.	H 20:12	"	"	"
562	As.32:960	Two crossed lions attacking two goats. Shell; 3.3 x 1.6 cm.	K 21:11	"	"	"
563	As.33:4	Scorpion, goat, fish, and obscure animal upside down (see pp. 10, 23). Black stone; 4.5 x 1 cm.	H 20:6	"	"	ED I
564	As.32:988	Antithetic group of two animals with indistinct object between them (see pp. 10, 27). Bone; 1.7 x 1.1 cm.	J 20:1	"	"	ED II
565	As.32:1235	Two crossed lions attacking two goats; standing kilted figure. Limestone; 2.9 x 1.8 cm.	J 19:52	"	"	ED III
566	As.33:187	Imdugud with crossed bull and goat (see p. 30). Shell; 2.3 x 1.2 cm.	J 20:27	"	"	"
567	As.31:161	Elamite frieze: double-forequartered animal, ram, and long-haired male figure (see p. 33). Fayence(?); 2.1 cm. high.	G 20:2	"	"	Elamite
568	As.33:7	Naked figure, holding snake and club, followed by two kilted figures; scorpion in field (see p. 10). Alabaster; 1.5 x 1 cm.	J 20:25	"	"	?
569	As.32:1040	Indistinct; four standing robed figures (see p. 10). Limestone; 2 x 1 cm.	H 20:17	"	"	?
570	As.32:1028	Enthroned deity receiving two worshipers, one carrying sacrificial kid (see p. 10). Shell; 2.9 x 1.6 cm.	H 20:18	"	"	?
571	As.33:5	Human figure with bull; another animal and tree (see pp. 8, 10). Clay, unperforated; 2.5 x 1.5 cm.	K 20:27	"	"	?



555



556



557



558



559



560



561



563



562



565



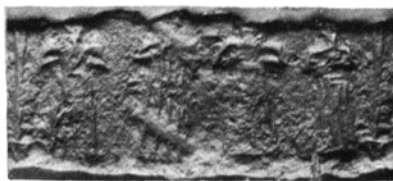
564



566



568



569



567



570



571

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
572	As.32:1120	Geometric pattern (see p. 10). Alabaster; 3 x 1.8 cm.	J 19:40	Houses IVb	Early Agade	JN
573	As.33:114	Geometric pattern (see p. 10). Glazed steatite; 2.1 x 1.4 cm.	J 21:23	"	"	"
574	As.32:795	Indistinct; frieze of animals (see p. 10). Shell; 2.9 x 1.4 cm.	J 20:25	"	"	ED III
575	As.32:18	Indistinct frieze of animals and human figures; fill of lines and drill holes (see p. 10). Shell; 4.2 x 2.2 cm.	South of G 19:14	"	"	"
576	As.32:822	Two crossed human-headed bulls attacked by two lions, one lion restrained by bearded kilted figure (see pp. 10, 29); blank inscription panel. Stone; 3.5 x 2 cm.	J 19:47	"	"	"
577	As.32:821	Enthroned god (Ningishzida; see pp. 42,45) flanked by two snakes receives two worshipers introduced by minor deity carrying staff; one worshiper carries sacrificial kid, the other a bucket; scorpion and star in field. Shell; 3.6 x 2.2 cm.	"	"	"	Akk.
578	As.32:823	Indistinct; two seated figures drinking through tubes from pot (see p. 45); crescent in field. Shell; 3 x 1.5 cm.	"	"	"	"
579	As.31:852	God with horned crown subdues animal attacked by lion which appears behind bush (see p. 44); crescent in field. Shell; 2.9 cm. high.	G 18:15	"	"	"





572



573



574



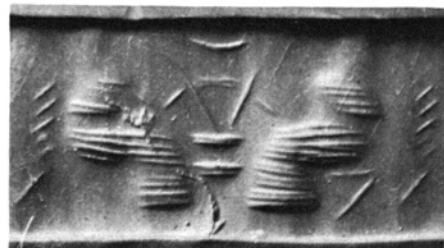
575



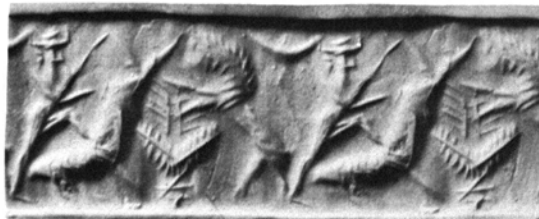
576



577



578



579

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
580	As.31:640	Bird-man holding gatepost emblem is brought captive by god to Ea (characterized by streams of water and five fishes) and announced by two-faced attendant Usmu (see p. 43). Gray stone; 3.2 cm. high.	G 18:11	Houses IVb	Early Agade	Akk.
581	As.31:636	Lion attacking bull; second lion and bull-man attacking bison (see p. 32). Stone; 3.3 x 2.3 cm.	"	"	"	"
582	As.32:1276	Ea enthroned; antithetic group of two girdled attendants each holding flowing vase (see p. 43); crescent in field. Black stone; 2.5 x 1.4 cm.	H 18:27	"	"	"
583	As.32:1236	Winged gate above recumbent bull which is held by seated goddess; kneeling flat-capped girdled attendant holds gate (see p. 44). Shell; 3.3 x 1.5 cm.	"	"	"	"
584	As.32:1229	Winged gate above bull which is held by seated goddess (see p. 44); tree in field. Hematite; 2.2 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"
585	As.31:276	God of fertility enthroned in front of date palm receives libation from robed worshiper (see p. 42); crescent in field. Black stone; 2.5 cm. high.	H 21	"	"	"
586	As.32:31	Male and female seated figures with servant, probably female, standing between them (see p. 45); crescent in field. Hematite; 2.6 x 1.4 cm.	West of F 19:5	"	"	"
587	As.32:3	Two seated figures drinking through tubes from jar placed on stand (see p. 45); indistinct palm tree and animals. Shell; 4.3 x 2.2 cm.	G 18:7	"	"	"
588	As.31:854	Shamash rising on eastern mountains (see p. 40); two bare-headed attendants open gates; standard-like motif in field. Shell; 3.2 cm. high.	"	"	"	"



580



581



582



583



584



585



586



587



588

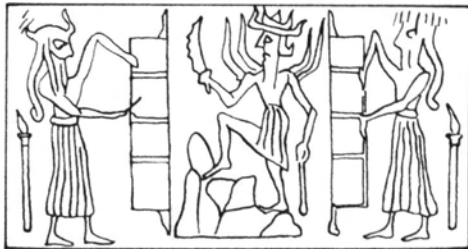
No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
589	As.32:646	Two worshipers approach snake-god (see p. 42), who is shown holding his tail; fire altar between them and him; plant and eight-pointed star in field. Black stone; 2.2 x 1.2 cm.	J 19:37	Houses IVb	Early Agade	Akk.
590	As.32:562	Nude god, identified by snake coil (see p. 42), subjecting adversary; blank inscription panel. Brown and gray mottled stone; 2.9 x 1.6 cm.	K 19:19	"	"	"
591	As.32:1122	Ancient impression on clay; Shamash rising on eastern mountains holds saw and mace (see p. 40); two crowned long-haired attendants open gates; mace(?) in field. 8 x 3.5 cm.	J 19:48	"	"	"
592	As.32:711a	Ancient impression on clay; minor god introducing two worshipers, the second of whom is female and carries a bucket, to god holding cup and enthroned before fire altar; two entwined snakes behind god (see p. 42), another snake above head of female worshiper; crescent in field. 2.5 x 2 cm.	"	"	"	"
593	As.32:711b	Ancient impression on clay; minor god carrying mace introduces worshiper carrying kid to god characterized by two snakes projecting from his legs; he holds cup and is attended by god with mace; crescent and dagger in field; snake coil beneath inscription (see pp. 42, 48). 2.4 x 2.8 cm.	"	"	"	"
594	As.32:961	Indistinct design including standing figure, bird, tree, and crescent. Alabaster; 2.1 x 1 cm.	J 18:20	"	"	?
595	As.32:1121	Three winged figures; blank inscription panel. Light brown stone; 1.9 x 1 cm.	Middle Road (outside J 20:10)	"	"	?
596	As.32:1101	Elamite frieze: human figure, antelope, and indistinct animal; tree and crescent in field (see p. 33). Frit; 2 x 1.2 cm.	H 19:33	"	"	Elamite
597	As.31:227	Elamite frieze: double-forequartered antelope and two other animals (see p. 33). Frit; 2.3 x 1.3 cm.	SW corner of G 19	Houses IVb?	Agade	"



589



590



591



592



593



594



595



596



597

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
598	As.31:25	God seated in boat on bird-shaped throne holds plow; prow in form of human figure uses punting pole; figure squatting in stern holds steering oar; outside boat, quadruped (dragon?) perhaps held on leash by standing figure; indistinct objects and crescent above (see p. 41). Black stone; 3 x 1.7 cm.	G 19:2	Houses IVb or a	Agade	Akk.
599	As.31:218	Elamite frieze of animal heads (see p. 33). Stone; 1.5 cm. high.	"	"	"	Elamite
600	As.33:522	Male worshiper carrying sacrificial kid and female worshiper carrying bucket introduced by minor deity to Ea (see p. 43); battle-ax in field. Hematite; 2.4 x 1.4 cm.	Above K 21:1	Surface (Houses IVb or a)	"	Akk.
601	As.33:520	Naked bearded man between two goats which are attacked by two lions (see p. 32); standard-like motif in field. Dark green mottled stone; 3 x 1.9 cm.	"	"	"	"
602	As.33:521	Two nude girdled deities destroy bird of prey which is damaging tree (see p. 43); right-hand god wears horned crown and holds mace; other god erased a good deal through wear, his weapon not clear; nude girdled figure subjects bull-man. Hematite; 3 x 1.7 cm.	"	"	"	"
603	As.31:284	Broken; geometric pattern (see p. 10). Gray stone; 3 cm. high.	G 19:4	Houses IVa	Late Agade	JN
604	As.31:32	Two crossed lions attacking two goats held by eagle (see p. 10). Shell; 2.7 cm. high.	"	"	"	ED III
605	As.31:282	Two flat-capped seated figures, possibly holding cups, with standing figure between them (see p. 45); crescent in field. Shell; 2.9 cm. high.	"	"	"	Akk.
606	As.31:31	Snake-god (see p. 42), holding cup, receives worshiper carrying bucket and apparently introduced by deity; crescent and mace in field. Shell; 3.8 cm. high.	"	"	"	"
607	As.31:281	Snake-god (see p. 42) facing seated goddess, both holding plants, attendant between them; tree behind god. Shell; 3 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
608	As.32:678	Goat, fish, and geometric motifs (see p. 23). Gray stone; 4.2 x 1.3 cm.	K 19:10	"	"	JN or ED I
609	As.32:560	Ea enthroned receiving four gods, the second carrying plow; inscription (see pp. 33, 43, 49). Black stone; 3.7 x 2.3 cm.	"	"	"	Akk.
610	As.32:596	Lion attacking goat passant. Shell; 1.6 x .7 cm.	"	"	"	"



598



599



600



601



602



603



604



605



606



607



608



609



610

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
611	As.32:598	Long-haired bearded god of fertility (see p. 41) holding stalks of grain in each hand, while other stalks spring from left shoulder; on his robe and in the field at either side are pairs of stalks; goddess of fertility (unfinished), holding plants in each hand, in front of him; two indistinct figures and personage (unfinished) with trailing robe (or lion skin) behind him. Shell; 4 x 2.4 cm.	K 19:10	Houses IVa	Late Agade	Akk.
612	As.32:597	Two seated figures drinking through tubes from jar (see p. 45); crescent and tree in field. Black stone; 2.1 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
613	As.32:604	Two flat-capped figures drinking through tubes from jar (see pp. 6, 45); crescent and tree in field. Shell; 3.2 x 1.5 cm.	"	"	"	"
614	As.32:605	Seated deity (see p. 45) receiving two figures with horned crowns; crescent in field. Shell; 3.4 x 1.8 cm.	"	"	"	"
615	As.32:602	Two seated figures with attendant standing between them (see p. 45); crescent in field. Shell; 3.5 x 1.6 cm.	"	"	"	"
616	As.32:601	Snake-god (see p. 42) and unidentifiable deity sit facing fire altar; crescent, eight-pointed star, and standard-like motif in field. Shell; 3.5 x 2 cm.	"	"	"	"
617	As.32:594	Shamash, enthroned and holding saw and mace, receives three gods introduced by minor deity with simple crown and long hair (see p. 41). Green stone; 3.4 x 1.9 cm.	"	"	"	"
618	As.32:603	Shamash, holding saw and accompanied by small attendant, receives three other gods (see p. 41). Shell; 3.2 x 1.8 cm.	"	"	"	"





611



612



613



614



615



616



617



618

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
619	As.32:593	Captive bird-man brought to Ea and announced by two-faced attendant Usmu, another god following; eight-pointed star, five fishes, and standard-like motif in field (see pp. 33, 43). Black stone; 3.4 x 2 cm.	K 19:10	Houses IVa	Late Agade	Akk.
620	As.32:595	Two seated figures holding cups (see p. 45); two female attendants; crescent in field. Shell; 3.5 x 1.8 cm.	"	"	"	"
621	As.32:600	Sun-god in his boat holds steering oar; anthropomorphic prow, with long-haired crowned figure using punting pole, and snake-head stern; human-headed lion in boat, tied to prow; above lion, plow, vase with spout and handle, and two unrecognizable objects, one of which is perhaps a bag of seed; outside boat, goddess of vegetation, characterized by ears of grain growing from shoulder and robe, holds flowering branch; fishes and zigzags meaning water below (see pp. 33, 36, 41). Shell; 3.7 x 2.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
622	As.32:599	Long-haired girdled bull-man subduing ibex; flat-capped nude bearded man subduing human-headed bull; lion struggling with another human-headed bull; plant and eight-pointed star in field (see pp. 31-32). Shell; 3.6 x 2 cm.	"	"	"	"
623	As.32:591	Bearded girdled figure subduing bull attacked by lion; similar figure subduing human-headed bull; small kilted figure beneath blank inscription panel (see pp. 31-32). Shell; 3.5 x 1.9 cm.	"	"	"	"
624	As.32:592	Eagle in center of antithetic group of two bulls attacked by lion and man respectively; trees and lizard in field (see pp. 31-32). Shell; 3.5 x 2 cm.	"	"	"	"



619



620



621



622

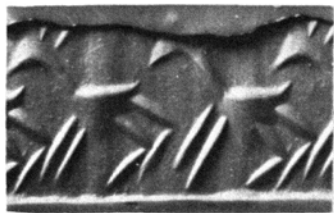


623



624

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
625	As.32:750	Broken; two goats (see pp. 10, 24). Black stone; 2.2 x 1.2 cm.	J 20:5	Houses IVa	Late Agade	ED I
626	As.31:277	Bareheaded kilted figure holding cup and seated in front of building; one worshiper; mace in field (see pp. 10, 39). Gray stone; 2.3 x 1.2 cm.	G 19:5	"	"	ED
627	As.31:205	Fragment; Shamash rising on eastern mountains (see p. 40). Black stone; 2 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	Akk.
628	As.31:201	Seated deity, apparently female, holding cup and receiving three worshipers (see p. 45). Black stone; 1.7 x .9 cm.	"	"	"	"
629	As.31:202	Elamite frieze: double-forequartered animal, bald-headed man, and goat (see p. 33). Black stone; 2.1 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	Elamite
630	As.31:302	Human figure and two animals, one rampant and one passant. Gray stone; 1.8 cm. high.	"	"	"	Elamite?
631	As.32:354	Two crossed lions attacking two goats; scorpion in field (see p. 10). Gray stone; 2.2 x .9 cm.	J 18:1	"	"	ED
632	As.32:412	At left, god with flames emerging from his body subdues kneeling god; at right, another god cutting throat of deity collapsing on mountain (see p. 44). Black stone; 2.2 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	Akk.
633	As.31:688	Two lions attacking inverted goat, one lion restrained by figure with fringed kilt (see p. 30) and dagger; plant in field (see p. 10). Shell; 2.1 x 1 cm.	East Street (H 18)	"	"	ED III
634	As.31:580	Two standing gods fighting each other; another god holding kneeling antagonist by the beard while preparing to strike with mace; inscription (see pp. 44, 49). Green stone; 1.8 x .9 cm.	H 18	"	"	Akk.
635	As.32:1237	Two lions attacking two indistinct animals. Shell; 2.4 x 1 cm.	H 19:25	"	"	ED or Akk.
636	As.32:1234	Shamash rising on eastern mountains; minor deity introducing two worshipers, the female carrying a bucket; two maces in field (see p. 41). Shell; 3.1 x 1.6 cm.	"	"	"	Akk.
637	As.32:1231	Seated goddess holding two plants or ears of grain while another grows from her shoulder; before her are a bull above a plant motif and a kneeling figure holding possibly rope of winged gate (not depicted; see p. 44); eight-pointed star in field. Shell; 2.8 x 1.5 cm.	"	"	"	"
638	As.32:1232	Snake-god (see p. 42) and seated male deity flanking fire altar; star in field. Shell; 2.5 x 1.4 cm.	"	"	"	"
639	As.32:1233	Seated male figure holding cup, with standing attendant; seated female figure holding cup, with one male and one female attendant (see p. 45). Black stone; 3.6 x 2.3 cm.	"	"	"	"
640	As.32:1230	Upper register: four figures facing right, the second certainly female; lower register: four apparently male figures, last carrying bucket. Shell; 3.9 x 1.3 cm.	"	"	"	"
641	As.31:668	Eagle between two recumbent antithetic goats; lizard, star, and obscure object in field. Black stone; 3.5 cm. high.	G 18:2	"	"	ED or Akk.



625



626



629



630



627



628



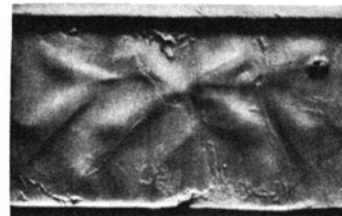
631



632



633



635



634



636



637



638



639



640



641

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
642	As.31:22	Elephant, rhinoceros, and gavia or Indian crocodile (see also Pl. 2 aa). Glazed steatite; 3.4 cm. high; imported from Indus Valley (see pp. 45-46 and OIC No. 16, pp. 47-53).	F 19:2	Houses IVa	Late Agade	Indian
643	As.31:279	Winged gate above recumbent bull flanked by two kneeling figures holding gate (see p. 44); crescent in field. Shell; 3.1 x 1.7 cm.	G 18:1	"	"	Akk.
644	As.31:532	Enthroned god (see p. 45) receiving two gods and two worshippers; second figure of the four apparently a woman, perhaps carrying bucket; the last, led by one of the gods, carries sacrificial kid. Lapis lazuli capped with silver; 1.9* x 1 cm.	G 18:4, part of hoard in pot As.31:33	"	"	"
645	As.31:618	Bull-man fighting lions; flat-capped bearded man fighting indistinct animal; bareheaded man fighting second indistinct animal. Shell; 3.1 x 1.6 cm.	G 18:6	"	"	"
646	As.31:852	Man between two goats, one attacked by lion restrained by another man (see p. 32). Black stone; 2.4 x 1.4 cm.	G 18:7	"	"	"
647	As.31:853	Shamash rising on eastern mountains, while another god presents to him a kneeling god (see p. 41). Black stone; 2.4 cm. high.	"	"	"	"
648	As.31:851	Goddess holding cup sits in shrine being opened by attendant (see p. 44). Shell; 2.5 x 1.3 cm.	"	"	"	"
649	As.33:104	Ancient impression on clay; god (perhaps Tishpak; see p. 42) enthroned on dragon before fire altar; minor deity introducing worshiper; inscription (same as that of No. 517; see pp. 48-49). 4.5 x 4.5 cm.	"	"	"	"
650	As.31:142	Shamash rising on eastern mountains; two bare-headed attendants open gates; inscription (see pp. 40, 49). Black stone; 2.8 x 1.6 cm.	G 19:6	"	"	"
651	As.31:30	Damaged; only two figures distinguishable. Shell; 3.2 cm. high.	"	"	"	Akk.(?)
652	As.31:220	Worshiper facing deity (almost obliterated) seated before altar and in front of shrine; crescent in field. Shell; 3.1 x 1.6 cm.	G 19:7	"	"	Akk.
653	As.31:811	Two nude girdled figures with flat caps holding two human-headed bulls; crescent and tree in field (see p. 31). Porphyry; 4 cm. high.	"	"	"	"

\*Without caps.



642



643



644



645



646



647



649



648



650



651



652



653

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
654	As.31:660	Two gods plowing; one holding plow, the other driving span (consisting of snakelike dragon and lion) with left hand, which either holds or is shaped like a scorpion; bird, eight-pointed star, and crescent in field; inscription (see p. 49). Stone; 2.3 x 2.1 cm.	H 18:4, in pot below floor	Houses IVa	Late Agade	Akk.
655	As.31:663	Captive bird-man brought to Ea and introduced by two-faced attendant Usmu (see p. 43); two fish along stream issuing from Ea; six-pointed star in field. Black stone; 2.3 x 1.4 cm.	"	"	"	"
656	As.31:649	Two crossed lions attacking bull and ram which are held by human figure (see p. 32). Shell; 2.6 x 1.5 cm.	H 18:4	"	"	"
657	As.31:664	Etana mounted on eagle's back above sheepfold; herd and two shepherds; cheeses drying(?) and two attendants above (see pp. 44-45). Black stone; 2.6 cm. high.	"	"	"	"
658	As.32:174	Goatherd spearing lion to protect herd (see p. 45); sheep dog shown above; plant, snake, and possibly crescent (behind dog) in field. Light gray stone; 2.4 x 1.3 cm.	H 19:30	"	"	"
659	As.32:132	Snake-god (see p. 42) between two trees holds mace or battle-ax and receives worshiper carrying bucket. Black stone; 2.8 x 1.6 cm.	H 19:34	"	"	"
660	As.32:122	Indistinct; seated god with attendant receives three figures (see p. 45). Shell; 3.5 x 1.9 cm.	"	"	"	"
661	As.32:125	Man holding plow (see p. 45); ox; plants. Gray stone; 2.1 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	Akk.(?)
662	As.32:200	Enthroned god holding mace receives two deities, male and female, introducing worshiper carrying sacrificial kid; male deity has stick or mace, female holds worshiper by hand; crescent, star, standard-like motif, and enigmatic object in field (see p. 45). Black stone; 3 x 1.7 cm.	J 18:2	"	"	Akk.
663	As.32:651	Two kilted men with turbans subduing two water buffaloes, one rampant and one inverted (see p. 32). Shell; 3 x 1.6 cm.	J 18:13	"	"	"
664	As.32:561	Enthroned god receiving three figures; crescent, tree, and geometric motifs in field (see p. 45). Black stone; 2.8 x 1.6 cm.	J 19:2	"	"	"
665	As.32:84	Two figures destroying bird of prey (see p. 43); tree and star in field. Black stone; 1.8 x 1 cm.	J 19:21	"	"	"
666	As.32:816	Ancient impression on clay; Etana mounting heavenward on eagle's back (see pp. 44-45); two dogs looking up; part of frieze with bull-man; two gods fighting each other; dagger in field. 4.7 x 3 cm.	J 20:6	"	"	"
667	As.32:842	Human figure between two goats, each attacked by lion; standard-like motif in field. Gray stone; 3 x 1.5 cm.	J 20:11	"	"	"





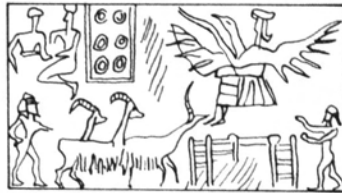
654



655



656



657



658



659



660



661



662



663



664



665



666



667

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
668	As.32:523	Bull-man subduing lion (see p. 32); nude hero subduing water buffalo; blank inscription panel. Stone; 3.1 x 1.9 cm.	J 21:1	Houses IVa	Late Agade	Akk.
669	As.32:522	Adoration of seated goddess (see pp. 42, 45): fertility god carrying plant introduces nude worshiper followed by female worshiper carrying bucket; crescent, star, and mace in field. Shell; 3.1 x 1.9 cm.	"	"	"	"
670	As.33:113	Bull-man attacking lion; nude girdled hero subduing water buffalo; battle-ax, eight-pointed star, and antelope in field; blank inscription panel (see p. 32). Hematite; 3.5 x 2.5 cm.	J 21:3	"	"	"
671	As.32:843	Long-haired bull-man subduing lion; kilted hero subduing water buffalo (see p. 31). Gray mottled stone; 2.9 x 1.6 cm.	K 20:1	"	"	"
672	As.32:952	Two standing figures fighting each other; another standing figure dispatching kneeling figure. Shell; 1.6 x .9 cm.	SW of K 20:4	"	"	"
673	As.32:781	Indistinct; seated deity receiving three figures (see p. 45). Alabaster; 2.8 x 1.6 cm.	South of K 20:6	"	"	"
674	As.32:563	Fragment; Ishtar on throne whose side is decorated with panel of two crossed lions, maces and scimitars projecting from her shoulders: inscription (see p. 49). Lapis lazuli; 3 x 1 cm.	J 19:11	"	"	Akk.(?)
675	As.32:1200	Ancient impression on clay; lion and ass seated, drinking through tubes from jar; nude figure in field. 4 x 7 cm.	J 20:16	"	"	"
676	As.32:249	Man driving goat, preceded or followed by another figure; indistinct object in field (see pp. 33, 45). Black stone; 1.9 x 1.1 cm.	East of J 18:7	"	"	Guti?
677	As.32:201	Shamash rising on eastern mountains holds saw; uncrowned figure introducing worshiper (see pp. 33, 41). Black stone; 2.4 x 1.5 cm.	J 18:20	"	"	"
678	As.32:1370	Fragment; two figures seated back to back, one holding cup; standing figure carrying bucket; bird and geometric motif in field (see p. 8). Steatite; 5.3 x 2.6 cm.	H 18:22	"	"	?
679	As.31:278	Badly weathered; man driving ox toward seated horned figure in flounced robe, holding weapon in one hand, the animal's horn in other (see p. 10). Gray stone; 3.4 cm. high.	SW corner of G 19	Houses IVa?	Agade	Akk.
680	As.31:217	Antithetic group of two goats attacked by two lions (see p. 10). Frit; 1.6 x .8 cm.	"	"	"	"
681	As.31:275	Broken; flat-capped standing figure and fire altar on dais; inscription (see pp. 10, 49). Gray stone; 3.5 cm. high.	"	"	"	"
682	As.32:355	Human figure between two animals, one attacked by lion (see p. 10). Gray stone; 1.6 x .8 cm.	East of H 18:30	"	"	"



668



669



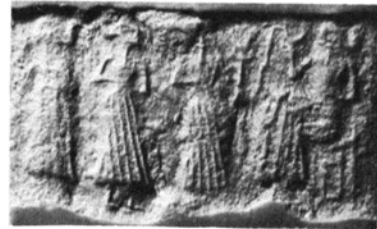
670



671



672



673



674



675



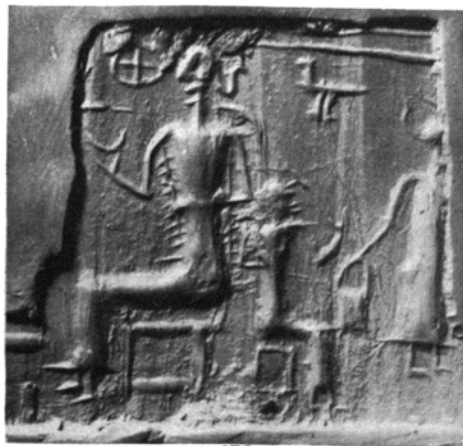
676



677



679



678



681



680



682

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
683	As.32:276	Eagle holding gazelle in either talon; tree (see pp. 10, 30). Black stone; 2 cm. high.	K 19:3	Houses III	Gutium-Ur III	ED or Akk.
684	As.32:521	Antithetic group of two bulls with two trees. Black stone; 1.6 x .8 cm.	J 20:12	"	"	Akk.
685	As.32:55	Three pairs of fighting gods (see p. 44); in two the victor stands, the victim kneels; in third, both stand and neither wears crown. Lapis lazuli; 1.6 x .9 cm.	J 19:18	"	"	"
686	As.31:639	Bareheaded kilted figure struggling with lion; flat-capped kilted figure struggling with antelope (see p. 31). Lapis lazuli; 1.8 cm. high.	G 18:8	"	"	"
687	As.31:602	Two flat-capped seated figures drinking through tubes from vase (see p. 45); crescent in field; cross-hatched fill. Black stone; 3 x 1.8 cm.	H 18:10	"	"	"
688	As.32:277	Antithetic group of two lions attacking two antelopes (see p. 31). Gray stone; 1.9 x 1 cm.	H 18, south of East Street	Surface (Houses III)	"	"
689	As.32:250	Female figure (goddess?) introducing male figure to goddess of fertility seated in front of date palm; crescent in field (see pp. 10, 33, 42). Gray stone; 2.4 x 1.1 cm.	J 19:35	Houses III	"	Guti
690	As.32:226	Worshiper before enthroned sun-god, who holds saw but lacks rays and crown; standard-like object in field (see pp. 10, 33). Gray stone; 1.6 x 1 cm.	J 19:6	"	"	"
691	As.32:317	Introduction of worshiper to female deity seated before table (see pp. 10, 33). Shell; 2 x 1.2 cm.	H 18:22	"	"	"
692	As.31:614	Nude figure between two goats or bulls attacked by long-haired bull-man and lion; latter attacked by nude probably human figure (see p. 10). Gray-green stone; 2.7 x 1.5 cm.	H 18:2	Houses II	"	Akk.
693	As.31:24	Seated goddess holding plant faces Tishpak on his dragon; altar between them; crescent in field. Gray stone; about 3.4 x 1.7 cm.	G 19	Houses surface	----	"



683



684



685



686



687



688



689



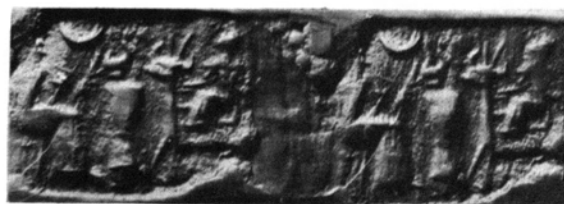
690



691



692



693

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
694	As.34:136	Captive bird-man brought to judgment before Ea by two gods (see p. 43); fish along stream on either side of Ea; crescent traversed by inexplicable line in field. Gray stone (see also Pl. 2 z); 3 x 2 cm.	K 19, east end of Middle Road	Houses surface	----	Akk.
695	As.32:976	Two crowned deities, one kilted and one nude but for girdle, destroy bull which is also attacked by bird of prey (see p. 44); tree in field. Shell; 3.2 x 1.9 cm.	Houses dump	Unknown	----	"
696	As.32:214	Two bearded figures struggling with lion and human-headed bull respectively. Gray stone; 1.8 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	----	"
697	As.33:146	Winged gate above bull whose halter is held by seated male figure without crown (see p. 43); crescent in field. Clay; 1.6 x .7 cm.	"	"	----	"
698	As.32:1167	Bull-man struggling with lion; naked girdled man struggling with water buffalo. Limestone; 2.5 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	----	"
699	As.32:1292	Fragment; Shamash rising on eastern mountains (see p. 40). Limestone; 2.5 x 1.4 cm.	"	"	----	"
700	As.32:120	Upper register: goddess mounted on lion is followed by god and long-gowned man and receives a female and a nude male worshiper; lower register: five worshipers facing left (see p. 44). Carnelian; 3.9 x .8 cm.	"	"	----	"
701	As.31:627	Fragmentary clay sealing; two antithetic bulls resting fore-legs on mountain from which springs tree; nude girdled man kneeling under inscription naming Shudurul (see pp. 10, 49). About 3 x 5.5 cm.	"	"	----	"
702	As.33:236	Geometric pattern. Clay; 3 x 1.6 cm.	"	"	----	?



694



695



696



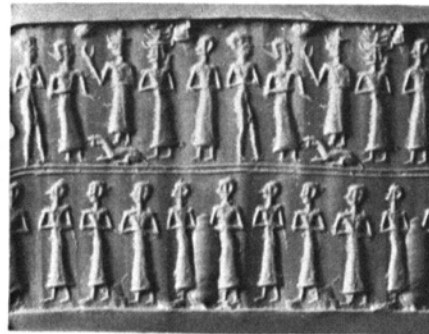
697



698



699



700



701



702

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
703	As.31:280	God, with rays or flames rising from thighs, destroys adversary who collapses on mountain; adversary's dropped mace vertical between figures; nude man wrestling with goat; lion attacking bull or another goat (see pp. 41, 44). Hematite; 2.3 x 1.6 cm.	O 30:8	Ilushuilia	Early Larsa	Akk.
704	As.31:19	Broken; nude bearded figure struggling with water buffalo; inscription (see p. 49). Pinkish stone; 2.9 x 1.6 cm.	O 30:17	"	"	"
705	As.31:670	Fragment of clay sealing with impressions of seal of Ilushuilia; upper register: king (Ilushuilia) facing Tishpak, who stands on two crouching enemies with reins through their noses; lower register: two crouching enemies, part of human figure; crossed tails of two animals; inscription of Ilushuilia (see pp. 42, 46, 49-50).	L 32:2	"	"	Ur III
706	As.31:641	Goddess introducing cloaked worshiper to seated goddess possibly holding plant; goose and scorpion behind seated goddess; crescent in field. Green stone; 2.3 cm. high.	L 31:4	Lower than Bilalama	"	Isin-Larsa
707	As.31:573	Fragment; ancient impression on clay; lion standing on forelegs is thrown by human or divine being with one foot on lion's neck and grasping its tail with one hand; water buffalo standing on forelegs is attacked by lion (one paw preserved). 2 x 3.4 cm.	N 31:1	Bilalama	"	Akk.
708	As.30:123	Chipped and very worn; seated god extending palm leaves to god standing before him; third god, behind seated figure, holding perhaps a bunch of dates; all three wear horned crowns; two palm trees. Gray stone; 3.4 cm. high.	O 30:12	Isharramashu	"	"
709	As.30:1000*	Seal given by Kirikiri, ruler of Eshnunna, to his son Bilalama. Tishpak, with dragon heads projecting from his shoulders, is seated on throne covered with founced rug and placed upon dais; clean-shaven worshiper accompanied by interceding goddess; smaller figure of adoring goddess between worshiper and Tishpak; sun-and-crescent symbol in field; inscription (see pp. 34, 42, 46, 50). Lapis lazuli with gold caps; 2.8** x 1.5 cm.	Probably O 30:12	Unknown	"	Ur III
710	As.30:7	Flat-capped kilted figure between stag and bull, the latter attacked by lion; plant in field. Limestone; 3.3 cm. high.	O 30:4	Urninmar	"	Akk.
711	As.30:75	Introduction of worshiper to seated god holding cup; crescent, libra, and snake in field. Green stone; 2.3 cm. high.	"	Near surface	Larsa	Isin-Larsa
712	As.31:493	Worshiper accompanied by interceding goddess before seated god holding ring and staff; sun-and-crescent symbol in field; unintelligible inscription (see p. 40). Black stone; 2.5 x 1.4 cm.	M 30:1, in drain	Ibiqadad I	Early Larsa	"
713	As.30:11	Two worshipers facing right, one with hands folded, the other with one hand raised; larger figure standing in front of them; snake and crescent standard decorated with ribbons in field. Black stone; 1.7 x .7 cm.	M 31:1	Top layer	Larsa	Isin-Larsa?
714	As.30:33	Seated god holding cup receives two worshipers behind whom stands rampant gazelle; kid and crescent in field. Brown stone; 1.9 cm. high.	N 30:3	"	"	Isin-Larsa
715	As.31:334	Three squatting human figures and star. Unbaked clay; 2.4 x 1.6 cm.	O 30:20	"	"	?

\* Stolen, but recovered at once from dealer; see OIP XLIII 203.

\*\*Without caps.





703



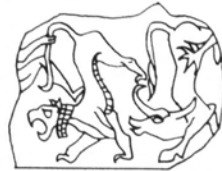
704



705



706



707



708



709



710



711



712



713



714



715

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
716	As.30:39	Male and female figures flanking stand containing palm leaf and bunches of dates; inscription effaced. Black stone; 1.4 cm. high.	M 31	Surface	----	Isin-Larsa
717	As.30:8	Chipped; seated god holding cup receives two worshipers; snake, crescent, star, and crescent standard decorated with ribbons in field. Gray stone; 2.1 x 1.2 cm.	M 31:1	"	----	"
718	As.30:38	Male deity facing interceding goddess; inscription (see p. 50). Amethyst; 1.8 cm. high.	N 30:3	"	----	Old Bab.
719	As.33:391	Two worshipers before seated figure; crescent, libra, and indistinct figure in field. Gray stone; 1.7 x .9 cm.	O 28:3	Unknown	Larsa	Isin-Larsa
720	As.31:613	Standing figure before seated figure, perhaps vase with branches between them; snake in field (see p. 10). Alabaster; 2.3 x 9 cm.	M 32:1	"	"	?
721	As.31:596	Two worshipers before seated figure holding cup, his throne covered with flounced rug; crescent, star, and indistinct figure in field; inscription (see p. 50). Green stone; 2.5 x 1.3 cm.	L 30	"	----	Isin-Larsa
722	As.31:674	Two bareheaded beardless men attacking lion. Rock crystal; 2.8 cm. high.	Dump, but probably from M 32:15	"	----	Akk.
723	As.30:37	Worshiper introduced by goddess to deity holding cup seated in front of stand with palm leaf and two bunches of dates; crescent, snake, star, and scorpion in field. Black stone; 2 x 1.1 cm.	Palace of Rulers, dump	"	----	Isin-Larsa
724	As.33:372	Inscription (see p. 50). Gray stone; 2 x 1.7 cm.	"	"	----	?
725	As.33:3	Worn; five naked figures, two apparently crowned with crescents. Hematite; 2 x 1.5 cm.	"	"	----	?
726	As.31:616	Goddess introducing worshiper to seated figure holding cup; crescent in field; inscription (see p. 50). Black stone; 2.4 x 1.1 cm.	Dump	"	----	Isin-Larsa
727	As.33:398	Standing figure, kneeling figure, kneeling monster, and snake. Black stone; 1.8 x .7 cm.	Q 27, street east of Audience Hall of Naramsin	----	Larsa	?
728	As.34:32	Worshiper accompanied by interceding goddess before male figure holding cup and seated on throne covered with flounced rug; crescent, star, scimitar, and mace in field. Green stone; 1.9 x 1 cm.	Street in O 26	----	"	Isin-Larsa
729	As.33:385	Two standing figures, possibly worshiper (at right) facing god or king, both apparently wearing kilts under open cloaks; star-and-crescent symbol and libra in field; inscription (see p. 50). Lapis lazuli; 2 x .9 cm.	P 27:8	Audience Hall of Naramsin, surface	Late Larsa	"



716



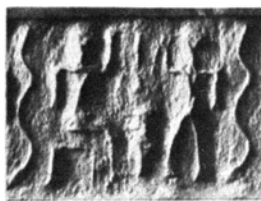
717



718



719



720



721



722



723



724



725



726



727



728



729

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
730	As.31:432	Two crossed lions attacking two animals; indistinct object in field. Shell; 1.6 cm. high.	N 33:9	Houses below Southern Building	Early Larsa	ED
731	As.31:443	Two worshipers before seated figure holding cup; serpent in field. Black stone; 1.8 x .7 cm.	"	"	"	Isin-Larsa
732	As.31:555	Worshiper before seated figure holding cup; snake, rampant lion, star, crescent, and small animal in field. Green stone; 2.4 cm. high.	N 33:5	"	"	"
733	As.31:566	Introduction of worshiper to seated deity. Black stone; 2 cm. high.	"	"	"	"
734	As.31:431	Introduction of worshiper by interceding goddess to seated male figure holding cup; snake and crescent in field. Green stone; 2.1 x 1.1 cm.	N 33:10	"	"	"
735	As.31:492	Inscription (see p. 51). White limestone, unpierced; 3 cm. high.	N 34:11	"	"	"
736	As.31:531	Three worshipers before seated figure holding cup; star or rosette in field. Unbaked clay; 2.5 cm. high.	O 33:2	"	"	"
737	As.31:351	Introduction of worshiper to seated figure holding cup; crescent, star, small animal, and two snakes in field. Gray stone; 2.2 x 1.2 cm.	P 33:18	"	"	"
738	As.31:505	Worshiper and seated goddess flanking altar or offering-stand; crescent in field. Unbaked clay; 2.6 cm. high.	N 34:12	Southern Building	Late Larsa	Akk.(?)
739	As.31:409	Introduction of worshiper, possibly to sun-god stepping on eastern mountains; rampant goat in field. Light gray paste; 1.7 x .9 cm.	N 33-34, Room XIV	"	"	Isin-Larsa
740	As.31:556	Broken; introduction of worshiper to figure (damaged) holding cup; crescent standard, star, and cross in field. Black stone; 1.8 x .8 cm.	N 34:8	"	"	"
741	As.31:42	Three figures in file, the last with one arm raised; crescent, antelope head, and indistinct motif in field. Hematite; 1.5 x .7 cm.	P 34:5	"	"	"
742	As.30:77	Introduction of worshiper to seated deity holding cup; crescent and rampant lion in field. Buff paste; 2.2 x 1.3 cm.	Q 32:1	"	"	"
743	As.30:74	Introduction of worshiper to god seated in front of tree and goat; crescent and star in field. Blue stone; 2.2 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"
744	As.31:14	Introduction of worshiper to seated figure holding cup; star and serpent in field. Green stone; 2 cm. high.	Q 32	Surface	---	"



730



731



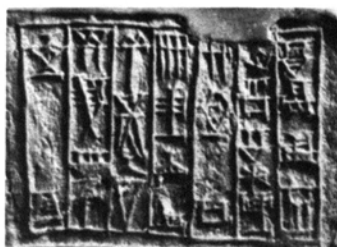
732



733



734



735



736



737



738



739



740



741



742



743



744

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
745	As.34:184	Clay sealing; bird of prey holding goat passant in each talon. About 5.5 x 4.2 cm.	G 15	Top layer	Agade?	ED or Akk.
746	As.34:183	Clay sealing with indistinct impression. About 2.8 x 3.3 cm.	"	"	"	Akk.
747	As.34:185	Clay sealing; two seated persons drinking through tubes from jar (see p. 45). About 5.2 x 3.5 cm.	"	"	"	"
748	As.34:187	Broken; indistinct Elamite frieze (see p. 33). Shell; 1.9 x 1.1 cm.	"	1 m. below surface	"	Elamite
749	As.33:562	Two parallel wavy lines separate eagles with spread wings arranged tête-bêche (see p. 30). Hematite; 1.1 x .6 cm.	K 28	----	"	ED or Akk.
750	As.34:17	Introduction of worshiper to figure holding cup and seated in front of rampant goat; crescent in field. Limestone, unperforated; 1.8 x .9 cm.	L 37:1?	Azuzum Building	Early Larsa	Isin-Larsa
751	As.34:2	Introduction of worshiper to figure holding cup and seated in front of rampant goat; lizard, star, and crescent in field. Light gray stone; 1.8 x 1 cm.	M 37:2	"	"	"
752	As.34:1	Worshiper accompanied by interceding goddess before figure holding cup and seated on throne covered with flounced rug; crescent in field; inscription (see p. 51). Black stone; 2.2 x 1.3 cm.	"	"	"	"
753	As.34:14	Two goats flanking palm tree with bunches of dates; naked girdled figure with long hair holding vase from which two streams of water flow, fishes swimming beside each stream; indistinct object in field. Brown stone; 1.8 x 1 cm.	L 37:2	"	Larsa	?
754	As.34:49	Two male figures attacking lion. Steatite; 2.4 x 1.1 cm.	L 31	----	"	Akk.
755	As.35:92	Introduction of worshiper to seated deity; crescent in field. Shell; 2.9 x 1.5 cm.	S 36	Snake Shrine	"	?
756	As.33:390	Five squatting women (see p. 17); group of three drill holes. Pink stone; 2.2 x 2 cm.	P 26:1	----	Larsa?	JN
757	As.33:600	Transverse design; nude bearded figure (gatekeeper; see p. 40) holding two gatepost symbols; scorpion within open cartouche. Hematite; 1.9 x 1.4 cm.	J 23:1	----	"	ED
758	As.32:437	Upper register: two recumbent human-faced bulls flanking scorpion are attacked by lions, one lion restrained and stabbed by kneeling short-haired human; crescent in field; blank inscription panel; lower register: horned, bearded, long-haired god seated on ram-shaped throne holds measuring stick against plano-convex brick shown to him by naked human figure; two other men, one naked, one wearing tasseled skirt, add material to ziggurat; three kilted figures bring bricks or mortar on their heads; function of person seated behind god is obscured by damage (see pp. 39-40). Limestone; 4.6 x 3.2 cm.	West of E 22:1	----	"	ED III



745



747



748



746



749



750



751



752



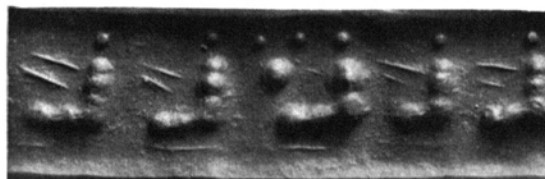
753



754



755



756



757



758

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
759	As.33:582	Panther crossing antelope attacks wild bull which is also attacked by crossing lion; plant between antelope and bull. White stone; 3.3 x 1.5 cm.	K 33:2	----	Larsa?	ED III
760	As.33:597	God enthroned on dragon (see p. 42); person seated on campstool and star in field. Unbaked clay; 3.1 x 1.7 cm.	G 26:1	----	"	Akk.
761	As.33:581	Antithetic group of bison and water buffalo (see p. 32) flanking mountain from which plants grow, both animals attacked by naked girdled figures. Gray-green stone; 3.3 x 1.9 cm.	K 33:1	----	"	"
762	As.33:473	Geometric pattern. Clay; 2.3 x .7 cm.	M 23:1	----	"	?
763	As.33:470	Introduction of worshiper by deity to standing god holding tree or spear; bird of prey with spread wings in field. Shell; 2.7 x 1.4 cm.	"	----	"	?
764	As.35:52	Worshiper accompanied by interceding goddess before seated figure; crescent, star or rosette, bird, and lizard in field; inscription (see p. 51). Black stone; 2 x 1 cm.	S 39	----	"	?
765	As.34:18	Introduction of worshiper to figure standing before rampant goat; crescent, star, bird, and lizard in field. Black stone; 1.3 x .8 cm.	T 21	Surface	"	?
766	As.35:8	Introduction of worshiper to figure holding cup and seated in front of rampant goat; star and crescent in field. Gray stone; 2 x 1.2 cm.	Trench A	----	"	Isin-Larsa
767	As.35:2	Two standing figures, animal, and indistinct objects. Clay; 3.2 x 1.6 cm.	"	----	"	?
768	As.34:83	Adoring goddess standing before seated goddess; goose or swan, crescent, and star in field; inscription (see p. 51). Black stone; 2.3 x 1.2 cm.	Area C?	1 m. below surface	----	Ur III or Isin-Larsa
769	As.35:80	Seated male and female figures drinking through tubes from jar (see p. 45); tree and crescent in field. Lapis lazuli; 1.2 x .7 cm.	Trench E	----	Larsa?	Akk.
770	As.35:74	Worshiper bringing sacrificial kid to Shamash, who stands with one foot on mountain holding his saw in one hand, his beard in the other; Ishtar, holding mace with two panther heads and scimitar, stands with one foot on lion, minor goddess before her; cow suckling calf above two rampant goats flanking mountain from which springs a tree; eight-pointed star and goat-fish (horns probably worn away) in field (see pp. 34, 46). Brown stone; 3 x 1.7 cm.	"	----	"	Old Bab.
771	As.35:71	Introduction of worshiper to figure holding cup and seated in front of crescent standard with bands or snakes. White stone; 2.1 x 1.2 cm.	Trench F	----	"	Isin-Larsa





759



760



761



762



763



764



765



768



766



767



769



770



771

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
772 <sub>g</sub>	As.35:72	Two figures in long robes, each with one hand uplifted, flanking kilted figure; crescent and two indeterminate objects in field; inscription (see p. 51). Gray stone; 2.1 x 1.1 cm.	Trench F	----	Late Larsa?	Old Bab.
773	As.35:85	Seated goddess holding halter of kneeling bull with winged gate above him; star in field (see p. 43). Black stone; 2.1 x 1.1 cm.	Trench F dump	----	----	Akk.
774	As.32:1024	Deity in flounced robe followed by two humans, one carrying lion-headed staff; two stars and shepherd's crook in field. Black stone; 1.7 x .9 cm.	A 28?	Surface	----	Isin-Larsa
775	As.34:227	Worshiper introduced to standing figure holding cup; crescent, bird, star, and snake in field. Gray-green stone; 1.9 x 1.1 cm.	L 44?	"	----	"
776	As.35:16	Indistinct figure full face; male figure; lion-headed demon lifting dagger; various indistinct objects in field. Green stone; 2.3 x 1 cm.	Y 41?	"	----	Old Bab.
777	As.35:34	Fragment; remains of two figures; inscription (see p. 51). Shell; 1.6 x 1.2 cm.	Y 41	"	----	?
778	As.33:471	Minor deity, introduced by another and accompanied by interceding deity, approaches seated goddess holding crescent standard (see p. 45). Shell; 3.3 x .9 cm.	L 23	----	----	Akk.
779	As.31:480	Goat and geometric motifs (see p. 24). Black stone; 2.7 x .9 cm.	M 26	----	----	ED I
780	As.31:335	Worshiper introduced to seated figure; indistinct figure in field. Gray stone; 1.7 x .9 cm.	Dump	----	----	Isin-Larsa
781	As.31:597	Goddess introducing worshiper to standing figure holding cup; crescent and libra in field; inscription (see p. 51). Stone; 2.3 cm. high.	"	----	----	"
782	As.31:13	Goddess introducing worshiper to seated figure holding cup; libra and crescent in field. Gray stone; 2.8 cm. high.	Unknown	Surface	----	"
783	As.35:33	Fragment; seated figure and part of standing figure. Black stone; 2 x 1.4 cm.	"	"	----	?



772



773



774



775



776



777



778



779



780



781



782

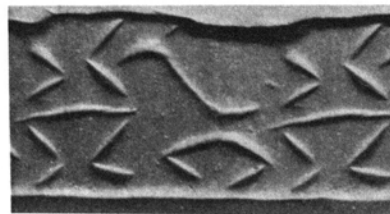


783

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
784	Ag.35:1068	Goat and geometric motifs. Black stone; 1.7 x 1 cm.	O 12:2	Shara Temple, 29.70 m.	ED I	JN
785	Ag.36:82	Disintegrated design of brocade style (see p. 24). Black limestone; 2.3 x 1.8 cm.	N 13:5	Shara, 30.20 m.	ED II	ED I
786	Ag.36:404	Goat and shrine (see p. 16). White limestone; 1.9 x 1.5 cm.	M 14:12	Shara, 30.30 m.	"	JN
787	Ag.36:364	Geometric design. Red stone; 1.8 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"
788	Ag.36:121	Geometric pattern. Calcite; 1.4 x 1.5 cm.	"	Shara, 31.00 m.	"	"
789	Ag.36:120	Geometric pattern. Shell; 2.5 x 1.6 cm.	"	"	"	"
790	Ag.36:115	Two recumbent goats. Shell; 2.2 x 1.4 cm.	"	"	"	"
791	Ag.36:116	Two recumbent goats. Lapis lazuli; 1.9 x .9 cm.	"	"	"	"
792	Ag.36:160	Two goats. Calcite; 1.4 x .8 cm.	"	"	"	"
793	Ag.36:388	Three goats (see p. 35). Limestone; 2.4 x 1.7 cm.	"	"	"	"
794	Ag.36:113	Four recumbent goats. Shell; 2.7 x 1.8 cm.	"	"	"	"
795	Ag.36:149	Goat and geometric motifs (see p. 24). Gray stone; 1.5 x .6 cm.	"	"	"	ED I
796	Ag.36:119	Two human figures reclining (see pp. 12, 24, 38) and goat. Green translucent stone; 2.7 x 2 cm.	"	"	"	ED 1?



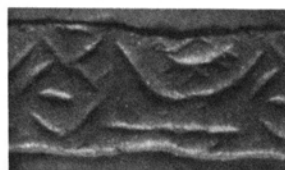
784



785



786



787



788



789



790



791



792



793



794



795



796

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
797	Ag.36:44	Broken; antelope, ibex, and another animal; rosette and crescent in field (see pp. 12, 26, 35). Green limestone; 2.6 x 1.9 cm.	M 14:10	Shara Temple, 31.00 m.	ED II	ED II
798	Ag.36:66	Antithetic group of two lions attacking goat; indistinct animals, animal head, and plant in field (see pp. 12, 27). Yellow translucent stone; 2.7 x 1.9 cm.	"	"	"	"
799	Ag.36:155	Two bull-men restraining lion which is attacking goat; antithetic group of two goats on mountain with plant(?) between them (see pp. 12, 26). Calcite; 3.2 x 2.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
800	Ag.36:156	Two lions, each clawing a bull, one from in front (with hind leg on bull's neck), one from behind; ram's head and hind-quarters of hoofed animal in field (see pp. 12, 25-27). Calcite; 4.3 x 5.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
801	Ag.36:117	Two girdled bull-men assailing with swords a lion which attacks bull; calf's head, plant, and indistinct motif in field (see pp. 12, 26). Yellow translucent stone; 3 x 2.5 cm.	"	"	"	"
802	Ag.36:43	Broken; goat and obscure motifs. Glazed steatite; 3.8 cm. high.	"	"	"	?
803	Ag.36:118	Goat upside down; two men in boat; indistinct objects in field. Calcite; 3.3 x 2.3 cm.	"	"	"	?
804	Ag.36:157	Lion following goat. Pink limestone; 1.8 x 1.7 cm.	"	"	"	?



797



798



799



800



801



802



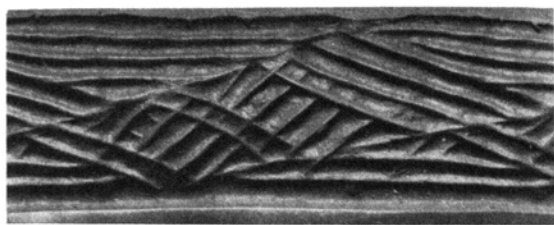
803



804

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
805	Ag.36:395	Geometric pattern. Gray stone; 2.8 x 2.1 cm.	M 14:15	Shara Temple, 30.30 m.	ED II	JN
806	Ag.36:415	Geometric pattern. Glazed steatite; 3.8 x 1.2 cm.	"	Shara, 31.00 m.	"	"
807	Ag.36:346	Two goats and shrine (see p. 16). White marble; 3.2 x 2.7 cm.	"	"	"	"
808	Ag.36:426	Five squatting women, two pigtailed and upside down. Reddish limestone; 1.7 x 1.7 cm.	M 14:15, under altar	"	"	"
809	Ag.36:414	Scorpion and geometric motifs (see p. 23). Gray stone; 3.5 x .9 cm.	M 14:15	"	"	"
810	Ag.36:322	Two goats tête-bêche, tortoise, and scorpion (see pp. 22, 24). Gray stone; 4.4 x .7 cm.	"	"	"	ED I
811	Ag.36:368	Goat and geometric motifs (see p. 24). Black stone; 2.3 x .8 cm.	"	"	"	"
812	Ag.35:921	Geometric motif and drill holes (see p. 17). White stone; 2.4 cm. high.	N 13:1	Shara, 30.30 m.	"	JN
813	Ag.35:923	Geometric pattern (see p. 19). White stone; 3.5 cm. high.	"	"	"	"





805



806



807



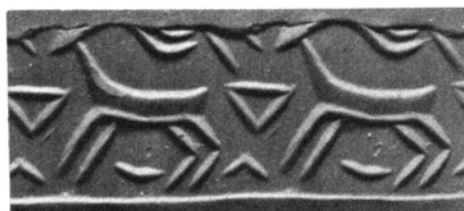
808



809



810



811



812



813

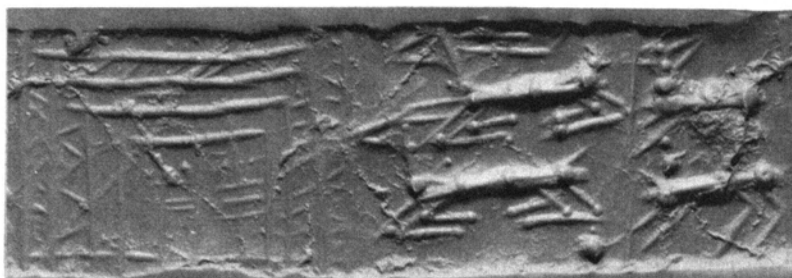
No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
814	Ag.35:912	Geometric pattern. White stone; 4.8 cm. high.	N 13:1	Shara Temple, 30.30 m.	ED II	JN
815	Ag.35:913	Geometric pattern. Light gray stone; 4.6 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"
816	Ag.35:919	Four goats and shrine (see p. 16). White stone; 3.4 x 3 cm.	"	"	"	"
817	Ag.35:920	Frieze of "spiders" (see p. 17). Pink stone; 1.8 cm. high.	"	"	"	"
818	Ag.35:918	Two recumbent goats; branches and cross. Yellow stone; 3.1 cm. high.	"	"	"	"
819	Ag.35:924	Confused pattern containing squatting pigtailed women (see p. 17). Pink stone; 2.5 cm. high.	"	"	"	"
820	Ag.35:915	Two goats and geometric motifs (see p. 24). Green stone; 3 cm. high.	"	"	"	ED I
821	Ag.35:914	Bird of prey, goat, gazelle, and man (see pp. 12, 23-24). Yellow translucent stone; 4.6 x 1.4 cm.	"	"	"	"
822	Ag.35:916	Two goats tête-bêche, fish, and triangle (see pp. 12, 22, 24). Gray stone; 4.2 cm. high.	"	"	"	"



814



815



816



817



818



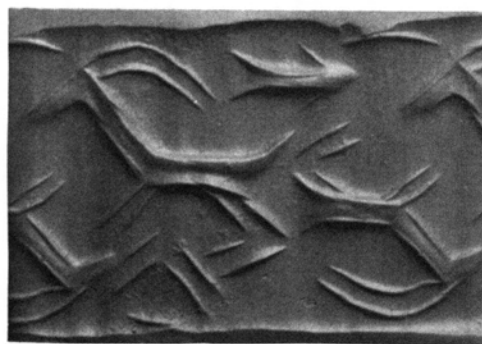
819



820



821



822

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
823	Ag.35:922	Three men in boat, one steering, one seated before what is probably a vase on a stand, one standing in bow (see p. 37). Yellow stone; 2 cm. high.	N 13:1	Shara Temple, 30.30 m.	ED II	ED
824	Ag.35:81	Lion attacking goat; running stag; mouflon head and plant in field (see pp. 12, 27). Green translucent stone; 2.5 x 2 cm.	"	Shara, 30.50 m.	"	ED II
825	Ag.35:1067	Four goats and shrine (see p. 16). White limestone; 3.6 x 3 cm.	N 13:4	"	"	JN
826	Ag.36:417	Coarse animal design. Baked clay; 5.5 x 2.3 cm.	M 14:17	"	"	?
827	Ag.36:371	Geometric pattern. White limestone; 2.8 x 1.5 cm.	"	Shara, 31.00 m.	"	JN
828	Ag.36:397	Geometric pattern. Frit; 1.8 x 1.3 cm.	"	"	"	"



823



824



825



826



827



828

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
829	Ag.36:372	Six goats, shrine, and indistinct object (see p. 16). White limestone; 3.9 x 3.3 cm.	M 14:10	Shara Temple, 31.00 m.	ED II	JN
830	Ag.36:374	Two goats and geometric motifs (see p. 35). Shell; 2.4 x 1.6 cm.	"	"	"	"
831	Ag.36:28	Recumbent ibex and two antelopes; three goat heads in field (see pp. 12, 27, 35). Shell; 3.2 x 2.2 cm.	"	"	"	ED II
832	Ag.36:373	Goat and bird of prey tête-bêche; cross and indefinable object in field. White limestone; 3.6 x 2.7 cm.	"	"	"	?
833	Ag.35:1007	Geometric pattern. White stone; 1.7 x 1.1 cm.	M 14:4	Shara, 31.50 m.	"	JN
834	Ag.35:1006	Geometric pattern. Alabaster (see also Pl. 2 t); 2.6 x 2.3 cm.	"	"	"	"
835	Ag.35:963	Indeterminate figures, possibly lizard and goat; drill holes and geometric motif. Pink limestone; 2.4 x 1.8 cm.	"	"	"	"
836	Ag.35:965	Goat and shrine; four spouted vases (see pp. 16, 20); drill holes. Glazed steatite; 2 x 1.5 cm.	"	"	"	"
837	Ag.35:964	Bull, antelope, and ibex with lion above; rosette and indistinct figure in field (see pp. 12, 27). Yellow translucent stone; 3.1 x 2.4 cm.	"	"	"	ED II



829



830



831



832



833



834



835



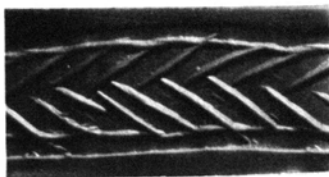
836



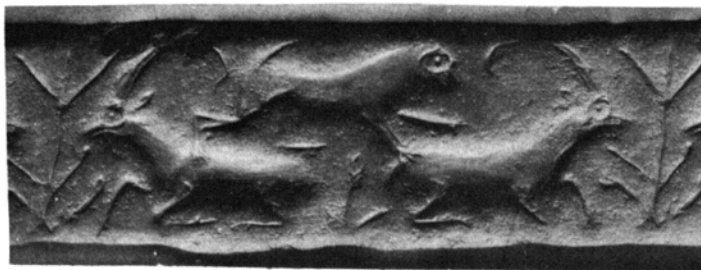
837

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
838	Ag.35:1036	Geometric pattern. Shell; 1.6 x 1.1 cm.	M 14:1	Shara Temple, 32.00 m.	ED II	JN
839	Ag.35:1037	Antithetic group (see p. 27) of two recumbent goats facing plant, one goat attacked by lion; small plant in field. Alabaster; 3.3 x 2.4 cm.	M 14:3	"	"	ED II
840	Ag.35:854	Geometric pattern. Glazed steatite; 4.3 x 1.7 cm.	M 14:4	Shara, 32.20 m.	"	JN
841	Ag.35:856	Three bulls; three stars in field (see p. 16). White limestone; 3 x 2.5 cm.	"	"	"	"
842	Ag.35:716	Geometric pattern. Steatite; 3 x .8 cm.	"	Shara, 32.30 m.	"	"
843	Ag.35:514	Three birds (see p. 17). Pink marble; 2.1 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
844	Ag.35:659	Three recumbent goats (see p. 16). Marble; 3 x 2.5 cm.	"	Shara, 32.50 m.	"	"
845	Ag.35:680	Four goats and two shrines (see p. 16). White marble; 4 x 3.2 cm.	"	"	"	"

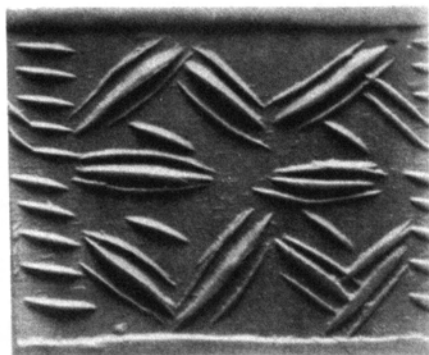




838



839



840



841



842



843



844



845

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
846	Ag.35:159	Obscure design including spouted vases, a standing and a squatting pigtailed woman (see p. 17). Pink stone; 5.4 x 3.4 cm.	M 14:2	Shara Temple, 32.30 m.	ED II	JN
847	Ag.36:324	Three registers separated by hatched lines, each register containing two recumbent caprine animals; fill motifs in lowest register. Lapis lazuli (see also Pl. 2 x); 7.6 x 1.3 cm.	"	Shara, 32.60 m.	"	"
848	Ag.35:994	Scorpion and rosette of drill holes (see p. 15); line fill and drill holes in field. Glazed steatite; 2.1 x 1.5 cm.	"	"	"	"
849	Ag.35:883	Ram, plant, star, crescent, animal head, and indefinable object (bird?) (see p. 27). Yellow translucent stone; 1.8 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	ED II
850	Ag.36:250	Geometric pattern. Black and white marble; 3.6 x 3.1 cm.	M 14:2, in altar	Shara, 32.65 m.	"	JN
851	Ag.36:251	Three goats and two rosettes (see pp. 15-17). White marble; 3.8 x 3.2 cm.	"	"	"	"



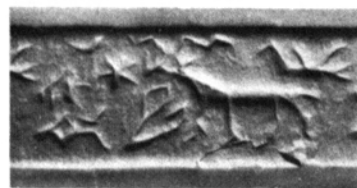
846



847



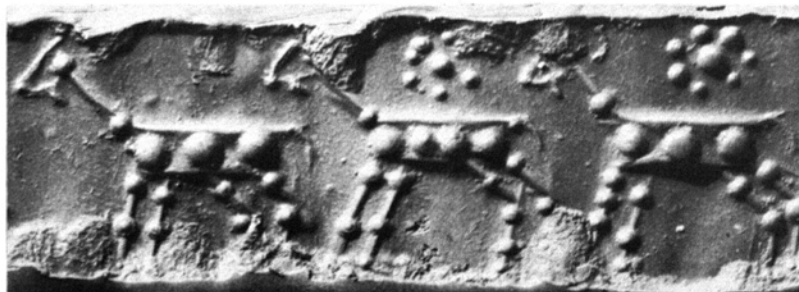
848



849

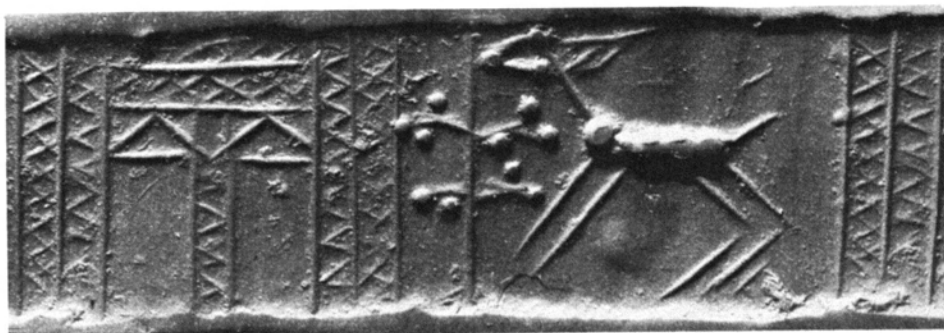


850

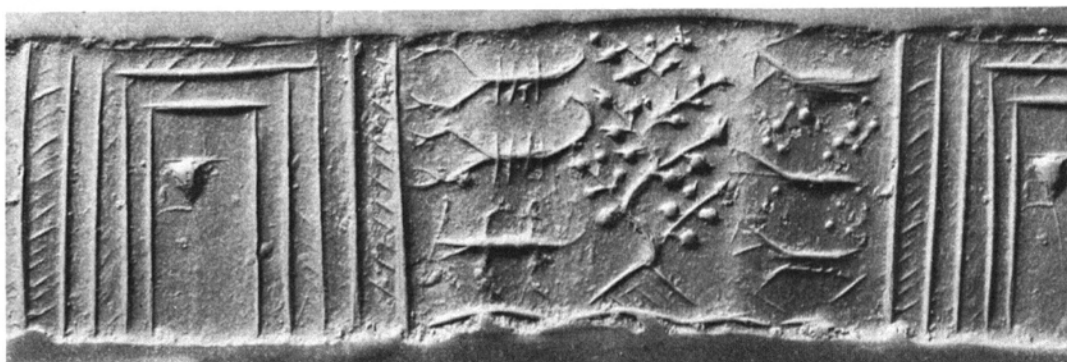


851

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
852	Ag.36:246	Goat, tree, and shrine (see pp. 16, 19). White marble; 4 x 3.3 cm.	M 14:2, in altar	Shara Temple, 32.65 m.	ED II	JN
853	Ag.36:253	Three goats, tree on mountain, two scorpions, and lizard, all above wavy line indicating watercourse (see p. 16); shrine. Black stone (see also Pl. 1 i); 4.1 x 3.4 cm.	"	"	"	"
854	Ag.36:245	Three head of cattle, shrine, two mother-goddess symbols; wavy lines beneath animals indicating water (see pp. 15-16). White marble (see also Pl. 2 o); 4.4 x 4.3 cm.	"	"	"	"
855	Ag.36:249	Two goats, two shrines, and "stars" (see pp. 16, 20). White marble; 3.9 x 3.6 cm.	"	"	"	"



852



853



854



855

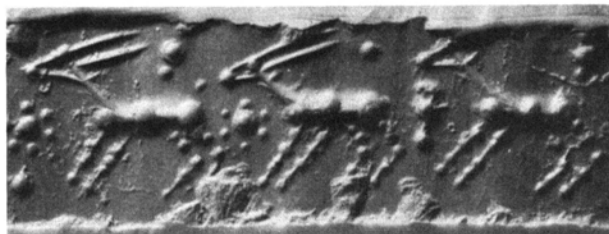
No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
856	Ag.36:248	Six goats and tree; drill holes in field (see p. 16). Black and white marble; 3.9 x 3.3 cm.	M 14:2, in altar	Shara Temple, 32.65 m.	ED II	JN
857	Ag.36:244	Three head of cattle, three mangers, and three spouted vases (see pp. 16, 20). White marble; 3.7 x 3.3 cm.	"	"	"	"
858	Ag.36:252	Three goats, rosettes, and drill holes (see pp. 15, 16). White marble; 3.7 x 3.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
859	Ag.36:247	Two goats, two shrines, and "stars" (see pp. 16, 20). White marble; 4.7 x 4.1 cm.	"	"	"	"
860	Ag.35:614	Goat, shrine, and geometric motifs (see p. 16). Limestone; 3.6 x 3 cm.	M 14:2, in bowl beside altar	"	"	"
861	Ag.35:615	Four goats and shrine (see p. 16). White limestone; 3.4 x 2.8 cm.	"	"	"	"
862	Ag.35:96	Geometric pattern. Limestone; 4.6 x .9 cm.	M 14:2	Shara, 32.70 m.	"	"



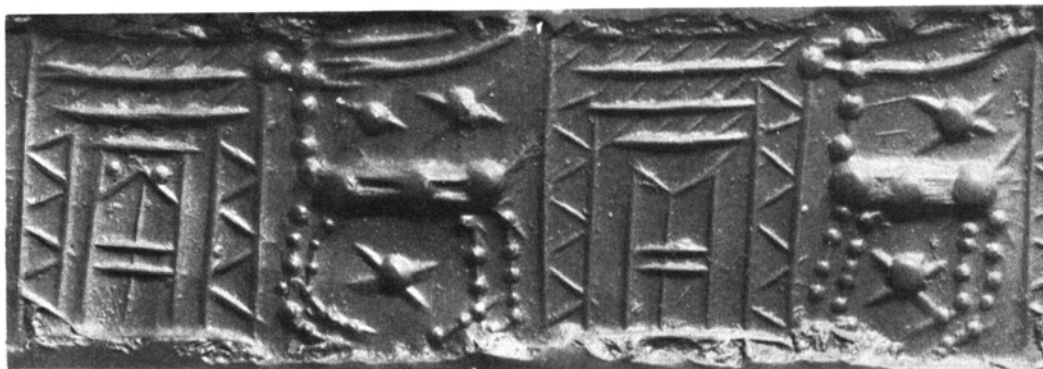
856



857



858



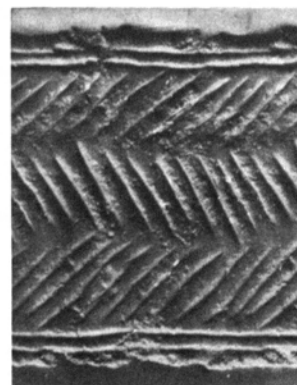
859



860



861



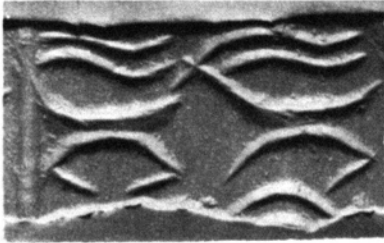
862

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
863	Ag.35:370	Three fishes, shrine, and geometric motifs (see p. 21). White marble; 3.2 x 2.9 cm.	M 14:5	Shara Temple, 32.30 m.	ED II	JN
864	Ag.36:479	Broken; two goats (see p. 24). Serpentine; 2.7 x 1.5 cm.	"	"	"	ED I
865	Ag.36:484	Disintegrated design of brocade style (see p. 24). Gray-green stone; 1.6 x .4 cm.	"	"	"	"
866	Ag.36:478	Two goats and geometric motifs (see p. 24). Gray limestone; 3.5 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"
867	Ag.35:61	Broken; four horned animals (see p. 23). Gray-green stone; 5.3 x 1.3 cm.	L 13:3	"	"	"
868	Ag.35:842	Drill-hole design (see p. 17). Pink limestone; 1.7 x 2 cm.	L 14:1	Shara, 32.50 m.	"	JN
869	Ag.35:776	Broken; geometric pattern. Glazed steatite; 4.2 x 1 cm.	"	Shara, 32.70 m.	"	"
870	Ag.35:807	Two "spiders," spouted vases, and other drill-hole motifs (see p. 17). Pink limestone; 2 x 2.3 cm.	"	"	"	"
871	Ag.35:808	Three pigtailed women squatting on couches; drill-hole design in field (see p. 17). Red limestone; 1.8 x 1.8 cm.	"	"	"	"
872	Ag.35:820	Five standing pigtailed women, each holding stafflike object (see p. 17). Red Limestone; 2.2 x 2.2 cm.	"	"	"	"

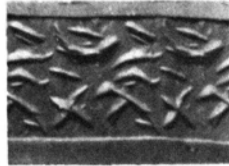




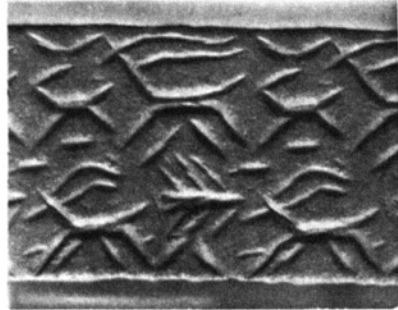
863



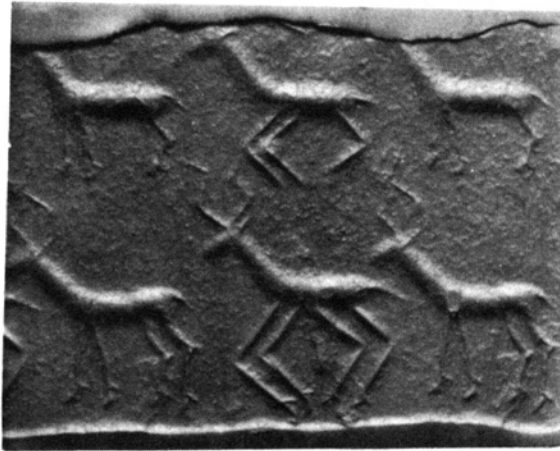
864



865



866



867



869



868



870



871



872

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
873	Ag.35:811	Broken; ram, fish, and other motifs (see pp. 22, 24). Gray-green stone; 3.8 x .7 cm.	L 14:1	Shara Temple, 32.70 m.	ED II	ED I
874	Ag.35:872	Broken; two goats tête-bêche (see pp. 22, 24). Gray-green stone; 5 x 1.2 cm.	"	"	"	"
875	Ag.35:775	Man between two horned animals which are attacked by two crossed lions. Bitumen; 3.5 x 1.3 cm.	"	Shara, 33.00 m.	"	ED II
876	Ag.35:506	Broken; possibly two human figures between two geometric motifs. Limestone; 2.2 x .9 cm.	"	Shara, surface	"	?
877	Ag.35:730	Four goats, stag, three indistinct animals, and shrine (see p. 16). White limestone; 4.9 x 4.4 cm.	L 13:4	Shara, 32.50 m.	"	JN
878	Ag.35:770	Shrine. White limestone; 5 x 4 cm.	"	"	"	"



873



874



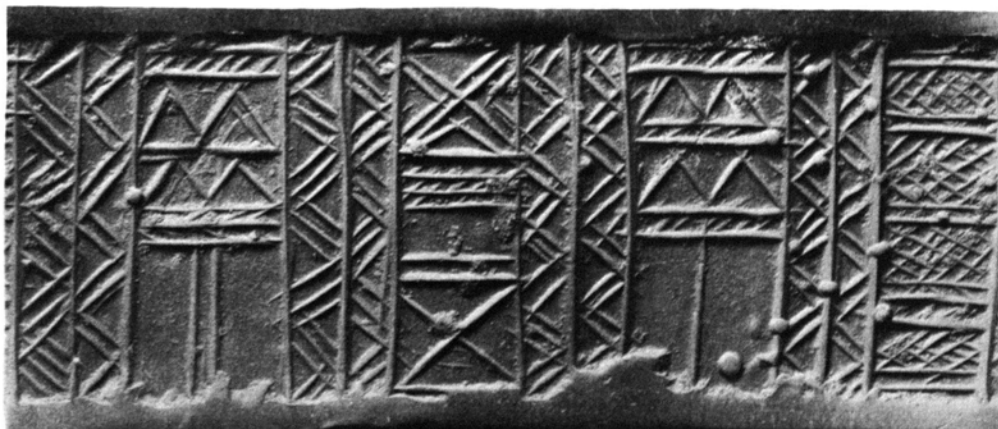
875



876



877



878

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
879	Ag.36:262	God with horned crown seated in boat steered by standing figure; another figure, before god, holding jar; snake, spouted vase, and indistinct object outside boat; rearing ibex and goat with head turned back perhaps meant to flank an apparently long-haired girdled human figure between and above them; recumbent antelope followed by lion, both upside down, at upper edge; spouted vases and drill holes in field; drill holes and concentric circles forming rosette around perforation on end of seal (see Pl. 2 p and pp. 28, 37). Gray limestone; 5.6 x 3 cm.	L 13:4	Shara Temple, 32.50 m.	ED II	ED I or II
880	Ag.35:793	Shrine flanked by gatepost symbols beneath curved line; above, face and three rosettes connected by lines (see p. 14). White limestone (see also Pl. 2 q); 5 x 4.4 cm.	L 13:6	"	"	JN
881	Ag.35:761	Geometric pattern. Limestone; 1.4 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	?
882	Ag.35:121	Bird of prey; bull attacked by monster (probably meant for lion), fish under feet of latter; snake in field (see pp. 23-24). Translucent greenish stone; 3.6 x 1.2 cm.	M 13:1	"	"	ED I
883	Ag.35:641	Two lions attacking goat, each restrained by bull-man; bird of prey between bull-men (see pp. 24-27). White stone; 2.7 x 2.1 cm.	M 14:9	"	"	ED II
884	Ag.35:27	Geometric pattern with drill holes (see p. 17). Pink stone (see also Pl. 2 r); 1.6 x 2.2 cm.	L 13:1	Shara, surface	----	JN
885	Ag.35:26	Goat, two fishes, and bird (see pp. 22, 24). Black stone; 2.1 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	----	ED I
886	Ag.35:833	Inscription (see p. 51). White stone; 2.9 x 1.4 cm.	Shara Temple area	Surface	----	?*

\*Dr. Jacobsen would guess that the inscription is Ur III or Isin-Larsa, more likely the latter.



879



880



881



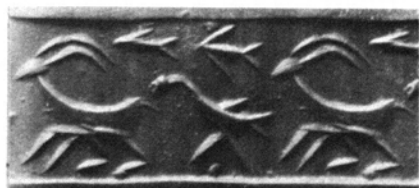
883



882



884



885



886

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
887	Ag.35:372	Geometric pattern. Gray stone; 2.6 x 1.3 cm.	F 8, under expedition house	----	----	JN
888	Ag.35:371	Two crossed lions attacking goat and stag; palm branch beneath blank inscription panel. Shell; 3.7 x 2 cm.	Q 13	Grave 2	----	ED or Akk.
889	Ag.36:2	Winged dragon rampant; two goats rampant flanking mountain; snake in field. White stone; 1.9 x 1.3 cm.	Mound A	Surface	----	Old Bab.
890	Ag.36:1	Goddess introducing worshiper to seated goddess in front of inscription (see p. 51) flanked on other side by standing female figure; crescent in field. Gray stone; 2.9 x 1.6 cm.	"	"	----	?*
891	Ag.36:512	Three recumbent goats (see p. 11). White limestone; 2.1 x 1.6 cm.	Hill B, room V	5th layer from top	Protolit. c or d.	JN
892	Ag.36:451	Two goats; fill of star, crescent, and straight lines (see pp. 11, 24). Black stone; 2.8 x .6 cm.	Hill B, room IV	top layer	ED I	ED I
893	Ag.36:458	Indistinct design of fighting animals (see p. 11). Shell; 3.3 x 1.8 cm.	"	"	"	ED
894	Ag.36:510	Stag and goat tête-bêche; fill (see pp. 11, 22, 24). Black stone; 5.7 x .8 cm.	Hill C	"	"	ED I
895	Ag.36:446	Upper register: god in boat preceded and followed by quadrupeds; plow and drill holes in field; lower register: seated horned god holding plant or ear of grain watches five kilted men adding material to triangular structure, probably a ziggurat (see pp. 11, 36, 40). Shell; 3.9 x 2.1 cm.	Hill C, Sounding D	----	----	ED
896	Ag.36:447	Antithetic group of two men lifting daggers over stag; third man at right (see p. 11). Lapis lazuli; 2.1 x .9 cm.	"	----	----	"
897	Ag.35:1	Damaged; crowned kilted god apparently attacked by naked bearded horned (?) figure; at left, bareheaded long-haired bearded kilted figure with uplifted hand; at right, similar but naked figure partly destroyed. Green stone; 2.8 x 1.4 cm.	Unknown	----	----	"
898	Ag.35:5	Disintegrated pattern of brocade style (see p. 24). Shell; 3.4 x .8 cm.	"	----	----	ED I
899	Ag.35:3	Two worshipers before seated figure holding cup, naked figure behind latter; bird, crescent, and pole in field. Red stone; 2.2 x 1.4 cm.	"	----	----	Isin-Larsa

\*Dr. Jacobsen would guess that the inscription is Ur III or Isin-Larsa, more likely the latter.



887



888



889



890



891



894



892



893



895



896



897



898



899

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
900	Ish.35:71	Two nude figures; inscription (see p. 51). Hematite; 2.2 x 1.2 cm.	S 30:2	Kitutum I	Early Larsa	Isin-Larsa
901	Ish.34:46	Building of ziggurat (see pp. 38, 40); horned god, seated at right, drinking through tube from vessel; two kilted figures flanking ziggurat add material to it while carrying more material on their heads; two more kilted figures carry material on their heads; before and above god, smaller figure who may be showing him plano-convex brick (cf. No. 758); scorpion behind small figure; rectangular motif and crescent in field. White stone; 3.6 x 2.3 cm.	Q 30:5	Kitutum I or II	Larsa	ED
902	Ish.34:128	Worshiper introduced to figure seated in front of palm tree. Gypsum; 2.4 x 1.3 cm.	P 31:1	"	"	Akk.
903	Ish.34:68	Mother goddess in her son's mountain grave holding flower; two interceding goddesses and drill hole (see pp. 34, 46). Black stone; 2.2 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	Old Bab.
904	Ish.35:24	Indistinct design with seated figure (see p. 8). Clay; 2 x 1 cm.	R 29:1	"	"	?
905	Ish.35:70	Three standing figures; libra and crescent standard in field (see p. 12). Black stone; 1.6 x .8 cm.	T 30:4	Kitutum II	Late Larsa	Isin-Larsa
906	Ish.35:26	Divine couple embracing (see p. 46); lion-headed monster raising dagger and holding human head in his other hand; two crossed lions, libra, and bowlegged dwarf in field. Gray stone; 2.3 x 1.1 cm.	Q 29:2	"	"	Old Bab.
907	Ish.34:129	God (possibly Nergal; wears no crown but see Frankfort, <i>Cylinder Seals</i> , Pl. XXVIIIa and p. 167) holding six-headed mace and lifting scimitar in his other hand steps on crouching male figure who lifts his hands in supplication; two lion-headed monsters; one kneeling on structure, the other standing with raised dagger, his legs terminating in either bird talons or lion paws; cloaked figure, whose pointed cap may represent god's crown, holds scimitar and stands behind the group; crescent in field (see pp. 34, 46). Hematite; 2 x 1 cm.	T 30:3	Kitutum II or III	"	"
908	Ish.34:127	God and interceding goddess. Mottled stone (see also Pl. 2 y); 2.8 x 1.8 cm.	R 30:5	Kitutum III	"	"
909	Ish.35:42	Adad mounted on bull and holding forked-lightning symbol; standing god holding double-headed weapon in one hand and dagger or scimitar in the other; standing figure with folded arms, possibly worshiper or minor goddess; Marduk symbol, star, and indistinct object in field. Black stone, 1.6 x .8 cm.	S 30:3	"	"	"
910	Ish.34:86	Two lions attacking ram are restrained by bareheaded girdled figure and similar flat-capped figure (see p. 32). Shell; 3.5 x .9 cm.	Q 30:4, on bench	Kitutum III?	Larsa	Akk.
911	Ish.34:72	Top chipped; sun-god rising on eastern mountains; nude goddess in front view; worshiper standing before god. Crystal; 2.4 x 1.3 cm.	Q 30:5	"	"	Old Bab.
912	Ish.34:69	Sun-god uncrowned, rising on eastern mountains, holding saw in one hand, scimitar in the other; worshiper before him; inscription (see p. 51). Mottled stone; 2.5 x 1.4 cm.	"	"	"	"
913	Ish.35:72	Female figure holding out hand as if begging before seated female figure holding cup; inscription (see p. 52). Lapis lazuli; 2.2 x 1.1 cm.	T 30:5	"	"	"
914	Ish.34:36	Upper register: one seated figure and three squatting figures; square motif in field; lower register: antithetic group of two standing figures driving two hooped animals. Shell; 3.3 x 1.7 cm.	P 29:1	Kitutum III or IV	Late Larsa	ED III
915	Ish.34:34	Drinking scene with two seated figures, one with horns and beard, the other mostly worn away (see p. 38); three standing kilted figures with arms folded on chest; drill holes for facial features and shoulders of all figures. Shell; 3 x 1.7 cm.	"	"	"	ED





900



901



902



903



904



905



906



907



908



909



910



911



912



913



914



915

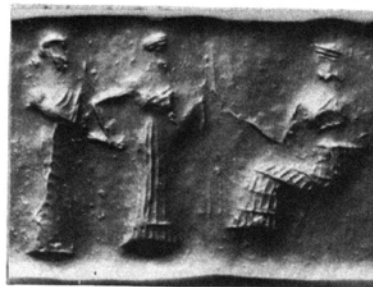
No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
916	Ish.34:121	Girdled long-haired figure holding jar from which water flows; turbaned male figure with mace; interceding goddess; sun-and-crescent symbol in field; inscription (see p. 52). Hematite; 2.1 x .8 cm.	P 30:1	Kititum III or IV	Late Larsa	Old Bab.
917	Ish.34:45	Interceding goddess and human head; inscription (see pp. 46, 47, 52). Amethyst; 2.7 x 1.4 cm.	Q 30:6	"	"	"
918	Ish.34:64	Worshiper introduced to seated goddess. Hematite; 3.6 x 1.8 cm.	R 29:5	Kititum IV	"	Ur III
919	Ish.34:82	Worshiper before god holding ring and staff, followed by indistinct figure and priest with bucket and sprinkling brush; star, crescent, and two indistinct objects in field. Gray stone; 1.9 x .9 cm.	R 32:4	"	"	Old Bab.
920	Ish.35:74	Winged dragon, with bird talons and tail, head and forepaws of lion, attacking seated gazelle; crowned bull-man struggling with lion; inscription (see pp. 47, 52). Hematite; 2.2 x 1 cm.	U 30:1	"	"	"
921	Ish.34:74	Worshiper before Adad, who holds forked lightning and stands with one foot on mountain; indistinct figure with flounced robe and pointed cap may represent minor goddess; libra, snake, sun-and-crescent standard, and sign for "god" in field. Black stone; 2 x 1 cm.	S 29:4	"	Late Larsa or Old Bab.	"
922	Ish.34:48	Geometric pattern. Shell; 4 x 1.3 cm.	Q 30:4	Kititum IV or above	"	JN
923	Ish.34:39	Lion crossing bull attacks gazelle, which is also attacked by indistinct figure with second indistinct figure behind it; small kilted figure beneath blank inscription panel. Shell; 4 x 2 cm.	"	"	"	ED III
924	Ish.34:87	Two crossed human-headed bulls held by two bearded girdled figures; bull-man fighting lion; small kilted figure. White stone; 3.5 x 2 cm.	"	"	"	"
925	Ish.34:49	Two long-skirted horned gods flanking large gate (see p. 44); palm leaf in field. Limestone; 4.4 x 2.6 cm.	"	"	"	Akk.
926	Ish.35:5	Coarsely drawn seated and standing figures and quadruped (see p. 8). Gray stone; 2.2 x 1.4 cm.	R 32:1	Kititum surface	----	?
927	Ish.35:53	Bowlegged dwarf, kneeling figure, standing figure with crescent standard; star, libra, and indistinct object in field. Gray stone; 1.8 x 1 cm.	Court of Kititum Temple	Kititum	Late Larsa or Old Bab.	Isin-Larsa
928	Ish.34:76	Two standing figures before seated figure with attendant. Pink stone; 2.5 x 1.1 cm.	R 32:2	"	----	?



916



917



918



919



920



921



922



923



924



925



926



927

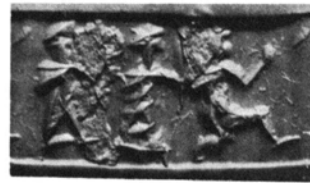


928

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
929	Ish.34:123	Four women squatting on couches, each in panel (see p. 17). Gray stone; 2 x 1.9 cm.	Street in T 28	----	Late Larsa or Old Bab.	JN
930	Ish.35:85	Three figures moving to right, one of them running. Black stone; 2.1 x 1.1 cm.	North of S 29:7	----	----	Isin-Larsa
931	Ish.34:120	Group, once repeated, of girdled male figure restraining dragon by its wings (see p. 47). Hematite; 1.9 x 1 cm.	P 29:3	Surface	----	Old Bab.
932	Ish.34:24	Worshiper before figure holding cup and seated in front of tree; tortoise, bird, crescent, and indistinct object in field. Black stone; 1.9 x .9 cm.	North of Q 29:2	"	----	Isin-Larsa
933	Ish.34:119	Long-robed deity holding scimitar stands with one foot on dragon, priest with sprinkling brush and possibly bucket behind him; two figures opposite deity hold, respectively, indistinct object and crook or staff of Amurru; bearded face in front view, crouching quadruped, and fly in field; inscription (see p. 52). Black stone; 2.2 x 1.1 cm.	North of Kititum Temple	"	----	Old Bab.
934	Ish.35:94	Worshiper, accompanied by interceding goddess and priest with sprinkling brush and bucket who stands on platform, before seated male figure holding cup; monkey and crescent in field. Black stone; 2.3 x 1.1 cm.	"	----	----	"
935	Ish.35:6	Three male figures in file holding, respectively, lance, short stick, and crescent standard. Black stone; 2 x 1 cm.	T 32:2	----	----	Isin-Larsa
936	Ish.35:30	Male worshiper holding sacrificial kid and accompanied by interceding goddess before bearded figure holding cup and seated in front of snake; kilted male figure with scimitar; fish, bowlegged dwarf, crescent, and possibly star in field. Black stone; 3.2 x 1.5 cm.	P 33, road, opposite SW corner of Kititum Temple	Surface	----	Old Bab.
937	Ish.34:75	Broken; three figures before seated figure. Lapis lazuli; 1.2 x .6 cm.	Kititum Temple, dump	----	----	?
938	Ish.35:95	Worshiper introduced to seated male figure holding cup; bull-man holding standard; star and crescent in field. Green stone; 2.2 x 1.2 cm.	W 30:2	Shamash Temple	Late Larsa	Isin-Larsa
939	Ish.35:31	Worshiper before two divine figures followed by priest with springling brush and bucket; star, libra, and crescent in field. Black stone; 1.8 x .7 cm.	V 31:3	"	Late Larsa or Old Bab.	"
940	Ish.34:84	Ishtar of War holding scimitar and mace with two panther heads and bearing two quivers steps on lion, holding rein in one hand; bearded girdled figure from whose hands two streams flow stands before her; bull-man holding sun standard; sun-and-crescent in field. Hematite; 2.4 x 1.4 cm.	W 32:1	"	"	Old Bab.
941	Ish.34:83	Shamash holding saw in one hand and his beard in the other steps on eastern mountains; worshiper carrying sacrificial kid; interceding goddess; behind sun-god, probably priest on dais holding sprinkling brush or saw; squatting quadruped, star, fish (or goat-fish), libra, and indistinct object in field. Black stone; 1.9 x .9 cm.	"	"	"	"
942	Ish.35:77	Ancient impression on clay; Shamash holding saw and seated on throne receives worshiper holding sacrificial kid; throne is ornamented with mountain pattern and standing on dais which also supports the god's footstool; worshiper is followed by small male figure and long-robed figure, probably a goddess; nude hero subdues lion (see p. 34). 6.5 x 3.8 cm.	V 31:4	"	"	"
943	Ish.35:49	Two figures facing right, possibly god and worshiper, flank tree; indistinct object. Clay; 2.3 x 1.1 cm.	W 30, outside NE corner of Shamash Temple	----	----	Isin-Larsa



929



930



931



932



933



934



935



936



937



938



939



940



941



943



942

No.	Field No.	Description	Locus	Building or Level	Date of Find-Spot	Style
944	Ish.35:52	Broken; flat-capped figure with tucked-up kilt between two bulls; lion attacking (lost) animal (see pp. 25, 28). Marble; 3.8 x 2.8 cm.	V 32:2	Houses	Larsa	ED II
945	Ish.35:67	Indistinct design and unidentifiable writing signs (see p. 8). Clay; 1.9 x 1.2 cm.	W 33	Inside city wall, south	Late Larsa	?
946	Ish.34:15	Geometric pattern. Bone; 2.1 x 1.1 cm.	R 35:7	Serai	Late Larsa or Old Bab.	JN
947	Ish.34:20	Worshiper introduced to standing male figure holding cup, squatting monkey before him, monkey on standard behind him; star in field. Steatite; 1.9 x 1 cm.	R 34:8	"	"	Isin-Larsa
948	Ish.34:16	Worshiper introduced to seated figure; lizard in field. Steatite; 2 x 1 cm.	"	"	"	"
949	Ish.35:65	Scorpion among indistinct objects (see p. 8). Clay; 2.1 x 1.1 cm.	V 32:12	Houses	"	?
950	Ish.35:17	Unfinished; sun-god stepping on mountain between two standing figures; another figure merely outlined by drill holes. Hematite; 2.2 x 1 cm.	West side of tell	Surface	----	Old Bab.
951	Ish.35:50	Worshiper before rising sun-god; male figure holding cup faces interceding goddess, possibly altar between them; two crescents in field. Lapis lazuli; .8 x .5 cm.	Unknown	"	----	Isin-Larsa
952	Ish.35:4	Two worshipers and probably interceding goddess before seated figure with pointed headdress, perhaps holding snake. Black stone; 2.4 x 1.3 cm.	"	"	----	"
953	Ish.34:25	Seated figure holding cup with worshiper, snake, second worshiper, and rampant lion before him, crescent in field. Black stone; 2 x 1 cm.	"	"	----	"
954	Ish.35:32	Shamash, holding his saw, steps on eastern mountains; before him, priest with sprinkling brush and bucket accompanied by interceding goddess; seated animal (damaged) and bird regardant in field. Hematite; 2.2 x .8 cm.	"	"	----	Old Bab.
955	Ish.35:39	Two worshipers before seated figure; drill holes and indistinct objects in field. Black stone; 1.6 x .9 cm.	"	"	----	"
956	Ish.35:27	Broken; standing kilted(?) figure, wearing helmet and carrying bird, shoulders ax (see p. 46); part of another figure; libra and monkey in field. Hematite; 2.2 x 1.1 cm.	"	"	----	"
957	Ish.34:1	Beardless worshiper accompanied by interceding goddess before bearded figure holding cup and enthroned on dais; rampant winged dragon devouring kneeling bearded man; dragon passant, crouching monkey, tortoise, and sun-and-crescent symbol in field (see pp. 34, 47). Gray stone; 2.3 x 1.4 cm.	"	"	----	"
958	Ish.35:35	Worshiper and priest with sprinkling brush and bucket before god holding scimitar; dog with crook on head, fish, star, and second crook in field. Hematite; 1.9 x 1 cm.	"	----	----	?



944



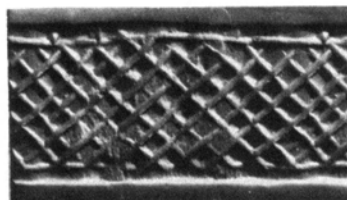
945



947



948



946



949



950



951



952



953



954



955



956



957



958

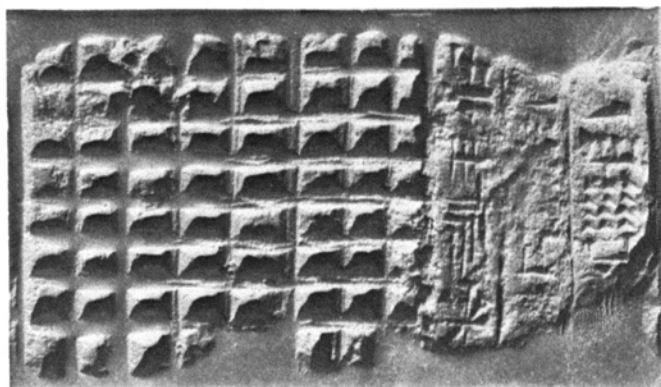
No.	Museum No.*	Description	Style
959	A 7133	Panther attacking stag held by nude bearded figure; panther attacking goat held by nude bearded figure; dagger between the groups. Light gray stone; 2.7 x 1.8 cm.	?
960	A 7245	Grill design and inscription (see p. 52). Gray stone; 4.8 x 2.7 cm.	?
961	A 7251	Geometric pattern. White stone; 2.5 x 2.2 cm.	JN
962	A 7238	Geometric pattern. Light brown stone; 1.8 x 1.4 cm.	"
963	A 7148	"Spider" design (see p. 17). Brown stone; 1.2 x 1.6 cm.	"
964	A 7248	Three women squatting on couches (see p. 17); indistinct motifs. Red stone; 1.8 x 1.8 cm.	"
965	A 7250	Drill-hole design. Pink stone; 2 x 1.9 cm.	"
966	A 7155	Three goats or bulls. Crystal; 2.5 x 2.3 cm.	"
967	A 7130	"Spider" design (see p. 17). Gray stone; 1.5 x 1.9 cm.	"

\*Oriental Institute, Chicago.





959



960



961



962



963



964



965



966



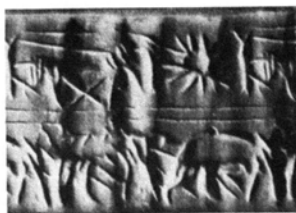
967

No.	Museum No.*	Description	Style
968	A 7147	Upper register: two figures drinking through tubes from jar, standing attendant; lower register: indistinct. White stone; 2.6 x 1.1 cm.	ED
969	A 7241	Upper register: indistinct; lower register: goat and stag passant. Black stone; 2.7 x 1 cm.	"
970	A 7243	Upper register: scorpion and geometric motif; lower register: goats or antelopes tête-bêche. Shell; 3.7 x 1.2 cm.	"
971	A 7149	Lion restrained by man from attacking goat; small rampant goat in field. White stone; 1.6 x 1 cm.	"
972	A 7242	Two goats passant. Gypsum; 2.4 x 1.4 cm.	"
973	A 7207	Broken; upper part of frieze showing stag held by bull-man and bearded long-haired figure holding two goats, one of which is attacked by lion. Lapis lazuli; 1.4 x 1.1 cm.	"
974	A 7246	Goat attacked by two lions, one restrained by kilted human figure with dagger. White stone; 2.1 x .9 cm.	"
975	A 7135	Bird of prey holding goat in either talon; geometric motif. White stone; 1.8 x 1.2 cm.	"
976	A 7271	Goat and scorpion (see p. 24). Black stone; 4 x .8 cm.	ED I
977	A 7132	Goat, antelope, star, and geometric motifs (see p. 24). Black stone; 2.8 x .9 cm.	"
978	A 7270	Goat and geometric motifs (see p. 24). Black stone; 5.4 x 1.3 cm.	"
979	A 7170	Lion attacking human-headed bull which crosses bull attacked by another lion, lions restrained by nude man and bull-man with dagger; stag in field. Light gray stone; 4.3 x 2.5 cm.	ED III
980	A 7160	Two crossed lions attacking goat and indistinct animal; human figure with staff. Shell; 3.1 x 1.5 cm.	"
981	A 7159	Two figures, possibly male and female, drinking through tubes from vase (see p. 45); female figure holding bucket; sun-and-crescent symbol in field. Shell; 3.2 x 2 cm.	Akk.
982	A 7156	Upper register: two figures, the second carrying bucket, approaching seated deity (see p. 45); indistinct object; lower register: three birds passant. Shell; 4.5 x 1.3 cm.	"

\*Oriental Institute, Chicago.



968



969



970



971



972



973



974



975



978



976



977



979



980



981



982

No.	Museum No.*	Description	Style
983	A 7227	Seated goddess holding cup; winged gate above recumbent bull flanked by kilted, possibly crowned, figure and nude figure, each holding rope connected with gate; lance or gatepost in field (see p. 44). Gypsum; 3 x 1.6 cm.	Akk.
984	A 7124	Antithetic group of two antelopes held by two lions, with inscription (see pp. 31, 52) in center; star and war-ax in field. Green stone; 2.7 x 1.6 cm.	"
985	A 7240	Two seated figures facing each other; offering-stand and palm branches. Gray stone; 2.5 x 1.3 cm.	"
986	A 7158	Seated goddess of fertility holding plants is approached by god holding plow and introducing male worshiper carrying sacrificial kid and female worshiper carrying bucket (see pp. 41-42). Shell; 3.2 x 1.9 cm.	"
987	A 7123	Goddess enthroned before altar bearing incense bowl, from which flames arise, and offerings, apparently loaves of bread and meat; female worshiper pouring libation before goddess and followed by another female worshiper holding bucket; inscription (see pp. 45, 52). Alabaster; 3.9 x 2.2 cm.	"
988	A 7171	Shamash rising on eastern mountains; male deity introducing worshiper; star and mace in field (see p. 41). Light pink stone; 3 x 1.7 cm.	"
989	A 7209	Kneeling god seized on one side by god, from whose body and legs flames project, and on the other by god holding saw (see pp. 41, 44). Black stone; 1.9 x 1 cm.	"
990	A 7169	Nude hero struggling with bull or buffalo; bull-man struggling with lion; standard-like object in field. Shell; 3 x 2 cm.	"
991	A 7267	Two nude figures, possibly holding doorpost emblems, flanking shrine in front of which Ea (identifiable by just visible stream of water and fishes) is seated; crowned figure, possibly Usmu, standing before Ea. Gypsum; 3.2 x 1.8 cm.	"
992	A 7157	Three figures approaching seated deity (see p. 45). Shell; 3.5 x 2 cm.	"
993	A 7213	Three figures before seated figure. Black stone; 2.2 x 1 cm.	Isin-Larsa
994	A 7214	Three figures before seated figure holding cup; libra and indistinct objects in field. Black stone; 1.5 x .9 cm.	"
995	A 7146	Male figure seated before offering-stand with palm branch receives worshiper; inscription (see p. 52). White stone; 3.6 x 1.7 cm.	Old Bab.
996	A 7210	Two crossed lions rampant, one attacking indistinct animal; vegetal motif in field. Black stone; 1.6 x .8 cm.	"
997	A 7215	Two worshipers before seated god holding cup; another god with uplifted hand holding weapon; crescent and libra in field. Brown stone; 2.9 x 1 cm.	"
998	A 7208	Bowlegged dwarf and standing male figure tête-bêche; squatting quadruped with crook on head, three scorpions, and small bowlegged dwarf upside down in field. Brown stone; 2.4 x 1.1 cm.	"
999	A 7211	One standing and one kneeling figure; panther-headed scimitar and indistinct object in field. Dark green stone; 1.7 x .9 cm.	"
1000	A 7212	Nude female standing figure; recumbent bull supporting lightning fork; scorpion, triangle, and mace or dagger in field. Black stone; 2.6 x .9 cm.	"
1001	A 7230	Bearded worshiper before Adad holding lightning fork and stepping on mountain; priest holding sprinkling brush and bucket. Gray mottled stone; 2.2 x 1.2 cm.	"
1002	A 7228	Nude female standing figure; winged dragon attacking seated goat; rampant lion attacking seated goat; star and indistinct object in field. Black stone; 2.3 x 1.3 cm.	"

\*Oriental Institute, Chicago.



983



984



985



986



987



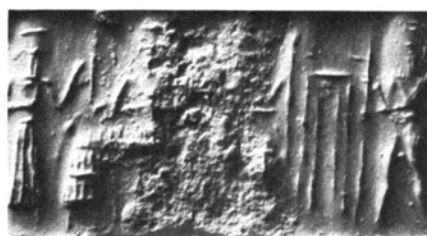
988



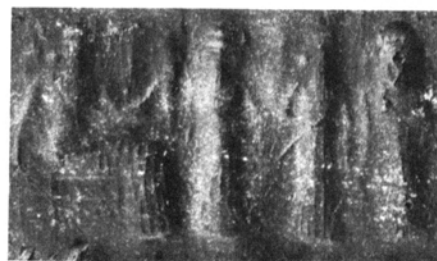
989



990



991



992



993



994



995



996



997



998



999



1000



1001



1002

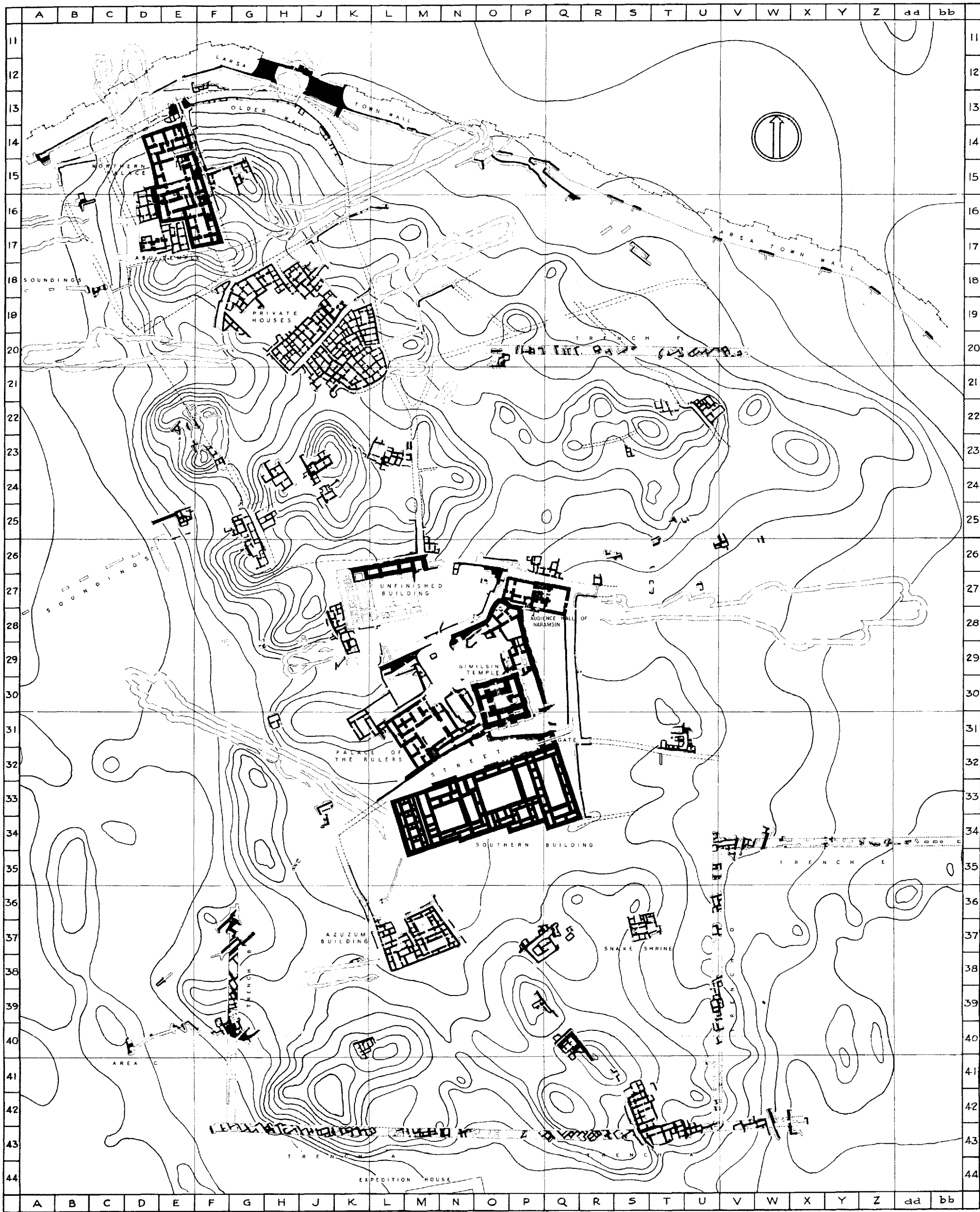




CONTOUR MAP OF KHAFAJAH SHOWING EXCAVATED AREAS. SCALE, 1:5000

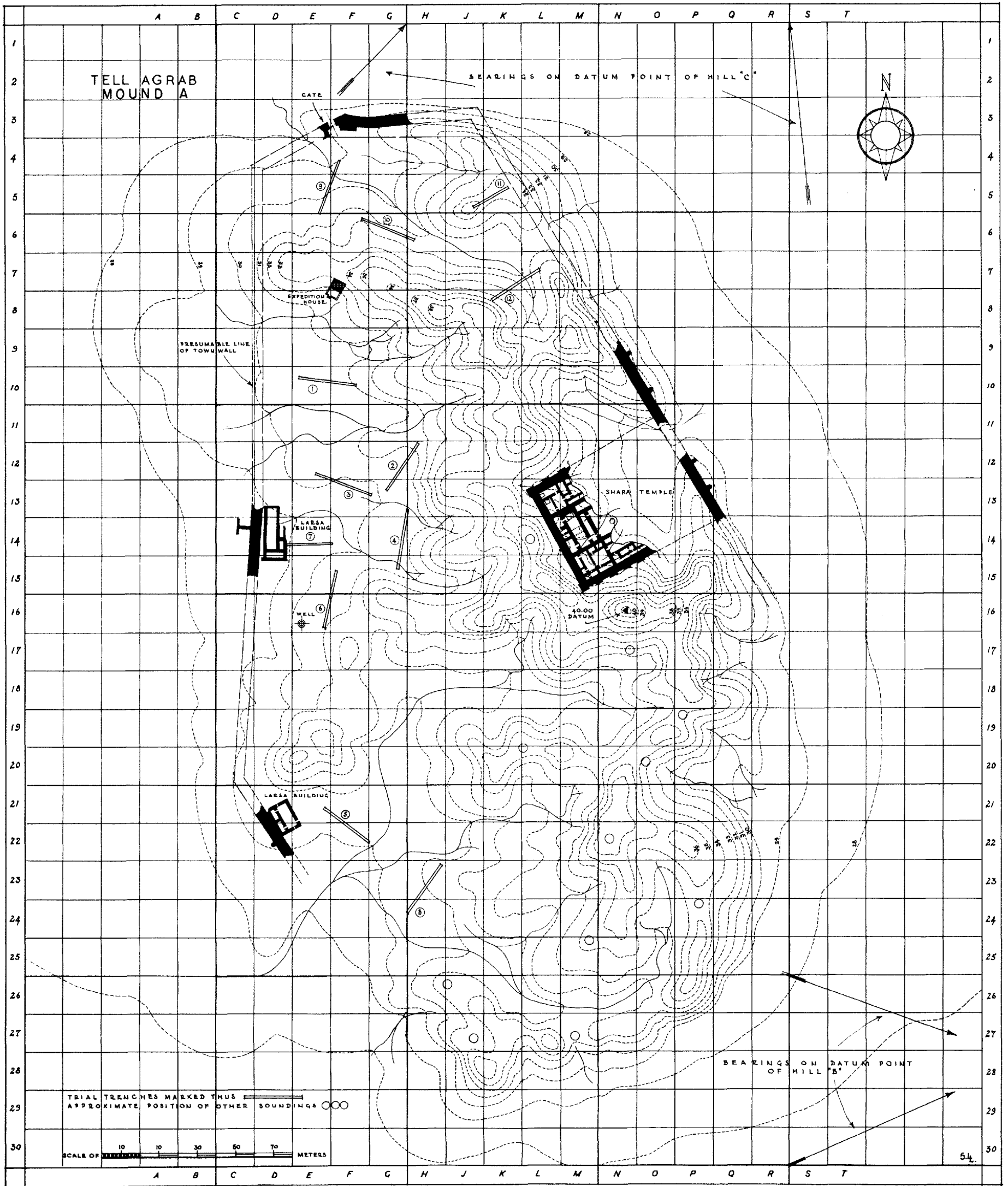






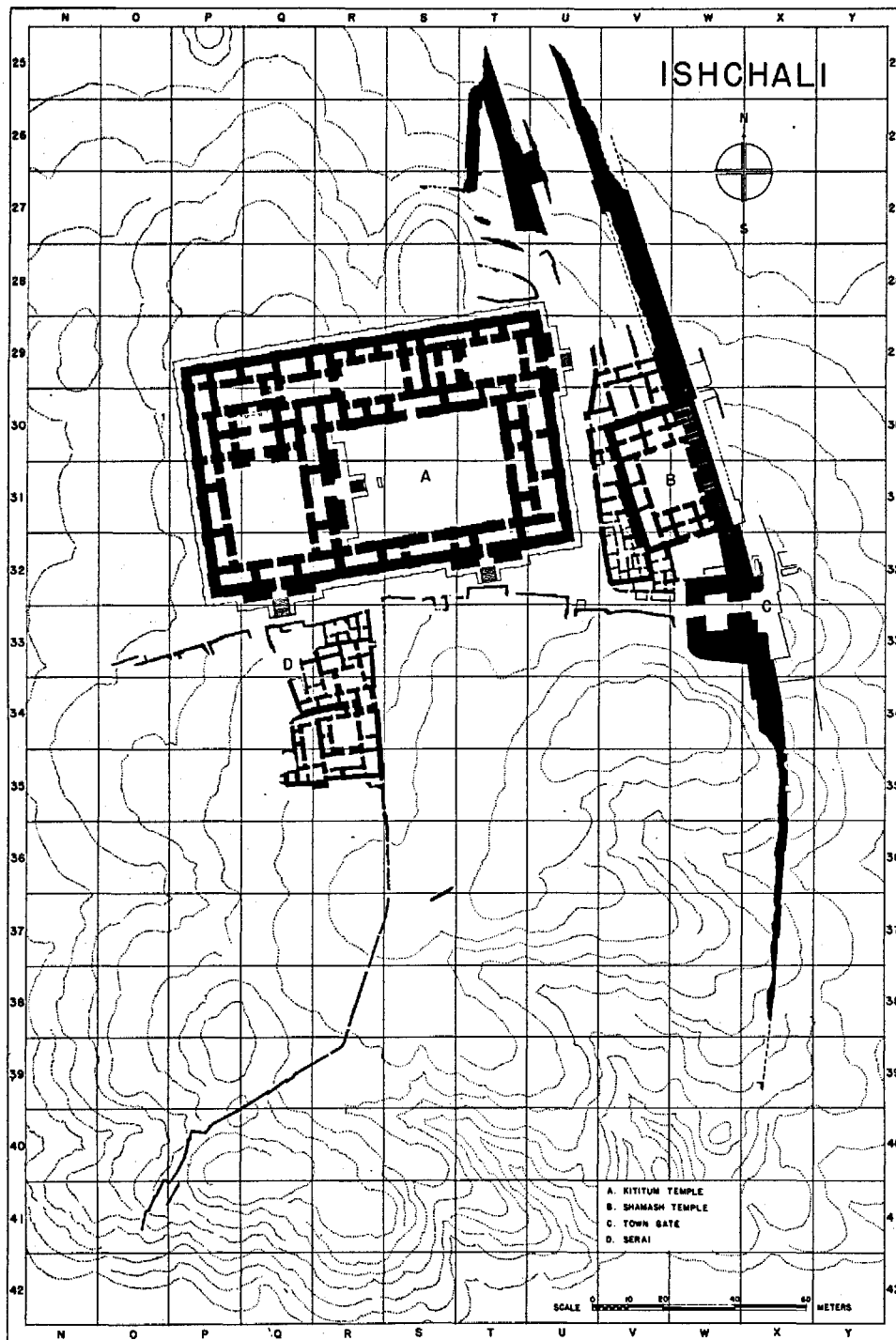
CONTOUR MAP OF TELL ASMAR SHOWING EXCAVATED AREAS. SCALE, 1:2000





CONTOUR MAP OF MOUND A AT TELL AGRAB SHOWING EXCAVATED AREAS. SCALE, 1:2000





CONTOUR MAP OF EXCAVATED AREA AT ISHCHALI. SCALE, 1:2000



TABLE II  
STRATIGRAPHIC CORRELATION OF ALL EXCAVATIONS ON THE DIYALA SITES

	KHAFAJAH						TELL ASMAR				TELL AGRAB		ISHCHALI		
	MOUND A						MOUNDS B-D	ABU TEMPLE	HOUSES	NORTHERN PALACE	PALACE OF RULERS AND GIMILSIN TEMPLE	SHARA TEMPLE	HOUSES AND SOUNDINGS	KITITUM TEMPLE	OTHER BUILDINGS
	Sin Temple	Houses	Small Temple in O 43	Nintu Temple	Temple Oval										
OLD BABY-LONIAN PERIOD						Dur Samsuiluna and houses on Mounds B and C									
ISIN-LARSA PERIOD	LATE					Temple and houses in Citadel on Mound D				Audience Hall (Naramsin) Southern Bldg. (Ibiqadad II)		Buildings on west flank of Mound A	IV III II	(Shamash Temple Serai City Wall and Gate Houses)	
	EARLY							I	Houses	Palace of Rulers (built by Ilushuilia)			I (original building)	Unexcavated	
END OF GUTTIUM, UR III						Unexcavated		II III	Houses	Gimilsin Temple (built by Ituria)					
AGADE PERIOD	LATE							IV a	Houses						
	EARLY		Some brickwork at northwest corner of mound				Single-Shrine IV	IV b	Debris						
PROTO-IMPERIAL PERIOD		Scattered burials					Single-Shrine III II	V a	Main level of Palace						
EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD	III b		1		Houses I		Single-Shrine I	V b V c	Earlier Palace Houses						
	III a	X ↑ IX	2 3	X IX	Debris										
	II	VIII ↑ VII	4 5 6	VIII VII VI	VII VI V		Square Temple III-1	Sounding in H 18:14 (debris)	Sounding in D 15:3 (debris)				Main level Intermediate foundations		
	I	VII VI ↑ V	7 8 9 10	V IV III II I	IV III II I		Archaic Shrine IV-1	Sounding in H 18:14 (26-29 m.)	Sounding in D 15:3 (26-30 m.)			Earlier building Earliest remains	Houses on Hills B and C		
	d	IV ↑ V	11 12												
PROTOLITERATE PERIOD	c	III II I Debris	Isolated brickwork	Isolated brickwork			Earliest Shrine 3 m. of debris Virgin soil	Sounding in H 18:14 (21-26 m.) Virgin soil	Sounding in D 15:3 (21-26 m.) Virgin soil			Unexcavated	Sounding on Hill B		

In this chart the various remains are dated to the periods in which they were built. As shown by arrows, some of these buildings survived in use from one period into another. There is no vertical time scale, and the heights of the boxes are not proportionate to the duration of the periods which they represent. Subdivisions of different buildings which happen to fall on the same horizontal line within a cultural period are not necessarily strictly contemporaneous.      indicates the surface of a site in a particular area.

